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Abigail Weisberger 4/14/2014

Jewish Chronotopes: Sites of Memory in the Autobiographies of Gershom Scholem and Walter Benjamin

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Abstract

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Eminent German-Jewish scholars Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) and Gershom Scholem (1897-1982) contributed in key ways to Weimar intellectual culture and had a well-documented friendship. Although they grew up in Berlin during the same period, their autobiographies yield almost opposing narrative structures. Through a collection of vignettes, Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood around 1900* (1938) focuses on sensory objects and places as seen from the perspective of a child. In contrast, Scholem's *From Berlin to Jerusalem* (1977) depicts the trajectory of his life in a straightforward narrative: namely, his journey from the Berlin of his youth to his adult life in Jerusalem. These two thinkers exemplify not just divergent views on Judaism in early twentieth-century Germany, but also the different usages of autobiography to express Jewish identity. Using *Berlin Childhood* and *From Berlin to Jerusalem* as a case study for Jewish autobiographical literature, I examine the authors' Jewish self-image through the concepts of space and time. These autobiographies are a prism through which one can understand Jewish reactions to and conceptualizations of their own marginality in a period of rupture.

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I dedicate this thesis to my father, Adam Weisberger.

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Introduction

According to Gershom Scholem, modernity originates with revolt against the accepted, prevailing order. In *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626-1676* (1973), he studies the seventeenth-century rabbi whose messianic claims and conversion to Islam split the Jewish world. Rather than obey the prescribed Halakhah, Sabbatai and his followers posited that pure faith alone secured salvation. This act, Scholem argues, broke the barriers of conventional Jewish faith and weakened obedience to the Halakhah. More broadly, it illustrates that Jewish history – and life in general – is struggle and conflict. The path to holiness is through sin, and by living beyond the law, a social group can inaugurate a new age. Perhaps Scholem was sensitized to revolutionary trends in Jewish life, as he himself lived during a revolutionary time. Rather than passively accepting their inferior status, German Jewry rebelled against the acculturation and intensifying anti-Semitism of Germany under Prussian dominance through a revival of religious consciousness. In an environment hostile to them, some sought intellectual community and the systematic transmission of Jewish knowledge, as evidenced by Franz Rosenzweig's establishment of the Frankfurt Free Jewish Lehrhaus in 1920.[1] Others turned to Eastern European Jewry for what they perceived as Jewish authenticity, idealizing images of non-German Jewish types through literature.[2] Germany became a creative center of both Hebrew and Yiddish literature and scholarship in the early 1920s, and Jewish art, theater, and music flourished. Youth movements and Zionist migration also gained popularity. In the midst of modern secular culture, Jews sought to express a cultural Jewish distinctiveness.

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[1] Additionally, Michael Brenner writes that such publications as the *Jüdisches Lexikon* and *Encyclopaedia Judaica* redefined the contents of Judaism and created a modern Jewish consciousness among German-speaking Jews (*The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany*, 112).

[2] Martin Buber's *The Tales of Rabbi Nachman* (1906) and Gustav Meyrink's *The Golem* (1914) typify such glorification of the spirituality of the Eastern European Jew.

Less researched, however, is autobiography as a form of expressing one's Jewishness at this time. Recent studies on memory, such as Caroline Schaumann's *Memory Matters: Generational Responses to Germany's Nazi Past in Recent Women's Literature* (2008), analyze primary accounts and memoirs of Nazi Germany, the Holocaust, and postwar developments in Germany. Fewer Jewish autobiographies have been written in response to conservative Wilhelmine Germany and liberal Weimar Germany. Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) and Gershom Scholem (1897-1982) were German-Jewish intellectuals who turned inward and portrayed their own lives and circumstances through autobiographical writing. Their friendship became well-known when Scholem published *Walter Benjamin: The Story of a Friendship* (1975) and their 1932-1940 correspondence (1989). Although they are often studied for their philosophical disagreements, their autobiographical works have yet to be compared. This thesis presents a comparison of Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood around 1900* (1938) and Scholem's *From Berlin to Jerusalem* (1977) in order to shed light on the authors' expressions of Jewish identity.

Scholem and Benjamin vary in their religious and political views as much as literary styles. Although both rejected their parents' assimilationist, materialist lives, they dealt with their Jewishness differently. While Scholem was a Zionist attracted from a young age to the depth and richness of Jewish religion, literature, and culture, Benjamin tended toward secular Marxism. Scholem is known for renewing research and analysis of kabbalistic literature and Jewish mysticism and his historiographical approach to Judaism, whereas Benjamin's works communicate a politically oriented, materialist aesthetic theory. These tendencies shape the differing focuses and presentations of their autobiographical writings.

When discerning the ideological underpinnings of these works, it is important to note the different points in history at which Scholem and Benjamin write about their lives. Scholem

writes *From Berlin to Jerusalem* toward the end of his life, nearly 40 years after the events of the Holocaust and Benjamin's suicide in 1940. Despite this passage of time, he maintains his Zionist beliefs, articulating the essential Jewishness of his character. Benjamin, in contrast, writes *Berlin Childhood* beginning in 1932 in Spain and Italy, intermittently continuing his project until 1938, when anti-Semitism was rapidly worsening in Germany. Observing this situation, Benjamin seeks to memorialize his disappearing Berlin through literature. As a result, his work has a much more nostalgic tone than *From Berlin to Jerusalem*. While one can only speculate how Benjamin's views would have developed had he survived the Holocaust, in life he dithered ideologically. Scholem, though, had been critical of German-Jewish assimilationism since youth, emigrating to Palestine in 1923. He attempted for years to convince Benjamin to join him at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, but Benjamin never did so. While Scholem showed consistent interest in Jewish scholarship and religion, Benjamin was more ambivalent about his Jewish identity and did not deal with it as directly.

These differences can be seen in the autobiographies' textual characteristics. Scholem presents in a clear-cut narrative the development of his Jewish consciousness and Zionist faith as a young man. *From Berlin to Jerusalem* differs from a typical, comprehensive autobiography in that it leaves out those 55 years following Scholem's move to Jerusalem. Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood*, however, represents a more dramatic departure from classical autobiographical form. While Scholem's text spans childhood to adulthood, Benjamin only describes his boyhood years in Berlin. Whereas *From Berlin to Jerusalem* unfolds chronologically, *Berlin Childhood* comprises a collection of vignettes out of order and of varying length. Rather than addressing his Jewishness, Benjamin's aphorisms depict sensory objects and experiences as seen from the perspective of a child unaware of the political and social tensions of his surroundings. I argue

that by examining the narrative elements of these works, one brings to light Scholem's and Benjamin's respective Jewish experiences.

In the first chapter of this research, I study spaces of Jewish social life which emerge within the texts. Using a modern historical and sociological understanding of what makes a space "Jewish," I unearth spaces of Jewish activity in public and private spheres of Berlin, at the level of community and society as well as family and home. Space reveals the acculturation and marginality of German Jewry in the early twentieth century. My discussion of the Jewish spaces in which Scholem and Benjamin participated reveals not only their Jewish influences, but more generally how German Jews built communities in this period.

Second, I compare the spatial and temporal forms of Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood* and Scholem's *From Berlin to Jerusalem*. Benjamin's disjointed, aphoristic format gives rise to less discussion of Jewish social spaces than Scholem's narrative does. I bring Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of the "chronotope" as systematized in "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel" (1981) into conversation with Benjamin and Scholem. Using this methodology, I establish how Bakhtin and Benjamin describe artistic genres as specific spatiotemporal configurations. I then reveal how Benjamin joins space and time in *Berlin Childhood* to depict his perception of reality. Benjamin conveys his alienation and nostalgia by focusing on memories of spaces, and spaces where time passes in a certain way. Next, I reveal how Scholem emphasizes time over space to portray his Jewish development.

Having established time as a lens through which to view Jewish experiences represented in literature, I explore Benjamin's and Scholem's ideas on time in my third chapter. Both men have Jewish messianic understandings of history which manifest themselves in the temporal forms of their autobiographical works. Surveying their scholarship and political activity, I

demonstrate their adherence to the three main aspects of messianic time – return, rupture, and redemption – explaining how their messianism results in their conception of language and text as a vessel for truth. Then, I turn to their correspondence on Kafka to discuss their difference on revelation. Because Benjamin and Scholem represent their lives in messianic time, this difference determines the religiousness and clarity of the redemptive utopias which they imagine.

Walter Benjamin and Gershom Scholem exemplify not just divergent views on Judaism in early twentieth-century Germany, but also the different usages of autobiography to express Jewish identity. Using *Berlin Childhood* and *From Berlin to Jerusalem* as a case study for Jewish autobiographical literature, I examine the authors' Jewish self-image through space and time. These autobiographies are a prism through which one can understand Jewish reactions to and conceptualizations of their own marginality in a period of rupture.

Chapter I: Jewish Spaces of Community and Marginality in Berlin

Space is not an empty, meaningless category, but one that is filled with social meaning. In recent years, space has been employed to broaden the understanding of Jewish history and culture. Spaces described in literature provide insight into history and the lives of individuals. This chapter applies the concept of space as understood in Mikhail Bakhtin's literary theory of the chronotope,[5] as well as recent Jewish spatial studies, to the autobiographical works of Walter Benjamin and Gershom Scholem. Though they grew up in Berlin during the same period, their autobiographies yield almost opposing narrative structures. Through a collection of vignettes, Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood around 1900* (1938) focuses on sensory objects and places as seen from the perspective of a child. In contrast, Scholem's *From Berlin to Jerusalem* (1977) depicts the trajectory of his life in a straightforward narrative: namely, his journey from the Berlin of his youth to his adult life in Jerusalem. This chapter explores the spaces emerging from these literary forms in order to examine how Benjamin and Scholem express their Jewish identity.

In examining Jewish spaces within these texts, a definition for what makes a space "Jewish" is necessary. Recent research such as Barbara E. Mann's *Space and Place in Jewish Studies* (2012) and Julia Brauch's *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place* (2008) reveal spatial practices and experiences in contemporary Jewish life. Brauch, Lipphardt, and Nocke state, "Jewish *spaces* are understood as spatial environments in which Jewish things happen, where Jewish activities are performed, and which in turn are shaped and defined by those Jewish activities, such as a sukkah or a Bundist summer camp for children."[i] While also

[5] See Bakhtin's essay "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel" (1981) for his analysis of space and time in literary genres. In later chapters of this research, I compare the spatiotemporal configurations of Benjamin's and Scholem's autobiographical works. In this section, however, I bring in Bakhtin to express the assumption that spaces emerge from literature as a representation of real life. I employ two main ideas from his theory: 1) spaces in literature emerge as a result of narrative format, and 2) space is attached to time. I do not analyze here the various ways space is described in literature, nor do I discuss the ways spaces appear alongside temporal markers. Rather, I understand time and space as interrelated in the sense that I examine spaces which are portrayed as Jewish while bearing in mind the historical period in which Scholem and Benjamin write them to have appeared.

touching on geographically bound Jewish places, this chapter focuses on Jewish spaces that are enacted through Jewish presence and activity. Points of analysis are cafés and synagogues, for example. How did Jews produce communal spaces in order to interact with each other and practice Judaism? I find that in *Berlin Childhood* and *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, Jewish spaces emerge not so much as a result of their location as of their function: namely, the intellectual and spiritual community constructed by Jews in Berlin.

To discern the Jewish spaces represented in these works, this research combines recent socio-historical spatializing techniques with Bakhtin's emphasis on spaces in literature. Bakhtin's understanding of time and space as inseparable both in literature and in the living social world informs my analysis. I uncover those Jewish spaces in the texts where Jews lived and congregated as well as acted out their Judaism through ritual. Beginning with a discussion of Jewishness in public spaces before turning to the private sphere of the authors' families and homes, I argue that spatial forms in these autobiographical works reveal the Jewish influences of Benjamin's and Scholem's upbringings in Berlin.

A. Jewish Spaces in the Public Sphere

Scholem and Benjamin grew up in prosperous neighborhoods of Berlin at the turn of the century, a period of rapid modernization and population growth. Scholem was born in 1897 and lived first near the center of Berlin at Alexanderplatz before later moving to a larger apartment nearby.[ii] Benjamin spent much of his childhood in the wealthy western sections of the city at Berlin's Tiergarten. He was born in 1892 to assimilated Ashkenazi parents who moved from their home on Kurfürstenstrasse in West Berlin to increasingly affluent homes before settling in 1912 at 23 Delbrückstrasse, a villa bordering the royal hunting grounds. These homes were far

removed from the frenetic center of Berlin and the Jewish poverty of the East end.[iii] From 1850 to 1900, workers flowed into the city, the population quadrupling from 450,000 to 2 million.[iv] Whereas tenement housing in working-class areas of Berlin was dense and poorly equipped, Scholem's and Benjamin's neighborhoods were characterized by bourgeois security. Benjamin writes of his visits to his Auntie Lehmann in Steglitz, a section of West Berlin, "Her good North-German name secured her the right to occupy, over the course of a generation, the alcove that overlooked the intersection of Steglitzer Strasse and Genthiner Strasse. This street-corner was one of those least touched by the changes of the past thirty years."[v] Due to the status afforded her by her ethnically "German" surname, his aunt could live in the wealthiest sections of Berlin without the faintest traces of Otherness. Scholem's and Benjamin's homes were not located in Jewish-heavy areas; rather, they were dispersed among middle- and upper-class residences. They represented the pinnacle of German-Jewish bourgeoisie and assimilation.

Scholem, somewhat nostalgically, argues that his family's geographical relocation from Eastern Europe signaled a loss of Jewish identity. After the edict of 1812 granted free movement to Jews from those Prussian provinces before the partitions of Poland, Scholem's paternal great-grandfather migrated to Berlin from Glogau, the largest Jewish community in Silesia in the eighteenth century.[vi] His maternal family also came from eastern provinces with dense concentrations of Jews: "...the Hirsches and Pflaums, came from Reetz, a small place in the northeasternmost corner of the 'Neumark,' and from the large Jewish communities Rawicz and Lissa [Leszno] in the province of Poznan."[vii] Scholem suggests that as his ancestors integrated into the West, their Jewishness diminished: "My family had progressed from the traditional Orthodox Jewish lifestyle of the Jews from Silesia and Poznan, who constituted the overwhelming majority of Berlin Jewry, to an extensive assimilation of the lifestyle of their

surroundings."[viii] He uses cartographic imagery to map out that the movement from more heavily Jewish Eastern regions coincided with the reduction of Jewish rituals and practices within the home.

This diffusion of Jewish identity is reflected in the two authors' descriptions of their neighborhoods. These were upscale urban places characterized by wealth and comfort. In the vignettes "Loggias" and "Blumeshof 12," Benjamin reveals his childhood fascination with the courtyards of Berlin's West end. He would gaze down at these courtyards from the loggias[6] of his family home as well as his grandmother's Blumeshof residence. From the vantage point of the latter, he could hear voices but little street noise: "The district…was genteel and the activity in its courtyards never very agitated; something of the insouciance of the rich, for whom the work here was done, had been communicated to this work itself." Notably, Christian images pervaded these spaces. Benjamin writes that on Sundays, the vibrations from the bells from the Church of the Twelve Apostles and St. Matthew's would fill the Blumeshof loggia.[ix] Scholem, too, lived with reminders of Christianity. He notes that opposite his family's Neue Grünstrasse apartment, he could see the entrance to St. Peter's Parish.[x] Though Benjamin and Scholem were close in material wealth and spatial proximity to their Christian neighbors, the effect of such Christian activities was to set them apart socially, as they only perceive them in the distance of the Berlin landscape.

Cafés emerge in the texts as spaces where public and private overlapped and Jews could find familiarity and community. In the early decades of the twentieth century, Berlin's cafés witnessed flourishing Jewish literary and artistic life, attracting displaced and marginalized Jewish poets, painters, critics, philosophers, actors, and directors. Additionally, as Eastern

[6] A loggia is a roofed or arcaded open gallery or porch, often located on an upper story and overlooking a courtyard.

European Jews flowed into Berlin after World War I,[7] Hebrew and Yiddish modernist groups and movements came to fill the cafés. Because so much professional and intellectual activity took place in cafés – including journals, periodicals, and other publishing activities – they became a kind of spiritual home for Jews, a modern equivalent to the traditional Jewish "house of study" and Talmudic culture of intellectual debate and camaraderie.[xi] Several examples of such sociability can be found in *From Berlin to Jerusalem*. Scholem recalls attending meetings with the Zionist group Jung Juda (Young Judea) in a café at the Tiergarten railway station. "There," he writes, "the pupils of West Berlin secondary schools held their discussions and scheduled lectures, including a discussion with the circle around Gustav Wyneken's periodical *Der Anfang* [The Beginning] in the late fall of 1913."[xii] As a passionate young Zionist, Scholem found commonality with other young people who wanted to deal with their Jewishness directly. Scholem also notes that he first heard Walter Benjamin speak at this meeting, marking the beginning of their long friendship. Scholem recalls drinking coffee with two other intellectual figures in the text: Gustav Meyrink (or Gustav Meyer), a mystically-inclined Austrian novelist famous for *The Golem* (1915), and the eminent Austrian-Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, who influenced Scholem in his decision to study Jewish tradition[xiii] and who first told him about the Jüdisches Volksheim (Jewish community center).[xiv] As evidenced by Scholem's social and spiritual development, Jews selected cafés as informal, protected social environments.

Although Jews often found intellectual stimulation and community there, cafés remained within the secularized public realm. Jewish café communities existed on the margins but intersected with majority society. Interestingly, though Benjamin does not yet participate in Jewish circles during the period in which *Berlin Childhood* takes place, he mentions cafés as part

[7] Brenner describes how Hebrew writers in Berlin multiplied in the years after the first Conference of Hebrew Language and Culture in 1909 (*The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany*, 197).

of the generally affluent atmosphere of Berlin. In the section "Two Brass Bands," he describes the music of the military band floating through the air as he strolled along the path of the zoo, where many cafés were located. The inner world and closed space of the café is permeated by the outside world, where the social and political pressures of Wilhelmine Berlin come into play. Scholem notes that his acculturated father also took part in the intellectual culture of cafés: "Until the outbreak of World War I he would go to a café by the Gertraudtenbrücke every Sunday where for two hours he read the *Manchester Guardian*, a paper that shaped his views at least as much as the *Berliner Tageblatt* (to which we subscribed)."[xv][8] Cafés were places where Jews read and formed their political beliefs—including anti-Zionist and assimilationist tendencies. Scholem's father exemplifies a move not toward Jewish community, but bourgeois secularization. The importance of status in the cafés is manifested in their names as well. The Café des Westens, one of Berlin's most popular literary cafés,[9] was known as "Café Größenwahn" (or "Café Megalomania"), and after it closed in 1915, the Romanisches Café inherited this name. Among the well-known Jewish habitués of the Café des Westens were Else Lasker-Schüler, Kurt Tucholsky, Stefan Zweig, and Joseph Roth, and Walter Benjamin.[xvi] Jews did not just find comfortable, private communities in these cafés, but social competition. Indeed, the Romanisches Café became known among the Yiddish clientele as "Cafe Rakhmonisches" (Cafe of Pity),[xvii] testifying to the Hebrew and Yiddish writers' feeling of marginality. Cafés marked Jews as others and fostered acculturation and conformity.

Synagogues are another key space which both allowed Jews to congregate in the public sphere and marked them as others. Scholem illustrates the decay of Jewish identity in his family by providing a contrast between his secular parents, who did not attend synagogue, and his more

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[9] In *Walter Benjamin: The Story of a Friendship*, Scholem mentions meeting regularly with Benjamin at the Café des Westens in the early years of their acquaintance (17).

observant grandparents. He describes how his maternal grandfather cofounded a small synagogue in Charlottenburg in the 1880s or '90s, and his grandmother strictly kept the fast and went to synagogue on Yom Kippur.[xviii] Synagogues were also an avenue through which Scholem connected with his Jewishness. When he started studying Hebrew and reading Zionist literature, he began visiting synagogues on his own. He remarks that the orthodox Alte Synagoge in central Berlin cultivated a distinct sense of community; most of its members took an active part in the service, and "there was a rapport between the cantor and the worshippers that was not easily found elsewhere."[xix] Although Jews found camaraderie in synagogues, they also set Jews apart geographically. The Alte Synagoge could be found "on Heidereuthergasse, a small street next to the Neuer Markt where most of the Jews had settled after their readmission to Berlin in 1671 and where a great many Jews still were living."[xx] Located in heavily Jewish areas, synagogues separated Jews from society. Jews were discriminated against for going to services, as Scholem writes, "Malicious souls used to say in the years before World War I that a headwaiter stood at the entrance to the well-known restaurant next to the Grosse Synagoge on Oranienburger Strasse (corner of Artilleriestrasse) and addressed the guests in their holiday finery as follows: 'The gentlemen who are fasting will be served in the back room.'"[xxi] Synagogues were separate Jewish places where community coincided with marginality.

B. Private Jewish Spaces: Home and Community

Although Benjamin's and Scholem's homes are rendered distinctly Jewish spaces by the presence of Jewish people by birth, their inhabitants kept little Jewish belief. Scholem's family has often been described for its ideological motley. While he turned toward Zionism, his brother Werner was a staunch Communist, and his father and mother remained secular bourgeois Jews.

The only Zionist in his family during Scholem's childhood was his paternal uncle Theobald, even though his father had received the same Jewish education.[xxii] Although his parents had learned to read Hebrew, the only remnant of his mother's Hebrew education was the ability to recite the prayer *Shema Yisrael* from memory without understanding its meaning. Where his mother declined to participate in the Zionist discussion, preferring instead not to "be tied down"[xxiii] to one point of view, his father's German nationalism ruled the house. Scholem writes, "once or twice a year my father used to make a speech at the dinner table in praise of the mission of the Jews. According to him, that mission was to proclaim to the world pure monotheism and a purely rational morality."[xxiv] A member of the strictly anti-Zionist Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith,[xxv] his father espoused secularist rationality and vehemently opposed Scholem's budding Zionism. He admonished his son for abandoning mathematics in favor of Hebraic studies: "My son the gentleman is interested in *Yiddishkeit*. So I say to my son the gentleman: All right, become a rabbi, then you can have all the *Yiddishkeit* you want. No, my son the gentleman won't hear of becoming a rabbi. Unprofitable pursuits."[xxvi] This ideological conflict between Scholem and his father eventually led to the former's expulsion from the home. As for Benjamin's family, only the Judaism of his parents is addressed. He writes that one year, in an unusual occurrence, his mother arranged for him to attend a ceremony at a Reform synagogue out of "some sympathy on account of family tradition."[xxvii] Although here it is noted that his mother grew up with Reform Judaism, Howard Eiland's incomplete English translation provides no details about his father's upbringing. The original German passage reveals that Benjamin's father was raised orthodox Jewish but neglected to carry on this tradition with his children.[xxviii] The possible Jewishness of Benjamin's other family members, such as his aunt and

grandmother, is not discussed. Scholem's and Benjamin's homes contained members whose views did not often coincide with Orthodox Jewish doctrine.

As a result, Scholem's and Benjamin's homes were spaces in which Judaism was performed inconsistently. Scholem describes the muted Jewish tradition of his family: "the most varied and often peculiar fragments were still present in atomized form; and there was also a drifting (not always conscious) into a world which was to replace that tradition."[xxix] Such atoms of Judaism included observance of the Sabbath, which was "family night," and the first night of Passover each year. However, his family members practiced with ignorance and contempt. Scholem states that though they recited the *Kiddush*, few understood it, and some used the candles afterward to light a cigarette or cigar, deliberately flouting the Jewish ban from smoking. In addition, no one fasted during Yom Kippur or Passover, when bread and matzos were laid out together in breadbaskets.[xxx] Scholem discusses how the traditional Jewish practices of his ancestors were lost among younger generations. Although his father's grandmother, Esther Holländer, had owned a kosher restaurant that his father's relatives from Poznan and Silesia frequented after their migration to Berlin, there was no vestige of any such kosher kitchen in Scholem's childhood home.[xxxi] Where the Scholems' lifestyle was a "confused jumble"[xxxii] of religious practices, Benjamin describes no Jewish activity at all in his home life. Throughout *Berlin Childhood*, he indicates no Jewish artifacts or moments relating to Jewish rituals. In so doing, he represents his home as occupied by Jewish people but not practice.

The families' observance of Christian holidays at home exemplifies the aforementioned "drifting" into a world replacing Jewish tradition, even privately. Scholem's family celebrated Christmas as a "German national festival," complete with a tree from the St. Peter's Church market, a feast, presents, and carols. Scholem stopped celebrating Christmas as a result of the

holiday's symbolic displacement of his Jewish identity. He writes, "the last time I participated in it was in 1911, when I had just begun to study Hebrew. Under the Christmas tree there was the Herzl picture in a black frame, and my mother said: 'We selected this picture for you because you are so interested in Zionism.' From then on I left the house at Christmastime."[xxxiii] To Scholem, the placement of the picture of Theodor Herzl, father of political Zionism, underneath the Christmas tree represented the cultural subordination of Judaism to Christianity. Young Benjamin also observed Christian holidays, hunting for eggs at Easter and eagerly awaiting presents at Christmas. He recalls such imagery as the long tables of his grandmother's apartment decked out with gifts and place settings for the banquet and the tinsel and colored candles of the poor people servicing the Christmas market. These families transplanted Jewish holiday practices with Christian ones; Scholem terms such camouflaging of Jewish ancestry the "self-deception" of German Jewry.[xxxiv]

However, the home was also where this generation of German Jews could enact their Judaism. Scholem's Uncle Theobald engaged his relatives in Jewish linguistic expressions and solecisms during the Sabbath. Scholem writes, "In my parents' generation, the Jewish petite bourgeoisie still frequently used such expressions in private conversation as a matter of course, though they were hardly ever used in public. At our Friday evening gatherings my uncle bandied them about like watchwords, as it were."[xxxv] Manifestations of otherness were confined to the homes of these assimilated Jews. Scholem also provides an account of a mixed marriage in his family whose inner world was a haven from anti-Semitism. His maternal aunt, one of Berlin's first female doctors, married a non-Jew with whom she lived in an "ivory tower in Friedenau." The couple filled their apartment with culture and learning and interacted little with others, including their own family. Scholem explains, "They associated with each other and a small

circle of friends consisting entirely of Jews, but only those who tried to make little or no use of their Jewishness."[xxxvi] Jews constructed homes free from harassment over their difference.

Scholem and his uncle asserted Jewish identity in their homes by adorning them with physical statements of Judaism. In *Jewish Topographies*, Brauch, Lipphardt, and Nocke employ Henri Lefebvre's concept of *espace vécu* or "lived space," which "the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects."[xxxvii] Scholem and his uncle intentionally used objects to make their homes Jewish, each prominently displaying a picture of Theodor Herzl. For Scholem, this meant hanging the portrait he had received at Christmas in his room, while Theobald placed in the parlor of his home a photograph of himself in a squad of gymnasts alongside Herzl, for "he was one of the founders of the Jewish gymnastics association Bar Kochba and performed for Theodor Herzl at the Basel Zionist Congress of 1903."[xxxviii] Theobald also hung up a collection box of the Jewish National Fund for the acquisition of land in Israel, to which he donated his bet winnings.[xxxix] He rendered his home a Jewish space by not only expressing his Zionism, but also celebrating Jewish holidays. In contrast to Gershom's home, which was decorated for Christmas during the holidays and never held Chanukah candles, Theobald hosted a so-called Maccabean ball on Christmas Eve "for the benefit of the many unmarried young men and girls who did not wish to participate in their parents' Christmas celebrations,"[xl] distributing presents and singing Hebrew songs. His home was a place of Jewishness for his own family as well as others.

Scholem also created separate, private Jewish spaces for his study of Hebrew. He faced two main obstacles acquiring the Jewish education that he desired: inadequate public resources and his father's opposition. His parents would not send him to one of the four religious schools maintained by the Jewish Community Council, and his school's instruction of Jewish history

neither included Hebrew nor was required after the age of fourteen. Scholem writes, "the selections from Auerbach's *Israelitische Hausbibel* that we read in religion class, and the teacher's very cursory explanations of the Jewish holidays (of which, as I have already said, I experienced very little at home), did not make much of an impression on me."[xli] Dissatisfied, Scholem read Heinrich Graetz's *History of the Jews from Oldest Times to the Present* and other texts at the communal Jewish library and learned Hebrew independently.[xlii] At one of Berlin's unpaid Jewish communal schools organized voluntarily by unpaid teachers, he and his friends from Jung Juda studied the Talmud with Dr. Isaak Bleichrode, a rabbi of a small Orthodox private synagogue on Dresdenerstrasse.[xliii] Because his father disapproved of his "unprofitable pursuits,"[xliv] Scholem studied the Talmud on his own time and in Bleichrode's home for four years, even while he was still in school.[xlv] Like other young Jews, he explored his Jewish identity in a community of his own making.

German Jews also constructed communal Jewish spaces where they could encounter Yiddish and Hebrew culture. In 1917 through Buber, Scholem became involved with the Jüdisches Volksheim, which was created the previous year as a social and educational center for the poor Eastern European Jews living in Berlin and their children. It was opened in the "Scheunenviertel on the Alexanderplatz, on Grenadierstrasse, a neighborhood that housed many refugee families from the eastern war zones."[xlvi] Its founder, the cultural Zionist Siegfried Lehmann, and young, Zionist German educators saw Eastern European Jews as embodying a spirit of more genuine Judaism. Their main "educational goal was to create a sense of Gemeinschaft [community] among the East European Jewish youth," but they also used the Volksheim as an avenue to Jewish authenticity, attending the regular lectures and discussion groups and some even moving to the poor immigrant Scheunenviertel district.[xlvii] This group

perceived an atmosphere with the proletarian Eastern European Jews (Ostjuden) as inherently more Jewish than other environments, intending the Volksheim to be a place where Western and Eastern Jewry could unite.

Although the Volksheim was located in geographically Jewish areas, Scholem criticizes it from an insider perspective for its failure to provide a replacement home for Jews. In Scholem's view, the ideological and educational problems of the Volksheim rendered it a less than authentic Jewish place. He criticized the Volksheim social workers, who were primarily members of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia, as devoted but unknowledgeable about Jewish affairs. At Lehmann's lecture on "The Problem of Jewish Religious Education," he saw a "lack of seriousness which expressed itself in the group's interpretations of Buber's interpretations of Hasidism without their knowing anything about historical Judaism."[xlviii] He argued that people should learn Hebrew and return to the sources themselves, describing the center as an "atmosphere of aesthetic ecstasy."[xlix] He tells a story of a conversation he overheard: "I disliked…a seriously intended discussion concerning a question that seemed more like a joke to me: whether it would be all right to hang in the rooms of the Volksheim a reproduction of a famous portrait of the Virgin Mary. And this at a center where the children of poor but strictly Orthodox Jewish families from Eastern Europe were to spend the day until they were picked up by their parents in the afternoon!"[l] In Scholem's eyes, even in what was intended to be a Jewish space, Christianity presided. Eventually his differences with Lehmann led to his break with the Volksheim. Although German Zionists fostered Jewish spaces by connecting with Eastern European Jews, to Scholem they embodied a mere variant of assimilationism. For Scholem, the Jewish homeland was beginning to represent the only possibility for a purely Jewish space.

Scholem did participate, however, in an exile community of Eastern European Jewry that contributed to his intellectual and spiritual development. After an argument with his father over his older brother Werner's antiwar activities, in which the elder Scholem cut off financial support, Scholem moved to the boardinghouse Pension Struck in the West end of Berlin.[li] He did so at the recommendation of his friend Zalman Rubashov, who later became Zalman Shazar, the third president of Israel, but who was working at the periodical *Jüdische Rundschau* at the time.[lii] Unlike at the Volksheim, in the eyes of Scholem, here was little influence from Western Jewry. For instance, the landlady kept a strictly kosher household, and Scholem states, "The boarders consisted predominantly of those Russian-Jewish intellectuals with whom I was already personally acquainted from Jung Juda or the Jüdisches Volksheim. A young girl from a pious South German community and I were the only German Jews there. At the table one heard a mixture of Yiddish, Hebrew, and German with a Russian accent."[liii] With his enlightened neighbors Scholem engaged in stimulating discussion and explored the world of intellectual Eastern European Jewry. One of the residents with whom Scholem became close was the famous Hebrew writer S. Y. Agnon, whose stories Scholem had heard at the Bet Ha'Va'ad Ha'Ivri Klub (Hebrew Club), which "was frequented almost exclusively by Russian, Polish, and Palestinian Jews."[liv] Scholem could express his Zionist sentiments more freely within this group, and he made his living at this time by translating scripts from Hebrew and Yiddish into German.[lv] Pension Struck was an environment infused with Jewish tradition and thought, and it represented Scholem's psychological departure from the assimilated bourgeois environment of his youth.

Conclusion

The construction of Jewish space in *Berlin Childhood around 1900* and *From Berlin to Jerusalem* reveal a spectrum of Jewish milieus. The authors' Jewish identities are manifested in the form as well as content of these works. While Benjamin's vignette presentation and focus on the child's perspective include less discussion of Judaism than a narrative focused on adulthood would, it is important to note that the Jewish character of Scholem's life informs his choice of such a narrative. Since it was his life's work to study Jewish history and mysticism and he remained a supporter of Israel throughout his life, he employs a chronological narrative to depict his Jewish development leading toward his decision to emigrate to Israel in 1923. Within the content, spatial divisions shed light on the Jewishness of the settings in which Benjamin and Scholem came of age. In the public realm, the authors' bourgeois neighborhoods point to their families' loss of Jewish communal identity in migration as well as marginality in a Christian domain. Public spaces where Jews congregated, such as cafés and synagogues, brought a sense of community as well as otherness. In private, the home acted as the cornerstone of Jewish ritual. While Jewish beliefs and practices were performed inconsistently and halfheartedly in Scholem's home, they were nonexistent in Benjamin's. Jews who could not find any Jewish presence in their own homes and families turned to others' and erected discrete Jewish communities. Space is a vehicle through which these authors reflected on the strains of Jewish identity in early twentieth-century Berlin.

Chapter II: Time-Space Structures in Jewish Autobiography

The spaces which Benjamin and Scholem discuss arise from the temporal narratives of these autobiographical works. While the linear chronology and adult commentary of Scholem's *From Berlin to Jerusalem* allow examination of Jewish social spaces in Weimar Berlin, the disjointed, aphoristic structure of *Berlin Childhood* represents Benjamin's literary reconstruction of primary experience. Both connect space and time in text, though in different ways. In *Berlin Childhood*, Benjamin's memories are comprised of concrete places which appear out of order and alongside various experiences of time. Benjamin does not focus on the specifically Jewish element of his upbringing, as does Scholem, but rather seeks to recreate his perspective as a child, communicating broader ideas on art, memory, and perception. Scholem, as progressive as his thought on Judaism was, remains more traditional in his textual form. Rather than organizing his narrative around space and objects, Scholem lets time drive events.

As a methodological framework for analyzing Benjamin's modernist writing, I employ Russian formalist Mikhail Bakhtin's (1895-1975) theory of the chronotope, on which he expounds in his "Essay on the Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel" (1981) and which evaluates relationships of space and time in literary genres. In contrast to the classical narrative forms which Bakhtin examines,[10] Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood* takes a decidedly non-linear structure. Nonetheless, Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope reveals a philosophical resemblance to Benjamin, who theorized forms of space and time not only in his autobiography but his other works as well—including his most famous essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1936). I argue that both theorists express the inseparability of space

[10] As evidenced by such essays as "Epic and the Novel" and "Discourse in the Novel," Bakhtin favors the novel genre, which he saw as best equipped to create a dialogic, unfinished (and thus more provocative) representation of an individual ("Introduction: Benjamin and Bakhtin: Vision and Visuality," 3).

and time in art, characterizing its forms as affecting and affected by human thought. Benjamin links space and time in his autobiography to convey the particularity of his experience.

Bakhtin and Benjamin each reflected on space and time in the 1930s, a period of modernist rupture in Europe. Born 1895 and 1892, respectively, they wrote the works discussed in this research within a few years of each other. After the publishing of his *Problems of Dostoevsky's Art*, in which he presented the concept of "dialogism," Bakhtin was exiled to Kazakhstan in 1936, at which time he wrote his "Discourse in the Novel" and "Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel." These works were not published until after Bakhtin's death in *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981), a collection of four essays on language and discourse.[lvi] In the same year of Bakhtin's exile, Benjamin published "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" in the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*.[lvii] Like *The Dialogic Imagination*, Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood* was released posthumously, written between 1932 and 1938 but only printed in 1950.[lviii] Bakhtin and Benjamin numbered among the many thinkers coping with the physical transformation and rupture of a dividing Europe, each being ejected from his mother country. During British, German and other European colonizing and imperialism, exile created new possibilities for space. Under such conditions, intellectuals interrogated the topic of space as well as the relativities and configurations of time. Docker and Jaireth explain in "Introduction: Benjamin and Bakhtin: Vision and Visuality,"

> For both Bakhtin and Benjamin, vision and visuality are related to the importance of space as a feature of modernity (in modes of perceiving simultaneity) of space and time. With time as inevitable progress, time as a single arrowing line, unbroken, continuous, homogeneous—being increasingly questioned in modernist art, literature, and cultural theory, space became an urgent problem for reflection and attempts at illumination. Just as time was becoming heterotemporality, so was space becoming heteroscopia.[lix]

Bakhtin and Benjamin each saw the multiplying forms of artistic genre and attempted to describe them by exploring relationships of space and time through history. They wrote of modern and postmodern phenomena whose shock value was still in effect, such as film and advertising, "in terms of long rich cultural and religious genealogies: the genres that have for millennia continuously intersected and transformed themselves..."[lx] This historical method accords with their attention to the interaction of history, generic form, and the reader, listener, or viewer.

In this chapter, I first explore how Bakhtin and Benjamin each linked space and time by analyzing their relationships in various genres, with Bakhtin discussing the verbal arts in "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel" and Benjamin the visual arts in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." I then explain how they connected genre to human perception, and specifically how Benjamin used chronotopic structures in *Berlin Childhood* to reflect his aesthetic philosophy and thoughts on memory and experience. I pay particular attention to how temporal and spatial forms in his autobiographical work reveal his insider-outsider status and attachment to and separation from Weimar Berlin. Then, I turn to Scholem's *From Berlin to Jerusalem* to demonstrate how his work embodies a more classical form of autobiography in its subordination of space to time. Scholem thematizes his Jewishness by showing a temporal progression toward the moment of emigration to the Holy Land. These authors' spatiotemporal organizations yield their portrayals of their Jewish identity.

A. Bakhtinian Chronotope and Genre

In "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," Bakhtin expresses the inseparability of time and space within a literary narrative with his notion of the chronotope (literally: "time-space"). In a text, space acts as a trace of time and time as a marker of space. He

writes, "in the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot, and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope."[lxi] The "chronotope" refers explicitly to this connectedness, but Bakhtin mainly uses the term as a unit to analyze different articulations between space and time in literature. Bakhtin examines various genres, including the adventure novel and ancient biography and autobiography. Different relations and implications of space and time—the various forms of the chronotope—determine these genres. Analyzing such metaphors as meeting or encounter, road, castle, and threshold, he argues that by their very nature individual motifs are chronotopic. Encounter, for example, is one of the most ancient devices for structuring a plot and can serve as opening, climax, and denouement.[lxii] Because they serve as markers of space and time, motifs act as organizing centers for the main events of a narrative. The chronotopic frame of the epic is distinct from, for instance, the biography, so different motifs appear more commonly in different genres.

Bakhtin also explores more broadly time-space forms in genres. He begins with the Greek romance, which has extremely abstract and static space and time. This type of story unfolds in what he calls "adventure-time," wherein characters may embark on endless adventures. Time consists of short segments, and its random ruptures and disjunctions serve the unexpectedness of the story: fortune governs all. Each moment is significant, but "adventures themselves are strung together in an extratemporal and in effect infinite series."[lxiii] Adventure-time also necessitates a certain spatial form. Bakhtin explains, "In this kind of time, nothing changes: the world remains as it was, the biographical life of the heroes does not change, their

feelings do not change, people do not even age. This empty time leaves no traces anywhere, no indications of its passing."[lxiv] Moments are reversible in sequence and interchangeable in space, which must be large and diverse for adventure to develop. In turn, for characters to roam such large space, they need infinite time. Certain spatial and temporal frames appear together to characterize a genre, which shapes the story and vice versa.

Illustrating a spectrum of chronotopic structures, Bakhtin also describes autobiographical time and space. Where space is flexible and wide in the Greek romance, it is highly specific and concrete in the autobiography. Such concretization, he argues, introduces the kind of order or "rule-generating force" connected to human life and restrains the power of chance.[lxv] He elaborates, "if one were to depict one's own native world, the indigenous reality surrounding one, such specificity and concreteness would be absolutely unavoidable (at least to some degree). A depiction of one's own world—no matter what or where it is—could never achieve that degree of abstractness necessary for Greek adventure-time."[lxvi] One needs particular markers of space to describe one's childhood or country, as in the case of Benjamin and the Berlin of his youth. Additionally, space in the autobiography becomes meaningful as time becomes endowed with the power to bring change. In biographical time, individuals may undergo metamorphosis, whereas in Greek romance there is an affirmation of identity between the beginning and end.

It is important to note that although Bakhtin devotes a section of "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel" to biography and autobiography, he focuses on their ancient forms.[11] However, he also discusses the historical development of genre, explaining that ancient autobiography was for depicting the "public self-consciousness of a man"[lxvii] or for demonstrating one's path toward self-knowledge, but over time it has lost its exteriority and

[11] He distinguishes ancient autobiography into two types: *Platonic*, which shows the "seeker's path" toward understanding, and *rhetorical*, which constitutes "verbal praise of a civic-political act or an individual's account of himself" ("Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," 131).

public character. As a result of not having to put on a public face, one might depict one's inner life with more honesty and without consulting philosophical sources or authorities. One might also treat one's self and life satirically or ironically.[12] What remains of the autobiographical genre as understood in this research is its representation of human beings in their particularity. Time allows for the evolution of the consciousness, and concrete spaces establish the inner world of the individual. These features will be highlighted in a discussion of Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood* and Scholem's *From Berlin to Jerusalem* in the third section of this chapter. First, however, I show how Benjamin theorizes relationships of space and time in his other works, specifically his most famous piece on aesthetics. His emphasis on space over time in *Berlin Childhood* is consistent with the link he communicates between art and experience.

B. Intersections of Space and Time in Benjaminian Aesthetic Theory

Benjamin contemplates spatial and temporal forms not only in *Berlin Childhood*, but his theoretical works on art as well. In "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Benjamin establishes the essentiality of space in art. With modern technology, art has been reproduced to the extent that the original work loses its authenticity or "aura." Likening art to natural things, he writes, "We define the aura of [natural objects] as the unique phenomenon of a distance, however close it may be. If, while resting on a summer afternoon, you follow with your eyes a mountain range on the horizon or a branch which casts its shadow over you, you experience the aura of those mountains, of that branch." Just as distance determines our perception of things in nature, so, too, is art experienced through space. He presents the example of ancient ceremonial art objects, which were kept in positions of detached authority. As a result of the appreciation we feel for such distant and unattainable things, we try to bridge the spatial

[12] Scholem's self-deprecating attitude throughout *From Berlin to Jerusalem* exemplifies such a treatment.

gap by copying them. The decay of the aura rests on "the desire of contemporary masses to bring things 'closer' spatially and humanly, which is just as ardent as their bent toward overcoming the uniqueness of every reality by accepting its reproduction. Every day the urge grows stronger to get hold of an object at very close range by way of its likeness, its reproduction." By divorcing the original art object from its space, we negate its uniqueness, and "to an ever greater degree the work of art reproduced becomes the work of art designed for reproducibility." Art which can be replicated or removed undergoes a qualitative shift in character.

Integral to a work of art is its position not just in space, but time as well. The ways we view and analyze art have fundamentally changed throughout history. In contrast to "the situation of the work of art in prehistoric times when, by the emphasis on its cult value, it was, first and foremost, an instrument of magic," today exhibition value is almost absolute in its importance. Benjamin describes photography and film as two examples of the shift of artistic function from ritual to political. He writes, "With [Eugène] Atget, photographs become standard evidence for historical occurrences, and acquire a hidden political significance. They demand a specific kind of approach; free-floating contemplation is not appropriate to them. They stir the viewer; he feels challenged by them in a new way…For the first time, captions have become obligatory." New art forms like photography are designed with a focus on presentability and fitness for execution and require specific types of viewing, which often involve more acute political awareness. In this way, Benjamin characterizes art's spatial and physical characteristics as inseparable from their historical context: just as in a literary narrative, frames of time and space produce meaning in art.[13]

[13] Indeed, the example of captions in photography demonstrates the historical collapse of the barrier between the visual and verbal arts. Artists combine formal elements of traditionally distinct media, the textual narrative and the physical art object, so as to provoke reactions from readers and viewers.

Benjamin investigates the historical development of artistic genres in order to shed light on the reciprocal relationship between art and human perception. Not only do we create art, but our experience of it depends on physical alterations in the medium brought about by history and time. Technological development has transformed the relationship between an art form such as architecture and its audience into a "simultaneous collective experience." For instance, he notes that film is an assembled series of cut and spliced images and compares it to Dadaist painting for its shock effect: "The painting invites the spectator to contemplation; before it the spectator can abandon himself to his associations. Before the movie frame he cannot do so. No sooner has his eye grasped a scene than it is already changed. It cannot be arrested." We perceive space differently as a result of snapshot technologies; film's rapid, violent shifts hinder digestion and contemplation of each image. Humans continue to modify the genre through new methods and technology and to be affected by these changes. Likewise, Bakhtin describes a mutual interaction between art and those perceiving it, the world of literature and the creators and readers of the work. Chronotopes are not formal phenomena but mental constructions that take shape in our interaction with texts: "the work and the world represented in it enter the real world as part of the process of its creation, as well as part of its subsequent life, in a continual renewing of the work through the creative perception of listeners and readers."[lxviii] Literature is embedded in the historical and cultural world, and the world of literature and of culture comprises the context of a literary work and the author's and reader's positions in it. Thus, the real world's relationship to the art, too, is chronotopic. Modernists like Benjamin and Bakhtin examined time-space elements of genre for their effect on and portrayal of human perception. It is bearing this interaction in mind that Benjamin selects the temporal and spatial features of his *Berlin*

Childhood, adjusting the genre of his autobiography both to reexperience his earlier life and convey his consciousness to others.

C. Chronotopes of Nostalgia and Otherness

Berlin Childhood's vignette presentation reveals Benjamin's use of genre as an expression of the time-space relationship in human perception. The text fits neither his nor Bakhtin's understanding of the traditional autobiography, which, at its heart, portrays "an individual who passes through the course of a whole life."[lxix] *Berlin Childhood* spans not a lifetime, but merely Benjamin's boyhood years in Berlin.[14] Time does not pass or represent a "course"; rather, memories are presented out of order. To illustrate, the aphorism "News of a Death," in which Benjamin is only five years old (the youngest age he mentions in the text), appears in the middle of the collection. The nonlinearity which distinguishes *Berlin Childhood* from Bakhtinian autobiography is also what generates such a strong connection between space and time in the text. Benjamin writes in his "Berlin Chronicle" (1932), a similarly disjointed collection of memories out of which *Berlin Childhood* evolved, that he is not writing an autobiography if one understands it as concerned with "time, with sequence and what makes up the continuous flow of life." He deals instead with "a space, of moments and discontinuities. For even if months and years appear here, it is in the form they have at the moment of recollection."[lxx] Since his memory consists of the concrete and material, Benjamin organizes those texts depicting memory by spaces rather than time. Like that of the "Berlin Chronicle," the syntax of *Berlin Childhood* is fragmentary. Markers of time appear, as Benjamin states, alongside whatever object, location, or ritual he is rendering. The very title *Berlin Childhood*

[14] To estimate, the events of the text take place roughly from 1895 to 1905.

around 1900 attests to its lack of temporal specificity. Conceiving memory as attached to objects rather than as a progression, Benjamin makes the temporal dependent on the spatial.

This spatiotemporal orientation excludes the evolving consciousness that Bakhtin deems essential to autobiography. Readers gain a glimpse of Benjamin's mind as a boy but must piece together his overall mental and emotional development. Benjamin and Bakhtin seem to agree, however, that time does not define character. Bakhtin states, "time is phenomenal; the essence of character is outside time. It is therefore not time that gives character its substantiality."[lxxi] Time is a function of the individual's substance. Although we cannot separate life's events from the biographical moments in which they occur, Bakhtin argues that "with regard to character, such time is reversible: one or another feature of character, taken by itself, may appear earlier or later. Features of character are themselves excluded from chronology: their instancing can be shifted about in time. Character itself does not grow, does not change, it is merely filled in..."[lxxii] In the same way that one's character is relatively fixed in historical reality, different temporal markers bring out different characteristics of an individual in literature. Benjamin employs time to paint his perspective in another period of his life. This approach, he explains in his brief preface, "has meant that certain biographical features, which stand out more readily in the continuity of experience than its depths, altogether recede in the present undertaking. And with them go the physiognomies—those of my family and comrades alike. On the other hand, I have made an effort to get hold of the images in which the experience of the big city is precipitated in a child of the middle class."[lxxiii] Sensory objects and places come to mind when Benjamin remembers childhood. He omits the kinds of details typical to a chronologically organized autobiography, such as names, dates, and other references of which he would not have been aware at that time.

By subordinating time to space, Benjamin imparts the child's incomplete consciousness as well as the adult's disconnected memory of it.

Although he does not depict the progressing self-consciousness characteristic of biographical time, Benjamin conjures precisely the "indigenous reality surrounding one" that Bakhtin touches on. Bakhtin explains that specificity in space can be a powerful organizing force: "this is so thanks precisely to the special increase in density and concreteness of time markers—the time of human life, of historical time—that occurs within well-delineated spatial areas. It is this that makes it possible to structure a representation of events in the chronotope (around the chronotope)."[lxxiv] It is in terms of such "well-delineated spaces" that Benjamin structures *Berlin Childhood*, giving his vignettes such names as "Tiergarten," "The Otter's Hole," "At the Corner of Steglitzer and Genthiner," "Victory Column," and so on. He also represents the physical objects with which he was fascinated as a child, including his mother's rings, decorated masks, and old postcards, and dedicates vignettes like "Boys' Books," "The Sock," and "The Sewing Box" to their descriptions. His use of the vignette allows him to portray discrete, particular spaces emerging from memory.

Benjamin cannot separate moments from the spaces in which they occurred. In "Peacock Island and Glienicke," for instance, he describes his summer vacations spent searching for peacock feathers near the hunting grounds of the royal Hohenzollern family in Potsdam: "Finds are, for children, what victories are for adults. I had been looking for something that would have made the island entirely mine, that would have opened it up exclusively to me. With a single feather I would have taken possession of it—not only the island but also the afternoon…"[lxxv] As a child, time could be utterly filled by an object or space. As mentioned in the first chapter of this research, Benjamin articulates in "Blumeshof 12" that Sundays were dedicated in their entirety to

the loggias. Likewise, vignettes centered on a moment or period are connected very closely to space. In "The Fever," Benjamin describes how during a long illness, his bed became a public place where people paid their respects. Time passes endlessly, until his recovery allows him to leave and normal time resumes. In "News of a Death," too, space and time combine. Benjamin explains why he remembers his father informing him of his cousin's death: "I did take special note, that evening, of my room, as though I were aware one day I would be faced with trouble there […] My father had come by in order not to be alone. He had sought out my room, however, and not me. The two of them could have wanted no confidant."[lxxvi] For Benjamin, specific spaces transform moments into memories, making time live in our heads and allowing us to structure events and stories.

When Benjamin discusses time via space, he expresses both marginality and nostalgia. As explored in Peter Szondi's introduction to *Berlin Childhood*, "Hope in the Past," there is evidence Benjamin knew when he wrote *Berlin Childhood* that the places of his youth were disappearing and sought to preserve them. Indeed, Benjamin writes in the first line of the text, "In 1932, when I was abroad, it began to be clear to me that I would soon have to bid a long, perhaps lasting farewell to the city of my birth…I deliberately called to mind those images which, in exile, are most apt to waken homesickness: images of childhood."[lxxvii] Benjamin renders spaces because they embody a time which is lost to him now. "Blumeshof 12" constitutes the most nostalgic space in the text. Regarding his grandmother's residence, he asks, "What words can describe the almost immemorial feeling of bourgeois security that emanated from this apartment?"[lxxviii] The "immemorial" time-space of his childhood is described as such because it is fleeting to him now. Benjamin seeks to re-experience that place by memorializing it in literature.

In such a reconstruction of his past life, however, Benjamin also reveals his feelings of otherness. He begins "The Otter" by acknowledging, "One forms an image of a person's nature and character according to his place of residence and the neighborhood he inhabits, and that is exactly what I did with the animals of the Zoological Garden."[lxxix] Benjamin analyzes not only the otter's nature according to its residence, but his own. The otter was his favorite among the animals, and its enclosure was in the most remote and neglected part of the Tiergarten.[lxxx] He expresses that he was drawn to such spaces, writing that he felt "at home with the otter,"[lxxxi] not just for their separateness but their unusual quality of time:

> this corner of the Zoological Garden bore traces of what was to come. It was a prophetic corner. For just as there are plants that are said to confer the power to see into the future, so there are places that possess such a virtue. For the most part, they are deserted places – treetops that lean against walls, blind alleys or front gardens where no one ever stops. In such places, it seems as if all that lies in store for us has become the past.[lxxxii]

This passage comprises Benjamin's most explicit discussion of time in the text. His tendency to look backward, linking history and "what was to come," goes hand in hand with a discussion of space. It is in past places of isolation that Benjamin declares that his future was prefigured and he could "see into the future." In his view, certain spaces evoke this sense of time in firsthand perception as well as through memory. Far from the bustle and activity of the city, he would spend hours watching an elusive animal disappear and reappear beneath the water, and he says the otter "would whisper to [him] of [his] future, as one sings a lullaby beside a cradle."[lxxxiii] Writing this memory in exile, Benjamin connects both his present as an author and his future as a child to the most desolate and marginal spaces. This text obscures the boundaries between space and time, generic device and memory, and author and author-as-subject.

While Benjamin subordinates time to space to show his childhood awareness, Scholem makes time the dominant element of his work. In contrast to Benjamin's aphorisms, Scholem

employs a linear chronology to reflect on his life. While one can only surmise when Benjamin's experiences took place historically, Scholem divides *From Berlin to Jerusalem* by time period, providing date ranges for almost every chapter.[15] As in Benjamin, time and space are closely connected. Most of the ten chapters' titles in *From Berlin to Jerusalem* relate to place, such as "Student in Berlin," "Pension Struck (1917)," "Jena (1917-1918)," "Bern (1918-1919)," "Munich (1919-1922)," "Berlin and Frankfurt Once Again (1922-1923)," and finally, "Jerusalem (1923-1925)." These spaces illustrate the specifically Jewish character of Scholem's personal journey. Rather than describing in detail the cities and places where he studied and lived, Scholem writes about his decisions and discoveries about Judaism, such as studying the Talmud, meeting Jewish intellectuals, and furthering his kabbalistic studies. Scholem neglects to write about concrete spaces like Benjamin does. Time's passage overrides the cities and places he visits, which are important insofar as they represent moments leading toward emigration and Jerusalem, the teleological destination of the work.

This structure also demonstrates the developing self-consciousness inherent to the Bakhtinian conception of autobiography. Scholem organizes time to reflect his Jewish awakening in adulthood, unlike Benjamin's focus on childhood. Although "Background and Childhood (1897-1910)" comprises a longer period than other individual chapters, he discusses later periods in his life in much greater depth. In adulthood, he connects with Jewish law and tradition, progressing toward emigration more quickly than in childhood. For instance, he devotes an entire chapter to "Pension Struck (1917)," where he leaves his father's home, joining a community of Eastern European Jews, meeting future Israeli citizens and committing to Zionism. Because it is a definitive moment in his Jewish awakening, he discusses it at length.

[15] The second chapter title in *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, "Jewish Milieu," is the only one for which Scholem gives no dates.

Scholem does not, however, write about his life after emigration. By only portraying the series of realizations that led him to one moment in his life, Scholem makes time the defining element of the textual structure.

Conclusion

Benjamin reflected on space and time in an era in which forms of these notions were reproducing. Like Bakhtin, he witnessed alarming political developments, lived on society's margins, and examined many artistic forms. Bakhtin analyzes literary genres from antiquity to the present in "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," while Benjamin employs a similar strategy in "The Work of Art in the Age of the Mechanical Reproduction" to illustrate the evolution of the art object (though he does so with a Marxist bent and criticizes specific media). Each characterizes a work as a pattern of intertwined temporal and spatial markers. These formulations are ministered by the artist in his historical context and impress upon readers and viewers. Recognizing this relationship, Benjamin tunes the generic elements of *Berlin Childhood* so as to conjure his own memories of childhood, which fasten foremost to images. His spatiotemporal organization yields his feelings of otherness in adulthood as well as in childhood, for Benjamin nostalgically looks backward for his lost future as a result of his own displacement and alienation. Bakhtinian analysis also clarifies the contrast between the structures of Benjamin's and Scholem's works. Scholem's emphasis on time rather than space indicates his looking toward a specifically Jewish future, which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Chapter III: Jewish Time and Autobiographical Narrative

Scholem and Benjamin were members of a social group that, in the face of discrimination and marginalization, looked toward history for understanding. In his recent study *Futurity: Contemporary Literature and the Quest for the Past* (2013), Amir Eshel notes this tendency to revisit the past in moments of darkness, writing, "futurity marks the potential of literature to widen the language and to expand the pool of idioms we employ in making sense of what has occurred while imagining whom we may become."[lxxxiv] Literature provided an avenue through which Scholem and Benjamin dealt with their Jewish identity. Their generation resisted industrial development and bourgeois Jewish assimilation by imagining a return to pre-industrial society. The flourishing of capitalism in the nineteenth century brought the rise of a Jewish bourgeoisie in Germany as Jews prospered, leaving the ghettos and villages and quickly urbanizing.[16] As the Jewish middle class grew, it attempted to be accepted socially and culturally into Germany, sending their sons to university.[lxxxv] However, as Scholem describes in *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, Jews failed to assimilate despite their "deliberate break with the Jewish tradition." He writes, "The hope for social emancipation (which was supposed to follow the political emancipation completed in 1867– 70), in part also the outright hope for full integration and absorption in the German people…was in conflict with the general experience of rising anti-Semitism."[lxxxvi] Young Jewish intellectuals in the early twentieth century tried to make sense of the historical and social world which made them outsiders in spite of their assimilation by rejecting their fathers' business careers and pursuing intellectualism. Two main ideological currents of this generation were social utopian movements, such as Marxism and anarchism, and

[16] Marxist sociologist and philosopher Michael Löwy explains: "in 1867, seventy per cent of Prussian Jews lived in small villages; by 1927, the figure had dropped to fifteen per cent" (*Redemption and Utopia*, 29).

a rediscovery of Jewish religion. Within both trends, Jewish thinkers examined the progression of history and human events, envisioning a future which broke with the past in a radical way.

In this chapter, I establish that Benjamin and Scholem epitomize such Jewish thinkers turning to history and tradition in order to imagine contested Jewish futures. First, I analyze various essays and writings by these two to draw out three main aspects of Jewish messianic time to which they adhered: historical temporality, catastrophic rupture, and a new Golden Age. Then, I discuss an extended written correspondence between Benjamin and Scholem on Kafka's *The Trial* in order to shed light on their divergent secular and religious visions of utopia. Finally, I turn to their autobiographies and claim that the temporal structures of Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood around 1900* and Scholem's *From Berlin to Jerusalem* communicate their desire for a return to a past ideal state through a destructive break in history. Whereas Benjamin longs for a new yet unclear future, Scholem envisions a concretely religious redemptive order in Palestine.

A. The Dialectic of Past and Future in Jewish Messianism and Social Emancipation

Within the socio-cultural context of Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Jewish thinkers found their religious roots in a modern form of Jewish messianism that envisioned both a return to a lost Golden Age and a utopian vision of the future. In *Redemption and Utopia*, Michael Löwy clarifies this duality with the traditional Jewish concept of *tikkun*, which implies "restoration of the original harmony" that existed before the Breaking of the Vessels and the fall of Adam.[lxxxvii] Mankind can only return to this past ideal state by means of a revolutionary eruption that radically, and swiftly, deconstructs the existing order.[lxxxviii] As Scholem writes in his study of Sabbatai Sevi, Sabbatian messianic thinkers argued that the

Messiah will only come in an era of total corruption and guilt.[17] Another key aspect of Jewish messianic time is that the *et ketz*, or the end of time, brings universal radical change and transformation.[lxxxix] The new state is a utopian world of harmony, both with God and among men. The path to the end of all things is the same as the path to the beginning: the messianic promise of the future is implicit in recognizing the contemporary world as corrupt. We must overthrow the powers of this world in order to reach the next. Jewish thinkers that held such beliefs saw the Torah as critical to understanding this temporal paradigm. God commands and brings harmony through Scripture. However, God's word of judgment also banishes humanity from paradise, resulting in its decline. As Löwy states, with the coming of the new age there will be "an abolition of the restrictions the Torah has until then imposed on the Jews. In the messianic age, the former *Torah* will lose its validity and be replaced by a new law, the '*Torah* of the Redemption', in which bans and prohibitions will disappear."[xc] The restoration of the Golden Age accompanies a new word of God transmitted once again through text. This understanding of truth as enshrined in language is a core tenant of Jewish thought and a similarity between Benjamin and Scholem. Although they have different political and scholarly concerns, each treats commentary and language as sources of knowledge. Their study of text matches the Jewish messianic conception that the past is necessary in order to understand the present and future. As I will explore, Benjamin and Scholem structure their autobiographical works in terms of this messianic dialectic.

Benjamin has a nostalgic yet catastrophist view of history that combines elements of Jewish messianic and social emancipationist thought. As Löwy explains, anti-capitalist and socialist revolutionary movements endemic to Benjamin's generation were loaded with

[17] Scholem articulates this idea of sinning as a catalyst to redemption in his scholarship of Sabbatai Sevi—a seventeenth-century rabbi who declared himself to be the Messiah but converted to Islam—and the Sabbatian movement in *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626-1676* (1973).

"nostalgia for pre-capitalist cultures and cultural critique for industrial/bourgeois society."[xci] Benjamin criticizes the contemporary world by comparing it to the past. In "On Language as Such and the Languages of Man" (1916), he describes human language as a condition of fall from the state where it was still one with God's language, "not yet plagued by confusion or ambiguity, or even distinct from the language of 'immaterial' things and nature."[xcii] Associating human language with decay and exile, Benjamin longs for the restoration of Edenic harmony. He also demonstrates his attraction to past culture by studying thinkers such as Goethe and Hölderlin and hailing classical romantic ideals in his "Romanticism" (1913) and "The Concept of Art Criticism in German Romanticism" (1919).[xciii] Benjamin unites his neo-romantic nostalgia with historical materialism in those works expressing Marxist ideology. In his *Theses on the Philosophy of History* (1940), he portrays the progress of class struggle in all its explosiveness. Marxism conceives of a return to prehistoric, egalitarian, classless society. Benjamin's radical, revolutionary tendencies follow from a restorative view of history in line with messianic paradise.

Scholem, in contrast, turns to the past by researching Judaism. Rebelling against his family's assimilationist ideology, he first connected with Jewish tradition via its primary sources of the Torah, the Talmud, and the Midrash.[xciv] It is important to note that Jewish intelligentsia in Germany often romanticized Jewish traditionalism because of their detachment from it. Eastern European Jews faced more direct oppression and anti-Semitism, particularly in the tsarist Russian Empire, which included Poland and the Baltic countries before 1918, and as a result they often took part in socialist movements that promised universal acceptance. German Jews, on the other hand, were less outwardly marginalized and did not confront the conservative and authoritarian power of orthodox rabbis. While Scholem belonged to this bourgeois group of

German Jews, he delved into Jewish religion more deeply than most. Through Franz Joseph Molitor's *Philosophy of History, or On Tradition*, he rediscovered the Kabbalah and the forgotten area of Jewish mysticism.[xcv] He also wrote on Jewish messianism since the 1920s and '30s. In 1932 he published "Kabbala" in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, explaining *tikkun* as the simultaneous restoration of the original world without sin and the ordering of a new state. Later, after the rupture of the Holocaust, he systematized the topic in his 1959 essay "Toward an Understanding of the Messianic Idea in Judaism."[xcvi] Scholem not only provides accounts of Jewish movements, but communicates Jewish messianic ideas about Paradise Lost and catastrophic historical progression.

Benjamin and Scholem both see the past as necessary for the future, a key element of Jewish messianism. Benjamin's messianic hope emerges most clearly in his works espousing revolutionary doctrine. In his essay "Critique of Violence" (1921), he merges a catastrophist perspective of history and an image of the utopian future. Scorning state institutions such as parliament and the police, he expresses approval of Bolshevism and anarcho-syndicalism. Löwy summarizes Benjamin's central argument thus: "Revolutionary violence, pure and immediate, is a manifestation of divine violence, the sole form capable of breaking the cycle maintained by mythical forms of law' (including state power) and thus of founding 'a new historic epoch.'"[xcvii] Benjamin sees destruction as the way toward a drastically new order. In "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1936), as well, he connects historical progress with disaster. Though favoring technological development, Benjamin foresees the ruin of the social order with the politicization of art. In other works such as the *Theses on the Philosophy of History* and "Experience and Poverty" (1933), he affirms the end of culture as a healthy *tabula rasa*.[xcviii]

Benjamin mediates between emancipatory, historical human struggles (revolution) and utopian expectation (redemption).

Scholem's Zionist and anarchist tendencies accord with the messianic utopianism which he studies. As explored in the first chapter of this research, Scholem became a Zionist as a young man. However, his Zionism was religious rather than political in nature. Rather than opting for a nationalist, state-centered Palestine, he recognized the right of Arabs to self-determination, joining *Brit Shalom* (Alliance for Peace), a pacifist Jewish-Arab organization, after his emigration to Palestine in 1923.[xcix] Since Scholem argues in "Toward an Understanding of the Messianic Idea in Judaism" that messianic redemption necessarily takes place in the historical world,[c] his rejection of the Judeo-German cultural synthesis and affinity for Palestine may be interpreted within a messianic framework. The Davidic Kingdom and the destruction of the Temple are Paradise Lost and humanity's expulsion from it, industrial "progress" is historical temporality, assimilationist culture is damnation, and the establishment of Israel is the Messianic Age. Scholem arranges *Von Berlin nach Jerusalem* with Israel as this utopia, where humanity can be united with God's law through Scripture and restore the Jewish tradition which has been lost in other cultures.

Benjamin and Scholem both understand time as dialectical, combining historical progress with utopian promise. Although they view the problem of the existing state of things differently—for Benjamin, capitalism and class struggle, and for Scholem, the decay of Jewish tradition—each indicates the need for a fundamental break. Their Jewish-informed conceptualizations of time revolve around three key aspects: a return to the past, apocalypse, and a new redemptive future. I argue that Benjamin and Scholem represent these aspects in their autobiographical texts in different ways. Using their correspondence on Kafka to illustrate their

messianic understandings, I explain that Benjamin's relative lack of Jewish faith makes the utopian element of time in his autobiography less strong as in Scholem's, where Jerusalem is represented as a distinct future toward which history progresses. Because Benjamin sees no clearly Jewish future, the redemption in his work takes place in his textual restoration of broken, disconnected moments in the past.

B. Destruction and Redemption in the Kafka Correspondence

In an exchange of letters between July 1934 and June 1938, Benjamin and Scholem maintained a lengthy discussion on Franz Kafka's *The Trial*. Their ideas on messianic time emerge in this correspondence. Both see messianism in Kafka through a contrast between a world with law, which represents both utopia and return to tradition, and a nihilistic world without it, which denotes the historical past and present. Scholem differed with Benjamin on one crucial point: the presence of the Law or the divine in Kafka's universe. By connecting law and truth to Scripture, Benjamin and Scholem reveal their views on the possibility of redemption in the midst of historical decay.

Benjamin compares the chaos of Kafka's world to real history. In *The Trial*, Kafka portrays the state's legal machine as bureaucratic, opaque, impersonal, and ruthless. Its victims' lack of freedom illustrates the absurdity of the contemporary world. In a letter to Scholem on June 12, 1938, Benjamin likens the characters in *The Trial* to "the modern citizen, who knows he is at the mercy of vast bureaucratic machinery, whose functioning is steered by authorities who remain nebulous even to the executive organs themselves."[ci] Like the man in the parable "Before the Law," who has no choice but to keep begging the doorkeeper to be admitted to the Law, Benjamin says people have no power in the modern world. The legal system is so corrupt and incomprehensible that even figures of authority lack understanding of it – like the doorkeeper in

"Before the Law," who says that from hall to hall each doorkeeper is more powerful than the last, and that the third is so terrible that he cannot bear to look at him. In Benjamin's view, such injustice indicates decline. Waiting for access to justice and truth, the man wastes away into old age. Benjamin connects this sense of decay with the inevitable collapse of outside constraints and authorities. He argues that "Kafka's world, frequently so serene and so dense with angels, is the exact complement of his epoch, an epoch that is preparing itself to annihilate the inhabitants of this planet on a massive scale."[cii] Benjamin sees a reflection of the degeneration and rupture of the contemporary world.

Benjamin and Scholem discuss history in terms of the Law, or God's command given through Scripture. Benjamin sees Kafka's universe as absent of written laws and norms. This lack of tradition has resulted in chaos and confusion. On August 11, 1934, Benjamin writes to Scholem, "the primary world, Kafka's secret present, is the historical-philosophical index that lifts his reaction out of the domain of the private. For the work of the Torah—if we abide by Kafka's account—has been thwarted."[ciii] Scripture is a source of knowledge which is absent in Kafka. Just as he argues in "On Language as Such and the Languages of Man," humanity's corruption is a result of its exile from original language. No matter how we use language, we are separated from truth. As Anson Rabinbach explains in his introduction to the correspondence, "the 'meaning' of tradition cannot simply be sought in historical or philological interpretation, but is itself irrevocably lost."[civ] Because we have lost God's command, the systems in which we operate are unintelligible and absurd.

Scholem also attributes the despair of the historical world to separation from God's law. In his letter to Benjamin on July 9, 1934, he attaches a "didactic" poem on Jewish revelation, to be read with *The Trial*:

Are we totally separated from you?
Is there not a breath of your peace,
Lord, or your message
Intended for us in such a night?

Can the sound of your word
Have so faded in Zion's emptiness,
Or has it not even entered
This magic realm of appearance?

The great deceit of the world
Is now consummated.
Give then, Lord, that he may wake
Who was struck through by your nothingness.

Only so does revelation
Shine in the time that rejected you.
Only your nothingness is the experience
It is entitled to have of you.

Thus alone teaching that breaks through semblance
Enters the memory:
The truest bequest
Of hidden judgment.

Our position has been measured
On Job's scales with great precision.
We are known through and through
As despairing as on the youngest day.

What we are is reflected
In endless instances.
Nobody knows the way completely
And each part of it makes us blind.

No one can benefit from redemption.
That star stands far too high.
And if you had arrived there too,
You would still stand in your way.

Abandoned to powers,
Exorcism is no longer binding,
No life can unfold
That doesn't sink into itself.

From the center of destruction

A ray breaks through at times
But none shows the direction
The Law ordered us to take.

Since this sad knowledge
Stands before us, unassailable,
A veil has suddenly been torn,
Lord, before your majesty.

Your trial began on earth.
Does it end before your throne?
You cannot be defended,
As no illusion holds true here.

Who is the accused here?
The creature or yourself?
If anyone should ask you,
You would sink into silence.

Can such a question be raised?
Is the answer indefinite?
Oh, we must live all the same
Until your court examines us.[cv]

In this poem, Scholem conjures a world in which we are detached from the divine. The speaker of the poem asks God, "Can the sound of your word / Have so faded in Zion's emptiness, / Or has it not even entered / This magic realm of appearance?" If God's word has been lost, then the world is made up only of "appearance," empty of truth. In this kind of time, "What we are is reflected / In endless instances" and "No life can unfold / That doesn't sink into itself."[cvi] Without tradition, we cannot make any real progress and time passes infinitely. Present, past, and future disappear into one dialectic.

For Benjamin and Scholem, redemption appears in contrast to Kafka's abject universe. According to Scholem, Kafka shows life on earth from the perspective of the world saved by the Messiah. On July 17, 1934, he tells Benjamin, "Kafka's world is the world of revelation, but revelation seen of course from that perspective in which it is returned to its own nothingness."[cvii]

The desolation of the existing state is directed toward what will arise in the ruin of history. In his poem, he addresses God, "Only so does revelation / Shine in the time that rejected you. / Only your nothingness is the experience / It is entitled to have of you."[cviii] Redemption appears in the darkness of the text, for only after catastrophe can the Messiah come and God's word return to humanity. Benjamin also discusses "nothingness," or the world bereft of law and truth, and messianic redemption together. In response to the same poetic lines, Benjamin writes: "I endeavor to show how Kafka sought – on the nether side of that 'nothingness,' in its inside lining, so to speak – to feel his way toward redemption. This implies that any kind of victory over that nothingness [...] would have been an abomination for him."[cix] We can only understand redemption in its contrast or conceive of a new future by criticizing the current state of things. Benjamin and Scholem connect destruction and reordering, sin and redemption, past and future.

They disagree on the presence of the Law in the text, and this difference reveals their opinions on whether tradition can be reawakened and the Messiah can arrive. Because Scripture represents God's truth, it also determines the possibility of a just future. In Benjamin's interpretation, the Law is absent in Kafka's writing. Regarding the issue of final judgment in Scholem's poem, Benjamin writes on July 20, 1934,

> The last stanza raises the question of how one has to imagine, in Kafka's sense, the Last Judgment's projection onto world history. Does this projection turn the judge into the accused? And the proceedings into the punishment? Is it devoted to raising up the Law on high, or to burying it? Kafka, I contend, had no answers to these questions. But the form in which they presented themselves to him [...] contains indications of a state of the world in which such questions no longer have a place, because their answers, far from being instructive, make the questions superfluous.[cx]

Here, Benjamin argues that Kafka posits no specific material system for the future. Knowing and arguing the perfect state of the world makes any discussion of nothingness unnecessary. Rather, Kafka envisions an oblivion from which we cannot escape. In Benjamin's view, bringing law

into Kafka's world is a contradiction. Thus, he sees no possibility for utopia. Redemption only appears in its negative form.

Scholem criticizes the idea that the Law is absent in Kafka, contending that it is merely forgotten. The Law is the missing element, he argues, from Benjamin's interpretation of the primal age as Kafka's present. He writes on July 17, 1934, "its problem is not, dear Walter, its absence in a preanimistic world, but the fact that it cannot be *fulfilled*. It is about this text that we will have to reach an understanding. Those pupils of whom you speak at the end are not so much those who have lost the Scripture...but rather those students who cannot decipher it."[cxi] Kafka's pupils have not completely lost Scripture, as Benjamin says, but cannot understand it. The Law announces its existence in the text in a certain way. Scholem tells Benjamin that he insists on viewing "the terminology of the Law […] only from its most profane side," or in terms of legal and social failures. He writes, "You had the moral world of Halakhah right before your eyes, complete with its abysses and its dialectics."[cxii] Here, Scholem explains in a footnote to the correspondence that he is arguing that the "religious man" in the cathedral of "Before the Law" was a "disguised halakhist, a rabbi, who knows how to transmit—if not the Law itself—at least the traditions circulating about the Law, in the form of a parable."[cxiii] By presenting a rabbi in disguise, Scholem, argues, Kafka reminds his characters and readers of Scripture. As a result, Kafka's world is not completely bereft of hope. As Scholem writes in his poem: "From the center of destruction / A ray breaks through at times, / But none shows the direction / The Law ordered us to take."[cxiv] By returning to the word of God, we can reach a new age of light, understanding, and harmony.

For Benjamin and Scholem, then, Kafka's negative theology has different redemptive implications. In Benjamin's analysis, "nothingness" refers to the complete absence of God and

tradition, while for Scholem it refers to the moment in history when the Law has lost its authority. People have ceased believing in God, yet God continues to haunt our culture. Scholem understands the students in Kafka's text as symbolically representative of an age that cannot understand Scripture, and Kafka himself as an instance in the history of revelation. An age may still come when Revelation once again speaks to man, provided we renew our faith in the absolute authority of the Law. These views on revelation produce differing temporal structures in their autobiographies: where Benjamin primarily longs for the past, Scholem points toward a redemptive future.

C. Messianic Time in Autobiography

The aphoristic organization of *Berlin Childhood* reveals Benjamin's messianic understanding of history as the unfolding of instances. In "The Passagen-Werk, the Berliner Kindheit, and the Archaeology of the 'Recent Past'," Burkhardt Lindner and Carol B. Ludtke write that *Berlin Childhood*'s temporal structure "differs from the usual chronological, biographical procedure in that it abandons the continuum of birth, childhood, youth, and adulthood." His nonconsecutive episodes "stand as topographical snapshots next to each other and rewrite the topography of childhood in terms of excerpts […] The autobiographical, narrative thread is consciously cut."[cxv] By abandoning chronology, Benjamin makes us pay attention to individual moments. His use of the vignette allows him to connect the past and present, for his memories anticipate his later life. In the section entitled "The Fever," for example, he writes that his childhood illness prefigures his later character: "I was often sick. This circumstance perhaps accounts for something that others call my patience but that actually bears no resemblance to a virtue: the predilection for seeing everything I care about approach me from

a distance, the way the hours approached my sickbed."[cxvi] He investigates not only his own personal development but the progress of technology, observing a time when its potential was still latent. In "At the Corner of Steglitzer and Genthiner," he describes his childhood fascination with a miniature clockwork model of a mine, writing, "This toy—if one can call it that—dates from an era that did not yet begrudge even the child of a wealthy bourgeois household a view of workplaces and machines."[cxvii] Benjamin superposes his present on the past to gain historical understanding. This approach reflects his view of history as a dialectic between fragmentation and totality. In "Walter Benjamin writes the essays 'Critique of Violence' and 'The Task of the Translator,' treating the subject of messianism he discussed with Gershom Scholem during the war," Michael P. Steinberg writes, "history creates its allegories, its dialectical images and identities. The task of the historian, in a charge we might attribute to Benjamin, is to uncover such historically constituted allegories."[cxviii] One maximizes self-awareness by recognizing patterns in past moments. In *Berlin Childhood*, Benjamin mediates his memories and discerns shared qualities among historical epochs.

The temporal organization of *Berlin Childhood* reveals Benjamin's thoughts not only on the connectedness of past and present, but also the discontinuity of history in accordance with his revolutionary materialism. In "Reconstellating the Shards of the Text: On Walter Benjamin's German/Jewish Memory," John Pizer describes Benjamin's textual structure as a shattered whole: "As with the tikkun, the 'vessel' of the text's historically constituted 'material content' must first be 'shattered' through the process of commentary before the fragments of truth embedded in the text are reconstellated by the critic into the work's truth content, the process by which the work is brought to fulfillment."[cxix] Each aphorism or vignette is a shard of text. Just as catastrophe brings truth, Benjamin symbolically breaks up time to unlock the repressed

memories of his past. The fragmentary memory conveyed in Benjamin's aphorisms corresponds to his view of our estrangement from tradition, and his personal reminiscences represent humanity's search for lost truth.

Through this broken structure, Benjamin joins remembrance and messianic expectation. As Peter Szondi argues in "Hope in the Past: On Walter Benjamin," nostalgia leads Benjamin toward the promise of the past: "a knowledge of ruin obstructed Benjamin's view into the future and allowed him to see future events only in those instances where they had already moved into the past."[cxx] In uncovering traces of his later life and lost possibilities, Benjamin projects not just his future onto his memories, but primal history onto the future. In *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, Benjamin famously describes Paul Klee's *Angelus Novus* as a depiction of the angel of history, which turns its countenance toward the past to awaken the dead. Benjamin, too, looks at the wreckage of history and brings the forgotten to life. Since he sees commentary as the sole conveyor of knowledge and truth since the fall of Adam and original language, he performs his own aesthetically redemptive act by rendering his memories into text. Pizer explains, "As human language in the postlapsarian age has only a cognitive function, it is critical reading—of texts, of cities, of lives—which must take on the originary/redemptively fulfilling task which Benjamin associates with the logos of God."[cxxi] In the broken shards of the text, Benjamin reintegrates his memories and unites oblivion and consciousness, catastrophe and rebirth.

As explained in the second chapter, Scholem's autobiographical organization contrasts with Benjamin's for its linearity. In representing his budding Jewish awareness, Scholem conveys the three main aspects of messianic time. Where Benjamin makes us see the connections in moments which are out of order, Scholem simultaneously illustrates historical progression and decline through chronology. He explains through the unfolding of history why Palestine

represented the radical change he needed. As he established contact with Zionists and Jewish scholars, he became disenchanted with the intellectual and political environment of Germany. He describes his awakening to what he sees as the fall of German society:

> It was a decision in favor of a new beginning which appeared clear-cut to us at the time…We were as yet not fully aware of the dialectics that I have already mentioned. In those days we did not know, of course, that Hitler was going to come, but we did know that, in view of the task of a radical renewal of Judaism and Jewish society, Germany was a vacuum in which we would choke. This is what drove people like myself and my friends to Zionism.[cxxii]

As a young man, Scholem understood time as historical decay. Awakening to the injustices against Jews in Germany, he saw destruction on the horizon and the need for "a new beginning" to escape it. 50 years later, Scholem still characterizes history as "dialectics." This portrayal of historical temporality is also his argument for the interruption of it via emigration. Catastrophe – or the "vacuum" of Nazi Germany – and redemption are two sides of the same event. It is the Jewish nature of his trajectory that informs his substantive vision of a religious utopia: Jerusalem. Because he sees Jerusalem as the destination of his work, he divides periods of time by the places leading him there. Because it brings hope and redemption, it ends the timeline.

Conclusion

Benjamin's and Scholem's views on Jewish law shape their political and scholarly practices as well as the structures of their autobiographical literature. Both look toward the past to understand a transforming present, though Benjamin does so with neo-romantic and anti-capitalist aims and Scholem does so as a Zionist Jewish scholar. Both conceive of a cyclical history in which we must return to an earlier state through complete upending of the current system. As seen in the Kafka correspondence, their essential ideological difference is a belief in the authority of divine law through Scripture. Scholem sees a return to the Holy Land as the only

possibility for restoration of tradition and truth, whereas Benjamin's detachment from Scripture and Judaism makes him aspire to a nonreligious new order. Nevertheless, the text in which he communicates his life in terms of messianic temporality, rupture, and restoration offers no distinct view of the form that the future will take. In contrast, Scholem devises time structures in *From Berlin to Jerusalem* to show a past which points toward a redemptive future. His belief in revelation informs the Zionist nature of his utopian vision. For both men, objectivity is bound up with textual subjectivity. Narrative structures complement their ideas about time and the events substantiating it, revealing their reactions to and expressions of Jewish identity.

Closing Remarks

Attention to space in Jewish life makes one aware of Jews' migratory history and its effect on diaspora culture. In his essay 1903 "Jewish Artists," Martin Buber argues that there has been a lack of visual art in Jewish history because Jews are a people more of time than space. Before modernity, Jews were more prolific in arts involving time, such as music, mathematics, and literature, in which one finds very little that is bodily and concrete. Visual arts, however, deal with color and form, which make up the "vesture of attributes the world first makes in nature."[cxxiii] Buber claims that Jews' time-orientedness has resulted from their lack of space. In the diaspora Jews have not been allowed to own land and have often been ejected from their regions of settlement. They could not artistically express the pain and insecurity of their homelessness due to the Torah's ban on graven images and their restriction to occupations such as moneylending.[cxxiv] In Buber's view, money symbolizes an abstract, unproductive relationship, while art is substance, place, and creativity. When emancipation[18] freed Jews to new geographical and professional domains, they began to move from a life of relativity (*Relationsleben*) to a life of substance (*Gegenstandsleben*) through subjective artistic practice. With the rise of Hasidism, as well, in which there is no sin to separate man from God, Jews could practice bodily and physical forms of worship.[cxxv][19] According to Buber, Jews' displacement made them participate in arts involving time rather than space, and in the modern age they are driven into visual, physical arts to compensate for this deficiency.

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[18] With the unification of Germany in 1871, Jews were granted rights to citizenship and greater social and economic opportunities.

[19] Here, Buber exhibits elements of messianic thought. He argues that asceticism amounts to "bafflement" ("Jewish Artists," 7) and estrangement from tradition. This is analogous to Benjamin's idea of the loss of original language, for by losing Scripture, we become forgetful. To Buber, however, by reconnecting with God and substance through art, we understand our former oblivion. From the side of redemption we see the sin and nothingness to which were formerly banished.

Whether one agrees with Buber's idea that Jews have more talent for music than other arts, Jews have been studied historiographically more than geographically. As Brauch, Lipphardt, and Nocke explain in *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place* (2008), the recent "spatial turn" in Jewish studies formed as a reaction to this tendency to privilege time over space.[cxxvi] Like Buber, they describe the dislocation of the Jews as a consequence of their exile from the Holy Land and dispersion throughout the world. Leopold Zunz, one of the founding fathers of Wissenschaft des Judentums and Jewish historian, also acknowledged this phenomenon. In his 1841 "Essay on the Geographical Literature of the Jews from the Remotest Times to 1841: On the Geography of Palestine," he attributes the deficit of space in Jewish study to the lack of opportunities for Jews to "devote their energies to geography."[cxxvii] Diaspora has resulted in the idea of the "time-heaviness" of Jewry as well as the emphasis on space in response to it. Historical knowledge brings awareness to Jews' lack of place, and analysis of space in Jewish life makes one cognizant of their movements throughout history.

This thesis substitutes neither space for time nor time for space, but employs both concepts for a more holistic understanding of Jewish identity as revealed through autobiographical literature. An application of the concept of space illuminates how Benjamin and Scholem experienced insider and outsider status in early twentieth-century Berlin. In *Berlin Childhood around 1900* and *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, one observes the partitions in public and private life that led to Jews' alienation as well as sense of community. In the public sphere, assimilated, bourgeois Jews such as Benjamin's and Scholem's families lived in upscale urban neighborhoods, but were nevertheless marginalized by the Christianness of their surroundings. In private Jewish homes, one witnesses the ideological conflict and diluted Jewish ritual

characteristic of German Jewry at this time. Finding little Jewish practice within their homes, Jews constructed private communities to study Judaism and connect with Yiddish and Hebrew culture. Zionists like Scholem perceived Jews as a separate entity that could not be fully integrated into the host society and were drawn toward the Holy Land as a Jewish space unmitigated by Christian influence. Space reveals the constraints of a minority group trying to find belonging in an unstable period.

The authors' representations of space tie in closely with their views on time. As Buber's argument demonstrates, the notions of time and space were being contested in early twentieth-century Germany, where Jews were discriminated against yet intellectually active. While secularists like Benjamin and Bakhtin examined artistic forms across history, Zionists like Scholem saw Jerusalem as a spatial expression of messianic redemption. Despite these differences, Benjamin and Scholem both interrogate space and time through autobiography. Whereas Benjamin emphasizes space, Scholem's chronologically organized work comprises a more classical chronology by Bakhtinian standards. While Benjamin expresses his alienation by longing for spaces of security in his childhood, Scholem portrays the Jewish character of his life by writing a linear journey from youth to the moment of emigration, with Jerusalem as the teleological endpoint. Benjamin's detachment from Jewish tradition accords with his focus on divisions of space in art and perception, while Scholem expresses his Jewish and Zionist faith in a messianic temporal structure with a redemptive Jewish future. Analysis of these spatiotemporal forms reveals the authors' Jewish beliefs and experiences as well as broader Jewish intellectual trends in Berlin at this time.

Further research would enlighten Jewish self-expression in autobiographies across geographical, historical, and social lines. While I compare Benjamin's and Scholem's

representations of Berlin, Stefan Zweig (1881-1942) and Arthur Schnitzler (1862-1931) wrote about their lives in Vienna during the same period. They, too, contributed to intellectual culture and experienced anti-Semitism and alienation. Analysis of Zweig's *The World of Yesterday* (1942) and Schnitzler's *Youth in Vienna* (1968) would allow a comparison of the Jewish communities of Weimar Berlin and interwar Vienna. One could also study works written by women at this time to discern how they wrote about their Jewishness differently. For instance, Hannah Arendt's (1906-1975) *Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewess* (1958) is widely considered a veiled autobiographical work. Rather than her own life, Arendt describes another Jewish woman in a period of German-Jewish assimilation. Such a study would reveal how Jewish women employ different narrative structures to express their Jewish identity.

The reality of exile informs the aesthetic experiences of Benjamin and Scholem. In diasporic Berlin, Benjamin sought integration amidst fragmentation, while Scholem was driven toward the Holy Land, exhibiting a "yearning that conflates spatial and temporal desires," as Nick Block describes in "If I Forget Thee, O Jerusalem: The Jewish Exilic Mind in Else Lasker-Schüler's *Ichundich*."[cxxviii] The formats of their autobiographies reflect their fates as well as their ideologies. Scholem's messianism led him to anticipate the future and escape the Nazis, while Benjamin rejected all practical politics, including Zionism, and paid for it with his life. Though famously condemning fascism as the aestheticization of politics in "The Work of Art," he saw no possibility for politics to exist outside the realm of the symbolic and sublime. He exalted the aesthetic rather than religion for its power to depict dialogical subjectivity and experience.[cxxix] His lack of connection with Scripture and belief in redemption kept him from seeking the absolute. Both men imagine a return to an earlier state, but whereas Benjamin repeats his past experiences without working through them, Scholem posits a world of God and Jewish tradition

achievable in historical reality. His belief in the divine produces a narrative suggesting a moral future.

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[ii] Gershom Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem: Memories of My Youth*, trans. Harry Zohn (Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2012), 12.
[iii] Esther Leslie, *Walter Benjamin*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 14.
[iv] Christof Ellger, "Berlin: Legacies of Division and Problems of Unification," *The Geographical Journal* 158, no. 1 (1992): 41.
[v] Walter Benjamin, *Berlin Childhood around 1900*, trans. Howard Eiland (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 63-64.
[vi] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 3.
[vii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 4.
[viii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 3.
[ix] Benjamin, *Berlin Childhood*, 90.
[x] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 12.
[xi] Shachar Pinsker, "Between 'The House of Study' and the Coffeehouse: The Central European Café as a Site for Hebrew and Yiddish Modernism," in *The Viennese Café and Fin-de-siècle Culture*, ed. Charlotte Ashby, Tag Gronberg, and Simon Shaw-Miller (Oxford: Berghan Books, 2013), 55.

[xii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 44.
[xiii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 55.
[xiv] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 76.
[xv] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 6.
[xvi] Pinsker, "The Central European Café," 91.
[xvii] Pinsker, "The Central European Café," 93.
[xviii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 7-10.
[xix] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 39-40.
[xx] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 39.
[xxi] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 11.
[xxii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 23.
[xxiii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 20.

[xxiv] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 11.
[xxv] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 40.
[xxvi] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 66.
[xxvii] Benjamin, *Berlin Childhood*, 123-124.
[xxviii] Benjamin writes: "Es war am jüdischen Neujahrstage und die Eltern hatten Anstalten getroffen, in irgendeiner gottesdienstlichen Feier mich unterzubringen. Wahrscheinlich handelte es sich um die Reformgemeinde, der meine Mutter aus Familientradition einige Sympathie entgegenbrachte, während meinem Vater von Hause aus der orthodoxe Ritus vertraut war. Er musste aber nachgeben" (247-250).
The passage reads in Howard Eiland's English translation: "It was the Jewish New Year, and my parents had arranged for me to be present at a ceremony of public worship. In all likelihood, it was that of the Reform congregation, with which my mother felt some sympathy on account of family tradition" (123-124).
The omitted passage from the English edition can be translated as follows: "…while my father was raised in a house of orthodox tradition. He, however, had to relent" (124). Thus, the English text leaves out the nature of Benjamin's father's Jewish education.
[xxix] Scholem *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 25.
[xxx] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 10.
[xxxi] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 4.
[xxxii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 28.
[xxxiii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 28.
[xxxiv] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 26.
[xxxv] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 23.
[xxxvi] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 30.
[xxxvii] Brauch, Lipphardt, and Nocke, "Introduction: Exploring Jewish Space: An Approach," 16.
[xxxviii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 26.
[xxxix] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 23.
[xl] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 28.
[xli] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 36.
[xlii] David Biale, *Gershom Scholem: Kabbalah and Counter-history* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 10.
[xliii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 46.
[xliv] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 66.
[xlv] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 47.
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[xlvii] Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (Chelsea: Yale University Press, 1996), 187.
[xlviii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 79.
[xlix] Biale, *Gershom Scholem*, 27.
[l] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 78.
[li] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 84.
[lii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 86.
[liii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 84-85.
[liv] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 93-94.
[lv] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 26.
[lvi] Michael Holquist, introduction to *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), xxiv.

[lvii] Leslie, *Walter Benjamin*, 166.
[lviii] Howard Eiland, trans. *Berlin Childhood around 1900* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), ix.
[lix] John Docker and Subhash Jaireth, "Introduction: Benjamin and Bakhtin: Vision and Visuality," *Journal of Narrative Theory* 33, no. 1 (2003): 1.
[lx] Docker and Jaireth, "Benjamin and Bakhtin," 8.

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[lxii] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time," 98.
[lxiii] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time," 94.
[lxiv] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time," 91.
[lxv] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time," 100.
[lxvi] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time," 100-101.
[lxvii] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time," 140.
[lxviii] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time," 254.
[lxix] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time," 130.
[lxx] Walter Benjamin, "A Berlin Chronicle," in *One-Way Street and Other Writings*, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter (New York: Verso, 1979), 316.
[lxxi] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time," 141.
[lxxii] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time," 141.
[lxxiii] Benjamin, *Berlin Childhood*, 37-38.
[lxxiv] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time," 250.
[lxxv] Benjamin, *Berlin Childhood*, 82-3.
[lxxvi] Benjamin, *Berlin Childhood*, 86.
[lxxvii] Benjamin, *Berlin Childhood*, 37.
[lxxviii] Benjamin, *Berlin Childhood*, 87-88.
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[lxxxviii] Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, 18.
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[xciv] Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, 61.
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[xcvii] Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, 101.
[xcviii] Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, 109.
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[ciii] Benjamin, *Correspondence*, ed. Gershom Scholem, trans. Gary Smith and Andre Lefevere, 135.
[civ] Rabinbach, introduction to *The Correspondence*, xxxi.
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[cvi] Scholem, *Correspondence*, 124.
[cvii] Scholem, *Correspondence*, 126.

[cviii] Scholem, *Correspondence*, 124.
[cix] Benjamin, *Correspondence*, 129.
[cx] Benjamin, *Correspondence*, 128.
[cxi] Scholem, *Correspondence*, 126-127.
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[cxxii] Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 151.
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