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Abstract

In 'Die jüdische Frau und das jüdische Buch' (The Jewish woman and the Jewish book), an article published 18 March 1931 on the front page of the Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung, Doris Wittner included the following lines that concisely sum up her pioneering ideological and political agendas: 'Aber bis der endgültige Rechtspruch über des Weibes Ruf und Berufung erfolgt, werden wir jedem Frauengeist, der "strebend sich bemüht", Anerkennung und Ehrerbietung zollen. [...] Insbesondere unsere Glaubensgenossinnen, die gewohnt sind, Menschenlose nur nach Jahrtausenden zu messen.' With such feuilleton articles, Wittner worked to validate women's contributions to professional spheres, particularly literature and journalism; to offer both Jewish women and men due credit for their achievements in light of growing antisemitism; and to advocate for the special talents of Jews due to their historical and cultural connections. That this article appeared on the front page of this liberal Berlin Jewish newspaper is no less telling, as Wittner was a regular contributor whose pieces often earned prominent display. Indeed, part of what makes Wittner a journalist of note is the fact that her work appeared with surprising frequency on front pages or in other prominent positions in both general and Jewish publications. [*excerpt*]

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Doris Wittner, female journalist, journalism, German journalism

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Front-Page Jews

Doris Wittner's (1880–1937) Berlin Feuilletons

In 'Die jüdische Frau und das jüdische Buch' (The Jewish woman and the Jewish book), an article published 18 March 1931 on the front page of the *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung*, Doris Wittner included the following lines that concisely sum up her pioneering ideological and political agendas: 'Aber bis der endgültige Rechtspruch über des Weibes Ruf und Berufung erfolgt, werden wir jedem Frauengeist, der "strebend sich bemüht", Anerkennung und Ehrerbietung zollen. [...] Insbesondere *unsere Glaubensgenossinnen, die gewohnt sind, Menschenlose nur nach Jahrtausenden zu messen.*'¹ With such feuilleton articles, Wittner worked to validate women's contributions to professional spheres, particularly literature and journalism; to offer both Jewish women and men due credit for their achievements in light of growing antisemitism; and to advocate for the special talents of Jews due to their historical and cultural connections. That this article appeared on the front page of this liberal Berlin Jewish newspaper is no less telling, as Wittner was a regular contributor whose pieces often earned prominent display. Indeed, part of what makes Wittner a journalist of note is the fact that her work appeared with surprising frequency on front pages or in other prominent positions in both general and Jewish publications.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Doris Wittner (25 March 1880 – 12 March 1937, born Margarete Doris Levy) was one of the foremost female contributors to German-Jewish periodicals, many of which were based in Berlin. Though her work has been acknowledged to date in only select lexica and

1 Doris Wittner, 'Die jüdische Frau und das jüdische Buch', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 11 (18 March 1931), 1–2. Italics in original in this and all subsequent Wittner quotes.

occasional footnotes, Wittner was a prolific feuilletonist, as well as an editor and novelist.² From approximately 1898 to 1936, her work appeared in major Berlin newspapers including the *Vossische Zeitung*, *Berliner Tageblatt* and *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, in addition to periodicals aimed at a Jewish readership, especially the *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* (JLZ), *C.V.-Zeitung* (CVZ), *Israelitisches Familienblatt* and *Die jüdische Frau*. With a journalistic oeuvre that spanned nearly four decades, Wittner helped shape Berlin journalism in Imperial Germany, the general Weimar press and the Jewish press during the Weimar period and early years of the Third Reich.

Yet her body of work for the German-Jewish press displays a strong sense of connection to the Jewish community: for Doris Wittner, publishing in newspapers aimed at Jewish readers figured as a serious political means by which to advance an awareness of Jewish literature, history and culture, and to recuperate from antisemitic frameworks the notion of Jewish talent for use as an inner-Jewish category. Until 1933, Wittner wrote from a liberal Jewish perspective; after 1916, much of her work responded in part to growing antisemitic sentiments. Like many other German Jews, she adopted a more Zionist-leaning stance after 1933, when it was no longer easy to harbour illusions about the worsening situation of Jews in Germany. Wittner was particularly invested in supporting and even defending the talents of Jewish writers, artists and performers throughout the Weimar era. Her articles about prominent Jewish figures, including many women, enlightened readerships of mainstream and Jewish Berlin newspapers.

- 2 Doris Wittner has been neglected almost entirely by academic scholarship. Notable exceptions include references to Wittner in Ruth Pierson's dissertation, 'German Jewish Identity in the Weimar Republic' (New Haven, CT: Dissertation, Yale University, 1970), especially pages 83–6; and in Herbert Freeden's and Katrin Diehl's studies of the Jewish Press in the Third Reich. See especially Katrin Diehl, *Die jüdische Presse im Dritten Reich. Zwischen Selbstbehauptung und Fremdbestimmung* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997), 357. Whereas no proper *Nachlass* exists, one collection contains newspaper clippings of articles by and about her: 'Wittner, Doris.' Archiv Bibliographia Judaica e.V., ed. *Dokumentation zur jüdischen Kultur in Deutschland 1840–1940. Die Zeitungsausschnittsammlung Steininger Abteilung IV: Publizisten und Geisteswissenschaftler* (Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Haus Unter den Linden. Microfiche HA 2 Vb 210. Publizisten 058–059.

Taken as a whole, Doris Wittner's feuilleton articles can serve as a key to understanding the liberal Weimar Jewish press and its readership. Through an exploration of Wittner's journalism, this essay highlights the ways in which contributions published between 1919 and 1933 reflect the goals of their respective periodicals. As a subset of the German press, the Jewish press flourished during the 1920s; new print organs were created in response to increased interest in Jewish culture and organizations. For her part, Wittner served as an active participant in the project of increasing awareness about Jewish culture, specifically in Weimar Berlin.³ In asserting the value of Jewish literature and journalism, and the talent – even genius – of Jewish writers and performers, her arguments presumed a deep-rooted connectivity to the Jewish people throughout the ages. Jewish women were often at the forefront of literary and cultural trends, Wittner argued; their 'genius for adaptation' made them natural performers on stage and screen, as well as highly successful writers and thinkers.

In addition to supporting Berlin Jews, many of Wittner's writings explicitly backed women's rights and reached out to women readers. Journalism itself functioned as a primary form of activism for Wittner. Unlike some other contributors to the Jewish press, including Margarete Susman (1872–1966) and Clementine Krämer (1873–1942), Wittner is not known to have participated extensively in women's organizations, and instead opted for membership in such writers' organizations as Reichsverband der deutschen Presse, Schutzverband deutscher Schriftsteller, and Verband deutscher Erzähler.⁴ Through feuilleton articles and other politicized writings published over several decades, Wittner increasingly prompted Berliners to reconsider the position of women in German society. Within the Jewish press, this often took the form of championing Jewish women and their accomplishments.

3 On the renewed interest in Jewish culture in Weimar Germany, see Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996).

4 See Rudolf Vierhaus, ed., *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*, vol. 10, 2nd ed. (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2008), 703.

Her Father's Daughter: The Makings of a Berlin Journalist

Born into a journalistic family, Doris Wittner was an indispensable fixture of Berlin publications for several decades. She published regularly and with great frequency in both general and Jewish periodicals, following in the path of her father and maternal uncle. Her role in the Berlin cultural scene did not stop at that of writer: in addition to her editorial work for three Berlin-based periodicals, an unusually high number for a female journalist at that time, Wittner was known for hosting intellectual gatherings at her home in the Berlin district of Charlottenburg, not far from the Kurfürstendamm. During the Weimar period, she also became a noted Jewish writer, as well as an advocate of the Jewish press on many levels.

It was through her father and uncle that Doris Wittner found her way to the Berlin newspapers in which she first made a name for herself as a journalist. Wittner's father, Isidor Levy (1852–1929), was a contributing editor of the general *Berliner Zeitung*, and, like Wittner, was often responsible for front-page stories; he was known as 'der gefeierte Leitartikler der *Vossischen Zeitung*'.⁵ Her uncle, M. A. Klausner (Max Albert Klausner, 1848–1910; brother of Wittner's mother Jakobine Levy), was active in mainstream liberal spheres until 1895; for years he served as political editor of the *Berliner Börsen-Courier*. After 1895, Klausner devoted the bulk of his efforts to Jewish periodicals, serving as manager of the reputedly 'anti-Zionist' *Israelitische Wochenschrift* and as a major contributor to Leo Winz's magazine *Ost und West*.⁶ Klausner also earned respect within the Jewish community; philosopher Gershom Sholem comments in his memoirs on Klausner's 'considerable Hebrew and Jewish learning'.⁷ Though Wittner's parents were relatively acculturated German Jews, her father also contrib-

5 Georg Bernhard, 'Die Geschichte des Hauses', in *50 Jahre Ullstein 1877–1927* (Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1927), 12.

6 On M. A. Klausner, see the 'Mitteilungen aus dem Deutschen Bureau der Alliance Israélite Universelle', in *Ost und West* 10 (October 1910), 679–90.

7 Gershom Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem: Memories of My Youth*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), 21–2.

uted to Jewish periodicals. Some of Isidor Levy's last articles were published in the *JLZ* and *CVZ* in the late 1920s, and the *CVZ* published a fond obituary upon Levy's death in 1929.⁸

Growing up, Doris Wittner was an exceptionally well-travelled and cosmopolitan young woman, which lent an air of worldliness to her work. She was introduced to many well-known writers at her parents' home in the Breite Straße, and her father frequently took her along on his trips abroad. At least five years of her childhood were spent outside Germany, primarily in Austria; her father reportedly lived in exile to avoid imprisonment after openly criticizing Bismarck, and the family was able to return only after Bismarck rescinded his punishment order in 1886.⁹ This sense of global awareness later found its way into Wittner's articles about international destinations, from Japan to Morocco and Algeria, to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

The Berlin milieu in which she was raised also proved to be a space of cultural promotion, and the home of Doris and her husband Martin Wittner at Mommsenstraße 61, Berlin-Charlottenburg served as a gathering place for local literati.¹⁰ Though little is known about the events hosted by the Wittners, they may have been similar to other contemporary salons organized by German-Jewish families in Berlin. It is likely that both non-Jews and Jews attended the Wittners' gatherings. It is also possible that Martin Wittner himself was not Jewish; whereas an entry for Doris appears in the *Jüdisches Adressbuch für Gross-Berlin* (1929/30), no such entry appears for Martin Wittner. What is certain is that Doris Wittner was cognizant of

8 J. Landau, 'Dr. jur. J. Levy, Worte des Gedenkens', *C.V.-Zeitung* 8 (22 February 1929), 96.

9 Little biographical data is available for Doris Wittner. See 'Wittner, Doris', *Schriftstellerinnen in Berlin 1871 bis 1945. Ein Lexikon zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Petra Budke and Jutta Schulze (Berlin: Orlanda Frauenverlag, 1995), 379–80; Bruno Woyda, 'Doris Wittner zum Gruß', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 12 (19 March 1930), 2; and 'Levy, Isidor', *Kurzbiographien zur Geschichte der Juden 1918–1945*, ed. Joseph Walk (Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag, 1988), 228.

10 Entries in the Berlin address book for Martin Wittner locate him at Mommsenstraße 61 from 1907 until his death in 1935/1936. Doris Wittner has her own entry in the 1937 Berlin address book; she apparently remained at the same address until her death in March 1937.

the important role women could play as hostesses of such events. One piece published in the *Vossische Zeitung* on 5 November 1911, 'Die Frau und der Salon' (Woman and the salon), proclaims the importance of salonnières in the nineteenth century, citing Rahel Varnhagen and Henriette Herz as role models. Like later articles that addressed German-Jewish salon women, this piece related nineteenth-century women's roles to those of early twentieth-century women, concluding: 'Vielleicht harret der modernen Frau eine neue Aufgabe – der moderne Salon'.¹¹ As seems to be the case here, Wittner's articles often provided a reflection of her own life.

Wittner was an atypical female journalist in that she worked in an editorial capacity for at least three different periodicals. From 1911 to 1913 or 1914, she served as editor of the weekly *Frauenbeilage* or women's supplement to the *Vossische Zeitung*, 'Aus der Frauenwelt'. One of Doris Wittner's few surviving letters confirms that she held the official title 'Redakteurin der "Voßischen Zeitung"'.¹² Wittner came to this editorial position through her father; in fact, Isidor Levy has been credited with creating the women's section of the newspaper in 1911.¹³ After an auspicious start at the *Vossische Zeitung*, Wittner was prepared to become an editor and critic for two publications of the Weimar era. From 1922 to 1925, she served as chief editor of the magazine *Roland. Gesellschaft, Kunst, Finanz*, to which she also contributed numerous reviews of films and Berlin cabaret and theatre performances.¹⁴ Particularly surprising is that Wittner was involved in founding and editing a new Jewish periodical in March 1931, the highly political *Freie jüdische Monatsschau*. Similar to the way in which Wittner obtained her

- 11 Doris Wittner, 'Die Frau und der Salon', *Vossische Zeitung* 554 (5 November 1911), Sunday morning edition. See also Doris Wittner, 'Die jüdischen Salons des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts', *C.V.-Zeitung* 25 (19 June 1924), 378–9; and 'Jüdische Frauen als Denkerinnen und Dichterinnen', *Freie Jüdische Monatsschau*, 1/1 (March 1931), 28–33.
- 12 Postcard from Doris Wittner to Herrn Dr Armin T. Wegner, 26 July 1913, Armin Wegner Collection, Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach.
- 13 Max Osborn, 'Die Vossische Zeitung seit 1904', in *50 Jahre Ullstein 1877–1927* (Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1927), 244.
- 14 This magazine was formerly titled *Der Roland von Berlin. Wochenschrift für Kultur, Politik, Wirtschaft und Berliner Leute*.

first editorship through her father, most women editors of Jewish periodicals prior to 1933 – for example, Gretel Goldstein (*Der Morgen*), Josefine Hoffmann (*Menorah*) and Rachel Wischnitzer-Bernstein (*Milgroyim*) – inherited or received editorial assignments from their husbands. That Wittner's name was listed prominently as one of two main editors of the *Freie jüdische Monatsschau* reaffirms her strong commitment to political journalism. In this short-lived nonpartisan magazine, Wittner attempted to engage readers with a liberalist message of freedom, truth and justice.¹⁵ In doing so, she incorporated a feminist inclusionary agenda of considering Jewish women as cultural contributors in their own right.

In addition to her editorial work, Doris Wittner's articles appeared in several dozen of the most prominent general newspapers of her time. According to Bruno Woyda, editor of the *JLZ* and a great admirer of Wittner, there were in fact very few 'bedeutende Zeitungen' for which Doris Wittner was not a contributing writer.¹⁶ She published in world-renowned general newspapers all over Europe, including the *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), *Neues Wiener Journal* and *Neue Züricher Zeitung*. Several leading regional newspapers also counted her among their contributors, including the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Neue Leipziger Zeitung*, *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* and *Neueste Nachrichten Braunschweig*. For many of these papers, Wittner likely played the role of a journalist who could contribute articles about Jews or women.

Further, Wittner's historical fiction earned her the reputation of a writer esteemed beyond the journalistic sphere, though she quickly turned her attention from books to newspapers. Her main works of historical fiction include *Aus sterbenden Zeiten. Novellen* (Of dying times. Novellas, 1911); *Drei Frauen. Das Liebesleben Napoleons* (Three women. The love life of Napoleon, 1913); and *Die Geschichte der kleinen Fliege. Ein Heine-Roman*

15 Only one issue of Wittner's *Freie jüdische Monatsschau* survives today; it is possible that only one issue was ever published. Josef Melzer and Doris Wittner were primary editors; Dawid Koigen, Gustav Krojanker, Arno Nadel and J. N. Steinberg also contributed. See *Freie jüdische Monatsschau. Eine Revue für Politik, Literatur, Wissenschaft und Kunst* 1 (March 1931), 64 pages. Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

16 Bruno Woyda, 'Doris Wittner zum Gruß', 2.

(The story of the little fly. A Heine novel, 1915). Despite the fact that numerous reviews of her historical fiction appeared in newspapers and literary journals, the books themselves probably reached fewer total readers than her later serialized works. After 1915, Wittner no longer published her work in book form, but rather only in periodicals, perhaps due to her newfound investment in the Jewish press. In fact, her two Weimar-era longer works of fiction appeared in instalments in Jewish periodicals: 'Der tote Jude' (The dead Jew), a historical story, was serialized in the *JLZ* in 1926; and *Das Auge Afrikas* (The eye of Africa), a novel set in contemporary times, was serialized in the nonpartisan, bestselling *Israelitisches Familienblatt* in 1926 and 1927. An excerpt from *Aus sterbenden Zeiten*, 'Ebräische Hände' (Hebraic hands), also was reprinted in the *Familienblatt* in May and June 1926. Through both fiction and journalistic writings, Doris Wittner figured as a significant contributor to the Weimar Jewish press.

Pioneer Work: Contributing to the German-Jewish Press as a Woman Writer

Though Wittner was by no means the only woman writing for Jewish periodicals around 1916 when her articles began appearing regularly in the Jewish press, she was one of a select few women whose pieces often made the front page. Journalists Clementine Krämer and Bertha Badt-Strauss (1885–1970) also increasingly turned their attention to the Jewish press toward the end of the First World War. With her numerous articles in the Jewish press from a relatively early date, Wittner paved the way for more women to publish in the Jewish press: Jewish women's magazines became popular in the mid-1920s, and the majority of women who contributed to the Weimar Jewish press first did so in the mid or late-1920s.

Wittner's involvement in the Jewish press was part of the greater trend in Germany toward renewed interest in Judaism and Jewish culture, spurred on in part by the antisemitic *Judenenzählung* (Jewish census) of 11 October

1916. This census, which aimed to ascertain what percentage of Jews were among those in the German army fighting on the front lines in the First World War, had a demoralizing effect on Jews serving in the German military, and on German Jews more broadly.¹⁷ Also in 1916, Martin Buber founded his famous journal *Der Jude*; other journals including philosopher Hermann Cohen's *Neue jüdische Monatshefte* appeared and continued to broaden options for the dissemination of Jewish culture. The 1920s witnessed the emergence of several dozen Jewish periodicals, including the Berlin-based *JLZ* and *CVZ*.¹⁸ Indeed, the Jewish press experienced what historians Katrin Diehl and Trude Maurer have termed a 'golden age' during the economic and media booms of the late 1920s.¹⁹ During this time, female journalists, too, became regular contributors and even staff writers or editors for Jewish periodicals.

As was typical for Jewish women journalists who published in both general and Jewish papers, Wittner tended to publish her writings about Jewish topics in the Jewish press; a few articles in the *Berliner Tageblatt* and *Neues Wiener Journal* proved an exception to this rule.²⁰ Germanist Elizabeth Loentz has observed this to be the case for Clementine Krämer, who essentially reserved her writing on Jewish topics for the Jewish press; Krämer also contributed to the *JLZ*, and she published almost exclusively

17 The count determined that a proportionate number of Jews were stationed at the front. See Werner T. Angress, 'The German Army's "Judenzählung" of 1916: Genesis – Consequences – Significance', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 23 (1978), 117–38.

18 The *JLZ* was founded in Breslau in 1920 as the organ of the *Vereinigung für das liberale Judentum*; it moved to Berlin in April 1922. The *CVZ* was founded in 1922 for all members of the *Centralverein*. See Avraham Barkai, *'Wehr Dich!' Der Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (C. V.) 1893–1938* (Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2002).

19 Katrin Diehl, *Die jüdische Presse im Dritten Reich*, 18; and Trude Maurer, 'Die Juden in der Weimarer Republik', in *Zerbrochene Geschichte: Leben und Selbstverständnis der Juden in Deutschland*, eds Dirk Blasius and Dan Diner (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1991), 102–20.

20 See Bruno Woyda, 'Doris Wittner zum Gruß', 2; and Doris Wittner, 'Juden und dramatische Kunst', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 21 August 1925.

in Jewish periodicals after 1918.²¹ Likewise, Bertha Badt-Strauss, a more religiously observant Jew who wrote for the Zionist *Jüdische Rundschau*, significantly increased the intensity of her journalistic work for the Jewish press after 1918. In fact, only twenty-two of Badt-Strauss's approximately 178 articles published during the Weimar period (roughly twelve percent) were published outside Jewish periodicals or lexica.²² This pattern of restricting the circulation of articles on Jewish topics was part of a larger effort to cultivate an interest in Jewish culture by way of a 'safer' Jewish public sphere, far removed from antisemitic agitators.

Not focused only on liberal Judaism, Wittner's political engagement included reaching out to Jewish women on less-politicized topics, and she strategically placed articles to reach women readers of multiple affiliations. Of the nine Jewish periodicals to which she contributed in the 1920s and early 1930s, all were notably liberal or nonpartisan, and two specifically targeted women without regard for political affiliation: *Die jüdische Frau*, a short-lived lightly illustrated magazine published in Berlin from 1925–7; and *Blätter des Jüdischen Frauenbundes* (published 1924–38), the newsletter of the main Jewish women's organization in Germany. The editors of *Die jüdische Frau*, Regina Isaacsohn and Anna Beate Nadel, cautiously remained neutral and unobjectionable in order to appeal to a broad readership; many articles reflect their ambivalence toward modern lifestyles that were potentially in conflict with Jewish traditions. In this more conventional context, Wittner's contributions were among the most radical, though they sometimes were featured as lead articles nevertheless. One of her articles was among the first to appear in the inaugural issue of *Die jüdische Frau* on 5 May 1925: 'Pioneerarbeit der jüdischen Frau' (Pioneer work of Jewish women) called upon Jewish women to serve as go-betweens by enacting processes of reconciliation among different peoples. Here as

21 Elizabeth Loentz, "The Most Famous Jewish Pacifist Was Jesus of Nazareth": German-Jewish Pacifist Clementine Krämer's Stories of War and Visions for Peace', *Women in German Yearbook* 23 (2007), 126–55, here 128.

22 A list of Bertha Badt-Strauss's essays, articles and reviews can be found in Martina Steer, *Bertha Badt-Strauss (1885–1970). Eine jüdische Publizistin* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2005), 16, 127, and 312–19.

elsewhere, Wittner praised the natural talents of the Jewish woman: 'Sie besitzt, wie kaum eine andere Frau auf Erden, als ihres Stammes Erbeil, ein unversehrtes und unversehrbares Vermögen natürlicher Güte und Klugheit, das sie zur Mittlerin zwischen hüben und drüben qualifiziert'.²³ Herself a mediator between literary and journalistic worlds, and general and Jewish audiences, Wittner used this nonpartisan forum to convey subtly the need for engagement that, though seemingly apolitical, could make a strong impact on behalf of German-Jewish women at large.

Still, it was through feuilleton articles in the *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* and *Israelitisches Familienblatt* that Wittner's work on Jewish topics found its broadest readership beginning in 1924. Colleagues at these newspapers referred to Wittner as 'unsere verehrte Mitarbeiterin' and as 'eine der begabtesten deutschen Publizistinnen der Gegenwart'.²⁴ Along with eleven other contemporary Jewish authors, including Sammy Gronemann, Wittner was one of the writers selected by *Familienblatt* editors to contribute a chapter to the serialized novel-cum-prize sweepstakes, *Wanderung und Heimkehr. Der Roman der Zwölf*, which was published in instalments in 1928; the results revealed that Wittner's piece was the final chapter of the novel.²⁵ Jewish papers celebrated Wittner's fiftieth birthday in March 1930 with glowing articles and several images of Wittner.²⁶

With her acclaim in Jewish circles came the power to make a political impact in the liberal Jewish press, particularly through articles in the *JLZ* and *CVZ*. Wittner's texts wielded language in a manner unique to the 'Jewish feuilleton'. With the subgenre 'Jewish feuilleton' I refer not

23 Doris Wittner, 'Pioneararbeit der jüdischen Frau', *Die jüdische Frau* 1/1 (5 May 1925), 2–3, here 3.

24 See Doris Wittner, 'Westöstlicher Divan', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 11 (13 March 1925); and 'Doris Wittner – Berlin', *Israelitisches Familienblatt* 11 (18 March 1926), 11.

25 'Wanderung und Heimkehr. Der Roman der Zwölf', *Israelitisches Familienblatt* 5 (31 January 1929), Beilage 36, 284–5.

26 See Bruno Woyda, 'Doris Wittner zum Gruß', 2; 'Doris Wittner 50 Jahre alt', *C. V. Zeitung* 12 (21 March 1930), 151; '50 Jahre: Doris Wittner', *Berliner Tageblatt* (25 March 1930); and Doris Wittner, 'Fünzig Jahre', *Israelitisches Familienblatt* 14 (3 April 1930), 13.

to journalistic work that would have been defamatorily characterized as 'Jewish' by antisemitic thinkers, but rather to a group of articles published in Jewish periodicals, usually about Jewish cultural subjects.²⁷ Distinguishing features of this subgenre include overt references to the subject's Jewishness and connections to other prominent Jewish figures. Similar to the foregrounding of networks in the organized German women's movement that began to take shape in the early twentieth century, solidarity with a group ('we Jews') often took precedence over the individual.²⁸ Behind nearly every Jewish feuilleton article was a tacit acknowledgment of its readership, a subtle nod to the Jewish 'we' ('wir') in lieu of the modern, subjective 'I' ('ich'). Jewish feuilletonists often seemed to respond to the timeless question: 'What consequences will this have for the Jews?' With consideration for political questions such as this, many of Wittner's articles addressed the pressing concerns of Jewish readers. Whereas many other articles in the Jewish press lacked the satirical wit and humour that characterized representative feuilletonistic works, Wittner employed humorous and sarcastic rhetoric, sometimes coupling irony with reportage.

The political nature of Wittner's articles may have emerged in correlation with developments in the general press, though Wittner was somewhat ahead of her time in drawing on the power of the feuilleton to serve Jewish purposes in Germany. Cultural critic Siegfried Kracauer, who played a significant role in shaping Weimar conceptions of feuilleton journalism, formally called for the politicization of the feuilleton in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in 1929.²⁹ Recorded already in the early 1920s, attempts by Wittner to position Jews as indispensable parts of German culture often anticipated self-defence arguments that would be made in the mid-1930s in response

27 See Paul Reitter, *The Anti-Journalist: Karl-Kraus and Jewish Self-Fashioning in Fin-de-siècle Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 4–5.

28 See Ulla Wischermann, *Frauenbewegungen und Öffentlichkeiten um 1900. Netzwerke – Gegenöffentlichkeiten – Protestinszenierungen* (Königstein/Taunus: Ulrike Helmer Verlag, 2003).

29 See Helmut Stalder, *Siegfried Kracauer. Das journalistische Werk in der 'Frankfurter Zeitung' 1921–1933* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2003), 100–10.

to Nazi policies, for example by such writers as Margarete Susman.³⁰ Thus in this sense, too, Wittner functioned as a notable trailblazer within the Jewish press.

Often printed on the highly visible front or back pages of the paper, Wittner's feuilleton articles enriched the *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* more than any other Jewish periodical. She was by far its most productive female feuilletonist, with over ninety-five articles in the *JLZ* from 1924 through early 1933, or an average of nearly one article per month in this six-to-ten-page weekly paper. (In contrast, Clementine Krämer, perhaps the second most prolific woman to write for the *JLZ*, published only about fifteen articles in its pages from 1923 to 1932.) The regularity with which Wittner's articles appeared in the *JLZ* from 1928 to 1930 hint that Wittner was employed as a staff writer. Many of her articles appeared on the lower part of page two ('unter dem Strich'), where cultural criticism often was printed; others appeared as cover stories. Her story, 'Der tote Jude', one of only two longer works of fiction serialized in the *JLZ* in the Weimar era, appeared on the last page of the paper in thirty-three instalments in 1926 (nos. 16–48). Another serialized work, 'Jüdische Köpfe' (Jewish figures), a series of essays published weekly on the back page of the paper in 1928, offered impressionistic snapshots of prominent contemporary figures. Despite their broad range, not one of these fifteen 'Jewish heads' belonged to a woman, though many of Wittner's other *JLZ* articles featured women.

In late 1933, Wittner's investment in the Jewish press became a legal requirement rather than a choice: the laws of the Third Reich and the *Schriftleitergesetz* (editor law) of 4 October 1933 prohibited Jewish writers from contributing to the general German press. Many who previously had written for general publications found new careers with the Jewish press. Obligated to publish exclusively in Jewish periodicals, Wittner continued to write for the *Israelitisches Familienblatt* and *Berlin Gemeindeblatt*, and she contributed several articles to the *Jüdischer Kulturbund Monatsblätter*. An obituary for Wittner in the Zionist *Jüdische Rundschau* noted that

30 See, for example, Margarete Susman, 'Vom geistigen Anteil der Juden im deutschen Raum', *Der Morgen* 3 (June 1935), 107–16.

Wittner began to identify with Zionism after 1933; this was not uncommon among Jews who had identified primarily with liberal Judaism but turned to Zionist ideology for recourse in the face of Nazi persecution.³¹ Among her best-known articles published after 1933, in fact, is a series of travel reports composed for the *Familienblatt* in early 1935 under the title 'Besinnliche Fahrt ins Land der Juden. Reisebriefe unserer mit der "Tel-Aviv" nach Palästina entsandten Sonderberichterstatteerin Doris Wittner' (A contemplative trip to the land of the Jews. Travelogues from our special correspondent Doris Wittner, dispatched on the ship 'Tel Aviv' to Palestine).³² A closer investigation of Wittner's articles reveals the ways in which her contributions to the Weimar Jewish press, in accordance with the overall agenda of Jewish cultural criticism, worked to uphold the accomplishments of German Jews.

Inscribing Jews into German Cultural Traditions: Wittner's Theories of Jewish Genius, Jewish Journalism and Mediterranean Virtuosity

Important political messages were conveyed in Wittner's Jewish feuilleton articles, which located achievements of Jewish men and women within a longstanding tradition of Jewish talent and success in Germany; Wittner's most avid readers likely consisted of Jews in search of reasons for holding to these traditions. Success for Jews in Germany, Wittner argued, was tied to the wandering in exile and tremendous suffering Jews had undergone for several millennia. The process of transmitting their experiences rendered

31 'Die Schriftstellerin Doris Wittner in Berlin ist am 11. März gestorben', *Jüdische Rundschau* 22 (19 March 1937), 14.

32 This series of articles contained at least six installments, the sixth of which appeared in the *Israelitisches Familienblatt* on 23 April 1935. See Herbert Freedon, *Die jüdische Presse im Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt/Main: Jüdischer Verlag bei Athenäum, 1987), 66.

Jews especially qualified to contribute to German culture, and particularly to such fields as journalism, which capitalized on a person's mobility and ability to adapt. Indeed, many of Wittner's articles implied that Jews were in fact German journalists par excellence, itself a highly political contention. It is not surprising that these theories appeared exclusively in the Jewish press; only among Jews could Wittner safely counter antisemitic assertions of inferiority by claiming that Jews made the best journalists.

Not at all subtle in their rhetoric, a number of Doris Wittner's front-page articles proclaimed that Jews possess a certain genius with respect to the creation of all literary and journalistic texts, as well as the utmost talent on both stage and screen. Wittner debuted her notion of literary genius in a two-part article, 'Die dichterische Begabung des Judentums' (The poetic talent of Judaism), published on the front page of the Berlin *Gemeindeblatt* in December 1923, and continued in January 1924. This idea resurfaced in several guises during the following years in such *JLZ* articles as 'Jüdische Träger deutschen Geistes. Die jüdischen Mitglieder der Dichter-Akademie' (Jewish bearers of the German spirit. The Jewish members of the Poets-Academy) published on 17 December 1926; 'Die Bibel und künstlerisches Empfinden' (The Bible and artistic sensibility) on 18 November 1927; and 'Das Judentum und die Presse' (Judaism and the press) on 27 April 1928.³³ All reiterated the basic argument that Jews are especially gifted when it comes to the written word, each attempting to find a viable explanation for this phenomenon. As Wittner stated with regard to her goal of informing readers about the talents of fellow Jewish writers, again drawing on the Jewish 'wir': 'Die Herzen der Wissenden aber werden rascher schlagen vor Stolz und ihre Blicke flammen vor Freude, noch nach Jahrhunderten sagen zu dürfen: "Denn sie waren unser."³⁴

33 See Doris Wittner, 'Die dichterische Begabung des Judentums', *Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin* 11–12 (1 December 1923), 69–70; and 1 (4 January 1924), 2–3; 'Jüdische Träger deutschen Geistes. Die jüdischen Mitglieder der Dichter-Akademie', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 51 (17 December 1926), 1; 'Kunst und Religion. Die Bibel und künstlerisches Empfinden', 46 (18 November 1927), 1; and 'Das Judentum und die Presse', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 17 (27 April 1928), 5–6.

34 Doris Wittner, 'Die dichterische Begabung des Judentums', 70.

Though Wittner was by no means the first to point out that Jews as a people possess particularly strong ties to books and writing, she was among the first contributors to the Weimar Jewish press to promote the idea of Jews as gifted journalists. Words and books, and the Bible in particular, are widely thought to have played an invaluable role in helping Jews throughout the ages find their way from the margins to the mainstream. According to Wittner, Jews, whom she termed 'das Volk des Wortes', possess a love of words in general, an eye for detail and a 'Genie der Anpassung' that led them to be successful authors and poets.³⁵ Ruth Pierson interprets Wittner's arguments as a proclamation that all Jews possess an 'unconscious imitative instinct'.³⁶ Not only the desire to imitate and adapt, but also the urgent need for survival in foreign lands prompted the development and acquisition of Jewish 'genius' vis-à-vis language and writing, according to Wittner. In her *JLZ* article 'Das Judentum und die Presse', published 27 April 1928 in conjunction with the Cologne Pressa Exhibition, which featured an entire booth on the Jewish press, Wittner argues:

Was Wunder, daß eben der Jude, dem da auferlegt worden, sich in allen Ländern der Erde und mit allen Völkern des Weltalls in *deren eigener Mundart* zu verständigen, ohne es zu wissen oder zu wollen, ein heimliches Genie des Wortes ward, treu der Bestimmung, die ihm von Seinem unsichtbaren abstrakten Herrn geworden. Eben dieses Genie, das sich zuvörderst nur in der Auslegung und Offenbarung der Heiligen Schriften kundgab, übertrug sich im Laufe der Zeit und der fortschreitenden Emanzipation auch auf den Alltag und seine vielfältigen Aufgaben. So geschah es, daß der Jude nicht nur der edlen Dichtkunst leidenschaftlicher Diener und Jünger ward, sondern daß ihn auch zu dem Berufe des Tageschriftstellers eine unbezwingliche Neigung zog. In Wien, das dem deutschsprechenden Mitteleuropa die meisten Publizisten lieferte, galten die Begriffe *Journalistik und Jude* *gemeinhin als Synonyma*.³⁷

Here Wittner connects the revelation of Holy Scripture to the capacity needed to comprehend all language. At the same time, she writes herself

35 Ibid., 69.

36 Ruth Pierson, *German Jewish Identity in the Weimar Republic*, 86.

37 Doris Wittner, 'Das Judentum und die Presse', 6.

into this tradition by imitating the style of Scripture through dramatic yet antiquated turns of phrase, for example 'ward' and 'So geschah es'. As the people of the book, but also of language in general, Jews perceived themselves as well positioned to perpetuate both literature and journalism.

In noting that the terms 'Jude' and 'Journalistik' often were conflated, Wittner added a positive spin to the (often antisemitic) notion of Vienna as the birthplace of liberal journalism that led to the popularity of the left-wing press in Germany. She was not the first to seize upon the significance of utilizing journalistic forms for both political and aesthetic means. Viennese Jewish journalist and author Karl Kraus, for one, envisioned the feuilleton article as a medium through which journalists could showcase their writing talents while commenting on current events, though sometimes at the expense of reporting the news.³⁸ The modern incarnation of the feuilleton article as adopted by such writers as Kraus and Kurt Tucholsky came to bear trademarks of fin-de-siècle Vienna insofar as their articles combined traditional journalism with the author's subjectivity and psychological exploration.³⁹ Both Kraus and Tucholsky came under fire at times for voicing critiques that were considered too satirical, and for antisemitic critics, too 'overtly Jewish'.

It was precisely this close relationship of Jews to journalism and modern approaches to the written word that had prompted antisemitic opposition to Jewish journalists including Heinrich Heine, Ludwig Börne and Karl Kraus. While Wittner did not respond directly to antisemitic invectives, she addressed the matter in more subtle ways. Presumably building on the ideas of Kraus and other Jewish journalists, whom she praised for their ability to use irony and satire to evade censorship, Wittner wrote without irony that Jews should be considered journalists par excellence. She suggested that only Jews had learned through thousands of years of ghetto existence, as well as study of the Torah and Talmud, to probe beyond the surface and recognize true meaning.⁴⁰ Because her writing also appeared against

38 See Paul Reitter, *The Anti-Journalist*, 19.

39 See *Ibid.*, 4–5.

40 Doris Wittner, 'Das Judentum und die Presse', 6.

a backdrop of growing antisemitism, in connecting Jews and journalism in this way, she successfully recuperated the notion of Jewish talent for use as an inner-Jewish category among German-speaking Jews.

Though Wittner did not generally openly reference issues of antisemitism in articles about prominent Jewish figures, her work sought to combat the growing anti-Jewish rhetoric of the Weimar era by providing readers with powerful ammunition about the accomplishments of their fellow Jews. The preface to Wittner's article series, 'Jüdische Köpfe', published on 18 May 1928 in the *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung*, clarifies her goals in emphasizing these abilities: 'Diese Aufsätze werden Früchte der Emanzipation zeigen – was in Zeiten antisemitischer Boykottbestrebungen [...] notwendiger ist denn je ... [und] werden ein Bild von der Mitarbeit von Juden an deutscher Kultur und deutscher Weltgeltung geben.'⁴¹ Not only did these back-page essays uphold the talents and works of Jews, but they also claimed many prominent German cultural figures on behalf of the Jews.

In addition, Wittner also engaged in reclaiming the liberal press in Germany, sometimes slanderously dubbed the *Judenpresse* (Jewish press), as an area that was simply ideally suited for Jewish writers, rather than one in which 'too many' Jews were involved. To this end, she published feuilleton articles about well-known Berlin journalists of Jewish descent, including Hans Lachmann-Mosse, the son-in-law of publishing magnate Rudolf Mosse and the last head of the Mosse Publishing House; and Theodor Wolff, Rudolf Mosse's cousin and the editor-in-chief from 1906 to 1933 of the daily *Berliner Tageblatt*. In her pieces on Lachmann-Mosse and Wolff, Wittner focused not only on the tremendous success of the *Tageblatt* but also on Lachmann-Mosse's role within the Reform Jewish community and his efforts toward establishing a new prayer book. She cited the donor list for the *Mitteilungen der Jüdischen Reformgemeinde zu Berlin*, 'an deren Spitze Herr Lachmann-Mosse stets mit einer bestimmten Summe verzeichnet steht', as evidence that he was personally responsible for financing the printing costs of a Jewish publication.⁴² With respect to Theodor Wolff,

41 'Artikelreihe: Jüdische Köpfe', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 20 (18 May 1928), 1.

42 Doris Wittner, 'Jüdische Köpfe: Hans Lachmann-Mosse', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 25 (22 June 1928), 5–6.

Wittner concentrated on Wolff's capacity to defend Judaism in part due to his early role as a Parisian correspondent for the *Berliner Tageblatt*, which she deemed heir to the tradition of such journalists as Heine and Börne who used the pen as their sword.⁴³ By celebrating the so-called Jewish accomplishments of Lachmann-Mosse, Wolff and others, Wittner countered antisemitic claims of Judaization and suggested instead that Jewish journalists writing in the general public sphere were acting both as Germans and as Jews. In doing so, she also confirmed that her own journalistic work outside of the Jewish press still served to support Jewish journalism.

Wittner further used her contributions to Jewish periodicals as a medium with which to connect the literary and theatrical talents of German Jews, and particularly Jewish women, to a sense of 'authentic' Jewishness with origins in the East, or, more broadly conceived, a region that could be deemed 'the Mediterranean'. If not 'Eastern' per se, Vienna served as a gateway to other points in the East. Vienna, for Wittner, was not only responsible for producing the most journalists and was thus the headspring of the German-language and Berlin Jewish press, but it was also a one-time home to many actors who originated from East European lands. According to the logic of Wittner and her contemporary Arnold Zweig, author of the 1928 book *Juden auf der deutschen Bühne* (Jews on the German stage), Jewish virtuosity and lived experience played a role in improving performances by Jewish entertainers.⁴⁴

43 Doris Wittner, 'Jüdische Köpfe: Theodor Wolff', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 32 (10 August 1928), 6. See also Doris Wittner, 'Ein deutscher Publizist von Weltgeltung', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 51 (21 December 1927), 1–2. It is worth noting that Wittner knew Theodor Wolff socially; they encountered each other on several occasions in 1919. See Theodor Wolff, *Tagebücher 1914–1919*, ed. Bernd Söseman (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1984), 690 and 715.

44 See Arnold Zweig, *Juden auf der deutschen Bühne* (Berlin: Welt-Verlag, 1928). See also Peter W. Marx, 'Arnold Zweig and the Critics. Reconsidering the Jewish "Contribution" to German Theatre', in *Jews and the Making of Modern German Theatre*, eds. Jeanette R. Malkin and Freddie Rokem (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010), 116–31; and Galili Shahar, *theatrum judaicum. Denkspiele im deutsch-jüdischen Diskurs der Moderne* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag, 2007).

In her analysis of accomplished Jewish actors Elisabeth Bergner, Fritzi Massary and Maria Orska, Wittner ascribed their theatrical talents to a sense of 'inner Jewishness' cultivated in Vienna and Eastern Europe. The language Wittner used to describe these stars recalls Zweig's observations on many levels: Jewish actors were 'Mediterranean' in origin and appearance, foreign and accustomed to lived tragedy in the form of Jewish experience. One *JLZ* article published on 1 March 1933 explicitly connected these traits in Bergner and Massary: 'Darüber hinaus aber *ist die deutsche Judenheit stolz, daß zwei ihrer Frauen* unbestritten und unbestreitbar *an der Spitze der deutschen Theaterkultur* schreiten und noch den grünen Lorbeer unvergleichlichen Weltruhmes um ihre schönen Frauenstirnen flechten dürfen.'⁴⁵ Despite the fact that Fritzi Massary converted to Protestantism in 1903 and Elisabeth Bergner's relationship to Judaism was ambivalent at best, Wittner's articles described the pride German Jewry felt about 'its' women having reached the pinnacle of the German stage and screen.

Feminist Activist? Proponent of Women's Rights and Jewish Women Writers

From her early writings as editor of the women's supplement in the *Vossische Zeitung*, to her many articles in the liberal Jewish press, Doris Wittner reiterated time and again that Jewish women had earned a special place in the literary canon and in German culture in general. Situating her arguments about Jewish women within a plea for the acknowledgment of women's accomplishments and women's rights more broadly, Wittner crafted

45 Doris Wittner, 'Fritzi Massary – Elisabeth Bergner', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 23 (1 March 1933), 3. Other articles about these actresses and Jewish performance in general include: 'Der Jude auf der Bühne', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 15 (20 May 1924), 2–3; 'Die theatralische Sendung der Juden', *C.V.-Zeitung* 31 (31 July 1925), 525–6; 'Juden und dramatische Kunst', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 21 August 1925; and 'Jüdische Bannenträger deutscher Bühnenkunst', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 11 (18 March 1927), 2–3.

a historical narrative of women writers and thinkers to showcase their achievements. The crux of her argument – that Jewish women deserved recognition for pioneering modern developments in numerous intellectual and cultural spheres – complemented Wittner's larger political project of validating Jewish culture in Germany.

Not surprisingly, the origins of Wittner's arguments about Jewish women writers can be located in her earlier articles, in which she had not yet shifted her attention to Jewish subjects. Multiple versions of one essay about women writers provide representative examples of her work from different eras: the period before the First World War, publications in general periodicals in the mid-1920s and late Weimar contributions to the Jewish press. One of her earliest known feuilleton articles on the subject of women, 'Die Frau als Dichterin und Denkerin' (Woman as poet and thinker), appeared in the *Vossische Zeitung* in 1911.⁴⁶ In 1925, a later version appeared in the *Almanach des Leipziger Verlags Grethlein u. Co.*, and was subsequently reproduced in the *Linzer Tages-Post* (4 January 1925) and *Neueste Nachrichten Braunschweig* (18 January 1925).⁴⁷ In all of these, Wittner traces a genealogy of women's cultural roles, from Sappho to Hroswitha von Gandersheim to Marie Curie, each time highlighting the significant depiction of the 'eternal feminine' in Goethe's *Faust*. Because *Faust* concludes in an apotheosis of the eternal feminine, she contends, the 'Silhouette der Frau' is present and glides through all poetry and literature, acting to some extent as an 'aktive Kulturträgerin'.

In March 1931, Wittner introduced a more explicitly Jewish dimension to her argument about the omnipresence of women, asserting that Jewish women numbered especially prominently among the active creators of modern thought and culture. Both the *JLZ* article 'Die jüdische Frau und das jüdische Buch' cited above, and the first-ever issue of the

46 Cited in Hartmut Vollmer, ed., Vorwort, in *Die rote Perücke. Prosa expressionistischer Dichterinnen* (Paderborn: Igel Verlag Literatur, 1996), 18. Another early piece about women, 'Von hinten nach vorn', appeared in the *Frauenbeilage* of the *Vossische Zeitung* on 20 October 1912.

47 Doris Wittner, 'Die Frau als Dichterin und Denkerin', *Linzer Tages-Post*, 4 January 1925; and 'Die Frau als Dichterin und Denkerin', *Neueste Nachrichten Braunschweig*, 18 January 1925.

periodical Wittner co-founded and co-edited, *Freie jüdische Monatsschau*, provided outlets for Wittner's journalistic activism on behalf of women. Not only a relative highpoint for Weimar Jewish journalism, 22 March 1931 also marked the third annual celebration of the 'Tag des Buches' (Day of the book), which for the first time put women at the centre of this national celebration.⁴⁸ In the spirit of this event, Wittner used her *Freie jüdische Monatsschau* article on 'Jüdische Frauen als Denkerinnen und Dichterinnen' to deem woman utterly indispensable in modern times: 'Man vermag sich die Frau aus der heutigen Literatur ebenso wenig mehr wegzudenken wie etwa das Telephon oder den Rundfunk.' With such strongly worded feminist assertions, she continued expanding the German canon to include women authors, while simultaneously inscribing Jewish women into German women's literary tradition. In addition, Wittner provocatively claimed that many pioneering works by Jewish women reflected a direct connection to ancient Jewish culture and tradition – and even the 'Jewish God.'⁴⁹ Her genealogy came to include biblical figures Deborah and Tamar, as well as salon women Rahel Varnhagen and Henriette Herz; writers Dorothea Veit, Fanny Lewald, Ulla Wolff-Frankfurter and Else Lasker-Schüler; and politically active figures Rosa Luxemburg and Lily Montague.⁵⁰ With this impressive list of women, Wittner mobilized the accomplishments of every well-known Jewish female thinker to make a

- 48 On the Day of the Book, see Kerstin Barndt, 'Mothers, Citizens, and Consumers: Female Readers in Weimar Germany', in *Weimar Publics/Weimar Subjects: Rethinking the Political Culture of Germany in the 1920s*, eds, Kathleen Canning, Kerstin Barndt, and Kristin McGuire (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 95–115; and Gideon Reuveni, *Reading Germany: Literature and Consumer Culture in Germany Before 1933*, trans. by Ruth Morris (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 195–6.
- 49 Doris Wittner, 'Jüdische Frauen als Denkerinnen und Dichterinnen', *Freie Jüdische Monatsschau* 1/1 (March 1931), 28–33, here 33; see also 'Die jüdische Frau und das jüdische Buch', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* 11 (18 March 1931), 1–2. This is not an uncommon argument – historians Monika Richarz, Paula Hyman, and others have made similar arguments about Jewish women serving as agents of modernity.
- 50 An article about Rosa Luxemburg also appeared in the left-wing general journal *Die Weltbühne*. See Doris Wittner, 'Rosa Luxemburg', *Die Weltbühne [Die Schaubühne]* 18/4 (26 January 1922), 94–7.

case for their impact on German culture as a whole, thereby extending her larger argument about Jews and Jewish women as cultural pioneers.

As a liberal writer from a family of Jewish journalists, Doris Wittner's accomplishments include widespread recognition of her work within both Jewish and general periodicals. The texts she produced were a product of the political and economic circumstances of Weimar Berlin. In addition, they exemplified Jewish feuilletonism: her feuilleton articles carried the signature of a Jewish author invested in traditions of German-Jewish texts and contexts. Significantly, Wittner's investment in the Weimar Jewish press and especially the *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* is indicative of growing interest in liberal publications among other Jews. Many of her writings in Berlin Jewish newspapers painted Jewish prominence, talent and capabilities in a positive light, and imbued them with additional legitimacy within German spheres. By writing about Jewish writers, actors and other renowned producers of culture in Germany, Wittner ensured that Jewish subjects received sufficient recognition among Jewish readers.

As an advocate for women's rights in general, Doris Wittner also focused on Jewish women's positions within Jewish communities. Whether or not she engaged in typical feminist activism, Wittner's journalism called attention to women's struggles and their need for recognition. Whereas most of her 'front-page Jews' were men, many other feuilleton articles featured Jewish women and conveyed a sense of their talents to Jewish readers. This act of writing about Jewish women was no less pioneering than the work of many of her subjects; Wittner has earned a place of prominence both among German women journalists and among liberal Jewish journalists. Although select reviews of literary works, theatre and film have received mention in scholarship about the Weimar period, Wittner's hundreds of Jewish feuilleton articles and their arguments on behalf of women are only now coming to light.⁵¹

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