

Anna O(thodox): Bertha Pappenheim and the Making of Jewish Feminism

DANIEL BOYARIN*

*Departments of Near Eastern and Women's Studies,
University of California at Berkeley*

O

Tell me all about Anna ... (*Finnegan's wake*)

The Mystery of Anna O

It is a story that has become one of the founding myths of modernity. I quote the canonical account of Ernest Jones:

From December 1880 to June 1882 Breuer treated what has become recognized as a classical case of hysteria, that of Fräulein Anna O. The patient was an unusually intelligent girl of twenty-one, who developed a museum of symptoms in connection with her father's fatal illness. Among them were paralysis of three limbs with contractures and anesthesias, severe and complicated disturbances of sight and speech, inability to take food, and a distressing nervous cough which was the occasion of Breuer being called in ... She soon got into the habit of relating to him the disagreeable events of the day, including terrifying hallucinations, after which she felt relief. On one occasion she related the details of the first appearance of a particular symptom and, to Breuer's great astonishment, this resulted in its complete disappearance. Perceiving the value of doing so, the patient continued with one symptom after another, terming the procedure 'the talking cure' or 'chimney sweeping'. Incidentally, at that time she could speak only English, having forgotten her mother tongue, German, and when asked to read aloud from an Italian or French book would do so swiftly and fluently — in English.¹

The story has, in the canonical version, rather a sensational end. Breuer became more involved with his young and beautiful patient, but, of course, did not recognize his 'counter-transference'. One day he arrived at the house to find Anna in the throes of a pseudo-cycesis, a false childbirth. She exclaimed 'Now Dr B.'s baby is

* This is a severely abridged version of the final chapter of Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic conduct: the rise of heterosexuality and the invention of the Jewish man* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).

¹ Ernest Jones, *The young Freud*, in *The life and work of Sigmund Freud* (New York: Basic Books, 1953), 223–5.

coming!' And Breuer, supposedly quite an inhibited person, ran from the house, took his wife on a second honeymoon and conceived their daughter, a daughter whom Jones does not fail to misinform us, committed suicide sixty years later in New York.

This information was gleaned by Jones from the account in the *Studies in hysteria* and in various later Freudian papers. What Jones revealed for the first time, however, in his 1953 publication was that Anna O, was Bertha Pappenheim, the first social worker in Germany (Frankfurt-am-Main), founder of the German Jewish feminist movement, and a militant feminist activist, translator of Mary Wollstonecraft, and highly prominent in the protest against 'white slavery' and for women's education.

As her biographer, Lucy Freeman has put it, 'Perhaps the greatest mystery of all in the story of Anna O. is how the hysterical young woman Breuer thought better off dead and out of her misery could turn into a charming, powerful personality whose achievements were respected throughout Europe'.² Previous interpreters of Anna O.'s transformation into Bertha Pappenheim have either notoriously considered her feminist work a *continuation* of her illness, in the manner of psychiatric antifeminists, or, more sympathetically, argued that after and because she was cured of her hysteria, she became an effective powerful woman. Catherine Clément has interpreted hysteria as feminist resistance.³ I argue that for Anna O., Clément's model of hysteria as feminism is completely compelling, which is, let me emphasize, the precise opposite of the claim that feminism is hysteria. 'The hysteric, reported to be incurable, sometimes — and more and more often — took the role of a resistant heroine: the one whom psychoanalytic treatment would never be able to *reduce*'.⁴

If Dora's is the story of a negated rebellion,⁵ Anna O.'s is the story of a consummated one, signified via her woman-identification, refusal of marriage, and militant feminist career.⁶ In

² Lucy Freeman, *The story of Anna O.* (New York: Walker and Company, 1972), 211.

³ Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clément, *The newly-born woman*, trans. Betsy Wing (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 4.

⁴ Cixous and Clément, *The newly-born woman*, 9.

⁵ Maria Ramas, 'Freud's Dora, Dora's hysteria: the negation of a woman's rebellion', *Feminist Studies*, 6, no. 3 (1980), 472–510.

⁶ Appignanesi and Forrester produce a remarkable, for me deeply moving, different end to Dora's story. Noting that she had become in later years a distinguished contract bridge player and teacher and that her partner was none other than Frau Zellenka (Frau K.) the love object of her early years, they suggest that 'It is as if, across the years, they had finally dispensed with the superfluous men who had previously been their partners in their complex social games and contracts, yet they had retained their love of those games whose skill lies in the secret of mutual understanding of open yet coded communications within and across a foursome. Ida, adept at keeping her hand secret, also knew when and how to play it. Freud might well have been impressed by Ida's fidelity to her friend Frau Zellenka; it certainly would have reinforced in him his belated conviction that Ida's secret love for her had been the deepest current in her mental life', Lisa Appignanesi and John Forrester, *Freud's women* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 167. It took her longer, but Dora also found her way to resist heterosexuality!

a curiously heterosexist account, Ann Jackowitz remarks that 'Pappenheim distrusted men who, unlike women, put their selfish interests first. She allowed no men on her board of directors and felt compelled to maintain a separatist attitude. She insisted that her attack on men was not individual; *yet intimacy with men was beyond her*'.⁷ Jackowitz is, moreover, so stunned when one of Pappenheim's relatives refers to Pappenheim as a lesbian that she reports that she felt 'as if someone stabbed me in the chest' (269). There is also a fabulous moment in one of Pappenheim's letters from Saloniki in 1911:

The Jewish women of Saloniki are said to be especially beautiful. The most beautiful one I saw here, maybe the most beautiful Jewish woman I ever saw, perhaps the most beautiful alive, I found today in a brothel. What a pity, such a strong human flower, born in such an environment, to such a fate. I understand that a man will risk all for such a woman, yet I can't understand this twenty-year old who thus sells the best, the most beautiful she owns, her body — in this way. Does she not have a soul? It is true, she cannot write, cannot read ... it is ten o'clock; I'll stop for today. I'll go to sleep. Maybe I'll dream of beautiful Jolanthe; I can't forget her since I saw her today ...⁸

Almost as if she realized what she had revealed here, Pappenheim writes on the morrow, 'Of course I did not dream of Jolanthe'. There is accordingly some justification for considering Bertha Pappenheim a foremother of lesbian separatist feminism!

I propose that it is plausible to assume that her symptoms were a manifestation of passionate anger, an anger that later found more useful itineraries of expression than hallucinations, paralysis, and aphasia. This is the exact contrary of a frequently held view that would take her success to be *in spite* of her 'illness'. Given the potent effectiveness of Pappenheim's later life as a feminist, her case of hysteria seems a much stronger one with which to support a reading of hysteria as feminist protest than that of Ida Bauer, the famous Dora, who has attracted so much more attention. Surprisingly little has been done on Anna O. from this point of view.⁹ In a real sense, it is Bertha Pappenheim whose case confirms the argument that hysteria is inchoate feminism, because in her case the feminism became tangible and effective. Clément writes that hysteria is both radical and conservative at the same time: 'Antiestablishment because the symptoms — the attacks — revolt and shake up the public, the group, the men, the others, to whom they are exhibited', but '*conservative* because ... every hysteric ends up inuring others to her symptoms, and the family closes around

⁷ Ann H. Jackowitz, 'Anna O., Bertha Pappenheim and Me', in *Between women*, eds Carol Ascher, Louise de Salvo and Sarah Ruddick (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983).

⁸ Dora Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.* (Highland Park, Illinois: Congregation Solel, 1968), 38–9.

⁹ Dianne Hunter, 'Hysteria, psychoanalysis, and feminism: the case of Anna O.', *Feminist Studies*, 9 (1983): 465–88 is the prime exception.

her again, whether she is curable or incurable'.¹⁰ This judgement is, I suggest, only possible because Clément ignores the case of Anna O./Bertha Pappenheim: 'To pass over into the act, making the transition to actions, moving to the inscription of the Symbolic in the Real, and hence producing real structural transformations, is the only possible gesture of departure from sorcery and hysteria. We are not there yet'.¹¹ But Pappenheim was. Her political militance was a successful conversion of her 'hysterical' rebellion. The task of this paper will be to hypothesize what made this possible.

One of the great clues to the mystery of this story is what took place between 7 June 1882, the date of Anna O.'s last session with Breuer in Vienna, at which time we have very little reason to believe she was truly 'healed', and the appearance of Bertha Pappenheim as a strong, active, young woman in Frankfurt in 1888¹² and then her growth into one of the most militant and effective feminist leaders of her time. One thing seems established: At the end of Breuer's treatment, Pappenheim was not yet 'well'. She was admitted to Robert Binswanger's Sanatorium a month later, a 'fact' for which there is ample documentation.¹³ If the 'talking cure' didn't cure Anna O., then it seems plausible that the causes he suggested for her hysteria were also not definitive.

Much, obviously, has been written about Bertha Pappenheim; almost no one, it seems, has investigated in any nuanced way the place of Jewishness in her formation, her 'illness', and her eventual spectacular career as a feminist activist. Marion Kaplan has remarked that in her own time, the feminists rejoiced in her feminist activity but were hostile to her orthodox Judaism; the orthodox were delighted with her activities on behalf of orthodox Jewish learning and continuity, but were dismayed, for the most part, by her feminism. The same could be said for the reception of Bertha Pappenheim into the scholarly and critical tradition. She has been analyzed by analysts, celebrated by feminists, but hardly noticed by orthodox Jews, or *as* an orthodox Jew, at all. In her own imaginary obituary for the *Israelite*, an orthodox publication, she wrote of herself, 'She was often antagonistic — but did not defy her origins'.¹⁴ By describing Pappenheim — almost against her will, as it were — as having left 'orthodox' Judaism, these feminist writers paradoxically repeat the very same gesture of exclusion that her orthodox antifeminist opponents wished to achieve. *They exclude both the woman and the feminist from Judaism, and once more write Jewish culture and society as solely and normatively male.*

¹⁰ Cixous and Clément, *The newly-born woman*, 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹² Freeman, *The story of Anna O.*, 207.

¹³ Albrecht Hirschmüller, *The life and work of Josef Breuer* (New York: New York University Press, 1989), 276–312.

¹⁴ Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*

In 1928, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the girls' club she had founded, she wrote with pride that 'The Girl's Club carried through from its beginning everything according to strict Jewish dietary laws'.¹⁵ She did not, tendentious accounts to the contrary, abandon a commitment to and identification with traditional Judaism but operated as a radical reformer *within* that culture and its institutions. After apparent early (inner) rebellion, Pappenheim remained a devout Jew in later life.¹⁶

A Tale of Two Cities

Lucy Freeman considers Pappenheim's hysteria to have been the product of frustration at being denied education, a denial that she insists was a product of something that she refers to as 'Orthodox civil law'. It is not the case, however, that orthodox Jewish women were kept illiterate or ignorant.¹⁷ True, they were denied access to the type of learning most valued by the cultural system, talmudic studies, but it is a gross category error to equate this disenfranchisement with an 'old Jewish rule that women should learn nothing'.¹⁸ As Paula Hyman states clearly, 'Women in traditional east European Jewish society were neither ignorant nor illiterate'.¹⁹ Most could read Yiddish;²⁰ Pappenheim translated the masterpiece of Yiddish women's devotional literature into German, as well as another early Yiddish religious classic, the *Maase-Buch*, a text that was known as 'the Yiddish Gemora [Talmud]',²¹ because it contained so much of the content of that central canonical work and which was extensively studied by women. The intention of this widely circulated book was explicitly that women (and men) would be able 'for every situation' to 'give a law to be carried out in practice applicable to the case' (qtd., Weissler). As Weissler remarks: 'Readers of this literature could gain familiarity not only with the content of traditional sources, but also with the

¹⁵ Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*, 72.

¹⁶ Marion A. Kaplan, 'Sisterhood under siege: feminism and antisemitism in Germany, 1904–38', in *The Jewish response to German culture from the Enlightenment to the Second World War*, eds Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1985), 242–65.

¹⁷ Shaul Stamfer, 'Gender differentiation and education of the Jewish woman in nineteenth-century Eastern Europe', *Polin: A Journal of Polish Jewish Studies*, 7 (1992), 63–87 provides important correctives to this commonly held misconception.

¹⁸ When Pappenheim writes these words in her essay on the Jewish woman, Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*, 78 she is certainly referring to *Lernen*, the practice of talmudic study as a religious devotion, not to education in general, as I have argued in Boyarin, *Unheroic*, 180.

¹⁹ Paula E. Hyman, *Gender and assimilation in modern Jewish history: the roles and representation of women*, The Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), 54.

²⁰ Iris Parush, 'Readers in cameo: woman readers in Jewish society in nineteenth-century Eastern Europe', *Prooftexts*, 14, no. 1 (January 1994), 9.

²¹ Chava Weissler, 'The religion of traditional Ashkenazic women: some methodological issues', *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, 12, no. 1 (Spring 1987), 82.

way in which traditional Jewish exegesis makes use of sources and structures an argument' (83). Jewish women, moreover, were often much more acculturated to 'modernity' than their husbands and brothers, which ultimately caused a crisis,²² resolved in part by the widespread development of orthodox Jewish educational institutions for girls, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, as well as the promotion of talmudic learning for women by the leading German orthodox rabbi, Azriel Hildesheimer. This was a movement that Pappenheim was very active in as well. Freeman's explanation, moreover, is contradicted by the abundant evidence that Bertha Pappenheim was in fact highly educated from girlhood. Freud himself had written of her, 'The patient had been a young girl of unusual education'.²³ The fact that in her aphasia, Pappenheim produced speech in a veritable Babel of fluent French, Italian, and English — no German — certainly supports this point as well. She was fluent in all of these languages, as well as Hebrew and Yiddish, and must have been, therefore, quite well-read in them. Her allusions to authors in her hysterical speech uphold this as well. Her knowledge of Shakespeare impressed Breuer, and 'she baffled her family and servants with discourses in languages they did not understand and astonished her doctors by producing a rapid, fluent extemporaneous English translation of any text in French or Italian that she was asked to read aloud'.²⁴

There is a necessity for much more detailed and nuanced accounts of the sources of Pappenheim's anger than caricatured and misleading allegations of an alleged Jewish mandate that girls be kept ignorant. It was not knowledge that women as a class were prevented from obtaining in this society, so much as the power and symbolic capital that went with a very particular mode of cultural competence. The bourgeois ideology, however, disenfranchised women even more by insisting that their *only* functions were to be decorative and reproductive, while earlier, more traditional Jewish cultures stipulated a wide range of important public economic activity for women.²⁵ She complains that she had not had a 'down-to-earth education', that is, precisely the kind of education that girls from early modern (pre-embourgeoisement) Jewish families would have had. There is compelling evidence that Pappenheim was extremely frustrated as a girl by the kind of life that she was expected to lead and by some deprivation in the educational sphere which she refers to as 'defective intellectual [geistig]

²² Iris Parush, 'Women readers as agents for social change: the case of East European Jewish society in the nineteenth century', *Gender and History*, no. xx (1996).

²³ Sigmund Freud, 'An autobiographical study', in *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 20, eds James Strachey and Anna Freud, trans. Alix Strachey and James Strachey, reprint, 1925 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1955), 20.

²⁴ Hunter, 'Hysteria, psychoanalysis, and feminism: the case of Anna O.', 469.

²⁵ Hyman, *Gender and assimilation in modern Jewish history: the roles and representation of women*, 67.

nourishment'. However, her description of the useless life that she was expected to lead is nothing like the life of the traditional Jewish girl and wife: 'riding, going for walks, tea parties, visits to the theatre and to concerts, handwork, producing "those countless pointless, insipid trivia which ... prove so alarmingly durable precisely because of their uselessness"'.²⁶ Breuer wrote that she had a powerful intellect that was being denied solid food *since leaving school*, but noted as well 'the contrast between the refined education she had received and the monotonous home life she led'.²⁷ Her anger had less to do with a fictitious orthodox Jewish insistence on women's ignorance than with the fact that Viennese society disallowed higher and professional education for women.

It was the law of the Austrian university, and not any alleged Jewish practice, that prevented her from entering that institution. Hannah Decker has eloquently described the contrast in educational opportunities for Ida Bauer (Dora) and her brother in Vienna one generation later: '*Gymnasium* was only for boys ten to eighteen years of age, so there was no question of Dora's attending one. The difference in the secondary education available to boys and girls at the turn of the century is instructive The difference between Dora's and Otto's education had academic, social, and psychological significance. At the turn of the century, the graduate of a *Gymnasium* was a member of an elite group What a sharp contrast between Otto at nineteen, looking to the future and possessing the abilities to pursue his goals, and Dora at eighteen, dominated by her illness and despairing of life'.²⁸ The Bauers, in contrast to the Pappenheims, were anything but orthodox. They observed almost nothing of traditional Jewish life. Bertha Pappenheim's deprivation and sense of injustice compared to the fate of her brother had nothing, therefore, to do especially with her orthodox Jewish environment but was endemic to Vienna. As Donald Bloch has remarked, 'Hapsburg Vienna was notable for the extent to which it defined sexuality and sex roles differently for males and for females'.²⁹ To put it into my terms, Vienna was particularly affected by the triumphant rise of heterosexuality in the nineteenth century.

Pappenheim wrote a spirited denunciation of the life of bourgeois Viennese girls who were expected to pass the time and waste their lives in trivial pursuits.³⁰ It is thus possible to infer at this point

²⁶ Hirschmüller, *The life and work of Josef Breuer*, 100.

²⁷ Henri F. Ellenberger, 'The story of "Anna O.": a critical review with new data', *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences*, 8 (1972), 27.

²⁸ Hannah S. Decker, *Freud, Dora, and Vienna 1900* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), 57-8.

²⁹ Donald A. Bloch, 'The family therapy of Anna O.: other times, other paradigms,' in *Anna O.: Fourteen Contemporary Reinterpretations*, eds Max Rosenbaum and Melvin Muroff (New York: The Free Press, 1984), 148.

³⁰ Hirschmüller, *The life and work of Josef Breuer*, 100.

already that the pattern of life that Pappenheim protested in that tract was little different from that of girls from any Viennese bourgeois household; there was nothing essentially or peculiarly Jewish about it. Pappenheim herself, who had no inhibitions about criticizing and exposing the demerits of either Judaism or Jewish culture, entitled her polemical tract: 'Zur Erziehung der weiblichen Jugend in den höheren Ständen' ('On the upbringing of female youth in the upper classes').³¹

The fact that Pappenheim's aphasia took the form of, among other things, a total inability (unwillingness) to speak German suggests a cultural protest as well.³² As Ellenberger acutely remarks: 'Obviously Bertha Pappenheim had nothing in common with the "sweet girl" (*das süsse Mädel*) of Schnitzler's theatricals and novels'.³³ Is it possible to imagine that it was *precisely* her Jewish culture that produced this gap? Steven Beller has pointed to some important evidence that the Jewish Viennese bourgeoisie invested *more* not less in daughters' education: 'The different attitude of the Jewish bourgeois ... was evident when the daughters of the two groups went to the same school, the Beamten-töchtereschule, which Käthe Leichter attended. She describes the way in which the bureaucrats' daughters were intentionally kept childlike and brought up to be above all well-ordered, as their fathers had to be, their exercise books as spotlessly clean as officials' documents. The Jewish girls, though totally assimilated, were quite different ... [with] a completely different attitude toward culture, the officials' daughters reading girls' books, the Jewish girls reading Wilde and Schnitzler'.³⁴ Leichter herself wrote: 'With my friends I discussed "last things", shared with them my experiences from books, poetry, nature and music. With the officials' daughters I played mother and child'.³⁵ Anna O.'s deprivation was not produced by her Jewishness but by Viennese bourgeois society.

³¹ The quotation from this text that Marion Kaplan reproduces bears out the generality of her target: 'Until now, an axiom of proper education was to keep girls from knowing anything that occurred beyond the confines of their homes. They studied history from books which were "rewritten for girls" but they remained cut off from the enormous demands of daily life. They do not understand the relationship of poverty, sickness and crime. To them, poverty is a street beggar or a scene in a play, sickness is disgusting, and crime is a sin', (qtd Marion A. Kaplan, *The Jewish feminist movement in Germany: the campaigns of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1904-1938* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 41). This simply does not reflect anything special, or anything at all representative, of Jewish women's lives, but is characteristic of the Viennese *haut bourgeoisie*, Jewish as well as Christian. Helene Lange, Christian founder of the German feminist movement describes her life as a *höhere tochter* in nearly identical terms.

³² Hunter, 'Hysteria, psychoanalysis, and feminism: the case of Anna O', 468.

³³ Ellenberger, 'The story of "Anna O": a critical review with new data', 272.

³⁴ Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews 1867-1938: a cultural history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 186. See also the important statistics in Rozenblitt, 121, which suggest that Jews sent their daughters to whatever schools were available in numbers far higher than their proportion of the population.

³⁵ Herbert Steiner (ed.), *Käthe Leichter: Leben und Werk* (Vienna, 1973).

Bolkosky traces the peculiar and extreme conditions of family life in Vienna to its condition as long-term 'bureaucratic center of the Habsburg *Hausmacht*', and writes, 'this original function of the city was a lasting one that permeated all aspects of life there. The concomitant indifferent, nonfeeling and unsympathetic relationships have historically called for avoiding motherliness. This is not to say that women could not be both mature and loved, mothers and lovers. It is to say that they were rarely perceived that way by men, and that the values of Viennese society militated against the individuation of women'.³⁶

Pappenheim is often, particularly in Lucy Freeman's biography, portrayed as the enemy of a benighted monolithic 'Orthodoxy' that was totally indifferent (or worse) to women. There are two apparent sources for such a (mis)interpretation of Pappenheim. One is surely her extensive activity protesting the Jewish involvement in the procurement of Jewish girls for prostitution and the inability (or unwillingness) of most Rabbis to stop this. Jewish 'white slavery' was a horrendous scandal;³⁷ the suggestion by Freeman that it is somehow allowed, or even mandated, by 'Orthodox Jewish civil law' however, is monstrous.³⁸ Of course, this was not Pappenheim's own opinion. Pappenheim herself writes of the chief Rabbi of Istanbul that he 'does not know

³⁶ Sidney Bolkosky, 'The alpha and omega of psychoanalysis: reflections on Anna O. and Freud's Vienna', *Psychoanalytical Review*, 69 (1982), 145.

³⁷ In 1897, according to the Russian census, the ratio of prostitutes to population of women was higher among Jews, 44/100,000 than in any other single ethnic group, David Biale, *Eros and the Jews: from biblical Israel to contemporary America* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 163.

³⁸ She was not totally lacking in rabbinical support for her feminist activities. The most prominent German orthodox rabbi of her day, the famous Rabbi Nehemiah Nobel of Frankfurt, was an ally of her struggles for greater women's equality within orthodoxy, and she compared him to Rabbi Gershom of Mayence who had banned polygamy in the German Jewish community nearly a millennium earlier, Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*, 81. Most rabbis were unsympathetic to her feminism, and the record of orthodox Judaism is hardly to be vindicated on that score. The reaction of the chief rabbi of Budapest to Pappenheim's request that he support the struggle against the abduction of young Jewish girls and their sale into forced prostitution makes chilling reading. In her reports to her followers, appropriately named *Sisyphus Arbeit*, she writes that 'he said, without a quiver of his eyelids: "I am not interested in this matter"', Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*, 38, Pappenheim contemptuously dismisses him as a 'theater Rabbi' (13). Once more, while this point does not in any way exonerate or excuse the indifference of most other rabbis or the ways that social conditions produced through Jewish practice, such as the inability of abandoned women to remarry, may have exacerbated the problem, it does suggest that the tendentious picture drawn by (Jewish) scholars implacably hostile to Jewish traditions has to be corrected. It is astonishing to me that such writers can record that the Catholic and Protestant feminist movements received some clerical support, while Pappenheim had no allies among the rabbis at all, when the documents clearly indicate that two of the most important rabbis of Europe, Nobel in the West and the Alexanderer in the East, were in some ways her allies. What percentage, it may be asked, of the German Christian clergy were feminists? It is perhaps not inapposite to note that Dora Edinger's biased account was published in English by a reform congregation, although we should be extremely grateful to her for gathering and publishing the documents that contradict her own synthesis.

enough' about the traffic in Jewish girls going on underneath his nose, and that he cannot close the synagogue of the pimps, 'because everybody here is afraid of them'.³⁹ The picture is not one in which the rabbis cause the scandal but one in which out of cowardice (and sometimes indifference), they are unable to do anything about it, while a brave woman could — and did.

My aim is not to defend the record of the rabbis — most of whom were indeed reactionary and antifeminist — but rather to reclaim Bertha Pappenheim as a devout, feminist, radical Jew. At the end of her life, she translated into German from Yiddish a classic of orthodox Jewish women's devotional literature. This is hardly consistent with the picture that Freeman projects (in the full technical sense of this term) of a woman who believes that all religions are oppressive to women but Judaism is the worst. To argue that Pappenheim was dedicated to feminist reform for all women and that she did not single out Judaism as particularly villainous is not to deny in any way the critique of orthodox Judaism and its oppression of women that she undertook. It is to challenge a reification of Judaism that she herself was very active in combating as well. Thus, even when Pappenheim is protesting bitterly about the hair-covering of the married Jewish woman, she is careful to note that it was a general East-European custom, not confined to Jews.⁴⁰

Pappenheim fought vigorously to have the evil of Jewish traffic in Jewish girls exposed in the world. Among her opponents on this issue were many orthodox rabbis with whom she thus contended strenuously. She, however, would not have made the mistake of thinking that their opposition to her efforts was because they (or traditional Judaism) in any way condoned such practices or was indifferent to them, but knew that those Rabbis were afraid that antisemites would make use of such knowledge to further harm Jews as a whole. And, indeed, to her horror, the Nazis did later exploit Pappenheim's writings, distorting them into an accusation that Jews trafficked in Christian girls. However, to echo Pappenheim herself, it is important not to let explanation be made into excuse. I do not think she was wrong and the rabbis were right — racists will always find a way and Jews fighting against Jewish evil frequently *enhance* the Jewish reputation among people of good will —, only that it is an optical error to conclude from this engagement that Pappenheim rejected Judaism or blamed it *particularly* for women's oppression. It is thus highly deceptive when Dora Edinger writes that 'prostitution and illegitimacy' are 'connected with the legal status of women who still lived under Jewish civil law'.⁴¹ Pappenheim, herself, in a text anthologized by

³⁹ Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*, 39.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

Edinger herself, writes that it is the *relaxation* of adherence to Judaism that has led to the immorality, not the adherence (48)! She over and over again emphasizes that the Jewish communities have no power over the procurers.

The other source of misreading of Pappenheim as an opponent of Jewish traditional life is the vigour of her protest against the deprivation of women from the study of Torah and Talmud. The very terms of Pappenheim's protest indicate that her concern was to ensure the continuation of Jewish traditional life and learning (and even Orthodoxy) and not to end them.

I am suggesting that Pappenheim realized a positive aspect of traditional Jewish women's lives in their access to practical knowledge and economic power but at one and the same time, she was also furious at the second-class status of Jewish women within Jewish society and the deprivation of Jewish women in their access to the valued religious knowledge that were the exclusive province of men. What she proposed, I think, reading her essay 'The Jewish Woman' closely, was the reconstruction of an 'orthodox' Jewish life that would maintain the positive and powerful aspects of traditional Jewish women's life — i.e., against embourgeoisement — at the same time that it was fighting their disenfranchisement in the religious sphere and the 'inferior position [of] a daughter in an orthodox Jewish home'. Pappenheim's aim here was to *radically* reform and enhance orthodox Jewish religious life through the enlivening access of women to its vital heart, Torah-study. She emphasizes, moreover, that it was 'strictly orthodox' people who sent their girls to the Baron Hirsch schools, in which secular learning was offered for Jews. Boys were generally prevented from attending these schools. On the other hand, she also clearly assesses how the combination of access to secular learning and German language, via Yiddish, together with the dearth of Jewish learning was leading to 'the influence of German language and German culture, but at the same time among the women less interest in Jewish consciousness, often in favour of the new national consciousness'.⁴² Bertha Pappenheim's fight was not against traditional Judaism but for its radical reform.

Pappenheim's Complaint

Pappenheim's complaint is not that she was denied all education and kept ignorant but that she was denied practical education and preparation for some sort of concrete and useful activity, while her brother trained to be a lawyer. On her own account, it was 'a down-to-earth' education that she envied, not the spiritual pursuits of rabbis,⁴³ much as she protested the inferior position of women

⁴² Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*, 79.

⁴³ Ellen Jenson, 'Anna O — a study of her later life', *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 39 (1970), 89.

with respect to Jewish learning as well. As I have emphasized, she was certainly outraged by the inferior social position of women and girls in historical traditional Judaism — this was crucial to her feminist work —, but the factors that produced her ‘hysteria’ had much more to do with Victorian Vienna than with traditional Judaism. In fact, at the same time, in Eastern Europe Jewish women were gaining more and more access to practical secular education of various types, precisely because the communities had not adopted the value systems of western Europe and the symbolically more valorized talmudic study was reserved for boys while girls were allowed (and even encouraged) to pursue nonreligious intellectual vocations. Just for example, an official report of Warsaw in 1828 claims that ‘the school for girls of the Mosaic faith is in no wise inferior to the best of the general elementary schools’.⁴⁴ This was consistent with a well-established social norm within which Jewish women were ideally the breadwinners for their scholarly husbands.⁴⁵

It follows then that the reduction of women’s economic power, prominence, and independence in the nineteenth century constitutes the conditions for a retrenchment of women’s power in the religious and social sphere as well. According to Biale, the ‘Enlighteners desired marriages based on companionship in which bourgeois respectability would substitute for traditional chastity and in which women would be placed firmly within the confines of the home’ (162) where they had not been enclosed heretofore. As Kaplan’s study emphasizes, the paradigm that Pappenheim so strenuously protests in her tract on women’s education, the expectation of women that they be decorative ‘ladies of leisure,’ was a relatively new bourgeois innovation among German-speaking Jews as well. And Paula Hyman has noted, ‘The vast majority of Jewish women in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century eastern Europe grew to maturity in a society that did not facilitate the division between the public and domestic realms that was essential for the emergence of the middle-class lady’.⁴⁶ Thus, had Pappenheim’s family been more traditional in their life-patterns and less embourgeoisée, there is reason to believe that she might have been less frustrated. Her later adoption of Glikl as role-model

⁴⁴ Iris Parush, ‘The politics of literacy: women and foreign languages in Jewish society of 19th century Eastern Europe’, *Modern Judaism* (1996).

⁴⁵ ‘The phenomenon of women bread-winners was not an innovation of Jewish society in the nineteenth century, but, as the historian Jacob Katz wrote: “this phenomenon became the rule” at that time’ and also: ‘It was precisely the traditional patterns, customs and life style of Jewish society, which continued well into the nineteenth century, that created the conditions which permitted certain sectors of the female society to serve as “agents” of change, and to accelerate the processes of modernization’, Parush, ‘Women readers as agents for social change: the case of East European Jewish society in the nineteenth century’.

⁴⁶ Hyman, *Gender and assimilation in modern Jewish history: the roles and representation of women*, 66–7.

and ego-ideal certainly supports this position as well. I am going to try to support this interpretation in what follows.

Pappenheim's feminist essay, 'The Jewish woman' bears out these observations. She opens with a clear analysis and statement that the reason for the general abandonment of Judaism by Jewish women is owing to their traditional lack of access to Torah-learning. Pappenheim notes, however, glimmers of hope for women in their access to Yiddish and also owing to 'precisely the lack of interest in what women and girls were learning', which 'brought a slow and in the beginning not noticeable movement into Jewish womanhood'. For her, the Yiddish literature, 'the woman's German' as opposed to both Hebrew and standard German, was to be the vehicle of a cultural revolution, whereby Jews would remain warm, active Jews and still become a part of German cultural life (ibid). Her translations of its classics into standard German were not, then, a side-show to her major cultural and feminist projects for a reconstruction of traditional Jewish life with women at the centre. They form, rather, a feminist answer to Moses Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible from Hebrew into Judaeo-German.

This literature, which Pappenheim explicitly recognizes in her essay on 'The Jewish woman' as an ongoing source of cultural power, provided her with an important part of her own literary production as a translator of its classics. Pappenheim thus records the existence of women's creativity and religious power in traditional Jewish culture, alongside of the 'official' story of an all-male tradition being produced only in Hebrew. This Yiddish religious tradition was, for all its secondary status, an avenue of Jewish learning for women in the past that produced a source of female (even proto-feminist) power.

That others recognized this role for the old Yiddish women's literature as well is made clear by the 'enlightened' author of the first secular Yiddish literature, A.M. Dik who averred of his own writing that:

I wrote for the benefit of our women whose eyes look only into a *Taytsh-khumesh* [the very women's Bible that Pappenheim translated, DB] written in a language of stammerers which includes unseemly passages that should never be read by pious women and maidens. Not so my stories written as they are in a fine style, full of ethical teaching, free of any words of eroticism and blemish and they instruct the women to walk in the paths of righteousness and to turn away from all evil.⁴⁷

Startlingly, it is the traditional, 'Orthodox' women's literature which is tainted by 'words of eroticism and blemish.' As Biale makes clear, the function of writing such as Dik's was to further

⁴⁷ Biale, *Eros and the Jews: from biblical Israel to contemporary America*, 167.

the *embourgeoisement* of young Jewish women, of their 'protection' from desire and confinement within the private sphere of domesticity.

Dik's program for modernization of Jewish society thus would have comprised what is for us the decidedly dystopic production of a class of cloistered, idle bourgeois women and girls, for the presence of middle-class women in public spaces had become unacceptable in 'modern, enlightened' circles. 'Because their female ideal was fragile and vulnerable, *maskilim* perceived the skills typical of petty commerce, when practiced by women, as a particular assault on the image of the Jewish community as a whole'.⁴⁸ This embourgeoisement was the regime that caused Anna O.'s great suffering. While Ibsen was protesting Nora's condition, the 'Enlighteners' among the Jews were holding her up as an ideal for a Jewish society 'purged of all dross'! All of these were in direct opposition to Bertha Pappenheim's programme for Jewish modernization *through a radical reclamation and enhancement of the traditional economic and social power of Jewish women* and of Yiddish — of exactly what the other modernizers (including many Zionists) were reading as the 'no longer acceptable ways of Jewish women'.⁴⁹ Max Nordau, eventually the second in command of the Zionist movement, even produced a novel, *The Right to Love*, intended explicitly as a refutation of Ibsen's *Doll's house*.⁵⁰

Pappenheim fathomed the analogy between the emancipation of women and Jews, because 'while each group sought to fit into the dominant society, each had acquired a consciousness of its unique qualities which it deserved to retain'.⁵¹ The Zionists revived Hebrew 'by tapping into a strong distaste for the disempowered *galut* [diaspora] existence that was often consciously or unconsciously perceived as having emasculated or feminized the Jewish collective; this distaste reflected itself, above all, in the rejection of the *mameloshn* that both expressed and was the product of the objectionable Eastern European past'.⁵² Pappenheim, I

⁴⁸ Hyman, *Gender and assimilation in modern Jewish history: the roles and representation of women*, 70.

⁴⁹ In this light, her decision to translate the *Tsenerene*, the Yiddish 'Women's Bible' may be poignantly contrasted to Zionist and 'Enlightenment' contempt for this text, Naomi Seidman, *A marriage made in heaven: the sexual politics of Hebrew and Yiddish* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 310–12. Cp. also Chava Weissler who writes: 'Ashkenazic Judaism itself offered multiple possibilities for the cultural construction of gender, possibilities which can still be explored and reclaimed', Weissler, 'The religion of traditional Ashkenazic women: some methodological issues', 94.

⁵⁰ George L. Mosse, 'Introduction', in *Degeneration*, by Max Nordau, reprint, 1968 (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 22.

⁵¹ Kaplan, *The Jewish feminist movement in Germany: the campaigns of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1904–1938*, 200.

⁵² Naomi S. Seidman, 'A marriage made in heaven?': *the sexual politics of Hebrew-Yiddish diglossia*, Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, MS accepted for publication, reprint, 1993 (1995), 277, Photocopy.

suggest, perceived that by seeing the Jewish collective as 'feminized,' Zionists were effectively writing out the women entirely, because Jewish women were anything but feminized.⁵³ 'I found in the unknown Jewish woman of diaspora Judaism the ability to perform great tasks',⁵⁴ but 'Zionists, (not Zionism) — in their first pronouncements considered all those women's duties which I consider absolutely necessary as negligible'.⁵⁵ Zionism was, after all, explicitly designed to produce a Jewish version of the *Männerbund*, a culture of Muscle-Jews.⁵⁶ Her objections to Zionism were thus founded precisely on the ways that gender traversed the whole project:⁵⁷ rejection of the family and cultural continuity, its intentional uprooting of children from parents,⁵⁸ and together with these, its adoption as one of its primary 'task[s] the suppression of the Yiddish language with all its feminine associations' (ibid). Zionism and Hebrew were projects of the masculinist 'same,' while traditionalism, Yiddish (Women's German), and feminism were undertakings of difference.

Pappenheim's critique was both consciousness raising and redemptive at the same time. On the one hand, she was recovering a tradition of women's spirituality and women's literature, as well as public women's economic and social activity that had been largely lost to the bourgeois German-speaking Jews of her time and which had led to a situation in which for the Jewish woman of the present Judaism had become a dead letter. On the other hand, she was also strenuously indicting the traditional practice — maintained in Eastern Europe — that had kept women from full participation in Jewish learning.

I find Pappenheim in her essay as a precursor of one strand of contemporary feminist practice that insists on the significance of female resistance in the past and not exclusively on the efficacy of male domination. It is crucial in critiquing Jewish androcentrism (as all others) to retain a sense of outrage at the oppression and domination without losing sight of the locations within which women had real power in the society as well. Otherwise, we simply reproduce the cultural caste-system once more. Pappenheim, it would seem, already saw this point.

⁵³ Seidman is particularly sharp on the explicit marginalization of the female in the project of revival of the 'masculine' tongue, Hebrew in Palestine (272–80).

⁵⁴ Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*, 79.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 81. Her 'not Zionism' I take to mean that it is not necessary to the project of national revival that it disregard women's oppression or women's power but these were pandemic among actual Zionists. At other places, she explicitly designs herself an 'old and active enemy of the [Zionist] movement' (Edinger, *Bertha*, 99).

⁵⁶ Max Nordau, 'Muskeljudentum', in *The Jew in the modern world: a documentary history*, eds Paul R. Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 434–5.

⁵⁷ Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*, 81–2.

⁵⁸ Kaplan, *The Jewish feminist movement in Germany: the campaigns of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1904–1938*, 48–9.

The hysteric grew into the feminist, because precisely being a feminist 'cured' the hysteric. What, however, enabled the transformation from one — clearly most painful and not to be romanticized — form of protest to another?⁵⁹ propose the following hypothesis: The difference between the conditions of life for Jewish women in Vienna and Frankfurt was one of the factors that made it possible for Anna O. to become Bertha Pappenheim. Strong, at least circumstantial evidence, for this hypothesis can be gleaned from the fact that after stays in Karlsruhe in which she took nursing courses, a visit to Vienna in 1883 brought on a relapse of her hysteria such that she committed herself to a psychiatric sanatorium on three separate occasions for several months between that year and 1887. After her move with her mother to Frankfurt in 1888 there is no further record of psychiatric disturbance. Pappenheim's contemporaries also remarked the specificity to Vienna of her confinement to a useless life of leisure and the reversal with the move to Frankfurt. She became the housemother in an orphanage for Jewish girls, an occupation virtually impossible to imagine for the bourgeois girl, the *höhere Tochter* in Vienna. One of her later charges wrote of her earliest time in Frankfurt, 'This period meant a complete revolution in her life ... with total renunciation of her former habits — she was very spoiled in Vienna and lived the life of a *höhere Tochter* — she did justice to the many demands which this new sphere of activity imposed on her'.⁶⁰

In Vienna, even when she was sick, Anna O. displayed, according to Breuer, an ability to take care of others, thus signalling on many accounts her later activities. I think, however,

⁵⁹ I am trying to make clear here that by reading a political protest in Bertha Pappenheim's condition, I am not doing her the posthumous injury of making light of her suffering. It has sometimes seemed as if those who would read the illnesses of both female hysterics and Daniel Schreber as political suppress, thereby, the suffering that they underwent. On the other hand, I feel that *palaeodiagnosis*, the medical treatment of long-dead people like Anna O. is a nearly useless procedure, an opinion which has the support of at least one expert historian of medicine: 'Psychiatric case histories, even such comprehensive accounts as Breuer's, should not be assimilated to timeless pathological or anatomical descriptions. We are not free to wrench symptoms and diagnosis from their own temporal and sociocultural contexts. The question of "correct" diagnosis (or of "correct" treatment indeed!) is hardly fruitful. The interpretation of this case, as of others, is stamped with the thought schemata of a given period, as well as being influenced by current institutional conditions. The identification and description of categories appropriate to a particular time would be a most difficult task', Hirschmüller, *The life and work of Josef Breuer*, 132. My interest as a cultural analyst and feminist critic is to use the material in a venture to reconstruct precisely as much of the temporal and sociocultural context and the thought schemata of the time, not to diagnose someone who can no longer be helped (but whose memory might be hurt) by such a procedure. If I write 'illness' with scare-quotes, then, this is not to make light of Pappenheim's suffering but to emphasize what I take to be the environment causes of that suffering. Cf. the very significant remarks of Tania Modleski on romanticized anorexia Tania Modleski, *Feminism without women: culture and criticism in a 'postfeminist' age* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 110.

⁶⁰ Kaplan, *The Jewish feminist movement in Germany: the campaigns of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1904–1938*, 42.

that we must draw a distinction between the private sphere of home-care for the invalid and the public sphere of both social work and political action that Pappenheim later engaged in. Indeed, I argue that the distinction between private and public and the ways that this binary functioned in women's lives is crucial to understanding Anna O.'s metamorphosis into Bertha Pappenheim. Frankfurt had developed a tradition of Jewish women's public social activism, which Vienna apparently lacked.⁶¹

Pappenheim herself later writes of the, 'necessity to adjust the *Mizwah* (religious commandment) — to help your neighbor in changing times — from over-blown philanthropy and blind, senseless spending of money to sensible and conscientious action [i.e., politics]. *The congregation of Frankfort-on-the-Main fifty years ago offered a rich and challenging place for such an effort*'.⁶² There was also a strong current of Jewish feminist activity in Frankfurt at the time and Pappenheim remarks explicitly that the participants were both 'orthodox and liberal'.

It was in Frankfurt that she was able, therefore, to take the position as housemother in a Jewish orphanage, an option that had been unavailable to her in Vienna, and that proved to be her doing. From that position she moved on to the directorship of the orphanage and thence to all of her feminist political and social activities. *Post hoc ergo propter hoc* seems a not unreasonable deduction under the circumstances. Moving to Frankfurt was, then, one of the most important elements in her cure.

In addition to the tale of two cities, her discovery of Jewish and non-Jewish female role models, such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Glikl of Hameln — both of whose works she translated —, was also clearly a significant factor in her self-reconstruction. Her intellectual cousin Anna Etlinger in Karlsruhe strongly encouraged her own literary endeavors,⁶³ and soon after the move to Frankfurt, her first book, *Little Stories for Children*, was published as well.⁶⁴

This book and its sequel were literary renditions of what Breuer had referred to earlier when he wrote: 'This girl who was bubbling over with intellectual vitality led an extremely monotonous existence in her puritanically-minded family. She embellished her life in a manner which probably influenced her decisively in the direction of her illness, by indulging in systematic daydreaming, which she described as her "private theater"'. It is not at all incidental that her first book was published anonymously, her succeeding works under the male pseudonym, Paul Berthold, and

⁶¹ Dora Edinger, 'Bertha Pappenheim (1859–1936); a German-Jewish Feminist', *Jewish Social Studies*, 10 (July 1958), 182.

⁶² Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*, 14.

⁶³ Hirschmüller, *The life and work of Josef Breuer*, 115.

⁶⁴ Hirschmüller dates this publication between 1888 and 1890.

only a decade later did she publish under her own name.⁶⁵ Her publication itself marks the progression from the private to the public. Thus we have two parallel structures of development in the metamorphosis of 'Anna O.' into Bertha Pappenheim and both involve the move from a *private* theatre to a *public* one, from a theater of inner reverie and hysterical performance to a public arena of literary production⁶⁶ and militant feminist activism, from self-punishing to punishing of the male power-structures that oppressed her and other women, especially Jewish women.

As Decker has expressed it in the case of Dora: 'Since women often could not be overtly assertive in Victorian life, they could be passively aggressive. Hysteria gave them indirect power, which they used quite well. Hysterical women could leave relatives, friends, and doctors baffled, annoyed, angry — and impotent either to understand the situation or do anything about it. The angrier others became toward the hysterical female patient, the more she responded in the only way she could, indirectly, with intractable symptoms and increased manipulation of those close to her.... Yet in striking out against a world she did not like, Dora ultimately lashed out most cruelly against herself'. Luckier than most, Bertha Pappenheim was to discover direct power, which she used to much purpose. I categorically reject pathologizing interpretations of Pappenheim's later life that seek to diagnose her political life as illness. This is the importance, rather, of diagnosing 'illness' as political speech, without, once more I emphasize, denying the very real suffering of the hysteric. The move from private to public, from Viennese Victorian 'angel in the house' to political fighter is what enabled that transformation.

Like Freud and Herzl, Bertha Pappenheim was (in part) a transplanted Eastern Jew; her father was born in Pressburg (now Bratislava) in Slovakia. Her mother was the daughter of a wealthy Frankfurt Jewish family. She grew up, of course, like them in Vienna during a cultural moment in which heterosexuality was being invented, and Jewish men and women were being interpellated into its regime. Ann Pellegrini proposes 'a structural analogy between the more dominant household role played by Jewish women in Eastern Europe (as opposed to the "angel in the house model" of Victorian, Christian womanhood), on the one hand, and the masculinization of early childhood femininity, on the other. The achievement of properly passive and vaginal female sexuality would then be structurally analogous to the "westernization" of Jewish household dynamics, in which the male assumes the normative and Christianized role of head of

⁶⁵ Hirschmüller, *The life and work of Josef Breuer*, 117.

⁶⁶ Diane Price Herndl, 'The writing cure: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Anna O., and "hysterical" writing', *NWSA Journal*, 1, no. 1 (1988), 52-74.

household, and the female recedes to the background'. And 'in Freud's subterranean geography of Jewishness, gender, and race, East is to West as phallic women are to angels in the house.... In Freud's own "case history", East was to West as his Galician mother, Amalie Nathanson Freud was to his German wife, Martha Bernays Freud'.⁶⁷ Such a gendered pattern was bound to appear queer to Germanized Jews (and to the bourgeoisie in general).⁶⁸ Within late nineteenth-century German culture, as John Fout has emphasized, manliness was defined as (among other things) having a career and supporting one's family economically. Within the context of the dominant fiction of European culture, for a man, being supported by a woman would certainly have been encoded, then, as effeminizing, while having a career rendered a woman a viragined monster. As Fout writes: 'Women did not have careers because if they worked at all, it was argued, it was merely to supplement the efforts of their men. It was often reiterated, for example, that it was wrong for women to want access to men's work. By claiming the rewards of work as the sole domain of men, the moral purity movement sought to limit as long as possible any new opportunities for women to expand areas of women's work. The moralists wanted to maintain the strict gender polarization and gender-specific features of most paid employment. The male moral purity movement understood all too well the remarkable power that came with the male role'.⁶⁹ But Jewish women had traditionally held at least *that* kind of remarkable power, thus bringing the bourgeois paradigm and the traditional Jewish one into sharp dissonance.⁷⁰

In her early life, Pappenheim lived in the Jewish 'ghetto' of Leopoldstadt, which was by then quite full of Galician immigrants. A difference between the family environments of Pappenheim, on the one hand, and those of Freud and Herzl, on the other, is that she was raised in a quite traditional but highly acculturated orthodox Jewish home, while theirs were equally acculturated but respectively quite and thoroughly estranged from Jewish traditional life. Thus, where the two male figures devoted themselves to

⁶⁷ Ann Pellegrini, 'Without you I'm nothing: performing race, gender, and Jewish bodies', in *Jews and other differences: the new Jewish cultural studies*, eds Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

⁶⁸ A piquant sidelight to this point is the fact that Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, a Polish non-Jew who rather favoured dominant women, frequently had Jewish women as his heroines. One of his stories was about the wife of a Talmud scholar, who was 'born to rule', and — dressed in furs. On this, see the illuminating article by David Biale, 'Masochism and Philosemitism: the strange case of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 17 (1982), 313–14.

⁶⁹ John C. Fout, 'The moral purity movement in Wilhelmine Germany and the attempt to regulate male behavior', *Journal of Men's Studies*, 1 (August 1992), 21.

⁷⁰ Parush, 'Women readers as agents for social change: the case of East European Jewish society in the nineteenth century'.

escaping the difference of Jewish gender, I argue, Pappenheim was engaged in enhancing its usable aspects and radically transforming its deleterious mien. In 1934, she writes extensively in protest against the Zionist and other youth movements, which although they provide enrichment of girls' lives, 'tear the pre-adolescent and adolescent young people out of their families in which they should be firmly rooted for the future, because religious ties during girlhood through education and custom should surround the whole religious existence'.⁷¹ As Naomi Seidman observes, for Zionists 'Hebrew was not just a language, it was also a reorganization of traditional family structures, a recovery program for wounded Jewish masculinity and a corrective to the *no longer acceptable ways of Jewish women*'.⁷² As I have elaborated above, these 'no longer acceptable ways' involved precisely those sources of economic and thus social autonomy and power that traditional Jewish culture did make, willy-nilly, available for women. This authority is symbolized in part by the fact, pointed out by a scandalized Aizik Meir Dik in the above-quoted passage, that men were frequently called by their wives' or mothers-in-law's names. Such names remain Jewish surnames until this day: Perles [belonging to Perl], Taubes etc. In other words, at least Western Zionism was an instrument of the colonization of Jewish culture in this respect as well.⁷³

Glikl of Hameln provided Bertha Pappenheim with several vital constituents for the creation of a traditionally Jewish, feminist identity. She, apparently like Anna O., was an author who wrote 'for fear of falling into melancholia'.⁷⁴ Pappenheim, to be sure, emphasizes the exceptional nature of Glikl's literary career and protests the fact that it was essentially private in nature, written, as it was, for her family, a fact that provides further evidence for my claim that the binary of private/public was a central dynamic in Pappenheim's social psychic life.⁷⁵ Pappenheim wanted to go beyond Glikl to full active cultural participation for Jewish women in public religious and literary life. At the same time, however, she claims Glikl as a model for her own and other Jewish women's lives. Pappenheim writes explicitly that Glikl 'represents the German-Jewish culture of her day' (*ibid*), at the same time that

⁷¹ Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*

⁷² Naomi S. Seidman, 'A marriage made in heaven?': *the sexual politics of Hebrew-Yiddish diglossia.*

⁷³ To be sure, other Zionisms offered for a moment more radical gender options as well. These were quickly closed off, however, once male Jewish machismo became the main goal. See Biale, *Eros and the Jews: from biblical Israel to contemporary America*, and even on the most radical of kibbutzim women became quite quickly the cooks and nurturers, men the farmers and workers.

⁷⁴ George H. Pollock, 'Glückel von Hameln: Bertha Pappenheim's idealized ancestor', *American Imago*, 28, no. 3 (1971), 218-19.

⁷⁵ Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*, 77.

she protests that she did not influence that culture. In other words, once again we find the dual move of resistance to the terms of a bourgeois civilization that would deprive Jewish culture of significance and value for women at the same time that a militant critique of that society's treatment of women is being pursued. Pappenheim sought to enhance the valuable aspects of traditional Judaism and surmount the injurious ones.

I am not suggesting that all early modern Jewish women had lives like Glikl's; not all were as talented or as fortunate in family and marriage as she, but I am claiming that her life was well within the parameters of what could be expected and hoped for in many traditional Jewish societies. Bertha Pappenheim protested against Jewish societies that did not live up to this ideal and sought to reconstruct them as well as herself in its image. As Pappenheim resisted embourgeoisement, heterosexualization, and thus the confinement of fin-de-siècle Viennese women and became more like Glikl of Hameln, she became more powerful and left her affliction behind. I hypothesize that 'her solid, rugged, masculine appearance' (Edinger, *Bertha* 77, quoting from a memoir) was not an idiosyncrasy but a cultural characteristic. Bertha Pappenheim, like Sigmund Freud and Theodor Herzl, was caught in the crisis of Jewish gender at the *fin de siècle*, a crisis that was both part of a general European moment as well as a specific moment in Jewish modernization, one particularly acute in Vienna. The difference is that Pappenheim's practice was dedicated to the continuation of Jewish culture as an independent alterity, while Freud's and Herzl's were dedicated to its disappearance.⁷⁶ For Pappenheim, Judaism — for all of her bitter critique — was syntonic; for Freud and Herzl dystonic. They were devastated by the construction of Jews as differently gendered; Pappenheim owned this difference.⁷⁷

I would suggest that Pappenheim suffered in her youth from extreme conflicts of role modelling, since her mother was a very powerful and active woman, but all of the sociocultural expectations and stereotypes that surrounded her were of women's passivity and idleness. Pappenheim sought to identify herself with or win acceptance, therefore, from the male figures in her life. This, however, also left her furious at those very male authority figures. When she found ways of identifying as a strong, active

⁷⁶ Boyarin, *Unheroic*.

⁷⁷ One cannot ignore the fact that in the general economy of gender in Euroamerican culture, 'butch' seems almost always valued over 'femme'. This would argue that viragining women are more acceptable than feminizing men; thus the Jewish female is ultimately more assimilable as such than the Jewish male, at least on the psychosexual level. Men and women will boast of having a 'tomboy' daughter; how many (even feminists) will boast of having a 'sissy' son. It is, in part, to make whatever intervention in that discourse that I can that I seek in this project.

female, she was able to 'introject' her mother as a positive role model. As evidence for her identification with her mother, I would adduce the fact that when she died, according to her request, she was buried next to her mother in Frankfurt and not her father in Vienna, and this was a long-term plan, recorded in *Yahrzeit* (memorial) prayers she wrote in honor of her mother.⁷⁸ It seems that one of the most compelling moments in the transformation that enabled this incorporation of the mother was the discovery of Glikl of Hameln as an ancestress, an event which also took place sometime in the second half of the 1890's.⁷⁹ Breuer reports that Anna was completely irreligious, although keeping traditional Jewish law for her father's sake at the time of his treatment of her, and Ellenberger inquires, 'One would wish to know how and when she resumed to the faith of her ancestors and became the ardent religious personality of the later years'.⁸⁰ The answer is to be found, once more, I think in the discovery of positive, active, female Jewish role models who functioned in public and were not confined to the 'private theater'. The most important of these was Glikl. It is certainly highly significant that when she had a portrait painted, she had herself dressed in the clothing that Glikl would have worn, including the hair-covering of the traditional Jewish woman.⁸¹

Anna O., arguably the founder of psychoanalysis is thus also recovered as the inventor of Orthodox Jewish feminism, of a feminism that seeks to preserve and enhance traditional Jewish life and difference while equally trenchantly fighting for feminist reform within it. It is probably clear by now that if for Bertha Pappenheim, Glikl of Hameln was an ego-ideal, then Bertha Pappenheim is such for me: the Jew who 'got it right', who figured out how to combine — however tensely — militant feminist protest, demand for radical change within Judaism, with a continued commitment to the existence of vibrant, full traditional Jewish life and personal commitment to continuing practice of Halakha. I would have my portrait painted in Bertha Pappenheim's clothes. She seems to have been able to negotiate the mine-field between critique and defense of Jewish culture, between polemic

⁷⁸ Edinger, *Bertha Pappenheim: Freud's Anna O.*

⁷⁹ The first edition of the Yiddish original of the text was published by David Kauffman in 1896. Pappenheim's German translation of Glikl's memoirs was published in 1910.

⁸⁰ Ellenberger, 'The story of "Anna O.": a critical review with new data', 278.

⁸¹ The original has been lost. Fortunately, it has been twice published: once in the original calendar of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, and once in the *Blätter* of that organization, for April 4, 1932, Dora Edinger, 'Bertha Pappenheim (1859–1936): a German-Jewish feminist', *Jewish Social Studies*, 10, no. 3 (July 1958), 101. The portrait is reproduced on the cover of a new edition of Glikl published in 1979 in Darmstadt by the Verlag Darmstädter Blätter as if it were a portrait of Glikl herself and nowhere identified in the book as a portrait of Pappenheim. I am not sure whether Pappenheim would have been pleased or not at this total erasure of the border between her and her 'ego-ideal'.

and apologetic, that seems so formidable and yet so imperative. She is also the Jew who, moreover, combined her passionate concern for 'her own People' and her devotion to their way of life with activity on behalf of all oppressed women everywhere and in solidarity with all other women as well.

