

# Tom Stoppard's *Leopoldstadt*: A Jewish Family Saga

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Bachelor's Thesis  
2022



Tomas Bata University in Zlín  
Faculty of Humanities

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Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně  
Fakulta humanitních studií  
Ústav moderních jazyků a literatur

Akademický rok: 2021/2022

# ZADÁNÍ BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE

(projektu, uměleckého díla, uměleckého výkonu)

Jméno a příjmení: **Kateřina Fedrová**  
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Studijní obor: **Anglický jazyk pro manažerskou praxi**  
Forma studia: **Prezenční**  
Téma práce: ***Leopoldstadt* Toma Stopparda: Sága židovské rodiny**

## Zásady pro vypracování

Shromáždění materiálů k tématu  
Studium odborné literatury  
Formulace cílů práce  
Analýza dramatu Toma Stopparda: *Leopoldstadt*  
Vyvození a formulace závěrů práce

Forma zpracování bakalářské práce: **tištěná/elektronická**

Jazyk zpracování: **Angličtina**

**Seznam doporučené literatury:**

George, Alys X. *The Naked Truth: Viennese Modernism and the Body*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020.

Lee, Hermione. *Tom Stoppard: A Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2021.

Offenberger, Ilana Fritz. *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction*. Dartmouth: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

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Wistrich, Robert S. *Austrians and Jews in the Twentieth Century: From Franz Joseph to Waldheim*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

Vedoucí bakalářské práce: **Prof. Dr. phil. habil. Ewald Mengel**

Ústav moderních jazyků a literatur

Datum zadání bakalářské práce: **8. listopadu 2021**

Termín odevzdání bakalářské práce: **9. května 2022**



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## ABSTRAKT

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá divadelní hrou Toma Stopparda, která nese název *Leopoldstadt*. Divadelní hra *Leopoldstadt* je rodinná židovská sága odehrávající se v hlavním městě Rakouska v první polovině dvacátého století, ukazující přechod od přizpůsobení se a prosperity k vyhnanství a destrukci. Tom Stoppard prostřednictvím této divadelní hry připouští své židovské kořeny jako součást rodinné historie. Tato bakalářská práce poukazuje na významné paralely mezi životem samotného autora a životem jedné z postav jménem Leo. Nejen že má Stoppard při psaní hry *Leopoldstadt* šanci zakomponovat jeho zájem o Arthura Schnitzlera, židovského dramatika žijícího ve Vídni, ale rovněž může využít postavy ze Schnitzlerovy hry *Liebelei*, kterou Tom Stoppard přeložil do anglického jazyka. Jelikož hra dramatizuje nejen dějiny Vídně, ale i dějiny holocaustu, práce se následně zabývá i tímto tématem. V podobném duchu začleňuje Tom Stoppard do hry i osobnosti vídeňského modernismu jako je Ludwig Wittgenstein a malíř Gustav Klimt. V neposlední řadě mísí Tom Stoppard fakta a fikci, a tak tato bakalářská práce nastiňuje problematiku psaní historické hry v období postmodernismu.

Klíčová slova: vídeňský modernismus, Tom Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, Vídeň, Rakousko, Žid, historie, intertextualita, židovství, Nacista

## ABSTRACT

This bachelor's thesis covers Tom Stoppard's play *Leopoldstadt*. The drama *Leopoldstadt* is a Jewish family saga set in Austria's capital during the first half of the twentieth century, illustrating the transition from assimilation and prosperity to exile and destruction. Throughout the play, Tom Stoppard acknowledges his Jewish roots as a part of his family history. Moreover, significant parallels between the author's life and the life of the character Leo are being offered. Writing *Leopoldstadt* provides Stoppard with the opportunity to bring in his interest in Arthur Schnitzler, a Jewish playwright living in Vienna at that time, and using characters from Schnitzler's play *Liebelei*, which Stoppard translated and adapted into English. Because the play dramatizes the history of Vienna and the history of the Holocaust, the thesis dives into this subject. Similarly, Tom Stoppard incorporates Viennese Modernist figures in the play, such as philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein and painter Gustav Klimt. Last but not least, Tom Stoppard mixes fact and fiction within the play. Thus, the thesis offers an insight into the writing of history play in the time of postmodernism.

Keywords: Viennese Modernism, Tom Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, Vienna, Austria, Jew, history, intertextuality, Jewishness, Nazi

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. phil. habil. Ewald Mengel, for his support, patience as well as professional guidance throughout the process of writing the thesis.



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## INTRODUCTION

Tom Stoppard, a British writer who won an Olivier Award and four Tony Awards and an Academy Award, published his last play, *Leopoldstadt*, in 2021. Tom Stoppard takes bits and pieces from history and works or names of other authors and creates a complex play named *Leopoldstadt*. Tom Stoppard, born Tomas Straussler in Zlín, Czechoslovakia, in 1957, was completely unaware of his ancestors. He only found out about his Jewish origins in the early 1990s. Using the knowledge of his origin, when asked in 2003 whether he was planning on writing a Jewish play, he replied “certainly.” Despite Tom Stoppard’s denial that *Leopoldstadt* has autobiographical implications, there are some parts of the play that relate to his life. As Tom Stoppard said: “It is so far from being the story I lived through.”<sup>1</sup>

In the first chapter of my bachelor’s thesis, the play itself is described to give the audience a more general idea about the topic. The play *Leopoldstadt*, written by Tom Stoppard, depicts the life of the Merz family from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century till the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. When describing such an extended period, many characters may be expected. There are more than 20 characters in the play; thus, the play is considered to be a generational play or a family saga. The story starts with a room full of people of different ages and ends with the little ones who grow up and return to the city after World War II. Stoppard uses characters from Arthur Schnitzler’s play *Liebelei*, which Stoppard translated and adapted into English, to bring in his interest in Arthur Schnitzler, a Jewish playwright living in Vienna at the time.

The next chapter of the thesis will focus on Tom Stoppard’s life, including his early youth and his family’s escape to Singapore, where his father perished. Tom, his brother, and his mother later relocated to the United Kingdom, where his mother remarried. Furthermore, it will discuss his Jewish ancestors to comprehend the play. It will be followed by comparing the author’s life to one of the characters. Leo, whose name also fits in with the play’s broader concept of *LEOpoldstadt*, is said to be a young Tom Stoppard, or Tomík as he was known as a child.

The Second World War was a tragic event, millions of people died, and the economy broke down. Same as the connotation of the district Leopoldstadt, the topic of the Second World War permeates the whole play, and therefore the theme of the War will be discussed

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<sup>1</sup> John Nathan, “Stoppard on his new play: I think about the Holocaust, it feels like every day,” *The JC*, January 23, 2020, <https://www.thejc.com/culture/theatre/tom-stoppard-on-leopoldstadt-i-think-about-the-holocaust-it-feels-like-every-day-1.495759>.

in the thesis. In addition, the play depicts a horror story from a historical period - deportation to concentration camps and the return to one's homeland once the terror had passed. Not only is deportation depicted in the drama, but so is the faith of other people who, like Herman (another character in the play), could not face their history and could not return to everyday life after being harassed and bullied by Nazi officials.

The thesis not only focuses on the history of the Second World War, Jews, and the history of Leopoldstadt, nor merely on the storyline of the play, but it also focuses on the term Viennese Modernism and Gretl's painting and its connection to Austrian-British philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein. Last but not least, the play investigates if Tom Stoppard deviates from historical facts.

## 1 THE PLAY *LEOPOLDSTADT*

*Leopoldstadt* is often referred to as the author's most personal work, in which he takes bits and pieces from other domains such as history and the lives of other artists, combines them, and makes his play. The drama *Leopoldstadt* is set in Austria and follows the lives of over 20 characters in a structured period between the years 1899 and 1955. Not only does the play begin with a depiction of Jewishness, including different traditions and the history of such religion, it then moves on to a portrayal of modernism as a movement, including the names of the most significant modernist artists in the play, which is followed by the Nazi occupation and Third Reich History. Finally, the play depicts the Holocaust's aftermath, when one is left with the survivors from a cast of more than 20 characters. This chapter aims to explain the play's narrative and outline the chain of events presented in the drama to demonstrate what would be addressed in greater depth later in the thesis. A character list is also provided for the readers since many characters may be perplexing.

### 1.1 The plot of the play *Leopoldstadt*

The play starts in 1899 in an apartment close to Ringstrasse in Vienna.<sup>2</sup> Even though the play's title refers to a poor district of Vienna, it is set close to an affluent area of Austria's city.<sup>3</sup> The initial scene takes place in the home of the Jewish Merz family,<sup>4</sup> however, Herman, a Merz family member, who possesses a clothing factory, along with his non-Jewish wife and kid, converted to Christianity, which some of the characters find challenging to comprehend.<sup>5</sup> The first scene is mainly concerned with Christmas and other religious customs. The Christmas tree is being decorated, and Jewish traditions such as whether the Star of David should be placed on top of the tree or not are being explained to the children. The characters' attitudes toward Judaism and Christianity may appear to be different.<sup>6</sup> Not only are customs a contentious issue, but so are assimilation and prejudice against Jews.<sup>7</sup> The following scenes (Scene Two – Scene Four) are linked to Arthur Schnitzler's play *Liebelei*; this could be because Tom Stoppard translated a handful of Schnitzler's works

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<sup>2</sup> Roberta Silman, "Leopoldstadt – Closing the Circle, Perfectly," *The Arts Fuse*, April 7, 2021, <https://artsfuse.org/226212/book-review-tom-stoppards-leopoldstadt-closing-the-circle-perfectly/>.

<sup>3</sup> London Theatre Direct, "Leopoldstadt, Tom Stoppard and Patrick Marber in Conversation," YouTube video, 3:52-4:00, January 31, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gd1XmINikTQ>.

<sup>4</sup> Silman, "Leopoldstadt."

<sup>5</sup> Peter Viney, "Leopoldstadt," *Peter Viney's Blog*, February 8, 2020, <https://peterviney.com/stage/leopoldstadt/>.

<sup>6</sup> David Benedict, "Tom Stoppard's Leopoldstadt: Theatre Review," *Variety*, February 12, 2020, <https://variety.com/2020/legit/reviews/leopoldstadt-review-tom-stoppard-1203502699/>.

<sup>7</sup> Viney, "Leopoldstadt."

during his career.<sup>8</sup> He translated *Liebelei* as *Dalliance* in particular and combined pieces of it into *Leopoldstadt*. First, Hanna and Gretl, Mertz's family members, discuss Hanna's crush on a soldier called Fritz; Hanna is oblivious of Gretl and Fritz's ongoing romance. Later on, Fritz and Hermann's (Gretl's husband) conversation follows; Hermann challenges Fritz to a fight, which does not happen in the end.<sup>9</sup> Not only is *Liebelei* by Schnitzler disclosed, but also another artistic piece is being included in the play, such as a painting of Gretl by Gustav Klimt,<sup>10</sup> same as a reference to another crucial historical character Ludwig Wittgenstein.<sup>11</sup> The audience can watch how the characters grow older and mature throughout the play.<sup>12</sup> The subsequent parts of the play are rather dark. In the play's second act, scenes are set in the Depression following World War I and Austria becoming part of the Third Reich in 1938.<sup>13</sup> When showing 1938, the Merz family is assembled in their apartment, which Germans have now taken over. Kristallnacht is also addressed in the scene, and even though it is not represented in-depth, it is one of the most striking sequences.<sup>14</sup> The final scene displays the reunion of the last three surviving characters, Leo, who scarcely remembers his family history and considers himself British;<sup>15</sup> Nathan, and Rosa,<sup>16</sup> who discuss various fates of individuals who died as a result of concentration camps and the Holocaust, or as a consequence of multiple diseases, with a minority of them also committing suicide. The reduction in the number of characters also reflects and corresponds to history, specifically how the Second World War altered the number of Jewish people.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Hermione Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 2020), 834, <https://ilib.cz/book/11707178/8eedad>.

<sup>9</sup> "Theatre review: Leopoldstadt," Partially Obstructed View, accessed April 11, 2022, <http://partially-obstructed-view.blogspot.com/>.

<sup>10</sup> Silman, "Leopoldstadt."

<sup>11</sup> Arifa Akbar, "Leopoldstadt review – Stoppard's family portrait is an elegiac epic," *The Guardian*, February 12, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2020/feb/12/leopoldstadt-review-stoppards-family-portrait-is-an-elegiac-epic>.

<sup>12</sup> Lucy Brooks, "New Play by Tom Stoppard: Leopoldstadt Wyndham's Theatre review," *CultureWhisper*, August 7, 2021, [https://www.culturewhisper.com/r/theatre/new\\_play\\_tom\\_stoppard\\_leopoldstadt\\_london/14186](https://www.culturewhisper.com/r/theatre/new_play_tom_stoppard_leopoldstadt_london/14186).

<sup>13</sup> Ben Brantley, "Review: In Leopoldstadt, Tom Stoppard Reckons with His Jewish Roots," *The New York Times*, February 12, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/12/theater/leopoldstadt-review-tom-stoppard.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Viney, "Leopoldstadt."

<sup>15</sup> Brooks, "New Play by Tom Stoppard: Leopoldstadt Wyndham's Theatre review."

<sup>16</sup> Brantley, "Review."

<sup>17</sup> Viney, "Leopoldstadt."

## 2 TOM STOPPARD'S LIFE: BIOGRAPHICAL RELEVANCE OF THE PLAY

Tom Stoppard, a Czech-born playwright, drew inspiration for his play *Leopoldstadt* from his family history, including his parents' history and his father's death, all of which impacted Stoppard's life, as well as honouring his Jewish ancestry. In this fashion, the chapter delves into Tom Stoppard's life to depict the connection between the playwright's Jewish forebears, his life in Great Britain during the Second World War, his search for ancestors and family roots, and, last but not least, the playwright's connection to the Czech Republic. As will be discussed extensively in the thesis, Tom Stoppard is frequently compared to one of the play's characters named Leo, and thus a segment of this chapter focuses on the relationship between Leo and Tom Stoppard; additionally, since the lives of Tom Stoppard and Leo are being compared, the chapter also includes examples from the book.

### 2.1 Lifetime of Tom Stoppard

Tom Stoppard was born to Eugen Straussler, a Masaryk University's Medical Faculty student, and Marta, who worked as a nurse. Tom's parents gave him a common Austrian surname. They married after Eugen finished medical school. Even though their families were wealthy, it was one of the rare marriages when they did not marry for money but for the sake of genuine love. They decided to remain in Zlín after their marriage.<sup>18</sup> Eugen started to work as a physician for the Bata's Shoe Company in Zlín, back then in Czechoslovakia, now in the Czech Republic.<sup>19</sup> When the Anschluss happened in 1938, Eugen (who was a Jew) was offered a job in Singapore by MUDr. Bohuslav Albert, who hired him as a physician. They moved into Singapore when Tom Stoppard was just eighteen months old.<sup>20</sup>

When I was born in July 1937 in Zlin, a small town in Moravia, my name was Tomas Straussler, Tomik to my mother and father. We left Czechoslovakia—my parents, my brother Petr and I—when the German army moved in.<sup>21</sup>

When the Japanese army entered Singapore, Marta and the children had to get onto the ship that went into Colombo, where they were put onto another ship. The whole journey was horrifying, as it was overcrowded, there was not enough food to eat, and children were getting lost. For several months there was no news about their husbands and fathers, and

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<sup>18</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 15-17.

<sup>19</sup> William Baker, "Tom Stoppard's *Leopoldstadt*," *Penn State University Press* 54, no. 4 (2020): 473-87, <https://doi.org/10.5325/style.54.4.0473>.

<sup>20</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 20-21.

<sup>21</sup> Hunter Jim, *About Stoppard: The Playwright and the Work* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 2005), 3.

because staying in one place with other women was stressful, Marta took her kids and went to Darjeeling in West Bengal, where she became a store manager of Bata's shoe shop.<sup>22</sup> One day, Tom recalls, a friend of their mother took Tom and his brother Peter for a walk and told them that their father was dead. All Tom remembers is seeing his mother's face full of tears.<sup>23</sup>

In Darjeeling, Marta met Major Ken Stoppard, a handsome Englishman whose family was in Nottinghamshire. When married to Ken Stoppard, she did not even tell the boys that she was getting married again, as she felt guilty. Later the whole family moved to England. While being in Singapore, most of Eugen and Marta's family died. The majority of them died in the concentration camps such as Terezín, Auschwitz, etc.<sup>24</sup> But Marta never told her sons that they have Jewish origins or that most of their family died in the concentration camps.<sup>25</sup>

So, were we Jewish? My mother would give a little frown and go 'Tsk!' in her way and say, 'Oh, if anyone had a Jewish grandparent at that time . . .' I believe I understand her 'Tsk!' It was less to do with denial than irritation.<sup>26</sup>

While Tom's mother always supported him during his career, Ken Stoppard did not. It is no secret that Tom and Ken did not get along. Ken Stoppard was xenophobic, and neither liked Indians nor Jews. Ken's attitude towards Jews was also one of the reasons why Marta did not want to bring up the story.<sup>27</sup>

In 1954, at the age of seventeen, Tom Stoppard began to work as a junior reporter for the Western Daily Press.<sup>28</sup> Tom Stoppard started his career as a reporter, and while working, he began to write his plays.<sup>29</sup> After quitting as a reporter in Bristol, one of the first plays he published was *A Walk on the Water* (1963), a comedy. Apart from *A Walk on the Water*, Tom Stoppard also wrote a play called *The Gamblers* (1965), which was set in a prison, and another play Tom wrote was *The Critics*.<sup>30</sup> Another play Tom Stoppard wrote was *Night and*

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<sup>22</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 26.

<sup>23</sup> Hunter, *About Stoppard: The Playwright and the Work*, 5.

<sup>24</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 31-33.

<sup>25</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 280.

<sup>26</sup> Hunter, *About Stoppard: The Playwright and the Work*, 4.

<sup>27</sup> Ysenda Maxtone Graham, "Stoppard and a Love Life in Five Acts," *The Daily Mail*, October 1, 2020, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/books/article-8795893/Thomas-Stoppard-journey-wartime-refugee-greatest-living-playwright.html>.

<sup>28</sup> John Bradshaw, "Tom Stoppard, Nonstop," *The Stacks Reader*, January 10, 1977, <http://www.thestacksreader.com/tom-stoppard-nonstop/>.

<sup>29</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 47-50.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

*Day* in 1978. The inspiration for this play was a fascination with journalism, which may be linked to his own life when he became a journalist for Western Daily Press.<sup>31</sup>

Apart from mentioned works, Tom Stoppard wrote *Indian Ink* (1995), *Rock' n Roll'* (2006), *The Hard Problem* (2015), *Leopoldstadt* (2020), etc. Not only did Tom Stoppard write works and plays, but he also translated works like Schnitzler's *Dalliance*, Havel's *Largo Desolato*, etc.<sup>32</sup>

## 2.2 Discovering Stoppard's forebears

Throughout his life, Tom Stoppard was primarily unaware of his ancestors. However, when his mother was nearly on her death bed because her diabetes worsened, she started to be in touch with her family again. One of the few members was Sarka, Sarka Gauglitz, who, just like Tom Stoppard, was later trying to find the truth about her ancestors and their family history. When Sarka was trying to discover her family history, she flew to Argentina, and when getting back, she made a quick stop in London to have dinner with Marta, Tom, and the rest of their family. "(...) we met in London, in the restaurant of the National Theatre where I was working that day – my mother, my sister (half-sister, but I never call her that), my sister's little girl and Sarka and I, who was Sarka's father's cousin (...)"<sup>33</sup> At a particular moment during the dinner, the topic of "Jewishness" came up. "Sarka wrote down the family tree of my mother's generation on a sheet of foolscap, which she turned sideways to get them all in."<sup>34</sup>

**Tom:** Sarka, were we Jewish? How Jewish were we?

**Sarka:** You were Jewish.

**Tom:** Yes, I know we were Jewish, my father's family ...

**Sarka:** You were completely Jewish.<sup>35</sup>

At that time, Tom Stoppard learned that instead of having one Jewish grandparent as he supposed, he had four of them. All four of his grandparents died in the concentration camps because of the Nazis. He also found out that same as his father, and in addition that his mother is Jewish.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Paul Dalney, "Exit Tomáš Strausler, enter Sir Tom Stoppard," in *Cambridge Companion to Tom Stoppard*, ed. Katherine E. Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 27.

<sup>32</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 834.

<sup>33</sup> Hunter, *About Stoppard: The Playwright and the Work*, 16.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 507.

<sup>36</sup> Dalney, "Exit Tomáš Strausler, enter Sir Tom Stoppard," 34.



Not only did Sarka tell Tom about his family history. However, when Tom Stoppard was in Prague, he was also approached by a young man, who showed him some old photographs from which it was visible that they were relatives.<sup>37</sup> Those were the times when Tom Stoppard started to care about his family history, and he was trying to find as much information as possible. On the other hand, Tom Stoppard was quoted: “ (...) now that I am Jewish, I feel no more Jewish than I felt Czech when, 22 years ago, I went to Prague to do my bit for Charter 77 (...)”<sup>38</sup> A few years before Tom Stoppard discovered that he had Jewish origins, he had arranged an event about Russian Jews and their imprisonment in psychiatric hospitals because of the application for exit visas to Israel. Moreover, he received tons of letters of gratitude, thanking him “as a Jew”. At that time, Tom Stoppard felt strange because those were not words for him; he thought that his only connection to Jewishness was his grandfather.

Nevertheless, he was convinced otherwise. When Tom Stoppard’s mother died, Ken Stoppard approached Tom and asked him to stop using his surname “Stoppard,” mainly because of Tom’s association with Russian Jews.

In 1994 and then later in 1998, Tom Stoppard revisited Zlín along with his brother Peter; Tom also visited once again in 1999.<sup>39</sup> The first time they visited Zlín in 1994, Tom and Peter went to see their old house where they grew up, and then later in 1998, they went into Zlín to find something more about their family history.<sup>40</sup> In April 1999, Tom met with the widow of MUDr. Bohuslav Albert who arranged Stoppard’s family escape into Darjeeling. She told Tom everything about his father, how nice he was, and how he helped her daughters when they put their hands through a glass pane and cut themselves. Tom also saw the mark on their hands. He was happy to see his father’s work. “I am surprised by grief, a small catching-up of all the grief I owe. I have nothing which came from my father, nothing he owed or touched, but here is his trace, a small scar (...)”<sup>41</sup>

### 2.3 Tom Stoppard and the Czech Republic

Apart from being connected to the Czech Republic because of his ancestors, Tom Stoppard was also a friend of Václav Havel, a former president of the Czech Republic. He was also a

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<sup>37</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 510.

<sup>38</sup> Hunter, *About Stoppard: The Playwright and the Work*, 17.

<sup>39</sup> Hunter, *About Stoppard: The Playwright and the Work*, 17-18.

<sup>40</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 553.

<sup>41</sup> Hunter, *About Stoppard: The Playwright and the Work*, 17.

playwright whose work was affected and preceded his government involvement.<sup>42</sup> Václav Havel, apart from being the president of the Czech Republic and a writer, is mainly known for Charter 77, which was a legal document supporting human rights. It started as support of the Plastic People's musical group and outrage over their imprisonment.<sup>43</sup> Not only did Tom Stoppard care about Václav Havel as a dissident, but throughout his life, he met with several dissidents; he even flew to Moscow in 1977. Later that year, Tom Stoppard published a play called *Every Good Boy Deserves Favour* (1977) about political dissidents.<sup>44</sup> Tom Stoppard's visa was denied when he wanted to visit the Czech Republic, thanks to that play.<sup>45</sup> Even though Tom does not speak Czech very well and Václav's English was very poor, they felt comfortable with each other.<sup>46</sup> They were such good friends that when Václav Havel was imprisoned, Tom Stoppard accepted an honorary doctorate on Václav Havel's behalf.<sup>47</sup> Tom Stoppard last met Václav Havel in March 1977; it was also the first visit after leaving Czechoslovakia with his family.<sup>48</sup> When Václav Havel passed away, Tom Stoppard could not attend his funeral in the Czech Republic. However, he was part of a tribute held in London by Prince Philip and the Czech ambassador in London, Michael Žantovský.<sup>49</sup>

## 2.4 Tom Stoppard as one of the characters

Although *Leopoldstadt* is frequently portrayed as autobiographical, Tom Stoppard dismisses the concept: "I do not describe it as autobiographical; it is so far from being the story I lived through."<sup>50</sup> However, *Leopoldstadt* is described as autofiction, which is inspired by the author's Jewish past.<sup>51</sup> While it is not autobiographical, the play does have autobiographical components.<sup>52</sup> One of the autobiographical elements may be a character

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<sup>42</sup> Jenifer Leigh Harger, "Living in Truth: Moral and Political Intersections of Samuel Beckett, Tom Stoppard, and Václav Havel" (MA thesis, The University of Texas at Austin, 2011), 5.

<sup>43</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 290-291.

<sup>44</sup> John Bull, "Tom Stoppard and Politics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Tom Stoppard*, ed. Katherine E. Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 142-143.

<sup>45</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 337.

<sup>46</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 296.

<sup>47</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 307.

<sup>48</sup> Bull, "Tom Stoppard and Politics," 143.

<sup>49</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 686.

<sup>50</sup> Nathan, "Stoppard on his new play: I think about the Holocaust, it feels like every day."

<sup>51</sup> Sue Vice, "British Jewish Writing in the Post-2016 Era: Tom Stoppard, Linda Grant and Howard Jacobson," *Humanities* 2020, no. 9 (September 2020): 116.

<https://doi.org/10.3390/h9040116>.

<sup>52</sup> Arty Froushan, "Arty Froushan plays Leo in Tom Stoppard's alleged final play *Leopoldstadt* which sees him go out on almighty high. Time Out," *Anthearepresents*, August 20, 2021, <https://anthearepresents.com/news/arty-froushan-joins-the-cast-as-leo-in-tom-stoppards-masterpiece-leopoldstadt>.

called Leo, associated with the author of the play Tom Stoppard. Leo is thought to be Tom Stoppard as a child.<sup>53</sup>

#### 2.4.1 Autobiographical elements

The first thing that the playwright and the character Leo have in common is their family heritage. Tom Stoppard, born Tomas Straussler, had to alter his surname. One of the reasons was his mother's marriage to an Englishman, Ken Stoppard. Another reason was that Tom Stoppard's mother did not want little Tom to have a Jewish surname because of the Nazis and the situation at that time. It is no secret that Straussler was a common Jewish surname.<sup>54</sup> In the excerpt from the play, it is apparent that Leo, like Tom, needed to change his surname.

**Leo:** My mother did not want me to go to school with a German name. I was Leonard Chamberlain from when I was eight. She never talked about home and family. She did not want me to have Jewish relatives in case Hitler won.<sup>55</sup>

Another distinguishing element is their stance toward the United Kingdom. They were both brought up by British men, albeit Tom Stoppard's stepfather was the one who raised him. On the other hand, Tom Stoppard's relationship with his stepfather needs to be taken into account. They did not get along; one of the reasons may be that Ken Stoppard was a xenophobe.<sup>56</sup> **Leo:** We were top country. I loved being English.... English books, and seaside and listening to the radio... Mother and I only spoke English."<sup>57</sup>

A further element they share is the death of their fathers. Tom Stoppard lost his father when he was just a toddler - his father died in the Second World War.<sup>58</sup> Leo, like Tom, lost his father, though not in the Second World War, but in 1934. Not only did Leo lose his father, but he also lost his mother.

**Leo:** The German killed my mother, too – in the Blitz.

**Nathan:** Oh, in the Blitz! I can just imagine! But let's not get into a competition about whose mother.

**Rosa:** Nathan! Stop being schmuck.

**Nathan** (ignoring): The Germans did not kill your father, though.

**Leo:** No, he is married again, still going strong.

**Nathan:** Your father, Leonard. It was Austrians who killed your father.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Daniel Johnson, "Leopoldstadt: Tom Stoppard's last play (but his first tragedy) is a triumph," *The Article*, August 16, 2021.

<https://www.thearticle.com/leopoldstadt-tom-stoppards-last-play-but-his-first-tragedy-is-a-triumph>.

<sup>54</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 15-17.

<sup>55</sup> Tom Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 2020), 94.

<sup>56</sup> Graham, "Stoppard and a Love Life in Five Acts."

<sup>57</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 94.

<sup>58</sup> Lee, *Tom Stoppard: A Life*, 21-23.

<sup>59</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 93.

Last but not least, the thing they also have in common is their talent to write stories and plays. As mentioned in the play, Leo also wrote a few stories when he was a little boy. “**Leo:** I do not do anything much. I write funny books. I have written two. Short but funny. Or not funny but short.”<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 99.

### 3 STOPPARD'S INTEREST IN SCHNITZLER: *DALLIANCE*

Tom Stoppard not only translated Arthur Schnitzler's *Liebelei*, but he also translated *Das weite Land*. Furthermore, *Liebelei*, in particular, piqued Tom Stoppard's interest, and as a result, he translated the work. Nonetheless, he did not conform to the original and attempted to adapt the plot for an English audience and change a scene from the play. Arthur Schnitzler's life is linked to the play *Leopoldstadt* because he is a Jewish playwright born in Vienna. As a result, this chapter offers light on the matter. In addition, the drama *Liebelei* is covered in the chapter and Tom Stoppard's play *Dalliance*, with illustrations of the distinctions between the two.

#### 3.1 Arthur Schnitzler and *Liebelei*

Arthur Schnitzler was born on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1862 and is of Jewish descent, like Tom Stoppard. Although Arthur was born with Schnitzler's surname, their first name was "Zimmerman," which was changed to Schnitzler for an unspecified reason. Arthur Schnitzler's father was a doctor born in Hungary and had a passion for writing when he was a child. Nevertheless, he gave up his writing skills to pursue a career as a doctor, as it was a tradition in their family. Arthur's mother was born in Hungary as well. Schnitzler, along with his parents and his two brothers, lived in the Jägerzeile, which is now the Praterstrasse in the capital city of Austria.<sup>61</sup> The street is situated in the Leopoldstadt district.<sup>62</sup> Opposed to Tom Stoppard, Arthur Schnitzler was aware of his Jewish origins. Nonetheless, because their family was non-practicing and kept a distance from the religion, Arthur Schnitzler did not publicly acknowledge his Jewish ancestors.<sup>63</sup> Whether Arthur Schnitzler struggled with his Jewish background and acceptance by others has been summarized by Robert O. Weiss: "There can be no doubt that Arthur Schnitzler tasted the bitter dregs of antisemitism."<sup>64</sup> There also exists a correspondence between Schnitzler and Wassermann, who was a writer as well, talking about the rise of antisemitism just three years prior to Adolf Hitler.<sup>65</sup> Arthur Schnitzler, like his father, wanted to be a doctor, so he studied to become one and received

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<sup>61</sup> Richard H. Allen, *An Annotated Arthur Schnitzler Bibliography* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 1-2.

<sup>62</sup> "List of Streets in Leopoldstadt, Wien, Wien, Austria, Google Maps and Photos Streetview," Geographic.org, accessed January 28, 2022, <https://geographic.org/streetview/austria/wien/wien/leopoldstadt.html>.

<sup>63</sup> Max Matthias, Walter Haberich, Clare Hall, "Arthur Schnitzler and Jakob Wassermann: A Struggle of German-Jewish Identities" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2013), 9.

<sup>64</sup> Allen, *An Annotated Arthur Schnitzler Bibliography*, 2.

<sup>65</sup> Matthias and Haberich and Hall, "Arthur Schnitzler and Jakob Wassermann: A Struggle of German-Jewish Identities," 2.

his M.D. in 1885.<sup>66</sup> Nonetheless, writing was his primary calling. Because his father treated singers and actors/actresses, Arthur Schnitzler had access to this kind of society.<sup>67</sup> His father, for example, was given tickets to the opera, which he attended for the first time with Arthur, who was six years old at the time.<sup>68</sup> This may be the reason why Arthur started to write as a child when he was barely a nine-year-old.<sup>69</sup> He also authored his first play when he was only 16 years old.<sup>70</sup>

In 1895, *Liebelei* was published. *Liebelei* was one of Schnitzler's first plays, and through which he acquired public notoriety.<sup>71</sup> When writing this play, it seems that Schnitzler was inspired by the atmosphere of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, he uses military terms a lot. The major characters are soldiers. Fritz is a soldier and so-called Dragon, and so is Theodor, the friend of Fritz.<sup>72</sup> Society also inspired Schnitzler at that time. Therefore, we may presume that he used Mizi (a modist and a hat shop assistant) and Christine (a musician) as major female characters.<sup>73</sup>

### 3.1.1 The storyline of *Liebelei*

The drama explores how Leopoldstadtmaedel perceive love and relationships.<sup>74</sup> The story takes place in Vienna, the capital city of Austria. The main character is Fritz, and he is involved with two ladies simultaneously. One of the women – Mizi – is married, and therefore they are trying to keep their relationship a secret; the second woman is called Christine. Then Theodor has a so-called “fling” with Mizi. The play starts at Fritz's apartment, where all the characters are gathered around the piano and having fun. Thanks to Christine, Theodor hopes that Fritz can forget his affair with a married woman. At that point, the husband appears with love letters proving that his wife had cheated on him, and Fritz challenges him to a fight. Christine is waiting for Fritz in the second act, but he does not show up, and she is disappointed. After a while, Fritz visits Christine's apartment to bid her farewell. He knows he will die in the battle with the husband, but he claims to Christine that

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<sup>66</sup> Allen, *An Annotated Arthur Schnitzler Bibliography*, 3.

<sup>67</sup> Nicole Freya Robertson, “Arthur Schnitzler in Great Britain, An examination of power and translation” (PhD diss., UCL, 2019), 11.

<sup>68</sup> Allen, *An Annotated Arthur Schnitzler Bibliography*, 2.

<sup>69</sup> Allen, *An Annotated Arthur Schnitzler Bibliography*, 3.

<sup>70</sup> J.P. Stern, *Arthur Schnitzler, Liebelei, Leutnant Gustl, Die letzten Masken* (London: The Cambridge University Press, 1966), 2.

<sup>71</sup> Simona Zezulová, “František Neumann a jeho opera Milkování podle hry Arthura Schnitzlera *Liebelei* (1895)” (MA diss., Masarykova Univerzita, 2015), 12.

<sup>72</sup> Zezulová, “František Neumann a jeho opera Milkování podle hry Arthura Schnitzlera *Liebelei* (1895),” 16.

<sup>73</sup> Stern, *Arthur Schnitzler, Liebelei, Leutnant, Gustl any Die letzten Masken*, 45-106.

<sup>74</sup> “Arthur Schnitzler,” Prabook, accessed January 31, 2021, <https://prabook.com/web/arthur.schnitzler/1720346>.

he is going to visit his parents. In the final act, Christine discovers that Fritz is dead, and she wants to see him before he is buried. She runs out of the flat, and whether or not she committed suicide is a matter that will remain unanswered.<sup>75 76</sup>

### 3.2 Tom Stoppard's *Dalliance*

Not only did Tom Stoppard translate and adapt Schnitzler's *Liebelei* as *Dalliance* (1986), but he also adapted *Das weite Land* as *Undiscovered Country* (1979), all of which were performed at a National Theatre. With the appearance of Schnitzler's play in the United Kingdom, Tom Stoppard contributed to the translation process. Tom Stoppard's *Dalliance* is far more amusing, and it is classified as a comedy rather than a tragedy. He makes changes to the play based on post-modern notions. Tom Stoppard produces a humorous meaning by using additional lines and terminology that only an English audience will comprehend and unique situations. Not only did the language change, but *Dalliance* also tends to be more sexual than *Liebelei*. The shift of characters is one of the modifications from Schnitzler's original play.<sup>77</sup> The characters' names haven't changed; however, Mizi is now a seamstress instead of an unemployed modist. Also, Christine and Mizi in Tom Stoppard's *Dalliance* are Jewish, whereas, in *Liebelei*, they are not. Another substantial modification is that the third act is now staged in the theatre's backstage area rather than in Christine's room.<sup>78 79</sup> We can presume that Christine will commit suicide at the end of Schnitzler's play; nevertheless, Stoppard modified the entire ending; in his version, she accepts her faith with rage, changing women's attitudes toward men. The male characters are also altered; in Stoppard's adaptation, the boys have "much sharper wit than their German counterparts" on the other hand, Schnitzler portrays the boys as rather irresponsible. Fritz tends to be more realistic than in *Liebelei*.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Zezulová, "František Neumann a jeho opera Milkování podle hry Arthura Schnitzlera *Liebelei* (1895)," 15-16.

<sup>76</sup> Stern, *Arthur Schnitzler, Liebelei, Leutnant, Gustl any Die letzten Masken*, 45-106.

<sup>77</sup> Ewald Mengel, *On First Looking Into Arden's Goethe: Adaptations and Translations of Classical German Plays for the Modern English Stage* (Columbia: Camden House/Brill, 1994), 167-180.

<sup>78</sup> Robertson, "Arthur Schnitzler in Great Britain, An examination of power and translation," 161-168.

<sup>79</sup> Tom Stoppard, *Tom Stoppard: Plays 4* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1992), 7-71.

<sup>80</sup> Mengel, *On First Looking Into Arden's Goethe: Adaptations and Translations of Classical German Plays for the Modern English Stage*, 167-180.

## 4 INTERTEXTUALITY: CHARACTERS FROM *DALLIANCE* IN *LEOPOLDSTADT*

As described in the preceding chapter, Tom Stoppard was drawn to Arthur Schnitzler's *Liebelei*, translated as *Dalliance*. In addition, Tom Stoppard weaves the story of *Dalliance* into his Jewish family saga *Leopoldstadt*. One may assume that because of Schnitzler's Jewish background and Arthur Schnitzler was born in Vienna, Tom Stoppard may have decided to insert *Liebelei* (*Dalliance*) in *Leopoldstadt*. As a result, this chapter discusses how *Dalliance* is merged into *Leopoldstadt* and if the narrative remains identical or deviates from Stoppard's original translation. The chapter also offers examples for the reader to illustrate what the chapter is about.

### 4.1 Mingling of *Dalliance* into *Leopoldstadt*

Tom Stoppard included the story of *Dalliance* and *Liebelei* when writing *Leopoldstadt* (in Scenes Two, Four, Five). Although the story is essentially the same, there are a few variations. The first thing that stands out is the change of the names and the character's religion. Christine is named Hanna in the story of *Leopoldstadt*, while Gretl is the married woman with whom Fritz had an affair. Hanna is portrayed as a Jewish woman in this drama; Gretl, on the other hand, is non-Jewish and Christian. As mentioned, Gretl is having an affair with Fritz; however, she is married to Hermann. The further twist in the play *Leopoldstadt* is that Fritz and Hermann get to know each other while playing poker – Fritz assaults Hermann's wife, and Hermann wants to arrange a shooting duel as a matter of honour.

**Ernst:** Hearing from you? Oh no. Absolutely not. Because this idiot felt like insulting you over losing at cards?

**Hermann:** It was my wife. He was insulting.

**Ernst:** He does not even know your wife. It was you, and you should have socked him and have done with it.

**Hermann:** You do not understand anything. In matters of honor, we do not hit each other.<sup>81</sup>

The other change from the original play *Dalliance/Liebelei* is that Fritz disagrees with the shooting match when Hermann suggests. He instead writes a letter of apology as Hermann had requested at first. Fritz's inability to fight Hermann is exacerbated by the fact that Hermann has Jewish relatives and the fact that Fritz is a member of a unit that condemns such behaviour.

**Fritz:** I can't fight a duel with you. In my regiment, an officer is not permitted to fight a Jew.

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<sup>81</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 32.



**Hermann:** I am a Christian.

**Fritz:** This is painful for me.

**Hermann:** I am a Christian, damn you!

**Fritz:** Let me put it this way. In my regiment, an officer is not permitted to fight someone whose mother was a Jew.

**Hermann:** And damn your regiment.<sup>82</sup>

However, after Hermann realizes that Fritz knows Gretl, he does not want the letter of apology anymore. He desired it solely because he imagined Gretl and Fritz were strangers. Hermann realizes that Gretl knows Fritz is Schnitzler's play in Fritz's apartment, which was privately printed and inscribed to Dr Ludwig Jakobovicz, Hermann's brother-in-law.

**Hermann:** Doctor Ludwig Jakobovicz of the University, the mathematics faculty. You have his copy of Schnitzler's new play, privately printed and inscribed to Dr Ludwig Jabkovicz.

**Fritz:** Ah. I know Hanna Jakobovicz, of course. I asked her to dance.... somewhere. Miss Jakobovicz and your wife came to tea one day.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 35-36.

<sup>83</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 38.

## 5 THE PLAY AS JEWISH HISTORY OF VIENNA

During the nineteenth century, the majority of Jews arrived in Vienna. To take advantage of the strengthening economy, Jewish families and children of Jewish immigrants migrated to Vienna.<sup>84</sup> After the Revolution of 1848, most of the Jews arrived. Nevertheless, cities became more extensive, and Jews in Vienna established their neighbourhoods to segregate themselves from other ethnic groups. They were shielded from antisemitism and discrimination by such separation, and it was also a place where they could secure their own religious demands.<sup>85</sup> As a result, this chapter discusses the establishment of Leopoldstadt as a Viennese district, as the district is named after the play's title. This chapter not only illustrates the creation of the area Leopoldstadt, but it also discusses Jewish Christian intermarriages, as not only Jews established their societies within Vienna. Last but not least, this chapter dives into the issue of Jews turning to Christianity to escape the horrors of the Second World War. Both of these topics are provided with examples to illustrate.

### 5.1 Leopoldstadt as a Viennese district

The development of Jewish neighbourhoods began prior to World War I when the Jewish nation established three districts throughout Vienna. District II is known as Leopoldstadt, District IX is known as Alsergrund, and District I is known as the Inner City. Those districts looked like regular cities, with a vast divide between rich and poor Jews living on various streets or in different houses throughout the district. Although the creation of these districts was caused by antisemitism, most of the Jews moved into those districts because of their Jewishness in mind. The largest Jewish district was Leopoldstadt, where Jews accounted for one-third of the population. Leopoldstadt, also called Leopold's City, was named this way in the seventeenth century. Thereafter, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was called "Matzah Island." The name is intended to be amusing in order to draw attention to the large number of Jews who live in this area.<sup>86</sup> In 1900, the city of Leopoldstadt had the most Jewish residents. On the other side, Alsergrund had just ten to twenty-five percent Jews.<sup>87</sup> Austrian dramatists described Leopoldstadt as "fashionable and distinguished" in its youth; later, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Leopoldstadt became home to many Jews. Therefore, it was called the

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<sup>84</sup> Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867 – 1914: Assimilation and Identity* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1983), 13.

<sup>85</sup> Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867 – 1914: Assimilation and Identity*, 71-72.

<sup>86</sup> Ilana F., Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction* (Dartmouth: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 11.

<sup>87</sup> Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867 – 1914: Assimilation and Identity*, 79.

“Jewish ghetto.” On Saturdays, stores in Leopoldstadt were closed, women wore wigs to hide their hair, and an everyday dinner of beans, potatoes, and beef was prepared every Friday.<sup>88</sup> The residential location did not bank on classes. On the other hand, most wealthy Jews lived in the Inner City or Alsergrund, and some even migrated to Leopoldstadt, despite its reputation as a poor Jewish neighbourhood. Leopoldstadt was well noted for its lower- and middle-class residents.<sup>89</sup> Most Jews also went to Leopoldstad because it was known as a “Jewish ghetto,” as previously stated, it was an attractive location to live because it focused on Jewish tradition and their way of living.

Even though there were wealthy Jews in Leopoldstadt, they lived in different houses, on different streets, and in other parts of the district. The social position of the Jewish community evolved over time; most Jews were small traders in the 1840s and 1850s, but their social rank rose with time. Many Jews pursued careers in medicine and law. They were also employed as managers in commerce and salesmen.<sup>90</sup> Between 1870 and 1910, a large number of Jews changed occupations, as well as their social position, which coincided with the transition in their work. Even though the social status of most of the Jews improved, the expectation that Jews would move from Leopoldstadt into wealthier parts of Vienna did not fulfil. Just a minority of the young Jews moved out of the “Jewish ghetto,” but most Jews remained because they wanted to keep and uphold their traditions. Lots of Jews came into Vienna and not only to Leopoldstadt from Bohemia and Moravia, two Czech provinces.<sup>91</sup> On the other hand, most of them separated geographically, but the rest of the Jews did not care where they used to live. The only thing that mattered to them was that they were Jewish. The majority of Czech Jews worked in Vienna manufacturing, whereas Bohemian and Moravian Jews worked as middle-class labourers.<sup>92</sup>

## 5.2 Jewish Christian Intermarriages

Intermarriage between Jews and Christians has been frequent throughout history,<sup>93</sup> especially since the nineteenth century when Jewish-Christian marriage was permitted in

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<sup>88</sup> Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867 – 1914: Assimilation and Identity*, 77.

<sup>89</sup> Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867 – 1914: Assimilation and Identity*, 72-82.

<sup>90</sup> Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867 – 1914: Assimilation and*, 47-48.

<sup>91</sup> Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867 – 1914: Assimilation and Identity*, 94-97.

<sup>92</sup> Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867 – 1914: Assimilation and Identity*, 35.

<sup>93</sup> Ori Yehudai, “Doubtful Cases: Intermarried Families in the Post-Holocaust Jewish World,” *Immigrants & Minorities* 38, no. 1-2 (August 2020): 27-53, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.2020.1794839>.

Germany. However, it was still forbidden in Austria.<sup>94</sup> In Germany, roughly 35 000 Jews out of 525 000 intermarried with non-Jews, including Christians, in 1933. However, the Second World War intervened, and the situation deteriorated. The number of intermarriages in Germany did not alter until around 1931. Being intermarried had its benefits and drawbacks until 1944, when those in relationships with non-Jewish people were spared deportation. However, as the USA and the Soviet Union shuttered in on the Third Reich and the Second World War drew to a close, intermarried couples and thus Jews were deported due to the Third Reich's ludicrous anti-Jewish policies. Until 1944, about 85 percent of Germany's Jewish community intermarried. This was not only the case in Germany but also in other countries that were part of Hitler's territories.<sup>95</sup>

When it comes to intermarriage, the difference in social position may be noted; poorer people used to intermarry, but persons in higher society converted to another faith.<sup>96</sup> Intermarriages are also associated with the term "mischlinge," which first appeared in 1935 when the Nazis established the Nuremberg Legislation, a new set of laws promoting Nazi philosophy and propaganda.<sup>97</sup>

However, anti-Semitism began around 1934 when the Nazi party released papers arguing that Jews were detrimental to the Third Reich and the notion that Germany failed in the First World War because of Jews.<sup>98</sup> The Nuremberg Laws were enacted primarily to persecute Jews. Furthermore, the Nuremberg Laws were to define what it means to be a Jew: someone who had "three to four Jewish grandparents or two Jewish parents" was considered a pure Jew, as opposed to someone who "had one to two parents" who were classified as Mischlinge or Half – Breed.<sup>99</sup>

The term "mischlinge" is used in *Leopoldstadt* as well. The protagonist Wilma married a Protestant and had two children with him; therefore, one of their parents was not Jewish. Following the Nuremberg Laws, the term Mischlinge was established.

**Wilma:** Ernst is Protestant, Emilia.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Steven M. Lowenstein, "Jewish Intermarriage and Conversion in Germany and Austria," *Modern Judaism* 25, no.1 (February 2005): 23-61, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3526864>.

<sup>95</sup> Yehudai, "Doubtful Cases: Intermarried Families in the Post-Holocaust Jewish World," 27-53.

<sup>96</sup> Lowenstein, "Jewish Intermarriage and Conversion in Germany and Austria," 23-61.

<sup>97</sup> Jenifer Hight, "The Nuremberg Laws: Creating the Road to the T-4 Program" (Honors Senior Thesis, Western Oregon University, 2016), 3-5.

<sup>98</sup> Hight, "The Nuremberg Laws: Creating the Road to the T-4 Program," 10.

<sup>99</sup> Hight, "The Nuremberg Laws: Creating the Road to the T-4 Program," 12.

<sup>100</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 5.

**Nathan:** My Grandma Wilma married out, so Rosa and Sally had only two Jewish grandparents. The Nazis called them *mischlinge*. Half-Breeds. Half-Jews. More than enough by the Nuremberg Laws.<sup>101</sup>

On the other hand, the term “goy” is used throughout the play. “The name goy means nation, and the goyim means nations,” so a “goy” is someone who is not Jewish and belongs to the nations.<sup>102</sup>

As previously stated, the term “goy” is utilized in the play. When it comes to Jacob, who is supposed to be the son of Gretl and Hermann, yet, as it turns out at the end of the play, Gretl had an affair with a Dragoon officer, and because Gretl and the soldier both had non-Jewish ancestors, Jacob is labelled as “a goy.”

**Hermann:** It makes all the difference now because – it turned out – Jacob is a goy.

**Ernst:** No, he is not.

**Hermann:** Yes, he is. It turns out Gretl got pregnant by a goy and had Jacob.<sup>103</sup>

However, every coin has two sides, and although Gretl cheated on Hermann, he may still be able to maintain his family business, which is extremely important to him, by passing it on to Jacob.

### 5.3 Jews converting to Christianity

Not only did Jews and Christians marry, but a handful of Jews converted to Christianity as well. Erna Becker-Kohen, a Jewish woman who wrote her memoir and married a Christian, Gustav Becker, later converted to Christianity. Despite their conversion to Christianity, Erna and her son endured discrimination. She was not required to wear the yellow star like the rest of the Jewish people, but she was not recognized as an ordinary Christian. She had to leave her apartment, for example, since other tenants refused to live with a Jew in the same building.<sup>104</sup> Christians were meant to treat Christians differently than “pure” Jews who converted to Christianity.<sup>105</sup> However, in 1941, even Christians who converted to Judaism were labelled Jews and were required to wear the yellow star,<sup>106</sup> and some were even deported to death camps.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 97.

<sup>102</sup> Rebecca Einstein Schorr, “Goy: Origin, Usage, and Empowering White Supremacists,” *Forward*, August 21, 2017, <https://forward.com/life/380684/goyim-origin-goy-usage/>.

<sup>103</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 87.

<sup>104</sup> Kevin P. Spicer, Ed. And Martina Cuchiara, Trans., “The Evil that Surrounds Us: The WWII Memoir of Erna Becker-Kohen,” *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* 14, no. 1 (November 2019): 1-3, <https://doi.org/10.6017/scjr.v14i1.11853>.

<sup>105</sup> Stephen A. Allen, “The Catholic Church and the Holocaust,” *Origins*, October 1998, [https://origins.osu.edu/history-news/catholic-church-and-holocaust?language\\_content\\_entity=en](https://origins.osu.edu/history-news/catholic-church-and-holocaust?language_content_entity=en).

<sup>106</sup> Irene Kacandes, *On Being Adjacent to Historical Violence* (Berlin: DeGruyter 2022), 89.

<sup>107</sup> Allen, “The Catholic Church and the Holocaust.”

The conversion from Judaism to Christianity is also shown in the drama *Leopoldstadt*. Hermann, the main character, turns from Judaism to Christianity, but with one exception: he converts to Christianity before meeting his wife, Gretl.

**Eva:** I do not understand my brother – he got himself Christianised long before he met you, Gretl, and married you in church like a good Catholic, so why...?<sup>108</sup>

However, the Civilian's different treatment of Hermann is not apparent in the play; when he arrives in Scene Eight, he does not approach Hermann any differently than the rest of the Jewish family. By the end of the play, the death of the character Hermann is revealed; he committed suicide in 1939, but the rest of the family, including Sally, who was labelled "a mischlinge," was transferred to the concentration camps, demonstrating that the Nazis made no distinctions.

#### 5.4 Impact of Fascism on the Jewish community

Even though the initial perception of Jewish assimilation was that they would blend into the greater culture, they instead developed their own society and neighbourhoods. They were able to live next door to each other, study together, intermarry, etc. Their lives were not easy; Vienna's Jewish community numbered over 200 000 people after the First World War. One of the first threats occurred when Hitler took power in Germany in 1933 and later after the Anschluss in 1938, when Austria became part of Nazi Germany.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, the Nazi regime forced a lot of Jews either to move out from "provinces" or to emigrate.<sup>110</sup>

On Sunday in 1938, Josef Bürckel arrived in Vienna. He was the one who was in charge of making Austria a part of The Greater German Reich.<sup>111</sup> In the beginning, when visiting the capital of Austria, he created Vienna, a place that worshipped Adolf Hitler. There were slogans like "Adolf Hitler creates the Work and Bread." Leopoldstadt also became part of the Nazi's Vienna. The old Jewish quarter was "dressed up" in the Nazi's red flags.<sup>112</sup> The terror in Leopoldstadt did not end, as well as in the rest of Vienna. Nazis entered the Jewish stores, telling the "Aryans" that they could not buy anything from the Jews. One day the Nazis went into the Kaffeehaus (Café) Kühn on Taborstrasse in Leopoldstadt. To check if

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<sup>108</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 7.

<sup>109</sup> Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867 – 1914: Assimilation and Identity*, 195-196.

<sup>110</sup> Robert S. Wistrich, *Austrians and Jews in the Twentieth Century: From Franz Josef to Waldheim* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), 199.

<sup>111</sup> Thoman, Weyer, *The Setting of the Peral: Vienna Under Hitler* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005): 62.

<sup>112</sup> Weyer, *The Setting of the Peral: Vienna Under Hitler*, 71.

the Jews were not serving the Aryan Guests, they made the owner lie on the ground and drink the content of the spittoons. As a result, he had to stay in the hospital for two weeks. In 1938 in Mid-October, entire publishing houses were set on fire, jewellery was robbed, and stores were set on fire in Leopoldstadt. In later years, the Jews of Leopoldstadt were deported to the holocaust camps like Auschwitz.<sup>113</sup>

Deportation to concentration camps was not limited to Jews living in Leopoldstadt. Several Viennese Jews were deported for the first time after the Anschluss in late May and early June 1938. Hundreds of Jews were imprisoned and deported to Dachau, which was a concentration camp located near Munich. These arrests were ordered by Adolf Hitler, Germany's highest-ranking official, and carried out by German police and Austrian police. In Hitler's words, it was for the sake of Germany to help rebuild Germany. The journey into Dachau did not happen just over one day; it was a long process that involved being interrogated by police, being arrested, and then being loaded into a train and sent to Dachau. Where all of the Jews had no human rights at all, they were treated as if they were objects, as if they were nothing.<sup>114</sup> According to one of the victims who wrote about their nightmare, the average drive to Munich takes around 5 to 6 hours, but the track into Dachau was a 12-hour ordeal. The journey of torture has a literary meaning. The Jews were supposed to sit, for example, on the ground, staring into a neon light, and sing cheerful melodies. There was tremendous heat on the train while the Nazis turned the heat up; however, Jews were not allowed to take their clothes off for a few hours. Some of the Jews could not bear the terror, and they attempted suicide when one of the Jews jumped out of the glass window, and the train had to be stopped; he was shot, and the train was rolling again. According to other witnesses, this happened 20 times, explaining why the journey was so long.<sup>115</sup> The Viennese Jews were not deported just to Dachau but lately in 1939 also to Nisko, which was in the East a part of Poland.<sup>116</sup>

Some lucky Jewish citizens were able to emigrate from Vienna elsewhere and lived a happy life; however, most of the Jews were deported to the concentration camps. One way or the other, the Second World War was a terrifying experience not just for Viennese Jews but also for the whole Jewish community and the entire world.

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<sup>113</sup> Weyer, *The Setting of the Peral: Vienna Under Hitler*, 78.

<sup>114</sup> Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction*, 101-103.

<sup>115</sup> Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction*, 112-115.

<sup>116</sup> Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction*, 212.

### 5.4.1 Delineation of the Second World War horrors in *Leopoldstadt*

The play *Leopoldstadt* depicts the horrors of the Second World War. The representation of the Second World War in the drama *Leopoldstadt* begins in Scene Eight when the approach to Jews is considered. “**Percy:** (...) From now on mixed race is going to count as Jewish...to be excluded from the professions like Jews.”<sup>117</sup> Kristallnacht is also depicted in the opening section of Scene Eight, and the horrors of this historical event are portrayed.

Some kind of unseen frightening drama starts to become audible from elsewhere in the building.

There are shouts, cries, bumps, crashes, breaking glass, boots on the stair.<sup>118</sup>

In addition, the possibility of escaping to another country is being considered. The arrival of the Civilian is the most crucial aspect of this scene. Everything comes to a halt when he arrives. Civilians treat all people as if they are not human.

**Civilian:** Watch your lip! Do you think I give a shit about English journalist? I can wipe my arse with your accreditation any time I like.<sup>119</sup>

The Civilian arrives at the flat to inform the Merz family that the property is no longer theirs but rather The Third Reich's and that they would be deported. Even though one of the characters, Hermann, is a Christian, he treats everyone equally. He tells them how many belongings they can take and that they must leave the residence the following day and present themselves in front of the apartment. Even though one might deduce where they are being deported, the play does not capture the deportation itself. Scene Nine depicts three people who have returned and are reading the family tree and discussing each family member's life. Many of the characters died in concentration camps like Auschwitz or Dachau, and others of them committed suicide.

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<sup>117</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 68.

<sup>118</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 69.

<sup>119</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 77.



## 6 VIENNESE MODERNISM IN *LEOPOLDSTADT*

The beginnings of modernism may be traced back to the nineteenth century, when Manet is credited as the first “modernist painter.”<sup>120</sup> Modernism is a period marked by experiments, industrialisation, massive social upheavals, and the expansion of scientific boundaries, such as in the case of Freudian theory.<sup>121</sup> Modernism has a broad definition that depicts the modernist movement associated with cultural changes arising more or less from Western society. Modernism attempted to break free from the so-called “traditional.” One of its key ideas was that a person’s rationality should replace religion, and atheism was proposed as a solution.<sup>122</sup> And as a result of becoming bored with the traditional, the movement’s principal purpose was to discover a way to create something new, something that the world had never seen before, such as theatre, which was inspired in part by the “social problem” of the time.<sup>123</sup> Modernists take delight in the fact that art must be subjective.<sup>124</sup> In the very same light, this chapter discusses what the term “Viennese Modernism” means and how it relates to the play *Leopoldstadt’s* theme. Furthermore, Gustav Klimt’s name is linked to the term “Viennese Modernism” and the drama *Leopoldstadt*, so information about Gustav Klimt’s biography is presented. Finally, there is a link between Klimt’s paintings and the play. The chapter concludes with details regarding Ludwig Wittgenstein’s family.

### 6.1 Viennese Modernism

Viennese Modernism, often known as “Wiener Moderne,” refers to the period of aesthetic development in Vienna from the late 1800s to the early 1900s. Different names are associated with the term Viennese Modernism. For example, the artist Gustav Klimt and the psychologist Sigmund Freud’s works refer extensively to the term Viennese Modernism and help us understand the term.<sup>125</sup> Vienna at that time was the capital of the Habsburg Empire.

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<sup>120</sup> Jonathan Harris, *Writing back to modern art: After Greenberg, Fried and Clark* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 17.

<sup>121</sup> “Modernism,” Britannica, accessed February 1, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/art/Modernism-art>.

<sup>122</sup> Dariana Vokrojová, “Vznik Církve československého husitské na pozadí zrodu ČSR” (BA thesis, Masarykova Univerzita, 2013), 6.

<sup>123</sup> James Fisher, *Historical Dictionary of American Theatre: Modernism* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2008), 32-33.

<sup>124</sup> Christopher Butler, *Early Modernism: Literature, Music and Painting in Europe 1900-1916* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 2-3.

<sup>125</sup> George, Alys X., *The Naked Truth: Viennese Modernism and the Body* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 3.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, more than two million inhabitants lived in Vienna.<sup>126</sup> In the 1900s, more than 1.7 million citizens lived in Vienna, which is almost as many as today. Not only was the population proliferating, but migration was also increasing. Only after the First World War and then the Second World War did the population in the capital city decrease.<sup>127</sup> Nonetheless, many religions and nationalities lived in the same place, but talented and creative people could be found there.<sup>128</sup> The Ringstrasse area is associated with the term Viennese Modernism (as indicated in one of the chapters, the play is set in an apartment off the Ringstrasse – this might be seen as another correlation with the play). Ringstrasse added great places like bourgeois residences, the churches, the cathedrals, and the long streets with something new, as new buildings for the shops, the parliament, and the museums. As a result, the street (Ringstrasse) was seen as a symbol of transformation and success; Ringstrasse embodies what modernism is all about.<sup>129</sup> For example, when it comes to art, Gustav Klimt founded the Vienna Secession movement<sup>130</sup> motto of, which was “To the Age its Art, to Art is Freedom.”<sup>131</sup> The Secession movement introduced the French avant-garde artists, sometimes known as the Impressionists, such as Van Gogh, just before modernism began in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>132</sup>

## 6.2 Gustav Klimt

Gustav Klimt was born on 14<sup>th</sup> July 1867 in Vienna to Ernst and Anna Klimt and his six siblings. Although he was born in Austria, Gustav Klimt’s familial roots are in Bohemia, where his grandfather lived. When Gustav was just a child and attended primary school, his teacher noticed how well he could draw. As a result, he recommended that Gustav’s parents apply to the Vienna School of Arts and Crafts. Gustav’s parents were not affluent enough to pay for his studies; thus, passing the examinations gave him the potential to receive a scholarship, which was his only option for attending the school.<sup>133</sup> The school started just

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<sup>126</sup> “The Wiener Moderne,” Visiting Vienna, accessed February 15, 2022, <https://www.visitingvienna.com/culture/wiener-moderne/>.

<sup>127</sup> Wolfgang, Lutz, Sergei Scherbov and Alexander Hanika, “Vienna: A City Beyond Aging – Revisited and Revised,” *Vienna Yearbook of Population Research* 1, (2003): 182-184, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23025400>.

<sup>128</sup> Visiting Vienna, “The Wiener Moderne.”

<sup>129</sup> Gibbons, “Vienna: Modernity in the Making.”

<sup>130</sup> “Gustav Klimt,” Art Encyclopedia, accessed February 16, 2022, <http://www.visual-arts-cork.com/famous-artists/gustav-klimt.htm>.

<sup>131</sup> Gibbons, “Vienna: Modernity in the Making.”

<sup>132</sup> Colin B. Bailey, *Gustav Klimt: Modernism in the Making* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2001), 7.

<sup>133</sup> Barbara Sternthal, *Gustav Klimt 1862 – 1918: Myth and Truth* (Vienna: Brandstatter, 2006), 10-11.

eight years prior and was set up by Rudolf Eitelberger.<sup>134</sup> Not only did Gustav study at this school; also, his brother Ernst Klimt joined his brother a few years later. Gustav and Ernst were sketching photograph-based portraits and then having them framed in order to bring some money home to their destitute family.<sup>135</sup> When his brother Ernst married his wife named, Helene Flöge, the same year, Gustav Klimt painted Helene's sister, and this had a significant impact on his career.

Nonetheless, not only did the painting of Helene's sister impact Gustav's career but so did the death of Gustav and Ernst's father.<sup>136</sup> Gustav Klimt was 35 years old and had an extensive amount of expertise in the industry when he began to consider modifying his approach to painting. His girlfriend, like Gustav, yearned for a change, although a fashionable one. Emilie (his girlfriend) and her two sisters owned a store in Vienna. Instead of selling gowns with corsets, which made it difficult for ladies to breathe, Emilie devised fresh flowing dresses, which Gustav photographed and painted. In 1903 Gustav went to Italy, where he saw the fantastic work of art. To witness the mosaic, he travelled to Venice and Ravenna. To be precise, the visit to Italy had an enormous effect on his work; he started to use much gold, the wafer-thin gold leaf. His most known piece of art is the painting *The Kiss*. When sketching women, the use of silver and gold has a particular meaning; with the usage, he meant to express how wealthy these women are.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Žaneta Turoňová, "Gustav Klimt a Ravenna: oboustranný dialog mezi dvěma světy" (BA thesis, Masarykova Univerzita, 2016), 48.

<sup>135</sup> Sternthal, *Gustav Klimt 1862 – 1918: Myth and Truth*, 12-13.

<sup>136</sup> David Blatty, "Gustav Klimt Biography," *The Biography*, April 2, 2014, <https://www.biography.com/artist/gustav-klimt>.

<sup>137</sup> Angela Wenzel, *Gustav Klimt: Silver, Gold, and Precious Stones* (Munich: Prestel, 2000), 6-16.

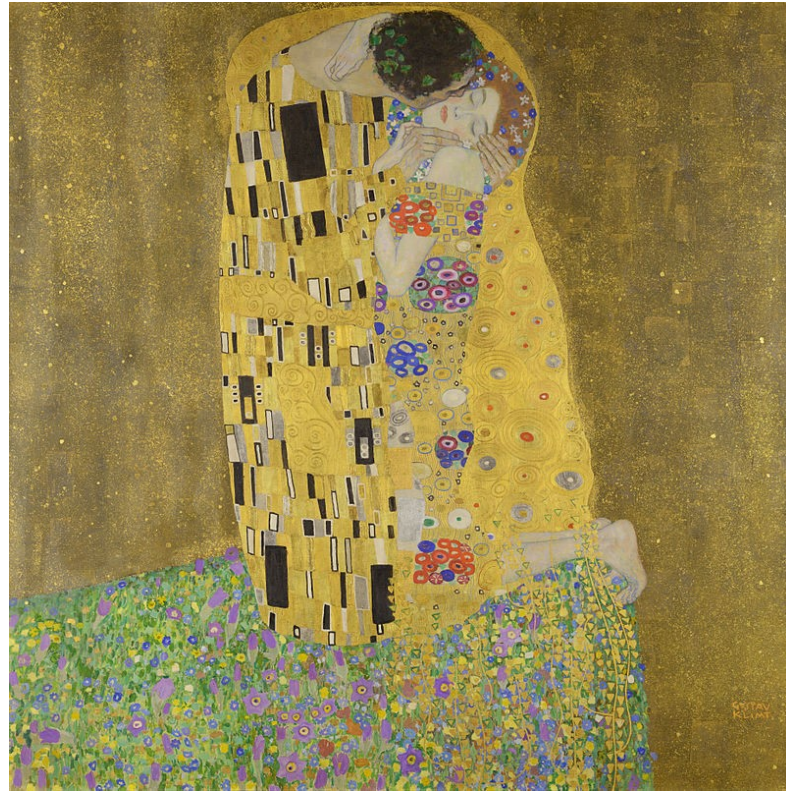


Figure 1 Klimt's *The Kiss* (Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=38827275>)

### 6.2.1 Gustav Klimt's painting in *Leopoldstadt*

In the play *Leopoldstadt*, Gustav Klimt is also being brought up. Initially, when Hermann's wife Gretl allows Gustav Klimt to paint her, then later in the play when a work titled "*Woman with a Green Shawl*" is mentioned.<sup>138</sup> At the beginning of each scene, there is a description of what the scene looks like: in Scene Four, where Hermann talks to Ernst, the first mention of Gretl's portrait is seen.

The lamps are mostly unlit but there is some light on Gustav Klimt's portrait of Gretl, which is on an easel. Hermann is staring at it. The painting is not one of the spectacular portraits of a few years hence. It is closer to his portrait of Serena Lederer (1899) or Marie Hennberg (1901 – 2). Gretl is wearing the green shawl.<sup>139</sup>

In both Scene Six and Scene Seven, which take place in 1924, something similar occurs. However, Scene Eight, which takes place in early 1938, mentioned near the play's opening that Gretl's portrait is gone. "The room is just different enough. The gramophone and Gretl's portrait have gone, along with unidentified objects of value."<sup>140</sup>

<sup>138</sup> "Leopoldstadt – Footnotes," The Play Podcast, accessed February 18, 2022, <https://www.theplaypodcast.com/leopoldstadt-footnotes/>.

<sup>139</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 30.

<sup>140</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 63.

The disappearance of Gretl's portrait is explained at the end of the play. The Brownshirt (the name Brownshirt implies "member of an early Nazi paramilitary organization," according to Oxford University Press)<sup>141</sup> took the portrait. When compared to reality, a large number of Klimt's paintings were either destroyed,<sup>142</sup> burnt, or stolen by the Nazis, who were stealing mainly from Jews, indicating that they knew the worth of those paintings. Moreover, if the Nazis did not steal the paintings, they remained in possession of the true "Aryanizers." As can be seen from the play, if the artworks were not destroyed, they were at least renamed.<sup>143</sup>

**Nathan:** I did not see the "Portrait of Margarete Merz" again until I saw it on public display at the Belvedere art gallery after the war. At the Belvedere, the picture was called "Woman with a Green Shawl", but there was no doubt it was the portrait of my Great-Aunt Gretl, who died from cancer in December of 1938.<sup>144</sup>

Not only is the portrait of Gretl being mentioned in the play, so are the Faculty Paintings' "*Philosophy*," "*Medicine*," and "*Jurisprudence*,"<sup>145</sup> all of which were meant to embellish the ceiling of the Main Hall in the main University building on the Ringstrasse. The professors at the university did not like Klimt's drafts because they did not celebrate the achievements of science but expressed his scepticism, and they were never installed as planned. Klimt finally resigned from his commission. The Nazis claimed that all of the paintings were obscene, and they were all burned by the Nazis in 1945.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> "Brownshirt," Oxford Reference, accessed February 18, 2022, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095531594>.

<sup>142</sup> Bailey, *Gustav Klimt: Modernism in the Making*, 212.

<sup>143</sup> "Klimt Lost," Google Arts and Culture, accessed February 18, 2022, <https://artsandculture.google.com/story/klimt-lost/lgKiKfIN48gYLA>.

<sup>144</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 90.

<sup>145</sup> "Leopoldstadt – Footnotes."

<sup>146</sup> "The Stories Behind Klimt's Faculty Paintings," Google Arts and Culture, accessed February 18, 2022, [https://artsandculture.google.com/story/nwWxIZNv\\_3ZAIA](https://artsandculture.google.com/story/nwWxIZNv_3ZAIA).



Figure 2 Klimt's Philosophy (source: <https://www.gustav-klimt.com/Philosophy.jsp#prettyPhoto>)

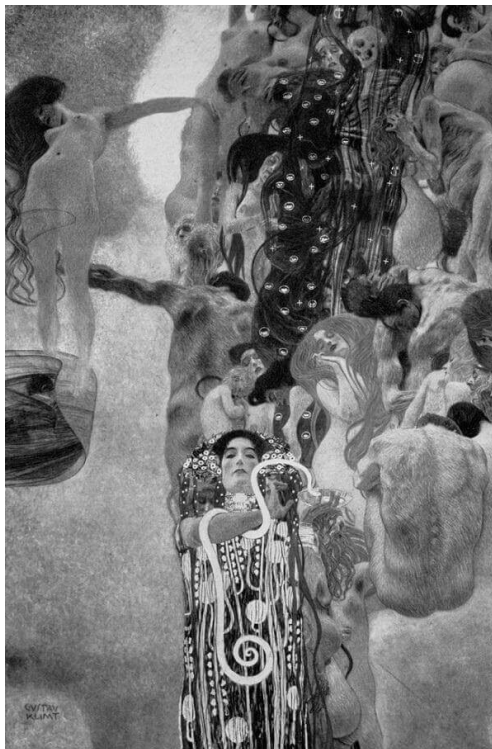


Figure 3 Klimt's *Medicine* (source: <https://www.gustav-klimt.com/Medicine.jsp>)

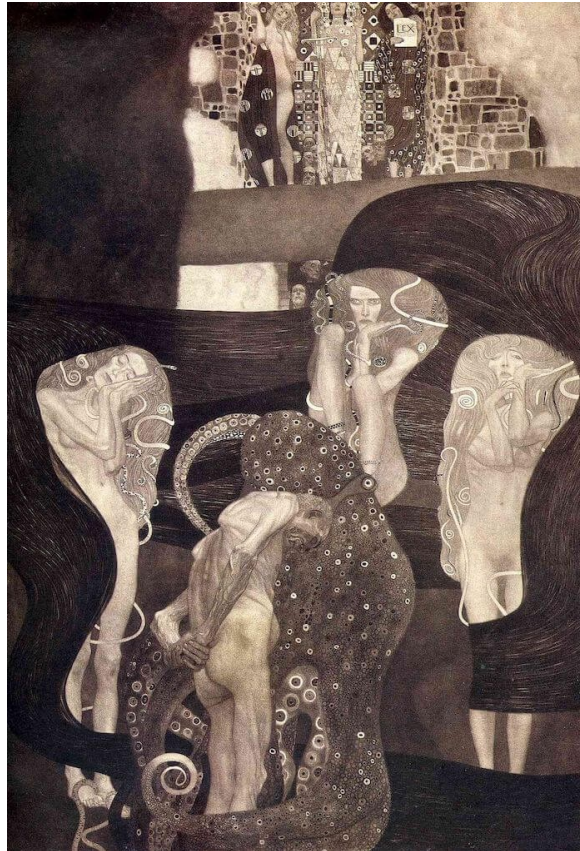


Figure 4 Klimt's *Jurisprudence* (source: <https://www.gustav-klimt.com/Jurisprudence.jsp#prettyPhoto>)

### 6.3 The Wittgenstein family

The Wittgenstein family is among “the wealthiest” in the city history of Austria’s capital. Karl Wittgenstein is regarded as one of Austria’s wealthiest people.<sup>147</sup> Karl Wittgenstein was “a peer of Skoda and Krupp in Central Europe.”<sup>148</sup> He was well educated in the field of technology as well as in the business field. He was not interested just in technology but also in music and art, which could be traced back to his father, Hermann Wittgenstein, who was also a music aficionado. As a result, it is possible that his passion for music stemmed from his upbringing.<sup>149</sup> Karl’s children were also instilled with an appreciation for the arts; one of the youngest, Paul, had his right arm amputated, yet despite this, he was a gifted pianist. On the other hand, Hermine, Karl’s daughter, was a painter and a supporter of Gustav Klimt’s work. The list goes on and on. Kurt Wittgenstein was a cellist, Hans was a superb pianist,

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<sup>147</sup> Anthony Gottlieb, “A Nervous Splendor: The Wittgenstein family had a genius for mystery,” *The New Yorker*, March 30, 2009, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2009/04/06/a-nervous-splendor>.

<sup>148</sup> Allan Janik, Stephen Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's VIENNA* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), 169.

<sup>149</sup> Janik and Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's VIENNA*, 169-173.

and so on and so forth. Ludwig Wittgenstein is regarded as one of the most influential philosophers of the twentieth century.<sup>150</sup> The list goes on and on. Karl Wittgenstein had nine children,<sup>151</sup> three of whom committed suicide (Rudi, Hans, Kurt).<sup>152</sup> Karl and his wife Leopoldine decided to raise their children as Catholics and allow them to be baptized, even though Karl's family was Jewish. When Karl married, he married a Catholic, even though her father was a Jew. This may be considered the next step in assimilation into the Viennese society.<sup>153</sup> When the Nuremberg Laws were passed, Wittgenstein and his colleagues tried to avoid being labelled as Jews.<sup>154</sup> When the Anschluss occurred, however, Margarete Stonborough (Karl's daughter) insisted on being treated the same as the rest of the Viennese Jews, which meant being detained.<sup>155</sup>

### 6.3.1 Wittgenstein family and Merz family

Wittgenstein's family has been compared to the family of the play *Leopoldstadt*.<sup>156</sup> Margaret Wittgenstein, who resembles Gretl from the play, had herself painted by Gustav Klimt. Sitting down for a portrait from Gustav Klimt might be the first resemblance between Margaret and Gretl. Whenever Margret had a session with Gustav Klimt, her brother accompanied her. Margaret Wittgenstein was dissatisfied with the portrait at the end of the day. She was unhappy with the way her mouth had been painted, so she had the image repainted, which did not help. She was characterized as a woman of "unique beauty" during her lifetime, which could be one of the reasons she felt dissatisfied with the painting. The painting is currently in the Art Gallery in Munich. Many visitors claim that Margaret's dislike of the painting may be for her "rings of grey," representing the tiredness, or her unusual posture, which may seem rather doubtful or frightened.<sup>157</sup> On the other hand, Ludwig Wittgenstein can be compared to the play's character Ludwig since both are incredibly clever. Ludwig Wittgenstein is a philosopher who had a significant influence on

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<sup>150</sup> "Josef Hoffman: Homes of the Wittgensteins," The Clark, accessed February 19, 2022, [https://www.clarkart.edu/microsites/josef-hoffmann/exhibition-\(2\)](https://www.clarkart.edu/microsites/josef-hoffmann/exhibition-(2)).

<sup>151</sup> Alexander Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein: A Family at War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), 9-10.

<sup>152</sup> Gottlieb, "A Nervous Splendor: The Wittgenstein family had a genius for mystery."

<sup>153</sup> Ray Monk, *Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990): 4-5.

<sup>154</sup> Merav Fima, "Ludwig Wittgenstein on Jewish Creativity: From Self-Doubt to Self-Hatred," *Eras Journal* 23, no.1 (2021): 2-3.

<sup>155</sup> Janik and Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's VIENNA*, 173.

<sup>156</sup> "Anti – Semitism in the UK 4. Stoppard Views the Century from Leopoldstadt," Quaerentia, accessed February 22, 2022, <https://www.markmeynell.net/2020/02/26/anti-semitism-in-the-uk-4-stoppard-views-the-century-from-leopoldstadt/>.

<sup>157</sup> Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein: A Family at War*, 20-21.



philosophy during that century,<sup>158</sup> while Ludwig in the play is a mathematician who is also quite intelligent. Not only for the resemblance of those two characters is the play being viewed as similar, but also for its correlation with the role of Jewishness and Christianity in their lives, such as the Wittgenstein having their children Christianised like the character of Herman was.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Monk, *Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius*, Introduction.

<sup>159</sup> “Anti – Semitism in the UK 4. Stoppard Views the Century from Leopoldstadt.”

## 7 HISTORY AND IMAGINATION IN *LEOPOLDSTADT*

Not only did Tom Stoppard write absurdist dramas such as his play *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead*, but he also drew inspiration from history. While penning *The Coast of Utopia*, Tom Stoppard explored the philosophy of emigrants in Russia.<sup>160</sup> One of his last plays is *Leopoldstadt* which tends to be considered a historical family saga.

There has been a distinction between history writing and “poetic writing” since the Greek philosopher Aristotle. Where poetry is about the hypothetical, historical writing describes the real world. In the nineteenth century, the concept of history altered. History is no longer understood as a series of events that occurred in the past but as a continuous process of human life.<sup>161</sup> Therefore, historical writing may be defined as a “fictional narrative that incorporates historical materials, without further qualification.”<sup>162</sup> When you ask a historian to tell you something from history, they will usually tell you a story or a tale. As Lawrence Stone said: “Historians have always told stories.”<sup>163</sup> Some may argue, as Louis Mink, “that historians do not follow a narrative but construct it, and constructing a narrative backwards... is quite different from following a narrative forward.”<sup>164</sup> On the other hand, historiography is defined as the “study of various approaches to historical method, the actual writing of history, and primarily, the various interpretations of historical events,”<sup>165</sup> and it can be considered a necessary component of narrative and history narration.<sup>166</sup>

As a result, this chapter dives into the issue of historical fiction and whether Tom Stoppard’s play *Leopoldstadt* is grounded upon historical fact or if he has altered historical facts and thus produced historical fiction.

### 7.1 Historical Fiction

The experimental writers, such as modernists and postmodernists, who intended to handle something that had never been addressed before by establishing new genres of adaptation of literary materials, were the first to come up with historical fiction. Some of them differed

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<sup>160</sup> “Writer and Fighter,” *The Guardian*, accessed March 11, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2008/sep/21/stoppard.theatre>.

<sup>161</sup> Kuisma Korhonen, *Tropes for the Past: Hayden White and the History / Literature Debate* (New York: Radopi, 2006), 25-26.

<sup>162</sup> Elisabeth Wesseling, *Writing History as a Prophet* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), 27.

<sup>163</sup> Geoffrey Roberts, *The History and Narrative Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 2.

<sup>164</sup> Roberts, *The History and Narrative Reader*, 4.

<sup>165</sup> “Histography,” KU Writing Centre, accessed March 11, 2022, <https://writing.ku.edu/historiography>.

<sup>166</sup> Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 4.

considerably when writing historical fiction. Furthermore, those writers used the past as a sort of inspiration; most of them were writing about the topics such as World War II or the Cold War between the United States and Russia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>167</sup>

Also, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a variety of historians, socialists, along with thinkers from Europe such as Sartre, who questioned history as having a “fictive character,” were concerned with the question of “thinking historically” or “the historical method.” As a result, several historical writers had a different opinion of what historical writing should consist of. The major distinction is that historians “discover” their stories, whereas fiction writers “create them.”<sup>168</sup> The difference between truth and fiction, according to Hayden White, is that while creating a historical narrative, the narrative must be consistent; if it lacks consistency, it may be considered fiction.<sup>169</sup>

## 7.2 Fact and Fiction in *Leopoldstadt*

The play *Leopoldstadt* is considered to be a Jewish family saga, even though the accuracy of certain events and the difference between fact and fiction needs to be kept in mind.

Following the First World War, Viennese Districts were founded, one of which was Leopoldstadt, which was considered the largest Jewish district, with Jews accounting for one-third of the population.<sup>170</sup> Jews flocked worldwide to Leopoldstadt, including Bohemia and Moravia,<sup>171</sup> which is also referenced in the play. Not everything, on the other hand, was as dazzling. Karl Lueger, often known as “King of Vienna,” was the mayor of Vienna and the leader of the Christian Social Party at the time when Jews began to arrive in the city. Karl Leuger claims to be “the first politician who recognized the importance of the masses in politics,” whom also Adolf Hitler saw as “an ideal modern mass leader,” and the Führer also worships Karl Leuger in his *Mein Kampf*.<sup>172</sup> Karl is said to have “built his political career on the hatred of a minority,”<sup>173</sup> and his hate against Jews was mainly built upon the socioeconomic situation in Vienna.<sup>174</sup> As a result, it is critical to note that the conditions in

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<sup>167</sup> Wesseling, *Writing History as a Prophet*, 1-2.

<sup>168</sup> Hayden White, *Metahistory* (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 1-5.

<sup>169</sup> Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 122.

<sup>170</sup> Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867 – 1914: Assimilation and Identity*, 79.

<sup>171</sup> Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867 – 1914: Assimilation and Identity*, 195-196.

<sup>172</sup> Robert S Wistrich, “Karl Lueger and the Ambiguities of Viennese Antisemitism,” *Jewish Social Studies* 45, no. 3/4 (Summer-Autumn, 1983): 251-62.

<sup>173</sup> Jastinder Khera, “Vienna Mayor who was Hitler’s Role Model Becomes Magnet for Statue Protest,” *The Times of Israel*, October 9, 2020,

<https://www.timesofisrael.com/anti-semitic-ex-mayor-becomes-magnet-for-vienna-statue-protests/>.

<sup>174</sup> Wistrich, “Karl Lueger and the Ambiguities of Viennese Antisemitism,” 251-62.

which the majority of Jews lived were not particularly pleasant even before the Second World War, but, as Stoppard shows, there were exceptions.

Although the play *Leopoldstadt* is considered to be indirectly autobiographical, there are a few elements that may not correspond with reality. Also, the author of the play Tom Stoppard claims that it is not exactly an autobiographical play.<sup>175</sup> As stated throughout the thesis, the drama features some connections between the character Leo and the playwright, such as their love for creating short stories, needing to alter their surnames, etc. However, there are as well some distinctions between the two. One of the first facts to remember is that neither Tom Stoppard nor his family ever lived in Vienna; hence the play's setting in Vienna can be regarded as a work of fiction because it is based on a made-up story.<sup>176</sup> Although both of the boys' fathers died during the war, Tom was raised by his mother and stepfather Ken Stoppard, with whom he had a strained relationship, and Leo was raised solely by his mother.<sup>177</sup>

Another point worth mentioning is Ludwig's character and his likeness to the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein. Ludwig Wittgenstein is regarded as one of the most influential philosophers of the twentieth century,<sup>178</sup> and Ludwig is also one of the play's characters. This mathematician is proud of his Jewish ancestors and attempts to deduce the Riemann Hypothesis.<sup>179</sup> As well as Ludwig Wittgenstein also has a family with a few members, and as presented in the play, mathematics is one of the few things that matter to him. "**Ludwig:** Mathematics is the only language in which you can make yourself clear I find."<sup>180</sup> he also says: "I sometimes dream I have proved the Riemann Hypothesis."<sup>181</sup> Because they are based on a true story, the elements described can be considered facts used in the play. The character and the philosopher's family are both Christianised to avoid being persecuted as Jews. In the drama *Leopoldstadt*, the character Jacob is the son of Hermann and Gretl. Still, because Gretl had her son with a Christian when having an affair with a soldier Fritz, Jacob is no longer considered a Jew, and he may inherit and run the family business.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Nathan, "Stoppard on his new play: I think about the Holocaust, it feels like every day."

<sup>176</sup> Baker, "Tom Stoppard's *Leopoldstadt*," 473-87.

<sup>177</sup> Baker, "Tom Stoppard's *Leopoldstadt*," 473-87.

<sup>178</sup> The Clark, "Josef Hoffman: Homes of the Wittgensteins."

<sup>179</sup> Baker, "Tom Stoppard's *Leopoldstadt*," 473-87.

<sup>180</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 8.

<sup>181</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 13.

<sup>182</sup> Stoppard, *Leopoldstadt*, 88.

## CONCLUSION

This bachelor's thesis aimed to portray and interpret Stoppard's play *Leopoldstadt* from several perspectives.

*Leopoldstadt* is a Jewish family saga that depicts three generations of the Merz family's path from wealth to exile and destruction.

Tom Stoppard was inspired to write the play by his family history. Furthermore, he uses the character Leo to offer autobiographical components in the play, and thus portions of Tom Stoppard's life are paralleled to Leo in the chapter. Tom Stoppard, born in Czechoslovakia, had to flee fascism with his family when he was just eighteen months old. Not only did his father die during the war, but so did other relatives. Tom Stoppard only recently discovered his Jewish ancestors, and the play may be linked to Stoppard's personal life because of his Jewish forefathers. Even though Tom Stoppard became a well-known playwright throughout his lifetime, he worked as a translator.

As a result, the thesis emphasizes Stoppard's opportunity to bring his interest in Arthur Schnitzler, a Jewish playwright, to the spotlight. During his lifetime, Stoppard translated Schnitzler's play, and thus the thesis concentrates on Stoppard's translation of *Liebelei*. Consequently, Stoppard is incorporating *Dalliance*, translated *Liebelei*, into *Leopoldstadt*. Schnitzler is a Jewish dramatist, yet he has never publicly acknowledged his Jewish roots. Schnitzler drew inspiration for *Liebelei* from nineteenth-century society. When Stoppard translates *Liebelei*, he makes several adjustments that make the play more appropriate for an English audience while also making it funnier. Last but not least, he alters *Liebelei*'s ending. Similarly, chapter four examines intertextuality in *Dalliance* and *Leopoldstadt*, using passages from both plays.

Within the play, Tom Stoppard dramatizes the history of Vienna's history and the prehistory and history of the Holocaust. The thesis covers the history of Vienna and the history and formation of the Leopoldstadt district. Leopoldstadt was the most prominent Jewish district in the city, with Jews accounting for one-third of the population and was hence referred to as the "Jewish ghetto." The chapter also explores the impact of Nazi ideology on the Jewish community. The chapter includes a detailed overview of how fascism affected the Jewish community and what the experience was. In addition, Jewish-Christian marriages are depicted in the chapter, as these weddings were sometimes a means of escaping the horrors of the Second World War. In the end, intermarried Jews were also transported to concentration camps. Nonetheless, regarding this theme, an excerpt from the

play was offered, along with an explanation of the terms “mischlinge” and “goy.” Furthermore, the chapter discusses the topic of Jews converting to Christianity, which is also pertinent to the drama *Leopoldstadt*.

Not only does Tom Stoppard mix fact and fiction throughout *Leopoldstadt*, but he also alludes to other historical figures associated with Viennese Modernism, such as Gustav Klimt and Ludwig Wittgenstein. As a result, the play’s final chapter provides historical context and an analysis of the historical characters’ appearances in the play. Viennese Modernism is a term that refers to an era of artistic growth in Vienna that lasted from the late 1800s to the early 1900s. Furthermore, the great painter Gustav Klimt was a founder of the Vienna Secession Movement. Gustav Klimt is associated with the painting of one of the characters. While Ludwig Wittgenstein is also likened to one of the play’s characters, this chapter provides a theoretical backdrop to the issue of Viennese Modernism. It examines the play’s references to these modernist artists.

To summarise, Tom Stoppard builds a Jewish family chronicle called *Leopoldstadt* using bits and pieces from history and his Jewish forefathers and works by other authors such as Gustav Klimt and Ludwig Wittgenstein.

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