

# The History of Austrian Students Between Academic Status and Socio-Political Activity 1848-1938

La historia de los estudiantes austriacos entre el estatus académico y la actividad sociopolítica 1848-1938

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*Abstract:* The development of a scholarly and objective historiography of students in the Habsburg monarchy and the First Austrian Republic only began at the end of the twentieth century. Several factors explain why it was only after gaining a certain temporal and emotional distance that historians were able to write a more scientifically objective history of universities and students. It was not until the middle of the 19th century that students, who were strictly controlled by the state and the Catholic Church until 1859, were able to emerge as an independent group of actors. The multitude of associations founded according to the ideal model of the German fraternities were subject to a highly ideo-

*Resumen:* El desarrollo de una historiografía académica y objetiva de los estudiantes de la monarquía de los Habsburgo y la Primera República de Austria solo comenzó a fines del siglo XX. Varios factores explican por qué fue solo después de ganar cierta distancia temporal y emocional que los historiadores pudieron escribir una historia científicamente más objetiva de las universidades y los estudiantes. No fue hasta mediados del siglo XIX que los estudiantes, que estuvieron estrictamente controlados por el Estado y la Iglesia Católica hasta 1859, pudieron emerger como un grupo independiente de actores. La multitud de asociaciones fundadas según el modelo ideal de las fraternidades alemanas estuvo sujeta a un

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logical polarisation process. This also extends to the professoriate of the university, which was belatedly established as an autonomous institution. Therefore, the history and humanities departments in particular became the forerunners of a nationalist antisemitic ideology rather than rationally scientific critical instances. The politics of exclusion continued uninterruptedly into the First Republic and ultimately led to the loss of university autonomy and the students' right of free association after Austria became part of the National Socialist German Reich in 1938.

*Keywords:* student body, Habsburg monarchy, First Austrian Republic, Austria, 1848, 1938, university

proceso de polarización ideológica muy fuerte. Esto también se extiende al profesorado de la universidad, que se estableció tardíamente como una institución autónoma. Por lo tanto, los departamentos de historia y humanidades en particular se convirtieron en los precursores de una ideología nacionalista antisemita en lugar de instancias críticas racionalmente científicas. La política de exclusión continuó ininterrumpidamente en la Primera República y, en última instancia, condujo a la pérdida de la autonomía universitaria y el derecho de libre asociación de los estudiantes después de que Austria se convirtiera en parte del Reich Nacionalsocialista Alemán en 1938.

*Palabras clave:* cuerpo estudiantil, monarquía Habsburgo, Primera República Austriaca, Austria, 1848, 1938, universidad.

## *Introduction*

Two mutually influencing aspects need to be considered in order to understand whether and since when students have emerged as a socially active collective in Austria between the revolution of 1848 and its annexation by National Socialist Germany in 1938: their status as members of the university and the development of socially and politically active associations. It is based on these assumptions that the historiographical representation of the student body in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, between neo-absolutism and constitutional monarchy (1849-1918) and Republic (1918-1938), has to be examined.

After a brief introduction on the emergence of the special type of the Austrian university, the article begins with the struggle of the student body for freedom of association within the framework of the liberal state university during the revolution of 1848. The second part presents the period between 1873 and 1918, during which the legalisation of the student fraternities took place, allowing the emergence of the type of the “colour-bearing” student adopted from Germany. For a very long time, the period between 1848 and 1918 was only covered by subjective publications on the revolution of 1848 and on various student fraternities. The third part examines the period of the First Republic from 1918 to 1938, in which the colour-bearing student fraternities became the general model of student associations with their own representative body in the university. This phase was also mainly presented through primary sources from the student

fraternities and partially through a strongly ideologized academic contemporary history. Both parts on the periods from 1848 to 1918 and from 1918 to 1938 concentrate mainly on the research led during this century. After a brief segment on the social, linguistic and religious composition of the student body, the last section is dedicated to the objective student history research that only began after 1945. This new historiography is based on the one hand on publications by private student history institutes and associations, and on the other hand on academic historical research that was first only carried out in the course of the great jubilee celebrations of the various Austrian universities.

### *1. The development of the European and Austrian universities*

The emergence and further development of the European university was determined from the beginning by two powers: the Catholic Church, which claimed spiritual control over the papal foundation, and the secular rule, which ensured the economic existence of the newly founded institution. The Austrian *Korporationsuniversität* (corporation university) was developed partly from the Parisian model, a university of graduates (doctors and professors), and partly from the Bologna model (the student university), that considered the students as a co-determining group within the institution as a whole. The latter form was decisive for the foundation of universities in the Habsburg Empire of the late Middle Ages and early modern times, especially in Prague (1348) and Vienna (1365), but also in Krakow (1364), Olmütz (1581-1860), Graz (1585), Salzburg (1622-1850), Lemberg (1661), Innsbruck (1669), and Budapest (1777-1867). The universities of Bologna (1088) and Padua (1222) were also Habsburgian from 1741 until respectively 1859 and 1866.

In almost all European states, the Catholic corporation model was radically eliminated in the course of the formation of the nation-state or of the German territorial states and replaced by exclusively state-regulated educational institutions based on the model of the Napoleonic and Prussian reforms. This transformation took place in the Austrian Empire only after the 1848 revolution. Only Vienna, Prague, Graz, and Innsbruck possessed all structural characteristics of the Catholic corporation university. The first two retained their corporation structure in part until 1873. The universities in Graz, Innsbruck, and Olmütz were abolished in the course of the period and downgraded to a less prestigious form of higher learning institution

called *lyceum*. The later universities of Klausenburg (1873), Agram (1874) and Czernowitz (1875) were founded as state institutions.<sup>1</sup>

The period from the foundation of the first Habsburg universities until 1849 was comprehensively covered by the contemporary historiography, which was reorganised within the framework of Thun's university reform in the 1850s.<sup>2</sup> During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, historians mainly focused on the first centuries of the Catholic corporate university or the reforms more strongly oriented towards the interests of the absolutist state under Maria Theresa and Joseph II. They generally did not cover the (only passive) role of the student body, constituted in the university in the form of academic nations.<sup>3</sup>

The revision of the image of the permanent fight between the "Catholic University" against the "German university" required a temporal distance of hundred years. University archivist and university teacher Franz Gall offered a seminal publication contributing to this revision on the occasion of the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University of Vienna, titled *Alma Mater Rudolphina 1365-1965*. In this book, not only the ideas, the development and the end of the Catholic corporation university in Austria and Europe were explained in a well-founded manner, but the student body was also included as an independent actor alongside the collective of doctors and professors. A comparable account for the University of Graz on the occasion of its 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary was given by the university archivist and historian Walter Höflechner, who focused above all on the elimination of the Jesuits' influence through the secular reforms of Joseph II. It is only fifty years later that the complex system of the corporation university in Vienna and its slow transformation into a reformed state institution was taken up again by Kamilla Staudigl-Ciechowicz, who presented the shift of power from the

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<sup>1</sup> Laetitia Böhm and Rainer A. Müller, *Universitäten und Hochschulen in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. Eine Universalgeschichte in Europa und im alten Ungarn* (Düsseldorf: Econ Taschenbuch Verlag, 1983), Jan Jakub Surman, *Universities in Imperial Austria 1848-1918. A Social History of a Multilingual Space* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> These reforms are central to the Habsburgian university history but cannot be presented here. There have been precisely examined by Christof Aichner and Brigitte Mazohl, ed., *The Thun-Hohenstein University Reforms 1849-1860. Conception – Implementation – Aftermath* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2017). For a detailed case study, see Christof Aichner, *Die Universität Innsbruck in der Ära der Thun-Hohenstein'schen Reformen 1848-1860. Aufbruch in eine neue Zeit* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2018).

<sup>3</sup> Rudolf Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien*, 3 vols. (Wien: Carl Gerold & Sohn, 1854), Joseph von Aschbach, Wenzel Hartl and Karl Schrauf, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität* (Wien: Verl. der k.u.k. Universität, 1865), Karl Schrauf, *Die Geschichte der Wiener Universität in ihren Grundzügen* (Wien: Holzhausen, 1901).

doctors' colleges to the professoriate with great clarity. In his contribution on the fragile autonomy of the university since 1848, Johannes Feichtinger traced the anchoring of the university's autonomy based on the freedom to teach and learn, which was only partially achieved in the monarchy and challenged from within in the First Republic by "affirmative science". In 2017, the topic of university reform (with special reference to the University of Innsbruck) was taken up again in an anthology by Christoph Aichner and Brigitte Mazohl, but without any special mention of the role of the student body.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, a series of specifically Austrian contributions on the university and its students before and after the reforms of Leo Thun appeared in the anthology edited by Otto Neuloh and Walter Rüegg as early as 1975.<sup>5</sup> The long history of the Catholic university is now well examined by academic research throughout Europe.

Furthermore, the analysis of higher education during the *Vormärz* period (the period between the Congress of Vienna of 1815 and the 1848 revolutions) by Roman Lustig from 1987 and the more comprehensive dissertation by Jan Surman (2012) on *The Universities of the Monarchy from 1848* should be cited here. Both expanded on and corrected Josef Hochgerner's overly ambitious long-term study of academic development and student history since the foundation of the University of Vienna.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Franz Gall, *Alma Mater Rudolphina 1365-1965. Die Wiener Universität und ihre Studenten* (Wien: Verlag Austria Press, 1965), Walter Höflechner, "Zur Geschichte der Universität Graz", in *Tradition und Herausforderung: 400 Jahre Universität Graz*, ed. Kurt Freisitzer and Walter Höflechner (Graz: Akad. Dr.- u. Verl.-Anst., 1985), Kamilla Staudigl-Ciechowicz, "Zwischen Aufbegehren und Unterwerfung. Politik und Hochschulrecht 1848-1945", in *Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft. 650 Jahre Universität Wien. Aufbruch ins neue Jahrhundert*, vol. 2, ed. Mitchell G. Ash and Josef Ehmer (Wien: Vienna University Press, 2015), 429-460, Johannes Feichtinger, "Die verletzte Autonomie Wissenschaft und ihre Struktur in Wien 1848-1938", in *Universität – Forschung – Lehre. Themen und Perspektiven im langen 20. Jahrhundert. 650 Jahre Universität Wien. Aufbruch ins neue Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, ed. Friedrich Stadler (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2015), 261-292, Aichner and Mazohl, *The Thun-Hohenstein*.

<sup>5</sup> Otto Neuloh and Walter Rüegg, ed., *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert. Studien und Materialien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975).

<sup>6</sup> Roman Lustig, *Das vormärzliche österreichische Hochschulwesen im Spiegel des zeitgenössischen sowie des neoabsolutistischen publizierten Schrifttums: Beurteilungen und Reformvorschläge aus den Jahren 1815 bis 1855/56*, Diploma Thesis (Wien, 1997). Surman's 2012 PhD thesis was published as Surman, *Universities. Josef Hochgerner, Studenten in Bewegung: österreichische Studentengeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Studium und Wissenschaftsentwicklung im Habsburgerreich: Studentengeschichte seit der Gründung der Universität Wien bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Wien: Ed. ÖH, 1983).

## 2. The struggle for the freedom of student associations in an autonomous state university 1848 until 1918

### 2.1. 1848 – Revolution and myth

Until 1848, the student body was controlled by the corporation university. It remained a passive collective, apart from short-term periods due to the military operations against the Ottomans and during the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>7</sup>

The constitution of the student body into a university association and thus its control by the university organs, as well as the intensified domestic political repression and censorship under Metternich after 1815, guaranteed for the time of *Vormärz* an ostensibly apolitical and system-loyal student body. The national aspirations within the German student body in the course of the wars of liberation against Napoleon and shortly afterwards (foundation of the first student fraternity called *Burschenschaft* in Jena in 1815, the first Wartburg Festival in 1817) also had an impact in Austria. For example, short-lived fraternities were founded at Austrian universities after 1816. The later German nationalist student historical research attributed an excessive importance to these fraternities as the initiators of the March Revolution in Vienna.<sup>8</sup>

The eruptive power with which all three university-based groups – students, doctors, and professors – transformed themselves into one revolutionary collective in 1848 manifested itself in the *Akademische Legion* (military Academic Legion) and the Student Committee. They were, among others groups, *de facto* decision-makers. This explains the myth of the “student and doctor revolution” which was either glorified or condemned in the literature and which had an impact beyond the end of the monarchy.<sup>9</sup> This revolutionary spark also mobilised students from all other existing universities, albeit with varying intensity and duration, and in some cases with nationalist goals as well (Budapest, Bologna, Padua, Krakow). Only the absolutely dynasty-loyal University of Innsbruck proved atypical, whose academic military company took part in the defence of the country’s borders against the revolutionary Italians.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Gall, *Alma Mater Rudolphina*, 139-163.

<sup>8</sup> Max Doblinger, *Geschichte und Mitgliedsverzeichnis burschenschaftlicher Verbindungen in Alt-Österreich und Tübingen 1816-1936* (Heidelberg, 1940).

<sup>9</sup> Gernot Stimmer, “Die Mythologisierung der Revolution von 1848 als Modell einer Studentenrevolution”, in *Student und Hochschule*, 243-302, Gernot Stimmer, “‘Alles bewilligt!’. Die Wiener Studenten im Mai 1848”, in *1818: Revolution in Österreich*, ed. Ernst Bruckmüller and Wolfgang Häusler (Wien: ÖBV & HTP, 1999), 55-69.

<sup>10</sup> Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 139-154.

After the suppression of the revolution in October 1848, the neo-absolutist monarchy felt compelled to introduce fundamental university reforms, which were based on the principles of freedom of teaching and learning, but did not establish a pure state institution in the sense of the Humboldt's university model. The full implementation of the "Professors' University" therefore only took place with the rise of political liberalism and the constitutional transformation of the monarchy from 1873 onwards. This new liberalism also allowed the creation of student associations of all kinds, which were still forbidden under neo-absolutism. The dramatic phase of the transformation of the Catholic corporate university into a state university thus took place between 1849 and 1873. This transformation, was, however, ignored by the university historiography of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or treated in a polemical manner, depending on the ideological-political position of the authors. This can be explained by the fierce fight between Catholic conservatives and liberals, especially in Vienna, both in public and on academic ground. The first ones fought against the dismantling of the of the Catholic corporate university's structures while the latter welcomed the transformation of universities into state institutions.<sup>11</sup>

The dispute was especially fierce around the question of the role of doctoral colleges, which were fully integrated alongside the professorial colleges at the universities of Vienna and Prague, even after 1849. The problem of the participation of doctors working in their (civil or state) academic professions in teaching and research more generally divided liberal society for years. The conservative Catholic side therefore operated with the argument that the old corporate order defended the status of the students integrated into the university, while the liberals, on the other hand, vehemently united with the professors against the "Catholic" character of the university and for the students' freedom of association.<sup>12</sup>

The literary and academic debate about the role of the student body as an independent collective actor in the revolutionary year of 1848 was comparable to this strongly ideological debate about university reform after

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<sup>11</sup> Kink, *Geschichte*, Joseph Rit. v. Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, 3 vols. (Wien: Verlag der K. K. Universität, 1865-1877), Schrauf, *Geschichte*.

<sup>12</sup> Karl Schrauf, Corporation oder Staatslehranstalt? Wien 1901, Oskar Scheuer, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Deutschen Studententums in Österreich mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Universität Wien von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart*, (Wien: 1910), 192-200; Die Lesevereine der deutschen Hochschüler an der Wiener Universität, (Wien 1912); Franz Gall, "Die Doktorenkollegien der vier Fakultäten an der Wiener Universität (1849-1873)", in *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert. Studien und Materialien*, ed. Otto Neuloh and Walter Rüegg (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 47-62. Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina* 88-89.

1849. Many (fugitive) key actors and other contemporary witnesses flooded the book market with their publications. These publications on the student revolution can be classified either as a justificatory literature or as critical-conservative counter-accounts. The contemporary historiography did not succeed in producing a more objective account of the revolution and its main protagonists. Even the fiftieth commemoration year of the revolution did not provide an opportunity for comprehensive and distanced representations of the revolution and its actors.<sup>13</sup> At that time, in addition to the student associations, the political party groups that were forming were already appropriating the content and symbolism of the 1848 revolution in the sense of their respective ideological orientations. This contributed to the new polarisation of the topic. Fifty years after the revolution, its ideological legacy was divided between the liberals, who still defended the achievements of the democratic constitutional state, the German nationalist camp, which celebrated 1848 only as a “German revolution against the Habsburg dynasty”, and a socialist interpretation of history, which primarily glorified the role of the working class in solidarity with the students. For the Catholic-conservative camp, the year 1848 had only negative connotations, a position that was maintained even in the centenary year.<sup>14</sup> The historical portrayal of the revolution and its actors was influenced by the biography of the authors and their social-political careers, even decades after the event, as can be illustrated by two publications. The German liberal journalist and *Reichsrat* deputy Heinrich Reschauer and the member of the Academic Legion, exile, and writer Moritz Smets defended political liberalism through their analysis of 1848. On the contrary, Josef Freiherr von Helfert – who was Under-Secretary of State in 1848, Minister of Education in 1860, and later founder of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research and President of the Catholic Leo Society – expressed in his book a clear Catholic-conservative reaction to the revolution. The University of Vienna also avoided paying tribute by turning the revolutionary year 1848 into the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the emperor’s throne.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Hubert Lengauer, “Hab Acht vor dem Menschenbild’. Zur Leitliteratur der österreichischen Revolution im Jahre 1848”, in: *1848 Revolution in Österreich*, ed. Ernst Bruckmüller and Wolfgang Häusler (Wien: öbvethpt Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), 72-73.

<sup>14</sup> Stimmer, “Alles bewilligt”, 67, Heinrich Drimmel, “Albert Ehrhard und seine Studenten in Wien um 1900”, in *Miscellanea IV aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Institut der Kath.-Theol. Fakultät Wien* (Wien, 1976).

<sup>15</sup> Heinrich Reschauer and Moritz Smets, *Das Jahr 1848* (Wien: Waldheim, 1876), Joseph Alexander von Helfert, *Geschichte der österreichischen Revolution: im Zusammenhange mit der mitteleuropäischen Bewegung der Jahre 1848-1849* (Freiburg i. Br. and Wien: Herder, 1907-1909). See for a more detailed analysis, Katharina Kniefacz and Herbert Posch, “Selbstdarstel-



## 2.2. The colour-bearing “duelling” fraternity as an ideal type of student association. Plurality and polarisation

With the constitutional anchoring of freedom of association and assembly in 1867, the German colour-bearing and “*schlagende*” (“fencing/duelling”)<sup>16</sup> type of corporation became the basic model of social and political association in the Austrian student body. Within a few decades, the prefiguration of supranational and interconfessional student “clubs” as well as “reading and speaking halls” led to the reception of the entire range of corporation types already existing in Germany, such as the *Burschenschaften*, *Landsmannschaften*, and *Corps*. The success of this type of student corporations laid in the integrative power of the highly personalised lifetime friendship association with only a few dozen members at a time, hierarchised into *Fuxen* (probatory members), active and non-active *Burschen* (full members), and supported by the *Alt-Herrenverband* (old men’s association) of already professionally established past active members.

With the fusion of the individual types of corporations into umbrella organisations within the Austrian monarchy, which were integrated into the German unions after the First World War, student organisations emerged with thousands of members, divided in many local associations, which could offer social and professional support to the member. In addition, the corporation model also had an effect on the student body of secondary schools, where *Pennalien* (high school fraternities) of a German-liberal, German-national or Catholic orientation were created and emerged as independent general associations after 1918.<sup>17</sup> This structural uniformity of the corporation model was contrasted by rapid ideological-political differentiation and polarisation, which, however, did not detract from its unrivalled attractiveness. The division of the student fraternities ran along the (partly overlapping) positions of anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, anti-liberalism/anti-socialism, and anti-Slavism.<sup>18</sup>

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lung mit Geschichte. Traditionen, Memorial- und Jubiläumskultur der Universität Wien”, in *Universität – Forschung – Lehre*, 381-410.

<sup>16</sup> The term “*schlagende*” means fraternities with regularly ritualized fencing with saber and a “satisfaction principle”. For an English-speaking study of the German case, see Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, *Dueling Students. Conflict, Masculinity, and Politics in German Universities. 1890-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011).

<sup>17</sup> Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 114, Gernot Stimmer, *Eliten in Österreich: 1848-1970* (Wien: Böhlau, 1997), 117-144.

<sup>18</sup> Kurt Knoll, *Die Geschichte der wehrhaften Vereine deutscher Studenten in der Ostmark von den anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, (Wien: Selbstverlag der Schlesischen Akad. Landsmannschaft Oppavia, 1924), 275-300, 319-320, 385, Kurt Knoll, *Die Geschichte der schlesischen ak-*

The appeal of the emphatically male-military, national, colour-bearing student, with its code of honour borrowed from the officer corps, also extended to the non-German students at the universities and colleges of Cisleithania. In Hungary, Poland, and the Baltic states, students also organised themselves into comparable male associations, and aimed at being recognised as equals by the German corporations.<sup>19</sup> This motive also applied to Jewish students, who were increasingly excluded from the German majority, and who partly joined together to form nationally liberal corporations or Jewish-national (Zionist) fraternities, both adopting the ritualised fencing and satisfaction principle.<sup>20</sup> The Catholic fraternities, promoted by the Catholic Church, also adopted the German student model with all of its rituals, with the exception of fencing and the satisfaction principle, in accordance with the general Catholic ban of the duel.<sup>21</sup>

The corporation being socially recognised as the main form of student association, its members claimed to represent the student body as a whole at university level vis-à-vis the academic authorities. This representative aspiration manifested itself in the struggle for the right to parade and to appear wearing one's corporation's specific colours at academic events and inside of the university. The members of corporations were quantitatively minoritarian within the student body (at most 7% of all German students). However, the majority of non-incorporated student groups (called *Finkenschaft*) receded com-

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ademischen Landsmannschaft „Oppavia“ in Wien im Rahmen der *allgemeinen studentischen Entwicklung an den Wiener Hochschulen.*, 2 vols. (Wien: Eigenverlag, 1923-1924), 230-234, Scheuer, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung*, 317.

The subordination of academic rationality to current German nationalist slogans already in the Monarchy is very aptly portrayed by Alexander Graf 2015 in his analysis of the typical German nationalist academic milieu. See Alexander Graf, *„Los von Rom“ und „heim ins Reich“. Das deutschnationale Akademikermilieu an den cisleithanischen Hochschulen der Habsburgermonarchie 1859-1914* (Münster: LIT Verl, 2015).

<sup>19</sup> „Ungarn“, *Acta Studentica* (Doppelfolge 198/199, 47. Jg., Wien: Dezember 2016), 14-18; *Acta Studentica* (Folge 219, 52. Jg.), 4-13. Harald Seewann, „Die baltischen studentischen Zusammenschlüsse in Graz. Eine Dokumentation“, in *Schriftenreihe des Steirischen Studentenhistoriker-Vereins* (Graz, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> F. Roubicek, *Von Basel bis Czernowitz. Die jüdisch-akademischen Studentenverbindungen in Europa*, in: *Beiträge zur österreichischen Studentengeschichte ed. Österreichischer Verein für Studentengeschichte*, Vol. 12, Wien 186; Harald Seewann, *Zirkel und Zionsstern. Bilder und Dokumente aus der versunkenen Welt des jüdisch-nationalen Korporationswesens. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Zionismus auf akademischem Boden*, 10 vols. (Graz: Eigenverlag H. Seewann, 1990-2017).

<sup>21</sup> Paulgerhard Gladen, *Gaudeamus igitur. Die studentischen Verbindungen einst und jetzt* (Köln: Parkland Verlag, 2001), 30. Stich, Ignaz. *Die katholisch-österreichischen Studenten-Verbindungen „Austria“ und „Rudolfina“ in Wien: ihr Wesen und ihre Ziele*. Wien, 1899. 16-19.

pletely into the background. These groups organised themselves in alternative Catholic, liberal or socialist associations, with varying degrees of rejection of the corporation principle. A particularly effective alternative form was the German *Jugendbewegung* (youth movement), under whose influence student *Jugendbünde* (friendship youth associations) were formed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in conscious rejection of the corporative model. They very quickly merged along the general ideological dividing lines into national, Catholic, socialist, Zionist and other individual associations.<sup>22</sup> The organisational exclusion also applied to female students, who were admitted to academic studies relatively late in the Habsburg monarchy (1887, full equality in 1897), but then until 1938 accounted for up to 25% of students in some cases. They organised themselves in partly equal student youth associations, for example in the Catholic youth movement Neuland or in socialist-communist student associations.<sup>23</sup>

The last decades of the monarchy saw the emergence of more violent conflicts, not only in literary and verbal forms. The German nationalist corporations primarily formed the militant spearhead against the “recatholicisation” or the “Judaisation” and “Slavization” (in the conflict between the German and the Czech universities of Prague) of the universities. More generally, the entire student body was highly mobilised around 1900 and students confronted each other over many political conflicts related to the dynasty, the existence of the dual monarchy, the Catholic Church and certain student minorities (Jews, Czechs, Italians). These oppositions led to street fights between students as well as against the police and the military.<sup>24</sup>

### 2.3. The “Couleurstudent” in the mirror of the student historiography

The contemporaries of this process of development and differentiation of student associations between 1859 and 1918 presented and documented it in numerous publications. These consisted for the most part of individual accounts on specific corporations and associations. They provided precisely

<sup>22</sup> Werner Kindt, *Die deutsche Jugendbewegung 1920-1933. Die bündische Zeit. Quellen-schriften ed. on behalf of „Gemeinschaftswerkes Archiv und Dokumentation der Jugendbewe-gung* (Düsseldorf:1974),1264,1269,1276, 1272, 1404-1407.

<sup>23</sup> Scheu, Friedrich. *Ein Band der Freundschaft: Schwarzwald-Kreis und Entstehung der Vereinigung Sozialistischer Mittelschüler* (Wien: Böhlau, 1985), 17-24, Gerhard D. Seewann, *Österreichische Jugendbewegung: 1900-1938: die Entstehung der Deutschen Jugendbewegung in Österreich-Ungarn 1900 bis 1914 und die Fortsetzung in ihrem katholischen Zweig «Bund Neuland» von 1918 bis 1938*, 2 vols., (Graz: Dipa Verlag, 1974).

<sup>24</sup> Stimmer, “Mythologisierung”, 288-291, Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 185-186.

researched facts, but were far from being objective historical studies. The increasingly violent opposition to the monarchy, the state, and the Catholic Church reinforced this subjective portrayal in the various student journals and in the general the press.

Professional historical research in this period deliberately ignored any critical treatment of the university and of the student body. The German nationalist mainstream focused specifically on defending the “German character” of the university. This is abundantly illustrated in the development of the Academic Association of German Historians, constituted within the History Department of the University of Vienna in 1889.<sup>25</sup> Officially founded to “deepen historical studies” in the form of non-academic events, it was in fact dedicated to exclude Slaves, Czechs, and Jews from the Austrian historical research. By 1911 at the latest it had transformed itself into a clearly anti-Semitic instrument of intervention, adopting corporate organisational elements (*de facto* “aryanisation statute”). From 1930 it turned seamlessly towards the National Socialist ideology.

Against this ideologised history, serious historical research and findings, such as those of the *Interdisziplinäre Zeitschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (*Interdisciplinary Journal of Social and Economic History*) founded by Carl Grünberg and Ludo Hartmann in 1893, found no resonance.<sup>26</sup> In general, the academic representatives of history and the humanities at the German universities of Cisleithania took sides with the German-national student groups. This applies to an even greater extent to the historiography of the First Republic, which was fully committed to all-German unity. It was not until the later historiography of the Second Republic that this phase of violent protests was analysed more precisely, but rather under the aspect of the general nationality struggle in the Dual Monarchy.<sup>27</sup>

The journals that emerged with the formation of student fraternities can be seen as a partial substitute for the lack of university research on student history, such as the *Alma Mater* in Vienna, which was only published for a few years (1876-1880), or the equally short-lived *Deutsche Hochschule, Organ der Deutschen Studentenschaft* (*German University, Organ of the German Student Community*) in Prague (1882-1886). In contrast, the journals publis-

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<sup>25</sup> Thomas Winkelbauer, *Das Fach Geschichte an der Universität Wien. Von den Anfängen um 1500 bis etwa 1975* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, Vienna University Press, 2018).

<sup>26</sup> Winkelbauer, *Das Fach*, 151- 159, 208-212.

<sup>27</sup> From a Hungarian socialist point of view, see: Imre Gonda and Emil Niederhauser, *Die Habsburger ein europäisches Phänomen* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1978), trans. in German Heribert Thierry, (Wien: Verlag Kremayr & Scherian, 1983), 198-302.

hed by the student associations had much longer publication periods. They claimed to address student and academic affairs and problems in a scholarly manner, but each from the perspective of their ideological communities.<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, new perspectives were offered at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Oskar Scheuer's comprehensive essay on the development of German student life in Austria, focusing on the University of Vienna, appeared in 1910. The book by Friedrich Schulze and Paul Ssymank on the student life of the whole German-speaking area was published the same year. All three authors were experts in student historiography without being academic historians. They were at the same time atypical for the dominant German nationalist corporate milieu. Oskar Scheuer was a Jewish physician, member of a German liberal *Burschenschaft* (including Jewish students), and fought against the anti-Semitism of the German fraternities until his death in the Lodz ghetto in 1941. Friedrich Schulze (museum director) and Paul Ssymank (high school professor, lecturer in student history) were both active in the non-incorporated *Frei-student* ("free student") movement. The student history library they had compiled was transferred in 1939 to the *Institut für Hochschulkunde* (Institute for Higher learning research) of the University of Würzburg.<sup>29</sup> These early studies remained exceptions in the historiographical landscape for many decades.

<sup>28</sup> Stimmer, *Eliten*, Vol. II, 1102-1103. See the journals *Alma mater* (Vienna, 1876-1880); *Deutsche Hochschule. Organ der Deutschen Studentenschaft* (Prague, 1882-1886), *Die Wartburg. Zeitschrift für den ostmärkischen Burschenschaftler* (Vienna, 1891-1918), *Burschenschaftliche Blätter: Monatszeitschrift für den deutschen Burschenschaftler*, ed. by Deutsche Burschenschaft und Vereinigung Alter Burschenschaftler, (Berlin, 1887- 1940), *Der Kyffhäuser. Zeitschrift für die wehrhaften Vereine deutscher Studenten in der Ostmark und ihre Alten-Herren* (Vienna, 1906-1915), *Unverfälschte Deutsche Worte* (Wien, 1883-1902), *Deutsche Hochschulstimmen aus der Ostmark* (Vienna, 1909-1918) continued as *Deutsche Hochschulzeitung* later *Deutsche Akademiker-Zeitung*, *Deutsche Hochschule. Blätter für deutschnationale freisinnige Farbenstudenten in Österreich* (Vienna, 1919-1922) continued as *Deutsche Hochschule. Zeitschrift des Burschenbunds-Convents (B.C.) Verbandes paritätischer Korporationen und der deutschnational-freiheitlichen Studentenschaft*, *Academia. Monatszeitschrift des C.V. der katholisch-deutschen Studentenverbindungen* (Munich, 1917-1933); *Neue Jugend (Neuland)*, ed. by Bund Neuland, *Bund katholischer Jugendbewegung in Österreich* (Vienna, 1919-1938), *Der freie Student. Organ der sozialistischen Studenten- und Akademikervereinigungen Deutschlands und Österreichs* (Vienna, 1923-1924), *Der rote Student*, ed. by Reichsverband freier sozialistischer Studenten (Berlin, 1930-1931).

<sup>29</sup> Oskar Scheuer, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des deutschen Studententums in Österreich* (Wien: Beyer, 1910); Friedrich Schulze and Paul Ssymank, *Das deutsche Studententum von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1910, 4th ed. München: Verlag für Hochschulkunde, 1932). Harald Seewann, "Dem Andenken des Studentenhistorikers Dr. Oskar Scheuer", *Einst und jetzt! Jahrbuch des Vereins für corpsstudentische Geschichtsforschung* 33 (1988), 239-242, Friedhelm Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon zur Studenten- und Hochschulgeschichte* (Köln: SH-Verlag, 2004), Schulze and Ssymank, *Das deutsche*, 302-303, 313-318.

### 3. The First Republic (1918-1938)

#### 3.1. From democratic student representation to racially selected corporate duopoly 1918-1933

The First World War was euphorically welcomed in Austria by the Austrian-German nationalist students in the perspective of a close and lasting connection with the German Empire. After 1918, the conditions for universities and students in the now Republic of Austria changed dramatically. The three universities of Vienna, Graz, and Innsbruck, the Faculty of Theology in Salzburg, the Technical Universities in Vienna, Graz, and Leoben, the University of Veterinary Medicine, the *Hochschule für Bodenkultur* (College of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences) and the *Hochschule für Welthandel* (College of World Trade), and the art academies counted a total of 20,095 students in 1919/1920 and 19,769 in 1935/36. In all these institutions, the representative strength of the student corporations transformed into a quasi-monopoly. During the First Republic, more than 140 corporations represented over 40% of the male student body (a proportion comparable to the 60% to 70% at German universities). Including the associations of non-incorporated students and of female students, about 75% of the German-speaking student body was organised in ideologically closed associations.<sup>30</sup> On the political and university level, the German national corporations dominated even more strongly, now in close cooperation with the Catholic corporations, the latter being considerably strengthened by the rise of the Christian Social Party, which became the permanent governing party until 1933.

The student body as a collective actor has become polarised in the tension between its position within the university (defined by the student law) and its role in society and politics. This duality, which was already conflict-ridden in the monarchy, came to a dramatic end in the First Republic when the dominant Catholic-German nationalist corporations, in close alliance with large parts of the professoriate, pushed through an unconstitutional racial-biological student law against the democratic representative student chamber elected in 1919. After the official dissolution of the elected "Aryan" student body in 1933 due to the threat of a National Socialist takeover, there was a brief interlude followed between 1934 and 1938 by the *Österreichische Hochschülerschaft*. This Union of Austrian Students was divided into student councils and led by official administrators. However, its civic education

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<sup>30</sup> Stimmer, *Eliten*, vol. I, 483-485, Gladen, *Gaudeamus Igitur*, 43-44.

mission, combined with compulsory patriotic lectures and military exercises, was largely sabotaged by the opposing national and socialist student groups. Finally, the annexation of Austria by the Third Reich in March 1938 meant the end of the university's previous autonomous status and the (partly voluntary) dissolution of all student associations and corporations in favour of a compulsory membership in a strictly "Aryan" *Deutsche Studentenschaft* (German Student Body) supervised by the National Socialist Student Association.<sup>31</sup>

### 3.2. The student body as a political actor in parliamentary democracy and in the *Ständestaat*

By the end of the Habsburg Empire several parliamentary party groupings had emerged. Three "camp parties" began to dominate the politics of the monarchy and then took the political control of the First Republic. After 1918, a process of political-organisational rapprochement with these parties led to a peak of student political activism. Although the traditional corporations had established themselves as an exclusive political and administrative elite potential, their members did not largely accept parliamentary democracy as such. They demonstrated their distance from the party system by turning to new, fundamentally anti-democratic, anti-parliamentary ideas of society and state through their student activism. This applied to an even greater extent to the non-incorporated students organised in alternative youth associations, who already opted for much more radical counter-designs of national, Catholic or communist provenance to the existing party state.

The high degree of politicisation of the student activism in the First Republic manifested itself in an increasing readiness for violence and did not exclude civil war scenarios, thus undermining the domestic political stability. The failure of parliamentary democracy in Austria, accompanied by two civil wars and the installation of a Christian-German *Ständestaat* ("Corporate State"), and finally the *Anschluss* to the National Socialist German Reich, formed the scenario in which the ideologically fragmented Austrian student body experienced the peak of political activity and at the same time pursued the end of its independent role as a political actor.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 89-91.

<sup>32</sup> Walter Höflechner, "Zur Geschichte der Universität Graz", in *Tradition und Herausforderung: 400 Jahre Universität Graz*, ed. Kurt Freisitzer, Walter Höflechner, Hans-Ludwig Holzer, and Wolfgang Mantl (Graz: Akad. Dr.- u. Verl.-Anst., 1985), 19-62, Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 91.

### 3.3. The complicity of the humanities and history

The self-image of historical scholarship that had already been established for the Monarchy, namely that Austrian historians «had to place themselves at the service of the political history»,<sup>33</sup> also applies to the phase of the First Republic. For instance, the dean of Austrian university historiography Heinrich Ritter von Srbik saw the task of the Austrian humanities and historical science as paving the way for an all-German conception of history.<sup>34</sup> This guiding goal of all-German unity also prompted specialists of student history to rethink historical events. In 1922, Graz historian Paul Molisch paid tribute to the merits of the Academic Legion in Vienna as a pioneer for the establishment of the constitution and the rule of law, without, however, referring to the high proportion of Jewish activists in 1848. During the same year, Molisch dealt with the German nationalist development at the German universities in Austria after 1848 in an essay that was extended in 1939 to all German universities during the period from 1848 to 1918. He also addressed the disputes before and after the German-Czech division of the Charles University in Prague (1882) from an all-German perspective, a position that did not disappear from German-speaking publications even long after 1945. Similar was the essay by Max Doblinger from the *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsschreibung* (Institute for Austrian historical research) and the *Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv* (Regional archive of Steiermark) on the special significance of early fraternities in the *Vormärz* period and their special contribution to the revolutions of 1848 in Vienna and Prague. The first edition appeared in 1936, the second with a co-author in 1940, both in National Socialist Germany.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Winkelbauer, *Das Lehrfach Geschichte*, 170.

<sup>34</sup> Ash and Ehmer, *Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft*, 106.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Molisch, *Die Wiener akademische Legion und ihr Anteil an den Verfassungskämpfen des Jahres 1848*: (Wien: Hölder, 1922); Paul Molisch, *Die deutschen Hochschulen in Österreich und die politisch-nationale Entwicklung nach dem Jahre 1848* (München: Drei Masken Verl., 1922); Paul Molisch, *Politische Geschichte der deutschen Hochschulen in Österreich von 1848 bis 1918* (Wien: Braumüller, 1939). Furthermore: Max Doblinger, “Der burschenschaftliche Gedanke auf Österreichs Hochschulen vor 1859”, in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft und der deutschen Einheitsbewegung*, vol. 8, ed. Paul Wentzke (Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925), Doblinger, *Geschichte. On the University of Prague*, see Wolfgang von Wolmar, *Prag und das Reich: 600 Jahre Kampf deutscher Studenten* (Dresden: Müller, 1943). For post-World War II publications, see: *Die Universität zu Prag* (München: Sudetendeutscher-Verlag, 1986) and Ferdinand Selbst, ed., *Die Teilung der Prager Universität 1982 und die intellektuelle Desintegration der böhmischen Länder* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag 1984), quoted by: Lukas Fasora-Jiri Hanús, “University History of the Czech Republic”, in *CIAN-Revista de la historia de las Universidades*, 17, no. 1 (June 2017): 46.



These essays on the history of student life sometimes met academic standards in terms of methodology and source material, but must be seen in the light of an emerging ideological reinterpretation of the 1848 revolution. As large portions of the student body and professors turned away from the aims of the bourgeois revolution of 1848 in favour of alternative authoritarian-dictatorial concepts of state and society, the phenomenon of the revolution was also being relativised in the historical and social sciences in Germany as well as in Austria. Its ideas were explained as an expression of an anomaly of the “crazy year” of 1848 that did not correspond to the German understanding of the people and the state.<sup>36</sup>

Furthermore, the demarcation against “un-German” influences within the academic teaching body was becoming much more aggressive. Interdisciplinary informal networks and associations undermined the legally regulated habilitation theses and appointment norms by ensuring in their own sphere of influence a complete prevention of non-affiliated ideologically appointments to the highest academic positions, habilitation theses or research work.<sup>37</sup> In close connection with the German National Catholic corporate groups, the professors also became involved at the political level. The type of “political professor” was strongly represented above all in the humanities and history, partly as politician in the parliamentary system, but also increasingly as an intellectual pioneer of alternative authoritarian and antidemocratic social concepts.<sup>38</sup> The Catholic student-academic intelligentsia in particular developed a philosophically and historically legitimised Catholic imperial ideology, which ultimately led to fascination with the Third Reich. This intellectual radicalisation very quickly turned into violent actions on the part of a polarised student body. This initially took place in various para-military formations, such as the *Heimatschutz* and the *Heimwehr*. From 1930 students became active in the legal (and then from 1934 illegal) National Socialist party and its combat formations. After the banishment of their party, the socialist student organisations turned in the likewise illegal socialist-communist opposition.

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<sup>36</sup> Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1848 „Das tolle Jahr“ *Chronologie einer Revolution* (24.9.29.11.1998), also Valentin Veit (German historian from 1918 left-liberal MP), *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848-1849*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1930-1931, Reprint: Weinheim: Beltz Quadriga, 1998), Stimmer, “Alles bewilligt”, 67.

<sup>37</sup> These conspiracies were not scientifically investigated until: Winkelbauer, *Das Fach*, 180-183; Ash and Ehmer, *Universität- Politik-Gesellschaft*, 73-85.

<sup>38</sup> Johannes Feichtinger, “Die verletzte Autonomie. Wissenschaft und ihre Struktur in Wien 1848 bis 1938”, in *650 Jahre Universität Wien-Aufbruch ins neue Jahrhundert Vol. 1*, ed. Kastharina Kniefacz, Elisabeth Nemeth and Friedrich Stadler (Wien: Vienna University Press 2015), 282.

In contrast, the officials and executives of the *Ständestaat* (1934-1938) and its political organisations were recruited from the Catholic corporations.<sup>39</sup>

#### 4. The socio-cultural profile of the student body 1857-1938

For a better understanding of the effectiveness of the radical positions that determined and polarised the academic life of the Monarchy and the First Republic, some empirical key data of the student body of this period is presented in an appendix (see Table 1).<sup>40</sup> Based on this statistical material, three long-term trends can be distinguished.

##### 4.1. The liberal educational society

After an initially slow, then rapid increase in the number of students, the universities and colleges of the Monarchy (from 1867 Cisleithania and Hungary) had in 1910 the highest proportion of students per capita in the world. This trend continued after 1918, culminating in 1929-30 with 39 students per 10,000 inhabitants (compared to 24 in France and 16 in Germany). It was only during the Great Depression that the number of students dropped

<sup>39</sup> Klaus Breuning, *Die Vision des Reiches. Deutscher Katholizismus zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur (1929-1934)* (München: Hueber, 1969), 19, 34-38, 82-98; Stimmer, *Eliten*, vol. 2, 530-532, 823-843.

<sup>40</sup> All quoted figures in the table are based on: Gustav Otruba, "Die Universitäten in der Hochschulorganisation der Donaumonarchie- nationale Erziehungsstätten im Vielvölkerreich 1850 bis 1914", in *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert*, 75-158; Hans Sperl, "Die Gliederung der Deutschen Studentenschaft an den Hochschulen Österreichs und der Sudetenländer", in *Das akademische Deutschland*, Bd 3 (Berlin: 1930), 349-358. *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich*, ed. by Bundesamt für Statistik, Jg II- Jg XVI (Wien: 1920-1937); Hugo Frh v. Haan, *Statistische Streiflichter zur österreichischen Hochschulfrequenz mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des nationalen Moments* (Wien: Manzschke k.u.k. Hof-Verlags- u. Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1917), 5-41; Schriften der Fichte-Vereinigung für Österreich X. Jg. (1920), 8-12; Universitäts-Quästur Wien, Z.533 aus 1926/27, vom 01. Juli 1927, zwei Ausweise über Volkszugehörigkeit; Kurt Bauer, "Schlagring Nr. 1 Antisemitische Gewalt an der Universität Wien von den 1870-er bis in die 1930er Jahre", in *Alma mater Antisemitica. Akademisches Milieu, Juden und Antisemitismus an den Universitäten Europas zwischen 1918 und 1939*, ed. Regina Fritz, Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, and Jana Starek (Wien: New academic press, 2016), 152. Klaus Taschwer, *Hochburg des Antisemitismus: der Niedergang der Universität Wien im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Czernin, 2015), 41, 68; Gary B. Cohen, "Expansion and the Limits of Inclusion. The Students of the Vienna University 1860-1914", in *Universität- Politik-Gesellschaft. 650 Jahre Universität Wien*, ed. Mitchell G. Ash and Josef Ehmer (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2015), 510-513.

significantly until the end of the First Republic.<sup>41</sup> However, the course is very asymmetrical between the institutions in the big cities of Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and Lemberg, and the “provincial universities” of Graz, Innsbruck, Czernowitz, Krakow, Klausenburg, Agram, and, after 1918, between Vienna and the “Alpine universities” of Graz, Leoben and Innsbruck.

#### 4.2. The threat to the “German character” of the universities

The demand for the preservation of the “German university”, raised by German nationalist students and professors since the university reform of 1873, loses all possible justification in a long-term comparison of students between 1857 and 1938. Measured by native language, the German-speaking proportion at the universities of Vienna, Graz, and Innsbruck oscillated between 44% and 73% and even remained at 40% in Czernowitz in 1914. In Prague, after the German-Czech division of the technical college in 1879 and of the university in 1882, the respective national language share reached over 90%. In Lemberg and Krakow the Polish-Ruthenian language group dominated, in Budapest and Klausenburg the Hungarian one. During the First Republic, the proportion of German speakers generally increased to 80%-90% at universities and colleges, with the exception of the multinational character of the *Hochschule für Welthandel* (College for world commerce) in Vienna.

#### 4.3. The “Jewish question”

Closely connected with the postulate of the German university is the constant polemic against its “Judaisation”. Measured by confession, the long-term table shows a clear increase of the number of Jewish students at the Vienna, Prague, Budapest, Krakow, Lemberg, and Czernowitz higher learning institutions. Between 1870 and 1900, peak proportions of 30% to 60% in certain fields of study (law, medicine, technology) were reached in Vienna and Prague. This increased led to fierce reactions from students and, in some cases, professors. Due to the wave of refugees to Vienna in the aftermath of the First World War, a new peak of 42% was reached in 1917/18, which did not decline until after 1928/29. On the contrary, Jews represented before 1918 sometimes even less than 1% of all students in Graz, Leoben, and Innsbruck.

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<sup>41</sup> Haan, *Statistische Streiflichter zur österreichischen Hochschulfrequenz mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des nationalen Moments*, 15

In relation to the minimum proportion of the total population (4.4% in 1910), the overrepresentation of Jewish students at the universities and technical colleges of the Monarchy as a whole thus increased significantly from 8%-9% in 1867 to 17%-20% in 1910, and reached an overall average of 16.2%. This strategy of achieving emancipation and participation through the “*Bildungspatent*” (educational patent) was, however, also successfully implemented by all the other competing groups, all of which had student quotas exceeding their respective linguistic share in the total population. In the allocation to the nine language groups, the Jewish students recorded according to their confession appear in the language group they themselves indicate.

### 5. *The historiography of the student body in the Second Republic. The owl of the Minerva*

To use Hegel’s owl metaphor: it took almost a hundred years to subject the “century of ideologies” between 1848 and 1938 to proper historiographical scrutiny and evaluation.

#### 5.1. The “rediscovery” of the Austrian revolution of 1848

Early works on Austrian students during the revolution of 1848 included Julius Marx’s survey of the personnel structure of the Academic Legion as early as 1969, on which Gernot Stimmer’s analysis of the Legion’s officer corps in 1975 was based. The Graz Academic Legion was surveyed by Harald Seewann in 1983. Furthermore, the social causes of the revolution have been studied by Wolfgang Häusler in 1979.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, it was not until its 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1998 that a broad scholarly account considering the revolution of 1848 as the first appearance of students as a collective actor in its most diverse aspects took place. This new consideration of the student role in 1848 was made possible by the contribution of Wolfgang Häusler, the dean of the history of the Austrian revolution. In 1999, as a member of the Institute for Austrian His-

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<sup>42</sup> Julius Marx, *Die Anfänge der Wiener akademischen Legion und ihr Offizierskorps 1848* (Wien: Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs Vol. 21, 1969), 165-213; Stimmer, “Die Mythologisierung”, 243-302, Julius Marx, *Die wirtschaftlichen Ursachen der Revolution von 1848* (Graz-Köln: Böhlau, 1965). Häusler, Wolfgang, *Von der Massenarmut zur Arbeiterbewegung: Demokratie und soziale Frage in der Wiener Revolution von 1848* (Wien [et.al.]: Jugend u. Volk, 1979); further, Harald Seewann, *Für Licht und Wahrheit. Daten, Fakten und Unterlagen zur Chronik der Grazer Akademischen Legion 1848* (Graz, 1983).

torical Research at the University of Vienna, Häusler published together with Ernst Bruckmüller the collective book *1848: Revolution in Austria*, in which, among the ten individual contributions, three specifically addressed the role of students.<sup>43</sup> The “rediscovery of the bourgeois revolution” was complemented by a special exhibition of the Historical Museum of the city of Vienna and the Austrian State Archive in the commemorative year 1998.<sup>44</sup>

## 5.2. The student associations and fraternities, 1859-1939

The impetus for research into the history of students and especially the history of corporations in the monarchy, the First Republic and the National Socialist Reich came from the corporation associations that re-emerged after 1945. The initiative came from the Austrian Association for Student History (ÖVfStG) founded in 1969 to research the history of Austria’s universities, colleges, their students and their organisations. However, the main focus laid in the history of the various corporate groups that emerged since the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to publishing the quarterly journal *Acta Studentica* as well as the series *Beiträge zur österreichischen Studentengeschichte (Contributions to Austrian Student History)* and *Tradition und Zukunft (Tradition and Future)*, the ÖVfStG has organised the *Österreichische Studentenhistorikertagung (Austrian Student History Conference)* every two years since 1974. Since 1982, every second conference takes place together with the German and Swiss Student History Conferences. The association is supported at regional level by the Styrian Student Historians’ Association, founded in Graz in 1979, which publishes a series of publications on thematic topics.<sup>45</sup> Within this framework, Harald Seewann, among others, published many works on the corporation system in Austria and in Eastern Europe. His main work was dedicated to an outsider group, the national Jewish (Zionist) duelling associations in the monarchy and the First Republic, which he comprehensively presented in the series *Historia Academica Judaica* in ten parts between 1990 and 2017.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Ernst Bruckmüller and Wolfgang Häusler, ed., *1848 Revolution in Österreich*, see Wolfgang Häusler “Was kommt heraus mit kühnem Gange?” *Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen der Wiener Märzrevolution 1848*, 23-54; Stimmer, “Alles bewilligt”, *Die Wiener Studenten im Mai 1848*, 55-69; Waltraud Heindl, “Hoch, hoch an die Laterne”. *Aus dem Tagebuch der Wiener Oktoberrevolution*, 128-138.

<sup>44</sup> Lorenz Mikoletzky and Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, *Revolution- Revoluce- Rivoluzione- Forradalom 1848: Ausstellungskatalog 2. März - 31. August 1998* (Wien, 1998).

<sup>45</sup> *Acta Studentica*, “Nichts kommt von ungefähr...30 Jahre Steirischer Studentenhistoriker-Verein”, (F 170/ 40 Jg. Nov.2009), 6.

<sup>46</sup> Seewann, *Zirkel und Zionsstern*.

In 1967 the Österreichische Gesellschaft für die Erforschung der Studentengeschichte or *ÖGW* (Austrian Society for the Research of Student History) was founded in Vienna. It existed as a publishing house without its own research until 1994 and solely edited volumes on the history of fraternities. The *ÖGW*, which was in close connection with the archive of the University of Vienna since 1980 and included research results in the natural sciences and contemporary history, is also connected with the Society for University History in Germany, founded in 1995.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, the corporations' umbrella organisations of the Second Republic are closely linked to one another in their student history work and have close relations with the umbrella organisations active in Germany and their respective historical research institutes. In contrast to the representations of the student historians of the monarchy, which only covered their respective corporation or association, the topics dealt within the framework of the student historians' conferences or in publications of the ÖVfStG is much broader and inter-corporate and certainly meet scientific standards. Antisemitism and resistance of students against the National Socialist regime are examples of topics relevant to all corporation groups. The long-term study – its first volume was published in 1988, the second in 2020 – *Farben tragen – Farbe bekennen 1938-1945: Katholische Korporierte in Widerstand und Verfolgung* includes over 400 biographies of members of the catholic student fraternities who were persecuted or died during the Nazi period.<sup>48</sup>

Although *Acta Studentica* also published research on the non-incorporated student body, the history of the *Freistudenten* or of the socialist-communist student associations was only peripherally covered. The Catholic youth movement received academic recognition in 1971 with Gerhard D. Seewann's two-volume dissertation on the Neuland association. The history of the socialist-communist student associations in the monarchy and the First Republic was the object of various publications, some of which appeared in the series edited by the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for the History of the Labour Movement and others as dissertations, which appeared almost simultaneously in the 1970s.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> I am particularly grateful to Dr. Denk from the Archive of the University of Vienna for relevant information.

<sup>48</sup> Peter Krause and Herbert Fritz, ed., *Korporierte im Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus* (Tradition und Zukunft – Band III, Wien 1997). *Acta Studentica* (F.184/ 44, Jg. Juni 2013), 11. *Acta Studentica* (F 215 /51. Jg. Dezember 2020), 21.

<sup>49</sup> Seewann, *Österreichische Jugendbewegung*. Furthermore: Helge Zoitl, *Die Sozialistischen Studenten Österreichs, Vol. I, 189-1919* (Wien: 1975); Helge Zoitl, *Kampf um Gleichberechtigung*

The fragmentation of student history research in Austria since the 1960s through a multitude of private funds and institutions also applies to the self-representation of large corporate associations, in particular the Austrian Cartel Association (ÖCV). They have published thematically relevant works on their own educational institutions.<sup>50</sup> As a result, their subjects and research projects have also become the focus of professional academic historical research. Professional historians, however, needed an additional external impetus to make the theme of the university and the student body a stronger focus of their academic work. Comparable to the singular phenomenon of the 1848 revolution, the topic of the social role of the student body was only dealt with on a broad level through the commemorations of the foundation of the University of Vienna. Among the many publications, only the research results relevant to the specific research aspect of the students' collective role will be presented here in detail.

In the course of the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University of Vienna in 1965, official representations were entirely shaped by the student corporations. A critical debate on science and politics at Austrian universities and colleges began through the event "Symposion 600 – Gestaltung der Wirklichkeit" (Symposium 600 – Shaping Reality) of the Austrian Student Union, which was continued by the subsequent 1968 movement and found its expression in a broad spectrum of social science research projects and works. The already cited book by Franz Gall did not only describe the changes in the structures of the University of Vienna from a Catholic corporate university into a modern state institution, but

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*gung. Die Sozialdemokratische Studentenbewegung in Wien 1914-1925*, Diss. (Salzburg: 1976); Georg Tidl, *Schülerrätebewegung und Sozialistische Mittelschüler in Österreich 1918-1933*, PhD thesis (Wien, 1973); Marie Tidl, *Die Roten Studenten. Dokumente und Erinnerungen 1938-1945* (Wien: Europaverlag, 1976). Walter Göhring, *Der illegale kommunistische Jugendverband Österreichs*, PhD thesis (Wien, 1971). Wolfgang Neugebauer, *Bauvolk der kommenden Welt. Geschichte der sozialistischen Jugendbewegung in Österreich* (Wien: 1975). Wolfgang Speiser, *Die sozialistischen Studenten in Wien 1927-1938, Materialien zur Arbeiterbewegung* (Wien: Europaverlag, 1986). Friedrich Scheu, *Ein Band der Freundschaft. Schwarzwald-Kreis und Entstehung der Vereinigung Sozialistischer Mittelschüler* (Wien: 1985).

<sup>50</sup> Gerhard Popp, *Der Cartellverband der katholisch deutschen Studenten Verbindungen (CV) in Österreich 1864-1938. Organisation und Öffentlichkeitsentwicklung*, PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Wien, 1980); Gerhard Hartmann ed., *Der CV in Österreich, seine Entstehung, seine Geschichte, seine Bedeutung ÖCV Bildungsakademie* (Wien: 1977). Erich Leitner, *Politik und Hochschule, Der CV in der Steiermark 1918-1938*, Schriftenreihe der ÖCV Bildungsakademie, 2 (Wien: 1978), Robert Rehberger, *CV (Cartellverband) und Nationalsozialismus. Beitrag zur österreichischen und deutschen Studentengeschichte* (Wien, 1967), Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina, 182-185*, Maria Dippelreiter and Michael Dippelreiter, ed., "1968" in *Österreich: Aufbruch und Scheitern?* (Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag, 2018).

devoted for the first time special attention to the student body as a politically active collective in the university and society during this period.<sup>51</sup> This research methodology linking the university and the student body was also the basis of the still unsurpassed comprehensive accounts by Walter Höflechner, then head of the University Archive of Graz, from 1998 full professor of Austrian history. On the occasion of its 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Höflechner edited a commemorative publication on the history of the University of Graz from its foundation in 1685 to 1975, with a special focus on the political history of students between 1848 and 1938. In 1988, Höflechner presented a comprehensive essay on the history of higher education in Austria from 1815 to 1938, focusing on the universities of Vienna and Graz. This essay supplemented the preceding regional study on the Graz University's coming to terms with the past, a topic that was taken up again in 2020 by the University Archive.<sup>52</sup>

Michael Gehler published his standard works on the student body of the University of Innsbruck in 1987 and 1990. He examined specifically the corporations, a topic Andreas Bösche has taken up again in 2008.<sup>53</sup> The general political situation at the University of Innsbruck from 1933 was analysed as a contribution by the archivist of the university in a study on political purges at Austrian universities from 1934, published in 2017.<sup>54</sup> More generally, this phase of expulsion and exile was covered in an anthology by Christian Fleck and his colleagues in 2010.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Gall, *Alma mater Rudolphina*, 77-95, 172-192.

<sup>52</sup> Walter Höflechner, *Die Baumeister des künftigen Glücks. Fragment zur Geschichte des Hochschulwesens in Österreich vom Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts bis in das Jahr 1938* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1988). Verein kritische Sozialwissenschaft und politische Bildung, ed., *Grenzfeste deutscher Wissenschaft: über Faschismus und Vergangenheitsbewältigung an der Universität Graz* (Graz: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1985). Alois Kernbauer, *Der Nationalsozialismus im Mikrokosmos. Die Universität Graz 1938*, Publikationen aus dem Archiv der Universität Graz Vol. 48 (Graz: ADEVA, 2020). Walter Höflechner, "Zur Geschichte der Universität Graz", in *Tradition und Herausforderung; 400 Jahre Universität Graz*, ed. Kurt Freisitzer, Walter Höflechner, Hans-Ludwig Holzer and Wolfgang Mantl (Graz: 1985).

<sup>53</sup> Michael Gehler, *Die Studentenschaft an der Universität Innsbruck 1918-1938. Unter Berücksichtigung der Korporationen und ihrer Verbände*, PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Universität Innsbruck, 1987), in extended form: *Student und Politik. Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft an der Universität Innsbruck 1918-1938* (Innsbruck: Haymon-Verlag, 1990). Andreas Bösche, *Zwischen Kaiser Franz Josef und Schönerer. Über die Innsbrucker Studentenverbindungen* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2008).

<sup>54</sup> Peter Goller, "Die politische Lage an der Universität Innsbruck 2933/34-1938-1945/1950. Austrofaschismus-Nazismus-Restauration-Entnazifizierung", in *Säuberungen an österreichischen Hochschulen 1934-1945. Voraussetzungen, Prozesse, Folgen*, ed. Johannes Knoll (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2017).

<sup>55</sup> Christian Fleck, ed., *Vertriebene Wissenschaft* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2010).



The publications on the occasion of the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University of Innsbruck brought a significant expansion of student history research results. The three volumes on its history from 1669 to 2019 include, in addition to a multitude of other university-relevant topics, a series of often very short contributions on student history.<sup>56</sup> A series of specificities are underlined, such as South Tyrol after 1918 or the rural origins of the students, the strong position of Catholicism in the student body (Catholic fraternities and non-corporate associations) and professoriate until 1938, but also in the resistance against the Nazi regime. The *Ständestaat* regime occupied a special position at the University of Innsbruck, where it could count on much stronger support from students and professors than at other higher learning institutions. A great deal of space was given in the 2019 commemorative publications to articles on students after 1938 and during the war in the “German Alpine University” as well as after 1945. A special Innsbruck phenomenon was the “anti-Semitism without Jews”, i.e., a massive anti-Semitism at the university but a minimal number of Jewish students.

Since 2000, an increasing number of research papers and publications have also been devoted to anti-Semitism at the University of Vienna as a fundamental constant of Austrian society and especially at the university. In 2011, Andreas Huber, Katharina Kniewacz, and other historians edited an anthology on the responsibility of the University of Vienna for National Socialism. In 2013 was published a collective book supervised by Oliver Rathkolb on the permanent anti-Semitic current at the University of Vienna, in which Mitchell Ash specifically examined the situation and careers of Jewish academics, and, Klaus Taschwer presented his long-term study supported by empirical data on anti-Semitism during the Monarchy and the First Republic. An earlier publication by Herbert Posch and Friedrich Stadler was dedicated to the revocation of academic degrees at the University of Vienna between 1938 and 1945. A thematically comparable study was published in 2014 on the Vienna Faculty of Law, which specifically addressed the discrimination of Jewish and non-German students caused by the study law introduced after 1918.<sup>57</sup> The long-term effect of anti-Semitism was shown in the essay on

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<sup>56</sup> Margret Friedrich and Dirk Rupnow, eds., *Geschichte der Universität Innsbruck 1669-2019*, 3 vols. (Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 2019).

<sup>57</sup> Andreas Huber, Katharina Kniefacz, Alexander Krysl and Manés Weisskirchner, ed., *Universität und Disziplin- Geschichtswissenschaft, Migration-Exil- Kontinuität* (Wien: LIT Verlag 2011). Österreichische HochschülerInnenschaft – ÖH ed., *Österreichische Hochschulen im 20. Jahrhundert. Austrofaschismus, Nationalsozialismus und die Folgen* (Wien: facultas Verlag, 2013). Mitchell G. Ash, “Jüdische WissenschaftlerInnen und Wissenschaftler an der Univer-

the humanities during National Socialism at the example of the University of Vienna by Mitchel Ash and others in 2010, and in the introductory texts on the social, economic and cultural history of the Second Republic in the years 1945-1955, published by the *Verein für Geschichte und Sozialkunde* in 2005. Finally, a private research institute, the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute, has conducted the first comparative study ever in Austria on the anti-Semitism of students at Austrian and European universities.<sup>58</sup>

Closely related to this topic is the emerging research on emigration and exile of professors and students. Already in 1981, Karin Körrer devoted her dissertation to the lives of the Vienna teaching staff who died between 1938 and 1945, including many who were dismissed or murdered for racial and political reasons.<sup>59</sup> Another pioneering works were *Vertriebene Intelligenz 1938* published by Kurt Mühlberger in 1993 and an exhibition catalogue by Peter Weibel and Friedrich Stadler on the academic exile from Austria after 1934.<sup>60</sup> More comprehensive research results were published in 2008 in the three-volume series titled *Displaced Reason, Emigration and Exile of Austrian Science 1930-1940*.<sup>61</sup>

This “memorial” challenge was also intensified in the course of the 650<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University of Vienna in the form of the four volumes

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sität Wien von der Monarchie bis nach 1945”. Stand der Forschung und offene Fragen,” in *Der lange Atem des Antisemitismus*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2013), 93-122. Klaus Taschner, *Hochburg des Antisemitismus. Der Niedergang der Universität Wien im 20. Jhr.* (Wien: Czernin Verlag, 2015). Herbert Posch and Friedrich Stadler, ed., “... eines akademischen Grades unwürdig“. *Nichtigerklärung und Aberkennung akademischer Grade zur Zeit des NS an der Universität Wien* (Wien: Druckerei Fiona, 2005). Thomas Olechowski, Tamara Ehs and Kamila Staudigl-Ciechowicz, *Die Wiener Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftliche Fakultät 1918-1938* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014).

<sup>58</sup> Gernot Heiss, Siegfried Mattl, Sebastian Meisl, Edith Saurer and Karl Stuhlpfarrer, ed., *Willfähige Wissenschaft die Universität Wien 1938-1945* (Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1989). Margarete Grandner Gernot Heiss and Oliver Rathkolb, ed., *Zukunft mit Altlasten. Die Universität Wien 1945 bis 1955* (Wien: Studienverlag, 2005). Mitchell G. Ash, Wolfram Nieß and Roman Pils, ed., *Geisteswissenschaft im Nationalsozialismus. Das Beispiel der Universität Wien* (Wien: Vienna University Press, 2010).

<sup>59</sup> Karin Körrer, *Die zwischen 1938 und 1945 verstorbenen Mitglieder des Lehrkörpers der Universität Wien*, PhD thesis (Wien: 1981).

<sup>60</sup> Kurt Mühlberger, *Dokumentation Vertriebene Intelligenz 1938. Der Verlust geistiger und menschlicher Potenz an der Universität Wien von 1938 bis 1945* (Wien: Archive of the University, 1993), Friedrich Stadler, *Vertriebene Vernunft. Emigration und Exil österreichischer Wissenschaft 1930-1940* (Wien: LIT, 2004), Peter Weibel and Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Vertreibung der Vernunft. Cultural Exodus from Austria* (Wien: Löcker Verlag, 1993).

<sup>61</sup> Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Emigration – Exil – Kontinuität. Schriften zur zeitgeschichtlichen Kultur -und Wissenschaftsforschung* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2008).

published in 2015 entitled *650 Years University of Vienna, Departure into the new century*. In the first volume, "University, Research, Teaching", edited by Friedrich Stadler and others, the work of the Wiener Kreis, established by students and academics outside the antisemitic university community, was discussed. This group was impressively presented in a special exhibition in 2015 in its breadth and international networking, including students and academics working worldwide in universities and research institutions.<sup>62</sup> The volume 2 of the series is the most comprehensive account of the history of the University of Vienna to date. The first part of the anthology "University, Politics, Society", edited by Mitchell G. Ash and Josef Ehmer, provides an account of the political history of the University of Vienna and its students in the context of the general political development of the Monarchy and the First Republic, focussing on the specific historical transitions of 1848 (the role of students and doctors in the revolution, reform of the university), 1918 (revolutionary transformation of the university and antisemitic exclusion of students), 1933-1934 (raise of the National Socialist students), 1938 (expulsion, exile, extermination of students and professors), 1945 (denazification of students and professors).<sup>63</sup>

This volume also opened up new territory in research on student history by comprehensively presenting and commenting for the first time on the social structure of students and teaching staff at Vienna (social and geographical origin, confession, language) in several individual contributions (Gary Cohen, Werner Lenk). In his chapter, Cohen expanded a research aspect that was already presented in 1975 in a study by Gustav Otruba on the geographical, linguistic and confessional structure of students at all universities in Cisleithania between 1850 and 1914, with an extensive statistical appendix.<sup>64</sup> The four samples between 1859 and 1909 analysed by Cohen give a representative picture of the social structure of the students of the University of Vienna, but should be expanded on a broader Austrian basis. The data material for this has long been supplied by the archive of the universities and

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<sup>62</sup> Katharina Kniefacz, Elisabeth Neumeth, Herbert Posch and Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Universität-Forschung, Lehre. Themen und Perspektiven im langen 20. Jahrhundert*, 650 Jahre Universität Wien Aufbruch ins neue Jahrhundert Vol. 4 (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2015). Der Wiener Kreis, Exaktes Denken am Rande des Untergangs', Exhibition of the University Vienna 20.05-31.10.2015.

<sup>63</sup> Mitchell G. Ash, "Die Universität Wien als Ort der Politik seit 1848, in: Mitchell G. Ash and Josef Ehmer, ed. *Universität-Politik-Gesellschaft* (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2015), see 33-57, 58-89, 90-108 by 109-134, 134-167.

<sup>64</sup> Otruba, "Die Universitäten in der Hochschulorganisation", 75-158.

colleges in the form of edited matriculation (enrolment) books.<sup>65</sup> The analysis of the social structure carried out so far leaves questions unanswered, such as the occupational and career patterns of graduates. In this context, the two-volume habilitation thesis by Gernot Stimmer, published in 1997, was the first to record all student associations and societies from 1848 to 1970 in Austria and to empirically examine their occupational and career structure using an elite-theoretical research approach.<sup>66</sup>

In the aforementioned second volume from 2015, Waltraud Heindl presents and studies the social structure of female students at Austrian universities, about whom only a few early works had been published. With an overall quota of female students of 18% (1922) and 19,4% (1935) at all Austrian higher learning institutions, Vienna university played a special role with a proportion of women reaching 15% in 1918 and 26% in 1933. For the University of Innsbruck, a comparable study was already presented in 1985 for the same period.<sup>67</sup> The most comprehensive empirical survey of women's studies at Austrian universities was carried out within the framework of a long-term project "biografiA", existing since 1998 and in the course of which several thousand biographies of Austrian female personalities (including their educational profile) in the Monarchy, the First and Second Republic have already been recorded and can be accessed online.<sup>68</sup> These socio-structural surveys confirm the function of the Austrian universities, especially the large institutions in Vienna and Prague, as a path to advancement for a differentiated lower middle class on the one hand and, from the end of neo-absolutism, for the liberal educated and propertied bourgeoisie on the other.

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<sup>65</sup> Peter Goller, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Innsbruck. Abteilung: Medizinische Fakultät. I. Vol. 1869-1900* (Innsbruck: 1995). Peter Goller, *Katholisches Theologiestudium an der Universität Innsbruck vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg (1857-1914)* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 1997).

<sup>66</sup> Stimmer, *Eliten*.

<sup>67</sup> Ash and Ehmer, ed., *Universität- Politik- Gesellschaft*. See especially Gary B. Cohen, "Expansion and the Limits of Inclusion. The Students of the Vienna University 1860-1914", 505-528. Stefan Lenk, "Chancen sozialer Mobilität an der Universität Wien im 20. Jahrhundert. Brüche und Kontinuitäten bei der sozialen Herkunft der Studierenden", 565- 620 by Waltraud Heindl, "Bildung und Emanzipation. Studentinnen an der Universität Wien", 529-564. Early female studies: Anna Lind, *Das Frauenstudium in Österreich, Deutschland und in der Schweiz*, PhD thesis (Wien, 1961). Maria Steibl, *Frauenstudium an der Universität Innsbruck vor 1945. Dargestellt am Beispiel der Innsbrucker Studentinnen*, PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Innsbruck, 1985).

<sup>68</sup> Institut für Wissenschaft und Kunst, *biografiA, biografische Datenbank und Lexikon österreichischer Frauen* (Wien: 1998-2016).

## Conclusion

Confronting an almost consistently polarised and highly ideologised contemporary historiography and largely disseminated student self-representations during the period considered in this paper, a scholarly student history only began to be written in the Second Austrian Republic, more precisely since the 1960s. To this day, it rests on two pillars. The first one consists of a very broadly-based civil society research and publication activity, supported by the traditional student corporations institutionalised in partly cross-border student research associations, conferences and publication series. The second pillar is the historiographical production by the professional specialists of history and social sciences at the universities, which have addressed the relationship between the university and the student body in comprehensive research projects and publications, particularly on specific commemorative years such as 1848, 1918, 1934, 1938, and on the occasion of university jubilees. In terms of number of publications, the University of Vienna clearly dominates the research. It is also regrettable that the historiography has mainly focused on the particularly neuralgic periods of the First Democratic Republic (1918-1933), the *Ständestaat* (1934-1938) and the phase of National Socialism from March 1938 to May 1945, at the expense of the history of students during the Habsburg Empire. Therefore, many relevant subjects and research questions of student history remain unexamined or continue to be treated only by the private student history associations.

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	Innsbruck				Graz				Graz				Vienna				Vienna				Vienna			
	University				University				TH (College) plus Montanistische Hochschule Leoben				University				TH (College)				Bokusince 1872			
	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3
1857	168	79,6	/	0	169	52,9	/	0,3					2656	44,2	/	13,7	717 <sup>m</sup>	70,0	/	11,9				
1890	692	72,0	/	0,2	868	63,8	/	3,6					6060	65,3	/	33,9	1418 <sup>m</sup>	66,0	/	n.d.	360 <sup>m</sup>			
1909 / 1910			/				/						9000	75,6	6,0 <sup>f</sup>	24,4	3239	n.d.	/	24,2	1051	57	0,5	n.d.
1914	1077	72,7	n.d.	0,8	1421	64,1	/	2,5					10441	73,1	7,6	26,6					n.d.			
1917/18	982	n.d.	11,2	0,8	1142	n.d.	21,7	n.d.	186	n.d.	2,7	n.d.	5659	n.d.	22,8	n.d.	1292	n.d.	0,2		904			
1919	1567	n.d.	7,0	1,0	1442	n.d.	21,5	n.d.	1441	n.d.	0,8	n.d.	8943	n.d.	15,6	n.d.		0,5	24,2	1298				
1920/21									1495	n.d.	0,3	1,5	10700	57,9	n.d.	42,1	4826	91,5	0,5 <sup>f</sup>	18,7 <sup>f</sup>	1699	78	2,2	2,3
1922-1926*																	n.d.	ca. 93,0	n.d.	ca. 18,0				
1927 / 28					1808	87,0	15,0	2,7	1246	80,8	0,4	1,0	9275 <sup>d</sup>	77,9 <sup>m</sup>	18,1 <sup>m</sup>	8,8 <sup>m</sup>	3304	85,0			476	78	4,5	15,8
1928 / 29	2005	91,4	15,2	0,9									11144	83,2	28,1	21,3			2,9	11,2	360	88,9	6,4	3,8
1935 / 36	1799	90,0	12,1	0,3	2270	81,0	13,4	1,5	595	90,3	1,5	1,5	10832	94,1	26,3	16,5	2067	95,8						

	Vienna				Vienna				Prague				Prague				Prague				Budapest				Krakow				
	Veterinarian Collegesince 1896				Welthandel (College of World Trade) since 1919				University German speaking Divided since 1882 in German speaking and CZ				University CZ				TH (College)since 1875 divided in German speaking and CZ TH				University				University				
	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	N	1	2	3	
									415	38,4	/	8,3	-	-	-	-	312 <sup>d</sup>	68 <sup>m</sup>	/	/	1857	838 <sup>m</sup>	5,4 <sup>m</sup>	/	8,4 <sup>m</sup>	216	9,7	/	8,3
65 <sup>s</sup>									1580	79,1	/	30,2	2528	99,4	/	1,6			/		1890	3292	5,3	/	30,6	1219	0,4	/	16,3
620											6,0 <sup>f</sup>			6,0 <sup>f</sup>					/		1910			5,0				/	
1000									2095	88,0	n.d.	23,8	4557	96,1	n.d.	2,2			/		1914	7513	2,7	/	34,5	3030	0,1	/	13,2
																			/										
588					1559	/	/	/											/										
697	n.d.	/	/		3426	n.d.	5,0	n.d.																					
333	80,8	1,8	2,0		1785	77,3	8,3	n.d.																					
286	79,7	0,7	2,0		1661	72,4	10,0	25,0																					
360	94,7	1,9	1,9		816	86,5	13,4	13,6																					

N	Absolute Numbers
1	German in %
2	Women in %
3	Jewish in %
/	not existing
n.d.	not defined
*average number for the years 1922-1926	
** mother tongue CZ	

I	Woman quote together with the University Prague
II	1875 before divided
III	Data from 1876
IV	Data from 1866
V	Data since 1873
VI	Data since 1874
VII	Data since 1880
VIII	Data from 1892
IX	Data from 1900
X	Data since 1902
XI	Data for 1927

N	Absolute Numbers
1	German in %
2	Women in %
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