NEGOTIATING IDENTITY:
BERTHA PAPPENHEIM (ANNA O.)
AS GERMAN-JEWISH
FEMINIST, SOCIAL WORKER, ACTIVIST, AND AUTHOR

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of the Ohio State University

By

Elizabeth Ann Loentz, M.A.

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The Ohio State University
1999

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Dagmar C.G. Lorenz, Adviser
Professor Helen Fehervary, Adviser
Professor Barbara Becker-Cantarino

Approved by

Dagmar C.G. Lorenz
Adviser

Helen Fehervary
Adviser

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ABSTRACT

Since Ernest Jones revealed the identity of "Anna O." in his 1953 Freud biography, scholars have been more interested in "Anna O.," the object of study for the two "founding fathers" of modern psychology, than in Bertha Pappenheim, the author, feminist, activist, and pioneering social worker. The majority of studies of Pappenheim (1859-1936) have focused on her role as the hysteric patient "Anna O." in Freud and Breuer's Studien über Hysterie. Few works have been dedicated to her later achievements as the founder of the Jewish German Women's League and as world-renowned social worker and activist, and almost none to her literary writings. My dissertation redirects attention to Pappenheim's long neglected, yet very extensive literary work, which includes dramas, short stories, parables, aphorisms, a travelogue, poems, prayers, and literary translations.

Pappenheim's multi-faceted identity, or in other terms, the necessity of "negotiating" between numerous competing or seemingly incompatible self-identifications and/or externally imposed identifications (Viennese, Austro-German, Orthodox Jewish, upper-middle-class, feminist, social worker, single woman, anti-Zionist, recovered hysteric), leads to paradoxes and ambivalence both in her writings and in her personal life and public activism. My project, which is informed by recent
theoretical discussions of identity issues in Cultural Studies, Ethnic and Area Studies, Minority Studies, and Women's and Gender Studies, examines the relationship between Pappenheim's literary work and her social work and activism, endeavoring to unpack these moments of apparent contradiction. I examine recurring themes in Pappenheim's work (the status of Yiddish, anti-Zionism, conversion and Catholicism, Eastern European Jewry, women's role in Orthodox Judaism) all of which revolve around and point back to Pappenheim's steadfast insistence on the ideal of German-Jewish symbiosis. The symbiosis Pappenheim avowed, a "culturally German and religiously Jewish" identity, was tenuous throughout Pappenheim's lifetime, at odds with the increasingly dominant nationalist-racist discourse, that reduced religion, language, and culture to racial attributes. In her final years, however, the institutionalized anti-Semitism of National Socialism legally annulled the symbiosis, non-negotiably. For Pappenheim, the symbiosis was equally non-negotiable. At her advanced age, she was unwilling and unable to part with the keystone of her self-understanding and foundation of her life's work.
Dedicated to my mother
Evelyn Ann Ganas
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VITA

1992       B.A. German, *cum laude*, University of Pennsylvania
1992       M.A. Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Pennsylvania
1993 - present  Graduate Associate, The Ohio State University

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Germanic Languages and Literatures
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since Ernest Jones revealed the identity of "Anna O." in his 1953 Freud biography, scholars have been more interested in "Anna O.," the object of study for the two "founding fathers" of modern psychology, than in Bertha Pappenheim, the author, feminist, activist, and pioneer in modern social work. The vast majority of studies of Bertha Pappenheim (1859-1936) have focused on her role as the hysterical patient "Anna O." in Freud and Breuer's Studien über Hysterie. Very few studies have been dedicated primarily to her later achievements as the founder and president of the Jewish German Women's League and as world-renowned social worker and activist, and almost none to her literary writings. My dissertation breaks with tradition by re-directing attention to Pappenheim's long neglected, yet very extensive literary work, which includes dramas, short stories, parables, aphorisms, a travelogue, a small number of poems, a volume of prayers, and several literary translations.

Bertha Pappenheim's multi-faceted identity, or in other terms, the necessity of "negotiating" between a variety of competing or seemingly incompatible self-identifications and/or externally imposed identifications (Viennese, Austro-German, German-Jewish on her mother's side and Hungarian-Jewish on her father's side, Orthodox
Jewish, upper-middle-class, feminist, social worker, single woman/"spinster", "man-hater", anti-Zionist, recovered hysteric), leads to paradoxes and ambivalence both in her writings and in her personal life and public activism. My project examines the relationship between Pappenheim's literary work and her social work and activism, endeavoring to unpack these moments of apparent contradiction. I examine recurring themes in Pappenheim's work (the status of Yiddish, anti-Zionism, conversion and Catholicism, Eastern European Jewry, women's role in Orthodox Judaism) all of which revolve around and point back to Pappenheim's steadfast insistence on the ideal of German-Jewish symbiosis, the one aspect of her identity, which eventually became non-negotiable. The German-Jewish symbiosis Pappenheim avowed, a "culturally/linguistically German and religiously Jewish" identity, was a tenuous and fragile one throughout Pappenheim's lifetime, at odds with the increasingly dominant nationalist-racist discourse, that had reduced religion, language, and culture to mere attributes of race. In the final years of her life, however, the symbiosis became increasingly untenable. The dominant discourse, which had for decades contested the symbiosis, became policy -- the German-Jewish symbiosis was legally annulled, non-negotiably. However, at seventy-four years of age, Pappenheim was equally unwilling to re-negotiate the German-Jewish symbiosis, which had become the keystone of her self-understanding and foundation of her life's work.

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As stated above, since Jones's 1953 revelation of "Anna O.'s" identity, the majority of publications on Pappenheim have focused on her role as Breuer's famous patient, "Anna O." Numerous scholars have sought to re-diagnose "Anna O." based on
new scientific insights and methods and/or to pathologize Pappenheim's later achievements (Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Kavaler-Adler, King, Lowenstein, Merskey, Nitzschke, Orr-Andrawes, Reeves, Rosenbaum, Tolpin, Weissberg, de Zulueta, etc.). Others have striven to bring clarity to the murky waters of the history (or "founders' myth") of the origins of psychoanalysis. Swales, Ellenberger, and Hirschmüller¹, for example, have uncovered inconsistencies, exaggerations, and lies in Breuer's and Freud's contradictory accounts of Pappenheim's illness and alleged cure. Most recently, Borch-Jacobsen (Remembering Anna O.: A Century of Mystification) has focused on "Anna O." in his endeavor to de-mystify the origin-myth of the foundation of psychoanalysis, inquiring how the myth has survived compelling claims that its keystone, the case-study of "Anna O.", may be a fiction (at least some of Pappenheim's symptoms may have been born of suggestion or simulated, and Pappenheim was not cured by Breuer's "talking cure"). Other scholars, especially feminist (both female and male) literary and cultural critics, psychologists, and psychoanalysts, have sought to restore Pappenheim to her rightful place as the mother of psychoanalysis, the true inventor of the talking cure (these include Forester and Appignanesi, Hunter, Koestenbaum, and Inge Stephan).

¹ Albrecht Hirschmüller's monograph is important to my study, as he was able, through documents found at Bellevue Sanatorium in Kreuzlingen, to provide new insights into the most obscure period of Pappenheim's life, the years between her treatment by Breuer and her move to Frankfurt. Hirschmüller also discusses in some detail Pappenheim's literary work, especially her earlier works, which he concludes may be written versions of the stories of her "Private Theater," Pappenheim's term for the self-constructed fantasy world through which she escaped the monotony of everyday life before and during her illness. Hirschmüller's appendices include two previously unpublished poems by Pappenheim, a report written by Pappenheim about her illness, several unpublished letters, and an earlier, less-censored version of Breuer's case-study.
Only a handful of scholars (all female) have been interested primarily in Pappenheim's achievements in social work and the Jewish German women's movement, most notably Dora Edinger, Ellen Jensen, Marion Kaplan, and Helga Heubach. Dora Edinger, a younger colleague and distant relative of Pappenheim, became Pappenheim's first biographer. With the aid of the Leo Baeck Institute, which published in Jewish periodicals world-wide requests for assistance, Edinger spent years collecting Pappenheim's writings and interviewing colleagues and acquaintances. She published in 1963 Bertha Pappenheim: Leben und Schriften (English translation 1968), a biography and collection of selected published and unpublished writings (including letters, two essays, numerous Denkzeettel, the "Bemerkungen zum Stundenplan," several prayers, and the "Selbverfaßte Nachrufe"). Pappenheim's second biographer, psychoanalyst author Lucy Freeman, worked closely with Edinger. Freeman's biography, The Story of Anna O.: The Woman Who Led Freud to Psychoanalysis (1972), although couched in fictional style (including fictional dialogues), is based on Breuer's case-study and on Pappenheim's writings and Freeman's and Edinger's interviews of those who knew Pappenheim.

Although Freeman takes greater liberties than Edinger, who was very conservative concerning unverifiable gossip (acknowledgements), her fictional biography is, as far as I can ascertain, factually very accurate. Unfortunately, Freeman did not cite her sources.

Pappenheim's third biographer, Danish librarian Ellen Jensen, builds on Edinger's and Freeman's work. Jensen's Streifzüge durch das Leben von Anna O./Bertha Pappenheim: Ein Fall für die Psychiatrie - Ein Leben für die Philanthropie, represents the most detailed biography of Pappenheim to date. In addition to the well-documented biography, Jensen's volume includes re-prints of two stories ("Menschenfabel" and "Die
Haselnußtorte"), several previously unpublished works (including "Ein Märchen zum Einschlafen", the poem "Jüdische Mütter", "Igren. Ein Tagebuchblatt", and numerous Denkzettel), and an extensive bibliography of Pappenheim's published works. In addition to the above large-scale biographies, numerous shorter biographical sketches have been published in recent years (see bibliography).

Two historians have published important work on Pappenheim's social work and role in the Jewish German women's movement. In her book The Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany: The Campaigns of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1904-1938 Marion Kaplan “[examines] the goals of the JFB, [describes] its charismatic leader, Bertha Pappenheim, and [assesses] the meaning of its three major campaigns: the fight against white slavery, the pursuit of equality in Jewish communal affairs, and the attempt to provide career training for women” (3). She focuses especially on the “double jeopardy” faced by Jewish women, “as Jews and as women they suffered from discrimination in Germany, and as women they suffered from second-class citizenship in their own Jewish community”(4). Kaplan’s work, which succeeds not only in recovering the history of the JFB but also in astutely identifying and analyzing the very particular problems faced by middle-class Jewish German women between the turn of the century and the Holocaust, serves as my main secondary source on Pappenheim’s role in the JFB.

Historian Helga Heubach has edited two collections of non-literary texts (by Pappenheim and her colleagues) pertaining to two of Pappenheim's chief projects, the JFB home at Isenburg ("Das unsichtbare Isenburg": Über das Heim des Jüdischen Frauenbundes in Neu-Isenburg 1907 bis 1942, 1994), and the campaign against prostitution and white slavery (Sisyphus: Gegen den Mädchenhandel - Galizien, 1992). Heubach has also
published a monograph on the home at Isenburg (Das Heim des Jüdischen Frauenbundes Neu-Isenburg Taunusstraße 9, 1907 bis 1942 gegründet von Bertha Pappenheim, 1986), and developed an exhibit on Pappenheim's life and work, which is now on display at the Bertha Pappenheim Gedenkstätte in Neu-Isenburg.

While most of the above-mentioned studies do address Pappenheim's writings in varying degrees of detail, to date no book-length study devoted primarily to Pappenheim's written oeuvre has been published. In 1991 Judith Lorenz-Wiesch wrote a Master's thesis on Pappenheim's literary work, Jüdisches Selbstverständnis und jüdisches Frauenbild in Bertha Pappenheims Werk, but the Institut für deutsche Sprache und Literatur of the Frankfurt University no longer owns a copy of the thesis, nor have I been able to obtain one from the author. Lorenz-Wiesch did, however, publish an article, ""Gelehrte Schnörkel stören in Wort und Schrift': Bertha Pappenheim als Schriftstellerin," the only published article with a primary focus on Pappenheim's literary work. Lorenz-Wiesch provides a brief overview of Pappenheim's biography, her social work, and the nature of previous studies Pappenheim studies, whereby she observes that

\[2\] In addition to Lorenz-Wiesch's thesis on Pappenheim's literary work, a number of Masters and Ph.D. theses in a variety of disciplines have featured Pappenheim, including: Ruth Dresner's 1954 dissertation "Bertha Pappenheim: The Contribution of a German Jewish Pioneer Social Reformer to Social Work: 1859-1936" (Social Work); Roger Armbruster's 1981 dissertation "Personality Characteristics of Contemporary American Female Social Workers as Compared to those of Bertha Pappenheim (Anna O)" (Psychology); Andrea Steenpaß's 1981 Diplomarbeit, "Bertha Pappenheim. Beschreibung einzelner Stationen eines Frauenlebens um die Jahrhundertwende als Versuch einer pädagogischen Rekonstruktion" (Education); Susan Leslie Katz's 1988 dissertation, ""Singleness of Heart': Spinsterhood in Victorian Culture" (English); and Kari Hendrik Juusela's 1992 dissertation, "'Meet me tonight in Dreamland': a Chamber Opera" (Musical Composition). With the exception of Juusela's dissertation, these studies share a secondary interest in Pappenheim's literary works.
most post-Jones scholars have chosen to read Pappenheim's work (both her social work and her literature) in light of her illness. Lorenz-Wiesch seeks to distance herself from these interpretations and to read Pappenheim's literary work as a "Spiegel jüdischen Selbstverständnisses." The article focuses in particular on *Zur Lage der Juden in Galizien*, *Tragische Momente*, and *Kämpfe*. Lorenz-Wiesch astutely identifies the central issues of the texts, but the article is unfortunately too short to allow an in-depth analysis of the texts.

Dagmar Lorenz's *Keepers of the Motherland: German Texts by Jewish Women Writers*, which is the first comprehensive study of German and Austrian Jewish women writers from Glickl von Hameln to contemporary German and Austrian Jewish women writers, is the second published work to focus on Pappenheim's achievements in the literary realm. Lorenz situates Pappenheim within the distinct tradition of German literature by Jewish women writers, which is characterized in large part by the authors' "questionioning, criticizing, or openly rejecting their two fatherlands' androcentric power structures" in favor of "an elusive motherland where the Jewish woman's language and voice reign supreme, defying the political boundaries and institutions of her nation or community" (xi). In her section on Pappenheim and Rosa Luxemburg, "Jewish Women in the Public Arena," Lorenz examines Pappenheim's largely socio-critical literary work in the context of her feminist and Jewish social work and activism, demonstrating how Pappenheim created in her literary and social work a "motherland," a "realm surrounded by, but separated from patriarchy" (xii).

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Reconstructing Pappenheim's literary oeuvre and establishing the extent of its reception by contemporaries has been a major project unto itself. Researching German women writers of Pappenheim's generation who have not gained acceptance into the literary canon is in general a time-consuming and often frustrating endeavor.\(^3\) The task becomes even more arduous, however, when the German woman writer is also Jewish.\(^4\) Pappenheim, although she was a very well-known public figure during her lifetime and has gained considerably notoriety as "Anna O.,” is no exception. Pappenheim herself took pains to erase evidence of her Vienna years, destroying documents from her childhood, youth, illness, and recovery. While she did document her adult life -- she wrote diaries and often requested that friends return letters to her if she had not herself made a copy -- these efforts were largely in vain. A true Nachlaß no longer exists. Before her death Pappenheim bequeathed her correspondence and other unpublished papers to her closest associate, Hannah Karminski, who planned to write a biography. Before Karminski was deported to Auschwitz in 1942, she entrusted the materials to a Swiss friend in Berlin. The house was destroyed by bombing and with it the documents. Pappenheim's other belongings were stored in a JFB house in Neu-Isenburg, which was burned in the November 9, 1938 pogrom. Bibliographing and locating Pappenheim's published work is also challenging. Standard periodical bibliographies (such as the Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur and its supplements) do not document many

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\(^3\) See Jeannine Blackwell's "Anonym, verschollen, trivial: Methodological Hindrances in Researching German Women's Literature."

\(^4\) See Sybil H. Milton's "Lost, Stolen, and Strayed: The Archival Heritage of Modern German-Jewish History" (in The Jewish Response to German Culture) for a discussion of the difficulties encountered in research on German Jews.
Jewish and women's publications, which were Pappenheim's chief venue. Even when one is willing to leaf through individual issues of these periodicals, a single library or archive seldom has a complete collection (without gaps) of a given pre-Holocaust German-Jewish serial. Even when published works are known to exist (or to have existed), access is often very difficult, as the items are both very rare (some available at only one library in the world) and too fragile to photocopy or sometimes even to handle. While the Leo Baeck Institute has succeeded in collecting many materials (published and unpublished) from donors throughout the world, their archivists and other researchers who have painstakingly compiled bibliographies (most notably Dora Edinger, Marion Kaplan, Ellen Jensen, Albrecht Hirschmüller, and Helga Heubach) believe that Pappenheim undoubtedly wrote much more, which is either forever lost or remains to be re-discovered.

Because detective work has been a major segment of this project, a brief account of my research methods deserves space here. After exhausting the traditional bibliographical arsenal of Germanists, I identified archives and libraries in the United States, Germany, and Austria, which specialize in German-Judaica, in the German women's movement, and in social work and sent inquiries to these institutions, as well as to the city libraries and archives of Frankfurt and Vienna (the two cities, where Pappenheim resided), and to several other large research libraries. I asked in particular, whether they owned: 1) German-Jewish or Austrian-Jewish periodicals from the years 1880-1936, 2) German language women's periodicals from the same time-span, 3) published or unpublished materials (correspondence, literary works, speeches, etc.) by Pappenheim, 4) articles, monographs, or unpublished reports by contemporaries about
Pappenheim or organizations to which she belonged, 5) contemporary reviews of her
literary works or productions of her plays. Of the roughly 40 institutions I contacted, I
visited 17 libraries and archives, 5 where I spent months leafing through several decades
worth of individual issues of Jewish-German and women's periodicals 6, the Nachlässe of

5 New York Public Library, and the Leo Baeck Institute (NY); Library of Congress
(Wash. D.C.); Archiv Bibliographia Judaica, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Institut
für Stadtgeschichte, and the Jüdisches Museum (Frankfurt a.M.); Bertha Pappenheim
Seminar und Gedenkstätte (Neu-Isenburg); Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek (and Ariadne), Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, and
the Jüdisches Museum (Vienna); Bibliothek Germania Judaica (Cologne);
Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (and Zentralkartei der Autographen),
Landesarchiv Berlin (with Helene-Lange-Archiv), and the Zentrum für
Antisemitismusforschung (Berlin); and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich).

6 I scanned the indices (when available) and/or individual issues of all years available
between 1885 and 1936 of the following women's or Jewish periodicals: Allgemeine
Frauen-Zeitung, Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes, Dr. Bloch’s Oesterreichische
Wochenschrift: Organ für die gesamten Interessen des Judentums, Centralblatt des
Bundes deutscher Frauenvereine, C.V.-Zeitung, Frankfurter Israelitisches Familienblatt,
Frankfurter Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt, Die Frau, Frauenleben: Blätter zur Vertretung
der Fraueninteressen, Frauen-Rundschau, Der Israelit: Ein Centralorgan für das
Orthodoxe Judentum, Im Deutschen Reich, Jahrbuch des Bundes Deutscher
Frauenvereine (Jahrbuch der Frauenbewegung), Jahrbuch für Jüdische Geschichte und
Literatur, Jeschurun: Monatsschrift für Lehre und Leben im Judentum, Der Jude, Die
Jüdische Frau, Überparteiliche Halbmonatsschrift für alle Lebensinteressen der jüdischen
Frau, Jüdische Monatshefte, Die Jüdische Presse: Organ für die Gesamtinteressen des
Judentums, Jüdische Rundschau, Jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege und Sozialpolitik;
Zeitschrift der Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der deutschen Juden und der Hauptstelle für
jüdische Wanderfürsorge und Arbeitsnachweise, Jüdische Zeitung: Wochenschrift,
Menorah: Jüdisches Familienblatt für Wissenschaft/ Kunst und Literatur, Mitteilungen
aus dem Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus (Abwehrblätter), Mitteilungen der
Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde, Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft
des Judentums, Der Morgen, Neue Jüdische Monatshefte, Ost und West: Illustrierte
Monatsschrift für das gesamte Judentum, Die Welt: Zentralorgan der zionistischen
Bewegung, Zedakah, Zeitschrift der jüdischen Wohlfahrtsorganisation, Zeitschrift für die
Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, Israel, Die Karte des jüdischen Individuums.

"Inhaltsverzeichnisse historischer Frauenzeitschriften" compiled by Ariadne:
Kooperationsstelle für Frauenbezogene Information und Dokumentation der
Pappenheim's colleagues and acquaintances, and any records still in existence from organizations with which Pappenheim was affiliated. Building on the work of my predecessors, I have compiled the most complete bibliography to date of Pappenheim's correspondence, unpublished and published writings, reviews of her literary work, and contemporaneous articles chronicling her activities. While I have succeeded in locating many previously uncited items, several unpublished plays and fairy-tales mentioned either in Pappenheim's correspondence or by colleagues remain lost, including: "Eine Geschichte vom Bärchen" (1921), "Typische Therapie" (1930), "Das Kritzelmännchen" (1935), "Das verdrehte Dornröschchen" (1936), "Umschichten" (1936), "Schwarze Spitzen" (premiered 1920), "Das Gesindel," "Ostern."  

I do not consider my bibliographical detective work to be finished. When I revise and expand the dissertation I plan: 1) to visit archives and libraries in Israel, 2) to explore

\[\text{Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Ariadne has made available (thus far) on-line indices for 25 Austrian women's periodicals from the 1848-1938.}\]

7 Käthe Mende reported to Dora Edinger that she had in her possession these stories and fairy tales (letter 8 August? 1959).


9 Pappenheim mentioned these two plays in a 9 Oct. 1933 letter to Frau Cramer.
Pappenheim's 1909 North American travel route (Jewish and women's periodicals from the cities on her route, records from the Jewish communities, and women's organizations, "settlements"), 3) to search for "Nachlässe" of additional Pappenheim colleagues (of whom I have since learned), 4) to search the Yiddish press (especially for the years when Pappenheim traveled in Eastern Europe and worked extensively with Eastern European Jews) for mentions of Pappenheim, and 4) to send repeat inquiries to the institutions, with which I have already responded, as these collections continue to grow, and to contact and visit archives and centers, of which I have since become aware.

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"Identity" and the "negotiation of identity" are central issues in recent and current theoretical discussions in interdisciplinary fields such as Cultural Studies, Ethnic and Area Studies, Minority Studies, Women's Studies, Queer Studies, etc. These theoretical discussions have gained currency also in the popular media due to recent historical developments and public debates, in which identities (national, ethnic, racial, cultural, religious, gender, sexual, class, etc. and their multiple intersections) have become sites of contention (re-emerging nationalisms and ethnic conflicts worldwide; proposed citizenship reforms in re-united Germany; and debates over Affirmative Action, English

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10 Two important products of these discussions are the volumes The Identity in Question (Ed. John Rajchman, 1995) and Identities (Eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates Jr., 1995). The latter is a collection of essays previously published in Critical Inquiry and the former is a collection of essays, speeches, and debates from a symposium held in New York in 1991. Participants in the symposium included Stanley Aronowitz, Etienne Balibar, Homi Bhabha, Wendy Brown, Judith Butler, Andreas Huyssen, Fredric Jameson, Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe, Jacques Rancière, Joan W. Scott, and Cornel West.
as national language, gays in the military, hate crime legislation in the United States; etc.

Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. conclude their essay "Multiplying Identities," the introduction to their multi-disciplinary collection of essays dealing with the "politics of identities" (Identities, 1995): 11

[...] we need to attend more to the negotiation of identities by their possessors, recalling always that each identity, however central it is to our self-conceptions, may simply not be the one we need. In thinking through this issue it is always helpful to be able to draw on a wide range of examples, theorized in a wide range of idioms and through various methods and disciplines [...] In negotiating the myriad complex dimensions of our human identities we surely need all the tools we can borrow or invent. (6)

Taking to heart Appiah and Gates' remarks, I undertake here the examination of the negotiation of "myriad complex dimensions" of identity by one historical individual, Bertha Pappenheim, and in doing so "borrow" tools and insights from the theories and methodologies of a variety of disciplines, most of which can be subsumed under the broad category of Cultural Studies. Below I will elaborate on my understanding of "identity" and "negotiating identity" as relevant to this study, citing some of the theorists and practitioners from whom I have borrowed the tools necessary to develop or invent an approach appropriate to my subject.

I understand "identity" not as something fixed, inherent, or essential but as something in flux, something that is continuously being constructed, deconstructed, contested, asserted, rejected, embraced, negotiated, fine-tuned both both by its

11 The essays are written by a diverse group of authors (including Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Phillip Brian Harper, Diana Fuss, Katie Trumpener, Judith Butler, Daniel and Jonathon Boyarin) from an array of disciplines.
possessor(s) and by other individuals and groups in the possessors' environment. My understanding draws from sociologist Richard Jenkins's definition of "social identity" as "our understanding of who we are and who other people are, and, reciprocally, other peoples' understanding of themselves and of others. [Identity] is the product of agreement and disagreement, it [...] is negotiable" (5). Jenkins asserts that identity "can [...] only be understood as process. As 'being' or 'becoming'. One's social identity - indeed, one's social identities, for who we are is always singular and plural - is never a final or settled matter" (4). Jenkins explains that an "individual identity" is actually a "collage of collective identifications" (136). Citing indebtedness to Max Weber and Foucault, Jenkins expounds "an understanding of identity as an internal-external dialectic of identification" (171). Etienne Balibar expresses a similar understanding of identity: "In reality there are no identities, only identifications: either with the institution itself, or with other subjects by the intermediary of the institution. Or, if one prefers, identities are only the ideal goal of processes of identification" (187).

I would add to Jenkins's and Balibar's definitions, however, that the "ideal," the target category of identification, is in the eye of the beholder. It is subject to interpretation and revision both by the individual seeking identification with the "ideal," and by the various "owners" or policers (leaders, institutions, or "certified" members of the majority or mainstream) of the target category. For example, a German Jew of 1933 may assert "Germanness" by virtue of being born in Germany, being a native speaker of German, and having served the German war effort. With the institution of National Socialist anti-Semitic policies, however, German meant, on an institutional or legal level, not German linguistic or cultural heritage but "German" (i.e. "Aryan") blood. As far as
the Nazi government and public policy were concerned, Jewishness and Germanness were mutually exclusive categories. This does not mean, however, that all qualifying "Germans"/"Aryans" subscribed to the newly institutionalized Nazi definition. Individual certified "Aryans" might on an individual level reject it entirely, reason that converts were still "German," or that while "other Jews" might well be aliens and enemies, the Jewish Skat- or Kegelbruder, the nice neighbors, the brother-in-law were exceptions to the rule. Just as there is variance within a given category of identification at a specific moment in history, there is also variance diachronically -- "Germanness" did not mean the same thing in 1618 as in 1870 as in 1933 as in 1989.

While the negotiation of identities involves, as Jenkins demonstrates, an internal-external dialectic, it entails simultaneously an internal dialectic (within the individual subject). In her essay "Democratic Politics and the Question of Identity," Chantal Mouffe posits a "social agent [...] constituted by an ensemble of 'subject positions' that can never be totally fixed in a closed system of difference" (33). As Mouffe's concept of "identity," which she defines here as a point of departure for her discussion of what type of "political identity" a "project of 'radical and plural democracy'" should aim to construct (33), corresponds to my own understanding of the "internal dialect" of negotiating identity, I will quote her at length. Mouffe writes:

It [the social agent] is constructed by a diversity of discourses, among which there is no necessary relation but a constant movement of overdetermination and displacement. The 'identity' of such a multiple and contradictory subject is therefore always contingent and precarious, temporarily fixed at the intersection of those subject positions and dependent on specific forms of identification. This plurality, however, does not involve the 'coexistence' one by one, of a plurality of subject positions but the constant subversion and overdetermination of one by the others, which makes possible the generation
of "totalizing effects" within the field characterized by open and determinate frontiers. (33-34)

Like Mouffe, I too view "identity" as a conglomerate of any number of "subject positions" or identifications, whereby the configuration of identifications is never in stasis but in a constant struggle for equilibrium, continuously seeking a harmonious co-existence of a myriad of competing positions. Such internal turmoil would be expected of someone with obviously conflicting identifications, such as Pappenheim, who was, for example, a professed feminist, yet an Orthodox Jew (a member of a religious tradition generally perceived as misogynist). If she wishes to "identify" with both groups (feminists and Orthodox Jews), she must negotiate a compromise between her Orthodoxy and her feminism, to either ignore or deny apparent contradictions, to affect change (on either or both sides) that would alleviate the contradictions, or to "play" with and challenge the boundaries of the definitions of either Orthodoxy, feminism or both until everything "fits." While the need for negotiation is most obvious when identity categories conflict, or when an individual considered "Other" by a dominant group seeks to assert identification with that group, no individual is exempt from the necessity to negotiate identity. Even a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, heterosexual, male American, for example, may find himself searching for ways to make his religion and his politics compatible.

Mouffe continues her explanation of identity formation:

There is therefore a double movement: on the one hand, a movement of decentering which prevents the fixation of a set of positions around a preconstituted point; on the other hand, and as a result of this essential nonfixity, the opposite movement: the institution of nodal points, partial fixations which limit the flux of the signified under the signifier. (33-34)
I consider the concept of "nodal points" to be particularly useful in the discussion of negotiating identities. Various aspects of identity (biological gender, sexual preference, ethnicity, race, nationality, class, profession, religion, marital status, political affiliation, etc. or intersections of two or more of these) can act as nodal points in negotiating identity. One might view identity as a mosaic, albeit one which resists completion.

Seeking to achieve a complete picture, the artist may focus for a moment on a given piece (creating a nodal point), which he/she is particularly invested in including in the finished product. He/she may rearrange the pieces around it, remove pieces that no longer fit, hone the edges of the piece itself, or the edges of those around it. Having done this, the artist may realize that other parts of the picture no longer fit and refocus his/her energy on these. The allegory of mosaic is not entirely adequate for the type of configuration I envision, however, as the pieces of a mosaic, although the artist may hone their edges, remain distinct. Aspects of identity, however, can and do imbricate, intersect, merge, and blend.

Indeed, the intersection, imbrication, merger, or blending of identities, particularly ones that appear mutually exclusive or inherently contradicting, are the focal point of the most recent scholarly investigations of identity. In Not Just Race, Not Just Gender (1998) Valerie Smith observes:

From the nineteenth century articulations of Sojourner Truth, Harriet Jacobs, and Anna Julia Cooper, to contemporary scholarship [...] black feminists have asserted that ideologies of race, gender (and more recently, class and sexuality) are reciprocally constitutive categories of experience and analysis. To describe the interactions of race and gender as they shape lives and social practices, Kimberlé Crenshaw has coined the term "intersectionality." (xiv)

Placing herself in a long tradition of black feminists, Smith defines her project:
This book takes up the underlying premise of black feminist thinking to explore what it means to deploy intersectionality as a mode of cultural or textual analysis, what it means to read at the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality. Each chapter focuses on a site that might seem to engage one category of experience - race, class, sex, or gender - over and above the others. [...] I explore how the ostensible dominance of one category masks both the operation and the interconnections among them [...] The chapters grow from this preoccupation with cultural convergences; each centers around a subject that connects constructions of race, gender, and class so profoundly that it destabilizes monolithic notions of identity in general and of each specific category [...] I center each chapter around a border area, a place where conventional binarisms (black/white, male/female, gay or lesbian/heterosexual) are called into question. (xiv-xxi)

While I cannot claim that my own study was influenced directly by Smith's book (I discovered the book while in the process of completing my final chapter), there is a very obvious affinity between our studies, both in regard to theoretical points of departure and organization. Like Smith, I focus in each chapter "on a site that might seem to engage one category of experience over another", in my study these "sites" are Pappenheim's attitudes toward Yiddish, Catholicism and conversion, Zionism, Eastern European Jewry, and Women's role in Orthodox Judaism. With the exception of the last chapter (which already in name professes to address the intersection of religion and gender) a single category of experience or identity would seem to dominate (language, religion, nationality, and ethnicity, respectively). Like Smith, however, I demonstrate how these dominant categories are destabilized through contact, intersection, reciprocal exchange with one another, and how these negotiations call into question the efficacy or even possibility of separating out essentialist categories.

Valerie Smith's book is certainly not the only recent study to explore the intersection of race, gender, class, sexuality, or other categories of identification. Already in her 1993 Making Bodies, Making History: Feminism and German Identity, Leslie
Adelson examines the intersections of various categories of identification. She writes in her introduction:

As neither "German" nor "gender" constitutes a single axis along which identity can be produced or defined, constructs of race, ethnicity, and religion will also be explored as only some of the vectors along which identity is articulated in the contemporary German context. These and other constitutive factors do not arise in isolation from one another's influence, nor is their relationship one of simple or sequential juxtaposition. (xvi)

In Keepers of the Motherland Dagmar Lorenz also takes into account how the insections of conflicting and conflicted identifications (nationality, ethnicity, religion, race, gender, class, sexuality, etc.) shaped the writing of individual German Jewish women writers and contributed to the formation of a distinct tradition of German Jewish women's writing. In Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man Daniel Boyarin examines the intersection of gender and religion (changing understandings of masculine identity in Jewish tradition). His professed goal is to "justify [his] love" (xvii), i.e. to reclaim the ideal of Jewish male effeminism in the attempt to legitimize his own subject position as an "orthodoxymoron," (356) a male feminist, non-homophobic, Orthodox Jew. Boyarin's study is of particular interest to me, because he declares Bertha Pappenheim to be his "hero" and rolemodel in this endeavor. Boyarin writes,

Pappenheim empowered herself by reclaiming the "deviant" - that is, deviant from the bourgeois heterosexual ideal - gendering of traditional Jewish woman as her own and using this as a tool in the struggle for women within and outside of Judaism. I seek to do the same, to save myself and also contribute something to others, through a parallel (not identical) reclamation of the Jewish sissy. (28)

In his "epilogue" he declares Pappenheim his "ego-ideal," explaining:
... she is the Jew who "got it right," who figured out how to combine - however tensely - militant feminist protest and demand for radical change within Judaism with a continued commitment to the existence of vibrant, full traditional Jewish life and personal commitment to continuing the practice of Halakha [...] She seems to have been able to negotiate the minefield between critique and defense of Jewish culture, between polemic and apologetic, that seems so formidable yet so imperative. (352-353)

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The body of my dissertation is divided into five chapters, each of which identifies a theme in Pappenheim's literary and social work (Yiddish, Zionism, Conversion and Catholicism, Eastern European Jewry, and women's role in Orthodox Judaism, respectively), in which multiple identity categories intersect and the problems inherent in negotiating seemingly conflicting identifications become manifest. Although I focus on Pappenheim's literary writings, my primary interest does not lie in matters of aesthetics. Because Pappenheim's literary texts were to a large extent programmatic (written as propaganda for specific social programs, as fundraising devices, or as pedagogical aids), I focus instead on the function of these literary works as historical and ideological documents.

Chapter 2, "Between Nostalgia and Denial: Bertha Pappenheim on Yiddish," examines Pappenheim's ambivalence towards the Yiddish language. The range of attitudes towards Yiddish expressed in Pappenheim's literary and other writings (from her nostalgic idealization of the Yiddish associated with revered ancestresses to her disdain toward modern Yiddish as an uneducated "Jargon" or ghetto "Mischsprache") are not unique but situated within the broad spectrum of reactions of middle-class German Jews to the disparagement of Yiddish by anti-Semites. What is unique about Pappenheim is that she occupied both poles of the spectrum. I will demonstrate that Pappenheim's
seeming ambivalence towards Yiddish, her careful fence-straddling, was a result of the
necessity to negotiate facets of her identity that were, in her historical context, seemingly
irreconcilable. She was, by her own definition, "culturally German" (by virtue of being a
native speaker of the German language) and "religiously Jewish." If national identity
resided in language, then Yiddish could not be a Jewish "national" language -- or even
enjoy the status of a "real" language (for this would predicate the existence of a nation
that spoke it). Pappenheim could not, however, dismiss Yiddish entirely, because her
revered foremothers spoke it (not to mention that she herself was quite fluent). This
chapter traces the careful negotiation and rationalization necessary to enable Pappenheim
to both idealize Yiddish to the point of translating three major works of early modern
Yiddish literature for or by women and at the same time deride contemporary Yiddish as
an uneducated Jargon unfit for cultured discourse.

Chapter 3, "'Even Palestine is Golus and Diaspora': Bertha Pappenheim as
Jewish Anti-Zionist," examines Pappenheim's treatment of Zionism in her literary and
essayistic work. Although Zionism's popularity among German Jews increased steadily
in the thirty years between Pappenheim's earliest and latest writings on Zionism,
Pappenheim's anti-Zionism, which was rooted in her unwavering belief in a German-
Jewish symbiosis, remained remarkably steadfast. The "religiously Jewish" and
"culturally German" identity that she asserted for herself and other German Jews was
clearly at odds not only with Zionism, which espoused a Jewish national identity rather
than a strictly religious one, but also with the dominant German nationalist-racist
discourse, which reduced Jewishness to racial terms. Despite her deep-seated ideological
objections to Zionism, the majority of Pappenheim's critiques of Zionism were not of

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Zionist ideology but of Zionist practice. There are two reasons for this. 1) Although she was ideologically opposed to Zionism for German Jews, she believed, especially in earlier years, that Zionism could foster the rejuvenation of Eastern Jewry. 2) As time progressed, she could not deny Zionism's growing influence worldwide and in Germany, particularly in the Jüdischer Frauenbund. Realizing that the movement was there to stay, she gave up trying to defeat it, opting instead to reform it. Part of this chapter is devoted to examining Pappenheim and the Zionists' (in particular Zionist women's) mutual love-hate relationship, how a notorious anti-Zionist managed to make her mark in the Zionist movement, particularly in women's organizations and in social work efforts. I conclude that, although Pappenheim explicitly insisted upon the existence and desirability of a German-Jewish symbiosis (as late as 1934 Pappenheim discouraged emigration, insisting that German Jews still had a place in Germany), her actions and writings revealed the tacit acknowledgment of an at best flawed union.

Chapter 4, "Catholicism as a Model for German-Jewish Symbiosis?: Bertha Pappenheim on Conversion," examines Pappenheim's ambivalent views concerning the Catholic Church's active proselytism of European Jews during the first third of this century. While she criticized the active proselytism of Jews by Catholics and the opportunism of individual converts who used baptism to advance socially or professionally, her chief attacks were aimed at the Jewish establishment. She believed that the Jewish community had failed to address adequately the material and spiritual needs of its adherents and was thus at risk of losing its most vulnerable members at a time when Jewish population was in decline. Ironically, Pappenheim presented the internationally organized social outreach programs (particularly those aimed at Jews) of
the Catholic Church, the “Seelenfänger” who entrapped and baptized vulnerable Jews, as a positive model for the maintenance and rejuvenation of the Jewish community. The Catholic model is of particular interest in the context of Pappenheim’s belief in a German-Jewish symbiosis, whereby German Jews were ideally “nationally and culturally German” and “religiously Jewish.” I argue that Pappenheim advocated the Catholic model not only due to its exemplary social outreach programs but because she viewed the Catholic Church as an international religious organization which had succeeded in allowing its adherents a “religiously Catholic” identification which was not at odds with their national (German, English, French, etc.) identity.

Chapter 5, "From Brothel to Beth Jacob: Bertha Pappenheim on Eastern European Jewish Women," examines Pappenheim’s ambivalent attitudes toward Eastern European Jewish women. Pappenheim’s literary portrayals of Eastern European Jewish women alternate between nostalgic admiration for a certain type of Eastern European Jewish woman (modern versions of her idealized ancestor Glickl von Hameln) and extremely negative and stereotypical portrayals of Eastern European Jewish women (focusing in particular on Eastern European Jewish women's role in the white slave trade, both as traders and as prostitutes). Neither Pappenheim’s internalization of anti-Semitic stereotypes (her Jewish Self-Hatred) and the resultant projection of these stereotypes on a very visible (even more “other”) “Other” nor the idealization of certain aspects of Eastern European Jewish culture were unique among middle-class German and Austrian Jews, and these phenomena have been extensively examined by scholars (Gilman, Aschheim, Wertheimer, Maurer, and Robertson among others). However, scholars have generally limited themselves to manifestations of Jewish anti-Semitism and the interest in

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an Eastern Jewish "cult" or "renaissance" among Pappenheim's male contemporaries. I will argue that both Pappenheim's Jewish anti-Semitism and her nostalgia for certain aspects of Eastern European Jewish culture vary from those of her male contemporaries, because of her identification as a feminist (yet Orthodox) Jewish woman. I examine also how Pappenheim's negotiation of anti-Semitic stereotypes and nostalgia is further complicated by her dual, East-West heritage (her mother was from Frankfurt am Main and her father hailed from Hungary).

Chapter 6, "Orthodox Judaism on her own Terms: From "not at all religious" Anna O. to Spiritual Mother of Jewish-German Women," examines Pappenheim's transformation from the twenty-three year-old "not at all religious" Anna O. of Breuer's case study to the mature Bertha Pappenheim, who by her death at the age of seventy-seven was recognized as the religious teacher and spiritual mother of multiple generations of German-Jewish women. I inquire first why and how a young woman, who had been described as non-religious would simultaneously develop a strong allegiance both to the German woman's movement and to Orthodox Judaism (which was and still is considered by many to be inherently misogynist), two traditions that appear mutually exclusive. I examine specific examples of Pappenheim's efforts to reconcile Orthodox Judaism and feminism, examining how Pappenheim used a combination of "subtle subversion" and radical rhetoric to carve out a separate but equal sphere for women within Orthodox Judaism. In this context I present the JFB home for unwed mothers and endangered girls at Isenburg as the prototype of an ideal, exclusively female, Jewish community. After investigating Pappenheim's public struggles to create a place for all women in the Orthodox Jewish community, I investigate Pappenheim's personal struggle to create a
place for herself, an aging, single, childless woman, in a religious tradition that valued women solely in their roles as wife and mother. I conclude the chapter by examining Pappenheim's self-styling into a latter-day "prophetess," a spiritual leader of German-Jewish women. I focus in particular on Pappenheim's discovery of a female-friendly expression of the God of Judaism, the Shekhinah.

In my conclusion, I argue that Pappenheim's partial retreat into spirituality in her final years is evidence of the inevitable collapse of her negotiation of identity along the fault-line of German-Jewish symbiosis, which had in the face of Nazi anti-Semitism become non-negotiable. I suggest that Pappenheim's recommendation that German-Jews retreat into the confines of the Jewish community in Nazi Germany (hoping that they would find there recourse to traditional Jewish spirituality, which she believed would grant Jews the strength to weather out National Socialism, while at the same time speeding along the end of anti-Semitism by eliminating the Jewish immorality which supposedly caused it) is analogous to her creation of a women's realm "surrounded by, but separate from," the patriarchal structures of the Jewish community.¹² I conclude my dissertation with a proposal for further study.

¹² Dagmar Lorenz observes that the ability to "envision [...] a realm surrounded by, but separate from, patriarchy," is a commonality among German and Austrian Jewish women writers (xii).
CHAPTER 2

BETWEEN NOSTALGIA AND DENIAL: BERTHA PAPPENHEIM ON YIDDISH

As late as 1934 Jewish feminist leader Bertha Pappenheim held fast to her conviction that the women united in the Jüdischer Frauenbund were “culturally German” and “religiously Jewish,” basing their claim to Germanness first and foremost on their status as native speakers of German ("Die jüdische Frau" 111). This assertion was, however, at odds with the prevailing nationalist-racist discourse, which reduced both culture (including language) and religion to racial attributes. If German Jews were according to the dominant discourse not native speakers of German, then what was their mother tongue? The simplest solution was that it was Yiddish, a supposedly degenerate form of German, or something between Yiddish and “real” German (often referred to as Mauscheln or Jüdeln).¹

I preface this chapter with a sampling of the variety of attitudes towards Yiddish expressed by German Jews in the German-Jewish press during the decades in which

¹ For an in-depth discussion of Yiddish and German language in German-Jewish identity formation see Sander Gilman's Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews.
Pappenheim was an active consumer of as well as contributor to this press. These attitudes range from the nostalgic idealization of Yiddish to the rejection of Yiddish as a degenerate language. I then examine Bertha Pappenheim’s own ambivalent attitudes towards Yiddish, which alternate between these two extremes. I take into account both statements in her essays, speeches, and letters and portrayals of Yiddish and Yiddish speakers in her literary work. I will demonstrate that Pappenheim's seeming ambivalence toward Yiddish was a result of the necessity for her to negotiate facets of her identity that were, in her historical context, irreconcilable: her identity as a German Jewess, whereby Germanness was understood in cultural/linguistic terms and her identity as a German Jewess, a direct descendent of her revered Yiddish-speaking ancestress Glickl, for whom Yiddish was the key to a specifically female Jewish religiosity. Pappenheim’s preoccupation with Yiddish is particularly interesting in light of “Anna O’s” loss of her native language, German, during her illness. Breuer’s case study of “Anna O.” twice refers to her mixture of “four or five languages” (including French, English and Italian) as a "Jargon" (46, 49), which was a term commonly used by German Jews in referring to Yiddish.

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The following examples of portrayals of Yiddish and/or Mauscheln in the Jewish-German press of the first third of this century were not chosen at random but gleaned from newspapers and journals with which Pappenheim was very familiar, periodicals in which she published and/or which regularly reviewed her literary works or reported on her activities (Frankfurter Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt, C.V.-Zeitung, Im deutschen Reich, Jeschurun, Ost und West, Abwehrblätter, Dr. Bloch’s Wochenschrift). These publications
represent the milieu with which Pappenheim chose to identify (she wanted to reach this audience, believing that it should be interested in her endeavors) as well as the sphere that claimed Pappenheim as one of its own (the editors featured her articles or wrote about her, because their audience shared her concerns). This mutual identification suggests that Pappenheim would likely have oriented herself in reference to this discourse, defining her position somewhere within or against it.

Perceptions of Yiddish in the Jewish-German press ranged between two extremes:

1) An internalization of the racist notion that Yiddish was a corrupt form of German. German Jews should strive to eliminate even the slightest remnants of “Yiddish” from their speech in order to escape detection and thus deflect anti-Semitism. 2) A radical undermining of racist discourse, whereby Yiddish was redeemed as the largest German dialect. According to this argument, Yiddish-speaking Eastern European Jews had proven their patriotic loyalty to the German homeland by preserving their beloved “German” language after having been driven out of German lands. These two vastly different positions represent two strategies for dealing with the same problem, namely the assertion of racial anti-Semites that no Jew could really speak German, a claim that shook the foundations of the self-definition of many self-acclaimed German Jews or Jewish Germans, who based their claim to Germanness on the fact that they were native speakers of German.

As early as 1886 Dr. Bloch’s Wochenschrift printed the statement: “Niemand ist so stolz auf die Sprache seines Vaterlandes als der deutsche Jude, und doch ist die Sprache Wurzel und Blüthe einer Nation” (“Deutschthum und Judenthum in Oesterreich”). In 1930
the C.V.-Zeitung quoted the Deutsche Israelitische Zeitung in an article entitled “Hören wir auf, Deutsche zu sein?”: “Die deutsche Juden sind Deutsche und bleiben Deutsche, [...] weil sie deutsch sprechen, deutsch denken...” Georg Gothein echoed these sentiments in 1932, “Was eine Nation bildet, ist weder das Blut, noch die Rasse, noch die Stammesart, sondern die gemeinsame Sprache [...] Deutsch ist ihre [the German Jews’] Muttersprache, deutsch ihre Kultur” (149). Because a German cultural identity was contingent upon whether German Jews truly spoke German, German Jews who were unwilling to relinquish a self-definition of culturally and/or nationally German were compelled to defend their contested status as native speakers of German.

Anti-Semites generally did not assert that German Jews spoke Yiddish but rather that they spoke Mauscheln. Sander Gilman describes Mauscheln (also referred to as Jüdeln) as spoken German characterized by remnants of Yiddish (a Yiddish accent and intonation, bits of Hebrew vocabulary, the use of altered syntax) and by a specific pattern of gestures. Gilman notes that, although the majority of German Jews had lost these overt linguistic markers by the beginning of the 20th century, the waves of Eastern European Jews who migrated to Germany and Austria to escape pogroms in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were still in the process of shifting from Yiddish to German, and therefore often did still have Yiddish accents and intonation and/or use Yiddish grammar and

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2 Emphasis in text.

3 Some German Jews did choose to rethink their self-definition as nationally German and reacted to anti-Semitism with Jewish nationalism, such as Zionism. Zionism too, however, faced the problem of whether Jewish nationalism meant that Jews should have one
Yiddish or Hebrew vocabulary (Jewish Self-Hatred 219). Many anti-Semites, however, did not distinguish between German and Eastern European Jews. For them all Jews could be recognized by their speech. A 1928 article in the Stürmer explained: “The Hebrews speak German in a unique, singing manner. One can recognize Jews and Jewesses immediately by their language, without having seen them” (qtd. in Gilman, Jewish Self-Hatred 312). Julius Streicher, the publisher of the Stürmer, explained in a 1938 children’s book: “When the Jew speaks, he gestures with his hands. One says that he ‘mauschelt.’ His voice often breaks. The Jew almost always speaks through his nose” (qtd. in Gilman, Jewish Self-Hatred 312). Hannah Zweig’s 1931 letter to the editor of the C.V.-Zeitung is a typical example of one reaction to charges such as Streicher's:


Zweig zeroes in on precisely those “speech impediments” that were commonly attributed to Jews by anti-Semites. Her arguments are fraught with contradiction. While she insists that it is “dumb” to argue that these “faults” were specifically Jewish -- even the most

national language (and if so what should it be?) or whether a Jewish nation should be multi-lingual such as Switzerland.
"Teutonic" man could have them -- she states that "the German Jew's" temperament made him inherently susceptible to them. However, although she implies that the German Jew was by nature predisposed to speaking in a supposedly offensive manner, she does not rule out the possibility that nature could be overcome. She suggests that Jews who corrected their speech could "pass" (go undetected) and thus elude anti-Semitism. If Jews could combat anti-Semitism by correcting their speech, it follows that those who continued to speak in a recognizably Jewish manner were to some extent themselves responsible for anti-Semitic discrimination against them. As a Jewish "Assistentin für Sprecherziehung an der Universität Berlin" in 1931 Zweig was compelled to perform a precarious balancing act. As a junior member (especially a female and Jewish one) of a German academic institution she was in no position to question the "givens" of her discipline, namely that linguistic markers that were perceived as Jewish were to be valued negatively. And she internalized these values, arguing that individuals who speak "like Jews" would not only suffer discrimination from others but would have low self-esteem. However, precisely because of her precarious position she must seek to undermine the assumption that these traits are biologically determined; for if they were, she too would have them and could not be a legitimate Sprecherzieherin. Thus, after explicitly stating that these traits are not specifically Jewish she reiterates that they are "anerzogen," ("learned, not innate"). If they are taught, then they can also be untaught.

Hannah Zweig was not alone in her crusade to fight anti-Semitism through speech therapy. In August 1936 Sophie Baum published a similar plea, entitled "Richtig sprechen, eine Forderung unserer Zeit," in the Frankfurter Gemeindeblatt. Baum writes: "Gerade

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unsere jüdische Kinder haben Anspruch darauf, daß ihnen schon in früher Zeit alles
abgerissen wird, was bei ihrem gewiß nicht leichten Weg ins Leben hinderlich sein könnte.
Dazu gehört vor allem die rechtzeitige Beseitigung von Sprachfehlern.” Notably, Baum
did not specify which speech impediments must be “unlearned,” perhaps because her 1936
audience knew all too well which ones were meant. The use of the word "abziehen" ("to
untrain") suggests that undesirable speech was learned, not innate, and that it was
therefore possible to “unlearn” it. While this challenged the notion that Jewish speech was
biologically determined, it raised another disturbing question. If undesirable speech was
“learned,” then someone must have taught it (at least by example), and in the case of very
small children this could only have been their Jewish elders.

In “Sprache und Nationalität" (1903) M.A. Klausner exhibited a very different
approach to the question of whether Jews could really speak German. For Klausner,
whether German Jews spoke German was ostensibly a non-issue. He presented as an
indisputable fact that they did speak German, indeed that there were Jews among the
“Vorbildern besten Deutschen Stils” and the “Begründern und Schöpfern der modernen
deutschen Sprache” (60). Klausner endeavored to demonstrate not only that German Jews
were Germans because they spoke German but that Yiddish speaking Eastern European
Jews were also Germans because they too spoke German. Klausner argues that theoretical
definitions of “Nation” are “unsicher und schwankend,” that “Abstammung und Religion,
gemeinsame Geschichte und politische Vereinigung, Sprache und Bräuche,” which had
traditionally been viewed as the conditions for nationhood, could also be dividing forces.
Klausner suggests that a previously neglected factor may indeed be the most important

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one, namely “der Wille” (44-45). Klausner maintains that German Jews developed the will to belong to a German nation at a time, “da die meisten Vorfahren der jetzigen Deutschen von einer Nation überhaupt nichts wüssten und von der deutschen Nation gewiß nichts hätten wissen mögen” (45). He asserts that German Jews’ relationship to the German language was undeniable proof of the will to belong to a German nation, because German Jews not only used German while living in German lands but nurtured and cultivated German after being driven out of German language territories. He continues: “Und dieser Wille ist, so paradox es klingt, beinahe älter als die deutsche Nation selbst, er hat den Gedanken der deutschen Nation und sogar die deutsche Nation bilden helfen” (45-46).

In order to make this proof stick, Klausner had to prove that the Yiddish spoken in Eastern Europe qualified as German. Acknowledging that his assimilated German Jewish audience had a negative opinion of “Jargon,” he promises to present it to them in a “new light”: “Ich will ihnen den Jargon zeigen als einen vollberechtigten deutschen Dialekt nicht blos, sondern als den verbreitesten und zugleich interessantesten und ausgezeichnetsten deutschen Dialekt” (46). Klausner viewed “Jargon” as the ultimate proof of the tenacity of German Jews’ will to belong to the German Nation. German Jews not only helped to “develop and hone” the German language in the Middle Ages, but they cleaved lovingly to the German language after being forcibly driven out of German lands: “aber die Sprache des Vaterlandes, das so unväterlich an uns gehandelt, die Sprache der deutschen Brüder, die so unbrüderlich mit uns verfahren, nahmen wir in die Verbannung mit, und wir haben sie als Muttersprache gewissenhaft, zärtlich und mit größerer Treue gepflegt, als sie jemals von ihren anderen Kindern in fernen Ländern genossen” (48). By using “wir” in reference
to the "Ur-German" Jews who were driven out of Germany and eventually became “today’s” Yiddish speaking Eastern European Jews, Klausner erases the distinction between German-speaking German Jews and Yiddish-speaking Eastern European Jews.

Klausner acknowledges that his view had opponents even among German Jews, but suggests that they are merely “blinded by prejudice.” He seeks to undermine his most formidable non-Jewish opponent, Treitschke, who dismissed Yiddish as an “abscheulich verhunzte Sprache,” by questioning his intellectual capacity:

_Dieser unheilvolle Mann, der für einen Teil der studierenden Jugend unserer Tage ein wahres Unglück gewesen, der mit blinder Haß alles verfolgte, was er nicht verstand, und deshalb in Haßgefühlen förmlich schlemmen konnte, wußte nichts von der deutschen Juden Leiden und Taten und nahm für eine Verhunzung des Neuhocheutschens, was in Wahrheit ein historisches Denkmal des Mittellhocheutschens ist, durch jüdische Treue in unsere Zeit hinein gerettet._ (48)

Klausner adds that Treitschke’s "teutonische Begeisterung” would have led him to entirely different conclusions had he only done his homework (50). Jargon sounded foreign to modern Germans, because Jews took with them the German language from 600 years ago. Although both Yiddish-speakers and speakers of New High German started out with the same Middle High German, it quite understandably underwent different changes in exile. According to Klausner, Jargon was not only no “abscheulich verhunzte Sprache” but a “Dialekt von ethymologisch ausgezeichneter Feinheit, von einer Schmiegsmkeit und Biegsamkeit, wie sie kein anderer deutscher Dialekt erreicht hat, und um die das Neuhocheutsche ihn zu beneiden alle Ursache hat” (51). Klausner turns Treitschke’s assessment of Yiddish on its head, Yiddish was not the degenerate language, German was. New High German was “verarmt” in comparison to Yiddish, which had preserved
“unverkümmt” the merits of Middle High German (52). Indeed, he “dares to suggest” that contact with Yiddish would result in the “Wiederbereicherung” of New High German (51).

Klausner presents a catalogue of Jargon’s supposed defects, showing that each in turn was not a shortcoming but evidence that Yiddish, by merit of its loyalty to Middle High German, was more German than New High German. He hones in on precisely those items most often attacked by anti-Semitic critics: the supposed distortion of the vowel system, intonation, and the alleged predominance of Hebrew and Slavic loanwords. The tour de force of Klausner’s arsenal is his assertion that Yiddish intonation (the most commonly ridiculed feature of Yiddish) was not only not foreign but resembled the Medieval “Nibelungenstrophe” (59). For what could possibly be more “German”? Klausner closes his article with the admonition that those who disparaged Yiddish ridiculed their own past and that German Jews in particular should not partake in this “wantonness” (61-61). He concludes:

Wir haben auch keine Ursache, uns etwa des Jargons zu schämen. Wir dürfen im Gegenteil auf ihn als auf ein stolzes Zeugnis einer Vaterlandstreuhe hinweisen, die ohne Gleiches ist und in ihrer stillen, rührenden Zähigkeit sittlich weit hinausragt über jeden lohnhungrigen und lärrenden Chauvinismus. (62)

These closing words reveal a great deal about Klausner’s motivation for “redeeming” Yiddish. Although Klausner presupposed that German Jews do not speak Yiddish, he acknowledged that they were ashamed of Yiddish. Thus, he sought to replace this shame with pride. German Jews, however, could only be ashamed of Yiddish, or conversely proud of it, if it was somehow their own. Klausner appears to have realized that German
anti-Semites failed to distinguish between German-speaking German Jews and Yiddish-speaking Eastern European Jews and that defenses based on this distinction would have been in vain. He therefore employed a different strategy -- if one could not "escape" Yiddish, one should embrace it. As it would be impossible to embrace a "degenerate" language, Klausner strives to revamp Yiddish's image, transforming it into the German dialect par excellence. Klausner's makeover of Yiddish into Ur-German was a pragmatic reaction to the anti-Semitism that he believed was caused by the fear of "lohnhungrigen" Germans that foreigners, Eastern Jews in particular, were stealing their jobs. If Yiddish was a German dialect, then Eastern Jewish immigrants were not foreign interlopers but legitimate home-comers.

13 years later (1916) Dr. J. Wohlgemuth echoed Klausner's celebration of Yiddish as a German dialect. Wohlgemuth observes that the status of Yiddish, the "Cinderella of German dialects," improved during the First World War, when German soldiers encountered Yiddish-speaking Jews in occupied Russia: "Unsere Krieger segnen das jüdisch-deutsche Idiom, das ihnen im Feindesland die Grüße der Muttersprache entbietet und die Verständigung mit der Bevölkerung der okkupierten Teile von Rußland ermöglicht" (423). Whereas Klausner's "lohnhungrige" Germans had perceived Yiddish spoken by Eastern Jews in Germany in 1903 as a marker of unwelcome foreign intrusion, Wohlgemuth's German soldiers ostensibly perceived Yiddish spoken by Jews in enemy Russia in 1916 as their own mother tongue. Although German soldiers may have greeted Yiddish-speaking Jews in Russia as their brethren, many intensely patriotic German Jewish soldiers who sought to prove their Germanness by enlisting as volunteers found
themselves rejected by their comrades as “foreigners” or denounced as traitors by anti-Semites.4 Appealing to a World War I audience interested in German expansion, Wohlgemuth hails Yiddish-speaking Jews as “Pioniere der deutschen Sprache in der ganzen Welt” (423) and “Wegbereiter der deutschen Kultur in der ganzen Welt” (439), citing the spread of Yiddish by migrating Eastern European Jews since the 15th century throughout Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and the Americas (423-24, 429).

Wohlgemuth capitalizes on World War I Germans’ hatred of the French, arguing that one could hardly degrade Yiddish to the status of “Mischsprache” when German (particularly in military language: Artillerie, Infanterie, etc.) was polluted with terms from the “Heimat unserer Feinde” (432). Like Klausner, Wohlgemuth emphasizes that Yiddish “faithfully” preserved “echtdeutsches Sprachgut” in many cases where modern German had discarded Germanic words in favor of Greek or Latin (433). Indeed, Yiddish was not only on par with other German dialects but surpassed them by merit of its “loyal preservation” of “früheren deutschen Sprachgutes” (438). Paradoxically, Wohlgemuth obscures the history of Western Yiddish as the one-time mother tongue of Western European Jews, insisting that Jews living in Germany during the Middle Ages were “mit der Sprache und Kultur ihres Landes verwachsen,” offering Minnesänger Süßkind von Trimberg as a prime example (426). Wohlgemuth adds that several experts maintained that Jews in Germany spoke a “reines und unvermisches Deutsch” through the 17th century (426). If there was, according to Wohlgemuth, no Western Yiddish, then what did Moses Mendelssohn and

4 See Ernst Toller’s Wandlung.
other Maskilim combat in the 18th century? According to Wohlgemuth, the Yiddish encountered in Germany beginning in the 17th century was imported by Polish Jewish immigrants and it disappeared entirely from Germany upon political emancipation (430). Wohlgemuth clearly harbored mixed feelings towards Yiddish. While he praises it as a German dialect superior to all others (which is all the more significant, as he maintains that dialects, not standard German, comprised "die deutsche Sprache im eigentlichen Sinne" (430)), he denies that it had ever been the language of German Jews.

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Although it is quite certain that Bertha Pappenheim was fluent in Yiddish, it remains a mystery exactly how and where she learned it. Her translations of Die Memoiren der Glückel von Hameln, Allerlei Geschichten: Maasse Buch, and Zeenah U-Reenah: Frauenbibel attest to her exceptional proficiency in Yiddish. Both in her extensive travels in Eastern Europe and in her social outreach to Eastern European Jews in Germany Pappenheim was frequently required to converse in Yiddish. She was also able to write Yiddish. She reports in 1912 letter to colleagues that she translated 6 pages of German into Yiddish for the Rebbe von Alexandrow. While she complained that the "ungewohnte verkehrte Federhaltung" prevented her from completing the translation in one sitting, she did not indicate that the language itself posed any difficulty (Sisyphus-Arbeit 156). It is unlikely that Pappenheim would have learned Yiddish formally as she did English, French, and Italian; because she attended a Catholic girls' school and because she did not accord Yiddish the status of "Kultursprache," one worthy of formal study. Although Pappenheim once mentions that her father used the term "Chalaumes" (khaloymes=dreams)(Sisyphus-
Arbeit 41), this is not proof that Yiddish was spoken regularly in her childhood home. Because so few documents remain from Pappenheim’s pre-Frankfurt years (with the exception of accounts of her illness) and because she rarely spoke of these years to colleagues, it will likely remain impossible to ascertain precisely how Pappenheim learned Yiddish.

Although Pappenheim was fluent in Yiddish and she certainly realized that this ability was indispensable to her work with Eastern European Jews (she once recommended Sophie Mamelock for a social work position precisely because she spoke Yiddish (Edinger, Bertha Pappenheim 43)), her attitudes towards Yiddish were mixed, ranging from the dismissal of Yiddish as an uneducated “Mischsprache” or “Ghettosprache” to a nostalgic reverence for Yiddish as the language of a disappearing traditional female Jewish religious culture.

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Like many of her contemporaries, Pappenheim considered Yiddish to be the antithesis of a “Kultursprache” ("cultured language" or "language of culture"). In a 1911 letter chronicling a journey on the Galilean Sea, Pappenheim categorizes her fellow passengers: “Die Passagiere gruppieren sich wie immer, in Touristen, d.h.: Kulturmenschen, denen man die Konfession nicht auf den ersten Blick ansieht, Eingeborene oder Juden” (Sisyphus-Arbeit 114). Although Pappenheim was also Jewish, she clearly considered herself the former, a "Kulturmensch," whereby her "culture" was demonstrated by her ability to conceal her Jewishness. Interestingly, the Jews who in Pappenheim’s account exemplify the anti-thesis of “Kulturmenschen” betray themselves
not “at first glance” but when they open their mouths. She characterizes the passengers of what she somewhat derogatorily dubs a “Polackenboot” not by their appearance but by their language, Yiddish: “Jainkel, kück nicht im Jam!” (115).

There are numerous examples, both in her literary and other writings, that confirm that Pappenheim was preoccupied with the notion that Jews were recognizable by their speech. She recounts a meeting with a Russian countess who told her that she assumed that Pappenheim was Jewish because the woman who had arranged their meeting had a Yiddish accent, “diesen unverkennbaren, schrecklichen jüdischen Tonfall” (Sisyphus-Arbeit 187). Pappenheim recalls: “Ihr Gesicht verzerrte sich förmlich, wie in Erinnerung an etwas ganz Ekelhaftem” (187). Another account reveals that Pappenheim herself relied on speech to identify other Jews. Pappenheim writes: “Ich weiß nicht ob Bonn ein Jude ist, wie er aussieht, konnte ich mit meinen unbewaffneten Augen nicht sehen, aber mein Ohr ließ mich manchmal einen leisen Mauschelton erkennen. Allerdings habe ich seinen Paß nicht zu kontrollieren” (Sisyphus-Arbeit 152).

Recognizably Jewish speech was not, however, always a liability. In two of Pappenheim’s short stories Yiddish serves as a “password,” proof for the Jewish listener that the speaker too is Jewish and therefore trustworthy. In “Der Erlöser” Wolf, an unsuspecting Jewish orphan, is lured into a Catholic mission house by a missionary who uses Yiddish words, “... was Wolf das beruhigende Gefühl gab, es mit einem jüdischen Glaubensgenossen zu tun zu haben...” (7). In “Freitag Abend” Rosy (Reisle)

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5 In this case a Catholic missionary uses the Yiddish “password” deceptively, to inspire trust where none is warranted. In “Freitag Abend” and in “Ein Schwächling” Pappenheim
spontaneously develops trust in a fleeting acquaintance when he utters a single Yiddish
word, "nebbich," in response to her admission that she attends the public lecture series
because she, as a Jewess, is homesick on the Sabbath. Rosy replies to his "nebbich":

Nebbich? ... Also sind Sie ein Jude. Nun, dann ist es gut, dann verstehen Sie
mich, dann fürchte ich mich nicht mehr vor Ihnen. Dann brauche ich auch nicht
nachzudenken, wie ich reden soll, daß es richtig ist und damit man mich nicht
auslacht, - dann wissen Sie, daß ich jeden Freitag Heimweh haben muß nach
den Eltern, nach den Geschwistern und nach dem, was in der Schabbesstub’
lebendig wird, wenn die Mutter die Lichter anzündet und der Vater Kiddusch
macht. (121-122)

The single Yiddish word speaks volumes for Rosy. Decoded, the word "nebbich" says
more than just "poor thing," it expresses solidarity and promises mutual understanding
based on shared tradition and common history. Rosy lets down her guard, because this
stranger is, by virtue of his knowledge of a loaded "password," no stranger. Much can be

also portrays Gentiles using Yiddish or pseudo-Yiddish. In "Freitag Abend" Frau Müller
evicts Rosy on Christmas Eve: "Das ist mir ganz egal -- naus sag' ich, nix wie naus. Die
Miet ist bezahlt, da gehn sie doch zu ihrem 'Tate' und zu Ihrer 'Mamme' dahin, wo Sie
hergekommen sind" (136). In "Ein Schwächling" one of Gabriel's colleagues chides:
"Möchtest halt gern so viel bekommen wie wir, damit du nebstbei 'e Geschäftche'
betreiben kannst" (160). In these cases, the speakers clearly do not use "Yiddish" to
express solidarity or inspire trust. On the contrary, they make no attempts to conceal their
anti-Semitism. Frau Müller calls Rosy and Julius "Juddebaggasch," and complains that
Jews "hängen ja zusammen wie Pech und Schwefel." Gabriel's colleagues accuse him of
making "unsaubere" business deals and threaten to have him fired: "morgen fliegst zum
Tempel 'naus" (161). The use of "Yiddish" in these instances appears to have a double
purpose: 1) The anti-Semite using Yiddish indicates to the Jewish "Gesprächspartner" that
he/she is privy to his "secret language" -- he/she can not be "taken in." He/she seeks to
demonstrate that his/her anti-Semitism is not based on ignorance but on intimate
knowledge of Jews. 2) He/she also uses "Yiddish" to mock or insult the Jewish
"Gesprächspartner" much in the same way that "Yiddish" was employed in anti-Semitic
caricatures, film, theater, and prose to parody Jews.
left unsaid, because Rosy and Julius already “know” one another. In “Ein Schwäichling”

Gabriel/Johannes, a convert to Christianity, is attracted to Klara Sulzer’s “Jewish speech.”

The familiar speech sounds of “home” and evokes memories of his own past and origins:

Der Tonfall ihrer Stimme tat ihm wohl; Worte und Redewendungen, die sie
gebrauchte und die er jahrelang nicht gehört hatte, berührten ihn so traulich,
so heimatlich, daß es ihm manchmal wie ein Traum, wie eine Unmöglichkeit
erschien, zu denken, daß er seit langem schon einer anderen Welt angehöre...
(179)

While Pappenheim suggests that both Rosy and Klara’s speech is recognizably
Jewish, she does not portray their direct speech accordingly. The direct speech of both
women is exclusively Standard German. The same is true of both Wolf and Martin in “Der
Erlöser.” Although Pappenheim describes Wolf’s speech (while he is a young boy in
England) as a mixture of English and Yiddish (7) and Martin characterizes his own speech
as “so eine Art Hochjargon” (24), their direct speech is exclusively Standard German. In
numerous other cases, however, Pappenheim does portray the non-standard direct speech
of Jewish characters. Why then does Pappenheim sometimes portray non-standard direct
speech while at other times standardizing the direct speech of figures whom she has
characterized as non-standard speakers? At first glance there seems to be neither rhyme

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6 In this scene Rosy confesses that she is self-conscious of her recognizably “Jewish”
speech, that she attempts to standardize it when speaking with non-Jews in order to avoid
ridicule. It is notable that Rosy is not only Jewish but also Austrian. There is no indication,
however, that Rosy is ashamed of any recognizably Austrian aspects of her speech.

7 Pappenheim portrays the non-standard direct speech of non-Jewish characters less
frequently. In “Freitag Abend” the direct speech of both Herr and Frau Müller is non-
standard, approximating a Frankfurt dialect. It is unclear why Pappenheim chooses to
portray the direct speech of these two anti-Semitic characters as non-standard. Perhaps
she intends, by juxtaposing their speech to Rosy and Julius’s standard German, to imply
nor reason behind Pappenheim’s choice to portray non-standard speech in some instances while refraining from doing so in others. In “Der Erlöser,” for example, Pappenheim indicates that Martin, Wolf, and Reisle speak Yiddish (or a mixture of Yiddish and the dominant language of the country in which they reside). However, only Muhme Rifke’s direct speech is recognizably non-standard. Although all of the Russian Jews in “Tragische Momente” are presumably Yiddish speakers,8 only Leib Rosenberg’s lines are written in non-standard German. The speech of both Leib Rosenberg and Muhme Rifke is highly stereotypical, strongly resembling the sort of stereotyped speech attributed to Jewish figures in anti-Semitic films, caricatures, literature, etc. Pappenheim characterizes Muhme Rifke’s manner of speaking as a “Tonart weinlicher Klage” (30). Muhme Rifke uses recognizably Yiddish expressions such as “Tachles” and “oi” and says “is” (the Yiddish second person singular present “to be”) rather than “ist” (30). Leib Rosenberg uses the term “Gojim” and uses Yiddish word order, for example: “Es kann sein für beide” (44). It is important to note that the speech of neither is consistently “Yiddishized” or “gemauschelt.” Pappenheim suffices to pepper their speech with a few choice signals of

that these anti-Semites are uneducated and primitive. If so, then Frau Müller’s use of Yiddish would be especially ironic -- a woman who cannot herself speak correct German attempts to mock a Jewish girl by insinuating that she does not “really” speak German. In Tragische Momente Frau Kogler’s direct speech is embellished with a Bavarian accent. Unlike the Mullers, Frau Kogler is an exceptionally positive figure. Her non-standard speech serves to underscore her “foreignness” (she is a Bavarian Catholic in Protestant Frankfurt), which is the motivation for her solidarity toward her Russian Jewish neighbors.

8It is never stated explicitly that the Russian Jews in Tragische Momente speak Yiddish. However, Jerome’s statement that he does not want to found a “neues Sprachghetto” in Palestine suggests that his parents had lived in the old one, the Yiddish-speaking Jewish community in Russia.
Jewish difference. In these two pieces Pappenheim does not use non-standard speech simply to achieve a greater degree of realism -- otherwise all of the Yiddish or non-standard speakers would speak "realistically," i.e. not standard German -- rather she uses stereotypical Jewish speech to further emphasize the negative character of her villains.

A 1912 letter suggests that Pappenheim associated language with character. She writes, "Frl. v. E. spricht das harte, schlesische oder littauische Deutsch, scheint aber ein guter, weicher Mensch zu sein" (Sisyphus-Arbeit 163).9 The "aber" implies that Pappenheim would normally expect a person's speech, in this case a regional dialect, to reflect their personality or character. If Pappenheim does believe this to be true, then her use of Mauscheln in the portrayal of her villains (in this case individuals involved in the white slave trade and prostitution) would indicate that she subscribed to the anti-Semitic notions that Yiddish and Mauscheln were corrupt forms of German that reflected the moral and sexual degeneracy of Jews. Pappenheim's use of Yiddish or Mauscheln in the portrayal of Jews involved in white slavery seems all the more surprising in light of her 1927 letter to Claude Montefiore. In this letter she construes the "matter of fact" use of Yiddish words (Schnorrer, Kaften, Nekewe, Schadchen) in a League of Nations report on the white slave trade as evidence of the anti-Semitic tendencies of its authors (Sisyphus-Arbeit 2 2). Montefiore disagreed with Pappenheim's accusations, cautioning, "I think you are inclined to find anti-Semitism where none was intended" (Sisyphus-Arbeit 2 26). This difference in opinion stems, perhaps, from the differing language contexts of the

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9 Emphasis is my own.
discussants. As a German-speaking Jew living in Germany, Pappenheim was all too familiar with the use of Yiddish in anti-Semitic attacks rendered not only at Yiddish speakers but also at German-speaking Jews and would therefore have been sensitized to suspect that any use of Yiddish by Gentiles was pejorative. Living in England, Montefiore was less likely to have suffered such attacks and therefore less prone to assume automatically that the use of Yiddish by Gentiles necessarily constituted anti-Semitism.

Pappenheim did not, however, limit the use of stereotypically Jewish direct speech to her villains. In “Der Wunderrabbi” the direct speech of both Reb Wolf and Gewiera is marked by the frequent occurrence of Yiddish word order and lexical items. Neither Reb Wolf nor Gewiera are villains but exceptionally positive, indeed exemplary figures. Gewiera is a pious and wise woman who, although she herself is securely anchored in the tradition and practices of the ghetto, realizes that her son must move on. Reb Wolf not only supports his wife’s suggestion that their son leave the ghetto to pursue his secular education in Vienna but sacrifices his own hunger for secular intellectual pursuits in order to enable his son’s “escape.” Pappenheim may have patterned Gewiera after the sister of the Hassidic Wunderrabbi of Alexandrow, whom she met during her travels in 1912. Pappenheim describes her: “Diese Frau ist die leibhaftige, lebendige Glückel von Hameln, und was und wie sie spricht und erzählt, ihre Gläubigkeit, ihr gesunder Menschenverstand, ihre Naivität, alles ist wundervoll” (Sisyphus-Arbeit 149). In retelling a story told by the rabbi’s sister, Pappenheim employs a manner of speech which more closely approximates Yiddish than the direct speech of any of her fictional characters:

Eine Schwalbe, die das Jam ausschöpfen will?– da kann nur Rebaun schel aulom helfen, aber as es in großer Reinigkeit zu Rebaun schel aulom’s Ehre
Pappenheim finds “wonderful” not only what the Rabbi’s sister says but how she says it. How then can Pappenheim at one turn find Yiddish or near-Yiddish “wonderful,” part and parcel of figures who are admirable because they embody the values of traditional Judaism, while at the next employing it to signal a figure’s moral depravity?

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Pappenheim’s 1934 essay “Die jüdische Frau” offers insight into her seemingly contradictory figuring of Yiddish. In this essay Pappenheim traces the heritage of modern German Jewish women (whom, she asserts, are inextricably bound to their German linguistic and cultural heritage) to German Jewish women of Glickl von Hameln’s generation. According to Pappenheim, these women were able to integrate fragments of German culture without forfeiting their Jewish spirituality: “... doch war es so, daß die in ihrer religiösen Innerlichkeit ganz intakt gebliebene Frau deutsche Kultursplitter in ihren allgemeinen Habitus aufgenommen hat” (106). Pappenheim argues that the most striking evidence of the influence of “Deutschum” on “jüdische Frauenart” was the language of Jewish women (106). She elaborates:

Die ‘unbekannte Jüdin’ ... war durch die Jahrhunderte Trägerin der ungebrochenen, selbstverständlichen Jüdischheit und zugleich unbewußt die Hüterin alten deutschen Sprachgutes. Dafür sind die Frauenbibel (Zennoh rennoh) und die Maaße-Bücher in ihrem Weiberdeutsch (jiddisch-deutsch), und ich möchte fast sagen: in klassischer Form die Memoiren der Glückel von Hameln historische Beweise. (106)
Like Klausner and Wohlgemuth, Pappenheim elevates the status of Yiddish by pronouncing Yiddish speakers the protectors of “alten deutschen Sprachgutes.” Pappenheim, however, terms Yiddish “Weiberdeutsch” (women’s German), thus crediting Jewish women with preserving “Old German.” Pappenheim explains that men’s indifference to women’s spiritual and intellectual development allowed Yiddish to serve over time as a “schmale Brücke” for Jewish women to a new, outside world (107). More or less by default, Yiddish became the “natural compensation” for the religious education denied women, and Jewish women became the unwitting pioneers of German culture in the Jewish community. Pappenheim values Yiddish as a stepping stone for Jewish women to secular culture - first for German Jewish women of Glickl’s era and again for Eastern European Jewish women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because Jewish fathers were not concerned about their daughters’ education, Jewish girls in Eastern Europe were frequently permitted to attend secular public schools. Their knowledge of Yiddish fostered the rise of a “deutlich deutschgefärbte[n] und betonte[n] Bildungsdrang” (108). Pappenheim concedes, however, that the growing influence of “German language and intellectual life” was inevitably accompanied by “das Zurücktreten des jüdischen Bewußtseins” (108). She therefore did not disparage the Yiddish of Glickl and of her modern Eastern Jewish counterparts (the Wunder-Rabbi’s sister and her literary double, Gewiera) as an uneducated “Jargon” but revered it, because she associated this Yiddish with the still “intact” Jewish womanhood of the ghetto, a womanhood marked by a naive spirituality grounded in Jewish women’s sacred day to day responsibilities in the family. Struggling to achieve a happy medium for modern German-Jewish women, a way
for them to be culturally German while remaining religiously Jewish, Pappenheim glimpsed back nostalgically to these women on the brink.

Pappenheim’s monumental accomplishment of translating three Yiddish literary works written prior to emancipation either by or for women (Die Memoiren der Glückl von Hameln, Allerlei Geschichten: Maasse-Buch, and Zeenah u- Reenah: Frauenbibel) attests further to her nostalgia for a disappearing female Jewish culture whose language was Yiddish. The enthusiastic reception of these translations in the German-Jewish press indicates that many German Jews shared her nostalgic fascination with this chapter of their history. Although I have been unable to ascertain the number of copies sold, I have found numerous reviews for Allerlei Geschichten and Zeenah u- Reenah (seven and eleven respectively, whereby all but one were in the German-Jewish press). I located only one review of Pappenheim’s translation of Glickl’s memoirs, but even a single review is remarkable, as Pappenheim published the translation privately for her Goldschmidt relatives, who like herself were descendents of Glickl. While the reviewers agreed, without exception, that Pappenheim deserved recognition and praise for rendering these artifacts of traditional Judaism accessible to new generations of German Jews, they disagreed on exactly what made them valuable to German Jews of their generation (Jewish women in particular) and on their assessment of Pappenheim’s translation.

Pappenheim states in her preface to Glickl’s memoirs that her translation had the purpose, “das Bild einer Frau neu zu beleben, die, tief in ihrer Zeit wurzelnd, durch ungewöhnliche Geistesgaben hervorragte, die treu war ihrem Glauben, treu ihrem Volke, treu ihrer Familie, treu sich selbst.” Glickl embodied for Pappenheim “das beste und
wertvollste eines Frauendaseins.” In her introduction to Allerlei Geschichten Pappenheim outlines the ways in which her translation would serve her Jewish-German contemporaries: 1) The stories grant insight into the lives of Jews in the Middle Ages, particularly how the “Kraft des Glaubens an gottgegebene Lehre” allowed them to withstand oppression and thrive despite hostile environs. 2) The collection serves scholarship: “kulturgeschichtlich, folkloristisch, sprachwissenschaftlich und nicht zuletzt soziologisch als Hinweis auf die wichtige, und doch so -- bescheidene Stellung der Frau im Judentum” (VII-VIII). 3) It provides parents and educators a “Brücke zu dem erneuten Verständnis der Bedeutung überlieferten jüdischen Kultur- und Glaubengutes” (VIII).

The reviews of Allerlei Geschichten echo Pappenheim’s own assessment of the value of her translation for present generations. There are only two slight departures: 1) The reviewers do not address Pappenheim’s suggestion that modern Jews could benefit from the example of how their ancestors’ steadfast faith helped them withstand anti-Semitism. Several reviewers of Zeenah u-Reenah, however, do draw a parallel between anti-Semitism in Germany during the Thirty Years War and in 1930 and suggest that modern Jewish-German women should follow the example of their foremothers. 2) Two reviewers take Pappenheim’s suggestion that the work would be of value to educators of Jewish children one step further. Bertha Badt-Strauß, writing for the Jüdische Rundschau, a Zionist newspaper, suggests that Allerlei Geschichten would serve parents and educators who wished to familiarize their children with Jewish folklore instead of only with German fairy-tales. The reviewer for the Frankfurter Gemeindeblatt writes that Pappenheim walks in the footsteps of the Brothers Grimm. Evoking the Brothers Grimm and the tradition of
German fairy tales conjures up spirits of nationalism. Pappenheim, however, who was a staunch opponent of Jewish nationalism, was likely not terribly delighted with the image of herself as nationalist Jewish “Romantikerin.”

While Pappenheim suggests in her prologues to Glickl’s memoirs and to Allerlei Geschichten that these works provide valuable positive role models for modern Jewish women, she focuses in her prologue to the Frauenbibel on the negative. Whereas Glickl embodies Jewish womanhood at its best, and Allerlei Geschichten focuses on the “important, albeit modest, role of women in Judaism,” Pappenheim considers (at least according to her prologue) the Zeenah u- Reenah to be documentation of the “zurück gehaltene Geistigkeit der jüdischen Frau” (XI). She elaborates: “die zurecht geschnittene Form, in der man allein den Frauen das Chumisch - die fünf Bücher Moses - zugänglich machte, sind ein höchst interessanter Niederschlag der geistigen Abstinenz, die man den Frauen zumutete” (XI). She nevertheless insists that the Frauenbibel is “eines der interessantesten Dokumente der jüdischen Literatur” (XI).

Margarete Susman tempers Pappenheim’s negative assessment of the Zeenah u-Reenah, arguing that the “intellectual abstinence” imposed on women was not a sign of traditional Judaism’s disdain for women but rather a direct corollary of women’s important role in the Jewish community:

Denn wichtig -- entscheidend wichtig -- war ja von je im Judentum das Leben der Frau, ihre Stellung im Hause, in Wirken und Tun. Und gerade neben den Mann, dessen Leben ganz im “Lernen” aufging, trat die Frau notwendig als Verwalterin des Lebendigen und Wirklichen. Und eben in dieser selben Lage ist auch die Bescheidenheit ihrer Stellung in geistig-intellektueller Hinsicht gegründet; daß das Lernen den ganzen Menschen forderte und man in ihm nicht zwei Herren dienen konnte, hat die doppelte Wirkung gehabt, den Mann aus der Wirklichkeit herauszuziehen und die Frau, der die Verwaltung und
Heiligung des Lebens mit all seinen unendlichen Mühen und Pflichten anvertraut war, vom Geiste fernzuhalten. (454)

Susman adds that the *Zeenah u-Reenah* did not underestimate women’s intellectual capacities. While it did not presuppose “gelehrtes Wissen,” it made “keineswegs geringe Anforderungen an die geistige Bereitschaft und Fassungskraft ihrer Leserinnen hinsichtlich des Wesentlichen” (455). According to Susman, men and women’s spheres and roles were separate but equal. In her “Einleitung” to Pappenheim’s *Zeenah u-Reenah* translation,  

Dr. Bertha Badt-Strauß agrees with Susman,

...die scheinbare Nichtachtung der Frau [beruht] keinesfalls auf Geringschätzung, sondern auf der wohlerwogenen Loslösung der Frau vom Pflichtenkreise des Mannes in der Erkenntnis ihres Anders-Seins ... Kraft dieser Erkenntnis aber teilte man der Frau einen eigenen Pflichtenkreis zu, der für das Fortbestehen der Gesamtheit wahrlich nicht minder wichtig war als die Leistung des Mannes. (*Menorah* 119)

Edith Rosenzweig argues similarly that the Jewish female readers of the *Zeenah u-Reenah* were by no means “ungebildet,” particularly in comparison to their Gentile counterparts:

“Denn welche Frauen, außer den Nonnen und vornehmen, im Kloster erzogenen Edelfräules, konnten denn damals lesen und schreiben? Und bei den jüdischen Frauen wird das als ganz selbstverständlich angenommen — warum sonst hätte man eigens für sie Bücher gedruckt?!” (3). Susman, Badt-Strauß, and Rosenzweig could rationalize the intellectual disadvantaging of women during the period that produced the *Zeenah u-Reenah*, because for them it was situated in the remote past (they personally were not

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10 Badt-Strauß originally wrote this essay as an introduction to Pappenheim’s translation but it was not included in the published volume.
denied intellectual pursuits, Susman was a well-known intellectual and both Badt-Strauß and Rosenzweig had earned doctorates). For Pappenheim, however, who resented never having received an adequate education (secular or religious), the era of forced "intellectual abstinence" was not something purely historical. As a daughter of strictly Orthodox parents she had experienced it herself. In the case study of "Anna O." Breuer suggests that the lack of sufficient intellectual stimulation may have contributed to Pappenheim's mental illness. In the opening paragraph he describes his patient: "... von bedeutender Intelligenz, erstaunlich scharfsinniger Kombination und scharfsinniger Intuition; ein kräftiger Intellekt, der auch solide geistige Nahrung verdaut hätte und sie brauchte, nach Verlassen der Schule aber nicht erhielt" (42). In her 1912 speech "Die Frau im kirchlichen und religiösen Leben" Pappenheim employs similar imagery (although there is no evidence that she ever read Breuer's case-study), complaining of the "geistige Unterernährung" of Jewish women (241). In this speech Pappenheim points out the illogical discrepancy between the "Bedeutung" of women in the Jewish community and their "Stellung." women were expected to be the "Trägerin, Hüterin und Erhalterin des Volkes" (by bearing and raising children and in their vital role as keepers of ritual in the home) but were denied religious education and, subsequently, a voice in the Jewish community. Unlike her female critics, Pappenheim did not believe that the status of women in the Jewish community had improved since the time of the Zeenah u-Reenah. On the contrary, she argues that

11 There is ample evidence that the time of the Zeenah u-Reenah in Germany, even in its original Yiddish, had not entirely passed. Bath-Hillel writes that, especially in Southern Germany, one would readily encounter "grandmothers" reading the Zeenah u-Reenah on the Sabbath ("Die Zenne Renne" 55). Lowenstein reports that his mother, who was born
women’s "Bedeutung" had waned without an improvement of their "Stellung": "... durch die Verflachung des religiösen Lebens unter den Juden hat die jüdische Frau in ihrem Hause an Bedeutung verloren, ohne noch bisher im kommunalen Leben in gleichem Maße an Wichtigkeit und Stellung zu gewinnen" (243). The condescending tone of some male critics lends credence to Pappenheim’s assessment. The critic for the Hamburger Israelitisches Familienblatt implies in his review that German-Jewish women of 1930 had not progressed beyond the intellectual level of their distant ancestors: "Gewiß besteht heute auch noch das Bedürfnis dafür, diese Frauenbibel nicht nur als historisches Dokument, sondern als tatsächliches Belehrungsmaterial den Frauen in die Hand zu geben." Bernhard Heller disagrees, not because the work is beneath his female contemporaries, however, but because he believes that a better selection from Talmud and Midrasch could be met (312).

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Pappenheim’s reviewers devoted much space to the nature of Pappenheim’s translations. While Pappenheim’s translations certainly are translations and not merely "transcriptions" as some reviewers suggested,12 Pappenheim did not translate the original in Northern Bavaria in 1888 (and was thus almost 30 years younger than Pappenheim) remembers reading the Zeenah u-Reenah to other women in her village. Lowenstein also met in Washington Heights a German-Jewish mam his mother’s age who in the late 1960s still read the Zeenah u-Reenah every Sabbath (182).

12The reviewer for the Frankfurter Gemeindeblatt, for example, characterizes Pappenheim’s edition as an "Umschrift der hebräischen in deutsche Buchstaben," adding, "Der Leser hat sozusagen das Original vor sich." In the introduction to her 1994 edition of Pappenheim’s translation of Glickl’s memoirs, Viola Roggenkamp juxtaposes samples from Alfred Feilchenfeld’s 1913 transcription of Glickl’s memoirs and Pappenheim’s
Yiddish into standard German. She defends her refusal to render a standard German translation of the Zeenah u-Reenah in her introduction:

In mittelalterlicher Gestalt, Denkweise und Auffassung -- etwa vergleichbar der bildkünstlerischen Ausdrucksform, jener Dürer repräsentierten Zeit -- erlebt man kunterbunt die Menschen und Geschehnisse der Bibel in Zitaten, Deutungen und Erzählungen in einer Sprache, die unerläßlich ist, wenn der Reiz der Darstellung nicht zerstört werden soll. Es gibt einzelne Stellen, an denen schon der Versuch, sie zu “verhochdeutschen”, eine Versündigung an dem Geiste der Zeenah u-Reenah wäre! (XI)

The majority of reviewers agreed that a translation of the Zeenah u-Reenah or Maasse-Buch into standard German would be wholly inappropriate. Bernhard Heller, for example, applauds: Ein richtiges Gefühl hat die Bearbeiterin vor der Geschmacklosigkeit bewahrt, alles ‘verhochdeutschen’ zu wollen” (312). Both Berta Badt-Strauß (“Aus der Geschichte der jüdischen Frau” 124) and W. Windfuhr (the reviewer for the Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, a non-Jewish periodical) (247) agree that Pappenheim’s non-standard translation was superior to any standard German translation to date. Badt-Strauß attributes the quality of Pappenheim’s translation to her attempt to preserve “den Reiz und die Frische, die in diesem volkstümlichen Sprachgewande lagen,” adding that the “Reiz” of the original could not withstand translation into standard German (124).

Windfuhr compares Pappenheim’s translation to a recent standard German translation by Sal. Goldschmidt:

A comparison of the two demonstrates that Pappenheim did far more than merely transcribe the original Yiddish into Latin letters. Although the language of Pappenheim’s translations of the Zeenah u-Reenah and Allerlei Geschichten is farther from standard German than the language of her translation of Glickl’s memoirs, it is nonetheless by no means a mere transcription.
Margarete Susman praises Pappenheim for translating the work into a “uns verständliche und doch dem Geist des Originals nahe Sprache” (Rev. of Zeenah U-Reenah: Frauenbibel 454). Hanna Cohn-Dorn lauds Pappenheim’s “loyal” preservation of the “alte[n] Sprachbild.” Pappenheim’s reviewers agreed with her assessment that the appeal (“Reiz”) of the Zeenah u-Reenah relied to a great extent on its language, that the spirit (“Geist”) of the work was inextricably linked to its “Jüdisch-Deutsch” medium -- the work was untranslatable. Pappenheim did translate it, however, and her critics seemed to agree that her translation succeeded in preserving the work’s appeal and being true to its spirit.

Pappenheim succeeded, in the eyes of her German-Jewish critics, by inventing an “altneue Sprache,” (Bath-Hillel, “Die Welt des Maasse-Buches” 101) a watered-down Pseudo-Yiddish that was accessible to Jewish Germans who could not read the original “Jüdisch-Deutsch”\(^\text{13}\) without sacrificing the “Volkstümlichkeit” associated with it.

Ironically, Pappenheim’s invented language strongly resembles another invented language,

\(^{13}\) Pappenheim and several of her critics erroneously refer to the language of Glickl’s memoirs, the Zeenah u-Reenah, and the Maasse-Buch as “Jüdisch-Deutsch.” According to Steven M. Lowenstein this was a very common misnomer, and many German-Jewish bibliographers indiscriminately referred to both Yiddish and German works written in Hebrew characters as Jüdisch-Deutsch (180). The works translated by Pappenheim were not written in Jüdisch-Deutsch, which is standard German written in Hebrew script, but in Western Yiddish (Glickl’s memoirs) and in a written language referred to as Written Language A (the Zeenah u-Reenah and the Maasse-Buch). Neil Jacobs assisted me in classifying the language of the original works.
namely the *Mauscheln* attributed to Jews by anti-Semites. Only one critic, however, objected to Pappenheim’s language and not because he/she perceived the language as anti-Semitic. The reviewer for the *HamburgerIsraeliisches Familienblatt* would have preferred a standard German translation because he/she believed that the *Zeenah u-Reenah* would be valuable not only as a historical document but as a “tatsächliches Belehrungsmaterial” for modern women, and as such would be more useful in standard German.

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14 To the best of my knowledge, no scholar has closely analyzed the language of Pappenheim’s translations. While such an analysis would certainly be worthwhile, it unfortunately exceeds the scope of this chapter. The following aspects, in particular, warrant further investigation: 1) How much knowledge of Yiddish does Pappenheim expect from her German-Jewish readers? What must be translated? What merely transcribed? A comparison of her translations to the original works would be necessary. 2) Exactly what features of Yiddish must be preserved or at least signaled in order to evoke a feeling of “Volkstümlichkeit”? Are these features identical to or different from those used to mark “Jewish speech” in anti-Semitic portrayals? Close textual comparisons would be beneficial here.

15 Two other critics agreed in principal with Pappenheim’s technique but took issue with details. Bernhard Heller complains: “Druck- und Lesefehler sind leider nicht selten.” He lists two paragraphs’ worth of mistakes and a footnote indicates that his original list was longer but shortened at the editor’s request (314). Edith Rosenzweig observes: “(Es wird) den an philologische Exakthheit Gewöhnten entsetzen, mit welcher Willkürlichkeit einmal Worte und grammatische Formen dem Original getreu nachgebildet werden, ein andermal wiederum im Deutsch ... unserer Tage erscheinen” (4). She adds that Pappenheim’s transcription of Hebrew words also lacks consistency. Because Pappenheim made no claims to “Wissenschaftlichkeit” Rosenzweig excuses these shortcomings but finds fault with two others: 1) She notes that Pappenheim’s translation does not accurately reflect how much “reines Hebräisch” was in the original. Rosenzweig suggests that Pappenheim should have italicized words that were Hebrew in the original in order to accurately represent how much Hebrew women really knew. 2) She objects to Pappenheim’s rendering of biblical names: “Gerade wenn die Bearbeiterin den Duft jener Sprache und jener Zeit festhalten will, stören die griechisch-christliche Eva und Rebekka; nicht nur, daß es ‘richtiger’ ist, die Frauen nannten sich damals doch selbstverständlich Chawwa und Riwka...” (4).
Whereas they would certainly have perceived the use of “Mauscheln” in other contexts as anti-Semitic, Pappenheim’s critics could embrace Pappenheim’s “Mauscheln” translation because the language was not attributed to them or their contemporaries but very clearly situated in the distant past. Indeed, the frequent glosses within her translation imply that Pappenheim’s readers were almost as far removed from the “Mauscheln” of her translation as from the original Yiddish -- even the translation must be translated! One critic suggests that the German-Jewish reader would have to contend with the “Mühe des Einlesens in den eigenartigen Dialekt... was er ja auch bei Fritz Reuter tun muß” (Rev. of Zeenah U-Reenah, Gemeindeblatt 33). In other words, Mauscheln was as foreign to the German-Jewish reader as Plattdeutsch.

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While Yiddish did in some instances hold nostalgic appeal for Pappenheim, she viewed it nevertheless primarily as a stepping stone to something higher, a “Kultursprache.” For Pappenheim Yiddish was a product of the ghetto, of forced Jewish separation. The trend to leave the ghetto (for whatever reason -- worsening anti-Semitism and pogroms in Eastern Europe, economic hardship, the pursuit of secular education) meant that Yiddish would soon have outlived its usefulness. In her social work, Pappenheim continually advocated providing for Yiddish-speaking Jews language instruction in the dominant language. Pappenheim advised, for example, that Jewish girls in Turkey should learn Turkish in order to become “employable” (Sisyphus-Arbeit 36). In Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien (Pappenheim’s report of her “Studienreise” (“study or research trip”) to Galicia, which was financed in large part by the
Jewish Committee for Combating White Slavery) she observes that Jewish girls were unable to find suitable work because they knew only “Yiddish and bad Polish” (51) and proposes that they receive instruction in both Polish and German (54). Realizing that large numbers of Jewish girls would immigrate to Western Europe and the United States, she recommends starting a school for prospective immigrants, in which the most important subject in the second half of the one year course would be instruction in English and German (65). The Frankfurter Mädchenklub, which Pappenheim founded, likewise offered Eastern Jewish immigrant girls instruction in German in order to improve their employment chances.

Pappenheim thematized the desired shift of Eastern Jews from Yiddish to the language of their country of residence in two short stories, “Der Erlöser” and “Der Wunderrabbi.” In “Der Erlöser” Wolf explains to his Zionist friend Martin that he sublets from French landlords rather than Eastern Jews in order to learn “richtiges Französisch” (24). When Martin chides him for being ashamed of his “Muttersprache,” Wolf replies, “Welches ist denn meine Muttersprache? Russisch habe ich nie gekonnt, englisch und deutsch nie ordentlich erlernt, mein Hebräisch nützt mir nichts, da wäre mir nur das Sprachengemisch geblieben, in dem wir aus der Ghettokolonie uns unterhalten. Das kann mir nicht genügen” (24-25). Yiddish cannot be his native language, because it does not enjoy the status of language at all, but is degraded to a “Sprachengemisch,” something akin to a pidgin. Martin counters: “Wir Zionisten ... müssen aber den größten Wert darauf legen, unsere, die ureigensten Sprachen unseres Volkes entweder zu beleben wie das rein Hebräische, oder zu erhalten wie den Jargon” (25). He plans to begin a debate in his
newspaper as to whether Yiddish or Hebrew should “bind the Jews living scattered in
Diaspora” (25). Wolf dismisses both Yiddish and Hebrew, “Ich hätte es für richtiger und
praktischer gefunden, wenn du eine lebende Kultursprache\textsuperscript{16} richtig beherrschten würdest,
auch für deinen Beruf als Journalist” (25).

Wolf acts as spokesperson for Pappenheim’s social agenda. Pappenheim advocated
the shift to a dominant language not only because Yiddish did not, in her mind, qualify as a
“Kultursprache” but also for matters of practicality. If one is to exist within the dominant
culture, indeed to become one with it, to participate in shaping it (as an artist or journalist,
for example) one must command its mode of discourse. Pappenheim closes Wolf and

\textsuperscript{16}While Pappenheim accorded Hebrew the status of “Kultursprache,” she deemed it
useless for Diaspora Jews, because it was, in her mind, a dead language. And she appears
to have had little interest in resurrecting it, or at least had serious reservations about some
Zionists’ attempts to do so. In a 1911 letter she criticizes a Zionist pre-school in Palestine
for teaching children exclusively Hebrew (no Yiddish, French or Arabic) when there were
no Hebrew language schools for the children to attend upon graduation (119). She also
accuses well-to-do Zionist leaders of adhering to a double standard: “Bodenkauf,
Unbildung und hebräische Sprache für die Andern,- Freie Berufe, alle
Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten der Schulbildung und der Sprachkenntnisse für sie selbst”
(120). In Tragische Momente Pappenheim implies that a Hebrew-based Jewish culture
would be unmaintainable, because second generation Jewish colonists would feel drawn
“back” to established cultural centers. Foksianianu’s children reproach him for having
allowed them to learn only Hebrew and “keine Kultursprache von Grund auf” -- they want
a “Sprache für die Welt, eine die man auch wo anders als in Palästina gebrauchen kann”
(67). Notably, his children do not seek out their father’s country of origin, Rumania but
are attracted to Johannesburg, New York, and Alexandria. Jerome likewise does not
return to the country that his parents had fled, Russia, but chooses Germany. He rejects
founding a “neues Sprachghetto” in Palestine, feeling drawn instead to German culture,
which he believes belongs to Jews and Christians alike by virtue of their century-long
“Mitarbeiterschaft” in its development (84-85). It is possible that Pappenheim opposed the
adoption of Modern Hebrew in Palestine because it would disadvantage women, whose
knowledge of Hebrew (due to inequities in religious education) was generally not
comparable to that of men. Pappenheim, although she was proficient in numerous foreign
languages, knew little Hebrew.
Martin's debate by allowing Martin to undermine his own argument for Yiddish as Jewish national language. Martin reasons:


The first half of his argument is poignantly convincing -- indeed, why should a Jew be ashamed of his language and attempt to conceal his Jewishness? Because Yiddish, lacking the basic accoutrements of “Kultursprachen” such as English or French (it does not even have a standard grammar), was not a suitable vehicle for Jewish national identity. Pappenheim was certainly aware that even proponents of Yiddish as a Jewish national language conceded that standardization was a prerequisite to Yiddish’s assent to the status of “Kultursprache.” Fabius Schach, for example, writes: “Der Jargon müsste geregelt, grammatikalisch geordnet und dann mit lateinischen Lettern geschrieben werden. Das wäre der einzige Weg, der diese Sprache bei den Kulturvölkern, namentlich den germanischen, mit einem Schlage populär machen würde” (188-9).^17

In “der Wunderrabbi” Pappenheim thematizes the moral dilemma accompanying the shift from Yiddish to German by an Chassidic youth. After finding a stash of German books in a sofa which had belonged to his grandfather, a great Wunderrabbi, Arjeh stays up nights secretly teaching himself to read German and devouring German classics

^17Whereas Schach advocated reforms (such as writing Yiddish in Latin letters) to broaden Yiddish’s appeal, Soviet opponents of Yiddish proposed similar “reforms” (such as spelling Hebrew origin words phonetically) in order to gradually weaken its hold.
(including Heine’s Buch der Lieder and Schiller’s Don Carlos). He gradually grows seriously ill. It is not the influence of the German classics that has made him ill but rather the moral dilemma that his obsession with this forbidden fruit has caused him (in addition, of course, to a simple lack of sleep!). Arjeh is horrified when his father catches him in the act, “Das Herz klopfte ihm bis an den Hals. Er konnte kein Laut hervorbringen und das kleine Buch [Heine] entfiel seiner Hand” (60). His confession resembles a “Geständnis eines schweren Verbrechens” (60). Arjeh is torn: on the one hand he perceives his actions as reprehensible, even sinful; on the other hand, he fails to see how something so beautiful could be sinful: “... ist es denn eine Sünde, Vater, zu lesen, was so schön ist?” (63).

Arjeh’s dilemma is amplified by the community’s expectation that he will follow in his father and grandfather’s footsteps, inheriting the gift of the Wunderrabbi. Arjeh is convinced that he will regain health if he is allowed to leave the confines of the ghetto and to fulfill the yearnings that his secular readings have awakened: “... ich kann es nicht mehr aushalten im Bethhamidrasch allein -- Vater, laß mich hinaus -- laß mich, laß mich ... Vater ich kann nicht immer nur hier in Dobricz bleiben und lernen. Die Welt muß groß sein und schön ... laßt mich fort in die große Welt -- hier bin ich krank, draußen werd’ ich gesund” (62).

I do not believe, however, that Pappenheim intended to imply that the traditional Chassidic lifestyle itself was unhealthy. If this were the case, then Arjeh would have been ill before his nocturnal readings. Rather the illness appears to be the result of being caught between two worlds, the symptoms will disappear when Arjeh ceases to resist inevitable change. Arjeh finds an unexpected ally in his father, Reb Wolf, who had known all along

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that there were secular books in the sofa, because he too had been reading them. The understanding father resolves to send his son to Vienna to be educated. While Pappenheim clearly views the exodus of younger generations from the confines of the ghetto (which is in both stories accompanied by a shift from Yiddish and Hebrew to German) as inevitable progress, she recognizes that contact with the secular necessarily brings with it alienation from traditional “naive” Jewish spirituality. In “Der Wunderrabbi” Arjeh unconsciously brushes back his sidecurls and removes his yarmulke while reading Heine, thus removing the outward markers linking him to Chassidic tradition. Reading secular books (including Voltaire, Spinoza, and Faust, which he holds in the highest esteem) renders Reb Wolf unable to fulfill his duties as a Wunderabbi. Unable to resist their appeal, he must burn the books, “die seiner gläubigen Seele die Flügel genommen und sein Herz mit Zweifeln erfüllt hatten” (65). Ironically, he must sacrifice his own secular intellectual pursuits in order to finance his son’s secular education. Another story in the same volume suggests that Pappenheim perceived the gradual alienation from strict Orthodoxy, which necessarily accompanied increased openness to secular culture, to be the lesser of two evils. In “ein Schwächling” another rabbi’s son yearns to become an artist rather than a rabbi. When his father forbids secular pursuits he rebels, runs away from home, and ultimately converts to Catholicism.

It is notable that Pappenheim’s Arjeh is drawn to secular German culture and not to secular Yiddish culture. While many young Eastern European Jews did turn their backs on the Orthodox or Chassidic traditions of their parents in favor of German or other dominant secular cultures, many others rebelled by founding a secular Yiddish culture.
Indeed, many founders and leading figures of modernist Yiddish literature hailed from backgrounds similar to Arjeḥ’s. Pappenheim was undoubtedly aware of the burgeoning secular Yiddish culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the periodicals in which her own essays appeared frequently published translations of Yiddish stories and reviewed Yiddish literature in translation. Wohlgemuth, for example, writes that a number of Yiddish authors rank among the figures of “Weltliteratur” (Mendele Moicher Sforim, Scholem Aleichem, Morris Rosenfeld, S.S. Frug, J.L. Perez, Scholem Asch, and A. Goldfaden) (“Die jüdisch-deutsche Sprache” 41). Both Wohlgemuth (“Vom alten Stamm” 217-218) and Fabius Schach (“Der deutsch-jüdische Jargon und seine Literatur” 190) urged German Jews to put aside their prejudices against Yiddish and to study Yiddish literature as a means to become acquainted with and gain appreciation for Eastern Jewry. Wohlgemuth observes in 1914 that some progress toward the acceptance of Yiddish literature had already been made: “Vor zwanzig Jahren galt diese Literatur bei den ‘echt deutschen Leuten’ unter uns Juden als ein Produkt häßlichster Sprachverderbnis, wenn nicht gar die antisemitische Bezeichnung des Mauschelns darauf angewandt wurde. Heute ertönen die Lieder in den Salons nach sehr modernen Diners” (218). He laments, however, that many German Jews were still more likely to learn Mecklenburger Platt in order to read Reuter in the original than to learn Yiddish (218). Schach objects to the widespread notion that Yiddish was merely a “Zwischenstufe ... die zu überwinden wäre, eine Leiter, um die allgemeine Kultur zu erklommen” (188). He argues that “Jargon” was not only the “gegenwärtige Volkssprache der Judenheit par excellence” but was a
“Kultursprache” (179). Although Pappenheim was certainly familiar with modern Yiddish literature via the German Jewish press and even visited the office of a major Yiddish newspaper, the Lodzer Tagblatt (Sisyphus-Arbeit 150), there is unfortunately scarcely a mention of modern secular Yiddish culture in her writings. I have found only one mention of modern Yiddish literature in her writings ("Sittlichkeitsfrage" 22), and of the visit to the office of the Lodzer Tagblatt Pappenheim remarked only that she had a good conversation with the editor, whom she liked except for his incessant sniffles (151).

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In summary: The entire range of attitudes towards Yiddish expressed in Pappenheim’s literary and other writings (from her nostalgic idealization of the Yiddish associated with revered ancestresses to her disdain toward modern Yiddish as an uneducated Jargon or ghetto Mischsprache) are situated within the broad spectrum of reactions of middle-class German Jews to the disparagement of Yiddish by anti-Semites. None of Pappenheim’s portrayals or statements were unique. What is exceptional is that Pappenheim inhabited both poles of the spectrum. Pappenheim’s seeming ambivalence towards Yiddish, her careful fence-straddling, was a result of her necessity to negotiate facets of her identity, of her self-definition, that were in her historical context seemingly irreconcilable -- she was, by her own definition, an observant German Jewess. For

18 Schach does not use the term “Kultursprache,” but he argues: “Wohlgemerkt: Es sind sieben Millionen Kulturmenschen, deren Organ diese Sprache bildet. Denn unter diesen sieben Millionen ist kaum ein Analphabet, kaum eine Person, die nicht schreiben und lesen kann” (179). If a language is spoken by “Kulturmenschen,” it stands to reason that it is a “Kultursprache.”
Pappenheim, her and other German Jews’ Germanness was rooted in their status as speakers of German. Yiddish, therefore, could not become a Jewish “national” language or even enjoy the status of language, for nation and culture resided in language (if Yiddish was a real language, then there must be a real nation that spoke it). However, Yiddish could not be entirely dismissed, because Pappenheim’s revered foremothers spoke Yiddish, indeed Yiddish was their gateway to German culture. In order to negotiate these contradictions Pappenheim had to carefully compartmentalize. Good Yiddish was Yiddish that was securely rooted in the past and bad Yiddish was the Yiddish that refused to disappear from the present. This clear separation enabled Pappenheim to idealize Yiddish speaking ancestresses (even to render translations of their literature in Mauscheln) while dismissing modern Yiddish as an uneducated “Jargon” and crusading to convert its speakers to speakers of a “Kultursprache.” This separation also explains how Pappenheim could employ Yiddish in her literary works to characterize both exceptionally negative and positive characters. Gewiera’s Yiddish, for example, by no means marks her as a negative figure. Still securely rooted in the traditions of the ghetto, Gewiera lives essentially in the past; and she does not resist inevitable “progress,” she enables her son to enter German culture, to learn the German language. Gewiera’s Yiddish is not a threat, for she is the last of a kind.
CHAPTER 3

"EVEN PALESTINE IS GOLUS AND DIASPORA": BERTHA PAPPENHEIM AS JEWISH ANTI-ZIONIST

This chapter examines Pappenheim’s treatment of Zionism in her literary and essayistic work, focusing in particular on two literary works, the drama *Tragische Momente* (1913), and the short story “Der Erlöser,” which was published in the volume *Kämpfe* (1916); her study *Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien: Reise-Eindrücke und Vorschläge zur Besserung der Verhältnisse* (1904); a collection of travel letters, *Sisyphus-Arbeit: Reiseberichte aus den Jahren 1911 und 1912* (1924); and the posthumously published essay “Die jüdische Frau” (written in 1934). Although Zionism’s popularity among German Jews increased steadily over the 30 years between Pappenheim’s earliest and latest writings on Zionism and experienced explosive growth

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1 Although the story was not published until 1916, Pappenheim wrote the piece sometime before 1911. In a letter from 14 April 1911 Pappenheim writes her colleagues that Dr. Alphonse J.S. of Constantinople, whom she describes as part Turkish-Patriot and part Zionist, reminds her of a character in her story: “Ich mußte an eine Figur in einem meiner ‘unsterblichen Werke’ denken, Sie erinnern sich vielleicht an den Journalisten in ‘Ihr Erlöser’. - Wenn es sich nicht schicken sollte, sich selbst und andere an Figuren seiner eigenen Werke zu erinnern - dann verzeihen Sie gütigst” (*Sisyphus-Arbeit* 71).
after Hitler's rise to power in 1933,² Pappenheim's generally anti-Zionist stance, as well as her specific arguments against Zionism (both in theory and in practice) remained remarkably steadfast.

Pappenheim's anti-Zionism was rooted in her unwavering belief in a German-Jewish symbiosis.³ She asserted for herself and other German Jews a "religiously Jewish" and "culturally German" identity that was clearly at odds with both the dominant German nationalist-racist discourse, which reduced Jewishness to racial terms, and the tenants of Zionism, which espoused a Jewish national and cultural identity rather than a strictly religious one. While Pappenheim clearly opposed Zionism on ideological grounds, most of her attacks were leveled not against the basic ideological tenants of Zionism but against the actions (or more often the lack thereof) of Zionists,⁴ whom she charged with a litany

² For a history of Zionism in Germany during these years and a detailed discussion of the explosive growth of the Zionist movement in Germany during the 1930s, see Stephen M. Poppel's Zionism in Germany, 1897-1933: The Shaping of a Jewish Identity.

³ Pappenheim was by no means alone in her belief in a German-Jewish symbiosis. Marion Kaplan asserts, "most German Jews believed that Jews had a place in Germany and that a German-Jewish symbiosis was possible" ("Feminism and Antisemitism in Germany, 1904-1938"). The large membership of organizations that proponed the possibility of a German-Jewish symbiosis, most notably the Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, which represented the "overwhelming majority" of German Jews (Meyer, vol. 4: 86), likewise attests to the predominance of this mindset, particularly prior to 1933. It is important to add, however, that while the majority of German Jews believed in some form of Jewish-German symbiosis, individual understandings of how this symbiosis should be realized varied immensely (see among others Enzo Traverso's The Jews and Germany, and the collections Deutschtum und Judentum: Ein Disput unter Juden aus Deutschland and Juden in Deutschland: Von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart for a sampling of the various arguments pro and contra Jewish-German symbiosis).

⁴ It is important to note that Pappenheim seldom named individual Zionist leaders in her diatribes. She likewise seldom distinguished between the myriad factions within the international and even the German Zionist movements.
of shortcomings. Pappenheim accused Zionists of dividing and weakening the Diaspora Jewish community with partisan politics and of endangering the community by inciting anti-Semitism with vocal nationalist and separatist rhetoric. She criticized the de facto division of Zionists along economic and class lines, observing that wealthy speculators who founded "luxury colonies" would scarcely welcome the truly needy, who suffered the severest persecution in Europe. She attacked the "double standard" of Zionist leaders who prescribed Hebrew language for others while raising their own children with German. She claimed that Zionists undermined the integrity of the nuclear family through the practice of collective child-rearing. Finally, she opposed Zionism's supposed areligiosity and Zionists' disinterest in social welfare issues, particularly its blindness towards white slavery and other issues affecting women.

Pappenheim was aware that she was notorious in Zionist circles as an opponent of their movement. Zionists realized, however, that Pappenheim, as a respected leader of women and authority in Jewish social work, was a force to be reckoned with. Zionists therefore frequently attempted to "convert" her, and when this failed they sought at least to ensure her support and collaboration in social work endeavors. Part of this chapter will be devoted to examining Pappenheim and the Zionists' (in particular Zionist women's) mutual love-hate relationship. Although Pappenheim was ideologically opposed to Zionism for German Jews, she believed, especially in earlier years, that Zionism could foster the rejuvenation of Eastern Jewry. In later years, she could not deny Zionism's

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5 This notion was in keeping with Herzl's and other early Zionists ideas that the impoverished Eastern Jewish masses should be the first settlers of the Jewish state. Indeed,
growing influence worldwide and in Germany, particularly in the *Jüdischer Frauenbund*, and was therefore particularly invested in keeping peace with Zionist women. While some Zionist women were indignant about Pappenheim’s harsh critiques and interference, there is ample evidence that Zionist women’s organizations were influenced by her leadership and vision in Jewish social work and freely acknowledged their indebtedness.

I will demonstrate that, although Pappenheim explicitly insisted upon the existence and desirability of a German-Jewish symbiosis (as late as 1934 Pappenheim discouraged emigration, insisting that German Jews still had a place in Germany), her actions and writings revealed the tacit acknowledgment of an at best flawed union. The very same writings that reject Zionism on the grounds that German and Jewish “cultures” had become inextricably linked undermine this assertion by revealing Pappenheim’s internalization of anti-Semitic stereotypes and her constant attempts to disassociate herself and others from negative traits attributed to Jews through overcompensation in her social work and campaigns.

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Pappenheim's chief objection to Zionism was ideological. The Zionist creed, that Jews were a distinct "Volk" or nation and should thus strive to found and settle a Jewish state, was diametrically opposed to Pappenheim's belief in a German-Jewish symbiosis. In the third and final act of Pappenheim’s 1913 drama *Tragische Momente: Drei*

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few German Zionists actually considered settlement to be a viable option for themselves. Most limited their colonization efforts to raising money for the emigration of Eastern European Jews and to support existing settlements.
Lebensbilder Schiri/Jerome (who was born in Germany to Russian pogrom refugees, emigrated with his parents to Palestine while still an infant, and returned as a young man to Germany to study agriculture) acts as a spokesperson for Pappenheim’s ideological opposition to Zionism. He explains to his father why he has chosen to build a Jewish home for himself and his future wife in Germany rather than to return to colonial Palestine:

Mit tausend Fäden fühle ich mich der Kultur verbunden, die in Westeuropa Jahrhunderte wachsend und vererbt durch die Mitarbeiterschaft von Christen und Juden der Besitz aller geworden ist. Ich brauche die Bücher, die Bilder, die Bühnen, die Zeitungen, den Kampf der Meinungen und Interessen, das Stadtgetriebe mit seinen technischen Mitteln -- ich kann nicht den Bauer spielen. (84-85)

Statements in Pappenheim’s non-fictional writings indicate that the sentiments expressed by Jerome are identical to her own. She celebrates in her 1934 essay, “Die Jüdische Frau,” the symbiosis of Jewish and German cultures in the *Jüdischer Frauenbund*, which she founded:

Aus dieser neuen Verschmelzung deutscher Kulturelemente mit jüdischem Kulturgut entstand eine geistige Substanz, die sowohl für die deutsche Frauenbewegung wie für das jüdische Leben von höchster Bedeutung wurde. [...] Aus dem deutschen wie aus dem jüdischen Frauenleben ist dieses Zusammenfließen der beiden Kulturen gar nicht fortzudenken und niemals auszulöschen. [...] Die Tendenz dieses Bundes ist durch dreißig Jahre unverändert jüdisch-religiös und deutsch-kulturell geblieben. (111)

She reiterates in a *Denkzettel* that the ideal of German-Jewish symbiosis was the very foundation of the *JFB*: “Ich glaube, eine Formel oder ein Motto für die Arbeit des Jüdischen Frauenbundes gefunden zu haben: Jüdisch-sittliche Weltmission, verwoben mit deutscher Kultur” (Jensen 184). Pappenheim rejected Zionism because of her unwavering belief in a German-Jewish symbiosis. She believed that Jewishness and Germanness had
become inseparably interwoven over time, inextricably bound by “thousands of threads.”

Because Jews and Christians had worked together to build Germany’s culture, removing Jewishness would leave an unfillable gap in German culture. The reverse held true as well: one could not expel Germanness from German Jews, being culturally German had become an indelible part of their identity as German Jews. Jerome alludes to this by grounding his affinity to Germany in books, theater, newspapers, and the debate of political issues central to both gentile and Jewish Germans.

Although Pappenheim had serious ideological/theoretical reservations against Zionism, the majority of her critiques were leveled at Zionist practice. The first of these critiques was the accusation that Zionist politics divided and weakened the Jewish community. In “Die jüdische Frau” Pappenheim refers to Zionism as a “Kerbe,” a damaging nick, in the German-Jewish community, alleging that, “...die Zionisten ... fordernd und störend auch in das deutsche Gemeindeleben eingriffen und Religion als Privatsache innerhalb der jüdischen Nation erklärtener” (113). In Tragische Momente Jerome elaborates on this objection, arguing that supplanting religious teaching with political agitation divided and weakened the Jewish community:

   Es ist Unrecht, Beunruhigung und Zwietracht in die jüdischen Gemeinden zu tragen, statt ihnen zu sagen: seid duldsam untereinander, lebt aufrecht und aufrichtig in unserem Judentum -- bekennt euch zu dem Inhalte der Lehre und laßt sie euch nicht rauben -- sie euch in fremder Form wieder darbieten -- denn unser ist die Lehre vom einigen Gott und das Gebot der Nächstenliebe -- wir haben sie den Völkern geschenkt. (84-85)

In Sisyphus-Arbeit Pappenheim expresses similar concerns. She comments on the Hamburg Jewish community: “Schwierigkeiten machen die Zionisten, die Hader und
Zwietracht in die Gemeinde bringen und besonders die Jugend verhetzen” (141).

Pappenheim observed a similar situation in Adrianopel: “... sie hetzen und sachen Unfrieden und Zwietracht zwischen die Gemeinden” (31). Rather than dividing into warring factions, Jews should, according to Pappenheim, focus on their common religious heritage, taking pride in their ancient religion that preceded and gave birth to Christian monotheism and Christian tenants of “brotherly” love.

Pappenheim's second critique of Zionist practice was that Zionists not only weakened the community from within but caused anti-Semitism by provoking non-Jews with their outspoken political demands and separatist rhetoric. In Sisyphus-Arbeit, Pappenheim repeatedly charges Zionists with either causing or aggravating anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, in Turkey and Egypt, and in Palestine. She comments on the situation in Warsaw: “Auch hier ist bei allen ruhig denkenden Juden große Klage darüber, daß die Zionisten den Antisemitismus verschärfen und die allgemeine Lage verschlimmern” (156). She reports on the situation in a small town on the border of Galicia and Russia: “In Podwolocyska selbst soll großer Antisemitismus herrschen; die polnischen Beamten sollen die Juden förmlich boykottieren; verschärft sind diese Verhältnisse durch das Auftreten und das Verhalten der Zionisten” (210). When a Lodzer clergyman told her that the recent behavior of Jews, in particular their “Abschließung” was causing “great anti-Semitism,”

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6 While Pappenheim charged Zionists in Eastern Europe and the Middle East of aggravating anti-Semitism, she did not level similar charges against German Zionists. I suspect that she refrained from making such accusations, because doing so would have amounted to an acknowledgement of the very tenuous nature of the German-Jewish symbiosis.
Pappenheim assumed that he could only be referring to Zionism (146). In Turkey, she claims that a Dr. M. informed her that the mayor of Smyrna had mistaken her for a Zionist, and that this would be detrimental to her efforts to form an Ottoman League for Combatting White Slavery. She concludes, "... Sie sehen, wie die Juden selbst es sind, die sich in der Türkei den Ast absägen, auf dem sie sitzen, wenn sie den Wühlereien der Zionisten Gehör geben" (84). She writes that a Sephardic “Gemeindevorsteher” in Alexandria had complained to her that the “Invasion” of Ashkenazic Jews, “vor allem Zionisten,” endangered Sephardic Jews in both Egypt and Turkey (130). Br. M., the leader of the Alexandria Committee for Combatting White Slavery, assured Pappenheim that the Egyptian government would soon put a stop to Zionist activities there.

Pappenheim comments: “... auch in Aegypten kennt man die taktlose Art der Askenasier, die sich immer als Herren aufspielen wollen” (134). She reports that Zionism exacerbated anti-Semitism in Turkey, because Turks suspected that Jews were plotting to annex Turkish land to create a Jewish state within Turkey:

Bezüglich des Zionismus ist zu notieren, daß er in der Türkei höchst unbeliebt ist, weil er die Ursache eines keimenden Mißtrauens der Türken gegen die Juden ist. Sie fürchten, daß die Juden ihnen irgendwo ein Stück Land wegnnehmen, "einen Staat im Staate" bilden wollen. (Sisyphus-Arbeit 43)

In Palestine she observes that “blühender Antisemitismus” had resulted in a ban of any construction by Jews in Haifa, including buildings for the Hebrew “Technikum.”

Again, she faults Zionists: "Nach meinen Beobachtungen kann ich es der türkischen Regierung nicht übelnehmen. Das haben mit ihrem Hetzen die Zionisten nur getan" (123).

In Jaffa she complains: “Unsere Glaubensgenossen gebärden sich hier leider schon so, als
ob ihnen das ganze Land gehörte: geschmacklos und unvorsichtig und unkultiviert”

(114). 7

Pappenheim objected also to the de facto division of Zionists along socio-economic lines, observing that actual settlement was frequently impossible for the most impoverished and persecuted Jews. In Tragische Momente Jerome condemns the injustice of dividing the Jewish community along economic lines:

Und, Vater, auch als Jude darf ich dem zionistischen Lockruf nicht folgen. Es ist feige mit wenigen Tausenden den Kampfplatz zu verlassen und sich in einer geschützten Ecke zusammen zu siedeln, ein neues Sprachghetto zu gründen, wohl wissend, daß nie alle und gerade die Ärmsten und Schwächsten der Juden dort keine Heimstätte finden werden. (84-85)

In Sisyphus-Arbeit Pappenheim chronicles a visit to the planter-colony Rechaboth, which she describes in pejorative terms:


She observes, as does Jerome in the above passage, that this brand of Zionism would not welcome the impoverished Jews who suffered the greatest discrimination in Europe:

7 This passage foreshadows Pappenheim's prescriptions for Jewish survival in Nazi Germany. To survive in an antagonistic dominant culture, Jews must be careful, tactful (i.e. avoid public displays of "Jewishness," or any undesired behavior that could be construed as such), and cultivated (i.e. be more than assimilated to the dominant culture -- à la the adage: step-children must be doubly good).
“Arme Leute können diese Zionisten überhaupt nicht brauchen, weil das Land den jüdischen Bauer, sofern er überhaupt existiert, nicht ernährt” (Sisyphus-Arbeit 96). 

Curiously, while Pappenheim objected to the socio-economic division of European Zionists, she did not oppose the distinct class division between European Jews and Palestinian or Yemen Jews, or between Jews and Arabs. While she observed that European Jews frequently hired Arabs or Yemen Jews (whom, she noted, were dark-skinned like the Arabs) to do heavy or undesirable work, she showed no reservations about this practice. On the contrary, she promoted these relationships as advantageous for the impoverished and purportedly technologically backward Arabs and Yemen Jews. She reports, for example, that European Jewish colonists build huts for the Yemener, “die gegen die heimischen Erdhöhlen einen großen Fortschritt bedeuten,” and that they are considerably better off financially in the employ of Europeans than they were in Yemen (Sisyphus-Arbeit 97). She contends that Arabs, whose agricultural practice was presumably primitive, benefited from the presence of Jews: “Sie verdienen viel durch die Juden und lernen auch für ihre Landarbeit” (99). Although the colonists in Tragische Momente are not wealthy planters such as those Pappenheim visited in Rechaboth (they arrived in Palestine with very modest means, Uri recalls how he and Fella themselves

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8 Pappenheim was aware that not all colonies were like Rechaboth. At the insistence of an acquaintance who stressed that Rechaboth was a “reiche, eine Kapitalisten- oder Pflanzungskolonie” not typical of most settlements, she visited Ekron and Katra, “wirkliche Arbeits- respektive Ackerbaukolonien”, where Jews themselves labored (Sisyphus-Arbeit 99).
labored to plant their own orange grove, sapling for sapling), they do employ both
Yemenite Jews and Arabs as servants. There is also some indication that they view Arabs
as sub-human. Hadassa reports an encounter with Bedouins: “Vor einer Stunde hab’ ich
ein ganzes Rudel von ihnen friedlich rauchend unter den Kaktushecken liegen gesehen”
(69). The term “Rudel,” (pack) generally refers to groups of wild animals, such as wolves,
deer, or wild dogs. When the colony alarm sounds, signaling an Arab attack, Uri arms
himself not only with a revolver but with a whip (stage directions indicate that he has a
pile of whips and clubs in the corner), again evoking the sense that Arabs are viewed as
animals. Although Pappenheim, as I have demonstrated above, viewed Arabs and Middle
Eastern Jews to be developmentally inferior (in respect to technology, standard of living,
in short the various building-blocks of "civilization") to Europeans, she disapproved of the
brand of chauvinism, which reduced them to sub-human status. She was critical of the
Zionist practice of occupying or “buying” supposedly ownerless or unoccupied lands,
which were traditionally the grazing grounds of indigenous nomads. The attack in
Tragische Momente was the direct result of Uri’s purchase of land that the Bedouins
claimed could not rightfully be sold, because it had “always” been their pasture. Uri even
concedes that he did not buy the property from the “Regierung” but from the “Palästina-
Amt,” presumably a non-governmental Zionist agency (69-70). While it was acceptable,
in Pappenheim’s view, to employ Arabs and Middle-Eastern Jews as laborers (as this

\[9\] According to Michael Berkowitz, many Zionists, however, objected to the use of Arab
laborers as antithetical to the Zionist assertion that "Jews would become the working class
of Palestine" (Zionist Culture 148).
relationship was mutually beneficial) it was not only not acceptable, but dangerous, to overlook their legitimate claim to their homeland.10

There is evidence that Pappenheim’s skepticism of Zionism also stemmed from her knowledge of the physical hardships faced by female colonists, in particular, especially in colonies where colonists did not delegate hard labor to hired workers. She alludes to this in Tragische Momente. Uri commemorates his wife, who is absent after Act 2, in a single sentence: “Die schwere Arbeit der ersten Kolonistenjahre hatte ihre Gesundheit untergraben, das Fieber ihre Kräfte aufgezehrt” (80). Despite its brevity, this single sentence reveals Pappenheim’s acquaintance with the hardships endured by early female settlers. In addition to her visits to colonies, Pappenheim doubtless heard accounts of colonial life in Palestine from Zionist acquaintances in the JFB. The conditions depicted in Act 3 of Tragische Momente resemble those in Rachel Katzenelson-Rubashow’s anthology, The Plough Woman: Records of the Pioneer Women of Palestine. These autobiographical and commemorative texts illustrate the harsh realities of pioneer life as Fella likely experienced it.11 These women recount bouts with yellow fever, encounters with scorpions, exhausting physical labor, hunger, primitive living conditions, and the necessity

10 Michael Berkowitz explains that Zionists generally sought to obscure the presence of Arabs in Palestine: "The Zionist view of Palestine showed Jews to be operating in a cultural void, that is, in a space where the indigenous population had not created a society with a unique character, discernible to European eyes. Predictably it was often reported that the Jews of Palestine were at a higher stage of morality, culture, and education than the Arabs [...] Overall, the message that Arabs in Palestine presented an obstacle to mass Jewish settlement was rarely articulated" (Zionist Culture 147).

11 This volume was written by Socialist Zionists, but the conditions described by these women resembled in many ways those faced by non-Socialist colonists of modest means.
of the *Shomrim* (Jewish guards) to protect against Arab raids and theft. Despite her awareness of the physical hardships faced by female colonists, Pappenheim nonetheless criticized women who did not live up to her very exacting standards. She complained, for example, that households in Ekron and Katra were very sloppily run, although she knew these were colonies in which the Jewish colonists did not hire Arabs or Yemen Jews, and women therefore faced multiple burdens: assisting their husbands in the fields, as well as keeping house and rearing children without European conveniences (*Sisyphus-Arbeit* 99). Her high expectations of Jewish women in Palestine were not unlike those to which she held middle-class German-Jewish women. For them too she espoused a double burden, insisting that if women were more efficient, they could maintain a spotless household, be loving wives and nurturing mothers, and find time for a career or outside volunteer work (Kaplan, *Jewish Feminist Movement* 65, 71-72). Many Zionist women’s leaders also promoted a super-woman complex. Helene Hanna Thon, for whom Pappenheim was a role-model, advocates in a 1925 essay, “Frauenarbeit in Palästina,” a similar double burden, suggesting that female colonists, although they were already overwhelmed by the difficulties of house-keeping and child-rearing under the primitive conditions in Palestine, should strive to institute social welfare and educational programs, because their overworked husbands had no time to do so. Like many other feminists, she believed that such zealous overachievement would prove women’s entitlement to equal rights.

In *Sisyphus-Arbeit* Pappenheim further criticizes the double standard of the German Zionist elite in Palestine who failed to practice what they preach, namely the institution of Hebrew as the Jewish national language. She elaborates: “Bodenkauf,
Unbildung und hebräische Sprache für die Andern, - Freie Berufe, alle

Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten der Schulbildung und der Sprachkenntnisse für sie selbst’

(120). She criticizes a Frau Dr. R.: “Sie hat zwei Kinder adoptiert, die sie, trotz ihrer
zionistischen Ideale für die Kinder anderer Leute, eigentlich deutsch erzieht. Von
hebräisch als Umgangssprache keine Spur!” (33). The following remarks indicate that
Pappenheim disapproved not only of the hypocrisy of this practice but strongly opposed
the introduction of Hebrew as the Jewish national language: “Er hat ein Kind, das
natürlich deutsch und nicht hebräisch als Haus- und Muttersprache lernt, den Wahnsinn
verlangen die Führer nur für die Kinder der (An)geführten” (73). 12

In general Pappenheim proponed the use or at least mastery of the majority
language to ensure the economic security of younger Jews who may not find work within
the Jewish community. According to Pappenheim the Jewish school should bear the
responsibility of instructing both male and female students in the majority language
(Sisyphus-Arbeit 36). Jerome’s disdain for a “Sprachghetto” clearly reflects Pappenheim’s
own opinions. In “Der Erlöser” Wolf also serves as Pappenheim’s spokesperson when he

12 See chapter 2, “The Emergence of Hebrew and Dissent” in Berkowitz’s Zionist Culture
and West European Jewry Before the First World War for a discussion on the Zionist
language and culture debates. Pappenheim was apparently quite familiar with the
proceedings of the first international Zionist congresses. In “Die jüdische Frau”
Pappenheim writes that she attended both a Zionist congress in Vienna and a
“Versammlung” in Karlsbad (113). In fact, one frequently gets the impression that
Pappenheim devoted a great deal of time and effort (not to mention money, she funded the
extensive Sisyphus-Arbeit travels herself) to researching Zionism. In Sisyphus-Arbeit she
admits: “Für mich und meine Reisezwecke sind sie [diese Zionisten-Abhandlungen]
wichtig” (73). Arriving in Palestine, she reports that the object of this leg of her journey
was to observe Zionism “up close” (96).
offers his opinion on the debate between “Jargonisten” and “Hebräisten” at the international Zionist congress in Basel. Wolf’s friend Martin advocates a Jewish national language: “Wir Zionisten...müssen aber den größten Wert darauf legen, unsere, die ureigenste Sprachen unseres Volkes entweder zu beleben wie das rein Hebräische, oder zu erhalten wie den Jargon” (25). Wolf insists that it is more practical to learn a “lebende Kultursprache,” the majority language (25). Pappenheim praises a Jewish Turkish Youth Group that privileges the adoption of not only the majority language but also the majority culture, even Turkish patriotism over Zionist seclusion:

Ein Klub von etwa 400 Mitgliedern, jungtürkische Juden, die, wenn sie es noch nicht sind, noch ein guter Mittelpunkt fortschrittlicher jüdischer Kultur ohne Zionismus werden....Dieser Klub ist so klug, fortschrittlich und patriotisch zu sein, er schickt Kinder in die türkischen Schulen, hat türkische Ehrenmitglieder, kurz, er tut alles, was die Juden in Respekt setzt und sie kultiviert. (Sisyphus-Arbeit 45)\(^{13}\)

She chastizes Jews in Turkey who failed to assimilate, namely Polish Jews who attempted to preserve their imported culture:

Was an Kultur da ist, ist nicht im Lande entstanden und darum falsch und mißverstanden und nimmt oft garstige Formen an....Was ich an Musik gehört habe, ich meine so von natürlichem Singen, klingt ähnlich, wie die türkische Schrift aussieht, ein Geschnörkel und Ziehen von Tönen, wie sie der polnisch-jüdische Ritus mitgebracht und konserviert hat. (Sisyphus-Arbeit 49)

Pappenheim was also highly critical of ‘Zionists’ supposed disrespect for the integrity of the nuclear family. She writes in “Die jüdische Frau”:

\(^{13}\) Dagmar Lorenz notes that the existence of Jewish Young Turks is very curious, as the Turkish nationalist Young Turks were the instigators of the genocide of Armenians and were also not particularly well-inclined towards Jews (personal communication).
Hoffentlich wird man im jüdischen Palästina auch bald zu der Erkenntnis kommen, daß kollektivistische Zeugung und Kinderaufzug keine aussichtsreiche Basis für den Bestand einer Nation sind .... Kindergarten und Kinderkrippe sind Surrogate, die eine gesunde Familie nicht gebrauchen soll; sie dürfen auch nicht als Erwerbsinstitute propagiert werden. (114)

In *Sisyphus-Arbeit* she criticizes Zionist “Kindergärten” in Palestine: “die Kindergärten sind eine pädagogische Lüge und sie zerstören die Familie, sie sind überflüssig” (215). She also disapproves strongly of a male-only colony, arguing that the absence of women precluded the formation of a family structure and promoted a damagingly immoral lifestyle. She writes:

> eine Nur-Männerfarm, Kinereth (?) ist wirtschaftlich und moralisch ungesund und verwerflich: wirtschaftlich, weil man ohne Frau keine produktive oder rentable Kolonisation und Landwirtschaft betreiben kann, und moralisch, weil die auf der Farm lebenden jungen Russen sexuell weder abstinent leben wollen, noch sollen, noch können, also tragen sie die Prostitution unter die in Palästina ansässigen Frauen, oder sie nehmen andere schlechte Lebensgewohnheiten an. (215)

This passage raises a number of issues. Pappenheim found a male-only community unviable, although she herself created and led more than one all-female community, the most notable of these being the *JFB* home for endangered girls in Isenburg. This female-only venture was hotly contested by some male Jewish authorities, largely on moral grounds: illegitimate children and unwed mothers were a non-issue for traditional Jews (Jensen 65). While Pappenheim disapproved of Kinereth, because an all-male community could not replicate a family setting, she strove at Isenburg to create a family-like atmosphere in a purposely all-female community. Whereas she expected the young women at Isenburg to lead a morally unreprehensible life (i.e., to practice abstinence until they
married) in spite of their past mistakes and herself remained single throughout her life, she insisted that was undesirable, even impossible for young men to do the same. (At least for young Russian men. By inserting the identifier "Russian" at precisely this point, Pappenheim suggests that Russian Jewish men in particular were unable to control their sexual drives -- and were thus a male counterpart to her “hotblooded” Eastern Jewess. See “Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage” 22). A male-only community would inevitably result, according to Pappenheim, in either a growth in prostitution or in the adoption of “andere schlechte Lebensgewohnheiten.” As prostitution and abstinence have already been accounted for, one can assume that she is referring here to either homosexuality and/or masturbation. Pappenheim’s insistence that the presence of women was indispensable for an economically feasible colonization effort, reiterates on the one hand the traditionalist view of the patriarchal family as the foundation of a secure economic system, and on the other hand uplifts the status of women by emphasizing the vital importance of woman’s role -- the colony will fail without her contribution. While Pappenheim did not redefine woman’s traditional role in the family or in the work force, she revalued the status of this traditional “women’s work.”

In addition to the arguments introduced above, Pappenheim’s disappointment in Zionism stemmed also from its alleged disinterest in women’s issues and its official areligious stance. She writes in 1934:

Zionismus ist eine rein politische Bewegung, die mit sozialen und religiösen Dingen nicht zu verquicken sei; Mädchenhandel gibt es nicht; Prostitution ist eine internationale Notwendigkeit; Geschlechtskrankheit ist persönliches Pech, und was ähnliche Argumente mehr waren. Alles kulturlös: Formen, Ton, Rücksichtslosigkeit, Pietätlosigkeit in allen Lebensäußerungen... (113)
She laments that Rechaboth is a “sehr ‘vorgeschrittene’, also nicht fromme Kolonie,” whose synagogue would surely stand empty as soon as the older inhabitants pass away (Sisyphus-Arbeit 99). She was disappointed by her visit to Jerusalem, complaining that resident Zionists knew less about Jerusalem’s holy sites than Christian tourists, and that she saw only “Berufsbettler, die sich auch streiten und zanken” at the Wailing Wall (110). Pappenheim also alludes to Zionism’s areligiosity in the second act of Tragische Momente, in which Uri and Fella sell (albeit very reluctantly) a Sepher-Thora with costly silver ornaments to finance their emigration to Palestine. The scroll, which had been rescued in Russia by an elderly man who hid with it for three days under a pile of hay in a horse-stall, represents the steadfast loyalty of Jews to their millenia-old religion, even amidst the greatest adversity and threat of physical danger (57-60). Uri’s sale of the scroll to emigrate to Palestine underscores Pappenheim’s charge that the Zionist focus on a Jewish nation supplanted their devotion to their Jewish religion (83-84). In the final act, Jerome presents to his father the very same Torah scroll, which he had tracked down and re-purchased. Notably, Jerome’s reclamation of the Torah scroll

\[14\] While Pappenheim complained of the areligiosity of the majority of Zionists, she seems equally unimpressed by the Orthodox factions of the Zionist movement. She calls Tachkemoni-Schule, an Orthodox school, “eine grauenhafte Institution,” and cautions that it would be a disgrace for Germans to donate even a penny toward its operation (127).

\[15\] Reb Jahiel, who rescued the scroll, entrusted it to Uri with the words, “... wie du sie schützest, wird sie dich schützen und sie soll werden der Grundstein für ein jüdisches Haus, für dein Haus” (58-59), a sentiment very much in tune with Pappenheim’s belief that the Jewish family should be firmly grounded in Jewish religious tradition. Both Uri and Fella are therefore loath to part with it and do so only because the alternative would be the
coincides with his rebellion against his parents’ Zionist ideals, his decision to return to Germany.

In Sisyphus-Arbeit, Pappenheim complains repeatedly of the apathy of Zionists towards social and women’s issues, especially prostitution and white slavery. In Philippopel, for example, she learned of a female white slave trader with international business who remained a respected member of the community, in fact was considered a “Wohltäterin der Gemeinde.” Pappenheim reports, “Die Zionisten behaupten, daß sie solche Sachen nichts angehen!” (34). She reports a similar experience in Jaffa: “Ich frage warum die Zionisten sich nicht mit der Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels und der Tuberkulose beschäftigen; das ginge sie nichts an, sagte Dr. Ruppin” (97).

Pappenheim alludes to Zionism’s supposed areligiosity and disinterest in white slavery and prostitution in her story “Der Erlöser.” After attending a Zionist Congress in Basel, Wolf interrupts his work on a bust of Herzl to sculpt a piece representing “…das vom Schlaf zum vollen Bewußtsein erwachende Weib, das erwachende Israel … als Verkörperung des Herzl’schen Gedankens…” (32). Michael Berkowitz explains that portrayals of a female “Zion” were very popular. The Viennese sculptor Friedrich Beer crafted a female Zion that was issued on a commemorative medal at both the First and Second Zionist Congresses. According to Berkowitz the female “Zion”, which often resembled Germania, Britannia, and Marianne, appeared on numerous widely distributed postcards (Berkowitz Zionist Culture 121-122). Her popularity, however, was shortlived: deportation to Russia, where Uri would be imprisoned or executed for the murder of a pogrom instigator.
"The generic female symbol, as an agent of change from the wretched Jewish past to the happy, healthy future, did not persist past 1914 as a Zionist motif, possibly due to its lack of grounding in Jewish mythology" (Berkowitz Zionist Culture 122). It is possible that Pappenheim’s exceedingly unflattering portrayal of a female Zion in "der Erlöser" contributed to Lady Zion’s early demise in Zionist art, for the model for Wolf’s Zion is Reisle, a prostitute and convert to Catholicism. By using Reisle as the model for the Zionist ideal, Pappenheim seeks to expose three shortcomings of Zionism. The first of these is Zionism’s supposed areligiosity. Reisle’s youthful conversion to Catholicism, as well as numerous relapses after she had supposedly returned to Judaism, were motivated by purely materialistic advantages rather than religious conviction. While she models for Wolf, she admits to him that she has absolutely no understanding of Judaism, and that she thinks of her Jewishness only when it becomes "bothersome" (34). Ironically, Wolf’s Zion wears not a symbol of Judaism around her neck but one of Christianity. While she models for Wolf, a delicate silver chain is visible in her décolleté. She later shows Wolf that the chain held a gem-studded cross, which was not a sign of her Christian piety but a reward for returning to Muhme Rifke’s (a Jewish bordello proprietress) service.

Wolf’s choice of Reisle as a model for Zion signifies secondly Zionism’s blindness towards social issues such as white slavery and prostitution. Although Wolf is aware that Reisle was a prostitute in the past, and suspects that Muhme Rifke’s second-hand store could scarcely support both her and Reisle, Wolf remains oblivious to the possibility that Reisle could remain unreformed. He is finally tipped off by Martin, a dedicated Zionist, who knows of Reisle’s nocturnal occupations not because he is combating prostitution but
because he frequents the bordello. Finally, the choice of Reisle as a model for Zion is also
a critique of Diaspora Zionism’s "blindered" forward-orientation -- the tendency to
espouse future migration to Palestine without taking measures in the present to prepare
Jews for successful colonisation. In “Ein Besuch aus Frankfurt: Eine Erwiderung” (1903)
and in Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien (1904) Pappenheim criticizes
Zionists for focusing their attentions on the lofty goal of founding a Jewish nation in
Palestine, without taking into account that as yet “uneducated” and “immoral” Galicians
lacking in a work-etic would require extensive preparation before they could become the
bedrock of a “nation among nations”:

Wohl wäre es schön, dem jüdischen Volke ein Land zu geben. Aber wie das
Volk heute beschaffen ist, kann es noch nicht als Nation leben, es kann noch
nicht arbeiten, und es ist noch nicht reif genug, einzusehen, was es lernen muß
[...] Die Zionisten sind schlechte Bauleute. Ihre Luftschlösser sind Hochbauten
ohne Tiefbau [...] Wie fasziniert starren sie auf das Ziel “ein eigenes Land” und
vergessen darüber den Weg: “Erziehung des Volkes”. Der Weg führt über
Kleinarbeit, und Kleinarbeit wird von den Zionisten verachtet. (Zur Lage 43-
44)

According to Pappenheim, Zionists disregarded the “heilige Kleinarbeit,” which she held in
such high esteem throughout her career. In “Der Erlöser” Wolf’s dreams of possessing
Reisle in marriage stand in for the Zionist dream of colonizing Palestine. Blinded by
visions of marital bliss, Wolf fails to recognize that Reisle is as yet morally unfit to fulfill
his expectations of the ideal Jewish wife and mother, much in the same way that Galicians
were, according to Pappenheim, not ready to become the founders of Zion. While he does
arrange for Reisle to learn “einen ordentlichen Haushalt” from his Christian(!) landlady, he
makes no provisions for her moral and religious education. He naively assures Martin:

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“Und wenn sie einmal meine Frau ist, dann wird sie auch als Jüdin sein, was ich von ihr erwartete” (40).

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As early as 1903, Pappenheim had already gained notoriety as an “Anti-Zionist.” Following her 1903 travels in Galicia under the aegis of the Frankfurter Israelitischen Hilfsverein and the Jüdischen Zweigkomite zur Bekämpfung des Mädchennahendes, Rosa Pomeranz, a Zionist women’s leader with whom Pappenheim met in Tarnopol, reported in the Zionist journal Die Welt that Pappenheim was a “Sprachrohr der Antizionisten,” that both she and her traveling companion Dr. Sara Rabinowitz were “unversöhnliche Feindinnen der zionistischen Idee und Bewegung,” and as such little more than a “Sprachrohr der westlichen, hohen Gönner des elenden östlichen Judentums,” in particular of “rich Frankfurt Jews” (4-5). Upon learning of these charges against her Pappenheim issued a response, which Die Welt printed two weeks later. Pappenheim denied being an “irreconcilable enemy” of Zionism and strongly resented the suggestion that she was anyone’s puppet: “Ich bin ein freier Mensch und bemühe mich, mir über soziale Ereignisse und Strömungen ein eigenes Urteil zu bilden” (15). This accusation insulted Pappenheim so deeply that she chose to finance her next “Studienreise,” her Sisyphus-Arbeit travels of 1911-12, out of her own pocket, explaining: “Unendlich wichtig ist, daß ich in Niemandes Auftrag reise” (Sisyphus-Arbeit 73). She further assures her colleagues that she intended to keep an open mind in Palestine -- she would merely take notes, avoiding premature conclusions. On this trip, however, Pappenheim’s reputation as an anti-Zionist preceded her. In Jaffa, she was even told that a rumor was circulating that she was an
“Antizionistin,” who had written her report before arriving in Palestine, planning to simply publish it upon her return (128). Nonetheless, Zionist leaders appear to have been very eager to meet with her. Indeed, she reports that, when she was slow to make the rounds in Constantinople, Zionists charged a representative with investigating why she had not yet sought out “die zionistischen Größen” (70). Despite her attempts to travel “Incognito,” she was informed upon her arrival in Jaffa that she had been expected in Jerusalem three weeks earlier, and that her itinerary had already been planned for her (94).

Although Pappenheim vigourously resisted being labeled an Antizionist by Zionists, she jokingly embraced the label in one of 5 “selbstverfassê Nachrufe,” which she composed in 1934. Her vision of how her own obituary might appear in the Jüdische Rundschau, the Zionist weekly that in 1925 ran Anitta Müller-Cohn’s (an Austrian Zionist women’s leader) review of Sisyphus-Arbeit, which was entitled “Eine Antizionistin über Palästina” reads:

Eine eifrige, alte Gegnerin unserer Bewegung, der dennoch jüdisches Bewuβtsein und Kraft nicht abzusprechen sind. Wo sie deutsch zu sein glaubte, war sie doch nur eine Assimilantin. Schade! ("Selbstverfaßte Nachrufe 28)

This “obituary” reveals that Pappenheim was aware of Zionists’ respect for her despite their ideological differences, and despite her frequent public criticism of Zionist practice. There is ample evidence that this love-hate relationship was mutual. Although Pappenheim was opposed to Zionism for German Jews and in countries, where she believed Jews were sufficiently well-integrated into and well-tolerated by the majority population (Sisyphus-Arbeit 31), Pappenheim initially believed that Zionism, correctly
implemented, would prove a salvation for persecuted Eastern Jews. In Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien she concedes, “... wenn die Zionisten hielten, was der Zionismus verspricht, wäre er ein Segen für das jüdische Volk” (43). 30 years later, in “Die Jüdische Frau,” she laments, however, that her original hope that, “der angewandte Zionismus zu einer Regeneration [of Eastern Jews] helfen [würde],” was not fulfilled (113).

Despite her disappointment in both Zionism and Zionists, Pappenheim was cognizant of Zionist influence and power in the Jewish world and therefore strove to keep at least a degree of peace with Zionists in order to continue collaboration. In 1933, for example, Pappenheim refused to allow her colleagues to stage a production of Tragische Momente at a JFB meeting, because she knew it would offend the Zionists in attendance. She joked: “Das ist natürlich eine gute Note für das Stück aber ich rate selbst nicht dazu bei einer Delegiertenversammlung wie die bevorstehende, Sprengstoff zwischen die Weiblein zu streuen” (letter to Frau Cramer, 9 Jan. 1933). Elfride Bergel-Gronemann, who admitted long being too cowardly to personally make Pappenheim’s acquaintance, recalls an incident in which she and Pappenheim had a heated argument concerning the Jugend-Aliah at the 1933 Gesamtvorstandssitzung des JFB. After losing the argument, Pappenheim immediately sought reconciliation: “... da geschah etwas Wundervolles. Bertha Pappenheim kam durch die ganze Breite des Saales mit ausgestreckten Händen auf mich zu und sagte in ihrer ziselierten Redeweise: ‘Um des Scholaums willen -- Schalom’” (6).
Pappenheim also never hesitated to give Zionists credit for their successes in social welfare work. In Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien Pappenheim praises a Zionist Reformcheder, Zionist reading clubs and libraries, and the “Pflege der Geselligkeit” fostered by Zionist organizations, which she believed would promote “gesellschaftlichen Anstand” and the development of good manners (45). In Sisyphus-Arbeit Pappenheim frequently applauds Zionist projects that reflected her own social work principles. In Warsaw, for example, she praises the Zionist director of the “Mädchenabteilung”: “Sie scheint sehr tüchtig und hat viele Erfahrungen und Erfolge” (159). She also lauds several aspects of the work at the Bezalel Art Institute (103), a Zionist and Hilfsverein orphanage for girls in Jerusalem (107), efforts of Jaffa workers to form a committee for combating white slavery (113), the Leimel-Schule in Jerusalem (109), and the Odessaer Komite Mädchenschule (127).

In her 1925 review of Sisyphus-Arbeit, “Eine Antizionistin über Palästina,” Anitta Müller-Cohen accuses Pappenheim of a variety of transgressions: allowing her observations to be colored by “Parteienhaft,” advocating Vogel Strauß politics vis-à-vis the non-Jewish world, Jewish anti-Semitism (in particular in her accusations that Zionist agitation aggravated anti-Semitism, and in her descriptions of Eastern Jews). Müller-Cohen concludes that, despite Pappenheim’s intent to disparage Zionists, her book nonetheless served to highlight Zionism’s many “Vorzüge.” She elaborates:

Ein Reisender, der darauf ausgeht, die jüdische Welt zu sehen, und immer wieder und überall, wo nur jüdisches Leben pulsirt, Zionisten trifft, ist ein recht deutlicher Zeuge dafür, welche Bedeutung der Zionismus in allen Siedlungen besitzt. Sind die Zionisten ganz böse Leute -- und nach der Ansicht des Frl. Pappenheim sind sie es ganz gewiß -- so sind sie dennoch überall dort zu finden, wo im Interesse des Judentums gearbeitet wird. [...] Bertha
Pappenheim ist eine wertvolle Kämpferin; sie soll es einsehen, daß sie sich nicht gegen geschichtliche Kräfte auflehnen kann (131).

I would argue, however, that Pappenheim undertook her Sisyphus-Arbeit studies of Zionism precisely because she did realize that it was futile to resist the growth of Zionism among Jews in Eastern Europe and the Middle East; and that if she wished to play an active role in Jewish education and Jewish social work programs in these regions, she would have to cooperate with the largest and most influential Jewish organizations there, namely the Zionist ones, regardless of the fact that she did not subscribe to their Jewish nationalist program. Her harsh critiques of Zionists are by no means evidence of an unwillingness to cooperate with Zionists in achieving common goals. On the contrary, many of Pappenheim’s most scathing attacks were aimed at groups with which she identified, precisely because her expectations of them and invested efforts in them were so great. True to her motto -- “Niemand darf still bleiben, der weiß, daß irgendwo ein Unrecht geschieht -- nicht Geschlecht, nicht Alter, nicht Konfession, noch Partei dürfen ein Grund sein zu schweigen. Von Unrecht wissen und schweigen, macht mitschuldig,” (Sisyphus-Arbeit prologue) -- Pappenheim simply did not mince words.

Pappenheim's actions further testify to her willingness to cooperate with Zionists. Already in 1904 she advocated collaboration with Zionists in Galicia, because she had concluded that Zionist organizations there were “Sammelpunkte der strebsameren Elemente” (62). During her Sisyphus-Arbeit travels, too, she did not merely deride Zionist efforts but offered constructive advice and promised continued support. Her report on the
Bezalel Art Institute in Jerusalem\textsuperscript{16} is typical both of Pappenheim’s frank assessments of Zionist institutions and of her spontaneous efforts to affect positive change. Pappenheim lists both the successes and the shortcomings of the institute. On the one hand: the institute was very good both pedagogically and organizationally, the lace-making school was good in principle and well-run, and the museum would serve the noble purpose of developing the good taste of both teachers and students. On the other hand: the institute was artistically “grauenhaft,”\textsuperscript{17} and both the carpet-making school and the lace-making school relied on child labor. Pappenheim, who made lace herself and was an avid collector (she bequeathed her extensive collection of antique lace, some of which was collected during her travels, to the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna), immediately began devising plans to improve the lace-making school: “... um die Technik auszubilden, Abwechslung in die höchst langweiligen Muster zu bringen, kurz die Sache zu veredeln und kunsttechnisch auf eine Höhe zu bringen” (103). She further promised the director that she would “go all out” to help the lace-making school, providing they would stop trying to win her over for Zionism (103-104). In short: rather than trying to undermine Zionist social work projects, Pappenheim resolved to put ideological differences aside in order to at least influence Zionist projects in her “Geist.”

\textsuperscript{16}See Berkowitz’s **Zionist Culture** (139-142) for a description of Bezalel’s programs and wide-reaching influence.

\textsuperscript{17}Once again, Pappenheim does not strive for tact. She calls the carpets “tacky” and dismisses the olive wood carpentry workshop humorously: “... die Olivenschreinerei -- fast hätte mich der Schreibfehlerteufel zu einem unhöflichen Wort verführt -- produziert ‘Andenken’ der letzten Kategorie” (103).
There is ample evidence that Pappenheim’s persistent attempts to influence Zionist
social work efforts bore fruit. Pappenheim believed initially that one of the Zionist
movement’s positive elements was its effort to enlist the involvement of women (Zur Lage
44).¹⁸ She noted with great satisfaction that women landowners in Rechaboth could vote

¹⁸Thirty years later she tempered her praise, writing: “Ich konnte beobachten, daß die
Frauen von den zionistischen Männern nur sehr zögernd und in Sonderbezirken zugelassen
wurden (hauptsächlich zu Geldsammlungen), daß die zionistischen Frauenorganisationen
geistig und geldlich sich in absoluter Abhängigkeit nur langsam und unselbständig
entwickelten” (“Die Jüdische Frau” 113-114). In a 1920 article in Der Jude, “Die Frau in
der zionistischen Bewegung,” Helene Hanna Cohn blames not men but women for
women’s marginal position in Zionism. She claims that, while women were receptive to
the Zionist program, they were not productive contributors to it: “Da ist keine Frau, die
nachweislich dem Zionismus einen neuen Gedanken zugefügt hat […] keiner Frau gelang
eine nennenswerte wissenschaftliche oder künstlerische Tat” (533). She contends that,
while men have been accused of excluding women from leadership positions, “in
Wirklichkeit” women have simply not taken advantage of the equal rights that the
organization had granted them since the beginning (534). Aware that her opening words
might appear misogynist, Cohn explains that she subscribed to the premise that “die
Eigenart des Mannes und diejenige der Frau von Grund auf verschieden sind,” and women
should therefore not judge themselves by male standards (534). This serves as an
introduction to her main argument that women should carve out their own niche in
Zionism, namely the one they are most suited for, social welfare work and the education
of women (ideally to their “natural” profession of wife and mother). If women succeeded
in doing so, then they would achieve equality “nicht nur auf dem Papier, sondern in
Wirklichkeit” (537). See Berkowitz’s “Transcending ‘Tzimmes and Sweetness’: Recoving the History of Zionist Women in Central and Western Europe, 1897-1933” for
a history of women’s involvement in the Zionist movement. Berkowitz observes that
women are virtually “invisible” in most Zionist histories largely because Zionism was a
“predominantly and self-consciously” male affair, invested in the creation of “manly men”
who would found a Jewish nation (41-43). He notes that women, though officially
welcome, were “decidedly lower-rank citizens” and rarely rose to leadership positions in
the World Zionist Organization (45). Berkowitz suggests that women’s invisibility in
official histories of Zionism stemmed also from the nature of their involvement. They
generally did not attempt to dominate spheres traditionally inhabited by Jewish men but
carved out their own, separate niche in social welfare work (44, 55). Berkowitz notes, as I
also will demonstrate, that Zionist women’s organizations were indebted to the Jewish
women’s movement in Germany, particularly the examples of the JFB (48).
in communal elections and could even be elected to the “Waad” (98). She was particularly invested, therefore, in recruiting Zionist women to her social causes. Although some Zionist women initially resented Pappenheim’s meddling (Rosa Pomeranz, for example, dismissed Pappenheim’s suggestions that Galician Jews were not yet ready for the actual colonization of Palestine, and that Galician Zionists should for the time being focus their attentions on educational programs at home to prepare them for emigration, with the trite response that all that such programs accomplished was to ensure that only “gebildete jüdische Frauen” and not illiterate ones were murdered in pogroms (5)) Zionist women’s organizations eventually followed her example. Even Rosa Pomeranz (later Melzer) eventually led the Jüdischer Frauenbund für Galizien und Bukowina, which dedicated itself to the sort of Pappenheimian Kleinarbeit that Pomeranz had derided in 1904 -- the Galician JFB planned to open a girl’s boarding school, and listed the education of young people among its chief occupations (“Zionistische Frauenarbeit” 938).

Zionist women’s great respect for Pappenheim, despite her fervent opposition to their ideological program, is exemplified by two eulogies written by Zionist women for the Blätter des Jüdischen Frauenbundes. Bergel-Gronemann recalls a number of heated disputes between Pappenheim and Zionist women, but insists, “Freunde und Gegner sind sich einig in der Trauer über den Heimgang dieser seltenen Frau” (6). She closes her essay: “Denn diese Frau war eine echte Führerin. Noch im Irrtum groß und beispielgebend durch die unbeirrbare Treue zu dem, was sie als Recht erkannt hatte” (7). Helene Hanna Thon’s essay “Ihr Bild auf meinem Schreibtisch” (Thon kept a picture of her role-model Pappenheim on her desk for inspiration, as Pappenheim kept a picture of English feminist
Mary Wollstonecraft at hers) describes Pappenheim’s strength and integrity in glowing terms, observing that something about her was reminiscent of the prophets (38). Thon does not deny Pappenheim’s opposition to Zionist ideals, and even criticizes Pappenheim for judging Zionists by unrealistic standards, but she insists that Pappenheim nonetheless influenced the work of Zionist women:


Helene Hanna Thon’s article in the Judeische Rundschau, “Frauenarbeit in Palästina,” illustrates to what great extent the programs of the Zionist women’s organizations were patterned after Pappenheim’s example. The article appeared in December 1925, after the publication of Sisyphus-Arbeit and after Müller-Cohen’s review in the same newspaper. Thus, it is quite possible that Thon is reacting to Pappenheim’s assessment of what social needs remain unmet in Palestine. Thon argues that, rather than holding out for future equality for women in Palestine, Zionist women should focus their attentions on a vitally important area that both appeals to their “weiblichen Eigenart” and has been largely neglected by Zionist men, namely the “Volkswohlfahrt,” which she defines as, “die Fürsorge für die schwachen Volkselemente [...] für Kranke, Sieche,

A large number of the prospective programs outlined by Thon appear to be responses to problems addressed in Pappenheim in *Sisyphus-Arbeit*, and many seem to be patterned after the projects of Pappenheim’s Frankfurt women’s group *Weibliche Fürsorge* and the *JFB*. Indeed, Thon’s argument for women’s particular affinity for social welfare work, namely that women best understand the needs of other women and of children, strongly resembles Pappenheim’s rationale in founding *Weibliche Fürsorge*. In the first section, “Die Arbeit am neuen Jischub”, Thon complains that Zionist men have neglected career training for women, and suggests that women should take responsibility for the education of their sisters, adding that women should not only be trained for agricultural careers but in a variety of service occupations. This call for diversification resembles a similar one from the *Weibliche Fürsorge*, which, in order to combat unemployment, called for job training in fields in which Jewish women were underrepresented, often because they were held in low esteem among Jews. Thon also recommends dormitories and recreation centers (*Wohnheime* and *Abendheime*) for single female workers, arguing, “sie sind ein dringendes Bedürfnis für die aus ihren Familien herausgerissenen Mädchen und Frauen, die sich vielfach nur deshalb zu mehr oder minder losen Verbindungen mit Männern entschließen, weil sie nicht wissen, wohin sie ihre Einsamkeit tragen sollen.” She also recommends job referral and career counseling services and aid for pregnant women and nursing mothers. Every one of the above programs had been successfully initiated and implemented in Frankfurt by Pappenheim’s
Weibliche Fürsorge in earlier years and were certainly familiar to Thon via her
connections to the JFB, of which Weibliche Fürsorge was an organizational member. In
the second section of her essay Thon targets educational projects aimed at the fourth
aliyah, the emigration of “kleinbürgerliche, schwach bemittelte und zu einem großen Teil
kulturell hinter den früheren Einwanderern zurückgebliebene Elemente,” in other words:
the Eastern Jewish emigrants, who (as Pappenheim had cautioned 20 years prior) would
require extensive education before they could become productive colonists. Thon
proposes here the very programs recommended by Pappenheim in Zur Lage der Juden in
Galizien, such as career training for “Schulentlassene Mädchen” (“die in vielen Familien --
nach der im Osten verbreiteten Sitte oder Unsitte --beschäftigungslos herumsitzen”),
popular adult education lectures concerning “Haushaltstechnik, Kindererziehung,
Gesundheitspflege,” and “geschmackvollen geselligen Zusammenkünften,” at which
different social classes could meet.

19 Thon’s apprehensions that the influx of Eastern Jews could have “bedenkliche Folgen für
den kulturellen Stand der Bevölkerung” are certainly no less “Antisemitic” than the
remarks in Pappenheim’s reports, which were chastized by Müller-Cohen.

20 In the final section of her essay, Thon addresses programs targeting the “Chaluka-
Judentum” and non-European Jewish emigrants, segments of the population, in whom
Pappenheim showed less interest. Thon recommends serving these populations through
the system of “settlements,” a network of neighborhood centers located in the most
impoverished quarters, a movement which originated in the U.S. and England. See
Berkowitz Zionist Culture 160-162 on Chaluka-Judentum and non-European emigrants.

A 1910 article, “Frauenarbeit in Palastina,” by Sara Thon attests also to the influence of
the German-Jewish women’s movement on Zionist women’s organizations. Thon
advocates the the founding of Haushaltungsschulen (“home economics schools”), such as
that founded by Pappenheim’s Weibliche Fürsorge in Frankfurt. She notes also the need
to combat prostitution in Palestine. She suggests further a number of programs resembling
those Pappenheim had recommended for Galician Jews, such as house industries
Although Pappenheim spent more energy criticizing Zionists’ actions (or more frequently, lack thereof) than in debating Zionism, her main objection to Zionism was nevertheless ideological, namely the rejection of the Zionist belief that Jews were not merely members of a religious community but comprised a “Volk” and as such should strive to found a Jewish nation, ideally in the traditional Jewish homeland of Palestine -- a mission which was irreconcilable with Pappenheim’s steadfast belief in a German-Jewish symbiosis. In September 1935, on a trip to Amsterdam to meet with Henriette Szold, the leader of the Youth Aliyah movement, Pappenheim wrote the following aphorism, in which she denies Palestine’s status as a Jewish Heimat: “Für einen kleinen Teil der Judenschaft mag Palästina schon räumlich etwas bedeuten - für den Geist des Judentums ist die Welt gerade groß genug” (Jensen 187). In “Die jüdische Frau” (1934) she argues: “Nur wollen wir Juden bedenken, daß wir von überall in der Welt, aus der Diaspora - und auch Palästina ist Diaspora - den Gipfel des Berges Sinai sehen können” (117). In the same essay she insists that it was not only undesirable but impossible for German Jews to

(including lace-making), nursing and other practical career training for girls, and training in agricultural practices. Like Pappenheim, she proposes shifting from the model of the “höhere Töcherschule” to more practical training for girls, and realizes the need to instill in Jewish girls and women the ethic, that “keine Arbeit eine jüdische Tochter beschämt hat, sondern daß sie die Arbeit ehrt” (1065). Pappenheim expresses similar sentiments in Sisyphus-Arbeit, where she criticizes colonists for founding music schools in Jaffa and Jerusalem, when there was supposedly no money for Haushaltungsschulen (120). While Thon’s essay predates this comment, Pappenheim expressed very similar sentiments in a much earlier essay, “Zur Erziehung der weiblichen Jugend in den höheren Ständen,” which advocates practical training not just for girls whose financial situation would render it necessary but for girls of all classes.
denounce their indebtedness to German culture: "Und gerade in der Diaspora, für uns in Deutschland, dessen deutscher Kultur 'Tarbut Germania' wir so viel verdanken, so viel, daß es Dummheit und Undank wäre, sich davon losreißen zu wollen. Wir können es gar nicht" (117). In a brief appeal to German-Jewish women published in November 1934 in the Frankfurter Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt, "Aufgaben der deutschen Jüdin" Pappenheim maintains that the Germanness of German Jewesses was not only not cancelled out by their Jewishness but enriched by it: "Deutsche, Frau und Jüdin zu sein, sind heute drei Aufgaben, die je höchste Anforderungen an ein Individuum stellen. Da sie aber auch drei geistige Kraftquellen bedeuten, löschen sie sich gegenseitig nicht nur nicht aus, sondern sie stärken und bereichern sich gegenseitig." She insists that it is the JFB’s duty, despite present travails, "Treuänderin der deutschen Frauenbewegung in ihrer reinsten, geistigen, sozial-ethischen unpolitischen Form zu sein."21 The JFB had recently withdrawn from the Bund deutscher Frauenvereine, which disbanded shortly thereafter rather than comply with compulsory "Gleichschaltung."22 Pappenheim, who received the German Verdienskreuz für Kriegshilfe for her war-aid efforts during World War I, could not be convinced even by the developments of the 1930s that Jews did not have a place in German culture. Even after 1933, Pappenheim vehemently opposed Zionist Henriette Szold’s Jugend-Aliah movement. At a 1933 Gesamtvorstands-Sitzung of the JFB she condemned the movement as "Kinderexport" and the "Flucht der Mütter vor der

21 Ironically, an advertisement for the Lloyd Triestino ship line’s fares to Palestine was printed directly beneath Pappenheim’s appeal.

22 "Gleichschaltung" was a euphemistic term for Aryanization.
Verantwortung” (Bergel-Gronemann 6). Eva Michaelis-Stern reports that at Pappenheim and Szold’s first and only meeting, Pappenheim bitterly accused Szold of orchestrating “Kinderkreuzzüge” (15). Pappenheim was by no means alone in her beliefs. Most JFB leaders remained in Germany until they were deported in 1942. Pappenheim’s closest associate Hannah Karminski visited Cora Berliner on the last day before her deportation. Karminski writes:

C. and our other friends took books along. They agreed on the selection. To my knowledge C. took Faust I and an anthology. When I went to visit them on the last day, shortly before their departure, they were sitting in the sun in the garden reading Goethe (qtd. in Kaplan, Jewish Feminist Movement 205).

Although Pappenheim explicitly insisted upon the existence of a German-Jewish symbiosis and propounded the desirability thereof, I believe that her own actions and writings reveal the tacit acknowledgement of an at best flawed union. Especially the internalization of negative stereotypes, the constant attempt to disassociate herself and others from negative traits attributed to Jews, and overcompensation in her social work attest to this. One striking example is the JFB’s Selbtszucht ("self-discipline") campaign, which instructed women to dress simply in order to combat anti-Semitism, a strategy that was based on the premise that Jewish women caused anti-Semitism by enticing envy with ostentatious jewelry or lavish clothing (Kaplan Jewish Feminist Movement 201). Even in Tragische Momente, one of Pappenheim’s strongest pleas against Zionism and for a German-Jewish symbiosis, Schiri/Jerome, Pappenheim’s hero and spokesperson,

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23 Michaelis-Stern mistakenly remembers that the meeting was in 1937. The meeting, however, was most likely in Sept. 1935 in Amsterdam (Heubach Sisyphus, 17).
admittedly Europeanizes his recognizably Jewish name in order to conceal his outward otherness. Hadassa explains his motivation: “Er hatte so viel lästiges Fragen und Reden zu hören, so lange er Schiri hieß, daß er sich nicht so immatrikulieren konnte” (73). Notably, he chooses a French name rather than a German name, still connoting a degree of incomplete belonging.\(^\text{24}\) The need to erase a Jewish trait as central to identity as one’s name testifies to Pappenheim’s tacit acknowledgement that the German-Jewish symbiosis relied on Jews becoming visibly German and invisibly Jewish.

\(^{24}\text{It is also entirely possibly that a “German” name would have been denied, as officials frequently demanded, even long before the 1930s that Jews bear names that were recognizeably Jewish, even when they were allowed to relinquish supposedly “offensive” Jewish names (Bering 216). See Dietz Bering’s The Stigma of Names: Antisemitism in German Daily Life, 1812-1933 for an extensive and insightful study of Jewish names and anti-Semitism.}\)
CHAPTER 4

CATHOLICISM AS A MODEL FOR GERMAN-JEWISH SYMBIOSIS?:
BERTHA PAPPEMHEIM ON CONVERSION

This chapter examines Bertha Pappenheim's conversion narratives, in particular three short stories from the 1916 collection *Kämpfe* ("Der Erlöser," "Ungarische Dorfgeschichte," and "Ein Schwächling") and "Die Erbschaft," a short story published in the *Frankfurter Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* in 1933. These short stories portray two types of converts: 1) Jews who underwent baptism solely to foster social or professional advancement, and 2) Jews who succumbed to the lures of Catholic missionaries. While Pappenheim clearly disapproved of conversion for any reason (whether purely opportunistic or motivated by religious conviction), and while she did not condone the Catholic Church's aggressive proselytism of Jews, her chief attacks were leveled at the Jewish community, which she believed had failed to address adequately the material, spiritual, and intellectual needs of its adherents, and was thus in danger of losing its most vulnerable members at a time when the Jewish population was (due not only to conversion but also to so-called mixed marriages and low birth rates) in a state of decline. According to Pappenheim, Catholic missionaries succeeded in attracting Jewish converts because
they identified and capitalized on the shortcomings of the Jewish community: 1) the dire lack of social welfare programs for the weakest links of the Jewish community (unwed mothers, illegitimate children, orphans, immigrants, and pogrom refugees); 2) Jewish women's yearning for education and for a greater role in religious life; and 3) the hunger of the younger generation for secular education and culture. Thus, the internationally organized social outreach network of the Catholic mission emerges in Pappenheim's narratives, as well as in her non-fictional writings, not as wholly reprehensible Seelenfang ("soul-snatching") but as a positive role-model for the rejuvenation and maintenance of the Jewish community. The Catholic model is of particular interest in the context of Pappenheim's belief in a German-Jewish symbiosis in which German Jews were "culturally and nationally German" and "religiously Jewish." I will argue that Pappenheim advocated the Catholic model not only due to its exemplary social work network but because the Catholic Church was an international religious organization, which had succeeded in allowing its adherents a "religiously Catholic" affiliation that was not at odds with their national (German, French, English, etc.) identity.¹

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¹ It is important to note, that while both the Catholic Church and Ashkenazic Jewry existed before the emergence of the German national paradigm, Pappenheim was convinced that her Catholic-German contemporaries were considered full Germans, regardless of their religious affiliations, whereas the national loyalties of German-Jews were frequently called into question (for example, during the 1916 Judenzählung). Whether or not her assessment was totally accurate is another matter -- although there was no census of German soldiers in 1916, some Catholics were persecuted during the Nazi regime.
That three of the six stories of *Kämpfe* treat the theme of conversion (and two of these, the longest stories of the collection, are positioned prominently at the beginning and end of the volume), suggests that Pappenheim considered the threat of conversion to be one of the chief struggles ("Kämpfe") facing Jews in the first decades of this century. The first story of *Kämpfe*, "Der Erlöser," is a double conversion narrative, the story of one failed and one successful attempt at proselytizing by Catholic missionaries in London's East End, the quarter traditionally settled by Eastern Jewish immigrants. Pappenheim begins her story\(^2\) with a description of the Catholic mission house, without, however, identifying it as such. She describes the mission's sign, which (written in both Yiddish and English) advertises free medical services, instruction in reading and writing, bible study and religious services. The reader thus assumes, like the unsuspecting Jewish immigrant passerby, that the building houses a Jewish charitable institution, whose aim is to facilitate the integration of the many impoverished Eastern Jewish pogrom refugees who inhabit the quarter. She immediately upsets this expectation, however, informing the reader that the house is "eines der vielen Missionshäuser Londons, die den Zweck haben, Juden, Männer, Frauen und Kinder, zum christlichen Glauben zu bekehren" (2). Although Pappenheim clearly does not approve of Catholic proselytizing, nor of this mission's deceptive entrapment of the most vulnerable Jews, she presents the services offered by the mission house as exemplary, insisting that the mission could succeed only because the Jewish

\(^2\)In this unabashedly programmatic story it is not necessary to distinguish between Pappenheim and her narrator, as the narrator expresses sentiments identical to those expressed in Pappenheim's non-literary texts.

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community failed to minister to both the physical and spiritual needs of its most vulnerable members. 3

In the opening pages of "Der Erlöser" (before the protagonists Wolf and Reisle are even introduced), Pappenheim expunges both the Catholic mission and its individual Jewish "victims" of primary guilt. Indeed, the Catholic mission emerges in Pappenheim's narrative as a procedurally exemplary (albeit ethically somewhat dubious) institution. The numerous advantages of the Catholic mission are readily apparent. On the exterior, the mission house is the cleanest, best-kept, and most welcoming house in the predominantly Jewish neighborhood (1). Inside, the missionaries ground their work in sound principles of social work, familiarizing themselves with the needs and value-systems of their "clientele" and patterning their mission accordingly. They attend first to the dire "leiblichen Bedürfnisse" of their impoverished Eastern European Jewish targets, realizing that they

3Pappenheim's readers were likely already attuned to the danger of such Catholic mission houses. In 1906 the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums printed an article, "Die Judenmission," which observed, "daß [die Judenmission] direkt auf die Armen, die Geld-wie die Geistesarmen, spekuliert, ja ihre materielle Not und ihren geistigen Mangel ausnutzt, um sie mehr durch materielle als geistige und moralische Lockmittel dem Judentum abtrünnig zu machen und dem Christentum zuzuführen" (505). In 1903 Im deutschen Reich (the precursor of the Central-Verein-Zeitung) printed an article, "Verblendung," which details Christian missionaries' use of a monthly magazine, Der Zionsfreund, to attract prospective Jewish converts, who would assume the periodical was Jewish. I located a special edition from the Zionsfreund Verlag, entitled "Jüdische Frauenbilder" (approx. 1905) at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. On the inner back cover of the magazine is an advertisement for the Missionshaus Jerusalem in Hamburg. This advertisement lists the "Mittel, durch welche wir die Juden zu Jesu zu führen suchen." These methods include those detailed by Pappenheim in "Der Erlöser" and "Ein Schwächling": private lessons for Jews; mission work with Jewish immigrants; lectures and bible study; and dormitory accommodations, employment, and vocational training for boys.
would be receptive to a religious message only after their basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, and medical care have been met. Offering instruction in reading, writing, and English, they appeal to the traditional Jewish reverence of education, "die von den Juden stets als der Anfang einer menschenwürdigen Existenz erkannt und als der Begin aller Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten geschätzte werden" (2).

While Pappenheim condemns opportunists who make a "bequemes Geschäft" of conversion, "die aus Nützlichkeitsgründen über die Religionslüge der Majority zulaufen," she cautions that one should not condemn Jewish "Schwärmer" who convert out of religious conviction (3). Pappenheim concedes that Christianity could hold great appeal for certain Jews, "den Heren und Phantasie im schweren Alltag mehr darben als ihr Leib,".

Für manche Menschen, die nicht stark genug sind, das Gute um des Guten willen zu tun oder die nicht von der rein geistigen Gottesidee der jüdischen Lehre durchdrungen sind, hat der Gedanke, das Gute einem Dritten - Christus zurliebe zu tun, eine große tragende Kraft. Für andere kann das Sinnfällige der christlichen Religion mit ihren deutlichen Versprechungen und Verheißungen etwas sehr Anziehendes und Tröstliches haben. (3)

She explains that Christianity offered in an "anthropomorphized" package, "was das Judentum rein geistig der Welt geschenkt hat" (4). Christianity's supposed "Sinnfälligkeit" was, according to Pappenheim, attractive to Jews who were morally, spiritually, or intellectually inferior. While Pappenheim's portrayal of such converts is by no means flattering, she blames neither these weak individuals nor the Catholic Church for their conversion but the "leaders and teachers of the Jewish community," whom she faults with mistakenly relying solely on ritual practice to cement the community:
Sie versäumten darüber, den heranwachsenden Generationen den geistigen Inhalt des jüdischen Glaubensbekenntnisses frisch, einleuchtend und so teuer zu erhalten, daß die Stammesgenossen als wie um eine Standarte darum geschart geblieben wären. Was man nicht kennen und nicht schätzen gelernt hat, gibt man leichten Herzens auf. Der Jude schüttelt ein unbequemes Ritual ab, daß ihm nicht mehr der schützende Zaun um einen herrlichen Garten, sondern eine beengende Gefängnismauer ist. (3)⁴

Pappenheim cites three factors that made women particularly susceptible to Catholic proselytism: 1) their religious education had traditionally been neglected, 2) their imaginations were more active than men's, and 3) their need for "praktische Liebestätigkeit" was greater than men's (4). Because Pappenheim was aware that the Jewish community was immensely concerned about the growing numbers of Jews converting to Christianity, she used the threat of conversion as a trump card in her struggle to improve women's status within the Jewish community, both to better women's religious education and to increase their active involvement in religious and communal life.⁵ In her opening remarks at the "3. Delegiertentag des Jüdischen Frauenbundes" in

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⁴I mentioned above that my conflation of Pappenheim and her narrator are consistent with my belief that Pappenheim regularly expressed her personal opinions through her narrator. The similarities between this passage and remarks in Pappenheim's essayist work confirm this. In her report, Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien, Pappenheim critiques strict, unthinking adherence to ritual using the very same image of the garden fence: "Das Ritual, von dem es einst hieß, es sei der Zaun, der einen herrlichen Garten einschließt, es ist Selbstzweck geworden" (41). The "prison walls" of the above passage are merely replaced by a ball and chain of sorts, a "Bleigewicht" (41). In this report, too, she cautions, "daß die Formen wertlos werden, sobald ihr geistiger Inhalt verloren gegangen ist" (47). An observation in "Die jüdische Frau" likewise resembles the narrator's above formulation: "Was man nicht kennt - oder nur als unbequem und lästig kennt ... achtet man nicht hoch..." (107).

⁵Conversion was a frequent topic in German-Jewish periodicals of this time. A number of publications, including the Viennese weekly Dr. Blochs Wochenschrift and the German weekly Frankfurter Israelitisches Familienblatt, published lists of "Austritte." In March
1910, for example, Pappenheim suggests that women were particularly susceptible to the threat of a "Taufseuche" (3). She faults not the women themselves, however, but Jewish men, who according to Pappenheim drove women to conversion by excluding them from Jewish religious life and communal activities:

[...] die jüdischen Männer [haben] viel Schuld daran, daß die Frauen die jüdische Volkszusammengehörigkeit so leichten Kaufes [...] aufgeben, weil sie die Frauen nicht teilnehmen lassen an den Interessen, an den Geschäften, an der Arbeit im jüdischen Gemeinschafts- und Vereinsleben, nicht an seinem praktischen und nicht an seinem idealen Inhalte. (3)

In a speech held at the 1912 "Deutscher Frauenkongreß," "Die Frau im kirchlichen und religiösen Leben," Pappenheim again attributes women's betrayal of Judaism to their inferior position within the male-dominated Jewish community:

Hätte die jüdische Frau, ihrer Kraft und Fähigkeit entsprechend, rechtzeitig in der jüdischen Gemeinschaft Verwendung, Stellung und Wertung gefunden, wir hätten heute nicht wehmütig auf manche zu verzichten, der in ihrem berechtigten Wunsche nach Betätigung und nach Entfaltung ihrer Persönlichkeit das Band entglitten ist, das sie mit ihrer Stammesgemeinde verbindet, der Gemeinschaft, der sie nun verständnislos den Rücken wendet. (245)

After establishing in her "introduction" to "Der Erlöser" that the Jewish community itself was at fault for the spread of the "Taufseuche" (especially among women) Pappenheim demonstrates through two case studies further blind-spots in Jewish philanthropy that often resulted in the loss of vulnerable members of the Jewish community to conversion, namely the Jewish community's neglect of pogrom orphans and of illegitimate children.

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1910 a meeting on "Judentaufen und Staatsinteresse" organized by the "Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens" attracted an audience of 2000 (Frankfurter Israelitisches Familienblatt 1 Apr. 1910: 10).
With this programmatic short-story, which exposed in melodramatic form the shortcomings of traditional Jewish philanthropy, Pappenheim sought to garner support for specific social projects and religious reforms by appealing to the Jewish community's fear of the rampant Taufseuche ("conversion epidemic").

The story's first would-be victim of Catholic missionaries is Wolf, a recently orphaned 13 year-old Russian Jewish pogrom refugee, according to Pappenheim one of the types most frequently targeted by missionaries in London's East End (4). Pappenheim describes in great detail the strategy used by Catholic Seelenfänger. When Wolf emerges after his mother's death to seek an odd job and food, he is intercepted by a Yiddish-speaking, baptized Jewish missionary, who knows his name, the details of his recent loss, and his current living situation. He lures Wolf to the mission house with an offer of employment and on the way there embroils him in conversation. Appealing to Wolf's "traditionally Jewish" love for learning, he tempts him with the prospect of learning English and peaks his curiosity with allusions to a "Fortsetzung" of the Bible, "die noch viel schöner ist als das alte Testament." The strategy elicits the desired response: "In dem kleinen russischen Chederschüler regte sich trotz des Hungers und Kummers die Lust zu diskutieren und auch ein wenig die Lust, sein Licht leuchten zu lassen" (7). Wolf follows the missionary, "ohne irgend welches Bedenken und den geringsten Widerstand," because the missionary's command of Yiddish and the Hebrew letters on the sign at the door leave him secure in the belief that he is entering "ein jüdisches Haus" (8-9).

Unlike his female counterpart, Reisle, Wolf is able to withstand the temptations of the mission house. Wolf flees when he sees a crucifix, which he immediately recognizes
from memories of Russian pogroms. He recalls how marauding Christians had erected a
crucifix in the street of his home-town:

Draußen hatten die bluttrunkenen Christen einen Judenknaben vor das
Krucifix geschleppt und ihn gezwungen, davor zu knien. Da sprang der Vater
des Knaben herbei und stieß ihm ein Küchenmesser in den Rücken, im
nächsten Augenblick waren Vater und Sohn gesteinigt und zertreten. (11)

Three factors enable Wolf to resist: 1) his vivid memories of Christian atrocities form a
grotesque contrast to the slogan, "Friede sei mit dir," on the door of the mission; 2) he had
learned as a child that "Abtrünnigwerden" was "despicable" and to be prevented at all
costs, even death (15); 3) he derives strength from Jewish practice and teaching. As a boy
who was already "bar mitzvahed," he is, already at age 13, a full member of the
community and has enjoyed the fundamentals of Jewish learning. In addition, he had been
raised in a deeply devout family. Imagining his pious mother's "mahnende, warnende
Stimme," he flees the mission house bolstered by thoughts of her reading the "Schema
Jisroel" from her worn prayer book (11).

Pappenheim made numerous efforts to save orphans, especially pogrom orphans
like Wolf for the Jewish community. In August 1906, for example, Pappenheim (with the
Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden and the Hilfskomitee für die notleidenden

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6 Pappenheim frequently lamented the misogyny inherent in Jewish tradition, which
granted 13 year-old boys the rights of full membership and participation in the
congregation, rights which a grown woman could never acquire. In her 1912 speech, "Die
Frau im kirchlichen und religiösen Leben," she complains: "Unwiderleglich festgelegt ist
die Zurücksetzung der Frau in der jüdischen Gemeinde dadurch, daß sie bei den
Gemeindesammlungen nicht mitzählt, daß sie zu dem wichtigen Akt der Thoravorlesung
nicht aufgerufen wird, und daß sie die öffentliche Mündigssprechung, die jeden 13jährigen
Knaben verkündet wird, nicht erfährt" (241; see also "Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage" 20).
osteuropäischen Juden) arranged for Jewish homes for 110 Russian pogrom orphans, 10 of which she personally accompanied to England, where they would be cared for under the aegis of the Russo-Jewish-Committee (Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums 17 Aug. 1906: 1 [Gemeindebote]; Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums 31 Aug. 1906: 1 [Gemeindebote]). In 1924 Pappenheim petitioned the Jüdische Welthilfkonferenz to found a Weltsammelvormundschaft für verlassene, schutz- und erziehungsbedürftige Kinder ("World Collective Guardianship for Abandoned Children"). In her petition she identified two groups of "Hilfsbedürftigen" who would benefit: 1) minor-aged emigrants, 2) children who had been resident in a country for a longer period of time, but for whom local authorities were not responsible (because of foreign citizenship), or children, whom local Jewish organizations could not afford to support (Sysiphus-Arbeit 2 61). In this petition too, Pappenheim appeals to her audience's fear of a Taufseuche, cautioning that "great numbers" of children who fell through the cracks both of state social programs and of traditional Jewish philanthropy were likely to "be lured into missions and stolen from Judaism" (62). In another text Pappenheim lists pogrom and war orphans (such as Wolf) as the chief beneficiaries of the Weltsammelvormundschaft (64). In these texts, Pappenheim emphasizes that "die gesamte Judenheit" must assume responsibility for vulnerable Jewish children, regardless of their national heritage, because precisely these children would prove a "Born von Hoffnungen" for world Jewry (64). 7

7Wolf's story also draws attention to another vulnerable group, whom Pappenheim sought to rescue for the Jewish community, namely the "Agnoch" or "eheverlassene Frauen." Wolf's father had emigrated to the United States, leaving his wife and children behind with the promise of sending for them as soon as he was established. When he never returned or
In the second conversion narrative of "Der Erlöser," Pappenheim illustrates the Jewish community's neglect of another vulnerable segment of the population, illegitimate children. After Wolf escapes the mission, he becomes the self-appointed protector of an abandoned illegitimate child, Reisle, who frequents the mission house. Despite his fears that she would be baptized, Wolf resolves to allow Reisle to continue to visit the mission school, because she was learning reading and sewing and exhibited a "günstige Veränderung" since visiting the mission:

Reisle trug ganz bald kein Kopftuch mehr; auf dem nun glatt gekämmten Haar, das in zwei langen Zöpfen fest geflochten war, saß eine saubere Stoffmütze; ihre Art sich zu bewegen, wurde ruhiger, die ganze kräftige ursprüngliche Frechheit war verloren gegangen. Das gefiel Wolf, denn er wußte, daß seine Mutter diese Unarten an den eigenen und fremden Kindern immer sehr gerügt hatte, und er wußte auch, daß die Kinder in der jüdischen Freischule nicht so schnell, so glatt und sauber und hübsch wurden. Der Junge [...] war vernünftig genug, einzusehen, daß Reisles neue Art die bessere, kultiviertere war. (16)

sent for his family (it is unclear whether he fell ill, died, or simply abandoned them), they slid into dire poverty, and Wolf's mother and his two younger siblings died of an infectious disease (the disease is not identified, but Pappenheim's description of the family's living quarters suggests that it could have been tuberculosis, a concern of many Jewish philanthropic agencies during this period), leaving Wolf orphaned. In 1929 Pappenheim petitioned a rabbinical council in Vienna to revise an "outdated interpretation" of Jewish law, which forbade "abandoned wives" to remarry, arguing that this law was inhumane toward women whose husbands were killed or missing in war and pogroms. Here too, Pappenheim cautions that the Jewish community was guilty of driving "... gerade die besten, jüngsten, lebensfreudigsten, gestindesten und fortpflanzungsfreudigsten" Jews to conversion (or prostitution and other immoral lifestyles) by failing to respond to historical developments ("Hilfe für die Agunoh" 20-21).

8Reisle is called a "Mamser," a term which technically applied only to children born of adulterous relationships, but was frequently used to refer pejoratively to any illegitimate child. This misuse of the term appears to have been common. The August 1931 issue of the Blätter des Jüdischen Frauenbundes even printed a clarification of the term by Dr. Jakob Hoffman ("Was unter einem Mamser zu verstehen ist" 6).
It was not uncommon for Pappenheim to seek to motivate reforms in Jewish social services by comparing them unfavorably to Catholic social services. The rationale of such comparisons was two-fold: 1) they appealed to a sense of rivalry -- Pappenheim was by no means alone in her wish to measure up to Catholics and Protestants on all levels; 2) they invoked again the specter of conversion that could scare Jews into action -- the Catholic Church might attract converts by offering hospitals, orphanages, and aid where Jews failed to do so, or by operating schools superior to Jewish ones. In *Sisyphus-Arbeit* Pappenheim describes a number of Catholic social programs in glowing terms. Aware that it practiced *Seelenfang*, Pappenheim nonetheless proposes that Jews emulate the exemplary women's and children's social welfare services of the Catholic *Ochrono kobiet Frauenschutz*: "Das System muß anders werden, und als Muster empfehle ich die katholische Organisation selbst denen, die auf diese Bemerkung hin eine Gänsehaut überläuft" (157). 9 In this same letter, Pappenheim criticizes the practice common in the Eastern European Jewish community of ostracizing unwed Jewish mothers and their illegitimate children. She argues that the community's small-mindedness -- Jewish orphanages even refused to take in

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9In *Sisyphus-Arbeit* Pappenheim mentions several other Catholic hospitals, orphanages, etc. that succeeded in using their social services to recruit converts because the Jewish community failed to meet the needs of its vulnerable members. Pappenheim observes that Christians built schools in Jewish neighborhoods in Smyrna and Constantinople to attract converts. She reports that the Scotch Hospital in Smyrna "ist ganz auf Seelenfang eingerichtet," and had great success, because it was the only hospital that would treat Jews (82-83). In *Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien*, Pappenheim reports that Christian orphanages took in large numbers of Jewish orphans, because the Jewish community failed to provide adequate services (18).
illegitimate children (159) -- drove women to abortion or surrendering their children to the Catholic Church:

... natürlich werden Abtreibungen betrieben, das uneheliche Kind ist eine Schande, und wenn sich so ein Geschöpf, trotz aller Mittel zum Leben ringt, - dann schenkt man es dem "Spital zum Herzen Jesu", denn die katholische Kirche ist klug genug, solche wertvollen Geschenke von Menschenmaterial gern anzunehmen ... Es bleibt also wirklich nur Tod oder Taufe - vor lauter jüdischer Ethik. (158-159)

Once again, the villains are not Catholic Seelenfänger, who are merely sensible and merciful enough to gladly accept these "valuable gifts" but Jewish community leaders.10

Pappenheim also brought the problem of illegitimate children closer to home, citing examples of children lost to the Jewish community in Germany. In "Einführung in den Arbeitskreis für Gefährdten-Fürsorge," she reports: "Seit 4 Wochen weiß ich und muß es an dieser Stelle sagen, daß man 2 jüdische Kinder verschenkt hat, an Christen verschenkt, und daß 2 andere jüdische Kinder von ihren Müttern beiseite geschafft worden sind. 2 jüdische - uneheliche Mütter unter 20 Jahren haben ihre Kinder geboren und getötet (4).

Pappenheim appealed to German Jews to reintegrate unwed mothers and their illegitimate children into the Jewish community, arguing that it was unconscionable to lose these vulnerable, yet potentially vital members of the community to conversion (or worse: abortion, neo-naticide, or prostitution) at a time when the Jewish population in Germany

10In another letter Pappenheim complains of the hypocrisy of the Jewish community in Eastern Europe concerning illegitimate children: "Aber da ein 'Fehltritt' bei den Juden ein Makel ist, der eine Ehe unmöglich macht, so gibt es trotz der unzähligen vorerheblichen Verfehlungen keine unehelichen Kinder. Hebammen und Ärzte und Kurpfuscherinnen helfen das keimende Leben und auch das geborene Kind zu vernichten. So wird das, was in der jüdischen Ethik gut gedacht ist, zur Karikatur ihrer selbst..." (146-147).
was already in a state of decline due to voluntary conversion, low birth rates, birth control, so-called mixed marriages, eugenics, "soziale Indikation," and suicide (Sysiphus-Arbeit 2 73). In an anti-abortion speech Pappenheim states clearly that the German Jewish community's obligation toward Jewish unwed mothers and illegitimate children extended also to Jewish communities beyond Germany's borders and to foreign Jews living in Germany. She writes: Wenn wir erhalten bleiben wollen, dann müssen wir - wie ich es möchte, deren Blicke weit über Deutschland hinausgehen - den Wunsch haben, jede jüdische Mutter, wo sie auch sei, mit ihren Kindern zu erhalten," including foreign and illegitimate children ("Diskussionsrede von Bertha Pappenheim" 4). In addition to the Weltsammlervormundschaft, which would have included illegitimate children, Pappenheim founded another project with the express purpose of rescuing "endangered girls," many of whom were unwed mothers, namely the Heim des JFB in Isenburg.

Both Wolf and Reisle's conversion narratives serve as propaganda for Pappenheim's Weltsammlervormundschaft, but Reisle's story also serves as propaganda for the home at Isenburg. Reisle would have benefited from Isenburg at two junctures: 1) if her mother had been sent to Isenburg as an expectant unwed mother, 2) if Reisle herself had been sent there after falling prey to child prostitution. Pappenheim stresses that Reisle, both because she is female and because she is an illegitimate child (being a "Mamser," Reisle enjoys no aid from the community -- before Wolf her only "benefactor" was Muhme Rifke, who exploited and abused her), did not enjoy the sort of religious education which
enabled Wolf to resist the temptations of the mission house.\textsuperscript{11} When Wolf discovers that Reisle has been baptized, he chastises her, asking how she could forget "die Lehre von unserm Gott, vom Gott der Juden" (18). She counters: "Ich habe nichts vergessen. Ich habe nichts gespürt von einem Gott. Die Mühne Rifke hat nur gesagt, was ich essen soll, und was verboten ist zu essen..." (19). Years later Wolf interrogates Reisle about her second conversion to Christianity, "Du warst aber doch vernünftiger geworden. Hattest du nicht das Gefühl, ein Unrecht zu begehen? (34). Unlike Wolf, who grew up firmly entrenched in Jewish learning and tradition, Reisle felt no remorse:

Nein. Ein Unrecht an wem, an was? Ich weiß doch gar nicht, warum ich Jüdin bin. Ich merke es immer nur, wenn es mir lästig ist. Und es ist auch schön zu beten und an Christus zu denken, der so schön und mild aussieht, und sein Bild mit Blumen zu schmücken und ihn zu lieben als Erlöser und ihm anzuwählen, so mit einem wohlig heißen Gefühl, das man gar nicht beschreiben kann. (34)

Reisle is susceptible to Catholic (and later Salvation Army) missionaries, because she perceives Judaism as restrictive -- being Jewish means only to follow "bothersome" rules without appreciation of their origins and meanings. Reisle is the case-study for the general observation Pappenheim makes in her introduction, that younger Jews, especially women, will abandon Judaism if (for lack of proper religious education) they begin to view Jewish ritual observance not as "the fence protecting a wonderful garden" but as a "restrictive prison wall."

\textsuperscript{11} In her 1907 speech "Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage," Pappenheim dared to suggest that women's low status in Jewish religious life was responsible for prostitution among Jewish women. According to Pappenheim, the male interpretation of Jewish law had reduced women to mere "Geschlechtswesen;" and uneducated women who came to believe that they had only a "Geschlechtswert" may easily see no difference between marriage and prostitution (20-22).
Reisle's story serves as scare-propaganda for Isenburg's religious pedagogy.

Pappenheim proposed "das Streben zur jüdisch religiösen Durchleuchtung des Lebens" as one of three chief pedagogical tools for reforming wayward girls at Isenburg (Aus der Arbeit des Heims des JFB, 1914-1924 21). She required that the home be run according to strict orthodox ritual practice but insisted that her charges develop an understanding of and appreciation for Jewish ritual practice, rather than merely forcing them to go through the motions. In addition to formal religious instruction, where the girls learned to read Hebrew and to understand their prayers, Pappenheim took every opportunity to give impromptu lessons, seeking to transform religious observance from burdensome obligation to beloved celebration. In addition to the conscious and meaningful observance of religious holidays, Pappenheim sought also to transform each Sabbath into a celebration. Pappenheim viewed the Sabbath, "mit seiner Zurüstung und Vorfeier, dem Freitag Abend," as the most important facet of Isenburg's education. She describes Isenburg's Sabbath tradition:

In dessen Gestaltung hat sich - außer dem vorschriftsmäßig traditionell Gegebenen ein kleiner Isenburger Minhag (Gewohnheitsformel) herausgebildet: ein allgemein verständliches Gebet, ein frohes Beisammensein bei gutem Essen, beim Schein der Lichter Singen, Lesen, Vortragen der Kinder, fröhlich parlamentarische Besprechungen, Obst, Schokolade und Süßigkeiten ... Nach diesen Freitagabenden haben alle unsere entlassenen Kinder Heimweh! (Aus der Arbeit des Heims des JFB, 1914-1924 26)

In "Ein Schwächling," the final story of Kämpfe, Pappenheim uncovers a further blind-spot of traditional Orthodox Judaism, which could potentially result in the loss of community members through conversion, namely the unwillingness to respond to the yearning (especially of the younger generation) for secular education. In "Ein
Schwäichling" Gabriel, the son of a prominent Pressburg Rabbi and Talmud scholar, begins to question his calling (as a Rabbi's only son he was expected to follow in his father's footsteps and had up to this point never doubted the correctness of his traditionally defined destiny) when he is introduced to the fine arts by his new neighbors, a Catholic musician and his daughter, Magdalena. Torn between feelings of wrong-doing and the "irresistible magic" of the artworks, Gabriel begins to doubt the validity of his Orthodox upbringing:

Warum hat der Vater ihn gelehrt, man dürfe keine Bilder machen, warum war alles aus dem Hause verbannt, was Schönheit darstellte? War es eine Sünde, sich der Schönheit zu freuen? Hätte Gott die Schönheit geschaffen, wenn der Mensch sich ihrer nicht freuen dürfte? Warum mußte er immer in fremder Sprache beten, sind jene Menschen schlechter, die nach freiem Bedürfnisse, jeder in seiner Weise, zu Gott beten? (148)

Gabriel's alienation from restrictive ultra-Orthodox Judaism, which held the fine arts in low esteem, coincides with his gravitation toward Catholicism, which not only permitted artistic pursuits but promoted them. Indeed, Christian music and visual arts (the "Ave Maria," church hymns, the "Madonna del Granduca," the "Johannes-Knaben" by Murillo and Rafael, the Sistine Madonna, and Dürer engravings) are responsible for Gabriel's burgeoning love of art. Pappenheim stresses that traditional Orthodox Judaism's self-imposed isolation from the secular world exacerbated Gabriel's infatuation with secular and Christian art, and in turn his rebellion against the "Fesseln" of Orthodox Judaism (145, 148, 157).12

12 I have recently learned from Helga Heubach that the figure Gabriel may have been inspired by Phillip Veit, a Jewish painter who converted to Catholicism.
In "Ungarische Dorfgeschichte" Pappenheim contrives another scenario in which the self-imposed insularity of Orthodox Jews actually increases the danger of conversion.

In this story Hannah, the only child of a widower, lives in the most extreme isolation from the outside world. Because they are the only Jews in the village and because Ephraim does not take his daughter to synagogue in the next village or allow her to visit public school or to speak to any Gentiles, Hannah's entire world consists of her small household. Hannah, who is nearing marriageable age, becomes enamored with the first young man she has ever met, a Gentile who aided her father when he fainted after a day of fasting. Her infatuation with Josy contributes to her fascination with his stories of Catholic saints and of the Virgin Mary and her miraculous interventions (83-84). Hannah is a female counterpart to Gabriel. Whereas Gabriel's utter ignorance of the secular world amplifies his attraction to the fine arts and Catholicism and subsequently contributes to the allure of their messenger, Magdalena; Hannah's isolation abets her love for Josy and consequently the allure of his message, the Christian faith. When Josy learns of an impending pogrom, he offers Ephraim and Hannah protection in exchange for Hannah's conversion and her hand in marriage. Ephraim, for whom conversion was worse than death, resolves to flee secretly with his daughter. Because their flight coincides with a flood alarm, Josy, who has responded to the alarm, discovers their attempted escape. Torn between her loyalty to her father and religion and her love for Josy, Hannah throws herself into the raging water of the flood-swollen river.  

\[13\] This is not Pappenheim's only conversion narrative (or would-be conversion narrative) ending in tragedy. In "Der Erlöser," Wolf "re-enacts" a scene he had witnessed in 119
In "Ein Schwächling" traditional Orthodox Judaism's self-imposed insularity, which was intended to protect against negative outside influences, in particular against proselytism, ultimately results in Gabriel's betrayal of his heritage and conversion to Catholicism. When Gabriel's father learns that he has been taught to draw by his Catholic neighbors and plans to become an artist, he accuses Gabriel's tutor Magdalena of proselytizing, of using art to "lure him into her net," to "win a soul" for the Catholic Church. Gabriel assures him that Magdalena had not attempted to convert him (indeed, later in the story Magdalena disapproves of his baptism until she learns that his father is no longer alive and would not be hurt by his choice) and that he himself had no intention of abandoning his faith but aspired to honor God by using his God-given talent:


(154)

For Reb Mordechai, however, being an artist is synonymous with

"Abtrünnigwerden," he cannot envision a Jewish artist: "Künstler! Das ist, ein lotteriges childhood, stabbing Reisle to death, as a father had stabbed his son, who was being forced by Christians to kneel down before a cross. Significantly, Wolf stabs not "Reisle" but "Marcia," the name Reisle had received at baptism, although he had previously refused to use her "Taufnamen." Clearly Wolf acts not solely out of religious conviction but also out of jealous rage -- he kills Reisle because he has discovered that she is still a prostitute and will never be the sort of Jewish wife he envisions. In "Ein Schwächling" Gabriel/Johannes ultimately commits suicide when he realizes that his conversion was a terrible mistake, the first link in a long "Kette von Lügen" (187-8).
Vagabundenleben führen, das heißt keine Tephilin legen, keinen Schabbes halten und essen und trinken ohne Wahl und dabei Götter malen und Heiligenbilder!" (155). Although it is for him a great sacrifice to be separated from his "Liebling" and "Goldkind," Reb Mordechai arranges for Gabriel to become the apprentice of a strictly Orthodox merchant in order to remove him from the influence of his Christian neighbors: "Besser ich entbehre die Sonne meiner Tage, den Trost meines Alters, als daß er Schaden nähme an seiner Seele" (158). Ironically, the very measures taken to ensure Gabriel's loyalty to Judaism result in his conversion. After running away from his apprenticeship, Gabriel works as a sign-painter in Vienna, where he becomes easy prey for Catholic missionaries. Totally isolated and devastated by news of his father's death, Gabriel contemplates suicide. A priest who had been watching Gabriel intercedes in the very moment that Gabriel prepares to throw himself into the Danube. Although at first skeptical of the priest, who wore the garb, "den man ihn von frühester Jugend an hassen gehabt hatte, weil er das Abzeichen der Ungläubigkeit und der Verfolgung für seinen Stamm war," Gabriel, starving for human contact and for the leadership of a new father figure, follows him like a child:

Das Seltsame, Wunderbare, Unmögliche, das er noch vor einigen Minuten herbeigesehnt hatte, war zur Tatsache geworden: aus der wirren, fremden Menschenmasse hatte sich ein Mensch losgelöst, um an seinem Schicksal teilzunehmen! ... Das Bedürfnis nach Anschmiegung und die Sehnsucht danach, verstanden zu werden, waren so übergroß und mächtig in Gabriel, daß er sich wie ein Kind willenlos sich der Führung des Geistlichen hingab. (168)

The priest leads Gabriel to the Stephansdom. Gabriel resists, mumbling, "Ich bin schlecht," but finally succumbs to the priest, who appeals to him, "Du bist nicht schlecht ... Du bist ein unglückliches Menschenkind. Was deine Seele braucht, ist Liebe und Schönheit und
Kunst, und das sollst du bei uns finden" (168). Gabriel converts to Catholicism (becoming Johannes Gabriel), and the Church finances his art studies in Rome.

Although Pappenheim is in this story not entirely uncritical of the practice of stalking prospective converts in order to pounce on them at their most vulnerable moment, she once again lays primary blame on the Jewish community, which according to her drives its own members to conversion. Pappenheim charges the ultra-Orthodox (embodied here by Reb Mordechai) with alienating the younger generation by demonizing secular culture. A positive counterpart to Reb Mordechai (who by disowning his disobedient son led him into the arms of Catholic missionaries) can be found in Reb Wolf of Pappenheim's story, "Der Wunderrabbi" (the second story of Kämpfe). When Reb Wolf discovers his son's love for secular German literature, he does not punish him but makes personal sacrifices in order to enable him to study literature in Vienna.

Although she was raised strictly Orthodox and remained Orthodox throughout her life (albeit on her own terms), Pappenheim was considered by colleagues to be "totally assimilated" into Austro-German culture. Both her social work and her writings reveal that she believed secular culture and the fine arts to be compatible with Orthodox Judaism and that she was critical of more conservative Orthodox factions that taught and practiced the contrary.14 In Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien, for example, Pappenheim derides the heder (the Orthodox Jewish elementary school in which young boys learn Hebrew, Torah, and the foundations of Talmudic study) for its exclusion of secular

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14 In Sisyphus-Arbeit she even mentions being personally drawn to specific artworks portraying Christian themes (176, 199).
subjects: "Jede andere Kenntnis ist verpönt, denn es heißt: 'Was dem Menschen nötig und
dienlich ist, findet er im Talmud, und was nicht im Talmud steht, braucht und soll man
nicht wissen'" (11). In 1908 Pappenheim was indicted for libel against the teachers of the
Frankfurt Orthodox Jewish Elementary School, which she had supposedly insulted in a
public meeting by likening the school to such a heder (Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums
5 June 1908, 3 [Gemeindebote]).

While Pappenheim insisted: "Isenburg muß standhaft streng rituell geführt werden
und bewußt geistig jüdisch," she objected to the notion that there was a contradiction
between strict Orthodox Judaism and the knowledge, appreciation, and enjoyment of
secular culture, especially the fine arts (Aus der Arbeit des Heims des JFB, 1914-1924
32). Indeed, her "Anregungen für die Weiterführung der Arbeit im Heim" include
arranging lectures, children's plays, and music on Sunday evenings (33). Helene Krämer,
who grew up in the Jewish girl's orphanage which Pappenheim directed prior to founding
Isenburg, remembers: "...auch das Verständnis für Kunst und schönegeistige Dinge suchte
sie in uns zu wecken, und mancher Besuch in Kunststätten der engeren und weiteren
Umgebung ist mir im Gedächtnis geblieben" (5). Johanna Stahl, another of Pappenheim's
charges remembers: "Für die geistige Fortbildung war ihr das Beste gut genug. Der
Vortrag, das Konzert, das Theater und das Buch, die besonderen schönen Stunden für die
feinen Handarbeiten, bei denen sie besonders stilisierte Novellen vorlas" (6). In 1929
Pappenheim commissioned sculptor F. Kormis to craft a fountain, "Der vertriebene
Storch," for the garden in Isenburg. The fine arts also played an important role in
fundraising for Isenburg. In 1911 one of Pappenheim's plays was staged for fundraising
purposes, directed by Fräulein Klinkhammer of the Frankfurt Schauspielhaus (Allgemeine
Zeitung des Judentums 3 Feb. 1911, 3 [Gemeindebote]). Other fund-raisers relying on the
fine arts included a 1925 production of Goethe's Jahrmarkt zu Plundersweile with actors
from the Neuen Theater, the sale of plaques depicting the "Auffindung Moses" by well-
known Jewish artist Leo Horowitz, and the sale of Pappenheim's own original hand-
beaded necklaces (Heubach, Heim des Jüdischen Frauenbundes 33, 99; Frankfurter
Israelitisches Familienblatt 26 Apr. 1918: 2). Not only did Pappenheim not eschew the
fine arts as incompatible with Orthodoxy but she integrated the arts into religious
observance at Isenburg, believing that they would not detract from but enrich religious
celebration. For example: she composed a "Schabbeslied" for her charges and wrote a
Purim-play, Die Haselnusstorte, to be performed by the home's children. Sara Eisenstädt, a
close associate, explains: "Bertha Pappenheim maß dem Ästhetischen einen hohen
erzieherischen Wert bei" (24). In other words, Pappenheim espoused a German-Jewish
symbiosis in which adherence to the ideals of German Bildung, which included an
appreciation for the fine arts, was in no way incompatible with Orthodox Jewish religious
values and practice.

Although Pappenheim portrays Gabriel as a victim of the ultra-Orthodox
community's insularity and narrow-mindedness, she does not completely absolve her
"Schwächling" of guilt. Near the end of the story, Gabriel/Johannes falls in love with Klara
Salzer, who condemns his conversion as "Charakterschwäche:" "Heute, wo wir Juden
beständigen Angriffen ausgesetzt sind, muß ein Jude zum andern stehen, mag er in
religiösen Dingen noch so frei denken. Es ist feige und ehrlos, in das Lager der Angreifer
überzugehen" (184). Klara Salzer acts here as a spokesperson for Pappenheim, who attacks opportunistic converts in her 1910 opening remarks to the 3. Delegiertentag des Jüdischen Frauenbundes in almost identical terms: "... auch Taufe und Überläufertum ist Charakterchwäche und Degeneration" (2). In this speech she refers in particular to Jews who converted in order to escape anti-Semitic discrimination which impeded their social or professional advancement.\(^{15}\) Gabriel's conversion was motivated in part due to anti-Semitism he had suffered in Vienna. On the very day he followed the Catholic missionary into the Stephansdom, Gabriel had been subjected to anti-Semitic slurs from his co-workers. He also feared that he would be fired by his employer, who paid him lower wages because he was Jewish. His musings suggest that these experiences contributed to his alienation from Judaism: "Ohne Arbeit - ohne Brot. Auserwähltes Volk - auserwählt, um getreten zu werden! Auf was sind wir stolz? Auf unsere Fähigkeit zu leiden!?" (161-162).

A variety of mitigating social factors nevertheless render Gabriel less responsible for his actions than individuals who underwent baptism for purely opportunistic motives, such as Professor Goldenherz of Pappenheim's 1933 short-story, "Die Erbschaft." This story takes place in "Frühjahr 1933," shortly after the "Erschütterung des April 1933," the

\(^{15}\) The condemnation of opportunistic converts was widespread. Just a few of the numerous articles critical of such converts include: "Von der Taufe der Juden" (Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums 12 April 1907), "Die Taufseuche in Wien" (Ost und West June 1905), "Judentaue und Staatsinteresse" (Frankfurter Israelitisches Familienblatt 1 Apr. 1910). Like Pappenheim, the authors of these articles are especially critical of wealthy converts from the upper social classes, who betrayed their origins to climb still higher, and Jews who committed "Fahnenflucht" in times of heightened anti-Semitism.
institution of a series of anti-Semitic laws which resulted in the removal of Jews, even baptized Jews, from public office. The story illustrates that the "shock of 1933" was especially tragic for converts such as Goldenherz (he had converted to Christianity twenty-five years earlier in order to rise to the position of professor), who had long disassociated themselves from their Jewish heritage. Without the support of the Jewish community and the solace of their beliefs, these individuals faced extreme difficulty in reorienting themselves to the new political reality and in reassessing their identities. Pappenheim describes the pain of this transition: "[er fühlte] sich wie vor den Kopf geschlagen, auch seine Kinder, die von der Herkunft der Eltern nur eine sagenhafte Ahnung hatten, konnten sich begreiflicherweise nicht zurecht finden" (277). Because the professor was world-renowned, distant relatives in America soon learned of his misfortune and informed him by letter that he could take possession of an "inheritance" if he could provide proof of his "Herkunft" ("origins"). Asked to authenticate his identity, Goldenherz documents precisely that facet of his identity, which he had until then painstakingly strived to obscure, his Jewishness. He gathers together artifacts of his Jewish past, which had been hidden in a secret compartment of an old chest since his conversion: "alte Briefe in unleserlichen Schriftzügen, einen Siegelring, ein kleines Büchsenchen in Turmform, dann noch ein sonderbares Instrument: eine Hand mit einem Deutefinger und ähnliche seltsame Dinge" (277). The evidence suffices and Goldenherz takes possession of his legacy: a yellowed sheet of paper with the "Schema Jisroel," the ten commandments, and the words "Ohawto lereacho komaucho" ("Liebe deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst") in Hebrew script. Pappenheim concludes the story:
Die Familie Goldenherz soll wieder sehr erschüttert gewesen sein. Wie die Geschichte weitergeht, weiß man noch nicht, aber die Erbschaft war groß und gut und wertvoll, und es wäre zu wünschen, daß alle abgebauten und getauften Akademiker sie in Empfang genommen hätten. (278)

The adjective "erschüttert" aptly expresses Goldenherz's ambivalent reaction: on the one hand, his shocked disappointment, as he had hoped for an inheritance of considerable material worth; on the other hand, a moment of emotion-laden revelation, the painful realization of what had been foolishly abandoned and the hopeful possibility of renewed strength and direction for a fresh beginning. While Pappenheim does not exonerate Goldenherz, she allows for his redemption. The optimistic conclusion of "Die Erbschaft" suggests that Pappenheim naively believed that some good could come from National Socialist anti-Semitism. Marion Kaplan concurs: "Even when the Nazis destroyed the rule of law, Pappenheim's first reaction seems to have been that the forcible return of Jews to their faith was not an entirely negative phenomenon" (Jewish Feminist Movement 50).
Pappenheim's June 1933 essay, "Der Einzelne und die Gemeinschaft" also looks at the bright side of Nazi anti-Semitism. Here she insists that the compulsory exclusion from public life will result in the strengthening of "Familienbindungen und religiöses Leben."

She closes:

Lieber und Verstand, Kraft und Geld, sollen die Zeit, die uns von außen Entwürdigung und Schmach bringen soll, zu einer Zeit der Selbstachtung, der religiösen Verinnerlichung und der würdigen Selbstbesinnung werden lassen. Der Ernst dieser Zeit kann Weg und Vorbereitung für eine gesunde, frohe Zukunft sein... (1)

Pappenheim's reaction to the enactment of anti-Semitic laws in 1933 and her conclusion of "Die Erbschaft" with the remarks that "one does not yet know how the story
will end" may alienate the post-Shoah reader, who *does* know how the story will end and can in hindsight reproach Pappenheim for her tragic blindness. However, both her reaction and the conclusion of the story are in keeping with Pappenheim's unwavering belief that this flare-up of anti-Semitism would blow over, like others before it, and that Jews would continue to have a place in German culture.

Pappenheim believed, even in the case of opportunists, that the Jewish community was partly to blame for its inability to retain its own members. Pappenheim wrote in a 1931 *Denkzettel*, "Man kann sich nur so lange von seinem Judentum bedrückt fühlen, als man nicht darauf stolz ist" (Jensen 188). According to this *Denkzettel*, the Jewish community was in danger of losing members to conversion, because it failed to instill in its members a sense of pride in Judaism which was strong enough to overcome adversity.16 Gabriel converts to Catholicism, because he can't answer the question, "Auf was sind wir stolz?" (162). Goldenherz renounces his belonging to the Jewish community, because it inhibits his professional and social advancement. According to Pappenheim's reasoning, however, if Goldenherz had felt sufficiently proud of his Jewish heritage, he would not have felt compelled to seek his self-worth elsewhere.

16Pappenheim was not alone in this belief. In 1910 Rabbi Dr. Werner proposed a similar recipe for preventing conversion. In addition to ostracizing converts, the community should strive to instill pride in its members: "Sodann sei eine bewußte, jüdische Erziehung zu stolzen Juden notwendig." Werner argued further that state sanctioned anti-Semitism would end if individual Jews refused to convert: "Würden alle Juden fest zum Judentum halten, so müßte der Staat ihnen alle Rechte geben, weil er die jüdische Kraft nicht entbehren kann. So aber bedient er sich der Täuflinge und kann darum den anderen Juden ihre Rechte vorenthalten" (Frankfurter Israelitisches Familienblatt 1 Ap. 1910: 10).
Pappenheim answers Gabriel's question, "Auf was sind wir stolz?" in her own 1934 rendition of Lessing's "Ringparabel." In "Der echte Ring" Pappenheim reveals what Jews should be proud of, namely that they are the holders of the "echten Ring," they had received God's word in its true, original form. In Pappenheim's rendering of the "Ringparabel," Judaism, Christianity, and Islam do not coexist as equals. The artisan of Pappenheim's parable is unable to reproduce the original ring. In other words, Jews should be proud of their faith as the inimitable incarnation of God's truth. Enraged because he is unable to emulate the singular beauty of the original ring, the artist seeks to destroy it. According to Pappenheim's parable, Anti-Semitism, hatred towards Jews and the resultant will to destroy them, can thus be explained by the jealousy of Christians and Muslims who did not receive the "true ring" and have been unable to replicate it in their derivative religions. Pappenheim suggests, however, that Judaism cannot be destroyed by anti-Semitism. Although the artist destroys the setting of the ring, he throws the pieces into space from whence they continue to shine down upon and bless the chosen. In other texts, however, Pappenheim cautions that Jews must not become complacent in their status as God's chosen people, that they should not base their pride in their community on inherited ethical principles unless they continue to uphold them (See "Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage"). Thus, Pappenheim's formula for a strong Jewish community (one whose members will not desert, and one that will not desert its weakest members, making them easy prey for

17 Already in her 1906 poem, "Jüdische Mütter: Pogrom 1905," Pappenheim suggested that Christian jealousy was the root of pogrom violence: "Voll Neid sind sie, Weil Ihr vom Stamme derer, die schon glaubten an einen Gott, da sie nur Götzen kannten; Die unsere Weisheit raubten, Und uns dann Räuber nannten" (Jensen 163).
missionaries) is a community that is deservedly proud of its valuable "Erbschaft" -- a community that is not only proud because Judaism gave the ten commandments and the concept of brotherly love to the rest of the world but continues to set an example in practicing these ethics.

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In summary and in conclusion: Both in her literary work (which I have shown to be programmatic, a sounding-board for Pappenheim's social work agenda) and in her essays, speeches, and letters, Pappenheim details, on the one hand, the efforts of Catholic organizations to attract converts through social outreach programs strategically targeted at the most vulnerable members of the Jewish community, and on the other hand, the conversion of individual opportunists who use baptism as a means to accelerate social and professional advancement. While Pappenheim was critical of the sometimes aggressive and deceptive strategies employed by Catholic missionaries, and while she did not exonerate individual converts entirely (especially in the case of purely opportunistic converts), her chief attacks were leveled at the Jewish community, which was, because it failed to address the material and spiritual needs of its adherents, at risk of losing its most vulnerable members. Knowing that Jewish leaders were painfully aware of a spreading Taufseuche, Pappenheim evoked the specter of conversion in order to draw attention to blind-spots in the Jewish community's social welfare networks. By suggesting in her conversion narratives that specific failures of the Jewish community were responsible for the much-feared Taufseuche, Pappenheim created compelling scare-propaganda for specific social work projects and reforms, including: 1) increasing women's role in
religious life and communal activities, 2) improving women's religious education, 3) addressing the need of the younger generations of the ultra-Orthodox community for secular education and exposure to secular culture, and 4) specific social outreach programs targeting pogrom orphans, illegitimate children and unwed mothers, prostitutes, and other vulnerable members of the community.

In her conversion narratives Pappenheim does not simply vilify Catholic missionaries as predatory "Seelenfänger" but presents the internationally organized and oriented social welfare network of the Catholic Church as a technically exemplary model for the maintenance and rejuvenation of the Jewish community. Pappenheim found the Catholic model attractive not only on account of its exemplary social work programs but because she viewed the Catholic Church as an international religious organization which had succeeded in allowing its adherents a "religiously Catholic" identification which was not at odds with their national (German, French, English, etc.) identity.

There is ample evidence that Pappenheim not only sought to emulate Catholic social work (as I have established in numerous examples above) but aspired to achieve for German Jews a status comparable to that of German Catholics, namely that they be viewed not as a Volk or nation distinct from Germans but that they be regarded as Germans who happened to be members of a transnational religious community, which by no means compromised their national loyalties. Pappenheim's rivalry with the *Katholischen Frauenbund*, her persistent attempts to assert a status for the *Jüdischen Frauenbund* within the German women's movement as a whole comparable to that of the *Katholischen Frauenbund* (that they be recognized as a religiously-based organization,
whose confessional identification nonetheless in no fashion compromised their national identification with the German women's movement) exemplifies this. At the *Breslauer Frauentag* in 1908 (the *JFB* was founded in 1904 and was an institutional member of the *Bund deutscher Frauenvereine* since 1907) Pappenheim -- disgusted that the representatives of the Catholic women's movement, which had not yet even joined the *BDF*, were "being wooed from every direction" and being asked their position on every issue, when the representatives of the *JFB* were being systematically ignored -- seized the podium, complaining that, "...sie, als Vertreterin des jüdischen Frauenbundes, spreche nicht, wie ihre Vorrednerin vom katholischen Frauenbund, weil sie oft angerufen wurde, sondern weil sie garnicht angerufen wurde" (Sidonie Werner, "Der Breslauer Frauentag" 437).

In 1915 Pappenheim again reacted with indignation when Helene Lange, in a speech at the conference of the *Allgemeinen Deutschen Frauenverein* (which was also printed in *Die Frau*), recognized the contributions of the *Katholischen Frauenbund* and the *Evangelischen Frauenbund* but failed to mention the *JFB*. When Gertrud Bäumer (the chairperson of the *BDF*) refused to officially censure Lange, arguing that she was not responsible for Lange's remarks and that Pappenheim's assumption that Lange's omission was motivated by anti-Semitism was erroneous, Pappenheim threatened to resign from the executive committee of the *BDF*. Pappenheim also resigned from the *Nationalen Frauentrieb*, stating that she did not wish to participate in an organization whose
"geistige Urheberinnen" (Bäumer and Lange) considered Jewish women to be second-rate citizens.¹⁸

Pappenheim's rivalry with Catholics was not confined to the German women's movement. In 1930, Pappenheim responded to an anonymous letter to the editor, reproaching the author for addressing German Jews in a tone he would not have dared employ "einem anderen Kreis von Menschen gegenüber, sagen wir aus der katholischen Religionsgemeinschaft" ("Ein 'offener Brief an die deutschen Juden' - und drei Antworten" 8). In 1927 Pappenheim vigorously protested a League of Nations report on white slavery in which Eastern European Jews involved in the white slave trade were listed as Jews, whereas their Catholic and Protestant counterparts were listed only by nationality (Sysiphus-Arbeit 2 22).

While two of the above examples refer to Protestants as well as Catholics, Pappenheim was clearly intrigued with the Catholic Church in particular. Whereas two of the examples above suggest an aspiration to achieve a status comparable to that of Catholics in particular, there are no examples that suggest a similar rivalry with Protestants (Protestants are mentioned only together with Catholics). In addition, Pappenheim's conversion narratives (with the exception of "Die Erbschaft," which does not specify which Christian denomination Goldenherz joined) portray conversion to

Catholicism in particular, although statistics show that many Jewish converts preferred Protestantism over Catholicism. Marsha Rozenblit observes that, even in predominantly Catholic Vienna, only about one-half of all converts chose Catholicism (136). The Catholic model (as opposed to Protestant Christianity, which through its organization into smaller national, regional or denominational churches lacked the cohesive international organization of the Roman Catholic Church, which enabled certain international social projects, which were so attractive to her) appealed to Pappenheim as an international religious organization which had succeeded in allowing its adherents a "religiously Catholic" identification which was not at odds with their national (German, French, English, etc.) identity. This success was epitomized by the *Katholischen Frauenbund*, which -- unlike the women of the *JFB*, who never escaped the stigma of being only "die Halben" within the *BDF* -- achieved full integration into the German women's movement without having to obscure their confessional affiliation and loyalties.

In 1914 Pappenheim proposed at a world women's conference in Rome an *Internationale Jüdischen Frauenbund*, which embodied the ideal of an international religious community, which did not compromise its members' national loyalties. Pappenheim envisioned an international Jewish women's organization which would 1) foster solidarity among Jewish women worldwide without compromising their affiliation with "interconfessional, national, and international" organizations; 2) enable Jewish women to become involved in the general women's movement without "relinquishing or obscuring their Jewish religious affiliation" (Karminski, "Internationale jüdische Frauenarbeit" 283). The nature of the projects proposed by Pappenheim suggest also that
the IJFB was conceived as a counterpart to Catholic social services. Pappenheim suggested that the IJFB devote itself to precisely those social projects which Pappenheim had identified as the blind-spots of the Jewish community upon which the Catholic Church had capitalized in its missionary work to prospective Jewish converts: women's role within religious and communal life; the secular education of the younger generations; the protection of women, girls and children; medical care; and relief for Jews living in poverty or distress. In addition the IJFB would initiate efforts to combat anti-Semitism and to halt opportunistically motivated conversion. Pappenheim's efforts departed from the Catholic model in one important way. While she advocated the international organization and solidarity of all Jews for social and humanitarian purposes, and justified this solidarity through the identification with a common Jewish religion, she eschewed the notion of an international Jewish "church," that is a single centralized and hierarchical religious institution, which would dictate a single mode of religious practice.\(^\text{19}\) Unlike Zionism, a contemporaneous international Jewish movement that Pappenheim vehemently opposed, Pappenheim's Catholic-inspired model would unite world Jewry without requiring assimilated Jews to forfeit their national or cultural identity in favor of a Jewish national/cultural identity. World Jewry would be bound not as a nation or Volk but as religious "Wahlverwandte," whereby Judaism would be reduced to a common denominator inclusive enough to allow for "Jemeniten und Misrachisten, Falaschas,

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\(^{19}\) Interestingly, Pappenheim did appreciate the influence of papal authority. In 1918 she petitioned both the Pope and U.S. President Wilson to call for an end to pogrom violence in Poland (Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums 13 Sept. 1918, 3 [Gemeindebote]).
Agudisten, Chassidim, Zionisten aller Färbungen, Liberale und Reformjuden, jüdische Chinesen, indische Juden, Assimilanten aller Länder, Heimkehrer..." ("Kleine Reisenotizen" 194). This common denominator would be the respect for the basic "ethischen und historischen Werten des Judentums:" monotheism, the ten commandments, and the commandment of brotherly love ("Nächstenliebe").
CHAPTER 5

FROM BROTHEL TO BETH JACOB:
BERTHA PAPPENHEIM ON EASTERN EUROPEAN JEWISH WOMEN

Bertha Pappenheim devoted a large portion of her lifelong career as social worker and activist to ministering to Eastern European Jews. She was initiated into the world of Jewish social work in Frankfurt in the early 1890s, working in a soup kitchen for needy Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. In 1900 she published a pamphlet, "Zur Judenfrage in Galizien," which detailed the dire situation of Jews in Galicia. In the early 1900s she belonged to the Komitee für die ost-europäischen Juden in Frankfurt, and in 1901 she founded the Frankfurt organization Weibliche Fürsorge, whose original mission was to provide aid for Eastern European immigrants. In addition to aiding Eastern Jewish immigrants in Germany, Pappenheim and the Weibliche Fürsorge founded Kindergärten in Galicia and sent numerous female "cultural missionaries" to work there. In 1903, under the auspices of the Frankfurt Israelitischen Hilfsverein and the Jüdischen Zweigkomitee zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels, Pappenheim undertook with Dr. Sara Rabinowitsch the first of several Studienreisen ("study trips") to Galicia. The published
version of her observations and recommendations, *Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien: Reise-Eindrücke und Vorschläge zur Besserung der Verhältnisse* (1904), established her reputation as an expert on the social problems facing Eastern European Jewry. In the spring of 1906 Pappenheim traveled to Russia to assess damage to pogrom-stricken Jewish communities and to organize local relief efforts. During this trip Pappenheim (who wrote little poetry) composed two pogrom poems ("Seltene Blumen Blühen" and "Jüdische Mütter, Pogrom 1905"). She also published an essay ("Igren") detailing her visit to a village whose small Jewish population was nearly decimated by pogrom violence. After the trip she arranged for the adoption (by Western European Jewish families) of 120 Russian pogrom orphans. In 1908 she embarked on a further *Agitationsreise* ("agitation trip") to Galicia. In 1909 Pappenheim traveled throughout the Balkans, where she petitioned Queen Carmen Sylva of Rumania to join in the crusade against white slavery. In 1917 Pappenheim served as *Fabrikpflegerin* ("guardian or counselor of factory workers") for 300 Eastern European Jewish female forced laborers in munitions factories in Frankfurt-Griesheim and Höchst. In 1918 she organized aid for 80,000 Russian Jewish and 50,000 Polish Jewish pogrom orphans and on behalf of the *Jüdischen Frauenbund* petitioned U.S. President Wilson and the Pope to publicly condemn pogroms in Eastern Europe. In 1924 she published *Sisyphus-Arbeit*, letters from her extensive 1911 and 1912 travels in the Balkans, the Middle East, and Galicia. In 1926 she journeyed to the Soviet Union, where she toured the Jewish Agro-Joint colonies. In November 1935 (just 6 months before her death) Pappenheim traveled to Kraków to inspect the Beth Jacob Seminary. In addition to the above-mentioned projects and
publications, Pappenheim addressed social outreach to Eastern European Jews in numerous other articles, speeches, and letters, and illustrated the plight of Eastern European Jews in several literary works, including her 1913 drama *Tragische Momente* and her 1916 volume of short stories *Kämpfe*.¹

This chapter examines Pappenheim’s ambivalent attitudes toward Eastern European Jewry. Pappenheim’s literary portrayals of Eastern European Jews, especially of women, alternate between nostalgic admiration for a certain idealized type of Eastern European Jewish woman (modern Glickl von Hamelns) and extremely negative and stereotypical portrayals of Eastern European Jews. Pappenheim’s non-fictional writings likewise exhibit examples from both extremes.

Pappenheim’s negotiation of anti-Semitic stereotypes² of Eastern European Jews is quite complex. The German-Jewish press charged Pappenheim with providing fodder for

¹Five of the six stories of *Kämpfe* focus on Eastern European Jewry. I believe, although I cannot state this conclusively, that the sixth story “Freitag Abend” also addresses the plight of Eastern Jewish immigrants in Germany. Rosy, the protagonist, is identified as an Austrian. Two details indicate that she may hail from Galicia in particular. Her family call her Reisle, a Yiddish name, and she indicates that she takes great care when speaking German, in order to avoid ridicule. According to Werheimer, Galician Jewish youths were sometimes taught by their parents to state their place of origin as Austria rather than Galicia to avoid stigmatization (145).

² It is important to note that "Anti-Semitism" is not a monolithic phenomenon but that there have been many different "Anti-Semitism" (religious, political, economic, racial, etc. and combinations thereof) over the course of time and space. Even during Pappenheim's lifetime (and even among German National Socialists), Anti-Semitism appeared in many variations. For discussions of German, Austrian, and other Anti-Semitism see among others: Gilman and Katz's Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis, Brakelman and Rosowski's Antisemitismus: von religiöser Feindschaft zur Rassenideologie, Jahr's Feindbilder in der Deutschen Geschichte: Studien zur Vorurteilsgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert,
anti-Semites, objecting in particular to her assertion that Eastern European Jews were major players in the white slave trade. For Pappenheim, however, fear of anti-Semitism was no excuse for tolerating immorality and injustice within the Jewish community. She argued:

Niemand darf still bleiben, der weiß, daß irgendwo ein Unrecht geschieht -- nicht Geschlecht, nicht Alter, nicht Konfession, noch Partei dürfen ein Grund sein zu schweigen. Von Unrecht wissen und schweigen, macht mitschuldig. (Sisyphus-Arbeit, 3)

Pappenheim reasoned that exposing "Jewish" vice with the intention of instigating reform within the Jewish community would ultimately curtail anti-Semitism. She even argued on another occasion that "wachsende Unsittlichkeit" within the community was more dangerous to Jews than the "Haß der Völker rings um uns her" ("Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage" 19). She may even have hoped that the incrimination of Eastern European Jews would divert anti-Semitism away from middle-class German Jews such as herself, a strategy which relied on the false premise that anti-Semites distinguished between Eastern European and Western European Jews. Assuming the pose of reformer of Eastern Jews served the dual purpose of 1) distancing German Jewish reformers from the beneficiaries of their social work (the "offenders" whose behavior allegedly caused anti-Semitism), while 2) simultaneously eliminating anti-Semitism altogether by "fixing" the unacceptable behaviors and traits that presumably caused it. While this social work strategy distanced German Jews from Eastern Jews via the benefactor/beneficiary relationship, its success

Greive's Geschichte des modernen Antisemitismus in Deutschland, and Rose's Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany from Kant to Wagner.
relied paradoxically on an at least partial identification of German Jews with Eastern Jews. German Jews would only open their pocketbooks to support social work efforts aimed at Eastern Jews if 1) they accepted that anti-Semites did not distinguish between Eastern and Western Jews, and it thus behooved them to “clean up” their Eastern brethren, or 2) German Jews themselves acknowledged a kinship with Eastern Jews, and thus felt a moral obligation to act on their behalf.

Neither Pappenheim’s internalization of anti-Semitic stereotypes (her “Jewish Self-Hatred”) and the ensuing projection of these stereotypes on a very visible (even more “other”) “Other” nor the idealization of certain aspects of Eastern European Jewish culture were unique among middle-class German and Austrian Jews. These phenomena have been extensively examined by scholars (Gilman, Aschheim, Wertheimer, Maurer, and Robertson among others). However, scholars have generally limited themselves to manifestations of Jewish anti-Semitism and the interest in an Eastern Jewish “cult” or “renaissance” among Pappenheim’s male contemporaries. I will argue that both Pappenheim’s Jewish anti-Semitism (as exhibited in her seemingly anti-Semitic portrayals of Eastern European Jews) and her nostalgia for certain aspects of Eastern European Jewish culture differ from those of her male contemporaries because of her identification as a feminist, yet Orthodox Jewish woman. Although she employed many of the same anti-Semitic stereotypes as her male counterparts, she was motivated by her feminist agenda. She argued that these “faults,” generally attributed to the supposed degeneration of Eastern Jewry, were the result of Eastern European Jewish women's traditionally inferior position within the Jewish community, Orthodox Judaism's reduction of women to mere
sexual objects. As a feminist Pappenheim could, for example, not subscribe fully to an Eastern Jewish Renaissance à la Martin Buber, who with many other male contemporaries became enamoured in particular with Hasidism, because she condemned Hasidic tradition as particularly misogynist. Pappenheim argued instead that Eastern Jewish women, in their dual (seemingly schizophrenic) role as harbingers of (Western) secular culture and keepers of the "altjüdischen Familienleben" ("old/traditional Jewish family life"), would be the catalyst for the rejuvenation of Eastern Jewry.

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Pappenheim's writings on white slavery are representative of her more negative portrayals of Eastern European Jews. In both her literary and non-fictional writings Pappenheim delineated sharply between Eastern and Western Jews. Both the traders and victims of white slavery are Eastern European Ashkenazic Jews, or less frequently Sephardic Jews, but never Western European Jews. However, she remained adamant that white slavery nonetheless concerned Western European Jews, that it was their duty as Jews to combat it. In 1913, for example, she reprimanded Western European and American Jews for turning a blind eye to the plight of their Eastern European coreligionists ("Interesse der Juden am V. Int’l Kongress zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels"). She repeated this charge in 1923:

Wir hören die Westjuden oft sagen, daß der Mädchenhandel eine Sache des Ostens sei, bei uns gäbe es das nicht, es sei eben eine Sache des Ostens. Ich glaube, es gibt nichts, was nur einen Teil des Judentums angeht und den andern Teil nicht. ("Schutz der Frauen und Mädchen" 31)
Pappenheim advocated solidarity with Eastern European Jews (in the struggle against white slavery, as well as in other social welfare and educational programs benefiting Eastern Jewry) throughout her career. However, her arguments as to why Western European Jews should concern themselves with their Eastern European coreligionists underwent subtle changes over time. Three stages of argumentation are discernible. In the first (also chronologically earliest stage) Pappenheim appealed quite simply to traditional Jewish philanthropy. In the second stage, Pappenheim continued to appeal to her audience's philanthropic tendencies but increasingly fed on their fears of anti-Semitism. Western Jews should seek to aid Eastern European Jews in order to keep them from immigrating to Germany, or if immigration was inevitable, to at least "clean them up" before they came or soon after arrival. In the third stage, Pappenheim focused no longer on "damage control" but presented aid to Eastern Jews as a reciprocal, cooperative arrangement. Eastern Jews would not only take from Western Jews but would give something valuable in return. In this final stage of argumentation (which is situated chronologically in the late 1920s and the 1930s) Pappenheim's rhetoric frequently bears a striking resemblance to the rhetoric of her National Socialist opponents. I will argue, however, that while Pappenheim employs the lingo of National Socialist racial anti-Semitism, her arguments radically undermine this discourse.

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Both because of biblical commandments to aid the less fortunate members of the community and because of the Jewish community's relative self-reliance and separatism (whether by choice or by compulsion), the Jewish community had a centuries-long
tradition of more or less organized philanthropy. In her 1900 essay "Zur Judenfrage in Galizien" Pappenheim appealed primarily to these traditional Jewish philanthropic tendencies, arguing that from the "universal humanitarian viewpoint" it was the duty of "wealthy, educated Jews" (especially Jewish women) to defend and aid "oppressed Galician and Russian Jews" (9). In her 1904 pamphlet Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien Pappenheim again argued that it was the "duty" of Western European Jews to participate in Kulturarbeit in disadvantaged Galicia (56). In these early essays, Western Jews ostensibly stood to gain nothing more from aiding Eastern European Jews than the intangible benefit inherent in performing a mitzvah (fulfilling one of God's commandments, especially the commandment to perform charitable deeds).

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In her 1907 speech "Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage," given at the second Delegiertentag of the JFB, Pappenheim no longer appealed solely to German-Jewish women's humanitarian sensibilities but also to their fear of anti-Semitism, arguing, "...wir jüdischen Frauen, wir müssen unser Volk verteidigen gegen das Ueberhandnehmen dieser Erscheinungen, die uns beschämen und uns in den Augen der Welt erniedrigen" (22). In a 1924 speech, Pappenheim again implored that Jews worldwide must strive to eliminate this "Schandfleck am Judentum," namely white slavery and prostitution (Sisyphus-Arbeit 235). While Pappenheim clearly viewed white slavery and prostitution as Eastern European problems, she was apparently already cognizant that "the world" did not necessarily distinguish between Eastern and Western Jews -- Eastern Jewish vice reflected poorly on
all Jews (i.e. would aggravate anti-Semitism directed toward all Jews), and it was thus the duty of all Jews to combat it.⁵

While only more radical factions of German-nationalist Jewry (for example some Nationaldeutsche Juden) actively supported political efforts to expel Eastern European Jewish immigrants or to ban further immigration (other German-Jews, even those with strong prejudices against Eastern European Jews, generally opposed restrictions on foreigners based on religious affiliation, realizing this could be a first step in reversing the still tenuous recent emancipation of German Jews) most German Jews were scarcely enthusiastic about the mass exodus of Eastern European Jews to Germany. Pappenheim, too, repeatedly expressed the wish that Eastern European Jews would remain in Eastern

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⁵It is worth noting that Pappenheim’s remarks on the role of Jews in the white slave trade vary significantly depending on her audience. At the JFB’s second Delegiertentag, which was attended by generally like-minded Jewish German women, Pappenheim announced: “Wir wissen, daß eine große Anzahl jüdischer Mädchen das Gewerbe der freien Prostitution betreibt,- wir wissen, daß in allen Bordellen der Welt Judinnen zu finden sind, und wissen, daß im Mädchenhandel - Händler und Ware größtenteils jüdisch sind” (“Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage” 19). In her Sisyphus-Arbeit letters, which were originally intended for a small circle of Pappenheim’s female Jewish colleagues, Pappenheim again details frankly and openly the involvement of Eastern Jews in white slavery and prostitution. She states outright: “... immer sind es die Juden, die sie [the girls] stehlen und kaufen und verführen,” (155) and “Fast alle Mädchenhändler, Zuhälter usw. sind Juden...” (164). In a 1910 speech held at the Jewish International Congress for Combating White Slavery, Pappenheim pronounced aloud what her coreligionists were, according to her, afraid to utter: “... viele Juden sind Händler, viele jüdische Mädchen sind Ware” (Sisyphus-Arbeit 222). In a 1911 speech “Reise-Eindrücke,” which was given before the interconfessional Deutsches National-Komitee, Pappenheim does not single out Jewish involvement as she does in speeches and writings aimed at Jewish audiences. She says nothing of the religion or ethnicity of traders and claims here that the victims are of all religious persuasions. Although Pappenheim herself repeatedly expounded that Jews were the chief players in the white slave trade (at least when she was speaking to an exclusively Jewish audience), she took great offense when non-Jews made similar claims, and summarily accused their authors of anti-Semitism (Sisyphus-Arbeit 211, 22).

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Europe or choose destinations other than Germany. In a 1911 letter she writes of a new conservatory in Jerusalem, "Wenn jetzt die russischen Genies alle statt nach Deutschland hierher kämen, wäre das sehr zu begrüssen" (Sisyphus-Arbeit 111). During World War I, Pappenheim arranged for a Yiddish and German-speaking protegé to work with Russian-Jewish forced laborers in Frankfurt, telling her, "... es ist einerlei, ob Du nach Osteuropa gehst, oder ob Osteuropa - leider - nach Deutschland kommt..." (emphasis mine, Edinger 43). In her opening address for the JFB's second Delegiertentag (1907), Pappenheim lamented the "invasion" of Eastern European Jews into Germany (4). She recommended that German-Jewish philanthropic organizations, rather than indiscriminately welcoming every Eastern European Jew as a martyr or "Ahasver", should undertake measures (at least in areas where Jews were not subject to pogrom violence) to found Kulturzentren ("cultural centers") in Eastern Europe in order to transform "wandernde Juden" into "erwerbende bodensässige Menschen" (4). Pappenheim took care, however, to emphasize that keeping Eastern European Jews in Eastern Europe was not only advantageous for German Jews but also for the would-be immigrants. In "Zur Judenfrage in Galizien" (1900) she cautions that even "the best" Galicians would not be able to compete in the West:

Während so ein Mann im Lande die relativ höhere Kultur repräsentiere [...], sinkt an der Grenze schon sein Wert. Ueberall, in Oesterreich, England, Deutschland wird er der "Polack", der sich bekanntlich keiner grossen Sympathien erfreut und nach jeder Richtung hin Schwierigkeiten begegnet, wenn er sich behaupten will. (7)

Thus, Pappenheim and many of her contemporaries strove to improve living conditions and career prospects for Jews, who chose to remain in Eastern Europe. Clearly these
programs were not merely for the benefit of Eastern Jews, but were equally attractive to German Jews, who feared the arrival of the supposedly uncivilized masses from the East. Pappenheim was apparently quite aware that her social work programs would appeal both to Jews who felt a genuine humanitarian obligation to their Eastern brethren as well as to those with less altruistic motives (not to mention the majority, which was likely somewhere in between the two poles). In *Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien* (1904) she wrote:

> Wer sich heute aus dem egoistischen Grunde für Galizien interessiert, weil die Angst besteht, die gefürchteten Polacken könnten in immer größerer Zahl ihr Land verlassen und sich unangenehm in einem geliebten, sauberen Erdwinkel oder Stadtteil niederlassen, kann zur Abwehr dieser Kalamität dasselbe tun, wie ein anderer, der aus altruistischen Gründen einem Haufen leidender, sinkender, intelligenter Menschen Hilfe bringen will. (53)

Realizing, however, that immigration could not be halted entirely, Pappenheim exercised damage control, advocating programs that would either prepare prospective immigrants before their departure from Eastern Europe or help to ease their integration upon arrival in Germany. In Galicia, for example, she recommended *Aussandererschulen* ("schools for prospective emigrants") and *Aussanderungsbureaux* ("emigration offices") (*Zur Lage* 64).

Assuming the role of reformer/teacher of Eastern European Jewry served a dual purpose for Pappenheim and her social worker/philanthropist colleagues. On the one hand, their social projects served the purpose of ridding Eastern Jews of the alleged faults, which purportedly exacerbated anti-Semitism towards all Jews. On the other hand, it served as a distancing mechanism. By creating the relationship missionary vs. "barbarian"/"primitives" or colonizer vs. colonized, German Jews strove to concretize the social distance between
themselves and Eastern Jews, a distinction which, although it was very real and apparent to them, was challenged by the assertions of racial anti-Semites, who did not distinguish between German and Eastern European Jews. Thus, German Jews struggled to hold their Eastern European brethren at arm’s length until social work efforts would render them gesellschaftsfähig ("socially acceptable").

A number of passages in Pappenheim’s work reveal that Pappenheim cultivated the image of German Jews (especially German Jewish women) as missionaries among supposedly primitive or barbaric Eastern European Jews. In “Zur Judenfrage in Galizien” (1900) she refers to German Jewish social workers, doctors, nurses, teachers, etc. in Galicia as “Civilisatoren” and “Plioniere” and recommends sending “Missionäre der thätigen pflichttreuen Menschenliebe” into the “galizische Wildnis” (17, 21). In a 1908 speech Pappenheim reports that three female Jewish nurses were serving in Galicia “als Missionärinnen moderner Hygiene” (qtd. in Heubach, Sisyphus 126). In a 1908 letter to her pupil Sophie Mamelock, Pappenheim proposes sending her as a “Kulturpionierin” to Kolomea (Edinger, Bertha Pappenheim: Leben und Schriften 34). 4

4 The following are examples of specific recommendations that suggest a parent-child or teacher-pupil relationship between German Jews and Galicians. In one essay Pappenheim writes, "Wenn 'etwas vorkommt', dann muß mit unnachtsichtlicher Strenge vorgegangen werden, damit die Bevölkerung keinen Augenblick darüber im Zweifel bleiben kann, was erlaubt und was unerlaubt ist" (Zur Lage 31). In another essay, she suggests awarding token prizes for the “bestgestopften Strümpfe, die bestgepflegten Babies eines kleinen Bezirks” (“Zur Judenfrage” 22).
At least one Eastern European Jewish intellectual took umbrage at Pappenheim’s chauvinism towards Galician Jews. The Galician publicist Benjamin Segel ⁵ issued in June 1911 a scathing critique of the work of the *Weibliche Fürsorge* (the Frankfurt social work agency founded by Pappenheim) in Galicia. Segel’s two-part article, which was written in response to the annual report of the *Weibliche Fürsorge*, charged Pappenheim's colleagues of being ignorant of conditions in Galicia and of exhibiting the typical Western European chauvinism toward Galician Jews.⁶ He is particularly critical of “Schwester Johanna’s” report that her attempts to bring “order” to a hospital in Drohobycz resulted in death-threats from Galician Jews, who angrily threw stones at her when she attempted to institute visiting hours. Segel complains:

Aehnliche Berichte habe ich aus Deutsch-Ost-Afrika, aus Australien und den Gebieten, wo Wilde und Menschenfresser wohnen, gelesen. Es überläuft einem kalt, wenn man an die Gefahren denkt, denen die heldenmütige Schwester Johanna so tapfer die Stirn bot, um das westeuropäische Prinzip der Ordnung hochzuhalten, und man begreift, ‘was das bedeutet, welche Energie und welcher gute Wille dazu gehört, einen solchen Feldzug gegen Unkultur zu unternehmen’, wie der Bericht stolz hervorhebt. (9 June 1911: 1)

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⁵ Segel was a prominent figure in the German Jewish press, who had gained respect as a “scharfer, aber gerecht und sachlich denkender Kritiker” through his rebuttal of Theodor Lessing’s 1909 article series “Eindrücke aus Galizien.” Lessing’s article series was derided by numerous critics on account of its negative, grossly stereotypical portrayals of Galician Jewry (“Anmerkung der Redaktion,” Frankfurter Israelitisches Familienblatt 16 June 1911: 4).

⁶ Although Segel objects to the chauvinism of the “Weibliche Fürsorge” towards Galician Jews, he himself speaks condescendingly of his own “Landsleute,” “Das sind die gutmütigsten, lenkbarsten und gelehigsten Menschen von der Welt. Man muß nur wissen, wie zu ihnen zu reden” (9 June 1911, 1).
It is important to add that German and Austrian Jews perceived not only Eastern Jews but also their “half-Asian” Eastern European gentile neighbors as backward and barbaric. In his study *Halb-Asien: Land und Leute des östlichen Europa* Karl Emil Franzos (a transplanted Eastern European Jew, who greatly influenced German and Austrians’ perceptions of Eastern Europe) suggested that Eastern Jews’ backwardness was a result of the backwardness of their Gentile oppressors, “Denn - jedes Land hat die Juden, die es verdient” (Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers* 28-29).\(^7\) Steven Aschheim summarizes Franzos’s assessment of Eastern Europe / “Half-Asia”: “Half-Asia was not merely a geographical destination, it was also a condition of the mind. It referred to the strange amalgam of European culture and Asian barbarism, Western industriousness and Eastern indolence” (28). Pappenheim likewise viewed non-Jewish Eastern Europeans as both primitive and barbaric. Her published journal entry “Igren,” which chronicles her visit to pogrom victims in the Ukraine, demonstrates this view. In this text Pappenheim juxtaposes children of German colonists with native Russian children: “Die Kinder kamen sauber gekleidet aus einem gepflegten Schulhause, sie grüßten uns freundlich, ein greller Gegensatz zu den russischen Kindern in dem nächsten, drei Minuten von Ribalsk entfernten Bauerdorfe, wo die in schmutzigen Lumpen steckende Jugend indolent herumlungerte.” She describes a visit to a tidy German farm-house in idyllic terms: “Alles,

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\(^7\) Franzos’s observations are of particular interest considering that critics likened Pappenheim’s portraits of Eastern Jewish life in *Kämpfe* to those in Franzos’s literary work (Neißer 372).
alles, die Magd am Fenster, die Katze am Ofen, schienen auf einen Gerhard Daw oder Jan Steen zu warten, und ich fühlte auf einmal, was Kultur in einem Volke ist” (227).

For Pappenheim, the actions of Eastern European pogrom perpetrators was typical of the generally uncivilized nature of Eastern gentiles. In her poem “Jüdische Mütter, Pogrom 1905” Pappenheim condemns the barbarism of Russian and Ukrainian pogrom perpetrators:

Nicht Menschen sind’s wenn sie auch Menschen gleichen [...] 

Ihr Mütter, die Schatten verdichten sich bald.

Sie nehmen der Roheit vertierte Gestalt,

Sie morden, sie brennen mit wilder Lust.

Sie töten Euch Müttern das Kind an der Brust.” (lines 10, 16-19)⁸

In a 1912 letter Pappenheim reported to her colleagues feeling very uneasy in Moscow, where she could not help but view local roughians as potential pogrom-murderers:

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⁸ In Pappenheim’s drama Tragische Momente the barbarism of Russian Christian pogrom perpetrators stands in stark contrast to the civilized humanity of Russian Jewish pogrom victims. When in the middle of a three-day pogrom the Russian chief of police, the Jews’ “greatest enemy,” bids Doctor Margulies, whose wife and unborn child were murdered by Russian Christians, to deliver his wife’s child, Margulies’ mother urges him to go, “denn es steht geschrieben: weohawto lereacho komaacho! (Liebe deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst)” (21). This scene underscores the irony of pogroms in which Christians slaughtered, purportedly for religious reasons, the very people whose religion fathered their own. In her poem “Jüdische Mütter” Pappenheim attributes the perpetrators’ hate to base envy: “Voll Neid sind sie, Weil Ihr vom Stamme derer, die schon glaubten an einen Gott, da sie nur Götzen kannten; Die unsere Weisheit raubten, Und uns dann Räuber nannten” (lines 11-15).
... diese trunkenen Männer und Weiber zusammen zu sehen, das Schreien und Lachen und Johlen aus den Fenstern zu hören, die frechen Gestalten an sich anstoßen zu fühlen, diese Luft zu atmen, das Kellerloch zu sehen, wo allnächtlich die bei den Schlägereien Umgekommenen hineingeworfen werden, zu wissen, daß im gegebenen Augenblick auf relativ kleinem Raum 4000 solcher Menschen beisammen sind, die auf einem Wink zu Pogrom Bestien werden können, - es legte sich wie ein Alp auf meine Brust. (Sisyphus-Arbeit 191)

Although the negative traits Pappenheim ascribed to Eastern European Jews were largely identical to those attributed to Jews by anti-Semites, Pappenheim rejected the notion that these traits were biologically/racially determined. Indeed, her grand plan for a Regenerierung ("rejuvenation") of Eastern European Jews relied on the premise that Eastern European Jews were not inherently physically, morally, and intellectually inferior or degenerate but had been made so by an adverse environment. Pappenheim insisted that advances already accomplished by social programs proved the validity of her assertions. In "Zur Judenfrage in Galizien" (1900), for example, she combats the notion that Jews were not suited to farming, arguing that an existing agricultural school for boys had already proven, "dass wenn jüdische Knaben stramm und tüchtig erzogen und zu körperlicher Arbeit angehalten werden, sie sich physisch normal und kräftig entwickeln" (12). In 1904 she observed that Galician youth were "intelligent und entwicklungsfähig" (Zur Lage 62) and in 1911 she marveled: "Die Hinaufentwicklungsfähigkeit der osteuropäischen Juden ist bewunderungswürdig" (Sisyphus-Arbeit, 205).

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By 1936 Pappenheim stressed an entirely different motivation for directing social work efforts at Eastern European Jewry, namely that the well-being of Eastern European
Jews would be vital to the survival of "World-Jewry." In this essay, Pappenheim argues that Eastern European Jews comprised "ein solches Reservoir des Judentums, daß für Generationen von dort noch lebendiges jüdisches Leben fliessen wird" ("Kleine Reisenotizen" 194).

Pappenheim was not the first German Jew to suggest that Eastern European Jewry could play an important role in the rejuvenation of Western European Jewry. Pappenheim's German Zionist contemporaries likewise forwarded this notion, which entailed a radical up-ending of the notion that Eastern European Jews were inherently inferior or degenerate. The relationship of German Zionists to their Eastern European brethren was very complex. On the one hand, Eastern European Jews served as poster-children for the negative effects of the Diaspora or Galut existence. They embodied the physical, cultural, and moral degeneration resulting from the oppressive abnormality of the ghetto existence (Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers 88). On the other hand, German Zionism's conception of a Jewish national regeneration was also shaped by the ideologies of German Volkish nationalism (Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers 101-102). For German Zionists, Eastern European Jews represented a "genuine," unalienated Jewish Volk that had not become estranged from its Jewish national culture and community in the vain attempt to assimilate to the dominant culture. The experiences, both positive and negative, of World War I contributed further to German Jews' increased identification with Eastern European Jews. German Jews experienced heightened anti-Semitism during the war, such as the German military's 1916 Judenzählung, which called German Jews' loyalty to Germany into question. Their German identity called into question, many German Jewish
soldiers identified with the still "intact" Jewish culture that they encountered on the Eastern front.

Several Zionist periodicals (and periodicals which were not expressly Zionist but generally sympathetic to Jewish nationalism) sought to help re-connect Eastern and Western Jews. In addition to the Zionist periodicals Die Welt and Die jüdische Rundschau, Leo Winz's periodical Ost und West, which was very popular among middle-class German-Jews, especially women, disseminated positive images of Eastern Jews. In addition to furthering antidefamation efforts and promoting philanthropic projects in Eastern Europe, these periodicals sought to familiarize German Jews with Eastern European Jewish culture by featuring the visual art of Eastern European Jewish artists, visual art portraying Eastern European Jewish life, and translations of Eastern Jewish (Yiddish) literature, folklore, and folksongs. Martin Buber's Jüdischer Verlag (founded in 1902) likewise published translations of Yiddish literature and reproductions of the works of Eastern Jewish authors as part of the "cultural Zionist" "Jewish Renaissance" (Brenner, "Promoting Eastern European Jewry..." 63-88).

Martin Buber's positive revaluation of Hasidism is one example of the Zionist up-ending of negative stereotypes of Eastern European Jews. Buber succeeded in refiguring Hasidism in the imaginations of German Jews by skirting the realities of contemporary Hasidic communities in favor of a highly stylized, legendary vision of the early years of the Hasidic movement. The realities of the Hasidic community of Buber's day (at least as it is portrayed in less favorable accounts, such as Pappenheim's, with its supposed moral depravation, physical hardships, superstition, illiteracy, disregard for secular learning, and
morally dubious *zaddikim*) would hardly seem an attractive alternative to German Jews who had been instilled with the values of German “Bildungsbürgertum.” By focusing on Hasidic legend, however, Buber propagated a mythical Hasidism, the vision of an organic, intact *urjüdische* community, which although it was appealing to Jewish adherents of German-style völkish nationalism as well as to Jewish neo-mystics, had little to do with the present-day Hasidic community (Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers* 122-135, Robertson 97-98).

During and after World War I, however, when direct encounters with Eastern Jews became inevitable (German soldiers encountered Eastern Jews on the Eastern front, and Eastern Jewish refugees and forced laborers entered Germany), the “cult of Eastern Jewry” focused increasingly on contemporary Eastern Jews. According to Aschheim, a distinctly socialist direction distinguished this strain of the “cult” from its pre-war predecessors. The best known literary and artistic product of this socialist-inspired strain was Arnold Zweig and Hermann Struck’s 1919 collaborative work, *Das ostjüdische Antlitz*, which in picture and word inverted negative stereotypes of Eastern Jews, romantically depicting them as the true Jewish proletariat, representatives of a culturally and spiritually intact community, which had managed to resist Western materialism (Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers* 199-202).9

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9 Dagmar Lorenz observes that both Buber and Zweig admired as *Urtümlichkeit*, the very same qualities that Pappenheim and others had construed as backwardness, "the same perceived quality is interpreted as good or bad." I agree with her assessment that some sort of "Orientalism" is at play here (personal communication).
Aschheim observes that the Berlin *Volksheim*, which was founded by Zionist Siegfried Lehmann in 1916, was one exemplary practical outgrowth of the positive revaluation of contemporary Eastern European Jewry. The “Volksheim” founders did not expound a wholesale glorification of Eastern Jewry but envisioned rather a symbiotic exchange between Eastern and Western Jewry. Although Western Jews played the role of teacher/social worker toward their minor-aged *Volksheim* pupils, imparting the practical vocational skills necessary to “overcome” the ghetto, they would ideally learn from their pupils “noninstrumental values, religious subjectivity, lost Jewish modes of being” (Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers* 195).

Pappenheim’s above-mentioned 1936 essay, “Kleine-Reisenotizen,” was written after her November 1935 visit to the Beth Jacob Seminary in Kraków. Pappenheim employs in her petition for aid for the expansion of the Beth Jacob Seminary a new strategy. She appeals here neither to her audiences’ “traditionally Jewish” humanitarian tendencies nor to their fears of anti-Semitic flare-ups caused by (Eastern) Jewish vice but stresses instead that Western European Jewish benefactors would not only give to but also receive from their Eastern beneficiaries. As in the case of the Zionist *Volksheim*, the Western benefactors would offer their beneficiaries valuable vocational training. What the beneficiaries would give back to their benefactors, however, departed from the *Volksheim* model. The German-Jewish teachers (the first teachers for Pappenheim's proposed addition to Beth Jacob in Kraków were to be either "imported" from Germany or trained there) would not “absorb” some elusive sort of Ur-Jewishness through contact with their pupils. Pappenheim’s vision of what Eastern Jews would give Western Jews was more
tangible. They were not the source of a spiritual or cultural Jewish renaissance but biological insurance that World Jewry would not become extinct. Eastern Jews were a "blutmäßiges" ("blood-wise") reservoir of Jewishness, not a cultural, spiritual or national one. Trude Maurer notes that by the late 1920s diverse factions of German Jewry considered Eastern Jews to be a "Bevölkerungsreservoir des deutschen Judentums." As low birthrates, conversion or Austritt ("withdrawal" from the Jewish community), and so-called mixed marriages caused the population of German Jews to dwindle, many German Jews came to view Eastern Jews, whom they had previously regarded as a thorn in their side, as their salvation (756-757). This did not mean, however, that most German Jews (Pappenheim included) discarded their negative opinions of Eastern Jews (the adherents of the "cult of the Ostjuden" were an important but nevertheless small minority). Although Pappenheim advanced the notion that Eastern Jews could be the salvation of World Jewry she cautioned, "Es hängt davon ab, wie man sich zu diesem Reservoir des Judentums stellen wird, ob man für das Welt-Judentum bedeutsame Kräfte aktivieren wird oder nicht" (194). For Pappenheim Eastern Jews were a natural resource, biological raw material. They would be valuable to World Jewry only if "processed" and used wisely.

Pappenheim issued the above remarks as part of her comments on "die ostjüdische Mädchenerziehung." The context of these statements suggests that Pappenheim believed that the future of Eastern Jewish women in particular was vital to the survival of world Jewry. Before examining Pappenheim's precise recommendations for the education of Eastern Jewish girls, it is instructive to cast a glance also at the written portrayals of Eastern Jewish girls and women, which pre-date this essay. These portrayals (both in
literary works and in essays, speeches and letters) are highly ambivalent, ranging from negative, grossly stereotypical depictions resembling anti-Semitic caricatures to nostalgic idealizations.

Both extremes are represented in Pappenheim’s 1916 collection of short stories, Kämpfe. The two female figures of the first story of Kämpfe, “Der Erlöser,” are little more than caricatures of two “types” of Eastern European Jewish womanhood: the prostitute and the female white slave trader/bordello proprietress. Pappenheim describes Muhme Rifke as, “in ihrer ganzen Erscheinung charakteristisch die russische oder galizische Judenfrau” (28). If Muhme Rifke is characteristic of the Eastern European Jewess, then Pappenheim’s vision of this “type” is hardly flattering. Pappenheim describes Rifke:

Ein Scheitel von schwarzenbraunem Atlas schnitt ihre Stirne ab, die ebenso wie das ganze Gesicht mit faltigem, runzeligem, genarbt Pergament überzogen schien; kleine schwarze, rotgeränderte Augen ohne Wimpern, ein zahnloser Mund, Kopf und Schultern von einem großen Umhängetuch bedeckt... (28)

Her hands are dirty (29), as is her “typically Jewish” rummage store (26-27); she is prematurely aged (28); and she complains incessantly in a “Tonart weinerlicher Klage” of her physical ailments and general misfortune (30). And if Muhme Rifke is typical, then the typical Eastern European Jewess is a thief, exploits and abuses children (Muhme Rifke sent Reisle begging and beat her when she brought home too little money), and is a “madam” (Rifke’s rummage store is a mere front for her bordello). Her scarred skin may also very well be an allusion to a past venereal disease, indication that she began her “career” as a prostitute.
Reisle embodies also, according to Pappenheim, the “Typus der osteuropäischen Jüdin” (27). While Pappenheim refers here to her physical appearance, this description of physical appearance is meant to reflect Reisle’s inner character. Pappenheim focuses, for example, on a diamond pin fastening Reisle’s red blouse, which “betrayed” not only “üppige Formen” but also “den Mangel an Ordnungssinn, der häufig als Einschlag zur Eitelkeit geeignet ist, diese in ihrer Wirkung zu vernichten” (27). Elsewhere Pappenheim refers to Reisle’s vanity (28), “Putzsucht” (20, 30, 35) and the “schweren tiefen Mangel in ihrem Seelenleben” (38). And if Reisle is the embodiment of the “Typus der osteuropäischen Jüdin,” then Pappenheim has again issued a serious insult, for Reisle is “sittlich abstoßend” (“morally repulsive”) (39); she is an unrepentant prostitute.

These stereotypically negative portrayals of Reisle and Rifke are consistent with the impressions of Eastern European Jewish women which Pappenheim gathered during her travels in Galicia, Russia, the Balkans and the Middle-East in 1903 and 1911-12. In her 1904 pamphlet Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien (the product of a 5 week trip to Galicia in 1903) Pappenheim characterizes young Galician women as “putzsüchtig,” gaudy and flirtatious. She writes: “Die Frauen und Mädchen putzen sich auffallend und geschmacklos,” and “Scharen junger Mädchen ziehen, übertrieben modisch geputzt, mit Offizieren und Gymnasiasten kokettierend, durch die Hauptstraßen...” (Zur

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10 Dagmar Lorenz notes that female authors of German colonial novels, such as Frieda von Bülow and Hanna Christaller ascribed these same characteristics to African and Mulatto women (personal communication). See also Barbara Ann Shumannfäng’s 1998 dissertation, Envisioning Empire: Jewishness, Blackness and Gender in German Colonial Discourse from Frida von Bülow to the Nazi Kolonie and Heimat.
Lage 8, 10). Pappenheim describes the “Mädchen” as “hübsch und frisch” but observes that the “Frauen” are (like Rifke) “früh gealtert und welk” (Zur Lage 10). She likens Galician women to domesticated animals, writing that they give the impression of “stumpfer Haustiere,” and are “Haustiere im niedrigsten Sinne” (Zur Lage 10, 48). She further characterizes Galician girls and women as “faul,” “denkfaul,” “indolent,” “müßiggehend” (Zur Lage 48, 21). According to Pappenheim, Galician women’s ignorance of proper child-care and hygiene, and their poor housekeeping are the “Wurzel vielen Unglücks, von Krankheit, Verwahrlosung und Verkommenheit” (Zur Lage 61) of Galician Jews as a whole. Pappenheim reports also that most of the prostitutes in Galicia, as well as many of the pimps, were Jewish women (Zur Lage 46-47).

During her 1911-12 travels Pappenheim made similar observations. She reported that the Jewish women of Sophia (which had an Ashkenazic community comprised mostly of Rumanian, Russian, and Galician Jews) were morally corrupt, dirty, and lazy (Sisyphus-Arbeit 28). She observed a preponderance of Eastern European Jewish prostitutes and pimps in Saloniki, Philippopol and Constantinople, including at least one notorious “madam” with connections in Galicia and Rumania (Sisyphus-Arbeit 34, 40, 42, 51-2). While touring Palestine, Pappenheim predicted that the Zionist venture there would collapse within 20 years, in great part due Eastern European Jewesses’ ignorance of and disinterest in home economics (Sisyphus-Arbeit 119-120). In Lodz too, Pappenheim describes the Eastern Jewish women in devastatingly negative terms:

Das Straßenbild in Bezug auf die jüdischen weiblichen Einwohner ist entsetzlich - Verkommenheit, Genußsucht, auffällende, in Form und Farbe und
Mode übertriebene Geschmacklosigkeit, lässige, lachende Verdorbenheit sieht man schon bei kleinen Mädchen. (Sisyphus-Arbeit 145)

Here, however, she absolves the women of guilt for their faults, reasoning that Jewish women in Eastern Europe were degenerate and immoral because of the dearth of both religious and practical education for women; according to Pappenheim, it was “kein Wunder ... da es keine Schule, keinen Unterricht, keine religiöse oder andere Beeinflussung oder Erziehung gibt” (Sisyphus-Arbeit 146).

In public speeches tailored for a Jewish audience Pappenheim did not mince words concerning the purported immorality of Eastern European women and their preeminence both in the “Gewerbe der freien Prostitution” and in the white slave trade. However, she maintained that it stood to reason that precisely those Galician and Russian girls from the most pious homes would fall prey to white slave traders or willingly prostitute themselves, for they knew, "...daß sie nur einen Geschlechtswert haben” (“Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage” 21). She elaborated:

Langeweile, Neugierde, Trägheit, Putzsucht, Phantasie und heißes Blut einerseits - Unbildung, Unerfahrenheit, Verlockung andererseits - ergänzen sich zu bewirken, daß gerade die orthodoxesten Bezirke des Ostens das größte Kontingent an Menschenware zum Mädchenhandel liefern. (22)

Pappenheim bought into the entire arsenal of negative stereotypes commonly attributed to Eastern Jewish women. She reasoned, however, that these vices were attributable to the complete neglect of women’s practical and especially their religious education in ultra-traditional Eastern European Jewish communities, in which women were viewed as “minderwertige Geschöpfe, die nur der Fortpflanzung dienen” (Zur Lage
14). According to her, it was not surprising that Eastern Jewish women would internalize Orthodox Judaism’s (or its male leaders' rendering thereof) reduction of women to sexual objects and, lacking the religious/moral education afforded their male counterparts, would easily fall prey to white slave traders or to “free-lance” prostitution, justifiably seeing little difference between the status of prostitute and Jewish wife. In a 1901 speech at a meeting of the Frankfurt Israelitischen Hilfsverein Pappenheim offered a rebuttal to her male colleagues’ remarks on the “dangerous” immorality of Galician women. Pappenheim argued, “... die Mädchen, die heute schlecht sind, sind schlecht, weil die Gesellschaft sie schlecht werden ließ und ihnen, so lange sie schwankten, so lange sie auf der Scheide zwischen gut und schlecht standen, nicht half, gut zu werden” (Heubach, Sisyphus 20). In a 1908 essay Pappenheim again attributed the rampant spread of white slavery in Galicia to “men’s attitudes about matters of sexual ethics and women’s rights” (Heubach, Sisyphus 125). In this essay she again argued that it was “no wonder” that Galician Jewesses, “who were raised by men primarily as sexual beings, without knowledge and vocational training," would take advantageous of the first opportunity, no matter how dubious, to escape (Heubach, Sisyphus 124).

Although Pappenheim characterized Reisle and Muhme Rifke as “typical” Eastern Jewesses, she did offer positive female counterparts. Wolf Wasserschierling’s (the protagonist of “Der Erlöser”) deceased mother was a hard-working and pious woman and pedagogically exemplary mother. Gewiera of “Der Wunderrabbi” was also a different type of Eastern European Jewess. Zaddikim were viewed in Hassidic culture as a sort of nobility. As a rebbezin (the zaddik’s wife) Gewiera, “in ihrer teils altmodischen, teils
eigenartigen Vornehmheit,” embodied this archaic gentility (50). While Pappenheim idealized the sort of naive feminine wisdom and piety personified in Gewiera she did not portray her as a role-model for the next generation of Eastern European Jewish women. As I have outlined in a previous chapter, Gewiera is the last of a kind, the representative of a Jewish womanhood that could no longer exist because its enabling context had deteriorated. Although not a role-model for the next generation, Gewiera is dually exemplary. Although she herself embodies the best aspects of her disappearing culture, she recognizes its imminent demise, and advocates for her son an alternative path -- he will not be a Wunderrabbi like his father and grandfather but will receive a secular (German) education. In "Der Wunderrabbi" Pappenheim rings the death-knell for Hasidism.

Most German Jews of Pappenheim's generation, even Orthodox Jews were averse to Hasidism for a variety of reasons: 1) Hasidism, which opposed modern science and abhorred secular learning was antithetical to the rationalist Enlightenment ideals which were inherent to the self-understanding of post-emancipation German Jews; 2) although some of Hasidism's original ideas were attractive to German Jews, German Jews believed that the movement had degenerated -- corrupt, charlatan Wunderrabbis, who themselves lived in luxury, allegedly held their poor, uneducated followers in a state of utter ignorance in order to exploit them; 3) the physical appearance of Hasidic "caftan-Jews" emigrating to Germany undermined German-Jews' attempts to render Jewishness "invisible," serving as a visible reminder of the difference, which assimilated or assimilating German Jews had sought to erase in their attempts to transform Jewishness to a purely religious instance, something that could be contained behind the closed doors of the home or synagogue.
In Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien (1904) Pappenheim explains that Galician Hasidism was no longer the "mystisch fromme, antitalmudische Richtung" of Orthodox Judaism it had once been:

Heute ist es der Chassidismus, der den Geist einer reinen Gottes- und Sittenlehre so fest in Formen und Formeln gebannt hält, daß seine Anhänger vielfach durch den Wust des Nebensächlichen den Kern der Lehre nicht mehr zu erkennen vermögen. (41)

Because form superceded content, "Zustände tiefster sittlicher Verkommenheit" coexisted with Orthodox practice: "Sie leben meist nur im Banne des Rituals, das man aus Aberglauben und aus Furcht vor der Nachrede des Nachbarns nicht abzustreifen wagt, aber sie sind nicht fromm" (41). She condemned especially the emergence of a "priestly caste" entire "dynasties of Wunderrabbis," which she held to be antithetical to Judaism, which recognized "keinen Priester als Vermittler zwischen Gott und den Menschen" (42). While she is careful to note that not all Wunderrabbis were necessarily "swindler" (she had indeed met a few who made a "not unsympathetic impression") she charged that many (she names in particular the Wunderrabbis of Chortkow, Sadagora, and Belschitz) exploited the "superstition and limited intelligence" of their followers to amass personal riches and even to gain political influence (42). She demystifies the "miracles" of the Wunderrabbis, explaining:

Die Wunder, die die Rabbis tun, bestehen meistens in Ratschlägen geschäftlicher, medizinischer oder juristischer Art, die wenn sie sich als wirksam erweisen, aus einer gewissen Routine im Übersehen der Verhältnisse, oder psychologischen und suggestiven Einflüssen hervorgehen. (42)
She noted that she and her travel companions found the *rebbezen* more intelligent than their *Wunderrabbi* husbands, "Der Verkehr mit dem Publikum im Vorzimmer der Rabbiner scheint sie klüger und weltgewandter zu machen, das äußerte sich sichtlich im Verständnis für das, was unsere Mission für Land und Leute bedeuten sollte" (42). Whereas Pappenheim found the *rebbezen* (largely because they are receptive to her message!) more intelligent and worldly than their husbands, she clearly viewed them as an exception among Hasidic women, who according to her 1900 essay "Zur Judenfrage in Galizien" remained "im Banne chassidischer absoluter Unwissenheit und Unkultur" (7). It is important to note that Hasidism did not explicitly exclude women from formal religious education and that women were even accorded the right to rise to the position of *zaddik*. Learned *hasidah* include the Ba'al Shem Tov's daughter Edel, her daughter and the mother of the *zaddik* Rabbi Nahman of Bratzlav, the *zaddikah* Feige, and the "Maid of Ludomir," Hannah Rachel Werbermacher (Zolty 247-252). Zolty quotes Jacob Minkin, an historian of Hasidism, on the role of women in the movement: "Hasidism assigned to her a place and importance almost equal to that of her male partner" (247). Zolty cautions, however, that Minkin and other male historians' claim that Hasidism could be credited with the emancipation of Jewish women, "may be highly questionable, indeed exaggerated" (247). While Hasidism allowed in theory for the learned *hasidah*, she was certainly more the exception than the rule. Indeed, by the early 20th century -- although secular education for Polish Hasidic girls was encouraged, in part due to financial considerations (it was becoming necessary for Hasidic girls to earn a living) -- formal religious education was deemed "not in consonance with Jewish tradition" (Zolty 266).
Like Gewiera, Rosy/Reisle of "Freitag Abend" and Hannah of "Ungarische Dorfgeschichte" are, although not negative figures, no role-models for the next generation of Eastern European Jewish women. Indeed, their function more closely resembles that of Reisle of "Der Erlöser" -- they serve as a warning for what may happen if the education of the next generation of Jewish women does not keep pace with changing times. Rosy, for example, is the victim of the traditional privileging of male offspring. She is sent to another city in order to contribute financially to her brother's university education. Because she has received insufficient vocational training, she is exploited by employers and cannot afford safe lodging (she narrowly escapes being sexually assaulted by her landlord).

As noted above, Pappenheim viewed Eastern European Jewish women as the raw material that could, if effectively processed, rejuvenate World Jewry. The project of processing this "raw material," i.e. educating Eastern European Jewish women, was so important to Pappenheim that she devoted much of her energy in the last months of her life to the support of the Beth Jacob movement in Poland.

_Daughters of Destiny: Women who revolutionized Jewish life and Torah education_, a volume compiled by the students of the Bais Yaakov Academy (New York) and based primarily on interviews with surviving protegées of Sarah Schenirer, the movement's founder, provides anecdotal accounts of the birth of Schenirer's dream of religious education for Polish Jewish girls. As an "insider" (she was the eldest daughter of a Kraków Hasidic family) Schenirer reached virtually the same conclusions as Pappenheim, a German Jewish social worker observing Polish Hasidism as a relative outsider.
Schenirer's personal experiences (the book recalls a scene in which Schenirer returned home from her work as a seamstress to find her brother and father engrossed in a religious debate that was beyond her comprehension, her mother reading the Ze'nah Ur'nah, and her younger sister reading a Polish novel) caused her to fear the results of the lack of religious education for girls:

Teenage girls, educated in Polish gymnasiums, yearned for modernity. Their mothers found fulfillment in prayer and simple faith; their brothers in the challenging world or yeshivah and Torah study. And the girls? They were left with the feeling that Jewish life was a burden and the Torah itself was outmoded. (169-170)

According to Zolty, Schenirer expected resistance to her plans, both by "progressives," who would "consider traditional education for women a step backward" and by male Orthodox leaders, who had at a 1903 conference of rabbis rejected almost unanimously a proposal for establishing religious schools for women (277). By the 1920s, however, the climate had changed. In 1924, only a few years after founding her first school, which initially taught only young girls because Schenirer was unable to interest older girls and women, the Agudat Israel began its affiliation with the Beth Jacob movement. By 1929 there were 147 Beth Jacob schools in Poland and in 1931 the Beth Jacob Seminary in Kraków was established. Zolty lists three factors for the rather explosive growth of the Beth Jacob movement:

1) the economic need for educated Jewish women; 2) parents' fear that their daughters would absorb in the public school system Polish cultural values and knowledge both at variance with their own Orthodox Judaism and alien to the "intellectual universe of discourse" in which their brothers were being raised; and 3) the inability of the home and local community to ensure the continued
loyalty to Judaism of the young women owing to the menfolk's living in a world of their own that generally excluded women. (273)

Beth Jacob's success within the Hasidic community was attributable to Schenirer's ability to garner the support of several prominent Hasidic leaders, including the rebbe of Belz (her family were members of this exceedingly conservative sect), the rebbe of Ger, and the Lubavitcher rebbe.\(^\text{11}\) Zolty observes that "the greatest single act in support of women's education" among Eastern European Jewry was the response of the Hafetz Hayim (the Rabbi Israel Meir ha-Cohen) to traditionalist critics. Zolty summarizes the Hafetz Hayim's arguments:

... historical practices of the past that ignored women's formal religious education were to be readjusted because times had changed. It was necessary to teach Jewish girls the fundamentals of their religion in order to keep them within their traditional faith. The isolation of Jewish communities in earlier times from the wider world was a thing of the past. Girls now had to be fortified in their belief system if they were to stay in it. (279)

Pappenheim characterized the Beth Jacob movement as follows:

... eine geistige Bewegung innerhalb des Ostjudentums..., durch die in gleichem Milieu, in dem an der jüdischen Frau durch Jahrhunderte gesündigt worden war, heute aus dem unerschöpflichen Quell der jüdischen Lehre kommende Generationen gestärkt werden sollen, sich treu und bewußt zur Lehre zu bekennen. ("Beth Jacob und Bertha Pappenheim" 1)

The Beth Jacob movement appealed to Pappenheim as a movement originating within the Eastern European Orthodox community to remedy its traditional neglect of the religious education of girls. Pappenheim focused her attentions on the Beth Jacob

\(^{11}\) Although the Belzer rebbe supported in theory the Beth Jacob movement, he did not allow daughters of Belzer Hasidim to attend Beth Jacob schools. The majority of Beth Jacob students were from the Ger sect (Zolty 278-280).
Sernary in Kraków. After visiting Kraków in November 1935, Pappenheim recommended:

Als Ergebnis meines Aufenthaltes und meiner Beobachtungen im Seminar (Krakau) bin ich zu der Überzeugung gelangt, daß das Seminar so umgestaltet und so eingerichtet werden muß, daß es eine Brücke werde für die Mädchen ins wirkliche Leben, selbstverständlich unter Beibehaltung und seelischer Durcharbeitung aller religionsgesetzlichen Vorschriften. Man darf sich nicht damit begnügen, lediglich ein Seminar errichtet zu haben, - es muß auch ausgebaut werden zu einem sozialpädagogischen Institut. ("Beth Jacob und Bertha Pappenheim" 2)

Pappenheim was clearly impressed by the Beth Jacob Seminary, which had succeeded in fulfilling her long-held dream of enabling religious education for Eastern European Orthodox Jewish women. She identified a need, however, to take the Beth Jacob project one step further. The Kraków Seminar was devoted primarily to religious education, in particular to educating future teachers, who would in turn teach at Beth Jacob schools in remote communities. Pappenheim proposed founding a partner school, a "sozial-pädagogisches Institut," which would provide the "geistige Einführung und praktische Durchbildung der jüdischen weiblichen Jugend... zu all den Berufen, deren Trägerinnen in allen Kulturländern im Gemeindeleben als unentbehrlich erkannt worden sind" ("Leitgedanken von Bertha Pappenheim" 3). Seeing the spiritual needs of Jewish women met, Pappenheim sought to re-direct attention back to their (and the Jewish community's) material needs. Her proposed partner institute would offer young women vocational training, which would provide them a livelihood while at the same time serving the general well-being of the Jewish community. Rather than becoming "weltfremde" female Yeshiva-Bokhoyrim (my words), women would learn traditionally female trades and skills.
(housekeeping, child-care, social work, nursing -- whereby Pappenheim stressed "das Hauswirtschaftliche" as the foundation for all other more specialized subjects).

Pappenheim argued:

Es nützt nichts, ein Beth-Jacob-Werk zu haben, das mit der Zeit nicht vorwärtschreitet, das stehen bleibt, anstatt wegbereitend zu sein. Wenn die Aguda heute will, daß sie eine geistige Zusammenfassung, ein geistiger Strom und eine Quelle des jüdischen Lebens in jeder berechtigter Form bleibt, so muß sie dafür sorgen, daß die Mädchen aus der Tiefe dieses Brunnen's eine Brücke finden ins wirkliche Leben. Tut sie das nicht, dann wird diese Brücke versanden. Die Jugend ist lebenshungrig und bereit, diese Brücke zu beschreiten. ("Beth Jacob und Bertha Pappenheim" 2)

Pappenheim insisted that the proposed institute not be viewed as competition for the seminary, but that the two be viewed as complementary ventures:

Das Lehrziel des Seminars und das Erziehungsziel der zu gründenden Neueinrichtung dürfen keinen Augenblick als Gegensätze, sondern nur als gegenseitige Ergänzung angesehen und gewertet werden -- die orthodoxe Lebensführung und -- wenn man es so bezeichnen darf -- die geistige religiöse Ausstattung der Schülerinnen muß so gesichert sein, daß, wohin immer das Schicksal die Mädchen führen mag, sie jüdisch gebildete, bekennende Jüdinnen sind, die ihre Religion aus ihrem Wissen gegen Angriffe verteidigen können und sie nicht nur gewohnheitsmäßig oder als Last durchs Leben tragen. ("Leitgedanken von Bertha Pappenheim" 3)

Pappenheim proposed further that tuition and room and board should be kept low, in order to enable girls from families of limited means to learn a "selbständige(n) rechtschaffene(n) Erwerb" ("Leitgedanken von Bertha Pappenheim" 3). She hoped therefore to interest the Orthodox Agudat Israel, which supported the Beth Jacob system, in financing the venture. The Agudat Israel was an international Orthodox organization, which was founded largely in opposition to the advancement of Zionism, Bundist socialism, and Reform Judaism, and united in this cause three relatively disparate factions.
German (neo-)Orthodoxy, Hungarian Orthodoxy, and Polish and Lithuanian Orthodoxy (including Hasidic Jews) (*Encyclopaedia Judaica* vol. 2: 422).

While Pappenheim recommended that the first teachers or "Lehrmissionarinnen," as she called them, be German, or at least trained in Germany (likely for reasons of practicality, as there were no Orthodox-run institutions in Poland, where the women could receive practical training) she insisted that the teachers must know Polish well, understand Yiddish, and learn Hebrew. Pappenheim departed here from her customary recommendation that such institutes be run in the majority language. I suspect that she did so as a pragmatic concession both to Beth Jacob and to the Polish Agudat, which promoted the use of Yiddish for ideological reasons. Rebbezin Chava Weinberg Pincus, an American student of the Kraków Beth Jacob Seminary recalls that Schenirer insisted on the exclusive use of Yiddish at Beth Jacob (even outside of the classroom). She explains Schenirer's rationale: "It was the language in which *gedolei hador*, both past and present, wrote and taught. Next to *lashon kodesh*, it was our language" (Rubin 202-203). In a 1930 issue of the *Beit Ya'akov Journal* Schenirer argued: "Speaking Polish is not a sin, but speaking Polish because one is ashamed to speak Yiddish is a great sin" (qtd. in Zolty 294). Pappenheim commented on the use of Yiddish in the Beth Jacob schools in "Kleine Reise-Notizen":

Ich sehe jede Sprachenklausur als ein Uebel an, aber im Jiddischen sind alle Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten wissenschaftlicher, literarischer und sprachlicher Art für die deutsche Sprache so gegeben, daß, wer gut Jiddisch kann, in Bälde auch ein reines Deutsch sprechen und verstehen kann, was beim Hebräischen nicht der Fall ist. (195)
Pappenheim also objected less in the 1930s to the use of Yiddish in Polish-Jewish institutions than in previous years, because compulsory schooling for children up to age 14 had been instituted in Poland since her early visits to Galicia. This meant that all children already had a spoken and written command of Polish. Formal schooling in Yiddish would then give them the added advantage of equipping them to better learn German.12 Pincus recalls that pupils at Beth Jacob "were always chatting away in Polish," and that "Sarah Schneirer [sic] explained, appealed, requested and reminded, and after that she could also raise her voice and speak angrily, trying to enforce the importance of speaking Yiddish" (Rubin 203).

Pappenheim's insistence that her teachers learn Hebrew is also notable. Pappenheim did insist that her charges in Germany learn Hebrew for religious purposes, but the teachers of the proposed institute would be responsible for vocational, not for religious education. The recommendation that Polish Jewish girls learn Hebrew for other than religious purposes is at odds with Pappenheim's general rejection of Hebrew as a secular language. However, by 1936 Pappenheim, although she still vehemently opposed emigration to Palestine for German Jews, had in isolated cases helped individuals to emigrate and had arranged for girls bound for Palestine to receive vocational training at Isenburg. She had apparently resigned herself to the reality of increased emigration to

12 Pappenheim would likely have been less amenable to additional Yiddish schooling for boys, whose Polish was, according to her, tainted by the "Tonfall des Cheders," which was not the case for young women, who generally did not receive the religious schooling in Yiddish that their male counterparts did.
Palestine and concluded that if emigration was inevitable, then at least young women should be prepared for it.

The Agudat, both in Germany and in Poland, and both its female and male representatives, was enthusiastic about Pappenheim's interest in Beth Jacob and highly supportive of her recommendations, an occurrence that was somewhat of a rarity in Pappenheim's dealings with male Orthodox authorities. Wolf S. Jacobson reported:

> Alle Maßgebenden agudistischen Instanzen -- speziell als eine der sachkundigsten: der Direktor unseres Krakauer Seminars selber -- anerkannten die Notwendigkeit des von Fräulein Pappenheim vorgeschlagenen Ausbaus von Beth Jacob nach der sozialpädagogischen Seite hin. ("Beth Jacob und Bertha Pappenheim" 2)

At Pappenheim's insistence, the Agudat organized a "sozialpädagogische Konferenz" for April 23, 1936 to discuss implementing her recommendations. The Agudat's respect for Pappenheim's authority in this arena was so great that they postponed the meeting to May 5 when illness prohibited her travel. Continued ill-health, however, prevented Pappenheim from attending the conference and she did not live to see the implementation of her recommendations.

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As in the case of her ambivalent relationship with the Yiddish language, Pappenheim's ambivalent relationship with its speakers, Eastern European Jews, is at least partially attributable to biographical factors. As the daughter of Recha Goldschmidt (who was a member of a wealthy and distinguished Frankfurt family) and Siegmund Pappenheim (a wealthy and staunchly Orthodox merchant who immigrated from Preßburg, now
Bratislava, to Vienna in 1848 -- only 11 years prior to Bertha Pappenheim's birth),

Pappenheim was herself the product of a West-East liaison.

Hungarian Jews enjoyed a rather unique in-between status, neither clearly
"Western" nor "Eastern." George Berkley does not include Hungarian, Bohemian, and
Moravian Jewish immigrants in Vienna among the "Ostjuden," noting that they were
generally "integrationists," who spoke "acceptable German" and had a definite affinity and
affection for German culture (46-47, 51). Marsha Rozenblit, too, distinguishes between
Vienna's "already Germanized" Bohemian, Moravian, and Hungarian Jews and Vienna's
Galician immigrants (43). Berkley notes, however, that the very Orthodox Hungarian Jews
of the Vienna Schiffschul could not be considered "integrationists" and should therefore
be viewed as a separate entity (123). In her essay on the Schiffschul Ruth Burstyn does
not distinguish between Hungarian, Slovak, and Galician Jews who belonged to the
Schiffschul but refers to all as Eastern European (Genee, Wiener Synagogen 45). Burstyn
suggests that the common struggle against the Liberal and Reform Judaism and
assimilationism of the Viennese Jewish mainstream served to bind Galician Jews to
Hungarian and Slovak Jews (who, although Burstyn does not state this, were likely more
"Germanized" than their Galician counterparts, and would therefore in another context
likely have distanced themselves from them) (45-47, see also Rozenblit 43). Burstyn
writes of the strange bed-fellows of the Schiffschul, "Obwohl aus den verschiedensten
Ländern stammend, entwickelte sich innerhalb der Kehilla ein starkes
Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl" (48). Pappenheim's father was one of founders of the
Schiffschul, and thus more closely identified with Eastern European Jewry than other

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Hungarian Jews. Therefore it is highly likely that Bertha Pappenheim, too, during her youth, associated closely with Galician Jewish families via the Schiffschul. In addition, both the family home (until about 1880, when the family moved to the more genteel 9th District) and business were in the Leopoldstadt, Vienna's most "Jewish" District and home to large numbers of Eastern Jewish immigrants from Austria's Eastern Kronländer.

Whereas Pappenheim's familial ties to Eastern European Jewry likely contributed to her own interest in implementing social work programs directed toward Eastern European Jews, the majority of German Jews -- who lacked the ideological motivation of Orthodox Jews, Zionists, or other Jewish nationalists (all minority groups) to identify with their Eastern European brethren -- resisted acknowledging a social responsibility for Eastern European Jews based on kinship with them. Pappenheim therefore employed a variety of strategies in her campaigns to gain support from mainstream German Jewry for aid for Eastern European Jews. Above I identified three stages in Pappenheim's social work among Eastern European Jews. In the first two stages Pappenheim resisted appealing to the notion of a blood kinship with Eastern European Jews, arguing instead that German Jews were responsible for Eastern European Jews as fellow members of the Jewish religious community. Although she did in the second stage appeal to Western Jews' fear that immorality among Eastern Jews may cause anti-Semitism directed toward all Jews, she clung to the notion that the tie that bound Jews worldwide was purely religious. Whereas she was careful to skirt the notion that Jews may be connected by more than religion in these direct entreaties, her literary writings are less clear-cut. In "Der Erlöser," for example, Wolf immediately recognizes Reisle as a Jew,
... an dem dunkeln lockigen Haar, daß ihr wirr ins Gesicht hing, am Schnitt der lebhaft und begehrl ich blickenden Augen und durch jenes unbeschreibliche Stammgemeinschaftsgefühl, daß die Juden instinktiv verbindet, wußte Wolf, daß es ein jüdisches Mädchen war. (13-14)

This instant identification has nothing to do with religious or even cultural affinities but is more primal -- based on the recognition of physical traits and an "inexplicable instinctual" bond.  

By the 1930s Pappenheim was no longer able to escape the contradiction between her own insistence that "Jewishness" (at least for German Jews) was a purely religious category and "Germanness" a cultural/national one and the prevailing nationalist/racist discourse, which defined Jewishness in racial terms, conflating religious, cultural, national, racial identity. While she continued to espouse for German Jews a singularly religious Jewish identity, there was an increasing degree of slippage in her understanding of Jewishness, particularly in her understanding of what bound increasingly diverse groups of Jews beyond national boundaries. This slippage is most apparent in her 1936 essay,

13 It is noteworthy that Pappenheim chooses the word "Stammgemeinschaftsgefühl." In 1910 Franz Oppenheimer published the essay "Stammesbewußtsein und Volksbewußtsein," in which he differentiated between Eastern and Western Jews' relationships to Zionism. Aschheim summarizes Oppenheimer's characterization: "Ostjuden were characterized by Volksbewußtsein (national consciousness), Western Jews by Stammesbewußtsein (ethnic or "clan" consciousness). The latter referred to the sense of belonging to a great historical nation, a pride in common ancestry, an identification with the past and an acceptance of Jewish identity (which, he pointed out, differentiated Western Zionists from the self-denying assimilationists). But this national consciousness had to be distinguished from that of the Ostjuden, which referred not to the past but to present consciousness, culture and circumstance" (97). According to Oppenheimer this Stammesbewußtsein would not compromise Western Jews' German, French, etc. cultural identity (97).

14 She fastidiously avoided the category of race in respect to German Jews.
"Kleine Reise-Notizen," which I have cited above. In this essay Pappenheim provides a laundry list of diverse factions of world-Jewry: "Jemeniten und Misrachisten, Falaschas, Agudisten, Chassidim, Zionisten aller Färbungen, Liberale und Reformjuden, jüdische Chinesen, indische Juden, Assimilanten aller Länder, Heimkehrer - alles Juden" (2). She continues: "... vielleicht als Blutsverwandte anzusehen, wenn auch längst nichts als Wahlverwandte" (2). While she seems here unwilling to accept that the "Mosaiksteine der Judentümer" should be bound only by blood, she has difficulty naming an alternative -- for not all "Jews" (both those who would identify themselves as Jews and those, who were now labeled Jewish by others) had remained loyal to the the fundamental tenants of Jewish religion, Pappenheim's would-be "common denominator."

On the same page, Pappenheim calls the "noch ganz tief im Judentum verwurzelte" Eastern European Jews, "ein solches Reservoir des Judentums, daß für Generationen von dort noch lebendiges jüdisches Leben fließt." This statement does not contradict Pappenheim's assertion of "elective affinities" -- the "lebendiges jüdisches Leben" could still be read as religious life. However, she then writes of Polands' 3 ½ million Jews (whom, she adds, are not a homogenous group, i.e. not all traditional): "... blutmässig bilden sie ein Reservoir ungebrochen Jüdischseins, unverbrauchter jüdischer Lebenskraft und Lebenswillens..." (2). Pappenheim introduces here the notion that "world Jewry" ("das Weltjudentum") is bound by blood. Pappenheim's terminology bears a striking resemblance to contemporaneous National Socialist usage. The term "Weltjudentum" was favored by National Socialist anti-Semites, and the terms blutmässig, Lebenskraft, Lebenswillen, and
Reservoir were among the mainstays of National Socialist "Blut und Boden" rhetoric (see Seidel and Seidel-Sloty 64-84, and Bering 210).15

Already in her 1925 petition to the *Jüdische Welthilfskonferenz* to establish a *Weltsammelvormundschaft* Pappenheim wrote of Eastern European pogrom and war orphans: "Sie wären gerade durch ihre [...] Losgerissenheit und Isoliertheit [...] ein Menschenmaterial, das eine pädagogische Auslese, ein Born von Hoffnungen sein müßte" (Sysiphus-Arbeit 2 64). Pappenheim refers to Eastern Jews as "Menschenmaterial," raw material valuable to world Jewry, the "gesamten Judenheit." This "raw material" is valuable to world Jewry as a "pädagogische Auslese" -- if molded and processed correctly. Notably, Eastern Jewish children become in this 1925 essay a "Born von Hoffnungen" when they are wrested from the (presumably negative albeit "well-meaning") pedagogical influence of Eastern European adults. For a contemporary reader, Pappenheim's use of "Auslese," "Menschenmaterial" (a key term not only in Nazi racial discourse but in pre-Nazi "Rassenhygiene" and eugenics) and "Born der Hoffnung"16 in referring to Eastern European orphans is unsettling, as it invokes the infamous *Lebensborn e.V.*, an SS

15 Seidel and Seidel-Sloty do not list the word "Reservoir." They do, however, list "Quelle" and "Blutquelle." As Pappenheim refers to a "Reservoir," from which life will flow ("fließen") and links also the terms "blutmäßig" and "Reservoir," I believe that it is justified to view her usage of "Reservoir" as similarly discursively linked to "Blut und Boden" rhetorical repertoire, which did, according to Seidel/Seidel-Sloty, include "Blutstrom" and "Blutquelle" (81-82).

16 Siegfried Bork explains the National Socialist affinity for archaic terms such as "Born": "Der Hang zu archaisierenden, deutschtümelnden Begriffen entsprang dem Wunsch der nationalsozialistischen Doktrin, sich eine historische Legitimation zu verschaffen. Der Nationalsozialismus wollte nicht nur als 'spontane Bewegung' eingestuft, sondern als
organization founded a decade later to promote large families among SS officers and protect "racially valuable" but needy mothers and children (Pine 40). Indeed, the coincidences are quite startling. Whereby Pappenheim suggested that the Weltsammelvormundschaft collect Eastern European Jewish orphans in order to raise them in a way which would benefit world jewry, Lebensborn, too, collected Eastern European (especially Polish) orphans (and purported orphans, who were actually kidnapped from their families) with "German racial characteristics" to be raised and "Germanized" in Lebensborn homes.\(^17\)

Although Pappenheim's plans for a Weltsammelvormundschaft were, of course, in no way influenced by the Lebensborn, e.V., which was founded 10 years later, her rhetoric does resemble the rhetoric of eugenics, which had already established itself as a powerful force in Western Europe (See Clay and Leapman 11-31). As a social worker, Pappenheim may well have been aware of Lebensborn's influential predecessors, the Racial Hygiene Society (founded by Alfred Ploetz in 1905) and the Thule Society (founded in 1912), which were dedicated to breeding pure Aryans. "Racial Hygiene" was legitimized and mainstreamed in pre-Nazi Germany, when Fritz Lenz was appointed Germany's first traditionsgewachsene, gottgewollte Herrschaftsform verstanden werden" (71). See Berning on "Menschenmaterial" and "Lebensborn" (119-120, 130-133).

17 Like the JFB home at Isenburg, Lebensborn homes also cared for un-wed mothers. Albeit for very different reasons, Alfred Rosenberg and Hitler preached against ostracizing unwed German mothers and illegitimate children "of good blood", as Pappenheim had advocated reintegration of Jewish unwed mothers and illegitimate children into the Jewish community.
university professor of "Racial Hygiene" in 1923, two years prior to Pappenheim's proposal of a *Weltvermögen* (Clay and Leapman 16).

Pappenheim's general positioning toward eugenics is unclear. She alternated between a seeming fascination with eugenics and -- as a pedagogue and member of a group, which German eugenicists held in low esteem -- a desire to disprove its validity. In 1911, for example, Pappenheim wrote her colleagues:

Denken Sie nur, ich denke ernstlich daran, mir ein Zigeunerbaby mitzubringen, denn es würde mich so sehr interessieren, ob und wann das Anerzogene vom Angeborenen besiegt wird. Ich sehe hier [Constantinople] eine Menge solcher kleinen Geschöpfe, die mich zu einem pädagogischen Experiment reizen. (Sisyphus-Arbeit 50-51)

In a report on Isenburg, however, Pappenheim seems to delight in defying eugenic "wisdom":

Wir wissen, daß gute Eltern böse Kinder haben können und böse Eltern gute Kinder. Es ist tröstlich, daß die Eugenik nicht unfehlbar ist, sonst wäre die Welt längst zugrunde gegangen. Die ganze jüdische Messiahhoffnung personifiziert sich in jedem Kind, dem man helfen muß, an Körper und Geist heil den Weg der Gottesähnlichkeit zu suchen. (Bertha Pappenheim zum Gedächtnis 12)

Indeed, Pappenheim's work at Isenburg rests on the notion that nurture could overcome nature. On the other hand, it has been suggested (although it is impossible to ascertain the correctness of this supposition) that Pappenheim, who was by all accounts very attractive to men (and would have been doubly attractive by virtue of her handsome dowry), never married and had her own children, because she was concerned about passing along the mental illness in her family (Jensen 45).
Regardless of the extent to which Pappenheim bought into eugenics, she did, as I have shown above, employ its rhetoric, in particular the rhetoric of German "völkisch" eugenics in her later campaigns for aid to Eastern European Jews. It is hardly surprising, however, that Pappenheim would choose to speak in these terms. As I stated above, it is highly likely that eugenics and racial science were widely discussed among German social workers in the 1920s and 1930s. As a social worker whose specialty was Gefährdtenfürsorge, Pappenheim was concerned with rescuing and eventually mainstreaming individuals from the margins of society, and would have been aware of the ramifications of the growing popularity of racial sciences and eugenics on her own projects. In order to effectively counter the arguments of anti-Semites, who might deem the very individuals Pappenheim sought to help (endangered Jewish girls and Eastern European Jews) not worthy of rescue, Pappenheim must speak their language, legitimizing her own arguments with the same type of archaïcisms and racial/biological jargon favored by her opponents. Although she employs the rhetoric of racial anti-Semites, she radically undermines this discourse by naming Eastern European Jews -- the, according to National Socialism, quintessentially "degenerate" race, a group targeted for extermination in the "Endlösung," the corollary to Nazi breeding programs -- a "Born von Hoffnung," the key to the re-generation of world Jewry.
CHAPTER 6

"ORTHODOX" JUDAISM ON HER OWN TERMS: FROM "NOT AT ALL RELIGIOUS" ANNA O: TO SPIRITUAL MOTHER OF JEWISH-GERMAN WOMEN

In 1882 (when Bertha Pappenheim was twenty-three years of age) Joseph Breuer reported:

She is not at all religious; the daughter of very orthodox, religious Jews, she has been accustomed to carry out all instructions meticulously for her father's sake and is even now still disposed to do so. In her life religion serves only as an object of silent struggles and silent opposition. (Hirschmüller 277)¹

By the time she was in her seventies, however, Pappenheim was widely admired for her piety and her deep love for Jewish tradition. Anna Lewy's obituary in the Zeitschrift des Schwesterverbandes der Bne Briss (1936) exemplifies the depth of Pappenheim's religious transformation:

Am Tage der Gesetzgebung am Sinai hat sich dieses Leben vollendet, das von unermesslicher Liebe zum Judentum und seiner Lehre getragen, selber Erfüllung des göttlichen Gebotes und Heiligung des göttlichen Namens bedeutet. (Heubach Das unsichtbare Isenburg 159)

In this chapter I examine Pappenheim's transformation from the twenty-three year-old "not at all religious" Anna O. to the mature Bertha Pappenheim, who by her

¹ I quote here from Hirschmüller, because this passage is absent from the case-study published by Freud and Breuer, which suppressed Pappenheim's Jewishness.

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death at the age of seventy-seven was recognized as the religious teacher and spiritual
mother of multiple generations of German-Jewish women. The remainder of this chapter
is divided into five sections. In the first I forward my theory of how the seemingly
impossible may have transpired: how a young woman, who but a few years prior had
been described as "not at all religious" would in the 1890s develop simultaneously a
strong allegiance to both traditional Judaism (which was considered by many to be an
inherently misogynist tradition) and to the women's movement. In the second section, I
examine in greater detail specific examples of Pappenheim's efforts to reconcile
Orthodox Judaism and feminism. I examine how Pappenheim used a combination of
"subtle subversion" and radical rhetoric to carve out a separate but equal sphere for
women within Orthodox Judaism, clinging to the traditional ideal of woman as wife and
mother but insisting that women could not perform in these roles without inner-
community reforms (especially increased religious education for women and women's
suffrage within the Jewish community). In the third section I present Isenburg as the
prototype for the religious education Pappenheim envisioned for women. I will illustrate
that Pappenheim did not propound an education identical to men's religious education but
one specific to Jewish women's needs. While the previous two sections address
Pappenheim's efforts to create a place for modern women within traditional Judaism, the
fourth section examines Pappenheim's personal struggle to create a place for herself, an
aging, single, childless woman, in a religious tradition that valued women solely in their
roles as wives and mothers. The fifth and final section examines Pappenheim's self-
styling into a latter-day "prophetess," a spiritual leader of German-Jewish women. I focus

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in particular on Pappenheim's discovery of a female-friendly incarnation of the God of Judaism (the Shekhinah) and of "dem großen Gesetz."

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Regrettably, sources pertaining to perhaps the most interesting station in Pappenheim's religious and spiritual journey, the years between her treatment by Breuer and her re-emergence as the house-mother of the Frankfurt Israelitischen Mädchenausenanstalt in 1895, do not exist. None of the essays or stories Pappenheim published (either anonymously or under her pseudonym P. Berthold) during these years have any religious content. Nor are there any letters or other documents from either these missing years or Pappenheim's youth in Vienna, which could shed light on the exact nature of Pappenheim's youthful struggles with and opposition to Jewish religion or on precisely what prompted her religious re-birth. Her first biographer, Dora Edinger, suspected that Pappenheim herself destroyed all documentation of these years (letter to Lucy Freeman, 20 Feb. 1963).

While it is impossible to ascertain conclusively the nature of Pappenheim's youthful alienation from the staunch Orthodoxy of her father, her later writings do offer some insight. In various essays and speeches (I will offer specific examples below) Pappenheim argued that the exclusion of women from certain central aspects of Orthodox Jewish life was causing the alienation of women from Jewish religion, and I suspect that she spoke from personal experience. She revealed a vicious circle. Because women were

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2 Pappenheim's father, one of the founders of the very Orthodox Vienna Schiffschul, was presumably more Orthodox than her mother, who was buried in the Liberal section of the Frankfurt Jewish Cemetery.
defined in Judaism primarily through their role as wives and mothers, they were
"exempted" from lernen (the rigorous study and debate of Jewish religious texts), an
active role in public worship, certain time-bound mitzvot, and leadership roles in the
Jewish community. Because women received little or no formal religious instruction,
they frequently learned only the mechanics of Jewish rituals without gaining an
understanding and appreciation of their significance. The results thereof were twofold: 1)
Women could not truly fulfill their traditional role as Jewish wife and mother, i.e.
creating a Jewish home (a woman without true understanding of Jewish tradition may be
able to run her home according to the letter of the law, but without the essential element
of kavannah, the intention accompanying the ritual act the mitzvot were essentially
meaningless [see Frankiel 57]) and raising Jewish children; 2) Because they did not
understand the meaning of ritual, Jewish women did not cherish Jewish tradition but
perceived it purely as a burden, and would therefore be inclined to leave the fold in times
of adversity. Thus, the ostensibly well-meaning exemption of women from traditionally
male mitzvot (on the grounds that they could interfere with their important responsibilities
as wife and mother) had evolved into a de facto exclusion of women from communal
affairs and even rudimentary Jewish education, which in turn caused women's alienation
from Judaism and their resultant unwillingness or inability to perform their traditional
roles.3

3 Dagmar Lorenz notes that Pappenheim continues in the tradition of Jewish feminists
who came before her, such as Fanny Lewald, who also deplored the exclusion of women
from Jewish education (personal communication, see also Keepers of the Motherland:
German Texts by Jewish Women, 37-48.) Maya Fassmann also writes about
Pappenheim's Jewish predecessors and contemporaries in the German women's
movement in her essay, "Jüdinnen in der deutschen Frauenbewegung."
Given these serious reservations, it would seem highly unlikely that Pappenheim would later embrace Orthodox Judaism, the very tradition that (in her assessment) reduced women to mere "breeders," and by defining women solely by their role as wives and mothers marginalized childless "spinsters" like herself. It is important to note that, while Pappenheim was raised very Orthodox, \(^4\) she considered herself independent of established parties. She described herself in a 1933 letter as "weder orthodox noch zionistisch, weder liberal noch C.V. gestempelt und gebunden" ("Brief an den Bundesvorstand" 10). In his speech "Drei jüdische Frauentypen" Ernst Simon lauded Pappenheim's "Überparteilichkeit"\(^5\):

> Es ist außerordentlich schwer, sie politisch einzuordnen, und sie hat es immer vermieden, das mit sich geschehen zu lassen. Sie ist eine der wenig wirklich überparteilichen Persönlichkeiten des deutschen Judentums. Sie ist sicher nicht orthodox, sie ist sicher nicht liberal und keineswegs zionistisch. Aber sie hat von allen diesen drei Gruppen, in die sich unsere Gemeinschaft gliedert, je eine wertvolle positive Eigenschaft. Vom Orthodoxen die Treue, Vorsicht und die prinzipiell traditionelle Haltung, vom Liberalismus die Offenheit und das in die Zukunftgehen, und mit dem Zionismus gemeinsam.

\(^4\) Pappenheim was also considered by some JFB colleagues to be Orthodox during her adult life. Dora Edinger reported to Marion Kaplan in a 1975 interview: "Among the Vorstand, most were liberal, Pappenheim was orthodox, Frankel was far more orthodox than Pappenheim, Schönwald, Berliner, Jolowicz, Berent, Ollandor, Wachmann very liberal..." Although considered Orthodox by many, Pappenheim was buried beside her mother in the Liberal section of the Jewish cemetery in Frankfurt.

\(^5\) "Überparteilichkeit" is Ottilie Schönwald's term. She characterized Pappenheim's transcendence of party lines: "Keine Partei, keine Richtung, keine Gruppe konnte sie als die ihr bezeichnen, und doch gehörte sie allen, weil sie ihr Leben eingesetzt hat für die höchsten und letzten Ideen und Ziele des Judentums und der Menschheit schlechthin. Ihr ist es gelungen, was nur wahrhaft größeren Geistern zu erreichen möglich ist: Die Überparteilichkeit, die immer die Gefahr des Schwankens und der oberflächlichen Gleichgültigkeit in sich birgt, zur wahrhaften Überparteilichkeit zu steigern, die alle Elemente und Austrahlungen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens zu einem universellen Weltbild zu vereinen vermag." ("Der Jüdische Frauenbund" 8).
Although she strove to remain independent (if not always neutral) it is quite logical that colleagues might label her "Orthodox," as she frequently prescribed Orthodox religious practice in her social work endeavors. She stipulated, for example, that the JFB home for unwed mothers and endangered girls at Isenburg, the Mädchenclub, the Mädchenclub dormitory, and the proposed expansion of the Beth-Jakob Seminary in Kraków be operated according to the strictest Orthodox standards. Her insistence on strict Orthodox observance, especially on kashrut (Jewish dietary and food preparation laws), are actually more a testimony to her attempts to unite all Jews (her Überparteilichkeit) than to her personal allegiance to the Orthodox camp. Pappenheim had two major arguments for strict ritual observance: 1) thoughtful ritual observance could serve as a means of strengthening identification with the Jewish community; 2) if an organization observed kashrut, then no Jews were excluded (Orthodox Jews could participate without fear of personal transgression or insult to their sensibilities by others. More liberal Jews, even if they may not generally follow the letter of the law, would at worst not be harmed by doing so, and at best may develop an appreciation for rituals they had discarded.)

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6 In her essay, "Weh dem, dessen Gewissen schläft" Pappenheim pleaded for the solidarity of all Jews, blaming "Zerissenheit in der Judenschaft" and "Elbogenkampf" between various factions for the "Versickern der jüdischen Volkskraft" (3). She warned that the present lack of solidarity among Jews weakened their ability to fend off anti-Semitism (3-4).

7 Pappenheim believed also that Orthodox practice actually afforded women a higher status than Liberal or Reform practice (I will discuss her arguments to this effect in more detail below).
Although it would seem more logical for Pappenheim's growing interest in the women's movement in the 1890s to have led her away from the Orthodox Judaism of her father, the opposite occurred. Rather than denouncing her Orthodox heritage, Pappenheim sought to demonstrate that Orthodox Judaism and feminism were compatible. In her first known essay dealing with women's issues in Judaism, "Frauenfrage und Frauenberuf im Judentum" (1897), Pappenheim argues that Jews, having suffered the injustices of anti-Semitism, should be particularly receptive to the women's movement:

Eigentlich sollte ein Stamm, der Jahrhundertelang unter der Entziehung der Freiheit gelitten hat, ... dieser Stamm sollte für eine soziale Regung wie die Frauenbewegung das größte Verständnis haben. Die Frauen ebenso wie die Juden verlangen nur Gerechtigkeit, d.i. ihre Gleichstellung mit den Gleichbärfähigten. (481)

She argues that "Orthodoxie oder Frömmigkeit" and the goals of the women's movement are not mutually exclusive:

Die Frauenbewegung ist eine Bewegung auf geistigem Gebiete, die mit dem religiösen Bedürfnis, dem religiösen Bekenntnis und der Färbung dieses Bekenntnisses absolut nichts zu thun hat. Die Frauenbewegung hat nur zum Zweck, die Frau zu einem dem Manne gleichwertigen Kulturträger zu machen, ihr Rechte zu geben und Pflichten vorzuhalten, deren sich kein Gebildeter begeben sollte. (481)

Pappenheim was a proponent of what she referred to as the "gemäßigte Frauenbewegung" (the bourgeois branch of the German women's movement). Marion Kaplan explains that the middle-class branch of the German women's movement (later represented by the Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine, of which the JFB became a part) "perpetuated the conventional notion that motherhood was the destiny of women" (Jewish Feminist Movement 65). Although these moderate feminists clung to the notion that women were by nature intrinsically different from men, they did not equate difference in
vocation with a difference in worth but instead sought to elevate the status of
motherhood, arguing that it was indeed the most important career, as mothers were the
educators of future generations and as such "guardians of social and cultural values"

(Kaplan Jewish Feminist Movement 65, 72). Or in Pappenheim's own words:

Es ist nicht wahr, daß die veränderten Zeiten, das freie Denken die für ihre
Rechte kämpfende Frau von ihren Pflichten als Gattin und Mutter befreit
hatten. Im Gegenteil, die denkende Frau muß sich heute noch mehr bewußt
werden, daß...die Familie das Element des Staates und des Stammes ist.
Staats- und stammeserhaltende Aufgaben drängen sich daher der modernen
Frau von allen Seiten auf. (Sisyphus-Arbeit 227)

I propose that the chronological coincidence of Pappenheim's burgeoning middle-
class feminism with her re-discovery of Orthodox Judaism was neither coincidental nor
illogical, as both traditions shared the fundamental belief that motherhood was women's
true vocation. It might appear unlikely that the equation womanhood = motherhood
would appeal to a woman who (entering her late twenties) was likely coming to terms
with the possibility that she might never marry and become a mother. However, the
women's movement offered the alternative of "social motherhood" -- even a single,
childless woman could fulfill her motherly destiny through a career (paid or volunteer) in
education or social work, which were considered "extensions of women's natural child-
rearing functions" (Kaplan Jewish Feminist Movement 65). At the same time the
women's movement presented to Pappenheim the theoretical possibility of "social
motherhood", the Frankfurt Jewish community offered her the practical opportunity. In
1895 Pappenheim became the substitute Heimmutter (housemother) of the Israelitischen
Mädchenwaisenanstalt (Jewish Orphanage for Girls). The Mädchenwaisenanstalt offered
Pappenheim a socially acceptable venue to put into practice the ideologies of the women's movement, and allowed her to carve out a place for herself (as the "mother" of motherless children) in a religious tradition in which single, childless women had no place.

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Although many feminists have branded Judaism, especially Orthodox Judaism, as an inherently misogynist tradition, Pappenheim's conception of women's place in Orthodox Judaism was not so black-and-white. While she did not demonize Orthodoxy, she did not "buy" wholesale the Orthodox "party line" that women had always been held in the highest esteem within Orthodox Judaism and that there was therefore no need for reform. Nor can her platform simply be equated to that of 1990s Orthodox Jewish feminists, who insist that Orthodox Judaism, far from being misogynist, actually celebrates femininity by recognizing and valuing women's innate strengths and abilities, and enabling them to succeed in their pre-destined roles. Pappenheim situated herself

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8 As a member of the Jewish elite of Frankfurt, Pappenheim would scarcely have been expected to seek gainful employment as a full-time orphanage housemother. Indeed, it is quite unlikely, given her background, and her lack of formal education in social work that she would have even been offered the position had the housemother's illness not made an emergency substitute necessary. When Pappenheim, who had proven her skills in the meantime, was offered the position in 1897, she stipulated that her salary be paid directly into the orphanages coffers.

9 The most marked difference between Pappenheim and modern (often neo) Orthodox feminists is Pappenheim's apparent disinterest in "family purity" laws. While many feminists regard the family purity laws to be demeaning, Frankiel and Aiken positively revalue the status of being niddah (ritually impure during and 7 days after menstruation), arguing that that this practice offers women (through imposed distance from their husbands, as well as by offering a tangible way to celebrate women's physical rhythms) a unique opportunity for spiritual growth. They argue that keeping family purity laws has also been shown to have health benefits, and helps to preserve romance within the
somewhere between the two extremes. While insisting that Orthodox Judaism and feminism were not mutually exclusive, Pappenheim rejected the notion that all details of contemporary Orthodox Jewish practice were consistent with the truths handed down at Mount Sinai. Pappenheim argued rather that those aspects of Orthodox Judaism that were incompatible with feminism were actually perversions of Judaism. In other words, the faulty male interpretation of the letter of Jewish law had resulted in insult and injury to the spirit of Jewish law. Although she never dared to go quite this far in public, Pappenheim suggests in one of her *Denkzettel* that even the Bible could be read with a grain of salt, as it too had been subject to a measure of male interpretation:

Liebe Töchter! Wenn ich mir eine Bibelkritik erlauben dürfte, würde ich sagen, dass aus der ungerechten Stellung, die die Bibel der Frau zuweist, klar hervorgeht, dass sie die Niederschrift eines genialen aber männlichen Menschen ist und nicht ein göttliches Diktat, d.h. die logische notwendige Folge des gottgewollten Unterschiedes der Geschlechter. (Jensen 184)

In her 1934 essay, "Das jüdische Mädchen," Pappenheim implies that male religious authorities had interpreted religious commandments to their own advantage and that these interpretations were not "gospel truth" but merely matters of convention: "Die marriage. They maintain further that visiting the mikvah (Jewish ritual bath) can be an intensely spiritual experience. Pappenheim, on the other hand, showed little interest in family purity laws within marriage, perhaps because she considered herself, as an unmarried woman, no expert in these matters.

Pappenheim believed that Jewish law could and should be amended when historical developments rendered traditional practices inhumane or counterproductive. Pappenheim argued, for example, that it was not in the best interest of the Jewish community to forbid tens of thousands of World War I widows to remarry because of a technicality: "Wir bitten... die Versammlung der Rabbiner und Gelehrten, dem Schicksal jener Frauen, die bedroht sind, von den Rädern einer unzeitgemäßen Gesetzesauslegung zermalmt zu werden [...] [nicht] lebendig zu begraben, oder sie in ein unjüdisches Leben zu jagen" ("Hilfe für die Agunoh" 21).
ungleiche Bewertung zweier Geschöpfe, die absolut aufeinander angewiesen sind, ist nur dadurch erklärlich, daß die männlichen Gesetzgeber und -ausleger sich eine Vorzugsstellung zugebilligt hatten, die im Laufe der Zeiten zu einer Weltanschauung wurde" (Edinger 118).

Although Pappenheim and the JFB generally sought to practice "subtle subversion"\(^{11}\) in their reform efforts, carefully avoiding radical positions that could offend potential supporters, there were numerous occasions on which Pappenheim felt compelled to opt for none-too-subtle frontal attacks of what she considered to be the male establishment's perversion of the spirit of Judaism. The best example is Pappenheim's speech "Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage" at the 2. Delegiertentag des Jüdischen Frauenbundes in October 1907. Because this speech spurred a scandal that spread quickly throughout the Jewish-German Press, I will quote the "offensive" portions at length:

\[\text{Wir Frauen aller Kulturländer, wir wehren uns dagegen, vor dem Gesetz mit Idioten und Kindern gleichgestellt zu werden, weil wir die Wirkung dieser Zurücksetzung als Hemmschuh unserer Entwicklung erkennen gelernt haben.}\]

\[\text{Und die jüdische Frau? Seit Jahrhunderten genoß sie innerhalb des jüdischen Gemeindelebens, seiner Kultur und Kultuswelt, die für die Juden lange Zeit identisch war, noch nicht einmal die Rechte eines dreizehnjährigen Knabens. Der dreizehnjährige Knabe, ein Kind, empfängt die Weihe der Selbstverantwortung; er wird in die Gemeinde aufgenommen, bei Gebetsammlungen zählt er mit, an Ritualgebräuchen nimmt er Teil, er hat Anspruch und Anteil an der Tora, er kann die reine Lehre aufnehmen, sich in ihr stärken und begeistern, sein sittliches Empfinden verfeinern! - Und die Frau in der jüdischen Gemeinde? Sie zählt nicht mit, sie gilt nichts, sie lernt nichts, ihr Geist braucht keine Kraft und Anmut, sie darf nicht einmal schön bleiben, selbst, wenn ihr die Natur Schönheit als Geschenk in die Wiege gelegt - sie muß sich verstümmeln oder doch entstellen, - vor dem jüdischen}\]

\(^{11}\) Marion Kaplan aptly applies Glenda Gates Riley's term "subtle subversion" to the tactics of the JFB (74, 98).
Gesetz ist die Frau kein Individuum, keine Persönlichkeit, nur als Gattin und Mutter wird sie gewertet und beurteilt.\textsuperscript{12}

Die poetische Verherrlichung der jüdischen Frau steht in keinem Verhältnisse zu den geringen Rechten, die ihr im bürgerlichen Leben zuerkannt sind. (20) Pappenheim does not object here to the traditional notion that women should be first and foremost mothers. Indeed, her words were not that Jewish law regarded women "only as wives and mothers" (this \textit{only} would be antithetical to her conviction that motherhood was the highest imaginable calling) but that it reduced them to "sexual beings" (\textit{Geschlechtswesen}) -- breeders, whose spiritual needs, intellect, and personality were inconsequential. While she agrees that women should be considered first and foremost mothers, she does not believe that this role should negate a woman's individuality. Even (or as she argues in other texts \textit{especially}) a mother, should have rights equal to those of her 13 year old son: personal autonomy, the right to a religious education, the right to be counted as a whole Jewish person (in a \textit{minyan}), a voice (vote) in the community. Not mincing words, Pappenheim added that "Rifkele Schepschowitz im Gott der Rache"\textsuperscript{13} was an "erklärlche Erscheinung." Eastern European girls from the most Orthodox

\textsuperscript{12} A footnote in the printed version indicates: "Dieser Passus lautet nach dem Manuskript des Vortrags anders und wurde gegen die Absicht der Rednerin, um eine Polemik zu vermeiden zur Veröffentlichung verändert" (20). Newspaper coverage of the conference reveals that Pappenheim's precise wording was not "Gattin und Mutter" but "Geschlechtswesen" (Frankfurter Israelitisches Familienblatt 11 Oct. 1907: 2). See also Pappenheim's report \textit{Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien}, in which she makes similar arguments and does use the term "Geschlechtswesen" (47).

\textsuperscript{13} Pappenheim alludes here to Scholem Asch's Yiddish play \textit{Der Gott der Rache}, which because of its portrayal of family-run bordellos in the Eastern European ghetto, caused theatre-scandals in 1907 (Heubach, \textit{Sisyphus} 115).
families became prostitutes, because they knew, "... daß sie nur einen Geschlechtswert haben" (21-22).

It is hardly surprising that Jewish men should take umbrage at Pappenheim's remarks. The Frankfurter Israelitisches Familienblatt details debates over the speech at the conference (11 Oct. 1907: 2, 4). According to this report, Rabbi Dr. Jakob Horowitz accused Pappenheim "unter großer Erregung" of a "Schmähung des Judentums" (4). Pappenheim objected (also "erregt"): "...sie sei es dem Andenken ihrer Ahnen schuldig, den Vorwurf zurückzuweisen, daß sie das Judentum geschmäht habe," whereupon Horowitz praised Pappenheim's "uneiggennützige, selbstlose und edle Hingabe an alle Werke der Liebe," and acquiesced that he believed that she had not intended to libel Judaism (4).

Horowitz's remarks reveal that his fundamental understanding of Jewish womanhood was not far removed from Pappenheim's. Horowitz argues:

In den Häusern, in denen die jüdische Frau allsabatlich das Licht entzündet und das Haus zu einem Heilighume weih, in den Häusern, in denen das Lied von Escheth Chaili gesungen wird, herrscht eine andere Wertung des jüdischen Weibes. Daß das Ideal der jüdischen Frau, die verheiratete Frau, die Mutter ist, kann doch wahrhaftig kein Vorwurf gegen das Judentum sein. Die ganze Innigkeit, die ganze Heiligkeit des jüdischen Familienlebens hängt ja gerade damit zusammen. (4)

The above remarks are entirely consistent with Pappenheim's belief in the importance and honor of Jewish women's contributions in her traditional roles as mother and homemaker. I believe that she would not have objected even to his next argument, that Judaism's "Befreiung" of women from certain commandments was not meant to diminish their importance but to honor the importance of women's "Gottesdienst" in the home. Indeed, Pappenheim chastized married female colleagues for neglecting their duties as wives and

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mothers in favor of volunteer social work outside the home (Edinger 144-145). In a later speech ("Die Frau im kirchlichen und religiösem Leben") Pappenheim took Horowitz's arguments one step further, arguing that the discrepancy between women's low "position" (Stellung) (her exclusion from studies and lack of a voice in communal matters) in the Jewish community and her high "meaning/significance" (Bedeutung) as "Trägerin, Hüterin und Erhalterin des Volkes" was "illogical" (240-241). Like Horowitz, she focused on women's traditional roles within the home, such as her role in the "Sabbatheiligung" and as the family's practical authority in kashrut. Her reasoning is surprisingly Orthodox-friendly. She concludes that modern assimilated women are actually worse off than their ancestresses -- while their "Stellung" has not improved, their "Bedeutung" has waned as a result of the diminished importance of the Sabbath and kashrut (the realms in which Jewish women presided) among increasingly liberal Jews:

... durch die Verflachung des religiösen Lebens unter den Juden hat die jüdische Frau in ihrem Hause an Bedeutung verloren, ohne noch bisher im kommunalen Leben in gleichem Maße an Wichtigkeit und Stellung zu gewinnen. (243)

14 In a letter to her colleague, Frau Darmstädtler, Pappenheim discouraged her from learning how to drive a car, as a mother of three belonged at home with her daughters (20 Aug. year illegible).

15 In her 1934 essay, "Das jüdische Mädchen," Pappenheim offered additional examples of disregard for women in Jewish tradition, noting that a girl baby is already considered a "Geschöpf zweiter Güte," greeted by the father's disappointed announcement that the baby is "Nichts, ein Mädels" or "Nur ein Mädel." Pappenheim suggested counteracting this immediate disregard for girl children by instituting the naming ceremony (Hole Krasch, which was common in Southern Germany) as a parallel to the male Bris (Edinger 118-119).

16 In a later essay, Pappenheim blamed complacent Orthodox leaders for the development of Liberal and Reform Judaism. Pappenheim suggested that the Liberal and Reform liturgies arose because women, due to their lack of religious education, could not follow...
Following the 1907 conference Die Jüdische Presse (Jg. 38: 426-428), Das Frankfurter Israelitische Familienblatt ("Fräulein Bertha Pappenheim und die Stellung der Frau im Judentum," 18 Oct. 1907: 2), and Der Israelit (Oct. 1907) all published articles expressing agreement with Rabbi Horowitz's assertion that Pappenheim's remarks represented a "Schmähung des Judentums." These voices were unanimous in the sentiment that Pappenheim's efforts in Jewish social work were worthy of the utmost respect and served as evidence that she had likely not intended to harm Judaism through her purportedly injurious remarks. All three articles attributed Pappenheim's remarks to her "ungeheuerliche, elementare Unkenntnis" (editor, Die Jüdische Presse) of Jewish law and her admitted "geringe Kenntnis des jüdischen Schrifttums" (Unna).

By focusing on Pappenheim's admitted woeful ignorance of Jewish law and texts, these critics, especially Rabbi Dr. Unna, who issued the most scathing critiques, unwittingly offered the best imaginable support for Pappenheim's arguments.

Pappenheim herself had been raised in an ultra-Orthodox Jewish family. If she, a highly

Orthodox services: "Hier beginnt schon die Bruchstelle, die ... zur liberalen und zur Reformliturgie führt. Wäre es nicht sinnvoller gewesen, die Frauen - und natürlich nicht nur die Frauen - der Gemeinde zum Verständnis des Gottesdienstes zu erziehen, als später einen Gottesdienst zu konstruieren, der sich unhistorisch und traditionslos dem versagenden Verständnis der Gemeinde anpaßt?" ("Die jüdische Frau" 109).

17 Shortly after this speech, however, Pappenheim was brought to court for libeling the Frankfurt Orthodox Jewish elementary school and its teachers. The Orthodox newspaper, the Israelit, accused her of "einen fanatischen, geradezu an das Pathologische grenzenden Haß [gegen das traditionelle Judentum], der sie völlig unfähig macht, zu seinem Gedankeninhalt vorzudringen. Unlike Horowitz and Unna, who considered Pappenheim well-meaning but ignorant, the Israelit did not give Pappenheim the benefit of the doubt but insisted that she was a very intelligent woman, who (in both cases) was fully aware that her words were an egregious insult and had meant exactly what she had said. Interestingly, Rabbi Horowitz later became a supporter of and frequent guest at Isenburg (Heubach Heim des JFB 41).
cultured, well-traveled, well-educated (relatively speaking), well-connected Jewish woman, the daughter of one of the founders of Vienna's Orthodox Schiffschul, was ignorant of the most basic writings concerning Jewish women, then what did this convey about the average Jewish woman, let alone the disadvantaged? After refuting with "wissenschaftlichen Beweisen" from Bible and Talmud Pappenheim's claim that Jewish women were regarded by Jewish law as mere sexual beings, Unna recommended:


Pappenheim now had evidence in black and white, from an Orthodox rabbi no less, that the religious education of Jewish women was inadequate. Indeed, the leaders of Jewish women's organizations had less knowledge of their own position in Judaism, less knowledge of pertinent Jewish texts, than a Christian woman. By arguing that Pappenheim and her colleagues did more harm through their ignorance of Jewish texts than they did good through their philanthropy, Unna unwittingly provided strong support

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18 One of Pappenheim's youthful struggles with traditional Judaism was undoubtedly her realization that her family's Orthodoxy had contributed to her lack of education, both religious and secular. In the only remaining letter to Hannah Keminski (29 July 1934) Pappenheim wrote, "[Ich glaube], daß was ich geworden bin, ebenso wie das, was ich nicht geworden bin, auf [meine] mangelhafte geistige Ernährung - fast möchte ich sagen Unterernährung zurückzuführen ist" (Edinger 103).

19 It is important to note that the vast majority of the women in the JFB identified strongly with the Jewish religion and the Jewish community. Less strongly Jewish-identified feminists tended to opt for secular organizations.
for Pappenheim's argument that Jewish women should receive a religious education commensurate with their "Bedeutung" in the Jewish community.

Pappenheim certainly intended her 1912 speech, "Die Frau im kirchlichen und religiösem Leben" (cited already above) as a reply to Unna's article. In this speech Pappenheim legitimized her right, as someone "die noch in der Tradition der Traditionen aufgewachsen ist", to speak about women's role in Judaism. She concedes that it may appear presumptuous (vermessen) to Talmudists and scholars of Jewish history and culture that an "ungelernte Frau" would dare to speak as an expert on these subjects. She adds, however, that there has never been a Jewish woman competent in these matters, because institutions of Jewish learning have always been closed to Jewish women.

Women had been excluded from the recording of Jewish "Gesetze und

20 Although this speech occurs five years later I believe that it is meant to rebut Unna and other critics of her 1907 speech. Pappenheim never forgot the details of the press coverage of her notorious speech. As late as 1934 Pappenheim alluded to the assessment of the Zionist Jüdische Rundschau, of the 1907 conference: "Das einzige Wort, das ihn skizzieren könnte ist ein großes 'Schade,'" (Jüdische Rundschau nr. 42: 458). Pappenheim concluded each of her "Selbstverfaßte Nachrufe," in which she imagined how the newspapers of various factions of German Jewry would remember her, with the exclamation, "Schade!" Pappenheim wrote the "obituary" for a book planned (but never realized) by Kurt Tucholsky, "Wie stellen Sie sich Ihr Nachruf vor?"

Helga Heubach notes that Pappenheim also alluded to the scandal in a 20 Apr. 1911 letter published in Sisyphus-Arbeit: "Durch die Feiertage fand ich sie [Sephardic Jews] alle auf der Straße. Die Frauen und Mädchen arbeiten nicht ... Herr Dr. H. mag es entschuldigen, sie sind in Erfüllung des Gesetzes nur Geschlechstwes, und sie müssen's doch besser wissen, wie Herr Dr. H., denn sie leben das Gesetz, während er es nur studiert und auslegt, wie es ihm paßt" (117). This passage is doubly significant, as it demonstrates 1) Pappenheim's continued preoccupation with her debate with Horowitz, and 2) her conviction that the women who live Jewish law have as much or even more right than men to judge its effect on women, because men may actually be inclined to interpret Jewish law to their own benefit and to women's detriment. Indeed, men had even sought to keep their monopoly on the right to interpret Jewish law (denying women access to the central texts of Judaism) in order to keep the upper hand.
Ritualvorschriften" in the distant past, and were now not permitted their own "kritischer Bearbeitung an den Urtexten," "nach modernen feministischen Gesichtspunkten" (239).

She continues:

Wir jüdischen Frauen müssen auch Lob und Tadel, Huldigung und Verurteilung unseres Geschlechtes, wo sie uns als Destillat einer ungeheuren Aufhäufung von Literatur entgegengebracht werden, widerspruchlos hinnehmen, so wie sie durch die Brille der männlichen Schriftgelehrten und Forscher je nach deren Ansicht und vielleicht auch durch persönliche Erfahrungen gefärbt, aus den jüdischen Schriftwerken herausgelesen werden. (239)

I believe, however, that Pappenheim did not wish to suggest that women should pursue the same sort of religious education that men did, the "lernen" taught and practiced in Orthodox cheders and yeshivas, but that women had their own areas of expertise and knowledge, which although different from men's should be valued as equal to them, and which should be nurtured and developed through a religious education focusing on feminine roles and values. Lisa Aiken, a present-day Orthodox Jewish feminist, explains that traditional Judaism teaches that women are not only physically but intellectually different from men. While both men and women are considered to be "equally endowed" with chochmah (innate knowledge), men are considered to be "more innately endowed" with daat, the sort of analytical reasoning valued highly in the exegesis of religious texts, whereas women are considered to possess more binah (32). Aiken defines binah as woman's "innate ability to enter another person's emotions and thoughts and draw conclusions from the knowledge we obtain through this process," adding that it could be translated "inner reasoning" (32). Aiken suggests that women's binah contributes to women's especial suitability to her vocation as mother, as well as to the "motherly" (my term) or "helping" (her term) professions. Aiken adds that women
have traditionally not been attracted to male forms of Torah study, because, whereas men
(who have a predominance of daat) experience spiritual enrichment through analyzing
textual detail, women experience a greater level of spiritual growth through their
relationships with other human beings (37).

Rather than advocating that women become like men, usurping male roles,
Pappenheim argued that women should gain equality within the Jewish community by
merit of their inherent difference. This strategy is exemplified in Pappenheim's campaign
for women's voting rights in the Jewish community.\(^{21}\) Ernst Simon observes that
Pappenheim applied the German women's movement's "Grundprinzip der Wertgleichheit,
nicht der Artgleichheit der Frau" to her arguments for women's right to vote in the
"Gemeinde":

Nicht um formaler Gleichberechtigung willen, sondern weil sie nachweisen
konnte, daß ohne verantwortliche Mitwirkung der Frau wesentliche sachliche
Aufgaben der jüdischen Gemeinde, die von Frauen besser als von Männern
behandelt werden können, vernachlässigt werden müssen. Aufgaben
insbesondere auf dem Gebiet der Sozialfürsorge. (5)
Pappenheim appealed to the prevailing "common sense" notion that while certain things
were better left to men, other things were better left to women. She stated at the 3.

*Delegiertentag* in 1910: "Es gibt Dinge, die wir Frauen so gut verstehen lernen können
wie die Männer, und Dinge, die wir anders und besser verstehen müssen, wie die
Männer" (4).\(^{22}\) In her opening address to the 2. *Delegiertentages des Jüdischen

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\(^{21}\) See Marion Kaplan for a discussion and history of the *JFB*'s campaign for voting
rights in the Jewish community (*Jewish Feminist Movement* 147-165).

\(^{22}\) I believe that Pappenheim is referring here, and in several of the citations below to
women's *binah*.  

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Frauenbundes Pappenheim had already stated which things should be considered women's territory, "Man braucht keine engagierte Frauenrechtlerin zu sein, um zu wissen und einzusehen, daß Frauen und Kinderinteressen am besten von uns Frauen vertreten werden" (3). Women's status would not be raised at the cost of lowering men's status. Women would not encroach upon male territory, but would complement men's efforts in the community by performing in those areas in which 1) they knew more than men, 2) men had traditionally been less interested. Women would not become men in skirts but would contribute by offering a feminine perspective: "Es nützt nichts, wenn Frauen in den Gemeindevertretungen sitzen, wenn sie nicht fraulich sind, und sie ihre Stärke darin suchen, männlich zu denken" (Denkzettel). Nor should allowing women to be active in the Gemeinde encroach upon her duties at home, which Pappenheim still viewed to be her most important sphere of influence:


In a 1928 plea for voting rights for women in the Viennese Jewish community, Pappenheim argued that giving women a voice and a function within the Gemeinde -- allowing all Jews, not just male ones, to work towards a common goal, each doing the tasks best suited to his/her talents -- would not only not jeopardize men's position but would allow Jewish men and the whole Jewish community to reach through collaborative efforts (women using their binah and men employing their daat) a higher developmental plane:
Wenn die jüdischen Gemeinde und Regierungsräte [...] den Frauen eine bessere jüdisch-sittliche Erziehung und Möglichkeiten zur Entwicklung ihrer fraulichen Eigenart²³ geben werden, sie vor große lebenswichtige Aufgaben stellen werden, dann [...] [werden] die Männer und die Gesamtheit der Juden [...] wieder einer frohen Höherentwicklung entgegengehen. (*Frauenwahlrecht in Wien* 3)

In the above quote Pappenheim reiterates that education for women was a prerequisite for voting rights, an argument she had furthered in the debate of women's suffrage in the secular realm before the turn-of-the-century ("Eine Frauenstimme zum Frauenstimmrecht", "Noch ein Wort zum Frauenstimmrecht"). This passage supports also my belief that Pappenheim did not believe that Jewish women's religious education should be identical to that of Jewish men but that it should seek to develop her "frauliche Eigenart," her *binah*.

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While Pappenheim was involved in many different efforts to educate Jewish women during her long career, the project that was closest to her heart was certainly the JFB home for "endangered girls" and unwed mothers and their children at Isenburg. Isenburg can be viewed as the prototype for Pappenheim's conception of religious education for women and girls.²⁴ In 1934 Pappenheim referred to Isenburg as "die bewußt pädagogisch geleitete Übungs- und Übergangsstätte zu jüdisch-fraulich-mütterlicher Lebenshaltung" (*Aus der Arbeit des Heims des Jüdischen Frauenbundes in*

²³ In other words, her *binah*.

²⁴ That Pappenheim did not believe that girls' religious education should be identical to boys is evidenced in her observation that the religious instruction offered at Isenburg is "ungenügend" for boys beyond age 7 (*Aus der Arbeit des Heims des Jüdischen Frauenbundes in Isenburg* 2).

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Isenburg 4). The formulation "jüdisch-fraulich-mütterlich" exemplifies Pappenheim's conception of Jewish womanhood. For Pappenheim "Jewishness," "femininity," and "motherhood" were inextricably linked facets of Jewish womanhood, and education for Jewish women should reflect this.

While Pappenheim did institute at Isenburg formal religion classes (including lessons in Hebrew, so that the girls would learn to understand their prayers), arranged for the girls to attend services at the synagogues of neighboring towns, and arranged for the Jews of Isenburg to join the in-mates of the home for services on the High Holidays (Aus der Arbeit des Heims des Jüdischen Frauenbundes in Isenburg 5-6), she clearly considered the less-formalized religious education of Isenburg to be of far greater importance. As a Jewish woman's Jewishness was, in Pappenheim's eyes, inseparable from her identity as woman and mother, the most important lessons of Judaism should be imparted simultaneously with training in the "feminine" arts of cooking, housekeeping and mothering. Rather than seeking spiritual fulfillment for women in the traditionally male spheres of synagogue and cheder/yeshiva, Pappenheim strove for a "Vergeistigung des Alltags," a "jüdisch-religiöse Durchleuchtung des Lebens" (Aus der Arbeit des Heims

25 On at least one occasion, however, Pappenheim recommended separate services for women as a means to allow women a separate yet equal forum for public and communal worship, which would not conflict with the Orthodox practice that disallowed the commingling of the sexes during synagogue services. Pappenheim argued: "Daß die jüd. Frauen an den gottesdienstlichen Handlungen nur als Zaugäste teilnehmen dürfen, ist aus den psychologischen Schwierigkeiten jeder Coedukation zu erkennen, weil mit Ausnahme seltener Höhepunkte im Leben Einzelner die sexuelle Reizbarkeit stärker ist als die andächtige Versenkung. Diese Erkenntnis hätte -- wenn die Frau bei den Juden nicht als geistig und sozial minderwertig angesehen würde, die Lehre nur aus zweiter und dritter Hand empfangen darf -- zu reinen Frauengottesdiensten führen müssen. Diese könnten, kurz und ehrfurchtig durchgebildet, heute noch von großer religiöser Bedeutung sein ("Zu dem Artikel 'Gebete").
des Jüdischen Frauenbundes in Isenburg, 1914-1924 21, 23). She espoused the
spiritualization of everyday life, the sphere where Jewish women had traditionally
fulfilled their religious duties. Women would find spiritual fulfillment in raising Jewish
children, observing kashrut, and preparing the home for the Sabbath. Pappenheim and her
colleagues taught their charges by example, and by patient explanation of the rationale
behind tradition and action:

...nichts mechanisch fordern - unermüdlich alles erklären, alles zeigen, nichts
voraussetzen; es versteht sich nichts von selbst, nichts Ethisches, nichts
Geistiges, nicht das Materielle oder das Technische, alles muß beispielhaft
gezeigt "vorgelebt" werden. (Aus der Arbeit des Heims des Jüdischen
Frauenbundes in Isenburg, 1914-1924 23)

Pappenheim's colleagues and charges remember that she was extremely gifted in teaching
by example and imparting impromptu lessons. Gertrude Ehrenwerth recalls: "An
manchen Abenden erklärte sie jüdische Gesetze und Gebräuche. Unvergesslich ist mir
und vielen anderen, die es je gehört, ihre Auslegung der Zehngebote (7). Grethe Bloch
recalls:

Die jüdische Atmosphäre des Heims, die zwar streng nach den religiösen
Gesetzen geführt wurde, bereicherte Fräulein Pappenheim dadurch, daß sie
aus ihrem großen Schatz von Wissen und mit ihrem Erzählertalent alle
Freitag-Abende und alle Festabende durch Erzählungen, durch Erklärungen
den Kleinen und Großen verständlich machte und nahe brachte, was vielleicht
die strenge Orthodoxie nicht vermochte [...] Sie versuchte jedes Fest das
Gepräge zu geben, das ihm zukam, und konnte mit den Kleinen zu Chanukah
trendeln, zu Purim scherzen, zu Pessach die Erklärungen der Hagadah
ergänzen und ihnen den Ernst des Rosch Haschanah und Jom Kippur nahe
bringen. ("Was Isenburg mir gegeben hat" 13)

As I mentioned above, Pappenheim did not believe that strict Orthodoxy was by
nature misogynist. Indeed, she argued in her speech "Die Frau im kirchlichen und
religiösen Leben" that the waning of Orthodoxy among German Jews had actually
diminished the importance of women's position in the Jewish community. Therefore the

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Orthodoxy practiced at Isenburg, ritual observance with *kavannah*, focusing on the "Sinn und Schönheit der jüdischen Lebensformen," would make women equal to men (albeit not the same) by returning the center of Jewish life from the synagogue (men's realm) to the home (women's realm).

In addition to the spiritualization of the everyday at Isenburg, Pappenheim highlighted the special days in Judaism, in which women play a major role: first and foremost the Sabbath, but also the holidays Chanukah and Purim. Pappenheim considered the Sabbath to be the single most important institution of Judaism. She opened her essay "Der Sabbath und die jüdische Frau": "Wenn die Juden der Welt nicht noch anders gegeben hätten als den Gedanken des Sabbat tages als Ruhetag, es wäre Genug', ihnen dauernd den Dank und die Achtung der Völker durch alle Zeiten zu sichern" (189). In this essay, Pappenheim charged Jewish women with leading their families back to Judaism by re-introducing into their homes the observance of the Sabbath:

Die Trägerinnen dieser Gesinnung und dieses Willens [den Sinn der Gebote nicht verloren gehen zu lassen] in der Familie sollen die Frauen sein, wenn sie unter den bereitwilligen oder erst zu erweckenden Zustimmung ihres Mannes für ihn und die Kinder … allwöchentlich in ihrer Häuslichkeit eine kleine Zauberinsel schaffen, auf der Licht, Ruhe, Behagen, die leiblichen Genüße nicht zu unterschätzen, eine gute Sabbatstimmung gepflegt wird. (192)

Pappenheim considered the Sabbath to be one of the most important *Lehrmittel* (pedagogical tools) at Isenburg. She stipulated: "Die Freitag Abende sind als geistig-jüdische Wertbetonung froh, verständlich und liebevoll beizubehalten" (Aus der Arbeit des Heims des Jüdischen Frauenbundes in Isenburg, 1914-1924 32). She viewed the Sabbath as *the* Jewish tradition over which Jewish women presided: both symbolically, through their traditional duty of signaling the beginning of the Sabbath by lighting and blessing Sabbath candles, and more concretely, by preparing the home for the Sabbath
and ensuring, "daß im jüdischen Hause 24 Stunden lang Mensch und Tier ruhe und aufatme und Sammlung und Kraft finde für die nächsten sechs Werktage" ("Die Frau im kirchlichen und religiösen Leben" 242). Pappenheim believed that by shifting the emphasis from Sabbath as burden (24 hours during which one was forbidden to do certain things) to Sabbath as celebration (a reprieve from the burdens of the work-week, replete with special food, singing, reading-aloud, guests, special treats of fruit and chocolate) she could awaken in both the in-mates and the adult employees at Isenburg a yearning to live a Jewish life, which would continue even after they left the home (Edinger, Bertha Pappenheim: Leben und Schriften 100).


Although Pappenheim did not address this in her writings, it is quite possible that she placed special importance on the Sabbath due not only to women's important role in

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26 She reports that Pappenheim wrote a simple Friday Evening prayer (in German) and a "Schabkoslied" for Saturday midday for the girls at Isenburg.
its celebration but also due to the predominance of feminine symbolism surrounding the Sabbath. Orthodox feminist Tamar Frankiel writes of the Sabbath:

... although God is always masculine and feminine and beyond either of these, we experience God on Shabbat as the feminine, the Queen. The queen, the kalla or bride, enters the home and the synagogue on Friday night, to the joyous melodies of "L'cha Dodi": "Come, my beloved, to greet the bride, to welcome the face of Shabbat!" The whole Jewish people are urged to rise up, shake off the dust of worry and discontent, and join in rejoicing; for when the Shabbat Queen arrives, we glimpse the promise of messianic times [...]. We read at the Shabbat table [...] the famous "woman of valor" passage from the end of the book of Proverbs. It is often taken as a tribute to the woman of the house; but it is also a proclamation of the feminine as Israel itself, the Jewish people with their collective feminine soul, the Shekhinah. (59)

Of all Jewish holidays, Pappenheim focused on Chanukah and Purim in her work at Isenburg. She referred to Chanukah as "[natürlich] die fröhlichste Zeit im Haus" (Aus der Arbeit des Heims des Jüdischen Frauenbundes in Isenburg 6). She published as a present to the Frankfurter Mädchenclub in 1928 a humorous Purim-story, "Die Haselnüßtorte," and composed a verse drama version of the story to be performed on Purim by the children at Isenburg. She likely placed special emphasis on Chanukah and Purim in order to offer equally joyous Jewish alternatives to the "corresponding" Christian holidays Christmas and Fasching. I believe, however, that she also emphasized

\[\text{[27] Helga Heubach found a typescript in Gertrude Ehrenwerth's Nachlaß of the previously unpublished play and included it in her 1986 volume commemorating the home at Isenburg. As Pappenheim was interested in late medieval and early modern Yiddish literature, she may have written her Purim play as a modern version of the Yiddish Purim-shpil, which originated parallel to the Christian Fastnachtspiel. Pappenheim's play shared with the Purim-shpil that it was written for performance in the "family" home at the Purim feast. The play does not, however, follow the conventional form of the Purim-shpil, which generally included a narrator, prologue, epilogue, and blessings for the audience (See "Purim-shpil." Encyclopedia Judaica vol. 13: 1396-1404). Pappenheim also composed a text (undated) chronicling her own solitary Chanukah celebration (Edinger, Bertha Pappenheim: Leben und Schriften 137-9).}\]
Chanukah and Purim due to their special significance for women. Both Chanukah and Purim are celebrated primarily in the home (the woman's realm), and women play an active role in the traditions of each holiday. During Chanukah women are obliged to light Chanukah candles, and on Purim Jews send "portions" (*shelakhmones*), usually sweets and other foods, to a friend and give charity to the poor. Pappenheim's "Haselnußtorte," which was meant both to entertain and to educate her charges concerning the traditions of Purim, chronicles the circular journey and gradual transformation (as children sneak bits of it and their mothers render it again presentable with new decorations) of a "Schlachmonaus" from its female baker Frau Frummet to her brother's house and (via various other homes in the Jewish community) back again to Frau Frummet. Chanukah and Purim certainly also held special appeal for Pappenheim, because Jews read on these holidays the stories of heroic Jewish women. On Purim the book of Esther is read, which celebrates Queen Esther's role in delivering the Jews from Haman's plot to kill them. During Chanukah the book of Judith is read, in which Judith, using her feminine wiles in God's service, beheads Holofernes (after entertaining him with wine), who had demanded that the Jews worship Nebuchadnezzar. Tamar Frankiel notes that these two women-centered holidays are of great spiritual importance to Jewish tradition: "The sages taught that in the time of Mashiach, Chanukah and Purim will continue to be celebrated while other holidays will drop away" (70).

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Above I elaborated on Pappenheim's public efforts to reconcile her loyalties to two seemingly incompatible traditions: traditional Judaism and feminism. Although Pappenheim managed to invent a place for herself within the Jewish community as a
"surrogate mother", her “failure” to marry and become a biological mother never entirely ceased to occupy her thoughts. I use the word “failure” deliberately, because despite her and other Jewish feminists' efforts to rescue unmarried and/or childless women from the margins of the Jewish community, a woman's identity within traditional Judaism was during Pappenheim's lifetime (and still remains) defined primarily through her role as wife and mother. Jewish women who remained single were stigmatized as spinsters, or at best pitied, by their co-religionists. In Pappenheim's words:

Die Gesetzgebung kennt überhaupt nur die verheiratete Frau, die, wenn ihre Ehe kinderlos bleibt, schon sehr in der Achtung sinkt. Das Mädchen, das aus innern und äußern Gründen trotz aller Bemühungen keinen Mann gefunden hat, ist nach altjüdischen Begriffen der Gegenstand verächtlichen Mitleids. ("Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage" 20)

Because it was unimaginable that a woman might choose to remain single, it was assumed, particularly in cases where an adequate dowry was available (and this certainly was true for Pappenheim) that she had been unable to attract a mate because she was in some way flawed.

It is impossible to ascertain why Pappenheim never married. She certainly possessed the traits desired of a prospective bride: great physical beauty, social graces, a good family, and a generous dowry. It is also unknown whether she may have refused any serious offers of marriage. According to Jensen, it is rumored that Pappenheim's mother may have thwarted Bertha's budding romance with a violinist, a union which she deemed unfitting to the family's social standing. Freud's biographer Jones maintained that a psychiatrist at the sanatorium, where Pappenheim was a patient after her treatment by Breuer, had fallen in love with her and wanted to marry her (Jensen 44).
Jensen speculates that Pappenheim may have chosen not to marry out of fear that she would pass her mental illness on to future generations:


While this is entirely possible, I am inclined to believe that it was, if indeed a consideration at all, not her primary one. Pappenheim, at least later in life, discounted the infallibility of eugenics in determining human development:

... jedes Kind berechtigt zu irgend welchen guten Erwartungen, bis es in seinem Leben später das Gegenteil bewiesen hat. Niemand kann eines Kindes Erbgut von Urväter- und Urmütterzeit einschätzen. Wir wissen, daß gute Eltern böse Kinder haben können und böse Eltern gute Kinder. Es ist tröstlich, daß die Eugenik nicht unfehlar ist, sonst wäre die Welt längst zugrunde gegangen. ("Aus einem Arbeitsbericht" 12)

Pappenheim once even considered a "pädagogisches Experiment" (adopting a "Zigeunerbaby") in order to ascertain, "ob und wann das Anerzogene vom Angeborenen besiegt wird" (Sisyphus-Arbeit 50-51, see also my chapter 5).

In middle-age Pappenheim continued to attract members of the opposite sex. In 1911, on a ship between Tripoli and Jaffa, Pappenheim was propositioned by a man, who insisted that she could pass for 30 if she dyed her hair (Pappenheim's hair had turned completely white when she was quite young), to spend a week with him in Beirut, where he could show her "much depravity." Pappenheim wrote to her friends, "... kurz, ich glaube, - wenn ich nicht so ganz ohne Erfahrung und Übung wäre ... meine Reise hätte einen jähen romanhaften Abschluß finden können" (Sisyphus-Arbeit 90). She also evaded the efforts of a would-be matchmaker in Lemberg, who wished to introduce her to a professor in Berlin (Jensen 137). She appears, however, not to have ruled out marriage.
entirely. To the "matchmaker's" question, "Möchten Sie nicht heiraten?" she answered, "Ich habe es nicht verschworen" (Jensen 137).

If one is to believe the assessment of some male associates, Pappenheim may have remained single because she simply did not like men. Rabbi Georg Salzburger reported: "Sie war unverheiratet und Männerfeindin" (Jensen 60). Rabbi Caesar Seligmann recalls: "Mit den Männern vertrug sie sich schlecht, wenn sich die Männer nicht ihrem Willen und ihrer Führung unterordneten" (Jensen 60). There may be a bit of truth to Rabbi Seligmann's observations, as Pappenheim reportedly was a dominant personality, most comfortable in leadership roles. As she was so certain in her convictions, conflicts frequently arose when her authority was questioned. This was not, however, limited to her interactions with men. There are more than a few examples of similar conflicts with women. Pappenheim dismissed categorically accusations of Männerfeindlichkeit ("man-hating"): "Die Männer sind so eitel und durch Generationen in der Beurteilung ihrer selbst so verwöhnt, daß einer die sachliche Kritik einer Frau an seinem Tun und Verhalten nur als allgemeine 'Männerfeindlichkeit' empfindet" (Denkzettel dated 5 September 1919, Jensen 184-85).

It has also been suggested that Pappenheim may have been a closet lesbian. Daniel Boyarin writes, "There is ... some justification for considering Bertha Pappenheim a foremother of lesbian separatist feminism!" (315). Although it is impossible to ascertain the validity of these claims, I find the possibility quite plausible. One letter in Sisyphus-Arbeit (quoted also by Boyarin) is the best example of possible homo-eroticism in Pappenheim's writings:

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I doubt, however, that Pappenheim ever would have consciously acknowledged that she may be bi-sexual or homosexual, let alone have acted upon any homosexual desires.

Indeed, her writings suggest that she disapproved of homosexuality (Sisyphus-Arbeit 215). Although she never stated this explicitly, one can extrapolate from her disapproval of the use of contraceptives to enable heterosexual sex without consequences, that she would have viewed the physical realization of homosexual love as counter to Jewish belief, as homosexual sex could not result in procreation.

I would like to add my own hypothesis to the mix. Pappenheim was seriously ill, thus not a prime candidate for marriage, during the years in which she would have been most marriageable (there is no mention of further illness after her arrival in Frankfurt -- when she was already 29). In his de-bunking of the founding myth of psychoanalysis Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen states, "There's no doubt about it: Bertha Pappenheim was a gifted simulator" (92). He explains, "All the indications are that Bertha was literally suffocated by her family atmosphere and sought to escape it by any means possible, including illness" (83). If Pappenheim was a simulator (a theory, which although compellingly argued by Borch-Jacobsen, I am not able to endorse wholly, sharing Boyarin's and Hirschmüller's wariness of paleao-diagnosis) then I would suggest that she did so not only to escape the stifling family atmosphere of her present but to escape an
inevitably stifling _future_: perpetual entrapment in a Jewish marriage, in which she would likely not be her partner's equal.

All we really know for certain is that Pappenheim does seem to have preferred the company of women (both personally and professionally) to that of men, and that she created, throughout her long career, numerous communities of women (the JFB, the IJFB, the Mädchenclub, Weibliche Fürsorge, Isenburg, etc.), including Jewish "families" (Pappenheim insisted that Isenburg maintain a "Familiencharakter" and authorities who inspected the home verified that it did) entirely devoid of men, in which she could become a Jewish mother without the necessity of becoming a Jewish wife.

Long after she had established herself as a "surrogate mother" Pappenheim continued, however, to grapple with her spinsterhood. The second stanza of a poem written by Pappenheim at age 52 reads:

Mir ward die Liebe nicht -
Drum tön’ ich wie die Geige,
Der man den Bogen bricht... ("Mir ward die Liebe nicht")

This stanza expresses the traditional Jewish view that a single person (male or female) is in a defective or incomplete state, or according to the Zohar, "A person can be considered one and whole ... and without defect ... when he is joined together with his complementary partner and is thereby hallowed by the elevated sanctification of kiddushin..." - or using Pappenheim’s metaphor, the spinster will only be complete and useful (able to perform her pre-destined function) when she finds the bow to play her (Zohar qtd. in Kaufman 12). The first stanza of the same poem reads:

Mir ward die Liebe nicht -
Drum leb' ich wie die Pflanze,
Im Keller ohne Licht... ("Mir ward die Liebe nicht")
The light metaphor employed by Pappenheim in this stanza likewise has a corollary in the Zohar, which states, "Soul and spirit, male and female, are intended to illuminate together. One without the other does not radiate and is not even termed a 'light'" (Zohar qtd. in Kaufman 12). Without a mate, the woman will neither give nor receive light. In Pappenheim's terms, the spinster's "normal" development (into wife and mother) is stunted, like a plant without light. Pappenheim concludes the poem:

Mir ward die Liebe nicht -
Drum wühl ich mich in Arbeit
Und leb' mich wund an Pflicht.

Mir ward die Liebe nicht -
Drum denk ich gern des Todes,
Als freundliches Gesicht. ("Mir ward die Liebe nicht")
The spinster's restless activity -- in Pappenheim's case her social work (and surrogate motherhood) -- is only a substitute for marital love (and "real" motherhood), and an inadequate one at that (it does not make life worth living). While Pappenheim's poem accepts the premise that spinsterhood is an undesirable state, that the unmarried woman cannot live up to her full potential, it challenges the notion that she is single due to some personal shortcoming or defect. The passive voice of the repeated first verse of each stanza absolves her of guilt. Love did not pass her by because she was defective. She is defective because love passed her by.

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Some contemporary Jewish feminists, such as Rose L. Levinson, who wrote the essay “Standing alone at Sinai: Shame and the Unmarried Jewish Woman,” might interpret this poem as a document of a specifically female and Jewish mid-life crisis, the crisis of a Jewish woman who suddenly realizes that even if she marries, she will never have children. Levinson writes in her 1994 essay, “To be a woman in Judaism is to be less than. To be an unmarried, childless woman is to be even more diminished. To be an unmarried, childless, middle-aged Jewish woman is to move dangerously close to invisibility” (110). Levinson refers in particular to the unmarried, childless woman’s invisibility in religious practice in the here and now (as I have noted above, women’s role in religious practice is restricted in Orthodox Judaism almost exclusively to the family sphere -- there is essentially no place for a woman without a family) (Orenstein 101). But in traditional Judaism the single woman is also destined to oblivion after death, for she has no so-called Kaddish -- no offspring to recite for her the prayer remembering the deceased. In another Denkzettel Pappenheim commented on the role of the Kaddish, “Fortpflanzung ist die Brücke zwischen Leben und Tod, es gibt darum keinen Tod” (Jensen 185). If the mother lives on in her child, then what happens to the childless woman?

Pappenheim appears, however, to have gradually worked her way through her female, Jewish mid-life crisis. On the day following her 60th birthday, she wrote the following Denkzettel:

Wenn in manchen Stunden der Einsamkeit mich eine schmerzliche Wehmut darüber erfassen will, daß ich als letzte einer Reihe lebe und keinen Kaddisch habe, dann tröstet mich der Gedanke, daß ich einen dummen Mann oder ein mißbratenes Kind hätte haben können. (Jensen 185)
The thought of being the last of her line, having no *Kaddish* to keep her memory alive, continues to be painful, but the feminist in her can imagine worse case scenarios. In 1934, at age 75, Pappenheim finally publicly affirmed spinsterhood as a legitimate and rewarding alternative lifestyle. In her essay, “Das jüdische Mädchen” she asserts that the “alte Junger,” the “old maid” is no longer the “Schreckengespenst” of old:

Die unverheiratete reife, selbstständige Frau hat sich, in allen Kulturkreisen anerkannt, zu einem lebensberechtigten und lebensbejahenden Typ entwickelt, die in ihrem ganzen Dasein Bindungen, Lösungen, Schicksalsgestaltung, auch in geschlechtlicher Beziehung, sich selbst und der Welt gegenüber allein und frei, die volle Verantwortung zu tragen gewillt ist. (‘Das jüdische Mädchen,” 121, 125)

She also reconsidered her earlier degradation of social work to a poor substitute to "real" motherhood, something to fill empty hours. A later *Denkzettel* praises work as a “fountain of youth” and a June 1930 prayer transfigures it to the very meaning of her life (Jensen 179; *Gebete*). In this prayer the *Malach hamowes* (the angel of death) brushes her with his wings, but then suddenly moves on. He passes her by because she still has a job to do, “dessen Erfüllung den Sinn meines Lebens erfüllen sollte” (*Gebete*, Prayer dated 17 June 1930). She no longer looks forward to “death’s welcome face” but prays for enough strength in her later years to complete her mission. A 1934 “prayer of thanks” suggests that Pappenheim believed that part of her mission was indeed surrogate motherhood. In this prayer she lovingly recounts playing with one of her small charges at Isenburg, the home she founded for endangered girls, unwed mothers and their illegitimate children. She gives thanks, “Ich bin so froh dem Menschenkeimchen ein Schutzdach geschaffen zu haben; vielleicht wäre es sonst im Schmutz zertreten worden und wir wären um eine Hoffnung ärmer. Wie gut, daß das Menschenkeimchen und ich uns im Weltall getroffen haben” (*Gebete* “Dankgebet” dated 19 September 1934).
Whereas the Jewish mother creates life, the Jewish social worker performs an equally
valuable function, she preserves this life for the community when the biological mother is
unable.\(^{28}\) A 1924 letter, in which Pappenheim seeks to comfort a friend who learned that
she would never have children of her own, exemplifies Pappenheim's conception of
surrogate motherhood:

Frauen, die das Glück wirklicher, persönlicher Mutterschaft entbehren
müssen, können zu einer großen Fähigkeit geistiger Mutterschaft
heraufwachsen, wenn sie die stillen Wege der Fürsorge für solche Kinder und
Jugendliche gehen, für die die leibliche Mutter teilweise oder ganz versagt.
Für diese jungen Menschen, denen Sie eine Schickung werden können, sollen
Sie sich mit ihrer ganzen Wärme und Lebendigkeit einsetzen lernen, große
Arbeit tun, und heilige Kleinarbeit verrichten lernen, - dann werden Sie Ihr
Schicksal mit Wehmut ertragen lernen und vielleicht, wenn auch
schmerzende, Gesetze und Linien in demselben entdecken (Edinger 87-88).\(^{29}\)

\(^{28}\) The flip-side of Pappenheim's self-affirmation through "social motherhood" is the
troubling corollary that the aged, single, childless woman's claim to a spot on this earth
expires when she is no longer able to perform the deeds that had legitimated her existence
-- or in Pappenheim's words, "Ein Mensch ist nur so weit wichtig, als er für andere
wichtig ist" (Jensen 192). In her prayer, "Gebet der Alten" Pappenheim appeals: "... wenn es droht, daß ich denen zur Last werde, deren Lebenslast tragen zu helfen, ich mich
ständig mühte, dann streife, Geist, gnädig über mich und scheide was Staub an mir, und
was Teil von dir" (Gebete prayer dated 16 Sept. 1925). That Pappenheim would further
the notion that the aged should die when they become a burden on society is particularly
interesting in light of her arguments against abortion. Pappenheim condemned abortion
under any circumstances, but especially in cases of "sozialer Indikation," where the
biological parents were incapable of caring for the child and it might become a burden on
the community. She argued that the Jewish reverence for the sanctity of life (as
demonstrated by the stringency that Jews must even break Sabbath when a life is in danger)
prohibited abortion ("Zur Frage des §218 des Strafgesetzbuchs" 2). But for Pappenheim
some life (namely that of the aged childless woman) was apparently less valuable than
other life.

\(^{29}\) Several years later Pappenheim sought to institutionalize the sort of surrogate
motherhood she had prescribed for Frau Guggenheim in a *Schicksalsgemeinschaft
kinderloser Mütter*. In her call for founding members for the group, Pappenheim
described its purpose: "Diese Aufgabe bestände darin, den kinderlosen Frauen
Erziehungs- und Fürsorge Aufgaben zu stellen, in denen sie ganz individuell ... an den
Kindern mütterliche Pflichten zu erfüllen hätten. Für eine Frau gibt es keine fremden
Clearly Pappenheim, who later wrote, "Mütterlichkeit ist das Uremempfinden einer Frau, das auch eine Unberührte beglückt empfinden kann," (Denkzettel 9 Oct. 1927, Jensen 185) and whose epithet read, "Er macht die Kinderlose zur frohen Mutter von Kindern," (Psalm 113) spoke in the above letter from personal experience. She had already traveled the painful path of the childless "mother."

Numerous testimonies suggest that Pappenheim truly embodied the "motherliness" she espoused. Irene Darmstädtler wrote:


Kinder. Es kann also jedes Kind in den Lichtkreis einer sorgenden Frau gezogen werden. Wir denken darum, daß - wie der Psalmist sagt - die Kinderlosen den Weg suchen sollen, frohe Mütter zu werden, d.h. außerhalb des Rahmens oder innerhalb der organisatorischen Kinder- und Jugendpflege solche Auswirkung zu suchen, die sie sonst als bestes geistiges Geben dem eigenen Kinde zugewandt hätten" ("Kinderlose Frauen").

30 Pappenheim's Zeugnis from her work at the Frankfurt orphanage for girls confirms: "Ihre reiche erzieherische Begabung und ihr feines Gefühl fanden schnell die Verbindung zu dem Herzen jedes Kindes. Mit mütterlicher Sorgfalt benutzte sie diese kindliche Sympathie zur Entwicklung und Hebung der geistigen Kräfte, zur Bildung und Festigung des Charakters ihrer Pflegebefohlenen. Durch dankbare Liebe, die sich oft in rührender Weise kundgab, haben die Zöglinge die segensvolle Einwirkung der Beschützerin ihrer Kindheit und Jugend zu vergelten gesucht" (quoted from Heubach, Das unsichtbare Isenburg 17, see also: Getrud Ehrenverth, "Im Heim" 13). Several girls from this orphanage. Pappenheim's "Töchter," (Helene Krämer, Sophie Mamelock, and Hannah Karminski) followed in her footsteps and maintained close contact for the rest of her life.

Pappenheim also designed a fountain celebrating motherhood ("Der vertriebene Storch") and donated it to Isenburg. The fountain consisted of three scenes, the last of which depicts, "... Storch Adebar, der gesenkten Hauptes, höhnisch bedroht von einem
Having forfeited the joy of having children of her own, Pappenheim became, in the words of Ernst Simon, "eine Art von wirklicher Volksmutter" (6), a title she certainly would have relished.

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I will conclude this (my final) chapter by exploring the final chapter of Pappenheim's spiritual journey: in particular her search for a female-friendly expression of the God of Judaism, and her self-styling to prophetess/spiritual leader of Jewish women in the last years of her life. As I mentioned at the onset of this chapter, Pappenheim's writings (literary and otherwise) showed no sign of interest in Judaism until the late 1890s, after she embarked on her career in Jewish social work. From the 1890s until about 1922, her writings, both literary and non-literary deal exhaustively with social problems in the Jewish community and the role of women in Judaism -- but do not (with the exception of isolated Denkzettel and letters) explore her own, personal spiritual struggles. Beginning roughly in 1922 (the year of the earliest prayer published in Gebete) Pappenheim's writings, especially her prayers, several late short stories, and her Denkzettel, exhibit Pappenheim's growing preoccupation with her own relationship to God, and her own place (not just "women's role" in a general or universal sense) in the Jewish community.

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frechen Affen, das Weite sucht" (Ida Wolf, "Ein Geschenk"). Jensen suggests that the motif may be an allusion to Pappenheim's early story, "Im Storchenland," in which a young woman deserted by her fiancé becomes "Oberpflegerin im Storchenland" after the "alte Storchnatter" died, "[wodurch] ihr sehnlichster Wunsch erfüllt und sie Kinderchen in Hülle und Fülle hatte" (92). This story provides evidence of Pappenheim's early interest in the possibility of surrogate motherhood.
It stands to reason that a feminist, who after the death of her father and the end of her treatment by Breuer, never again had a close personal relationship with a man, might resist envisioning God as a male, patriarchal figure. Indeed, in all of her writings, I know of only one reference to a male-gendered God, the following aphorism, written April 16, 1935:

Gott ist unvorstellbar, wir können Ihn nur an seinen Attributen - Gerechtigkeit, Wahrheit und Lebenswillen - erkennen. Diese Erkenntnis suchen, sie eifrig aktivieren, heißt Gott lieben. Gott ist eins und einig und allumfassend. (Bertha Pappenheim zum Gedächtnis 33)

Although Pappenheim uses the masculine pronoun "Ihn," it is quite clear that a God, who is "unvorstellbar, einig und allumfassend" cannot be reduced to a gendered, God-the-Father figure. Indeed, in a letter to Martin Buber, Pappenheim criticized him for referring to God with the masculine pronoun in his translation of the Bible (Kaplan 47).

Further evidence for Pappenheim's resistance against a male-gendered God is her invocation of the Shekhinah. The Encyclopedia Judaica defines the Shekhinah as "God viewed in spacio-temporal terms as a presence, particularly in a this-worldly context: when He sanctifies a place, an object, an individual, or a whole people - a revelation of the holy in the midst of the profane" (vol. 14: 1350). It is interesting that the encyclopedia chooses the pronoun "He," as the Shekhinah represents in Kabbalah the feminine principle, God's feminine dimension. According to David S. Ariel, the Shekhinah is understood in Kabbalah as the daughter; and as the "mother of all life ... the caring part of God, which can be felt as God's immanence in the world" (94-95). The Shekhinah "serves
as the link between the realms of God and the World" (94). It is understandable that the vision of God as mother, caretaker, and sanctifier of the profane would appeal to Pappenheim, who defined women's role in the community as that of mother, caretaker/"social mother" and sanctifier of the profane (preparing the home for the Sabbath, ushering in the Sabbath with the lighting of candles, and keeping kashrut and family purity laws).

Pappenheim invokes the Shekhinah by name on at least two occasions. In her 1934 story "Der echte Ring," (Pappenheim's rendition of Lessing's "Ringparabel") the artist commissioned to replicate the original ring (Judaism) is unable to do so. Frustrated, he destroys the ring and throws its stone into the heavens, from whence it continues to emanate its power, which Pappenheim calls the Shekhinah. Pappenheim's portrayal of the Shekhinah in "Der echte Ring" alludes both to the Shekhinah's role in God's Covenant to protect the Jews and to Her feminine attributes. Like the Shekhinah, which accompanied the Jews into exile (fulfilling God's Covenant to never desert them), the stone of the story is exiled (cast away by the jealous artist) but continues to bless the scattered Jewish People. In the story, the Shekhinah appears at special moments in humans' lives, particularly in the lives of women, such as the conception or birth of a child. The Shekhinah also shows Herself in natural phenomena, particularly displays of light: she flies like a "glowing eye," appears as lightning, as a rainbow, in the colorful reflection of sunlight off a snow-covered mountain. While the Shekhinah is traditionally associated with light, I believe that Pappenheim emphasized this aspect of the Shekhinah because

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31 For a more comprehensive discussion of Shekhinah in Kabbalah see Ariel (89-109). See also Encyclopedia Judaica (vol. 14: 1349-1354).
light (especially the lighting and blessing of candles to usher in the Sabbath) is associated in Jewish tradition with women. Pappenheim wrote of the light associated with the foremothers Sara and Rebecca:


Read in conjunction with Pappenheim's "Gebet für Frauen," which closes "...daß eine Generation ersehe aus Kraft und Liebe und Ehrfurcht vor der heiligen Schechina, die segnet, wer reinen Herzens lebt und waltet," it seems quite possible that Pappenheim associates or even equates Sara's light with the Shekhinah. In this prayer for women, as in the above text, Pappenheim yearns for a generation of women inspired by God's feminine incarnation and blessed by Her. ³²

By invoking the Shekhinah, God's feminine dimension, Pappenheim emerges as the foremother of Jewish feminists (both Orthodox and more radical), who a half-century later rediscovered the Shekhinah in their search for a more female-friendly Jewish spirituality. Like Pappenheim, Orthodox Jewish feminist Tamar Frankiel discovered the Shekhinah, God's feminine dimension, in her struggle to negotiate the seeming

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³² A feminist interpretation of this prayer is supported further by Pappenheim's plea, "dass geistlose Buchstaben den Weg der Frau nicht länger verrammeln." Forchheimer's English rendering of "geistlose Buchstaben" as "secular writings" is a mistranslation. Pappenheim certainly refers here not to secular writings (as I have demonstrated in previous chapters, Pappenheim never demonized secular culture) but to faulty (counter to the spirit of the law) male interpretations of Jewish law, which impeded "den Weg der Frauen", their development both spiritually and as contributing members of the community.

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incompatibilities of Orthodox Judaism and feminism. Frankiel refers to the *Shekhinah* as "the collective feminine soul of the Jewish people" (59). She elaborates: "[...] insofar as we know God's presence in the world - in the forces of nature, in the ordinary course of our own lives - we know it as feminine" (61). In her book *She Who Dwells Within: A Feminist Vision of a Renewed Judaism* Lynn Gottlieb, a privately ordained, unaffiliated rabbi, refers to the *Shekhinah* as "She who Dwells Within" or "The Light that Dwells Within Women." While her conception of the *Shekhinah*, which derives not only from Jewish tradition but also from other "ancient goddesses of the Near East" (22) would be far too radical for either Frankiel's or Pappenheim's tastes, she shares with them the recovery of the *Shekhinah* as the means to reclaim a place for women in a religious tradition that had become male-dominated.

Pappenheim requested that she be buried with her antique silver ring that had a heart with the inscription "Schadaj" (Hannah Karinski, "An die Fernen Freunde von Fräulein Pappenheim" 8). Schadaj (גַּטִּיו also Shaday, Shaddai, translated into English as "Mighty One") is one of several ways in Jewish tradition of referring to God. I believe that this ring offers further insight into Pappenheim's conception of God. David Neal Miller explained to me:

In contrast to the several better-known names which function either as euphemisms to avoid speaking God's ineffable name (e.g. adonay) or God-attributes ("El"), Shaday functions almost as a proper noun: it is one of God's

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33 According to the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, חַטִּיו was frequently used in the simplest sort of amulet worn by Jews to protect against evil spirits and misfortune, the inscription of the name of God on a piece of parchment or silver. חַטִּי and other names of God are still common today in pendants worn by Jewish women. The *Encyclopedia Judaica* does not, however, list a heart as a common motif in Jewish amulets (vol. 2: 906-915).
actual names. When, for example, Naomi speaks of Shaday as her God [...] it's clearly a name and not a euphemism. (e-mail 30 May 1999)\textsuperscript{34}
Pappenheim's choice of a ring with the God-name Schadaj, one of God's real names, attests to her conception of a God, with whom the individual can have a personal relationship -- even a woman can call God by name. The choice of Schadaj also places Pappenheim in the company of her foremothers, such as Naomi, who called God by God's actual name.

While Pappenheim resisted a male-gendered anthropomorphism of God, she did believe that each individual had the capacity to communicate directly and personally with God through prayer. By "prayer" she did not mean reciting standard prayers at prescribed times but a more personalized communication with God\textsuperscript{35}:


\textsuperscript{34} David Neal Miller asked Rabbi Gary Huber on my behalf for information on the significance of "Schadaj" in Jewish tradition. See the Encyclopaedia Judaica (vol. 7: 676-677) for a discussion the etymology of Shaddai. It is interesting in light of an ungendered or female conception of God that Shaddai may be related to the Hebrew shad, meaning "breast." It is, however, in my opinion, doubtful that Pappenheim would have been aware of this.

\textsuperscript{35} Pappenheim did, however, derive comfort from reciting traditional Jewish prayers. Hannah Karminski reported that Pappenheim said her favorite Psalm, Psalm 121 (In German and Hebrew) and the Shema daily in the days before her death ("An die Ferrnen Freunde" 10). Pappenheim's affinity for Psalm 121, the Psalm of "Der Wächter/Hüter Israels," grants further insight into her understanding of God. Like the Shechinah, the God of this Psalm protects and guides the Jewish individual without pause.
freizuhaben, darum brauchen viele vorbereitete Gebetformeln. ("Zu dem Artikel 'Gebete'")

According to the above definition of prayer, Pappenheim's own ability to pray, her deep spiritual connection to God was in the latter years of her life quite exceptional.

While Pappenheim lamented that the predisposition to pray was a rare occurrence, and that the intensely personal communications she envisioned must fight their way, "tropfenweise" to consciousness, the volume Gebete attests that she herself was granted the gift of prayer many times in her later years -- and the published prayers likely represent only a percentage of the prayers that emerged "geformt" not to mention those that remained in a less finished form.

Pappenheim's prayers suggest also that she believed communication with God to be a two-way exchange: God communicated directly with each individual via his/her conscience. In her "Nachwort" to Gebete Margarete Susman identifies the plea for strength ("Kraft"), namely the strength "[Gott] in jedem Augenblick lebendig zu erfahren," as the main theme of Pappenheim's prayers (and I would add, her conception of God's self-revelation to the individual). I agree with Margarete Susman's assessment that Pappenheim's November 1935 prayer "Anruf," which I will quote below in its entirety, is both Pappenheim's "tiefstes Gebet" and the quintessential Jewish prayer ("Nachwort"):


Fordere, fordere, damit ich jeden Atemzug meines Lebens in meinem Gewissen fühle, es ist ein Gott.
Susman elaborates on Pappenheim's belief that she experienced God via her own conscience: "Dies war ihr ganzes Wissen um Gott, daß sie ihn durch seine unablîssige Forderung in ihrem Gewissen erfuhr. [...] Indem sie zu Gott flehte, daß er unablîssig von ihr fordern möge, zwang sie so [...] den lebendigen Gott mit jedem Herzenschlag ihres Daseins zu sich herab." Only with knowledge of Pappenheim's understanding of the conscience as the "Organ, in dem Gott sich selbst durch seine unablîssige Forderung bezeugt" can one truly fathom the desperate urgency of Pappenheim's warning "Weh dem, dessen Gewissen schläft." When the conscience sleeps, one is devoid of God's presence.

Susman calls "Anruf" the quintessential Jewish prayer, because it acknowledges, "daß alles, was der Mensch vollbringt, von Gott kommt, und daß der Mensch nichts von dem von Gott Empfangenen einfach als Gnade annehmen und hinnehmen darf, daß er es lebendig verwalten und weitergeben muß." Pappenheim's prayer transforms Judaism's commandments from burden to blessing. In Susman's words, "das eiserne Du sollst! Du mußt!" is experienced "nicht als Zwang, sondern als Offenbarung des lebendigen Gottes" ("Nachwort").

Having served as Pappenheim's private tutor in philosophy during the 1930s, Margarete Susman gained a greater insight into Pappenheim's intellectual and spiritual world than perhaps any other individual. Susman writes that Pappenheim developed a

great passion for the philosophy of the early Greeks, in which she had discovered "in
überwältigender Macht und Klarheit [...], was sie überall suchte und überall fand: das
große Gesetz" ("Bertha Pappenheim's geistige Welt" 35). Susman defines Pappenheim's
understanding of "das große Gesetz":

Es war ein anderes Gesetz als das Gebot Gottes und doch tief mit ihm
verknüpft: seine Grundlage und Voraussetzung [...] Hatte sie aus dem Gesetz
als Gebot Gottes die Richtschnur ihres Lebens und Tuns gewonnen, so
gewann sie aus dem kosmischen Urgesetz der griechischen Antike als der
strengen, gerechten Ordnung von Werden und Vergehen, Geburt und Sterben,
die tiefe und fast leidenschaftliche Ergebung in Leiden und Tod. (35)

Surrender to pain (both physical and emotional) and death, as well as humility in
the face of the circle of life and God's creation are recurring motifs in Pappenheim's
prayers, especially "Gebet der Alten;" "Gebet" from June 1930, which names the Malach
Hamowes, the Angel of Death, God's messenger and "Hüter des großen Gesetzes;"
"Gebete" from July 1929; "Dankgebet einer Alten" of December 1929; "Angst Gebet"
from June 1934; and a poem that she dictated on her death-bed, "Leise, leise ohne
Weise."

In her last years, Pappenheim, whom Breuer had in her youth referred to as "not at
all religious," re-fashioned herself into a spiritual leader of women, a modern-day
prophetess. She believed that Time, her age and experience, had blessed her with the
knowledge she had lacked in her youth -- knowledge of "das große Gesetz." She wrote in
"Gebet" from August 1922: "Zeit, du [...] hast mir lebendig gemacht, was als Erbgut der
Vorfahren mein Leben bereichert, hast mir Fäden gezeigt, die das Dasein pulsierend
zusammenhalten." God had shown her "den einzigen Weg" ("Gebet" 19 January 1923),
"den Königsweg" ("Geloebnis", "Gebet" 16 December 1933), and she felt not only the
obligation to take this road herself but to lead others on it, "andere mit zu reissen"
("Anruf"). Her compulsion to lead Jewish women back to the "Königsweg" became increasingly urgent in early 1933, as Jews suffered increased anti-Semitism due to the Nazi party's increasing influence. In a March 1933 letter to the executive committee of the JFB she beseeched her colleagues: "Sie wissen, daß es schon einmal die jüdischen Frauen waren, die die Gemeinschaft gerettet haben. Wir wollen versuchen, nicht schwächer zu sein" (10). And she imagined herself as their leader -- volunteering to resume the position of chairperson of the JFB, which she had resigned almost 10 years earlier. Pappenheim invoked the example of her Jewish foremothers, "die, wenn sie das erleben müßten, was wir heute durchleben - es nur könnten aus dem Erfülltsein von der Auswirkung des großen Gesetzes [...] Sie wissen, daß es einmal die jüdischen Frauen waren, die die Gemeinschaft gerettet habe. Wir wollen versuchen nicht schwächer zu sein" (Bertha Pappenheim zum Gedächtnis 10). The self-styling to a leader of the ilk of female biblical heroes was apparently not mere hubris. Even her ideological opponent

37 In her 1933 letter Pappenheim bade Jewish women to withdraw into the confines of the family and the Jewish community, to follow the example of their European ghetto foremothers, who derived strength not only from their fulfilment through the "grosse Gesetz" but through a "Festigkeit in der Enge und dadurch eines oft unbewußten Ausströmens ihrer Frauenkraft in die Weite" (10). Pappenheim had already sought to reconnect modern Jewish-German women with these roots in 1929 and 1930, when she translated and published the Zenne u-Renne (the "Frauenbibel") and the Maasse-Buch, two Yiddish books popular among Jewish women during the Thirty Years War, another time of intense anti-Semitism. By upholding Jewish women of this era as an example for modern Jewish women, Pappenheim implicitly advocated recourse to the feminine home and family-based spirituality represented by these women, a spirituality, which she believed had deteriorated when emancipation granted Jewish women spheres of influence extending beyond the confines of home and family. This stance appears regressive. However, when one considers that Pappenheim prescribed for all Jews (women and men alike) the withdrawal into private life and the cultivation of a Jewish home and family life as a strategy for weathering through anti-Semitism, then women, in their traditional role as guardian of the Jewish home, would become saviors of the Jewish community ("Der Einzelne und die Gemeinschaft").
Zionist Helene Hanna Thon commented on Pappenheim’s “prophetische Kraft zum Kampf,” observing that she had something reminiscent of the prophets, in particular the prophetess Deborah (38-39).³⁸

In her October 1934 short story, “Der Hügel der Märtyrer,” Pappenheim again prescribes recourse to "das große Gesetz" as a strategy for weathering through anti-Semitic persecution. In this story a female figure wanders among the gravestones in an old Jewish cemetery. She appeals to the Jewish martyrs buried there, “Ihr Heiligen, wie sollen wir leben, wie sollen wir Armen bestehen unter der Schwere der Zeit, dem Leid und dem Haß, die uns bedrängen” (37). They reply, “Schma Israel, adaeunoi elahenu, adaeunoi echod” (37) (“Hear, O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord is one”), the first line of the Shema, which is often regarded as the central Jewish creed or confession of faith. The Shema is a three-part prayer composed of three passages of the Pentateuch, all of which concern the Mt. Sinai Covenant, God’s promise to keep the Jews, whom he has freed from slavery in Egypt, “as [his] treasured possession among all the peoples” and to regard them as a “holy nation,” providing they obey his commandments (Telushkin, Jewish Literacy 53). Pappenheim’s invocation of the Shema and the Mt. Sinai Covenant serves the dual-purpose of on the one hand comforting Jews, who should take solace in and derive hope from God’s promise, while on the other hand alluding to the possibility

³⁸ Ottlie Schoenewald also refers to Pappenheim’s "prophetische Schau" ("Der jüdische Frauenbund" 8), and Eva Reich-Jungmann reminisced: "Es war eine prophetische Funktion, die sie erfüllte" (Heubach Das unsichtbare Isenburg 163).
that their present woes are a result of their failure to keep their side of the covenant\textsuperscript{39} -- to live in accordance with "dem großen Gesetz."\textsuperscript{40}

The female prophet of "Hügel der Märtyrer," however, remains unheard by the masses, who laugh at her message: "die Menge ... lachte höhnend und gröhrend bis weit zurück, wo auf dem Platze noch murrende Menschen standen. Und ein Echo fing das Lachen auf, daß es zurückrollte über die Mauer und die Frau als wie ein Todesstoß traf, daß sie hinsank auf den Hügel der Märtyrer" (37). This story is undoubtedly a self-portrayal. Pappenheim portrays the pain she herself felt when her "prophecy" went unheard or was ridiculed by the masses. In her December 1933 "Gebet" Pappenheim had once before expressed the deep pain of witnessing to deaf ears:

Viemehr schwer getroffen und verletzt von Menschen - was liegt daran?

Laß mich aufraffen den einen Weg zu gehen - den Königsweg.

Und nicht gehört und nicht verstanden - was liegt daran! Laß mich weiter reden und sagen, was wahr ist.

Und wenn es kalt ist, und wenn es finster ist, und wenn die Luft übel zu atmen, - und ich erkenne den Sinn und will ihn verkünden, und die Menschen

\textsuperscript{39} As troubling as the second half of this dual interpretation of Pappenheim's invocation of the \textit{Shema} is, it is quite likely that Pappenheim did mean to suggest that anti-Semitism was a result of Jews' immorality. In a 1932 essay Pappenheim stated outright, "Wenn wir Juden heute starker Anfeindung ausgesetzt sind, so ist das, weil auch bei uns die Reinheit der Sitten und die Gesetze der Sittlichkeit übertreten und umgangen werden" ("Einführung in den Arbeitskreis für Gefährdeten-Fürsorge" 2). And this statement is not isolated; Pappenheim repeatedly propounded (even after 1933) the very problematic notion that German-Jews were responsible for causing their own victimization. Pappenheim was not alone among her contemporaries, however, in the belief that Nazi anti-Semitism was a test or punishment from God.

\textsuperscript{40} The invocation of the \textit{Shema} would be, according to Margarete Susman's suggestion that the "große Gesetz" and the Covenant are identical, also an allusion to the "große Gesetz."
sind zu blöd - was liegt daran! Ich kann den Sinn auch künden ohne Laut und Wort - durch das Tun.


This prayer captures not only Pappenheim’s pain and disappointment, however, but her steadfast conviction that God had revealed to her his "Königsweg" and that she would, so long he granted her the strength, continue on it, witnessing through actions if her words remained unheard.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Pappenheim's partial retreat into spirituality in her final years is evidence of the inevitable collapse of her negotiation of identity along the fault-line of German-Jewish symbiosis. Nazi policies legally annulled the German-Jewish symbiosis as Pappenheim understood it, a "culturally German" and "religiously Jewish" identity for observant, yet acculturated German-Jews, rendering this identity, as far as its internal-external negotiation was concerned, non-negotiable. Pappenheim, however, was neither willing nor able in her advanced age to re-negotiate this central nodal point of her identity. For her too, the German-Jewish symbiosis was non-negotiable.

The events of April 1933 prompted an explosive growth of the Zionist movement in Germany, a movement which had until this point enjoyed limited popularity among German-Jews, the majority of whom had defined themselves as "German citizens of the Mosaic Faith." Faced with the external annulment of their German cultural and national identity, many German Jews embraced the ideal of a Jewish "Volk," nation, and culture. Pappenheim, however, continued to battle Zionism, insisting in an August 1934 essay that German Jews were so deeply indebted to German culture, "daß es Dummheit und
Undank wäre, sich davon losreißen zu wollen. Wir können es gar nicht” (“Die jüdische Frau” 117). I would revise this remark: “Sie (Pappenheim) konnte es gar nicht.” While many of her younger colleagues were able to re-orient themselves, advocating emigration to a new Heimat in Palestine or other destinations, Pappenheim’s advanced age precluded a radical re-figuring of her long-established self-defined identity as a German Jew. A renunciation of the German-Jewish symbiosis would have amounted to an admission that her life’s work had been in vain. The only sort of emigration Pappenheim could envision was an inward one, the return to a traditional Jewish spirituality, which she believed would at once enable Jews to endure the travails and degradation of National Socialism, while at the same time speed along the end of anti-Semitism by eliminating the Jewish immorality which had supposedly caused it. This final breakdown in negotiations left Pappenheim with only one option, to escape, emigrate inward (inward meaning into the confines of the Jewish community) to a separate Jewish German realm. As Pappenheim and other Jewish German women had made a livable space for themselves within the Jewish community by creating their own realm "surrounded by, but separate from, patriarchy" (Lorenz xii), Pappenheim now envisioned a temporary refuge for German-Jews in Nazi Germany in their own realm "surrounded by, but separate from" National Socialist Germany.

Pappenheim's negotiations as a feminist within the Orthodox Jewish community serve as a model for her negotiations as a Jew in Nazi Germany. Pappenheim sought, by creating a separate women's realm within the Jewish community, to preserve or reclaim women's rightful and honorable place in traditional Judaism, a position which had been wrested from them through the patriarchal establishment's perversion of the true tenants
of Judaism. In much the same way, Pappenheim strove, by creating a separate Jewish realm within the broader German community, to preserve or reclaim Jews' rightful place as German citizens of the Jewish faith, the identity, which was being wrested from them by National Socialist anti-Semites' perversion of the true essence of "Germanness." As women were to become the guardians ("Hüterinnen") of Judaism, German Jews were to become the guardians of "Germanness."

I will conclude with a proposal for a continuation of my topic. Richard Jenkins asserts that identity "is never a final or settled matter. Not even death can freeze the picture: there is always the possibility of a post mortem revision of identity (and some identities, that of a martyr, for example, can only be achieved beyond the grave)" (4). In Pappenheim's case, Jones' 1953 revelation that "Anna O." was Bertha Pappenheim was the impetus for a multitude of post mortem revisions, which have sought to re-connect and reconcile Bertha Pappenheim with a part of herself, which she had during her lifetime (quite successfully) sought to banish, the young hysteric, "Anna O." The authors of these revisions have, as I have stated above, generally been more interested in "Anna O.," the object of study for the two "founding fathers" of modern psychology, than in Bertha Pappenheim, the author, feminist, activist, and pioneer in modern social work. Her later work is all too often read as a sublimation or continuation of her illness, and even some feminist scholars persist in re-casting Pappenheim as the true "mother" of psychoanalysis, seeking her worth in her contributions to the boys' club of psychoanalysis (a tradition of which she remained skeptical) rather than in her later achievements in the women's movement and social work (traditionally female spheres of influence).
I propose reading both the multitude of scholarly revisions of Pappenheim's identity (many of which I have either named in my introduction or listed in my bibliography), as well as portrayals of "Anna O." and/or Bertha Pappenheim in literary works or other artistic media, inquiring how the "historical person" Bertha Pappenheim corresponds to the symbolic, even mythical figure (the "Anna O." of the origin-myth of psychoanalysis) onto whom various types of fantasies and values have been projected.

Thus far I have located two films, a play, two novels, a chamber opera, and a performance art piece that treat this material explicitly. In addition, Hugo von Hofmannsthal’s Elektra and Stephan Zweig’s Die Heilung durch den Geist were both inspired by "Anna O." and Frank Wedekind’s drama Der Totentanz prefigures, according to Helga Heubach, Freeman’s later theory that Pappenheim’s social work with prostitutes and unwed mothers was motivated by “unsolved sexual conflicts between Pappenheim, her father and Breuer” (Heubach, Sisyphus 306). Wedekind’s female protagonist Elfriede von Malchus, the president of the Internationlen Verbandes zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenschandels, begs the Mädchenschänder Marquis Casti Piani (who also appears in Lulu) to sell her when she realizes that she battles white slavery for the same reasons that Casti Piani is a trader. Zweig, Hofmannsthal, and Wedekind’s works differ from the others in that they were written before Jones revealed that "Anna O." was Bertha Pappenheim. However, as it was an open secret in turn-of-the-century Vienna that Breuer's "Anna O." was really the prominent feminist and social activist Bertha
Pappenheim,\(^1\) it is quite likely that these authors, especially Zweig, who corresponded with Freud concerning the "Anna O." case-study, were aware of "Anna O.'s" true identity.

The two novels mentioned above are Lucy Freeman's well-known biographical novel *The Story of Anna O.* (1972) and Irvin D. Yalom's *When Nietzsche Wept* (1992). Yalom's novel recounts an imaginary encounter in 1882 between Breuer and Nietzsche (Lou Andreas-Salomé is responsible for arranging the meeting.) The analyst-analysand roles become reversed and Nietzsche analyzes Breuer, treating his sexual obsession with Bertha Pappenheim. The two films are a documentary, Terry Seltzer's *The Story of Anna O. a study in hysteria: a film* (1979) and a John Huston film that premiered December 12, 1961. The latter film was entitled *Freud, the Secret Passion* and starred Montgomery Clift as Freud and Susannah York as Cácilie (a composite figure based primarily on Anna O.). Huston apparently originally planned to cast Marilyn Monroe as Anna O. (Pontalis vii). I plan to examine not only the film, but also the original versions of the screenplay, which were written by Jean-Paul Sartre. According to Pontalis, Sartre, although he accepted the commission for financial reasons, became very dedicated to the project. Sartre completed a 95 page synopsis entitled *Freud* in 1958, in which the female protagonist is still called Anna O. When asked to shorten his 450 page first version of the screenplay (in which Anna O.'s name had already been changed) he produced two even longer versions, 700 and 1000 pages (Heubach, *Sisyphus* 305). Sartre apparently then grew bored with the project and Charles Kaufmann and Wolfgang Reinhardt reduced the screenplay to a

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\(^1\) Paul Homburger reported to Dora Edinger that "Anna O.'s" identity was "allgemein bekannt" in Vienna (Letter to Dora Edinger. 1 Apr. 1958).
marketable length. Sartre insisted that his name not appear among the film credits. The final version of the film was not successful (Pontalis vii-viii).

In September 1992 *The Mystery of Anna O.*, a play written by Jerome Coopersmith and Lucy Freeman and directed by Yanna Kroyt Breier, premiered at the John Houseman Studio Theater in New York. According to reviewer Lawrence van Gelder, "the play explores the perils of pioneering medicine, multiple aspects of medical ethics and the impact of the case on the doctor’s relations with his wife." According to the review the play extends beyond the years of Breuer’s treatment of Anna O. to the 1950s. He writes:

It is in Chicago that the question of Anna’s fate is raised in confrontations between Stephanie Gardner, a Chicago reporter and Pappenheim admirer, and Dr. Ernest Jones, the author of a three-volume life of Freud and defender of Breuer who has come to Chicago in 1956 to make a speech on the centennial of Freud’s birth.

In 1984 Melinda Jo Guttman, a professor of theater, who is currently seeking to publish what she describes as a “poetic portrait” of Pappenheim’s biography, wrote and performed *Anna O’s Private Theatre*. Kathryn Kovalcik-White describes the work as follows:

*Anna O’s Private Theatre* is a powerful, intense work with a magical quality that captures belief through a tapestry of transformations woven in character and time. It is important work, in that it bridges the anti-feminist gaps in the history of psychoanalytic theory and presents the contemporary issues relevant to women’s “Other” role in society. The solo performance piece works more than psycho-drama; it is visual poetry. The provocative work, though under an hour in length, develops in a nonlinear style in terms of time, text and space. Guttman creates her environmental frames through her inventive use of props such as a mirror, a dollhouse, a rag doll, a cigar and others that are multifunctional, which aid her character and scene transformations. A violinist strolls around the skeletal set highlighting generations of mood swings with haunting music. (75)
Guttman explains that her piece is involved with three dialogues: “the dialogue between psychoanalysis and history; the dialogue between feminism and psychoanalysis; and the dialogue between Self and Other” (Kovalcik-White 76-77). She continues: “The interplay between my life and Anna O’s reifies these ideas in microcosm” (Kovalcik-White 76).

When asked to elaborate on the intent of the piece, Guttman replies:

The intent of the piece is to avoid the objective stance traditionally taken by either realistic theatre or by traditional case histories. [...] This is not a commercial project, but an innovative method of training historians. In lieu of giving a lecture and reproducing the Aristotelean male professor, I am presenting a complex form focusing on subjective interpretations, that I hope will reshape and shatter the orthodoxy of academic and psychoanalytic institutions, through the subjectivity of women. (79-80)

In 1992 Kari Henrik Juusela completed his doctoral dissertation, Meet Me Tonight in Dreamland: A Chamber Opera, which depicts a fictional chance encounter between Pappenheim and Freud at Coney Island in 1909. Freud and Pappenheim were actually both traveling in the United States in 1909. The chamber opera, in which Freud reconsiders his role as the founding father of psychoanalysis, includes flashbacks to "Anna O.'s" treatment, including her hysterical childbirth. To date no study has examined artists’ (of a variety of media) fascination with the "Anna O."/Pappenheim/Freud/Breuer story, an aspect of the post mortem negotiation of Pappenheim's identity, which I believe could prove most revealing.
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