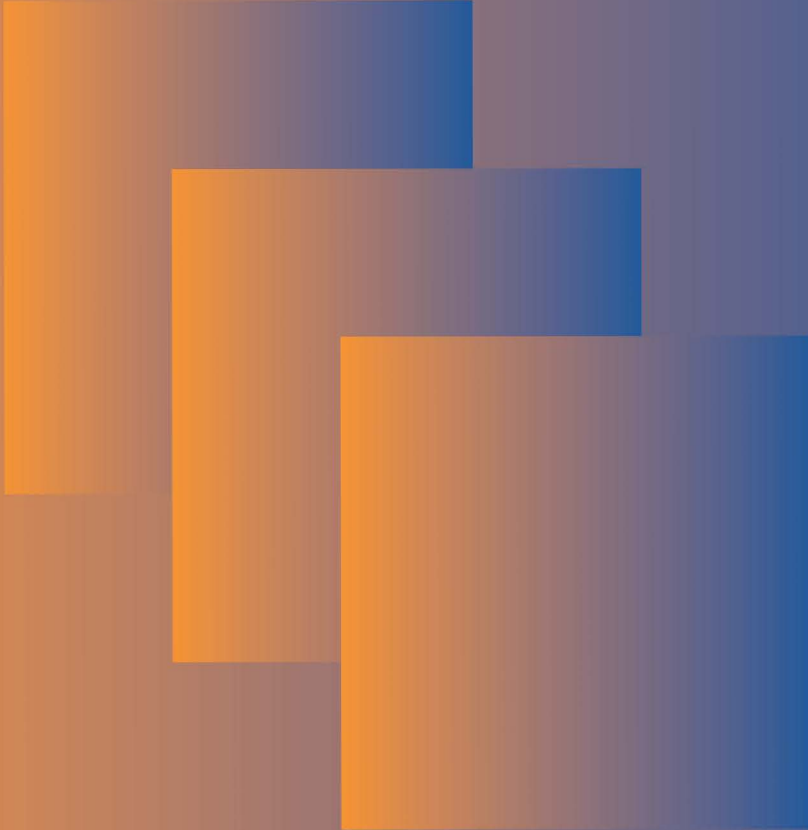


leo strauss

the early writings (1921–1932)



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translated and edited by **michael zank**

Leo Strauss:
The Early Writings
(1921–1932)

SUNY series in the Jewish Writings of Leo Strauss
Kenneth Hart Green, Editor

Leo Strauss

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Sarah Shenitzer
July 31, 1929 – March 9, 2002
in memoriam

Contents

Preface ix
Acknowledgments xvii
Abbreviations xix

Part I Introduction

A German Jewish Youth 3 • “Change in Orientation” 12 •
Political Existence and Religion 18 • Beyond Atheism and
Orthodoxy 23 • The Virtue of Modesty 33

Part II Leo Strauss: Early Publications (1921–32)

I. *The Dissertation (1921)* 53
 The Problem of Knowledge in the Philosophical
 Doctrine of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi 53

II. *Zionist Writings (1923–25)* 63
 Response to Frankfurt’s “Word of Principle” 64
 The Holy 75
 A Note on the Discussion of “Zionism and Anti-Semitism” 79
 The Zionism of Nordau 83
 Paul de Lagarde 90

Sociological Historiography?	101
Review of Albert Levkowitz, <i>Contemporary Religious Thinkers</i>	106
On the Argument with European Science	107
Comment on Weinberg's Critique	118
Ecclesia militans	124
Biblical History and Science	130
III. <i>Historical-Philological Writings on Spinoza (1924–26)</i>	139
Cohen's Analysis of Spinoza's Bible Science	140
On the Bible Science of Spinoza and His Precursors	173
IV. <i>Reorientation (1928–32)</i>	201
Sigmund Freud, <i>The Future of an Illusion</i>	202
Franz Rosenzweig and the Academy for the Science of Judaism	212
Review of Julius Ebbinghaus, <i>On the Progress of Metaphysics</i>	214
The Testament of Spinoza	216
Index of Sources	225
General Index	227

Preface

The writings included in this volume are unfamiliar, if not completely unknown, even to the growing number of American students of the work of Leo Strauss, nor is the relation of these early writings to Strauss's later work immediately evident or easily understood. The present volume is therefore intended as a contribution to the study of the origins of the political philosophy of Leo Strauss.

Not only are the writings themselves quite foreign to most readers of Strauss, but we are largely unacquainted with the intricacies of their original setting in the intellectual and political climate of the German Jewish community of the 1920s. The purpose of the introduction and of the notes to the translations is to provide the early writings with the necessary background and context.

Within the German Jewish community of his time Strauss relates to two seemingly opposite trends, namely, to the academic institutions of the liberal European *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and to the Zionist youth movement calling for an exodus from Europe. His affiliation with the elite of European Jewish scholarship is evident from the context of his first scholarly works. Strauss submitted his 1921 dissertation to Ernst Cassirer, who, at the time, was known as the foremost student of the Jewish neo-Kantian philosopher Hermann Cohen; in the years 1925 to 1928 Strauss produced a monograph on Spinoza as a fellow of the *Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*; and in 1935 he applied for a position in Jewish philosophy of religion at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, to which he submitted a set of studies on medieval Jewish philosophy under the title *Philosophy and Law*, published by Schocken in Berlin. However, neither the affiliation with Cassirer, nor the relation with the director of the Berlin Akademie, Julius Guttman, nor the

Jerusalem candidacy was easy and simple. Contrary to Cassirer's levelheaded interest in the "problem of knowledge," Strauss's dissertation celebrated Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's critique of Enlightenment rationalism; the monograph on Spinoza focused on his critique of religion instead of, as the fellowship mandated, on his biblical scholarship; and the candidacy in Jerusalem was torpedoed by the introduction to *Philosophy and Law*, where Strauss disparages both Orthodox faith and the Zionist project and associates himself with the "honest atheism" of Heidegger. While thus working in the midst of the synthesis of Jewish and humanist *Bildung* that was typical of nineteenth-century liberal German Jewish scholarship, the institutions of which continued to operate until the 1930s, Strauss also distanced himself from this tradition and, along with others, challenged its synthetic assumption on the basis of the experiences and concerns of a generation disenchanted by the failure of social integration and troubled by the universal crisis of values precipitated by the World War. To be sure, this uneasy bedfellow of the increasingly apologetic trend of German Jewish scholarship is not a naive proponent of the neoromantic "renaissance" of German Judaism either.

In his early political writings Strauss contributes to debates among the youngest generation of German Zionists on the spiritual orientation of their movement, which, to them, concerns the future of Judaism as a whole. Publishing in major Zionist venues and speaking to federal assemblies of mid-stream youths associated strongly neither with the Left nor with the Right, Strauss carried his theoretical concern with the post-Enlightenment fate of religion onto the platform of discussions on the post-Balfour state of political Zionism. His theoretical insights compelled him to reject the two most accepted combinations of the political secularism of Herzlian Zionism with traditional Judaism, namely the cultural Zionism associated with Ahad Ha'am and Martin Buber and the religious Zionism of Mizrahi. While the sophistication of his essays initially attracted the attention and support of the leadership of the mainstream Zionist students' organization, his outspokenly negative analysis of both cultural and religious Zionism was eventually rejected as politically inopportune when the forging of practical alliances began to take precedence over the "honesty" of the intellectual stance.

A study of a major figure in the differentiated world of the German Jewish renaissance of the 1920s would be incomplete without a consideration of the outside forces at play in his intellectual and political choices. It goes without saying that these outside forces were as complex in themselves and as driven by unresolved conflicts as those experienced by the Jewish minority. The scholarship of early-twentieth-century cultural Protestantism (*Kulturprotestantismus*), for example, was itself an uneasy amalgamation of clas-

sicist, humanist, and Teutonic sources. The peak of the achievements of this tradition impressed itself on the mind of the young Strauss in the work of Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, Rudolf Otto, and Edmund Husserl. But there were also such cultural pessimists as Friedrich Nietzsche, Paul de Lagarde, and Oswald Spengler whose perspective on politics, religion, and society was in fact much more congenial to the cultural analysis of Zionism than the new social, religious, and philosophical approaches developed in the schools of Göttingen, Heidelberg, and Freiburg. Furthermore, the influence of the established masters was gradually eclipsed by Martin Heidegger, the rising star of the younger generation who, all dressed in black, was to declare the death of Wilhelminian bourgeois philosophy in a single theatrical stroke taken utterly seriously not only by himself but by his otherwise perfectly reasonable admirers, among them the circle of Strauss's philosophical intimates: Hans-Georg Gadamer, Karl Löwith, Gerhard Krüger, and Jacob Klein.

To be sure, it would be overly simplistic if we assumed that Heidegger's gesture affected only the outside and not also the inside of the German Jew. The very dichotomization between such an "outside" and an "inside" was perpetually in question: in fact, it was the essence of the German Jewish question. Strauss certainly perceived any distinction between a solidly Jewish and a solidly German context—whereby if one lived in a land between two rivers, one could choose one's spiritual nourishment from either and mix it according to taste—as unrealistic, and any premature claim to authenticity as inauthentic. He was not alone in this perception. The creativity of the small elite of German-Jewish renaissance intellectuals was driven by the realization of the utterly hybrid nature of each and every aspect of their lives. Put in the terms of Zionism, the question was this: How was a return to Judaism possible if the world of the ghetto was irretrievably lost, while modern Judaism (even if transported to Palestine) was inextricably European? This question is the point of departure for the early writings of Leo Strauss.

* * *

For the purpose of orientation, the following bibliography lists the texts included in this volume¹ (indicated in boldface) in the context of the larger body of Strauss's early writings. The titles appear in the order of their date of composition, when that is known, or else in the order of their date of publication.² The list includes all known publications and manuscripts,³ covering the years 1921 to 1932, including two previously unknown essays, first published, respectively, in 1925 and 1928 in *Der jüdische Student*.⁴ Not listed, for reasons of simplification and clarity, are eight brief introductions to volumes

2 and 3, pt. 1, of Mendelssohn's philosophical and aesthetic writings, which Strauss produced in 1931 and 1932 for the Mendelssohn *Jubiläumsausgabe* of the Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.⁵

I. Philosophical dissertation (1921)

"The Problem of Knowledge in the Philosophical Doctrine of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi." Inaugural dissertation. University of Hamburg, 1921.

The Problem of Knowledge in the Philosophical Doctrine of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi.

Extract from the inaugural dissertation, originally published in 1921.

II. Zionist writings (1923-25)

Response to Frankfurt's "Word of Principle"

Originally in *Jüdische Rundschau* (Berlin) 28, no. 9 (30 January 1923): 45-46.

The Holy

Originally in *Der Jude: Eine Monatsschrift* (Berlin) 7, no. 4 (April 1923): 240-42.

A Note on the Discussion on "Zionism and Anti-Semitism"

Originally in *Jüdische Rundschau* 28, nos. 83/84 (28 September 1923): 501.

The Zionism of Nordau

Originally in *Der Jude: Eine Monatsschrift*, vol. 7, no. 10/11 (Oct./Nov.), Berlin: 1923, pp. 657-60.

Paul de Lagarde

Originally in *Der Jude: Eine Monatsschrift*, vol. 8, no. 1 (January), Berlin: 1924, pp. 8-15.

Sociological Historiography?

Originally in *Der Jude: Eine Monatsschrift*, vol. 8, no. 3 (March), Berlin: 1924, pp. 190-92.

Review of Albert Levkowitz, *Contemporary Religious Thinkers: On Changes in the Modern Views of Life*

Originally in *Der Jude: Eine Monatsschrift* 8, no. 7 (July 1924): 432.

On the Argument with European Science

Originally in *Der Jude. Eine Monatsschrift* 8, no. 10 (October 1924): 613-17.

Comment on Weinberg's Critique

Originally in *Der jüdische Student* 22, nos. 1 and 2 (February 1925): 15–18

Ecclesia militans

Originally in *Jüdische Rundschau* 30, no. 36 (8 May 1925): 334.

Biblical History and Science

Originally in *Jüdische Rundschau* 30, no. 88 (10 November 1925): 744–45.

III. Historical-philological writings on Spinoza (1924, 1925–28)**Cohen's Analysis of Spinoza's Bible Science**

Originally in *Der Jude: Eine Monatsschrift*, 8, nos. 5 and 6 (May/June 1924): 295–314.

On the Bible Science of Spinoza and His Precursors

Originally in *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins zur Gründung und Erhaltung einer Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* 7 (1926): 1–22.

Die Religionskritik Spinozas als Grundlage seiner Bibelwissenschaft: Untersuchungen zu Spinozas Theologisch Politischem Traktat. Series: Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Philosophische Sektion, Zweiter Band. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1930.

IV. Reorientation (1928–32)**Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion***

Originally in *Der jüdische Student* 25, no. 4 (August 1928): 16–22.

“Der Konspektivismus” (1929). First published by Heinrich Meier in *GS*, 2:365–75. A review of Karl Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie*.

Franz Rosenzweig and the Academy for the Science of Judaism

Originally in *Jüdische Wochenzeitung für Kassel, Hessen, und Waldeck* 6, no. 49 (13 December 1929).

“Religiöse Lage der Gegenwart” (1930). First published in *GS*, 2:377–91. A “lecture, to be held on Dec. 21, 1930 at the federal camp of *Kadimah* in Brieselang, near Berlin.”

“Cohen und Maimuni” (1931). First published in *GS*, 2:393–436.

Draft of a lecture, 4 May 1931, at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin.

“Maimunis Lehre von der Prophetie und ihre Quellen” (1931) = “Die philosophische Begründung des Gesetzes,” in *Philosophie und Gesetz: Beiträge zum Verständnis Maimunis und seiner Vorläufer*, 87–122. Berlin: Schocken, 1935. The manuscript for this essay was completed in July 1931 and was supposed to be published in the *Korrespondenzblatt für die Akademie des Judentums*, which was, however, discontinued in 1931.⁶

Review of Julius Ebbinghaus, *On the Progress of Metaphysics*

Originally in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 52 (27 December 1931): 2451–53.

“Die geistige Lage der Gegenwart” (1932). First published in *GS*, 2:441–64. The original is a twelve-page lecture manuscript, dated 6 February 1932.

“Anmerkungen zu Carl Schmitt, *Der Begriff des Politischen*.” *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (Tübingen) 67, no. 6 (August–September 1932): 732–49.

The Testament of Spinoza

Originally in *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung* 8, no. 21 (1 November 1932): 322–26.

The early writings may be divided into four phases coinciding with four distinct but related preoccupations, namely,

- I. the dissertation on Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1921),
- II. Zionist writings (1923–25),
- III. work on Spinoza’s critique of religion (1924, 1925–28), and
- IV. writings from a phase of reorientation (1928–32).

This division shows a predominance of scholarly preoccupations for the entire decade (I and III; also IV, especially if one adds the Mendelssohn introductions), with the exception of the years 1923–25 when Strauss wrote mostly on political Zionism (II, aside from the 1924 essay on Cohen and Spinoza, which, for thematic reasons, is here listed under III). The years 1928–32 (IV) are distinguished by a mixture of pursuits and venues, as well as by the fact that much of what Strauss wrote during these years was not published immediately.⁷ Some of the essays written during this period (IV) were eventually combined into what became one of the best-known works of Strauss, namely, *Philosophie und Gesetz: Beiträge zum Verständnis Maimunis und seiner Vorläufer*, published in 1935, a work whose interpretation has been notoriously elusive. It is thus a further purpose of the introduction to examine what we can learn

from the early writings about the character of this crucial phase in the work of Leo Strauss.

NOTES

1. The scope of this volume is limited to the shorter early publications from 1921 to 1932, excluding the full text of the dissertation and the Spinoza monograph, as well as manuscripts not published during this period. Also excluded is the 1932 review of Carl Schmitt, *Der Begriff des Politischen*, which has been available in Heinrich Meier, *Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss: The Hidden Dialogue. Including Strauss's Notes on Schmitt's Concept of the Political and Three Letters from Strauss to Schmitt*, trans. J. Harvey Lomax, foreword by Joseph Cropsey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

2. The texts translated in this volume are given with English titles. For the original titles and further bibliographic information see the unnumbered source notes to the translations at the beginning of the endnotes.

3. A number of hitherto unknown manuscripts from the early period as well as the full text of the 1921 dissertation of Jacobi have been made available by Heinrich Meier, with the editorial assistance of Wiebke Meier, in Leo Strauss, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1: *Die Religionskritik Spinozas und zugehörige Schriften* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 1996), J. B. Metzler, and vol. 2: *Philosophie und Gesetz: Frühe Schriften* (Stuttgart and Weimar (J. B. Metzler, 1997)). These important texts are extensively referenced below, and an English translation is in planning.

4. "Comment on Weinberg's Critique" (1925) and a 1928 review of Freud's *The Future of an Illusion* were brought to my attention by Professor Eugene Sheppard, who discovered copies of the original publications in the Scholem archive at the National and University Library Givat Ram, in Jerusalem. The texts were included among notes Scholem put together upon receiving notice of Strauss's death, presumably for an obituary. I am grateful to Professor Sheppard for sharing this material with me so generously.

5. For a complete listing of these introductions and Strauss's important later contributions to the Mendelssohn edition, see the notes below.

6. Cf. GS, 2:xiif.

7. The lectures are, of course, a form of public utterance. Not unlike other political movements of the time, however, the Zionist students' movement had a policy of secrecy and distinguished between publications restricted to its membership and publications open to the public. This policy of secrecy, first introduced during World War I, seems to have been suspended for most of the 1920s, but was reintroduced in the early 1930s, that is, exactly at the time when Strauss, the Zionist, spoke to Zionist audiences without publishing his lectures, and when Strauss, the philosopher, rediscovered the principle of the exoteric! More on this in the introduction, below.

Acknowledgments

Working on translating, annotating, and introducing the early writings of Leo Strauss, I incurred a debt of gratitude to a number of individuals and institutions whom it is my pleasure to acknowledge. Kenneth Hart Green invited me to contribute this volume to the SUNY Series in the Jewish Thought of Leo Strauss on the recommendation of Professor Marvin Fox, of blessed memory, who was *Doktorvater* to both of us. Ken Green accompanied the growth of this book from the first draft of the translations to the completion of the manuscript with unwavering dedication and sustained commitment to the making of a first-rate edition. If the work comes even close to such a standard it is not in small measure due to the attention of the series editor to each aspect and every turn of phrase in the oeuvre of Leo Strauss. The remaining shortcomings are, of course, my own responsibility.

As a non-native speaker of English, I repeatedly relied on the linguistic advice of my in-laws, veteran translators Abe and Sarah Shenitzer. Others also helped with problems of language, research, or content, among them most notably Laurence Berns, Aaron Garrett, Abigail Gillman, Tomás Kalmar, Deeana Klepper, Miriam Shenitzer, Hartwig Wiedebach, Matthias Wismann, and Martin Yaffe. My sincerest thanks to all. Thanks also to Professors Rémi Brague and Stanley Rosen, who kindly read and commented on various drafts of this volume.

Special mention must be made of Eugene Sheppard, who brought two hitherto unknown publications by Strauss to my attention and provided me with initial copies of the texts. Professor Sheppard has been a wellspring of information, an attentive and critical reader, and a delightful colleague.

In 1998/99, the Humanities Foundation at Boston University, directed by Katherine T. O'Connor, kindly provided me with a junior fellowship that

allowed me to return to my work on Strauss, which I had begun in 1994. Thanks to the fellows who provided important suggestions for improving the introduction to this volume, especially to John Clayton, James Schmidt, and Steven Scully.

In the summer of 1999, when I enjoyed the privileges of the Martin Buber Visiting Professorship in Jewish Philosophy of Religion at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität in Frankfurt am Main, I discovered volumes 1 and 2 of Heinrich and Wiebke Meier's edition of Leo Strauss's early writings, along with Heinrich Meier's other contributions to the study of Leo Strauss. Without what I learned from Meier, this work would not be what it is.

For help with research I am indebted to the staff at Boston University's Mugar Library, to Frau Rachel Heuberger at the Städtische und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, to Jim Rosenbloom and Dr. Charles Cutter at Brandeis University, and to the staff at the library of the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien in Heidelberg.

Finally, thanks to Joseph Cropsey, the literary executor of Leo Strauss, for the permission to make these early writings of Strauss available in this edition.

Abbreviations

- EJ* Cecil Roth and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1966–.
- JS* *Herman Cohens Jüdische Schriften*. Mit einer Einleitung von Franz Rosenzweig herausgegeben von Bruno Strauß. 3 vols. Series: Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft der Judentums. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1924.
- GS* Leo Strauss. *Gesammelte Schriften*. Edited by Heinrich Meier, with the editorial assistance of Wiebke Meier. 2 vols. Vol. 1: *Die Religionskritik Spinozas und zugehörige Schriften*. Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzlar, 1966. Vol. 2: *Philosophie und Gesetz: Frühe Schriften*. Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzlar, 1997.
- RGG* *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Edited by Kurt Galling. 3d, unabridged edition. Tübingen: C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1986.

Editorial Note: Endnotes are by the editor, and are numbered with arabic numerals. Strauss's own notes to the treatises are given as page-end footnotes with lowercase roman numerals. His marginal remarks are indicated by asterisks.

Part I
Introduction



A GERMAN JEWISH YOUTH

When Leo Strauss died in 1973, he did not leave an autobiography, and a scholarly biography on this major political philosopher has as yet to be written.¹ But Strauss left us with a number of autobiographic fragments, and what else we need to know in order to approach the writings assembled in this volume is easy enough to ascertain.²

Strauss was born 20 September 1899, to an Orthodox Jewish family living in the rural town of Kirchhain (Hesse), just ten kilometers northeast of the university town of Marburg. He shared this rural rather than urban background with the majority of German Jewry; in fact, he shared it with most Germans of the time. Strauss grew up, as he once described it, in an atmosphere of strict observance yet with “very little Jewish knowledge.”³ Influenced by the typical humanistic *Gymnasium* education of his day, he “formed the plan, or the wish, to spend [his] life reading Plato and breeding rabbits while earning [his] livelihood as a rural postmaster.” He describes the estrangement from his Orthodox home as a gradual and nonrebellious movement that culminated in his “conversion,” at the age of seventeen, “to simple, straightforward political Zionism.” The group he joined was the Jüdischer Wanderbund Blau-Weiss.⁴

While the history of Blau-Weiss as an independent organization was relatively short-lived, it exerted a significant influence on the German Zionist youth movement as a whole.⁵ A group by this name was first constituted in Breslau in 1907, as a Jewish counterpart to the influential German Wandervogel. The Wandervogel movement had existed since the 1890s when a group of youngsters came together in Steglitz under the leadership of Karl

Fischer.⁶ What united these youths was their contempt for modernity, for urban civilization, and for the materialism of adult society. The early Wandervogel was inspired by the Teutonic mysticism of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn,⁷ Paul de Lagarde,⁸ and Julius Langbehn,⁹ and its majority espoused a more or less de-Christianized Lutheran spirituality. Only a minority embraced the neopaganism of the Far Right or the radical utopianism of the Far Left. Clad in short pants and open-neck shirts, such bands of “perpetual adolescents”¹⁰ would hike through the German countryside, singing folk songs and debating the inspired poetry and social criticism of the day (such as the writings of Stefan George, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Hermann Hesse). Although the youngsters were not committed to any party or any ideology, they were unanimous in the assumption that Jews could not well or sincerely be part of their movement.¹¹ Lagarde and other favorite authors associated the Jews with the urban materialism so viscerally rejected by this new generation, and it seemed doubtful to them that Germans and Jews could share the real inner communion and feeling of commonality that was the hallmark of this movement. Most constituents of the Wandervogel considered themselves “a-Semitic” rather than anti-Semitic, regarding the alienness between the two nationalities as a fact of nature and life. The nonchalance by which they were excluded from this German *völkisch* renewal precipitated a quest among young Jews to experience the irrational grounds of commonality among their own. To them the most appropriate and dignified answer to this experience of exclusion presented itself in a German-Jewish Zionist youth movement.¹²

Blau-Weiss established itself as an alternative to the German youth movement, and it modeled itself on its ideals and practices.¹³ Its rhetoric was a form of heightened speech that, in hindsight, may appear quaint and makes all analysis of its content rather difficult.¹⁴ The membership consisted of high-school-age children and university students (i.e., ages fifteen to twenty)¹⁵ who acted without adult supervision¹⁶ and who rejected anything on principle that smacked of politics and political organization. Countering the Protestant Germanism of the Wandervogel with a corresponding “German Jewish” orientation, Blau-Weiss provided a haven for the assimilated and alienated Jewish youths who enjoyed the sense of belonging provided by the uniforms and who thrived on the ritual of marching through the streets, returning the German “Heil!” with a self-assured Jewish “Shalom!”¹⁷ Hiking across the German countryside was a novel expression of Jewish communal life, and it was perceived as such. The Wanderbund provided “instant movement and action . . . in the course of which they hoped to achieve their human and Jewish substance.”¹⁸ Like its German counterpart, Blau-Weiss was decidedly middle-class¹⁹ and hence recruited more successfully among those who were

like themselves, that is, among assimilated Western Jews, and much less successfully among the Eastern European Jewish proletarians who were more strongly attracted by the socialist *haluts* movement (which, of course, also had its German counterpart in the socialist Arbeiterjugend). As in the case of their German peers who, at the 1913 Hohe Meissner meeting, called for “inner truthfulness” as the hallmark of their *völkisch* renewal,²⁰ the enthusiastic rhetoric of Blau-Weiss often covered up for a pervasive lack of concrete content. In the case of Blau-Weiss with its highly educated, liberal, and assimilated constituency, this meant most often a pervasive lack of Jewish knowledge. Affiliation with a Zionist youth organization meant for many to find a place where they could study Jewish history (from a Zionist perspective) and Hebrew for the first time in their lives.

In contrast to the *haluts* movement and the association of Zionist fraternities—the Kartell jüdischer Verbindungen, or K.J.V.—the Wanderbund Blau-Weiss was initially rather lukewarm when it came to the question of settling in Palestine.²¹ This changed under the post-World War I leadership of Walter Moses (1922–26), who completely reorganized Blau-Weiss, briefly united it with K.J.V., and managed to establish a German-speaking settlement in Palestine.²² When this experiment collapsed, however, the Wanderbund was dissolved (1926), a setback that affected the entire German Zionist youth movement.²³

Leo Strauss had first joined Blau-Weiss with the enthusiasm of a convert to a movement whose very purpose was the encounter (*Erlebnis*) of a deep commonality between its members. Yet this enthusiasm gave way to a “spirit of sobriety.” In his very first Zionist essay, “Response to Frankfurt’s ‘Word of Principle’” (1923), Strauss admits to his earlier “confusion” in a phrase that echoes Nietzsche’s confession of having temporarily been afflicted with the disease of anti-Semitism.²⁴

It was thought that by heaping upon us for years, to the point of nausea, “personal encounters” [*Erlebnisse*] and “confessions” [*Bekanntnisse*] one could make us forget that there is such a thing as critique. *We ourselves were temporarily confused*, but now we unambiguously profess the spirit of sobriety as opposed to that of pathetic declamation. “Belief” may still be decisive, yet belief is no oracle but is subject to the control of historical reasoning. (See below, p. 66. Emphasis added.)

By invoking the “spirit of sobriety as opposed to that of pathetic declamation,” Strauss distanced himself not only from his earlier self but also from a new Blau-Weiss, whose covenant had been issued in 1922 by Walter Moses