

BENJAMIN MARIA BAADER is Assistant Professor of History
at the University of Manitoba.

GENDER, JUDAISM, AND BOURGEOIS CULTURE IN GERMANY, 1800–870

The Modern Jewish Experience

Paula Hyman and Deborah Dash Moore, editors

*Gender, Judaism,
and
Bourgeois Culture
in Germany,
1800-1870*



BENJAMIN MARIA BAADER

Indiana University Press

Publication of this book is made possible in part by generous support from the Koret Foundation.

This book is a publication of

Indiana University Press
601 North Morton Street
Bloomington, IN 47404-3797 USA

<http://iupress.indiana.edu>

Telephone orders 800-842-6796
Fax orders 812-855-7931
Orders by e-mail iuporder@indiana.edu

© 2006 by Benjamin Maria Baader

All rights reserved

No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher. The Association of American University Presses' Resolution on Permissions constitutes the only exception to this prohibition.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Baader, Benjamin Maria.

Gender, Judaism, and bourgeois culture in Germany, 1800-1870 / Benjamin Maria Baader.

p. cm. — (The modern Jewish experience)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-253-34734-3 (cloth : alk. paper) 1. Jews—Germany—History—19th century. 2. Judaism—Germany—History—19th century. 3. Jews—Germany—Identity. 4. Jewish women—Germany—History—19th century. 5. Middle class—Germany—History—19th century. 6. Subculture—Germany—History—19th century. 7. Germany—Ethnic relations. I. Title. II. Modern Jewish experience (Bloomington, Ind.)

DS135.G33B27 2006

305.48'696094309034—dc22

2005032135

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS / vii

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS AND BIBLE QUOTATIONS / ix

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS / xi

Introduction 1

Part 1. The Rise of a Bourgeois Judaism

1. The Periodical *Sulamith* and the Beginnings of
Bourgeois Judaism 19
2. At the Crossroads: Politics of Inclusion
and Emancipation 42
3. Beyond Halakhah: Judaism in the
Mid-Nineteenth Century 74

Part 2. Sites of Change

4. The Transformation of the Culture of Prayer 99
 5. Bourgeois Synagogue Devotion 134
 6. From Male *Hevrot* to Modern Jewish
Voluntary Associations 161
 7. Modern Rabbis and Jewish Women 184
- Conclusion: Women, Men, and the
Feminization of Judaism 211

NOTES / 223

BIBLIOGRAPHY / 253

INDEX / 279

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to a great number of people and institutions for enabling me to undertake this study and to complete this book. In the long line of teachers and mentors who have shaped me and this work, Reinhard Rürup, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, and Marion Kaplan stand out by having provided crucial support, guidance, and inspiration. I have also profited from the expertise and the encouragement of Michael Stanislawski, Lisa Tiersten, and Atina Grossmann in New York, Steven Lowenstein and David Myers in Los Angeles, and Derek Penslar in Toronto.

And I have been able to discuss many of the large and small issues that this study addresses with Ruth Abusch-Magder, Karla Goldman, Deborah Hertz, and Till van Rahden. Moreover, I thank Monika Richarz and Susan Gross Solomon for their help. The members of the German Women's History Study Group in New York offered advice and support in the initial stages of this project. Erika Hirsch, Elke Kleinau, Bettina Kratz-Ritter, Rainer Liedtke, Ingrid Lohmann, Uta Lohmann, Ursula Randt, Susanne Maria Zieger, and others generously shared their work with me, and many other individuals assisted along the way with suggestions that have become part of this book.

I am grateful to all the archivists and librarians in New York, Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Coswig, Jerusalem, Los Angeles, Toronto, Halifax, and Worms without whom this work could not have been done. At the Leo Baeck Institute in New York, I want to remember Ronald Axelrod who took great interest in this study and passed away, much too young, in the summer of 1999. I also thank James Casteel, Renate Evers, Miriam Intrator, Frank Mecklenburg, Diane Spielmann, and Deborah Thorne at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York; Barbara Welter at the Stiftung "Neue Synagoge Berlin—Centrum Judaicum" in Berlin; Jürgen Sielemann at the Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg in Hamburg; and Stefan Litt and Ya'akov Tsabar at the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem. At Indiana University Press, Janet Rabinowitch consistently provided thoughtful and helpful advice, and I thank Joyce Rappaport and Greg Domber for their care and patience with the manuscript.

I was fortunate to receive substantial support for the research and the

and Culture from the Leo Baeck Institute in New York, the Inter-university Fellowship in Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Finkelstein Fellowship of the University of Judaism in Los Angeles, the Ray D. Wolfe Fellowship for Advanced Research in Jewish Studies at the University of Toronto, the Frances and Isaac Zlotowski & Krisha Zlotowska Award from the Jewish Community Foundation of Montreal, and fellowships from the Social Science Research Council, the Memorial Foundation of Jewish Culture, the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation, and the American Academy for Jewish Research. Columbia University supported the research and writing of this study with the President's Fellowship, fellowships of the Center for Israel and Jewish Studies, the Irene C. Fromer Fellowship in Jewish studies, and the Louise Hoffman Memorial Scholarship. Finally, the Koret Foundation Jewish Studies Publication Program and the Research Development Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences at Dalhousie University awarded me publication grants. I am grateful for each of these honors; together they provided the support I needed for the completion of this work.

The greatest debt, however, I owe to the women and men whose lives form the subject of *Gender, Judaism, and Bourgeois Culture*. May they be lenient with me, though I have projected my questions onto their experience. I found the records of their families and communities in Berlin and Hamburg and—in larger numbers—dispersed to Jerusalem, Cincinnati, and New York. I have collected the traces of their lives and have carried boxes with photocopies of their letters, memoirs, diaries, and communal records further into exile to Los Angeles, Toronto, and Halifax. With pride, gratefulness, and satisfaction I now see my work and the cultural legacy of nineteenth-century German Jewry contribute to the scholarly community of the University of Manitoba and to the Jewish community of Winnipeg. Having myself been born and raised in Germany in the shadow of the Shoah, I wrote in North America about one of the most optimistic, vibrant, and hopeful periods in German-Jewish history. In doing so, I have attempted to give resonance to the world of German Judaism and Jewish Germanness that preceded our era. While I am the author of these chapters, this book belongs to the German Jews of the nineteenth century. For their sake, may German-Jewish history and culture with all its complexity, as it has persisted in Europe and in the diaspora and as it resurges in Germany today, continue to revive and find fulfillment in the future.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS AND BIBLE QUOTATIONS

Biblical quotations in this study follow the translation of the 1985 edition of the *Tanakh*, published by the Jewish Publication Society in Philadelphia and Jerusalem. Transliterations of Hebrew words are given according to the standards of the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, unless Hebrew names are spelled differently in contemporary Latin-letter documents or publications (see *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 1:90).

ABBREVIATIONS

AZdJ	Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums
CA	Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CJ	Stiftung “Neue Synagoge Berlin—Centrum Judaicum,” Berlin
LBI	Leo Baeck Institute, New York
LBIYB	Leo Baeck Institute Year Book
StaAH	Staatsarchiv Hamburg

GENDER, JUDAISM, AND BOURGEOIS CULTURE IN GERMANY, 1800-1870

Introduction



As a study of gender and religious culture, this text explores the transformation of Judaism during a period of profound change. In the early and middle part of nineteenth-century Germany, Jews became integrated into the surrounding society, achieved an outstanding degree of socioeconomic upward mobility, embraced bourgeois culture, strove for political emancipation, and adapted the features of their religion and culture to the modern world. This work explores changes related to women's place in Jewish culture in those crucial decades. Indeed, the account of how women gained in importance and visibility in nineteenth-century Jewish culture constitutes a central narrative of the book.

When German Jewry rose into the middle classes, women moved from the margins of Jewish society and culture to a more prominent position. At the same time, however, the gender analysis that I develop in these pages serves as a lens to focus on a larger process in Jewish history. Women's increasing importance in German Judaism formed part of a set of fundamental shifts in Jewish life, cultural and religious practices, and sensibilities in the nineteenth century.

The Judaism of pre-modern eras had been a culture defined by male learning and ritual observance. Halakhah (Jewish law) and men's study of rabbinic texts had reigned supreme. Over the course of the nineteenth century, though, Judaism became the religion of a modern, middle-class population and evolved into a culture of bourgeois religiosity that addressed women as well as men. In the bourgeois Judaism that arose in Germany between 1800 and 1870, sentiments, aesthetics, *Bildung* (the harmonious formation of the heart and the intellect), and *Sittlichkeit* (morality) came to possess overarching importance. This modern Judaism relied heavily on the family, on women's particular contribution to Jewish culture, and on both genders' emotional and religious sensitivity.

Women's status in Jewish religious culture rose in nineteenth-century

Germany, yet women did not achieve religious emancipation." Nor were

they “liberated” in any sense, and they did not gain access to offices in the synagogues or governing boards of Jewish communities. In fact, women did not fight for equality within Jewish society or for greater inclusion in religious practices, and they tended not to publicly articulate their desires and preferences in regard to Jewish ritual. However, Jewish men and women together shaped a novel religious culture in which the differences between the sexes were significantly less pronounced than they had been in pre-modern Judaism. Hence, in nineteenth-century bourgeois Judaism, the hierarchical division between men and women that had characterized the gender order of Jewish culture for centuries subsided. The mechanisms that had held women at the periphery of Jewish religious life ceased to exercise their defining power.

Women had been excluded from the most highly valued practices of rabbinic Judaism—Talmud Torah (religious learning) and communal Hebrew prayer—and were exempt from the duty to perform certain categories of ritual obligations that carried much prestige. In the nineteenth century, the cultural importance of these religious practices declined, and many men ceased to engage in them consistently. Learnedness in rabbinic literature lost its preeminence as a yardstick of status and achievement within Jewish society. Concurrently, Jewish men increasingly founded their claim to masculinity and to male superiority on their privileged access to the public arenas of civil society, including politics, the university, and the professional world. At the same time, German Jews embraced ideas of a cultivated and aesthetically and emotionally meaningful domestic life, and Jewish men found new meaning in being devoted fathers and husbands.

Although men expected to experience bourgeois forms of Jewish religiosity within the family, it was women who gained particular recognition and esteem in the course of the privatization of Judaism that took place in nineteenth-century Germany. As mothers and mistresses of culturally refined German-Jewish households, they came to be highly valued as exemplars of and as experts in morality and religious intuition. In accordance with middle-class notions of gender characteristics, contemporaries stressed the significance of women’s beneficial influence on and indispensable role in religious culture. Nineteenth-century Jews prized femininity as a Jewish value. In fact, women as well as men engaged in religious practices that, according to the cultural norms of pre-modern Jewish life worlds, were gendered feminine. In the home and in the synagogue, the time-honored world of Talmud Torah-centered Judaism and its gender hierarchy fell into decay, and German Jews—across the religious spectrum from Reform to modern Orthodoxy—embraced a new, bourgeois culture of religious sensitivity. This embourgeoisement and modernization of Judaism and the transformation of the gender order of Jewish culture are the two interrelated strands of the story that I tell in this book.

WOMEN, MEN, AND THE RECASTING OF JUDAISM

In pre-modern Jewish society, as in other Western cultures, gender difference has formed the ground for male privilege and concepts of male superiority and female inferiority. This division has gone hand in hand with ideologically charged ideas of masculine and feminine characteristics and rests on divisions of social spheres into privileged male and less valued female domains. Or, as the historian Paula Hyman has phrased it, “in patriarchal cultures virtually all social roles and most character traits are ascribed to sex, with the positions of highest status and the most highly prized characteristics. . . . reserved for men. . . . The position of women in Judaism rests upon this patriarchal sex-role differentiation and the concomitant disparagement of women.”¹

Yet the gender order of Jewish culture distinguishes itself from that of other Western societies. In Jewish communities, the difference between men’s and women’s religious practices plays a crucial role in determining men’s distinct and privileged position. In Ashkenaz (the area of Jewish settlement and Jewish culture in Western and Central Europe) in the early modern era, gender was negotiated within what Chava Weissler has called a system of “sociology of religious knowledge.”²

Gender differentiation and gender hierarchy in pre-modern Jewish society was not grounded in men’s access to and women’s exclusion from the public, economic, or political realms as they were in Western cultures. In fact, an analysis of Talmudic literature lets us trace a distinctive Jewish gender order back to antiquity. Their authors (the rabbis of ancient Palestine and Babylonia) created the foundation of what became known as rabbinic Judaism. The role of this literature in shaping Jewish life for centuries is significant, and in these texts we encounter a Jewish model of masculinity that diverges from Western ideals of male identity. The men described here do not derive their claims to maleness from power in the realms of politics, the military, and economy. Male identity, rather, is constructed, tested, and maintained when Jewish men study Torah. Within the gender order of rabbinic Judaism, “Torah as a gendered activity . . . produces the hierarchically ordered categories of men and women.”³

In early modern Ashkenaz, women could engage in business and be active in the public and economic spheres, but their access to rabbinic study, to Hebrew learning and communal prayer, remained severely restricted. Thus, if we follow Joan Scott and understand gender as emerging in the social relationships between what contemporaries position as the two sexes, women in pre-modern Jewish society were inferior to men because of their exclusion from the Talmud Torah. In Jewish society throughout the ages, Talmud

Torah has formed the most highly invested cultural practice, and the pursuit of Talmud Torah played a key role in defining masculinity and male superiority.⁴ Consequently, when Jewish men disengaged from these practices in the nineteenth century, their withdrawal could not fail to have dramatic implications for Jewish society, for Jewish religious culture, and for how German Jews thought about gender. Jewish men renegotiated what it meant to be men, and women assumed important roles in the new, family-centered bourgeois Judaism.

The culture of nineteenth-century Jewish religiosity stood out with German Jews' high regard for women, for family life, and for religious experiences and practices defined as feminine. Yet in all of these aspects, German Jews built on traditions in rabbinic Judaism and pre-modern Jewish culture. For centuries, Jewish women had not only enjoyed protection and respect, but Jewish texts also attached importance to women's contributions in daily life and Jewish history. These texts also emphasized feminine virtues. Jewish societies in early modern Ashkenaz accordingly valued women's piety and relied on women's religious competence in realms such as the preparation of food and the observance of sexual purity laws. Moreover, concepts of the power of the feminine were particularly common in mystical texts, and from Talmudic times on, Judaism understood certain aspects of God as female and motherly. In a similar vein, rabbinic literature called upon men to embrace and to enact femaleness. Nevertheless, in premodern Jewish society and within the cultural system of halakhic and rabbinic Judaism, women occupied an inferior and marginal position. They failed to have a voice in the discourse of rabbinic scholarship that shaped Jewish life. They were acted upon, even if in predominantly respectful ways. Within the legal and religious system of Halakhah itself, women suffered a variety of disabilities. In the spiritual economy of the pre-modern Jewish world, where merit primarily derived from the fulfillment of divinely ordained ritual commandments and where Talmud Torah ranked highest among these duties, called *mitzvot*, women had less access to piety and distinction than men. Exclusion from the communal practices of religious study and Hebrew prayer thus had a profoundly negative impact on their role in the religious life of the Jewish community.⁵

This situation changed in German lands in the nineteenth century, when a new cultural formation replaced the Judaism of early modern Ashkenaz. Marion Kaplan and Paula Hyman have pioneered an analysis of this phenomenon by describing this modern Jewish culture as a “domestic Judaism” in which women became the main transmitters of the Jewish religion and of Jewish identity, as many Jewish men abandoned synagogue attendance and neglected Jewish ritual. Hence, in Imperial Germany women

not only played a crucial role in the social and cultural embourgeoisement

of the Jewish population by building and maintaining a respectable and culturally refined German family life, but also by cultivating Judaism and Jewishness in the domestic realm. Women appear to have held on to Jewish piety longer than men, who spent more time in an increasingly secular world beyond the home. Through foodways and family customs, women continued to provide their husbands and children with a Jewish experience. Thus, in societies in which Jews integrated into the middle classes and

adopted bourgeois lifestyles and value systems, the “privatization of much of Jewish behavior” was a Jewish response to the demands of modernity that led to a greater role for women in Jewish culture.⁶ At the same time, the development of a Judaism that was sustained by women and lived out in the home represented the Jewish variant of what scholars have called “the feminization of religion” in Western societies in the nineteenth century. Contemporaries ascribed women a particular aptitude and responsibility for religiosity, and religion became a female and feminine domain, as it played a smaller role in civil society than it had in pre-modern life worlds. The church or the synagogue and the home were the sites to which contemporaries tended to restrict religiosity.⁷

In the first part of this book, I discuss the confluence of femininity, religiosity, and domesticity in German and German Jewish religious culture, and I describe how a bourgeois Judaism emerged, took hold, and unfolded in German lands in the decades between 1800 and 1870. This bourgeois Jewish culture had traits of a domestic Judaism. Male Jewish leaders created and promoted a modern Jewish religiosity in the early and eminently influential Jewish German-language periodical *Sulamith*, in new devotional literature for women, in women- and family-oriented homiletics, and in a variety of other Jewish publications. In these publications, reformers, ideologues, educators, rabbis, and preachers assigned women a decisive role. They lauded Jewish women as mothers and as guardians of their families’ and children’s commitment to Judaism—and criticized women for any perceived lack or decline of religiosity. According to the male leaders, Jewish women fulfilled their holiest duty in the domestic realm. Yet the modernizers also put a novel emphasis on women’s presence in the synagogue, welcomed Jewish girls in newly devised programs of religious instruction, and included female students in confirmation ceremonies. Moreover, rabbis as diverse as Samson Raphael Hirsch and Adolf Jellinek not only addressed women and stressed the female contribution to Jewish life, but also propagated a Judaism inspired by feminine values. They declared that Judaism, as a civilization and a religion, had always been family oriented and was driven by feminine principles. Thus, this study confirms that Jewish women rose in status and importance in nineteenth-century Jewish culture, and

that their improved status and visibility partly resulted from factors inherent in bourgeois culture, such as the emphasis on an emotionalized religiosity, notions of women's high propensity for the religious, and concepts of the home as a female and a religious sphere.

The new culture of bourgeois religiosity that German Jewry created was a feminized Judaism for women as well as for men. Nineteenth-century bourgeois Judaism did not primarily constitute a domestic Judaism from which men withdrew. Bourgeois Judaism, rather, was a feminized, privatized, and emotionalized culture of religiosity that both men and women cultivated in the home as well as in the synagogue. Men, too, prized the domestic realm as a site of religious experience and emotional fulfillment, and they sought moral elevation and edification in the synagogue. The new religious practices of nineteenth-century German Judaism addressed both sexes, who now—as mothers and fathers, husbands and wives, daughters and sons—occupied significantly more equal positions than men and women had held in previous eras.

The second part of this book details how the equalization of men's and women's roles in Jewish life played out in some key sites of Jewish practice and ritual. In the synagogue, where women had occupied a marginal position in the culture of pre-modern and rabbinic Judaism, female worshippers gained visibility in nineteenth-century Germany. They were integrated into choirs and confirmation ceremonies, and contemporaries valued their presence. Concomitantly, men adopted an increasingly passive role in the synagogue, where worshippers expected to be edified and morally uplifted by beautifully phrased German-language sermons and by the dignified and aesthetically appealing tone of the service.⁸ In the synagogue and beyond, men engaged in religious practices that, according to the gender organization of pre-modern Jewish culture, constituted women's realms and in which nineteenth-century Jews believed women to excel. Jewish men came to pray in the vernacular “like women” and adopted female modes of prayer. Rabbis and preachers earned the respect of their coreligionists as experts in morality and religious sensitivity rather than as distinguished Talmud scholars.

In a religious culture in which German Jews prized German *Bildung*, decorous and culturally refined forms of worship, and emotionally meaningful religious experiences at least as much as Talmud Torah and Hebrew prayer, the gap between men and women and between men's and women's status and position in Jewish culture narrowed. In the past, the responsibility for, the right to, and the commitment to regularly reciting the Hebrew liturgy in a prayer quorum of ten had privileged men. This and other religious practices in which women had played a marginal role lost some of

religious duties and thereby abandoned men's prerogatives. The cultural practices and norms that had been central to the gender differentiation and gender hierarchy in Jewish society for centuries no longer formed the all-defining axis of Jewish life. Bourgeois values, instead, competed with and eroded the Jewish culture of religious learning and of halakhic observance. In the new culture of Jewish religiosity, men's and women's religious practices were more similar than they had been in pre-modern Judaism.

Along these lines, when nineteenth-century Jewish men adapted the performance of burial rites and the commemoration of the dead in voluntary associations to contemporary needs and tastes, newly founded and independent women's societies came to fulfill religious functions that matched those of their male counterparts. In these female voluntary associations, women assumed roles in a public realm of civil society—while contemporaries (and later, scholars) tended to locate women, religion, and women's religious functions primarily within the home. Thus, the feminization of nineteenth-century Judaism had traits that we associate with the privatization of religious practices. On a more fundamental level, however, the transformation of Jewish religious culture and of its gender order was contingent upon a landmark change: the most highly valued religious practices of rabbinic Judaism, most of all Talmud Torah and Hebrew prayer, had ceased to define Judaism, the synagogue, the rabbinate, and Jewish associational life.

This transition from a Torah- and Halakhah-focused Judaism to a Judaism shaped by modern notions of religiosity and new religious practices characterized the process of modernization of German Jewish culture as a whole. Bourgeois Judaism was not specific to the Jewish Reform movement. Thus, this book traces the emergence of the culture of bourgeois religiosity across the ideological divisions into Reform, modern Orthodoxy, and positive-historical Judaism. And even though modern Orthodox Jews rejected mixed-sex choirs and confirmation ceremonies in which women experienced a remarkable degree of inclusion in Jewish worship, the preeminent leader of modern Orthodoxy in Germany, Samson Raphael Hirsch, was a protagonist of the cult of Jewish motherhood and of a feminine Judaism. Bourgeois Judaism did not necessarily entail the repudiation of Halakhah and religious observance. It rather distinguished itself from premodern Jewish culture by reframing values, devising a new style of worship and devotion, and reconceptualizing what religion and religiosity meant. German Jews embraced the modern culture of religious sensitivity, irrespective of their ongoing commitment to, their outspoken renunciation, or their tacit negligence of Jewish ritual law.

The fact that the leaders of the Jewish Reform movement failed to

this analysis. Reformers showed great concern for women's role in modern Jewish culture and assigned women a central place in the religious economy of the modern Jewish community. Yet their heightened esteem for women did not translate into a reform of Talmudic law; this failed to happen because the culture of halakhic Judaism retreated into the background in nineteenth-century Germany. As German Jews entered modernity and forged German-Jewish culture, the essence, meaning, and character of Judaism changed. Halakhic Judaism was never entirely eclipsed. However, in bourgeois Judaism, a deep cultural shift and the rise of modern forms of religiosity rendered the reform of rabbinic law obsolete.

The historian David Sorkin has laid the foundations for understanding the embourgeoisement of German Jewish culture as I present it here. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, German Jewish men developed new forms of group cohesion, identity, creativity, Judaism, and concepts of Jewishness; these coalesced at the intersection of German and Jewish cultural matrices.⁹ Likewise, in my account, the modern religious culture that Jewish men and women of nineteenth-century Germany and their (male) leaders created emerged through the interplay between discursive and sociohistorical practices, as German Jews recast Judaism within the parameters of the nineteenth-century culture of *Bildung*. In this process, Judaism took form as a religion in the modern sense, distinct from politics, science, commerce, and other "secular" realms of modern society. Jewish women and men, like their Christian counterparts, engaged in religious practices that suited their tastes and emotional needs. Affiliation with a religion developed into a matter of choice, personal preference, and identity, and the performance of religious rituals took on new meanings.¹⁰

The privatization and feminization of the nineteenth-century Jewish religion formed an important dimension of this cultural and social modernization of Judaism, and a similar development had set in in Christianity. Yet for German Jews, the creation of a culture of a bourgeois Jewish religiosity was also a vehicle for and an expression of integration into German society. Moreover, within Jewish culture, the impact of the restructuring of gendered spheres of activity and responsibility was particularly profound, since in pre-modern Jewish life worlds the privileged access of men to a set of religious practices had formed a cornerstone of the society's social organization. In nineteenth-century Germany, an age-old Talmud Torah-centered Judaism and its gender order made room for the new cultural formation of bourgeois Judaism. Thus, this book is a case study of how middle-class formation, the creation of a modern religion, and a fundamental shift in the gender organization of a diaspora culture in the process of adjusting to modernity interrelated in a European society.

THE BACKGROUND

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, societies in Western Europe had embarked on a process of economic, political, technological, social, and cultural transformation that was to alter all realms of existence. In France, the old society of estates had perished in the revolution of 1789, and in England, industrialization began to undermine existing political and economic structures. In fact, on the entire continent, the Enlightenment had already in the eighteenth century laid the intellectual and cultural foundations of modern society and had paved the way to introduce novel forms of social organization. The nineteenth century, then, was to reshape the character of European civilizations, and the decades between 1800 and 1870 marked a period of extraordinary structural change in German Jewish history.

Under the Napoleonic occupation, from 1806 to 1815, many German Jews had their first encounter with full civil liberties. Not until 1871 did they achieve a more lasting legal emancipation, with the establishment of the German Empire. In the intervening years, however, legal conditions improved slowly, though steadily. At the same time, the social, economic, and cultural profile of the German-Jewish population underwent dramatic transformation, and German Jews integrated into the emerging middle classes. By 1871, more than 60 percent of Jews in the German Empire had attained at least a middle-class income level, and poverty constituted a marginal phenomenon. As a distinctly urban group comprising 1.2 percent of the total population, German Jews had reached a high degree of integration and were well established in the commercial realm. As early as the 1840s, Jews formed more than 2 percent of the student body at German universities, and many Jewish families had adopted bourgeois values and cultural habits.¹¹

A century earlier, Jews in German lands had lived very different lives. Inhibited by an array of legal disabilities in dozens of separate kingdoms, dukedoms, and free cities, German Jews of the late eighteenth century had formed an impoverished population. Vagrancy and robbery was not uncommon, and, apart from a small stratum of wealthy and privileged Jewish families, the overwhelming majority of Jews led a precarious existence on the margins of German society. Members of the Jewish elite, who had fulfilled an important function in the early modern economy, had had access to the world of European courts since the seventeenth century. By the 1770s, however, under the impact of the Enlightenment, other Jews began to gain entry to newly rising social circles. In the emerging Enlightenment society, the desire for self-improvement, and the personal integrity of the

individual rather than a person's place in the corporate society, held paramount importance, and Jews were able to overcome social and cultural isolation. Initially, this development affected only a very limited number of Jewish families. Yet in the course of the nineteenth century, the social world of the Enlightenment expanded into civil society, the German middle classes came into existence, and the process of acculturation and integration into these new social and cultural formations reached increasingly larger segments of the Jewish population.¹²

At about the turn of the nineteenth century, German Jews thus began to embrace bourgeois culture and commenced an extraordinary socioeconomic ascent. These years also marked the inception of religious reform. Although rabbinic Judaism had over the centuries of its existence constituted a flexible system of practices and beliefs that had undergone considerable changes, it had been stable in its structure. Rabbinic Judaism had invariably formed the main legal, social, and cultural framework for diaspora Jewries since antiquity, and for centuries Halakhah—the law that learned men extracted from the Talmud and other rabbinic literature—had shaped Jewish life almost entirely. Halakhah had formed the legal code of Jewish communities and had regulated social conduct and daily life. The Talmud, more than anything else, had informed the worldview of pre-modern Jews. This situation started to change in early modern Europe, when states gradually seized direct juridical control over their subjects, and Jewish communities began to lose the legal autonomy they had possessed for centuries. Moreover, with the introduction of the printing press, a larger number and a wider variety of texts than ever before came to circulate among the Jewish population. In particular, mystical writings undermined the authority of rabbinical leaders, who struggled to maintain control over the minds and the actions of the Jews of Europe.¹³

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Jewish reformers began to argue that Judaism needed to be adapted to the emerging civil society envisioned by the Enlighteners. From the first decade of the nineteenth century on, pioneers of Jewish religious reform introduced changes into Jewish worship, some of which conflicted with established norms of Jewish practice. Many of the synagogue reforms, however, bore a primarily aesthetic character, and at the core they aimed to express and to cultivate new, bourgeois cultural sensibilities. Most importantly, in the decades that followed, Jewish communities throughout Germany enhanced decorum in public worship, introduced German-language sermons and choirs, abbreviated the liturgy, and expected rabbis to fulfill pastoral functions. At the same time, German Jews began to relinquish the systematic observance of ritual commandments. An increasing number of Jews neglected dietary laws, Sabbath rest, and daily prayer. So, in the course of the study of rabbinic literature,

came to hold less prestige than it had in previous eras. Some—often university-trained German rabbis and scholars—headed this movement away from ritual observance by arguing that Halakhah may have lost validity in modern society. Other communal rabbis attempted to reconcile the needs and wishes of the reform-minded and progressive members of their communities, their own respect for Jewish tradition, and their commitment to a new, scholarly, historical, and critical approach toward Judaism that became known as *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Scholarship of Judaism).¹⁴ By the mid-nineteenth century, a Reform movement had constituted

itself in Germany. The movement's leaders, though diverging on many issues and often trying to justify change with halakhic precedents, had adopted a common program: They believed that Judaism possessed a core and a spirit distinct from Halakhah, and that this core needed to be preserved. They also held that Judaism, Jewish law, and Jewish practice had evolved historically, and that the Jewish religion needed to be further adapted to a new age. The status of Halakhah in modern society was thus open to negotiation, and some changes in Jewish worship, such as the introduction of an organ into the service and the abrogation of prayers expressing hope for a return to Zion, became hallmarks of Jewish Reform. Jewish Reform, however, by no means formed a unified, well-organized movement like the Reform Judaism of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century North America. Different German Jewish communities adopted various changes in worship and ritual at different times, and the movement lacked a clearly defined membership and a leadership that had formal authority. Even the term *Reform Judaism* is problematic. Contemporaries used a variety of terms, such as *reformiertes Judentum* (reformed Judaism) or *progressives Judentum* (progressive Judaism). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, *liberates Judentum* (liberal Judaism) became a common reference.¹⁵

In the 1840s, three rabbinical conferences played an important role in the formation of what we call Jewish Reform, also prompting the establishment of modern Orthodoxy in Germany. In particular, the events of the second rabbinical conference are of significance for the history of the third branch of modern Judaism—positive-historical Judaism. Positive-historical Judaism found its institutional home in the Jüdisch-theologisches Seminar (Jewish theological seminary) of Breslau in 1854. Yet even earlier, German-Jewish traditionalists had begun to organize themselves in separate, modern Orthodox congregations. Adherents of modern Orthodoxy, also called Neo-Orthodoxy, distinguished themselves from ideological Reform and indeed soon differed from the majority of German Jews by insisting that Halakhah was divinely revealed, eternally binding, and immutable.

They endorsed full ritual observance and declared themselves

uncompromisingly faithful to rabbinic Judaism. The followers of positive-historical Judaism likewise held on to Halakhah and to the fulfillment of Jewish ritual commandments, but unlike the Orthodox, they subscribed to the modern, critical study of Jewish texts within the parameters of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Thereby, the school of positive-historical Judaism took an ideologically and theologically more flexible approach to rabbinical Judaism.¹⁶

In Germany, however, positive-historical Judaism remained an intellectual and theological movement rather than a social one. Followers of this brand of German Judaism, which continued to be based at its seminar in Breslau, did not form independent congregations. Only in North America did a congregational movement emerge that can be considered the heir of the German positive-historical Judaism, and that is known today as Conservative Judaism. Conversely, modern Orthodoxy became the praxis of a small group of separately organized congregational communities in Germany. Yet modern Orthodox Jews never constituted more than a minority of the German Jewish population, at most between 10 and 20 percent in the twentieth century.¹⁷ By 1870, in fact, Jewish Reform had become the dominant form of Judaism in Germany.

Three distinct branches of Judaism (Reform, modern Orthodoxy, and positive-historical Judaism) thus evolved out of what had been one early modern Ashkenazi culture. Indeed, the history of the modernization of Western Judaism has often been understood as the history of the formation and consolidation of these three modern Jewish movements. However, despite significant differences in ideology, theology, and practice, Reform, Neo-Orthodoxy, and positive-historical Judaism also had much in common. Whatever their approach to Halakhah, observance, and tradition, they all agreed that in nineteenth-century Germany, Judaism had to be the practice and the faith of enlightened individuals and of respectable German-Jewish families. Jews were to be Jewish by religion and German by culture. Members of modern Orthodox congregations and synagogues, as well as Reformers, pursued emancipation, aspired to belong to German middle-class society, and embraced bourgeois culture. Nineteenth-century ideas of spirituality and religiosity informed the religious practices in all German Jewish communities.

In this book I will show in some detail how bourgeois value systems and aesthetics also came to shape modern Orthodoxy, even though halakhic observance and religious conservatism set limits to changes in Orthodox praxis. Orthodox Jews did not introduce organ music and mixed-sex choirs into their synagogues and disapproved of confirmation ceremonies. They continued to value Hebrew prayer and Talmud Torah highly, and their

(which were so central to rabbinic Judaism) from losing esteem in their communities. Nevertheless, in middle-class society, other cultural values and practices competed in rank and importance with traditional religious learning and with the merit and distinction gained by the performance of ritual commandments. Talmudic learning, Hebrew prayer, and ritual observance no longer defined the worldview of German Jews, regardless of how individuals, families, and communities related to Halakhah and to rabbinic Judaism.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Reform and Orthodox Jews alike—as well as many German Jews who did not identify strongly with either movement—practiced a Jewish religion distinct from pre-modern Judaism. *Altgläubigkeit*, forms of Jewish practice and beliefs that had been characteristic in the eighteenth century and before, had almost disappeared in Germany. Edification, religious feeling, moral ennoblement, and the spiritual experience of worship had gained importance for nineteenth-century German Jews, who emphasized what they believed to be “the spirit of the Jewish religion.” Contemporaries prized decorum and cultural refinement in their synagogue services. They expected rabbis to have university training and to be competent in the German culture of *Bildung*. German Jews considered themselves Germans, aspired to full citizenship, embraced bourgeois culture, and wished to cultivate an enlightened and heartfelt spirituality and religiosity. Thus, across the spectrum, Jews in nineteenth-century Germany practiced a middle-class religion—a “bourgeois Judaism”—that was shaped by contemporary values and ideas.

The term *bourgeois* in the present text serves in many respects as the equivalent of the German word *bürgerlich*. *Bürgerlich* carries a set of meanings specific to the manner in which the categories of class, culture, and nation have overlapped in German history. In the most apparent sense, *bürgerlich* connotes class, as *Bürgertum* means *bourgeoisie* or *middle class*. *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft*, however, stands for civil society, reflecting the fact that during the Enlightenment, the nucleus of civil society in Germany and that of the middle class emerged together. While it seems at best awkward to use the English terms *bourgeois* or even *middle class* to characterize the social circles of Enlightenment society in the mid-eighteenth century, one would not hesitate to call them by the German word *bürgerlich*. *Bürgerlich*, indeed, refers to culture as much as to class. German historians, most prominently among them Jürgen Kocka, have proposed to understand the *Bürgertum* from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century not as a class but as a culture.¹⁸

The German *Bürgertum*, thus, consisted of a heterogeneous social formation that was unified by a shared belief system in personal achievement motivated by economic success, in associations of equals, in *Bildung* and aesthetics,

and in specific standards of family life and gender roles. Yet far from being class neutral, bourgeois culture had its roots in the social strata of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, consisting of civil servants, lawyers, university professors, physicians, ministers, artists, and other educated individuals and their families. The *Bildungsbürgertum*, again, stood in a complex relationship with the bourgeoisie, who were the property-owning merchant and entrepreneurial classes. Therefore, bourgeois culture needs to be understood as tied to economic change and ultimately to the rise of capitalism.

Culture and class belong together, but they lack any clear-cut correlation.

The embourgeoisement of the Jewish population in Germany fits well

into this paradigm. Jews as a group became culturally bourgeois before they rose economically into the middle class. Jews entered German society and bourgeois society by embracing Enlightenment and middle-class culture. Through the process of acculturation, in fact, Jews did more than express their integration into bourgeois society. Their cultural embourgeoisement constituted the vehicle by which German Jews laid claim to membership in German society. By reading Goethe and Schiller, by cultivating the bourgeois culture of *Bildung* in their homes, and by behaving decorously in public, the Jews of German lands became German Jews. Jews certainly also hoped to attain full citizenship, and in the debate on emancipation, contemporaries often regarded the cultural and social improvement of the Jewish

population as a prerequisite for emancipation.¹⁹ Becoming German, however, had more than political dimensions: German cultural values also gained influence beyond the geographic area of Germany. Though the boundaries of Germany are broadly defined in this text as the territory of the later Wilhelminian Empire, the scope of my investigation extends to the Jews of Vienna, Prague, and other Central European communities. By embracing German literature, music, and the standards of conduct of the German *Bürgertum*, Jews and non-Jews in Central Europe in fact, expressed *Sittlichkeit* (morality) and social status. They used German culture in order to establish themselves as middle class, or better, as bourgeois in the German sense.

Bourgeois thus refers to Germanness, cultural sophistication, and moral

integrity, as well as to a family's social and economic standing. As a study on bourgeois Judaism, this book focuses on culture rather than on class. However, the embourgeoisement of Jewish culture and religion in the period between 1800 and 1870 cannot be understood without bearing in mind the massive social upward-mobility of German Jewry and the increasing integration of the Jewish population into the country's middle class. Moreover, acculturation held out the promise of emancipation, so Jews broadly and enthusiastically welcomed bourgeois culture and its opportunities.

Jews refashioned themselves and their lifestyles, houses, manners, child-raising practices, and educational goals. Their religion did not form an exception but constituted an important arena for the development of new forms of identity and for the pursuit of moral, cultural, and social improvement.²⁰ Whether Jewish families in Prague, Hamburg, or rural Wurttemberg had the economic resources of the middle classes or simply aspired to them, the religion of respectable and culturally refined German-Jewish mothers and fathers, daughters and sons, husbands and wives was bound to be an aesthetically appealing, morally uplifting German faith. That religion can aptly be characterized as bourgeois Judaism.

Part 1



THE RISE OF A BOURGEOIS JUDAISM

ONE

The Periodical Sulamith and the Beginnings of Bourgeois Judaism



In nineteenth-century Germany, religion turned bourgeois. For Christians as well as Jews, religion no longer primarily referred to a set of practices and beliefs; instead, men and women sought cultural improvement, moral ennoblement, and emotionally and aesthetically satisfying religious experiences in domestic and public worship. At the same time, pedagogues, ideologues, and theologians assigned to women a central function as carriers and promoters of *Bildung*, morality, and religion; they declared that women made a specifically female, indispensable contribution to society. They ascribed certain gender traits to the female sex, located women in the private realm, promoted a quasi-religious elevation of domesticity and family life, put an emphasis on early childhood education, and idealized motherhood. Thus, they declared that women made a specifically female, indispensable contribution to society. These notions, that brought women to the fore in a new culture of bourgeois religiosity, formed part of the parameters within which modern Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism evolved.

Jews began to express new sets of ideas on religion in a comprehensive way in *Sulamith*, the first significant Jewish German-language periodical printed in Latin characters. In this journal, published from 1806 to 1846, a generation of Jewish leaders developed the framework for the culture and religion of nineteenth-century German Jewry. *Sulamith* played an influential role in creating the Jewish Reform movement and popularized a Judaism that conformed to the cultural trends of contemporary German society.¹

It promoted a new type of religiosity, distinct from rabbinic Judaism and focusing on *Bildung*, *Sittlichkeit* (morality), and edification. Human

perfection was no longer embodied in the learned Talmud scholar, but instead was represented by the cultivated, culturally refined, and spiritually sensitive person. This was the ideal propagated by Jewish reform pedagogues and ideologues in *Sulamith*.

Scholars have long acknowledged that *Sulamith* occupied a significant place in the process of cultural embourgeoisement for German Jewry. However, only recently have we become aware that the Judaism informed by *Bildung* und *Sittlichkeit* that the contributors to *Sulamith* envisioned also had a gendered dimension. *Sulamith* not only addressed women as well as men as readers, but its editors and contributors also believed that women (as the noble and moral sex) were of particular importance in the new culture of bourgeois religiosity that the journal advanced. They conceived of religious sensitivity, inner beauty, morality, and virtue as feminine attributes.

When Jewish pedagogues and ideologues adopted German culture, they also embraced the bourgeois gender model and middle-class notions of the crucial influence of mothers on the moral and intellectual development of their children. Accordingly, these Jewish leaders promoted enlightened, German-language devotional literature for women; encouraged females to attend synagogue; agitated for confirmation ceremonies for both sexes; and supported modern religious schooling for girls. In *Sulamith* the reformers reached only a fraction of German Jewry with these ideas.

However, the reformers laid foundations for a new Jewish culture and devised an entire program of women's greater inclusion in the religious life of their communities. Ideologues and pedagogues propagated a religiosity of *Bildung*, virtue, and emotionalized spirituality rather than a Judaism primarily defined by ritual observance, rabbinic learning, and formal prayer. In the process, they redefined women's place in Jewish society.

WOMEN AS CARRIERS OF RELIGION, *BILDUNG*, AND MORALITY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

From the Enlightenment on, German pedagogues, philosophers, and theologians paid great attention to women as mothers, wives, and guardians of their families' moral conduct. In the world of bourgeois culture and society that took shape in the late eighteenth century, women began to play a clearly circumscribed and highly valued role, a position that went hand in hand with new ideas about men's and women's different natures. Previous generations had based their conceptions of gender differences on the diverging social positions of men and women in the household economy.

Contemporaries had described male and female virtues as emanating from the division of labor in the extended family and the household.

In the last decades of the eighteenth century, however, ideas of the human rights of an individual took hold in Germany, while *economy* came to designate a domain beyond the *family*. In order to sustain a destabilized gender hierarchy and in the effort to conceptualize the emerging public arena as an exclusively male sphere, male ideologues began to describe gender differences as fixed by nature and expressed in psychological character traits. The reference system for defining masculinity and femininity changed, and a rhetoric of different “characters of the sexes” gained prominence. In this newly founded polarization of sexual stereotypes, men and women were ascribed different characteristics and “natural” tendencies. Men, in this categorization, had an inherent inclination to bravery, boldness, and independence, while women tended to be modest, yielding, and dependent. Men had privileged access to the powers of reason and the intellect. They possessed a mind for abstraction and analytical thinking, whereas women were endowed with a natural capacity for emotionality, receptiveness, morality, and religiosity. In the universe of nineteenth-century bourgeois society, the harmonious and productive workings of society at large (characterized by a happy and fulfilled family life, as well as the integrity of the male individual) depended on the well-balanced development of these gender attributes.²

This polarization of sexual stereotypes based on character traits was now connected to a conceptual division of public and private spheres that had previously not existed in this form. As civil society and a new type of public realm expanded, the distance between family life and life outside of the home grew. A bourgeois public sphere took shape that included the world of politics, the realms of commerce and professional activities, and the new social universe of clubs, coffee houses, and voluntary associations. Contemporaries conceived of this public arena as an exclusively male domain, and men experienced their lives in the larger society as increasingly distinct from the time spent with their families. The house and the world of the public always remained overlapping spheres, as families cultivated extensive social lives in their homes. Yet for a man, the home also became the space into which he could retire from the exigencies of public life. Home became the realm for his physical and emotional restoration, and the place where he expected his deepest needs to be fulfilled. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the household lost some of its economic functions, and the home of a respectable family gained a heightened intimate character. Spouses aspired to cultivate intellectually stimulating and emotionally satisfying companionate relationships with each other, and

they strove to be loving and thoughtful parents. Family life, childhood, and parenting played increasingly pronounced and highly valued roles in nineteenth-century bourgeois society. The concept of domesticity gained in meaning for women as well as for men.³

Yet according to Enlighteners, ideologues, and pedagogues, it was women who infused the home with its benevolent and noble character. Male leaders believed that a woman should restrict herself to the house, and that in her family's home she carried the responsibility of being a husband's comfort, support, and companion. She was also expected to educate morally faultless and socially useful children, and to guarantee a family's unblemished reputation. In this scheme, true womanhood consisted of more than biological functions and competence in housekeeping practices. Women's conduct and demeanor were expected to meet the highest cultural, moral, and religious standards.⁴

In *Väterlicher Rath für meine Tochter* (Paternal Advice for My Daughter), one of the earliest and most influential German guidebooks for the education of girls, the Enlightenment pedagogue Joachim Heinrich Campe spelled out the ideal of the bourgeois woman (1788). According to him, women were

wives, who—through tender sympathy, love, care, and solicitude—should sweeten the existence of the entire second half of the human race, namely the men who have to carry the greater burdens, worries, and hardships of life; mothers, who not only bear children, but who should also nurse in their children the first germ of every beautiful human virtue, and who should foster the first buds of their childrens spiritual and intellectual capacities; mistresses of the house, who—through watchfulness, orderliness, cleanliness, diligence, thrift, economic skill and dexterity—should safeguard the prosperity, the honor, the domestic tranquility, and the happiness of the bread-winning spouse, . . . and who should make his house into a seat of peace, joy, and happiness.⁵

Throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, an entire literature of moral guidebooks, educational treatises, and women's periodicals reiterated this catalogue of female tasks and womanly virtues.⁶ In fact, Campe and other Enlightenment and bourgeois ideologues and pedagogues such as Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi stressed the inner qualities that a woman needed to cultivate, including purity of heart, modesty, chastity, patience, self-abnegation, "friendliness and always constant, inexhaustible kindness of heart," as well as "true and enlightened religiosity." To achieve this sublime state of mind, women were to open their souls to the "good, the beautiful, and the pleasant," and, in turn, they were destined to uphold

In this scheme, religion—or, as we shall see below, more precisely *religiosity*—played a crucial role. From the late eighteenth century on, large segments of the emerging German middle class distanced themselves from the Church and its public rituals. Instead, bourgeois families practiced private devotion and prayer and began to celebrate holidays in the privacy of the domestic realm. Religious holidays such as Christmas as well as more secular occasions such as children's birthdays soon formed an integral part of an emotionally dense, distinctly private, and intimate bourgeois home life. In these celebrations, the subjective experience of the participant stood at the center. Spouses and children were expected to be moved by the sacred character of the ceremonies as well as by the noble and spiritually pure atmosphere of the house. Many men appear to have cherished these family events and often presided over them. Yet women increasingly orchestrated the domestic celebrations, and it was women's high spiritual and moral standing that gave a home the lofty dignity it required.⁸

Nineteenth-century middle-class culture in Germany treated the house as a sacred space and as the domain where women exerted their benevolent influence. In innumerable descriptions, the home was called a temple, and women figured as priestesses of the domestic sanctuary. The theologian Christian Wilhelm Spieker declared that women had “the beautiful and glorious vocation to guard the eternal fire of humanity and love . . . like the priestesses of the Vesta, [and] to administer the quiet worship of innocence and virtue in the interior of the house.”⁹ Here and in many other texts, female virtue formed the focal point of a bourgeois religiosity that distinguished itself from earlier concepts of religious practice. A woman's extraordinarily high qualification in this domain did not stem from her closeness to God. Rather, in this view, the female sex possessed an entire array of virtues such as piety, purity of heart, submissiveness, and modesty that made her the incarnation of the sublime and the lofty on earth.¹⁰ In fact, her religiosity constituted one of the qualities that destined women to become the very carriers of civilization within the family.¹¹ She personified the holy and exalted in a religious sense. The inner beauty, however, that she was expected to radiate and to cultivate also represented the fulfillment of the ideal of *Bildung*.

Bildung literally means *formation*. It sometimes can be translated as *education* but often is rendered more precisely as *self-cultivation* or *harmony of personality*. *Bildung* includes a moral dimension and the term has its roots in pre-modern Christian theology. In Christian mysticism, *Bildung* refers to a process in which the individual achieves union with God while fully living as human. In the middle of the eighteenth century, *Bildung* became an enlightened-pedagogical concept in which the expectation of enlightenment and the claim for education converged. In the decades that

followed, the religious content of the concept of *Bildung* subsided further, while pietistic ideas of religiosity as individualized and emotionalized devotion displaced religion in the old, heavily institutional sense. *Bildung* and modern religiosity drew close to each other, and together they took priority over old-style religion.¹²

In the nineteenth century, contemporaries described the icons of *Bildung*—music, literature, and theater—with the same reverence and religiously charged language that they used to extol the domestic sphere. The feminist Louise Otto, among countless others, not only referred to the theater as a “sacred temple, in which one encounters . . . a cult of the ideal,” but also advised mothers that “the solemnity of the Bible and the solemnity of Schiller” should be “the milk with which one nourishes the youth already from the most tender age on.”¹³ Scholars have called this spiritually invested elevation of cultural practices a “secular religion.”¹⁴ In fact, in nineteenth-century middle-class culture, *Bildung* and religion were closely related concepts; both expressed ideas of beauty, human dedication to the sublime, and morality.¹⁵ As Friedrich Hölderlin put it: “The first child of divine beauty is art,” and the second daughter of beauty is religion. Religion is love of beauty . . . Love is religion, religion is love.”¹⁶ Religion, as the term was understood since it had been introduced into the German language in the sixteenth century, had originally designated a system of teachings on the relationship between God and humans. In the late eighteenth century, however, *religion* came to refer increasingly to a person’s subjective conviction of religious truth, a person’s reverence for God, his or her experience of the divine, or just his or her sense of divine presence. In this meaning, *religion* was synonymous with the term *religiosity*, which gained currency in the nineteenth century. Ultimately, however, contemporaries used *religiosity* when they discussed the subjective and personal dimensions of religious experiences and religious sentiments, whereas *religion* related to religious teachings and traditions.¹⁷

In the universe of the nineteenth-century middle class, religiosity occupied a privileged position. In its most general meaning, it denoted the inner, reverent attitude of a person, and related to an emotional and spiritual state of mind and lifestyle rather than to a particular religious practice. This self-reflexive and introspective stance constituted an important aspect of nineteenth-century bourgeois culture. It could be experienced in public worship and private prayer as well as through listening to music, reading classical literature, contemplating a painting, or experiencing a moment of domestic harmony in a beautiful and well-arranged home.¹⁸

This religiosity of *Bildung* addressed men, women, and children. The sensitive man who found emotional fulfillment with his wife and children, who is receptive to aesthetic and spiritual experiences, and whose person

ality was ennobled by worship, art, and literature, formed an ideal of bourgeois culture.¹⁹ However, nineteenth-century Germans believed that the female sex possessed a particular aptitude for experiencing the beautiful and the sublime, and that women were responsible for upholding aesthetic and spiritual values in their families and in society at large. Thus, in search of religiosity, men not infrequently turned to women. The leader of the Protestant renewal, Friedrich Schleiermacher, who emphasized emotional religiosity, cultivated a close friendship with the beautiful and well-educated Jewish woman Henriette Hertz, sharing with her his thoughts about a true religiosity of the heart, a "*Herzreligion*," as he called it.²⁰ In German romanticism, authors exalted women for their particular connection to the sublime, and by the middle of the century, it seemed self-evident to contemporaries that women had a stronger attachment to religion than men did, and that they attended church services more diligently than their male counterparts.²¹

Even German Catholicism embraced new ideas of women's highly developed spiritual capacities. For centuries, Catholic theology had ascribed to women a sinful nature, which females could only escape by leading a life of strict chastity. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, however, a new model of Catholic female piety won acceptance. Accompanied by a revived cult of the Virgin Mary, women could now find salvation as mothers and wives. Catholic Enlightenment theology recast Mary as a model of female morality and feminine virtue, and by the 1820s a devotional literature specifically directed toward women advocated an ideal of Christian womanhood in which Catholic teachings on Mary and bourgeois concepts of female submissiveness, modesty, and sensitivity merged. Previously, the male head of household had carried sole responsibility for upholding the religious integrity of a Catholic family. Now women were expected to infuse the home with piety and religiosity. In particular, the religious education of children lay in the hands of women.²²

In nineteenth-century Christian society, the role of the mother as educator of the young gained greater importance. A century earlier, fathers had been responsible for the religious education of the children from a child's seventh year on, but in the course of the nineteenth century, mothers moved to the center of the religious life in the home.²³ According to an educational guidebook from the mid-nineteenth-century, mothers were to accustom their children to daily prayer, were asked to read to them from the Bible, were to teach them religious songs and hymns, and were to learn with them from catechism books.²⁴ Thus, both in the religious realm in a narrow sense and in the novel kind of bourgeois religiosity of *Bildung*, women came to occupy a prominent position.

This was the society into which German Jews set out to integrate themselves

only a small group of Jewish men and a few wealthy and highly educated Jewish women in Berlin had played an active role in the new culture of German *Bildung* and in the Jewish, Hebrew-language counterpart of the German Enlightenment (the Haskalah). In the first decade of the nineteenth century, however, *maskilim* (Jewish Enlighteners) increasingly published in German rather than in Hebrew. Religious reforms appeared on the agenda, and the movement of cultural renewal within Judaism broadened.

*BILDUNG, SITTLICHKEIT, AND
ENLIGHTENED RELIGIOSITY
IN SULAMITH*

In 1806, two pioneers of Jewish cultural and religious reform in Dessau, David Fränkel and Joseph Wolf, ushered in a new era of German-Jewish literary creativity by founding the periodical *Sulamith*. Fränkel directed the Jewish Free School of Dessau, where Wolf taught students to read and write in German. Like other Jewish men of his generation, the forty-four-year-old Wolf had received an education consisting exclusively of studying the Talmud and other rabbinic literature. In fact, Wolf had left his birthplace Dessau to attend a yeshivah, a Talmud academy, in Berlin. In Berlin, the center of the German Haskalah, he had met *maskilim* such as Naphtali Herz Wessely and had begun to read contemporary Hebrew literature. Moreover, Wolf had acquainted himself with writings in High German and with modern European literature. Seventeen years younger than Wolf, Fränkel, the son of a rabbi, had been born in Berlin and appears to have been raised with exposure to Enlightenment ideas and modern literature. At age twenty-one, he became the director of the Dessau Free School, one of several newly founded schools in which Jewish reformers worked on putting the pedagogical program of the Jewish Enlightenment into practice.²⁵ The founding of *Sulamith* was part of this project. In the journal, German

Jews embarked on creating a Jewish culture and religion informed by contemporary sensibilities. Standing at the heart of the new culture of Jewish religiosity propagated in the journal were the concepts of *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit*. The ideal of *Bildung*, indeed, had defined the path of integration and emancipation of Jews into German society. It had formed the ideological platform of a new type of social formation, which had emerged in Germany in the 1770s. Jews had been welcome in these social circles of the German Enlightenment, where educated Christian commoners and nobles transgressed the social boundaries of the corporate society and congregated as individuals in search for self-improvement, character formation, educational reform, and social improvement.²⁶ *Bildung* represented a goal of Enlightenment or bourgeois existence, a moral and cultural imperative that,

in the ensuing decades, became the hallmark of middle-class society in nineteenth-century Germany.

By embracing the cultural ideal of an *Bildung* social practices associated with it, German Jews throughout the nineteenth century expressed their adherence to German society and culture and laid claim to citizenship. In his introductory essay in *Sulamith*, thus, Joseph Wolf stressed that the Jewish people were capable of *Bildung* and of “improvement of manners,” or *Sittlichkeit*.¹¹ The concept of *Sittlichkeit*, which is perhaps most adequately translated as *morality*, was closely related to the ideal of *Bildung* and formed part of the Enlightenment and bourgeois project of *Bildung* as civil and moral betterment. In its social dimension, *Sittlichkeit* referred to decent behavior and sexual modesty, but nineteenth-century German Jews and non-Jews understood *Sittlichkeit*—like *Bildung*—as grounded in the harmonious formation of the character, in the development of the moral capacities of a person, and in the training of the heart.²⁸

Contemporaries conceived of *Bildung* as the self-reflexive cultivation of virtue that led a person to higher *Sittlichkeit*. In fact, an emphasis on morality had moved to the center of German religious thought. Enlightenment theology as well as pietism expected the individual to acquire an understanding of religious truth that was founded on reason, while divine worship constituted a means to facilitate the absorption of moral principles.²⁹ In *Sulamith*, Wolf expressed similar ideas:

The powers of reason need to be expanded and refined, by learning all which is worth knowing, by insight into all which is beautiful and noble in nature. The powers of will need to be improved and strengthened, by exercise and application, by mastering sensual desires, by striving for the necessary, and by scorning all which is dispensable and superfluous. These are the means by which we can achieve perfection and by which we can ennoble ourselves through morality. . . .

Who does not readily admit that all these needs are fulfilled in religion? . . . Religion is the essential intellectual and moral requirement of the cultivated person.³⁰

According to Wolf, religion entailed the achievement of perfection through the development of intellectual and moral faculties. The religion that Wolf propagated here was not halakhic Judaism, even though he assured the reader that the religious principles and teachings of the Jewish religion stood in harmony with life in an enlightened society. As long as the precepts of rabbinic Judaism were not disfigured by “superstitious additions,” Wolf stated, they were not to be abandoned.³¹ Wolf, however, not only dedared war on what he considered the “bitter shell” of Judaism, “the harmful, profane, and insulting insult God and humans, . . . erroneous opinions

which lead astray, [and] immoral procedures,” but also put Judaism in the service of the larger goals of *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit*.³² When Wolf referred to “expanding and refining the powers of reason,” he did not mean studying Torah as a *mitzvah*, a religious commandment, or as a way of gaining insight into God’s teachings that included an ethical dimension. Rather, he suggested that religious as well as secular learning formed part of the larger project of moral and cultural self-ennoblement.

In rabbinic Jewish culture, as it had existed from antiquity through the early modern period, religious study (Talmud Torah) had represented all religious virtues, which then included morality. Morality and virtue had been implied and contained in rabbinic learning and ritual observance. In a development that had begun in the late sixteenth century, Ashkenazi Jewry came to distinguish between morality and Talmudic study, and now, in the early nineteenth century, *maskilim* such as Joseph Wolf declared that morality and character development represented goals in themselves.³³ Religious learning and the performance of ritual commandments, in the view of these thinkers, potentially furthered the cultivation of virtue, but a Jewish practice marred by additions and distortions could have a corrupting rather than an ennobling effect. Wolf and other contributors to *Sulamith*, in fact, privileged faith and religious experience over practices of ritual performance and mechanical learning. They advocated a Judaism that was not limited to “cold deism” or to the external forms of Halakhah and Jewish ritual, but one that “could be deeply felt.”³⁴ Or, as the historian George Mosse has phrased it succinctly: “Not the intellect, but their [the German Jews’] very soul had become the center of Jewish religiosity.”³⁵

In this vein, *Sulamith* also promoted a new style of worship that found its model in modernized Christian church services of the time. Communal worship, as Christian philosophers and Protestant theologians claimed at the turn of the nineteenth century, aimed at heightening the spiritual awareness of the worshipper in festive and highly aesthetic ceremonies, more than it aimed at interceding with the divine.³⁶ In his introductory article on the “nature, character and the necessity of religion” in *Sulamith*, Wolf presented a similar argument, describing the difference between the traditional worshipper and the man who was inspired by true religiosity in the modern sense. The two men, according to Wolf, could not be distinguished by their actions, and both observed the religious commandments meticulously. The old-style observant man, however,

performs actions in which his inner being does not take part. His soul does not know . . . ; his heart does not feel the gentle sentiments of joy, the tender elevation of the feelings which accompanies his actions. All his sentiments are
~~stolid, censorious and far below the dignity~~ of truly divine feeling.³⁷

The modern worshipper, by contrast, “consecrates his entire soul to the God whom he feels in his heart and whom he knows with his intellect; . . . deep in the innermost of his heart, he feels the reverence for his [God’s] majesty and magnitude.”³⁸

In *Sulamith*, a generation of young Jewish leaders in Germany developed an agenda for a new Jewish religiosity, in which the fulfillment of *mitzvot*, the punctual recitation of Hebrew prayer, and the study of rabbinic texts were not considered sufficient. The *maskilim* claimed that emotional involvement and spiritual intent—crucial ingredients for meaningful worship—had been lacking in Judaism. The Jewish Enlighteners certainly knew better. There is no doubt that these reformers were familiar with the concept of *kavvanah*, of the devotional intent that according to the principles of rabbinic Judaism was to accompany prayer and ritual. However, as was the case with non-Jewish Enlightenment thinkers and bourgeois ideologues, Wolf and other *maskilim* declared existing social, cultural, and religious practices to be stale, uninspired, and in dire need of reform. In their zeal to renew Jewish worship, Jewish reformers insisted on not propagating a break with halakhic Judaism, but positioned the primacy of emotional involvement and subjective experience as new. They indeed set out to revolutionize the religious lives of Jewish men.

In *Sulamith*, Wolf, Frañkel, and other contributors exalted the heightened religiosity of the “sensitive man.”³⁹ In fact, in the early part of the nineteenth century, men who embraced bourgeois culture and bourgeois values aspired to be emotionally sensitive and spiritually aware. They strove to express their feelings through having loving relationships with their wives, children, and friends. They examined their own sentiments, passions, virtues, and moral shortcomings in diaries and letters. Introspection, emotional fulfillment, and the quest for meaningful spiritual and aesthetic experiences formed part of a lifestyle that both men and women cultivated.⁴⁰ Yet contemporaries believed that women’s aptitudes for religious sentiments surpassed those of men. When Jewish reformers in *Sulamith* thus propagated a new, truly inspired religiosity, they did not fail to direct their attention to women in particular. The periodical addressed women as readers and included them in its vision of the moral betterment of German Jewry. Contributors to the journal consistently used female metaphors when they lauded religion and *Bildung*. Indeed, the founders of *Sulamith* named the periodical after a biblical heroine. By emphasizing a religious sensitivity in which women were expected to excel at the expense of a halakhic Judaism in which men occupied the privileged position, these Jewish leaders laid the foundation to transform the gender order of Jewish culture and religion in nineteenth-century Germany.



1.1. Title page of the periodical *Sulamith* (Dessau, 1807). *Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.*

WOMEN AS ICONS OF VIRTUE

The name of the journal *Sulamith* and the illustration on the cover page relate to the female figure of “Sulamith.” This Sulamith, however, is not the biblical Sulamith from Song of Songs. Rather, as Wolf explains in an article in the first volume, the woman depicted on the cover represents a woman in II Samuel 20 who in actuality is not named in the biblical text.⁴¹ On the cover of *Sulamith*, one sees a woman on the walls of a fortress. Erect, with flying garments and a raised arm, she is about to throw an object down to the troops outside the city walls. Under the engraving, a Hebrew verse reads “I am among the peaceful, the faithful in Israel” (אנכי שלמי אמוני ישראל). These are the first words of the biblical verse II Samuel 20:19; the object in Sulamith’s hands is the head of the insurgent Sheba.

According to the biblical account, Sheba had revolted against King David and had then taken refuge in the city of Avelah. Under the command of Yoab, King David’s troops besieged the city and threatened to destroy it. As King David’s men began to storm the city walls, a “wise woman” came forward and negotiated with Yoab, pleading for peace and offering to extradite the villain. Yoab agreed, and the inhabitants of Avelah decapitated Sheba. They threw his head from the city walls, and Yoab and his troops withdrew from the city.⁴²

In his article, Wolf related these events and directed his account particularly toward female readers of *Sulamith*, who—according to Wolf—often knew very little about the history of their forebears and might have wondered whom the woman on the title page represented.⁴³ Men, supposedly, were familiar with the Bible and would be able to identify the passage with the help of the Hebrew verse. Those fluent in Hebrew, in fact, could also recognize that Fränkel and Wolf had derived the name Sulamith from the word “*shlumey*” (שלמי) in the biblical verse and that the name meant *the peaceful*.

Subsequently, Wolf went on to laud the biblical heroine Sulamith and explained why she, as a symbol of peace, could serve as a model for German Jewry. According to Wolf, Sulamith saved a city that had been threatened by destruction and restored peace among a people and its misunderstood king. Wolf stated that the German Sulamith, like her biblical predecessor, had emerged from within a nation in distress, mediating and promoting peace and the “common weal” for the sake of humankind. When the biblical Israelites believed the enemy to be within the nation and when war threatened to tear the community of Israel apart, Sulamith

showed through her intervention that the malefactor had in fact only intruded by force and hypocrisy. If the disruptive and damaging element were removed from the congregation, peace could be restored. In his day, Wolf claimed, “all superstitious additions and distortions of the [Jewish] religion” needed to be driven out in order to reinstate the integrity of the people of Israel. Then, according to him, the tree of peace could bear fruits from which humankind at large would profit.⁴⁴ This was the mission of the journal *Sulamith*.

Paradoxically, the woman whom Wolf idealized as a harbinger of peace was involved in a murder. In fact, the comparison of the “wise woman” in II Samuel to the German Sulamith and Wolf’s sharp comment that damaging additions to the Jewish religion needed to be driven out, attests to the vehemence with which the reformers pursued their agenda, counterpointing with the rhetoric of peacefulness.

Whatever the subtext of aggression, male contributors to *Sulamith* attributed everything that was good and pure, peaceful and reasonable, progressive and *gebildet*, moral and faithful, gentle and persevering, and most of all truly religious to women, and they identified these concepts and qualities as feminine. This idealization of the female as the personification of virtue and of the general good constituted an influential literary convention of the Enlightenment, culminating in German romanticism. For Friedrich Schlegel, women represented aesthetic perfection and moral beauty.⁴⁵ Friedrich Schiller held that women were distinguished by a “beautiful soul.” Women, he believed, brought “feeling and reason, duty and inclination” into perfect harmony.⁴⁶ And, in works such as *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, Goethe depicted women as carriers, promoters, and guardians of true humanity. In fact, German society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was preoccupied with concepts of beauty and ideas of moral and aesthetic harmony that could help to coalesce Germans into one nation. Female representations of political and social virtues played an important role in this process of nation building. Similarly, in revolutionary France, the iconography of the French Republic relied heavily on feminine depictions of attributes such as Liberty, Reason, Wisdom, Victory, and Force. When represented in a female form, these civic virtues could not be reduced to the characteristics of individual leaders or associated with particular political events. Rather, they represented the common good and thus fulfilled a unifying function.⁴⁷

The use of the female form as a metaphor of transcendence predates the European Enlightenment. Indeed, it reaches back to medieval literature and imagery and has roots in the political thought and in the artistic traditions of classical antiquity.⁴⁸ Under the influence of the classicism of the

French Revolution, however, and driven by the need of the emerging modern societies to create an iconography of their own, female allegories of civic virtues and nationhood gained new prominence. In France, the revolutionary figure “Marianne” represented the Republic, and in Germany, “Germania” came to stand for a nation that was unified despite local, political, and social divisions. In this context, Wolf and Fränkel in Dessau chose the biblical Sulamith as the personification of a renewed and modernized Judaism, a religion that was rational as well as spiritually uplifting and aesthetically appealing. Like Marianne did to the French, Sulamith represented the force of Reason for Jewish Enlighteners. She waged war against superstition, aimed to unite her people, and promoted the good of humankind at large.

Like Marianne, Sulamith embodied a determined and combative woman, even though Wolf called her the “goddess of peace.”⁴⁹ While Marianne, however, symbolized the militant attack of the revolutionary forces against the Ancient Regime, Sulamith, as she appeared on the title page of the journal *Sulamith*, engaged primarily in reconciling an Israelite community in conflict. In this role, Sulamith resembled a female figure who played a prominent role after the end of the radical phase of the French Revolution, in the second half of the 1790s. In particular, French paintings of the period show men in mortal conflicts and women interceding in order to restore peace. Similarly, the German Sulamith intervened in a dispute among men. In the biblical account, the wise woman of II Samuel was instrumental in bringing the male insurgent to justice. Due to her initiative, the inhabitants of Avelah dissociated themselves from the rebel. Peace and unity returned as the Israelites beheaded the insurgent and reaffirmed their allegiance to the national sovereign.⁵⁰

Numerous contributions in *Sulamith* gendered not only Peace and Reason, but also *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit* as feminine. In accordance with the cultural trends of early German romanticism, male authors of the periodical associated religion, *Bildung*, and morality with female virtue, and idealized women as priestesses, as carriers of divine inspiration, and as promoters of a sublime humanity.⁵¹ Thus, in *Sulamith*, women played an important role as symbols of nineteenth-century concepts of religiosity and morality; they occupied highly visible positions as figureheads in a male project of Jewish reform; and they represented the people of Israel in the iconography of the period. Wolf, Fränkel, and other Jewish reformers, however, not only took interest in the “feminine” on a symbolic level, but also targeted women readers, showed great concern for women’s education, and propagated greater inclusion of the female sex in the religious life of the Jewish community and the Jewish family.

THE PROGRAM OF FEMALE RELIGIOSITY

In accordance with the new ideal of religiosity promoted by *Sulamith*, Fränkel argued in an essay in the journal's first volume that every Israelite should pursue a "true, purely moral formation of the heart, an intensive ennobling of the sentiment."⁵² While initially it seemed that Fränkel addressed a primarily male audience, he soon turned to "the honorable mothers and daughters in Israel."⁵³ Fränkel urged men and women to receive the newly founded periodical favorably. He especially expressed the hope that the female sex would approve of *Sulamith*, "since only heartfelt, religious sentiments ennoble a woman; . . . this true beauty and gentleness, which pure religiosity confers the woman. A woman without it [religiosity] is a being in contradiction with herself."⁵⁴ Though Wolf, Fränkel, and the other authors in *Sulamith* declared that true and pure religiosity were indispensable for refined and moral persons of any sex, in this article Fränkel established a special connection between female gender traits and religious sentiments. A woman not uplifted by religiosity would not be truly female, Fränkel claimed. She would be contradicting her own sex. He adds: "Gentleness, deep confidence, submissiveness . . . and whatever the name of all those virtues which make the woman the adornment of creation, all of these characteristics are infused and sustained in women through true, pure religiosity."⁵⁵

In the same vein, Michael Heß, director of the Jewish Free School Philanthropin in Frankfurt, claimed in an article in *Sulamith* that nature had equipped women with a predisposition for the religious. "The woman," Heß maintained, "has a finer tact, a more tender vibration of nerves; the good and the beautiful affect her lively senses faster." Thus, like his Christian contemporaries and the other authors of *Sulamith*, he had come to believe that girls were more receptive to the development of religious sentiments than boys.⁵⁶ Accordingly, in *Sulamith*, pedagogues and ideologues devoted extensive attention to women. *Sulamith* consistently addressed articles toward female readers and featured essays that discussed women's education and gender-specific codes of behavior. Many other contributions assumed a readership of men and women but included references to the particular concerns of female religiosity and to women's motherly responsibilities. By doing so, *Sulamith* provided a model that sermons, prayer books, educational writings, and other literature about and for Jewish women in nineteenth-century Germany followed.

Even in its first volume, *Sulamith* set the agenda with two programmatic

the Jewish Faith” by David Fränkel, and the first installments of a series of six fictional letters by Gotthold Salomon. Salomon’s letters appeared over the course of three years, each under the title “Letters to a Venerable Woman of Jewish Religion.”⁵⁷ In the “Letters,” Salomon—at the time a teacher at the Free School in Dessau—laid out the standard program of moral betterment and emotional refinement propagated by *Sulamith*, addressing it now specifically to women. “Most of our sisters,” Salomon stated, “still wander in Egyptian darkness,” performing rituals without comprehending their origins and understanding their meaning. It was time to accustom women, like men, “to the great, brightly shining sunlight of divine reason.”⁵⁸ This could best be done, Salomon claimed, by familiarizing women with the history of the Jewish people, and Salomon set out to begin this with his six letters in *Sulamith*. Salomon held that men, too, might profit greatly from such a historical account. Even though men received a formal Jewish education in their youth, they failed to gain any understanding of how the Jewish religion had changed and developed over the centuries and of how Jewish literature such as the Talmud had come into existence. Rather than approaching these texts intelligently and analytically, most Jews stubbornly believed everything they read. And, Salomon lamented that while Jewish men studied the Bible and rabbinic literature, their hearts remained untouched by the beauty and splendor of true religion. True religion, Salomon and the other contributors to *Sulamith* believed, was essential for both men and women. A sound knowledge of Jewish history, he explained, opened the gates of religiosity and moral refinement for both sexes, even though Jewish learning did not seem to have a direct application for women, who inhabited the domestic realm.⁵⁹ In his “Letters to a Venerable Woman of Jewish Religion,” Salomon thus offered a reading of biblical history from Abraham to Joseph, in which he presented the patriarchs as archetypes of nineteenth-century virtues.

By introducing Jewish women to biblical history in a new, moralizing, and enlightened manner, Gotthold Salomon included the female sex in a modern culture of Jewish religiosity. In his essay “On Religious Education for Women of the Jewish Faith,” David Fränkel went further. He argued that women deserved particular attention in a reformed Judaism and that the informal education that girls conventionally had obtained from their mothers failed to prepare them for the vital role they now had to fulfill. Jewish women, Fränkel claimed, lacked “refined *Bildung*, gracefulness, noble propriety, and the right taste.”⁶⁰ And what Fränkel deplored most of all was that the lack of true religiosity among Jewish women had fatal consequences. While it was unfortunate if a Jewish man fulfilled his ritual obligations in an unenlightened and uninspired way, for a woman, missing religious

higher and the divine. . . . Religion adorns the woman, it ennoble her tender nature, whereas irreligion can destroy her.”⁶¹ Since bourgeois culture defined women as essentially moral, religious, and sensitive, the lack of these qualities in a woman put her womanhood into question and, in the eyes of contemporaries, could destroy her as a useful member of society. On guard against such calamity, Frankel detected a decline of religiosity

among Jewish women. Though he believed that only a small number of women had, under the influence of the *Zeitgeist*, turned their back on religion, he feared that the trend would gain strength. “If formerly, the mothers inspired and animated their daughters with religious sentiment, often the opposite takes place today,” Frankel observed.⁶² This development threatened to have disastrous effects once these daughters would be mothers themselves, as the future of humankind lay in their hands. “The weal and woe of coming generations,” Fränkel declaimed, “depends on their *Bildung*.”⁶³

Like Christian educators, Fränkel and other contributors to *Sulamith*

assigned great importance to mothers for imbuing their children with *Bildung* and religiosity, and held women responsible for weaknesses in religious commitment. In the second half of the nineteenth century, when bourgeois ideas of gender roles were firmly established, the charge that Jewish women were leading their families away from Judaism had become a common argument. Blaming Jewish women constituted the flipside of the pivotal position that women began to assume in religious culture. Although Fränkel and other Jewish leaders at the time believed that women possessed an inherent inclination for the sublime and the noble, these leaders also considered women to be easily corruptible and prone to vanity and shallowness.⁶⁴ Therefore, female virtue and female religiosity required careful training and adequate reinforcement. Promoting the highest possible standards of Jewish women’s moral and religious education seemed of utmost importance to an increasing number of Jewish leaders. When they came to regard old-style piety as insufficient, and when they diagnosed religious devotion as waning, men such as Frankel and Salomon urged German Jewry to provide girls with a new type of schooling.

Pedagogues and ideologues believed that when women were exposed to the right education and to stimulation of their religious sentiments, they developed a radiant inner beauty, kept their homes as havens of serenity and *Bildung*, ensured the faithfulness of their families to the Jewish religion, and excelled as mothers and educators of their children. In this scheme, carefully educated, culturally refined, and truly virtuous Jewish women could guarantee the future of the Jewish people in an enlightened German society.

TOWARD WOMEN'S RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
AND THEIR GREATER INTEGRATION
IN THE SYNAGOGUE

With regard to the history of women's position in this period, three topics are interwoven. The history of Jewish girls' education in nineteenth-century Germany, the history of the Jewish Free Schools which offered the first modern-style programs of instruction for girls, and the history of *Sulamith* are tightly linked. In fact, David Fränkel and Joseph Wolf, both teachers at the Jewish Free School in Dessau, founded *Sulamith* in order to propagate the program of educational reform pursued in that location.⁶⁵ In Dessau, the foremost pedagogue of the German Enlightenment Johannes Bernhard Basedow had created the first elementary school for girls in Germany, in 1786. From there, modern girls' schools spread throughout Germany; soon, *maskilim* began to advocate systematic education for girls. Writing in the Hebrew-language *Ha-Me'assef* (The Collector) in Berlin in 1788, the Jewish Enlightener David Friedländer deplored the lack of religious and moral education for Jewish girls.⁶⁶ That same year, in one of the earliest Jewish publications in German, Friedländer declared that it was "necessary to think about the formation of women's hearts and intellects. From a young age on, girls need instruction in religious and moral laws."⁶⁷

Friedländer's call for modern religious education of Jewish girls constituted one of the earliest signs that women's position in Jewish religion and culture was changing. In order for women to be good mothers and worthy mistresses of their homes, it was felt that Judaism needed to offer women and girls a new type of inclusion. Education formed the first area in which Jewish reformers put into practice this integration of women into modern Jewish culture and society. In Berlin, the founders of the Jewish Free School for boys failed to establish a parallel institution for girls, but *maskilim* in Breslau erected a Jewish girls' school in 1801, ten years after they had founded the boys' school. By 1801, Jewish girls were also attending the Free School in Dessau, which contained three classes for boys and one for girls. And four years later, the director of the Dessau Free School, David Fränkel, established a separate girls' school. This school, Fränkel explained in *Sulamith*, not only taught needlework and gave its students an appropriate secular education, but also fostered girls' religious sentiments.⁶⁸

With *Sulamith*, Fränkel and Wolf created a forum in which Jewish educators throughout Germany could disseminate their ideas of a reformed Judaism, of women's place in the new Jewish culture, and of women's education. Their periodical featured the pedagogical programs of innovators such as Michael Heß, director of the Jewish reform school in Frankfurt,

and Moses Hirsch Bock, director of Berlin's first Jewish girls' school, which he had founded in 1809 as a private school. The Frankfurt Free School, called the Jewish Philanthropin, had introduced instruction for girls in 1809 and, in 1821, an article in *Sulamith* described the religious education received there by both boys and girls.⁶⁹ In this contribution to *Sulamith*, originally given as a speech at a public school examination, the author, possibly Heft himself, asserted that the school did not fail to familiarize children with the "ceremonial laws" of halakhic Judaism, even though the students studied the Bible rather than rabbinic literature. The religious education at the Philanthropin excelled, however, in understanding religion as "the ennoblements of sentiments, the uplifting of the spirit above the mundane, the command over passions, and the strengthening of the will in order to practice every human virtue."⁷⁰ And while, supposedly, boys as well as girls benefited from being taught religion in such a spirit, the author emphasized the need to include girls in the program. In fact, Heß, Fränkel, and other pedagogues did not tire of declaring that education for girls needed to focus primarily on "awakening, ennobling, and enlivening the moral, religious, and aesthetic emotions."⁷¹

As reformers concurred that newly devised courses of religious instruction needed to address girls as well as boys, some began to claim that women and girls had to be included in public worship, too. In *Sulamith*, Michael Heft discussed the potential benefits of "a weekly hour of devotion [*Andachtsstunde*] with prayer and singing in the German language" for girls and women. Such a devotional exercise would help women, he argued, to develop their taste for beauty in nature and art; he also believed that "the woman of fine taste becomes more decent in her appearance, gentler in her talk, more orderly and cleaner."⁷² Heß emphasized here the practical merits of women's exposure to an edifying service. Yet *Sulamith* advanced a larger program of a more heartfelt and cultivated culture of worship, in which the reformers expected women to participate. In his series "Letters to a Venerable Woman of Jewish Religion," Gotthold Salomon elaborated on the notion, according to which the performance of religious commandments needed to be accompanied by sincere religiosity. Salomon insisted that true prayer expressed a person's most intimate and holiest sentiments. Furthermore, he questioned whether Hebrew formed the most appropriate language for prayer. Since prayer was meant to be more than "mechanical movement of the lips," Salomon argued, worshippers needed to pray in a language they understood.⁷³ By raising the language of prayer as an issue, Salomon advocated concrete innovations in Jewish practice.

Salomon also emphasized that "rich and poor, big and small, old and young congregated in *one* temple, *all* the children in the house of their father"⁷⁴

the divine, and further love among all of these humans. Women belonged to this community and Salomon sharply criticized the prevailing custom according to which unmarried women did not attend public services. The integration of girls and unmarried women into the German synagogue, which Salomon advocated in 1807 in *Sulamith*, came to be a central issue for reformers in the following decades. And so did the question of whether Hebrew or German should be the preferred language of synagogue liturgy.

Moreover, *Sulamith* consistently promoted decorous and culturally refined public worship for men and women. Together with advancing educational reform and issues of moral and cultural improvement, adapting the synagogue to the requirements of bourgeois society ranked high among *Sulamith's* goals. The periodical thus disseminated news on the first reformed services, which took place in the Jewish boys' school in Cassel in 1809. In the Cassel school, the president of the Jewish consistory of Westphalia, Israel Jacobson, or other members of the consistory held a speech every Sabbath; congregants recited prayers in Hebrew and German alternately, and the service was abbreviated. In *Sulamith*, Frañkel claimed, the children understood what they prayed, thus lending a tone so that "exemplary quiet and holy devotion reign[ed] in this synagogue."⁷⁵

Sulamith published even more enthusiastic reports on the dedication of the temple in Seesen and subsequently applauded the progress of synagogue reforms in Seesen, Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt, and other German communities. It hailed the introduction of organs and choirs into services, lauded German-language prayers and sermons, and advocated the celebration of marriage and confirmation ceremonies in the synagogue.⁷⁶ Indeed, confirmation ceremonies superbly exemplify the new culture of bourgeois religiosity and women's integration into public worship. Thus, *Sulamith* devoted much attention to these events and in particular exalted the first confirmations of girls.

Jewish confirmation ceremonies took form as graduation exercises from modern-style religious instruction. The ceremonies resembled the parallel celebrations that had become common in the Protestant church during the Enlightenment. For Jewish boys, confirmation competed with the customary Bar Mitzvah celebration and at times replaced the established rite. Girls were excluded from the Bar Mitzvah rite, but they underwent confirmation when they participated in the newly established programs of Jewish religious education. As early as 1810, David Frankel reported that the consistory of Westphalia planned to provide Jewish girls along with boys with religious instruction that would culminate in a confirmation ceremony.⁷⁷

Sulamith expressed great satisfaction when, in the following decade, girls in fact began to be confirmed in synagogues. The journal characterized

and described them as deeply moving events of historic importance. In the private synagogue of the Beer family in Berlin, *Sulamith* informed its readers, “an assembly of four hundred people, as much as the temple could hold, dissolved so to speak in tears.”⁷⁸ Likewise, when the Hamburg Temple, Germany’s first full-fledged and lasting Reform synagogue and the model of German Reform worship, introduced the confirmation of girls, *Sulamith* commemorated the first of these ceremonies as “one of the most beautiful festivals that humankind and Judaism could celebrate.”⁷⁹ Contributions in *Sulamith* acclaimed the confirmation of girls as a true expression of a thoroughly refined and enlightened religious spirit. In the symbolic order of the period, the female sex represented beauty and morality, *Sittlichkeit* and *Bildung*, progress and peace, purity and transcendence. Since Jewish reformers associated religion increasingly with these values, a white-clad girl who professed her faithfulness to Judaism in front of a rapt audience splendidly personified the new Jewish religious culture that *Sulamith* helped to shape.

In *Sulamith*, the foremost publication of Jewish cultural reform in early nineteenth-century Germany, Jewish ideologues and pedagogues advanced new ideas of an enlightened Jewish religiosity and systematically propagated women’s inclusion in modern Judaism. The attention that Salomon, Fränkel, and other male contributors to *Sulamith* paid to women’s issues, however, and the importance they attributed to women in their vision of a truly refined Judaism, did not challenge the framework of the Jewish legal tradition. In *Sulamith*, reformers refrained from systematically criticizing women’s position in Jewish law. While Salomon urged greater inclusion of women in public worship and insisted on a devotion in which religious sentiment played a prominent role for both sexes, he nowhere came so far as to suggest counting women in a *minyan*, the Jewish prayer quorum.

As vehemently as the reformers pleaded that Judaism needed to be cleansed from what they considered to be abuses, superstitions, and additions to the pure core of the Jewish faith, articles in *Sulamith* consistently emphasized that the writers respected biblical Judaism, Halakhah, and the Jewish tradition. Being suspected of promoting subversion and heresy, indeed, would have been detrimental to the cause that this small group of pedagogues and ideologues pursued. Most of the reformers were young, and they attempted to educate and to enlighten the Jewish people. They still needed to prove themselves as responsible leaders of German Jewry. They succeeded in the ensuing decades, and Jewish communities came to adopt many an innovation that had first been proposed in *Sulamith*. In the journal, the reformers promoted, for instance, a mode of devotion in

Salomon encouraged men as well as women to address God with heartfelt prayer, and in the vernacular. The transformation of the Jewish culture of prayer in Germany then, in fact, unfolded along these lines.

In the nineteenth century, a new, emotionalized German-language devotional culture ultimately evolved that did not differentiate between male and female worshippers. The relationship of women to Hebrew prayer, however, remained largely unchanged. Similarly, as articles in *Sulamith* had suggested, women were included in new programs of religious education, for which Talmud study no longer featured prominently.

Sulamith laid the ground for a Reform movement that later articulated a critique of Halakhah. Yet in much broader terms, the journal advanced a cultural framework for a bourgeois Judaism that all of German Jewry came to embrace. By the middle of the nineteenth century, contemporaries considered morality and heartfelt religiosity an indispensable feature of the Jewish religion and, as *Sulamith* had put forward, they believed that women excelled in virtue and religious sensitivity. German Jews came to adopt the language of bourgeois religiosity that had found its first full expression in *Sulamith*.

TWO

At the Crossroads: Politics of Inclusion and Emancipation



In the course of the first half of the nineteenth century, the program of emotionalized religiosity that was advanced by the *maskilim* David Frankel, Joseph Wolf, and other reform-minded pedagogues and ideologists in *Sulamith* reached increasingly larger segments of the German-Jewish population. In this period, German Jews became economically integrated into the middle class and adopted bourgeois life styles. The embourgeoisement of the Jewish religion formed an integral part of this process of upward mobility and acculturation. Moreover, Jews often believed and were made to believe that they needed to cultivate enlightened, aesthetically appealing, and spiritually uplifting forms of worship in order to earn full citizenship. In fact, when Jewish men introduced the first reformed prayer services in Germany in the Napoleonic kingdom of Westphalia in the early part of the nineteenth century, they stated publicly that synagogue reform was to express and to consolidate their new status as German compatriots.

The political discourse of rights that these leaders used, in which men acted as brothers among brothers rather than as fathers, excluded women. However, this language of rights, emancipation, and politics did not dominate German-Jewish religious culture. Jewish leaders also consistently fostered a Jewish religiosity that they located in the family, that addressed men as well as women as parents, and that highlighted the role of the Jewish mother.

In the second decade of the nineteenth century, several newly founded Jewish periodicals followed the example of *Sulamith* and began to agitate for a greater inclusion of women in new forms of religious life. In the same

for Jewish women, and in the 1820s, the trend of a family- and women-oriented Judaism gained further momentum. Salomon and Eduard Kley came to serve as preachers at the Hamburg Reform Temple and published volumes of sermons in which they exalted family life and praised women as exemplars of morality and religiosity.

Reformers lauded the female sex, emphasized the importance of women's supposedly beneficial influence on Jewish society, and promoted synagogue attendance and religious education for women. Yet sometimes they could not avoid acknowledging that Halakhah persisted in severely restricting women's access to central religious practices, and on occasions they remarked on the peculiar if not inferior status of women in Jewish law. Surprisingly little discussion took place on these issues. In one of the few interventions, Reform rabbi Abraham Geiger published a comprehensive critique of women's position in rabbinic Judaism and proposed to emancipate women within the strictures of Halakhah. Eight years later, when the reform-minded faction of the German rabbinate convened the influential rabbinical conferences of the 1840s, Samuel Adler submitted a petition for women's equality in Jewish law to one of the meetings.

I shall examine here in some detail the arguments brought forward by those who suggested a feminist revision of Halakhah and the ideological frameworks in which these proposals were embedded. However, in the nineteenth century, the Reform movement failed to improve women's status in Jewish law. Deliberations at the rabbinical assembly of 1845 and the report that the Committee on the Religious Status of Women in Judaism prepared for the conference of 1846 did not effect results. The increased attention to women and the greater importance that rabbis, preachers, and educators assigned to them did not translate into women's emancipation in Jewish law. It was not the reform of Halakhah that facilitated the improvement of Jewish women's position in nineteenth-century Judaism. Instead, change resulted from a cultural shift toward an enlightened and bourgeois religiosity away from the religious practices that had stood at the center of halakhic Judaism.

THE EARLY YEARS: EMANCIPATORY DISCOURSE AND BOURGEOIS RELIGIOSITY

Women were highly visible in the program of social and cultural betterment with which *Sulamith* aimed to further the integration of Jews into German society. Yet in the same period, Jewish men tended to disregard women when men's articles, sermons, and speeches focused on questions of

German Jewish history and emancipatory politics did not form

a platform for the elevation of women. In July 1810, for instance, the Jewish consistory of Westphalia inaugurated Germany's first Reform temple in Seesen, and the addresses given by the two leading members of the consistory, Israel Jacobson and Jeremiah Heinemann, catered solely to men. We possess no evidence as to whether women attended the ceremony and, in fact, the celebration may very well have been an exclusively male event. Although the new synagogue was to serve as the place of worship for the small local Jewish community, the school attached to the sanctuary was just for boys. Moreover, the Jewish consistory of Westphalia had designed the dedication ceremony as a political affair of great symbolic importance and not as a communal celebration. It had invited a large number of Christian dignitaries, including pastors, priests, and government officials, as well as Jewish and non-Jewish businessmen and notables.¹ The purpose of the dedication ceremony of the Seesen temple was to evince the dignity of the country's Jewish citizens and the worthiness of the Jewish religion in light of the emancipation that the Jews of Westphalia had gained in the Napoleonic kingdom.

Three years earlier in the newly established Kingdom of Westphalia, the French ruler Jerome Bonaparte had granted his Jewish subjects full civil equality and religious freedom. The Napoleonic government had also created the Jewish consistory of Westphalia—an administrative body headed by a president, three rabbis, and two Jewish laymen that possessed the authority to regulate Jewish life in Westphalia.² Israel Jacobson held the presidency of the Jewish consistory. He had been born in 1768 in Halberstadt into a wealthy family, had studied for the rabbinate but instead had become a successful businessman. Jacobson was deeply committed to the political and cultural integration of German Jewry and wished to adapt the Jewish religion to contemporary sensibilities. As president of the consistory, he was able to play a leading role in the Jewish Reform movement that had begun to take shape. After the demise of the Kingdom of Westphalia and the Westphalian consistory in 1813, Jacobson relocated to Berlin and spearheaded the reform of Jewish worship in the Prussian capital. Ten years younger and not as affluent as Jacobson, Jeremiah Heinemann was less prominent, though he was equally committed to reforming Judaism. With David Fränkel, he represented the Jewish laity in the consistory and served as Jacobson's personal secretary.³

The construction of the Reform temple in Seesen, with its bell and clock tower, its organ, and its novel interior arrangements was perhaps the most celebrated achievement of the Jewish consistory of Westphalia, and was in itself a statement of how emancipated Jews worshipped.⁴ Thus, in their speeches at the inauguration of the temple in 1810, Jacobson and Heinemann spoke in which differences of religion

no longer separated Jews from their Christian neighbors. Heinemann emphasized the importance of “education and instruction” to prepare young people for world citizenship, and he applauded the newly won freedom to practice one’s religion. The public worship that emerged now, Heinemann believed, would promote virtues from which humankind at large would benefit.⁵ In the same vein, Jacobson praised the progress of this age of reason. It was a progress that led not only to the improvement of schools and synagogues, but also united men of all faiths as brothers and equals.⁶ However, women were not mentioned in this enlightened discourse of emancipation and citizenship, progress and reason, freedom and equality. Jacobson addressed the assembly consistently as “brothers,” and both he and Heinemann referred to religion and virtue strictly in the context of male civic responsibilities and rights. In fact, the emancipation of Jews in Westphalia—as emancipation elsewhere and later in the nineteenth century—extended exclusively to men. Women continued to lack the civic rights and duties of their male contemporaries, and feminists have claimed that the exclusion of women and their subjugation and disenfranchisement in modern society lay at the core of the new social order established by men at the time.

According to the feminist account, the classic social contract theories with which men legitimized the overthrow of the old society of orders conceived of civil society as a male fraternity. By definition, the theories by which men claimed their natural liberty as free and equal individuals excluded women. For male ideologues from Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Sigmund Freud, women were trapped in the physical concreteness of childbirth and motherhood and could not participate in civil society. Feminist scholars have held that in the story of the original social contract that led to the founding of the new bourgeois and capitalist order, women were banned into an increasingly distinct private sphere. Only men could inhabit the political realm, a place where they no longer acted as fathers. When men in the emerging bourgeois society engendered their political rights, they contracted together as brothers. Similarly, as brothers they formed a civil fraternity of free and equal male individuals. In these readings of the accounts of the original social and sexual contract, men had “no desire to become fathers in the classic patriarchal sense.”⁷ Rather, they established the political body of civil society, the public realm of middle-class society, through universalist and exclusively male fraternal bonds.

This gendered division of public and private realms was never fully realized. Scholars agree today that women and other groups and people who did not qualify for the fraternity of free and equal individuals could find access to alternative public and political spheres.⁸ Yet it is striking that women in the first decades of the nineteenth century in Germany, Jewish

men acted in the political realm within the parameter of classic social contract theories, they addressed only men and treated equality, progress, and reform as male-to-male issues. Thus when Jewish men turned to non-Jews as brothers, women were absent or at least invisible. On the other hand, when Jewish men pursued cultural integration rather than political emancipation and used the Jewish community or the Jewish family as their frame of reference, women played a significant role in speeches, sermons, writings, and programs of religious reform. Jewish men acted as brothers in an exclusively male political realm, but, as we shall see, they also valued their own functions as fathers, praised the female contribution to Jewish culture, and exalted the feminine aspects of Judaism in a new culture of bourgeois religiosity.

In 1813, the Kingdom of Westphalia and with it the Jewish consistory came to an end. The Reform movement in the region consequently faltered as a political project. Nevertheless, Israel Jacobson and Jeremiah Heinemann moved to Berlin and, under different premises than in Westphalia, continued to work on the educational, religious, and cultural rejuvenation of German Jewry. Heinemann established a boy's and a girl's school, both of which he directed.⁹ He also founded the periodical *Jedidja*, which he described as “the representative organ of Heinemann’s educational institutions,” aiming to enhance “the religious, moral, and aesthetic *Bildung* of humankind” at large.¹⁰ Heinemann had conceived *Jedidja* as a counterpart to *Sulamith*, whose editor David Frankel he knew and respected. In fact, “Jedidiah” is a name for the biblical Salomon who, according to the tradition, sang the praises of his beloved, Sulamith, in Song of Songs.¹¹ Like *Sulamith*, *Jedidja* and its successor, the *Allgemeine Archiv des Judenthums*, advocated a Judaism based on *Bildung*, morality, and edifying sentiments, reported on the progress of synagogue reform, and emphasized the role of mothers for the religious and moral education of their children.¹² In a wedding sermon reprinted in *Jedidja*, for instance, the author expounded on the tender nature of the mother who finds the way to the heart of her child, on her responsibility for the moral character of her offspring, and on her duty to serve always as an example of virtue and *Sittlichkeit*.¹³ Thus, in *Jedidja* and in the *Allgemeines Archiv des Judenthums*, Heinemann advanced a culture of Jewish religiosity that was not framed by a discourse of citizenship and male rights. Rather than on rights, Heinemann focused on inner values, on the improvement of the heart and the soul, and on religious sentiments. Far from being directed only toward men, this program of moral refinement and intellectual elevation demanded the inclusion of women. Contemporary notions of women’s high



2.1. Title page of the periodical *Jedidja* (Berlin, 1818–1819). Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

propensity for moral and religious values, as well as ideas on mothers' crucial pedagogical functions, required that particular attention be given to the female sex. Accordingly, Heinemann provided for the education of girls in his private school and showed concern for the religious and educational needs of women.

In January 1817, Jeremiah Heinemann invited his students' mothers and other women to attend "religious and aesthetic lectures," which were to be held in his apartment.¹⁴ Heinemann himself, who also served as a teacher of religion in his girls' school, committed to holding weekly talks on religion, while his colleague Hellmuth Winter, a philosopher and pedagogue with a university degree, was scheduled to speak about aesthetics. Winter was to introduce Jewish women to the treasures of classical German literature. According to Heinemann, his lectures on biblical history would emphasize the moral teachings of the Bible; additional religious instruction would lead to "fine universal *Bildung* [*Weltbildung*] through the ennoblement of the taste and the refinement of the sentiments." The talks on German literature aimed at cultivating the moral sensibilities of the Jewish women.¹⁵ "Indeed," Heinemann claimed, "the seeds of religious and moral human culture [*Menschenkultur*] lie in aesthetic *Bildung*."¹⁶ In Heinemann's description of the projected lectures and of the classes into which women could enroll additionally, the confluence of religion and *Bildung*, of morality and beauty, and of the Bible and Schiller could not be more striking. Like other pedagogues, scholars, and theologians of his time, Heinemann promoted a Jewish culture of religiosity in which *Bildung* and religion overlapped. In the view of contemporaries, this religion of *Bildung* helped develop an individual's moral capacities through selfreflexive edification. According to Heinemann and other advocates of this novel brand of Judaism, women not only possessed a predisposition for the beautiful and the sublime, but had the vocation to be the bearers of morality, religiosity, decency, and beauty.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE FOR WOMEN

It remains uncertain whether the lectures that Heinemann advertised in *Jedidja* ever took place. Yet it does appear that Jewish women in Berlin showed interest in a new type of religiosity and in religious talks in the German language.¹⁷ In the private synagogue that Israel Jacobson, after having left Westphalia, opened in his Berlin home in 1815, regular German-language sermons formed a main attraction for many worshippers.

worshippers. Thus, Jacob Herz Beer, one of the wealthiest men in Berlin at the time, and Amalia Beer, his well-educated wife who played a leading role in the cultural and intellectual life of the city, offered to house the services in their roomier home. The reformed worship in the Beer temple, as it was called, gained extensive popularity among both Jewish men and women. In Berlin between 1815 and 1823, a generation of Jewish preachers and scholars—among them Leopold Zunz, one of the founders of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*—delivered their first sermons to a captivated and growing audience.¹⁸

Gotthold Salomon, teacher at the Dessau Free School and, as we have seen, a contributor to *Sulamith* from its inception, was one of these mostly young men who preached in High German at the new services in Berlin. Salomon had been born in 1784 in a village in Anhalt-Dessau and had come to Dessau at age sixteen as an impoverished Talmud student. He attended a yeshivah in Dessau, but also pursued secular studies. In 1802, Salomon was hired at the Jewish Free School of Dessau to teach Hebrew and German. He distinguished himself by giving inspiring lectures in the classes of modern-type religious instruction that the school had introduced, and began to give edifying talks in German on Sabbath and holidays at the meetings of a Dessau dowry association. Finally, in the fall of 1815 Salomon traveled to Berlin and delivered his first devotional speech during a synagogue service in Jacobson's house. This marked the beginning of his career as a preacher that would earn him the title "father of modern Jewish homiletics."¹⁹

Although in his contributions to *Sulamith* Salomon focused on women's place in contemporary Jewish society, in the sermon at Jacobson's private synagogue he did not emphasize women's specific spiritual or moral vocation.²⁰ Yet neither did he conceive of men as brothers, citizens, and equals within the parameters of the discourse of a male brotherhood that excluded women. In his sermon, Salomon talked about virtue and moral improvement and turned to men as members of families, as brothers and fathers. He thus addressed both men and women: "brothers and sisters" as well as "fathers and mothers."²¹ As a preacher, Salomon had begun to propagate a religious culture that combined a high regard of the Jewish man as a family man with a high esteem for women's moral capacities and for female religiosity.

A year after his first sermon in Berlin, Salomon published a three-hundred-page book attesting to his concern for women's religious needs. With *Selima's Stunden der Weihe, eine moralisch-religiöse Schrift für Gebildete des weiblichen Geschlechts* (Selima's Hours of Devotion, a Moral-Religious Work for the Educated of the Female Sex), Salomon created the first piece of literature for Jewish women.²²

Consisting of essays on subjects such as human destiny, religion, nature, revelation, immortality, prayer, Jewish festivals, and the confirmation ceremony, the book contained religious meditations that were directed specifically to women. Salomon ascribed the authorship of *Selima's Stunden der Weihe* to the fictional character of Selima, a young woman from a wealthy, pious, and culturally refined German-Jewish family.²³ In his introduction, Salomon described Selima and her family as models of virtue, religiosity, and moral conduct. Selima's mother did not indulge herself with balls and amusements. Rather she took her role as the educator of her children seriously and provided her son and even more so her daughter with exemplary moral and religious guidance. Moreover, Selima received a well-balanced education in drawing, music, German literature, history, and needlework as well as religious instruction. Consequently, Salomon recounted, the young woman reached the highest standards of noble womanhood: she had a pure and friendly soul, a chaste heart and simple manners, most perfectly developed tender sentiments, and a special closeness to the Divine. Indeed, God's presence, which revealed itself in the beauty of nature, moved Selima deeply when she took walks with her girlfriend or her parents. With her companions, she then mused on human and celestial matters, and later recorded her impressions.²⁴ Salomon called these meditations Selima's "hours of devotion," using the term *devotion* very very broadly.

In one of these devotions, Selima wandered with her mother one evening "in the temple of nature, lit by the moon and by stars."²⁵ Inspired by the majesty of the sky, her mother talked to her about the dignity of human existence. The human condition, according to Selima's mother, was distinguished by God's gifts of reason and language, by humans' freedom to choose between good and evil, and by the striving for eternity.²⁶ Thus, Selima's mother—or rather Gotthold Salomon—linked reason and culture with morality, and with the human capacity for transcendence. Here he conceived religion in the most universal of terms. It constituted an experience of the Divine that led to social grace and moral integrity. *Selima's Stunden der Weihe*, however, also possessed specifically Jewish sections. Salomon introduced the readers to biblical history, and the book included meditations for the Jewish holidays with titles such as "thoughts and sentiments at the commencement of the Day of Atonement."²⁷ In these meditations, Salomon built on the established literary traditions of Jewish women's prayers, called *tchines*.²³ More significantly, however, *Selima's Stunden der Weihe* promoted a religiosity that encouraged women to let themselves be uplifted by beauty and by noble sentiments and to develop their spiritual,

According to Phöbus Philippson (born in Dessau in 1807), who was the son of Salomon's friend and colleague Moses Philippson and who knew Salomon as a teacher and preacher, *Selima's Stunden der Weihe* enjoyed wide popularity.²⁹ Salomon, Philippson remembered, received much praise for the good that his pioneering work of modern Jewish devotional literature had done: "Numerous cultivated [*gebildete*] women only now formed an idea of the character of their religion, . . . and the defection from the religion of their fathers which had become popular at the time was prevented for many a female contemporary."³⁰ Indeed, in the introduction to *Selima's Stunden der Weihe*, Salomon reported that initially his distributors had hesitated to support the work, since, he was told, "our ladies were much too enlightened" to read religious literature.³¹ Most likely, developments in Berlin rather than in Dessau or in other German-Jewish communities inspired the perception that Jewish women had turned their back on religion and threatened to leave the fold.

The Berlin Jewish community, at the time, was experiencing conversions to Christianity in which women took the lead. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, a group of wealthy and distinguished Jewish families left Judaism. A few highly educated Jewish women, moreover, who belonged to the literary, cultural, and financial elite of the Prussian capital, divorced their Jewish husbands in order to marry Christians. Due to their prominence, the behavior of these salon women, as they are known, shocked Jewish observers far beyond the limits of Berlin. The salon women, however, formed only a small cohort of not more than two dozen individuals, not all of whom converted, living under a set of very specific circumstances.³² Many other Jewish women in the second decade of the 1800s, in fact, may still have been unfamiliar with German literature and may have preferred to read religious texts in Yiddish.³³ Thus, when Salomon sought to publish *Selima's Stunden der Weihe*, a readership for Jewish women's devotional literature in High German, printed in Latin letters, was far from guaranteed. While contemporaries perceived highly educated women as estranged from Judaism, it appeared doubtful whether less acculturated women would be attracted to a book such as his. Salomon indeed published his work with the help of subscriptions; in the introduction he described the difficulties he had encountered in financing the volume and in recruiting subscribers. Eventually, however, thirty-nine men and ninety women, some of them Christians, signed up to order *SeLima's Stunden der Weihe*, attesting to a substantial interest of Jewish women in the project. Seven women from Leipzig, six from Magdeburg, and twenty-five from Dessau supported the publication, while Salomon mustered

only eight subscriptions from Berlin. In Berlin, Jeremiah Heinemann

and Israel Jacobson stood out with ten orders each, while Amalia Beer requested six copies.³⁴ Salomon, in fact, dedicated *Selimas Stunden der Weihe* to Beer.

Amalia Beer can be considered the counter model to the Jewish salon women, many of whom had only a precarious attachment to Judaism. Though she was thoroughly integrated into the cultural, non-Jewish elite of Berlin, Beer remained committed to the Jewish religion. The entire Beer family, in fact, not only stayed within the fold but involved itself in the nascent Jewish Reform movement.³⁵ Thus, Beer, her family, Salomon, Heinemann, Jacobson, and other reformers worked to create an alternative to a Judaism that had lost its attraction for a segment of the economic and cultural elite of the Berlin Jewish community. They devised new forms of Jewish religiosity that conformed to nineteenth-century bourgeois culture. While one cannot conclusively determine whether the conversion wave in Berlin truly accelerated or even caused reforms in Jewish worship and education, it appears reasonable to assume that the absence of viable alternatives to rabbinic Judaism drove some Jews away from Jewish practice.³⁶ Certainly, reformers themselves expressed an urgency to adapt Judaism to modern society in order to prevent conversions. In the eyes of male Jewish leaders, women seemed particularly vulnerable to apostasy. Jewish reformers deplored the marginal position of women in rabbinic Judaism, the absence of formal religious instruction for females, and the lack of adequate religious literature directed toward women. These evils, they worried, drove women, whom the reformers felt lacked strength of character, to indifference and defection. Thus, *Selima's Stunden der Weihe* was credited with preventing female conversions. Such a claim can hardly be substantiated. Yet the publication of Salomon's book of devotions contributed to the formation of a modern religious culture in which women occupied a well-respected and highly visible place.

Throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, men and women in Germany continued to convert from Judaism or just disengaged from Jewish religious practice. At the same time, however, the articles in *Sulamith*, *Jedidja*, and *Selimas' Stunden der Weihe* represented models for an emerging German-language religious literature for women. Not only did women find an alternative to both rabbinic Judaism and life outside of the Jewish community, but female religious culture also ceased to be marginal and secondary to male Jewish practices. Womens Judaism, as it found expression in religious literature for and—as we shall see later—also by women, converged with the religious sensibilities of nineteenth-century German Jewry at large. In a religious culture framed not by a discourse of rights but by the ideals of *Bildung*, *Sittlichkeit*, and emotional sensitivity, women and the



2.2. The first preachers at the Hamburg Temple. From left to right: Eduard Kley (1789–1867), Gotthold Salomon (1784–1862), and Naphtali Frankfurter (1810–1866). Leimdorfer, *Festschr.ft zum hunder.jahrigën Bestehen*, plate page 38. Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

HAMBURG AS THE CAPITAL OF A NEW HOMILETICS

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Jewish leaders in Berlin and Dessau held the lead in forging a reformed Jewish religiosity and in propagating one of its most significant innovations: the German-language sermon in public worship. The consistory in the Napoleonic Kingdom of Westphalia had pioneered synagogue reform, but had disbanded after only a few years. The Jewish Free School in Frankfurt, the *Philanthropin*, was another institution in which reform-minded educators experimented with giving edifying speeches to students. Yet these devotional exercises were not worship services.³⁷ Only in Dessau did Joseph Wolf, the co-founder of *Sulamith*, deliver German-language sermons in a synagogue as early as 1808. In Berlin, as we have seen, Jewish preachers also developed their skills in Jacobson's private synagogue and in the Beer temple.³⁸ However, the Prussian government, perceiving the reform of Judaism as dissent and as a potential source of political subversion, closed this temple in 1823. Subsequently, the center of the nascent Reform movement shifted to Hamburg, where Gotthold Salomon and Eduard Kley, a reformer and educator from Berlin, acted as preachers in the newly established Hamburg Temple. In what became the prototype of the German Reform synagogue, Salomon and Kley shaped the genre of the modern Jewish sermon.³⁹

Kley had been born in 1789 in rural Silesia and had received the basics of a traditional Jewish education. Yet his family, poor and open to innovations, also sent him to the Jewish Free School in Breslau. In 1809, Kley moved to Berlin, where he lived with the family of Jacob Herz and Amalia Beer, tutored their son Michael, and attended university lectures by leading thinkers of the period such as Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Friedrich Schleiermacher. From 1815 on, he also preached at the reformed synagogue services in Israel Jacobson's house, and in 1817, he left Berlin in order to become the director of the Jewish Free School of Hamburg.⁴⁰ In Hamburg, Kley was instrumental in founding the Hamburg Temple, Germany's model Reform congregation, and acted as the synagogue's first preacher. Soon, the Hamburg Temple looked for a second preacher and hired Gotthold Salomon who assumed the position in 1818. Together, Kley and Salomon turned Hamburg into the capital of contemporary Jewish homiletics. Salomon, in particular, gained fame for his talent as an orator and became "the favorite preacher of the female sex."⁴¹

Salomon developed a style of preaching that completely dispensed with transmitting any concrete knowledge and fully focused, instead, on being "edifying, exciting, yes gripping [*fortreißend*]"⁴² Contemporaries remembered Salomon as a preacher who "knew to uplift the souls, to penetrate deep into the hearts, to illuminate and to embellish [*verkläreri*] the vibrations of the soul [*Gemüthsstimmungen*], to awaken thoughts in noble form . . . , and to shape warmly felt convictions."⁴³ Reportedly, his rousing delivery and the lively character of his sermons, distinguished by the frequent use of metaphors, parables, and rhetorical questions and interspersed with Bible verses and his own poetry, endeared him in particular to Hamburg's women.⁴⁴ Yet Salomon not only stood out by creating a new style of preaching that appealed to women. In his sermons, he also devoted time to issues of domestic religiosity and feminine virtue.

In *Das Familienleben* (Family Life), a collection of three sermons published in 1821, Salomon developed a theology that was centered on the subject of women and the family.⁴⁵ In these sermons, he described the home as the house of God in which love inspired true religiosity: "parental love, the children's love, love between the spouses, *Menschenliebe* (love of humanity), [and] love of God."⁴⁶ Furthermore, Salomon expounded, domestic prayer and the observance of holidays sanctified the home. Salomon urged fathers and mothers as well as sons and daughters to let love, faithfulness, and piety reign in their homes. Then he turned to women and exclaimed: "The home is your world, you women! You alone can and should give it the most pleasant form and transform it into a house of God."⁴⁷

Taking as his departure the verse from Proverbs that praised the woman of

the Lord that a woman is to be praised,” Salomon exalted the so-called female virtues such as piety, morality, and modesty that adorned a refined Jewish house.⁴⁸

Women should develop their intellect too, Salomon stated, and needed to direct households in which orderliness, punctuality, and industry reigned. He insisted, however, that a woman's religion “pre-eminently remains a matter of her soul.”⁴⁹ And women's spiritual and intellectual capacities together, Salomon concluded, found their highest expression in women's vocation as mothers. “In the house of the pious woman, you find elevated motherly love,” he stated.⁵⁰ A devoted mother, he contended, cared not only for her children's physical needs, but was also aware that an immortal whose soul and heart required her guidance had been born. In fact, too many mothers lacked the full understanding of this “high dignity of their profession” and, consequently, “we miss in our youth the purity of manners, which alone should be the element of youthful life.” In accordance with nineteenth-century ideas of women's high sensitivity for the sublime and the contemporary emphasis on women's roles in early childhood education, mothers played a privileged role in Salomon's theology. Thus, Salomon proclaimed: “You indeed, worthy women! Pious mothers! ... to form humans [*Menschen bilden*], to enchant humans, to educate them for the earth and the heavens—this has become your lot!” In *Das Familienleben*, Salomon confirmed the conception of the day that the house was “the cradle of everything great,” and that women had the ability and the responsibility to turn a home into a haven of cultural refinement, familial love, and religious faithfulness.⁵¹ As mothers, models of virtue, and pillars of family life, women occupied a central position in the world of Salomon's homiletics.

Salomon addressed Jewish men too. He expected fathers to participate in raising their children with tenderness and devotion and to lead them toward domestic piety. In a New Year sermon, for instance, Salomon lauded the biblical Jacob as a “deeply feeling, tenderly loving father,” and exhorted the men of his congregation to follow the example of the patriarch Jacob and “to embed the principles of morality and religiosity in their [the children's] spirit and soul [*Gemüthe*].”⁵² In fact, in bourgeois families in the early part of the nineteenth century, educating children in this sense was a responsibility that husband and wife shared. Caring for the physical, emotional, moral, and religious well-being of children played a central role in the relationship of a couple, and contemporaries experienced parental love and love between the spouses as closely connected. Accordingly, many fathers strove to be involved in the raising of children; educators and ideologues certainly advised them to do so. At the same time, however, contemporaries

not only raised doubts about fathers' aptitudes

for deeply bonding with their children. In *Das Familienleben*, Salomon claimed that “a father’s spirit [*Geist*] cannot disclose itself [*sich mitteilen*] to a child, but a mother’s pious heart can.”⁵³

In another sermon, he declared that men, “the priests of the home,” who had to divide their time and their energy between public and domestic duties, were “occupied too much and too fully outside of the [domestic] sanctuary” to provide full moral and religious guidance to their children.⁵⁴ Therefore, in the family-centered theology of the Hamburg preachers, the priestesses of the home—the women—carried the main burden as guardians of Judaism, promoters of virtue and morality, and educators of the young.

In the 1820s and 1830s, as Hamburg became the center of the German sermon, Kley and Salomon together published no less than fifteen volumes of sermons.⁵⁵ As Salomon explained, the sermons served to illuminate “life in its domestic, social, and civil aspects” in order to ennoble it, and many of them focused on the Jewish home and Jewish family life.⁵⁶ For Salomon and an increasing number of German-Jewish rabbis and preachers, the home and the family gained importance as the place where morality, religiosity, and *Bildung* were cultivated and imparted to the next generation.⁵⁷ Thus, by directing their attention to the domestic sphere, Kley and Salomon turned to men and women as fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters. The Hamburg preachers related to men not primarily in their capacity as political subjects or individuals. Rather than understanding themselves as part of a male brotherhood of independent citizens who disregarded family ties, Salomon and Kley perceived men as rooted in the family and defined by their position there. Yet, within the family, men’s primacy, superiority, and religious leadership were all but secure. Not only did women figure prominently in sermons such as in Salomon’s *Das Familienleben*, but Kley and Salomon also elaborated in detail on the glorious role of the virtuous Jewish wife and mother in Jewish culture, a role that a man was unable to match.

REFORMERS ON JEWISH WOMEN AND HALAKHAH

The culture of bourgeois religiosity that *Sulamith* had introduced to a Jewish public and that Salomon and Kley propagated in their sermons was distinct from, though not incompatible with, halakhic or rabbinic Judaism. Joseph Wolf, David Frañkel, Jeremiah Heinemann, the Hamburg preachers, and other reformers and educators advocated a rejuvenation of Jewish practice. They criticized many an established custom as inspired by carelessness or even superstition and as lacking in dignity, emotional depth,

and spiritual content. However, these Jewish leaders tended to refrain from criticizing the basic framework of Jewish law. In their sermons and essays, they were concerned with issues such as morality, virtue, the cultivation of religious sentiments, and love among family members. Neither of them challenged Halakhah nor required the endorsement of the principles of rabbinic Judaism. When the educators, ideologues, and preachers argued that Jewish women's religious needs should no longer be neglected, these Jewish leaders agitated for welcoming women and girls in the synagogues and for including women into modern programs of religious instruction. They also expressed high esteem for women's roles as mothers and guarantors of Jewish family life. Only rarely did reformers touch upon women's position within Halakhah.

As an early exception, David Friedländer declared in 1788 that halakhic Judaism and traditional practice fell short of meeting the cultural and moral standards that contemporary notions of gender organization required. Due to the "oriental" environment in which the Israelites had obtained their revealed religion, Friedländer claimed, Judaism disadvantaged the female sex in legal and spiritual matters. He furthermore explained that mosaic legislation treated women unfairly in matters of property law and disparaged women in the religious realm by requiring them only to perform three positive religious commandments. Modern women, however, shared responsibilities, duties, and rights with men. In particular, according to Friedländer, women had to care for and to educate the youth, and were bound to fulfill a large range of domestic and civil obligations. "Therefore, it is naturally necessary to think about the formation of women's hearts and intellects, and from a young age on, girls need instruction in religious and moral laws."⁵⁸ Friedländer thus pointed to inequalities between men and women in Jewish law. Yet as a remedy to women's disadvantaged position, he suggested the same measures that *Sulamith* would later propagate and that, in fact, did not affect women's status within Halakhah at all.

In one of the rare instances in which a contributor to *Sulamith* discussed the issue of women in Jewish law, David Frankel defended the status quo. In fact, Frankel maintained that the laws of Judaism by no means depreciated the female sex. The parts of the Bible and the Talmud that seemed to advocate the oppression of Jewish women could not be taken as normative, according to Fränkel, and passages that praised and exalted women such as the biblical Deborah by far outweighed any negative assessments. Frankel even argued that the prayer in which Jewish men thank the Divine for not having been created as women in no respect implied that men were superior to women. Rather, in this prayer men expressed gratitude for not being exposed to the "manifold pains and discomforts" that

Then Fränkel took up one of the central issues that determined women's inferior position in halakhic Judaism: women's exemption from an entire category of ritual obligations. Friedländer had referred to this state of affairs, when he had stated that women were only expected to perform three positive religious commandments. According to rabbinic texts—above all the Talmud—that had been binding for Jewish communities throughout the centuries, women are not required to perform time-bound, positive *mitzvot* (religious commandments). Women, for instance, are not required to dwell in a Sukkah at the Feast of Tabernacles (Sukkot) and to hear the Shofar (ram's horn) blown at the New Year (Rosh Ha-Shana). Moreover, women are exempt from the duty of performing daily time-bound *mitzvot*, most importantly the laying of tefillin (phylacteries)—a practice that goes hand in hand with saying the centerpiece of the Hebrew liturgy, the *Shema*, and reciting the prescribed benedictions. Thus only men are responsible for what Jews for ages have considered to be the chief practices of daily worship.

In *Sulamith*, Fränkel endorsed this state of affairs by deploying arguments that modern Orthodox Jews repeated later. He argued that women's exemption from active, time-bound *mitzvot* stemmed from the high esteem in which the ancient rabbis held women and their domestic responsibilities: "To the mistress of the house, time is more precious for fulfilling her domestic duties [sic] and cannot be wasted with ceremonial obligations."⁶⁰ In this article, Fränkel point by point rejected the idea that Judaism placed women below men. He defended women's dispensation from highly valued religious responsibilities and justified women's exclusion from rabbinic learning. He vindicated the halakhic framework that had organized gender differentiation and gender hierarchy in Jewish society for centuries. Fränkel, however, refused to interpret the marginal position of women in the culture of halakhically defined male learning and prayer as a mark of women's inferior position in Judaism. Rather, he argued that women's distinct status in Jewish law testified to the great importance of the female contribution to Jewish life outside the realm of ritual obligations and religious study. Indeed, it was in this domain of Jewish culture, in a religiosity of the heart and not in a culture defined by textual study and fulfillment of ritual obligations, that the Jewish reformers in nineteenth-century Germany were most heavily invested.

Yet in 1837, without much preceding debate, the young rabbi Abraham Geiger published an essay that placed the issue of women's status in halakhic Judaism on the agenda of what by then could be called the Reform movement. Born in Frankfurt in 1810, Geiger had pursued Talmudic studies as generations of Jewish men had done before him, but he had also

After a university then he assumed his first position as a rabbi in the

small community of Wiesbaden in Rhineland at the age of twenty-seven, he belonged to a new generation of university-trained rabbis in Germany. In Wiesbaden and later in Breslau and Frankfurt, he served as a preacher and educator. Thereby he resembled the men in whose footsteps he followed as a Jewish reformer. Yet unlike the autodidactic *maskilim* of the previous generation, Geiger was also a modern scholar, steeped in the contemporary critical methods of linguistics, philosophy, and history. In fact, Geiger played a leading role in *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, the new scholarship that treated Judaism as an object of academic inquiry, and he counted among the most important thinkers of the Jewish Reform movement.⁶¹ In the course of his career, he became a prominent though highly controversial Reform rabbi.

When Geiger turned his attention to the issue of women's place in the Jewish religion, he created the classic text of the early Reform movement on the status of women in Judaism. With the essay, "The Position of the Female Sex in the Judaism of our Times," Geiger challenged the different positions of men and women in the religious economy of rabbinic Judaism. A full-fledged attack on the halakhic system of gender organization, his article concluded as follows:

Let there be from now on no distinction between the duties for men and women, unless flowing from the natural laws governing the sexes; no assumption of the spiritual minority of women, as though she were incapable of grasping the deep things in religion; no institution of the public service, either in form or content, which shuts the doors of the temple in the face of women; . . . Then will the Jewish girl and the Jewish woman, conscious of the significance of our faith, become fervently attached to it, and our whole religious life will profit from the beneficial influence which feminine hearts will bestow upon it.⁶²

Here, Geiger demanded the complete emancipation of women in Jewish law. By suggesting to remove any "distinctions between the duties for men and women," he called into question the exemption of women from the religious obligation to perform time-bound *mitzvot*. He denounced women's exclusion from public worship, and earlier in the text, criticized at length the legal framework of the Jewish marriage in the Bible and the Taimud. Geiger claimed that rabbinic Judaism held women in a state of "spiritual minority" and compared the legal position of women in rabbinic Judaism to that of slaves.⁶³ When he did so, every educated Jewish reader could recognize a pivotal passage of the Mishnah, in which women, slaves, and minors fell into the same category, as Geiger's reference. The text in the

Shema and from putting on phylacteries, but they are subject to the obligations of prayer. . . ."64

Highly contested to this day, women's exclusion or exemption from the obligation to say the *Shema* and from the performance of other timebound, active *mitzvot* has been fundamental to the gender organization of Jewish society and culture. In rabbinic literature throughout the ages as well as in contemporary debates, a number of important questions have arisen as a consequence of this exemption. If women are not obliged to perform time-bound, active *mitzvot* such as saying Hebrew prayers every morning and evening, and if they are not required to study Torah, are they *allowed to do so*? Are women welcome to take on the ritual obligations of a Jewish male voluntarily, or should they be discouraged from doing so? If a woman does perform w/te^rthat she is not expected to fulfill, what is the value of her deeds? In a spiritual economy in which the performance of *mitzvot* that are commanded by God rank highest, what type of spiritual merits can women acquire? Women are obligated to address God in informal prayers at times that seem convenient and appropriate to them, but the status of these prayers remains undefined in rabbinic texts. While some have claimed that women's religious practices possess value and prestige of their own, others such as Geiger have contended that in rabbinic Judaism women are kept in an inferior position, on a par with slaves and children. In fact, women's suspension from the performance of time-bound, active *mitzvot* and their exclusion from the communal learning of rabbinic texts entailed more than legal disabilities. Hebrew prayer and religious study constituted the most highly valued practices in Jewish culture and women's position in rabbinic Judaism can be understood as "spiritual coverture":

Because of the system of commandments within which significance and value are placed on the fulfillment of a commandment which one is obligated

to perform, and since women are exempted' from the fulfillment of many commandments, they were understood as being able to achieve spiritual merit only through the enabling of 'their husbands to perform these commandments.⁶⁵

Moreover, women's exemption from the obligation to recite the *Shema* has played a crucial role in determining women's place in the principal institution

of Jewish communal life, the synagogue.⁶⁶ Talmudic rabbis, nineteenth-century scholars, and contemporary Jews have each developed various approaches when evaluating women's exemption from the duty to perform time-bound, active *mitzvot*. When it comes to forming a prayer quorum, however, the dictum of Talmudic sources, medieval halakhists,

and modern Orthodox Jews is unequivocal: women are excluded, not exempt. A Jewish prayer quorum, called *minyan*, is defined as consisting of ten adult men, and the presence of a *minyan* is a prerequisite for reciting certain parts of the Hebrew liturgy. Ten or more Jewish males form a Jewish community of worship. From antiquity to the second half of the twentieth century, women at public prayer were not ever counted as part of the required group of ten participating worshippers. Whether a woman chose to perform time-bound, active *mitzvot* and to say the *Shema* or not, she was still not eligible to be counted in a *minyan*.⁶⁷ Although Geiger did not explicitly refer to women's inclusion into a halakhically defined prayer quorum, his demand that “no institution of the public service” should shut “the doors of the temple in the face of women” clearly aimed at emancipating women into the Jewish community of worshippers.⁶⁸ The proposal formed part of Geiger's radical critique of women's marginalization in Jewish society. By suggesting the abrogation of women's specific position in Jewish law, Geiger called for the end of women's inferior status in Jewish culture.

Before Geiger, no Jewish scholar or leader had ever proposed to completely abolish the distinctions between men and women in Jewish law. Geiger, in fact, advocated a fundamental revision of Halakhah, and his line of thought deserves some attention. He based his proposition to emancipate women within Halakhah on a larger discussion of the historicity and relativity of Talmudic law. Halakhah had always been flexible. Throughout the centuries, rabbinic authorities had adapted the corpus of legal rulings to the social conditions and the cultural sensitivities of their times. They had inserted themselves into the text, had reconsidered and reinterpreted prior halakhic statements, and had offered new conclusions from within the texture of rabbinic discourse. Sometimes, as in early modern Poland, rabbis had de facto even condoned communal practices that did not conform to halakhic norms.⁶⁹ Geiger, however, neither made a halakhic argument, nor did he stay within the framework of Talmudic reasoning, nor did he resign himself to a reality that violated the integrity of the body of Jewish law. Rather, trained in the method of contemporary, secular, critical, and historical scholarship, he engaged with rabbinic Judaism in a novel manner. According to Geiger, Judaism could be separated into a kernel that conformed with the “spirit of the faith” (*Geiste des Glaubens*) on the one hand and elements that Judaism had assimilated in its “incidental external historical development” (*zufällige äußere geschichtliche Entwicklun*) on the other.⁷⁰

This approach formed the centerpiece of Reform ideology and differed dramatically from the thinking of earlier Jewish scholars, including the theology

of the origin of the German Jewish Enlightenment, Moses Mendelssohn.

While Mendelssohn had promoted the integration of Jews into the surrounding culture and society, he had held on to the notion that Talmudic law constituted immutable, divinely revealed legislation. Within decades after his death in 1786, however, a new generation of Jewish leaders conceived of Judaism as shaped by historical forces.⁷¹

Not long after the turn of the century, pedagogues and ideologues began to distinguish between a spiritual essence of the Jewish religion and ceremonial forms, some of which they believed were now outdated. Thus they sought to separate “the wheat from the chaff” in order to restore Judaism to its purest and most noble form, and they set out to reform synagogue worship.⁷² In order to identify the elements that formed the essence of Judaism on the one hand, and the external layers that had accumulated as the shell of the Jewish religion on the other hand, reformers began to turn to the modern discipline of history. Jewish scholars now read Jewish texts according to contemporary methodologies of philology and historical criticism; they studied Judaism as a historically evolving culture. For them, the historical scholarship permitted access to truth that formerly only revealed law, Halakhah, and philosophy had offered. The study of history, according to contemporaries, gave insight into the laws governing the development of Judaism throughout the ages, and those who devised what was becoming Reform ideology claimed to build the future of Judaism on the stable ground of science.⁷³

Abraham Geiger, as one of the leading thinkers of the Reform movement, contributed greatly to the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Scholarship of Judaism), as the new scholarly project was called. In path-breaking scholarly works, Geiger analyzed the textual make-up of the most sacred books of rabbinic Judaism—the Bible and the Mishnah—and concluded that these documents represented culturally and historically specific stages in the history of the Jewish people. According to Geiger, the Jewish spirit rather than Jewish law lay at the core of Jewish life, and the external, organizational shape of Judaism underwent constant change.⁷⁴ In his article on the status of women in Judaism, Geiger followed the same approach. In biblical Judaism, Geiger argued, the “oriental” environment in which Judaism had evolved had shaped the social and religious position of the female sex. The cultural context of the Middle East, he explained, had laid the legal foundations according to which women held a position akin to slaves. The unmarried daughter was unremittingly at the mercy of her father; a man took control over his bride by way of purchase; he could acquire more than one wife; and he was entitled to dismiss her when she displeased him. Geiger, however, insisted that Judaism also distinguished itself from the surrounding society by investing marriage with “a higher sanctity” (*höhere Weihe*) than Middle Eastern cultures.⁷⁵ Biblical Israel valued women

highly, protected them from abuse, and did not confine them to harems; by contrast, “oriental” women were degraded to objects of male lust. Jewish women, Geiger claimed, could indeed rise to be judges like Deborah and prophetesses like Huldah. And as history progressed, Talmudic rabbi’s introduced some further improvements, such as the required consent of a woman to enter a marriage. Yet only centuries later, Geiger reported, “European manners and Germanic conceptions” provided Ashkenazi Jewry with the cultural framework in which Jewish society could begin to shed its “oriental” heritage.⁷⁶ In order to remedy the discrepancy between Judaism’s inherently high esteem for womanhood and the denigration of women by the halakhic code, Rabbi Gershom of Mainz overruled earlier Talmudic stipulations, outlawed polygamy, and improved the legal position of the Jewish woman. However, Geiger deplored the fact that 800 years had passed since then and “again, we have stood still.”⁷⁷

Geiger’s call for the emancipation of women in Jewish law thus evolved out of the Reform movement’s historical approach to Judaism. Jewish law and custom, in this reading, progressed steadily, ascending from their “oriental” origins to the heights of modern European civilization. In fact, Jewish reformers in nineteenth-century Germany widely adopted the notion that the legal and social position of women in Jewish society stemmed from the “oriental” environment of Jewish antiquity and needed to be adapted to occidental conditions. In 1788, David Friedländer had already expressed this view, and in 1907, when Reform rabbi David Philipson discussed the role of Jewish women in public worship in his history of the Reform movement, his account and interpretation closely resembled Geiger’s analysis of the “oriental” position of women in traditional Judaism.⁷⁸ According to Geiger, the “oriental” character of biblical and rabbinic Judaism expressed itself acutely in the Jewish marriage law, and in his article of 1837, he devoted much space to criticizing the financial transactions surrounding betrothal and marriage as well as the custom of *halizah*.⁷⁹ These practices, he argued, inscribed the legal inferiority of Jewish women and brought the female sex into a state of shameful dependence on and subjection to their male kin.

Geiger, however, was not only concerned with remedying the legal status of Jewish women in the institution of marriage. He also criticized women’s inferior position in the spiritual realm and their exclusion from religious life. Jewish women, he claimed, were made unwelcome in the synagogue by both the form and the content of Jewish prayers. The service was held in a language that was intentionally kept foreign to women, and the daily morning liturgy included a blessing that excluded and denigrated the female sex: “Praised be God, who did not create me as a woman.” “How can

sparks of true religiosity, when even the prayer declares her to be inferior?” Geiger exclaimed.⁸⁰ Such treatment, according to Geiger, rendered women “incapable of grasping the deep things in religion,” while in fact, the female sex possessed a particular propensity for religiosity.⁸¹ Rather than encouraging their natural talents, contemporary Judaism ignored women and disregarded their needs. The resulting low involvement of Jewish women in the religious life of their communities and women’s alienation from public worship, Geiger argued, harmed the entire Jewish community.⁸²

In his article of 1837, Geiger on the one hand focused on the improvement of the position of women in Jewish law. On the other hand, he aimed at a renewal of religious life beyond halakhic reform. Dismissively, Geiger denounced the *Formglaube* (faith of outward forms) for failing to do justice to the religious needs of the female population and for thereby spiritually impoverishing Jewish society as a whole. Geiger referred to halakhic categories when he discussed the “distinction between the duties for men and women” in the religious realm, and argued that Halakhah had undergone changes in the past and needed to be amended further in the present.⁸³ Nevertheless, with other German-Jewish Reformers at the time, Geiger also challenged the halakhic framework of rabbinic Judaism as such. Moreover, the emphasis of the Reform movement on the spirit of Judaism rather than on its ritual contributed to the devaluation of Jewish law in a period in which increasing numbers of German Jews were neglecting halakhic observance. Indeed, eventually contemporary forms of religiosity and the bourgeois culture of *Bildung* eclipsed the performance of ritual commandments in many Jewish families. In a newly defined Judaism in which Halakhah no longer reigned supreme, women gained greater prominence without attaining equality in Jewish law. In the 1840s, however—the decade after Geiger’s call for women’s emancipation in Judaism—a group of German Reform rabbis tried to amend Halakhah and made an earnest effort to revise women’s status in Jewish law. In three rabbinical conferences, the progressive faction of the German rabbinate set out to create common standards for a reformed Judaism and attempted to reconcile the sensibilities and requirements of their times with halakhic principles.

THE WOMEN’S QUESTION AT THE RABBINICAL CONFERENCES OF THE 1840S

In 1844 in Brunswick, in 1845 in Frankfurt, and in 1846 in Breslau, more than two dozen communal rabbis and preachers, most of them young men in their thirties, gathered in order to assert rabbinical authority over a reform-minded

community that had begun to go its own ways. Radical lay groups,

in fact, had declared the Talmud obsolete and Halakhah no longer binding. With the rabbinical conferences, protagonists of the German Reform movement including Abraham Geiger, Samuel Holdheim, Joseph Maier, Ludwig Philippson, Gotthold Salomon, and Leopold Stein, and with some reservation also the father of the emerging positive-historical Judaism Zacharias Frankel, stepped in to regularize innovations that had already been introduced in individual Jewish communities. Moreover, the conference agendas aimed to establish guidelines for further reforms. The Jewish leaders assembled at the meetings discussed issues such as changes in the Jewish liturgy and in worship, Jewish and interfaith marriages, Jewish education, Sabbath observance, and a variety of other questions concerning ritual. Though holding votes and passing resolutions, the rabbinical assemblies lacked any formal authority to implement their decisions. Yet Jews and non-Jews in Europe and North America took notice, and the meetings played a significant role in consolidating the Jewish Reform movement, in the development of positive-historical Judaism, and in the formation of modern Orthodoxy in Germany.⁸⁴ In the petitions prepared for the assemblies, in committee reports, and in the discussions at the conferences themselves, the rabbinical leadership of the German Reform movement examined how change and continuity, tradition and modernity could coexist. The rabbis and preachers followed the methodological approach of nineteenth-century historical and literary scholarship and at the same time considered halakhic arguments. They weighed the needs and wishes of their communities against the integrity of halakhic Judaism. They probed into whether Halakhah, in a reformed Judaism, would still be able to provide the framework for contemporary Jewish culture.

The women's question, raised some years earlier by Geiger, formed one area in which the leaders of the Reform movement strove to achieve consonance between Jewish textual traditions and nineteenth-century sensibilities. For the second rabbinical conference in Frankfurt, the reformer Samuel Adler prepared a petition titled "Concerning the Religious Duties of the Female Sex," accompanied by a fourteen-page treatise in Hebrew.⁸⁵ Adler, born in Worms in 1809 (and later, from 1857 on, rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in New York) indeed combined the credentials of a Talmud scholar with a university degree and a thoroughly modern outlook. His father, Isaak Adler, had been rabbi in Worms, and Samuel Adler had studied with him and at the yeshivot of Worms and Frankfurt, as well as at the universities of Bonn and Gießen. At the time of the rabbinical conference of 1845, he was serving the rural community of Alzey near Worms as rabbi and, already during his earlier engagement as a preacher and assistant rabbi in Worms itself, had promoted greater integration of women into syna-

The document on the women's question that Adler submitted to the rabbinical conference stands out as the only full-length discussion of rabbinic and biblical sources in Hebrew published in the proceedings of the meetings. In his treatise, Adler argued that rabbinic sources supported a reading according to which women's religious maturity equaled that of men. In particular, Adler advocated women's inclusion in religious instruction and in public worship, and he proposed the following resolution to the rabbinical conference:

The rabbinical assembly may declare:

1) that the female sex possesses religious majority, that it is bound by equal duties and eligible to equal rights, and that only out of consideration and respect for its domestic duties it is—with few exceptions—traditionally exempt from ceremonial laws whose fulfillment are bound to a certain time, and

2) that therefore the female sex is obligated to receive instruction in the Israelite religion and to take part in public worship, as the male sex does, and that the exclusion of women from the number of congregants required for conducting a public service, is only a custom and without any religious foundation.⁸⁷

In this petition, Adler followed the lead of Geiger's proposition and suggested declaring women's legal majority and formal equality in Jewish law. Further, more explicitly than Geiger, Adler demanded that women be counted in a *minyan*. Yet while Adler broke with the standard halakhic ruling that a *minyan* consisted exclusively of men, he proved to be more conservative in regard to women's relationship to *mitzvot*. Even though principally endorsing women's equality and demanding their full integration in worship and Jewish education, Adler recommended upholding women's exemption from time-bound ritual obligations.

The rabbinical conference dealt with Adler's petition in a relatively brief discussion, focusing on the question of whether the assembly should open a full debate on the issues raised in Adler's submission or whether the women's question needed further preliminary deliberation by an appropriate committee. Some of the rabbis present argued that the practical suggestions should be discussed and voted upon immediately, since undoubtedly every Jewish leader had an informed opinion on these issues. Others, however, disagreed, including Bernhard Wechsler from Oldenburg, Rabbi Maier Hirsch Löwengard from Lehrensteinfeld in Württemberg, and Joseph von Maier who held the title of *Kirchenrat* (ecclesiastical councilor) of Württemberg and served as rabbinical representative at the Israelite Supreme Ec-

Wurttemberg three decades earlier. These Jewish leaders insisted that the questions raised in Adler's petition were too serious and their implications too far-reaching to make any hasty decisions. Maier cautioned not to bring the assembly into disrepute by treating important questions superficially, and Löwengard warned that Adler's propositions "involve a reproach against our religious past which we are not entitled to pronounce light-heartedly."⁸⁸ Thus, the assembly decided to defer the debate to the next meeting of the rabbinical conference in Breslau, and it appointed a committee to prepare a detailed report on the women's question. On the committee served Samuel Adler, his younger and more radical brother Abraham Adler, who had replaced Samuel as preacher in Worms, and David Einhorn, a thirty-six-year-old Bavarian-born radical Reform rabbi who, like Samuel Adler, was to become one of the rabbinical leaders in nineteenth-century North America.⁸⁹

A year later, in the summer of 1846, David Einhorn presented the "Report of the Committee on the Religious Status of Women in Judaism" to the third rabbinical conference in Breslau. The report put the women's question in the following terms:

Whether, to the detriment of the entire Jewish community, a part of our holy congregation which is superbly receptive to spiritual impressions should continue to experience a humiliating exclusion from the participation in several religious duties and rights, or not.⁹⁰

As Geiger had done in his article nine years earlier, the committee on the women's question in Judaism took it as a given that women possessed a highly developed sense for religious matters and that this female capacity needed to be placed in the service of the entire Jewish community. Thereupon, the report proceeded to discuss the exemption of women from time-bound, active *mitzvot* in rabbinic Judaism, a principle of rabbinic Judaism that Geiger had implicitly rejected but that Samuel Adler, in his petition of the previous year, had still endorsed.

The investigation of biblical sources in the report on women's status touched on issues such as women's exclusion from the priestly service, the lack of an equivalent for women of the circumcision rite performed on Jewish males, and the inclusion of women in Sabbath observance and in the celebration of holidays. While, according to the report, the position of women in biblical society left room for a variety of interpretations, the rabbinic authorities of Talmudic times consistently placed women, slaves, and minors into the same legal category. In the report, Samuel Adler, David Einhorn, and Abraham Adler examined the textual basis that established the exclusion of the female sex from a *minyan*, and they cited the classic

proof text for barring women from religious learning: “He who teaches Torah to his daughter acts as if he taught her obscenity.”⁹¹ Furthermore, the committee on the status of women in Judaism investigated the connection between women’s inferiority in the realm of the sacred and their relationship to negative and positive *mitzvot*. Samuel Adler insisted that the higher degree of sacredness that Judaism ascribed to men resulted from, rather than brought about men’s more extensive religious responsibilities. And Abraham Adler claimed that women’s suspension from time-bound *mitzvot* stemmed from the fact that this type of commandment had a national, statist, historical character. According to Adler, Judaism included, on the one hand, such national elements, and on the other hand purely religious elements that addressed the eternal, universally human aspects of an individual. Women could not form part of the ancient Jewish state in a political sense, and thus needed to be exempt from those *mitzvot* “that represented historical features, which raised religion above the level of the individual and made it the possession of a collective, or which aimed at imprinting religiosity into the collective.” Thus, women stood outside the realm of time-bound, historical, nation-forming religious obligations. Adler, however, held that Judaism invested women with personal dignity and required the female sex to perform all rites that promoted the sanctification of the individual.⁹²

The “Report of the Committee on the Religious Status of Women in Judaism” concluded that the rabbinical assembly may consider some of these interpretations valid and others not. However, the needs of the present called for a change in the religious position of the female sex, irrespective of German rabbis’ opinions or preferences. “It is useless to argue why the religious situation of women has become impaired, since one can neither deny its deterioration, nor can one find it compatible with present religious consciousness.”⁹³ This statement, in which a lengthy examination of biblical and rabbinic texts culminated, poignantly highlights the paradox situation in which the German Reform movement found itself. Many rabbinical leaders of the movement took a thoroughly critical stance toward Halakhah and toward customary interpretations of Jewish law, but were deeply attached to rabbinic tradition. As Jewish scholars had done for centuries, they strove to find solutions to contemporary questions from within rabbinic texts, applying modern scholarly methods and contemporary conceptual frameworks and carefully studying Jewish literature. They aimed to legitimize change from within the Jewish tradition. However, when members of the committee on the women’s question in Judaism were to produce concrete results and recommendations, all of their scholarship, theory, and learnedness, and their loyalty to rabbinic Judaism precluded them from doing so. Their insight that time-honored halakhic norms no

longer suited the needs of nineteenth-century Jewry and things had to change.

These leaders headed a movement whose constituency was turning away from ritual observance and halakhic Judaism. Yet, trained at German universities or at least touched by the intellectual debates of the educated middle classes, progressive rabbis felt compelled to provide a theoretical and scholarly basis for Reform. Hence, in the manner of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Reform rabbis engaged in comprehensive textual investigations and historicized Jewish texts. They entered this “battle of the proof texts” for the sake of their own sense of integrity, in response to conservative Jewish critics as well as to Gentile observers who considered Judaism as a whole outdated and culturally inferior, out of respect of the Jewish textual tradition, and as well-educated and culturally sophisticated Germans.⁹⁴ The “Report of the Committee on the Religious Status of Women in Judaism,” for the third rabbinical conference in Breslau, thus dealt at length with the position of women in biblical and rabbinic literature, only to claim at the end that the differences Scripture ascribed to the male and the female sex had only relative and temporary character. The committee therefore urged the rabbinical conference to grant Jewish women complete equality in the religious realm.

In more specific terms than Abraham Geiger had proposed in his 1837 article, and reaching further than Samuel Adler’s petition to the second rabbinical conference, the committee report recommended the emancipation of women in the following areas: inclusion of women into the obligation to perform time-bound *mitzvot*, as far as these were still relevant; equal responsibilities of men and women toward their children; abrogation of the right of a father or husband to release a religiously adult woman from her vow; abolition of the prayer *she lo asani isbah* (who has not created me as a woman); inclusion of girls and women into religious instruction and public worship and their being counted in a *minyan*; and religious majority of both sexes at the age of thirteen.⁹⁵

When David Einhorn presented this report to the third rabbinical conference in Breslau, the assembly had already conferred for more than a week and was to be adjourned the following day. Einhorn read out the report so that it could be included in the conference proceedings and brought to discussion as well as voted upon in the next yearly meeting of the assembly.⁹⁶ However, another rabbinical conference failed to take place. The government of Baden, where the assembly was scheduled to take place in 1847, delayed granting its permission and the meeting could not be convened in time. Then in 1848, revolutionary upheavals prevented the assembly from meeting. Most importantly, however, Jewish lay leaders demanded to be included in decisions made on behalf of German Jewry

and questioned the legitimacy of rabbinical conferences in their present form.⁹⁷

At the rabbinical conferences of the 1840s, German rabbis did not come to a conclusion about how the inferior status of women in Jewish law could be reconciled with the important place that women occupied in nineteenth-century religious culture. Jewish leaders had raised the women's question; a committee had devoted much effort to investigating biblical and rabbinic literature; the report of the committee had suggested the emancipation of women within halakhic categories and their inclusion in synagogue worship and programs of religious education; but the Reformers never voted on or even fully discussed this nor any other proposal on the place of women in the religious life of their communities. The German Reform movement did not succeed in adjusting the position of women in Halakhah to contemporary cultural sensibilities.

With the failure of the three rabbinical conferences of the 1840s to improve women's status in Jewish law, the women's question in modern Judaism thus remained technically unresolved. Contemporaries highly valued women's propensity for the moral and the religious; also, Jewish pedagogues and ideologues, and rabbis and preachers increasingly emphasized the importance of women's beneficial influence on family, community, and society. Yet, in nineteenth-century Germany, calls for revising the status of women within Halakhah found remarkably little resonance and, after 1846, Reformers refrained from discussing women's exemption from the duty to perform time-bound, active *mitzvoth* and their exclusion from Jewish prayer quorums. As an exception, Salomon Herxheimer (born in 1801 near Wiesbaden and university-trained, a participant at the rabbinical conferences, and for more than four decades the progressive chief rabbi of the Duchy Anhalt-Bernburg) made a noteworthy suggestion. In a petition to the Reform synod in Leipzig in 1869, he proposed "that in all cases in which public worship would need to be cancelled due to the lack of the customary number of ten adult men, it may be permitted to complement the ten number [*10 Zahl*] by three women."⁹⁸ Rather than qualifying as an attempt to allow women in principle to be counted in a *minyan*, this proposal, however, appears to have addressed primarily the scarcity of male worshippers in rural communities. Moreover, it proved ineffectual.

Slightly more successful and more consistent, the rabbi Samuel Holdheim insisted that women should form part of a *minyan*. Holdheim had been born in 1806 in the town of Kempen in Posen into an observant family that had provided him exclusively with a Talmudic education. Only in his late twenties did Holdheim attend the universities of Berlin and Prague; critics later pointed to how he lacked a systematic modern education. Nevertheless, or perhaps due to his background, Holdheim became the voice of radical Jewish reform in nineteenth-century Germany. He actively partici-

pated in the rabbinical conferences and agitated in sermons and articles for the renewal of Judaism. Thus, during his tenure as the chief rabbi in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the Israelite Council of Schwerin in 1846 issued a mandate declaring the religious equality of women. According to the decree, boys and girls reached religious majority in a public confirmation ceremony.⁹⁹ Moreover, Holdheim in the same year published an essay on the dilemmas that the Reform movement faced in regard to women's inferior position in halakhic Judaism. Holdheim's treatise, together with Geiger's article from 1837, Samuel Adler's petition to the second rabbinical conference, and the "Report of the Committee on the Religious Status of Women in Judaism," apparently form the entire body of publications on the religious position of women in the nineteenth-century German Jewish Reform movement. In his essay, Holdheim responded to Adler's petition, criticizing it sharply. While Adler had tried to base women's equality and religious majority on a reading of biblical and rabbinic sources, Holdheim plainly rejected the Talmud.

Instead of emancipating the religious consciousness (*Religionsbewußtsein*) of the present . . . from the Talmud and of declaring the freedom of contemporary religiosity and its right to hold its own ground toward the Talmud, [Adler] imports the Talmud into the modern religious consciousness. Thereby two of the most incompatible, most hostile elements appear to be intimately connected and in harmony with each other.¹⁰⁰

Thus, Holdheim led a full-fledged attack against the Talmud. According to him, the position of women in rabbinic Judaism lacked any relevance, and attempts to reform Talmudic Judaism needed to remain futile. The categories of Halakhah had lost their normative force in contemporary society; modern Judaism followed a new set of rules; and the emancipation of women in Judaism formed part of the emancipation of Judaism from Halakhah. According to Holdheim, the contemporary understanding of religion—the *Religionsbewußtsein*—valued Jewish worship due to its inner virtues (*Innerlichkeit*) rather than on the grounds of its "antiquated exterior symbolism," meaning the halakhic framework.¹⁰¹

Holdheim's call to declare Talmudic Judaism obsolete and to emancipate women into a newly defined modern religion did not find more formal endorsement than the earlier attempts by Geiger, Adler, and by the committee on the women's question at the rabbinical conferences. Holdheim's analysis, however, came surprisingly close to an accurate—although overstated—description of the process that led to a redefinition of women's place in Judaism, when modern concepts of religiosity eclipsed rabbinic culture and halakhic observance. In the nineteenth century, women were

agitating for the formal emancipation of women in Judaism. “Paradoxically,” and to the bewilderment of historians, “women’s rights were included in the earliest program of the Reformers,” but “there were few topics in the Reform program less discussed or formally acted upon.”¹⁰² In fact, German-Jewish leaders believed that women and feminine religiosity were indispensable for modern Judaism, and the position of women in Jewish culture indeed changed significantly as German Jewry became bourgeois. Halakhic reform, however, was not the ground on which the rise of women from a marginal to a more highly valued position within Judaism took place in nineteenth-century Germany.

Jewish women were not emancipated within halakhic Judaism, nor did they achieve equality in modern Jewish—or in German—society. The improvement of women’s status in Jewish culture did not take place in the conceptual framework of a language of rights, of law, or of Halakhah. “Religion,” in fact, “was no longer a matter of law,” or in Holdheim’s words, the *Religionsbewußtsein* of the present emancipated itself from Halakhah.¹⁰³ Judaism and Jewish women’s status in Judaism changed, without these changes being directed and guided, or even contained and controlled by rabbinical leaders’ scholarly debates or halakhic decisions. While Reform rabbis wrestled with changes of Halakhah and discussed whether adjustments to Jewish law should be made and how far such revisions should go, the question of changing or not changing Jewish law ceased to hold supreme importance. Reformers pondered proof texts, historicized rabbinic rulings, or rejected Halakhah on the basis of scholarly arguments. Yet, at least with regard to the women’s question, none of these efforts had much relevance. If changes in Halakhah had been necessary in order to adapt Judaism to nineteenth-century society, German Jews would have instituted them, as generations had done before them. German Jewry would have created a reformed halakhic Judaism in which women’s status befitted contemporary sensibilities. Such a Judaism, however, did not come into existence at the time.

Rather than revising Halakhah in order to accommodate women more fully, German Jews created a new language within Judaism, a language expressing a modern *Religionsbewußtsein*, in which, as Geiger put it, “the beneficial influence of the feminine heart” figured prominently.¹⁰⁴ Geiger himself had adopted this new language of religious sensitivity in an article in which he proposed raising the position of women within Halakhah. He emphasized women’s receptivity for religiosity, their “true female sentiments,” and the important role the female sex was destined to play in the religious life of German Jewry.¹⁰⁵ And, like other Reformers, he insisted that women’s dignity needed to be restored. The champions of the women’s

question in Reform Judaism refrained from using a language of rights. They deplored women's inferior status in rabbinic Judaism and women's exclusion from many religious practices, but the leaders of the Reform movement did not promote ideas of women's entitlement to equal treatment with men as a human, civic, or religious right. Thereby, Jewish Reformers acted in accordance with the social and political norms of contemporary non-Jewish society.

In nineteenth-century Germany, equal rights feminism did not gain much lasting popularity, and the emancipatory, egalitarian women's politics of a small group of liberals did not succeed. Women encountered significant resistance when they demanded to participate on the same footing as men in a civil society in which men acted in the spirit of brotherhood and free and equal citizenship. In the social and cultural universe of bourgeois society, however, contemporaries highly valued contributions by women that they defined as specifically feminine. They considered women the moral sex, endowed with religious sensitivity, compassionate and caring qualities, and a particular sense for the beautiful and the lofty. Educators, ideologues, and bourgeois feminists claimed that by sustaining a morally and culturally immaculate home life and by raising the young with love and circumspection, women contributed greatly to the welfare and to the improvement of humankind.¹⁰⁶ Thus, German society put little pressure on the Jewish community to give women the same rights as men and to formally emancipate the female sex in Jewish law. All the more, German Jews, as they embraced bourgeois culture, paid great attention to women's functions in the religious life of their families and their communities, and women moved from a marginal to a more central position in Jewish culture. Yet the religion in which women achieved greater recognition and inclusion was no longer defined by the study of rabbinic texts, the recitation of formulaic prayers in Hebrew, and the fulfillment of ritual commandments. The modern Jewish culture that welcomed women was a non-Torah and non-Halakhah centered modern Judaism.

THREE

Beyond Halakhah: Judaism in the Mid-Nineteenth Century



In the 1820s, the Hamburg Temple constituted the only full-fledged Reform synagogue in Germany, and the preachers Salomon and Kley represented the avant-garde of the modern Jewish sermon and its family- and women-centered theology. In the following decades the Reform movement spread, and rabbis and preachers as diverse as Reform rabbi Adolf Jellinek in Vienna and the leading rabbi of modern Orthodoxy Samson Raphael Hirsch in Frankfurt began to extol the home as a site of Jewish spirituality. In fact, when religion ceased to inform every aspect of Jewish life, and Jews continued to integrate into German society and to adopt middle-class tastes, values, and habits, contemporaries increasingly located religion in the home in addition to the synagogue. Yet observers detected a decline in Jewish practice and Jewish spirit in the domestic realm. Alarmed, Jewish leaders appealed to men as fathers and heads of households to rectify the situation, emphasizing the role that the Jewish mother played in securing a future for Judaism. In fact, in the religious crisis that the leaders diagnosed, men granted a great deal of responsibility to Jewish women. On the one hand, rabbis, preachers, and educators blamed mothers and wives for the lack of Jewish religiosity; on the other hand, they exalted women as the saviors of Judaism. In either case, male Jewish leaders concluded that women needed religious education and should be exposed to the beneficial influence of well-designed synagogue worship in order to fulfill their important task.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Reform Judaism had become the dominant ideology of the German-Jewish population, informing much of the religious practice in Jewish communal institutions. Reform Judaism successfully accommodated the religious needs of German Jews, and it expressed contemporaries' cultural sensitivities. So did modern Orthodoxy as

it began to constitute itself in the 1840s. Indeed, when the leaders of traditionally minded Jewry came to present their concerns about their coreligionists' repudiation of rabbinic Judaism to the public, they used contemporary literary forms and nineteenth-century modes of expression. As a well-spoken minority among German Jewry, modern Orthodox Jews strove to stem the decline of Talmud Torah and Halakhah. However, they offered no resistance to the embourgeoisement of Jewish culture. On the contrary, like their Reform counterparts, Orthodox Jews as a group were socially upwardly mobile, aspired to attain full citizenship, and embraced a middle-class life style. They adopted the language of bourgeois Judaism and considered ritual observance and faithfulness to the religion of their ancestors fully compatible with practicing an enlightened, spiritually stimulating, and morally ennobling Jewish religion in which domestic religiosity played an important role.

Like Reform Jews, modern Orthodox Jews regarded Judaism as a faith that expressed a distinctly Jewish spirit while encompassing the values of *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit*. Beyond ideological and theological differences and regardless of their position about fulfillment of halakhically prescribed religious commandments, nineteenth-century German Jews as a whole embraced a worldview in which family life, moral self-formation, and religious practice were closely interrelated. Women, of course, were central in this family religion, and Orthodox as well as Reform German-Jewish leaders praised mothers for imbuing the young with morality and religiosity. Rabbis, preachers, and educators claimed that such mothers laid the foundations of the next generation's faithfulness to Judaism. Yet according to these male Jewish leaders, Jewish men and fathers also possessed a highly developed sense of family life and, since biblical times, had distinguished themselves from other men by a particular mildness and tenderness. Both Jellinek as a Reform rabbi and Hirsch, who was the most prominent proponent of modern Orthodoxy in Germany, lauded the Jewish religion and the Jewish people for being shaped by values and being guided by principles defined as feminine.

RELIGIOUS CRISIS, WOMEN, AND THE FEMININE ESSENCE OF JUDAISM

In 1833, a young rabbi from Offenbach near Frankfurt named Salomon Formstecher published a relatively early text about the Jewish home as a religious sphere. Only two years older than Abraham Geiger, Formstecher had been born in 1808 into the large family of a Jewish craftsman and as a boy had received a modern education as well as training in rabbinical literature. He then attended the university in Gießen, deepened his knowledge

of Talmudic texts, and returned to his hometown as a preacher. Later he served the community of Offenbach as a rabbi and made himself a name as an important thinker of the Reform movement. *Zwölf Predigten* (Twelve Sermons) was one of his early publications, and in this collection of sermons, the young Formstecher dwelled upon the pleasures and pitfalls of family life, on the responsibilities of husband and wife, and on the importance of domestic piety.¹ Domestic piety, Formstecher claimed, was falling into disrepute because it was considered antiquated. “Why, however,” he asked, “has one removed the spirit together with the external form?”² In the past, Jewish women had diligently read the weekly Torah portion in Yiddish. Yet German Jews, Formstecher reported, had not only discarded the outdated Yiddish translation, but also threatened to abandon any domestic religious practice.³ In order to save their children from sin and to preserve Jewish family life, Formstecher advised fathers to set an example by praying at home, and he exhorted both parents to transform the home into “a temple of piety.”⁴

The sense of a religious crisis expressed by Formstecher was pervading German-Jewish publications and sermons by the middle of the nineteenth century. Jewish leaders noted that a growing number of Jewish families neglected ritual observance and time-honored religious practices and insisted that more current forms of Jewish religiosity needed to be adopted. As David Fränkel had already done in *Sulamith*, contemporaries lamented over the perceived decline of commitment to Judaism, and showed particular concern for women’s religious condition. Alternately, Jewish leaders denounced the lack of a religious culture that could comfort and guide women, held women responsible for the spiritual and moral crisis of German Jewry, and ascribed to mothers and wives the power to save Judaism.⁵ In 1842, for instance, the Frankfurt Reformfreunde (Friends of Reform), a group of reform-minded Jewish laymen, deplored the fact that many Jews had left Jewish ritual practice behind without having recourse to adequate modern forms of religion. While this situation was pernicious for the Jewish community as a whole, the Reformfreunde claimed, it presented a particular danger for youth and for the female sex. Children were growing up with religious doubts and inner conflicts, and “women who through their position in life pre-eminently rely on inner values and emotions lack any higher point of reference.”⁶ The Reformfreunde had declared Halakhah obsolete and now agitated for a religiosity that conformed to contemporary sensibilities, included women, and addressed women’s specific spiritual needs.

In the same vein, an editorial in Germany’s leading Jewish newspaper, the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, diagnosed disenchantment with Judaism among German Jewry, and preached alarming dimensions within

the female population. The author—supposedly the editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, Ludwig Philippson himself—suggested that atheism in his day occurred much more frequently among women than among men. Reform rabbi Ludwig Philippson in Magdeburg (son of Moses Philippson, the teacher at the Dessau Jewish Free School) had founded the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and for decades had remained its editor. He advocated moderate Reform and urged Jewish unity. In the editorial “The Female Sex” from 1851 when Philippson addressed the women’s issue, he claimed that for centuries Jewish tradition had failed to encourage women’s religiosity. The occasional *derashah* (traditional hermeneutic sermon in Yiddish) in the synagogue, for instance, had been incomprehensible to women. Thus, Philippson reported, Jewish women had recently turned to Christian literature lest they receive no religious inspiration at all. In fact, while women were destined to foster the piety and religious sentiment of their families, women’s inadequate involvement in Judaism had precipitated “the decline of religious sense” and “the decay of true religiosity” within the Jewish community, thereby threatening the survival of Judaism.⁷ As serious as the situation appeared, Philippson thought it could be remedied. Even though many women seemed to lack religious commitment, he claimed that “religious desire lies, much more, slumbers in the hearts of women only under a thin bark. A forceful, lively word,” repeated many times, could awaken female religiosity.⁸ And then, Philippson declared, true piety would return, along with noble religiosity and disinterested love. The house that was lost would be reconquered, and men, too, would return to religion. Exposing women and girls to edifying sermons, and providing them with religious training, would restore the Jewish family and save Judaism.⁹

As leaders of German Jewry perceived Judaism to be in a crisis, they believed that a renewed emphasis on domestic religiosity and, in particular, on the issue of women’s influence in the home could preserve and revive the religious faithfulness of Jewish families. Salomon Formstecher, in the periodical *Der Freitagabend* (The Friday Evening), claimed that children’s formal schooling was built on foundations that were laid at home.¹⁰ Only within the family, Formstecher held, could a child develop his or her intellectual and spiritual capacities fully enough to become “God’s image.”¹¹ In another article in *Der Israelitische Volkslehrer* (The Israelite Elementary School Teacher), a Dr. Rothschild argued that domestic Sabbath observance had come to constitute “the sole support, the pillar of Judaism.”¹² Since, according to Rothschild, ritual observance and Talmud Torah had almost vanished, the Jewish character of family life had taken on increasing importance. Accordingly, he encouraged his readers to perform Sabbath ceremonies such as lighting candles and blessing bread and wine. While some of these responsibilities fell upon the male head of the household,

Rothschild contended that the “priestess at the table,” the woman, was destined to be “the founder and guardian of religious life.”¹³

This conflation of modern Judaism and domesticity, with its focus on women’s religious role, also characterized the theology of rabbi Adolf Jellinek. Born in Moravia in the early 1820s, Jellinek had received a traditional Jewish education as well as secular training, and he had attended the University of Leipzig. In 1845, Jellinek became preacher in Leipzig and, thirteen years later, he moved to Vienna to serve as a preacher at the Vienna Reform synagogue. Jellinek endorsed organ music and modern-style decorous worship, advocated accepting uncircumcised sons of Jewish parents as members of the Jewish community, and appears to have been lax in his personal observance of ritual law. Yet he was by no means a radical Reform rabbi. Jellinek believed in progress and in the necessity of adapting Judaism to modernity, but he valued communal unity more than ideological rigor.¹⁴

Like many of his contemporaries, Jellinek stressed women’s supposedly natural inclination for religion. He advocated religious instruction as well as confirmation ceremonies for girls and emphasized women’s importance in modern Judaism as mothers and wives. Devoting an entire sermon to praising the “motherly heart,” Jellinek promoted a Judaism in which the family and family-based virtues occupied a central place.¹⁵ He not only lauded the domestic sphere as women’s domain in Jewish culture and religion, but also claimed that home and family life played a crucial role in the lives of Jewish men. In a sermon on the regulations that organized Jewish communal life during Israel’s forty-year sojourn in the desert, Jellinek argued that a great sense of family ties, responsibility toward the family, and devotion to other family members had characterized the Jewish tribe since biblical times.¹⁶

Familieninnigkeit (family intimacy), Jellinek claimed in another sermon, constituted the foremost value on which Moses had built Judaism and Jewish social organization.¹⁷ In fact, according to Jellinek, the home of a Jewish family ranked higher in Judaism than schools, synagogues, and political institutions. He stated that “the most lively and most tender family spirit (*Familiensinn*) formed the deepest character trait of the Jewish people.”¹⁸ Jews were not only distinguished from other people by having their own customs of contracting and dissolving marriages, by unique legislation regarding the legal relationship between spouses, by their own educational traditions, by a legacy of women’s participation in Jewish society, and by particular ways of running households, but also by a highly developed family sense that shaped Jewish culture at its core. This innate family sense, Jellinek declared, inclined the hearts of Jews toward softness, mildness, and forgiveness. Biblical Israel, indeed, excelled in granting freedom



3.1. The preacher Adolf Jellinek (early 1820s–1893) in Vienna. *Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.*

to its members, in doing justice to its own people as well as to foreigners, and in advocating loving and humane relationships. Jellinek portrayed Jews as inherently gentle and caring, and he labeled these qualities as feminine and motherly. He maintained that the Israelites, more than other people, lived in “sweet domesticity” and “indulged in the soft, female emotions of mildness and kindness.”¹⁹

Abraham Geiger, in an essay on “Nationality, Slavery, [and] Woman’s Position” in a series on Judaism and Jewish history (originally published in 1863), likewise claimed that Israel had stood out throughout the ages because of its high standards of family life and feminine virtue.²⁰ Contemporaries agreed that Jews had always been more family-oriented and more gentle-hearted than other people. In line with this notion of Jews’ highly developed tender, domestic, and familial character traits, Jellinek also applauded Jewish men for embodying particularly feminine values. The Viennese rabbi advocated an ideal of Jewish masculinity that encouraged men to express emotions and to adopt behaviors understood as feminine. “Despite the male sternness which characterizes the face of Judaism, and despite the manliness which distinguishes its creed,” Jellinek declared in a speech on the fiftieth anniversary of Vienna’s Israelite Women’s Association, Judaism “has room and sense enough for the most tender and soft . . . , the female aspects of humanity.”²¹ Therefore, Jellinek concluded, Judaism not only assigned a place of honor to women, but Jewish culture also valued femininity as a principle, and venerated “noble femaleness.”²²

Jewish family life and family sensibilities, according to Jellinek, have determined the national character and the social institutions of Jews since antiquity and still remain at the core of Jewish society. Jewish men’s participation in the political and public realm did not lay the foundation for Jewish identity. Rather, feminine and motherly ideals informed Jewish religion and culture. Though (in Jellinek’s vision of Judaism) women possessed a greater propensity for religion and bore special responsibilities in the domestic realm, men’s Jewish identities, too, found their source in the home and the family. According to him, Judaism has played out most importantly in the domestic realm and has represented the feminine aspect of civilization.²³

ORTHODOXY AND BOURGEOIS RELIGIOSITY

By the 1860s, the notion that Jewish culture stood and fell with the Jewish family, domestic life, and feminine religiosity formed an integral part of German Jewry’s worldview. The Reform movement had established itself in communities throughout Germany, and Jews had embraced a Judaism

in which edification and morality, *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit* took precedence over the fulfillment of religious commandments.²⁴ The cultural shift, however, which lay at the heart of this transformation from a Judaism defined by Halakhah and Talmud Torah to a culture of bourgeois religiosity, did not remain restricted to Jewish Reform.

In the 1840s, an articulate, self-conscious modern Orthodox movement emerged that also defined Judaism within the parameters of nineteenth-century German culture. Modern Orthodoxy began to take shape, when rabbis throughout Europe expressed outrage about their colleagues' unprecedented challenge to halakhic Judaism at the rabbinical conference of Brunswick in 1844. Then, Jacob Ettlinger, chief rabbi of Altona, took the lead and founded the first Orthodox periodical in the German language, *Der treue Zions-Wächter* (The True Guardian of Zion).²⁵ Born in 1798 (he was the son Aaron Ettlinger, the rabbi of Karlsruhe), Ettlinger remained devoted to rabbinic Judaism throughout his life. He founded yeshivot in Karlsruhe and Mannheim and became one of the most influential and important halakhic experts of the period. Yet Ettlinger was also one of the first Orthodox rabbis who had a university education. He served as a rabbi in Karlsruhe, in Mannheim, and in the districts of Ladenburg not far from Mannheim, and Ingolstadt in Bavaria. In 1836, he assumed the office of chief rabbi of Altona, an area under Danish rule then, but which later became part of the city of Hamburg.²⁶

Until 1863, when Danish authorities abolished Jewish juridical autonomy in civil matters, Ettlinger presided over the Jewish court in Altona in the manner of pre-modern rabbis. At the same time, however, he embraced the German culture of *Bildung*. Scholars have noted his skillful German-language sermons. Furthermore, the periodical *Der treue Zions-Wächter*, which he edited with Samuel Enoch, was a traditionalist though not a traditional publication. Enoch, sixteen years younger than Ettlinger and a Hamburg-born rabbi and educator, shared Ettlinger's commitment to halakhic Judaism, while his collaboration in *Der treue Zions-Wächter* also attests to his endorsement of contemporary values and tastes.²⁷

Der treue Zions-Wächter bore all the characteristics of a modern, culturally refined, nineteenth-century publication. Written in flawless German and directed toward the educated, middle-class reader, the periodical published scholarly essays as well as German literature and poetry.²⁸ The sermons that appeared on the pages of *Der treue Zions-Wächter* conformed to contemporary bourgeois sensibilities. Far from being *derashot* that expounded Halakhah, these sermons developed theological themes and explored issues such as the significance of religion for the individual or the revelation at Mount Sinai in its historical dimension. Ettlinger also preached on current debates and issues, including on "moderation as a

principle of Judaism” and on “the Jewish concept of freedom,” aiming at developing a specifically Orthodox approach to these questions.²⁹ Even so, *Der treue Zions-Wächter* paid close attention to halakhic debates of the time addressing controversial issues such as circumcision and marriage law, and Ettliger supplemented the German-language weekly with a Hebrew periodical. In *Shomer Ziyon ha-Ne’eman*, as the journal was called in Hebrew, noted rabbinical authorities exchanged views on halakhic questions, discussed liturgical issues, formed alliances against the Reform movement, and developed strategies on how to stem the decline of ritual observance and Talmudic learning.³⁰ Yet, though *Shomer Ziyon ha-Ne’eman* played an important role in the formation of a rabbinical leadership within modern Orthodoxy, didactically and politically the Hebrew-language publication could not compete with its more vibrant German sibling *Der treue Zions-Wächter*.³¹

In *Der treue Zions-Wächter*, Ettliger and Enoch promoted a Judaism in which commitment to halakhic observance and Talmudic study coexisted with modern concepts of religiosity.³² Indeed, Ettliger believed that only a renewed emphasis on the emotional and spiritual dimensions of Judaism could prevent the ongoing disengagement from religious practice. As authors in *Sulamith* had begun to argue four decades earlier, Ettliger claimed that ritual and prayer that did not involve the heart and the soul of the worshipper failed their purpose. “Without belief,” he stated, “without deep inner sense that the sentences as they are written in our holy Torah are the plain truth, there will be no religion.”³³ In an article in *Der treue Zions-Wächter*, titled “How Does the Teacher Need to Arrange His Catechism, that the Lessons be Not Only Instructive but Also Edifying,” the author, who signed his name as “teacher Russer,” laid out the entire program of nineteenth-century religious sensitivity as it had been expressed by Schleiermacher. According to Russer, Jewish religious education aimed at inspiring the hearts of children, at making their lives “wiser and more sanctified,” and at shaping and educating (*bilden*) the whole person through religion.³⁴ Russer explained that the words that teachers direct toward students need to be “born in the heart” of the instructor in order to be true, and he promoted didactic methods through which children could absorb religious precepts and principles while being edified.³⁵

Prayer, Russer argued, constituted a prime means of achieving edification. As “the loftiest expression of our soul, . . . the highest language of humans and the direct rising of our inner life toward God,” prayer could set the right tone for a truly edifying religious instruction. Russer warned, however, that “mechanical treatment” could harm the educational goal.³⁶ When the teacher led a class in prayer, Russer said, he should make the

1. Jahrgang.

Der

№ 19.

treue Zions - Wächter.

Organ zur Wahrung der Interessen

Redacteur:
Dr. Ench,
Director und Oberlehrer zu Altona.
Unter Verantwortlichkeit der
Verlagsbuchhandlung:
Herold'sche Buchhandlung
zu Hamburg.

des
orthodoxen Judenthums.

Von diesem Blatte erscheint
wöchentlich einmal, Dienstag,
ein Bogen. Das Abonnement
auf ein Jahr ist 3 R. Gr. (2 Thlr.
gr. 3 Al. 30 Fr.) Man abonnirt
bei allen löbl. Postämtern, so wie
Buchhandlungen und Zeitungs-
expeditionen.

Hamburg, den 4. November 1845.

Inhalt.

Ueber den Einfluß, welchen das Beispiel der Eltern auf ihre
Kinder übt. Von Dr. J.
Der Jesuitismus im Judenthume. von P. (Fortsetzung.)
Ein Märtyrer neuerer Zeit. Revue v. J. G. G. (Schluß).
Schulwesen (Fortsetzung).
Zeitungsnachrichten aus: London, Hannover, Berlin, Baden,
dem Ries, Bayern.
Staatsliches,
Beziehendes.

Über den Einfluß,

welchen das Beispiel der Eltern auf ihre
Kinder übt.

Von Dr. J.

Keine Klage im Gebiete des orthodoxen Juden-
thums hört man öfterer wiederholen, als die, daß
Kinder so häufig die religiöse Lebensweise der
Eltern verlassend, bei herangereifterem Alter, bei
angetretener Selbstständigkeit, sich gänzlich dem Ju-
differenzismus, der Irreligiosität hingeben; kein ver-
leghener und weniger wahrer Vorwurf wird eben
diesem orthodoxen Judenthume gemacht, als der,
daß dasselbe nicht im Stande sei, die jüngere Ge-
neration mit seinen Ideen, mit seinen Praktiken zu
befreunden. Gehen wir auf das Wesen der That-
sache, für die allerdings der Beispiele leider nur
zu viele sprechen, näher ein, suchen wir Gründe
und Ursachen für die sich uns darbietenden Erschei-
nungen, dann müssen wir zuvörderst uns auf ein

Gebiet begeben, dessen nahe und tunige Beziehungen
zu den jüdisch-religiösen Zuständen bisher ihrem
ganzen Umfange nach weber geahnt, bei weitem
weniger aber noch berücksichtigt worden sind. Wir
verstehen aber hierunter kein anderes Gebiet, als
das der Kinder-Erziehung überhaupt, und besonders
den Einfluß der Erziehung auf Begründung reli-
giöser Gefühle. Es kann hier nicht unsere Absicht
sein, uns ganz auf das Feld der Pädagogik zu
stellen, zu beweisen, wie schwer die Kunst des Er-
ziehens, wie sehr wenig sie verstanden, und wie sie
dennoch Religions- und Gewissenspflicht sei, heiliger,
wie nicht viele andere mehr; wir haben einzuweisen
nur den dogmatischen Standpunkt zu berücksichtigen,
haben durch ihn die Lösung einer schwierigen Frage
herbeizuführen, Mittel und Wege anzugeben, wie
einem verderblichen Uebel gründlich entgegenzutreten
sei.

Ob die Erziehung jüdische Religionspflicht sei?
כִּידְעָתִי לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא בְּיָמָיו אֶת בְּנֵי אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְשִׁמְרוּ דְרָתָהּ.
„Denn ich habe ihn erkannt, damit er befehle seinen
Söhnen, seinem Hause nach ihm, daß sie beobachten
den Weg des Herrn,“ rühmt der Ewige selbst
bereits von Abraham, rühmt es als eine Tugend,
am derentwillen allein er geeignet und würdig
erscheine, Stammvater der Nation, die in seiner
Weisheit er erkoren, Trägerin des reinsten, gött-
lichen Begriffes durch Zeiten und Welten hindurch
zu sein. וְאֵת בְּנֵיהֶם יְלַמֵּד (5 B. M. 4, 10), „daß
ihre Kinder sie sie lehren,“ wird als der End-
zweck der göttlichen Gesetzgebung überhaupt, als

3.2. Title page of the periodical *Der treue Zions-Wächter* (Hamburg, 1845). Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

“heart string” of the students ring.³⁷ While this article focused on formal religious training, other contributions in *Der treue Zions-Wächter* emphasized the importance of domestic education. In the first volume of the periodical, a “Dr. J.” elaborated on the influence of parents, who played a crucial role in laying the foundations for the religious sentiments of their offspring.³⁸

Like Russer and other non-Orthodox nineteenth-century pedagogues before him, Dr. J. described the goal of religious education as “awakening moral feelings in the hearts of the youth, enlivening the religious sense, and developing and ennobling both, morality and religiosity, in beneficial permeation.”³⁹

The religious education that Jewish leaders advocated in *Der treue Zions-Wächter* certainly differed from the traditional training in Bible and rabbinic literature that boys had received previously. Already the use of the term “catechism” by Russer indicated that *Der treue Zions-Wächter* had adopted Christian concepts of religious pedagogy. In the Jewish catechism literature of the nineteenth century, educators presented Judaism as a system of teachings and beliefs that could be taught in an easily accessible and well-organized manner.⁴⁰ More importantly, however, in numerous contributions in *Der treue Zions-Wächter* Talmud Torah no longer represented the embodiment of religious devotion and virtue in itself. Rather, in accordance with bourgeois ideas of religiosity, the harmonious development of the soul and the intellect through *Bildung* led to morality and virtue. In *Der treue Zions-Wächter*, as earlier in *Sulamith* and in other publications of the Reform movement, edification and moral sentiment, *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit*, and a sense for beauty and the tender elevation of the heart stood at the center of discussions on religion. Unlike material that appeared in Reform publications, of course, articles in *Der treue Zions-Wächter* lacked references to the “antiquated shell” of Judaism that supposedly obscured the spiritual kernel of the Jewish religion. Likewise, *Der treue Zions-Wächter* refrained from condemning “superstitions” and “pernicious additions” to the Jewish religion. Instead, the first modern Orthodox periodical defended Halakhah in its entirety, insisted on the immutability of Talmudic law, and vindicated established customs.

The different approach to Halakhah and ritual observance defined the boundary between the Reform movement and modern Orthodoxy. The broad cultural transformation, however, from pre-modern Jewish culture to bourgeois religiosity took place within Reform Judaism as well as in modern Orthodoxy. Reformers rejected, amended, historicized, or endorsed Halakhah. Orthodox Jews, opposing Reform, claimed to follow the letter of the law. Yet both movements operated within the framework of German middle-class culture adapted to contemporary sensibilities, and

embraced nineteenth-century ideas of religion as a moral institution. Accordingly, bourgeois concepts of gender characteristics formed part of the ideological premises on which modern Orthodoxy, like Reform Judaism, based its theology. And when, as an article in *Der treue Zions-Wächter* declared, the meaning and purpose of the whole Torah consisted in “the ennoblement of the heart,” the emerging Orthodox movement could not fail to pay particular attention to the tender and moral sex that, according to the bourgeois gender model, played a crucial role as the Jewish mother.⁴¹

In an essay in *Der treue Zions-Wächter*, dealing with mothers’ influence on the development of religious feelings of children, the author introduced his readers to the teachings of the widely known German pedagogue Heinrich Pestalozzi:

According to a new view, held above all by the noble Pestalozzi . . . , nothing can draw out and nourish the first seeds of *Sittlichkeit* and religion better than the love of a mother toward her child, the love of the child toward the mother; because the love between mother and child can, Pestalozzi claims, stimulate and further the elements of true religion, namely the feelings of love, gratefulness, trust and obedience.⁴²

Yet as much as the author in *Der treue Zions-Wächter* commended Pestalozzi on his novel insights into early childhood education and the promotion of religiosity, most of the article discussed the shortcomings of this pedagogical theory. Not every mother, *Der treue Zions-Wächter* argued, was able to devote all of her time to her child. Moreover, motherly love was an instinct that even most immoral mothers possessed. Too much motherly love and lack of discipline could spoil a child rather than inspire morality. Blind love, indeed, could delay true character formation.⁴³ Thus, while new ideas found entry into a community that insisted on strict observance and that held on to rabbinic learning, *Der treue Zions-Wächter* was far from embracing nineteenth-century ideology uncritically.

In the periodical, established notions on religion, women, and childrearing coexisted with modern approaches to the formation of religious and moral sensitivity. A sermon, probably given by Samuel Enoch, documents this clearly. After bemoaning increasing violations of ritual law among young people and pointing to the beneficial influence of synagogue attendance on the young in danger of moral and religious laxity, Enoch declared that religion was of singular importance for women. Yet rather than discussing the contemporary topics of female nature, the ennobling function of religion, and mothers’ role as educators, Enoch first referred to the benefits of religion in the old sense. Everybody needed religion, he claimed, to

further his or her “material welfare.” Women, however, being particularly

exposed to sickness and to the hardships of pregnancy and childbirth, depended even more than men on God for comfort, help, and support. The need to care for their children placed an extraordinarily heavy burden on them. Many a “tenderly built, faithful mother,” Enoch explained, spent night after night in worry at the bedside of her sick child. And where should women turn in all these adversities, if not to “the well of religion, which teaches them that the God of righteousness not only assigned to every human on earth a measure of suffering, but that he also always assisted humanity in enduring its mishap patiently.”⁴⁴ In this account, religion did not primarily constitute a means for self-reflection, edification, and moral improvement. The worshipper rather addressed God in need for concrete assistance in a universe in which all goods and misfortunes came from God and in which the highest virtue consisted in submissive acquiescence to one’s divinely decreed fate.⁴⁵

In *Der treue Zions-Wächter*, this traditional understanding of religion stood next to the modern approach. Thus, after having laid out a traditional framework for devotion, Enoch added contemporary reasoning. Mothers needed to “possess true Jewish religiosity,” he claimed, because children learned the first principles of morality from them. Mothers inspired their offspring with “virtue, piety, and decency” (*Gottesfurcht und Sittsamkeit*).⁴⁶ Indeed, Enoch argued, as was true of women of other nations, Jewish women have always been more pious and more religious than their husbands. Even though lack of space in synagogues prevented unmarried women from attending services, Jewish women used to pray at home diligently and devoutly. Today, however, women and girls preferred to read novels that corrupted their hearts and souls. Enoch therefore suggested expanding the women’s sections in the synagogues so that unmarried girls and women could enjoy the benefits of public worship. He declared synagogue attendance and religious devotion indispensable for unmarried women, for as soon as they married and faced the “usual storms of life,” women needed comfort and support in religion.⁴⁷

Contributions in *Der treue Zions-Wächter* discussed contemporary issues such as the emphasis on heartfelt religiosity, the need for women to attend synagogue services, notions of mothers’ influence on the moral and religious development of their children, women’s domestic vocation, and the unique female relationship to religiosity. Nevertheless, the emerging modern Orthodox movement still held on to older notions of childcare and to traditional ideas about the function of prayer and devotion. Although many articles in *Der treue Zions-Wächter* combined old and new elements sometimes in bizarre ways, the overall trend of acculturation manifested itself clearly. Modern Orthodoxy refused to abandon ritual observance and its commitment to the Talmud and to rabbinic learning. Cultur-

ally, however, the language of nineteenth-century bourgeois religiosity and contemporary ideas of gender characteristics and gender roles began to shape Orthodoxy too. While this development found a still somewhat tentative and unsystematic expression in *Der treue Zions-Wächter*, it achieved completion in the writings of the man who is considered the founder of Neo-Orthodoxy in Germany: Samson Raphael Hirsch.

SAMSON RAPHAEL HIRSCH, THE JEWISH MOTHER, AND FEMININE JUDAISM

Born in Hamburg in 1808, Samson Raphael Hirsch grew up in a Jewish community that was deeply divided about the founding of the Reform Temple and educational reform. Hirsch's well-established family belonged to the opponents of the Temple, religious reform, and the secularization of Jewish school curricula. Yet at the same time, his parents as well as Hirsch's teacher, Rabbi Isaac Bernays, embraced contemporary European culture. With their approval, Hirsch attended the local *Gymnasium* (humanistic high school preparing for the university). Consequently, upon deciding to become a rabbi, Hirsch not only pursued traditional Jewish studies with Jacob Ettlinger in Mannheim, but also attended the University of Bonn. There he befriended his fellow student Abraham Geiger. Hirsch and Geiger founded a homiletical society for Jewish students and studied Talmud together. However, their friendship soon unraveled when in the 1830s, Hirsch began to propagate his distinct neo-Orthodox theology in the two German-language publications: *The Nineteen Letters on Judaism* and *Horeb*. In his writing, Hirsch defended halakhic Judaism while endorsing the values of bourgeois culture and catering to the tastes of modern-minded contemporaries. German Jews took notice of Hirsch's original synthesis, and eventually Hirsch gained fame as the rabbi of Germany's first modern Orthodox congregation in Frankfurt am Main.⁴⁸

With Berlin and Hamburg, Frankfurt had been one of the urban centers of the Reform movement in Germany. In the 1840s, Reform seemed to become the dominant version of Judaism in the city. In 1850, however, a group of Jewish families, including a branch of the Rothschilds and other financially potent and well-respected families, declared their disenchantment with the Reform politics of the Jewish community and proceeded to establish a separate congregation.⁴⁹ In the program of the newly founded *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* (Israelite Society of Religion), the traditionalists stated as follows: "The ultimate and the primary goal toward which all our efforts are directed is solely 'the protection and enhancement of reversed Judaism, as transmitted by our fathers, and the awakening and

rebirth of a genuine religious temperament in the hearts of our youth.” On the one hand, the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* set out to establish religious institutions that would operate within the legal framework of Jewish ritual law, as outlined by the Talmud. They wanted a synagogue service “within the bounds of the law,” a religious school “in which the ancient word of God, the true faith of our fathers, will be deeply impressed upon the hearts of our youth,” other religious institutions “established and equipped so that . . . they totally satisfy the demands of our law,” and a rabbi able to supervise communal institutions according to established Halakhah.⁵⁰

On the other hand, the Orthodox leaders in Frankfurt envisaged a Judaism that conformed to the cultural sensitivities of the mid-nineteenth-century German middle class. They desired “orderly and worthy” synagogue services that would satisfy “the progressive demands of the times,” during which a university-trained rabbi would “deliver religious sermons regularly in our pure, native tongue.” They also demanded that teachers at their school be versed in religious as well as secular studies, and insisted that communal institutions (staying within the time-honored parameters of Jewish law) “offer no offense to the taste and sensitivity of our present generation.” Their rabbi needed to be “a man who . . . has attained a solid, broad education with a specialty in Jewish studies and who combines an unblemished character with a genuine religious conviction.”⁵¹ In fact, though a leader who could supervise halakhically satisfactory community institutions needed to have solid rabbinic training, the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* did not specifically look for a distinguished Talmud scholar.

The program of the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* indicates that nineteenth-century ideological and cultural premises had come to shape the worldview of German Orthodox Jews, too. The traditionalists opposed the trends of their times by, in principle, strictly upholding the formal requirements of ritual observance, commitment to Halakhah, and rabbinic learning. Nevertheless, notions of bourgeois religiosity had achieved prominence in their program. The founders of the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* emphasized the reawakening of “genuine religious temperament”; they insisted on an aesthetic that matched their “taste and sensitivity”; they repeatedly stressed the importance of religious forms that reached the hearts of young people; and they referred to Judaism as a “faith.”⁵² The Neo-Orthodox movement took religious sentiment and morality, *Sittlichkeit* and *Bildung*, edification and dignified devotion, no less seriously than its Reform counterpart. The Orthodox Jews of Frankfurt and successively of other communities were highly acculturated Germans who expressed their loyalty

which led to Judaism in contemporary ways.

As the rabbi of the Frankfurt traditionalists, Samson Raphael Hirsch was thoroughly devoted to the German culture of *Bildung* and to bourgeois respectability. He developed a philosophy and theology that integrated Jewish tradition and nineteenth-century ideas of universal humanism. Understanding Jewish ritual law as embodying the values of *Bildung*, Hirsch saw a specifically Jewish spirit at the core of Judaism: a distinctly Jewish spiritual substance, constituting “one internal life principle,” according to Hirsch, drove Jewish “life and doctrine” as a unit.⁵³ As important a role as Halakhah and the male practices of learning and prayer played for Hirsch, in his theology “the true God is Spirit [*Geist*],” and “the first source for the knowledge of God is and remains *our own heart*.”⁵⁴

In this interpretation of religion, women were destined to figure prominently. In fact, in a series on women in his periodical *Jeschurun* (poetic name for Israel), Hirsch described women as preeminently representing the Jewish virtue of renunciation or self-abnegation. Renunciation, Hirsch claimed, characterized “the spiritual and moral activity of man as such.”⁵⁵ Since the expulsion from Eden, which was lost through the pursuit of pleasure, Jewish men and women faced the task of withstanding sensual allurements and had to devote their lives to the performance of duty and to the quest for holiness. Women, however, who lived entirely for husband and children, personified renunciation and virtue. Self-sacrifice had become a woman’s pleasure.

According to Hirsch, women lived on a morally and religiously higher plane than men: “The true woman is the noblest embodiment of man formed in the image of God.”⁵⁶ Already “the concept ‘woman,’” Hirsch expounded in his Bible commentary, “includes the notion of ‘the good.’”⁵⁷ Hirsch then argued consistently in his writings that the exemption of women from active, time-bound *mitzvot* did not stem from contempt of the female sex or religious inferiority of women. Halakhic Judaism rather avoided requiring women to perform certain commandments due to women’s more fully developed religious temperament. Exposed to stimulations and temptations in the professional and public realm, men required constant concrete reminders of their covenant with the Eternal. These reminders included circumcision and regulated times and fixed formulae for prayers. Conversely, women, according to Hirsch, possessed a greater innate sense of the spiritual, a stronger tendency to spontaneous fervor and faithfulness, and more direct, enthusiastic religious devotion. Women consequently needed fewer external markers in the form of *mitzvot* to draw them toward God.⁵⁸

While in his theology Hirsch insisted on the immutability of Halakhah and on the full observance of divinely revealed law, he also placed a high value on religious life as no contained in the performance of ritual.

This religious spirit of rabbinic Judaism Hirsch tended to gender as feminine. The sublime, pure, unspoiled essence of Judaism, according to Hirsch, represented the female principle of the Jewish religion and of Jewish history. In a sermon on the significance of fast days in the Jewish calendar, Hirsch even declared: "The whole history of the Jews since the fall of Jerusalem is nothing but a triumph of the 'female' over the 'male.'"⁵⁹ In this text, he equated maleness with the civil realm, the state, and political power, whereas the female embodied the "purely human," the spiritual, and the domestic.⁶⁰ And since Israel had lost all claim to statehood, worldly power, and access to the rights of citizens with the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., rabbinic Judaism rested on foundations that Hirsch conceived of as feminine. The ethical primacy of the human over the citizen and the house over the state found expression in Jewish history, as the Israelites were deprived of manliness in the Roman or Western sense, which associated male virtue with "sword and scepter."⁶¹ Without a state, Hirsch argued, Jewish life in the diaspora centered on the spiritually more uplifted domestic sphere, "where the wife stands by her husband on equal terms and where the female spirit (*des Weibes Geist*) celebrates its victories."⁶² In Judaism, salvation emanated from within rather than from external political institutions and practices.

In Hirsch's theology, the Jewish home and the Jewish family constituted the source, the cradle, and the mainstay of the Jewish national and religious existence.⁶³ Accordingly, Hirsch not only invested women with spiritual superiority, but also understood postbiblical Judaism as based on feminine principles: the sublime and the lofty rather than the material and the political. As was the case with Jellinek, Hirsch understood Judaism as embodying essentially female values, and he extolled Jewish men for embracing a Jewishness not built on Western notions of manliness but on expressing pure spirituality, devotion, and renunciation. Hirsch promoted a feminine Judaism in which spirituality took precedence over politics and in which the domestic realm defined Jewish identity for both men and women.

When Hirsch emphasized the crucial role that the religious Jewish home played in Jewish communal life, he addressed men as well as women. Like the leaders of the Reform movement, he called upon fathers as well as mothers to instill faithfulness toward the Jewish tradition into their children by fully observing the Sabbath within the family.⁶⁴ Occasionally Hirsch also turned specifically to men, urging them not to leave religious instruction entirely to the school. Fathers needed to introduce their children themselves to biblical texts.⁶⁵ Without a father's "word and example," Hirsch stated, what the young learned at school remained void of sanctity and seriousness and lacked fulfillment. Both parents bore the responsibil-

ity of actively caring for the formation of their offspring's souls and hearts (*Geistes- und Herzensbildung*).⁶⁷ Yet at the beginning of a series on pedagogy that Hirsch published in *Jeschurun*, the modern Orthodox leader asked whether fathers or mothers played the main role in domestic education. Hirsch answered that the father was “the captain of the family boat,” who determined the course and gave directions and whose consent was required in every respect. However, the influence of the mother formed the decisive factor for the development of the intellectual capacities and religious sensitivities of the children under her care.⁶⁸ In accordance with the principles of nineteenth-century pedagogy, Hirsch condemned uneducated and crude wet nurses and caretakers, insisting that only mothers could provide the love, kindness, *Sittlichkeit*, and “sensible prudence” that laid “the solid ground for eternity” in the hearts of the young.⁶⁹ Thus, Hirsch continuously stressed the centrality of women's contributions to early childhood education and mothers' indispensable function in securing the next generation's faithfulness to Judaism.

As Reform rabbis and preachers such as Gotthold Salomon and Adolf Jellinek did, Hirsch developed a theology in which the family and women's function in the domestic realm played a pivotal role. In his sermons and writings, he devoted more space and attention to Bible exegesis and rabbinic interpretations than most of his Reform colleagues. Nevertheless, he offered interpretations that were perfectly in line with contemporary ideas of women's and men's natural characteristics and of the home as a family's and in particular women's hallowed space. In a short essay on Psalm 128, Hirsch confirmed that the house was the “kingdom and paradise” of the Jewish woman, and in his women's series in *Jeschurun*, Hirsch praised the biblical Sarah, who modestly stayed in the tent when her husband Abraham welcomed guests.⁷⁰ In Abraham's tent as in contemporary Jewish homes, Hirsch claimed, “the presence of God and the blessing, the hospitality and the cheerful light of the house were closely bound up with the virtuous rule of an angelic woman.”⁷¹ Moreover, Hirsch repeatedly referred to a rabbinic tradition according to which God commanded Moses to turn first to the women of Israel when he brought down the Torah from Mount Sinai.⁷² According to the Talmud, Hirsch explained, God foremost counted on “the upholders and keepers of the Jewish home,” because women “are more diligent than the men in performing [their] religious duties,” and because they were destined to “lead their children to the Torah.”⁷³ In fact, Hirsch declared that since ancient times, the “moral and social welfare [of the Jewish people] depended on the moral and spiritual elevation of the women,” and the Talmud credited the righteousness of women for the liberation of the people of Israel from Egyptian slavery.⁷⁴ And today, Hirsch added, “our

In his education series in *Jeschurun*, Hirsch emphatically urged women to fulfill this holy task. “Women of the House of Jacob! Mothers of the Jewish people!” he exclaimed, “our continued survival and freedom depend solely on our willingness and ability to fulfill the vow . . . ‘To hearken to the voice of God and to keep His covenant.’ This is what your child, O Jewish mother, should first learn from you.”⁷⁶ And after bemoaning the ridicule and hostility with which Reform Judaism treated Orthodoxy, Hirsch continued: “Take up the challenge, O Jewish mother, which the perversity of our era has thrown at the moral nobility of your children! . . . rescue your children! . . . Save your child for humanity and Judaism and raise him to be obedient to God!”⁷⁷ The female sex, Hirsch claimed, was particularly well equipped for guiding the young generation toward an observant, moral, and culturally refined lifestyle. “Who would be more suitable than the Jewish woman to train our children thus to sanctify their entire beings, [and] to banish all that is false and impure from their hearts and minds?” Hirsch asked. “The mothers of the Jewish people” not only excelled in virtue and modesty, but they also reached the highest standards of moral purity by being responsible for the observance of the laws of sexual purity and the dietary laws in the house.

Hirsch affirmed,

as long as the woman in the Jewish home remains a truly Jewish woman, everything vulgar and evil, everything with even a breath of ערות דבר [indecency], of immorality and licentiousness, of filth and impurity will retreat from her presence; not even a vulgar look or gesture will be seen near her. Then the bodies, minds and hearts of her sons and daughters, too, will develop in moral purity.⁷⁸

In Hirsch’s theology and pedagogy, ritual purity and the observance of Halakhah thus interrelated closely with bourgeois ideas of women’s noble and sublime mission in the house. Mothers stood at the center of a Judaism that valued the Jewish family and the Jewish home highly. No less emphatically than Salomon and Reform rabbis, Hirsch entreated women to fulfill their mission as saviors of Judaism in modern society. Yet, in contrast to the Reformers, Hirsch expected mothers not only to inspire their children with morality, religiosity, and love for the Jewish faith, but also to lead their offspring toward a life of ritual observance within an Orthodox framework. The woman, according to Hirsch, was destined not only to save Judaism as such, but also to rescue Orthodox Judaism in particular. Reformers criticized Orthodoxy for following antiquated religious practices. However, like their Reform counterparts, modern Orthodox Jews adopted notions of *feminine religiosity, a home-based Judaism, and the paramount impor-*

tance of the motherly influence in the religious realm. These ideas were used in the Orthodox struggle against Reform.

To prepare women for the task of defending Orthodoxy, to lead highly cultured Orthodox German-Jewish households, and to imbue their children with *Bildung*, *Sittlichkeit*, religious sentiment, and loyalty to halakhic Judaism, Samson Raphael Hirsch and other modern Orthodox leaders put great weight on a modern education for girls. In fact, in the school that the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* in Frankfurt founded, boys and girls received instruction in mixed classes until the community was able to establish separate institutions. Even though such an arrangement violated tradition as well as contemporary notions of gender-specific education, Hirsch and the Orthodox Jews of Frankfurt opted for coeducation rather than neglecting appropriate schooling for girls. Orthodox education for girls in Germany, indeed, included intensive instruction in Bible. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the rabbi of Berlin's modern Orthodox congregation, Esriel Hildesheimer, lectured before girls and women and promoted Talmud learning for the female sex.⁷⁹ By then, modern Orthodox education for both sexes had come a long way from the traditional Talmud Torah to which women had not had access.

Reform Judaism and the modern Orthodox movement in Germany adopted contrary approaches to ritual observance, Halakhah, and the nature of rabbinic law. Despite opposite views in many areas, however, both factions of German Jewry embraced the same religious culture, shaped by nineteenth-century values and ideas. Reform and Orthodox Jews adopted the notion that Judaism distinguished itself from other religions by a particular Jewish spirit.

This spirit, they believed, expressed itself in Jewish ritual and in Jewish family life. Positive-historical Judaism, the third branch of German Judaism, which the rabbi Zacharias Frankel began to develop in the 1840s, likewise put great emphasis on the spiritual essence of Judaism. According to Frankel, Judaism was defined by an eternal faith that could not entirely be grasped by rational and critical means. This faith occupied a realm "inward, [and was] to be apprehended with warmth." It equaled if not surpassed the observance of ritual commandments in importance. Ultimately, in fact, faith rather than Halakhah established truth for Frankel.⁸⁰ Thus, German-Jewish leaders and thinkers across the religious spectrum agreed on the primacy of a Jewish spirit or faith. Based on these premises, rabbis and preachers such as Gotthold Salomon, Adolf Jellinek, and Samson Raphael Hirsch devised a novel-style Jewish religious life. According to them, the Jewish spirit needed to be cultivated in edifying religious practices that were emotionally meaningful.

In the religious culture that these leaders created, women played a new and highly valued role. Educators, preachers, and rabbis agitated for modern devotional manuals for women and began to write such a literature; they advocated and instituted religious education for girls and women; and encouraged women's synagogue attendance. In their sermons, they pleaded with women to exert their beneficial female influence within their families; and Hirsch extolled women as defenders of Orthodoxy. At the same time, however, German Jewry did not revise the halakhic categories that determined the legal position of females. Attempts of the Reform movement to emancipate women within Talmudic law failed at the three rabbinical conferences in the 1840s. Modern Orthodoxy evidently never considered changing Halakhah. And when positive-historical Judaism established itself with the founding of the Jüdisch-theologisches Seminar in Breslau in 1854, the discussion on the status of women in Jewish law, which had never provoked a broader, passionate debate in Germany, simply no longer took place. Without being emancipated, women had moved to a more central position in a transformed Judaism. In the second half of the nineteenth century, contemporaries' understanding of what constituted the Jewish religion and what a man's and a woman's defining characteristics and duties were, had changed in ways that had altered the gender organization of Jewish culture along with Jewish culture itself.

Technically and legally, the religious practices that had defined Judaism as a primarily male culture unremittingly constituted male privileges. Equality before the law remained beyond the reach of females in Jewish society, as it did in German society, where full citizenship and formal participation in politics formed men's prerogatives and defined manhood. However, Jewish leaders such as Jellinek and Hirsch located Judaism not in the political but in the domestic realm. They argued that the family had always stood at the heart of Jewish society, and claimed that participation in the political and public arena did not stand at the core of Jewish identity. Rather, throughout Jewish history, Judaism had represented the female aspects of civilization including gentleness, mildness, and forgiveness, and the home rather than the state had formed the center of Jewish culture and spirituality. In this reading, Judaism did not constitute an alliance and brotherhood among individual men in a polity, but a religion shaped and framed by the family in which men as well as women embodied feminine virtues.

Sermons, biblical commentaries, and essays of German-Jewish rabbis and preachers referred to Jewish men as family members, as fathers, brothers, and sons who shared domestic responsibilities with their wives, sisters, and mothers. In these texts, Jewish leaders praised Judaism for its inherent feminine values. While men held authority and possessed rights that women

did not have, authority and rights did not form the parameters of the religion that Jewish leaders propagated.⁸¹ Rather, rabbis and preachers stressed “tender influence,” feminine compassion, emotional sensitivity, and the gentle infusion of a proper religious spirit. According to them, women exerted the decisive influence on a family’s domestic life and on the spiritual and moral character of a home.

The interpretation according to which feminine values have shaped Judaism and have formed the core principle of Jewish civilizations since antiquity was not entirely a product of the nineteenth-century culture of bourgeois sensitivity. In fact, the texts of rabbinic Judaism express great esteem for virtues and qualities that they conceive of as feminine. Talmudic literature programmatically valorizes femininity, feminine weakness, passivity, humility, submissiveness, and even self-abnegation and masochistic behavior. These texts exhort men to practice feminine virtues, to identify with women, and to behave like women. Nevertheless, as pervasive as the feminization of the Jewish male may have been in rabbinic culture, the religious economy of halakhic Judaism also systematically privileged Jewish men. Jewish women may have enjoyed much respect, and femininity appears to have been valued to an extraordinary degree in Jewish culture. But Jewish men’s superior position in Jewish society solidly rested on men’s privileged relationship toward ritual commandments and on women’s exclusion from the communal practices of Hebrew prayer and Talmud Torah. Men derived power and status from their ability to study and to interpret religious texts.⁸²

In nineteenth-century Germany, religious learning in the traditional sense and the performance of ritual commandments lost much of their prestige. Many Jews abandoned the practices that had formed the bedrock of men’s superiority in Jewish culture for centuries. In fact, even for modern Orthodox men, Talmud Torah and Hebrew prayer no longer stood at the center of their identity as men. Other cultural practices marked masculinity in German society. Thus, the idealization of feminine values, feminine characteristics, and feminine modes of behavior, which possesses a long history in Jewish culture, gained new weight and new meaning. It was no longer an aspect of a Jewish life world that was shaped by rabbinic and halakhic Judaism and that privileged men. But the exaltation of women and of the feminine now went hand in hand with a bourgeois cult of domesticity, and it formed part of a modern culture of Jewish religiosity with a novel gender order. In the nineteenth century, women had access to and indeed were often believed to possess a natural affinity for contemporary modes of religiosity, and men and women engaged in many of the highly prized religious practices of bourgeois Judaism together.

Part 2



SITES OF CHANGE

FOUR

The Transformation of the Culture of Prayer



The emergence of a bourgeois Judaism in nineteenth-century Germany, shaped by middle-class notions of *Bildung*, edification, and moral improvement, found expression in a new culture of prayer. In German-Jewish devotional literature, the distinction between domestic and public worship and between male and female modes of devotion lost some of the sharpness it had possessed in previous eras. From early modern times through the eighteenth century, the culture of prayer in Ashkenaz had followed, at least in principle, a strict gender division. Men, who were bound by the halakhic obligation of saying the *Shema* and of reciting a fixed liturgy three times daily and at times specified by the Jewish calendar, prayed in Hebrew, while women recited devotions in the vernacular, Yiddish prayers called *tkhines*.¹

Founded on the different status of the sexes in Halakhah, men's and women's prayers differed not only in language. Hebrew liturgy and paraliturgical *tkhines* also represented two separate modes of worship. Jewish men ideally recited their devotions in public as part of a prayer group, a *minyán*, whereas women could neither participate in a male prayer quorum nor form one of their own. Women performed their Yiddish-language devotions individually at home or in the synagogue, and the text of *tkhines* was flexible and did not constitute liturgy. Thus, in pre-modern Jewish society, men and women occupied different, clearly demarcated, and hierarchically organized positions in worship.

In Eastern Europe, the Yiddish language continued to play an important role as the vernacular for large segments of the Jewish population up to the twentieth century. *Tkhines* in Yiddish continued to be popular. In Germany, conversely, Jewish men came to publish devotional literature for Jewish women increasingly in German and in the process adapted women's prayer books to contemporary cultural sensibilities. In early modern *tkhines*,

the worshipper had petitioned God to assist her, her family, and her community in concrete ways. Nineteenth-century, emotionalized devotions for Jewish women, by contrast, focused on family life and promoted contemporary female virtues such as patience, modesty, devoted motherhood, and loving obedience toward the husband. Thereby, nineteenth-century devotional literature for German Jewish women closely resembled prayer books for Catholic and Protestant women. Yet modern Jewish paraliturgical literature developed within its own religious and social framework and was most successful when it retained the structure of early modern women's *tkhines*.

German Jews not only created a body of devotional literature for women in German, but also composed books with German-language meditations, prayers, and supplications for men, women, and children. Reform-minded rabbis urged men as well as women to engage in domestic worship in the vernacular, and they published prayer books and devotional manuals in German that both sexes were to use at home as well as in the synagogue. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, communal prayer books, too, began to feature German-language devotions for men and women. An increasing number of nineteenth-century *siddurim* (liturgical prayer books) offered exacting German translations and adaptations of the Hebrew liturgy. Additionally, they included German-language devotions that guided women as well as men to address God in the vernacular, to meditate on moral and religious issues, and to reflect on family responsibilities.

With the exception of less than a handful of Reform congregations, Jewish communities in nineteenth-century Germany adopted changes to the Hebrew liturgy only hesitantly. Technically, likewise, Halakhah still called exclusively upon men to fulfill the *mitzvah* of regularly saying formulaic Hebrew prayers. Yet this centuries-old culture of Hebrew prayer no longer formed the one unambiguously privileged practice of devotion in which men engaged, compared to which women's prayer in the vernacular held an inferior and secondary position.

German, indeed, not only replaced Yiddish as the vernacular. As the language of *Bildung*, German represented moral, intellectual, and spiritual ennoblement for both sexes, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, most German Jews had ceased to regard praying in German as inferior to worshipping in Hebrew. Moreover, German-language prayer no longer was a women's domain. In the new culture of Jewish prayer, men as well as women were expected to seek edification and moral improvement in freely composed German-language meditations and devotions. Within the reference system of pre-modern Jewish culture, where men said formulaic Hebrew prayers while women recited flexible and personalized devotions in the vernacular, this culture of prayer possessed the characteristics of a fe-

male mode of prayer. Yet now it constituted a highly respected form of worship for women and men alike.

GENDER, LANGUAGE, AND PRAYER IN EARLY MODERN ASHKENAZ

In pre-modern Jewish society, most women did not learn Hebrew because as a group, women were exempt from the ritual obligations of laying tefillin (phylacteries), of reciting time-bound, formulaic prayers, and of studying Torah. Their lack of language skills, in turn, prevented women from praying in Hebrew and from having full access to rabbinic literature. Thus, women's ability to participate in the religious practices that defined Judaism was severely restricted. In early modern Ashkenaz, however, Jews in want of Hebrew proficiency could become familiar with biblical, rabbinic, and Jewish mystical literature through popularized Yiddish adaptations of these texts. Yiddish translations of Hebrew liturgy as well as collections of *tekhines* were in print, too.² This Yiddish literature was commonly thought of as women's literature, though it addressed men as well. Indeed one of the books that scholars consider among the quintessential, widely popular, and most influential pieces of Jewish women's literature throughout the centuries—the *Brantshpigl* (Burning Mirror, published in 1596)—stated the following in its introduction: “This book is for women and for men who are like women and cannot learn much.”³ Its author, Moses Henoch Yerushalmi Altshuler, clearly expected some men to take advantage of this first comprehensive Jewish morality book in Yiddish. The title pages and prefaces of numerous other Yiddish publications carried similar headings, contributing to the broadly accepted view that the readership at which Yiddish books aimed consisted of “women and unlearned men.”⁴

The category *nashim ve-'amei ha-arets* (women and the ignorant) constituted a well-established category in Jewish culture, and it indicates that the separation between Hebrew readers and Yiddish readers did not follow gender lines entirely and neatly. By no means did every Jewish man in early modern Ashkenaz possess extensive erudition in rabbinic texts or even an appropriate fluency in Hebrew. Many Jewish men, in particular from poorer families, did not belong to the educated elite. Formulations such as Altshuler's “for women and men who are like women” acknowledged this fact, but they also reinscribed the notion that a man was a person who studied Jewish literature in Hebrew whereas a woman was a Jew who did not. By comparing the Jewish men who would read his book to women, Altshuler shamed those men. They lacked the ability to study religious texts in their original language as a man should do; they were men who failed to

On the one hand, most Jewish men, who did not become Talmud scholars may have gained access to Jewish learning by reading Yiddish texts and may have profited from Yiddish translations of Hebrew liturgy. On the other hand, the conceptual division between Hebrew-literate Jewish men and Yiddish-reading women was immensely powerful. Not being able to study Torah in Hebrew always threatened to impinge on a man's claim to masculinity and to male superiority. Gender differentiation and gender hierarchy, in this framework, was organized according to participation and non-participation in Hebrew-language religious learning and communal Hebrew prayer. Therefore, women and unlearned men could be seen as belonging to the same social group, a group whose lower standing was expressed in notions of gender. According to authors such as Altshuler, they were "women," subordinate and inferior to veritable "men." In the same vein, the characterization of Yiddish literature as a genre pertaining to women and unlearned men confirmed the second-class status of texts in the vernacular.⁶

While many Jewish men fell short of embodying the ideal of the male scholar, some women in medieval and early modern Ashkenazi society gained expertise in Hebrew-language rabbinic and halakhic literature. However, these learned women received their education from their fathers, husbands, or brothers rather than through communal institutions. None of them ever attended a yeshivah, a Talmud academy.⁷ Their achievements did not reflect the general standards of female education and did not conform to cultural assumptions and expectations of what women should learn. Most importantly, no matter how deeply she immersed herself in rabbinic literature, how outstanding her piety, and how sincere her religious devotion, a woman could not escape belonging in the category of "women and unlearned men," *nashim ve-'amei ha-arets*. Nothing could amend a woman's inferior status. The most ignorant and crude man was—at least technically and ideally—welcome in every *minyán* and encouraged to join the community of men in prayer and study. However, until the twentieth century no woman had ever been able to study rabbinic or mystical texts in Hebrew in a communal setting. Likewise, women's exclusion from men's prayer circles and from the community of male worshippers who could form a prayer quorum was unqualified and axiomatic.

The hierarchically organized, gendered division between Hebrew and Yiddish literatures and between the cultural practices associated with Hebrew and Yiddish texts shaped the early modern culture of Jewish prayer profoundly. Halakhah commanded Jewish men to recite Hebrew prayers that were

fixed and obligatory, regulated by clock and calendar: men prayed three times a day, during a set liturgy that was expanded on Sabbaths and holi-

days. This liturgy marks the daily transitions at dusk and dawn, sanctifies the separation of the day of rest from the workday week, and celebrates the turning of the seasons and the formative events of Jewish history.⁸

In prayer, men placed themselves within the rhythm of Jewish culture and formed a community. Though some of the prayers could be recited in private, others required the presence of a *minyan*, a group of ten men, and the ideal setting for worship was in a synagogue. Most Hebrew prayers were indeed phrased in the plural.

Tkhines, conversely, were designed to be said individually, most typically at home. They reflected the religious practices of women that took place at the periphery of normative, male Jewish culture.⁹ Some *tkhines* constituted Yiddish prayers that a woman could recite while attending a synagogue service conducted by men; and some *tkhines* enabled women to address God when they celebrated Jewish holidays or participated in communal fasts. Many *tkhines*, however, were supplicatory prayers in which women asked for divine assistance when pregnant, during the sickness of a family member, the absence of the husband, or at times of strain such as a drought. *Tkhines* could be petitions for sustenance and livelihood; they related to specifically female religious practices when women visited a cemetery and at Rosh Hodesh, the Jewish new moon celebration; and they offered Yiddish formulae for women who observed the three female *mitzvot: middah* (laws of sexual purity), the lighting of candles on Sabbath and holidays, and the discarding of a piece of the dough when baking bread. Although collections of *tkhines* show that conventions in the wording of Yiddish supplicatory prayers sometimes maintained remarkable stability over the centuries, as a genre *tkhines* were flexible.¹⁰ Free from the constrictions that surrounded halakhically prescribed Hebrew synagogue liturgy, nothing hindered worshippers and authors of *tkhines* from composing new prayers and adapting existing ones to contemporary tastes and personal needs. In fact, at the very heart of a *tkhine* stood the notion that a woman should freely address the Creator in the vernacular at times and on occasions that seemed appropriate and convenient to her.

The recitation of supplicatory prayers did not constitute an exclusively female practice. Rather, *tehinnot*, as Hebrew supplicatory prayers are called, could form part of male worship too, and some men may even have said *tkhines* in Yiddish.¹¹ Communally or privately, Jewish men could express particular religious, mystical, or personal concerns in paraliturgical prayers. The center of male devotional practice, however, consisted of liturgical prayer. Other devotional exercises could build on the meticulous recitation of the prescribed Hebrew liturgy. For most women, the saying of *tkhines* formed the chief devotional practice, and women tended to pray individually, in private and primarily at home.

Yet some women attended synagogue regularly. Instead of praying in Hebrew, they could recite *tkhines*, some of which were composed to be said or read during certain parts of the service. Alternatively, women could follow the Hebrew liturgy in the synagogue by relying on the Yiddish introductions, commentaries, and translations of Hebrew prayers found in some early modern German *siddurim*. The majority of women, however, may have preferred to turn to *tkhines*, rather than engaging in a service whose design precluded their full-fledged participation. Twentieth-century scholars in fact believe that from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, *tkhine* literature shaped and reflected the world of prayer and religiosity of the female Jewish population in Western and Central Europe.¹²

The reciting of *tkhines* did not carry the weight of liturgical prayer in Hebrew, just as the reading of devotional literature in Yiddish, such as the *Brantshpigl* or the *Tsenerene*, known as “women’s Bible,” did not constitute Talmud Torah. Only through the study of rabbinic texts in Hebrew and by way of reciting formulaic, time-bound Hebrew liturgy could men fulfill the ritual commandments for which Halakhah held them responsible. Yiddish texts and Yiddish prayers lacked the status of rabbinic literature and Hebrew prayer. Though engaging in Yiddish literature and praying in Yiddish attested to a person’s piety, in Jewish society and culture these religious acts were not invested with the value and significance of the religious practices that men were expected to perform and to which only males had full access.¹³ Women’s religious culture and prayer in the vernacular held an inferior, secondary, and marginal position.

FROM *TKHINES* TO GERMAN WOMEN’S PRAYERS

The modern Jewish paraliturgical literature that in nineteenth-century Germany was addressed at men and women alike, owed much to the women’s *tkhines* of the early modern period. One of the most popular collections of *tkhines* of the eighteenth century was the *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes* (Order of Supplications and Petitions), which, in an edition from Fürth in 1762, featured more than one hundred twenty prayers. The *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes* incorporated many prayers that had been published previously in other collections, and it was reprinted itself in multiple editions. The 1762 Fürth collection featured at least thirty prayers relating to the synagogue service and the Hebrew liturgy, including a devotion to be said while the Torah scroll was taken out of the Ark and prayers for specific holidays. The devotional manual contained prayers for the penitential season in the month of Elul, before the Jewish New Year celebration, as well as prayers for fast days and confessions of sins. Moreover, the reader could find *tkhines* for the

three *mitzvot* that constituted women's particular religious duties. The *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes* contained two *tkhines* for women whose husbands were abroad on business trips, in addition to eleven prayers for pregnancy and childbirth, four relating to children and the family, and one for a widow who hoped to remarry. Other prayers asked for recovery from illness or were concerned with subsistence and material welfare. Eleven prayers were for women to recite at a cemetery, and four were for Rosh Hodesh (the new moon celebration), which possessed a special significance for women. As was the case with other collections of *tkhines*, the *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes* contained one prayer for each day of the week and additional devotions for Sabbath.¹⁴

In Germany, collections of *tkhines* resembling the 1762 Fürth edition of *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes* appeared in print for at least another century.¹⁵ As late as in 1864, a collection of *tkhines* was published in the back of a Hebrew prayer book from Rödelheim by Frankfurt on the Main. The book included prayers for each day of the week and Sabbath, *tkhines* for the separation of the dough, and for the monthly purification at the *mikveh* (ritual bath), four prayers relating to childbirth, three to be said at the cemetery, two for Rosh Hodesh, two other supplications for good business and prosperity, and one to protect a traveling husband and traveling children. Interspersed among these prayers, the reader could find *tkhines* for the month of Elul, for Rosh Ha-Shana and Yom Kippur, and for Passover, including one prayer for performing the *kapparot* and one to be said when the Shofar was blown.¹⁶ Thus, while some of the *tkhines* related to Jewish holidays and could be recited in the synagogue, they did not follow the order of the Hebrew liturgy. Rather, like in the 1762 Fürth edition of *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes*, they were scattered among other prayers.¹⁷ The *tkhines* in this and some of the other collections published in mid-nineteenth-century Germany still bore the traits of early modern female supplicatory prayers; neither the themes of the prayers, nor the content or the style had changed significantly. The *tkhine* for doing *kapparot* and the prayers relating to regular visits of the ritual bath, moreover, suggest that some traditional customs as well as the halakhic laws of *niddah* (menstrual purity) still possessed relevance for segments of the German-Jewish population.¹⁸

The language of the *tkhines* in the Rödelheim *siddur* from 1864, however, was no longer Yiddish. Even though they were printed in Hebrew characters, the *tkhines* were written in High German with occasional Yiddish or Hebrew expressions and technical terms interspersed. By the middle of the nineteenth century, in fact, Jewish presses in Germany were no longer publishing Yiddish books.¹⁹ Instead, from the early days of the

Hebrew in the nineteenth century, German Jews printed High German

texts in the familiar Hebrew script, the most famous example among them Moses Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible. By writing in German rather than in Hebrew or in Yiddish, Enlighteners had tried to accustom German Jews to High German, the language of *Bildung*, cultural refinement, and moral betterment, in an easily accessible form.²⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century, however, all but possibly elderly people from rural Jewish communities could read High German in Latin letters fluently.²¹ Progressive educators and reformers ceased to use Judeo-German, as German printed in Hebrew characters can be called, since it no longer served an educational purpose. Yet conservatives continued to publish religious books in Judeo-German. Collections of *tkhines*, which had formerly been published in Yiddish, now appeared in Judeo-German.²² German Jews held on to the time-honored genre of *tkhines*, but no longer spoke Yiddish. *Tkhines* in Judeo-German thus formed the exact equivalent of the Yiddish *tkhines* from a century earlier: They were women's prayers in the vernacular printed in Hebrew letters.

In the course of the nineteenth century, not only the language of women's prayer books changed. In 1815, the *maskil* Peter Beer in Prague published a prayer book whose title advertised the Enlightened program of *Bildung* and cultural improvement: *Gebetbuch für gebildete Frauenzimmer mosaischer Religion: Zum Gebrauche bei der öffentlichen als auch häuslichen Gottesverehrung* (Prayer Book for Educated Women of the Mosaic Religion: To be Used for Public as well as Domestic Worship).²³ More than a decade later, similar publications took hold in Germany. One of the earliest among them, *Tehinnot benot yeshurun: Ein Gebetbuch für gebildete Frauenzimmer* (Supplicatory Prayers of the Daughters of Israel: A Prayer Book for Educated Women), published in 1832 in Fürth, at first glance seems to differ little from earlier collections of *tkhines*.²⁴ Printed in Judeo-German, the majority of prayers related to Jewish holidays and to the synagogue service. Among these were prayers that could be said while the Torah scroll was taken out of the Ark on Rosh Ha-Shana and Yom Kippur. The collection also included the customary prayers for each day of the week, a prayer for lighting candles on the Sabbath, and devotions relating to pregnancy, childbirth, and recovery from illness. Other prayers, such as supplications of a businesswoman, of a woman in domestic service, and of a woman in a childless marriage had been less common in the collections called *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes*, but these devotions built on themes of prayers that had been found in other early modern collections of *tkhines*.²⁵

Tehinnot benot yeshurun expanded the range of prayers for particular stages in the life of a woman, adding prayers of a young girl, of a bride, and of an unhappy wife. Moreover, the style and the content of the devo-

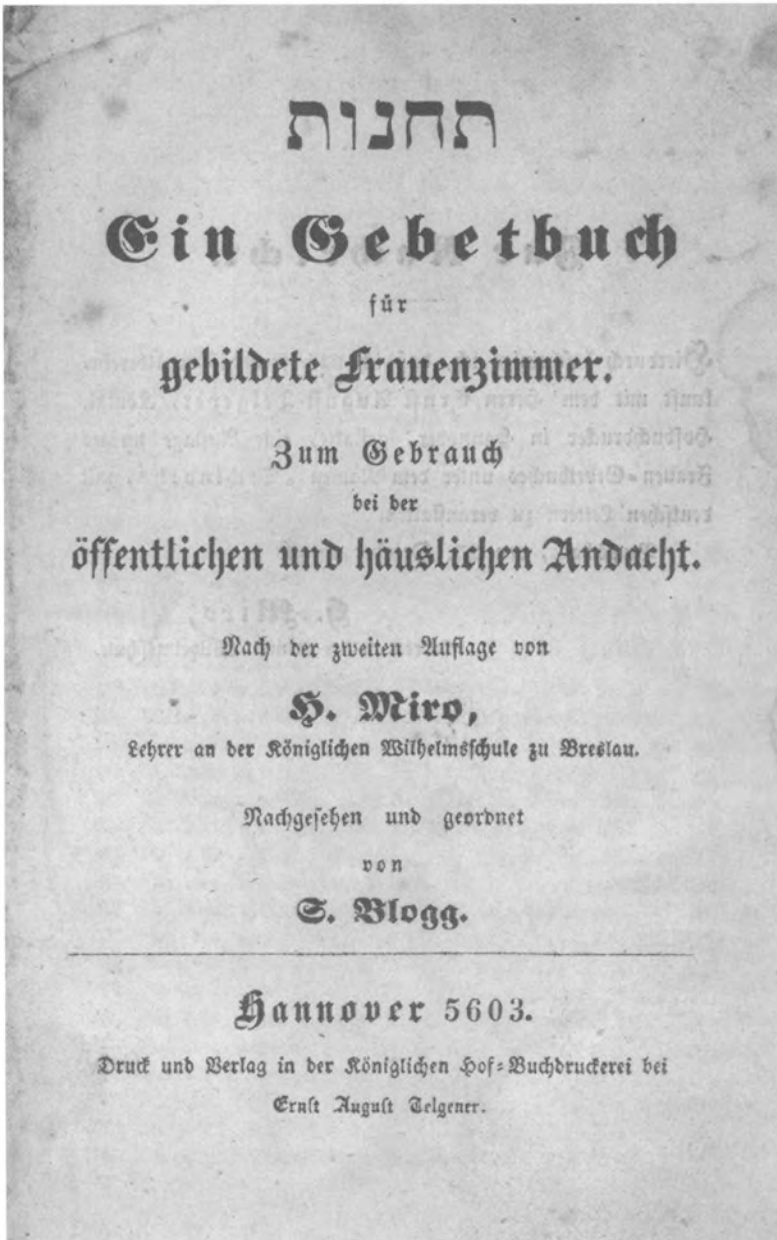
tions marked a departure from earlier literature. In the collection from

Rödelheim in 1864, a supplication for the protection of a traveling husband has the worshipper entreat God to spare her spouse from being assaulted by robbers, murderers, and wild beasts, much in the style of the traditional Hebrew *tefilat ha-derekh* (prayer for travel). The *tkhine* on success and failure in business focuses, in the same manner, on petitioning God to provide subsistence. The prayer for the businesswoman in *Tehinnot benot yeshurun*, conversely, sets out with statements on the usefulness of commerce and industry for society.²⁶

More importantly, *Tehinnot benot yeshurun* places a heightened emphasis on the emotional state of the worshipper and encourages self-reflection and introspection. The collection includes a special prayer for “hours of sadness,” and in the prayer of a unhappy wife, the woman first pours out her heart about the grief and the distress that she has experienced in her marriage, before she inquires into whether she herself has contributed to her unhappy state. Perhaps she should have, the woman muses, used more generously the only weapons that God bestowed upon the female sex—patience and gentleness? Similarly, the bride turns to God at the time of her marriage to express anxiety about the future and about the duties of matrimony. In the prayer, the bride reflects on gaining and maintaining the love of her husband through virtuous and faultless behavior. While she appeals to God to bless her union and to preserve the health and happiness of her spouse, she asks for the strength and courage to always be a tender, caring, and loving wife.²⁷ Rather than being concerned with material security, reproduction, or the accumulation of spiritual benefit, these prayers center on women’s emotions and on the social dimensions of family life in nineteenth-century middle-class society.

In the 1830s, women’s prayer books with modernized and Germanized versions of *tkhines*, such as *Tehinnot benot yeshurun*, began to spread in Germany, among them an immensely popular collection, issued by Josua Heschel Miro, the teacher at the Jewish Free school in Breslau.²⁸ By 1833, Miro’s prayers in Judeo-German had been published in a second edition. Within a few years, they also appeared in Latin letters, and by 1890 they had been republished at least twelve additional times. These multiple releases included adaptations by Ludwig Rosenthal, who served as a rabbi in the small community of Rogasen not far from Berlin, and by Salomon Blogg, a Jewish educator from Hanover who also ran a much respected Hebrew printing press.²⁹

Miro himself had written his prayer book with the encouragement and endorsement of Breslau’s traditionalist rabbi, Solomon Tiktin, and in the 1840s, Miro’s work also found the approval of Tiktin’s Reform rival in Breslau, Abraham Geiger.³⁰ Thus, the adjustment of traditional women’s pray-



4.1. Title page of one of the revised editions of the prayer book by Josua Heschel Miro (1790–1854): *Tehinnor: A Prayer Book for Educated [gebildete] Women; To Be Used for Public and Domestic Devotion* (Hanover, 1843). Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

uncontroversial. In fact, Miro's publication built closely on the model of early modern *tkhines*, while further expanding the section on prayers for "domestic worship" (meaning women's meditations on marriage and motherhood). While the prayer of a bride on her wedding day was in some parts identical with that in *Tehinnot benot yeshurun*, other new prayers elaborated in more detail on the emotions and duties required of family members: The prayer of a mother on the wedding day of her daughter, the prayer of a stepmother, and a "devotional exercise" on the relationship of children and their parents.³¹ In the German edition, Miro moreover added a prayer for the successful education of children and a devotion of a mother. In her prayer, the mother thanks the Divine for the gift of children. She promises to love them, to care for them, to promote the development of their intellect and their hearts, and to always be fully aware of the irreversible influence of a mother on the character of her children.³²

Many prayers in Miro's collections also still reflect pre-modern sensibilities. The prayer for successfully educating children, for instance, expresses the hope that the young may grow up to earn a living, plentiful and without sins, and that they "gain eternal and temporal welfare."³³ Similarly, the prayer for those who support themselves through commerce asserts that God is the source of all livelihood. In this prayer, the supplicant asks the Eternal to provide food and to avert deprivation, whereas the worshipper pledges to observe all of God's "commandments, laws, and regulations" faithfully.³⁴ Moreover, and despite his claim to cater to the enlightened and the educated, Miro increased the number of prayers for the dead in the German editions of his prayer book. In line with early modern mystical thinking, the worshipper in Miro's book still expresses the expectation that the dead can petition God for the welfare of the living.³⁵ Failing to follow the ideology of the Reform movement, Miro also refused to abandon the expectation of a messianic future that included the reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem.³⁶

Miro's prayer books emphasized the observance of ritual law as prescribed by rabbinic Judaism; they subscribed to a traditional understanding of sin and reward; and in the prayers, the worshipper turns to God for concrete assistance in matters of material survival. In the supplications in his prayer books, however, Miro also has women meditate on their role and their duties in the family. Many devotions offer the opportunity for introspection and emotional relief within the context of middle-class family life.³⁷ His prayers clearly stand in the tradition of *tkhines* and bear traits of early modern supplicatory prayers, while reflecting the social conditions and cultural expectations of German Jewry at the time. As a man, Miro has designed these prayers for Jewish women who have embraced or, according

these devotions, the program of *Bildung* and cultural embourgeoisement takes on a concrete form. By reciting prayers in High German such as Miro's, a Jewish woman, in this scheme, trains her heart, builds her character, develops an enlightened piety, and aims to become an exemplary daughter, wife, and mother.

JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN PRAYER BOOKS FOR WOMEN

The women's prayer book *Tehinnot benot yeshurun*, as well as the volumes by Josua Heschel Miro and their adaptations by Salomon Blogg and Ludwig Rosenthal, did not remain the only ones of their kind. In the 1830s, modern Jewish prayer books directed specifically toward women began to appear in substantial numbers, published in Frankfurt, Prague, Vienna, Breslau, and in other German towns and cities.³⁸ The books carried titles such as *Die fromme Zionstochter: Andachtsbuch für Israels Frauen und Mädchen zur öffentlichen und häuslichen Gottesverehrung an allen Wochen-, Fest- und Bußetagen und für alle Verhältnisse des Lebens* (The Pious Daughter of Zion: Book of Devotions for Israel's Women and Girls for Public and Domestic Worship on all Weekdays, Holidays, and Fast Days, and for all Circumstances of Life), *Tefilot beit Yakov: Gebete des Hauses Jakob's: Gebetbuch für israelitische Frauen und Mädchen für die öffentliche und häusliche Andacht in allen Verhältnissen des Lebens* (Prayers of the House of Jacob: Prayer Book for Israelite Women and Girls for Public and Domestic Devotion in all Circumstances of Life), or *Kos yeshuot: "Kelch des Heils": Ein Andachtsbuch für Frauen und Jungfrauen jüdischen Glaubens zum Haus- und Synagogengebrauch* (Cup of Salvation: A Book of Devotions for Women and Maids of Jewish Faith for the Use at Home and in the Synagogue).³⁹

Although the prayer books vary significantly in size, style, and in the execution of individual prayers, they follow the same pattern and possess common characteristics.⁴⁰ Like collections of *tkhines*, these books contain devotions for each day of the week and prayers for Sabbath, commonly placed in the front of the book. At the rear of the book, they often include prayers for the dead or devotions that can be said at the graves of deceased family members. Yet modern devotional books differ from *tkhine* literature in that the former are usually divided clearly into a section with prayers for the domestic realm and devotions relating to synagogue liturgy, to be recited during public worship. Frequently, this twofold purpose and structure of the prayer books finds expression in the titles. Included for the first time in the title of Peter Beer's collection of women's prayers in Judeo-German is the phrase "prayers such as for public as well as for domestic worship" or

“for the use in the synagogue and in the home” became characteristic for titles of women’s prayer books. While *tkhines* also had been designed for recitation during synagogue services and in the home, the ritual bath, or the cemetery, the emphasis on women praying in the public and in the domestic realm constituted a novelty.

Like Miro’s prayer books, other contemporary devotional manuals for Jewish women also included extensive sections of supplications and meditations for women in a large range of situations. Prayers for the bride, the bride’s mother, and for other family members; devotions related to pregnancy, childbirth, and the well-being and education of the children; and prayers for the unhappy wife now were also accompanied by prayers as diverse in subject matter as supplications for the business success of the husband, a prayer for the husband’s birthday, a prayer for a divorced woman, devotions for widows who had to support children and for a woman supported by her children, prayers for the mother of a child who underwent a confirmation ceremony or a boy who became a Bar Mitzvah, a confirmation prayer for the child itself, and a prayer for a woman at a spa.⁴¹ While some of these prayers still asked God for concrete assistance, many were designed to provide emotional relief, as was the case with prayers during a child’s sickness or devotions called “Effusion of Heart by a Conscience-Stricken” or “Effusion of Heart when Receiving a Favorable Message.”⁴² Still other prayers gave the worshipper the opportunity to contemplate ethical questions as well as divine wisdom and power, to reflect on her role in the family and her domestic duties, to exercise self-criticism, and to make resolutions for the future.

Collections in general included prayers for the lighting of candles on Sabbath; some contained devotions to be said when separating dough in baking bread. Devotions on the third of the halakhically prescribed duties that fell specifically upon women—the observation of the laws of sexual purity—however were most commonly absent in nineteenth-century women’s prayer books.⁴³ Concerns of family life and a culture of religious sentiments had replaced this religious practice that played a central role for women in rabbinic Judaism.

Popular, modern Jewish women’s prayer books still appeared in Judeo-German editions throughout the 1860s. Miro’s collection of women’s prayers was published in Judeo-German as late as 1879.⁴⁴ The new generation of prayer books for Jewish women, however, were adapted in style and content increasingly to devotional literature for Christian women. The proliferation of Jewish prayer books for women in the first half of the nineteenth century, indeed, formed part of a boom in devotional literature for German women at large. Both Protestantism and Catholicism had a tradition of women’s prayers. In early modern Europe, devotions for Catholic

women, printed in small leaflets and often relating to pregnancy, had enjoyed wide popularity. Yet actual Catholic women's prayer books were large, heavy, expensive volumes that, along with the Bible, formed the entire library in most households. Rather than being carried around in a pocket and read individually, early modern Catholic prayer books were intended to be read out loud within the family or in small circles of worshippers, a practice that allowed the participation of illiterate men and women. Though these prayer books often primarily addressed women and considered women to be particularly pious, the books included a variety of prayers for both sexes. Among these prayers were supplications for the sick, prayers for protection from storms, devotions in cases of crisis, and prayers on occasions for celebration.⁴⁵

In the late eighteenth century, a new type of Catholic devotional literature appeared. Its goal was to target women exclusively. Small, unpretentious, and printed on inexpensive paper, these books were designed to be a literate woman's personal property. She could read them in private whenever and wherever she wanted. Concomitantly, the tone, style, and contents of the prayers were changed. Prayers as they had existed since the Middle Ages had served to protect the worshipper against evil and had aimed to enlist the assistance of God in critical situations. As the Catholic Church discouraged magical thinking and revised its ideas on the character of devotion, the clergy conceived new prayer books for women that sought "to awaken religious sentiments in the cold breast, [and] to promote true Christian religiosity."⁴⁶ Directed toward *gebildete* (educated) women, the new generation of Catholic women's prayer books that began to flourish between 1800 and 1840 propagated an enlightened and decorous piety. In prayer, the worshipper could memorize her duties in the family. Women could find guidance to reflect on their feelings and to ennoble their thoughts.⁴⁷ The books included daily prayers, prayers for the church service, devotions that related to the ecclesiastical year, and meditations that raised specifically female concerns such as "chastity, modesty . . . , renunciation of frivolity, renunciation of pride, . . . influence of fashion on virtue and vice."⁴⁸ The contemporary ideal of *Bildung* in which cultural refinement, moral improvement, and an emotionalized religiosity connected found expression in these prayer books.

In many respects, this transformation from traditional supplicatory prayers to devotions geared toward Catholic urban, middle-class women resembled the process in Jewish society, where modern Jewish women's prayers developed from early modern *tkhines*. The fact that a Catholic devotional literature exclusively for women did not exist before the end of the eighteenth century may have been related to lower literacy rates among

Catholics as well as to other cultural and social differences between the Catholic and Jewish populations.

Protestants, on the other hand, had published women's prayer books in early modern Germany. Devotional literature for men, women, or both sexes contained prayers for sickness, death, and travel, as well as devotions for pregnancy, childbed, and widowhood. The Lutheran reformation and later the early modern pietist movement valued prayer that arose from the hearts of worshippers. Protestant and pietist leaders encouraged worshippers to express religious sentiments and to engage in self-reflection. This culture of prayer thus largely conformed to the religious sensitivities of nineteenth-century Christians. Accordingly, when Protestants in the early decades of the nineteenth century felt the need for more prayer books, they often republished older editions of devotional literature. Only in exceptional cases were traditional Protestant prayer books updated in the ways in which Catholics and Jews revised and modernized supplicatory prayers. If authors wanted to introduce new ideas and additional edifying or educational material, they tended to republish existing prayer books, supplementing them with newly composed texts. The revival and revitalization of prayer book literature for women in nineteenth-century German Protestantism drew heavily on older ethical and devotional writings.⁴⁹

Judaism, too, possessed a tradition of composing ethical writings and moral guidebooks, some of which had been directed specifically to women. In publications such as the *Brantshpigl*, early modern male authors offered Jewish women advice on how to conduct themselves piously and decorously as mothers and wives.⁵⁰ The gendered division of the culture of prayer in Jewish society, however, had no equivalent in the Christian environment. Neither in early modern times nor in any other period did Christianity maintain a sharp, conceptual distinction between male and female worshippers. The Catholic and Protestant church liturgy and supplicatory prayers were equally accessible—or inaccessible—to men and women. The Latin language of the Catholic liturgy remained foreign to all but a small group of men and women, and devout members of both sexes could immerse themselves in Church Latin, religious writings, and mystical texts in religious orders. Only priesthood and Church officialdom constituted an exclusively male domain. In Jewish society, conversely, all men were expected to master Hebrew, the language of the synagogue liturgy and of rabbinic learning. By contrast, Jewish women tended to lack Hebrew literacy and pronounced less valued paraliturgical prayers in the vernacular. Yet in the nineteenth century, when German Jewry adapted devotional practices to contemporary sensibilities, the gender gap in the culture of Jewish prayer narrowed.

MODERN DEVOTIONS FOR JEWISH MEN AND WOMEN

Christian models of devotional practice, Jewish literary conventions, and bourgeois ideas of culturally refined and heartfelt worship shaped the German-language Jewish prayer book literature of the nineteenth century. In fact, the perhaps most popular and well-known prayer book for Jewish women, Fanny Neuda's *Stunden der Andacht* (Hours of Devotion), borrowed its title from a formative piece of Christian devotional literature not specifically directed toward women.⁵¹ With the *Stunden der Andacht zur Beförderung wahren Christenthums und häuslicher Gottesverehrung* (Hours of Devotion for the Promotion of True Christendom and Domestic Worship), Heinrich Zschokke, a Protestant theologian from Magdeburg, had created an immensely successful book of meditations, in which he eulogized the home as a privileged space for moral self-improvement, the sanctification of motherhood and marriage, and the cultivation of personal virtue, friendship, and patriotism. Originally published from 1808 on in the form of a weekly Sunday newsletter, Zschokke's *Stunden der Andacht* appeared in 1816 as an eight-volume bound text. The work was republished annually until 1842, and by 1902, had reached its thirty-seventh edition.⁵² Neuda's *Stunden der Andacht* enjoyed a comparable popularity for a much smaller audience. First published in 1855, the book went into twenty-four editions in little more than sixty years.

Written by the widow of a Bohemian rabbi, Neuda's *Stunden der Andacht* was a prayer book for women, directed toward "Israel's women and maids" and intended "for public and domestic devotion, as well as for all circumstances of the female life."⁵³ Rather than freely composed meditations on domestic virtues, on the sanctification of the home, and on the spiritual and moral elevation of family life, Neuda had created yet another version of modernized *tkhines*.

As was the case with the volumes by Peter Beer, Josua Heschel Miro, and other overwhelmingly male authors of German Jewish nineteenth-century prayer books for women, Neuda's collection contained German prayers that women could recite during synagogue services; devotions for the cemetery; prayers for the sick; and prayers appropriate for pregnancy, weddings, confirmations, marital distress, and travel. Zschokke's manual for domestic devotion targeted the whole family, whereas Neuda's book exclusively addressed women.

Neuda's book was not a Jewish equivalent of Zschokke's work. Yet the Christian *Stunden der Andacht* found a direct Jewish counterpart in *Stunden der Andacht für Israeliten zur Beförderung religiösen Lebens und häus-*

licher Gottesverehrung (Hours of Devotion for Israelites for the Promotion

of Religious Life and Domestic Worship), published in 1833 and 1834 by the rabbi and educator Isaak Heß in Württemberg and his colleague Samson Wolf Rosenfeld. Heß and Rosenfeld partly reproduced Zschokke's writing word for word, partly transposed it to Jewish sensibilities, and reduced it from eight to four volumes. The first volume of *Stunden der Andacht für Israeliten* went into a second edition in 1867, but the work failed to achieve the popularity of its Christian model.⁵⁴

The predominant form of modern Jewish devotions in nineteenth-century Germany did not grow out of Zschokke's Protestant prototype of ethical and edifying meditations. Nor did it follow the Jewish tradition of moral guidebooks, and it also did not develop along the lines of new Jewish homiletic literature. Likewise, Gotthold Salomon's *Selima's Stunden der Weihe* did not find much echo in later publications.⁵⁵ Rather, the nineteenth-century culture of prayer for Jewish men and Jewish women evolved within the framework of modernized *tkhine* literature.

Published in High German, Jewish devotional literature of this period built on conventions of early modern Yiddish *tkhines*, while it took into account the sensibilities and concerns of Jewish families who aspired to a middle-class lifestyle. An entire body of modern-style women's prayer books emerged in Germany. Yet German-language devotions for public and domestic worship, focusing on family life and relationships, did not remain a female domain. In German-Jewish devotional culture of the mid-nineteenth century, children and men, too, were expected to address God through private, paraliturgical prayers, to seek moral guidance and edification, and to reflect on their role in the family and in society.

On the one hand, women's prayer books began to include devotions for other family members. The collections *Die fromme Zionstochter* and *Tahnunei Bat Yehuda*, for instance, contained morning and evening prayers for children and grace over meals to be said by them. In *Kos Yeshuot*, the author Emanuel Hecht, who was a Jewish school teacher from Lower Franconia, introduced morning and evening prayers to be said by the entire family together.⁵⁶ On the other hand, German Jews published devotional literature and prayer books addressed to men and women, while these books possessed traits typical for women's culture of prayer.

When Lina Morgenstern, a leader of the German women's movement, and Immanuel Heinrich Ritter, a preacher at the Reform synagogue in Berlin, published a book of domestic devotions for young Jews of both sexes in 1863, they chose to organize the volume like a women's prayer book.⁵⁷ Devotions relating to Jewish holidays followed prayers for each day of the week, and meditations on the occasion of birthdays, engagements, and on departing from a parental home supplemented supplications for sick family members and prayers for the dead. Additionally, *Glaube, An-*

dacht und Pflicht (Faith, Devotion, and Duty), as the book was called, featured meditations on nature, on domestic, and on civic responsibilities as well as a whole section on the moral teachings of Judaism. Jewish women's prayer books such as Miro's tended not to include ethical instruction of this kind or meditations on nature and on social obligations beyond the family. In its character as a devotional manual for men and women, *Glaube, Andacht und Pflicht* also resembled Zschokke's *Stunden der Andacht* rather than Jewish women's prayer books. Yet Morgenstern and Ritter's work possessed the structure of Jewish women's prayer books and included prayers in which the early modern *tkhine* still resonated.

The communal prayer book that Moses Präger, rabbi in Mannheim, first issued in 1851 even more distinctly bore the character of contemporary collections of Jewish women's prayers. Divided into sections called *public devotion* and *domestic devotion*, the volume included devotions related to the weekly, public Bible readings, prayers to be said or read during the synagogue service, devotions for the cemetery, prayers for every weekday and Sabbath, as well as prayers for pregnant women and the sick, for weddings and confirmations, and for an absent husband. Präger's book, however, was not a women's prayer book. Entitled, *Gebet- und Erbauungsbuch für Israeliten* (Prayer Book and Book of Edifications for Israelites) and written in German with occasional phrases and sections in Hebrew, the volume addressed men as much as women. Rather than containing a prayer for the bride, *Gebet- und Erbauungsbuch* featured a devotion for the bride and the groom. It included prayers for children, prayers for boys and girls at their confirmation ceremony, devotions for the recovery of sick spouses of either sex, and a "Prayer of the Father of a Family for Sustenance and Domestic Happiness" next to the prayer of a wife and mother.⁵⁸

In the early modern period, collections of Yiddish *tkhines* had contained occasional supplications for men. Yet Morgenstern and Ritter's as well as Präger's prayer book were geared toward men and women equally. The authors of these nineteenth-century books expected men to recite devotions in the vernacular, on issues pertaining to their functions as sons, fathers, and spouses in the domestic realm. In this way, they would be praying as women had done for centuries. Moreover, and perhaps even more surprisingly, Präger apparently intended the German-language prayers for use in the synagogue to be recited by men as well as by women. These devotions differed significantly from previously customary Yiddish or Judeo-German translations in prayer books with Hebrew liturgy. Like *tkhines* and like nineteenth-century women's devotions for public worship, they related only loosely to the text of the synagogue liturgy. They were personal meditations that could be said at certain holidays and during certain parts of the

As a communal prayer book, Präger's work possessed the characteristics of contemporary devotional literature for women. It was emblematic for its novel emphasis on domestic devotion and its unprecedented esteem for prayer in the vernacular, prayer that included men. Präger's *Gebet- und Erbauungsbuch für Israeliten* promoted a new culture of synagogue devotion in which the distinction and the hierarchy between male and female worshippers subsided.

PRAYER-BOOK TRANSLATIONS, PRAYER-BOOK REFORM, AND DOMESTIC WORSHIP FOR BOTH SEXES

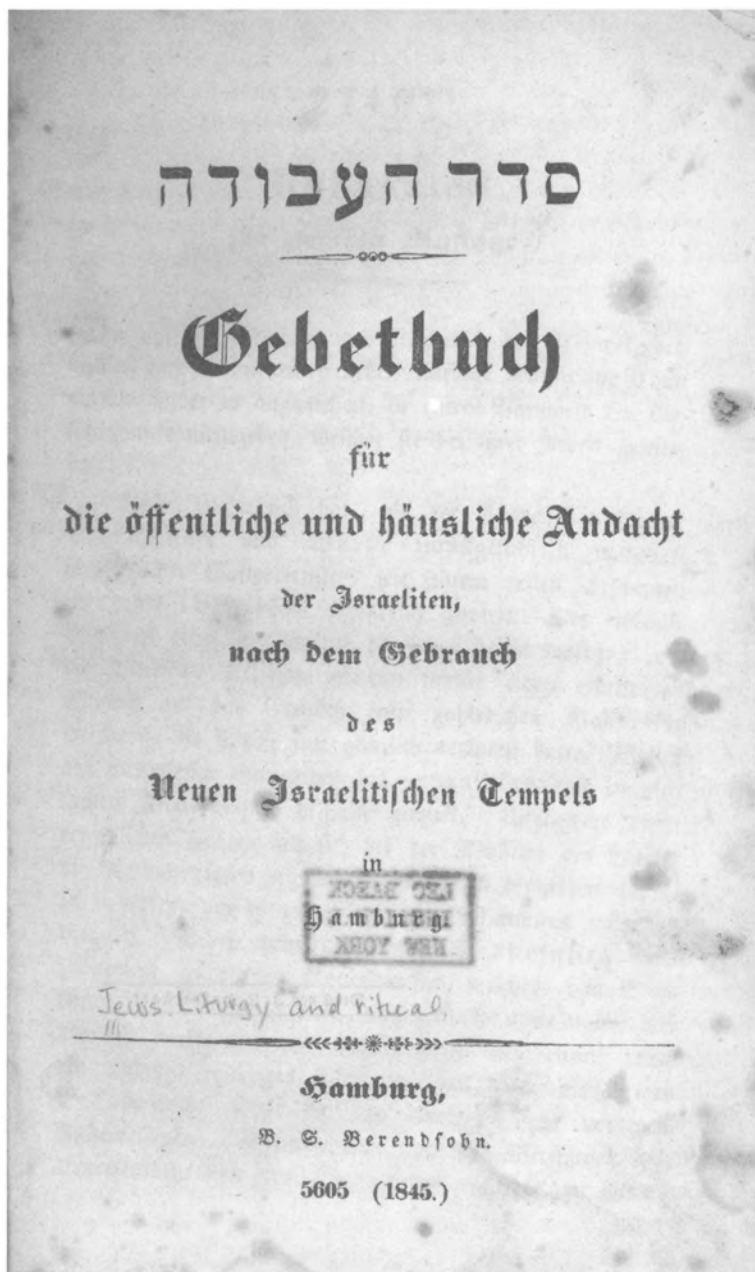
In the nineteenth century, the gender and language politics of German-Jewish worship underwent a significant transformation. Communal prayer books began to include German-language domestic devotions for both sexes. This innovation as well as the introduction of German into nineteenth-century synagogue liturgy changed men's and women's positions in public worship. The transition from Yiddish- to German-language translations of the Hebrew prayers in prayer books played a key role in this development. Translations into Yiddish in early modern *siddurim* had possessed little prestige. Geared toward women and men who had a weak command of the Hebrew language, they had served solely as a means to an end. Worshippers had not valued Yiddish translations as carefully composed texts in a venerated language. This situation began to change in the late eighteenth century, when *maskilim* created the first German and Judeo-German translations of Hebrew prayer books.⁵⁹

The first German and Judeo-German translations of Hebrew prayer books fulfilled an educational purpose. The authors of German-language prayer books, as Jewish Enlighteners, had adopted the notion that a cultivated German was the key to cultural refinement, moral improvement, and social integration. In this vein, Eduard Kley declared in 1817 in the introduction to the prayer book for the reformed worship at the Beer temple in Berlin (where he served as preacher) that contemporaries held "seven times more sacred [than Hebrew] the language which belongs to the present, . . . and whose sounds delight us with every breath we take." While Hebrew was sacred to them as the language of the Bible and of an illustrious Jewish past, German, according to Kley, was the language with which a mother turned lovingly to her child, the language of "magnificent talk and instruction," and the language of friendship and communion among the German people.⁶⁰ A German translation, therefore, represented more than a tool for understanding a prayer in a foreign tongue. In the eyes of reformers such as

Yet the German and Judeo-German translations of Hebrew liturgy in the 1780s were not intended for public use in the synagogue. Isaak Abraham Euchel, a leading *maskil* of the late eighteenth century, explained in the introduction to his German-language prayer book from 1786 that Jewish men and women would profit from reading the German prayers carefully and from comparing them to the Hebrew text. Then, according to Euchel, worshippers would be able to raise their hearts to God in true devotion.⁶¹ German, for him, did not replace Hebrew prayers.

Even when Israel Jacobson included German prayers, German-language hymns, and sermons in High German in the reformed worship he introduced in Berlin in 1815, the liturgy recited aloud in his private synagogue and later in the Beer temple consisted overwhelmingly of traditional Hebrew prayers.⁶² Yet Kley and Günsburg's prayer book announced proudly in its title: *Die Deutsche Synagoge: Oder, Ordnung des Gottesdienstes für die Sabbath- und Festtage des ganzen Jahres zum Gebrauche der Gemeinden, die sich der deutschen Gebete bedienen* (The German Synagogue: Or, Order of Worship for Sabbath and Holidays of the Entire Year for Use in the Congregations which Employ German Prayers).⁶³ When the book was conceived, no Jewish community in Germany other than the reformers in Berlin had introduced any substantial changes in public worship or prayed in German.⁶⁴ However, the Berlin prayer book by Kley and Günsburg was entirely in German. Some of the German texts in *Die Deutsche Synagoge* were used in the service communally, such as newly composed German hymns that were sung, German translations of customary Hebrew prayers that the prayer leader recited, and sections of prayers that the congregation said aloud. Yet primarily, the book contained German translations of prayers that worshippers communally recited in Hebrew. As previously, during most of the service, worshippers who were not fluent in Hebrew could follow the liturgy with the help of a translation, for which German had replaced Yiddish or Judeo-German. Yet presumably primarily the men, who recited the Hebrew prayers, still used the traditional *siddur* in addition to the new prayer book.

In contrast to this arrangement, the Hamburg Temple adopted the first comprehensive prayer book for a reformed synagogue worship. In Hamburg, the reformers held services along the lines of their contemporaries in Berlin. They introduced sermons in High German and German hymns, and German-language prayers replaced and supplemented the largely Hebrew liturgy. Yet the prayer book that the congregation issued in 1819 included the Hebrew prayers as well as the parts of the service that were held in German. Together with the Hebrew text of the prayers that the congregation recited in Hebrew, the worshipper found on the same page a Ger-



4.2. Title page of the second edition of the Hamburg Temple prayer book of 1841, *Seder ha-avodah: Prayer Book for Public and Domestic Devotion* (Hamburg, 1845). *Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.*

in Sephardic pronunciation. The new Hamburg prayer book could thus be used by everyone, regardless of his or her Hebrew language skills. This had also been the case with traditional *siddurim* that included a Yiddish or Judeo-German translation. Now, however, a part of the service was also held in the vernacular.⁶⁵

In 1841, when the Hamburg Temple was established as the model of Jewish Reform internationally, it issued a second, substantially expanded edition of its prayer book, called *Seder ha-avodah: Gebetbuch für die öffentliche und häusliche Andacht* (Order of the Worship: Prayer Book for Public and Domestic Devotion). With this *siddur*, the Hamburg Reformers again moved into uncharted territory. They intended the book, which still was a modernized German version of a *siddur* for use in the synagogue like the previous edition, to also satisfy the need for private, domestic devotion.⁶⁶

In addition to the liturgy for Sabbath and holidays, the *Gebetbuch* now also included German-language morning and evening prayers for weekdays as well as prayers for circumcisions, weddings, funerals, and a grace over meals. Only the grace over meals was strictly geared toward the domestic realm. Yet before 1841, prayer books had not used their titles to advertise that they may be used for private worship too. In fact, the phrase “for public and domestic devotion” in a title formed the hallmark of nineteenth-century women’s prayer books from Beer’s volume in 1815 and Miro’s collections of modernized *tkhines*, to Neuda’s prayer book and many other devotional manuals for women. Merely German-language hymn books had featured designations such as “for public and domestic worship” in their titles.⁶⁷ However, nineteenth-century German pedagogues and theologians, rabbis, and preachers regarded the home as an important religious sphere, in which culturally refined families were expected to cultivate morality, *Bildung*, and virtue. Accordingly, the authors of the Hamburg Reform prayer book from 1841 encouraged Jews to use their publication for domestic worship, too.

Several years later, at the second rabbinical conference in 1845, German rabbis and preachers discussed the urgent need for more devotional literature for the home, and debated whether communal prayer books should be able to fulfill this function. Most concurred that public and domestic devotion possessed very different characteristics and that German Jewry desperately wanted a literature specifically created for the religious needs of the home. In addition to the already existing commission for prayer-book reform, therefore, the second rabbinical conference established a committee to promote “sound books of devotions for the domestic religious life.”⁶⁸ The commission for domestic devotional literature seems not to have brought forth Jewish prayer books. Yet individual rabbis, preachers,

and pedagogues increased their efforts to provide devotional literature for domestic worship. Rabbi Joseph Maier, for instance, took up the concept of a communal prayer book serving men and women as a manual for both reformed domestic and public devotion. As a leader of the Reform movement, Maier had presided over the first rabbinical conference in 1844, was a member of the commission for domestic devotional literature at the second rabbinical assembly, and at the time was serving as ecclesiastical counselor of Wurttemberg, the highest and government-sanctioned Jewish official in the state. With his *Israelitisches Gebet- und Andachtsbuch, zum Gebrauche bei der häuslichen und öffentlichen Gottesverehrung* (Israelite Prayer Book and Book of Devotion for Use at Domestic and Public Worship), published in 1848, he aimed to contribute to the cultural, spiritual, and civic improvement of his co-religionists.⁶⁹

In the 1840s, only the Hamburg Temple and the Reform congregation in Berlin possessed and used modernized prayer books. Other communities had enhanced decorum in the synagogue, had introduced German sermons and choral singing, had established choirs and abbreviated the service, and were holding confirmation ceremonies. Some modifications of the Hebrew liturgy became common, but conservative forces usually resisted replacing Hebrew prayers by German ones or introducing a comprehensively revised liturgy as the Reformers in Hamburg and Berlin had done. Even in Frankfurt, where public devotions with German sermons and hymns had taken place in the Philanthropin since 1814, and where the Reform rabbi Leopold Stein had introduced changes in the liturgy, the community still appears to have used a traditional prayer book.⁷⁰

Maier, too, was realistic enough not to expect that his new prayer book could replace the conventional *siddur* in Wurttemberg's synagogues. Thus in the introduction of his book, he invited worshippers to use the *Israelitisches Gebet- und Andachtsbuch* in the synagogue in addition to the regular prayer book. Many an Israelite and in particular the youth, Maier claimed, lacked Hebrew proficiency, often attended the synagogue solely for the sake of the sermon, and during the remaining services tended to suffer boredom and were prone to distraction. Therefore, his book offered German translations and transpositions of the Hebrew liturgy, sometimes supplemented by the original Hebrew text, and provided Israelites who could not follow the Hebrew service edification "in the mother tongue in true Israelite manner."⁷¹ Jewish leaders such as Maier hoped that, eventually, this new, truly dignified and refined style of Jewish worship in the German language would replace the established practices of synagogue devotion in Hebrew.⁷²

In addition to catering to the synagogue worshipper, Maier's *Israelitisches Gebet- und Andachtsbuch* offered Jewish families prayers and meditations for domestic devotion. Indeed, this purpose is indicated in its title.

The sections for private devotion included morning and evening prayers for adults and children; meditations for Friday evening and Sabbath morning; prayers for fathers, mothers, widows, brides, and sick family members; and devotions for deceased parents and spouses of either sex. In the prayer for a father, the worshipper petitioned God to sustain him and his family and to support his efforts to promote “the spiritual welfare” and moral integrity of his children. The mother, in a parallel prayer, asked God to keep her children safe, to give her strength for providing a model of *Sittlichkeit* (morality) and virtue for the young, and to protect her husband from danger.⁷³ These prayers thus did not differ in the slightest from devotions in contemporary Jewish women’s prayer books, and had evolved from early modern *tkhine* literature. They were modern, bourgeois *tkhines* in which men and women alike were expected to address God in the vernacular, to reflect on their moral and social responsibilities in the family, and to seek edification in the privacy of the home. Maier’s prayer book combined devotions for domestic and public worship, as volumes of early modern women’s prayers had done, and as nineteenth-century devotional literature for women and Moses Präger’s *Gebet- und Erbauungsbuch* continued to do. Yet Präger and Maier had not composed women’s prayer books containing devotions for men. Rather, they had published reformed communal prayer books, devised to supplement established *siddurim* and to promote contemporary forms of devotion among men and women.

The prayer books by Präger and Maier did not constitute isolated efforts. In mid-nineteenth century, communal prayer books increasingly featured modern devotions for both men and women in the German language. In 1861, Maier published another *siddur* with a section of prayers for men and women to say at home or at the cemetery. The reform-minded rabbi Levi Herzfeld from Brunswick, who had been elected with Maier into the commission for domestic devotional literature at the second rabbinical conference, in 1855 issued a predominantly German-language prayer book. The text contained devotions for the synagogue and German translations and adaptations of Hebrew liturgy. Like Maier’s *Gebet- und Andachtsbuch* from 1848, Herzfeld’s volume was meant for silent prayer in German during a synagogue service held in Hebrew. Joseph Levin Saalschütz, a Jewish preacher in Königsberg, published a prayer book along the same lines in 1859, and Ludwig Philippson, one of the most prominent nineteenth-century rabbis and founder as well as longstanding editor of German Jewry’s foremost Jewish newspaper, the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, followed in 1864 with his *Neues israelitisches Gebetbuch für die Wochentage, Sabbath und alle Feste, zum Gebrauche während des Gottesdienstes und bei der häuslichen Andacht* (New Israelite Prayer Book for Weekdays, Sabbath and all Holidays, for Use during Worship and for Do-

mestic Devotion). Besides offering Hebrew synagogue liturgy and German translations or adaptations, Philippson's book contained more than thirty prayers and meditations for private devotion. His selection included the "Prayer of the Spouses," the "Prayer of Siblings," "The Vocation of the Man," "The Vocation of the Woman," "In Passionate Excitement," "In Pressing Worry," "In Danger of War," "In Sickness," "When Departing on a Journey," and "In the Family," as well as a prayer that a woman could recite before giving birth, a prayer of the father after his wife had given birth, and prayers for the cemetery.⁷⁴

Furthermore, the communal prayer book of the Berlin Reform congregation contained prayers for domestic devotion in German. Among its selections were morning and evening prayers and supplications for sick family members. Leopold Stein, Reform rabbi in Frankfurt, included German hymns as well as prayers for "silent devotion" in the Sabbath and holiday liturgy of his communal prayer book from 1860.⁷⁵ In Stein's *siddur*, the synagogue choir was joined by the congregants to sing hymns and chorals or to chant Psalms after the main, Hebrew-language part of the service. Then the worshippers engaged in private, silent devotion, each "according to his condition and the temper of his soul [*Gemüthsstimmung*]," until finally the communal service resumed with the sermon.⁷⁶ The silent devotions in Stein's prayer book included meditations for holidays as well as prayers for the father, the mother, widows and orphans, sick family members, brides and grooms, and prayers for mourners. Here, a communal service made room for worshippers to address God in the vernacular in private prayers, which corresponded to the prayers "for domestic devotion" in Präger's, Maier's, and Philippson's volumes.

Whether to be said at home, read during public Hebrew-language worship, or meditated upon in a section of the service specifically devoted to silent devotion, the supplications and meditations in the prayer books expected worshippers to address God in German. Men and women expressed their fears and wishes in accordance with their positions in life and the family, and they reflected upon the meaning of significant events in the Jewish calendar. When doing so, men adopted a mode of prayer that had formerly constituted women's domain. While men technically remained bound to recite formulaic Hebrew prayers, Hebrew learning, as Maier and Philippson noted in the introductions to their German-language prayer book, had declined significantly among the Jewish population. Therefore, Maier, Philippson, and other contemporaries argued, devotion in the vernacular was necessary for both genders.⁷⁷

In previous generations, Jews had prized devotion and learning in the sacred tongue, while holding little respect for prayer and literature in the

many Reformers believed that Hebrew liturgy should be retained at least in parts of the synagogue service and that children should continue to learn Hebrew, the German language—in the eyes of even the most observant though acculturated German Jew—represented spiritual ennoblement, moral betterment, and true edification.⁷⁸ Though Philippson, for instance, argued that Hebrew fulfilled an indispensable function for the survival of the Jewish community and connected modern Jews to the religion of their forefathers and to the history of the Jewish people, he nevertheless claimed that most worshippers no longer found in the old Hebrew prayers “the expression of their heart.” In the synagogue and even more so at home, “veritable devotion and elevation of the heart” required prayers and meditations in the German language.⁷⁹ For Philippson and his contemporaries, German was the vernacular in which Jews were accustomed to express their felicity, anguish, hopes, and fears. Moreover and most importantly, refined, well-phrased German was the language of Goethe and Schiller and carried all the cultural implications of the religiosity of *Bildung*. In the world of nineteenth-century bourgeois culture, German literature, German-language sermons, and prayer in German were believed to awaken the holiest sentiments, to promote morality and character formation, and to bring the reader or listener in reach of the sublime. Accordingly, Abraham Geiger made the famous confession “that a German prayer aroused in him a deeper devotion than did a Hebrew prayer,” and David Einhorn, rabbi in Baltimore, still declared years after having left Germany, that German was the “language of our spirit and our heart.”⁸⁰ He believed that a truly inspired and dignified synagogue service needed to include German.

Only in the Reform congregations of Hamburg and Berlin did Reformers replace segments of the Hebrew liturgy with German prayers. By contrast, modern Orthodox leaders insisted on all male worshippers saying the halakhically commanded Hebrew prayers and also encouraged women to pray in Hebrew. In all other German houses of worship, that were neither radical Reform nor explicitly Orthodox synagogues, prayer leaders recited the prescribed Hebrew liturgy aloud, but rabbis increasingly invited female as well as male worshippers to turn to prayer books with German-language devotions. Men who read meditations in German during the synagogue service and who said modern prayers in the vernacular at home, acted “like women.” Yet German Jews considered praying “like women” no longer a culturally inferior, socially disgraceful act. Rather, praying in German, contemplating family life, and reading German devotions during public worship represented—for men and women alike—edification, moral uplifting, and a most lofty spiritual experience. The gender order of the Jewish culture of prayer had undergone a deep transformation. Men’s and women’s modes of devotion no longer constituted two distinct, hierar-

chically organized religious practices. Prayer-book reform challenged male supremacy and women's inferior position in Jewish worship and religious culture, and the increasing use of the German language in communal prayer books accelerated this process.

THE COMMUNAL PRAYER BOOKS OF MID-CENTURY AND THE FIRST FEMINIST HAGGADAH

Prayer books such as those by Maier and Philippon included, on the one hand, German-language supplicatory prayers and meditations on family life for both sexes. On the other hand, they offered men and women linguistically and stylistically exacting German translations and adaptations of synagogue liturgy. Parallel to these volumes and to more radical examples used by the Reform congregations of Hamburg and Berlin, a larger number of Jewish communities in Germany began to introduce revised *siddurim* in the 1850s. In these publications, the authors, most commonly Reform-minded communal rabbis, took the needs and sensibilities of the conservative members in their communities into account, while providing contemporary manuals of dignified devotion appropriate for the more forward-looking men and women of refined and modern taste.⁸¹ The writers achieved their goal by including the traditional Hebrew liturgy, as it was recited in the synagogue, as well as German adaptations of Hebrew prayers on the same or the opposite page.⁸² Thus, the service was invariably held in Hebrew, and in communal prayer books the Hebrew prayers and their German-language equivalents found a place next to each other. The layout of the books did not give priority to one or the other text.

Conversely, prayer books with Yiddish or Judeo-German translations usually printed the vernacular text in smaller letters or at the bottom of the page, and entirely Yiddish-language *siddurim* had catered to the culturally secondary group of women and unlearned men. Judeo-German and Yiddish translations had fulfilled the single purpose of giving the uneducated access to the liturgy. But by the 1860s, prayer book editions with Judeo-German translations formed the exception. Exclusively Hebrew-language *siddurim* still appeared, but an increasing number of communal prayer books featured Hebrew and German devotions side by side. German prayers and meditations in these nineteenth-century bilingual prayer books were more than mere translations of the Hebrew liturgy. As Philippon pointed out, translations—even into the most elegant German prose—could not satisfy the spiritual needs of the modern worshipper.⁸³ In order not to offend contemporary sensibilities, the texts of the Hebrew prayers required fundamental revision and had to be freely reworked prayers and med-

itations (it was thought) could guide culturally sophisticated men and women to true devotion.

The departure of the German text from its Hebrew source was not only a question of style and taste, but Reform rabbis also used the combination of unaltered Hebrew liturgy and freely transposed German texts to bridge the gap among their congregants. Rabbis such as Abraham Geiger in Breslau, Leopold Stein in Frankfurt, and Joseph Aub in Mainz published *siddurim* for their ideologically divided communities along these lines. In their prayer books, the text of the Hebrew liturgy remained untouched so that worshippers who opposed any change to Halakhah and to the established principles in Judaism could pray in Hebrew without being faced with Reform ideology. However, reworked German translations incorporated the ideas of the Reform movement. Thus, references to the return to Zion and the restoration of animal sacrifices in a reconstructed Temple in messianic times, which formed part of the Hebrew liturgy, tended to be omitted in German adaptations. Geiger, for instance, rendered the tenet of physical resurrection ambiguously as “renewal of life.”⁸⁴

When it came to the blessing *she lo asani ishah*, in which Jewish men thanked God for not having been created as women, Reform rabbis at times altered more than the German rendering of the Hebrew blessing. Isaak Abraham Euchel had included this prayer in his German translation of the Hebrew *siddur*, which had first appeared in 1786, and had argued that the benediction did not reflect a denigration of women in Judaism.⁸⁵ A century later, the leader of modern Orthodoxy Samson Raphael Hirsch still held the same view and also some non-Orthodox prayer books continued to feature the customary prayer both in the Hebrew text and in German translations, including the blessing that women traditionally said when reciting this prayer: “Praised be God, . . . who created me according to his will.”⁸⁶ The Hamburg Temple prayer book from 1841, conversely, did not include the Hebrew prayer with the *she-lo-asani-ishah* benediction. In the same vein, Philippson’s prayer book from 1864 omitted any expression of gratefulness for not being a woman in the German version of what he called “Ritual Morning Prayers on Weekdays.” Not surprisingly, the prayer book of the Reform congregation in Berlin neither included the traditional blessing nor any modern equivalent. Likewise, Maier’s prayer book from 1848 refrained from privileging men over women in its private, German-language devotions for weekday mornings.⁸⁷

Some of the fully bilingual communal prayer books that began to emerge in the 1850s, however, went further and changed the Hebrew text of the *she-lo-asani-ishah* blessing. In these cases, they diverged from their policy of presenting the Hebrew liturgy unaltered and adapting the German transpositions to contemporary tastes and Reform ideology. Maier, in

his *Seder tefilah* (Order of Prayer) from 1861, used the Hebrew version in which women recited “Praised be God, . . . who created me according to his will,” as the blessing for men and women.⁸⁸ In the prayer book issued in 1866 for use in the New Synagogue of Berlin (one of Germany’s largest and most splendid newly erected houses of worship), the author and by then rabbi of the Berlin Jewish community Joseph Aub replaced the traditional prayer with “Praised be God, . . . who created me as an Israelite.” Abraham Geiger in Breslau changed the *she-lo-asani-ishah* benediction into “Praised be God, . . . who created me as his servant.”⁸⁹ These changes were not arbitrary. Rather, each involved an ideological stance and requires an explanation.

In the established liturgy, the benediction “Praised be God, . . . who did not create me as a woman,” is preceded by the blessings “Praised be God, . . . who did not create me as a Gentile,” and “Praised be God, . . . who did not create me as a slave.” The three benedictions construct a symmetrical hierarchy between masters and slaves, men and women, and Jews and Gentiles. While the opposites masters–slaves and men–women could also refer to different standings in the social order, this distinction does not apply to the pair Jews–Gentiles. In fact, the three blessings do not primarily address relationships of social or political power. Rather, in the benedictions, free Jewish men thank the Creator for giving them the duty and the honor of being bound to perform the full range of ritual commandments, while Gentiles, slaves, and women are held responsible for a much smaller number of religious and moral obligations. The commentary on the prayers by Samson Raphael Hirsch confirms this interpretation. Hirsch noted that even though Halakhah holds women responsible for performing fewer ritual obligations, by fulfilling their religious duties as free women, they also honor the covenant between the Divine and the people of Israel and earn God’s favor.⁹⁰

Geiger’s “Praised be God, . . . who created me as his servant” thus stays closest to the original meaning of the blessings, though without pointing to any difference between the ritual obligations of men and women. Aub’s “Praised be God, . . . who created me as an Israelite” can be read in the same vein. Those worshippers who did not consider themselves bound any longer by Halakhah and by ritual commandments had the option to interpret the blessing in much more general terms. Interestingly, Geiger’s and Aub’s new compositions not only substituted for the *she-lo-asani-ishah* benediction, but replaced all three traditional blessings. Geiger, thereby, seemed to suggest that Jews and Gentiles, men and women, masters and dependents were all equally engaged in serving God. This statement possessed particular pungency, since the Hebrew word *eved*, which Geiger used for *ervant* in the word from the second of the original blessings, which in

the context of halakhic Judaism and rabbinic Hebrew is best rendered as *slave*. Aub, conversely, held up the distinction between Israelites and Gentiles—or members of other faiths. Maier, in contrast to both Geiger and Aub, left the customary sequence of the three benedictions intact, replacing, as mentioned, the *she-lo-asani-ishah* blessing with the more unspecific “Praised be God, . . . who created me according to his will,” and substituting “Praised be God, . . . who did not created me as a Gentile” with “Praised be God, . . . who created me as an Israelite.” While this arrangement allows a variety of interpretations, most obviously perhaps it seems that Maier was mainly concerned with removing potentially offensive phrasing.

In communal prayer books published in the 1850s and 1860s, the Reform rabbis Maier, Aub, and Geiger thus not only rendered the established Hebrew liturgy in freely reworked German transpositions, but also reshaped the Hebrew text of the prayer containing the *she-lo-asani* benediction. On the one hand, worshippers could understand the rephrased blessings as expressing general gratitude for being created according to God’s will, for being Jewish, for being free, emancipated, or not oppressed, or for being able to serve God beyond the framework of rabbinic Judaism. On the other hand, read within the context of Halakhah, the new Hebrew benedictions expunged the notion of a distinct and inferior status of women inherent to the traditional prayer. Yet nothing suggests that these authors in fact wished to emancipate women within Jewish law, as Geiger had propagated two decades earlier.⁹¹ Without explicitly revising Jewish law and without raising the status of women within rabbinic Judaism, Geiger, Aub, and Maier solely discarded the notion of women’s different and inferior position that the established liturgy had expressed. Women’s improved position in nineteenth-century, German-Jewish culture stemmed from the rise of modern forms of religiosity rather than from women’s emancipation within Halakhah. Women gained unprecedented respect and inclusion in Jewish worship, as the culture of Jewish prayer changed in nineteenth-century Germany.

The increased visibility and importance of women in German Judaism was also expressed in two Passover Haggadot that paid particular attention to the female sex. In 1838, the sixty-year-old educator Jeremiah Heinemann, who had been a member of the Jewish consistory in the Napoleonic Kingdom of Westphalia and thereafter had played a prominent role in the reform of Judaism in Berlin, issued his German-language Haggadah. The publication read in its subtitle “to be used by female listeners [*Zuhörerinnen*], likewise by mistresses of the house who, without male assistance, want to deliver these lectures [*sic*] themselves.”⁹² Heinemann’s Haggadah featured an abbreviated German adaptation of the traditional Hebrew text,

which for centuries has been read during family celebrations of the Passover holiday, offered translations of the prayers, and explained the customary rituals. In his introduction, Heinemann declared that he had chosen German rather than Judeo-German for his *Haggadat Pesach*, because Latin letters were more easily accessible to Jewish women in his time. Moreover, he emphasized the need for an orthographically correct and stylistically appealing text. With his edition, Heinemann claimed, women could follow the recitation of the traditional, Hebrew-language Haggadah and be intellectually and spiritually engaged. He also suggested that widows who did not have recourse to male guidance and who did not know how to lead the Passover ceremony, could preside at their own Seder, the traditional holiday meal, by using his Haggadah.⁹³

Yiddish-language translations of the Hebrew Haggadah have existed since the Middle Ages. In at least in some communities, Jews had for some time read parts of the Haggadah aloud in the vernacular.⁹⁴ Heinemann, however, advocated that women recite the entire Haggadah in German, if they could not find a man to fulfill that task. Though it is halakhically permissible for a woman to lead a Seder, it is uncertain whether Jewish women in eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century Germany had indeed done so. Heinemann thus may have pioneered not only in providing a Haggadah in High German and Latin letters, but also in encouraging women to conduct a Seder.

The German-language Haggadah published by Leopold Stein in 1841 did not invite women to lead a family Seder.⁹⁵ Rather, Stein created a modern, dramatized version of the Passover account to include women's voices and to offer a female perspective of the reported events. Stein's text can be considered the first feminist Haggadah. The main body of his publication consisted of a traditional Hebrew-language Haggadah with Judeo-German directions between the Hebrew passages and a German translation on the opposite page. While this part of the book read from right to left like a Hebrew book, the publication consisted of a second part that read from left to right and was bound back to back with the Hebrew Haggadah. This book within the book contained a freely recounted German-language narrative of the Exodus story in dramatic form, as well as an appendix with German songs, including German translations of popular Passover songs such as *Ehad mi yodea* and *Had gadia*. In the introduction, Stein explained that he intended his publication to give new inspiration to "a festivity which belongs to the most beautiful and lofty of the heart-warming [*gemüthvoll*] Jewish family life." As he wrote it, he imagined a pious family gathering for the holiday, and he aimed at "involving its [the family's] different members into the plot, in order to render it [the account] more lively and animated."⁹⁶ Therefore, Stein had created a Haggadah that read like a stage

the German-language text constituted a narrative in its own right, the style of which was a matter of concern. Moreover, it was designed to be recited aloud. The German text now took precedent over the Hebrew account. When this shift occurred, women's marginal position at the Passover table subsided. As long as the recitation of the Haggadah in Hebrew stood at the core of the Passover ritual, women remained at the periphery of the holiday celebration. In Passover ceremonies, however, in which the Haggadah was read aloud in German, women could not merely follow the account, as they had done previously with the help of translations. Rather, like the men at the table, women now listened to the delivery of the Haggadah in German. Carefully composed German transpositions of the Hebrew text offered men and women alike a religious experience that conformed with nineteenth-century cultural sensibilities.

The changes in the gender order of nineteenth-century Judaism in Germany went hand in hand with a new politics of translation and with the reworking of Jewish devotional literature. The history of Yiddish translations of Hebrew liturgy reaches back to the medieval period; and prayer books with Judeo-German translations between the lines of the Hebrew text were issued until late into the nineteenth century. Devotional texts in the German language, however, gained a status that Yiddish translations of Hebrew liturgy and Yiddish-language paraliturgical devotions had not possessed. By the mid-nineteenth century, German Jews venerated German—the language of *Bildung*, of Goethe and Schiller, which expressed cultural refinement and social achievement—as Jews had not cherished a language but Hebrew for centuries. Perhaps only Arabic language and literacy for the Jews of medieval Spain had fulfilled a comparable function. German was more than a language. In a country that in the early nineteenth century consisted of multiple independent states, dukedoms, and free cities, German language and German culture played a crucial role in establishing a sense of unity and national identity. For Jews in particular, German and the program of *Bildung* stood for integration and marked social upward mobility. This culture of embourgeoisement included specific notions of aesthetics and moral ennoblement, introspection and self-improvement, religious sensitivity and family life. *Maskilim* and later Jewish leaders thus insisted that the prayer of an enlightened worshipper needed to be heartfelt, truly edifying, and personal.

These ideas were not foreign to Jewish culture. The principle of *kavanah* (devotional intent) and the concept of *devekut* (communion with God during prayer) have formed an integral part of rabbinic Judaism, and came to prominence in the movements of religious renewal in nineteenth-century Eastern Europe in Hasidism and in the Musar movement. In fact,

Hasidism greatly emphasized emotional involvement and spiritual elevation in prayer, and in the teachings of the Musar movement, self-exploration and ethical improvement constituted goals in their own rights. Yet as Hasidic and Musar doctrines remained embedded in the framework of Halakhah, which focused on the observance of *mitzvot* and on the dedication to Talmud Torah, they primarily (if not exclusively) addressed men. Praying with *kavanah*, in this context, meant that the worshipper recited a prayer that he was commanded to say with full concentration, spiritual awareness, and emotional involvement.¹⁰⁰

In nineteenth-century Germany, the halakhic dimension of Jewish prayer that privileged men continued to structure synagogue worship. The recitation of time-bound, standardized Hebrew liturgy as the fulfillment of a religious commandment unvaryingly constituted a male prerogative that was to be performed in an exclusively male prayer quorum. Modern Orthodox leaders, in particular, did not cease to insist on the necessity of halakhically defined prayer and Hebrew learning for men. However, modern Orthodox rabbis and pedagogues also encouraged women to pray in Hebrew and made efforts to educate girls in traditional Hebrew literature. Beyond the small Orthodox communities, though, the number of women who were literate in Hebrew and who could recite and understand Hebrew prayers did not grow. On the contrary, in the nineteenth century, overall Hebrew literacy declined among German Jews. In the synagogue, translations of the Hebrew liturgy and paraliturgical prayers in the vernacular increasingly catered to both sexes rather than primarily to women. Thus, in the Jewish culture of bourgeois devotion, the gap between women and their male counterparts narrowed, and more men came to behave “like women.” Yet the act of addressing God individually and freely in German was not tainted by the stigma of forming the devotional practice of socially inferior *nashim ve-’amei ha-arets* (women and the ignorant), as praying in Yiddish had been. Rather, when they worshipped in German, at home or in the synagogue, self-respecting German Jews, who sought cultural refinement and moral ennoblement, performed highly valued religious acts.

The fact that praying “like a woman” constituted, in nineteenth-century Germany, an acclaimed form of worship for Jewish women as well as for men, undermined the established gender order of the Jewish culture of prayer. New approaches and changes to Jewish ritual went hand in hand with the decline of a system of gender organization in the culture of Jewish prayer in which male superiority over women had been predicated on men’s duty and men’s exclusive right to recite liturgical prayers communally in Hebrew with a *minyan*. The shift from Yiddish to German; the extraordinary prestige of the German language in bourgeois culture; the function of

temporaries' investment in the subjective experience of the worshipper; German Jews' notions of spiritual, cultural, and social betterment through devotion; the valorization of the domestic realm, of family life, and of *Sittlichkeit*, *Bildung*, and religiosity, all contributed to the transformation of Jewish worship and its gender order. In a cultural universe in which Halakhah no longer formed the dominant framework for Jewish prayer, the hierarchical division between men's and women's devotional practices eroded.

FIVE

Bourgeois Synagogue Devotion



In the synagogue, Jewish men from antiquity on recited ritually prescribed prayers, read from the Torah during worship, and studied rabbinic literature. The community of worshippers consisted exclusively of men, as women could not participate in communal study nor in the public Torah reading, and could not be counted in a *minyan*. Regular synagogue attendance constituted a form of female piety, too, but it took place at the margins of male worship. In the nineteenth century, German Jewry recast the gender order of the culture of public worship. Jews embraced the lifestyle and value system of the rising middle classes into which they sought to integrate and adopted bourgeois cultural sensibilities. As a part of this project of social and cultural embourgeoisement, they transformed synagogue services into orderly, dignified, and carefully orchestrated spectacles, in which worshippers expected to be emotionally stimulated and spiritually uplifted by the well-trained voices of a choir and by the rabbis' sermons in beautifully phrased German. In the emerging culture of Jewish middle-class worship, men played an increasingly passive role, women reached an unprecedented degree of inclusion, and women's and men's positions become more similar to each other.

This process began in the second decade of the nineteenth century, when reformers in Seesen, Cassel, Berlin, Hamburg, and Frankfurt created abbreviated services with German-language prayers, choral and organ music, and most significantly with sermons that aimed to ennoble the souls and the intellects of the worshippers. Seated in open galleries or even on the same floor as men, women experienced new forms of integration in these services. Women's status in Jewish worship rose, as the character of synagogue devotion changed. In German synagogues, where Halakhah and Talmud Torah had defined worship, novel notions of devotion and edifica-

timent moved into the foreground. Honors such as the privilege of reading from the Torah during the service remained male privileges, and technically only men were required to recite the Hebrew liturgy. However, these practices lost their supreme status in Jewish worship.

Rabbis, preachers, and Jewish educators in nineteenth-century Germany insisted that synagogue services ought to provide edification, moral elevation, and an aesthetically appealing experience to women as well as to men. The purpose of the service was expanded beyond primarily offering men the possibility to fulfill the halakhic obligation of active prayer. During large parts of public worship services, both men and women came to form an audience whom rabbis, preachers, cantors, and choirs strove to engage spiritually and emotionally. The equalization of the sexes in this culture of bourgeois religiosity found its most marked expression in mixed choirs and confirmation ceremonies for boys and girls. It remained true that modern Orthodox congregations rejected confirmation ceremonies, barred females from singing in synagogue choirs, continued to confirm their commitment to halakhic concepts of ritually prescribed prayer, and expected worshippers to raise their voices in prayer and song—though in a highly circumscribed manner. Yet, like their Reform-minded contemporaries, Orthodox Jews emphasized decorum and desired carefully orchestrated services to be spiritually uplifting, emotionally enriching, and morally ennobling. Bourgeois ideas and practices of edification moved away from what had formed the core, purpose, and substance of pre-modern synagogue culture: halakhically defined prayer and Talmud Torah. In the novel, bourgeois culture of religiosity, women became part of a redefined community of worshippers.

FROM PRE-MODERN WORSHIP TO THE EARLY REFORM SERVICES

Halakhah held only Jewish men responsible for assembling regularly for public worship. However, in medieval and early modern Ashkenaz, women had also attended synagogues and some communities maintained separate women's prayer rooms. These "women's synagogues" (*Weiberschulen* or *Frauensynagogen*), as they were called, could be found along a wall of the main hall of the sanctuary where the men worshiped. They were usually connected to the men's prayer hall by small openings in the wall, were sometimes elevated above the level of the main sanctuary, or at times were located in the basement. Occasionally, the "women's synagogue" even seems to have been housed in an entirely separate building in proximity to the male place of worship. In some synagogues that lacked women's prayer

a curtain or installing a screen, in particular when a sermon or a lecture was given. Such a partition, known as *mehizab*, was necessary because contemporaries believed and Orthodox halakhic opinion insisted (as it still does today) that the sight or the voice of a woman threatens to arouse and to distract a man during worship and thereby impairs the value of his prayer.¹ Halakhically, the single most important function of a synagogue is to provide a space for Jewish men to recite the Hebrew liturgy and to communally read from the Torah scroll, as Jewish law commands males to do. Yet for centuries communities have valued women's participation in public worship highly enough to establish special quarters for them. Still, the location and the character of women's annexes leave no doubt that pre-modern Jewish society considered women's devotion secondary and inferior.

Communities allotted less space to women and decorated and furnished women's sections more sparingly than the men's prayer room. Only the main hall housed the Torah, the Ark, and the *bimah* (platform with the desk from which the Torah is read). Women remained at a distance from the objects and areas that were invested with sanctity. Solely the hall in which men conducted the service was a sanctuary in the full sense of the word. In early modern Europe, this hierarchical division between the sexes began to assume more moderate forms, when women's galleries became a common feature. New synagogues were sometimes built with balconies for women, or galleries were added to existing sanctuaries. In the same vein, some communities created openings in the wall between the men's prayer hall and an elevated women's synagogue so that the women's annex would look like a balcony. In other cases, contemporaries removed grilles from elevated, separate women's prayer rooms.² Many of these galleries still had high balustrades that barred the view to the main floor, but women appear to have frequented them diligently. The widow Glikl bas Judah Leib, better known as Glikl of Hameln, reported in her memoirs that on the morning of a Jewish holiday in 1715, more than fifty women had sat on the upper gallery of the synagogue in Metz, while she and other female worshippers found places on a lower gallery. Glikl indeed seems to have recited morning prayers in the synagogue on a regular basis.³

Gravestones and *memorbooks* (memorial lists) praised women for attending public services daily, and the Yiddish-language Bible companion and commentary *Tsenerene* highly valued female synagogue attendance.⁴ Thus in early modern Ashkenaz, women were encouraged to worship in the synagogue. Yet their participation in public prayer remained severely restricted. Being seating in a side room or on a gallery maintained a woman's marginal position, and in the spiritual economy of rabbinic Judaism, a woman's devotion carried less value than that of a man, no matter how piously and consistently she attended the synagogue. However, changes in the

culture of Jewish worship in nineteenth-century Germany began to undermine this age-old hierarchy between men and women in Jewish worship.

The first reformed services in Germany that took place in Seesen and Cassel in the Napoleonic Kingdom of Westphalia seem to have catered primarily to male worshippers. The synagogues in which Jewish leaders began to introduce significant innovations were attached to modern boys' schools. In the services at the Cassel school, students recited an abbreviated liturgy in Hebrew and German rather than the traditional Hebrew one, and they sang newly introduced hymns. After the customary Torah reading, a student recited the equivalent passages from Moses Mendelssohn's German Bible translation. Most importantly, the teachers who led the services took great care that the prayers were recited slowly and clearly, that students understood what they said, and that respectful silence and pious devotion reigned during worship. These services came to an end when, in 1813, the Kingdom of Westphalia fell and the Jewish consistory disbanded. Yet the reform of Jewish worship was continued in the private synagogue opened by Israel Jacobson in 1815 in his home, after he had left Westphalia and established himself in Berlin. The worship in Jacobson's house was distinguished from other private Jewish prayer meetings in the city by organ music, regular German-language sermons, German hymns, the inclusion of German prayers, shorter services, and an emphasis on orderly and dignified proceedings.⁵ Though there is no evidence of women's attendance in the modernized services in the Kingdom of Westphalia, the reformed worship in Berlin clearly attracted women.

It stands to reason that Amalia Beer took an interest in the services that soon were moved from Jacobson's home to the more spacious residence of her own family. Dedicated to Judaism and to the nascent reform of Judaism, highly cultured and self-confident, Beer may very well have had a hand in arranging the relocation. In fact, Eduard Kley, who was one of the preachers at the Beer temple and an emerging protagonist of early synagogue reform, had been the tutor of Beer's son Michael and had lived with the family from 1809 to 1815. Conceivably, the cultivated and sophisticated Beer, who was in her forties, shaped the views of the young Kley as much as he influenced her. Indeed, Kley came to regard female religiosity highly, and in 1817, it was he who conducted the first recorded confirmation ceremony for Jewish girls in a sanctuary. It took place in the Beer temple. With this ceremony, Berlin reformers challenged the century-old marginalization of women in Jewish worship. At no time before in Jewish history, had girls or women stood in front of the Ark in an act that validated their place in the Jewish community in a comparable fashion. Indeed, women had rarely been able to approach the Ark and the Torah scrolls at all. In the services at the Beer temple, the seating arrangement in-

dicated that women no longer occupied a marginal or secondary position in worship. In the prayer hall that the Beer family had created in their large home, no partition appears to have separated the sexes. Men and women sat on the same level on different sides of the central section of the room that held the altar and the Torah shrine.⁶

Accordingly, when the members of the Beer temple appealed to the government not to outlaw the reformed Jewish services, they stressed the importance of the modernized worship for women. In fact, conservative members of the Jewish community opposed changes in synagogue worship, and Frederick William III of Prussia regarded the services in the Beer household with apprehension. While governments of other German states came to support synagogue reform and often imposed innovations on Jewish communities, the Prussian king feared that factionalization and dissent might result in political instability and subversion. He also aimed to Christianize and convert his Jewish subjects rather than to modernize Judaism. Consequently, Frederick William closed the Beer temple in December 1815. In the summer of 1817, the temple reopened but the situation remained precarious. The reformers who worshipped in the Beer temple were enmeshed in a battle with the king, ministers, and the traditionalist leadership of the Jewish community. A government official reported that the new community comprised 245 families, 162 unmarried men, 16 widows, and 12 unmarried women, and the reformers claimed that women and children in particular profited from the new-style services. According to the members of the Beer temple, the hitherto common form of worship failed to address the needs of the female population and of the young. None of these arguments nor a petition from the summer of 1823 prevented the Prussian government from permanently closing the Beer temple in the fall of the same year.⁷

In the meantime, Jewish reformers in Hamburg had created the Hamburg Temple, a synagogue in which modernized services made new room for women. Eduard Kley played a key role in the establishment of reformed worship in Hamburg and of the congregation that was to become the symbol of Reform Judaism in Germany. In 1817, Kley had come from Berlin to the Hanseatic city to accept a position as director of the local Jewish Free School.⁸

Immediately upon his arrival, he instituted devotional exercises at the school, scheduled them for Sunday mornings, and invited the parents of students as well as other interested men and women to attend. At the center of this weekly hour of devotion was an educational and edifying talk, given by Kley himself. Thereafter, a school choir, also founded by Kley on the day he assumed office, sang German and Hebrew hymns, the words and music of which, the new director had brought with him from Berlin.

The devotional exercises in the Jewish Free School found enthusiastic resonance among Hamburg's Jewry and prompted the founding of the *Neue Israelitische Tempel-Verein* (New Israelite Temple Association). In 1818, the association inaugurated the Hamburg Temple, where the reformers held abbreviated services with an organ and choir music, German prayers, and German-language sermons after the model of the Beer temple.⁹

The *Neue Israelitische Tempel-Verein* refrained from seating men and women on the same floor, yet the seating order in the Hamburg Temple still indicated a greater integration of women than had been common in European synagogues. The new house of worship offered women 107 seats in a gallery, while 142 men could sit on the ground floor of the sanctuary. As a unique feature of the Temple, the balustrade of the women's gallery lacked any additional partition. Women appear to have welcomed this open balcony as well as the German-language sermon and the new style of prayer service. In fact, Kley reported proudly that during the winter of 1818/1819, "the oldest and the youngest ladies, not only from Hamburg but even from Altona streamed to the temple" in all kinds of weather.¹⁰

Frankfurt Jewry, at the time, had also taken interest in the emerging mode of devotion that appealed to women in new ways. As in Cassel, Seesen, and Hamburg, the novel devotional practices had their beginning in a modern Jewish school. In the Free School of Frankfurt, the Philanthropin, which was founded in 1804, the students assembled each Sunday morning in the main hall of the building. There they sang religious hymns, accompanied by an organ, and a teacher delivered an educational and edifying talk. In 1813, Joseph Johlson, a thirty-seven-year-old reformer and educator whose father had served the Jewish community of nearby Fulda as acting rabbi, became the religion teacher at the school. He invited the public to join the hour of devotion at the Philanthropin, called *Andachtstunde*, which now took place on Saturday mornings instead of on Sunday. The *Andachtstunde* gained considerable popularity among Frankfurt Jews. By 1815, adults outnumbered the children in the service, and women attended more numerously than men. The *Andachtstunde*, however, was not a synagogue service. Held after regular worship services in the communal synagogues, the *Andachtstunde* continued to consist primarily of a German-language sermon, hymns, and organ music. It offered no Hebrew prayers and Torah readings and—as the Frankfurt scholar, reformer, and teacher at the Philanthropin Isaac Marcus Jost reported—"many Christians visit[ed] it regularly."¹¹ Yet for a significant segment of Frankfurt's Jewish population, the *Andachtstunde* replaced synagogue worship. In particular after 1828, when the Philanthropin had erected a hall with a balcony specifically for the weekly gatherings, many Jewish men and women attended the *Andacht-*

stunde rather than synagogue services. On the main floor of the new An-

dachtssaal (Hall of Devotion), male and female students, teachers, dignitaries, and paying community members with assigned seats mingled without distinction of sex. On the balcony, women and men, who were admitted without charge, sat separately.¹²

Thus, in Berlin, Hamburg, and Frankfurt, Jewish pedagogues, ideologues, rabbis, preachers, and lay leaders not only agitated for female synagogue attendance, but also created services that addressed and appealed to women. Statements, however, that these services attracted more women than unreformed worship did, deserve caution.¹³ Appraisals of the numbers of women who attended synagogues before the rise of the new style of worship constitute no more than guesses and, in the eighteenth century, female synagogue attendance may have been more common than is often assumed. In a significant departure from established customs, however, Jewish leaders invited unmarried women to attend services and emphasized the beneficial influence of synagogue devotion for young girls. Previously, mostly married women had taken up regular prayer practices. Yet nineteenth-century Jewish pedagogues considered religious devotion an indispensable part of an education that promoted spiritual growth and cultural refinement and that led to true *Bildung*. Jewish educators concurred with their non-Jewish colleagues that girls needed to be carefully prepared for their future roles as mothers. Girls were therefore included in modern programs of education and were encouraged to attend edifying worship services. The new emphasis on girls' and women's presence at synagogue services was thus closely tied to pedagogical reform.

Jewish reformers and educators had a particularly high opinion of exposing men and women to edifying talks in High German, and they stressed that above all, women and girls profited from well-phrased sermons and from uplifting educational speeches. Already in pre-modern Ashkenaz, women had been welcome in the synagogue when the rabbi would give one of his few *derashot* (traditional, hermeneutic sermons in Yiddish) or when itinerant preachers would visit. In fact, the custom of erecting a partition in the main hall of the sanctuary at the time of the sermon suggests that, for centuries, Jewish communities had regarded the presence of women during ethical or educational speeches as appropriate, or even desirable. Thus, directing didactic and moralizing talks toward a female as well as a male audience did not represent a novelty in the nineteenth century. What changed, however, was the status that sermons came to possess in modern worship. *Derashot* or ethical talks had previously not formed an integral part of regular worship, but had been an occasional though welcome addition services. Halakhically prescribed prayer and the reading and study of the Torah instead had defined the religious life in the synagogue, and women

had played a marginal role in pre-modern communal worship.

In the nineteenth century, German Jews began to consider a weekly sermon an indispensable element of dignified, uplifting, and culturally refined worship. Reformers organized devotional meetings around edifying speeches. Sermons, along with choral singing, played a crucial role in the first modernized services.¹⁴ Soon, sermons and other religious practices aiming at edification, moral elevation, and emotional stimulation gained unprecedented importance in the German synagogue, and addressed women as much as men. In nineteenth-century synagogues, the gender order within the culture of Jewish devotion changed as the aesthetic, moral, and spiritual experience of the worshipper came to stand in the center of services, competing with halakhic notions of public prayer. The new character of Jewish worship brought women to the fore in the synagogue.¹⁵

THE NEW CHARACTER OF SYNAGOGUE DEVOTION

When, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, German Jews began to transform their synagogue services in order to express bourgeois tastes and sensibilities, they often laid down guidelines for an improved worship in the form of synagogue ordinances. In 1810, the Jewish consistory of Westphalia, as a pioneer in issues of Jewish reform, appears to have issued the first *Synagogenordnung* (synagogue ordinance). In the ensuing decades, Jewish communities as well as state authorities published synagogue ordinances that introduced new priorities in Jewish worship. The synagogue ordinance of the Dukedom Anhalt-Bernburg from 1821 stated that a synagogue service had to consist in worshippers “expressing in communal devotion the pure sentiments of love, veneration, and gratitude toward the highest being in the most solemn manner and, while behaving quietly and calmly, not only showing feelings of reverence, but also awakening pious thoughts and sentiments through undisturbed attentiveness.”¹⁶ The ordinance thus stipulated that, dressed appropriately, the worshippers had to enter and leave the sanctuary quietly and to refrain from chatter and noise during the service. Synagogue ordinances such as the example from Anhalt-Bernburg regulated the behavior and the appearance of the worshippers; prescribed the garb and the functions of rabbis, cantors, and communal officials; and laid down the particulars of the service.

Reform-minded Jewish leaders instituted changes into the liturgy, broke previously unquestioned halakhic norms, or otherwise violated time-honored principles of Jewish worship in the synagogue ordinances they devised. Yet the ordinances were not restricted to the Reform movement. Traditionalist communities and modern Orthodox congregations also adopted guidelines addressing the style and form of public Jewish worship.¹⁷ The

demand for greater decorum and for a dignified, aesthetically appealing service that conformed to the cultural sensibilities of cultivated and self-respecting members of the German middle class formed a universal feature of all newly introduced ordinances. Whether or not German Jews had already achieved economic upward mobility and regardless of their approach to ideological synagogue reform, worshippers began to express their allegiance to the values of German middle-class culture in orderly and spiritually uplifting synagogue services.

In 1838, the synagogue ordinance of the Kingdom of Württemberg, issued by the Royal Israelite Supreme Ecclesiastical Authority under the leadership of *Kirchenrat* (ecclesiastical councilor) Rabbi Joseph Maier, ordered the mostly rural Jewish communities of the state to deliver German-language sermons on Sabbath and holidays and to sing German hymns during services. The synagogue ordinance also made religious instruction for boys and girls obligatory. In an edict issued four years earlier, the state of Württemberg had decreed that Jews erect permanent pulpits in their synagogues, from which the rabbi or preacher could deliver his sermons, and that cantors and rabbis wear black robes during worship. Moreover, an academic degree henceforth formed the prerequisite for a rabbinical position in the state. A similar development took place in more urban Jewish communities, too. In Hamburg in 1821, four years after the most reform-oriented families in the city had founded the New Israelite Temple Association, the traditionalist but highly acculturated and university-trained young rabbi Isaac Bernays assumed the pulpit as rabbi of the Hamburg Jewish community. Like the preachers of the Hamburg Temple, Bernays donned the black garb of Christian clergy during services and gave regular German-language sermons in the communal synagogue. Similarly, the model modern Orthodox congregation in Frankfurt, the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft*, introduced sermons and choral music into its services and embraced ideas of dignified and solemn proceedings. The synagogue ordinances that the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* adopted in 1853 insisted on decorous behavior and barred worshippers from chanting along with the cantor or from correcting the errors of a Torah reader aloud. Subsequently, other Orthodox communities introduced highly formalized services with weekly or at least monthly sermons in High German and choir music. Congregants were expected to pray silently and to join the choir only at specifically designated parts of the liturgy.¹⁸

Synagogue worship in nineteenth-century Germany increasingly became a carefully orchestrated spectacle, which a well-dressed and well-behaved audience attended in awe and in silence. The reading of the Torah and other synagogue honors remained male prerogatives, and technically men only had the halakic obligation to recite standardized prayers in

Hebrew. The new character of public worship, however, diminished the importance of the established practices of synagogue devotion, in which women had held a marginal position. During much of the worship, now, both men and women played an equally passive role, while the rabbi or preacher, the cantor, and the choir performed the service. Worshippers sought edification, spiritual stimulation, and moral elevation by listening quietly to uplifting sermons and by enjoying the beautiful voices of a carefully trained chorus. In fact, in addition to changes in style, decorum, and aesthetics, the most common innovations in German synagogues in the first half of the nineteenth century consisted in the introduction of sermons and choirs as well as confirmation ceremonies. Every Jewish community that adopted contemporary ideas of religiosity attempted to improve its worship by offering regular modern-style sermons. Thus, even in the province of Posen, where Jewish life in many respects still bore the traits of its Polish past and of an East European setting, a significant number of Jewish communities had introduced sermons in the German language by 1848.¹⁹

Rabbis and preachers directed their sermons to the entire community, and men as well as women appreciated well-phrased homiletics. Rabbi Ludwig Philippson, founder and editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, reported that already in the early days of German preaching in Dessau, Joseph Wolf's sermons had enjoyed wide popularity and that young female worshippers in particular had crowded the galleries.²⁰ Contemporaries and scholars have often mentioned German-language sermons and female audiences in one breath. Yet some Jewish men too began to consider the sermon the main attraction of a synagogue service. A report in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, for example, claimed that in the Hamburg Temple, many worshippers only came to hear the sermon and left soon after the preacher had finished.²¹ In a similar vein, Louis Lesser, a young man from a respectable though not wealthy Jewish family in Dresden, recorded his occasional synagogue visits in his diary. He attended services primarily on high holidays and, as many women may have done, when the rabbi delivered a sermon.²² While some men still took the responsibility to engage in halakhically prescribed prayer seriously, others mostly expected services to provide edification and moral inspiration through sermons and choir music. The latter had relinquished privileges that had distinguished them from women.

It was men only who played the active roles of rabbis, preachers, and cantors, delivering sermons and leading the congregation in prayer. Yet in some communities, synagogue choirs admitted girls or women, thereby offering women an unprecedented public role in Jewish worship. By mid-nineteenth century, women sang in the choirs of the Reform congregations in Berlin and Budapest. In Pflaumloch in rural Württemberg, girls per-

formed in the choir when the Jewish community inaugurated its synagogue.²³ In Neuwied, Rhineland, the director of the synagogue choir petitioned the community board in 1850 for permission to train girls to sing during services. The choir continuously lost voices, he lamented, when boys could no longer perform as sopranos. The Jewish community of Neuwied granted his request and soon girls as well as women participated in the synagogue choir. Particularly in smaller communities, the desire to have a large, multi-voiced choir despite the scarcity of available singers may have contributed to the integration of girls and women into choirs, overruling halakhic concerns.

The new cantor of Neuwied, A. Rosenfeld, agreed with his predecessor that training children for the synagogue choir served to enhance the aesthetic quality of the service. Yet in a letter to the community board from 1868, he added that in a time in which religious apathy grew and many children failed to attend public worship services, participation in a synagogue choir also offered a formidable means of inspiring love for religion in the young and of drawing them into the synagogue. In fact, Rosenfeld claimed, the boys and girls in his choir “joyously rushed with their prayer books” to services and also showed greater interest for religious matters in school than before they joined the chorus.²⁴ For a pedagogue like Rosenfeld, a children’s synagogue choir fulfilled an important educational purpose, binding the young generation to Judaism by assigning them an active role in a dignified and appealing synagogue service. In the eyes of contemporaries, awakening and promoting the religious sentiments of girls was as urgent an issue as was leading boys toward the synagogue. In Neuwied, practical considerations as well as the wish to strengthen the commitment of the next generation to the Jewish religion and to public worship led to the participation of girls in the choir, and the decision seems to have aroused no controversy.

It is still difficult to assess how widespread mixed synagogue choirs were by the second half of the nineteenth century. Different from their contemporaries in North America, German Jews did not engage in lively debate on women’s voices in public worship. In America as well as in Germany, however, aesthetic considerations and the desire to create decorous and solemn worship services played a key role in introducing choirs into the synagogue.²⁵ Yet one of the European synagogues that enjoyed great fame and repute for the high standards of its choral music possessed an all-male choir: the Vienna temple, where Salomon Sulzer created his own, widely celebrated style of liturgical music. Likewise, the Berlin choir master and composer of synagogue music Louis Lewandowski apparently did not include women and girls in the chorus that performed in the imposing New Synagogue in Berlin, inaugurated in 1866.



5.1. The consecration of the New Synagogue, Oranienburger Strasse in Berlin, 1866. *Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.*

Large Reform synagogues had no lack of male voices. They also may have considered an exclusively male choir more prestigious, and furthermore offered the girls of their communities other forms of inclusion such as courses of religious instruction and confirmation ceremonies.

Modern Orthodox congregations, too, abstained from including women's voices in synagogue choirs. Moreover, Orthodox synagogue music remained simpler than Lewandowski's or Sulzer's compositions. Insisting that choral singing should not entirely displace active prayer, Orthodox leaders expected congregants to join the choir at designated passages. Even though Orthodox Jews aspired to adapt public worship to the tastes and norms of German middle-class culture as their Reform contemporaries did, in modern Orthodox synagogues, choral music played a less prominent role than was the case in other modernized services. Comparatively, therefore, modern Orthodox worship retained more of a distinction between male and female worshippers. In adherence to the principles of rabbinic Judaism, modern Orthodoxy continued to emphasize the halakhic obligation of Jewish men to recite the established canon of Hebrew prayers, while women's devotion did not possess the same status. Even so, in modern Orthodox synagogues, nineteenth-century ideas of religiosity and decorous proceedings challenged the previously supreme role of men's active prayer. At least during some of the service, male and female worshippers either listened quietly, prayed in silence, or engaged in private meditation.²⁷ The proliferation of choral music contributed to this development, in which the gap between men's and women's roles in the synagogue narrowed. The erosion of the gender hierarchy in Jewish worship was even more distinct when girls or women joined the choirs or when Jewish communities introduced confirmation ceremonies for boys and girls in addition to or instead of Bar Mitzvah celebrations.

'BAR MITZVAH AND CONFIRMATION CEREMONIES

Bar mitzvah means literally *son of commandment*, and the term refers to the coming of age of the thirteen-year-old Jewish male. A *bar mitzvah* assumes full responsibility for all the ritual obligations to which Halakhah binds a Jewish man. As a *bar mitzvah*, he can be called to publicly read from the Torah scroll during the synagogue service. In many Jewish communities in nineteenth-century Germany, when a Jewish boy received this honor for the first time in his life, the event was accompanied by a celebration, marking the access of the Jewish male to the Torah. From then on, as a formally adult and observant Jew, he had the right and the duty to pursue the study of public literature.

For Jewish men at the time, however, the privilege and the responsibility of studying the Talmud ceased to be the ultimate object of their pride and their desire. In pre-modern times, religious study had certainly not constituted the single most important focus in the life of every Jewish man, but until the nineteenth century, all Jews everywhere had shared the high esteem for rabbinic learning and had taken the observance of ritual laws for granted. Yet among nineteenth-century German Jews halakhic observance declined and, since the Haskalah, Torah study and rabbinic learning had begun to lose its pre-eminent status. In the course of the first half of the nineteenth century, the yeshivot or Talmud academies (the traditional institutions of higher Jewish learning), closed down and Jewish elementary schooling underwent a dramatic transformation. Unprecedented in Jewish history, students received a secular education in Jewish schools. The curricula of the schools featured new subjects such as biblical history and *Religionsunterricht* (religious instruction), while established modes of Jewish learning were neglected. In fact, in many modernized Jewish schools, Talmud study ceased altogether. Reformers aimed to integrate German Jewry into civil society and transformed Judaism into a religion that would allow Jews to be Germans of the Jewish faith among other Germans of Christian creed. Thus, they reconceptualized Jewish education according to the Christian model. The Bible rather than the Talmud, in their view, provided the moral and religious teachings that Jewish children needed in order to become useful and culturally refined members of German society. Jewish educators created an entire body of new, German-language textbooks and catechisms, and attempted to teach Jewish religion in a systematic and enlightened manner.²⁸

Jewish communities also began to embrace the Protestant institution of the confirmation ceremony. Though confirmations never completely replaced Bar Mitzvah celebrations, German Jews came to widely accept the confirmation as a Jewish custom. In addition to or instead of the more time-honored Bar Mitzvah rite, by mid-nineteenth century, confirmation ceremonies formed an important feature in the religious lives of German-Jewish communities.

The first Jewish confirmation ceremony appears to have taken place in 1803, in Dessau, when the rabbi and teacher at the Jewish Free School confirmed a boy in a private home as the adolescent reached his thirteenth birthday. Subsequently, the Jewish Free School in Wolfenbüttel introduced the rite and in 1807, Leopold Zunz, who was to become one of the founders of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, recited a confession of faith at his confirmation at the Wolfenbüttel school. Two years later, when the Jewish consistory of Westphalia constituted itself, one of its first orders stated that the Jewish youth of the kingdom be prepared for confirmation ceremonies.

Jewish leaders in Westphalia planned to include girls in the new programs of religious instruction as well as in the confirmation celebrations. Yet in the Kingdom of Westphalia, only boys seem to have been confirmed, since the practice of the ceremonies did not spread beyond modern Jewish boys' schools. In fact, reports from the Cassel school in Westphalia provide the first full account of a Jewish confirmation ceremony. The ceremony took place in 1810 in the school's synagogue during Sabbath services. It began after the Torah reading with a talk by Jeremiah Heinemann, in which he expounded on the purpose of a confirmation. Then the boy who was being confirmed "solemnly reported on the principal truths of religion," pledging to faithfully observe his religious and civil obligations. Finally, the boy received a blessing from the rabbi.²⁹

In the ensuing decades, Jewish communities throughout Germany and Central Europe introduced confirmations. The ceremonies became more elaborate but continued to follow the structure of the celebration in Cassel. In 1844, according to Leopold Zunz, a confirmation ceremony typically retained the same general order. The ceremony included singing, communal prayer, a talk by the teacher, the examination of the youth, the teacher's address reminding students and parents of their religious and ethical duties, the prayer and profession of faith of the students, the blessing of the young by the rabbi, another communal prayer, and singing as conclusion.³⁰ By the mid-nineteenth century, it was no longer individual boys who were confirmed when they reached the age of thirteen. Rather, confirmation ceremonies had become graduation exercises from modern courses of religious instruction, roughly corresponding to the time of the children's thirteenth birthday.³¹ Moreover, confirmations now included well-rehearsed public examinations of students. In the style of Christian catechisms, pupils demonstrated their familiarity with the moral principles and religious tenets of Judaism.

The Protestant model, however, according to which the adult Christian became a full member of the Church in the confirmation ceremony, proved problematic for German Jews. Critics argued that Jews were born into Judaism, with even circumcision marking rather than establishing a Jew's religious affiliation. In the same vein, a confession of faith did not possess the status it held in Christianity. Thus, contemporaries tended to consider the confirmation ceremony a solemn celebration confirming the boys' and girls' inclusion in the Jewish community, in which the young pledged their loyalty to the Jewish religion. In the mid-nineteenth century, when Jewish leaders detected a decline of religious commitment among German Jewry, a ceremony impressing the love for Judaism on the young generation appeared essential to many. The reformer Salomon Herxheimer,

his rabbi of the Duchy Anhalt-Bernburg, deplored, for instance, the fact

that many communities did not observe Bar Mitzvah ceremonies appropriately, and that the Bar Mitzvah failed to address girls. Jewish ideologues, pedagogues, preachers, and rabbis propagating religious instruction for girls also insisted on confirming girls.³²

The first confirmation of Jewish girls seems to have been celebrated in 1814 in Berlin, in the private Jewish girls' school of Moses Hirsch Bock, a teacher and radical reformer from Posen. Likewise in Berlin, Eduard Kley conducted a confirmation of two girls in the Beer temple in 1817, in a moving ceremony that *Sulamith* hailed as an event of outstanding historical importance. By March 1818, Kley had confirmed another five girls and five boys in the Hamburg Temple, after he became the director of the Jewish Free School in Hamburg as well as preacher at the temple.³³ In Berlin and Hamburg, confirmation ceremonies had thus not only begun to include girls, but also had moved from schools into synagogues. Other Jewish communities soon followed this trend, as the institution of the confirmation ceremony took hold among German Jewry. Around 1818, only boys appear to have been confirmed in small communities such as Strelitz, north of Berlin, and in Uehlfeld near Ansbach in Bavaria. However, confirmations that took place from 1828 on at the Frankfurt Philanthropin from their inception involved both sexes, and the Jews of Neukirchen in Westphalia and of Landsberg in East Prussia already were confirming girls in the synagogue in the 1820s. In Dessau, boys celebrated their confirmations from 1821 on in the synagogue, and in the 1830s, David Fränkel confirmed boys and girls together in the main synagogue. Subsequently, Jewish communities such as Bamberg, Brunswick, Bernburg, Heidelberg, Offenbach, and Munich began to hold confirmation ceremonies for boys and girls, some of which took place in the synagogue.³⁴

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Jewish confirmation ceremonies for both sexes were a common feature in many Jewish communities throughout Germany. The Berlin Reform congregation alone confirmed three hundred boys and girls in the decade between 1847 and 1857. While this congregation stood at the forefront of the German Reform movement, even traditionalist rabbis at times conducted such ceremonies for boys and girls as well. Rabbi Samuel Levi Eger, chief rabbi of Brunswick was an accomplished Talmudist. Contemporaries knew him to be critical of tampering with established customs, but from 1831 on, he confirmed boys and girls in the synagogue.³⁵ Modern Orthodoxy, as it emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century, rejected the institution of confirmations. Yet beyond this small segment of German Jewry, confirmation ceremonies appear to have won broad acceptance. When in 1868 the Jewish community of Kattowitz in Silesia wrote to rabbis throughout Germany and inquired whether confirmations of girls in the synagogue were permissible, Kat-

towitz Jewry received overwhelmingly positive answers. Some of the almost twenty rabbis from nearby Beuthen, Bielitz, Ratibor, and Rybnik and from Jewish communities further west such as Berlin, Bonn, Dresden, Frankfurt, Hanover, Prague, and Stockholm, expressed concern about the originally Christian character of the ceremony and hesitated to hold girls' confirmation in the synagogue. Most, however, declared that confirming for girls was not only permissible, but also highly advisable.

Like many of his colleagues, Rabbi Daniel Fraenkel of Rybnik, for instance, argued that materialism and nihilism were threatening to destroy the Jewish home. According to Fraenkel, who seems to have studied in Berlin, modern religious instruction for boys and girls and confirmation ceremonies formed important means to strengthen the faith of the youth and to save Judaism. In his letter to the Jews of Kattowitz, Fraenkel stated that

religious instruction has become a necessity for girls as much as for boys. Indeed, in regard to their future profession as mothers and educators, I consider it [the religious education of girls] as even more urgent, since it depends on them [the women] whether the house of the Israelite can be regarded as truly Jewish.³⁶

Modern Jewry, according to Fraenkel, could not afford to celebrate only Bar Mitzvah rituals for boys. Nevertheless, Fraenkel conceded, some of his contemporaries might object to a celebration in the synagogue in which women entered the part of the sanctuary reserved for men, and in which girls sang publicly. Fraenkel himself opposed females singing in the synagogue, but endorsed girls standing in front of the Ark during the confirmation ceremony, as long as the sexes remained apart and observed the rules "of morality and propriety."³⁷

The religious sensibilities of German Jews and the halakhic decisions of their rabbis thus varied. Some communities eschewed girls' singing in the sanctuary or continued to hold girls' confirmation ceremonies in the school rather than in the synagogue. Evidently however, other communities had mixed choirs and held confirmation ceremonies for girls in the synagogue. Radical Reformers, such as Abraham Geiger, even believed that confirmations should ultimately replace the "Bar Mitzvah foolishness [*Allfanzerei*]."³⁸ On the opposite side of the spectrum, however, modern Orthodox congregations refused to introduce confirmations and held only Bar Mitzvah celebrations, and in many Jewish communities, boys celebrated a Bar Mitzvah as well as a confirmation.³⁹ Overall, confirmation ceremonies had gained substantial popularity by the second half of the nineteenth century, and had become common though not universal in German synagogues.

Girls participated in confirmation ceremonies because as future mothers and the alleged mainstay of Jewish religiosity, they were included in the programs of modern religious education, from which students of both sexes generally graduated in such ceremonies. These courses of modern religious education focused on the moral teachings of Judaism, on the principles of the Jewish religion, and on biblical history rather than consisting of Talmud study. Accordingly, the examination during the confirmation ceremony, the addresses of the teachers and rabbis, and the confession of faith of the students stressed the moral and religious values and the tenets of Judaism.

The reading of the Torah and the relationship of the Jewish man to halakhic observance, conversely, defined the Bar Mitzvah ceremony. The Bar Mitzvah stood for the culture of rabbinic Judaism from which women remained excluded. Yet the shift from the Bar Mitzvah to the confirmation ceremony exemplifies the transformation from this age-old exclusivist male Judaism to a new culture of Jewish religiosity that addressed both sexes and included women. The transition from Bar Mitzvah rituals to confirmation ceremonies challenged the established gender hierarchy in the Jewish culture of worship. Previously only boys and men had been able to receive honors in the synagogue, and only they could approach the Ark with the Torah scroll. Now girls along with boys stood in front of a congregation, declared their allegiance to Judaism, received a blessing from the rabbi, and were publicly acknowledged as members of the Jewish community. In confirmation ceremonies, young women experienced a previously unknown degree of public validation, respect, and inclusion in the synagogue.

WOMEN'S SPACE IN THE SYNAGOGUE

The greater integration that women enjoyed in Jewish worship in nineteenth-century Germany also expressed itself in the architectural design of synagogues. In the early decades of the nineteenth century in the historical synagogue of Worms, Jewish women still occupied a separate women's prayer room, a *Weiberschule* dating from the thirteenth century. In Worms, the women's annex consisted of a room on the same floor as the main hall, connected to it by small windows. In 1841, the Jewish community petitioned the government to allow structural changes in the main sanctuary in order to improve the decorum during worship and to create a more appropriate setting for the preacher to deliver his sermon. The authorities granted the permission but decreed that the community also was to open one or two of the arches in the wall between the main hall and the women's prayer room. Government officials wished that "the voice of the preacher

ought to be heard comfortably there [in the women's section], too."⁴⁰ The community did as the government ordered and decided to put doors with grates into the arches. However, the rabbi of Worms, fifty-six-year-old Jakob Bamberger, complained that the grating was too wide and was offensive to the religious sensibilities of pious Jews. In fact, still devoted to studying the Talmud rather than committed to modern forms of education and of religiosity, Bamberger mistrusted many of the innovations that his contemporaries introduced. He had previously attempted to prevent preachers from giving weekly edifying talks in the Worms synagogue, and now Bamberger claimed that curtains were needed to cover the new doors to the women's section. The community board replied that its budget did not allow for curtains, but that any community member was free to contribute fitting blinds of green silk. Nobody provided curtains and the issue was dropped. Finally, in 1847, the Jewish community of Worms removed the doors between the main floor and the women's section, and through the open arches, the women could freely observe the service in the main sanctuary.⁴¹

In Worms, the government of Hesse and the leaders of the Jewish community seem to have concurred that women should be more integrated in the service, while a traditionalist rabbi disapproved.⁴² Apparently, more serious conflicts were the exceptions; in general, Jewish communities lowered the balustrades of women's balconies and removed the lattice in front of them in a process that generated little controversy. Yet the pace of these changes varied, and even within the same community individual synagogues would take different approaches to the issue of women's seating. In Hamburg, the Reform Temple pioneered early in the century in offering women a free view of the men's section. The communal synagogue in the Hamburg district of Wandsbek, on the other hand, installed an open, wooden railing at its women's gallery only in 1874, when it also enlarged the balcony. After the expansion, this gallery had more room for women to sit than for men on the main floor. Another synagogue in Hamburg catered only to men and did not have any balcony or women's section at all, and a fourth one retained a women's gallery with close-meshed latticework into the twentieth century.⁴³

In Christian churches in nineteenth-century Germany, seating arrangements were uncontested, as men and women consistently occupied separate sections of the same floor. Yet in a development that brought women to the fore particularly in Protestant churches, the number of female worshippers came to exceed that of their male contemporaries. Already in the late eighteenth century, women had attended Protestant church services more regularly than men. From the early nineteenth century on, in some urban centers and industrial areas, 70 percent or more of the churchgoers were

female. In the 1870s in Leipzig, for instance, a Church official reported that men represented only one out of three or four worshippers. Catholic men withdrew from the public rites of the Church to a lesser extent than their Protestant counterparts. However, scholars agree that the patterns of male and female church attendance attested to a feminization of religion in the nineteenth century. The formal and dogmatic Christianity of earlier centuries had been transformed into a religiosity in which contemporaries believed women to excel, and which many women embraced.⁴⁴ As part of their particular commitment to religious and moral values, Christian women showed a greater commitment to the Church and distinguished themselves by attending church services more frequently than men.

A related development took place in German Jewish communities. Yet in the synagogue, female worshippers appeared generally not to have outnumbered their male counterparts. In the course of the nineteenth century, communities lowered the balustrades of women's balconies in their synagogues and removed partitions from women's annexes, but the ratio of men's and women's seats in synagogues around the turn of the twentieth century does not significantly differ from, for example, that of the Hamburg Reform Temple.⁴⁵ In fact, as late as in the 1920s, 48 percent of the male and 26 percent of the female community members in Hamburg were said to have attended High Holiday services. These numbers indicate that synagogue attendance as such had fallen to a relatively low level. Many Jewish men had indeed abandoned practices of daily prayer decades earlier. In northern German Friedrichstadt in 1820, the community board bemoaned that on weekday mornings and evenings fewer than the required ten men appeared for public worship, even though sixty families lived near the synagogue. In Cologne, a contemporary noted in 1849 that only one-third of the Jewish population of two hundred families attended synagogues at all, and that most Jews kept their shops and offices open on Sabbath. Occasionally we also hear that women attended Sabbath services, in particular attracted by sermons, while men pursued business.⁴⁶ A lawyer from Berlin, for instance, recalled that in his childhood in the 1860s, "my grandmother went regularly [to services], my mother as often as taking care of the little ones permitted, and the men of the family on the main holy days."⁴⁷

Though it remains difficult to gauge the overall ratio of male and female synagogue attendance throughout the nineteenth century, women undoubtedly maintained a consistent presence in public worship. In a letter to her husband, Vogel Weil in Otterstadt near Speyer reported in the 1810s to have been at holiday services.⁴⁸ In 1844, when rabbis, preachers, and educators had begun to laud the beneficial influences of synagogue devotion for women and girls, a discontented husband listed synagogue attendance every Sabbath, or at least once a month among the duties of his

wife.⁴⁹ In a similar vein, an obituary from 1867 praised the deceased for frequently attending services, and memoirs from the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries often described mothers and grandmothers as devoted synagogue-goers. The elderly Pauline Wengeroff, from a German-speaking and highly acculturated household in Lithuania, nostalgically remembered her mother getting up early for public worship on the Jewish New Year, and for attending services Friday evenings. Likewise, Adolf Kurrein, who had been born in Moravia in 1848 and later served as a liberal rabbi in St. Pölten, Linz, and other communities of the Austrian monarchy, exalted his mother as a model of female piety. In his childhood, Kurrein recalled, his widowed and hardworking mother observed the Sabbath as a “true, veritable, old-Jewish day of rest,” which included attending synagogue services.⁵⁰

We owe depictions of female synagogue devotion in the middle of the nineteenth century to journalists and writers such as Dora Lehmann, member of a well-respected Jewish family in Hamburg, and Rosalie Perles, who lived in Munich and was married to Joseph Perles, the rabbi, graduate of the Jüdisch-theologisches Seminar in Breslau, and scholar. In her memoirs, Lehmann recounted that women appeared every morning in the Orthodox synagogue of Altona earlier than the men did, and that many still attended Sabbath and holiday services at an advanced age. When she had been a young girl, Lehmann claimed, the women’s section of the synagogue buzzed with playing children and with women who chatted while Jacob Ettlinger preached in the main sanctuary. Likewise describing old-fashioned patterns of female synagogue attendance, Perles recalled that her grandmother used to frequent the so-called “old synagogue” in Posen, where she perched in front of one of the few holes in the wall that connected the women’s section with the men’s prayer room. There, she piously recited her prayers and listened with rapt attention to the cantor and to the men chanting the Torah portion. Only when a newly wed woman attended services for the first time did grandmother Perles give up her accustomed seat for the day.⁵¹

Authors such as Perles, Kurrein, Lehmann, and Wengeroff describe Jewish women who attended public worship in the beginning and the middle of the nineteenth century as paradigms of traditional piety. Their accounts attest to the desire of German Jews in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries for a religious faithfulness and a heartfelt religiosity that they diagnosed as being in danger if not lost in their days. The authors of memoirs often locate a pure and sincere devotion in an idealized past and identified their mothers and grandmothers as its carriers. The reports thus express contemporary ideas on women’s privileged access to religious sensibility and on women’s role as preservers of Jewish tradition, and we have to

be cautious to conclude from them that Jewish women in mid-nineteenth-century Germany unambiguously embraced pre-modern forms of religiosity. Yet the recollections confirm that women attended services, and despite their ideological preconceptions, the narratives describe patterns of female piety with some complexity. Rosalie Perles, for instance, depicts her grandmother in a synagogue with a pre-modern seating arrangement, while she stresses that the old woman had a particular liking for the German-language sermons that preacher Salomon Pleßner occasionally gave. In a similar vein, though in a less romanticizing tone, Jenny Weinberg, who had been born into a well-to-do Berlin family in 1822, remembered in her memoirs that in the mid-nineteenth century, fashionably dressed Jewish women flocked to hear the German sermons “of the famous preacher Dr. Sachs” in the Heidereutergasse Synagogue, where female worshippers sat behind a golden lattice.⁵²

Memoirs also indicate that in the mid-nineteenth century in at least some families, girls remained at home when their parents attended services. Clara Geissmar, born in 1844 into an observant family in the small community of Eppingen in Baden, thus reported that in her childhood, unmarried women prayed exclusively at home. Geissmar only went to synagogue in order to pick up her mother from services. Lena Kahn, likewise having grown up in a small German town in the same period, recalled being allowed into the synagogue for the blowing of the *shofar* (ram’s horn) on the High Holidays as an exceptional and moving event. An article in the periodical *Der Israelitische Volkslehrer* from 1853 described the same state of affairs in Kurhessen at the time, deploring that unmarried women were still excluded from the benefits of synagogue devotion.⁵³

Jewish leaders had begun to advocate synagogue attendance for women decades earlier, and the inclusion of female youth in the synagogue was often associated with progress and with modern-style worship. Accordingly, Esther Calvary, the daughter of the university-trained Esriel Hildesheimer (he later served as rabbi of the modern Orthodox congregation *Adass Israel* in Berlin), accompanied her mother to the synagogue in the middle of the nineteenth century. In fact, by the second half of the century, unmarried women and girls may have been more likely to attend synagogue services than their peers in previous decades, provided that their families took interest in religious worship at all. Scholars, however, have suggested that women’s synagogue attendance increased overall, that German-language sermons in modern Orthodox services attracted more women, and that women preferred modernized services in synagogues such as the Hamburg Temple, while they spurned established synagogues.⁵⁴ Yet any increase in the numbers of female synagogue worshippers or in the frequency of their

Modernizers claimed that order and decorum, choirs and sermons, and an aesthetically appealing and edifying character of worship services drew women into synagogues, and some Jewish women indeed expressed interest in services that conformed to bourgeois notions of enlightened worship. Minna Diamant, a young woman who commonly attended the synagogue in Pressburg, described her enchantment when she visited the reformed temple of Vienna in 1833. Diamant, whose parents were committed to a bourgeois lifestyle though they lived in modest circumstances, was thoroughly moved by the beautiful building and the “festive ceremonies” in the Viennese synagogue. She praised the “instructive and edifying” sermon, and admired the choral music whose tunes, according to her, uplifted the heart and inspired genuine piety. “Only in such a place one could engage in true devotion,” Diamant declared.⁵⁵

In Frankfurt, Rabbi Leopold Stein claimed, Jewish women also loved decorous, dignified, and spiritually stimulating worship, and had successfully agitated for a reconstruction of the communal synagogue to house more tasteful services. Likewise, Therese Gumpel, born in Brunswick in 1817 into a large Jewish family, prized modernized services. “In the House of the Lord” she prayed with great devotion, and reported in letters to her fiancé enthusiastically and in great detail on the sermons delivered by preachers such as Gotthold Salomon.⁵⁶ Moreover, as a spectator with her mother, she attended the first rabbinical conference, which took place in her hometown in 1844. Gumpel found the concluding speech of *Kirchenrat* (ecclesiastical councilor) Joseph Maier very much to her liking.

When Emma Isler, activist in the kindergarten movement and wife of the director of the public library in Hamburg, visited Berlin in the winter of 1845/1846, she too took interest in the Reform initiatives in the city. Isler discussed the future of Judaism and of the Reform movement with the scholar Leopold Zunz, attended the lectures of reformers Michael Sachs and Sigismund Stern, and questioned Stern on his campaign for Sunday rather than Sabbath worship services in the newly founded Association for Reform in Judaism. Emma Isler wrote her husband, Meyer Isler, about these conversations, and toward him expressed skepticism about the Reform movement in Berlin. Stern’s vision of a reformed Jewish religion appeared to her to be neither Judaism nor Christianity. “I am sorry,” Isler admitted, “that I can’t refrain from having my doubts about these efforts, whose success is so infinitely desirable to me.”⁵⁷ Emma Isler and Therese Gumpel thus showed concern and excitement for synagogue reform, for German-language sermons, and for modern, edifying worship services.

Women occasionally also actively advocated and defended innovations, as they did in Mannheim in 1855 and Vienna in 1876. In the 1850s, the Jewish community of Mannheim and its rabbi Moses Präger came into

conflict with the Jewish *Oberrat* (Supreme Council) of Baden about the reforms that Mannheim Jewry had carried out in public worship. In particular, the *Oberrat* objected to the prayer book that the rabbi had published for use in the communal synagogue. In the text, Präger had removed Hebrew prayers and replaced some of them with German-language devotions. When the *Oberrat* threatened to dismiss Präger from his position, the Jews of Mannheim came to his defense. A group of men and a group of women each submitted a petition on behalf of their rabbi. In their petition, the women expressed gratitude for living in an era in which they could worship God with dignity and were no longer excluded, rejected, and silenced. A regression to previous conditions, they claimed, would deprive them of “the just gained and already so much cherished good of religious edification.”⁵⁸ They stressed that, in particular, reinstating the blessing in which men thanked the Creator for not being a woman would hurt them deeply. In Mannheim, Jewish women supported and defended the synagogue reforms that the male leaders of their community had introduced.

More than twenty years later, a group of women in Vienna likewise spoke out for reformed worship. This time, women, apparently on their own initiative, agitated for having previously instituted reforms carried further. Thirty-three women, most of them unmarried, petitioned the community board to introduce more German prayers into a service already largely conducted in German. Additional prayers in that language, they argued, would lead to “a much more numerous and fervent participation of the women” in public worship. However, when communal rabbi Moritz Güdemann was consulted about the issue, he objected that women already attended the Vienna Reform temple in great numbers. It was rather men, Güdemann stated, who did not appear at services, including “those [men] who admittedly . . . know Hebrew.”⁵⁹ Thus in Vienna at the time, women frequented the temple regularly, while men’s synagogue attendance appeared precarious.

In public statements and private letters, Jewish women in the middle of the nineteenth century expressed their liking of modernized synagogue services. Conversely, the authors of memoirs tended to describe their mothers and grandmothers, also living in the middle of the nineteenth century, as deeply attached to unreformed modes of worship. Nostalgia undoubtedly colored these accounts. Yet it is not unlikely that up to the second half of the nineteenth century, the synagogue attendance of elderly women in particular followed established patterns of female piety rather than reform impulses. After all, women had attended synagogues in highly segregated settings throughout the early modern period in numbers that may have been as significant as those of the female worshippers of the nineteenth century.

On the one hand, a Segregation of the female Jewish population in

nineteenth-century Germany clearly appreciated or even treasured sermons, choral music, and beautiful, uplifting services, and at times demanded and defended synagogue reforms. Women who desired inclusion into a modernized Jewish worship profited from lower balustrades on women's galleries, from the removal of partitions between men's and women's sections, and from institutions such as mixed choirs and confirmation ceremonies. Women approved of these innovations and occasionally supported them. However, their activities do not appear to have formed the driving force behind the development that led to more equality between the sexes in Jewish worship. The greater integration of women in German synagogues was most of all an expression and a consequence of the transformation of the character of Jewish worship and of the reconfiguration of the gender order in synagogue culture that went hand in hand with this transformation.

In nineteenth-century synagogue worship, the uncontested core and essence of a synagogue service no longer consisted in men performing the ritual obligation of reciting halakhically ordained Hebrew prayers and publicly reading from the Torah. Other religious practices from which women were not excluded had come to the fore. In his article, "The Principles of Rabbinic Worship and its Relationship to the Religious Consciousness of the Present," Reform rabbi Samuel Holdheim referred in 1846 to this shift in the culture of Jewish worship when he declared that the obligation of devotion (*Andacht*) had replaced the halakhic obligation of prayer. As he argued in his essay on women's position in rabbinic Judaism (published in the same year), Holdheim claimed that the modern "religious consciousness," which went hand in hand with a high regard for female religiosity, had made Halakhah obsolete. According to Holdheim, women had been excluded from public worship in ancient Israel because the Israelite religion had had a political character. The male gender, the independent status of an individual, and majority in age had formed the prerequisites for *Culturfähigkeit* (eligibility to worship) in the Jerusalem Temple, and women could not fulfill sacrificial, priestly, and political functions.⁶⁰ After the destruction of the Temple, prayer worship took the place of Temple worship, but, Holdheim explained, women's status remained marginal, as a *minyán* continued to represent the Jewish nation. In the nineteenth century, however, religion no longer had political implications. Moreover, according to Holdheim the character of worship had changed. Animal sacrifice in the Temple and prayer in rabbinic Judaism had been symbolic, external acts "accompanied by devotion."⁶¹ Their value and power lay in the meaning of the acts themselves and in what they represented, not in the intent and in the state of mind of the worshipper. His understanding of religious acts

that had originated in national and political Temple worship, Holdheim declared, stood in glaring contradiction to the “modern religious consciousness.”⁶² In the nineteenth century, the desire for “pious sentiments” brought worshippers together. They congregated as equals, without consideration of their position and rank in modern, civil society.⁶³ Devotion formed the substance and the purpose of contemporary synagogue worship, and women had become full-fledged members of a redefined community of worshippers.

In his article, as well as in his essay on women’s status in Judaism, Holdheim refused to amend Jewish law and instead categorically rejected Halakhah. With his radical position, he isolated himself even within the Reform movement.⁶⁴ Yet by claiming that modern Judaism constituted a cultural reference system of its own that took precedence over halakhic Judaism without necessitating a reform of Jewish law, Holdheim described the character of the modernization of Jewish culture in nineteenth-century Germany succinctly. German Jews did not revise the structure of what had constituted communal worship since antiquity. Men remained bound to recite standardized, Hebrew prayer in a *minyan*, and the public reading of the Torah invariably stood at the center of a synagogue service. Nevertheless, the modern “religious consciousness,” as Holdheim phrased it, gave rise to a culture of devotion that overshadowed halakhically defined worship. The subjective experience of the worshipper gained extraordinary importance. Even a scholar such as Heinrich Graetz, fully committed to the observance of ritual law and a member of the faculty at the Jüdisch-theologisches Seminar in Breslau, described in his diary the emotional release and spiritual experience that he sought and found in communal prayer.⁶⁵ In nineteenth-century bourgeois culture in Germany, the worshipper expected to be moved, edified, and morally uplifted in solemn and dignified synagogue services that included German-language sermons and choral music.

Women’s position in this new form of worship, which came to exist parallel to the established culture of Hebrew prayer, significantly differed from the status that women continued to hold within Halakhah. Physically and conceptually, women were more integrated in public Jewish worship than they had been before. As sites of bourgeois religiosity, synagogues constituted more of a women’s space than they had in preceding centuries. German-Jewish men, however, appear not to have abandoned synagogue attendance to the same extent as their North American counterparts did.⁶⁶ Moreover, the feminization of the synagogue found its limits where German Jewry upheld halakhically defined male privileges. Modern Orthodox Jews, in particular, but also adherents of the Breslau school, were deter-

missing Jewish law and Jewish tradition. Modern Orthodoxy thus rejected some of the institutions in which women gained greater inclusion in the synagogue, such as mixed choirs and confirmation ceremonies. However, despite this conservatism, even modern Orthodoxy diverged only in emphasis from the manner in which German Jews reconciled established modes of worship with middle-class notions of devotion. The temples at the Reform movement's radical fringe in Hamburg and Berlin, the minority of Neo-Orthodox synagogues, and all other German synagogues followed the same pattern as they modernized their services. They introduced a variety of innovations into public worship and universally accommodated old and new in the same fashion: On the one hand, they retained at least a core of Hebrew prayers that only men were halakhically bound to recite, and they did not question other established male privileges; on the other hand, they created services in which all worshippers, without distinction of gender, could be inspired by beautiful music and enlightened sermons, could find emotional relief in prayer, and could be uplifted by experiencing spiritually satisfying and aesthetically appealing proceedings. Women thus could take advantage of the modernized elements and aspects of the service as men did. In the modern, edifying dimensions of public worship that were geared toward the emotional and spiritual experience of the worshipper, women did not occupy a marginal or inferior position. To the new forms of bourgeois religiosity that German Jews introduced in nineteenth-century Germany in the home, in the family, and in the synagogue, men and women possessed significantly more equal access than they did to the religious practices of rabbinic and halakhic Judaism.

SIX

From Male Hevrot to Modern Jewish Voluntary Associations



In the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, Jewish women in Germany created a network of independent women's voluntary societies. In so doing, they established themselves in a sphere that previously had constituted an overwhelmingly male arena. Before non-Jewish women founded similar associations, Jewish women had erected and led sick-care societies, most of them mutual-aid associations, and other benevolent societies. In fact, between 1745 and 1870, more than 160 Jewish women's associations were operating throughout German lands, many of them for decades. This remarkable involvement of women in Jewish associational life became possible because the character of Jewish voluntary societies had changed in the process of the social and cultural embourgeoisement of Jewish communities. As German Jewry embraced Enlightenment and bourgeois ideas of sociability and civic responsibility, male practices of religious learning ceased to define the world of Jewish voluntary societies. In the course of this development, Jewish women came to lead associations that equaled modern male societies in purpose, form, and range of activity.

Women had had no access to the religious practices that had stood at the heart of early modern Jewish voluntary societies, called *hevrot* or confraternities. Early modern male *hevrot* were prayer circles, and their most important religious practice consisted in communally studying Mishnah—the central text of Talmudic literature—in the house of a deceased person. However, in the last decades of the eighteenth century, male *youth hevrot* began to break out of the religious framework of pre-modern Jewish associational life. Jewish men in German lands introduced mutual-aid features in existing *hevrot* and founded sick-care associations with self-help func-

tions. In the statutes and founding documents of these voluntary associations, progressively minded male Jews adopted a rhetoric of friendship, love of humanity (*Menschenliebe*), morality, civic responsibility, and self-improvement. They embraced Enlightenment and bourgeois values and concomitantly often reduced or discontinued religious learning within the *hevrah* (singular of *hevrot*).

Jewish women's associations emerged parallel to the male ones in which men had abandoned or curtailed the study of rabbinic literature. These societies proliferated as women's sick-care and mutual-aid associations, and often women also engaged in other benevolent activities such as caring for women in childbed. These Jewish women's societies of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries at times preceded comparable non-Jewish female voluntary associations. The rise of Jewish women's voluntary societies thus appears to have been primarily a function of the shift in values and practices within the Jewish community. In fact, the decline of Hebrew learning among men not only facilitated the emergence of Jewish women's associations as a standard feature of Jewish communal life, but also gradually allowed women to play a more equal role in the religious practices within Jewish voluntary societies themselves.

In nineteenth-century Germany, studying Mishnah fell into disuse as a mourning rite. Instead, commemorating deceased family members in *yahrzeit* (anniversary of death) services drew heightened attention. Jewish men's voluntary associations whose members no longer engaged in regular prayer and study hired a *minyán* for *yahrzeit* commemorations. Female Jewish societies adopted the same practice; consequently, men's and women's associations assumed parallel religious functions. Moreover, in the mid-nineteenth century, Jewish women's associations in Germany began to take on the performance of burial rites as part of their formal activities, and in this domain too, women's voluntary societies came to equal male ones.

In the realm of Jewish voluntary societies, like in the culture of prayer and in the nineteenth-century synagogue, the decline of halakhic Judaism attenuated the marginalization of women. In a Jewish associational life in which *Menschenliebe* and self-help featured prominently and in which Talmud Torah and Hebrew prayer no longer stood at the center, women experienced an unprecedented degree of inclusion.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF JEWISH MEN'S VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES

The prototype and the earliest and most common form of a *hevrah* in pre-modern Ashkenaz was the men's *hevrah kaddisha* (holy confraternity), the mutual-aid society. Other *hevrot* followed, and together they cared for the

dead of a community and provided for the needy. In fact, whatever the name of an association and whatever its statutes claimed to be the function of the club, a *hevrah* tended to fulfill more than one purpose. The members of *hevrot* came to engage in a variety of charitable activities, including visiting and caring for the sick, disbursing dowries to poor girls, and distributing heating fuel to scholars. Some early modern Jewish voluntary associations may indeed never have performed burials and burial rites. Yet members of all *hevrot* enjoyed high esteem in Jewish society, had particular responsibilities, and enjoyed certain privileges.¹

As a rule, when a member of a *hevrah* died, his fellows had the honor and the duty to study Mishnah in the house of the deceased during the first seven days of mourning, a period known as *shivah*. Members were also required to participate in funeral rites, visit the sick, and do whatever else the statutes of their association demanded. They were also expected to attend the *hevrah's* study sessions and worship services. The members of a *hevrah* usually prayed together, communally engaged in learning religious texts, and often employed a rabbi or a teacher. To express this differently: a *hevrah* was a prayer circle whose members aspired to fulfill the *mitzvot* of studying Torah, giving charity (*zedakah*), and performing "acts of loving-kindness," called *gemilut hesed*. *Gemilut hesed* encompassed various benevolent acts, among which "the value of providing proper burial for the dead, referred to as *hesed shel emet* (literally, an act of true loving-kindness) was the first to take on separate, institutionalized form."²

In their core prayer and study circles, *hevrot* constituted a male domain. Yet it is certain that Jewish women always performed the washing, dressing, and guarding of female corpses. Women sewed shrouds and cared for the dead, but did so under the direction of male burial societies, or were hired by the Jewish community or the family of the deceased directly. Only in exceptional cases, it seems, did women form their own burial societies and other female voluntary associations. In fact, even within the burial and sick-care societies they founded and ran, Jewish women were unable to fulfill the functions that men did. Women could not constitute a halakhically defined prayer group (a *minyan*), and neither could they study Mishnah in the house of a deceased. Although in practice not every men's *hevrah* may have expected their members to assemble daily to study religious texts and pray, the rise of Jewish voluntary societies in early modern Ashkenaz had formed part of the establishment of a Jewish culture of universal male learning in Western and Central Europe. Early modern *hevrot* fulfilled social functions, but the societies were driven by a religious impetus, and the marginalization of women in the early modern culture of Jewish learning and worship pre-empted any significant participation of women in Jewish associational life in pre-modern Ashkenaz.³

This situation changed in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when Halakhah and rabbinic culture ceased to constitute the central and dominating frame of reference in Jewish society. The study and worship functions of *hevrot* diminished in importance, and the charitable, social, educational, and mutual-aid aspects of Jewish voluntary associations gained new meaning. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, new types of associations proliferated in German society at large, and young Jewish men, too, founded a new generation of Jewish associations. They were influenced by the German Enlightenment and its Jewish equivalent, the *Has-kalah*, and established novel types of Jewish voluntary societies including the *Gesellschaft der Freunde* (Society of Friends) in Berlin and Königsberg and the *Gesellschaft der Brüder* (Society of Brothers) in Breslau. These two associations are well known for embodying and propagating Enlightenment ideas; in particular, the *Gesellschaft der Freunde* gained fame for its role in the early burial controversy. The *Gesellschaft der Freunde* and the *Gesellschaft der Brüder*, however, were only the most prominent and the most fashionable exponents of an entire movement of Jewish youth *hevrot* that emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century. In Berlin, Dresden, Heidelberg, Prague, and other German and Central European towns, unmarried Jewish men established similar societies.⁴

These associations functioned within the orbit of early modern Jewish voluntary societies. Yet their statutes included provisions that constituted a significant departure from established *hevrot*. Members of this new type of *hevrah* still engaged in acts of *gemilut hesed* such as visiting the sick, burying the dead, and providing relief to the poor, and most *youth hevrot* likely held prayer services and study sessions. Membership in some of these associations, such as the *Gesellschaft der Freunde*, however, entitled young men to receive medical care and financial benefits when sick or in need. This was a radically new practice for sick-care societies.⁵

Previously, sick-care societies, appropriately called *hevrot bikkur holim* (societies for visiting the sick) had focused on offering spiritual support in illness and death and had not dispensed monetary benefits. When a member of a *hevrah* had received a financial contribution, it constituted an act of charity rather than as payment to a self-respecting member. Furthermore, in early modern *hevrot*, young men tended to be barred from leadership positions before they married, and many Jewish voluntary associations only admitted well-established community members. In the emerging type of mutual-aid sick-care societies, young men expressed new self-confidence and created frameworks that provided them with adequate medical care and with financial support when they fell ill. At least some of their members had moved recently to the towns and cities in which they lived. For

in cases of sickness or need, they depended on communal charity boards that only reluctantly assisted foreigners and newcomers.⁶

The rise of specialized mutual-aid societies constituted one of the important features of the transformation of Jewish associational life in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Germany. In Hamburg, the emergence of a number of small death-benefit chests (*Sterbekassen*), which differed dramatically from burial societies and other early modern *hevrot*, illustrates this development. Typically, these death-benefit chests held neither prayer services nor religious study sessions. Their members performed no ablutions, refrained from guarding or burying the dead, and did not comfort families of deceased Jews. Moreover, *Sterbekassen* did not provide a *minyan* for the period of mourning. Rather, the function of a death-benefit chest consisted solely in subsidizing the burial fees that the *hevra kadisha* charged. The associations sometimes paid *shivah* benefits, replacing some of the income a family lost when abstaining from work during the seven days of mourning. One of the earliest death-benefit chests, *Zorkhei Keburah Hevrah* (Association for Burial Needs) was founded in 1718, in a period in which a remarkable number of non-Jewish burial-benefit societies emerged in Hamburg. The name *Zorkhei Keburah Hevrah*, in fact, suggested that the association from its inception was not a conventional burial society whose most important function consisted in reading Mishnah in the house of a deceased fellow. By contrast, a Hamburg death-benefit chest called *Gemilut Hasadim* (Acts of Loving-Kindness) still held daily prayer services and study sessions in the mid-nineteenth century.⁷ Whatever their individual character and trajectory, by then most death-benefit chests in the city resembled modern insurances. They had come a long way from the type of Jewish associations that had drawn their *raison d'être* from the halakhic prescriptions of Torah study, *zedakah*, and *gemilut hesed*.

The transition from early modern male *hevrot* to nineteenth-century mutual-aid societies found expression in the new range of functions that Hamburg's Jewish associations fulfilled. The association *Agudah Jescharah* (Honest Society), for instance, which was founded around 1780, pioneered in financially supporting sick members. Other societies in Hamburg at the time came to dispense dowries, loans, or monetary donations to members. The *Synagogenverein* (Synagogue Association) had served its members for more than a century, when the society reconstituted itself in 1844 as the *Krankenverein tröstender Brüder* (Sick-Care Association of Consoling Brethren). The new statutes of the society declared that the previous form of the association no longer corresponded "with the spirit of the times," and in fact, the society now disbursed financial benefits to members who were ill.⁸ Thereby, the *Krankenverein tröstender Brüder* resembled many other Jewish as well as non-Jewish sick benefit societies of mid-nineteenth-century

Hamburg. The change of emphasis from the synagogue to the mutual-aid function of the association exemplifies the process in which Enlightenment and bourgeois values such as ideas of friendship and mutual support increasingly supplemented or even substituted for the religious parameters of Jewish associational life.⁹

Higher love of humanity came to replace a charity that sought reward in a religious framework, the 1832 report of the *Verein für Krankenpflege* (Association for Sick Care) in Hamburg stated.¹⁰ Rabbinic Judaism certainly had always promoted ideals of love and support between humans. Performing benevolent acts, however, had carried implications that transcended their social purpose. The recipient of *zedakah* or *gemilut hesed* had fulfilled his or her function in the religious economy by allowing the donor to acquire spiritual benefits. Distinct from this theological frame of reference, the Hamburg *Verein für Krankenpflege* laid out the modern concept of benevolence in the preamble to its founding statutes of 1831:

Even though our foundation in its effects is a benevolent one, it actually does not perform charity in the narrow sense toward its members, since those receive in the days of sickness only the compensation for what they contributed to the association earlier. However, all members have the opportunity to perform countless charitable deeds; the wealthy man can invest a part of his abundance profitably and everybody can engage in acts of benevolence for the association and for humanity by visiting a member in his sickbed (*Schmerzens-Lager*) and by caring for a suffering friend.¹¹

Thus, on the one hand, members of the association still had the opportunity to perform disinterested acts of loving, kindness, and charity. On the other hand, the preamble did not refer to charity as religious concept. Rather, performing acts of charity and indeed maintaining membership in the association itself constituted a benevolent deed in the interest of humankind. Moreover, according to this preamble, the *Verein für Krankenpflege* avoided anything that could hurt “the most tender sense of honor” of its members, described as “individuals of the educated and refined (*gebildete*) classes.”¹²

Friendship, love of humanity, and concepts of bourgeois respectability had advanced to the center of the benevolent enterprise. In sick-benefit associations such as the *Verein für Krankenpflege*, Jewish men insured themselves against the risk of sickness and thereby assisted each other in improving and maintaining their social and economic standing. In early modern Jewish society, notions of spiritual benefits and divine retribution had provided the conceptual framework for benevolent activities. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, benevolence aimed at fulfilling a civic

responsibility. In voluntary societies, Jewish men dedicated themselves to the good of humanity as well as to their own moral and social betterment. As the traditionalist journal *Der Treue Zions-Wächter* critically noted, in many newly founded Jewish associations, the “religious basis” was weak, while the voluntary societies focused on promoting the “good and noble.”¹³

THE EMERGENCE OF JEWISH WOMEN’S SICK-CARE SOCIETIES

In the middle of the eighteenth century, when Jewish men introduced mutual-aid features into existing *hevrot* and created new sick-benefit and sick-care societies, Jewish women began to found parallel associations. In Frankfurt in 1761, five married women followed the example of the men in the Jewish community who had already established two sick-care societies. The women created what was to become one of the largest female Jewish associations of the era: the *Israelitische Frauenkrankenkasse* (Israelite Women’s Sick Fund).¹⁴ This association offered a range of services to its members, including doctor’s visits, care by hired attendants, medicine, and financial support. The voluntary society also assisted members in traveling to Wiesbaden for treatment at the spa, when a physician prescribed such a therapy. This modern women’s sick-benefit association was not much more than a health insurance organization. Regular members did not visit or care for patients. When the chairwomen paid visits to sick members, they did not primarily offer personal and spiritual support. Rather, these women supervised the care the patient received by attendants and doctors and checked up on the women who received financial contributions from the association. Furthermore, the *Israelitische Frauenkrankenkasse* neither expected its members to play a role in burying their deceased colleagues, nor did the association cover any costs related to the proper disposal of a dead body. However, for a deceased member, the association assumed responsibility to *arrange* for ritually prescribed measures such as the guarding of the body and the sewing of the shrouds.¹⁵

Moreover, the *Israelitische Frauenkrankenkasse* paid for one service surrounding death: daily prayer services during the mourning period that followed the passing of a member. Remarkably, this benefit extended even to members who were not eligible for sick-care benefits, such as girls under the age of seventeen and women who had entered the association when they were more than sixty years old. This regulation suggests that the Frankfurt women’s sick-care society had paying members who belonged to the association not because of the sick-care benefits the organization offered. These members may have joined the association in order to assure

that they were properly attended to after their demise and that a *minyán* was held on their behalf.¹⁶ While the *Israelitische Frauenkrankenkasse* of Frankfurt thus served primarily as a mutual-aid sick-benefit society, it also fulfilled some of the functions of a burial society in a modernized, professionalized form.

In the eighteenth century, German Jews founded similar women's sick-care societies in Mainz, Dresden, and Mannheim.¹⁷ And Jewish women throughout Germany continued to do so in the nineteenth century. They established women's sick-care associations, often within a few years after Jewish men in a community had founded a similar society. In Würzburg, for instance, a group of women created the *Israelitische Weibliche Kranken-Unterstützungs-Verein* (Israelite Female Sick-Support Association) in 1844, after the model of an already operating male society. However, although the association understood itself to be a mutual-aid society, primarily directed toward the needs of its members, it did not disburse standard benefits. Sick members received monetary support only when they were in need of it. Rather, the *Israelitische weibliche Kranken-Unterstützungs-Verein* of Würzburg stressed sick visits and personal care for sick members in practical as well as in spiritual matters. According to the by-laws of the association, a member who had fallen ill was to receive two visits per day from her colleagues as well as medical care if necessary. If the sickness took a more serious turn, the association not only expected members to stay with the sick woman day and night, but also to pray for her or to lead her in prayer. Furthermore, women belonging to the *Israelitische weibliche Kranken-Unterstützungs-Verein* performed the washing and dressing of deceased members. In the same period, the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* (Israelite Women's Association) of the small town of Gedern in Hesse operated in a similar fashion.¹⁸

In May 1860, at least forty Jewish women in the town of Grünstadt in Rhineland-Palatine (*Rheinpfalz*) assembled to found what appears to have been the first Jewish women's association in this community.¹⁹ In exchange for a monthly fee, the women who belonged to the society received monetary support in case of sickness. When a member fell seriously ill, two of her club sisters stayed at her bedside until she was out of danger—or until all the ritual obligations that applied to the care of a dead body had been fulfilled.²⁰ Furthermore, all members had to participate in sewing the shrouds of a deceased member, and ten women who were selected by lottery would accompany the coffin to the cemetery. The Jewish women's voluntary society of Grünstadt thus offered comprehensive services in sickness and death to its members. Additionally, however, the association dispensed charity to needy men and women of the Jewish community at large, even

through the founding document of the Grünstadt Jewish women's society

declared mutual support in sickness to be the purpose of the society. In fact in some years, the sum of the club's charitable expenses exceeded the amount the society spent for sick benefits.²¹

The Grünstadt Jewish women's society had its model in a parallel men's association, founded nine years before the women's organization. Although the male society carried the name *Wohltätigkeitsverein* (Charity Association) and it most likely dispensed charity as the women's association did, its statutes also claimed that the society aimed primarily to provide sick benefits for its members. The male *Wohltätigkeitsverein*, however, distinguished itself from the women's society. First of all, the benefits that the *Wohltätigkeitsverein* offered to its members included standard payments during the week of *shivah*; if needed, the association also covered burial costs. Secondly, the men explicitly took it upon themselves to perform the religiously prescribed rites for deceased members and, according to the statutes of the *Wohltätigkeitsverein*, all the members would attend the funeral of a former fellow. Most important, however, members of the *Wohltätigkeitsverein* not only held prayer services in the house of the deceased during the seven-day period of mourning, but also gathered at the evening of Shavuot and at Hoshana Rabba, the seventh day of Sukkot.²²

By fulfilling the commandments of rabbinic Judaism, the *Wohltätigkeitsverein* appears to have adhered to the established customs of early modern male *hevrot*. Yet at meetings on the evening of Shavuot and at Hoshana Rabba, the men of the Grünstadt voluntary association did not actively study religious texts, as had been the practice for centuries. Rather, they listened to readings from the Bible, probably in German. In a similar vein, members of the *Wohltätigkeitsverein* refrained from studying Mishnah in the house of a deceased colleague.²³ By performing burial rites, holding prayer services, and meeting at customary times such as Shavuot, the *Wohltätigkeitsverein* thus held on to certain functions of early modern *hevrot*. However, the association had abandoned religious study and had adopted new practices of a mutual-aid society.

In contrast to their male counterparts, members of Grünstadt's Jewish women's society did not engage in communal prayer services. Yet in other features, the female association largely paralleled the male society. Both understood themselves to be sick-benefit societies, both disbursed charity to other Jews in the community, and, in the middle of the nineteenth-century, both stood together at the center of Jewish associational life in the town of Grünstadt.

As these examples illustrate, in nineteenth-century Germany, women founded sick-care and sick-benefit societies after the model of parallel male associations. This type of men's and women's associations indeed constituted the most common kind of modern Jewish associations that emerged

in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Deriving from burial societies, these Jewish voluntary societies often still attended to the burial needs of their members decades after they had been founded and fulfilled a range of other functions. Yet the practices surrounding death and sickness changed. Jewish men came to neglect prayer and religious study, as mutual-aid functions of Jewish associations and financial benefits gained importance.²⁴ This development opened the door to the rise of Jewish women's voluntary societies, in which Enlightenment and bourgeois values predominated.

In 1823, a group of Jewish women in Emmendingen (a town in Baden) created a voluntary society and in the founding document of their association laid out the ideology that sustained modern Jewish voluntary associations. The preamble of the statutes of the Emmendingen women's sick-care society *Hevrat Ezrat Nashim* (Association for the Help of Women) reads as follows:

Among all the duties incumbent on humanity, *Menschenliebe* [love of humanity] stands out as the first and holiest duty. Only a good and feeling heart is capable of true *Menschenliebe*, and a good heart encompasses all other virtues, too. . . . Rightly thus, that famous rabbi considered *Nächstenliebe* [the love for our fellow] as the fundamental law from which all sacred religious laws derive.²⁵

With these statements, the Jewish women of Emmendingen reversed the value system of rabbinic Judaism that had stood at the core of pre-modern Jewish associational life. According to their statutes, the Enlightenment concept of brotherly love formed the highest of all duties, and the performance of all other divine commandments or *mitzvot* appears not to have carried the same weight. In their view, the loving relationships among humans take precedence over the relationship of the community toward God. This train of thought is pursued, as the statutes hold that “a good heart” forms the foundation of all virtues. In rabbinic Judaism, Talmud Torah and the fulfillment of ritual obligations represented the key to virtue and constituted virtue. The women of Emmendingen, however, embraced a more universal concept of morality, in which emotional receptivity and tender sentiments lead to virtue. Indeed, the statutes of the *Hevrat Ezrat Nashim* state that “*Nächstenliebe*,” the love for our fellow, rather than emanating from religious beliefs and practices, constituted the very basis of Judaism, “the fundamental law from which all sacred religious laws derive.”

In the founding statutes of the *Hevrat Ezrat Nashim*, the Jewish women of Emmendingen thus expressed some of the fundamental tenets of the *Haskalah*, according to which human relationships and emotional sensitiv-

Baader, Benjamin; Maria, Gertler, Adolph, and Boulez, Celine. 2004. 1879. To lessen the plight of the sick, to
 E-book, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006. <https://doi.org/10.29179/indiana.edu/indiana>
 Downloaded on behalf of Unknown Institution

recover them for humanity, constituted a sacred endeavor for these women, in which tenderness of the heart, civic duty, and self-improvement converged. In mutual-aid societies such as *Hevrat Ezrat Nashim*, Jewish men and Jewish women embraced nineteenth-century concepts of Jewish religiosity and a bourgeois worldview.²⁶ For women as well as men, self-help and philanthropy in Jewish associations served as a means of integrating into German society, of socially and culturally uplifting themselves and the Jewish community, and of expressing Jewishness in a modern framework.

JEWISH WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR NON-JEWISH COUNTERPARTS

Jewish men and Jewish women pursued and expressed their integration into German middle-class society by founding and running mutual-aid and charitable voluntary associations. Thus, Jewish men's mutual-aid societies such as death-benefit and sick-benefit associations and other male benevolent societies possessed numerous non-Jewish models and equivalents. Likewise, in the middle of the nineteenth century, networks of Jewish and non-Jewish women's benevolent societies existed alongside each other. Yet the emergence and the development of Jewish women's associations had their own dynamics, and in erecting and directing independent female voluntary associations, Jewish women did not always or primarily emulate their Christian neighbors. In Cassel, for instance, a Jewish women's society predated a comparable non-Jewish institution. In 1811, when Cassel belonged to the Napoleonic Kingdom of Westphalia, Jeanette Wallach, Gutheil Benary, and seventy-two other married women established the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* (Israelite Women's Association). They created the association after the model of the Jewish men's sick-care society of Cassel, the *Israelitische Krankenpflegeverein* (Israelite Sick-Care Association), founded in 1773. Similar to the *Israelitische Krankenpflegeverein*, the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* provided care, material and financial support, as well as medical attention to the local poor when they fell ill. Christian women in Cassel founded a corresponding association, the *Frauenverein für Krankenpflege* (Women's Association for Sick Care), not before 1813, and the non-Jewish society appears to have remained significantly smaller than its Jewish counterpart.²⁷

In Hamburg, particularly strong Jewish women's associations also were founded early on. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, at least three Jewish women's voluntary societies existed in the city: the *Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung armer Wöchnerinnen* (Women's Association for the Support of Poor Women in Childbed; founded in 1814), the *Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung armer israelitischer Witwen* (Women's Association

for the Support of Poor Israelite Widows; also founded in 1814), and the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein zur Bekleidung armer Knaben* (Women's Association for the Clothing of Poor Boys; founded in 1819). Affiliated with the Reform movement, the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein zur Bekleidung armer Knaben* provided clothing for the students of the Jewish Free School.²⁸ While we possess little information about the *Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung armer israelitischer Witwen*, the statutes of the *Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung armer Wöchnerinnen* describe in detail how the association came into existence and how it operated. When the inhabitants of Hamburg suffered from starvation and destitution under the French occupation of the city and the existing poor relief system collapsed, compassion for the lower classes stirred in the hearts of “two tenderly feeling women.”²⁹ In particular, the future philanthropists lamented the misfortune of the unhappy women who gave birth in the times of hardship. The women vowed to found a benevolent society to assist their sisters, should their city be liberated from the French “tyranny.”³⁰ After the French troops left, the women established the *Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung armer Wöchnerinnen*. This organization catered exclusively to Jewish women, but it showed no concern for religious practices such as burial rites. Neither were its members involved in visiting women in childbed. Founded, directed, and run by women, the *Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung armer Wöchnerinnen* instead provided material and financial assistance to women in childbed in a highly bureaucratic fashion.

In its dedication to the German cause, the *Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung armer Wöchnerinnen* resembled the numerous German, non-Jewish patriotic women's associations that emerged during the Napoleonic Wars. In Hamburg, the *Hamburgische Frauen-Verein* (Hamburg Women's Association) supported the national cause with charitable activities during the years of political crisis and material deprivation. Yet the fact that Jewish women of Hamburg created not less than three women's associations in this period is noteworthy, and moreover, all three Jewish voluntary societies pursued their philanthropic enterprises for decades. Almost one hundred years later, in the twentieth century, these associations still played a significant role in the communal welfare system of Hamburg Jewry. This long-term commitment was characteristic for Jewish women's associations but was uncommon for non-Jewish patriotic women's associations of the Napoleonic Wars, which typically dissolved when peace was restored. Only in the 1830s did the formation of associations for German, non-Jewish women regain momentum, with non-Jewish women creating permanent networks of benevolent societies.³¹

The rise of Jewish women's associations did not follow this pattern. The network of Jewish women's voluntary societies expanded steadily through-

out German lands, and this continuity may have contributed to the strength of female leadership in Jewish women's voluntary societies. Women had directed most non-Jewish patriotic women's associations independently, and only some of these voluntary societies had used men as bookkeepers or secretaries. However, in many later non-Jewish women's benevolent associations, men were involved in leading the associations or in controlling their activities.³²

Up to 1870, conversely, Jewish women continued to lead the overwhelming majority of their female voluntary societies without male interference and only occasionally enlisted the help of the men in their communities. In Emmendingen in 1823, for instance, a male clerk kept the books under the supervision of the female directors. In other towns, in the second half of the nineteenth century, male secretaries took minutes at meetings and handled the correspondence of the women's associations, while members of all-female boards carried out the bookkeeping themselves. In fact, the records of women's societies in some Jewish communities, including Neuwied in the Rhineland, Ottensoos in Franconia, Lübeck, Mainz, and Würzburg show no trace of male involvement at all.³³ In larger cities such as Hamburg, Frankfurt, Vienna, and Breslau, men sometimes gained influence in Jewish women's associations and, as a tendency, men increasingly held seats along with women on the boards of female voluntary societies.³⁴ Yet overall, Jewish women were more likely than their non-Jewish counterparts to administer their voluntary societies autonomously, well into the second half of the nineteenth century.

Thus, Jewish women's associations distinguished themselves from non-Jewish female voluntary societies, even though Jewish associations expressed and promoted Jewish integration into German middle-class society. The development and in particular the emergence of Jewish women's associations followed its own path. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, Jewish women ran independent women's associations in not less than thirteen urban and rural German Jewish communities, whereas non-Jewish equivalents seem not to have existed in comparable numbers.³⁵ Inner-Jewish dynamics appear to have led to these novel forms of women's participation in the sphere of Jewish voluntary societies. In their desire for upward mobility and their fight against poverty and marginality, Jewish men and women eagerly established benevolent societies. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, the fact that Hebrew prayer and religious study ceased to define Jewish associational life created new openings for Jewish women and facilitated the emergence and the uninterrupted rise of Jewish women's associations in nineteenth-century Germany. Whether the origins of Jewish women's benevolent societies in other European countries and particularly

Talmud Torah remains to be investigated. In Germany the phenomena were related.

FROM RELIGIOUS STUDY AND DAILY PRAYER TO THE BUSINESS OF *Yahrzeit* BENEFITS

German Jews not only tended to abandon religious practices within their voluntary societies, but also transformed the religious culture of Jewish associational life. This process mitigated the exclusion of women from the world of Jewish religiosity. Women had greater access to the religious practices that moved to the foreground in nineteenth-century Jewish voluntary societies than they had had to the culture of male piety that had shaped early modern associational life. Women had for centuries sewn shrouds and performed the rituals that Jewish law prescribed for female corpses. Nevertheless, barred from communal study of rabbinic texts and from halakhically defined prayer circles, women had played a secondary role in the culture of death, as Jews had cultivated it in pre-modern *hevrot*. This situation changed in the nineteenth century, when German Jews adapted customs surrounding death to modern sensibilities and needs. Jewish women's associations and Jewish men's voluntary societies began to fulfill similar religious functions.

Members of the *Israelitische Frauenkrankenkasse* in Frankfurt, which we know already as a large, mid-eighteenth-century Jewish women's sick-benefit association, may never have performed burial rites. However, according to the statutes of the society from 1820, the *Israelitische Frauenkrankenkasse* arranged prayer services for members during the seven days of mourning, after they died. And in 1836, the by-laws of the association featured an entire novel set of regulations. For a fee, the society offered to arrange seven days of prayer services on behalf of individuals who had not been members of the women's association. Moreover, for contributions ranging from 3.5 to 142 times the amount of a yearly membership, the *Israelitische Frauenkrankenkasse* committed itself to honor the death of members and non-members with a variety of services. The association created the option of having daily prayer services held for a period of thirty days or even for eleven months after someone's demise, and it offered to have the *yahrzeit* of a deceased person observed with acts such as the lighting of an oil lamp, the celebration of prayer services, and the reading of a text from the Mishnah by ten men.³⁶ Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the *Israelitische Frauenkrankenkasse* sold prayer services and study sessions that the female members of the association did not hold themselves. Rather, the voluntary society hired men to perform these ceremonies. With this prac-

tice, the *Israelitische Frauenkrankenasse* did not stand alone. As early as 1820, the men's *Israelitische Kranken-Kasse* (Israelite Sick Fund) of nearby Offenbach also offered religious study sessions and prayer services for sale and then paid Jewish men to recite from the Mishnah and to hold services. By the end of the nineteenth century, the selling of religious services had become a common feature in the statutes of modern Jewish institutions. In fact, Jewish voluntary societies founded hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the elderly and the poor, and then required the male inmates of these institutes to observe *yahrzeit* rituals for donors as well as for the members of the societies that ran the institutions. As a relatively early example of this practice, the 1838 statutes of the Jewish boys' orphanage in Hamburg stipulated that major donors were entitled to *yahrzeit* prayers by adolescent inmates. Orphanages in Stettin and Paderborn, founded in the 1850s, honored donors in similar ways, and indeed, gratuities for *yahrzeit* services and for commemorating benefactors and members of benevolent associations could develop into a substantial source of income for modern Jewish welfare institutions.³⁷

The statutes of eighteenth-century burial, sick-care, or study societies, such as the *Israelitische Kranken-Verpflegungs-Anstalt und Beerdigungs-Gesellschaft* in Breslau, do not appear to refer to *yahrzeit* observances.³⁸ In fact, a *hevrah* that formed a regular prayer quorum did not require any specific regulation for this purpose. As an element of synagogue liturgy, the recital of the mourners' *kaddish* constitutes an integral part of Jewish worship. And in the pre-modern setting, when a male Jewish voluntary society did not fulfill the functions of a full-fledged worship community, its members frequented other synagogues that were not affiliated with the *hevrah*, for daily prayers. There, the male worshippers recited the mourners' *kaddish* when it was called for. Yet in the nineteenth century, Jewish men came to neglect practices of communal prayer, and the synagogues that voluntary associations erected on the premises of orphanages, hospitals, and other Jewish welfare institution gained new significance. As residents could be made responsible for holding daily prayer services, these synagogues developed into sites of commemoration for members and benefactors of the voluntary association that operated the Jewish welfare institution. Associations also sold the privilege of being commemorated by inmates of Jewish hospitals, orphanages, or homes for the elderly to any Jew who preferred not to rely on his or her male descendants for the observance of their *yahrzeit*.

Voluntary societies that did not run Jewish welfare institutions entered the business of selling *yahrzeit* benefits to non-members only sporadically. Even male societies with their own synagogue, such as the Breslau sick-benefactor association *Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Guten* (Society for the

Promotion of the Good), observed only the *yahrzeit* of their members—without charging for it. In 1858, the male *Gesellschaft Hachnassath Kallah* (dowry society) of Berlin, however, whose members did not engage in communal prayer, burial rites, or sick visits, assumed responsibility to provide *yahrzeit* commemorations for members in exchange for a donation. The bequest had to be large enough that the accruing interest covered the costs for the *yahrzeit* candle and for hiring men to say the *kaddish* prayer.³⁹ Stipulations of this type can be found in statutes of men's as well as of women's associations and point to the fact that the respective society did not hold regular worship services, occasions at which members would have naturally recited the mourning prayer for a deceased colleague. This, of course, was the case for all Jewish women's associations. Yet in the course of the nineteenth century, men's voluntary societies too withdrew from religious practices that previous generations had valued highly, such as the study of Mishnah and communal prayer in a *hevrah*. The case of the three Jewish voluntary societies in the small town of Ottensoos in Franconia exemplifies how these changes brought nineteenth-century Jewish men's and women's associations into a new alignment.

The *Israelitische Frauenverein* (Israelite Women's Association) of Ottensoos, founded in 1862, had a membership of twenty women in 1868. The group fulfilled some of the functions of a burial society. Its members guarded the bodies of deceased Jewish women and girls, provided shrouds for poor women, escorted coffins to the cemetery, visited female patients, and disbursed charity. Additionally, the association arranged *yahrzeit* observances for women who died without male descendants. Members as well as non-members could purchase this service, which included the lighting of a candle, the recitation of the *kaddish* prayer, and a study session. The 1840 statutes of the male burial society in Ottensoos, the *Hevra Kaddisha De-Gemilut Hasadim* (Holy Society of Loving-Kindness), as opposed to those of the *Israelitischer Frauenverein*, made no explicit provisions for *yahrzeit* commemorations. Founded in 1738, the association still bore features of an early modern *hevra kaddisha* in 1840. Its members performed all the burials in the Jewish community for a fee, visited sick Jews in town, and handed out charity. Moreover, when a member of the *Hevra Kaddisha De-Gemilut Hasadim* died, his fellows gathered during the mourning period in the house of the deceased for prayer and study. Yet, instead of studying the Mishnah, they read "religious-moral" texts.⁴⁰ It remains unclear, whether the members of Ottensoos's burial society turned to Hebrew Musar literature or read contemporary German writings. Certainly, however, they did not engage in Talmud Torah in the customary sense.

Members of another Jewish association in Ottensoos likewise adopted a new approach to Jewish learning. In 1812, Jewish men had established a

voluntary society dedicated to the religious education of its members, called *Hevrah Hadashah* (New Society). According to the 1840 statutes of this organization, the men congregated every Sabbath and on fast days for a Bible reading in Hebrew, followed by a German translation. In these religious assemblies, the active participation and lively discussions that had characterized religious study in the pre-modern setting were shunned. Rather, as the statutes stipulated, members of the *Hevrah Hadashah* were to listen to the weekly Bible readings “in pious silence.”⁴¹ Thus, in this modern equivalent to a Talmud Torah society, reformers had not only replaced rabbinic literature with the Bible, but had also introduced middle-class standards of decorum and contemporary ideas of edification. Additionally and in line with the modern character of the association, the *Hevrah Hadashah* provided *yahrzeit* observances for its members. Like women’s associations, the society hired men to study a passage from the Mishnah and to say *kaddish* in the synagogue.⁴²

In mid-nineteenth-century Ottensoos, thus, a variety of Jewish voluntary associations coexisted, and some of the practices of these associations resist neat categorization into established customs and innovations. The same is true for other Jewish communities in Germany. In fact, not even differences between urban and rural settings are clear-cut. Traditionalist male burial societies and Talmud Torah worship groups persisted even in urban centers well into the twentieth century, while modern-looking associations sprang up in small communities in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Yet the overall trend is unmistakable: associations whose religious functions were accessible to both sexes replaced male *hevrot* that were centered on Hebrew prayer and Talmudic study. The statutes of the two Jewish men’s associations in Ottensoos illustrate the transition from the active learning in study sessions to the decorous delivering of religious texts. Other Jewish voluntary societies dropped practices of religious learning or hired men to study Mishnah in the house of a deceased. In fact, German Jews increasingly employed other Jews to perform burial rites and to hold *yahrzeit* services, instead of engaging in these activities themselves. The new status of *yahrzeit* commemorations resulted from Jewish men’s withdrawal from the practice of daily worship, and in the process *yahrzeit* and memorial services came to supersede the practice of studying Mishnah as a mourning rite.⁴³

In Germany in the nineteenth century, a significant number of Jewish men’s and women’s associations arranged *yahrzeit* commemorations for their members. As a mourning ritual, study and in particular prayer increasingly assumed the character of a service that could be purchased, rather than an honor and a privilege that Jewish men took on proudly. In a

process of professionalizing religious practices, Jewish men began to dele-

gate the performance of religious acts, the exclusive access to which had marked and defined their superior position as men in pre-modern Jewish culture. German-Jewish men became “like women,” as they hired out prayer and study. As opposed to men, women had held auxiliary roles in the early modern Jewish culture of death. Yet now, in their own voluntary societies, they came to perform functions similar to those of their male contemporaries, by arranging prayer and study sessions. By the second half of the century, this equalization of religious roles in Jewish voluntary associations also extended to burial rites.

WOMEN AND BURIAL RITES IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, men’s burial societies constituted standard features in German Jewish communities, while independent female burial societies formed the exception. This did not change significantly in the following decades. Yet women’s associations that combined other areas of benevolence with care for the dead, typically called *Israelitischer Frauenverein* (Israelite Women’s Association), became common. Before these societies appeared in Jewish communities, women often had performed burial rites for other women outside the structures of voluntary societies. In Stargard (Prussia) in 1817, for instance, the Jewish community hired “the widow Meyer Joseph” as *Totenbeerdigungsfrau* (burial woman). Under the supervision of the male burial society, Joseph sewed shrouds for the men and women who had died, and she washed and buried the female deceased. Stargard’s Jewish women aided Meyer with shrouds and ablutions, and the men of the *hevra kaddisha* assisted her at the cemetery.⁴⁴

Similar practices prevailed in other German Jewish communities until the middle of the nineteenth century. With the exception of only a few women’s associations such as the *Hevrat Nashim Zadkaniyot* (Society of Pious Women), founded in Berlin in 1745, female Jewish voluntary societies tended not to be involved in the washing, dressing, watching or burying of the deceased.⁴⁵ Thus in many Jewish communities, men operated burial societies, and Jewish women ran other Jewish voluntary associations. The Jewish *Frauenverein* (Women’s Association) of the small town of Schnaittach in Franconia, for instance, was primarily a sick-care society. Around 1840, the members of the voluntary society visited all ill Jewish women in the town daily, and if they were in need of it, the sick also obtained financial support. In addition, members of the *Frauenverein* of Schnaittach held night watches for each other when they fell ill, and disbursed money to poor Jews when a member of the association died. Members of the male Jewish benevolent society in Schnaittach, the *Chebrat*

Gemilath Chasadim (Association for Deeds of Loving-Kindness), also visited each other when sick. However, as opposed to the *Frauenverein*, the *Chebrat Gemilath Chasadim* was a prayer and study circle whose members performed burial rites for each other and built coffins for every Jewish funeral in town. In 1839, the men's association changed its name to *Hevrat Shokhrei Ha-Tov* (Association of the Seekers of the Good) and additionally adopted the German name *Wohltätigkeits-Verein* (Benevolent Society), but even according to its revised statutes the society still resembled an early modern *hevrah*. The members of *Hevrat Shokhrei Ha-Tov* continued to meet regularly for study and prayer, as generations of Jewish men had done before them.⁴⁶ The women's society, on the other hand, was a more modern type of benevolent association. Its members neither concerned themselves with burial rites, nor engaged in religious study or prayer.

This pattern according to which Jewish women founded a variety of benevolent associations, while men ran burial societies and prayer circles as well as modern-type benevolent societies, also holds true for larger cities such as Hamburg. In 1670, Jewish men in that city had established a burial society. In the eighteenth century, male Talmud Torah and *bikkur holim* associations followed, death-benefit chests and sick-benefit societies appeared, and existing associations expanded their realm of activities. Jewish women's societies emerged in Hamburg in the second decade of the nineteenth century, in the form of welfare societies, while women's involvement in burial rites retained an ambiguous status. In 1841, a female burial society called *Hevra Kaddisha Gemilut Hasadim De-Nashim Zadkanivot* (Holy Society of Loving-Kindness of Pious Women) appears to have existed. Yet, as a chronicler of the men's burial society reports, "the women fulfill[ed] their holy duties quietly," and men stood in the foreground.⁴⁷ In 1870, according to this information, the statutes of the male burial society for the first time referred to the existence of a women's organization, which operated as a branch of the male *hevra kaddisha*. The document lists the name of the women's association now as *Hevrat Nashim Zadkanivot Gemilut Hesed* (Pious Women's Society for Loving-Kindness).

For most other Jewish communities in nineteenth-century Germany, evidence of female burial societies is likewise missing or vague. As in Breslau, women who performed burial rites may have often formed "an association within the association" with little formal status and recognition.⁴⁸ An exception appears to have been a female *hevra kaddisha* in Lübeck, called *Frauen-Chewroh-Kedischoh* (Women's Holy Society).⁴⁹ In Munich, the statutes of the male *hevra kaddisha* from 1827 note that, in the future, the women of the community may found a society dedicated to the burial needs of the female population. Yet, rather than founding a *hevra kaddisha*, the

Jewish women of Munich established a society called *Israelitischer Frauen-*

verein in 1830, whose members cared for sick and poor women in the Jewish community and for Jewish women in childbed. Similarly, when the women affiliated with the Breslau *hevra kaddisha* formally founded their own voluntary society in 1817, this association devoted itself to the support of poor Jewish women in childbed.⁵⁰

Like Jews in Munich, the members of the male *hevra kaddisha* in Stettin, which organization had existed since 1822, wished to form a female burial society. In 1847, Rabbi Wolff Aloys Meisel, acting as an honorary member of the *hevra kaddisha*, invited the Jewish women of the town to a meeting at which the assembled then founded an *Israelitische Frauen-Verein*. In the following decades, this women's association operated as a sick-care and burial society. Its members performed burial rites for the female Jewish population of Stettin, sewed shrouds for men and women, and accompanied every funeral cortege. Furthermore, the women of the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* cared for poor Jewish women when they were sick and administered services to all female community members who fell dangerously ill. According to its statutes from 1857, the male *hevra kaddisha* (now called *Wohltätigkeits- und Begräbnis-Verein der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Stettin*, or Benevolence and Burial Society of the Jewish Community of Stettin) served the poor and the sick male Jewish population in similar ways. Members of the *Wohltätigkeits- und Begräbnis-Verein*, however, also prayed for the sick and held prayer services in houses of the deceased in addition to performing burial rites, supplying coffins, and accompanying corteges.⁵¹ In the 1850s, the Jewish community of Stettin thus possessed a men's and a women's society, both devoted to burial rites and sick care. Members of the male association, however, still engaged in communal prayer and the society retained the name *Begräbnis-Verein* (burial society), while the women's society was called by the more general term *Frauen-Verein* (women's association). Undoubtedly, Jewish women in Stettin had performed burial rites in previous decades, but now their religious and philanthropic engagement found expression in an independent organization.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, women's associations such as the Stettin *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* were founded in many Jewish communities throughout Germany. Most of them were known under the generic name *Israelitischer Frauenverein*, or by the slightly different spelling, *Israelitischer Frauen-Verein*. Members of these societies carried out a broad range of benevolent activities and commonly took on the responsibility to care for the deceased. Such an *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* operated in Pyritz, near Stettin, and, as we have seen, from the 1860s on, in Ottensoos, Franconia. In other Jewish communities, we find variations of the same pattern. Members of the *Israelitischer Frauenverein* of Thorn in Posen, for instance, appear not to have performed rites such as the washing of corpses them-

selves, but only arranged for these services in cooperation with the male burial society. The *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* that Bertha Oppenheimer founded as early as 1845 in Leipzig performed burial rites only for poor women, rather than for the entire female Jewish population. The statutes of the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* in Erfurt from 1857 stand out, as they detail that two male officials (the cantor and communal teacher of religion) guided the women in the execution of burial rites for females. Moreover, we learn that the women's voluntary society possessed edifying literature in German, geared toward the "female soul [*Gemüth*]," which the association lent to the bereaved during the mourning period. In Neuwied, Rhineland, a women's society of the same type carried the name *Israelitischer Wohltätiger Frauenverein* (Israelite Benevolent Women's Association). Members of this association performed burial rituals and sewed shrouds for every deceased Jewish woman in town. Additionally, the *Israelitische Wohltätige Frauenverein* assisted needy and sick Jews as well as poor women in childbirth by supporting them financially and by distributing bread, potatoes, and Passover *mazzot*.⁵²

In these and numerous other associations that began to emerge in the 1840s, the performance of burial rites by women took on organized form. In earlier Jewish women's associations, such as the sick-care society *Israelitische Frauenverein* in Cassel from 1811, activities relating to deaths and funerals had played a significantly smaller role. The Cassel *Israelitische Frauenverein* thus had from its inception invited each of its members to sew shrouds when a Jewish woman in Cassel died. However, only in 1846 did the association found a female burial society that operated as a branch of the *Israelitische Frauenverein*.⁵³ Women had for centuries sewed shrouds and washed and dressed female corpses. Previously, however, men's rabbinic study and Hebrew prayer had held a supreme position in ceremonies surrounding death, and women's participation in burial rites had only rarely taken place in female voluntary associations. In mid-nineteenth-century Germany, female burial societies still formed exceptions. But Jewish women now performed burial rites in voluntary associations called *Israelitischer Frauenverein*.

These women's associations, whose members cared for their deceased colleagues and engaged in other benevolent activities, still formed a common feature of Jewish communal life in the early twentieth century.⁵⁴ *Israelitische Frauenvereine* appeared traditional then. However, half a century earlier, they had constituted an innovation.

This analysis of the transformation of Jewish associational life in nineteenth-century Germany indicates that the same restructuring of the gender order of Jewish culture that took place in realms such as synagogue wor-

ship and devotional practices, also accompanied the embourgeoisement of Jewish voluntary associations. Women had held a marginal and inferior position in a society and culture shaped by rabbinic Judaism, and they experienced greater inclusion in bourgeois Jewish culture, where the gap between male and female religious practices narrowed.

Yet, in significant ways, women's rise to a more visible and integrated place in the world of Jewish voluntary associations fundamentally differed from the developments in other arenas of Jewish religious life. The new forms of female synagogue attendance and young women's participation in modern programs of religious instruction and in confirmation ceremonies were closely linked to the stress on women's allegedly high propensity for religiosity and women's functions as mothers and wives. It often appears as if women's improved position in nineteenth-century middle-class Judaism resulted from male Jewish leaders' high regard for the domestic realm as a religious sphere and as a female domain. Indeed, parallels to the feminization of Christian religions in contemporary middle-class societies support this interpretation. In Christian society, the trend toward the increasingly feminine character of religious culture was contingent on the privatization of religion in civil society and its relegation into the domestic, familial realm. In the Jewish equivalent of this scenario, women took on new functions as carriers of religiosity and of Jewishness, as they came to inhabit a universe of middle-class domesticity.

However, when Jewish women founded and directed voluntary societies, they all but retired into the privacy of their homes. In nineteenth-century civil society, voluntary associations formed a center stage of the public and political arena, and the gender order of bourgeois society rested to a significant extent on the concept of women's exclusion from public spheres.⁵⁵ Moreover, women's entry into the world of Jewish voluntary societies was not facilitated by contemporaries invoking the gender characteristics that bourgeois culture ascribed to the female sex. Indeed, rhetoric lauding women's gentle or caring nature or their beneficial maternal influence was rare in the founding documents of Jewish women's associations in the early nineteenth century. Thus, bourgeois notions of women's moral, religious, and domestic nature played a role when nineteenth-century rabbis and preachers exalted Jewish mothers and promoted women's synagogue attendance. Yet ideas of women's particularly high religious sensitivity and their maternal and domestic roles did not constitute a necessary condition for women to move from a marginal to a more central position in nineteenth-century Jewish culture. In Jewish associational life, women achieved greater integration and founded independent voluntary societies not in accordance with, but in contradiction to bourgeois concepts of *women's natural place in the home*.

We can therefore conclude that, more than anything else, the decline of halakhic Judaism was the determining factor in the transformation of the gender order of Jewish religious culture in nineteenth-century Germany. When bourgeois values and modern cultural and religious practices competed with and often replaced the norms, values, and practices of halakhic Judaism, the mechanism that had held women at the periphery of Jewish religious life failed. Thus, if the concept of the feminization of religion applies to nineteenth-century Jewish culture, it does not primarily describe a domestic Judaism. Instead, one could characterize bourgeois Judaism as feminized, because Jewish men engaged in activities which—within the reference system of rabbinic Judaism—technically fell into the realm of a woman's rather than a man's religious practice. Within the framework of rabbinic culture, when a Jewish man prayed in his native tongue rather than in Hebrew, he at least risked being sneered at for behaving like a woman who was not expected to gain Hebrew literacy. When he hired worshippers to recite halakhically defined mourning prayers, he put himself in the position of a woman who was not able to fulfill this religious obligation herself. Certainly, in pre-modern Jewish society, some Jewish men may have relied on Yiddish-language prayers and may have delegated mourning rituals. Others continued, in the nineteenth century, to study Mishnah and Talmud and to recite Hebrew prayers daily. Nevertheless, when practices such as the arranging of *yahrzeit* services and concepts such as edification as the primary goal and purpose of synagogue attendance became common for increasingly larger segments of German Jewry, a Jewish culture emerged in which men acted "like women." Yet these aspects of religious life now were valued highly. They no longer marked the worshipper as inferior, and men and women engaged in them on equal terms.

SEVEN

Modern Rabbis and Jewish Women



In nineteenth-century German Jewish society, women and rabbis could be friends and allies. The function of the rabbinical profession changed and rabbis and women came to operate in similar ways as experts of morality, religious sensitivity, and bourgeois emotionality. Rabbis, preachers, male pedagogues, and women alike began to take an interest in the education of small children and became involved in the German kindergarten movement. Male Jewish leaders also encouraged Jewish women's literary creativity. Thus, the women- and family-centered theology of preachers and rabbis such as Gotthold Salomon, Adolf Jellinek, and Samson Raphael Hirsch found expression in the relationship between male Jewish leaders and women. As Christian clergymen became confidants and friends of women and cultivated a religiosity in which the clergy believed women to excel, rabbis and Jewish preachers, too, drew closer to the women of their communities who valued or even propagated religious and pedagogical reforms.

In the culture of rabbinic Judaism, Talmudic learning had distinguished a rabbi more than anything else, and through the study of sacred literature, scholars had attained morality and virtue. Accordingly, rabbis and women had existed on different planes. In the nineteenth century, some of this division persisted and modern Jewish scholarship, *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, formed an exclusively male arena. At the same time, however, preachers, rabbis, and male teachers embraced the culture of bourgeois religiosity and came to share interests with women. In nineteenth-century middle-class culture, religion (and in particular morality and religious sentiment) had become a female domain, which rabbis, preachers, and male educators treasured. Thus, many rabbis placed an emphasis on teaching girls, and they enjoyed female company. Rabbis and women formed friendships, and male pedagogues encouraged women to write religious poetry, hymns, and

ers, such as Isaac Marcus Jost and Leopold Stein, also translated and published the work of their female students and friends. Rabbi Leopold Stein, indeed, was closely connected to Louise von Rothschild in Frankfurt and her daughters, who together with their female relatives in England produced an entire body of educational and devotional Jewish literature. Other women such as Therese Warendorff, who was a student and friend of preacher Eduard Kley, wrote hymns that were sung in the Hamburg Temple. Jewish women contributed to communal liturgy, translated the works of their male contemporaries, published their own writings, and drew on the ideas of their male mentors as they entered the politics of maternal feminism.

For nineteenth-century German Jews, the home in which the woman reigned, and the synagogue over which the rabbi presided became parallel and complementary sites of bourgeois religiosity. While other men engaged in business and professional careers, rabbis, preachers, male educators, and women took care of the young and acted as moral guardians of their families and communities. Rabbis and preachers in the synagogue and women in the home were responsible for providing edifying, spiritually uplifting, and aesthetically appealing experiences to adults and children. In the world of middle-class society, bourgeois religiosity overshadowed or even eclipsed halakhic Judaism, rabbinic learning, and ritual observance, and rabbis assumed roles akin to those held by Christian clergy. These modern rabbis had much in common with women. As German Jews integrated into middle-class society, rabbis and women pursued related goals and fulfilled similar educational and religious functions.

FROM THE RABBINIC SCHOLAR TO THE *SELSORGER* AND TEACHER

In pre-modern Ashkenaz, the rabbi derived his power from the depth of his learning in Talmud Torah. He was a *talmid hakham*, a wise scholar, steeped in the legal and intellectual traditions of rabbinic literature. His ability to extract law from the Talmud and from the layers of halakhic writings by generations of rabbinic authorities formed the basis of his jurisdiction within the Jewish community. Thus, in pre-modern society, a rabbi fulfilled the role of a judge, responsible for questions of ritual concern as well as for most other areas of jurisdiction such as property and family law. In fact, rabbinic Judaism did not recognize any distinction between secular and religious law, and Jews regarded the legal codes by which their leaders governed the Jewish communities as based on divine revelation.¹ Thus, erudition in Talmud Torah on the one hand made a *talmid hakham* a master of the law. On the other hand, the study of rabbinic texts placed schol-

ars on a superior religious and moral plane. In the world of rabbinic Judaism, from antiquity through the early modern period, Jews believed that rabbinic learning led a man to moral perfection. Even more so, “study was identical with all the religious virtues, then, including morality.”² A scholar of rabbinic literature had access to the sublime. He was competent in Halakhah, the law that regulated the social order of the Jewish community and guided personal conduct. Furthermore, a scholar’s learning represented virtue.

In early modern Europe, however, Jews increasingly distinguished between study and morality. Gradually, the ideal of learning lost its all-embracing force and ethical writings (*musar* literature) gained unprecedented importance.³ By the nineteenth century, Jewish communities in Germany had almost entirely lost the legal autonomy characteristic of Jewish society in the pre-modern era. The laws of the secular state had replaced internal Jewish jurisdiction in most realms of life. At the same time, Jews had embarked on embracing the value system of the emerging German middle-class society, thereby revolutionizing Jewish culture. *Bildung* now represented learning, character formation, virtue, and social status. German Jews came to expect rabbis to be as familiar with Goethe and Schiller as with the Talmud. Rabbinic study no longer possessed the uncontested prestige it had held in the preceding centuries. In the mid-nineteenth century, German Jewry valued university training and the ability to examine Jewish texts according to modern academic methods at least as much as traditional modes of Jewish learning and familiarity with intricate halakhic arguments and rulings. Yet the character of the rabbinic profession changed even more fundamentally, when German Jews also expected their rabbis to fulfill roles similar to those of the Christian clergy. Thus, rather than primarily being a Talmud scholar and a legal and halakhic authority, the modern rabbi became a preacher, teacher, and spiritual counselor and took on pastoral functions.

As in so many other areas associated with the modernization of Jewish culture and religion in nineteenth-century Germany, the Jewish consistory of Westphalia also pioneered in transforming the rabbinate. Its first important order, entitled “Duties of the Rabbis” and published in 1809, reads as a blueprint for the new professional profile of a communal rabbi. Most of all, the order stipulated, a rabbi needed “to set an example of moral conduct for his community.”⁴ The Westphalian reformers, however, no longer understood the moral excellence of a rabbi to be best expressed through the high standards of his Talmudic learning or in his scrupulous observance of ritual commandments. Rather, a rabbi was to demonstrate ethical superiority by visiting and comforting the sick and the mourning. With this ordi-

the consistory assigned the pastoral functions of Christian clergy to

the rabbi, whose responsibilities had hitherto not included being a *Seelsorger* (caretaker of souls). As a further innovation, the Westphalian consistory listed the delivery of edifying sermons, preferably in High German, among the most important tasks of a rabbi, and it ordained that all wedding ceremonies be conducted by communal rabbis.⁵ While Jewish communities in Westphalia failed to adopt these reforms broadly and permanently, over the succeeding decades German Jewry increasingly expected its rabbis to be *Seelsorger*, preachers, and exemplars of religious sensitivity and bourgeois morality.

Commonly, scholars measure the modernization of the German rabbinate by assessing the number of rabbis who received a university degree in addition to customary training in Talmud Torah. A university education, indeed, indicated that a Jewish man had achieved a substantial degree of integration into middle-class society and had become thoroughly familiar with the German culture of *Bildung*. Such education constituted a marker of cultural competence and invested Jewish leaders with prestige. Most Jewish reformers of the early nineteenth century, including Israel Jacobson, Jeremiah Heinemann, David Fränkel, and Gotthold Salomon, had been educators, ideologues, and preachers who had not attended universities. They had made themselves familiar with the treasures of German literature and culture outside the established institutions of higher learning and thereby had gained a novel sense of dignity, self-esteem, and purpose. The generation of rabbis who were born in the first decade of the nineteenth century—including Samuel Adler, Abraham Geiger, Salomon Herxheimer, Samuel Holdheim, Leopold Stein, and Samson Raphael Hirsch—began to enroll in university classes in the 1830s. Thus in the 1840s, university-trained rabbis and preachers came to serve Jewish communities throughout Germany and Central Europe, and by the second half of the nineteenth century, the rabbinic leadership in Germany consisted of men with an academic education and modern ideas on religion and Jewish culture. These men, who were Reform preachers, modern Orthodox rabbis, faculty and graduates of the Jüdisch-theologisches Seminar, and modern traditionalists, all donned the black clerical robes and collar bands of Christian clergy, complemented by prayer shawls and black skullcaps, when officiating at synagogue services. Previously, prayer leaders had not worn *Amtstracht* (official attire) or any other uniform garb beyond what was halakhically prescribed and locally customary. Moreover, the nineteenth-century rabbis and preachers who had immersed themselves in German literature and scholarship strove to excel as orators. In eloquent and carefully composed sermons in High German, these Jewish leaders aimed to ennoble the tastes of their congregants, to culturally uplift the worshippers, and to inspire them with a sense of holiness and wholeness.⁶

Rabbis and preachers presided at the life-cycle events of the men, women, and children in their communities, overseeing confirmations, weddings, and funerals. For many, Talmudic study no longer played a central role. Isaac Noah Mannheimer in Vienna, for instance, readily admitted that his rabbinic learning was limited. Born in Copenhagen in 1793 and raised there, he had attended a university in Denmark at a time when his colleagues in Germany had only rarely received a formal secular education. Yet Mannheimer had no intention of standing out as a modern Jewish scholar. He did not understand himself primarily as a man of learning. From 1824 to 1865, he served the Jewish community in Vienna as a preacher, delivering his sermons at the Vienna temple with passion and in a distinctly personal style. Mannheimer took pride in the popularity he enjoyed as a public speaker, but even more than his preaching he prized being a *Seelsorger*, spiritual counselor, and intimate friend of his congregants. In fact, he considered the pastorate his “most sacred calling.”⁷⁷

In modern Orthodox congregations, the concept of a rabbi as a scholar and as the halakhic authority of his community did not erode to the same extent. Orthodox Jews remained committed to ritual observance and were loyal to Halakhah as the foundation of Jewish life. A rabbi’s ability to interpret Talmudic law continued to be of vital importance in a modern Orthodox community. By the second half of the nineteenth century, however, no Jewish community in Germany would have considered hiring a rabbi who did not possess a university education along with training in interpreting rabbinic literature. Like other German Jews, adherents of the modern Orthodox movement desired a rabbi to have well-developed skills as an orator, and they expected him to represent the ideals of his community as a person. Rather than a “luminary of Torah” who lived in a world of text and taught Talmud to a select group of male students, a modern Orthodox rabbi, like his Reform counterpart, mixed with his community. Spreading the principles of Jewish law and the spirit of the Jewish faith among the old and the young, and among women, men, and children, formed the ultimate task of a modern Orthodox rabbi. The rabbi of a nineteenth-century modern Orthodox congregation fulfilled, most of all, the function of “a teacher and an educator of the people.”⁷⁸

Teaching children was not beneath the dignity of modern rabbis, and Jewish leaders showed great concern for the spiritual and moral development of the young. They were invested in securing the faithfulness of future generations to the Jewish religion. Thus, modern Orthodox as well as Reform rabbis took particular interest in teaching girls, who presumably would grow up to be mothers. Though contemporaries believed that both parents played an important role in the education of their offspring, in the cultural universe of middle-class Jewry, the ultimate responsibility for char-

acter formation and the religious loyalty of young Jews lay in the hands of women. Some of the most prominent rabbis and scholars, therefore, taught girls.

With a combination of admiration and disdain, a visiting rabbi from Lithuania noted in the second half of the nineteenth century that the rabbi of the modern Orthodox congregation in Berlin, Esriel Hildesheimer, held lectures on Jewish law and Bible in front of young girls and women. Other Jewish leaders, however, had begun to teach Jewish girls decades earlier. In the 1840s, Moritz Steinschneider for instance remained the principal teacher of a private Jewish girls' school in Prague, even after he had received his ordination as a rabbi. Born in a small Moravian town in 1816, Steinschneider had attended the universities of Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig, and Prague and had gained broad competence in philosophy, history, linguistics, and particularly in Middle Eastern languages. Already in his years as a teacher in Prague, he was an achieved scholar, and later in life he gained a worldwide reputation as the founder of Hebrew bibliographical scholarship. Yet during most of his career, Steinschneider failed to support himself and his family with his scholarly work, and he had no calling to serve as a communal rabbi, preferring to be an educator. In fact, rather than pursuing his doctorate, he acquired state certification as a pedagogue and in 1869 accepted a position as director of the girls' school of the Berlin Jewish community.⁹ Nineteenth-century German Jews did not consider teaching girls an inferior occupation, and rabbis such as Abraham Geiger and Leopold Stein chose to instruct girls as well as boys.

In 1843, three years after he had assumed his position as rabbi in Breslau, Geiger established a private religious school in that city. The school catered to children who attended non-Jewish educational institutions. Soon the Jewish community took over the school, but Geiger did not lose interest in the establishment. He continued to direct it and taught there himself. Similarly, Eduard Kley, director of the Jewish Free School in Hamburg and first preacher at the Hamburg Reform Temple, gave classes in religion to children of both sexes. Among his students was not only Johanna Goldschmidt, who later gained prominence as a writer and an activist of the German kindergarten movement, but also Therese Warendorff, daughter of one of the founders of the Temple, Joseph Warendorff. Kley and Therese Warendorff developed a lasting personal friendship. In Warendorff's obituary from 1865, a contemporary asserted that the close tie between the preacher and his former student honored Kley as much as it did Warendorff. Warendorff, "a model of most tender femininity" even though she remained unmarried, had excelled in Jewish and non-Jewish philanthropy and had belonged to a circle of friends dedicated to progress and religious

ardently in the communal life of the Reform temple. As her most significant contribution to the congregation, Warendorff had composed religious hymns, which her mentor and confidant Kley included in the songbook of the *Neue Israelitische Tempel-Verein*. The “most soulful” hymns of the songbook, the obituary claimed, stemmed from Warendorff’s pen.¹⁰

Kley’s hymnbook, indeed, contained songs composed by him as well as by male and female authors, and Kley was not the only Jewish leader who included women’s writings in his publications. Rabbi Samson Wolf Rosenfeld in Bamberg, for instance, published poetry on biblical themes by Henriette Ottenheimer in his periodical *Das Füllhorn*.¹¹ Rosenfeld was born in Markt-Uehlfeld in Bavaria in 1780, had not attended a university, and throughout his life remained fully committed to the observance of ritual laws. He shunned violations of Halakhah. Yet Rosenfeld embraced modern ideas about Judaism and his role as a rabbi. In the second decade of the 1800s, he was the first recognized and ordained rabbi in Bavaria to regularly give edifying sermons in High German, and he adapted the Protestant book of devotions *Stunden der Andacht* by Heinrich Zschokke for a Jewish audience. In 1835, he founded the journal *Das Füllhorn*—a relatively early Jewish publication—to propagate the new type of Jewish culture in nineteenth-century Germany.¹²

In *Das Füllhorn*, Rosenfeld printed Ottenheimer’s verses along with sermons, poetry, and a variety of instructive and enlightening contributions by male authors. The well-educated Henriette Ottenheimer, who was born in Stuttgart in 1807 and was partly paralyzed from a young age, wrote poetry in which she praised the Jewish past and the Jewish faith. In Rosenfeld’s periodical, she was given a public voice in Jewish culture. In the same vein, Leopold Stein published poetry by Minna Cohen in his journal *Der Freitagabend* (The Friday Evening). Stein, who had been born in a small town in Lower Franconia in 1810, was serving as rabbi in Frankfurt when he founded *Der Freitagabend* in 1859. He directed the periodical to the Jewish family, and on a title page of *Der Freitagabend* glowingly introduced Minna Cohen to his readers. At the time, Cohen was a gifted and carefully educated young woman in her teens from Elmshorn in Northern Germany. She had confessed to Stein that his publications inspired her to speak out on behalf of the Jewish people. Later, Cohen married Rabbi Levi Kleeberg; in 1866, she left Germany with him and continued to publish poetry in North America.¹³

Nineteenth-century rabbis no longer inhabited a world sharply distinguished from women’s expressions of piety. Many rabbis taught girls, became mentors and friends of women in their communities, and sometimes encouraged female literary creativity and published women’s works. For Christian middle-class society, the affinity and connections between clergy-

men and women have been explored extensively, and the figure of the feminized minister or priest is a well-documented feature of the nineteenth century. Clergymen such as some Catholic priests distanced themselves from male forms of sociability and appearance. They avoided taverns, refrained from growing beards, and donned the cassock rather than the customary masculine frock coat. In fact, religion and especially bourgeois religiosity became associated with a female lifestyle, and contemporaries expected women and clergy to possess the same virtues and to embrace the same standards of morality. Women indeed attended church services more frequently than many men in their families did and sought the company and the friendship of clerics. In particular, women from economically established or upwardly mobile families that took an interest in cultural refinement, bourgeois forms of sensitivity, and aesthetics, approached clergy members as confidants with whom they shared interests, concerns, and values.¹⁴

We owe an account of the feminization of clergymen in nineteenth-century America to the literary scholar Ann Douglas. The Protestant minister, Douglas has observed, “moved in a world of women. He preached mainly to women; he administered what sacraments he performed largely for women; he worked not only for them but with them, in mission and charity work of all kinds.”¹⁵ In fact, the functions that middle-class women and Christian ministers fulfilled resembled each other closely: both were expected to brighten the lives of their contemporaries and to spiritually and morally uplift their families or their congregations. Lacking political power, women and ministers sought to gain “moral’ and ‘religious’ control” over the young as mothers, educators, and spiritual counsellors.¹⁶

A similar development took place in nineteenth-century German Jewish society. As German Jewry aspired to emancipation, strove to integrate into the middle classes, and adopted the value system and the lifestyles of their non-Jewish counterparts, the social spheres and cultural sensibilities of rabbis, preachers, and women increasingly converged. Thus, a rabbi such as Leopold Stein in Frankfurt on the Main insisted on teaching children, chose to direct a girls’ school, formed close friendships with his female congregants, and guided Jewish women as authors.

LEOPOLD STEIN, LOUISE VON ROTHSCHILD, AND CLEMENTINE VON ROTHSCHILD

In 1844, the reform-minded faction of the Jewish community in Frankfurt overcame the resistance of more traditionalist community members and hired Leopold Stein as a rabbi. As a young man, Stein had studied at the prestigious yeshivah of Fürth but then had attended the *Gymnasium* in Er-

langen and Bayreuth as well as the University of Würzburg. Subsequently, he served as rabbi in two small communities in Upper Franconia and made a name for himself as a preacher and a modernizer. Stein was dedicated to synagogue reform and to a modern-style religious education for Jewish youth. Under his leadership, the Jewish community of Frankfurt came to reform the worship at its main synagogue. Jews there introduced German prayers and German hymns into the service and carried out other changes in liturgy and worship. Additionally, morning services now featured a regular sermon in the German language, and Stein came to enjoy the reputation of an exceedingly popular speaker. Yet, during the eighteen years of his appointment in the Frankfurt Jewish community, he was engaged in a series of conflicts with the community board over the realm of his rabbinical competence. These disagreements included a dispute about whether the rabbi was to be in charge of the schooling of Jewish children at the Philanthropin and in particular of the religious instruction of Jewish girls and boys. The Philanthropin, the Jewish Free School of Frankfurt, had formed the cradle of religious reform in the city and was a stronghold of modern and independent minds. Progressive laymen had created the institute at a time when conservatives had dominated the community board and the rabbinic, and now the modernizers were unwilling to cede any authority over the school to communal rabbi Stein, though he was a reformer like them. A year after Stein had assumed office, the leaders of the Philanthropin still celebrated the confirmation of their students without letting Stein play a role in the ceremony. Instead, the director, Michael Heß, delivered the address at the event, and the religion teacher performed the blessing of the children. Thus excluded by the Philanthropin from an area of religious life that he considered central to his profession, Stein established his own program of religious instruction for Jewish children attending non-Jewish schools. He confirmed these boys and girls in the synagogue. However, Stein persisted in trying to gain control over the educational program at the Free School. He failed and, in 1862, after years of dispute in which the conflict over the religious instruction of Frankfurt's Jewish children formed an important but not the only point of contention, Stein resigned from his position.¹⁷

Rather than pursuing his rabbinic career elsewhere, Stein remained in Frankfurt and, with his wife Eleonore and the help of his daughters, established a boarding school for girls. In his school, he taught religion, literature, mythology, and creative writing, apparently with great success. His children reported that "the students hang enthusiastically on his every word."¹⁸ Stein's children also fondly remembered the Sabbath evenings that the family and its boarders celebrated, and they recalled with delight how Stein would sing self-composed songs at the dinner table.¹⁹



7.1. Depiction of the girls' boarding school that Leopold Stein and his family ran in Frankfurt. *Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York. Archival Collection Leopold Stein R 35.*

Stein, in fact, had a passion for composing songs and poems. In addition to Sabbath hymns, he wrote a large number of poems, many dedicated or addressed to family members, friends, and students. He created verses for birthdays, confirmation ceremonies, and weddings, and wrote poems on religious and moral issues. In his verses, he praised modesty, industry, friendship, and youthful innocence and, in particular, he lauded the female contribution to culture and society in poems with titles such as “About the *Bildung* of Women” and “Praise of the Better Woman.”²⁰

The religious and moral sensitivity that Stein expressed in his poetry stood at the core of his identity as a rabbi. He revered family life, domestic virtue, and a moral purity understood by contemporaries as feminine. His position as director of a boarding school for girls that functioned as his enlarged family, gave him the opportunity to practice the aspects of his rabbinical vocation that were dear to him. Stein loved to be a teacher and ap-



7.2. Engraving of Leopold Stein (1810–1882) on the title page of a handwritten book of his poetry that Sidonie Dann (born 1835) prepared for her sister-in-law and Stein's eldest daughter, Dorothea Dann (1841–1900) in 1883 in Frankfurt. *Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York. Archival Collection Leopold Stein R 3.*

proached his students with affection and dedication. He was also active in philanthropy, and officiated as a preacher and prayer leader at Sabbath services in his home and in the Reform congregation *Westend-Union*, which grew out of these private services. Moreover, Stein persistently published works in which he promoted religious reform and cultural improvement.

He composed prayer and songbooks, religious manuals, sermons, dramas and plays, and poetry.²¹ However, he lacked scholarly ambitions and wrote neither any work of academic relevance nor any significant halakhic treatise. Other German Jewish religious leaders, conversely, knew how to combine love for poetry and commitment to serious and well-founded scholarship. In fact, at least some of the rabbis of this period who achieved distinction as scholars of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* shared Stein's fondness for verse. Abraham Geiger, for instance, protagonist of the German Reform movement and author of influential academic publications, not only valued Jewish family life highly, but for decades also composed poetry. In the 1870s, the widowed scholar wrote verses for Johanna Löwenstein, the middle-aged, married daughter of his colleague Salomon Herxheimer. The poems, in which Geiger expressed his longings, hopes, musings, and doubts, testify to a strong connection and an intimate friendship between Geiger and Löwenstein.²²

Stein, too, cultivated personal friendships with women and developed warm ties with his students. He cared deeply about the spiritual life of his female protégées and encouraged women's literary creativity. The enthusiastic welcome he gave Minna Cohen in his periodical *Der Freitagabend* did not form an exception. Stein's appreciation of women's moral and aesthetic sensibilities and his support for women's authorship of religious literature also expressed itself in Stein's relationship to Louise von Rothschild and her daughters. Louise von Rothschild had been born into the English branch of the Rothschild family in 1820 and had come to Frankfurt to marry her cousin Mayer Carl von Rothschild in 1842. Louise and Mayer Carl both belonged by birth to the third generation of the extraordinarily successful Rothschild family, a family of bankers with branches in London, Naples, Paris, Vienna, and Frankfurt. Mayer Carl's brother Wilhelm Carl von Rothschild is known for supporting the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* in Frankfurt and for furthering the cause of modern Orthodoxy in the city. Yet Mayer Carl von Rothschild's and his wife Louise von Rothschild's sympathies lay with the Reform movement; accordingly, they entrusted Leopold Stein with the religious instruction of their seven children, all of them daughters. Thus, already during his tenure as a communal rabbi, Stein was a regular guest in their home, where he and Louise von Rothschild shared the responsibility of providing moral and religious guidance to the daughters of the house.²³ Like her sister-in-law, namesake, and friend in England, Louise de Rothschild (née Montefiore), Louise von Rothschild in Frankfurt used to assemble her daughters on Sabbath for Bible lessons. Some of her talks appeared in London under the title *Thoughts Suggested by Bible Texts*. Having never become comfortable with and truly fluent in the German language, von Rothschild had held the talks in English and published them in her native tongue.²⁴

Thoughts Suggested by Bible Texts consists of sixteen short essays on subjects such as faith, charity, neighborly love, immortality, unity, God's attributes, industry, uprightness, respect for the parents, honor for the aged, Moses, and the Sabbath. Each speech is preceded by a verse from the Bible, introducing the theme of the address, and usually followed by a short prayer. The prayer as well as the talks, however, lack any particularly Jewish content. The essay on the Sabbath, for instance, in general terms relates to the seventh day of the week, as a day on which "we are to cease from our weekly toil," "a day of reflection, of peace, and of thanksgiving," and a day of self-examination, "when we are to try to mend and purify ourselves," reflecting on one's acts of idleness, selfishness, or untruth and remembering the greatness and the mercy of the Divine.²⁵ Primarily, thus, von Rothschild focused on the moral dimension of the Jewish religion, or of other monotheistic faiths based on the Bible. The speeches and prayers were designed to lead her daughters and other children to virtuous behavior and spiritual purity. The prayer following the talk on neighborly love accordingly stated: "Make me obedient and respectful to my parents, forbearing, obliging, and affectionate to my brothers and sisters, considerate and polite to all around me, compassionate and charitable to the poor."²⁶ Even in the essay entitled "The Precepts," von Rothschild did not touch upon the ritual commandments of halakhic Judaism. Rather, she discussed broadly the obligations and responsibilities humans have toward each other (such as generosity), and she elaborated on the gratefulness everybody should feel toward the Almighty. In her work *Thoughts Suggested by Bible Texts*, von Rothschild thus offered a most universalist interpretation of Judaism, in which the moral codes and religious sensibilities of nineteenth-century bourgeois culture figured prominently. In the German translation of her publication, appearing two years after the original English edition, the translator indeed noted that von Rothschild's text had "no confessional character, and therefore can be used by every religiously minded mother and every pious child."²⁷

The translator of von Rothschild's work was no one other than Leopold Stein. He may, in fact, have encouraged von Rothschild to publish her religious and moral essays in the first place. Stein not only translated her addresses to her children and issued them in German, but also published the work of one of Louise's daughters, Clementine von Rothschild, *Briefe an eine christliche Freundin* (Letters to a Christian Friend). In this work, Clementine von Rothschild promoted a religiosity defined within the parameters of bourgeois morality, as her mother did in *Thoughts Suggested by Bible Texts*. Clementine von Rothschild declared the ennoblement of one's soul to be the highest goal in life, lauded feminine virtues such as patience, meekness, gentleness, and self-restraint, and exalted a woman's

duty to transform her family's home into a haven of happiness and morality.²⁸ In other respects, however, Clementine's work differs significantly from Louise's publication. *Briefe an eine christliche Freundin* is a distinctly Jewish work and constitutes a serious piece of literature in the tradition of classic apologetic treatises. In fact, the work must have enjoyed a fair amount of popularity. It appeared in at least two German and two English editions within less than twenty years and was also translated from English into French and from French into Italian.²⁹

As the title indicates, *Briefe an eine christliche Freundin* consists of nine letters, in which the author expounds the principles of Judaism to a Christian friend. In the work, the fictional friend, Ellen, challenges the author with questions such as why Jews failed to proselytize if it was their faith that led to salvation, and what the Jewish Messiah stood for if not redemption from humanity's original sin. The Jewish correspondent, Esther Izates, in turn defines the mission of Jews in the Diaspora as a means of "bearing testimony to God and his great name."³⁰ Jews refrained from proselytizing, Izates claims, because according to Jewish sources, all virtuous, morally upright, and God-fearing people could attain salvation, regardless of their faith. In the same thoroughly universalist interpretation of the Jewish tradition, von Rothschild lets Izates explain that messianic belief in Judaism did not focus on the appearance of a personal Messiah. Rather, the messianic era will begin, she says, "when all religions will have purified themselves."³¹ Then, facilitated by their degraded status, the Israelites will have led all nations to God. Religious strife will cease and peace and happiness will reign on earth. In a similar vein, Izates refutes her friend's suggestion that the Jewish concept of chosenness expressed disdain for Gentiles, and finally, she confronts the popular claim that Christianity introduced love into the world while Judaism was governed by the principle of justice. Emphatically, von Rothschild insists that love formed the basis of the Jewish religion too. God, she holds, indeed loves his people with the generous spirit of a caring father as well as with the feminine tenderness of a mother.³²

In direct and simple language, with skill, grace, and eloquence, von Rothschild discussed a range of issues central in contemporary Jewish thought. She not only repeatedly quoted from the Bible, but also referred to rabbinic literature and cited the Talmud. As Leopold Stein reported in the introduction to *Briefe an eine christliche Freundin*, von Rothschild had studied Jewish literature in its original Hebrew and had also enjoyed reading modern works such as Mendelssohn's *Phädon*. In fact, von Rothschild was familiar with the theological debates within the Reform movement and probably owed most of her competency in Jewish literature and Jewish

thought to his teacher Stein. According to Stein, it was indeed he who sug-

gested that his student write the essays that he later published under the title *Briefe an eine christliche Freundin*.³³

Briefe an eine christliche Freundin appeared in 1867, two years after Clementine von Rothschild had died at the age of twenty. Von Rothschild, in fact, appears to have been sick for most of her life. From childhood on, she had suffered an illness that had often kept her bedridden. Stein regretted Clementine von Rothschild's delicate constitution. Yet he considered her the brightest and most gifted of the Rothschild daughters, and not only admired her talent and "her clear, strong, independent thinking" as a teacher, but also found a true friend in her.³⁴ Apparently, Stein loved reading the Book of Psalms, studying other Jewish texts, and even discussing his scholarly projects with his adolescent student. At least as much as Stein valued the intellectual exchange with von Rothschild, he also treasured her as a partner in the quest for moral purity. In her obituary, Stein praised von Rothschild's "most tenderly feeling soul" and her sincere religiosity, which had touched him deeply. The hours spent with her, Stein claimed, "count among the holiest of my entire professional life."³⁵ Accordingly, in poetry and prose, Stein expressed his grief over the loss of his favorite student.³⁶

For Stein, so he asserted, being the teacher and friend of Clementine von Rothschild represented the climax of his career as a rabbi. He prized her fervent enthusiasm for Judaism, which she united "with female mildness, with kindheartedness beyond description, and with the purest, most sincere love for all humans." As he declared in von Rothschild's obituary, the deceased had embodied morality and virtue, and had possessed an extraordinary sensitivity for the sublime.³⁷ In the spiritual connection with his female student, Stein found a fulfillment of his professional calling. The phenomenon is telling. Here we have come a long way from the rabbi as a *talmid hakham*, whose pride and virtue stemmed from his ability to extract truth from the Scripture and to provide guidance in the realm of Jewish law. For a nineteenth-century rabbi such as Leopold Stein, the male domain of Talmud Torah no longer stood at the center of his identity as a spiritual leader of his community. Stein loved preaching and teaching, and most of all he considered it his vocation to propagate enlightened religiosity, moral ennoblement, and cultural refinement. He published hymn collections and prayer books, composed plays and poetry, and strove to realize the values of bourgeois religiosity in his life. Stein and other German rabbis cultivated a culture of morality, sensitivity, and religious sentiment that not only included women, but in which women were believed to excel. Contemporaries highly valued what they considered to be the specifically feminine contribution to religion and culture; at least some rabbis sought

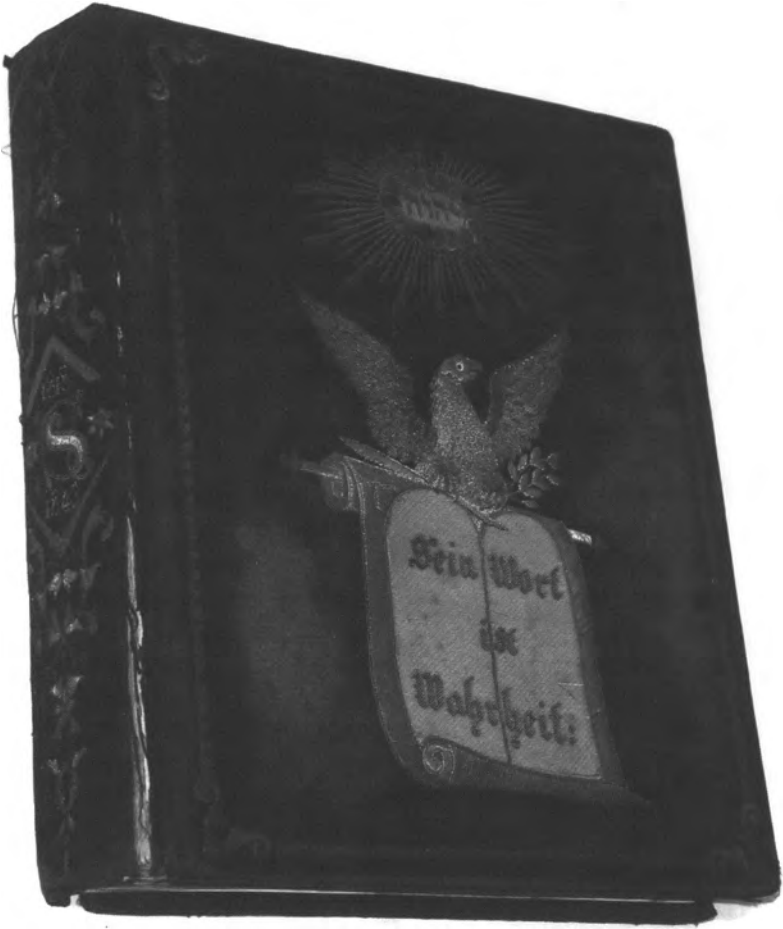
the company of women, in this world of nineteenth-century bourgeois re-

ligiosity, rabbis and women, who previously had operated on different intellectual and spiritual planes, could meet. Women could become students, friends, and allies of German rabbis.

PREACHERS, RABBIS, MALE EDUCATORS,
AND JEWISH WOMEN FOR KINDERGARTENS
AND RELIGIOUS REFORM

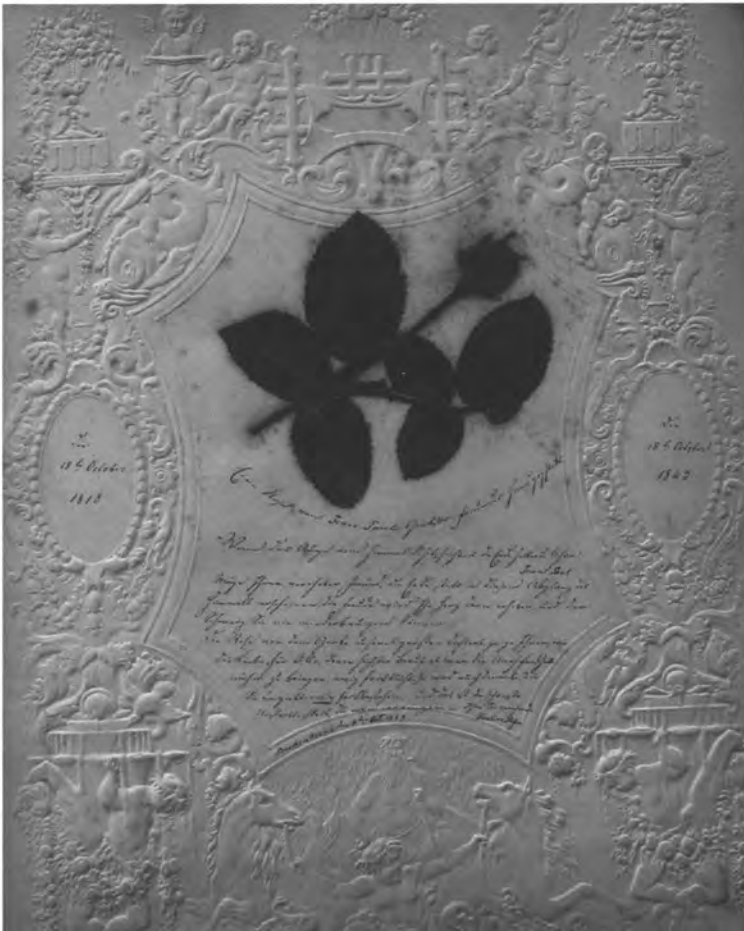
Gotthold Salomon was a veteran of the strand of modern Jewish thought that credited women, and in particular Jewish mothers, with guaranteeing the survival of Judaism. He belonged to the first generation of Jewish reformers who had begun lauding women's great mission in culture and society early in the nineteenth century. Salomon had pioneered in promoting a woman-centered program of religiosity in *Sulamith*; he had created the first modern devotional book for Jewish women; and in 1818, he had come to the newly founded Hamburg Temple to praise women in his sermons for making the Jewish home into a cradle of religiosity, morality, and civility.³⁸ Thus, the women of the Hamburg Jewish community, among them Johanna Goldschmidt (née Schwabe), felt warmly for Salomon. Goldschmidt had been twelve years old when Salomon had assumed his position as a preacher at the Hamburg Reform congregation, which her father, the affluent merchant Marcus Hertz Schwabe, had helped to found. Still a child, Goldschmidt had attended courses of religious instruction taught by Eduard Kley, and as she grew up, she must have heard Salomon preach many times. In fact, in the late 1840s, after she had married into another Jewish family of the Hamburg commercial elite and had given birth to eight children, Goldschmidt and other Jewish women in Hamburg became involved in feminist movements whose ideas strongly resembled Gotthold Salomon's theology: the interconfessional women's movement in Hamburg and the German kindergarten movement, called the Fröbel movement.³⁹ The leaders of these movements and Jewish preachers, educators, and rabbis such as Salomon, Kley, and Stein shared the belief that as mothers and female teachers, women played a crucial role in imbuing the young with the qualities necessary for becoming moral and useful citizens. These ideas on womanhood, motherhood, and education, propagated by Salomon and Kley, appear to have laid the ground for Goldschmidt's political involvement with maternal feminism.

Salomon's and Goldschmidt's families also cultivated personal ties, which in 1846 led to the marriage between Goldschmidt's daughter Henriette and Salomon's son Moritz Gustav, a physician.⁴⁰ Three years earlier, Johanna Goldschmidt and four other women of her family had expressed their affection and respect for Gotthold Salomon in a remarkable present



7.3. The album that a group of Jewish women presented to Gotthold Salomon (1784–1862) for his twenty-fifth anniversary as a preacher at the Hamburg Temple in 1843. *Courtesy of the Staatsarchiv Hamburg. Collection Jüdische Gemeinde Hamburg, 571 b. Photo by Gerhard Faller-Walzer.*

for their friend and spiritual leader.⁴¹ According to Salomon himself, the women had set him a “memorial of friendship,” which twenty years after still brought tears to his eyes.⁴² In 1843, during a ceremony in honor of Salomon’s twenty-fifth anniversary as a preacher at the Hamburg Temple, Goldschmidt and her female relatives had presented the Jewish leader with an album in red velvet, in which they had collected almost a hundred letters of congratulations to Salomon from friends and from personalities across the Jewish world.



7.4. The page that Pauline Riesser (1816–1894) from Frankfurt contributed to Salomon’s anniversary album. *Courtesy of the Staatsarchiv Hamburg. Collection Jüdische Gemeinde Hamburg, 571 b. Photo by Gerhard Faller-Walzer.*

Including letters from Christian dignitaries such as the Bishop of Potsdam and the Knight Carl Gottlob Albrecht, the album contained poems, eulogies, and expressions of friendship for Salomon from well-known rabbis such as Abraham Geiger, Ludwig Philippson, Samuel Holdheim, Salomon Herxheimer, and Leopold Stein; from the physician and scholar Salomon Ludwig Steinheim in Altona; and from leaders of the Jewish community in Vienna. Salomon received greetings from London and St. Petersburg. From France, the lawyer and Jewish activist Adolphe Crémieux, who later was to become Minister of Justice as well as president of the Al-

liance Israélite Universelle, sent his good wishes. From Frankfurt, the sister-in-law of the German advocate of Jewish emancipation Gabriel Riesser—Pauline Riesser—contributed a beautifully decorated note with a dried rose from the grave of the much revered German Jean Paul.⁴³ The rose was to show Solomon, Riesser explained, that love for leaders such as himself and Jean Paul never perishes.

From cities across Germany such as Breslau, Brunswick, and Dresden, women and men had paid tribute to Salomon. Their notes were collected and bound into the red velvet album, which had intricate and carefully executed embroidery on the front and side of its cover. The embroidery at the front shows the Hebrew letters for God in an aureole above an eagle carrying a tablet with the German inscription “His word is truth.” The first page contains a dedication by the five women who created the album, and the second page has a poem in rich and colorful calligraphy, comparing Salomon’s ability to inspire his community with religious enthusiasm to the eagle who leads the way “through darkness and fog” to divine light. Johanna Goldschmidt and her female relatives put considerable effort into assembling and decorating the album for Salomon’s anniversary, and they were able to contact dozens of Jewish and some Christian men and women throughout Germany and Europe. Evidently, they cared deeply for him and with the album endorsed the Judaism that Salomon propagated. In fact, Goldschmidt has been credited for advertising this reformed Jewish religiosity herself in the book *Rebekka und Amalia: Briefwechsel einer Israelitin und einer Adligen über Zeit- und Lebensfragen* (Rebekka and Amalia: Correspondence between an Israelite Woman and a Noblewoman about Issues of the Time and of Life).

Rebekka und Amalia appeared anonymously in 1847 and the authorship of the work has at times been attributed to a Protestant minister named Alexander Wilhelm Rudolf Sande. However, contemporaries and friends of Johanna Goldschmidt in Hamburg considered her to have written the book, a text that lauds the merits of a purified and modernized Judaism and elaborates on the mission of women as mothers.⁴⁴ The work is a collection of fictional letters between a Jewish and a Christian woman who meet at a spa and, sharing the same values, develop a close friendship. Not unlike Esther Izates in *Briefe an eine christliche Freundin*, Rebekka—the Jewish correspondent in *Rebekka und Amalia*—praises “the pure teachings of our faith, [which, if] cleaned from antiquated customs, equip the heart with strength and enthusiasm.”⁴⁵ She rejects intermarriage and conversion. Yet the book supports and propagates the integration of Jews into German society, and it defends Jewish civil rights. Rebekka educates Amalia about the civil disadvantages and social humiliations suffered by the Jewish population at the time, and she also expresses the hope that “the healthy sense of the German people will surely fight for our [Jewish] rights.”⁴⁶

Rebekka und Amalia provided a blueprint for Christian–Jewish rapprochement. Together, Rebekka and Amalia discuss the responsibilities of women as mothers for promoting social justice, moral perfection, and civil progress, and Amalia goes as far as to conceive the idea of “an association of excellent women and girls, led by noblewomen, burghers, Protestants, Catholics, and Israelites! All should be inspired with the sublimity of the united effort” and believe in “complete and purest tolerance.”⁴⁷

Emma Isler reported in her memoirs that this call for an inter-confessional women’s group that would advocate social and legal equality for German Jews fell on fertile ground in Hamburg. Amalie Westendarp, the oldest daughter of a well-respected Christian manufacturer in the city, Heinrich Christian Meyer, read *Rebekka und Amalia* and contacted Johanna Goldschmidt as the author of the book. The two women took a liking to each other, and in the ensuing decades they worked together on numerous inter-confessional women’s projects. Goldschmidt herself was already involved in a women’s association that promoted religious tolerance when *Rebekka und Amalia* appeared. She had helped found the *Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung der Deutsch-Katholiken* (Women’s Association for the Support of the German-Catholics), also called Women’s Club of 1847. The German-Catholics were a movement of rationalist-pietist dissenters, outlawed in some German states, which had established a congregation in Hamburg in 1846. In the politically independent city of Hamburg, free-thinkers and progressives liked to associate themselves with the sect, and social circles and clubs came to support the movement. One of these loosely connected associations was the *Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung der Deutsch-Katholiken*, where Catholics, Protestants, and Jews mingled freely. The club offered Jewish women the rare opportunity to interact socially with non-Jews.⁴⁸

Westendarp had not been involved in the German-Catholic movement or its affiliated organizations even though her father played a prominent role in the dissident congregation in the city. Yet after she met Johanna Goldschmidt, they and other Christian and Jewish women (including Emma Isler and Henriette Salomon) in 1848 founded the *Frauenverein zur Bekämpfung und Ausgleichung religiöser Vorurteile* (Women’s Association for Combatting and Conciliating Religious Prejudice), which in turn led to the establishment of the *Allgemeiner Bildungsverein deutscher Frauen* (General Educational Association of German Women). The *Allgemeiner Bildungsverein* then founded the *Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht* (School of Higher Learning for the Female Sex) in 1850. Emma Isler and Henriette Salomon held seats on the board of this latter organization, along with non-Jewish women.⁴⁹

In all of these associations and institutions, women fulfilled their particular mission as women and mothers and exercised what contemporaries

considered to be the beneficial female influence in society. They used their domestic roles as mothers, educators, and promoters of morality in order to pursue larger political and social goals and thereby expanded their realm of activity well beyond the domestic arena. This strategy became known as *maternal feminism*.⁵⁰

The *Frauenverein zur Bekämpfung und Ausgleichung religiöser Vorurteile*, was primarily a social club aiming to further cordial social relations between Jews and non-Jews. Established in the tumultuous year of 1848, the association was committed to the equality of Jews in German society. In their discussions, the members of the association came to the conclusion that propagating and establishing kindergartens was the most appropriate way of promoting a better, nobler, and more just civil order. Likewise, the *Allgemeiner Bildungsverein* strove to create kindergartens and train kindergarten teachers as a means of easing poverty and social tensions. Thus, the association established the *Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht*, which came to play a central role in the history of the Fröbel movement in Europe. During the less-than-three years of its existence, the *Hochschule* anticipated the seminars for female kindergarten and schoolteachers of later eras.⁵¹

The Fröbel movement owes its name to Friedrich Fröbel, an educator who had studied in the first decade of the nineteenth century with the Enlightenment pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and had since developed a theory and a method of early childhood education for kindergartens. In their writings, Pestalozzi and Joachim Heinrich Campe had emphasized the crucial function of the mother in the process of the moral, religious, and social character formation of young children. Fröbel adapted this mother-centered pedagogical program to the institutional setting of kindergartens in which female teachers with specialized training gently encouraged children to develop their manual and intellectual abilities and to interact with one another respectfully. In distinction to practices that were prevalent in existing infant schools and nurseries, Fröbel emphasized a healthy environment and creative play, including indoor and outdoor activities. Fröbel kindergartens shunned punishment and restraining rules and consisted of mixed-sex groups. Moreover, Fröbel aimed to decrease social and confessional differences in society by educating children of diverse backgrounds together. In these classes, female teachers prepared the young by means of “the greatest of all virtues, mother love,” for becoming truly moral citizens.⁵² The Fröbel method simultaneously exalted women’s maternal and domestic functions, promoted women’s education, assigned women a role in the welfare of the larger society, and was designed to overcome social tensions and religious divisions. Thus, Fröbel’s educational program suited the sensibilities, political orientations, and practical needs

of the women in Hamburg's inter-confessional women's movement superbly. It was particularly attractive to Jewish women. In fact, in a two-volume publication that appeared in the years 1849 and 1851, Johanna Goldschmidt propagated Fröbel's ideas herself in writing.

With *Muttersorgen und Mutterfreuden: Worte der Liebe und des Ernstes über Kindheitspflege* (Motherly Concerns and Motherly Joys: Words of Love and Seriousness about Childhood [*sic*] Care) Goldschmidt had composed a comprehensive guide for German mothers of all religious convictions. Expanding on Fröbel's teachings, she laid out how to raise moral, socially well adapted, and independent future citizens. *Muttersorgen und Mutterfreuden* won the approval of Adolf Diesterweg, a leading reform pedagogue of the era, and Goldschmidt and the inter-confessional women's movement in Hamburg came to play an important role in popularizing Fröbel's pedagogical principles in Germany. In Hamburg, the first of eight subsequent *Bürger-Kindergärten* (burgher kindergartens) opened its doors in 1850. A decade later, Goldschmidt co-founded the *Hamburger Fröbelverein* (Hamburg Fröbel Association), which offered comprehensive training in Fröbel pedagogy to hundreds of young women. Goldschmidt also led a kindergarten geared toward children of poor working mothers and, together with a Christian friend, founded a school for girls, the *Paulsenschule*, which grew into one of the largest girls' schools in the city. In the 1870s, when Goldschmidt was in her late sixties and had published another book on the role of the mother in German society, *Blicke in die Familie* (Looking into the Family), she became involved in the national organizations of the German women's movement, which emerged at the time.⁵³

Other Jewish women, too, stand out in the history of the Fröbel movement in Europe. Fanny Wohlwill-Guilliaumes was born in 1832 as the daughter of the director of the Jewish Free School in Seesen Immanuel Wohlwill (until 1823 he was called Joel Wolf), and she trained as a kindergarten teacher in Hamburg. Subsequently, she followed her husband Jules Guilliaumes to Brussels, where she founded the first Belgian Fröbel kindergarten in 1857. Although she soon had five children of her own, Wohlwill-Guilliaumes appears to have established a network of Fröbel kindergartens in Belgium. She directed one kindergarten in Brussels herself, trained kindergarten teachers, and held the post of *Inspectrice des jardins d'enfants publics* (inspector of public kindergartens) for many decades.⁵⁴

In Berlin, Lina Morgenstern (née Bauer) played a leading role in the Fröbel movement. In the early 1860s, she headed the *Frauenverein zur Förderung der Fröbelschen Kindergärten* (Women's Association for the Promotion of Fröbel Kindergartens) in the city, founded a seminar for kindergarten teachers, and gave lectures for mothers and other women. Moreover, Morgenstern made herself a name beyond the city by publishing exten-

sively on motherhood, childcare, family life, and women's domestic and social responsibilities. Only two years older than Wohlwill-Guillaumes, Morgenstern had grown up in Breslau, where Abraham Geiger had instructed her in the Jewish religion. In an article on women's history, Morgenstern explicitly referred to her teacher, and it may well be that Geiger's views on feminine religiosity and women's beneficial influence in the family and in society inspired and encouraged Morgenstern to get involved in the kindergarten movement and in the politics of maternal feminism. In fact, like Goldschmidt, Morgenstern combined religious, political, and feminist engagements. Morgenstern co-authored a Jewish prayer book, which appeared in 1863; during the Prussian-French war of 1870/71, she gained fame for her patriotic and philanthropic activities; and she became a prominent figure in the German women's movement.⁵⁵

The teachings of male Jewish religious leaders such as Salomon and Geiger appear to have provided some of the theological and ideological frameworks for female activists such as Goldschmidt and Morgenstern. Yet rabbis and Jewish pedagogues also supported the kindergarten movement and the cause of maternal feminism directly. In 1850, the scholar and educator Moritz Steinschneider, together with his wife Auguste (née Auerbach) belonged to the founders of the first Fröbel kindergarten in Berlin and, in his periodicals, Leopold Stein made space for the propagation of the German kindergarten and for women's issues. In the series on domestic education that the Reform rabbi Salomon Formstecher contributed to *Der Freitagabend*, Formstecher encouraged parents to entrust their offspring to modern childcare institutions. Likewise, Stein included an essay on "the women's question" by Morgenstern in *Der Israelitische Lehrer* (The Israelite Teacher), and in the same periodical, an author who signed "teacher Strauß of Göllheim," (a Jewish pedagogue from a small community in Lower Franconia) asserted that Friedrich Fröbel's method of kindergarten education "laid the foundation for everything good."⁵⁶

In a similar vein, when Leopold Stein issued Louise von Rothschild's *Thoughts Suggested by Bible Texts* in German, he published the volume "for the benefit of the local Pestalozzi-association."⁵⁷ He thereby made von Rothschild's edifying and educational speeches available to German families, and at the same time supported an association that identified itself with Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi's ideas on education and motherhood. Isaac Marcus Jost, one of the founding fathers of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, educator at the Frankfurt Philanthropin, and author of the first modern, scholarly, multi-volume opus on the history of the Jews, also translated a work of devotional literature by a female member of the Rothschild family from English into German and likewise published it for the benefit of an educational institution.⁵⁸

Jost transposed *Addresses to Young Children* by Louise de Rothschild from London into German and issued it in 1860 in Frankfurt as *Sabbath- und Festreden* (Talks for Sabbath and Holidays). Charlotte de Rothschild was the sister-in-law of Louise von Rothschild in Frankfurt, and the *Addresses to Young Children* closely resembled *Thoughts Suggested by Bible Texts*. In direct and simple language, the essays in both works aimed at edifying young readers and encouraged them to be gentle, modest, honest, grateful, and always well behaved. However, in contrast to Louise von Rothschild's text, *Addresses to Young Children* included contributions on Jewish issues such as the main Jewish holidays. The proceeds of *Sabbath- und Festreden* were destined to support the girls' school of the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* (Israelite Women's Association) in Frankfurt, a Jewish women's benevolent society that Jost himself had been instrumental in founding in 1847. For more than a decade, Jost served as president of the men's board of the association. Thus, committed to the educational work of this women's society, the scholar and pedagogue supported the association by facilitating the publication of a woman's work of religious literature in German.⁵⁹

Isaac Marcus Jost, Leopold Stein, Charlotte de Rothschild, Louise von Rothschild, Johanna Goldschmidt, Gotthold Salomon, and other Jewish women, rabbis, preachers, and male Jewish educators formed part of a network of writers, translators, activists, and religious leaders who shared interests and beliefs.⁶⁰ Their realms of activity overlapped and interconnected, as did the ideological and theological concepts that these men and women embraced and propagated. Jewish women and male Jewish pedagogues, preachers, and rabbis were engaged in educating the young, cooperated on pedagogical projects such as the kindergarten movement, and promoted nineteenth-century forms of Jewish religiosity in their writings. These male and female Jewish leaders and activists were friends and allies, as they shared a worldview in which the beneficial female influence on children and adults laid the foundation for civic morality, domestic happiness, and true religiosity.

This network of male Jewish leaders and Jewish women who knew each other, translated each other's works, and supported each other in religious and educational endeavors reached well beyond Germany. First of all, the involvement of the Rothschild family gave the web of relationships an international character. The group of female authors belonging to the Rothschild family included Clementine and Louise von Rothschild in Frankfurt, Annie, Constance, Charlotte, and Louise de Rothschild in London, and Thérèse de Rothschild in Paris. These women's works appeared in English, German, French, and Italian.⁶¹ In England, other Jewish women (such as the educator and author Maria Goldsmid), also cultivated

contacts to Germany and cooperated with German-Jewish scholars, preachers, and rabbis. Goldsmid corresponded with Ludwig Philippson and Leopold Zunz and translated Philippson's *Development of the Religious Idea in Judaism, Christianity, and Mahomedanism* into English. In 1839, she transposed twelve sermons by Gotthold Salomon into English, encouraged her brother, Francis Henry Goldsmid, to deliver one of these edifying talks during worship services, and thereby contributed to a rift in the London Jewish community that, in 1842, led to the founding of Britain's first Reform synagogue. Women, in fact, actively shaped nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish identity, religion, and culture. Activists and writers including Anna Maria Goldsmid and Charlotte, Constance, and Annie de Rothschild helped to found modern Jewish schools in England, taught at the schools, and published textbooks for religious instruction. Moreover, Anglo-Jewish women such as Grace Aguilar, Celia and Marion Moss, and Judith and Charlotte Montefiore created a whole new genre of Jewish literature: family romances and historical novels that advocated religious tolerance, Jewish emancipation, and maternal feminism. The most prominent among these writers was Aguilar, a Jewish woman of Sephardic descent who died in 1847, at the age of only thirty-one, and gained considerable fame in England and North America with her historical romances, domestic novels, and religious writings.⁶²

This new English-language Jewish literature composed by women challenged the hegemony of the established male discourse of Talmud Torah. Aguilar, in particular, with her works *The Spirit of Judaism*, *The Women of Israel*, and the series of devotional poetry "Sabbath Thoughts," undermined the authority of traditional Jewish scholarship and reformulated the hierarchy of domestic and public worship. According to her, a more private and distinctly feminine spirituality was to stand at the center of modern Jewish religious practice. Aguilar and other Anglo-Jewish female writers re-envisioned Jewish religiosity and forged a body of religious writings beyond the parameters of the male-dominated, Hebrew culture of rabbinic literature. These achievements were not matched by Jewish women in Germany. German-Jewish women neither composed a comparable body of Jewish literature nor did they rise to prominence within the Jewish community, as their British counterparts did.⁶³ Yet in Germany, male Jewish religious leaders themselves refashioned Judaism and redefined Jewish religious leadership. The German rabbis of the mid-nineteenth century no longer presided over a religious culture in which the traditional genres of Talmud Torah reigned supreme, and in which only men had full access to the religiosity that the study of Hebrew-language rabbinic texts entailed. Like women, rabbis and preachers wrote plays, novels, and poetry in the German language, and published entire libraries with volumes of sermons, edifying

talks, and modern-style devotions. Even the founder and leader of modern Orthodoxy, Samson Raphael Hirsch, focused his literary creativity on areas that, in pre-modern Jewish society, had not constituted manly realms of study. Rather than publishing in the genuinely male domains of Talmud commentary and halakhic responsa, Hirsch in his writings examined and interpreted texts that traditionally women read and recited, such as the Five Books of Moses, the Psalms, and the *siddur*.⁶⁴ In Germany, it was not women who challenged the gender order of Jewish religious culture, but men themselves who withdrew from the modes of study that had for ages defined the rabbinate and that had constituted the primary form of virtue for men. Nineteenth-century German rabbis and preachers expressed their moral and religious excellence in non-Talmud Torah-centered literatures, and they sought moral perfection, closeness to the divine, and cultural refinement in ways that women did, too.

Already pre-modern, rabbinic Jewish culture had highly valued what it regarded as feminine means to achieve virtue and morality, other than Talmudic learning. In fact, there had always existed a tension between the prestige of rabbinic study practiced most eminently by the educated male elite and the religious merit that women and unlearned and often socially disadvantaged men could earn through acts of kindness, generosity, or outstanding trust in God.

The texts of rabbinic Judaism had maintained that women possessed a particularly close, specifically feminine, not Halakhah-based relationship to God. At times, Talmudic literature even declared the meritorious deeds of the weak and powerless (most of all from women), for superior in value to the religious merits of even supremely dedicated and meticulously observant Talmud scholars. This high regard for forms of piety that rabbinic culture considered feminine went hand in hand with the valorization of weakness, humility, and submissiveness for men and women in rabbinic Judaism.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, throughout Jewish history, the rabbinate had been defined by Talmudic learning. Religious leadership, for Jews, had been inseparable from men studying religious law as an act of devotion and as a means to moral distinction. Women had held an inferior position in a religious economy in which halakhically commanded religious acts, *mitzvot* such as Talmud Torah and Hebrew prayer, played a sometimes overwhelming role.

In nineteenth-century Germany, *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (secular scholarship) came to replace Talmud Torah, and the university rather than the yeshivah prepared young men for the rabbinical profession. Yet the transformation of the rabbinate in this period of crucial change entailed more than a secularization and a modernization of religious learning.

Learning itself command over a body of knowledge, competence in navi-

gating multi-layered and complex literatures, and the ability to engage with texts of the past, no longer stood at the core of German Jewry's understanding of what represented religious culture. The culture of *Bildung* that a young Jewish man absorbed at the *Gymnasium* and the university certainly included study as an intellectual pursuit. In its religious dimension, however, as a religious practice and a spiritual experience, the nineteenth-century Jewish religiosity of *Bildung* was not a culture of learning in the sense that pre-modern Judaism had been. Rather than on the grounds of their erudition, German rabbis and preachers possessed moral authority as religious leaders, because they cultivated modes of emotional sensitivity and served their communities as spiritual counselors. German-Jewish religious leaders taught children and took on pastoral functions. Rabbis and preachers were responsible for morally uplifting and inspiring congregants in edifying and aesthetically appealing synagogue services, and they fulfilled these new roles whether or not they and the men and women in their communities endorsed or rejected halakhically observant lifestyles.

Judaism had always known and prized modes of piety beyond the dominant culture of male learning. Yet now rabbis themselves, whose intellectual prowess and potency had been the pride of their communities, embodied such an alternative religiosity. Rather than studying Talmud Torah like men and among men, they cooperated with women in educational, literary, and spiritual matters, valued women as friends, and sought to teach girls.

Conclusion:
Women, Men, and the
Feminization of Judaism



The feminization of nineteenth-century German Judaism was a development that entailed significant changes for Jewish women as well as for Jewish men. This book has traced in some detail how women gained recognition in the religious realm of modern Jewish society and how they experienced new forms of integration into the culture of bourgeois Jewish religiosity. Yet I have also described how the modernization of Judaism and the rise of middle-class modes of religious culture constituted a challenge to established notions of masculinity and male superiority in Jewish culture. The decline of Talmud Torah, of daily practices of Hebrew prayer, and of the primacy of halakhic observance undermined the foundations of the gender order of Jewish society. The structural transformation of Jewish religious culture in the nineteenth century, during which women rose to a novel position, was closely connected with the ways in which Jewish men recast their religious lives and renegotiated their gender identities. Thus, on the one hand, the modern sacralized character of German-Jewish bourgeois domesticity brought women to the fore. Contemporaries ascribed an importance of almost mythic proportions to women's functions in the home. On the other hand, a new feminized Jewish man took shape in a religious universe in which the cultural matrix of halakhic Judaism no longer formed the primary frame of reference for German Jews. The makeup of gender identities and gender hierarchies in Jewish society assumed new forms, and the gender organization of Jewish culture changed, when bourgeois Judaism became the religion of German Jewry and replaced the age-old life worlds of rabbinic Judaism.

THE CULT OF JEWISH DOMESTICITY

A central feature of the concept of the feminization of Judaism in the nineteenth century is the figure of the Jewish woman who held on to religious beliefs and practiced religious rites in the domestic realm, while the men in her family let go of religion and spent most of their time in the world outside the home. For Christian society, the pattern of men's religious indifference and women's enduring commitment to Christ and Church is well explored and has been documented amply. Particularly in middle-class families, parents encouraged boys to think independently and were lenient when male offspring expressed religious doubts. In fact, contemporaries expected boys to leave "the faith of the mother" behind as they grew into manhood. Conversely, educators and religious leaders watched with great concern over girls' and women's attachment to religious values and practices.¹ The resulting women-centered, feminized character of religion went hand in hand with the privatization of religious culture. In Germany and in other Western countries, the home and the family moved to the center of religious life for Christians, as the role of the Church declined and the public domains of civil society assumed an increasingly secular character. For Jews, who aimed at integrating into German society and who sought to achieve legal emancipation, relegating Judaism and expressions of Jewishness to the private realm had particular significance. The Russian *maskil* Judah Leib Gordon expressed the leitmotif of this epoch in the 1860s poignantly with the following phrase: "Be a man in the streets and a Jew at home."² Thus, above all in public, German Jews recoiled from standing out in behavior and appearance and strove to conform as much as possible to the ruling middle-class standards of conduct.³

In the mid-nineteenth century, Joseph Hamburger in Frankfurt, for example, kept his business open on Sabbath. He had also reduced synagogue attendance to visits on high holidays. In his home, however, one gathered on Friday evenings for festive dinners, and after the meal, the family members sang hymns and recited the traditional after-table prayers. Yet Joseph Hamburger's son Adolf reports in his memoirs that his parents observed these customs not "out of conviction," and he explains that they did not consider the yearly Passover Seder at their home a "religious celebration" either. Rather, Adolf Hamburger remembered the festive Sabbath and Passover dinners within the family and the reciting of prayers on these occasions "as something homey [*gemütlich*]" and familial. Nevertheless, he describes the events as "sanctified [*weihevoll*]," and, indeed, the formally re-

ligious celebrations also pleased Joseph Hamburger's

mother, Zerle Hamburger, née Schwab.⁴ Adolf Hamburger characterized his grandmother as “strictly orthodox” and reported that she spent much time reading psalms and homiletic literature. He believed that the old woman “read only Hebrew or German in Hebrew letters.” However, as a comment she made at the family Passover celebration in 1855 shows, Zerle Hamburger, too, had adopted a modern approach to religious practice.⁵ When a visiting relative with a pleasant voice chanted what sounded like a piece of Hebrew liturgy, the grandmother declared: “I know, you are all not pious [*fromm*], but . . . isn’t it beautiful when somebody sings the religious [*fromm*] songs?”⁶

Adolf Hamburger at best had a precarious relationship to halakhic Judaism, and his grandmother still practiced established religious rites and had old-fashioned reading habits. Yet both of them lauded the aesthetics of Jewish ritual. Like other nineteenth-century German Jews, the Hamburgers prized the observance of Jewish ritual and custom within the family for their aesthetic, emotional, and cultural value. For German Jewish men and women (regardless of whether they still systematically observed the ritual commandments of rabbinic Judaism as religious acts), domestic rituals represented dignified celebrations of Jewish home life. These German Jews cultivated an emotionally charged religiosity that even when “stripped of its theological content” invested the domestic realm with an aura of holiness.⁷ German Jews conflated religion and middle-class domesticity.

Thus when reporting on her childhood, Clara Geissmar, who had been born in the 1840s, weaved the description of a middle-class home, of the foods served at family dinners, and of religious rituals performed into a narrative of domestic happiness and familial harmony:

When I recall the Friday evenings in my parent’s home, I have a warm feeling in my heart even today. The preparations were . . . careful. . . . The freshly cleaned rooms, the cozy warmth in the winter, the seven-armed brass lamp with its seven little flames whose wicks were braided from cotton wool in the morning. The home-baked potato breads. . . . When father came home from synagogue, we met him at the living room door in order to have him bless us. First mother, then the children. He placed his hands on our heads and in Hebrew words he quietly said the blessing that has become common to all: ‘May the Lord bless you and keep you.’⁸

In memoirs such as Geissmar’s, contemporaries invariably rendered idealized descriptions of family dinners on Sabbath and of holiday celebrations. They lauded the peaceful yet industrious routines of a Jewish household and invoked expressions of Jewishness as the embodiment of true bourgeois home life.

In a similar vein, the foremost painter of nineteenth-century Germany, Moritz Oppenheim, exalted Jewish life in the pre-emancipatory ghetto as an idyll of religiosity and familial devotion. Oppenheim won fame with a collection of grisailles entitled *Bilder aus dem altjüdischen Familienleben* (Pictures from Old-Jewish Family Life), which appeared in multiple portfolio and bound editions. In these publications, a text by Leopold Stein accompanied the paintings, and Stein's commentary accentuated the atmosphere of serenity, piety, and peacefulness in Oppenheim's depictions of Jewish life.⁹ Describing a family study on Sabbath evening, for instance, Stein wrote that candlelight "illuminates, in a wonderful manifold way, the features of the people who are united in the old-fashioned chamber.—A priest of the home, bathed in light, the simple house father stands there," as he blesses the children. His daughter possesses "that holy dignity [*ernste Weihe*], in which religion and family mutually share cause and effect."¹⁰ And the mother, "the crown of the house, completes the beautiful picture of calm and peace."¹¹ Commenting on another painting, Stein marveled how beautifully Oppenheim portrayed "the old-Jewish [*altjüdisch*] mother." "The angels of gentleness," he declared, "of patience, of piety, of moral innocence, of peacefulness, and of good sense gather on her clear face."¹²

This exaltation of Jewish women and in particular of Jewish mothers also formed a standard feature of the memoir literature that idealized Jewish family life of the mid-nineteenth century. In the account of his childhood in Hamburg in the 1830s and 1840s, for instance, the rabbi and Reform educator Julius Oppenheimer fondly recalled how his mother meticulously adhered to the precepts of halakhic Judaism. Even though he had developed a distaste for Jewish orthodoxy as he grew up, in his memoirs Oppenheimer described his mother's "true piety" with great tenderness, and he lauded the beauty of domestic rituals. He ended a description of Sabbath evenings at the parental home with the exclamation: "Can there be anything more delicious than such a family life?"¹³ Likewise, Jacob Epstein, born in Hesse in 1838, declared that his mother's religious devotion "gave our domesticity particularly on Sabbath and holidays a deeply moving sanctity" from which [even] father did not try to withdraw." Epstein's father, indeed, "was free of any dogmatic beliefs [*Dogmenglauben*]" and disagreed with his wife, who "defended the strict observance of Jewish ritual law in the home."¹⁴ Memoirs often report on women being more devoted to Judaism than men were, but the opposite is also the case, and overall, it remains difficult to ascertain whether Jewish women in nineteenth-century Germany indeed held on to religious practices and beliefs longer than did the male members of their families. Contemporaries' wishes, inclinations, and preconceptions, notions of gendered behaviors, and

the idealization of a romanticized past tend to color memoir literature heavily. Yet the emotionally charged tone of the memoir itself testifies to a transformation of Jewish religious culture, as part of which women moved to the forefront.¹⁵

The painter Moritz Oppenheim and authors such as Jacob Epstein, Julius Oppenheimer, Adolf Hamburger, and Clara Geissmar depicted and described men and women who performed Jewish ritual in their homes. However, even when they portrayed forebears or family members who were rooted in and committed to halakhic Judaism, the narrators' emphasis lay not on the religious meaning of technically religious acts. These authors did not laud spouses, parents, and grandparents for having served God with diligence and humility, as Glikl of Hameln had done in her memoirs. Rather, for nineteenth-century German Jews, the depiction of Jewish ritual most of all constituted a means of evoking a sense of tradition, familial harmony, and stability. In fact, it appears that in an increasing number of families, men and women no longer primarily intended to fulfill a divinely ordained commandments when they recited prayers and engaged in other religious practices. In nineteenth-century middle-class culture, the aesthetics of religion had gained unprecedented importance, and religious rituals catered to contemporaries' cultural sensitivities at least as much as they expressed individuals' relationship to God. Moreover, contemporaries had invested the home with a quasi-religious sanctity and believed that religious customs elevated family life. Thus, in many families, warm and dignified Sabbath dinners and holiday celebrations served to create the right atmosphere of a heartfelt domesticity in a Jewish style, rather than constituting worship in the original sense. Even in Orthodox households and for members of religiously indifferent families who themselves still adhered to time-honored modes of Jewish religious practice, such as Zerle Hamburger, the bourgeois notion of Jewish ritual as a cultural experience overlay halakhic concepts of fulfilling ritual commandments.¹⁶

Many reports of Jewish family life in the period described fathers and husbands reciting the customary prayers at Sabbath and holiday tables, leading the Passover Seder, and blessing family members on Friday evenings. Women, on the other hand, prepared festive meals and lit candles on Sabbath and at holiday dinners. In the decreasing number of halakhically observant households, women also had the honor and the duty to follow a large range of other religious commandments including the dietary laws and the rules of *niddah* (menstrual purity). Yet, whether women were more likely than men to perform Jewish rituals in the home, whatever role *kashrut* (dietary laws) played in their cooking and housekeeping habits, and whether the laws of *niddah* still informed their sexual practices, in nine-

teenth-century Germany women were to fulfill a function that went beyond what the framework of rabbinic Judaism prescribed. Jewish women not only kept house and at times fulfilled *mitzvot*, but, in the worldview of their contemporaries, they also gave middle-class homes a Jewish character, provided their children and husbands with a connection to Jewish tradition, gave all family members a sense of belonging, and infused the house with the spirit of Jewish religiosity. The exaltation and religious elevation of the domestic realm and contemporary notions of gender characteristics and gender roles propelled women into the center of a new Jewish religious culture in which rabbinic learning and halakhic observance no longer reigned supreme. The bourgeois Judaism that memoirs evoked, advertised, and often romanticized had become a religion in which women acted as “priestesses of the home.”¹⁷ When “in the streets” German Jewish men came “to be men” rather than Jews, as Judah Leib Gordon had phrased it, the cultural transmission of Judaism and Jewishness increasingly took place at home and lay in the hands of women.

The privatization of Jewish religious culture in the nineteenth century went hand in hand with a new emphasis on women’s roles in the religious life of German Jewry. Yet, the feminization of Judaism was more than a function of the increasing weight of domesticity and of the family in Jewish society. Rather, Judaism shed some of its exclusivist male character, as the Halakhah-based system of norms and practices that had defined Jewish life worlds for centuries came to be overshadowed or even eclipsed by a bourgeois religiosity that, from a variety of perspectives, constituted a feminine culture. At the heart of the process in which women gained in importance and visibility in nineteenth-century bourgeois Judaism stood the decline of rabbinic Judaism and the feminization of the Jewish man.

THE FEMININE MAN OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY JEWISH CULTURE

When German Jews adapted the lifestyles of the emerging middle classes, embraced modern, bourgeois values and cultural sensibilities, and revolutionized Judaism, the foundations of the pre-modern Jewish gender order eroded. Jewish men had for centuries based their identities as men and their claim to superiority over women on religious practices that now had lost much of their importance. By abandoning daily prayer in Hebrew and traditional modes of Jewish learning, as most German-Jewish men did, they withdrew from religious rites that had not only constituted male privileges but that had also defined masculinity in Jewish culture.¹⁸

If they did not leave behind religious expressions of Jewishness altogether, Jewish men instead adopted the practices of the novel culture of bourgeois religiosity, along with the women in their families and their communities. Girls and boys celebrated confirmation ceremonies; men and women arranged *yahrzeit* services rather than studying Mishnah in the house of a deceased; and female and male worshippers sought edification, moral ennoblement, and emotional release in beautifully arranged synagogue services with well-phrased German-language sermons. In the new rites of modern Jewish religious culture women were men's equals. In fact, within the reference system of pre-modern Jewish society, when men prayed in the vernacular, when they delegated the recitation of mourning prayers to others, and when they formed a passive audience in the synagogue, Jewish men were "like women." Even modern Orthodox men, who faithfully held on to the recitation of the halakhically commanded cycles of Hebrew prayer and remained committed to religious learning, prized the aesthetics and the emotional and cultural value of edifying synagogue services. These men, too, placed new emphasis on the spirit of Judaism and on religious feelings and emotional intent during worship. Modern Orthodox Jewry could not and did not want to stem the rise of the culture of bourgeois religiosity that undermined established notions of masculinity and male superiority. Orthodox Jews recast halakhic observance in the cultural framework of modern religious sensibilities and, like their Reform counterparts, modern Orthodox rabbis taught girls and drew closer to the women in their communities.

In nineteenth-century Germany, Jewish men increasingly engaged in religious practices other than in the areas of male privilege in which Jewish men had tested and confirmed their masculinity for centuries. Within the realm of religion and Jewish ritual, these men behaved in ways that would have marked them as feminine in pre-modern Jewish life worlds. Moreover, at least some nineteenth-century German-Jewish men actively embraced contemporary notions of femininity. Leaders as disparate as Gotthold Salomon, Samson Raphael Hirsch, and Adolf Jellinek built on a textual tradition of rabbinic Judaism that highly valued femininity and feminine virtues such as humility, patience, and submissiveness, and they declared Jewish men to be exemplars of a sensitive and feminine masculinity. This gentle masculinity apparently possessed significant appeal in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, as they sought to integrate into German society, to gain acceptance from their non-Jewish contemporaries, and to earn citizenship, German-Jewish men also adopted more martial forms of masculinity and often volunteered for military service in German armies. Nevertheless, religious leaders of German Jewry

claimed that Jewish men had always stood out by being caring and tender fathers and husbands, and they encouraged male coreligionists to keep up the noble tradition of embodying gentleness and other explicitly feminine qualities. For Hirsch, Jellinek, and others who believed that Jewish men distinguished themselves by their feminine character, male Jewish sensitivity qualified German Jews for the lifestyle of the middle classes.¹⁹

After 1870, the figure of the feminine Jewish man became the target of a pervasive antisemitic critique, and the previously acclaimed character of the Jewish home in which emotionally expressive men and women were said to provide a particularly nurturing and loving environment for their children turned into a source of concern for contemporaries. Consequently, Jewish men increasingly rejected what they considered to be feminine attitudes and feminine behavior. Sometimes they reacted with self-hate to the stereotype of the effeminate Jewish man, and individual male Jews even adopted misogynist ideologies.²⁰ In the era before the unification of the German Empire, conversely, rabbis and Jewish preachers lauded the femininity and the domestic and familial qualities of Jewish men without defensiveness.²¹ Yet, even then, Jewish men at times expressed unease about a feminized masculinity, the feminine character of modern forms of Jewish religiosity, and the extent of women's moral authority. Rather than promoting a women-centered religiosity, the historian Heinrich Graetz thus conceived of Judaism and in particular of Jewish scholarship as male domains, embraced misogynist views on women, and in his *Geschichte der Juden* (History of the Jews) downplayed women-like aspects of Jewish men. Unlike Graetz, Abraham Geiger called for the religious emancipation of his female coreligionists. He nevertheless doubted whether the Judaism that the periodical *Sulamith* advertised was entirely appropriate for men. *Sulamith* may have fulfilled a purpose in its early days, Geiger declared, but by 1833 Jewish men had grown up. "We have become men and [now] want men's fare [*Männerkost*], we want scholarship," rather than feminine religiosity.²² In fact, Geiger seems to have anxiously defended male rabbinic authority in a religious universe in which Jewish women represented inner truth, beauty, and the highest standards of morality.²³

Femininity and feminine values and virtues had been prized in pre-modern Jewish culture, too, but then the elevation of the feminine and of women had formed part of a society in which male superiority had been firmly grounded in men's privileged access to religious learning and to communal practices of Hebrew prayer. The femininity of the Jewish male—his meekness, his emotional and physical vulnerability, and his womanly, indirect, and often subservient manner of exerting power and influence in the larger society—had found its counterweight in the status a

There, the religious

economy of halakhic Judaism had played a central role in defining gender differentiation and gender hierarchies. Yet, the nineteenth century saw the erosion and devaluation of what had marked the Jewish man as superior to women and what had made Judaism a male-centered and male-dominated culture. Jewish men's privileged relationship to God in the framework of divinely ordained commandments no longer formed the supreme governing principle of the social and gender order of Jewish society. Men derived recognition and power within the Jewish community, as well as social potency, religious competence, and moral distinction no longer to a large extent from engaging in Talmud Torah and from participating in Hebrew prayer services.

As sources of male authority and male identity, the relevance of these religious practices became minimal or was at least severely undermined, and modern Jewish scholarship only partially filled the gap. Much of what had represented masculinity and had fostered manliness within Jewish culture faded into insignificance. Conversely, as German Jews adapted their lifestyles and religion to the cultural sensibilities of the middle classes, they expanded on the textual traditions of rabbinic Judaism and on the social conventions of pre-modern Jewish culture that had prized women's virtues, that had promoted feminine modes of morality and religiosity, and that had exalted the role of women in Jewish society. In the same vein, religious leaders of German Jewry continued to sing the praise of the gentle and feminine Jewish man, and, in the course of the modernization of Jewish culture, the balance between the religious practices that disadvantaged women and those in which women were included or even privileged changed significantly. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the dominant form of Jewish religious life consisted of bourgeois and feminized modes of Judaism.

The transformation of the Jewish religious culture that I have described in this book constitutes a sea change in the history of Judaism. The emphasis on religious sentiment, the subjective experience of the worshipper, and the aesthetics of religion that characterized bourgeois Judaism in nineteenth-century Germany still mark the culture of Jewish religiosity as it exists today in North America, Europe, Israel, and elsewhere. Even though halakhic Judaism has persisted and continues to experience movements of resurgence, it has irreversibly lost its status as the single most important and uncontested cultural framework that defines Jewish culture and religion and that structures the gender order within the Jewish community. Jewish ritual has assumed new meanings, and the personal and emotional attachment to modern forms of Jewish religiosity and Jewish identity plays a prominent role in the Jewish life worlds of the present.

As in the nineteenth century, the Jewish home of the early twenty-first century is a privileged site for men and women to cultivate expressions of Jewishness, whether the ritual commandments of rabbinic Judaism possess meaning for family members or not. Likewise, notions of women's greater spiritual sensitivity form part of contemporary Jewish culture, and communal leaders have not ceased to consider women as central in the process of transmitting Judaism and Jewishness from one generation to the next. In fact, Jewish—and non-Jewish—feminists are reiterating the claim that women possess an inherent inclination for morality and religiosity. Today, women are less marginal in Jewish religious culture than they have ever been. Even the most observant, orthodox, and conservative communities have integrated women into their educational programs and, in a new and radical shift of the gender order of Jewish culture, women have gained access to rabbinic study and, in many branches of contemporary Judaism, are counted in a *minyan*, are encouraged to perform active, time-bound *mitzvot*, and have entered the rabbinate.

In nineteenth-century Germany, the cultural world of Talmud Torah- and Halakhah-centered pre-modern Judaism in which men had ruled, had begun to give way to a universe of modern Jewish religiosity with much more ambiguous forms of gender organization. The context and the driving force of this development was the process in which Jews integrated into German society, embraced bourgeois culture, and strove for middle-class income levels and lifestyles. Nineteenth-century German Jews adopted Judaism to the cultural, emotional, and aesthetic tastes, sensibilities, and needs of their times. They revised the system of meaning that underlay the rituals they performed, the prayers they recited, and the customs they observed; they changed some of the prayers, rituals, and customs, introduced new ones, and abandoned others; and most of all they created a religion in which the values, virtues, and cultural practices of their era, *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit*, edification and middle-class notions of emotional sensitivity, gained prominence. And German Jews became Germans.

Christian confessions underwent parallel changes at the time, and the emergence of the bourgeois Judaism that I have described in this book forms part of the history of the embourgeoisement, the privatization, and the feminization of religions in nineteenth-century Germany. At the same time, however, I have explored in this study a period of breathtaking change in the history of Judaism and Jewish culture, and I have brought the category of gender into the mainstream of how we conceive of the modernization of Jewish life worlds. I have laid out how German Jews renegotiated the positions that men and women held in the religious economy of Judaism, and how they forged the culture of modern Jewish religion as two parallel, but not the same historical development. Both

accounts, that of the genesis of modern Judaism in Germany and that of German Jewry recasting the gender order of Jewish culture, cannot be separated from each other. One presupposes the other. Women moved into the foreground of a bourgeois, modern, feminized Judaism, as the male-centered system of values and practices of rabbinic Judaism lost much of its grasp over the social organization of Jewish society and over the world of Jewish religious culture.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Hyman, "Other Half," 105–106.
2. Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 53.
3. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, esp. 152–156, quotation 155.
4. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, esp. 152–156; Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, esp. 12; Hyman, "Jewish Family," 25; Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*.
5. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 81–172; Neusner, *Androgynous Judaism*, 28–188; Wegner, "Women in Classical Rabbinical Judaism"; Wolfson, "On Becoming Female." On women being praised for their piety in early modern Prague, see Greenblatt, "Shapes of Memory," 45–54. On women in rabbinic literature, see also "Ishah: Woman," *Encyclopedia Talmudica*, 3:85–118. See *ibid.* 3:97 on women's merits.
6. Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, 21–49, 153–160, quotation 23; Kaplan, *Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, esp. 64–84. On women, power, and foodways in nineteenth-century Judaism, see Abusch-Magder, "Kochbücher" and Abusch-Magder, "Home-Made Judaism."
7. Busch, "Feminisierung der Frömmigkeit"; Hoelscher, "Weibliche Religiosität"; Mergel, "Subtile Macht der Liebe"; Olenhusen, "Feminisierung von Religion und Kirche."
8. For a similar development in the nineteenth-century American synagogue, see Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery*.
9. Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*. See also Katz, "German Culture and the Jews"; Mosse, *German Jews Beyond Judaism*; Mosse, "Jewish Emancipation." Most recently, Simone Lässig has significantly broadened our understanding of the embourgeoisement of Jewish culture in nineteenth-century Germany and has made note of the feminization of Judaism. Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*, esp. 326–361.
10. Berger, *Sacred Canopy*, esp. 127–153; Eisen, *Rethinking Modern Judaism*; McDuffee, *Small-Town Protestantism*; Judd, "Circumcision and Modern Jewish Life"; Judd, "German Jewish Rituals"; Kaplan, "Konsolidierung eines bürgerlichen Lebens," 301–319; Kaplan, *Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 70–79.
11. Barkai, "German Jews," esp. 130–131; Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, vol. 2, esp. 2:295, 2:301; Richarz, *Eintritt der Juden*; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland*, 1:29–42, esp. 1:42.
12. Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, esp. 1:244–248, 1:271–283; Katz, *Out of the Ghetto*, 28–56; Toury, "Eintritt der Juden." For important case studies on the early stages of German-Jewish integration and social change, see Hertz, *Jewish High Society*; Lowenstein, *The Berlin Jewish Community*.
13. Carlebach, *The Pursuit of Heresy*; Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, 1:229–260.
14. Gotzmann, *Jüdisches Recht*, 354–404; Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, 2:119–127, 2:128–167; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 13–142; Sorkin, "Religious Reforms," 169–176, esp. 173.

16. For the history of modern Orthodoxy, see Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*; Liberman, *Religious Conflict*. On positive-historical Judaism, the Jüdisch-theologisches Seminar in Breslau, and Conservative Judaism in North America, see Brämer, *Rabbiner Zacharias Frankel*, 255–246, 318–355; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 84–88, 264–270; Sklare, *Conservative Judaism*; Wertheimer, *Jews in the Center*.

17. Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, xi; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland*, 2:48, 2:61–62n78.

18. Kocka, “Bürgertum und Bürgerlichkeit,” 21–48, esp. 42–44. See also Bödeker, “Gebildete Stände.”

19. Katz, “German Culture and the Jews”; Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*; Sorkin, “Emancipation and Assimilation”; Volkov, “‘Verbürgerlichung’ of the Jews.”

20. See Lässig, “Middle-Class Religiosity”; Lowenstein, “Anfänge der Integration.”

I. THE PERIODICAL *SULAMITH* AND THE BEGINNINGS OF BOURGEOIS JUDAISM

1. Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*, 445–493; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 28–30; Mosse, “Jewish Emancipation”; Mosse, “Secularization of Jewish Theology”; Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*.

2. The seminal article on the rise of bourgeois concepts of the characters of the sexes is Hausen, “Family and Role Division.” See esp. *ibid.* 55–59. See also Gray, *Productive Men*, esp. 145–167.

3. Frevert, “Bürgerliche Meisterdenker,” esp. 32; Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*; Hausen, “... eine Ulme”; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*; cf. Tosh, *Man’s Place*, esp. 13.

4. Habermas, “Weibliche Religiosität,” 128–131; Schütze, “Mutterliebe—Vaterliebe.”

5. Quoted from Kersting, “Prospekt fürs Eheleben,” 378.

6. Döcker, *Ordnung der bürgerlichen Welt*, 284–285; Schmid, “Hausfrau, Gattin, Mutter.”

7. Kersting, “Prospekt fürs Eheleben,” 384. See also Schmid, “Weib oder Mensch.”

8. Habermas, “Weibliche Religiosität,” 127–129; Hölscher, “Weibliche Religiosität,” 50–51; Schieder, “Sozialgeschichte der Religion.”

9. Spieker, *Emiliens Stunden der Andacht*. Here quoted from the 7th edition from 1856, in Häntzschel, *Bildung und Kultur*, 54.

10. For nineteenth-century bourgeois culture in North America, cf. Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood.”

11. Habermas, “Weibliche Religiosität,” 130.

12. Koselleck, “Einleitung,” esp. 16–18, 24; Vierhaus, “Bildung.”

13. Otto, *Genius des Hauses*. Here quoted from Häntzschel, *Bildung und Kultur*, 348, 391.

14. Nipperdey, *Religion im Umbruch*, 136–153; Schieder, *Sozialgeschichte der Religion*, 16.

15. Hölscher, “Bürgerliche Religiosität,” 208.

16. Gay, *Bourgeois Experience*, 4:76.

17. Hölscher, “Bürgerliche Religiosität,” 209; Hölscher, “Religion des Bürgers,” 617–618; Hölscher, “Weibliche Religiosität,” 60.

18. See for instance Hölscher, “Bürgerliche Religiosität,” 212.

19. Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*; Trepp, “Emotional Side of Men”; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*; cf. Tosh, *Man’s Place*.

20. Gay, *Bourgeois Experience*, 4:73–79, quotation 79.

21. Becker-Cantarino, “Priesterin und Lichtbringerin.” On gender and church attendance see Chapter 5.

22. Mergel, “Subtile Macht der Liebe,” 38; Schlögl, “Sünderin, Heilige oder Hausfrau?” 28, 32–33, 37–38.
23. Hölscher, “Weibliche Religiosität,” 54–55; Habermas, “Weibliche Religiosität,” 125–148; Schütze, “Mutterliebe—Vaterliebe,” 119.
24. Raumer, *Erziehung der Mädchen*, 37–39, 169–184.
25. Horwitz, *Geschichte der Herzoglichen Franzschule*, 7; Sorkin, “Preacher, Teacher, Publicist,” 107–115.
26. Mosse, “Jewish Emancipation,” 1–16; Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 16–21.
27. *Sulamith* 1, no. 1 (1806): 1. See also Mosse, “Jewish Emancipation,” 4–5; Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 86.
28. Mosse, “Jewish Emancipation,” 3–9.
29. Albrecht, *Schleiermachers Liturgik*, 86–87.
30. *Sulamith* 1, no. 1 (1806): 7–9.
31. *Ibid.*, 9–10.
32. *Ibid.*, 3.
33. Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 46–51.
34. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 29.
35. Mosse, “Secularization of Jewish Theology,” 250–251. See also Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*, esp. 269.
36. Albrecht, *Schleiermachers Liturgik*, 23–25, 88; Meyer, “Christian Influence”; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 66–67; Mosse, *Nationalization of the Masses*, 78–79; Mosse, “Secularization of Jewish Theology,” 250–251.
37. *Sulamith* 1, no. 1 (1806): 446.
38. *Ibid.*, 447.
39. *Ibid.*, 12–36, quotation 16. See also *ibid.*, 27.
40. Trepp, “Anders als sein ‘Geschlechtscharakter;” Trepp, “Emotional Side of Men”; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*.
41. *Sulamith* 1, no. 1 (1806): 160–165.
42. II Samuel 20:1–22.
43. *Sulamith* 1, no. 1 (1806): 160–161.
44. *Ibid.*, 162–164, quotation 164.
45. Becker-Cantarino, “Priesterin und Lichtbringerin,” 112.
46. Quoted from Frevert, “Bürgerliche Meisterdenker,” 30.
47. Becker-Cantarino, “Priesterin und Lichtbringerin,” 112; Hunt, *Family Romance*, 82–83; Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 90–99; Mosse, *Nationalization of the Masses*, 21–26; Quataert, *Staging Philanthropy*, 21–39.
48. Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*.
49. *Sulamith* 1, no. 1 (1806): 163.
50. According to Lynn Hunt’s reading of the French Revolution as a Freudian family romance, the women in these depictions represented the dutiful, protective daughter trying to mitigate the Oedipal conflict and to save national unity. Hunt, *Family Romance*, 167–170. On *Sulamith* being depicted in Zionist iconography like the French “Marianne,” see Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture*, 121–123.
51. Becker-Cantarino, “Priesterin und Lichtbringerin,” 111–116. See also Wolf, *Sechs deutsche Reden*, 2:67.
52. *Sulamith* 1, no. 1 (1806): 13.
53. *Ibid.*, 37–38.
54. *Ibid.*, 39.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.* 3, no. 2 (1811): 183–184.

57. Ibid. 1, no. 1 (1806): 473–488; *ibid.* 1, no. 1 (1806): 215–222, 374–386; *ibid.* 1, no. 2 (1807): 86–94, 169–181, 338–351; *ibid.* 2, no. 2 (1809): 199–220.
58. Ibid. 1, no. 1 (1806): 216.
59. Ibid., 217–218, 220.
60. Ibid., 481.
61. Ibid., 482.
62. Ibid., 484–486, quotation 485–486.
63. Ibid., 487.
64. See for example *Sulamith* 3, no. 2 (1811): 300–322, 373–396. On women being blamed for a perceived decline in religiosity, see Kaplan, “Priestess and Hausfrau”; Kaplan, “Tradition and Transition.”
65. Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 87–90; Fränkel, *Nachricht*, 1804; Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:6.
66. Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 352–353; Eliav, “Mädchenerziehung,” 99–100.
67. Friedländer, *Prediger*, 45–46, quotation 46.
68. Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 354–355; Horwitz, *Geschichte der Herzoglichen Franzschule*, 8; *Sulamith* 1, no. 1 (1806): 488.
69. Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 356; Eliav, “Mädchenerziehung,” 102–103; *Sulamith* 3, no. 2 (1811): 39–58, 177–194. On the history of the Philanthropin, see Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 139–152; Galliner, “Philanthropin in Frankfurt.”
70. *Sulamith* 6, no. 1 (1821): 299–315, quotation 312.
71. Here from an article by Heß on the girls’ school at the Philanthropin, *Sulamith* 3, no. 2 (1811): 183.
72. Ibid., 185.
73. Ibid. 1, no. 2 (1807): 86–93, quotation 92.
74. Ibid., 94.
75. Ibid. 3, no. 1 (1810): 9–10. Quoted from Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 38. See also Stein, “Zeitschrift ‘Sulamith,’” 207.
76. See likewise Stein, “Zeitschrift ‘Sulamith,’” 207–208.
77. McDuffee, *Small-Town Protestantism*, 71–72; *Sulamith* 3, no. 1 (1810): 11. For a more detailed discussion of the transition from the Bar Mitzvah to the confirmation ceremony see Chapter 5.
78. *Sulamith* 5, no. 1 (ca. 1818): 279.
79. Quoted from Stein, “Zeitschrift ‘Sulamith,’” 207.

II. AT THE CROSSROADS: POLITICS OF INCLUSION AND EMANCIPATION

1. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 40, 42, 405n121.
2. Ibid., 32–33.
3. Marcus, *Israel Jacobson*; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 30–33.
4. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 40–41.
5. Heinemann, *Rede bei der Einweihung*, 5–6, 11–12, 14–15, quotation 5.
6. *Sulamith* 3, no. 1 (1810): 303–317. See also Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 42–43.
7. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*; Pateman, *Disorder of Women*, 33–57; Pateman, *Sexual Contract*, esp. 77–115, quotation 95.
8. Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*; Mah, “Phantasies.”
9. Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 283–286; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 43.
10. *Jedidja* 1, no. 1 (1817): 4.

11. Niewöhner, “Sulamith und Jedidja,” 185.
12. See for instance “Religion und Sittlichkeit,” *Allgemeines Archiv des Judenthums* 1, no. 1 (1839): 78–85, and the reprints of synagogue ordinances in *ibid.* 1, no. 1 (1839): 325–339, and no. 2 (1842): 314–321. *Jedidja* appeared from 1817 to 1831, and between 1839 and 1843 Heinemann revived the periodical under the name *Allgemeines Archiv des Judenthums (Jedidja, neue Folge): Zeitschrift für Religion, Kultus, und Geschichte*.
13. *Jedidja* 1 (1818–1819): 52–54.
14. *Ibid.* (1817): 22–30, quotation 22.
15. *Ibid.*, 26.
16. *Ibid.*, 27.
17. Heinemann indeed claimed that he arranged the lectures on biblical history and German literature for Jewish women, because the mothers of his students themselves expressed a desire for them. *Jedidja* 1 (1817): 23.
18. Hertz, “Amalie Beer als Schirmherrin”; Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:4; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 46–49; Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 131, 213, 225–228. See also Altmann, “New Style of Preaching”; Altmann, “Zur Frühgeschichte.” On women in Jacobson’s private services and the Beer temple, see also Chapter 5.
19. Quotation: Kayserling, *Gedenkblätter*, 72. For the remaining paragraph, see Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:144–145; Ludwig Philippson, “Aus meiner Knabenzeit,” *AZdJ* 51, no. 50 (1887): 798; Phöbus Philippson, *Biographische Skizzen*, 2:13, 2:20–28, 2:53; Salomon, *Auswahl mehrerer Predigten*, vii.
20. Besides his “Letters to a Venerable Woman of Jewish Religion” discussed above, see also Salomon, “Über die Wichtigkeit der häuslichen Erziehung und deren Einfluß auf den Schulunterricht,” in *Sulamith* 3, no. 1 (1810): 183–201.
21. Salomon, *Auswahl mehrerer Predigten*, 23, 26, 32–33.
22. Salomon, *Selima’s Stunden der Weihe*.
23. Though his name does not appear on the volume, there is no doubt that Salomon was the author. See Phöbus Philippson, *Biographische Skizzen*, 2:55; Salomon, *Selbst-Biographie*, 20.
24. Salomon, *Selima’s Stunden der Weihe*, 7–13, 18–22, 26–29.
25. *Ibid.*, 39.
26. *Ibid.*, 41–55.
27. *Ibid.*, 175–207, quotation 268.
28. On the transformation from *tkhine* literature into modern devotional literature for Jewish women, see Chapter 4.
29. Phöbus Philippson, *Biographische Skizzen*, 2:56. In his reminiscences, Phöbus Philippson’s younger brother Ludwig Philippson gave a detailed description of Gorthold Salomon’s outstanding performance as a teacher of religion. Ludwig Philippson, “Aus meiner Knabenzeit,” *AZdJ* 51, no. 50 (1887): 798. On the friendship between Philippson and Salomon see Phöbus Philippson, *Biographische Skizzen*, 1:v–xii; Salomon, *Lebensgeschichte*, esp. iii–iv. On the Philippson family see Johanna Philippson, “Philippsons, a German-Jewish Family,” 95–118.
30. Phöbus Philippson, *Biographische Skizzen*, 2:56.
31. Salomon, *Selima’s Stunden der Weihe*, v–vi, quotation v.
32. Hertz, “Emancipation through Inter-marriage?”; Hertz, *Jewish High Society*; Hertz, “Leaving Judaism”; Lowenstein, *Berlin Jewish Community*, esp. 120–133 and 165–168.
33. Lowenstein, “Yiddish Written Word.”
34. Salomon, *Selima’s Stunden der Weihe*, v–vi and xi–xiv.
35. Hertz, “Amalie Beer”; Hertz, “Leaving Judaism,” 125–126.
36. This has been suggested by Steven Lowenstein, even though he also pointed out that “the crisis of baptismism in Berlin was not affected very directly by the ups and downs of the

reform temple in Berlin.” Lowenstein, *Berlin Jewish Community*, 147. See also *ibid.*, 193. On the relationship between reform and conversion, see likewise Hertz, “Troubling Dialectic,” esp. 115 and 126.

37. Galliner, “Philantropin in Frankfurt,” 175.

38. Ludwig Philippson reports that Wolf began preaching in German in 1805. I suggest, however, to follow the more detailed account by Phöbus Philippson. Ludwig Philippson, “Aus meiner Knabenzeit,” *AZdJ* 51, no. 47 (1887): 750; Phöbus Philippson, *Biographische Skizzen*, 1:180–185; Sorkin, “Preacher, Teacher, Publicist,” 119.

39. For a more detailed account of the closing of the Beer temple and the founding of the Hamburg Temple, see Chapter 5.

40. Jonas, *Lebensskizze*, 5–9; Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1: 47–48; Leimdörfer, *Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Bestehen*, 38.

41. Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:155. See also *ibid.* 1:152; Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*, 294–322; Meyer, “Christian Influence,” 296.

42. Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:142.

43. *Ibid.*, 1:154.

44. *Ibid.*, 1:155.

45. Salomon, *Familienleben*; republished in Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:179–209.

46. Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:180.

47. *Ibid.*, 1:185–191, quotation 1:191.

48. Proverbs 31:30. Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:191–199.

49. Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:194–197, quotation 1:194.

50. Here and for the following quotations, *ibid.* 1:199–201.

51. *Ibid.*, 1:189.

52. Salomon, *Festpredigten für alle Feiertage*, 101, 113.

53. Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:200. For the preceding sentences, see Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, 365–394; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 320–349.

54. Salomon, *Licht auf den dunkelsten Lebenswegen*, 12. On American men in the same period being caught between new expectations of sensitive, involved fatherhood and a sentimental mother–child ideology that privileged women, see Carroll, “My House in Order,” esp. 278–279.

55. Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:54–56, 1:156–173; Ludwig Philippson, *Biographische Skizzen*, 2:254–257; Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 226–227.

56. Salomon, *Berg des Herrn*, viii.

57. See also Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 89–99.

58. Friedländer, *Prediger*, 45–46, quotation 46. The three positive religious commandments Friedländer refers to here are the three *mitzvot* whose performance, according to halakhic Judaism, fall specifically upon women: *niddah* (laws of menstrual purity), the lighting of candles on Sabbath and holidays, and the discarding a piece of the dough when baking bread.

59. *Sulamith* 1, no. 1 (1806): 474–476, 479–480, quotation 479. Fränkel quotes here from the Isaak Euchel’s prayer book. For a discussion of prayer-book translations and the *she-lo-asani-ishah* (who has not created me as a woman) benediction, see Chapter 4.

60. *Sulamith* 1, no. 1 (1806): 478.

61. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 89–99. On the transformation of the rabbinate, see also Chapter 7.

62. Geiger, “Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechts,” 13–14. Here and below, the translation is taken from Gunther W. Plaut’s source collection, where applicable: Plaut, *Rise of Reform Judaism*, 253.

63. Geiger, “Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechts,” 2.

64. Quoted from Biale, *Women and Jewish Law*, 17. For a more detailed discussion of the issues raised here, see *ibid.*, 10–43.
65. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 158.
66. See Hyman, “Other Half,” 105–113.
67. Biale, *Women and Jewish Law*, 21.
68. Geiger, “Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechts,” 13–14.
69. See Fram, *Ideals Face Reality*.
70. Geiger, “Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechts,” 1.
71. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 13–14.
72. *Ibid.*, 29–43.
73. Schorsch, “Ideology and History,” esp. 10–13. See also Schorsch, *From Text to Context*; Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 81–103.
74. Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, 2:141–143; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 88–99, esp. 88–89.
75. Geiger, “Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechts,” 2.
76. *Ibid.*, 2–5, quotation 5.
77. *Ibid.*, 6.
78. Friedländer, *Prediger*, 45–46; Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, 250. On Friedländer’s treatment of the women’s question in Judaism see also below in this chapter.
79. *Halizah* is the ceremony that releases a widow from marrying the brother of her deceased husband in what is called a levirate marriage.
80. Geiger, “Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechts,” 6–7.
81. *Ibid.*, 13.
82. *Ibid.*, 6–7.
83. Quotation *ibid.*, 13. For the remaining text, see *ibid.*, 6–7.
84. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 119–142, esp. 122; Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, 140–224. On Frankel’s role at the rabbinical conferences, see Brämer, *Rabbiner Zacharias Frankel*, 225–246.
85. It was the fourth of thirty-six petitions submitted to be discussed by the second rabbinical conference in 1845. *Protokolle und Aktenstücke*, 334–348, 379–381.
86. Bernhard Friedberg, “Adler, Samuel,” *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1:199.
87. *Protokolle und Aktenstücke*, 167–168, 334–348.
88. Lowenstein, “1840s and the Creation,” 278–279; Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, 2:110; *Protokolle und Aktenstücke*, 168–169, quotation 168.
89. LBI, Tilly Edinger Coll.; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 245; *Protokolle und Aktenstücke*, 169.
90. *Protokolle der dritten Versammlung*, 253–266, quotation 253. The report was also published in *Literatur-Blatt zum Israeliten des 19. Jahrhunderts* 1 (1846): 206–212; *Die Reform des Judenthums* 1 (1846): 65–69, 73–75.
91. *Protokolle der dritten Versammlung*, 256–257; Babylonian Talmud, Sota 20a–21b, my translation.
92. *Protokolle der dritten Versammlung*, 258–263, quotation 263.
93. *Ibid.*, 264, here quoted from Plaut, *Rise of Reform Judaism*, 253.
94. See Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe*.
95. *Protokolle der dritten Versammlung*, 265; For a full rendering in English see Plaut, *Rise of Reform Judaism*, 254–255. For the abolition of the blessing *she lo asani ishah* see above in this chapter and Chapter 4.
96. *Protokolle der dritten Versammlung*, 266.
97. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 140–141; Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, 223.
98. LBI, Salomon Herxheimer Coll., typescript: “Einiges über die Verhältnisse der Juden im Herzogthum Anhalt-Bernburg, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tätigkeit

des Landesrabbiners Dr. Salomon Herxheimer in den Jahren 1831 bis 1864,” 46. See also Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 2:1–2; Salfeld, *Dr. Salomon Herxheimer*.

99. Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, 473. For Holdheim, see Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 80–84; Isidore Singer, “Holdheim, Samuel,” *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 6:437–439.

100. Holdheim, *Religiöse Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechtes*, 3–4.

101. *Ibid.*, 78–79.

102. Prell, “Vision of Woman,” 576, 580.

103. *Ibid.*, 581.

104. Geiger, “Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechts,” 14; cf. Prell, “Vision of Woman,” 576, 580–581, 586.

105. Geiger, “Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechts,” 6.

106. Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood*; Bussemer, “Bürgerliche Frauenbewegung”; Gerhard, *Unerhört*, 14–75; Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge, and Change*.

III. BEYOND HALAKHAH: JUDAISM IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

1. Formstecher, *Zwölf Predigten*, 145–159, 193–206; Kratz-Ritter, *Salomon Formstecher*, 13–15, 69; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 67–68, 70–72.

2. Formstecher, *Zwölf Predigten*, 197.

3. Formstecher actually speaks of the “German” Bible translation, using, however “German” in its old meaning referring to Yiddish as opposed to Hebrew. Formstecher, *Zwölf Predigten*, 203.

4. Formstecher, *Zwölf Predigten*, 200–201, 205.

5. For the same dynamic in Imperial Germany, see Kaplan, “Priestess and Hausfrau,” 62–81; and for German and Austrian Zionists blaming women for the “downfall of their people” as well as assigning them an important role in the rebirth of the Jewish nation, see Rose, “New Jewish Family.” Quotation from Rose, 79.

6. *Beilage zum Israelit des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 4, no. 44 (ca. 1842): 180. On the *Reformfreunde* see Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 121–123.

7. *AZdJ* 15, no. 35 (1851): 409–410, quotations 409. On Philippon and the *AZdJ*, see Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, 2:153–155; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 108.

8. *AZdJ* 15, no. 35 (1851): 411.

9. *Ibid.* Compare the speech by Samuel Holdheim, then rabbi of the Berlin Reform congregation, at the dedication ceremony of the school for religious education in Berlin in 1847, where he claimed that the neglect of religious education for women had the most serious consequences. *Der Israelit des 19. Jahrhundert* 8 (1847): 208.

10. Formstecher, “Briefe über häusliche Erziehung,” 281. See also Kratz-Ritter, *Salomon Formstecher*, 107.

11. Formstecher, “Briefe über häusliche Erziehung,” 285.

12. *Der Israelitische Volkslehrer* 9 (1859): 292.

13. *Ibid.*, 294.

14. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 192–193; Rozenblit, “Jewish Identity,” 110–111.

15. Jellinek, *Predigten*, 3:69–89.

16. *Ibid.*, 2:144–145.

17. *Ibid.*, 2:236.

18. *Ibid.*, 3:40–41, 3:213–228, quotation 3:218.

19. *Ibid.*, 1:117. For the preceding sentences, see *ibid.*, 2:172–178, 3:217, 3:228.

20. *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* 2 (1863): 194–204, esp. 200, 204. See

21. Jellinek, *Predigten*, 3:94.
22. *Ibid.*, 3:95.
23. A few years later, Jellinek made a similar argument claiming that the Jewish tribe operated on an ethically higher plane than other populations, since Jews combined a “realistic spirit” with a “feminine heart.” Jellinek, *Aus der Zeit*, 3–19, quotation 17. See also Rahden, “Juden und die Ambivalenzen,” 50.
24. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 107–142.
25. Bleich, “Orthodox Press,” 323–344; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 135; Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 158.
26. Bleich, “Orthodox Press,” 325; Shlomo Eidelberg, “Ettlinger, Jacob,” *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 6:955–956; S. A. Horodezky, “Ettlinger, Jakob ben Aaron,” *Encyclopedia Judaica: Das Judentum*, 6: 826–827.
27. Eidelberg, “Ettlinger, Jacob,” 6:956; J. [i.e. Ismar] Elbogen, “Enoch, Samuel,” *Encyclopedia Judaica: Das Judentum*, 6: 672; Horodezky, “Ettlinger, Jakob ben Aaron,” 6: 826–827; Kollatz, “Modernity and Tradition,” 40.
28. Bleich, “Orthodox Press,” 336.
29. Kollatz, “Modernity and Tradition,” 39.
30. Bleich, “Orthodox Press,” 327, 329–335.
31. Volkov, *Erfindung einer Tradition*, 28.
32. On Enoch, see Bleich, “Orthodox Press,” 326.
33. Kollatz, “Modernity and Tradition,” 39.
34. *Der treue Zions-Wächter* 3, no. 14 (1847): 109.
35. *Ibid.*, 109–110; *ibid.* 3, no. 15 (1847): 117–118, quotation 3, no. 14 (1847): 109.
36. *Ibid.* 3, no. 15 (1847): 119.
37. *Ibid.* 3, no. 16 (1847): 126.
38. *Ibid.* 1, no. 19 (1845): 149–150; *ibid.* 1, no. 20 (1845): 157–158; *ibid.* 1, no. 21 (1845): 165–166. See in particular *ibid.* 1, no. 19 (1845): 149. In the old German print of the periodical, the capitalized letters “I” and “J” are identical. Thus, the initial of the author could be either.
39. *Der treue Zions-Wächter* 1, no. 20 (1845): 158.
40. Petuchowski, “Manuals and Catechisms,” esp. 48. For the use of the term “catechism” see also *Der treue Zions-Wächter* 6, no. 11 (1850): 85.
41. *Der treue Zions-Wächter* 6, no. 8 (1850): 62.
42. *Ibid.* 3, no. 33 (1847): 265.
43. *Ibid.* 3, no. 33 (1847): 265–267, no. 34 (1847): 274–275, no. 35 (1847): 290–291. In issue no. 35, vol. 3 of *Der treue Zions-Wächter*, the relevant pages are numbered 290–291. However, this is a mistake, and the pages should carry the numbers 282–283.
44. All quotations in this paragraph, *ibid.* 7, no. 11 (1851): 42.
45. Cf. Hameln, *Memoirs*.
46. *Der treue Zions-Wächter* 7, no. 11 (1851): 42, 43.
47. *Ibid.*, 43.
48. Liberles, *Religious Conflict*, 114–135.
49. Liberles, *Religious Conflict*, 93–102. See Liberles also for all other information on the Frankfurt Orthodox congregation.
50. Both quotations in this paragraph, Liberles, *Religious Conflict*, 109.
51. All quotations in this paragraph, *ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 158–171, quotation 166. On the German-Jewish cultural symbiosis in Hirsch’s work, see Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 55–79.

55. Quoted from Hirsch, “Jewish Woman,” 56. I also thank Anne Polland for sharing her seminar paper on Samson Raphael Hirsch and the women’s question with me.

56. Hirsch, “Jewish Woman,” 57.

57. Quoted from Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 122.

58. For instance Hirsch’s commentary on Leviticus. Hirsch, *Pentateuch*, 3:630–631. For other references to texts in which Hirsch follows this line of argument, see Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 428.

59. *Jeschurun* 4 (1857–1858): 163–183, quotation 182.

60. *Ibid.*, 180.

61. *Ibid.*, 178, 182, quotation 178.

62. *Ibid.*, 180.

63. *Ibid.*, 180, 182.

64. *Ibid.* 2 (1855–1856): 264–270.

65. *Ibid.* 1 (1854–1855): 263–264.

66. *Ibid.* 8 (1861–1862): 317.

67. *Ibid.*, 315.

68. *Ibid.*, 58–59.

69. *Ibid.*, 66. See also *ibid.*, 329.

70. *Ibid.* 13 (1866–1867): 166; Hirsch, “Jewish Woman,” 59–66, esp. 64.

71. Hirsch, “Jewish Woman,” 66.

72. *Jeschurun* 8, 1861–1862, 413; Hirsch, *Pentateuch*, 3:631.

73. Hirsch, “Woman’s Role,” 393.

74. Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 122, 528; Hirsch, “Jewish Woman,” 86.

75. Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 122.

76. Hirsch, “Woman’s Role,” 396–397.

77. *Ibid.*, 398–399.

78. This and the previous quotation, *ibid.*, 404.

79. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 320; Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 123–125; Liberles, *Religious Conflict*, 152–155.

80. Brämer, *Rabbiner Zacharias Frankel*, 155, 165–166; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 84–89, quotation 85.

81. For the distinction between authority or power and influence or control in the context of the feminization of nineteenth-century American Protestantism, see Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, esp. 8, 89–90. See also Chapter 7.

82. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 81–172; Neusner, *Androgynous Judaism*.

IV. THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CULTURE OF PRAYER

1. Parts of the standardized Jewish liturgy are, in fact, in Aramaic, a language closely related to Hebrew. The Talmud too is composed of Hebrew as well as of Aramaic sections. In pre-modern Jewish society, Hebrew literacy included Aramaic literacy. Thus, for the purpose of this study, I will not distinguish between Hebrew and Aramaic but I use “Hebrew” to refer to the literary and sacred language of Ashkenazi Jewry.

2. For surveys of Yiddish literature and on Yiddish translations of Hebrew liturgy, see Shmeruk, *Sifrut yiddish*; Zinberg, *A History of Jewish Literature*, vol. 7, see esp. 7:23. On the access to rabbinic and kabbalistic writings for non-Hebrew readers see Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 41–43, 89–103, 126–146.

3. Quoted from Niger, “Yiddish Literature,” 72. On the *Brantshpigl*, see also Pollack,

4. Niger, "Yiddish Literature," 71.
5. Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 38–39.
6. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 152–162; Seidman, *Marriage Made in Heaven*, esp. 1–23; Weinreich, *Yiddish Language*, 270–277, esp. 276; Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 52–65. On efforts of Jewish leaders in early modern Ashkenaz to raise the status of Yiddish and to promote Yiddish as a language of male scholarship, see Schatz, "Sprache in der Zerstreuung."
7. On some of these women, see Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 104–106; Zolty, *And All Your Children*, 181–187, 193–196, 202–208, 215–223.
8. Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 8.
9. On the problem of the asymmetry between male Jewish culture and Jewish women's religious universe as we can infer it from *tkhine* literature, see Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 172–186.
10. Ibid., 194n11. For the culture of *tkhines* in general, see Berger, "Tehines": Niger, "Yiddish Literature," 77–79, 80–82; Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*; Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 7:249–259.
11. Berger, *Tehines*, 80n2; Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 6, 13, 16, and 20. On Yiddish supplicatory prayers for men included in collections of *tkhines* in *siddurim* see Stein, "Liebliche Tefillah," 67.
12. Niger, "Yiddish Literature," 77; Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 7. For *siddurim* with Yiddish translations of the Hebrew liturgy, see for instance *Seder tefilah*, Vilmersdorf, 1718; *Seder tefilah derekh yesharah*, Frankfurt/Main, 1697; *Seder tefilah derekh yesharah*, Frankfurt/Oder, 1703; *Seder tefilah derekh yesharah*, Amsterdam, 1768; *Seder tefilah mi-kol ha-shana*, Frankfurt/Main, 1673; *Tefilot*, Basel, 1557. For female synagogue attendance, see Chapter 5.
13. Stampfer, "Gender Differentiation and Education," 194–195.
14. Weissler, "Traditional Piety," 248–249; Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 22–23.
15. Possibly the last independent collection, entitled *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes*, appeared in Fürth in 1852. *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes*, Fürth, 1852. For two earlier collections see *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes fir fromme yiddishe froien*, Rödelheim, 1833, and *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes*, Sulzbach, 1841.
16. Wolf Heidenheim. *Siddur safah berurah: Mesudar bi-shlumut ha-siddur u-meduyak be-takhlit ha-dyuk u-meturgam ashkenazit*, Rödelheim, 1864. This *siddur* was published in multiple editions with and without Judeo-German translations of the Hebrew liturgy as well as with and without *tkhines* in the back in 1825, 1827, 1832, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1853, 1854, 1863, and 1864 in Rödelheim and in Sulzbach. For other *siddurim* with *tkhines* see *Seder tefilot mi-kol ha-shana ke-minhag polin*, Vienna, 1806, and *Siddur tefilah*, Sulzbach, 1833, bound together with *Seder tkhines u-vakoshes*, Sulzbach, 1828. The *kapparot* is a custom, performed on the day before Yom Kippur, in which the worshipper transfers sins to a fowl.
17. Weissler, "Traditional Piety," 249.
18. See also Lowenstein, "Jüdisches religiöses Leben," esp. 226–227; Lowenstein, "The Pace of Modernisation."
19. Lowenstein, "Yiddish Written Word," 182.
20. While Mendelssohn's Bible translation has long been considered the prime example of this educational project, scholars have recently argued that he did not intend his work to be a textbook for teaching High German. Lowenstein, "Yiddish Written Word," 180, 188–189; Römer. *Tradition und Akkulturation*, 13–14, 89; Sorkin, "From Context to Comparison," 34–35; Weinberg, "Language Questions," 198, 208.
21. Lässig, "Sprachwandel und Verbürgerlichung," 617–667; Lowenstein, "Anfänge der Integration," 168; Lowenstein, "Pace of Modernisation," 42–46; Römer, *Tradition und Akkulturation*, 110–112.

birthday of the husband, see Hecht, *Kos yeshuot*, 139–140. For a prayer of a woman at a spa, see Kaempf, *Tefilot beit yakov*, 168–169.

42. Stern, *Fromme Zionstochter*, 157–162.

43. For an exception see Pascheles, *Gebete für israelitische Frauenzimmer*, 13. See also Kratz-Ritter, *Für "fromme Zionstochter,"* 143–156.

44. Kratz-Ritter, *Für "fromme Zionstochter,"* 124, 162.

45. Saurer, "Bewahrerinnen der Zucht," 39, 43, 47.

46. *Ibid.*, 44–45, 48, 54–55, quotation 48.

47. *Ibid.*, 48–56.

48. From the table of contents of a prayer book for Catholic women, published in Vienna in 1829. Saurer, "Bewahrerinnen der Zucht," 49. See also Schlögl, "Sünderin, Heilige oder Hausfrau?" 37–38, and above, Chapter 1.

49. Kratz-Ritter, *Für "fromme Zionstochter,"* 57, 68–71.

50. Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 7:142, 7:157–158.

51. Neuda, *Stunden der Andacht*; Zschokke, *Stunden der Andacht*. On Neuda and her work, see also Kratz-Ritter, "Ergebnis eines weiblichen Herzens"; Kratz-Ritter, "Fanny Neuda."

52. Kratz-Ritter, *Für "fromme Zionstochter,"* 58–60; Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge, and Change*, 13.

53. From the subtitle of Neuda, *Stunden der Andacht*.

54. Heß, *Stunden der Andacht*; Rosenfeld, *Stunden der Andacht*.

55. For an exception see Tendlau, *Shaarei shamayim*. Although directed explicitly towards women, the book included meditations and contemplations on issues such as nature, divine providence, the dignity of the Israelite, and moral duties as well as on Bible passages that were not gender specific. For Salomon's *Selima's Stunden der Weihe*, see above, Chapter 2.

56. Hecht, *Kos yeshuot*, 16–18, 23–25; Letteris, *Tahanunei bat yehudah*, 129–130; Stern, *Fromme Zionstochter*, 8–10, 192–193. On Emanuel Hecht, see Isidore Singer and Harry H. Mayer, "Emanuel Hecht," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 6:314.

57. Morgenstern, *Glaube, Andacht und Pflicht*. Together with Fanny Neuda's book, this is one of the few nineteenth-century prayer books by female authors. Another one seems to be Cohen, *Neue Stunden der Andacht*. On Morgenstern and Ritter, see Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 474; Weiland, *Geschichte der Frauenemanzipation*, 173–177.

58. Here quoted from the second edition, Präger, *Gebet- und Erbauungsbuch*, 219–231, 248–250, and 256.

59. The first two prayer books in High German were Euchel, *Gebete*, 1786; Friedländer, *Tefilat yisrael*, 1786. See also Römer, *Tradition und Akkulturation*, 84–86.

60. Kley, *Deutsche Synagoge*, xii.

61. Euchel, *Gebete*, 1817, introduction, unnumbered.

62. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 46. For a more detailed account of synagogue reforms, see Chapter 5.

63. Kley, *Deutsche Synagoge*.

64. Solely in Frankfurt, the Jewish Free School called the Philanthropin had established in 1814 devotional exercises (*Andachtsstunden*) consisting of German hymns and a sermon but no prayers, on Saturday mornings after the customary synagogue services. See Chapter 5.

65. Fränkel, *Seder ha-avodah*; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 56; Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe*, 50–53. On the prayer books of the Hamburg Temple, see also Brämer, *Judentum und religiöse Reform*, 45–56.

66. *Seder ha-avodah*, vi.

67. Johlson, *Deutsches Gesangbuch für Israeliten*; Kley, *Hamburgisches israelitisches Gesang-*

68. *Protokolle und Aktenstücke*, 170–172, quotation 171. See also Kratz-Ritter, *Für "fromme Zionstöchter,"* 23–24.
69. Däschler-Seiler, *In die bürgerliche Gesellschaft*, 162–164; Maier, *Israelitisches Gebet- und Andachtsbuch; Protokolle und Aktenstücke*, 172.
70. Liberles, "Leopold Stein," 261–263; Lowenstein, "1840s and the Creation," 267–269; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 185; Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe*, 155–156.
71. Maier, *Israelitisches Gebets- und Andachtsbuch*, iii–iv, quotation iv. For an English translation of the introduction of Maier's book, see Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe*, 141–146.
72. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 185, 438n16.
73. Maier, *Israelitisches Gebets- und Andachtsbuch*, 439, 440.
74. Herzfeld, *Tefillat Jisrael*; Maier, *Seder tefilah*, 1:444–464; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 186, 438n16; Philippon, *Neues israelitisches Gebetbuch*, 32–34, 45–48, 57–59, 61–62, 65–71, 75–82. On Herzfeld in the commission for domestic devotional literature, see *Protokolle und Aktenstücke*, 172.
75. *Gebetbuch für jüdische Reformgemeinden*, 167–183; Stein, *Seder ha-avodah*, 1:300–346, quotation 1:326. The Berlin *Genossenschaft für Reform im Judentum* (Association for Reform in Judaism) was by far the most radical Reform congregation in nineteenth-century Germany. It held services on Sunday rather than on Saturday, introduced a Torah reading in the German language, and instituted far-reaching reforms of the liturgy. See Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 129–131; Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe*, 58–66. Leopold Stein had also been a member of the commission for domestic devotional literature at the second rabbinical conference. *Protokolle und Aktenstücke*, 172.
76. Stein, *Seder ha-avodah*, 1:245–346, quotation 1:326.
77. Maier, *Israelitisches Gebet- und Andachtsbuch*, iii; Philippon, *Neues Israelitisches Gebetbuch*, xii.
78. The language question was one of the most controversial issues discussed at the second rabbinical conference in 1845. See Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 137; Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, 164–173; *Protokolle und Aktenstücke*, 15–72.
79. Philippon, *Neues Israelitisches Gebetbuch*, xii, xiii. See also Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 137, 428n140; Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe*, 99.
80. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 248; Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, 168. On German having been the "sacred language" of German Jews in North America, see also Meyer, "German-Jewish Identity," esp. 251.
81. Liberles, "So-Called Quiet Years," 71–73.
82. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 185–187.
83. Philippon, *Neues Israelitisches Gebetbuch*, xii.
84. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 185–186, quotation 186. See also Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe*, 147–153.
85. Euchel, *Gebete*, 5, 223. See also Chapter 2.
86. Heidenheim, *Tehilat el*, 10–11; Hirsch, *Seder tefilot yisrael*, 8–9; Sachs, *Tefilat yeshurun*, 1, 6; *Tefilat yisrael: Israelitisches Gebetbuch*, 8–9 (this prayer book also contains prayers for women in the back of the volume); *Tefilat yisrael: Die täglichen Gebete*, 10.
87. Maier, *Israelitisches Gebet- und Andachtsbuch*, 1–3, 6–32; Philippon, *Neues Israelitisches Gebetbuch*, 3–5, quotation 3; *Gebetbuch für jüdische Reformgemeinden*, 167–171; *Seder ha-avodah*, 386–399. For another prayer book that also included neither the Hebrew *she-lo-asani* benediction nor a German equivalent, see Herzfeld, *Tefillat Jisrael*, 175–179.
88. Maier, *Seder tefilah*, 4.

90. Hirsch, *Seder tefilot yisrael*, 9. For eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rabbinic interpretations of the benediction *she lo asani ishah*, see Carlebach, “Family Structure,” 179. On the relationship between ritual commandments and social order see Chapter 2.

91. See Chapter 2.

92. Heinemann, *Hagadat-Pesach*. On Heinemann see also above, Chapter 2, as well as Hertz, “Troubling Dialectic,” 109.

93. Heinemann, *Hagadat-Pesach*, vi–viii.

94. Weinreich, *Yiddish Language*, 267–268; Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 7:20. See also Römer, *Tradition und Akkulturation*, 82.

95. Stein, *Pessach-Hagada*.

96. *Ibid.*, 3, 4.

97. *Ibid.*, 13.

98. *Ibid.*

99. Cassel, *Pesach-Hagada*. By 1927, the book was in its 14th edition.

100. Etkes, *Rabbi Israel Salanter*; Jacobs, “Hasidic Prayer”; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 400–401n42; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 335–336; Scholem, *Messianic Idea in Judaism*, 203–227. On the concept and history of *kavvanah*, see also Kadish, *Kavana*.

V. BOURGEOIS SYNAGOGUE DEVOTION

1. Krautheimer, *Mittelalterliche Synagogen*, 132–137, 202; Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 28–29; Künzel, “Synagogenbau im Mittelalter,” 62; Meir Ydit, “Mehizah,” *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 11:1235; Zolty, *And All Your Children*, 174.

2. Krautheimer, *Mittelalterliche Synagogen*, 244–245; Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 28–29, 51–52.

3. Hameln, *Memoirs*, 130, 271–273.

4. Carlebach, “Family Structure,” 164–165.

5. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 38, 40–43, 46.

6. Glatzer, “On an Unpublished Letter,” 133, 135; Hertz, “Amalie Beer als Schirmherrin”; Jonas, *Lebensskizze*, 5–9; Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:47–48; Leimdörfer, *Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Bestehen*, 38; Meyer, “Religious Reform Controversy,” 142–144.

7. CA, Community Collection, Berlin, K Ge2/81 (2); Hertz, “Troubling Dialectic,” 113–115; Meyer, “Religious Reform Controversy,” 139–148, 153; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 46.

8. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 54.

9. Brämer, *Judentum und religiöse Reform*, esp. 13–22, 121–132; Meyer, “Gründung des Hamburger Tempels,” 196; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 54–61.

10. Altona, today a part of Hamburg, at the time was a separate city and belonged to Denmark. Quotation, LBI, Leopold Stein Coll., S 49/1. For the remaining paragraph, see Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 55.

11. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 423n74. For Joseph Johlson, see Formstecher, “Joseph Johlson”; Meyer Kayserling, “Joseph Johlson,” *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 7:217–218.

12. Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 149–151; Galliner, “Philantropin in Frankfurt,” 175; Liberles, *Religious Conflict*, 25; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 119. For the seating arrangement in the *Andachtsaal*, note in particular Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 423n74.

13. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 55.

14. See also Chapter 2.

15. On the aesthetization and the embourgeoisement of the synagogue and particularly the role of sermons, see also Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*, 249–325.

16. Quotation, LBI, Salomon Herxheimer Coll., Lowenstein, “Anfänge der Integration,” 201; Lowenstein, “1840s and the Creation,” 286–297; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 105; Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe*, 105–127.

17. Meyer, “How Awesome,” 60.

18. *Gottesdienst-Ordnung*, 31–32, 35–40; Jeggle, *Jugendörter in Württemberg*, 129; Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 43–44; Liberles, *Religious Conflict*, 141; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 61. For the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* in Frankfurt, see also Chapter 3.

19. Kerlein, *Posener Juden 1815–1848*, 218–222; Lowenstein, “1840s and the Creation,” 268; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 105. On the changes in the Christian and Jewish culture of sermons, see Altmann, “New Style of Preaching,” 65–116; Meyer, “Christian Influence,” 293–296. See also Chapter 2.

20. Philippson, “Aus meiner Knabenzeit,” 51:750.

21. *AZdJ* 2, no. 52 (1838): 210.

22. Friedrichs, *Jüdische Jugend im Biedermeier*, 12.

23. American Jewish Archives, Adolf Hoenig Memoir, part 2, 9–10; Jeggle, *Jugendörter in Württemberg*, 130; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 129. I thank Ruth Abusch-Magder for bringing the Adolf Hoenig memoir to my attention and for providing me with a copy.

24. CA, Community Collection, Neuwied (Rheinland), NW/51, quotation, letter from Sept. 7, 1868, 3.

25. Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery*, 83–92, esp. 92.

26. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 147–151, 183–184, esp. 151.

27. Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 4, 43–44, 161.

28. Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, esp. 190–198, 208–226, 305, 308–315; Lohmann, “Strategie religiöser Reform,” 202–203; Lowenstein, “Pace of Modernisation,” 44; Petuchowski, “Manuals and Catechisms,” 47–64.

29. LBI, Adolf Kober Coll., box 14; Glatzer, *Leopold and Adelheid Zunz*, 122; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 34, 39–40; *Sulamith* 3, no. 1 (1810): 11–12, quotation 11.

30. Zunz, *Antworten auf Kultus-Fragen*, 12. See also Creiznach, *Confirmations-Feier*; Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 337–339; Heinemann, *Religions-Bekenntis für Israeliten*; Herxheimer (*Bar-mizwa-*) oder *Confirmations-Feier*; Herxheimer, *Erste Confirmationsfeier*.

31. Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, 2:122.

32. *Das Füllhorn* 2, no. 51 (1836): 401–406; Holdheim, *Geschichte der Entstehung*, 190–191; Meyer, “Christian Influence,” 298; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 39–40; *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie* 1 (1835): 77–80. See also Chapter 1.

33. LBI, Leopold Stein Coll., S 49/1; Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 165, 341; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 50; *Sulamith* 5, no. 1 (ca. 1818): 279; *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie* 1 (1835): 80. See also above, Chapter 1.

34. Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 341; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 50; Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*; *Sulamith* 5, no. 1 (ca. 1818): 279; *ibid.* no. 2 (ca. 1818): 399–413; *ibid.* no. 1 (ca. 1821): 399–403; *ibid.* no. 2 (1829): 71; *ibid.* no. 1 (ca. 1847): 53–54. For Munich, Bernburg, Brunswick, and Hilburghausen, reports state clearly that the ceremonies were held in the synagogue. Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 343; *Das Füllhorn* 2, no. 51 (1836): 403, 406; Herxheimer, *Erste Confirmationsfeier*; Kratz-Ritter, *Salomon Formstecher*, 70; *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie* 1 (1835): 81; Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, 472.

35. Holdheim, *Geschichte der Entstehung*, 191; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 102–103. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie* 1 (1835): 81.

36. CA, Community Collection, Katowice, Poland, PL/Ka, 12. On Daniel Fraenkel,

memoir ends in 1851 and it is likely though not certain that he is identical with Rabbi Daniel Fraenkel in 1868 Rybnik.

37. CA, Community Collection, Katowice, Poland, PL/Ka, 12.

38. Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, 456n98.

39. Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland*, 343; Philippon, “Aus meiner Knabenzeit,” 51:750; Ritter, *Geschichte der jüdischen Reformation*, 3:47.

40. Quotation, LBI, Isidor Kiefer Coll., folder 4. Krautheimer, *Mittelalterliche Synagogen*, 168; Künzel, “Synagogenbau im Mittelalter,” 62. For a plan of the Worms synagogue see Wischnitzer, *Architecture of European Synagogues*, 46.

41. LBI, Isidor Kiefer Coll., folders 3–4; Rothschild, *Beamte der jüdischen Gemeinde*, 15–20; Wischnitzer, *Architecture of European Synagogues*, 45.

42. In a similar instance in Losonz, Hungary, a communal rabbi protested in 1864 that the latticework of the women’s gallery in the new synagogue did not satisfy the halakhic requirements of modesty. *Ben Chananja* 7, no. 33 (1864): 668.

43. Brämer, *Rabbiner Zacharias Frankel*, 140; Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 30; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 184; Rohde, “Synagogen im Hamburger Raum, 148, 152–153; Stein, *Jüdische Baudenkmäler in Hamburg*, 135–136. For depictions of the interior of the Hamburg Temple, see Brämer, *Judentum und religiöse Reform*, V–VI.

44. Blecher, “Beruf der Frauen,” 186; Habermas, “Weibliche Religiosität,” 124–148; Hölscher, “Religion des Bürgers,” 610; Hölscher, “Weibliche Religiosität,” 49; McLeod, “Weibliche Frömmigkeit—männlicher Unglaube?” 135; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 129.

45. Berlin Museum, *Synagogen in Berlin*, 2:25, 2:33–34, 2:40–41, 2:47; Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 387; Liberles, *Religious Conflict*, 140; Stein, *Jüdische Baudenkmäler in Hamburg*, 57, 59.

46. CA, Community Collection, Friedrichstadt (Schleswig-Holstein), GA II, folder 629; LBI, Hans Eltzbacher Coll., folder 2; *AZdJ* 1, no. 87 (1837): 370; Borut, “Religiöses Leben der Landjuden,” 244.

47. Richarz, *Jewish Life in Germany*, 112. In a Jewish family in Hanau, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the grandmother attended the synagogue every Sabbath while the father had discontinued his regular attendance at services. LBI, Adolf Hamburger Memoir, 9, 24. For female synagogue attendance in the early twentieth century, see also LBI, Luise Metzger Memoir, 3; Lowenstein, “Jüdisches religiöses Leben,” 226–227. Simone Lässig argues that, in comparison to the church for German Christians, the synagogue retained a significant degree of importance for German Jews, and she comments on the difficulties in determining the frequency of synagogue attendance for both sexes. Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*, 428–436.

48. LBI, Herz Weil Memoir, 22.

49. Carlebach, “Family Structure,” 187. See also LBI, Mosse Family Coll., Part I, Box 2.

50. Quotation, LBI, Adolf Kurrein Memoir, 1. Schwarz, *Gesprochen am offenen Grabe*, unnumbered; Wengeroff, *Memoiren einer Grossmutter*, 1:101, 1:173.

51. Lehmann, *Erinnerungen einer Altonaerin*, 6, 37, 61–62, 70–71, 130; Perles, “Unsere Grossmütter,” 166–167.

52. Quotation, LBI, Jenny Weinberg Memoir, 58. On nostalgia in memoirs, see Gebhardt, *Familiengedächtnis*, 119–125.

53. LBI, Clara Geissmar Memoir, 73; LBI, Lena Kahn Memoir, unnumbered; *Der Israelitische Volkslehrer* 3 (1853): 128; Richarz, *Jewish Life in Germany*, 157. For the 1850s in Bielefeld, see LBI, Julie Aschaffenburg Memoir, 16–17.

54. LBI, Esther Calvary Memoir, 15–16; Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 122; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 115.

55. Diamant, *Minna Diamant*, 42, 79, quotations 42.

56. LBI, Max Markreich Coll., folder 6. *Der Israelitische Volkslehrer* 4 (1854): 160–161.

57. CA, Isler Collection, 23. On Sachs, Stern, and the Berlin Reform congregation, see Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 125–131. On Emma Isler, see Randt, “Die Erinnerungen der Emma Isler.”

58. Lewin, *Geschichte der badischen Juden*, 323–332, quotation 331.

59. CA, Community Collection, Wien, Austria, A/W 731, 2.

60. *Literatur-Blatt zum Israeliten des 19. Jahrhunderts* 1, no. 29 (1846): 126; *ibid.* 1, no. 30 (1846): 129; *ibid.* 1, no. 31 (1846): 134. For Holdheim’s article on the women’s question in rabbinic Judaism, see Chapter 2.

61. *Ibid.* 1, no. 30 (1846): 132.

62. *Ibid.* 1, no. 29 (1846): 128.

63. *Ibid.* 1, no. 30 (1846): 130.

64. See Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 83.

65. Graetz, *Tagebücher und Briefe*, 31, 44, 53, 64.

66. See Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery*.

VI. FROM MALE *HEVROT* TO MODERN JEWISH VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

1. Farine, “Charity, and Study Societies,” 16–47, 166–175; Goldberg, *Crossing the Jabok*; Katz, *Tradition and Crisis*, 133–140; Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 142–143; Reinke, *Judentum und Wohlfahrtspflege*, 32–40. For a somewhat different account of the history of *hevrot* see Baron, *Jewish Community*, 1:348–374.

2. Farine, “Charity, and Study Societies,” 164–166; Katz, *Tradition and Crisis*, 134–135, quotation 134; Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 116–119; Marcus, “Triesch Hebra Kadisha,” esp. 189–197. For the difference between *zedakah* and *gemilut hesed*, see Wilhelm Lewy, “Wohltätigkeit,” *Jüdisches Lexikon*, 5:1475–1479.

3. In fact, the rise of the Jewish culture of universal male learning and of *hevrot* in early modern Ashkenaz was fueled by the popularization of Kabbalistic ideas and practices. While this interpretation is uncontested for Ashkenazi Jewry in Central and Western Europe, Italian Jews founded *hevrot* before the movement of mystical piety reached the Italian peninsula. Farine, “Charity and Study Societies,” 27–28, 172–173; Goldberg, *Crossing the Jabok*, 86–91, 194; Hirsch, *Jüdisches Vereinsleben in Hamburg*, 28; Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 136–138; Reinke, “Wohltätige Hilfe im Verein,” 225–226; Reinke, *Judentum und Wohlfahrtspflege*, 33; Ruderman, “*Gemilut Hasadim* Society,” esp. 236; Stow, *Theater of Acculturation*, esp. 96; Theodore Friedman, “Study,” *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 16:459; Wolf, *Jüdische Friedhöfe*, 44.

4. In the last decades of the eighteenth century, German Jewry was divided in a conflict in which the traditionalists insisted on burying the dead immediately as customary, while modernizers advocated to delay funerals for three days. On both youth *hevrot* and the early burial controversy, see Krochmalnik, “Scheintod und Emanzipation”; Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 143–159; Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, 1:281–282, 1:347–348; Reinke, *Judentum und Wohlfahrtspflege*, 94–102; Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 116–120; Wiesemann, “Jewish Burials in Germany.”

5. Lesser, *Gesellschaft der Freunde*, esp. 10–12, 25–27, 40; Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 144–159. See also Baron, *Jewish Community*, 363–364. The activities of the *Gesellschaft der Freunde*, probably the most modern and least religiously oriented of these youth *hevrot*, seem not to have included study or worship meetings. See Lesser, *Gesellschaft der Freunde*.

6. Lesser, *Gesellschaft der Freunde*, esp. 6, 10–12, 15; Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 144–159, esp. 144, 153.

7. Duker, *Übersicht aller wohltätigen Anstalten*, 88–90; Haarblicher, *Geschichte der*

Liedtke, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg*, 190–192. For *Sterbekassen* founded in Berlin in the 1770s, see Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte*, 2:691–693.

8. Quoted from Liedtke, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg*, 194. However, the *Krankenverein tröstender Brüder* held on to its synagogue and supplied its members with monetary support during the period of *shivah* and with a funeral cortege after their demise. The members of the *Krankenverein tröstender Brüder* also visited each other when they were ill. On *Agudah Jescharah* and other mutual-aid associations in Hamburg, see Dukes, *Übersicht aller wohlthätigen Anstalten*, 85; Haarbleicher, *Geschichte der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde*, 305–307; Hirsch, *Jüdisches Vereinsleben in Hamburg*, 29, 32–33; Liedtke, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg*, 199–201, 206. Some of these associations conducted periodic lotteries in which capital that had accumulated primarily through the collection of membership fees was distributed. It was also customary that a winner who was not in immediate need of support himself would donate the gained sum to another person as an act of benevolence.

9. See also Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 112–122; Wolff, “Von der Wohltätigkeit,” 24–25.

10. Liedtke, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg*, 193.

11. CA, Community Collection, Hamburg, TD, folder 797. Note on the translation: *Benevolence/benevolent* and *charity/charitable* both stand for the German terms *Wohltätigkeit/wohltätig*. On the religious economy of charity in rabbinic Judaism, see Raphael Posner, “Charity,” *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 5:340; Lewy, “Wohltätigkeit,” *Jüdisches Lexikon*, 5:1475–1478.

12. CA, Community Collection, Hamburg, TD, folder 797. The members of the *Verein für Krankenpflege* were young merchants, some of them newcomers to Hamburg. Others stemmed from more established Jewish families such as the board member Siegmund Robinow (1808–1870), whose father had co-founded the New Israelite Temple Association in 1817. StaAH, Familienarchive, Robinow, 662–1.9.

13. *Der treue Zions-Wächter* 3, no. 12 (1847): 90–91. For the transformation of Jewish associational life and the rise of mutual-aid features in other parts of Germany, see Lowenstein, “Anfänge der Integration,” 212–213. In Vienna, death-benefit and mutual-aid sick-care societies also formed the majority of non-Jewish societies in the middle of the nineteenth century. Hye, “Vereinswesen und bürgerliche Gesellschaft,” 89. On the modernization of Jewish voluntary associations, see also Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*, 520–528.

14. In 1738, some twenty or twenty-five unmarried and financially insecure men had founded the first Jewish sick-care association in Frankfurt. Initially, the rabbi in Frankfurt disapproved of the association, since he feared that the sick-care society discouraged men from marrying. However twenty years later, married men who were economically better situated founded a second sick-care association. In 1825, the two male associations merged. The women’s sick-care society stayed independent. CJ, Community Collection, Frankfurt/Main, 75 A Fr 4, folder 7, published as *Gesellschaftsvertrag der Krankenkasse für Frauen zu Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt: Heidenheimsche Buchdruckerei, 1820), iii–iv; Arnsberg, *Geschichte der Frankfurter Juden*, 2:122–123; Lustiger, *Jüdische Stiftungen in Frankfurt*, 139–140; Unna, “Israelitische Männer- und Frauen-Krankenkasse,” 227–230.

15. CJ, Community Collection, Frankfurt/Main, 75 A Fr 4, folder 7, published as *Gesellschaftsvertrag*, esp. 9, 23, 53, 68–69.

16. *Ibid.*, 68–69. Supporting an association that cared for the Jewish sick, watched over the proper fulfillment of Jewish burial rites, and arranged prayer services, also must have constituted an act of benevolence in itself. Compare a similar regulation in the statutes of the *Wohltätigkeitsverein* (Charity Association) in Grünstadt, Rhineland-Palatine, and the introduction to the 1820 statutes of the *Israelitische Krankenkasse* (Israelite Sick-Care Association) in Offenbach in which Jews who, due to their economic position, did not need the association’s benefits when they were sick, were exhorted to become paying members in

order to support a noble cause. CA, Community Collection, Grünstadt, PF IV, folder 47; CA, Community Collection, Offenbach, Ga KGe 14, folders 47 and 48. For the association in Grünstadt, and for burial rites in general, see also below in this chapter.

17. As I show below for the nineteenth century, the eighteenth-century Jewish women's sick-care societies too tended to be founded after the model of pre-existing male associations. CA, Community Collection, Mannheim, TD, folder 350, published as *Rechenschafts-Bericht der Vereinigten Verwaltung der Israelitischen Krankenunterstützungs-Vereine in Mannheim für das Jahr 1915* (Mannheim, 1916), 3–4; Guggenheim, "Entwicklung des Krankenkassenwesens," 4; Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 141–142, 156–159. In Mainz, a men's *hevra bikkur holim* existed since ca. 1600. Salfeld, *Mainzer jüdisches Vereinslebens*, 9.

18. CA, Community Collection, Gedern, Ga II, folder 421; *ibid.*, Würzburg, D/Wu 2, folder 535.

19. By September, its membership had grown to sixty-one and it stayed at that level for the next decade. In 1867, the Jewish population of Grünstadt counted 337 men, women, and children, almost 10 percent of the overall inhabitants. This means that more than one in three adult Jewish woman in Grünstadt joined the women's association. CA, Community Collection, Grünstadt, PF IV, folders 20d, 71, 74.

20. It is unclear whether the women of the Grünstadt's women's association who had kept watch for a sick member actually washed and dressed the deceased themselves or whether they only supervised the procedure. *Ibid.*, folder 72.

21. *Ibid.*, folders 71, 72, 74.

22. The men's society comprised fifty-eight members in 1862, and was thus about the same size than the women's society. A third Jewish association existed in Grünstadt, founded in 1859 and called *Krankenunterstützungs-Verein* (Sick-Support Society). This purely charitable association employed a doctor who visited poor Jews of the town for free and it provided the needy with medicine. The members paid weekly fees and collected money in the synagogue. Membership was open to men and women. In 1868, three women were among the forty-five or forty-seven members. *Ibid.*, folders 47, 48, 59.

23. In the statutes of 1883, the meetings at Shavuot and Hoshana Rabba are described as optional. They may not have taken place any longer. By then, the washing and dressing of corpses was carried out by hired personnel. *Ibid.*, folder 48.

24. On male *hevrot* who began to drop the commitment to daily Torah study from their statutes, see also Reinke, *Judentum und Wohlfahrtspflege*, 53; Reinke, "Wohltätige Hilfe im Verein," 218–219; Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 114–115; Wolff, "Von der Wohltätigkeit," 24. In Jebenhausen, Württemberg, two associations held daily study sessions that over time were reduced to weekly ones. Tänzer, *Juden in Jebenhausen*, 266–267. Similarly, in 1856, the Munich *hevra kaddisha* replaced the daily learning of rabbinic texts with weekly lectures in German. Ehrentreu, *Geschichte der Chevra Kadisha*, 32.

25. CA, Community Collection, Emmendingen, Ga/S 222, folder 5.

26. Despite its language of compassion and benevolence, *Hevrat Ezrat Nashim* indeed was a mutual-aid society, primarily geared toward aiding its own members in case of sickness. For the statutes of the *Hevrat Ezrat Nashim* and a discussion of Jewish mutual-aid societies and nineteenth-century concepts of *Menschenliebe*, benevolence, and philanthropy, see Baader, "Rabbinic Study, Self-Improvement." On the transition from a pre-modern and religious to an Enlightenment and ultimately bourgeois value system during the Haskalah, see Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 41–73.

27. The founding date of the Christian *Frauenverein für Krankenpflege* is controversial. Jacob Segall and Eugenie Wertheim date it at 1840. Yet Johanna Waescher reports that Friederike von Meyer had established the association in 1813. Waescher also details that in the 1880s, the *Frauenverein für Krankenpflege* had only 20–30 members. Segall, "Jüdische Frauenvereine in Deutschland," 2; Waescher, *Casseler Frauenvereine 1812–1904*, 1, 6; Wertheim, *Frauenvereine in Cassel*, 10–11. For the extended benevolent activities of the *Is-*

raelitische Frauen-Verein after 1832 and for other Jewish voluntary societies in Cassel, see also Wertheim, *Fest-Schrift zur Hundertjahrfeier*, 2–3, 8; Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle, *Jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege in Deutschland*, 226.

28. Kley, *Geschichtliche Darstellung*, 16–17; Liedtke, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg*, 164. Although Dukes and Haarblicher date the founding of the *Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung armer israelitischer Witwen* at 1827, the association itself reported to have existed since 1814. Similarly, Dukes and Haarblicher give 1815 as the founding date of the *Frauenverein zur Unterstützung armer israelitischer Wöchnerinnen*. Dukes, *Übersicht aller wohltätigen Anstalten*, 124, 128; Haarblicher, *Geschichte der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde*, 304; Hirsch, *Jüdisches Vereinsleben in Hamburg*, 260n168.

29. Institut für die Geschichte der Juden, Hamburg, Archive, 09–011, *Takkanot (Statuten) des Frauen-Vereins zur Unterstützung armer Wöchnerinnen*, Hamburg, 1829, unnumbered.

30. *Ibid.*

31. For the three Jewish women's associations in Hamburg, see StaAH, Schul- und Kultuswesen, Israelitische Freischule, 362–6/8, I D 6; Haarblicher, *Geschichte der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde*, 304–305; Hirsch, *Jüdisches Vereinsleben in Hamburg*, 43–44; Liedtke, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg*, 164–165. For non-Jewish women's associations, see *Bericht des Hamburgischen Frauen-Vereins*, 181; Freudenthal, *Vereine in Hamburg*, 98–99; Friedrich, "Vereinigung der Kräfte," esp. 125; Habermas, "Weibliche Religiosität," 131–132; Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, 220–221; Hagemann, *Männlicher Muth*, 417–427; Huber-Sperl, "Bürgerliche Frauenvereine in Deutschland," esp. 58–60; Meyer-Renschhausen, *Weibliche Kultur*, 49–56; Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge, and Change*; Quartaert, *Staging Philanthropy*, esp. 29–39; Reder, *Frauenbewegung und Nation*, esp. 394, 403; Rumpel-Nienstedt, "Thäterinnen der Liebe," 206–226; Sachße, *Geschichte der Armenfürsorge*, 222–230. In Vienna, where noble women founded a lasting female voluntary association as early as 1811, Jewish women's associations nevertheless predated parallel Catholic associations. Malleier, *Jüdische Frauen in Wien*, 36–43, 97.

32. For non-Jewish women's associations, see Blecher, "Beruf der Frauen," 185–186; Reder, *Frauenbewegung und Nation*, 39–326, 330, 347–349; Rumpel, "Thäterinnen der Liebe," 217.

33. For men in Jewish women's associations, see CA, Community Collection, Emmendingen, Ga S 222, folder 5; CA, Community Collection, Grünstadt, TD/1105, folder 71; CA, Community Collection, Pyritz, Ga II, folder 955, published as *Statut des israelitischen Frauen-Vereins zu Pyritz*, (Pyritz: A. Spanier, 1859); *Statut des israelitischen Jungfrauen-Vereins*, § 13, unnumbered. For Jewish women's associations without male involvement (in parentheses the years for which the absence of male involvement is evident), see CA, Community Collection, Friedrichstadt, CA, Ga II, folder 46 (1825); CA, Community Collection, Lübbecke, Inv. 6198 (1852–1868); CA, Community Collection, Lübeck, Ga II, folder 542 (1858 and 1883); CA, Community Collection, Mainz, TD, folder 241 (1885); CA, Community Collection, Neuwied, Rh/Nw, folder 86 (1855); CA, Community Collection, Ottensoos, S 139, folder 4 (1862 and 1878); CA, Community Collection, Würzburg, D/Wu2, folder 535 (1864); Treuenfels, *Erinnerungs-Blätter*, 19–21 (1847–1877).

34. Mixed-sex boards of women's associations formed the rule in Hamburg from 1814 on. Haarblicher, *Geschichte der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde*, 257–258, 304–305. For Frankfurt, see CJ, Community Collection, Frankfurt/Main, 75A Fr 4, folder 7, published as *Gesellschaftsvertrag*, 47; *ibid.*, published as *Statuten der israelitischen Frauenkrankenkasse zu Frankfurt am Main*, 1836, 30; *ibid.*, published as *Jahresbericht der israelitischen Frauenkrankenkasse von 1836*, 1837, unnumbered. For Vienna, see Malleier, *Jüdische Frauen in Wien*, 97. In Breslau, a dramatic confrontation between the male community board and an independent women's association that cared for Jewish orphans ended with the demise of the women's voluntary society in 1829. Thereafter Jewish women remained involved in the care of orphaned children in the city but did so under male supervision and control. See Baader, "In-

venting Bourgeois Judaism,” 421–423. In the 1850s in Berlin, conversely, women regained full control of their society, the *Frauen-Verein von 1833 zum Besten israelitischer Waisenmädchen* (Women’s Association of 1833 for the Benefit of Israelite Female Orphans). See Lamm, *Geschichte der Armenverwaltung*, 7; *Statut für den Frauen-Verein*, 9.

35. For Jewish women’s associations, see CA, Community Collection Breslau, HM 2 6084; CJ, Community Collection, Frankfurt/Main, 75A Fr. 4, folder 7, published as *Gesellschaftsvertrag*, iii; Guggenheim, “Entwicklung des Krankenkassenwesens,” 4; Ruppin, *Juden im Großherzogtum Hessen*, 123; Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle, *Jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege in Deutschland*, 46, 60, 74, 79, 82, 118, 129, 144, and 163. For non-Jewish women’s associations, see Friedrich, “Vereinigung der Kräfte,” 125; Huber-Sperl, “Bürgerliche Frauenvereine in Deutschland,” 43 and 58–59; Reder, *Frauenbewegung und Nation*, 19–20.

36. According to the statutes of the association from 1820, a male inspector ensured that deceased members were properly washed, dressed, and guarded. In 1836, the statutes stated that the family of the deceased had to make arrangements for the burial. CJ, Community Collection, Frankfurt/Main, 75 A Fr 4, folder 7, published as *Gesellschaftsvertrag*, 68; *ibid.*, published as *Statuten*, 28.

37. CA, Community Collection, Offenbach, KGe 14, folder 47; Liedtke, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg*, 138. By 1876, the list of the individuals for whom the orphans in Paderborn observed *yahrzeit* commemorations made up 327 entries. CA, Community Collection, Paderborn, GAI, folder 947. For Stettin, see CA, Community Collection, Stettin, D/St1, folder 42; *ibid.*, 75A Ste3, folder 166, published as *Statut für das durch den Rabbiner Dr. Meisel in’s Leben gerufene israelitische Waisenhaus zu Stettin* (Stettin: C.F. Rühlow, 1855), 13–14.

For the Hamburg *Altenhaus* (Old People’s Home), founded in 1886, see Liedtke, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg*, 140. As an alternative to *yahrzeit* commemorations, some modern Jewish welfare institutions, such as the orphanage in Breslau, instituted a yearly memorial service in which the orphans honored the benefactors of the orphanage. Silberstein, *Entstehung und Entwicklung*, 49–50. For a similar practice of the Breslau Jewish hospital, run by the local *hevra kaddisha*, the *Israelitische Kranken-Verpflegungs-Anstalt und Beerdigungs-Gesellschaft* (Israelite Sick-Care and Burial Society), see CJ, Community Collection, Breslau, 75A Br7, folder 6, p. 12.

38. Lewin, *Geschichte der israelitischen Kranken-Verpflegungs-Anstalt*, 107–112.

39. CJ, Community Collection, Berlin, 75A Be2, folder 280; CJ, Community Collection, Breslau, 75A Br7, folder 11, published as *Statuten der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Guten, die zweite Bruderschaft genannt* (Breslau: Hirsch Sulzbach, 1847) 3.

40. CA, Community Collection, Ottensoos, S 139, folders 4–5, quotation folder 5.

41. *Ibid.*, folder 5. According to the 1839 statutes of the men’s *Wohltätigkeits-Verein* (Benevolent Association) in nearby Schnaittach, the members of this association, too, had to listen in silence to a reading of “moral-religious literature.” CA, Community Collection, Schnaittach, N 22a, folder 13.

42. CA, Community Collection, Ottensoos, S 139, folder 5. For women’s associations with similar practices, see a sick-care association in Offenbach and a women’s association in Halberstadt. CA, Community Collection, Offenbach, Ga KGe 14, folder 52; Auerbach, *Israelitische Gemeinde Halberstadt*, 129.

43. See also Panitz, “Modernity and Mortality,” 319–323.

44. CA, Community Collection, Stargard, KGe 16, folder 29; CJ, Community Collection, Stargard, 75A Sta2, folder 118, p. 7. According to the statutes of the *hevra kaddisha* in Stargard, the same practice was still in place in 1821. CA, Community Collection Stargard, KGe 16, folder 31; CJ, Community Collection Stargard, 75A Sta2, folder 115, pp. 4–14.

45. This was the case whether a women’s voluntary society catered to the needy of the larger Jewish community or was primarily concerned with the welfare of its own members.

For the *Hevra kaddisha* in Stargard, see Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 139–140; Zur

Geschichte der Krankenpflege, 5. For the women's sick-benefit association of Offenbach, see CA, Community Collection, Offenbach, Ga KGe 14, folder 52. For the *Hevrat Ezrat Nashim* (Society for the Help of Women) of Emmendingen and the *Israelitische Frauenkrankenkasse* in Frankfurt, see above in this chapter. For the *Hevra Malbish Arumim* (Association for Clothing the Naked), founded in 1825 in Friedrichstadt in the Duchy of Schleswig, see CA, Community Collection, Friedrichstadt, Ga II, folder 46 and Inv. 629. For a Jewish women's association in Darmstadt, see *Statuten des israelitischen Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Vereins*.

46. CA, Community Collection, Schnaittach, N 22a, folder 13, and S 135, folder 7.

47. Dukes, *Übersicht aller wohltätigen Anstalten*, 139; Goldschmidt, *Geschichte der Beerdigungs-Brüderschaft*, quotation 44; Hirsch, *Jüdisches Vereinsleben in Hamburg*, 25–35, 364–365. On Jewish women's associations in Hamburg, see also above in this chapter.

48. Grätzer, *Geschichte der israelitischen Kranken-Verpflegungs-Anstalt*, 66–67, quotation 67.

49. This association existed before 1838, when it compiled its first statutes. According to its statutes from 1884, the members of the *hevrah* kept watch for sick and dying Jewish women in Lübeck, sewed shrouds, performed ablutions, and accompanied deceased Jewish women to the cemetery. Uncommon for women's associations at the time, the *Frauen-Chevroh-Kedischoh* expected its members to observe the Sabbath and dietary laws, to cover their hair, and to frequent the ritual bath. CA, Community Collection, Lübeck, Ga II, folder 543, published as *Statuten der Lübecker Frauen-Chevroh-Kedischoh: Verein zur Todtenbestattung* (Lübeck: A. Levy, 1884), 2–4.

50. Ehrenreu, *Geschichte der Chewra Kadischa*, 25; Grätzer, *Geschichte der israelitischen Kranken-Verpflegungs-Anstalt*, 67; Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde in München*, 132–146, 372. The *Israelitische Frauenverein* of Munich had its model in a Christian women's association, founded in 1829. Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde in München*, 137–138.

51. CA, Community Collection, Stettin, D/St1, folder 42, published as *Statut des israelitischen Frauen-Vereins zu Stettin: Gegründet am 16. December 1847* (Stettin: Herrcke & Lebeling, 1877), 3, 5, 7; Treuenfels, *Erinnerungs-Blätter*, 15, 19–21.

52. CA, Community Collection, Ottensoos, S 139, folder 4; CA, Community Collection, Pyritz, GaII, folder 955, published as *Statut des israelitischen Frauen-Vereins zu Pyritz* (Pyritz: A. Spanier, 1859). For Ottensoos see also above in this chapter. In addition to assistance in the case of death, the members of the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* in Thorn, founded in 1868, visited every sick Jewish woman in town, and the association provided a physician, medication, and monetary support if needed. *Statuten des israelitischen Frauen-Vereins zu Thorn*, 3, 5. The women of the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* in Leipzig assisted the dying, arranged for the sewing of shrouds and for the funeral, escorted the coffin to the cemetery, supported the bereaved in their hour of need, and erected a gravestone for the deceased. Additionally, the members of the Jewish women's association of Leipzig visited needy and sick women, comforted them, provided medication, food, and if necessary hired a household assistant. The society also cared for women in childbed, bestowed dowries on poor brides, and supported orphans. CA, Community Collection, Leipzig, D/Le1, folder 1. For the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* in Erfurt, see CA, Community Collection, Erfurt, folder 26, published as *Statuten des israelitischen Frauen-Vereins zu Erfurt* (Erfurt: Leonhard Scheube, 1858), 1, 5–8. For the Jewish women's association in Neuwied, which adopted its first statutes in 1855, see CA, Community Collection, Neuwied, Rh/NW, folder 86.

53. Wertheim, *Fest-Schrift zur Hundertjahrfeier*, esp. 5, 11–15. See also above in this chapter.

54. Kaplan, *Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 200–201.

55. For a fundamental text on the middle-class public sphere and the contemporary critique of it see Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. For women's exclusion from the public sphere in Europe, see also Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*,

esp. 416–436; Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*. For a critical discussion of the concept of the public / private divide in women's history, see "Women's History."

VII. MODERN RABBIS AND JEWISH WOMEN

1. Jewish society, however, distinguished between its own law, based on the Talmud, and "the law of the land," meaning the legal framework of the countries in which Jews resided. While Jewish communities typically enjoyed extensive legal autonomy, Jews always acknowledged and respected "the law of the land," too. See Shilo, *Dina de-malkhuta dina*.

2. Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 46.

3. *Ibid.*, 47–52.

4. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 34.

5. *Ibid.*, 34–35.

6. Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*, 625–640; Meyer, "Christian Influence," 294; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 61, 102–103; Schorsch, "Emancipation and the Crisis," 213–217. On Zacharias Frankel's concept of the modern rabbi as *Seelsorger*, see Brämer, *Rabbiner Zacharias Frankel*, 155–156.

7. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 144–151, quotation 150; Rozenblit, "Jewish Identity," 103–110.

8. Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 238, 247–248, quotations 248.

9. Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 125; Heuer and Steinschneider, *Moritz Steinschneider*, 7–11; Marx, "Zunz's Letters to Steinschneider," 97; Steinschneider, "Moritz und Auguste Steinschneider," 205, 207.

10. Quotations *AZdJ* 29 (1865): 694. For this paragraph see also Kayserling, *Jüdische Frauen*, 239, 255; Kober, "Religious Instruction," 108; Leimdörfer, *Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Bestehen*, 38. On Johanna Goldschmidt, see this chapter.

11. *Das Füllhorn* 2, no. 10 (1836): 73–74; *ibid.* 2, no. 12 (1836): 89–90; *ibid.* 2, no. 22 (1836): 69–170; *ibid.* 2, no. 32 (1836): 249–250; *ibid.* 2, no. 50 (1836): 393–394; *ibid.* 2, no. 51 (1836): 401.

12. Groiss-Lau, "Jüdische Öffentlichkeit"; Kayserling, 69–70; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 102. For *Stunden der Andacht* see Chapter 4.

13. *Der Freitagabend* 1, no. 33 (1859): 513–516; Karpeles, *Frauen in der jüdischen Literatur*, 42–43; Kayserling, *Jüdische Frauen*, 238–240; Landauer, *Briefe und Gedichte*, 1; Henrietta Szold, "Minna Cohen Kleeberg," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 7:520.

14. Busch, "Feminisierung der Frömmigkeit," esp. 213–214; Hoelscher, "Weibliche Religiosität"; Mergel, "Subtile Macht der Liebe," esp. 40–42.

15. Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, 115.

16. *Ibid.*, 90, 197, quotation 90.

17. Brämer, *Rabbiner und Vorstand*, 92–94, 190–196; Landauer, *Briefe und Gedichte*, i–ii; Liberles, "Leopold Stein," 261–262, 265–267, 272–275; Liberles, *Religious Conflict*, 23–65; Schwarzschild, *Gründung der Israelitischen Religionsgesellschaft*, 13; Isidore Singer, "Leopold Stein," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 11:540.

18. Landauer, *Briefe und Gedichte*, v. See also LBI, Dann Family Coll., folders 11 and 12.

19. LBI, Leopold Stein Coll., S 49/1, published as *Zum 100 jährigen Geburtstag unseres lieben Vaters Rabbiner Doktor Leopold Stein*, ca. 1910, 8. An abbreviated version of this text can be found in Landauer, *Briefe und Gedichte*, i–vii.

20. From the book of poetry, prepared by Sidonie Dann for her sister-in-law and Stein's eldest daughter Dorothea Dann in 1883, LBI, Leopold Stein Coll., V 1/1, R.3. Some of these

21. LBI, Leopold Stein Coll., S 49/1, published as *Zum 100 jährigen Geburtstag*, 9–10; Landauer, *Briefe und Gedichte*, vi. Stein's works include Stein, *Bilder aus dem altjüdischen Familienleben*; Stein, *Deutsche Gebete und Gesänge*, 1846; Stein, *Deutsche Gebete und Gesänge*, 1868; Stein, *Des Dichters Weihe*; Stein, *Friedrich Rückerts Leben*; Stein, *Gebete und Gesänge*; Stein, *Geistige Erlösung*; Stein, *Gott in der geeinigten Menschheit*; Stein, *Hasmonäer*; Stein, *Haus Ehrlich*; Stein, *Kampf des Lebens*; Stein, *Knabenraub zu Carpentras*; Stein, *Kohleth*; Stein, *Rede, gehalten bei der Trauung*; Stein, *Rede zur Einweihung*; Stein, *Schrift des Lebens*; Stein, *Sinai*; Stein, *Stufengesänge*; Stein, *Unsere Wünsche*; Stein, *Wahrheit, Recht und Frieden*. For Stein's prayer book *Seder ha-avodah* and his Haggadah, see Chapter 4. On *Bilder aus dem altjüdischen Familienleben* see the conclusion of this study.

22. LBI, Salomon Herxheimer Coll.; Geiger, *Judaism and its History*, 56; Geiger, *Abraham Geiger's Leben*, 369–382.

23. Battersea, *Reminiscences*, 69–70; Kratz-Ritter, “Zum geistig-religiösen Umfeld,” 43, 50; Liberles, “Leopold Stein,” 261; Liberles, *Religious Conflict*, esp. 89; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 123. For a family tree of the Rothschilds, see Clementine Kinderhospital, *Clementine von Rothschild*, 106–107. I am most grateful to Bettina Kratz-Ritter and Helga Krohn for drawing my attention to the connection between Leopold Stein and the women of the Rothschild family and for generously sharing information and documents with me.

24. Battersea, *Reminiscences*, 21, 69; Kratz-Ritter, “Zum geistig-religiösen Umfeld,” 45; Louise von Rothschild, *Thoughts Suggested*.

25. Louise von Rothschild, *Thoughts Suggested*, 75–82, quotations 76, 77, 81.

26. *Ibid.*, 44.

27. Louise von Rothschild, *Gedanken einer Mutter*, xiv. Quoted from Kratz-Ritter, “Zum geistig-religiösen Umfeld,” 45.

28. Clementine von Rothschild, *Briefe*, 2nd ed., 36.

29. Colombo, *Lettere di Clementina*; Kratz-Ritter, “Zum geistig-religiösen Umfeld,” 54; Clementina de Rothschild, *Lettres à une amie*; Clementina de Rothschild, *Letters to a Christian Friend*.

30. Clementine von Rothschild, *Briefe*, 2nd ed., 4–11, 38, quotation 10.

31. *Ibid.*, 5–6, 17–18, 34, 40–41, 41.

32. *Ibid.*, 34–45, 48–59, 63, 66–87.

33. Kratz-Ritter, “Zum geistig-religiösen Umfeld,” 54–58; Clementine von Rothschild, *Briefe*, 2nd ed., ix–xi; Stein, *Am Grabe*, 4. For Talmudic references in Clementine von Rothschild's work, see Clementine von Rothschild, *Briefe*, 2nd ed., 18, 68–69.

34. Stein, *Am Grabe*, 4. See also Kratz-Ritter, “Zum geistig-religiösen Umfeld,” 47.

35. Stein, *Am Grabe*, 4. See also Kratz-Ritter, “Zum geistig-religiösen Umfeld,” 47, 59n17; Clementine von Rothschild, *Briefe*, 2nd ed., ix.

36. Kratz-Ritter, “Zum geistig-religiösen Umfeld,” 47, 59n14–16; Stein, *Am Grabe*; Stein, *Memento*.

37. Stein, *Am Grabe*, 4–5, quotation 4.

38. On Salomon, see Chapter 2.

39. Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 137–139.

40. *Ibid.*, 139.

41. The women were Rosette Gobert (née Schwabe), Betty Gumprecht (née Schwabe), Henriette Schwabe (née Bodstein), and Bertha Hinrichsen (née Gumprecht) and may have included Goldschmidt's sisters, mother, and sister-in-law. StaAH, Jüdische Gemeinde Hamburg, Neuer Israelitischer Tempelverein, 571b. See also Salomon, *Selbst-Biographie*, 42.

42. Salomon, *Selbst-Biographie*, 42.

43. The album, as it is kept today at the Staatsarchiv Hamburg, StaAH, Jüdische Gemeinde Hamburg, Neuer Israelitischer Tempelverein, 571b, contains ca. 100 letters of

Crémieux, see Hyman, *Jews of Modern France*, 56, 80, 83. For Gabriel Riesser, see Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, 2:231–235.

44. For Sande as author of *Rebekka und Amalia*, see Brockhaus, *Vollständiges Verzeichnis*, 526, as the only independent source. Holzmann and Bohatta rely on the information in Brockhaus. See Holzmann, *Deutsches Anonymen-Lexikon*, 3:333. See also Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*, 421–422. For Goldschmidt's authorship of the book, see among others Nachum Goldmann and B. Jacob, "Goldschmidt, Johanna," *Encyclopaedia Judaica: Das Judentum*, 7: 485; Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 140, 344; Kayserling, *Jüdische Frauen*, 255–256; Kohut, *Berühmte israelitische Männer*, 2: 423; Kortmann, *Emilie Wüstenfeld*, 48; Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge, and Change*, 62; Randt, *Erinnerungen der Emma Isler*, 92; Schröder, *Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller*, 2:539.

45. [Goldschmidt], *Rebekka und Amalia*, 50.

46. *Ibid.*, 51.

47. *Ibid.*, 35–36.

48. Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 140; Kayserling, *Jüdische Frauen*, 255–256; Paletschek, *Frauen und Dissens*, esp. 194–251; Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge, and Change*, 57–62; Randt, "Erinnerungen der Emma Isler," 92–93. See also Herzog, *Intimacy and Exclusion*.

49. Kleinau, "Ein (hochschul-)praktischer Versuch," esp. 68, 76–77; Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge, and Change*, 59, 62, 88; Randt, "Erinnerungen der Emma Isler," 93–95. In contemporary as well as scholarly literature, the *Frauenverein zur Bekämpfung und Ausgleichung religiöser Vorurteile* also appears under names such as *Sozialer Verein Hamburger Frauen zur Ausgleichung konfessioneller Unterschiede* (Social Association of Hamburg Women for Conciliating Confessional Differences), *Verein deutscher Frauen* (Association of German Women), and *Sozialer Verein* (Social Association). Zieger, "Gemeinsames Vereinswirken," 4–5. Zieger indeed provided us with a detailed study of this association. For the diverging accounts of the founding of the *Allgemeiner Bildungsverein deutscher Frauen* see Kleinau, "Ein (hochschul-)praktischer Versuch," 68; Paletschek, *Frauen und Dissens*, 218; Zieger, "Gemeinsames Vereinswirken," 73–74.

50. For the history of maternal feminism in Germany, see Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood*.

51. Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 141–143; Kleinau, "Ein (hochschul-)praktischer Versuch," 66–82; Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge, and Change*, 88; Zieger, "Gemeinsames Vereinswirken," 33–38.

52. Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood*, 35–39, 81, quotation 37. See also Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 132; Toppe, "Mutterschaft und Erziehung," 346–359. For the ideology of Enlightenment pedagogues such as Campe and Pestalozzi, see also above, Chapter 1.

53. Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood*, 67; Goldschmidt, *Blicke in die Familie*; [Goldschmidt], *Muttersorgen und Mutterfreuden*; Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 139, 142–143, 148, 152–153; Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge, and Change*, 93.

54. Fanny Wohlwill-Guillaumes's nephew, Friedrich Joachim Wohlwill, even reports that his aunt directed all Belgian kindergartens. LBI, Emil Wohlwill Memoir, 54–56; LBI, Friedrich Joachim Wohlwill Memoir, 3; Knappe, "Jüdische Frauenorganisationen in Hamburg," 70. On Wolf/Wohlwill, see Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 1:49–51.

55. Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 179–216, esp. 184, 187; Gerhard, *Unerhört*, 93–94, 119–120; Kayserling, *Jüdische Frauen*, 258–264, esp. 259, 261. On Morgenstern's prayer book see Chapter 4.

56. *Der Israelitische Lehrer* 6, no. 4 (1866): 16. Note also the programmatic title of Strauß's article: "Welchen Vortheil gewähren zweckmäßig-eingerichtete und -geleitete Kleinkinderbewahranstalten, sowohl im Allgemeinen, wie auch im Besonderen als Vorbereitungsanstalten für die Schule?" (Which Advantages Offer Appropriately Equipped and Directed Kindergartens, in General as well as in Particular, in their Role in Preparing Children

for the School?). Ibid, 14–16. For the remaining paragraph, see Formstecher, “Briefe über häusliche Erziehung,” 187; *Der Israelitische Lehrer* 7, no. 52 (1867): 209–210; Steinschneider, “Moritz und Auguste Steinschneider,” 207. On Formstecher see also Chapter 3.

57. See the full title of the German edition of *Thoughts Suggested by Bible Texts*: “Thoughts of a Mother about Biblical Texts: In Speeches to her Children; Translated from the Original that Has Appeared in London in 1859 and Issued by Leopold Stein; For the Benefit of the Local Pestalozzi Association.” Louise von Rothschild, *Gedanken einer Mutter*; Louise von Rothschild, *Thoughts Suggested*.

58. On Jost, see Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, 2:94, 2:136–137.

59. Charlotte de Rothschild, *Addresses to Young Children*; Charlotte de Rothschild, *Sabbath- und Festreden*. The *Israelitische Frauen-Verein* had a men’s and a women’s board of directors. *Dreizehnter Bericht des Israelitischen Frauen-Vereins*, 1. For Jost’s involvement in the association see also earlier reports published by the *Israelitische Frauen-Verein*.

60. On this network of Jewish women and male Jewish leaders, see also Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*, 497–500.

61. Constance and Annie de Rothschild, *History and Literature*; Louise von Rothschild, *Gedanken einer Mutter*; Louise von Rothschild, *Thoughts Suggested*. For Louise de Rothschild in London, see Louise de Rothschild, *Lady de Rothschild*, and also Battersea, *Reminiscences*. Constance Battersea was Louise de Rothschild’s daughter. Moreover, the following volumes that appeared anonymously are likely to include contributions by Louise de Rothschild: *Me-hayil el hayil: From Strength; Me-hayil el hayil: Von Kraft*. For Charlotte de Rothschild, see Charlotte de Rothschild, *Addresses to Young Children*; Charlotte de Rothschild, *Discours aux jeunes filles*; Charlotte de Rothschild, *Sabbath- und Festreden*; Freifrau Lionel von Rothschild, *Von Januar bis Dezember*. For Clementine von Rothschild in Frankfurt, see Colombo, *Lettere di Clementina*; Clementine von Rothschild, *Briefe*; Clementina de Rothschild, *Lettres à une amie*; Clementina de Rothschild, *Letters to a Christian Friend*. For Therese von Rothschild, later called Thérèse de Rothschild, see Baronne Thérèse James de Rothschild, *Pages détachées*; Frau Baronin James von Rothschild, *Jugend-Gedanken*.

62. Ashton, “Grace Aguilar,” 79–93; Battersea, *Reminiscences*, 25–27, 409–413; Cohen, *Lady de Rothschild*, 69–70, 103, 113; Galchinsky, *Grace Aguilar*, esp. 11–37; Galchinsky, *Modern Jewish Woman Writer*, esp. 105, 135–189, 194, 196–197, 199; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 174; Salomon, *Twelve Sermons*; Scheinberg, *Women’s Poetry and Religion*, 146–189. For the activities of and publications by nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish women see also Baader, “Gender and Jewish Literature”; Baader, “Inventing Bourgeois Judaism,” 389–392.

63. Scheinberg, *Women’s Poetry and Religion*, 156–162, 167–169. For how German Jewish women did challenge the male textual hegemony and undercut rabbinical authority in the realm of *kashrut* by publishing cookbooks, see Abusch-Magder, “Kochbücher”; Abusch-Magder, “Home-Made Judaism.”

64. Chertok, “Samson Raphael Hirsch’s Approach,” 65. For Jewish men’s German-language literary productivity, see Skolnik, “Who Learns History from Heine?”; Skolnik, “Writing Jewish History.”

65. Neusner, *Androgynous Judaism*, 83–123.

CONCLUSION: WOMEN, MEN, AND THE FEMINIZATION OF JUDAISM

1. Hoelscher, “Weibliche Religiosität,” 53; McDuffe, *Small-Town Protestantism*, 18, 68, 83–84, quotation 18; McLeod, “Weibliche Frömmigkeit—männlicher Unglaube?” 140; Mergel, “Subtile Macht der Liebe,” 26; Nipperdey, “Religion und Gesellschaft,” 603. On Jewish women holding on to religious practices and beliefs longer than Jewish men, see Baader, Benjamin Maria, *Gender, Jewishness, and Bourgeois Culture in Germany, 1800–1870*. E-book, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010. URL: <http://www.indiana.edu/~ebookscenter/baader/>. Also see Baader, “Gender and Jewish Literature,” 389–392; Kaplan, *Marking the Jewish Middle Class*, 76–81.

2. Stanislawski, *For Whom Do I Toil?*, 50.
3. For modern Orthodox Jews and the wearing of beards and head covering, for instance, see Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 8–9.
4. All quotations in above passage from LBI, Adolf Hamburger Memoir, 6, 24.
5. This and the preceding quotations, *ibid.*, 5.
6. *Ibid.*, 6.
7. Mosse, “Secularization of Jewish Theology,” 258. On the conflation of religion and middle-class domesticity, see also Hyman, “Jüdische Familie,” 252; Kaplan, *Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 76.
8. Richarz, *Jewish Life in Germany*, 156–157.
9. Stein, *Bilder aus dem altjüdischen Familienleben*. On Oppenheim and the *Bilder aus dem altjüdischen Familienleben*, see Heilbrunn, “Leben und Werk,” esp. 300; Schorsch, “Art as Social History.”
10. Stein, *Bilder aus dem altjüdischen Familienleben*, unnumbered. This and the previous quotation are from the first page of the text on the painting no. VIII, “Freitag Abend.”
11. *Ibid.*, second page of the text on the painting no. VIII, “Freitag Abend.”
12. *Ibid.*, second page of the text on the painting no. X, “Sabbath-Ruhe.”
13. LBI, Julius Oppenheimer Memoir, 20, 26–27, quotations 26, 27.
14. This and the previous quotations, Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland*, 1:260.
15. Gebhardt, *Familiengedächtnis*, 111–135; Richarz, “Frauenforschung und jüdische Geschichte,” 150; Schüler-Springorum, “Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte,” 8–9.
16. For the shift in the meaning of Jewish ritual that I describe here, see also Abusch-Magder, “Home-Made Judaism”; Eisen, *Rethinking Modern Judaism*; Gebhardt, *Familiengedächtnis*, 111–118, 132–135; Kaplan, “Konsolidierung eines bürgerlichen Lebens,” 301–321; Kaplan, *Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 74–76; Lässig, “Middle-Class Religiosity,” 140–158. For a similar development in nineteenth-century German Protestantism, see McDuffee, *Small-Town Protestantism*, esp. 44–55, 82, 95–101.
17. On women in nineteenth-century Germany as “priestesses of the home,” see Chapter 1 and Kaplan, “Priestess and Hausfrau,” esp. 62–67, 76. On women and the new bourgeois Jewish religiosity discussed here, see also Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, 23–27, 153–154; Kaplan, “Konsolidierung eines bürgerlichen Lebens,” 303–305, 314–315; Kaplan, *Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 69–76; Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum*, 351–353. On women gaining power in a modern, semi-halakhic, domestic Judaism, see also Abusch-Magder, “Kochbücher.”
18. See also Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, 153.
19. On a variety of approaches to masculinity in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Germany see Frevert, *Kasernierte Nation*; Hagemann, *Männlicher Muth*; Hagemann, “German Heroes,” 116–134; Mosse, *Image of Man*; Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 1–31; Trepp, “Emotional Side of Men,” 127–152; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*. On German Jews and masculinity before 1871, see Caplan, “Germanising the Jewish Male,” 163–170; Frevert, *Kasernierte Nation*, 95–103, 131. On the Jewish culture of gentle masculinity, see also Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 33–150; Cantor, *Jewish Women/Jewish Men*, 79–98, 123–131; Fuchs, *Beyond Patriarchy*; Hyman, “Jewish Family,” 25.
20. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, esp. 231–243; Caplan, “Germanising the Jewish Male,” 171–184; Caplan, “Militärische Männlichkeit,” 85–100; Caplan, “Wicked Sons, German Heroes”; Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews*, 142–150, esp. 145; Frevert, *Kasernierte Nation*, 213–214; Gillerman, “Crisis of the Jewish Family,” 190–191; Gilman, *Freud, Race, and Gender*; Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, esp. 243–246; Hoberman, “Otto Weininger”; Hödl, *Pathologisierung des jüdischen Körpers*, 164–232; Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, 134–160; Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 36–37, 133–152; Swartout, “Culture Wars”;

21. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, antisemites appear not to have criticized male Jews for being too feminine. Hagemann, *Männlicher Muth*, 255–270. In the same vein, Robin Judd, in her study on ritual slaughter and circumcision debates, reports that, in the first half of the nineteenth century, German Jews discussed issues of circumcision, emancipation, and citizenship with some anxiety and also debated whether circumcision put the health of Jewish males at risk. However, apparently contemporaries were not very concerned about circumcision as a mark of unmanliness. Judd, “Circumcision and Modern Jewish Life,” 142–155; Judd, “German Jewish Rituals,” 36–91.

22. Geiger, “Aus L. Zunz’ Nachlaß,” quotation 248; Pyka, “Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz,” 131–142, 283–291. On Geiger, see also Wiener, *Abraham Geiger*, 117.

23. Koltun-Fromm, *Abraham Geiger’s Liberal Judaism*, chapters 3–4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Archival Materials

- American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati
 - Memoir Adolf Hoenig
- Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
 - Community Collections, Austria
 - Wien
 - Community Collections, Germany
 - Berlin
 - Breslau
 - Emmendingen (Baden)
 - Erfurt
 - Friedrichstadt (Schleswig-Holstein)
 - Gedern (Hessen)
 - Grünstadt (Rheinland-Pfalz)
 - Hamburg
 - Leipzig
 - Lübbecke (Westfalen)
 - Lübeck
 - Mainz
 - Mannheim
 - Neuwied (Rheinland)
 - Offenbach
 - Ottensoos (Mittelfranken)
 - Paderborn (Westfalen)
 - Pyritz (Pommern)
 - Schnaittach (Mittelfranken)
 - Stargard (Pommern)
 - Stettin
 - Würzburg
 - Community Collections, Poland
 - Katowice
 - Private Collections
 - Isler
- Institut für die Geschichte der Juden, Hamburg
 - Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung armer Wöchnerinnen
- Leo Baeck Institute, New York

Collections

Danny Family

Edinger, Tilly
Eltzbacher, Hans
Herxheimer, Salomon
Kiefer, Isidor
Kober, Adolf
Markreich, Max
Mosse, Family
Stein, Leopold

Memoirs

Aschaffenburg, Julie
Calvary, Esther
Fraenkel, Daniel
Geissmar, Clara
Hamburger, Adolf
Kahn, Lena
Kurrein, Adolf
Metzger, Luise
Oppenheimer, Julius
Weil, Herz
Weinberg, Jenny
Wohlwill, Emil
Wohlwill, Friedrich Joachim

Staatsarchiv Hamburg

Familienarchive

Robinow

Jüdische Gemeinde Hamburg

Neuer Israelitischer Tempelverein

Schul- und Kultuswesen

Israelitische Freischule

Stiftung "Neue Synagoge Berlin—Centrum Judaicum," Berlin

Community Collections

Berlin

Breslau

Frankfurt/Main

Stargard (Pommern)

Periodicals

Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums (AZdJ)

Allgemeines Archiv des Judenthums

Ben Chananja

Der Freitagabend

Das Füllhorn

Der Israelit des 19. Jahrhunderts

Beilage zum Israelit des 19. Jahrhunderts

Literatur-Blatt zum Israeliten des 19. Jahrhunderts

Der Israelitische Lehrer

Der Israelitische Volkslehrer

Jedidja

Jeschurun

Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben

Die Reform des Judenthums

Sulamith

Der treue Zions-Wächter

Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie

Other Literature, Published before 1900

Andachtsbuch für israelitische Frauenzimmer zur öffentlichen und häuslichen Erbauung in allen Verhältnissen des Lebens. Prague: Wolf Pascheles, 1852.

Aub, Joseph. *Seder tefilot kol ha-shana: Gebetbuch für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst im ganzen Jahre nach dem Ritus der neuerbauten Synagoge in Berlin.* Vol. 3. Berlin: G. Bernstein, 1866.

Auerbach, B. H. *Geschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde Halberstadt.* Halberstadt: H. Meyer, 1866.

Beer, Peter. *Gebetbuch für gebildete Frauenzimmer mosaischer Religion: Zum Gebrauche bei der öffentlichen als auch häuslichen Gottesverehrung.* Prague: Enders, 1815. (In Hebrew letters.)

Bericht des Hamburgischen Frauen-Vereins über seine bisherige Wirksamkeit und Plan zur Fortsetzung derselben. Hamburg, 1816.

Blogg, Salomon Ephraim. *Tehinnot: Ein Gebetbuch für gebildete Frauenzimmer zum Gebrauche bei der öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht; Nach vorhandenen alt-deutschen Tkhines bearbeitet von H. Miro; Nachgesehen von Salomon Blogg.* 2nd ed. Hanover: E. A. Telgener, 1842. (In Hebrew letters.)

———. *Tehinnot: Ein Gebetbuch für gebildete Frauenzimmer; Zum Gebrauch bei der öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht; Nach der zweiten Auflage von H. Miro.* Hanover: E. A. Telgener, 1843. (2nd ed., 1858.)

Brockhaus, Heinrich. *Vollständiges Verzeichnis der von der Firma F. A. Brockhaus in Leipzig seit ihrer Gründung durch Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus im Jahre 1805 bis zu dessen hundertjährigem Geburtstage im Jahre 1872 verlegten Werke.* Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1872–1875.

Cassel, David. *Die Pesach-Hagada mit vollständigem, sorgfältig durchgesehenem Texte.* Berlin: M. Poppelauer's Buchhandlung, 1865.

Cohen, Frau Rabbiner, Dr. *Neue Stunden der Andacht: Erbauungen für israelitische Frauen und Jungfrauen zur öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht nebst einer Gebetsammlung für den Friedhof von L. Schmidt.* 2nd ed. Berlin: Adolf Cohn, 1871.

Creznach, Michael. *Confirmations-Feier für mehrere Schüler und Schülerinnen der Frankfurter israelitischen Realschule, gehalten im Lokale dieser Anstalt den 12. Januar 1828.* Frankfurt/Main: Verlag der Jägerschen Buch-, Papier-, und Landkarten-Handlung, 1828.

Dreizehnter Bericht des Israelitischen Frauen-Vereins in Frankfurt a. M. Frankfurt/Main, 1860.

Dukes, Leopold. *Übersicht aller wohltätigen Anstalten und Vereine sowie auch aller milden Stiftungen der deutsch- und der portugiesisch-israelitischen Gemeinde in Hamburg: Nebst zwei Tabellen.* Hamburg: J. J. Halberstadt, 1841.

Euchel, Isaak Abraham. *Gebete der hochdeutschen und polnischen Juden.* 1786. Rev. ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1817.

Formstecher, Salomon. "Briefe über häusliche Erziehung." *Der Freitagabend* 1 (1859): 120–125, 170–174, 185–189, 216–220, 280–286, 294–300.

———. "Joseph Johlson (Nekrolog)," *Didaskalia* 151 (1851): unnumbered.

———. *Zwölf Predigten.* Würzburg: Etliner'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1833.

Fränkel, David. *Nachricht von der jüdischen Haupt- und Frey-Schule in Dessau.* Dessau: M. Philipson, 1804.

- Fränkel, Seckel Isaac, and M. J. Bresselau. *Seder ha-avodah: Ordnung der öffentlichen Andacht für die Sabbath- und Festtage des ganzen Jahres; Nach dem Gebrauche des Neuen-Tempel-Vereins in Hamburg*. Hamburg: Auf Kosten der Herausgeber, 1819.
- Friedländer, David. *Der Prediger*. Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1788.
- . *Tefilat yisrael: Gebete der Juden auf das ganze Jahr; Übersetzt und mit erklärenden Anmerkungen versehen von David Friedländer*. Berlin: Verlag der Freischule, 1786. (In Hebrew letters.)
- Gebetbuch für jüdische Reformgemeinden*. Vol. 1, *Allwöchentliche Gebete und häusliche Andacht*. 4th ed. Berlin: Selbstverlag der jüdischen Reformgemeinde, 1864.
- Geiger, Abraham. *Seder tefilah devar yom be-yomo: Israelitisches Gebetbuch für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst im ganzen Jahre*. Breslau: Julius Hainauer, 1854.
- . “Die Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechts in dem Judenthume unserer Zeit.” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie* 3 (1837): 1–14.
- Geiger, Ludwig. “Aus L. Zunz’ Nachlaß.” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 5 (ca. 1891): 223–268.
- , ed. *Abraham Geiger’s Leben in Briefen*. Breslau: Wilhelm Jacobsohn & Co., 1885.
- Goldschmidt, Johanna. *Blicke in die Familie*. Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1860. (2nd ed., 1864.) [Goldschmidt, Johanna]. *Muttersorgen und Mutterfreuden: Worte der Liebe und des Ernstes über Erziehung*. 2 vols. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1849–1851.
- . *Rebekka und Amalia: Briefwechsel zwischen einer Israelitin und einer Adligen über Zeit- und Lebensfragen*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1847.
- Gottesdienst-Ordnung für die Synagogen des Königreichs Württemberg: Unter höchster Genehmigung festgesetzt von der Königl. israelitischen Ober-Kirchen-Behörde*. Stuttgart: Hallberg’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1838.
- Grätzer, Jonas. *Geschichte der israelitischen Kranken-Verpflegungs-Anstalt und Beerdigungsgesellschaft zu Breslau: Zur Einweihungs-Feier des Fränkelschen Hospitals am 1. September 1841*. Breslau: G. P. Aderholz, 1841.
- Haarbleicher, Moses Michael. *Aus der Geschichte der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde in Hamburg*. 2nd ed. Hamburg: Otto Meissner, 1886.
- Hecht, Emanuel. *Kos yeshuor: “Kelch des Heils”; Ein Andachtsbuch für Frauen und Jungfrauen jüdischen Glaubens zum Haus- und Synagogengebrauch*. 2nd ed. Brilon: M. Friedländer, 1865.
- Heidenheim, Wolf. *Siddur safah berurah: Mesudar bi-shlumut ha-siddur u-meduyak be-takhlit ha-dyuk u-meturgam ashkenazit*. Rödelheim: I. Lehrberger & Co., 1825. (Additional editions 1827, 1832, 1840, 1841, 1843, 1853, 1854, 1863, 1864, as well as 1842 by H. Franksche Buchdruckerei in Sulzbach.)
- . *Tehilat el: Die täglichen Gebete der Israeliten, geordnet für Wochen-Sabbath- und Festtage, mit deutscher Übersetzung; Nebst einem Anhang deutscher Gebete*. 4th ed. Fürth: S. B. Gusdorfer, 1859.
- Heinemann, Jeremiah. *Hagadat-Pesach: Das ist: Was über den Auszug aus Mizrajim (Ägypten) von den israelitischen Hausvätern am ersten und zweiten Abende des Pesach-Festes bei Tische vorgetragen wird, und welche Zeremonien dabei beobachtet werden; Aus dem Hebräischen neu übersetzt und zum Gebrauche für weibliche Zuhörerinnen, imgleichen Hausfrauen, die, ohne männlichen Beistand, selbst diese Vorträge halten wollen*. Berlin: D. Friedländer, 1838.
- . *Rede bei der Einweihung des Jakobs-Tempels zu Seesen, gehalten vom Consistorial-Rath Jeremias Heinemann*. Cassel: Waisenhaus-Buchdruckerei, 1810.
- . *Religions-Bekentnis für Israeliten in Fragen und Antworten, zum Gebrauch derer, welche die Konfirmation verrichten*. Vienna: Georg Ueberreuter, 1813.
- Herxheimer, Salomon. *(Bar-mizwa-) oder Confirmations-Feier gehalten in der Synagoge zu Eschwege am Sabbathe der Parascha Kadoschim 5589 (den 9. Mai 1829)*. Eschwege: Köb-

- . *Erste Confirmationsfeier gehalten in der Synagoge zu Bernburg, am ersten Tage des Laubhüttenfestes 5593 mit sechs Knaben und fünf Mädchen*. Bernburg: Ferdinand Rubach, 1832.
- Herzfeld, Levi. *Tefillat Jisrael: Das Israelitische Gebetbuch nach dem Braunschweiger Ritus, bearbeitet und übersetzt von Dr. L. Herzfeld, Braunschweigischem Landesrabbiner*. Brunswick: Johann Heinrich Meyer, 1855.
- Heß, Isaak. *Stunden der Andacht für Israeliten zur Beförderung religiösen Lebens und häuslicher Gottesverehrung*. Vol. 1. Dinkelsbühl: Friedrich Walther'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1833. (2nd ed. Ellwangen: J. Heß'sche Buchhandlung, 1867.)
- Hirsch, Samson Raphael. *Der Pentateuch: Übersetzt und erläutert von Samson Raphael Hirsch*. 5 vols. Frankfurt/Main: J. Kauffmann, 1867–1878.
- Holdheim, Samuel. *Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwicklung der jüdischen Reformgemeinde in Berlin*. Berlin: Julius Springer, 1857.
- . *Die religiöse Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechtes im talmudischen Judentum: Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf eine diesen Gegenstand betreffende Abhandlung des Dr. Adler*. Schwerin: Kürschnersche Buchhandlung, 1846.
- Horwitz, Ludwig. *Geschichte der Herzoglichen Franzschule in Dessau 1799–1849*. Dessau: Dünnhaupt, 1894.
- Jacobson, J. H. *Gebet- und Andachtsbuch für fromme Israelitinnen, sowohl Frauen als auch Mädchen, zur öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht an Wochen-, Sabbath-, Fest- und Fast-Tagen, wie auch für alle Verhältnisse des Lebens*. Breslau: F. E. Leuckart, 1842.
- Jellinek, Adolf. *Aus der Zeit: Tagesfragen und Tagesbegebenheiten*. Vol. 2. Budapest: Sam. Markus, 1886.
- . *Predigten*. 3 vols. Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn (vols. 1–2), Vienna: Herzfeld & Bauer (vol. 3), 1862–1866.
- Johson, Joseph. *Deutsches Gesangbuch für Israeliten: Zur Beförderung öffentlicher und häuslicher Andacht*. Frankfurt/Main: Jäger, 1816.
- Jonas, H. *Lebensskizze des Herrn Doctor Eduard Kley zunächst in seiner Wirksamkeit als Schulmann: Zur Feier seines siebenzigsten Geburtstages als Festgabe den Schülern des Jubilars*. Hamburg: Ackermann & Wulff, 1859.
- Kaempff, Saul Isaac. *Tefilot beit yakov: Gebete des Hauses Jakob's; Gebetbuch für israelitische Frauen und Mädchen für die öffentliche und häusliche Andacht in allen Verhältnissen des Lebens*. Prague: M. Schmelkes, 1860.
- Karpeles, Gustav. *Die Frauen in der jüdischen Literatur: Ein Vortrag*. 2nd ed. Berlin: Hermann Engel, 1889.
- Kaysersling, Meyer. *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner: Eine chronologische Sammlung der Predigten, Biographien und Charakteristiken der vorzüglichsten jüdischen Prediger; Für Rabbiner, Prediger und Lehrer und als Erbauungsbuch für die Familie*. 2 vols. Berlin: Springer, 1870–1872.
- . *Gedenkblätter: Hervorragende jüdische Persönlichkeiten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Th. Grieben, 1892.
- . *Die jüdischen Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst*. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1879.
- Kley, Eduard. *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Israelitischen Freischule zu Hamburg: Bei Gelegenheit der Feier ihres fünf- und zwanzigjährigen Bestehens (am 31. Oktober 1841)*. Hamburg: J. J. Halberstadts Buchdruckerei, 1841.
- . *Hamburgisches israelitisches Gesang-Buch für häusliche und öffentliche Gottesverehrung*. Hamburg: J. P. Erie, 1828.
- . *Religiöse Lieder und Gesänge für Israeliten: Zum Gebrauch häuslicher und öffentlicher Gottesverehrung*. Hamburg: F. C. A. Otto, 1818.
- Kley, Eduard, and Carl Siegfried Günsburg. *Die Deutsche Synagoge: Oder, Ordnung des Gottesdienstes für die Synagoge und Festtage des ganzen Jahres zum Gebrauche der Gemein-*

- den, die sich der deutschen Gebete bedienen. Vol. 1. Berlin: Maurersche Buchhandlung, 1817.
- Landau, M. *Angebunden: Andachtsbuch für israelitische Frauenzimmer zur öffentlichen und häuslichen Erbauung in allen Verhältnissen des weiblichen Lebens*. Prague: Pascheles, 1855.
- Lesser, Ludwig. *Chronik der Gesellschaft der Freunde in Berlin*. Berlin, 1842.
- Letteris, Meier. *Tahanunei bat yehudah: Andachtsbuch für israelitische Frauenzimmer zur öffentlichen und häuslichen Erbauung in allen Verhältnissen des Lebens als Jungfrau, Braut, Gattin und Mutter*. 7th ed. Prague: Wolf Pascheles, 1865.
- Maier, Joseph. *Israelitisches Gebet- und Andachtsbuch, zum Gebrauche bei der häuslichen und öffentlichen Gottesverehrung*. Stuttgart: K. Hofbuchdruckerei zu Guttenberg, 1848.
- . *Seder tefilah: Israelitische Gebetordnung für Synagoge und Schule, wie zur häuslichen Gottesverehrung*. Vol. 1. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler'sche Buchhandlung, 1861.
- Me-hayil el hayil: From Strength to Strength; Lessons for the Use of Jewish Children*. London, 1890.
- Me-hayil el hayil: Von Kraft zu Kraft; Zur Belehrung und Erbauung für Schule und Haus*. Offenbach/Main: J. Rothschild, 1892.
- Miro, Josua Heschel. *Beit yakov: Allgemeines Gebetbuch für gebildete Bekenner der mosaischen Religion; Zum Gebrauch bei der öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht; Nach vorhandenen alten Gebeten bearbeitet von H. Miro, Lehrer an der Königlichen Wilhelmsschule*. 4th ed./ 2nd ed. in Latin letters. Breslau: Verlags-Comtoir, 1837. (5th ed. / 3rd ed. in Latin letters. Glogau: H. Prausnitz, 1842.)
- . *Tehinnor: Ein Gebetbuch für gebildete Frauenzimmer mosaischer Religion; Zum Gebrauch bei der öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht; Nach vorhandenen alten Gebeten bearbeitet von H. Miro, Lehrer an der Königlichen Wilhelmsschule und Vorsteher einer Privat-Lehranstalt*. 2nd ed. Breslau: Dov. Sklover, 1833. (In Hebrew letters.)
- . *Tehinnor: Ein Gebetbuch für gebildete Frauenzimmer; Zum Gebrauch bei der öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht; Nach vorhandenen althebraischen Gebeten*. Rödellheim, 1879. (In Hebrew letters.)
- Morgenstern, Lina, and Immanuel Heinrich Ritter. *Glaube, Andacht und Pflicht: Ein Buch zur häuslichen Erbauung für die reifere israelitische Jugend*. Berlin: J. Springer, 1863.
- Neuda, Fanny. *Stunden der Andacht: Ein Gebet- und Erbauungsbuch für Israels Frauen und Jungfrauen zur öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht, so wie für alle Verhältnisse des weiblichen Lebens*. Prague: Wolf Pascheles, 1855.
- Nicolai, Friedrich. *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam*. 3 vols. 3rd ed. 1786. Reprint, Berlin: Haude & Spenersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968.
- Otto, Louise. *Der Genius des Hauses: Eine Gabe für Mädchen und Frauen*. Vienna: Hartleben, 1869.
- Pascheles, Wolf. *Gebete für israelitische Frauenzimmer zum Gebrauche sowohl in der Synagoge als auch zur häuslichen Andacht*. 3rd ed. Prague: M. I. Landau, 1844.
- Philippson, Ludwig. "Aus meiner Knabenzeit." *AZdJ* 51 (1887): 731–734, 748–750, 765–767, 780–783, 796–799, 813–815, 828–830, 52 (1888): 12–15, 27–29, 44–47, 60–63.
- . *Neues israelitisches Gebetbuch für die Wochentage, Sabbathe und alle Feste, zum Gebrauche während des Gottesdienstes und bei der häuslichen Andacht*. Berlin: Louis Gerschel, 1864.
- Philippson, Phöbus. *Biographische Skizzen*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Leiner, 1864–1866.
- Präger, Moses. *Gebet- und Erbauungsbuch für Israeliten, angeknüpft an die einzelnen Wochenabschnitte der Bibel: Nebst einem Rituale für alle Fälle der öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht*. Brilon: M. Friedländer, 1851. (2nd ed., 1860.)
- Protokolle der dritten Versammlung deutscher Rabbinen, abgehalten zu Breslau vom 13. bis 24.*

- Protokolle und Aktenstücke der zweiten Rabbiner-Versammlung, abgehalten in Frankfurt am Main, vom 15ten bis zum 28ten Juli 1845.* Frankfurt/Main: E. Ullmann, 1845.
- Raumer, Karl von. *Die Erziehung der Mädchen.* 1853. Reprint, Paderborn: M. Hütteman, 1988.
- Ritter, Immanuel Heinrich. *Geschichte der jüdischen Reformation.* 4 vols. Berlin: L. Steintal, 1858–1902.
- Rosenfeld, Samson Wolf. *Stunden der Andacht für Israeliten zur Beförderung religiösen Lebens und häuslicher Gottesverehrung.* Vols. 2–4. Dinkelsbühl: Friedrich Walther'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1834.
- Rosenthal, Ludwig A. *Miro's Techinna für Israels Frauen: Völlig umgearbeitet von Ludwig A. Rosenthal.* 6th ed. Rogasen: I. Alexander, 1887.
- Rothschild, Baronne Thérèse James de. *Pages détachées du cahier d'une jeune fille.* Paris: Larousse, 1892. (Additional editions, Mâcon: Protat Frères, 1896, 1907, 1920, 1925.)
- Rothschild, Charlotte de. *Addresses to Young Children, Originally Delivered in The Girls' Free School, Bell Lane.* London: J. Wertheimer & Co., 1859. (2nd enlarged ed., 1864.)
- . *Discours aux jeunes filles, prononcés à l'École gratuite de Bell-Lane, à Londres par une protectrice de cet établissement.* Paris: A. Crehange, 1861.
- . *Sabbath- und Festreden, gehalten in der Londoner Mädchen-Freischule, von einer Vorsteherin: In englischer Sprache erschienen London 1858; Vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe in deutscher Sprache besorgt durch Dr. I. M. Jost; Zum Besten der Israelitischen Frauen-Vereins-Erziehungsanstalt.* Frankfurt/Main: I. P. Streng, 1860.
- . See also Rothschild, Freifrau Lionel von.
- Rothschild, Clementina de. *Letters to a Christian Friend on the Fundamental Truths of Judaism.* 2nd ed. London: Simpkin, 1881.
- . *Lettres à une amie chrétienne sur les vérités fondamentales du Judaism.* Translated from the English. Paris, 1893.
- Rothschild, Clementine von. *Briefe an eine christliche Freundin über die Grundwahrheiten des Judenthums.* Frankfurt/Main: Reinhold Baist, 1867. (2nd ed. Leipzig: E. L. Morgenstern, 1883.)
- . See also Colombo, Samuele.
- Rothschild, Constance, and Annie de Rothschild. *The History and Literature of the Israelites According to the Old Testament and the Apocrypha.* 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1870. (2nd ed., 1871; abridged ed. in 1 vol., 1872.)
- Rothschild, Frau Baronin James von. *Jugend-Gedanken: Aus den Heften eines jungen Mädchens.* Frankfurt/Main: J. Kauffmann, 1893.
- Rothschild, Freifrau Lionel von. *Von Januar bis Dezember: Aus Natur- und Menschenleben; Ein Buch für Kinder; Aus der 1873 erschienenen englischen Orginalausgabe.* Frankfurt/Main: J. Kauffmann, 1895.
- Rothschild, Louise von. *Gedanken einer Mutter über biblische Texte: In Reden an ihre Kinder; Aus dem zu London 1859 erschienenen Orginale ins Deutsche übertragen und herausgegeben von Leopold Stein; Zum Besten des hiesigen Pestalozzi-Vereins.* Frankfurt/Main: Franz Benjamin Auffahrt, 1861.
- . *Thoughts Suggested by Bible Texts: Addressed to my Children.* London: Longman, Brown, Green Longmanns and Roberts, 1859.
- Rothschild, Thérèse de. See Rothschild, Baronne Thérèse James de.
- Rothschild, Therese von. See Rothschild, Frau Baronin James von.
- Sachs, Michael. *Tefilat yeshurun: Gebetbuch für Israeliten.* Vienna: Jos. Schlesinger, 1855.
- Salfeld, Siegmund. *Dr. Salomon Herxheimer, Landesrabbiner von Anhalt-Bernburg (geb. 6. Februar 1801, gest. 25. Dezember 1884): Ein Lebensbild.* Frankfurt/Main: Franz Benjamin Auffahrt, 1885.
- Salomon, Gotthold. *Auswahl mehrerer Predigten zunächst für Israeliten.* Dessau: C. G. Ack-

- . *Der Berg des Herrn: Kanzelvorträge über den Decalog*. Hamburg: B. S. Berendson, 1846.
- . *Das Familienleben: Drei Predigten gehalten im neuen Israelitischen Tempel zu Hamburg; Eine Neujahrs-Gabe für fromme gläubige Gemüther*. Hamburg: M. Hahn, 1821.
- . *Festpredigten für alle Feiertage des Herrn, gehalten im neuen Israelitischen Tempel zu Hamburg*. Hamburg: Perthes-Besser & Mauke, 1855.
- . *Lebensgeschichte des Herrn Moses Philippson, Lehrer an der israelitischen Haupt- und Freischule zu Dessau*. Dessau, 1814.
- . *Licht auf den dunkelsten Lebenswegen: Eine Predigt nebst einem frühvollendeten Frauen gewidmeten Nachruf*. Hamburg: B.S. Berendson, 1846.
- . *Selbst-Biographie*. Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1863.
- . *Selima's Stunden der Weihe: Eine moralisch-religiöse Schrift für Gebildete des weiblichen Geschlechts*. Leipzig: Carl Gottlob Schmidt, 1816.
- . *Twelve Sermons Delivered in the New Temple at Hamburg*. Trans. Anna Maria Goldsmid. London: John Murray, 1839.
- Schröder, Hans, Carl Rudolph Wilhelm Klose, A. H. Kellinghusen, and Friedrich August Cropp. *Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller bis zur Gegenwart*. 8 vols. Hamburg: Perthes-Besser und Mauke, 1851–1883.
- Schwarz, J. *Worte, gesprochen am offenen Grabe der Frau Wittwe Henriette Eltzbacher, geb. Michaelis: Cöln, am 24. Januar 1867*. Cologne: W. Clouth, 1867.
- Schwarzschild, Emanuel. *Die Gründung der Israelitischen Religionsgesellschaft zu Frankfurt a. M. und ihre Weiterentwicklung bis zum Jahre 1876*. Frankfurt/Main: Golde, 1876.
- Seder ha-avodah: Gebetbuch für die öffentliche und häusliche Andacht, nach dem Gebrauche des Neuen Israelitischen Tempels in Hamburg*. Hamburg: B. S. Berendsohn, 1841.
- Seder tefilah*. Vilmersdorf: Hirsh ben Hayim, 1718.
- Seder tefilah derekh yesharah*. Frankfurt/Main, 1697.
- Seder tefilah derekh yesharah*. Frankfurt/Oder: Gershon Viner u-Mikhel Gotshalk, 1703.
- Seder tefilah derekh yesharah*. Amsterdam, 1768.
- Seder tefilah mi-kol ha-shana*. Frankfurt/Main, 1673.
- Seder tefilot mi-kol ha-shana be-minhag polin*. Vienna: Anton Schmid, 1806.
- Seder tkhines u-vakoshes*. Sulzbach: S. Arnstein und Söhne, 1828. (Additional edition, 1841.)
- Seder tkhines u-vakoshes*. Fürth: D. Zürndorfer und I. Sommer, 1852.
- Seder tkhines u-vakoshes fir fromme yiddische froien*. Rödelheim: I. Lehrberger & Co., 1833.
- Siddur tefilah*. Sulzbach: S. Arnstein und Söhne, 1833.
- Silberstein, Michael. *Entstehung und Entwicklung der Israelitischen Waisen-Verpflegungs-Anstalt zu Breslau*. Breslau: Theodor Schatzky, 1892.
- Spieker, Christian Wilhelm. *Emiliens Stunden der Andacht und des Nachdenkens: Für die erwachsenen Töchter der gebildeten Stände*. Leipzig: Voss, 1808.
- Statut des israelitischen Jungfrauen-Vereins zu Pleschen*. Pleschen: J. Joachim, 1860.
- Statut für den Frauen-Verein (de 1833) zum Besten israelitischer Waisen-Mädchen*. Berlin: Union-Druckerei (C. Borgmann), 1870.
- Statuten des israelitischen Frauen-Vereins zu Thorn: Gestiftet im Februar 1868*. Ca. 1877.
- Statuten des israelitischen Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Vereins in Darmstadt*. Darmstadt: J.J. Zissel, ca. 1861.
- Stein, Leopold. *Am Grabe von Fräulein Clementine von Rothschild*. Frankfurt/Main, 1865.
- . *Bilder aus dem altjüdischen Familienleben: Nach Orginalgemälden von Moritz Oppenheim*. Frankfurt/Main: Heinrich Keller, 1882.
- . *Deutsche Gebete und Gesänge für Neujahr und Versöhnungstag: Zum Gebrauche bei der Gottesverehrung im Bethause des Immanu-El-Vereins zu Frankfurt a. M.; Verfasst und*

- . *Deutsche Gebete und Gesänge für Neujahr und Versöhnungstag: Zum Gebrauche beim öffentlichen Gottesdienste in der Hauptsynagoge zu Frankfurt am Main*. Frankfurt/Main: J.F. Bach, 1846.
- . *Des Dichters Weihe: Dramatisches Bild aus Shakespeares Jugendleben*. Frankfurt/Main: J. C. Hermann, 1864.
- . *Friedrich Rückerts Leben und Dichten*. Frankfurt/Main: Sauerländer, 1866.
- . *Gebete und Gesänge zum Gebrauche bei der öffentlichen Andacht der Israeliten: Oder: Bausteine zur Auferbauung eines veredelten Synagogengottesdienstes*. Erlangen: Ferdinand Enke, 1840.
- . *Die geistige Erlösung und deren Bedingungen: Predigt, gehalten am ersten Tage des israelitischen Osterfestes 5613 (1853) in der Hauptsynagoge der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Frankfurt; Mit einem Vorwort*. Frankfurt/Main: Schmerbersche Buchhandlung, 1853.
- . *Gott in der geeinigten Menschheit: Festrede über Psalm 118:5; Gehalten im Betsaale der "Westend-Union" zu Frankfurt a. M. am Schlussfeste 5629 (October 1868)*. Frankfurt/Main: Commissionsverlag der Joh. Chr. Hermann'schen Buchhandlung, 1868.
- . *Die Hasmonäer: Historisches Drama in fünf Acten*. Frankfurt/Main: Franz Benjamin Auffahrt, 1859. (Additional edition, Prague: J. B. Brandeis, 1897.)
- . *Haus Ehrlich: Oder, die Feste; Ein jüdisches Familiengemälde aus dem Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts; Drama in fünf Aufzügen*. Leipzig: Nies, 1863.
- . *Der Kampf des Lebens: Ein Cyclus von Festpredigten, in Beziehung zu dem grossen Völkerkampfe der Gegenwart; Gehalten am Neujahr, Versöhnungstag und Freudenfest im israelitischen Betsaale der "Westend-Union" zu Frankfurt a. M.* Frankfurt/Main, 1868. (Additional edition, Mannheim: J. Schneider, 1871.)
- . *Der Knabenraub zu Carpentras: Drama in vier Aufzügen*. Berlin: C. Heymann, 1863. (Additional edition, Prague: J. B. Brandeis, 1897.)
- . *Koheleth: Eine Auswahl gottesdienstlicher Vorträge gehalten in der Haupt-Synagoge zu Frankfurt am Main in den Jahren 1844–1846*. Frankfurt/Main: Sauerländer, 1846.
- . *Memento: Denkmal der Liebe in Liedern; Geweiht dem Andenken einer schönen Seele; Zur Erinnerung an meine verewigte, in ihrem 20. Lebensjahre verstorbene, unvergeßliche Schülerin Clementine von Rothschild*. Mainz: Gottsleben, 1867.
- . *Die Pessach-Hagada oder kurzgefasste Erzählung von den Schicksalen der Vorfahren Israels, und von deren Auszug aus Egypten, zum Gebrauche der beiden ersten Abende des Mazot-Festes: Nebst einem Anhang, eine freie Bearbeitung der Hagada, und viele in Musik gesetzten Lieder enthaltend*. Frankfurt/Main: J. S. Adler, 1841.
- . *Rede, gehalten bei der Trauung seiner geliebten Nichte Fräulein Emilie Wertheimer aus Nürnberg mit Herrn Hermann Nathan aus Hamburg, Mittwoch, den 20. October 1869, zu Nürnberg*. Frankfurt/Main: C. Adelman, 1869.
- . *Rede zur Einweihung des zum Gedächtniss der verewigten Fräulein Clementine von Rothschild von Freifrau Carl von Rothschild gestifteten Clementinen-Mädchen-Spitals zu Frankfurt a. M.* Frankfurt/Main: Mahlau & Waldschmidt, 1875.
- . *Die Schrift des Lebens: Inbegriff des gesammten Judenthums in Lehre, Gottesverehrung und Sittengesetz (Dogma, Cultus und Ethik); Schriftgemäß, volksthümlich und zur Kenntnissnahme für Israeliten und Nichtisraeliten dargestellt in drei Theilen*. 3 vols. Mannheim: J. Schneider, 1867–1910.
- . *Seder ha-avodah: Gebetbuch für Israelitische Gemeinden; Nach dem Ritus der Hauptsynagoge zu Frankfurt a. M.* Vol. 1. Frankfurt/Main: J. Lehrberger & Co., 1860.
- . *Sinai: Ein Lehrgedicht über die zehn Bundesworte*. Frankfurt/Main, 1868.
- . *Stufengesänge: Gedichte*. Würzburg, 1834.
- . *Unsere Wünsche; Ein Cyclus von sieben Vorträgen für die drei Feste des beginnenden Synagogen-Jahres*. Frankfurt/Main: Franz Benjamin Auffarth, 1860.
- . *Wahrheit, Recht und Frieden, Predigt, gehalten am 18. October 1847 in der Hauptsynagoge zu Frankfurt a. M.* Frankfurt/Main: Baer, 1847.

- Stern, Max (Mendel) Emanuel. *Die fromme Zionstochter: Andachtsbuch für Israels Frauen und Mädchen zur öffentlichen und häuslichen Gottesverehrung an allen Wochen-, Fest- und Bußetagen und für alle Verhältnisse des Lebens*. 3rd ed. Vienna: Franz Edl. v. Schmid & I. I. Busch, 1843.
- Tefilat yisrael: Die täglichen Gebete der Israeliten nebst deutscher Übersetzung*. 2nd ed. Rödelheim: I. Lehrberger, 1859.
- Tefilat yisrael: Israelitisches Gebetbuch; Hebräisch und deutsch*. 4th ed. Frankfurt/Main: J. Kauffmann, 1864.
- Tefilot*. Basel: Daniel, 1557.
- Tehinnot benot yeshurun: Gebetbuch für gebildete Frauenzimmer*. Fürth: S. B. Gusdorfer, 1832. (In Hebrew letters.)
- Tendlau, Abraham. *Shaarei shamayim: Pforten des Himmels; Ein Buch zur häuslichen Andacht für Israeliten; Besonders den Frauen in Israel gewidmet*. Frankfurt/Main: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1834.
- Treuenfels, Abraham. *Erinnerungs-Blätter: Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum des israelitischen Wohltätigkeits- und Beerdigungs-Vereins und zum 25jährigen Stiftungsfest des israelitischen Frauen-Vereins in Stettin*. Stettin: F. Hessenland, 1872.
- Wolf, Gerson. *Die jüdischen Friedhöfe und die "Chewra Kadischa"*. Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1879.
- Wolf, Joseph. *Sechs deutsche Reden, gehalten in der Synagoge zu Dessau, nebst einer hebräischen Übersetzung derselben*. 2 vols. Dessau: Moses Philippon, 1812–1813.
- Zschokke, Heinrich. *Stunden der Andacht zur Beförderung wahren Christenthums und häuslicher Gottesverehrung*. Aarau: Sauerländer, 1816.
- Zunz, Leopold. *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt: Ein Beitrag zur Altertumskunde und biblischen Kritik, zur Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte*. 2nd ed. Frankfurt/Main: J. Kauffmann, 1892.
- . *Kurze Antworten auf Kultus-Fragen*. Berlin: J. Springer, 1844.
- Zur Geschichte der Krankenpflege in der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin*. Berlin: J. S. Preuss, 1887.

LITERATURE PUBLISHED SINCE 1900

- Abusch-Magder, Ruth. "Kulinarische Bildung: Jüdische Kochbücher als Medien der Verbürgerlichung." In *Jüdische Geschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte: Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Stefanie Schüler-Springorum and Kirsten Heinsohn, 159–176. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006.
- . "Home-Made Judaism: Food and Domestic Jewish Life among German Jews in Europe and America 1850–1914." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, forthcoming.
- Albrecht, Christoph. *Schleiermachers Liturgik: Theorie und Praxis des Gottesdienstes bei Schleiermacher und ihre geistesgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963.
- Allen, Ann Taylor. *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800–1914*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1991.
- Altmann, Alexander. "The New Style of Preaching in Nineteenth-Century Germany." In *Studies in Nineteenth-Century Jewish Intellectual History*, ed. Alexander Altmann, 65–116. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.
- . "Zur Frühgeschichte der jüdischen Predigt in Deutschland: Leopold Zunz als Prediger." *LBIYB* 6 (1961): 3–59.
- Arnsberg, Paul. *Die Geschichte der Frankfurter Juden seit der Französischen Revolution*. 3 vols.

- Ashton, Dianne. "Grace Aguilar and the Patriarchal Theme in Jewish Women's Spirituality." In *Active Voices: Women in Jewish Culture*, ed. Maurie Sacks, 79–93. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- Baader, Maria Benjamin. "Gender and Jewish Literature, Politics, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Germany and England." Paper, *Jewish Literature and History: An Interdisciplinary Conversation*, University of Maryland, April 25, 2004.
- . "Inventing Bourgeois Judaism: Jewish Culture, Gender, and Religion in Germany, 1800–1870." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2002.
- . "Rabbinic Study, Self-Improvement, and Philanthropy: Gender and the Refashioning of Jewish Voluntary Associations in Germany, 1750–1870." In *Philanthropy, Patronage, and Civil Society: Experiences from Germany, Great Britain, and North America*, ed. Thomas Adam, 163–178. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Barkai, Avraham. "The German Jews at the Start of Industrialisation: Structural Change and Mobility 1835–1860." In *Revolution and Evolution: 1848 in German-Jewish History*, ed. Werner Mosse, Arnold Paucker, and Reinhard Rürup, 123–156. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981.
- Baron, Salo Wittmayer. *The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure to the American Revolution*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1942.
- Battersea, Constance. *Reminiscences*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1922.
- Becker-Cantarino, Bärbel. "Priesterin und Lichtbringerin: Zur Ideologie des weiblichen Charakters in der Frühromantik." In *Die Frau als Heldin und Autorin: Neue kritische Ansätze zur deutschen Literatur*, ed. Wolfgang Paulsen, 111–124. Bern: Francke, 1979.
- Berger, Peter L. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York: Anchor Books, 1967.
- Berger, Shulamith Z. "Tehines: A Brief Survey of Women's Prayers." In *Daughters of the King: Women and the Synagogue*, ed. Susan Grossman and Rivka Haut, 73–80. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1992.
- Berkowitz, Michael. *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Berlin Museum. *Synagogen in Berlin*. 2 vols. Berlin: Willmuth Arenhövel, 1983.
- Biale, Rachel. *Women and Jewish Law: An Exploration of Women's Issues in Halakhic Sources*. New York: Schocken Books, 1984.
- Blecher, Jens. "'Der Beruf der Frauen ist allein das Werk der Liebe': Weibliche Religiosität und Wohltätigkeit in Leipzig im 19. Jahrhundert." In *Frauenalltag in Leipzig: Weibliche Lebenszusammenhänge im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Susanne Schoetz, 181–206. Weimar: Böhlau, 1997.
- Bleich, Judith. "The Emergence of an Orthodox Press in Nineteenth-Century Germany." *Jewish Social Studies* 42, no. 3–4 (1980): 323–344.
- Bödeker, Hans Erich. "Die 'gebildeten Stände' im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert: Zugehörigkeit und Abgrenzungen; Mentalitäten und Handlungspotentiale." In *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*. Vol. 4, *Politischer Einfluß und gesellschaftliche Formation*, ed. Jürgen Kocka, 21–52. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1989.
- Borut, Jacob. "Religiöses Leben der Landjuden im westlichen Deutschland während der Weimarer Republik." In *Jüdisches Leben auf dem Lande: Studien zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte*, ed. Monika Richarz and Reinhard Rürup, 231–248. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- Boyarin, Daniel. *Unerotic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Brämer, Andreas. *Judentum und religiöse Reform: Der Hamburger Israelitische Tempel 1817–1938*. Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 2000.
- . *Rabbiner und Vorstand: Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde in Deutschland und*

- . *Rabbiner Zacharias Frankel: Wissenschaft des Judentums und konservative Reform im 19. Jahrhundert*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2000.
- Breuer, Mordechai. *Modernity within Tradition: The Social History of Orthodox Jewry in Imperial Germany*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Busch, Norbert. "Die Feminisierung der Frömmigkeit." In *Wunderbare Erscheinungen: Frauen und katholische Frömmigkeit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Irmtraud Goetz von Olenhusen, 203–219. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1995.
- Bussemer, Herrad U. "Bürgerliche Frauenbewegung und männliches Bürgertum 1860–1880." In *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Frevert, 190–205. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988.
- Calhoun, Craig, ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993.
- Cantor, Aviva. *Jewish Women/Jewish Men: The Legacy of Patriarchy in Jewish Life*. San Francisco: Harper, 1995.
- Caplan, Gregory A. "Germanising the Jewish Male: Military Masculinity as the Last Stage of Acculturation." In *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, ed. Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter, 159–184. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.
- . "Militärische Männlichkeit in der deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte." *Die Philosophin* 22 (2000): 85–100.
- . "Wicked Sons, German Heroes: Jewish Soldiers, Veterans, and Memories of World War I in Germany." Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 2001.
- Carlebach, Elisheva. *The Pursuit of Heresy: Rabbi Moses Hagiz and the Sabbatian Controversies*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- Carlebach, Julius. "Family Structure and the Position of Jewish Women." In *Revolution and Evolution: 1848 in German-Jewish History*, ed. Werner Mosse, Arnold Pauker, and Reinhard Rürup, 157–187. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981.
- Carroll, Bret E. "'I Must Have My House in Order': The Victorian Fatherhood of John Shoebridge Williams." *Journal of Family History* 24 (1999): 275–304.
- Cherrok, Shlomo. "Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch's Approach to Modernity in his Biblical Commentary." Ph.D. diss., Ben Gurion University, 2005. (In Hebrew.)
- Clementine Kinderhospital Dr. Christ'sche Stiftung, ed. *Clementine von Rothschild: Zum 125-jährigen Bestehen des Clementine Kinderhospitals*. Frankfurt/Main: Societäts-Verlag, 2000.
- Cohen, Lucy. *Lady de Rothschild and her Daughters, 1821–1931*. London: John Murray, 1935.
- Colombo, Samuele. *Lettere di Clementina de Rothschild a un'Amica Cristiana: Versione dal Francese*. Livorno: Stab. Tip. S. Belforte & Co., 1904.
- Däschler-Seiler, Siegfried. *Auf dem Weg in die bürgerliche Gesellschaft: Joseph Maier und die jüdische Volksschule im Königreich Württemberg*. Stuttgart: Klett Cotta, 1997.
- Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Diamant, Paul J., ed. *Minna Diamant 1815–1840: Ihre Freunde und Verwandten; Ein Briefwechsel aus der Biedermeierzeit*. Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1964.
- Döcker, Ulrike. *Die Ordnung der bürgerlichen Welt: Verhaltensideale und soziale Praktiken im langen 19. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1994.
- Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Knopf, 1978.
- Efron, John M. *Medicine and the German Jew: A History*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Ehrentreu, H. *Geschichte der Chewra Kadischa, Israelitischer Verein für Krankenpflege, Bestattungswesen und religiöse Belehrung in München: Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier des Vereines, 1806–1906*. Munich, 1906.

- Eisen, Arnold M. *Rethinking Modern Judaism: Ritual, Commandment, Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Eliav, Mordechai. *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland im Zeitalter der Aufklärung und der Emanzipation*. Münster: Waxmann, 2001.
- . "Die Mädchenerziehung im Zeitalter der Aufklärung und der Emanzipation." In *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Frau in Deutschland*, ed. Julius Carlebach, 97–112. Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1993.
- Encyclopedia Judaica*, ed. Cecil Roth and Geoffrey Wigoder. 16 vols. Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House/Macmillan, 1971–1972.
- Encyclopedia Judaica: Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Jakob Klatzkin and Ismar Elbogen. 10 vols. Berlin: Eschkol, 1928–1934.
- Encyclopedia Talmudica*, ed. Meyer Berlin and Shlomo Josef Zevin. Vol. 3. Jerusalem: Talmudic Encyclopedia Institute, 1969.
- Etkes, Immanuel. *Rabbi Israel Salanter and the Mussar Movement: Seeking the Torah of Truth*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1993.
- Farine, Avigdor. "Charity, and Study Societies in Europe of the Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 64 (1973): 16–47, 164–175.
- Fassmann, Irmgard Maya. *Jüdinnen in der deutschen Frauenbewegung 1865–1919*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1996.
- Fram, Edward. *Ideals Face Reality: Jewish Law and Life in Poland, 1550–1655*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1997.
- Freudenthal, Herbert. *Vereine in Hamburg: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Volkskunde der Geselligkeit*. Hamburg: Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1968.
- Frevert, Ute. "Bürgerliche Meisterdenker und das Geschlechterverhältnis: Konzepte, Erfahrungen, Visionen an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert." In *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Frevert, 17–48. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988.
- . *Die kasernierte Nation: Militärdienst und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland*. Munich: Beck, 2001.
- Friedrich, Margret. "'Vereinigung der Kräfte, Sammlung des kleinen Gutes zu einem gemeinschaftlichen Vermögen, kurz die Assoziation ist hier die einzige Rettung': Zur Tätigkeit und Bedeutung der Frauenvereine im 19. Jahrhundert in Metropole und Provinz." In *Bürgerliche Frauenkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, 125–173. Vienna: Böhlau, 1995.
- Friedrichs, Christopher R. *Jüdische Jugend im Biedermeier: Ein unbekanntes Tagebuch aus Dresden, 1833–1837*. Leipzig: Simon-Dubnow-Institut für jüdische Geschichte und Kultur e.V., 1997.
- Fuchs, Lawrence H. *Beyond Patriarchy: Jewish Fathers and Families*. Hanover, N.H.: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England, 2000.
- Galchinsky, Michael, ed. *Grace Aguilar: Selected Writings*. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 2003.
- . *The Origin of the Modern Jewish Woman Writer: Romance and Reform in Victorian England*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996.
- Galliner, Arthur. "The Philanthropin in Frankfurt: Its Educational and Cultural Significance for German Jewry." *LBIB* 3 (1958): 169–186.
- Gay, Peter. *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*. Vol. 4, *The Naked Heart*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1995.
- Gebhardt, Miriam. *Das Familiengedächtnis: Erinnerung im deutsch-jüdischen Bürgertum 1890–1932*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999.
- Geiger, Abraham. *Judaism and Its History*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1985.

- Gerhard, Ute. *Unerbört: Die Geschichte der deutschen Frauenbewegung*. Reinbek near Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1990.
- Gillerman, Sharon. "The Crisis of the Jewish Family in Weimar Germany: Social Conditions and Cultural Representations." In *Search of Jewish Community: Jewish Identities in Germany and Austria, 1918–1933*, ed. Michael Brenner and Derek J. Penslar, 176–199. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Gilman, Sander. *Freud, Race, and Gender*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- . *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.
- Glatzer, Nahum N., ed. *Leopold and Adelheid Zunz: An Account in Letters, 1815–1885*. London: East West Library, 1958.
- . "On an Unpublished Letter of Isaak Marcus Jost." *LBIYB* 22 (1977): 129–137.
- Goldberg, Sylvie-Anne. *Crossing the Jabbok: Illness and Death in Ashkenazi Judaism in Sixteenth- through Nineteenth-Century Prague*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Goldman, Karla. *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery: Finding a Place for Women in American Judaism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Goldschmidt, Salomon. *Geschichte der Beerdigungs-Brüderschaft der deutsch-israelitischen Gemeinde in Hamburg: Zur Jahrhundertfeier der Neugründung 1812*. Hamburg: Siegmund Nissensohn, 1912.
- Gotzmann, Andreas. *Jüdisches Recht im kulturellen Prozess: Die Wahrnehmung der Halacha im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- Graetz, Heinrich. *Tagebücher und Briefe*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1977.
- Gray, Marion. *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Emergence of Separate Spheres during the German Enlightenment*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2000.
- Greenblatt, Rachel. "The Shapes of Memory: Evidence in Stone from the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague." *LBIYB* 47 (2002): 43–67.
- Groiss-Lau, Eva. "'Jüdische Öffentlichkeit' auf dem Lande: Zur Publikationstätigkeit fränkischer Rabbiner in der Emanzipationszeit." *Menora* 12 (2001): 189–208.
- Guggenheim. "Die Entwicklung des Krankenkassenwesens in der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Offenbach am Main." In *Die Entwicklung der Krankenversicherung in Offenbach a. M.*, ed. Streb, 3–7. Offenbach: Gerstung, 1910.
- Habermas, Rebekka. *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums: Eine Familiengeschichte (1750–1850)*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.
- . "Weibliche Religiosität—oder: Von der Fragilität bürgerlicher Identitäten." In *Wege zur Geschichte des Bürgertums: Vierzehn Beiträge*, ed. Klaus Tenfelde and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, 125–148. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994.
- Hagemann, Karen. "German Heroes: The Cult of Death for the Fatherland in Nineteenth Century Germany." In *Masculinity in Politics and War: Rewritings of Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh, 116–134. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- . "*Männlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre*": *Nation, Militär und Geschlecht in Preußen zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh, 2002.
- Hameln, Glückel of. *The Memoirs of Glückel of Hameln*. Trans. with notes by Marvin Lowenthal. New York: Schocken Books, 1977.
- Hammer-Schenk, Harold. *Synagogen in Deutschland: Geschichte einer Baugattung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Hamburg: Christians, 1981.
- Häntzschel, Günther, ed. *Bildung und Kultur bürgerlicher Frauen 1858–1918: Eine Quellendokumentation aus Anstandsbüchern und Lebenshilfen für Mädchen und Frauen als Beitrag zur weiblichen literarischen Sozialisation*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1986.

- Hausen, Karin. “. . . eine Ulme für das schwankende Efeu’: Ehepaare im Bildungsbürgertum; Ideale und Wirklichkeiten im späten 18. und 19. Jahrhundert.” In *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Frevert, 85–117. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988.
- . “Family and Role Division: The Polarization of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century: An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life.” In *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Richard Evans and W. R. Lee, 51–83. London: Croom Helm, 1981.
- Heilbrunn, Rudolf M. “Leben und Werk des Malers Moritz Oppenheim.” *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts* 33–36 (1966): 285–301.
- Hertz, Deborah. “Amalie Beer als Schirmherrin bürgerlicher Kultur und religiöser Reform.” In *Der Differenz auf der Spur: Frauen und Gender in Aschkenas*, ed. Christiane Müller and Andrea Schatz, 149–176. Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 2004.
- . “Emancipation through Inter-marriage? Wealthy Jewish Salon Women in Old Berlin.” In *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*, ed. Judith R. Baskin, 2nd ed., 193–207. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991.
- . *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988.
- . “Leaving Judaism for a Man: Female Conversion and Inter-marriage in Germany 1812–1819.” In *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Frau in Deutschland*, ed. Julius Carlebach, 97–112. Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1993.
- . “The Troubling Dialectic Between Reform and Conversion in Biedermeier Berlin.” In *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, ed. Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter, 103–126. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.
- Herzog, Dagmar. *Intimacy and Exclusion: Religious Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Baden*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Heuer, Renate, and Marie Louise Steinschneider, eds. *Moritz Steinschneider: Briefwechsel mit seiner Verlobten Auguste Auerbach 1845–1849*. Frankfurt: Campus, 1995.
- Hirsch, Erika. *Jüdisches Vereinsleben in Hamburg bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg: Jüdisches Selbstverständnis zwischen Antisemitismus und Assimilation*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Hirsch, Samson Raphael. “The Jewish Woman.” In *Judaism Eternal: Selected Essays from the Writings of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch*. Trans. and annotated by Dayan Grunfeld. Vol. 2, 49–96. London: Soncino, 1960.
- . *Seder tefilot yisrael: Israels Gebete*. 2nd ed. Frankfurt/Main: J. Kauffmann, 1906.
- . “Woman’s Role in Jewish Education.” In *The Collected Writings: Samson Raphael Hirsch*. Vol. 7, 393–410. New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1992.
- Hoberman, John M. “Otto Weininger and the Critique of Jewish Masculinity.” In *Jews and Gender: Responses to Otto Weininger*, ed. Nancy A. Harrowitz and Barbara Hyams, 141–153. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.
- Hödl, Klaus. *Die Pathologisierung des jüdischen Körpers: Antisemitismus, Geschlecht und Medizin im Fin de Siècle*. Vienna: Picus, 1997.
- Hölscher, Lucian. “Bürgerliche Religiosität im protestantischen Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts.” In *Religion und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder, 191–215. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993.
- . “Die Religion des Bürgers: Bürgerliche Frömmigkeit und protestantische Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert.” *Historische Zeitschrift* 250 (1990): 595–630.
- . “Weibliche Religiosität? Der Einfluß von Religion und Kirche auf die Religiosität von Frauen im 19. Jahrhundert.” In *Erziehung der Menschengeschlechter: Studien zur Religion, Sozialisation und Bildung in Europa seit der Aufklärung*, ed. Margret Kraul and Christoph Lüth, 45–62. Weinheim: Deutscher Studienverlag, 1996.

- Holzmann, Michael, and Hanns Bohatta, eds. *Deutsches Anonymen-Lexikon, 1501–1850*. 7 vols. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1961.
- Huber-Sperl, Rita. "Bürgerliche Frauenvereine in Deutschland im 'langen' 19. Jahrhundert: Eine Überblicksskizze (1780–1910)." In *Organisiert und engagiert: Vereinskultur bürgerlicher Frauen im 19. Jahrhundert in Westeuropa und den USA*, ed. Rita Huber-Sperl, 41–74. Königstein, Taunus: Ulrike Helmer, 2002.
- Hunt, Lynn. *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Hye, Hans-Peter. "Vereinswesen und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Österreich." *Beiträge zur Historischen Sozialkunde* 3 (1988): 86–96.
- Hyman, Paula E. *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representation of Women*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995.
- . "The Jewish Family: Looking for a Usable Past." In *On Being A Jewish Feminist: A Reader*, ed. Susannah Heschel, 19–26. New York: Schocken Books, 1983.
- . *The Jews of Modern France*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.
- . "Jüdische Familie und kulturelle Kontinuität im Elsaß des 19. Jahrhunderts." In *Jüdisches Leben auf dem Lande: Studien zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte*, ed. Monika Richarz and Reinhard Rürup, 247–267. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- . "The Other Half: Women in the Jewish Tradition." In *The Jewish Woman: New Perspectives*, ed. Elizabeth Koltun, 105–113. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.
- Jacobs, Louis. "Hasidic Prayer." In *Essential Papers on Hasidism: Origins to Present*, ed. Gershon David Hundert, 330–362. New York: New York University Press, 1991.
- Jeggle, Utz. *Judendörfer in Württemberg*. Magstadt: Horst Bissinger, 1969.
- The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, ed. Isidor Singer. 12 vols. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1901–1906.
- Judd, Robin. "Circumcision and Modern Jewish Life: A German Case Study, 1843–1914." In *The Covenant of Circumcision: New Perspectives on an Ancient Jewish Rite*, ed. Elizabeth Wyner Mark, 142–155. Hanover, N.H.: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England, 2003.
- . "German Jewish Rituals, Bodies, and Citizenship." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2000.
- Jüdisches Lexikon: Ein Enzyklopädisches Handbuch jüdischen Wissens in vier Bänden mit über 2000 Illustrationen, Beilagen, Karten und Tabellen*, ed. Georg Herlitz and Bruno Kirschner. 4 vols. Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1927–1930.
- Kadish, Seth. *Kavvana: Directing the Heart in Jewish Prayer*. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1997.
- Kaplan, Marion. "Konsolidierung eines bürgerlichen Lebens im kaiserlichen Deutschland 1871–1918." In *Geschichte des jüdischen Alltags in Deutschland*, ed. Marion Kaplan, 226–344. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2003.
- . *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- . "Priestess and Hausfrau: Women and Tradition in the German-Jewish Family." In *The Jewish Family: Myth and Reality*, ed. Steven M. Cohen and Paula E. Hyman, 62–81. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986.
- . "Tradition and Transition: The Acculturation, Assimilation and Integration of Jews in Imperial Germany: A Gender Analysis." *LBIYB* 27 (1982): 3–35.
- Katz, Jacob. "German Culture and the Jews." In *The Jewish Response to German Culture*, ed. Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg, 85–99. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1985.
- . *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770–1870*. New

- . *Tradition and Crisis: Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages*. New York: Schocken Books, 1993.
- Kemlein, Sophia. *Die Posener Juden 1815–1848: Entwicklungsprozesse einer polnischen Judenheit unter preußischer Herrschaft*. Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1997.
- Kersting, Christa. “Prospekt fürs Eheleben: Joachim Heinrich Campe; Väterlicher Rath für meine Tochter.” In *Sklavin oder Bürgerin: Französische Revolution und Neue Weiblichkeit 1760–1830*, ed. Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, 373–390. Marburg: Jonas, 1989.
- Kilian, Hendrikje. *Die jüdische Gemeinde in München 1813–1871: Eine Großstadtgemeinde im Zeitalter der Emanzipation*. Munich: Kommissionsverlag UNI-Druck, 1989.
- Kleinau, Elke. “Ein (hochschul-)praktischer Versuch—Die ‘Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht’ in Hamburg.” In *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung*. Vol. 2, ed. Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz, 66–82, 557–560. Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1996.
- Knappe, Sabine. “Jüdische Frauenorganisationen in Hamburg zwischen Assimilation, jüdischer Identität und weiblicher Emanzipation während des Kaiserreichs.” M.A. thesis, Universität Hamburg, 1991.
- Kober, Adolf. “150 Years of Religious Instruction. *LBIYB* 2 (1957): 98–118.
- Kocka, Jürgen. “Bürgertum und Bürgerlichkeit als Probleme der deutschen Geschichte vom späten 18. zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert.” In *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jürgen Kocka, 21–63. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987.
- Kohut, Adolph. *Berühmte israelitische Männer und Frauen in der Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*. 2 vols. Leipzig-Reudnitz: A. H. Payne, 1900–1901.
- Kollatz, Thomas. “Modernity and Tradition as Reflected in German Sermons Delivered by Orthodox Rabbis.” *Jewish Studies* 39 (1999): 35–41.
- Koltun-Fromm, Ken. *Abraham Geiger’s Liberal Judaism: Personal Meaning and Religious Authority*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Kortmann, Marie. *Emilie Wüstenfeld: Eine Hamburger Bürgerin*. Hamburg: Georg Westermann, 1927.
- Koselleck, Reinhart. “Einleitung—Zur anthropologischen und semantischen Struktur der Bildung.” In *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*. Vol. 2, *Bildungsgüter und Bildungswissen*, ed. Reinhart Koselleck, 11–46. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990.
- Kratz-Ritter, Bettina. “. . . als das Ergebnis eines weiblichen Herzens’: Beobachtungen zum Frauenbild im religiösen und belletristischen Werk Fanny Neudas (1819–1894).” *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 47, no. 4 (1995): 357–363.
- . “Fanny Neuda: Schriftstellerin.” In *Jüdische Frauen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Lexikon zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Jutta Dick and Marina Sassenberg, 295–296. Reinbek near Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1993.
- . *Für “fromme Zionstöchter” und “gebildete Frauenzimmer”: Andachtsliteratur für deutsch-jüdische Frauen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1995.
- . *Salomon Formstecher: Ein deutscher Reformrabbiner*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1991.
- . “Zum geistig-religiösen Umfeld einer Stiftung und ihrer Gründerfamilie.” In *Clementine von Rothschild: Zum 125-jährigen Bestehen des Clementine Kinderhospitals*, ed. Clementine Kinderhospital, 31–60. Frankfurt/Main: Societäts-Verlag, 2000.
- Krautheimer, Richard. *Mittelalterliche Synagogen*. Berlin: Frankfurter Verlagsanstalt, 1927.
- Krinsky, Carol Herselle. *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, and Meaning*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985.
- Krochmalnik, D. “Scheintod und Emanzipation: Der Beerdigungsstreit in seinem historischen Kontext.” *Trumah* 6 (1997): 107–149.
- Künzel, Hannelore. “Der Synagogenbau im Mittelalter.” In *Die Architektur der Synagoge*, ed. Baader, Benjamin Maria, 11–33. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1988.

- Lamm, Fritz. *1833–1913: Aus der Geschichte der Armenverwaltung der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin; Nach einem in der 32. Vertreter-Versammlung des Verbandes für jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege am 26. November 1913 gehaltenem Vortrag*. Berlin, 1913.
- Landauer, Bettina, and Heinrich Landauer, eds. *Briefe und Gedichte von Leopold Stein*. Augsburg: Hieronymus Mühlberger, 1916.
- Landes, Joan. *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Lässig, Simone. "The Emergence of a Middle-Class Religiosity: Social and Cultural Aspects of the German-Jewish Reform Movement During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century." In *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, ed. Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter, 127–158. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.
- . *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum: Kulturelles Kapital und sozialer Aufstieg im 19. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.
- . "Sprachwandel und Verbürgerlichung: Zur Bedeutung der Sprache im innerjüdischen Modernisierungsprozess des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts." *Historische Zeitschrift* 270, no. 3 (2000): 617–667.
- Lehmann, Dora. *Erinnerungen einer Altonaerin 1866–1946*. Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1998. Leimdörfer, David. *Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Bestehen des Israelitischen Tempels in Hamburg 1818–1918*. Hamburg: Glogau, 1918.
- Lewin, Adolf. *Geschichte der badischen Juden seit der Regierung Karl Friedrichs (1738–1909)*. Karlsruhe: G. Braunsche Hofbuchdruckerei, 1909.
- Lewin, Louis. *Geschichte der israelitischen Kranken-Verpflegungs-Anstalt und Beerdigungs-Gesellschaft zu Breslau 1726–1926*. Breslau: Theodor Schatzky, 1926.
- Liberles, Robert. "Leopold Stein and the Paradox of Reform Clericalism, 1844–1862." *LBIYB* 27 (1982): 261–279.
- . *Religious Conflict in Social Context: The Resurgence of Orthodox Judaism in Frankfurt am Main, 1838–1877*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1985.
- . "The So-Called Quiet Years of German Jewry 1849–1869: A Reconsideration." *LBIYB* 41 (1996): 65–74.
- Liedtke, Rainer. *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg and Manchester, c. 1850–1914*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- Lohmann, Ingrid. "Interkulturalität als Strategie religiöser Reform und sozialen Aufstiegs: Jüdische Knaben- und Mädchenbildung um 1800." In *Erziehung der Menschengeschlechter: Studien zur Religion, Sozialisation und Bildung in Europa seit der Aufklärung*, ed. Margret Kraul and Christoph Luth, 45–62. Weinheim: Deutscher Studienverlag, 1996.
- Lowenstein, Steven M. "Anfänge der Integration 1780–1871." In *Geschichte des jüdischen Alltags in Deutschland*, ed. Marion Kaplan, 126–224. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2003.
- . *The Berlin Jewish Community: Enlightenment, Family, and Crisis, 1770–1830*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- . "Jüdisches religiöses Leben in deutschen Dörfern: Regionale Unterschiede im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert." In *Jüdisches Leben auf dem Lande: Studien zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte*, ed. Monika Richarz and Reinhard Rürup, 219–229. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- . "The Pace of Modernisation of German Jewry in the Nineteenth Century." *LBIYB* 21 (1976): 41–56.
- . "The Yiddish Written Word in Nineteenth-Century Germany." *LBIYB* 24 (1979) 179–192.
- . "The 1840s and the Creation of the German-Jewish Reform Movement." In *Revolution and Evolution: 1848 in German-Jewish History*, ed. Werner E. Mosse, Arnold Rechter, and Reinhard Rürup, 100–117. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981.

- Lustiger, Arno, ed. *Jüdische Stiftungen in Frankfurt am Main: Stiftungen, Schenkungen, Organisationen und Vereine mit Kurzbiographien jüdischer Bürger*. Frankfurt/Main: Kramer, 1988.
- Mah, Harold. "Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians." *Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000): 153–182.
- Malleier, Elisabeth. *Jüdische Frauen in Wien, 1816–1938: Wohlfahrt—Mädchenbildung—Frauenarbeit*. Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2003.
- Marcus, Jacob R. *Communal Sick-Care in the German Ghetto*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1947.
- . *Israel Jacobson: The Founder of the Reform Movement in Judaism*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1972.
- . "The Triesch Hebra Kaddisha." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 19 (1945–46): 169–204.
- Marx, Alexander. "Zunz's Letters to Steinschneider." *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 5 (1934): 95–153.
- McDuffee, Michael B. *Small-Town Protestantism in Nineteenth-Century Germany: Living Lost Faith*. New York: Peter Lang, 2003.
- McLeod, Hugh. "Weibliche Frömmigkeit—männlicher Unglaube? Religion und Kirche im bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhundert." In *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Frevert, 134–156. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988.
- Mergel, Thomas. "Die subtile Macht der Liebe: Geschlecht, Erziehung und Frömmigkeit in katholischen Rheinischen Bürgerfamilien 1830–1910." In *Frauen unter dem Patriarchat der Kirchen: Frauen und Religion vom Vormärz bis ins Dritte Reich*, ed. Irmtraud Goetz von Olenhusen et al., 22–47. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1995.
- Meyer, Michael A. "Christian Influence on Early German Reform Judaism." In *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev*, ed. Charles Berlin, 289–303. New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971.
- . "German-Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century America." In *Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model*, ed. Jacob Katz, 247–267. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1987.
- . "Die Gründung des Hamburger Tempels und seine Bedeutung für das Reformjudentum." In *Die Juden in Hamburg 1590–1990: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Universität Hamburg zur Ausstellung 'Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg'*, ed. Arno Herzig, 195–207. Hamburg: Dölling and Galitz, 1991.
- . "'How Awesome is this Place!' The Reconceptualisation of the Synagogue in Nineteenth-Century Germany." *LBIYB* 41 (1996): 51–63.
- . "The Religious Reform Controversy in the Berlin Jewish Community, 1814–1823." *LBIYB* 24 (1979): 139–155.
- . *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Meyer, Michael A., and Michael Brenner, eds. *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*. 3 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996–1998.
- Meyer-Renschhausen, Elisabeth. *Weibliche Kultur und soziale Arbeit: Eine Geschichte der Frauenbewegung am Beispiel Bremens 1810–1927*. Cologne: Böhlau, 1989.
- Mosse, George L. *German Jews Beyond Judaism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983.
- . *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- . "Jewish Emancipation Between *Bildung* und Respectability." In *The Jewish Response to German Culture*, ed. Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg, 1–16. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1985.

- . *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*. New York: Howard Fertig, 1985.
- . *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*. New York: Howard Fertig, 1975.
- . "The Secularization of Jewish Theology." In *Masses and Man: Nationalist and Fascist Perceptions of Reality*, ed. George L. Mosse, 249–262. New York: Howard Fertig, 1980.
- Neusner, Jacob. *Androgynous Judaism: Masculine and Feminine in the Dual Torah*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1993.
- Niewöhner, Friedrich. "Sulamith und Jedidja oder Jeremia Heinemann, David Friedländer und der Erstdruck von Mendelssohns Psalmenkommentar in der 'beliebten Zeitschrift Jedidja': Ein Fund in der Herzog August Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel." In *Bild und Selbstbild der Juden Berlins zwischen Aufklärung und Romantik: Beiträge zu einer Tagung*, ed. Marianne Awerbuch and Stefi Jersch-Wenzel, 179–209. Berlin: Colloquium, 1992.
- Niger, Shmuel. "Yiddish Literature and the Female Reader." In *Women of the Word: Jewish Women and Jewish Writing*, ed. Judith R. Baskin; translated and abridged by Sheva Zucker, 70–90. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994.
- Nipperdey, Thomas. *Religion im Umbruch: Deutschland 1870–1918*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1988.
- . "Religion und Gesellschaft: Deutschland um 1900." *Historische Zeitschrift* 246 (1988): 591–615.
- Olenhusen, Irmtraud Goetz von. "Die Feminisierung von Religion und Kirche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven (Einleitung)." In *Frauen unter dem Patriarchat der Kirchen: Frauen und Religion vom Vormärz bis ins Dritte Reich*, ed. Irmtraud Goetz von Olenhusen et al., 9–21. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1995.
- Paletschek, Sylvia. *Frauen und Dissens: Frauen im Deutschkatholizismus und in den freien Gemeinden 1841–1852*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990.
- Panitz, Michael Edward. "Modernity and Mortality: The Transformation of Central European Jewish Responses to Death." Ph.D. diss., Jewish Theological Seminary, 1989.
- Pateman, Carole. *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989.
- . *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- Perles, Rosalie. "Unsere Grossmütter." *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* 8 (1905): 159–175.
- Petuchowski, Jakob J. "Manuals and Catechisms of the Jewish Religion in the Early Period of Emancipation." *Studies in Nineteenth-Century Jewish Intellectual History*, ed. Alexander Altmann, 47–64. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.
- . *Prayerbook Reform in Europe: The Liturgy of European Liberal and Reform Judaism*. New York: World Union of Progressive Judaism, 1968.
- Philippson, Johanna. "The Philippsons, a German-Jewish Family, 1775–1933." *LBIYB* 7 (1962): 95–118.
- Philipson, David. *The Reform Movement in Judaism*. 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan, 1931.
- Plaut, Gunther W. *The Rise of Reform Judaism: A Sourcebook of its European Origins*. New York: World Union of Progressive Judaism, 1963.
- Pollack, Herman. *Jewish Folkways in Germanic Lands (1648–1806)*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1971.
- Prelinger, Catherine. *Charity, Challenge, and Change: Religious Dimensions of the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Women's Movement in Germany*. New York: Greenwood, 1987.
- Prell, Riv-Ellen. "The Vision of Woman in Classical Reform Judaism." *Journal of the Amer-*

- Pyka, Marcus. "Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz." Ph.D. diss., University of Munich, 2005.
- Quataert, Jean H. *Staging Philanthropy: Patriotic Women and the National Imagination in Dynastic Germany, 1813–1916*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.
- Rahden, Till van. "Juden und die Ambivalenzen der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft in Deutschland von 1800 bis 1933." *Transversal: Zeitschrift des Centrums für jüdische Studien* 5, no. 1 (2004): 33–61.
- Randt, Ursula. "Die Erinnerungen der Emma Isler." *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts* 75 (1986): 55–99.
- Reder, Dirk. *Frauenbewegung und Nation: Patriotische Frauenvereine in Deutschland im frühen 19. Jahrhundert (1813–1830)*. Cologne: SH-Verlag, 1998.
- Reinke, Andreas. *Judentum und Wohlfahrtspflege in Deutschland: Das jüdische Krankenhaus in Breslau 1726–1944*. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1999.
- . "Wohltätige Hilfe im Verein: Das soziale Vereinswesen der deutsch-jüdischen Gemeinden im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert." In *Juden und Armut in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, ed. Stefi Jersch-Wenzel, 209–239. Cologne: Böhlau, 2000.
- Richarz, Monika. *Der Eintritt der Juden in die akademischen Berufe: Jüdische Studenten und Akademiker in Deutschland 1778–1848*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1974.
- . "Frauenforschung und jüdische Geschichte: Frau, Religion und Gesellschaft in der Neuzeit." In *Feministische Theologie und Gender-Forschung: Bilanz—Perspektiven—Akzente*, ed. Irene Dingel, 137–154. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2003.
- , ed. *Jewish Life in Germany: Memoirs from Three Centuries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.
- , ed. *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland: Selbstzeugnisse zur Sozialgeschichte*. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1976–1982.
- Rohde, Saskia. "Synagogen im Hamburger Raum 1680–1943." In *Die Juden in Hamburg 1590–1990: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Universität Hamburg zur Ausstellung 'Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg'*, ed. Arno Herzig, 143–169. Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1991.
- Römer, Nils. *Tradition und Akkulturation: Zum Sprachwandel der Juden in Deutschland zur Zeit der Haskalah*. Münster: Waxmann, 1995.
- Rose, Alison. "Imagining the 'New Jewish Family': Gender and Nation in Early Zionism." In *Families of a New World: Gender, Politics, and State Development in Global Context*, ed. Lynne Haney and Lisa Pollard, 64–82. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Rothschild, Louise de. *Lady de Rothschild: Extracts from her Notebooks with a Preface by her Daughter Constance Battersea*. London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1912.
- Rothschild, Samson. *Beamte der jüdischen Gemeinde [Worms] Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*. Frankfurt/Main: J. Kauffmann, 1920.
- Rozenblit, Marsha. "Jewish Identity and the Modern Rabbi: The Cases of Isak Noa Mannheimer, Adolf Jellinek, and Moritz Güdemann in Nineteenth-Century Vienna." *LBIYB* 35 (1990): 103–131.
- Ruderman, David. "The Founding of a *Gemilut Hasadim* Society in Ferrara in 1515." *AJS Review* 1 (1976): 233–267.
- Rumpel-Nienstedt, Sabine. "'Thäterinnen der Liebe'—Frauen in Wohltätigkeitsvereinen." In *Schimpfende Weiber und patriotische Jungfrauen: Frauen im Vormärz und in der Revolution 1848/49*, ed. Carola Lipp, 206–226. Moos & Baden-Baden: Elster, 1986.
- Ruppin, Arthur. *Die Juden im Großherzogtum Hessen*. Berlin: Bureau für Statistik der Juden, 1909.
- Sachße, Christoph, and Florian Tennstedt. *Geschichte der Armenfürsorge in Deutschland: Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1980.
- Salfeld, Siegmund. *Zur Kunde des Mainzer jüdischen Vereinslebens im 18. Jahrhundert*. Mainz: Herzon, 1919.

- Saurer, Edith. "Bewahrerinnen der Zucht und der Sittlichkeit": Gebetbücher für Frauen—Frauen in Gebetbüchern." *L'Homme: Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 1, no. 1 (1990): 37–58.
- Schatz, Andrea. "Sprache in der Zerstreuung: Zur Säkularisierung des Hebräischen im 18. Jahrhundert." Ph.D. diss., Heinrich-Heine-Universität, 2003.
- Scheinberg, Cynthia. *Women's Poetry and Religion in Victorian England: Jewish Identity and Christian Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Schieder, Wolfgang. "Sozialgeschichte der Religion im 19. Jahrhundert: Bemerkungen zur Forschungsfrage." In *Religion und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder, 11–28. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993.
- Schlögl, Rudolf. "Sünderin, Heilige oder Hausfrau? Katholische Kirche und weibliche Frömmigkeit um 1800." In *Wunderbare Erscheinungen: Frauen und katholische Frömmigkeit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Irmtraud Goetz von Olenhusen, 13–50. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1995.
- Schmid, Pia. "Hausfrau, Gattin, Mutter: Zur bürgerlichen Definition von Weiblichkeit um 1800 im Spiegel einiger deutschsprachiger Zeitschriften." In *Die ungeschriebene Geschichte: Historische Frauenforschung: Dokumentation des 5. Historikerinnentreffens in Wien, 16. bis 19. April 1984*, ed. Beatrix Bechtel, Eva Blimlinger, Sigrun Bohle et al., 169–186. Vienna: Wiener Frauenverlag, 1984.
- . "Weib oder Mensch, Wesen oder Wissen? Bürgerliche Theorien zur weiblichen Bildung um 1800." In *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung*. Vol. 1, ed. Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz, 327–345, 561–562. Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1996.
- Scholem, Gershom G. *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*. New York: Schocken Books, 1960.
- . *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality*. New York: Schocken Books, 1971.
- Schorsch, Ismar. "Art as Social History: Oppenheim and the German Jewish Vision of Emancipation." In *Moritz Oppenheim: The First Jewish Painter*, ed. The Israel Museum, 31–61. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Printing Enterprises, 1983.
- . "Emancipation and the Crisis of Religious Authority: The Emergence of the Modern Rabbinate." In *Revolution and Evolution: 1848 in German-Jewish History*, ed. Werner E. Mosse, Arnold Paucker, and Reinhard Rürup, 205–247. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981.
- . *From Text to Context: The Turn to History in Modern Judaism*. Hanover, N.H.: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England, 1994.
- . "Ideology and History in the Age of Emancipation." In *Heinrich Graetz: The Structure of Jewish History, and Other Essays*, ed. Ismar Schorsch, 1–62. New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1975.
- Schüler-Springorum, Stefanie. "Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte." *Transversal: Zeitschrift des Centrums für jüdische Studien* 4, no. 1 (2003): 3–15.
- Schütze, Yvonne. "Mutterliebe—Vaterliebe: Elternrollen in der bürgerlichen Familie des 19. Jahrhunderts." In *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Frevert, 118–133. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Segall, Jacob. "Die jüdischen Frauenvereine in Deutschland." *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden* 10, no. 1–2 (1914): 2–5, 17–23.
- Seidman, Naomi. *A Marriage Made in Heaven: The Sexual Politics of Hebrew and Yiddish*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Shilo, Samuel. *Dina de-malkhuta dina*. Jerusalem: Hotsa'at Defus akademi bi-Yerushalayim, 1974.
- Shmeruk, Khone. *Sifrut yiddish: Perakim le-toledoteha*. Tel Aviv: Mif'alim Universita'iyim le

- Sklare, Marshall. *Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.
- Skolnik, Jonathan. "Who Learns History from Heine? The German-Jewish Historical Novel as Cultural Memory and Minority Culture, 1824–1953." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1999.
- . "Writing Jewish History between Gutzkow and Goethe: Auerbach's Spinoza and the Birth of Modern Jewish Historical Fiction." *Prooftexts* 19 (1999): 101–125.
- Sorkin, David. "Emancipation and Assimilation: Two Concepts and their Application to German-Jewish History." *LBIYB* 35 (1990): 17–33.
- . "From Context to Comparison: The German Haskalah and Reform Catholicism." *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für Deutsche Geschichte* 20 (1991): 23–58.
- . "Preacher, Teacher, Publicist: Joseph Wolf and the Ideology of Emancipation." In *From East and West: Jews in a Changing Europe, 1750–1870*, ed. Frances Malino and David Sorkin, 107–125. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- . "Religious Reforms and Secular Trends in German-Jewish Life: An Agenda for Research." *LBIYB* 40 (1995): 169–184.
- . *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780–1840*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Stampfer, Shaul. "Gender Differentiation and Education of the Jewish Woman in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Europe." In *From 'Shtetl' to Socialism: Studies from Polin*, ed. Antony Polonsky, 187–211. London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1993.
- Stanislawski, Michael. *For Whom Do I Toil? Judah Leib Gordon and the Crisis of Russian Jewry*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Stein, Irmgard. *Jüdische Baudenkmäler in Hamburg*. Hamburg: Christians, 1984.
- Stein, Siegfried. "Liebliche Tefilloh: A Judaeo-German Prayer-Book Printed in 1709." *LBIYB* 15 (1970): 41–72.
- . "Die Zeitschrift 'Sulamith.'" *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 7 (1937): 193–226.
- Steinschneider, Marie-Louise. "Moritz und Auguste Steinschneider." In *Jüdinnen zwischen Tradition und Emanzipation*, ed. Norbert Altenhofer and Renate Heuer, 195–210. Bad Soden, Taunus: A & V Woywod, 1990.
- Stow, Kenneth. *Theater of Acculturation: The Roman Ghetto in the Sixteenth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.
- Swartout, Lisa F. "Culture Wars: Catholic, Protestant and Jewish Students in the German Empire, 1890–1914." Ph.D. diss., University of California Berkeley, 2002.
- . "Segregation or Integration? Honour and Manliness in Jewish Duelling Fraternities." *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, ed. Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter, 185–200. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.
- Tänzer, Aaron. *Die Geschichte der Juden in Jebenhausen und Göppingen*. Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1927.
- Toppe, Sabine. "Mutterschaft und Erziehung zur Mütterlichkeit in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts." In *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung*, Vol. 1, ed. Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz, 346–359. Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1996.
- Tosh, John. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Toury, Jacob. "Der Eintritt der Juden ins deutsche Bürgertum." In *Das Judentum in der deutschen Umwelt 1800–1850*, ed. Hans Liebeschütz and Arnold Paucker, 139–242. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1977.
- Trepp, Anne-Charlott. "Anders als sein 'Geschlechtscharakter': Der bürgerliche Mann um 1800—Ferdinand Beneke (1774–1848)." *Historische Anthropologie* 4 (1996): 57–77.
- . "The Emotional Side of Men in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany (Theory and

- . *Sanfte Männlichkeit und selbständige Weiblichkeit: Frauen und Männer im Hamburger Bürgertum 1770–1840*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.
- Unna, Josef. “Die israelitische Männer- und Frauen-Krankenkasse (‘Kippestub’) in Frankfurt a. M.” *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts* 8, no. 29–32 (1965): 227–239.
- Vierhaus, Rudolf. “Bildung.” In *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*. Vol. 1, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck, 508–549. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1972.
- Volkov, Shulamit. *Die Erfindung einer Tradition: Zur Entstehung des modernen Judentums in Deutschland*. Munich: Stiftung Historisches Kolleg, 1992.
- . “The ‘Verbürgerlichung’ of the Jews as Paradigm.” In *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell, 367–391. Oxford: Berg, 1993.
- Waescher, Johanna. *Die Casseler Frauenvereine 1812–1904*. Cassel: Kommissionsverlag von Ernst Kühn, 1904.
- Warner, Marina. *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985.
- Wegner, Judith Romney. “The Image and Status of Women in Classical Rabbinical Judaism.” In *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*. 2nd ed., ed. Judith R. Baskin, 73–100. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998.
- Weiland, Daniela. *Geschichte der Frauenemanzipation in Deutschland: Biographien, Programme, Organisationen*. Düsseldorf: ECON Taschenbuch Verlag, 1983.
- Weinberg, Werner. “Language Questions Relating to Moses Mendelssohn’s Pentateuch Translation.” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 105 (1984): 197–242.
- Weinreich, Max. *The History of the Yiddish Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Weissler, Chava. “The Traditional Piety of Ashkenazic Women.” In *Jewish Spirituality: From Sixteenth-Century Revival to the Present*, ed. Arthur Green, 245–275. New York: Crossroad, 1987.
- . *Voices of the Matriarchs: Listening to the Prayers of Early Modern Jewish Women*. Boston: Beacon, 1998.
- Welter, Barbara. “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860.” In *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective*, ed. Michael Gordon, 224–250. New York: St. Martin’s, 1973.
- Wengeroff, Pauline. *Memoiren einer Grossmutter: Bilder aus der Kulturgeschichte der Juden Russlands im 19. Jahrhundert*. 2 vols. Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1908–1910.
- Wertheim, Eugenie. *Fest-Schrift zur Hundertjahrfeier des Israelitischen Frauen-Vereins zu Cassel*. Cassel: Gebrüder Gotthelf, 1911.
- Wertheimer, Jack, ed. *Jews in the Center: Conservative Synagogues and Their Members*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2000.
- Wiener, Max, ed. *Abraham Geiger and Liberal Judaism: The Challenge*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1962.
- Wiesemann, Falk. “Jewish Burials in Germany—Between Tradition, the Enlightenment and the Authorities.” *LBIYB* 37 (1992): 17–31.
- Wischnitzer, Rachel. *The Architecture of European Synagogues*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1964.
- Wolff, Eberhard. “Von der Wohltätigkeit zur sozialen Sicherung: Die Modernisierung der jüdischen Krankheitsvorsorge im 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Dresdens.” *Medizin und Judentum* 5 (2000): 22–29.
- Wolfson, Elliot R. “On Becoming Female: Crossing Gender Boundaries in Kabbalistic Ritual and Myth.” In *Gender and Judaism: The Transformation of Tradition*, ed. T. M. Rudolph, 209–228. New York: New York University Press, 1995.

- “Women’s History in the New Millenium: Rethinking Public and Private.” *Journal of Women’s History* 15, no. 1 (2003): 10–69, no. 2 (2003): 10–179.
- Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982.
- Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der deutschen Juden. *Führer durch die jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege in Deutschland*. Berlin: Fritz Scherbel, 1928.
- Zieger, Susanne Maria. “Gemeinsames Vereinswirken von Christinnen und Jüdinnen während der Revolution von 1848/49 in Hamburg: Die Protokolle des ‘Vereins deutscher Frauen.’” M.A. thesis, Universität Hamburg, 1997.
- Zinberg, Israel. *A History of Jewish Literature*. Vol. 7, *Old Yiddish Literature from its Origins to the Haskalah Period*. New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1975.
- Zolty, Shoshana Pantel. *“And All Your Children Shall Be Learned”: Women and the Study of Torah in Jewish Law and History*. Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson, 1993.

INDEX

References to illustrations appear in italics

- “About the *Bildung* of Women” (Stein), 193
 Abraham (biblical), 91
 acculturation, 14–15. *See also* social integration
Addresses to Young Children (Rothschild), 207
 Adler, Abraham, 67–68
 Adler, Isaak, 65
 Adler, Samuel, 43, 65–68, 71, 187
 aesthetics of religion. *See Bildung*
Agudah Jescharah (Honest Society), 165
 Aguilar, Grace, 208
 Albrecht, Carl Gottlob, 201
Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums, 76–77, 122–23, 143
Allgemeiner Bildungsverein deutscher Frauen (General Educational Association of German Women), 203–204
Allgemeines Archiv des Judenthums, 46
Algläubigkeit, 13, 99, 100, 135
 Altona, 81, 139, 154, 210, 237n10
 Altshuler, Moses Henoah Yerushalmi, 101, 102
 Alzey, 65
 America, 144, 159, 191
Andachstunde, 139–40, 235n64
 Anhalt-Bernburg, 70, 141, 148–49
 antisemitism, 218, 251n21
 Aramaic, 232n1
 arts, 32–33, 225n50
 Ashkenazi culture: defined, 3; and divisions of Judaism, 12; and female piety, 4; and *heurot*, 162–63; and morality, 28; and orientalism, 63; and prayer, 99, 101–104; and pre-modern worship, 135–36, 140; and rabbis, 185
 Association for Reform in Judaism, 123, 149, 156, 230n9, 236n75
 atheism, 77
 Aub, Joseph, 126–28
 Baden, 69, 155, 157, 170
 Bamberg, 149
 Bamberger, Jacob, 152
 Bar Mitzvah rite, 39, 111, 146–51. *See also* confirmation ceremonies
 Basedow, Johannes Bernhard, 37
 Beer, Amalia, 49, 52, 137
 Beer family, 137–38
 Beer, Jacob Herz, 49
 Beer, Michael, 137
 Beer, Peter, 106, 110–11, 114, 120
 Beer Temple, 40, 49, 53, 117–18, 138, 140, 149
 Belgium, 205
 Benary, Guthiel, 171
 benevolence, 162–63, 166, 178, 241n8, 241n11, 241n16, 242n27. *See also* charity; philanthropy
 benevolent societies. *See specific organizations*
 Berlin: confirmation ceremonies, 149, 150; and devotional literature for women, 51–52; and the Fröbel movement, 205–206; gender division in synagogues, 153, 155, 156; New Synagogue, 127, 144, 145; Orthodox community in, 93, 189; and prayer book reform, 117–18, 121, 124; Reform movement, 44, 87, 123, 149, 156, 230n9, 236n75; and Samuel Holdheim, 70; voluntary associations, 164, 176, 243n34
 Bernays, Isaac, 87, 142
 Bernburg, 149
 Beuthen, 150
 Bible, 24, 31–33, 35, 136, 177, 197. *See also* Torah
 Bielitz, 150
Bilder aus dem altjüdischen Familienleben (Pictures from Old-Jewish Family Life) (Oppenheim), 214

- Bildung*: defined, 1; and education of women, 48; and enlightened religiosity, 26–29; and family-life, 56; and femininity, 20–26, 33, 34–36, 52; and Jeremiah Heinemann, 46; and modern rabbis, 186–87, 193, 210; and Orthodox Judaism, 75, 81, 84, 88–89, 91, 93; and prayer, 99, 100, 106, 110, 112, 120, 124, 131, 133; and religious culture, 6, 8; and ritual observances, 64; and social integration, 13–14, 220; and *Sulamith*, 19–20, 40; and synagogue devotion, 140
- Blicke in die Familie* (Looking into the Family) (Goldschmidt), 205
- Blogg, Salomon, 110
- Bock, Moses Hirsch, 38, 149
- Bonaparte, Jerome, 44
- Bonn, 65, 87, 150
- bourgeois* (term), 13–14. *See also* embourgeoisement
- Brantshpigel* (Burning Mirror), 101, 104, 113
- Breslau: and the Fröbel movement, 206; Jewish Free School in, 107; and positive-historical Judaism, 94, 154, 159–60; rabbinical conferences, 64, 67, 69; and Salomon tribute, 202; voluntary associations, 164, 173, 175, 179–80, 243–44n34, 244n37; and women's prayer books, 110
- Briefe an eine christliche Freundin* (Letters to a Christian Friend) (Rothschild), 196–98, 202
- Brunswick, 64, 81, 122, 149, 156, 202
- Brussels, 205
- burgher kindergartens, 205. *See also* Fröbel movement; kindergarten movement
- burial rites: and contemporary practices, 7; professionalization of, 162–63, 168, 174–75, 177–78, 183, 242n23; and voluntary societies, 162–65, 174–78, 241n16, 244n36, 245n49; and women's sick-care societies, 167–70, 172, 178–81, 242n20, 245n52
- burial societies: and benevolence, 241n16; and feminization of Judaism, 217; in Grünstadt, 242n20; origin of, 162–67; and ritual observances, 174–78, 240n4, 242n23, 245n49; and sick-care societies, 167–70; women and, 178–81, 244n36; *yahrzeit* commemorations, 174–78. *See also* *hevrah kaddisha*; *specific conferences*, rabbinical, 64–73, 81, 122
- Calvary, Esther, 155
- Campe, Joachim Heinrich, 22, 204
- capitalism, 14
- Cassel, 39, 148, 171, 181
- Cassel, David, 130
- catechism, 82–84
- Catholicism, 25, 111–12, 153, 191. *See also* Christianity
- charity, 163, 166, 168–69. *See also* philanthropy; voluntary associations; *specific organizations*
- Chebrat Gemilath Chasadim* (Association for Deeds of Loving-Kindness), 178–79
- choirs, 135, 143–44, 144–46, 158
- chosenness, 197
- Christianity: and *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit*, 23–24, 26, 28; Catholicism, 25, 111–12, 153, 191; Christian clergy, 184, 185, 186–87; and confirmation ceremonies, 147, 148, 150; conversions to, 51, 202; and devotional literature, 114, 196–97; and embourgeoisement, 19; and feminization of religion, 153, 182, 190–91, 212, 220; Lutheran reformation, 113; and male religiosity, 212; and prayer books, 110–13; and privatization of religion, 8; Protestantism, 28, 39, 111–13, 147–48, 152–53, 191; and religious education, 82–84; and women's prayer books, 111–13
- citizenship, 13–14, 27, 42, 94, 164–65, 217, 251n21. *See also* emancipation, civil
- civil rights and liberties: and the economic sphere, 21, 42; and gender, 57, 72–73, 90, 94–95; and Napoleonic occupation, 9; and *Rebekka und Amalia*, 202; and social contract theory, 45–46; in Stein's Haggadah, 130. *See also* emancipation, civil
- civil society: and bourgeois Judaism, 13; and the Enlightenment, 10; and privatization of religion, 182; religious facets of, 5; and secularization, 212; and sexual stereotypes, 21; and social contract theory, 45; and social status, 2; women's participation in, 7, 73. *See also* voluntary associations; *specific organizations*
- class (socioeconomic), 10, 14, 42, 102, 212, 219. *See also* embourgeoisement
- Cohen, Minna, 190, 195
- Cologne, 153

- confirmation ceremonies: contrasted with Bar Mitzvah rites, 146–51; and devotional literature, 50, 111, 114, 116, 234n41; and female religiosity, 182; first ceremonies for girls, 137, 149; and gender equity, 71, 135, 146, 149–51, 158, 217; and Orthodoxy, 149, 160; and rabbis, 188, 192, 193; *Sulamith* on, 39–40; and synagogue reform, 121, 143
- confraternities. *See* civil society; voluntary associations; *specific organizations*
- Conservative Judaism, 12. *See also* Orthodox Judaism; positive-historical Judaism; Reform Judaism
- conversion, 51–52, 202
- Crémieux, Adolphe, 201–202
- cultural issues. *See Bildung*; social integration
- daily worship, 153, 174–78
- Dann, Dorothea, 194
- Dann, Sidonie, 194
- David (biblical), 31
- Day of Atonement, 50, 105
- death-benefit associations, 165, 167, 174–78, 217, 242n23, 244n36, 245n49. *See also* burial societies
- Deborah (biblical), 63
- derashot*, 77, 140. *See also* sermons
- Dessau, 26, 77, 147, 149
- Die Deutsche Synagoge* (The German Synagogue) (Kley and Günsburg), 118
- devekut*, 131
- Development of the Religious Idea in Judaism, Christianity, and Mahomedanism* (Philippson), 208
- devotional literature: and the Berlin Reform community, 48–53; for domestic use, 120–22; feminine contribution, 202–203, 206, 207–208, 207–10; language of, 100; and modern rabbis, 184–85, 193–99, 206
- Diamant, Minna, 156
- Diesterweg, Adolf, 205
- dietary laws, 92, 215
- divisions within Judaism, 11–12
- domestic Judaism, 4–6
- domestic realm: and *Bildung*, 20–23; and bourgeois culture, 5; cult of Jewish domesticity, 7, 212–16; and devotional practices, 99, 114–16, 117–25, 129–30, 131; and gender, 114–16, 117–25, 129–30, 131; and gender equity, 71, 135, 146, 149–51, 158, 217; and Orthodoxy, 149, 160; and rabbis, 188, 192, 193; *Sulamith* on, 39–40; and synagogue reform, 121, 143
- ology, 5–6, 54–56, 94–95, 184–85; and feminine religiosity, 182, 212–16; and the Fröbel movement, 204–205; and holidays, 23; and *mitzvot*, 58, 66; and modern Judaism, 75–80, 220; and Orthodox Judaism, 90–92; reformers emphasis on, 19; and religious education, 82–84, 90–91. *See also* family life
- Douglas, Ann, 191
- dowry societies, 49, 176
- Dresden, 150, 164, 168, 202
- duty. *See mitzvot*
- East Prussia, 149
- education: confirmation ceremonies, 147–51; and gender integration, 37–41; of German Jews, 9; and the kindergarten movement, 184–85, 199–207; and Orthodox Judaism, 81–87; of rabbis, 142, 187–88; and social integration, 220; and *Sulamith*, 26–30, 35–36. *See also Bildung*; Talmud Torah; *Wissenschaft des Judentums*; women's education
- Eger, Samuel Levi, 149
- Einhorn, David, 67–68, 69, 124
- Elmshorn, 190
- Elul, 105
- emancipation, civil, 43–46, 128, 251n21. *See also* civil rights and liberties; social integration
- emancipation of women in Halakhah, 1, 58–73, 94, 218
- embourgeoisement: and Christianity, 220; and feminization of Judaism, 216; and Orthodox Judaism, 75; and religious role of women, 72; and supplicatory prayer, 110; and voluntary association, 182
- Emmendingen, 170, 173
- England, 9, 185, 195, 207–208
- Enlightenment: and embourgeoisement, 14; enlightened religiosity, 26–30; and femininity, 32; and gender roles, 22; and religious education, 39; and social status of Jews, 9–10; and voluntary organizations, 161, 164, 170
- Enoch, Samuel, 81, 85, 86
- Eppingen, 155
- Epstein, Jacob, 214–15
- Erfurt, 181
- Ettlinger, Jacob, 81, 87, 154
- Euchel, Isaak Abraham, 118, 126
- Exodus narrative, 130. *See also Haggadot*

- Das Familienleben* (Family Life) (Salomon), 54–56
- family life: and confirmation ceremonies, 151; and devotional practices, 133; family intimacy, 78–79; and family-centered theology, 4–5, 42, 54–56, 78–80, 86, 91, 94–95, 184–85, 214; and feminine values, 78–80; idealization of, 214; and modern Judaism, 1; religious value of, 22–23; and supplicatory prayer, 109. *See also* domestic realm
- fasting, 90
- fatherhood: and embourgeoisement, 2, 6, 15, 45–46; and prayers and blessings, 76, 116, 122, 123, 213–15; religious leaders on, 42, 54–56, 74–76, 90–91, 94–95; and social contract theory, 45–46; in Talmud, 62, 69
- “The Female Sex” (Philippson), 77
- feminism, 43, 72–73, 128–31, 199, 206, 220. *See also* kindergarten movement; maternal feminism
- feminization of Judaism: and the cult of Jewish domesticity, 7, 212–16; and decline of rabbinic Judaism, 182–83; feminine religiosity, 73, 78–80, 90, 94–95, 206, 208–209; and gender division in synagogues, 153, 159; impact of, 211; and masculinity, 191, 216–19, 251n21; and Orthodoxy, 87–95; and professionalization of mourning rites, 177–78. *See also* family life; virtue of women
- Five Books of Moses, 209. *See also* Torah
- Formstecher, Salomon, 75–76, 77, 206
- Fraenkel, Daniel, 150
- France, 9, 32–33, 172, 207
- Franconia, 178–79, 180
- Fränkel, David: audience, 42; and confirmation ceremonies, 149; and education, 187; on emotional engagement, 29; and female religiosity, 34–36; and Heine- mann, 46; and religious education of women, 37, 38–40; and religious reform, 26, 56; and Westphalian consistory, 44; and women in Jewish law, 57–58
- Frankel, Zacharias, 65, 93
- Frankfurt: confirmation ceremonies, 150, 192; decline of synagogue attendance, 212; education, 38, 191–99, 193, 206, 235n64; and Formstecher, 75; Orthodox Judaism, 74, 87–89, 142; and prayer book reform, 210, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220; publishing, 105, 110, 185, 207; rabbinical conferences, 64; Reform Judaism, 76, 139, 190–91; Rothschild family, 195, 207; and Salomon tribute, 202; voluntary associations, 167–68, 173, 174, 207, 241n14, 243n34; women and synagogue reform, 156
- Frankfurter, Naphtali, 53
- Frauen-Chewroh-Kedischoh* (Women’s Holy Society), 179
- Frauensynagogen* (women’s synagogues), 151
- Frauenverein* (Women’s Association), 178, 180
- Frauenverein für Krankenpflege* (Women’s Association for Sick Care), 171, 242n27
- Frauenverein zur Bekämpfung und Ausgleichung religiöser Vorurteile* (Women’s Association for Combating and Conciliating Religious Prejudice), 203–204
- Frauenverein zur Förderung der Fröbelschen Kindergärten* (Women’s Association for the Promotion of Fröbel Kindergartens), 205–206
- Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung armer israelitischer Witwen* (Women’s Association for the Support of Poor Israelite Widows), 171–72
- Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung armer Wöchnerinnen* (Women’s Association for the Support of Poor Women in Childbed), 171–72
- Frauen-Verein zur Unterstützung der Deutsch-Katholiken* (Women’s Association for the Support of the German Catholics), 203
- Frederick Wilhelm III of Prussia, 138
- Free Schools. *See* Jewish Free Schools; Philanthropin
- Der Freitagabend* (The Friday Evening), 77, 190, 195, 206
- French Revolution, 9, 32–33, 225n50
- Freud, Sigmund, 45
- Friedländer, David, 37, 57, 63
- Friedrichstadt, 153
- Fröbel, Friedrich, 204–205
- Fröbel movement, 204–205. *See also* kindergarten movement
- Die fromme Zionstochter*, 110, 115
- Das Füllhorn*, 190
- funeral rites, 163, 240n4, 241n8, 241n16. *See also* burial societies
- Fürth, 104, 105, 106, 191

- Gebet- und Erbauungsbuch für Israeliten* (Prayer Book and Book of Edifications for Israelites) (Präger), 116–17, 122
- Gebetbuch für gebildete Frauenzimmer mosaischer Religion* (Prayer Book for Educated Women of the Mosaic Religion) (Beer), 106
- Gedern, 168
- Geiger, Abraham; and confirmation ceremonies, 150; education of, 58, 87, 187; and family-centered theology, 80; and the kindergarten movement, 206; and poetry, 195; and prayer books, 124, 126, 127, 128; and rabbinical conferences, 64–67, 69, 71; Salomon tribute, 201; as teacher, 189, 206; and *tkhines*, 107; and *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 62; and women in Jewish law, 43, 59, 61–67, 69, 71, 72–73, 218
- Geissmar, Clara, 155, 213, 215
- Gemilut Hasadim* (Acts of Loving Kindness), 165
- gemilut hesed*, 163–66, 240n2
- Genossenschaft für Reform im Judenthum* (Association for Reform in Judaism), 156, 236n75
- German Empire, 9, 14, 218
- German language; and devotional practices, 38–39, 41, 49, 100, 118, 132, 137, 142–43, 195–96; and Haggadat, 130–31; and Orthodoxy, 81; and prayer books, 115–16, 122, 124, 128, 131; and rabbis' literary creativity, 208–209; sermons, 10, 53, 142; and *tkhines*, 104–10; women for German liturgy, 157; and Yiddish, 234n22. *See also* Judeo-German; vernacular
- German romanticism, 32, 33
- German-Catholic movement, 203
- “Germania” (artistic depiction), 33
- Geschichte der Juden* (History of the Jews) (Graetz), 218
- Gesellschaft der Brüder* (Society of Brothers), 164
- Gesellschaft der Freunde* (Society of Friends), 164
- Gesellschaft Hachnassath Kallah* (dowry society), 176
- Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Guten* (Society for the Promotion of the Good), 175–76
- Glaube, Andacht und Pflicht* (Morgenstern and Ritter), 115–16, 235n57
- Glikl of Hameln, 136, 215
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 14, 32, 124, 131, 186
- Goldschmidt, Johanna, 199–203, 205
- Goldsmid, Anna Maria, 207–208
- Goldsmid, Francis Henry, 208
- Gordon, Judah Leib, 212, 216
- Graetz, Heinrich, 159, 218
- Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 71
- Grünstadt, 168, 241n16, 242n19, 242n20
- Güdemann, Moritz, 157
- Guillaumes, Jules, 205
- Gumpel, Therese, 156
- Haggadat Pesach*, 129
- Haggadat*, 128–31
- Halakhah; challenge to, 64; defense of, 84; and faith, 93; and historical approach to Judaism, 62; and marriage, 63; and modernization of Judaism, 7–8, 10–11, 43, 212–19; and national law, 246n1; and Orthodox Judaism, 11–12, 82, 88–89, 93–94; and positive-historical Judaism, 93; and prayer, 99–100, 102–104, 127–28; in pre-modern era, 1; and rabbinic Judaism, 10; and Reform Judaism, 7–8, 11, 41, 93; and Rosenfeld, 190; and status of women, 4, 6–7, 43, 56–58, 102–103, 158–59, 218–19; and *Sulamith*, 27, 29, 41; and women at the Seder, 129; women's emancipation within, 1, 58–73, 94, 218; and women's exemption from *mitzvot*, 89; and worship practices, 136
- halakhic Judaism, 75, 217, 219. *See also* rabbinic Judaism
- halizah*, 229n79
- Hamburg; Free School, 189; gender divisions in synagogues, 152–55; *Hamburger Fröbelverein*, 205; *Hamburgischer Frauen-Verein*, 172; interconfessional women's movement, 199, 203, 205; and Johanna Goldschmidt, 199–203, 205; and Orthodoxy, 81–83, 87; and prayer book reform, 118–20, 119, 121, 124; voluntary associations, 165–66, 172–73, 175, 179, 241n12, 243n34. *See also* Hamburg Reform Temple
- Hamburg Reform Temple; confirmation ceremonies, 40, 149; founded, 138–39;

- and Gotthold Salomon, 199–202; leaders, 53; and new homiletics, 43, 53–56, 143; and prayer books, 118–20, 119, 120, 121, 124–26; and Reform movement, 74; and Therese Warendorff, 185, 189–90; women's attendance and seating in, 152, 153, 155. *See also* Kley, Eduard; Salomon, Gotthold
- Hamburger, Adolf, 212–13, 215
- Hamburger Fröbelverein* (Hamburg Fröbel Association), 205
- Hamburger, Joseph, 212–13
- Hamburger, Zerle, 213, 215
- Hamburgische Frauen-Verein* (Hamburg Women's Association), 172
- Ha-M'assef* (The Collector), 37
- Hanau, 239n47
- Hanover, 150
- Hasidism, 131–32
- Haskalah, 26, 164, 170. *See also* Enlightenment
- Hebrew language: and Aramaic, 232n1; in Ashkenazi culture, 101–104; decline of, 7, 162, 211, 216; and devotional practices, 132; and gender divisions, 4, 6, 95, 99, 157, 183, 218–19; and liturgy, 101–102, 125, 131, 134–35; and Orthodox Judaism, 12–13; and prayer books, 113, 117, 118–20, 123–24, 131; and secularization, 213; and *Sulamith*, 31; and theological debates, 197; and Torah readings, 142–43; and voluntary associations, 173, 177, 181
- Hecht, Emanuel, 115
- Heidelberg, 149, 164
- Heidereutergasse Synagogue, 155
- Heinemann, Jeremiah: confirmation ceremonies, 148; and devotional literature for women, 51–52; education of women, 227n17; on Halkhah, 56; and *Jedidja*, 46–48; and prayer books, 128–29, 130–31; and Reform movement, 44–45; and university education, 187
- Hertz, Henriette, 25
- Herxheimer, Salomon, 70, 148–49, 187, 195, 201
- Herzfeld, Levi, 122
- Heß, Michael, 34, 37–38, 115, 192
- Hevra Kaddisha Gemilut Hasadim De-Nashim Zadkanijot* (Holy Society of Loving-Kindness of Pious Women), 179
- hevrah kaddisha*, 162, 165, 178, 179–80. *See also* burial societies
- Hevrat Kaddisha De-Gemilut Hasadim* (Holy Society of Loving-Kindness), 176
- Hevrat Ezrat Nashim* (Association for the Help of Women), 170–71, 242n26
- Hevrat Nashim Zadkanijot* (Society of Pious Women), 178
- Hevrat Nashim Zadkanijot Gemilut Hesed* (Pious Women's Society for Loving-Kindness), 179
- Hevrat Shokhrei Ha-Tov* (Association for the Seekers of the Good), 179
- hevrot*, 161–83: in Ashkenazi culture, 240n3; background and defined, 161–62; and burial rites, 174–78, 178–81; and the Enlightenment, 164; and gender divisions, 177, 179; non-Jewish counterparts, 171–74; and ritual observances, 245n49; and sick-care societies, 167–71; and status of women, 181–83; transformation of, 162–67. *See also* voluntary associations; *specific organizations*;
- High German (language). *See* German language
- Hildesheimer, Esriel, 93, 155, 189
- Hirsch, Samson Raphael: and communal prayer books, 127; and devotional literature, 209; and domestic religiosity, 74; and education, 87; and family-centered theology, 5, 7, 184; and feminine religiosity, 75, 87–95, 217–18; and prayer books, 126; and university education, 187
- historical approach to Judaism, 62–63, 68–69, 72. *See also* positive-historical Judaism
- Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht* (School of Higher Learning for the Female Sex), 203–204
- Hölderlin, Friedrich, 24
- Holdheim, Samuel: and rabbinical conferences, 65; and radical reform, 70–72, 158–59; and Reform Judaism, 70–71; and religious education, 230n9; and Salomon tribute, 201; and university education, 187
- homiletics, 54. *See also* sermons
- Horeb* (Hirsch), 87
- Huldah (biblical), 63
- human rights. *See* civil rights and liberties
- Hunt, Lynn, 225n50

- Landsberg, 149
 language. *See* translations; vernacular; *specific languages*
 law and legal issues. *See* civil rights and liberties; emancipation, civil; Halakhah
 Lehman, Dora, 154
 Lehensteinfeld, 66
 Leipzig, 70, 78, 153, 181, 245n52
 Lesser, Louis, 143
 “Letters to a Venerable Woman of Jewish Religion” (Salomon), 35, 38
 Lewandowski, Louis, 144, 146
 Linz, 154
 literacy rates, 112–13. *See also* education
 Lithuania, 154, 189
 London, 207, 208
 Löwenguard, Maier Hirsch, 66–67
 Löwenstein, Johanna, 195
 Lübeck, 173, 179
 Lutheran reformation. *See* Protestantism
- Maier, Joseph: and gender divisions in synagogues, 156; and prayer books, 121–23, 126–28; and rabbinical conferences, 65–67; and synagogue services, 142
 Mainz, 168, 173
 Mannheim, 81, 87, 116, 156–57, 168
 Mannheimer, Isaac Noah, 188
 “Marianne” (artistic depiction), 33
 marriage, 62–63, 116, 229n79
 masculinity: and civil society, 2, 94–95; feminine, 95, 191, 212, 216–19, 251n21; Geiger on, 80; Hirsch on, 90–91; Jellinek on, 78–80; men acting “like women,” 6, 101–102, 124, 132, 178, 183; and sexual stereotypes, 21; and Talmud Torah, 3–4, 95, 102. *See also* fatherhood
 maternal feminism, 199, 204, 206. *See also* feminism
mehizah, 136
 Meisel, Wolff Aloys, 180
 Mendelssohn, Moses, 61–62, 106, 137, 197
Menschenliebe (love of humanity), 54, 162, 166, 170. *See also* benevolence; charity; philanthropy
 menstrual purity (*niddah*), 92, 103, 105, 215–16, 228n58
 messianic beliefs, 109, 197
 Meyer, Friederike von, 242n27
- Middle Ages, 112
 Middle East, 62–63
 military service, 217
minyanim: defined, 60–61; exclusive right of men, 40, 102–103, 134; Holdheim on women and, 158–59; and inclusion of women, 66–70, 220; and voluntary associations, 162, 163, 165, 168
 Miro, Josua Heschel, 107–10, 108, 111, 114, 120
 Mishnah, 59–60, 62, 161–62, 163, 169, 174–75, 177. *See also* mourning rites
 misogyny, 218
mitzvo: declining importance of, 29, 170, 216; defined, 4; and *hevrot*, 163; and prayer, 100, 132; and rabbinical conferences, 66–70; women’s exemption from, 4, 58, 59–61, 89, 100, 220; women’s *mitzvo*, 103, 105, 228n58. *See also* Halakhah; ritual observance
 Montefiore, Charlotte, 208
 Montefiore, Judith, 208
 morality. *See* *Sittlichkeit*
 Moravia, 154
 Morgenstern, Lina, 115–16, 205–206
 Moses (biblical), 91
 Moss, Celia, 208
 Moss, Marion, 208
 Mosse, George, 28
 motherhood, 7, 19, 87–95, 199, 204, 206
 mourning rites: and communal prayer books, 123; and gender roles, 183, 217; *kaddish*, 175, 176, 177; and mutual-aid societies, 165, 167–69, 181; and the role of rabbis, 186; *shivah*, 163, 165, 169, 241n8; *jahrzeit* commemorations, 162, 174–78, 183, 217, 244n37. *See also* Mishnah
 Munich, 149, 179–80
 Musar movement, 131–32, 186
 music, 137–39, 143–44, 190
Muttersorgen und Mutterfreunden (Motherly Concerns and Motherly Joys) (Goldschmidt), 205
 mutual-aid associations, 161–62, 164–65, 171, 241n13, 242n26. *See also* sick-care societies; voluntary associations; *specific organizations*
 mysticism, 4, 10, 23, 101–103, 109, 113, 240n3
- Napoleonic occupation of Germany, 9,

- nashim ve'amei ha-arets* ("women and the ignorant"), 101–102
- national identity, 131. *See also* social integration
- "Nationality, Slavery, [and] Woman's Position" (Geiger), 80
- Neo-Orthodoxy. *See* Orthodox Judaism
- Neuda, Fanny, 114, 120
- Neue Israelitische Tempel-Verein* (New Israelite Temple Association), 139, 142
- Neues israelitisches Gebetbuch* (New Israelite Prayer Book) (Philipsson), 122–23
- Neukirchen, 149
- Neuwied, Rhineland, 144, 173, 181
- New Synagogue (Berlin), 127, 145
- niddah* (sexual purity), 92, 103, 105, 215–16, 228n58
- The Nineteen Letters on Judaism* (Hirsch), 87
- North America, 159. *See also* America
- occupation of Germany, 9, 172
- Offenbach, 149, 241n16
- "On Religious Education [*Bildung*] for Women of the Jewish Faith" (Fränkel), 34–35
- Oppenheim, Moritz, 214, 215
- Oppenheimer, Bertha, 181
- Oppenheimer, Julius, 214, 215
- organ music, 11–12, 78, 134, 137–39
- orientalism, 57, 62–63
- Orthodox Judaism: and bourgeois religiosity, 80–87; and cultural integration, 74–75; defining, 11–13; and education of women, 220; and feminine Judaism, 7, 87–95; and gender hierarchy, 2; and Halakhah, 58–61; and modern rabbis, 187–89, 195, 209; and prayer, 124, 126, 132, 217; and rabbinical conferences, 11–12, 65; and ritual observance, 215; and synagogue attendance, 213; and synagogue devotions, 135–36, 141–42, 146, 149–50, 154–55, 159–60
- Ottenheimer, Henriette, 190
- Ottensoos, 173, 176–77, 180
- Otterstadt, 153
- Otto, Louise, 24
- Paderborn, 175
- parenting. *See* fatherhood; motherhood
- Passover, 105, 128, 129, 130–31, 212, 213
- pastoral function of rabbis, 186, 187, 210
- patriarchal cultures, 3
- Paul, Jean, 202
- Paulsenschule*, 205
- Perles, Joseph, 154
- Perles, Rosalie, 154, 155
- Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich, 22, 85, 204, 206
- Phädon* (Mendelssohn), 197
- Philanthropin: coeducation, 38; devotional exercises, 235n64; hymns, 139, 235n64; and Jost, 206; prayer books, 121; and Reform Judaism, 53–54, 192. *See also* Jewish Free Schools
- philanthropy, 171–72, 180, 189, 194, 206. *See also* benevolence; charity; voluntary associations
- Philipsson, Ludwig: on atheism, 77; on German-language sermons, 143; and prayer books, 122–23, 123–24, 125, 126; and rabbinical conferences, 65; and Salomon, 201; translation of devotional literature, 208
- Philipsson, Phöbus, 51
- Philipson, David, 63
- pietist movement, 113
- Pleßner, Salomon, 155
- poetry, 190, 193, 194, 194–95, 202, 208
- Poland, 61
- Posen, 143, 180–81
- "The Position of the Female Sex in the Judaism of our Times" (Geiger), 59
- positive-historical Judaism, 7, 11–12, 65, 93–94
- Präger, Moses, 116–17, 122, 156–57
- Prague, 14–15, 70, 106, 110, 150, 164, 189
- "Praise of the Better Woman" (Stein), 193
- prayer, 99–133; *Abgläubigkeit*, 13; and burial rites, 109, 167, 169–70, 174–75, 177; and death benefit associations, 174–78; devotional literature for women, 48–53; in the domestic realm, 76; and education, 82–84; and gender division, 60; public worship, 10, 45, 53, 99, 116; and religious education of women, 38; *she lo asani ishah* benediction, 57, 63–64, 69, 126–28, 157; supplicatory prayer, 50, 99–101, 103, 104–10, 110–12, 114–16, 120, 122–23; *tehinnot*, 103; *tehines*, 50, 99–101, 103, 104–10, 110–12,

- 114–16, 120, 122–23. See also *minyanim*
- prayer books: communal prayer books, 125–31 (see also *siddurim*); and domestic worship, 117–25; in early modern Ashkenazi culture, 101–104; and modern devotions, 114–17, 235n55; title page, 119; and *tkhines*, 104–10; for women, 99–100, 106–107, 109, 110–13, 114–15, 120, 122
- prayer quorums. See *minyanim*
- “The Precepts” (Rothschild), 195–96
- Pressburg, 156
- “The Principles of Rabbinic Worship and its Relationship to the Religious Consciousness of the Present” (Holdheim), 158
- printing presses, 10
- privatization of religion, 7, 8, 182, 212, 216, 220
- progressive Judaism, 11. See also Reform Judaism
- proselytizing, 197
- Protestantism, 28, 39, 111–13, 147–48, 152–53, 191. See also Christianity
- Proverbs, 54–55
- Prussia, 138, 178
- Psalms, 198, 209
- Pyriz, 180
- rabbinic Judaism: and Bar Mitzvah rites, 146, 147; critique of, 71, 158–59; and the culture of *Bildung*, 27, 29; decline of, 164, 186, 221; and feminine religiosity, 91, 209; and femininity, 95; foundations of, 3; gender order of, 2–4, 6–7, 59–61, 95, 158–59; rabbinic profession, 184–86; and social organization, 10; and voluntary organizations, 161–62, 166, 169–70. See also halakhic Judaism
- rabbinical conferences, 64–73, 81, 122
- Ratibor, 150
- Rebekka und Amalia* (Goldschmidt), 202–203
- Reform Judaism: and Anne Marie Goldsmid, 208; and Beer family, 52; Berlin, 87, 123, 149, 230n9, 236n75; and Clementine Rothschild, 197; defined, 11–13; and Halakhah, 84–85, 93; and the Hamburg Temple, 53–54, 138–39; ideology of, 61, 109; and Orthodoxy on gender, 2, 7–8, 92–93; and prayer books, 118–20; and rabbinical conferences, 64–65; rise of, 80–81; and *Sulamith*, 19, 41; and synagogue devotion, 135–41, 141–42, 143–46, 149; and voluntary associations, 172; and women’s status, 43
- Reformfreunde* (Friends of Reform), 76
- Religionsbewusstsein*, 71–72, 72–73, 159
- religious tolerance, 202–203
- renunciation, 89
- research and scholarship. See *Wissenschaft des Judentums*
- Riesser, Gabriel, 202
- Riesser, Pauline, 201, 202
- Ritter, Immanuel Heinrich, 115–16
- ritual observance: and bourgeois religiosity, 213–14; decline of, 69, 75, 77, 211, 216; divergent approaches to, 82, 86–87, 93; female *mitzvot*, 103, 105, 228n58; and Miro’s prayer books, 109; and moral purity, 92; new meanings, 219; and voluntary associations, 245n49. See also Halakhah; *mitzvot*
- Rödelheim, 107
- Rogasen, 107
- Rosenfeld, A., 144
- Rosenfeld, Samson Wolf, 115, 190
- Rosenthal, Ludwig, 107, 110
- Rosh Ha-Shana, 58, 104, 105–106
- Rosh Hodesh, 103, 105
- Rothschild, Annie de, 207, 208
- Rothschild, Charlotte de, 207, 208
- Rothschild, Clementine von, 196–98, 207
- Rothschild, Constance de, 207, 208
- Rothschild, Louise de (née Montefiore), 195–96, 207
- Rothschild, Louise von, 185, 206, 207
- Rothschild, Mayer Carl von, 195
- Rothschild, Thérèse de, 207
- Rothschild, Wilhelm Carl von, 195
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 45
- Royal Israelite Supreme Ecclesiastical Authority, 66–67, 142
- Russer, 82–84
- Rybnik, 150
- Saalschütz, Joseph Levin, 122
- Sabbath observances: and the domestic setting, 77, 213–15; Hirsch on, 90; neglect of, 10; and prayers, 102–103, 105–106, 110–11, 116, 118, 120, 122–23; and Reform Judaism, 65, 67, 156; and Rothschild, 195, 207; and sermons, 39, 49, 142; and Stein, 192–94; and volun-

- tary associations, 245n49. *See also* ritual observance; synagogue attendance
- Sabbath und Festreden* (Talks for Sabbath and Holidays) (Rothschild), 207
- Sachs, Michael, 156
- sacrifice, temple, 158
- St. Pölten, 154
- Salomon, Gotthold, 53; anniversary album, 200, 201; and devotional literature for women, 49–50, 115; and education, 36, 38, 40–41, 187, 206, 207; and emotional engagement in religion, 93; and family-centered theology, 91, 184; and feminine religiosity, 35, 199, 217; and gender divisions in synagogues, 156; and the Hamburg Temple, 53, 54–56; and inclusion of women, 42–43; and the kindergarten movement, 206; and rabbinical conferences, 65; and the Reform movement, 74; regard for women, 199; and Sulamith, 49
- Salomon, Henriette, 199, 203
- Salomon, Moritz Gustav, 199
- Sande, Alexander Wilhelm Rudolf, 202
- Sarah (biblical), 91
- Schiller, Friedrich von, 14, 24, 32, 124, 131, 186
- Schlegel, Friedrich, 32
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich, 25, 82
- Schnaittach, 178–79
- scholarship. *See Wissenschaft des Judentums*
- Schwabe, Marcus Hertz, 199
- Scott, Joan, 3–4
- II Samuel, 31–33
- secularization: and the civic realm, 5, 8, 212; and domestic life, 8; and education, 28, 37, 49, 61, 78, 87–88, 147, 188; and law, 188; “secular religion,” 24
- Seder, 129, 130–31
- Seder ha-avodah* (Order of the Worship), 119, 120
- Seder tefilah* (Order of Prayer), 127
- Seder tkhines u-vakoshes* (Order of Supplications and Petitions), 104–105, 106
- Seelsorger*, 187–88. *See also* pastoral function of rabbis
- Seesen Temple, 39, 44, 134, 137, 139, 205
- Selima's Stunden der Weihe* (Selima's Hours of Devotion) (Salomon), 49–51, 52, 115
- sermons, 10, 41, 53, 76–77, 81, 140–43,
- sexual purity (*niddah*), 92, 103, 105, 215–16, 228n58
- Shaarei shamayim* (Tendlau), 235n55
- she lo asani ishah* benediction, 57, 63–64, 69, 126–28, 157
- Sheba (biblical), 31
- Shema*, 60–61
- shivah*, 163, 165, 169, 174, 241n8. *See also* burial societies; mourning rites
- Shomer Ziyon ha-Ne'eman. See Der treue Zions-Wächter*
- sick-care societies: background, 161–62; and bourgeois values, 165–66; duties performed, 245n52; emergence of, 167–71; in Frankfurt, 241n14; functions, 241n8; and gender divisions, 163, 242n17; as insurance, 166; and ritual observances, 245n49; in Vienna, 241n13; and youth *hevrot*, 164
- siddurim*, 100, 104, 117–20, 122–23, 125–26, 209. *See also* prayer books
- Silesia, 149–50
- Sittlichkeit*: and devotional practices, 133; and education, 40, 93; and enlightened religiosity, 26–30; and family-centered theology, 46, 91; and female virtues, 33; and gender roles, 52; and German culture, 220; and Orthodox Judaism, 75, 84, 88; Pestalozzi on, 85; and prayer book translations, 122; and Reform Judaism, 81; rising importance of, 1; and social status, 14; and *Sulamith*, 19–20, 26–30
- social contract theory, 45–46
- social integration, 42–73; and *Bildung*, 26; and devotional literature, 48–53; and the domestic realm, 212; emancipatory discourse, 43–48; and halakhic reform, 42–43, 56–64; and Hamburg, 53–56; and masculinity, 217; and modernization of religion, 220; and religious education, 37–41; and *Sittlichkeit*, 14; and social status of Jews, 2–3, 14
- socioeconomic status, 10, 14, 42, 102, 212, 219. *See also* embourgeoisement
- Sorkin, David, 8
- Spieker, Christian Wilhelm, 23
- The Spirit of Judaism, The Women of Israel* (Aguilar), 208
- spiritual engagement: and Christianity, 28–29; female aptitude for, 25, 220; and *kavvanah*, 131–32; and Orthodox Judaism, 88, 89; and positive-historical

- Judaism, 93; and Reform Judaism, 74; and ritual observance, 215
- Stargard, 178
- Stein, Eleonore, 192
- Stein, Leopold, 194; and coeducation, 185, 189; and education of children, 207; and family-centered theology, 214; and gender divisions in synagogues, 156; and kindergarten movement, 206; and Minna Cohen, 190; on Oppenheim, 214; and prayer books, 121, 123, 126, 129–31; and rabbinical conferences, 65; and the Rothschild family, 191–99; and Salomon, 201; sources on, 247n23; and university education, 187; and woman-centered theology, 199
- Steinheim, Salomon Ludwig, 201
- Steinschneider, Auguste, 206
- Steinschneider, Moritz, 189, 206
- Sterbekassen* (death-benefit associations), 165. *See also* mutual-aid associations
- Stettin, 175, 180
- Stockholm, 150
- Strelitz, 149
- Stunden der Andacht* (Hours of Devotion) (Neuda), 114, 116
- Stunden der Andacht* (Hours of Devotion) (Zschokke), 114, 190
- Sulamith*, 19–41; on confirmation ceremonies, 149; on emotional engagement in religion, 82; and enlightened religiosity, 26–29; and family-centered theology, 5; and female religiosity, 33–36, 199, 218; and female virtue, 31–33; and gender roles, 49; and halakhic reform, 56–58; and literature for women, 52; and morality, 20–26; and Reform Judaism, 19–20; and religious education of women, 37–41; and social integration, 42; title page, 30
- Sulzer, Salomon, 144
- supplicatory prayer, 100, 103, 104–10, 111, 114, 123. *See also* *tehinnot*; *tkhines*
- Synagogenverein* (Synagogue Association), 165
- synagogue attendance: and children, 85–86, 144; and Christianity, 152–55; declining male attendance, 4, 121; female attendance, 20, 25, 191; and female piety, 134–35; and gender divisions, 135–40, 157; in North America, and Reform Judaism, 43, 44; and *tkhines*, 103–104; unmarried women, 39; and voluntary organizations, 163, 182–83
- synagogue reform: aesthetic nature of, 10; and the Beer Temple, 137–38; in Cassel, 39; and embourgeoisement, 142; and Napoleonic occupation, 42, 53; periodical reports on, 46; and Stein, 192; women's activism for, 156–58. *See also* organ music
- synagogue worship: and choirs, 135, 143–44, 144–46, 158; decline of, 175; and embourgeoisement of Judaism, 182–83; and gender divisions, 134, 135–36, 151–58, 239n42, 239n47; new character of, 141–46; and prayer book translations, 122; role of rabbis, 187; and secularization, 212; and virtue, 38–39; and voluntary associations, 181–82; and Yiddish, 104
- Tahanunei Bat Yehuda* (Supplications of the Jewish Daughter) (Letteris), 115, 234n41, 235n55
- talmid hakham*, 185
- Talmud: and Aramaic, 232n1; cited by Rothschild, 197; and feminine virtues, 95; and gender divisions, 56–64; and Halakhah, 10; on *mitzvot*, 58; and national laws, 246n1; rejection of, 71, 158–59; on women's piety, 91. *See also* Halakhah; rabbinic Judaism; yeshivot
- Talmud Torah: in Ashkenazi culture, 240n3; decline of, 7, 75, 77, 82, 147, 211, 216; defined, 2; and English-language literature, 208; and gender divisions, 2, 3–4, 6, 93, 95, 209, 218–19, 220; and Hasidism and Musar, 132; and Orthodox Judaism, 12–13, 82, 84; and the rabbinat, 184–88, 198, 208–209; study of Mishnah as mourning rite, 161–62, 163, 169, 174–75, 177; and voluntary associations, 163, 165, 177, 240n5
- tefillin, 58, 101
- Tefilot beit yakov* (Kaempf), 110, 234n41
- tehinnot*, 103. *See also* *tkhines*
- Tehinnot benot yeshurun* (Supplicatory Prayers for the Daughters of Israel) (Miro), 106–107, 108, 110
- temple sacrifice, 158
- Thorn, 180–81, 245n52

- Thoughts Suggested by Bible Texts* (Rothschild), 195–96, 206, 207
- Tiktin, Solomon, 107
- tkhines*, 50, 99–101, 103–12, 114–16, 120, 122–23
- Torah, 3–4, 28, 134–35, 142, 209. *See also* Bible; Talmud Torah
- translations, 117–25, 128–29, 177, 196–97, 206–208
- Der treue Zions-Wächter* (The True Guardian of Zion), 81–87, 83, 167
- Tsenerene*, 104, 136
- Uehlfeld, 149
- Väterlicher Rath für meine Tochter* (Paternal Advice for my Daughter) (Campe), 22
- Verein für Krankenpflege* (Association for Sick Care), 166, 241n12
- vernacular: and communal prayer books, 129; and devotional practices, 132; and the feminization of Judaism, 217; and gender division, 100–101; and gender status, 104; and prayer, 99, 120, 122–24; and Reform services, 41; and *tkhines*, 103; used by men, 6. *See also* German language; Judeo-German; Yiddish
- Vienna: and Jellinek, 78–80; mutual-aid associations, 241n13; and rabbinic learning, 188; synagogue services, 144, 156–57; voluntary associations, 173; and women's prayer books, 110
- Virgin Mary, 25
- virtue of women: background, 161–62; and bourgeois culture, 73; in *Das Familienleben*, 54–55; and family-centered theology, 73, 75, 80, 86; and feminism, 220; and feminization of Judaism, 95; and prayer books, 120; and rabbinic Judaism, 209; and religiosity, 36; and religious education, 38–39; ritual observance, 92; source of, 23; and *Sulamith*, 31–33
- voluntary associations, 161–83: and benevolence, 163, 166, 178, 241n8, 241n11, 241n16, 242n27; and burial rites, 174–78, 178–81; death-benefit associations, 165, 167, 174–78, 217, 242n23, 244n36, 245n49; mixed-sex boards, 173, 203, 207, 243–44n34; non-Jewish counterparts, 171–74; sick-care societies, 161–71, 241n8, 241n13, 241n14, 242n17, 243n20, 243n22, 243n25, 243n26, 243n27, 243n28, 243n29, 243n30, 243n31, 243n32, 243n33, 243n34, 243n35, 243n36, 243n37, 243n38, 243n39, 243n40, 243n41, 243n42, 243n43, 243n44, 243n45, 243n46, 243n47, 243n48, 243n49, 243n50, 243n51, 243n52, 243n53, 243n54, 243n55, 243n56, 243n57, 243n58, 243n59, 243n60, 243n61, 243n62, 243n63, 243n64, 243n65, 243n66, 243n67, 243n68, 243n69, 243n70, 243n71, 243n72, 243n73, 243n74, 243n75, 243n76, 243n77, 243n78, 243n79, 243n80, 243n81, 243n82, 243n83, 243n84, 243n85, 243n86, 243n87, 243n88, 243n89, 243n90, 243n91, 243n92, 243n93, 243n94, 243n95, 243n96, 243n97, 243n98, 243n99, 243n100, 243n101, 243n102, 243n103, 243n104, 243n105, 243n106, 243n107, 243n108, 243n109, 243n110, 243n111, 243n112, 243n113, 243n114, 243n115, 243n116, 243n117, 243n118, 243n119, 243n120, 243n121, 243n122, 243n123, 243n124, 243n125, 243n126, 243n127, 243n128, 243n129, 243n130, 243n131, 243n132, 243n133, 243n134, 243n135, 243n136, 243n137, 243n138, 243n139, 243n140, 243n141, 243n142, 243n143, 243n144, 243n145, 243n146, 243n147, 243n148, 243n149, 243n150, 243n151, 243n152, 243n153, 243n154, 243n155, 243n156, 243n157, 243n158, 243n159, 243n160, 243n161, 243n162, 243n163, 243n164, 243n165, 243n166, 243n167, 243n168, 243n169, 243n170, 243n171, 243n172, 243n173, 243n174, 243n175, 243n176, 243n177, 243n178, 243n179, 243n180, 243n181, 243n182, 243n183, 243n184, 243n185, 243n186, 243n187, 243n188, 243n189, 243n190, 243n191, 243n192, 243n193, 243n194, 243n195, 243n196, 243n197, 243n198, 243n199, 243n200, 243n201, 243n202, 243n203, 243n204, 243n205, 243n206, 243n207, 243n208, 243n209, 243n210, 243n211, 243n212, 243n213, 243n214, 243n215, 243n216, 243n217, 243n218, 243n219, 243n220, 243n221, 243n222, 243n223, 243n224, 243n225, 243n226, 243n227, 243n228, 243n229, 243n230, 243n231, 243n232, 243n233, 243n234, 243n235, 243n236, 243n237, 243n238, 243n239, 243n240, 243n241, 243n242, 243n243, 243n244, 243n245, 243n246, 243n247, 243n248, 243n249, 243n250, 243n251, 243n252, 243n253, 243n254, 243n255, 243n256, 243n257, 243n258, 243n259, 243n260, 243n261, 243n262, 243n263, 243n264, 243n265, 243n266, 243n267, 243n268, 243n269, 243n270, 243n271, 243n272, 243n273, 243n274, 243n275, 243n276, 243n277, 243n278, 243n279, 243n280, 243n281, 243n282, 243n283, 243n284, 243n285, 243n286, 243n287, 243n288, 243n289, 243n290, 243n291, 243n292, 243n293, 243n294, 243n295, 243n296, 243n297, 243n298, 243n299, 243n300, 243n301, 243n302, 243n303, 243n304, 243n305, 243n306, 243n307, 243n308, 243n309, 243n310, 243n311, 243n312, 243n313, 243n314, 243n315, 243n316, 243n317, 243n318, 243n319, 243n320, 243n321, 243n322, 243n323, 243n324, 243n325, 243n326, 243n327, 243n328, 243n329, 243n330, 243n331, 243n332, 243n333, 243n334, 243n335, 243n336, 243n337, 243n338, 243n339, 243n340, 243n341, 243n342, 243n343, 243n344, 243n345, 243n346, 243n347, 243n348, 243n349, 243n350, 243n351, 243n352, 243n353, 243n354, 243n355, 243n356, 243n357, 243n358, 243n359, 243n360, 243n361, 243n362, 243n363, 243n364, 243n365, 243n366, 243n367, 243n368, 243n369, 243n370, 243n371, 243n372, 243n373, 243n374, 243n375, 243n376, 243n377, 243n378, 243n379, 243n380, 243n381, 243n382, 243n383, 243n384, 243n385, 243n386, 243n387, 243n388, 243n389, 243n390, 243n391, 243n392, 243n393, 243n394, 243n395, 243n396, 243n397, 243n398, 243n399, 243n400, 243n401, 243n402, 243n403, 243n404, 243n405, 243n406, 243n407, 243n408, 243n409, 243n410, 243n411, 243n412, 243n413, 243n414, 243n415, 243n416, 243n417, 243n418, 243n419, 243n420, 243n421, 243n422, 243n423, 243n424, 243n425, 243n426, 243n427, 243n428, 243n429, 243n430, 243n431, 243n432, 243n433, 243n434, 243n435, 243n436, 243n437, 243n438, 243n439, 243n440, 243n441, 243n442, 243n443, 243n444, 243n445, 243n446, 243n447, 243n448, 243n449, 243n450, 243n451, 243n452, 243n453, 243n454, 243n455, 243n456, 243n457, 243n458, 243n459, 243n460, 243n461, 243n462, 243n463, 243n464, 243n465, 243n466, 243n467, 243n468, 243n469, 243n470, 243n471, 243n472, 243n473, 243n474, 243n475, 243n476, 243n477, 243n478, 243n479, 243n480, 243n481, 243n482, 243n483, 243n484, 243n485, 243n486, 243n487, 243n488, 243n489, 243n490, 243n491, 243n492, 243n493, 243n494, 243n495, 243n496, 243n497, 243n498, 243n499, 243n500, 243n501, 243n502, 243n503, 243n504, 243n505, 243n506, 243n507, 243n508, 243n509, 243n510, 243n511, 243n512, 243n513, 243n514, 243n515, 243n516, 243n517, 243n518, 243n519, 243n520, 243n521, 243n522, 243n523, 243n524, 243n525, 243n526, 243n527, 243n528, 243n529, 243n530, 243n531, 243n532, 243n533, 243n534, 243n535, 243n536, 243n537, 243n538, 243n539, 243n540, 243n541, 243n542, 243n543, 243n544, 243n545, 243n546, 243n547, 243n548, 243n549, 243n550, 243n551, 243n552, 243n553, 243n554, 243n555, 243n556, 243n557, 243n558, 243n559, 243n560, 243n561, 243n562, 243n563, 243n564, 243n565, 243n566, 243n567, 243n568, 243n569, 243n570, 243n571, 243n572, 243n573, 243n574, 243n575, 243n576, 243n577, 243n578, 243n579, 243n580, 243n581, 243n582, 243n583, 243n584, 243n585, 243n586, 243n587, 243n588, 243n589, 243n590, 243n591, 243n592, 243n593, 243n594, 243n595, 243n596, 243n597, 243n598, 243n599, 243n600, 243n601, 243n602, 243n603, 243n604, 243n605, 243n606, 243n607, 243n608, 243n609, 243n610, 243n611, 243n612, 243n613, 243n614, 243n615, 243n616, 243n617, 243n618, 243n619, 243n620, 243n621, 243n622, 243n623, 243n624, 243n625, 243n626, 243n627, 243n628, 243n629, 243n630, 243n631, 243n632, 243n633, 243n634, 243n635, 243n636, 243n637, 243n638, 243n639, 243n640, 243n641, 243n642, 243n643, 243n644, 243n645, 243n646, 243n647, 243n648, 243n649, 243n650, 243n651, 243n652, 243n653, 243n654, 243n655, 243n656, 243n657, 243n658, 243n659, 243n660, 243n661, 243n662, 243n663, 243n664, 243n665, 243n666, 243n667, 243n668, 243n669, 243n670, 243n671, 243n672, 243n673, 243n674, 243n675, 243n676, 243n677, 243n678, 243n679, 243n680, 243n681, 243n682, 243n683, 243n684, 243n685, 243n686, 243n687, 243n688, 243n689, 243n690, 243n691, 243n692, 243n693, 243n694, 243n695, 243n696, 243n697, 243n698, 243n699, 243n700, 243n701, 243n702, 243n703, 243n704, 243n705, 243n706, 243n707, 243n708, 243n709, 243n710, 243n711, 243n712, 243n713, 243n714, 243n715, 243n716, 243n717, 243n718, 243n719, 243n720, 243n721, 243n722, 243n723, 243n724, 243n725, 243n726, 243n727, 243n728, 243n729, 243n730, 243n731, 243n732, 243n733, 243n734, 243n735, 243n736, 243n737, 243n738, 243n739, 243n740, 243n741, 243n742, 243n743, 243n744, 243n745, 243n746, 243n747, 243n748, 243n749, 243n750, 243n751, 243n752, 243n753, 243n754, 243n755, 243n756, 243n757, 243n758, 243n759, 243n760, 243n761, 243n762, 243n763, 243n764, 243n765, 243n766, 243n767, 243n768, 243n769, 243n770, 243n771, 243n772, 243n773, 243n774, 243n775, 243n776, 243n777, 243n778, 243n779, 243n780, 243n781, 243n782, 243n783, 243n784, 243n785, 243n786, 243n787, 243n788, 243n789, 243n790, 243n791, 243n792, 243n793, 243n794, 243n795, 243n796, 243n797, 243n798, 243n799, 243n800, 243n801, 243n802, 243n803, 243n804, 243n805, 243n806, 243n807, 243n808, 243n809, 243n810, 243n811, 243n812, 243n813, 243n814, 243n815, 243n816, 243n817, 243n818, 243n819, 243n820, 243n821, 243n822, 243n823, 243n824, 243n825, 243n826, 243n827, 243n828, 243n829, 243n830, 243n831, 243n832, 243n833, 243n834, 243n835, 243n836, 243n837, 243n838, 243n839, 243n840, 243n841, 243n842, 243n843, 243n844, 243n845, 243n846, 243n847, 243n848, 243n849, 243n850, 243n851, 243n852, 243n853, 243n854, 243n855, 243n856, 243n857, 243n858, 243n859, 243n860, 243n861, 243n862, 243n863, 243n864, 243n865, 243n866, 243n867, 243n868, 243n869, 243n870, 243n871, 243n872, 243n873, 243n874, 243n875, 243n876, 243n877, 243n878, 243n879, 243n880, 243n881, 243n882, 243n883, 243n884, 243n885, 243n886, 243n887, 243n888, 243n889, 243n890, 243n891, 243n892, 243n893, 243n894, 243n895, 243n896, 243n897, 243n898, 243n899, 243n900, 243n901, 243n902, 243n903, 243n904, 243n905, 243n906, 243n907, 243n908, 243n909, 243n910, 243n911, 243n912, 243n913, 243n914, 243n915, 243n916, 243n917, 243n918, 243n919, 243n920, 243n921, 243n922, 243n923, 243n924, 243n925, 243n926, 243n927, 243n928, 243n929, 243n930, 243n931, 243n932, 243n933, 243n934, 243n935, 243n936, 243n937, 243n938, 243n939, 243n940, 243n941, 243n942, 243n943, 243n944, 243n945, 243n946, 243n947, 243n948, 243n949, 243n950, 243n951, 243n952, 243n953, 243n954, 243n955, 243n956, 243n957, 243n958, 243n959, 243n960, 243n961, 243n962, 243n963, 243n964, 243n965, 243n966, 243n967, 243n968, 243n969, 243n970, 243n971, 243n972, 243n973, 243n974, 243n975, 243n976, 243n977, 243n978, 243n979, 243n980, 243n981, 243n982, 243n983, 243n984, 243n985, 243n986, 243n987, 243n988, 243n989, 243n990, 243n991, 243n992, 243n993, 243n994, 243n995, 243n996, 243n997, 243n998, 243n999, 243n1000
- tion of, 162–67; women's roles in, 7; and *jahrzeit* commemorations, 162, 174–78, 183, 217, 244n37. *See also* *hevrot*; *specific organizations*
- Wallach, Jeanette, 171
- Wandsbek, 152
- Warendorff, Joseph, 189–90
- Warendorff, Therese, 185, 189
- Wechsler, Bernhard, 66
- Weiberschulen* (women's synagogues), 151
- Weil, Vogel, 153
- Weinberg, Jenny, 155
- Weissler, Chava, 3
- Wengeroff, Pauline, 154
- Wessely, Naphtali Herz, 26
- Westendarp, Amalie, 203
- Westend-Union* congregation, 194
- Westphalia, Kingdom of: and civil equality, 44–46; confirmation ceremonies, 148–49; fall of, 137; and the rabbinate, 186–87; and reforms, 42, 141; voluntary associations, 171
- Wiesbaden, 167
- Wilhelminian Empire, 9, 14, 218
- Winter, Hellmuth, 48
- Wissenschaft des Judentums* (scholarship of Judaism): defined, 11; and devotional literature, 206; and Geiger, 59, 61–62, 195, 218; as male pursuit, 184; and poetry, 195; and positive-historical Judaism, 12; and rabbinical conferences, 64–73; replacement of Talmud Torah, 209, 219
- Wohltätigkeits- und Begräbnis-Verein* (Benevolence and Burial Society), 180
- Wohltätigkeits-Verein* (Benevolent Society), 179
- Wohltätigkeitsverein* (Charity Association), 169, 241n16
- Wohlwill, Immanuel, 205
- Wohlwill-Guillaumes, Fanny, 205
- Wolf, Joseph: audience, 42; and *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit*, 27–28; on emotional engagement, 29; and female religiosity, 31–33, 34; German-language sermons, 53, 143; on Halakhah, 56; and religious education of women, 37; and religious reform, 26
- Wolfenbüttel, 147
- Women's Club of 1847, 203
- women's education: and devotional literature for women, 48–53; in early modern

- Ashkenaz, 102; and Jeremiah Heine-
mann, 46–48, 227n17; and the kinder-
garten movement, 184–85, 199–207;
and modern rabbis, 191–99, 230n9;
and motherhood, 19–20, 20–26, 55,
87–93, 140; and prayer books, 112–13;
and the rabbinical conferences, 66, 69,
70; and *Sulamith*, 35–36, 37–41
- Worms, 65, 67, 151–52
- Wurttemberg, 66–67, 115, 121, 142
- Würzburg, 168, 173, 192
- yahrzeit* commemorations, 162, 174–78,
183, 217, 244n37. *See also* mourning
rites
- yeshivot: attended by Adler, 65; attended
by Salomon, 49; attended by Stein, 191;
attended by Wolf, 26; closure of, 147;
exclusion of women, 102; founded by
Ettlinger, 147; and *Wissenschaft des Ju-
dentums*, 209
- Yiddish: in Ashkenazi culture, 102; and *de-
rashot*, 77, 140; and devotional prac-
tices, 132, 136; and gender divisions,
104, 183; prayers and prayer books, 99,
105, 116, 117, 120, 125, 129; and
Torah readings, 76; translations of
Hebrew liturgy, 101–102, 131. *See also*
Judeo-German
- Yoab (biblical), 31
- Yom Kippur, 50, 105
- youth *hevrot*, 161, 164. *See also hevrot*
- zedakah* (charity), 163, 166, 168–69
- Zionism, 11, 126, 225n50
- Zorkhei Keburah Hevrah* (Association for
Burial Needs), 165
- Zschokke, Heinrich, 114, 190
- Zunz, Leopold, 49, 147, 148, 156,
208
- Zwölf Predigten* (Twelve Sermons) (Form-
stecher), 76

