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Jugendstil in Firestone

THE JEWISH ILLUSTRATOR E. M. LILIEN (1874–1925)

LIONEL GOSSMAN

AFTER my retirement from Princeton University's Department of Romance Languages in 1999, I became free to indulge a long-standing interest in nineteenth-century German art and culture that I developed as an undergraduate in Scotland over half a century ago. As a result, I have stumbled upon a surprising number of modest treasures sitting unnoticed and neglected in the open stacks of Firestone Library, like wallflowers at a high school dance. Thanks either to whoever was professor of German around the turn of the twentieth century or—as a curator of Princeton's Rare Books Division suggested—to a librarian's smart decision to buy up German book collections in the hard times following World War I, Firestone possesses many handsomely decorated volumes by now largely forgotten German writers and illustrators of the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth.

It was an extraordinary period of design in books, as in everything else. The pioneering Kelmscott Press of William Morris in England had led the way and, like the Arts and Crafts movement developed by Morris's followers, had aroused keen interest in Germany. Aubrey Beardsley's brilliantly imaginative work was especially admired and influential, and one of the chief English organs of the new style in design, *The Studio*, had more than twenty thousand subscribers in Germany in the early 1890s.[1] Inspired by the example of Morris and

I would like to express my thanks to Gretchen Oberfranc for the lively interest she took in this essay from the start, for her advice on the selection of illustrations, and for her meticulous editing of the manuscript. The article that appears here is the product of an enthusiastic partnership of editor and author.

[1] On English influence on design on the Continent and in Germany, see Henry van de Velde's 1929 essay "Le Nouveau: Son apport à l'architecture et aux industries d'art" in his *Déblaiement d'art*, 2nd ed. (Brussels: Archives d'Architecture Moderne, 1979), 77. Describing the effect of John Ruskin, Morris, C. F. A. Voysey, and Walter Crane on his generation, Van de Velde writes: "I can only compare what we experienced around 1894 to the feeling of deliverance one experiences at the first signs of

other English publishers and illustrators (as well as by that of William Blake a full century earlier), by a revived awareness of the graphic arts as an independent medium in which Germany had once excelled but which had been diminished by decades of subservience to painting, and by the ideal of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, German poets, graphic artists, and typographers began to collaborate with a few adventurous publishers in the last decade of the nineteenth century on the production of beautifully designed books that they thought of and wanted buyers to think of as works of art in themselves.

The collaboration of the poet Stefan George with the artist Melchior Lechter bears witness to this concern with the book as a complete art object in its own right, at once visual and literary.[2] Even after the collaboration ended and George replaced the artist's rich Jugendstil designs with a more austere and spare layout, the poet continued to pay close attention to the material form, including the specially designed typefaces, in which his poetry was presented to the reader. Sometimes, as in the case of Heinrich Vogeler's collection of poems, *Dir* (1899), the same individual was responsible for all aspects of a book, the literary text as well as the illustrations, design, and decoration.[3] These poets, artists, and publishers did not aim to produce

spring." In the text of a talk given in Bern in 1917 ("La Triple Offense à la beauté") Van de Velde had already evoked the "suffocation we experienced at the end of the last century, on the Continent, under the weight of the ugliness of everything.... There was no honesty in anything." Then, just at the point of despair, "we on the Continent heard the echo of Ruskin preaching the gospel of beauty on the other side of the Channel and we saw the work of his disciple William Morris. This awakened us to life" (ibid., 51–54). See also the invaluable work of Otto Grautoff, *Die Entwicklung der modernen Buchkunst in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1903)—itself a fine example of its subject. (Throughout the text and notes, translations are by the author unless otherwise indicated.)

[2] A portfolio of additional illustrations that could not be accommodated here can be viewed on the author's personal website: www.princeton.edu/~lgossman/Jugendstil-in-Firestone.

[3] According to one art historian, Vogeler's *Dir* is an outstanding example of the fin-de-siècle ideal of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Willem-Jan Pantus, "Heinrich Vogeler's Gedichtband *Dir* als Gesamtkunstwerk des *Jugendstils*," in *Aufsätze zu Literatur und Kunst der Jahrhundertwende*, ed. Gerhard Kluge (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), 150–55. *Dir* would thus be comparable to the creations of architect-designers like Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Arthur Mackmurdo, or Voysey, in which everything, from the building itself to the smallest piece of furniture in it, was conceived as part of a single unified composition. I salvaged a first edition of *Dir* from the Firestone stacks a couple of

1. Peter Behrens's title page for Otto Julius Bierbaum's almanach is brightly colored in dark green, dark blue, yellow, and light brown. *Der Bunte Vogel von 1899* (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1899). Princeton University Library.

luxury articles that only a few could afford; on the contrary, they subscribed to a deliberate policy of bringing art "to the people" and making it part of everyday life. Most of their books were published in fairly inexpensive paper covers as well as in more luxurious cloth, leather-bound, and numbered editions.[4]

years ago and, with the cooperation of the ever-helpful staff, succeeded in having it evacuated to the relative safety of Marquand Library.

[4] Van de Velde insisted that the new art must be an art for everybody (*Déblaiement d'art*, 24). An infatuation with the preindustrial past and a rejection of modern machine production had resulted, he held, in an intolerable inconsistency in the theory and practice of Morris and his disciples: on the one hand, they asserted their commitment

Enchanted and intrigued by the discoveries I was making, I could not resist trying to identify and find out more about the artists who took part in this revival of book design in Germany and whose work I kept coming upon in the Firestone stacks. Some, like Peter Behrens, the designer of Otto Bierbaum's 1899 almanach *Der Bunte Vogel* (fig. 1) and of his *Pan im Busch* of 1900, and Henry van de Velde, who designed the deluxe Insel-Verlag edition of Friedrich Nietzsche's *Also Sprach Zarathustra*,[5] also achieved lasting celebrity as architects of major public and private buildings. Van de Velde designed the School of Arts and Crafts in Weimar (1907; he also directed the school until 1915), the Werkbund Theater in Cologne (1913–1914), and the Kröller-Müller Museum in Arnheim, Holland (1938). Behrens figures in all histories of modern design as the architect of the pioneering Berlin turbine factory of the AEG company (1908–1909). There was nothing unusual, incidentally, about Behrens's and Van de Velde's careers as architects. In line with the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal and the desire of many artists at the time to bring about a comprehensive reform of modern culture, through which every aspect of life—clothing, furniture, articles of daily use, houses, public buildings, entire cities—would be informed by the same principles of style, beauty, and appropriateness to their function, it was widely held that artists ought not to restrict themselves to a single medium but should be engaged in every aspect of artistic creation, from the form of a building to the smallest teaspoon used in it. Thus, like Van de Velde and Behrens, two of the book design artists about whom I shall have a

to bring art to the people and restore beauty to the entire world; on the other, they produced objects that only the very well-to-do could afford to buy. See "La Triple Offence à la beauté," in *Déblaiement d'art*, 49–50. The problem of expense was "frequently thrown in the face of the Arts and Crafts movement," Peter Stansky acknowledges, but a serious effort was made to respond to it. Stansky refers to an 1888 lecture by Walter Crane, in which Crane argued that, though good design was not cheap, the point was to provide a model and to make it affordable by all. Stansky, *Redesigning the World: William Morris, the 1880s, and the Arts and Crafts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 218; see also 265. Many of the books I came across in the Firestone stacks were indeed paperbound volumes, which the library preservation group had re-bound at some point in nondescript gray or black cardboard covers stapled to and thus partly concealing the design of the original paper covers.

[5] On the background of Van de Velde's Nietzsche volume, see the notice by Jane Block in *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 46, no. 3 (1985): 321–23. Princeton's copy in the Graphic Arts Collection is no. 489 of 530.

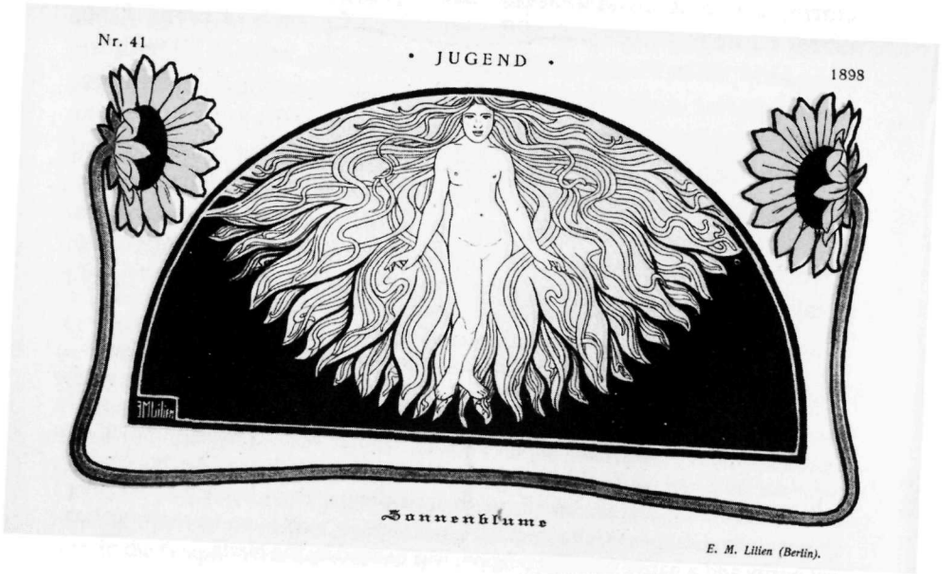
little more to say later (Hugo Höppener and Heinrich Vogeler) also designed buildings as well as books. Vogeler, in particular, achieved considerable success as an architect and interior designer.

Other artists whose work is well represented in Firestone, although certainly minor figures compared with the great contemporary painters of the time, have fallen into perhaps undeserved obscurity. By no means untalented, they enjoyed a degree of recognition in their day and contributed abundantly, alongside contemporaries who have retained their celebrity (Max Klinger, Max Liebermann, Felix Valotton), to influential avant-garde journals of literature and the arts, such as the short-lived *Pan* (Berlin), the wildly successful *Jugend* (Munich), which gave its name—*Jugendstil*—to the entire art nouveau movement in Germany, the dazzling *Insel*, the brilliantly satirical *Simplicissimus*, and the Viennese Secession journal *Ver Sacrum*.[6]

Of these "minor" artists, three in particular aroused my curiosity because, starting from similar positions ideologically and artistically in the late 1890s and early 1900s, they evolved in very different directions. All three were active as illustrators, often for the same avant-garde magazines and publishers (figs. 2–4), all three shared a common artistic style initially, and all three were engaged in the same broad and heterogeneous movement for sweeping social and cultural reform, usually referred to as the *Lebensreform* movement. Yet Lebensreform came to mean very different things for each of them. One, Hugo Höppener, known as "Fidus" (1868–1948), became an enthusiastic supporter of the National Socialists and joined the party in 1932, though, like many of the old champions of supposedly *völkisch* (popular or native German) culture, he was deemed somewhat old-fashioned by then and, to his chagrin, was largely ignored by the party leadership despite strenuous efforts, such as the production of a drawing to celebrate the Nazi takeover in 1933 and a portrait of the Führer, to obtain commissions.[7] Another, Heinrich Vogeler (1872–1942), one of

[6] All five journals are readily available in collections at Princeton.

[7] On the National Socialists' marginalizing of their early allies in the *völkisch* movement in favor of a "timeless" (and crude) neoclassicism, see the invaluable study by Klaus Wolbert, *Die Nackten und die Toten des "Dritten Reichs": Folgen einer politischen Geschichte des Körpers in der Plastik des deutschen Faschismus* (Giessen: Anabas-Verlag/Günter Kämpf, 1982), 22, 34–36, 58–61, and passim. Even Ludwig Fahrenkrog's Germanische Glaubens-Gemeinschaft, established in 1907 to promote German racial purity and a native German religion, was banned by the Nazis.



the earliest members of the celebrated Worpswede artists' colony, to which he personally invited his friend, the poet Rainer Maria Rilke (the author, in 1903, of the first major monograph on the Worpswede artists), began his artistic career as a gentle Romantic, constructing a world of beauty of his own, but was radicalized by the experience of World War I, took part in the revolutionary movement at the end of it, joined the Communist Party, and emigrated in the early 1930s to the Soviet Union. He became active as an artist in the struggle against the National Socialist regime in his homeland and broadcast to his countrymen from Moscow on behalf of the Soviets after Germany attacked the USSR. As the Nazi armies approached the Russian capital, he was evacuated—some say deported—to a kolkhoz on the steppes of Kazakhstan, where, already in poor health, he died in extreme poverty, deprivation, physical pain, and perhaps disillusionment. Of the three artists, he was the most earnest and, in my view, the most gifted. He was also the only one of the three who was a painter as well as a graphic artist. The third member of my trio, Ephraim Mose Lilien (1874–1925), was attracted to Zionism, became a friend of Martin Buber and Theodor Herzl, made a number of trips to Palestine, and helped to set up an art academy for the training of Jewish artists in the Holy Land.

Over the next few years I hope to work on a comparative study of these three artists. For reasons of space, I shall focus here on Lilien,

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Figures 2–4 (*opposite*)

2. Fidus, cover for *Politsch-Anthropologische Revue* 1 (July 1902). The covers were removed from Firestone's copies of this journal when they were bound; this image is taken from Janos Frecot, Johann Friedrich Geist, and Diethart Kerbs, *Fidus 1868–1948: Zur ästhetischen Praxis bürgerlicher Fluchtbewegungen* (Hamburg: Roger und Bernhard, 1997). Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. Fidus designed cover pages for many Lebensreform-associated magazines, including *Die Kunst im Leben des Kindes, Deutsche Volksstimme, Kraft und Schönheit, Körperkultur, Theosophie*, and, in later years, the distinctly *völkisch* and racist *Upland, Frigga: Blätter für deutsches Frauentum*, and *Der Lichtpfad*. He also designed posters for Lebensreform-inspired schools, health and fitness clubs, and congresses.

3. Heinrich Vogeler, endsheet with colophon for *Die Insel* 1, pt. 2 (January–March 1900). Graphic Arts Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

4. E. M. Lilien, *Sonnenblume*, vignette for *Jugend* 3, no. 41 (October 8, 1898), 680. Princeton University Library.

referring only occasionally to the others. A few words about the Lebensreform movement are necessary, however, in order to convey a sense of the larger issues raised, in my view, by these three similar, yet divergent careers.

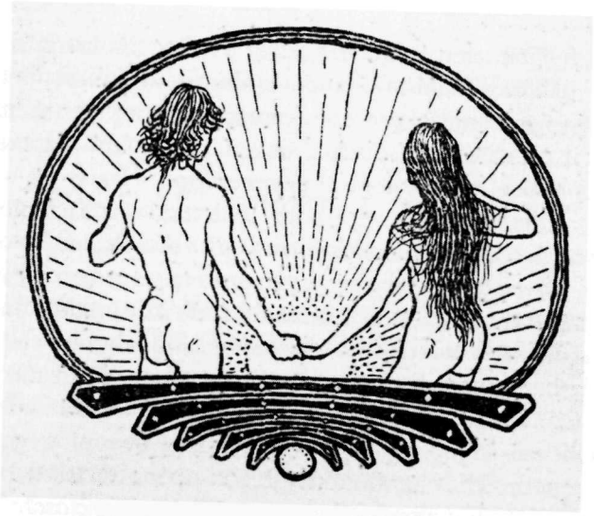
Lebensreform is the name given to a range of varied and not always compatible programs that aspired to cure the social, moral, and psychological ills widely attributed by contemporaries to Germany's hectic and erratic commercial and industrial expansion in the years before and after the establishment of the Empire (1871) and to the positivist, utilitarian outlook accompanying and supporting that expansion.[8] Inspired and sustained by the radical critique of political liberalism and instrumentalist rationalism in the works of thinkers such as Paul Lagarde, Julius Langbehn, and above all Nietzsche, it was a response by the children of the middle class itself (the working class played almost no role in it) to the social conflicts and widely credited decadence of modern industrial societies. Its advocates aimed to bring about the radical transformation of an allegedly soulless and egotistical civilization, which they accused of having denatured every form of natural human activity, from eating to sex; destroyed not only humanity's sense of being part of the totality of nature but all sense of community with other humans; divided the *Volk*, or people, into antagonistic classes; distorted and degraded the beauty of the human form; and imprisoned love, religion, creativity, and spirituality—considered the essential expressions of human freedom—in oppressive institutions of censorship and control. Lebensreform was equally a response to the devastation of the natural environment, the explosive growth of ugly urban and industrial areas, and the cramped and unsanitary conditions in which the vast majority of German workers were condemned to live; to the creation of an impoverished and resentful proletariat out of laborers and peasants alienated from their traditional communities and ways of life in the countryside and in Germany's old small towns; and, finally, to the displacement of the traditional middle class of state and city officials, mid-level professionals (such as elementary schoolteachers), and the better-off artisans by a new class of so-called

[8] On similar movements in England, see Stansky, *Redesigning the World*; in the United States, Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880–1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

parvenus, the financiers and—to a lesser extent—industrialists whose principal goals were said to be the acquisition and display of wealth as the single sign of social success. Some champions of Lebensreform placed their emphasis on spiritual degeneration (and regeneration), others on physical and biological degeneration. Nearly all were preoccupied in some measure with both. The names of two pioneering journals associated with the movement—*Pan* and *Jugend* ("Youth")—effectively convey the high value the reformers placed on the recovery of lost youth and energy, and on freeing society from the contamination of an allegedly inauthentic, derivative, and sclerotic culture.[9]

Many Lebensreformers, heavily influenced by biological evolutionism and social Darwinism, were convinced that the future belonged to those individuals and peoples who had retained or could recover their natural strength. The common imagery of artists associated with Lebensreform, including the three I hope to study more closely, was thus intended to evoke life, freedom, creativity, movement, energy, purity and innocence, the beauty and unity of man and nature, the promise of a bright new life in the future, and the joy of community. It embraced the plant, the plantlike tresses of a woman's hair, animals and birds (especially the extravagant display of the peacock), the spring or fountain, the harp, the dance, the temple (not usually, however, any institutionally recognizable ecclesiastical building but a gathering place for a new people to celebrate itself in joyous festivals), the noonday sun, and, above all, the naked, often androgynous, youthful body, pure, uncorrupted by artificial conventions, open to a future of infinite possibilities (figs. 5–6). Throughout his life Fidus repeatedly reworked his most famous image—a naked youth looking outward

[9] In his *Literarische Erinnerungen*, Heinrich Hart gives a good account of what he and his brother Julius, the leading spirits of the Schlachtensee writers' colony, were striving toward: "Our longings were vague, like all springtime yearning, but we lived and labored in the feeling of an awakening spring. We dreamed and fantasized endlessly about a poetry that would cut through all the layers of academic varnish with the freshness of earth and spring water, that would be genuinely serious and full of ideas, that would drive insipid middle-brow drawing-room dramas from the scene, and that would be born of the most intense and immediate experience of modernity, breathe reality, proclaim truth, and sweep like a storm through all the pettiness and hypocrisy of social conventions." Hart, *Gesammelte Werke* (Berlin, 1907), 3:64, quoted in Rolf Kauffeldt and Gertrude Cepl-Kaufmann, *Berlin-Friedrichshagen: Literaturhauptstadt um die Jahrhundertwende: Der Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis* ([Munich]: Klaus Boer Verlag, 1994), 109.



5. One of the numerous illustrations by Fidus for Karl Henckell, *Neues Leben: Dichtungen* (Zurich: K. Henckell, 1900), 98. Princeton University Library.

6. Paul Bürck, cover for the magazine *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 8 (August 1901). The image of a naked youth, arms upraised as in adoration of nature, was common to many Jugendstil artists, not only lesser figures like Fidus and Ludwig Fahrenkrog, but also major ones, including Ferdinand Hodler and Koloman Moser. Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

7. Fidus, *Lichtgebet*. From a poster and a postcard marking a gathering of the Free German Youth in October 1913. Reproduced by kind permission of the Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung, Burg Ludwigstein.

from the edge of a cliff, arms raised upward toward the sun—itself perhaps a radical reinterpretation of one of the best-known paintings, *Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer*, of the German Romantic artist Caspar David Friedrich, who was then being rediscovered and promoted by nationalist critics hostile to the prevailing French influence on modern German art. Fidus's *Lichtgebet* (Prayer to the Light) enjoyed great popularity in all classes of German society over a period of three decades and was readily adapted for use in promoting commercial enterprises associated with Lebensreform (fig. 7).[10]

[10] Fidus returned many times to the theme of a youth standing on a mountaintop, arms raised as in prayer to nature or to the sun. In the earliest versions of the image—a charcoal drawing of 1890, entitled *Zu Gott*, which was the basis for an illustration published by the magazine *Sphinx* in 1892, for an oil painting (1895), and for a version entitled *Betender Knabe* (Praying Boy, 1905), which first appeared in the magazine *Deutsche Kultur* and was then reproduced in a run of 1,000 copies—the figure is that of a very young boy, almost a child. In subsequent versions (1910, 1913, 1927, 1938), it is that of a youth or a fully developed, mature man. As of 1905, Fidus habitually tried to have the original (most often an oil painting or watercolor) widely

Lebensreform has lately begun to attract scholarly attention. A major exhibition in 2001 at the Institut Mathildenhöhe in Darmstadt, once a center of the movement, showcased the full range of writers and artists connected with it at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth: Max Klinger, Ferdinand Hodler, Vasilii Kandinsky, and Rainer Maria Rilke, among many others, not to mention Nietzsche, its founding inspiration. The exhibition also revealed the impact on daily life in Germany of the numerous and sometimes contradictory single-issue organizations that offered cures for the supposed decadence and corruption of the age and that, taken together, constituted the movement: vegetarianism, nudism, sun and water bathing, sexual freedom, sports and gymnastics, homeopathy and natural healing (or, as we might say, alternative medicine), eugenics, environmentalism, theosophy and anthroposophy, and "ethical culture." Lebensreform also embraced a "back to the land" movement that encompassed everything from plans for garden cities in the manner of the English pioneer Ebenezer Howard and for workers' allotments in large urban areas to a total rejection of the *Großstadt* (modern metropolis) and all it stands for and the setting up of artists' communes in outlying districts of the big cities to serve as models of a new kind of society.[11] Many artists, including

reproduced, using a varity of techniques. By 1913, the date of the version in figure 7, he had set up a press of his own to turn out thousands of copies of this and other images. It has been said that by the 1930s there was a copy of Fidus's *Lichtgebet* in one out of ten German households.

"Das Lied von der Jugend" (The Song of Youth), by the once popular poet Max Bruns, offers a literary equivalent of Fidus's simplistic visual celebrations of youth, strength, and light: "O Kraft in mir, du göttliche, jauchzende Kraft! Kraft des jungen Leibes und der jungen Seele! / Wohin doch willst du mich drängen? ... / O Sonne, Sonne! Allklare du in deiner rein strahlenden Nacktheit! / Du mit dem ewig lachenden Kinderblicke! / Und o Erde, Urgebärende alles Lebens, mit dem keuschen, nie welkenden Schosse! / Und du, weites Meer, noch im Wechsel beständig dir gleichend, Urbild alles Menschenseins ... / Wie wollt ihr mich euer tiefstes Wesen lehren?!" (Oh energy in me, divine, exultant energy of the young body and the young soul! Whither would you drive me? ... Oh sun, sun, oh bright and clear one in your pure gleaming nakedness. Oh you of the eternally laughing eyes of the child! And oh Earth, first bearer of all life, you of the chaste, ever fruitful womb. And you, vast ocean, ever the same in the midst of change, model of all human existence, how would you teach me your deepest being.)

[11] See the magnificent two-volume catalog of the Darmstadt exhibition: *Die Lebensreform: Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*, ed. Kai Buchholz

the three with whom I shall be concerned, produced posters for these movements, illustrated and wrote books advocating their objectives, or participated in one or more of the experimental artists' communes. The overwhelming longing of most Lebensreform adherents, like that of the Romantics of the early years of the nineteenth century, was for an end to fragmentation and conflict and the restoration of wholeness and harmony—between the "animal" and the "spiritual" aspects of humanity, between nature and culture, heaven and earth, religion and science, male and female, and, not least, the mutually hostile social classes.[12] According to the author of a 1902 pamphlet on *Die Religion und die Philosophie der Zukunft* (The Religion and Philosophy of the Future),

> The reform of our age must be total and radical. It must embrace every aspect of human feeling, thinking, and acting. It requires, in the words of Eduard Baltzer [a disillusioned 1848 revolutionary who became the founder of the vegetarian movement] that we become blameless in body, soul, and spirit. Following the sacred order of nature, we should begin with the body, continue with the soul, and complete our work with the spirit, so that all three may finally blossom in beautiful harmony.[13]

National Socialism had obvious connections with at least some aspects of Lebensreform: the cult of physical strength and beauty; the ideal of a healthy, pure race and an interest in eugenics as a means of realizing it; the substitution of comradeship for class as the essential category of social relations and of the organically conceived *Volk* for the more abstract, synthetic idea of nation or state; and the encouragement of open-air youth and hiking groups as a way of regenerating a natural community, as distinct from a legally constituted society of individuals.[14] Moreover, the party leadership skillfully exploited

(Darmstadt: Institut Mathildenhöhe/Verlag Häussler, 2001). See also Kauffeldt and Cepl-Kaufmann, *Berlin-Friedrichshagen*.

[12] See especially Janos Frecot, Johann Friedrich Geist, and Diethart Kerbs, *Fidus 1868–1948: Zur ästhetischen Praxis bürgerlicher Fluchtbewegungen*, expanded ed., with foreword by Gert Mattenkott (Hamburg: Roger und Bernhard, 1997), 18 and *passim*.

[13] W. Maasdorff, *Die Religion und die Philosophie der Zukunft*, 2nd ed. (Lorch [Württemberg]: Karl Rohm, 1914), 5–6.

[14] It is a short distance from the "liberating" idea that humanity's destiny is to become its own God to radical rejection of Christianity, promotion of an "original" Germanic paganism (as in the seemingly emancipatory writings of the

the impulses that underlay many of the movement's varied programs (Hitler, it will be recalled, was a vegetarian), with the result that Lebensreform as a whole has come under a cloud. And indeed, there may well be some lessons here: notably, that there are no apolitical (purely cultural, environmental, spiritual, hygienic, medical, or moral) solutions to the ills of human society; that in the absence of clearly defined political principles and objectives, not to mention some understanding of economics and social dynamics, single-issue causes—the effect, if not the function of which is often to divert attention from difficult systemic problems—easily lend themselves to appropriation and manipulation by clever demagogues; and that general cultural critiques, unsupported by empirically based social analysis, provide no clear direction for political action. With regard to the three artists I have evoked, it may not be a coincidence that the one who was the most consciously and deeply politicized—in the early 1920s—was also the one who distanced himself most both from the Lebensreform movement and from his early artistic practice, whereas the one who remained closest to the ideas of his youth was drawn gullibly, without resistance or even hesitation, into becoming a Nazi sympathizer and also remained tied to the artistic forms of the early 1900s.[15]

publicist Heinrich Pudor), and advocacy of a form of eugenics ("aristogenics"). Ernst Bergmann, a professor at the University of Leipzig and fervent National Socialist, elaborated on these themes in a popular lecture series given in various locations and subsequently published as *Deutschland, das Bildungsland der neuen Menschheit* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1933). A revival of Old German pagan cults was already the goal of the Germanische Glaubens-Gemeinschaft, founded in 1907, with which the artists Fidus and Ludwig Fahrenkrog were both associated. In a pamphlet issued in 1913, *Die Germanische Glaubens Gemeinschaft* (Berlin: "Kraft und Schönheit"), the society urged all *Blutdeutsche* (people of German blood) to affix "the high and holy swastika" to their writing paper and postcards. This society still exists and has a quite sophisticated Web site.

[15] In a penetrating analysis of the political and social roots of the anti-Semitism embraced and promoted by the National Socialists, Paul W. Massing distinguishes between the anti-Semitism of the traditional rural population or of conservative defenders of the authoritarian state, like Heinrich von Treitschke and the notorious court chaplain Adolf Stoecker, and the anti-Semitism of middle-class artisans, bureaucrats, and professionals, threatened on the one hand by Socialism and on the other by increasingly powerful industrial and financial interests. "The most virulent kind of anti-Semitism was spread throughout Germany by teachers, students, industrial and commercial employees, petty officials, professional people, and followers of cults of every variety: members of 'life reform movements,' whole-rye bread

In general, Jugendstil was the artistic style most attuned to the aspirations of Lebensreform, inasmuch as it aimed to penetrate every aspect of life, to abolish the class distinction, so to speak, between the "fine arts" and the so-called minor arts of design, and to sweep away the historicizing practices that had dominated much nineteenth-century artistic production but failed—so detractors claimed—to conceal the inner emptiness of the age and its lack of an authentic culture or style of its own.[16] The new, young art, in contrast, would strive to produce forms capable of expressing an original modern sensibility and of developing a genuine and distinctive style for the age. These new forms—plantlike, yet flowing, as if freed from roots or gravity, resolutely unhistorical, unrealistic (flat surfaces were preferred to perspective; smooth, clear outlines to hatching), and even utopian—were adapted from a variety of sources, some exotic and some located in a noncanonical European past. These included Blake's illustrations, Celtic ornament, the Arts and Crafts movement, Pre-Raphaelite painting, late medieval manuscript illumination, and Japanese decorative design and woodblock prints.[17] Although art nouveau is sometimes considered an expression of late-nineteenth-century decadence, its practitioners claimed to be reacting against the alleged decadence and materialism of the age, and its emergence has also been seen as

dietitians, opponents of vivisection, and 'back to nature' builders of body and soul. From these groups, not from the peasants or the land-owning aristocracy or the reactionary clergy, narrow-minded though they might have been, came the fanatical haters of Jews." Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), 75. That the social groups pinpointed by Massing provided fertile terrain for the seeds of National Socialism seems beyond doubt. Nevertheless, it will be clear from the present essay that Jews themselves were much affected by some of the very cultural and ideological currents that fed into anti-Semitism.

[16] See Van de Velde, *Déblaiement d'art*, 6: "In art ... every return to the past is marked by sterility and death." Jacob Burckhardt had already noted that for all its vast knowledge and application of the styles of other ages, the nineteenth century had failed to produce one of its own. In contrast, the objective of the new movement, in Van de Velde's words, was to develop "a style commensurate with the spirit and unique characteristics of our age" ("La Triple Offense à la beauté" in *Déblaiement d'art*, 31). "Our most ardent desire," he had declared in an earlier work, "is to possess a true style" (*Vom neuen Stil* [Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1907], 2).

[17] See Philip B. Meggs, *A History of Graphic Design* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1983), 220–22.

marking the beginning of modernity.[18] In this respect it corresponds to Lebensreform: the modernity of both lay in their very antimodernism, their opposition to what the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie of the time viewed with satisfaction as "modern."

Henry van de Velde, one of the pioneers of art nouveau, acknowledged and sought to overcome this ambivalent relation to modernity in his many sympathetic yet critical judgments of the two Englishmen he considered the "grands apôtres" of the new art: Ruskin and Morris.[19] He enthusiastically acknowledged his generation's enormous debt to both for having led the revolt against an ugliness more oppressive in the second half of the nineteenth century, according to Van de Velde, than at any time in history and for having initiated a serious movement to restore beauty to the world and dignity to mankind. At the same time, however, he believed their fixation on the Middle Ages—and, above all, their "machinophobie emphatique"—had prevented them from conceptualizing a radically and authentically modern art and society.[20] For some of its practitioners—Van de Velde, the Glasgow school, and the Viennese, among others—Jugendstil was indeed the seedbed of a new, rational, functional, formally coherent, international style, best exemplified for us today by the work of the Bauhaus, which was in part an outgrowth of Van de Velde's School of Arts and Crafts in Weimar.[21] For others it remained a refuge from the ugliness and disharmonies of a mechanized world, an alternative holistic world of infinite movement, of beautiful, flowing, organic lines and shapes, of dreams and fantasies.[22] Even the Van de Veldes, however, were trapped in an illusion not unlike that of the champions of Lebensreform: namely, that changes in architecture, design, and lifestyle could bring about the total social transformation they professed to desire.

[18] For a good overview of the literature on art nouveau and the different definitions and interpretations of the movement, see Jost Hermand, *Jugendstil: Ein Forschungsbericht 1918–1964* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1965).

[19] Van de Velde, "Le Nouveau," in *Déblaiement d'art*, 73.

[20] Van de Velde, "La Triple Offense à la beauté," in *Déblaiement d'art*, 31–32, 48, 51–54. The backward look seems inseparable from many aspects of modernity. For example, Adolf Brand, the founder of the first journal dedicated to the justification and even celebration of homosexual love (*Der Eigene*, 1903–1933), based his case for what we would now call gay liberation on the claim that feminization and the decline of traditional manly virtues in modern times were undermining German culture. It would be saved, according to Brand, by a return to pederasty, the education of young males by older ones, which had been an essential aspect of ancient culture.

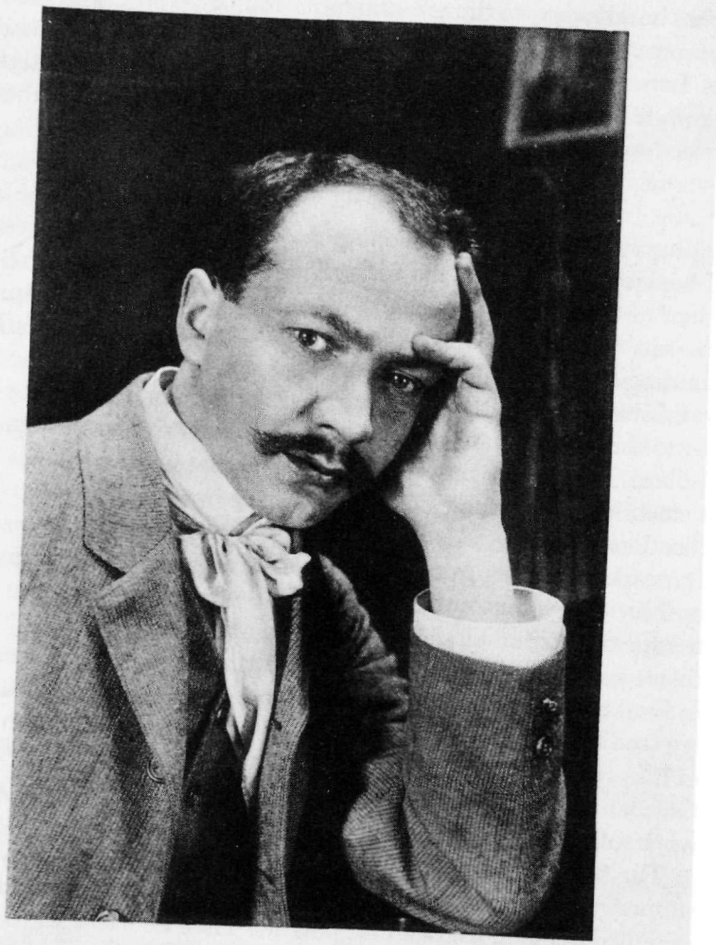
[21] Cf. Van de Velde: "To halt decadence . . . it was necessary to impose on the pursuit of Beauty a new discipline which . . . would restore an era of rational and consequential conception in every domain—the idea of appropriate, precise, and pure form. . . . A new discipline, applied like a principle of hygiene, that is the program that in my view was needed to get the better of ugliness" ("La Triple Offense à la beauté," in *Déblaiement d'art*, 56, 105).

Ephraim Mose Lilien, the youngest by a few years of the three artists I hope to study (fig. 8), came from the Galician town of Drohobycz, then at the easternmost edge of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and now in the western part of Ukraine. Although half the population, including Lilien, was Jewish, Drohobycz was by no means a poor eastern European *shtetl*. The discovery of naphtha had brought prosperity to the town and to a fair number of its forty thousand inhabitants. Lilien's father, however was not one of that number. A poor lathe turner, he could not afford to keep his son in school; having given indications of artistic talent, the boy was apprenticed to a sign maker. In nearby Lemberg (present-day Lvov), however, lived relatives who, by Lilien's own account, were well-to-do bankers and leading members of the community.[23] Out of shame, they funded the boy's attendance first at the Realschule in Lemberg and then at the art academy in Krakow (both cities were then within the Empire). In Krakow, Lilien studied with Jan Mateiko (1838–1893), the leading Polish painter of historical subjects and for a short time also the teacher of Maurycy Gottlieb (1856–1879), another Jewish artist from Drohobycz, whose work still enjoys a small reputation.

The funds provided by his Lemberg relatives were not enough to support the young man, however, and after two years, in 1892, he had to return home to live with his parents. Then he had a stroke of luck. The town of Drohobycz planned to honor the Polish poet Cornelius

[22] It seems appropriate that the "psychedelic" art of the 1960s—which also sprang from opposition to alienation, exploitation, and materialism (in the form of the consumer society, the military-industrial complex, and the Vietnam war), and which also advocated love, reconciliation, environmentalism, and an enhanced spirituality verging on occultism—was directly inspired by Jugendstil or art nouveau.

[23] *E. M. Lilien: Briefe an seine Frau 1905–1925*, ed. Otto M. Lilien and Eve Strauss, introduction by Ekkehard Hieronimus (Königstein/Ts.: Jüdischer Verlag/Athenäum, 1985), 49, letter 16, from Berlin, September 28, 1905.



8. E. M. Lilien, photographic self-portrait. Frontispiece of *E. M. Lilien: Sein Werk* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1903). Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

Ujejski, and Lilien won the competition for the design of the diploma. The prize money, he thought, would enable him to enroll in the art academy in Vienna, but he soon discovered that his funds were once again insufficient. After a brief stay with relatives in the Habsburg capital, he went on to Munich, where, as he put it later, the subsidy of 10 marks per month that his "wealthy" Lemberg relatives continued to provide was "not enough to live on but too much to starve to death on."[24]

In the lively art scene of Munich, Lilien abandoned the realist manner of his early drawings, adopted the more linear, graphic style of the younger generation, and won a moderate degree of recognition. He also gave up oil painting, in large measure, he explained later, because he could not afford to practice a form of art for which clients were harder to find.[25] He may not have been quite as penniless as he claimed, however. In 1896 he entered and won second prize in a photographic competition organized by the review *Jugend*, the first indication of what was to be a lifelong interest in and practice of photography. Clearly, he had acquired a camera—not an inexpensive item at the time—and his first commission, also in 1896, was for a photographic portrait of a well-known singer.[26] By 1897, income from drawings for *Jugend* and the Socialist *Süddeutscher Postillon* (fig. 9) allowed him to give up the small monthly pension he had been receiving from his Lemberg relatives.

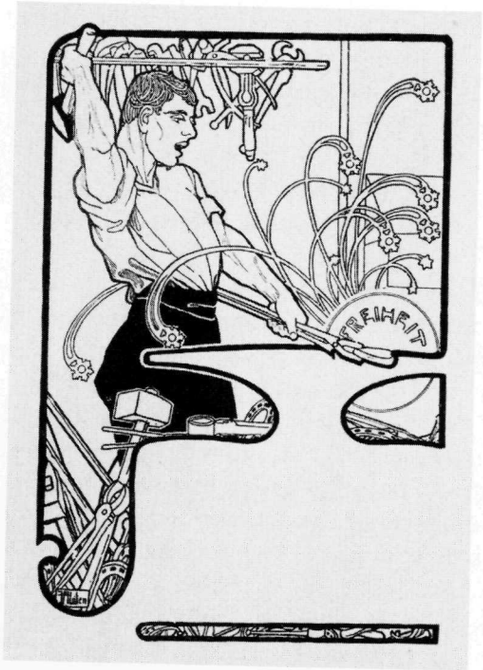
Around this time as well, the Berlin Socialist newspaper *Vorwärts* commissioned him to provide seventeen full-page and many smaller illustrations for an (apparently not very good) historical novel set in the sixteenth century during the Peasants' War, Johann von Wildenradt's *Der Zöllner von Klausen*.[27] In these drawings, in which some

[24] Ibid. Lilien's correspondence with his wife reveals a man with a lively sense of humor and a fondness for amusing anecdotes.

[25] Ibid., 41, letter 7, from Berlin, July 13, 1905: "Years ago, I painted large oil paintings. When the cold winters came in Munich, I used them as heating fuel. Today I again feel a longing for color, but I cannot and may not permit myself the luxury of painting in oil. I am like the prince with the golden brain. In my head there is a golden treasure-chest, but my daily needs oblige me to exchange the gold in it for copper coins. And I fear I will probably never see the gold of my treasure-chest."

[26] Hieronimus, introduction to *E. M. Lilien: Briefe an seine Frau*, 11.

[27] This story appeared in serial form in 1897 and was published in book form the following year (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung Vorwärts, 1898).



9. E. M. Lilien, *Am Amboss*. Illustration originally published in the Socialist newspaper *Süddeutscher Postillon* (1898); reproduced in *E. M. Lilien: Sein Werk* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1903). Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

writers have detected the influence of Josef Sattler, another more established contributor to *Jugend*, Lilien had not yet fully realized the style that was to characterize the work of his maturity: flat surfaces with not much tonal modification, simple but dynamic lines, and strong, clear masses of black and white.[28] Still, this new work differed completely in spirit and execution from anything by Mateiko, his only formal teacher. The drawings he continued to contribute to *Jugend* and the *Süddeutscher Postillon* showed further development in the direction of a highly stylized symbolism.

[28] In 1905 Lilien advised his future wife, an aspiring artist, to "lay greater stress on clear line and visible movement." A year later, commenting on a woodcut she had made, he noted that it was "good, better than mine, but still too *plastic*; too much hatching." *Briefe an seine Frau*, 51, letter 19, from Berlin, October 18, 1905; 83, letter 39, from Jerusalem, June 6, 1906.

10. E. M. Lilien, bookplate for the writer Stefan Zweig, who contributed a lengthy introduction to the volume in which it is reproduced: *E. M. Lilien: Sein Werk* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1903). Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

By 1899 Lilien had improved his financial situation sufficiently to move to Berlin. He was quickly caught up in the literary and artistic life of the new and fast-growing imperial capital. He co-chaired the opening of the first German poster exhibition; his drawings for *Jugend* were included in the collective exhibit of the Association of German Illustrators at the Great Berlin Art Exhibition of 1899; the first of his many fine ex-libris plates—a consistent source of income throughout his life (fig. 10)—were published in the newly founded *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*; and he was commissioned to provide the decorative borders for a book on the great novelist Theodor Fontane by the then highly regarded literary and art critic Franz Servaes. In the Fontane book the student of Mateiko showed that he had paid close attention to the work of Morris and his friends in the English Arts and Crafts movement.

During this period Lilien also designed a humorous postcard for a Berlin literary circle whose members called themselves "Die Kommenden" (People of the Future). This group, founded by the now forgotten poet Ludwig Jacobowski (an admirer and correspondent of Rilke; his poems were set to music by Max Reger, Alban Berg, and Hans Pfitzner), was similar to and loosely associated with other avant-garde groups that had already or would soon set themselves up in the more bucolic surroundings of the city's outskirts, such as the Neue Gemeinschaft formed around Julius and Heinrich Hart in Schlachtensee or the Friedrichshagener Kreis formed around Bruno Wille and Wilhelm Bölsch in Friedrichshagen. Among Lilien's associates in Die Kommenden were the cosmopolitan libertarian Max Nordau, the author of the novel *Degeneration* (1892)—an attack on the supposed cultural as well as physical decline of modern man—who was already well on his way to becoming a Zionist; the novelist and essayist Stefan Zweig; Rudolf Steiner, the founder of the German Theosophic Association and subsequently of his own brand of "anthroposophy"; the composer Hans Pfitzner, later a strong supporter of National Socialism; the poet Peter Hille, who took over the leadership of the group after Jacobowski's premature death in 1900 (a friend of the artists Walter Leistikow, Edvard Munch, and Lovis Corinth, he is the subject of a fine portrait by Corinth); Hille's devoted admirer, the gifted and troubled Jewish expressionist poetess Else Lasker-Schüler; and a number of other women writers and artists, including Maria Eichhorn, the author—under the pseudonym "Dolorosa"—of a volume of masochistic love poems (*Confirmo te Chrysmate* [1903]) for which Lilien provided the cover design and internal ornamentation.[29]

The philosopher Martin Buber, then much under the influence of Nietzsche, also passed in and out of these literary circles, and it was probably in one of them that he and Lilien met and soon became comrades-in-arms in the pursuit of a new, modern Jewish culture. (Buber had attended the Gymnasium in Lemberg not long after Lilien had been a student at the Realschule there.) Both Bruno Wille's later description of the Friedrichshagener Kreis—with which Buber, Erich Mühsam (a Jewish anarcho-socialist murdered by the Nazis in 1934), and the future Nazi Fidus were all associated—and the ac-

[29] Eichhorn was also the author of novels with titles such as *Fräulein Don Juan* (Miss Don Juan), *Die Starken: Ein Athleten-Roman* (The Strong: An Athletes' Novel), and *Korsett-Geschichten* (Corset Stories).

count by the Hart brothers of the goals of their Neue Gemeinschaft are equally applicable to Die Kommenden. The most diverse elements came together in Friedrichshagen, Wille wrote, "the solitude of nature and urban bustle; literary bohemia and socialist and anarchist programs; bold striving toward a way of life free of egoism and conventional ideas; a feeling of comradeship between intellectuals and talented manual workers that did not exclude some unprejudiced supporters from among the well-to-do; creative love of art and keen interest in the social and natural sciences, philosophy, and religion."[30] Their goal, the Hart brothers explained on their side, was "to overcome the spirit of fragmentation and hopelessness produced by weary skepticism, the negativity and joylessness that have come to be all powerful in this last century.... We want to lead the way to a new Man, who will be the God and the artist of his own world."[31]

It seems to have been in the circle of Die Kommenden that Lilien met the nobleman and poet Börries, Freiherr von Münchhausen (1874–1945), a descendant of the eighteenth-century baron of the same name to whom a celebrated collection of amusingly improbable adventure tales is commonly attributed. Münchhausen, who appears to have been dabbling in Lebensreform ideas at the time, showed Lilien a collection of ballads he had composed, including seventeen on Jewish themes. In contrast to the common image of the Jew as shabby, timorous, beaten down, subsisting on mean or ignominious trades, and covered in heavy dark clothing emblematic of his alienation from the natural world, including his own body, Münchausen's poems, inspired perhaps by certain texts of Nietzsche, celebrated the epic-heroic qualities of the ancient Hebrews, their courage, strength, and natural beauty. They offered a vision, strikingly compatible with that being presented at the same time by Lilien's friend Buber, of what a revived Jewish nation might once again become.[32] Lilien was

[30] Bruno Wille, *Aus Traum und Tag* (Berlin, 1920), quoted in Frecot, Geist, and Kerbs, *Fidus*, 86.

[31] Quoted in Gerhard Wehr, *Der deutsche Jude Martin Buber* (Munich: Kindler-Verlag, 1977), 84.

[32] See the essays collected in Martin Buber, *Die jüdische Bewegung: Gesammelte Aufsätze und Ansprachen 1900–1915* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1916), with a cover design by E. R. Weiss, who also contributed illustrations to *Die Insel*. In the first essay, "Jüdische Renaissance" (1900), Buber deplores the effects on the culture of the Jewish people of "Ghetto und Galut" (isolation and exile). The new movement to regenerate Jewish culture, he argues, "will above all else place the Jew's unitary, unbroken

so enthusiastic about these ballads on Jewish themes that he urged Münchhausen to publish them as a group and undertook to illustrate the volume.[33] Doing so, he declared, would be a labor of love.[34] The resulting volume, *Juda*, appeared in 1900 and was an instant success, receiving enthusiastic reviews not only in the German press but also

feeling for Life back on the throne again.... The Exile had an effect like the screw in a torture chamber: the feeling for Life was deformed. External oppression by the host peoples and the internal tyranny of the Law combined in equal measure to force the feeling for Life away from its natural expression in free creativity, both in the real world and in art. The movement that is starting up in our time will make the Jew feel once again that he is a living organism and that he should strive toward the harmonious development of all his powers, put his heart and soul into physical movement, song, and labor, no less than into grappling with intellectual problems, and find joy in a healthy, well-developed body that is to be regarded with love and pride.... It will brush away the dust and the spider's webs of the inner ghetto from our people's soul [von unseren Volksseele] and give the Jew back his ability to see into the heart of Nature, to give a name to trees, birds, and stars, as though they were his brothers and sisters" (13–15). The public address, "Von jüdischer Kunst," given at the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basel on December 27, 1901, took up the same theme: "For thousands and thousands of years we were an unproductive people. We shared thereby in the fate of our land. A fierce, fine, desert sand blew continuously over us until our wells were choked and our fields covered with a thick layer that killed off every seedling. The abundance of inner energy that we possessed at all times still found expression in our Exile only in an indescribably one-sided spiritual activity which blinded our eyes to all the beauty of Nature and Life.... Every form of blossoming and growing beyond the confines of the ghetto was unknown to our ancestors and was as hateful to them as the marvelous human body. All the things over whose magic poetry spins its golden veil, all the things whose forms are enchanted by the blessed hands of the plastic arts, all that was ... regarded with ineradicable suspicion and hostility" (58–59).

[33] Münchhausen, *Autobiographische Skizze*, quoted in Willem-Jan Pantus, *Jugendstil in Wort und Bild: Illustrierte Dichtkunst um 1900*, exhibition catalog (Cologne: Letter Stiftung, 2000), 132. The titles of the seventeen poems are: "Euch," "Also Sprach Jesaia," "Rahab, die Jerichonitin," "Die Engel," "Die Hexe von En Dor," "Enak vor Gomorrha," "Der Sohn," "Joab," "Passah," "Triumphgesang der Juden," "Sodoms Ruinen," "Simson," "Die Gesänge des Jehuda" (composed of "Das Sehnsuchtslied," "Das stille Lied," and "Das Trauerlied"), "Mose," and "Sabbath der Sabbathe."

[34] Münchhausen later penned some lines memorializing his friendship with Lilien and their close collaboration on his poems, over a period of several months, on his estate at Windisch-Leuba in Thuringia. The poem, "An E. M. Lilien," is quoted in Edgar Alfred Regener, *E. M. Lilien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste* (Goslar/Berlin/Leipzig: F. A. Lattmann, 1905), 83: "Gleicherweise schufen wir beide, / Was unsere Seelen mit Sehnsucht durchquillt. / Keinen zu Lieb' und

in England and America.[35] It had to be reprinted later the same year and in succeeding years to keep up with demand.[36]

For Jews in particular it was, as one critic put it, "ein Festgeschenk" (a celebration gift).[37] But the gift could be understood in different ways. Lilien's skillful handling of Jugendstil forms could be seen as demonstrating that Jews were now sufficiently emancipated and educated, sufficiently integrated into the modern world to participate on an equal footing with anyone in the production of modern art. It was also possible, however, to view the artist's contribution to *Juda* as a demonstration of the possibility of a specifically "Jewish" art and a specifically Jewish contribution to the New Life that was the goal of the entire Lebensreform movement (fig. 11).

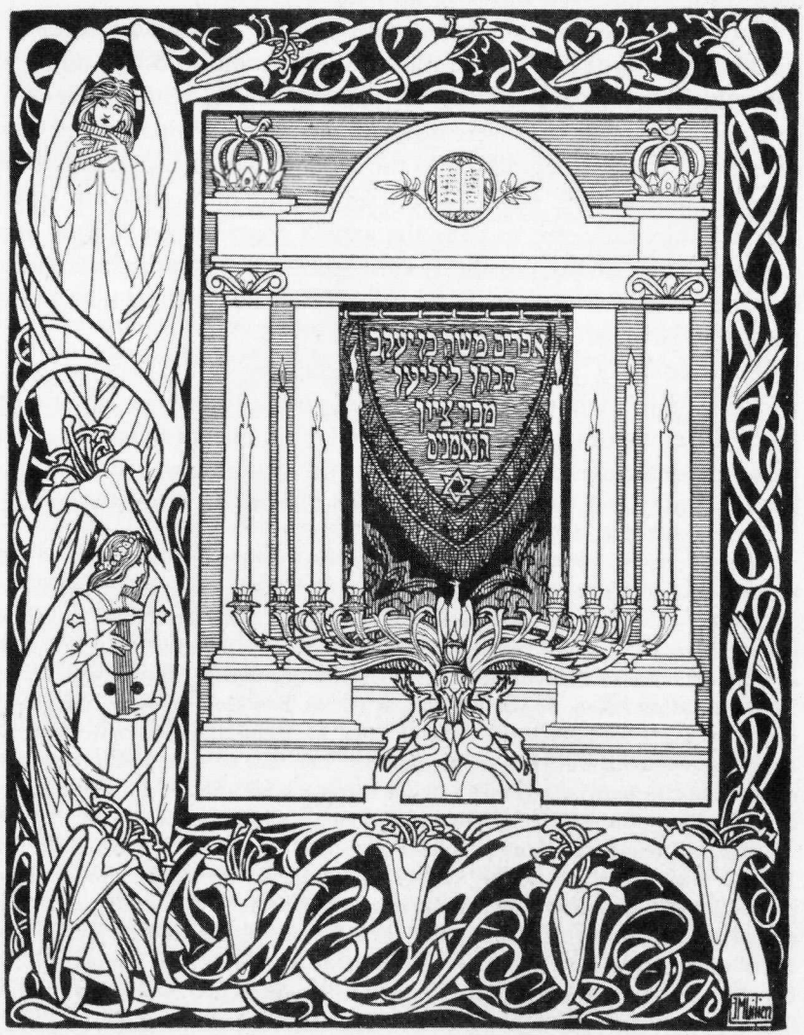
The impact of *Juda* seem to have been due to the fact that poet and artist alike, while evoking a distant past, offered a vision of a reformed, reinvigorated Jewish man and woman that was consonant with the ideals both of Lebensreform and of many supporters of the Zionist movement, with which Lilien had become involved soon after

keinen zu Leide / Haben wir unsere Sendung erfüllt" (We worked together to create that for which our souls are filled with longing. We fulfilled our mission without favor or harm to anyone). Willem-Jan Pantus (*Jugendstil in Wort und Bild*, 133) quotes another reference by Münchhausen to his friendship and collaboration with Lilien: "Ephraim Mose Lilien, do you know, dear friend, how close we were brought together by this book. Do you still remember the work and the pleasure we shared?" Lilien's letters to his wife, Helene Magnus, indicate that he visited Münchhausen's estate quite often and talked freely with the baron and his wife about his personal affairs. For the baroness he created one of his much-appreciated bookplates.

[35] Stefan Zweig quotes from a number of reviews at the end of *E. M. Lilien: Sein Werk* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1903). The *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung*, for example, praised Lilien's designs as "wonderfully original." The book itself "was a collaboration of the literary and the plastic arts. The paper, the printing, and the presentation of the work are first class." For the reviewer in the *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), "Nothing is constrained in Lilien's art. Instead he creates poetic effects and imparts beauty to the symbolic by means of the form-giving power of artistic harmony."

[36] The copy in Princeton's Rare Books Division is one of the first 3,000 printed; Yale and Rutgers have copies from the 4–6,000 printing; Harvard's, Duke's, and Columbia's copies are from the 7–9,000 printing. According to Pantus (*Jugendstil in Wort und Bild*, 132), 9,000 copies in all of *Juda* were printed between 1900 and 1910—a very considerable number for a book of poetry at the time.

[37] M. Hirschfelder, in a comprehensive essay devoted to Lilien, *Ost und West* 1 (July 1901), cols. 518–28, at col. 527.



11. E. M. Lilien, one of several decorative opening pages for Börries, Freiherr von Münchhausen, *Juda: Gesänge* (Goslar: F. A. Lattmann, 1900). The Hebrew inscription on the curtain reads, "Ephraim Mose, son of Jacob Hacohen Lilien, one of the faithful sons of Zion." Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

his arrival in Berlin.[38] In the opening poem, an address to "Euch" (To You)—that is, to modern Jews—the poet presents himself as an inspired prophet calling on the present-day Jewish people to rediscover and reconnect with its ancient roots. It could only have been warmly welcomed by the followers of Herzl.

> Geächtet Volk, ich zeige dir die Stege
> Aus Hass und Hohn zu deiner Jugend Glück,
> Verlorner Stamm, ich weise dir die Wege,
> Und deiner Wege Losung heisst: Zurück!
>
> Zurück zur Schönheit einst gesungner Psalmen,
> Zurück zum heilgen Bach bei Anathot,
> Zurück zu deiner Heimat Balsampalmen,
> Zurück zu deinem alten grossen Gott!
>
> Ich bin des Predigers Stimme in der Wüste,
> Stark ist mein Schrei, die Liebe ihn gebar,
> Ich bin des Predigers Stimme in der Wüste,
> Ein Fremdes ruft aus mir und redet wahr.
>
> Und ruft dir zu: Lass Pflug und Wage stehen,
> Sei was du bist, das alte Israel,
> Noch lebt dein Gott, und seine Säulen gehen
> Noch heute vor dir, höre Israel!

(Outlawed people, I am showing you the bridge across which you will pass from hatred and scorn to the happy times of your youth. Forlorn tribe, I am showing you the paths to follow, and the motto of those paths spells Return. Return to the beauty of the palm trees you once praised in song; return to the sacred stream at Anathoth; return to the balsam palms of your homeland; return to your great God of yore. I am the voice that preaches in the wilderness. Through me another calls and speaks the truth. And calls to you: Leave aside your plow, your weighing scales; be what you are, be ancient Israel. Your God lives still and his pillars still go before you today. Hear, O Israel.)

Likewise, the closing poem—"Sabbath der Sabbathe" (Sabbath of Sabbaths)—could hardly be read otherwise than as the prediction of a coming new life for the Jewish people:

[38] Michael Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2001), 107.

Sei still Judäa und schweige, du Tochter des Sem!
Höre was ich dir sage:
Es nahet der Tag der Tage,
Nach Streben und Sterben und Streit,
Nach Lieben und Lehren und Leid
Nahet die Ernte der Saat:
Der Sabbath der Sabbathe naht!

Sei still Judäa und schweige, du Tochter des Sem!
Hänge dein Hoffen ans Später,
Traue dem Gotte der Väter:
Aus Zeiten voll Schande und Spott
Führt dich dein heiliger Gott
Mit unerforschlichem Rat!
Der Sabbath der Sabbathe naht!

(Judea, hold still, and be silent, daughter of Sem. Hear what I have to tell you. The day of days is dawning. After striving and strife and dying, after loving and learning and suffering, what was sown is about to be reaped. The Sabbath of Sabbaths draws nigh. Be silent, Judea, and hold still, you daughter of Sem. Hang your hopes on what is to come, have faith in the God of your fathers. With inscrutable counsel your holy God shows the way forth from times of shame and scorn. The Sabbath of Sabbaths draws nigh.)

Herzl did indeed respond with enthusiasm to *Juda* and wrote Münchhausen a glowing letter in which he expressed his admiration for the poet's talent and thanked him for using it to promote the cause of the Jews. Münchhausen would be the inspiration and support for the Jews, he declared, that Lord Byron had been at the beginning of the previous century for the Greeks. To underscore the flattering comparison with Byron, he addressed the aristocratic bard humorously as "Mein lieber Lord" and "Lord der Dichtung."[39]

What the German nobleman admired in the Jews may well have been their widely credited preservation of their racial identity. Thanks to that essential purity, they could aspire to overcome the degradation

[39] Theodor Herzl, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, ed. Alex Bein et al., vol. 6, ed. Barbara Schäfer et al. (Frankfurt and Berlin: Ullstein-Propyläen Verlag, 1993), 390–91, letter dated Vienna, 1901. As evidence that he was not reacting chauvinistically to the poems in *Juda*, Herzl cites his admiration for Münchhausen's *Balladen* on German themes, published in the same year, and in a postscript lists his favorite poems in each collection.

they had suffered over the centuries and recover their original grandeur. They might even serve, Münchhausen may well have thought, as a model for the poet's own countrymen, degraded from the manly, stalwart Volk of old into a modern nation-state of proletarians, plutocrats, and politicians. Perhaps one ought not to be surprised that in later years the prophet of Jewish renewal became closely associated with Moeller van den Bruck and the so-called Conservative Revolution or that he renewed the warning, voiced as early as 1879 by Wilhelm Marr in his notorious pamphlet *Der Sieg des Judentums über das Germanentum*, of the threat the Jews posed, as a tenacious, alien people, to the strength and purity of the German race.[40] The archaizing style of the ballads comprised in *Juda*—the poet's heavy use of rhyme, alliteration, and other forms of repetition—was already a sign of things to come. As one Jewish reviewer put it, Münchhausen's preference was for "the rhythm of the old Nibelungen meter; and he himself has something of the strength, the springing energy, and the defiance of the Nibelungen. He does not get lost in psychological niceties. His world is one of heroes who speak as masters and of unwavering desires and feelings."[41] The case of Münchhausen makes clear that the discontent with the present and the longing for a rejuvenated race of brave men and beautiful women that gave rise to the poems hailed by Jews the world over could also lead to sympathy and collaboration with National Socialism. While the "aristocratic" elitism of men of the stamp of Münchhausen and Moeller van den Bruck may have

[40] In an astonishing little volume reporting on his experience as judge of an open competition for the text of an anthem to be sung at the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936 (music by Richard Strauss), Münchhausen lamented that the entries submitted to him demonstrated the contamination of the German language by *Fremdwörter* (foreign words), the displacement of the ethnic notion of the Volk by the modern idea of the nation, and the pervasiveness of "the most gutless pacifism." Börries, Freiherr von Münchhausen, *Das Weihelied der Elften Olympiade* (privately printed, 1935); Princeton's Rare Books Division holds copy 220 of the edition of 300. Münchhausen was among those elected to the Akademie der Dichtung to replace members deemed politically or racially unacceptable after the National Socialists came to power.

[41] Theodor Zlocisti, review of *Juda* in *Ost und West* 1 (January 1901), cols. 63–66. Helene Magnus, who before her marriage to Lilien was strongly opposed to Zionism, had presciently warned her future husband that Gentile Zionists like Münchhausen were in fact anti-Semites; they encouraged Jewish emigration to Palestine because they were convinced that Jews could never be authentic Germans (*Briefe an seine Frau*, 36, letter 1, Helene Magnus to E. M. Lilien, from Braunschweig, March 10, 1905).

ensured that they would remain somewhat marginal to the National Socialist mainstream, their ideal vision of a muscular heroic race, elevated above mundane human passions and interests, does appear to have found expression in the officially preferred sculpture of the Nazi era.[42]

The first number (January 1901) of *Ost und West*, an illustrated monthly magazine devoted to "topics of interest to modern Jews" (that is, to Jews who were neither traditionally religious nor assimilationist but committed to the creation of a specifically Jewish cultural modernity), carried a review of *Juda*, as well as a cover design by Lilien himself. According to the reviewer, Lilien's drawings do not simply illustrate Münchhausen's poems; they provide a visual equivalent of their themes and spirit. That visual equivalent is identified by Michael Stanislawski, the author of one of the rare modern studies of Lilien, as an emphasis on "the physical beauty and sculpted bodies, both male and female, of ancient Israelite figures." Lilien's illustrations thus give visual expression, according to Stanlislawski, to the same "basic values, cultural tenor, and ideological coloration of the European fin-de-siècle," the same longing for renewal that inspired "Max Nordau's call for a 'Muskeljudentum' [muscular Jewish people]" or "Vladimir Jabotinsky's creation of a militant Jewish nationalism ... that consciously attempted to destroy the effeminate stance of East European Jewry through a ... hard, cold, dignified—indeed, virtually Aryan—masculinity."[43]

[42] On National Socialist sculpture, see Wolbert, *Die Nackten und die Toten des "Dritten Reichs."* Münchhausen himself emphasized his hostility to democracy and his "aristocratic" values in a comment in the "cultural Zionist" magazine *Ost und West*, in which he expressed his dismay at the later *Lieder des Ghetto* (1903) by Morris Rosenfeld, translated by Berthold Feiwel and illustrated by Lilien: "Wherever ideas about society are democratized, poets and illustrators become completely alien to me. The Judaism that I felt close to was always only the proud, aristocratic Judaism. But here I suddenly discover a plebeian Judaism, I find ideas and verses so marked by democratic socialism and so infinitely feeble as a result of the writer's guileless ignorance, that I am completely taken aback." Quoted in the introduction by Hieronymus to *E. M. Lilien: Briefe an seine Frau*, 19–20.

[43] Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle*, 107. This ideological heritage continued to be shared by Germans and German Jews alike. Thus, for instance, in an article that appeared in a Jewish youth annual in the form of a letter written from the front on May 23, 1916, to "Unsere Jugend," the author evokes the desire to sacralize the world, to make the everyday festive, which he claims is specific to Jewish youth; at the same time, the writer emphasizes how much the Jewish youth movement owes

This judgment—or at least its formulation—might be misleading. It is a long way from Lilien's nudes to the muscular, impassive, ideal Aryans of Josef Thorak (1889–1952) or Arno Breker (1900–1991). Lilien was most probably trying to communicate the vision, shared by many who had been touched by the ideals of Lebensreform, of a reconciliation of body and spirit, even a resacralizing of the body. It was, after all, a contemporary spokesman for orthodox Judaism in Palestine, Rabbi Abraham Kook (1866–1935), who declared in a passage quoted approvingly by Buber: "We have forgotten the holiness of the body; we have forgotten that we have a holy flesh, that we have it no less than we have a holy spirit. We have forgotten the active life and the purification of the senses and the association with bodily, sensual reality, because of a degenerate fear, because of a lack of faith in the holiness of the land." The conversion of Israel must therefore be "also a bodily conversion, creating healthy blood, healthy flesh, well-chiselled, well-founded bodies, a flaming mind radiant over strong muscles and shining in the power of the hallowed flesh."[44]

A now familiar delegates' card designed by Lilien for the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basel in 1901, which the artist himself attended, conveys a message entirely compatible with that of Rabbi Kook (fig. 12). It presents the image of a strong, young, handsome angel directing the gaze of a traditional old Jew, hemmed in by thorns in the dark, lower left segment of the card, toward the distant view, in the bright, upper right segment, of a farmer plowing the land beneath the glorious rays of the risen sun. What was manifested here, according to an American art critic writing in 1906, was "not the Talmudic spirit,

to German culture and, above all, to lessons learned from the German Wandervogel: "We live in the midst of German culture. Its objectives are our objectives. Our calling is to be of service to German life, on the torrent of which we too are borne." That is why young Jews "rallied to the flag in 1914." Above all, "the German Wandervogel showed us the way to new forms of life." With them, Jewish youth shares "the yearning for truth and purity, for renewal and a revaluing of all life," the desire "to replace outworn forms and Philistine, crassly material attitudes, with a living, hard-won, personal vision of the ideal." *Tagebuch für die jüdische Jugend 5677 (1916–17)* (Vienna: R. Löwith Verlag, 1916); also appeared as *Tagebuch für jüdische Wanderer*. The copy of this book in Princeton's Cotsen Children's Library was originally in the possession of the Herzl-Club, Berlin.

[44] Passages from Rabbi Abraham Kook, quoted in Martin Buber, *On Zion*, trans. Stanley Godman (New York: Schocken Books, 1973; orig. Hebrew ed., 1944; 1st English ed., 1952), 151.

12. E. M. Lilien, delegates' card, 1901. The upper Hebrew inscription reads: "Fifth Zionist Congress, Basel, 1901." The lower one reads: "May we behold with our eyes the return, in mercy, to Zion." Reproduced in *E. M. Lilien: Sein Werk* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1903). Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

but the spirit of a young and healthy national self-consciousness."[45] The enthusiasm aroused by *Juda*, and reinforced by this delegates' card, was such that the twenty-three-year-old Martin Buber, who in collaboration with Lilien had organized an exhibition of some fifty works by modern Jewish artists to run concurrently with the Congress, was inspired to salute his not-much-older collaborator before the assembled delegates as the hope of a future "Jewish" art.

By this description Buber meant not primarily a Jewish participation in modern art, but—in contrast to the emphasis of Van de Velde and others on the international character of modern art—the creation of a specifically Jewish art, an art expressive of the spirit and experience of the Jewish people. "Only when each people [Volk] ex-

[45] M. S. Levussove, *The New Art of an Ancient People: The Work of Ephraim Mose Lilien* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1906), 49.

presses its own being," Buber had declared in 1900, "can it increase the common treasury."[46] In that same spirit—reminiscent of Johann Gottfried Herder's early Romantic combination of historical particularism and Enlightenment universalism, but now invested with the nationalist fervor and the growing preoccupation with race of the late nineteenth century—Buber accepted that the revival of Jewish culture was "a tributary of the new Renaissance of Humanity [ein Teilstrom der neuen Menschheitsrenaissance],"[47] and acknowledged that emancipation and enhanced contact with the surrounding world had been the conditions that produced not only "the wretched episode of assimilationism [die armselige Episode 'Assimilation']"[48] but also the current revival of artistic creativity among Jews.[49] Nevertheless, he insisted, "the bare fact that we again have artists is ... not enough to establish that there is a Jewish art." It was necessary to move beyond the mere existence of artists of Jewish origin. If that was finally beginning to happen, Buber claimed, it was because "one or another of our artists, moved by the force of his Jewish blood, put his ear to his people's soul and allowed it to shape his works."[50] The regeneration of Jewish art would not be completed, however, until it had taken root in the native soil of the Jews, for "a national art needs a land to grow out of [eine nationale Kunst braucht einen Erdboden, aus dem sie herauswächst]."[51]

Buber's ideal of art as the expression of a *Volksseele* (people's soul) and his call for a specifically "Jewish" art strikingly paralleled a contemporary campaign in certain circles in Germany to identify and

[46] Buber, "Jüdische Renaissance," in *Die jüdische Bewegung*, 6.

[47] Ibid., 16.

[48] Ibid., 13; see also 32–33 on the destructive effects of the achievement of legal equality.

[49] Buber, "Von jüdischer Kunst" (1901), in *Die jüdische Bewegung*, 59–61.

[50] Ibid., 61–62.

[51] Ibid., 63. This view was again expressed by Lothar Brieger in his 1922 monograph on Lilien and applied to Lilien himself. A truly Jewish art, as distinct from an art using Jewish themes, could not occur, Brieger argued, until the development of the nation had proceeded far enough to inform and sustain a national art. Consequently, "Lilien's Jewishness cannot be seen as anything other than a matter of thematic material. What we have here is not a Jewish art that is a preparation for something to come in the future, but a Jewish-minded art [eine jüdisch gesinnte Kunst]." Brieger, *E. M. Lilien: Eine künstlerische Entwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende* (Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Harz, 1922), 171.

preserve the "Germanness" of German art. Not only diehard reactionaries, but even some moderately progressive artists like Carl Vinnen, who had worked at Worpswede and been associated with the Secession movement, believed German art was threatened by *Ausländerei*, that is, modish foreign, chiefly French influences.[52] (Characteristically, these influences were often said to be mediated by cosmopolitan [*heimatlos*] Jewish gallery owners and collectors.) The aspiration to create a "Jewish" art was even expressed in terms evoking race and ethnicity similar to those being used in the contemporary discourse about the "Germanness" of German art, albeit without the exclu-

[52] Van de Velde was an unwavering internationalist: "Culture, science, and art are tending toward a universality to which certain nations do not hesitate to sacrifice a centuries-old national culture and way of life: Japan, China, and Turkey" ("Le Nouveau," in *Déblaiement d'art*, 105). The liberal German critic and art historian Richard Muther also took a strong stand against the nationalist esthetics of many of his fellow citizens. His words could equally well have been addressed to the advocates of a new "Jewish" art. "A book entitled 'Aus Kunst und Leben' ... has just been published by Friedrich Schaarschmidt, the Librarian of the Düsseldorf Academy of Fine Arts.... In it he combats the fashion for everything foreign [Ausländerei] among German artists and delivers a sharply worded sermon on the need for a 'national' art. 'Dürer and countless others have shown that such an art once existed.... It raised its head again with the first rays of a new sun ... at the time of the Wars of Liberation. When the nation's vision of German unity became a living reality thanks to the colossal power of Bismarck, one might have thought that the old subservient habit of admiring the foreign would have abated.... But the deeply ingrained evil seems to be constitutional. Instead of the enthusiastic patriotism that made our artists the spiritual pioneers of the idea of Germany in the years of our political degradation, a considerable number of today's artists have been affected by cosmopolitan characterlessness. In this they have been supported and even lauded by an un-national press. Once the people realizes what a rich treasure it possesses in German art, once it understands, in general, that such a mother tongue exists in art, all our artists will begin to sing and tell joyfully in this, their very own tongue, and then every German art will also be a national art.'" To Muther, this was "nonsense": "An artistic style never belongs to a people, but only to an age.... All European styles since the days of the early Christian church have been international: Gothic and Renaissance, Baroque and Rococo, Classicisim and Romanticism.... One is reminded of a fugue in which the voices of individual peoples enter in turn, or of a lake into which a stone has been thrown creating concentric waves in every direction." Quoted in Hans F. Hofstätter, *Jugendstil: Druckkunst* (Baden-Baden: Holle Verlag, 1968), 130 (notice on the illustrator Hugo L. Braune). For a concise and lucid account of the debate between nationalists and internationalists in Germany, see Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), 170–99.

siveness and xenophobia that came increasingly to characterize the latter.[53]

Thus *Juda* confirmed one critic in his conviction that "Lilien is a Jewish artist" who "creates out of the soul of the Jewish Volk." That is why "only the Jew can understand and appreciate how powerfully he has tuned all the strings of his people's joyful and painful memories and drawn on them to create his art."[54] Buber himself, reviewing the volume in the weekly *Die Welt*, the official organ of the Zionist movement, spoke of the Jewish *Rassentüchtigkeit* (racial resiliency) to which Lilien and Münchhausen had evidently both responded.[55] The

[53] A parallel concern with the "Englishness" of English art began with Ruskin and became widespread at the turn of the twentieth century. It was given a new lease on life by the great German refugee art historian Sir Nikolaus Pevsner in his Reith Lectures on "The Englishness of English Art," broadcast over the BBC in 1955. See David Peters Corbett and Lara Perry, eds., *English Art 1860–1914: Modern Artists and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), and David Peters Corbett, Ysanne Holt, and Fiona Russell, eds., *The Geography of Englishness: Landscape and the National Past 1880–1940* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002.) In "The 'Jewish Mark' in English Painting: Cultural Identity and Modern Art" (*English Art 1860–1914*, 180–94), Janet Wolff points out that a suspicion of anti-Semitism "hovers over the very identification of a difference between 'English' and 'Jewish'-ness in art," but that "it is important to recall that Jews as much as non-Jews colluded in this belief in ethnicity as a foundation for art-making" (185). Notable English Jewish artists like David Bomberg and Mark Gertler, she claims, shared to some extent the notion that there could be something specifically Jewish in a given artistic practice. In its issue of April 27, 1917, the *Jewish Chronicle*, the respected organ of British Jewry, described Jacob Epstein's sculpture as "entirely Hebraic." Wolff recalls a 1990 exhibtion at the Barbican Art Gallery in London—"Chagall to Kitaj: Jewish Experiences in 20th Century Art"—and raises the question whether something of the old idea and ideal of a specifically Jewish art does not persist even today. A recent book by Gilya Gerda Schmidt, *Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress 1901* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), would seem to indicate that it does. At the same time, none of the attempts to define Englishness or Jewishness in art was as exclusive and xenophobic as the notorious pamphlet *Was Ist Deutsch in der deutschen Kunst?* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1934), by Kurt Karl Eberlein, an art historian sympathetic to National Socialism.

[54] M. Hirschfelder in *Ost und West* 1 (July 1901), col. 526.

[55] *Die Welt* (December 14, 1900), quoted in Mark H. Gelber, "E. M. Lilien: Jugendstil—Erotik und Kulturzionismus," in *E. M. Lilien: Jugendstil—Erotik—Zionismus*, ed. Oz Almog and Gerhard Milchram, exhibition catalog (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 1998), 11. Gelber may be the only scholar to highlight what he rightly refers to as the "*völkisch*-racial tendency of the mainstream of early cultural Zionism [völkisch-rassische Orientierung der Hauptströmung des frühen Kulturzionismus]"

American art critic Moses Samuel Levussove found in Lilien's work "the art of living Judaism."[56] To Stefan Zweig, the worldview at the core of Lilien's creativity as an artist was "not an accidental or borrowed one." It was not, in other words, taken from the host nations among whom Jews lived. On the contrary, he wrote, Lilien's "distinctive character as an artist blossoms forth from the unique soil of his homeland, from folk myth, and from the values of his race [blüht aus eigenster Heimatscholle, aus Volksmythe und Rassenwerten ... ins Leben empor]."[57] Arguing that "art is international in its means of expression and thus readily accessible to all on the surface, but national in its deepest being and therefore only to be grasped in its depths by dint of great effort and sensitive empathy," the literary and art critic Edgar Regener distinguished between international Jewish artists like Max Liebermann, Lesser Ury, Josef Israels, and Solomon J. Solomon, who could no more be viewed as national Jewish artists than as German, Dutch, or English, and an artist like Lilien, who, Regener claimed, belonged in the essentially Jewish tradition of *Buchschmuck* (book decoration), the area of artistic expression to which the Jew is drawn "by the particular national capacity of his race."[58]

(10). According to Gelber, Buber had been impressed by his reading of *Die jüdische Moderne* (1896) by Matthias Ascher (pseudonym of Nathan Birnbaum), in which it is stated: "The solid foundation of nationality is everywhere and at all times race.... Nationality has nothing to do with the state or with language." It must give the impartial reader pause that this is the tradition frequently invoked by Jacqueline Rose in support of her recent polemic against Herzl and statist Zionism (presented at a series of Gauss seminars in 2004 and published in 2005 by Princeton University Press as *The Question of Zion*).

[56] Levussove, *New Art of an Ancient People*, 50.

[57] Zweig, introduction to *Lilien: Sein Werk*, 11–12. For additional descriptions of Lilien as a "founder of Jewish art," see Joseph Gutmann's introduction to Ephraim Moses Lilien, *Jerusalem* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1976), 15. In a similar vein, the author of an essay on another Jewish artist, Ismael Gentz, declared that "for Christian-Aryan art masters, Jewish figures offer only interesting models and motifs. Jewish artists, however, see them as brothers, to whom they are united by the same blood and the same history and in whom they discover, as in themselves, our unique [Jewish] soul, our unique [Jewish] suffering, our unique [Jewish] hope. In the artist's generous gift of himself—not as an autonomous individual, but in the racial and national identity he shares with his viewer [bei rassenmässiger und nationaler Gleichart]—lie the seeds of a specifically Jewish art." *Ost und West* 3 (February 1903), col. 98.

[58] Regener, *Lilien*, 20–30. For some, "race" was a purely biological category. For others, it appears to have been a combination of the biological and the historical,

Even critics who were more Kantian and less Romantic in their esthetic views and who expressed skepticism about the idea of a Jewish art appear to have found it difficult to resist the tide of enthusiasm created by Lilien's work. One such critic, writing in 1902, was of the opinion that Lilien should simply be encouraged to practice his art. "Let us not distract Lilien from his labors.... And if someone were to say: 'This is not Hebrew art,' we would let him be, for there is nothing sacred about Hebrew art. Indeed perhaps this is not Hebrew art. But is it beautiful? And does it have its own charm and style? It does indeed and we ask for no more." Even this critic, however, asserted that Lilien's art was "the harbinger of redemption for Hebrew art" and that as "Lilien is Jewish, so is his art."[59]

Lilien himself seems to have shared this belief and hope. Along with Buber, the poet Berthold Feiwel, and, for a time, Chaim Weizmann, he was a leading member of a *Fraktion* (informal party) within the Zionist movement that not only distanced itself equally from traditional religious Judaism and from the prudent conservatism of well-to-do assimilationist Jews, but also regarded the political objectives and strategies of Herzl and his closest associates as subordinate to the higher goal of the regeneration of the Jewish people and its culture.[60]

with a meaning not unlike *Volk*. Regener's explanation of the "particular national capacity" of the Jewish "race" in art was essentially historical. After the destruction of the Temple, the greatest achievement of ancient Jewish art, he argued, the conditions of Jewish life in exile, along with the laws and prohibitions the Jews themselves obstinately adhered to in order to ensure their survival as a people, made the practice of all forms of art other than the decoration of written or printed texts virtually impossible.

[59] Nachum Sokolow, quoted in Micha and Orna Bar-Am, "The Photographic Aspect in the Work of E. M. Lilien," in *Painting with Light: The Photographic Aspect in the Work of E. M. Lilien*, ed. Nira Feldman, exhibition catalog (Tel Aviv Museum of Art/Dvir Publishing, 1991), 27.

[60] In a letter to Herzl defending the "cultural program" of "us young people," Buber cites a letter from Lilien about two meetings he and Lilien had had with the highly regarded painter Max Liebermann and with one of the two brothers, Paul and Bruno Cassirer, whose gallery handled Liebermann's work. "At the beginning [Liebermann] called our ultimate goal utopian.... Later, however, when Cassirer joined us and spoke in much the same way that Liebermann had spoken ... earlier, Liebermann became excited and talked much as the best of Zionists would have done.... He declared that if Zionism imposes no barriers to his art, he will do all in his power ... to counter such misunderstandings as *that every Zionist must be a conservative Jew*. He knew [Hermann] Struck, who eats only kosher food and wears *tzitzis*,

Lilien himself frequently indicated that he was neither religious in any traditional way nor observant.[61] Nevertheless, he was outspokenly, perhaps defiantly, proud of his Jewish heritage and identity and also keenly aware of being a "Cohen"—that is, a member of the elite Jewish priestly caste—and it is also clear from his correspondence that he had been well educated in all aspects of Judaism.[62] The

and so he felt a strong resistance to professing conscious Judaism, for he thought that then he too would have to eat kosher and wear *tzitzis*.... I talked a great deal about ... cultural Zionism with him. And ... he now understands many things that were previously incomprehensible to him." Buber to Herzl, July 24, 1902, in *The Letters of Martin Buber*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer and Paul Mendes-Flohr, trans. Richard and Clara Winston and Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1991), 82–83. In the same spirit, Weizmann criticized Herzl for being willing to work with Merkaz Ruchani, an organization of religious Jews founded in Vilna in 1902 with the aim of putting the Torah at the center of Zionism. Herzl, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, vol. 7, ed. Barbara Schäfer et al. (Frankfurt and Berlin: Ullstein-Propyläen Verlag, 1996), 669 (note to letter 4603).

[61] "I am not religious either," he wrote to Helen Magnus at the beginning of their correspondence, "and I have not attended synagogue services for years. Like you, I am averse to all ritual." *Briefe an seine Frau*, 36, letter 2, from Berlin, March 30, 1905. "I am fasting," he wrote to her some years later, adding ironically, "not because it is Yom Kippur, but because I have a stomach flu" (ibid., 144, letter 208, from Berlin, September 21, 1912). He does not conceal his dislike of the artist Hermann Struck, who "eats only kosher and covers his head when eating, but at dances makes up to the commonest sluts" (ibid., 93, letter 64, from Berlin, October 15, 1906). Struck's claim, in his obituary notice of the painter Josef Israels (1824–1911), that Israels would not paint on the Sabbath left Lilien exasperated. "Messchugge!" he exclaimed (ibid., 135–36, letter 186, from Berlin, August 20, 1911).

[62] The decorative page at the beginning of *Juda* represents a Torah ark with a seven-branched candelabra before it in a characteristic frame of stylized flowers and plants along with female angel figures playing musical instruments (fig. 11). On the curtain of the ark, in Hebrew letters, is inscribed: "Ephraim Moshe ben Ja'akov haCohen Lilien Missne Zion Ne'emanim" (Ephraim Mose, son of Jacob Hacohen Lilien, one of the faithful sons of Zion). The letters to Helene and to his publishers give many signs of a considerable knowledge of the Bible and of Jewish religious and cultural traditions. One series of such letters presents learned arguments justifying his particular representation of the "blessing hands" motif in his illustrations of the Bible and is a further sign of his consciousness of belonging to the priestly caste of the Cohanim (*Briefe an seine Frau*, 97, letter 77 [1908]; 110–12, letters 118–20 [1908]; 277, Appendix II [1908]). Although distant from it, he shows a certain respect for Chassidism (ibid., 125, letter 160 [1911]), but rarely misses an opportunity to berate the "disloyal rich Jews" who think only of money and their own well-being and fail to identify with their less fortunate Jewish brethren (for instance, ibid., 40, letter 6 [1905]).

aim of the *Fraktion* with which he became associated and which is usually referred to as "cultural Zionism" (in contrast to mainstream "political Zionism") was the creation of an authentically modern Jewish culture, liberated from the religious narrowness of ghetto Judaism, unconstrained by the obstinate but timorous conservatism that had been the Jewish people's defense mechanism for centuries, and ready to apply new ideas and opportunities boldly and creatively. Only by embracing such an aim, in the view of the cultural Zionists, could modern Jews hope to revitalize and at the same time remain true to the ancient traditions of their people. Jewish modernity, in short, was a far less limited and precisely defined project than the establishment of a Jewish state; the work of elucidating that modernity was itself an ongoing creative endeavor. To the rhetorical question, "Was ist das jüdische Moderne? [What is Jewish modernity?]," in their prospectus for a planned new journal, *Der Jude*, Buber, Weizmann, and Feiwel answered that it was not yet possible to give a full definition, but that their highest obligation was to try to articulate one.[63]

In the eyes of the cultural Zionists, the political Zionists, led by Max Nordau, were too close to the supposedly shallow Enlightenment tradition and lacked the spiritual depth and imagination to envisage a genuinely revived, specifically Jewish culture.[64] Their highest aspiration was to find a practical solution to widespread and sometimes lethal anti-Semitism in the form of a typically nineteenth-century national state.[65] Of various "roads to Zionism," the "most

[63] "Noch können wir keine erschöpfende Fassung des Begriffs bieten. Sie mit Ernst und Hingabe zu suchen soll unsere vornehmste Aufgabe sein." Quoted in Herzl, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, 7:669 (note to letter 4604)

[64] A reference to the "dark night of the ghetto and the even darker night of the Enlightenment" in Theodor Zlocisti's review of *Juda* (*Ost und West* 1 [January 1901], col. 65) is an indication of the way the cultural Zionists thought of the Enlightenment and of their links to German Romanticism.

[65] From time to time the tension between "cultural" and "political" Zionism flared into acrimonious public exchanges and mutual recriminations. In 1902, Ahad Ha'am, one of the leading advocates of cultural Zionism, took Herzl to task for leaving cultural revival out of the vision he presented of the new Jewish state in his utopian novel *Old-New Land* (1902). Nordau responded with a sharply worded article in the official *Die Welt*. This in turn became the target of an angry public protest by the cultural Zionists, to which Buber lent his signature. Herzl accused the cultural Zionists, along with the Jüdischer Verlag (Jewish Publishing House), which Buber and Lilien had founded, of being a "nest of enemies." Buber and Lilien then had to work hard to reassure him of their loyalty to the common cause and to him personally.

vulgar," according to Buber, was that which starts out from the desire to make the life of the Jew more comfortable. "Not the improvement of the situation of the Jews is our aim but the redemption of the nation," he declared. "If I had to choose for my people between a comfortable but unproductive well-being ... and a beautiful death in the extreme expenditure of vital energy," he added with Nietzschean fervor, "I would have to choose the latter. For, if only for a moment, something divine would have been created by it, whereas the former would produce only something all-too-human."[66] The key word, Buber goes on in this Nietzschean vein, is "create." "The Zionist who is sensitive to the full sacredness of that word and arranges his life accordingly seems to me to have reached the highest stage. The ideal goal the Jewish people should strive toward is the creation of new values and new works out of its ancient uniqueness, out of the depths of the special, unique power of its blood, which for so long has been imprisoned in the fetters of unproductiveness."[67]

Herzl, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, 7:109, 667–668; *Letters of Martin Buber*, 92–93. For short general overviews of the tension between mainstream political Zionism and the cultural *Fraktion*, see Martin Buber, *Werkausgabe*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Peter Schäfer, vol. 1, *Frühe kulturkritische und philosophische Schriften 1891–1924*, ed. Martin Treml (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001), 40–41; Amos Elon, *Herzl* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), 342; Steven Aschheim, *The Nietzschean Legacy in Germany 1890–1990* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), 103–13; G. G. Schmidt, *Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress 1901*, 4–7. Buber remained faithful to the basic principles of "cultural" Zionism throughout the 1920s and 1930s; see his *Israel and the World: Essays in a Time of Crisis* (New York: Schocken Books, 1948). His reaction to the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 reveals that the disagreement within the Zionist camp between cultural and political Zionism remained unresolved. For a brief, but distinctly tendentious account of the later stage in the debate, see Jacqueline Rose, *Question of Zion*, 70–76.

[66] Quoted by Nahum N. Glatzer in his foreword to Martin Buber, *On Zion*, viii, from Buber's *Die jüdische Bewegung*, 125. Buber's view was not unusual in an age eager for revolutionary change. "Either die as a great people, leaving behind in history the track of a fallen sun—or revive as a great people" was the choice that lay before the Jews, according to the Russian-born anarcho-socialist and Yiddish writer Semyon An-ski in 1905. Alexander Kantsendikas, "Semyon An-Sky and the Jewish Artistic Heritage," in A. Kantsedikas and I. Serheyeva, *The Jewish Artistic Heritage Album of Semyon An-Sky* (Moscow: Mosti Kulturi, 2001), 24.

[67] Buber, "Wege zum Zionismus" (1901), in *Die jüdische Bewegung*, 43–44. This mystified ideal of "creation" continued to inspire the ideologues of National Socialism; see Walter Horn, "Stil aus Zucht und Innerlichkeit: Zur Frühjahrsausstellung der preussischen Akademie der Künste," *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* (April 1939), 118–25, at 122.

Lilien appears to have taken Buber's message to heart. Along with a lot more humor, playful irony, and plain joy in living than can be found in Buber, his early letters of 1905–1906 to his future wife, Helene Magnus—a young woman from a well-to-do, well-educated, highly assimilated, thoroughly integrated, and strongly anti-Zionist family from Braunschweig, where her grandfather and great-grandfather had been doctors and her father, Otto Magnus, was *Justizrat* (king's counsel)—echo Buber's contempt for middle-class prudence and mundane concerns, his commitment to risk and adventurousness, and his conviction that Jewish culture is inseparable from the blood and soul of the Jewish "race." "I saw the fate of my people, and its suffering became my suffering," he wrote in one of his earliest letters, in an attempt to explain why, without being any more religious than she, he became a Zionist. "Not because we are co-religionaries, but because we are *blood* brothers [*Stammes*brüder; Lilien's underlining]. We are one people, one race."[68] Acting prudently in life is alright, he added in a later letter, but "your ideals should be what people call 'Utopian.' Leave it to stockbrokers ... and tradesmen to boast of their 'sober and practical common sense.' They are people ... who can't see further than the ends of their noses and are made dizzy by the slightest height from which they might get a good look at life.... We, in contrast, must strive toward what today is still unknown and will only be comprehensible tomorrow."[69]

Despite Lilien's passionate identification with his "blood brothers," it is by no means clear that his work can be regarded as a harbinger of the new "Jewish culture" and "Jewish art" that he and Buber aspired to create. There may well be some reminiscences in it of early printed Haggadahs or of illuminated pages from traditional Jewish *pinkassim* (handwritten annals of religious communities or institutions), of which he most probably had knowledge, since they were still being produced in his youth in his native Galicia. He certainly appropriated many traditional Jewish symbols—the palm tree, the harp, the seven-branched candelabra, the Star of David, the blessing hands of the Cohanim or priests, with their unique disposition of the fingers—hoping no doubt to revitalize them by adapting them to modern form. In the same way, he integrated biblical flora and fauna—roses, lilies, vines, thorns, snakes—into the decorative frames surrounding his

[68] *Briefe an seine Frau*, 37, letter 4, from Berlin, June 27, 1905.

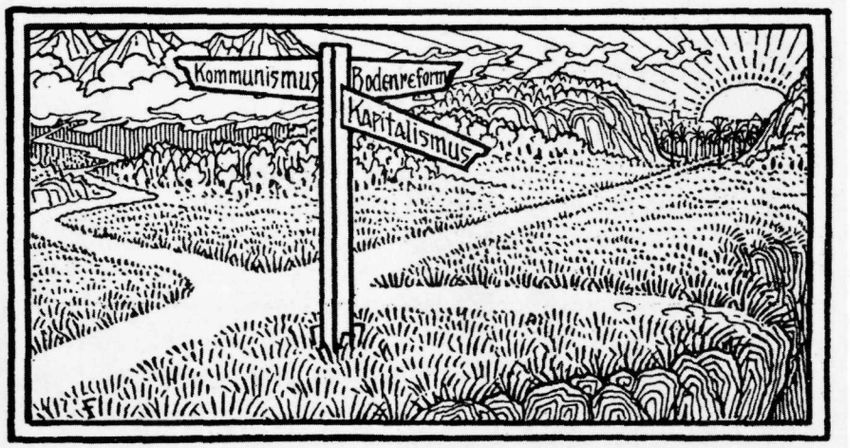
[69] Ibid., 46, letter 13, from Berlin, August 29, 1905.

illustrations. He presented biblical figures in physically beautiful form and in seeming harmony with the natural landscape. To the modern eye, however, for all the Jewish references in his work, he remains above all a Jugendstil artist, a participant in an international artistic movement, who owed much to contemporary or near-contemporary models like Beardsley, Josef Sattler, and the Japanese prints popular at the time, and who used the same forms, at once decorative and symbolic—tendrils, flowing and winding tresses, fluttering ribbons, running water, drifting smoke, peacocks' tails—as other Jugendstil artists.[70] The style in which Lilien illustrated *Juda* was not, Michael Stanislawski observes, "a break, departure, opposition, or nationalistically inspired 'purification' of *Jugendstil* or art nouveau, but a seamless extension of genre approach and technique from the German and cosmopolitan to the specifically Jewish arena." Long after he became associated with Herzl and the Zionist movement, Stanislawski goes on, "Lilien continued to produce drawings and ex-libris plates on non-Jewish themes and in a typical *Jugendstil* manner, and it is impossible to detect any difference, either stylistic or ideational, between his 'Jewish' and his 'non-Jewish' art. On the contrary, what we see in his work, beginning with *Juda*, is a conscious attempt to apply the *Secession* creed to Jewish subject matter, an attempt to create a Jewish art at once nationalist and modernist."[71]

In fact, Lilien's work draws iconographically not only on obviously Jewish images but also on the same repertory of symbols that Fidus, the future Nazi, and—to a lesser extent—Vogeler, the future Communist, had recourse to in the same years for theirs, and it expresses the same Nietzsche-inspired Lebensreform ideals of movement, transparency, purity, wholeness, and youth. The future signaled in Lil-

[70] Lilien's private library apparently contained books and illustrations by Beardsley and Hokusai. Micha and Ora Bar-Am, "Photographic Aspect in the Work of Lilien," 64n.83.

[71] Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle*, 105–6. In his 1922 monograph, *Lilien*, Lothar Brieger had already made this point. Perhaps the lesson of his book, he wrote in his conclusion, is that "for the Jew there can be no specifically Jewish artistic language and that to express Jewishness in a European artistic language means nothing else than to give form to another subject matter and another world of experience. It should absolutely not lead to the question of a Jewish art." The circle of Lilien's life was certainly a Jewish one, but the circle of his art "is so unambiguously part of the general destiny of Western European art that Lilien cannot be removed from the latter even by a hair's breadth" (252).



13. Fidus, cover illustration for the biweekly *Deutsche Volksstimme: Organ der deutschen Bodenreformer*, no. 22 (November 20, 1905). Firestone Library's copies of this journal begin in 1907. This image is from Janos Frecot, Johann Friedrich Geist, and Diethart Kerbs, *Fidus 1868–1948: Zur ästhetischen Praxis bürgerlicher Fluchtbewegungen* (Hamburg: Roger und Bernhard, 1997). Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

ien's illustrations by the bright rays of the sun was no doubt that of a new Zion, whereas Fidus's sun illuminated a new German homeland transformed by *Bodenreform*, a land reform program advocated by some in the Lebensreform movement as the true cure for the evils of commercial and industrial society, in contrast to both communism and capitalism, which were seen as equally destructive manifestations of the same modern rationalist and materialist spirit (fig. 13). Nevertheless, for both the German from Lübeck and the Galician Jew from Drohobycz the sun served as the emblem of an imprecisely imagined *vita nuova* of beauty, freedom, health, and love, in which men and women would be released from the distorting constraints and conventions of oppressive historical cultures and would live open lives in joyful harmony with each other and with nature (see figs. 5–7, 12). For both, the land and the plowman symbolized the end of modern "decadence" and a return to a natural way of life. Likewise, in both artists, alongside the "feminine" flowing lines of plants, tresses, and youthful bodies, often linked in dance, we find with some regularity the harsher "masculine" image of the unbending sword, dagger, or

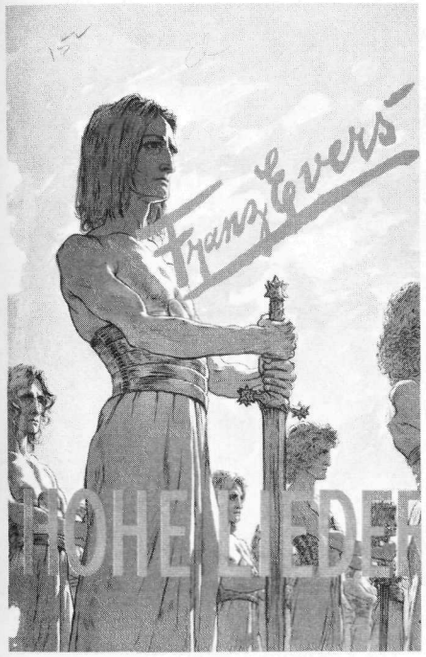
spade, which for both seems inspired by an ideal of heroic nationalism (figs. 14, 15).[72]

Lilien was apparently more—or at least sooner—willing than Fidus to identify real political parties and programs, rather than inspired philosophical and utopian fantasies, as valid agents of reform that might be capable of moving humanity toward the desired new life. As already noted, he was drawn to the Zionist movement because he believed it promised to deliver the Jewish people not only from external oppression (political Zionism) but also from oppressive elements in its own religious tradition, the so-called "Talmudic spirit" that had developed during the centuries of exile and had drastically distorted its cultural development (cultural Zionism). This expectation is suggested visually by the celebration of the physical in the illustrations for *Juda*, as well as in later work. Some of Lilien's most striking male nudes bear Herzl's facial features and beard (fig. 16), suggesting that Zionism, for Lilien, as for the other cultural Zionists, held out the promise of a new life of freedom from shame and unnatural conventions and of joy in the beauty of the world and of humankind.[73]

As a young man, Lilien had also looked to Socialism to produce the changes in culture and society he considered desirable. In his

[72] Lilien did not shy away from the violence required for Jewish self-defense. During the anti-Jewish riots at Zhitomir in May 1905, he notes with satisfaction, "For the first time since the days of Bar Kochba Jews took to arms and died, not with a prayer book but a revolver in their hands" (*Briefe an seine Frau*, 46, letter 13, from Berlin, August 29, 1905). To a statement by "Lueger, the anti-Semitic mayor of Vienna, warning Austrian Jews to take care lest the same thing happen to them as is happening in Russia, the Jews should respond," he wrote, "by organizing and equipping themselves with revolvers" (ibid., 56, letter 25, from Drohobycz, December 12, 1905). A bookplate Lilien made for himself depicts him as a warrior knight bearing the shield of Zion.

[73] Even the observant Struck remarked that "our leader [Herzl] was a man of super-human beauty. And I confess freely that it was this divine gift of beauty which left the deepest and most enduring impress on my mind" (Jewish Agency for Israel, Department for Jewish Zionist Education, "More on Herzl," www.jafi.org.il/education/herzl/hermannstruck.html). For a detailed analysis of Lilien's representations of Herzl, see Milly Heyd, "Lilien between Herzl and Ahasver," in *Theodor Herzl: Visionary of the Jewish State*, ed. Gideon Shimoni and Robert S. Wistrich (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press; New York: Herzl Press, 1999), 265–93. Heyd's article also offers close readings of many of Lilien's illustrations in terms of what she describes as the artist's own conflicted relation to homecoming and exile, Zion and Europe, Eastern tradition and "authenticity," and Western modernity and alienation.



14. Fidus, cover design for Franz Evers, *Hohe Lieder* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1896). Princeton University Library.

15. E. M. Lilien, *Rahab, die Jerichonitin*. Börries, Freiherr von Münchhausen, *Juda: Gesänge* (Goslar: F. A. Lattmann, 1900). Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

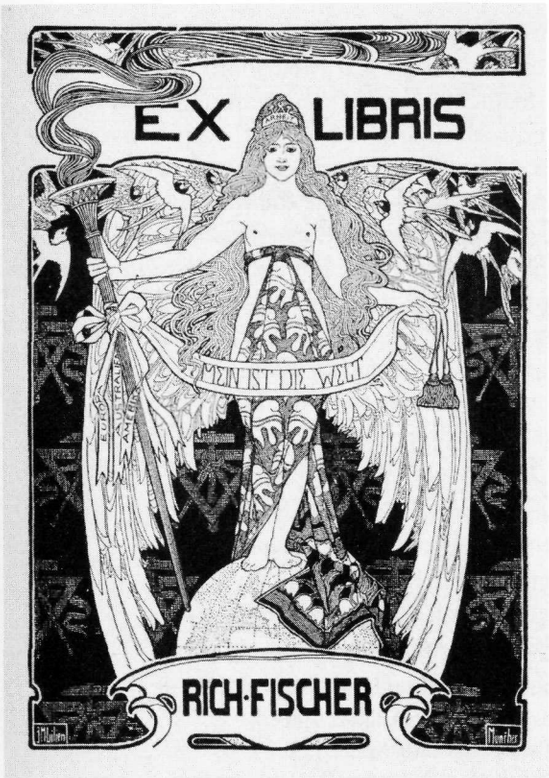
Munich days, as noted earlier, he had contributed drawings to the Socialist *Süddeutsche Postillon*. A bookplate he designed for Richard Fischer—a typographer who was secretary of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in 1893, manager of the Socialist *Vorwärts* in 1902, and a regular delegate to International Workers' Congresses—similarly testifies to strong Socialist sympathies (fig. 17). Like Walter Crane, who produced posters for Socialist literature, clubs, and activities both in England and on the Continent, Lilien here adapts recognizable political symbols to a typically Jugendstil design and integrates explicit captions into it. The central figure of the design is a young woman with the characteristic flowing tresses of Jugendstil female figures. Here, however, she unmistakably represents political Freedom and the working people. Her crown is captioned "Arbeit" (Labor) and

16. E. M. Lilien, *Die Erschaffung des Menschen* (The Creation of Man). The figure on the extreme left is usually held to be a representation of Theodor Herzl. Berthold Feiwel, *Lieder des Ghetto*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1902), [112–13]. Cotsen Children's Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

adorned with a hammer and a pair of pliers. Her robe has a pattern of Phrygian caps, the emblem of the Jacobin revolutionaries, while its borders are decorated with lily of the valley, the flower of May Day, the great holiday of the international labor movement. In her right hand she holds the torch of Enlightenment, which is adorned with a large bow.[74] The bow's broadest ribbon, held up horizontally so that it occupies the center of the design, carries the caption "Mein ist die Welt" (The World Is Mine), a proclamation confirmed by the figure's position atop a globe.[75] Narrower ribbons falling vertically from the

[74] In a brief but laudatory review of Lilien's work in the London *Magazine of Art*, n.s., 1 (March 1903), 24–43, the English artist Solomon J. Solomon (a friend of Edward Burne-Jones), identifies the torch as the light of Democracy.

[75] The image and caption refer to a May Day poster designed by Lilien in 1899. Although the future National Socialist Fidus also produced at least one May Day poster, his relation to Socialism was as erratic as that of most Lebensreformers.



17. E. M. Lilien, bookplate for Richard Fischer with detail of crown. Reproduced in M. Hirschenfelder, "E. M. Lilien," *Ost und West* 1 (July 1901), cols. 525–26. Princeton University Library.

bow to the ground and bearing the names of the continents where Social Democracy was already a force—Europe, Australia, America—reinforce the message of the universality of the Democratic Socialist program.

Two years after the appearance of *Juda*, Lilien produced the illustrations for an even more successful publication: *Lieder des Ghetto*, a very free German adaptation by his friend, the poet Berthold Feiwel, of a collection of Yiddish poems with facing English translations originally published in the United States as *Songs from the Ghetto*.[76] The

[76] *Lieder des Ghetto von Morris Rosenfeld, Autor: Übertragung aus dem Jüdischen von Berthold Feiwel, mit Zeichnungen von E. M. Lilien* (Berlin: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, [1902]), based on Morris Rosenfeld, *Songs from the Ghetto* (Boston: Copeland and Day, 1898). The English translations in the American volume were by Leo Weiner, an instructor in Slavic languages at Harvard. Rosenfeld's original Yiddish texts were printed in German Gothic letters, rather than in the usual Hebrew ones.

author of the poems, Morris Rosenfeld, was a poor Jewish immigrant working typically long hours in one of the sweatshops of New York's garment industry. If, for Münchhausen, the present degraded condition of the Jews, compared with their glorious past, had been a metaphor for the degradation of contemporary Germans in comparison with their heroic past, in Rosenfeld's poems the alienation and humiliation of the Jewish garment worker was inseparable from that of the entire working class. The Ghetto was not somewhere in eastern Europe and it was not only for Jews: it existed wherever the laboring masses the world over are confined. As the speaker in the poems tells of the sufferings and humiliations of working people and their exploitation by greedy bosses, and as he expresses the hope that a day will come when they will regain freedom and dignity, he is certainly giving a voice to oppressed Jews, but also, at the same time, to all who are exploited and degraded in modern industrial society.[77]

Nein, nein, ich mag kein Gnadenleben
Mir feig erbetteln im fremden Land.
Noch schlingt um mich und meine Heimat
Sich wunderstark der Liebe Band.

Noch leuchten auf die müden Augen,
Denk' ich des Glücks vergangner Zeit;
Aus jeder Scholle sog ich Frieden,
Ich wusste nichts von Hass und Neid.

Ich kannte nicht das grause Elend,
Nicht hat die Not nach mir gezielt, —
Am sonnigen, lachenden Jordansufer
Hab' ich gesungen, gejauchzet, gespielt.

Ich hütete friedlich meine Schafe
— Viel Träume zogen durchs fromme Gemüt —
Jeruschalajims schönste Blume
Hat lieblich neben mir geblüht.

[77] Thus poem 6, "Die Kale vun die Berg" (The Mountain Bride), in "Lieder der Arbeit" (Songs of Labor), the first of the three sections of Rosenfeld's collection, tells of a miner's daughter from the Appalachians. Her father and betrothed lie dead in mines now abandoned, and she has gone mad with grief. The poem ends with her curse on the mine bosses, "die Menschenschlächter [the butchers of men]." (Possibly because of its unfamiliar local references, this poem was not included in Feiwel's collection.)

Noch schlägt mein Herz in stolzen Schlägen,
Denk' ich des Glücks vergangner Zeit:
Mir ist, ich hör' die Toten reden
Von ferne her, so weit, so weit. ...

Vertraute Stimmen hör' ich wieder
Und hör' sie rufen: Komm zurück! —
Da glimmt, da flammt empor im Herzen
Die Hoffnung auf ein neues Glück:

Sieh! Saron blüht, es grünt der Karmel,
Vom Libanon grüsst junger Schnee;
Durch weiche Lüfte ziehen Lieder
Und alles lebt, so schön wie je.

So träum' ich. ... Träume? Nein, ich schwör' es:
Solang mein Arm sich rühren kann,
Nehm' ich von dem, der mich verachtet,
Auch nicht das kleinste Plätzchen an.

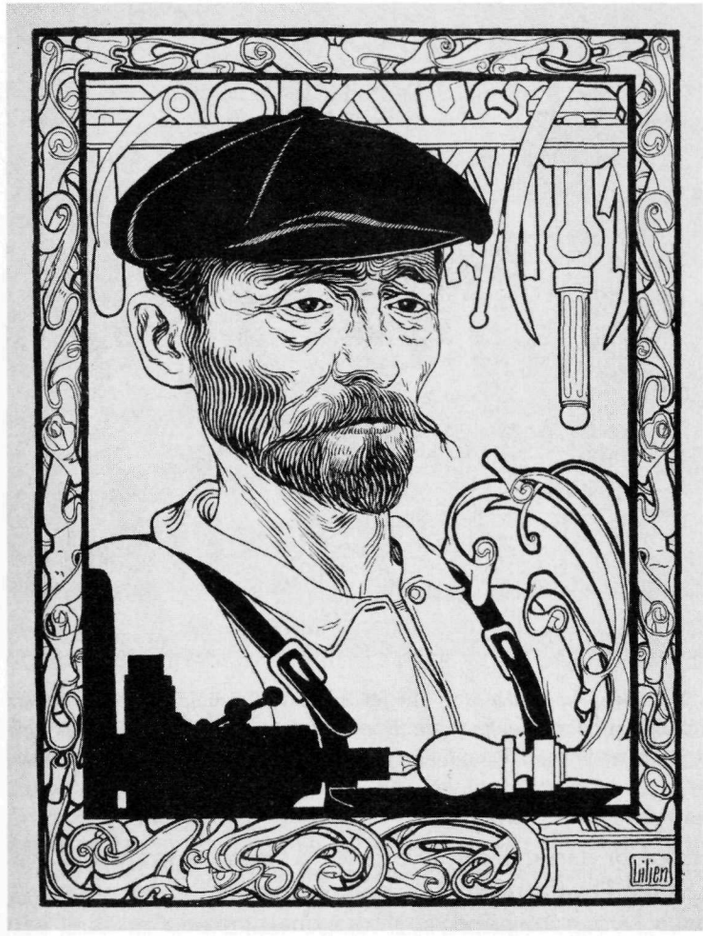
Nein, nein, ich mag kein Gnadenleben
Mir feig erbetteln im fremden Land;
Noch schlingt um mich und meine Heimat
Sich wunderstark der Liebe Band.

(No, no, I will not beg, like a coward, for permission to live on sufferance in a foreign land. The bonds of love still twine with miraculous strength around me and my homeland. My weary eyes still light up whenever my thoughts turn to the distant time of a vanished happiness: I drew peace then from every clod, I was unacquainted with hatred and envy. I did not know cruel poverty, and want had not yet made me its target. On the sunny, smiling banks of the Jordan, I played and sang and rejoiced. In peace I guarded my sheep—many dreams passed through my pious mind—Yirusholaim's loveliest flower bloomed sweetly by my side. My heart still pounds with pride whenever my thoughts turn to the distant time of a vanished happiness. I think I hear the dead speaking to me from afar, from so far away. I hear again familiar voices, I hear them call: Return, return! —Then the hope of a new happiness glimmers and flares up in my heart. Look: Sharon is in flower, Mount Carmel is green again, fresh snow beckons from Lebanon, songs waft along on gentle breezes, and everything lives again, as beautiful as before. And so I dream ... Or is it a dream? No, I swear. As long as I have use of my arm I will not accept even the

smallest space from those who despise me. No, no, I will not beg, like a coward, for permission to live on sufferance in a foreign land. The bonds of love still twine with miraculous strength around me and my homeland.)[78]

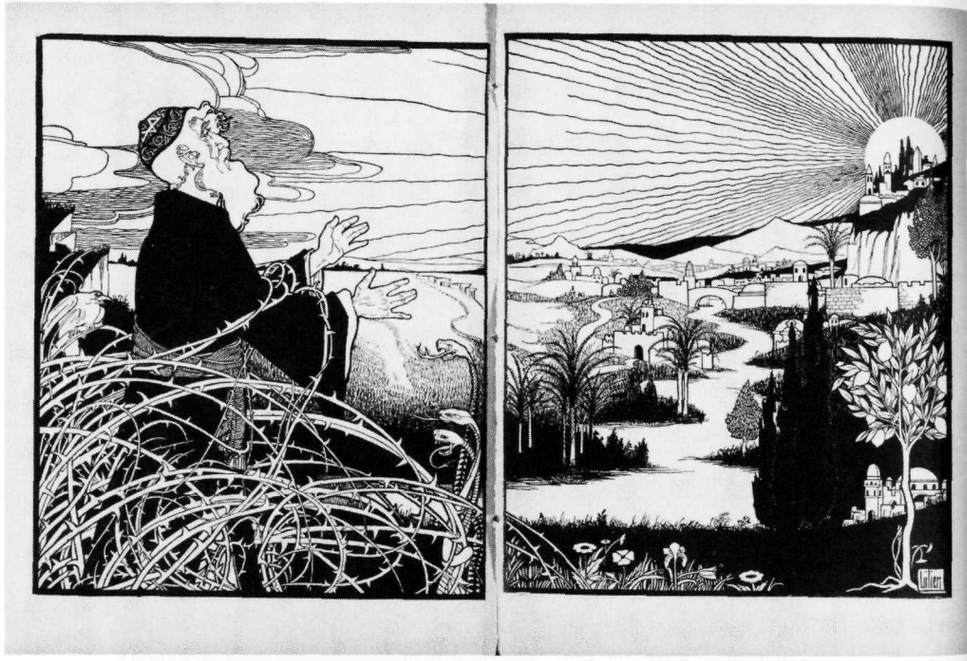
Although Rosenfeld's Yiddish verses have their share of the clichés and pathos of much "working-class poetry," Lilien, who had witnessed his father's struggles, had known poverty himself, and was, in addition, an "eastern" Jew from the same part of present-day Poland as Rosenfeld, responded to them with great sympathy and a measure of identification. Thus he placed an image of his own father on the

[78] This poem, entitled "Juda," begins the second section ("Lieder des Volkes" [Songs of the People]) of Feiwel's *Lieder des Ghetto*, 63–64. It was not included in Rosenfeld's *Songs from the Ghetto*. Feiwels's *Übertragung* was in fact in many respects an original work, a presentation of Rosenfeld's poems that was relatively independent of the American publication. In his introduction, Feiwel claims to have translated several poems directly "from Rosenfeld's manuscripts," a claim borne out by a letter in which Feiwel asks Rosenfeld to send him "your poems, published and unpublished" and requests "in addition" a copy, at his own expense, of the American publication. It would thus appear that Feiwel intended to consult the latter but not necessarily to base his own selection of Rosenfeld's work directly on it. Feiwel to Rosenfeld, from Brünn, September 6, 1900, Morris Rosenfeld Papers, Record Group 431, folder 10, YIVO Archives, New York; kindly communicated by the YIVO archivist, G. M. Berg. The Feiwel-Lilien selection differs in several respects from the Boston publication. It is divided into eleven sections, each with its own part title and powerful illustration by Lilien, instead of the three sections into which Rosenfeld had divided *Songs from the Ghetto*. It includes sixteen poems ("Juda" being one of them) not found in the Boston volume, and omits six. The order of the poems is also quite different. Furthermore, although it appears from his letter to Rosenfeld that Feiwel originally planned to have the Yiddish originals of the poems precede his translations, these were not included in the final German publication. Feiwel's translations are quite free—with occasional, significant deviations from the original. The first lines of Rosenfeld's "Das areme Gesind'" (The Beggar Family), for instance, run "Es steht ein areme Gesind' / In Corthaus vor dem Richter, / Varmatterte, vun Leben müd' / Mit magere Gesichter [A beggar family stands in the courthouse before the judge, worn out, tired of living, with thin, drawn faces]." In Feiwel's version these lines become: "Armselig Bettlervolk, das vor dem Richter steht! / Armselig Judenpack! Aus ihren Augen fleht / Die Angst des mitleidlos gehetzten Wildes. / Schaut sie euch an und schauert ob des Bildes! [Wretched beggar family standing before the judge! / Wretched pack of Jews! In their beseeching eyes / The terror of the pitilessly persecuted beast. / Look on them and draw back in horror from the sight]." Curiously, at the time he wrote to Rosenfeld, Feiwel apparently intended to ask Max Nordau, subsequently the *bête noire* of the cultural Zionists, to write an introduction to the collection.



18. E. M. Lilien portrayed his father on the part-title page to the section "Lieder der Arbeit" (Songs of Labor). Berthold Feiwel, *Lieder des Ghetto*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1902), [21]. Cotsen Children's Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

title page of the collection's first section, entitled "Lieder der Arbeit" (Songs of Labor; fig. 18). His depictions of suffering also show a new element: less stylization, fewer free-flowing lines, more hatching, and more attention to the detail of expression, as in the picture of his father or of two stoical emigrants in a storm-tossed boat. Nevertheless, Lilien still usually aimed not simply to repeat what the poet had



19. E. M. Lilien, *Der jüdische Mai* (The Jewish May). Berthold Feiwel, *Lieder des Ghetto*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1902), [92–93]. Cotsen Children's Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

described or narrated but to provide a visual equivalent of the feelings aroused by the poem. In the illustration of the two emigrants, for instance, strong lines and harsh diagonals create a sense of extreme tension. The beauty and harmony of the longed-for new world, in contrast, is communicated, as in *Der jüdische Mai* (The Jewish May; fig. 19), by the usual contrast between the bright rays of the sun and the city of the future in the upper right of the image and the darkness that fills the lower left, from which the lined face of the old Jew looks out with a mixture of weariness and hope, or by the characteristic Jugendstil vision of groups of naked moving or dancing figures, as in an image illustrating the lead poem of the section entitled "Die Erschaffung des Menschen" (The Creation of Man; see fig. 16). This image could be seen as a vision of the creation of the New Man dreamed of by so many Jugendstil artists and advocates of Lebensreform.

Compared with the slim, unadorned, and unremarkable Yiddish-English volume that inspired it, the collaborative product of Feiwel and Lilien was a sumptuous work of modern book art in its own right, which its Jewish creators invited readers to view as "a contribution" to the "great enterprise," as Feiwel put it in his preface, of making "the products of the modern national culture of the Jews, particularly in literature and art, accessible in beautiful form."[79]

The success of *Juda* and *Lieder des Ghetto* greatly enhanced Lilien's reputation. A first solo exhibition of his work in Leipzig in 1900 was followed by several others. His illustrations in *Lieder des Ghetto* were used by a New York publisher for an edition of Rosenfeld's collected works in 1904 and became a fixture of all later American editions of Rosenfeld's poems. Books and articles on him began to appear. The English Pre-Raphaelite artist Solomon J. Solomon published an article on him in the London *Magazine of Art* in 1903. In the same year a handsome volume of reproductions of his work came out, with a lengthy introduction by Stefan Zweig and with cover and title pages designed strikingly in red, black, yellow, and white by Lilien himself (see color plate 1). The three lilies at the center of the upper half of this design bear witness to the artist's pride in his own achievement.

[79] *Lieder des Ghetto*, [18] (pages unnumbered). The frontispiece of the entire work carries the inscription "Sacred to my People" in Hebrew letters on a plinth, from which smoke rises toward a towering Star of David. In the lower part of the part-title illustration for the final section, "Friedhof" (Graveyard), Lilien has drawn three gravestones for the three Jewish artists for whom the book can be seen as a monument. Viewed from right to left in the Hebrew manner, they carry the names (in Hebrew) of "Baruch ben Josef Feiwel," "Mose Jaakov Rosenfeld," and "Ephraim Mose ben Jaakov haCohen Lilien." Feiwel's stone is adorned with a Star of David and the words. "He will see the sun of Zion rise and shine, the shadows flee, and an end to suffering." Rosenfeld's stone carries an engraving of a seven-branched candelabra and the inscription, "He will dream of the return to Zion and be a harp for my song." (The design of the book's binding—a large silver harp, with a typically Jugendstil peacock motif on one corner—is thus a reference and a tribute to the work's primary author, Rosenfeld.) For his own stone, Lilien used his favorite motif—an allusion to his distinction as a Cohen or member of the priestly caste—of the priest's blessing hands, which also adorn the inside covers of the book. The Hebrew inscription reads, "On Zion's barren soil a dear flowering lily arose." This elaborate use of text and iconography seems designed to underline the book's claim to be viewed not as the product of one individual, but as an outgrowth of the art of an entire people. (My thanks to my colleague Froma Zeitlin for deciphering the Hebrew inscriptions.)

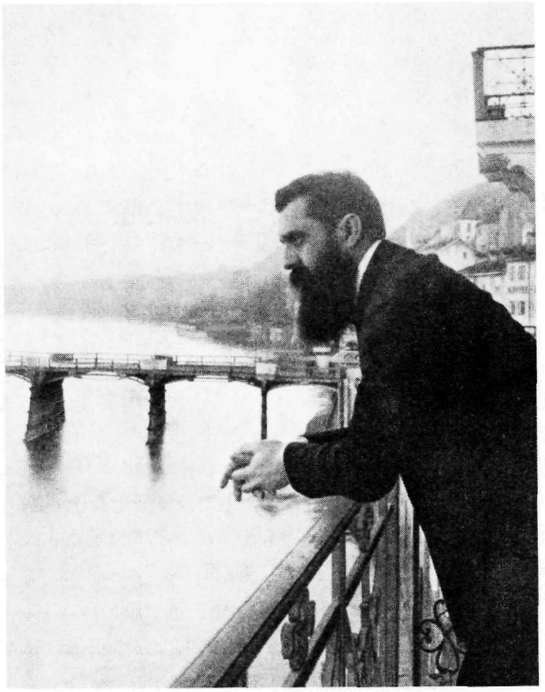
An extended essay on him by Alfred Gold appeared—also in 1903—in a series on "Jewish Artists" edited by Martin Buber and published by the Jüdischer Verlag (Jewish Publishing House).[80] In 1905, F. A. Lattmann, Lilien's own publisher at the time, put out *E. M. Lilien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste*, a richly illustrated study by the literary and art critic Edgar A. Regener. A year later *The New Art of an Ancient People: The Work of Ephraim Mose Lilien* by M. S. Levussove, a teacher in the art department at City College, appeared in New York.

New commissions also came his way: illustrations for a German translation of selected poems by Gabriele d'Annunzio (1904); designs for the cover, title page, vignettes, and headers for a multivolume series (1900–1910) of popular books on the theater from the firm of Schuster und Loeffler (Vogeler was commissioned to design the corresponding series on poetry). Yet, whereas at the beginning of his career Lilien had won commissions to illustrate books on non-Jewish topics,[81] had contributed to magazines of general interest, and had even been hired for commercial illustrations, the consequence of the success of *Juda* and *Lieder des Ghetto* seems to have been that, whether he wanted it or not (and, as has already been suggested, it may well be that he did want it), he was coming more and more to be typed as an artist specializing in Jewish and "oriental" themes. A widely distributed—now classic—photographic portrait of Herzl looking out thoughtfully over the Rhine from the balcony of the Drei Könige Hotel in Basel at the time of the Fifth Zionist Congress (fig. 20) and the equally iconic delegates' card he designed for that event (fig. 12) probably reinforced this view of him.

Most of the writing about him was by Jews (Solomon, Zweig, Gold, Levussove, and, in the early 1920s, Lothar Brieger), and his new commissions were increasingly for Jewish materials of one kind or another. Herzl, who was very taken with him and who was especially pleased by the photograph of himself at the Fifth Congress (he requested and received additional copies for his mother and his wife),[82] commissioned him to design the "Golden Book" of the Jewish National Fund.[83] From Russia, Maxim Gorki invited him to illustrate a

[80] The other artists presented in the series included the Dutchman Josef Israels, then at the height of his reputation, the English artist Solomon J. Solomon, and two of the stars of modern German painting, Lesser Ury, with whom Lilien was personally friendly, and Max Liebermann.

[81] For example, Wildenradt's novel *Der Zöllner von Klausen*; Maria von Eichhorn's collection of poems, *Confirmo te Chrysmate*; E. Stilgebauer's novel *Götz Krafft*; and a 1900 re-edition of Adolf Streckfuss's history of Berlin, *Fünfhundert Jahre Berliner Geschichte*.



20. E. M. Lilien, photographic portrait of Theodor Herzl, Basel, 1901. Published in *Ost und West* 4 (August/September 1904), cols. 509–10. Princeton University Library.

[82] In a letter to Lilien from Vienna, January 30, 1902, Herzl playfully called him "Lilien auf dem Felde"—a reference to the biblical "Lilies of the field" (Herzl, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, 6:420).

[83] This commission led to a temporary falling-out with Herzl and hints at a less attractive side of Lilien's character. Lilien had apparently set his fee for the design at 300 kroner. Although he had received two advances amounting to 240 kroner without delivering any work, he apparently wrote to the Action Committee of the Zionist movement, raising his fee and demanding further payments. When the committee balked, he threatened to take the matter to court. At that point, Herzl wrote him a cold letter, informing him that the remaining 60 kroner had been mailed to him,

collection (*Sbornik*) of works by Jewish poets; as head of a committee to defend the cause of Russian Jews at the time of the great pogroms, Gorki hoped the book would present Jews to his compatriots in a humane and sympathetic light.[84]

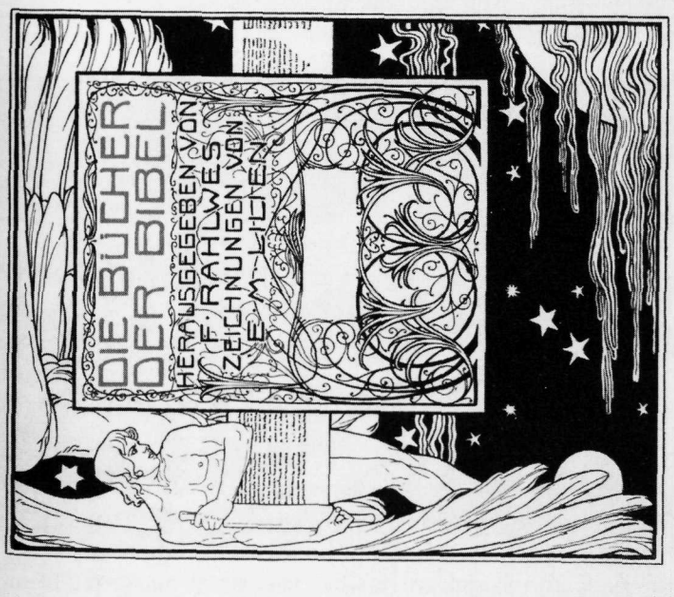
In 1907 Lilien signed a contract with the Braunschweig publishing firm of Georg Westermann to design and illustrate a new edition of the Bible, the first ever to be illustrated by a Jewish artist.[85] Only three volumes—all devoted to various books of the Old Testament—of a projected ten were actually published (vol. 1 in 1908, vol. 6 in 1909, and vol. 7 in 1912). Still, this beautiful and profusely illustrated work, which was republished in 1923, two years before the artist's death, achieved a notable standard of book design and production, and moved biblical illustration out of its conventional rut (figs. 21–22).[86] Although in style it is consistent with Lilien's earlier work in *Juda*, with more direct evidence of Japanese influence (fig. 23) and some anticipations of Art Deco (fig. 24), it nevertheless reinforced Lilien's reputation as an artist specializing almost exclusively in Jewish and Bible-related themes.

that his further "arbitrary" demands were unacceptable, and that he could take his case to a lawyer if he wished (Herzl to Lilien, from Vienna, May 22, 1903, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, 7:126). To Buber, Herzl complained of the behavior of the cultural Zionists and singled out Lilien, who had "adopted an utterly impossible tone" and, in response to the friendliest letters, had threatened court action, "whereupon I naturally broke off all relations with him." "Even if Lilien stands on his head," Herzl added, "I will not pay him a penny more than he has received and will not have his work used for the Golden Book of the National Fund again" (Herzl to Buber, from Vienna, May 28, 1903, Martin Buber, *Briefwechsel aus sieben Jahrzehnten*, 3 vols. [Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1972–1975]), 1:199–200).

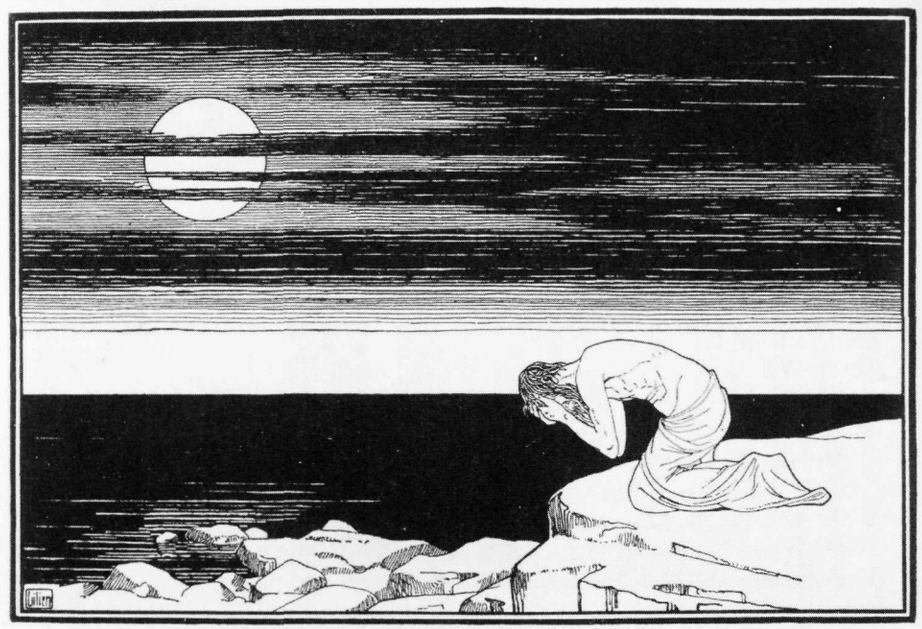
[84] Although Lilien traveled to Russia in 1902 to work with Gorki on this project, nothing came of it in the end. Only three illustrations survive, along with a bookplate that Lilien designed for the writer.

[85] F. A. Lattmann, the publisher of *Juda*, apparently initiated this project, which began with plans for a new edition of the Song of Songs. In late 1905, when Lattmann decided not to proceed, the proposal was taken over by Insel-Verlag; according to Lilien (*Briefe an seine Frau*, 51, letter 19, from Berlin, October 18, 1905), the Leipzig publisher signed up Hugo von Hofmannsthal to deliver a new translation of the Song of Songs. That plan also fell through, and Insel in turn ceded the rights to Westermann in Braunschweig. See Brieger, *Lilien*, 139–40, and *Briefe an seine Frau*, passim.

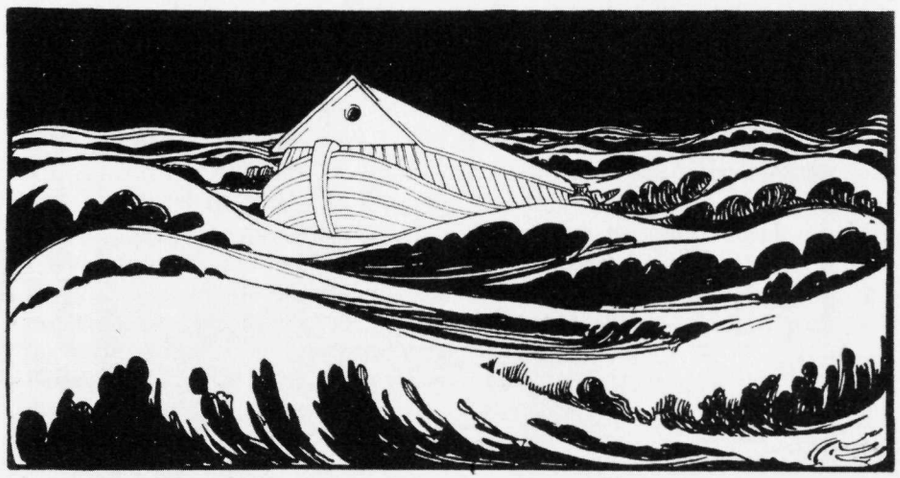
[86] Princeton's copy of the 1923 edition was a gift of Kurt Gödel, the great mathematician and colleague of Albert Einstein at the Institute for Advanced Study.



21. E. M. Lilien, title page for volume 1 of *Bücher der Bibel* (1908; repr., Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Harz, 1923). Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.



22. E. M. Lilien, *Job. Bücher der Bibel*, vol. 7 (1912; repr., Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Harz, 1923), 145. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.



23. E. M. Lilien, *Die Sintflut* (The Flood). *Bücher der Bibel*, vol. 1 (1908; repr., Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Harz, 1923), 48. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

24. E. M. Lilien, *Die Schöpfung der Welt* (The Creation of the World). *Bücher der Bibel*, vol. 1 (1908; repr., Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Harz, 1923), 31. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a major, highly successful exhibition of Lilien's work organized in early 1914 by the Association of Friends of Art in Lemberg—a personal triumph for the once poverty-stricken boy from Drohobycz—provoked a controversy regarding his status as an artist. The exhibition rooms in Lemberg, wrote a reviewer in the local *Slowo Polskie*, a newspaper with Polish nationalist sympathies, have been opened

> to a foreign artist known throughout Europe—the outstanding Hebrew graphic artist from Berlin, Herr E. M. Lilien, who has honored our city because of his feeling for his native Galicia.... The exhibition comprises a series of drawings and etchings, for the most part images

related to the Bible—the artist's life's work. Artistically, his productions stand at a high level of graphic art. But as far as ideas and feelings are concerned, they manifest such a fervid Hebraic patriotism, such a high idealism in their heroic interpretation of the past of the Jewish people and such an intense, loving interpretation of the Palestinian landscape that these qualities arouse real respect in the viewer for the nobility and purity of the artist's ideals. For that very reason, those who would stamp him as a Polish artist do him a disservice. Herr Lilien has only and exclusively the ability to be a Jewish artist, and Polish art is rich enough to be able to give up all claim to such an artist, even one as worthy as Herr Lilien. It is thus quite another question whether this exhibition should have been organized under the auspices of the Association of Friends of Art, whose obligation it is to support Polish art, not Zionist art.[87]

An offer from Lemberg to allow the exhibition to be remounted in Krakow provoked the individuals in charge of exhibitions there to respond, in a similar vein, that "a Lilien exhibition in Polish Krakow is out of the question as a matter of principle."[88] Lilien and his champions, including the president of the Association of Friends of Art in Krakow—who, by Lilien's account, was enthusiastic about the exhibition and wanted it transferred immediately and in its entirety—reacted with indignation to the newspaper article. Yet, even if we take into account the anti-Semitic climate in Polish nationalist circles at the time, the episode points to the way many people viewed Lilien's work and to the almost unavoidable consequences of his own express desire to contribute to the creation of a "Jewish" art.[89] It is also likely that Lilien was inclined to accept the artistic role assigned to him, not only because of his enthusiasm for the landscapes and way of life of the Holy Land (and of the Middle East in general) and for the richly varied human types among its residents, but also because of continuing pressure to achieve financial stability.

In 1906, on his return from his first journey to Palestine (under the auspices of the Zionist movement), he had married Helene Magnus,

[87] Reported verbatim by Lilien, *Briefe an seine Frau*, 178, letter 253, from Lemberg, February 24, 1914.

[88] Ibid.

[89] This is not, of course, to say that anti-Semitic prejudice did not also target those artists who had no intention of contributing to the creation of a "Jewish" art but were solely concerned to be artists for the modern world. Modernity itself was often branded as "Jewish"—notoriously, but by no means exclusively, by the National Socialists.

who had initiated a correspondence with him the previous year. From the beginning, Lilien had to combat the young woman's and, above all, her family's reservations about his commitment to Zionism. "It is our desire that we be and a matter of pride for us that we are Germans through and through, and that we cannot be distinguished in any way from others, except for the fact that we have another religion," Helene wrote to him, adding pointedly: "I personally feel quite removed from Judaism, am not religious, and have not attended any religious services for years, since I dislike everything dogmatic, ritualistic, and external in religion."[90] In addition, he had to contend with Helene's parents' misgivings about him as an "eastern" Jew and, worse still, an artist without a steady income or position. Lilien justified himself to them as best he could, invoking with pride his achievements as an artist, referring to eminent personalities among his friends who could vouch for him, and even, in 1906, offering his future father-in-law a detailed account of his income and expenditures for the previous year.[91] He appears to have succeeded in talking Helene round to his own form of cultural Zionism, though there is no way of knowing how seriously she was persuaded; for the most part, only his letters to her have been preserved. But he had a harder time convincing her parents, and the effort to present himself to them as reliable and solvent may well have left a mark. He constantly refers to money in his letters to her, reporting how many works he has sold, how much they sold for, commissions he has obtained, and so on.

Little by little, Lilien appears to have been drawn out of the bohemian world of his youth in Munich and Berlin and into the provincial

[90] *Briefe an seine Frau*, 36, letter 1, Helene Magnus to E. M. Lilien, from Braunschweig, March 10, 1905.

[91] *Briefe an seine Frau*, 82, letter 38, from Jerusalem, May 9, 1906. Lilien never made a secret of his pecuniary circumstances, but "I permitted myself to think that ... without making money, I have still made things of value.... Seven years ago ... I was sickly, homeless, without skills.... I was totally unknown. Today I am healthy, full of the joy of life, and ... so well known that every Philistine knows I have no money!" He suggests that "Herr Justizrat" inquire about him from his friends—"the writer Dr. Max Nordau, the poet Börries von Münchhausen, the sculptor Professor Boris Schatz, the politician Israel Zangwill." In another letter from Jerusalem (ibid., 58, letter 39, June 6, 1906), he provides a detailed account for Helene's father of all his earnings and expenditures for the year 1905. At the same time, he was resentful of the scrutiny he was being subjected to. Her parents, he told Helene, "are not entitled to think of me as having the mind of a dumbbell. I have no property in money, but I have a good name.... Your parents have every reason not to feel ashamed of their future son-in-law" (ibid., 88, letter 48, from Berlin, August 28, 1906).

upper-bourgeois world of his new family. He was probably quite happy to continue his collaboration with the well-established Braunschweig publishing house of Westermann, which commissioned him to provide illustrations for two volumes of popular selections from the Bible (*Die Bibel in Auswahl für Schule und Heim* [1912] and *Die Bibel in Dr. Martin Luthers Übersetzung: Eine Auswahl fürs deutsche Haus* [1914]). When war broke out in 1914, he expressed appropriately patriotic sentiments, and during his service with the Austrian army commented on the friendliness with which he and his comrades had been greeted by the new Emperor Karl I during a royal visit to their unit in Constantinople.[92] After the death of Helene's parents in 1920 in the wake of the influenza epidemic of 1918, the couple settled into the substantial Magnus house in Braunschweig, where Lilien began to lead a comfortable family life, appropriate to the son-in-law of a *Justizrat*. "I like Braunschweig better and better every day," he declared in 1921.[93]

Although Lilien apparently remained faithful to Zionism throughout his life,[94] it is possible that during this period his ties to Zionist organizations gradually loosened. Even his friendship with Buber, for instance, seems to have languished after the intense collaboration of the very early years of the century. Buber's published correspondence contains no reference to him after 1903. Similarly, the early sympathy with Socialism may have cooled. By 1922, when he was well settled in Braunschweig, Lilien was active not in the SPD (Sozialdemokratische

[92] *Briefe an seine Frau*, 254, letter 391, from Constantinople, May 24, 1918. "It won't be long," he had declared at the beginning of the war, "before the French and the English get the whipping they deserve" (ibid., 200, letter 286, from Berlin, September 15, 1914). Lilien reserved his deepest hostility for the ally of France and England, tsarist Russia, which he saw as condoning, even encouraging, anti-Jewish pogroms.

[93] *Briefe an seine Frau*, 263, letter 413, from Braunschweig, July 31, 1921.

[94] Hieronimus, introduction to *Briefe an seine Frau*, 24. According to Regener, *Lilien*, 99, Lilien, along with several others, had been bent on obstructing "the energetic and dedicated activity of the Leader" (that is, Herzl) at the early Basel Zionist Congresses. "Once the artist gained an understanding of this unique man, however, he became his most faithful follower and there was no longer a moment when he did not stand shoulder to shoulder with him. Lilien was deeply and durably pained by his disagreement with Herzl and it was a gesture of reconciliation and at the same time a mark of his friendship and admiration when he dedicated one of the stained glass windows he was commissioned to design for the Hamburg B'nai Brith to the memory of Theodor Herzl and used Herzl's head to impart strength and meaning to his figure of Moses." Lilien's continued strong identification with Judaism and Zionism was likewise one of the themes of Lothar Brieger's 1922 monograph, *E. M. Lilien.*

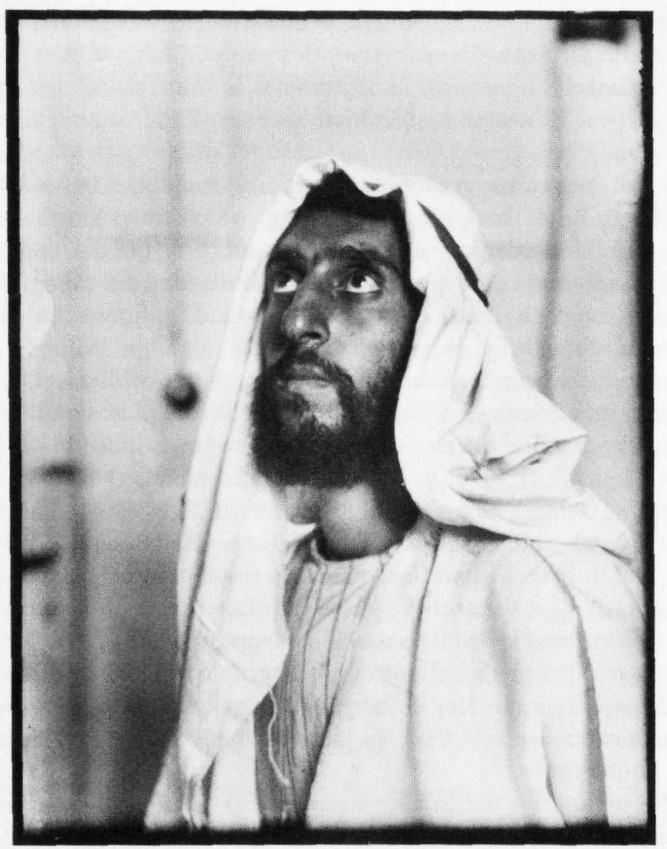
Partei Deutschlands), but in the centrist and constitutionalist DDP (Deutsche Demokratische Partei), the party of Max Weber and the intellectuals, "an association of notables in the style of classical liberalism [ein Honoratiorenverein altliberalen Stils]," as one historian has dubbed it.[95]

In the meantime, moreover, beginning sometime between 1905 and 1908, Lilien had taken up etching, which freed him as an artist from his long dependency on books and texts, but also led him to develop another, more realistic style of illustration for topographical descriptions of the Holy Land. His longstanding interest in photography reinforced this move away from the flowing decorative forms of Jugendstil toward greater realism. At the Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905, it had been decided to establish a school of arts and crafts in Jerusalem, bearing the name of the first artist mentioned in the Bible, Belazel ben Uri (Exodus 31:2). Lilien had been named to the board of trustees of Belazel, along with the painter Max Liebermann and Hermann Struck (the teacher of Chagall), who was known for his etchings, and in 1906 he had been sent to Jerusalem to help the director, Boris Schatz, get the school up and running. Although he appears to have contributed less to the school than was expected of him, he managed to take "some five hundred photographs," which led to a quite handsomely remunerated commission from the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* to write an article about his journey to the Holy Land, illustrated with photographs.[96]

Throughout his life Lilien was an energetic and enthusiastic photographer. One of his earliest commissions, as noted above, was for a photographic portrait; his photograph of Herzl achieved celebrity

[95] Hagen Schulze, *Weimar: Deutschland 1917–1933* (Berlin: Severin und Siedler, 1982), 79. On Lilien's relation to the DDP, see *Briefe an seine Frau*, 264, letter 416, from Braunschweig, October 31, 1922.

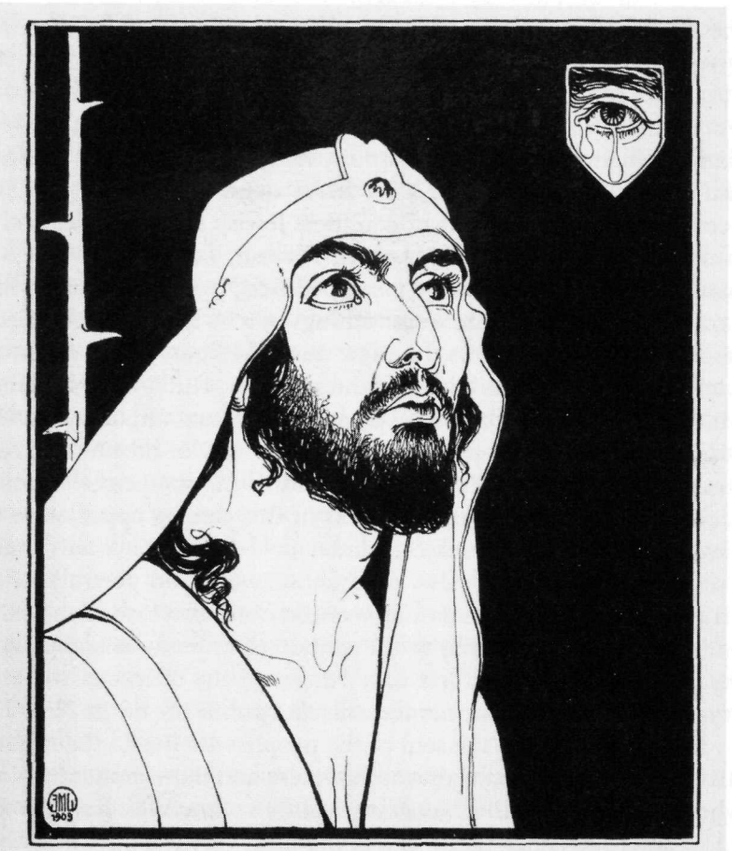
[96] *Briefe an seine Frau*, 82, letter 37, from Jerusalem, April 26, 1906. See also ibid., 189, letter 270, from Jerusalem, May 30, 1914, where he tells Helene he has taken two hundred photographs of Palestinian landscapes and people, including many Jewish types ("Köpfe, viele Judenköpfe"). Like many photographers at the time, Lilien regarded photographs both as works of art in their own right and as aids to drawing. Taken for themselves, they served a documentary as well as an artistic purpose. Hence the numerous photographs of Jewish types, or a project to capture in photographs "the entire peasant life of the mountain people [das ganze Bauernleben im Gebirge]" around Zakopane on the present-day Polish-Slovak border (ibid., 143, letter 204, from Zakopane, June 27, 1912).



25. E. M. Lilien, *Young Samaritan* (1906). Courtesy of the Tel Aviv Museum of Art.

and was reproduced as a postcard; and he himself reports good sales of photographs as well as etchings at the exhibition of his work in Lemberg in 1914. It is even said that he returned to Palestine in 1914 in order to shoot a film about the life of Jesus, although almost nothing seems to be known about this film and there is no material trace of it.[97] The photographs taken in 1906 served as a source from which, by means of extreme stylization, many of the drawings in the 1908–1912 Westermann edition of the Bible were produced (figs. 25–26); but he

[97] Micha and Ora Bar-Am, "Photographic Aspect in the Work of Lilien," 38.



26. E. M. Lilien, illustration for *Bücher der Bibel*, vol. 6 (1912; repr., Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Harz, 1923), 50. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

also used them, along with countless others taken on later journeys to Palestine in 1910 and 1916, and works by other photographers, as the basis for fairly realistic etchings of scenes and human types in the Holy Land.

The earliest of these etchings—representing the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, Abraham, and a Jewish plowman—date from 1908. At the 1914 Lemberg exhibition, all three were in great demand.[98] By

[98] *Briefe an seine Frau*, 178, letter 252, from Lemberg, February 22, 1914.

the time the first catalog of his etchings was published in Vienna in 1919, 199 works were listed, of which a number had already been sold out; those still available commanded a fairly high price.[99] Their subject matter consisted of scenes and typical local figures from the Holy Land, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey, from eastern Europe (Poland, Galicia, Ruthenia), and, to a far lesser degree, from Italy. In particular, there were etchings of countless Jewish types—males and females, children and old folk, Iranian, Turkish, Yemenite, Polish, Russian, and Rumanian Jews, farmers, peddlers, readers, Torah scribes, and water carriers. There were etchings of a couple of black African (probably Ethiopian) Jews. In a few cases the figures were dressed in ancient garb and given biblical names: Esther, Ruth, Saul, Solomon. Mostly, they constituted an inventory of the contemporary inhabitants of the Middle Eastern lands and their way of life. A later catalog published in New York in 1922 and listing the prices in dollars contained 229 entries. All the works in this catalog appealed to the viewer's interest in the subject matter or—except for a few eastern European scenes, local views of Braunschweig, and portraits of the artist and members of his family—to the European love of the exotic and "oriental." According to the author of an essay accompanying the 1922 catalog, Lilien not only "depicted the characteristic scenery, architecture, historic monuments and public life of the Near East ... he penetrated into the soul of the people who live in the midst of that scenery, who created that architecture and those monuments and who lead that public life. Not many children of the West have come to know and to understand the soul of the East; very few have attempted to describe or depict it. But nobody before Lilien has ever reproduced it as he does."[100]

Technically accomplished, the etchings of the 1910s and early 1920s may strike the modern viewer as lacking the originality, imagination, and verve of Lilien's earlier black-and-white India ink illustrations. The contrast between the two styles and the two media is highlighted moreover by the title pages of the two catalogs, which

[99] *Verzeichnis der Originalradierungen von E. M. Lilien*, introduction by Adolph Donath (Vienna: Halm und Goldmann, 1919).

[100] Edward Bing, preface to *List of the Original Etchings of E. M. Lilien* (Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Harz, 1922), 13.

make use of designs from the Westermann edition of *Bücher der Bibel* and are in the artist's earlier flat, linear manner. In comparison with etchings being produced in the 1910s and 1920s by artists of the same generation as Lilien or only slightly younger—Käthe Kollwitz, Ludwig Meidner, Emil Nolde, Max Pechstein, Otto Dix—Lilien's etchings appear tame and conservative, not unlike many by Struck from the early 1900s.

By 1925, when Lilien died at the relatively early age of fifty-one, while undergoing treatment for a heart attack the previous year, most of the fire and imagination of his earlier years seems to have gone out of him, along, perhaps, with some of his enthusiasm for both Zionism and Lebensreform. Although he had served in the Austrian army in the Middle East and witnessed the horror of "women and children dying of hunger in the streets" of Aleppo,[101] his apparently happy and comfortable bourgeois life with Helene and their children, Otto and Hannah, seems to have protected him—his early Socialist sympathies notwithstanding—from Heinrich Vogeler's outrage at the senselessness of the war and conviction that capitalism was at the root of both the war and the misery of the masses. Despite his enthusiasm for the Promised Land, Lilien appears not to have been tempted to abandon the relative comfort and seeming security of Braunschweig for the uncertain prospect of realizing the Zionist and Lebensreform dreams of his youth in Palestine.

Lilien seems to have had no difficulty selling his work into the 1920s, but he no longer enjoyed anything like the reputation as an artist that he had had two decades earlier, when Buber hailed him as the hope of a new Jewish art, Regener compared him to the great German masters of neoclassical line drawing, Asmus Carstens (1754–1798) and Bonaventura Genelli (1798–1868),[102] and Stefan Zweig published his book on him. In 1934, on the sixtieth anniversary of his birth, his widow appealed unsuccessfully to various Zionist personalities and organizations and to the mayor of Tel Aviv to mark the

[101] "Every day, I saw women and children dying of starvation on the streets [of Aleppo, Smyrna, and Kania]. In Aleppo a wagon passes every morning after sunrise to collect 30–50 corpses from the street, but only hours later others are already expiring on the street corners" (*Briefe an seine Frau*, 254–55, letter 392, from Constantinople, May 27, 1918).

[102] Regener, *Lilien*, 208–9.

occasion with an exhibition of his work. Fifteen years later Karl Schwartz, the first director of the Tel Aviv Museum, dismissed the artist who had once been "the dandy of the Zionist movement" as "stuck fast in an ingenious and, in our opinion, absolutely devious journalism."[103]

[103] Quoted in Micha and Ora Bar-Am, "Photographic Aspect in the Work of Lilien," 33–34. "The dandy of the Zionist movement" is Gilya Gerda Schmidt's description (*Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress*, 151).

William Henry Ireland's Authentic Forgeries

JACK LYNCH

ONE of the strangest items in the Robert H. Taylor Collection in the Princeton University Library comes from one of the strangest figures in English literary history. It is cataloged as an extra-illustrated edition of the *Confessions* of William Henry Ireland, whose supposed "discovery" of lost works of Shakespeare created a sensation in 1795–1796. The *Confessions* is no rare book; many copies of the original edition of 1805 and the second edition of 1874 survive, and an inexpensive facsimile reprint was published in 1969. The attraction of the Taylor copy lies not in the widely available *Confessions*, but in the large number of manuscripts and other materials Ireland bound into his published work.

A full and reliable account of Ireland's life remains to be written. Although several twentieth-century biographies tell the story of the forgery episode,[1] most of his career remains mysterious, largely because of the difficulties of saying anything about him with certainty. He was apparently born in 1775, though he insisted throughout his life that the year was 1777. His father, or perhaps stepfather, was Samuel Ireland, and his mother was apparently Anna Maria Freeman, who apparently fled an abusive husband and lived with Samuel as his wife. As the repeated word "apparently" suggests, even the most basic

[1] Just five substantial studies draw on original research in the primary documents related to Ireland. There are two twentieth-century biographies: John Mair, *The Fourth Forger: William Ireland and the Shakespeare Papers* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1938); and Bernard Grebanier, *The Great Shakespeare Forgery: A New Look at the Career of William Henry Ireland* (New York: Norton, 1965). Jeffrey Kahan retells the story of Ireland's *Vortigern* in detail in *Reforging Shakespeare: The Story of a Theatrical Scandal* (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1998). The most accessible short account appears in Samuel Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970). Most recently, Nick Groom has devoted a chapter to Ireland in *The Forger's Shadow: How Forgery Changed the Course of Literature* (London: Picador, 2002). With a few notable exceptions, most of the many other accounts of Ireland's life simply rehash the research in Mair, Grebanier, and Schoenbaum.

Jugendstil in Firestone:

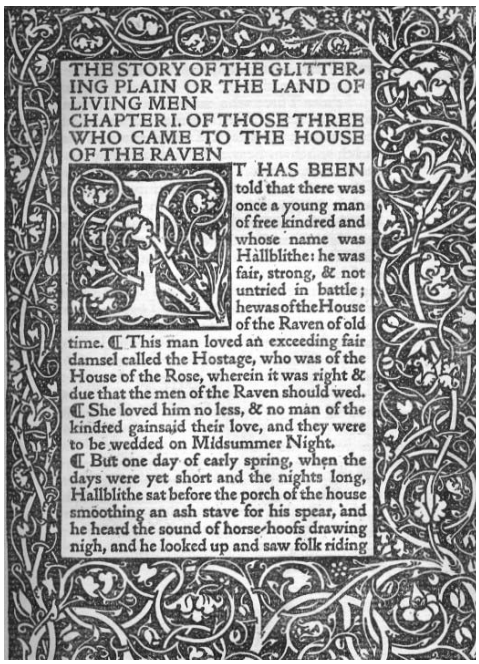
The Jewish Illustrator E.M. Lilien (1874-1925)

(Princeton University Library Chronicle, 2004)

Supplementary Images

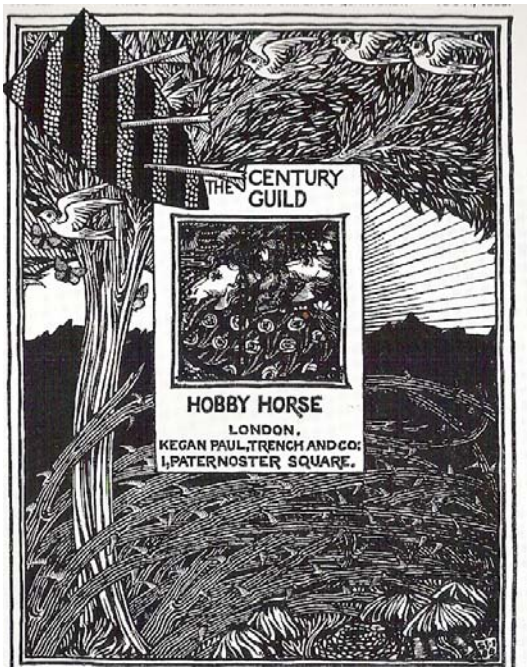
(The bindings and illustrations displayed here are chiefly from books on the open shelves in Firestone Library)

Pp. 11-23.


THE STORY OF THE GLITTERING PLAIN OR THE LAND OF LIVING MEN
CHAPTER I. OF THOSE THREE WHO CAME TO THE HOUSE OF THE RAVEN

IT HAS BEEN told that there was once a young man of free kindred and whose name was Hallblithe: he was fair, strong, & not untried in battle; he was of the House of the Raven of old time. ¶ This man loved an exceeding fair damsel called the Hostage, who was of the House of the Rose, wherein it was right & due that the men of the Raven should wed. ¶ She loved him no less, & no man of the kindred gainsaid their love, and they were to be wedded on Midsummer Night. ¶ But one day of early spring, when the days were yet short and the nights long, Hallblithe sat before the porch of the house smoothing an ash stave for his spear, and he heard the sound of horse-hoofs drawing nigh, and he looked up and saw folk riding

William Morris. *The Story of the Glittering Plain* (Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1891)

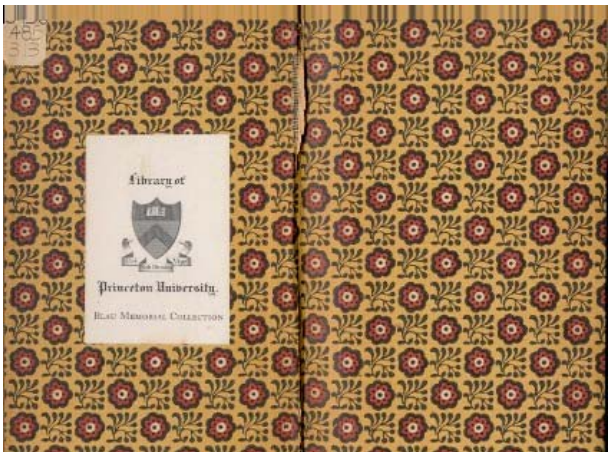


Selwyn Image. Cover for *Century Guild Hobby Horse* (London: Kegan Paul 1884)

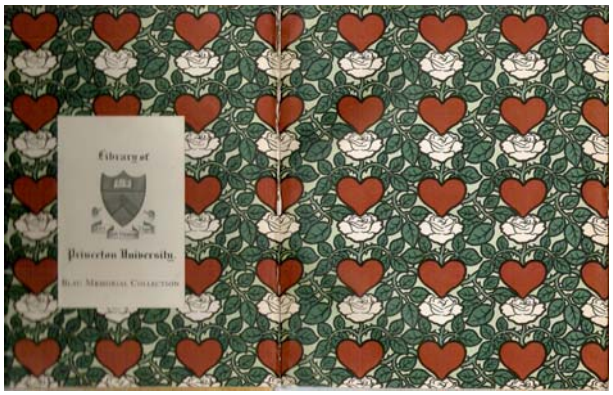
Aubrey Beardsley. *Le Morte d'Arthur* (London: Dent, 1893)

Cover of Wilhelm Bölsche, *Hinter der Weltstadt. Friedrichshagener Gedanken zu ästhetischen Kultur* (Leipzig: E. Diederichs, 1904)

Peter Behrens. Cover of O.J. Bierbaum, *Pan im Busch* (Berlin: Schuster und Loeffler, 1900)



1.

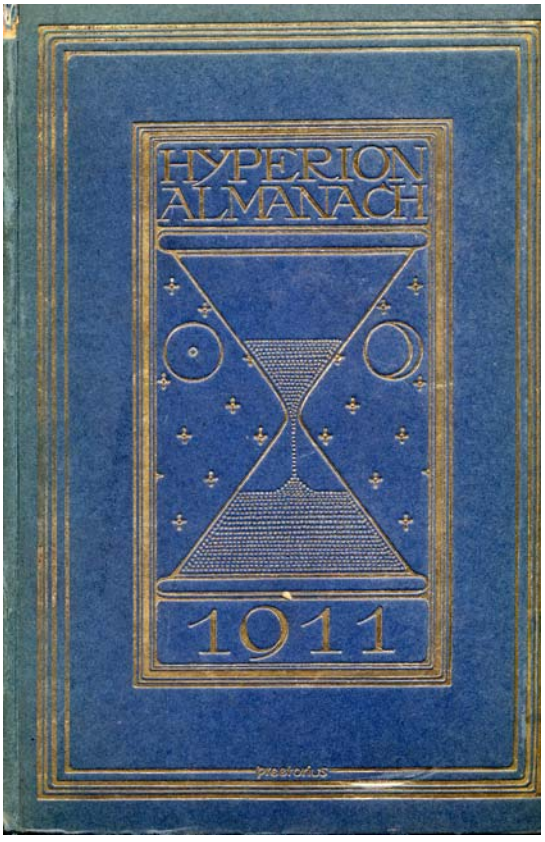


2.

Inside covers. 1. Adolf Buchloh, *Auf der Walze bis zum Montblanc und Vesuv* (Burchard: Elberfeld-Sonnborn, 1916); 2. *Jungbrunnen* 3 (Berlin: Fischer und Franke, 1900)

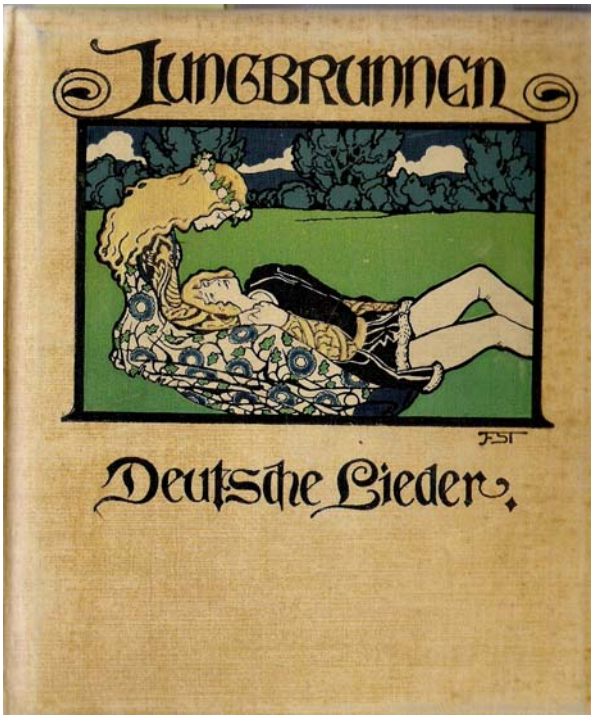
Front cover of Julius Hart, *Träume der Mittsommernacht* (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1905)

Emil R.Weiss. Back cover of O.J. Bierbaum, *Gugeline* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1899).



Hyperion Almanach 1911 (Munich: H. von Weber)

Iduna (Berlin: H. Costenoble, 1903)



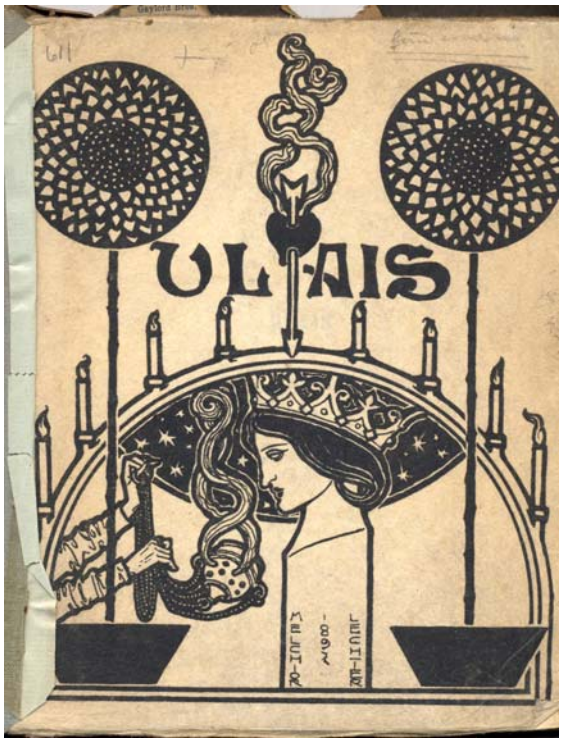
Jungbrunnen, vol. 3 (Berlin: Fischer und Franke, 1900). Cover design by Franz Stassen.

Jungbrunnen, vol 2 (Berlin: Fischer und Franke,1900). Title page.

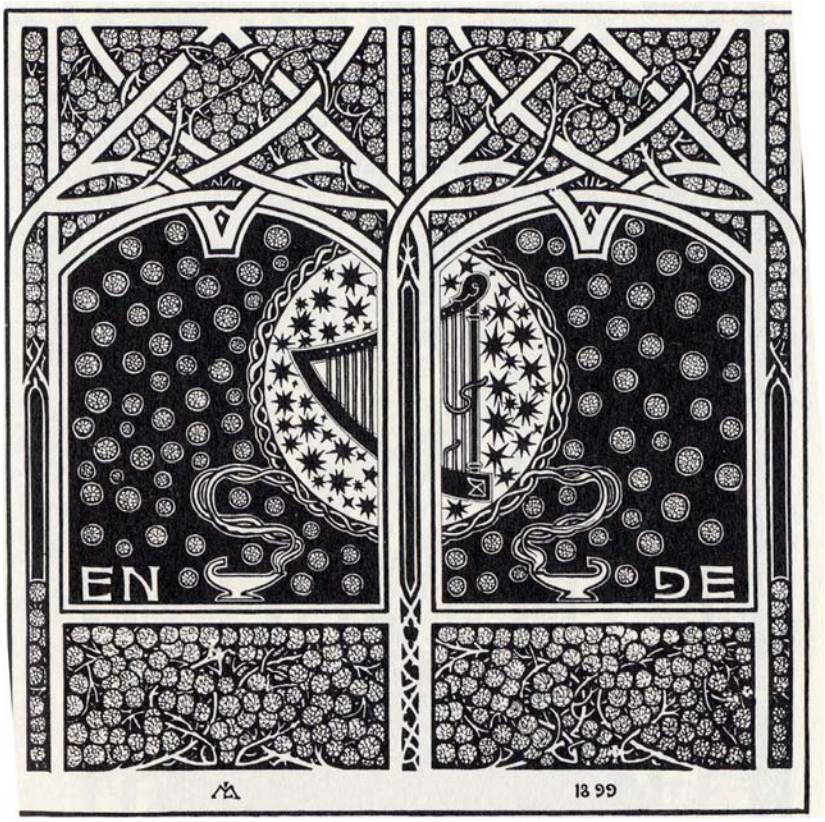
Bernhard Wenig. Page illustration, *Jungbrunnen*, vol. 2 (1900)

Franz von Stassen. Page illustration, Jungbrunnen, vol. 2 (1900)

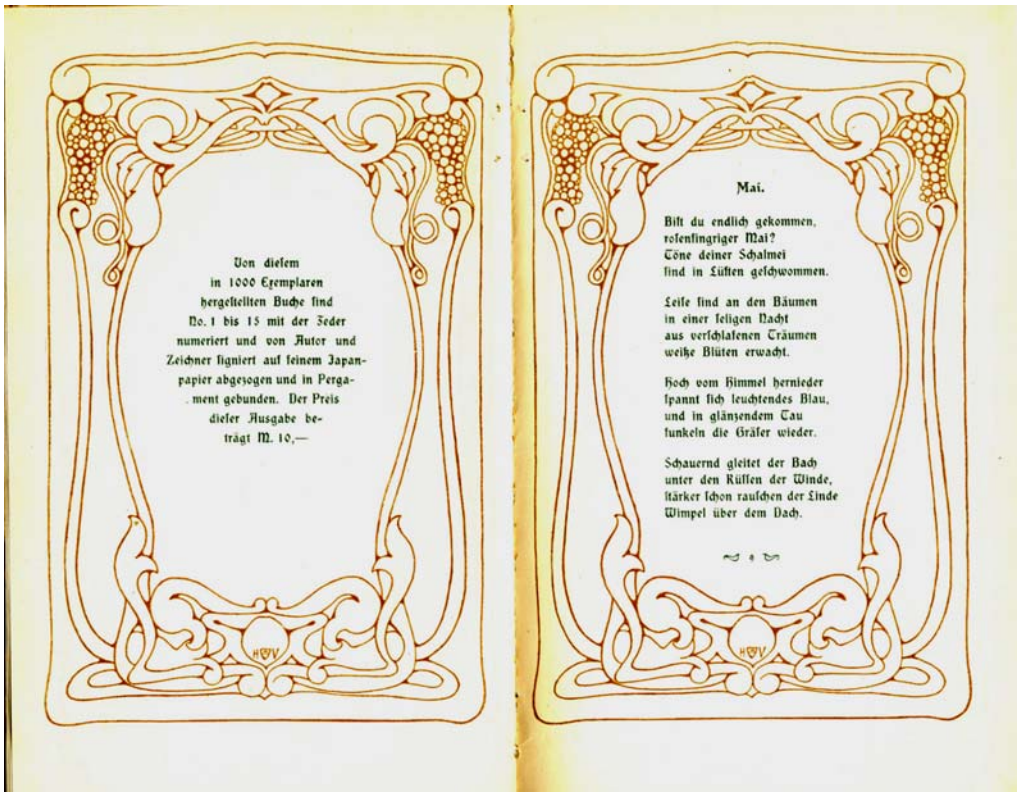
Melchior Lechter. Title-page of Stefan George, *Das Jahr der Seele* (Berlin: Verlag der Blätter für die Kunst, 1897)



Melchior Lechter. Cover for Karl Wolfskehl, *Ulais* (Berlin: Verlag der Blätter für die Kunst, 1897)



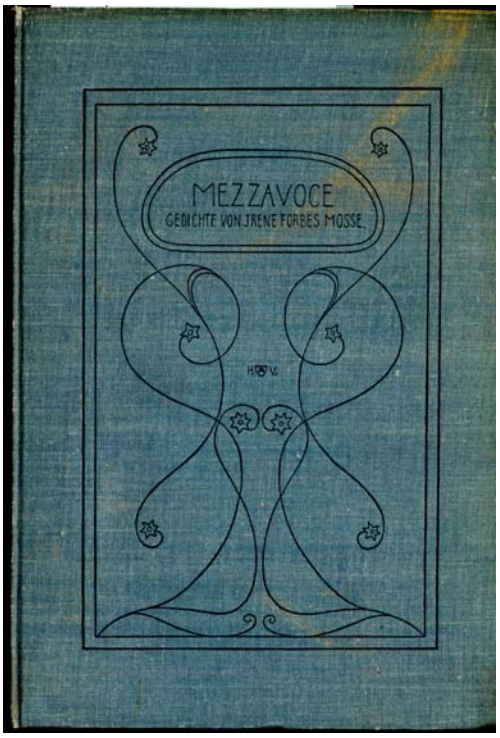
Melchior Lechter. Last page of Stefan George, *Teppich des Lebens* (Berlin: Verlag der Blätter für die Kunst, 1899)



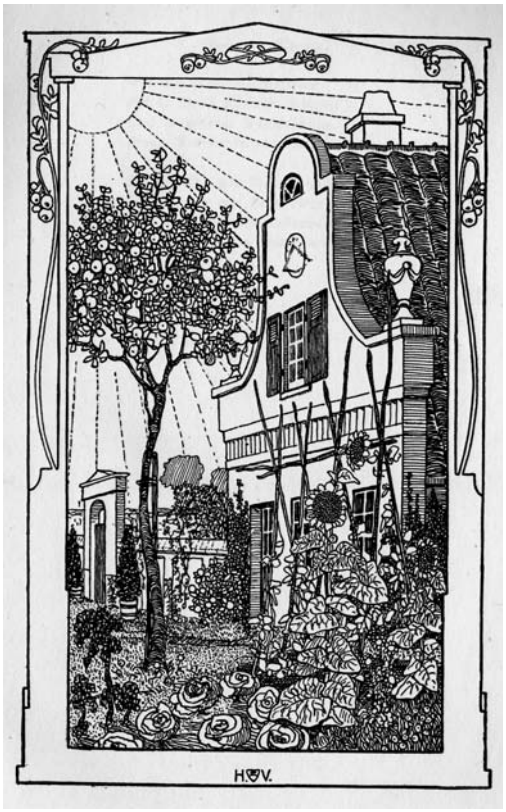
Heinrich Vogeler. Sample page from Richard Schaukal, *Pierrot und Colombine* (Leipzig: H. Seemann Nachfolger, 1902).

H. Vogeler. Cover design for *Die Insel,*, 1900

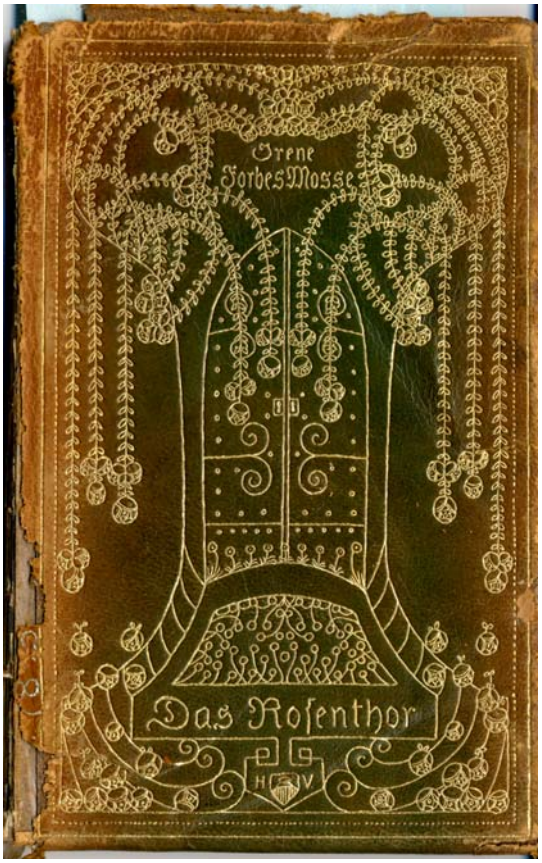
H. Vogeler. Illustration for Oscar Wilde, *Pomegranate House*, Insel-Almanach 1906, p. 31.



H. Vogeler. Cover and title-page of Irene Forbes-Mosse, *Mezzavoce* (Berlin: Schuster und Loeffler, 1901)

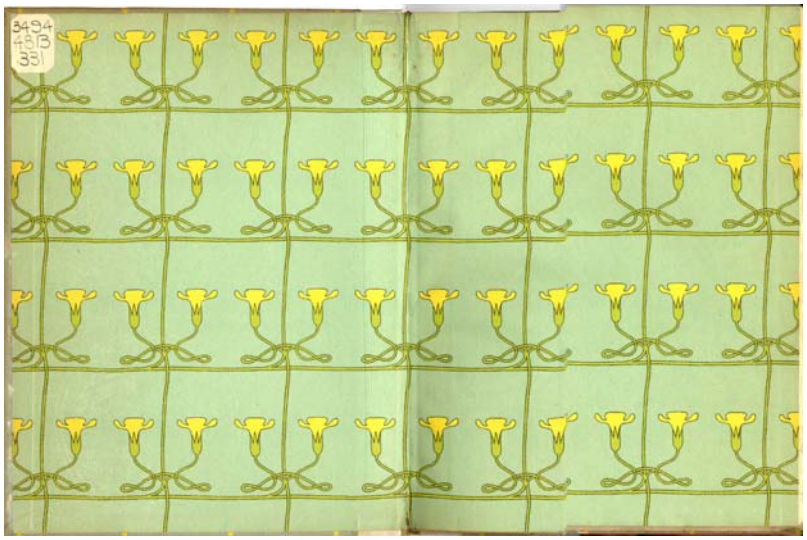


H. Vogeler. Frontispieces in Irene Forbes-Mosse, *Mezzavoce* (1901)

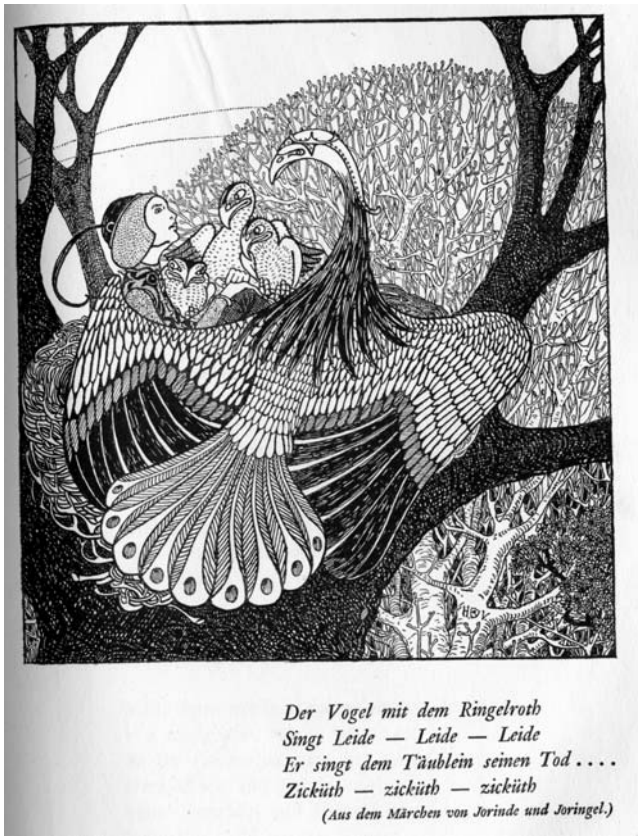


H. Vogeler. Cover of Forbes-Mosse, *Das Rosenthor* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1905)

H. Vogeler. Title page of Forbes-Mosse, *Peregrina's Sommerabende* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1904)

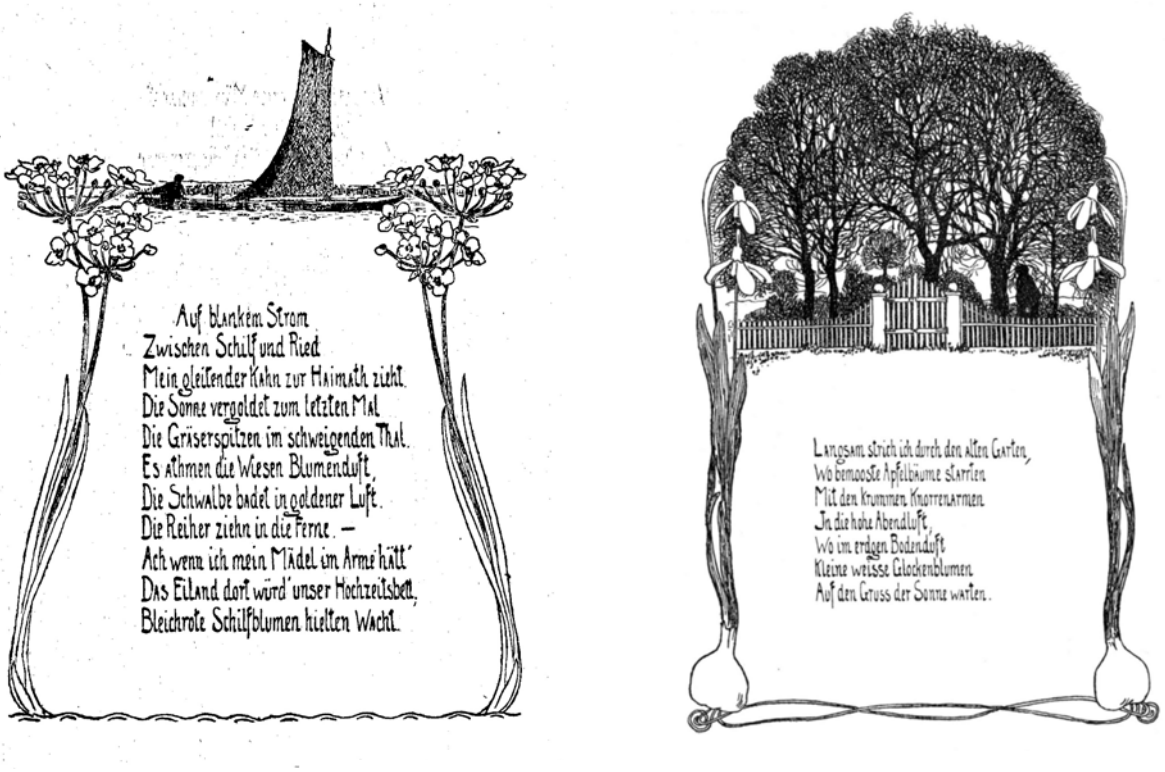


H. Vogeler. Inside Cover of *Dir*, his own book of poems (Berlin: Verlag der "Insel," Schuster und Loeffler, 1899).

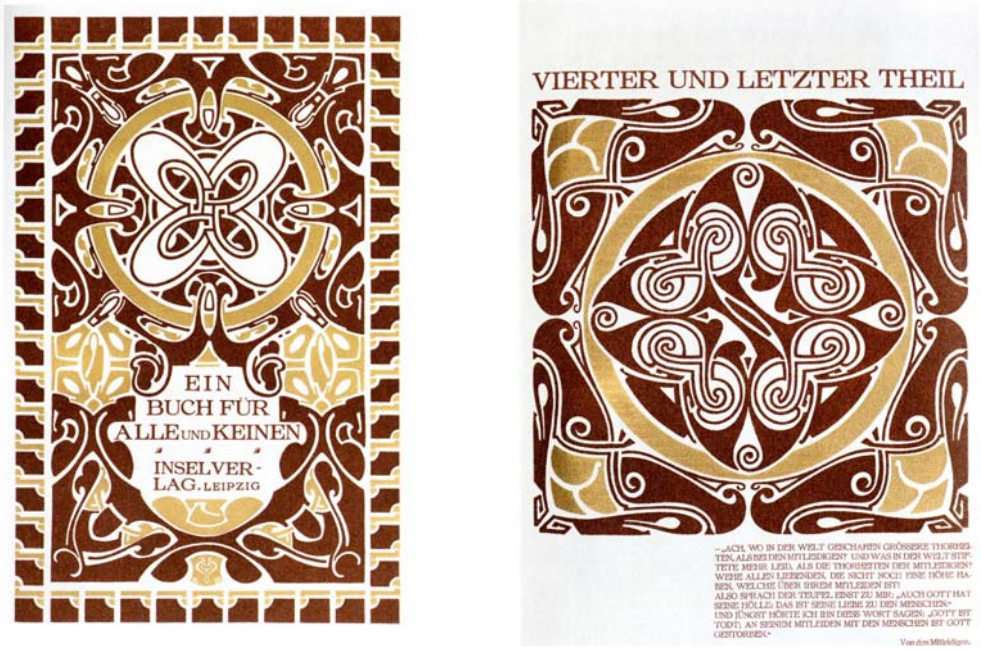


H. Vogeler. Illustration for Forbes-Mosse, *Peregrina's Sommerabende*, p. 61.

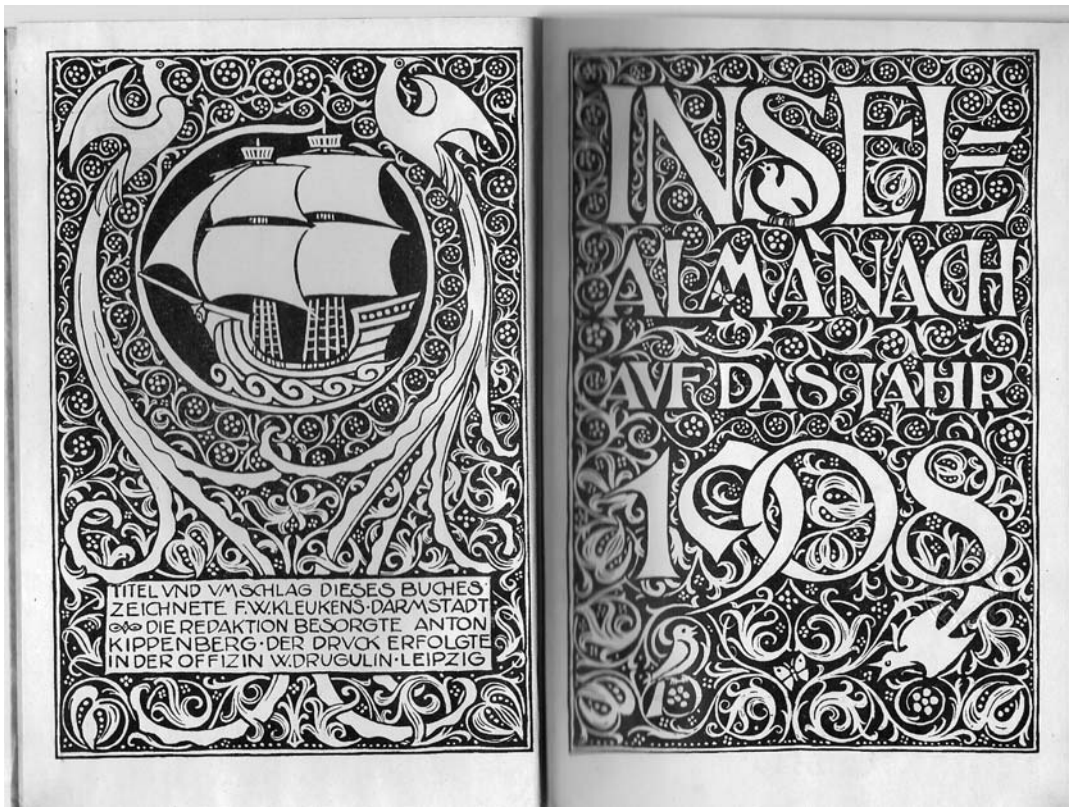
H. Vogeler. Title page of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Der Kaiser und die Hexe* (Berlin: Schuster und Loeffler, 1900).

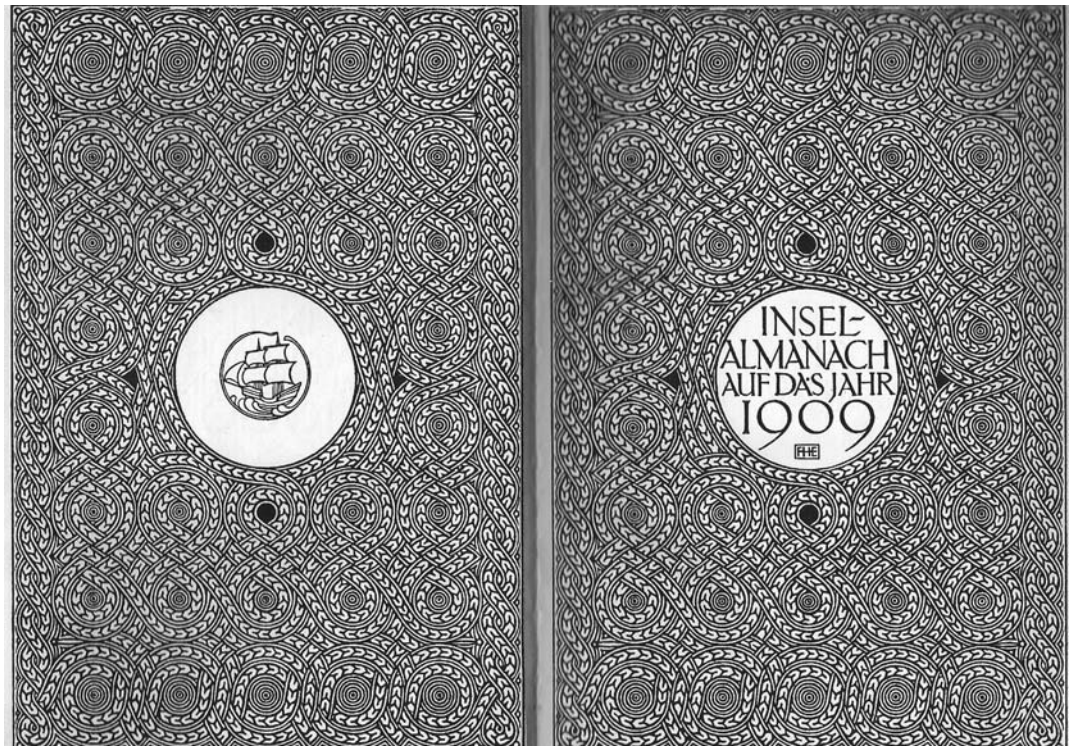


H. Vogeler. Sample inside pages of *Dir* (1899)



Henry Van de Velde. Title page of book and title page of Part IV of Insel Verlag de luxe edition of Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1908)



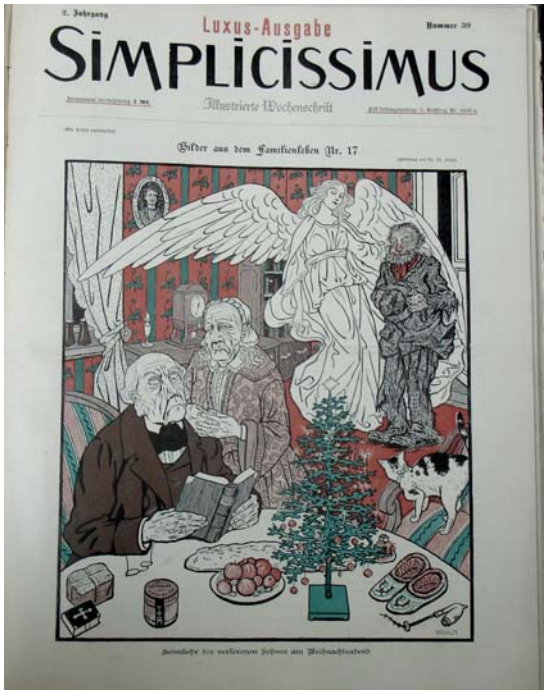


F.W. Kleukens. Inside covers of *Insel Almanach*, 1908 and 1909

Behrens. AEG Factory, Berlin (1908-1910)

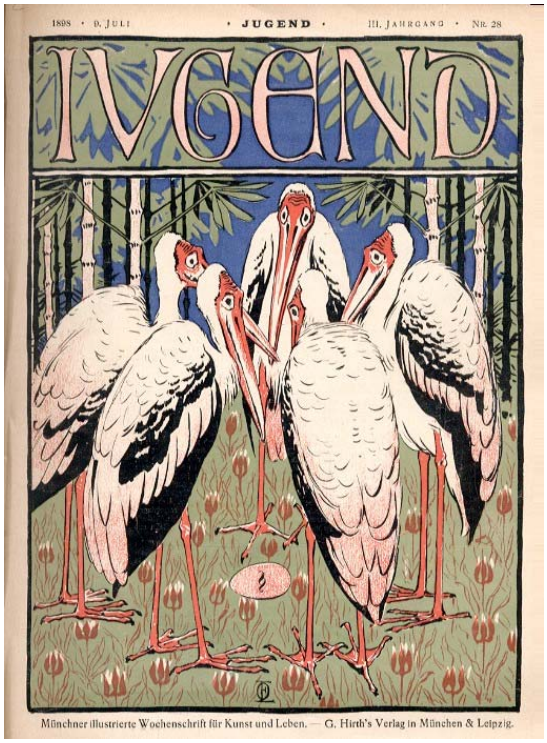
Vogeler. Summer Waiting Room, Worpswede Railway Station (1910)

Pan, 1895-96. Cover by Joseph Sattler.

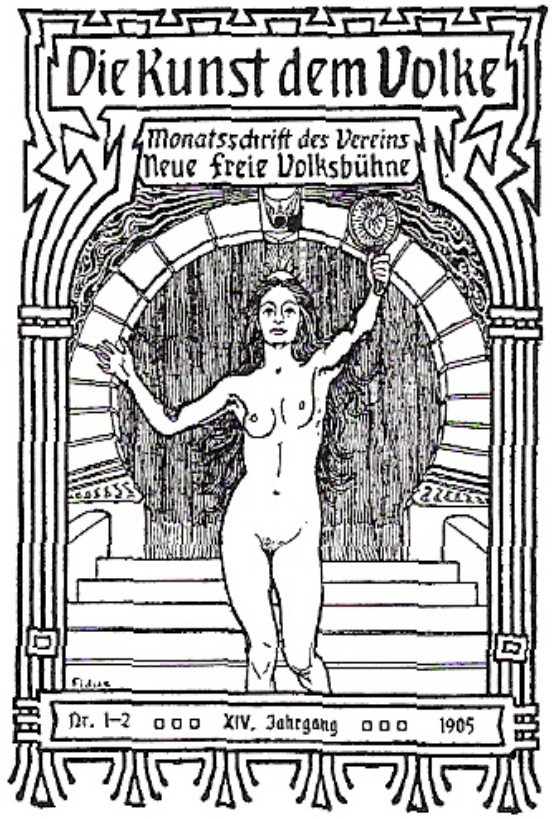


Simplicissimus, 2, no. 39

Jugend, 3, no. 51, 17 December, 1898. Cover by Walter Crane.

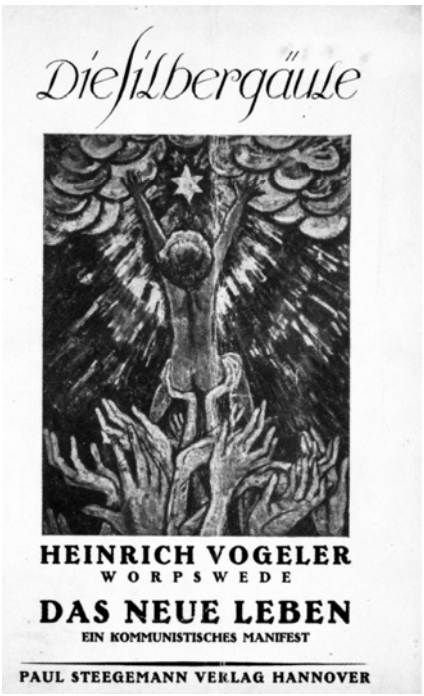


Jugend, 3, no. 28, 9 July, 1898



Fidus. Cover designs for magazines *Der Mensch* (“Man”), January 1, 1906, and *Die Kunst dem Volke* (“Art for the People”), 14, nos. 1-2, 1905.

E.M. Lilien. Cover design for fashion magazine (1900).



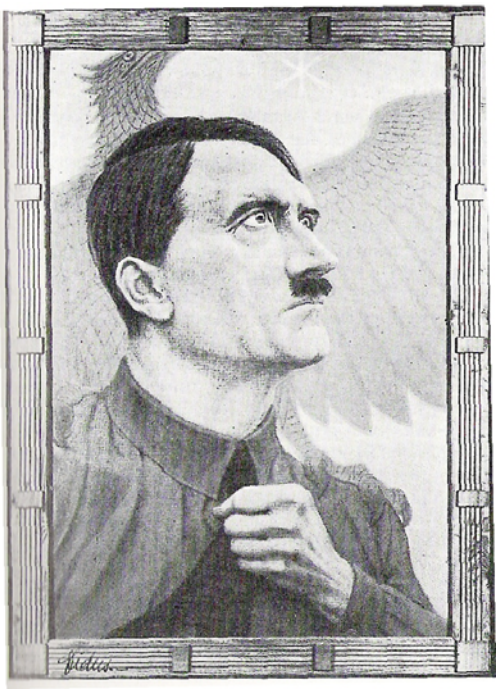
H. Vogeler. Cover design for his book, *Das neue Leben* (Hannover: Steegemann, 1919)

Top Left. Fidus. Illustration in *Jugend*, 3, August 23, 1898.

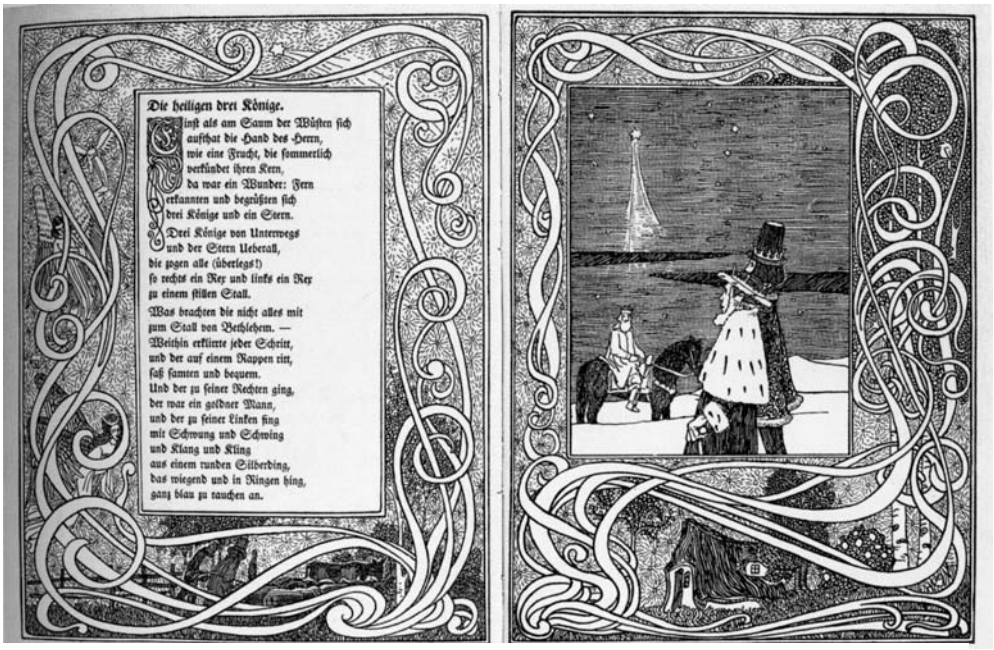
Top Right. Vogeler. Illustration in *Jugend*, 3, March 12, 1898

Bottom Left. Lilien. “Die Zauberflöte,” *Jugend*, 3, January 19, 1898

Fidus." Durchbrechender Michael." The image represents 1933 as a triumph for "Der Michael," the equivalent of the American "Joe Doe." "Und doch" evokes Klinger's famous engraving (see below).

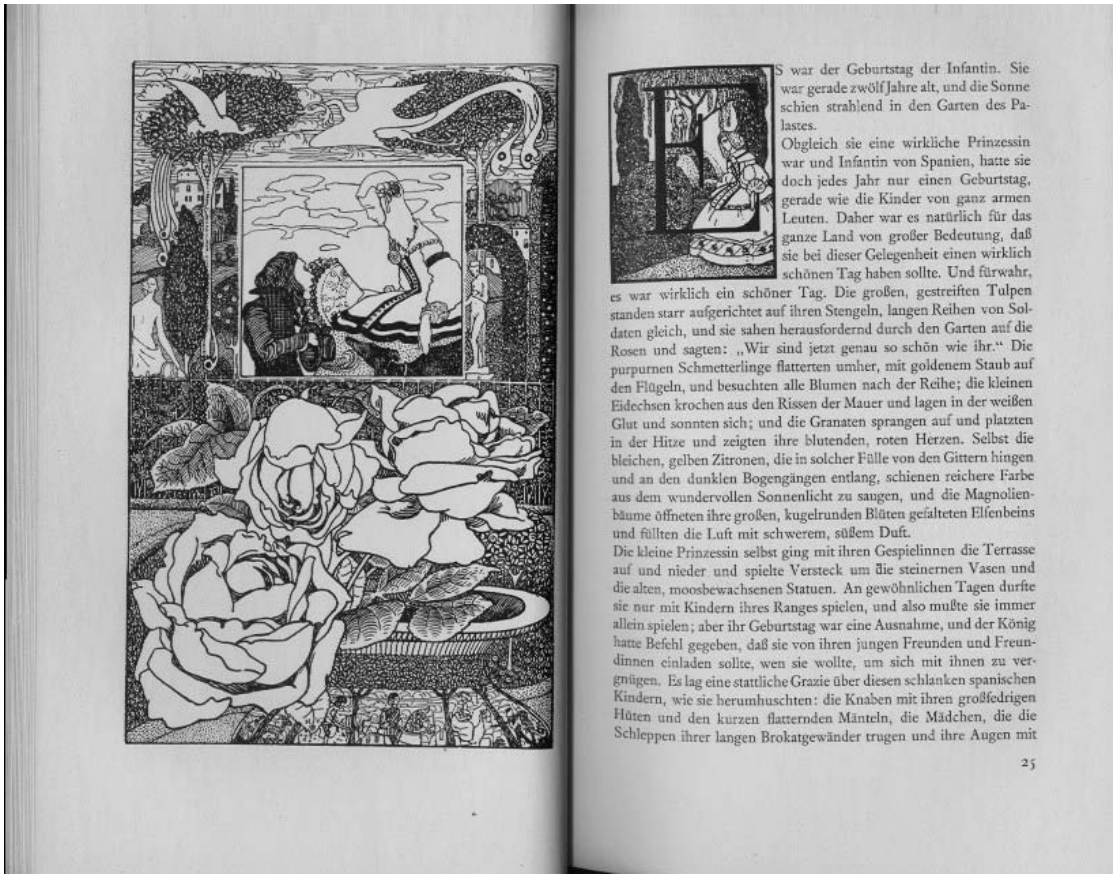


Fidus. Head of the Führer (1941).



Heinrich Vogeler. Illustration for Rilke, "Die heiligen drei Könige," in *Die Insel*, 1 (March 1900), pp. 346-47.

Vogeler. Melusine. Triptych (1910). Barkenhoff-Stiftung, Worpswede



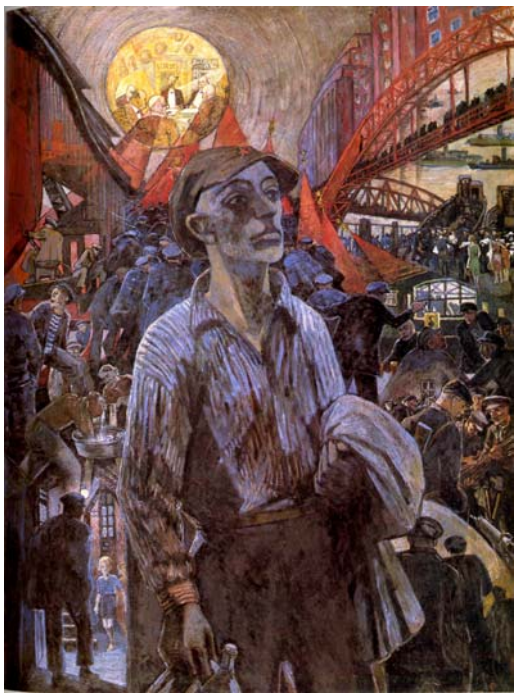
ES war der Geburtstag der Infantin. Sie war gerade zwölf Jahre alt, und die Sonne schien strahlend in den Garten des Palastes.

Obgleich sie eine wirkliche Prinzessin war und Infantin von Spanien, hatte sie doch jedes Jahr nur einen Geburtstag, gerade wie die Kinder von ganz armen Leuten. Daher war es natürlich für das ganze Land von großer Bedeutung, daß sie bei dieser Gelegenheit einen wirklich schönen Tag haben sollte. Und fürwahr, es war wirklich ein schöner Tag. Die großen, gestreiften Tulpen standen starr aufgerichtet auf ihren Stengeln, langen Reihen von Soldaten gleich, und sie sahen herausfordernd durch den Garten auf die Rosen und sagten: „Wir sind jetzt genau so schön wie ihr." Die purpurnen Schmetterlinge flatterten umher, mit goldenem Staub auf den Flügeln, und besuchten alle Blumen nach der Reihe; die kleinen Eidechsen krochen aus den Rissen der Mauer und lagen in der weißen Glut und sonnten sich; und die Granaten sprangen auf und platzten in der Hitze und zeigten ihre blutenden, roten Herzen. Selbst die bleichen, gelben Zitronen, die in solcher Fülle von den Gittern hingen und an den dunklen Bogengängen entlang, schienen reichere Farbe aus dem wundervollen Sonnenlicht zu saugen, und die Magnolienbäume öffneten ihre großen, kugelrunden Blüten gefalteten Elfenbeins und füllten die Luft mit schwerem, süßem Duft.

Die kleine Prinzessin selbst ging mit ihren Gespielinnen die Terrasse auf und nieder und spielte Versteck um die steinernen Vasen und die alten, moosbewachsenen Statuen. An gewöhnlichen Tagen durfte sie nur mit Kindern ihres Ranges spielen, und also mußte sie immer allein spielen; aber ihr Geburtstag war eine Ausnahme, und der König hatte Befehl gegeben, daß sie von ihren jungen Freunden und Freundinnen einladen sollte, wen sie wollte, um sich mit ihnen zu vergnügen. Es lag eine stattliche Grazie über diesen schlanken spanischen Kindern, wie sie herumhuschten: die Knaben mit ihren großfedrigen Hüten und den kurzen flatternden Mänteln, die Mädchen, die die Schleppen ihrer langen Brokatgewänder trugen und ihre Augen mit

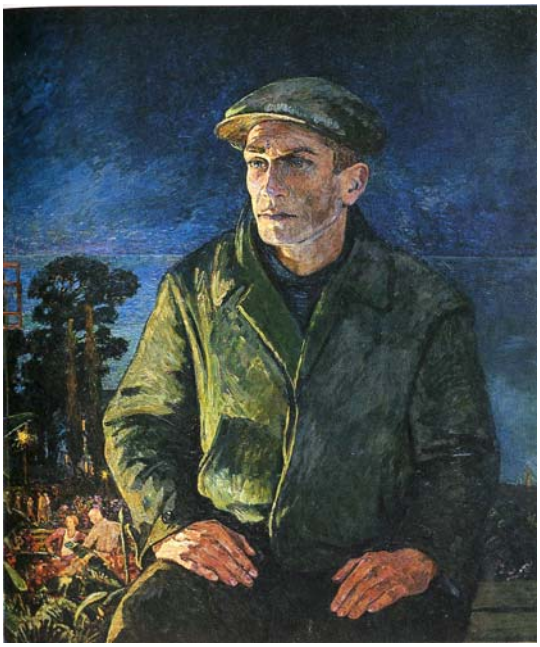
Vogeler, “Der Geburtstag der Infantin” from 1924 Insel Verlag edition of Oscar Wilde, *Erzählungen*

H. Vogeler. Portrait of Asta Lange (1911). Private collection, Bremen.



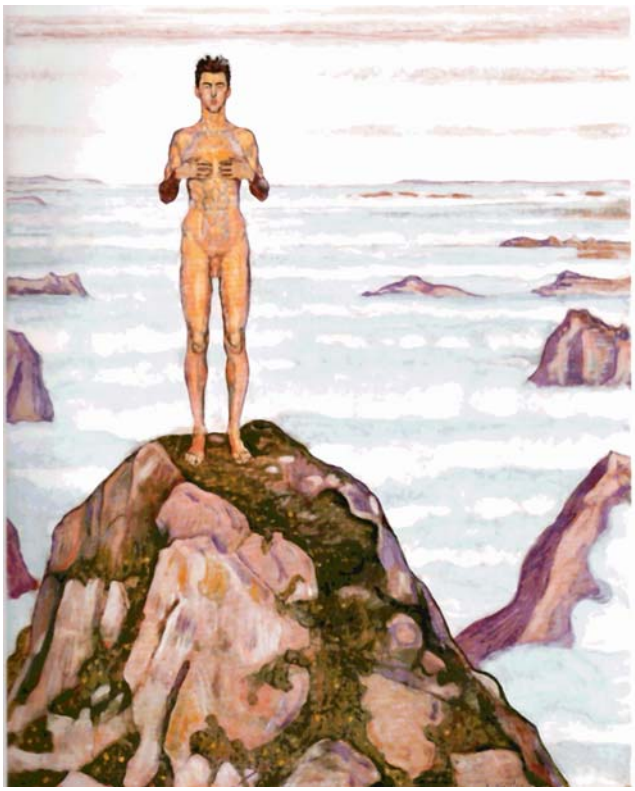
H. Vogeler. Hamburg Shipyard Worker (1928). Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

H. Vogeler. Anti-Nazi cartoon in *Das Dritte Reich. Verse von Johannes R. Becher. Illustrationen von Heinrich Vogeler* (Moscow, 1934). "*As you can see, two halves of the same face. One takes in the profits, the other makes the speeches*."

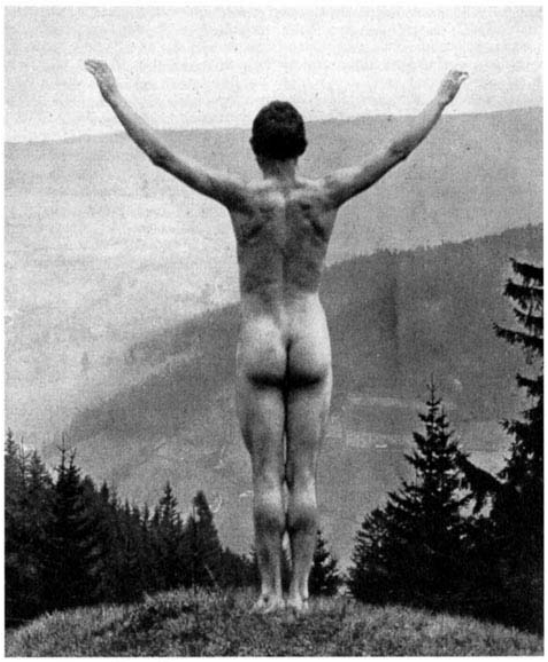


H. Vogeler. German Stakhanovite worker at rest and recreation center in Sochi on the Black Sea (1936). Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

Caspar David Friedrich. The Wanderer (1818). Kunsthalle, Hamburg.



Ferdinand Hodler. Blick ins Unendliche III (1903). Musée Cantonal, Lausanne.

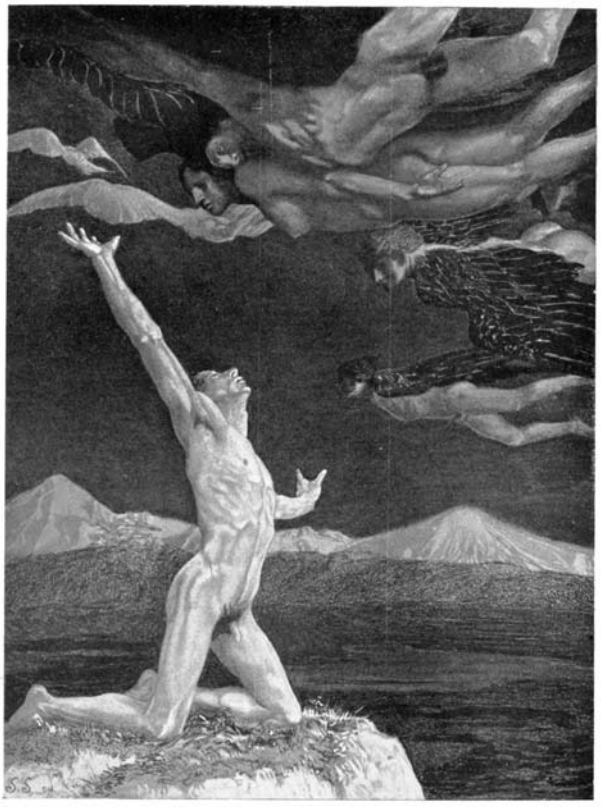


Finger: *Freiheit*, aus *Ideale Nacktheit*, 1914

Finger. Freiheit, in *Ideale Nacktheit* (1914)

Paul Bürck. Empor (ca.1900). Landesmuseum, Magdeburg.

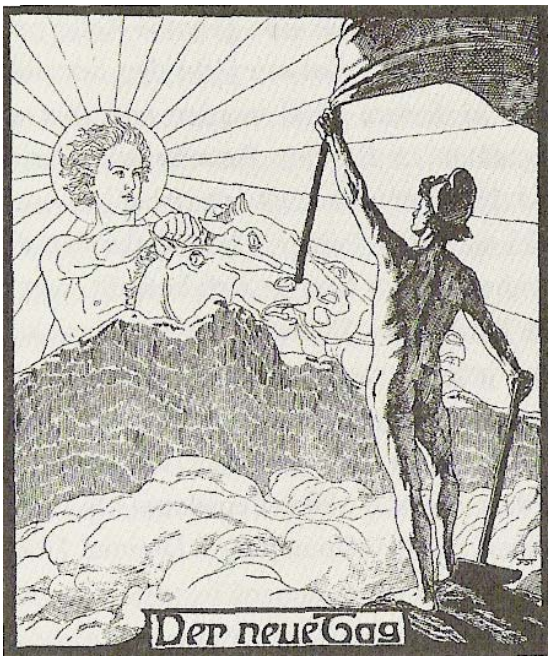
Ludwig Fahrenkrog. Die heilige Stunde (1905). Schlossmuseum, Darmstadt.



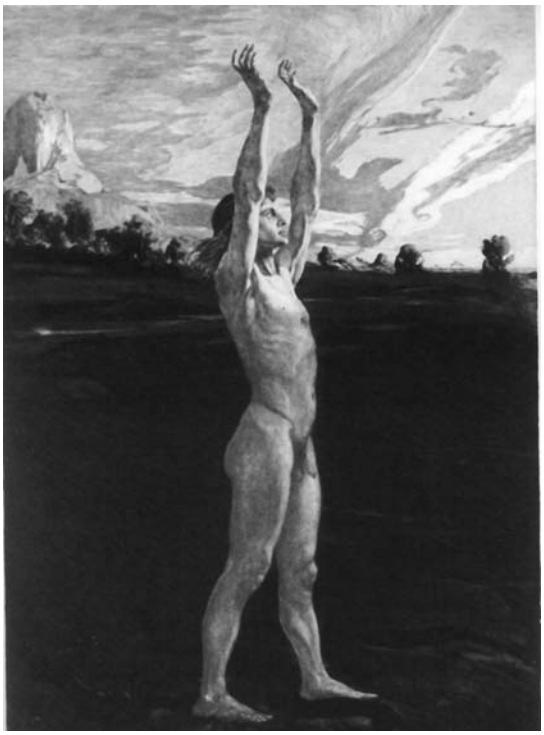
Sascha Schneider. O, Ihr Höheren! In *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 15, October, 1904, p. 57.

Paul Maienfisch. Design for stained glass. In *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 14. May, 1903, p. 439.

Karl Hofer. Illustration for Hans Reinhart, *Der Tag* (Zürich: Henckell, 1903)



Franz Stassen. Der neue Tag. Cover for May Day publication (1904)



Max Klinger. Und doch. Etching (1898)

Hans Thoma. Sehnsucht (1900). Private collection.

Fidus. *Lichtgebet. Zu Gott* (1892)

Fidus. *Lichtegebet* (1905)

Fidus. *Lichtgebet* (1910)

Fidus, *Lichtgebet* (1913)

Fidus. *Lichtgebet* (1922)

Fidus. Logo for Höhensonne health colony, Hanau

Fidus. *Lichtgebet* (1927)

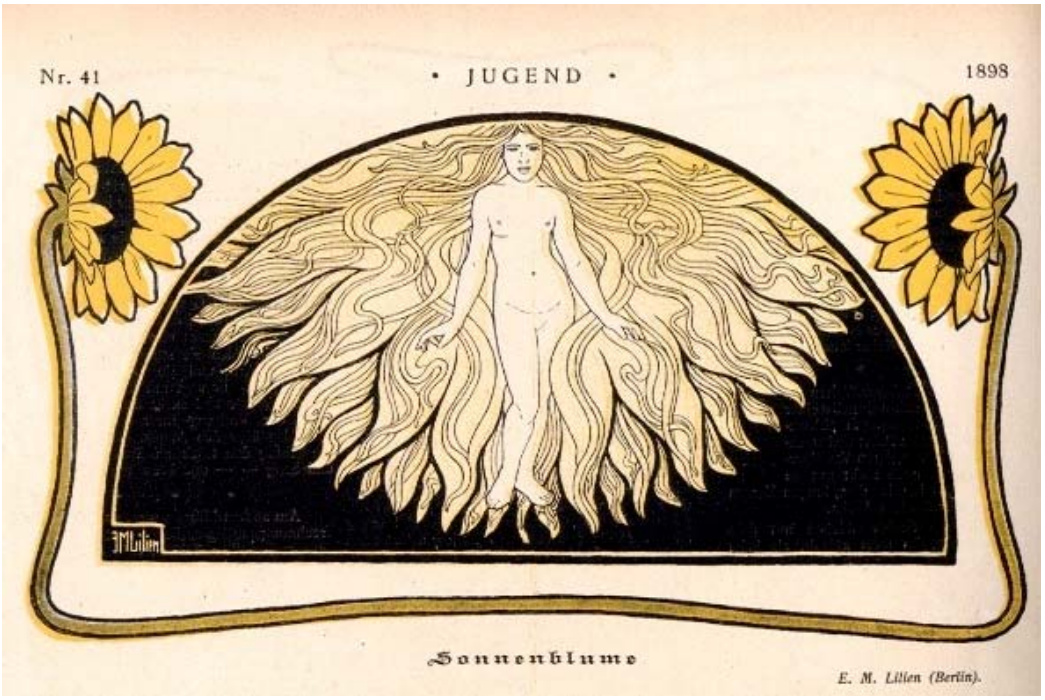
Fidus. Cover of health and beauty magazine.(1909)

Fidus. Advertisement for a physical fitness center in Berlin. (1901)

Fidus. Cover of monthly theosophical magazine (1910)

E.M. Lilien. Cover for German edition of a poular book on sex by E. Laurent and P. Nagour (1903)

Pp. 29-37.



Lilien. Decorative header, *Jugend,* 1898, no. 41, p. 680.

Lilien. Illustration in *Süddeutscher Postillon* (1898)

Lilien. “Auf zarten Saiten.” Illustration for *Jugend* (1900), reproduced in *Ost und West*, July 1901, col. 523-524.

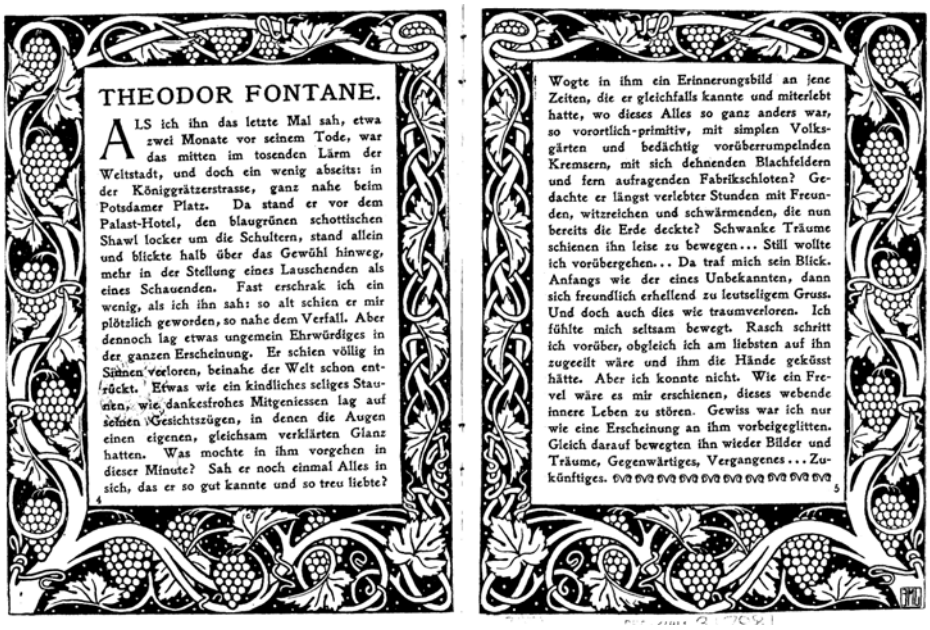
Lilien. Illustration for *Jugend*, reproduced in.Lothar Brieger, *E.M.* Lilien (1922) p.44.

Lilien. Illustration for Johann von Wildenradt, *Der Zöllner von Klausen* (1898)

Lilien. Design of last page of Wildenradt, *Der Zöllner von Klausen.*

Josef Sattler. Illustration for Heinrich Boos, *Geschichte der Rheinischen Städtekultur* (Berlin: D.A. Stargardt, 1896), vol. 2, ch. 27 , p. 121.

Josef Sattler. Illustration, *Geschichte der Rheinischen Städtekultur*, vol. 4, ch. 41, p. 117



THEODOR FONTANE.

ALS ich ihn das letzte Mal sah, etwa zwei Monate vor seinem Tode, war das mitten im tosenden Lärm der Weltstadt, und doch ein wenig abseits: in der Königgrätzerstrasse, ganz nahe beim Potsdamer Platz. Da stand er vor dem Palast-Hotel, den blaugrünen schottischen Shawl locker um die Schultern, stand allein und blickte halb über das Gewühl hinweg, mehr in der Stellung eines Lauschenden als eines Schauenden. Fast erschrak ich ein wenig, als ich ihn sah: so alt schien er mir plötzlich geworden, so nahe dem Verfall. Aber dennoch lag etwas ungemein Ehrwürdiges in der ganzen Erscheinung. Er schien völlig in Sinnen verloren, beinahe der Welt schon entrückt. Etwas wie ein kindliches seliges Staunen, wie dankesfrohes Mitgeniessen lag auf seinen Gesichtszügen, in denen die Augen einen eigenen, gleichsam verklärten Glanz hatten. Was mochte in ihm vorgehen in dieser Minute? Sah er noch einmal Alles in sich, das er so gut kannte und so treu liebte?

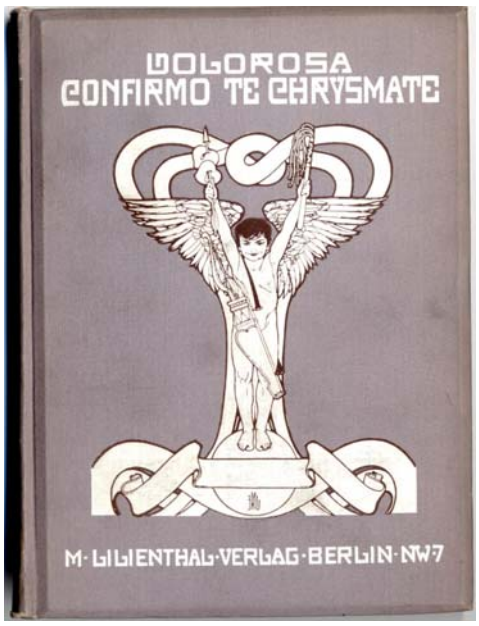
4

Wogte in ihm ein Erinnerungsbild an jene Zeiten, die er gleichfalls kannte und miterlebt hatte, wo dieses Alles so ganz anders war, so vorortlich-primitiv, mit simplen Volksgärten und bedächtig vorüberrumpelnden Kremsern, mit sich dehnenden Blachfeldern und fern aufragenden Fabrikschloten? Gedachte er längst verlebter Stunden mit Freunden, witzreichen und schwärmenden, die nun bereits die Erde deckte? Schwanke Träume schienen ihn leise zu bewegen... Still wollte ich vorübergehen... Da traf mich sein Blick. Anfangs wie der eines Unbekannten, dann sich freundlich erhellend zu leutseligem Gruss. Und doch auch dies wie traumverloren. Ich fühlte mich seltsam bewegt. Rasch schritt ich vorüber, obgleich ich am liebsten auf ihn zugeeilt wäre und ihm die Hände geküsst hätte. Aber ich konnte nicht. Wie ein Frevel wäre es mir erschienen, dieses webende innere Leben zu stören. Gewiss war ich nur wie eine Erscheinung an ihm vorbeigeglitten. Gleich darauf bewegten ihn wieder Bilder und Träume, Gegenwärtiges, Vergangenes... Zukünftiges.

5

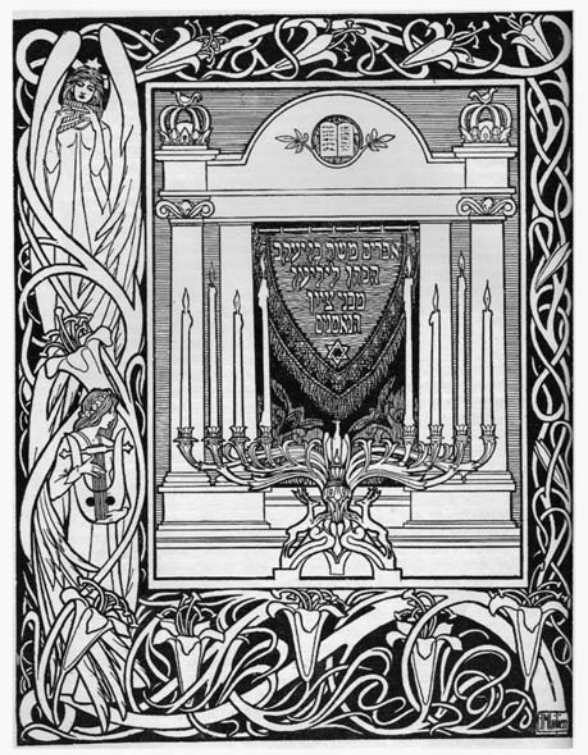
Lilien. Pages 3-4 of Franz Servaes, *Fontane* (Berlin: Schuster, 1900) [Separate publication, with page decoration by Lilien of article by Servaes in *Pan,* vol. 5 (1900), pp. 153-160].

Lilien. Vignette for postcard of artistic and literary group “Die Kommenden”



Lilien. Cover for poems by “Dolorosa” (Berlin: M. Lilienthal, 1903).

Lilien. Cover for Börries von Münchhausen, *Juda* (Goslar: F.A. Lattmann, 1900).



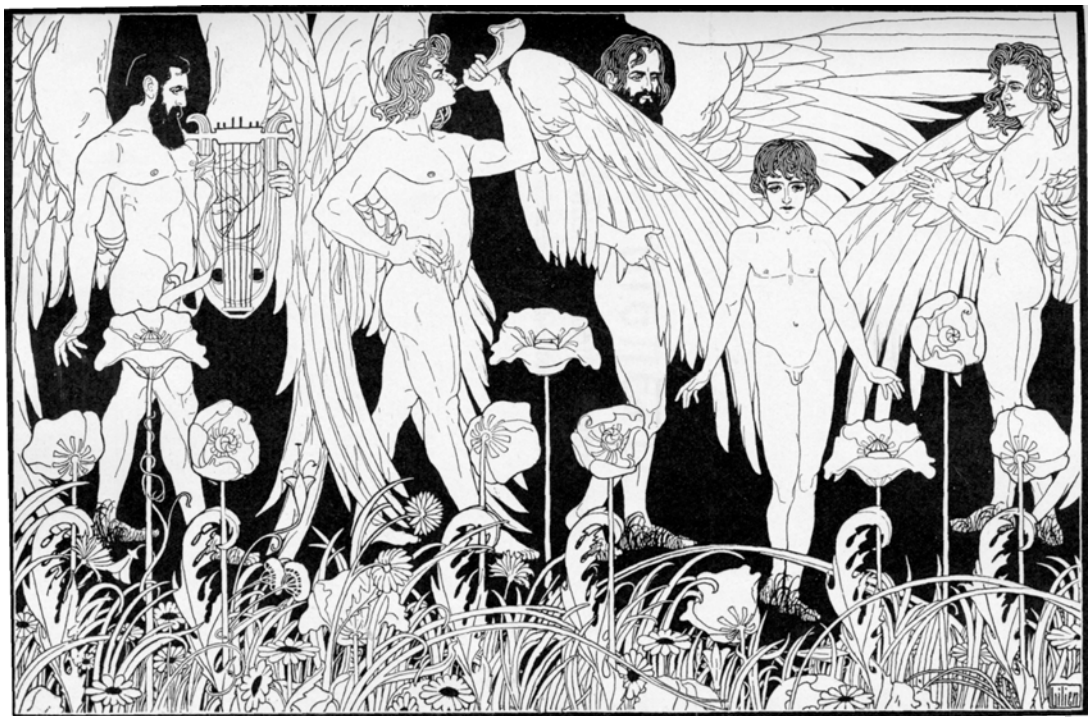
Lilien. Dedication page of *Juda.*

Lilien. Das stille Lied, from *Juda.*

Lilien. Sehnsuchtslied, from *Juda.*

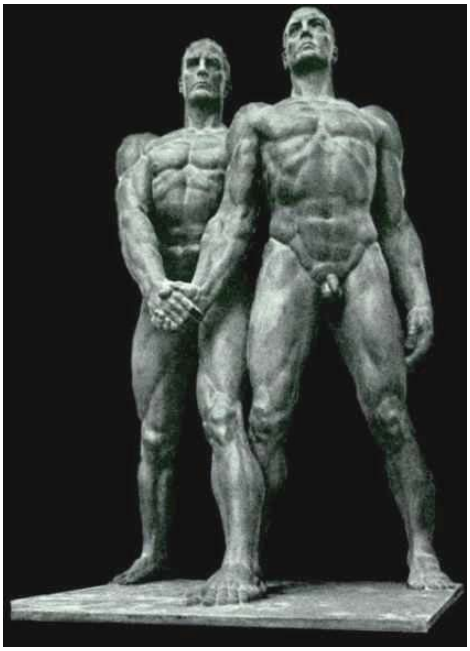
Lilien. Passah, from *Juda.*

Pp. 40-42



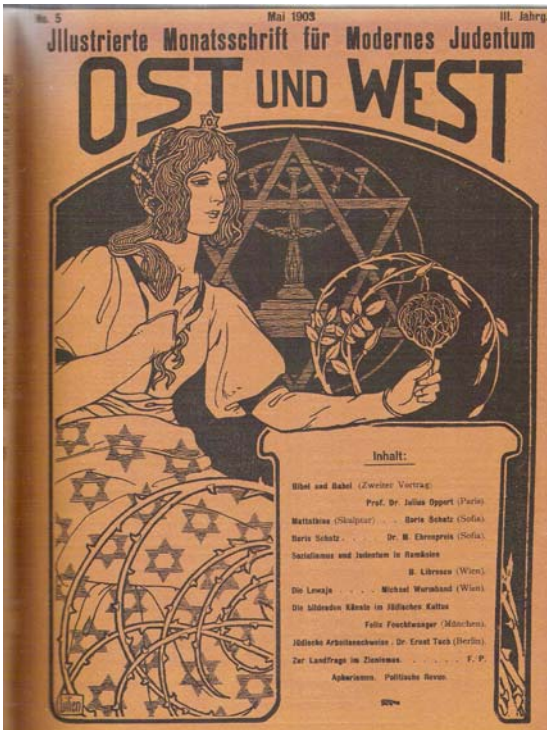
Lilien. “Die Erschaffung des Menschen” (The Creation of Man), from *Lieder des Ghetto* (Berlin: H. Seemann, 1902). The facial features of the figure on the extreme left recall those of Herzl.

Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel*, vol. 1 (Braunschweig, Westermann, 1908).



Josef Thorak. “Kameradschaft.” (1936-37)

Lilien. Cover design for new monthly magazine of Ha'am and "cultural Zionists." May, 1903.



Lilien. Delegates' card for Fifth Zionist Congress, Basel, 1901.

Pp. 51-55.

Haggadah, Prague, 1526

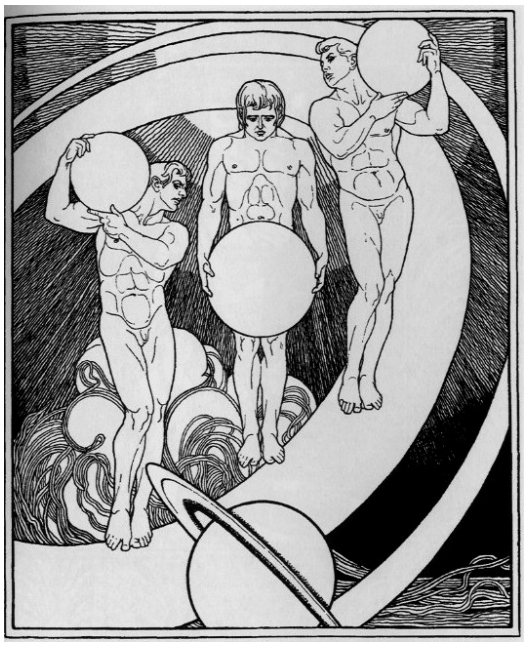
Pinkas of Torah Study Society.
Kopechinets (Western Ukraine), 1889

19th Century Mizrach, Volhonya Province (Russia), not far from Lilien's birthplace in Drohobycz

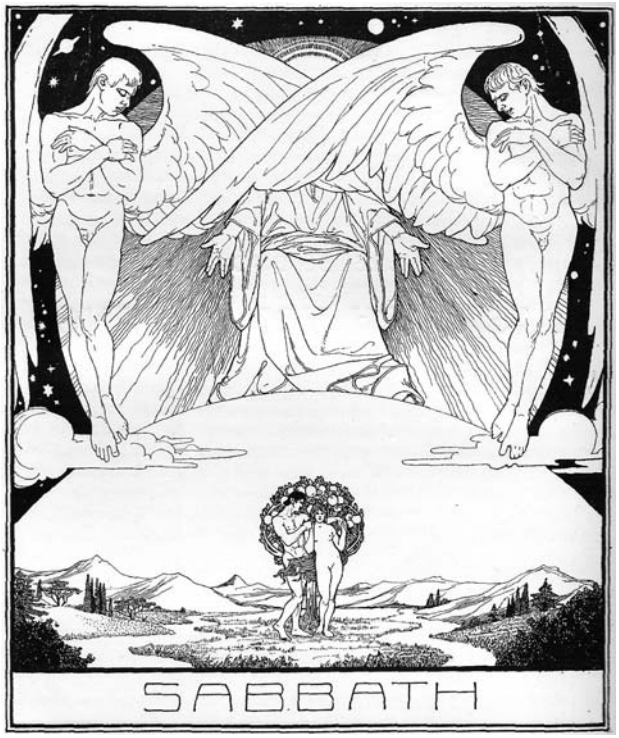
Fidus. Title page of magazine *Deutsche Volksstimme*, 1905.

Lilien, Der Jüdische Mai, in *Lieder des Ghetto* (1902), pp. 92-93

Lilien. Ex-Libris plate for Stefan Zweig.

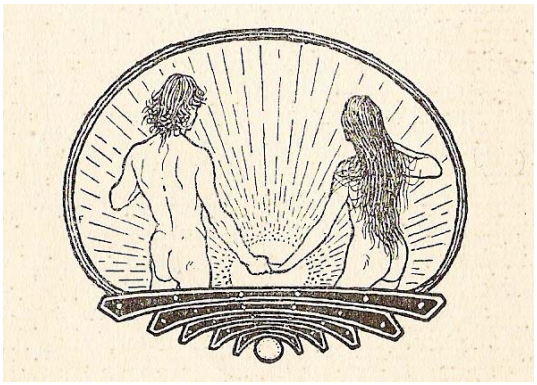


Lilien. Illustration for *Bücher der Bibel*, vol 6 (1912), ch. 37.

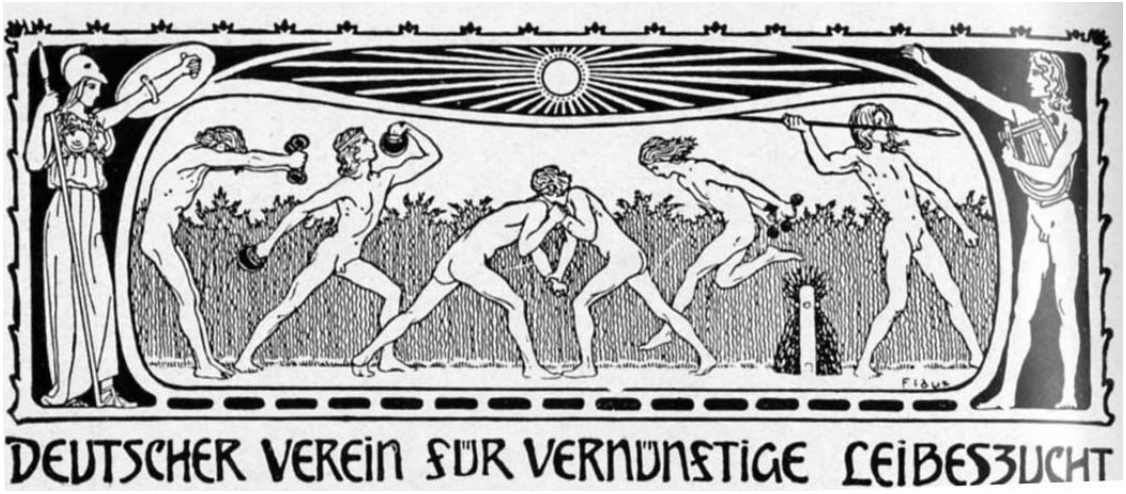


Lilien. Illustration for *Bücher der Bibel*, vol 1 (1908), p. 30

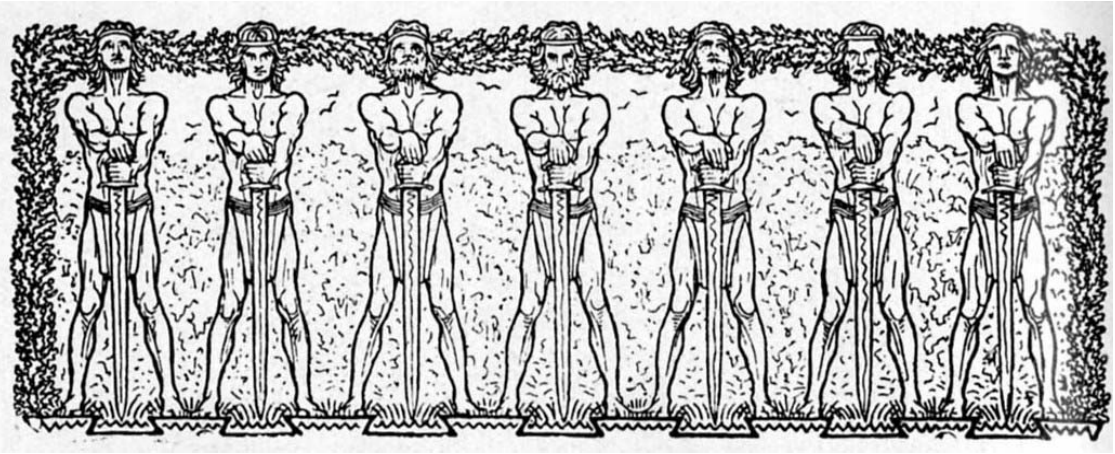
Fidus. Sticker for Jugendheim Klein Graupa (1919)



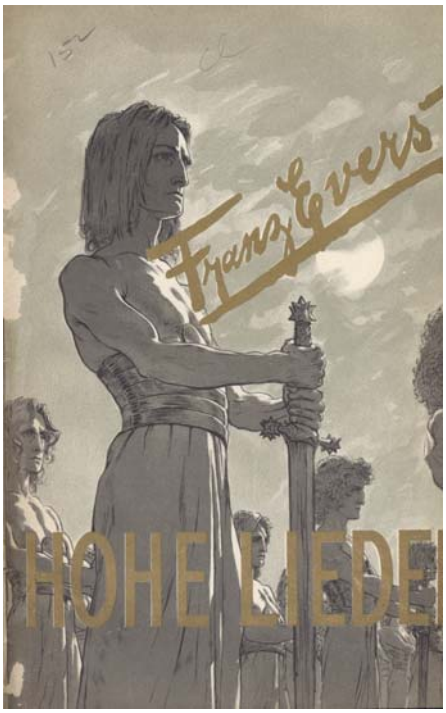
Fidus. Vignettes in Evers, *Fundamente* (1893) and Henckel, *Neues Leben* (1900)



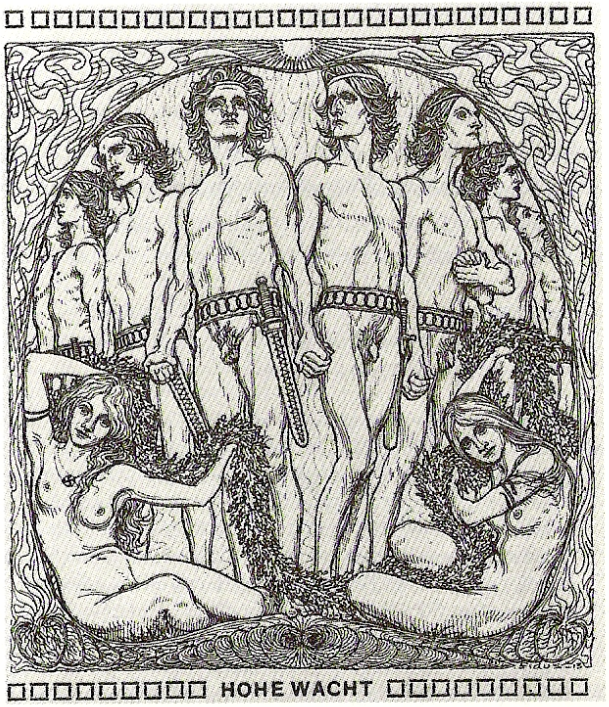
Fidus. Decoration for stationary of health association (1902)



Fidus. Nibelungen, from *Germanen-Bibel* (1919)



Fidus. Cover for Evers, *Hohe Lieder* (1896)



Fidus. Hohe Wacht (1913)

Fidus. Schwertwache (1912).

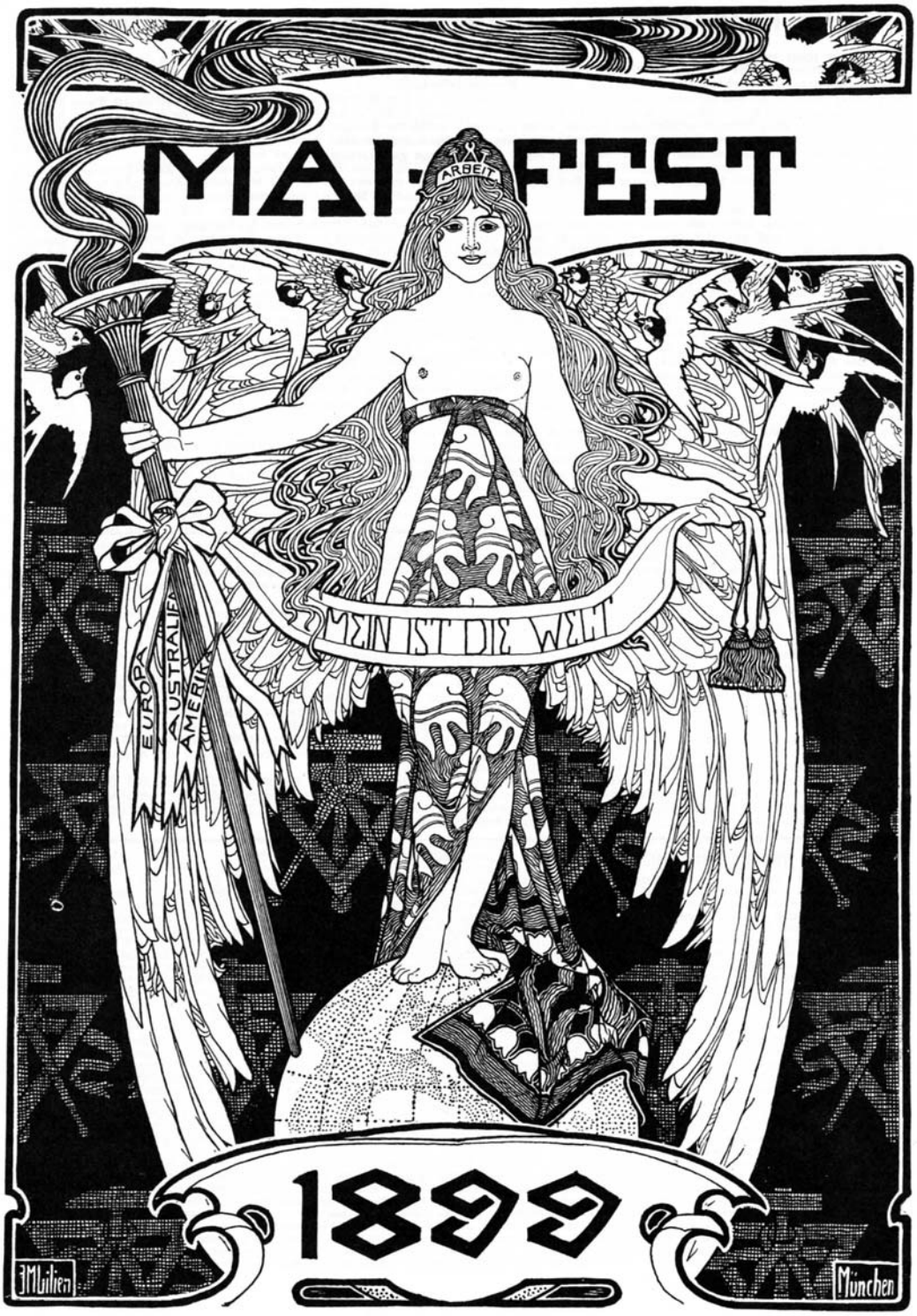
Lilien, Rahab, the woman of Jericho, from *Juda.*

Lilien. Personal ex-libris plate.

Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel*, vol 1, p. 490

Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel*, vol 1, pp. 40-41. The facial features of the figure in the left-hand page again evoke those of Herzl.

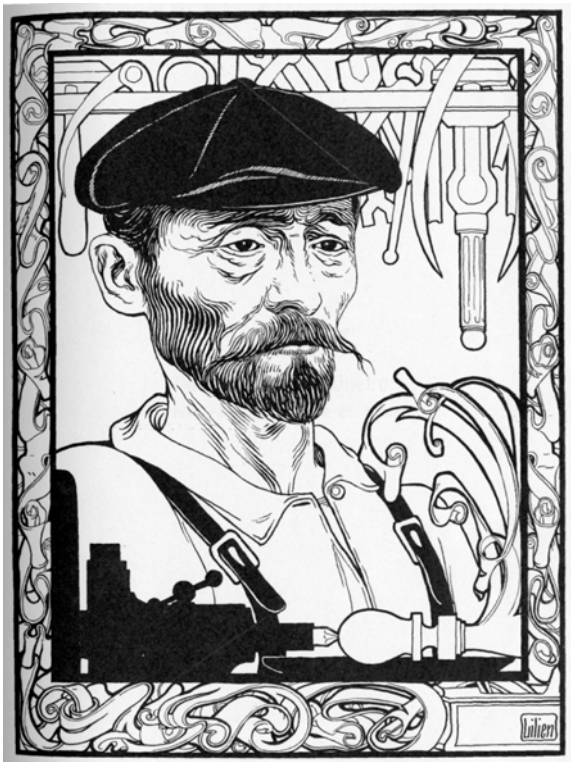
Ex-libris plate for Richard Fischer (c. 1900). Reproduced in *Ost und West*, 1 (July, 1901), col. 525-526



Lilien. Front page of *Mai-Festzeitung* (May Day Newspaper) for the year 1899. From *Zum Lichte empor*, ed. Udo Achten (Berlin: Dietz, 1980).

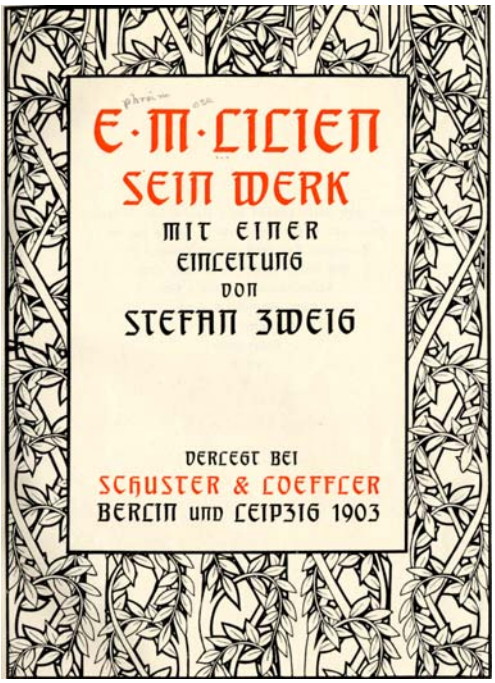
Inside double page of 1899 *Mai-Festzeitung*. Böcklin's *Die Freiheit* (1891), celebrating 600th anniversary of Swiss Confederation (now in Nationalgalerie Berlin), in a frame by Lilien depicting solidarity of Art and Labor.

Pp. 60-69



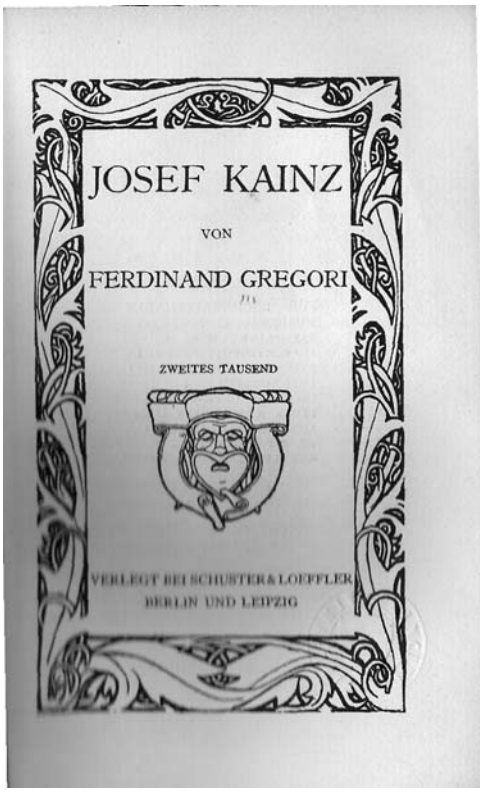
Lilien. Opening illustration of section “Lieder der Arbeit” in M. Rosenfeld, *Lieder des Ghetto*, trans.B. Feiwel (1902)

Lilien. Emigrant ship in a storm. Illustration in *Lieder des Ghetto* (1902)



Lilien. Binding and title page of *E.M. Lilien. Sein Werk*, Introduction by Sefan Zweig (1903).

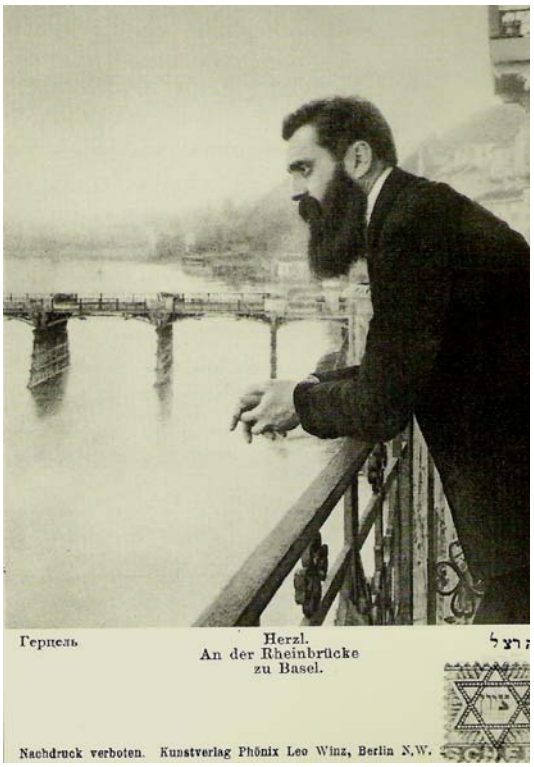
Lilien. Ttile pages from *Gedichte von Gabriele d'Annunzio. In Nachdichtung von Else Schenkl. Mit Zeichnungen von E.M. Lilien* (1904).



Lilien. Design for Schuster & Loeffler's theatre series.

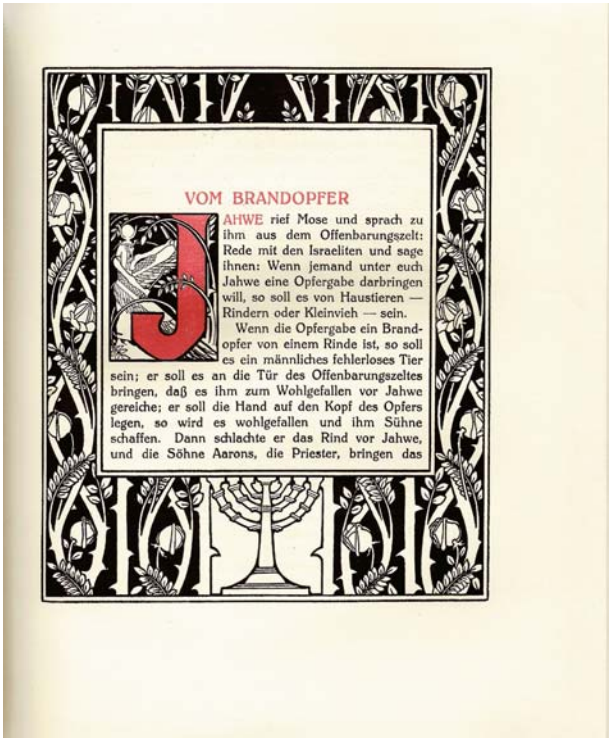
Lilien. Letterhead for A. Fischl Photographic company, Berlin.

Lilien. Advertisement for the Samoa Rubber Company (1905).



Lilien. Postcard based on photograph of Herzl.

Lilien. Title-page for Gorki's *Sbornik.*



Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel*, vol. 1 (1908), left title page and sample page 249.

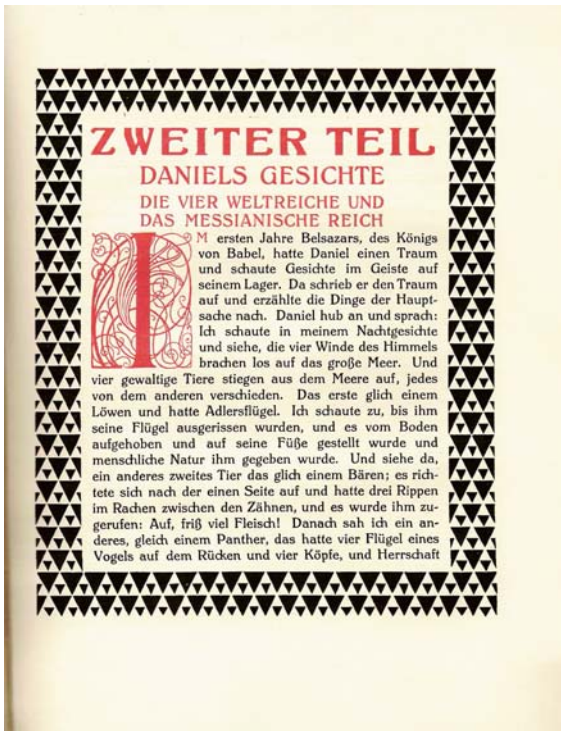
286 DIE EINHEIT DER OPFERSTÄTTE 3. Buch Mose Kap. XVII. 1—7

DAS HEILIGKEITSGESETZ

DIE EINHEIT DER OPFERSTÄTTE

JAHWE redete mit Mose und sprach: Rede mit Aaron und seinen Söhnen und mit allen Israeliten und sage ihnen: Das ist's, was Jahwe befiehlt: Jedem Israeliten, der ein Rind oder ein Schaf oder eine Ziege schlachtet, sei es im Lager oder außerhalb des Lagers, und es nicht zu dem Offenbarungszelt bringt, um davon Jahwe vor seiner Wohnung eine Gabe darzubringen, dem soll es als Blutschuld angerechnet werden: er hat Blut vergossen und soll aus der Gemeinde ausgerottet werden. Das ist, damit die Israeliten die Schlachtopfer, die sie auf freiem Felde zu schlachten pflegen, vor Jahwe an den Eingang des Offenbarungszeltes zum Priester bringen und sie als Mahlopfer Jahwe schlachten. Der Priester aber soll das Blut an den Altar sprengen am Eingang des Zeltes und das Fett in Rauch aufgehen lassen, Jahwe zum lieblichen Geruch. Auch sollen sie ihre Opfer nicht mehr den Dämonen schlachten, die sie verehren. Das soll eine ewige Satzung sein für ihre künftigen Geschlechter.

Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel*, vol. 1, p. 286.



ZWEITER TEIL

DANIELS GESICHTE

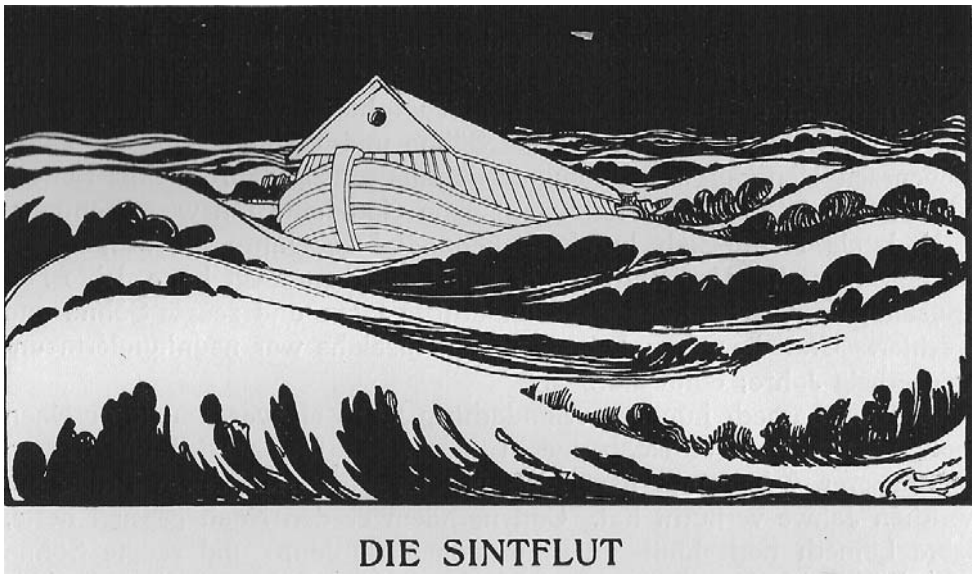
DIE VIER WELTREICHE UND DAS MESSIANISCHE REICH

IM ersten Jahre Belsazars, des Königs von Babel, hatte Daniel einen Traum und schaute Gesichte im Geiste auf seinem Lager. Da schrieb er den Traum auf und erzählte die Dinge der Hauptsache nach. Daniel hub an und sprach: Ich schaute in meinem Nachtgesichte und siehe, die vier Winde des Himmels brachen los auf das große Meer. Und vier gewaltige Tiere stiegen aus dem Meere auf, jedes von dem anderen verschieden. Das erste glich einem Löwen und hatte Adlersflügel. Ich schaute zu, bis ihm seine Flügel ausgerissen wurden, und es vom Boden aufgehoben und auf seine Füße gestellt wurde und menschliche Natur ihm gegeben wurde. Und siehe da, ein anderes zweites Tier das glich einem Bären; es richtete sich nach der einen Seite auf und hatte drei Rippen im Rachen zwischen den Zähnen, und es wurde ihm zugerufen: Auf, friß viel Fleisch! Danach sah ich ein anderes, gleich einem Panther, das hatte vier Flügel eines Vogels auf dem Rücken und vier Köpfe, und Herrschaft

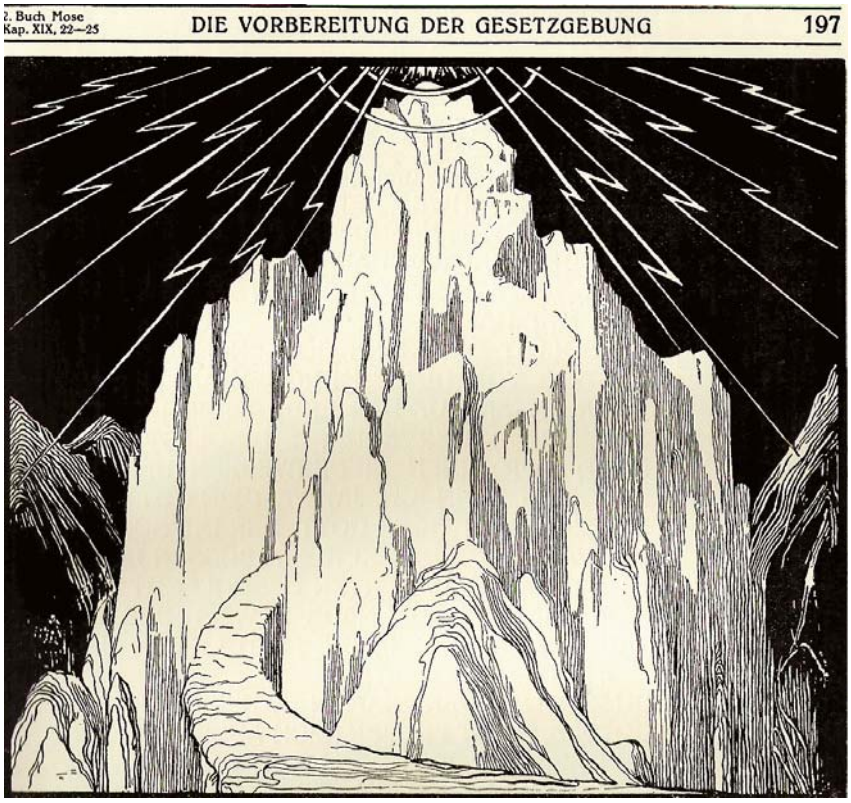
Lilien.*Bücher der Bibel*, vol. 7, p. 285.

Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel,* vol. 1, ch. 2. Adam and Eve.

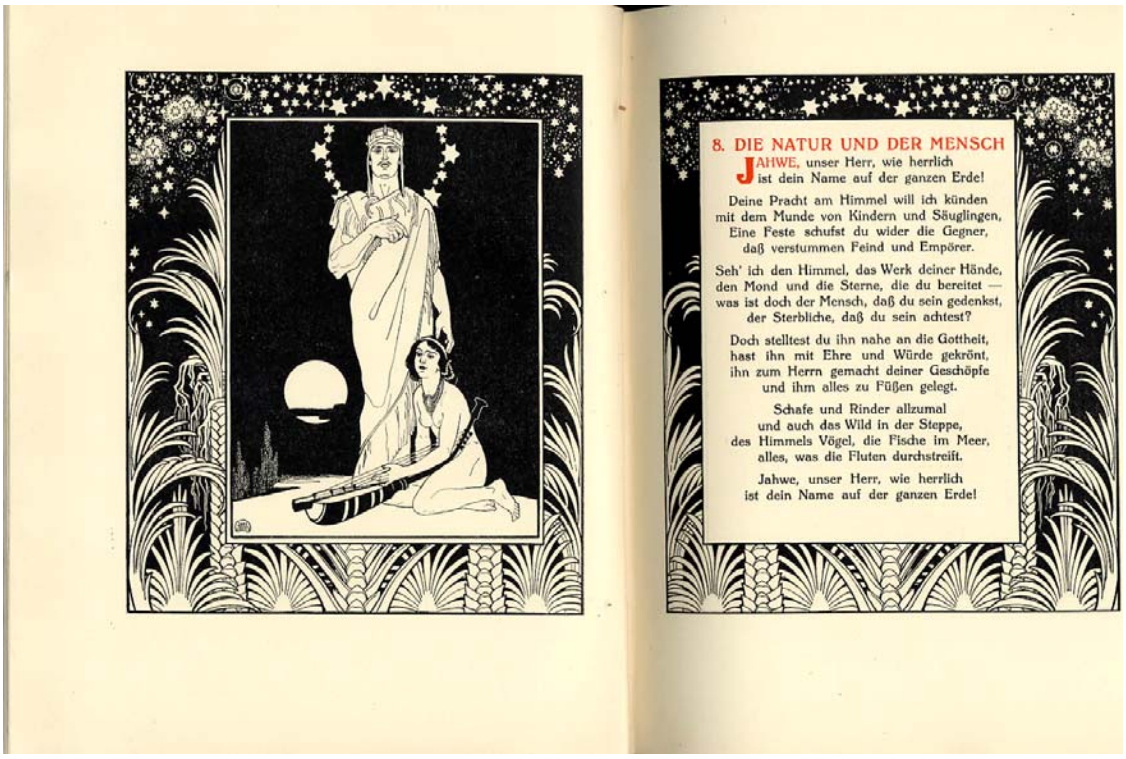
Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel*, vol.1, p. 52. The Flood.,



Lilien. *Bücher der* Bibel, vol.1, p. 48. The Flood



Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel,* Vol. 1, p. 197. Mt. Sinai.



8. DIE NATUR UND DER MENSCH

JAHWE, unser Herr, wie herrlich
ist dein Name auf der ganzen Erde!

Deine Pracht am Himmel will ich künden
mit dem Munde von Kindern und Säuglingen,
Eine Feste schufst du wider die Gegner,
daß verstummen Feind und Empörer.

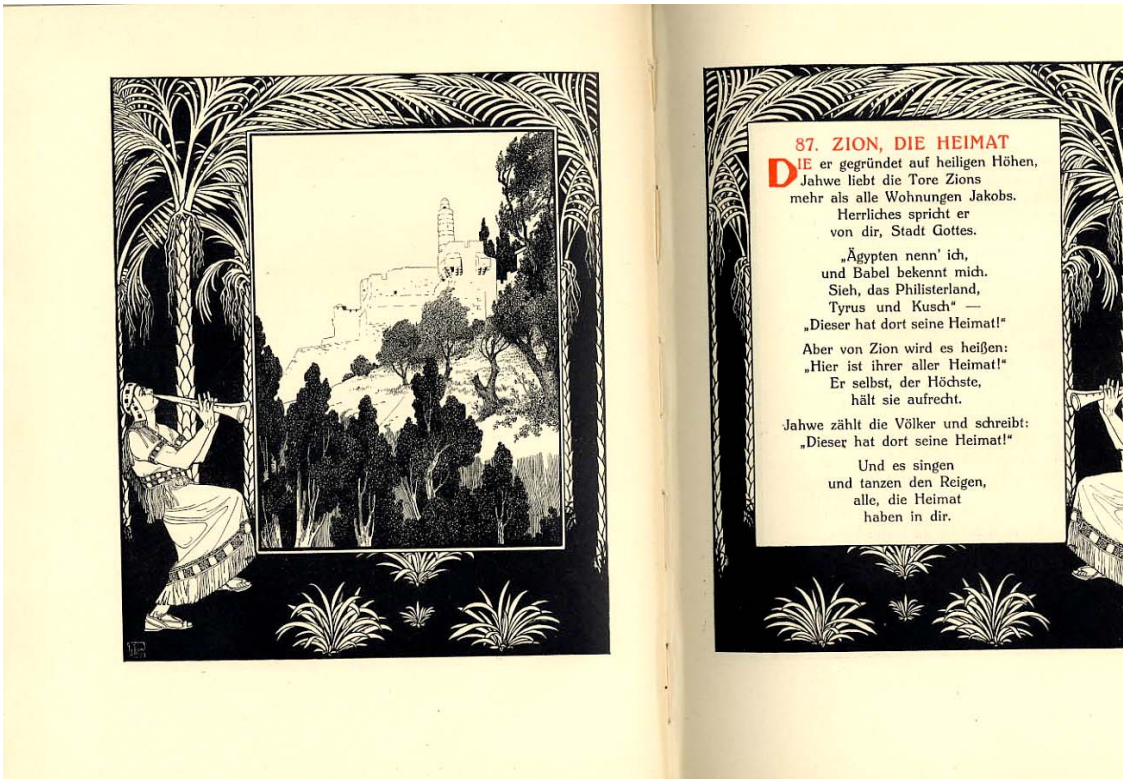
Seh' ich den Himmel, das Werk deiner Hände,
den Mond und die Sterne, die du bereitet —
was ist doch der Mensch, daß du sein gedenkst,
der Sterbliche, daß du sein achtest?

Doch stelltest du ihn nahe an die Gottheit,
hast ihn mit Ehre und Würde gekrönt,
ihn zum Herrn gemacht deiner Geschöpfe
und ihm alles zu Füßen gelegt.

Schafe und Rinder allzumal
und auch das Wild in der Steppe,
des Himmels Vögel, die Fische im Meer,
alles, was die Fluten durchstreift.

Jahwe, unser Herr, wie herrlich
ist dein Name auf der ganzen Erde!

Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel,* Vol.6, pp. 30-31.



87. ZION, DIE HEIMAT

DIE er gegründet auf heiligen Höhen,
Jahwe liebt die Tore Zions
mehr als alle Wohnungen Jakobs.
Herrliches spricht er
von dir, Stadt Gottes.

„Ägypten nenn' ich,
und Babel bekennt mich.
Sieh, das Philisterland,
Tyrus und Kusch" —
„Dieser hat dort seine Heimat!"

Aber von Zion wird es heißen:
„Hier ist ihrer aller Heimat!"
Er selbst, der Höchste,
hält sie aufrecht.

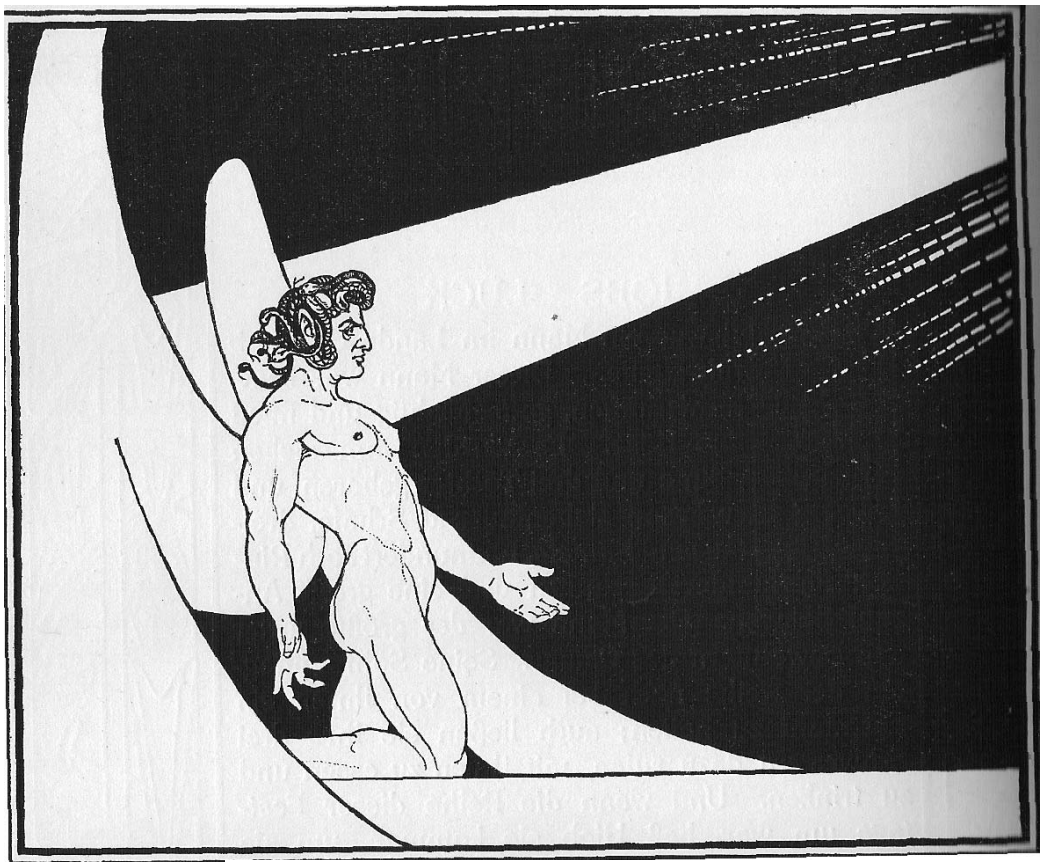
Jahwe zählt die Völker und schreibt:
„Dieser hat dort seine Heimat!"

Und es singen
und tanzen den Reigen,
alle, die Heimat
haben in dir.

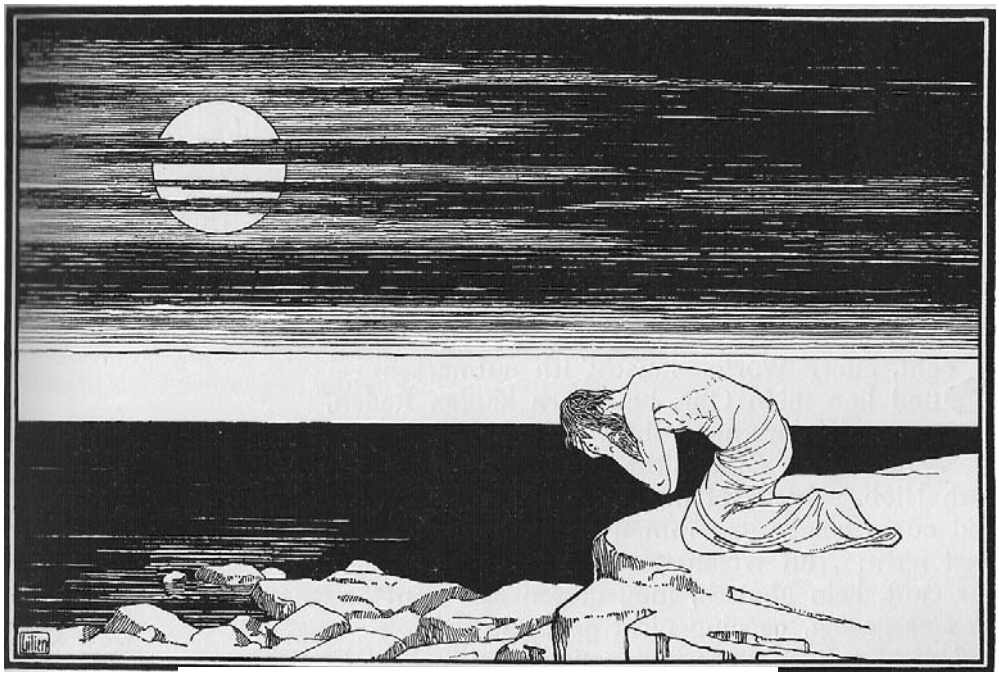
Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel*, vol. 6, pp. 168-69. Psalms.

Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel, v*ol. 6, p. 318. Song of Songs (left); vol. 7, first title page (right).

Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel, v*ol. 7, p. 21. Psalms.

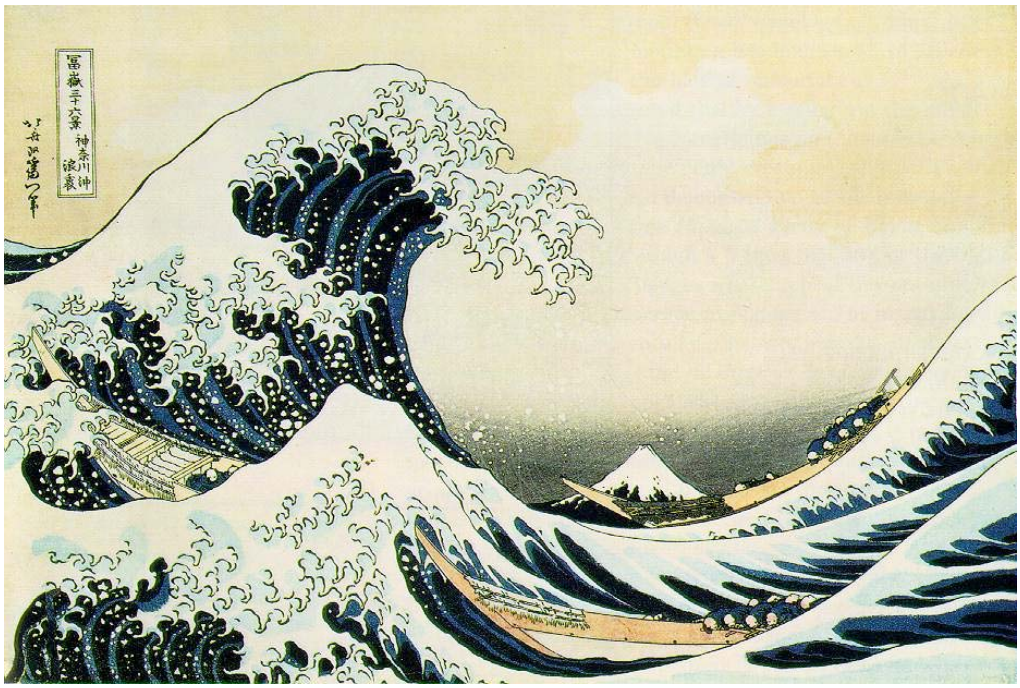


Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel,* vol. 7, p. 92. Job.



Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel,* vol. 7, p. 145. Job.

Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel,* vol. 7, p. 222. Jonah.



Hokusai. Great Wave at Kawagana (1823-29)

Pp. 73-77.

Lilien. Bokharan Children. Photo, 1906-1918.Tel Aviv Museum of Art, TAMA-93

Lilien. Woman, girl, and baby. Photo, 1906-1918. Tel Aviv Museum of Art, TAMA-266

Lilien. Figures in an alley. Photo, 1906-1918. Tel Aviv Museum of Art TAMA-265

Lilien. Conversation. Photo, 1906-1918. Tel Aviv Museum of Art, TAMA- 252.

Lilien. Old Woman. Photo, 1906-1918. Tel Aviv Museum of Art, TAMA-240.

Bilder von einer künstlerischen Studienreise nach Jerusalem. Araberkopf.

und seelisch. Die in Palästina geborene und heranwachsende Generation ist ein kräftiger, gesunder Menschenschlag, der nicht mehr im dumpfen Fanatismus seine Tage hinbringt, sondern in ernster und emsiger Tätigkeit und Sorge ums tägliche Brot. Allmählich lernen es die europäischen Juden, sich mit ihren asiatischen Glaubensbrüdern zu gesellen. Diese sind der Typus eines schönen, harmonisch gewachsenen Menschen. Ihre Stirnen sind hoch und gewölbt, ihre Augen stolz und frei blickend. Sie haben keine gebogenen und langen Nasen, sondern breite und gerade verlaufende, wie man sie bei Juden sonst nicht vermutet. Ueberhaupt ist der asiatische Jude, wie schon der levantinische von großer Körperschönheit. Sein Gang ist anmutig und leicht, er wiegt sich in federnden, elastischen Gelenken, und die Gewandtheit, mit der er auch die schwerste Körperarbeit bewältigt, ist jedem Künstlerauge eine helle Freude. Der Berliner Maler E. M. Lilien, der vor kurzem von einer längeren Studienreise zurückgekehrt ist, beweist durch die mitgebrachten Photographien, daß er in seinen Zeichnungen und Bildern Land und Leute nicht nur durch seine Sympathie zu ihnen gesehen, sondern völlig unparteiisch schildert. Die Frauen dieser Juden tragen sich vornehm

Typus eines Arabers aus Jerusalem.

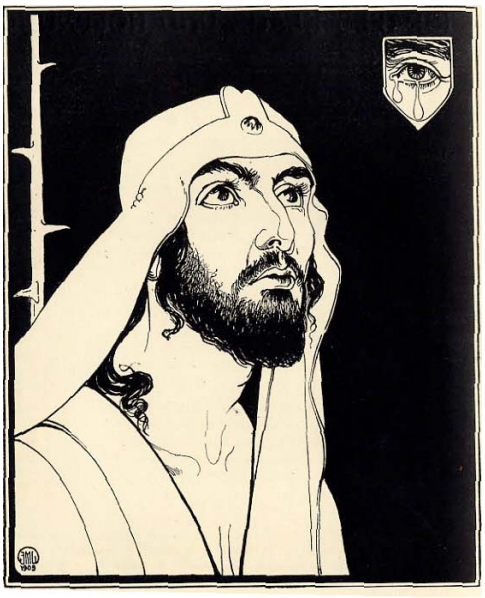
vier Jahren in Hamburg eine Gartenbauausstellung veranstaltet wurde, erhielten die Früchte der jüdischen Gärtner aus Palästina den ersten Preis. Man muß die Angehörigen der Rasse sehen, der mit Unrecht nachgesagt wird, daß sie zum Ackerbau nicht tauge, um zu begreifen, wie gut Palästina in ihrer sorgsamen Hut aufgehoben ist. Sie sind nicht mehr die Gedrückten und Verzweifelten, die sie in Europa waren, die kränklichen, teilweise verkrüppelten Menschen, denen das Mitleid aller empfindsamen Gemüter galt. Sie atmen auf, sie leben auf, sie entwickeln sich körperlich

und züchtig, gehen aber im Gegensatze zu den Mohammedanerinnen mit unverhülltem Antlitz. Herren in Palästina und in Jerusalem sind die Untertanen des Sultans. Aber sie tun nichts, ihr Regiment angesehen und beliebt zu machen. Sie tragen die Schuld, wenn Krankheiten in der Hauptstadt wüten, wenn die Wasserleitungen, die noch in vorchristlicher Zeit mit großer Kunst angelegt sind, zerfallen, wenn Jerusalem sein Trinkwasser aus ärmlichen, schmutzigen Zisternen beschaffen muß und es eine Plage ist, die unangenehmen Düfte der Bevölkerung über sich ergehen zu lassen. Der Halbmond regiert.

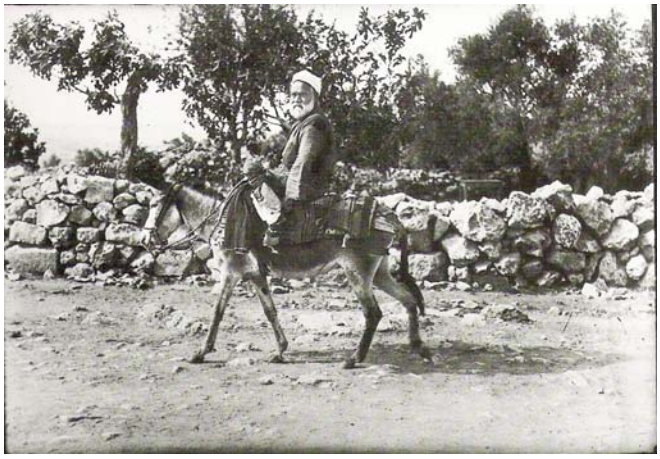
Buchara-Juden in Jerusalem.

Lilien. Article on journey to Jerusalem in *Berliner Illustrierte*, 1906

Lilien. Photo of young Samaritan, 1906.

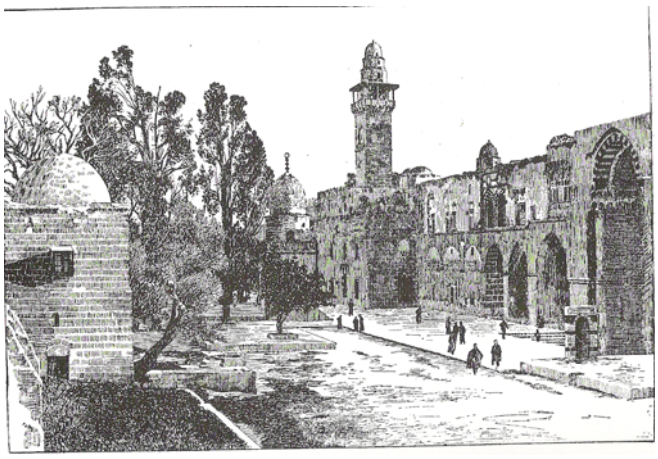


Lilien. Bücher der Bibel, vol 6, p. 50.

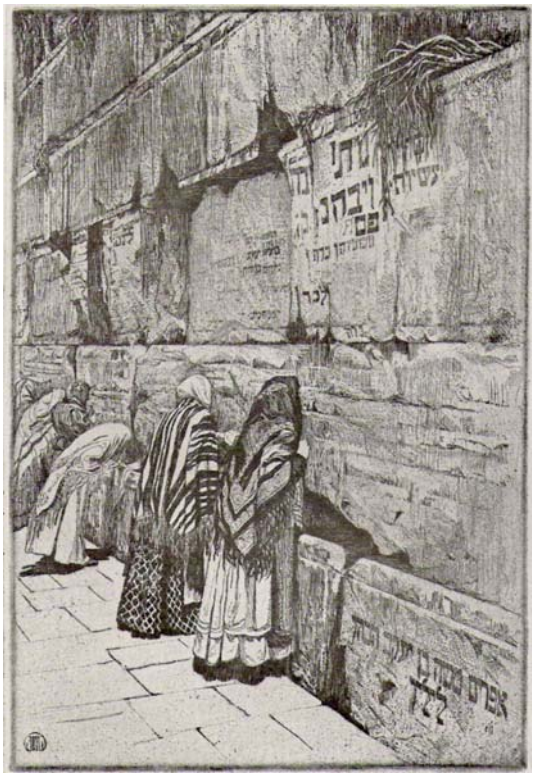


Lilien. Photo of Arab riding a donkey, 1906. .

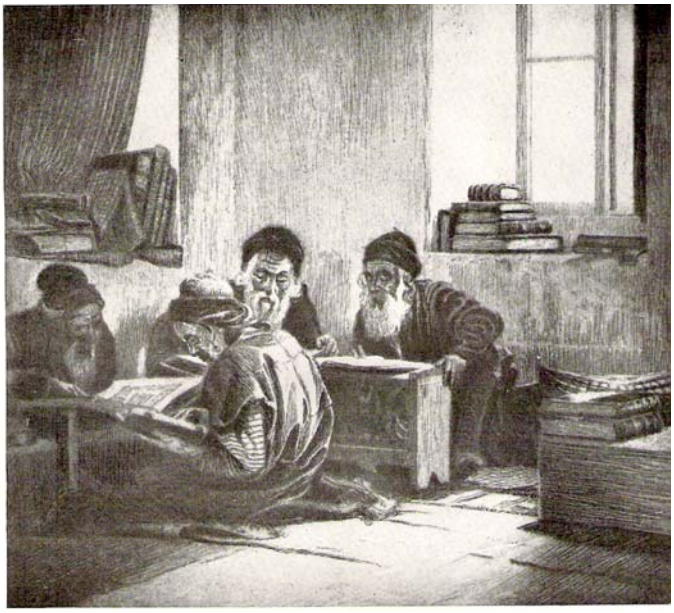
Bücher der Bibel, vol. 1, p. 372.



Lilien. Photograph (1906) and etching of Temple Mount (1912)



Lilien. Women at the Wailing Wall. Etching (1913-22)



Lilien. The Talmud Reader. Etching (1915-22)

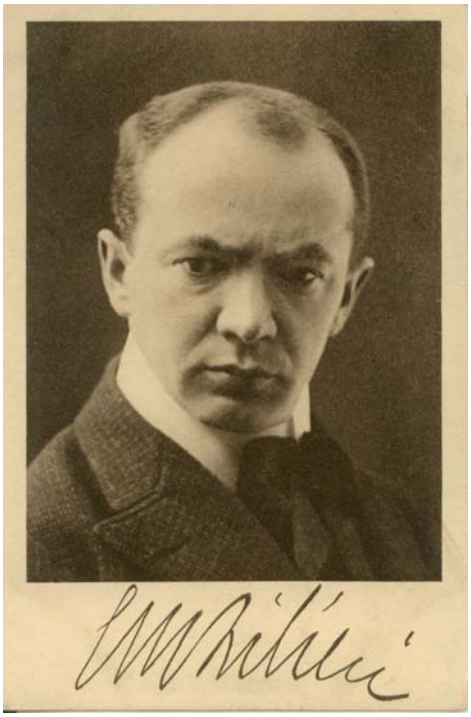
Lilien. Jerusalem. Etching (1914-22)

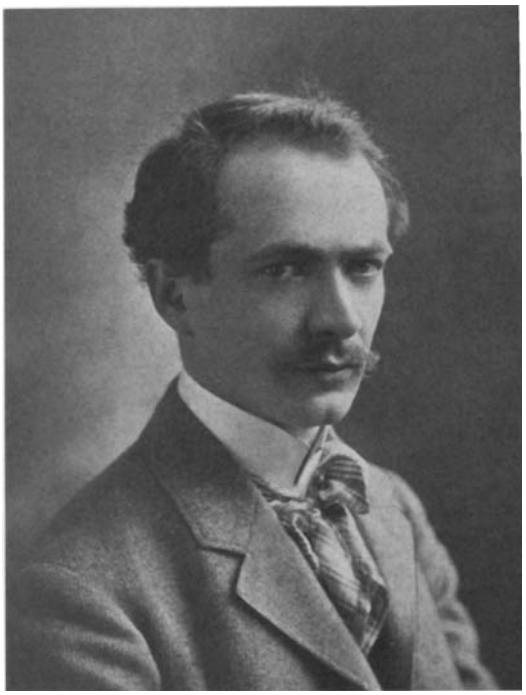
Lilien. Woolmarket, Braunschweig (1922)

Käthe Kolwitz. Whetting the Scythe.
From Bauernkrieg (1905)

Otto Dix. The Disdainers of Death.
From *Zirkus* (1922)

Photographic portraits of Lilien.





Top Left. From a popular postcard.

Top Right. Lilien in his studio, Grossbeerenstrasse, Berlin, from *Ost und West*, July 1901, col. 527-528

Bottom Left, from Edgar A. Regener, *E.M. Lilien* (1905)

Jüdischer Verlag, 1902. Back row (l. to r.): Lilien, Weizmann, Trietsch. Front row: Feiwel, Buber. Courtesy of Antiquariaat Lilien, Maastricht, Netherlands.

Lilien with Helene in their apartment in Berlin, 1918