

Frank Meissner

A SOCIAL ECOLOGY OF THE GERMAN JEWS OF PRAGUE

The German Jew in Czech Prague was, so to speak, an incarnation of strangeness and will-to-be-strange; he was the people's enemy without a people of his own.¹

THE STATE PROSECUTOR at the 1952 Slansky Trials in Prague was anxious to emphasize that of the fourteen defendants who were accused of treason, eleven were of Jewish origin or were born of "German manufacturers' families." Since practically all "Aryan" Germans were deported from Czechoslovakia after World War II, everybody understood that "German *Jewish* manufacturers' families" were meant.

Western historians generally agreed that it was one of the objectives of the whole trial to turn the Jews into scapegoats who were to bear the blame for Communist Czechoslovakia's economic frustrations. The constant reference to the stereotype of a "German Jew" was merely used as one of the tools by which the flame of popular antisemitism should be kept burning.

This paper will trace the history of the phenomenon called the German Jew of Prague, and attempt to show how and why these people went into a voluntary social, national, and cultural ghetto in the very midst of an overwhelmingly Czech population. The analysis may be of interest to readers of Franz Kafka, who, more than thirty years after his death, is encountering a remarkable revival. A study of this sort seems to provide more ecological clues to Franz Kafka's existentialism. It may also help to explain the motivations which led Kafka's contemporaries into the Communist camp.²

Historical Origins

"History finds the earliest reference to the Jews of Prague in 906 A.D. . . . as traders in the local slave market, probably buying wares for export to Cordova."³ The ancient Jewish community of Prague goes back to the time of the early Premyslid dynasty. It has a long tradition of learning expressed in the name of "Mother

of the Jewry." The community was founded by Jews who came over the Alps from the South and through the Balkans from the East. The Eastern origins of the earliest Prague Jews and their undeniable heritage of Slavic traditions, in language as well as in culture, are evident in Hebrew writings of the 12th and 13th centuries.⁴ Thus the first grammarian of the Czech language was a Talmudist from the Prague Ghetto.

The second wave of immigration consisted primarily of German Jews. They came with the German artisans who were invited by Czech rulers to establish industries in Bohemia—a kind of medieval Point Four Program of Technical Assistance.

Despite the German influx, the "Bohemian" Jews in general and the Prague Jews in particular retained a direct and vital connection with the Czech language and culture throughout the Middle Ages. This intimate relationship is evidenced by the many first and family names found among the Jews of medieval Prague.⁵

Approximately in the middle of the thirteenth century Jewish communities were founded in Brno (Brunn), the capital of Moravia, and in Ceske Budejovice (Budweis) in Southern Bohemia. Towards the end of the fourteenth century Jewish communities existed in twenty-eight towns. Whereas in Germany Jews were permitted to engage in only a few specified occupations, there were originally no such restrictions in the historical lands of Bohemia and Moravia. Jews were not only money lenders, but also farmers, artisans, weavers, masons, and tailors.

The roots of the subsequent Czech national and cultural dilemma have to be traced to the defeat of the Czechs in the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620 (Bila Hora), which introduced three centuries of Hapsburg hegemony. The Catholic dynasty made a concerted effort to bring the predominantly Protestant Czechs back to the Holy See. The flower of the Czech nobility was executed. The heart of the prosperous burghers as well as most of the Czech intelligentsia went into exile. Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius), the famous educator and co-founder of the Bohemian Brethren, was one of the many prominent emigrants.

Germanization was combined with the process of recatholicization. German was elevated to the status of an official language. Although Jewish communications with the authorities remained largely in Czech, about half of the private correspondence was soon switched to German. Because of an influx of German Jews, Yiddish became widely used. In the second half of the eighteenth century an intensive Germanization drive was extended to the Jews. The use of Hebrew was permitted only for religious services. All legal and private documents had to be written in German. All instruction in Jewish schools had to be carried out in German.

Czech was at that time considered a decaying language spoken mostly by uneducated peasants. The intelligentsia had already switched to German. Not so with the Jews. They persistently used Hebrew and Yiddish. Most of the government decrees concerning language were therefore directed against the Jews. Passing of a German language test was thus made a condition for obtaining a marriage license.

The many Germanizing assaults upon the Bohemian Jewry culminated under Emperor Joseph II, the son of Maria Theresa, who in 1786 issued the Josephinian Edict (Josefinsky Patent). This edict made it mandatory for all Jews of the Austrian monarchy to register their first and family names with the authorities.⁶ Although they were permitted to use Hebrew or Yiddish first names, German family names were bestowed upon them by the authorities. The name-creating process was a typical example of Austrian bureaucratic *Schlamperei* (carelessness). "He, who was able to bribe ["podmazat", lubricate], could for his family name plunder all the beauties of the universe. And so we get such super-poetical names . . . as Saphir, Diamant, Edelstein [precious stone], Feilchenfeld [violet field], Mendelblum [almond blossom], Rosenstamm [rose stem], Morgenstern [morning star], Nelkenduft [carnation fragrance]; he, who could not afford to lubricate [bribe] was punished by names like Nasenstern [nosed star], Regenschirmbestandteil [part of an umbrella], Notdurft [urgent necessity].⁷

Soon after the proclamation of the Josephinian Edict, the Prague Ghetto was officially abolished. The Jews with the German family names soon started attempts at integration. This was easy enough because the Jews were required to attend German schools. However, even without this mandate Jews would probably have chosen German schools, because they were supposedly the only places where "culture could be had".

The Germanization proceeded swiftly in the cities. The Czech national language became mixed with German words and phrases. The sources of national literature seemed exhausted forever. A dark age of the Czech spirit spread over Bohemia.

The death of Czech culture was, however, more apparent than real. One can now point out, with full benefit of hindsight, that the Prague Jews left the Ghetto at a time when the spiritual and cultural Revival (*narodni obrozeni*) of the Czech people had just begun. The centralizing and Germanizing actions of Emperor Joseph II hastened this nationalistic Czech Renaissance. Only a few recently Germanized Jews were able to interpret the new "spirit of the times". They reconverted to the Czech language and culture. The majority, however, never was able or willing to read "properly" the writing on the walls of history. While the Germans grew

into a constantly smaller minority, most of the Prague Jews stuck to the sinking Teutonic ship.

Let us examine the reasons behind this process, which tended to make the position of Prague Jews "ever stranger, ever more painful, and ever more unbearable".⁸

The Ruling Class Concept

The Germans in Prague turned into a hopelessly isolated society. They had no German hinterlands; and in every respect but language, they were different from their quasi-brethren in the Sudetenland. The declaration of Czechoslovak independence in 1918 stamped the final seal of doom upon this "German Ghetto".

This curse of abnormality was inherent in the absurd social structure of the German population of Prague, which suffered under the stigma of its own "superiority". This inorganic society consisted of a class of "rulers", either of rank or of wealth. Under the item of rank, one would classify the Germanized or foreign nobility, holders of high or intermediate offices in the Hapsburg government; officers of the Prague military garrison; and professors at the Higher Schools of Learning, the German artists and professionals, and "migratory" university students. Under wealth we put the big industrialists and businessmen.

Many Jews were industrialists, prosperous businessmen, lawyers, and university professors. Thus, practically all wholesale merchandising as well as foreign trade was carried on by them. Expensive fashion goods — textiles, gloves, lingerie, millinery, furniture — were all Jewish monopolies. It seems therefore entirely justified to consider the Jews as members of the "ruling class". Criteria of rank as well as wealth can be applied.

The Superiority Complex

Without the benefit of a sustained rejuvenation from the proletariat, the German bourgeois population became, however, a true social ghetto. There was not much of a social ladder to be climbed by anybody. Unfortunately the "incest" did not stop at the social level. It went also into the fields of language and culture. Everything Czech was almost automatically excluded. The motivations were legion: resistance to, suspicion of, and arrogance towards something "different" plus a goodly portion of an unadulterated superiority-complex. If one would want to look for an illustration of disregard of much that is positive in the German tradition of cosmopolitanism from Goethe to Thomas Mann — here it was. And to these invisible walls of a German national and social ghetto the Jews — fresh out of religious

ghetto — attached themselves. Before 1918 they constituted, in fact, no less than 85% of all the Germans who lived in Prague.

The Cultural Elite

It is true that the German Jews of Prague were intensively culture-minded. The two German theatres of Prague were able to survive on contributions from German Jewish industrialists and bank directors. The same situation was encountered with the German symphony orchestra, the Chamber Music Society, German art exhibitions, and sport clubs. That Czech art and culture existed was known more or less from hearsay.

The palatial home of the *Deutsches Haus* would have inevitably gone into bankruptcy, had it not been for the money of the German Jews and their guests. The building stood in all its pomp in the very middle of Prikopy, the Fifth Avenue of Prague. This center of "German culture" was a constant thorn in the eyes of the Czechs. It was also an "insult" to the non-Jewish German chauvinists, "barbarians" from the Sudetenland, to have such an institution run by Jews. When Hitler's hordes occupied Prague in March, 1939, the *Deutsches Haus* was, significantly enough, one of their first seizures. The Aryanization of the property was promptly undertaken.

The young sons of the rich German Jewish merchants or industrialists almost invariably studied at the German University of Prague. Many private libraries of the German Jewish homes were incredibly rich and selective. Rarely would they contain any Czech books. The exceptions would at best be some old and battered volumes that had happened to stray into the house while the owner was not watching. To read Czech newspapers, magazines, or books was not the "proper thing to do". One took up such activities purely in order to derive necessary business information. Political and cultural news were derived from two newspapers: *Bohemia*, which was arrogantly anti-Czech, and the *Prager Tagblatt*, an excellently managed, politically liberal, but otherwise soft-spoken, non-committal, spineless and very high-brow daily. The weekly *Montagsblatt* was as hostile to the Czechs as the notorious *Bohemia*. German Jews were preponderant in the editorial offices of all three newspapers.

The Ghetto

The German Ghetto of Prague was not merely confined to society, culture, and nationality. The Ghetto of the German Jewish elite was a physical one. Expensive Jewish apartment houses were concentrated around the Vrchlickeho Sady (Vrchlicky Park)⁹ and the individual family homes in the exclusive residential sub-

urb of Bubeneč. The inhabitants of voluntary ghettos — Prague had no racial restrictive covenants on real estate — had as little contact with the man-in-the-street as, say, members of the European colony in Shanghai with the Chinese quarter. If anything there were probably even fewer contacts. The white inhabitants of Shanghai were, after all, frequently tempted to do some “slumming” in the picturesque oriental streets. Slumming in Prague was “unbecoming” a conservative German Jew.

The Czech majority was obviously suspicious of the foreign German body. The distance from suspicion to hatred is not great. The distinction between German Aryans and German Jews was based on a philosophical hair split, which was of little concern to the man in the street. He simply disliked everything German regardless of whether it was “clean” according to what later became known as the Nuremberg Racial Laws.

Professor Thomas J. Masaryk, the first President of Czechoslovakia, was fully aware of the inherent danger in this Jewish attachment to German culture. Personally he was broad-minded enough to understand the Jewish motivations. In fact, he himself received practically all his education in German schools. He was, however, afraid that it was shortsighted policy, which in the long run would not only hurt the Jews but would also endanger his work on behalf of the cause of Czechoslovak liberation. When, in 1914, he was about to leave Prague for exile — a mission that subsequently resulted in the establishment of Czechoslovakia — he asked Count Thun, then governor of the Czech provinces “ . . . to bring to the attention of the German Jews my request that they should be more reserved in their austrofile feelings. There was (prior to 1914) considerable antagonism towards German Jews. Rumors circulated about violent (Czech) attacks on German newspapers I myself pleaded with *reasonable* German Jews to exercise some self-control. I was afraid that anti-Jewish riots would affect adversely my activities abroad.”¹⁰

Dents in the Shield of Isolation

The very fact that the community of the German Jews was a mere island in the Czech ocean of Prague made frequent contacts inevitable. As a businessman or industrialist, the German Jew in Prague employed almost exclusively Czech workers as well as Czech foremen. Nobody but Czechs was readily available. Domestic servants, including wet nurses, were almost always Czech. The children had Czech governesses. Only families of the “very elite” turned their offspring over to the care of Swiss, French, or English tutors.

By the very process of osmosis the children of the German Jews in Prague

learned some Czech from the servants. But it usually was a grammatically imperfect language with a most primitive vocabulary. And, because of lack of use, it hardly ever became any better. After all, in German Jewish circles, one spoke Czech only with domestics and other "socially inferior people". The "pidgin Czech" served as the medium of these contacts and was duly branded "Kitchen Czech" (*Kuchynska cestina*). The alleged social inferiority of the Czechs did not, of course, prevent the German Jewish male from seeking sexual intercourse across the boundaries of nationality. "It is probably not entirely misleading to observe that the young German Jew received his first erotic initiation usually from a Czech woman . . . most of the time with the servant girl at home."¹¹ Kafka in his *Description of a Struggle* talks about a German Jew who continues to visit a German lady of the Prague Society merely because her Czech maid happens to be his mistress. Max Brod in his novel *A Czech Servant Girl* describes how William Schurhaft, a symbolic figure of the Jewish intellectual from the Prague bourgeoisie, receives from the maid Pepicka Vlkova "the sweet sense of true existence."¹²

In other words, business and "illegitimate" sexual intercourse were the two fields in which the German Jews of Prague stepped outside the limits of their imaginary ghetto of superiority.

The German Jewish "Little Man"

It would be unfortunate to leave the reader with the impression that all Prague Jews were well-to-do. On the contrary, the Jewish Community of Prague consisted of numerous social strata, "membership" in which was determined by the prestige of a family name as well as by the size of the bank account. The lowly Jewish bookkeeper had only "professional" contacts with his exalted millionaire employer. The powerful textile, sugar, and leather magnates — the "cream" of the social crop of the Prague Jewry — were socially equal to the Gentile nobility. A step lower on the social ladder was the "swarm of much smaller fry in all branches of retail trade. Then . . . there was a sort of half-proletariat made up of clerks, salesmen, secretaries, [the lower echelons in] . . . banks, warehousemen, commercial travellers and agents; here and there a small tailor or watchmaker."¹³ This Jewish proletariat, however, escaped the eyes of the Czech population, simply because they changed the dirty kaftan of the Orthodox Galician Jew for a white collar. There was a heroic tenacity to maintain an appearance of belonging to the "better classes", no matter what a man's mode of life. This "quasi-proletarian" stratum of Prague Jewry was assimilated quite rapidly and smoothly into the Czech environment. They simply could not afford to remain in social isolation. A lower middle class Jew certainly

was aware of what the Czech Prague looked like. And many a Jewish proletarian even found his way to socialism.

It would be equally misleading to leave the reader with the impression that none of the Prague Jews became Czechized. There were exceptions, of course; sometimes the national divisions separated brothers and sisters inside individual Jewish patrician families.¹⁴

The Kafkas

The very fact that a Jew bore a Czech name did not, of course, mean that he felt himself to be a Czech. Take for instance Franz Kafka. Does anybody think of him as a Czech? Yet, the family name Kafka is a phonetic transcription of the Czech word Kavka (jackdaw, *Corvus monedula*). It is a genuine Czech name that is rather widespread among Jews in Bohemia and Moravia. "Jewish Kafkas" usually came from the Czech countryside. Thus Franz Kafka's forefathers apparently either felt themselves to be Czech, or were at least well-disposed toward the Czechs. Somehow or other the Name Commission of Emperor Joseph II permitted the Kafkas—and with them many others of the Jews in rural Bohemia and Moravia—to retain their Czech family names. Were the Jews so assimilated that the Commission did not "discover" them? Was a bribe involved? Nobody really knows.

As a matter of fact, the Kafkas came from the purely Czech village of Osek near Strakonice in the South-Bohemian borderland, where they had a butcher shop. They lived in the country in constant and intensive contact with the Czech peasant. Franz Kafka's mother came from the central-Bohemian province of Pobebrady, which is likewise a thoroughly Czech district. But in Prague the Kafkas became a German Jewish family, primarily because it was snobbishly "fashionable" to belong to the "important" people. They were particularly aggressive about this belonging, because they "merely made it."

Franz Kafka was born in Prague I, which was barely on the right side of the tracks. The house in which his parents lived happened to be on the very border of Prague V, the former ghetto, while the majority of the large Jewish community of Prague were already well outside the ghetto.¹⁵

Franz Kafka resented very much this silly "status seeking" of the generation-in-transit from the relatively religious rural districts to the secular city environment. This resentment was probably one of the sources of his creative neurosis, and it certainly was the basis for his *Dearest Father* volume, which was published in 1954 by Schocken Books in New York. The same stimulus brought forth a diametrically opposed reaction in Bruno Kafka, an older cousin of Franz'. Bruno played his

status seeking to the hilt. He became professor of law at the German University of Prague, and married the daughter of the Prague "Copper King", Bondy. Bondy was an ambitious man who, with some of his money, purchased a nobility patent. He thus became Maximilian Bondy, Edler von Bondrop, for a Jew a truly monstrous name.

Another outlet for von Bondrop's surplus funds went into the subsidization of the above-mentioned newspaper *Bohemia*, in which Bruno Kafka, then deputy of the Czech National Assembly, printed his recklessly irresponsible speeches in arrogant opposition to the then Foreign Minister, and later President, Eduard Benes. He was thus guilelessly preparing the way for Konrad Henlein, Hitler's henchman.

The Reaction to the Stigma

Although a good many Prague Jews lived and died without being particularly aware of the strangeness of their existence, many became conscious of their grotesque situation and drew conclusions. Some went to Vienna, (Franz Werfel), Berlin (Willy Haas, and Kafka, for a while), Dresden, Hamburg, overseas. Others became ardent Zionists (Max Brod). This young movement was in fact so successful that, after 1918, Zionists commanded two mandates in the City Council of Prague.

The reaction to the stigma was obviously different in different people. Some young German Jews tried to drown their guilt complexes in the pool of what appeared to be cosmopolitan socialism. Arthur Koestler, whose mother hailed from Prague, in discussing the situation which led these young people into such radicalism, admits that: "It was a . . . migration of the sons and daughters of the . . . bourgeoisie trying to escape from the collapsing world of their parents."¹⁶ These people believed that it was easily possible to be a good Communist and yet continue to identify with the German cultural heritage.

Before 1938 this was perfectly good doctrine. When Czech antagonism to the Germans culminated in wholesale deportations, people like Frejka¹⁷, Geminder¹⁸, and Weisskopf¹⁹ hastily changed their identification tags, despite their somewhat poor knowledge of the Czech language. This realism was branded "opportunism" during the Slansky Trials. The magazine *Kulturni Politika* (Cultural Politics) left no doubt in anybody's mind where the Communist Party stood in this matter: "those Jews who considered themselves Germans (and who, if Hitler had not been an anti-semitic, would certainly have become furious Nazis) must not be surprised if the Czech people consider them German and do not want them in their midst. Those who feel themselves German and want to speak German should go to Germany or Austria. As for those who are not national Jews, let them go where they can build

a Jewish State. But those who have proved that they are Czechs, their love for their country and its people, their loyalty to our state, let them fuse with the people and share in our people's life. If they help us to build they will liquidate the Jewish problem forever."

Conclusions

The German Jews of Prague were an indirect product of the French Revolution. At the time when the gates of the ghetto were opened, the Czech nation was on its knees. It looked as if the Germanization attempts of the Hapsburg monarchy had started to bear fruit. Identification with the German culture became therefore a "natural" thing for most of the newly emancipated Jews. In embracing the German culture, the Jews underestimated the potentials of the Czech Revival. In 1918 the Czechs became again masters in their own country. The majority of the Jews of Prague ignored the consequences of this important event, which officially ended the three centuries of German domination.

In this connection it is important to note the word "majority". Some Jews, of course, heeded the writing on the wall of the Czech National Revival. In fact, many of these Czech-Jews became very prominent in the Czech economy, politics, and arts. A study of the ecology of the *Czech* Jews of Prague would be an appropriate subject matter for another paper. The German Jews of Prague thus voluntarily created a kind of social, national, and cultural ghetto. The isolation was almost hermetic.

Incredibly strange people were these German Jews of Prague. They were "German", but around them there was no German hinterland. They rejected the primitive barbarism of the Sudetenland as much as it rejected them. To the Jewish community they clung only outwardly. The faith of their fathers dwindled down to a few symbols. Breeding and tradition turned them towards things of the spirit. Their refinement, their cultural taste radiated upon their surroundings and helped in a very real way, despite the social cleavage, to raise the cultural level of the Czech citizenry of Prague. The Jews of Prague were among the cultural elite of the Hapsburg empire.

For all this cultural leadership there was little reward. To the Czechs, the German Jews of Prague remained strangers because as Jews they had a different creed; as generally comfortable, prosperous, and often rich citizens, they were a sore thumb in the midst of a crowd of proletarians and petty bourgeois; and they were "Germans." In times of crisis these latent antagonisms were bound to become partial causes for attacks of religious, economic, and national antisemitism.

The German stigma was the most serious bone of contention that marred the

Czech attitude towards the Jews. For centuries the Sudeten German regarded the Czechs as half-educated creatures — to some extent saved by German influence—politically intolerable and unreliable, socially never satisfied. The Czechs saw in the Sudeten German the invader, the remorseless conqueror, the apostle of German world hegemony, the economic tyrant who lived in the land only in order to subject the Czech people socially, politically, and in every other way. It was a righteous indignation of the poor man against the snob, and of a small nation against bombastic imperialism. Any wonder that, in the early days of their Republic, the Czechs set out to humiliate the Germans in a thousand little ways?

The German Jews of Prague were an indigestible particle inside inherently hostile surroundings. This dead object in the midst of the Czech body inevitably became a perpetual source of irritation. In the bitter Czech-German national struggle nobody was permitted to remain neutral. Even though the Jew was, at the most, German in culture, to the Czech he was, without qualification, a German, a stranger, an opponent and intruder, a national enemy. Furthermore, the German Jew in Prague was unsure of his acceptance among the "Germans proper". He overcompensated his inferiority complex by being extremely vocal about his "German sentiments". One might say that he was more German than the Germans. This in turn led to unwarranted aggressiveness against the Czechs. The daily *Bohemia* is an excellent illustration of this tragic process. And yet, the "genuine Aryan Germans" of Bohemia were not at all impressed. On the contrary. The Sudetenland became the cradle of political racism. The Western Bohemian demagogue Georg von Schonerer is one of Hitler's direct forebears. "The worthy Sudeten German of solid stock, fresh, pious and jolly, free as the vandals, despised the Teutonizing Jews in Bohemia. Between the German border district and the German population of Prague, so infiltrated with Jews, there existed a mutual antagonism of rejection and contempt."²⁰

Although most of the German Jews of Prague took for granted the abnormality of their situation, some "bright young men" tried to get around it. Some became Zionists and left the country. Some converted to Christianity and left the country. Kafka escaped into himself. He filled his books with tragedies of loneliness, of hermetic isolation, of the curse of existence. In his famous novel *The Castle*, he clearly indicated that a Jew desires recognition in society, before the "law", in the workday relations of civil life; but that he is foreign and remains so, merely tolerated, pushed aside, reinstated, but never on the way to complete assimilation; always on the edge, a marginal settler, burdened with an invisible leprosy. And since the disease was partially self-inflicted, Kafka felt guilty about it. As Eisner put it, "He

was a man on whose soul the supraracial star of shame was fixed half a century before Hitler."²¹ Kafka was a virtual prototype of social conscience, and very close to Dostoievsky in this regard. In fact, he might be considered his Western counterpart. And he repeatedly reminds us of Tolstoy as well.

Then there were men like Frejka-Freund, Geminder, and Weisskopf who joined Slansky in the Communist party. They thought that their German-Jewish background would be no liability in the cosmopolitan surroundings of the Communist International. This turned out to be the most tragic of all the alternatives. The "trespassers" were liquidated on the gallows of the Pankrac Prison in Prague early in 1953. Thus the Communists finished the chapter of extermination that Hitler started to write.

Today there are hardly any Jews left in Prague. The German-Jewish community is certainly gone. The contributions made to letters by Brod, Werfel, and Kafka can not, however, be exterminated. They will be with us for a long time to come — a monument to the tragic phenomenon called the German Jews of Prague.

NOTES

1. P. Eisner, *Franz Kafka and Prague* (New York: Griffin Books, 1950), pp. 36-37.
2. The methodology of research was somewhat peculiar and maybe unorthodox. The sources consisted of personal recollections, discussions with relatives and friends, consultation of novels, historical accounts, sociological and political analyses. No concerted effort was made to quantify. This approach is in many ways similar to the analysis of Celia Stopnicka Rosenthal in "Social Stratification of the Jewish Community . . .", *American Journal of Sociology* (July, 1953), pp. 1-10; "The Ecological Approach in Social Psychiatry", *American Journal of Sociology* (September 1954); and "Orienting Ecology to Theory and Application", *Social Forces* (May, 1954).
3. Marvin Lowenthal, *A World Passed By* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933), p. 331.
4. These facts—strangely neglected by German-Hebrew scholars—were recently brought to light by Professor Roman Jakobson, Harvard University.
5. For a comprehensive account of these circumstances see Bruno Blau, "Nationality Among Czechoslovak Jewry," *Historia Judaica* (October, 1948), pp. 147-154.
6. For a lego-historical study of the statute and its impact see Guido Kisch, "Linguistic Conditions Among Czechoslovak Jewry", *Historia Judaica* (April, 1946), pp. 19-32.
7. Pavel Eisner, *Chrám i tvrz* (In English the title means "A Cathedral as well as Fortress"—a book about the Czech language) (Prague: J. Podrouzek, 1946), p. 251. For an extensive register of these names see Konrad Krause, "Die Judische Namenwelt" (Essen: Essener Verlagsanstalt, 1943), pp. 196.
8. Eisner, *Franz Kafka and Prague*, p. 18.

9. The German Jewish life in the Ghetto was described in Hermann Grab's interesting novel *Der Stadtpark*.
10. T. G. Masaryk, *Světová Revoluce* (Prague: Orbis, 1930), p. 38. The title means "World Revolution".
11. Eisner, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24 and 61.
12. These references in literature helped to interpret the hush-hush references which our parents used to make about affairs of some of our "gay" friends and relatives. In fact, the vocabulary contained the term "Schuerzenjaeger" (skirt hunter), which was meant to describe the "happiness of pursuit" outside the conventional field of prostitution. Unfortunately, in those pre-Kinsey days very little was known about quantitative aspects of things such as these. Eisner tries to explain the phenomenon by pointing out that there is . . . "a particular erotic tension between people of different blood, [which made] the attractiveness of Prague Slavic women for the non-Czech . . . especially strong. For the German Jew of Prague such intercourse was an erotic symbiosis and an erotic revolution of an inherent longing of rootless patricians for the profound security of the people" (Eisner, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61).
13. Eisner, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.
14. The Jewish paper magnate Fuchs, who bought himself the title of Edler von Robettin, had for instance two sons: Karl and Herbert. Karl attended Czech schools. He became a Czech by conviction and a prominent patron of Czech athletics. He spelled his name Karel Robetin. Herbert, who went to German schools, remained German. Later on he became brother-in-law of Franz Werfel (*Song of Bernadette*) and continued to use the German spelling of his name, *i.e.*, Herbert von Robettin.
15. For a comprehensive description of this period see Klaus Wagenbach, "Die Jugend Franz Kafkas", *Merkur* (November, 1958), pp. 1019-29.
16. *Arrow in the Blue* (New York: Macmillan, 1952), p. 270. See also the chapter on Rebellion and Faith.
17. Ludvik Frejka (Freund), chief economic adviser to the late President Gottwald and one of the authors of the Czechoslovak Five-Year Plan.
18. Bedrich Geminder, head of the foreign division of the CCP and its former representative at the Cominform, Czech editor of the Cominform organ "For a Lasting Peace, for People's Democracy".
19. F. C. Weisskopf, former first secretary of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington, D.C., later ambassador to Sweden and Communist China.
20. Eisner, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
21. *Ibid*, p. 100.