

Gendering Eastern Europe in German-Jewish Ghetto and Village Tale Writing  
(1848-1918)

BY

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THESIS

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

A whole history remains to be written of spaces – which would at the same time be the history of powers...from the great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat.  
Michel Foucault<sup>1</sup>

#### 1.1 Gendering Eastern Europe in Ghetto and Village Tale Writing

While attending the Summer Institute on the Holocaust and Jewish Civilization in the summer of 2013, I was captivated by one of the ideas expressed by a leading scholar in the History Department at the University of Toronto, Doris L. Bergen. She posited that “scholarly writing resembles autobiographical writing,” meaning that one’s research often reflects upon and is even informed by one’s own heritage and personal experiences. This is certainly true for me. My dissertation examines how the literary constructions of geographical spaces, specifically of Eastern Europe and of the peripheries of Austria-Hungary (1867-1918), are embedded within gendered discourse and how this discourse generates these spaces and demarcates geographical borders.

To study the relationship between gender and space in the context of ghetto and village tales is to consider the material spaces these tales discuss, that is Eastern Europe and the peripheries of the Danube Monarchy. It also means to disclose how various ideological representations of space reflect, contest, or validate the geographical shaping of the European setting portrayed by Galicia-born migrant and German-Jewish writer Karl Emil Franzos (1848-1905), German writer Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1836-95), and German-Jewish activist and feminist Bertha Pappenheim (1859-1936).

The three distinct depictions of the relationship between gender and space: from a German-Jewish perspective by both a male and a female writer, and from a Gentile perspective, allow for an inclusive analysis of the processes that govern the dynamics of gender and space in a German-Jewish context. I show how Franzos, Masoch, and Pappenheim construct the peripheries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as “backward,” “superstitious,” or “distinct.”<sup>2</sup> Through their depictions of Jewish and German-Jewish family relations in various small villages, Franzos, Pappenheim, and Masoch create a new conception of “femininity” that by Masoch and Pappenheim challenges both traditional socioeconomic and religious frameworks, and by Franzos reflects the political insecurity of Germany as an emerging nation-state safeguarding its cultural heritage. As a consequence, the portrayal of an imagined sociocultural reality of Eastern Europe promotes the separate sphere family model in Franzos’s tales, presents an opportunity for augmented recognition for Jewish women within Jewish community by Pappenheim, and fosters female and male *masochism* as constructive for Jewish-Gentile relationships by Masoch.

Specifically, my study seeks to examine how depictions of the sociocultural setting of Galicia are manifested within the gender role division in Jewish family in general, and in the portrayal of Jewish female figures in particular. I suggest that the three aforementioned writers construct Eastern Europe as a separate geographical entity situating their own hopes for a redefinition of Jewish culture. The questions raised include: How does gender-space discourse shape the perception of Eastern Europe in turn-of-the-century German-Jewish tale writing? What message with regard to the Jewish cultural legacy do the aforementioned writers convey by gendering Eastern Europe?

Comparing different concepts of “femininity” with regard to the construction of Eastern European landscape, my study contributes to understanding of Jewish and Gentile perceptions of sexuality and gender relations within the family from Western (Jewish) perspectives. Franzos and Pappenheim transpose their fears of liberated sexuality and of sexual emancipation onto Eastern Europe. Their texts construct new notions of “femininity” that emerges out of their portrayal of the Jewish female characters. While Franzos constructs a “new ghetto” in gendered terms, imagining female figures in the traditional role as mothers and wives, Pappenheim deconstructs male phantasies and male interpretations of the female role, advocating instead for an augmented presence of Jewish women in the public sphere, as well as for the recognition of their role at home. Finally, as a non-Jewish writer, Masoch expresses his hopes for the reconciliation of female sexuality and of “femininity” by presenting the private sphere as a locus of “cultural *masochism*.”

## 1.2 Geographical Spaces and Imagined Spaces

The basic claim of my study is to map the specializing of gender practices and discourses with reference to geographical and imagined spaces. I suggest that a gender-space orientation informs the study of “femininity.” Before I explain the way the gender and space discourse unfolds in the discussed tales, I find it necessary to explicate the term “femininity.”

One of the first observations on the notion of “femininity” originate from the writings of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), who defined “femininity” along with “masculinity” as being “among the most confused that occur in science.”<sup>3</sup> Freud claimed that “every individual [...] shows a combination of activity and passivity,” that is, that the

“feminine” equated by Freud with “passive,” and “masculine” defined as “active,” are inherent characteristics of one’s personality.<sup>4</sup> Within the framework of gender relations, Freud understood “femininity” and “masculinity” as separate, static, and inherent elements defining human condition.

More recent investigations, however, identify the notions of “masculinity” and “femininity” as processes of acquiring certain characteristics that are subject to change. Angela McRobbie explains in her book *The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture, and Social Change* (2009) that “femininity” and “masculinity” are fluctuating concepts.<sup>5</sup> Instead of totalizing both concepts as separate domains as is the case by Freud, McRobbie defines “femininity” and “masculinity” as dynamic and changing. She further explains that “‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ are the processes of becoming the lost same sex object through incorporation” (114). She argues that “masculinity” and “femininity” do not exclude each other, but complete and infiltrate each other. This suggests that McRobbie perceives “femininity” and “masculinity” as indefinite and undefined. Both terms would then form an emptied gendered socio-spatial relationship and define relations between the sexes in a specific time and place in their own way.

Similar to McRobbie, I conceptualize “masculinity” and “femininity” as two variables forming the socio-spatial axis. Throughout the current study, “masculinity” and “femininity” are the concepts that define family relations and determine the structure of sex-gender relations. Although my emphasis in the current study is the way “femininity” and space intertwine and inform each other, I do not preclude the importance of the “masculine” realm. Significant sections of the second and third chapters explain the way both concepts inform the functioning of gender relations.

Still, I argue that in the texts I investigate space and “femininity” share a common evaluative stance. Commonly, space is referred to that which is open, lacking substance and solidness. This means that space procures meaning not in itself, but only in relation to adjoining entities. Therefore, I maintain that in the ghetto and village tales under discussion, the “femininity” materializes within the socio-spatial context.

In fact, the “feminine” realm and the social realm constitute imagined spaces. In the case of the present study they constitute literary phenomena. Consequently, by Franzos Eastern Europe and the “femininity” are marginalized or absent. Franzos’s tales show how the geographical space becomes an instrument by which the narrative restrains the actions of female protagonists. The Jewish female figures are restrained by the narrative techniques or the narrative itself to cross boundaries of their personal, religious identity and their sexual disposition. They are also confined to a physical space, as Galicia. Thus, “femininity” embarks on the interpretation of spatial limits and boundaries.

To a degree, by Pappenheim, the female body comes to be deployed as a medium through which the “femininity” is displayed. In opposition to Franzos, Pappenheim’s texts show the “feminine” realm as occupying not only the private space, but also the public sphere. Lastly, by Masoch the discussion of “femininity” takes place in the context of *masochism* that defines gender relations in the public sphere and in the private domain.

As I mentioned earlier, my study links together an understanding of space as both physical and imagined. It shows the way in which the literary texts construct the geographical space as Eastern Europe by defining it as “backward,” “superstitious,” or “distinct” to develop three different conceptions of the “feminine” realm. These rather stereotypical categorizations of Eastern Europe correspond only by Franzos to his

conservative understanding of “femininity” as equated with motherhood and marriage. Although Pappenheim also stereotypes Eastern Europe as “backward,” unlike Franzos she advocates for recognition of Jewish women outside and inside of the private setting. Likewise, Masoch views the role of women as equal to the men’s in marriage and outside of it. He additionally opposes the idea of Eastern Europe as “backward” and “superstitious.” The three writers affix to male and female sex particular gender roles that result from the way they depict Jewish families coming from Eastern Europe. Thus, the space-gender configuration constitutes a perfect duo to examine writers’ motivations that underlie the portrayal of female figures and to investigate this portrayal within the narrative.

I view the imagined space of Eastern Europe not as neutral canvas, but as a means that shapes social life. Henri Lefebvre rightly points out in his work *The Production of Space* (1974) that space is not a “passive locus of social relations.”<sup>6</sup> Lefebvre perceives social space as “logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias” (11-12). In his study, Lefebvre distinguishes three levels on which the space manifests itself: physical, mental, and social. He argues that social space is “indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by the philosophers and mathematicians) on the one hand, and the physical space (as defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of ‘nature’) on the other” (27). Yet, as Lefebvre construes, social space still remains the “space of society, of social life” (35). Thus, to examine the connection between gender and space is to consider relations of power, family and politics. I centralize my investigation around the binary oppositions within which the

social relations and the social space emerge: matriarchy and patriarchy, public sphere and private sphere, sex and gender, and finally, Eastern and Western Europe.

In the first two chapters I use the term “patriarchy” to describe the family structures that Pappenheim and Franzos portray. The notion of patriarchy has been widely used by feminist theories to discuss the autonomous system of women’s subordination in society. Sylvia Walby distinguishes between six structures of patriarchy: household production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions.<sup>7</sup> All of these terms imply the father’s (male’s) rule as opposed to matriarchy that signifies the mother’s imperative. More importantly, the two main types of patriarchy are marked by the binaries public and private.

In the first chapter I understand patriarchy as a form of social arrangement characteristic for bourgeois marriage that confines women to the private sphere. I show how Franzos is supportive of this form of marriage. In the second chapter, patriarchy is understood in terms of house violence and seclusion within paternal family that affects both sexes. The third chapter addresses the notion of patriarchy as a system of relations in sexuality, specifically those marked by the establishment of the law.

I show how Franzos and Pappenheim construct the cultural legacy of Eastern Europe through establishing gender regimes by making the females’ position in society contingent upon the institutionalization of the public sphere. Walby defines gender regimes as the systems of interrelated gendered structures.<sup>8</sup> She explains that the domestic gender regime is grounded on household economy and the public gender regime

is based on the isolation and subordination of women, for example, within culture. Walby explains:

In the domestic form the principal patriarchal strategy is exclusionary, excluding women from the public arena; in the public it is segregationist and subordinating. (6)

Franzos is supportive of a bourgeois marriage that presumes the economic dependence of women on men. Pappenheim on the other hand shows how both sexes are secluded in the paternal authoritarian family. Additionally, Pappenheim criticizes a public gender regime and observes that Jewish women have not been given enough recognition to participate in the life of the Jewish community.

Unlike Franzos's and Pappenheim's texts, Masoch's ghetto tales deconstruct the functioning of regimes within the private sphere and the public sphere. Masoch addresses the issues of dominance and servitude portraying the Jewish-Gentile relationships in the private sphere and the administrative dependence of Galicia on Austria-Hungary in the public sphere. In Masoch's texts, the gender regimes in the public and private spheres are the subjects of constant change due to the fluctuating notions of female and male *masochism*.

### 1.3 Eastern Europe, Galicia, and the Concept of the *Ostjude*

After explaining the basic premises that underlie my investigation of space and gender in the ghetto and village tale writing, it is necessary to outline historical conditions that propounded the notions of Eastern Europe as "backward," "superstitious," or "distinct." In his book *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (1994),<sup>9</sup> Larry Wolff observes that Eastern Europe was neither identified

as a locus of barbarism nor was it perceived as an antithesis of civilization at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Instead, Eastern Europe was located between the two poles: barbarism and civilization. These two binary oppositions, as Wolff argues in the following quote, came to characterize Eastern Europe during the age of Enlightenment (13):

Just as the new centers of the Enlightenment superseded the old centers of the Renaissance, the old lands of barbarism and backwardness in the north were correspondingly displaced to the east. The Enlightenment had to invent Western Europe and Eastern Europe together, as complementary concepts, defining each other by opposition and adjacency. (5)

Wolff further argues that the common perception of Eastern Europe during the Enlightenment era was a cultural construct (357-58). He describes how the writings of Western European philosophers and writers, as, for example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), who never visited Poland, emphasized the polarity between East and West. Wolff recounts how Rousseau professed that Poland has “no economic order” and “no military discipline” (238).<sup>10</sup>

As Wolff further describes, Rousseau was not singled out in his views that found resonance in political resolutions that established the political powers during the long nineteenth century. The East-West divide resulted predominantly from the reconfiguration of the power arrangement in Central Europe. Between the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the Berlin Congress in 1879, new colonial powers emerged such as Germany, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal. The global distribution of power resulted in the false perception of the superiority of Western civilization over Eastern European culture. Furthermore, the aforementioned countries participated in military and political rivalry and set a vision for a new political order in Europe. Eastern

European countries that were mostly agrarian, militarily undeveloped and dependent on administrative decisions of the West were passive followers of Western European rule. For the same reasons, Eastern European culture was neglected and often seen as inferior.<sup>11</sup>

Many of the misconceptions about the second-rate status of Eastern European culture found resonance in travel literature that illustrated the poverty of the peripheries of the Habsburg Monarchy (1772-1848). One early traveler to Galicia, who was also a native Galician, yet studied and lived in Vienna, was Franz Kratter (1758-1830). In his work *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien. Ein Beitrag zur Statistik und Menschenkenntnis* (1786), Kratter describes the social and cultural conditions in Galicia as deplorable.<sup>12</sup> His critique is aimed not only at Polish society and the prevailing feudal relations, but also at the allegedly corrupted Austrian officials stationed in Galicia. Although Kratter's work was widely criticized by German and Galician intellectual elites alike, it successfully pioneered the stereotypical perception of Galicia as backward and superstitious.<sup>13</sup>

Unlike the first travel reports (1772-1830) meticulously drafted by Habsburg officials, later insights came from the perspective of Western European writers who were either Galicia-born and migrated to Western Europe, such as Franzos and Masoch, or others that showed interest in the sociopolitical conditions of this region by undertaking frequent trips as Pappenheim. In Franzos's, Masoch's and Pappenheim's writings, Galicia remained a distinct land exposed to the century-long revolutionizing upheavals reflected in frequent invasions by the neighboring countries.

The Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria had experienced numerous invasions by Poles, Lithuanians, and Hungarians until its final annexation by the Kingdom of Poland in 1340. With the first partition of Poland in 1772, the region fell under Habsburg domination. The country was henceforth dependent on the bureaucracy of the Habsburg Empire and subjected to reforms instigated by the Habsburg Dynasty. Galicia was an Austro-Hungarian province from 1772 to 1918. Under these nineteenth-century reforms, peasants obtained full property rights to their lands in 1848, and Jews were granted equal civil rights in 1867.<sup>14</sup> Galicia was a culturally and ethnically diverse region inhabited by Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Armenians, Karaites, Roma, and Lutheran Germans. The cultural and ethnic variety often caused conflicts between these diverse groups as well as within the Galician Jewry.<sup>15</sup>

By 1830, the majority of Galician Jews was *Hasidic* and differed from Western European Jews by virtue of their special mode of spirituality, piety, and modesty. For example, *Hasidism* stressed mysticism and emotionality over logic and reasoning in religious life.<sup>16</sup> They gave priority to Torah study and common celebrations of the Sabbath. Fervent singing and dancing signified moments of rejoicing and identification with God. In his ghetto tales, Franzos portrays *Hasidic* communities through the lens of Western Jewry. In his descriptions of *Hasidic* religious practices, Franzos heightens the visual aspects of *Hasidim* and their traditional modes of behavior and dress, which differed from the mainstream, assimilated, and secular Viennese Jews.<sup>17</sup>

Steven E. Aschheim (1942) addresses a particular issue with regard to the perception of Western European Jewry on Eastern European Jewry. In *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800-*

1923 (1982), Aschheim asserts that it was in the second half of the nineteenth century when the expression “ghetto Jew” became synonymous with *Ostjude*.<sup>18</sup> Aschheim states that the emergent stereotype of *Ostjude*, a superstitious, intellectually inferior, uneducated, and religious Jew was the product of the acceptance of Enlightenment thinking that had its origins in the embrace of modernity (5-10). One could therefore conclude that the apparent clash between Western European Jewry, assimilated to a greater or lesser extent, vis-à-vis predominantly traditional East European Jewry, originated from progressing secularization that involved the fragmentation of social and religious life, creation of new social roles, and increased social mobility.

Profiting from the decree released by Franz Josef I in December 1867 that granted Jews equal political, civil, and religious rights with other Austrian citizens, Jews migrated from Eastern Europe to Western Europe in search of better career prospects.<sup>19</sup> In doing so, Eastern European Jews were confronted with secular changes that they had not experienced before.<sup>20</sup> For example, both Vienna-born and Eastern European Jewish immigrants to Vienna became less visible through the process of acculturation and assimilation. In fact, 65 percent of Viennese Jewry eventually identified themselves with the liberal bourgeoisie and worked in professions such as medicine or law. Many Jews abandoned religious practice or converted to Christianity, as, for example, the Austrian philosopher Otto Weininger (1880-1903).<sup>21</sup> Some, as Käthe Leichter (1895-1942), who was the first female politician in the Social Democratic Party in Austria-Hungary, abandoned Jewish practice altogether. Leichter claimed that when her family moved to Vienna, they stopped attending prayers in the synagogue and described how her family celebrated Christmas instead.

Similar transformations affected Eastern European Jewry, but to a lesser extent. For example, in the city of Warsaw, conversion was rare. Breslau, too, had relatively low rates of conversion and higher rates of religious practice.<sup>22</sup> One of the reasons in the East for the insistence on religious practice was the indisputable fact that, unlike in Austria-Hungary or in Germany, Galicia was a country that knew no separation between church and state. Religious creed was an important measure for social identity in much of Galician society.

#### 1.4 Geographical Spaces and the Genre of the Ghetto and Village Tale

One of the recent comprehensive works that discusses various manifestations of the ghetto and village tale genre is Gabrielle von Glasenapp's study *Aus der Judengasse: Zur Entstehung und Ausprägung deutschsprachiger Ghettoliteratur im 19. Jahrhundert* (1996).<sup>23</sup> A noticeable characteristic of Glasenapp's analysis is the structuring of the study around geographical locations. Glasenapp devotes separate chapters to the ghetto stories from Bohemia, Galicia, or Prague and positions ghetto tale writers as Leopold Kompert (1822-86) or Karl Emil Franzos as representatives of this genre within specific geographical location. The emphasis on spatiality evident in Glasenapp's work explains the way in which the genre developed and suggests that there were major differences in portrayal of the Jewish community in different parts of Europe.

In generic terms, the genre of the ghetto story arose from the discourse on Jewish emancipation, a process that illustrated the challenges of Jewish integration into Western societies since the late eighteenth century and exemplified the erosion of traditional Jewish life. The emergence of the genre was a direct response to sociopolitical changes

such as migration of Eastern European Jewry toward the West and reforms in the educational system in both parts of Europe. Initially, the convention of the ghetto tale relied on satire.<sup>24</sup> East European Jewry was frequently portrayed as backward and superstitious and the living conditions within the Eastern European *shtetl* were depicted in contrast to the demands of modernity. Presumably, such portrayal of Eastern European Jewry resulted in naming this type of fiction “ghetto” literature.

Glaser mentions that there were no operating definitions of the ghetto tale in lexicons until beginning of 1960s. Today, the *Oxford English Dictionary* traces the origins of the genre to the seventeenth century and explains that the word “ghetto” comes “perhaps from Italian *getto* ‘foundry’ (because the first ghetto was established in 1516 on the site of a foundry in Venice), or from Italian *borghetto*, diminutive of *borgo* ‘borough’.”<sup>25</sup> We encounter three definitions of the word “ghetto” in *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Ghetto can be characterized as a “part of a city, especially a slum area, occupied by a minority group or groups,” “the Jewish quarter in a city,” or “an isolated or segregated group or area.” All three explanations emphasize the aspect of segregation and inaccessibility, mainly in a physical sense. Therefore, the seclusion of the district and the people living in it is the main characteristic of the ghettoized area.

Ultimately, the definitions embark on the interpretation of the space of cultural (Jewish) “practice”, a space that is enclosed and separated from the rest of society, where a particular community cultivates its tradition and customs. This positioning of cultural development in an enclosed space renders culture as an imagined phenomenon that finds completion in a daily life in form of particular rituals, signs and symbols. The geographical location as for example Galicia becomes a segregated space of cultural

practice that ignites imagination of philosophers, writers and thinkers such as for instance Franzos, Masoch and Pappenheim.

Maria Klanska points to the problem of classification of the ghetto tale genre in her book *Daleko od Wiednia Galicia w oczach pisarzy niemieckojęzycznych 1771-1918* (1991).<sup>26</sup> The nomenclature suggested by Klanska highlights the borderline aspect of the genre as well as points to the Eastern European theme as a decisive element in delineating its origins. Along with the commonly accepted terminology “Ghettoliteratur,” Klanska suggests parallel terms such as “Grenzliteratur” or “Ostmarkliteratur.” Yet, the term “Ostmarkliteratur” carries connotations with the post-1945 literature where the term “ghetto” mirrored the experiences of Holocaust survivors rather than signified the entanglement of Eastern European Jewry in the “ghetto” mentality. Nevertheless, Klanska’s investigation elucidates the fact that the genre was differentiated in geographical terms.

The few, often indiscernible differences between both genres: the ghetto tale and the village tale, reflect the problems with the taxonomy of the genre. Ghetto literature usually depicts the world of the past; it is mostly a collection of memories, and it presents a traditional Jewish life. Conversely, the village tale can describe small Jewish or non-Jewish communities.<sup>27</sup> It is therefore not limited to the portrayal of Jewish life. The common denominator is the fact that village and ghetto tales depict Eastern Europe as a cultural space and describe enclosed communities, usually inhabiting or coming from villages. Spatiality, geographical and imagined becomes a universal ground for investigation of the gender-space dynamics.

In the discussed tales, village-as-place becomes a socio-spatial entity, where this entity is not a mere background, but a medium and outcome of a variety of socio-spatial practices. I focus on an underexplored matrix of space and gender, and indicate that village is a gendered, spatial, sociocultural matrix. It is a point of entry for understanding Jewish society at the threshold of modernity, and for debating what constitutes the sociological reality in Eastern Europe.

For example, Franzos writes from the perspective of an assimilated Jew. As a Galicia-born Jew of Sephardic origin who moved to Vienna to study law, Franzos reflects on the position of Ashkenazi Jewry in Galician society, its lack of assimilation, and their religious customs. Pappenheim, on the other hand, depicts not only a *shtetl* community in her village tales, but also the fate of Eastern European migrants from small villages in Eastern Europe to Germany and specifically their struggle to acculturate. Lastly, Masoch describes Jewish customs and Jewish traditional way of life in his ghetto tales renouncing the position of observer who, like Franzos, is detached from the depicted reality.

### 1.5 Gender and Space in Franzos, Pappenheim, and Masoch

In the first chapter, “Franzos, the Image of Mary, and Bourgeois Marriage,” I discuss the ghetto tale collection *Die Juden von Barnow* published by Karl Emil Franzos in a Viennese newspaper *Die Neue Freie Presse* between 1867 and 1876.<sup>28</sup> I position Franzos as a German national who perceived German culture as superior to Eastern European culture.

Franzos was a member of Austrian-Jewish intellectual circles, a writer, translator, and journalist. He was born in 1848 into a Jewish family of Sephardic descent in the

small town of Galician Czortkow. His admiration for the German tradition reaches back to his great-grandfather, Michel LeVert. LeVert came to live in Galicia as a prosperous wax statuette manufacturer of Sephardic background from Nancy, Lorraine in France in 1770.<sup>29</sup> By the time LeVert came to live in Galicia, most Sephardic Jews had acquired special privileges. Many of them were prosperous bankers, merchants, or factory owners, and were allowed to hold public positions in court, state, or city district. They were also exempt from some of the taxes poorer Ashkenazim had to pay according to subsequent decrees released by Emperor Charles I (between 1804 and 1840).<sup>30</sup> Franzos left Galicia with his widowed mother for Czernowitz, where he commenced his studies in a German gymnasium. He subsequently obtained education in law at the universities of Graz and Vienna, assimilating into German-speaking society.

Earlier research primarily focused on Franzos's anti-Semitic portrayal of Eastern European Jewry, arguing that Franzos constructs character types. Fred Sommer claims that Franzos's writings are "not free of anti-Semitic stereotypes" in his book *Halb-Asien German Nationalism and the Eastern European Works of Karl Emil Franzos* (1984).<sup>31</sup> However, Sommer fails to explain how these stereotypes function within the narrative, and what the formal and textual premises for such characterization are. Sommer further claims that Franzos uses stereotypical representations of Jewish women, portraying them as beautiful, exotic, and oriental (106).<sup>32</sup> While these descriptions are indeed present in the tales, Sommer and other scholars overlook the fact that Franzos establishes a contrast between Western modernity and Eastern indolence through the portrayal of his female characters.

In the present study, I argue that Franzos objectifies female figures within the narrative to reproach the *Hasidic* community for their insistence on arranged marriage. The Jewish female figures die or are removed from the narrative. They function as mere pictorial representations or are described by the other characters in the tales. Narrative techniques such as prolepsis or external vocalization thus offer an approach requiring another sense of spatial terms: inner, outer, and the boundary between these. Through this formal marginalization, Franzos illustrates the resistance of *Hasidic* communities and Poles to assimilate into German bourgeois culture.

Being raised in a Germanophile home setting, and educated in a Dominican school in Czortkow, Galicia, Franzos employs the image of Mary to proclaim the importance of bourgeois marriage and the superiority of German culture. The Catholic Virgin Mary was a sinless virgin mother who demonstrated that such virtues like maternal, non-sexual, or virginal were intended to restrict women to the domestic sphere, which further proponed the ideology of a separate sphere. The construction of a feminine domestic presence served to counterbalance a more violent masculine existence in the public sphere. I provide a systematic overview of the significance of Mary as mother and wife. Female scholars such as Maria Warner and Julia Kristeva explain how Mary came to embody the unattainable female ideal personifying Queen of Heaven, the Virgin and Mother. Warner's and Kristeva's works clarify Franzos's positioning of the female figures in his tales, for Franzos believed that the female's place should be confined to the home, specifically within a bourgeois marriage.

In addition, I review the significance of the cult of Mary within the formation of national and cultural symbols. Scholars from the fields of history, anthropology, and

theology such as Linda B. Hall, Anna Niedźwiedz, Cathelijne de Busser, and Ildikó Glaser-Hille investigate how the image of Mary has been used to sustain the political order in Latin America (Hall), Poland (Niedźwiedz and Busser), and Hungary (Glaser-Hille). Their research provides a backdrop for the employment of this image in Franzos's collection of the ghetto tales where national space is of chief significance and overlaps with the geographies of imperialism. Thus, I discuss Franzos's idea of the *Kulturstaat* that presupposes the unification of Eastern European nations under the common German language, the concept debated later by Nira Yuval-Davis in her book *Gender and Nation* (1995) where she distinguishes between three concepts of nation, namely "Kulturnation" that advances the myth of a common culture, "Volksnation" that characterizes the mythical nation of the universal origin, and "Staatsnation" that proclaims equal citizenship in the states.<sup>33</sup>

In the second chapter, "Pappenheim and the Public Representation of Women," I discuss the collection the tales *Die Kämpfe* (1916) by Bertha Pappenheim. Pappenheim was a feminist writer, translator, and social activist raised in an Orthodox Jewish family in Vienna. Her father was a Hungarian Jew who had come from Bratislava. Throughout her life Pappenheim advocated for women's emancipation and changes in women's education in Eastern Europe. Especially after visiting Galicia and experiencing what she considered to be the miserable existence of Jewish women, their subordination to the father's will, and sexual oppression, she started campaigns against white slavery by Jewish and non-Jewish traffickers. Some of her accomplishments include the establishment of *Women's Relief for Eastern European Female Immigrants*, the foundation of the *Unentgeltliche Flickschule* in 1895, a school that taught mending and

clothing repair, and of *Frauenlandstrum* (“women’s militia”) that sought to improve women’s rights in the new German Civil Code, and finally the formation of the *League of Jewish Women (Jüdischer Frauenbund JFB)* in 1904.<sup>34</sup>

Pappenheim’s social activism is displayed in her village tales I examine. I argue that Pappenheim criticizes the exclusion of Jewish women from participation in the life of the Jewish community. Her critique unfolds through the depictions of paternal authoritarian family, which is regulated by law, rules, and stereotypes that aim to control both sexes in their choice of education. Pappenheim portrays the model of the Eastern European family based on oppression and violence (as in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* or *Ein Schwächling*) and thus constructs the perception of Eastern Europe as “backward.” My argument is meant as an addition to the comprehensive study *Let Me Continue to Speak the Truth: Bertha Pappenheim as Author and Activist* (2007) by Elizabeth A. Loentz, where Loentz provides a thorough overview of Pappenheim’s literary oeuvre as well as a discussion of Pappenheim’s social activism.

The second chapter deliberates feminist criticism mainly by scholars in Jewish Studies. I investigate the theoretical accounts by Rachel Adler, Blu Greenberg, and Cynthia Ozick, who are considered precursors of contemporary research in Jewish Studies. Adler, Greenberg, and Ozick critically examine rabbinical commentaries and point to the exclusion of Jewish women from participation in the life of the “public” (or visible) Jewish community. I also discuss theoretical criticism by Henrietta Moore, Judith Baskin, Mishael Maswari Caspi, Rachel S. Havrelock, Gerda Lerner, and Charlotte E. Fonrobert on notions of the female body and female sexuality.

Presenting the perspectives of the aforementioned scholars coming from the different disciplines of Jewish Studies, history, and anthropology allows for a comprehensive discussion of the concepts of female body and sexuality and, furthermore, it illuminates the way the female body is positioned within Pappenheim's texts. In addition, I examine the publications by Daniel Boyarin, whose outlook on the issues of sexuality in ancient times complements the research conducted by the above-mentioned female scholars. Boyarin challenges the idea that sexuality was differentiated between hetero and homo in the ancient times. The third chapter, "Masoch and "Cultural *Masochism*,"" begins with the explanation of the interrelationships between pleasure, desire, and pain. I examine the corpus of theory that has accumulated in regard to female and male *masochism*. I discuss the relationship between both concepts by comparing the latter writings of Jacques Lacan, Julia Kristeva, Gilles Deleuze, and Félix Guattari with the late-nineteenth-century medical discourse by Sigmund Freud and Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing. The focus here is on female desire, which, significantly, has not been widely researched within the context of Masoch's work. Therefore, I utilize the theoretical debates by Frida Beckmann, Paula J. Caplan, Heidi Schlipphacke, and Georges Bataille who investigate the relationship between female desire and temporality (Beckmann, Caplan) or define female desire outside of the object-subject imperative (Schlipphacke, Bataille) as the lens through which to interpret gendered relations.

Third chapter highlights Masoch's utopian vision about the confession-less democratic state, the perfect example of which would be, according to Masoch, Galicia under the umbrella of Austria-Hungary. Therefore, I introduce and contextualize the term "cultural *masochism*," formulated by Daniel Boyarin. My reading of Masoch's two

collections of ghetto tales *Der Judenraphael: Geschichten aus Galizien* and *Ausgewählte Ghetto-Geschichten* (1918) in the context of “cultural *masochism*” shows how Masoch’s visions of male and female *masochism* enact transgressing culture and religion, and reveals that Masoch’s playful enacts of gender reversals and sexual mediation.

My argument is formulated as an addition to the current scholarship on Masoch. Scholars such as Ulrich Bach, in his article “Sacher Masoch’s Utopian Peripheries” (2007) and Torben Lohmüller in his publication “Masochismus und Politik: Sacher-Masoch im Kontext seiner Zeit” (2012) observe that Masoch engages in issues of sexual politics to criticize the oppressive nature of class and gender clashes in the Eastern European borderlands. I show how these power struggles translate into the concept of “cultural *masochism*” in Jewish-Gentile context.

Masoch’s private life was entwined with numerous affairs that have been reflected in his tales, in which Masoch portrays the power struggles between both sexes. Masoch’s first relationship that lasted four years until 1865 was with Anna von Kottwitz, the wife of the doctor Kottwitz. The relationship followed by a short affair with baroness Franziska von Reitzenstein and with actress Caroline Herold. Masoch was married twice, first to shoemaker Aurora Rümelin, who assumes the name of “Wanda,” resembling the main female protagonist from Masoch’s most well-known book *Venus in Furs* (1870), and with translator Hulda Meister.<sup>35</sup> Masoch was born in Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, in 1836 as the oldest of five children. From his childhood years, he was exposed to the multicultural setting of Galicia where he acquired several languages, including German, Polish, and French. The family moved to Prague in the revolutionary year 1848, where Masoch acquired knowledge of German attending the gymnasium.<sup>36</sup> Similar to Franzos,

Masoch studied law, yet at the University in Prague; and in the year 1853 he commenced his studies in history at the University of Graz.

The last chapter, the “Conclusion,” provides a brief summary of the main themes of my dissertation by reengaging the goals that were set out above. I believe that this will result in a clearer picture of some of the crucial questions that need to be addressed by future work in this area. Some of these questions include the discussion of the differences in the portrayal of the “feminine” realm in German-Jewish and in German context as well as the explanation of the motivations of Franzos, Pappenheim, and Masoch to construct Eastern Europe in gendered terms.

Lastly, my investigation of the four collections of ghetto and village tales is embedded within the context of a plethora of discourses that have dominated much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I explain how the notions of anti-Semitism, conversion, Christian doctrine, Jewish assimilation, and law, as well as Jewish identity permeate the discussed texts. Above all, the study at hand seeks to introduce a framework for discussing and analyzing the different ways in which the discourse on gender and Eastern Europe overlaps and is constructed by each other.

## CHAPTER 2

### FRANZOS, THE IMAGE OF MARY, AND BOURGEOIS MARRIAGE

It is frightfully difficult to be an *Ostjude*; and there is no harder fate than that of alien Eastern European Jews in Vienna.  
-Joseph Roth<sup>37</sup>

Mary is a gendered construction with gendered implications.  
-Jorunn Oakland<sup>38</sup>

Karl Emil Franzos (1848-1904)'s collection of ghetto tales, *Die Juden von Barnow* (1870-77), defies cultural plurality through a variety of narrative techniques. Changes in the narrative modes as well as the narrator's direct commentary visualize the cultural conflict between Eastern and Western Europe. Through the female protagonists in particular, who are objectified within the narrative, Franzos portrays Eastern European nations as inferior vis-à-vis their Western European brethren and, specifically, as being in opposition to German customs and tradition.

Through the textual and structural manipulation, Franzos announces his program toward assimilation into German cultural legacy. On the formal level, the female Jewish figures serve as narrative tools to critique the *Hasidic* community for their insistence on arranged marriages and its resistance to assimilation into German bourgeois culture.<sup>39</sup> Franzos places the female figures on the fringe of the narrative (to the point of occasionally killing them off in the course of the story). This progressive objectification of female characters provides a form of narrative authority that serves two goals: to criticize the *Hasidic* community for their unwillingness to accept German culture, and to denigrate Poles for their overt Catholicism and discerning attitude toward Ashkenazi Jewry in Galicia.

Franzos frequently criticizes Poles and *Hasidic* Jews, addressing the reader directly and changing the modes of narration. As a result, he establishes textual alliances within the narrative. Although the female protagonists ultimately die in the course of the narrative or are in some other way removed from it, the narrator speaks for their liberation from a seemingly oppressive traditional Jewish family. This victim-savior paradigm, where the narrator undermines the legitimacy of Jewish family, pointing to women abuse and discrimination, illustrates the necessity of assimilation into German culture as Franzos envisions it.

In order to demonstrate the “natural” dominance of German culture, Franzos borrows the idea of homogeneity that the Virgin Mary came to embody within Christian thought. In his tales, the image of Mary exemplifies Franzos’s support for bourgeois marriage, derived from the Christian tradition wherein Mary functions as a national symbol that promotes assimilation into German bourgeois culture. I will elaborate on the reasons for the presence of this image in Franzos’s tales in the subsequent parts of the present chapter.

The first section of this chapter, “*Kulturstaat* and Its Anti-Slavic Discourse,” considers Franzos’s motives to promote assimilation into German culture as well as his concept of *Kulturstaat* that promises a unification of Eastern European nations under a common (German) language and culture. In the following subchapter, “Why the Image of Mary?” I detail Franzos’s use of the imagery of Mary and explain the relationship between the figure of Mary and the Jewish female characters in his tales. The third subchapter, “The Cultural and National Implications of the Veneration of Mary,” consolidates the first two sections and elucidates the connection between Mariology and

the emergence of liberal movements. In this subchapter, I also outline current scholarship on the cult of Mary by scholars from the fields of theology, anthropology, and history, and show how this cult that reached its highest momentum in the second half of the nineteenth century inspired the liberal groups to fight for their national independence (as was the case in the occupied Poland). I conclude this section by discussing Franzos's justification to engage in Mary's imagery to advocate for assimilation into German culture.

After examining the link between national movements, the cult of Mary and Franzos's assimilatory message, subchapter four, "*Frauenleben in Halb-Asien*, Bourgeois Marriage, and *The Book of Ruth*," analyses Franzos's tractate *Frauenleben in Halb-Asien* (1880), which illustrates his advocacy for bourgeois marriage. Here, I investigate the connection between *The Book of Ruth*, to which Franzos alludes in the tale *Der Shylock von Barnow*, and Franzos's interpretation of bourgeois marriage as a means of protection for women, and as an implementation of a separate-sphere model where the husband is the breadwinner. Finally, the subchapter "Assimilation, *Haskalah*, and *The Book of Esther*" demonstrates how Franzos appropriates the story of Esther in the tale *Der Shylock von Barnow* to convince the reader of his assimilatory agenda. The last two subchapters present Franzos's own adaptation of biblical stories where strong female figures such as Ruth and Esther remain within the borders of Jewish family or Jewish community and thus promote the family model based on the separate-sphere model exemplary for bourgeois culture.

The subsequent sections (6, 7, 8, and 9) address Franzos's tales *Esterka Regina*, *Der wilde Starost und die schöne Jütta*, *Der Shylock von Barnow*, and *Nach dem*

*höherem Gesetz*. *Esterka Regina* evokes the image of *Maria Regina*. The tale shows the inability of the main female character Esterka to leave the Barnow ghetto and to join her lover, an assimilated German Jew, in Germany. In the ghetto tales *Der wilde Starost und die schöne Jütta* and *Der Shylock von Barnow*, both female protagonists, Jütta Holdberg and Esther Freudenthal, respectively, are removed from the narrative and function either as a pictorial representation of the Virgin-Mother Mary (*Der wilde Starost und die schöne Jütta*) or are described through accounts of the Polish and *Hasidic* communities (*Der Shylock von Barnow*). The last tale I discuss in the current chapter, *Nach dem höheren Gesetz*, represents the only tale in which the female figure does not meet an unexpected death or is in some other way removed from the narrative. The female protagonist marries the Christian Negrusz with permission from her former husband, who indulges in reading German poetry. In the conclusion, I summarize the main themes that transpire in Franzos's tales and outline prospective interpretive venues through which Franzos's tales can be approached.

## 2.1 ***Kulturstaat* and Its Anti-Slavic Discourse**

Franzos's insistence on the necessity of assimilation of Eastern European nations into German culture is largely based on the fact that Franzos positions himself as a German national-liberal. It is important to note that since the mid-nineteenth century, nationalism had evolved into a variety of ideologies that appealed to the broad masses of German society. It carried many faces during the time of the Belle Époque (1871-1914). It posed a revolutionary threat to the ruling elites, as manifested, for example, during the Spring of Nations in 1848, and it also flourished in dictatorial states such as Italy.<sup>40</sup> For Franzos,

the terms “nationalism” and “nation” both demand a subordination of Eastern European nations. As such, in Franzos’s tales, both of these terms are evident through their endorsement of the concept of *Bildung* as it related to individual development instilled via German ideology and tradition.

Franzos engaged in promotion of German culture through his public actions. He welcomed the consolidation of Germany in 1871 and, as a president of the *Orion* fraternity from 1864 to 1875, even held a celebratory speech honoring German unification.<sup>41</sup> In particular, Franzos identified with the German nation through his fluency in the German language and his “German” fashion, which he modeled after the examples of his father and grandfather.<sup>42</sup>

Franzos’s childhood was surrounded by the myth of his prosperous grandfather Michel Le Vert, a Jewish migrant from Spain and the owner of a textile factory in Galicia, and of his father Heinrich Franzos, a district doctor who obtained education in Vienna. Both Michel and Heinrich grew up in Western European countries, where they also obtained higher education: Michel in Spain and Heinrich in Vienna. Therefore, Franzos developed an idea of Austria-Hungary and Germany as places of unrestricted educational opportunities and of better career prospects.

Franzos believed in the German nation as having a special role in modernizing Europe. In his *Geschichte des Erstlingswerks* (1894), a compilation of autobiographical essays written by prominent German-speaking writers (including Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach and Theodor Fontane) on their very first literary work published, Franzos expresses his admiration for the German nation in the following way:

Daß ich ein Deutscher bin... weiß ich nun ganz genau, spreche auch so geläufig deutsch wie ruthenisch, weil Mutter und Schwestern es mich auf des Vaters

Geheiß gelehrt haben und weiß sogar schon: kein anderes Volk auf Erden kommt dem Deutschen gleich. (238)

Here, Franzos clearly identifies with the German nation through German language that he first acquired at home. He associates Germany and German culture with the German nation and education. His belief in the superiority of German education was a widespread view among secular Eastern European Jews, many of who had emigrated to the Empire after 1848. For example, Fritz Mauthner (1849-1923), whose family left Bohemia for Vienna and who seems to align with Franzos on the issue of cultural assimilation, believed that German culture should remold and remake the Eastern parts of Europe.<sup>43</sup>

More frankly, Franzos articulates his political views in journalistic essays compiled in a trilogy entitled *Aus Halb-Asien: Kulturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina, Südrussland und Rumänien* (1876).<sup>44</sup> Here, Franzos contrasts the multicultural nations of Eastern Europe with the nation-state of Germany. He situates Germany as a cultural haven, fulfilling its imperial mission toward the East. The culmination point of Franzos's sociopolitical vision then is the formation of a *Kulturstaat*, which is unified in its common usage of German language and its attainment of an education in German literature.<sup>45</sup>

Franzos's concept of *Kulturnation* finds relevance in his tales in that the Eastern European nations are excluded from the creation of cultural reality. Franzos imagines Eastern European culture to be subsumed under German culture. Underlying this premise is the conviction that the cultural diversity of the Austro-Hungarian peripheries needs to be eradicated as something without inherent worth. The prevalent barbarism he saw in Eastern Europe and expressed in the very title of his trilogy, "Halb-Asien," dismisses the coterminous existence of the two geographical spaces: Galicia and Austria-Hungary. The

cultural gap between East and West endorsed in Franzos's tales thus leads to the construction of a gender regime rooted in geographical differentiation. That is, Franzos establishes a dichotomy between West as "modern" and East as "barbaric."

Franzos's concept of *Kulturstaat* has much in common with the idea of the *Kulturnation* advanced by Nira Yuval-Davis in her book *Gender and Nation* (1995). Yuval-Davis explains that a *Kulturnation* is a national construct that represents the "essence" of a nation founded on a symbolic heritage provided by language, religion, customs, and traditions.<sup>46</sup> The term also reinforces fixed gender regimes, since these sustain laws and institutions introduced by the state. For Franzos, the *Kulturnation* was concomitant with the notion of the nation state, where cultural development progresses in a homogenous way. The nation state assumes an absolute correspondence between the boundaries of the nation and the boundaries of the people living in that state. Undoubtedly, a concept such as this precludes diversity. Indeed, it requires the naturalization of the hegemony of one community at the expense of other communities who, in taking the role of the minority, are viewed as deviant from the "norm."

Contrary to Fred Sommer's assertion of an anti-Semitic agenda, which he outlines in his pioneering book on Franzos, *Halb-Asien: German Nationalism, and the Eastern European Works of Karl Emil Franzos* (1984), I place Franzos's literary *oeuvre* within an anti-Slavic discourse. Franzos maintains that the status of Jewry is determined by the economic development of the country in which they reside. As a result, Jews in Galicia mirror the economic misery and educational backwardness of the country. Franzos asserts in the foreword to the fifth edition of *Die Juden von Barnow*:

Jedes Land hat die Juden, die es verdient - und es ist nicht die Schuld des polnischen Juden, wenn sie auf anderer Kulturstufe stehen. (iii)

Indeed, the fact alone that Franzos devotes the first volume of *Deutsche Dichtung*, a journal he founded in Frankfurt in 1886, to Gustav Freytag (1816-95) who widely denigrated Polish cultural legacy and whom Franzos admired for his literary achievements, speaks volumes for Franzos's anti-Slavic attitude.<sup>47</sup>

Last, it is noteworthy that Franzos's untiring promotion of German education reflects the colonial appetite of the newly established German Empire that German Jews were a part of. Leo W. Riegert argues in his article "Subjects and Agents of Empire: German Jews in Post-Colonial Perspective" (2009) that

given that German Jews looked to *Bildung* as the vehicle that would provide them entrance to German culture [...], and given that it was the *Bildungsbürgertum* that was the ideological molder of a German 'national-colonial' identity [...], then we must consider the role of German Jews as ideological colonialists as well. (338)

Riegert places the strife of German Jewry for *Bildung* in the broader context of colonialism and hence provides a valid motivation for German Jews to welcome assimilation.<sup>48</sup> Riegert's point is that German Jews cannot be dismissed as mere observers of modernizing Europe among predominantly Gentile society. He states that German Jewry played a significant role in creating favorable circumstances that fostered assimilation into German culture such as abandonment of religious rituals, entering into mixed marriages, or providing only secular education for Jewish children. Riegert's observation would, to some degree, explain why Franzos sought to accommodate the non-Jewish audience by publishing his tales in a non-Jewish journal, *Neue Freie Presse*.<sup>49</sup>

## 2.2 Why the Image of Mary?

Franzos conveys his assimilatory message in his ghetto tales through the employment of the image of Mary, mother of God. One likely explanation for Franzos to engage in the various apparitions of Mary is the very fact that this image was widely cultivated in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The figure of Mary symbolized the unified cultural and political settlement of the Dual Monarchy. In Hungary, Mary occupied a prominent place where she was venerated as “*Magna Mater Hungarorum*,” meaning “the Great Mother of Hungarians.” As a motherly figure, Mary represented the security of home, where she embodied fertility and motherhood. More broadly, however, the image referred to the unity of the Hungarian nation, and as such stood for Hungary’s national integrity.

Ildikó Glaser-Hille investigates the way in which Mary developed from a religious figure to a national icon among the Hungarian people in her article “Magyarok Nagyasszonya: The Virgin Mary as a Symbol of Hungarian National Identity.”<sup>50</sup> Glaser-Hille argues that Hungarians, both of Catholic and Protestant faith, venerated Mary as a cultural symbol. She specifies that the image of Mary also reaffirmed the power of the ruling elites in Hungary and was used to support the royal power in Western Europe (4-6). It can be concluded that the evocations of Mary facilitated Hungary’s political alliance with Western Europe and strengthened its strategic position.

Similarly, in Franzos’s tales, the image of Mary is entrenched in the spirit of German culture that flourished alongside the emerging unified German nation. Her representation reflects Germany’s imperial strivings towards the East: the annexation of Eastern Europe through cultural expansion, and, specifically, through promotion of German language and culture.

Interestingly, the reverence of Mary was not institutionalized until the middle of the nineteenth century when Pope Pius IX proclaimed her Immaculate Conception on December 8, 1854.<sup>51</sup> This important strategic move became an act of defiance against rationalism and reason. It also served as a protective gesture against the rising influence of the Roman Catholics whose prominence in Victorian England caused public vocations of Mary to become more common. Carol Herringer observes in her book *Victorians and the Virgin Mary: Religion and Gender in England, 1830-85* (2008) that the revival of anti-Roman Catholicism in England resulted from the mounting population of Roman Catholics that multiplied almost ten times, from 80,000 in 1770 to 750,000 in 1850 (7).

However, Marian piety was not restricted to Great Britain. David Blackbourn remarks in his study *Marpingen; Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (1994)<sup>52</sup> that Marian apparitions were a phenomenon of nineteenth century Europe. The most striking examples were to be found in Italy, northern France and Germany. Of course, apparition sites were surrounded by places of Marian devotion and pilgrimages. They were the great collective spectacles that drew thousands of men and women to obscure valleys, where the Virgin Mary had supposedly appeared (3-17).

The discussions about the Catholic Mary were shaped not only by those over religion, but also by gender norms. The moment when the image of Mary gained much of its popularity in Victorian England coincided with the emergence of a feminine ideal. Herringer explains that the Virgin Mary became then a controversial figure:

The peak years for concern over the Catholic Virgin Mary were roughly 1830-1885, the same period in which the feminine ideal—the contradictory, ever-evolving image of woman as the embodiment of selfless, sexless love—was ascendant. (19)

The positioning of Mary as a prototype for a feminine ideal was a way for Victorians to articulate what characteristics were essentially feminine, that is, to demonstrate the virtues that in fact were designed to prevent women from competing with men in the public sphere.

Franzos's tales are explicitly constructed in a way to blame Eastern European society, in particular the *Hasidic* community, for their unfair treatment of women, and through it, their refusal to receive a secular education. German bourgeois marriage, personified in the figure of Mary in these various female characters, appears as a door to salvation from this oppression. Similar to the Victorian feminine model, the female figures function as divine images, illustrating the ideology of a separate sphere that relied heavily on the construction of a feminine domestic presence. In this sense, Franzos is supportive of bourgeois marriage where, according to him, women are given freedom, love, and respect.

To conclude, it is necessary to describe another conceivable motive for Franzos to employ the imagery of Mary. Franzos acquired his early education at a Dominican school in Czortkow, Galicia, where he grew up until the age of ten. This rather surprising approach to educate a Jewish male of Sephardic heritage finds its relevance in the chaotic organization of the educational system in Galicia, especially on the elementary level. The school system in Galicia was not only poorly administrated but also constantly reorganized due to ineffective educational reforms introduced by Maria Theresa (1717-80). After the revocation of the German-Jewish school system in 1806, the Dominican monasteries took charge of these schools. This meant that Franzos attended a Dominican school in Czortkow that was steeped in German tradition. Yet teachers were secular or

Catholic and largely of Polish descent.<sup>53</sup> Being exposed to Catholic dogma and Catholic imagery in his childhood years, yet raised in a Germanophile home setting, may serve to explain Franzos's attempt to appeal to the Eastern European audience through the image of Mary.<sup>54</sup>

As I have already mentioned, Franzos also perceived himself as German. His childhood experiences reinforced this view and intensified Franzos's status as an outsider among the Catholic Poles and amid the Ashkenazi Jewry in Galicia. Franzos's high opinion of German education finds its resonance in the portrayal of the female figures in his ghetto tales. Female protagonists, such as Esther Freudenthal from the tale *Der Shylock von Barnow* or Jütta from *Der wilde Starost und die schöne Jütta*, are positioned between the two realities that Franzos perceived as distinct: Western and Eastern European. Yet the mediation between these two realities fails. The *Hasidic* community is portrayed as unwilling to recognize the importance of a secular (German) education and is opposed to intermarriage, and the Polish community describes the female figures as immoral for their love affairs with Gentiles or with assimilated German Jews. Both Esther and Jütta as well as Esterka from the tale *Esterka Regina* then meet death due to educational restrictions posed by their *Hasidic* fathers, who forbid them to read German literature or to obtain education in Germany. The three protagonists are additionally exacerbated by the dubious accusations voiced by the Poles. In consequence, Esther, Jütta, and Esterka are positioned as double outcasts.

While the narrative shows the author's discontent with Eastern European nations for their resistance to assimilation through the aforementioned miserable depiction of the female characters, the way in which the narrative itself is structured intensifies the

perception of the female figures as outcasts. Esther and Jütta are removed from the narrative and exist solely in the memories of the Barnow community, who can only recall their appearance. This narrative technique, *metadiegetic* narrative, allows the narrator to comment on the “backwardness” of the Barnow community.

### 2.2.1 Gendered Education in Galicia

By portraying *Hasidic* families in opposition to girls’ secular education, Franzos suggests a general lack of formal education in Galicia. There was indeed a major disproportion between the number of educational institutions in Eastern and Western Europe at the municipal level. This shortage concerned Jewish education as well. Usually, girls’ education ended with instruction in primary school. The poorer Jewry sent their daughters to a girls’ *heder*, a primary school, and the well-off Jewish families often hired a female tutor, *rebetsin*.<sup>55</sup> The curriculum in a girls’ *heder* focused on prayers, reading, and writing as well as on Yiddish and arithmetic (Stampfer, 169).<sup>56</sup> Private tutoring also provided girls with additional knowledge of German, Russian, or Polish. Since Yiddish was easier to comprehend thanks to its phonemic nature, girls learned to write and read literature faster than boys learned to read Hebrew. This conversely resulted in wide discrepancies in the results of girls’ and boys’ education (Stampfer, 179).

Thus, contrary to Franzos’s belief that Jewish girls were excluded from obtaining a secular education or any form of higher education in general, gendered education opened new educational venues for Jewish women.<sup>57</sup> Unlike boys’ daily routine, the daily routine of Jewish girls was not organized around prayers and Torah study. Girls could recite prayers according to their needs at home, instead of in the

synagogue.<sup>58</sup> According to Jewish law, women were excluded from Torah study, namely study of the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic texts. This exclusion ignited their interest in secular literature. For example, Ita Kalish (1900), who was raised in a *Hasidic* family, mentions in her memoirs that it was easier for daughters of *Hasidic* families to gain access to secular books.<sup>59</sup>

Reading non-Jewish literature often resulted in a break with family ties. Kalish describes how her father connected her interest in a secular education with the tutoring he provided.<sup>60</sup> Unhappy with this outcome, he discontinued his daughter's education in the preparation for an arranged marriage. It was only after her father's death in 1918 that Kalish divorced her husband and moved to Berlin with her daughter.<sup>61</sup> Kalish's example illustrates why girls' education often ended at the elementary level, while Jewish boys could continue their studies in *beit midrash* or communal study halls.

Faced with dismal educational prospects, many Jewish girls then became involved in political activism. Engaging in political organizations enabled them to be agents in the sociopolitical life of their society. Jewish women could join the *Bund* as well as the Zionist movement. In the late nineteenth century, the majority of Jewish women were affiliated with the *Bund*.<sup>62</sup> The organization was able to reach women through the broad distribution of printed materials in Yiddish. Much is known about the activities of Jewish women in the Bund from their press releases, especially from the Bund's magazine, *Der Yidisher Arbeter*, the first edition of which appeared in Vilna in December 1896. Many female activists perceived love and marriage as a sign of weakness among the Bundists. Within the Bund, women were called "bekante" (acquaintance) and later "khaver" (comrade), and these terms emphasized a woman's status as an equal worker.<sup>63</sup>

### 2.3 The Cultural and National Implications of the Veneration of Mary

Female scholars in the field of theology, history, and anthropology such as Linda B. Hall, Anna Niedźwiedź, and Cathelijne de Busser investigate how the image of Mary has been employed as a national symbol.

Hall researches the significance of the image as a political symbol in the countries of Latin America in her book *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas* (2004).<sup>64</sup> Her inclusive argument is that Mary's representation assisted in emancipatory endeavors of the suppressed nations and endowed them with a sense of identity and protection. She argues that Mary became emblematic for the independence of Guadalupe in Mexico and Copacabana in Bolivia from the Spanish rule at the beginning of the nineteenth century. She describes how the revolutionaries who rebelled against Spanish authorities revered the image of "Our Lady of Copacabana" to celebrate their own victory over Spanish rule.

While Hall's investigation concerns the countries of Latin America, Anna Niedźwiedź and Cathelijne de Busser provide a stimulating discussion about the advocacy of the image of Mary in the course of Polish history. In their study "Mary in Poland: A Polish Master Symbol" (2009),<sup>65</sup> both scholars contend that Mary, represented by "Our Lady of Czestochowa," a painting kept in the monastery of Jasna Gora in the city of Czestochowa, was embedded in the Polish national myth. According to this myth, Mary assisted the Poles in conquering the Swedish army during a siege of the monastery in the period of the Swedish Deluge in the so-called Battle of Jasna Gora (1655). She then became a central symbol of the Polish resistance movement during the partitions of

Poland (1795-1918), and she empowered the Polish people during the Communist period (1945-89) in their struggle for an independent nation-state (88). Investigating the different manifestations of Mary in Poland, Niedźwiedz and Busser argue that Mary became a “master symbol” of Poles and thus emblematic for the rebirth of Poland. Similarly, Hall observes that the cult of Mary carried national and cultural implications. Hall explains that “the image of Mary was used along with military force to impose new political, economic and social systems in the dominated areas” (274).

A red thread through these very different manifestations of invocation of Mary is her emancipatory nature. Mary is invoked for power, resistance, or endurance for the suppressed nations, such as the Poles or the natives of Guadalupe or Copacabana. In Franzos’s tales, Mary does not play a liberating role in the above sense. Rather, her image serves as a reinforcement of German culture that becomes identified with bourgeois marriage. Thus the image of Mary not only assists in the promotion of the German culture and nation, but above all invites women to step into a certain role, that of a mother and wife, within this endeavor.

Mary F. Foskett, Julia Kristeva, and Marina Warner argue that Mary is one of the few female figures that have attained a mythical status. Foskett suggests that, as a body, Mary is in the center of primordial discussion ranging from medical discourse to philosophical inquiries in her article “Virginity as Purity in the *Protevangelium of James*” (2005).<sup>66</sup> She states that Mary has been viewed as “incomplete” and therefore needs acceptance through the presence of a male. In conjunction with Foskett’s argument, Kristeva asserts that, since antiquity, women have been conveyed as objects of desire and sexual pleasure. In her book *Hatred and Forgiveness* (2011)<sup>67</sup> Kristeva discerns that

pleasures of seeing are reserved for men. She states that “in the dialectic of seeing/being seen, the female occupies the place of being seen” (58). Therefore, according to Kristeva, the notion of “femininity,” namely that of a passive figure restricted to visual representation, emerged from the Catholic tradition and is specifically represented through Christian imagery.

Marina Warner further argues that the cult of Mary reflects the feminine model of the Catholic ethic. In her study *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (1976),<sup>68</sup> she specifies that characteristics such as humility, passion, patience, obedience, purity, truth, and poverty exemplify this feminine ideal (10). Warner observes that Mariology achieved its culminating point during the Middle Ages through iconographical representations of Mary where Mary came to personify the Virgin, the medieval Madonna, or the Queen of Heaven (18).

In Franzos’s tales Mary remains an unattainable model for Jewish women coming from Eastern Europe, since they are disallowed by the *Hasidic* community to assimilate and to enter into a bourgeois marriage. As I will show in the next subsection, Franzos imagined the bourgeois marriage as a “natural” sphere for women.

#### 2.4 *Frauenleben in Halb-Asien, Bourgeois Marriage, and The Book of Ruth*

Franzos believes that a nation’s cultural development is contingent on the rights and privileges granted to women by the state. He asserts in his essay *Frauenleben in Halb-Asien* (1880):

Die soziale Stellung der Frau ist der sicherste Gradmesser der erreichten Kulthuren eines Landes, und ebenso der sicherste Maßstab für die Licht und Schattierungen einer Volksseele. (223)

Franzos provides specifics pertaining to the female role in Western society in the next pages of the aforementioned essay. He defines the social status of women in terms of their domestic role within a bourgeois marriage:

Was wir von dem Weibe innerhalb der Ehe verlangen, ist edle Erfüllung seiner häuslichen Pflichten; was wir ihm hiefür vindiciren, ist Achtung und Liebe [...] ; was wir von dem Weibe in seinem Kampf um Dasein fordern [...], ist Einhaltung der natürlichen Grenzen, die ihm Kraft seines Geschlechts gesteckt sind; was wir ihm gewähren, ist Hilfe und vorurtheilslose Unterstützung innerhalb dieser Grenzen. (225-26)

The way Franzos perceives marriage as liberating and beneficial for a woman is both confusing and a little disturbing. Franzos suggests that women are programmed by nature to fulfill certain duties within marriage and in exchange for these domestic services women are granted such privileges as love, respect, and security. He assures us that women enjoy the benefits of marriage and bases his knowledge on women's needs on his own ruminations on their biological disposition.

One of the possible reasons for Franzos to consign women to marriage was the increasing adoption of bourgeois values derived from the (German) Christian culture by Jewish families of Western Europe. The new organization of marriage, based on the separate-sphere model encouraged dependence of the wife on the husband as well as the repression of female sexuality in the marital relationship.<sup>69</sup> Starting with the Romantic era, Jewish women in Western Europe adopted a bourgeois lifestyle that presupposed a sharp differentiation of gender roles. While men worked outside of the home, women were seen as keepers of the Jewish tradition. Among the wealthy Jewish families in Galicia women replicated the Western bourgeois model.<sup>70</sup> They often stopped speaking Yiddish altogether and adopted new fashions following Western standards, including, for

example, marrying at around the age of twenty instead of thirteen, as was often the case in Eastern Europe.<sup>71</sup>

What Franzos considered an ideal marriage contract was in reality the exclusion of the female sex from the public realm. The recent article “Gender and Violence” published in *Science* (2012)<sup>72</sup> by Mary Hvistendahl provides a possible explanation for the common misconception that women should remain within the private sphere on account of their biological disposition. Hvistendahl challenges the notion that women are biologically programmed to disseminate peace. Hvistendahl presents research results by Eric Melander from the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, who contends that it is gender inequality, not the biological sex that is the security marker within society. Comparing the proportion of women in the legislature as well as the ratio of women to men who receive a higher education, Melander argues that gender inequality corresponds to escalated levels of violence (839-40).

Excluding the female sex from the public realm, Franzos declares his support of a marriage based on gender inequality. Oddly enough, in the tale *Der Shylock von Barnow*, Franzos alludes to *The Book of Ruth* and praises the way the story embraces marriage as a way of providing security for women. Therefore, Franzos defines *The Book of Ruth* as “die schönste Idylle der Weiblichkeit” (15). *The Book of Ruth* recounts the life of Ruth and of her Israelite mother-in-law, Naomi, and presents Ruth as the upholder of her own and her mother-in-law’s existence when Ruth marries Boaz. As a distant relative of Naomi, Boaz in turn is legally obligated to marry Ruth according to Levirate marriage code. Hence, Ruth enters into marriage for the second time, and as a married woman regains the right to own property and land.

*The Book of Ruth* begins when Naomi, her husband Elimelech, and two sons, Mahlon and Chilion, migrate to the neighboring land of Moab. The sons marry two women, Ruth and Orpah. When the father and both sons die in Moab, Naomi asks her daughters-in-law Ruth and Orpah to return to Israel with her. While Orpah refuses, Ruth very eagerly remains by Naomi's side, and together they return to Naomi's homeland. In doing so, Ruth and Naomi become dependent on the charity of strangers. Ruth, following biblical law, goes to glean from the wheat fields of Boaz, who is a wealthy landowner and Naomi's distant relative. Ruth asks him to marry her and, once married, she bears a son, Obed. By proxy Naomi was taken care of as well.

As I stated earlier in the present chapter, Franzos embraces marriage as a way of providing protection for women. He proclaims *The Book of Ruth* to be an ideal of "femininity." In the tale *Der Shylock von Barnow*, Franzos's recollection of the story is infused with his critique of the *Hasidic* community. Franzos claims that arranged marriage as practiced by the *Hasidic* community lacks this aforementioned protection. He denounces *Hasidim* for their treatment of women as a commodity and, in consequence, for their hypocrisy and greed. Franzos argues:

Seltsames Weben in der Seele des Volkes! Auf die Gottheit und allein auf diese überträgt es alle Glut und alle Sinnlichkeit seines Herzens und seines Geistes. Demselben Volke, welches das Hohe Lied gedichtet [...], und die Geschichte der Ruth, schönste Idylle der Weiblichkeit, demselben Volk ist [...] die Ehe ein Geschäft geworden, geschlossen, um Geld zu erwerben zu laßen. Und sie ahnen nicht einmal den entsetzlichen Frevel, der darin liegt. (15-16)

Although Franzos criticizes arranged marriages, he is supportive of the institution of marriage in general, since, according to him, marriage brings societal order and is a woman's "natural" sphere. His criticism propagates his intent for Eastern European nations to assimilate into German culture and thus to acknowledge bourgeois marriage.

In fact, arranged marriages within a typical traditional Jewish family were quite common in Central Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. It was the marital age that raised controversy. From the Western European perspective, it was common to believe that marriages among Eastern European Jewry were premature. The typical age for a girl to marry was twelve and for a boy thirteen.<sup>73</sup> Among assimilated Western European Jewry and among the non-Jewish communities, girls were married off much later.<sup>74</sup>

In Eastern Europe, early marriage was an indicator of high social status and required significant financial assets. Parents often used the help of a marriage broker (*shadkhan*) to find the best match.<sup>75</sup> The Jewish elite not only followed early marriage out of concern for sexual purity; it also guaranteed maximal exploitation of a woman's fertility cycle.<sup>76</sup> As opposed to the Jewish upper class, called *sheyne yidn* (beautiful Jews), the poorer Ashkenazi Jewry, *proste yidn* (simple Jews), could not afford the luxury of marrying early.<sup>77</sup>

## 2.5 **Assimilation, *Haskalah*, and *The Book of Esther***

In the tale *Der Shylock von Barnow*, Franzos establishes textual alliances to convince the reader of the necessity of assimilation into German bourgeois culture. Franzos links the experiences of the main female protagonist Esther Freudenthal to those of Esther's uncle, the assimilated German Jew, Schlome Grünstein. By establishing a connection between Schlome, who left Galicia for Vienna, and Esther, who dies in the Barnow ghetto, Franzos reproaches the *Hasidic* community and Eastern Europeans in general for their resistance to accept German culture.

In the tale, Schlome's voice is echoed, and thus doubled in intensity, by the narrator. The narrator praises Schlome's curiosity: "in dem schwachen Knaben loderte eine verzehrte Sehnsucht nach Wissen und Erkenntnis" (23). Schlome describes Esther in a similar fashion: "Denn in diesem Kinde lebt ein großer Hunger nach Wissen und ein seltsames Ahnen des Lichts" (30). However, similarly to Esther, Schlome desires a secular education, "[er] schleppte alle Bücher aus der Klosterbibliothek [zu]," but is reprimed by the *Hasidic* community for reading secular books (23). Schlome manages to leave Barnow only because he is a boy.<sup>78</sup> He comments on Esther's inability to leave the ghetto exclaiming: "O wäre es doch ein Knabe! Solches Sehnen im einsamen jungen Herzen zu tragen" (30).

By portraying Schlome, who assimilates into German society, and Esther, who dies at the entryway to the Barnow ghetto, Franzos participates in the ongoing feud between the *Hasidic* movement that originated in eighteenth-century Eastern Europe and the *Haskalah* (Jewish Enlightenment) which gained much popularity in Western Europe. Following *maskilic* doctrines, Franzos believed that a secular education was a basic tool for Jewish advancement in the modern world.

Zbigniew Wodzinski examines the connection between the views voiced on *Hasidism* and the ideology of *Haskalah* in his book *Hasidism and Haskalah in the Kingdom of Poland: A History of Conflict* (2009).<sup>79</sup> Wodzinski argues that the *Maskilim* (the followers of Jewish Enlightenment) perceived the *Hasidic* movement as a threat to the general principles of the Enlightenment tradition of which the *Maskilim* considered themselves to be the heirs (39). David Friedländer (1750-1834), who was the leader of the radical wing of the Berlin *Haskalah*, listed *Hasidism* as one of the obstacles to the

educational development of Polish Jews. He based his observations on Salomon Maimon's autobiography. Friedländer described *Hasidic* teachings as a perplexing permutation of mystical thoughts. He maintained that *Hasidic* leaders, such as *Magidim*, engaged in miracle-working, amulet-trading, and communicating with the dead in the afterworld (Wodzinski, 73).

Franzos illustrates the *Hasidic* community in a similar fashion in his tales. He describes their superstitions, kabalistic practices performed by *Zadiks*, and their unwillingness to accept the inroads made by modernity, and this leads, as the narrator explains, to the ultimate death of the female figures. In the tale *Der Shylock von Barnow*, Franzos comments on Esther's death stating that "Esther war aber Hungers gestorben" (52). In a symbolic sense, "Hunger" means the lack of possibility to acquire a secular education. The narrator points to the fact that Moses denied his daughter access to German books and thus contributed to her death.<sup>80</sup> The outcome of the story shows Esther's father as an individual who defied assimilation and sacrificed his daughter's life. The narrator describes how Moses passes on his possessions to the *Zadik* from Sadagora:

Sein großes Vermögen vermachte er dem Wunderrabbi von Sadagora, dem heftigen Feinde des Lichts, dem eifrigen Verfechter des alten, finsternen Glaubens. (52)

Franzos not only connects the characters within the story that are in alignment with his assimilatory agenda, but provides his own interpretation of *The Book of Esther* by positioning *Hasidic* Jews as oppressors. By naming the main female figure as well as her mother and grandmother who were both forced into marriage "Esther," Franzos draws on the biblical figure to stress the necessity for *Hasidim* to abandon their religious customs and the Eastern European setting in order to assimilate.

The biblical Esther is an orphan raised by her relative Mordecai. She marries King Ahasuerus and takes on the identity of a Persian beauty. As a new queen, Esther replaces the king's former wife Vashti, who had been banned for her refusal to acquiesce to the king's earlier commands to attend one of his banquets. While Vashti is punished for her disobedience, Esther is rewarded for her courage. She saves the Jewish people from pogroms by revealing her true Jewish identity before the king and prevents Haman, Ahasuerus's advisor, from murdering the Jews. She then instigates the death of Haman and his gang. Today, Esther's courageous act continues to be celebrated during the Feast of *Purim*.

While the biblical Esther is acknowledged as a heroine for saving Jews from pogroms, Esther Freudenthal from the above-mentioned tale *Der Shylock von Barnow* becomes a victim of the conflict between traditional and modern Judaism. She fails to save *Hasidic* Jewry from cultural decline through assimilation, since her way has been obstructed by her own father Moses, particularly through his prohibition of German book study. In addition, Esther herself is shown as a victim unable to cross the boundaries of her own upbringing since she does not receive any voice or any agenda within the narrative.

The outcome of the tale *Der Shylock von Barnow* transmits a sense of loss, yet is preoccupied with hypothetical greater gain according to the narrator's vision of assimilation. There is an understanding that the assimilation of Eastern European society is necessary for the continuation of Jewish tradition in accordance with the aspirations of the rising bourgeoisie. The narrator describes Moses as an enemy of the "light," meaning secular education. Esther is the victim of Moses's "backwardness."

In the following subsections, I will explain the way Franzos employs the image of Mary in the tales *Esterka Regina* and *Der wilde Starost und die schöne Jütta*, and how he denigrates the Polish and *Hasidic* communities by positioning Esther Freudenthal as the object of the narrative in the tale *Der Shylock von Barnow*.

## 2.6 *Esterka Regina*

In *Esterka Regina*, as in the tale *Der Shylock von Barnow*, Franzos establishes textual alliances between the characters who are in favor of assimilation and those who reject it. The narrator, who is also a character within the story, criticizes the lack of academic prospects for Jewish women in Galicia in a conversation with his friend, the German Jew Adolf Leiblinger. Both the narrator and Adolf admire the knowledge of these women that, according to them, remains unnoticed and undervalued by the surrounding *Hasidic* community. The narrator observes that Jewish women are treated deplorably by the *Hasidic* Jewry:

Dazu ist aber, wenn das Mädchen wirklich so schön und dabei so klug ist, verdammt wenig Aussicht. Entweder läßt sie sich durch all' die Versuchungen bethören und fällt trotz ihrer Klugheit einem dieser polnischen oder ungarischen Herren zum Opfer - oder sie bleibt die brave, gehorsame Tochter ihres Vaters. (221)

Although the narrator praises the beauty and the knowledge of Jewish women, Esterka is not bestowed any agency within the narrative. Despite the fact that she knows German she believes that she cannot join Adolf in Germany due to her, as she perceives it, lacking education. Unable to fulfill her desires to reunite with her lover, Esterka dies of sorrow after revealing her feelings to Adolf in a letter.<sup>81</sup> By demonstrating Esterka's

loyalty toward *Hasidic* tradition— Esterka marries the Galician Jew chosen by her parents—Franzos insinuates that by marrying Adolf, Esterka would not have to die.

This apparent juxtaposition between “backward” Eastern Europe, where Jewish women are victimized, and “progressive” Western Europe, where they could, according to Franzos, enjoy the security of marriage, invites the reading of a tale as a tribute to German culture. The image of Mary displayed in the title of the story, and expressed through the surname *Regina*, is one of the ways Franzos convinces the reader of its superiority.

The first image of *Maria Regina*, the majestic elucidation of the biblical image of Mary, was found on a wall of the church of Saint Maria Antiqua, the oldest Christian building in the Roman Forum, painted in the first half of the sixth century (Warner, 104). Veneration of the image was encouraged in times of stasis and entrenchment and often reflected the instability of the self-image of the Church. Through his own elucidation of the image, Franzos stresses the benefits of bourgeois marriage and the female role it prescribes, and thus the hegemony of German culture. The advocacy of *Maria Regina* as queen is governed by the presumption of a special role of German culture in Central Europe. The victory of the image of Mary as a savior of the Jewish nation through assimilation also presides over the depiction of Esterka, who is subjugated to her father’s rule, forced into marriage, and obliged to remain in Galicia.

In addition, there is an evident analogy between Esterka and the beloved Casmir the Great (1310-70). According to legend, Casmir established the Castle of Wawel to spend more time with his mistress Esterka, and Casmir’s affair is purported to have impelled him to give special privileges to the Jews in his kingdom.<sup>82</sup> Unlike Casmir’s

Esterka, however, who by aligning with the Polish King becomes a Jewish heroine, Esterka Regina is bound by her parents to marry a *Hasidic* Jew and to stay in Galicia.

Similar to the ghetto tale *Der Shylock von Barnow* that I shall discuss further below, the tale *Esterka Regina* introduces the interplay between the narrative and the story. Indeed, the narrator positions himself between these two modes of representation. As a *homodiegetic* narrator he is as one of the characters in the story. At the same time, he is a *heterodiegetic* narrator who comments on the ongoing events.<sup>83</sup> Through these two narrative modes, the narrator crosses the boundaries of textual representation. He asserts himself as part of the community, remaining an observer who at the same time addresses the reader. This simultaneously allows for the emergence of the two ways in which Franzos depicts the female figures: as victimized Jewish female characters who are unable to leave Galicia, and as the imaginary representation of Catholic Mary that stands for a bourgeois marriage.

The position of the narrator within the tale reflects Franzos's own status in Galician society. Although Franzos was born into a Jewish family in the small Galician town of Czortkow, he never identified with Eastern European Jewry. Throughout his life, he admired and tried to emulate his father, the assimilated German-Jewish physician Heinrich Franzos, who raised him with the conviction that acquiring German culture was necessary for an Eastern European Jew in order to gain access to modern Western society. Being raised in a Germanophile milieu with Sephardic ancestry, Franzos was likely to adopt reigning prejudices against Ashkenazi and *Hasidic* communities in Czortkow, which housed the popular *Zadik* David Moses Friedman.<sup>84</sup> Franzos perceived

himself as German, and only in the German *Gymnasium* in Bukovina he was “kein anderer mehr, sondern der Deutsche unter den Deutschen.”<sup>85</sup>

In the tale it is not only Esterka who compels the attention of the narrator, but also a rich widow named Sprinze Klein. In particular, Klein adopts Christian customs and a bourgeois lifestyle. She insists that one should dance at her daughter’s wedding “nach der ‘christlichen’ Mode die Herren mit den Damen” (229). Her wish is dictated by the latest fashions she observed in Lemberg, the capital of Galicia. Franzos ridicules Sprinze’s transformation from a Jewish girl coming from a Galician *shtetl* to a modern Westernized woman. In the following quote he portrays this change as “komisch” pointing to her inability to leave her Galician upbringing behind:

Bei dieser Frau zeigt sich ein sonst sehr ernster seelischer Prozeß: das Aufringen aus den druckenden Fesseln des orthodoxen Glaubens zu einer freien Lebensanschauung, in einer merkwürdigen, geradezu komischen Form. (227)

## 2.7 *Der wilde Starost und die schöne Jütta*

The female protagonist Jütta in the tale *Der wilde Starost und die schöne Jütta* functions as a pictorial representation of Mary. The reader encounters an appealing description of Jütta Holdberg’s portrait when it stands at the altar in the castle of Polish noble Alexander von Barecki. The narrator describes Jütta’s beauty captured in the painting and attributes to Jütta the characteristics of the Virgin-Mother Mary:

Ein merkwürdiges Bild! Ist’s ein Portrait, oder rein Ehrenbild, oder die heilige Jungfrau mit dem Kinde? Ein junges Weib in dunklem Gewande blickt auf den Säugling in ihrem Schoße. (147)

The narrator admires Jütta’s beauty and, in particular, how it equals the beauty of Mary, while also simultaneously ridiculing the surrounding works of art. Jütta’s portrait is

placed among other paintings, both sacred and secular; all of them are decorated in poor taste. The narrator mentions

kleine Roccoco-Nippes aus Porzellan, silberne Fruchtschalen und goldene Kettchen, eine alberne Nachbildug der Venus von Milo, türkische Roßschweife. (146)

There is an evident tension between the ways the narrator praises Jütta's portrait and how he mocks the remaining art. Jütta's portrait appears detached from the surrounding objects as if it did not belong in the castle of the Polish noble. This contradiction reflects the fact that the portrait is a reminder of the pogroms that spread across the Galician village. The painting is evocative of a turbulent past, referring to the Jewish-Christian conflict, and of an equally insecure present. Similarly, the old castle, which the narrator describes as "ein großes, wüstes, verfallenes Haus," and the altar are physical representations of the past, and their meanings are revived in Barecki's retelling of Jütta's story (142).

Through Barecki's account, the narrator points to the conflict between Jews and Poles that eventually contributes to Jütta's death. Jütta is kidnapped by Barecki. She lives in his castle with their son until her Jewish family claims her back and forces her to return to the *shtetl*. Barecki in the end takes revenge on the Jews, initiating various pogroms shortly after his son's passing and Jütta's suicide.

Obviously, the narrator's ignorance toward the art collection in an old Polish castle intensifies the perception of Eastern European cultural heritage as having no significant value and thus belonging to the past. The tension that builds up at the beginning of the narrative, between Jütta's portrait and the rest of the paintings, purports

the lack of opportunities for Jewish women in living among Jewish or Polish communities.

Therefore, Franzos evokes the image of Virgin Mary at the beginning of the tale. The image transmits a sense of security within marriage that is revoked for Jütta the moment she is forced to go back to the *shtetl*. The painting sustains the perception of a mother who protects her home and child. The narrator idealizes Jütta as an “Engel” and “Schutzengel” of the house where she previously lived with Barecki (148). Jütta is idealized as a perfect mother and compared with an angel, a symbol of goodness and sacrifice.

Franzos also connects the past and the present by employing a *metadiegetic* narrative (narrative within narrative) as well as *prolepsis* and *retrospective*. These structural elements facilitate a depiction of the religious conflict between Poles and Jews that finds no resolution in the present. The story of Jütta is told from the perspective of Starost Barecki and from the standpoint of Sarah, the mother of Jakob Grün, who was killed during the pogroms. Both parts blame the other for Jütta’s death, by way of which Franzos demonstrates the impossibility of a resolution of the Polish-Jewish conflict that started in the past but still continues to the present day.

Franzos concludes the tale by presenting a romantic idea of love as a force erasing religious and cultural differences. In this context, the earlier discussed image of Jütta representing the Virgin-Mother Mary stands as a warning in the face of the Jewish-Christian conflict. The image propounds Franzos’s conviction that the future of the Eastern European nations lies in the emulation of German culture, which stands outside

of this conflict. Franzos's closing statement thus becomes a manifesto against religious conservatism:

Laßt uns endlich die Wahrheit sagen, daß nur Liebe selig macht, der Glaube aber blind, und laßt uns dafür kämpfen, allorts, allimmer, mit ganzem Herzen und mit ganzer Kraft. (168)

By presenting Starost as the embodiment of "masculinity" and Jütta as a symbolic representation of a feminine beauty, Franzos paints love as a passionate act of romantic advancements. Starost and Jütta's relationship finds its culmination in marriage. Franzos insinuates that marriage signifies freedom in the sense of granting the individual the pleasure of love. As I have already demonstrated in the present study, for Franzos, marriage brings a fixed gender role division.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814)'s idea that "marriage was love and love was marriage" perfectly illustrates the way Franzos approaches the topic of love in *Esterka Regina*.<sup>86</sup> It was the romantic era that brought a rebellion against social conventions with regard to the semantics of love. Unlike the seventeenth century, where desire was expressed through the passive admiration of the love object, the eighteenth century brought a definite revival of free love that was directed against social conventions.<sup>87</sup> There was increased enthusiasm for the intimate relationship and more emphasis on feelings of sensuality and closeness.<sup>88</sup> Contrary to Franzos's view, marriage was rejected for the limitations it placed on form, and free love translated itself to the complete enjoyment of sensuality.<sup>89</sup>

It was during the turn of the nineteenth century in particular that the idealization of love was marked; and this is what is portrayed in Franzos's tales. The subjective experience of passion and desire in order to achieve the unity of two souls were one of

the key aspects of the romantic relationship.<sup>90</sup> Against the moral system of values and societal norms of behavior, love was an expression of creativity and individuality. Franzos idealizes love in his tales. Love appears to tear down national conflicts and religious fanaticism. However, as Franzos understands it, love can grow only within marriage in the modern Western society. Therefore, cross-cultural marriage does not succeed without the assimilation of Eastern European Jewry as shown in the previous tales.

## 2.8 *Der Shylock von Barnow*

Similar to Jütta from the tale *Der wilde Starost und die schöne Jütta*, the main female character in the ghetto tale *Der Shylock von Barnow*, Esther Freudenthal, is removed from the narrative. Esther is described, remembered, and judged by the protagonists.

In his book *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (1983), Gérard Genette calls this type of narration *external focalization*. Through *external focalization* the author confines visibility that allows for limited presence of a protagonist within the story. The character “does not see, he is seen” (72). In this context, Polish and Jewish protagonists are placed in the position of observers, and Esther exists only through descriptions of her beauty, virginity, and purity. The narrator illustrates the superiority of German culture by literally commenting on the characters’ utterances and by criticizing their actions. For example, the narrator comments on Moses Freudenthal’s denial of German culture:

O, wie du frevelst, Moses Freudenthal! Wie dich das Unglück auch geläutert und dich dein eigen Herz erkennen gemacht, noch immer kannst du es nicht erfassen, daß es eine Sünde gewesen, als du deinem Kinde das Licht und die Welt verschließen gewollt, und daß du recht gethan, als du in jener Stunde gestattet, daß ein Anderer sie ihm erschließe. (*Shylock*, 21-2)

In a similar fashion, he criticizes the religious conservatism within the Polish community as well as their unfair accusation of Jewish females as promiscuous, as I will show in this subchapter.

The ghetto tale *Der Shylock von Barnow* follows the pattern of the frame narrative, in which all characters (the Polish noble Mr. Lozinski, Esther's father, the *Hasidic* Jew, Moses Freudenthal, and Lozinski) are permitted a voice. Their accounts exemplify the *metadiegetic* narrative that is embedded within a main narrative. Employing *metadiegetic* narratives enables Franzos to impose authorial comments about the "backwardness" of Eastern Europeans, as in the quotation above, and to situate the female protagonists as the objects of the narrative.<sup>91</sup>

The narrator calls the truthfulness of all accounts into question. First, Lozinski's story starts as a vague recollection of events that took place fifteen years ago. Lozinski's story appears to be no more than a dream and hence inapplicable to the modern world, which establishes the dichotomy between Eastern Europe as "backward" and its Western counterpart as "modern." The narrator comments on Lozinski's gesture after the latter retells the story: "[Lozinski] streicht sich über den Stirn, als erwache er aus einem Traum...!" (7).

In his account, Lozinski recalls Moses Freudenthal's conversation with the young Pole Janko Czupla. Janko remembers Esther when she was still a child. He mourns her disappearance from the village:

Ihr seid vor dem Thore gestanden, ich glaube gar, an derselben Stelle und neben Euch Eure kleine Esterka. Heilige Jungfrau! Was war das Kind schön! Und wie lieb sie gelacht hat, wie so ein weißer Buchstabe nach dem andern auf dem rothen Grund herauskam. (10)

Janko refers to the sign *Heute ums Geld, morgen umsonst* that he painted in bright white on Moses's door fifteen years ago. The color white symbolizes Esther's childish innocence, virginity, and purity. From Janko's perspective, Esther's innocence also contrasts with Moses' implied greed.<sup>92</sup> Esther suffers from the actions of her father, for whom, according to Janko, only money matters.<sup>93</sup>

In Lozinski's account, Janko mentions Esther's alluring smile. From the male perspective, female beauty is inscribed in the presence of a smile that reflects intimacy and mystery (Kristeva, 58). Janko understands Esther's smile as a reflection of Esther's spirituality. He worships Esther's beauty to the point that he envisions her as a 'Heilige Jungfrau.' Similar to Lozinski's view, his wife's perception of Esther is clichéd. At the party she holds at her house, Lozinska, who is a conservative Catholic, only values Esther's appearance. She perceives Esther as a Queen of Heaven. Lozinska specifically mentions the color blue, which is frequently associated with Mary's holiness<sup>94</sup>:

Sie hatte die schönsten, klarsten Augen, groß, blau, blau wie der Himmel. Und der Wuchs, wie eine Königin, schlank, stolz und doch üppig. Kurz, sie war ein hübsches, wunderhübsches Mädchen. Aber überspannt und verdorben wie eine Romannärrin. (41)

Esther's beauty stands in direct opposition to her character, which, in the eyes of Mrs. Lozinska, bears characteristics of the unruly and degenerated women whose only occupation is reading books, or as Lozinska perceives it, reading too many books. The word "Romannärrin": "Roman," which means a "book" and "Närrin" which means a "fool," denotes a woman who reads too many books and therefore is detached from reality, losing her sanity. Lozinska's comment reaches beyond the aesthetics of beauty. Lozinska points to the very fact that Esther strives for emancipation that brings about modernization within societal structures, Christian or Jewish. Lozinska presents Esther as

“das kleine, hochmütige Judenmädel.” She argues that all Jewish girls are alike (36). She perceives reading German literature as a sinful and immoral act. She observes:

Esther verschlang den Winter über die hundertachtzig Bänden. Denn [...] diese Judenmädel haben ja im Grunde kein moralisches Gefühl. (37)

The narrator undermines Lozinska’s account as well. The anonymous Jewish doctor assumes the role of the intruding narrator. Unlike Lozinska, the doctor perceives Esther as a victim of her deficient education rather than as a rebellious Jewess. The doctor observes:

Wie das Zwielight unheimlicher ist als die Nacht, so ist die halbe Bildung verderblicher als die Unwissenheit. Die Unwissenheit und die Nacht halten das Auge umfassen und fesseln den Fuß an die Scholle; das Wissen und der Tag öffnen das Auge und lassen uns fröhlich schreiten. (44-5)

The doctor’s humanistic ideal, encoded in the values of the Enlightenment, contradicts the narrowness of the Polish noble Lozinska who denigrates Jews by and large.<sup>95</sup>

The similarity between the figure of the Jewish doctor and Franzos’s own father, Heinrich Franzos, cannot remain unnoticed. Heinrich Franzos was a district doctor who spent his whole life in Czortkow. He remained in his profession until his death in 1858. His wife Karoline Franzos, née Karlsfeld, was of Ashkenazi origin from Odessa. Her parents feared that Heinrich might convert to Christianity while in Germany and agreed to their marriage only under the condition that he never leaves Galicia. This constraint, however, did not prevent Heinrich, who was raised in the German language with German national ideals, to conform to a German identity.<sup>96</sup>

In *Der Shylock von Barnow*, Esther becomes the victim of Polish anti-Semitism and of her traditional Jewish upbringing.<sup>97</sup> She meets with death because of societal constraints on the part of both Jewish and Polish communities.<sup>98</sup> In addition, through

these commentaries the narrator places himself as a member of this society, hitherto as someone who understands the failure of this belonging and accepts German nationality and culture. This undermines the accounts of the Lozinski couple when they speak of their unwillingness to assimilate to German culture.

Franzos positions Esther as a double outcast to promote the assimilation of Eastern Europeans into German culture. The Polish community accuses Esther of sexual promiscuity when she escapes with the Hungarian count, Géza Czapann. Her father, on the other hand, forces Esther into marriage and disapproves of her interest in math and German literature. He believes that she should remain “einfach jüdisch Kind [und] ein frommes, schlichtes Weib” (31).

The ghetto tale *Der Shylock von Barnow*, as well as the entire collection of ghetto tales, exemplifies the discrepancy between what the narrator shows and tells. The telling becomes thus more significant and obliterates the magic of the showing. The result of all of this is the radical inadequacy of the telling-showing distinction.<sup>99</sup>

*Die Juden von Barnow* becomes a riddle, the key to which is in the interplay between the story and the narrative. The narrator’s point of view shifts between the literary characters with complete disregard for technical cleanness, which means that narrative techniques change frequently within the course of each story. As the narrative points out, Jewish female figures mediate between both realms: the story and the narrative. They not only serve to interrogate the reader and control her expectations but also to lead her to believe in the correctness of Franzos’s hidden agenda, namely the assimilation of Eastern European nations into German culture.

Franzos turns his ghetto tales into real detective stories. He employs frame narratives, flashbacks, *metadiegetic narrative* (narrative within the narrative), and *transvocalization* (the Jewish female figures are portrayed through external events). He also uses *prolepsis* and a *heterogetic* narrative (the narrator is a character within the story).<sup>100</sup> The female protagonists are constrained in this structural frame that sets boundaries for their social interactions. In other words, the narrative structure confines the cultural experience of the protagonists to one geographical space, which is Galicia. As a result, Franzos proscribes cultural diversity and imposes his view of the dominance of German culture and of the advantages of the bourgeois marriage within this culture.

## 2.9 *Nach dem höheren Gesetz*

The tale *Nach dem höheren Gesetz* features the only Jewish female figure who does not meet with death in the course of the narrative: Chane (Christine Negrusz). The affirmative portrayal of Chane accounts for Chane's marriage with a Galician wine trader, the Christian Negrusz, after having divorced her first husband, Nathan, and then her subsequent conversion to Christianity. Like in other tales, Chane remains a passive figure in the process, for it is not Chane's conversion that facilitates this new relationship, but rather her husband Nathan's enlightened reading of German poetry that prompts him to allow for their divorce. As a consequence, this successful love story runs along smoothly with Franzos's appeal for the acceptance of German culture.

Franzos presents a dialogue between Chane and her first husband Nathan to visualize the dilemma inherent to her arranged marriage. Yet, Chane plays no significant part in the process:

Chane war in der Beziehung sehr gleichmüthig und nahm alles das so auf, wie die anderen kleinen Unannehmlichkeiten, die das Verweilen im Laden mit sich brachte. (71)

Chane asks Nathan for divorce. She refers to her sexuality, which she now desires to take hold of since she fell in love. Like other female figures, she seeks to follow her passions, which had been latent due to their arranged marriage:

Nathan, sei nicht zu hart. Über meinen Körper habe ich den Willen und wahre Dir Dein Recht! Aber über meine Seele habe ich keine Macht. (*Gesetz*, 96)

According to the Talmud, the unfaithful wife is condemned to death or to banishment: “Tödtet sie, wenn Ihr es könnt, nach den Gesetzen des Landes, in dem Ihr lebt.” Yet, Nathan exclaims: “Das Gesetz reicht nicht aus” meaning that perhaps this rule does not do justice to the character of his wife, whom he loves and respects (*Gesetz*, 100). There is also an implication that the traditional values to which the Jewish community in Galicia adheres are no longer applicable in the modern world. Therefore, it is after Nathan reads Schiller’s poems that he experiences a sense of freedom and decides to grant his wife freedom as well. Nathan reflects on the purpose and the consequences of his arranged marriage:

Ist denn ein Weib eine Sache? Hat sie nicht einen freien Willen? Und haben wir sie denn damals nach ihrem Willen gefragt? (*Gesetz* 98)

Seemingly, Chane then reclaims ownership over her body. Yet male figures in the narrative continue to have control over her future, despite her reclamation: Nathan demands that Negrusz marry Chane so that she does not share the fate of Esther Freudenthal.

The tale ends with the happily married Chane, who has thus escaped Esther's fate. Franzos's message behind the outcome of the story is clear. Chane remains secure within marriage when, and only when, it is reinstated by the patriarchal order of the family.

## 2.10 Conclusion

In the ghetto tale collection *Die Juden von Barnow*, Karl Emil Franzos creates two modes of cultural existence that rest within female imagery. The essence of the first existence is inscribed in the female bodies that are buried or removed from the narrative, as in the tales *Der Shylock von Barnow*, *Esterka Regina*, and *Der wilde Starost und die schöne Jütta*, and refers to the perception of Eastern Europe and its inhabitants as "backward." The main female protagonists from the aforementioned tales are victimized by the *Hasidic* community which prohibits them from obtaining a secular education, from leaving the Barnow ghetto, and from intermarriage. The Polish community on the other hand describes them as immoral. Franzos thus portrays the female characters as victims caught between the Polish-Jewish conflict.

The second plane of existence refers to the bourgeois marriage model in Western societies. Franzos employs the image of Mary to proclaim the triumph of German culture and to support bourgeois marriage as an institution. In the tale *Der wilde Starost und die schöne Jütta* the female protagonist functions as a pictorial representation of the Virgin-Mother Mary. Franzos insinuates that, as the victim of a Polish-Jewish conflict, Jütta has been denied the luxury of being a mother as well as the wife of Starost Barecki. In consequence, Franzos develops his own idea of "femininity" that rests on the conviction

that a woman's role is that of a mother and a wife. As a Westernized assimilated Jew, raised in a Germanophile setting, Franzos promotes German culture. As I described in this chapter, Franzos perceived himself as German and supported German unification.

The common feature of the discussed ghetto stories is the complex narrative composition through which the female protagonists are entangled in social and conventional frames. Franzos's extended narrative structure dominates the stories and creates a new kind of unity. By doing so, Franzos addresses us directly, with the story evoking the death or the demise of the female protagonists and then commenting on the outcome of the story, which ultimately contains a criticism of Eastern European nations for their opposition to assimilation, such as in *Der Shylock von Barnow*. Franzos puts the reader in the mind frame of the Westernized assimilated Jew who, by virtue of his origins, assumes a clearer insight into the customs of *Hasidic* Jewry as well as the Polish community.

As in a second-rate documentary, Franzos is divorced from the effects of his own rhetoric since each story ends with the author's own utterances. The narrator's utterances reflect Franzos's conviction of the impending and inevitable intellectual demise of Eastern European nations. By portraying female protagonists as doubly marginalized outcasts (they belong neither to Western nor Eastern Europe), Franzos makes the German reader reflect on the social conditions of *Hasidic* Jews in Galicia and ultimately on the German-Jewish relations in Austria-Hungary.

In the present chapter, I have shown how Franzos's assimilatory agenda unfolds within the narrative and affects the depiction of the female characters either as materialized and thus devaluated bodies, or as recognized within the realm of ideas and

images. Thus, further research on the female imagery in the ghetto tale collection *Die Juden von Barnow* could embark upon an analysis of the relationship between “orientalism” and the portrayal of the female figures.<sup>101</sup>

In the next chapter, “Pappenheim and Public Representation of Women,” I discuss the tales *Die Kämpfe* by the German-Jewish writer, feminist, and activist Bertha Pappenheim. Both Franzos and Pappenheim depict the patriarchal family as a locus of female oppression. Yet, unlike Franzos who promotes bourgeois culture, Pappenheim draws the reader’s attention to deficient representations of women within the public sphere. As a female activist, Pappenheim strives to improve the public status of Jewish women as well as advocates for the perseverance of their rights and privileges within Jewish community.

## CHAPTER 3

### PAPPENHEIM AND THE PUBLIC REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

Woman has got tired of being the ideal of man who does not have a real power for idealization anymore; so she decided to figure out herself as her own image of desire. [...] Woman does not want to be an ideal anymore. She wants to create ideals herself.  
-Robert Musil<sup>102</sup>

Bertha Pappenheim's collection of tales *Die Kämpfe* (1916) describes the fate of Eastern European migrants to Western Europe and discusses Jewish family relations in Hungary or on the peripheries of the Empire. In the present chapter, I argue that through pertinent illustration of the seclusion of Jewish children, male and female, within the patriarchal family, Pappenheim depicts Eastern Europe as "backward" and "superstitious."

Through this evident stereotyping, Pappenheim points to a deficient interest in empowering women in the areas of public representation. She convinces that women should be equally represented in the public realm, and specifically, within the Jewish community. By portraying the patriarchal family, Pappenheim draws attention to a paternal dominance that leads to violence and results in the separation of both sexes from the father figure that, in Pappenheim's tales, represents a preponderance of the male view in the public realm.

In the first subchapter, "Pappenheim, Jewish Law, and the Jewish Family," I discuss Pappenheim's theoretical writings such as *Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage* (1907), *Die Frau im Kirchlichen und Religiösen Leben* (1912), and *Das Jüdische Mädchen* (1934). In these texts, Pappenheim questions women's legal status defined by Jewish law, challenges male exclusiveness in interpretations of this law, and criticizes the underrepresentation of Jewish women in the life of Jewish community. The second section, "Feminist Responses

to Rabbinic Literature on Female Body and Sexuality,” considers female sexuality as defined and described exclusively by male rabbinic intellectuals. Consequently, it presents counter-responses by feminist scholars to the rabbinic interpretations on the issues of female body and female sexuality.<sup>103</sup> Importantly, this section serves as a framework for discussing the role of Jewish women within Jewish community, and explains why this role has been traditionally seen as referred to home in rabbinic commentaries. On the examples of Hannah from the tale *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, and Gabriel from the tale *Ein Schwächling*, the following subchapter “Kämpfe, Family Politics, and Gender Roles,” presents Pappenheim’s critique of patriarchal family. It discusses the influence of Jewish law on the constitution of gender roles within Jewish family. This subchapter shows how the male and female identities are positioned vis-à-vis the law.

My interpretation of the respective tales, *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, *Freitag Abend*, *Ein Schwächling*, *Jahrzeit*, and *Der Erlöser* concludes the current chapter. I start with *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, a tale that reflects on female agency being obscured by male definitions of female body and female sexuality. The tales *Ein Schwächling* and *Der Erlöser* that I discuss afterward caution us against the consequences of an injudicious conversion as well as the internalization of false beliefs and values that originate from anti-Semitic discourse. *Freitag Abend* discusses the fate of the Eastern European female migrant Reisle and her inability to adjust to the demands of modern society. Finally, in the tale *Jahrzeit*, Pappenheim demands the existence of the Jewish family as an issue of personal freedom.

My analysis of the above-mentioned tales questions the role of Eastern Europe as an inimitable locus of aggravated violence, paternal oppression, and economic and cultural regression. Pappenheim constructs Eastern Europe as “backward” by portraying the failure of Eastern European migrants to assimilate to the living conditions in Germany, by discussing the seclusion of Jewish children in Eastern Europe, and by pointing to the lack of proper education for Jewish women. In addition, I show how the topics of conversion and of anti-Semitism that permeate the tales redefine gender power relations and invite a new way of thinking about the female role in the gender-sex system. For Pappenheim, “femininity” occupies the space both in public and private domains, and symbolizes Jewish traditional customs, the observation of which, in Pappenheim’s view, reduces the possibility of conversion.

### 3.1 Pappenheim, Jewish Law, and the Jewish Family

Pappenheim viewed the male and female as complementary. She believed that female and male responsibilities should be equally divided between the private and public domains, according to the talents and qualities attributed to both sexes. However, in her perception of gender equality she also incorporated traditional roles. While she envisioned males and females as sharing the voice in public, she stressed the vital role of Jewish mothers as guardians of the Jewish home and tradition.<sup>104</sup>

It was this apparent underrepresentation of women in the public realm that led Pappenheim to advocate for female visibility in the Jewish community. In her critical essays, including *Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage* (1907), *Die Frau im Kirchlichen und Religiösen Leben* (1912), and *Das Jüdische Mädchen* (1934), Pappenheim repeatedly stresses the

need for an increased presence of women in the life of this community. She appeals for the inclusion of female voices in rabbinic interpretations of the *Halakha* (Jewish law). In her essay *Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage*, Pappenheim specifies the areas in which Jewish community relegates women to an inferior status. In the following quotation Pappenheim outlines her trajectory:

Und die Frau in der jüdischen Gemeinde? – Seit Jahrhunderten genoß sie innerhalb des jüdischen Gemeinlebens, seiner Kultur und Kultuswelt, die für die Juden lange Zeit fast identisch war, noch nicht einmal die Rechte eines dreizehnjährigen Knaben. Der dreizehnjährige Knabe [...] wird in die Gemeinde aufgenommen, bei Gebetversammlungen 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. [...] Und die Frau in der jüdischen Gemeinde? [...] Sie zählt nicht mit, sie gilt nichts, sie lernt nichts, ihr Geist braucht keine Kraft und Armut, sie darf noch 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 Gesetz ist die Frau kein Individuum, keine Persönlichkeit, nur als Gattin und Mutter wird sie bewertet und verurteilt. (20)

Here, Pappenheim points to imperfections in the legal *status quo*, where considerations of the role of Jewish women in public are absent. She suggests that exclusion of women from certain time-bound *mitzvot* (commandments) such as participation in common prayers impacts the position of women in the Jewish community. As a result, fewer opportunities for religious and educational development are open to women within the community. As Pappenheim suggests, women are burdened by and restricted to their duties as mothers and wives in rabbinic commentaries on Jewish law.

It is important to note that the expression “Gattin und Mutter” (“wife and mother”) appears in the published version against Pappenheim’s intent.<sup>105</sup> Elizabeth Loentz reveals in her study *Let Me Continue to Speak the Truth: Bertha Pappenheim as Author and Activist* (2007) that Pappenheim initially used the term “Geschlechtswesen” in her

speech, meaning “sexual being.”<sup>106</sup> Indeed, the phrase “Gattin und Mutter” mitigates the negative impression that the original wording evokes, specifically, that rabbinic law reduces Jewish women to their biological functions, dismissing their personal needs and social connections. However, both terms convey Pappenheim’s criticism of generally accredited interpretations of the law and of the Jewish community that tended to downplay the role of women in public, and was overly focused on their responsibilities at home.

A conceivable explanation for this change in script is provided by Marion Kaplan in her book *The Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany: The Campaigns of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1904-1938* (1979).<sup>107</sup> Kaplan discusses Pappenheim’s precursory organization JFB (*Jüdischer Frauenbund*, 1904-38), and suggests that the JFB employed the language of “subtle subversion.” She explains that the movement “used maternal arguments to court public opinion and allay hostility.”<sup>108109</sup> Kaplan thus clarifies the dual message that Pappenheim conveys through her campaigns within JFB. On the one hand, the movement promoted the image of a Jewish woman who is a wife and a mother. On the other hand, it demanded equal rights for Jewish women in terms of their participation and decision making within the Jewish community. The change in the wording that I discussed above is one of the examples in which the movement attempted to reconcile the public image of Jewish women both as mothers and as feminists.

Through the establishment of the *Jüdischer Frauenbund* Pappenheim hoped to broadcast a feminine perspective on public affairs. The aim of the organization was to strengthen the public presence of Jewish middle-class women, and to raise public awareness of women as citizens as well as their position in the family, including sexual

education.<sup>110</sup> For instance, the JFB demanded an end to sexual discrimination, arguing that only then would women be able to offer their unique and valuable contributions to society.<sup>111</sup> It is important to note that Pappenheim defined sexual discrimination as an exclusion of women to enter the public sphere. Although she acknowledged and promoted male and female social roles based on sex-based differences, she opposed the interpretation of these roles that justified existing political, social, and economic realities.

Pappenheim's address for the recognition of women's voice and for the presence of women in the life of the Jewish community reminds us of the postulates that were often raised by liberal feminist movements in Imperial Germany (1888-1918). Liberal feminists like Louise Otto-Peters (1819-95) were pressing for legal equality in marriage, easier divorce, and equal rights for children born of non-marital relationships.<sup>112</sup> The objections raised by the feminists collided with the unwavering family law compiled under *Imperial Germany's Civil Code (Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch)* in 1900.<sup>113</sup> The law construed women as mothers and wives, and provided a preeminent example of the prevalence of the male perspective in the interpretation of gender roles within marriage. For example, paragraph 1356 *Hausführung und Erwerbstätigkeit* characterizes the home as a female domain. The codex specifies the following with regard to the female role:

- (1) Die Frau ist, unbeschadet der Vorschriften des § 1354, berechtigt und verpflichtet, das gemeinschaftliche Hauswesen zu leiten.
- (2) Zu Arbeiten im Hauswesen und im Geschäfte des Mannes ist die Frau verpflichtet, soweit eine solche Thätigkeit nach den Verhältnissen, in denen die Ehegatten leben, üblich ist.

In general, the law was male-controlled with the father retaining "the right and the duty to care for the person and property of the child" (Paragraph 1,626). Thus, the codex focuses mostly on regulating the woman's duties, disregarding the male role.<sup>114</sup> The gender role

division within the family is defined in such a way that the female bears the main responsibility for leading the household.

Undoubtedly, gender relations are one of the most contested areas of human behavior that traverse individually and collectively across a variety of cultural domains. These domains include politics and the family. Pappenheim insisted on gender equality in both of these areas. She demanded that Jewish women have an equal opportunity to assert their position in society through education and participation in the public sphere. Her tales show how gender discourse interrogates power relations within the family, developing into a microcosm of the gender-sex system. For example, in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, the main female figure, Hannah, is confined within the structures of the patriarchal family. Her father, Ephraim, forbids Hannah to enter any relationship with outside non-Jewish society.

While Pappenheim wished to represent the interests of women in public, her provocative statements about male power exhibited in society caused great controversy among the critics of her time, who often labeled her as men-hating or homosexual.<sup>115</sup> Pappenheim reiterated that “men always and in every situation follow their private interests.”<sup>116</sup> Most likely, this view stemmed from Pappenheim’s conviction that both Jewish and Western secular writing only represented the male perspective.<sup>117</sup> In her critical pamphlet *Die Frau im Kirchlichen und Religiösen Leben* (1912), she complained that women had been left out and still remained voiceless with regard to creation of literary history. Pappenheim specifies in the aforementioned essay:

Wir sind also nicht nur in der Vergangenheit in den Niederschriften der Gesetze und Ritualvorschriften, der Kommentare und Überlieferungen ganz auf männliche Auffassung angewiesen, sondern auch dort, wo es sich um Übersetzungen aus den hebräischen Texten, um Auszüge oder Gruppierung des Materials nach modernen,

feministischen Gesichtspunkten handeln müßte, fehlt für uns Frauen die Möglichkeit eigener kritischen Bearbeitung an den Urtexten. (69)

Furthermore, Pappenheim criticized rabbinic interpretations of the *Halakha*. She believed that these interpretations promoted a gender-biased perspective. In the earlier-mentioned quotation, Pappenheim states that rabbinic literature prohibited Jewish women from remaining physically attractive. By highlighting this obvious bias, Pappenheim challenges the social and political *status quo* according to which middle-class Jewish women were generally deprived of assuming an influential position in Jewish community and remained fettered to the home. As I will show in the subsequent parts of the present chapter, questions of woman's role at home, female sexuality, and the body raised heated discussions within rabbinic discourse.

### 3.2 Feminist Responses to Rabbinic Literature on Female Body and Sexuality

Pappenheim's professional trajectory aligns with numerous female scholars within Jewish studies who, since the 1970s, grappled with the tension between the obligations of the *Halakha* and the ideals of feminism. Their critique was often steeped in the notion that women are excluded from the creation of the *Halakha*, and that writing Jewish law is a male venue. In order to better understand Pappenheim's efforts to improve women's religious, social, and marital status, it is necessary to look at sample interpretations of rabbinic texts by feminist scholars within Jewish studies.

The feminist researchers Rachel Adler, Blu Greenberg, and Cynthia Ozick are considered precursors of contemporary feminist scholarship within Jewish Studies.<sup>118</sup> Adler's article "The Jew Who Wasn't There: Halacha and the Jewish Woman" (1971)

was among the first publications in which the status of women in Jewish law was challenged.<sup>119</sup> Adler's statement that rabbinic responses glorify motherhood and remain silent on the subject of female personal development resonates with Pappenheim's earlier-cited argument that a Jewish woman attains no personality within Jewish law (77). Adler concludes that Jewish law requires reforms that would accept women as equal performers of liturgical rituals endorsed only for and by men.

Blu Greenberg's book *On Women and Judaism: A View from Tradition* (1981) is an attempt to embrace the feminist notion of women's equality with that of her responsibilities as mother and wife.<sup>120</sup> Similar to Pappenheim, Greenberg maintains that family life plays an important role in the lives of Jewish women. Like Pappenheim, she convinces that being a feminist empowers Jewish women to pursue necessary changes within the Jewish family that should involve reflections on women's multiple roles as mothers, wives, and feminists (9). Therefore, Greenberg suggests the formation of a women's *minyan*, that is, a female version of a men's congregation called *minyan*.<sup>121</sup>

The third female scholar, Cynthia Ozick, criticizes a secondary position Jewish women hold in Jewish practice. She provides a meaningful perspective on the processes of redefinition and re-formation of Jewish law in her essay "Notes Toward Finding the Right Question" (1983).<sup>122</sup> Ozick asserts that "the male is the norm and the female is a class apart" and that "men are the rule and women are exceptions to the rule" (3). Here, Ozick questions religious obligations as favoring only the male sex, suggesting that women, due to their childbearing function, are perceived as excluded from religious observance. To a degree, Ozick's comments align with that of Pappenheim, who also observed a lack of consideration to women's religious life within the Jewish community.

Finally, an interesting addition to the three feminist scholars is Susannah Heschel's compilation of essays entitled *On Being a Jewish Feminist: A Reader* (1983).<sup>123</sup> Written by various feminist Jewish scholars, the essays address the topics of Jewish lesbian issues, wife abuse, and sexism in the Jewish community as well as the formation of female groups that seek to recuperate female voices on personal issues of conflicts in relationships or discrimination at work.

The early attempts to forge a positive Jewish female identity by Adler, Greenberg, and Ozick as well as Heschel are reminiscent of the postulates raised by Pappenheim. The four scholars dwell on questions of female rights within the Jewish community. They are critical of the exclusion of Jewish women from religious practice and advocate an increased female involvement in the creation and interpretation of Jewish law. Their research poignantly reveals the underrepresented female voice in these areas as well as providing a breeding ground for modern scholarship within Jewish studies from a feminist perspective.

While the scholarship of the 1970s and early 1980s puts emphasis primarily on questions of women's rights, later studies prompted female scholars to engage into historical analysis of the Bible. Therefore, researchers such as Gerda Lerner, Mishael Maswari Caspi, and Rachel S. Havrelock discuss the constructions of the female body, female sexuality, and fertility in the Biblical narratives from historical and literary perspectives.

Among this great variety of female voices, it is important to mention Rachel Biale's remarkable book *Women and Jewish Law: An Exploration of Women's Issues on Halakhic Sources* (1984) that presents an exhaustive interpretation of the *Halakha* from a

female perspective.<sup>124</sup> Her study constitutes one of the first attempts at providing a female perspective on aspects of Jewish law pertaining to female questions. Biale provides examples of inequalities between female and male roles with regard to social standing, legal rights, and religious status, and analyzes the laws of inheritance and divorce, the conditions of the marriage contract, and the circumstances of the appointment of priesthood (11). Biale draws attention to the more problematic passages in the Jewish law that ordained male and female roles in public based on biological predispositions of both sexes, such as the laws of *onah* or *niddah*.<sup>125</sup>

Historical investigations of ancient societies, presented, for example, by Gerda Lerner in her book *The Creation of Patriarchy* (1986), provide a new perspective on the perception of primeval family that functioned on premises of female oppression and slavery.<sup>126</sup> Although Lerner mentions heroic women in the Old Testament such as Esther or Ruth, she concludes that women were legally and economically dependent on men.<sup>127</sup> She argues that the patriarchal family was the dominant family structure in the historical period described in Genesis, and asserts that women's status, unlike men's, was defined by their sex; that is, by their belonging to the husband who provided them with economic stability and with proper reputation (162, 9).<sup>128</sup>

Already Friedrich Engels (1820-95) in his ominous work *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats* (1884) maintained that the development of the "Paarungsfamilie," that is, the family structure based on monogamy, was a direct consequence of the development of property. However, Engels misleadingly maintained that the ancient form of the "Gruppenehe," where the family lineage connected with a mother figure, gave women a significant amount of freedom and a high social standing,

arguing that “das Weib hat bei allen Wilden und allen Barbaren [...] eine nicht nur freie, aber auch hochgeachtete Stellung (46).”<sup>129</sup> As Lerner observes, there is substantial historical evidence for the existence of the oppression of women that predates the economic and social changes that, according to Engels, constituted a decisive factor for women’s subordination. Female sexuality and reproductive potential were commodities that restricted their autonomy and only deepened their marginal position in society.<sup>130</sup>

In their study, *Women on the Biblical Road: Ruth, Naomi, and the Female Journey* (1996), Mishael Maswari Caspi and Rachel S. Havrelock provide salient examples of women’s dependence and their social separation as a result of their barrenness in the Bible.<sup>131</sup> Interpreting the Book of Ruth, Caspi and Havrelock claim that in the biblical narratives “women’s bodies are the vehicle of communication with God” (4). It is through barrenness that women set on a journey to find their relationship with God, a unique journey from which men are excluded. Therefore, their journey takes on physical as well as spiritual aspects.

Caspi and Havrelock highlight a variety of gender themes across the biblical stories of Ruth, Rebecca, and Sarah. They give special consideration to the Book of Ruth, arguing that the male figures are secondary to the narrative (130). The story opens with the death of Naomi’s husband Elimelech and ends with the apotheosis of female fertility as Ruth (Ruth Ch. 4, Verse 13 and 17) gives birth to her son, Obed. Despite the evident focus on the female figures in the Book of Ruth, Caspi and Havrelock show female figures who are alienated due to their infertility. Through their migration, they seek to find their place in society, in which they need to conform to the rules and regulations

established by men. Therefore, the biblical stories both scholars concentrate on are still blended into male narratives.

The contemporary research within Jewish Studies constitutes a synthesis of the above-outlined research agendas, and is deeply embedded in the polemics with the rabbinic commentaries. Researchers such as Judith Baskin, Rachel Havrelock, Esther Fuchs, Judith Hauptmann, and Charlotte E. Fonrobert are concerned with the questions of female body and female sexuality as tools used by rabbinic literature to mandate a strict patriarchal social order. The female body acquires more agencies through their careful deconstruction and critical examination of rabbinic literature.

Judith Baskin demonstrates that despite the multiplicity of rabbinic interpretations concerning women, the female body is constructed as “other” in rabbinic commentaries.<sup>132</sup> Baskin interrogates how the centrality of rabbinic discourses shaped the image of Jewish women as self-sacrificing and supportive. She concludes that the pronouncement of this image validated the patriarchal structure of society (162). Because of the physical signs of bleeding after menstruation or after childbirth, women were constructed as polluters.<sup>133</sup>

While Baskin examines rabbinic responses, Havrelock investigates gender discourse in the Jewish Bible in her article “Are There Witches in the Bible?” (2006).<sup>134</sup> Havrelock observes that religion supports men in controlling their wives and daughters, and claims that the female social outcasts were often discerned as evil and accused of witchcraft (144). Havrelock distinguishes between two ways in which female protagonists are portrayed in the Jewish Bible: they embody either a rebellious witch or a submissive virgin. This casting of female stereotypes such as witch or virgin resulted in

the perception of female body as disturbing and as imbued with peril, or as untainted and beautiful. Havrelock concludes that the gender discourse present in the Bible prevents “female solidarity around the occasions of infertility, miscarriage, or birth” (147).

Charlotte E. Fonrobert provides another remarkable account to Havrelock’s and Baskin’s view of rabbinic literature as mandating a particular societal order. Contrary to Baskin, who claims the precedence of male perspective, Fonrobert attempts to reconcile the two standpoints, that of the rabbinic discourse as a “textuality of collectivity,” and the feminist literature that shows the boundaries of that collectivity (7).<sup>135</sup> Fonrobert provides a close analysis of the impurity laws and concludes that rabbinic texts present a female body as a metaphor for “home.” Yet, she also recognizes the dialectic nature of rabbinic texts that rather open up than enclose the discussions on the topics of female body and sexuality.

In conclusion, I find it important to briefly discuss Daniel Boyarin’s pivotal observation that sexuality as a category demarcating sexual differences and preferences was absent in the late antique Jewish culture. In his article “Are There Any Jews in ‘The History of Sexuality’?” (1995), Boyarin points to “the lack of binary oppositions of hetero/homosexuality in Talmudic culture.”<sup>136</sup> Instead, he claims that sexual relations were defined culturally and were tied to gendered constructions of “maleness” and “femaleness.” As such, Boyarin argues that there was no sexual realm in the biblical culture that would be forbidden.

Nevertheless, in Pappenheim’s *Kämpfe*, sexuality is not liberated from tabooed sexual behaviors. The female figures are still challenged in expressing their sexual freedom, the exhibition of which Pappenheim envisioned as morally improper.

Pappenheim's texts rather concentrate on the explanation of women's sociopolitical position that influenced their status at home. The discussed texts incorporate the female voice on the issues of public affairs, changing Jewish practices and the family law. Pappenheim undermines the notion of masculinity as a chief factor in the creation of reality.

The polarity that Pappenheim establishes between the unequal divisions of public representations of both sexes translates into her portrayal of Eastern Europe in her tales. Like Karl Emil Franzos, Pappenheim conveys the idea of Eastern Europe as "backward" and "immoral" by showing the oppressive mechanisms governing paternal Jewish family, where female and male are secluded. Yet, contrary to Franzos, Pappenheim portrays the behavior patterns that lead to female oppression and to male and female seclusion. Such structuring of the tales evokes the necessity to reevaluate the female's position in both the public and private spheres.

### 3.3 ***Kämpfe, Family Politics, and Gender Roles***

By presenting a motherless, secluded, and authoritarian family as a setting for *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* and *Ein Schwächling*, Pappenheim points to the lack of open discussion on the questions of family violence, and constructs Eastern Europe as a place where this violence is pervasive.<sup>137</sup>

In both tales, the paternal family is grounded on patriarchal values. Isolating Hannah, who is the main and only female protagonist in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* from the outside influences, and confining Gabriel, the main character from the tale *Ein Schwächling* to the vocation of the scholar, the fathers, Ephraim and Mordechai, secure

their positions as patriarchs. Within this dominant patriarchal family structure Hannah is isolated by Ephraim; and Gabriel escapes home after Mordechai forbids him to become an artist, which does not comply with his vision of becoming a Torah scholar, a status that he imagined for his son.

Such construction of family relations presupposes a victim-perpetrator or a master-slave relationship. Hannah is objectified by her orthodox father, Ephraim Wolf, and the young Christian peasant, Josy, who disagree over her marital status. The tale ends with the outbreak of pogroms, followed by Hannah's suicide. Similarly, although Gabriel is bestowed more freedom within the narrative since he leaves home, the feeling of guilt haunts him, and ultimately leads to his suicide.

The tragical outcome of both tales evidences that there is no personal freedom within the patriarchal family. Hannah and Gabriel attempt to escape the ascribed gender roles. They find themselves in a situation without a family model, where a female's role would have been equally appreciated as a male's. Instead, Ephraim and Mordechai control the actions of their children and attempt to impact their career paths. Therefore, both tales not only show detrimental consequences of the absence of a "feminine" perspective, but also visualize the lack of a proper education for women and children that, according to Pappenheim, existed among the traditional Jewish family in Eastern Europe.

To a degree, the way in which the male and female identities are determined in traditional Judaism provide a conceivable explanation for Hannah's relationship with her father. Pappenheim depicts Hannah, unlike Gabriel, as secluded within the paternal family. In traditional Judaism, circumcision is a central marker of Jewish male identity. In the case of a Jewish woman, no prior initiation is required. Seemingly, this fact puts

women in the position of power. However, circumcision denotes the relationship between a Jewish male and God, where a boy is named after the ritual.<sup>138</sup> Circumcision, as an emblem of the covenant, verifies that only males can mediate between God and humans.<sup>139</sup> One of the examples of this segregation in practice is the exclusion of women from the formation of *minyan*.

The logical consequence of this assumption is the fact that the act of circumcision establishes Jewish male society. Within the male society, Jewish women are rendered as others, unable to function separately as a community since they lack a common characteristic inscribed on their bodies. Although given, female identity refers to biological predispositions, and thus is rendered inferior.

This conflict between female-given versus male-constructed Jewish identities visualizes the gendered power struggle in the constitution of family dynamics. The important function of a Jewish woman in the Jewish family threatens the constructed dominance of a male. A Jewish woman prepares the bread (Challe) and lights the candles during Sabbath. This role, as Pappenheim believed, fails to be recognized properly within her contemporary society.<sup>140</sup> As Pappenheim reiterated in her critical texts, a Jewish woman gains a significant position as the upholder of Jewish tradition and secures the continuation of Jewish faith. A woman would thus not need the circumcision as an act that elevates her status in the light of the Jewish law because she establishes the relationship with God already at birth.

As I indicated earlier, Pappenheim believed that women need more acknowledgment in the creation of literary history that would guarantee them a renowned place in public. She despondently alludes to this assumption in *Ungarische*

*Dorfgeschichte*, portraying Hannah's isolation sustained by the father. For example, there is no mentioning of Hannah's religious obligations, social interactions, or personal interests while the father travels to pray in the synagogue and leads the store.

Eventually, the Jewish family archetype present in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* and *Ein Schwächling* bears traits of a gentile middle-class family model characteristic of the Victorian era (1837-1901). In the Victorian family the father held a position of influence. He served as a "moral force" and a "governor."<sup>141</sup> While he was the main breadwinner, women and children remained financially dependent. This financial and emotional dependence found expression, for example, in the mid-nineteenth-century law that prohibited women from owning property. Therefore, "paternal authority was rooted in emotional bonds and money."<sup>142</sup>

*Kämpfe* renders the position of women and children as underprivileged. By creating Jewish characters of a shaky mental condition as Gabriel and Hannah, Pappenheim conveys a message about the destructiveness of the paternal family structure that produces violence. In *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* as well as in *Ein Schwächling* the main protagonists, Hannah and Gabriel, seek to escape from home. Yet, it is Gabriel who crosses religious and geographical boundaries. He converts and establishes his own family with a Christian girl, Magdalene, an act that he regrets later on. Unable to return to the Jewish community and his Jewish identity, he commits suicide. Hannah, on the other hand, by staying in a dysfunctional family, becomes a victim of her demanding father. Her isolation from the outside world contributes to her madness and leads to suicide. As I reiterated earlier, in both tales, the absence of a progressive female model leads to destruction, chaos, and finally to suicide.

### 3.3.1 *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* and the “Absent Body”

Sander L. Gilman asserts in his study *The Case of Sigmund Freud: Medicine and Identity at the Fin De Siècle* (1993) that “the Jewishness of the body and the psyche is indelible” (69).<sup>143</sup> Gilman discusses how various parts of the Jewish body (nose, penis, foot) had been identified through different stereotypes about Jews, and how Jews chose to convert to Christianity in order to avoid or to reverse this identification.

Gabriel and Hannah are exposed to the prospect of conversion by being raised in a patriarchal authoritarian family. Therefore, their situation needs to be analyzed in a larger context, namely, the anti-Semitic pressures acting upon Jews and prompting them to convert. As Gilman points out, by the end of the nineteenth century, conversion was perceived as a necessity by anti-Semites as well as Jews. An excellent example is Theodor Herzl (1860-1904)’s suggestion to mass conversion at Vienna’s cathedral. Another example stems from the right-wing nationalists, and specifically, from the infamous historian Heinrich Treitschke (1834-96), who claimed that a Jew must convert in order to become German (69).

The female body in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* remains in bondage amid two opposite realms: public and private. First, the body represents stereotypes and images of Jews as inferior, diseased, and decadent as defined by Gilman. Second, it becomes the site of negotiations between male protagonists: Ephraim and Josy. Consequently, the body receives no agency and is used as a tool to permit certain social regulations mentioned earlier by Baskin and Fonrobert.

The beginning of *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* shows Hannah controlled by her father. Ephraim poses limits to her inner development and sets boundaries to her physical presence. When Ephraim travels to pray in the synagogue, Hannah stays home in anticipation for his return. Pappenheim describes Hannah's ritual when she waits for her father to return from the synagogue:

Unter dem Kastanienbaum hatte sie in einladender Weise den Tisch gedeckt und wartete nun auf die Rückkunft des Vaters. (69)

Hannah exists through her father's conviction of the outside world as dangerous.<sup>144</sup> She is taught to be obedient and to remain alert to her father's physical and emotional states. For example, she is concerned about her father's safety when he travels to the synagogue, and hardly imagines living on her own. She asks herself: "Für wen hätte sie sorgen können" (71). Therefore, Hannah's body is intact and virginal as her father had constructed it. Yet, this imposed virginity is two-dimensional. It reflects Hannah's state of mind, that is, her inner seclusion as well as the physical space, which manifests itself in Hannah's restricted physical presence when Ephraim forbids her to meet with Josy (85).<sup>145</sup>

Hannah cannot free herself from the mental captivity instigated by Ephraim when she interacts with strangers, such as Josy, or even when she finds herself in her father's presence. She often reconsiders her actions and reflects: "es [war] geboten, ihren Gefühlen irgend welchen Ausdruck zu geben" (77). Her body responds to paternal dominance with fear expressed through blind obedience.<sup>146</sup> Pappenheim describes Hannah's reactions:

Vor allem wurde sie in einem blinden, willenlosen Gehorsam dem Vater gegenüber erzogen. Die Möglichkeit des selbstständigen Denkens kam ihr nicht in den Sinn. (68)

At the expense of her own comfort and self-esteem, Hannah obediently fulfills Ephraim's expectations, caring about his well-being. She fearfully awaits her father's approval whenever she takes any action: "Ihre Herzenangst zeigte sich so deutlich in Wort und Blick" (71). She often answers "in so bänglichem Tone" when she speaks with Josy (70).

Hannah's body resembles a controlled and disciplined body that Michel Foucault describes in his book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1995).<sup>147</sup> In this study that presents a history of juridical executions, methods of punishment, and trial procedures, Foucault describes a defenseless body mistreated by the abuse of authority and power. Foucault explains how the body becomes an ultimate object of exerted violence:

Power relations have an immediate hold on the body, they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs. (11)

Hannah's body as depicted in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* displays the above-mentioned surveillance forms. Defined and controlled by the father, Hannah's body materializes the systems of social signs and prejudices, male-centered philosophies and laws. As a dead body, Hannah exists through her service for her father, and resembles a puppet that has been created, admired, and sustained by the father, who further envisions Hannah as a subservient daughter.

In his book *The Absent Body* (1990), Drew Leder discusses the notion of a "disappearing body" that is perceived as "problematic, disharmonious, and diseased" (107).<sup>148</sup> The moments of mental discomfort that Hannah experiences, and that I will describe in the later parts of the current chapter, result from social alienation and from an unceasing control that the father exerts over Hannah. Alluding to modern diseases such as

anorexia, Leder explains how the social segregation leads to bodily denigration and affects women who blindly strive to improve their bodies following the modern trends.

Leder elaborates:

Social dys-appearance may lead to biological dysfunction; a case in point is the current epidemic of anorexia nervosa, arising partially from cultural pressures upon women to achieve the “ideal body.” (107)

### 3.3.2 Water, Border-Crossing, and Female Sexuality

Water symbolized a female power and female fertility in ancient creation stories. The stories worship female fertility and treasure the myth of Mother-Goddess, praised for her maternal qualities. For instance, in Babylonian myth, the goddess Tiamat, the primeval sea, and her companion, gives birth to gods and goddesses. Furthermore, in Greek mythology, the earth goddess Gaia creates the sky god Uranos, and in Egyptian mythology, the primeval ocean, the goddess Nun, gives birth to the sun-god Atum.<sup>149</sup> In all of these mythical stories, the sea-goddess or the virgin-goddess represents female figures who create life.

In *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, the rising water illustrates a possibility for females to attain social equality in public as understood by Pappenheim. The rowdy river coincides with awakening of Hannah’s awareness of her seclusion. At the beginning of the story, the calm river denotes Hannah’s isolation from the surrounding society. Only when Hannah feels tempted to break off from this seclusion and to escape to Josy, the danger of the flood arises:

Der Fluß der am Dorfe vorbeifloß, hatte sich bis jetzt noch ziemlich ruhig in seinen Ufern gehalten. Doch häufige Regenguße bedingten auch dessen Höhersteigen. (85)

Analogously, when Ephraim forbids Hannah to see Josy, the water becomes rowdy: “heftig steigende Flut”; “stark bewegte Wasser” (96). Finally, the river overflows when Hannah falls into madness:

Stromaufwärts konnte man keine Grenze erkennen, zwischen den weilichen Nebeln, die in der Luft hingen, und den schaumenden Wassermengen, die sich wie aus unabsehbarer Ferne heranwalzten. (96)

The overflowing water is all-embracing and infinite. It symbolizes the possibility of border-crossing in mental and physical terms.<sup>150</sup> Yet, for Hannah, the long-lasting isolation she was exposed to results in madness. Hannah cannot face the freedom she has been unexpectedly granted. Therefore, she commits suicide, sacrificing her personal happiness to stay with Josy. At the same time, Hannah confronts the ramifications of her personal and religious identities established by the father. The sweeping reality she cannot properly perceive and change leaves her in a state of isolation, this time uncontrolled and irreversible: the madness.

In *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, the crossing of the river symbolizes not only the prospects of power retrieval in the public space. It enables cultural exchange, which carries a necessary transformation manifested through the reaching of an unknown terrain or through the encounter with a new culture. In a metaphorical sense, Pappenheim draws a line between Eastern and Western Europe, between a patriarchal authoritarian family and a vision of the Jewish family based on gender equality as defined by Pappenheim.

Pappenheim approaches male interpretations of the female body critically by secluding Hannah in the authoritarian family and by disallowing her to enjoy the relationship with Josy. Yet, Pappenheim’s own definitions of female sexuality and the female body were relatively conservative. Sexuality was for her a contested area. She was

critical of pre-marital sex and of homosexual love.<sup>151</sup> In Pappenheim's view, sexual intercourse should serve as procreation and thus needs to be controlled. Sexuality remained for Pappenheim a question of morality. She claimed: "Controlling sexual love out of the strongest sense of responsibility is moral."<sup>152</sup>

As the majority of middle-class women in Germany, Jewish or Gentile, Pappenheim perceived sex as a taboo. Pappenheim's conventional approach to sex might explain the fact that the Victorian era brought two intertwined images of women, that of a pure angel and of a streetwalker.<sup>153</sup> These two opposing images not only inflicted diverging perceptions of Pappenheim's personae as I argued at the beginning of the present study, but they are also present in the tales under discussion.

At the first sight, the two conflicting female representations resemble imagery present in Franzos's tales. Franzos employs the image of Mary to convey the superiority of German culture. Yet, Pappenheim's evocation of these images stems from her reluctance to engage in the topic of sexual liberation at all. Therefore, I argue that her treatment of the topic of sexuality is arbitrary. For example, Hannah's sexual liberation is justified as long as it is confined to the institution of marriage. Of course, in Hannah's case, her wish cannot be granted because of the urgency of conversion and because of the ultimate threat of sacrificing her Jewish identity.

### 3.3.3 The "Feminine" Realm and Geographical Seclusion

*Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* offers merely a glimpse of hope for an equal structure of the Jewish family, where male and female roles complement each other. The story concludes with the outbreak of pogroms and Hannah's death, which suggests that the two

standpoints, that of unfettered feminine religious, social, and economic domains and the male visions thereof cannot coexist in a male-dominated society.

Pappenheim embraces a potential creation of a “feminine” realm on the example of Hannah. The glimpses of Hannah’s awareness when she notes her dependence on the father infiltrate the story. Hannah’s criticism toward her father develops in Hannah’s mind, and is thus witnessed by the reader.

One of the examples is a scene when Hannah performs needlework, an activity often attributed to women. In this scene, Ephraim, noticing Hannah’s activity, starts to convince her that she should stop sewing by stating “du hast es nicht nötig” (76). Ephraim’s comment uttered in a moment when Hannah truly enjoys sewing awakens Hannah’s doubts. In this very moment Hannah recognizes that the father interprets sewing as her obligation, as a strictly female occupation. She is repulsed by her father’s subtle persuasion and his manipulative voice when the narrator describes “den erschreckten Blick Hannahs auf diese zarte Anspielung” (76). Hannah recognizes that she thinks and interprets the outside world differently. She becomes aware that the father controls her by persuading her to sew or to prepare a dinner:

[Hannah hatte] erstmal in ihrem Leben etwas im Sinne, wovon sie ihrem Vater nichts mitteilte. Es war ihr bis jetzt nie eingefallen, anders zu denken als der Vater. (76)

While these moments of liberating solitude occur in Hannah’s mind, Hannah’s body does not receive any agency throughout the story. The moments of intellectual responsiveness evolve at the expense of the body. For example, Hannah is not allowed to enter the store that her father owns. Her body is paralyzed when she recalls her father’s discontent while she enters the store:

Da fiel ihr ein, wie strenge der Vater ihr verboten hat, den Laden zu betreten, wenn ein Bauer da war. So blieb sie denn, ohne das begütigende Wort der Entschuldigung, das ihr auf den Lippen schwebte, auszusprechen, hinter dem Vater stehen. (76)

Here, Pappenheim establishes another border denoting masculine and feminine areas of existence. As a female and an underage girl, Hannah is disallowed to enter a conventionally male-designated area in the store. Hannah becomes not only more estranged from the surrounding society, but also is far to recognize and to own her rights to participate in the public life.

In a similar fashion, Hannah's body is objectified by the father in the final scenes of the tale. Josy observes how the father mistreats Hannah:

Es schien als folge sie nur mit Widerstreben, denn der Mann fasste sie am Arm und zog sie gewaltsam weiter. (79)

Hannah's body is then once again absent and paralyzed by fear:

Hannah folgte ihn [Vater] jetzt willenlos. Ein neuer Erschrecken [lähmte] Glieder des Mädchens. (97-98)

Hannah's isolation needs to be also understood in geographical terms as well. The Hungarian village refers both to the actual geographical space as to the prototype of a village in Eastern Europe, although Hungary, as some researchers maintain, does not belong to Eastern Europe.<sup>154</sup> In the first sense, Hannah's seclusion displays Pappenheim's own experiences in Hungary and reflects on Pappenheim's descent from her father's side. Pappenheim herself was liberated from a domineering father.

*Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* concludes with a laconic statement: "auch im Dorfe .... kam es zwischen Bauern und Juden zu Streitigkeiten, bei denen zwei Personen das Leben einbußen" (101). This impersonal note that appears in a random newspaper fails to

reflect on the tragedy of Hannah's death. The journalistic memo emphasizes a cultural gap between Eastern and Western Europe.

Deconstructing the authoritarian family, Pappenheim constructs the concepts of Eastern and Western Europe. The spatial arrangement of *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* reinforces the gendered partition between East and West, where Eastern Europe is objectified as a colony of the Western part. Within this framework, *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* takes the form of a cautionary tale for the Western audience since it transmits an image of Eastern Europe as a distant region, where women are secluded. Although the tale presents a feminine perspective on the female position within society and family, and subverts male dominance in these areas, it also fails to defy the framework of Eastern Europe as a contemptible satellite of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

#### 3.3.4 Conversion and the Female Jewish Community

The outcome of the story shows Hannah spreading her arms. This bodily gesture resembles the body of crucified Jesus and contains a political message.<sup>155</sup> In Hannah's mind, Christianity stands for Jewish oppression and pogroms. Therefore, the Jesus figure warns against conversion into the Catholic faith.<sup>156</sup> Pappenheim describes Hannah's body that resembles crucified Jesus:

Hannah hatte sich mittlerweile selbst aufgerafft und stand mit abwehrend ausgestreiften Armen, ein Bild der Verzweiflung, da. Als die ersten Bauern auf Ephraims Hilfruf erschienen, sah sie in ihnen die Verfolger, von denen der Vater gesprochen hat. (100)

Employing two aforementioned images: that of the rising water and of the feminized Jesus, Pappenheim places Hannah in the midst of a discourse concerning anti-

Semitic perceptions of Jews as inferior. Consequently, the Jewish family based on the principle of gender equality as imagined in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* constitutes an asylum from anti-Semitism. It also acts as a liberating force against masculine perceptions of female Jewish identity.

Through the feminine construction of Jesus Pappenheim presents her vision of Jewish family as defined from the female perspective. The feminized Jesus symbolizes destructivity of female sexuality and female body defined solely by men. Yet, Pappenheim herself defined sexuality on her own terms as I stated earlier. Nevertheless, her critique of male dominance that penetrates this image can be summarized in the words of Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar. Both authors poignantly condemn male constructiveness of female sexuality in their groundbreaking study *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination* (1979).<sup>157</sup> Although in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* it is rather recognition of the inescapability from the generated seclusion that leads to Hannah's madness and death, Gilbert and Gubar rightly observe that female undisclosed intellectual potential is linked with repressed sexuality:

[In male-dominated culture] genius and sexuality are diseases in women, diseases akin to madness. (569)

*Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* shows Hannah rejecting male categorizations. In this theatrical gesture that displays an execution of the Jewish female body against the Christian symbolic as crucifix, Pappenheim expresses her protest against male interpretations of women as self-sacrificing and dutiful. Hannah occupies a place within Judeo-Christian mentality only through images, expectations, and limitations. The final

scene shows Hannah committing suicide and declaring her inability to marry Josy.

Hannah looks at Josy and states:

Ich kann nicht euer sein. [Sie] lies das Kreuz los, stieß den Vater mit Riesenkraft vor die Brust [...] und rannte gegen den Fluß. (101)

This desperate act illustrates Hannah's refusal to convert and to become Josy's wife. It also reflects on an earlier scene when Hannah doubts in the miracle that happened in the village, and that Josy retells her. Josy explains how a young peasant woman survived the flood, and by praying to Maria, she even rescued her infant child. In response to this merciful act, the villagers establish an altar. After telling the story, Josy interprets Hannah's silence as an act of agreement and admiration. However, Hannah distrusts the story (84).

Josy's story is reminiscent of the fate of biblical Hannah, who was a barren woman praying to God for a child. Finally, when she became pregnant she dedicated her firstborn in a gesture of gratitude. For many women, being barren equated with being cursed and excluded. As Lerner observes:

Barrenness in a wife, which was interpreted to be failure to bear sons, was a disgrace to her and cause for divorce. Sarah, Leah, and Rachel, in despair when they find themselves barren, offer their slave women to their husbands in order that the slave woman's children be counted as their own.<sup>158</sup>

Unlike the biblical Hannah, Hannah from *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* does not pray to be rescued in the final scene. She becomes a feminine embodiment of Jesus. Through this new representation, she rescues herself from the constructed gendered images and from Jewish persecutions.

Jewish female body is devaluated to benefit the resurrection of the Jewish family. Unlike the biblical Hannah who bears a child, the protagonist personifies the idea of

rebirth. She arises as a half-divine female figure. The mounting female dominance coincides with pogroms and poses a threat to the established authoritarian family. As a result, *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* becomes an appeal for the establishment of a female Jewish community.

### 3.4 *Freitag Abend*

The geographical juxtaposition between East and West is apparent in yet another village tale: *Freitag Abend*. Pappenheim shows how the Jewish family coming from the peripheries of Austria-Hungary endures economic hardships due to their destitute migrant status in Germany. Hence, Pappenheim highlights the economic destabilization and political chaos of the Austro-Hungarian provinces and points to the inability of Eastern European migrants to adjust to the living conditions in Germany.

To avoid poverty, the main female protagonist, a Jewish migrant girl from Austria-Hungary, Reisle Horowitz, leaves home to work in a store in Frankfurt. The tale suggests the existence of better work prospects in Germany as opposed to the Austro-Hungarian provinces. It displays migration patterns of Eastern European Jewry who moved to the Western parts of Europe to escape pogroms in the late nineteenth century.

In her book *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity* (1983), Marsha L. Rozenblit distinguishes between two migration waves of Galician Jewry to Austria-Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>159</sup> Between 1860 and 1870, the urban, rich Jews from Galicia migrated for better job prospects. They profited from the decree released by Franz Josef I in December 1867. The decree granted them equal civil rights. Jews could choose their residency and education. Between 1870 and 1910,

the poorest Galician Jewry was forced to migrate. Their migration was motivated by economic necessity. Some East European Jews also escaped pogroms that took place in Galicia in 1898 (35-37).

Similar to *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, *Freitag Abend* exemplifies a father-daughter connection. Yet, Reisle's relationship with her father is of a different kind than Hannah's. Reisle is not secluded. She travels through Germany freely and lives on her own. In Reisle's mind the father is the protector of Jewish customs and tradition that Reisle is trying to break by, for example, celebrating Christmas. She compares Christmas to Jewish festivities and concludes that the latter are bound to inconceivable restrictions:

Die jüdischen Feiertage mit ihren strengen Vorsichten, die immer mehr Entsagung oder Verzicht verlangen, denn daß sie auf naive Friede oder volksverständlichen Genuß hinweisen. (126)

Although Reisle lives away from her family, she recalls her father's advice. She describes how her father wished that she was engaged (124). When she visits a Christian family on Christmas day, the Müllers, she recalls her father's warning not to familiarize with Christians. She even reflects on her visit:

Sie wußte zwar, daß dies gegen die Prinzipien ihres Vaters war, der seine Kinder immer davor warnte, sich Christen intim zu nähern. (126)

Father's warnings turn accurate when Reisle returns home after she had been mistreated in the Müller's house hearing anti-Semitic comments. Like in the previous tale, Pappenheim expresses her discontent with the prospect of conversion.

Similarly, Reisle is concerned about father's opinion when she plans to travel to Frankfurt on Friday, the day of Sabbath. She wonders: "Was wird der Vater sagen, daß ich heute am Freitag Abend reise" (139)? Reisle does not fear the father as Hannah does.

She gives herself greater freedom to explore new cultures and customs, disregarding her father's opinions. However, by recalling her father's words, she shows respect for family values inherited in the father figure. Therefore, the tale presents the importance of the continuation of Jewish tradition amid the modern Western society. The story ends with Reisle's return to her family on Sabbath evening in Köln. In addition, the English translation of the tale "Shabbos Evening" embraces the unity of the Jewish family in the perseverance of Jewish culture and tradition.

In the figure of Reisle, Pappenheim shows a woman who leads a solitary life in Frankfurt. It is noteworthy that for the nineteenth-century medical discourse, cities were places of disease and the Jews were the archetypal city dwellers. The Jews were victims of the city.<sup>160</sup> Pappenheim combats these stereotypic images inscribed on the Jewish body like the "Jewish gaze" or the "Jewish foot" that supposedly marked the inherited difference from the Gentile society.

Like Franzos, Pappenheim engenders Eastern European culture as inferior. Reisle repeats travel patterns characteristic for many Jews who migrated from Eastern to Western Europe out of educational and economic reasons. As a single, migrant woman with little support from her family, Reisle is less successful to obtain education or to advance in career. Reisle, similarly to Hannah in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, has renounced proper education to the benefit of her brother, whose studies she helps finance. This lack of educational prospects only intensifies Reisle's uncertainty in the experience of the big city. Reisle hesitates between staying with her love, the Jew, Julius, and joining her family in Köln. The story ends with Reisle's trip to Köln, yet with the promise to reunite with her lover.

Pappenheim's aim is, like in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, to show the female figure as an outsider, occupying the in-between space: between the Jewish and Christian tradition, between the unflattering prospect of conversion and staying within the faith, or between the life of a single woman and an obedient daughter. In all of these aspects, Pappenheim stresses the importance of Jewish family and the equal division of gender roles within it. She shows how the patriarchal family obliterates the women's status in private and public areas. The outcome of the story stresses the importance of religious belonging in secure confines of the Jewish family, where both sexes play a protecting role from the fading of Jewish tradition and values.

### 3.5 *Ein Schwächling*

Similar to *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, the tale *Ein Schwächling* reflects on the destructiveness of paternal family founded on patriarchal values. The tale opens with the dissolution of the Jewish family. When Rabbi Mordechai forbids his son Gabriel to become an artist, Gabriel escapes home, converts to Christianity, and marries Magdalene. The outcome of the story shows Gabriel reunited with his Jewish family, accepting the complementing role of the husband and father, a role so different from the one his father plays.

In *Ein Schwächling* Pappenheim deconstructs the Jewish family based on paternal authority and repudiates the idea of conversion as a potential threat to the continuation of Jewish tradition. Gabriel rejects the possibility of becoming a Torah scholar. He does not share his father's devotion to religious study, which his father esteems as a way of

transmitting religious values. Instead, he turns to his deceased mother. In the eyes of Gabriel, the absent mother appears more tolerant than the father:

Wenn meine Mutter lebte, sie hätte sicherlich mit mir gebeten, daß ich nicht immer nur aus den alten Büchern lernen muß. (155)

Gabriel's rejection of the father figure and his attachment to his deceased mother manifests itself in Gabriel's conviction that if the mother had lived she would have supported his artistic aspirations. Yet, Gabriel knows his mother only from a picture where she, according to Gabriel and Mordechai, appears as a symbol of untainted beauty.

The apparent lack of the female figure leads Gabriel to marry a singer, Magdalene, who resembles his mother, and at the same time embodies Gabriel's female ideal. Captivated by Magdalene's beauty, Gabriel dedicates himself to arts. Magdalene is the first critic of his paintings and he is convinced that she teaches him "die schönen Züge des Gottes" by mentoring and guiding him (53).

In Freudian terminology, Gabriel would exemplify a case study for the Oedipus complex. The basis for the Oedipus complex lies in the assumption that the child feels attracted to a parent of the opposite sex. Gilman argues that Freud's invention of the Oedipus complex originated from Freud's reflections on the issue of baptism.<sup>161</sup> Gilman describes how Freud interpreted his own personal attraction to an old woman, the family Christian servant whom he saw naked, in terms of Oedipal dependence.<sup>162</sup> Freud compares the notion of conversion with seduction, considering it an illusion or even a case for neurological study.

Freud believed that religion was a projection of the collective Oedipal complex. He was convinced that conversion is a sign of pathology. According to Freud, the very

act of conversion has nothing to do with religious beliefs, but with a pressing need for some change. He defined it as a “pathological transference of one’s emotions from one religious system to another.”<sup>163</sup>

Conversion thus becomes a swift action undertaken in the moment of weakness and despair. It also encourages the state of being caught between two religious systems. In Pappenheim’s tales Hannah and Gabriel, while they leave the confines of the Jewish home, experience moments of disconnection from religious systems, Jewish or Christian. They are hesitant to return to the Jewish family grounded on patriarchal values. As a consequence, both protagonists are left in the midst of a secular reality. The conversion itself can be thus perceived as a phenomenon that allows for crossing religious boundaries and accelerates the marginalization of any religion *per se*.

Freud’s understanding of conversion as a religious construct that speaks to emotional needs and allows for the transmission of these needs into another set of beliefs can be better explained by examining the process of secularization that marked the long nineteenth century. The economic growth that came with industrialization, the changes in religious practice that accompanied the Reform Movement, and the advent of secular schools facilitated secularization in Western Europe. As Peter L. Berger observes in *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (1967), Western Europe was

the only geo-cultural area to which the ideal-typical model of secularization implying the expulsion of religion can be applied in contrast with the rest of the world.<sup>164</sup>

Secularization was as a process of social change, grounded in declining levels of religiosity. Broadly defined, secularization is the transformation of a society from close

identification with religious values toward non-religious values. It accelerates the social progresses through modernization and rationalization. In their study *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (1966), Berger and Luckmann define secularization as “the progressive autonomization of societal sectors from the domination of religious meaning and institutions.”<sup>165</sup>

Steve Bruce discusses the ways in which secularization presupposes changes in religious belief in his social study *God Is Dead: Secularization in the West* (2002).<sup>166</sup> Bruce argues that diminishing religious observance results from changes in social structure and culture that are further conditioned by growing modernization that he defines in such terms as industrialization, migrations from villages to towns and cities, and rationalization of thought (3). Bruce and Berger argue that these changes originated from secularization.

Pappenheim shows modernizing changes affecting the lives of Jewish women and of Jewish families in general: the proliferation of new social roles and increasing social mobility. For example, in the tale *Freitag Abend* the family migrates from the economically despondent Austro-Hungarian provinces to more prosperous and economically promising Germany.

Pappenheim does not go thus far to claim that conversion is pathological as Freud did. She rather discusses the unsettling effect of conversion for the dissolution of the Jewish family and expresses her concern for the stability of this family. However, she still portrays conversion as a form of seduction. Pappenheim shows the failure of mixed marriages because they cause the abating of Jewish faith. She depicts Gabriel as a victim

of conversion. His marriage is endowed with tempting images and hollow promises, and in this context, his wife Magdalene represents an alluring beauty.

Gabriel's and Magdalene's relationship is based on mutual attraction and temptation: Gabriel is captured by Magdalene's appearance and Magdalene admires Gabriel's paintings. Gabriel unveils the emptiness of their relationship and accuses Magdalene of deception: "Als Mensch aber hast du mich nie verstanden. Du quälst mich, Magdalene" (*Schwächling* 181). Later, he confesses that his conversion was a mistake: "Ich habe gelogen als ich mich zu einem Glauben kannte, der meinem Herzen fremd geblieben ist" (87).

Hence, Gabriel converts in the moment of such weakness; namely after he inquires about his father's death. The title *Ein Schwächling* refers to Gabriel's weak will to resist conversion, but also to face the consequences of this act. In this context, *Ein Schwächling* appeals to consciousness of many Jews from Wilhelmine Germany (1888-1918) to reconsider the benefits of converting. In the late nineteenth century, conversion was perceived by many Western European Jews, to put it in the words of Heinrich Heine as an "entrance ticket into European culture."<sup>167</sup> Western European Jewry was occupied with an idea of conversion in anticipation of better career prospects. Gabriel's conversion provides a conceivable example of this belief since he strived to become a painter.

In *Kämpfe*, Pappenheim highlights the demeaning aspects of conversion. One of the explanations for the construction of the opposition between Judaism, represented by Gabriel, and Christianity, represented by Magdalene, is the fact that in the first decade of the twentieth century conversion was a matter of outside pressure.<sup>168</sup> Jewish acculturation and assimilation, the processes that developed since the late eighteenth century, and

altered the position of Jews in the Gentile society, evoked aggressive anti-Semitic responses in the form of anti-Jewish riots. Particularly, starting from 1873, after the stock market crash in 1873-74 in Vienna and New York, the anti-Jewish campaigns were exaggerated in the form of anti-Semitic political groups, campaigns, and publications.<sup>169</sup>

A consequence of the rising anti-Semitism was the undeniable fact that conversion to Christianity became for many Jews an issue of identification with anti-Jewish attitude. Freud commented on the changing trend in the perception of conversion, stating that “conversion becomes a psychosis,” reflecting the universal model of the Oedipus complex and resolves itself in the “complete submission to the will of God the Father.”<sup>170</sup> Freud’s comment thus implies that the act of conversion is a form of a borderline attachment that is reflected through “paternal” pressure to conform to the laws, regulations, and expectations of Gentile society.

*Ein Schwächling* visualizes this psychosis. Pappenheim shows Gabriel rejecting the patriarchal Jewish family and getting caught up into marriage when he himself becomes a patriarch. However, toward the end of the story, Gabriel recognizes that his father’s insistence on Torah study is aimed at securing the continuation of religious tradition. Gabriel’s discovery needs to be understood in the context of the surrounding circumstances. At the same time, Gabriel pleads the liberation of art from Christian influences and conveyances, as well as the embracement of the Jewish female as an equal partner in formation of the Jewish family.

In *Ein Schwächling*, Klara Salzer, a daughter of a Jewish doctor, is a key character to the understanding of Gabriel’s transformation. In Klara’s figure, Pappenheim expresses her belief in the role of Jewish women in the creation of an influential religious

community founded on Jewish heritage defined in religious, national, and ethnic terms. Klara perceives Gabriel's conversion to Christianity as "Schlechtheit" and "Charakterschwäche" (184). She stresses the need for the perseverance of Jewish religious solidarity in the face of rising anti-Semitism and the outside pressure to convert:

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)

Here, Klara borrows from war terminology, defining Christian religion as "Das Lager der Angreifer," and places Jews as victims, describing them as "die armen, geknechteten Gefangenen" (183). The incentive for this opposition of perpetrator versus victim provides the painting "Der Triumphzug des Titus." In this painting that displays the historical event of the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 A.D. by the Flavian Titus, Klara retraces the persecution of Jews by Christians. The painting shows Titus triumphing over captured Jews in the attendance of his brother and father. Unaware of the fact that this is Gabriel's painting, Klara feels captivated by the suffering of an old Jew, paradoxically Gabriel's father, and notices "Wut und Scham und Verzweiflung in dem Gesicht des Alten" (183).

Pappenheim addresses issues of Jewish tradition as undermined by Christian imagery and the Gentile pressures to conform to the dominant culture. Pappenheim's choice of "Der Triumphzug des Titus" is her appeal to the consciousness of many religious Jews to embrace their Jewishness. She thus predicts a similar destruction of Jewish faith by the spreading anti-Semitism.

In the figure of Klara, Pappenheim captures her critique of authoritarian family based on the concept of patriarchy.<sup>171</sup> Like Hannah, Klara is raised in a Jewish orthodox

family where “alle Vorschriften eines jüdisch-orthodoxen Lebens [...] befolgt werden konnten” (179). Yet, Klara acts against her father’s will when she purchases the painting “Der Triumphzug des Titus.” She also recognizes that she remains isolated from Gentile society through her conservative upbringing:

Und mir geht es mit der Kunst wie mit der Politik: ich hätte Freude und Interesse daran, wenn mein Verständnis dafür gebildet worden wäre. Ich glaube, daß die Mädchen christlicher Familien von all dem mehr wissen dadurch, daß sie von dem Umgang mit Männern nicht so ausgeschlossen sind und über all diese Dinge sprechen hören. (183)

There is an implication inherent in Klara’s statement that culture and politics are male domains to which Jewish women, unlike Christian women, have little access. Pappenheim recognizes the importance of Jewish assimilation that opened up the perspectives for redefinition of gender roles within Jewish orthodoxy that posed limitations to female development. Yet, at the same time, she puts emphasis on the cultivation of religious values within the Jewish family.

The question that Pappenheim grapples with is that of the maintenance of religious observance within the Jewish family while also being open to opportunities offered through assimilation. These two themes are in constant movement in Pappenheim’s tales. They find reconciliation in Pappenheim’s vision about the establishment of the feminine perspective both in the private and in the public realm. Klara represents the voice of Jewish women in the process of emancipation.

A unifying theme between *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* and *Ein Schwächling* is the loss of faith in Judaism. The protagonists experience spiritual despondency and doubt incited by their authoritarian fathers who promote the life of self-denial and devotion to duty. Both find themselves on the search for missing identity that presents an answer to

their problems of religious perplexities, and of an intense sense of personal isolation and despair. In addition, the religious discourses, especially the questions of conversion and of anti-Semitism, are intertwined within the gender discourse in all of the tales.

Hannah, the main female protagonist in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, remains prone to mental disintegration and depression. She retreats into madness, unable to come to terms with the trauma of a strict paternal uprising. For the same reason, the female protagonist of the tale *Freitag Abend*, Reisle Horowitz, struggles to live on her own and decides to return home. In the tale *Ein Schwächling*, the male protagonist, Gabriel, commits suicide haunted by the feelings of guilt and of homelessness after he realizes that his conversion to Christianity was a mistake.<sup>172</sup>

### 3.6 *Jahrzeit*

The tale *Jahrzeit* presents a strong female figure, Channe, who, as a widow, owns a store and takes care of her son Benjamin. After her husband's death, Channe faces the adversity of being a single mother:

Man erzählte sich sogar flüsternd in der Weiberschul, daß Channe "seit damals" nicht mehr weinen könne, aber auch Niemand hatte sie je mehr lachen oder lächeln gesehen auch ihr Kind nicht. (105-6)

Comparing *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* with *Jahrzeit*, Pappenheim shows two different ways in which the parents approach the education of their children. Pappenheim presents a self-sufficient female figure who, unlike the authoritarian father figure in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, encourages her son to have an education. Paula E. Hyman claims that Jewish mothers were often more open to the religious education of their children, especially of the training of girls. Mothers were also more supportive of their

children obtaining higher education, regardless of their sex and, in consequence, put less pressure on marrying off their children early.<sup>173</sup>

In the tale, Channe reflects on marriage customs in the Jewish community and on the requirements her son would have. She fears that as a single mother she would not be able to secure her son's future as is commonly expected:

Bejnamin werde sicherlich in das Haus des Schwiegervaters einheiraten müssen, denn kein Vater, dessen Tochter für ihren Sohn paßte, werde sich für sie mit dem Turmhäuschen als Wohnung begnügen. (108)

Unlike in *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, Channe accepts the fact that her son will reach a marital age in the future. Therefore, the title of the tale *Jahrzeit* refers to the flow of time and to the inevitability of the imminent future. The title confines the past, which is the death of the father, the present, which is Channe's life as a single mother, and the future, which is the education and the eventual marriage of her son. Hence, the tale displays the cyclical nature of Jewish tradition through which the sequences of life and death are continuously celebrated. This cyclical nature of Jewish customs (Benjamin lights the "Jahrzeitlicht" and says *Kiddush* to commemorate his father's death) symbolizes the rebirth of Jewish culture. In the tale, the cultural development is closely tied to those religious observances which strengthen the unity of the Jewish family.

Pappenheim highlights the necessity of religious observance to foster the continuation of Jewish faith. She portrays Channe as a devout female who is "ebenso pflichttreu und gewissenhaft wie als Mutter [...] in der Erfüllung aller religiöser Vorschriften" (105). However, to a degree, Channe's overt religiosity mirrors the seclusion of the Galician village. The Galician Jews remain isolated in their own vision

of life and religiosity. In doing so, Pappenheim draws a clear line between the Galician Jewish setting and the rest of Europe:

Und weit draußen grüßen die scharfen Umrisse eines Gebirgszuges und locken die Gedanken hinaus in die Welt, von der viele Bewohner des Städtchens keine Ahnung, die meisten keine Vorstellung haben. (104)

### 3.7 *Der Erlöser*

The importance of the continuation of Jewish tradition and the significant role of women in this endeavor is once again stressed in the tale *Der Erlöser*. After his mother's death, the main male protagonist, a thirteen-year-old Russian Jew, Wolf Wasserschierling, escapes pogroms and migrates to London. He finds himself in a Catholic missionary house that offers shelter for Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe. Being raised as a religious Jew who survived pogroms, Wolf appropriates the view of apostasy as threatening the existence of the Jewish family. Pappenheim explains:

Der Knabe trug seit jenen Schreckenstagen in Russland einen förmlichen Haß im Herzen gegen den christlichen Gott, der rauben und plündern läßt und die Juden in die Welt jagt und sie darben läßt. (15)

It is through his mother's cautionary words resonating in Wolf's mind that Wolf resists conversion. In this context, this tale complements the tale *Freitag Abend* where it was the father who warned Reisle before conversion. Hence, Pappenheim acknowledges both sexes in the formation of the Jewish family. Yet, like in other tales, she shows the importance of Jewish female figures in the establishment of the female voice.

Similarly to *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, the main Jewish female character, the ten-year-old migrant from Russia, Reisle is dependent on male companions. Yet, contrary to *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*, it is not the patriarchal family structure that is the main

focus here, but rather women's susceptibility to conversion when they attempt to lead a separate life. As Loentz rightly points out, Pappenheim attributed women's rejection of Jewish faith to their inferior position within this community.<sup>174</sup>

Reisle is allured by the possibilities offered by the Catholic missionary house that provides food, English lessons, and lessons of sewing. As in the tale *Ein Schwächling*, Pappenheim evokes the notion of Christianity as a form of seduction. Reisle is fascinated by the figure of Jesus, who appears as the seducer. She associates Christianity with love, luxury, and desire. She expresses her admiration in the following way:

Und es ist auch so 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 anzuhängen, so mit einem wohligh heißem Gefühl, daß man gar nicht beschreiben kann. (34)

Here, Reisle perceives Jesus as a redeemer who can end her poverty and secure for her a life of luxury. In the end, Reisle converts and takes the name Maria, wearing a cross embellished with "schweren Brillanten" (35). For Pappenheim, this promise of a better life, characteristic for the principles of Christianity, corresponds with deception. Reisle becomes a prostitute, gives herself to the pleasures of flesh, and falls into extravagance. Pappenheim suggests that Christianity, or rather the missionary house that offered Reisle shelter, thus becomes corrupted.

The title *Der Erlöser* refers not only to the figure of Christ, but also to Wolf, who seeks to rescue Reisle from converting and ultimately from engaging in prostitution. Unable to do so, Wolf kills Reisle. Pappenheim comments that Wolf kills Maria, and not the actual Reisle, suggesting that in fact Wolf destroys false imagery and vain promises advanced by conversion to which Reisle fell prey.

It is without coincidence that both Reisle and Wolf are Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe. As other tales, *Der Erlöser* reprises the issue of Eastern Europe as inferior to its Western counterpart in regard to religious training. Pappenheim portrays Reisle as a migrant girl who falls prey to the promises of missionary houses due to her lack of religiosity. Pappenheim generalizes this phenomenon, explaining:

Da die jüdischen Frauen bezüglich der Religionsbelehrung von jeher vernachlässigt waren und die Phantasie der Frauen im allgemeinen regsamer, ihr Bedürfnis nach praktischer Liebestätigkeit größer ist als die des Mannes, so findet die christliche Missionstätigkeit unter Frauen und Mädchen auch leichter ihre Medien. (4)

Although Pappenheim's social activism and her literary writings evidence her dynamic involvement in the issue of women's rights, Pappenheim was not entirely convinced about the positive effects of Jewish migration from Eastern Europe which, of course, also included Jewish women. She rather was in favor of improving the living conditions of Jewish women in Eastern Europe. The implication that Pappenheim makes in *Ein Schwächling* about Jewish women lacking education and about their vulnerability to convert results from the ragged living conditions these women, and the Jewish communities in general, experienced in Eastern Europe (2).

### 3.8 Conclusion

In the present chapter, I have shown how Pappenheim generates the perception of Eastern Europe as "secluded," "backward," and "other" just to advocate for the opposite with regard to the female sex. In her tale collection *Die Kämpfe* (1916), Pappenheim portrays the denigrating effects of male-centered interpretations of female sexuality, and of the

seclusion within patriarchal family, although as I reiterated in the present chapter, Pappenheim herself held a rather conservative view on female sexual emancipation.

Pappenheim envisioned men and women as fulfilling complementary roles at home and in the public domain. She believed that gender roles should be equally distributed between the sexes. This idea is particularly strongly pronounced in the tales *Jahrzeit* and *Freitag Abend*. As shown in the tales *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte* or *Ein Schwächling*, Pappenheim supports reinforcement of the public representation of women, the lack of which she was concerned about.

Although Pappenheim advocates for women's rights in her tales and theoretical writings, this very fact does not prevent her from constructing Eastern Europe as inferior in terms of cultural and religious progress. Writing for assimilated Western European Jewry, Pappenheim cautions careless treatment of the female sex by portraying tragic events in secluded Eastern European villages (as in the tale *Ungarische Dorfgeschichte*) as well as discussing the uncertain fate of Eastern European migrants (as in the tales *Freitag Abend* or *Der Erlöser*).

Contrary to the texts of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, whose ghetto tales *Der Judenraphael: Geschichten aus Galizien* (1918) and *Ausgewählte Ghetto-Geschichten* (1918) depict Eastern Europe as a focus of cultural diversity and of sexual freedom, Pappenheim proposes a new notion of "femininity" by negatively stereotyping Eastern Europe. She emphasizes the image of seclusion to liberate the notion of "femininity" from certain frameworks of thinking. Of course, she does it within a Jewish context.

In addition, Pappenheim raises questions of conversion, the preservation of Jewish identity, religious values, and of the prospect of Jewish hatred. She associates

“femininity” with religious spirituality, the family, and one’s public voice. By doing so, she seeks to break with the conventional binaries of paternal-spiritual and maternal-material. A thorough examination of these polarities with regard to Pappenheim’s tales *Die Kämpfe* (1916) opens up one of the future research areas.

## CHAPTER 4

### MASOCH AND “CULTURAL MASOCHISM”

Our pleasure consists of moving and being moved by each other, endlessly.  
-Luce Irigaray<sup>175</sup>

The passion which commands so many frightful games or dreams is no less the desperate desire to be my *self* than that of no longer being anything.  
-Georges Bataille<sup>176</sup>

The collections of the ghetto tales *Der Judenraphael: Geschichten aus Galizien* (1918) and *Ausgewählte Ghetto-Geschichten* (1918) by Leopold Ritter von Sacher-Masoch (1836-95) illustrate the enactment of ethnic and gender power struggles in the borderland of Galicia. Masoch shows how cultural conflicts between Jews and Gentiles resolve in the private realm. I argue that in his tales, “cultural *masochism*”, the concept introduced and discussed by Daniel Boyarin in his book, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man*, discloses female and male *masochism* as equal forces that shape the private sphere.<sup>177</sup>

Instead of accrediting only male sex with a creative endeavor that impacts gender dynamics in a relationship, the tales recognize both sexes in that respect. Masoch liberates female sexuality from social conveyances portraying female desire as corresponding to that of the male's. He envisions the private sphere as a liberating enclave for Eastern Europeans from the external politics of Austria-Hungary. Therefore, Galicia emerges as a new embodiment of “femininity,” which refines its cultural awareness and relinquishes religious divisions. Contrary to Franzos and Pappenheim, who construct Galicia as enslaved or morally depraved, Masoch portrays it as a colony of the Habsburg Empire with its own cultural distinctiveness.

Even so, similar to Franzos and Pappenheim, Masoch establishes the polarity: private versus public. Yet, the message behind this eminent opposition is different. While Franzos's and Pappenheim's intent is to broadcast the traditional gender role division within the Jewish family (yet, by Pappenheim evidenced by the shared roles in public and private for both sexes), Masoch is absorbed with the portrayal of the private space as a constant gender struggle, hitherto in opposition to institutionalized arranged marriages. Masoch portrays Jewish-Gentile relations as succeeding only in this private domain. Jewish culture and religion still remain at the fringes of the ghetto tales' sociopolitical reality. Jews are marginalized by anti-Semitic resentments present in Galician society, and, as a result, of Galician dependence on Austro-Hungarian bureaucracy.

The present chapter starts with an explanation of the term *masochism*, followed by a detailed analysis of the notions of pain, pleasure, and desire that define *masochism*. In the first subchapter, entitled "*Masochism and the Medical Discourse*," I discuss major theoretical works by Sigmund Freud and Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing (1840-1902) that investigate the concept of *masochism*. On the example of Freud's and Krafft-Ebing's observations, I demonstrate that late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century clinical discourse focused primarily on the analysis of male desire. The second subchapter, "The Concepts of Pain, Pleasure, *Jouissance*, and Desire," presents a variety of theoretical works that explain the nature of *masochism* in the terms displayed in the title of this subchapter. Among others, I discuss the literary oeuvre by Gilles Deleuze (1925-95), Pierre-Félix Guattari (1930-92), and Jacques Lacan (1901-81), and explain how the understanding of *masochism* shifted from the analysis of the unconscious to the investigation of the condition and the materiality of the body. The subsequent section

“The Female *Masochism*” provides an explanation of the essence of female *masochism*, and explicates how the female *masochism* is represented in Masoch’s tales. Since there is an evident disproportion between the discussion of female desire and female *masochism* and male *masochism* with regard to Masoch’s tales, I find it necessary to outline major literary criticism on the subject of female desire and pleasure. I conclude the theoretical part with the subchapter “Cultural *Masochism*” in the Jewish-Christian Context,” drawing on the preceding sections that position female and male *masochism* in a broader psychological framework, and introducing the term “cultural *masochism*” as an overarching concept for both female and male “masochism.” Here, I suggest that *cultural masochism* embraces the female and male *masochism* as two fluctuating reality-based concepts that shape the cultural reality of Galicia.

This extended theoretical introduction serves as a starting point for the ensuing analysis of Masoch’s ghetto tales. The first tale I discuss, *Der Judenraphael*, explores cross-confessional relationships as the enclave of intimacy and eroticism. The tale *Hasara Raba* presents a triangular relationship between two Jewish sisters Chaike and Peninna and the Christian Baruch. It displays sadomasochistic connections, which Masoch shows as dependent on the political climate of Galicia. Here, the external politics invigorates and destroys the private. *Von Fenster zu Fenster* reveals most explicitly how the notions of pain, pleasure, and desire transgress the functions of dominance and control within marriage. The final tale, *Der Iluj* conveys a political message of the oppressive politics of Austria-Hungary within the context of a failed Jewish-Gentile marriage.

#### 4.1 *Masochism and the Medical Discourse*

Leopold von Sacher-Masoch's texts play a significant role in the establishment of the theory of *masochism*. Originally, *masochism* was classified and described by the Vienna-born psychiatrist and doctor Krafft-Ebing in his study *Psychopathia Sexualis: A Medico-Forensic Study* (1886).<sup>178</sup> Analyzing the literary texts by Masoch and Marquis de Sade (1740-1814), Krafft-Ebing identified *masochism* and *sadism* as sexual pathologies. He maintained that *masochism* and *sadism* are inexorably related to violent behavior and, *ipso facto*, they lead to "monstrous" violent acts.<sup>179</sup> In his chapter, "General Pathology," Krafft-Ebing defines *masochism* as

a gradation of the most abhorrent and monstrous to the most ludicrous and absurd acts (the request for personal castigation, humiliations of all sorts, passive flagellation, etc.). (53)

Krafft-Ebing and later Freud explore psychological inclinations for masochistic behaviors and define *masochism* as a form of sexual deviation. Interestingly, they focus primarily on the discussion of male *masochism*. Their focus on male sexuality alone is constitutive for discussions on female sexuality by later scholars and thinkers; some of the later scholars still ascribed *masochism* to the male perspective, as is the case, for example, with Deleuze. Female masochism was either equated with sexual passivity and submission, as stipulated by Freud and in the early writings of Deleuze, or obscured and entirely neglected as by Krafft-Ebing.<sup>180</sup>

The first two theorists who emphasized a specific gender power arrangement between the male masochist and his object of desire were Deleuze and Freud. Deleuze observed that it is the male masochist who guides and controls the feelings and actions of

a seemingly dominant woman, thereby constructing the object of his desires. Deleuze states in his study *Sacher-Masoch: An Interpretation*<sup>181</sup>:

The masochist hero appears to be educated and fashioned by the authoritarian woman whereas basically it is he who forms her, dresses her for the part and prompts the harsh words she addresses to him. (21)

Although Deleuze assigns the controlling behavior to the female figure in a masochistic relationship, it is at the same time, according to Deleuze, the male figure who influences the female's behavior and initiates her actions. The male masochist projects his own desires onto the female figure, who in turn becomes receptive to his inner manipulation and evocative persuasion. According to Deleuze, the female embodies male fantasies and desires, giving up her own ego to that of the man's.

In similar fashion, Freud discusses this codependency in his theory of *masochism*. In the *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), Freud emphasizes a certain power arrangement arguing that male masochism is a superior form of "feminine masochism."<sup>182</sup> Freud distinguishes between "primary" and "erotogenic masochism" from which the "feminine" form originated. He implies that the masochistic tendencies such as experiencing sacrifice and devotion are inherent to woman's nature. They are inborn and unreceptive.<sup>183</sup>

In another essay from the aforementioned collection of essays, "The Economic Problem of Masochism" (1924), Freud establishes his own definition of "femininity" and "masculinity" as two opposites. He elaborates on the idea of female *masochism* by drawing a parallel to female sexuality. Freud states that "feminine masochism" is entirely based on pleasure in pain (286). Pain, he argues, is not only inherent to female's existence, but is emblematic for everything that is considered "feminine." Therefore,

according to Freud, the masochist fantasy puts the subject, male and female, into “feminine” situations that are based on castration, copulation, or giving birth (284).

In this context, I agree with Marie Bonaparte who writes already in 1934 in response to Freud’s male-centered reading of female sexuality that “woman is bisexual in a far higher degree than man.”<sup>184</sup> She further argues that the idea of suffering, due to woman’s inability to possess the phallus, is annulled as the woman matures sexually and starts to define her sexuality against the common perception of “femininity” advanced by theorists like Freud.<sup>185</sup>

The doctrine of women’s “anatomical inferiority” originated from the idea that women are, due to their childbearing function, predestined to fulfill certain societal roles and thus are closer to nature. On the other hand, as regards sexual attraction and erotic pleasure, the woman equals man in sexual act. This idea will be more pronounced in the example of the female character Hadaßka from Masoch’s ghetto tale *Der Judenraphael*.

Contrary to Freud’s and Krafft-Ebing’s standpoints vis-à-vis masochism as projecting a strict division between male-active and female-passive roles, Masoch’s tales emerge as promoting the notion of male *masochism* as indispensable to female *masochism*. In his tales, male figures worship the female characters, and female protagonists guide the actions of male protagonists. Therefore, both parts play an active role in the narrative by submitting to the other’s experiences of pain, pleasure, and desire.

Masoch liberates sexuality from religious dogmas and societal restrictions, ascribing a transformative function to the gender discourse. For example, he reproaches the institution of arranged marriage, which, he argues, is devoid of eroticism and pleasure. For Masoch, female and male *masochism*, based on mutual feelings of desire,

pain, and pleasure, are essential in the formation of cultural facets of a diverse Galician society. Although Masoch portrays the relationships between male and female as successful only within the private, sexual liberation is a first step toward the establishment of a democratic state, of which, in Masoch's view, the multicultural Galicia is an ideal representation.

As I will show in the present chapter, Masoch's visionary connecting of sexual liberation with cultural progress exceeds the common perceptions of *masochism* as a psychological construct characteristic for the nineteenth-century medical discourse. In Masoch's tales, *masochism* is genderless. It defies the unconscious and does not remain captured in the fantasy. It is a reality-bound and reality-driven concept that provokes cultural expansion.

#### 4.2 The Concepts of Pain, Pleasure, *Jouissance*, and Desire

Unlike Krafft-Ebing's exaggerated definition of *masochism*, the common definition of *masochism* represents a simple, obstinate desire for suffering in any form.<sup>186</sup> Although this definition highlights the physical and mental aspects of suffering, it does not fully articulate the essence of sexual fantasy that constitutes the masochistic frame of mind. At the turn of the century, pain and pleasure come together in the realization of sexual desires and belong to the realm of the unconscious. In the aforementioned *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* Freud describes pleasure as "the most obscure and inaccessible region of the mind." (2) Yet he argues that

there is no dominance between the pleasure principle over the mental processes. Under the influence of the ego's instincts of self-preservation, the pleasure principle is replaced by the *reality principle*. [The latter] carries into effect the postponement of satisfaction [...] and the temporary toleration of unpleasure. (7)

Freud's theory of the constitution of the mind offers a deeper understanding of the quoted passage above. The *ego* represents the common sense and thus manifests itself in reality. It balances instinctual drives (*id*) and culturally created modes of behavior (*super-ego*). As Freud indicates, pleasure as one of the primal forces of the *id* is bound to the *reality principle*. Therefore, the *reality principle* outweighs the risks of the instinctual actions of the *id*, which reinforces the delay of pleasure. All of this results in a temporal congruency between the pleasure principle and the cognitive processes that manifests itself in a delay of the fulfillment of sexual desires. However, what appears to shake this mutual agreement is the moment of a progressive disintegration of the mental process on behalf of the emerging pleasure. Hence, the intertwining experience of pleasure and unpleasure is a reflection of unconscious and unfulfilled sexual fantasies, and results in the constant seeking of sexual fulfillment.

The postponement of satisfaction as the chief outcome of this struggle is what Deleuze defines as "suspension" in his earlier-mentioned work, *Sacher-Masoch: An Interpretation*. Both Freud and Deleuze seem to explain the same process of delaying sexual fulfillment. Yet they employ different terminologies and clearly speak from a different epistemological perspective, enquiring from diverse methodologies. While Freud mentions *reality principle* as replacing pleasure with a feeling of unpleasure, Deleuze emphasizes the physicality. It is obvious that the physical suspension involves suffering that Freud terms just as "unpleasure," emphasizing an unconscious aspect of suffering. Therefore, for Deleuze, this "unpleasure" becomes equated with physical pain and torture. Deleuze explains that "the masochistic rites of torture and suffering imply actual physical suspension" (30).

The masochistic drives generate a cyclic process of experiencing the moments of pleasurable fulfillment and of painful suspension. Deleuze elaborates that this process reaches beyond the mechanics of *masochism*. It manifests itself within the sexual framework of desire. Deleuze observes that the masochist becomes a benefactor and a beneficiary of desire. However, what distinguishes the masochist is the continuous seeking out of pain. The masochist seeks intensity as occupying the body, which is emptied out of its subjectivity, and hence becomes the locus of pain. Deleuze explains:

It is argued [...] that the masochist is not a strange being who finds pleasure in pain [...], but that he is like everyone else, and finds pleasure where others do, the simple difference being that for him pain, punishment, or humiliation are necessary prerequisites to obtaining gratification. (62)

Contrary to Krafft-Ebing, who compares masochist drives to sexual depravation, Deleuze points to the very fact that the masochist's seeking out of pleasure constitutes an integral part of human identity. Yet, the difference is marked by the masochist's desire to degrade his own subjectivity in order to achieve gratification. This inner pressure that the masochist experiences puts the masochist subject in the situation of a fixated dependency on a desiring object, and, at the same time, on his tormented body.

I believe that the two standpoints—that of Freud who emphasizes the unconscious process that governs sexuality, and of Deleuze who concentrates on the relationship between subjectivity and body—find a resolution in Ethel Person's compelling definition of *masochism* in her article "Some New Observations on the Origins of Femininity."<sup>187</sup>

*Masochism*, Person says

may be perhaps best defined as the seeking of unpleasure, by which is meant physical or mental pain, discomfort or wretchedness, for the sake of sexual pleasure, with the qualification that either the seeking or the pleasure, or both may often be unconscious rather than conscious. (252)

Person recognizes that *masochism* is a phenomenon uniting the conscious and unconscious aspects of the human psyche, and that nevertheless, *masochism* connects with the visibility of the body distressed by pain. This indistinct and moving line drawn between what is conscious or unconscious, visible or hidden, explains the complex relations between the object and a desiring subject. Moreover, it clarifies that desire is based on a certain lack that French theorists as Julia Kristeva and Jacques Lacan captured in their definition of *jouissance*.

The subject of *masochism* is closely tied to the notion of *jouissance*, frequently translated as “enjoyment,” but it also bears sexual connotations and can mean “orgasm.”<sup>188</sup> This dual meaning presupposes the relation between *jouissance* and desire that preoccupied Kristeva and Lacan. For both Lacan and Kristeva, desire becomes the prime force toward the achievement of *jouissance*. For Kristeva, *jouissance* is marked by the dimension of sexuality, that is, by the ambiance of an orgasm and thus it obtains a mystical character.

While Kristeva associates *jouissance* with the evocation of sexual desires, Lacan makes an important distinction between *jouissance* and desire that revolves around satisfaction and the lack of it. For Lacan, *jouissance* upholds desire. Desire is caught in the moment of suspension and is based on the lack of *jouissance*. As Lacan observes:

Desire presents itself as a will to *jouissance*. Desire is predicated on a lack of *jouissance*.<sup>189</sup>

Lacan’s interpretation of desire falls close to that of Deleuze’s, who emphasizes the moment of suspension where desire escalates and delves into pain. The pain is totalized within the body, the process that Deleuze and Guattari explain in their study *A Thousand*

*Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1978), and that I present in the following subsection.<sup>190</sup>

#### 4.2.1 **The Masochist Body and the Significance of Ecstasy**

Deleuze's aforementioned work *Sacher-Masoch: An Interpretation*, as well as his later collaborative study *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1978) with Guattari shifts the discussion of *masochism* as a purely mental concept to the relationship between *masochism* and the body. Deleuze and Guattari argue that the sexual subject loses its subjectivity through pain and instead becomes an absolute body, the BwO ("body without organs"), beyond the self and absorbed in pain. What remains is a desire to experience pleasure in order to undo this suffering (155). The BwO is an "emptied body: full of 'gaiety, ecstasy, and dance'" (150). It is a body absent from reality, surrendered to the world of mystical experiences as ecstasy.

The notion of the BwO that Deleuze and Guattari construct resembles the *masochist body* that is encapsulated in the inner experience of pain. In the following contentious and quite vivid description Deleuze and Guattari define the *masochist body* as such:

The *masochist body*: it is poorly understood in terms of pain; it is fundamentally a question of the BwO. It has its sadist or whore sews it up; the eyes, anus, urethra, breasts, and nose are sewn shut. It has itself strung up to stop the organs from working. (150)

In their explanation of the *masochist body*, Deleuze and Guattari link *masochism* and *sadism* as two intertwining forces that define bodily existence. They characterize *masochist body* in terms of the BwO, namely, as a pure organic entity enclosed within the inner self.

However, there is a significant difference between the sadist's and the masochist's relation to the body, and Freud's theory of the instinct development illuminates this difference greatly. Freud explains that infants develop their instincts based on scopophilia (love of looking), exhibitionism (love of being looked at), as well as on *sadism* and *masochism* that he defines as a passive form of *sadism*.<sup>191</sup> Unlike *masochism* that marks the internalization of sexual behavior, *sadism* corresponds to externally imposed aggressive sexual behavior. More importantly, *sadism* and *masochism* differ in the placement of desire and of pain. While *sadism* brings dislocation of pain and, as a result, its projection onto the object, the locus for the masochist's pain is the subject's body.

The placement of desire as either an outward projection or a self-denigration is in fact a question of the relationship between the subject and "masculinity." Deleuze and Guattari formulate a remarkable change in the understanding of gender relations by developing the term "desiring machine" in their earlier book *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1972).<sup>192</sup> Here, they break with the phallogocentric model of desire offered by Freud and Krafft-Ebing, where desire was primarily connected with one sex (the masculine) and the feminine constituted the absence of it.

According to both scholars, to be anti-Oedipal means "to be anti-ego and anti-homo, willfully attacking all reductive psychoanalytic and political analyses" (xx). Deleuze and Guattari assert that the societal order is determined by the economy of desire, and within this framework, sexuality incorporates a perspective with economic, sociohistorical, and political dimensions. That is, sexuality is invested in social and political processes of production. Hence, in their concept of a "desiring-machine," Deleuze and Guattari perceive sexuality as a revolutionary machine, the source of

becoming. They explain that the “desiring-machine” is a reality-bound concept. In the following passage, Deleuze and Guattari free sexuality from Oedipal family relations and genital determinations:

Desiring-machines are not fantasy-machines or dream-machines. Rather, fantasies are secondary expressions, deriving from the identical nature of the two sorts of machines in any given set of circumstances. (30)

The study *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1972) introduces for the first time the notion of the BwO. The BwO is liberated from the familiar ties of mother and father. It asserts itself in the society as a result of production that rests on desire transforming the politics and economy. Deleuze and Guattari explain:

For desiring-machines are the fundamental category of the economy of desire; they produce a body without organs all by themselves. (32)

The “body without organs” alone does not act out on its own. It is immersed in pain and suspension. It can be therefore compared to the *masochist body* discussed earlier in the chapter. Deleuze and Guattari define the BwO as follows:

The full body without organs is the unproductive, the sterile, the unengendered, the inconsumable. (8)

The bodily denigration conditioned by the pain to achieve pleasure situates the masochist in the realm of ecstasy that is neither fully pain nor joy. According to Luce Irigaray, ecstasy stands outside of the cultural experience. In history, the witch, the hysteric, and the medieval mystic, Irigaray says, have been pushed to the peripheries of their culture. Irigaray speaks of “extase,” which means to “stand outside.”<sup>193</sup> In the same way, the *masochist body* is pushed to the limits of the death-driven suffering, which for

Irigaray is located outside of cultural sensitivity. The pain of ecstasy then remains beyond *masochism* and outside the human experience in general.

In a similar fashion, ecstasy is defined as a mystical experience by the French intellectual Georges Bataille (1897-1962) in his book *Inner Experience* (1988). As the title of his study indicates, Bataille equates ecstasy with an immediate pursuit of passion that prevails over the desiring subject and, in effect, initiates the subject's retreat to the inner self. While Deleuze identifies the moment of suspension as central to the understanding of desire, Bataille highlights the importance of the subject's seeking ecstasy. Bataille elaborates:

There exists an irreducible discord between the subject seeking ecstasy and the ecstasy itself. However, the subject knows ecstasy and senses it: not as a voluntary direction coming from itself, but like the sensation of an effect coming from the outside. (60)

In this quote, Bataille captures the essence of an ecstatic state that involves the process of liberation from the self and its immersion into impulses from the outside. He also links the ecstatic experience with the knowledge about this experience. Bataille's view is that "we reach ecstasy by contestation of knowledge. Were I to stop at ecstasy and grasp it, in the end I would define it" (12).

Reflecting on the accounts of various scholars I presented thus far, one can conclude that *masochism* occupies the position between mind and body, between public and private, between real and imaginary. *Masochism* can be characterized in terms of desire, pleasure, *jouissance*, and ecstasy. Although all of these terms seem to denote the same experience, it is the fluctuating relationship between object and subject that puts the desiring subject in the position of a masochist. As a result, the measure for masochistic experience is a

distance from the object and the way this distance manifests itself is in the suffering body.

In Masoch's tales, female and male *masochism* constitute dynamic forces in the formation of cultural codes and societal behaviors. Contrary to analytical perceptions of female pleasure as the locus of hysteria, Masoch shows female desire as one of the prerequisites for cultural progress. My interpretation of Masoch's tales draws on current feminist theory that elaborates on the relationship between female *masochism* and the creation of cultural reality. In Masoch's texts, the notions of control and dominance pertain to both male and female protagonists as it remains unclear who assumes the role of a victim or of an agent. While Deleuze and Guattari depict sexuality as a "revolutionary desiring-machine" affecting the socioeconomic system, Masoch understands sexuality as a dynamic force that enables a cross-cultural and cross-religious dialogue. In the following subchapter, I concentrate on female *masochism*, which can be explained in previously mentioned terms such as "suspension." I find it necessary to devote the following subchapter to female *masochism*, the discussion of which has been neglected with regard to Masoch's works.

#### 4.3 **The Female *Masochism***

While late-nineteenth-century medical discourse (Freud, Krafft-Ebing) explains female sexuality through the primacy of male sexuality, later feminist discourses stress the significance of female desire and pleasure. Within this discourse, the passivity linked with female *masochism* is understood more as giving up one's subjectivity to the more

dominant person, and is connected more to the fantasies on surrendering to either of the sexes. For example, Person argues that

the label “feminine masochism” [...] loosely applies to the frequency of slave, prostitute, beating, and humiliation fantasies elicited during the analysis of women. (252)

Although Person attempts to disclose female *masochism* from the common definition of “femininity,” she still confirms that the humiliation fantasies she mentions in the above-quoted passage are connected to the analysis of female behaviors.

Ten years later (1984), Paula J. Caplan questions the definition of “femininity” as subjugated to the category of “masculinity” in her book *The Myth of Women’s Masochism*.<sup>194</sup> Caplan rejects the idea that female sexuality is equated with sacrifice, passivity, and submissiveness. She opposes the idea that women adapt to unequal social conditions freely, and concludes that it is rather the society that constructs women’s acceptance of submissiveness and sacrifice.

Another female scholar, Heidi M. Schlipphacke, offers an important insight into female *masochism* in her dissertation *The Daughter’s Symptom: Female Masochism in Literary Works by G. E. Lessing, Sophie von la Roche, Ingeborg Bachmann, and Elfriede Jelinek* (1999).<sup>195</sup> Schlipphacke agrees with Caplan that *masochism* is enforced on female characters by social expectations. But at the same time, as Schlipphacke argues, *masochism* is a way through which they can act. Schlipphacke states that the female masochist finds herself in a position of “being at the border between subjectivity and objectivity” (2). Her claim resonates with the way the female desire is portrayed in Masoch’s tales, where it resurfaces through acting upon the male part.

Along with Person, Caplan, and Schlipphacke, the aforementioned writer Bataille provides a significant voice in the discussion of female *masochism* in the earlier-mentioned book *Inner Experience* (1988). By pointing to the genderless role of *masochism*, Bataille contributes to the understanding of female desire that, according to him, functions outside of the subject-object imperative. As a result, Bataille calls for the experience of desire to be perceived as outside of the gender discourse. He constructs gender as not limited to the male mode of pleasure but as equally engaging the female sexual liberty. Above all, he stresses the desire of the individual to identify with the entirety of one's being. Therefore, desire cannot be satisfied, for it is not centralized. Rather, it is experienced inwardly, as the title of Bataille's study suggests.

Bataille introduces the term *ipse* (from Latin "himself, herself, itself") to characterize the desiring subject to escape the limits of its own existence. The subject can realize its desires in the moment of suspension, through the will to possess, to know, and to acquire the object of its desires. Bataille argues that the subject loses its subjectivity and becomes one with the object. In his understanding of desire Bataille mentions ecstasy as a state that results from desire. Bataille explains that as opposed to love that presupposes the possession of the object, ecstasy emerges in the "abyss." Bataille terms the "abyss" as a "yawning gap" that marks the moment of fusion. He elaborates:

There is no longer subject-object, but the 'yawning gap' between the one and the other and, in the gap, the subject, the object are dissolved; there is passage, communication, but not from one to the other: the *one* and the *other* have lost their separate existence. (59-60)

Here, Bataille argues that once the subject and object unite in their striving for desire, they cannot be perceived as separate entities.

Similarly, Lacan elaborates on this masochistic sexual unity in his book *Feminine Sexuality* (1983).<sup>196</sup> Lacan provides a mention-worthy critique of Freud, where he disagrees with Freud that male sexuality occupies a dominant position within society. Lacan decentralizes the importance of the “phallus” as a lack in female sexuality without renouncing the metaphysical desire of the sexes to possess “masculinity.” For Lacan,

to have the phallus remains the *desire* of all people always and everywhere, male and female, even if [it] is only an imaginary phenomenon. (83-84)

While Bataille’s concept of the genderless nature of desire and Lacan’s transference of male sexuality clearly diverge from the heterosexual perception of the desiring subject, that is, from the prescribed totality of male and female sex, it does not fully explain how female desire functions and emerges. In her compelling examination of female desire summarized in the article “Tensions in Deleuzian Desire: Critical and Clinical Reflections on Female Masochism” (2010),<sup>197</sup> Frida Beckman offers the most recent account on female *masochism*.

Employing Deleuzian symptomology of *masochism*, in which the male masochist holds the exclusive power over his object of desire, and in consequence decides the means of subjugation, Beckman offers a new reading of female *masochism* within literary narratives. She argues that literary narratives allow for the creation of female subjectivity and of female agency. She observes a shift from male-centered interpretation to the establishment of female subjectivity.

In the following quote, Beckman characterizes the female protagonist in the “Story of O” (1954), written by the French writer Anne Desclos (1907-98):

O can be seen as a subject because the narrative identifies and describes a pleasure in her pain. Accordingly, the narrative conducts a twofold identification of O. Not only does it construct her as a subject through the unfolding of her

character through her thoughts and actions but also it constructs her as an embodied subject by accounting for her pain within a narrative framework. (101)

The female protagonist in Anne Desclos's novel becomes an agent of her own experiences. She is identified as a desiring subject who submits to the notions of pain and desire. Therefore, as Beckman observes, O is constructed as the one who remains in the center of the narrative. Unlike in Franzos's and Pappenheim's tales, the constitution of the female figure in Desclos's text rests on the idea of a substantial acquisition of pleasure. Similarly, Masoch portrays both male and female figures captivated by pleasure in their pain. Masoch's texts offer the possibility to examine female libido independently from the male masochist as shown by Beckman.<sup>198</sup> They also propose a new reading of male *masochism* with reference to the female body.

Beckman mentions that one of the key features of literary narratives that allows female figures to assert their female subjectivity is temporality. In other words, the persistence of temporality asserts the retention of female subjectivity. In Masoch's tales, the seemingly dominant Jewish female figures experience moments of suspension, where the notions of pain and desire resurface and allow for the discussion of *masochism* from female perspective. Unlike the narrative structure by Franzos and Pappenheim that constrains the female subjects in the exploration of their sexuality, Masoch allows for the emergence of desire and pleasure for both female and male protagonists. As I will show in the subsequent chapters, the main female protagonist, Hadaßka from the tale *Der Judenraphael*, is put in a position where she is an agent as well as an initiator of intimate acts. My reading of Masoch's tales suggests that Masoch portrays an inimitable dialectics

of female and male *masochism*, where this dialectic ends in the death of both protagonists, that is, in the ultimate end of pleasure and pain.<sup>199</sup>

In addition, by depicting the majority of female characters as Jewish and male figures as Gentile, Masoch engages in the discussion of Jewish-Christian conflicts in the borderland of Galicia. The cultural diversity in Galicia mirrors the complexity of Jewish-Christian interactions that are based on masochistic notions of objectification.

#### 4.4 **The “Cultural Masochism” in the Jewish-Christian Context**

In his influential book *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (1997), Daniel Boyarin elaborates on the significance of the concept of the feminine Ashkenazi Jew within the literary texts he examines.<sup>200</sup> More importantly, he introduces the term “cultural *masochism*.” He defines “cultural *masochism*” as

the seeking of pain and passivity, as both as acting out of male envy and of desire for “femaleness” as well as shattering abnegation of the “phallus” and thus a politically significant form of resistance to phallic imaginations of maleness and imperial power. (82)

Here, Boyarin relates the mechanisms that constitute the nature of *masochism* to the functioning of institutional powers. He asserts that pain and passivity as the essences of “femaleness” subvert the masculine concept of society. In doing so, Boyarin establishes a link between gender regimes and the role of political power in the creation of cultural reality.

The term “cultural *masochism*” that Boyarin introduces describes a condition in which the cultural realm is created by fluctuating gender relations. This understanding of gender discourse reflects the gender dialogue present in the tales I discuss. Masoch’s tales

allow for the analysis of female and male *masochism* as two organized forces that shape cultural identity of Galicia, which is reflected in Masoch's treatment of Jewish-Christian relations. Unlike Franzos, who proposes cultural and religious unity within bourgeois marriage, Masoch portrays mixed marriages as an ultimate bond that facilitates cultural progress.

The relationship between political power and gender regimes that Boyarin investigates in his study is one of the themes Paul Smith touches upon in his book *Clint Eastwood: A Cultural Production* (1993). Smith devotes his study to the discussion of Western culture, cinema, and *masochism*.<sup>201</sup> In alliance with Boyarin, Smith points out that *masochism* speaks to both sexes, and explains that the perception of male *masochism* underwent a significant change when it became detached from the law, that is, from the overbearing classifications of the state. As a consequence, desire became a substantially phenomenological concept that depends on changing perceptions thereof. Smith summarizes his point in the following way:

Male masochism is at first a way of not having to submit to the law, but equally important, it turns out to be a way of not breaking (with) the law, either. Masochism might well bespeak a desire to be both sexes at once. (166)

Both, Boyarin and Smith deconstruct male *masochism*, and assert the "feminine" as a continuing and undistinguishable element for defining male and female sexual desires. Boyarin emphasizes "femaleness" as an underlying concept of *masochism* whereas Smith defines *masochism* as unisexual.

The recognition of both sexes as constitutive for *masochism* allows for a Jewish-Gentile dialogue in Masoch's tales. It is the private sphere where sexuality constitutes a revolutionary force that reshapes the Jewish-Gentile relations. Masoch shows how both

sexes are unified within the private sphere in their attempts to fulfill their sexual desires and, conversely, he presents the public sphere as threatening this intimacy. Therefore, Christianity remains a dominant religion within the public sphere in his tales although its supremacy is questioned through the institution of mixed marriage.

Daniel Boyarin's investigation of Jewish-Christian relations in regard to *masochism* offers a plausible explanation for Masoch's trajectory. In his already-mentioned book *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man*, Boyarin observes that Judaism deployed a different rhetoric of sexuality than Christianity:

within Judaism, in contrast to much of Christianity, feminized men were not read as emasculated or desexualized. They thus occupied a space in the erotic economy of Jewish culture. (108)

Boyarin implies that the notion of "masculinity" as embodying power, strength, and courage is strongly present within Christian ideology and, as such, within Christianity, gender roles are both physically evident as well as unchangeable.<sup>202</sup> Women are depicted as weak and passive, men as active and powerful.

In contrast to Christianity, "feminized men" are recognized as an integral part of Jewish culture. Therefore, Boyarin acknowledges the importance of Jewish culture in the ultimate establishment of "femininity" associated with freedom. Boyarin convinces that Judaism offers a deeper understanding of "femininity" asserting that:

Jewish culture has something to teach us about the liberation, the raising up of femininity, and while the feminist return will not be direct because of the ways the Jewish culture itself has been oppressive of women, it is nonetheless a real potentiality. (19)

Here, Boyarin identifies liberal ideas with the emergence of “femininity.” He defines “femininity” in cultural terms, as a social phenomenon that brings about equality and freedom.<sup>203</sup>

In his later publication: *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (1999), Boyarin elaborates on the significance of gender relations in the creation of politics and law in the early Christian times. He describes the passive behaviors that embraced “femaleness” that served as an act of resistance against the imperial politics of the Roman Empire:

in the early rabbinic times where the boundaries between diverse religious groups were indistinct, both early Christianity and rabbinic Judaism defined “femaleness” as a form of resistance against the Roman imperial power. The notion of “femaleness” was equated with submissiveness and passivity. Yet, the enactment of such passive behaviors formed a constructive resistance to the masculine politics of the Roman Empire. (78)

The following analysis will show how Masoch’s tale *Der Judenraphael* embraces “femininity” in regard to Jewish-Gentile relations. The main female protagonist, the Jewess Hadaßka, occupies the space between subjectivity and objectivity. In this temporal suspension, Hadaßka expresses her desire for a sexual act. In the tale, the gender discourse relies on “cultural *masochism*,” driven by the concepts of desire, pleasure, and pain. The protagonists express their sexual desire at the background of the suppressive politics of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a desire that Boyarin, in his definition of “cultural masochism,” describes as existing against “imagination of maleness and imperial power” (82).

#### 4.5 *Der Judenraphael*

The title of the tale, “*Der Judenraphael*,” epitomizes intricate relations between Jews and Christians. The main protagonist, the son of a pastor, Plutin, calls himself “Raphael” after the Renaissance Italian painter Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino (1483-1520). Raffaello was mostly known for his altar pieces, portraying Christian saints and various motives from the Bible such as *Mond Crucifixion* and *Coronation of the Virgin* (1502). Hence, the title of the tale *Der Judenraphael* that can be translated as “the Jewish Raphael” destabilizes the notion of a mainstream culture based on Christian ideology exclusively. In consequence, it puts the dominance of Christian imagery into question.

Christian imagery appears untrue and distorted as it serves the enhancement of reality. In the tale, dissatisfied with the imperfect appearance of Christian female protagonists, Plutin instead dresses them in furs and jewelry. While painting the baroness, he alters her posture, adding the hands of her maid and dressing her in fur: “Bemerken Sie, wie schlank die Baronin durch den dunklen Pelz wird?” (53) Similarly, he paints his sister, Anitza, as Saint Olga:

Es war wieder Anitza, nur in der hermelinbesetzten, purpurnen Schuba einer Zarin von Kiew, mit der Krone auf dem Kopfe und dem byzantischen Heiligenschein. (54)

While Plutin embellishes the portraits of the baroness and Anitza, he ultimately finds his beauty ideal in the Jewess Axamit, whose name resembles the softness of a textile, and thus symbolizes the perfection of Axamit’s outlook. Painting both Christian and Jewish women, Plutin seeks to fulfill his masochistic desires. He desires to capture the “pure” beauty that would replicate the magnificence of the Madonna who meets Plutin’s refined expectations.<sup>204</sup>

Setting up this contradiction between the representation of Christian and Jewish women in arts, Masoch undermines the stereotype of a Jew, whose physiognomy is ugly, different, and other. Furthermore, Masoch enters into a dialogue about the superficial division between the representation of Jews and Christians in paintings that only intensifies already-entrenched clichés about Jews. Masoch reveals this discrepancy through the figure of Plutin, who becomes the painter of (and for) the Jews and who finds his Madonna-like beauty ideal in a Jewess Hadaßka. Masoch links attention to the lack of artistic autonomy that, in the case of religious imagery, is grounded on preconceptions. He proclaims instead a religious tolerance that would guarantee a prosperous functioning of the state.

Masoch held an idealistic view on the coexistence of diverse religious and ethnic groups within the state. In his theoretical writings he often imagined Austria and its peripheries as a multiethnic entity. Here, Masoch portrays a political utopia, a property-free empire where Jews and Christians enjoy equal rights. He speculates:

Wir werden das Oesterreicherthum vertreten als eine politische Nationalität, in der sich die natürlichen Nationalitäten, jede im vollen Genuße ihrer Rechte und Freiheiten, vereinen lassen.<sup>205</sup>

Masoch's longing for the ethnic-free state finds expression in Plutin's altering attitude toward Jews. First, when the Jewess Axamit, "eine üppige, glühende Schönheit," criticizes his art work, insinuating that Plutin did not capture her entire beauty, Plutin promises that he will never paint for Jews again, disallowing the Jews any taste for art (56, 64). However, Plutin later relinquishes his anti-Jewish resentment when he falls in love with the Jewess Hadaßka. Thereafter, he becomes the "Jewish Raphael" and

imagines Hadaßka as Madonna. He describes her as “reiner Diamant,” “ein Engel aus dem Duster der Nacht” (85, 90).

Similar to Franzos’s ghetto tales, Masoch’s tale *Der Judenraphael* espouses the image of the Madonna. However, unlike Franzos who employs this image to proclaim the dominance of bourgeois marriage, Masoch’s focus is on cultural diversity and ethnic conflicts that resolve through mixed marriage. Both male and female characters are in search for “femininity” that Boyarin defines as one of the foundations for cultural diversity. This search is expressed through fulfillment of their sexual desires against the mutual Jewish-Gentile hostility. On the one side, the “feminine” espouses male sexual fantasies as the female protagonists appear in Plutin’s paintings, and, in this context, symbolizes male fantasy. On the other side, the “feminine” undermines the notion of masculine powers as exclusive in that Masoch portrays the emergence of female pleasure and female desire.

#### 4.5.1 The Female Body and Female Pleasure

The central feature that characterizes Plutin’s and Hadaßka’s romance, and establishes the “feminine” as a dominant element in their relationship, is the fetish. Plutin asks Hadaßka to wear fur and silk. He adores Hadaßka’s posture and feet by asking:

Lassen Sie mich Ihren Pantoffel küssen, und ich bin zufrieden. Hadaßka zog rasch ihren rotsamtenen, pelzgefütterten Pantoffel vom Füsse und zeigte ihn Plutin. (115)

The sexual tension between the lovers, the act of suspension that ultimately brings sexual fulfillment, is expressed through displaying bare feet and taking off the shoe. This seemingly innocent scene presupposes realization of latent sexual fantasies. Freud

explains that the fetish, usually part of the body such as a piece of hair or foot, or an inanimate object, such as a piece of clothing, can substitute the sexual object itself.<sup>206</sup>

In the aforementioned quote Plutin desires the shoe that represents the extension of Hadaßka's body. According to Freud, the shoe or the slipper is a corresponding symbol of female genitals.<sup>207</sup> In a similar fashion, Krafft-Ebing specifies that fetishism

invests imaginary presentations, of separate parts of the body or portions of raiment of the opposite sex, or even simply pieces of clothing-material, with voluptuous sensations. [...] The pathological aspect of this manifestation may be deduced from the fact that fetishism of parts of the body never stands in direct relation to *sex*, that it concentrates the whole sexual interest in the one part abstracted from the entire body. (53-54)

Within this framework Hadaßka's body becomes the site of negotiations for gender dialectics. Her body mirrors sexual tensions and artistic expressions of female sexuality visualized for example in Plutin's paintings. Hadaßka's body resembles the "marble body" caught in the work of art.<sup>208</sup> Masoch describes Hadaßka's posture:

Wie sie jetzt an der Tür stand, war sie wie ein Meisterwerk Rembrandts anzusehen, so hell und herrlich hob sich ihr Kopf von dem schwarzen Samt, den schwarzen Fellen und dem braunen Holzgrund ab. (90)

As such, Hadaßka's body is frozen in the act of suspension where the notions of pleasure and unpleasure transcend. Deleuze compares this bodily suspension to a photograph or a painting. He states that "the woman torturer freezes into postures that identify her with a statue, a painting or a photograph."<sup>209</sup> Masoch's preoccupation with Hadaßka's body can be better explained in terms of the *masochist body* that is caught in the act of suspension. The realization of female desire is captured in the moment of a pause, where Hadaßka finds herself in retreat to her inner passion outside of the body.

In Deleuzian terminology, Hadaßka is imagined as a “woman torturer,” the one who controls Plutin’s actions. In fact, Hadaßka’s and Plutin’s relationship is based on physical attraction, temptations as well as waiting. The roles of victim and torturer or, in other words, of the object and subject of desire are interchangeable. Both protagonists achieve the momentum states of possession and ownership. They declare their feelings and give a free course to their passions and desires. The sensual scene illuminating the sexual act presents Hadaßka as an initiator of the intimacy, and as an agent thereof. Furthermore, Masoch paints a romantic scenery for the couple’s intimacy as follows:

[Hadaßka] lächelte. Den Arm um ihn geschlungen, führte sie ihn durch den Garten zu der Laubhütte und zeigte ihm die farbigen Ketten, die vergoldeten Nüsse [...] Dann schlüpfte sie selbst, wie ein Vöglein, unter das grüne Laubdach, und als Plutin ihr folgte, zog ihn das süße Geschöpf zu sich auf die weichen Felle, die schwellenden Polster nieder. (125)

Here, Hadaßka asserts her “femininity” initiating and guiding the sexual act. It is through her pleasure that her body, for a short time, becomes her own, controlled by her mounting desire. Bataille, while explaining the essence of eroticism, calls the moment of erotic activity “dissolution.” Although he still attributes passivity to the female side, he notes that “the female side is essentially the one that is dissolved as a separate entity.”<sup>210</sup>

However, one can argue that Hadaßka’s physical completion is the expected reaction to Plutin’s sexual fantasies. In this context, Hadaßka’s actions would still remain under Plutin’s control. Luce Irigaray points to this incomprehensible aspect of finding pleasure while also following man’s fantasies in her book *This Sex Which Is Not One* (1977).<sup>211</sup> Irigaray states that female pleasure is caught in the masochistic constraint of the female’s body and that the pleasure she experiences is actually not her own:

[a] woman, in this sexual imaginary, is only a more or less obliging prop for the enactment of man’s fantasies. That she may find pleasure there in the role, by

proxy, is possible, even certain. But pleasure is above all a masochistic prostitution of her body to a desire that is not her own, and it leaves her in familiar state of dependency upon man. (25)

While Irigaray rightly points out that the lasting effect of experiencing pleasure leaves the female dependent upon the male fantasy, Masoch's tales rather show the changing dialectics between pleasure, pain, and desire. The way Masoch envisions and positions the protagonists does not presuppose the exclusion of one of the sexes from experiencing pleasure (Hadaßka initiates the sexual act and Plutin adores her). For Masoch the private sphere is the only space where the masochistic dependency between pain, pleasure, and desire can intersect and, *de facto*, develop.

Similarly, Deleuze argues that the roles between torturer and victim shift. Deleuze explains that "it is the victim who speaks through the mouth of his torturer, without sparing himself."<sup>212</sup> Considering Hadaßka as a woman torturer who also takes the role of a victim, one can conclude that she submits to Plutin's wishes by wearing jewelry and silk. Yet, if Plutin was the one to be considered a subject of the aforementioned dichotomy, one can observe that he might be the victim as well since Hadaßka seduces him and controls his desires. As a result, both Plutin and Hadaßka surrender to the mechanics of *masochism* and take on the roles of both victim and torturer, which leads to their death.

In the tale, it is the introduction of the dog Mephistopheles that gives a perfect account of the awakening of the latent sexual desires that leads to the death of both lovers (63-64). The dog foreshadows the flourishing romance between Hadaßka and Plutin as well as its inevitable ending. Mephistopheles reappears when Hadaßka and Plutin declare love to one another and, as such, becomes a messenger delivering letters between the

lovers. Ultimately, Mephistopheles resides on the grave where both lovers' bodies rest (116).<sup>213</sup>

*Der Judenraphael* shows that love between Hadaßka and Plutin is illusory in the existing reality, where the Jewish-Christian encounters function on the premises of control and mutual dislike. As in Franzos's tales, *Der Judenraphael* reveals the unbreakable tradition of arranged marriages deeply rooted in Galician society. The ultimate failure of their romance results from Hadaßka's inability to break with social conventions, that is, with the institution of arranged marriage. Hadaßka dies in Plutin's arms a day before she is promised to marry the Galician Jew Lebele Hirsch.

However, Hadaßka opposes these conventional restrictions through the realization of her sexual desires. In doing so, Masoch depicts the private sphere where cross-cultural ties resurface and religious and ethnic boundaries contravene. Hadaßka and Plutin find pleasure in their physicality through the union of male and female desires, without any external restriction imposed by family or society.

Finally, employing the dialectics of pain, desire, and pleasure, Masoch demonstrates that the Jewish-Gentile relations in public are based on stereotypes and misunderstandings, which only escalate the demands for Jewish assimilation into a dominant culture. The perceptible Jewish-Gentile tensions are visualized through the portrayal of an obsessive need to control and to dominate, which concerns both its male and female protagonists.

#### 4.6 *Von Fenster zu Fenster*

Similar to the tale *Der Judenraphael*, another of Sacher-Masoch's tale, *Von Fenster zu Fenster*, depicts a romantic relationship between the widowed Jewess Genendel Kosches and the Gentile Barom Hirschbein. However, unlike *Der Judenraphael*, the tale ends with a marriage where both lovers find the fulfillment of their desires in the other. As a consequence, *Von Fenster zu Fenster* is a perfect study of male and female *masochism* and of the intertwining concepts of desire, pain, and pleasure.

As in the previous tale, Masoch depicts a dissonance between the real and imagined representations of female characters. Barom is absorbed by Schiller's poems and he falls in love with the idealized image of Genendel, that of a fragile female figure that originates from Schiller's poetry. Masoch reveals the deceptiveness of the pictorial here, the poetic female image once Barom starts to notice flaws in Genendel appearance when she approaches him:

Die wirkliche graue Genendel Kosches erblickte er zum ersten Male in der Nähe und bei Licht, bei viel zu viel Licht; eine Frau, die um zwei oder drei Jahre älter war wie er, nicht häßlich, aber auch im mindesten hübsch, mittelgroß und stark, ja eigentlich schon zu stark. (*Geschichten* 56)

In particular, when Barom encounters the real Genendel, he feels threatened by her physical strength and maturity. Contrary to the ephemeral and weak female representation Barom internalizes, Genendel transmits an image of a self-conscious and confident widow.

However, at first, Barom idealizes Genendel as he sees her from a distance. Her real appearance exceeds Barom's own literary image of her. He observes: "jetzt kam [Genendel] ihm noch schöner vor, als das herrlichste Gedicht in seinem Buche." He

compares her to a “Göttin auf dem erhabenen Piedestal” (40). Yet, as I indicated earlier, Barom loses this affection upon a closer look.

Barom’s satisfaction depends on the closeness of his object, that is, Genendel. When Genendel appears from a distance, Barom awaits meeting with her, yet when he finally encounters his beloved, this longing disappears. Hence, the narrative rests on these moments of suspension that Lacan defines as the “see-saw movement” in one of his lectures.<sup>214</sup> As the passage below shows, the “see-saw movement” indicates an instance when the subject is emptied out of its subjectivity and when the body becomes the locus of desire:

It is within the see-saw movement, the movement of exchange with the other, that man becomes aware of himself as body, as the empty form of the body. In the same way, everything [...] is then within him in a pure state of desire, original desire. (170)

The desiring subject, in this case Barom, puts himself in the position of an observer, the one who awaits Genendel to appear in the window. The “see-saw movement” refers here to a spatial distance denoting the moments of suspension and fulfillment. Barom and also Genendel nourish their own *ego* that Lacan perceives as the fundament of love.<sup>215</sup>

The title of the tale alone, *Von Fenster zu Fenster* (“from window to window”), suggests that Barom’s fascination with Genendel is based on delusions and that these misconceptions result from the spatial distance Masoch creates. Barom observes Genendel from his apartment as she moves across the window. His imagination rises when he examines Genendel’s silhouette, dressed in furs. Even the white curtain becomes an object of his admiration. The moving curtain epitomizes the “see-saw movement” I alluded to earlier, where Barom impatiently awaits Genendel:

[Barom] blickte schon von seinem Dachfenster aus sehnsüchtig nach jenem der Witwe hinüber und bewunderte den weißen Vorhang, der vor dasselbe gezogen war. (41)

The window is a magnifying glass for Barom's own desires. Lacan explains the relationship between real and imaginary with reference to desire. In the quoted passage below, Lacan discusses the relationship between the object and a fictional image. He observes that the encounter with reality gives the desiring subject a necessary impulse to transpose the desires onto the object. The subject is thus prompted by the fashioned image to adjust own visualization to the real representation.

The coincidence of the image with a real object strengthens it, gives it substance, embodiment. At this moment behavior is released, such that the subject will be guided towards the object, with the image as go-between. (138)

Lacan further explains that one of the prerequisites for desire to materialize is the existence of the other. He points to a certain discomfort that arises when the subject desires the object to blend with a fictional image:

The subject's desire can only be confirmed in this relation through a competition, through an absolute rivalry with the other, in view of the object towards which it is directed. And each time we get close, in a given subject, to this primitive alienation, the most radical aggression arises—the desire for the disappearance of the other in so far as he supports the subject's desire. (170)

In the tale, it is Barom who desires Genendel and finds her factual appearance inadequate to the one that he has created in his mind. He wishes Genendel to conform to the image he had created while reading Schiller's poetry.

Like in Masoch's other tales, the tale *Von Fenster zu Fenster* problematizes the notion of a masochistic relationship in the Jewish-Christian context. Masoch shows how female and male *masochism* unite in the private setting. Barom and Genendel succeed in

their relationship through the evident orientation toward fulfillment of their masochistic desires. There is a certain distance, a “primitive alienation” as Lacan phrases it, when Genedel finally reciprocates Barom’s feelings. Barom then feels forced to marry her. But within marriage he is treated as a servant. Here, Genedel objectifies Barom and lets him fulfill her fantasies. On both sides, aggression arises when Genedel sustains Barom’s desire by making him dependent on her. Once the couple is unable to control the partner, they withstand their passions through frequent departures.

#### 4.7 *Hasara Raba*

While the tales *Der Judenraphael* and *Von Fenster zu Fenster* show that Jewish-Gentile agreement succeeds only in the intimate sphere, the tale *Hasara Raba* illustrates how uncontrolled violence imposed from the outside permeates and destroys it. In *Hasara Raba*, arranged marriages lack that erotic advocacy and consolidating intimacy which is so evident in *Der Judenraphael*.

Masoch approaches the institution of arranged marriages from the perspective of an absence of physical expression and of sexual freedom. The lack of these characteristics generates violence. In *Hasara Raba*, one of the main female protagonists, Chaïke Rebhun, characterized as the “arme Mutter,” assumes the role of an obedient housewife and a caring mother. Her arranged marriage with a Gentile named Baruch functions on the premises of devotion and submission, which Masoch portrays in a negative light. For example, Chaïke’s wedding day resembles an execution rather than a celebration:

Chaïke schauerte und weinte. Baruch steckte ihr den Ring an den Finger, und der Rabbi segnete sie eilig und lief davon. [...] Baruch aber führte jetzt seine Frau an der Hand, die noch immer am ganzen Leibe bebte. (*Judenraphael* 178)

In Deleuzian terminology, Chaïke's attitude is reminiscent of that of the "Oedipal mother" whose "image of the beloved [...] becomes linked with the sadistic father."<sup>216</sup> As such, Chaïke's relationship is exemplary of the victim-perpetrator dependency. Through her fascination with powerful and handsome Baruch, Chaïke internalizes sadomasochistic desires to the extent that she loses the sense of herself in the process. Her servitude and passivity are amplified through Baruch's commanding and authoritarian nature. The scene where Baruch instructs Chaïke to take off his shoes evidences this *status quo*. Baruch ultimately asserts his superior position in their marriage:

Komm" sagte endlich Baruch mit einer nachlässigen Kopfbewegung über die Achsel hin. "komm, Weib zieh mir die Stiefel aus. (182)

As in the tale *Der Judenraphael* the shoe functions as a fetish. Yet here it also establishes the power division within marriage, where Chaïke submits to serving Baruch. Baruch's physical strength and fearlessness oppose Chaïke's continuous feelings of fear and intimidation. Baruch is characterized as "ein Trinker," "ein Spieler," "der die Weiber [liebte], und dabei eine Unerschrockenheit und eine Körperkraft wie kein zweiter in der Gasse [hatte]" (204). Conversely, Chaïke's nickname "Wieselchen," that translates as a "small weasel" and describes an anxious animal, reflects her muteness and passivity. Their arranged mixed marriage mirrors a hierarchical structure and an inner dynamic of Jewish-Gentile relations in Galician society. Chaïke, as a representative of a Jewish community, remains obedient to the Gentile rule and law.

Masoch establishes a triangular relationship within the tale between Chaïke and her sister Peninna and Baruch to augment the different characters of the two sisters. Unlike Chaïke, Peninna is “ein vollendetes Weib,” “Herrscherin und Richterin” (174). She perceives her marriage with Jehuda as an opportunity to exert power. Also unlike her sister, Peninna blossoms on her wedding day:

Während die kleine Chaïke bitterlich weinte, benahm sich Peninna wie eine Königin, die ihre Hofdamen entläßt, lächelnd reichte sie der jüngsten den Myrthenkranz von ihrem Haupte. (176)

Masoch shows two extreme ways in which the power can manifest in the society on examples of Chaïke’s servitude and Peninna’s forcefulness. The conditions of both protagonists are the replications of the outside sociopolitical circumstances, that of the suppressed Galician society under Austro-Hungarian rule.

Like Baruch, Peninna’s demonstrative appearance invokes respect. Masoch compares Peninna’s unyielding will, strong individuality, and sadistic inclinations with powerful female figures, who through their wit and wisdom influenced the flow of historical events:

Peninna stand unter ihnen jetzt wie eine Herrscherin des Orients, der Königin von Saba gleich, oder wie Judith, die den Holofernes erschlug. (180)

The Queen of Sheba represents wisdom and fair judgment. As a female monarch of the ancient kingdom of Sheba, she was compared in her governing skills to the King of Solomon. Another female figure Masoch mentions is Judith, who is known for her courage and determination. She seduces and kills Holofernes, the Assyrian general, in order to rescue Jewish people from pogroms.

In *Hasara Raba*, Peninna shows her power not only through her sensuality and appearance, but also through her wisdom. She studies Torah and exceeds her husband, Jehuda, in his knowledge of Scripture. She is also a perfect businesswoman who leads a store. Similar to other female characters in Masoch's tales, Peninna wears pearls, silk, and jewelry. As Deleuze observes, the mysterious nature of Peninna is characteristic of Masoch's configuration of female figures. Deleuze elaborates that Masoch's female characters evoke feelings of inaccessibility and certain coldness:

Masoch's heroines frequently sneeze. Everything is suggestive of coldness: marble bodies, women of stone, Venus of ice, are favorite expressions of Masoch. (47)

#### 4.7.1 Polish-Jewish Relations

Baruch's neglect of his wife's feelings and Peninna's drive to control Jehuda mirror hostile Jewish-Polish relations based on Jewish oppression. For example, Baruch reveals his sadistic inclinations when he uses his whip to teach Chaïke self-esteem while she takes off her sister's shoes (*Judenraphael* 206). Baruch's whip, a symbol of ruthless tyranny, plays a significant role in understanding the way violence is depicted in the tale. In a metaphorical sense, the whip is a main tool to teach Galician Jews (and Polish peasantry) to conform to foreign policies of Austro-Hungarian rulers, and indirectly to Polish bureaucracy and local clerks.

The name reform introduced by Joseph II (1741-90), with which the tale *Hasara Raba* starts and which regulated the choice of the surnames for Galician Jewry in 1787, is one of the examples of Austro-Hungarian interventions.<sup>217</sup> It illustrates the executive

power that the Empire held over their peripheries. As a result of this reform, Jews were obligated to use new German surnames.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929) conveys the nature of Austrian leadership in his short essay *Die Österreichische Idee* (1917).<sup>218</sup> Hofmannsthal attributes to the Dual Monarchy the primacy in the formation of a new order in Europe. He convinces that the geographical location and historical significance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire led to its increased importance in Europe. He asserts:

Dies Europa, das sich neu formen will, bedarf eines Österreich: eines Gebildes von ungekünstelter Elastizität, aber eines Gebildes, eines wahren Organismus, durchströmt von der inneren Religion zu sich selbst, ohne welche keine Bindungen lebender Gewalten möglich sind; es bedarf seiner, um den polymorphen Osten zu fassen. (109)

Hofmannsthal describes Austria as an independent nation-state that materializes and expands toward the “polymorphous” East. As such, the writer establishes a clear axis between chaotic East and orderly West that dictates this sociopolitical order.

In *Hasara Raba*, Masoch shows the detrimental consequences of making analogous divisions across nations. The oppressive external politics impacts the Jewish community that occupies the Kolomea district when the Polish magnate Kalinowski, whose prime pleasure is “die Juden zu prügeln,” obtains an official position there (*Judenraphael* 207). In this context, Baruch as a Gentile who forces Chaïke, a Jewess, to obedience by using his whip is a representative of the Polish officials who follow Austro-Hungarian policies. As a consequence, Chaïke represents suppressed Jewish community and their arranged marriage mirrors the outside Polish-Jewish conflict.

It is of no surprise that the decision to put Kalinowski in the position of power is made from above. Alone Masoch’s father, also named Leopold, found himself in a

similar situation when he moved from Vienna in order to obtain a position in Lemberg in 1832. Masoch, along with Lemberg's new governor, Franz Freiherr von Krieg (1776-1856), stepped into the position of police director after the dismissal of the previous governor August Longin Fürst von Lobkowitz (1797-1842). This sudden change was dictated by Lobkowitz's sympathy for Polish rebels who stood up against Russian occupants during the November Uprising on November 11, 1830 in Warsaw. Lobkowitz was punished for granting asylum for Polish patriots coming from the Russian occupational zone.<sup>219</sup>

The conflicts between Jews and Poles escalated in the second half of the nineteenth century, which was a time marked by rapidly changing patterns of Polish-Jewish relations caused by, for example, modernization and urbanization.<sup>220</sup> Imposed administrative changes that were meant to "civilize" East European Jewry posed another direct threat to Polish-Jewish relations, deepening already diverse social standings between both groups. For example, in 1773, marriages among the Jewish population had to be approved by the Austrian governor and, in 1785, marriage contracts were linked to a certain level of German education.<sup>221</sup>

Moreover, Jews demanded equal civil and political rights, which led to mounting confusion and frustration surrounding the place of Jews within the social structure.<sup>222</sup> This trend was broken by the January uprising in 1863 that brought restoration of Polish-Jewish attitudes. Many Jews participated in the uprising in the hope of improving their situation. They even showed their solidarity with Poles through common singing in the synagogues.<sup>223</sup> The following tale *Der Iluj* illustrates the outbreak of the 1848 revolution

as a consequence of the suppression of Polish Jews as well as of growing separatism between Jews and Christians.<sup>224</sup>

#### 4.8 *Der Iluj*

*Der Iluj* calls for a spiritual revolution and sexual and cultural freedom. The tale focuses on political consequences of religious separatism and segregation, and is exemplary of Masoch's utopian vision of a multiethnic liberal state. The main male protagonist, a professor and Polish convert Benaja (Iluj), proclaims a new epoch of a peaceful cross-cultural coexistence in a non-confessional state. *Der Iluj* ends with the outbreak of the 1848 revolution where Iluj is hailed a spiritual leader and a prophet.

The background for Masoch's revolutionary message is the romance between Iluj and Isabella, the daughter of a Polish aristocrat. Unlike in the three previously discussed tales, both lovers feel attracted to each other not only by their appearance, but also by their figurative speech. Specifically, Isabella listens to Benaja as she would listen to "ein Adagio von Mozart, eine Sonate von Beethoven oder einen Mazur von Chopin spielen" (*Judenraphael* 353). Benaja's lecture changes Isabella's perception of herself. She observes:

Ich bin ein ganz anderes Wesen geworden, seitdem ich Sie kenne; meine Seele ist wie ein Buch, dessen vordem weiße, leere Blätter Sie beschrieben haben. (355)

Similarly to Barom, Isabella idealizes Iluj's image. She compares Iluj's voice and lectures to an instrumental composition. She internalizes Iluj's words and undergoes an inner transformation, letting herself be taken by the magic of his words.

Isabella does not remain a passive figure in the tale. She initiates a conversation and declares her feelings toward Iluj. In the course of their marriage, she is the one who guides and instructs Iluj on his behavior. Her demanding demeanor is reminiscent of religious indoctrination. Isabella tries to convince Iluj to abandon Judaism and to live according to her Christian faith instead. Like in other tales, their marriage is founded on masochistic notions of servitude, dominance that finds expression in the emergence of passion, pain, and desire.

However, in *Der Iluj* Masoch creates the female character as a Gentile figure and the male character as a Polish Jew. This reversal in the configuration of Jewish-Gentile characters does not, however, change the message Masoch conveys. Regardless of this change, Masoch shows how Christian religion remains a dominant force. The marriage succeeds only because Iluj converts. For Iluj, conversion means blending of religions while conversely for Isabella it is living up to one dominant religion.

It is the power of a spoken language that sets Isabella and Iluj apart. After conversion, Iluj obtains a teaching position at university and raises scandal while disseminating unconventional views on the restrictive and uncompromising role of religion within the state. Iluj hopes to emphasize similarities between Judaism and Christianity through conversion that, as Iluj maintains, opens up new career prospects, allowing him to reach broader masses of society:

Benaja liebte Isabella, und er hoffte als Christ jene Freiheit der Forschung, die dem Juden versagt war. Er sagte sich immer wieder, wie zur Entschuldigung für den Glaubenswechsel, daß das Judentum dem Menschen die Natur verschließe.  
(360)

Benaja's philosophy correlates to that of many other Jewish thinkers, who discussed the relationship of Judaism and Christianity in the late nineteenth century. For example, Polish assimilated Jew Leo Baeck (1873-1956) sought to elucidate the path of reconciliation between Judaism and the New Testament. His first book *The Essence of Judaism* (1905) offers a modern reevaluation of rabbinic Judaism of the first century C.E. Baeck emphasizes the practical side of Judaic faith that offers an active involvement in daily life through celebration of the commandments and of Jewish festivals.<sup>225</sup>

More importantly, in the face of increasing outside pressure to assimilate during Masoch's lifetime, Masoch seems to draw on earlier accounts discussing Jewish assimilation. A prolific example of this is Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86), whose aim was to reunite Judaism and the Enlightenment and the notions of reason and truth. Mendelssohn's efforts to promote Jewish faith as equal to the Christian faith were an indirect attempt to eradicate the persistent medieval beliefs of Jews as backward and superstitious.<sup>226</sup>

Following Mendelssohn's conciliatory trajectory, Benaja shares his view on religious freedom, which raises controversy among university elites. In the times of struggles over religious supremacy, Benaja goes as far as to argue that atheism seems to be the final solution:

Ja selbst die Wahrheit, die zum Atheismus führt, ist noch immer besser als der Glaube, der nur durch Irrtümer erhalten werden kann. (376)

The consequence of Benaja's unpopular teachings is his suspension and expulsion from university. Although Benaja speaks against religious fanaticism and points to the lack of religious tolerance, he himself is condemned as schizophrenic and placed in a

mental institution. It is not coincidental that Benaja is viewed as schizophrenic, namely an individual who threatens the established social order. As Guattari and Deleuze state:

As for the schizo, continually wandering about, migrating here, there, and everywhere as best he can, he plunges further and further into the realm of deterritorialization.<sup>227</sup>

Benaja follows his passions and desires to change societal structures. He falls in love with a Christian girl, and by conversion crosses the borders of his own religious and personal identity. In doing so, Benaja does not hold to one superlative concept of faith and culture. He rather crosses the limits of common consciousness that is characteristic for a schizophrenic.

Benaja's imposed mental illness corresponds with yet another upheaval that takes place toward the end of the story. The tale ends with the outbreak of the 1848 revolution. In Galicia, suppressed masses of Poles and Polish Jews stand up against their Russian occupants. Jews find themselves among the leaders of the movement, aligned with Poles, who aspire to finally free themselves from the occupier.

In general, the year 1848 has been considered a turning point in the emancipation and integration of German Jewry, many of which lived in the Austro-Hungarian peripheries. It gave the imagined feeling that the times of oppression and persecution had been finally left behind.<sup>228</sup> The revolution was to some degree a result of persistent discrepancy between the legal status of Jews as a national minority and their growing importance for Germany's economy.<sup>229</sup> The upheaval brought legislative changes that were supposed to moderate this difference in Western European states as Germany, France, or Italy.<sup>230</sup> For example, in the aftermath of the Spring of Nations the Austrian

government announced in a letter from the Emperor Ferdinand I that Jews have the “right to practice their religion.”<sup>231</sup>

In *Der Iluj*, Masoch grapples with the notion of individual emancipation from political and religious monopoly. He imagines Galicia as a state with its distinctive cultural heritage that offers possibilities for individual development. In the following quote Masoch paints an idealistic vision of a democratic state:

In keinem Staate zeigt sich die Bevölkerung ein so reiches individuelles Gepräge wie in dem unsern, und in keinem Lande dieses Staates in solchem Masse wie in dem östlichen Galizien, wo seit Jahrhunderten Kleinrussen, Polen, Juden, [...] Magyaren und Zigeuner nebeneinander leben und sich untereinander vermischen. (380)

That Masoch’s vision remains on the periphery for his contemporaries is indisputable, and, as such, there is much in his tales that still needs to be considered. Although Galicia abandoned the status of the Austro-Hungarian colony in 1918, the process of liberation from its Western occupants as well as the process of Jewish emancipation remained unresolved for a long time thereafter.

The short treaty *Umsturz und Aufbau: Zur Judenfrage* written by Karl Marx in the following year, 1919, is one of the examples of the sweeping anti-Semitism, and of the widespread revulsion toward the “Jewish question,” that had remained unresolved.<sup>232</sup> Marx compares Jews with bourgeois society that strives to obtain goods through trade. According to Marx, only Christianity offers liberation from the state and therefore from the trade. Marx speculates:

Das Judentum erreicht seinen Höhepunkt mit der Vollendung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft; aber die bürgerliche Gesellschaft vollendet sich erst in der christlichen Welt. Nur unter der Herrschaft des Christentums [...] konnte sich bürgerliche Gesellschaft vom Staatsleben trennen. (47)

In the same fashion, Marx proclaims a superiority of Christianity over Judaism:

Das Christentum ist der sublime Gedanke des Judentums, das Judentum ist die gemeine Nutzenanwendung des Christentums. (47)

By means of the exclusion of Jewish tradition and customs, Marx envisions a better state. While Marx proclaims the downfall of Judaism for the profit of Christianity, Masoch concludes his tale with the revolutionary uprising that consolidates the masses of diverse religious groups and nationalities. Released from the mental institution, Benaja agitates the rebellions to act, reiterating: “Jetzt ist nicht Zeit zu lehren, sondern zu kämpfen” (427). As an outcast, Benaja attempts to establish a new order based on his vision of an unlegislated state.

*Der Iluj* thus speaks to the relationship between the law and the concepts of exclusion and inclusion. In the course of the 1848 Revolution, Benaja envisions a utopian state based on religious and ethnic equality. Revolution marks the moment of suspension of the law when the excruciating life of suppressed masses suspends the political order. This state of internal anarchy can also be interpreted in masochistic terms where the basic human instincts growing out of unfulfilled desires replace the preexisting societal order. Therefore, “cultural *masochism*” can be understood in revolutionary terms as well. As imagined by Masoch, the final stage would be the formation of a confessionless, culturally diverse democratic state.

#### 4.9 Conclusion

In the present chapter I have shown how Leopold von Sacher-Masoch’s collections of ghetto tales *Der Judenraphael: Geschichten aus Galizien* (1918) and *Ausgewählte*

*Ghetto-Geschichten* (1918) construct the cultural reality of Galicia as “distinct.” I demonstrated how the concept of “cultural *masochism*” advanced by Daniel Boyarin in his study *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (1997) facilitates the understanding of Jewish-Gentile relations. Boyarin defines “cultural *masochism*” as the seeking out of “femaleness,” that is, as subverting the male desire as constitutive for female desire and pleasure. Therefore, in the discussed tales, both female and male characters follow their passions and desires to assert their subjectivity.

Contrary to Karl Emil Franzos and Bertha Pappenheim, who believe that female sexuality and sexual drives need to be controlled, the female sexuality in Masoch’s texts obtains a significant role as underpinning “cultural *masochism*.” Female *masochism* opens up new ways of understanding “femininity” not as passive and submissive, but as a cultural phenomenon that, together with male *masochism* allows for a cross-religious dialogue. Thus, Masoch’s texts constitute a web of gender relations in which the issues of dominancy and dependency are inextricably intertwined.

The theme of female and male *masochism* is obviously carried out in the respective tales I examined in the present chapter. For example, in the tale *Der Judenraphael* the main female protagonist Hadaßka fulfills her masochistic desires by initiating a sexual act with Plutin and, conversely, Plutin admires Hadaßka’s beauty and knowledge, and guides some of her actions. In another tale, *Von Fenster zu Fenster*, the married couple Genendel and Barom engage in the power conflict when they find themselves in a position of confronting their idealized images of each other with the real representations of their characters and of their appearances. In both tales, it is through

arts, specifically through painting and poetry, that male figures derive their idealized representations of women, which they then seek to find in reality.

In Masoch's texts "cultural *masochism*" stands in opposition to the oppressive politics of Austria-Hungary. One of the prominent examples represents the tale *Hasara Raba*. The tale depicts Jewish-Polish conflict at the background of two distinct marriage models that exemplify mixed and arranged marriage. Masoch shows how especially the arranged marriages fail to function in the Galician village administrated by Polish officials who blatantly divulge their anti-Semitic attitudes. In addition, the tale *Der Iluj* shows that "cultural *masochism*" stands for Masoch's utopian visions of a confessionless state.

Of course, my interpretation of Masoch's tales in the context of "cultural *masochism*" can be further explored. One of the potential research areas would be a closer analysis of excluded ethnic or religious minorities as portrayed in Masoch's tales. Such analysis could contribute to understanding of the formation of the gender regimes within family with reference to the constitution of law.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

In my dissertation, I argued that we should think about German-Jewish ghetto and village tale writing as representing a gender-spatial construction, where space is conceived as a gendered construct that defines the “feminine” realm. I examined the way the gender relations characterize geographical spaces as Eastern Europe and the peripheries of Austro-Hungary. More specifically, I demonstrated how the gender-space discourse facilitates the study of “femininity.” Thus, my study provides a new perspective on the way “femininity” is represented in German-Jewish ghetto and village tales I discuss. I show that gendering Eastern Europe reinforces the emergence of a new concept of “femininity” as understood by Franzos, Pappenheim and Sacher-Masoch.

Franzos, Pappenheim and Masoch place their narratives in the small villages of Eastern Europe and distinct parts of Austro-Hungary. By depicting various models of the Jewish family, the three authors construct the cultural space of Eastern Europe as “backward” and “superstitious” (Franzos, Pappenheim) or as “culturally distinct” (Masoch). Hence, the questions arise: What are the reasons and implications for the apparent differences in their definitions of “femininity” and why is it important to examine these differences? Before I turn to these questions, I shall first summarize the main points present in the current study by comparing Franzos’s, Pappenheim’s, and Masoch’s depictions of Eastern Europe, drawing attention to their portrayals of female characters.

To some extent, Franzos's and Pappenheim's portrayals of Eastern Europe are complementary. Both authors render Eastern Europe as "backward", depicting the patriarchal family as a disparaging and obsolete model of the Jewish family. Franzos criticizes *Hasidic* families for their resistance to assimilate and their insistence on arranged marriages while simultaneously debilitating Poles for their anti-Semitic attitudes. Likewise, Pappenheim depicts paternal family as restricting the freedom of both sexes. Consequently, the image of Eastern Europe as "backward" is based on Franzos's and Pappenheim's portrayals of gender roles within Jewish family. However, the motivations behind these corresponding portrayals of the Jewish family as oppressive are quite different.

In his collection of the ghetto tales *Die Juden von Barnow* (1887), Franzos emphasizes the need of Eastern Europeans to assimilate into German culture and, specifically, to cultivate a bourgeois marriage. At the expense of the female characters, who figure as narrative tools, Franzos establishes alliances within the narrative. By doing so, he advances his assimilatory agenda, often endowing one of the characters within the stories with an authorial voice, usually an assimilated Jew.

In an attempt to reduce the importance of Eastern Europe and their marriage customs, Franzos employs the image of Mary as a symbol of German nationhood and of bourgeois culture. Most likely, Franzos's choice to employ Catholic imagery stems from the fact that Franzos was brought up in a home setting where German literature and language were cultivated; he also attended the Dominican school. This contradiction between what Franzos valued, that is, German education, and what he has been offered in terms of official learning is apparent in his pursuit of the image of Mary.

While Franzos places Eastern Europe as an object for his assimilatory endeavors, Pappenheim points to economic misery of Eastern Europe that affects the status of Jewish families living there. In her collection of tales *Die Kämpfe* (1916), Pappenheim shows the seclusion of Jewish children in a patriarchal authoritarian family, and holds economic conditions prevailing in Eastern Europe responsible for the lack of religious instruction, the poverty and prostitution to which, according to Pappenheim, Jewish women were then exposed.

Through the negative portrayal of Eastern Europe, Pappenheim demonstrates the apparent lack in public representation of Jewish women. To some degree, she challenges the patriarchal system in which women live in Western Europe, and imagines the establishment of the “female sphere” parallel to the men’s. Therefore, her understanding of “femininity” embraces the female’s equality in obtaining social rights, in forging public representation. Simultaneously, Pappenheim demands the appreciation of the female’s role at home. By disclosing the lack of recognition of these roles, Pappenheim hopes for an equal contribution of both sexes in the creation of cultural and political spheres, and of the private realm. Pappenheim’s perception of the constitution of Jewish family is based on partnership, as opposed to Franzos, who emphasizes women’s economic dependence.

Franzos maintains that women have an assigned personal space. Therefore, contrary to Pappenheim, Franzos establishes a “new ghetto” that marginalizes women in the private and public spheres. Franzos shows that female’s role is confined to home and that “femininity” can only manifest within bourgeois marriage, the prototype of which is manifested in Western societies. Pappenheim, on the other hand, values marriage as long

as it provides equal recognition of the sexes in the formation of private and public spheres. In Pappenheim's view, the perseverance of the Jewish family rests on the acceptance of both the male's and female's personal freedom and on their understanding of the significant roles they play in cultivating Jewish tradition.

As a non-Jewish writer, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch does not delve into questions of Jewish assimilation as Franzos or of the public representation of Jewish women as Pappenheim, who construct Eastern Europe as "backward" or "superstitious." For Masoch, Eastern Europe already belongs to a Central European cultural heritage. While Franzos and Pappenheim strive to come to terms with their own faith and find it critical to accommodate Eastern European Jewry (and nations) into Western society which they envision as superior, Masoch perceives Eastern Europe as an integral part of his present society, proclaiming instead the establishment of an ethnic ecumenism under the Habsburgs' rule. Masoch conveys the image of Eastern Europe as culturally "distinct", which means that he acknowledges the autonomy of Eastern Europe.

Nevertheless, there is an evident contradiction in the way Masoch envisions the cultural development of Eastern Europe. On the one hand, he proclaims its cultural independence and uniqueness, being critical of the repressive policies of the Habsburg Empire, which fail to recognize the cultural distinctiveness of Galicia. On the other hand, he envisions Eastern Europe as part of the Habsburg Monarchy. For Masoch, the solution is the retreat to the private sphere as a way of maintaining personal freedom and a protest against the external policies of the Empire. Therefore, the motifs of intimacy and sexuality in his tales, which are in fact taboo for Franzos and Pappenheim, are the spheres

that allow for the emergence of both female and male *masochism*, concepts that can stand against the external oppressive politics of Austro-Hungary.

In Masoch's tales, female and male *masochism* are reality-based concepts that work toward the establishment of "cultural *masochism*" where female desire and pleasure complements that of the male. Consequently, "femininity" resurfaces as a unique and total phenomenon that can then act against the Habsburgs' rule. Finally, sexual enticements and power struggles are also congruous with Masoch's vision of "femininity." That is, "femininity" is figured as devouring the woman, thereby transgressing the borders of the established notions of male and female sexuality that reach back to late-nineteenth-century medical discourse, exemplified by Freud and Krafft-Ebing, who both positioned female sexuality as inferior.

In constructing an Eastern European landscape from a gendered perspective, the three writers under discussion unmask their fears and wishes about the persistence of Jewish culture in Central Europe. While Masoch's vision about the continuation of Jewish tradition in Central Europe entails cultural expansion and sexual liberation, Pappenheim's and Franzos's tales assume the form of cautionary tales that locate sexuality within specific structural, social, and political frameworks.

One could thus conclude that as German-Jewish writers, Pappenheim and Franzos strive to uphold the *status quo* of the bourgeois Jewish family in Western Europe by resisting the portrayal of a female's sexual liberation that likely poses a threat to the unity of the Jewish family. Their insistence on the maintenance of the institution of marriage results from the fact that, for both, marriage is one of the few lawful institutions that guarantees the continuation of Jewish religion. In addition, the portrayal of marriage as

beneficial for both sexes corresponds with the writers' outlook on marriage and on sexual intercourse. Pappenheim believes that intercourse serves procreation while Franzos supports the surveillance of sexual life within bourgeois marriage.

Conversely, Masoch as a non-Jewish writer, whose own life was *de facto* interwoven with numerous affairs, liberates female sexuality from social constraints. Masoch is able to bring to light a new discourse on female and male sexuality that was repressed or displaced within Eastern Europe. He offers not a way to remove all sexual and psychological anxieties, but a way to project them onto the periphery of the Austro-Hungarian Empire so that they may become conceivable. Therefore, the concept of "cultural *masochism*" that dominates Masoch's tales expounds the mechanisms that underlie sexuality such as pain, pleasure, and desire.

Examining the differences in the construction of Eastern Europe through gender discourse allows a broader perspective on the issues of gender relations in a global context. Hence, in the discussed texts, the displacement of the discourse to Austro-Hungarian peripheries, for example Galicia, invites a constructive dialogue about the socio-political changes in Central Europe. Some of the changes that I discussed in my dissertation include German unification, rising anti-Semitism, migration of Eastern European Jewry to the West, the emergence of feminist movements, and the process of secularization.

As such, the present study can be considered an introduction into a larger project that would include, for instance, a comparative analysis of the ghetto and village tales written by Polish - and German-speaking writers. One of the prominent writers in Poland, who described the life of Jewish communities in small Polish villages and towns, was a

female writer, Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841-1910), who is mostly known for her positivist novel *Nad Niemnem* (1888). In it, she presents the encounters of the Polish aristocracy and peasantry within the context of the January Uprising (1863). A textual analysis of the ghetto and village tales from Eastern and Western European perspectives, in particular the Polish perspective, would not only enrich my present study, but would also contribute to an even greater and perhaps more global understanding of the way gender and geographical space intersect and are influenced by each other.

Finally, the study can serve as a starting point to a conceptual investigation of the way the processes of gendering and engendering, the two semantically comparable terms, shape modern perceptions of the sexes and define sexuality within a German-Jewish context. My intention in the present study was to foreground a consideration of what it means to inhabit geographical spaces and to show how space and gender are represented in the German-Jewish ghetto and village tales.

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<sup>1</sup> Michel Foucault, "The Eye of Power" in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (London: Harvester P, 1980): 149.

<sup>2</sup> Some researches maintain that Masoch was of Jewish origin. Apparently, his grandmother Rosa Piero was Jewish. See Isabel Röskau-Rydel, *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas* (Berlin: Siedler, 1999): 393.

<sup>3</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, 1st English Ed. (London: Alcuin, 1949): 219-20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 219-20.

<sup>5</sup> Angela McRobbie, *The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture, and Social Change* (Sage: London, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991): 11.

<sup>7</sup> Sylvia Walby, *Gender Transformations* (London: Routledge, 1997): 5-6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>9</sup> Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Political Writings* (Toronto: Nelson, 1953): 167.

<sup>11</sup> Norman Davis, *Europa Między Wschodem a Zachodem* (Krakow: Wydawnictwo Znak, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Kratter writes in the introduction to his study: "Ich mach dich itzt mit einer sehr unglücklichen, bedauernswürdigen Klasse von Menschen, dem galizischen Landvolk, bekannt. Ich kenne so leicht kein elenderes, sklavischeres, selbst bei der möglichsten Unterstützung des Staates durch sich selbst gedrückteres Volk als dieses." Franz Kratter *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien* (1786). In Karl-Markus Gauß and Martin Pollack. *Das reiche Land der armen Leute. Literarische Wanderungen durch Galizien* (Wien: Wieser, 2007): 63-74.

<sup>13</sup> Isabel Röskau-Rydel, *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas* (Berlin: Siedler, 1999).

<sup>14</sup> Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak, and Gerhard Botz, eds., *Jews, Antisemitism, and Culture in Vienna* (London: Routledge, 1987).

<sup>15</sup> Chris Hann and Paul Robert Magossi, eds., *Galicja: A Multicultural Land* (Toronto: U Toronto P, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> *Hasidim* from Hebrew "the pious." Religious practices of Hasidim that involved unconventional behavior such as clapping, sudden interruptions, and rocking during prayers aroused much controversy, especially among *Mitnagedim* (non-Hasidic Jews). Zbigniew Wodzinski, *Hasidism and Haskalah in the Kingdom of Poland: A History of Conflict* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2005): 9-32.

<sup>17</sup> Dagmar C. G. Lorenz remarks in the opening of her article "Die Kultur des Shtetls und die osteuropäischen 'Anderen' als Identitätsvorlagen bei deutschsprachigen jüdischen Autoren und Autorinnen" (2012) that the German-Jewish writing from that period was marked by a noticeable distance from the customs and tradition of East European traditional Jewry that was often constructed as primitive. Lorenz elaborates that the German-Jewish writers were often positioned between two cultures: the traditional Jewish and the surrounding dominant German-speaking society.

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<sup>18</sup> Steven E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800-1923* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1982).

<sup>19</sup> Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity* (New York: SUNY P, 1983): 35-7.

<sup>20</sup> However, one of the main organizations that fashioned the life of Jewish young people in Eastern Europe was the Bund, formally known as the "General Jewish Workers" Union of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia. The postulates of the Bund centered on the questions of social equality and political independence of Jewish workers in Poland and Russia. At the same time, the Bund unified Jewish workers who sought to maintain their Jewish identity. The tenants of the Bund were especially appealing for Jewish women in Eastern Europe. Henry J. Tobias, *The Jewish Bund in Russia: From Its Origins to 1905* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1972): 1-2.

<sup>21</sup> Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, A Cultural History, 1867-1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989): 69.

<sup>22</sup> Marion A. Kaplan and Deborah Dash Moore, *Gender and Jewish History* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2011): 179.

<sup>23</sup> Gabriele von Glasenapp, *Aus der Judengasse: Zur Entstehung und Ausprägung deutschsprachiger Ghettoliteratur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1996).

<sup>24</sup> Florian Krobb, *Selbstdarstellungen: Untersuchungen zur Deutsch-Jüdischen Erzählliteratur im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Würzburg: Königshausen&Neumann, 2000): 80-81.

<sup>25</sup> „Oxford Dictionaries.” *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Web. <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/words/the-oxford-english-dictionary>

<sup>26</sup> Maria Klanska, *Daleko od Wiednia Galicja w oczach pisarzy niemieckojęzycznych 1771-1918* (Krakow: Tow. Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 1991).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>28</sup> I restrict my analysis to the content of the first edition. The fourth and the fifth editions were published in 1886 and 1894, respectively. The ghetto tales *Ein Kampf um's Recht* and *Stille Geschichten* were added to the third edition. The ghetto tale *Judith Trachtenberg* was added to the fourth edition (Juden V).

<sup>29</sup> Karl Emil Franzos, *Die Geschichte des Erstlingswerks: Selbstbiographische Aufsätze von Rudolph Baumbach, Felix Dahn, Georg Eber* (Leipzig: A. Titze, 1894): 215.

<sup>30</sup> Röskau-Rydel, 67-73.

<sup>31</sup> Fred Sommer, *Halb-Asien, German Nationalism, and the Eastern European Works of Karl Emil Franzos* (Stuttgart: Hans Dieter, 1984): 62.

<sup>32</sup> Also, Gabrielle von Glasenapp states that women in Franzos's writings are portrayed stereotypically as oriental, beautiful, and exotic. See Glasenapp, 70.

<sup>33</sup> Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage, 1995): 12.

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<sup>34</sup> Elizabeth A. Loentz, *Let Me Continue to Speak the Truth: Bertha Pappenheim as Author and Activist* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College P, 2007): 124, 4-6.

<sup>35</sup> Sacher-Masoch, *Judenraphael*, 477.

<sup>36</sup> Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, *Der Judenraphael: Geschichten aus Galizien* (Berlin: Volk und Welt, 1989), 474-75.

<sup>37</sup> *Romane-Erzählungen-Aufsätze* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1964): 559.

<sup>38</sup> “‘The Historical Mary’ and Dea Creatrix: A Historical-Critical Contribution to Feminist Theological Reflection.” *A Feminist Companion to Mariology*. Ed. Amy-Jill Levine (London: T&T Clark International, 2005): 147.

<sup>39</sup> *Hasidim* from Hebrew “the pious.” Religious practices of *Hasidim* that involved unconventional behavior such as clapping, sudden interruptions, and rocking during prayers aroused much controversy, especially among *Mitnagedim* (non-*Hasidic* Jews). See Zbigniew Wodzinski, *Hasidism and Haskalah in the Kingdom of Poland: A History of Conflict* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2005): 9-32.

<sup>40</sup> See James J. Sheehan, ed., “Structural Changes in German Social and Economic Development at the End of the Nineteenth Century.” *Imperial Germany* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976): 26-39.

<sup>41</sup> Sommer, 54.

<sup>42</sup> Franzos came from a family of Sephardic origin. In Polish Galicia Sephardim were released from taxes on wedding ceremonies as well as on kosher meats. See Röskau-Rydel, 67. Sephardic Jews occupied a similar position to German colonizers from Austria-Hungary who started to settle in Galicia as early as 1774. According to a decree issued by Maria Theresa the same year, German craftsmen of Catholic and Protestant faith were encouraged to live in Eastern Galicia. They obtained relocation subsidies, accommodation and tax exemptions. See Röskau-Rydel, 22-36. As a result, new German settlers and Sephardic Jews held a similar economic status in late-eighteenth-century Galicia. The economic similarity between Sephardic Jews and Germans could have been one of the reasons for Franzos’s grandfather Michel Le Vert to value German tradition and culture. Another important reason was the establishment of German-Jewish schools in 1787 under the leadership of Herz Homberg, the former tutor of Moses Mendelssohn’s children.

<sup>43</sup> Lothar Kahn, *Between Two Worlds: A Cultural History of German-Jewish Writers* (Ames: Iowa State UP, 1993): 94-96.

<sup>44</sup> Karl Emil Franzos, *Aus Halb-Asien: Kulturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina, Südrussland und Rumänien* (Berlin: Concordia, 1888).

<sup>45</sup> Similar to Franzos, the Enlightenment philosopher Christian K. Wilhelm von Dohm considered the assimilation of Eastern European Jewry into the West to be a necessity. Dohm was convinced that by granting Jews civil rights, barbarism, backwardness, and poverty would end. He asserts in his ominous work *Über die Bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (1781): “Der Verstand der Juden würde durch das helle Licht der Vernunft, der Erkenntnis der Natur und ihres großen Urhebers, erleuchtet, und sein Herz durch die Gesetze der Ordnung, Rechtschaffenheit, der Liebe der anderen Menschen und der großen Gesellschaft in der er lebt, erwärmt” (Dohm 120). Both Franzos and Dohm regarded assimilation as a means to erase what they saw as negative Eastern European Jewish characteristics. While Dohm was concerned with granting the Jews civil rights, Franzos advocated for cultural assimilation.

<sup>46</sup> Yuval-Davis, *Gender*, 12.

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<sup>47</sup> In his widely translated novel *Soll und Haben* (1855) that describes interactions between various social groups such as the German bourgeoisie, the nobility, and Jewry, Freytag positions the German middle class at the pinnacle of society. Similar to Franzos, Freytag maintains that in contrast to Polish culture with its backward insistence on religious and traditional values, German culture offers possibilities for the development of modern society in the spirit of Enlightenment. Thus Freytag propagated the inclusion of Eastern European nations into the German states followed by the eradication of their cultural heritage.

<sup>48</sup> Leo W. Riegert, "Subjects and Agents of Empire: German Jews in Post-Colonial Perspective" *The German Quarterly* 82. 3 (Summer 2009): 336-365.

<sup>49</sup> Another factor motivating Franzos to write and publish was the financial misery he and his wife Otilie Benedikt experienced shortly after the writer had finished his studies in Graz in 1871. Otilie Franzos revealed the couple's desperate financial situation in her correspondence with the Dutch translator Julius Pée, who was interested in translating Franzos's works posthumously. See Petra Ernst, *Karl Emil Franzos: Schriftsteller zwischen den Kulturen* (Innsbruck: Studien, 2007): 131-37. In addition, Franzos was virtually unknown as a writer of fiction and strove to position himself among the mainstream writers in Austria-Hungary.

<sup>50</sup> Ildikó Glaser-Hille, "Magyarok Nagyasszonya: The Virgin Mary as a Symbol of Hungarian National Identity." *Academia.edu*. Web.  
[http://www.academia.edu/2526883/Magyarok\\_Nagyasszonya\\_The\\_Virgin\\_Mary\\_as\\_a\\_Symbol\\_of\\_Hungarian\\_National\\_Identity](http://www.academia.edu/2526883/Magyarok_Nagyasszonya_The_Virgin_Mary_as_a_Symbol_of_Hungarian_National_Identity)

<sup>51</sup> Carol Engelhardt Herringer, *Victorians and the Virgin Mary: Religion and Gender in England, 1830-85* (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 2008): 236.

<sup>52</sup> David Blackbourn, *Marpingen; Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Knopf, 1994).

<sup>53</sup> Röskau-Rydel, 45.

<sup>54</sup> Franzos's father Heinrich Franzos recognized German education as an entry ticket to Western society. He reinforced the study of German language and literature at home in hopes that he would leave Galicia to go to Germany. Heinrich Franzos never fulfilled his wish. He remained active as a district doctor in Czortkow until his death in 1858. His wife Karoline Franzos, nee Klarsfeld, was of Ashkenazi origin from Odessa, and her parents feared that Heinrich might convert to Christianity while in Germany. Therefore they agreed to the marriage under the condition that he would never leave Galicia. See Sommer, 9-12.

<sup>55</sup> Shaul Stampfer, *Families, Rabbis, and Education: Traditional Jewish Society in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Europe* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2010): 168-70.

<sup>56</sup> Girls' education differed markedly from those of boys. Boys went to *heder* for their primary education until they were ten and learned to read Hebrew while studying Torah. On Jewish boys' education See Stampfer, 145-252.

<sup>57</sup> See Iris Parush, *Reading Jewish Women: Marginality and Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Eastern European Jewish Society* (Waltham: Brandeis UP, 2004): 5.

<sup>58</sup> Stampfer, 176-77.

<sup>59</sup> Paula E. Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representations of Women* (Seattle: U Washington P, 1995): 63-64.

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<sup>60</sup> Private education in Galicia could include studies in secular subjects such as French. More broadly, private schools constituted an exceptional phenomenon typical for *Haskalah* centers such as Vilna or Warsaw. Only the literate and wealthy class could afford to send their children to these prestigious schools. The first private school for girls was established in 1818 in Warsaw by Fredericka Eichenbaum. See Stampfer, 182-84.

<sup>61</sup> Hyman, 65.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 77-78.

<sup>63</sup> Tobias, 44-6.

<sup>64</sup> Linda B Hall, *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas* (Austin: The U of Texas P, 2004).

<sup>65</sup> Cathelijne de Busser and Anna Niedźwiedz. "Mary in Poland: A Polish Master Symbol." *Moved by Mary. The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World*. Comp. and ed. Anna-Karina Hermkens, Willy Jansen, and Catrien Notermans (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009): 87-99.

<sup>66</sup> Mary F. Foskett, "Virginity as Purity in the Protevangelium of James." *A Feminist Companion to Mariology*. Eds. Amy-Jill, and Maria Mayo Robbins (London: Pilgrim P, 2005): 67-75.

<sup>67</sup> Julia Kristeva, *Hatred and Forgiveness* (New York: Columbia UP, 2011).

<sup>68</sup> Marina Warner, *Alone of All her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976).

<sup>69</sup> However, the patriarchal structure of the bourgeois family prevalent in Western European societies did not find relevance in the traditional Jewish family in Eastern Europe. Within the traditional Eastern European family, women participated in the family business, which enabled them to be active outside of the home. Also, in the traditional Jewish family the ideal of female beauty was a strong, opulent, and working woman, as opposed to the fragile and vulnerable Jewish female model promoted in the West. See Hyman, 66-70.

<sup>70</sup> Stampfer, 36.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-55.

<sup>72</sup> Mary Hvistendahl, "Gender and Violence" *In Science* 336 (2012): 839-40.

<sup>73</sup> Stampfer, 12.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>77</sup> Stampfer suggests that this classification pertained to males who fulfilled diverse functions as communal leaders. To be beautiful meant to be educated, whereas the term *proste yidn* characterized non-literate Jewry. "Beauty" was concomitant with the level of literacy, particularly with the knowledge of Talmud. See Stampfer, 147.

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<sup>78</sup> There is a striking similarity between Franzos and Schlome. Both were bound by their fathers to remain Jewish. Schlome “hat seinem Vater mit heiligem Eide geschworen, Jude zu bleiben.” In case of Franzos, the children from the Jewish ghetto in Czortkow called him “Meschumed.” See Franzos, *Geschichte*, 25.

<sup>79</sup> Zbigniew Wodzinski, *Haskalah and Hasidism in the Kingdom of Poland: A History of Conflict* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2005).

<sup>80</sup> However, the narrator rehabilitates *Hasidic* community as pious, weak, and tradition-bound and thus victimized by conservative Poles. The Jewish doctor describes the Poles: “Sie können sich noch immer nicht von dem Vorurtheil ihrer deutschen Heimat emanzipieren, das auch im Juden den Menschen sieht. O! Daß Sie sich noch immer nicht in die hiesigen Anschauungen schicken können” (40).

<sup>81</sup> In *Die Geschichte des Erstlingswerks*, Franzos claims that his mother served as a role model for the figure of Esterka Regina. Franzos maintains that Karoline Franzos felt guilty imagining that her husband Heinrich would have to stay in Galicia (236).

<sup>82</sup> „Esterka: The famous mistress of Kazimierz.” *Krakow Post*. Web. <http://www.krakowpost.com/article/140>

<sup>83</sup> Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse Revisited* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1983): 102.

<sup>84</sup> Isaak Lewin, *Przez Pryzmat Historii* (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny w Polsce, 1994): 70.

<sup>85</sup> Franzos, *Geschichte*, 230.

<sup>86</sup> Thomas Luhmann, *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1986): 137.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>91</sup> Esther’s exclusion from Barnow society is additionally highlighted through simultaneous narration between Mrs. Lozinska and Moses Freudenthal, where Mrs. Lozinska’s party coincides with Moses’s prayers in the synagogue. Here, Franzos makes a cultural distinction. While observant Jews pray in the synagogue in the preparation for Sabbath, Poles organize a party. Esther’s seclusion illustrates the cultural contrast between Poles and Jews in Galicia and the irresolvable religious conflicts between the two groups.

<sup>92</sup> The act of painting can be interpreted as an act of vandalism and is reminiscent of pogroms where Jews were driven out of their homes.

<sup>93</sup> The narrator questions Janko’s assumptions about Moses’s greed as well. He concludes: “Aber Janko irrt. Moses Freudenthal zählt in diesem Moment seine Schätze nicht” (10).

<sup>94</sup> Warner argues that sapphire signified that the wearer was the child of Mary and dedicated to the Virgin. See Warner, xx.

<sup>95</sup> Ms. Lozinska labels Schlome as “ganz gottlos, weder Jud’ noch Christ” (36).

<sup>96</sup> Sommer, 9-12.

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<sup>97</sup> Franzos's rapprochement of Polish figures resembles the tendencies present in the writings of Polish *Maskilim* such as Leo Herzberg Frankl. Magdalena Opalski observes in her book *Poles and Jews: A Failed Brotherhood* (1992) that in the aftermath of January uprising (1863), the Polish nobility was equivocally associated with corruption, deceitfulness, and impracticality. In the writings of Polish *Maskilim*, Polish aristocrats were frequently depicted as conservative Catholics, nationalistic and money-obsessed. One reason for this portrayal was the ultimate failure of the January uprising. The defeat eradicated the hopes of many Jews fighting for a sovereign Poland (Opalski, 96-8). Aligning with Polish *Maskilim*, Franzos portrays Poles as overtly Catholic and conservative.

<sup>98</sup> The only female figure who does not meet sudden death is Chane, the Christian convert Christine Silberstein in the ghetto story *Nach dem höherem Gesetz*.

<sup>99</sup> *Mimesis* (Greek "imitation") and *diegesis* (Greek "narration") are literary devices that emphasize the narrator's point of view and visualize different modes of narration. With the transparent emphasis on *diegesis*, the authoritative and direct rhetoric overshadows the showing principle that can be defined as the renouncement of the privilege of direct intervention; see Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1983): 16-17.

<sup>100</sup> Here, I employ Gérard Genette's nomenclature from his study *Narrative Discourse Revisited* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1983).

<sup>101</sup> In the introduction I mention that Fred Sommer observes that in Franzos's works female figures are depicted as "oriental."

<sup>102</sup> "Women, Yesterday and Tomorrow." In *Five Women*. (Boston: D.R. Godine, 1929): 234.

<sup>103</sup> Extrapolating from research in Jewish studies by female scholars who examine gender concepts in the Jewish Bible and in rabbinic commentaries, the fairly recent publications *Law and Truth in Biblical and Rabbinic Literature* by Chaya T. Halberstam and the article "Virginity: Women's Body as a State of Mind: Destiny Becomes Biology" by Howard Tzvi Adelman (2011) show how the law intrudes into the private sphere. Halberstam argues that "the rabbis [...] establish legal authority by asserting their own constructions of legal truth over and against the person's intimate knowledge of his or her own body" (18). Adelman asserts that rabbinic texts from medieval Italy show evidence of male control over biological processes in the female body such as puberty and maturity. He observes that Rabbis devoted particular attention to issues of virginity and menstruation (*niddah*) (94). Rabbis performed three tests of virginity: bleeding, vaginal tightness, and vaginal permeability (186). The bleeding test required that the representatives of each spouse examine the bloody sheet after marriage consummation. The test for vaginal permeability was the wine barrel "test." If the taste of the wine passed to the girl's mouth, it meant she is not a virgin (189). See Chaya T. Halberstam, *Law and Truth in Biblical and Rabbinic Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2010); Howard Tzvi Adelman, "Virginity: Women's Body as a State of Mind: Destiny Becomes Biology." In *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period*, edited by Giuseppe Veltri and Maria Diemling (Leiden: Brill, 2008): 179-214.

<sup>104</sup> For a comprehensive study of literary production of Jewish female writers in Germany since the late sixteenth century until the fall of the Berlin Wall, see Dagmar C. G. Lorenz, *Keepers of the Motherland: German Texts by Jewish Women Writers* (Lincoln: U Nebraska P, 1997).

<sup>105</sup> Pappenheim explains in the footnote, "Dieser Passus lautet nach dem Manuskript des Vortrags anders und wurde gegen die Absicht der Rednerin, um eine Polemik zu vermeiden, zur Veröffentlichung verändert." See Pappenheim, Bertha. *Zur Sittlichkeitsfrage*. Speech presented at the 2. Delegiertentage des Jüdischen Frauenbundes (Frankfurt a. M.: 2-3 October 1907): 20.

<sup>106</sup> Loentz, 162-63.

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<sup>107</sup> Marion Kaplan, *The Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany: The Campaigns of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1904-1938* (London: Greenwood, 1979).

<sup>108</sup> Kaplan, 74.

<sup>109</sup> Also, Lorenz mentions in *Keepers of the Motherland: German Texts by Jewish Women Writers* that “Pappenheim struggled as a feminist social worker against the opposition of the Gentile public and the Jewish establishment” (50).

<sup>110</sup> Kaplan, 3.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>112</sup> Myra Marx Ferree describes the postulates of the “first-wave” women’s movement. Louise Otto-Peters was an advocate of women’s right to education, economic independence, access to a profession or occupation, and individual self-expression. See Myra Marx Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2012): 33.

<sup>113</sup> Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch. Vom 18. August 1896. Web. <http://www.koeblergerhard.de/Fontes/BGBDR18961900.htm>

<sup>114</sup> As Carol Diethe observes, feminists like Lily Braun called for women’s full rights as a matter of basic human rights within society, referring to the civil code as punitive towards women in Germany. See Carol Diethe, *Towards Emancipation: German Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Berghahn, 1998): 139.

<sup>115</sup> Loentz, 175-76.

<sup>116</sup> Kaplan, 43.

<sup>117</sup> Loentz points to this fact, quoting from Pappenheim’s *Denkzettel*: “Dear daughters! If I might allow myself to critique the Bible, I would say that, from the unjust position that the Bible assigns to women, it follows that it was composed by a brilliant but male human, and not divine dictate.” See Loentz, 162.

<sup>118</sup> Rachel Biale, *Women and Jewish Law: An Exploration of Women’s Issues on Halakhic Sources* (New York: Schocken, 1984): 145.

<sup>119</sup> Rachel Adler, “The Jew Who Wasn’t There: Halacha and the Jewish Woman.” *The Jewish Women’s Archive*. Web. [http://jwa.org/feminism/\\_html/\\_pdf/JWA001c.pdf](http://jwa.org/feminism/_html/_pdf/JWA001c.pdf).

<sup>120</sup> Blu Greenberg, *On Women and Judaism: A View from Tradition* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1981).

<sup>121</sup> Rachel Biale explains in her book *Women and Jewish Law: An Exploration of Women’s Issues on Halakhic Sources* that Jewish community is defined through male presence: the *minyan*. A *minyan* is defined as a group of ten male adults and is mandatory on certain days of prayers as, for example, reading the Torah. While Jewish women can perform their prayers any time of the day because of their obligations at home, Jewish men pray at the synagogue, which requires the formation of a *minyan*. See Biale, 21.

<sup>122</sup> Cynthia Ozick, “Notes Toward Finding the Right Question.” Web. <http://courses.washington.edu/judaism/2009%20Readings/Ozick.pdf>

<sup>123</sup> Susannah Heschel, *On Being a Jewish Feminist: A Reader* (New York: Schocken, 1983).

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<sup>124</sup> Rachel Biale, *Women and Jewish Law: An Exploration of Women's Issues on Halakhic Sources* (New York: Schocken, 1984).

<sup>125</sup> The laws of *onah* describe sexual relations between husband and wife, and the laws of *niddah* refer to a menstruant woman.

<sup>126</sup> Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford UP, 1986).

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 162,9.

<sup>129</sup> Engel's views are based on a no-less speculative work by Jakob Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht: Eine Untersuchung Über Die Gynaikokratie Der Alten Welt Nach Ihrer Religiösen und Rechtlichen Natur* (1867). Bachofen's central discovery is that of the mother-right for which there is no historical evidence as such. Bachofen's book that inspired Engels or Erich Fromm (1900-80) bases his analysis on the Roman, Greek, and Egyptian myths arguing the existence of the society based on matriarchy in the pre-Christian era. Friedrich Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staates: im Anschluss an Lewis H. Morgan's Forschungen* (Stuttgart: Dietz, 1922).

<sup>130</sup> Lerner provides an example of China, where men "belonged in" a household or lineage, and women "belonged to" males who had acquired rights in them. See Lerner, 77.

<sup>131</sup> Both scholars observe considerable differences between the ways the males' and the females' journeys are set up in biblical narratives: "The most striking difference between the male and female journey sequences is that the male heroes must split from familial and intimate relationships to keep company with God while female heroes make their journeys in pairs or in the company of other women." See Michael Maswari Caspi and Rachel S. Havrelock, *Women on the Biblical Road: Ruth, Naomi, and the Female Journey* (Lanham: UP America, 1996): 34.

<sup>132</sup> As Baskin explains, Midrash constitutes an "expansion and elaboration of the canonized Hebrew Scriptures [Torah]." Judith R. Baskin, *Midrashic Women: Formations of the Feminine in Rabbinic Literature* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Brandeis U, 2002): 3-9.

<sup>133</sup> Henrietta Moore also observes that this characterization reinforces women's emblematic deprecation and their connection to nature. See Henrietta L. Moore, *Feminism and Anthropology* (Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1988): 13.

<sup>134</sup> Rachel Havrelock, "Are There Witches in the Bible?" *Guilt and Pleasure*. 3/2006. [http://www.guiltandpleasure.com/index.php?site=rebootgp&page=gp\\_article&id=108](http://www.guiltandpleasure.com/index.php?site=rebootgp&page=gp_article&id=108)

<sup>135</sup> Charlotte E Fonrobert, *Menstrual Purity: Rabbinic and Christian Reconstructions of Biblical Gender* (Stanford: Stanford UP), 2002.

<sup>136</sup> Daniel Boyarin, "Are There Any Jews in 'The History of Sexuality'?" In *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5:3 (Jan. 1995): 337.

<sup>137</sup> Ann Jones discusses family violence in late-nineteenth-century America in her book *Next Time, She'll Be Dead: Battering and How to Stop It* (1994). Jones asserts that "historically, the law distinguished between public matters and private family matters, leaving the family under the governance of the husband and father. [...] By 1880, many states had made laws to restrict the 'right' of men to 'chastise' their wives and children, but few provided any punishment for men who exceeded the limits. And because the laws

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were not enforced, the lives of women were little changed.” See Ann Jones, *Next Time She’ll Be Dead: Battering and How to Stop It* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994): 19-21.

<sup>138</sup> Shaye G. D. Cohen, *Why Aren’t Jewish Women Circumcised? Gender and Covenant in Judaism* (Berkeley: U California P, 2005): 149-50.

<sup>139</sup> Lerner, 200.

<sup>140</sup> Loentz notes that Pappenheim did not strive for equal observation of religious rituals by men and women. She believed that Sabbath needs public recognition as an expression of women’s significant contribution to the formation of the Jewish law and tradition. See Loentz, 186.

<sup>141</sup> Steven Mintz, *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture* (New York: New York UP, 1983): 21.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>143</sup> Sander L. Gilman, *The Case of Sigmund Freud: Medicine and Identity at the Fin de Siècle* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993).

<sup>144</sup> Ephraim himself lives in isolation. Pappenheim describes that “die Nachrichten, die ihm hie und da aus dem öffentlichen Leben ankamen, interessieren ihn wenig” (*Dorfgeschichte* 67).

<sup>145</sup> It can be also argued that by controlling his daughter, Ephraim protects his own Jewish male identity, and thus his connection to God since Hannah’s virginity is one of the obligations established by the male covenant. Daniel Boyarin alludes to this fact, stating in his pivotal study *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (1999): “In both late ancient Christianity and Judaism, ideal male identity was secured in part via cross-gender identification with female virgins” (69).

<sup>146</sup> Ephraim anticipates danger. He does not trust Josy when the latter tries to help him. Josy reports: “[Ephraim] glaubt am Ende, ich will ihn vergiften” (*Dorfgeschichte* 71).

<sup>147</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. 2nd ed trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Random House), 1977.

<sup>148</sup> Drew Leder, *The Absent Body* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1990).

<sup>149</sup> Lerner, 149.

<sup>150</sup> Another way of understanding the crossing of the river is the fact that in the Jewish tradition it is through the ritual bath *mikvah* when a Jewish woman can commence intercourse after immersing herself in water. The overflowing water may suggest that Hannah is ready to establish a family, to be mother and wife.

<sup>151</sup> Loentz, 175.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>153</sup> Mintz, 17-18.

<sup>154</sup> Larry Wolff mentions in his book *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (1994) that “Hungary, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria could be colored together on the map of Europe as adjacent lands” (162).

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<sup>155</sup> As mentioned earlier, the notion of the body as a critical concept needs to be understood within the Judeo-Christian framework. The living, corporeal body, understood as a separate entity that determines the existence of an individual by interacting with the outer world, is not present in Pappenheim's work. In Pappenheim's *Kämpfe* the body is devaluated. The existence of the body is justified as long as it remains concomitant with the spirit, that is, with the birth of a new ideology.

<sup>156</sup> Loentz suggests that the title of the stories *Kämpfe* indicates the critique of the leaders of Jewish community. According to Pappenheim, the missionaries in London's East End sought to gain profits from newly converted Jewish refugees who escaped Russian pogroms. See Loentz, 93-94. Loentz provides a reason for Pappenheim to engage in discussions about conversion into Catholic rather than Protestant faith. She argues that Catholics, similarly to Jews, were considered a minority in Germany. They shared the same unprivileged status in terms of economic and educational standing. See Loentz, 116-17.

<sup>157</sup> Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1979).

<sup>158</sup> Lerner, 170.

<sup>159</sup> Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany: SUNY P, 1984).

<sup>160</sup> Gilman, 121.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-79.

<sup>164</sup> Linda Woodhead, Paul Heelas, and David Martin, eds. *Peter Berger and the Study of Religion* (London; Routledge, 2001): 113.

<sup>165</sup> Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Anchor, 1966): 74.

<sup>166</sup> Steve Bruce, *God is Dead: Secularization in the West* (Malden: Blackwell, 2002).

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>169</sup> Ismar Schorsch mentions the Marr's League of Anti-Semites (1879), the petition entitled "The Emancipation of the German People from the Yoke of Jewish Rule." See Ismar Schorsch, *Jewish Reactions to German Anti-Semitism, 1870-1914* (New York, Columbia UP, 1972): 36-7.

<sup>170</sup> Gilman, 90.

<sup>171</sup> As Erich Fromm observes in his book *Love, Sexuality, and Matriarchy: About Gender*, Bachofen saw "the victory of the paternal-spiritual principle over maternal-material principle realized historically in the victory of Rome over the orient—particularly over Jerusalem" See Erich Fromm, *Love, Sexuality, and Matriarchy: About Gender*, edited by Rainer Funk (New York: Fromm Intl.): 29-30.

<sup>172</sup> At the same time, Hannah and Gabriel reject conversion. Gabriel commits suicide recognizing the thoughtlessness of his act, which was prompted by his desire to escape home. Hannah chooses suicide over

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conversion as well as over her seclusion within the paternal family. Pappenheim exposes the dependence of maturing children on the father figure and thus reflects on the functioning of patriarchal family.

<sup>173</sup> Analyzing the memoirs of Eastern European Jewish women, Hyman explains that “In several cases mothers and grandmothers, perhaps compensating for their own missed opportunities for education, made sure that their daughters or granddaughters received the instruction that they sought” (65-6).

<sup>174</sup> Loentz, 97.

<sup>175</sup> “When Our Lips Speak Together.” In *Feminisms: A Reader*. Ed. Maggie Humm (London: Wheatsheaf, 1992): 207.

<sup>176</sup> *Inner Experience* (New York: U of New York P, 1988): 71.

<sup>177</sup> Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1997).

<sup>178</sup> Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: A Medico-Forensic Study*, introduction and supplement by Victor Robinson (New York: Pioneer Publications, 1939).

<sup>179</sup> I agree with Georges Bataille who writes in *Death and Sensuality: A Study of Eroticism and the Taboo* (1962) that “Human violence is the result not of a cold calculation (but of emotional states: anger, fear or desire).” See *Death and Sensuality: A Study of Eroticism and the Taboo* (New York: Walker, 1962): 64.

<sup>180</sup> Daniel Boyarin rightly points out in his book *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* that “in European culture, from nearly its origins until the development of the psychoanalytic thought, a “natural masochism” has been attributed to women” (82).

<sup>181</sup> Gilles Deleuze, *Sacher-Masoch: An Interpretation* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971).

<sup>182</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, 1st English Ed. (London: Alcuin, 1949): 37.

<sup>183</sup> On the contrary, Freud maintains that libido is of a masculine nature.

<sup>184</sup> Marie Bonaparte, “Passivity, Masochism, and Femininity.” In Jean Strouse, *Women and Analysis: Dialogues in Psychoanalytic Views of Femininity* (New York: Grossman, 1974): 246.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>186</sup> Marshall Needleman Armintor, *Lacan and the Ghosts of Modernity: Masculinity, Tradition, and the Anxiety of Influence* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004): 86.

<sup>187</sup> Ethel Person, “Some New Observations on the Origins of Femininity.” *Dialogues in Psychoanalytic Views of Femininity: Women and Analysis*. Ed. Jean Strouse (New York: Grossman, 1974): 252.

<sup>188</sup> Dany Nobus, ed. *Key Concepts of Lacanian Psychoanalysis* (New York: Other Press, 1999): 2.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>190</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 2005).

<sup>191</sup> Freud, 198.

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<sup>192</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (New York: Penguin, 2009).

<sup>193</sup> Kelly Ives, *Cixous, Irigaray, Kristeva: The Jouissance of French Feminism* (Kent: Crescent Moon, 1998): 58.

<sup>194</sup> Paula J. Caplan, *The Myth of Women's Masochism* (Lincoln: iUniverse, 1993).

<sup>195</sup> Heidi M. Schlipphacke, *The Daughter's Symptom: Female Masochism in Literary Works by G. E. Lessing, Sophie von la Roche, Ingeborg Bachmann, and Elfriede Jelinek*. Diss. (Seattle: U Washington, 1999).

<sup>196</sup> Jacques Lacan, *Feminine Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the école freudienne*. Eds. Juliet Mitchell and Jacqueline Rose (New York: Pantheon, 1975).

<sup>197</sup> Frida Beckman, "Tensions in Deleuzian Desire: Critical and Clinical Reflections on Female Masochism." In *Angelaki: Journal of Theoretical Humanities* 15:1 (2010): 93-108.

<sup>198</sup> Freud defines libido in *The Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* as a "quantitatively variable force which could serve as a measure of processes and transformations occurring in the field of sexual excitation." See Freud, 94.

<sup>199</sup> Yet, love and death are reciprocal in a sense that they both bring the continuity of passion and the continuity of existence outside of the body. As Bataille describes "if the union of two lovers comes about through love, it involves the idea of death, murder or suicide. This aura of death is what denotes passion." See Bataille, *Death*, 20.

<sup>200</sup> Boyarin asserts: "Ashkenazic Jewish male is constructed in the literary texts as a sexless reconstruction of male subjectivity from the feminist perspective" (2).

<sup>201</sup> Paul Smith, *Clint Eastwood: A Cultural Production* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1993).

<sup>202</sup> Michel Foucault emphasizes in *The Use of Pleasure*, Volume 2 of *The History of Sexuality* that "Christianity drew the line at monogamous marriage and laid down the principle of exclusively procreative ends. Or the disallowance of relations between individuals of the same sex: Christianity strictly excluded such relationships while Greece exalted them and Rome accepted them." See Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure, Volume 2 of The History of Sexuality* (New York: Pantheon, 1985): 14.

<sup>203</sup> Daniel Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford UP: Stanford, 1999): 78.

<sup>204</sup> We find a similar concept of the Madonna-like female figures in the earlier-discussed Franzos's tales. Yet, Masoch, as I will show subsequently, does not constrain the female characters to pictorial representations as Franzos does, but rather enters into polemics with the implied superiority of Christian paintings.

<sup>205</sup> Andre Kiss, "Kritizistischer Positivismus und Nation. Über Alfred Fouillé's Soziologie der Nation" in *Nation und Nationenbildung in Österreich-Ungarn, 1848-1938: Prinzipien und Methoden*. Eds. Andre Kiss and Justin Stagl (Salzburg, Rudolfskai, 2000).

<sup>206</sup> Freud, 32.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

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<sup>208</sup> Deleuze, 47.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>210</sup> Bataille, *Death*, 17.

<sup>211</sup> Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985).

<sup>212</sup> Deleuze, 21.

<sup>213</sup> It is important to mention that Deleuze interprets the image of Mephistopheles in terms of the dialectics of ideals, introduced first by the Greek philosopher Plato (428/427 BC-348/347 BC) in his tractate *The Republic* (380 BC). The ideals are the ultimate truth. Plato, reconstructing the dialogue with Socrates, explains that the reality is only a replication, a mirror-image of the ideal. Since the mirror is a metaphor for art imitating reality, one strives to achieve the ultimate truth, the understanding of the ideas of things. In this context, Plutin's determination to capture the essence of beauty in art is at the same time his desire to confine the truth. Yet, Plutin's paintings remain a replication and a deformation of the ideal. Deleuze associates imitation with Masoch's persistence on suspending the events within the narrative. Deleuze observes in his book *Sacher-Masoch: An Interpretation*: "The scenes in Masoch have of necessity a frozen quality, like statues or portraits; they are replicas of works of art, or else they duplicate themselves in mirrors" (61).

<sup>214</sup> *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan. Book I. Freud's Papers on Technique, 1953-1954*. Ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (New York: Norton, 1975).

<sup>215</sup> According to Lacan, love is "one's own ego made real on the imaginary level." See Lacan, *Book I*, 142.

<sup>216</sup> Deleuze, 49.

<sup>217</sup> "Shoreshim." *1787 Decree by Austrian Emperor Joseph*. Shoreshim.org. Web. <http://www.shoreshim.org/en/infoEmperorJoseph.asp>

<sup>218</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Die Österreichische Idee*. In *Österreichische Aufsätze und Reden* (Wien: Bergland Verlag, 1956).

<sup>219</sup> Röskau-Rydel, 77-81.

<sup>220</sup> Magdalena Opalski and Israel Bartal, *Poles and Jews: A Failed Brotherhood* (Hanover: UP New England, 1992): 7.

<sup>221</sup> Heiko Haumann, *A History of East European Jews* (New York: CEP, 2002): 96.

<sup>222</sup> Opalski and Bartal, 15.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>224</sup> The November Uprising did not bring the improvement of the socioeconomic situation of Galician Jewry. At the end of the nineteenth century in many communities "up to 40 percent of the whole population consisted of families of so-called *Luftmenshn*, that is, people without any particular education, without capital, without a particular trade." The shift in the occupational structure intensified the feelings of insecurity on the part of Poles associating Jewish trade with capitalism and even with revolution. While at the beginning of the nineteenth century Jews were mostly occupied in crafts, at the end of the nineteenth century trade became the primary source of their income. See Haumann, 110-11.

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<sup>225</sup> Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *Fifty Key Jewish Thinkers* (London: Routledge, 1997): 14.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 92-95.

<sup>227</sup> Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 35.

<sup>228</sup> Werner E. Mosse, Arnold Paucker, and Reinhard Rürup, *Revolution and Evolution: 1848 in German-Jewish History* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1981). According to the paragraph I of the Constitution of 1849, the enjoyment of civic and political rights did not depend upon one's religious persuasion. See Max Grunwald, *Vienna* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1936): 395.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>230</sup> In Germany, full emancipation was achieved in March 1848 in several minor principalities. In Germany, the freedom of religion and of conscience as well as granting of civil and political rights irrespective of religious affiliation figured among the central programmatic demands. In Italy, Jews were granted civil and political rights in June 1848. See Mosse, 16-18.

<sup>231</sup> Mosse, 18.

<sup>232</sup> Karl Marx, *Umsturz und Aufbau: Zur Judenfrage*. Ed. Stefan Grossmann (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1919).

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## VITA

**Name** Katarzyna M. Kowalczyk

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### Education

<b>PhD in Germanic Studies, University of Illinois at Chicago</b>	2014
<b>MA in German Philology, UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW</b>	2003

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### Teaching

<b>Acting Director, German Basic Language Program, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO</b>	2013 – 2014
<b>Teaching Assistant, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO</b>	2010 – 2013
<b>German Language Instructor, NORTH PARK UNIVERSITY, Chicago, IL</b>	2006 – 2008

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### Awards and Fellowships

Fellowship of the Holocaust Education Foundation Summer Institute on the Holocaust and Jewish Civilization, Northwestern University (2013)

Robert Kauf Memorial Scholarship. Excellence in Teaching Award. Materials Development Award, UIC Germanic Studies (2013)

Fellowship to attend Max and Hilde Kochmann Summer School for PhD students in European Jewish history and culture, Frankfurt am Main (2011)

Austrian Consulate of Chicago Award for Excellence in Graduate Research (2010)

Robert Kauf Memorial Scholarship. Award for Excellence in Graduate Research, UIC Germanic Studies (2009)

Max Kade Graduate Fellowship (2008)

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### Presentations

*“Assimilation and Kulthurstaat: Franzos and Anti-Slavic Discourse,”* Where East Meets West?: Encounters between ‘Germans’ and ‘Other’ (University of Pennsylvania, 2014)

*“Jewish Females as Others: Female Identity as a Social Construct in Ghetto and Village Tales by Karl Emil Franzos and Leopold von Sacher-Masoch,”* MALCA: Modern Austrian Literature and Culture Association (Long Beach, 2012)

*“The Portrayal of Jewish and Polish Women in the Works of Karl Emil Franzos,”* Western Jewish Studies Association (San Diego, 2011)

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“*The City Sendomir as an Allegory of ‘Foreignness’ in the novella Das Kloster bei Sendomir by Franz Grillparzer,*” MMLA: Modern Midwest Language Association (St. Louis, 2009)

“*Auf der Suche nach der Identität am Beispiel von der Erzählungssammlung Der Hof im Spiegel von Emine Sevgi Özdamar,*” MMLA: Modern Midwest Language Association (Minneapolis, 2008)

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### **Service to the Profession**

Reviewer: *Journal of Austrian Studies*

Chaired Permanent Panel: German Women Writers (Midwest MLA, Detroit, 2014)

Chaired Panel: Topographies of War: Reparation and Compensation in Berlin and Vienna from Post-WWII to the Present (Midwest MLA, Cincinnati, 2012)

Chaired Panel: Minority Voices in the German-Speaking Context: Speaking across Borders (German Graduate Studies Association, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 2011)

Chaired Panel: Trauma, Memory, and War in the German Context (Midwest MLA, Chicago, 2010)

Chaired Panel: Death, Sleep and Power: Migration Beyond Physical Borders in the German Speaking Context (Midwest MLA, St. Louis, 2009)

Participant: ‘Ratten, Romanzen, Kanak-Sprach und Theater’ TA Workshop (Goethe-Institut, Chicago, 2012)

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### **Professional Membership**

MLA (Modern Language Association)

GSA (German Studies Association)

MMLA (Modern Midwest Language Association)

AATG (American Association of Teachers of German); ASA (Austrian Studies Association)

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### **Language Skills**

- Polish – native
- German – near native
- English – near native
- French – basic
- Yiddish – reading knowledge