

LYNNE M. SWARTS



GENDER, ORIENTALISM
AND THE JEWISH NATION

*Women in the Work of Ephraim Moses Lilien
at the German Fin de Siècle*



BLOOMSBURY

Gender, Orientalism and the Jewish Nation

Gender, Orientalism and the
Jewish Nation

Women in the Work of Ephraim Moses
Lilien at the German *Fin de Siècle*

Lynne M. Swarts

BLOOMSBURY VISUAL ARTS
NEW YORK • LONDON • OXFORD • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY

BLOOMSBURY VISUAL ARTS
Bloomsbury Publishing Inc
1385 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA
50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK

BLOOMSBURY, BLOOMSBURY VISUAL ARTS and the Diana
logo are trademarks of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published in the United States of America 2020

Copyright © Lynne M. Swarts, 2020

For legal purposes the Acknowledgements on p. xxv constitute an
extension of this copyright page.

Cover design by Maria Rajka

Cover illustrations by E.M. Lilien, from left to right, Ein Garten ist meine Braut (1909);
Harfenspielerin (1903); Das Stille Lied (c. 1900).

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted
in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying,
recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior
permission in writing from the publishers.

Bloomsbury Publishing Inc does not have any control over, or responsibility for,
any third-party websites referred to or in this book. All internet addresses given
in this book were correct at the time of going to press. The author and publisher
regret any inconvenience caused if addresses have changed or sites have
ceased to exist, but can accept no responsibility for any such changes.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Swarts, Lynne M., author.

Title: Gender, orientalism and the Jewish nation at the German fin de siècle:
women in the art of Ephraim Moses Lilien/ Lynne M. Swarts.

Description: New York : Bloomsbury Visual Arts, [2019] |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019026349 (print) | LCCN 2019026350 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781501336140 (hardback) | ISBN 9781501336157 (epub) |

ISBN 9781501336164 (pdf)

Subjects: LCSH: Lilien, Ephraim Moses, 1874–1925—Criticism and interpretation.

| Women in art. | Femininity in art. | Orientalism in art. |

Art and society—Germany—History—19th century.

| Art and society—Germany—History—20th century.

Classification: LCC N6888.L48 S93 2019 (print) | LCC N6888.L48

(ebook) | DDC 700/.4522—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019026349>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019026350>

ISBN: HB: 978-1-5013-3614-0

ePDF: 978-1-5013-3616-4

eBook: 978-1-5013-3615-7

Typeset by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

To find out more about our authors and books visit www.bloomsbury.com
and sign up for our newsletters.

*Dedicated to the memory of my grandmothers
Rachael Marks (née Rabinowich) (z"l) and Elizabeth Swarts (née Cohen) (z"l)*

Contents

List of Figures	viii
List of Plates	xx
Foreword	xxiii
Acknowledgements	xxv
List of Abbreviations	xxvii
Biographical Timeline: Ephraim Moses Lilien and His Family	xxviii
Introduction	1
1 'We Put All Our Hope in Him': Ephraim Moses Lilien and His Oeuvre	15
2 'No Longer Art Speaking but Culture': Lilien, Zionism, and Male Aesthetics	35
3 Boundaries and Borderlines: The 'New Woman' and the New Jewish Woman	69
4 The Dangerous 'Other': Lilien's Jewish <i>Femmes Fatales</i> , Other Male Avant-garde Behaviour, and Else Lasker-Schüler's Transgendered Vision	103
5 Biblical Illustrations, Biblical Heroines, and the Search for Meaning	137
6 <i>Ost und West</i> , Zionism, and the Construction of German Jewish Orientalism	189
7 The Exotic 'Other': Lilien's Oriental Beauties and a Jewish Oriental Voice?	233
Conclusions	267
Appendix A	275
Appendix B	277
Appendix C	279
Appendix D	283
A Note on Sources	284
Bibliography	288
Index	320

List of Figures

- BT.1 Grave of Helene and Ephraim Moses Lilien, Braunschweig (Brunswick).
Reproduced from a photograph. Courtesy of Owen Watkinson, 2018. xxxi
- BT.2 The Magnus-Lilien home at 3 Wolfenbütteler Straße 3, Braunschweig
(Brunswick). Reproduced from a photograph. Courtesy of the Centre
for Jewish Art, Braunschweig. xxxii
- BT.3 E. M. Lilien, The Magnus-Lilien home at 3 Wolfenbütteler Straße 3,
Braunschweig (Brunswick), 1913, etching, P74.09.2500. Collection The
Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by
Laura Lachman. xxxiii
- I.1 E. M. Lilien, Logo of Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, c. 1906, ink
and gouache on cardboard, B03496. Collection The Israel Museum,
Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Peter Lanyi. 3
- I.2 Israeli stamps from 1977, commemorating Lilien's art from the Fifth
Zionist Congress of 1905. <http://www.boeliem.com/content/1977/209.html>,
accessed 5 September 2009. Courtesy of Boelim Stamps, Israel. 4
- I.3 Book cover, Yaron Peleg, *Orientalism and the Hebrew Imagination*
(Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005). Courtesy of
Cornell University Press. 5
- I.4 E. M. Lilien, *Abraham's descendants will be like the stars* (Genesis 15). In
The Family Participation Haggadah, ed. David Dishon and Noam Zion
(Jerusalem: The Shalom Hartman Institute, 1977), 77. Courtesy of the
Shalom Hartman Institute. 5
- I.5 Broken Fingaz Graffiti Collective, *Homage to E. M. Lilien*, Kazimierz,
Kraków, 2014. Photograph by author. 6
- I.1 E. M. Lilien, *Selbstoportrait* (Self-Portrait) with *Vom Ghetto nach Zion*
in background, 1912. Oz Almog, Gerhard Milchram, and Erwin A.
Schmidl, *E. M. Lilien, Jugendstil, Erotik, Zionismus* [eine Ausstellung
des Jüdischen Museums der Stadt Wien, 21 Oktober, 1998 bis 10 Jänner,
1999 und des Braunschweigischen Landesmuseums, 21 März bis 23
Mai, 1999] (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 1998), 21. Photograph by I. Simon.
Courtesy of the Braunschweig Landesmuseums. 16

- 1.2 Photograph of Ephraim Moses Lilien at his desk, 1902. Probably from the German Jewish Press. From the Schwadron Portrait Collection. No. 002780928. Courtesy of the National Library, Jerusalem. 16
- 1.3 E. M. Lilien, *Das Stille Lied* (The Silent Song), *Juda*, c. 1900. In Börries von Münchhausen, *Juda, Gesänge Von Börries Freiherrn V. Münchhausen Mit Buchschmuck Von E. M. Lilien* (Berlin: Egon Fleischel and Co., n.d.), n.p. 17
- 2.1 E. M. Lilien, *Market Place at Drohobycz*, 1913, etching, P74.09.2498. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. 38
- 2.2 E. M. Lilien, *Lieder der Arbeit*, 1903. In Morris Rosenfeld, *Lieder des Ghetto*, trans. Berthold Feiwel, with illustrations by Ephraim Moses Lilien (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1903), 25. 39
- 2.3 E. M. Lilien, Theodor Herzl on the balcony of the Three Kings Hotel, Basel, Switzerland, 1901. 42
- 2.4 E. M. Lilien, *Moses Zerbricht die Tafeln* (Moses Breaking the Tablets), *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. I (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1908), 224. 42
- 2.5 E. M. Lilien, *Moses*, 1922. In Lothar Brieger, *E. M. Lilien: Eine Künstlerische Entwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende* (Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Herz, 1922), 81. 43
- 2.6 E. M. Lilien, *Vom Ghetto nach Zion* (From Ghetto to Zion) or *Congresskarte* (Congress Card), 1901, India ink over graphite and white gouache, B51.11.2917. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Elie Posner. 46
- 2.7 Members of the Democratic Fraction (?), at the Fifth Zionist Congress, 1901, Basel. No. 002643746. Courtesy of the National Library, Jerusalem. 48
- 2.8 E. M. Lilien, *Die Erschaffung des Menschen* (The Creation of Mankind) or *Die Erschaffung des Dichters* (The Creation of the Poet), 1903. In Morris Rosenfeld, *Lieder des Ghetto*, trans. Berthold Feiwel, with illustrations by Ephraim Moses Lilien (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1903), 116–17. 50
- 2.9 *L'Antijuiif Francais Illustrè*, September 1898. Exact whereabouts unknown. 51
- 2.10 Postcard for IVRIA, Association of Jewish Academics, Vienna, 1907. Postcard Collection, colour; 94 × 139 mm. No. 004714338. Courtesy of National Library, Jerusalem. 52
- 2.11 *Der Vortrupp* (The Advanced Troops). Cover illustration for *Deutsche Zeitschrift für das Menschentum unserer Zeit* 7, No. 24, 2 December 1919. In George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 96. 53
- 2.12 Phillip Rupprecht, *Money is the God of the Jews*. In Ernst Hiemer, *Der Giftpilz* (The Poisonous Mushroom). (Nuremberg: Verlag Der

- Stürmer, 1938/9), 42. Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2016 by the Katz Family. 54
- 2.13 E. M. Lilien, *Ex Libris E. M. Lilien* [Hebrew], 1909, etching, P74.09.2452. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman. 56
- 2.14 E. M. Lilien, *Sketch for Ex-Libris Dov (Boris) Schatz*, n.d., India ink over graphite and white gouache, P83.04.5534. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. 56
- 2.15 E. M. Lilien, *Die Vertreibung aus dem Paradies* (The Expulsion from Paradise), *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. I (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1908), 40–41. 57
- 3.1 E. M. Lilien, *Plakat für das Berliner Tageblatt* (Poster for the newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt*), 1899. 70
- 3.2 Bruno Paul, *Das Weib vor, hinter und auf dem Rade* (Women before behind and upon the wheel), *Jugend* Vol. 1, No. 21, 23 May 1896, 335. Inv.-Nr. 45740 Z (SGS00027185). Courtesy of the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. Also available at: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/jugend1896_1/0326/image. Courtesy of Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg, Germany, accessed 28 June 2018. 72
- 3.3 Bruno Paul, *Das Brotkörbchen* (The Little Bread Basket). Cover for *Simplicissimus* Vol. 2, No. 35, 27 November 1897, 273. Inv.-Nr. Simpl. 1279 (SGS00025047). Courtesy of the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. Also available at: <http://www.simplicissimus.info/index.php?id=12>. Courtesy of Deutsche Forschungs Gemeinschaft, accessed 28 June 2018. 72
- 3.4 E. M. Lilien, *Lilien, Mein schönstes Fräulein, darf Ich's wagen ...* (My fair young lady, May I dare ...), aus der *Jugend*, Georg Hirt Verlag, n.d. In Lothar Brieger, *E. M. Lilien: Eine Künstlerische Entwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende* (Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Herz, 1922), 44. 76
- 3.5 E. M. Lilien, *Künstlerpostkarte, "Die Kommenden"* (An Art Postcard for "Die Kommenden"), 1899–1900, zincograph, B41.08.1075. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. 77
- 3.6 E. M. Lilien, *Ex Libris Anselm Hartog*, 1899, zincograph, B07122. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. 77
- 3.7 E. M. Lilien, *Ex Libris, des Künstlers*, c. 1898, zincograph, B44.12.1996. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Elie Posner. 78
- 3.8 Aubrey Beardsley, *Suggested Reform in Ballet Costume*, 1895. 79
- 3.9 Aubrey Beardsley, original cover design for *The Yellow Book*, 1895. 80
- 3.10 Alphonse Mucha, poster design for Job cigarette papers, 1896. 81

- 3.11 Alphonse Mucha, poster design for Job cigarette papers, 1894. 82
- 3.12 Gustav Klimt, *Nuda Veritas, Ver Sacrum*, 1898. 82
- 3.13 E. M. Lilien, front page of *Mai-Festzeitung* (May Day Newspaper), 1899. 83
- 3.14 E. M. Lilien, *Helene with Night Crème*, or *Morning Reading*, c. 1909, etching (red), P74.092455. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman. 86
- 3.15 E. M. Lilien, *I Need No Aid*, 1911, etching, P74.09.2483. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman. 86
- 3.16 E. M. Lilien, *Frau Magnus at Her Writing Desk* or *Portrait of His Mother-in-law*, c. 1909, etching, P74.09.2424. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman. 87
- 3.17 E. M. Lilien, *Otto Magnus Reading by the Light of the Lamp* or *Portrait of His Father-in-law*, c. 1909, etching, P74.09.2432. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman. 87
- 3.18 Nahida Remy, c. 1985, *The Jewish Woman*, trans. by Louise Mannheimer (Cincinnati: C. J. Krehbiel, 1895), 4. 88
- 3.19 Epigraphs, Nahida Remy, *The Jewish Woman*, trans. by Louise Mannheimer (Cincinnati: C. J. Krehbiel, 1895), 6. 89
- 4.1 Gustav Moreau, *Salome Dancing before Herod*, often known as *Salome Tattooed*, 1874, oil on canvas, 92 × 60 cm. Musée Gustave Moreau, Paris. 105
- 4.2 Alphonse Mucha, *La Samaritaine*, 1897, colour lithograph. 106
- 4.3 Aubrey Beardsley, *The Climax*, 1893. 108
- 4.4 Oscar Kokoschka, *Pietà* (Poster for *Mörderer, Hoffnung der Frauen* [Murderer, Hope of Women]), 1909, lithograph. 109
- 4.5 Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Straße, Berlin* (Street, Berlin), 1913, oil on canvas, 120.6 × 91.1 cm. Museum of Modern Art, New York, USA. Public domain. 110
- 4.6 Gustav Klimt, *Judith and the Head of Holofernes*, 1901, oil on canvas, 84 × 42 cm. Österreichische Galerie, Belvedere, Vienna. 111
- 4.7 Gustav Klimt, *Adele Bloch-Bauer I*, 1907, oil, silver and gold on canvas, 138 × 138 cm. Neue Galerie, New York. 112
- 4.8 Gustav Klimt, *Adele Bloch-Bauer II*, 1912, oil on canvas, 190 × 120 cm. Private Collection. 113
- 4.9 Max Liebermann, *Simson und Delila* (Samson and Delilah), 1901–02, oil on canvas, 151.2 × 212 cm. Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main. 114
- 4.10 Lovis Corinth, *Salome II*, 1899–1900, oil on canvas, 127 × 147 cm. Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig. 115

- 4.11 Max Liebermann, *Der Zwölfjährige Jesus im Tempel* (The Twelve-Year-Old Jesus in the Temple), 1879, oil on canvas, 149.6 × 130.8 cm. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg. 115
- 4.12 *Portrait of Else Lasker-Schüler*, 1907, black and white photograph. Public domain. 117
- 4.13 *ChanukkaLichter* (Chanukah Lights), *Ost und West* Issue 12, December 1901, 883–84. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica /<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/pageview/2584878>, accessed 4 May 2018. 119
- 4.14 *Gedichte von Else Lasker-Schüler*, *Ost und West* Issue 12, December 1901, 931–32. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica //<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/pageview/2584902>, accessed 4 May 2018. 120
- 4.15 *Die Flötenspielende* Else Lasker-Schüler as Fakir von Thebes, c. 1910. Frontispiece of *Mein Herz* (My Heart), 1912. Photo by Becker and Maaß. ARC. Ms. Var. 501 13 01. Courtesy of the Else Lasker-Schüler Archive, Archives Department, The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem. 121
- 4.16 Egyptian Relief from the tomb of Rij (Ria). ÄM 7278, relief. Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung. 122
- 4.17 Elsa Lasker-Schüler, *Die Lyrische Missgeburt* (The Lyrical Miscarriage or Freak), 1900. Ricarda Dick, *Else Lasker-Schüler: Die Bilder*, 118. Courtesy of Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag, Berlin. 122
- 4.18 Elsa Lasker-Schüler, *Ganzfigur im Linksprofil, auf dem Arm eine Stadtminiatur* (A large figure in left profile, a miniature city on her arm), 1912. Ricarda Dick, *Else Lasker-Schüler: Die Bilder*, 15. Courtesy of Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag, Berlin. 123
- 4.19 Elsa Lasker-Schüler, *Abigail III/ehemaliger Prinz von Theben* (Abigail III, Old Boy Prince of Thebes), between February and May 1913, pencil, ink, chalk on squared paper, 119 × 95mm, with inscriptions at lower right and bottom, 'For Prince of Thebes.' Ricarda Dick, *Else Lasker-Schüler: Die Bilder*, 199. Courtesy of Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag, Berlin. 124
- 4.20 Lasker-Schüler, *Die Judischen*, between February and May 1913. Ricarda Dick, *Else Lasker-Schüler: Die Bilder*, 19. Courtesy of Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag, Berlin. 124
- 5.1a Title Page, *Pracht Bibel*, 1894 edition, Karlo Vegelahn, *Bibel Archive*, 12 March 2014. Available at: http://www.bibelarchiv-vegelahn.de/bibel/Fuerst_Julius-Leipzig-000_small.jpg, accessed 16 June 2014. 142

- 5.1b *Rebekah wird als Braut geschmückt* (Rebecca as the adorned bride) from the *Pracht Bibel*, c. 1874. Courtesy of Eric Chaim Kline. 142
- 5.2 Simeon Solomon, *The Mother of Moses*, 1860, oil on canvas, 59.7 × 48.3 cm. Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington. Bequest of Robert Louis Isaacson, 1999. Object No. 19999-1. [http://emuseum.delart.org:8080/emuseum/view/objects/asitem/items\\$0040:8619](http://emuseum.delart.org:8080/emuseum/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:8619). 144
- 5.3 Maurycy Gottlieb, *Christ Preaching at Capernaum*, oil on canvas, 110 × 80 cm. National Museum of Warsaw, Warsaw. Collection no. MP 431. 145
- 5.4 William Holman Hunt, *The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple*, 1854–55, oil on canvas, 141 × 85.7 cm. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham. Public domain. 146
- 5.5 Friedrich Williams Kleukens, *Esther*. In *The Book of Esther*, c. 1908. Insel-Verlag, Leipzig. XXIX S: 2 ganzseitige Holzschnitte mit Golddruck. Gedruckt als erstes Buch der Ernst Ludwig Presse, Darmstadt. Courtesy of Suhrkamp Verlag, Berlin. 147
- 5.6 Gustave Doré, *Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, Sainte Bible*, 1865, n.p. 148
- 5.7 Gustave Doré, *Moses Breaking the Tables of the Law, Sainte Bible*, 1865, n.p. 149
- 5.8 Gustave Doré, *The Pharisee and the Publican, Sainte Bible*, 1865, n.p. 151
- 5.9 Horace Vernet, *Judah and Tamar*, 1840, oil on canvas, 129 × 97.5 cm. The Wallace Collection, London. 154
- 5.10 J. James Tissot, *Adam and Eve Driven from Paradise*, c. 1896–1902. Collection of The Jewish Museum, New York. 155
- 5.11 J. James Tissot, *The Plague of Locusts (Exodus 10:13)*, c. 1896–1902. Collection of the Jewish Museum, New York. 155
- 5.12 E. M. Lilien, *Sprüche Salmos, das Sohnes Davids, des Königs von Israel* (The Proverbs of Solomon, The Son of David, The King of Israel), *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. VII (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1912), 12–13. 158
- 5.13a E. M. Lilien, *Daniel, Das Buch Daniel* (The Book of Daniel), *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. VII (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1912), 264. 158
- 5.13b E. M. Lilien, *Arab Figure in an Abbaya*, photograph, 1906, TAMA No. 88. Courtesy of the Tel Aviv Art Museum, Tel Aviv. 159
- 5.14a E. M. Lilien, Illustration for *Die Psalmen* (The Book of Psalms), *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. VI (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1909), 109. 159

- 5.14b E. M. Lilien, *The Thinker* (Samaritan High Priest Amram Ben Itzhak), photograph, 1906, TAMA No. 135. Courtesy of the Tel Aviv Art Museum, Tel Aviv. 160
- 5.15a E.M. Lilien, illustration from *Die Psalmen* (The Book of Psalms), *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. VI (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1909), 21. 160
- 5.15b E. M. Lilien, *Jew from Yemen*, photograph, 1906, TAMA No. 28. Courtesy of the Tel Aviv Art Museum, Tel Aviv. 161
- 5.16 Drawing class at the Bezalel School, photograph, 1906. Courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. 161
- 5.17 E. M. Lilien, *Esther*, *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. VII (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1908), 236. 164
- 5.18 E. M. Lilien, *Esther*, *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. VII (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1908), 254. 165
- 5.19 Maurycy Gottlieb, *Jewish Women from the East*, c. 1878, oil on wood, 20.7 × 15.6 cm. Anonymous private collection, Israel. 166
- 5.20 E. M. Lilien, *Portrait of Helene Lilien with Hat*, 1909, etching in red-brown. P74.092460. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman. 166
- 5.21 E. M. Lilien, Study for a Carpet, dedicated to Mr and Mrs David Wolffson, 1906, oil chalk and graphite on canvas, 185 × 305.5 cm, B88.027. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Elie Posner. 167
- 5.22 Drawing of Xerxes, after relief in Persepolis. After A. B. Tilda. *Studies and Restorations of Persepolis and other Sites of Fars II*, 54, Figure 6. Courtesy of the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East, Rome. 168
- 5.23 E. M. Lilien, *Rahab*, *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. I (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1908), 502. 169
- 5.24 Hans (Jan) Collaert II, *Rahab*, c. 1591. Engraving after Marten de Vos, c. 1581. Plate 8 in the series *Icones Illustrium Feminarum Veteris Testamenti* (The Celebrated Women of the Old Testament), consisting of twenty engravings (plus frontispiece) by Hans or Adrien Collaert and Carel van Mallery, published in Antwerp by Phillips Galle (1537–1612). 170
- 5.25 E. M. Lilien, *Rahab von Jericho* (Rahab of Jericho), *Juda*, c. 1900. In Börries von Münchhausen, *Juda, Gesänge Von Börries, Freiherrn V. Münchhausen Mit Buchschmuck Von E. M. Lilien*. Berlin: Egon Fleischel and Co., n.d., n.p. 170
- 5.26 E. M. Lilien, *Rahab die Jerochinitan* (Rahab the Jerochinian), *Juda*, c. 1900. In Börries von Münchhausen, *Juda, Gesänge Von Börries*,

- Freiherrn V. Münchhausen Mit Buchschmuck Von E. M. Lilien.* Berlin: Egon Fleischel and Co., n.d., n.p. 171
- 5.27 E. M. Lilien, *Miriam, Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. I (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1908), 187. 172
- 5.28 E. M. Lilien, *Ruth, Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. VII (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1912), 206. Etching, c. 1911, P74.09.2476. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman. 173
- 5.29 E. M. Lilien, Photographs of sitters for his biblical illustrations, 1906. TAMA No. 87 and TAMA No. 91. Courtesy of the Tel Aviv Art Museum, Tel Aviv. 174
- 6.1 The Kaiser and Kaiserin at the Tomb of King David in Jerusalem. Photograph from a personal collection compiled by the Kaiserin and presented by her to Hugh, 5th Earl of Lonsdale. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, London, <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205018343>, accessed 19 March 2014. 192
- 6.2 Garabed Krikorian (before 1914), cabinet portrait of the photographer's niece and friend from Germany in local dresses kept at the studio for customers (Armenian Patriarchy, Jerusalem). Unknown photographer at the Armenian Convent (before 1914), Unknown female tourist in male Bedouin dress with accessories, dry-gelatin glass negative, modern print. Yeshayahu Nir, *The Bible and Its Image: The History of Photography in the Holy Land 1839–1899*, 125. Courtesy of The National Library, Jerusalem. 193
- 6.3 Title Page, *Ost und West*, with list of sub-editors. *Ost und West* Issue 9, September 1901, 883–84. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica/ <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/pageview/2584441>, accessed 4 May 2018. 196
- 6.4 Advertisement for Russian readers, *Ost und West* Issue 12, December 1901, 957–58. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica/ <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/pageview/2584920>, accessed 4 May 2018. 197
- 6.5 Postcard of the 1896 painting by Lesser Ury, *Jerusalem*, c. 1920, published by the Deutsch-Israelitischer gemeindebund, Berlin. Courtesy of Kedem Auction House, Ltd. Available at: <https://www.kedem-auctions.com/content/eight-jewish-postcards-%E2%80%93-published-deutsch-israelitischer-gemeindebund-berlin>, accessed 4 May 2018. 199
- 6.6 E. M. Lilien, Cover illustration, *Ost und West*, 1901–1906. 202
- 6.7 E. M. Lilien, Logo for Leo Winz & Co., Kunstverlag Phönix, *Ost und West* Issue 12, December 1901, 955. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek

- Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica/ <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/preview/2584914>, accessed 4 May 2018. 203
- 6.8 E. M. Lilien, Cover illustration, *Lieder des Ghetto*, 1903. In Lothar Brieger, *E. M. Lilien: Eine Künstlerische Entwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende* (Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Herz, 1922), 121. 204
- 6.9 Vignette by Lilien appearing on the last page of every issue of *Ost und West* Issue 1, January 1901, 297–98. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica/ <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/2608726>, accessed 4 May 2018. 205
- 6.10 Alfred Nossig, *Der Ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew), *Ost und West* Issue 1, January 1901, 5. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica/ <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/2608151>, accessed 4 May 2018. 206
- 6.11 Samuel Hirszenberg, *Der Ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew), *Ost und West* Issue 10, October 1902, 661–62. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica/<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/titleinfo/2586159>, accessed 4 May 2018. 207
- 6.12 Notice on the Jüdischer Verlag, *Ost und West* Issue 1, January 1902, 65–66. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica/ <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/2585060>, accessed 4 May 2018. 208
- 6.13 E. M. Lilien, *Vater und Sohn*, *Ost und West* Issue 12, December 1904, 817–18. In Lothar Brieger, *E. M. Lilien: Eine Künstlerische Entwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende* (Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Herz, 1922), 141. 211
- 6.14 E. M. Lilien, Ex-libris Maxim Gorki, 1902. In Lothar Brieger, *E. M. Lilien: Eine Künstlerische Entwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende* (Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Herz, 1922), 96. 212
- 6.15 E. M. Lilien, *Le-Metim 'al kidush ha-shem be-Kishinov* (Dedicated to the Martyrs of Kishinev), *Den Märtyrern von Kishinew*, 1903. In Lothar Brieger, *E. M. Lilien: Eine Künstlerische Entwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende* (Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Herz, 1922), 137. 213
- 6.16 E. M. Lilien, *Väter und Söhne*, *Ost und West* Issue 12, December 1904, 813–14. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica/ <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/2591181>, accessed 4 May 2018. 213
- 6.17 *3 Jüdische Frauentypen von Cochín in Indien* (3 Jewish female types from Cochín in India), *Ost und West* Issue 12, December 1901, 933–34. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale

- Sammlungen Judaica/ <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/2584903>, accessed 4 May 2018. 215
- 6.18 Francis Galton, Photographs of Jewish Londoners, 1891. In Maurice Fishberg, *The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment* (London; New York; Melbourne: The Walter Scott Publishing Company, 1911), 66–7. On the right are the original photographs of Jewish students at a London school. On the left Galton superimposed the original photographs to produce a multiple exposure that created just four ‘types’ of Jews. 216
- 6.19 Maurice Fishberg, Photographs of a Polish Jew, a Galician Jew and a Russian Jewess. In Fishberg, *The Jews, A Study of Race and Environment* (London; New York; Melbourne: The Walter Scott Publishing Company, 1911), 115. 217
- 6.20 Postcard, *Jude aus Jemen* (Jew from Yemen), c. 1920s. Courtesy of Barbara Simon. 218
- 6.21 Postcard, *Kopf einer Jüdin* (Head of a Jewess [from Jerusalem]), c. 1920s. Courtesy of Barbara Simon. 219
- 6.22 Jewish ornamentation from Syria? Parchment found in the Cairo *Genizah*, David Baron Günzburg, *L’Ornement Hébreu* (The Hebrew Ornament) (Berlin: Cavalry, 1905), 20. Courtesy of J.C.S., Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlung Judaica/<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/content/pageview/265871>, accessed 4 May 2018. 219
- 6.23 Horace Vernet, *Judith mit dem Haupte des Holofernes* (Judith with the head of Holofernes), *Ost und West* Issue 12, December 1901, 693–94. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica/<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/pageview/2584467>, accessed 4 May 2018. 220
- 6.24 Jean-François Portaels, *Jüdin aus Tangiers* (Jewess from Tangiers), *Ost und West* Issue 12, December 1901, 905–06. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/Digitale Sammlungen Judaica/<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/pageview/2584889/>, accessed 4 May 2018. 220
- 7.1 E. M. Lilien, *Liebeswerben im Frühling* (Courting in Spring). In *Lied der Lieder* (Song of Songs), Ferdinand Rahlwes, ed., *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. VI (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1909), 309. 236
- 7.2 E. M. Lilien, *Ein Garten ist meine Braut* (In My Garden Is My Betrothed). In *Lied der Lieder* (Song of Songs), Ferdinand Rahlwes, ed., *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. VI (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1909), 312. 237
- 7.3 E. M. Lilien, *Liebesfrühling* (Spring Love). In *Lied der Lieder* (Song of Songs), Ferdinand Rahlwes, ed., *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. VI (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1909), 318. 237

- 7.4 E. M. Lilien, *Prinzessin Sabbat* (Princess Sabbath), *Juda*, c. 1900. In Börries von Münchhausen, *Juda, Gesänge Von Börries, Freiherrn V. Münchhausen Mit Buchschmuck Von E. M. Lilien*. Berlin: Egon Fleischel and Co., n.d., n.p. 238
- 7.5 E. M. Lilien, *Harfenspielerin* (Harp Player). In Morris Rosenfeld, *Lieder Des Ghetto*, trans. Berthold Feiwel, with illustrations by Ephraim Moses Lilien (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1903), 107. 240
- 7.6 Kolomon Moser, *Allegorie Ver Sacrum* (An Allegory for Sacred Spring), *Ver Sacrum* Vol. 1, January 1898, 5. Indian ink and watercolour on paper, 41.9 × 16.5 cm. 243
- 7.7 Bruno Paul, *Der Münchener Jugend Brunnen* (The Munich Fountain of Youth), *Simplicissimus* Vol. 10, 5 June 1897, 76. Pencil and wash on paper, 38.1 × 60.4 cm. Inv-Nr. Simpl. 1250 (SGS00027187). Courtesy of the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. Also available at: http://www.simplicissimus.info/uploads/tx_lombkswjournaldb/pdf/1/02/02_10.pdf, Courtesy of Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, accessed 28 June 2018. 244
- 7.8 Lovis Corinth, Drawing, *Jugend* Vol. 2, No. 28, 11 July 1896, 456, – CC-BY-SA 3.0. Courtesy of Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg, Germany, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/jugend1896_2/0035/image, accessed 27 June 2018. 246
- 7.9 Marie Stüler-Walde, *Auf Flügelnd des Gesanges* (On Wings of Song), *Jugend* Vol. 1, No. 21, 22 May 1897, 337, – CC-BY-SA 3.0. Courtesy of Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg, Germany, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/jugend1897_1/0331/image, accessed 27 June 2018. 246
- 7.10 Hans Christiansen, Cover illustration, *Jugend* Vol. 2, No. 48, 26 November 1898, 795, – CC-BY-SA 3.0. Courtesy of Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg, Germany, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/jugend1898_2/0379/image, accessed 27 June 2018. 247
- 7.11 Bernhard Pankok, *Jugend* Vol. 1, No. 21, 22 May 1897, 39, – CC-BY-SA 3.0. Courtesy of Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg, Germany, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/jugend1897_1/0042/image, accessed 27 June 2018. 247
- 7.12 Ludwig von Zumbusch, Cover, *Jugend* Vol. 2, No. 40, 2 October 1897, 669, – CC-BY-SA 3.0. Colour lithograph. Courtesy of Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg, Germany, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/jugend1897_2/0217/image, accessed 27 June 2018. 248
- 7.13 E. M. Lilien, *Die Zauberflöte* (The Magic Flute), 1898. In Lothar Brieger, *E. M. Lilien: Eine Künstlerische Entwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende* (Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Herz, 1922), 41. 248

- 7.14 Page of advertisements, *Jugend* Vol. 1, No. 22, 29 May 1897, 366, – CC-BY-SA 3.0. Courtesy of Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg, Germany, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/jugend1897_1/0361/image, accessed 27 June 2018. 249
- 7.15 Marcus Behmer, Title page, *Salome*, 1908. In Hedwig Lachmann, *Salome* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1908). Courtesy of Suhrkamp/Insel Verlag 250
- 7.16 Henry Van de Velde, Cover, Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also Sprach Zarathustra: Ein Buch für Alle und Klein* (Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for All and for None), 1908. Double-page ornamental title, printed in purple and gold, after designs by Henry van der Velde, text printed in black and gold, type designed in 1900 by G. Lemmen. Courtesy of The Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. 251
- 7.17 E. M. Lilien, Cover, *Juda*, c. 1900. In Börries von Münchhausen, *Juda, Gesänge Von Börries, Freiherrn V. Münchhausen Mit Buchschmuck Von E. M. Lilien*. Berlin: Egon Fleischel and Co., n.d., n.p. 251
- 7.18 E. M. Lilien, Artist's name with surrounded by flourishes, *Juda*, c. 1900. In Börries von Münchhausen, *Juda, Gesänge Von Börries, Freiherrn V. Münchhausen Mit Buchschmuck Von E. M. Lilien*. Berlin: Egon Fleischel and Co., n.d., n.p. 252
- 7.19 Marcus Behmer, *Salome*. In Hedwig Lachmann Landauer, *Salome*, 1908. Courtesy of Suhrkamp/Insel Verlag. 253
- 7.20 Marcus Behmer, *Der Wunsch* (Desire). In Hedwig Lachmann Landauer, *Salome*, 1908. Courtesy of Suhrkamp/Insel Verlag. 254
- 7.21 T. T. (Thomas Theodor) Heine, Poster for *Simplicissimus*, 1896, colour lithograph, 79 × 59 cm. 255
- 7.22 T. T. (Thomas Theodor) Heine, *Judith* (Munich: Hans von Weber, 1908). In Timothy W. Hiles, *Thomas Theodor Heine: Fin-de-Siècle Munich and the Origins of Simplicissimus* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 210. 256
- 7.23 T. T. (Thomas Theodor) Heine, *Halbe Unschuld: Demi-vierge* (Half Innocent: Half-Virgin), 1895. In Timothy Hiles, *Thomas Theodor Heine: Fin-de-Siècle Munich and the Origins of Simplicissimus* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 206. 257
- 7.24 T. T. (Thomas Theodor) Heine, *Judith*, (Munich: Hans von Weber, 1908). In Timothy Hiles, *Thomas Theodor Heine: Fin-de-Siècle Munich and the Origins of Simplicissimus* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 209. 257

List of Plates

- 1 Grave of Helene and Ephraim Moses Lilien, Braunschweig, (Brunswick). Reproduced from a photograph. Courtesy of Owen Watkinson, 2018.
- 2 E. M. Lilien, The Magnus-Lilien home at 3 Wolfenbütteler Straße 3, Braunschweig (Brunswick), 1913, etching, P74.09.2500. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman.
- 3 E. M. Lilien, Logo of Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, c. 1906, ink and gouache on cardboard, B03496. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Peter Lanyi.
- 4 Israeli stamps from 1977, commemorating Lilien's art from the Fifth Zionist Congress of 1905. <http://www.boeliem.com/content/1977/209.html>, accessed 5 September 2009. Courtesy of Boelim Stamps, Israel.
- 5 Broken Fingaz Graffiti Collective, Homage to E. M. Lilien, Kazimierz, Kraków, 2014. Photograph by author
- 6 E. M. Lilien, *Vom Ghetto nach Zion* (From Ghetto to Zion) or *Congresskarte* (Congress Card), 1901, India ink over graphite and white gouache, B51.11.2917. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Elie Posner.
- 7 Members of the Democratic Fraction (?), at the Fifth Zionist Congress, 1901, Basel. No. 002643746. Courtesy of the National Library, Jerusalem.
- 8 Phillip Rupprecht, *Money is the God of the Jews*. In Ernst Hiemer, *Der Giftpilz* (The Poisonous Mushroom). (Nuremberg: Verlag Der Stürmer, 1938/9), 42. Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2016 by the Katz Family.
- 9 E. M. Lilien, Ex Libris E. M. Lilien [Hebrew], 1909, etching, P74.09.2452. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman.
- 10 E. M. Lilien, Sketch Ex-Libris for Dov (Boris) Schatz, n.d., India ink over graphite and white gouache, P83.04.5534. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
- 11 E. M. Lilien, *Plakat für das Berliner Tageblatt* (Poster for the newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt*), 1899.

- 12 Bruno Paul, *Das Weib vor, hinter und auf dem Rade* (Women before behind and upon the wheel), *Jugend* Vol. 1, No. 21, 23 May 1896, 335. Inv.-Nr. 45740 Z (SGS00027185), Courtesy of the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. Also available at: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/jugend1896_1/0326/image, Courtesy of Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg, Germany accessed 28 June 2018.
- 13 Bruno Paul, *Das Brotkörbchen* (The Little Bread Basket). Cover for *Simplicissimus* Vol. 2, No. 35, 27 November 1897, 273. Inv.-Nr. Simpl. 1279 (SGS00025047). Courtesy of the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. Also available at: <http://www.simplicissimus.info/index.php?id=12>. Courtesy of Deutsche Forschungs Gemeinschaft, accessed 28 June 2018.
- 14 Alphonse Mucha, poster design for Job cigarette papers, 1896.
- 15 E. M. Lilien, *Helene with Night Crème, or Morning Reading*, c. 1909, etching (red), P74.092455. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman.
- 16 Alphonse Mucha, *La Samaritaine*, 1897, colour lithograph.
- 17 Oscar Kokoschka, *Pietà* (Poster for *Mörderer, Hoffnung der Frauen [Murderer, Hope of Women]*), 1909, lithograph.
- 18 Gustav Klimt, *Judith and the Head of Holofernes*, 1901, oil on canvas, 84 × 42 cm. Österreichische Galerie, Belvedere, Vienna.
- 19 Gustav Klimt, *Adele Bloch-Bauer I*, 1907, oil, silver and gold on canvas, 138 × 138 cm. Neue Galerie, New York.
- 20 Max Liebermann, *Simson und Delila* (Samson and Delilah), 1901–02, oil on canvas, 151.2 × 212 cm. Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main.
- 21 Max Liebermann, *Der Zwölfjährige Jesus im Tempel* (The Twelve-Year-Old Jesus in the Temple), 1879, oil on canvas, 149.6 × 130.8 cm. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg.
- 22 Simeon Solomon, *The Mother of Moses*, 1860, oil on canvas, 59.7 × 48.3 cm. Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington. Bequest of Robert Louis Isaacson, 1999. Object No. 19999–1. [http://emuseum.delart.org:8080/emuseum/view/objects/asitem/items\\$0040:8619](http://emuseum.delart.org:8080/emuseum/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:8619).
- 23 Maurycy Gottlieb, *Christ Preaching at Capernaum*, oil on canvas, 110 × 80 cm. National Museum of Warsaw, Warsaw. Collection no. MP 431.
- 24 William Holman Hunt, *The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple*, 1854–55, oil on canvas, 141 × 85.7 cm, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham. Public domain.

- 25 E. M. Lilien, *Sprüche Salomos, des Sohnes Davids, des Königs von Israel* (The Proverbs of Solomon, The Son of David, The King of Israel), *Die Bücher der Bibel*, Vol. VII (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1912), 12–13.
- 26 E. M. Lilien, Study for a Carpet, dedicated to Mr and Mrs David Wolffson, 1906, oil chalk and graphite on canvas, 185 × 305.5 cm, B88.027. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Elie Posner.
- 27 Jewish ornamentation from Syria? Parchment found in the Cairo *Genizah*, David Baron Günzburg, *L'Ornement Hébreu* (The Hebrew Ornament) (Berlin: Cavalry, 1905), 20. Courtesy of J.C.S., Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/ Digitale Sammlung Judaica/ <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/content/pageview/265871>, accessed 4 May 2018.
- 28 Kolomon Moser, *Allegorie Ver Sacrum* (An Allegory for Sacred Spring), *Ver Sacrum* Vol. 1, January 1898, 5. Indian ink and watercolour on paper, 41.9 × 16.5 cm.
- 29 Bruno Paul, *Der Münchener Jugend Brunnen* (The Munich Fountain of Youth), *Simplicissimus* Vol. 10, 5 June 1897, 76. Pencil and wash on paper, 38.1 × 60.4 cm. Inv-Nr. Simpl. 1250 (SGS00027187). Courtesy of the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. Also available at: http://www.simplicissimus.info/uploads/tx_lombkswjournaldb/pdf/1/02/02_10.pdf. Courtesy of Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, accessed 28 June 2018.
- 30 Hans Christiansen, Cover illustration, *Jugend* Vol. 2, No. 48, 26 November 1898, 795 – CC-BY-SA 3.0. Courtesy of Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg, Germany, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/jugend1898_2/0379/image, accessed 27 June 2018.
- 31 Henry Van de Velde, Cover, Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also Sprach Zarathustra: Ein Buch für Alle und Klein* (Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for All and for None), 1908. Double-page ornamental title, printed in purple and gold, after designs by Henry van der Velde, text printed in black and gold, type designed in 1900 by G. Lemmen. Courtesy of The Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- 32 E. M. Lilien, Cover, *Juda*, c. 1900. In Börries von Münchhausen, *Juda, Gesänge Von Börries, Freiherrn V. Münchhausen Mit Buchschmuck Von E. M. Lilien*. Berlin: Egon Fleischel and Co., n.d., n.p.

Foreword

It is an honour to write a brief foreword to *Gender, Orientalism and the Jewish Nation at the German Fin de Siècle: Women in the Art of Ephraim Moses Lilien* by Lynne M. Swarts.

E. M. Lilien (1874–1925) is one of the most significant Jewish artists of modern times. Best known for his pen-and-ink drawings, Lilien also was a talented photographer and motion-picture cameraman. In the late nineteenth century and up through the first decades of the twentieth, his graphics immeasurably stimulated fascination in the Zionist cause and supplied Jewry with realistic and imaginative portrayals of themselves, which aroused great interest – and more than occasionally, thrills. With intense creativity, verve, and complexity, he fixed the gaze of his viewers on unequivocally Jewish subjects, informed them of Zionism's aspirations, and vastly enriched nationalism's range of possibilities for Jews. Above all, he demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that Theodor Herzl's fledgling national endeavour had a vibrant artistic vision in its conceptual arsenal. Beyond Zionism, Lilien illustrated some of the most intriguing, beautifully produced books in the German Jewish cultural orbit that allowed for figural representations.

Perhaps it is not surprising that there is a good deal of ongoing comment centred on E. M. Lilien. A man of humble, East European origins, he faced significant challenges in the first wave of secular Jewish artists to breach the mainstream. Lilien nevertheless strongly influenced the course of modern Jewish history through his drawings, such as the postcard image for the Fifth Zionist Congress, and photography, notably the much-reproduced portrait of Herzl on the balcony of his suite at the Three Kings Hotel in Basel, during the foundational Zionist Congress (1897). He might have forged a notable national role for himself (mainly as a photographer) in post-1918 Austria, had it not been on the losing side of the Great War.

Beginning some four decades ago, Lilien was (and continues to be) investigated mainly in the context of Zionist politics. In the last several years, however, unusually perceptive scholars, scattered throughout the world and in diverse disciplines, have offered fresh perspectives on his colourful life and achievements. Chief among them is the cultural and literary scholar, Mark Gelber. Yet a seminal dimension of Lilien's body of work remains largely unexcavated: the notable portion of his images featuring Jewish women. In Jewish Studies and art historical scholarship, there has been limited treatment of Lilien's portrayals of women, and no attempt at an overview or comprehensive exploration of the half of Jewish humanity over which Lilien exercised serious concern. Such a vast lacuna, however, invites Swarts's opportunity: this book is the first, and authoritative, word on a significant and previously overlooked subject.

The work before you is truly exceptional: it comprises a substantial contribution to the history of art, modern Jewish history, and its nationalist incarnations. Highly original and critical in the best sense, it should elicit great interest in a number of disciplines and subfields. Swarts's interpretation spans history, genealogy, literature,

art history, cultural studies, and women's studies. She has illuminated, with force and eloquence, the distinctive visions of E. M. Lilien, illustrated here in a manner that fabulously highlights and complements her trenchant analysis.

Swarts argues, in contrast to most writing about Lilien, that the Jewish women in his oeuvre merit focused consideration because they were neither disparaged, 'anti-feminist *femme fatales*, nor gendered, westernised, male orientalist fantasies.' On the contrary, Lilien's images of Jewish women stem from a proactive 'inner search for roots, authenticity, and *Heimat*,' expressing the simultaneity of his self-apprehension as 'Asiatic and Westerner, occidental and oriental at the turn of the twentieth century in Central Europe.' Among Swarts's strikingly original contentions is that Lilien's imagination of Jewish women, compared to the creations of non-Jewish artists, renders them as sensuous, modern, and radiating a palpable 'energy and power.' These gave Lilien's audience 'an alternative representation of the European Jewish woman,' which stood in contrast, as well, to typical texts and images of women in other Zionist media. Lilien's art furthermore exhibited the possibility for Jewish women to 'embrace their sexuality' and transform a typically misogynist portrayal of 'a sexually dangerous woman' into something quite different: woman as the guardian and possessor of her 'own personal liberation.' Readers will appreciate that this is an extraordinarily enlightening and incisive book, providing truly novel and compelling perspectives on E. M. Lilien, which richly deserves our attention.

Michael Berkowitz
University College London

Acknowledgements

Through the process of writing this book, I met many wonderful people who have helped shape and develop my work. I offer all of them my heartfelt thanks for their gracious assistance and generosity of spirit.

I must first thank the Australian Academy of the Humanities for their Publication Subsidy Scheme grant, which allowed me to undertake the permission for so many of the images that appear in this book. Without this grant my book would never have been possible.

Special thanks goes to Dr Cindy McCreery, without whose infectious encouragement and expertise this book would never have come to fruition. Similarly, Professor Michael Berkowitz urged me to write this book, was gracious enough to write my Foreword and understood exactly what my research was about. Professor Richard I. Cohen, offered advice and support during a crucial stage in my research, sensitively suggesting the help of my talented editor, Dr Sharon Assaf. During this journey, many other colleagues were happy to read and critique parts of my work, and I thank them for their time and thoughtful responses, particularly Professors John Docker, Konrad Kwiet, Mark Ledbury, and Robert Aldrich. A special mention goes to Professor A. Dirk Moses, who originally saw that my project might have potential.

I thank the Sir Zelman Cowen University Fund, which sponsored my final research trip to Israel as an Exchange Fellow at the Hebrew University. At the Hebrew University Art History Department, I thank Dr Lola Kantovsky and her Post-Graduate 'writing history' class. Their enthusiastic question and answer session reminded me of the reason we all begin our research in the first place. Thanks also goes to the staff at the Centre for Jewish Art, who helped to make my stay at the Hebrew University a little more *haimish*. This includes the director, Dr Vladimir Levin, Dr Sergey R. Kravtsov, and Dr Anna Berezin. As an Exchange Fellow, I also met with many Lilien scholars, including Professors Mark Gelber, Haim Finkelstein, Yigal Zalmona, and Amitai Mendelsohn and I thank them all for being such affable and generous hosts.

On other research trips, I received assistance in a variety of ways, from suggestions on appropriate texts to read, people to see, and artists to include, to stimulating discussions; I am grateful to all the people involved. In Germany, this includes Chana Schütz, Barbara Hahn, Dr Mirjam Zadoff, and staff at the Jewish Museum, Berlin, including Ulrike Sonnemann, Theresia Ziehe, and Inka Bertz. I acknowledge the assistance of the librarians Dr Christian Hermann, Karl-Frieder Netsch, and Eva Rothkirch, as well as Eric Chaim Kline.

In Israel, I also thank Ruthi Ofek, Emily D. Bilski, the curatorial staff at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art including Ahuva Israel, Irith Hadar, Ruth Feldmann as well as the library staff. I gratefully acknowledge the staff in the Prints and Drawing Department

at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, in particular, curator Ronit Sorek, who so patiently answered all my questions.

In New York City, I want to thank all the staff at the Center for Jewish History for their assistance, including Renate Evers, Michael Simonson, and Renata Stein in the Leo Baeck Institute, New York. Thanks also goes to Professor Marion Kaplan and Professor Atina Grossman for giving generously of their time and suggesting appropriate texts.

I am ever thankful for the help from the living relatives of Ephraim Moses Lilien: Tom and Sue Peters, the children of Lilien's daughter Hannah, who were so obliging with information regarding Lilien's life, his wife Helene, and the Lilien-Magnus biographical information; Chava Givoni, the daughter of Lilien's son, Otto, who graciously allowed me into her home and carefully answered numerous email questions regarding her remembrances of her father and grandfather; and last but not least, Lilien's two relatives in Sydney, Australia, cousins Nic Witton and Barbara Simon, who both were eager to help find out more about their Uncle Otto's father. Barbara allowed me to view her original Lilien drawings and prints, and special thanks goes to her relative in Braunschweig, Jürgen Bartels, who generously carried out some detective work for me.

I thank the research library staff at the University of Sydney, who have patiently put up with endless enquiries over the years, particularly Rena McGrogan, Michelle Harrison, and Aleksandra Nikolic. Much of this work could not have been done without support and encouragement from other colleagues, as well as friends and family. Thank you so much to all those over the years who encouraged me and listened to all my gripes or who read parts of my manuscript: Dr Avril Alba, Dr Shelia Christofides, Alyssa Dar, Dr Emmanuelle Guenot, Dr Penny Nash, Marie Mackenzie, Greg Murrie, Dr Paul Monaghan and my friends Dr Debby Bachmeyer, Rachel Han, Dr Jane Hunter, Tina Powis, Ellen Roger, Dr Margit Schad in Berlin, Clare Sneddon, Prue Walker, and Liz Wilson. My family must receive the final thanks, including my supportive parents, Adrienne and Maurice Swarts, my loving husband Dr Don Perlgut, and our children Joel and Chana, who both grew into young adults during this journey.

Lynne Swarts, Sydney, 10 October, 2019.

List of Abbreviations

- Bar-Am, *PwL* Micha and Orna Bar-Am, *Painting with Light, the Photographic Aspect in the Work of E. M. Lilien*. Tel Aviv: Dvir Publishing, 1991.
- Brieger, *EML* Lothar Brieger, *E. M. Lilien, Eine künstlerische Entwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende*. Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Herz, 1922.
- Brunotte, Ludewig and Stähler, *Orientalism* Ulrike Brunotte, Anna-Dorothea Ludewig, and Axel Stähler, eds., *Orientalism, Gender, and the Jews: Literary and Artistic Transformations of European National Discourses*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017.
- Gilman, 'Salome' Sander Gilman, 'Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt, and the Modern Jewess.' In *The Jew in the Text*. Edited by Tamar Garb and Linda Nochlin, 97–120. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.
- Kalmar and Penslar, *OJ* *Orientalism and the Jews*. Edited by Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2005
- Lilien, *EMLsW* Ephraim Moses Lilien, *E. M. Lilien, sein Werk, mit Einer Einleitung von Stefan Zweig*. Goslar: J. Jäger und Sohn, 1903.
- Lilien, *Briefe* Ephraim Moses Lilien, *Briefe an seine Frau, 1905–1925*. Königstein: Jüdischer Verlag Athenäum, 1985.
- Mendes-Flohr, 'Fin-de-Siècle Orientalism' Paul Mendes-Flohr, 'Fin-de-Siècle Orientalism, the *Ostjuden* and the Aesthetics of Jewish Self-Affirmation.' In *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*. Edited by Johnathan Frankel, 96–139. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Rahlwes, *Bibel* Ferdinand Rahlwes and Ephraim Moses Lilien, *Die Bücher der Bibel*, 3 vols. Braunschweig: Westermann, 1908–1912.
- Rosenfeld, *Lieder* Morris Rosenfeld, *Lieder des Ghetto*, trans. Berthold Feiwel, with illustrations by Ephraim Moses Lilien. Berlin: S. Calvary, 1903.
- OW* *Ost und West*
- Stanislawski, *Zionism* Michael Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Biographical Timeline: Ephraim Moses Lilien and His Family

- 1874 Born 23 May, in Drohobycz, Austrian Galicia, to Jacob Ha Cohen (1854–1907), a wood-engraver and Keila (Caroline) née Langermann (1855–before 1920). Eldest of six children. Other siblings: Reisel Lilien (1876–76, aged 5 months), Marcus Lilien (1879–1938), Ruchel Lilien (1880–82), Juda Lilien (1882–83), Minna Dichter (1885– New York 1972), Hania Lilien (1889–1939).
- c. 1886 Begins *Realschule* in Lwów (Lemberg; today Lviv, Ukraine).¹ Financial constraints force him to abandon his high-school studies after only two years and take up work as a sign painter.
- 1890 With funding from relative, Ignace (Ignacy) Lilien (1897–1964), he moves to Kraków to study in the *Kunstschule* (now Jan Matejko Academy of Fine Arts) under Jan Matejko (1838–93), one of Poland's greatest contemporary artists and nationalists.² He leaves after two years due to lack of funds and returns to Drohobycz.
- 1892 Wins first prize in competition honouring Polish poet, writer, and nationalist Kornel (Cornelius) Ujeski (1823–97).
- 1894 Uses prize money to travel to Vienna. Applies to the Academy of Fine Arts in hope of studying with Christian Griepenkerl (who later taught Egon Schiele), but is rejected and moves to Munich.
- 1896 Wins prize in nature-photography competition sponsored by new periodical *Jugend*, a showcase for the work of radical avant-garde artists. Aptly named *Jugendstil* after the journal, the style becomes the German equivalent of the French Art Nouveau movement. Lilien works for *Jugend* for three years and for the socialist publication *Süddeutsche Postillion*. German actress Minnie Hauck hears about his photographic accomplishments and commissions him to photograph her in Lucerne. He befriends artist Marie Luise Karoline Adelheid Stüler (b. Eberswalde, Uckermark near Berlin 1868–1904). Marie and Lilien have a son, Alexander Stüler (b. Munich 1896–Bayersoien 1974).
- 1898 Illustrates his first book, *Der Zöllner von Klausen* (The Tax Collector of Klausen) by Johann von Wildenradt.
- 1899–1900 Sent on assignment by *Jugend* and *Süddeutsche Postillion* to Berlin. Illustrates his second book *Juda* (1900), a collection of ballads by

- Borries von Münchhausen, which helps launch his career as an illustrator. Co-chairs the opening of the first poster exhibition in Berlin in 1899. His drawings for *Jugend* are included in the collective exhibit of the Association of German Illustrators at the Great Berlin Art Exhibition of 1899. Has his first solo show in Leipzig.³
- 1901 Attends the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basel as a delegate. Designs the poster *From Ghetto to Zion* for the event and with Martin Buber organises the first modern exhibition of Jewish artists featuring twelve of his works (out of forty-eight works in the exhibition). Takes the iconic photograph of Herzl leaning on the balcony overlooking the River Rhine at the Drei Könige (Three Kings) Hotel in Basel.
- 1902 Finds *Jüdische Verlag (Jewish Press)* with Buber and Berthold Feiwel. Publication of his third book of illustrations, *Lieder des Ghetto* (Songs of the Ghetto), in collaboration with Feiwel who translated the Yiddish text of Morris Rosenfeld into German. Travels to Russia with writer Maxim Gorki (1868–1936), to illustrate his proposed book *Zbornik*.
- 1903 Sent as a representative to the Sixth Zionist Congress. Publication of the first monograph of Lilien's oeuvre, with foreword by Stefan Zweig (1881–1942).
- 1905 Begins a correspondence with art student Helene Magnus of Braunschweig, Germany.
- 1906 Visits Palestine for the inauguration of the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem. He is appointed as a teacher of art and assistant to the director, Boris Schatz, but stays for only six or seven months. He marries Helene in Berlin.
- 1907 Signs a contract with the Westermann publishing house in Braunschweig to illustrate a new German-language edition of Bible stories. Birth of son Otto in Charlottenberg, Berlin.
- 1908 Produces his first etchings. Publication of first volume (Volume I) of Bible illustrations.
- 1909 Exhibitions of his work in Vienna and the City Museum in Braunschweig. Publication of the second volume (Volume VI) of Bible illustrations.
- 1910 Second trip to Palestine accompanied by his wife.
- 1911 Birth of daughter Hannah Lilien, in Charlottenburg, Berlin.

- 1912 Publication of the third volume (Volume VII) of Bible illustrations, in several editions of the Lutheran Bible as well as in other versions of the Bible.
- 1914 Third trip to Palestine. Returns to Berlin at the outbreak of First World War.
- 1915 At age forty-one, volunteers for the Austrian army. His job is to escort convoys to the Eastern European front.
- 1916 Drafted into the Austrian Military Press Corps as a war photographer.
- 1917 As a member of the Office of Information of the Austrian Army, makes fourth and final trip to Palestine, as well as Turkey and Syria.
- 1918 Returns to Berlin after the war. Resides in Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf, Berlin.
- 1920 Moves to Wolfenbütteler Straße 3, Braunschweig (BT.2, BT.3). Registers in Braunschweig on 1 June 1920, becoming a national of Braunschweig. (Lilien had been an Austrian national until then.)
- 1924 Opening of exhibition marking Lilien's fiftieth birthday. Chaim Weizmann, leader of the Zionist movement, delivers the inaugural address.
- 1925 Dies on 17 July at Badenweiler, a spa resort, and is buried at the Friedhöfe Helmstedter Strasse, Braunschweig (BT.1).

Addendum:

Helene left Braunschweig in 1939, on the eve of the Second World War, for England, and eventually settled in Denmark where she died in 1971. Hannah, a scientist, left Germany sometime before the Second World War. She married Bernard Peters and lived in Denmark. They had two children, Tom Peters and Susan Peters. Otto immigrated to Palestine in 1937 where he was an expert in printing techniques. He lived in Rehovot with his wife Lore. Otto joined the British Royal Air Force in 1940 as a photographer. Otto and Lore had two children, Hannah Lilien-Kipnis and Chava Givoni.



BT.1 Grave of Helene and Ephraim Moses Lilien, Braunschweig (Brunswick). Reproduced from a photograph. Courtesy of Owen Watkinson, 2018.



BT.2 The Magnus-Lilien home at 3 Wolfenbütteler Straße 3, Braunschweig (Brunswick).
Reproduced from a photograph. Courtesy of the Centre for Jewish Art, Braunschweig.



BT.3 E. M. Lilien, The Magnus-Lilien home at 3 Wolfenbütteler Straße 3, Braunschweig (Brunswick), 1913, etching, P74.09.2500. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Laura Lachman.

Notes

- 1 For this information, see Ekkard Hieronimus, 'E. M. Lilien, Leben und Werk,' in Lilien, *Briefe*, 10. See also the biographical information in Bar-Am, *PwL*.
- 2 Sergey R. Kratsov, ed., *Thoughts of a Polish Jew: To Kasieńka from Grandpa Artur Lilien-Brzozdowiecki* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2016), 57.
- 3 Brieger, *EML*, 48–61.

Introduction

If Benjamin said that history had hitherto been written from the standpoint of the victor, and needed to be written from that of the vanquished, we might ask that knowledge must indeed present a fatefully linear succession of victory and defeat, but should also address itself to those things which fell by the wayside – what might be called the waste products and blind spots that have escaped the dialectic.

—Theodor W. Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life*

Finding blind spots

Ephraim Moses Lilien was the first major Zionist artist. His construction of a Jewish and national art produced an aesthetic high point, albeit brief, in the flowering of cultural Zionism, an important breakaway movement of early Zionism at the turn of the twentieth century.¹ From the publication of his first Jewish illustrations in *Juda* (c. 1900) to his creation of heroic Jewish biblical figures (between 1908 and 1912), Lilien's male imagery formed the focus of most of the historical, cultural, and aesthetic analyses of his artwork. In the attempt to understand and historicise his images of the 'New Jew', scholars have ignored Lilien's 'new Jewish woman', an image he consciously developed as a counterpart to his new Jewish man. What has largely 'fallen by the wayside', to quote Adorno, is any serious consideration of Lilien's images of the female partner to this important metaphor of the 'new Jew' or 'new Hebrew'.² This book examines Lilien's representation of the Jewish female body at the *fin de siècle*, arguing that his depictions of women were a significant part of his oeuvre. It was often Lilien's images of women, rather than men, that reflected the precarious position of Central European Jews who were caught between identification with the 'alien', 'exotic', 'barbaric' East, and the 'civilised' West.

Certainly, a few scholars have discussed Lilien's representations of the alluring and erotic *femme fatales* or focused on his later biblical landscapes.³ However, it is his renderings of the strong, muscular, male Jew that have been used, particularly from the 1990s onwards, as an important trope informing much of the discussion around the construction of Zionism, Jewish identity, and political emancipation in *fin-de-siècle* European Jewish history.⁴ In this gendered narrative, Lilien constructed a 'new [male] Jew' or 'new Hebrew' that was no longer the stereotypical intellectual debating in cosmopolitan Berlin coffee houses or the pale Yeshiva student poring over religious

texts. Rather, the ‘new Jew’ motivated by Lilien’s vision of a socialist utopia was tanned and muscular from physical work as an agricultural labourer. In fact, Lilien’s representations of the muscular Jewish male body foreshadowed the *halutz* (pioneer settler) and the *tzabar* (native-born Israeli citizen) forty years before these Zionist body types became part of the Israeli national myth in 1948.⁵ Since this book presents Lilien’s art thematically rather than chronologically, this chapter begins with a brief overview of his life, cultural milieu, and masculine imagery. Only then can we consider the important questions regarding his representation of women and their significance.

Ephraim Moses Lilien: A concise biography

Lilien was born in 1874 in Drohobycz, a small multicultural town in the province of Galicia,⁶ which, at the time, was part of the eastern Austrian-Hungarian Habsburg Empire. His lifetime spans the period from German Jewish emancipation (1871) through the turbulent years of the *fin de siècle*, when he produced his major work, and includes the First World War, the Balfour Declaration, and its aftermath. His artistic production provides a remarkable case study of the problems faced by German-speaking Jewry in Central Europe during this period.

In the years following Austrian and German unification, and particularly in the last decades of the nineteenth century, Europe’s Jews struggled with the effects of increasing antisemitism and assimilation.⁷ Both predicaments were the by-product of a complex interaction with modernity, and would eventually lead to the same outcome: the near extinction of European Jewry.⁸ Lilien’s construction of the ‘new Jew’ was a national answer to Jewish difference. He developed his Zionist vision as a crucial strategy of resistance to the problems of Jewish citizenship and Jewish alterity.⁹

Lilien’s artistic vision integrated Max Nordau’s late-nineteenth-century concept of the regenerated ‘muscular Jewish gentleman’ with Martin Buber’s proposal for a spiritually inspired renewal of Friedrich Nietzsche’s ‘*Übermensch*’.¹⁰ Buber’s ‘Jewish Renaissance’ was a specifically German, modernist vision that privileged art, specifically the visual arts, over literature. Nordau’s ‘muscular Jewry’ was directly influenced by Theodor Herzl’s political Zionism. Lilien creatively blended Buber’s and Nordau’s ideas in his youthful and rebellious Jugendstil illustrations, the German equivalent to Art Nouveau.¹¹ This heady combination helped bring his art to the attention of many Jewish German modernists eager to create a new Jewish and national aesthetic for the modern age.¹² By 1903, only three years after the publication of his first book of illustrations with their specifically Jewish vision, Lilien’s art had become so popular that a book on his oeuvre was already in print.¹³ Stefan Zweig, the Austrian-born Jewish writer and journalist (1881–1942), wrote the foreword to the collection.¹⁴ The two met for the first time in Berlin when Zweig was just nineteen years old and not yet famous.¹⁵

In 1906, Lithuanian-born Boris Schatz (1867–1932) set up the first Jewish national art school, the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, in Jerusalem, for which he used Lilien’s design as the logo (Fig. 1.1).¹⁶ He also employed Lilien as a teacher. To this

day, Lilien's revival of iconography associated with Judaism, such as the *Magen David* (the Shield or Star of David), the menorah (the seven-branched candlestick), and the cherubim (the winged angels who guard the *mishkan* or tabernacle), remains a major part of his legacy at Bezalel.¹⁷ He had a significant influence on the early Bezalel teachers and students, especially Shmuel Ben-David (Bulgaria, 1884–1927), who was born in Sofia, and like Schatz, had studied art there, Ze'ev Raban (b. Łódź, Poland 1890–1970) and Ya'akov Stark (b. Kraków, 1881–1915), who all appropriated Lilien's stylistic renderings and symbols.¹⁸ Likewise, his prophetic construction of the 'new muscular Jew' continues to reverberate in the Israeli psyche and appears on stamps, book covers, and Passover *Haggadot* throughout the Jewish world (Figs. I.2, I.3, and I.4).¹⁹ In Kazimierz, Kraków, Israeli street artists decorated the side of a three-storey building with a homage to Lilien in 2014 (Fig. I.5).²⁰



Figure I.1 E. M. Lilien, Logo of Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, c. 1906, ink and gouache on cardboard, B03496. Collection The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Peter Lanyi.



Figure 1.2. Israeli stamps from 1977, commemorating Lilien's art from the Fifth Zionist Congress of 1905. <http://www.boelie.com/content/1977/209.html>, accessed 5 September 2009. Courtesy of Boelim Stamps, Israel.

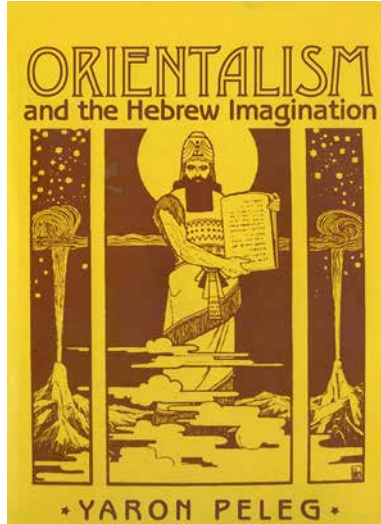


Figure I.3 Book cover, Yaron Peleg, *Orientalism and the Hebrew Imagination* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005). Courtesy of Cornell University Press.

A Rabbi's Memoir of Berlin, 1933-1937

RABBI ZACHARIA FRINZ recalls that in Nazi Germany Jewish holidays assumed a new importance. . . .

"No longer were they perfunctory observances of the day. They became part of the context of danger, fear, death and hope in which we lived. Passover was now the great day of hope for delivery from our own Egypt. The whips which beat the naked bodies of Jewish slaves in Egypt were the very same that struck our bodies. Slavery was no longer an abstract term, foreign to the world of the nineteenth century. We could now identify with the slaves for we, ourselves, were third-class citizens, and therefore slaves. Those people who had been taken from their homes and whom we no longer saw, but about whose fate we knew, illustrated the Haggadah in colors much more telling than those of the most graphic illustrations we had ever seen.

"The Passover begins, 'from slavery unto freedom,' became the song of our lives. If the slaves of Egypt could be delivered from their fate, so would we. All the steps of the seder table were being with new emphasis and new meaning and great religious fervor. When we read that, for every generation one is obligated to see oneself as one who personally went out from Egypt and it was not only our ancestors whom God saw, but from slavery, the identification was complete. It was not historic memory, it was not history at all. It was the reality



Abraham's Descendants will be like the Stars (Genesis 15)

of every day and the hope of every person. Some day, we said, we shall be free. But the greatest identification came when we read: "Not merely one generation but many generations shall be born to you, and you shall be like the stars of the sky." What more did we want? How much deeper could Jewish identification with the people go? Here it was. The generation was upon us. But some day we would be saved. It did not then know that it was later to sing "We shall overcome some day" with Martin Luther King. But when I did, I remembered the song of the seder table under the bitter oranges.



Figure I.4 E. M. Lilien, *Abraham's descendants will be like the stars* (Genesis 15). In *The Family Participation Haggadah*, ed. David Dishon and Noam Zion (Jerusalem: The Shalom Hartman Institute, 1977), 77. Courtesy of the Shalom Hartman Institute.



Figure I.5 Broken Fingaz Graffiti Collective, *Homage to E. M. Lilien*, Kazimierz, Kraków, 2014. Photograph by author.