JEWISH EDUCATION IN VIENNA
BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

by

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PREFACE

A combination of two strong personal wishes have brought about the writing of this doctoral dissertation. Firstly, to set a memorial to the Jewish community of Vienna which fell victim to the Nazi holocaust; secondly, to look back in an attempt to better comprehend the years of my childhood and early adolescence spent in that city.

My work as a Jewish educator led me to choose the educational system of Viennese Jewry as the topic of my study which would enable me to satisfy both wishes. The research needed to understand the ideologies, organizations and personnel of Jewish education in Vienna aided in my personal research for clarification of this early period of my life.

When contemplating this work, I was faced with the problem of obtaining sufficient sources to substantiate its thesis. Fortunately, a great deal of material was available. Through the good offices of my personal friend, Dr. Zvi Ankori, Professor of Jewish History at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, I gained access to the General Historical Archives of the Historical Society at the Hebrew University. I was permitted to use the archives of the Vienna Jewish Community which had been saved and transferred there for permanent safekeeping. The Vienna Archives contain hundreds
of files, documents, records, etc. which I studied during the summer of 1964 and of which I was permitted to make a microfilm consisting of hundreds of frames. This material I used extensively in my research and in substantiating my thesis.

While in Israel, I met with many people who had occupied leading and active positions in the Jewish educational system of Vienna. Among them were Dr. Isidor Klaber, the Chairman of the Commission of Education of the Kultusgemeinde, Dr. Viktor Kellner, Director of the Chajesgymnasium, Rudolf Muller, Dr. Leo Menczer, Dr. Jakob Bronner, Dr. Karl Schieber, who were all former teachers of Jewish Religion in public schools as well as teachers in Jewish Bible Schools. I also met Moses Rath, author of textbooks, Director of the Jewish library in Vienna and a leading Jewish educator.

From Israel I travelled to Vienna and, although I was advised that there was no longer any material left, I had to convince myself of this fact. After consulting with the executive director of the Kultusgemeinde, Regierungsrat Wilhelm Krell, the former inspector of Jewish education, Regierungsrat Isidor Ohler, and visits to the libraries of the city of Vienna, the state of Austria and the Vienna University, I came to the conclusion that I had received the correct advice.
The next stop was London, where I met with Dr. Harry Zimmels, head of Jews' College, who had been a rabbi and teacher in Vienna and who supplied me with materials as well as the names of other people living in England who had formerly been active in Jewish educational life in Vienna.

Returning to New York, I found further important materials at the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, the Jewish section of the Public Library of New York and the library of the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati.

Finally, I contacted many people who had either been active in Jewish education in Vienna themselves or had relevant materials in their possession. My thanks are due to Dr. Emil Lehman, Director of the Herzl Institute in New York, who himself had been a teacher of Religion in the public schools in Vienna and who aided me greatly in making these contacts. I was able to gain valuable information and materials from such people as Mr. Güdemann, the son of the former Chief Rabbi of Vienna, Dr. Moritz Güdemann, Dr. Oskar Teller, Director of the Jüdische Kulturstelle and Volkshochschule in Vienna, and Miss Rosa Schwarz, daughter of the rector of the Israelitische Theologische Lehranstalt in Vienna. All of these people as well as many more supplied me with valuable books and personal documents which aided me in writing my dissertation.
I am grateful to Dropsie College, its distinguished President, Dr. Abraham Neuman, its outstanding faculty of scholars and foremost to my teacher and mentor, Dr. Meir Ben-Horin, Professor of Education, who with his knowledge, kindness and enthusiasm inspired and guided me in my studies and in writing this dissertation.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my family who so patiently tolerated the inroads in my duties as a husband and father, so that I may have the time for my research into the education of Jews in Vienna and for the search into the background and origin of my early life.
INTRODUCTION

Wir Juden haben es nicht nötig, Ideen und Formen anzunehmen, die bloss der Nachahmung entspringen.

Nicht erbauen, sondern aufbauen ist die Lösung des Judentums unserer Zeit.

Oberrabbiner Dr. Hirsch Perez Chajes

No other person could have pointed out the basic shortcomings of Viennese Jewry in a better and more concise manner, than its spiritual leader, Rabbi Hirsch Perez Chajes. With the emancipation of the Jews in the Austrian Monarchy, the general trend was towards assimilation. The Jew in Vienna aspired to be identified first and foremost as a Wiener Bürger (Viennese citizen) and only in the second place as a Jew. It was the age of Nachahmung (imitation) of the ideas and forms of political and cultural trends. The Jewish genius supplied the leadership and active membership to many areas of human expression and activity such as politics, arts, economy, sciences, etc.

The desire to assimilate and to have free access to the cultural and social life of cosmopolitan Vienna led many Jews to obtain the "passport" to equality and acceptance, namely baptism. It was this phenomenon which motivated the leaders of the Jewish community to take preventive actions. The approach to the solution of the problem of Jews leaving the fold of the KG was a negative one. The leaders of the
representative body of Viennese Jewry, the KG, were not inspired by the ideals of Jewish life and Judaism to such an extent that their actions would lead to a more intensified Jewish expression. The obvious proof to this statement is the little effort made to establish an intensive Jewish school system. A very small number of children in Vienna received the kind of education which would make them desirous for Jewish living. Each society expresses its vitality in the strongest possible way by the kind of education it affords to give to its young generation. Viennese Jewry must be judged by this criterion and the verdict is not a favorable one.

The assimilation of the Jews in Vienna expressed itself in two major trends, one of which was the conservative trend, which saw in the era of the benevolent monarch Franz Joseph I the "golden age." Even after the downfall of the monarchy and the establishment of the Austrian republic, they longed back with all their heart to the good old days of the "Kaiser."

The second trend was the Rote Assimilation (red assimilation) which indicated the desire of the lower middle and working classes to become part of the socialist labor movement which ruled the city of Vienna. Under the motto "Proletarians of all Countries Unite," the Jews felt that they would be able to solve all problems. The leadership of
the movement which was more than half Jewish tried to establish equality of all members, but could not prevent discrimination against Jews within the rank and file of the party.

The small orthodox sector of Viennese Jewry did not take an active part in shaping the destiny of the community. It continued to live its intensive Jewish life and hoped to be left alone. Whatever loss in numbers it incurred by the leaving of young people from their midst, was offset by the immigration of orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe.

The appointment of Dr. Hirsch Perez Chajes to the position of Chief Rabbi of Vienna in the year 1918 was the sign of a new era. The beginnings of the new era originated in the call of the Zionist movement to its members to go out and conquer the Jüdische Gemeinden in Europe. In Vienna, Herzl's home city, the call to action was heeded by a group of dedicated men and enthusiastic young students who established a strong Zionist organization. This reaction to assimilation gained ground because of its positive approach to Jewish life. A Jewish national political faction was formed in 1918 and for the first time in Austrian history Jews had representatives in the governing bodies who spoke in their name. Within their own Gemeinde it took the Zionist movement many more years to attain a majority.

The vitality of this movement affected Viennese Jewry deeply. It had a special appeal to the young generation, which joined the Zionist youth movement in great numbers.
Rabbi Chajes, who was an active Zionist, understood the destiny of the Jewish community and spent a major part of his activity as spiritual leader to establish a school system in which he himself taught. With the help of the Zionist movement he was able to stem the tide of assimilation and to bring back to the Jewish community thousands of young people who grew up to become leaders and active members of the Jewish people in Israel and in many countries of the diaspora. A generation of Jews was educated which rejected Nachahmung and was fully conscious of the original ideals of Judaism.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BKG = Bericht der israelitischen Kultusgemeinde (Reports of the Jewish Community)

FJL = Freie Lehrerstimme (also known as Freie Judische Lehrerstimme, publication by the organization of teachers of Jewish religion)

KG = Kultusgemeinde (Jewish Community Organization)

JJFÖ= Jüdisches Jahrbuch für Österreich (Jewish Yearbook for Austria)

VA = Vienna Archives, The Jewish Historical General Archives, Arkhion Qehila Wina Record No. KAU

WMZ = Wiener Morgenzeitung (Viennese morning daily newspaper under Jewish national leadership)

NOTE: All translations from German to English in this dissertation were done by the writer.
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CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF MODERN JEWISH EDUCATION IN VIENNA

As a result of the spirit of toleration the year 1781 can be determined to be the beginning of the period of modern Jewish education in Vienna. It was during that year that the government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy took for the first time notice of the educational needs of its Jewish subjects. Before the Toleranz Edikt of Emperor Joseph II it was entirely up to the Jews to see to it that their children receive an education. It is a known fact that the Jews were aware of the educational requirements for their children and that they did not have to rely upon the government of the country they lived in.\(^1\)

When the authorities began to show their concern for the education of Jewish children, they did not differentiate between the general and the Jewish aspects of it. This fact caused later grave concern to the Jewish community, which from the outset looked upon the interest of the government in educational matters with suspicion and dismay.\(^2\)

\(^1\)One of the provisions of the Toleranz Patent issued by Emperor Joseph II was the right of religious minorities to establish their own schools. As far as the Jews were concerned, they were required to have a school wherever a Synagogue was established. See Charles A. Gulick, *Austria from Hapsburg to Hitler*, Chapter xvi, "Education for Democracy" (Los Angeles, 1948).

\(^2\)In the spirit of emancipation and toleration the Jews saw the danger of assimilation on the one hand, and on the other
The Jewish community of Vienna consisted of 65 families comprising 504 heads. To this community was directed the decree to establish their own Volksschule (public elementary school). Furthermore, it was decreed that the same textbooks were to be used, which already were taught in public schools for the general population. Only the one textbook which would be needed to teach Jewish ethics was not specified, simply because there was no such book in existence, and the government informed the Jews that further directives in this matter would be made known. Finally, the decree contained the statement that Jewish children are permitted to attend the general public schools under Christian auspices.  

The authorities struggled with the problem of publishing a text for ethical and moral teachings. Neither the Bible nor the Talmud were considered in the beginning to be the proper sources for such a book. The Talmud was rejected entirely as harmful. The propaganda against the Talmud by the catholic clergy and pseudo-scholars bore fruit and the name of the Talmud became absolutely despicable. Finally, it was stated that only that which is accepted by all humanity, hand, even more resisted any effort of separation from the general public. The leaders and spokesmen of the community were torn between these two possibilities, but the evidence points to the fact that the danger of separatism was greater than the danger of assimilation.

regardless of religion, shall become the basis for selection of ethical material from the Bible.  

Obviously, Viennese Jewry rejected the whole idea of a general school for Jewish children, recognizing in it an attempt to destroy Judaism entirely. Furthermore, the idea of this school was of no necessity for the Jews in Vienna who had taken care of the educational needs of their children in different ways.  

The wealthy Jews provided their children with private tutors. It was the task of the tutor to prepare the sons for the life of business and trade, so that they may follow their fathers' ways. The instruction consisted of German Language, Correspondence, Bookkeeping for business matters, and Arithmetic. Whatever little time was left, was dedicated to some semblance of Jewish instruction. Practically all of these tutors were Jews who had come from outside of Vienna and had a good Jewish education. The instruction in Jewish matters consisted of teaching Hebrew reading, prayers, blessings, a smattering of Jewish customs and ceremonies, a few

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4 Throughout the centuries the Talmud was attacked, but in Vienna it seems that the book of Johann Andreas Eisenmenger (1654 - 1704) called Entdecktes Judenthum (Discovered Judaism) (Frankfurt 1700) had left a lasting impression upon the representatives of the government who dealt with the Jews. This being a severely critical book of the Talmud, the consequences were obvious. G. Wolf, op. cit., p. 9.

5 Zevi Scharfstein, Toledot ha-Hinnukh be-Yisrael (Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 159-161.
biblical stories and very little of Jewish history. The time allotted to the Jewish studies depended upon the amount of general instruction, which the tutor gave the student.6

The children of the poor Jews attended public schools, which were run in the Christian spirit, by teachers who were Jesuit priests or educated by them. Whatever Jewish religious instruction they received, was given to them in their homes by their parents. Many Jewish children did not receive any formal education at all, in spite of the fact that since 1774 a law of compulsory elementary education was in effect.7

The establishment of the first Jewish school in Vienna was preceded by many years of negotiations and struggles between the different branches of government and the leadership of the Jewish community. While Viennese Jewry as a whole had shown assimilatory tendencies, it still was not willing to give up basic Jewish beliefs. Further objections to the school were justified by them in their fear that it would lead to increased separation from the general population and finally the Jews did not want to undertake such a project without having received the right to form an official community organization. The Emperor and his advisors did not want

6 The Austrian government viewed with great misgivings the presence of Jewish tutors in the capital and tried to persuade the rich Jews to discharge them. It seems, however, that the Viennese Jews did not respond to this demand. Gerson Wolf, Geschichte der Juden in Wien (Wien, 1876), p. 119.

7 Gulick, op. cit., chapt. xvi; Wolf, op. cit., p. 120.
to hear anything about such an organization.\(^8\)

On the other hand, there were signs of a genuine effort by the government to implement the ideas of toleration. Thus we read about directives given to principals and teachers in general schools to accept the Jewish pupils with understanding. These instructions went so far as to threaten Christian pupils with punishment for mistreating their Jewish fellow students. Teachers were requested to set a good example of toleration.\(^9\)

In directing the Jewish community to establish a general school, the aim of the government was to provide the Jews with a type of enlightened education which, in their conception, must exclude the despicable "talmudic trickery." The Jewish community, through its representatives, worked out a suggested program of instruction. A committee of three leaders of the community composed a detailed memorandum for the Hofkanzlei (Bureau of the Court) and presented it for the first time in 1811. It was rejected and revised again and then presented and finally approved in the year 1814 by the emperor. The memorandum is in existence, and here are some of

\(^8\) The struggle for the establishment of this school was further complicated by the personal ambitions of Herz Homberg, whose assimilatory tendencies and writings as well as his textbooks had found favor in the eyes of the government, while the Jewish community was strictly opposed to any interference by him. See "Le-Toledot ha-Haskala we-ha-Hinnukh be-Wina" by Salo Baron in Sefer Turoff, Y. Silberschlag, Y. Twersky, ed. (Boston, 1938), pp. 167-183.

\(^9\) Wolf, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 15.
its highlights:

1. The first three paragraphs of the memorandum deal with the schoolroom, the furniture and other technical details.

2. The fourth paragraph discusses supervision, which is suggested to be jointly executed by the government and the Jewish community.

3. Two classes should be opened. First-grade children should study the Hebrew alphabet and vowels, spelling, reading, simple translation of nouns and verbs, discussion of ethics based upon verses of the Bible, biblical history, holidays and ceremonies according to the book *Imrei Sheffer* by Herz Homberg, and finally Hebrew writing.

4. The textbooks *Messilat ha-Limud* by Ben Zeev, *Toledot Yisrael* by P. Beer and the daily *Siddur* should be used.

5. Second Grade should study Torah according to the translation by Moses Mendelssohn. For the study of ethics the book *Hinnukh* by Aharon Halevi of Barcelona should be used. Hebrew Grammar, Hebrew Reading without vowels should be studied as well as Religion according to the book *Yessode ha-Dat* by Ben Zeev. Finally, the study of Ethics as ordered by the government from Homberg's book *Benai Zion*. Furthermore, every student must have a *Tanakh* and the book *Maagal Yosher* for the study of the Hebrew Language.
6. Hours of instruction: Five hours per week, sessions for the first grade from 10 A.M. to 12 Noon, so that the children may attend general schools in the afternoon. For the second grade, the last two hours before Maariv, so that the pupils could participate in the evening service.

7. There is need for one teacher and one assistant. Suggested was Salomon Herz, a private tutor well known and liked by many influential Jews.

Further paragraphs (altogether 32) dealt with salaries for the teacher and assistant, transfer of students, the establishment of a third grade if and when needed, the problem of wearing skullcaps during sessions, tuition fees for children whose parents can afford to pay, and free instruction for children of poor parents, etc.\textsuperscript{10}

In this memorandum the opening of the school was planned for the year 1812 but because of the rejections by the government and the necessity to deal with three different

\textsuperscript{10}The entire document was in the Archives of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde in Vienna, and Prof. Salo W. Baron received permission to use it in his article "Le-Toledot ha-Haskala we-ha-Hinnukh be-Wina", Sefer Turoff edited by I. Silberschlag and Y. Twersky, published by the Hebrew Teachers College, Boston, Mass., 1938, pp. 167-183. In the same book are published in the original German two documents concerning the establishment of this first Jewish school in Vienna. One document is by a commission appointed by the imperial court and concerns itself with the purchase of the house for the school, an unprecedented request. The second is a Gutachten by this commission concerning the aims and the program of the school and has the notation of the Emperor that he agrees to all points mentioned in the memorandum. Date is September 5, 1814. \textit{Ibid}, pp. 374-379.
authorities (the city of Vienna, province of Lower Austria and the imperial offices) it took two more years until the school could finally begin its operation. Another difficulty which had to be overcome was the purchase of a building for the school. Jews were not permitted to own any real estate at all and a special permission from the Emperor had to be obtained. ¹¹

This then was the first Jewish school in Vienna. It was initiated by the government as a general elementary school and turned out to be a supplementary religious school.

The government appointed as its supervisor the priest and preacher, Father Veidt, a renegade Jew, who in turn appointed his brother, who remained a Jew, to be the second teacher of the school. Through the intervention of the supervisor, children were forced to attend school on the Sabbath and to write in school. The police commander was ordered to see that the school runs properly and that children whose parents objected to Jewish religious instruction were not forced to attend. Furthermore, only those children were permitted to attend who also studied in general schools or received their general instruction at home by authorized teachers. ¹²

In the beginning only students from elementary school classes and the fifth and sixth grades of the Gymnasium (secondary school) attended the religious school. From the year 1821 on students of the first four grades of the Gymnasium were added to the religious school. In the year 1826 the preacher Isaak Noah Mannheimer\textsuperscript{13} was appointed teacher in the school and with his knowledge and enthusiasm improved the instruction greatly. He was followed by Dr. Joseph Lewin Saalschütz\textsuperscript{14} and then by Leopold Breuer, a former student of the Hatam Sofer\textsuperscript{15} in Mattersburg. All these men were scholars in their own rights and authors of works in Jewish learning. Since 1833 also the last two grades of the Gymnasium were added to the student body of the religious school, thus it served all Jewish children from the age of six years to eighteen.\textsuperscript{16}

Since religion was not taught for the Jews in the general schools, many directors urged their students to attend religious services and even better to become students in the Jewish religious school. This instruction coming from

\textsuperscript{13}Isaak Noah Mannheimer (1793-1865), appointed director of the school, because the government did not permit Jewish community formation and Rabbi appointment. Introduced moderate reform, authored Siddur, recognized importance of Hebrew.

\textsuperscript{14}Joseph Lewin Saalschütz (1801-1863) archaologist, preacher.

\textsuperscript{15}Hatam Sofer (1762-1839), real name Moses Sofer, Talmud scholar and authority; main work: Hatam Sofer.

\textsuperscript{16}Wolf, Zur Geschichte..., op. cit., p. 22.
the director of the general school had a great effect upon young people and the number of the children enrolled in the religious school rose.\(^\text{17}\)

In the beginning, the weekly instruction in the Jewish religious school was five hours. However, this number decreased to three hours gradually except for pupils in the first two grades of the \textit{Volksschule} who continued to attend five hours a week. The oldest students, on the other hand, came only for two hours of weekly instruction.\(^\text{18}\)

In the beginning, no girls attended the school; but slowly, by the demand of the government and the leadership of the Jewish community girls' classes were set up. The school was fortunate to obtain the services of the first official rabbis of the \textit{Kultusgemeinde} such as Dr. Adolf Jellinek, Dr. Moritz Güdemann, and the historian Gerson Wolf. In the year 1865, 714 boys and 277 girls attended the school. In addition to these public school students, apprentices of trades received religious instruction in the school.\(^\text{19}\)

In the year 1854 the authorities, in particular the Ministry of Education, renewed the demand for the establishment of Jewish general schools, justifying their demand with the growth of the Jewish community in Vienna after the year

\(^{17}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 24, 25.}\) \(^{18}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 26.}\) \(^{19}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 27.}\)
1848. The result of the revolution of 1848 was a more liberal policy towards Jewish movements within the empire and therefore many Jews had come to Vienna. When the community at that time rejected the demands of the authorities in a categorical manner, the Minister of Education granted several individuals the right to establish private schools.\textsuperscript{20}

Three such schools are known to have existed and they are: the school for girls founded and directed by Caroline Szanto, one for boys directed by Josef Loew, and another one for boys directed by Dr. J. A. Pick and Simon Szanto.\textsuperscript{21} The two boys' schools united very soon after and became the "Erste Israelitische Hauptund Unterrealschule."\textsuperscript{22} These men and Caroline Szanto held licenses to teach in public schools in Austria and therefore were in the eyes of the authorities qualified to teach Jewish children and to establish private schools.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., p. 32. See also Statistisches Handbuch für Österreich, vol. i, 1860, p. 7 which tells us that the number of Jews in Vienna had reached 6217 in the year 1857.

\textsuperscript{21}Simon Szanto (1819-1882), educator, author and editor, Neuzeit weekly newspaper, directed Jewish school, court translator of Hebrew, teacher at Rabb. Seminary.

\textsuperscript{22}Wolf, op. cit., p. 163. Jahresbericht der ersten Israelitischen Haupt- und Unterrealschule, Wien, 1863, is more than a report, intends to give prospective parents a clear picture of the school and all its activities.

\textsuperscript{23}Wolf, op. cit., p. 164.
The Erste Israelitische Haupt-und Unterrealschule published a report for the school year 1862/63. We read in this report that 119 boys attended the school, of which 77 studied in the four elementary grades and 42 in the three lower secondary grades. The school had full public privileges, which means that its students could be transferred to other schools with full rights, or upon graduation continue their studies in higher public schools. The students were either full time boarders or externists who had only lunch in the school. The school year lasted for ten full months, and for those students whose parents wanted them to stay the whole year, a special summer program was instituted. The daily hours of instruction were from 8 A.M. - 12 Noon and from 3 P.M. - 6 P.M. The following subjects were taught in the four lower grades: Religion and Hebrew Language 5 - 6 hours per week; German Language, Reading, Writing and Composition up to 10 hours per week; Arithmetic - 5 hours, Study of Nature - 2 hours, and Drawing 3 hours a week.\footnote{Jahresbericht, op. cit., pp. 3, 4.}

In the Unterrealschule the thirty-two weekly hours were divided as follows: Religion and Hebrew Language - 5 hours; Arithmetic - 3 hours; Geometry - 3 hours; Geography - 3 hours, History - 2 hours, Zoology - 2 hours, Botanics - 2 hours; Physics - 2 hours, German Language and Literature - 6 hours. All these were obligatory subjects, while a selection
of the following subjects could be taken as electives 2 hours per week: French, Music, Gymnastics, etc. ²⁵

The Syllabus of the Jewish Studies reads:

A. Elementary Grades

First Grade - Reading of Hebrew, important daily prayers and their meanings through literal translation.

Bible - Genesis, chapters I and II in the original Hebrew text.

Second Grade - Bible - Genesis, chapters III - XXII in original text.

Biblical History, from Creation to Joseph's death, to be taught in German.

Hebrew Grammar, Auxiliary letters.

Third Grade - Bible - Genesis, chapters XXIII to the end of book. Exodus, chapters I - XII in original text.

Hebrew Language, regular verb in Qal and Nifal, the "Vav Conversivum" and suffixes.

Fourth Grade - Bible - Exodus, chapters XIII - XX, XXXI - XXXIV; Leviticus, chapters XIX, XXIII, XXIV, XXV; Numbers, chapters XI - XX, all in original text.

Hebrew Grammar - completion of the regular verb

²⁵Jahresbericht, op. cit., pp. 4, 5.
in all conjugations.

Biblical History - from Exodus to King Saul.

B. Unterrealschule

First Grade - Bible - selections from Deuteronomy in original text.

Biblical History - from King Saul to the destruction of the first Temple.

Hebrew Grammar - verbs of regular roots with guttural letters. The noun (masculine, feminine, singular, plural).

Second Grade - Bible - Psalms, selections to be chosen by the teacher. Review of Genesis, studied in original text.

Hebrew Grammar - irregular verbs.

Third Grade - Bible - selections from the book of Psalms, in original text.

Hebrew Grammar - continuation of the conjugation of irregular verbs.

The syllabus was a reflection of the curricula of that time in the elementary and secondary schools.\textsuperscript{26} Hebrew Language was taught as a classical language, such as the teaching of Latin or Greek \textit{was done} in the humanistic Gymnasium of that time. It is hard to imagine how the pupils of the

\textsuperscript{26}There is also a detailed syllabus for general studies in the report.
first grade could master the reading and translation of Hebrew biblical texts in so short a time. The teaching of Biblical History was done in a disorderly manner; one year there is such a course and the following year it is omitted, to be renewed in the third year. While the yearly report mentions the teaching of religion as part of studies, the Syllabus does not indicate such instruction. 27

A similar school for girls was founded and directed by Caroline Szanto. It was called Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt für Mädchen. It was founded in the year 1850, and there is a yearly report from the year 1853 in existence. Girls in the five to eighteen age group were accepted. These girls could be in the school as full-time boarders, half-day boarders, or extern students, who lived in their homes and came only for studies to the school. 28

The instruction consisted of two types of subjects: a) obligatory subjects: Religion (Biblical History, Hebrew Reading and Grammar, Beliefs and Observances), German Language and Literature, Nature Studies, French, Geography, History, Handwriting and Correspondence, Drawing, Singing and Dancing; b) non-obligatory subjects such as Gymnastics, Music, English, Italian, Hungarian, Swimming, Dressmaking and for

27 Ibid., pp. 6-7.

28 Similar to the yearly report of the school for boys, this report, Die Lehr- und Erziehungs Anstalt für Mädchen is also meant for prospective parents.
those students who were interested in the field of Education, Psychology, Pedagogy and Methods of Teaching.

Caroline Szanto, the director of the school, advertises her high qualifications for leading the school, also the many possibilities and opportunities a young Jewish girl could find in studying there. The aim of the school, thus the report indicates, is to prepare these girls to be better wives in their future homes by learning the various subjects offered to them. Furthermore, in case they would like to work on their own, the school will prepare them to be teachers, governesses, dressmakers, etc.²⁹

None of these private schools continued to exist for many years. While they went out of existence, other schools were founded. It seems that there were always parents who wanted their children to be away from home in boarding school with a Jewish environment, and there were always teachers who thought they could make a good living by running those schools. There is no evidence that these schools have had any lasting impact upon the Jewish community of Vienna.³⁰

In the beginning of the sixth decade of the century, the government renewed its demands for the establishment of a public Volksschule under the auspices of the Kultusgemeinde,

²⁹See yearly report which was published in the year 1853. About Caroline Szanto and her qualifications, there is no material available.

but the demands were met with the same resistance as always by the leaders of the Jewish community.31

The orthodox sector of the Jewish community, however, welcomed the idea of establishing their own public school. They were so eager to have their own school that they did not wait for government approval and started a Volksschule without a license. The authorities consequently closed it, and it is assumed that the leaders of the Jewish community had a hand in this action, because the existence of such a school was contrary to their aspirations. During its short life the school taught in addition to the Jewish subjects, a course of the four-year Volksschule.32

The two decades from 1848 to 1868 were a period of constant struggles in the field of Jewish education. The Religionsschule continued its work, with increasing numbers of students and teachers. This growth, however, was a decline in proportion to the growing Jewish population. Qualitatively there was a decline too. The hours of instruction for the upper grades was decreased from three to two a week. Private Jewish schools were opened everywhere and the authorities

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31 Ibid., p. 178.
32 A school without government license was called a "Winkelschule" (school in the corner), a term which depicted its standing outside the law. The government was very strict with these schools, partially because of the pressure of catholic circles who did not want any competition to their private school system. See Gerson Wolf, *Geschichte...,* op. cit., p. 180.
did not discriminate in giving licenses to individuals. It was the intention to show the Jewish community what it would get for not acceding to the demands to establish an official Jewish public school.\textsuperscript{33}

The teachers who applied to the government for licenses to establish private schools used their applications to denounce the existing Religionsschule as well as other private schools. They criticized the curricula, the methods, the supervision, etc., a fact which played into the hands of antisemitic officials in the government. They in turn used this material to attack the religious education and the Kultusgemeinde in general. One of their accusations was that the Kultusgemeinde wanted to retain a monopoly over Jewish education. These were the same officials who later fought the idea of a new law which would give the Jews and their Kultusgemeinde full authority to supervise all types of religious education in Vienna. However, at that particular period of time the Kultusgemeinde had already disproved the accusations by giving financial support to independent Jewish schools.\textsuperscript{34}

The leadership of the Jewish community desired to obtain a good general public school education for all its

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., pp. 182-183.

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., p. 184.
children. It was apprehensive of the fact that the public schools were still too much under the influence of the catholic clergy. Furthermore, the leaders of the community were aware of the disastrous results such an environment had upon the young Jewish child and the growing up adolescent. Assimilation to the point of denial of Judaism and outright conversion were the result of this kind of education. As before, whoever among the Jews could afford to provide his child with private instruction, did so. 35

With the growth of the Jewish population and its dispersion to different districts of the city, it was necessary to introduce religious instruction into the schools in which they studied. A Jewish child could not attend any more the centrally located Religionsschule of the Kultusgemeinde, because the distance from his place of residence was too far. This meant again a decreased number of hours of study, since in the public school in which he was a pupil, a teacher for the Jewish religion could come only twice a week for one hour each. This was in accordance with the time of religious study allocated to other religions. Against this disadvantage stood the fact that many Jewish children who otherwise would not have received any Jewish education at all, did participate at least for two hours a week in religious study. The law of

35Sieg mund Mayer, Erinnerungen eines Judischen Kaufmanns (1831-1911), (Vienna, 1911), p. 34; Moritz Tschiassny, Jüdische Kultur und Erziehungsfragen (Vienna, 1892), p. 16.
making religious education compulsory for Jewish children came only after the Kultusgemeinde was established by law as the representative body of Viennese Jewry.\textsuperscript{36}

This law was decreed in the year 1872, when the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien was instructed to administer and supervise all religious education for Jewish children in the public schools. It was decreed that in any school which had a number of Jewish students of twenty and up, a teacher had to be provided by the Kultusgemeinde and the government committed itself to pay its salary. The fact, however, was that in most cases the government did not live up to its promise and the Kultusgemeinde had to carry the financial burden.\textsuperscript{37}

Two years later, in 1874, another decree by the authorities made the grade in the report card for the subject Religion official only if it was given by the teacher in the particular school. The practice up till now was that the Religionsschule of the Kultusgemeinde was privileged to send the grade to the public school, where it would be recorded in the report card. The Kultusgemeinde objected strongly to this decree and as a result of this, the government made the following concession: schools were instructed to accept the

\textsuperscript{36} Gerson Wolf, Geschichte..., op. cit., p. 186.

\textsuperscript{37} Gerson Wolf, Zur Geschichte, op. cit., pp. 34-36.
grade from those teachers whom the government accorded recognition, even if they did not teach in a particular public school. 38

The Religionsschule continued to function in a satisfactory manner. Very capable and learned men taught in it, among them the preacher, Dr. Adolf Jellinek, who really was the Rabbi of the Viennese community, the historian Gerson Wolf, the preacher and later official Rabbi Dr. Moritz Güdemann, and others. The ideology guiding the school was never clearly defined, but it was accepted by the leaders of the community and the teachers of the school that it was a good thing to continue an enlightened Judaism, which would enable its adherents to live as good citizens of the fatherland and practice the ethical and moral values and commandments of the Bible. 39

The school itself was not directly affected by the struggle among the more traditional and the more liberal elements of the community. The Viennese leaders had a special talent in establishing compromises. This can be seen in the appointment of the preachers (unofficially they were the rabbis) of their Synagogues. Dr. Jellinek was the spokesman for the liberal element, Dr. Güdemann sided with the tradi-

38 Ibid., p. 37.
tionalists. Dr. Jellinek preached in the Synagogue located in Seitenstättengasse, the center of the liberals; Güdemann preached in the Synagogue in the Leopoldsstadt where the orthodox Jews had their stronghold. Gerson Wolf, the historian and teacher at the Religionsschule, rejects both views, stating that in teaching children it is the method and the attitude of the teacher which is important and not his ideology. 40

The discussion between traditionalists and liberals was carried into the field of education in spite of Wolf's opinions. Education had become an important matter and another discussion and controversy developed. This was a natural outcome of the ideological controversy and dealt with the extent of Hebrew language instruction. In this discussion, the two sides were the laymen and the professionals. It could not be denied that the general trend of Viennese Jews was towards more liberalism and towards more assimilation, therefore the question asked was, why do we need instruction in the Hebrew language? The exponents of this view were mostly laymen, but they were joined by some professionals who argued that the time of instruction is so limited that it makes no sense to teach Hebrew but it would be more sensible to dedicate

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40 In all his writings, which deal thoroughly with education, we find this naive concept of Gerson Wolf, that ideology should be kept out of the school, and the school should transmit the Jewish heritage as written.
all time to the study of Jewish subjects in German. Let the children study biblical History, Religion, Jewish Observances and the Bible, so they proclaimed, and let the only Hebrew be just the reading of prayers.

The professionals and several lay leaders of the more traditionalist outlook denied these arguments and suggested that it was simply necessary to increase the hours of instruction. Their main argument was the fact that the entire religious service in all Synagogues was in the Hebrew language and if it is desired that the young people participate fully and intelligently in it, they will have to have a sufficient training in the Hebrew language. In the meantime, so they stated, even with a weekly instruction of two hours, the teaching of Hebrew must be continued.

It seemed that the trend towards more assimilation was stronger, and we therefore find that religious instruction in the public schools as well as in the Religionsschule of the Kultusgemeinde became more and more free of Hebrew. It is from that time on that parents who desired a more intensive Hebrew education for their children, started to look for another type of Jewish school. Thus the idea of the Language and Bible school was conceived. This type of school began to play a very important role with the beginning of the twentieth century. 41

41 The arguments and discussions on this subject were joined by the majority of Viennese Jewry and one is amazed
From the year 1874 on we can speak of a special department in the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* which dealt with education. For the first time we have more detailed statistics available. It was in the same year that the first inspector for religious education was appointed. He was Simon Szanto, one of the founders and owners of the *Erste öffentliche israelitische Haupt- und Unterrealschule*. His task was to supervise religious education in the public schools. At that time nine teachers taught Jewish religion in *Volksschulen* and *Mittelschulen*. These schools were located in those districts of Vienna which had a more dense Jewish population (2nd district: Leopoldsstadt; 9th district: Alsergrund; and 20th district: Brigittenau). Children who attended schools in other districts were not able to have their religious instruction in their own school but had to come to the *Religionschule of the Kultusgemeinde* in the center of the city.

In the school year 1874/75, 4874 Jewish children

attended Volksschulen and Bürgerschulen. We have to add to this figure the children who received their instruction at home, a practice which was at that time both legal and common among Jews. The total number of school children attending these two types of school was 50,917; Jewish children of school age represented about 10% of the general child population in Vienna. In the Mittelschulen, however, they represented over 25%. The number of Jewish students in secondary schools was 1,613, the number of all students attending Mittelschule was 6,188. It is significant to notice that Viennese Jewry represented 6.62% of the entire population. These figures are proof to the importance the Jews held education of their children.

However, the question is now: How many of the more than 6,500 Jewish children in all public schools did receive a Jewish education? In the Religionsschule of the Kultusgemeinde studied 852 pupils. In addition to these, 739 received private instruction and came to be examined by the Religionsschule, so that they could receive an official grade for their report card in the public school. In the various

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42 The Bürgerschule was the forerunner of the Hauptschule; it had three grades for pupils who had finished the five years of the Volksschule. Later on there were a four years Volksschule and four years Hauptschule.

43 BKG, Vienna, 1878, p. 9.
public schools 3,483 children received a religious education. Thus, altogether 5,074 children received a Jewish education. If we add to this number those children who were privately tutored, we shall find that still quite a considerable number of Jewish children in Vienna did not receive any Jewish education at all, while the majority of those who had this education, studied for not more than two hours a week.\(^4\)

The educational functionaries of the Kultusgemeinde, as well as certain laymen, realized the need for a more intensive Jewish training, or at least for such a type of activity which would add and strengthen the Jewish education. Language and Bible schools were established, subsidies were given to all those organizations which furthered Jewish learning. The Kultusgemeinde itself instituted a Youth Service, Jugendgottesdienst, which took place either on Friday evening or Saturday afternoon. The time of the services was determined by the factor that children had to attend public school on Saturday morning. At these services explanations were made by the Rabbi and teachers present, and wherever possible, children were encouraged to participate.\(^5\)

Through the initiative of the teacher and historian Gerson Wolf, two libraries were established, one for the use of teachers and one for students. The police department

\(^4\) Ibid., p. 10.

\(^5\) G. Wolf, Geschichte..., op. cit., p. 195.
which was in full control over anything which was published agreed to supply one exemplar of every work that was presented to it for approval. Thus the library of the Religionsschule acquired a fine collection of all the new material printed. The same agreement was reached with the publisher of all Hebrew books in Vienna, Anton Edler v. Schmid. This enlightened Christian was the owner of the only Hebrew printing shop and during all the years of his activity supported the cause of Jewish studies.  

46

The last twenty five years of the nineteenth century saw a continued growth of the Jewish population in Vienna. With the increased number, came the need for better organization of the Jews. This was achieved in the year 1890 when by the law of March 21, the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde was granted a most extensive autonomy over all Jewish activities. It became the one and only legal body representing the Jews in all areas of their religious life. It is therefore obvious that the Kultusgemeinde took over the full responsibility for Jewish education. It supervised the religious instruction in public schools, it supported existing institutions of Jewish learning, encouraged the establishment of new institutions and on its own founded schools when it was necessary to do so.  

47

46 Ibid., p. 196.
47 BKG, Wien, 1886, 1892, 1911.
Institutions of learning, their forms and ways were set during this period and continued to exist without basic ideological changes up to the third decade of the twentieth century when the leadership of the Kultusgemeinde came into the hands of the Zionists.

The enlightened Jew of Vienna who led his coreligionists was steeped in the spirit of emancipation and assimilation, loyal to his fatherland, and to a Judaism devoid of all nationalistic tendencies. It was the Jew from Eastern Europe who, when arriving at the capital of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, brought with him the spirit of the changing times.
CHAPTER II
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The major part of Jewish education expressed in numbers of students was the instruction of Jewish Religion in public schools. Every Jewish pupil in any type of public school Volksschule (elementary school), Hauptschule (upper elementary school), and Mittelschule (secondary school) was obligated to attend weekly sessions of religious instruction. The schools' report cards showed the subject "Religion" and next to it the mark which was given to the student by the teacher of religion. This subject was considered to be as important as any other major subject such as German Language, Arithmetic, Social Studies, Science, etc. It was incumbent upon the parent to assure the continual attendance of his child at sessions of religious instruction, even if these

1 Comparing Table III in this chapter to Table II in the chapter "Language and Bible Schools," we find that more than three times as many pupils received religious instruction in public schools than in any other school.

2 In spite of this law and regulation, there were students who did not receive any religious instruction. We read in Wahrheit, the weekly paper published by the "Union der Österreichischen Juden" announcements by the KG calling upon all those girls who do not receive any religious instruction, to attend confirmation classes. Similar announcements were made for boys also. Wahrheit, vol. xlv - 6, vol. xlv - 4, vol. xlvi - 6, Vienna, 1928, 1929, 1930.

3 Photostats of original report cards in Volksschulen, Hauptschulen and Mittelschulen are proof to the prominent place given to the subject Religion. This subject is first in line on the card. See Appendix.
sessions were held in different schools or at different times. Because of the small number of Jewish children in many districts of the city of Vienna, it happened quite frequently that children had to go to centrally located schools to get their religious instruction. If the student did not receive a passing mark in Religion, he had to take a second examination after the summer vacation, and if he failed again, he was required to repeat the whole school year of studies in all subjects. 4

Since not all schools had sufficient numbers of Jewish students, religious instruction was given in centrally located schools, which were called Sammelstelle (gathering place). Of the 21 districts of the city of Vienna, only a few had a large enough Jewish population to guarantee religious instruction in the same school, in which he was getting his general education. 5

The following statistics are available for the enrollment of students in all three types of schools, Volksschule, Hauptschule, and Mittelschule:


5 BKG, 1933-36, p. 38.
### TABLE I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Year</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932/33</td>
<td>3978</td>
<td>3981</td>
<td>7959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933/34</td>
<td>3180</td>
<td>3129</td>
<td>6309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934/5</td>
<td>2882</td>
<td>2779</td>
<td>5661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935/36</td>
<td>2539</td>
<td>2562</td>
<td>5101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table clearly indicates the decline of the number of students in the Volksschule from 1932 to 1935. This is further proof to the decline of the Jewish community in Vienna which started right after World War I and continued to the very end of Viennese Jewry during World War II. The proportion of decline among these young children is much higher than the population in general.

### TABLE II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Year</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932/33</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>2485</td>
<td>4288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933/34</td>
<td>2109</td>
<td>2357</td>
<td>4466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934/35</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>2391</td>
<td>4270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935/36</td>
<td>1712</td>
<td>2252</td>
<td>3964</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6BKG, Wien, 1936, p. 38.
7Leo Goldhammer, Die Juden Wien*, eine statistische Studie (Wien, 1934).
8BKG, Wien, 1936, p. 37.
There are no figures of the breakdown according to sex of the students in the Mittelschule for the last three years. The large majority of the students, however, were boys.

Secondary education in Vienna was neither compulsory nor was it free from tuition fees. The law required education only up to the age of fourteen years, of which four years were in the Volksschule and four years in the Haupt or Mittelschule.\textsuperscript{10}

The total numbers of students in all types of public schools were:

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
School Year & Boys & Girls & Total \\
\hline
1932/33 & 5986 & 971 & 6957 \\
1933/34 & -- & -- & 6987 \\
1934/35 & -- & -- & 7003 \\
1935/36 & -- & -- & 6623 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{9}VA, KAU 164.1.

\textsuperscript{10}Gulick, \textit{op. cit.}, ch. xvi.
If we add to these figures the students in two Jewish all-day schools and in a few Yeshivoth, as well as those students who did not receive any Jewish education at all, we arrive at the total number of Jewish children of school age. If we compare this number to the Jewish population figure of the city, we become aware of the small percentage of young people and a sign of a declining community.

Administration and Financing of Religious Instruction in Public Schools

Since all Jewish children were required to attend religious instruction in public schools, it might be expected that the municipal or federal authorities would carry the expenses, the more so since Jews had to pay taxes as all other citizens. This, however, was not the case. All Volks- and Hauptschulen were under the jurisdiction of the city of Vienna, while the Mittelschule was under the authority of the state of Austria. Private schools of the same type as public schools were granted equal rights (Öffentlichkeitsrecht), provided they retained the standards requested by the authorities. Jews had to fight discrimination of both the municipal and federal authorities. The socialist regime of the city of Vienna conducted a strong anti-religious propaganda,

while the federal authorities discriminated against the Jews because of their antisemitic sentiments. As an example of this discrimination, we can see the number of Jewish teachers in the public schools. Jews in Vienna constituted close to ten percent of the general population; Jewish students in public schools had even a higher proportion, but only less than one percent of teachers of the Jewish faith were employed in all types of public schools. At the same time, a number of qualified Jewish teachers of general subjects had to look for other employment.12

For many years the KG had been fighting to have the municipal authorities pay the salaries of the teachers of Jewish religion. In the year 1920 the city agreed to make the teachers municipal employees. At that point the teachers refused to leave the employ of the KG fearing the discriminatory policies of the municipality. As a consequence of this, the KG requested reimbursement for teachers' salaries, and an agreement with the city was worked out and ratified in which the latter committed itself to pay the salaries of fourteen teachers. These teachers were listed by name and when one of them retired or died, the city did not immediately pay for the new teacher, but had to be forced by all kinds of means to do so. In some cases, this reimbursement was never made and the KG had to accept this additional financial

obligation. Furthermore, the KG had to make textbooks available, free of charge to many poor students, while the city was giving all other textbooks to all students. The pretext for the refusal was the statement that the public schools in Vienna should be separated from religion. In the year 1926 the teachers of Jewish Religion in the Viennese public schools agreed to become employees of the municipality after certain guarantees were granted to them.  

The expenditure for religious education in public schools rose from year to year while the proportion of reimbursement by the city to the KG decreased. In the school year 1935/36 the amount of money reimbursed was less than one third of the expenditure.

Religious instruction in the year 1935 and 1936 was given to students of 196 public schools. This figure breaks up into 83 Volksschulen, 58 Hauptschulen and 55 Mittelschulen. This does not mean that the instruction took actually place in each and every one of the schools. Many students had to come to centrally located schools to receive their instruction. A total of seventy-three teachers taught in the public schools giving instruction in Religion.

\[13\text{BKG 1925 - 1928, p. 16.}\
\[14\text{BKG 1912 - 1924, 1925 - 1928 under chapters Unterrichtswesen; VA KAU 145 p.}\
\[15\text{BKG 1933 - 1936, p. 39.} \]
According to the law, students of the first grade of the *Volksschule* were given a minimum of one hour per week of religious instruction. Starting from the second grade on and going through all grades of *Volksschule*, *Hauptschule* and *Mittelschule*, a minimum of two hours of weekly instruction was required. While pupils of the Volks- and Hauptschulen had to attend central schools for their religious training, in case there were not enough students in their own school, students of *Mittelschulen* were provided with teachers even if their numbers were smaller. As long as a *Mittelschule* had 20 students, the government would pay for the teacher, but when the number was below twenty, it was up to the *KG* to provide the teacher and pay his salary.\(^\text{16}\)

The VA KAU have correspondence between the Commission on Education of the *KG* and the Ministry of Education and Public Worship (*Ministerium Für Unterricht und Kultus*) of the Austrian government dealing with the reimbursement of teachers' salaries. There is also an extensive file of correspondence from different schools in the outer districts of Vienna, requesting from the *KG* teachers of religion for their students. In many cases the answer had to be negative, since the *KG* had neither teachers nor the funds for their salaries. The present minister of foreign affairs of Austria, Bruno Kreisky

\(^\text{16}\)Ibid., p. 40.
(in office since 1959), grew up without any Jewish education because the KG could not afford to send a teacher to the Mittelschule in the 13th district where he studied; the fact remains that this man is not a member of the Jewish faith today.\textsuperscript{17}

The KG did not limit its activities in the field of religious instruction to the three types of schools mentioned so far. The leaders of the Commission for Education of the KG did everything in their power to introduce religious instruction wherever Jewish children and adolescents were studying, for instance, vocational schools of all types. In Vienna more teenagers attended vocational schools than secondary academic schools. Tables II and III show that only a minority of students continued their academic studies while the majority chose vocations, and as apprentices were obliged to attend Fachschulen (vocational or trade schools). The age of the students in these schools was 14 - 18 years. Furthermore, many Jewish pupils attended business schools. It was therefore of greatest importance to provide religious instruction to these young people. Before the introduction of this instruction, the Jewish pupils had been left on their own for two hours a week, while the other students attended their religious studies. This free time was used to roam in the streets and had a demoralizing effect upon the Jewish

\textsuperscript{17} VA KAU 146.4, 146.5, 146.7.
children. But in spite of all its effort the KG was not able to provide religious instruction for all Jewish children in Vienna. 18

The KG had full responsibility in administering religious instruction in public schools. It had to report to the municipal authorities, particularly to the Stadtschulrat Wien (School Council of Vienna) for the Volks- and Haupt­schulen, and to the Ministerium für Unterricht und Kultus (Ministry of Education and Public Worship) of the Austrian Republic, for secondary and higher education. All activities of the KG had to be approved by the same ministry. 19

The policy-making and supervisory body in matters of education was the Kommission für Unterrichtsangelegenheiten und religiöse Erziehung (Commission for Matters of Education) which was appointed by the board of the KG (Vorstand der KG). The commission appointed inspectors and supervisors for different areas of its activities. Studienrat Prof. Dr. Heinrich Redish was the inspector-in-chief during the major part of the period between the two World Wars. He was assisted by four inspectors who were assigned to supervise Volkschulen.

18 Evidence to the efforts of the KG in this area can be found in a number of sources such as: BKG 1912 - 1924, 1929 - 1932, 1933 - 1936, all under the heading: Unterrichtswesen (matters of education). Also in WMZ vol. ii, vol. iii; Wahrheit vol. xlii, vol. xlv, xlvii. Also in Die Neue Welt zionist weekly vol. v,1924, VA KAU 164.2.

19 Zirkular des Stadtschulrats in Wien an alle Schulleiter (Circular of the School Council of Vienna to all Principals),
Hauptschulen, Mittelschulen, Fachschulen, Language and Bible schools and youth organizations. The commission recommended the appointment of teachers, first on a temporary basis, later giving them full tenure. The inspectors saw to it that teachers prepared their lessons and submitted reports about attendance and progress.20

The KG and its leadership have been accused of underestimating the needs for religious education and consequently allotting insufficient funds for it. The following figures of educational expenditures and their comparison to the general budget and other expenditure are given here without comment:

TABLE IV21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Welfare</th>
<th>Worship</th>
<th>Cemetery</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>$569,941</td>
<td>$2,589,378</td>
<td>$1,054,368</td>
<td>$931,431</td>
<td>$6,179,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>$601,898</td>
<td>$2,811,390</td>
<td>$1,057,228</td>
<td>$848,256</td>
<td>$6,354,144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>$591,364</td>
<td>$2,783,615</td>
<td>$1,015,578</td>
<td>$852,509</td>
<td>$6,406,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>$617,969</td>
<td>$2,972,611</td>
<td>$1,011,979</td>
<td>$926,914</td>
<td>$6,758,803</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 In VA KAU there are hundreds of pages of reports in the files of the commission for education of the KG. Lehrpläne, Berichte, etc. from all schools and from many teachers. VA KAU 148, 148 a,b,c,d,e,f,g.


22 This is the total of all expenditure of the KG, not only the departments mentioned in Table IV.
Teaching Personnel

Several sources supplied the Viennese Jewish community with teaching personnel. First of all, there were ordained rabbis who were employed as officiating rabbis in the synagogues of the KG. A second source were ordained rabbis who had immigrated to Vienna or had come from the eastern provinces of the Monarchy. In Vienna proper the Israelitische Theologische Lehranstalt (Rabbinical Seminary) trained rabbis who later occupied pulpits in the city and also taught religion in secondary schools. The Theologische Lehranstalt instituted special courses in education for its students with the intention to fill the need for teachers. When these efforts did not fill the need for teaching personnel and the lack of teachers became very serious, Dr. H. P. Chajes, chief rabbi of Vienna, founded in 1920 the Religionslehrer Seminar which during its eight years of existence relieved the need for teaching personnel. The Theologische Lehranstalt also instituted courses for its students which gave them special training in educational subjects such as the methods of teaching, psychology, etc. Finally, other qualified personnel came from the different eastern provinces of the Monarchy (Galicia, Slovakia, Bukovina)

23 Of the 39 teachers of religion in the Mittelschulen, 7 were holding pulpits in Viennese synagogues, another 14 were ordained rabbis, who had received their ordination in various parts of the Monarchy. JJE 1933, ed. Loebel, Taubes, p. 15.

24 In the year 1925/26 a two-year course for rabbinical students of the Lehranstalt was instituted, to prepare them for teaching duties. BKG 1925/28, p. 28.
and after passing strict qualifying examinations, were given licenses to teach. A \textit{Prüfungs Kommission} (Examination Committee) consisting of the chief rabbi, inspectors of religious education and heads of Jewish institutions of learning, administered these tests, which were mostly oral, and ended up in a personal interview.\textsuperscript{25} The requirements for teaching religion in the \textit{Mittelschule} were very high and the teacher had to have a Ph.D. from the University in Vienna or an equally high standing institution. From the point of view of academic preparation, teachers of the Jewish religion in all types of schools rated very highly, however, not all rated as highly from the point of view of pedagogical training.\textsuperscript{26}

\textbf{Educational Aims and Objectives}

The first and most important statement on educational aims of religious instruction in public schools was formulated at a plenary session of the Commission for Education of the KG which was held on 17 May 1894:

\begin{quote}
It is the task of the religious instruction
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{25} Thirteen candidates were tested during the period of 1933-1936. Of these nine were licensed to teach in \textit{Mittelschulen} in Vienna. Five additional candidates were examined and given licenses to teach in \textit{Volks-} and \textit{Hauptschulen}. As examiners functioned: Chief rabbi Dr. David Feuchtwang, chief rabbi Dr. Israel Taglicht, chief inspector Redisch, the rector of the Lehranstalt, Dr. Samuel Kraus, the director of the Chajesgymnasium Dr. Victor Kellner, and two professors of the University of Vienna: Dr. Otto Simon and Dr. W. Stein. \textit{BKG 1933-1936}, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{26} Bericht des Schulinspectors Dr. Redisch Wien 1935, \textit{VA KAU 128.3}. 
It is the task of the religious instruction to present to our youth the teachings of our religion and the significant moments of our history in the proper form, to enable them to participate in the religious service of the community, and develop a feeling of belonging to our religious community.  

In October 1900 a second plenary session of the Kommission für Unterrichtgelegenheiten took place and the policy statement from 1894 was reconfirmed. Then it was presented to the Vorstand der KG (board of the KG) and this body accepted the statement. The next step for approval by the Austrian government was given without any difficulty. This policy statement remained the guideline for religious education not only during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but also later in the times of the Austrian Republic. As long as the Union der Österreichischen Juden, the assimilated part of Austrian Jewry, had the majority in the KG, no change was contemplated in the educational policies. When the Jewish nationalist parties finally in 1932 gained a majority, they began to review the educational policy, its aims and objectives. However, before any changes could take place, the end of the Jewish community came with the conquest of Austria by the German nazi rulers.

The individual teachers were permitted to put this policy into practice. It is surprising to notice the freedom which was given to the teachers by the inspectors and super-

27 VA KAU 150.6.  
28 VA KAU 150.7.
visors. The many reports which are available indicate that teachers used a great deal of time in the classrooms to teach the Hebrew language as a modern spoken language, while the policy statement, if properly interpreted and implemented, does not indicate such a study at all. Hebrew should be taught just for the understanding of the religious services. A teacher’s ideological identification could be noted by his reports, if he believed in assimilation or if he was a Zionist, the division of hours of instruction to the different subject areas showed this clearly. The general trend was towards more intensive study of the Hebrew language. After the fall of the socialist regime in Austria in 1934 and with the increased danger threatening from the German nazi regime, Jews in Vienna welcomed the intensified Hebrew studies of their children in the public school religious instruction.

The Syllabus of Religious Instruction in Public Schools

A. Volksschule (Elementary School, grades 1 - 4)

29 In comparing reports by various teachers, we can determine the trend towards more intensive Hebrew studies. The report by teacher Rudolf Muller from the years 1914/1915 shows a strict adherence to the concept of religious instruction. The report by teacher Dr. Albert Weisskopf of the year 1934/35 shows a time allotment of about 50% to teaching the Hebrew language. School inspectors continued to stress the teaching of religion, teachers stressed Hebrew language.

31 Original copies of the Syllabus exist in VA in Jerusalem. See photostatic copies in Appendix.
First Grade  Biblical History: The story of creation, the Sabbath, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Noah and the flood, Abraham, Abraham, the lover of peace, the sacrifice of Isaac.

Hebrew Reading: Teaching and practice of half of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and half the vowels.

Translation and Memorization: First sentence of Shema; Qadosh, Qadosh, Qadosh; Barukh Hu u-Varukh Shemo; Amen.

Second Grade  Biblical History: Isaac, Jacob, and Esau; Jacob in Laban's house; Joseph in his father's house; Joseph in Egypt; Jacob settles in Egypt, the slavery, Moses, Exodus, Passover.

Hebrew Reading: Teaching and practice of all Hebrew letters and vowels. Practice of paragraphs and sentences from the Siddur and Pentateuch. First paragraph of the Shema, and the grace after meals.

Third Grade  Biblical History: Comprehensive history from the creation to Joseph's death.

Hebrew Reading: Repetition and review of all Hebrew letters and vowels. Prayers for the Jugendgottesdienst (Youth Service).

Translation and Memorization: First three blessings of the Shemone Esre, we-Shamru, Barkhu, Barukh she-Natan; Barukh Adonai ha-Mevorakh.

Fourth Grade  Biblical History: From Joseph to the building of the Tabernacle.

Hebrew Reading: Grace after meals, Morning Service from Shema to Shemone Esre.

Translation: The last three blessings of the Shemone Esre.

Memorization: Birkhot ha-Torah, Alenu, Hashivenu Adonai Elekha, Blessings over fruit and wine.

While the Commission of Education of the KG and the school inspectors appointed by it published a separate Syllabus for boys and girls, there was no difference between the two syllabi. The reason for this dual publication might have been the fact that there were separate schools for boys and girls. As a matter of fact, Vienna did not have any co-educational schools in its public system of education. The material outlined in this Syllabus had to be covered in one hour per week in the first grade and two hours per week in the other grades.

B. Hauptschule (Upper Elementary School, 10-13 year olds)

First Grade Biblical History: Summary and review of material studied in the Volksschule. New material, from Exodus to the death of Moses.

Religion: Survey of all holidays and fastdays, the Jewish year. Ethical teachings from the Pentateuch.

Reading Exercises: Sabbath prayers, Shirat Hayam.
Translation: Atta Honen, Selah, Refaenu, Tiq' u ba-Hodesh Shofar, we-Zot ha-Torah, Hodo al Erets, Sheheheyanu.

Pentateuch (Translation): Genesis 1, 2/1 - 3, 22/1 - 19, 28/10 - 22.

Hebrew Grammar: Singular and plural of nouns, article, noun suffixes.

Second Grade Biblical History: The Holy Land, Joshua, Judges (Debora, Gideon, Abimelekh, Jephta, Samson), Ruth, Samuel, David, Solomon.

Reading Exercises: The prayers of the weekdays and Sabbath. Exercises in the use of the Siddur.
Translation: Repetition and review of all prayers translated in previous years. The second and third paragraphs of the Shema, Mi Kamokha, Elohai Netsor.

Pentateuch: Exodus 1/8 - 14, 3/1 - 15, 19/1 - 6, 20/1 - 17, 22/19 - 30, 32/1 - 14, 34/5 - 9.

Hebrew Grammar: Waw ha-Mehapekhet, past tense, personal suffixes.

Third Grade Biblical History: Summary and review of the material studied in the previous year. Division of Kingdom, Ahab and Jezebel, Elija, Elisha. Destruction of the Northern Kingdom. Isaia, Jeremia, Destruction

Reading Exercises: Hallel, Prayers for the Regalim and Rosh Hodesh.

Translation: Shema Qolenu, Al ha-Tsadiqim.


Hebrew Grammar: Future tense of Shelemim.

Fourth Grade Jewish History: Juda Maccabi, Simon, Hyrcan I and II. The Roman intervention, Hillel, Herod, Destruction of the Kingdom, Bar Qokhba, Juda Hanassi, Talmud, Geonim, Jews in Spain, Maimonides, Crusades, Jews in Austria during the Middle Ages: Sabbatai Zevi, The Jews under Leopold I and II, Carl VI, Moses Mendelssohn, Emancipation of Jews, 1848, Jews in present times.


Hebrew Reading: Mussaf for New Moon, Prayers for Yom Kippurim.

Pentateuch: Deuteronomy 4/1 - 10, 5/1 - 18, 10/12 - 22, 15/7 - 15, 22/1 - 10, 24/10 - 22, 30/11 - 20.

Hebrew Grammar: Review of material studied. Exercises in finding the roots of verbs.
The main difference between the Syllabus for the Hauptschule of boys and the Hauptschule of girls lies in the following points: a) There is no study of the Pentateuch in Hebrew for girls; b) Girls do extensive reading in the Bible in the German language. The selections read include the Pentateuch, later Prophets (only the three major prophets Isaia, Jeremia, Ezekiel), also selections from Hagiographa, Psalms, Proverbs. Besides the Bible readings, also the Sayings of the Fathers was read. There was no provision for the teaching of religious duties of girls; this was left to be taught in confirmation classes for girls, which were given aside from instruction in school.\textsuperscript{32}

C. Mittelschule (Secondary School, ages 10 - 17 years)

First Grade Hebrew Reading and Translation: Selections from Genesis, about 120 verses.\textsuperscript{33} Review of prayers studied in the Volksschule.

Bible: (Readings in German) The book of Genesis.

Second Grade Hebrew Reading and Translation: Selections from the book of Exodus, about 150 verses.

Bible: (Readings in German) The book Exodus.

Third Grade Hebrew Reading and Translation: Selections from Leviticus and Numbers, about 150 verses.

\textsuperscript{32}Konfirmationsunterricht für Mädchen, circular by inspector Redisch VA KAU 164.

\textsuperscript{33}No details available.
Biblical History: From Moses to the division of the Kingdom after Solomon's death.

Fourth Grade  Hebrew Reading and Translation: Selections from Deuteronomy, about 100 verses.

Biblical History: From the division of the kingdom to the destruction of the first Temple.

Religion (Glaubens-und Pflichtenlehre): Basic beliefs and duties of the Jews.  

Fifth Grade  Hebrew Reading and Translation: Selections from the books of Psalms, with special consideration of liturgical material.

Jewish History: From the Babylonian Exile to Herod's death.

Bibelkunde (The study about the Bible): The development of the Bible and fundamentals in Bible research.

Sixth Grade  Hebrew Reading and Translation: Selections from the book of Isaia, with special consideration of the Haftoroth.

Bible Reading (in German): Selections from the Later Prophets.

Jewish History: From Herod's death to the Geonim in Babylonia.

Seventh Grade  Hebrew Reading and Translation: Selections from the Pentateuch which were not covered in the

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\[No details available.\]
first four grades, with review of the most significant passages.  

Bible Reading (in German): Selections from the Later Prophets.

Jewish History: From the Geonim to the end of the Middle Ages, with special emphasis upon the history and development of the Jewish Religion.

Eighth Grade Hebrew Reading and Translation: Selections from the Pentateuch, in continuation of the seventh grade program.

Jewish History: From the Middle Ages to the present time, with special emphasis upon the history of Jews in Austria and in Vienna (Vaterländische Geschichte).

Religion: Summary and review of the moral and ethical concepts of the Jewish faith.

In comparing the syllabus of the Mittelschule with the syllabus of the Volksschule and the Hauptschule, we are met by the fact that the curriculum of the former had less Hebraic content than the latter two. The students of the Mittelschule had very little study of prayers and practically no study of the Hebrew language. The syllabus of the Mittelschule emphasizes the study of the Bible in translation mostly, since even those parts of the Bible which were studied in

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35 There is no indication which the significant passages are that have to be taught in the class.
Hebrew were constantly translated. Furthermore, the study of the Jewish History was given a prominent place both through its systematic approach and the time allotted to it.

There was a constant struggle going on between the authorities of the KG and their inspectors on the one hand, and the teachers in the classrooms on the other hand, concerning the intensity of the Hebrew study and its methods. Reports of teacher conferences indicate the desire of teaching the Bible meaningfully, by preparing the students in the first years of religious instruction to understand the Hebrew of the Bible. The inspectors on the other hand argued that with the limited time at the disposal it was essential to give the students a general knowledge of the Bible. Furthermore, the inspectors were more aware of the demands of the government to restrict the teaching of Jewish children to religious instruction only.\(^{36}\) Time and again, in circulars from the Stadtschulrat (School Council of the City) and the Ministry of Education of the Austrian Government, directors of schools were instructed to see to it that the Jewish children in public schools will receive only religious in-  

\(^{36}\) Konferenz der Religionslehrer (teachers' conference) 17 February 1924, also conference held on 22 January 1926. Similar conferences were held in 1927, 1932 and 1935. While no minutes of these conferences are available, we find the most important speeches and presentations published in the Jewish press of Vienna. The first conference was written up in the Wahrheit vol. xliiv - 9/10; also in vol. xlvi - 5; vol. llii - 3. Die Stimme weekly, published by the Zionistischer Landesverband Osterreich vol. ix - 12; also in FJL Wien 1924.
struction and nothing else. Identical instructions were given to the KG directly. Nevertheless, the teachers in the classrooms continued to teach the Hebrew language. They also encouraged their students to enroll in Language and Bible schools to supplement their studies.37

We observe that the Syllabus of the Volks- and Haupt­schule was far more detailed than the Syllabus of the Mittelschule. Thereby the teacher in the higher school was given more freedom to use the time of instruction. It seems that the educational authorities of the KG felt that the teachers in the Mittelschule were on a higher level of academic preparation, many of them being ordained rabbis, and therefore did not need the detailed outline given to their colleagues in the lower school.

With amazement we notice the little time allotted to the subject "Religion" within the syllabus of the Mittelschule. Only in the fourth and in the eighth grade do we find this area as a special subject and even there the syllabus is very general in stating only: basic beliefs and duties of Jews. It was therefore up to the teacher to select the material he would deem basic.

The introduction of German readings of the Bible in the higher grades seems improper, because precisely in these

37 Ergänzung zum Tätigkeitsbericht by Inspector I. Öhler, VA KAU 37.4, 1935/36.
grades the students were more advanced in their Hebrew knowledge and could have benefited more from Hebraic material. It seems obvious that the introduction of these readings were a concession to the authorities who demanded just this type of religious study. Several teachers tried to circumvent this directive by assigning these readings to the students as homework. 38

The most serious problem for all teachers of religious instruction was the problem of teaching how to read Hebrew. The material available on this matter surpasses by its quantity all other reports. We shall deal with methods in a special paragraph. 39

Textbooks and Instructional Materials

The very first book given to the pupils of the Volkschule was a primer called Hebräische Fibel. It introduced the young child to the Hebrew letters and vowels and contained exercises in reading, spelling, writing and copying passages from the book. Its format was very unattractive by our present-day standards. There were hardly any illustrations in it and the few pictures the book showed were of a

38 Yearly reports were by the following teachers: Lazar Fink, Erika Feuchtwang, Dr. S. Zimmels, Dr. Jacob Bronner. VA KAU 39.2, 39.3, 39.4, 39.5.

39 Memo to the teachers concerning Leseunterricht from inspector Redisch. Das Hebräische Leseelementarbuch in der Arbeitsschule, lecture by R. Muller at the conference for teachers of religion, Vienna, 1924. Bericht des Rabbiner
very low artistic level. It had to be cheap in price, because many children could not afford to purchase it at all, and the KG distributed it to them free of charge.

A great improvement represented the introduction of an illustrated Hebrew primer by Stengel called "Iwri-Onauchi," for the pupils of the Volksschule. This Hebräische Bilder-fibel had a pleasant format, was printed on good paper and had a hard cover. It used the method of phonics to introduce the pupils to Hebrew reading. From the study of this text the pupil could proceed to the reading of the prayer book for the Jugendgottesdienst (youth service). There was a special Siddur for young people, which was used by them either on Friday evening or on Saturday afternoon, when these Jugendgottesdienste were held. No textbook was used in the Volksschule for the teaching of biblical history. The primer and the prayer book for the youth services were the only two texts used for the Volksschule.

In the Hauptschule a regular Siddur was distributed to the children. It was the one used in all synagogues of the KG called Die Gebete der Israeliten, edited by Mannheimer. The Siddur followed the traditional ritual and contained a few translations into German. As a textbook it had not much value, mainly because of the small print.

For the introduction of biblical and Jewish history, two textbooks were in use: Geschichte Israels by Wolf-Pollak and the Lehrbuch der jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur by Hecht-Kayserling. The former was originally written by Gerson Wolf in 1860 and brought up to date by Pollak in the beginning of the twentieth century. It followed closely the concepts of the Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz and was really never up to date. The second book was a little improved version of the first. Both books emphasized the ideas of the eternity of the religion of the Israelites. They tried to play down the fact of Jewish peoplehood and spoke about the religious mission of Israel. The history of the Jews in Austria occupied a very prominent place in the books.

For the study of the Pentateuch a special textbook was used. This textbook was published in five separate volumes for the five books of Moses. On each page there were two columns, one contained the Hebrew text and the other column had the German translation. The book was so arranged that
to each Hebrew line there was a corresponding German line of literal translation. This enabled the teacher to teach translation of the Pentateuch.

Two previously mentioned textbooks for the study of Jewish and biblical history in the Hauptschule were also used in the Mittelschule. Geschichte Israels by Wolf - Pollak and the Lehrbuch der Jüdischen Geschichte by Hecht - Kayserling. When it was felt that these two books were not sufficient, the book Biblische Geschichte by Auerbach was imported from Germany and introduced in 1930 to the Mittelschule. The latter was written in a very similar manner as the former two but did not contain as many details on the history of the Jews in Austria. There were no review questions, summaries or exercises, each chapter told its contents in a narrative which dealt only with the important events, and in the typical verbose German style. None of these books could really inspire the student with a feeling of pride or identification. Any inspiration in this type of study had to come from the teacher. 41

A radical change took place only in the area of Hebrew reading with the introduction of the Hebräisches Lesebuch by


41 Die Frage des Einheitlichen Israelitischen Religionsunterrichtes an den Mittelschulen Österreichs, report by Inspector Redisch, Vienna, 1934, VA KAU 144.
Dr. Manfred Papo. This book had an attractive appearance, a lively array of illustrations, a good selection of reading material, portions on Hebrew grammar and a progressive approach to the teaching of Hebrew. It was no secret in Viennese Jewish circles interested in education, that this book was introduced to the public schools, thanks to the efforts of several of the Zionist councillors in the KG.\(^\text{42}\)

In a few schools the book *Sefat Ami* by Moses Rath was introduced. This was really a book for studying the Hebrew language for adults. It could be used only in those schools where both the school director and the inspector would raise no objections to the modern Hebrew language study.

All Bible readings in German were taken from a standard Bible translation in German. This was an unattractive book in small format and drab, black hard cover. The print was small and certainly not suitable for children's eyes.

Besides these textbooks, there were very few other materials. A Hebrew note book was given to every student. Use was made in classrooms of weekly calendar leaflets which were distributed at the *Jugendgottesdienst* (youth service).\(^\text{43}\)

Several teachers used pocket calendars, distributed by the

\(^{42}\)Activity report of the chairman of the Commission of Education, Dr. Isidor Klaber, at the plenary session held in March 1932. VA KAU 147.3.

\(^{43}\)BKG 1932 - 1936, p. 46.
Jewish National Fund, which at least had a miniature map of Israel. Wall maps of the Holy Land were not in use except in a few isolated cases in which the individual teachers owned such a map or borrowed it from the history or geography teacher of the public school. 44

Methods of Instruction

The religious instruction in public schools was as book-centered as one could imagine. The training of the teaching personnel, the type of textbooks and the time limitations, combined to exclude any other kind of teaching method. Progress was measured by pages covered and material memorized. Bible lessons as well as lessons in Jewish history were recitations by the teacher, loud reading by individual students and repetition. It was the exceptional teacher who would permit discussions in his class. Because of the primitive method of teaching many discipline problems were created. 45

Any Hebrew work was literal translation and memorization. There are no written tests in existence and no mention is made in any of the available literature of any kind of test but an oral one in front of all the other students. 46

44 Teachers' complaints to inspector Redisch, concerning materials for instruction, FJL vol. vi - 2.
45 Bericht des Lehrers Dr. K. Schieber, VA KAU 168.8.
46 Ibid., p. 4.
The teaching of reading Hebrew to beginners occupied participants in every teachers conference. By the remarks of the teachers, one can sense very clearly the difficulties encountered in the classroom. Suggestions as follows were made: "Write the new letter on the blackboard, let every student copy it, let him pronounce the sound, then let the whole class repeat it," thus speaks one teacher, another one suggests to call every student to the blackboard and let him write the letter, then read it, then the entire class will read it, etc. Another vivid description of a method of teaching Hebrew reading for the third year of the Volksschule, published in the teachers' monthly publication, bases all success upon choral reading instruction; teacher reads a word, all children repeat three times the word, then proceed to the next word, repeat both words, cover a whole line, then repeat until the entire class is able to read about six lines per lesson.47

The problem of religious instruction was particularly urgent in the Volks- and Hauptschule, because these schools were administered by the city of Vienna which had a very progressive educational policy. The Stadtschulrat introduced the concept of the Arbeitsschule (a type of school which aspires to create an atmosphere of active participation of all children). The problem then, for the teacher of Jewish

religion was, how to operate within such an environment. The conference of teachers of religion in public schools held in February 1924, dealt with this problem extensively, but the practical results in the classrooms seem to have been negligible.\textsuperscript{48}

The serious efforts by the \textit{Israelitische KG}, its lay-leadership and its professional personnel, the large amounts of money and materials allocated by them, did not bring about the results expected and hoped for. At the end of a period of instruction of at least eight and many instances twelve years, the Jewish student had very little knowledge of his religion and very frequently a poor attitude towards his faith. Every year hundreds of young Jews left the Jewish community, married partners of other religions, and with the arrival of racial antisemitism found their only escape in suicide.\textsuperscript{49}


\textsuperscript{49}Tables in BKG 1912 - 1924, 1925 - 1928, 1929 - 1932, 1933 - 1936, dealing with leaving the Jewish community. Also, final report about numbers of funerals in Vienna in 1938 and causes of death of Jews. VA KAU 236.9.
CHAPTER III

LANGUAGE AND BIBLE SCHOOLS

Since the obligatory instruction of religion in all public schools consisted of no more than two hours a week, many Jewish parents desired to give their children a more intensive Jewish education. The KG took notice of this desire and decided to support any type of auxiliary or supplementary Jewish education. Therefore, it assisted various congregations and parents organizations in establishing schools or at least courses in Jewish studies. It also initiated and developed its own schools. These supplementary schools were called Sprach-und Bibelschulen (Language and Bible Schools). They were housed in facilities which belonged to the KG or to private Jewish organizations. Wherever possible, the KG made its own facilities available, even to private organizations. It also heavily subsidized these schools either through outright grants of money or by paying the teachers' salary. It trained teachers for these schools, supplied them with textbooks and other materials such as heating fuel. The Commission on Education which was responsible for all educational activities of the KG appointed an inspector for these schools whose task it was not only to supervise but to assist in setting up programs of studies, also to aid the
teachers in their regular duties.¹

The first Bible Schools were established as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. In the year 1900 six such schools were in existence. The year 1912 saw seventeen schools in action, of which three were founded and completely administered by the KG, while the other fourteen were under private administration, but subsidized and supervised by the KG.²

The following statistics are available and illustrate the growth of this type of school:

TABLE I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School year</th>
<th>Gemeinde schools</th>
<th>Private schools</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900/01</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912/13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923/24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927/28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>not available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹BKG 1912 - 1924, Vienna, 1924, p. 23.
²Tätigkeitsericht (activity report) of the Commission of Education of the KG, Vienna, 1900, VA KAU 163.8.
### TABLE II

#### A. Schools administered by the KG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932/33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1,388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933/34</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>2,017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934/35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935/36</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2,824</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### B. Schools administered privately

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932/33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933/34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1,771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934/35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935/36</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1,642</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison between parts A and B of Table II which shows a decline of the privately sponsored school and an increase in the number of schools administered by the KG, seems to indicate a desirable development. However, further investigation into the causes of this development will disclose the fact that this decline was a result of the deterioration of economic conditions of Viennese Jewry. Parents' organizations and other private groups which wanted to establish schools did not have the means anymore to accomplish

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their aim and had to rely entirely upon the KG. As the
statistics indicate, they were not disappointed, the KG did
everything in its power to establish Bible Schools in every
district of Vienna.

From the educational point of view, the decline of
the privately sponsored school meant also a decrease in the
hours of instruction. The Gemeindeschule required an attend­
ance of four hours a week, while the other schools had not
less than six hours a week and in many cases up to twelve
hours of weekly instruction.

In the school year of 1935/36, 4,466 students attended
both types of Bible Schools. The number of students who re­
ceived Jewish religious instruction in the public schools was
15,688, which means that only less than 30% of Jewish students
in public schools received this supplementary education which
the Language and Bible Schools offered.

Administration and Supervision

In the year 1935/36 there were fifty-three Language
and Bible Schools in operation. Thirty-two of these schools

4Letter by Bund Jüdischer Eltern to KG, Vienna, 1935,
VA KAU 145m.

5Comparison of yearly reports by teachers in Bible
Schools sponsored by the KG and by private organizations. VA
KAU 148n, 163.3 a, b, c, 157.1.

6BKG 1933 - 1936, Vienna, 1936, p. 53.
were directly administered by the KG and twenty-three were sponsored and partially maintained by private organizations such as Tempelvereine (Synagogue organizations or congregations) and parents' associations, or private individuals. The Gemeinde schools held their sessions in the facilities of the district synagogues, while the privately sponsored schools held classes either in KG buildings or in their own facilities. All private schools were subsidized in various degrees by the KG. 7

The schools of the KG were administered by the Commission of Education, which was headed by one of the prominent elected councillors of the community. The Commission was the policy-making body in matters of education, although in certain matters it had to get the approval of the entire Vorstand (board). The Vorstand was the body elected by all taxpaying members of the Israelitische KG. The influence of the Commission was so decisive that even privately administered schools would follow its lead.

The Commission appointed inspectors and supervisors for the Bible Schools and every organization which received a subsidy had to agree to accept this inspection. One of the inspectors was a professional educator and two were rabbis of the KG with a good background in education. It was the

7 Ibid., p. 41.
task of the supervisors to help the teachers of the Bible Schools to set up curricula and syllabi. The supervisors called and convened meetings and conferences to discuss professional matters.  

The size of the schools was quite small. Very few had more than about one hundred students. The largest school had 118 pupils. Several of the smaller schools had no more than thirty students on their registers. Practically all schools had no more than one teacher.

The support given to privately sponsored schools came in various forms. In some cases the KG paid the salary of the teacher, in other cases textbooks were supplied; for some others coal for heating the classrooms was given. There were also outright money grants to the school. The school on the other hand had to submit financial reports and had to permit full inspection and supervision of the educational program.

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8Ibid., p. 45; also VA KAU 164.3r; also Activity report of chairman of the Commission of Education, Dr. Isidor Klaber, Vienna, 1934, VA KAU 117.5.

9BKG 1933 - 36, Vienna, 1936.

10The VA contain many files on the matter of supervision and inspection of Bible Schools by the KG. There are many reports by teachers in these schools: Bericht des Lehrers Lazar Fink Bibelschule Wien VI. Bezirk, VA KAU 164.8. Bericht des Rabbiners Moritz Flesch, Jahresbericht des Lehrers Rudolf Müller, VA KAU 148 hh, VA KAU 164.9, VA KAU 150.7.
Wherever a rabbi was involved in a particular school, by the fact that the school held its session in the building of the synagogue, he was consulted by the inspector and by the teacher. Sometimes he was invited to participate in certain activities of the school. There were rabbis who volunteered to teach, or lead a discussion with students, or talk to parents. However, the rabbi had no power of decision as far as administration or policies of the school were concerned.\textsuperscript{11}

As for actual financial assistance, the following figures are available: In the year 1935 the amount of $166,301 was allocated to independent institutions of learning and education, including youth organizations, sports clubs and scientific groups. The private Bible Schools occupied a substantial part of this group. The schools sponsored by the KG are not included in this amount. A comparison between the above named amount and the general educational outlay as well as the general outlay of the KG does not disclose a favorable picture. The total educational outlay in 1935 was $617,969 and the general outlay was $6,758,806. Even if we take into consideration that the KG had to support almost one third of the entire Jewish population in Vienna, it could and

\textsuperscript{11} Report by Rabbi Moritz Flesch, who himself was a rabbi of a congregation and also taught in his Bible School and therefore had a good insight view of both aspects. VA KAU 164.9.
should have allocated more funds to this intensive type of Jewish education. The KG did not publish any figures on the amount allocated for Bible Schools alone.\(^\text{12}\)

Objectives and Aims of the Language and Bible Schools

It is the desire of the Language and Bible Schools to enable the student to gain sufficient knowledge in the Hebrew language, so that he will fully participate in the Service of the Synagogue. Furthermore, it is the desire of these schools to transmit to the student all teachings of the Pentateuch in the original text.

This statement was formulated by a plenary session of the Commission of Education on 17 May 1894. The statement was presented to the Vorstand (board) of the KG, ratified by it and presented to the state authorities who confirmed and approved it. In the year 1900 a conference of all teachers and supervisors discussed this policy statement and accepted it in full. Consequently, a committee was appointed to write a syllabus based on this statement.\(^\text{13}\)

Two major goals were mentioned in the statement:

a) A knowledge of the synagogue service; b) a knowledge of

\(^{12}\) In none of the reports of the KG is there a breakdown of figures mentioned.

\(^{13}\) After the proclamation of the law to make the Israelitische KG, the only official representation of the Jews in all ritual matters, the various commissions and committees met to formulate aims and programs. The Commission of Education met to formulate its policies concerning the aims of religious instruction in public schools, and then, on the same day, formulated the aims of the Language and Bible Schools. VA KAU 150.6.
the Pentateuch. Furthermore, it accepts the fact that the Hebrew language is the necessary means to gain this knowledge. This explains the name of this type of school as Sprach-und Bibelschule. In order to achieve these goals, a syllabus was written and the curriculum consisted of the subjects to be discussed in the next paragraph.

Syllabus

The conference of teachers and educators which convened in 1900 wrote the following introduction to the syllabus:

It is necessary to teach the literal translation of the Pentateuch and those parts of the Bible which have relevance to the liturgy: Ruth, Psalms, Lamentations, Kohellet, Esther, Haftaroth. Furthermore, it is necessary to teach the Hebrew language and its grammar systematically. Students must be able to read and write the regular Hebrew alphabet and Rashi script. There must be instruction in Hebrew composition and oral expression, also memorization of prayers and significant portions of the Pentateuch.

The Bible Schools’ plan of study was organized in two groups, one for pupils of Volks- and Hauptschule, and one for pupils of Mittelschule and outstanding students of vocational-trade-and-business schools.

A. Unterstufe (group one: lower grade, Volks- and Hauptschule)

Four years course, three hours per week. ¹⁴

¹⁴ VA KAU 150.9.
First Year  Pentateuch: From Parshat Bereshit to Lekh Lekha.  
Hebrew Reading: The Hebrew alphabet and all vowels.  
Biblical History: From creation to Joseph.  

Second Year  Pentateuch: From Parshat Va'era to Miqets.  
Hebrew: The adjective, numbers, pronouns. The verb: Shelemim, Qal, and Nifal.  
Every second week a short Hebrew composition. 
Biblical History: From the death of Joseph to the death of Joshua.  

Third Year  Pentateuch: The last two weekly portions of Bereshit, then the whole book of Shemot. Emphasis upon the Decalogue, which has to be memorized in Hebrew completely.  
Hebrew: The verb: Pealim Hasserim in all their various forms (all tenses, all Binyanim: Qal, Nifal, Piel, Hitpael).  
Biblical History: From the Judges to King Ahab.  

Fourth Year  Pentateuch: Selections from Leviticus and Numbers, parts of 19th chapter of Leviticus to be memorized. Also to be memorized: verses concerning ethical teachings.  
Hebrew: All ruhende Zeitworte (Pe'alim Nahim).  
Biblical History: From Ahab to the destruction of the second Temple.  
Bibelkunde: Teachings about the Bible, its history,
origins, commentaries, translations, etc.

Religion: Glaubens- and Pflichtenlehre, without details.

B. Oberstufe (group two, Hauptschule, Mittelschule)\textsuperscript{15}

Two years course, two hours per week

First Year Pentateuch: The entire book of Deuteronomy

Hebrew: Grammar of the noun and the verb, recognition of all root forms of verbs.

Second Year Bible: Psalms, especially those of liturgical significance. Commentaries by Rashi.

Bible in German: Selections from the prophets.

Hebrew: Written expression, compositions every other week.

The lower grade course was attended by younger students of the Volks- and Hauptschule. They ranged in ages from six to twelve years. Because of the small number of children involved, frequently children of different ages studied in the same classes. The upper level was attended mostly by students of Mittelschule with a few of the older students from Hauptschule. The range of age was from ten to fifteen years.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15}VA KAU 144.8.

\textsuperscript{16}VA KAU 144.8a.
The syllabus of the Sprach-und Bibelschule outlined above applied officially only for the schools established by the KG and administered by it. Indeed, it was not a very intensive program, but adding two or three hours to the two hours of religious instruction in the public schools gave to these students a weekly attendance of four to five hours for a period of up to twelve years. Theoretically, this should be sufficient to provide the student with a basic knowledge of the Bible, prayers and the Hebrew language.

We have no statistics as to the average length of stay in these schools. We do, however, read in Jewish publications reports by teachers and supervisors, who complain about the turnover in these schools by large numbers of students. Another frequently heard complaint was the lack of continuous attendance of classes. The yearly reports by teachers indicate absences up to 50% by one third of the students.17

The curricula of the privately sponsored Bible Schools varied in many ways. The KG and its educational department insisted upon the same syllabus as was followed in its own schools. The schools complied with this demand, since this was one of the conditions for receiving subsidies, but there was sufficient time of instruction to teach the syllabus of Gemeinde schools and to add more to it. Most privately spon-

17 VA KAU 144.8b.
sored schools had a weekly instruction time of not less than four hours and up to twelve hours. The additional subjects taught were: Torah and commentaries, Mishna and Gemara, Aggadah, Shulhan Arukh, Customs and Ceremonies. In the few modern Language and Bible Schools, which were established by Zionist organizations, a greater emphasis was given to the teaching of the Hebrew language and its literature. But whatever direction the school wanted to take, it always had to cover the basic material demanded by the KG.\textsuperscript{18}

In reviewing the basic syllabus it will be noticed that the Pentateuch was taught thoroughly and in a systematic fashion. As far as the teaching of the Hebrew language was concerned, there seemed to be an emphasis on teaching grammar and even this in not a very systematic form. At no time do we see any attempt to teach Hebrew as a modern language. Conversation was not part of the curriculum. Here too we see the assimilatory tendencies of the school authorities and again we detect evidence in teachers' reports that it was left up to them to teach Hebrew as a language, if they so desired.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{18}Letter by Israelitischer Tempel-und Schulverein of the district Favoriten to the KG requesting subsidy for its Bible School, response by the chairman of the Commission of Education. VA KAU 150.3.

\textsuperscript{19}Yearly reports by various teachers in Bible Schools, VA KAU 150.9, 163.
The amount of material indicated in the syllabus is quite extensive and the question arises how and if all this could be taught in so few hours of instruction. On the upper level we notice that the syllabus requests the teaching of the entire book of Deuteronomy while the time assigned to it is less than one hour a week.  

Of the three hours of weekly instruction in the lower grade (Unterstufe) one was designated for teaching of Humash (Pentateuch), one for Hebrew language and one for biblical history. In the fourth year of this course when Bibelkunde and religion were introduced, the needed time was taken from other subjects, which meant that biblical history was taught only every other week. 

The upper grade (Oberstufe) had one session during the week and one session on Sunday morning. The weekday session was dedicated to the study of Humash, the Sunday session (in the morning) to the teaching of Hebrew. On Sunday morning the rabbi of the district synagogue in which these sessions were held came in to the class to speak to the students or to discuss a religious question with them.

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20 Report on teachers conferences, by Dr. L. Menczer. FJL vol. xi - 2, 1929.
21 VA KAU 150.9.
22 Ibid., p. 6.
The typical course of studies of the privately sponsored Bible School under orthodox auspices consisted of a four year program for the lower grade (Unterstufe) and a four year program for the upper grade (Oberstufe).

A. **Unterstufe** (lower grade, 6 - 9 year olds, 1st - 4th grade of elementary school pupils)

**First Year**  
**Hebrew:** The Hebrew alphabet, all letters and all vowels.  
**Writing:** Writing and copying of Hebrew words and sentences.  
**Prayer:** Blessings over bread, wine, fruit, vegetables and before washing hands.

**Second Year**  
**Hebrew Reading:** Practice in reading from Siddur, Bible.  
**Writing:** Copying sections from Bible and Siddur.  
**Bible:** Study of Humash, translation from Hebrew into German of Parshat Bereshith and Noah.  
**Prayer:** Shema, Modeh Ani, Shemone Esre (first blessings).

**Third Year**  
**Hebrew Reading:** Practice of mechanical reading from the Siddur.  
**Writing:** Copying of the Hebrew material studied in the Bible.  
**Bible:** Humash, Parshiot; Lekh Lekha to Toledot.  
**Prayer:** Weekday Minha and Maariv. Pupils participate in the Minyan of the synagogue in which classes were
Holidays: Teacher tells about the current holidays.

Fourth Year Hebrew Reading: Continued practice of reading Hebrew in the Siddur.

Bible: Humash - Parshiot Wa-yeze to Wa-yehi.

Rashi: Reading of Rashi script and study of selected commentaries of Parshiot covered in Bible study.

Prayer: Shaharit, Sabbat services and review of weekday Minha and Maariv service.

B. Oberstufe (Upper grade, 10 - 13 years old, 1st - 4th grade of either Haupt- or Mittelschule)

First Year Humash: Shemot, Parshiot Shemot Wa-era and Bo.

Rashi: At least 10 selected commentaries from each of the Parshiot covered in Humash. Practice in Rashi script.

Since there is no written outline for the privately sponsored school available, neither the Commission of Education of the KG, nor the leaders of these Bible Schools ever had one printed, it was necessary to reconstruct this outline through yearly reports by teachers, statements by school chairmen, report cards, articles written in Jewish publications. Yearly reports by Lehrer A. Yelenko of the Jüdisch Orthodoxer Schulverein fur den IX. Bezirk "Toras Chajim", Vienna 1926. This report covers four years of the Unterstufe. Yearly report by teacher F. Behrmann, Talmud Torah Verein "Or Torah" Wien II. Bezirk, 1932. This report covers two years of the Oberstufe. Yearly report by teacher J. Gelernter, Bibelschule des Bethausvereines "Emunas Awoth", Wien XIV. Bezirk. Covers last two years of the Oberstufe. Report by school chairman Hermann Bayer of "Hebräische Schule der Zionistischen Bezirkssektion Leopoldstadt", Vienna 1934. Covers eight school years. Weiner Albert, Zur Frage des Hebräischen Unterrichtes in unseren Bibelschulen, Vienna, 1934, in Die Stimme, vol. VIII - 10.
Mishna: The teacher is advised to select any chapter he feels his students will be able to understand.

Shulhan Arukh: No text is used, but teacher discusses laws of interest to his students.

Second Year Humash: Shemot - Parshiot Be-shalah, Yittro.

Rashi: 15 selected commentaries from each Parsha covered in the Humash studies.

Talmud: No definite material assigned, it was left up to the teacher to choose the tractate or chapter he felt proper.

Shulhan Arukh: Material to be selected by teacher.

Third Year Humash: Shemot, Parshat Mishpatim.

Rashi: As many commentaries of Rashi to the above, as possible.

Talmud: No definite assignment of material, only increase in hours of instruction.

Torah Reading: Temimim and practice.

Jewish History: From creation to the destruction of the second Temple.

Fourth Year Humash: Selections from Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

Rashi and other Commentators: The teacher is free to select any commentaries he deems suitable for his students.

Talmud: Same as third year and continuation by teacher's choice.
Jewish History: From the destruction of the second Temple to present times.

Torah and Haftorah Reading: In preparation for becoming a Bar Mitzva.

Prayer: All students learn to be Baale Tefilla.

This is the outline of studies as the scarce material makes it possible to reconstruct it. The hours in the school above were ten per week. Students had to study the material the KG demanded, namely Jewish History, Bible and Customs and Ceremonies. The Hebrew language was learned by translation of the Bible and prayers.

Schools with fewer hours of instruction reduced the number of subjects taught. The Language and Bible Schools of the Zionist organization taught their students modern Hebrew in the Sephardic pronunciation. All other schools used the Ashkenazic pronunciation. Teachers and school officials were given extensive freedom to select teaching material and divide hours of study.

Textbooks

In the Bible Schools sponsored by the KG the textbooks used were in most instances the same as the ones used for religious instruction in public schools.

For the teaching of Humash, a five-volume Pentateuch was used. It was the same textbook which contained two columns
on each page, one of the Hebrew text and one for the translation in German. The Hebrew alphabet was taught with the aid of the *Hebräische Fibel* (Primer), and *Iwri Onauchi* by Stengel, the illustrated Hebrew primer was the first text for the teaching of the Hebrew language. Grammar was taught with the help of a book brought from Germany, namely *Hebräische Grammatik und Syntaxlehre* by Steiner. Both *Geschichte Israels* by Wolf - Pollak and *Lehrbuch der Jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur* by Hecht - Kayserling were used to teach biblical and Jewish history. Students were given the same prayerbooks, which were used in the synagogue and also German Bibles.  

As far as the privately sponsored Language and Bible Schools were concerned, we find a variety of textbooks in use. Practically anything which was printed in German and Hebrew for the use of schools or even for adults, was introduced into various schools. Thus we find the teaching of Hebrew in the *Hebräischen Sprachschulen* done with the aid of *Maanit* by Frischmann or *Aleh*, both printed in Israel, or the locally printed book by Moses Rath *Sefat Amenu*. Several Hebrew-German and German-Hebrew dictionaries were widely used.  

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25 *Ibid.* , p. 31; report by Dr. A. Weiner, inspector of Bible Schools, Vienna, 1934, *VA KAU 184.9*. 
Teaching Personnel

The majority of the teachers in Language and Bible Schools were licensed to teach Jewish religion in the public school system. The employment in a Bible School supplemented the income of the teacher in the public school. Since neither the teaching position in the public school nor the position on the Bible School could provide sufficient income, this combination was welcome. As far as the time element was concerned, there was no conflict since the time of instruction in the public schools was in the morning and the Bible Schools had their sessions in the afternoon.26

Those few teachers who were not licensed to teach in public schools had to present themselves before the Prüfungs Kommittee (board of examiners) and pass a quite difficult examination. The teachers who came to the board of examiners were immigrants from Eastern Europe. They had an excellent background in Jewish studies, most of them had started out as students in various Yeshivoth, several of them were ordained rabbis. The board of examiners had to be very strict since the government authority would not grant any permission to persons who were not fully qualified to teach.

26 Personnel report by the chairman of the Commission of Education of the KG to the plenary session of the Commission, Vienna, 1932, VA KAU 147,4.
The candidates had to prove their proficiency in the German language.  

After certification and employment in the Bible Schools teachers were under obligation to continue their studies, attend teachers' seminars and in-service courses. All teachers were employed on a temporary basis and only after a relatively long period (from two to four years) did they receive tenure. 

Methods of Teaching

Time and again rabbis and educators voiced their perplexion when trying to solve the problems of Jewish education in Vienna. These problems were common to all Western European Jewish communities. Both the religious instruction in

27 The exact figures of candidates who passed the tests or failed, as well as the composition of the board of examiners are given in the chapter about religious education in public schools. See p. 41. Furthermore, after having passed the examination of this board, the state and the municipal authorities had to confirm both the results of the examination as well as the new license for each candidate before he could begin to teach. Sources: BKG 1925 - 1928, 1929 - 1932, 1933 - 1936. Verordnung des Stadtschulrats Wien, Vienna 1924 (ordinance of the school council of Vienna). VA KAU 28.5.

28 Teachers conferences took place at least twice a year. These conferences were held to discuss different problems and were usually organized for the various interest groups: teachers in public schools, teachers in Bible Schools, etc. Sources: BKG for all years of activity. Jewish newspaper articles: Die Stimme Die Neue Welt, PFL, Wahrheit. David Feuchtwang, Der Jüdische Religionslehrer, Vienna, 1932, pp. 58-59. Moritz Rosenfeld, Reflexionen über den Jüdischen Religionsunterricht, Vienna 1919, pp. 87-89.
the public schools and the teachings in the Language and Bible Schools suffered from a stagnation which affected its students to the point that they showed disgust to their teachers and disinterest to the subjects studied.

In Vienna the problem of modern teachings and material of Jewish instruction became more acute, because the municipality of this city under the leadership of the progressive Social-Democratic Party and its educational experts, aspired to make the schools of Vienna the most modern in the world. The method of instruction in the Volks- and Hauptschule, which was based upon the concept of the Arbeitsschule (activity school) was in direct conflict with the book-centered method of the Language and Bible School. 29

Biblical and Jewish history was taught by recitations of the teacher and readings from the text in the classroom. One student would read a page and the others were passive listeners. There was no time for discussion, for the students' thinking and expressing their original thoughts and ideas. If a student was called upon to say something, it was just for the purpose of repeating what the teacher had said, or

for proving that he had memorized a certain passage assigned to him. There was no written work in these two subjects.30

The teaching of the Pentateuch was done in the method of translation. Students had to translate word by word or sentence by sentence from the Hebrew into German. After mastering separate words and sentences, whole paragraphs had to be translated. Students were never able to retell a story or a chapter of the Humash in their own words. Very seldom were basic ideas discussed, it was always the contents of the Bible that counted. It was important to cover as many pages as possible. The inspector would judge a class by the amount of pages covered, by the ability to repeat as accurately as possible what the teacher had said. No wonder that the students who came from the schools which were permeated by the spirit of the Arbeitsschule, disliked their religious studies.31

For the first time we see the new methods of the activity school reach the religious instruction and the Bible Schools, when one inspector in his circular for teachers


demands that the first two years of the Bible School studies should provide for a basic knowledge of the Hebrew language and the teaching of the Pentateuch to be postponed to the third year. Furthermore, this inspector suggests the use of a new method, namely teaching *Ivrithe-Ivri the*, having children really speak Hebrew in class.\textsuperscript{32}

The introduction of new methods into the Language and Bible Schools was never really achieved. Even the strong trends of modern progressive education in all of Vienna's public Volks- and Hauptschule\textsuperscript{2} could not penetrate the archaic Bible School. It was up to the individual teachers to introduce these new methods. Actually, only in the area of the Hebrew language teaching do we notice some improvement. The interesting fact remains that in the public Mittelschule, which continued to be the stronghold of conservative methods, the teachers of Jewish religion used more progressive methods than the teacher in the Bible School which was under the auspices of the KG.\textsuperscript{33}

In conclusion, it must be stated that the methods of instruction in most Sprach- and Bibelschulen were far behind the trends of the times. The results, therefore, were below

\textsuperscript{32}Ibid., pp. 30-32.

\textsuperscript{33}Albert Weisskopf, Die Arbeitsschule und was wir von ihr lernen konnen, in Der Jüdische Weg, vol. iv - 17, Vienna, 1935.
the expectations of serious Jewish educators. One positive consequence of this fact was the increasing desire to establish their own all-day-schools.$^3_4$

The Language and Bible Schools of the KG and private organizations, inspite of their many shortcomings, fulfilled an important function in Jewish education in Vienna. They supplemented the two hours of weekly religious instruction in the public schools, with a program of three to twelve hours of instruction in Bible, Hebrew, History, Religion, Prayer and Talmud.

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CHAPTER IV

JEWSH INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING IN VIENNA

A. Die Israelitische Theologische Lehranstalt

Among the institutions of learning established and administered by Jews for the purpose of Jewish studies, the most outstanding was the Israelitische Theologische Lehranstalt (the Israelite Theological Seminary). It was founded in the year 1892 and continued to exist to 1938, when together with the entire Jewish community, it was destroyed by the Anschluss of Austria to Germany. The Lehranstalt was the latest addition to institutions of higher Jewish learning in Europe such as the seminary in Breslau (founded 1854), Jews' College in London (1855), Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums (1870) and The Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest (1877). There were good reasons for the delay to establish a training school for rabbis in the capital of an empire which had about a million Jewish subjects. The idea of establishing a seminary for rabbinical studies was not new, Jews as well as non-Jews had spoken about it.1 The Jewry of Vienna was not really for it, because it was a divided Jewry and its various elements

1First mention of such an idea was made by the inspector of schools in Vienna, J. A. Gahl in the year 1786, when he presented to Kaiser Joseph II a memorandum stressing the need for philosophical training of rabbis. See Sefer ha-zikaron le-Bet ha-Midrash be-Wina, published and edited by a group of alumni of the Lehranstalt (Jerusalem, 1946), p. 7.
could not come to a working agreement which was a necessity in undertaking the establishment of a higher institute of learning. The leading religious personalities, preacher Jellinek and Rabbi Güdemann could not come to an understanding in this matter. ²

Only after the tremendous increase in population in the second half of the 19th century did the need become so urgent that finally, after many discussions, negotiations and preparations, the foundation was laid for the creation of such an institute. Even then it was not the community which enabled the foundation but the financial efforts of a few rich Jews, especially Baron Wilhelm von Gutmann, which brought about the establishment of the Lehranstalt.³

Baron Wilhelm von Gutmann was at that time the president of the Israelitische KG and he succeeded in interesting Baron Albert von Rothschild, Baron Moritz von Königswarther and his own brother, Baron David von Gutmann ⁴ in the estab-

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²Jellinek was the leader of the liberal faction, while Güdemann sided with the traditional element. The orthodox circle did not want to hear about a modern seminary at all. Viennese Jews were very much influenced by the country of origin: Hungary, Galicia, Bohemia, Moravia, etc. They tried to fashion Viennese Jewry according to the model of their country of origin. Sefer ha-Sikaron, p. 8.

³Sefer ha-Sikaron, p. 10. Also, Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, item Wilhelm Gutmann, vol. v, p. 135.

⁴Baron Wilhelm von Gutmann (1825-1895), financier, industrialist (coal business), philanthropist, founded orphanage, hospital, schools, libraries, Lehranstalt. Baron David von Gutmann (1834-1912), like his brother Wilhelm,
lishment of the Lehranstalt. Together these four men put up the necessary capital for the establishment of the institute. However, the refusal of the House of Rothschild to give this project its full backing, prevented it from gaining financial stability and it had to fight for many years for its existence. Only after the appointment of H.P. Chajes, a graduate of the Lehranstalt, to the post of chief rabbi of Vienna, did the Jewish community take over the financial responsibility for the institute.6

While the material foundations were shaky for many years, the spiritual and educational foundations were much more solid. According to the religious trends of the Jewish community in Vienna, it was necessary to find a leader who could by his convictions and by his personality represent the needed type of compromise in Jewish life. He would have to be basically a traditionalist with a sufficient amount of understanding for the liberal and progressive spirit of the times. The founders of the Lehranstalt envisioned the estab-

financier, industrialist, philanthropist, President of Vienna Israelitische Allianz. Baron Moritz Königswarter (1837-1893), banker and financier, railway magnate, philanthropist and defender of Jews, conservative beliefs. Baron Albert von Rothschild (1844-1911), head of Vienna House of Rothschild.

lishment of an institution of a similar type as the Rabbinical Seminary of Breslau.  

Indeed, the **Parnassim** of the Viennese Jewish community were fortunate in finding a man who personified their ideals and their spirit. They appointed Rabbi Dr. Adolf (Aryeh) Schwarz Rector of the new institute. Rector Schwarz was a graduate of the Breslau Seminary and had served as a rabbi in Karlsruhe, Germany. He brought with him a thorough knowledge of Talmud and Homiletics, which he himself taught at the Lehranstalt. The newly appointed faculty reflected the diversity and the thinking of the Jewry of Austria. It consisted of the following scholars and teachers: Professor David Heinrich von Müller (1846-1912), professor of Semitics at the University of Vienna, taught Hebrew and Aramaic, also Bible; Professor Adolph Büchler (1867-1939) taught Talmud and History. **Aggada** was taught by Rabbi Meir Friedman (Ish-Shalom) (1831-1909). When Büchler was appointed to head Jews' College in London, his place was taken by Professor Samuel Krauss (1866-1948). After the death of Rabbi Ish-Shalom in the year 1909, the first graduate to be appointed lecturer at his alma mater, Dr. Victor Aptowitzer (1871-1942), took

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7. Statuten der Israelitischen Theologischen Lehranstalt Wien, VA KAU 142.5.

8. All teachers were established scholars; Universal Jewish Encyclopedia vol. i - x, New York, 1939-1943.
his place, and in 1912 became a full professor.  

At the time of its organization, the Lehranstalt was founded to be an institute for the advancement of Jewish scholarship and the training of rabbis. With this declaration in mind, the constitution was set up.

A Kuratorium (board of governors) consisting of leaders of the KG, prominent laymen and the rector would govern the institute in all its material aspects. A Lehrer Kollegium (faculty committee consisting of the rector and representatives of the faculty) would set its plan of study.  

The course of studies was set for a length of six years. At the end of the third year an examination had to be taken by the student. At the end of the sixth year a series of examinations both written and oral would determine if the student had completed in a successful manner his course of studies. If it was so he was ordained a Rabbi.

In addition to his studies at the Lehranstalt every student had to be registered in the Department of Philosophy of the University of Vienna. There he was obliged to take courses in the following subjects: Philosophy, Psychology,

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9Sefer ha-Sikaron, p. 13.
10Statuten der Israelitischen Theologischen Lehranstalt, VA KAU 142.5.
11Organisationsplan der Israelitischen Theologische Lehranstalt, VA KAU 156, p. 2.
Esthetics, Logic and History of the Fatherland. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was required by the Austrian authorities for all rabbis of recognized communities.12


Students could enroll either as matriculated or non-matriculated candidates. The matriculated candidate had to attend all prescribed courses, which were given in the morning hours from 8 P.M. to 1 P.M. In the afternoon the students attended lectures at the University of Vienna. The fully matriculated student was granted a full stipend for tuition fees, food, shelter and other life necessities, so that he could dedicate himself entirely to his studies.

During the forty-five years of its existence, the Lehranstalt had 324 students. Eighty two of those who finished their studies became spiritual leaders of congregations

12Ibid., p. 3.
13Both the constitution and the plan of organization of the Lehranstalt which are preserved in the VA, give us the full details of subjects of instruction, their aims and objectives as well as the material to be covered. As a result of such a plan of study the graduates would have had a very substantial basis of Jewish learning.
in Europe and other parts of the world. Forty-two entered
the teaching profession, three became librarians and nine
chose other professions. There are no data for the rest of
the students available. ¹⁴

The Lehranstalt did not develop an original school of
thought in Jewish scholarship. Its methods of instruction
as well as the composition of the student body did not
stimulate such a development. The methods of study of the
Talmud which were introduced by the rector were different
from the methods his students had experienced in their form­
ative years. The rector originally came from Hungary while
the majority of the student body had grown up in Galicia
and was used to the methods of the Yeshivoth there. Another
reason for the failure to establish a new school of Jewish
thought might have been the fact that the Lehranstalt had to
exist under a situation of compromise between traditionalism
and liberalism. Nevertheless, it was capable of producing
such outstanding personalities as Rabbi H. P. Chajes, Prof.
H. N. Torcziner, Prof. Salo W. Baron, Prof. Victor Aptowitz
and many more. ¹⁵

¹⁴Sefer ha-Sikaron, p. 16.
From its beginning in the year 1893 to the outbreak of World War I in 1914 the Lehranstalt accomplished in a quiet and unassuming fashion its objective of educating rabbis and furthering Jewish scholarship. With the deteriorating situation during the war the Lehranstalt suffered too. But during the entire period there did not take place any changes in its ways. After the war, the illustrious alumnus, Chief Rabbi Dr. H. P. Chajes undertook the task to make the Lehranstalt financially secure and to establish it as the crown of a system of Jewish educational institutions he set out to create in Vienna. 16

During the early years of its existence the Lehranstalt had a special department for training of teachers of the Jewish religion. It also held a series of courses for teachers of religion in public schools. These departments, however, did not develop in a satisfactory manner, partly because of financial difficulties and partly because of a lack of real effort by the rector and the faculty. Therefore, in a short time these two branches were abandoned by the Lehranstalt. 17

After World War I the number of students continued to increase. The interest in Hebrew studies all over Europe brought many young people to the Lehranstalt for the purpose

16 BKG 1912 - 1924, p. 18.
17 Ibid., p. 19.
of advanced Jewish studies even if they had no aspirations to enter the rabbinate. The financial situation became worse, because of the devaluation of the securities originally donated to the institution by its founders. Rabbi Chajes had to use his abilities and connections with sources in other countries to raise money for the Lehranstalt. In this undertaking, alumni who occupied pulpits in various countries were of great assistance. Finally the KG had to accept the financial responsibility for the institute. In the year 1931 Rabbi A. Schwarz, the rector of the Lehranstalt since its foundation, died. Professor Samuel Krauss then became chairman of the faculty, the position of rector was abandoned. Two new teachers joined the faculty, Dr. Benjamin Murmelstein and Dr. Alexander Kristianpoller; both were graduates of the Lehranstalt. The future seemed bright again; financial difficulties overcome, a competent faculty and a growing student body. Just then the annexation of Austria by the Nazis put an end to all Jewish life in Vienna. 18

B. Das Hebräische Pädagogium

The Hebrew Pedagogical Institute was founded in 1918 as a series of courses for teachers by Dr. Siegfried Bernfeld and Dr. Abraham Sonne. The following year, Dr. N. H. 18

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Sefer ha-Sikaron, p. 17.
Torcziner joined these two scholars. For two years the future of this educational project was very much in doubt. Then the chief rabbi of Vienna, Dr. H. P. Chajes, took it upon himself to make the Pädagogium a successful venture. He did so by engaging first of all an outstanding faculty among them Dr. Salo W. Baron, Dr. Victor Aptowitz, Dr. Samuel Krauss, Dr. Zevi Diesendruck and Dr. M. A. Wiesen. Rabbi Chajes himself both supervised the institute and taught in it.

The purpose of the Pädagogium was to train teachers for Hebrew schools in Austria, Europe and even overseas. The students at the Pädagogium were all young people from eastern European countries who otherwise would not have had any opportunity to study at a higher institution of Jewish learning. As a matter of fact, this was the only Hebrew seminary in the central and western part of Europe. Many of its graduates became teachers and directors in Hebrew schools all over the world. Its importance for the renaissance movement of the Jewish people was recognized by the executive of the Zionist organization, which for a short time directed

19 Moritz Rosenfeld, Oberrabbiner Hirsch Perez Chajes, sein Leben und Werk (Wien, 1933), p. 56.

20 Salo W. Baron (1895 - ), historian, Columbia University; Zevi Diesendruck (1890-1940), professor of Jewish Philosophy, Hebrew Union College; M. A. Wiesen (1878-1947), professor of Hebrew Language and Grammar.
it. In the year 1921 a Jewish Schulverein (school organization) was founded which took over the direction of the Pädagogium. 21

The course of studies of the Pädagogium consisted entirely of Jewish subjects such as Hebrew Language and Literature, Jewish History, Bible, etc. and several pedagogical subjects such as Methods of Teaching Hebrew and Bible. Its instruction was in Hebrew only. The first graduates completed the course in 1920. After the death of Rabbi Chajes the institute deteriorated and ceased to exist even before the destruction of Jewish Vienna. 22

C. Das Jüdische Religionslehrerseminar

The need for qualified teachers in the public schools who would be able and trained to teach the Jewish religion to the thousands of children was always great. For many years ordained rabbis and scholars had to be called upon to fill the positions created in the public school system by the constant growth of the Jewish population. From the year 1905 to 1910 the Israelitische Theologische Lehranstalt had established courses for teachers of religion and when the need was filled, these courses were cancelled. For a few years,

21 Rosenfeld, op. cit., p. 57.

22 BKG 1925 - 1928, p. 19; also M. Ḥiga'f, Aref ha-Gola, Wina (Tel-Aviv, 1946), p. 119; also Rosenfeld, op. cit., p. 57.
whenever the need for a teacher arose, examinations were held to determine which one of the possible candidates could be called upon to enter the public school system. These candidates were either rabbis or public school teachers with a good Jewish knowledge. When Rabbi Chajes became the chief rabbi of the Jewish community of Vienna, he obtained the financial means from sources outside of Austria and set out to establish the seminar. He convened a group of scholars, educators and lay leaders on 28 May 1920 who discussed the foundation of the institute. This assembly elected a Kuratorium (board of governors) to work out all the administrative details and a special committee headed by Dr. Moritz Rosenfeld, who was designated to be the director of the seminary, to set up a course of studies.\textsuperscript{23}

The director and the committee presented to the Kuratorium the organizing constitution and the following syllabus. It was suggested that the regular course of studies would last for four years.\textsuperscript{24}

1. **Hebrew Language and Literature**

   **First Year**: Hebrew Conversation and Grammar, 7 hours a week

   **Second Year**: Grammar and Translation, 6 hours a week

   **Third Year**: Hebrew Literature, Mediaeval and Modern, 5 hours

\textsuperscript{23}Rosenfeld, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

\textsuperscript{24}VA KAU 160.1.
Fourth Year: Modern Hebrew Literature, 4 hours a week.

2. **Bible**

**First Year:** Pentateuch and Earlier Prophets with commentaries, 4 hours a week

**Second Year:** Continuation of Pentateuch and Earlier Prophets, 4 hours a week

**Third Year:** Psalms, Later Prophets, 3 hours a week

**Fourth Year:** Later Prophets and selections from the Hagiographa, 3 hours a week

3. **Biblical History**

**First Year:** Biblical History in its entirety and the Geography of the land of the Bible, 2 hours a week

**Second Year:** Bible Research, 1 hour a week

4. **Jewish History**

**First Year:** Until the year 70 C.E., 2 hours a week

**Second Year:** Until the year 500 C.E., 2 hours a week

**Third Year:** Until the year 1500 C.E., 3 hours a week

**Fourth Year:** Until the present times, 3 hours a week

5. **Jewish Ritual**

**Third Year:** The Jewish Calendar, Sabbath, Holidays, 1 hour a week

**Fourth Year:** Dietary Laws, 1 hour a week
6. **Liturgy**

Third Year: Weekday and Sabbat Service, 1 hour a week  
Fourth Year: Holiday Service, 1 hour a week

7. **Geography of Palestine**

Third Year: Geology and Topography, 1 hour a week  
Fourth Year: Economics, Modern Colonization, 1 hour a week

8. **Religionswissenschaft**

Third Year: Comparative Religion, 1 hour a week  
Fourth Year: Survey of Jewish Religious Philosophy, 1 hour a week

9. **Homiletics**

Third Year: Midrash and Aggada Material, 1 hour a week  
Fourth Year: Practical Exercises for Leading Youth Services and Preaching at these Services, 1 hour a week

10. **Torah Reading and Music**

Training to Become a Baal Qore, 1 hour a week for all four years of studies. Women at the same time have Music and Song only.

11. **Pedagogy**

First Year: Logic, 1 hour a week  
Second Year: Psychology of Education, 1 hour a week  
Third Year: Methodology of Jewish Subject Teaching, 1 hour a week
Fourth Year: History of Education, special emphasis on the History of Jewish Education, 1 hour a week

12. Methods of Teaching

Third Year: Methods of Teaching the various subjects of religious instruction, 2 hours a week

Fourth Year: Student Teaching, 2 hours a week

In addition to all these subjects, every student had to study general subjects such as German Language and Literature, History, Geography, Mathematics, Civics, Nature, etc. This was in accordance with the laws concerning institutions for teachers' training in Austria. 26

The faculty of the Religionsseminar consisted of outstanding Jewish scholars who taught at the Israelitische Theologische Lehranstalt and the Hebräische Padagogium. The general subjects also were taught by a selected group of outstanding teachers and experts in their respective field. 27

The enrollment in the first year was fifteen students who according to their previous education were divided into two groups, one to graduate after four years and one to grad-

25 Methodology and methods were taught in conjunction, by the same teacher, in the third year of study. VA KAU 160.1.

26 Ordinance of the ministry for education and public worship of Austria, law of February 1920, 144/par. 16.

27 Among them professors Samuel Krauss, Victor Aptowitzer, Dr. Redisch, etc.
uate after a course of two years because of their advanced status. In the year 1923 the first seven students completed their required studies in a satisfactory manner and graduated. Right after their graduation they were appointed Religionslehrer in public Volks- and Hauptschulen. The following year, 1924, another ten students completed their studies. The Religionslehrerseminar held its sessions in the building of the Theologische Lehranstalt. The Seminar continued its training program until the year 1928 when after having prepared a sufficient number of teachers it closed down.28

D. Das Jüdische Realgymnasium (Chajesgymnasium)

This institute of secondary education was founded by Chief Rabbi Dr. H. P. Chajes in the year 1919. It was called the Jüdische Realgymnasium and after his death in 1927 its name became Chajesgymnasium. Chajes planned this institution to be the connecting link between primary and higher education in the school system, which he intended to create in Vienna. In order to make the system possible, a Jüdischer Schulverein was founded. This body consisted of lay and professional leaders and assisted the chief rabbi in all administrative functions which such a school system demanded.29


29 The creation of a school work of chief rabbi Dr. H.P. Chajes was considered by him as his most essential activity. He would come regularly to the Gymnasium to observe classes and to talk to students. M. Rosenfeld, op. cit., pp. 59-62.
When the Gymnasium was opened in 1919, the only functioning class was the first grade, but there was such a favorable response that immediately three parallel classes had to be established. This response proved the assertion of Rabbi Chajes that there was a vital need for secondary education under Jewish auspices.  

The type of secondary school chosen for the Jewish Institute was the Realgymnasium. This school consisted of an eight-years course of study. It permitted its graduates to be admitted to any higher institution of learning. Sessions were held, as in all public schools in Austria, six days a week, with the only difference, that instead of Saturday, studies were held on Sunday. The general course of studies was made up of the following subjects: German Language and Literature, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, Biology, History, Geography, Latin starting from the second grade on and a modern foreign language starting from the fifth grade on. Also drawing, Singing, Arts and Crafts, and Athletics. In order to obtain full recognition by the state authorities, the school had to observe all regulations concerning the curriculum. City and state authorities would send inspectors to observe the school in action. 

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Hebrew studies consisted officially of two subjects: Religion and the Hebrew Language. Together this amounted to six or seven hours a week, depending upon the grade. Hebrew was taught as a modern language with the Sefardic pronunciation and with the method of Ivrith be-Ivrith. For the first weeks of instruction no textbooks were used, but the child learned many Hebrew words and ideas from objects in his near surroundings. He listened to the spoken words of the teacher and used the language himself in speaking, before he could read or write. Then writing was taught and children given exercises in using Hebrew script. The next and partially simultaneous step was the introduction of reading with the aid of a modern Hebrew primer. Right after the mastering of Hebrew reading and writing, and while conversation went on constantly, the Humash was introduced. Already in the first year about 22 chapters of Bereshit were covered. In the hours of instruction in the subject Religion the Humash was taught and all teaching was done in the Hebrew language.32

In the higher grades the study of the Bible was continued with Prophets and Hagiographa. In the sixth grade Mishna and Gemara were studied. Current Jewish events were

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32 The information about Hebrew studies and the spirit in the school was gathered from the following sources: 1. Rosenfeld, Moritz, op. cit., chapter called Sein Wiener Schulwerk, pp. 56-61; 2. BKG 1912 - 1924, 1925 - 1928, 1928 - 1932; 3. Interviews with the director, Dr. Victor Kellner, two teachers, and eighteen students. See summary in appendix.
discussed and before Jewish holidays their meanings, origin and observances were taught.

The atmosphere of the school was national, **zionistic**, but not specifically religious. Most of the parents who sent their children to this school, wanted them to be in a positive Jewish environment. The evidence gathered from interviews with the director, two of the teachers and students of the school indicates that there was no particular effort made to educate the students in a religious spirit. Quite a controversy was caused by the request of the school from observant children to abstain from wearing skull caps in school. The director was hereby enforcing an order of the school authorities of the government which prohibited students to sit in classes with their head covered. Only for the instruction of Religion was this rule not enforced. There were complaints by students that the director was too eager in complying with this rule and even in teaching Jewish subjects he made children take off their skull caps. There were also complaints by parents that on occasions of holiday ceremonies children participated without covering their heads.  

All students, however, agree upon the positive Jewish spirit prevailing in the school. In a city in which the

\[33 \text{See appendix: summary of interviews with students.} \]
majority of the population was antisemitic the students of the Chajesgymnasium were taught to be conscious and proud Jews. The school and its educational aims had great appeal to many people and there were always more candidates for registration than vacancies. Candidates were registered by their parents at the end of the compulsory four years of study in the Volksschule. They had to take an entrance examination in the major subjects of study. The age of the entering students was about ten years and graduation Matura came after eight years of successful study. Since all secondary education in Austria was not compulsory, parents had to pay tuition fees. Gifted students from poor families were granted subsidies by the KG, and also by the Jüdischer Schulverein which in turn was supported by the Gemeinde.\textsuperscript{34}

The loyalty of the graduates of this school to their institution and to the Jewish people is quite apparent. All students interviewed confirmed the fact that after so many years they still hold reunions. They also make every effort to have their children get a similar education or even more intensively Jewish if possible. Many of the graduates are active in Jewish affairs all over the world and particularly in Israel.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{34}Jahresberichte des Jüdischen Schulvereines for the years 1919/20, 1923/24 and 1926/27. These are the only reports available. VA KAU 266.

\textsuperscript{35}See appendix for summary of interviews.
In line with the plan of Rabbi Chajes to establish a system of Jewish schools, two primary schools, Volksschulen, were opened in 1920. The schools were located in the second and twentieth districts, which had the largest Jewish population. These schools were intended to prepare their pupils to enter the Realgymnasium. Unfortunately, they had to be closed after four terms, because it was impossible for six-year-old children to walk to school from any but the closest neighborhood and there was not a sufficient number of these children in a short radius of the school. 36

However, the Jewish community never reconciled itself with the fact that there was no public school under Jewish auspices in existence, a kind of school which in its educational ideology would be similar to the Realgymnasium. Time and again attempts were made to establish such a school and finally in the year 1935/36 the first grade of a Jewish public elementary school under the direction of the KG was opened. This new school was housed in the same building in the second district in which the first attempt was made in the year 1920. For the first year the school had twenty-nine pupils in its first and only grade. In the second year of its existence 1936/37 this number increased to seventy-eight.

36M. Rosenfeld, op. cit., p. 60.
so that the total enrollment was 107 students. The school had the full public recognition (Öffentlichkeitsrecht) and followed the curriculum of all public Volksschulen. In addition to that, four hours a week were designated for Hebrew studies. Two of these were for the study of the Hebrew Language and two for the study of Religion. The instruction of Hebrew was in the same way and methods as in the Realgymnasium, namely Ivrith be-Ivrith. Because of the destruction of the Jewish community there is no way of evaluating its work any further and no material is available as to the success of its short existence. 37

F. **Jüdische Kindergärten**

In the year 1936 eight Kindergärten with over 200 children were functioning. Seven of these were under private ownership and only one was administered by the KG. The KG subsidized all the private Kindergärten, but they were not under the supervision of the Commission of Education but the Department of Welfare of the KG. The hours of attendance at these Kindergärten were from 9 A.M. to noon, only one of these institutions kept the children for the whole day. It was founded with the purpose of assisting widowed and working mothers. The program in all these schools had definite Jewish content. Holidays were discussed, games of Jewish

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37 BKG 1933-1936, p. 49.
content were played, whatever arts and crafts was done, was connected with Jewish history or holidays. In one of the schools, the Hebräische Kindergarten, Hebrew was taught in an informal way. The Kindergarten teacher would use a great deal of Hebrew language in speaking to the children. As in all Kindergärten in Vienna the Montessori method was widely used. The teachers were trained in institutions in Vienna which believed in this method. The Hebrew Padagogium had a three-years-course for the training of Kindergarten teachers. 38

G. The Talmud Torah Schule

This all-day school under auspices of an orthodox parents organization had a regular eight-year curriculum of the Volks- and Hauptschule. It was supervised by the municipal authorities and its graduates therefore had full educational rights. Its Hebrew course consisted to the greater extent in the study of the Bible and Commentaries, Mishna and Gemara. The Hebrew studies consisted of two hours a day for six days a week and the students really were able to gain a good Jewish knowledge. Its student body numbered from 100 to 200 children. The school was located in its own building in the second district of Vienna. It provided meals for the children and also helped them, wherever needed, to obtain

38 BKG 1925 - 1928, 1929 - 1932, 1933 - 1936; M. Rosenfeld, op. cit., p. 61.
clothes. Most of the children came from poor homes. The Talmud Torah Schulverein was the sponsoring organization, which did not limit itself to maintaining the school but also supported its needy students. The KG assisted the school with substantial subsidies. The teachers and the director of the school were graduates of Eastern European Yeshivoth, who had to get their licenses for teaching in Vienna from the Prüfungs Kommission of the KG.39

H. Dr. Krügerheim und Schule für Mädchen

Originally known as the Elisabeth Heim, it was founded in the year 1891 as a home for orphaned girls who had graduated from the Hauptschule and entered the age in which they were ready to learn a trade and become apprentices. The home was named in honor of the Empress Elisabeth. Only after World War I, when it was administered by a private organization whose president was Dr. Krüger, did it become a school and also changed its name. There were two trade schools located in the building. One was for dressmaking and the other for home economics. The home and the school were run in an orthodox atmosphere. The Agudat Yisrael practically dominated the membership of the organization. For some time this organization had also a Volksschule for boys and girls there, but it was of very short duration. The teenage girls

39 V A K AU 22 3 ; B K G 1 9 2 9 - 1 9 3 2 , p . 2 5 .
who lived in the Krügerheim had organized Jewish studies which included Hebrew Language, Bible, Jewish History, Prayers and Jewish Observances. The trade schools had a course of two years and they were recognized by the authorities as public trade schools. The KG had to subsidize the school, since the sponsoring organization could not cover the yearly deficits in running the school and the home. The home accepted girls from outside Vienna, but only orphans who qualified by age and religious upbringing in an orthodox atmosphere.  

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_BKG 1933 - 1936, p. 38; VA KAU 48._
CHAPTER V

ADULT EDUCATION

The two decades between World War I and World War II were an era of deep interest in adult studies for the population of Vienna. One of the major reasons for this fact was the desire of the ruling Social-Democratic Party (Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei) to raise the educational level of its members. The leaders of the party believed that only a well-educated membership would be able to ensure its future. They established a network of culture and study centers throughout the city. The programs of these centers consisted of courses in many areas of learning, lectures and study groups in the sciences, humanities and foreign languages. A good number of courses were offered in history of the labor movement as well as current events of interest to the "thinking proletariat."¹

Several of these centers developed into institutions of learning called Volkshochschule (People's Highschools). In these schools classes were held regularly, there were no academic requirements and credits and the tuition fee was very small. The number of students enrolled in these schools rose to over 4,000 in the year 1929/30. Courses were given

¹Charles Gulick, op. cit., ch. xvi; Robert Dottrens, The New Education in Austria (New York, 1920), p. 78.
in all areas of human interest, by teachers who were paid very little but believed in spreading knowledge among the working class.²

In conjunction with the centers and the Volkshochschulen libraries were established, art exhibits as well as artistic performances held. The leadership of the party saw in this activity an additional means of holding on and enlarging its membership. Among the members were a considerable amount of Jews and by reading the names of teachers and lecturers, the participation of the Jews in this endeavor became quite apparent. In none of the material available could any evidence be found that there were any specifically Jewish activities going on, and the centers became strongholds of assimilation of Jews into the general labor movement.³

The activities of the labor party in the field of adult education created a favorable climate for adult studies among other economic or ethnic groups of the population. The need and desire for education was so strong that even after the downfall of the socialist labor regime the new rulers continued with the Volkshochschulen and the cultural centers. The Jewish population which at the beginning par-


ticipated so actively in this endeavor began to look for its own specific Jewish needs.  

The idea of studies for Jewish adults and under Jewish auspices was not new in Vienna. Already in the year 1863 the preacher Dr. Adolf Jellinek had founded the Beth ha-Midrash to further Jewish studies. His original intention was to develop the Beth ha-Midrash into a rabbinical seminary, but he was not successful. Jellinek had engaged the following scholars as teachers in the newly founded institution: Isaak Hirsch Weiss, Meir Friedman (Ish-Shalom) and Eleazar Horowitz. He himself taught regularly for many years various subjects of Jewish learning. The teachers at the Beth ha-Midrash gave daily lectures on Jewish subjects and taught regularly lessons in Talmud. The Beth ha-Midrash continued its existence for many years, even after the Israelitische Theologische Lehranstalt was founded in the year 1893. During the two decades of the period between the two World Wars such outstanding scholars as Samuel Krauss, Benjamin  

4There was a period of transition which manifested itself with the establishment of the Jüdische Zentrum (Jewish Center) which was still closely connected to the labor movement, but served Jews only. For this connection the Center had to pay the price of being dissolved in the year 1934, when the new regime outlawed all socialist labor movements. At the same time the Jewish nationalist parties and organizations began to pick up the idea of intensive adult education. See below, page  

5Gerson Wolf, Geschichte..., op. cit., p. 196.  

Murmelstein, Simon Rubin and Moses Rosenmann\textsuperscript{7} taught daily lessons in subjects of religious and scientific significance to adult Jewish students.\textsuperscript{8}

Another project of Jewish education for adults in the pre-socialist era of Vienna was the \textit{Toynbeehalle} founded by Prof. Leon Kellner\textsuperscript{9} in the year 1900. This was an attempt to adapt to the needs of Viennese Jewry the concept of a study-lecture-and-discussion hall, originated by a Christian preacher in England named Toynbee (1852-1883) who wanted to lift up the lower classes by bringing to them the modern knowledge in an informal and pleasant way. The program of the Viennese \textit{Toynbeehalle} consisted of lectures, courses and discussions on every worthwhile Jewish subject. In its lecture halls hundreds of adults gathered to engage in studies. This project was sponsored and fully supported by the \textit{Benai-Berith} organization of Austria.\textsuperscript{10}

In the year 1926 Rabbi Dr. Armand Kaminka\textsuperscript{11} founded

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{7}Benjamin Murmelstein, graduate of Lehranstalt, rabbi and scholar, author; Simon Rubin, professor of philosophy, University of Vienna; Moses Rosenmann, rabbi, author, school inspector.
\item \textsuperscript{8}Wiener Beth ha-Midrash, \textit{Vorlesungen im Winter Semester 1924/25}, VA KAU 145m.
\item \textsuperscript{9}Leon Kellner (1859-1928), philologist, author, co-worker of Herzl, Prof. of English at University of Vienna.
\item \textsuperscript{10}Aga'f, op. cit., p. 83.
\item \textsuperscript{11}Armand Kaminka (1866-1953), rabbi, author, scholar,
\end{itemize}
founded the Maimonides Institut. The aim of the institute was to further and encourage the study of Jewish philosophy. It arranged for lectures in Jewish Philosophy and related subjects, both on its own premises and in the lecture hall of the Department of Philosophy in the University of Vienna. The lecturers in addition to Kaminka were Dr. N. Goldstein and Rabbi Meir Horowitz as well as non-Jewish professors of philosophy. The importance of the Maimonides Institut was recognized by the authorities of the university and by its rector who praised its activities on different occasions.

The interest in Jewish adult education manifested itself in the establishment of the Jüdisches Zentrum (Jewish Center). It was founded by Anitta Müller-Cohen in the year 1926. Mrs. Müller-Cohen had made herself a name as one of the outstanding social workers in Vienna. She had begun her work by aiding Jewish victims of World War I in the provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and later dedicated all her efforts to the thousands of Jewish refugees who had escaped from the areas of the war front to Vienna and lived

Jewish philosopher, taught at the Beth ha-Midrash in Vienna. Translated Greek classics into Hebrew. Was secretary of the Israelitische Allianz Wien. Continued his scholarly work in Israel after 1939.

12 In the second district in Vienna, Praterstrasse II.

under the most deplorable conditions. After the return of these refugees to their lands of origin, which took place after the collapse of the Hapsburg Monarchy and lasted for several years, Mrs. Müller-Cohen continued her social work with the needy Jewish population in Vienna. Her Anitta Müller Heim became a haven for hundreds of people, in particular children. As a result of her work she became aware of the importance of providing her charges with a better education and consequently she established the Jüdisches Zentrum. ¹³

A program of courses for the winter term of 1927/28 shows a list of forty-six courses of which forty-two were for adults and four for children. The courses in Jewish subjects numbered eighteen, among them courses in the Hebrew Language and Literature, Jewish History, Talmud, Jewish Literature in German and others. Ten courses were especially designed to assist those people who intended to immigrate to Palestine. The rest of the courses were in foreign languages.

¹³Anitta Muller-Cohen (1890-1954), at the age of twenty-four and being a young mother herself, had to leave her home as a result of the outbreak of World War I. She dedicated herself to the support of the thousands of Jews whose homes happened to be on the eastern front of the war. She established homes, shelters and hospitals. In Vienna she continued her work during a period of two decades and when she was forced by the nazis to leave Vienna she came to Tel-Aviv and immediately occupied herself with relief work. Sources: WMZ vol. viii - 246, 1927. Yedioth Hadashot vol. xii - 18 (German daily, Tel-Aviv, 1947). L. Goldhammer, Leopold Plaschkes, p. 17.
The Jewish subject courses were taught by teachers in Jewish schools such as the *Chajesgymnasium* and teachers of religion in public schools. The *Zentrum* had a membership of over four hundred families who supported it financially and it was open to every Jew, even if he was not a member. When the activities of this center were terminated by the Austrian government in 1933 (after the downfall of the socialist labor party), another group of people revived the idea of studies for Jewish adults by founding a new institution.*

**Jüdische Kulturstelle und Volkshochschule**

This was the official name of the organization and the institution which took up the work started by the *Jüdisches Zentrum* although there was no direct connection between these two organizations. The following words spoken by the chief rabbi of Vienna, Dr. David Feuchtwang in 1935 are a clear testimony to the importance of the *Kulturstelle* and *Volkshochschule*:

> The Jüdische Kulturstelle and Volkshochschule have in the few years of their existence proved, that our hopes expressed at their founding ceremonies, have been fulfilled. I am indeed highly pleased with the

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14 See appendix: photostatic copy of original program announcements of the Jüdisches Zentrum.

15 Mrs. Muller-Cohen had cooperated with the socialist labor regime and therefore, in spite of the fact that she was a Zionist and not a member of the social-democratic party, had to close her home and center. *Die Stimme* vol. viii - 17. Vienna, 1934.
response of the Jewish community to this institution. Although it is far from having achieved its higher goals it has with modest means done a great service to the Jewish community in the area of Jewish performing arts and mostly in the area of popular adult education.\textsuperscript{16}

The Kunststelle (art center) in conjunction with the Austrian Art Center arranged for sixty seven special performances for its members in the foremost theatres of Vienna. It thus enabled many Jewish adults to see plays of general and Jewish interest which they otherwise would not have been able to enjoy. It arranged for fourteen exhibits of Jewish artists, made seventy excursions to Museums and art exhibits. It established a lending library for recently published works in Judaica, it organized its own theatre which performed four Jewish plays in German language. It held twelve evening presentations of Jewish music.\textsuperscript{17}

The Volkshochschule listed for the school year 1937/38 the following courses: Hebrew Language, five courses for beginners, intermediary and advanced students; Jewish subjects such as Jewish Customs of every day and holidays, the Bible in the Present Times, Fundamental Ideas of Judaism, etc. The Hebrew courses were given twice a week for a total of four hours, the other courses also met twice a week but


\textsuperscript{17}Die Garbe, No. 44, May, 1937.
only for one hour each. The Volkshochschule furthermore ar-
ranged for courses in Jewish Music and Art, it also organized
a Choir and Instrumental Ensemble.  

The Jüdische Kulturstelle and Volkshochschule pub-
lished a weekly paper called Die Garbe (sheaf of wheat) which
appeared from the month of September to the month of June
and contained articles on Jewish matters, reviews of Jewish
books, announcements of Jewish cultural events, etc. It was
published by Alfred Werner. 

The Kulturstelle furthermore held open forums and
panel discussions on current Jewish events; arranged for
lectures on Jewish subjects and held assemblies and celebra-
tions on significant days of the Jewish year. Special courses
were planned for children only. The school term 1937/38
lists six such courses for children. In the year 1937 over
1500 adults were card carrying members. The Volkshochschule
had a registration of 459 students in the winter term of
1937/38. 

It is quite obvious that the KG would support in some
way such type of Jewish educational and cultural activity.

18 Die Garbe No. 52, September, 1937.

19 Alfred Werner, author, art expert and art critic,
escaped Germany and worked in Vienna until 1938.

20 Die Garbe No. 65, January, 1938.
It did so by having the Kulturstelle affiliated within its Commission of Education and by granting financial aid to the building of its home.  

The driving force behind the Kulturstelle and Volks-Hochschule was its founder and director, Dr. Oskar Teller. Himself an expert in teaching speech and arts, he combined this knowledge with his rich Jewish background to give to the Kulturstelle the kind of imaginative and dynamic leadership which made it such an important factor in the cultural and educational life of Viennese Jewry.

The worsening political and economic situation of Viennese Jewry, which was caused by the combined activities of the nazi regime in Germany and the outlawed nazi party in Austria, strengthened the desire among Jews to identify themselves closer with the Jewish people and to prepare for emigration mainly to Palestine. This desire brought about an increase in Jewish adult studies both of the Hebrew language and subjects of Jewish interest. In practically every meeting place of a Zionist group, Hebrew courses were estab-

\[21\text{BKG 1933 - 1936, p. 54.}\]

\[22\text{"Freundlicher Steckbrief" by B.F.D. in Aufbau, German weekly, March 19, 1954.}\]
lished. Many young adults joined Hakhshara\textsuperscript{23} groups either in the rural areas, as preparation for agricultural life in Palestine or in the city of Vienna where such groups prepared their members with a program called Umschichtung\textsuperscript{24} All these programs contained a very substantial part of studies in Hebrew and Jewish subjects.

To complete the picture of Jewish adult studies, the following two organizations and their educational activities must be mentioned. The Histadrut Ivrit, Berit Ivrit Olamit and the Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur. The former encouraged any and all activities in the Hebrew language. It had a membership of over 600 people. It brought teachers of the Hebrew language to Vienna and assisted in publishing Hebrew books. The latter similarly encouraged the research, study and publication of Jewish history and literature. It had a membership of over 200 people. Both organizations subsidized Jewish and Hebrew studies for adults.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{23}The Hebrew word Hakhshara means preparation and was a term coined by the zionist youth and Halutz movements to describe an intensive program of preparation for immigration to Palestine.

\textsuperscript{24}Umschichtung was the German term describing the process of transformation from so-called non-productive to productive work (clerk to artisan).

\textsuperscript{25}\textsuperscript{25} BKG 1933 - 1936, p. 42; JJFO 1933, p. 43; M. Aga'f, op. cit., p. 119.
CHAPTER VI

THE JEWISH YOUTH MOVEMENT

While one cannot include the Jewish Youth Movement in the area of formal education, its activities contained important elements of formal education. Such elements were: formal study of the Hebrew Language, Jewish History, the History and Geography of the Land of Israel and other subjects. Its general program was permeated by a spirit of educational ideals, which had a deep and lasting impact upon Jewish youth.¹

Jewish youth organizations had a membership which started with six to seven-year-old children and encompassed adolescents and young adults up to the age of twenty four years. More than fifty percent of all Jewish youth in Vienna were affiliated with one of the many youth groups and organizations. These youth groups were of different background, ideological concepts and social character. They had political, 

¹The monthly publication Der Jüdische Mittelschüler published by teachers and students of the public schools in Vienna, printed articles dealing with the impact of the youth movement upon its members in the following issues: March, 1929, April, 1929. Young men who were successful in their chosen occupation describe in what way the youth movement had influenced them. These articles also printed the opinions and experiences of high school students with the youth movement. Furthermore, the experiences of parents of members of youth groups are related. All point out the impact the youth movement had upon the young people.
social, educational, recreational, athletic and cultural objectives and aims.\(^2\)

The Israelitische KG of Vienna found these youth groups to be of sufficient importance to establish a special department within the Commission of Education. This department was called the Jugendreferat and a well known educator was appointed to head it.\(^3\) Furthermore, it allocated considerable amounts of money to support educational projects of the youth movement such as formal study programs, summer camps, summer courses, leadership training preparation for immigration to Palestine, etc.\(^4\)

In establishing the department for youth, the Commission of Education published the following statement:

It is the task of the Jugendreferat:

1. To establish contact with the now existing youth organizations and invite them to avail themselves of the services offered by the Jugendreferat. This refers to youth

\(^2\)In the years 1933-1936 there were 18 Jugendbünde (strictest form of youth groups) in existence; in addition to that 13 youth organizations and 8 sports organizations for the young people. Merely social groups are not included because of their lack of an educational program.

\(^3\)The man appointed to head the Jugendreferat was inspector Isidor Ohler, who until then was an outstanding teacher in religious schools and had served as inspector of the Bible Schools. He was also in charge of supervision of Youth Services (Jugendgottesdienst). BKG 1925-1928, Vienna, 1928, p. 29.

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 30.
organizations whose members are not older than twenty-four years and which engage in cultural, social and recreational activities, but exclude political activities.

2. To assist these formally affiliated youth organizations in obtaining privileges accorded to all other youth organizations by the government of Austria such as: fare reductions for travel, welfare benefits, summer vacations in the rural areas of Austria, etc.

3. To establish courses for group leaders and thus insure a leadership which will be well educated in Jewish and pedagogic matters and hereby qualified to fulfill their duties.

4. To establish courses for members of these youth groups in a central area so that members of different groups could take advantage of them.

5. To further religious education by making it possible for members of youth organizations to participate in Jewish studies and worship.5

5Ibid., p. 31. The establishment of this department was preceded by a struggle in the Vorstand of the KG (the elected board or council of the KG). The minutes of several sessions of the Vorstand tell the story. The assimilatory section of the Vorstand, which was the majority, was not at all enthusiastic about this innovation. Its members argued that the religious schools should be charged with the education of all children in all areas, both the formal and the informal. Furthermore, they claimed that the support of youth organizations which were really political in nature, was a waste of money. The Zionist section of the Vorstand which initiated the department argued that these youth organizations
The Jewish youth movement in Vienna had grown out of the same roots as the German youth movement, the country in which the youth movement originated. The youth movement came into existence as a revolt against social, cultural and political conditions. Youth wanted to build a better world and coming from the growing industrialized society and its large urban areas, wanted to come closer to nature. The revolt of the youth, who wanted to find its own new ways, was a normal reaction to the authoritarian family and the authoritarian political structure of Germany. Both in Russia and Germany youth organizations sprang up. In Russia they became a potent political force, in Germany they were influenced by nationalistic and romanticist tendencies.

Western Europe lacked this type of youth revolt. The general spirit of society was more liberal and youth willingly followed in their fathers' ways; the only contribution of a Western European country to the youth movement was the idea were already in existence and therefore cannot be included in school activities and that it would be more important to work with the youth and support them, than let them do all education on their own, in a way, which without money would be very inefficient. As far as political activities were concerned, these youth groups were only Jewishly active, namely, they were good Jews and Zionists and worked for their goals.

The final decision to establish the department of youth came about with the help of Jewish educators who themselves were not Zionists but recognized the justification of the arguments of the Zionist section. The head of the Jugendreferat himself was not a Zionist, but nevertheless assisted the youth organizations to the best of his ability. VA KAU 25a, 25b, 26a.
of scouting which was conceived by adults in England. The youth movement in Germany was founded by youth and came under adult influence only much later.

The original youth movement was a-political, but it did not take very long for it to come under the influence of political parties and hereby it veered from the original path.6

The Jewish youth movement arrived at the scene at a time when the general youth movement had entered its second stage of development. It was, therefore, from its very beginnings specifically Jewish and quite nationalistic. Jewish youth had no place in the original general youth movement which was from its inception anti-Jewish.7

The Jewish youth movement in Vienna drew from several sources:

a) The Jewish Studentenbewegung (students movement),

6 A great number of books and articles is available when studying the beginnings and development of the youth movement. There is, however, the question if it is necessary to trace the youth movement that far back. It seems that in order to understand its impact upon the Jewish youth in Vienna and in all places, it is essential to realize the very reasons for its inception and existence. See Hans Kohn's article in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 15.

7 A very good summary of the origins and the development of the Jewish youth movement can be found in the Blätter der Jüdischen Jugendbewegung, published by a joint council of Zionist youth organizations; infrequent issues appeared during the years 1933 - 1936 in Vienna.
both Mittelschüler (high school students) and Hochschüler (University students).

b) The Blau-Weiss (blue and white) organization of Germany, which retained a great part of the original ideals of the youth movement such as: love of nature, camping, hiking, athletics, love for fellow man).

c) The Scouting movement.

d) The ideals of the Zionist pioneering movement of the Hashomer ha-Zair founded in Vienna, but strong in Poland.

e) The traditional sources of Judaism. 8

In the different youth organizations of Vienna, one or more of the above named sources influenced their ideologies. A survey of the youth organizations in Vienna clearly shows their diversity: from orthodox, Zionist Mizrahi youth to socialist, marxist groups, from assimilationist to nationalist, from religious to secular, all of these had their representative youth groups. None of the surveys tell us much about their numerical strength. When they were compelled to give figures about their membership it turned out that these numbers were seldom accurate, there was always a tendency to exaggerate, because their subsidies from the KG were based upon numbers of members. Besides the leaders of the youth groups tried by all means to pretend that they have a

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8 Blätter aus der Jüdischen Jugendbewegung, Vienna, May 1933.
large following in order to raise their prestige in the community. 9

A good way to estimate the number of members was the annual parade to the grave of the founder of the Zionist movement, Theodor Herzl. This parade took place every year in the late spring and developed into a gala event of the Zionist movement. Besides estimating the number of members, it enabled onlookers to get an idea about the membership of these groups, their discipline, etc. The groups marched in formation behind their banners and flags, dressed in their outfit and uniform in different colors. These outfits resembled very much the uniforms of the scouts. In the late spring of 1933 at the march to Herzl’s grave, a neutral observer counted 4,820 participants. The Viennese police department estimated the number of marching youth to be above 5,000. If we add to all these the members who could not participate in the march and the members of youth movements which were not Zionist (Jugend der Union österreichischer Juden, Jüdisch sozialistische Jugend, Jüdische Arbeiterjugend, etc.) we arrive at a number close to 9,000. The entire Jewish youth of school age (6-18 years) numbered 17,762, so that more than

50% of all youth were members of youth organizations.\textsuperscript{10}

The educational program of each youth group depended upon its ideological adherence. There were basic differences between the groups. It is necessary for clarification to differentiate between the following:

1. General Zionist youth groups.
2. Labor Zionist groups.
3. Religious Zionist groups.
4. Religious youth groups (non-Zionist).
5. Socialist and marxist groups.
6. Non political groups.

1. General Zionist Groups: The core of the study program was the Hebrew language. As all Zionist groups, their major aim was the building of the Jewish State in Palestine. Therefore it was incumbent upon all the members to prepare themselves for \textit{Aliyah} (immigration to Palestine). Essential to this preparation was the Hebrew language. Members of the youth groups would study from two to six hours a week. The number of hours of study depended upon the desire of the young people and the financial means of the group to employ a teacher. The motivation for this kind of study was

\begin{itemize}
  \item Yediot Mahleket ha-Noar shel he-Haluz, Vienna, March 1934;
  \item Der Jüdische Pfadfinder (the Jewish scout),
\end{itemize}
very strong and teachers loved to teach them. The motivation stemmed from the desire to be ready for *Aliya* and to be able to pass an examination by the committee which allocated the immigration certificates to Palestine. These young people wanted to become pioneers in Palestine and therefore were aware of the need to know Hebrew well in order to integrate in Palestine quickly.\textsuperscript{11}

Courses were set up in every youth home. The KG supplied the teachers and the youngsters studied very seriously from two to six hours a week. The method of teaching Hebrew was through conversation, a great deal of learning by listening and speaking (Aural-Oral method). The pronunciation was Sefardic as in Palestine. The text books used were mostly printed in Israel or in Poland, for example: *Aleh, Lashon wa-Sefer* and one book of local origin by Moses Rath called *Sefat Amenu*. The inspector of the *Jugendreferat* would come frequently to supervise and to guide the teachers in setting up study outlines.\textsuperscript{12}

The teachers in the public schools and in the Bible Schools welcomed the work in the youth organizations because it provided them with additional income and also because it

\textsuperscript{11}Jahresbericht des Jugendreferates, inspector I. Ohler, VA KAU \textsuperscript{25}.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid, p. 3.
gave them a chance to teach young people who really wanted to learn. In their regular work in schools the majority of the pupils were much less motivated.\footnote{Yearly report by Dr. Nagler to the Jugendreferat. This teacher worked with the youth group Jüdischer Pfadfinderbund Österreich (Jewish scouts of Austria) during the school-year 1934/35 and also during the summer of 1935 in the camp of this organization. VA KAU 27.}

Of equal importance was the study of the geography and the history of the land of Israel. In teaching these subjects the teacher had to create his own material, since there was no textbook directly dealing with them. Whatever the teacher had, he had obtained through the offices of the Qeren Qayemet, the Qeren ha-Yessod or other Zionist agencies. There was no planned syllabus for the teaching of these subjects. Frequently these subjects were taught in a kind of lecture series. Some audi-visual material was available such as maps, pictures and films from Palestine.\footnote{A very good picture of the study program of general zionist groups can be found in the Yediot ha-Merkaz ha-Olami shel ha-Makkabi ha-Zair, Brno, 1933.}

In teaching the history of Erez Yisrael the emphasis was on the last sixty to seventy years, usually starting with the foundation of Mique Yisrael (the agricultural school founded in 1870). A great deal of reading was assigned to the young people who had at their disposal several libraries. There was no competition from radio and television and a good
book was very much appreciated.\textsuperscript{15}

On special occasions such as \textit{Hanukka}, Balfour Day, etc., speakers were invited to address the members on topics which would supplement and enrich the study program. Special seminars for study of various ideological or general Jewish matters were arranged during holiday recesses and on other appropriate times of the year.\textsuperscript{16}

The third major subject of study was Jewish history. This study supplemented very well the studies in public school. As a rule, the members of youth organizations were also better students in the religious instruction of the public schools. While there was no syllabus for the study of Jewish History, it was a fact that during a few years of membership a young person would cover the major parts of Jewish history. The study was not done in a chronological sequence, but according to topics connected with the Jewish year. The period of the Second Commonwealth was usually studied in connection with \textit{Hanukkah} and \textit{Lag Be\'omer}. In this respect the study of history was much more meaningful to the young people in the youth movement than to the students in the public schools who would be taught history in its chronological sequence. Another improvement in this study was the

\textsuperscript{15} Ohler, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 6; VA KAU 25.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 7.
use of many sources and books. The teacher in the public school used one textbook, the instructor in the youth organization made use of all materials fitting for the particular age group he taught. 17

One major drawback in the study approach of the youth organizations was the fact that it was highly indoctrinating teaching. At each proper and improper opportunity the instructor would try to introduce elements which would tend to prove the ideological position of the youth group. The holidays were taught in this connection in such a way that for instance for Hanukkah would be stressed the idea of courage, fighting, revolt, heroism while the idea of the miracle of the oil would be only mentioned casually. In the uprising of the Jews against the Romans in the years 132-135 C.E. it was the figure of Bar-Kokhba which was more glorified than the great personality of Rabbi Aqiba. The concept of statehood, from biblical times to modern era, became more important than the ethical and moral teachings of the Jewish religion. Responsible educators in the community questioned the study approach of the youth movement. 18

17 Jugendbund und Unterricht in Blätter der Jüdischen Jugendbewegung, see footnote 7.

18 At a plenary session of the Commission of Education in 1933 this problem was discussed and the minutes of this meeting express the concern of the participants. A motion was made to deny any subsidy to youth groups teaching in such a way, but it was defeated. VA KAU 27.
2. Labor Zionist Groups: As far as the study of the Hebrew Language and the Land of Israel was concerned, there were practically no differences in the material used and in the methods in general. This was not the case in the study of Jewish History. In studying the biblical period, stress was put upon social laws, in later periods it was always pointed out that the people of Israel were imbued with the spirit of social justice. Jewish history became a history of economics and devoid of the religious and spiritual values, which are so much the essence of Judaism. A great deal of time was used in the study of the Labor movement, both the general and the Jewish. ¹⁹

3. Religious Zionist Groups: The major areas of study for these groups were the Hebrew Language and religious subjects. There was not sufficient time for the study of Jewish History and even the study of the Land of Israel had to step back in favor of regular lessons in the study of Talmud, Bible and Commentaries. In number of hours this group exceeded all other youth groups in its dedication for Jewish studies. ²⁰


²⁰Bericht des Jugenreferats der israelitischen KG, Vienna, 1934, VA KAU 25.
4. Religious Youth Groups: These groups including the youth of the Aggudat Yisrael concentrated in their studies entirely on the Talmud. There is no indication that any other subjects were studied. 21

5. Socialist and Marxist Groups: These groups were not included in the Jugendreferat because they were mainly political in nature. They had applied to the KG for subsidies for their study program, basing their application on the fact that they were teaching Jewish History. However, the KG rejected their application. 22

6. Non-political Groups: 23 Actually these were organizations of young Jews who emphasized the cultural and social aspect of their program. However, they had courses and lectures in Jewish History.

While discussing the study program of the youth movement, it is important to mention the fact that libraries

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21 Das Jugendwerk der Aggudas Yisroel pamphlet published by Abraham Friedlander and prepared for the Kenessio Gedaulo (great assembly) which was held in Vienna in 1923.

22 Minutes of the sessions of the Commission of Education indicate that this demand by Jewish socialist youth movements was brought up several times, but always rejected. VA KAU 166a.

23 "Non-political" implies that the other groups were of a political nature, a fact which is contradictory to the basic statement of the Jugendreferat. The fact was that all youth movements were political to a certain permissible degree, and the KG went along with it.
played a significant role in the study of young people. The yearly report of the Zionistische Volksbibliothek states the fact that 60% of its readers were members of youth organizations. The library gave a 50% discount on its fees to these members and the KG subsidized its activities.\textsuperscript{24} The library of the KG has a very similar report as far as young people were concerned.\textsuperscript{25}

The youth movement stimulated its members to participate in the cultural life of Vienna in general and its Jewry in particular. Visits to the theatre, museum, concert, exhibits were planned as a part of their educational program.

In addition to the formal instruction and academic study the youth movement taught the Jewish child and adolescent, the spirit and procedure of democracy. Although the Viennese public school system was known to be progressive and far ahead of schools in the rest of Austria, it still had not yet eliminated the authoritarian spirit it inherited from the times of the Monarchy. In the classroom the teacher was still the all-powerful dictator. When he came into the classroom all pupils had to rise, no pupil would dare to show disrespect to him by doubting his words.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{24}Reports by the Volksbibliothek to the Commission of Education. VA KAU 113.7.

\textsuperscript{25}Report by the library of the KG, VA KAU 113.7.

\textsuperscript{26}Otto Glockel, Drillschule, Lernschule, Arbeitsschule (Vienna, 1928), pp. 56-59.
The structure of the youth movement successfully counteracted these tendencies. Every boy and girl was aware of the fact that he or she could become a group leader by ability only. And in spite of the fact that there was still the tradition of the leader principle of the early general youth movements, all members had equal rights and privileges. Many youth groups slowly changed the concept of the single leader to the committee leadership and the chairman principle.

Units of the youth groups were organized by age and sex. The smallest unit was the Zug consisting of ten to twenty members and led by a leader who really was more a counsellor and who had to prove time and again his capability to lead the group. Some youth groups had a co-educational set up and therefore all units had both boys and girls. Several units comprised a division of the same age group. The leadership of the youth group was a council which appointed either a Bundesfuehrer (leader) or a small committee to lead the group for a year.

Meetings of each unit were held at least once a week. During these meetings business of the group was transacted, officers elected, discussions held, and there was a good deal of informal study done by listening to reports of members and the following discussions on a variety of subjects. This was the only place in which a Jewish youngster in Vienna could participate in a group by democratic procedures. The
division had its activities once a month or less frequently. The youth group as a whole would get together only a few times during the year. Most of these larger meetings took place on hikes. The hike was a weekly function and of the greatest importance because of the fact that a whole day (Sunday) was spent together out in nature. It was on these hikes that the young members of the youth groups learned to take care of themselves and to share with others whatever they had brought along. Working together developed a sense of responsibility for the group.27 Another feature of the yearly activities were night hikes which were undertaken in the spring and fall time of the year.

The culmination of the years activities was a summer camp for a period of three to six weeks. It was here that all which was learned during the year was put to the test of reality of living together in tents in the most primitive conditions. It was also during this time that intensive courses in all Jewish subjects were given. It was intensive Jewish living according to the different ideologies of each group.28

The Jewish youth movement in Vienna has brought forth out of its ranks thousands of people who have made great

27Jüdische Jugend vol. ii - 1, Vienna, 1934.
28BKG 1912-1924, 1925-1928, 1929-1932, 1933-1936 in both sections: welfare and education deal with the summer activities of youth organizations.
contributions to the building up of the State of Israel. In all areas of life in Israel do these people play a prominent role: government, education, science, agriculture, military, etc. The world has known the average Viennese as an easy-going, pleasure-loving individual, whose main occupation it was to spend his days in the Cafehaus. The Viennese Jew was the typical Luftmensch (a man without visible means of income), and it was exactly against this type of life that the youth movement revolted and through its formal and informal education succeeded in creating a productive, creative and positive type of Jew.

The Jewish Sports Movement in Vienna

The membership of Jewish sports organizations in Vienna was so large and its educational program so developed that they occupied a significant place in the general framework of the Jewish educational endeavor. In the year 1936 the two large sports organizations, Makkabi Turnverein and Sportklub Hakoah had over 2500 members. The Hakoah, as it was known, was by far the largest sports organization in Austria.

29 Shenaton ha-Memshala, government yearbook of Israel, contains the names of many high officials in various branches of the government: the mayor of Jerusalem, five ambassadors, generals in the armed forces, etc.

30 Bericht des Polizeipräsidiums, Vienna, 1936. All organizations were required by law to register with the police.
The Jewish sports movement in Vienna had its beginnings at the turn of the century when the ideas of the Zionist movement were propagated by its followers in this city. The Zionists were completely influenced by the idea of the need for each individual to be reborn both physically and spiritually. They heeded Nordau's words about the strengthening of the body and were impressed by his concept of Muskeljudentum.\(^\text{31}\) He became the spiritual father of the Jewish sports movement which was founded as a result of the nationalist Zionist ideas of men like Nordau. The sports organization Maccabi was a world-wide organization closely associated with the Zionist movement. It required of its members the study of Hebrew, Jewish History and participation in the upbuilding of Palestine. In all its sports activities it used the Hebrew language, and thus motivated many of its members to take up Hebrew studies at an early age. Whenever athletic events took place they were connected with some cultural activity. Sports festivals were held on Jewish holidays such as Hanukka or Lag-Ba-Omer. Many of these events would be concluded with Hebrew presentations, songs, dances and quizzes.\(^\text{32}\)

\(^{31}\) The term Muskeljudentum was coined by Max Nordau (1849-1923), author, philosopher, Zionist leader, in 1898 in reference to the importance athletics have in the education of the Jewish people. Zionistische Schriften, Berlin, 1923; also Ben-Horin, Meir, Max Nordau (New York 1956), p. 164.

The major event of the Maccabi movement was the Maccabia in Israel. Years of preparation would precede these international sports games. The official Austrian delegation to the Maccabia consisted of members of the Hakoah clubs and the Makkabi Turnverein. At both the first and second Maccabia, which were held in the years 1932 and 1935 they achieved the highest number of points and therefore became unofficial team champions. In hundreds of sports events both in Austria and in Europe the Hakoah and Maccabi gained impressive victories.  

All members of the Makkabi Turnverein were encouraged to belong to the youth organization Makkabi Hatzair, which had the same educational program as all other youth groups. Those members who did not join the Makkabi Hatzair were requested to register for Jewish studies. All those who were above the age of eighteen years and could not join the Makkabi Hatzair had to engage in Jewish studies in adult education programs. The Makkabi Turnverein Wien had in 1936 five branches in different districts of the city and a total membership of over 800.  

The Sportklub Hakoah Wien was an independent Jewish

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34 Yearly report to the Jugendreferat of the Commission of Education of the KG, Vienna, 1936, VA KAU 231b.
sports organization which worked frequently in association with the Maccabi movement. It represented the Makkabi Kreis Österreich (the Austrian branch of the World Maccabi Union) at the Maccabia and other international sports events. It was active in many branches of sport such as: soccer, track and field, handball, field-and ice hockey, swimming, table tennis, wrestling, winter sports, fencing, tennis, mountaineering and chess. It was one of the outstanding sports organizations of Europe. While achieving sports victories was very important, its members were constantly educated in Jewish matters. Hebrew courses, studies in Jewish subjects, lectures, discussions, Jewish music (the club had an excellent orchestra), etc. were part of the general program. 35

It can be stated, in conclusion, that the Jewish sports movement in Vienna, supported by the leadership of, the Gemeinde played an important role in educating the Jewish boy and girl to become a physically able and intellectually well developed person.

These words were spoken by Dr. Leopold Plaschkes, the representative of the Jewish community in the city council of Vienna, at the conclusion of an address to the Jewish youth assembled on Jüdischer Sportstag May, 1937. It summarizes very well the real situation in regard to the sports movement of Viennese Jewry between the two World Wars. 36

36 Leo Goldhammer, Leopold Plaschkes, Ein Zeitbild, Tel-Aviv, 1943.
CHAPTER VII

SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

True to its special position, the Commission of Education of the KG, which was the policy-making body in matters of education, strove to improve upon existing conditions and to initiate and sponsor new activities for the young generation of the Jewish community in Vienna.

One of the major activities was the Jugendgottesdienst (Youth Service) thanks to the large number of participants. The following table will illustrate the attendance of students at these services.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School year</th>
<th>Sabbath</th>
<th>Synagogues</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932/33</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>103,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933/34</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>147,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934/35</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>137,486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935/36</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>156,453</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The increasing number of participating students is even more significant in view of the fact that the Jewish child population decreased from 1932 to 1935 by about 6%. The average attendance on every Sabbath was for all synagogues 4,255 students, while in each Synagogue the average attendance

\[^{1}\text{BKG 1933-1936, p. 39.}\]
amounted to 233 students.

The *Jugendgottesdienst* was held on Saturday afternoon and lasted for about one hour for the younger children and one and one-half hours for the older group. Services had to be held on afternoons of the Sabbath because public schools had a six-days-a-week session including the morning of the Saturday. In several synagogues two services were held, one for the pupils of elementary schools and the lower grades of the Mittelschule, and one for the students of the upper grades of the Mittelschule.²

Attendance at the *Jugendgottesdienst* was voluntary and it was up to the teachers to encourage the attendance of their pupils. The service was supervised by teachers of religion in public schools and by teachers in Language and Bible Schools. The all-over supervision of the *Jugendgottesdienst* was in the hands of the inspector of Bible Schools and head of the Jugendreferat Isidor Öhler.³

The service excelled by its dignity and good decorum. The rabbi and the cantor of the Synagogue made it their business to be present at the service, which was held in their Synagogue. Thus, the surroundings and the officials inspired the students to behave well and to participate

²Bericht über Jugendgottesdienst by Lehrer Joseph Pick, VA KAU 150.4.
³Bericht des Jugendreferates 1935, VA KAU 150.5.
actively in worship.

The service consisted of the following prayers: 
Ashre\textsuperscript{r}, u-ba le-Zion, \textsuperscript{w}Ya-Ani Tefilati, the taking out of the Torah, reading of the Torah portion, a prayer for the welfare of the country in German language, the returning of the Torah, Amida, a few appropriate Sabbath hymns, Qaddish and Aleinu. \textsuperscript{4}

At the end of the service either the rabbi or one of the teachers present gave a little sermon usually dealing with the weekly portion of the Torah. Before the reading of the Torah a short explanation of its contents was given. Wherever possible, children were called upon to assist in leading the services. All people called up to the Torah were students.

In order to facilitate the participation the KG distributed through its teachers to pupils of the public school as well as the Bible Schools Siddurim completely at no cost to them. Another means of popularizing the Jugendgottesdienst was the distribution of a Kalenderblatt (calendar leaflet) to the students. The leaflet was printed on both its sides in an attractive form. One side had a summary of the weekly portion of the Torah and a few quotations in Hebrew. It also had information concerning the beginning and ending of the Sabbath. Before holidays it contained information about

\textsuperscript{4}Josef Pick, Bericht..., op. cit., p. 3.
the origin, history, customs and observances of the particular holiday. On the other side, it had a well prepared artistic illustration concerning one of the major events of the particular weekly portion. These leaflets not only helped the students but also brought Jewish knowledge to their homes.5

In the Bible Schools as well as in religious instruction in public schools teachers spent some time to prepare students for participation in the Jugendgottesdienst. This preparation was both for the purpose of participation and leading certain parts of the service.6

Reference is made many times among students as well as youth leaders about the fact that before and after the service students congregated to discuss various matters of religious and other interests. These moments of congregating were also used for the purpose of socializing and attracting new members to their respective youth organizations.7

In addition to the regular Jugendgottesdienst on the Sabbath afternoon, special services were held on holidays and memorial services on particular occasions. Once a year during the High Holidays a large hall was rented for the

5BKG 1933 - 1936, pp. 46-47; See Appendix.
6Bericht des Jugendreferates 1936; VA KAU 150.6.
7BKG 1933 - 1936, p. 54.
purpose to hold services only for the more mature youth. This service was accessible to all teenagers without any admission fee, as was the rule for adults. Special religious celebrations were held under the sponsorship of the Jugendreferat on the occasion of Jewish holidays such as Purim, Lag b'omer, Simhat-Torah, Hanukkah, etc. Also special Sedarim for students who did not have such observances at home. All these activities were financed by the KG.

The preparation for the Bar Mizva ceremony was another of the supplementary educational activities. The Viennese community was still traditional to the point, that the ceremony of becoming a Bar Mizva was viewed as a purely religious matter. The thirteen-year-old boy was called up to the Torah and according to his background and preparation chanted either the blessings for the Torah only, or was given the privilege to chant the Haftara and even lead part of the service. Boys who attended Language and Bible Schools of any type were trained by the teacher of the school. Boys who did not attend those schools were permitted to enroll in preparation courses given in various districts of the city. For these courses parents had to pay a small tuition fee and those who could not afford to pay were admitted free of charge.

At the time of the Bar Mizva celebration the KG

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8 Ibid., p. 6.
presented to each boy a de luxe edition of the Siddur. Boys whose parents were without means of support received also a Tallit and Tefillin.  

There are no statistics available as to the total number of boys celebrating their becoming Bar Mizva in all Synagogues; the only figures we have refer to the six Synagogues under the direct administration of the KG, there during the years 1933 - 1936 altogether 1,189 boys were called up to the Torah. 

There were no Bat Mizva celebrations for girls but by the demand of many parents a ceremony was introduced which was called Mädchenkonfirmation (confirmation for girls). There were no educational requirements for the participation in such a ceremony which was held during the spring time at no particular set date. The entire preparation consisted of a course for girls from thirteen to fifteen years of age, which lasted for several weeks. The girls as a group recited some selections from the Bible or the Siddur and in turn were presented by the community with a Siddur. Speeches by the rabbi and some refreshments afterwards concluded the ceremony.

Neither boys reaching their Bar Mizva age nor girls becoming a Bat Mizva expected more in terms of celebration

9 BKG 1933 - 1936, p. 37.
10 Ibid., pp. 37-38.
11 Ibid., p. 40.
than a modest Kiddush to the members of the family and the Synagogue worshippers. Only a few very rich and prominent Jewish families would arrange for Bar Mizva celebrations similar to American Jewish customs.\(^\text{12}\)

The ritual of the Viennese Synagogues was a traditional one and therefore no music was played in the Gemeindesynagogen. The cantor, however, was assisted by a male choir which consisted of at least 75% boys. Thus the choir became an important activity for hundreds of boys of ages nine to thirteen years. The boys were recruited from the students of the Bible Schools and sometimes were "discovered" by teachers of Jewish religion in the public schools. Every candidate was tested by the choir director and if it was found that he qualified for membership, he was given a gown and had to commit himself to attend rehearsals twice a week. The choirs participated in every Sabbath and holiday service. The boys of the choir received a small amount of money as a remuneration.\(^\text{13}\)

All the above mentioned activities were in connection with the Synagogue. Other supplementary activities, mostly sponsored by the KG and financed by it, were summer programs.


\(^{13}\) Announcement printed in FJL vol. vi - 3, 1925, asking for boys to join the choirs.
The summer projects such as camps, day camps, play hours, etc. combined welfare and educational purposes. The KG admitted every child to these programs, if his parents so desired and notwithstanding their ability to pay for them. 14

In the year 1936 the total number of children participating in all-day summer activities was 4,096. The age of these children was from five to fourteen years. Of this total number, 1,467 spent at least three weeks in a sleep-away camp in three summer homes purchased and administered by the KG. The rest attended various day camps in and around the city of Vienna. All these children spent at least two hours a day in planned educational activities. These activities consisted of courses in Hebrew, Jewish subjects such as Jewish History, Customs and Observances, Bible, etc. Even the recreational activities had a definite element of learning in it. The personnel for these programs was well trained in Hebrew and Jewish learning, so that a game became an educational experience and not just a matter of spending time. 15

A most interesting project in this area was the Kinderheim Baumgarten founded in 1919 by Dr. Siegfried Bernfeld and financed by the American Joint Distribution Comm-


15 BKG 1933-1936, p. 51.
mittee. It was attended by about 300 boys and girls ages three to sixteen years. Dr. Bernfeld attempted in this children's home to create a real-life community for children. The children were mostly orphans and came to the Kinderheim in a state of neglect and despair. They were made welcome and their human dignity restored to them by having them participate actively in the governing of their own affairs. The children elected a council which took part together with the adult staff in planning daily activities. Furthermore, the council assisted in supervising the daily routine of the children. It appointed monitors for all chores. In cases of conflicts and quarrels it was this council which took the initiative to settle them. The whole community was divided into Qevuzot and the orderlies were called Shotrim. Both these terms attest to the fact that the Hebrew language was used and became a very real thing for the children.

The director and the staff of the home were specially trained people to handle such a progressive program. The founder and supervisor of the home, according to his own testimony was forced to resign after only one year of office, because of resistance by the sponsors to his educational concepts.16

16Siegfried Bernfeld, Kinderheim Baumgarten (Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin, 1921).
In most of the educational activities of the Viennese Jewish community the parents as an organized body did not play a major role. This lack of participation was due to the fact that the professionals never came around to involve parents actively. In the year 1934 through the initiative of the chairman of the Commission of Education of the KG an organization of parents by the name of Jüdischer Kultureller Elternbund was founded. The concept of PTA (Parents-Teachers Associations) was not known at this time in Austria, but the new organization was indeed a step towards such a PTA. The Elternbund assisted the Bible Schools in every district of the city. It arranged a cultural and educational program for its members and published a monthly paper called Jüdische Jugend.17

There existed in Vienna many organizations whose aims it was to further Jewish education in other countries. The Israelitische Allianz Wien, the Beth-Jakob school foundation, the societies for the aid of Yeshivot in Palestine, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, etc. While these societies and organizations did not take an active part in furthering Jewish education in Vienna, by their existence, nevertheless they brought an awareness of Jewish educational needs to Viennese Jews.18

17 BKG 1933 - 1936, p. 52.
18 JJFO 1933, pp. 48-57.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The period between the two World Wars was indeed a comparatively short one but it was a period which changed the fortunes of European Jewry in general, and Austrian Jewry in particular. World War I had brought about a complete change in the political, economic and cultural status of the Jews. For the first time Jews were recognized as a legal ethnic minority in all successor states such as the Republic of Austria, Hungary, the Republic of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Roumania. The various peace treaties incorporated and guaranteed these minority rights. This does not necessarily mean that in practice Jews were able to enjoy their newly won privileges.

Furthermore, Jews all over the world were still aroused by the hopeful message of the Balfour Declaration of 1917. This letter by the foreign secretary James Balfour, member of the government of the most powerful country in the world, to the leader of British Jewry, represented in the eyes of all Jews the expression of the hope to return to their ancient homeland.

Finally, this was the period of time which saw the rise of antisemitism in its most cruel and ugly forms. This movement reached new heights of hatred and terror in the Nazi movement in Germany and spread its poison to many countries.
Viennese Jewry was very slow to react to these changes
and forces. When given rights as a legal ethnic minority
they exercised their right to elect their own representatives
only in the first election after the establishment of the
Austrian Republic. At that time they elected one representa­
tive each to the national assembly and to the Vienna munici­
pality. In the second election, Jews preferred to go the
ways of assimilation, especially the so-called red assimila­
tion, namely, to vote for the representatives of the social
democratic party which was the majority and ruling party of
Vienna.

The call of the Balfour Declaration did not bring any
practical consequences to the Jews of Vienna. It took the
Zionist movement many more years to gain a majority in the
Kultusgemeinde (1932) and before it could make its influence
felt, the conquest by the Nazis had put an end to the Jewish
community of Vienna. There was no sign of a widespread
movement of immigration to Palestine during these years and
only a small number of idealists heeded the call of Zionism.

As far as the reaction to the danger of antisemitism
was concerned, Jews decided to ignore the matter. Neither
the acts of violence by antisemites, nor the warning speeches
by Jewish leaders made a deep impression upon them. Not even
the taking over of the reigns of government by the Nazis in
Germany in 1933 stirred them up sufficiently to prevent the terrible tragedy which was to come in the future. Jews continued to be socialists, marxists, monarchists, assimilationists, etc. and comforted themselves with the idea that the storm would blow over without causing too much damage.

It is therefore not surprising that such a lethargic Jewish community would not be able to create a system of Jewish education which would be on a high level. If it were not for the Chief Rabbi, Dr. H. P. Chajes, who during his short time as spiritual head of the Jewish community of Vienna brought some new life into it, indeed very little could have been written about Jewish education in Vienna. Even so, the picture of achievements is not a very bright one. Each and every one of the various educational activities by themselves did not leave a deep impression upon the young generation. The results which were achieved came only thanks to the combination of several activities, especially the informal studies which were undertaken by highly motivated young people.

Religious instruction in public schools, though quantitatively the largest activity, was qualitatively the poorest. Every pupil in public schools had to attend Jewish religious instruction, but the instruction consisted only of two hours a week and suffered from the use of poor methods and outdated textbooks. Even after twelve years of religious
instruction (four years in the Volksschule and eight years in the Mittelschule) a graduate barely knew to read Hebrew prayers from the Siddur, had a very scant knowledge of Jewish history, the Bible, customs and observances, and did not develop a positive attitude towards Judaism.

The Bible and Language Schools could claim a far greater degree of success in their educational achievements. Here the more frequent hours of instruction, better motivated students, a more positive attitude at home and increased efforts by the educational authorities of the KG combined to produce better results. However, if all Jewish education would have to depend only upon this type of school, the outcome would not have been satisfactory.

Informal education in youth and sports organizations and all the many supplementary activities sponsored by the KG and by private groups had undoubtedly a very great impact upon Jewish children and youth. Members and participants in these organizations took their religious and Hebrew studies much more seriously. A very small number of children and youth attended the few Jewish institutions such as the Chajes-gymnasium and the Talmud-Toraschule and therefore were in a different category when it comes to Jewish educational achievements, particularly where the positive attitude is concerned. If we can speak about a lasting impact of Jewish education upon the young generation, then it is only as a result of the combined efforts of several educational
activities.

In a special category belong such educational institutions as the Israelitische Theologische Lehranstalt, the Beth ha-Midrash, the Hebräisches Padagogium and the Maimonides Institut which served only adults and thanks to its scholarly faculties made themselves a name. It would have been indeed deplorable if a Jewish community such as the one in Vienna could not establish higher institutions of learning.

While criticism of the educational system of Viennese Jewry is quite justified, it is nevertheless only fair to state that Vienna indeed was "Ir Ḥa-Em be-Yisrael." It had a Jewish life which expressed itself in all areas of human endeavor: in religion, education, the arts, entertainment, sports, etc., Jews created their own institutions and organizations. In addition to that, Jews participated in all general aspects of life in Vienna. It is therefore even more tragic to realize the swift and complete destruction of this pulsating Jewish community after the annexation of Austria by the Nazi German Reich.

The Nazi take-over occurred on March 13, 1938 and for the first few weeks all Jewish communal activities were interrupted completely. Only after payment of a large fine were Jews permitted to open the KG offices. From then on the major concern of the KG were two matters: emigration
and welfare. All educational activities as they were known up to that time were discontinued. Only a few Jewish institutions such as the Chajesgymnasium continued its service to the end of the term. Even there the regular studies could not be kept up because teachers emigrated or were arrested in the streets with other Jews and sent to concentration camps. Several courses in preparation for emigration were given in a very unorganized manner either by the Haluz movement which was permitted to operate only with the understanding that it would send as many Jews out of the country as soon as possible. The Israelitische Theologische Lehranstalt was closed; the library which was in the same building was confiscated; all religious instruction in public schools stopped. Bible Schools tried for a short while to continue but there were no funds available for their upkeep. After the 10th of November 1938 and the pogroms of this day all educational activities had to stop. The Nazi authorities

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1 Report by the KG on a mimeographed sheet exists in the VA KAU 347.

2 See copy of report by the Hechalutz Wien to the Geheime Staatspolizei (Gestapo), Wien Mai 1938, VA KAU 349.

3 The following sources were used for the concluding paragraphs of this chapter: Frischauer, Willi, Twilight in Vienna (New York, 1938); The New York Times, all articles dealing with Nazi terrorism and Jewish persecution in Vienna during the years 1938 and 1939; Edward W. Jelisko, The Austrian Inferno (New York, 1939); Karbach, Oskar, The Liquidation of the Jewish Community of Vienna (New York, 1940); Documents and files of the VA KAU 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350.
began to prepare the remnants of Viennese Jewry for the final solution. At the time of the outbreak of World War II, Jews of Vienna heard the first news of their being sent to Lublin. This plan of the Nazis to bring all the Austrian Jews to Lublin was never completed. The time of extermination camps had come. Thus Vienna became a city without Jews and the period of Jewish history there which had started with the emancipation at the end of the 18th century came to its tragic conclusion.
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| Hauptschule für Knaben | Hauptschule für Mädchen |
| Mittelschule | Volksschule für Knaben |
| Volksschule für Mädchen |

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Für: Brenne Jaroś

geboren am 22. Januar 1927 zu Wien in 1. Bezirk


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**Bemerkung:**

Auf Grund der folgenden Qualitätsschätzung kann der Schüler mit der ‚b‘ in der siebte Klasse für die Nachprüfung empfohlen werden.

Wien, am_ 19_

_Leiter der Schule._

**Anmerkung:** Die Beurteilung vom Besuch eines oder mehrerer Unterrichtsstunden wird durch ein in die betreffende Spalte eingefügtes „b“ (beides) erhöht gemeldet.

**Notenstufen:**

a) **Befragung:**

1 = sehr gut
2 = gut
3 = entsprechend
4 = nicht entsprechend

b) **Frisch, Fortgang und äußere Form der Arbeiten:**

1 = sehr gut
2 = gut
3 = genügend
4 = nicht genügend.
**Jahres- und Entlassungszeugnis.**

Regine Gasser, geboren am 10. Sept. 1919, Wien, Österreich

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**Außere Form der Arbeiten:** gut.
### Halbjahrssausweis

**Name:** Reisinger, Henry  
**Klasse:** der ersten Klasse des Realgymnasiums, Form A

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**Katalog-Nr.:** 24  
**Schuljahr:** 1929/30
L A H R P L A N
für den israelitischen Religionsunterricht an Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Wien.

A) An Volksschulen für Knaben.

I. Classe.


3. Übersetzen und Memorieren:
   1. Satz von Am: בְּרֹעֲכֵד בָּרְאֵה וְהָלְאֵה מַעְרַשְׁתְּךָ בְּרֹעֲכֵד בָּרְאֵה וְהָלְאֵה מַעְרַשְׁתְּךָ

II. Classe.


3. Übersetzen und Memorieren:
   קְרַעְשָׁתְךָ בְּרֹעְכֵד וְהָלְאֵה מַעְרַשְׁתְּךָ
   Benediction über Brot.

III. Classe.

APPENDIX V

List of Bible Schools

I. Schools sponsored by the Kultusgemeinde

1. Bibelschule: I. Seitenstettengasse 4
2. " : II. Tempelgasse 5
3. " : II. Leopoldsgasse 29
4. " : II. Ferdinandstrasse 3
5. " : II. Rembrandtstrasse 32
6. " : II. Praterstrasse 60
7. " : II. Enns gasse 17
8. " : III. Pazmanitengasse 6
9. " : III. Untere Viadukt gasse 13
10. " : V. Siebenbrunnebgasse 1a
11. " : VI. Schmalzhofgas gasse 3
12. " : VI. Stumergasse 42
13. " : VIII. Neudggergasse 12
14. " : IX. Muellnergasse 21
15. " : IX. Gruene Thorgasse 28
16. " : X. Humboldtsgasse 27
17. " : XI. Braunhubergasse 7
18. " : XIV. Storchengasse 21
19. " : XV. Turnergasse 22
20. " : IX. Lichtensteinstrasse 8
21. " : IX. Nussdorferstrasse 12
22. " : XVI. Hubergasse 8
23. " : XV. Herklotzgasse 21
24. " : XVIII. Schopenhauergasse 39
25. " : XIX. Dollinergasse 3
26. " : XX. Dennisstrasse 22
27. " : XX. Othmargasse 46
28. " : XX. Karl Meissistrasse 1
29. " : XX. Traunfelsgasse 3
30. " : XX. Heinzelmangasse 20
31. " : XX. Mortaraplatz 1
32. " : XXI. Holzmeistergasse 12

II. Privately Sponsored Schools

a) Hebrew Language Schools

1. Hebraische Schule der Zionistischen Bezirks­sektion Leopoldstadt II. Praterstrasse 13
2. Vereinigte hebraische Schulen Wien, Sektion Prater, II. Stuwerstrasse 1
b) Bible Schools and Talmud Torah Schools

1. Talmudschule "Har Hamoria" des Vereines "Machsike Hadath-Nachlath Jakob" II. Haidgasse 1
2. Talmud Tora Verein "Or Thora" II. Czerninplatz 4
3. Bibelschule des Juedisch Orthodoxen Schulvereines "Prater Talmud Tora" II. Wohlmuthstrasse 21
4. Bibelschule des Schulvereines "Beth Jakob" II. Brigittenauerlaende 2
5. Schulverein "Jessod Hatora" des Vereines "Adas Jisroel" Wien II. Nestroygasse 11
6. Schulverein "Talmud Tora Torat Chaim" II. Klanggasse 7
8. Bibelschule des "Juedischen Vereines Neubau" VIII. Schottenfeldgasse 60
10. Bibelschule des Bethausvereines "Auhawe Israel" XIV. Sturzgasse 40
11. Talmud Tora Schule des Vereines "Tomche Tora" XX. Baeuerlegasse 36
12. Bibelschule Grose Mohrenengasse 15 Wien II
13. Bibelschule Obermuellnerstrasse 11 Wien II
14. Bibelschule des Talmud Tora Vereines III. Erdbergstrasse 15
15. Bibelschule des Vereines "Scheweth Achim" XVI. Neulerchenfelderstrasse 64.
16. Bibelschule des Bethausvereines "Tomche Tora" XVII. Roetzergasse 11
17. Bibelschule des Juedischen Schulvereines II. Zirkusgasse 33
Jüdisch-Orthodoxer Schul-Verein für den IX. Bezirk "Tora's Chajim".

Zeugnis.

Karl Reischler
Schüler der 11. Klasse der Kurs des Tora's Chajim
Vereins im IX. Bezirk besucht und in den einzelnen Gegenständen
folgenden Fortgang erreicht:

Betragen: 1.
Fleiss: 1.
Übersetzung: 1.
Bibel: 1.
Propheten:
Hebräische Grammatik:
Geschichte Literatur:
Talmud 1366:
Jud. Schreiben 1.

Für die Schule:  

Schulleiter:

Wien, am 7. Juli 1937
APPENDIX VII

Summary of Interviews in Connection with Chajesgymnasium Wien

Interviewed were: The director Dr. Victor Kellner; two teachers: Mrs. Anna Feuerlicht and Mrs. Lucy Benedikt, both taught in the general department (not Jewish subjects); eighteen students:

1. Asher Ben-Natan, Tel-Aviv, Israel, attended from 1932 to 1938
2. Joseph Brenner, Manchester, England, attended from 1934 to 1938
3. Teddy Bronner, Haifa, Israel, attended from 1933 to 1938
4. Wolfgang Bronner, Haifa, Israel, attended from 1930 to 1937
5. Alfred Deutsch, Hartford, Connecticut, attended from 1919 to 1926
6. Judith Eshed, Kefar Saba, Israel, attended from 1934 to 1938
7. Walter Fischer, Tel-Aviv, Israel, attended from 1925 to 1932
8. Gideon Gelernter, Bronx, New York, attended from 1928 to 1936
9. Ella Gross, Mount Vernon, New York, attended from 1933 to 1938
10. Adolf Haller, Bronx, New York, attended from 1922 to 1929
11. Oded Messer, Jerusalem, Israel, attended from 1934 to 1938
12. Frieda Orbach, New York, New York, attended from 1933 to 1939
13. Joseph Reiss (Rabbi), Bronx, New York, attended from 1931 to 1937
14. Norbert Ross, Rego Park, New York, attended from 1927 to 1935
15. Suzanne Steppel, Brooklyn, New York, attended from 1934 to 1938
16. Dr. Jenny Stricker, New York, New York, attended from 1925 to 1933
17. William Stricker, New York, New York, attended from 1921 to 1928
18. Sonya Waschitz, Brooklyn, New York, attended from 1935 to 1939
The following questions were asked:

1. How many hours of Hebrew studies did you have a week?
   All answered that there was a minimum of six hours a week, of which two hours were instruction in Religion and four hours were study of the Hebrew language. In higher grades additional non-obligatory hours of study were added.

2. In what language was the instruction in all these hours?
   All answered that it was Hebrew.

3. What pronunciation was used?
   All answered that the Sefardic pronunciation was used.

4. What subjects in addition to the Hebrew language were taught?
   Eleven answered: Bible, Jewish History, Mishna, Gemara, Aggada
   Four answered: Bible, Jewish History, Mishna
   Three answered: Bible, Jewish History, Mishna, Gemara, Aggada, Zionism, Israel
   The director and the two teachers concurred with the last three students.

5. What textbooks were used?
   Fifteen were not sure, but mentioned the Bible
   Two answered: Bible and Hebrew reader Maanit
   One student and the director answered: Bible, Maanit, Lashon va-Sefer, Toledot Yisrael, Sefer ha-Aggada. The two teachers who did not teach Hebrew subjects did not recall the textbooks.

6. What were the aims of the school in your opinion?
   The students and the two teachers spoke about the Jewish aims only, namely, making the students conscious, proud and learned Jews.
   The director mentioned the Jewish goals and combined them with the goals of good citizenship in the Republic of Austria.
7. In what ways and by what methods, do you think, were these goals achieved?

All students stressed the fact that there was a good Jewish atmosphere; the small student body made for a harmonious working together, the homes and the parents were invited to participate in creating a working harmony.

The two teachers felt that there was not enough stress upon the general educational goals.

The director's testimony is attached in the letter.

8. Did the school have a religious atmosphere?

The director claimed that there was a traditionalist atmosphere.

All students as well as the two teachers were quite positive in their opinion that the school did not have a religious atmosphere; as examples were cited: the director removed skull caps from boys' heads; there was no instruction in observances of holidays.

9. What was the atmosphere of the school?

All answered that it was a school permeated with the spirit of Jewish national ideals.

10. What was the level of the general studies?

All agreed in their answers that the level was very high and cited as examples results of city-wide examinations.

11. What type of students attended the school?

Children from the Jewish lower middle classes; many of them needed subsidies to be able to pay the tuition fee.

12. All students were asked the following final question: To what type of school did you send your children?

Of the eighteen people asked, one does not have children; none of the six people in Israel sent their children to religious public schools there; all the eleven people in the United States of America sent their children to Jewish all-day schools.
Appendix VIII

24.5.61

The Lord is not in the wind, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the still small voice.

This verse from 1 Kings 19:12 is often cited as an illustration of the idea that true wisdom and understanding come not from external dramatic events, but from the quiet, still moments when one is able to hear and reflect on the inner voice of the soul. The Lord is not found in the chaos and turmoil of the world, but in the quiet and stability of the inner self. This is a lesson that is both timeless and relevant in our fast-paced modern world, reminding us to find moments of peace and stillness amidst the noise and commotion of daily life.

The verse is a reminder to be patient and not to be swayed by external events or influences. True wisdom comes from within, and it is necessary to listen and attend to the inner voice. This is a lesson that is both timeless and relevant in our fast-paced modern world, reminding us to find moments of peace and stillness amidst the noise and commotion of daily life.
Jahreszeugnis

Katalognr.: 30

geboren am 15. März 1928 zu Wien in österreichisches Reich. Österreichischer Staatsbürger.


erhält über das Schuljahr 1937/38 nachstehendes Zeugnis:

Betragen sehr gut

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Der Schüler ist geeignet, in die nächste Klasse aufzusteigen.
Der Schüler hat an den Unverbindlichen Übungen teilgenommen:

Jahr: 1908

Wiener 1.

Notenreihe

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APPENDIX IX
APPENDIX X

Die Volksschule der Kultusgemeinde.

So einmütig der Kultusvorstand sich gegen die Einführung von konfessionellen Abteilungen innerhalb der öffentlichen Schulen aussprach, so ist er der festen Übereinigung, daß der Aufbau eines eigenen, von der jüdischen Gemeinschaft geleiteten jüdischen Schulwerkes für die Erziehung von unerschütterlicher Bedeutung ist. Aus diesem Grunde wurde auch die Errichtung einer eigenen Volksschule der Kultusgemeinde beschlossen.


Der Unterricht an dieser Schule entspricht in seinem Lehrplan vollständig den schulbehördlichen Vorschriften für die allgemeine Volksschule. Selbstverständlich wird an derselben für die jüdische Erziehung in einem viel weiteren Ausmaße Sorge getroffen, indem schon die Kinder der I. Klasse statt einer Religionsstunde in der
Das Bildungsprogramm der Universität Bonn wurde in der Zeit der Nationalsozialisten stark eingeschränkt. Die Universität war zu einem Zentrum der deutschen Nationalpolitik geworden, und ihre Tätigkeit wurde stark durch die Regierungsgewalt bestimmt. Die universitären Einrichtungen wurden zu politischen Instrumenten umgewandelt, und die Forschung wurde stark eingeschränkt.

In der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus wurde die Universität Bonn zu einem Zentrum der deutschen Nationalpolitik. Die Forschung und die Lehre wurden stark eingeschränkt, und die Universität wurde zu einem politischen Instrument umgewandelt. Die Regierungsgewalt bestimmt stark die Tätigkeit der Universität.

Die Universität Bonn war zu einem Zentrum der deutschen Nationalpolitik geworden. Die Forschung und die Lehre wurden stark eingeschränkt, und die Universität wurde zu einem politischen Instrument umgewandelt. Die Regierungsgewalt bestimmt stark die Tätigkeit der Universität.
Die Jüdische Volkshochschule

Im Vorjahr vom städtischen „Wiener Bildungswerk“ (Jiid. Referat) ins Leben gerufen, konnte die Volkshochschule im heutigen Jahre gemeinsam mit dem Schulamt der Kultusgemeinde durch unsere Hilfe in vorläufig noch nicht vollkommenen, aber eigenen Räumen ihre Tätigkeit fortsetzen.

WINTERSEMESTER

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Man kann in unseren Kursen um S 3.80 pro halbjahr bei erstrangigen Dozenten Hebräisch oder Fremdsprachen lernen, wobei wir zu bedenken bitten, daß fast fünfzig Prozent der Volkshochschulbesucher Teilzahler, bezüglichweise Arbeitslose sind, für die der ohnehin mäßige Beitrag auf die Hälfte herabgesetzt wurde.

Folgende Dozenten lesen u. a.:

Dr. A. Bogner, Dr. L. Brüll, E. Feldmann, Oberkantor E. Fränkl, Prof. Dr. H. Gliicksman, Doz. Dr. H. Jansky, E. Jonas, Dr. Prof. Dr. V. Kellner, Dr. B. Klar, Dr. M. E. Klarmann, Studienrat Prof. Dr. E. Kohn, Dr. A. Köppel, Rektor Professor Dr. S. Krauss, Prof. Dr. K. Kupfer, Dr. C. Lehmann, Dr. S. Margulies, Prof. Dr. M. Papo, Dr. S. Rappaport, Rabbiner Doktor M. Rosenmann, Dr. M. Rosenwald, Dr. K. Schieber, Dr. H. Weinstein, Prof. Dr. A. Weißkopf, Dr. A. Werner.

LIEHBÜCHEREI

Im Monat Juni wurde für die Mitglieder der Jüdischen Volkshochschule und der Jüdischen Kulturstelle eine moderne Leihbibliothek geschaffen, die über alle Neuerscheinungen und Judaica verfügt. Die Bücher sind durchwegs neu und werden gegen eine mäßige Gebühr an die Mitglieder verliehen.
Die jüdische Kulturstelle
und Volkshochschule
I. FRANZ JOSEFS-KAI 3, TEL R-28-2-36
wird ermunrt durch die auf anderen Kunstdgebieten bis-
her erreichten Erfolge von nun an auch Musikwerke unter
besonderer Berücksichtigung des musikalischen Werkes der
Juden bieten.
Vor allem soll der jüdischen Musikproduktion der Weg
gebahnt werden: wir wollen sonst nicht gehörte Werke
bringen und dadurch auch unseren reproduzierenden Künst-
lern neue Arbeitsmöglichkeiten geben; in diesem Zusammen-
hang denken wir z. B. an die Belebung der jüdischen Ver-
eins-Festprogramme.
Die Erfahrung lehrt, daß unseren Kreisen vielleicht die Er-
kenntnis von der Notwendigkeit musikalischer Erziehung
fremd ist — als eines Faktors zur harmonischen Aus-
bildung des Menschen. Wir wollen dieser Erkenntnis und
ihrer Wirkung durch Vorträge über Musik und musikalische
Vereinigungen zum Durchbruch verhelfen.
Zunächst bieten wir einen

ZYKLUS JÜDISCHER MUSIK

der in sechs Abenden einen Gesamtüberblick über das spe-
zifisch jüdische Musikgeschehen geben soll.
An jedem Abend werden bedeutende Fachleute einfüh-
rrende kurze Vorträge halten, welche Brauch wir bei den
folgenden Zyklen z. B. bei „der Geschichte der Kammer-
musik“, bei der Reihe: „Geschichte des Liedes“ usw. eben-
falls über wollen.
JÜDISCHE KULTURSTELLE

Eigene Institute

Jüdische Kunsthalle
Leitung: Prof. Dr. M. Papo
Kunstausstellungen, Museen, denkmalpflegerische Vermittlungsarbeiten

Jüdisches Kulturtheater
Leitung: Prof. Dr. F. Kapell
Tagestheater in deutscher Sprache spielend

Jüdische Volks- und Kulturhalle
Leitung: Prof. Dr. M. Papo
Jüdischer Volksbund, jüdische Literatur

Musik-Abende
Leitung: Dr. A. Werner

Lit. Abende
Leitung: Dr. A. Werner

Finanzinstrumente

Verbindung zu Behörden

Statistische Oberverwaltung der Stadt Wien
Stadtrat für Jugend und Familie
Bildungswesen der Stadt Wien

Pressestelle

Leitung: Dr. K. Bauer

Periodische Mitteilungen

Jüdische Kulturvereinigung seit 1936
Jüdische Darstellungen in der Stadt Wien

Die jüdischen Vereine in der Stadt Wien

Jeder Wiener Jude

zahlt als Stamm-Mitglied nur 1.50 Jährlich.

Außer vielen Begünstigungen eine Freikarte ins Kulturtheater und Gratissendung unserer Halbmonatschrift „Die Gärbe"
DIE GARBE

OFFIZIELLES ORGAN
DER JÜDISCHEN KULTURSTELLE UND VOLKSHOCHSCHULE
Wien I., Franz-Josephs-Kai 3 — Tel. R 28.2-36
NUMMER 62
Schriftleitung: Dr. Alfred Werner
1. Dezember 1937

Jüdische Kulturstelle und Volkshochschule.

Hauptstelle für jüdische Volksschule im Volkshochschulamt Bildungsreferat im Schulamt der Stadt Wien, Wien 1, Schießgasse 18.


Arbeitsjahre für das Winterhalbjahr 1937/38.

A. Sprachen:
Profi Dr. Arufl C. Gebräuchlich für Anfänger, Montag, 5/4 bis 7/9 Uhr.
Profi Dr. Arufl C. Gebräuchlich für Fortgeschrittene, Mittwoch, 1/5 bis 3/9 Uhr.
Jonas Fr., im Londoner Imp., Englisch für Anfänger, Montag, 5/4 bis 7/9 Uhr.
Feinmann C., Englisch für Fortgeschrittene, Mittwoch, 5/4 bis 7/9 Uhr.

B. Jüdische Wissen:
Profi Dr. Hupser H. Text- und Alltagsbrände, Donnerstag, 5/4 bis 7/8 Uhr.
Profi Dr. Papo M., Die Heilige in der Sprachwissenschaft, Donnerstag, 5/4 bis 7/8 Uhr.
Profi Dr. Bogner R. Die Grundrissen des Judentums, Donnerstag, 5/4 bis 7/8 Uhr.
Dr. Mers C., Die Grundrissen der Judensprache, Donnerstag, 5/4 bis 7/8 Uhr.
Dr. Diamant P. Z., Einführung in die Judensprache, Donnerstag, 5/4 bis 7/8 Uhr.

Armen N.: Mit fülligen jüdischen Sitten, Donnerstag, 5/4 bis 7/8 Uhr.

B. Kurse für Kinder:
Englischer Spiel- und Fernfurs für Anfänger und Kinder (im Alter von 8 bis 10 Jahren), Donnerstag, 5/4 bis 7/8 Uhr.
Gebräuchlicher Spiel- und Fernfurs für Anfänger und Kinder (im Alter von 8 bis 10 Jahren), Donnerstag, 5/4 bis 7/8 Uhr.

Friedensgäste, verbunden mit christlicher Erziehung, Dienstag, 5/4 bis 7/8 Uhr.

Die Verbindung des Gehörnigs in der Weltgut gibt jüdische Aufsicht der Komm Unionskindergäste an, nach der Regelung der jüdischen Kombination ist die Weltgut, die jüdische Kenntnisse sind eine wertvolle Erziehung.

Praktische Kursleitungen:

Dipl. Stimmlehrer Ernst Eich, Stimm-Bildung.
Prof. Dr. Martina Sollow: Das biblische Wort in der modernen Literatur.

Kursleitungen: Dr. Eich, Praktische Theaterleitung.

Der jüdische Gefangene

Brief jedes Donnerstag, 1 bis 9 Uhr (Volkshochschulturnen, jüdischen fremden Erbbildung).

Beispiel der Kursleitungen der Überreichung und Nichtabnahme sowie der Veranlassungen der Reihen für Allein- und Doppelform, besonders ge- feierte Mitteilungen.

Hansie Nef-Akademi

## Kursprogramm des „Jüdischen Zentrum“

der Sozialen Hilfsgemeinschaft Anitta Müller

Wien II., Untere Augartenstraße 35  
Tel. 45-3-79

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<td>Prof. J. Kästenbaum</td>
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<td>8-10-17</td>
<td>5. Okt.</td>
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<td>7-8-10</td>
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<td>(Mit geringen Vorkenntnissen)</td>
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Vorträge und Veranstaltungen:

Jüdische Dichternachmittage: Jeden zweiten Sonnabend (Leitung: Dr. Martha Hofmann) mit künstlerischem, literarischem und musikalischem Programm.

Nachmittage jüdischer Kunst: Jeden zweiten Sonntag abwechselnd mit den jüdischen Dichternachmittagen. (Leitung: Dr. Else Hofmann)


Hebräische Vorträge: Mittwoch und Samstag um 7 Uhr abends. (Leitung: Prof. Kästnerbaum und Prof. Geletnter)


Beratungsstellen:

ARZTLICHE BERATUNGSSTELLE:
Montag und Donnerstag von 2 bis 3 Uhr — Dr. Isidor Klaber

JURIDISCHE BERATUNGSSTELLE:
Dienstag von 6 bis 7 Uhr — Dr. Munk, Dr. Schick, Dr. Melles

BERATUNGSSTELLE FÜR SCHWER ERZIEHBARE UND IN DER ENTWICKLUNG ZURÜCKGEBLIEBENE KINDER:
Donnerstag von halb 7 bis 8 Uhr — Frau Martha Holub, Dr. A. Neuer

MUTTERBERATUNGSSTELLE:
Montag und Mittwoch von 3 bis 5 Uhr

Kinder-Lese- und Beschäftigungsstube
für schulpflichtige Kinder täglich von 3 bis 6 Uhr
APPENDIX XVII

List of Youth Organizations

All the following organizations were in existence at least for a period of five years.

1. Bund Jüdischer Jungwanderer - Jewish national general zionist

2. Jüdische Jugendarbeit "Akiba" - Jewish national religious zionist

3. Jüdischer Jungwandererbund "Gedud Z'irim" - Jewish national zionist

4. Jüdischer Pfadfinderbund Österreichs - Jewish national general

5. Jugendbund "Brith Bilu" - Jewish national socialist-zionist

6. Jugendbund "Brith Herzl" - Jewish national general

7. Jugendbund "Histadruth Gordonia" - Jewish national socialist-zionist

8. Jugendbund "Techeleth Lavan" - Jewish national socialist-zionist

9. Jugendbund "Trumpeldor" (also known as "Brith Trumpeldor") - revisionist-zionist

10. Jugendbund der Agudas Jisroel - Religious, not Jewish national

11. Jugendgruppe "Agudas Jisroel" - Religious, not Jewish national

12. Jugendgruppe der Judenstaatspartei - Jewish national, revisionist-zionist

13. Jugendgruppe des Verband radikaler Zionisten (Haschachar) - zionist

14. Jugendunion der Union österreichischer Juden - assimilationist

15. Misrachi Jugendbund - Jewish national, religious, zionist
16. Pfadfinderbund "Brith Zirenu" - Jewish national, general, zionist

17. Pfadfinderbund "Hashomer Hadati" - Jewish national, religious zionist

18. Pfadfinderbund "Hashomer Hazair" - Jewish national, socialist-zionist

19. Verband Zionistischer Mittelschuler - Jewish national, general, zionist

20. Wanderbund "Blau Weiss" - Jewish national, general

21. Zionistische Mädchenvereinigung "Mirjam" - Jewish national, zionist

All the above mentioned youth organizations were positively Jewishly oriented, had educational programs and were supported by the KG. Jewish youth groups without any specific Jewish identification were:

1. Jüdische Arbeiterjugend - Socialist, marxist

2. Verband Socialistischer Jüdischer Mittelschüler - Socialist, marxist

3. Jugendgruppe der Jüdischen Frontsoldaten - Assimilationist

4. Jugendgruppe der Vaterländischen Front - Assimilationist

5. Österreichischer Pfadfinderbund (Jüdische Sektion) - Assimilationist
APPENDIX XVIII


ISRAELITISCHE KULTUSGEMEINDE WIEN

16. KALENDERBLATT
für den
JUGENDGOTTEDIENST
am 25. Jänner 1926.

"Moses ging zu seinen Brüdern und sah ihre Leiden".

Dieses Blatt, das fortlaufend den Inhalt des wöchentlichen Bibelschmucks in Kürze wiedergibt, macht sowohl die Schüler- kinder als vielfach auch die Familien derselben mit jüdischer...