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Article

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ABSTRACT

Ephraim Moses Lilien (1874–1925) was one of the most important Jewish artists of modern times. As a successful illustrator, photographer, painter, and printer, he became known as the "first major Zionist" artist. Surprisingly, there has been little in-depth scholarly research and analysis of Lilien's work available in English.

In this article, I summarize my research findings from my recent monograph, *Gender, Orientalism and the Jewish Nation* (Bloomsbury Press, 2020), and consider how radical Lilien's complex depictions of women were for this period. Most of the historiography on Lilien has concentrated on his iconography of the muscular [male] Jewish body, discussed among scholars of Zionist art historiography. There has been little debate on his images of the modern Jewess. Like other vanguard male artists at the end of the nineteenth century, painting continued to be a male preserve. His work mirrored the misogyny inherent among non-Jewish avant-garde artists. Ironically, as a secular Zionist, Lilien pushed the limits of Jewish visual representation in the interests of Jewish cultural literacy. This paper considers that paradox in regard to the burgeoning interest at the fin de siècle in German Orientalism and the tensions inherent in the navigation of German Jewish identity.

Using an interdisciplinary approach to integrate intellectual and cultural history with issues of gender, Jewish history, and visual culture, this article explores fin-de-siècle tensions between European and Oriental expressions of Jewish femininity. Lilien's female images offer a compelling glimpse of an alternate, independent, and often sexually liberated modern Jewish woman.

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Keywords: E. M. Lilien, Zionism, Orientalism, Cultural Nationalism, German Jewish history, German Jewish art history, German Jewish cultural history, E. M. Lilien and German visual culture, fin de siècle German Jewish visual culture, nationalism, identity, transnationalism, alterity.

INTRODUCTION

Ephraim Moses Lilien (1874–1925) was one of the most important Jewish artists of modern times. He was a successful illustrator, photographer, painter, printer, graphic arts editor, and filmmaker. Best known for his black-and-white illustrations, produced at the turn of the twentieth century, Lilien became the most well-loved artist of the fledgling Zionist movement. His construction of a Jewish and national art produced a brief aesthetic high point in the flowering of cultural Zionism, an important breakaway movement of early political Zionism.[1] He was also the first modern Jewish artist to create an entire book of biblical illustrations. From the publication of his first, purposeful Jewish illustrations in *Juda* (c. 1900) (see figure 1) to his creation of heroic Jewish biblical figures for *Die Bücher der Bibel* (The Books of the Bible), 1908 to 1912 (see figure 2), Lilien's male imagery has been the focus of numerous historical, cultural, and aesthetic analyses.[2] His female images were largely ignored by scholars in the attempt to understand and historicize Lilien's prophetic constructions of a powerful and muscular "New [male] Jew" who formed a major part of early Zionist discourse on nationalism, politics, and the Jewish body.

This article concentrates on Lilien's representations of Jewish women, the subject of my recent book titled *Gender, Orientalism, and the Jewish Nation: Women in the Work of Ephraim Moses Lilien at the German Fin de Siècle*.[3] Three major themes inform my arguments regarding his female images: gender, Orientalism, and Zionism. Gender is defined in the Foucauldian sense of how our ideas about sexualized bodies are produced, and how these meanings are deployed and developed within Jewish masculinity and femininity at the fin de siècle.[4] Orientalism refers to the Western interest among scholars and artists in the exotic realism of the East or Orient.[5] Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978) argued that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly in British and French visual culture, Orientalism became "a Western style for

Figure 1. Lilien, *Das stille Lied*, c. 1900. In Börries von Münchhausen, *Juda*, n.d., n.p.

dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the East."[6] Said alleged that Western scholarly knowledge about the East (or academic Orientalism) was tainted by the specter of colonialism. After Said, Orientalism became a trope for the way the West constructed images of the Orient or the oriental

Figure 2. Lilien, *Moses Zerbricht die Tafeln* (Moses Breaking the Tablets), *Die Bücher der Bibel*, vol. I, 1908, 224.

Eastern "Other." Said also disregarded German and Austrian biblical scholars, the pacesetters in Oriental studies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, because he argued that they were not engaged in the colonial project, and therefore not complicit with colonialism. A position which meant that German scholarship on the East and the origins of the Bible was overlooked.[7] German-speaking Jews and non-Jews were equally fascinated by the Orient,

the East, and the origins of the Bible.[8] The final theme is Jewish nationalism, or Zionism, and refers to the increasing political and intellectual interest at the turn of the twentieth century on ways to deal with the pejorative "Jewish question" sweeping Western nations.[9] Acculturated and religious Jews alike were increasingly aware that their identity as citizens of the nation-state was beginning to be questioned. Jews, Judaism, and "Jewishness" (particularly in the aftermath of the Dreyfus affair) came under fire, as their supposed "dual" loyalty to the nation was questioned by xenophobic, antisemitic stereotypes.[10] Many Jews began to wonder what type of Jews and what type of Jewry *were* appropriate for a changing modern world.

Lilien's art reflected and constructed a concrete image of these intellectual debates swirling around early Zionism in the late nineteenth century and focused on the construction of a "New Jew." Lilien's male images have been addressed mainly in the context of the self-consciously masculine history of the Zionist movement, where his illustrations helped to facilitate the construction of a "manly muscular Jew." The omission of Jewish women in the discussion has diminished our understanding of Lilien's representation of the "New Jew." Lilien's images of the modern Jewess captured the political, intellectual, social, and cultural narratives of Jewish emancipation, as they more accurately reflected the precarious position of Central European Jews, caught between identification with the simple binaries of the "alien," "exotic," and "barbaric" East (or Orient) and the "civilized" West. Unlike political Zionists, Lilien, as a cultural Zionist, responded to increasing antisemitism and rising assimilation by creating a new redemptive vision of Biblical Jewish heroes *and* modern heroines.

LILIEN AND HIS ART

E. M. Lilien was born in 1874 into a poor Eastern European Jewish family in Drohobycz in the vast Habsburg Empire. He created a delightful etching of his town in 1913 when visiting his mother.[11] While evidence of Jewish life there was entirely obliterated between 1939 and 1945, Lilien's affectionate image of the central marketplace remains.[12] By the time Lilien was sixteen, he had moved to Kraków to study at the Art Academy under the

Polish nationalist Jan Matejko. Around 1893, just as Matejko was dying, Lilien left for Vienna. In 1899, he was living and working in Berlin. By 1912, the time when his famous *Self-portrait* was made (see figure 3), Lilien had become the darling of the German Jewish art world. No longer extremely poor or religious, he wore the clothing—a bow tie and a suit coat—of the upwardly mobile middle-class German *Bürger*. Positioned prominently in the background of figure 3 is the well-known postcard Lilien created for the Fifth Zionist Congress of 1901. This important *Congresskarte*, along with the book *Juda* (published the year before), helped establish his artistic career. Lilien produced three illustrated Jewish books during his career, and many more images for journals and posters. Lilien's images were all created in the Jugendstil style, the German equivalent of the French Art Nouveau (New Art), which at the time was the most modern artistic movement of the twentieth century. The characteristic black-and-white linear style was perfect for book and graphic illustrations.[13] Jugendstil, named after the magazine *Jugend* (Youth), was a more rebellious social and political movement than Art Nouveau. The young artists of Jugendstil believed that modern life needed to be reformed *through* art, as part of the neoromantic *Lebensreform* movement. This was a rejection of the static, conservative, and imitative historicism that had been in vogue since the 1860s, and a rebellion against German and Austrian political and social life of the nineteenth century.[14] The Illustrated books that Lilien championed were part of the spirit of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art), where the unity of image and text were central to German and Austrian modernism.[15]

Lilien's artistic production provides a remarkable case study of the problems faced by German-speaking Jewry in central Europe during this period. Born into the Austrian-Hungarian Empire as a poor Galician, Lilien was buried in Braunschweig in 1925 as a naturalized German citizen. His lifetime roughly spans the period from German Jewish emancipation (1871) through the turbulent years of the fin de siècle, when his major work was produced, and includes World War I, the Balfour Declaration, and its aftermath.[16] At the time, Lilien's friends and colleagues included

Figure 3. E. M. Lilien, *Selbsportrait* (Self-Portrait) with *Vom Ghetto nach Zion* in background, c. 1912. Almog, Milchram, and Schmidl, *E. M. Lilien, Jugendstil, Erotik, Zionismus,* 1999, 21. Photograph by I. Simon. Courtesy of the Braunschweig Landesmuseums, c. 1912.

some of the most important Central European German-speaking Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals who came to prominence during this era. Most significantly, Lilien was friends with Stefan Zweig (1881–1942), the Austrian-born Jewish writer and journalist. Zweig was only nineteen when he first met Lilien, years before he become a well-known German-language literary figure.[17] Zweig wrote the introduction to the first book on Lilien's oeuvre in 1903.[18] Lilien also collaborated with many non-Jewish writers. The poet Börries von Münchhausen (1874–1945) wrote the text for *Juda*; the Lutheran pastor Ferdinand Rahlwes (1864–c. 1914) wrote the text for the *Books of the Bible*; and the Russian socialist Maxim Gorky (1868–1936) began a book with him titled *Zolbanski*.[19]

LILIEN'S MALE IMAGERY: THE DARLING AND HOPE OF THE CULTURAL ZIONIST MOVEMENT

In the years following German unification, as German Jews became increasingly assimilated, they encountered growing antisemitism.[20] Lilien's Zionist vision of heroic men and women developed as a crucial strategy of resistance to the difficulties associated with Jewish citizenship and alterity at the fin de siècle. His artistic vision of an entirely "New Jew" was a national answer to Jewish difference. It was a thoughtful construction of two different intellectual debates fashionable among German Jewry in the late nineteenth century. Lilien integrated Max Nordau's concept of the regenerated "Muscular Jewish Gentleman" with Martin Buber's proposal for a spiritually inspired renewal of Friedrich Nietzsche's Übermensch.[21] Nordau's vision was directly influenced by Theodor Herzl's political Zionism, while Buber's "Jewish renaissance" was a specifically German, modernist vision that privileged art, especially the visual arts, over literature.[22] Buber's article on a Jewish renewal appeared just days before he addressed the Fifth Zionist Congress of 1901.[23] At the congress, Buber, Lilien, and other Jewish writers and artists broke from the political Zionists, calling themselves the Democratic Fraction.[24] They were less interested in the pragmatics of creating a Jewish State than in creating and promoting Jewish culture.

Lilien creatively blended Nordau's and Buber's ideas in his youthful and rebellious style. This heady combination helped bring his first book of Jewish illustrations, *Juda*, to the attention of German Jewish modernists eager to create a new Jewish, national, and cultural aesthetic for the modern age. *Juda* is an illustrated collection of Hebrew ballads composed collaboratively with the non-Jewish German neoromantic poet Börries von Münchhausen, who wrote the text. Lilien created the illustrations. In perhaps the most well-known illustration from these ballads, *Das stille Lied* (see figure 1), Lilien fashioned a new, modern, and Jewish artistic style, a fresh interpretation of Jugendstil for a different audience. As Juda, the male hero of the story, kisses his female lover, their bodies dissolve into an erotic, sensual embrace. Juda's cloak, with its decorative, flat Jugendstil patterns, swirls around them, helping to convey their passionate, "exotic," or "Oriental" love. In case the audience misses the point, at the bottom of the woman's feet are

fecund images of fruit, ripe for the picking, while to the right two turtle doves, also kissing, sit under a canopy made from the two flowering bushes. Yet what was so groundbreaking for many acculturated German Jews was not just the style, but the subject matter. For Lilien's German Jewish audiences, the kiss was not a generic Germanic kiss, but a specifically Jewish kiss, with the handsome Juda looking a little like Theodor Herzl. The emphasis on handsome good looks and normative sexuality were all part of the Zionist body aesthetics that encouraged strong, heterosexual, manly behavior.

Lilien's representations of men appear in many of his other Jewish illustrations from this period.[25] They were constructed as a counter to the pseudoscientific racial theories on physical culture and racial hygiene proliferating at the fin de siècle.[26] Virulent antisemitic and racially degenerate images of Jews were visible in journals from as early as 1898. Jews were imagined as degenerative Orientals who negatively influenced politicians in the antisemitic French journal *L'AntiJuif* (see figure 4), or as degenerate modernists who threatened the integrity of German society. Even respectable journals such as *Jugend* reveal the troubling antisemitism that was to haunt modern art in Germany until the mid-twentieth century. In *Liebermann, der Berliner Sezessionswirt* (1903), the respectable leader of the Berlin secessionists, Max Liebermann, usually elegant and tall, appears as a bow-legged, overweight Jewish innkeeper with ape-like arms, dispensing Impressionism as if it is alcohol.[27]

No wonder Lilien's images of well-built socialist, agrarian workers were so popular among Jews. Indeed, the reception to *Juda* was so overwhelming that his first representation of a clearly visible Jewish hero became a best seller. *Juda* became so popular that ten editions were published between 1900 and 1922.[28] By 1910, five editions and at least 12,000 copies had been circulated. With an estimated 100,000 Jews living in Berlin at the time, this meant that at least 12 percent of the Jewish population of Berlin had read *Juda*.[29] By 1920, three times that amount—or 36,000 copies—were in circulation, suggesting Lilien's growing popularity.[30] The few non-Jewish reviews available suggest that the non-Jewish reading public was also aware of his work and appreciated his modernist style.[31] Lilien's career was launched. Buber and the cultural Zionists were happy to praise *Juda* for its depiction of

Figure 4. *L'Antijuif,* September 1898.

ancient male heroes, and to celebrate Lilien as the hope of their movement. However, his depiction of a Jewish woman as licentious or submissive was passed over in silence.

LILIEN'S IMAGES OF WOMEN

The Femme Fatale

Included in Lilien's 1912 self-portrait (see figure 3), to the left and nearly positioned off the page, are depictions of a nude woman, as well as a fertility symbol, the Venus of Willendorf. Why did Lilien put these here? They

hint at another part of Lilien's oeuvre, dedicated not to national pursuits focused on Jewish identity, but to pursuits that suited any hot-blooded male avant-garde artist working at the turn of the twentieth century. Even his image of the Jewish partner for *Juda* seems positioned for the male gaze.[32] In an attempt to discover whether Lilien's images of the modern Jewess were similar to most antifeminist avant-garde male artwork created during this period, three questions were asked: Were his modern Jewesses equal partners to his new male Jews? Were they simply white Western male fantasies? Or were they something else entirely?

Erotic images of nude women are a persistent trope in images by male artists in Jugendstil and Art Nouveau.[33] Often they doubled as a metaphor for the modern image of the "New Woman," who appeared at around the same time, originally in literary journals.[34] The new, often socially and politically dangerous woman wore pants, rode a bicycle, smoked cigarettes, and was independent, strong-willed, and capable of working outside of home and hearth. Often the new woman was both symbol and metaphor of the suffragette agitating for political emancipation and equal voting rights.[35] And yet she began appearing in Lilien's non-Jewish images for *Jugend* (see figures 5 and 6) and *Süddeutsche Postillion* as a maternal earth mother linked to nature. With her long, flowing hair and voluptuous body, she was not necessarily dangerous but certainly sexually charged. Additionally, his images of the sexually charged nude woman evoke the images of Alphonse Mucha or Gustave Klimt's early nudes in *Ver Sacrum*.[36]

Perhaps the most celebrated example of Lilien's emerging femmes fatales appears in his bookplate titled *Ex Libris, des Künstlers*, 1898 (see figure 7).[37] Lilien depicted a naked pubescent girl with her head in a book, hair flowing and covering her genitalia. Lilien's bookplate reveals all his trademarks: a certain licentious sexual license; interest in both Christian and Jewish esoteric knowledge; and a positive declaration of Jewish identity. Lilien's use of a New Testament quotation from Paul's letter to the Cretans (Titus 1:15) not only shows that he was familiar with this Christian teaching, but that he was aware of its antisemitic meaning. He uses this quotation (in the original Hebrew), which translates as "To the pure all things are pure," as a subversive way to turn the antisemitic phrase about Christian versus Jewish love

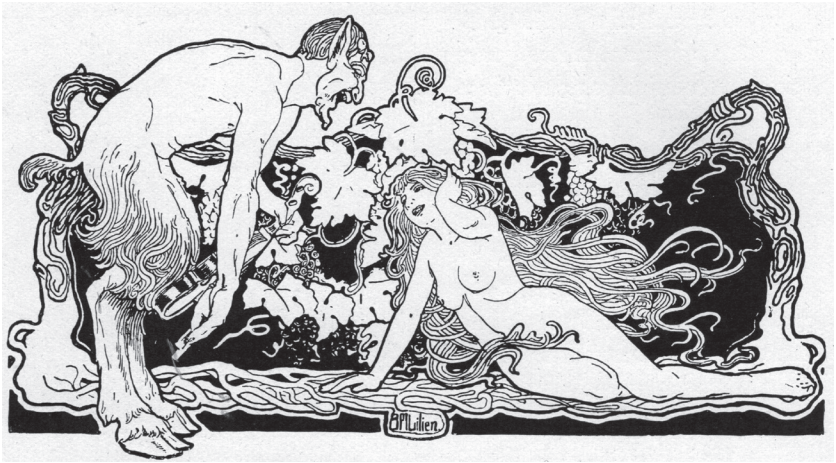

Figure 5. Lilien, *Mein schönstes Fräulein, darf Ich's wagen . . .* (My fair young lady, May I dare . . .), aus der *Jugend*, n.d. In Brieger, *E. M. Lilien*, 44.

upside down. He also uses the phrase to explain his own interest or love of the female body. To Lilien, the love of the female body was a pure love. It was not a defiled or dirty pastime. He seems to be telling viewers to take their (male) head out of the gutter, demonstrating an image is here not about sexual love, but about a pure, innocent form of love for the human body.

In Lilien's defense, women were often depicted by other male artists with greater malice. They were often imagined as degenerate seducers of innocent young men, intent on gaining social and political equality no matter the means. Such misogyny was on display, particularly in Oscar Kokoshcka's reviled play *Murderer, the Hope of Women* (1909), and in the poster created for the one night that the work was performed in Vienna at the Gartentheater of the *Internationale Kunstschau* (International art show) (see figure 8). In this graphic, a deathly white woman looks as if she is devouring a fresh male bloody corpse with her bare hands. The female provocateur turns into a dangerous murder. Even more disturbing, the menacing and seductive murderer was often portrayed as a modern-day Judith or Salomé, where the stereotype of an avenging women is turned into an antisemitic image of a bloodthirsty Jewess.

Figure 6. Lilien, *Plakat für das Berliner Tageblatt* (Poster for the newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt*), 1899.

Figure 7. Lilien, *Ex Libris, des Künstlers* (Bookplate of the Artist), 1898. In Brieger, *E. M. Lilien*, 101.

Figure 8. Oscar Kokoschka, *Pieta* (Poster for *Mörderer, Hoffnung der Frauen* [*Murderer, Hope of Women*]), 1909, lithograph.

As Bram Dijkstra, Sander Gilman, and Elaine Showalter have all articulated, the image of the avenging Jewess is etched into the secret, horrifying subtext of Oscar Wilde's play *Salomé*.[38] In Wilde's play, Salomé, the daughter of Herodias (but not in the original story in the Gospels) asks for the head of John the Baptist on a plate (see figure 11). As virgin and dominatrix, pagan goddess of lust and immortal goddess of hysteria, Wilde's Salomé appears happy to behead a Christian.[39] This same murdering modern Jewess appears in Aubrey Beardsley's illustration to Wilde's *Salomé* in 1894. With her two locks of hair twirled like horns, she recalls the medieval motif that conflated the devil with the Jew, made famous in Michelangelo's sculpture of Moses.[40]

In Beardsley's black-and-white illustration for Wilde's play, the blood falls dramatically from John the Baptist's head onto a white lily. According to medieval Christian iconography, the white lily often signified the Virgin Mary and represented purity.[41] The symbol is used to compare the innocence of John the Baptist with the brutal revenge of Salomé and King Herod—to underscore the connection between brutal behavior and the Jew. The conflation of the misogynist femme fatale with the attributes of the bluestocking New Woman from Wilde's play and images of the Jewess as the devil also takes place in Richard Strauss's fin de siècle operatic adaption of Wilde's *Salomé*, and Oskar Panizza's drama *The Council of Love* (1895).[42] Both stage adaptations combine the devil or evil incarnate with the dangerous sexuality of Woman. The Jewish woman is singled out as Salomé—seducer, whore, carrier of the degenerate disease syphilis, and metaphoric destroyer of all men and women.[43] As the work of Beardsley demonstrates, the Christian myth surrounding this dangerous modern Jewess is subsumed into the literary and artistic imagination at the fin de siècle in an obsessive interest in Salomania.[44] Perhaps more sinister was its link to the Christian interpretation of the biblical tale of Eve as the penultimate (Jewish) femme fatale and temptress.[45]

This negative image of the Jewess is not only apparent in Beardsley's illustration, but is evident in Gustave Klimt's portrayal of another biblical seducer, Judith, albeit with less malice (see figure 10). Klimt, who made his living by painting Viennese society women, including many modern upper-class Jewish women, seems to have modeled his Judith on Adele Bloch-Bauer, the wife of the industrialist Ferdinand Bloch-Bauer, who was possibly

Figure 9. Beardsley, *The Climax,* 1894, from *Salomé* by Oscar Wilde.

Klimt's secret lover between 1903 and 1912. Speculation that Klimt's image of Judith as a modern-day femme fatale was not appreciated by the Jewish community of Vienna, which did not relish the connection.[46] However, one can understand why anyone who saw the painting could easily have jumped to the conclusion that this is Adele. Judith's gnarled and deformed hands, responsible for cutting off Holofernes's head, are positioned in the very center of the canvas. They are based on Adele's one deformed finger, which appears quite clearly in the well-known official portrait *Adele Bloch-Bauer I*, painted earlier in 1907.[47] These dangerous biblical women, as seen in Beardsley's and Klimt's artworks, cut off the heads of non-Jewish men in what looks like a form of symbolic, Freudian castration, proving that the modern Jewess herself was intent on emasculating not just *all* men, but late nineteenth-century Christian men in particular.[48] These portrayals helped create an even more sinister representation of the modern Jewess, which pervaded modern European culture. For instance, the seductive actress Sarah Bernhardt (1844–1923), or the cross-dressing auteur Else Lasker-Schüler (1869–1945), were tangible examples of these antisemitic fears about strong, independent Jewish women (see figure 11).[49] The transgressive implications of their masquerade as men—and their appropriation of masculine dress codes—further threatened traditional and conservative perceptions about female roles and the modern Jewess in particular (see figure 13).

The merging of the exotic or oriental Jewish femme fatale with the idea of the *belle Juive* (beautiful Jewess) reinforced volkish nationalist thought regarding Jewish racial abnormality and non-Jewish normality at the fin de siècle.[50] Jewish women were repeatedly linked to the East in British and French Orientalism as tropes for seduction and sensuality. Often, like the Christian myths surrounding Salomé, Judith, and Eve, Jewish women were conflated with eastern Arabic or Turkish women as the colonial "Other" in similar positions as the exotic sexual predator.[51] For instance, in Eugène Delacroix's *The Women of Algiers* (1834), Jewish models stand in for the seductive, erotic Arabic women. Once again, Jewish women are both written and inscribed as "different," caught in a dialectic between the Occident and the Orient, between European and Eastern art historical narratives, simultaneously dangerous and degenerate (read anti-Christian) as well as Asiatic

Figure 10. Gustav Klimt, *Judith II, Salomé*, 1909.

(read exotic and barbaric) in character. In contrast, Lilien's non-Jewish femmes fatales seem less threatening, more playful, and far less dangerous than these depraved images of women by some of his peers. It is easy to see why Lilien became interested (whether consciously or unconsciously) in showing non-Jews that Jewish men *and* Jewish women were as honorable and courageous as their non-Jewish neighbors.

Figure 11. *Die Flötenspielende*, Else Lasker-Schüler as Fakir von Thebes, c. 1910.

THE COURAGEOUS BIBLICAL HEROINE

From 1906, when Lilien first went to Palestine, he became preoccupied with a new project that would dominate his life until World War I. This was the creation of what he called his *Bibelplan* or biblical project. It was to be a collaboration with a Lutheran minister and pastor Ferdinand Rahlwes. Lilien created the illustrations; Rahlwes wrote the text. The contract was to include both an illustrated Hebrew Bible, known to Christians as the Old Testament, as well as a New Testament edition. To this end, Lilien immersed himself in the depiction of the East by two of the most well-known biblical book illustrators—the French Orientalists and non-Jewish artists Gustave Doré (1832–1883) and James Tissot (1836–1902). Along the way, Lilien transformed their Orientalist iconography into a groundbreaking Jewish national aesthetic.

Lilien's adoption of Orientalism as a useful style for German Jewish national aesthetics confirmed the resonance that the East had as a symbol of personal and political identity in the dynamics of the German Jewish imagination. The negative images of the East by many of the important critics of Jewish emancipation and culture caused profound confusion for acculturated German Jews as they found themselves caught between the ideas of the Orient, the locus of the ancient Jewish people, and the world they lived in—the German Occident. Their non-Jewish German Enlightenment neighbors from

Christian Wilhelm von Dohm (1751–1820) onward considered European Jewry to be degenerate and Asiatic in character. Dohm wrote in 1781:

> Should a number of industrious and law-abiding citizens be less useful to the state because they stem from Asia and differ from others by beard, circumcision, and a special way . . . of worshipping the Supreme being? The improvement of the Jews in general must not be expected immediately in the coming generation. It is natural that a nation estranged to carrying firearms for fifteen centuries will not be able to acquire immediately along with good will, also the soldierly courage and physical fitness required for military service.[52]

Dohm makes it clear that Jews can be a part of the modern nation by acknowledging that their industriousness, law abiding nature, and worship of a "supreme being" are positive attributes. However, his latent antisemitism reveals itself in the way he suggests that they "stem from Asia" and need "improvement."

In his tract against Jewish emancipation, the Berlin lawyer Karl Grattenauer (1770–1838) in *Wider der Juden* (Against the Jews, 1803) emphasized their proclivity for cultural "improvement" as a negative quality. He stated that the cultured Jews may talk about Goethe, Schiller, and Schlegel all they please, but they nonetheless remain "an alien Asiatic people" (*Orientalisches Fremdlingsvolk*).[53] Many Christian Orientalists set out to prove that the old covenantal relationship between Judaism and God was superseded by Christianity's more moral universe. Antisemitic German Orientalists such as Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922) denied the Jewish authorship of Western ideas (such as monotheism and the laws or codes of European and Christian morality) altogether.[54] Such attitudes were deflected by German Jewish Oriental scholars of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* movement who analyzed Jewish, Christian, and Islamic texts, and looked eastward to counter such anti-Jewish hatred.[55] A similar interest, fashion, and fascination for the East was shared by a large number of Jewish academics, journalists, novelists, and poets in Central Europe, including Lasker-Schüler and the cultural Zionists, who understood that the modern European Jewish identity was located somewhere within the dialectic of Europe and the Orient.

Esther

No wonder Lilien envisaged a ten-volume illustrated book of the bible. Sadly, only three editions were published.[56] In these biblical illustrations, Lilien's depictions of the patriarchs as muscular, handsome heroes wearing tribal costumes from ancient Judea are shown together with images of biblical women.[57] The women Lilien chose to portray, like Ruth, Miriam, Esther, and the convert Rahab, often saved their people from death or annihilation. For instance, Esther as the Jewish queen of Persia does just that by questioning male authority.

Lilien's portrayal of Esther *in Die Bücher der Bibel*, like Doré, strove for historical accuracy (see figures 12 and 13).[58] Clustered behind Esther in his illustrations are other women from King Ahashverot's harem. They wear what appear to be Persian-inspired national dress, with an abundance of silver filigree necklaces and headpieces, which Lilien may have seen displayed in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, brought back from Troy and elsewhere, or picked up in the Jerusalem markets and brought back to his Berlin studio. Jewelery and fragments of decorated wall reliefs that depicted Egyptian and Assyrian costumes were already on display in national museum collections in the wake of French, British, and German expeditions to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Like Doré, Lilien merges Assyrian, Egyptian, and Persian jewelery with an Arabian headband, but uses stripes associated with the Jewish prayer shawl and the ancient Israelite tribe, a symbol used by Lilien in his portrayals of Samaritan men produced at the same time.[59]

In Lilien's illustration, Esther's face occupies most of the pictorial space. She is depicted fully clothed, like all his biblical heroines, gazing at us, the attentive audience. Lilien makes Esther and her predicament the focus of the picture by surrounding her with white space. She appears calm while her loyal, multicultural Persian followers crowd around the negative space, adding to her importance. Lilien's Esther may have appealed to both secular and religious Jews as a larger-than-life depiction of Jewish bravery, or a "self-help manual for Jewish survival."[60]

Lilien's biblical females were based on photographs of women he took in 1906. Regrettably, there is no record of who the female sitters were who posed so patiently, although his sitters are strictly European types rather

Figure 12. Gustave Doré, *Esther*, *Sainte Bible*, 1865, n.p.

Figure 13. Lilien, *Esther*, *Die Bücher der Bibel*, vol. VII, 1908, 236.

than Mizrahi Jews or Arab women (see figure 14). These photographs were possibly taken in Germany, or perhaps it was simply harder to get Mizrahi or Arab women to pose for him. Yet the features of these models imply that Lilien's imagery of Jewish biblical women remained European in sentiment, even as he strove to reimagine the landscape and architecture of Palestine with a Jewish legitimacy. They also suggest the struggle by cultural Zionists themselves to make clear connections between the ancient Jewish world and the world of modern Central European Jewry, where they were still considered aliens and Asiatic "Others."

Figure 14. Lilien, *Photograph of Sitters for his Biblical Illustrations*, 1906. TAMA No. 87 and TAMA no. 91. Courtesy of the Tel Aviv Art Museum, Tel Aviv.

THE SENSUAL ORIENTAL BEAUTY

Lilien's most sensual and erotic biblical illustration of a female figure remains his image "A Garden Is My Betrothed" from the *Song of Songs* (see figure 15).[61] *Eine Garten* celebrates the central story of the Song—the sexual awakening of a young girl and her male lover, an allegory for the love between God and the Jewish people, who meet in a landscape of fertility and abundance, a sexually charged Eden.[62] In this metaphor of sexual pleasure, the dark-eyed, dark-haired beauty looks as if she is about to reach a sexual climax. She clasps her own breasts as her hair streams in front of her, imitating the dense pomegranate branch above her head, a symbol for fertility.[63] Clearly Jewish, she wears a robe with stripes that was meant to symbolize ancient Israel's tribal costume, depicted in many of Lilien's biblical images. In this adroit illustration, with its minimal use of line and chiaroscuro, there is no mistaking her for an Aryan beauty.

Lilien had already portrayed Jewish women as strong and subversive, for instance, in his images of the mystical Princess Bride holding the Sacred Torah in *Juda* in 1900 (see figure 16), and the secular harp player who stares

Figure 15. Lilien, *Eine Garten ist meine Braut* (A Garden Is My Betrothed), in *Lied der Lieder* (Song of Songs), *Die Bücher der Bibel*, vol. VI, 1909, 312.

with such an unwavering gaze in 1903 (see figure 17). In Lilien's *Prinzessin Sabbat*, with her dark hair braided in the premodern manner of a medieval German national heroine, like Brunhilde (from Wagner's 1876 opera *Der Ring des Nibelungen* or Rapunzel from the *Grimms' Fairy Tales* (1812), she holds the Torah, the sacred vessel of transmission and education.[64] For most religious and orthodox Jews, a woman is forbidden to hold or even touch the Torah. There are strict prohibitions that also prevent men viewing the naked shoulders of any woman who is not his wife. Lilien's princess, who is a new type of Teutonic protagonist, is doubly provocative, holding this powerful marker of Jewish authority while only half-covered, with her shoulders bared for all to see.

Lilien's Jewish princess is also symbolically half-covered with what looks like a synagogue *Parokhet* (Torah ark curtain) with richly embroidered Hebrew letters and braided tassels that lie at her feet.[65] She appears to be sitting on the throne of the Holy of Holies, indicated by the large *Magen David* or Star of David, a common Lilien trope, wrapped in the *Parokhet*, the symbol of metaphoric division separating that which was holy from that which was not.[66] Behind her is a stylized fruit tree, representing the system of

Figure 16. Lilien, *Prinzessin Sabbat* (Princess Sabbath), *Juda*, c. 1900, in Münchhausen, *Juda*, n.d., n.p.

Figure 17. Lilien, *Harfenspielerin* (Harp Player), in Rosenfeld, *Lieder Des Ghetto*, trans. Berthold Feiwel, with illustrations by Lilien, 1903, 107.

ten *Sefirot* or emanations of God. On her head, she wears the mystical crown (*Keter*), the most important of the *Sefirot*, which stands for the infinite, primordial godhead (*Ein Sof*). In the night sky, silhouettes of cypress trees appear and a small bird (another symbol for the soul) sits on the very top of her head.[67] The depiction of the throne has an uncanny similarity to the one portrayed in a painting of a royal Bulgarian princess, for which his friend Boris Schatz had created the frame while living in Bulgaria.[68] Lilien seemed happy to appropriate motifs from both secular and religious symbolism to create his royal Jewess. She is a powerful muse symbolizing the metaphysical beauty of the divine, the spiritual manifestation of the *Shekinah* or divine presence, and the feminine aspect of God.

Lilien's *Prinzessin Sabbat* depicts the metaphysical Bride of Shabbat, or Sabbath Queen, who is the focus of the liturgical song *Lecha Dodi* (Come My Beloved), sung every Friday night in the synagogue when the congregation physically turns around to welcome her at the end of the Sabbath service. Based on the rabbinic interpretation of Song of Songs in which the beloved or bride (*Kallah)* is a metaphor for the Jewish people, and the lover (*Dod*) is a metaphor for God, Lilien's image reinforces the symbolic power of women and the feminine aspect of God in the Sabbath liturgy. In Lilien's image, the princess commands attention as a gender-equal participant in Jewish history as she holds the Torah, the symbol of Jewish power. No longer a mere biblical heroine, Lilien's portrayal of the Princess Sabbath remains a radical, even prophetic representation of the spiritual power of Jewish womanhood.

If the Princess Bride is more concerned with spiritual matters than corporeal ones, then Lilien's other dark-haired heroine in *Harfenspielerin* (Harp Player) is a muse of a different kind (see figure 17). This female image comes from his book of illustrations for the German translation of the famous Yiddish poems by Morris Rosenfeld, *Lieder des Ghetto* (Songs of the Ghetto), published three years before Lilien's visit to Palestine in 1906.[69] Behind the heroine, kneeling angels with large wings playing violins signify that her harp playing mirrors the music of the heavens, visualized as a star-studded sky. The harp player wears a striped robe reminiscent of the one worn by the sensual lover in *Ein Garten*. The costume also recalls local Yemenite or Samaritan robes recorded by Lilien in photographs and

drawings on that first trip to Palestine. With her dark hair coiled in a bun and dotted with pearls, the *Harfenspielerin* stares down her audience. Like the lover in *Ein Garten*, she appears closest to a modern twentieth-century woman, gazing directly at the viewer from her garden throne with a full moon rising behind her.

In *Harfenspielerin*, Lilien appears to subvert the ancient moon goddess imagery so that the modern Jewess appears as an incarnation of contemporary divinity, a powerful woman in her own right, as sacred as the premodern moon goddess.[70] Perhaps she is a present-day Jewish poet. The reference to harpists as poets was used in the title of a book of poems *Junge Harfen* (Young Harps) by Lilien's friend Berthold Feiwel, a fellow cultural Zionist, in 1900. As the graphic artist for the Jewish and Zionist publishing house *Jüdischer Verlag*, which published Feiwel's book, Lilien knew of the book because his own logo was on the front.[71] By depicting a contemporary Jewish poet and Zionist as a harp-playing Jewish woman, Lilien's portrait suggests that women are equal to men in the important work of Jewish regeneration in the Zionist movement. The work recalls his socialist figure for the *Mai-Festzeitung* (May Day newspaper) in 1899, with her message of freedom, although Lilien covered up her bare breasts. Lilien's two earlier images, *Prinzessin Sabbat* and *Harfenspielerin*, provide reminders of the power his female figures could command. Placed alongside his image *Ein Garten* (see figure 15), from the metaphysical Song of Songs, all three images depict modern Jewish women who defy easy categorization. Neither femmes fatales nor biblical heroines, they show a vital, original, and exotic Jewish beauty. If *Harfenspielerin* and *Prinzessin Sabbat* symbolize the abstract splendor of music, poetry, and the divine, then Lilien's image in *Ein Garten* is a more sensual, erotic portrayal of the contemporary Jewess.

Lilien's female imagery for the Songs was groundbreaking. Not only was he one of the first Jewish artists to portray the sexual allegory visually, but he was the first to portray the Jewish woman as an active participant in sensual and sexual pleasure. At that moment, to my knowledge, there were no other modern images of Jewish women expressing sexual pleasure.[72] All three images were strong, captivating representations of the modern Jewess, and suggest they were part of Lilien's broader program to create

novel, able-bodied, and heroic Jewish female role models. His images of Jewish women with agency and power supported his Zionist and nationalist agenda, providing the acculturated European mind with an image of Judaism's rich religious heritage, as well as a platform for secular modernist ideas and Jewish cultural renewal through the prism of Jewish visual culture.

CONCLUSIONS

Jews in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe were more than ever both Oriental and European. They could inhabit multiple spaces of alterity simultaneously—a position that was "ambiguous and ambivalent."[73] Lilien could be a secular Austrian, German, *Ostjude*, cosmopolitan artist, nationalist, misogynist, and lover of women at different moments or at the same moment in time. Like many other fin de siècle male and female German Jewish European intellectuals and artists, he managed to straddle these differing worlds and hybrid identities. Like so many of his generation of German-speaking Jews, Lilien operated within and beyond Europe's national borders. As his images reveal, Central European Jews were often caught between what appeared (at least to Germans) to be the alien Asiatic foreign world of Jewish identification and the desire to assimilate and acculturate, between Jewish distinction and cosmopolitan modernism. Thus, many German-speaking Jews like Lilien served as examples of Frederic Grunfeld's *Grenzjuden*, marginalized Jews on the borders of German and/or Jewish identity.[74] They crossed sociocultural boundaries, national borders, and the East–West divide by combining these differing identities in any way they thought possible. Such fluid boundary crossing and border hopping, the paradox of late nineteenth-century Jewish modernity, remain fundamental to understanding Lilien's artistic achievements and originality.

Lilien's portrayals of women weave together the image of the modern Jewess as femme fatale, as biblical heroine, and as Oriental beauty. By transforming Jewish difference into a redemptive vision for Jewish acceptance, Lilien found a new role for biblical Jewish heroes *and* heroines in the guise of a Jewish national art. As Lilien's images of women morphed from the femme fatale into a more national Jewish imagery, Lilien merged two different

paradigms—the Oriental and the biblical—into a powerful new Jewish genre. Lilien's Jewish orientalized women were not simply white, Western male fantasies. Rather, they represented a fundamental and critical attempt to explore the complexities of German and Jewish experience. To Lilien the Orient was not a fanciful place, but rather an internal space to explore his multiple transnational identities. Occasionally, in Lilien's new synthesis of style and content, a thoroughly modern Jewess fleetingly emerged who was on the verge of political and social emancipation. She was sexually alluring, liberated, and independent: a fin de siècle fusion of decadence and rebelliousness, Jewish nationalism, and cultural renewal.

NOTES

1. For contemporary sources on Lilien at the turn of the twentieth century, see Münchhausen, *Juda*; Lilien, *E. M. Lilien, sein Werk*; Rosenfeld, *Lieder des Ghetto*; Levussove, *The Art of an Ancient People*; Rahlwes, *Die Bucher der Bibel*; Brieger, *E. M. Lilien: Eine kunstlerische Entwicklung*; Lilien, *Briefe an seine Frau, 1905–1925*. On the creation of the cultural Zionist movement, see Gelber, *The Jungjüdische Bewegung*, 105–19. On Theodor Herzl and political Zionism, see Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism*, 88–100.
2. Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle*; Brenner and Reuveni, eds., *Emancipation through Muscles*; and Todd Presner, *Muscular Judaism: The Jewish Body and the Politics of Regeneration*.
3. Swarts, *Gender, Orientalism and the Jewish Nation*.
4. I use the term "gender" in the Foucauldian way as Joan Wallach Scott originally used it and as Denise Riley has articulated the use of the word "woman." On the history of the terms women and gender, see Scott, "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis," 7–14.
5. Before Edward Said published *Orientalism* (1978), the term "Orientalism" had referred to the scholarly study of the languages and culture of the Orient.
6. Said, *Orientalism*, 1–3. Said was by far the most famous and widely read among scholars who became known as the anti-orientalists, who believed the West "deliberately 'orientalised' the Orient." Teo, "Orientalism: An Overview," 1.
7. On German Orientalism and colonialism, see Berman, *Orientalismus,*

Kolnonismus Und Moderne: Zum Bild Des Orients in Der Deutshsprachigen Kultur Um 1900; Kontje, *German Orientalisms*; and Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race and Scholarship*.

8. On Jewish Orientalism, see Kalmar and Penslar's *Orientalism and the Jews* and Paul Mendes-Flohr's "Orientalism, the Ostjuden and Jewish Self-Affirmation," 96–139
9. On Herzl and political Zionism, see Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism*, 88–100.
10. Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a French Jew, was charged with selling military secrets to Germany, which at the time was France's most hated and powerful enemy. Commencing on October 15, 1894, the events surrounding Dreyfus's court-martial, trial, conviction, public degradation, and eventual pardon after incarceration on Devil's Island became known as the Dreyfus affair. It was the most politically charged, antisemitic event of the decade and highlighted the potentially traitorous position of Jews who served in the French military. Gilman, *The Jew's Body*, 48–53; Kleeblatt, "The Body of Alfred Dreyfus," 76–92; Simms, *Alfred Dreyfus: Man, Milieu, Mentality and Midrash*.
11. Lilien, *Market Place at Drohobycz* (1913), Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
12. It was also the birthplace of Maurycy Gottlieb (1856–1879) a decade before Lilien and Bruno Schulz (1892–1942), the writer and literary critic who was shot by the Nazis outside his house.
13. Art Nouveau was the first modern, international art movement to cover the applied or decorative arts as well as painting and architecture. In England, the French term Art Nouveau (New Art) was called after the German art dealer Samuel Siegfried Bing's Paris gallery, *Maison de l'Art Nouveau* (House of New Art).
14. Schorske, *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, 219. On the influence of Nietzche, neoromanticism, and *Lebensphilosophie* in Lilien's art, see Olin, *The Nation without Art*, 105–9.
15. On Jugendstil, the secession movement, and the *Vereinigte Werkstätten* (United Workshops) movements, see Forster-Hahn, *Imagining Modern German Culture, 1889–1910*, 9–35; Lenman, *Artists and Society in Germany, 1850–1914*; Paret, *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany*; Buhrs et al., eds., *The Munich Secession, 1892–1914*.

16. The Balfour Declaration, November 2, 1917, written by the British cabinet and signed by the foreign secretary, was meant to be a turning point for the fledgling Zionist movement, who saw it as a declaration by the British government to "view with favour" the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, without prejudicing the civil and national rights of the non-Jewish communities. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, *The Jew in the Modern World*, 660–61.
17. Zweig declared Lilien to be the first East European Jew he had ever encountered, and that Lilien's Judaism was "unknown to him." Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 117.
18. Lilien, *E. M. Lilien, sein Werk*.
19. The list includes Theodor Herzl, Chaim Weizmann (1874–1953), Martin Buber (1878–1965), Max Nordau (1849–1923), Boris Schatz (1866–1932), Otto Warburg (1859–1938), and Rudolf Mosse (1843–1920).
20. On the experience of modernity among German Jewry following unification, see Gay, *Freud, Jews and Other Germans*; Grunfeld, *Prophets without Honour*; and Kaplan, *Jewish Daily Life in Germany*. On the problem of assimilation, integration, and the supposed German Jewish symbiosis, see Traverso, *The Jews and Germany: From the Judeo-German Symbiosis to the Memory of Auschwitz*, and Kaplan, "Review: The 'German-Jewish Symbiosis' Revisited," 183–90.
21. On nineteenth-century models for the "New Jew" or "New Hebrew," see Shapira, "The Fashioning of the New Jew," 430–31.
22. On Theodor Herzl and political Zionism, see Avineri, *The Making of Zionism*, 88–100. On the creation of cultural Zionism, see Gelber, "The Jungjudische Bewegung," 105–19. Buber was influenced by Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744–1803) ideas on German nationalism. On the Jewish interest in neoromantic nationalism, see Mendes-Flohr, "Orientalism, the Ostjuden and Jewish Self-Affirmation."
23. Buber, "Judische Renaissance," 7–10.
24. On the Fifth Zionist Congress, the cultural Zionists, the Fraction, and the first exhibition of modern Jewish artists, see Schmidt, *The Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress*.
25. In Rosenfeld, *Lieder des Ghetto* (Songs of the Ghetto), 1903, Rahlwes and E. M. Lilien, *Die Bücher der Bible*, 3 vols, 1908–1912.

26. See, for instance, Lilien's, *The Creation of Man,* in *Lieder des Ghetto.*
27. Julius Diez, *Liebermann, der Berliner Sezessionswirt,* 97. Available at katalog.ub.uni-heidelberg.de. For more on the tension between Munich and Berlin over modernism and the Jews, see Lewis, *Art for All*, 312–13.
28. It was this reception that led Lilien to be called the darling or hope of the national art movement. 11,000 copies of *Juda* had been published by 1910 and another 24,000 by 1920. See Geils, Gormy, and Oberschelp, *Gesamtverzeichnis Des Deutschsprachigen Schrifttums*, n.p. My thanks to Karl-Frieder Netsch at the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig for his help in locating this information for me.
29. See Geils, Gormy, and Oberschelp, *Gesamtverzeichnis*, n.p., and Richarz, "Demographic Developments," 29–30.
30. Geils, Gormy, and Oberschelp, *Gesamtverzeichnis*, n.p,
31. See the many reviews of his work in *Die Welt*, from 1900 to 1902.
32. The concept of the gaze, often the essentializing "male gaze," has become part of art historical discourse. The discourse began with John Berger, *Ways of Seeing.* See chapter 2, where he discusses the representation of women as objects of male desire. "The gaze" was later popularized by Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," 14–30. See also Olin, "Gaze," 318–39.
33. For instance, Alphonse Mucha, Kolomon Moser, Hans Christiansen, Gustave Klimt, Aubrey Beardsley, Marcus Behmer, and T. T. Heine. For a detailed analysis of these and other graphic artists' work with similar motifs to Lilien's work, see Swarts, *Gender, Orientalism and the Jewish Nation*, 233–65.
34. For the origins of this semifictional women, see Sarah Grande's 1894 article for the *North American Review* and subsequent discussion in Ledger*, The New Women*, and Heilmann and Beetham, *New Women Hybridities*.
35. Otto and Rocco, eds., *The New Women*, 1.
36. See Mucha*, Poster Design for Job Cigarettes*, or Klimt's *Nuda Veritas* in *Ver Sacrum*. For my discussion on these works in relation to Lilien's femmes fatales, see Swarts, "Boundaries and Borderlines," 75–84.
37. See discussions by Heyd, "Lilien and Beardsley," 58–69; Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle*, 100–1; and Mendelsohn, *Behold the Man*, 70–73.
38. Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*; Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*; and Gilman, "Salomé, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt," 97–120.
39. Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, 152.

40. Hirsh, Schlossinger, *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 468, explains the mistranslation of the Hebrew word *keren* (literally to shine) in the Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible as "horns." The statue of Moses by Michelangelo with two horns, commissioned by Pope Julius II in 1505, is the most well-known example of this mistranslation. Horns were also associated in the ancient Near East as signifying a deity such as Sin or Ammon. See www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7869-horns-of-moses.
41. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, 17; Lurie, *Femme Fatale*, 183.
42. Gilman, *Salomé*, 101–8. First performed in Dresden at the Opera House in 1905.
43. Gilman, *Salomé*, 101–8. My analysis also parallels the recent study on Salomonia by Brunotte, "Unveiling Salomé 1900," 95–115. See also Robert's discussion of links between the politics of the Third Republic in France and the Dreyfus case and tensions between the idea of the "real nation of 'eternal France'" and the alien or foreign nature of French Jews. The antisemitic publication *La Libre Parole* conflated the sexual purity of Joan of Arc, the "Mother" of the French Republic with the sexual promiscuity of the Jewess, the degeneration of the French people, and the "New Women" who worked outside the home. Roberts, *Disruptive Acts*, 116–27.
44. See Brunotte, "Unveiling Salomé 1900," 98.
45. Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, 152.
46. Lurie, *Femme Fatale*, 184–94. See also Felix Salten's review "In His Judith," which suggests she was a Viennese socialite. See Partsch, *Gustave Klimt*, as cited in O'Conner, *Lady in Gold*, 52.
47. The painting is now made infamous by the film *Women in Gold*, which was based on the case for restitution by Maria Altmann against the Belvedere Museum, Vienna. The museum had illegally acquired the artwork after it was confiscated form the Bloch-Bauer family during World War II.
48. Freud's theory was a way of internalizing sexual difference. The misogyny associated with Freud's psychoanalytic theory of castration anxiety is not the subject here, but does dovetail into non-Jewish attitudes to circumcision, the feminisation of the Jewish man, and Freud's subconscious fear of being a feminized Jewish man—that is, one who has been already castrated. On Freud's patriarchal psychoanalytic doctrine and the Oedipus complex, see Baratt and

Strauss, "Toward Postmodern Masculinities," 38; "You May Not Tell the Boys: The Diaspora Politics of a Bitextual Jew," in Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 221–71; Geller, *On Freud's Jewish Body: Mitigating Circumcisions*, 1–42.

49. For a more nuanced discussion of Sarah Bernhardt, the femme fatale, and the links to the "New Woman," see Swarts, *Gender, Orientalism and the Jewish Nation*, 103–8. There is also a wealth of scholarship on Bernhardt. See Gilman, *Salomé*, 115; Ockman et al., *Sarah Bernhardt*; Roberts, *Disruptive Acts*. For my discussion on Lasker-Schüler's images, see Swarts, *Gender, Orientalism and the Jewish Nation*, 116–27. For a critical study of Lasker-Schüler, see Bauschinger, *Lasker-Schüler*; Dick, *Else Lasker-Schüler*; and Falkenberg, *Else Lasker-Schüler*.
50. On the merging of "The Beautiful Jewess," the Oriental, and the femme fatale, see Brunotte, "All Jews are Womenly, but No Women Are Jews," 195–220; Frübis, "Die Schöne Jüdin," 112–25; Ludwig, "Between Orientalization and Self-Orientalization," 221–29.
51. On the idea of the "Other" in postcolonial theory, see Homi Bhabha's argument that colonial subjects were both attracted to and repelled by colonial rule and culture, leaving an ambivalence about their political, cultural, social, and intellectual identities. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," 121–31.
52. Wilhelm Christian Dohm, *Über die Bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, 27–34. Dohm was a Prussian civil servant who collaborated with Moses Mendelssohn in 1780 to defend the rights of the Alsace Jews. He became a well-known German enlightenment thinker.
53. Grattenauer, *Against the Jews*.
54. He was an Assyriologist and son of a Lutheran minister, whose controversial book *Babel and Bibel* (1902) argued that the Babylonian code of Hammurabi had greatly influenced the Hebrew Bible and that the Hebrews had change the civilizing rhetoric of Hammurabi into a primitive chauvinist idea. Zalmona, *A Century of Israeli Art*.
55. See the ideas of Abraham Geiger, Heinrich Graetz, and Ignaz Goldziher, who use scientific methods to analyze Jewish texts and traditions. Heschel, "Revolt of the Colonised," 61–86.
56. It is speculation but based on evidence from earlier biblical editions of the German bibles by Lutheran pastors and writers that Lilien followed their lead here for ten volumes; however, the war interfered with his plan, the German

publishing firm was distracted, he ran out of money, and he volunteered in the Austrian army. He came back from the war a changed man, much sicker, and had other plans to make money that were based instead on his biblical landscapes.

57. Lilien, *Die Bücher der Bibel*.
58. Lilen, *Esther, Die Bücher der Bibel*, vol. VII. Doré recreates Esther's costumes from Arab dress and relies on the Egyptian and Assyrian architecture on view at the Louvre in Paris. See the Louvre, "The History of the Louvre: From Chateau to Museum," at www.louvre.fr/en/history-louvre. Charles X opened the Musée with the Egyptian antiquities section in 1827, and the Assyrian section open in 1849.
59. See his photographs of Samaritan men in Bar-Am*, Painting with Light*, 74–75.
60. Sylvia Barak Fishman suggests that medieval commentators such as Maimonides used this approach to interpret the role of Esther before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. Fishman, *Reading Esther*, 5.
61. Rahlwes, *Die Bücher Der Bibel*, vol. V, 312. From the *Songs of Songs*, caption 4.
62. Bloch, *The Song of Songs*, 1.
63. In Judaism the pomegranate is a popular motif. It can symbolize fertility with its many seeds, and fire and passion because of its color. Israel is often compared to the good fruit the pomegranate, full of good deeds, and is often emblematic of Israel's agricultural fertility. It is also associated, according to midrash with the mystical number 613. Apparently, there are 613 seeds in the pomegranate, and these correspond to the number of mitzvoth proscribed in the Torah. Its shape is also similar to a bell, and thus the high priests' robes in the Temple times had bells on them shaped like pomegranates and the temple's columns also used the pomegranates as a symbol. Frankel and Teutsch, *The Encyclopaedia of Jewish Symbols*, 128–29.
64. Brunhilde is the heroine in the *Nibelungenlied,* a German medieval epic poem of the 1200s. Richard Wagner's opera cycle *The Ring of the Nibelung* (1853–1874) is the most famous modern adaption. Rapunzel is the heroine of the German Romantic stories by the Brothers' Grimm (1812–1820). Her hair, braided with pearls, foreshadows the "virtuous Jewish women" in Lilien's sketch for the first Jewish tapestry, *An Allegorical Wedding,* created five years later. In this later sketch, Lilien is aware of the Germanic trope of braided hair, but uses it to reference a royal Jewish couple (the king adorned in an Assyrian headdress and the

queen as a medieval or renaissance heroine). As Zalmona points out, Lilien's later work is an attempt to create a metaphoric marriage between Zionism and the Jewish people. For this see Zalmona, *A Century of Israeli Art*, 18–19.

65. Cecil Roth states that as early as the fourteenth century, most Western and Central European Jews lavished great attention on the *Parokhet* and used heavily embroidered fabric, sometimes decorated with Hebrew lettering in gold or silver, with holes for the curtain rod and tassels as decoration. Roth and Narkiss, *Jewish Art: An Illustrated History,* 124.
66. Amitai Mendelsohn recently suggested that Lilien helped create his Sabbath Queen from the Christian iconography of the halo used to represent the Madonna. Mendelsohn, *Behold the Man*, 70.
67. Brieger, *E. M. Lilien*, 147, 277.
68. Ivan Mrkvicka, *Princess Marie Louise*, 1899, Sofia National Gallery, Bulgaria. For the image of the throne, see Zalmona, *A Century of Israeli Art,* 11.
69. Rosenfeld, *Lieder des Ghetto*, 107.
70. Frankel and Teutsch, *Encyclopedia of Jewish Symbols*, 112.
71. The logo appears on the front cover of the book. Feiwel, *Junge Harfen* (Young Harps). The title *Junge Harfen* comes from the opening poem by the Viennese writer Max Barber. The young, modern Jewish poet was like a young harp, a "clarion call for [Jewish] cultural rejuvenation." Gelber, *Melancholy Pride*, 48–49.
72. Ze'ev Raban created a series of erotic images of women in his Song of Songs, but that was later in 1923.
73. Kalman, "Going Home to the Holy Land: The Jews of Jerusalem," 367.
74. Grunfeld, *Prophets without Honour.*

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