STUDIA ORIENTALIA
112

Studia Orientalia

Volume 112

Published by the Finnish Oriental Society

Helsinki 2012

Studia Orientalia, vol. 112, 2012

Societas Orientalis Fennica
c/o Department of World Cultures
P.O. Box 59 (Unioninkatu 38 B)
FI-00014 University of Helsinki
FINLAND

Typesetting

Lotta Aunio

ISSN 0039-3282
ISBN 978-951-9380-81-0

WS Bookwell Oy
Jyväskylä 2012

CONTENTS

ZIONIST RESTITUTION OF THE UGLY JEW'S IMAGE: THE CASE OF THEODOR HERZL

Artur Kamczycki
Adam Mickiewicz University

ABSTRACT

Theodore Herzl (1860–1904), as the son of a respected banker, fully indulged himself in the privileges of the bourgeois life.[1] He was a dandy or a snob, who held great disdain for those Jews whom he believed to be old-fashioned and looking "different". His view reflects a wider socio-cultural phenomenon among Jews, called *Selbsthass*, which is characterized by open criticism of the Jewish culture by Jews who consider Jewish ethnic features to be "ugly and stigmatic". Like many other Jews at that time, Herzl strived to completely adopt a lifestyle, custom, manner, and appearance that would make his Jewishness invisible.

However, during his stay in Paris he realised that emancipation could serve only as camouflage rather than a change in the perception of Jews in Europe. As a result, he revised his attitude towards the issue of ethnic visualisation which, from that time on, would constitute one of the focal points of Zionism's attention.

This process of a visual restitution, which started at the turn of the nineteenth century, concerned many aspects of Jewish culture. Jewishness was no longer a matter of religion, but a question of racial representation, physiognomic differences, and pertinent aesthetic values, with the evolution of Herzl's image being an accurate reflection of the process.

1 The analyses of Herzl's visualisation have also been published in my article entitled "Theodor Herzl and anthropology of physiognomy" in *Studia Judaica* 2/26 (2010). However, it is concerned with Zionist studies on strictly anthropological visualisation, with its departing point being the contemporary (the turn of the 19th century) studies on races. It is also based on different argumentation and employs different visual material as its basis.

Studia Orientalia 112 (2012), pp. 17–34

INTRODUCTION

Theodor Zeev Benjamin Herzl (1860–1904) was the creator of the Zionist ideology that changed the image of Jewishness in the twentieth century and led to the creation of the state of Israel. In his works, *Das Neue Ghetto* (Herzl 1898) and *Der Judenstaat* (Herzl 1896; see also Herzl 1898; Bein et al. 1983–1996) in particular, he called for an improvement of the so-called national Jewish character, which focused to a large extent on aesthetic categories, as well as categories of culture, society, mentality, and others.

What constitutes the point of departure for the analysis below is the issue of the stereotypical image of a Jew, which at the turn of the nineteenth century was considered to be visually negative. According to many Zionists, including Herzl himself, the difficult situation of life-in-exile for Jews in the Diaspora resulted in an extremely negative image of a Jew, who was viewed in an unaesthetic way as a deformed and repulsive human being. This perception, although neutral and often not resulting from anti-Semitic rhetoric, was a type of Jewish representation which Zionism did not accept but sought to reject, remedy, or improve. Thus, the idea of *return* initiated and propagated by Theodore Herzl in Europe – considered as a complex sociological, cultural, and political phenomenon – called for a visual restitution of the Jews. This was one of the imperatives included in the Zionist agenda, as understood in a broad sense.

What comes up in the process of analysis is quite interesting: the image of the initiator of Zionism becomes a key exemplum and driving force behind this change of perception. Herzl gradually changed his own image to constitute not only a reflection of these new ideological tendencies, but also to demonstrate the imperative for changes in the image of Jewishness. He also served as a "carrier" of the idea of new identity. Henceforth, as the leader of Zionism, Herzl was supposed to be a personification of his people, whereas his codified image was designed to express new ideas of Jewishness and embody Zionism (that is, the new image of the Jews).

Herzl decided to share his ideas with many of the representatives of different Jewish circles worldwide. This led to the First Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897, where the World Zionist Organization was founded (Haumann 1997). Many participants of the first congresses (such as E.M. Lilien, L. Pilichowski, A. Nossig, S. Hirszenberg, K. Pollak, and M. Okin) were graduates of art schools and, therefore, the issues that were discussed also included aesthetics and art among Jews, as well as the question of a new representation of Jewishness (see, e.g. Schmidt 2003; Malinowski 1997: 312–315). Thus, art – an important aspect of the new Jewish culture, understood mostly as a Zionist medium – constituted

a major force in constructing a Zionist ideology that would employ artistic and visual means (Berkowitz 1993; 2000). Herzl's own image and iconography were very prominent elements, as he became the most important icon of Zionism. The fame and popularity he enjoyed made his face and his customary posture known throughout the whole Diaspora. After the first congresses, his portraits were displayed in all Zionist offices, auditoriums, libraries, and schools, as well as many other places (Berkowitz 1990).

His image was presented using various stylistic and ideological conventions and, therefore, constitutes a multilayered "carrier", reflecting the evolution and changes of the ideology. Thus, Herzl provided an image from which can be derived many iconographic motifs and sequences that were characteristic of the movement. These motifs concern a number of significant issues at that time, including the developing fields of anthropology and psychology, which were a part of the rubric of Orientalism.

Figure 1 Photo of T. Herzl as a *Gerichtspraktikant* (1882, Central Zionist Archive in Jerusalem).

ASSIMILATION DILEMMAS

Before Zionism ever entered the political arena, however, Herzl struggled with the problem of his own visualisation, which was connected with the contemporary issues of emancipation of the Jews, as well as stereotypes about their visual representation (Pick 1989; Gilman 1991; 1998).

From the time when Herzl studied law at the University of Vienna, there exist three pictures in which he is portrayed with his hair swept back, moustache pointed and slightly raised, and his sideburns modelled in a distinctive manner (Fig. 1).[2] Herzl's appearance from that time is not only a product of the contemporary fashion, but first and foremost reflects the culture of Vienna and a full approval of its values. It does not reveal his Jewish identity, but is an attempt to "merge" with the typical non-Jewish mode of visualisation, with the German culture being the model (his mother wanted him to be a "Deutscher Schriftsteller"; see Beller 1991: 8; Kornberg 1993: 27).

Herzl was brought up in an atmosphere of emancipation that focused on social prestige. According to his parents, Jews needed to modernize their image in order to become respectable citizens. Being a son of a respected banker, Herzl indulged in the privileges of a bourgeois life and was – as Ruth A. Bevan writes – "a sort of dandy or a snob". He held great disdain for those Jews whom he believed to be old-fashioned and looking "different" (Bevan 1997: 27). Thus, he considered Germanic features to constitute an ideal of physical beauty and Jewish traits to be "ugly and stigmatic".

As early as 1885, Herzl wrote in a telegram to his parents: "Yesterday at *grand soirée* at *Treitel's*. Some thirty or forty ugly little Jews and Jewesses. No consoling sight." (Bein et al. 1983–1996 I: 212; Beller 1991: 12, n. 22) A little later, when he was staying in Paris as a correspondent of the Vienna journal *Die Neue Freie Presse*, Herzl visited a local synagogue and noted in his diary: "I had a look at the Parisian Jews and indeed I noticed similarities in names; audacious and unfortunate faces, furtive and cunning eyes." (See, e.g. Kornberg 1999: 16–17.) Moreover, after Herzl's visit to the Roman ghetto, he wrote: "They do not realize that they are creatures of the ghetto and most of our people are just like them." (See, e.g. Wistrich 1995: 15.)

When German youth associations started to manifest their anti-Semitic inclinations even more strongly, Herzl did not consider the protests to be aimed at him or his social sphere, but at Jews who had not integrated; that is, those who had not shed the old outfit and typical "Jewish appearance" (Beller 1991: 5; Mittelmann

2 This manner of modeling the beard strongly resembles that seen in representations of Franz Joseph.

1999: 27). In 1882, when Eugen Dühring published the anti-Semitic treatise *Die Judenfrage als Frage Rassencharakters und seiner Schädlichkeit für Existenz und Kultur der Völker* ('The Jewish question as a racial question'), Herzl considered the book to exemplify the kind of anti-Semitism that he himself supported.

It should be pointed out that the outlook that Herzl had at that time was a wider socio-cultural phenomenon present among Jews, called *Selbsthass*, which was characterized by an open disapproval of the Jewish culture by Jews themselves.[3] Herzl considered Dühring's work as obligatory reading, as it reflected the negative image of the Jews who were not emancipated – "what history spoiled (ghetto), history can fix by (assimilation) emancipation" (see, e.g. Kornberg 1999: 16) – as Herzl himself would claim. In Dühring's opinion, however, the problem was that the Jewish race was irreparable. Although Jews might "modernize" themselves in accordance with European styles, their Jewishness was still distinctive to Europeans themselves, making them recognisable as Jews – and visually and ethnically different in a negative way (Beller 1991: 6). Emancipation and acculturation could not change them, but only serve as a partial disguise. Herzl and many other Jews at that time strived for a full adoption of different lifestyle, custom, mentality, ambitions, and appearance in order to become invisible as Jews. Herzl's intent to make his physiognomy look "Austrian" stemmed from this.

RACE SCIENCES

The issue of visualisation of Jews was a subject of much debate in the culture of that time. In spite of attempts to mask biological and anatomical differences with outfits, haircuts, gestures, and so forth, according to many contemporary theoreticians, Jews continued to be conspicuous (Gilman 1996).

This *ethno-aesthetic* problem was also analysed for Zionism by Sigmund Freud. He used the term *unheimlich*, calling it a "secret quality of Jewishness that has been ringing constantly over the ages of history". (Freud 1995: 248, n. 1) As the inability to overcome the burden of the Jewish appearance, an inability that evokes a certain "fear of unmasking", *unheimlich* can be defined as "all that should be hidden and secret but becomes revealed, displayed and brought to light". It is a negative representation of Jewishness – an inherent, inerasable and inevitable feature of Jews that manifests in their typical ethnic visualisation (Gilman 1997; see also Kamczycki 2010: 330–331).

---

3 Lessing's book entitled *Der Jüdische Selbsthass* (1930) was an important study of this visual aspect of the Jews. See also Gilman 1990.

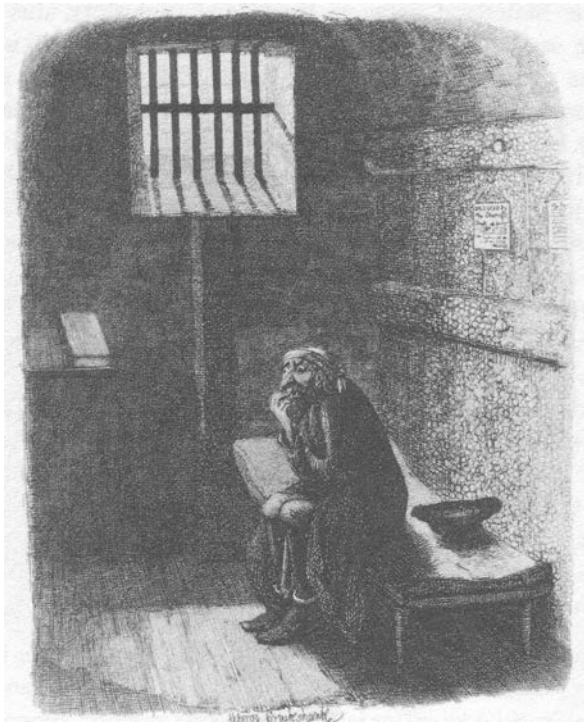

Figure 2 Fagin (Nochlin & Garb (eds) 1995: 51).

Similar studies were also conducted by a number of Jewish anthropologists at that time, most of whom were involved in the Zionist movement (e.g. Joseph Jacobs, Maurice Fishberg, Feliks von Luschan, Ludwig Schleich, Herman Judt, August Sandler, and Elias Auerbach; for an important study of this issue, see Efron 1994). However, these anthropological studies largely relied on artistic terminology (with descriptions like sickness, degeneration, healthy, beautiful or ugly race, harmonious Semitic beauty of the face, noble, ethnic head-shape, etc.) and pieces of art to support certain assumptions.

The genesis of this sort of ethnic analysis of the visualisation of Jews dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century (Fig. 2). Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist* provides a key example of the period. In 1863, the second edition of Dickens' book was issued. It featured 24 illustrations by George Cruikshank that depict one of the characters, Fagin, as a typical Jew (Steyn 1995: 42). He was portrayed as a negative, repulsive figure that reflected the stereotypical image of Jews at that time.[4] In one of her letters to Dickens, Eliza Davies accused him of having

4 Both Dickens and Cruikshank employ a wide range of signs, attributes and references to iden-

created a distorted picture of Judaism and promoting of a negative image of the Jews (Eliza Davies' letter to Charles Dickens 22 June 1863; in Roth 1938; see also Steyn 1995: 42). Dickens replied that he had called Fagin a Jew because of his race, not because of his religion (Charles Dickens' letter to Eliza Davies 10 July 1863; see also Steyn 1995: 43; Kamczycki 2010: 326–327).

Oliver Twist was written when scientific studies were still in their infancy and connected mostly with Darwinism. The contemporary belief that human nature, behaviour, language, and appearance are determined by biology provided a ground for classifications and race hierarchies.

Thus, as Dickens would claim, Darwinism legitimized the idea that Jews can be classified in terms of race categories used to denote important differences between nations. In this sense, Fagin represented the Jewish nation from the past, present, and the future, or rather its contemporary perception. In that light, the illustrations seem to be closely related to the text. In fact, Dickens gave Cruikshank accurate instructions on how to portray this character. This direct connection between written word and image, as well as their mutual influence on each other, constitutes a very suggestive visual medium – a living relationship between the verbal and the visual that brings the spheres of myth and the real to the same level (Steyn 1995: 43). However, this Jewish character seems to be reminiscent of the perception of the demonic Jew seen in mediaeval times. In the middle of the nineteenth century, as Robert Burton (1977: 211–212) writes in *Anatomy of Melancholy*, this mediaeval image was connected to physical "abnormalities" attributed to Jews (see Wistrich 1999). It resulted from the fact that myths at that time were popular enough and strong enough to provide a substitute for reality. Thus, as an analogue for all Jews, Fagin is portrayed by means of conventions of how Jews were perceived (that is, by means of already defined meanings), not according to actual observation. The figure is located between a subject and an object, between the Jew who is construed as a regulating idea and a real Jewish individual (in his analysis of Fagin's image (as an object) Steyn (1995: 45, n. 11) refers to *Identity Thinking* by Adorno; see also Held 1980: 202; Kamczycki 2010: 327–328).

Herzl surely referred to the same premises and modes of reception of Jewishness (that is, to a certain stereotypical image of Jews in Europe), rather than to reality. It is worth pointing out that most of Herzl's negative accounts

tify Fagin with Jewishness. In these illustrations, one can see the dominant, stereotypical negative representation of the "Jewish physiognomy". They also use the outfits and postures of the "Jewish code" that denotes "a Jew".

Figure 3 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. Picture for *Au Pied du Sinai* by G. Clemenceau, Paris, 1897 (Fuchs 1921: 215).

of Jewish appearance originated in France and refer to French culture. One such example comes from the time when Herzl was staying in Paris.

The same text-image relationship is also apparent in illustrations (cover and ten pictures) done by Toulouse-Lautrec for a short story by Georges Clemenceau from 1898, entitled *Au Pied du Sinai* (Murray 1995: 57–82; Fig. 3). Toulouse-Lautrec drew inspiration for his characters from *La Tournelle*, a Jewish district of Paris frequented by many immigrants from Central Western Europe. They were portrayed in the prevalent stylistic mode as "stooped, primitive, repulsive, alien, strange-looking, strangely clad individuals, wearing fur caps, beards, ugly long and curly side locks, long coats; with sharp, oriental facial features" (Murray 1995: 77). This manner of representation, like Fagin's image, is the product of an analytical observation of society, as well as stereotypes and the "generalized" way of reception.[5]

5 This description of "types" is neither negative nor positive. They are not vulgar, and they lack the scathing and satirical irony so typical of Toulouse-Lautrec. In comparison to his other public works, these are extremely stylistic and almost abstract. According to Murray, they have "more emotional authenticity" than his social posters. See Murray 1995: 71–72.

Moreover, this representation seems to come from an equation of the contemporary Jews from Central Western Europe and the stereotypical image of Ahaswerus (Edelman 1986: 7–8). At the end of the nineteenth century, along with the influx of the *Ostjuden* over the Western Europe, Jews – because of their scruffy appearance and permanent migration – started to be perceived as identical with the Wandering Jew, which is exemplified by a great number of postcards, press illustrations, and other sources from that time (Anderson 1965).

Such a way of portraying Jews, no matter if it was stereotypical or stemmed from observation, was a serious dilemma for the emerging Zionist postulates that called for the creation of a brand new, "revitalized" Jew (and his image) capable of creating a new state.

NEW PHYSIOGNOMY

In the wake of calls for ethnic distinction, which were becoming stronger and stronger, Herzl initially claimed that acculturation might play an important role in the restitution of the *despised physiognomy* of the Jews that had been distorted by ages of isolation and endogamous upbringing (Bein et al. 1983–1996 I: 609–610; see also Kornberg 1993: 17, n. 3; Beller 1991: 6). What followed was the concept of mixed marriages, which was supposed to improve the Jewish profile. This practice, called *Mischling*, involved crossbreeding between Jews and non-Jews. A popular subject of social debates at the turn of the nineteenth century, it provided a theme for many papers, dramas, and short stories, as well as scientific dissertations and artistic activities, especially in the German-speaking culture (Weindling 1989: 531–532; Poppel 1977; Gay 1992).

As an analogy to the aforementioned phenomenon, it is worth referring to a poster by an anonymous artist, which was put on the Reichstag wall in 1920 and included in Edward Fuchs's canonical book *Juden in der Karikatur* the following year (Fuchs 1921: 303; Fig. 4). The foreground of the poster features a young woman of light complexion and a typical Aryan profile, presented in accordance with the contemporary ethnographic canons of ethnic representation. Behind her is found a caricature of the so-called "model Jew" with the exaggerated features of his race, which evoke Herzl's description of *despised physiognomy*. It has to be remembered that these characters are not only individuals, but they also constitute incarnations of national ideas: the woman depicts Germany and the Jew represents the European Jewish community. Moreover, this juxtaposition should also be seen through the prism of the social pressure to hide the ethnic differences (understood in terms of hierarchisation) of certain nations living in various countries. Thus, while the poster from the Reichstag wall appears to evoke the *Mischling* phenom-

enon, in this case it also implies a sort of aesthetic danger; it suggests that mixed marriages only distort the Germanic beauty.

This new ethnic criterion of iconisation and visualisation of certain nations referred also to Herzl himself. Despite the aesthetic camouflage of his "Austrian" physiognomy, he remained ethnically recognisable. Herzl's personal experiences were also of great importance. When verbally abused in the streets of Munich and Vienna with such expressions as "Hep Hep and Saujude", Herzl understood that his ethnic *otherness* was easily noticeable and that he was perceived as a *typical* Jew (Bein et al. 1983–1996 I: 4–5; see also Mittelmann 1999: 27). He became aware that emancipation, instead of providing a positive solution, only enhanced the marginalisation of Jews. In 1893 in Paris, while writing *Das Neue Ghetto*, Herzl spoke with sculptor Samuel Beer. He told him that Jews needed to transform their own identity by rejecting vices and finding a source of pride and self-respect (see, e.g. Kornberg 1993: 130; Robertson 1999: 40). From now on, he intended to plot a course in the opposite direction by highlighting the condemned otherness of Jewish separation and, thus, imparting new and positive qualities to it.

Not only did Herzl revise his views on the *Jewish question*, but he also changed his appearance. He trimmed his slightly raised and swept back hair, and he shaved

Figure 4 Poster from 1920 by anonymous author (Fuchs 1921: 303).

off his sideburns. Furthermore, he grew a long beard, which became an inseparable element of his appearance (Fig. 5).

This new image was inspired by the ancient roots of the Jews, which came to light with the attention received by Orientalism in the nineteenth century. The revived interest in oriental culture was mainly due to contemporary archaeological findings in France, England, Germany, and the Middle East (Bohrer 2003; Said 1978). The interest was not only about Jews, but reflected a wider fascination with Assyrian reliefs that had been brought to Europe. Through positive association with these, European Jews came to be understood as heirs of the ancient world.

Figure 5 Herzl as a Parisian correspondent of *Die Neue Freie Presse*, 1894 (Central Zionist Archive in Jerusalem).

Thus, the new "Parisian" image of Herzl was a conscious aesthetic "move" based on the new reception of Jewishness connected to archaeology and the Orient (Davidson Kalmar & Penslar 2005). Portrayal of the Zionist leader with a long black beard (inspired by Assyrian images), a typical feature of the traditional Jewish physiognomy, made identification with Herzl possible for the emancipated Jews of Western Europe, especially for religious individuals and those following traditional Judaism (Berkowitz 1990: 19).

In this sense, the intentional modification of Herzl's Assyrian image started the process of visual restitution and a revision of cultural values. As an incarnation of Zionism who sought to capture all aspects of the visualisation of Jews, Herzl no longer represented himself but rather a redefined picture of Jewry as a whole. He was supposed to be a personification of the future country's nation, with his codified picture representing Zionism and its ideas. In these pictures, he seems "solemn, proud, dignified, attractive, impeccably clad, physically strong, masculine but still with features that make him recognisable as a Jew" (Berkowitz 1990: 24–25). This notion of handsomeness and attractiveness played an important role in projecting the adopted ideas, with Herzl's portrait supporting the ideology and constituting an object of identification for the Jewish masses.

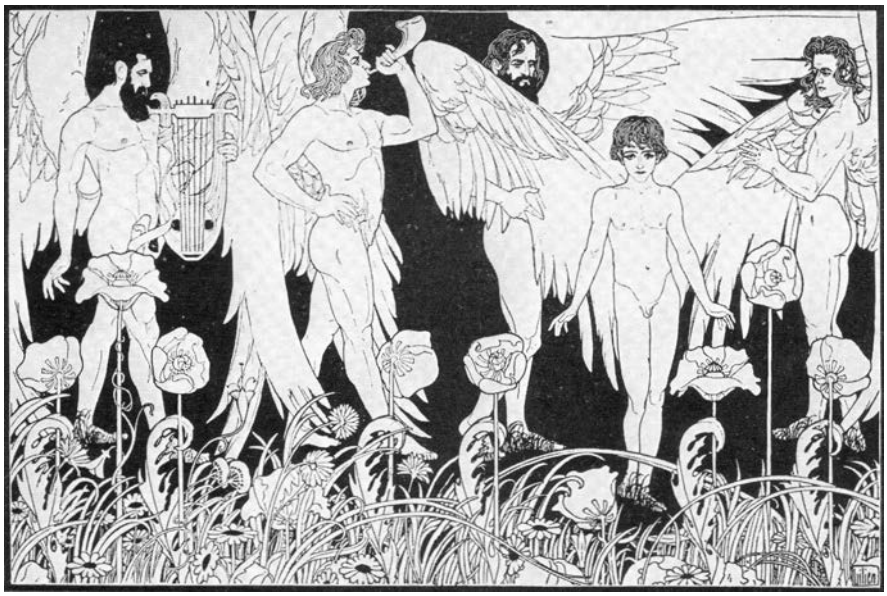

Figure 6 E.M. Lilien, *Die Erschaffung des Menschen* (Weisgal 1929: 113).

CREATION OF MAN

In 1902, Ephraim Moses Lilien used a series of drawings entitled *Die Erschaffung des Menschen* ('The creation of men') in Bertold Feiwel's (1903) book *Lieder des Ghetto*,[6] where he depicted a naked and muscular Theodore Herzl (Fig. 6). These images underline an important Zionist concept: the creation of the so-called "New Jew" (Halpern & Reinharz 2000; Kieval 2000: 143; Shapira 1999) by highlighting physical fitness and inner strength in an attempt to deconstruct the stereotypical and visually negative image of Jews.[7]

Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophy, which had become a subject of debates at certain Zionist congresses, was an important inspiration for these concepts (Golomb 2004: 23–45, particularly Chapter "Thus Spoke Herzl"; see also

6 The word "Erschaffung" refers to a perfective form of the word "creation"; however, in the interpretation of the discussed aspect it is used in an imperfective form, which signifies a process of creation, a stage on the way to the creation of the "New Man".

7 At the first Zionist congress in 1897, Max Nordau gave a presentation entitled "Übermensch" (subtitled "Muskeljudentum"), published in November 1900 in Herzl's *Neue Freie Presse* as well as in *Jüdische Turnzeitung* the same year. Nordau's text initiated a debate that raged for several years on the qualities of the anatomical categories of the new Jewish "body" (Muskeljudentum, *Jüdische Turnzeitung,* June 1900). He included the same ideas in the book *Entartung* (1896; first published in 1892), as well as in the drama *Doktor Kohn: Burgliches Trauerspiel aus der Gegenwart* (1902).

Golomb 2000; Ohana 1995: 38–60). According to Nietzsche, ancient Judaism represented strength and power, with traditional Biblical heroes being characterized by "beauty, spontaneity, impulsiveness, strong instinct and courage" (see, e.g. Golomb 2004: 171).

While looking for inspirations in Nietzsche, theoreticians and Zionist artists also tried to find references to their vitality through the exegesis of Biblical texts. To legitimize these qualities, Herzl was depicted as Saul, Samson, Jacob, David, Salomon, Judas Maccabeus, Mattathias, and many other heroes. Thus, Herzl's image was intended to counter the negative visualisation of the Jew's image and constitute a means of restitution. (Wistrich 1995: 32; Stanislawski 2001: 80–81; see also Gelber 2000)

In *The Creation of Man*, Lilien depicted Herzl as naked, which in the context of religious Jewish culture could seem intentionally controversial or even blasphemous. This nudity, however, is not only about physicality but also the visualisation of an idea. In his groundbreaking book *Nationalism and Sexuality* (1985), (which draws overt inspirations from the Zionist Max Nordau; Stanislawski 2001: 93), George Mosse argues that the late nineteenth century concept of masculinity, based on the Greek standard of beauty of a male body, was adopted by European nationalism as a way of representing national symbolism and stereotypes. This evident homoerotism, according to Mosse, became a means of representing national ideas and the manifestation of dominance over all minorities. Such "politicisation" of the body was paradoxically also adopted by Zionism, and it constituted an important aspect of the national projection of Jews, understood in terms of a restitution of the image of Jewishness.

Freud notes that the Jewish-European (Jewish-Aryan) cultural relationship should be understood as a juxtaposition of subject and object: the Aryan is defined as an observer, while the Jew is a passive object of observation (see, e.g. Gilman 1996: 154). In terms of this reconceptualisation of ethnic identity, Zionism is no longer a passive, observed Jewishness but an active observer that creates its own image. It should be stressed that Zionism is not trying to mask Jewishness, but wants to reveal it in a different and positive light.

Unlike the passiveness of the Jews discussed in the works of Cruikshank and Loutrec, Herzl's image is an "active" Zionist self-representation. The aim of Zionism was neither to negate this way of representation nor to fight the tendency to view Jewishness as other, but to impart positive meanings to them.

CONCLUSION

The figure of Herzl was presented in such a way that it could be juxtaposed with the examples of the iconography of Jews that Zionists viewed as negative. The image of Herzl and the meaning that accompanied it came to define the new iconography of Jews, and they served as a vehicle for new values, including aesthetic ones.

Moreover, the image of Herzl as a representative of European Jewishness was designed to replace the negative perception of the Jews in European circles. In contrast to the passivity discussed in studies on religious Jews (and the negative reception of Jews in Europe), Herzl's image provided an "active" and conscious Zionist auto-representation. Herzl himself became "a pioneer of a historical socio-cultural experiment by creating *a personal authenticity* for the whole Jewish community" (Golomb 2004: 31).

Der Judenstaat was written not only as a reaction to the failure of emancipation and assimilation, but suggested a constructive solution to the Jewish syndrome of marginalisation and the picture of the socio-cultural backwardness of the Jews in the Diaspora. Herzl intended to incorporate this vision into his own figure, so that it could later become a model for the rest of the so-called "Grenzjuden" (see Liptzin 1944: 195). In this context, Herzl visualized the concept of a new identity and, therefore, overcame the "stereotype of the Jewish shame" described by Freud and associated with the idea of *unheimlich*. Herzl successfully tackled the problem of ambivalence in his own ethnicity and assimilation of an Austrian-German identity. He did this by creating a new image of Jews and by incorporating the "German mode of dignity" into the ancient (yet revised) Jewishness.

As Jacques Kornberg (1999: 23) points out, Herzl would never have become the leader of the Zionist movement if he had not changed his views on assimilation and, what should be stressed even more, his appearance that resulted from an initial desire to assimilate.

REFERENCES

Anderson, G.K. 1965. *The Legend of the Wandering Jew*. Providence: Brown University Press.

Bein, A., H. Greive, M. Schaerf & J.H. Schoeps (eds) 1983–1996. *Theodor Herzl: Briefe und Tagebücher*, I–VII. Frankfurt: Propyläen.

Beller, S. 1991. *Herzl*. London: Halban.

Berkowitz, M. 1990. Art in Zionist Popular Culture and Jewish National Self-Consciousness, 1897–1914. In: E. Mendelsohn (ed.), *Arts and Its Uses: The Visual image and modern Jewish society* (Studies in Contemporary Jewry. An Annual VI): 9–42. NY: OUP.

Berkowitz, M. 1993. *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War*. Cambridge: CUP.

Berkowitz, M. 2000. *The Jewish Self-Image in the West*. NY: NYU Press.

Bevan, R.A. 1997. Theodor Herzl: A Zionist leader. In: S.A. Herskowitz (cur.), *Theodor Herzl: If you will it, it is not a dream* (Exhibition catalogue): 27–35. NY: Yeshiwa University Museum.

Bohrer, F.N. 2003. *Orientalism and Visual Culture: Imagining Mesopotamia in nineteenth-century Europe*. Cambridge: CUP.

Burton, R. 1977. *Anatomy of Melancholy*. NY: Vintage.

Davidson Kalmar, I. & D.J. Penslar (eds) 2005. *Orientalism and the Jews*. Hanover: UPNE.

Edelman, Rafael 1986. Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew: Origin and background. In: G. Hasan-Rokem & A. Dundes (eds), *The Wandering Jew: Essays in the interpretation of a Christian legend*: 1–10. Bloomington: IU Press.

Efron, J. 1994. *Defenders of the Race: Jewish doctors and race science in* fin-de-siecle *Europe*. New Haven: YUP.

Feiwel, B. 1903. *Lieder des Ghetto von Morris Rosenfeld*. Berlin: Marquardt.

Freud, S. 1995. The Uncanny. In: J. Strachey (ed. and tr.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, XVII. London: Hogarth Press.

Fuchs, E. 1921. *Die Juden in der Karikatur: Ein Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte*. München: Langen.

Gay, R. 1992. *The Jews of Germany: A Historical portrait*. New Haven: YUP.

Gelber, M.H. 2000. *Melancholy Pride: Nation, race, and gender in the German literature of culture.* (Conditio Judaica 23) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Gilman, S. 1990. *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the hidden language of the Jew*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Gilman, S. 1991. *The Jew's Body*. London: Routledge.

Gilman, S. 1996. The Jew's body. Thoughts on Jewish physical difference. In: N.L. Kleeblatt (ed.), *Too Jewish? Challenging traditional identities* (Exhibition catalogue): 60–73. NY: Jewish Museum.

Gilman, S. 1997. *Smart Jews: The Construction of the image of Jewish superior intelligence*. Linkoln: UNP.

Gilman, S. 1998. *Love+Marriage=Death: And other essays on representing difference*. Stanford: SUP.

Golomb, J. 2000. Nietzsche's Positive Religion and the Old Testament. In: J. Urpeth & J. ippitt (eds), *Nietzsche and the Divine*: 30–56. Manchester: Clinamen Press.

Golomb, J. 2004. *Nietzsche and Zion*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Halpern, B. & J. Reinharz 2000. *Zionism and the Creation of the New Society*. London: UPNE.

Haumann, H. (ed.) 1997. *The First Zionist Congress in 1897: Causes, significance, topicality*. Basel: Karger.

Held, D. 1980. *Introduction to Critical Theory: Horkheimer to Habermas*. London: Hutchinson.

Herzl, Theodor 1896. *Der Judenstaat: Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage*. Leipzig: Breitenstein.

Herzl, Theodor 1898. *Das Neue Ghetto*. Vienna: self-publishing.

Herzl, Theodor 1900. *Philosophische Erzählungen*. Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel.

Herzl, Theodor 1901. *Der Flüchtung*. Leipzig: M. Breitenstein's.

Herzl, Theodor 1905. *Zionistische Schriften*. Ed. L. Kellner. Berlin: Jüdischer.

Herzl, Theodor 1911. *Feuilletons*, I–II: Berlin/Vienna: Benjamin Harz.

Kamczycki, A. 2010. Theodor Herzl and Anthropology of Physiognomy. *Studia Judaica* 2(26): 323–346.

Kieval, H.J. 2000. Imagining "Masculinity" in the Jewish *fin de siecle*. In: J. Frankel (ed.), *Jews and Gender: The Challenge to history* (Studies in Contemporary Jewry, An Annual XVI): 143–155. Oxford: OUP.

Kornberg, J. 1993. *Theodor Herzl: From assimilation to Zionism*. Bloomington: IU Press.

Kornberg, J. 1999. The Construction of an Identity. In: G. Shimoni & R.S. Wistrich (eds): 15–26.

Lessing, T. 1930. *Der Jüdische Selbsthass*. Berlin: Jüdischer.

Liptzin, S. 1944. *Germany's Stepchildren*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America.

Malinowski, J. 1997. A Jewish National Art: The Ideas of Zionism in the art of the Polish Jews. In: H. Haumann (ed.): 312–315.

Mittelmann, H. 1999. From Comedies of Dissimulation to Dream of an Authentic Life. In: G. Shimoni & R.S. Wistrich (eds): 27–38.

Mosse, G. 1985. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and abnormal sexuality in modern Europe*. NY: H. Fertig.

Murray, G.B. 1995. Toulouse Lautrec's Illustrations for Victor Joze and Georges Clemenceau and their Relationship to French Anti-Semitism of the 1890's. In: L. Nochlin & T. Garb (eds): 57–82.

Nochlin, L. & T. Garb (eds) 1995. *The Jew in the Text: Modernity and the construction of identity*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Nordau, M. 1896. *Entartung*. Berlin: Duncker.

Nordau, M. 1900. Muskeljudentum. *Jüdische Turnzeitung*, June, VI: 9–10.

Nordau, M. 1902. *Doktor Kohn: Burgliches Trauerspiel aus der Gegenwart*. Berlin: Ernst Hoffman.

Ohana, D. 1995. Zarathustra in Jerusalem: Nietzsche and the "New Hebrews". In: R.S. Wistrich & D. Ohana (eds): 38–60.

Pick, D. 1989. *Faces of Degeneration: A European disorder, 1848–1918*. Cambridge: CUP.

Poppel, S.M. 1977. *Zionism in Germany 1897–1933: The Shaping of Jewish identity*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America.

Robertson, R. 1999. The New Ghetto and the Perplexities of Assimilation. In: G. Shimoni & R.S. Wistrich (eds): 39–51.

Said, E.W. 1978. *Orientalism*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Schmidt, G.G. 2003. *The Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress, 1901: Heralds of a New Age*. Syracuse: SU Press.

Shapira, A. 1999. *Land and Power: The Zionist resort to force, 1881–1948*. Stanford: SUP.

Shimoni, G. & R.S. Wistrich (eds) 1999. *Theodor Herzl: Visionary of the Jewish state*. NY: Herzl Press.

Stanislawski, M. 2001. *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky*. Berkeley: UC Press.

Steyn, J. 1995. Charles Dickens' Oliver Twist: Fagin as a sign. In: L. Nochlin & T. Garb (eds): 42–55.

Weindling, P. 1989. *Health, Race, and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*. Cambridge: CUP.

Wistrich, R.S. 1995. Theodor Herzl: Zionist icon, myth-maker, and social utopian. In: R.S. Wistrich & D. Ohana (eds): 1–38.

Wistrich, R.S. (ed.) 1999. *Demonizing the Others: Antisemitism, racism and xenophobia*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Wistrich, R.S. & D. Ohana (eds) 1995. *The Shaping of Israeli Identity: Myth, memory and trauma*. London: Frank Cass.

FURTHER READING

Arbel, R. 1996. *Blue and White in Color: Visual images of Zionism, 1897–1947* (Exhibition catalogue). R. Arbel & Beth Hatefutsoth (curs). Tel Aviv: Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora Tel Aviv.

Avineri, Sh. 1981. *The Making of Modern Zionism. The Intellectual origins of the Jewish state*. NY: Basic Books.

Bein, A. 1934. *Theodor Herzl: Biographie*. Vienna.

Berkowitz, M. 1997. *Western Jewry and the Zionist Project, 1914–1933*. Cambridge: CUP.

Berkowitz, M. 1999. Herzl and the Stock Exchange. In: G. Shimoni & R.S. Wistrich (eds), *Theodor Herzl: Visionary of the Jewish state*: 99–111. NY: Herzl Press.

Berkowitz, M. (ed.) 2004. *Nationalism, Zionism and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill.

Falk, A. 1993. *Herzl, King of the Jews: A Psychoanalytic biography of Theodor Herzl*. Lanham: University Press of America.

Fraenkel, J. 1946. *Theodor Herzl: A Biography*. London: Ararat Publishing Society.

Hecht, R. & Y. Zamora 2006. *When the Shofar Sounds: Herzl, his image, achievements and selections from his writing*, I–II. Haifa: Moledeth Development.

Hertzberg, A. 1997. *The Zionist Idea: A Historical analysis and reader*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America.

Herzl, Theodor 1902. *Altneuland*. Altneueland: Roman, Leipzig: Hermann Seemann.

Nordau, M. 1923. *Zionistische Schriften*. Berlin: Jüdischer.

Reinharz, J. & A. Shapira (eds) 1996. *Essential Papers on Zionism*. NY: NYU Press.

Schoeps, J.H. 1995. *Theodor Herzl 1860–1904: Wenn Ihr wollt, Ist es kein Märchen*. Vienna: Christian Brandtstätter.

Stewart, D. 1974. *Theodor Herzl: Artist and politician*. London: Quartet.

Weisgal, M.W. (ed.) 1929. *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial*. NY: New Palestine.

Author's Address

Artur Kamczycki, PhD
Adam Mickiewicz University
Collegium Europeaum Gnesnense
ul. J. Kostrzewskiego 5-7
62-200 Gniezno
Poznan
Poland
arkam@amu.edu.pl
ewen@poczta.fm