

## THE LAND OF REGENERATION

### Seafaring Jews and the Zionist colonial imaginary

In a famously provocative article, “Zionism from the Standpoint of its Victims,” Edward Said set out to detail the stark social, political, economic, and cultural consequences of Zionism for the non-Jewish population in Palestine.<sup>1</sup> He explained how Zionist policy changed from a *mission civilisatrice* at the start of the twentieth century in which the Arab population, alongside the Jewish people, was to be “regenerated” to a policy of population transfer, mass exodus, and violent disappearance after 1948. In elucidating the historical justification of Palestinian displacement, Said argued that Zionism did not simply “[draw] its force” from the idea of Jewish self-determination and “Jewish national selfhood” (ZSV, 56) but also—and, for Said, certainly more significantly—from “the historical context of nineteenth-century Europe” (ZSV, 57). The Zionist colonial mission—although different in a number of significant ways from the unchecked imperial ambitions of the modern European state—was nevertheless the product of the European imagination, in which overseas territories were to be variously inhabited, civilized, exploited, or conquered in the name of progress, culture, and Enlightenment. It is no coincidence, Said points out, that Zionism followed upon and even gained legitimacy through its comparison with the unprecedented expansion of European empires into Africa and Asia at the end of the nineteenth century.

Said defines “imperialism” as a political philosophy of territorial expansion and annexation, and he includes Zionism under this rubric. He explains:

Gaining and holding an *imperium* means gaining and holding a domain, which includes a variety of operations, among them constituting an area, accumulating its inhabitants, having power over its ideas, people, and of course, its land, converting people, land, and ideas to the purposes and for the use of a hegemonic imperial design.  
(ZSV, 73)

Before turning to the case of Zionism, Said cites the experiences of the British, the French, the Belgians, the Germans, and the Americans in their quest for

imperial expansion: land was to be properly cultivated, farmed, and exploited; native “savages” were to be civilized, enslaved, or killed; the “black, yellow, and brown people” in the colonized lands were considered to be “inferior” and “subhuman”—in short, in need of European civilization (ZSV, 68–69). Colonial expansion meant bringing European culture—in all its dialectical expressions—to the “uncultured” people of the world. As Joseph Conrad explained the logic of the European imperial imaginary in *Heart of Darkness* through the figure of Marlow: “The glories of exploration” meant filling in the “blank” spaces on the map of the world, of penetrating the “darkness” and bringing the bounty of “progress” to all.<sup>2</sup> In his novel, the River Thames represented “an interminable waterway . . . leading to the uttermost ends of the earth,”<sup>3</sup> with ships that sailed the world over in search of conquest and expansion. Indeed, nothing better-represented “the dreams of men, the seed of commonwealths, the germ of empires”<sup>4</sup> in the nineteenth-century imperial imaginary than the enterprise of seafaring. As we will see later in this chapter, it was precisely the “European” trope of seafaring that Zionist Jews sought to appropriate in fashioning their own colonial history.

Even if we agree with Said that the Zionist colonial imaginary and the European imperial project should be placed in the same lineage and historical context, there are a number of significant differences between them that must be remarked straightaway. First and foremost, there was no Jewish imperial empire because there was no Jewish nation-state. The Zionist colonial project was not concerned with expansion, empire, or commonwealths but rather with the foundation of a singular state, something that nevertheless did involve an investment in discourses of progress and regeneration as well as conquest and displacement. Within postcolonial studies, the Zionist colonial idea challenges a basic structuring opposition in the field, namely the strict dichotomy between colonizer and subaltern. In the case of Zionism, it is the subaltern who becomes the colonizer: not in order to uniformly subjugate the native other or designate the other as degenerate but in order to regenerate both the diasporic Jew and the native Arab through a cultural-aesthetic politic of “Europeanization.” Although this history becomes more complex when Palestine comes under British rule in 1917, the postcolonial paradigm cannot be applied to the early history of Zionism without a number of significant amendments. There was no unified state as the agent of imperial expansion, and, hence, we must rethink the relationship between the colonizer and the subaltern. At the same time, I believe it still makes sense to evaluate the Zionist colonial imaginary within the purview of postcolonial studies, something that ought to add another layer of complexity to the ways in which we speak about and conceptualize colonialism and the history of imperialism. This needs to be done with attention to a discursive framework grounded in careful historical analysis.<sup>5</sup>

In her study of German colonial fantasies before the existence of the German nation, Susanne Zantop argued that a unified German state was not

necessary for the development of a vivid colonial imaginary.<sup>6</sup> I want to suggest that an analogous situation developed within Zionism: although a colonial state did not yet exist, the “imaginary formations” created in the early twentieth century—ranging from manifestos, travel literature, demographic studies, and scientific journals to photographs, paintings, and even films<sup>7</sup>—played a critical role in developing a Jewish colonial and national consciousness. Significantly, these imaginary formations constructed “Palestine” as a colonial territory by representing, reconnoitering, knowing, cultivating, and imagining the regeneration and possession of the land as well as its inhabitants. In this regard, early Zionism could be considered an eminently “aesthetic-political” project of modernity. However, unlike Zantop, I do not limit my analysis to fantasies, since many of the Zionist colonial desires and discourses were also wrapped up with and contingent upon actual visits to Palestine as well as the establishment of real settlements. Indeed, sporadic Jewish settlements had been taking place in Palestine since the 1870s, and, after 1882, under the financial support and political leadership of Baron Edmond James de Rothschild, they steadily grew throughout the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.<sup>8</sup> Inspired by the Zionist Congresses and the international gymnastics associations, many Zionist delegates and representatives visited Palestine after the publication of Herzl’s *Altneuland* (Old-New Land), undertaking demographic studies of the land and people, writing travelogues, taking photographs, mapping the territory, and cultivating the land.

What is unique and worth underscoring about both German and Jewish colonial desires is that they came into existence without the support of a unified nation-state. Of course, this stands in marked contrast to French or English colonialism where colonial territories were established to extend the hegemony of the universalizing state.<sup>9</sup> As Russell Berman writes, German colonial discourse looked:

different from the more emphatically universalizing claims of British and French colonial discourses, which in turn is a reflection of Germany’s ambivalent situation within Europe. It is emphatically within Europe but also on the margin of the economic and political centers in England and France.<sup>10</sup>

Rather than simply positing a sort of German “Sonderweg” (special path) with respect to “normal” European colonialism, Berman, like Zantop, attempts to articulate the “specificity” of German colonial discourse, something that, he argues, betrays differentiation, hybridity, and transgression.<sup>11</sup> In the same way that it makes little sense to approach German colonial discourse “solely as a Manichean segregation,”<sup>12</sup> Jewish colonial discourse cannot be approached as “Manichean” either. It is necessary to examine the specificity of Jewish colonial discourse by showing how it drew on the German model and also constructed

its own unique self-justification as an aestheticized politics of regeneration. As we will see, Jewish colonialism in Palestine imagined itself to be a revitalizing, culturally productive form of regeneration for both European (especially Eastern) Jews and non-Jewish (especially Arab) inhabitants of Palestine. It both drew on and was distinct from its European precedent.

Indeed, Said is careful on this point and does not, in fact, equate Zionism with the European colonial-imperial project. He says: “Zionism and European imperialism are epistemologically, hence historically and politically, coterminous in their treatment of resident natives” (ZSV, 83). If we accept this characterization of Zionism as epistemologically, historically, and politically “coterminous” with—as opposed to simply tantamount to—European imperialism, we not only have to indicate where the essential differences are to be found, but we also need to specify what exactly “coterminous” means: In what sense and in what ways does Zionism share its conceptual-historical borders with nineteenth-century European imperialism? To answer this question, I suggest that we look at the self-representation of the early Zionist colonial project, namely its purported goals, its means of achieving them, and its strategies of self-legitimization. Furthermore, we must look at the ways in which the Zionist imaginary came into contact with and built off of the European colonial imaginary. Here, we have to probe the discursive context in which the Zionist colonial idea arose and the various representational practices that ensued.

The institutional history of the early Zionist colonial idea has been meticulously researched by Derek Penslar in his book, *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870–1918*. Penslar uses the term “technocracy” to show how Zionist leaders, almost all of whom were inspired by German colonial models, engineered social-scientific programs and political-economic organizations aimed at “Jewish nation building.”<sup>13</sup> While the early leaders of the World Zionist Organization, Theodor Herzl and Max Bodenheimer, put forth many bold ideas for Jewish colonization—including possible plans to found a Jewish state in Argentina, East Africa (the so-called “Uganda” plan), and, of course, Turkish-controlled Palestine—it was not until after the death of Herzl in 1904 that reconnaissance and research projects began in earnest to learn about and acquire land in Palestine.<sup>14</sup> This work was undertaken by Zionist leaders such as Otto Warburg, the founder of the Palestine Commission who had a background in the German colonial service, Arthur Ruppin, a scientist trained in hereditary biology and the principles of Social Darwinism who was familiar with the Prussian Colonization Committee, Selig Soskin, an agronomist by training who had studied German agricultural colonies in Africa and South America, Alfred Nossig, one of the founders of Jewish statistics and demographics, and Davis Trietsch, a fervent supporter of agriculture colonization and one of the most committed advocates of and prolific writers on Zionist colonial policy. All five were variously involved with or inspired

by German colonial models, publishing many of their ideas in the newly founded Zionist colonial journals, *Palästina* and *Altneuland*.<sup>15</sup>

For all its merits, what Penslar's study does not do, however, is analyze the discursive origins of the Zionist colonial imaginary, particularly its representational practices and strategies of self-legitimization, practices and strategies that place it in contact with European colonial history as well as European intellectual and cultural history. As Said argues in *Culture and Imperialism*, the cultural imaginary, in all its diverse forms of expression, is fundamentally connected to geography through nation- and empire-building:

Imperialism and the culture associated with it affirm both the primacy of geography and an ideology about control of territory. The geographical sense makes projections—imaginative, cartographic, military, economic, historical, or in a general sense cultural. It also makes possible the construction of various kinds of knowledge, all of them in one way or another dependent upon the perceived character and destiny of a particular geography.<sup>16</sup>

The imaginative investment in and knowledge constructed about places and peoples is inextricable with the extension of the colonial power.

For Nathan Weinstock, Zionism represents “a deviant pattern of colonization” because it does not follow the usual logic of European colonization, which entails the exploitation of the indigenous people as a cheap source of labor.<sup>17</sup> From the perspective of 1973, Weinstock concluded that:

the Zionist movement intended to replace the Palestinian population, rather than exploit it according to the classical colonial pattern. . . . Zionist colonization, while unquestionably exerting a favorable effect on the standards of cultivation and health in the country, built a new society in which Hebrew capitalists exploited a Hebrew proletariat by implementing specific segregationist principles—at the expense of the Palestinians.<sup>18</sup>

While Weinstock is right to differentiate Zionist colonization from the European pattern of colonization, it is also important to point out that at the start of the twentieth century there was no plan to “replace” the native population in Palestine; on the contrary, there was a consistent recognition on the part of Zionist thinkers of the necessity of Jewish settlers living with and working side-by-side with the Arab natives.<sup>19</sup> The central discourse—as articulated by Herzl, Ruppin, Nossig, Soskin, and many others—did not concern replacement but rather “the peaceful acquisition” of the land and the regeneration of both the land and the people. As Nossig put it in a programmatic article on Jewish colonization published in *Palästina*: “We are not a great power, and we are not conquerors. We must and want to use

exclusively peaceful means.”<sup>20</sup> Soskin and Aaronsohn, for example, speak extensively of the populations inhabiting these regions east and west of the Jordan for the sake of working with them to establish centers of trade and commerce throughout the Middle East.<sup>21</sup> The Zionist rhetoric of a “land without people for a people without a land” only developed much later as a retrospective justification of Zionist colonial policy, which, by 1948, had turned into a violent politics of “replacement.”

What we find in 1902, however, is the depiction of Jews and Arabs working together to regenerate the land. In Herzl’s utopian travel novel, *Altneuland*, the Arabs are unequivocally gracious to the Jews for coming to Palestine—via the sea—and saving Palestine.<sup>22</sup> As Reschid Bey, the single Arab character in the novel, points out:

Nothing could have been more poor and wretched [*jämmerlicher*] than an Arab village at the end of the nineteenth century. The peasants’ clay hovels were unfit for animals. The children lay naked and neglected in the streets like dumb beasts. Now everything is different. . . . When the swamps were drained, the canals built, the eucalyptus trees planted, . . . the ground became healthy . . . The Jews have enriched us, why should we be angry with them? They dwell among us like brothers. Why should we not love them?

(A, 247–48)

Not only did the Jews cultivate the soil, we are told, they also civilized this formerly backwards land: “Jewish settlers who streamed into this country brought with them the experiences of the whole cultured world [i.e. Europe]” (A, 251). Zionists thus regenerated both Jews and Arabs in accord with the European Universal. At the upshot of the Zionist *Bildungsroman*, weak, Eastern, Yiddish-speaking Jews have become transformed into politically and physically strong, German-speaking Jews who reside in Palestine, the outpost of European civilization. And, at the same time, the unkempt, uncivilized “Orientals” have been transformed into polite, European-educated, German-speaking citizens of the “new society.” Herzl’s Zionism—as a colonial mission—touches everyone, forming them in the image of the European ideal of civilization. In Daniel Boyarin’s critical words: “Herzlian Zionism is thus itself the civilizing mission, first and foremost directed by Jews at other Jews and then at whatever natives happen to be there, if indeed, they are noticed at all.”<sup>23</sup>

Not only do we find an unquestioned faith in the absolute good of regeneration in the early Zionist rhetoric, but also—and decidedly more problematic—an unquestioned acceptance of the colonial enterprise itself. In a booklet published in 1912, *Palaestina als Judenland*, Elias Auerbach maintained that Jewish colonies were to thank for the regeneration of the “wasted, neglected land.”<sup>24</sup> He refers to Palestine as “Judenland” and states

apodictically: “Everywhere that Jewish colonies are to be found, they have directly increased the welfare of the Arab population.”<sup>25</sup> He admonishes the Jews that they must be careful not to proceed according to “an incendiary chauvinism,” which could result in strife between the colonists and the native population:

If the Jews are to really understand their task, they must try to become the leaders, advisors, and employers of the native people, to share with them the uses of the land that grow out of its economic activity, to let them enjoy its public institutions.<sup>26</sup>

However, he never explores whether the native Arabs want to be led, advised, or employed by the Jews; he simply assumes that they would want to be part of the European mission of progress brought to them by the Jewish colonists.

At the same time, early Zionist authors consistently attempt to differentiate Jewish colonization from its European counterpart, even while it drew its inspiration and justification from Europe. As Soskin points out:

If we look closely at the colonial goals of the European peoples over the last century, we find that only rarely does the ethnic moment come into the foreground, as it is the case with the Jews. . . . To the Europeans, [the colonized lands] represent objects of exploitation, tapped for their natural riches through the labor of the natives. The Europeans only bring their intelligence and material technologies, never their own physical labor into play. . . . [For the Jews,] the colonizing people send their own sons to work the land and give it a national character.<sup>27</sup>

In contrast to European colonization, then, Jews have an ethnic-national connection to the land, something that, according to Warburg, also accounts for their unique corporeal success in Palestine: whereas German colonists in the Middle East “had already begun to degenerate [*degenerieren*] after one or two generations [due to the temperatures in Palestine],” the Jews—because of their racial ties to the antique land—are well-suited to adapt to the climate.<sup>28</sup> In another article, Warburg even maintained that “the traces of the ghetto-Judaism of earlier generations have disappeared in the youth who grew up in the Palestinian colonies.”<sup>29</sup> The great masses of European Jews would not only regenerate Palestine, both the land and its inhabitants, but, recursively, Palestine would also regenerate the great masses of European Jews. In effect, Palestine would, in the words of Nordau, re-create a long lost muscular Judaism.

By 1919, Arthur Ruppin was no longer convinced that Palestine would, in and of itself, regenerate the masses of Eastern-European Jews. In an article entitled “The Selection of Human Material for Palestine,” Ruppin argued that

the first waves of immigration were largely self-selecting because most of the immigrants who chose to leave Europe did so aware of the daunting physical challenges and mental tasks that lay before them in Palestine. While “every Jew was welcome to immigrate to Palestine, regardless of whether he was old, sick, incapable of work, or of antisocial character,” generally only the “healthy” came.<sup>30</sup> As Palestine enters a new phase of development, Ruppin argues that a more selective policy will be needed to safeguard the racial fitness of the population. Invoking social Darwinian principles, Ruppin proposes that “the level [of the people] can be raised by a sifting of the immigrants [*eine Siebung der Einwander*] . . . according to physical, occupational, and moral composition” (AM, 374). “The fear,” according to Ruppin, “is that Palestine, because it is the door to Eastern Europe, will become a free-for-all for many unwanted elements [*unerwünschte Elemente*]” (AM, 375). For Ruppin, the selection criteria that should be invoked are “profession, health, and character” (AM, 376). Not only is he concerned with “the health and strength” of the new generations but he also insists on “the possibility of working to keep pure the Jewish race in Palestine” (*die Reinhaltung der jüdischen Rasse in Palästina*) (AM, 381). In this respect, the colonial project of regeneration is not only entirely consonant with the history of Jewish bio-power, but Ruppin’s rhetoric of purity is also entirely consonant with the realization of the eugenic paradigm in the twentieth-century racial state—with all its grim consequences.

In what follows, I examine how the discourse of muscular Judaism impacted and was deployed by the early Zionist colonial imaginary. I ask: How and to what ends did the Zionist colonial imaginary cite and model itself after the European imperial-colonial project of the nineteenth century? To answer this question, I will attempt to concretize some of the key ways in which Zionism was “coterminous,” to use Said’s concept, with European imperialism. I begin by examining how the Zionists sought to elevate Jews into agents of the European universal and, thereby, transform them into a colonial people. Here, I argue that seafaring became both a critical discourse and trope of the Zionist colonial imaginary in the first part of the twentieth century. It did not simply emerge from the material reality of waves of European Jews immigrating to Palestine (although this was certainly its real, historical backdrop) but rather stemmed from the desire to elevate Jews into world-historical people capable of founding a model, European nation-state. In this regard, Jewish colonial discourse attempted to legitimize itself by (re)writing Jews into the history of expansion and conquest. With Hegel’s *Philosophy of World History* and Max Grunwald’s seminal essay, “Jews as Anchormen and Seafarers,” as my discursive starting points, I show how the Zionist imaginary sought to elevate Jews into a colonial people by endowing them with a seafaring tradition. That is to say, if Jews engage in seafaring, they not only have a claim to be national subjects (the journey by sea shores up subjectivity and nationality) but also world-historical (the journey by sea is



the condition of possibility for the spread of the universal World Spirit). Both were the prerequisites of a successful colonization project. After that, I return to the cultural history of regeneration, examining the intersection between discourses of colonization and photography in the work of Davis Trietsch.

### **Zionism and the European universal**

Judging by their absence in Helmut Pemsel's *Weltgeschichte der Seefahrt* (World History of Seafaring), a monumental, seven-volume study of seafaring from antiquity to the present, Jews have played virtually no part in the history of seafaring.<sup>31</sup> A review of approximately 400 of the most important seafaring personages shows that the greatest number come from England (107), followed by Germany with 45, the United States with 38, Italy and the Holy Roman Empire with 35, and France also with 35. After that, the formerly great colonial powers of Spain, Greece, and the Netherlands emerge with less than 20 each, followed by a spattering of other representatives across the world, ranging from Russia and China to Chile and Peru.<sup>32</sup> The vast majority of these personages were commanders of fleets or flotillas, followed by explorers and researchers, tradesmen, shipbuilders, and U-boat commanders. The "rule of the sea" (*Seeherrschaft*) was determined by these sea captains, admirals, sailors, cartographers, explorers, anchormen, engineers, and politicians who set sail across the seemingly boundless oceans to reconnoiter new lands, discover new trade routes, expand the colonial holdings of the motherland, and establish military dominance across the world. For better or worse, Jews did not partake in this history. As David Ben-Gurion seemed to confirm shortly after the birth of the State of Israel: "The Jewish people were never a seafaring nation."<sup>33</sup>

Of course, this might be easily explained by pointing to the fate of the Jews in the Diaspora: without a homeland, Jews wandered from nation to nation, where they were occasionally tolerated but more often than not restricted or expelled. Without the support and stability of a nation-state with ports along the sea, the social, economic, political, military, and geographic conditions of possibility for seafaring were denied to the Jews. But as Raphael Patai has shown in his extraordinary history of Jewish seafaring in antiquity, Jews played—at least at one time—a significant role in all aspects of seafaring up and down the Mediterranean coastline.<sup>34</sup> As Patai indicates: "Despite the paucity of biblical references, once their control extended to the Mediterranean coastline, the Hebrews engaged in shipping and fishing to no less an extent than the other peoples whose towns and villages bordered the Great Sea" (Patai, 19). Jews not only engaged in extensive maritime trade throughout the region, especially with the Romans and the Greeks, but they also engaged in naval warfare, mustering many a fleet of vessels to fight the Romans. They constructed ships, set sail across the region, penned seafaring lore, and developed an extensive network of port cities from Akhzibh in the

north to Rhinokorura in the south (Patai, 138). Not only did Jews lose their seafaring position in the Diaspora, but it seems that they also lost this once great history.<sup>35</sup>

It should come as no surprise, then, that the greatest seafaring nations correspond, more or less, to the greatest world historical empires in terms of geographic reach, historical duration, and sheer brutality. And, recursively, world-historical people, as Hegel argued in his *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte* (Lectures on the Philosophy of World History) are intimately connected to the sea and seafaring.<sup>36</sup> Nations only become great colonial powers and, hence, world-historical when they undertake voyages of discovery and conquest, something that is certainly confirmed by Pemsel's study. According to Hegel, world history is divided into four, progressively higher stages based on geography: the "Oriental world," the "Greek world," the "Roman world," and the "Germanic world." Africa is actually the first geographical space that Hegel mentions; however, because the land has "remained impenetrable," "enveloped in the dark color of night," and filled with "the most thoughtless inhumanity and disgusting barbarism" (W, 120–21/91–2), the African people are "no historical part of the world" (W, 129/99). Hence, they are quickly dispensed by Hegel and are not a part of the narrative procession of world history.<sup>37</sup> The final stage, on the other hand, corresponds to the highest development of the family, civil society, freedom, and the Christian state, having emerged from abstract rights and mere law-based morality: "The Germanic nations, under the influence of Christianity, were the first to attain the consciousness, that man, as man, is free: that the freedom of Spirit constitutes his essential nature" (W, 31/18). This quadripartite formulation provides the geographic basis of the direction and movement of World Spirit (*Weltgeist*), which proceeds in a singular direction, toward a specific, predetermined goal until universal knowledge and the consciousness of freedom are attained: "World history travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of history, Asia the beginning" (W, 134/103).

Through a process of ever increasing glorification and purification, the crumbling of the Oriental world gave rise to the possibility of the Greek world; the destruction of the Greek world gave rise to the Roman world; and, finally, the ruination of the Roman world, set in motion the spread of Christianity and the advent of the Germanic world: "Spirit—consuming the envelope of its existence—does not merely pass into another envelope, nor rise rejuvenated from the ashes of its previous form; it comes forth exalted, glorified, a purer spirit" (W, 97–8/72–3). But the rise of the Germanic world is "entirely different from that sustained by the Greeks and Romans. For the Christian world is the world of completion [*die Welt der Vollendung*]; the grand principle of being is realized, consequently, the end of days is fully come" (W, 414/342).

To better understand the centrality of geography in Hegel's philosophy of world history, we need to focus on his comments about seafaring and the

expansive, outward spread of World Spirit in this process of purification.<sup>38</sup> World-historical people, he argues, are intimately connected to the sea because nations only become great colonial powers and, hence, world-historical when they undertake voyages of discovery and conquest. They have a connection to seafaring and ship travel, whereas non-historical people are basically landlocked and condemned to wander on the ground, not unlike the Jewish people in the Diaspora. In his discussion of the history of the Greek and Roman worlds of antiquity, Hegel shows how the Mediterranean Sea played a critical role in the development of these civilizations by facilitating the emergence of a national identity and civil society and, more expansively, by spreading the Universal outwards.<sup>39</sup> In Hegel's words, "The Mediterranean Sea is the heart of the ancient world, for it is what conditioned and vitalized it. Without it, world history is inconceivable, just as Rome or Athens would be unimaginable without the forum" (W, 115/87). In the Oriental world, where Hegel places the Jewish people, he explains: "The sea has no meaning for Asia; quite the opposite: The Asian peoples have closed themselves off from the sea." By contrast, "the relationship to the sea in Europe is important . . . [because] only through a connection to the sea can a European state become great."<sup>40</sup>

World-historical nations are characterized by their power to master the expansiveness of the sea and their ability to undertake voyages of conquest. As Hegel writes:

The sea gives us the idea of the indefinite, the unlimited, and the infinite, and insofar as man feels this infinite within himself, he is emboldened to go beyond limits. The sea invites man to conquest and plunder but also to trade and commerce . . . Courage must be contained within trade, and bravery is at the same time bound with cleverness. . . . the ship—that swan of the sea which cuts the watery plain in agile and arching movements or circles upon it—is an instrument whose invention does the greatest honor to the boldness of man and his faculty of reason.

(W, 119/91)

Hegel places colonial expeditions and voyages of discovery (*Entdeckungsreisen*) in a lineage of modern historical developments, including the invention of book printing and gunpowder. Western Europe emerges as the telos of world history because it is here that the highest levels of development and the expansive spread of World Spirit have been realized by these inventions and voyages of discovery:

The English have undertaken the weighty responsibility of being the missionaries of *civilization* to the entire world; for their commercial spirit urges them to traverse every sea and land, to form bonds with

barbaric peoples, to awaken needs and stimulate industry, and above all to establish the conditions necessary for commerce, namely the relinquishment of violence, the respect for property, and hospitality.  
(W 538/455)

In other words, the English have selflessly assumed the burden of spreading civilization to the dark, inhumane reaches of the globe, turning the barbarians into property-respecting civilians who will accommodate European colonists and facilitate the imperial project of spreading industrial capitalism across the world.

The Germanic world—by which Hegel seems to mean “Western Europe,” including England<sup>41</sup>—is thus the culmination of world history, the product of all the dialectical movements of Spirit from east to west, and itself the fount of an outwardly realized, civilizing, colonial mission. He considers the “Germanic world” to exhibit the highest level of development in world history, and it is here that the *Weltgeist* radiates outwardly from Europe in order to “bind” distant people to the universal. World history thus has a geographic fundament, culminating in the universality and absoluteness of the imperial European state. As Said wrote in *Culture and Imperialism*: “To think about distant places, to colonize them, to populate or depopulate them: all of this occurs on, about, or because of land. The actual geographical possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about.”<sup>42</sup> For Hegel, it is the decisive investment in seafaring that gives rise to the colonial imaginary and creates the conditions of possibility for the spread of the Germanic Universal.

Although Hegel spends very little time discussing the insignificance of Jews in Christian world history, his terse remarks are nevertheless telling and in complete accord with his notoriously anti-Semitic description of Judaism in “Der Geist des Christentums und sein Schicksal” (The Spirit of Christianity and Its Fate). In the *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, Jews are confined to the first, “Oriental” stage of world history where they are incapable of reconciling individuality with universal thoughts and laws. They do not set sail. The Jewish religion cannot attain “universality” because “the [Jewish] subject never realizes freedom for himself . . . [and] the State is not consonant with Jewish principles and is alien to the legislation of Moses” (W, 243/197). As he argues in “Der Geist des Christentums und sein Schicksal,” the first Jewish act was an act of “severance” (*Trennung*), in which “Abraham, the progenitor of a nation, completely tore himself from his family . . . severing the bonds of community and love.”<sup>43</sup> Hegel continues: “Abraham wandered here and there over a boundless territory, without bringing parts of it any nearer to him by cultivating or improving them . . . He was a stranger on earth, a stranger to the soil and men alike.”<sup>44</sup> Even though the notion was not conceived until the Middle Ages, Hegel anachronistically suggests that Abraham was already the first “wandering Jew.” Reckoning with the ocean, traveling by ship, conquering faraway places, and,

ultimately, returning to the motherland are world-historical achievements that are supposedly foreign to Jews.

Indeed, Hegel was not the only grand theoretician to consign Jews to a negative moment in world history because they lacked a seafaring tradition: Johann Gottfried Herder, for example, claimed that the Jews “dreaded the sea”<sup>45</sup> and Houston Stewart Chamberlain suggested that “just looking at the ocean . . . horrified them.”<sup>46</sup> But with the development of the Zionist imaginary at the beginning of the twentieth century, Hegel’s philosophy of world history—particularly his emphasis on the importance of seafaring—would be embraced and imaginatively rewritten in order to elevate Jews into world-historical people. Far from satirizing the grand, Hegelian historical narrative with its systematic claims of national belonging and teleological development, as the Jewish poet Heinrich Heine did so incisively in his contemporaneous *Reisebilder* (Pictures of Travel) of 1826–31,<sup>47</sup> the Zionist imaginary would attempt to secure a place for Jews in the history of seafaring and, thereby, bring them into the ranks of the European Universal.

Nine years before he curated the Jewish section of the Dresden Hygiene Exhibition, Max Grunwald, a well-known Hamburg Rabbi, published a significant article in *Ost und West* in which he insisted that Jews, despite popular opinion and ostensible historical evidence to the contrary, are in fact a seafaring people.<sup>48</sup> Far from being condemned to wander the earth on foot (as in the “wandering Jew” myth), Jews, he maintained, actually have a long and rich tradition of setting sail and, because of this, can claim to be great, world-historical people. Citing sources from the Talmud, Antiquity, and the Middle Ages, Grunwald shows that Jews—far from simply averse to traveling by sea or somehow constitutionally incapable of undertaking sea journeys—have always engaged in seafaring, including voyages of discovery, trade, adventure, and even conquest. Moreover, he argues, in the age of exploration, Jewish adventurers traveled right alongside their non-Jewish counterparts, sailing with Christopher Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and the East India Company. He tells his presumably astonished readership that there were even Jewish pirates, Jewish skippers, and Jewish sea captains at this time. In so arguing, Grunwald tries to debunk the prevalent idea that Jews—due to certain historical, social, and political circumstances—are restricted to traveling, or more precisely, wandering on land. Jews are not condemned to wander the earth, but they also set sail, like great explorers and pioneers.

Thematically speaking, the legend of the wandering Jew can be traced back to the New Testament, where it is the Jew’s longevity—the fact that he is condemned not to die—that is at issue, not the fact that he wanders. But with the publication of a German chapbook in 1602, *Kurtze Beschreibung und Erzählung von einem Juden mit Namen Ahasuerus*, the myth of the “eternal Jew” was transformed such that the Jew now wanders on land from country to country without a home, until his redemption at the end of time. Virtually all of the cultural representations of the myth of the wandering Jew emphasize

the fact that the Jew is wandering—by foot—across the world. He may walk across land and sea, such as in Gustave Doré's famous series of woodcuts, but he almost never sets sail, certainly not as a self-determined pioneer or explorer.<sup>49</sup> The wandering Jew visits village upon village as he travels the world, carrying nothing but a walking cane and a small bag. Significantly, he is the object of perplexed curiosity and is himself nothing but a spectator on the world: he never creates anything, he never changes anything, and he never leaves anything behind. He is condemned to wander the earth until he confesses his faith in Christianity on Judgment Day. In this respect, the modern myth's inherent anti-Semitism blends with the Jew's ostensible rejection of the Greco-world of seafaring. This is certainly the history upon which Hegel based his judgment of the Jews in both his early theological writings and lectures on world history.

In Grunwald's revision of the history of the landlocked, wandering Jew, he shows that Jews have always participated in seafaring, arguably the greatest—and most horrific—enterprise and institution of Western civilization. After all, travel by ship is not only a classically Greek mode of transportation, it is also one of the most persistent and specific metaphors of existence in the Western cultural tradition, connoting, among other things, knowledge, education, heroism, bravery, freedom, and statehood.<sup>50</sup> The ship journey, as both an actuality and an image, calls up a long history stretching back to antiquity with Homer and Virgil and, in various permutations and valuations, up through Dante, Goethe, Defoe, Melville, Du Bois, and Conrad. As Georges Van Den Abbeele astutely writes:

The dearest notions of the West nearly all appeal to the motif of the voyage: progress, the quest for knowledge, freedom as freedom to move, self-awareness as an Odyssean enterprise, salvation as a destination to be attained by following a prescribed pathway (typically straight and narrow).<sup>51</sup>

It is no wonder that Hegel considered the ship to be the central vehicle of history and seafaring to be the critical prerequisite of world-historical people. But what Hegel downplays is the dialectical complexity of the seafaring topos: side-by-side with the stock metaphors of self-discovery, progress, enlightenment, education, and statehood, one need only think of historical events such as colonial voyages of conquest and the horror of the middle passage.<sup>52</sup> In this respect, then, the history of Jewish seafaring is a testament to Jewish participation in both the noble and the dubious ideals of Western civilization: discovery and conquest, knowledge and colonialism, progress and enslavement.

Grunwald begins his remarkable essay by quoting a conversation between an eighteenth-century Provost of the Catholic Church and a Jew, wherein the

Provost asks the Jew, who prefers to travel from Königsberg to Amsterdam via land: “Why do Jews not like to travel by sea?” (JR, 479). In a tone of regret, Grunwald responds to this stereotype by saying: “In fact, even to this day, very little is known about the activities of Jews who were seafarers or even anchormen” (JR, 479). Without differentiation, he continues by citing references to seafaring among the ancient Israelites, particularly concerning trade with the Phoenicians and other seafaring peoples; he notes references to Jewish seafaring throughout the New Testament, in the books of Matthew, John, and Luke. He cites regulations concerning sailing in the Talmud, and points out that Jews were active in sea trade throughout the Mediterranean during the early Middle Ages, especially in the region of Southern France (JR, 481). As Grunwald enthusiastically writes:

Countless Jews undertook faraway journeys by sea on the model of Benjamin von Tudela, the [Jewish] world traveler in the twelfth century. Some pursued business interests, others the longing to see the land of their forefathers and its consecrated places, and still others sought the ten lost tribes of Israel about which adventure tales have been written. For many, it was also simply the desire to see something new and experience adventure.

(JR, 481)

He continues by emphasizing the fact that both Jewish and non-Jewish sailors encountered Jews in faraway lands, hence proving that Jews did, in fact, travel by ship.

And perhaps more significantly, he is anxious to write Jews back into the political and economic history of colonialism. I quote Grunwald again:

In the voyages of discovery and conquest undertaken by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English, Jews played a not unimportant role as seamen and pilots. The ship’s doctor on Christopher Columbus’s expedition was a Jew, and it is said to have been a Jew that first discovered land; a Jew was the first to found a settlement on the newly discovered land. . . . Vasco da Gama made use of Jewish seafarers, and his constant companion, Alfonsos d’Albuquerque, was a Jew. In 1334, Jayme IV, the last King of Mallorca testified that the Jew, Juceff Faquin of Barcelona, had sailed around what was then the known world. There were many Jews on the Portuguese expedition of 1415 which accepted Mauritians. A linguistically gifted Jew accompanied Captain James Lancaster on the first enterprise of the East-India Company in 1601 and was in charge of the negotiations with Sultan von Atschin of Sumatra.

(JR, 482)

Far from being condemned to aimlessly wander on the ground, Jews consistently set sail with their non-Jewish, national counterparts during the age of exploration. They helped to extend European knowledge, European economic opportunity, and, ultimately, European dominance. Without any embarrassment, criticism, or irony, Grunwald claimed that Jews not only engaged in seafaring but—like the great powers of Europe—also engaged in conquest and colonization.

Grunwald concludes his article with an overview of the history of autonomous, Jewish sea trade, something that originates in northern Europe in the seventeenth century and stretches right up to the beginning of the twentieth century, when Grunwald penned his piece. Jewish shipping companies, with Jewish sailors, engaged in trade throughout Europe, China, and the West and East Indies, while Jewish shipbuilding companies had offices in Hamburg and New York and manufactured cargo ships used across the world. While Jewish sea trade flourished during this period, it was never free from the specter of anti-Semitism and the dangerous dialectic of emancipation and assimilation.<sup>53</sup> Here, Grunwald cites a senate decision from the Hamburg state government of 1801 in which the members of a Jewish shipping company, after having been denied their passports because of their Jewish heritage, won an appeal to sail their ship under the flag of Hamburg. The senate decision, quoted in its entirety by Grunwald, argued that:

Seafaring is the first and foremost means of trade for this state. The more individual ships we have, the easier it is for merchants to sell their goods and the less we have to depend on foreign states and their ships. . . . Seafaring covers the widest scope and there is space for Christians and Jews here.

(JR, 484–485)

The senate concluded by granting the Jews the necessary passports and papers to continue their business—a decision which, as Grunwald remarks, predated the civic emancipation of the Jews. The state’s recognition of Jewish seafaring marks—at least in this single case—the elevation of the Jews into useful citizens for the state and, hence, their entrance into the “Germanic” stage of world history in which Spirit moves “outward” to the “universal” (W, 490). It is no wonder that Grunwald highlights this isolated decision because in 1902 the Zionist program was explicitly predicated on the transformation of Jews into civically useful citizens who would extend the idea of the European Universal to the creation of a Jewish state.

What makes Grunwald’s essay so important for our purposes here is that it represents a significant counter-history to both the myth of the wandering Jew and the strictly Hegelian concept of world history. He was the first Zionist thinker to reclaim the historical significance of Jewish seafaring vis-à-vis nation building and colonialism. Moreover, his essay comes, not



fortuitously, at a time when the Zionist imaginary began to actively conceive of Palestine as a Jewish-European, colonial territory. Indeed, Grunwald's ultimate point is that Jews—even though they may not have always been national subjects sailing under the flag of a nation-state—have always engaged in seafaring and, for better or for worse, thus have an incontestable, historically substantiated claim to be a world-historical people. Zionists would simply be continuing the Jewish tradition of seafaring by journeying to and resettling in Palestine. The Jewish state would, then, belong to the “Germanic” stage of world history.

A few years after Grunwald published his celebratory tract, Werner Sombart—one of Germany's leading national economists—gave a series of lectures in Berlin's *Singakademie* on “Jews and Capitalism.” Anticipating many of the ideas that he would develop in his notorious book, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (The Jews and Modern Capitalism) of 1911,<sup>54</sup> Sombart argued that Jewish people in the Diaspora were responsible for the spread of capitalism and that the birth of the modern nation-state was only possible because of the financial support of the Jews. Although ostensibly anti-Semitic in equating Jews with the spread of capitalism and the finance economy, Zionist thinkers such as Grunwald had already made precisely this argument in order to elevate Jews into world-historical agents. Even more significantly, his lectures were widely embraced and even celebrated by the Zionist organ, *Die Welt*, which published a series of self-congratulatory articles on Sombart's thesis.<sup>55</sup> The first raved: “According to Sombart, there is hardly a phenomenon more significant in world-history for culture and specifically economic culture than the history of the Jewish people” (Bedeutung, 1040). Not only were Jews responsible for the decisive shift in economic power from the southern nations (Italy, Spain, Portugal) to the northern nations of Holland and England in the early modern period, but they were also responsible for creating a “world market” for industry and instituting the world-wide trade of goods that “revolutionized the entire modern economy” (Bedeutung, 1041). But more than this, “Jews were the actual founders of the modern colonial economy,” which made possible the East India Company and the discovery of America (Bedeutung, 1041). In fact, the review continues, “Columbus's expedition was financed by Jewish money. The crew of his ship consisted of a large percentage of Jews. . . . The Jews created the material basis that enabled the construction of the state” (Bedeutung, 1041).<sup>56</sup>

Far from impotent or confined to the first stage of world-history, as Hegel would have it, Jews were actually to thank for the evolution of the modern state. Through their mobility, adaptability, and internationality, they represented the very embodiment of the “Geist” of capitalism, according to the Zionists: “Without the involvement of the Jews, the modern state could have never come into being . . . Above all, the Jews developed the spirit [*Geist*] of modern capitalism” (Bedeutung, 1041). As translators, traders, business partners, and interlocutors, the Jews developed “an international network of

connections” that was actually strengthened through their “dispersal” in the Diaspora (Befähigung, 1087). They developed certain qualities such as “powerful energy and vitality,” “restlessness,” “judgment,” and “intellectual agility” [*geistige Beweglichkeit*], which helped secure their claim to be the world-historical people, par excellence (Befähigung, 1088).<sup>57</sup> Far from being backwards, weak, or underdeveloped, Jews—according to the Zionist embrace of Sombart’s ideas—were actually the most modern, the savviest, and the strongest precisely because they were responsible for the revolution of capitalism and the ascendancy of the modern colonial-imperial state. It was their centrality in the expansive world economy of capitalism and the colonial sphere that made them the most “modern” and, hence, the most “muscular.”

In the early part of the twentieth century when Grunwald and Sombart produced their theories of Jewish world-historical power, Zionist colonial voyages to Palestine were already becoming commonplace by wealthy, European Jews, many of whom later published travelogues and photo-documentaries of their travels through the land.<sup>58</sup> Several years earlier, Theodor Herzl made his own highly publicized sea voyage to Palestine to meet with the German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, in the hopes of convincing him to create a “German protectorate” for world Jewry in Turkish controlled Palestine. In a letter Herzl wrote to the Kaiser on October 18, 1898, a couple of weeks before their historic meeting in Jerusalem, Herzl argued that Zionism was a universally “regenerative” project that would not only remake Palestine in the image of the European state but also help save the insolvent Turkish Empire:

Even if his Majesty the Sultan does not immediately realize what aid the Zionists would bring to his impoverished, decaying state [*verarmte, verfallende Staate*], he will accept your Imperial Majesty’s advice in a personal discussion as to how his administration and finances could be regenerated [*regenerieren*].<sup>59</sup>

Anticipating a successful meeting with the German Kaiser, Herzl concludes his letter with a vaguely Hegelian description of world history: “God’s secrets hover over us in these world-historical hours. There is nothing to fear, if he is with us” (T, 2: 655).

While the Zionist idea of the modern Jewish state received its critical formulation by Herzl—most notably, in 1896 with the publication of his short tract, *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State), and in 1902, with the publication of *Altneuland*—the Jewish concept of regeneration as a response to Hegel’s philosophy of world history goes back to Moses Hess’s 1862 book, *Rome and Jerusalem*. In this text, Hess believed that France would “restore [the Jewish] people to [their] place in world history [*Weltgeschichte*]” by helping them “found colonies that could extend from Suez to Jerusalem, and from

the banks of the Jordan to the coast of the Mediterranean.”<sup>60</sup> In the preface to his letters, Hess was even more pronounced in his attempt to rewrite Hegel’s philosophy of world history:

Among the peoples thought to be dead who after becoming conscious of their historic tasks will assert their rights to nationality are indisputably the Jews; they have defied the storms of world history for two thousand years and despite being carried to the ends of the world by the floods of history have always looked and continued to look to Jerusalem.<sup>61</sup>

Far from being a dead race condemned to the first stage of world history, the indestructibility of the Jewish people represented the precondition of their national regeneration. For Hess, the revaluation of the myth of the “eternal” Jew became the very means by which the “wandering” Jew was transformed into an agent of the Universal. From its very beginnings, then, the Zionist idea sought to overturn Hegel’s verdict by bringing Jews into the “Germanic world” of the present.

Like Hess and Grunwald, Herzl imagines the Jewish state as part of an expansive, European frontier, one which would spread European culture to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. He famously writes that Palestine “would form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization opposed to barbarism.”<sup>62</sup> Echoing the thoughts of a speech that he composed for the Kaiser, Herzl noted in his diaries that the Jewish people have the right to return to their ancient homeland in order to colonize, improve, and cultivate it. Even though “many generations have come and gone since this earth was Jewish,” Herzl says:

This is the land of our fathers, a land suitable for colonization and cultivation [*Colonisirung u. Cultivirung*]. Your Majesty has seen the country. It cries out for people to build it up. And we have among our brothers a frightful proletariat. These people cry out for a land to cultivate. . . . Energies and material resources will be brought to the country; a magnificent fructification of desolate areas may easily be foreseen, and from this, more happiness and civility will grow for all human beings. . . . Our idea threatens no one’s rights or religious feelings; it breathes a long-desired reconciliation. We understand and respect the devotion of all faiths on this soil, upon which the beliefs of our fathers also arose.

(T, 2: 657–668)

Although couched in terms that emphasize religious tolerance, Herzl’s plan for national regeneration also involved a marginalization and displacement of the current population. He notes a couple of days later in his diary:

The musty deposits of two thousand years of inhumanity, intolerance, and uncleanness lie in the foul-smelling streets. . . . If we ever get Jerusalem back and if I'm able to still do something, the first thing I would do is clean it up. I would get rid of everything that is not sacred, set up homes for workers outside the city, empty out and tear down the nests of filth, burn the secular ruins, and move the bazaars elsewhere. Then, retaining the old architecture as much as possible, I would build a comfortable, well-ventilated, well-organized, new city around the Holy places.

(T, 2: 680–6681)

The Zionists would cleanse the foul-smelling streets, tear down the secular buildings, and get rid of the means of sustenance for the Arab people, while “cultivating” and bringing “fructification” to the impoverished land. Here, Herzl’s articulation of the Zionist idea was not only an answer to the “Jewish question” in Europe but, somewhat paradoxically, also an extension of the violence of the European Universal—the nation-state, the colonial power, the idea of civilization, and the concept of world history. In the vein of the great theoreticians of world history, Herzl described the project in a critical essay of 1899, “Jews as Pioneer People,” in the following understated terms: “the world is redistributed from time to time.”<sup>63</sup> In this deeply ambivalent essay, Herzl tries to elevate the Jews to world-historical people by placing Zionism on par with other expansionist, colonial discourses.

Although nothing concrete ultimately emerged from the negotiations between Herzl and Wilhelm II, the overdetermined, symbolic significance of the German Kaiser meeting with the Jewish founder of Zionism in Jerusalem is hard to overestimate. As Herzl justifiably wrote in his diary on that date: “This brief reception will be preserved forever in the history of the Jews” (T, 2: 688). In photographs published of his journey, Herzl’s disposition is that of a leader embarking on a journey to lay claim to his people’s land. Much like the German Kaiser, clad in a double-breasted Hussar uniform and a military hat with the insignia of the German empire, Herzl was undertaking a sea voyage with his own “imperial eyes.”<sup>64</sup> While sailing in the Sea of Marmara, Herzl recounted in his diary the first impression that he had of the Kaiser’s body, which he compares to his own body:

When I entered, the Kaiser looked at me with his great sea-blue eyes. He really has imperial eyes. I have never seen such eyes. A remarkable, bold, inquisitive soul shows in them. . . . He is exactly as tall as I am, and my first impression was that he is embarrassed about his short arm.

(T, 2: 664)

The German leader turns out to be the same size as the Jewish leader and even has a physical deformity, with one arm shorter than the other. Although the

German Kaiser still has his imperial eyes over the newly recognized Jewish leader, Herzl appears to know that the Jews have their own chance to achieve imperial greatness.

During his lifetime and especially after his death, Herzl's own vision for Zionism, his military-like disposition, and even his confluence of "Jew-Greek" beauty were often cited as emblematic of the newly regenerated muscle Jew. Elias Auerbach, for example, honored Herzl in his memorial speech delivered at Bar Kochba in 1904 by connecting his physical beauty to the Jewish-Greco heroic tradition:

He possessed a beauty of which one can only speak in the most modest words, a beauty that was so larger than life, that one looked at him like a Greek artist looked at a beautiful boy, as a masterwork of nature. . . . He stands there like Saul, a head taller than his people.  
(JTZ, 1904, 7: 116)

Several years after his death, Lilien even stylized a famous photograph of Herzl gazing across the Rhine into a vignette of a Jewish warrior. In Lilien's version, not only does Herzl now don a steel helmet and carry a giant shield (decorated with a Star of David) and a bayonet, but the landscape has also changed: Herzl no longer surveys the Rhine but has moved, presumably with Jewish colonial "troops," into Palestine.<sup>65</sup> In this respect, at least in Lilien's rendition, his 1898 trip to Palestine must be understood as a kind of reconnaissance mission that would later be followed by actual offensives. It is here that we can see the makings of a subtle—and, as proven by history, irrevocably decisive—transformation from muscular Judaism to militarized Judaism.

In 1902, the same year that Herzl published his colonial Bildungsroman, *Altmeuland*, the first journal dedicated to "the cultural and scientific tapping" of Palestine was published by Berlin's *Juedischer Verlag* (Jewish Press). The journal bore the name "Palaestina," and its masthead, a map of the fertility of the eastern Mediterranean, was designed by E. M. Lilien (Fig. 5.1). Framed by two columns wrapped in verdant foliage, the center of the earth is Palestine and the Mediterranean Sea. Just as Hegel argued that world history would have been "impotent" had the Mediterranean Sea not been the center of the antique world, Lilien places the potency of the sea at the center of the Jewish colonial vision. And in the same way that Grunwald recognized the importance of seafaring for world-historical peoples, the journal takes the possibility of seafaring as the basis of Zionism's colonial claims. In an article published in *Palaestina* outlining the goals of the "Juedische Orient-Kolonisations-Gesellschaft" [Jewish Orient-Colonial Society], Davis Trietsch maintains that Palestine is "clearly the center" of the entire region, conveniently located on the Mediterranean Sea between Cyprus, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Egypt (Fig. 5.2).<sup>66</sup>



HERAUSGEGEBEN VON  
DR. ALFRED NOSSIG UND DAVIS TRIETSCH.

JAHRGANG I.



JUEDISCHER VERLAG BERLIN.

Figure 5.1 E. M. Lilien, “Palaestina” (1902).

Interestingly, the geographic centrality of Palestine was not only confirmed by its Mediterranean position but also something that was reflected in the development of the transcontinental railway. In a fascinating representation of the world, the editors of *Palaestina* imagined Palestine to be the hub of the world’s four major railways, connecting together Europe, Africa, Russia, and South-East Asia (Fig. 5.3): the Orient Express, the Trans-Siberian railway, the Baghdad–India line, and the Cairo–Africa line would all go through Palestine. The caption underneath exclaims, “The great railway lines of Africa, Europe, and Asia can only be connected together here [in Palestine], the only land-bridge between the continents.”<sup>67</sup> In other words, not only is Palestine the center of the Mediterranean region, it is also the point of convergence of all the world’s commercial traffic, the center of the modern, capitalist world.

It is thus no surprise that as early as 1902, Trietsch and his colleagues are eager to purchase the land and transfer the ownership rights to Jews in order to secure the primacy of this strategic geographic position:

The ultimate goal of the colonization is to buy all the land for a joint co-operative of settlers (both colonists and workers) at a low price and under favorable purchasing conditions in order to preserve, on the one hand, the full rights of ownership for the settlers and, on the other hand, to keep the accumulated capital of the Orient-Colonization-Society available for more colonies, so that greater and greater numbers of Jews have the guarantee of nourishment and autonomy.<sup>68</sup>

Although the journal *Palaestina* only lasted for two years, it was immediately replaced in January of 1904 by a second Jewish colonial journal,

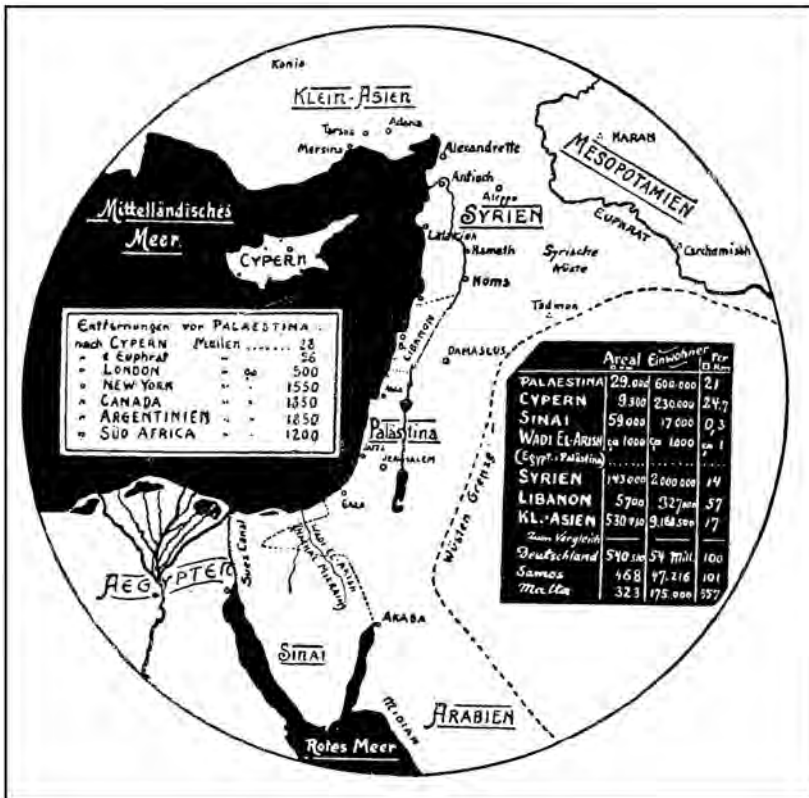


Figure 5.2 Map of Palestine and neighboring regions, *Palaestina* (January 1903), 50.



Figure 5.3 Map of railway lines through Palestine, *Palaestina* (January 1902), 38.

*Altneuland*, dedicated to “the economic tapping of Palestine.” *Altneuland* featured articles about the demography of Palestine, including the topographical features of the land, reports about agriculture and weather, statistics about its present inhabitants, information about traveling to Palestine, and updates about the technological development of the region, particularly concerning railways. In the journal’s first feature article, “Palestine as Colonial Region,” Otto Warburg explained the “civilizing” mission of Jews in Palestine:

We must prove what we learned in the cultural countries of Europe and America; but we must also attempt to find the right direction for the Orient, without simply transferring our methods there, where they are not necessarily useful without taking into consideration the uniqueness of the Orient. Rather, our task is to be the bearer of culture [*Kultur*] for the orient, in which we try to render the achievements of the Western nations into bite-size pieces for the Orient and look for the required modifications necessitated by the particular conditions of the East.<sup>69</sup>

Jews—as the bearers of Western culture and civilization—should not simply force what they have learned in the West onto the “Orient” but rather must



break it down into easily digestible pieces that are modified for the “Orient” as necessary. In so arguing, Jews are represented as the bearers of European culture, while the “Orient” is represented as a land in need of (European) cultivation, culture, and civility. Illustrating Warburg’s argument, two sketches by the Jewish artist Hermann Struck were also included in the article. They depicted the lushness of the Zionist colony Rischon le Zion, “a land infused with culture,” and the ruins of Antipatris, an Arab “wasteland.” German readers of the journal were meant to see that European culture—transferred to Palestine by Jews—would literally bring a flowering of plants in the desert.

Not unlike Grunwald and Herzl’s attempts to elevate Jews into world history by rewriting Hegel and reworking the trope of seafaring, Trietsch, the foremost expert on Jewish colonialism during the first decades of the twentieth century, also recognized the importance of the sea for the development of the Jewish state.<sup>70</sup> While Grunwald sought to recover a lost past by writing the history of Jewish seafaring and Herzl used the trope of seafaring to imagine the regenerated state of the future, Trietsch focused on the pragmatics of the present, arguing for the centrality of the Mediterranean Sea for the realization of the Jewish state in world history. Although Trietsch does not cite Hegel directly, it is hard not to hear an echo of the Hegelian philosophy of world history in which a European state can only become great through a connection to the sea. As Trietsch explains in a chapter called “Jewish Mediterranean Sea Positions,” Jewish entry into world history is bound to the sea:

The increasing closeness to the sea of the Jewish population in the Mediterranean regions eases transportation between Jews living in different lands of this area in an extraordinary way and may soon bring significant consequences. This development favors the participation of Jews in trade and transportation; it helps their “Europeanization;” and, above all else, is crucial for fulfilling the role of culture mediator between the Orient and the Occident, for which Jews are well-suited. . . . Jewish seafaring in the Mediterranean would result in the establishment of businesses in the most important port cities; this would lead to the foundation of an entire network of Jewish banking and trading institutions with branches and so forth; the Jews of the Mediterranean would have an increasing importance, analogous to that of the Greeks, the Maltese, and others.<sup>71</sup>

The cultural, political, and economic conditions of possibility of the Jewish state are determined by its geographic proximity to and world-historical reliance on the sea. In effect, the Greco-German trope of seafaring has been re-imagined as a Jewish national-colonial destiny. And just as significantly, this destiny depends upon spreading the universality of the European ideals of civilization to Jew and Arab alike.

It was precisely the representation of this “civilizing” process that undergirded the organization of Davis Trietsch’s best-selling book, *Bilder aus Palaestina* (1911), the first Zionist photo documentary of Palestine. The book was intended to disseminate knowledge about Palestine within German-speaking countries and, thereby, galvanize enthusiasm for the Zionist project of cultivating and modernizing the land and its people. It consisted of more than 100 photographs as well as several sketches, ranging from pictures of architecture, landscapes, and seascapes to portraits of Jews and Arabs in the Holy Land. Complemented by short thematic essays, the photographs were meant to render visible the colonial territory and the on-going process of its cultivation. In the introduction, Trietsch maintains that the photographs were put together “randomly” in order to reveal “the country’s wonderful diversity” (BP, 7). Yet, despite Trietsch’s disingenuous assertion to the contrary, the pictures in this book are far from indiscriminately thrown together; instead, they reveal and condense the Zionist ideology of progress, cultivation, and regeneration.

This is immediately evident from the first two photographs of ancient and modern Jerusalem. Trietsch juxtaposes the ancient ruins of the tower of David with a photograph of modern apartment buildings and storefronts in Jerusalem, one carrying a sign, “Deutsche Palaestina Bank” (Fig. 5.4). The point is not that the modern has simply replaced the ancient through the inexorable logic of progress but rather that Zionism—as a process of progressive rebirth and return—is a kind of “spiral thrust into the future,” to use Zerubavel’s words again. In effect, the Jewish state of the future is, at once, modern and ancient, the product of linear progress and cyclical revival.

In much the same way that Herzl represents Reschid Bey as a “European” Arab in *Altneuland*, Trietsch points out that the “sleeping Orient” has undergone revolutionary changes in light of modern technologies and the import of European culture:

The Bedouin on the trains, the Syrian farmer who uses a Thuringian milk separator to make butter, the Arab widow who goes to the city and buys a Singer sewing machine on credit, the brown lad who shines the bright yellow shoes of an Arab dandy in the Jaffa market with the newest American shiner—these are all images that do not correspond with the biblical stories nor the tales of a thousand and one nights.

(BP, 10)

Of course, Trietsch is right: these images of “Europeanized” Arabs—if true—would certainly strike a surprising chord in Western-European sensibilities. Strangely, however, these are precisely not the kind of pictures that Trietsch reproduces in his *Bilder aus Palaestina*. There are no photographs of Bedouins on trains or Arab widows sewing clothes using a Singer machine. In fact,



Figure 5.4 “Modern Jerusalem,” in Davis Trietsch, *Bilder aus Palaestina* (1911), 11.

when either Arabs or Arab lands are represented in the photo documentary, they are consistently shown in dilapidated and downright ramshackle settings, completely lacking in all modern amenities. “A typical large Arab town” (Fig. 5.5) has no provisions whatsoever for electricity, railway transportation, international postage, or banking. The houses, probably erected centuries upon centuries ago, have become substantially eroded by the elements. And the inhabitants, far from industrious, appear to be just mulling about or standing around, perhaps waiting, in Reschid Bey’s words, for the Zionist Jews to enrich them.

The Jewish colonists, on the other hand, are depicted hard at work, cultivating the arid land and harvesting its crops<sup>72</sup> (Fig. 5.6). They are the ones who brought the international banking institutions, European cultural enterprises, the German language, and modern agricultural technology to Palestine. In this respect, the photo documentary accords in many ways with Herzl’s colonial novel, *Altneuland*: Zionists first “civilize” other Jews and, then, civilize the native Arabs such that, in the end, everyone “returns” home

improved, enriched, and better off. The fact that there are no photographs of Bedouins on trains or Syrians using German-made milk separators in Trietsch's book is possibly a testament to the magnitude and the futurity of the task at hand. *Bilder aus Palaestina*, like Herzl's *Altneuland*, is not only a document of the present as a product of the past but also a document of the ways in which the present hoped for and desired the future. In this respect, the Zionist project is a modernizing, civilizing enterprise, which, in its realization, will Europeanize both Jew and Arab.

In the same way that agriculture became synonymous with an ideology of land cultivation, gymnastics, as we saw in Chapter 4, was synonymous with the cultivation of the Jewish body. German-Jewish gymnastics associations not only made regular trips to Palestine but also helped to establish gymnastics schools there. Muscle Jews not only tend crops but also work hard to train their bodies through gymnastics regimes, as shown in the picture of "Gymnastics Hour in the Girls' School" (Fig. 5.7). Even though the first Jewish gymnastics journey to Palestine sponsored by *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* and the Berlin-based gymnastics association, Bar Kochba, did not take place until 1913, as



Figure 5.5 "Typical Large Arab Town," in Davis Trietsch, *Bilder aus Palaestina* (1911), 38.

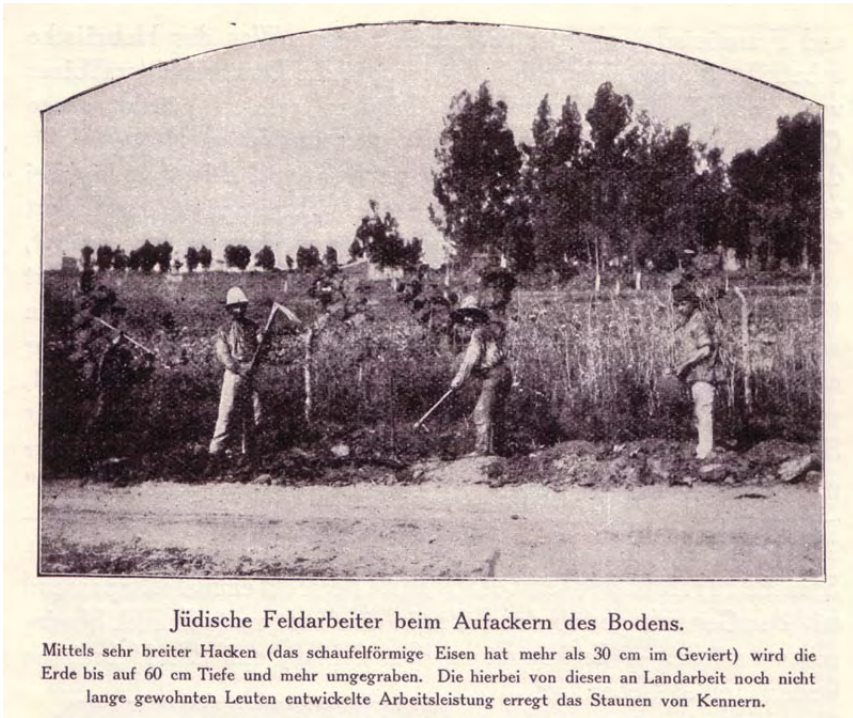


Figure 5.6 “Jewish Field Workers,” in Davis Trietsch, *Bilder aus Palaestina* (1911), 78.

early as 1901, Elias Auerbach articulated clear—and quite violent—colonial goals for the Jewish gymnasts who exhibit “the healthiest national feeling”:

Jewish colonists . . . who submit the ground to their difficult work and face off against Bedouins with shotguns in their fists are a reflection of this direct and personal national Jewry. No one who has spent a year doing gymnastics with us will tolerate anti-Jewish insults without raising his arms; and this defense of Judaism seems to me to be as noble as that with fists, pistols, or even with the pen. Inevitably, we are raising every Jew to become a national Jew, regardless of whether he calls himself such or even knows the word.

(JTZ, 1901, 10: 129)

For Auerbach, gymnastics was to prepare Jews to defend themselves and, if necessary, subjugate the native population in Palestine. This, it seems, is the conceptual-historical origin of Krav Maga.



Figure 5.7 “Gymnastics Hour in the Girls’ School,” in Davis Trietsch, *Bilder aus Palaestina* (1911), 128.

Several years later, when the gymnasts from Bar Kochba performed at the first Palestinian Gymnastics Day in 1913, *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* reported that they had returned to their homeland in order to “rediscover [their] primordial feeling. . . . [T]he home [*Heimat*] of Jewish strength and Jewish spirit had turned into the central force of all our future work” (JTZ, 1913, 1: 2). Indeed, Jewish national strength was still a central goal, although it was not articulated in the overtly violent terms used by Auerbach in 1901. The newspaper also published a map of Palestine, complete with Jewish colonies and settlements as well as railway connections between the major cities, in order to detail the day-by-day travel plans for both the gymnasts and the readership. Over 24 days, the gymnasts would travel back-and-forth from Jaffa to Jerusalem and, then, via ship, to Haifa in order to visit the numerous northern colonies. The schedule ends with the following: “Just as God wants, we will return home [not to Germany, but rather Palestine] freshly, happily, and richly, even if we have spent our last pfennig” (JTZ, 1913, 1: 5). The cultivation of muscle Jews was thus irreducibly linked to the colonization of Palestine.

In the final pages of *Bilder aus Palaestina*, Trietsch articulates “the Europeanization of Palestine” vis-à-vis technological developments, such as the expansion of the international railway system, the building of streets for automobiles, and the modernization of the major harbors in Jaffa and Haifa, as well as cultural developments, such as the adoption of European educational ideals (BP, 138–141). Once again, this process of cultivation as

Europeanization involves both Jews and Arabs shedding their “Oriental” qualities and “Europeanizing themselves” [*europäisiert sich*] (BP, 143). Here, Trietsch suggests that “the German language can serve as the conveyor of European *Bildung*,” something that he also recognizes—given the prevalence of European and particularly German anti-Semitism—is “an irony of fate” (BP, 146). Nevertheless, he augments this idea in *Juedische Emigration und Kolonisation* in a chapter entitled “The Jewish Cultural Mission in the Orient” (*Jüdische Kulturmission im Orient*), in which he argues that Jews will bring to Palestine European educational practices, the German cultural tradition, their extensive knowledge of hygiene and medicine, and general economic flourishing as the “cultural mediator” between Europe and Islam.<sup>73</sup> In this regard, the Zionist imaginary constructed Palestine as a colonial territory for extending European civilization and turning Jews into regenerated, world-historical people. For Zionist thinkers such as Grunwald, Herzl, and Trietsch, writing Jews into the history of seafaring and colonization meant writing Jews into the ranks of the European Universal. Said was not wrong: Zionism and European imperialism are not equivalent; however, they are epistemologically, historically, and politically “coterminous” (ZSV, 83), something that not only applied to their treatment of resident natives but also to their world-view and future development.

### Concluding remarks

Despite Ben-Gurion’s statement that Jews are not a seafaring people, the Zionist Jew arriving from the sea or even being born from the sea has been a critical part of Israeli self-fashioning: first the pioneer arrives from the sea and, then, proceeds to regenerate the desolate land. In so doing, he is turned into a new “Sabra” Jew. This recursivity of building and being rebuilt is captured in the opening line of S. Y. Agnon’s novel, *Only Yesterday* (1945): “Like all our brethren of the Second Aliya, the bearers of our Salvation, Isaac Kumer left his country and his homeland and his city and ascended to the Land of Israel to build it from its destruction and to be rebuilt by it.”<sup>74</sup> In his article, “We Have Not Arrived from the Sea: A Mizrahi Literary Geography,” Hannan Hever makes the argument that the culturally hegemonic Zionist narratives of immigration have been written by Ashkenazi Jews from Europe who arrived on the shores of Israel via the sea. These travel narratives are constituted by what he calls a “normative crossing” of the Mediterranean Sea in order to symbolically and geographically “deterritorialize” the Diaspora in the future state of Israel.<sup>75</sup> By contrast, he sees the immigration stories of the Mizrahi (Jews from Arab countries), published during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, as “sea-less” stories that have been excluded from the customary Zionist narratives precisely because they depict Arab–Jewish geographies of “continuity” and, thereby, offer a different story of Jewish immigration.<sup>76</sup> In effect, Jewish seafaring is a testament to the racial exclusivity of both the Zionist immigration narrative and the Israeli state.

Hever further points out that in these standard immigration narratives, the sea is something that has to be overcome and, therefore, assumes a subservient status vis-à-vis the territory: “The Zionist story is one of Ashkenazi immigration from Diaspora to Redemption, and the journey to Zion is a journey to a territory—a journey by sea, although the sea serves only as a means of passage, as a necessary stage to be crossed.”<sup>77</sup> Although I find Hever’s argument about the “sea-less” Mizrahi literary geography to be a compelling and defiant challenge to the European-Ashkenazi hegemony in Israel, he does not recognize the extent to which the seafaring discourse also constituted the very hegemony he seeks to displace and, for this reason, is more than just a means of passage. As I argued here, the trope of seafaring was appropriated by Zionist thinkers in order to extend the reach of the European Universal, and this is something that first-generation Zionist Jews such as Grunwald, Herzl, and Trietsch articulated precisely to gain the recognition of the great European powers. Seafaring was not simply a means of leaving the old Europe behind; it was also the means of extending—by way of the imaginary—the idea of Europe to the shores of Palestine. In his novel, *Only Yesterday*, S. Y. Agnon describes, for example, how the protagonist, an Eastern-European Jew named Isaac Kumer, catches his first sight of the sea on a train journey to Trieste: “People who were in the train with Isaac stood up and called out happily, That’s the sea. That’s our sea. Isaac stood up and looked at the sea. That is the sea which is a branch of the sea of the Land of Israel.”<sup>78</sup> Not unlike Herzl’s “rampart of Europe,” Palestine is a new territory, which is both different from and still fundamentally connected to Europe by virtue of the same sea and coterminous with many of its same imperial ideals.

In this regard, the early Zionist colonial imaginary employed the discourse of seafaring in order to elevate Jews into world history and place them in line with the European Universal. This meant creating narratives of travel in which Jews were endowed with a longstanding seafaring tradition that, in no apologetic terms, coincided with the history of European colonial-imperial expansion, even if Jews hardly played a role in this actual history. At the same time, it also meant rewriting the myth of the wandering Jew and, thereby, allowing Jews to make a claim to the “Germanic” stage of world history. And, finally, it meant spreading the European Universal to Palestine by applying the concepts of regeneration and muscularity to the creation of a new civil society. As the crown jewel on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, the future Jewish state would bring *Bildung*—both civilization and culture—to Jew and Arab alike and, thereby, become an outpost of a new, imperial Europe. The Zionist seafaring narrative is, therefore, doubly a record of racial and cultural hegemony. In seeking legitimacy in the eyes of the European powers, the Zionist colonial imaginary not only bought into the Hegelian account of world history but also established an uncomfortably close alliance between Zionist ideals and those of the great apologists for empire and expansion. The muscle Jew is its discursive record and present-day incarnation.



## SOLDIERS OF REGENERATION

### The military might of old-new Maccabees and the Great War

At the end of the nineteenth century, when Nordau issued his call for the re-creation of a lost “muscular Judaism,” there was probably no stereotype as deeply imprinted on the Jewish body as that of the cowardly and un-soldierly Jew. Because of their small chest size, their flat-footedness, their ungainly gait, their hunched-over backs, their susceptibility to certain diseases (diabetes, tuberculosis, alcoholism), their dietary restrictions, their inability or unwillingness to abandon the world of abstractions and speculations, and their inherent cowardice, Jews could never become good soldiers.<sup>1</sup> Their unfit bodies, cowardly psychic disposition, and religious-cultural strictures supposedly prevented them from defending the countries in which they lived, consigning them to “unheroic conduct.”<sup>2</sup> In a scathing caricature from 1780, the year before Christian Wilhelm Dohm published his famous treatise advocating, among other things, for the “military” improvement of the Jews, a Viennese caricaturist by the name of Johann Löschenkohl published an illustrated poem called “Jewish Recruits Complaining About Learning Military Drills.” Condensing virtually all of the anti-Semitic stereotypes of the un-soldierly Jew, the poem consists of a dialogue between a Jewish recruit named “Mauschel”<sup>3</sup> and a corporal who is overseeing his training. Mauschel says:

Look out, oh German world! Watch with wonder. We’re going into the battlefield. Ach! Is this befitting? We have to become, all at once, a Mauschel and a soldier. We swear by our beards, the heavens and the earth: It’s not going to happen because we lack courage. And yet we’re called upon to be warriors. . . . We fear the smell of gun powder and the whistle of the bullets; we are so scared when the canons fire. Look at how deep it cuts to my heart when a great enemy stands before me . . . Oi Vey, Mr. Corporal, I’m going to pee in my pants. Oi Vey, Mr. Corporal, listen to my screaming. Free me from this pain. Oi Vey! Oi Vey! Oi Vey!<sup>4</sup>

In a somewhat later caricature of a Jewish soldier, “Jacob as Recruit and Jacob as Poet,” the physical inadequacies of the Jew come to the foreground

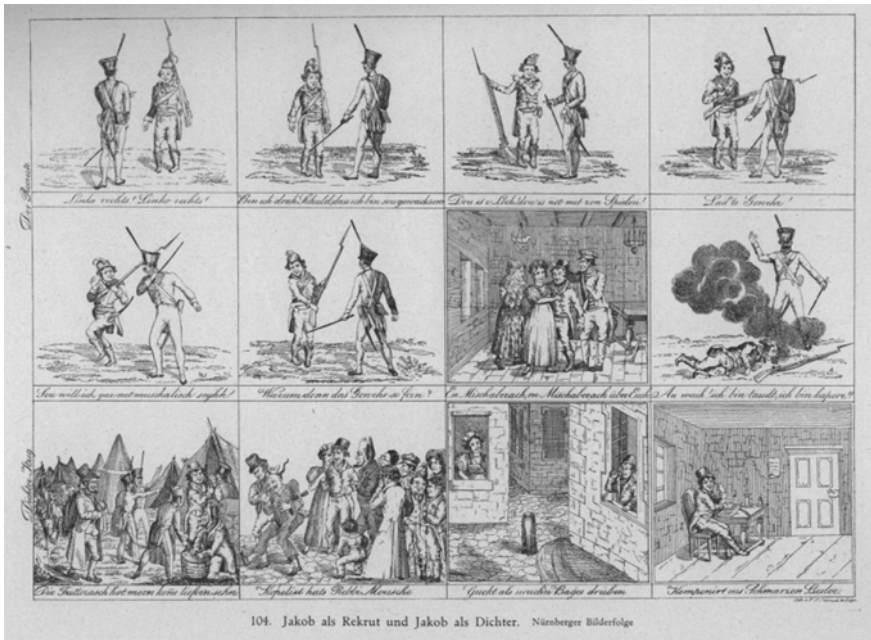


Figure 6.1 “Jacob as Recruit and Jacob as Poet,” in Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur*, 93.

next to his deep-seated cowardice (Fig. 6.1).<sup>5</sup> When the diminutive Jacob, with flat feet and misshapen legs, cannot follow the commands of the drill sergeant—“Left, right! Left, right!”—he asks: “Am I to blame for growing this way?” As the counterpart to the tall, muscular, serious, and erect standing German soldier, Jacob is small in stature, weak in physical composition, whimsical in demeanor, and downright terrified of his weapon. He cannot march straight due to his awkward gait; he does not know how to use his musket-bayonet; he falls prostrate on the ground in a plume of smoke. As the sergeant looms angrily above him, he cries out: “Ach! I’m dead. I’m kaputt.” The final scenes show Jacob, at home, ogling a girl from his window and sitting at his desk composing poetry. Military service, we are to conclude, is not a Jewish characteristic.

Since defense of the state demonstrated loyalty, military service became connected to the debate over Jewish emancipation and the extension of civil rights throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Of course, detractors found ample ammunition to bar Jews from serving in the military: not only were Jews physically unfit for military service, they argued, but Jewish religious strictures, particularly the Sabbath and kosher dietary requirements, made them less than ideal candidates for fighting side-by-side

with their Christian counterparts in battle. After the fall of Prussia to Napoleon in 1806, debates began to rage concerning the reform of “German” conscription, and the idea was entertained to extend citizenship to all subjects who fought on behalf of Prussia. In 1808, upon hearing about a Königsberg Jew who set up a volunteer division (*Freikorps*) and advanced to the head of a Cavalry regiment, the Prussian Minister Schrötter made the following laudatory comments about Jews in the military:

The Jew has oriental, fiery blood and a lively imagination, all indicators of a manly strength [*männliche Kraft*] when it is used and put into play. In antiquity and also in the Middle Ages, he was very brave, and even in the modern period, in both the American and French revolutions, there are many striking examples of Jews who distinguished themselves. The cowardice of the Jews came about, in my opinion, from the slavery in which they were kept and the disdain with which they were treated by all nations.<sup>6</sup>

Schrötter believed that the state should not forgo Jewish conscription and that Jews living in Eastern Prussia and Silesia should be called upon to defend Prussia. Almost immediately, policies were drawn up requiring Jewish conscription. And four years later, in 1812, Frederick William III signed the Edict of Emancipation, recognizing Jews as “Einlaender,” or native Prussian state citizens, thereby rendering them “subject to military conscription.”<sup>7</sup> In fact, more than 700 Jews—the majority of whom volunteered for military service—fought for Prussia during the Wars of Liberation (1813–15).<sup>8</sup>

After 1816, following the rise of German chauvinism in the era of restoration, Jewish emancipation was curtailed substantially by new restrictions placed on Jewish military service and the outright removal of Jews from civil servant posts. The burgeoning of the *Turnen* movement under the direction of Jahn brought about an anti-Semitic wave of Prussian nationalism, heroic virility, and ethnic German pride, resulting in a significant backlash with regard to Jewish civil rights. While the Prussian War Ministry never completely abandoned its position that Jews were physically inferior in comparison with the rest of the population, general conscription was reinstated in 1845, and Jews became eligible for promotions to non-commissioned officers. More than a thousand Jews fought for Prussia in 1866, prompting Theodor Fontane to remark that “it was as if they had vowed to put an end to the old notion that Jews are unwilling and unfit to fight in war.”<sup>9</sup> About 7,000 Jews fought in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71 and hundreds were decorated, numbers that approximated the rate of service and decoration for the rest of the population.<sup>10</sup>

Although there was a significant record of Jewish military service in German-speaking lands prior to World War I, the stereotype of Jewish physical inferiority persisted in equal measure. An anti-Semitic pamphlet,

*Israel im Heere* (Israel in the Army), which was first printed in 1879, circulated widely at the end of the nineteenth century and resurrected many of the stereotypes of the Jewish body found in the earlier caricatures.<sup>11</sup> The author maintained that since the Jews “lived off other people as parasites” (13), they have never had to defend the nations in which they resided. Citing Herder’s assessment of their physical inferiority with approbation, Naudh writes that Jews:

do not have the complement of muscles as Northern people, and they lack the firm sinews of Arabs. . . . Their bones are not strong like those of the Germans . . . their entire bone structure is defective; the chest is not broad and developed, the shoulders are not straight and level, the neck and head are not upright.

(5–6)

He concludes that “physical inferiority is rarely the basis of warrior bravery” (7). Indeed, such stereotypes inflamed anti-Semitism and caused another backlash against Jewish civil rights.

More than a century after the debate over Jewish fitness for military service began in earnest, the negation of the stereotype of the un-soldierly Jew now became a central part of modern Jewish identity and the development of muscular Judaism. As we have already seen in earlier chapters, it is no coincidence that the names of Jewish war heroes from antiquity—particularly, Bar Kochba and the Maccabees—would now be resurrected as the models for regenerating the Jewish body and cultivating a martial manliness characterized by the soldierly values of bravery, courage, and aggression. Significantly, this embrace of militarism included but also extended far beyond Zionist discourses. In fact, as we will see in this chapter, it can be found in the rhetoric of Jewish student associations, fraternities, dueling societies, sporting clubs, and veterans associations, some of which embraced Zionism and others of which did not. Muscular Judaism and the militaristic Jewish body became a shared ideal of the regenerative politics of modernity.

Remarkably, as Sander Gilman has shown, the very stereotypes promulgated by the anti-Semites were internalized across the ideological spectrum, oftentimes through the mechanisms of Jewish self-hatred.<sup>12</sup> Here, Walter Rathenau, the assimilated German-Jewish industrialist who would become the foreign minister of Germany in 1922, provided one of the paradigmatic accounts of this transformation, citing his own “metamorphosis” from a “tribal” Jew into a “German” Jew. In 1897, the year before Nordau’s call for a “muscular Judaism,” Rathenau published a short essay in the influential Berlin journal, *Zukunft*, called “Höre, Israel!” (Hear, O Israel!), in which he appealed to Jews to “look at [themselves] in the mirror” and take the necessary steps to reform their bodies.<sup>13</sup> With regard to Jews living in a society imbued with Prussian military values, he writes:

You should be all the more careful not to walk about in an unkempt and lethargic manner, and thereby become the laughingstock of a disciplined race brought up in a strict military fashion. As soon as you have recognized your puny build, your hunched shoulders, your clumsy feet, your flaccid roundish shape, you will resolve to dedicate a few generations to the regeneration of your outer appearance.

(458)

In Rathenau's assessment, Jews—as a race—lacked the martial discipline and physical constitution of their German counterparts. Although Rathenau later withdrew this essay from circulation when it became clear that it abetted anti-Semitism, the critiques that he raised were vociferously debated in the years that led up to World War I and widely accepted as a justification of the Zionist politics of corporeal regeneration.

As early as 1901, a debate took place in *Die Welt*, the pro-Zionist weekly founded by Theodor Herzl in 1897, over the alleged “physical inferiority of the Jews.” On the one side, Balduin Groller argued that Jews are not, in fact, physically inferior when compared with other races, despite certain average size differences that exist between races. On the other side, a Jewish medical doctor from Posen, Karl Jeremias, argued that statistical evidence proves the opposite: that Jews have physically degenerated, thus making them inferior to other races. In terms of physical strength, skill, and stamina, Jews, Groller argues, have “performed outstandingly and have not been surpassed by any other people or race.”<sup>14</sup> As evidence, he cites the high number of Jewish athletes and acrobats, including the English weightlifter Sir Edward Lawrence Levy, the young Jewish fighter, Michael Mayer, the master cyclist, Maxime Lurion, the Olympic swimmers, Paul Neumann and Otto Herschmann, as well as makes reference to the countless number of Jews engaged in other sports such as gymnastics, running, soccer, tennis, and fencing. The reason for the stereotype of Jewish physical inferiority is easy to explain, Groller says: While “one generally sees more stunted Jews and physical misery among Jews, . . . what we are seeing there is not the physical inferiority of Jewry bur rather poverty, anxiety, sorrows, and malnutrition” (5). In other words, when given the environmental conditions to prosper, the Jewish people have proven to be physically equal or superior to other races.

Like Groller, Jeremias does not contest the role that poverty and persecution have played in causing Jewish degeneracy; however, he is not convinced that any substantial conclusions can be drawn from the experiences of the “maximal achievements” of a select group of Jews.<sup>15</sup> Groller's viewpoint is simply too optimistic given the overwhelming evidence that “the physical composition” of both Eastern and Western Jews “is not normal” (4). He cites the statistical records of a Russian military doctor, originally presented at the Fourth Zionist Congress by Mandelstamm, on the prevalence of Jewish degeneracy: the average size of an adult Jew is 162.7 centimeters versus

165–170 centimeters for a non-Jew; Jews have less developed chest bones and musculature, including a 60 percent smaller chest size when compared to the norm; Jews suffer from bad posture as well as a greater susceptibility to tuberculosis, skin diseases, eye infections, myopia, and nervous and psychological disorders; and, finally, they have a greater incidence of hernia (4). All in all, given this physical constitution, they are poor candidates for military service. But like his Zionist colleagues, Jeremias does not condemn the Jewish body as unfit for military service; rather, he is quick to point out that the solution is to be found in Nordau's famous slogan: "‘More muscular Judaism!’ with verve and dogged energy" (5). Jews could and would become soldiers of regeneration.

Jeremias's position would, in fact, be espoused by virtually all of the Zionists (and many non-Zionists) concerned with remaking the Jewish body in accordance with Nordau's muscular ideals. In the years leading up to World War I, this happened along two intersecting trajectories: first, Jews had to undertake a rigorous physical program of corporeal reform, which addressed the deficiencies that directly bore upon military fitness; and second, Jews had to return to their own heroic roots by resurrecting the martial traditions of their ancestors, which they had variously given up or lost in the Diaspora.<sup>16</sup> Both of these trajectories can be recognized in a number of articles published, for example, in *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung*. In 1907, Elias Auerbach published a short but programmatic piece "On the Military Fitness of the Jews" in which he argued that Jews are not inherently less capable of serving in the military than other people; rather, they are called up in smaller numbers because the quantitative indicators of their fitness—particularly, chest size measurements—are, on average, lower. He explains:

Chest circumference essentially depends upon two things: the size of the lungs and the strength of the chest muscles. Both are closely related to the intensity of breathing. This is obvious with regard to lung size, but it is also the case with the strength of the chest muscles, which are primarily breathing muscles and gradually strengthen with deep breathing, as will other muscles with regular training.

(JTZ, 1907, 10/11: 189)

People who work in the country (as opposed to the city) and who engage in manual labor will have larger chest muscles and, hence, appear to be more fit for military service. Among the Jews, he argues, there are very few farmers but lots of "accountants, traders, tailors, and academics" (JTZ, 1907, 10/11: 189). Hence, there are lots of Jews with small chests. The solution, which can hardly be surprising for the journal's readership, is physical training, exercise, and sports, with a specific attention to developing the chest muscles. The result, Auerbach predicts, would be more Jews selected for military service and more Jews distinguishing themselves in the military.

The following year, Heinrich Loewe, an avid supporter of Jewish ethnic pride and nationalist feeling, published an essay in *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* called “Die Makkabäer” (The Maccabees). Loewe had been instrumental in organizing the first Jewish-nationalist student associations, particularly the *Vereinigung Jüdischer Studenten* (Association of Jewish Students) as a counterweight to the anti-Semitic *Verein Deutscher Studenten*.<sup>17</sup> He also edited the Jewish nationalist monthly, *Zion. Monatsschrift für die nationalen Interessen des jüdischen Volkes*, for a couple of years and, in 1902, became the editor of the *Jüdische Rundschau*, a position he held through World War I.<sup>18</sup> For Loewe, as with many of his Zionist colleagues, the Maccabees represented the quintessential paradigm of Jewish nationalist strength and bravery, a “heroic race” (*Heldengeschlecht*) that must be emulated today (JTZ, 1908, 12: 213). According to Loewe, the story of the Maccabees is important for multiple reasons, all of which bear upon Jewish regeneration in the present. First, the muscle Jews of the future are bound together with the decisive heroism of the past. When Mattathias led the Judeans against the seductions of paganism “with splendid tact and a great historical-political understanding,” he did so with the knowledge that “his task for the future could only be revealed with reference to the great past of his people” (JTZ, 1908, 12: 216). Very much in line with both the temporality and masculinity of the modern Zionist idea, the generations of the fathers and sons are linked together by their past and future military victories. Second, according to Loewe, the Maccabees demonstrated that “heroes [could be] created from a cowardly tribe,” proving that “even an inconsequential tribe is in the position, through national self-help, to defy a militarized world” (JTZ, 1908, 12: 217). And, finally, the facticity of the Maccabees’ defiance represents the incarnation of a Jewish “heroic race” characterized by “powerful and extraordinary heroic deeds,” including “the greatest courage and heroic martyrdom for people and freedom” (JTZ, 1908, 12: 218).

Loewe concludes his celebration of the Maccabees by citing what he imagines to have been their high level of physical fitness: “The first resistance of the heroic Maccabee race was probably due to gymnastics. . . . Their heroic deeds thoroughly proved that their bodies were trained in all the gymnastic arts and steeled for genuine battles” (JTZ, 1908, 12: 218). Not coincidentally, this was the same rhetoric that the *Vereinigung Jüdischer Studenten* had used for nearly a decade to call upon its members to reform their bodies: “By steeling our physical strength and increasing our dexterity, our bodies will be masculine and full of energy, ready to execute the orders of the mind.”<sup>19</sup> In sum, the Maccabees represented the “shining model” of Jewish strength, fortitude, and courage, a model of military masculinity that should be emulated, Loewe suggests, in all the Jewish gymnastics halls, student associations, and training centers of early twentieth-century Europe (JTZ, 1908, 12: 218).

Shortly after the start of World War I, the *Jüdische Rundschau*, under the editorial direction of Loewe, reprinted a rousing speech by Franz Oppenheimer

entitled “Alte und neue Makkabäer” (Old and New Maccabees).<sup>20</sup> The editor included a short prefatory note explaining the decision to reprint the speech nearly a decade after it was delivered by referencing the timeliness of the historical moment in which “the ideals of the fight for freedom in Russia, in which the blood of Jewish heroes has been spilt, can be realized” (353). Not only did the vast majority of Jews across the cultural and ideological spectrum entertain the hope that World War I would bring about better conditions and even liberate the masses of Eastern European Jews living in ghettos and miserable poverty, but they also believed that the war would be a proving ground for the emergence of an “old-new” Jewish race, one that was imbued with the heroic bravery and strength of the Maccabees. In his speech, Oppenheimer cites the spate of violent pogroms across Kishinev, Homel, Odessa, and Kiev, and wonders—not unlike the poet Haim Nahman Bialik<sup>21</sup>—whether “the Jewish masses have lost their Maccabee anger and Maccabee courage” (353). Perhaps it has been suppressed, he suggests, but even the poor “pants-selling youth”<sup>22</sup> of the Eastern European ghettos are, he maintained, “true descendants of the Maccabees” (354). Now, more than a decade later, World War I would be the decisive moment to reawaken this pride and regenerate the heroism of the “old” Maccabees.

Indeed, just days after the start of World War I, Loewe had already called upon the German Jews to defend their fatherland with the courage and bravery exhibited by the Maccabees.<sup>23</sup> Like Oppenheimer, he saw no conflict between this unflagging support of Germany and the ideals of the Maccabees: it was through Germany that “progress, freedom, and culture” would be preserved against the “terrible tyranny, bloody cruelty, and dark regression” (343) enveloping Europe. Fighting for Germany was essentially a Maccabean fight against a modern-day tyranny that sought to “annihilate ‘the land of culture’” and place a stranglehold on Jewish freedom and prosperity (343). Loewe’s call to German Jews, supported by the *Reichsverein der Deutschen Juden* and the *Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland*, reads as follows:

In these hours, it must be shown anew that we—as tribally proud Jews—belong among the best sons of the fatherland. The nobility of our millennia of history obliges us. We expect that our youth will voluntarily and cheerfully defend the flag. . . . We trust that our youth—strengthened by the cultivation of their Jewish consciousness and their physical education [*körperliche Ausbildung*] in ideal conviction and manly courage—will distinguish themselves in all war-like virtues.

(343)

Emboldened by their heroic fighting tradition and physically regenerated in the gymnastics halls of modern-day Europe, Jews would bravely serve the



German fatherland and prove, once and for all, that they were a muscular, military people.

Significantly, the vast majority of the Zionists (and Loewe was no exception) did not perceive a contradiction between their loyalty to the nations in which they lived and their ultimate desire for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.<sup>24</sup> In fact, the *Jüdische Rundschau* carried a permanent citation from the Basel Program across its masthead, which read: “The goal of Zionism is to establish a legally and publicly secure state in Palestine for the Jewish people.” In August 1914, printed just a few inches below this citation was Loewe’s call to German Jews “to give their entire heart, their entire soul, and their entire means to the service of the fatherland” (343). As Michael Berkowitz points out, “Zionists in both the Central and Allied powers . . . rationalized that their own country’s victory would hasten the conversion of Zionist dreams into reality.”<sup>25</sup> They did not perceive an issue of conflicted or double loyalties. According to Loewe, fighting for the German fatherland not only gave Jews the chance to showcase their loyalty and permanently negate the stereotype of Jewish cowardice, but it also allowed Jews to fight for a common goal, side-by-side with their German brothers:

When we fight as citizens of our fatherland, the bravery of our ancestors, the courage unto death of the Maccabees, the tremendous fight of Bar Kochba, and the heroic death of hundreds of thousands of our people throughout the ages comes shining through as a glorious example. We will be victorious. We have the confidence in the German Emperor that he is leading us right. We have confidence in the German people that they will fight to their last breath, and we have the unshakable confidence in the divine justice that will bring victory to our honest brothers in arms.

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Jewish enthusiasm for the war and unequivocal support of Germany persisted across the ideological spectrum in a range of pro-Zionist, non-Zionist, and anti-Zionist publications, something that, once again, underscores the fact that muscular Judaism was part of a broader, European-wide project of modern body reform. While the pan-Jewish cultural magazine *Ost und West*, for example, never embraced an explicit pro-Zionist or a pro-German nationalist political platform, it came out actively in support of the war. In 1914, Benjamin Segel published an extraordinary lead article in the magazine called “Der Krieg als Lehrmeister” (The War as Master Teacher), in which he argued that the war was essentially caused by the “groundless hatred” of Germany by other countries and that German-Jewry would summon its own ancestral glory to defend its fatherland.<sup>26</sup> “Unlike any other historical event,” Segel writes, “war answers the question of how much bravery, contempt for death, discipline, organizational capacity, sacrificial courage, and physical

strength lies within a people” (635). Far from being “cowardly” or “unwarlike,” Jews have a long “warrior” tradition, including, among others, the warriors of Jephtha, Gideon, Saul, Job, Jehuda, and, of course, the Maccabees (635). Both ancestral Jews and present-day Jews embody the values of “coldbloodedness, determination, resourcefulness, heightened vigilance, and unconditional trustworthiness” (638), thereby negating the “fable of the Jew who is militarily inferior” (640). The War, Segel believed, would not only teach present-day Jews to be warriors but also teach the rest of the world to accept the regenerated muscle Jews as a legitimate warrior people.

On the other side of the ideological spectrum, the anti-Zionist *Kartell-Convent vereinigten Korporationen*, formerly the *Kartell Convent deutscher Studenten jüdischer Glaubens* (Association of German Students of Jewish Faith) also came out strongly in support of the war, publishing an array of articles on the success of the war effort and lists of its fallen brothers who “died a heroic death for the fatherland.”<sup>27</sup> The Kartell-Convent, or K.C. for short, was originally formed in 1896 when three Jewish fraternities established an interuniversity association to advocate for full academic equality for Jewish students and fight anti-Semitism.<sup>28</sup> The students of the K.C. proclaimed that they were German students of Jewish faith and supported activities, such as gymnastics, fencing, and dueling, that would showcase their physical fitness, honor, and ethnic-national pride.<sup>29</sup> Its main publication, the *K.C.-Blätter*, carried the following mission statement:

The bonds of the K.C. are tied to the ground and convictions of the German fatherland. Its goal is to fight anti-Semitism in the German student body and to educate its members to become self-aware Jews who are conscious of the fact that the German Jews form an indissolubly connected part of the German fatherland through history, culture, and law, and are always prepared to stand up for the political and social equality of the Jews.<sup>30</sup>

Beginning with its first issue in October 1910, the *K.C.-Blätter* also featured an extraordinary illustration on its cover depicting three naked youths engaged in battle (Fig. 6.2). The illustration was printed on the cover for its first year and then it was removed; it returned in the March–April 1915 issue and was carried on the cover of each subsequent “war edition.” In it, we see three highly stylized, muscular Jews lunging toward light with swords in their hands, as if engaged in a fight for their honor, with an enemy that is not or cannot be depicted. While the image may represent three Jews dueling for their honor against anti-Semitism in 1910, its reproduction in 1915 is certainly meant to illustrate Jewish military bravery in the fight for the German fatherland. Since the faces are partially or fully obscured, we are drawn directly to the musculature of their bodies: their strong arms, the build of their chest and breast, and the sinews of their buttocks and legs. Each figure is

shown from a slightly different angle revealing the side, the phallus, and the buttocks. Indeed, the left-most figure appears to have an erection as he lunges forward with all his virility into the depths of battle.<sup>31</sup> This, it seems, is how many German-Jewish men greeted World War I: as a proving ground for their muscularity and masculinity.

Many reasons have been given to explain the prevalent and widespread enthusiasm with which Jews—both Zionist and non-Zionist, German and



Figure 6.2 Cover of *K.C. Blätter: Monatschrift der im Kartell-Convent vereinigten Korporationen* (1915).

non-German—welcomed the coming of the war.<sup>32</sup> Foremost among the reasons was the belief harbored that the war would finally bring about full acceptance and equality. According to Ludwig Geiger in 1914, Jews “felt themselves to belong to their respective countries” and would “fight and suffer for their fatherland.” In return, they expected to be treated “justly.”<sup>33</sup> As István Deán further explains:

World War I marked the apogee of Jewish participation in the life of Central Europeans. In the delirious enthusiasm of August 1914, Jews were among the greatest enthusiasts. They endorsed the war, in part because the enemy was the anti-Semitic Russian empire, in part because the outcome of the conflict promised to bring their final and complete acceptance.<sup>34</sup>

While this explanation is certainly true, I would hasten to add that the war represented something else as well: it was the ultimate proving ground for the regenerated muscle Jew. In essence, the war was a chance for European Jews to definitively prove that they were the legitimate descendants of their ancestral heroes and thus, particularly for the Zionists, capable of founding and defending a modern nation-state. The Jewish soldiers in World War I were the modern-day incarnations of the Maccabees or Bar Kochba, and it would be in the trenches and, as we will see below, in the air where they would demonstrate their muscular virility.

Even after 1916, the year the German War Ministry undertook its notoriously humiliating “Judenzählung” (Jew Count) to collect statistical information about the number of Jews serving in the German army, a census that spurred massive anti-Semitic attacks accusing Jews of shirking service and engaging in war profiteering, the war remained a proving ground for Jewish soldiers.<sup>35</sup> Instead of calling for protest, Martin Buber defiantly challenged the census takers to count the number of Jews serving in the military, arguing that “we are used to being counted.” He continued:

Russia counted the number of our children in schools; Poland counted our workers in its communal undertakings to make sure there weren’t too many. A few months ago, a German student association proposed counting the number of fallen Jews in Germany’s battlefields. It seemed to them that there weren’t enough. . . . Go ahead and count us!<sup>36</sup>

Buber was not alone in his defiance, and Jewish statisticians, including Felix Theilhaber and Jacob Segall, quickly published “Jew counts” of their own in order to rebuke the anti-Semites who accused Jews of shirking their duties, or worse, stabbing the German nation in the back.<sup>37</sup> Jewish war statistics were widely circulated: 100,000 Jews served Germany in the war, the vast majority

on the frontlines; 12,000 Jews died fighting; 35,000 Jews were decorated in the war; and 2,000 Jews became officers.<sup>38</sup>

Although the War Ministry never officially published its census findings, excerpts were widely used and manipulated by anti-Semitic ideologues, ushering in a tidal wave of propaganda that scapegoated Jews for Germany's defeat. Otto Armin's *Juden im Heere* (Jews in the Army), a statistical argument purporting to demonstrate Jewish responsibility for Germany's defeat, was published in 1919 and quickly circulated among right-wing, nationalist organizations.<sup>39</sup> Armin attempted to demonstrate that Jews fought in significantly lower percentages on the front, volunteered to serve in markedly smaller numbers than their non-Jewish counterparts, and, most damningly, could not distinguish themselves as war heroes because of their inhering "Händlergeist" (61). Jews, he argued, had a sneaky, business-like mindset, which predisposed them toward egoistic secrecy, money, espionage, and questionable morality; Germans, on the other hand, had a "Heldengeist," which predisposed them toward national heroism, courage, and self-sacrifice. In the war, Armin concludes, "the 'heroic spirit' of the Germans was driven into the ground by the 'business spirit' of the Jews" (61). In fact, this argument would be widely adopted and radicalized during the years of the Weimar Republic. Indeed, the very first paragraph of the by-laws of the *Deutsche Schutz- und Trutzbund* (Association to Protect and Shelter Germany), a rabidly anti-Semitic nationalist organization founded in February 1919, explained:

The association strives for the moral rebirth of the German people by awakening and supporting its healthy nature. It sees the main cause of the defeat in the subjugating and corrupting influence of Judaism and sees the removal of this influence as the prerequisite for rebuilding the state and economy as well as saving German culture. It is the task of the "Association to Protect and Shelter Germany" to expose the nature and extent of the Jewish danger and fight it using all political, state, and economic means.<sup>40</sup>

In light of the virulence of post-war anti-Semitism, it is all the more understandable that Jewish war veterans (both Zionist and non-Zionists) would see the war as the defining crucible for forging a heroic, nationally and ethnically proud, military masculinity. To this end, the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten* (National Association of Jewish Combat Veterans), or RjF for short, was established in 1919 and sought to rebuke the anti-Semitic lies by educating the public about the Jewish contributions to the war effort and cultivating a heroic, militaristic sensibility among Jewish youth. At its peak, the RjF had between 30,000 and 40,000 members (membership was restricted to Jewish war veterans in Germany), the majority of whom came from middle-class and working-class backgrounds.<sup>41</sup> It had an expressly

anti-Zionist platform and, like the German-Jewish student associations, sought to cultivate both a Jewish ethnic and German national pride. Leo Löwenstein, who authored the RjF's first call for members in January 1919, argued that Jewish war veterans cannot allow detractors to characterize them as "cowardly shirkers" (*Feige Drückeberger*): "We are too proud to stand by idly while our honor as Germans and Jews is besmirched."<sup>42</sup> Disassociated from political parties and religious convictions, the RjF fought for the recognition of Jewish war veterans and supported the regeneration of the German nation. It was to be composed of "every German Jew who put his life on the line to fight for the fatherland" and sought to work "to help it blossom with new strength" (221). The RjF existed up until 1938.<sup>43</sup>

Beginning in 1920, the RjF began publishing *Der Schild* (The Shield), a weekly news journal directed primarily at Jewish war veterans and Jewish youth. It specifically sought to combat anti-Semitic propaganda and change public perceptions about Jewish war service. At the same time, the journal carried an extensive array of articles on the regeneration of the Jewish body, focusing primarily on the nexus between sports and military heroism. Not limited just to gymnastics and fencing, the RjF supported a wide-range of contact combat "body exercises" including boxing, Jiu-Jitsu, wrestling, and judo, all of which were considered to "strengthen and steel the entire musculature."<sup>44</sup> Cognizant of the specifications of the body for military service, the RjF wanted its members and youth to "fully develop their respiratory system, increase their chest circumference through exercise, and open up the capacities of their lungs all the more." It also wanted the heart "strengthened and the blood pressure increased." Importantly, the RjF believed that sports would not only result in a body fit for serving in the military but also cultivate specific military qualities such as "striking power, determination, mental presence, complete mastery of the body, adroitness, agility, courage, bravery, cold-bloodedness, tenacity, endurance, the cultivation of reason and abstinence." As the author succinctly concludes: "Sport is battle!"<sup>45</sup>

To be sure, the link between sports and militarization was hardly new and, at least in Germany, extends back, as we have already seen, to Prussian military training and the birth of the *Turnen* movement in the early nineteenth century. Even in Jewish periodicals, such as *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung*, the connection between military training and gymnastics was evident years before World War I, with numerous articles articulating the relationship between sport and military fitness.<sup>46</sup> In fact, as early as 1907, Hebrew was introduced to Jewish gymnastics practices as a "commando" language (very much in contrast to Yiddish) in order to elicit ancient heroic traditions.<sup>47</sup> As Gideon Reuveni has pointed out, the drill commands of the Israeli army can probably be traced back to the Hebraicization of certain German phrases used in gymnastics practice<sup>48</sup>: "Eyes looking forward!", "Head high!", "Shoulders back!", and "Chest out!" were commands used by "the Hebrew gymnastics commando" to refer to both gymnastics exercises and military drills.<sup>49</sup> It

should come as no surprise, then, that the RjF firmly believed—not unlike German nationalist thinkers, such as Ernst Jünger—that “the most important condition of life remains the completely steeled body! [*der allseitig gestählte Körper*].”<sup>50</sup> Through sport and military activities, muscle would be transformed into steel.

It was precisely this rhetoric of “steeling” and “hardening” the Jewish body that emerged as the single most important leitmotif in *Der Schild*. In 1922, *Der Schild* called upon Jewish women to educate their children “in equal measure with respect to mental and physical strength.” Mothers and sisters would “fight along with” the male members of the RjF by preserving “the sublime source of our Judaism through the steeling of the body.”<sup>51</sup> Not only, then, would the members of the RjF act as “the living statistics of Jewish soldiers on the front,” but the organization would also support the development of a militaristic level of “physical fitness” in all the German-Jewish youth, thereby permanently “steeling body and mind.”<sup>52</sup> But after World War I, it was not gymnasts, boxers, wrestlers, or even front soldiers who represented the epitome of the steeled body; it was, as we will see below, aviators. As the masculine emblem of the Great War, the flier literally melded together man and machine in the destructive world of the technological sublime.

On the one hand, then, the project of “steeling” the Jewish body—of turning muscle Jews into military Jews, of transforming flesh into steel—was a response to the virulently anti-Semitic propaganda accusing German Jews of shirking their military duties and undermining the German nation. It was an attempt to prove that Jews were both militaristic and patriotic, regardless of their position with respect to Zionism. Moreover, it was an attempt to negate the stereotype of the Jew as bourgeois merchant or speculator, who deals in abstractions and leeches off the German people. On the other hand, the “steeling” of the Jewish body has to be seen as part of a broader social and cultural project of connecting the modern Jewish male body with both its heroic ancestral tradition and its future-oriented national redemption. In this regard, the steeled muscle Jew stands at the center of a tradition facing both ways at once.

For proto-fascist thinkers such as Ernst Jünger who put forward a new, heroic masculinity derived explicitly from the front experience, “war is a process that regenerates both the nation and the soldier male himself.”<sup>53</sup> Jünger, as Klaus Theweleit explains, rejected the same stereotypes—the merchant, the man of abstractions and speculations, the safety and security of the intellectual, the complacency and weakness of the bourgeoisie—in favor of an image of a new race of warriors who embraced an ethos of military masculinity, discipline, strength, and heroism. But what is remarkable is that Jews embraced these ideals as well and modeled their bodies after them. To be sure, we all know that the image of the German Jew that ultimately won out in the final years of the Weimar Republic was not the one that was muscular, nationalistic, and militarized; rather it was the one that was an exploiter,

a degenerate, a parasitic contagion who undermined the integrity of the German nation. Like a disease, the Jew was seen by the anti-Semites to be a corrosive force who brought criminality, degeneracy, and emasculation to Germany.<sup>54</sup> But there is another side of the story prior to 1933. In fact, in the first third of the twentieth century, it was German Jews who also sought to combat degeneracy, weakness, and emasculation by embracing the very same ethos of military masculinity, discipline, strength, and heroism. For this reason, we ought to give serious reconsideration to the “place” of the Jewish body within the historiography of the Weimar period.

According to the argument of Mosse’s acclaimed study, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, “the history of modern masculinity [reached] a climax” with the rise of the new fascist male in 1930s Germany and Italy.<sup>55</sup> He explains that:

physical exercise played a crucial part in forming the fascist man; fascism accepted the by then traditional notion that a fit body was the sign of a manly spirit. Physical exercise was not regarded as just preparation for wars to come; it was supposed to build character, and indeed all the justifications of sport . . . held the male body hostage for the qualities the new fascist man should possess. But, in the last resort, acquiring physical strength, discipline, and agility, and sculpting the body, were considered useless without strength of will.

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While I do not contest Mosse’s view of fascism as the “climax” of modern masculinity, nor do I contest the “place” of the Jew within the fascist imaginary, it is striking that the same “physical exercise” also played a crucial part in forming the muscle Jew. It cannot be limited to the domain of fascism and the rise of the fascist male body. Physical strength, discipline, agility, and a strong will were the same heroic and masculinist qualities sought by the Zionists, the German-Jewish student organizations, and the members of the RjF, something that Mosse clearly indicated in his earlier analysis of the appeal of Volkish thought to German Jews.<sup>56</sup>

Permit me another example, this one from the field of art history: Hal Foster, building on the insights of Theweleit, shows how the artist Hans Bellmer, in creating disarticulated and dismembered dolls, subverts the “fascist armoring” emblematically embodied by Nazi sculptors such as Arno Breker and Josef Thorak. Bellmer’s dolls, he argues, confront “the masculine subject [with] his greatest fear: his own fragmentation, disintegration, and dissolution,” precisely the qualities exhibited by “bodies somehow deemed feminine (Jews, communists, homosexuals, ‘the masses’).”<sup>57</sup> As Foster points out, the Nazis reserved the greatest anathema:

for art that represented the body—but disfigured it, opened up its image to its own heterogeneous energies, impressed its form with its



own “feminine” forces of sexuality and death, and (most importantly) connected these forces to the social figures that threatened the Nazi male with “degeneration” (here not only the Jew, the communist, and the homosexual, but also the child, “the primitive,” and the insane).<sup>58</sup>

To be sure, Foster is not wrong in arguing that the specter of the effeminate, homosexual, and degenerate Jew haunted the integrity of the fascist male body and, thereby, helped to negatively define its contours; however, this argument fails to consider the very real ways in which Jews also sought to regenerate their own bodies and engineer their own forms of armoring, social administration, and eugenic virility. In so doing, such an argument considers the Jewish body to be a monolith of degeneracy, devoid of any agency, even one that served potentially dubious ends.

While Mosse, Foster, and Theweleit are not wrong about the fact that the stereotype of the Jew as puny, cowardly, and diseased ran counter to the German fascist ideal, Jews also embraced and embodied this very ideal of muscular militancy. The Great War was both the proving ground and the crucible for the creation of a militarized race of “old-new Maccabees”—Jews, who in their steeled bodies and warrior image, exhibited the same “heroic spirit” as their German counterparts. Perhaps the anti-Semitic stereotype of the weak Jew has held so much sway that it has prevented us from seriously assessing the very real (and not unproblematic) ways that Jews embraced the ideology of muscular militancy during and after the war. Jewish bodies, then, cannot be considered merely allegories of the weak, formless, and deviant in contrast to the armored heroism of German bodies, even if they were precisely that for the fascist imaginary. We must also inquire into what the Great War meant for Jewish masculinity by examining the representational and rhetorical practices of Jews.

Emerging out of the war and reaching a heyday during the Weimar Republic, there is no better image of the steeled Jewish body than that of the Jewish flier. As a combat ace, aviator, glider, and even world-record holder, the Jewish flier melded the muscled body with the technologically steeled body. Felix Theilhaber endowed the Jewish flier with its most enduring cultural expression in his 1924 book, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (Jewish Fliers in World War).<sup>59</sup> In the years that followed, countless paeans to Jewish fliers, many of which followed upon and referenced Theilhaber’s book, would be featured on the pages of *Der Schild*, including the story of Charles Levine, a New York Jew who broke Charles Lindbergh’s distance record in 1927. But before turning to Theilhaber’s book and the Jewish flier, we must first briefly contextualize the mythology of flying in the modernist imaginary. After a discussion of the machine-body complex in the years surrounding the Great War, I will, then, turn to Jewish aviation fantasies and Jewish fliers. The steeled muscle Jew, I conclude, is the embodiment of the dialectic of modernity, its corporeal hopes and technological catastrophes in the early twentieth century.

### Jewish aviators and the modernist imaginary

Shortly after the end of World War I, Max Ernst, the co-founder of Cologne Dadaism, produced an untitled collage, which is known today simply as *Airplane* (1920). The central image of the collage consists of portions of a biplane fused with strangely elongated human arms. Ernst foregrounded the machine-body amalgam in the center of an undifferentiated sky, and on the ground, in the lower right-hand corner, he placed two men clad in military uniforms evacuating a third who appears to be injured. Viewers who encountered this image in 1920 probably intuited the relationship between the three men in the corner and the anthropomorphic machine in the sky: after all, World War I was the first “material battle” (*Materialschlacht*) in which aviation technologies were widely used in reconnaissance missions, man-to-man combat, and, by the end of the war, bombing raids. Airplanes both extended and destroyed the integrity of the human body. In effect, men could merge with flying machines, and flying machines could annihilate the body. In Ernst’s collage, the human arms and bourgeois tie appear to naturally grow out of the airplane’s nose, while the plane’s front fuselage and tail have replaced a human head and legs. It is as if the body and the machine have become fused into a new machine-man via the double-logic of the prosthesis: the machine adds to (while destroying) and subtracts from (while creating) the body.<sup>60</sup> In the corner of Ernst’s collage, the tiny, broken body is carried away, while the machinic technology, melding with and also destroying the human body, looms larger than life from above. Walter Benjamin perceptively noted the significance of this historical shift with regard to the integrity of the human body. As he writes with regard to the Great War:

For never has experience been contradicted more thoroughly than strategic experience by tactical warfare, economic experience by inflation, bodily experience by mechanical warfare, moral experience by those in power. A generation that had gone to school in a horse-drawn streetcar now stood under the open sky in a countryside in which nothing remained unchanged but the clouds, and beneath these clouds, in a field of force of destructive torrents and explosions, was the tiny, fragile human body.<sup>61</sup>

When Ernst composed a short biographical sketch of the key dates in his life several years later, he indicated the significance of the war as both a destroyer and a creator, an assessment he shared with many of his dada colleagues<sup>62</sup>: “Max Ernst died on the 1st of August 1914. He resuscitated on the 11th of November, 1918 as a young man aspiring to become a magician and to find the myth of his time.”<sup>63</sup> The myth of his time, I would suggest, is embodied by the technologies of flight, and nowhere were its dialectical possibilities more fully expressed than in World War I. As a modern

mythology, flying not only elevated human beings into the air and unbound them from the seemingly mundane fetters of the earth, but it also transformed the very nature of time and space by reconfiguring the phenomenology of distance, speed, and duration.<sup>64</sup> And, at the same time, the technologies of flight unleashed massive, new means of destruction, ones that would become ever more radicalized as time and space were mastered. Indeed, there is probably no myth more central to the modernist imaginary than that of flying: one need only call to mind the unending panegyrics to the Wright brothers in the first decade of the twentieth century, the feat of Louis Blériot flying across the English Channel in 1909, the wild embrace of flying by the Futurists to liberate human beings from the facticities of time and space, or the celebrated image of the combat ace in the popular imagination. As the Russian Futurist writer, Vasily Vasilyevich Kamensky, recalled with respect to the period around 1910:

The airplane—that is the truest achievement of our time. The aviator is the man of worthy heights. If we are really Futurists . . . if we are people of the motorized present, poets of universal dynamism, newcomers and messengers of the future, masters of action and activity, enthusiastic builders of new forms of life—then we must be, we have no choice but to be, fliers.<sup>65</sup>

Human beings were heralding the emergence of a new race: a race of fliers.

Prior to the Great War, it was the Italian Futurist, Filippo Tomaso Marinetti, who most fervently celebrated the new body-machine amalgam of the flier in all its dialectical expressions of destruction and rebirth.<sup>66</sup> As the great apostle of speed and technology, he famously glorified war as “the world’s only hygiene” and hailed the emergence of a new race of “gay incendiaries with charred fingers.”<sup>67</sup> Inspired by his experience in an aircraft during the international air show at Brescia in 1909, a “momentous event” that launched “the aviation craze in Italy . . . and introduced the muses into an Italian aerodrome for the first time,”<sup>68</sup> Marinetti considered flying, as he wrote in the “Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature” (May 1912), “to break apart the old shackles of logic and the plumb lines of the ancient way of thinking.”<sup>69</sup> The manifesto, composed shortly after returning from the Battle of Tripoli, a colonial war in which he participated “in all the most violent, most virile, and most heroic actions,”<sup>70</sup> consists of an airplane propeller dictating laws for “[destroying] syntax” and creating a new form of subjectivity (84). Marinetti ends by claiming that “we will conquer the seemingly unconquerable hostility that separates out human flesh from the metal of motors” (89). In effect, the airplane will inaugurate a new mode of being-in-the-world, one which brings man together with machine, flesh together with motor.<sup>71</sup> Not without irony, it was the young Franz Kafka who made a similar observation about Blériot’s body, when he witnessed the

famous aviator take off in the 1909 Brescia air show: “One sees his straight upper body over the wings, his legs are stretched down like part of the machinery.”<sup>72</sup> Man and machine had become one.

It was this permanent melding together of man and machine that Ernst Jünger would later celebrate in his autobiographical chronicles of the Great War as well as in his essayistic reflections on the utopian possibilities of total warfare. In his book, *Das Wäldchen 125*, a diary of six weeks of trench warfare during July–August 1918 in an area known as Rossignol Wood or Copse 125 of the Western Front, Jünger proclaimed that the war brought forth a new kind of human being, one in which man and machine had become fused together in an amalgam of bloody flesh and dangerous explosivity:

I see in old Europe a new and commanding breed rising up, fearless and fabulous, unsparing of blood and sparing of pity, inured to suffering the worst and to inflicting it and ready to stake all to attain their ends—a race that builds machines and trusts machines, to whom machines are not soulless iron, but engines of might which it controls with cold reason and hot blood.<sup>73</sup>

And like Marinetti, it was the airmen, the combat aces who embraced “the ardor of speed” and become “dismembered by the rush of air if they are shot down by the enemy” (*Copse 125*, 88, 89), who represented “a new manifestation of mankind” (*Copse 125*, 87).

Jünger not only imagined war in the same hygienic terms as Marinetti, but he went even further: he conceived of a world in which the horror of technological warfare was its permanent fixture. As Walter Benjamin perceptively characterized his vision: the desire for an “endless war . . . is nothing other than an uninhibited translation of the principles of *l’art pour l’art* to war itself.”<sup>74</sup> That is to say, Jünger glorified war not for some other end, such as why and how war is waged, but only for the sake of war itself. Unlike other contemporary cultural commentators and critics, Jünger had no interest in working through or coming to terms with the trauma of war<sup>75</sup>; instead, the Great War was an absolute end in itself, a creative, downright regenerative force that brought a new race of men into the world.

Of course, the vast majority of soldiers who survived the war did not come back as the embodiments of Marinetti’s man-machine aesthetic or Jünger’s new race of technologically steeled soldier-workers.<sup>76</sup> Instead, they came back shell-shocked, with massively disfiguring injuries to their faces, arms, and legs, all of which undermined the integrity of their manhood and their ability to regenerate the German nation.<sup>77</sup> As Paul Lerner has shown in his illuminating study of war trauma, it was the figure of the male hysteric—“Hysteria virilis”—who haunted the German imagination and symbolized the nation’s various shortcomings and failures during World War I and its immediate aftermath. Because the male hysteric was unable to work or serve

in the military and, according to the argument of German psychiatrists, shirked his patriotic duties, he threatened Germany's economic power, political stability, and military strength. Male hysteria, according to Lerner, had less to do with an explicit feminization and more to do with "medically manufacturing proper German subjects" able to rise up and defend the nation due to their health, capacity for work, military service, patriotism, and ability to engage in biological reproduction.<sup>78</sup>

It was Ernst Toller, a German-Jew who fought in World War I, who composed the most damning indictment of how the war emasculated "German" men. His play, *Der deutsche Hinkemann* (written in 1921/22), thematized the trauma of war on the body of the German soldier. It was performed throughout Germany and across Europe in the following years. The main character, Hinkemann, returns home from the war to his devoted wife as a cripple, "as something monstrous," nothing but a "living corpse."<sup>79</sup> During the war, we find out, Hinkemann suffered an injury that left him without male genitalia, and he is now designated a "eunuch." Although he tries to claim his injury as his own—"Here stands a real-live eunuch!" (197)—and wonders how those who publicly ridicule him will be man enough to build a new society, his mortification eventually drives his wife to commit suicide at the end of the play. Before the final desperate scenes, Hinkemann searchingly poses a critical question that links his masculinity with social productivity: "When someone . . . who was in the war . . . for example . . . had one's sex . . . one's sex shot off . . . what . . . what would happen to him in the new society?" (192). In German, the term "*Geschlecht*" (sex) can refer to biological sex and gender as well as race or lineage. Hinkemann wonders whether someone without a "*Geschlecht*" can participate in—that is to say, reproduce—a society (*Gesellschaft*) in which men are supposed to be healthy, productive, and self-sufficient.

Jünger's response was simply to come up with a new creation myth, one which obviated biological reproduction. In *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* (*The Battle as Inner Experience*) (1922), Jünger detailed the birth of a new race of "super men." It was none other than Nietzsche's "*Übermensch*" brought to the frontlines and left there forever.<sup>80</sup> In a paradigmatic statement of the war's uniquely generative sexuality, Jünger explains: "The war, father of all things, is also our father. He hammered us, chiseled us, and hardened us into what we are. . . . The war is not only our father but also our son. We gave birth to him and he to us."<sup>81</sup> Jünger's martial parthenogenesis is striking not only for its capacity to be an exclusively male domain but also for its total obviation of reproduction itself. If the war is our forefather and also our offspring, then the war not only gave birth to the men in the trenches, but they also, closing the circle, gave birth to it. Jünger considers the war to be the showcase of virility, charged to the limit with an "overflowing manliness [*überströmende Männlichkeit*]" (19).<sup>82</sup> In his unambiguous words:

The style of the material battle and trench warfare . . . gave birth to men that the world has never seen before. It was an entirely new race embodied by energy and loaded with the highest force. Supple, lithe, sinewy bodies, prominent faces, and eyes hardened under the helmets by a thousand horrors. . . . The battle is not only destruction but also the manly form of creation [*die männliche Form der Zeugung*].

(37, 50)

In 1933, Jünger published a photo anthology, *Flying is Necessary*, in which he hoped for the coming of “a complete race [*Geschlecht*] of fliers.”<sup>83</sup> He glorified the form of the well-oiled, metallic motor as the “embodiment of a new martialism” (LN, 9), and in his magnum opus, *Der Arbeiter: Herrschaft und Gestalt* (The Worker: Dominance and Form), even declared that “the motor . . . [is] the symbol of our time.”<sup>84</sup> The photograph anthology itself, by far the physically largest photo book that Jünger worked on during this period,<sup>85</sup> is filled with hundreds of pictures of airplanes, combat fliers, and shiny motors. He intimates a crucial connection between technology, war, and the virile body of the flier when he writes that “the person who flies is perhaps the most vivid manifestation of a new manliness. He represents a type who was already indicated during the war” (LN, 8–9). As the flipside to Ernst’s murderous airplane, in which both man and technology are broken apart, there is a strikingly unambiguous anthropomorphism in the staging of many of the photographs of motors in *Flying is Necessary* (Fig. 6.3). Not unlike Kafka in 1909, Jünger posed what he termed “the decisive question of nature” regarding the breakdown of the difference between machines and human beings: “Who flies then, the machine or me?” (LN, 9). The answer, it seems, judging by the photographs of airplane motors with outstretched, cylindrical “arms,” bolted “faces” that spurn individuality, and mechanical “torsos” composed of only the most efficient circuitry for routing blood, appears to be the sublation of the binary man/machine into the form of the “soldier-worker,” heralding a new race of combat fliers.

While the “steeling” of the Jewish male body was never expressed in terms that equal the extremity of Jünger’s technological fantasy, it is also worth noting that the Jewish male body was never represented (at least not in the Jewish press) as enfeebled, hysterical, or emasculated by the war. There was no Jewish “Hinkemann,” and certainly in the representations created by the RjF, there was no Jewish “hysteria virilis.” The Great War, we are to believe, had quite the opposite effect on Jewish men: it made them into military men. Even if a Jewish man was crippled by injuries sustained during the war, he still took to the air, as Felix Theilhaber indicates in his telling of the heroic story of Jacob Ledermann, a Jewish combat ace who was shot in the stomach, crashed in enemy camps, and suffered seemingly debilitating injuries (JF, 37–39). After the war, Ledermann returned to fly again, entering German gliding competitions at the Rhön.<sup>86</sup>

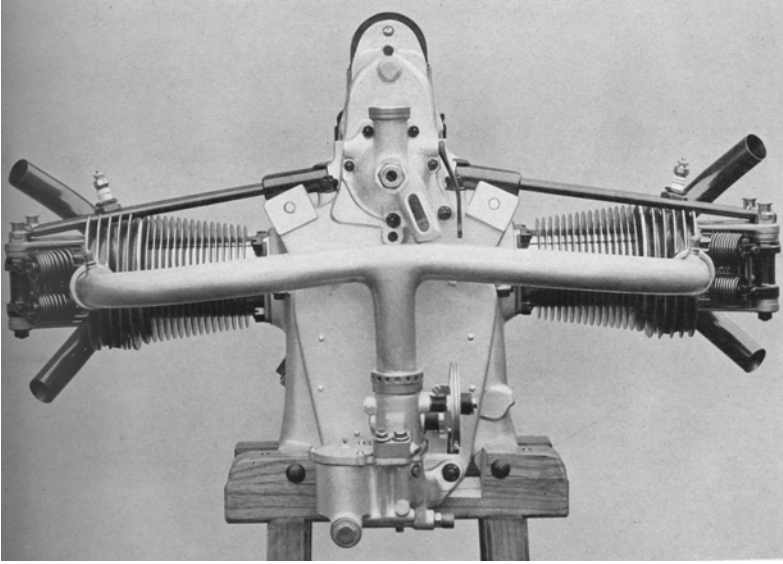


Figure 6.3 Ernst Jünger, “Motor,” in *Luftkrieg ist Not* (1933).

In his cultural history of Jewish aviators in the war, Theilhaber reproduces two pictures of the Jewish war hero (Figs 6.4 and 6.5). The first shows a boyish-looking Ledermann, outfitted in his flying gear and gazing into the space of the unknown with a decisive clarity of vision. The photograph captures his muscular torso, his strong arms and broad chest, but only intimates the presence of the flying machine. Prepared for aerial combat, Ledermann is the embodiment of the steeled muscle Jew. The second photograph, taken at a gliding contest in the Rhön in 1924, shows Ledermann’s plane shortly after its release. In this picture, the machine dominates, and Ledermann’s head can barely be made out in the cockpit. As a kind of sublation of the man-machine binary, the greatness of the new amalgam eclipses the mere mortals scattered on the ground, for Ledermann and his glider embodied a new kind of heroic masculinity, one that absorbed and perhaps even negated the injuries he suffered in the war. As proof of his heroism, Theilhaber cites a report from a German newspaper, which mythologizes his return to flight: “Ledermann, who was severely injured in the War, sat in a glider for the first time. Like a bird of prey with outstretched wings that defied gravity, his machine climbed a path into the blue ether” (JF, 38). He went on to win four prizes in the German gliding competition at the Wasserkuppe.

As Peter Fritzsche has indicated in his cultural history of German aviation, the combat ace was widely celebrated and deeply respected in the popular



Figure 6.4 Jacob Ledermann, in Felix Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (1924), 36.

imagination during and after the war because he represented a new ideal of individual courage in the face of the monstrous mass death on the ground. In Fritzsche's words:

In control of his fate, handling his airplane with great courage and skill but also with an envied recklessness, the aviator appeared to be a genuine war hero, comparable to cavalymen in Napoleon's era or chivalrous knights in the Middle Ages. Beginning in 1915, aces found themselves lionized as hugely popular celebrities, particularly in France and Germany. And after the War, a steady stream of hagiography enhanced their heroic status.<sup>87</sup>

The combat ace—outfitted in a leather cap, flying goggles, and a scarf—became an instantly recognizable symbol of the heroic qualities of the nation, linking individual courage with military-technical precision. It is not by accident that Theilhaber reproduces pictures of Jewish aces that are meant to remind the German public of its favorite aces, Oswald Boelcke and Baron von Richthofen. Poised with an unflappable confidence in their deeds, in their



machine, and most of all in themselves, these men embodied a decidedly modern and masculine form of heroism.

While Jünger saw the worker-soldier and combat ace as fundamental breaks with the past, Theilhaber and members of the RjF believed that the new race of Jewish men who had emerged after the war was finally reunited with its ancestral heroes. It was a race that was hardened, chiseled, and steeled in the trenches and in the air. This is because the modern-day flier, like the ancient warrior family of the Maccabees, “is unquestionably of a soldierly, heroic nature.”<sup>88</sup> As one report from the RjF’s “gliding group” asserted with respect to flying: we will “toughen [*stählen*] our hearts and lungs, practice with our eyes and hands, raise our Jewish youth in the spirit of the Spartans, teach them courage, self-mastery, coldbloodedness, bravery, mental presence in the spirit of our heroic forefathers, [so that they] fight strongly and prove victorious!”<sup>89</sup> As Leo Löwenstein later wrote with regard to the importance of “gliding” for the German-Jewish youth: “From the beginning, the noble task of the RjF has been to assure the physical and moral fitness of the coming generations,” and it is through flying that “new sources of muscular and mental strength will be opened up for our youth.”<sup>90</sup> Jews will be tough because they fly, and they will fly because they are tough.



Figure 6.5 Jacob Ledermann, in Felix Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (1924), 39.

When Theilhaber published the first edition of his book, *Jüdische Flieger*, in 1919, picture books and magazines glorifying flying were already legion in Germany. Nearly all celebrated the transcendental possibilities of flight and coupled it with an evocation of nationalist feeling and achievement.<sup>91</sup> The title of one of the best known German aviation books published in 1915 leaves little question about the ideological and technological motivations: *Deutschlands Eroberung der Luft* (Germany's Conquest of the Air).<sup>92</sup> The book contained more than three-hundred glossy photographs documenting the history of flight in Germany up through the first year of the war, including the technological developments of different kinds of flying machines, aerial reconnaissance pictures, and scores of pilots, especially world-record holders. But as Theilhaber rightly pointed out, the feats of Jewish fliers remained considerably less well known. Due to the rise of anti-Semitism that "named Jews as cowards, shirkers, and saboteurs" (JF, 9), it was all the more important to draw attention to and celebrate this history.

As a committed Zionist (and, in this regard, quite different from the members of the RjF), Theilhaber was not interested in propagating nationalist hymns to the German fatherland; instead, he was interested in presenting an accurate picture of Jewish participation in the Great War and showcasing Jewish heroism. For the 1924 edition of *Jüdische Flieger*, Theilhaber solicited the non-Jewish Lieutenant Colonel Siegert, the officer who oversaw the German air force during the war, to write the introduction. Siegert not only points out the broad competencies required for flying (the fact that it brings technical and strategic skills together with knowledge of physics, aerodynamics, and meteorology) but also underscores the fact that Jewish fliers excelled in all of these areas: "The contributions that our Jewish citizens made to the War must be judged more highly and recognized more selflessly than those made during times of peace" (JF, 7). Theilhaber intended the book to be both a rejoinder to the anti-Semitic propaganda and a celebration of the "warrior existence [*Kriegerdasein*] of Jewish soldiers" (JF, 10).

Theilhaber begins the book by elucidating the qualities of "heroism" and "bravery" by attempting to unlock "the solitary world of the flier" (JF, 14). Illustrated by an aerial photograph of the Zugspitze, Germany's highest mountain covered in snow and bathed in clouds, Theilhaber immediately evokes the transcendental mythology of flying. Very much in line with the place of aviation in the modernist imaginary, Jewish fliers also partook in "the romance with the machine."<sup>93</sup> Soaring above the clouds elicits a profound greatness that breaks away from the everyday sense of being limited to the ground. It cannot be achieved by just anyone and certainly "a people of physically inferior elements will not produce a strong contingent of fit fliers" (JF, 15). But as we learn by reading Theilhaber's book, there were hundreds of Jewish fliers who partook in the widest range of activities during the war from aerial combat to reconnaissance missions. And they came from all walks of life—actors, school teachers, factory workers,

merchants, traders, and artists—something that proves, in Theilhaber's view, that Jews are not an inferior race (JF, 118).

Theilhaber's book is illustrated by numerous airplanes and aviators ready to undertake heroic missions over enemy territory (Fig. 6.6). And, interestingly, it also included a single picture of a mangled biplane that crashed in a heavily wooded area (Fig. 6.7). Far from undermining Jewish aerial skills, the photograph evokes the inherent risks of flying, something that accords with Jünger's celebration of danger. In fact, Jünger published an entire photo book, *The Dangerous Moment*, documenting crashing airplanes,



Figure 6.6 Flying Officer Friedländer, from Felix Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (1924), 41.



Figure 6.7 Crashed biplane, in Felix Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (1924), 25.

balloons, and automobiles in order to demonstrate how the bourgeois world of security had been displaced by a new world of technology, mobilization, and warfare. As he wrote in the introduction, “the increased intrusion of danger into daily life” is a sign that the “bourgeois epoch” of the past is receding and a new world, characterized by danger, uncertainty, and militancy, is unfolding.<sup>94</sup> Theilhaber considers the Jewish flier to be a part of this new world of danger.

He indicates in no uncertain terms what this meant for the Jewish bourgeoisie, who, in their traditional role, remained safely ensconced behind their desks “in the offices of the metropolis” (JF, 26): warfare placed new physical, intellectual, and emotional demands on Jewish men, which required them to show courage and fortitude in the face of hunger, cold, and extreme violence. “It is no wonder,” Theilhaber writes, “that the lethargic and weak Jewish merchant fell by the wayside all the more quickly” (JF, 27). Here, he

not only accepts the prevalence of the Jewish stereotype—the very same one that Jünger would rail against—but also indicated how it was radically dispelled and displaced by the militarization of the Jewish body in war. Unlike the work of the bourgeoisie, “service in the air force requires iron energy and a daily willingness to sacrifice one’s life” (JF, 32). The fact that Jews became exemplary pilots and combat aces, many of whom were decorated for their valor, indicates the extent to which they left behind the old stereotypes and embraced the new ideals of danger, militarism, and wartime heroism. Unlike Jünger, however, Theilhaber writes that Jews did not consider the war to be “sublime” (JF, 68); rather it was a duty in which they served loyally and heroically. The fact that they were honored for their service was not only “proof of their fitness” (JF, 32) but also proof of the fact that “Maccabean courage beat in Jewish hearts” (JF, 88). In effect, the war reconstituted a long-lost Jewish militarism, one which, in its modernist incarnation, transformed muscles into steel.

Theilhaber’s book was widely received and praised in both the Jewish and non-Jewish press when it was reissued in 1924. In *Der Schild*, it initiated an entire discourse around Jewish bravery and aviation fantasies, bringing ancestral pride and modernist triumphs to bear on the physical constitution of the new Jewish body:

Our Jewish youth can summon as much courage and mental presence to show the whole public that our new generations are strong enough in terms of body and soul to successfully undertake athletic competitions, including those in the air, that they are capable of putting forth their men as we [the members of the RjF] did in World War. The old spirit of the Maccabees has not died out!<sup>95</sup>

The RjF published scores of articles reviewing and referencing Theilhaber’s book and encouraged members to share it with their children. It was widely considered a befitting Bar Mitzvah present. Within the non-Jewish public, Paul Loebe, the President of the Reichstag, even added his own words of praise.

But perhaps the most unexpected reception of Theilhaber’s book on Jewish fliers came in the summer of 1927 when the RjF presented a copy to a Jewish businessman from New York City named Charles A. Levine. Together with his pilot, Clarence Chamberlin, Levine had just undertaken an extraordinary transatlantic flight and landed in a wheatfield in Germany, about 40 miles short of his intended destination, Berlin. Levine embarked on the 4,000-mile journey across the Atlantic Ocean on June 4, 1927, just weeks after Charles Lindbergh became a world sensation for having completed the first non-stop flight from New York to Paris. Chamberlin and Levine broke Lindbergh’s record, flying some 400 miles further and eight and a half hours longer. The RjF sung their praises:

Lindbergh established an absolute record. Chamberlin and Levine broke it repeatedly. First of all, they flew further. Second, they flew in tandem, thus becoming the first passenger flight over the ocean and demonstrating that air travel is ready to take off. If one is willing, there is also a third record: It consists in the fact that the first Jew flew across the ocean.

Although Levine was not the pilot, the RjF argued that it was still an “achievement of courage” and demonstrates the same “manly courage” as that of Jews who served on the front and in the air force.<sup>96</sup>

In Europe, Levine was greeted by dignitaries from Hindenburg to Mussolini. Back in New York, the Yiddish daily, *Der Tog*, explained the significance of his flight within the history of the Jewish people, making particular reference to the military spirit of the Jews in war and placing the achievement squarely within the modernist mythology of flight:

This is the record of Jewish bravery, courage, and fortitude . . . We are no longer obliged to prove that Jews are just as capable and strong on the field of physical bravery as they are on the field of intellectual achievement. Every front during the war from 1914–1918 could tell the story of Jewish courage and heroism. Every sport bears the names of Jewish players and record-holders. Until recently, however, we have heard little of Jewish pilots giving themselves over to flying. And so it has fallen upon a New York Jew, the son of immigrants from Vilna, to show that the Jew does not stand on the sidelines of the newest, noblest, and most important of human accomplishments.<sup>97</sup>

Levine emerged as a veritable Jewish hero and within days was immortalized in Yiddish songs that proclaimed him to be “the hero of Israel . . . like the patriarchs of old.” Two of the songs, one by Irving Grossman and the other by Joseph Feldman, even set their notes to what was then the unofficial Jewish national anthem, “Ha’Tikvah” (The Hope).<sup>98</sup> Levine, like the Jewish flyers before him, had embodied, however fleetingly, the modernist mythology of flight in all its dialectical manifestations of nationality and war, muscularity and militancy. It is here—squarely in the middle of European high modernism—that we can locate the cultural origins of the steeled Jewish body.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Several decades ago, Eugen Weber published an extraordinary book that traced the cultural and social transformation of “savage” peasants into “civilized” Frenchmen.<sup>1</sup> In the span of about half a century, policies were created, practices were put in place, and institutions were founded to turn peasants into respectable, educated, and productive middle-class citizens of France. Labor was glorified as a moral value; education became the great socializing agent; military training formed strong, patriotic men; and modern technology stitched together the nation and industrialized the economy. France not only became a modern, national culture by the beginning of the twentieth century, but it also extended its civilizing mission to colonial territories across the world. *Muscular Judaism* is the story of an analogous transformation of the constitution of a people, one that happened at roughly the same time, in little more than a couple of generations. European Jews, who had for centuries been considered weak, powerless, physically unfit, cowardly, and even degenerate, created and widely embraced a set of practices, ideals, and institutions for regenerating the individual body of the Jew and the Jewish body politic. In the span of a few decades around the *fin de siècle*, Jews transformed themselves into a muscular, modern people, able to found a nation-state based on and inspired by the European model.

Of course, the discourses of muscular Judaism and the politics of regeneration did not come to an end in the 1920s; they became part and parcel of the state of Israel. Today, in a world marked by aggression, militarism, and terrorism, it is hard to imagine a time when Jews were not muscular, let alone a way of being in the world that is not driven by muscle. But as much as this book is a product of the present, it is not an interrogation of Israel or contemporary muscle Jews. It is an attempt to understand how, when, and why Jews became muscular in the first place.

Ever since I encountered the phenomenon of the “muscle Jew,” I had wanted to read a book that detailed its cultural, intellectual, and historical origins. I wanted to know how it was possible for a people to change its entire physical constitution in the amazingly short span of a few decades. Although there are many outstanding books on aspects of the Jewish body written by

the likes of George Mosse, Sander Gilman, Daniel Boyarin, Paul Breines, and John Efron that address various parts of its history, I could not find a comprehensive and synthetic treatment of the origins of the muscle Jew and its constitutive discourses—aesthetic, corporeal, eugenic, colonial, martial—in the existing literature. This is why I decided to write this book. Although it is hardly the last word on the topic, I hope that readers will find that my book builds upon and expands previous scholarship on the muscle Jew as well as offers a cultural history that is engaging, serious, and timely.

To be sure, there is much more to the story of the muscle Jew than I was able to write for this volume. There is plenty of room for a study of muscular Judaism in Eastern-European literature and culture, particularly Yiddish modernism. Moreover, there is still work to be done to unpack the complex politics of the muscular and militaristic Jewish body in post-1920s Palestine and the early years of Israeli society. In what ways did the bio-politics of the first half of the century and the eugenicist paradigm enter into the Jewish concept of the racial state? How are we still living with the tragedies of these bio-politics today? And there is also more comparative, cross-cultural work that needs to be done in order to see how the ideals of muscular Judaism aligned with and grew out of other national and international contexts. My purpose was to unpack the significant German modernist strands—intellectual, cultural, social, and political—that fed into the conceptualization and popularization of the figure of the muscle Jew. This was a book on origins and contexts, so to speak, that points forward to the present day and takes the tragedies (and triumphs) of the present as the lens through which I saw and wrote.

As I worked on this book, I sometimes wondered what I would have done at the turn of the century. Would I have joined Bar Kochba? Would I have tried to immigrate to Palestine to found a new society? Would I have flown combat planes? Of course, these are impossible questions to answer, but they are not impossible questions to ask. They illustrate a dilemma I had with regard to my topic, for I found myself simultaneously sympathetic with and critical of muscular Judaism (both its original discourses and present day incarnations). How can one not be moved upon watching a film such as *Watermarks* (2004), which commemorates and reunites the championship women's swimming team of Hakoah Vienna? And how can one not be disturbed upon seeing the military excesses and suffering exacted by the Israeli army? It is this tension between sympathy and criticism that is at the heart of the project and finally motivates how I decided to write this cultural history of the regenerated Jewish body. Indeed, I am not as certain as Freud once was about which is the worthier alternative: intellectual labors or muscular strength. I do not know whether such alternatives are even to be had. For better or worse, they cannot be dissociated today.



# NOTES

## INTRODUCTION

- 1 Quoted from *The Standard Edition of The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, vol. XXIII (London: Hogarth Press, 1964), 115.
- 2 Meira Weiss points out that “the root metaphor of ‘a lamb to slaughter’ was not directed to the holocaust Jews alone; it was the cumulative conception of what was considered the Jews’ passive acceptance of their victimization, from the time of the crusades to the Russian empire’s pogroms.” *The Chosen Body: The Politics of the Body in Israeli Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 25.
- 3 Paul Breines, *Tough Jews: Political Fantasies and the Moral Dilemma of American Jewry* (New York: Basic Books, 1990).
- 4 The “Sabra” refer to the first generation of Jews, born in the 1920s and 1930s, to grow up in Zionist Palestine and fight for Israeli independence. Named for the desert cactus fortified by thorns on the outside, these native-born Israelis embodied the hardy ideals of the “new Jew.” For the most comprehensive account of the Sabra, see Oz Almog, *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew*, trans. Haim Watzman (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000).
- 5 Jesse Zel Lurie and Samuel Segev, eds, *The Israel Army Physical Fitness Book* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1969), 13.
- 6 Jesse Zel Lurie and Samuel Segev, eds, *The Israel Army Physical Fitness Book*, 14.
- 7 Breines, *Tough Jews*, Part 3, “The ‘Rambowitz’ Novels.” Warren Rosenberg, *Legacy of Rage: Jewish Masculinity, Violence, and Culture* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 2001). Significantly, Rosenberg locates the tradition of aggressiveness in the Hebrew Bible and cites Samson and David as paradigmatic examples of “violent” Jewish heroes of antiquity. Cf. 55–67.
- 8 As the antithesis of the “meek” Jews depicted in *Schindler’s List*, Steven Spielberg’s *Munich* (2005) represents the Israeli Mossad agents contracted by Golda Meier’s government as determined, muscular, and even bloodthirsty. But far from a celebratory account of violence, Spielberg probes the ethical implications of revenge by asking how terror can respond to terror.
- 9 The following account of the history of Krav Maga draws on the authorized guide by Imi Sde-Or (Lichtenfeld) and Eyal Yanolov, *Krav Maga: How to Defend Yourself Against Armed Assault* (Berkeley, CA: Frog and Tel Aviv: Dekel Publishing, 2001) and the official Krav Maga website: <http://www.kravmaga.com/history.asp> (accessed September 13, 2005).
- 10 Adi Nes, quoted in Jesse Hamlin, “Adi Nes Uses Classical Composition to Portray Israeli Soldiers,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 22, 2004.

- 11 Uta Klein argues that military service in Israel “must be understood as a rite of passage to *male* adulthood.” Due to unequal conscription rates, different lengths of service, and combat restrictions, women do not advance nearly as far as men in the Israeli forces. See her article, “The Military and Masculinity in Israeli Society,” in: *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*, ed. Paul R. Higate (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 191–200, esp. 195. In addition, see Uta Klein, *Militär und Geschlecht in Israel* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2001); the very informative essay by Eyal Ben-Ari and Edna Levy-Schreiber, “Body-Building, Character-Building, and Nation-Building: Gender and Military Service in Israel,” in: *Jews and Gender: The Challenge to Hierarchy, Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, ed. John Frankel, vol. XVI (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 171–190; and Meira Weiss’s discussion of how female Israeli soldiers both affirmed and subverted the “manly and nationalist Zionist discourse” of Israel in her book, *The Chosen Body: The Politics of the Body in Israeli Society*, esp. Ch. 4. The quote comes from page 95.
- 12 Hans Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft: Eine Theorie der menschlichen Staatsbildung nach Wesen und Wert*, 2 vols (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1917/19).
- 13 Hans Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft*, 1:7. Unless noted otherwise, all translations are my own.
- 14 For a thorough discussion of Blüher in the context of “the philosophy of masculinism,” see Andrew Hewitt’s *Political Inversions: Homosexuality, Fascism, and the Modernist Imaginary* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), esp. Ch. 2.
- 15 By transforming the solitary image of Yossi Ben Hanan into a homosexual male-bonding ritual, Nes also counteracts the persistently heterosexual mythology around the war hero in the popular Israeli imaginary. As recently as 2003, Howard Blum frames the “untold” history of the Yom Kippur War of 1973 as a national love story between Yossi, the veteran of the 1967 war, and a younger woman named Nati. Married shortly before the Yom Kippur War, Yossi and Nati, according to Blum’s heavy-handed Zionist narrative, were hailed as the pride of the nation: “Look at Nati, at Yossi, these strong, beautiful children . . . Our new Davids, our new Sarahs. And look at the world, prosperous and fecund, we, with our own hands, our own labors, created for them.” When Yossi was severely wounded on the third day of fighting, Nati met him in the hospital. According to Blum, she “checked under the sheet” and exclaimed that it was “only a leg . . . Everything else is fine.” Yossi still had his penis and, hence, his manhood. *The Eve of Destruction: The Untold Story of the Yom Kippur War* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003). The first quotation is from p. 21 and the second quotation is from the second-to-last photo caption between pp. 174 and 175.
- 16 Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 28.

## 1 THE ORIGINS OF MUSCULAR JUDAISM

- 1 Max Nordau, speech delivered at the Second Zionist Congress (Basel, August 28–31, 1898), *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des II. Zionisten-Congresses* (Vienna: Verlag des Vereines “Erez Israel,” 1898), 14–27. All further references to the Stenographisches Protokoll will be documented parenthetically as SP, followed by the conference number and page number.
- 2 See, for example, Herzl’s classic “solution” to the so-called Jewish question: “Der Judenstaat” (1895), in: *Gesammelte Zionistische Werke*, ed. Theodor Herzl, vol. 1 (Tel Aviv: Hozaah Ivrit Co., 1934), 19–105. Also, the speeches by

- Herzl, Nordau, Nathan Birnbaum, David Farbstein, and Max Bodenheimer at the First Zionist Congress (August 28–31, 1897) in: *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des I. Zionisten-Congresses* (Vienna: Verlag des Vereines “Erez Israel,” 1897).
- 3 As we will see in Chapter 2, Dohm and Hess played an important role in articulating the idea of Jewish “regeneration” prior to Zionism. Christian Wilhelm Dohm, *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (Berlin: Friedrich Nicolai, 1781–83); Moses Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem: die letzte Nationalitätsfrage* (1862; Leipzig: M. W. Kaufmann, 1899).
  - 4 See Norman Vance, *The Sinews of Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). I discuss “muscular Christianity” in Chapter 4.
  - 5 I follow the precedents of translating Nordau’s term *Muskeljudentum* as “muscular Judaism,” even though he is less concerned with Judaism as religious doctrine and practice and more concerned with creating a “muscular Jewry” composed of “muscle Jews” (*Muskeljuden*). I will use the term ‘muscular Judaism’ to refer to the complex of discursive practices for creating muscle Jews. Cf. Haim Kaufman, “The National Foundations and Components of the Term ‘Muscular Judaism,’” *Batnu’ a*, III (1996):261–281 [Hebrew].
  - 6 On the relationship between “bodybuilding” and the Jewish body in the early twentieth century, see the introductory discussion by Sander Gilman in his book *Franz Kafka* (London: Reaktion, 2005), esp. 12–16.
  - 7 For the complex relationship between Western Zionism and the *Ostjuden*, see Steven E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), esp. Ch. 4. The pejorative term “Luftmensch” (literally, person of the air) refers to Jews in the Diaspora without direction, grounding, or financial means. For a history of this term, see Nicolas Berg’s *Luftmenschen: Zur Geschichte einer Metapher* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).
  - 8 Herzl’s own Zionism emerges after having covered the Panama scandal, the start of the Dreyfus Affair, and the victory of the anti-Semitic Christian Social Party in municipal elections in Vienna as the Paris correspondent for Vienna’s daily, the *Neue Freie Presse*. For more on the historical and political context of the development of Zionism, see Carl E. Schorske, *Fin de siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1981), Ch. 3. For one of the best studies of the body politics of the Dreyfus Affair, see Christopher Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).
  - 9 Literally translated, “ermant euch” means to “become masculine or virile.” As we will see, this “masculinization” of the tasks of Zionism is central to understanding Nordau’s muscular Judaism.
  - 10 Herzl writes in *Der Judenstaat*, “Wir sind ein Volk, ein Volk.” in: *Gesammelte Zionistische Werke*, 1:26.
  - 11 For a study of the intellectual context of Zionism, see Michael Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001). For a critical assessment of European decadence, see Liz Constable, Dennis Denisoff, and Matthew Potolsky, eds, *Perennial Decay: On the Aesthetics and Politics of Decadence* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) and the seminal study by Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848–c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). In Chapter 2, I will explore Nordau’s intense disgust with decadence and how this contributed to and even confirmed his Zionist beliefs in the regeneration of the Jewish body.

- 12 Sander Gilman, *Jewish Self-hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
- 13 Bar Kochba led the Judeans in the revolt against the Roman Empire in AD 132, which was ultimately suppressed in AD 135. Yael Zerubavel argues, “[in] Zionist collective memory the Bar Kochba revolt symbolizes the nation’s last expression of patriotic ardor and the last struggle for freedom during Antiquity.” *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of the Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 48. The representation of the physically inferior and creatively stunted Jew can, of course, be found in countless late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anti-Semitic discourses, including scientific and pseudo-scientific literature, historical accounts, and popular imagery in the press and politics. Houston Stewart Chamberlain’s *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 5th edn, 2 vols. (1899; Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1904) represents the racist historical-scientific imagination at its core. For a sourcebook of caricatures and representations of Jews, see Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (Munich: A. Langen, 1921).
- 14 Nordau, “Muskeljudentum,” in: *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* (June 1900, no. 2), 10–11. A follow-up article emphasizing the relationship between gymnastics and health appeared in July of 1902, “Was bedeutet das Turnen für uns Juden?” (What does gymnastics mean for us Jews?). Further references will be documented parenthetically as JTZ, followed by the year, volume, and page number. Both articles are also reprinted in *Max Nordau’s Zionistische Schriften*, ed. Zionistische Aktionskomitee (Cologne: Jüdischer Verlag, 1909), 379–381 and 382–388, respectively.
- 15 Not only did the Greeks consider circumcision to be a mutilation of the flesh, Greek athletes tended to tie and clasp the foreskin of the penis during athletic competitions. Jewish athletes, who, like their Greek counterparts, performed in the nude, could not, of course, do this and were often subject to public ridicule. However, with the development of an operation known as *epispasmós* (stretching), every Jew who performed nude in the Olympic games at Tyre had a remnant of his foreskin pulled over the crown of his penis. Cf. Allen Edwardes, *Erotica Judaica: A Sexual History of the Jews* (New York: Julian Press, 1967), esp. Ch. 9.
- 16 Michael Stanislawski has also offered a similar reading of this passage, highlighting the phallocentrism of Nordau’s muscle Jew. He writes, “the blatant and evocative image of the publicly displayed circumcised Jewish phallus [is offered by Nordau] as the ultimate symbol of Jewish national pride as well as newfound Jewish masculinity.” *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky*, 93–94.
- 17 As we will see in Chapters 2 and 4, the discourses of physical regeneration were a European-wide phenomena in the second half of the nineteenth century, and included such reform movements as “muscular Christianity” in England and the United States, the physical fitness boom, and the health and hygiene movement throughout Western Europe and the United States. The essays collected in Diethart Kerbs and Jürgen Reulecke’s *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen, 1880–1933* (Wuppertal: Peter Hammer, 1998) demonstrate how *Lebensreform* in Germany was spawned by and a symptom of the pressures of modernity.
- 18 Although neither discusses Zionism, two of the best reconsiderations of the various projects of regeneration and “alternative modernities” produced during this period are: Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives, 1890–1914* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

- 19 Steven Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923*.
- 20 The exact date of the caricature is unknown but is probably between 1905 and 1910. According to Eduard Fuchs in 1921, *Kikeriki* was the oldest, still circulating anti-Semitic journal in Austria. It was founded in 1862 as “a general and political comic magazine with a specifically anticlerical critique . . . With the rise of the Christian-Social Party in Austria during the 1890s, the journal gave up its original character and placed itself more and more in the service of anti-Semitism.” *Die Juden in der Karikatur: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte*, 238–239.
- 21 For more on Jewish corporeal stereotypes, see the collection of essays, “*Der Schejne Jid*”: *Das Bild des “jüdischen Körpers” in Mythos und Ritual*, eds. Sander L. Gilman, Robert Jütte, and Gabriele Kohlbauer-Fritz (Vienna: Picus, 1998). Also, Klaus Hödl, *Die Pathologisierung des jüdischen Körpers* (Vienna: Picus Verlag, 1997). For a careful explication of the stereotype of the Jewish foot, among others, see Sander Gilman, *The Jew’s Body* (New York: Routledge, 1991).
- 22 The best contemporary overview of Lilien’s work through 1903 is Stefan Zweig’s *E. M. Lilien: Sein Werk, mit einer Einleitung von Stefan Zweig* (Berlin: 1903). For more recent criticism, Milly Heyd, “Lilien: Between Herzl and Ahasver,” in: *Theodor Herzl: Visionary of the Jewish State*, eds. Gideon Shimoni and Robert S. Wistrich (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1999), 265–293. Also, Michael Stanislawski’s chapter, “From Jugendstil to ‘Judenstil’: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism in the Work of Ephraim Moses Lilien,” in: *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky*, Ch. 5. Neither Heyd nor Stanislawski discusses the “Altneuland” illustration.
- 23 Daniel Boyarin, *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 215–216. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 2: *The Use of Pleasure*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1986). He points out that “the first beard” was the “fateful mark” that severed the ties of man-boy love (199).
- 24 Boyarin, *Carnal Israel*, 215.
- 25 Boyarin, *Carnal Israel*, 216.
- 26 The lush grapes represent an iconic image of Jewish regeneration of the land. It was a stock motif in early Zionist art and can be found, for example, in numerous illustrations and murals produced by the Belazel art school in the early twentieth century. See the reproductions in *Die neuen Hebräer: 100 Jahre Kunst in Israel*, ed. Doreet LeVitte Harten with Yigal Zalmona (Berlin: Nicolai Verlag, 2005), esp. 352–357.
- 27 Numbers 13:19–20, quoted from *Tanakh* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 1985), 228.
- 28 Quoted in Lutz Röhrich, *Das grosse Lexicon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*, vol. 2–3 (Freiberg: Verlag Herder, 1992), 660. I thank Hinrich C. Seeba for this kind reference.
- 29 Brothers Grimm, “Die Sieben Schwaben,” in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1982), 159–162.
- 30 Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1:454. Further quotations are cited parenthetically.
- 31 Otto Weininger writes:

Zionism is the negation of Judaism, for the conception of Judaism involves the world-wide distribution of the Jews. Citizenship is an un-Jewish thing, and there has never been and never will be a true Jewish State. The State involves

the aggregation of individual aims, the formation of and obedience to self-imposed laws; and the symbol of the State, if nothing more, is its head chosen by free election. . . . The true conception of the State is foreign to the Jew because he, like the woman, is wanting in personality; his failure to grasp the idea of true society is due to his lack of a free intelligible ego.

*Geschlecht und Charakter* (1903). Authorized translation of the 6th edn: *Sex and Character* (London: William Heinemann, 1907), 307–308.

- 32 For more on Hegel's views on Jews in his philosophy of history, see my article, "Jews on Ships; or How Heine's *Reisebilder* Deconstruct Hegel's Philosophy of World History," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association (PMLA)*, 118.3 (May 2003): 521–538.
- 33 Theodor Herzl, *Altneuland*, in: *Gesammelte Zionistische Werke*, 5:125–420.
- 34 Herzl, *Altneuland*, 251.
- 35 The Zionist formulation is exactly the opposite of Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's anthropological analysis of the roots and persistence of anti-Semitism in their "Elements of Anti-Semitism." Far from opposed to civilization, they argue, "anti-Semitism is a deeply imprinted schema, a ritual of civilization; the pogroms are the true ritual murders." In other words, hatred of Jews forms the foundation of the European idea of civilization. Adorno and Horkheimer, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (New York: Continuum, 1993), 171.
- 36 *Altneuland: Monatschrift für die wirtschaftliche Erschliessung Palästinas*, eds F. Oppenheimer, S. Soskin, and O. Warburg (January 1904), vol. 1, no. 1:1–2.
- 37 See, for example, Gerald M. Berg, "Zionism's Gender: Hannah Meisel and the Founding of the Agricultural Schools for Young Women," *Israeli Studies* 6.3 (2001): 135–165; Gertrud Pfister and Toni Niewerth, "Jewish Women in Gymnastics and Sport in Germany 1898–1938," *Journal of Sport History*, 26.2 (Summer 1999): 287–325. For a discussion of women workers in pre-State Israel, see Deborah Bernstein, *The Struggle for Equality: Urban Women Workers in Pre-State Israeli Society* (New York: Praeger, 1987).
- 38 In this respect, I am mindful of the important interventions of Susannah Heschel and Marion Kaplan. See, for example, Susannah Heschel, "Sind Juden Männer? Können Frauen jüdische sein? Die gesellschaftliche Definition des männlichen/weiblichen Körpers," in: Sander Gilman, Robert Jütte, and Gabriele Kohlbauer-Fritz, eds, *'Der schejne Jid': Das Bild des 'jüdischen Körpers' in Mythos und Ritual*, 86–96; Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- 39 The first generation of Zionist history was written by Nahum Sokolow and Adolf Böhm: Sokolow, *History of Zionism, 1600–1918*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1919); Böhm, *Die zionistische Bewegung bis zum Ende des Weltkrieges* (Tel Aviv: Hozaah Ivrit, 1935) and Böhm, *Die zionistische Bewegung 1918 bis 1925* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1937). Walter Laqueur wrote what is widely regarded as the definitive history of Zionism up through the struggle for Israel: *A History of Zionism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972). Other key histories include: Jehuda Reinharz, *Zionism and the Great Powers* (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1994) as well as the studies of particular figures such as Steven J. Zipperstein's *Elusive Prophet: Ahad Ha'am and the Origins of Zionism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993) and Jehuda Reinharz's *Chaim Weizmann: The Making of a Zionist Leader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). More recently, studies of Zionism oriented around aspects of cultural and intellectual history have also emerged, such as Michael Berkowitz's *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry Before the First World*

- War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Derek Penslar's *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870–1918* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), and Michael Stanislawski's *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky*. Finally, a number of critical histories of Zionism (especially by Israeli scholars) have also emerged, such as Anita Shapira's *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force 1881–1948* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881–1998* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999); and the essays collected in: Ilan Pappé, ed., *The Israel/Palestine Question* (London: Routledge, 1999).
- 40 Of the three, Laqueur is the only one who mentions the connection between Zionism's political aspirations and its corporeal program of regeneration. He briefly discusses the emergence of the Zionist youth movements in Europe, particularly in Germany and Austria, and notes that “the great emphasis put on physical education . . . was part of the Zionist campaign to normalize Jewish life.” *A History of Zionism*, 485. Laqueur explores the ideological and cultural history of the German youth movement in his *Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1984).
- 41 A short list of critical works would include: Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur, eds., *The Making of the Modern Body* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987); Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); Sander Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990); Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2002); Helen Deutsch and Felicity Nussbaum, eds, *Defects: Engendering the Modern Body* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000); Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
- 42 See, for example, Christina von Braun, *Gibt es eine “jüdische” und “christliche” Sexualwissenschaft?* (Vienna: Picus, 2004); Sharon Gillerman, “Samson in Vienna: The Theatrics of Jewish Masculinity,” *Jewish Social Studies* 9.2 (Winter 2003): 65–98; Kevin Repp, “‘More Corporeal, More Concrete’: Liberal Humanism, Eugenics, and German Progressives at the Last Fin de Siècle,” *The Journal of Modern History* 72 (September 2000): 683–730; Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800–1914* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991); Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan, eds. *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984).
- 43 Steven Aschheim briefly mentions the muscle Jew in his discussion of Western Zionist conceptions of health and vitality, *Brothers and Strangers*, 87–88; Sander Gilman mentions the muscle Jew on one page dedicated to the birth of Zionist gymnastics societies in his *The Jew's Body*, 53; Michael Berkowitz gives a somewhat more detailed discussion of the same phenomenon in his chapter

- “Zionist Heroes and New Men,” *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry Before the First World War*, Ch. 4; John Efron ends his highly informative chapter, “The Jewish Body Degenerate?,” with a brief discussion of Nordau, *Medicine and the German Jews: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 149; David A. Brenner briefly discusses Nordau within the context of representations of the German-Jewish male in the journal *Ost und West* in his book, *Marketing Identities: The Invention of Jewish Ethnicity in Ost und West* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 145; Christopher Forth cites Nordau in the context of the body politics of the Dreyfus Affair: *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*, 57.
- 44 His most important works on this topic are: George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) and *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
- 45 George L. Mosse, “Max Nordau, Liberalism and the New Jew,” in: *Journal of Contemporary History*, 27.4 (October 1992): 565–581. I think that Mosse’s argument in this article is exactly on target, even though he does not always ground his intuition in the range of available conceptual, textual, and visual evidence.
- 46 Although not centered on the muscle Jew discourse per se, Daniel Boyarin’s highly suggestive book, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), offers an exceptional and incisive critique of the Zionist discourses of masculinity while trying to reclaim the “sissy” tradition, to use his term, for Judaism.
- 47 See my *Mobile Modernity: Germans, Jews, Trains* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).
- 48 The seminal proponent of modernity as an unfinished project of the ideals of the Enlightenment is Jürgen Habermas. See his *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*, trans. Frederick G. Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991).
- 49 The seminal proponent of modernity as engendering ever more subtle and dangerous mechanisms for monitoring individuals and regulating society is Michel Foucault. Among other works, see *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1977) and *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, trans. and ed. by Colin Gordon, et al. (New York: Pantheon, 1980).
- 50 Eley, “German History and the Contradictions of Modernity: The Bourgeoisie, the State, and the Mastery of Reform,” in: *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870–1930*, ed. Geoff Eley (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1997), 67–103. Here, 78.
- 51 Eley, “German History and the Contradictions of Modernity,” *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870–1930*, 103.
- 52 Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives, 1890–1914* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Paul Lerner, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry, and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); Richard F. Wetzell, *Inventing the Criminal: A History of German Criminology, 1880–1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Thomas Rohkrämer, *Eine andere Moderne? Zivilisationskritik, Natur und Technik in Deutschland, 1880–1933* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999); Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890–1930* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- 53 Geoff Eley, “Introduction: Is There a History of the *Kaiserreich*?” *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870–1930*, 31.



- 54 The major proponent of the *Sonderweg* theory is Hans-Ulrich Wehler. Among other works, see his *Das deutsche Kaiserreich, 1871–1918* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1973), translated as *The German Empire* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1985). For further discussions of the deconstruction of the *Sonderweg* theory, see Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity*, 5ff. Wetzell, *Inventing the Criminal*, 7ff.
- 55 The seminal work to challenge the *Sonderweg* theory is David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984). Detlev Peukert's oft-cited essay, "Die Genesis der 'Endlösung' aus dem Geist der Wissenschaft," argues that Nazism cannot be explained away as a sudden eruption of the irrational; rather it must be seen as the systematic product of the modern eugenicist paradigm taken to the extreme. Peukert's essay appeared in *Max Webers Diagnose der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1989), translated as "The Genesis of the 'Final Solution' and the Spirit of Science," in *Nazism and German Society*, ed. David Crew (New York: Routledge, 1994), 274–99. Also, see the discussion by Eley, "German History and the Contradictions of Modernity," 102–103.
- 56 Cf. Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*; Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany, 1933–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan, eds. *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984); Robert Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).
- 57 Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity*, 11.
- 58 See, for example, the classic studies of Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies: 1. Women, Floods, Bodies, Histories and Male Fantasies: 2. Male Bodies: Psychoanalyzing the White Terror* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987–89). Also, George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, particularly Ch. 8 on "the new fascist man." The coding of the Jew as effeminate and homosexual was perhaps most notoriously solidified by Otto Weininger in his *Geschlecht und Charakter* (1903). For a critical assessment of Weininger, see Nancy Harrowitz and Barbara Hyams, eds. *Jews and Gender: Responses to Otto Weininger* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1995), especially the chapter by John M. Hoberman, "Otto Weininger and the Critique of Jewish Masculinity," 141–153.
- 59 For examples of this kind of historiography, see George Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1997); Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 2 vols; and Hal Foster, *Compulsive Beauty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993). Although not focused on degeneracy per se, Richard Weikart's book traces a similar development: *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* (New York: Palgrave, 2004).
- 60 Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 30.
- 61 To be sure, I am not the first to raise these questions. In fact, some four decades ago, George Mosse published an incendiary essay called "The Influence of the Volkish Idea on German Jewry," in which he sought to explain why certain Jewish intellectuals (both Zionist and assimilationist), just like certain fascist intellectuals, were attracted to *völkish* thought, including its ideals of rejuvenation, rootedness in nature, and the revitalization of the Volk. The essay is reprinted in *Germans and Jews: The Right, the Left and the Search for a "Third Force" in Pre-Nazi Germany* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1970), 77–115.
- 62 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 139.

- 63 Ibid., 147.
- 64 Sander L. Gilman, "Sexology, Psychoanalysis, and Degeneration: From a Theory of Race to a Race to Theory," in: *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, eds J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander L. Gilman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 72–96. Here, 72. Further citations from this essay are given parenthetically.
- 65 Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History/Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Samuel Presner (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002); Hayden White, *The Tropics of Discourse* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).
- 66 To be sure, there is a large, non-German literature (very little of which I treat in this book) that began to emerge in Eastern Europe after the Kishnev pogrom of 1903, which valorized the fighting spirit of the *Ostjuden* defending the shtetl. In contrast to Haim Nahman Bialik's exaggerated characterization of Eastern Jews as passive and cowering, authors such as Sholem Asch, Micah Yosef Berdichevsky, Yosef Haim Brenner, and others began to create literary representations of "muscular" Eastern European Jews. For a discussion of the Hebrew "revival literature" (*Sifrut Hatehiya*) produced in Eastern Europe between the 1890s and World War I, see Hamutal Bar-Yosef, *Maga'im shel dekadens: Bialik, Berdits'evski, Brenner (Decadent Trends in Modern Hebrew Literature: Bialik, Berdichevsky, and Brenner)* (Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University Press, 1997); Hamutal Bar-Yosef, "Romanticism and Decadence in the Literature of Hebrew Revival," *Comparative Literature*, 46.2 (Spring, 1994): 146–181. For a wide-ranging discussion of the ways in which the ancient Greek physical ideal was incorporated into Jewish culture, particularly in modern Hebrew and Yiddish literature, see Athena S. Leoussi and David Aberbach, "Hellenism and Jewish Nationalism: Ambivalence and its Ancient Roots," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25.5 (September 2002): 755–777.
- 67 For an extensive discussion of this, see my book, *Mobile Modernity: Germans, Jews, Trains*.

## 2 THE RHETORIC OF REGENERATION

- 1 Christian Wilhelm Dohm, *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Friedrich Nicolai, 1781–83). All citations will be documented parenthetically as D, followed by the volume and page number.
- 2 For the reception of Dohm's treatise and a thorough discussion of Dohm's biography, see Jonathan M. Hess, *Germans, Jews and the Claims of Modernity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), esp. Ch. 1; also David Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 23–30. In what follows, I discuss some of the same passages from Dohm that Hess and Sorkin highlight, but I offer my own translations and analyses here.
- 3 Grégoire's *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs* was written as a response to an essay contest announced in 1787 by the Société Royale des Sciences et des Arts de Metz on the topic "Are there ways of making the Jews more useful and happier in France?" Grégoire shared the top prize with a Protestant lawyer named Claude-Antoine Thiéry. According to the biography of Grégoire by Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, Grégoire had been working on this topic since 1778 through the Société des Philantropes and made a pointed effort in his award-winning entry to underscore the originality of his thoughts on the regeneration of the Jews. For a discussion of the genesis of the essay, see Sepinwall's very informative book, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution: The Makings of Modern Universalism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 56–77.

- 4 The publication of Dohm's essay coincided with the Edict of Tolerance announced by Joseph II, the Emperor of Austria, on January 2, 1782. The Edict solidified the category of the "tolerated Jew," and required Jews to obey new restrictions regarding settlement, protection, schooling, and business with the ostensible goal of making "the Jewish nation useful and serviceable to the State." The text of the Edict can be found in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds, *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 36–40. It was not until March 11, 1812, that Jews were granted full civil rights in Prussia by Frederick William III. For the text of the emancipation of the Jews of Prussia, see *The Jew in the Modern World*, 141–142.
- 5 Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 131.
- 6 Reinhart Koselleck explores the history of the concept of progress and the idea of perfectibility in his essay, "'Progress' and 'Decline': An Appendix to the History of Two Concepts," *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Samuel Presner (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), Ch. 13.
- 7 In terms of non-German reformers, one of the earliest pleas for the naturalization of the Jews and the granting of full civic equality was written in 1714 by John Toland of Great Britain: *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland, On the Same Foot with all other Nations. Containing also, A Defence of the Jews Against all Vulgar Prejudices in all Countries*. Part of the text is reproduced in *The Jew in the Modern World*, 13–17. To use Sepinwall's term, Toland represented the "unconditional discourse" of emancipation (Jews should be unconditionally emancipated), whereas Dohm and Grégoire represented the "conditional discourse" of arguments for Jewish emancipation. Both of the latter believed that Jewish persecution should end and that Jews should be granted civic rights; however, these rights would be conditional upon overcoming their particularity and becoming integrated into the state. See Sepinwall, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution*, 62ff.
- 8 See the short linguistic history of the term by de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 131ff. and Sepinwall, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution*, 57–59.
- 9 Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve, *Advice to the French on the Salvation of the Country* (1789). Quoted in Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800*, 139.
- 10 For a further discussion of the new French man, see Mona Ozouf, "The French Revolution and the Formation of the New Man," in: *L'Homme régénéré. Essais sur la Révolution française* (Paris: Gallimard, 1988), 116–157.
- 11 David Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780–1840*, 104.
- 12 Paul Lawrence Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question: Revolutionary Anti-semitism From Kant to Wagner* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990). Rose does not mince words: "In these critical decades [of the 1830s and 1840s] we find the confluence of various mythological currents—the wandering Jew, the Damascus Blood Libel, the revival of the charge of Molochism [child sacrifice], the stamping of the Jews as loveless, egoistic worshippers, and the makers of an inhuman capitalistic society—all flowing together into a broad new river of modern anti-Semitism" (54).
- 13 Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," in: *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 52.
- 14 The literature on this subject is enormous. For a comparative, interdisciplinary assessment of Darwinism, the best collection is David Kohn, ed., *The Darwinian Heritage* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986). For an excellent

- overview of the German context for the rise of race science, see Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). See also the introduction to Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848–c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- 15 Arthur de Gobineau, *The Inequality of the Human Races*, trans. Adrian Collins (New York: Howard Fertig, 1967), 25.
  - 16 *Ibid.*, 34–35.
  - 17 Karl Eugen Dühring, *Die Judenfrage als Racen-, Sitten-, und Culturfrage* (Karlsruhe: H. Reuther, 1881). A small portion is translated by M. Gelber in *The Jew in the Modern World*, “The Question of the Jew is a Question of Race,” 333–334.
  - 18 Dühring, “The Question of the Jew is a Question of Race,” 334.
  - 19 Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism*, 107.
  - 20 Quoted in George Mosse, *The Crisis of the German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York: Universal Library, 1964), 91.
  - 21 Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (1899; Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1904).
  - 22 Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism*, 111.
  - 23 Germany’s foremost proponent of Darwinism was Ernst Haeckel who considered Darwin’s selection principle to be the biological basis of social change. See Alfred Kelly, *The Descent of Darwin: The Popularization of Darwin in Germany, 1860–1914* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); Daniel Gasman, *The Scientific Origins of National Socialism: Social Darwinism in Ernst Haeckel and the Monist League* (New York: Elsevier, 1971); and Richard Weikart, *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* (New York: Palgrave, 2004). The best comparative studies of the discourses of degeneration in Europe are: Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration* and Sander Gilman and J. Edwards Chamberlin, eds, *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).
  - 24 For a discussion of the German context, see Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism*, Ch. 1, “Social Darwinism,” 11–59.
  - 25 It is not coincidental, as Michel Foucault argues, that the medical category of the homosexual was invented during this period. The homosexual, alongside a whole host of other “heresies” of nature, became a medicalized “species,” able to be studied, tracked, and corrected. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1990), 43.
  - 26 In 1857, Morel published his *Traité des dégénérescences physiques, intellectuelles et morales de l’espèce humaine et des causes qui produisent ces variétés maladives*. Morel believed that degeneracy would last three to four generations and, then, die out: the first generation exhibited a predilection for alcoholism, the second showed the signs of hysteria, the third was imbecilic and the fourth was sterile. For a discussion of Morel, cf. Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 50–59; Robert A. Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France: The Medical Concept of National Decline* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 121ff.
  - 27 Lombroso, *L’Uomo delinquente* (Milan, 1876), quoted in Wetzell, *Inventing the Criminal: A History of German Criminology, 1880–1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 29. For an extensive discussion of Lombroso, see Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 109–152; Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France*, 97–131.

- 28 Moses Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem: die letzte Nationalitätsfrage* (1862; Leipzig: M. W. Kaufmann, 1899). All citations will be documented parenthetically as H, followed by the page number.
- 29 Hess will consistently use the language of “Wiedergeburt” (rebirth) and “Wiederauferstehung” (resurrection) throughout the book. Although less often, he will also use the terms “restoration” and “regeneration,” for example, when he speaks of “die Restauration des jüdischen Staates” (H, 45) and “regenerirten Judenthum” (H, 73).
- 30 As I discuss in Chapter 5, Hegel expressed his pejorative opinion about Jews most prominently in his *Early Theological Writings* (1798/99) and *Philosophy of World History* (1822/23).
- 31 Many of the members of the German racial-hygiene movement were inspired by the utopian possibilities of sanitary reform and sought to tie state socialism to public health. Some of the models for new, healthy societies were created by utopian authors and social reformers such as Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward* (1888); Benjamin Ward Richardson, *Hygeia, A City of Health* (1875); and Theodor Hertzka, *Freiland: Eine soziales Zukunftsbild* (Free-Land: A Social Picture of the Future) (1890). For a brief discussion, see Weindling (1989), 76–78.
- 32 Sheila Faith Weiss, “The Race Hygiene Movement in Germany, 1904–1945,” in: *The Wellborn Science: Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil, and Russia*, ed. Mark B. Adams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 8–68. Here, 9.
- 33 Weiss, “The Race Hygiene Movement in Germany, 1904–1945,” 10. For a full discussion of Schallmayer, see Sheila Faith Weiss, *Race Hygiene and National Efficiency: The Eugenics of Wilhelm Schallmayer* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987). Robert Proctor also points out that the origins of German eugenics were not explicitly anti-Semitic or even reactionary. See his *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), Ch. 1, “The Origins of Racial Hygiene.”
- 34 Weiss, “The Race Hygiene Movement in Germany, 1904–1945,” 15ff. and Proctor, *Racial Hygiene*, 21–22.
- 35 Weiss, “The Race Hygiene Movement in Germany, 1904–1945,” 17. Also, see the discussion of Ploetz in Weindling (1989), 123ff.
- 36 Damm is surprisingly absent in much of the secondary literature on the “body reform” movement, including the pathbreaking work of Michael Hau and Kevin Repp. Mosse briefly mentions Damm in *The Crisis of the German Ideology* (115) but erroneously cites the foundation of the League for Regeneration to be 1902, not 1892. For an assessment of his influence, see Christopher Derek Kenway, “*Kraft und Schönheit: Regeneration and Racial Theory in the German Physical Culture Movement, 1895–1920*” (PhD dissertation, UCLA, 1996).
- 37 Alfred Damm, *Die Entartung der Menschen und die Beseitigung der Entartung (Regeneration)* (Berlin, 1895), 9. Further citations will be given parenthetically, as Damm followed by the page number.
- 38 “Degeneration—Regeneration,” *Ost und West: Illustrierte Monatsschrift für modernes Judentum* (August 1901), 609–612. Here, 609. All further citations are documented parenthetically as DR, followed by the page number.
- 39 Hermann Jalowicz, “Die juedische Turnbewegung,” *Ost und West* (November 1901), 855–858. Here, 856.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 858.
- 41 *Ibid.*
- 42 Cf. George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- 43 Reinhart Koselleck, “Some Questions Regarding the Conceptual History of ‘Crisis,’” in *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing*

- Concepts*. trans. Todd Samuel Presner, Ch. 14. For a more detailed discussion of this argument, see Koselleck's *Kritik und Krise: Eine Studie zur Pathogenese der bürgerlichen Welt* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1973).
- 44 For the history and reception of Langbehn's book, I am indebted to Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study of the Rise of Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1963), 155–156.
- 45 Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Case of Wagner*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1967), 5. For a discussion, see Gregory Moore, *Nietzsche, Biology, and Metaphor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 115.
- 46 This has been thoroughly analyzed by Joachim Radkau in his *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität: Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler* (Munich: Hanser Verlag, 1998).
- 47 Cultural and literary studies of degeneracy now comprise a genre in themselves. See, for example, William Greenslade, *Degeneration, Culture, and the Novel, 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Kelly Hurley, *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism and Degeneration in the Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Charles Bernheimer, *Decadent Subjects* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); and Barbara Spackman, *Decadent Genealogies: The Rhetoric of Sickness from Baudelaire to D'Annunzio* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).
- 48 The connection between degeneracy and sexual politics is explored in the collection *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*. For more on the relationship between “degenerescence” and sexuality, see Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, esp. 118–119.
- 49 Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*.
- 50 In addition to Stern's *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, see Mosse's *The Crisis of German Ideology*.
- 51 David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives, 1890–1914* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000). Also, see the work of Richard Wetzell, *Inventing the Criminal: A History of German Criminology, 1880–1945*.
- 52 Geoff Eley, *Reshaping the German Right: Radical Nationalism and Political Change after Bismarck* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 187.
- 53 Julius Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (1890; Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, 1891), 1. This edition represents a revised version of his original book. Further citations will be documented parenthetically as R, followed by the page number.
- 54 Max Nordau, *Entartung* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1892–93). I will quote from the following edition: *Entartung* (Berlin: Carl Duncker, 1893), 5. Further citations will be documented as E, followed by the volume number and the page number. For translations, I consulted the following English edition, but found it necessary to often use my own translations: *Degeneration* (New York: D. Appleton, 1895).
- 55 The idea of “decisionism” is most closely associated with the work of Carl Schmitt, particularly his famous essay, “The Concept of the Political” (1927), in which he offers a definition of the political as the ultimate, irreconcilable antithesis between friend and enemy. I am using the term here to show how a similar logic is operating in the work of Langbehn and Nordau, one that reduces their understandings of culture to the pressure of an absolutely binary decision in the time of a final crisis. In Schmitt's words:

The political must therefore rest on its own ultimate distinctions, to which all action with a specifically political meaning can be traced. Let us assume that

in the realm of morality the final distinctions are between good and evil, in aesthetics beautiful and ugly, in economics profitable and unprofitable. . . . The specific political distinction to which political actions and motives can be reduced is that between friend and enemy. . . . The distinction of friend and enemy denotes the utmost degree of intensity of a union or separation, of an association or dissociation.

*The Concept of the Political*, trans. George Schwab  
(New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1976), 26.

- 56 For a good overview of Nordau's *Degeneration* and his turn to Zionism, see Peter M. Baldwin, "Liberalism, Nationalism, and Degeneration: The Case of Max Nordau," *Central European History* 13.2 (June 1980): 99–120.
- 57 Without coming down one way or the other, Michael Stanislawski, for example, writes that "it is only a slight oversimplification to claim that [critical] opinion has essentially been divided between those who see Nordau's Zionism as completely contradictory to his previous views and those who see his pre-Zionist views as seamlessly connected to his Zionism." *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky*, 20. The quote comes from George L. Mosse, "Max Nordau, Liberalism and the New Jew," *Journal of Contemporary History* 27.4 (October 1992): 565–581. Here, 567.
- 58 Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, 98
- 59 Rather than "Deutschheit" (Germanness), Langbehn uses the more inflammatory term "Deutschtum," with its loaded significance for future development. For more on this distinction, cf. Hinrich C. Seeba, "Deutschtum. Zur Rhetorik des nationalen Narzissmus beim sogenannten 'Rembrandt-Deutschen' (Julius Langbehn)," in: Henk de Berg, Matthias Prangel, eds, *Interpretation 2000: Positionen und Kontroversen. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Horst Steinmetz* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1999), 215–222.
- 60 A contemporary of Langbehn, the German art historian Carl Neumann, for example, pointed out that Langbehn's *Rembrandt als Erzieher* is not "an art historical book." Instead:
- it is a work that one cannot argue with because it was born out of feeling and is weak in logic; it is a lyrical work of didacticism which circles around a few central thoughts while always repeating new turns, and, since it lacks in systematic thought, constantly becomes immersed in a network of cabbalistic play and symbolic mysticism.
- Rembrandt* (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1902), 28, 25–26.
- 61 With respect to the concept of *Erziehung*, Langbehn says, for example, "what Schiller wanted, Rembrandt achieved" (R, 162). Langbehn also dedicates several subsections to Lessing, including "Lessing als Erzieher" (R, 166–167) and "Lessing und Rembrandt" (R, 169–170).
- 62 For more on the close relationship between "*Erziehung*" and "*Bildung*" as well as the conceptual history of *Bildung* in the domains of theology and art, see the essay by Reinhart Koselleck, "On the Anthropological and Semantic Structure of *Bildung*," in: *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Samuel Presner, 170–207.
- 63 Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (1892, 49th edn), 348. Quoted in Fritz Lang, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, 141. In later editions of his book, Langbehn became increasingly more anti-Semitic, a tendency that also parallels the European political scene in the 1890s. Here, Jews were considered to be the embodiment of materialism and modernity, two things that were antithetical to the "Blut und Boden" ideals of German regeneration.

- 64 Modris Eksteins, for example, situates the work of Langbehn between that of Treitschke and Chamberlain in his article, "History and Degeneration: Of Birds and Cages," in: *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, 17. George Mosse positions Langbehn's *Rembrandt als Erzieher* as the direct descendent of Lagarde's "Volkish" Germanic religious thought in *The Crisis of German Ideology*, 39–41. Louis L. Snyder considers Langbehn to have inaugurated "the tradition of irrationalism, mysticism, and intuition" that was also taken up by the likes of Chamberlain and Oswald Spengler. *Roots of German Nationalism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1978), 187.
- 65 Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, Ch. 10.
- 66 George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology*, 43 and 45.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 45.
- 68 Geoff Eley, *Reshaping the German Right*, 185.
- 69 The most important work to discuss the ideology of respectability vis-à-vis the formation of bourgeois society is George Mosse's *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
- 70 For a discussion of the influence of Morel on Nordau, see Jens Malte Fischer, "Max Nordau, *Dégénérescence*," and Mark M. Anderson, "Typologie et caractère. Max Nordau, Cesare Lombroso et l'anthropologie criminelle," in: *Max Nordau: 1849–1923*, eds. Delphine Bechtel, Dominique Bourel, and Jacques Le Rider, (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1996), 107–119 and 121–131. For a general discussion of Morel, see Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 50–59.
- 71 The best study of the history of the terms "norm" and "pathology" within the context of medical-scientific discourses of the nineteenth century is Georges Canguilhem's *The Normal and the Pathological* (Cambridge: Zone Books, 1991).
- 72 For a brief discussion of the term "Zuchtwahl," see Jay Geller, "The Conventional Lies and Paradoxes of Jewish Assimilation: Max Nordau's Pre-Zionist Answer to the Jewish Question," *Jewish Social Studies*, 1.3 (Spring 1995): 129–160.
- 73 In the visual arts, Nordau's targets include the Pre-Raphaelites, the Impressionists, and the Symbolists; by name, he mentions Manet, Puvis de Chavannes, and Besnard as examples of artists who suffer from visual defects and nervous disorders. Strangely, however, he fails to mention Seurat, van Gogh, Gauguin, Cézanne, Bernard, or Lautrec, any one of whom might have made his argument more forceful. Among others, Patrick Bade has pointed out that Nordau's knowledge of modern painting appears to have been quite limited and often downright wrong. "Art and Degeneration: Visual Icons of Corruption," in *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, 220–240, esp. 236–238.
- 74 Barbara Spackman, "Interversions," in: *Perennial Decay: On the Aesthetics and Politics of Decadence*, eds. Liz Constable, Dennis Denisoff, and Matthew Potolsky (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 35–49.
- 75 This is the famous first line of Kafka's story: "Als Gregor Samsa eines Morgens aus unruhigen Träumen erwachte, fand er sich in seinem Bett zu einem ungeheueren Ungeziefer verwandelt." *Die Verwandlung* (1915), in: *Sämtliche Erzählungen*, ed. Paul Raabe (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 1995), 56.
- 76 Max Nordau, "I. Kongressrede" (August 29, 1897), in: *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des I. Zionisten-Congresses* (Vienna: Verlag des Vereines 'Erez Israel,' 1897), 9–20. All further references to the Stenographisches Protokoll will be documented parenthetically as SP, followed by conference number and page number.
- 77 Otto Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter* (1903). Authorized translation of the 6th edn: *Sex and Character* (London: William Heinemann, 1907), 312 and 320. For an excellent analysis of the Jew as parasite topos, see Alex Bein, "The Jewish



- Parasite: Notes on the Semantics of the Jewish Problem, with special Reference to Germany,” *Leo Baeck Year Book* 19 (1964), 3–40.
- 78 Anita Shapira, *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881–1948*, trans. William Templer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 13.
- 79 Max Nordau, “Die Aufgaben des Zionismus” (1898), reprinted in: *Zionistische Schriften*, 320–328. Here, 321–22. Further citations will be documented parenthetically as AZ, followed by the page number.
- 80 The history of the term “Mannszucht” goes back to nineteenth-century German nationalism, where discipline, obedience, and order in drill regimens and military exercises became central for creating modern German masculinity. See Ute Frevert, “Das Militär als ‘Schule der Männlichkeit’: Erwartungen, Angebote, Erfahrungen im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Frevert (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), 145–173, esp. 159.
- 81 Max Nordau, “Heloten und Spartaner” (1899), reprinted in: *Zionistische Schriften*, 374–378. Further citations are documented parenthetically as HS, followed by the page number.
- 82 Daniel Boyarin provides an incisive analysis of the Zionist valuation of the image of the warrior in his *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997). Anita Shapira demonstrates with remarkable cogency how the warrior ideal was a consistent, continuous, and central part of both the Zionist project and the foundation of the state of Israel. Cf. *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881–1948*.
- 83 Etymologically, the term “*Mauschel*” is a variant on the Yiddish and Hebrew name Moyshe (Moses). As a nominative, the term was used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to refer to Eastern Jews in German-speaking regions and the verb (*mauscheln*) referred pejoratively to a particular manner of speaking German with Yiddish vocabulary, syntax, and accent. Sander Gilman has explored the complicated relationship between Jewish “speech” and identity in his *Jewish Self-hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
- 84 Herzl originally published this article pseudonymously in an early edition of *Die Welt* (October 15, 1897). It is reprinted as “Mauschel” in: *Gesammelte zionistische Werke* (Tel Aviv: Hozaah Ivrit, 1934), 1: 209–215. Here, 209.
- 85 *Ibid.*, 211.
- 86 Theodor Herzl, *Der Judenstaat* in: *Gesammelte zionistische Werke*, 1: 19–105. Here, 94.
- 87 *Ibid.*, 94.
- 88 Herzl, “Mauschel,” 212.
- 89 *Ibid.*, 210.
- 90 *Ibid.*, 212.
- 91 *Ibid.*, 215.
- 92 Friedrich Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell* (1804). Quoted in Hinrich C. Seeba, “Auferstehung des Geistes: Zur religiösen Rhetorik nationaler Einheit,” in: “*Nicht allein mit den Worten.*” *Festschrift für Joachim Dyck zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds Thomas Müller, Johannes G. Pankau, and Gert Ueding (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1995), 266–282. Here, 267.
- 93 Herzl, “The Family Affliction” (originally published in *The American Hebrew*) in: *Zionist Writings: Essays and Addresses*, vol. 2, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: 1975), 43–47. Here, 45.
- 94 *Ibid.*
- 95 See my discussion in *Mobile Modernity: Germans, Jews, Trains* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), Ch. 5.

- 96 It is not coincidental that Jewish athletic and gymnastic associations began to spring up simultaneously with Zionism throughout many German-speaking cities. By 1903, just 6 years after the First Zionist Congress, *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* boasted that there are already 13 “national-Jewish Gymnastics associations” and that “we should strive to have every Zionist association develop a gymnastics division.” “Diskussionen über die Frage der körperlichen Hebung der Juden,” *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* (January 1903), 1:3.
- 97 As we will see in Chapter 4, an entire discourse emerged around gymnastics, nation building, and regeneration on the pages of *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung*. Nordau, certainly the father figure of the “muscle Jew,” was not alone in explaining what appeared to be Jewish “degeneration” and calling for a rebirth of Jewish heroism. See, for example, Hermann Jalowicz’s programmatic article, “Die körperliche Entartung der Juden, ihre Ursachen und ihre Bekämpfung,” in *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* (May 1901), 5: 57–65.
- 98 For an excellent analysis of how the “muscle Jew” was conceived as the strict antithesis to the anxiety and nervousness of the ghetto Jew, see Moshe Zimmerman, “Muscular Judaism: The Remedy for Jewish Nervousness,” *Zmanim* 83 (2003): 56–65 [Hebrew].

### 3 THE AESTHETICS OF REGENERATION

- 1 A complete list of the artists and works of art is provided in “Beilage D: Verzeichnis der in Zimmer Nr. 3 ausgestellten Kunstwerke,” in: *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des V. Zionisten-Congresses in Basel* (Vienna: Verlag des Vereines ‘Erez Israel’, 1901), 459–460. Although the Stenographisches Protokoll lists the artists from predominantly German-speaking cities (possibly for political reasons), most of the artists were born in Eastern Europe and migrated to the art capitals of Vienna and Berlin during the late nineteenth century. Epstein, for example, was born in Sluzk, Russia; Lilien was born in Drohobycz, a town in Eastern Galicia; Ury was born in Birnbaum, Posen. According to the study of the exhibition by Gilya Gerda Schmidt, the exhibition actually took place in Room 2 of the Congress building. To date, Schmidt’s study is the most comprehensive reconstruction of the exhibition: *The Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress, 1901: Heralds of a New Age* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003).
- 2 In the historiography of Zionism, the fifth Congress is often cited as the turning point of a developing division between “political Zionists,” such as Nordau and Herzl who prioritized a political and economic solution to the Jewish question, and the “cultural Zionists,” such as Buber and Lilien, who underscored the centrality of the cultural and moral improvement of the Jews. This tension provoked much debate and soul-searching within the fledgling Zionist movement. See the discussion in Michael Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry Before the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). For an account of the diversity and vitality of cultural Zionism with a focus on the visual domain, see Mark H. Gelber, *Melancholy Pride: Nation, Race, and Gender in the German Literature of Cultural Zionism* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2000).
- 3 Unfortunately, since the only description in the Stenographisches Protokoll is “Studienkopf” and “Studie zu ‘Jerusalem,’” there is no way to confirm which other pictures he actually exhibited.
- 4 As Dalia Manor shows in her study of art in Jewish Palestine, the paintings of Hodler—in their stylistic and compositional elements as well as in their subject matter and motifs—influenced a number of Zionist artists. She discusses Hodler’s influence on a slightly later group of Zionist artists, such as Rubin (Riven) Zelicovici, who discovered Hodler’s work in 1915; however, she does not mention

- Hodler's influence on Ury. See her *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (London: Routledge, 2005), 83–91.
- 5 Derived from the Aramaic word for “hammer,” the descendants of the Mattathias family are collectively known as the Maccabees.
  - 6 Schmidt, *The Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress, 1901*, 230. Schmidt further notes that Buber and his colleagues even called for Hanukkah to be the official Zionist festival.
  - 7 Buber remarks that earlier versions of this painting, particularly two sketches from 1881, show Jewish women and children sitting silent in mourning over the destruction of the Temple. Slain warriors litter the ground and a pillaged Jerusalem is depicted in the sketches on the right-hand side. In another version, Ury depicts a bench with several hunched-over women who are in shock and mourning over the destruction. Buber considers this to be an important precursor to the 1896 painting, which completely evacuates any painterly references to the city. cf. Martin Buber, *Lesser Ury* (Berlin: Juedischer Verlag, 1903), 51.
  - 8 Martin Buber, ed., *Juedische Kuenstler* (Berlin: Juedischer Verlag, 1903). The single volume was also available in six smaller, individually sold books. All quotes will come from the individual books (although the pagination in both is the same).
  - 9 Martin Buber, *Lesser Ury*, 58.
  - 10 Strangely, Schmidt sees this figure as signaling “not only withdrawal but also regeneration,” *The Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress, 1901*, 138. In line with Buber's interpretation, I would have to disagree with this assessment of “regeneration.”
  - 11 Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 31–32.
  - 12 The Second Commandment reads: “You shall have no other gods besides Me. You shall not make for yourself a sculptured image, or any likeness of what is in the heavens above, or on the earth below, or in the waters under the earth. You shall not bow down to them, or serve them.” (Exodus 20:3–5)
  - 13 Martin Buber, Speech at the Fifth Zionist Congress (December 26–30, 1901), *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des V. Zionisten-Congresses in Basel* (Vienna: Verlag des Vereines ‘Erez Israel’, 1901), 151–168. Here, 152–153. All further references to the Stenographisches Protokoll will be documented parenthetically as SP, followed by the page number.
  - 14 Here, we recognize the break between the “cultural Zionists,” such as Buber, who wanted to cultivate *Bildung* and cultural production while still in the Diaspora, and “political Zionists” who believed that all efforts should be directed at the economic and political solution to the Jewish question. For a thorough discussion of the genesis of cultural Zionism, see Gelber, *Melancholy Pride: Nation, Race, and Gender in the German Literature of Cultural Zionism*, esp. 22ff.
  - 15 Strangely, the influence of Schiller and his concept of “aesthetic education” has not informed any of the criticism of cultural Zionism that I have encountered, including the most recent works to treat this topic such as those by Gilya Schmidt, Mark Gelber, and Michael Stanislawski.
  - 16 Margaret Olin, *The Nation without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Gilya Schmidt, *Martin Buber's Formative Years: From German Culture to Jewish Renewal, 1897–1909* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1995).
  - 17 Schmidt, *Martin Buber's Formative Years: From German Culture to Jewish Renewal, 1897–1909*, 24.
  - 18 Buber, “Ein Wort über Nietzsche und die Lebenswerte,” in: *Die Kunst im Leben*, 1 (December 1900): 13. Quoted in Schmidt, *Martin Buber's Formative Years: From German Culture to Jewish Renewal, 1897–1909*, 24.

- 19 The influence of Nietzsche has often been discussed in situating both Buber's turn to Zionism in the last years of the nineteenth century and his persistent articulation of Jewish cultural regeneration. In addition to the work of Schmidt, see Paul Mendes-Flohr's *From Mysticism to Dialogue: Martin Buber's Transformation of German Social Thought* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1989), esp. Chs 3–4. Moreover, the role of Nietzsche's philosophy in certain revolutionary strains of Zionist thought has been recently recognized. For an assessment of the influence of Nietzsche's concept of the "superman" on the creation of the ideal of the "New Hebrew" in the writings of Micah Yosef Berdichevsky, see David Ohana, "Zarathustra in Jerusalem: Nietzsche and the 'New Hebrews'" in *Israel Affairs*, 1.3 (Spring 1995): 38–60. For a discussion of the influence of Nietzsche on the development of early Zionist thought more generally (including the ideas of Herzl, Nordau, Buber, Berdichevsky, Zeitlin, and Ha'am), see Jacob Golomb, *Nietzsche and Zion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).
- 20 These *völkisch* notions of "blood" and "soil"—often delimited to fascist thought—receive their most thorough articulation in Buber's *Drei Reden über das Judentum* (Frankfurt: Rütten & Loening, 1911), although they can be found throughout his early work, such as "Die Schaffenden, das Volk und die Bewegung" (1902). For a discussion of the receptivity of Jewish intellectuals to *völkisch* thought, see George Mosse's essay: "The Influence of the Volkish Idea on German Jewry," in: *Germans and Jews: The Right, the Left and the Search for a 'Third Force' in Pre-Nazi Germany* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1970). Also, see the discussions by David Biale, *Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America* (New York: BasicBooks, 1992), 188ff; and Mark H. Gelber, *Melancholy Pride*, 134ff.
- 21 Buber, "Juedische Renaissance," in: *Ost und West: Illustrierte Monatsschrift für modernes Judentum*, 1 (1901): 7–10. All further references to this article will be documented parenthetically as JR, followed by the page number.
- 22 J. W. Goethe, quoted in Fritz Strich, *Goethe und die Weltliteratur* (Bern: Francke, 1957), 372.
- 23 Gelber, *Melancholy Pride*, 134.
- 24 For a provocative discussion of race in cultural Zionism, see Gelber's chapter, "The Rhetoric of Race and Jewish-National Cultural Politics: From Birnbaum and Buber to Brieger's René Richter," in *Melancholy Pride*, 125–60.
- 25 Olin, *The Nation without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art*, 109.
- 26 In his classic study, *The Crisis of the German Ideology* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964), Mosse demonstrated the appeal of *völkisch* nationalism to German Jews. Michael Berkowitz and John Efron have further explored the specific nature of the national and nationalist paradoxes within early Zionism. See, for example, Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry Before the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); John Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-siècle Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), esp. Ch. 6. Their critical work stands in contrast to earlier apologists for Buber, such as Walter Laqueur's *A History of Zionism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 167ff.
- 27 Kalman P. Bland, *The Artless Jew: Medieval and Modern Affirmations and Denials of the Visual* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- 28 Bland, *The Artless Jew*, 59–60. To be sure, the Second Commandment forbidding the production of "graven images" was often discussed in terms of its scope and application; however, it was not until the modern period that Jews were ever considered "artless" or "aniconic." For an excellent collection of primary texts on the visual from both the pre-modern and modern period of Judaism, cf. Vivian Mann, ed., *Jewish Texts on the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

29 Kant writes:

Perhaps the most sublime passage in the Jewish Law is the commandment: Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven or earth, or under earth, etc. This commandment alone can explain the enthusiasm that the Jewish people in its civilized era felt for its religion when it compared itself with other peoples, or can explain the pride that Islam inspires. The same holds also for our presentation of the moral law, and for the predisposition within us for morality.

*Critique of Judgment* (1790), trans. Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 1987), 135.

Bland briefly discusses this passage in his *The Artless Jew*, 15–16.

30 Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), 1: 70. Quoted in Bland, *The Artless Jew*, 15.

31 In his introduction to *The Structure of Jewish History*, Graetz develops a binary opposition between Greek paganism and the Jewish concept of God. Jews, Graetz argues, do not produce visual art and this restraint explains all aspects of Jewish life, especially their moral superiority and sexual restraint:

artistic expression also develops differently according to the different concepts of God. The artistic act created in Greek paganism, in accord with its sensuous God-concept, the art of sculpture, that lovely fragrant blossom of the pagan form of perception. In Judaism, on the other hand, . . . the artistic drive, in harmony with this particular view of God, gave birth to music combined with religious poetry. . . . The sharp opposition of Judaism to a paganism sunk in idolatry and immorality, traits which are conspicuously evident in a single glance, is nothing but the broad antithesis between the religion of the spirit and the religion of nature, divine transcendence and immanence.

*The Structure of Jewish History and Other Essays*, trans. Ismar Schorsch (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of American, 1975), 68–69.

32 Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

33 Richard Wagner, “Das Judentum in der Musik” (1850), in: *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, vol. 5 (Leipzig: 1907), 66–85. Wagner’s “explanation” to this essay, “Aufklärung über das Judentum in der Musik,” published in 1869, is reprinted in: *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, vol. 8 (Leipzig: 1907), 238–260.

34 Richard Wagner, “Das Judentum in der Musik,” 68–69.

35 *Ibid.*, 72–73.

36 The term “Verjudung” (Jewification) and “verjuden” (to Jewify) were both coinages of Wagner. For more on the conceptual history of these terms, cf. Steven Aschheim’s *Culture and Catastrophe: German and Jewish Confrontations with National Socialism and other Crises* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), Ch. 3, “‘The Jew Within’: The Myth of ‘Judaization’ in Germany,” esp. 56–58.

37 Wagner, “Das Judentum in der Musik,” 85.

38 *Ibid.*, 85.

39 Martin Buber, *Juedische Kuenstler* (Berlin: Juedischer Verlag, 1903). All further citations will be documented parenthetically as JK, followed by the page number. For translations, I consulted the following English version: “Jewish Artists,” in: *The First Buber: Youthful Zionist Writings of Martin Buber*, ed. Gilya G. Schmidt (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 100–105.

- 40 Buber would celebrate Hasidism and Zionism together for the remainder of his life. He considered Hasidism, a popular revival movement of the eighteenth century, to be a spiritual and sensual rejuvenation of Judaism. Zionism represented its physical and national rejuvenation. Buber spent a large part of his life writing and collecting the oral stories of the Hasidic tradition, published as *Tales of the Hasidim* (New York: Schocken Books, 1991).
- 41 For a fascinating cultural history of the magazine, cf. David Brenner, *Marketing Identities: The Invention of Jewish Ethnicity in Ost und West* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1998).
- 42 Schmidt briefly discusses the genesis of this painting and its reception in her *The Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress, 1901*, 69–71.
- 43 See the discussion of Buber by Jacob Golomb in *Nietzsche and Zion*.
- 44 For a thorough discussion of the tradition, in its many cross-cultural variants, cf. *The Wandering Jew: Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend*, eds. Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes (Bloomington, IN: Indianapolis University Press, 1986). In particular, the essay by R. Edelman, “Ahasuerus, The Wandering Jew: Origin and Background,” 1–10.
- 45 Richard Cohen has also noted the significance of this placement of the photograph of Nossig’s sculpture in the journal. See his *Jewish Icons* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 227.
- 46 Ben Israel, “Der ewige Jude,” in *Ost und West*, 1 (January 1901): 3–4.
- 47 Schmidt discusses the influence of Schiller’s concept of the sublime on Buber, but does not refer to the *Letters on Aesthetic Education*. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Schiller’s ideas in both pieces are consistent with one another: art forms the moral being and the moral being forms the ideal of the State. Cf. Schmidt, *Martin Buber’s Formative Years: From German Culture to Jewish Renewal, 1897–1909*, 32–33.
- 48 Schiller, “Über die Ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen,” in: *Werke in sechs Bänden*, vol. 5 (Zurich: Stauffacher Verlag, 1967), 341–432. Here, 343. All further citations will be documented parenthetically as AE, followed by the page number to this edition. For English translations, I consulted the following edition: *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, trans. Reginald Snell (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1965).
- 49 Lesley Sharpe’s *Schiller’s Aesthetic Essays: Two Centuries of Criticism* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1995) gives a good summary of both contemporary interpretations of Schiller and his reception history.
- 50 For an overview of the conceptual history of “Bildung,” cf. Reinhart Koselleck’s essay, “On the Anthropological and Semantic Structure of Bildung,” in: *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Presner (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 170–207.
- 51 Koselleck points out, for example, that Bildung had a theological meaning that preceded its artistic or sculptural sense of creation and imitation: from the idea that God created human beings in his image (*Bilde*), “followed the possibility of *imitatio Christi* or the *imago Dei* doctrine, or the requirement of Neoplatonism that the copy [*Abbild*] approach the original [*Urbild*].” The active meaning of molding (*Bildnerie*) that is central to the notion of Bildung is also found in sculpture or pottery. Koselleck, “On the Anthropological and Semantic Structure of Bildung,” in: *The Practice of Conceptual History*, 176.
- 52 The concept of the aesthetic state has, of course, come under relentless critique in light of the catastrophes of the twentieth century. As Walter Benjamin scathingly wrote about the glorification of war by the Futurists, something that he sees as leading straight to its glorification by Ernst Jünger and fascism: “The logical outcome of fascism is an aestheticizing of political life. With D’Annunzio,

- decadence made its entry into political life; with Marinetti, Futurism; and with Hitler, the Bohemian traditions of Schwabing. All efforts to aestheticize politics culminate in one point. That one point is war.” “The Work of Art in the Age of Its Reproducibility,” in: *Selected Writings*, vol. 3, ed. Michael W. Jennings, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Harry Zohn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 101–135. Here, 121. In his analysis of the work of Jünger, Benjamin further argues that Jünger’s aesthetic utopia articulated in his photo-books such as *Krieg und Krieger* “is nothing other than an uninhibited translation of the principles of l’art pour l’art to war itself.” “Theories of German Fascism: On the Collection of Essays *Krieg und Krieger*, edited by Ernst Jünger,” in: *Selected Writings*, vol. 2, ed. Michael W. Jennings, trans. Jerolf Wikoff (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 312–321. Here, 314. For a discussion of Jünger’s utopia of the aesthetic state, see my article, “The End of Sex and the Last Man: On the Weimar Utopia of Ernst Jünger’s ‘Worker,’” in: *Qui Parle* 13.1 (Winter 2001): 103–136.
- 53 Fredric Jameson, *Marxism and Form: Twentieth Century Dialectical Theories of Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 91, 86, 90.
- 54 Martin Buber, “Wege zum Zionismus,” in: *Die Welt*, 51 (December 20, 1901): 5–6. Translated in: *The First Buber: Youthful Zionist Writings of Martin Buber*, ed. Gilya G. Schmidt, 105–109. Further citations will be documented parenthetically as WZ, followed by the page number of this translation.
- 55 For my discussion of decadence, I draw on the work of Charles Bernheimer, *Decadent Subjects* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848- c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Barbara Spackman, *Decadent Genealogies: The Rhetoric of Sickness from Baudelaire to D’Annunzio* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989). I will not be discussing the complexity of art nouveau and symbolism here, but my historical overview is informed by Debora L. Silverman’s important work, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), as well as Carl Schorske’s classic, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981).
- 56 Stanislawski, “From Jugendstil to ‘Judenstil’: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism in the Work of Ephraim Moses Lilien,” in his *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle*, 98–115.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 100.
- 58 Milly Heyd, for example, has published two articles on Lilien in which she traces various aspects of his iconography: “Lilien and Beardsley: ‘To the pure all things are pure,’” *Journal of Jewish Art*, 7 (1980), 58–69; “Lilien: Between Herzl and Ahasver,” in: *Theodor Herzl: Visionary of the Jewish State*, eds. Gideon Shimoni and Robert S. Wistrich (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1999), 265–293; also see, Gelber, *Melancholy Pride*, Ch. 3.
- 59 M. Hirschfelder, “E. M. Lilien,” in *Ost und West*, 7 (July 1901): 517–528. Here, 517–518.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 519–520.
- 61 For more biographical details of Lilien’s life, see the introduction to Stanislawski’s chapter, “From Jugendstil to ‘Judenstil,’” esp. 102–105. For the first biography written by a contemporary, see *E. M. Lilien: Sein Werk mit einer Einleitung von Stefan Zweig* (Berlin: Schuster und Loeffler, 1903).
- 62 Cf. Charles Bernheimer, *Decadent Subjects*.
- 63 Stanislawski, “From Jugendstil to ‘Judenstil,’” 113.
- 64 Edward Lucie-Smith, *Symbolist Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 51–52.
- 65 Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987). All further

- citations to this book will be documented parenthetically as FF, followed by the page number.
- 66 Reinhart Koselleck, “‘Progress’ and ‘Decline’: An Appendix to the History of Two Concepts,” in: *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History/Spacing Concepts*, 218–235. Here, 223.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 224.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 227.
- 69 Koselleck, “The Eighteenth Century as the Beginning of Modernity,” in: *The Practice of Conceptual History*, 154–169.
- 70 Koselleck explores these two terms in his essay, “‘Space of Experience’ and ‘Horizon of Expectation’: Two Historical Categories,” in *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 267–288.
- 71 The idea of “revolution” was originally connected to the natural orbits of the planets and celestial bodies, as the Latin term, *revolutio*, makes evident. It was an eschatological concept. During the French Revolution, the concept changed to connote “a radical break,” one in which the eschatological world was displaced by an open, unknown future. As for acceleration, the technological changes since the Industrial Revolution are often characterized by the “acceleration of time,” not in the revelatory sense of the foreshortening of time but rather in the sense that time itself is moving faster without a definitive endpoint or telos. In addition to the work of Koselleck, cf. Hans Blumenberg, *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, trans. Robert M. Wallace (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985).
- 72 Koselleck, “‘Space of Experience’ and ‘Horizon of Expectation’: Two Historical Categories,” in *Futures Past*, 279–280.
- 73 Nordau had argued at the Fifth Congress that “the economic improvement of the Jews” had to take priority over everything else; hence, art and culture were considered secondary, something with which Buber and other “cultural Zionists” took issue. In accord with my argument here, Michael Berkowitz has contended that this “break” between the political and cultural Zionists may not have been as significant as previous historians considered it to be. Cf. *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry Before the First World War*.
- 74 Stefan Zweig, *E. M. Lilien: Sein Werk mit einer Einleitung von Stefan Zweig*, 21. Further citations will be documented parenthetically as SZ, followed by the page number.
- 75 Gelber discusses the genesis of *Juda* in his informative chapter, and I will not repeat his work here. See “Börries von Münchhausen and E. M. Lilien: The Genesis of *Juda* and its Zionist Reception,” *Melancholy Pride*, 87–124.
- 76 Hirschfelder, “E. M. Lilien,” in *Ost und West*, 526.
- 77 Lilien and Münchhausen, “Euch,” in: *Juda* (Berlin: Egon Fleischel, 1900), 2–3. Münchhausen comes out of a Romantic tradition where “return” was central to the tripartite concept of cyclical history. This idea of return is exemplified in poems such as in Novalis’s “Wenn nicht mehr Zahlen und Figuren” and Eichendorff’s “Mondnacht.” Interestingly, Münchhausen was later adopted by the Nazis as one of the major poets of the Third Reich.
- 78 For a discussion of the Biblical tradition of the “muscle Jew” with a focus on the themes of masculinity, bravery, and violence in the Hebrew Scriptures, see Warren Rosenberg, *Legacy of Rage: Jewish Masculinity, Violence, and Culture* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), esp. Ch. 2. Also, Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, *God’s Phallus: And Other Problems for Men and Monotheism* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1994).
- 79 The Yiddish works by Scholem Aleichem, Peretz, and others were translated into German for this volume. Here, we see an important—and not isolated—example



- of the attempt by Western, German-speaking Zionists to bring the “authenticity” of the *Ostjuden*, best exemplified by their language, together with the “modernism” of Western Jews. Readers could imagine that the new Jewish state, formed from the confluence of its cultures, would sublimate the East/West binary. For more on this complex relationship, see Steven Aschheim’s *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).
- 80 M. Hirschfelder, “E. M. Lilien,” in *Ost und West*, 521.
- 81 Thematically and stylistically, Lilien’s illustrations bear a striking resemblance to those of his German contemporary, the artist Fidus (1868–1948), known for his *Jugendstil* illustrations of the *Körperkultur* movement. By melding an erotic physicality with a notion of celestial rebirth, Fidus, like Lilien, used the stylistic techniques of decadence to articulate the calls for German regeneration. For an overview of his work, see the collection: *Fidus, 1868–1948: Zur ästhetischen Praxis bürgerlichen Fluchtbewegungen*, eds. Janos Frecot, Johann Friedrich Geist, and Diethart Kerbs (Munich: Rogner and Bernhard, 1972). For an astute discussion of the erotic dimension of cultural Zionism, see Gelber’s *Melancholy Pride*, Ch. 6.
- 82 Berthold Feiwel, “Gleitwort,” *Juedischer Almanach* (Berlin: Juedischer Verlag, 1902), 9–16. Here, 10. Further citations will be documented parenthetically as JA, followed by the page number.
- 83 This biographical information is drawn from Edgar J. Goldenthal, *Poet of the Ghetto: Morris Rosenfeld* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1998). This volume also contains a number of English translations of Rosenfeld’s poetry.
- 84 Milly Heyd has claimed that this image derives from Beardsley’s *Ali Baba* of 1897. Underscoring the decadent sexuality, both she and Stanislawski have also stressed the “hermaphroditic” nature of Lilien’s depiction of the sweatshop boss. Cf. Heyd, “Lilien and Beardsley: ‘To the pure all things are pure.’” Stanislawski discusses the image briefly in “From Jugendstil to ‘Judenstil’: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism in the Work of Ephraim Moses Lilien,” 111.
- 85 Morris Rosenfeld, *Lieder des Ghetto*, trans. and introduced by Berthold Feiwel, with illustrations by E. M. Lilien (Berlin: Benjamin Harz Verlag, 1903), 2.
- 86 Berthold Feiwel, *Lieder des Ghetto*, 6.

#### 4 THE GYMNASTICS OF REGENERATION

- 1 *Körperliche Renaissance der Juden: Festschrift anlässlich des IV. Turntages der Jüdischen Turnerschaft und der Feier des 10jährigen Bestehens des Jüdischen Turnvereins Bar Kochba-Berlin* (Berlin: Verlag der Jüdischen Turnzeitung, 1909). All further citations will be documented parenthetically as KR, followed by the page number.
- 2 Following the fall of Prussia to Napoleon and the subsequent Wars of Liberation (1814–16), the German “father” of *Turnen* (gymnastics), Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, was the first to articulate a full program of physical fitness for the purpose of developing nationally conscious German citizens. As we will see below, *Turnen* became a critical part of “Nationalbildung” throughout the nineteenth century, cultivating bourgeois values and feelings of national unity. See Michael Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationalbildung: Die Geschichte des Turnens in der Reichsgründungsära. Eine Detailstudie über die Deutschen* (Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1996) and Svenja Goltermann, *Körper der Nation: Habitusformierung und die Politik des Turnens, 1860–1890* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998).
- 3 Richard Blum, “Geschichte der jüdischen Turn- und Sportbewegung, 1898–1914,” in: *Bar Kochba: Makkabi—Deutschland 1898–1938*, ed. Robert Atlasz (Tel Aviv: 1977), 6–7.

- 4 Cf. Moshe Zimmerman, "Muscular Judaism: The Remedy for Jewish Nervousness," *Zmanim* 83 (2003): 56–65 [Hebrew].
- 5 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990). All further citations will be documented parenthetically as HS, followed by the page number. Also, see the discussion of bio-power in Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976*, trans. David Macey, eds. Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (New York: Picador, 2003), esp. 242ff.
- 6 Foucault, *Society Must be Defended*, 243.
- 7 Max Nordau, Speech of December 27, 1901, in: *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des V. Zionisten-Congresses* (Vienna: Verlag des Vereines 'Erez Israel,' 1901), 100.
- 8 Alfred Nossig, *Jüdische Statistik* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1903).
- 9 The most comprehensive study of the institutional and ideological development of Jewish statistics within Zionism is Mitchell B. Hart's *Social Science and the Politics of Modern Jewish Identity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000). Also see John Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin de siècle Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), esp. Ch. 6, "Zionism and Racial Anthropology," 166–174.
- 10 Cf. Meira Weiss, *The Chosen Body: The Politics of the Body in Israeli Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), esp. Chs 1–2.
- 11 Mitchell B. Hart, *Social Science and the Politics of Modern Jewish Identity*, 38.
- 12 For an analysis of Foucault's methodology, see Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1983), Ch. 6.
- 13 Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 137.
- 14 J. G. Fichte, *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1808). *Addresses to the German Nation*, trans. R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull (Chicago, IL: Open Court Publishing, 1922). All references will be documented parenthetically as A, followed by the page number.
- 15 Here, Fichte is reworking a biblical reference to the cutting up and distribution of the parts of the body to the 12 tribes of Israel, a reference that Kleist also used in his drama of nationalism, *Hermannsschlacht*.
- 16 The state as body metaphor has a long prehistory that goes back to Aristotle and plays a significant role in modern discourses on state formation, such as in Hobbes and Kant. In taking up this metaphor, Fichte and later the Zionists are building on its valences of regeneration. See the discussions by Jonathan Hess, *Reconstituting the Body Politic: Enlightenment, Public Culture and the Invention of Aesthetic Autonomy* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1999); and Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).
- 17 Hinrich C. Seeba, "Auferstehung des Geistes: Zur religiösen Rhetorik nationaler Einheit," in: "Nicht allein mit den Worten." *Festschrift für Joachim Dyck zum 60. Geburtstag*, Thomas Müller, Johannes G. Pankau, and Gert Ueding, eds (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1995), 266–282. Here, 278.
- 18 According to Detlev Peukert, this is a fundamental distinction later exploited by the Nazis as part of their program of eliminatory racism: The "Volkskörper," purified of its "less valuable" individuals, represented the "potentially immortal body of the Volk or race," while the "merely ephemeral body of the individual" was variously cured, admitted into the *Volkskörper*, or simply eliminated. Clearly, the Nazis were drawing upon and violently updating a much longer nationalist tradition. See his seminal article, "The Genesis of the 'Final Solution' from the

- Spirit of Science,” in: *Reevaluating the Third Reich*, eds Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1993), 234–252. Here, 241.
- 19 “Turnen” is a German coinage and was used to displace the Latin word “gymnastics.” While the two terms have some overlap in terms of practice, they are not equivalent since “Turnen” had a specifically German nationalist bent.
  - 20 Aside from a few mentions of the influence of Jahn on Jewish gymnastics associations, the developmental parallels between Zionism and German nationalism vis-à-vis corporeal regeneration, especially in the work of Fichte and Jahn, have not been sufficiently articulated. Michael Berkowitz briefly cites Jahn in his discussion of the “new Jew” in his *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry Before the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 108) but does not explore the connection. Even in the extensive articles tracing the worldwide influence of Jahn’s ideas beyond Germany—in Belgium, Poland, North America, and Japan—there is no mention of Jewish gymnastics and the “muscle Jew” tradition. Instead, the question asked is whether Jahn was an anti-Semite, not whether his ideas played a role in the development of a Jewish consciousness of nationality. Cf. Hartmut Becker, “War Jahn ‘Antisemit’?” in: *Internationales Jahn-Symposium*, eds Hajo Bernett, Heinz Denk, Josef Göhler, Manfred Lämmer, and Horst Ueberhorst, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 121–135.
  - 21 Dieter Langewiesche, *Nation, Nationalismus, Nationalstaat in Deutschland und Europa* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2000), 104.
  - 22 Cf. Langewiesche, *Nation, Nationalismus, Nationalstaat in Deutschland und Europa*, 115.
  - 23 This biographical information was culled from a number of sources: *Internationales Jahn-Symposium*; Horst Ueberhorst, *Zurück zu Jahn?* (Bochum: Universitätsverlag Bochum, 1969).
  - 24 Cf. Helmut Asmus, *Studentische Burschenschaften und bürgerliche Umwälzung: Zum 175. Jahrestag des Wartburgfestes* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992); Kevin McAleer, *Dueling: The Cult of Honor in Fin-de-siècle Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); Ute Frevert, *Ehrenmänner: Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Munich: DTV, 1991); and Peter Gay, *The Cultivation of Hatred* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991). Herzl’s first play, *Das neue Ghetto* (1894), culminates in a dueling scene for Jewish honor and masculinity. See the discussion by Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), esp. 290–295.
  - 25 Fred Eugene Leonard, “Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and the Development of Popular Gymnastics (*Vereinsturnen*) in Germany,” *American Physical Education Review*, X.1 (March 1905): 11.
  - 26 For a comprehensive study of the German *Turnen* movement and its cultivation of the “virtuous body,” see Svenja Goltermann, “Exercise and Perfection: Embodying the Nation in Nineteenth-century Germany,” *European Review of History* 11.3 (2004): 333–346, esp. 336–339.
  - 27 For a discussion of how the “bourgeois body” was to tame “excess,” see Philipp Sarasin, *Reizbare Maschinen: Eine Geschichte des Körpers, 1765–1914* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001), Ch. 3, “Der Körper des Subjekts. Individuierung und Semiotik des bürgerlichen Körpers.”
  - 28 Goltermann, “Exercise and Perfection: Embodying the Nation in Nineteenth-century Germany,” 339.
  - 29 Svenja Goltermann, *Körper der Nation: Habitusformierung und die Politik des Turnens, 1860–1890*.
  - 30 Goltermann, *Körper der Nation*, 62.
  - 31 Goltermann, *Körper der Nation*, 65.

- 32 Eugen Weber, "Gymnastics and Sport in Fin-de-Siècle France: Opium of the Classes?" in: *The American Historical Review*, 76.1 (February 1971): 70–98. Here, 73. See also the discussion by Robert A. Nye, "Sport, Regeneration, and National Revival," in: *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France: The Medical Concept of National Decline* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 310–329.
- 33 Eugen Weber, "Gymnastics and Sport in Fin-de-Siècle France: Opium of the Classes?" 73.
- 34 The quote comes from the 1879 Presidential Address to the Club Alpin Français, which was founded in 1874 with the express purpose of cultivating French "physical energy" and "moral vigor." Quoted in Eugen Weber, "Gymnastics and Sport in Fin-de-Siècle France: Opium of the Classes?" 72.
- 35 Quoted in Eugen Weber, "Gymnastics and Sport in Fin-de-Siècle France: Opium of the Classes?" 97.
- 36 There is a fairly extensive body of literature on the spread of "muscular Christianity" in Victorian England and, somewhat later, the United States. See, for example, Norman Vance, *The Sinews of Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Donald E. Hall, ed. *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001). For a classic study of the discourse of health and corporeality in Victorian England, see Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).
- 37 Merle Mowbray Bevington, *The Saturday Review, 1855–1868* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 188. Quoted in Donald E. Hall, "Muscular Christianity: Reading and Writing the Male Social Body," in: *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, 7.
- 38 Vance, *The Sinews of Spirit*, 2.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Donald Hall sees the roots of "muscular Christianity" in the social turmoil and political revolutions of the 1848 period around the issues of labor, productivity, and discipline. See his essay, "On the Making and Unmaking of Monsters: Christian Socialism, Muscular Christianity, and the Metaphorization of Class Conflict," in *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, 45–65.
- 41 C. J. W.-L. Wee, "Christian Manliness and National Identity: The Problematic Construction of a Racially 'Pure' Nation," in *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, 66–88. Here, 68 and 67.
- 42 Vance, *The Sinews of Spirit*, 2.
- 43 Donald E. Hall, "Muscular Christianity: Reading and Writing the Male Social Body," in: *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, 9.
- 44 See the discussion by Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920*, 19–25. Also, James C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health Reformers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 270–282.
- 45 Higginson published a series of articles on the benefits of muscular Christianity, including "Saints, and Their Bodies," *Atlantic Monthly* (1858), and "Barbarism and Civilization," *Atlantic Monthly* (1861). Quoted in Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 21.
- 46 Cf. Mark B. Adams, ed., *The Wellborn Science: Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil, and Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- 47 Robert Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France*, 328.

- 48 In addition to Nye's *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France*, see Richard F. Wetzell, *Inventing the Criminal: A History of German Criminology, 1880–1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).
- 49 Cf. Philipp Sarasin, *Reizbare Maschinen*, 433–51; Paul Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*.
- 50 W. W. Hastings, "Racial Hygiene and Vigor" (1910), quoted in James C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness*, 294.
- 51 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 147–148. Also, see Nye's "Comparative Reflections on Great Britain and Germany," in *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France*, 330–339.
- 52 See, for example, the studies by Richard Soloway, "Counting the Degenerates: The Statistics of Race Deterioration in Edwardian England," *Journal of Contemporary History* 17 (January 1982): 137–164, and Robert A. Nye, "The Bio-medical Origins of Urban Sociology," *Journal of Contemporary History* 20.4 (October 1985): 659–65.
- 53 Sheila Faith Weiss, "The Racial Hygiene Movement in Germany, 1904–1945" in: *The Wellborn Science*, ed. Mark B. Adams, 8–68. Here, 23–24.
- 54 Matthew Jeffries, "Lebensreform: A Middle-Class Antidote to Wilhelmism?" in: *Wilhelmism and Its Legacies: German Modernities, Imperialism, and the Meanings of Reform, 1890–1930*, eds Geoff Eley and James Retallack, (New York: Berghahn, 2003), 91–106. Here, 93.
- 55 I use these dates for the German reform movement based on: Diethart Kerbs and Jürgen Reulecke, eds, *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen, 1880–1933* (Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, 1998).
- 56 Quoted in Matthew Jeffries, "Lebensreform: A Middle-Class Antidote to Wilhelmism?" 93.
- 57 Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives, 1890–1914* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).
- 58 Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890–1930* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- 59 "Was Wir Wollen" from *Kraft und Schönheit: Monatschrift des Vereins für Körperkultur*. Reproduced in Rolf Koerber, "Freikörperkultur," in: Kerbs and Reulecke, eds, *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen, 1880–1933*, 104.
- 60 Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 117–118.
- 61 Hau mentions the muscle Jew on one page, in the context of discussions of Jewish degeneracy: *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 85. For Reulecke, the "muscle Jew" is not part of the history of the so-called "Männerbünde" tradition, although the *Handbuch* does contain an essay by Inka Bertz on "Jewish Renaissance," which argues that the latter is closely connected to the German *Lebensreform* movement.
- 62 This difference does not go by unrecognized by Berlin's Bar Kochba. As one commentator pointed out in *Körperliche Renaissance der Juden*: "Corresponding to the particular conditions of the English and American Jews, their gymnastic clubs do not carry the same pronounced national character as our gymnastics association" (KR, 25). Nevertheless, they still aim at corporeal regeneration and seek to cultivate a kind of Jewish "military discipline" through marches, drills, and exercises (KR, 26).
- 63 For the most comprehensive discussion, see Gertrud Pfister and Toni Niewerth, "Jewish Women in Gymnastics and Sport in Germany, 1898–1938," *Journal of Sport History* 26.2 (Summer 1999): 287–325. Here, 295–96.
- 64 For a history of the club, including its reestablishment after the Nazi period, see Arthur Baar, *50 Jahre Hakoah, 1909–1959* (Tel Aviv: Verlagskomitee Hakoah,

- 1959). The 2004 film, *Watermarks*, directed by Yaron Zilberman, documents the triumphs of the women's swimming team of Hakoah before and after the closure of the club in Nazi Austria. Beyond Hakoah, the literature on Jewish participation in sports is immense and will not be treated in any comprehensive fashion here. For an excellent overview, see the special issue edited by George Eisen, "Jews and Sport: A Century of Retrospect," *Journal of Sport History* 26.2 (Summer 1999). Also, Eisen's "Jewish History and the Ideology of Modern Sport: Interpretations and Approaches," *Journal of Sport History* 25.3 (Fall 1998): 482–531; *Sport and Physical Education in Jewish History: Selected Papers from an International Seminar Held on the Occasion of the 16th Maccabiah*, eds George Eisen, Haim Kaufman, and Manfred Lämmer (Netanya: Wingate Institute, 2003); *Emancipation through Muscles: Jews and Sports in Europe*, eds Michael Brenner and Gideon Reuveni (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Allen Bodner, *When Boxing was a Jewish Sport* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997); Paul Yogi Mayer, "Equality—Egaloty: Jews and Sport in Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, vol. 25 (London: Secker and Warburg, 1980), 221–241. Although not focused on Jewish sports per se, for one of the best histories of the relationship between sports and ideology, including an extensive discussion of modern masculinity, see John M. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology* (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 1984). For a fascinating celebration of the aesthetic form of the athletic body, see Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *In Praise of Athletic Beauty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).
- 65 See, for example, Tony Collins, "Jews, Antisemitism, and Sports in Britain, 1900–1939" in: *Emancipation through Muscles*, 142–155.
- 66 Robert Atlasz, ed., *Bar Kochba: Makkabi—Deutschland 1898–1938*, 16.
- 67 *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* (1905, no. 12: 224). All further references to the journal will be documented parenthetically as JTZ, followed by the date, volume number, and page.
- 68 The journal was certainly inspired by its German counterpart, *Deutsche Turn-Zeitung*, which began in Leipzig in 1856.
- 69 An important part of the fin de siècle *Körperkultur* discourse in Germany also focused on the necessity of cultivating both the mind and the body in equal proportions. As one German physician put it in 1906, the German body had to be regenerated from its "one-sided cerebral culture" (*einseitige Gehirnkultur*). *Körperkultur: Illustrierte Monatsschrift für körperliche Vollkommnung* (October 1906): 1. Quoted in Christopher Derek Kenway, "Kraft und Schönheit: Regeneration and Racial Theory in the German Physical Culture Movement, 1895–1920" (PhD dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 1996), 121.
- 70 For the context of European mass movements and nationalisms—ranging from pan-Germanism to Christian Socialism—during this period, see, for example, Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1981); and Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1976).
- 71 For a discussion of how Zionist ideals accorded with Olympic ideology, see George Eisen, "Olympic Ideology and Jewish Values: Conflict or Accommodation?" *Olympic Perspectives: Third International Symposium for Olympic Research* (October, 1996): 121–126, esp. 124–125.
- 72 Robert Atlasz, ed., *Bar Kochba: Makkabi—Deutschland 1898–1938*, 9.
- 73 See Yehoyakim Doron, "The Zionist Gymnastic Movement against the Background of German Social Values in the Second Reich (1894–1914)," in: *Selected Chapters in the History of Physical Education*, ed. Yechiam Sorek (Netanya: Wingate Institute, 1986), 106–113 [Hebrew].

- 74 The father of modern Yiddish literature, Mendele Mocher Sforim, produced a similarly biting critique of Jewish orthodoxy in his classic tale, "The Calf." In this story, a boy flees "the stench of the yeshiva for the fresh air" of the meadows and pastures, only to lose his "Jewish refinement," something that had been sustained by the strictures of his study and endured on his "emaciated figure and sunken face." Now, in the open air, the boy gained "a sunburned complexion and a tremendous appetite" to eat and go into the woods. In the end, the boy's mother sends him back to the yeshiva "to become a proper man," devoted to his studies. *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories*, eds Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg, trans. Jacob Sloan (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 97–111. Here, 107, 105, and 111.
- 75 For a discussion of Charcot and vitalism, see Debora L. Silverman's *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), esp. Ch. 5.
- 76 Here, the term "Geschlecht" oscillates in meaning between "sex" and "race" or "lineage."
- 77 Gertrud Bäumer, "Welchem Ideal soll die moderne deutsche Frau zustreben?" in *Körper und Geist* 21 (August 1, 1913): 190–195. Quoted in Kenway, "Kraft und Schönheit: Regeneration and Racial Theory in the German Physical Culture Movement, 1895–1920," 217.
- 78 Gertrud Bäumer, "Gedanken zur Jugendbewegung II," *Hilfe* 20.29 (July 16, 1914). Quoted in Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity*, 130. For a thorough discussion of Bäumer in the context of the development of the disciplines of racial hygiene, population policy, and eugenics, see Kevin Repp, "'More Corporeal, More Concrete': Liberal Humanism, Eugenics, and German Progressives at the Last Fin de Siècle," *The Journal of Modern History* 72 (September 2000): 683–730.
- 79 By emphasizing "the malleability of maternalist and eugenicist discourse," Repp, in line with other recent scholarship to reassess the modernity of Imperial Germany, shows how Bäumer's celebration of eugenics, while indicative of modernity's "dark side," did not simply point forward to the reproductive politics of the Nazi state. Repp, "'More Corporeal, More Concrete': Liberal Humanism, Eugenics, and German Progressives at the Last Fin de Siècle," 708. See also Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Workers in Germany, 1850–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996) and Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800–1914* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991).
- 80 Friedrich Jahn, "Dokument Nr. 4: Mainzer Zentral-Untersuchungskommission," quoted in Horst Ueberhorst, *Zurück zu Jahn?* 91.
- 81 Hans Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft: Eine Theorie der menschlichen Staatsbildung nach Wesen und Wert*, 2 vols (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1917/19).
- 82 Magnus Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtskunde*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Julius Püttmann, 1926), 377. Part of this passage is also quoted in James Steakley, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany* (Salem, NH: Ayer Company Publishers, 1975), 26.
- 83 For the best overview of the reform movements in Imperial Germany, see Kerbs and Reulecke, eds, *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen, 1880–1933*.
- 84 Cf. Walter Laqueur, *Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1962).
- 85 For a history of the Jewish youth movement in Germany, cf. Jutta Hetkamp, *Die jüdische Jugendbewegung in Deutschland von 1913–1933* (Münster: Lit, 1994); Hamischmar, *Vom Leben der Jüngern im Blau-Weiss* (Berlin: Bundesleitung des Blau-Weiss, 1925).

- 86 Hans Blüher, *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen* (1912; Prien: Kampmann & Schnabel, 1922), 33, 28–29.
- 87 *Ibid.*, 135.
- 88 Hans Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft*, 1: 7. Further citations will be documented parenthetically as RE, followed by the volume and page number.
- 89 Andrew Hewitt, *Political Inversions: Homosexuality, Fascism, and the Modernist Imaginary* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 112.
- 90 Hewitt also mentions this passage and discusses it in the context of Blüher's masculinist thought, *Political Inversions*, 123–125.
- 91 See, for example, Otto Weininger's *Sex and Character* (1903). The association of Jews and homosexuals has a long history, both before and after the publication of Blüher's book. For an overview, see Warren J. Blumenfeld, "History/Hysteria: Parallel Representations of Jews and Gays, Lesbians and Bisexuals," in Brett Beemyn and Mickey Eliason, eds, *Queer Studies: A Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Anthology* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 146–162.
- 92 These ideals seem to have been realized (however briefly) in the Hashomer Hatzair youth movement in Palestine shortly after the end of World War I. As one participant, Moshe Hellenberg, wrote about the male-bonding rituals:
- I have wandered across the land. I was searching for the regenerated man who could find his way to another directly, without intermediary. . . . We offer each other everything, harmonizing our everyday life by working together . . . indeed by working together. This is how I felt my power and energy most intensely. Here, two men join together to roll a heavy boulder; we flex our muscles, pulling the boulder away together. In such a moment there is no need for talk—we only look, because there is a joint effort and we live together, we simply live.
- For a fascinating cultural history, see Ofer Nur's "Hashomer Hatzair Youth Movement 1918–1924 from Eastern Galicia and Vienna to Palestine: A Cultural History" (PhD dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 2004). Here, 196.
- 93 For a visual history of this imagery, see the exhibition catalogue, *Die neuen Hebräer: 100 Jahre Kunst in Israel*, ed. Doreet LeVitte Harten with Yigal Zalmona (Berlin: Nicolai Verlag, 2005). The classic history of the pioneer is Amos Elon's *The Israelis: Founders and Sons* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971). For a more recent account, see Eric Zakim, *To Build and Be Built: Landscape, Literature, and the Construction of Zionist Identity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).
- 94 Michael Berkowitz discusses this imagery in his book, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry Before the First World War*.
- 95 For a discussion of Jewish race scientists, see John Efron, *Defenders of the Race*, and Mitchell Hart, *Social Science and the Politics of Modern Jewish Identity*, 84–95.
- 96 Felix Theilhaber, *Der Untergang der deutschen Juden: Eine volkswirtschaftliche Studie* (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1911). All further citations will be documented parenthetically as U, followed by the page number.
- 97 For a contemporary sourcebook of Jewish hygiene practices, see the companion volume to the Jewish section of the International Hygiene Exhibition, *Die Hygiene der Juden*, ed. Max Grunwald (Dresden: Verlag der Historischen Abteilung der Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung, 1912).
- 98 The same year that Nossig published his first compendium of Jewish statistics, Ruppin won second prize in the "Krupp competition" for his answer to the



- question, “What can we learn from the principles of evolution for the development and laws of states?” He published his answer as *Darwinismus und Sozialwissenschaft* (Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1903). For the political context of this competition, which was organized by some of Germany’s leading exponents of Social Darwinism, including Ernst Haeckel and Heinrich Ernst Ziegler, see Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*, 112–120.
- 99 Efron, *Defenders of the Race*, 148.
- 100 My history of the 1911 International Hygiene Exhibition is culled from a number of primary sources, all of which were made available to me by the archivists and librarians at the Hygiene Museum in Dresden. These sources include the following: *Hygiene: Offizielle Monatsschrift der Internationalen Hygiene Ausstellung Dresden 1911*, nos. 1–3 (January–March, 1911); *Offizieller Katalog der Internationalen Hygiene Ausstellung* (Berlin: Rudolf Mosse Verlag, 1911); and *Historische Abteilung mit Ethnographischer Unterabteilung*, eds Karl Sudhoff and O. Neustätter (Dresden: Verlag der Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung, 1911).
- 101 Karl Lingner, “Vorwort,” *Offizieller Katalog der internationalen Hygiene Ausstellung Dresden* (Berlin: Rudolf Mosse, 1911), 10. Further citations to the catalogue will be documented parenthetically as OK, followed by the page number.
- 102 Karl Lingner, *Programm für die geplante Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung zu Dresden* (1910), 6. In his forward to the publicly available exhibition catalogue, Lingner forgoes these references to Jewish racial and hygienic strength. Interestingly, Lingner makes the same assessment, almost in the same words, as Moses Hess who also believed that the Jewish race represented “*ungeschwächten Kraft und Integrität.*”
- 103 Max Grunwald, *Bericht über die Gruppe “Hygiene der Juden” in der Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung Dresden 1911*, 3 (unpublished manuscript courtesy of Dresden Hygiene Museum archives). All further references to this report will be documented as MG, followed by the page number.
- 104 This information comes from *Historische Abteilung mit Ethnographischer Unterabteilung*, eds Karl Sudhoff and O. Neustätter (Dresden: Verlag der Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung, 1911).
- 105 A complete list of the objects displayed in Room 3 is provided in *Historische Abteilung mit Ethnographischer Unterabteilung*, 29–32.
- 106 This was confirmed to me by the librarians and archivists at the Dresden Hygiene Museum in April of 2002.
- 107 *Offizieller Katalog der internationalen Hygiene Ausstellung Dresden*, 43.
- 108 A complete list of the objects displayed in Room 26 is provided in *Historische Abteilung mit Ethnographischer Unterabteilung*, 223–228.
- 109 Cf. Robin Judd’s forthcoming book, *Cutting Identities: Jewish Rituals and German Politics*.
- 110 *Historische Abteilung mit Ethnographischer Unterabteilung*, 222.
- 111 M. S. Bamberger, “Die Juedische Abteilung in der Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung in Dresden,” in *Ost und West* 6 (June 1911): 531–537. Here, 534.
- 112 For example, Johann Gottfried Herder’s *On World History*, eds Hans Adler and Ernest A. Menze, trans. Ernest A. Menze and Michael Palma (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997); G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of World History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Dover, 1956); Hegel, “Der Geist des Christentums und sein Schicksal,” *Werke*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971), 274–418; and Houston Stewart Chamberlain’s *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*.
- 113 Hegel, “Der Geist des Christentums und sein Schicksal,” 292.
- 114 In his seminal study of Eastern European Jews in Germany, Jack Wertheimer demonstrates that in 1890 about 20,000 Eastern Jews lived in Germany, the vast

- majority in Prussia, following the mass expulsions of the 1880s. By 1900, that number increased to 35,000 and by 1910, there were about 70,000 Eastern Jews in Germany. Cf. *Unwelcome Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 79.
- 115 Theilhaber was not the only Jewish race doctor to emphasize the benefits of early marriage. In an article published in *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung*, “Körperliche Übung und sexuelle Hygiene,” Eisenstadt also argued that “the task before our youth is to reintroduce early marriage” (JTZ, 1911, 3: 50).
- 116 Like Theilhaber, Ploetz railed against the two-child system and advocated early marriage, the fostering of “fit” families, and the preservation of the “volkisch” ideals of the peasant class. Cf. Sheila Faith Weiss, “The Racial Hygiene Movement in Germany, 1904–1945” in: *The Wellborn Science*, ed. Mark B. Adams, esp. 22–24.
- 117 Cf. Lawrence A. Hoffman, *Covenant of Blood: Circumcision and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1996).
- 118 Kings I (2:2–4), in *Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 1988), 518 (my emphasis). The literal translation of the final part reads: “There shall never cease to be a man of yours on the throne of Israel.”
- 119 Strangely enough, by 1913, Theilhaber was actually working closely with the *Bund für Mutterschutz* (Alliance for the Protection of Motherhood) for the repeal of the abortion law and public access to contraceptives. Cf. Efron, *Defenders of the Race*, 142.
- 120 I will not repeat the reception history of Theilhaber’s book here since Efron provides a thorough discussion in his *Defenders of the Race*, 144–147.

## 5 THE LAND OF REGENERATION

- 1 Edward Said, “Zionism from the Standpoint of its Victims,” in: *The Question of Palestine* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 56–114. All further citations will be documented parenthetically as ZSV, followed by the page number to this edition.
- 2 Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness: A Norton Critical Edition*, ed. Robert Kimbrough (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), 11, 12, and 13.
- 3 Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, 7–8.
- 4 Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, 8.
- 5 Palestinian scholars as well as scholars skeptical about the Zionist project have already undertaken significant work in this direction. Nevertheless, the assessment of the Jewish colonial project—in terms of its uniqueness and its similarity to European colonial practice—is far from complete. See, for example, the seminal work of Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine*; Edward Said and Christopher Hitchens, eds. *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* (London: Verso, 2001); Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); and Ella Shohat, “Notes on the ‘Post-Colonial,’” in: *The Pre-Occupation of Postcolonial Studies*, eds Fawzia Afzal-Khan and Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).
- 6 Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).
- 7 The “First Film of Palestine” was created by an Englishman named Murray Rosenberg, who shot the film during his trip to Palestine. It was screened at the Tenth Zionist Congress in 1911 to an audience of more than one-thousand people. The film included a short sequence in Egypt of the pyramids and a Cairo bazaar,

- followed by scenes of Jewish life in Palestine, focusing particularly on the Bezalel Institute in Jerusalem and various images of the ancient city. This summary comes from Michael Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry Before the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 117.
- 8 In 1882, there were about 24,000 Jews in Palestine. Forty years later, by 1922, that number had grown to 84,000 Jews out of a total of 752,000 inhabitants. These numbers come from Nathan Weinstock, "The Impact of Zionist Colonization on Palestinian Arab Society Before 1948," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 2.2 (Winter 1973): 49–63. Here, 55. For an extensive discussion of early settlements, see Ran Aaronsohn, *Rothschild and Early Jewish Colonization* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2000).
  - 9 The literature on this subject is enormous. For a useful study of the British Empire, see Catherine Hall, ed. *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Reader* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000). For a study of the discourses of the subaltern, see Vinayak Chaturvedi, ed. *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial* (London: Verso, 2000).
  - 10 Russell Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 10.
  - 11 An extensive literature on German colonialism has developed in recent years. In addition to Zantop and Berman, some of the key studies include: Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, eds. *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and its Legacy* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1998); Alexander Honold und Oliver Simons, eds. *Kolonialismus als Kultur: Literatur, Medien, Wissenschaft in der deutschen Gründerzeit des Fremden* (Tübingen: A. Francke, 2002); John K. Noyes, *Colonial Space. Spatiality in the Discourse of German South West Africa 1884–1915* (Reading: Harwood, 1992). For an argument showing the long-term development of German colonial discourse, see George Steinmetz, "Precoloniality and Colonial Subjectivity: Ethnographic Discourse and Native Policy in German Overseas Imperialism, 1780s–1914," *Political Power and Social Theory* 15 (2001): 135–228.
  - 12 Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire*, 15.
  - 13 Derek Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870–1918* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), 6. The background information comes from Penslar, esp. 60–79.
  - 14 For a collection of the documents relating to the "Uganda controversy," see: *The Minutes of the Zionist General Council: The Uganda Controversy*, vol. 1, ed. Michael Heymann (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1970) and *The Minutes of the Zionist General Council: The Uganda Controversy*, vol. 2, ed. Michael Heymann (Jerusalem: Hassifriya Haziyonit Publishing House, 1977). In a long article published in *Palästina*, "Das jüdische Kolonisationsprogramm," Alfred Nossig wrote one of the strongest and racially charged arguments against establishing a Jewish homeland in East Africa. He argues: "The indigenous population [in East Africa] is so thin, torpid, and lazy that despite every effort they still cannot be brought to do any structured work. . . . The blacks must be driven to work with a whip. The true Negro state: Is this the image of a regenerated people?" Later in the article he points out that East Africa will not regenerate the Jewish people but rather transform them into "a deviant Jewish race." vol. 2, no. 3–6 (1903/04): 171–211. Here, 189 and 192.
  - 15 Alfred Nossig notes, for example, that the Zionist colonization effort can learn much from "the German politic of expansion" and that "the research work of the Germans [in colonial territories] . . . should spur us on in a similar way, but wherever possible to proceed in an even more fundamental and rational

- manner.” “Ueber den Nutzen einer theoretischen Vorbereitung der Palaestina-Kolonisation,” *Palästina* (April/May 1902): 104–107.
- 16 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 78.
- 17 Weinstock, “The Impact of Zionist Colonization on Palestinian Arab Society Before 1948,” 50.
- 18 Weinstock, “The Impact of Zionist Colonization on Palestinian Arab Society Before 1948,” 62.
- 19 The necessity of cultivating a peaceful Jewish–Arab relationship was often discussed at the Zionist Congresses, especially around World War I. In an article published in *Der Jude*, Hugo Bergmann, for example, writes:
- A peaceful co-existence with [the Arabs] is for us a question of life. Our schools must be open to Arabs; we must speak to them in newspapers and in books in their language; a Jewish-Arab society should work to realize a thriving, fruitful life together through the profound commonalities of the history and the essential being of both people.
- “Die wahre Autonomie,” *Der Jude*, vol. 8 (1919): 368–373.
- For a discussion of Bergmann and the particular Zionism of the Prague Circle, see Scott Spector, *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Franz Kafka’s Fin de Siècle* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 135–142. After World War II, this ideal of co-existence disappeared with the drawing up of Plan Dalet, which called for the systematic expulsion of the Palestinians from Jewish territories. As Ilan Pappé has argued in an incendiary book, the politics of replacement and expulsion in 1948 Palestine fits squarely within the paradigm of “ethnic cleansing.” See his *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006).
- 20 Alfred Nossig, “Das jüdische Kolonisationsprogramm,” 178.
- 21 Selig Soskin and Aaron Aaronsohn, “Die Rosinenstadt Es-Salt: Reiseeindrücke,” *Altneuland* (January 1904): 13–22.
- 22 Theodor Herzl, *Altneuland*, in: *Gesammelte Zionistische Werke*, vol 5 (Tel Aviv: Hazaah Ivrit, 1935), 125–420. All citations will be documented parenthetically as A, followed by the page number to this edition. For a more extensive discussion of Herzl’s novel, see my *Mobile Modernity: Germans, Jews, Trains* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), Ch. 5.
- 23 Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man*, 303.
- 24 Elias Auerbach, *Palaestina als Judenland* (Berlin: Juedischer Verlag, 1912), 46.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 46.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 47.
- 27 Selig Soskin, “‘Gross’ und ‘Klein’-Kolonisation,” *Altneuland* (May 1904): 129–140. Here, 131.
- 28 Otto Warburg, “Die nichtjüdische Kolonisation Palästinas,” *Altneuland* (February 1904): 39–45. Here, 44.
- 29 Otto Warburg, “Die Juedische Kolonisation Palaestinas,” *Altneuland* (April 1904): 97–108. Here, 107.
- 30 Arthur Ruppin, “Die Auslese des Menschenmaterials für Palästina,” *Der Jude*, vol. 8 (1919): 373–83. Here, 374. All further citations will be documented parenthetically as AM, followed by the page number. For a critical account of Ruppin’s Zionism and his intellectual history, see Etan Bloom’s Ph.D. dissertation, “Arthur Ruppin and the Production of the Modern Hebrew Culture (1908–1942)” as well as his article, “‘The Administrative Knight’: Arthur Ruppin and the Rise of Zionist Statistics,” in: *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* XXXV (2007).

- 31 Helmut Pemsel, *Weltgeschichte der Seefahrt*, 7 vols. (Vienna: Neuer wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2003).
- 32 Pemsel, *Weltgeschichte der Seefahrt: Biographisches Lexikon*, 4:10.
- 33 David Ben-Gurion, "Israel and the Sea: Army and Security," in: *Israel and the Sea*, eds M. Newman, Z. Eshel, M. Pomruk, and S. Raviv (Haifa: Newman and Hevel Yamo LeIsrael, 1950) [in Hebrew]. Quoted in Hannan Hever, "We Have not Arrived from the Sea: A Mizrahi Literary Geography," *Social Identities* 10.1 (2004): 31–51. Here, 36.
- 34 Raphael Patai, *The Children of Noah: Jewish Seafaring in Ancient Times* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998). Further citations will be documented parenthetically as Patai, followed by the page number.
- 35 In the Middle Ages, there were a number of Jewish sailors, most notably the twelfth century explorer, Benjamin von Tudela, and Petachja von Regensburg. For an account of their world travels, see *Jüdische Reisen im Mittelalter: Benjamin von Tudela und Petachja von Regensburg*, trans. and introduced by Stefan Schreiner (Cologne: Parkland, 1998).
- 36 Hegel delivered these lectures at the University of Berlin in 1822–23. G. W. F. Hegel, *Werke*, vol. 12 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970). The English is *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Dover, 1956). All citations will be documented parenthetically as W, followed first by the page number to the German edition and then the page number to the English translation. I have consulted the English translation but have opted to give my own translations of Hegel throughout.
- 37 For a critical assessment of Hegel's relationship to colonialism and views on Africa, cf. Robert Bernasconi, "Hegel at the Court of Ashanti," in: *Hegel After Derrida*, ed. Stuart Barnett (London: Routledge, 1998), 41–63.
- 38 In my book, *Mobile Modernity*, I give a more extensive treatment of Hegel's philosophy of world history. Cf. Ch. 4.
- 39 Again, Patai's history of Jewish seafaring is instructive here since Hegel's assessment is made entirely on his lack on knowledge of (among other things) this extensive and, more of less, coeval history.
- 40 G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte*, Karl Heinz Iting, Karl Brehmer, and Hoo Nam Seelmann, eds. vol. 12 (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1996), 111. Although differing in some ways from the standard edition published by Suhrkamp, this edition is based upon a new reconstruction of Hegel's lectures from the winter semester 1822/23.
- 41 According to Charles Taylor, "the Germanic world" does not refer to Germany, per se, but rather to the "barbarians who swarmed over the Roman empire at its end and founded the new nations of Western Europe. There is no particular chauvinism in this use of the word German." *Hegel* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 398.
- 42 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 78.
- 43 Hegel, "Der Geist des Christentums und sein Schicksal" (1798–1800), in: *Werke*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971), 277.
- 44 Hegel, "Der Geist des Christentums und sein Schicksal," 278.
- 45 Johann Gottfried Herder, "The Hebrews," in: *On World History: An Anthology*, eds Hans Adler and Ernest A. Menze, trans. Ernest A. Menze with Michael Palma (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), 263.
- 46 Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols (1899; Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1904), 1: 454.
- 47 By turning the "Greco-German" seafaring voyage into a Jewish undertaking, Heine, I argue, subverts the absolutism of Hegel's philosophy of history and exposes the very metaphors upon which its progressive development relies. See

- my article, "Jews on Ships; or How Heine's *Reisebilder* Deconstruct Hegel's Philosophy of World History," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 118.3 (May 2003): 521–538.
- 48 Max Grunwald, "Juden als Rheder und Seefahrer," *Ost und West*, vol. 7 (July 1902): 479–486. The article was also published as a small pamphlet under the same title in 1902. Further citations will be documented parenthetically as JR, followed by the page number.
- 49 In 1856, Doré produced a series of twelve woodcuts that depicted the history of the wandering Jew: the first woodcut grounds the myth in the New Testament, with Jesus punishing Ahasverus, the Jewish cobbler, to wander until Judgment Day. In the last woodcut, the wandering Jew is saved when he confesses his belief in Christ. In Doré's representation, the wandering Jew not only walks on land but also walks across the oceans. At first sight, Richard Wagner's *Fliegender Holländer* appears to be a counter-example since the protagonist is a seafaring Jew; however, the opera is essentially a reinscription of the myth of the wandering Jew, condemned to sail the seas until the end of time and, hence, far from a self-determined pioneer on a voyage of discovery or conquest.
- 50 Cf. Hans Blumenberg, *Shipwreck with Spectator: Paradigm of a Metaphor for Existence*, trans. Steven Rendall (Cambridge, MA: MIT University Press, 1997).
- 51 Georges Van Den Abbeele, *Travel as Metaphor: From Montaigne to Rousseau* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 1992), xv.
- 52 Paul Gilroy's important work, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), shows how the ship, as both an historical reality and literary metaphor, structures the dialectical underside of modernity. He argues that "the ship is the first of the novel chronotopes . . . to rethink modernity via the history of the black Atlantic and the African diaspora into the Western hemisphere" (17).
- 53 For an assessment of this dialectic, see David Sorkin, "Emancipation and Assimilation: Two Concepts and Their Application to German-Jewish History," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 35 (1990): 17–33; and Amos Funkenstein, "Dialectics of Assimilation," *Jewish Social Studies* 1.2 (Winter 1995): 1–14.
- 54 Werner Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Leipzig: Verlag Von Duncker and Humboldt, 1911). For a critical assessment of Sombart's anti-Semitism, see: Paul Mendes-Flohr, "Werner Sombart's *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*—An Analysis of its Ideological Premises," in: *Publications of the Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* XXI (1976): 87–107.
- 55 The anonymously authored reviews appeared in the "Nachrichten" (news) section of *Die Welt*: "Die Bedeutung der Juden für das moderne Wirtschaftsleben," vol. 47 (November 19, 1909): 1040–1041; "Die Befähigung der Juden zum Kapitalismus," vol. 49 (December 3, 1909): 1087–1088; "Judaismus und Kapitalismus," vol. 50 (December 10, 1909): 1113–1114. Further citations will be given parenthetically as the title, followed by the page number. Mitchell Hart briefly discusses these lectures in his *Social Science and the Politics of Modern Jewish Identity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 208. For a more extensive discussion of Sombart and his Jewish reception, see Derek J. Penslar, *Shylock's Children: Economies and Jewish Identity in Modern Europe* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), esp. 164–173.
- 56 Interestingly, *Der Schild*, the post-World War I periodical dedicated to German-Jewish military service (and a decidedly anti-Zionist organ), featured a number of extensive discussions covering the debates about whether Columbus was a Jew. In one such article, a Spanish historian is quoted as decisively proving that Columbus was a Jew. But more than that, the article maintains that "it was Jewish money that made possible Columbus's voyage, encouraged and supported

- Columbus's plans, and led to the discovery of the new world." "War Columbus jüdischer Abkunft!" *Der Schild*, no. 20 (August 21, 1925). Indeed, the centrality of voyages of discovery and conquest to muscular Judaism and modern Jewish identity was not limited to the Zionist imaginary, something that we will see in more detail in Chapter 6.
- 57 This is essentially the argument that Yuri Slezkine has made in his celebrated book, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004). Jews are the most modern of people precisely because they embody the traits necessary for thriving in the modern world: mobility, adaptability, flexibility, and intellectual agility. To the extent that we are modern, we are all, to varying degrees, Jews. Hence, the modern age is essentially the Jewish age.
- 58 Willy Bambus, for example, published his travelogue, *Palästina: Land und Leute*, in 1898 (Berlin) and Adolf Friedeman published his "pictures of travel" (which included a number of etchings by Hermann Struck) in 1904: *Reisebilder aus Palästina* (Berlin). By the end of the first decade, scores of travel guides to Palestine had been published, with one of the most famous being Davis Trietsch's *Bilder aus Palästina* (Berlin: Orient Verlag, 1911), which I will discuss below. For a good study of the genre of German-Jewish travel writing about Palestine, see Wolf Kaiser, *Palästina—Erez Israel: Deutschsprachige Reisebeschreibungen jüdischer Autoren von der Jahrhundertwende bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1992).
- 59 Theodor Herzl, *Briefe und Tagebücher: Zionistisches Tagebuch, 1895–1899*, Alex Bein, ed. vols. 2–3 (Berlin: Propyläen, 1983). Here, 2: 655. All further references to Herzl's letters and diaries will be documented parenthetically as T, followed by the volume and page number.
- 60 Moses Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem: Die letzte Nationalitätsfrage. Briefe und Noten* (Leipzig: M. W. Kaufmann, 1899). Here, 77 and 79. Said also quotes Hess in his article, "Zionism from the Standpoint of its Victims," 66–67.
- 61 Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, xiv.
- 62 Herzl, *Der Judenstaat*, in *Zionistische Schriften*, vol. 1 (Tel Aviv: Hozaah Ivrit, 1934).
- 63 Herzl, "Jews as Pioneer People," in: *Zionist Writings*, trans. Harry Zohn, vol. 2 (New York: Schocken Books, 1973), 72.
- 64 Cf. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- 65 Milly Heyd also discusses this phenomenon, particularly with respect to Lilien's representations of Herzl, in her article, "Lilien: Between Herzl and Ahasver," in: *Theodor Herzl: Visionary of the Jewish State*, eds Gideon Shimoni and Robert S. Wistrich (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press), 279.
- 66 *Palaestina*, vol. 2 (January 1903), 49.
- 67 *Palaestina*, vol. 1 (January 1902), 38.
- 68 Louis Brisch, Franz Oppenheimer, and Davis Trietsch, "Der Prospekt der 'Juedischen Orient-Kolonisations-Gesellschaft,'" *Palaestina* (January 1903): 52–57. Here, 54.
- 69 Otto Warburg, "Palästina als Kolonisationsgebiet," *Altneuland* (January 1904): 3–13. Here, 13.
- 70 Davis Trietsch, *Bilder aus Palaestina*, abbreviated hereafter as BP. Also, Davis Trietsch, *Juedische Emigration und Kolonisation* (Berlin: Orient Verlag, 1917). Although not published until 1917, the latter book was written, according to Trietsch's preface, five years earlier, in 1912.
- 71 Trietsch, *Juedische Emigration und Kolonisation*, 37–38 and 41.
- 72 Depictions of the muscular Jewish farmer tilling the ground are the most culturally redundant trope of the "muscle Jew" in Israel. For a good overview of this trope

- in the visual culture of Palestine and Israel, see: *Die neuen Hebräer: 100 Jahre Kunst in Israel*, Doreet LeVitte Harten and Yigal Zalmona, eds. (Berlin: Nicolai Verlag, 2005), esp. 200–209. Also see, Eric Zakim, *To Build and Be Built: Landscape, Literature, and the Construction of Zionist Identity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). Significantly, this “Jewish” trope of progress stands in diametrical opposition to the depictions of the Arab world as backwards-facing, anti-modernist, and stagnant. Decades later, this assessment would continue to inform anthropological judgments of Arabs, such those in Raphael Patai’s famous book, *The Arab Mind* (New York: Hatherleigh Press, 2002 [1973]). According to the judgment of a Muslim author cited by Patai: Arab humanity “belongs to the ‘abject, frustrated, ignorant, weak’ type, and not to the other type of humanity, which is ‘progress-minded, successful, knowledgeable, and strong’” (267). He concludes his chapter on “Arab stagnation” with the question of whether “a new Arab man” will emerge who has “[shaken] off the last vestiges of Arab stagnation and [will] take an honored place in the comity of nations of the modern world” (283). Through the embrace of the Western world of progress, nationality, and modernization, muscular Judaism and the muscle Jew are the implicit models for Arab self-transformation.
- 73 Davis Trietsch, *Juedische Emigration und Kolonisation*, 45.
- 74 S. Y. Agnon, *Only Yesterday*, trans. Barbara Harshav (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 3. The trope of the pioneer arriving from the sea appears in countless works of literature and film, perhaps most emblematically articulated by Moshe Shamir who declares that his hero, Elik, “was born from the sea.” For a discussion of the seafaring Zionist Jew in Israeli cinema, see Ella Shohat, *Israeli Cinema: East/West and the Politics of Representation* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1989). For a timely reassessment of this trope, see Hannan Hever, “We Have not Arrived from the Sea: A Mizrahi Literary Geography.” For a history of the Sabra Jew, see Oz Almog, *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew*, trans. Haim Watzman (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000).
- 75 Hannan Hever, “We Have not Arrived from the Sea: A Mizrahi Literary Geography,” 34.
- 76 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 77 *Ibid.*, 36.
- 78 S. Y. Agnon, *Only Yesterday*, 21. Hever, however, reads this passage as an example of the sea as a means of passage to the territory. It is certainly that, but it is also a reference back to the idea of Europe and, hence, contributes to the very hegemony that he sees in contemporary Israel.

## 6 SOLDIERS OF REGENERATION

- 1 For a discussion of these stereotypes, see Klaus Hödl, *Die Pathologisierung des jüdischen Körpers* (Vienna: Picus Verlag, 1997), esp. 168–177, and Sander Gilman, *The Jew’s Body* (New York: Routledge, 1991). Also, see John Efron’s *Medicine and the German Jews: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), Ch. 4, “The Jewish Body Degenerate?”
- 2 Daniel Boyarin will celebrate this “unheroic conduct” as an indicator of a uniquely Jewish, “soft” manliness, which he sees to stand in contradistinction to the “macho” heroism of the warrior. Cf. *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).
- 3 “Mauschel” is a variant of the Yiddish word for “Moses” and is used here in a pejorative sense to refer collectively to hapless, Yiddish-speaking Jews. See my discussion in Chapter 2.



- 4 The poem and illustration are reprinted in Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur* (Munich: Verlag Albert Langen, 1921), 37.
- 5 Reprinted in Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur*, 93.
- 6 Quoted in Ludwig Geiger, *Die deutschen Juden und der Krieg* (Berlin: C. U. Schwetschke, 1915).
- 7 The full edict was republished in *Sulamith*, the first German-language journal aimed at a Jewish readership and the central organ of Jewish emancipation in Prussia, under the title: “Bürgerliche Verbesserung der Israeliten im Königreich Preußen” (1812), 54–63. An English translation of a portion of the “Edict of Emancipation” appears in: *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, eds Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 141–142. Here, 142.
- 8 For more on the history of Jewish military service in Prussia, see Horst Fischer, *Judentum, Staat und Heer in Preussen im frühen 19. Jahrhundert. Zur Geschichte der staatlichen Judenpolitik* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1968), and Erik Lindner, *Patriotismus deutscher Juden von der napoleonischen Ära bis zum Kaiserreich: Zwischen korporativem Loyalismus und individueller deutsch-jüdischer Identität* (Frankfurt a. M: Peter Lang, 1998).
- 9 Quoted in Lindner, *Patriotismus deutscher Juden von der napoleonischen Ära bis zum Kaiserreich*, 311.
- 10 Cf. Geiger, *Deutschen Juden und der Krieg*, 52; Rolf Vogel, *Ein Stück von uns* (Mainz: v. Hase und Koehler, 1977), 35–6.
- 11 H. Naudh [J. Nordmann], *Israel im Heere* (Berlin: Otto Heutze Verlag, 1879). Citations will be documented parenthetically.
- 12 Sander Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
- 13 Rathenau published the original essay pseudonymously under the name Walter Hartenau: “Höre, Israel!” *Zukunft* 18 (March 16, 1897): 454–462. A portion of the essay is translated by J. Hessing and appears in *The Jew in the Modern World*, 267–268. I provided my own translation with reference to Hessing’s.
- 14 Balduin Groller, “Die körperliche Minderwertigkeit der Juden,” *Die Welt* 16 (April 19, 1901): 3–5. All further citations will be documented parenthetically.
- 15 Karl Jeremias, “Die Fragen der körperlichen, geistigen und wirtschaftlichen Hebung der Juden: Die körperliche Minderwertigkeit der Juden,” *Die Welt* 18 (May 3, 1901): 3–5. All further citations will be documented parenthetically.
- 16 For an extensive discussion of Jewish military might and violence in antiquity, see Warren Rosenberg, *Legacy of Rage: Jewish Masculinity, Violence, and Culture* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), esp. Ch. 2.
- 17 See the discussion by Moshe Zimmerman, “Jewish Nationalism and Zionism in German-Jewish Students’ Organizations,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 27 (1982): 129–153, and Keith H. Pickus, *Constructing Modern Identities: Jewish University Students in Germany, 1815–1914* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 104–110.
- 18 For more on Loewe and the context of Jewish ethnic identity in this period, see David A. Brenner, *Marketing Identities: The Invention of Jewish Ethnicity in Ost and West* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1998).
- 19 This is a quote from the Leipzig chapter of the Vereinigung Jüdischer Studenten from around 1900. Quoted in Pickus, *Constructing Modern Identities: Jewish University Students in Germany, 1815–1915*, 108.
- 20 The speech was originally delivered in 1905 at the Berlin Zionist Association and the title certainly plays off of Herzl’s utopian novel, *Altneuland*. Franz Oppenheimer, “Die alte und neue Makkabäer,” *Jüdische Rundschau* 35 (August 28, 1914), 353–355. Further citations will be documented parenthetically.

- 21 Bialik's 1903 poem, "The City of Slaughter," is perhaps the most famous indictment of Jewish passivity in the face of the pogrom in Kishinev. The poem ends with the following lines, aimed at the Jews themselves: "The scurrying of roaches was their flight; / They died like dogs, and they were dead!"
- 22 The reference is to an anti-Semitic phrase made famous by Heinrich von Treitschke who believed that Germany was being "invaded year after year by multitudes of assiduous pants-selling youths from the inexhaustible cradle of Poland, whose children and grand-children are to be the future rulers of Germany's exchanges and Germany's press." "A Word About Our Jewry" (1880), reprinted in: *The Jew in the Modern World*, 343.
- 23 Heinrich Loewe, "Feinde Ringsum!" *Jüdische Rundschau* 32 (August 7, 1914), 343–344. Further citations will be documented parenthetically.
- 24 The classic study to analyze this phenomenon is Jehuda Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land: The Dilemma of the German Jew, 1893–1914* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1975).
- 25 Michael Berkowitz, *Western Jewry and the Zionist Project, 1914–1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 7.
- 26 Benjamin Segel, "Der Krieg als Lehrmeister," *Ost und West* 9–12 (September–December 1914): 624–640. Further citations will be documented parenthetically. For a good discussion of Segel, see David A. Brenner, *Marketing Identities*, 145–158.
- 27 Cf. *K.C. Blätter: Monatsschrift der im Kartell-Convent vereinigten Korporationen* (November–December 1914).
- 28 The K.C. was preceded by the landmark establishment of an Association of Jewish Students at Breslau in 1886. In their manifesto, the regeneration of the Jewish body played a critical role in fighting both anti-Semitism and Jewish self-hatred. To quote from the manifesto:

Physical training has been since the time of the ancient Greeks the most powerful impulse toward forming body and mind. We saw the results in Jahn's and Friesen's training in the Wars of Liberation. We, however, have been barred from these exercises. Our association is to be, first of all, a place for physical training of every kind: gymnastics, fencing, rowing, and swimming. We have to fight with all our energy against the odium of cowardice and weakness which is cast on us. We want to show that every member of our association is equal to every Christian fellow-student in any physical exercise and chivalry. Physical strength and agility will increase self-confidence and self-respect, and in the future nobody will be ashamed of being a Jew.

Significantly, this manifesto precedes Nordau's call for muscular Judaism by more than a decade. Quoted in Adolph Asch and Johanna Philippson, "Self-Defence at the Turn of the Century: The Emergence of the K.C." *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 3 (1958): 122–139. Here, 124.

- 29 The literature on the student movement in Imperial Germany is quite extensive. For an overview, see Konrad Jarausch, *Students, Society and Politics in Imperial Germany: The Rise of Academic Illiberalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982). For Jewish student associations in particular, see Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land*; Pickus, *Constructing Modern Identities*; Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Moshe Zimmerman, "Jewish Nationalism and Zionism in German-Jewish Students' Organizations." For more on dueling and honor, see Kevin McAleer, *Dueling: The Cult of Honor in Fin-de-Siècle Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University

- Press, 1994), and Ute Frevert, *Ehrenmänner: Das Duell in der Bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991).
- 30 The journal carried this quote on every issue from October 1, 1910, onwards.
- 31 As we will see below, there is an intimately dialectical connection between warfare and masculinity in World War I. On the one hand, trench warfare was imagined by certain German nationalist proponents, such as Ernst Jünger, to give birth to new, technologically steeled men “loaded with overflowing manliness.” *Der Kampf als Inneres Erlebnis*, in: *Sämtliche Werke: Essays I, Betrachtungen zur Zeit*, vol. 7 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), 19. On the other hand, the war destroyed men and masculinity, creating what Paul Lerner has called “modern male hysteria.” *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry, and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 249. For a broad treatment of the topos of the military, war, and masculinity, see the essays in: Ute Frevert, ed., *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), esp. Frevert’s essay, “Das Militär als ‘Schule der Männlichkeit’: Erwartungen, Angebote, Erfahrungen im 19. Jahrhundert,” 145–173. Also, see Gregory A. Caplan, “Germanising the Jewish Male: Military Masculinity as the Last Stage of Acculturation,” in: *Towards Normality? Assimilation and Modern German Jewry*, eds Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter, (Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 159–84.
- 32 See the essays in Werner E. Mosse and Arnold Paucker, eds, *Deutsches Judentum im Krieg und Revolution, 1916–1923* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971); George Mosse, “The Jews and the German War Experience, 1914–1918,” *Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture 21* (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1977); Paul Mendes-Flohr, “The Kriegserlebnis and Jewish Consciousness,” in: *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik / Jews in the Weimar Republic*, eds Wolfgang Benz, Arnold Paucker, and Peter Pulzer (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1998), 225–237.
- 33 Ludwig Geiger, “Der Krieg und die Juden,” *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 34 (August 21, 1914): 297–298. Here, 298.
- 34 István Deán, “Jewish Soldiers in Austro-Hungarian Society,” *Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture 34* (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1990), 21.
- 35 For a thorough discussion of the “Jew Count,” see Werner T. Angress, “The German Army’s ‘Judenzählung’ of 1916: Genesis—Consequences—Significance,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* (London: Leo Baeck Institute, 1978), 117–137.
- 36 Martin Buber, “Judenzählung,” *Der Jude* (November 1916): 564.
- 37 Felix Theilhaber, *Die Juden im Weltkrieg: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse für Deutschland* (Berlin: 1916) and Jacob Segall, *Die deutsche Juden als Soldaten im Kriege 1914–1918: Eine statistische Studie* (Berlin: 1921).
- 38 Cited in Rolf Vogel, *Ein Stück von uns*, 150.
- 39 Otto Armin, *Juden im Heere* (1919). Quotations will be documented parenthetically.
- 40 Paragraph 1 of the *Deutsche Schutz- und Trutzbund*, quoted in: Ulrich Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten 1919–1938* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1977), 42.
- 41 Ulrich Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten 1919–1938*, 32–33.
- 42 Leo Löwenstein, “Erster Aufruf zur Gründung des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten” (January 1919) reprinted in *Der Schild* (July 5, 1929): 221. Further quotations are documented parenthetically.
- 43 For the most thorough discussion of the history of the RjF, see Gregory Caplan’s PhD dissertation, “Wicked Sons, German Heroes: Jewish Soldiers, Veterans, and Memories of World War I in Germany” (Georgetown University, Washington DC, 2001).

- 44 Walter Friedländer, "Unsere Leibesübungen: eine Volks-Hygiene," *Der Schild* 3 (February 1, 1925): 54.
- 45 Friedländer, "Unsere Leibesübungen: eine Volks-Hygiene," *Der Schild*, 54.
- 46 See, for example, Julius Heilbrunn, "Militärische und turnerische Erziehung," *Jüdische Turnzeitung* 6 (1903): 102.
- 47 "Die hebräische Kommando," *Jüdische Turnzeitung* 11/12 (1907): 186.
- 48 Gideon Reuveni, "Sports and the Militarization of Jewish Society," in: *Emancipation through Muscles*, eds Michael Brenner and Gideon Reuveni (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 44–61.
- 49 Johanna Thomaschewsky, "Das hebräische Turnkommando," *Jüdische Turn- und Sportzeitung* 1 (1919): 15.
- 50 Friedländer, "Unsere Leibesübungen: eine Volks-Hygiene," *Der Schild* 3 (February 1, 1925): 55.
- 51 "Jüdische Frauen!," *Der Schild* 10 (October 1922), n.p.
- 52 "Was will der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten?" (1924), advertisement reprinted in Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten 1919–1938*, 209.
- 53 Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies: Volume 2, Male Bodies: Psychoanalyzing the White Terror*, trans. Erica Carter and Chris Turner (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 88.
- 54 For a classic analysis, see Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, esp. 7–16.
- 55 George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 155. Further citations will be documented parenthetically.
- 56 In his famous essay, "The Influence of the Volkish Idea on German Jewry," Mosse argues that all of these groups shared a common affinity for German Volkish thought and the regeneration of the body. The Volkish-oriented German Youth Movement, the Volkish-oriented Jewish Youth Movement, the Zionists, and the war veterans of the *Reichsbund* were all:
- battling against the Jewish stereotype, and when this battle was elevated to an article of national faith, the battle took on added impetus. . . . Here we can see clearly the common Volkish base which the assimilationist groups shared with the young Zionists, if to a different purpose. The ideal Jew was aristocratic, rooted in the genuineness of the landscape, anti-urban, soldierly, and bound to his fellows by the Bund of a shared spiritual experience. Moreover, he was tough, sinewy, and well formed in body. This emphasis on physical form was a further feature of the German movement.
- Germans and Jews: The Right, The Left, and the Search for a 'Third Force' in Pre-Nazi Germany* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1970), 109.
- 57 Hal Foster, *Compulsive Beauty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), 109 and 115.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 120.
- 59 Felix Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (Berlin: Verlag der Schild, 1924). A significantly smaller first edition was published in 1919: *Jüdischer Flieger im Krieg: Ein Blatt der Erinnerung* (Berlin: Louis Lamm Verlag, 1919). All citations will be documented parenthetically as JF, followed by the page number to the 1924 edition.
- 60 For a discussion of the logic of the prosthesis in interwar European art, see Hal Foster, "Prosthetic Gods," *Modernism/Modernity* 4.2 (1997): 5–38, and Hal Foster, "Armor Fou," *October* 56 (Spring 1991): 64–97. For a path-breaking treatment of the machine-body complex, see Mark Seltzer, *Bodies and Machines* (New York: Routledge, 1992).
- 61 Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller," in: *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books), 84.

- 62 From its beginnings at the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich under the creative direction of Hugo Ball and Emmy Hennings, Dada was a pointedly political anti-art, anti-war movement. This is perhaps nowhere clearer than in the First International Dada Fair of 1920 staged in Berlin. In addition to hanging a German soldier doll with a pig mask on his face from the ceiling, George Grosz, John Heartfield, and Otto Dix displayed some of their most stringent anti-war works, which depicted war veterans with horrendous injuries and deformations. The Fair was promptly shut down by the German authorities.
- 63 Max Ernst, *Max Ernst: Beyond Painting* (New York: Wittenborn, Schultz, 1948), 29.
- 64 For a brief discussion of the airplane vis-à-vis modern notions of temporality and spatiality, cf. Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), esp. 242–247.
- 65 Kamensky, *Put' entusiasta*. Quoted in Robert Wohl, *A Passion for Flying: Aviation and the Western Imagination, 1908–1918* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 145.
- 66 Some of the key studies of futurism, war, and aviation are: Marjorie Perloff, *The Futurist Movement: Avant-Garde, Avant-Guerre, and the Language of Rupture* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Jeffrey T. Schnapp, "Propeller Talk," *Modernism/Modernity* 1.3 (1994): 153–178; Bruno Mantura, Patrizia Rosazza-Ferraris, Livia Velani, eds, *Futurism in Flight: "Aeropittura" Paintings and Sculptures of Man's Conquest of Space (1913–1945)* (Rome: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte, 1990).
- 67 Marinetti, "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism" (February 1909), in: *Marinetti: Selected Writings*, ed. R. W. Flint (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1972), 42, 43.
- 68 Schnapp, "Propeller Talk," 156. The most comprehensive history of the 1909 air show is Peter Demetz, *The Air Show at Brescia, 1909* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002).
- 69 Marinetti, "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature," in: *Marinetti: Selected Writings*, ed. R. W. Flint, 88. Further citations will be documented parenthetically.
- 70 Quoted in Schnapp, "Propeller Talk," 154.
- 71 For a wide-ranging and fascinating cultural history of the "human machine," see Anson Rabinbach's *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992).
- 72 Franz Kafka, "The Aeroplanes at Brescia," trans. G. Humphreys Roberts, in: *The Metamorphosis, The Penal Colony and other Stories* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 306. Translation modified.
- 73 Ernst Jünger, *Copse 125: A Chronicle from the Trench Warfare of 1918*, trans. Basil Creighton (London: Chatto and Windus, 1930), 21. Further quotations will be documented parenthetically, as *Copse 125* followed by the page number.
- 74 Walter Benjamin, "Theories of German Fascism: On the Collection of Essays *Krieg und Krieger*, edited by Ernst Jünger" (1930), trans. Jerolf Wikoff. *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 2: 1927–1934, Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith, eds (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1999), 312–321. Here, 314.
- 75 For example, Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920), or Erich Maria Remarque's *Im Westen nichts Neues* (1929).
- 76 For a comparative discussion of the cultural and social implications of the mutilated male body, see: Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914–1939* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001); Joanna Burke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996); Bernd Hüppauf,

- “Langemarck, Verdun, and the Myth of a New Man in Germany after the First World War,” *War and Society* 6 (1988): 70–101.
- 77 See, for example, Freud’s classic study of the repetition compulsion in shell-shocked veterans: *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920). For an anti-war photo book of bodily injuries suffered by war veterans, see Ernst Friedrich’s *Krieg dem Kriege* (1924).
- 78 Paul Lerner, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 7.
- 79 Ernst Toller, “Hinkemann” (1922), in: *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Welt, 1961), 167–219. Here, 172. Further citations will be documented parenthetically.
- 80 Ernst Jünger, *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* (1922), in: *Sämtliche Werke: Essays I, Betrachtungen zur Zeit*.
- 81 The original reads: “Der Krieg, aller Dinge Vater, ist auch der unsere; er hat uns gehämmert, gemeißelt und gehärtet zu dem, was wir sind. . . . Nicht nur unser Vater ist der Krieg, auch unser Sohn. Wir haben ihn gezeugt und er uns” (11–12). In English, the last sentence can be translated to eliminate all reference to the German gendering: “We gave birth to it, and it to us.” Although the pronouns “er” and “ihn” probably refer to the war, the slippage between the father, the son, and the war is explicitly part of Jünger’s argument insofar as the masculinity of the war is to be equated with that of both forefathers and progeny. In this regard, the transmittal of martial militancy across the generations also accords with the Zionist argument given by Heinrich Loewe in 1908.
- 82 For more on Jünger and masculinity, see my article, “The End of Sex and the Last Man: On the Weimar Utopia of Ernst Jünger’s ‘Worker,’” in *Qui Parle* 13.1 (Winter 2001): 103–136.
- 83 Ernst Jünger, “Vorwort” to *Luftfahrt ist Not* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Andermann, 1933), 6–10. Here, 10. The first edition came out in 1928 and was expanded and reissued in 1933. The quote, “Flying is Necessary,” is from Heinrich Himmler and is a play on the double meaning of “Not” as “necessity” and “danger.” Further citations will be documented parenthetically as LN, followed by the page number.
- 84 Ernst Jünger, *Der Arbeiter: Herrschaft und Gestalt* (1932), in: *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 8 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), 41.
- 85 During the years in which he conceived of *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger was also writing extensively about photography and contributed to the editing and publication of at least five photograph anthologies documenting the visual “reality” of his time. In 1930, he contributed six short essays, including a paradigmatic statement on the relationship between war and photography, to a collection called *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges: Fronterlebnisse deutscher Soldaten* (The Face of World War: Front Experiences of German Soldiers); in 1931, he contributed to the editing of two photo collections: *Hier spricht der Feind: Kriegerlebnisse unserer Gegner* (The Enemy Speaks Here: War Experiences of Our Opponents) and *Der gefährliche Augenblick* (The Dangerous Moment), the latter of which documented technological catastrophes, such as crashing planes and automobiles at the moment of impact; in 1933, he published a photo essay entitled *Die veränderte Welt: Eine Bilderfibel unserer Zeit* (The Transformed World: A Picture Guide to Our Time) and reissued a photo anthology of airplanes and the mechanics of flying, *Luftfahrt ist Not* (Flying is Necessary).
- 86 Following Germany’s defeat, severe restrictions were placed on motorized aircraft. In defiance of these restrictions, annual gliding competitions in the mountainous Wasserkuppe took place starting in 1920. With speed and endurance records smashed every year, the rallies quickly became “irrepressibly patriotic” and fostered a revival of German nationalism. For a fascinating discussion of this phenomenon,

- see Peter Fritzsche, *A Nation of Fliers: German Aviation and the Popular Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), Ch. 3. Here, 109.
- 87 Fritzsche, *A Nation of Fliers*, 64.
- 88 “Die Juden als Soldaten,” *Der Schild* 5 (March 1, 1925): 93.
- 89 “Neues von der Segelfluggruppe des RjF,” *Der Schild* 28 (October 16, 1925): 386.
- 90 Leo Löwenstein, “Unsere Segelflieger: Die Alten und die Jungen,” *Der Schild* 29 (July 19, 1929): 233–234.
- 91 See Fritzsche’s *A Nation of Flyers* for a comprehensive bibliography.
- 92 Willi Hackenberger, *Deutschlands Eroberung der Luft* (Siegen: Verlag Herman Montanus, 1915).
- 93 Marjorie Perloff, “The Great War and the European Avant-garde,” in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the First World War*, ed. Vincent Sherry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 146.
- 94 Ernst Jünger, “On Danger” (1931), trans. and reprinted in: *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, eds Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 369–372. Here, 369.
- 95 “Neues von der Segelfluggruppe des RjF,” *Der Schild* 28 (October 16, 1925): 386.
- 96 “Der Luft übers Weltmeer: Chamberlins und Levines Flug New York-Kottbus,” *Der Schild* 22/23 (June 14, 1927).
- 97 “The New Jewish Record,” *Der Tog* (June 7, 1927). Translated and viewed on the Yiddish Radio Project website: <http://www.yiddishradioproject.org/exhibits/levine>, accessed June 1, 2006. I thank Erica Scheinberg for the kind reference.
- 98 Songs and lyrics accessed from the Yiddish Radio Project website, June 1, 2006.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

- 1 Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976).





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