WITHIN HASIDIC CIRCLES

Studies in Hasidism
in Memory of Mordecai Wilensky

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Introduction

The question of the role of women in the hasidic movement and their access to hasidic spirituality constitutes an important topic whether one is approaching it from the direction of gender studies or the research of Jewish mystical movements.[1] All branches of hasidism are typified by

* At the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies in 1985 Professor Wilensky delivered a paper entitled "The Status of Women in Polish Hasidism." That paper and the discussion which followed helped to generate the present study, which is part of a wider investigation of hasidism and modernity. I am grateful to the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and the Institute of Jewish Studies for their assistance in this project. Acknowledgement is due to the late Dr. Judith Grunfeld for providing information and documents concerning Beis Yaakov in Cracow; to Mrs. Sarah Lieberman of the Beth Rivkah seminary in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, for drawing my attention to various aspects of the history of *Aḥot ha-Temimim*, to Dr. Ada Rapoport-Albert of University College London for extensive discussion of many facets of this and related topics over the years and for a careful reading of the text, and finally to Ms. Dena Ordan for her many helpful comments on this paper. Thanks are also due to Mrs. Dalia Tracz of the Jewish Studies Library, University College London, for much gracious assistance in the course of this research.

1. For studies specifically devoted to the woman's role in Hasidism, see A. Rapoport-Albert, "On Women in Hasidism: S. A. Hordecky and The Maid of Ludmir Tradition," in *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky*, ed. A. Rapoport-Albert and S. Zipperstein (London, 1988), pp. 495–525; N. Polen, "Miriam's Dance: Radical Egalitarianism in Hasidic Thought," *Modern Judaism* 12 (1992), pp. 1–21; idem., introduction to his translation of M. Shapiro, *From Judgement to Mercy* (forthcoming); T. El-Or, *Educated and Ignorant: Ultraorthodox Jewish Women and Their World*, trans. H. Watzman (Boulder, Colo. and London, 1994); D. R. Kaufman, "Engendering Orthodoxy: Newly Orthodox Women and Hasidism," in *New World Hasidim: Ethnographic Studies of Hasidic Jews in America*, ed. J. S. Belcove-Shalin (Albany, 1995), pp. 135–60; and B. Morris, "Agents or Victims of Religious Ideology? Approaches to Locating Hasidic Women in Feminist Studies," in *New World Hasidim*, pp. 161–80.

singular approaches to womanhood and to the relationship between men and women in the community. On an overt level, "modesty" and related issues are paramount, leading to highly distinctive patterns of behavior. However, among the different branches of hasidism there are some quite different modes: at one extreme women appear to be denied access to serious Hebrew study; at another, we find evidence for the active involvement of contemporary Habad women in the dissemination of the hasidic ethos.[2] At a median position women do engage in study, yet we find the assessment that women are not themselves hasidim, but only the wives and daughters of hasidim.[3]

This article seeks to elucidate the evolution of the role of the woman in the hasidic movement and her level of Jewish/hasidic education. The focus is on the emergence of *Aḥot ha-Temimim*, a Habad girls' hasidic study group in pre-Holocaust Riga, and the development of the spiritually empowered female *sheluḥah*, considered in the context of the pre-war Beis Yaakov movement and attitudes to women in Satmar hasidism. My claim is that this twentieth-century development in Habad relates to a specific aspect of early Habad mysticism: the focus on the "Lower Unity," rather than the "Higher Unity," as the ultimate spiritual goal. Rather than being simply a mystical concept of interest only to contemplatives, this focus eventually resulted in a tangible transformation of the role of the woman in Habad hasidic society.

The Dialectic of Spirituality

Early Habad texts describe two polarized concepts: the Upper Unity reaching away from the world, and the Lower Unity reaching towards it. These categories are rooted in early Habad theories about contemplative mysticism, yet they can also be translated into social forms: a world-avoiding enclave on the one hand and, on the other, a society which attempts to relate in positive spiritual terms to external reality. A complementary polarity is that of "service from above," in which the

2. See Rapoport-Albert, "On Women in Hasidism," pp. 523–25 nn. 82–83.
3. El-Or, *Educated and Ignorant*, p. 103.

Zaddik elevates the passive hasid, as opposed to "service from below," in which the hasid has to make an effort of his own.[4]

I suggest that these categories have some bearing on the changing role of the woman in hasidism. Let us consider a mode in which spirituality is conceived in terms of the Upper Unity, remote from the world, and is primarily the domain of the Zaddik. His "service from above" spiritually illuminates the hasidic male and his family, as long as they clearly remain within the fellowship of the Zaddik's following. I take Satmar hasidism as an example.[5] Its founder Rabbi Yoel Teitelbaum (1886–1979) was seen by all (including many of his detractors) as a saintly figure beyond this world.[6] From the beginning of his tenure as hasidic rebbe he sought to create an elite enclave society untouched by "modernity" or Zionism.[7] In the community he created in post-war Williamsburg, he demanded that the male hasid fulfill the requirements of hasidic orthodoxy with the

4. The emphasis on "service from below" characterized the approach of Rabbi Shneur Zalman, founder of Habad, and was disputed by some other contemporary hasidic leaders. Thus Rabbi Shneur Zalman sought to disseminate the study of mystical hasidic teachings and practice of contemplative techniques among the members of the fraternity, to the consternation of contemporary leaders such as Rabbi Avraham of Kalisk who believed that all the hasidic follower required was to have "faith in the Zaddik." See N. Loewenthal, *Communicating the Infinite: The Emergence of the Habad School* (Chicago, 1990), chap. 3.
5. For discussions of the woman in the Satmar movement, see I. Rubin, *Satmar: An Island in the City* (Chicago, 1972), *passim* and particularly pp. 151–56; J. R. Mintz, *Hasidic People: A Place in the New World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), chaps. 6, 16; G. Kranzler, *Hasidic Williamsburg: A Contemporary American Hasidic Community* (Northvale, NJ, 1995), pp. 167–206.
6. At the same time he saw his religious duty towards the Jewish world in terms of vociferously and actively rebuking its "iniquities." His fiercely anti-Zionist stance is well known. See also his *Divrei Yoel: Mikhtavim*, ed. Y. M. Sofer, vol. 1 (Brooklyn, 1980), p. 11, editor's note, concerning his attempt in 1924 to prevent mixed dancing at a wedding that resulted in his being physically attacked. His successor Rabbi Moshe Teitelbaum is criticized by some Satmarers for his alleged worldliness (Mintz, *Hasidic People*, pp. 131–33).
7. See Rubin, *Satmar*, pp. 34–42. Rabbi Yoel's hasidic fellowship was defined by a set of *takkanot* for his community in Satmar (founded in 1905, after the death of his father, Rabbi Hananyah Yom Tov Lipa Teitelbaum, rabbi and rebbe of Sighet), written in 1912 and augmented in 1913. Anyone who did not want to sign these regulations was banned from the fellowship. See *Divrei Yoel*, p. 9 and the editor's note.

special overlay of Satmar custom and careful observance of cultural barriers. By this means, the male hasid gains access to a heightened level of religious experience, particularly during direct encounters with the rebbe.

In this model, the females in the Satmar community are generally denied personal contact with the rebbe but nonetheless experience his illumination through the blessings of children, health, and sustenance. However, the role of the woman in Satmar is of crucial significance. She is at the borderline of the spiritual and the practical, and her symbolic actions ensure that this boundary is maintained. Thus, throughout his career Rabbi Yoel Teitelbaum campaigned for very stringent observance of specific rules of female modesty.[8] A fierce opponent of Beis Yaakov,[9] which he regarded both as a modernizing "German" influence and also as tainted with Zionism, in the post-war period he came to accept – in the context of the battle against modernity – the need for schools for girls as opposed to having them educated only at home.[10] However, the woman in the post-war Satmar movement is largely barred from study of Hebrew texts, apart from learning how to read the prayers and Psalms. As a bulwark of "tradition" countering change, this prohibition is itself a response to modernity.[11] According to Israel Rubin, the Jewish education of a girl

8. His 1913 amendment to the takkanot of his fellowship in Satmar (see previous note) concerned this issue. A further set of takkanot by Rabbi Yoel Teitelbaum defining in great detail permitted and forbidden modes of female attire was published in 1938. See *Divrei Yoel: Mikhtavim*, pp. 14–15. See also his letter of 1969 (p. 17), and the editor's note there.
9. See *Divrei Yoel*, p. 49.
10. The final section of his *Vayoel Mosheh* (Brooklyn, 1961; 5th edition, 1978), titled "Maamar Leshon ha-Kodesh," argues that in the modern context girls' schools are now necessary, yet also insists that no Hebrew studies (e.g., of Ḥumash with Rashi) should be on the curriculum. See sections 30–50 (particularly secs. 41–42). This is partly but not solely motivated by opposition to Ivrit (Hebrew). See also *Divrei Yoel*, p. 45, a letter of 1952 to the Bnos Yerushalayim school in Jerusalem, strongly commending its ultra-orthodox (and anti-Zionist) approach. The letter makes the point that if girls are not given the right education, there would be no one for the boys to marry (see below, concerning a similar rationale for the support of early Beis Yaakov).
11. See Rubin, *Satmar*, pp. 15–52, where he traces the development of the ban in the context of the more relaxed pre-twentieth-century attitudes. To fill the gap, R. Yoel encouraged the creation of a literature in Yiddish on "Jewish law, ethics, and modesty." See *Divrei Yoel*, p. 70 and the editor's note. In *Vayoel Mosheh*, "Maamar Leshon ha-Kodesh," secs. 37–39, he presents his arguments against women studying Torah, citing the well-known statement that "anyone who teaches his daughter Torah is considered as if he had taught her lewdness" (Mishnah *Sotah* 3:4), and also, intriguingly, the prohibition on teaching "an unsuitable student" (BT *Hullin* 133a; Maimonides, *Code*, "Laws of Torah Study," 4:1). See sec. 33 concerning the definition of what a woman is permitted or even obliged to study: i.e., the practicalities of Jewish law and ethics.

at the Beth Rachel school in Williamsburg in the 1960s was limited to reading some works in Yiddish and taking notes on the Jewish laws governing daily life.[12] Later there were attempts to provide more demanding Yiddish educational material, but the basic prohibition on Hebrew study remains in effect.[13] Notwithstanding, aspects of female spirituality may be present in forms similar to those of pre-hasidic Eastern European society,[14] as well as in participation in organized societies for charity and acts of kindness.[15] For a woman, participation in the Satmar hasidic movement is defined in predominantly practical terms: what one does and what one wears,[16] rather than what one studies.

By contrast when the emphasis is on the Lower Unity, in which the world beyond the hasidic enclave is itself seen to have spiritual significance, and when this is complemented by a concern for the "service from below,"[17] in which the individual hasid has to struggle to

12. Rubin, *Satmar*, pp. 153–56. At the same period the secular instruction in her school seemed more demanding and innovative. Rubin sees the woman in Satmar as an agent of acculturalization. See ibid., pp. 198, 207, 261 n. 2. See also Mintz, *Hasidic People*, pp. 182–84. Kranzler, *Hasidic Williamsburg*, chap. 7, presents the results of a survey of 175 Satmar women, most of whom, he states, were "perfectly satisfied" with their role in society (p. 180). See, however, Mintz's account of Satmar defections to Lubavitch in *Hasidic People*, pp. 154–75. See also n. 188 below.
13. See n. 11 above, and Kranzler, *Hasidic Williamsburg*, p. 177. At the same time the role of the Satmar woman in running the family has become more important on account of her increasing economic power. See Rubin, *Satmar*, pp. 106, 125.
14. See C. Weissler, "The Traditional Piety of Ashkenazi Women," in *Jewish Spirituality: From the Sixteenth-Century Revival to the Present*, ed. A. Green (London, 1987), pp. 245–75. See Kranzler, *Hasidic Williamsburg*, p. 180, for a depiction of a woman's feelings in prayer, seeking forgiveness and well-being for her loved ones.
15. See Kranzler, *Hasidic Williamsburg*, pp. 191–92, concerning the flourishing Bikkur Holim organization in Williamsburg, which is also looked upon favorably by some of the area's non-observant Jewish residents.
16. See n. 8 above. Issues of attire are also prime categories for men. See Rubin, *Satmar*, p. 253 n. 26 regarding the significance of male hasidic attire.
17. See n. 4 above.

discover his own intimations of holiness, there is a possibility that particularly under the pressures of modernity the religious role of the woman could develop considerably further.

In this model the woman might be encouraged towards an internalized mystical perspective on life endowed through direct study of hasidic-mystical texts. She could feel empowered to activate her own and others' spiritual potential, and thus would be led to see herself as a full hasidic follower in her own right, with her own direct experience of specifically hasidic spirituality. This has taken place in the Habad movement, as will be outlined below. A median position is seen in the pre-war Beis Yaakov movement, in which a special form of feminine spirituality and activism developed, loosely attached to hasidism.

The correspondence between the role of the woman and the nature of the model of spirituality confirms a point made by Chava Weissler.[18] She claims that study of the religiosity of women can function as an *addition* to what we know already about a specific area of Jewish history, so that our hitherto exclusive knowledge of Jewish men is supplemented by some knowledge about Jewish women; alternatively, it can have a *transformative* effect, reconfiguring the conception of that field of history as a whole.[19] The history of the woman in a religious or social movement can therefore shed light on the inner nature of that movement.

Perspectives on the Woman in Hasidism

From its early period opponents of the hasidic movement have accused it of ignoring the role of the woman and weakening the concept of the family. David of Makov's *Shever Posh'im* paints a graphic picture of the young husband who steals away to the joyful court of the hasidic rebbe where "sorrow is forbidden." His wife's response when she discovers

18. C. Weissler, "The Religion of Traditional Ashkenazic Women: Some Methodological Issues," *AJS Review* 12 (1987), pp. 73–94.
19. She also suggests a third option: that the study of women elucidates our understanding of other groups whose significance is hidden in conventional historical approaches, unlearned men for example. See ibid., pp. 77–86.

where he has gone is unmitigated grief. He has taken all the available money and left his children virtual orphans.[20]

A quite different view was presented early this century by S. A. Horodecky who suggested that women had an especially positive role in hasidism, contrasting with their lack of participation in normative talmudic study outside the hasidic movement.[21] He focuses on Hannah Rachel the "Maid of Ludmir" (c. 1815–1892 or 1895), whom he presents as a full-fledged female Zaddik. Ada Rapoport-Albert has debunked this position, persuasively presenting the view that the pious, ascetic Hannah Rachel was regarded by contemporary hasidic leaders – most notably, R. Mordekhai of Chernobyl – as an aberration. Through his intervention she agreed to marry, although the marriage was never consummated and ended in divorce; she then married again, but this marriage also failed.[22]

Nehemia Polen has outlined[23] a very different model of a fulfilled woman in hasidism: Sarah Horowitz Sternfeld of Checiny (the "Chentshiner

20. M. Wilensky, *Ḥasidim u-Mitnaggedim* (Jerusalem, 1970), vol. 2, p. 173. This anti-hasidic tract was written 1798–1800. Similar accusations are voiced in Rabbi Yisrael Loebel's *Sefer ha-Vikuaḥ* (Warsaw, 1798), ibid., vol. 2, p. 315, and, more briefly, in the 1781 *ḥerem* of Vilna (ibid., vol. 1, p. 103; for another version, see vol. 2, p. 151). David of Makov also claimed that the ascetic aspirations of the hasidim distressed their wives and often had deleterious effects (ibid., vol. 2, pp. 159–60). See Rapoport-Albert, "On Women in Hasidism," p. 511 n. 16 where these and other sources are cited, including a talk by Rabbi Nahman of Braslav which expresses concern at the lack of marital harmony among many of the younger hasidim, which led to separation and sometimes divorce. Rabbi Nahman – who preached intense asceticism – advises his followers to honor and hold their wives precious, citing talmudic sources to support his attitude (*Siḥot ha-Ran*, printed with *Shivḥei ha-Ran* [Jerusalem, n.d.], p. 192, secs. 263–64). An early letter by Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Lyady presents the idea that while "according to the Torah" (cf. *Shulḥan Arukh: Yoreh De'ah* 251:3) the [material] needs of a man's wife and children take precedence over others, they do not take precedence over the needs of the Zaddikim and especially the Zaddikim in the Holy Land (*Iggerot Kodesh... Admur ha-Zaken* [Brooklyn, 1980], p. 10). In 1814 this letter was printed together with the *Tanya* in the newly added *Iggeret ha-Kodesh* (sec. 9). Interestingly, the extreme passage cited was censored by the hasidic editors. In the Brooklyn 1954 edition of *Tanya* it was added in an appendix (fol. 203b).
21. S. A. Horodecky, *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-ha-Ḥasidim* (Jerusalem, 1923), vol. 4, pp. 67–71.
22. According to Rapoport-Albert, marriage terminated her career as a spiritual leader. Her final years were spent in Palestine ("On Women in Hasidism," p. 503).
23. Polen, "Miriam's Dance" (n. 1 above).

Rebbetsin"). When she died in 1937 at the age of 99, ten thousand people attended her funeral. She was survived by 250 grandchildren and great-grandchildren.[24] An article in the Warsaw Yiddish paper *Der Moment* claimed: "After the death of her husband, hasidim travelled to her with *kvittlakh*. She was the only woman in Poland who conducted herself as a rebbe."[25]

The Maid of Ludmir sought to gain the spiritual by transcending her own femininity. This indeed was the route to holiness for female mystics in the Christian and (to some extent) Islamic traditions. In Judaism however it failed.[26] By contrast the Chentshiner Rebbetsin combined spiritual charisma with fulfilled womanhood. The contrast may not be as great as it seems for in her case the public manifestation of her spiritual qualities came to the fore only after the death of her husband. At this point she could safely transcend worldliness in its conventional sense. On the other hand, as presented by Polen, an aspect of her charisma was her fulfilled power of being a mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother.

The Maid of Ludmir represents an unusual female quest for something like the Upper Unity. The Chentshiner Rebbetsin seems rather to be a product of the centrist form of Polish hasidism described by Rachel Elior in her discussion of the Seer of Lublin.[27] Here *yesh* and *ayin* coexist,

24. Ibid., p. 10, where he quotes *Der Moment*, 1 March 1937, p. 6, an obituary published a few days after her death on 26 February. Rapoport-Albert comments that she was one of the very few wives of hasidic leaders who commanded a following in their own right; most notable hasidic women of this ilk were the mothers, daughters, or sisters of Zaddikim. Sarah's public activities apparently began after her husband died; he was succeeded by their son Joshua Heschel ("On Women in Hasidism," p. 518 n. 39; see also n. 42). Her descendants included Rabbi Kalonymus Kalman Shapira, the Piaseczener Rebbe (d. 1942). See N. Polen, *Esh Kodesh: The Teachings of Rabbi Kalonymus Kalman Shapira, the Rebbe of the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York, 1994).
25. Idem, "Miriam's Dance," p. 10, quoting *Der Moment*, 28 February. Her husband Rabbi Haim Shmuel Horowitz Sternfeld was a great-grandson of the Seer of Lublin.
26. See Rapoport-Albert, "On Women in Hasidism," pp. 506–8. See also T. Frankiel, *The Voice of Sarah: Feminine Spirituality and Traditional Judaism* (San Francisco, 1990), p. 49; S. Pantel Zolty, "*And All Your Children Shall be Learned*": *Women and the Study of Torah in Jewish Law and History* (Northvale, NJ, 1993), p. 252.
27. R. Elior, "Between *Yesh* and *Ayin*: The Doctrine of the Zaddik in the Works of Jacob Isaac, the Seer of Lublin," in *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky*, pp. 393–455.

mediated by the Zaddik, who bears the tension inherent in this process.[28] The Zaddik in a sense combines the qualities of both the Upper and Lower Unities. Whether or not this is the way the Chentsiner Rebbetsin saw herself, and was seen by others, is an open question. It is likely that she did not claim this kind of mystical grandeur; simplicity and piety, backed by her position in the hasidic hierarchy gained through both birth and marriage, were sufficient.

The focus of this article is not, however, the exceptional woman. My attempt is rather to study the woman as a *member* of the hasidic movement. My claim is that the hasidic adjustment in facing the pressures of a changing society was to some extent predicated by mystical structures.[29] In Habad, the legacy of emphasis on the Lower Unity as a path of contemplation eventually led to the development of the role of the woman as a full participant, as a hasidic follower. Without this emphasis, differing positions were possible. Satmar, espousing the "Higher Unity" model of spirituality, chose a route embracing a "traditional" posture in which women are totally excluded from Torah study yet are expected to affirm a lifestyle which they see as holy. Beis Yaakov followed another route into modernity, creating a unique form of feminine pietistic spirituality.

The Upper and Lower Unity

The spiritual quest of the early generations of the Habad movement has been characterized as a "paradoxical ascent" to God.[30] As this phrase suggests, this is a spiritual movement away from the world. From the

28. On the inherent tension in the role of the hasidic Zaddik, see Elior, "Between *Yesh* and *Ayin*," p. 396.
29. This view contrasts with that of Joseph Dan who does not see any spiritual or ideological foundations for the hasidic adjustment to modernity. See his "Hasidism – The Third Century," in *Hasidism Reappraised: Proceedings of the International Conference of the Institute of Jewish Studies in Memory of Joseph G. Weiss, University College London, 21–23 June 1988*, ed. A. Rapoport-Albert (London, 1996), pp. 421–22.
30. R. Elior, *Torat Aḥdut ha-Hafakhim* (Jerusalem, 1992); English edition: *The Paradoxical Ascent to God: The Kabbalistic Theosophy of Habad Hasidism*, trans. J. M. Green (New York, 1993).

perspective of the acosmistic dimension of Habad mystical teachings the world indeed seems to dissolve into the Infinite. Rabbi Shneur Zalman's *Tanya* and other Habad treatises describe this as *Yiḥuda Ila'a*,[31] the "Upper Unity." All is one, absorbed in the infinite oneness of the Divine. As defined by Rachel Elior the quest of early Habad was to leave the world or to see beyond it, to gaze at the ultimate Divine reality. She notes however that "spiritual worship was solely the part of the men within the community."[32] The contemplative quest for the Upper Unity was exclusively a male province.

This however did not constitute the sole focus of Habad spirituality, even in its eighteenth-century systems of contemplation. For there was also a complementary movement back to the world, or even in some sense, forward to the world. As an aspect of contemplation, this is termed the *Yiḥuda Tata'a*, the "Lower Unity." This is not just the return to reality after experiencing an ecstatic state. Rather the Lower Unity means that the contemplative discovers that there is a world: but it too is an expression of the Infinite. This movement into the world is to a certain extent at odds with the generally ascetic, otherworldly aspirations of eighteenth-century East European pre-hasidic mysticism.

In the case of early Habad one is able to trace the gradual development of the concept of the Lower Unity. This is apparent in the *Tanya*, the main hasidic treatise of Rabbi Shneur Zalman (1745–1812), the founder of the Habad movement. The second section of this work comprises a tract on contemplation entitled "Gate of Unity and Faith." We can see the development of Rabbi Shneur Zalman's thinking by comparing the early manuscript copies of *Tanya*, dating from around 1793, with the text of the printed book published in late 1796. The manuscript version does not

31. The term is found in the brief introduction to the second section of Rabbi Shneur Zalman's *Tanya* (1796 printed edition), and explained in chapter 7 of that tract (see below). It also appears in his discourses, both those published from manuscript collected by year (5562, 5564, etc.) and the versions in *Torah Or* and *Likkutei Torah*. See the relevant indexes at the end of these volumes and *Sefer ha-Mafteḥot le-Sifrei... Admur ha-Zaken* (Brooklyn, 1981), q.v. *yiḥuda ila'a, yiḥuda tata'a*.

32. Elior, *The Paradoxical Ascent to God*, p. xiv, footnote. The comment is found only in the English version, in a note explaining the exclusive use of the masculine gender (rather than both masculine and feminine) throughout the book.

mention the concept of the Lower Unity. Its entire focus is on the Upper Unity, although this term is not used since its corollary the Lower Unity is absent, not only as a technical term but as a concept. By contrast, the printed text introduces the concept of a further step of spiritual perception for the contemplative – the Lower Unity. This follows the Upper Unity, and the distinction between them is carefully described. The author explains that in the Upper Unity the universe is not apparent to the contemplative: he focuses on the mystical reality of the *En Sof* in which all existence is absorbed. There is nought apart from God. In the Lower Unity the contemplative progresses to a further stage, in which there is a world, which he now perceives as being an expression of Godliness.[33]

This dialectic between the Upper Unity acosmism and the Lower Unity perception of world *qua* world expressing the Divine took practical expression in the split in the movement following Rabbi Shneur Zalman's death in 1812. One group followed his foremost disciple, Rabbi Aaron Halevi Horowitz, who lived in Starroselye, and the other group followed his oldest son, Rabbi Dov Ber, who took up residence in the townlet of Lubavitch.[34] Scholars agree that the difference between them primarily

33. *Tanya*, part 2, chap. 7, fol. 82a–b. This idea is expressed in terms of two modes of combination of Divine Names. In the Upper Unity, the Sefirah Malkhut, represented by the letters Alef, Daled, Nun, Yud interleaves with the Tetragrammaton so that the Yud of the Tetragrammaton is the first letter, dominating the whole. In this mode Malkhut, representing the universe, is not apparent. In the Lower Unity it is the other way round: the Alef of the Name representing Malkhut comes first in the combined, interleaved Divine Name. The world is apparent, yet it is seen as an expression of the Divine. The printed text of the "Gate of Unity and Faith" begins with a brief introduction which presents this twin theme of the Upper and Lower Unities as the central topic of the tract (*Tanya*, fol. 76b). This introduction is missing from all the manuscript versions, as is the presentation of the concept of the Lower Unity. Cf. *Likkutei Amarim: Mahadura Kama (miktav yad)* (Brooklyn, 1981), pp. 425, 457–59. See N. Loewenthal, "'Reason' and 'Beyond Reason' in Habad Hasidism," in *'Alei Shefer: Studies in the Literature of Jewish Thought Presented to Rabbi Dr. Alexandre Safran*, ed. M. Hallamish (Bar Ilan University Press, 1990), pp. 113–17.

34. The rivalry between them is explored in L. Jacobs, *Seeker of Unity: The Life and Works of Aaron of Starosselje* (London, 1966), pp. 23–25; R. Elior, "The Controversy over the Leadership of the Habad Movement" (Hebrew), *Tarbiẓ* 49 (1980), pp. 166–86; idem, *The Theory of Divinity of Hasidut Habad* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 5–14; Loewenthal, *Communicating the Infinite*, chap. 4.

concerns theoretical issues in contemplative prayer.[35] One might suggest that Aaron of Starroselye sought above all the Upper Unity, the acosmist perception that there is only God, whereas Dov Ber taught the significance of the Lower Unity.[36]

These concepts may seem ethereal abstractions relevant only to mystical contemplation. However, the fact that the focus of the Lower Unity is on "the world," which is somehow seen as an expression of Godliness, has broader implications. As one of Dov Ber's disciples stated: "The world is a world – and it does no harm."[37] What is "the world"? Rationality, on the one hand; and also, taking the concept to an extreme, the world which traditional womanhood represents: home, food, children, sexuality. All of this does not have to be negated. Unlike the Upper Unity, the thrust of the Lower Unity is not away from the world but towards it.

This presents us with a typology of spirituality which, if utilized with care, can help us elucidate a number of aspects of hasidic life and thought beyond the ranks of the Habad school. The dialectic of the Upper and Lower Unities expresses something of the tension inherent in hasidic thinking, which is highly relevant to the dilemma of domesticity: how does the mystic or hasid cope with the presence of a wife and children?[38]

35. Jacobs focuses on the question of Dov Ber's quest for "authentic" ecstasy in prayer, while Aaron of Starroselye seems ready to tolerate also "spurious" ecstasy among his followers (see L. Jacobs, *Hasidic Prayer* [London, 1972], pp. 101–3); Elior describes Aaron as "theocentric," and Dov Ber as "anthropocentric" (*Theory of Divinity*, p. 325).
36. See Loewenthal, *Communicating the Infinite*, p. 137. Rabbi Dov Ber devotes particular attention to this theme in his *Imrei Binah* (Kopys, 1821; Brooklyn, 1976) where he often claims that the Lower Unity is greater than the Upper Unity. See fols. 11a, 27a–28a, 31d, 32c–33b, 40c.
37. "*Die velt iz a velt – un es shat gor nit*," from a letter by Rabbi Yitzhak Aisak Halevi of Homel (1780–1857), published in *Ḥanah Ariel* (Berditchev, 1912), sec. "Iggeret ha-Kodesh" (at the end of the volume), fol. 4b; translated in Jacobs, *Seeker of Unity*, p. 160. See Loewenthal, "'Reason' and 'Beyond Reason,'" p. 122.
38. One type of solution was presented by Elimelekh of Lizhensk in the third generation of the movement. He advised the hasidic follower to focus on imagining a great fire into which he is ready to throw himself for *Kiddush Hashem* during intense moments at prayer as well as while eating and engaging in marital intercourse (see *Tzetel Katan*, near the beginning of *No'am Elimelekh* [New York, 1956], secs. 1–3). It is interesting to compare this with the evidence adduced in a study by Immanuel Etkes of a number of nineteenth-century mitnagdic scholars. They perceived their dedication to Torah study as overriding the claims of involvement with their wives and young children (although we do see careful guidance imparted in a letter from a father to his adult son). As a result they would spend long periods away from home. These scholars represent an expression of the ascetic world-transcending ideal, albeit generally in non-mystical form. See I. Etkes, "The Family and the Study of Torah among Lithuanian Talmudist Circles in the Nineteenth Century" (Hebrew), *Zion* 51 (1986) (English version in *The Jewish Family, Metaphor and Memory*, ed. David Kraemer [New York and Oxford, 1989], pp. 153–78). See also idem, *Lita bi-Yerushalayim* (Jerusalem, 1991), chap. 3.
39. Jewish mystical literature sometimes expresses the spiritual and indeed sacramental effect of sexual union (see R. J. Z. Werblowsky, *Joseph Karo: Lawyer and Mystic* [Oxford, 1962], p. 139). See also Rabbi Shneur Zalman's *Torah Or* (15th edition, Brooklyn, 1990), fol. 92d: "not as people think, that [sexual union] is despicable because afterwards [the male] must bathe [in the *mikveh*]. On the contrary, it is something of great significance, and also in the upper [realms] it is of great significance." Was this spiritual perspective and knowledge shared by the mystic's wife?

Further, does his mysticism accord his wife a conscious spiritual role?[39]

Put simply, if the dominant quest is the Upper Unity, seeking to transcend the material world, it is likely that there will be little place for women as women to manifest the mystical path. By contrast, if the direction is the Lower Unity which imbues worldliness with holiness, then there is more likelihood that at some point, possibly as a result of some quite extraneous historical circumstance, a woman – acting as a woman – may be able to become an exemplar of the spiritual ideal.

The realization of this possibility is governed at least to some extent by her level of access to sources of Jewish knowledge. At this point let us review the available information concerning women and Torah study in early hasidism, particularly in Habad, which will help us evaluate the twentieth-century developments generated by modernity.

Torah Study for Women: Early Stages

It is interesting that at the same time that Rabbi Shneur Zalman the mystic taught the significance of the Lower Unity, Rabbi Shneur Zalman the halakhist was giving expression to the halakhic necessity for women to study Torah. His halakhic viewpoint can be found in his *Hilkhot*

Talmud Torah (Laws of Torah Study [Shklov, 1794]).[40] In this treatise we find first a summary of the well-known strictures against Torah study by women, with citations of the relevant sources.[41] It then presents Shneur Zalman's own position:

> And nonetheless, women too are duty bound to study the *halakhot* which apply to them, such as the laws of [family purity] and [kashrut]... and the like. And all Positive Commands which are not affected by time, and all the Negative Commands, of the Torah and [also] of the Sages, which apply equally to them as to men. And in the days [of the Sages], every Sabbath the *Ḥakham* would teach the laws which are relevant to everyone, in a language which women and unlearned people could understand.[42]

We thus find, in a halakhic work printed in Russia in 1794, a relatively elaborated expression of the long-accepted basic idea that women should study the laws of the Torah which apply to them. As described by Rabbi Shneur Zalman this entails a considerable portion of the Torah: the details of many of the positive commandments and all of the negative ones. He also makes the novel assertion that in the remote past, in the

40. See N. Loewenthal, "Early Habad Publications in their Setting," in *Hebrew Studies*, ed. D. Rowland-Smith and P. S. Salinger, British Library Occasional Papers 13 (London, 1991), pp. 94–104.
41. BT *Kidd.* 29a; *Sotah* 20a, 21b. Maimonides, *Code*, "Laws of Torah Study," 1:13.
42. *Hilkhot Talmud Torah* (Shklov, 1794; Brooklyn, 1968), fol. 11a-b. His sources included Isaac of Corbeille's *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* and Jacob Landau's *Agur*. Concerning the recitation of blessings by women on study of Torah, see *Sefer ha-Agur* (Jerusalem, 1977), "Hilkhot Tefilah", sec. 2, fol. 3a. *Sefer Amudei Golah... Sefer Mitzvot Katan* (Jerusalem, 1968), *hakdamah* (fol. 4) emphasizes the spiritual worth of women's study of the laws which apply to them (i.e., beyond being merely a means to know the laws). The *Agur* cites in the name of the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* (*Gadol* in the text, presumably an error) only the basic idea that a woman should study those laws. This basic concept, citing Landau's *Agur* (and the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol*, presumably the same error for *Katan*), is expressed by Moshe Isserlis in his gloss to *Shulḥan Arukh: Yore De'ah* 246:6. Commenting on Joseph Karo's strictures on study by women, with the partial exception of the Written Torah (following Maimonides, "Laws of Torah Study," 1:13), Isserlis adds: "nonetheless a woman is duty bound to study the laws which apply to a woman." Karo ruled that women are required to recite the morning blessings on the Torah. See *Shulḥan Arukh: Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 47:14.

heyday of Judaism, aspects of the public instruction given in the study houses were also intended for women.[43]

The image of the woman in the depiction of the family of the first Habad Rebbe sheds additional light on the Habad perception of the woman's role. The source of these anecdotes is H. M. Heilman's *Beit Rebbe* (first published Berditchev, 1902), a pious history of early Habad. These stories must be treated carefully. Perhaps more significant than the historicity of any specific detail is the fact that such anecdotes were related, although of course this may tell us more about Heilman's time (c. 1900) than about the situation a century earlier.[44]

Rabbi Shneur Zalman's wife Shterna is depicted as a strong figure who is credited with a significant role in overcoming his initial reluctance to assume the position of rebbe.[45] She also felt a sense of spiritual power which had accrued to her by virtue of being his wife. After his demise in 1812 she is reported as saying to her son Dov Ber, now Rebbe himself: "You have spirituality? I know more about spirituality than you. I was with [R. Shneur Zalman] for more than fifty years, and can pray on

43. Rabbi Shneur Zalman cites a comment by Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 116 as his source for this statement. The editors of the modern edition of *Hilkhot Talmud Torah* suggest fol. 115a, lemma *beyn she-eyn korin bahen* which speaks of talks being given on the Sabbath "to householders" about laws relevant in daily life – but does not mention women. The concept that a woman should study "the laws which apply to her" received further elaboration in the twentieth century, when it was expounded as including mystical teaching as well. See below, p. 52.
44. The question is, were these anecdotes related during or shortly after the lifetime of their subjects, or closer to Heilman's own time? Based on the presumably quite early mistaken attribution to Freida of a scholarly letter (see n. 47 below), I assume the former.
45. From the letters of the period it is known that Shneur Zalman had been reluctant to assume the position of rebbe (see I. Etkes, "R. Shneur Zalman of Liadi's Rise to Leadership" [Hebrew], *Tarbiẓ* 54 [1985], pp. 429–39). According to Heilman's account, Shterna said to him: "The people are not coming to *you*. It is just that since you were with the Maggid... they want you to tell them what you heard from him." Shneur Zalman is said to have responded, "if that is all they want, I will accept" (H. M. Heilman, *Beit Rebbe* [Tel Aviv, n.d.; photographic reproduction of Berditchev, 1902], p. 109). Here the wife plays the opposite role to that depicted in BT *Berakhot* 28a, where the wife of R. Eleazar ben Azariah presents objections to his becoming head of the academy.

behalf of a hasid better than you can!"[46] Perhaps here was a potential Chentshiner Rebbetsin. However, there is no indication in these anecdotes that Rabbi Shneur Zalman actually imparted to her anything of his mystical thought. This is not so in the case of his oldest daughter Freida. In Heilman's words:

> She was very beloved by our Rebbe [Shneur Zalman] and he would say hasidic discourses for her. When her brother [Dov Ber, later] the *Mitteler Rebbe* wanted to hear some specific topic from our Rebbe, he would request that she ask our Rebbe about this topic, and he would tell her. Her brother used to hide in the room and listen.[47]

Further possible evidence of the desire to involve women in the hasidic path of Habad is provided by the publication of two works in Yiddish during the leadership of this same Rabbi Dov Ber (1773–1827). These may have been intended for a female as well as for a male audience, although it is an open question as to whether women bought and studied them on their own. The first is an ethical tract written by Rabbi Dov Ber and entitled *Pokeaḥ Ivrim* (Opening the Eyes of the Blind), published in 1817. Like many such works, this tract discusses the question of avoiding sexual thoughts. As Chava Weissler has noted, earlier ethical works written for women, such as the *Seyder Mitzvos ha-Noshim* and the *Brantshpigl*, seem to assume that women rarely have troubling sexual desires.[48] This is not the case in Rabbi Dov Ber's *Pokeaḥ Ivrim*. Two passages address the

46. Literally "'make' a better *pidyon* than you" (*Beit Rebbe*, p. 109). A *pidyon* is the request for a blessing given by the hasid to a rebbe.
47. Ibid., p. 114. The dramatic idea that Freida studied Torah led to an amusing mistake by nineteenth-century Habad copyists. A letter addressed to Rabbi Dov Ber discussing hasidic teachings which began with the words "to my dear brother," probably written by Rabbi Aaron Halevi Horovitz, Dov Ber's close friend and later his rival, was assumed to have been written by Freida, and some copyists added colophons to that effect. Although it is now clear that she did not compose this scholarly letter, it is interesting that hasidim within the Habad circle could, and perhaps wanted, to think that it was. See Y. Mondshine, "A Letter from the Daughter of Our Rebbe, Frieda (?) to Her Brother R. Dov Ber" in *Kerem Ḥabad* 1 (5747/1987), p. 101. Heilman mentions this letter but doubts its ascription to Freida (*Beit Rebbe*, p. 114). See Rappoport-Albert, "On Women in Hasidism," p. 518 n. 41.
48. Weissler, "Ashkenazi Women," p. 89.

question of female sexuality. If men suffer the danger of nocturnal emissions, provoked by erotic thoughts during the day, this tract warns women too to avoid the possibility of having "bad dreams at night about *zivugim* (i.e., sex)," caused by staring at handsome men and conversing extensively with them.[49]

This may seem a rather dubious level of female emancipation. Yet within the pietistic context of the hasidic community it means that women were no longer regarded as passive objects whose sole concern was to avoid eliciting an erotic response from men, a viewpoint reflected in the talmudic anecdote about the virgin who prayed that she should not cause any man to stumble.[50] Women were now seen as autonomous individuals who had to grapple with their thoughts and feelings.

The idea that, in the view of its author, a woman might have access to *Pokeaḥ Ivrim* is interesting, for this is not a work of conventional ascetic piety, but a hasidic tract which seeks to impart the essentially esoteric Habad goal of *bitul*, mystical abnegation, in an ethical form termed *tsubrokhenkayt*.[51] The tract is addressed to a person who is undergoing a spiritual conversionary experience, described as becoming a *baal teshuvah*. It represents Dov Ber's goal of making some aspect of hasidic spirituality accessible to the simple man.[52] Like other works of Habad teaching, *Pokeaḥ Ivrim* includes a mystical promise, that through making the endeavor to change oneself – "to purify one's heart from all bad, with true *teshuvah*" – one will be given Divine assistance. "God will send a multitude of good thoughts" to the person so that he "will automatically become *tsubrokhen* in his heart,"[53] thus achieving the spiritual humility which is a

49. *Pokeaḥ Ivrim* (Brooklyn, 1973), chap. 9, p. 38; chap. 17, p. 42.
50. BT *Sotah* 22a.
51. This view of the book differs from that of Rappaport-Albert ("On Women in Hasidism," p. 515 n. 34). See Loewenthal, *Communicating the Infinite*, pp. 194–204.
52. The Yiddish *Pokeaḥ Ivrim* is paralleled by a very intense work in Hebrew by the same author, *Derekh Ḥayyim* (Kopys, 1819), which is clearly addressed to the male scholar. In *Derekh Ḥayyim* the "sins" of the learned reader have to be searched for with a magnifying glass. By contrast *Pokeaḥ Ivrim* speaks of more tangible issues: thoughts of adultery, drunkenness, and, in an additional section of the work which remained in manuscript until the twentieth century, relationships with non-Jewish women in the villages. See *Pokeaḥ Ivrim*, chaps. 27, 34.
53. *Pokeaḥ Ivrim*, chap. 19. Cf. *Tanya* 1, chap. 12, fol. 16b.

central goal in early Habad. For the scholar, the path to this is deep self-criticism, combined with contemplation in prayer; for the simple man, contrition for his sins. If its author indeed thought a woman might in some way peruse these ideas, this book can be seen as the expression of a significant spiritual step, a deliberate and further extension of the general mood of contrition, submission, and humility promulgated in contemporary ethical works for women.

Nonetheless, we cannot automatically assume that the inclusion in this work of passages directly addressed to women meant that they themselves read it. Their fathers or husbands may have been the purveyors of the relevant aspects of its content. Even so, we are left with the impression that the conversionary experience of becoming a *baal teshuvah* as an expression of personal spiritual advance[54] was one which related not only to the man who was striving to forsake his bad thoughts and achieve a new approach to prayer[55] but, in some way, to the female members of his family as well.

The second Yiddish work was a halakhic tract that addressed a complex subject relevant to men and to women alike: the blessings to be recited before and after eating. Two earlier works by Rabbi Shneur Zalman treated this topic,[56] as did a section of Rabbi Dov Ber's *Prayerbook* with hasidic teachings (1816). In 1820 this section was reprinted in slightly condensed form as an independent tract, *Seder Birkhot ha-Nehenin*, with the addition of a Yiddish translation.

This work may well have been aimed primarily at men. As such, its publication represents the aim of spreading meticulous halakhic observance within the wider reaches of the community. For Habad this also meant the enhancement of spirituality. The earlier popular Yiddish

54. This pietistic phenomenon differs from the contemporary revivalist *baal-teshuvah* movement set in a context of Western secularism, although there may be some shared characteristics. See J. Aviad, *Return to Judaism: Religious Revival in Israel* (Chicago, 1984).

55. See *Pokeaḥ Ivrim*, chaps. 23–24, which outline an approach to "hasidic" prayer suitable for the unlearned man.

56. Y. Mondshine, *Sifrei Halakhah shel Admur ha-Zaken: Torat Ḥabad* (Kfar Habad, 1988) vol. 2, p. 66. The first work, published in 1800, was titled *Luaḥ Birkhot ha-Nehenin*; a second revised version reportedly appeared in Rabbi Shneur Zalman's prayerbook (1803). Neither is extant today.

work *Lev Tov*,[57] repeatedly published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, gave instruction on blessings, but not to the extent and depth of the Habad tracts on this subject. The talmudic dictum, "One who wishes to be a hasid should be careful with the blessings over food,"[58] can be seen as a rationale for the emphasis on this topic in a branch of hasidism noted mainly for its mystical publications. Further, in terms of Rabbi Shneur Zalman's exposition of halakhic categories, women too were dutybound to know the proper blessings. It therefore seems likely that women were included among those who were to benefit from the Yiddish translation of *Seder Birkhot ha-Nehenin*. As in the case of *Pokeaḥ Ivrim*, they may have done so not by actually reading the work themselves, but by having suitable passages read out to them or paraphrased by their fathers or husbands. Nonetheless, the existence of the Yiddish translation brought this detailed knowledge closer to their purview.

What I have described as steps towards giving women further outlets for expression of spirituality must however be seen in their contemporary context. While Rabbi Shneur Zalman's *Hilkhot Talmud Torah* obligated women to attain a considerable amount of halakhic knowledge, throughout the nineteenth century only minimal steps were taken towards the realization of this goal.[59] Women did not engage in

57. Yitzhak ben Elyakum of Posen's *Lev Tov* was first published in Prague, 1620 and was frequently republished. It was reissued in Shklov in 1789 and in 1793, making it available to Habad followers.

58. BT *Bava Kamma* 30a. It appears in the second edition of the *Table of Blessings* (1801) at the end of the book in a printer's note. For a mystical explanation of the function of the daily blessings, see Dov Ber's *Biurei ha-Zohar* (Kopys, 1816), fol. 120d.

59. According to Rabbi Yosef Yitzhak Schneersohn (d. 1950), in 1879 the fourth-generation Habad leader Rabbi Shmuel publicly called for increased teaching of "the ways of hasidut" for girls (*Iggerot Kodesh... R. Yosef Yitzhak*, vol. 3 [Brooklyn, 1983], p. 469). There are traditions in some Habad families that even before this there were a small number of women who studied hasidic teachings. One such is Rochel-Leah Kugel (née Segalovitch), born around the middle of the nineteenth century, who was reputedly taught hasidic teachings by her father. In the presence of men, however, she studied only those texts generally considered appropriate for women, such as the *Tzena u-Re'ena*. She sometimes studied with two or three other women (oral communication from her grandson, the celebrated hasid Rabbi Mendel Futerfas, 10 December 1994). See below, p. 54. Her daughter, Maryasha Badana Futerfas (c. 1871–1955), mother of Rabbi Mendel, likewise is said to have studied hasidic teachings. A woman in another family who is known to have been a scholar of Habad

contemplative prayer, had no role that we can identify in the hasidic courts of Habad, and as far as we know did not meet with other women in order to study.

Education and Activism

Not surprisingly, in the twentieth century this began to change, in a context of the rapid development of orthodox education for girls in Eastern Europe. This was largely due to the founding of the Beis Yaakov school system by Sarah Schenierer (1883–1935), an unmarried seamstress from Cracow. The first Beis Yaakov school was founded in her home city in 1917; twenty years later there were 250 such schools operating in Eastern Europe with tens of thousands of students.[60]

Primarily an educational movement which founded schools for Polish Jewish girls and a teachers' seminary in Cracow, Beis Yaakov is usually portrayed as a bold step educationally,[61] or, interestingly, as a model for Jewish feminism.[62] Examination of some of the sources relating to this movement in its pre-war form[63] indicates that for its inner circle members and leaders, it may also be seen as a unique variety of feminine spirituality in a loose hasidic context.

Before proceeding further, we must define "spirituality," hasidic spirituality in particular. The social and economic changes associated

teachings was Bluma Kesselman (d. 1983), wife of Rabbi Shlomoh Chaim Kesselman (d. 1971), head of the Habad yeshivah in Lod and Kfar Habad. Her father was Rabbi Zev Wolf Bronstein, a Habad hasid thought of as an exemplary figure ("a *benoni*"). Born early in the twentieth century, she is described as sitting on the veranda in a rocking chair in Lod c. 1952 studying hasidic teachings from a manuscript, or hectograph of a manuscript (oral communication from Nachman Sudak, head of Habad in the UK, who was then a student in the yeshivah). The Habad teachings available in manuscript versions were of a particularly advanced nature, replete with kabbalistic terminology.

60. See S. Schenierer, *Em be-Yisrael: Kitvei Sarah Shenirer* (revised edition; Bnei Brak, 1975); Z. Scharfstein, *Toledot ha-Ḥinukh be-Yisrael be-Dorot ha-Aḥaronim*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 141–56; D. Weissman, "Bais Yaakov: A Historical Model for Jewish Feminists," in *The Jewish Woman*, ed. E. Koltun (New York, 1976), pp. 139–48.
61. See Zolty "*And All Your Children Shall Be Learned*," chap. 9, pp. 263–300.
62. Weissman, "Bais Yaakov: A Historical Model" (n. 60 above).
63. The present discussion of spirituality – rather than simply "orthodoxy" – in the Beis Yaakov movement concerns only its pre-war history.

with the process of modernity were accompanied by what has been described as "a decline or dilution of otherworldliness";[64] consequently the tangible material world dominates one's thinking. Even time becomes "money." The veiling of the sense of the infinite (or divine) within the world is complemented by changes in human relationships which are dominated by rationality rather than love: "a career comes before friendship."[65] There is also a concomitant loss of the sense of brotherhood: "brothers" become "others." The contrary process, the rediscovery of the spiritual, especially in hasidism – bearing in mind the balance of Upper and Lower Unities – involves both an intensification of otherworldliness and the development of close personal relationships: love, between leader and disciples and between the disciples themselves.[66]

The question has been raised to what degree secularization made inroads among the "orthodox" in the twentieth century: while espousing and "believing" in suprarational concepts, a person might still fall pray to a process of despiritualization.[67] Jewish life in interwar Poland was

64. See S. Sharot, "Magic, Religion, Science and Secularization," in *Religion, Science and Magic in Concert and in Conflict*, ed. J. Neusner, E. S. Frerichs, P. V. McCracken Flesher (New York, 1989), p. 272. At the same time there were countermovements in society at large which developed new secular forms of "otherworldliness," i.e., the early-twentieth-century revolutionary developments in the arts. See Kandinsky's discussion of the musicians and artists of his time in "otherworldly" terms: of Schoenberg's music he said that it "leads us into a realm where musical experience is a matter not of the ear but of the soul alone"; he described a group of painters who "sought for the 'inner' by way of the 'outer'"; noted Cezanne's gift "of divining the inner life in everything"; as well as the way Henri Matisse "endeavors to reproduce the divine" (W. Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, first published in German [Munich, 1912], English translation by M. T. H. Sadler [New York, 1977], pp. 17–18).
65. This was the explanation given by Y. Kanar, a cellist who became a Habad hasid – himself known as a contemplative – for the diminishing of the practice of contemplative mystical prayer (interview by author, April 1994). Max Weber states that "one of the fundamental elements of the spirit of modern capitalism... [and]... of all modern culture [is] rational conduct on the basis of the idea of a calling" (*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. T. Parsons [London, 1989], p. 180).
66. For an example in early Hasidism, see Z. Gries, "Mi-Mitos la-Etos – Kavim li-Demuto shel R. Avraham mi-Kalisk," *Umah ve-Toledoteha*, ed. S. Ettinger (Jerusalem, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 117–46.
67. See N. Loewenthal, "Social Ramifications of Habad Divine Service in the Twentieth Century" (Hebrew), in Mendel Piekarz volume, ed. D. Asaf, I. Etkes (forthcoming).

characterized by "extreme divisiveness, factionalism, personal hatreds"[68] while even the hasidic shtiebl was not immune to outbreaks of social violence.[69] Internally, Polish Orthodoxy was politicized by the establishment of Agudat Yisrael, a political movement supported by the Gerer Rebbe but not by the Belzer Rebbe. Within Agudah itself, as characterized by Gershon Bacon, "at every step of the way, controversy raged."[70]

To the extent that otherworldly experience existed within this structure, there was a vast contrast between its availability for men or for women. A man or a youth could encounter varying aspects of religious-intellectual, emotional, spiritual, or possibly mystical life in the yeshivot and hasidic courts of the time. Jiri Langer's *Nine Gates*, a Czech work on hasidism, provides an example of how a youth from a westernized background could become inspired by contact with the hasidic environment. Langer (1894–1943), a native of Prague and a friend of Kafka, was strongly influenced by his personal encounter with the Belzer rebbe, Rabbi Issakhar Dov Rokeach (d.1927).[71]

Women and girls, on the other hand, had very little access to this kind of experience. In many hasidic courts a woman could meet the rebbe and ask him for a blessing, usually by means of a written note called a *kvittel*. This meeting might fill her with awe. But this was as far as direct communication went. Of Rabbi Issakhar Dov, Langer writes: "The saint never looks on the face of a woman. If he must speak to women – as, when he receives a *kvittel* – he looks out of the window while he speaks."[72]

68. E. Mendelsohn, "Jewish Politics in Interwar Poland: An Overview," in *The Jews of Poland between Two World Wars*, ed. Y. Gutman et al. (Hanover and London, 1989), p. 13.
69. See S. D. Kassow "The Interwar Shtetl," ibid., p. 205, where he describes a brawl in a hasidic synagogue on Yom Kippur 1932.
70. G. C. Bacon, "Agudat Israel in Interwar Poland," ibid., p. 34; see also p. 25.
71. In his *Nine Gates* (trans. from the Czech by Stephen Jolly [London, 1961], pp. 12–17) he tells of a waking vision he had of the rebbe and describes, among other aspects of his five years with the hasidim, the spiritual intensity of their dancing on a festival, and the way the rebbe's solo dance filled him with awe. He also relates the rebbe's recommendation that he study Elijah de Vidas' *Reshit Ḥokhmah*, a compendium of passages from the Zohar intended as a guide for one's spiritual life.
72. Ibid., p. 11.

Whether or not the rebbe actually looked at a woman, one should not underestimate the spiritual effect of such a meeting.[73] However, in general it was their fathers, husbands, or brothers who went to the rebbe, while the women stayed at home.[74] In Poland, in strong contrast to their brothers, the girls were very likely to attend the Polish *gymnasia* where, despite encountering intense antisemitism, they also developed a strong interest in Polish literature and secular values. At home, the "modern" girl, who possibly espoused Marxism and other revolutionary ideologies, would appear at the Sabbath meals in stylish immodest attire, her head in a novel; meanwhile her father was bent over a page of Talmud – which he would discuss with his sons.[75] The young Polish Jewess regarded her parents as old-fashioned and her brothers as fanatics. The rapidly growing rift between the generations and, perhaps even more so, between the sexes, received practical expression in the question of where yeshivah-trained hasidic young men would find suitable brides.[76]

In this context the interwar Beis Yaakov movement represented two different goals. One was the affirmation of orthodox practice, such as Shabbat observance and strictly modest dress. The second, which concerned primarily its inner circle, was a strong move towards

73. For an example from Hungarian hasidism, see R. L. Klein, *The Scent of Snowflowers: A Chronicle of Faith, Hope and Survival in War-Ravaged Budapest* (New York, 1989), pp. 80–82, 433–34. The author recounts a visit to Rabbi Shalom Lazer Halberstam of Ratfeld (1862–1944), son of the Zanzer Rebbe, in January 1944, during which she asked for a blessing to survive the war, together with her husband and unborn child. Later, at a moment of great danger while posing as an Aryan, her baby in her arms, she had a waking vision of the rebbe giving her the blessing, which endowed her with new confidence (p. 434). Concerning the question of using such material as a historical source, see below, p. 33–34.
74. See Rapoport-Albert, "On Women in Hasidism" (n. 1 above), p. 497 for the early period of Hasidism, and D. Rubin, "Sarah Schenierer," in *Daughters of Destiny* (Brooklyn, 1988), p. 170, for an impressionist view of the same phenomenon in the early decades of the twentieth century.
75. See Schenierer, *Em be-Yisrael*, vol. 1, p. 19, and Weissman, "Bais Yaakov: A Historical Model," p. 141.
76. Ibid. Weissman correctly spots this as the crux of the matter. See also M. Dansky, *Rebbetzin Grunfeld* (Brooklyn, 1994), p. 157, which quotes the contemporary Gerer Rebbe, Avraham Mordekhai Alter (d. 1948), as saying: "I have thousands and thousands of *bachurim* [young unmarried men] among my followers, but I am not sure whether there exists even for ten of those young men, girls who are fit and willing to share their Torah governed lives."

spirituality, in both the sense of otherworldly experience and of dedicated love.

The means to attain the first goal was the school environment and its rules (some of which also applied when the student was at home) and the curriculum of organized Jewish education for girls. This focused on the Pentateuch with the commentary of Samson Raphael Hirsch, popular sections of the Prophets and Writings, liturgy for weekdays, Sabbaths, and festivals, Ethics of the Fathers, practical Jewish law especially as it relates to the daily life of a woman, and Jewish history "from creation to the present."[77] Interestingly, given the strong influence of the hasidic tradition on the movement, there was no specifically hasidic element in the curriculum.[78] The formal studies – which also included German and Polish literature, pedagogy, and psychology – were intended to create a literate informed person dedicated to orthodoxy, who could be the wife of a pietist of any kind, whether hasid or mitnaged. She would not necessarily be a hasidic follower in any sense, but she would meticulously observe Jewish law.

The means to attain the second goal were quite different, and will be considered below. Through them the members of the inner circle became women with spiritual authority and power, loosely related to the general male hasidic movement, but actually participants in a unique feminine version of hasidism.

Although the contemporary Beis Yaakov movement in Israel, the USA, and Britain represents the norms and values of the ultra-orthodox enclave, its inception was a radical step.[79] Its radicalism lay in two aspects: first, in its aim of providing organized Jewish education for girls, which was hitherto frowned upon in Eastern Europe, and, second, in its goal of

77. See Scharfstein, *Toledot ha-Ḥinukh be-Yisrael*, p. 147. The curriculum is discussed in D. Weissman's unpublished MA thesis, "Bais Ya'akov; A Women's Educational Movement in the Polish Jewish Community: A Case Study in Tradition and Modernity" (New York University, n.d.), pp. 70–71, citing *Bais Yaakov Journal* 39–40 (Spring, 1929).

78. Weissman, "Bais Ya'akov: A Woman's Educational Movement," p. 71, citing J. L. Orlean's standardized curriculum, *Yahadus-Program: Fun Ershter Biz Zekster Batailung*. See also his *Program fun'm Yahadus Limud far di Beis Yakov Shulen in Poiln* (Warsaw, 1931).

79. Weissman, "Bais Yaakov: A Historical Model," p. 139.

reaching out to the somewhat "assimilated" albeit Yiddish-speaking girl in order to draw her into a society dedicated to the Eastern European extreme of Jewish observance. In this sense, Beis Yaakov was a movement of outreach. Even among its inner circle, the students in direct contact with Sarah Schenierer in Cracow, there were girls who had to modify their behavior upon entering the seminary, in order to conform to its stricter norms regarding such issues as modest attire.[80] This point will be discussed below.

Religious outreach activism is in and of itself not spirituality; although in some cases it may be fueled by spirituality. How did Sarah Schenierer induce a teenage girl to alter some aspect of her behavior, especially her style of dress? One could say, through bargaining: in exchange for keeping my rules, I will provide you with knowledge of Jewish sources.[81] But we must also enquire what induced the same teenage girl, soon after, to go off to a strange townlet somewhere in Poland and found a new Beis Yaakov school? Here the sources suggest an additional quality: the charisma of a spiritual leader.

At this point we pause to consider the personality of Sarah Schenierer herself. She came from a family of Zanzer hasidim. Both her writings and her Polish diary portray an intensely spiritual young woman, who was delighted to receive a set of *Ḥok le-Yisrael* – a kabbalistic anthology of Torah literature, including the Zohar, arranged for daily study – with a Yiddish translation.[82] This she studied assiduously, as well as talmudic stories and the neo-Orthodox writings of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch.[83] She was fully aware of the rifts in Polish Jewish society and the problems caused by the lack of Jewish education for girls. At the beginning of the First World War her family moved temporarily to Vienna, where she encountered Rabbi Dr. Flesch, a neo-Orthodox exponent of Jewish history and an advocate of contemporary women playing their "historic" role in Judaism. In 1917, back in Cracow, she

80. Dansky, *Rebbetzin Grunfeld*, p. 92.

81. See p. 38–39 below.

82. This Lurianic work was first published in Egypt in 1740 and has been frequently published since. An edition with a Yiddish translation appeared in Warsaw, 1896. See Schenierer, *Em be-Yisrael*, vol. 1, pp. 21–22.

83. See Schenierer, *Em be-Yisrael*, vol. 1, p. 27 and Scharfstein, *Toledot ha-Ḥinukh be-Yisrael*, vol. 2, p. 148.

opened her first school for girls, with a blessing from Rabbi Issakhar Dov, the Belzer Rebbe.[84] At first this was the only support she received. Eventually, however, Beis Yaakov was adopted by Agudat Yisrael, with the approval of leading figures such as the Gerer Rebbe (Rabbi Avraham Mordekhai), the Hafetz Haim, and Rabbi Meir Shapiro. Beis Yaakov schools were set up all over Poland and Lithuania, with fund-raising committees active in Europe, South Africa, and the USA.

My premise is that, for the inner circle of her pupils, Sarah Schenierer functioned not only as a radical educator, but as a spiritual leader, leading her followers on a path which combined a German neo-Orthodox concept of Jewish education with a feminine version of hasidic spirituality.

An example of an otherworldly, spiritual focus in the religious life of Beis Yaakov was *Yom Kippur katan*. Observed on the eve of the new moon, fasting on this day was a kabbalistic practice which became popularized through prayer books such as Nathan Hanover's *Shaarei Zion* (Premyshlan, 1917). The late Judith Grunfeld (d. 1998), a teacher at the Cracow seminary from 1924 to 1929, describes its distinctive observance in Beis Yaakov:

> Sarah Schneirer (!), followed by one hundred and twenty girls, would walk to the Rama's Shul in the Cracow ghetto... After everyone had d a v e n e d [prayed] there, we walked to the graves of... the Rama [R. Moshe Isserlis]... the Bach (R. Yoel Surkis)... and... the Tosefos Yom Tov (R. Yom Tov Lipman Heller). Our *Tehillim* in hand, we assembled around the tombstones. The atmosphere of *kedushah* [holiness] and tranquillity around the graves of the *tzaddikim* inspired the young girls.[85]

Sarah Schenierer's transformation of this day into a time for her girls to visit the cemetery and say Psalms among the tombstones, which diverged from the conventional mode of fasting and recitation of supplicatory prayers (*seliḥot*),[86] was an inspired move in her quest to recapture the

84. Scharfstein, op. cit., p. 145; see Schenierer, *Em be-Yisrael*, pp. 24–26, 28. The Bobover Rebbe, Ben Zion Halberstam (d. 1941), opposed the venture. See Grunfeld's memoir in *Daughters of Destiny* (n. 74 above), p. 135.
85. Grunfeld's memoir, *Daughters of Destiny*, p. 133.
86. See *Magen Avraham*, sec. 3 to *Shulḥan Arukh: Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, sec. 417.

spiritual.[87] The visits of the twentieth-century Beis Yaakov students with Sarah Schenierer to the graves of Zaddikim opened a channel of personal spiritual encounter. As described by Chava Weissler in her study of Yiddish *tekhines*, gravevisiting was an authentic facet of the spirituality of Ashkenazi women. Eleven of the 120 Yiddish prayers in *Seder Tkhines [u-]Vakoshes* are related to such visits.[88] Moreover, gravevisiting is an important kabbalistic practice; in the writings of Rabbi Hayyim Vital, it is associated with one of the most intense spiritual practices described in the Lurianic literature, that of *yiḥudim*, in which the soul of the departed Zaddik bonds with the souls of the living.[89]

This practice was adopted in a modified and limited form by the hasidic movement. Both the Braslav and Habad groups created texts guiding one's thoughts and feelings when visiting Rabbi Nahman's grave in Uman or the grave of one of the departed Habad leaders in Haditz, Niezhin, or Lubavitch.[90] But, one feels, the Beis Yaakov girls needed no special texts: the Book of Psalms itself mediated between the realms of the living and the dead, especially given the inspiring presence of Sarah Schenierer herself.

The lasting impact of this experience emerges from an anecdote dating to the Nazi period in Cracow. While the source for this anecdote is a Holocaust memoir written by Pearl Benisch (née Mandelker) in Israel in the 1980s and, as such, must be approached by the historian with caution,[91] the aim at this point in this paper is not to seek historical facts,

87. Grunfeld's description suggests that this was seen as an innovation.
88. See Weissler, "Traditional Piety of Ashkenazic Women" (n. 14 above), p. 248. See also pp. 262–67 concerning the female practice of measuring graves with candlewick and laying the wicks on the eve of Yom Kippur. See also idem, "Religion of Traditional Ashkenazi Women" (n. 18 above), p. 81.
89. See Vital's *Sha'ar Ruaḥ ha-Kodesh* (Tel Aviv, 1963), pp. 74–75; idem, *Sha'ar ha-Yiḥudim* (Koretz, 1783), fols. 4c–5b. See also L. Fine, "The Contemplative Practice of *Yiḥudim* in Lurianic Kabbalah," in *Jewish Spirituality*, vol. 2, pp. 64–98, esp. pp. 79–83.
90. In the nineteenth century Habad texts for gravevisiting were printed under the title *Inyan Hahishtaṭḥut* (Shklov, n.d.; Warsaw, 1864, 1871; Lemberg, 1873). Some editions also included Braslav material (Lublin, 1909; Warsaw, 1922, 1928).
91. See J. E. Young, "Interpreting Literary Testimony: A Preface to Rereading Holocaust Diaries and Memoirs," *New Literary History* 18 (1987), pp. 403–23. I would like to thank Dr. David Bankier for bringing this article to my attention.

which may seem elusive when different observers give different accounts of the same events, but traces of spirituality, which arguably are more resilient.[92] Even when these accounts do not record actual events, but fictions, the nature of the fiction is also significant.

According to Pearl Benisch's recollections, in early 1941 a young Jewish girl was interned in the Montelupich prison in Cracow. For several months two of her friends from Beis Yaakov, Pearl and another girl,[93] managed to bring her kosher food. Prior to embarking on the significantly more dangerous step of asking for her release, however, Pearl made a special trip to the grave of Sarah Schenierer in the new Cracow cemetery on Jerosolimska Street. She describes her horror at seeing the heap of naked bodies in the cleansing room: so many people had been killed there was no time to bury them properly. Then she walked to the graves, which were still intact.

> I knew my way around and soon found the grave of our teacher, Sarah Schenierer. There I poured out my heart in prayer over what I had just seen, over the disaster which had befallen our people. I cried to our mother Sarah for help... "Mother," I cried, "...Please intervene with the Court of Heaven. One of your children is in the claws of a beast; she must be helped. Mother, I know you cannot observe her pain and remain unmoved. I know you will do all you can, and with God's help you will succeed."
>
> I stepped out of the cemetery, my peace of mind restored... I headed home with renewed hope.[94]

Even if this account of the daring attempt to rescue their friend is exaggerated, or invented – which I find unlikely – nonetheless, the inclusion

92. Ibid., pp. 417, 421.
93. Rivkah Horowitz-Pinkusewitz, who assisted Benisch in the writing of the book.
94. P. Benisch, *To Vanquish the Dragon* (Jerusalem and New York, 1991), p. 81. The preceding passage (p. 80) makes it clear that the author is addressing Sarah Schenierer (not the Matriarch Sarah). Scharfstein speaks of women visiting the grave of Sarah Schenierer before the war (*Toledot ha-Ḥinukh be-Yisrael*, vol. 2, p. 148). Benisch expresses her disappointment that after the war the grave of Sarah Schenierer could not be found: it was just somewhere in "a vast empty stretch of grass" (p. 81). Gravevisiting continues to be a feature of the modern Gerer hasidic woman's life; see n. 120 below.

of this gravevisiting scene still constitutes an expression of an otherworldly dimension of spiritual life.

This passage reveals both the spirituality of gravevisiting and also an intense personal relationship with Sarah Schenierer. How was this bond created? As reflected in Judith Grunfeld's and other memoirs, Sarah Schenierer's relationship with her pupils was based on firmness, strength of will, and also love and the gift of intimacy. Yet another traditional hasidic ingredient played a role in the creation of the Beis Yaakov atmosphere: the power of dance. Repeated references are made to Sarah Schenierer dancing with her pupils, far from the gaze of any man, while singing *ve-taher libenu*, "purify our hearts." The following excerpt describes this ecstatic dancing at the close of Yom Kippur:

> We were so caught up in the day's holiness and intensity that after the fast, instead of running to eat, we began to sing and dance. Where we found strength I cannot imagine, but we just kept on dancing. I can remember clearly how our voices rang out to the tunes of *ashrei ha-ish* and *vetaher libenu* and how we danced in circles around and around and around.[95]

Clearly, this group of girls experienced a religious fervour comparable to that of their brothers at a rebbe's court. It is not surprising that, in her depiction of Beis Yaakov, Judith Grunfeld drew her terms of reference from the hasidic movement:

> Here among the girls, the inspiration of the chassidic life had found its way into the woman's world. It had formed its own style, softened and differently molded, but it was of the same fiber that made the chassidim crowd round their Rebbe, made them stand for hours to catch a glimpse of him.[96]

This sense of love and dedication was not directed solely to Sarah Schenierer. For some of the girls, at least, it was demonstrably a determining factor in their future relationships with each other. This is illustrated by the history of the *Zehnnerschaft*, a group of ten young

95. B. (Epstein) Bender, "The Life of a Bais Yaakov Girl," in *Daughters of Destiny* (n. 74 above), p. 181. Weissman comments on the dancing with Sarah Schenierer as providing the female equivalent of the male hasidic experience of dancing with a rebbe ("Bais Yaakov: A Women's Educational Movement," p. 120).
96. Dansky, *Rebbetzin Grunfeld*, p. 142.

women which formed in the Plaszow labour camp in the spring of 1943 and remained a cohesive unit for almost two years in Plaszow, Auschwitz, and Bergen-Belsen.[97]

There were many mutual-assistance groups in the camps, whose members were bound by shared ties.[98] A key factor in the formation of the Zehnnerschaft was the fact that nine of its members had attended the Beis Yaakov teachers' seminary. As one of them stated: "Our years in the seminary not only forged an unbreakable bond between us. They also provided us with the moral 'fundament' on which we drew during our stay in the Nazi camps."[99]

Rivka Horowitz, a single woman in her mid-twenties, cared for the members' physical needs. Rivka Englard, also single, was the group's spiritual leader.

> In Auschwitz, sometimes we used to walk about near the barracks after work. It was near the crematorium and the smoke would choke us. But Rivka [Englard] would go out with one or two of us to walk and talk about the past, just like the moral discussions we used to have before the war. Why did we talk about the past, not the present or the future? Because we had no choice but to live in the present and we saw no future. So we talked about the past. But we would walk and talk and somehow gain courage.[100]

97. J. Tydor Baumel, "Social Interaction among Jewish Women in Crisis during the Holocaust: A Case Study," *Gender and History* 7 (1995), pp. 64–84.
98. Tydor Baumel cites the work of Shamai Davidson, who interviewed Holocaust survivors worldwide (ibid., pp. 64, 82 n. 4). See Davidson's "Human Reciprocity among the Jewish Prisoners in the Nazi Concentration Camps," in *The Nazi Concentration Camps: Proceedings of the Fourth Yad Vashem International Historical Conference, Jerusalem, January 1980*, ed. Y. Gutman and A. Saf (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 555–72.
99. Tydor Baumel, "Social Interaction," p. 66, based on an interview with Rachel Shantzer Teller in 1990.
100. Ibid., p. 69, from an interview with Rachel Shantzer Teller in 1987. Throughout *To Vanquish the Dragon* Benisch notes the struggle to maintain minimal levels of religious observance in the camps. These efforts evoked a sustaining sense of spiritual purpose and achievement. See also Y. Eliach, "Jewish Tradition in the Life of the Concentration Camp Inmate," in *The Nazi Concentration Camps*, pp. 195–206, and idem, *Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust* (New York, 1982), which she based on interviews. Care must be exercised in approaching this material; see E. Schweid, *From Ruin to Salvation* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv, 1994), pp. 126, 227. See also the next note.

Faced with the horrors of the present there was no simple system of thought which would answer every question.[101] Rivka Englard's ability to "talk" in Auschwitz is evidence of a deep spiritual vitality, and a sense of love and responsibility towards those with whom she would walk and talk, making the unbearable seem bearable.

One of the factors which distinguished the Zehnnerschaft from other mutual assistance groups was its willingness to extend help to non-members.[102] Another interesting point was the fact that the nine Beis Yaakov girls agreed to include a tenth, who was not observant. Given our knowledge of the orthodox enclave's battle against modernity we might expect this group of orthodox girls to exclude her. But having experienced the added tragedy of losing her five-year-old son in a grotesque farce engineered by the Nazis, the group adopted her as a member – even though she did not become observant.[103] If the process of diminution of spirituality is one in which "brothers" become "others," here we seem to have the reverse. The Beis Yaakov experience provided a fount of spirituality from which these young women drew during this time of ultimate crisis.

These qualities of love also emerge from the Holocaust memoir written by Pearl Benisch, who was one of the Zehnnerschaft. Indeed, for her this is the focal point of reality in her appalling experience. Of course, it is difficult to corroborate her stories. Yet the issue here is not so much the specific events, as the values which their portrayal expresses. One anecdote relates the kindness of an anonymous *kapo* in Auschwitz-Birkenau. Hiding behind a facade of shouted insults and epithets, she

101. On the crisis of faith for the orthodox during the Holocaust, see M. Piekarz, *Ideological Trends of Hasidism in Poland During the Interwar Period and the Holocaust* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 326, 380–92.
102. Rachel Shantzer recalled: "One night we smuggled a number of jam jars into our barracks and divided their contents among the prisoners. It was like watching a dream come true, seeing the reactions of the other women who had no access to the kitchen or camp pantry. We knew the punishment was lashes, or even death, but were willing to risk it in order to share what we had with the other girls, giving them a taste of 'heaven' in our little hell" (Tydor Baumel, "Social Interaction," p. 72, from an interview in 1988. See p. 76 for a description of contrary behavior by another mutual-assistance group which would not share its bounty with others).
103. Ibid., pp. 73–74.