

Interferenz	רִיבּוּן	bezaubert	רִיבּוּן	Drehscheit	רִיבּוּן	Genie	רִיבּוּן
Vorgängig	רִיבּוּן	Regel	רִיבּוּן	liton	רִיבּוּן	genial	רִיבּוּן
Erkennung	רִיבּוּן	Meligenans	רִיבּוּן	bewährigen	רִיבּוּן	Genialität	רִיבּוּן
Genau	רִיבּוּן	Erker	רִיבּוּן	orthodox	רִיבּוּן		רִיבּוּן
Verleumdung	רִיבּוּן	Erker	רִיבּוּן	gelassen führen	רִיבּוּן	vollendes	רִיבּוּן
zugeben	רִיבּוּן	Cistone	רִיבּוּן	verfähen	רִיבּוּן	werden, zu Ende gehen	רִיבּוּן
Verleumdung	רִיבּוּן	Cistone	רִיבּוּן	verabscheuen	רִיבּוּן	Trost	רִיבּוּן
Fliale	רִיבּוּן	Schütz	רִיבּוּן	verwerfen	רִיבּוּן	Solidation	רִיבּוּן
Grade	רִיבּוּן	Schütz	רִיבּוּן	abstürzen	רִיבּוּן		רִיבּוּן
Verbestung	רִיבּוּן	Flaic	רִיבּוּן	Schwindsicht	רִיבּוּן	schwanden	רִיבּוּן
Stilage	רִיבּוּן	Flaic	רִיבּוּן	schwächen	רִיבּוּן	aussehen	רִיבּוּן
Behandlung	רִיבּוּן	Bertelam	רִיבּוּן	verschmachten	רִיבּוּן	zum schliegen	רִיבּוּן
Reparatur	רִיבּוּן	Capitulum bekket	רִיבּוּן	Rehrung	רִיבּוּן	stufen	רִיבּוּן
republikanisch	רִיבּוּן	Kirkbankal	רִיבּוּן	stufen plagen	רִיבּוּן	warmen	רִיבּוּן
	רִיבּוּן	p. Flehnel	רִיבּוּן	fest	רִיבּוּן	Leid	רִיבּוּן
	רִיבּוּן	Werschuss	רִיבּוּן		רִיבּוּן	verteilt werden	רִיבּוּן
	רִיבּוּן	Mehrbedrag	רִיבּוּן		רִיבּוּן		רִיבּוּן

# Wegweiser und Grenzgänger

Studien zur deutsch-jüdischen  
Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte



Schriften des Centrums für Jüdische Studien

Band 30

Herausgegeben von Gerald Lamprecht und Olaf Terpitz

Stefan Vogt, Hans Otto Horch, Vivian Liska,  
Małgorzata A. Maksymiak (Hg.)

# WEGWEISER UND GRENZGÄNGER

Studien zur deutsch-jüdischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte

Festschrift für Mark H. Gelber

BÖHLAU VERLAG WIEN KÖLN WEIMAR

Veröffentlicht mit der Unterstützung durch:

Abrahams-Curiel Department of Foreign Literatures and Linguistics, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

Centrum für Jüdische Studien, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz

Institute of Jewish Studies, University of Antwerp

Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz

The President of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel



**CJS**  
Centrum für Jüdische Studien



Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

© 2018 by Böhlau Verlag Ges.m.b.H & Co. KG, Wien, Kölblgasse 8–10, A-1030 Wien

Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Das Werk und seine Teile sind urheberrechtlich geschützt.

Jede Verwertung in anderen als den gesetzlich zugelassenen Fällen bedarf der vorherigen schriftlichen Einwilligung des Verlages.

Umschlagabbildung: Ausschnitt aus dem Hebräisch-Vokabelheft von Franz Kafka, ca. 1922.

Quelle: The National Library of Israel, Schwad 01 19 268

Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Dieses Werk ist urheberrechtlich geschützt.

Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist unzulässig.

Einbandgestaltung: Michael Haderer, Wien

Satz: Michael Rauscher, Wien

**Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | [www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com](http://www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com)**

ISBN 978-3-205-20103-8

## Inhalt

Jeffrey Sammons: Greetings . . . . .	9
Stefan Vogt, Hans Otto Horch, Vivian Liska, Małgorzata A. Maksymiak: Wegweiser und Grenzgänger. Zur Einleitung . . . . .	11
Teil 1: Deutsch-jüdische Literatur und Kultur	
Sander L. Gilman: <i>You, too, could walk like a gentile</i> . Jews and Posture . . . . .	17
Jakob Hessing: Wie klingt ein jiddischer Witz auf Deutsch? Zwischen Sigmund Freud und Salcia Landmann . . . . .	31
Klaus Hödl: Überlegungen zur Überwindung der jüdisch-nichtjüdischen Dichotomie in den Jüdischen Studien . . . . .	45
Kerstin Schoor: »Goethe«-Rezeption im Kontext jüdischer Kulturdebatten der 1930er Jahre im NS-Deutschland . . . . .	59
Karl Müller: In welchen Zeiten leben wir? Ein Essay über Fremdenhass – Rassismus – Antisemitismus . . . . .	73
Tuvia Ruebner: Fragmentarisch-Vollkommen. Haikus 2016. Mit einem Kommentar von Hans Otto Horch . . . . .	89
Teil 2: Wegweiser und Grenzgänger	
Ruth Klüger: Heine's Last Poems . . . . .	95
Matjaž Birk: Dialog der Kulturen in den Reisetagebüchern von Stefan Zweig . . . . .	105
Birger Vanwesenbeeck: Jewish Sensibility in Stefan Zweig's <i>Die Wunder des Lebens</i> . . . . .	121

Zhang Yi: Stefan Zweigs Rezeption in China . . . . .	133
Alfred Bodenheimer: Die unsichtbare Gefahr und die Gefahr der Unsichtbarkeit. Franz Kafka als Zeuge der jüdischen Moderne . . . . .	147
June O. Leavitt: Kafka's Writing Mission as Revealed in His Diaries: Personal Ideology and Exercises to Realize the Self . . . . .	161
Vivian Liska: »Schreckliche Dinge – genug!« Kafka, Hiob und Theodizee in der Moderne . . . . .	175
Iris Bruce: "There's No Place Like Home": Canine Fellow Travelers in Kafka and Agnon . . . . .	191
Caroline Jessen: Karl Wolfskehls romantischer Ernst . . . . .	205
Na'ama Rokem: Erich Auerbach's Letters to Jerusalem: A Report from the Archive . . . . .	221
Monika Tempian: »Erst jenseits der Kastanien / ist die Welt / der Brücken die nichts überbrücken ...« Passagen, Übergänge, Grenzüberschreitungen im künstlerischen Werk Manfred Winklers . . . . .	233
Esther Dischereit: Whats App Golem _ . . . . .	253
 Teil 3: Zionismus und jüdische Geschichte	
Manja Herrmann: Emotions in Jewish Nationalist Garb. Wilhelm Herzberg's Novel <i>Jewish Family Papers: Letters of a Missionary</i> (1868) . . . . .	261
Gerald Lamprecht: Jüdische Erfahrungen und Erwartungen im Ersten Weltkrieg . . . . .	273
Małgorzata A. Maksymiak: Wessen Krieg und mit welchen Folgen? Die Selbstverortungsdiskurse der jüdischen Osteuropäer nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg . . . . .	287
Stefan Vogt: Max Brod und der Sozialismus . . . . .	299

Dietmar Goltschnigg: Die Internierung des Wiener revisionistischen Zionisten Wolfgang von Weisl im britischen Militärlager Latrun . . . . .	313
Eitan Bar-Yosef: The African Fantasy in Zionist Culture: Nahum Gutman's <i>In the Land of Lobengulu King of Zulu</i> . . . . .	325
Chaim Noll: Morgen in der Wüste . . . . .	339
Teil 4: Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft	
Howard Needler: Wave to Particle, Particle to Wave: Towards a <i>Quantum</i> Theory of Poetry . . . . .	347
Aaron Landau: Race, Gender and Miscegenation in Cervantes and Shakespeare: A View to the Americas . . . . .	363
Irmela von der Lühe: Zwischen literarischem Jux und politischem Ernst: Thomas Manns Novelle <i>Das Gesetz</i> (1944) . . . . .	375
Stephan Resch: "This barbaric slaughterhouse that was once known as humanity". Narrative Tributes and Subversions in Wes Anderson's <i>The Grand Budapest Hotel</i> . . . . .	389
Alana Sobelman: Summoning Voices in the Eulogistic Writings of Stefan Zweig, Jacques Derrida, and Mark H. Gelber . . . . .	405
Jin Yang: Grenzüberschreitung von Kulturkreisen und Körpergestalten. Eine vergleichende Betrachtung zu Wilhelm Hauffs Märchen <i>Kalif Storch</i> und Orhan Pamuks Roman <i>Die weiße Festung</i> . . . . .	419
Alana Sobelman: Interview with Mark H. Gelber, July 2017 . . . . .	431
Autorinnen und Autoren, Herausgeberinnen und Herausgeber . . . . .	447





Jeffrey Sammons

## Greeting

Dear Mark,

Congratulations on your well-deserved retirement. Much as I would have liked to make a contribution to this volume worthy of you, I am not up to it at present, but I do want to participate with a few lines addressed to you.

When we both took part in a conference in Graz in 2006, Dietmar Goltschnigg asked me whether you were my “Schüler.” The question took me aback and caused me to hesitate for a moment. The technical answer was yes, but it seemed incongruous. I had long since regarded you as an esteemed colleague and a warm friend. It is true that I was at hand during the gestation of your dissertation of 1980 comparing Gustav Freytag’s *Soll und Haben* with Charles Dickens’s *Oliver Twist* (there was no need for me to “direct” it). There you developed the eminently useful term “literary anti-Semitism.” It seems like a simple idea, but in fact it is a concept of considerable discriminatory power. It enables us to distinguish literary works such as *Soll und Haben* or *Der Hungerpastor* in their social implications and reception potential from what otherwise may be the aspects of Jewish tolerance or friendliness in the personal relations and other writings of such authors as Freytag or Wilhelm Raabe. Without forbidding consideration of an author’s personal ambiguities and complexities, it invites us to focus on the work in its own life in the literary system. I always regretted that you did not publish the dissertation in book form, but you set out the core concept the year before in an often-cited essay in *Comparative Literature Studies*.

Your productivity over the years has been an inspiration and the range of your scholarship remarkable. Just in my own records I find studies of Freytag, Karl Emil Franzos, Georg Hermann, Ludwig Börne, Kafka and especially Max Brod, for the release of whose papers you campaigned persistently, along with your numerous contributions, including a substantial book, on Stefan Zweig, who could seem almost to have become a specialty insofar as you can be said to have one. There are more comprehensive topics such as the Sephardic self-identification of the German Jews, cultural Zionism, or an overview of the attempted reproduction of Yiddish inflected German in literary texts. All of these are thoughtful and balanced contributions to our understanding of these matters.

You have been an indefatigable editor of conference and contributory volumes, and, at a time when we are urged to internationalism and cosmopolitanism, your stamina has sometimes been astonishing. At any time you might be in New York

or California or Prague or Paris or London. Not long ago an Austrian colleague transmitted your greeting to me from Beijing.

Nothing is more gratifying in professorial life than to have a “Schüler” with your record of distinguished achievement. Now I trust that you will regard your retirement as a research professorship, released from other obligations and freeing you to pursue a further range of scholarly excellence.

Herzliche Grüße,

Jeffrey L. Sammons

Stefan Vogt, Hans Otto Horch, Vivian Liska, Małgorzata A. Maksymiak

## Wegweiser und Grenzgänger Zur Einleitung

Es ist nicht leicht zu sagen, was jemanden zu einem bedeutenden Gelehrten macht. Wegweisende wissenschaftliche Arbeiten und das Erschließen neuer Gegenstandsbereiche gehören unbedingt dazu, reichen aber nicht aus. Das Inspirieren von Schülerinnen und Schülern, die Vermittlung der Fähigkeit, in die eigenen Fußstapfen zu treten und auch wieder aus diesen hinaus, ist eine notwendige Voraussetzung, aber sie ist noch keine ausreichende Bedingung. Das Initiieren von internationalen und interdisziplinären Netzwerken bildet ein wesentliches Element, doch es muss noch etwas hinzukommen. Zu einem bedeutenden Gelehrten gehört es auch, sich selbst nie wichtiger zu nehmen als seine Arbeit, anderen zuzuhören, sie zu ermutigen und ihre Kreativität zu unterstützen, gehören Wärme und Empathie gegenüber Kollegen und Schülern. All dies bei Mark Gelber zu würdigen, ist der Zweck dieser Festschrift, die wir anlässlich seiner Emeritierung vorlegen.

Mit über einhundert im Laufe seiner Karriere erschienenen Publikationen zur deutsch-jüdischen Literatur und Kultur prägte Mark Gelber wie kaum ein Zweiter die Deutsch-Jüdischen Studien. Viele seiner literaturwissenschaftlichen, historischen, kulturhistorischen, religionswissenschaftlichen, soziologischen und philosophischen Arbeiten zählen zu den Pionierarbeiten der Forschung. Wenngleich die Literaturwissenschaft den Ausgangspunkt für Mark Gelbers Forschungstätigkeit bildet, so geht diese doch weit darüber hinaus. Sie widmet sich vielmehr einer interdisziplinären »Grenzdisziplin« (so Mark Gelbers eigene Charakterisierung), in der sich Germanistik, Geistesgeschichte und Jüdische Studien auf das fruchtbarste miteinander verbinden. Dabei hat Mark Gelber stets innovative Herangehensweisen, etwa aus den Gender Studies, der Migrationsforschung oder den Postcolonial Studies, in seine Arbeit integriert und so einen bedeutenden Beitrag zur inhaltlichen und methodischen Weiterentwicklung dieses Forschungsfeldes geleistet. Nach wie vor sind seine Studien zum Literarischen Antisemitismus wegweisend. Hier standen nicht mehr die Intentionen von Autoren im Mittelpunkt, sondern die Texte in ihrer problematischen Wirkung auf ein zeitgenössisches wie späteres Publikum. Antijüdische Bilder und Stereotype, von den Autoren strategisch auf entsprechende Figuren projiziert und damit gelegentlich auch relativiert, konnten ohne Kenntnis der Kontexte ihre unheilvolle nationalistische oder gar rassistische Potenz entfalten.

Mark Gelber ist heute einer der bedeutendsten Forscher zur Kulturgeschichte des Zionismus und wohl der bedeutendste zu dessen deutschsprachigem Teil. Mit seiner Monographie *Melancholy Pride* (2000) hat Gelber eine Studie vorgelegt, in der er die Themen seiner Aufsätze zur zionistischen Kultur systematisch reflektiert und zugleich neue Kontexte aufgezeigt hat. Dieses Buch wurde in den Besprechungen namhafter Forscher wie Gerhard Kurz, Ritchie Robertson oder Armin A. Wallas einhellig als herausragende Leistung gewürdigt und kann heute ebenfalls den Rang eines Standardwerks beanspruchen. Mark Gelber hat dem Kulturzionismus nicht nur den Status eines eigenständigen wissenschaftlichen Gegenstands verliehen, sondern ganze Generationen von Forscherinnen und Forschern dazu animiert, sich aus einer kritischen und differenzierten Perspektive mit diesem auseinanderzusetzen.

Ebenso grundlegend sind Mark Gelbers Arbeiten zur deutsch-jüdischen Literatur. Besonders hervorzuheben sind seine Studien und die von ihm betreuten Konferenzbände zu Stefan Zweig. Die jüdische Sensibilität Zweigs herauszuarbeiten und damit das Bild des Dichters in der Forschung nachhaltig zu revidieren, wie er dies in seiner jüngsten Monographie getan hat, ist eine der vielen grundlegenden und bleibenden Errungenschaften von Mark Gelber. Aber auch Franz Kafka hat Gelber seit 1998 wichtige Studien und Konferenzbände gewidmet, so 2004 den Band über Kafkas Beziehungen zum Zionismus und den entsprechenden Artikel in dem von Oliver Jahraus und Bettina von Jagow herausgegebenen Kafka-Handbuch von 2008. Heinrich Heine gehörte immer zu Mark Gelbers wichtigen Bezugsautoren (siehe vor allem *The Jewish Reception of Heinrich Heine*, 1992). Die Aufmerksamkeit für Theodor Herzl (siehe dazu den Sammelband *Theodor Herzl: From Europe to Zion* von 2007, hg. zusammen mit Vivian Liska) korrespondiert mit Mark Gelbers Interesse für den (Kultur-) Zionismus generell. Zahlreiche zum Teil umfangreiche Aufsätze zu weiteren deutsch-jüdischen Autoren, von Ludwig Börne bis Jakov Lind, unterstreichen den Stellenwert von Mark Gelbers Forschungen auf diesem Gebiet. Als eine Art folgerichtiger Verbreiterung der Reflexion über die deutsch-jüdische Literatur und Kultur können Mark Gelbers neuere Arbeiten allgemeinerer Thematik gelten, etwa zur deutsch-zionistischen Presse, zu Narrativen der jüdisch-europäischen vs. jüdisch-orientalischen Identität, zum Thema der hebräischen Poetologie im Kontext des deutschen Kulturzionismus, zur Germanistik und German Studies in Israel oder zur Phänomenologie der Zeit im Judentum.

Auch jenseits seiner eigenen Forschungstätigkeit hat Mark Gelber die deutsch-jüdische Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte nachhaltig geprägt. Er ist die treibende Kraft hinter einer Vielzahl von internationalen Kooperationen und stellt selbst so etwas wie den Fixpunkt in einem weitreichenden, interdisziplinären und multinationalen Netzwerk dar, das sich, maßgeblich durch ihn selbst

vorangetrieben, in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten in dieser Disziplin entwickelt hat. Mark Gelber ist wesentlich dafür verantwortlich, dass die Ben-Gurion Universität in Beer-Sheva zu einem der weltweit wichtigsten und anerkanntesten Zentren der Forschung zur deutsch-jüdische Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte geworden ist. Er fungierte als Leiter des Department of Foreign Literatures and Linguistics und war über viele Jahre Direktor des Zentrum für österreichische und deutsche Studien, das sich in dieser Zeit zu einem Anziehungspunkt gerade für jüngere Forscherinnen und Forscher der deutsch-jüdischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte entwickelt hat, von denen viele zu der vorliegenden Festschrift beigetragen haben. Das Department und das Zentrum waren unter seiner Leitung Gastgeber großer internationaler Konferenzen in diesem Feld. Mark Gelber ist außerdem der Initiator der Internationalen Sommeruniversität für Hebräisch, Jüdische Studien und Israelwissenschaften an der Ben-Gurion Universität, die Jahr für Jahr eine große Anzahl von Studierenden vor allem aus Deutschland nach Beer-Sheva lockt und so einen wichtigen Beitrag zum deutsch-israelischen Austausch leistet.

Doch nicht nur in Beer-Sheva, sondern in allen Teilen der Welt hat Mark Gelber die Entwicklung der deutsch-jüdischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte wesentlich vorangetrieben. Er war Gastprofessor u. a. an der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Technischen Hochschule Aachen, an der University of Pennsylvania, an der Franzens-Universität Graz, an der Universität Maribor, an der Universität von Antwerpen, an der University of Auckland, an der Yale University sowie an der Universität von Beijing. Diese Tatsache spiegelt sich auch in dem Umstand wider, dass Kolleginnen und Kollegen aus Israel, Deutschland, Österreich, der Schweiz, Belgien, Slowenien, den USA, Kanada, China und Neuseeland an der Festschrift mitgewirkt haben. Mark Gelber war und ist eine Schlüsselfigur für die institutionelle akademische Kooperation Israels insbesondere mit Deutschland und Österreich, aber er hat beispielweise auch Bahnbrechendes für die Verbreitung der deutsch-jüdischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte in China geleistet.

Nicht zuletzt ist Mark Gelber ein herausragender akademischer Lehrer. Aufgeschlossen für neue, auch unkonventionelle Ideen, Theorien und Herangehensweisen, kommuniziert er mit seinen Studierenden und Promovierenden stets auf Augenhöhe. Bei aller fachlichen, durchaus auch strengen, aber immer konstruktiven Kritik, verliert er den Menschen nie aus dem Blick. Dies bezeugen eine Vielzahl von Doktorandinnen und Doktoranden sowie Postdocs, die durch seine »Schule« gegangen sind. »Schule« meint hier nicht lediglich die intellektuelle Inspiration und Anleitung, die allein schon ihresgleichen sucht. Sie meint auch die persönliche Freundschaft und Unterstützung, die so viele bei ihm erfahren

haben und die im inzwischen so »effizienten« akademischen Betrieb alles andere als die Regel darstellt.

Ein Lehrer, der sich in solcher Weise um seine Schülerinnen und Schüler »kümmert«, hat eine Festschrift mehr als verdient. Die Fülle der in ihr versammelten Beiträge zeigt zugleich die große Bandbreite von Mark Gelbers eigenem wissenschaftlichen Werk. Die Schrift gliedert sich in vier Abteilungen, die sich an seinen wichtigsten Forschungsthemen orientieren. Abteilung eins umfasst Beiträge zu allgemeinen Aspekten der deutsch-jüdischen Literatur und Kultur, Abteilung zwei Aufsätze zu einzelnen »Wegweisern und Grenzgängern« in diesem Feld. Abteilung drei befasst sich mit dem Zionismus und der deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte, Abteilung vier schließlich beinhaltet Studien zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte. An den Übergängen zwischen den Abteilungen stehen literarische Beiträge von Tuvia Ruebner, Esther Dischereit und Chaim Noll, und den Abschluss bildet ein ausführliches Interview mit Mark Gelber, das den Leserinnen und Lesern noch einmal detaillierten Einblick in seinen wissenschaftlichen Werdegang bietet.

Die Herausgeberinnen und Herausgeber möchten sich bei allen Autorinnen und Autoren herzlich für ihre Beiträge und für die hervorragende Zusammenarbeit bedanken. Wir freuen uns auch sehr, dass die Festschrift in die Schriftenreihe des Centrums für Jüdische Studien der Universität Graz erscheinen konnte und bedanken uns dafür bei dessen Leiter Gerald Lamprecht. Herzlich danken möchten wir auch den Personen und Institutionen, die durch ihre finanzielle Unterstützung die Festschrift ermöglicht haben: der Universität Graz, dem Institut für Jüdische Studien der Universität von Antwerpen, dem Department of Foreign Literatures and Linguistics der Ben-Gurion Universität, der Präsidentin der Ben-Gurion Universität, Rivka Carmi, sowie dem Centrum für Jüdische Studien der Universität Graz.

# TEIL 1 : DEUTSCH-JÜDISCHE LITERATUR UND KULTUR





Sander L. Gilman

## *You, too, could walk like a gentile* Jews and Posture

For Mark Gelber: The most upright man I know

I have written often and critically about discourses about Jewish physicality and the stereotypes that this engenders. None is more pervasive than ideas about Jewish posture, given that the very core of the Western idea of the human – *anthropos* (άνθρωπος), the word for man, means the animal whose posture looks upward and considers the gods. National characteristics of posture came by the seventeenth century to be understood as biological realities defining group differences, a fact nowhere better illustrated than in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), which echoes such views and cites the Jews in terms of their poor posture. Burton writes of the “pace” of the Jews, as well as “their voice, [...] gesture, [and] looks”, signs of “their conditions and infirmities”.<sup>1</sup> Johann Jakob Schudt, the seventeenth-century German Orientalist, commented on the “crooked feet” of the Jews among other indicators of their physical inferiority.<sup>2</sup> Difference in posture defines the Jew, but this difference may or may not be racial in its origin. Indeed, to paraphrase Burton, it may be the result of their oppressive lives and the illnesses that result from them.

What is folkloric (and Burton is not quite medical science) in the seventeenth century becomes part of the science of race in the nineteenth century. By the early nineteenth century the representations of the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn in Germany did not shy away from stressing his postural deformity, as he was a hunchback.<sup>3</sup> A century later Balduin Groller could claim that the overwhelming evidence is that ‘the physical composition’ of both Eastern and Western Jews “is not normal”.<sup>4</sup> Groller cites the statistical records of a Russian military doctor on the prevalence of Jewish degeneracy: the average size of an adult Jew is 162.7 centimeters versus 165 to 170 centimeters for a non-Jew; Jews have less developed chest bones and musculature, including a 60 per cent smaller chest size

1 Burton, Robert: *The Anatomy of Melancholy: What It Is, with All the Kinds, Causes, Symptoms, Prognostickes & Severall Cures of It*, New York 1977, p. 211 f.

2 Schudt, Johann Jakob: *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, vol. 2, Frankfurt a. M. 1718, p. 368.

3 See Hochman, Leah: *The Ugliness of Moses Mendelssohn: Aesthetics, Religion and Morality in the Eighteenth Century*, New York 2014, p. 6.

4 Groller, Balduin: *Die körperliche Minderwertigkeit der Juden*, in: *Die Welt*, 19 April 1901, p. 3–5, here p. 4.

when compared to the norm; Jews suffer from bad posture as well as a greater susceptibility to tuberculosis, skin diseases, eye infections, myopia, and nervous and psychological disorders; finally, they have a greater incidence of hernia.<sup>5</sup>

Joseph Pennell, the Victorian illustrator and friend of James McNeil Whistler, in a small book on *The Jew at Home* (serialized in the *London Illustrated News* at the same time), states more or less the same problem among Russian Jews for a popular audience:

Much sentiment has been wasted over the poverty-stricken appearance of the Russian Jew, his consumptive, hollow-chested look, and his shambling walk. [...] The Jew naturally is not physically weaker than the peasant. As a soldier, when he is made to stand up straight, he is as fine a man as any other Russian, with the exception that he cannot march as well, but becomes quickly footsore. This is because he never takes any exercise; he never walks, he never uses his hands or his legs if he can help it.<sup>6</sup>

Every view of the Jew's body sees bad posture at its core, reflecting in one way or another the character of the Jew. The American novelist and social commentator Jack London, in London for the coronation of Edward VII in 1902, spent months in the overcrowded East End. His account of urban poverty at the turn of the century, that of the displaced Eastern European Jews in the ghettos of the East End of London, as in other American and European cities, notes that

when [...] segregated in the Ghetto, they cannot escape the consequent degradation. A short and stunted people is created, – a breed strikingly different from their masters' breed, a pavement folk, as it were, lacking in stamina and strength. The men become caricatures of what physical men ought to be, and their women and children are pale and anemic, with eyes ringed darkly, who stoop and slouch, and are early twisted out of all shapeliness and beauty.<sup>7</sup>

London sees the posture of the slums not only as the impact of the ghetto but also as the result of eugenics. The best and most powerful men (his word) had long abandoned such places leaving the poorest specimens, "a deteriorated stock", behind to reproduce.

By the turn of the twentieth century Jews too accepted the notion of bad posture as a sign of their maladaptation in the modern world. In his opening speech

5 Ibid., p. 4.

6 Pennell, Joseph: *The Jew at Home: Impressions of a Summer and Autumn Spent with Him*, New York 1891, p. 77 f.

7 London, Jack: *The People of the Abyss*, New York 1904, p. 220.

at the Second Zionist Congress in Basel on 28 August 1898, Max Nordau, the most important figure in early Zionism after Theodor Herzl, invented one of Zionism's most famous, most fraught, and most challenging ideals: the "muscle Jew". His essay on "*Muskelfjudentum*", often translated as "A Jewry of Muscle", which he originally gave as a dedicatory speech for the opening of yet another Jewish gymnastic club in 1903, condemned the "degenerate modernity" that he earlier saw defining the modern world: "Unreal, too, are the studied postures, by assuming which the inmates are enabled to reproduce on their faces the light effects of Rembrandt or Schalcken. Everything in these houses aims at exciting the nerves and dazzling the senses."<sup>8</sup>

The answer to Jewish degeneracy indeed became a range of sports clubs, mirroring the anti-Semitic *Turnvereine*. Perhaps the most famous in the pre-war period was the *Makkabi Deutschland*, the Jewish sporting club founded in 1903 after Jews were substantially excluded from the *Turnvereine*. When the Jewish philosopher and educator Franz Rosenzweig visited one of the *Makkabi* clubs he noted that while there were signs in Hebrew on the wall stating *mens sana in corpore sano*, the young men seemed to know nothing about religious practice or belief.<sup>9</sup> A strong mind in a strong body meant postural training. During World War I, the "new Jew" on the front trained now for physical fitness "exposed as lies the fairy tale of the bent and crooked Jews, as our youth grows to maturity in good health and with straight bodies".<sup>10</sup> Bodily training undertaken to refute the calumnies of the posture deficiencies of the Jew has become a leitmotif of Jewish reaction to anti-Semitism. Not merely rejecting such arguments is sufficient; the Jewish body must have perfect posture to rebut such claims.

The red line that connected early Zionism and other forms of bodily reform, such as "Muscular Christianity" was the resurgence of interest in classical Greece fomented by the Greek Rebellion against the Ottoman Empire in the early 1820s. Not only did it show Jews that older ideas of nationalism could be reclaimed but it was closely associated with notions of bodily reform and politics. (Think of the sporty though disabled Lord Byron, dying at Missolonghi in 1824, as the ideal hero of the Greek rebellion.) Inherent to this was both the staggering importance of Greek sculpture in providing models for the ideal national posture, but it also led to the resuscitation (or invention) of models for bodily reform such as the modern Olympic movement, which has its earliest modern form in the 1830s among the Greeks, then in Great Britain in the 1850s, and

8 Nordau, Max: *Degeneration*, New York 1895, p. 11.

9 Rosenzweig, Franz: *Briefe und Tagebücher*, ed. Rachel Rosenzweig and Edith Rosenzweig-Scheinmann, vol. 1, The Hague 1979, p. 392.

10 Dunker, Ulrich: *Der Reichsbund Jüdischer Frontsoldaten, 1918–1938*, Düsseldorf 1977, p. 541.

finally in Athens with Pierre de Coubertin in 1896. This renewed tradition, as part of a modern nationalist bodily reform, was particularly important for early Zionism as “Jewish nationalists largely rejected rabbinic spirituality, non-beligerence and the disdain for athleticism which dominated Jewish life after Rome destroyed the Jewish state in 70 CE.”<sup>11</sup> Here the Jews overcame specific ideas of bodily reform and embraced the more widely held understanding of postural reform as part of the new nationalistic body.

As Nordau noted, by the early twentieth century bad posture was a central maladaptation of the Jews: “The Jews’ terrible posture does not come from any natural trait. It is but the result of a lack of psychical education. In this way, there is not really a difference between Jew and Aryan.”<sup>12</sup> Nordau stated in 1903:

I said: “We must once again think of creating a Jewry of muscle” [...] Once again! For history is our witness that such a Jewry once existed. There is no shame to admitting this need: Our new muscle Jews [*Muskeljuden*] have not yet regained the heroism of their forefathers [...] But morally speaking, we are better off today than yesterday, for the old Jewish circus performers of yore were ashamed of their Judaism and sought, by way of a surgical pinch, to hide the sign of their religious affiliation [...] while today, the members of Bar Kochba proudly and freely proclaim their Jewishness.<sup>13</sup>

Simon Bar Kochba, of course, was the warrior who led the Jews in their failed revolt against the Romans in 132 CE after whom the sporting societies were named. For Nordau and his contemporaries, Jews and non-Jews, The Jews were the sick *men* of Europe:

Zionist societies use every effort that the members and the Jewish masses in general may know the history of their nation [...] they care, in the measure of their strength, for the amelioration of the hygiene of the Jewish proletariat, for its economic improvement by means of association and solidarity, for well directed education of children, and for the instruction of women [...] they preach the duty of leading a faultless, spiritual life, the rejection of crude materialism, into which the assimilation Jews, on account of the want of a worthy ideal, are only too apt to sink, and strict self-control in word and deed.

11 Leoussi, Athena S./Aberbach, David: Hellenism and Jewish Nationalism: Ambivalence and Its Ancient Roots, in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25 (2002), p. 755–777, here p. 755.

12 Cited by Presner, Todd Samuel: “Clear Heads, Solid Stomachs, and Hard Muscles”: Max Nordau and the Aesthetics of Jewish Regeneration, in: *Modernism/modernity* 10 (2003), p. 269–296, here p. 296.

13 Nordau, Max: *Jews of Muscle*, in: Mendes-Flohr, Paul R./Reinharz, Jehuda (eds.): *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, New York 2011, p. 547.

They found athletic societies in order to promote the long neglected physical development of the rising generation.<sup>14</sup>

In speaking about the newly established Jewish National Fund during the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basel in 1901, Nordau argued:

The physical elevation of the Jewish people is a money question. If the [majority] of Jews were in a good position it would not be necessary to waste words on their physical improvement [...] look at the Jewish families who for the past three generations have been men of wealth! Compare these stately horsemen, these first rate fighters, these stylish dancers, these prize-winning gymnasts and swimmers, compare their robust bodies with the emaciated and cough-racked frames of the Eastern ghettos. Then you will immediately form an idea of the means required for the physical amelioration of the Jewish race [...] The mass has neither the time nor the means for gymnastics and sports. If we offer them any hygienic suggestions it must be such that cost nothing.<sup>15</sup>

Such views came to be commonplaces. The image of Jewish postural transformation is at the core of the image of the Jew in other non-Jewish and certainly non-Zionist thinkers of the day. In his 1907 essay, “Die Lösung der Judenfrage” (Solving the Jewish Question), the future Nobel Prize winner Thomas Mann saw the “Jewish Question” as “purely psychological” because the Jew is “always recognized as a stranger, feeling the pathos of being excluded, he is an extraordinary form of life”.<sup>16</sup> Mann’s views paralleled the discussion of the deformed Jewish body as a central trope of the debates of the time, including those among the other contributors to the special 14 September 1907 issue of the German newspaper, the *Münchener Neuesten Nachrichten*, where Mann’s essay appeared. The progress of German culture, not Zionism, Mann argued, permitted – indeed, demanded – the spiritual integration of the Jews into Europe and that resulted in the transformation of the Jewish body. Mann’s fantasy of the Jews imagines them primarily as crippled and malformed inhabitants of the ghettos of Eastern Europe. Their movement into European culture in Germany is not mere social acculturation but physical transformation.<sup>17</sup> Mann sees this movement

14 Nordau, Max Simon/Gottheil, Gustav: *Zionism and Anti-Semitism*, New York 1905, p. 45.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

16 In Mann’s untitled contribution to Moses, Julius (ed.): *Die Lösung der Judenfrage: eine Rundfrage*, Berlin 1907, p. 242–248. We are citing from the original edition as it presents the text in its original context. Reprinted in Mann, Thomas: *Zur jüdischen Frage*, in: *Gesammelte Werke in 13 Bänden*, vol. 7, Frankfurt a. M. 1974, p. 466–475. All translations are mine.

17 Kontje, Todd: *Thomas Mann’s World: Empire, Race, and the Jewish Question*, Ann Arbor 2011, p. 19–24.

as the replacement of the ghetto Jew, with his “hump back, crooked legs, and red, gesticulating hands”, by “young people who have grown up with English sports and all of the advantages without denying their type and with a degree of physical improvement”.<sup>18</sup> We need here to remember that Mann’s very first successful attempt at the writing of fiction was his 1896 short story, “Little Mr. Friedemann”, the tale of the disabled aesthete, “with his pigeon chest, his steeply humped back and his disproportionately long skinny arms”.<sup>19</sup> After a life of self-imposed asceticism because of a youthful rejection, he falls in love with Frau Gerda von Rinnlingen, the homely wife of the military commander of the town in which he lives. She mocks him when he declares his love for her and his only recourse is to commit suicide. Physical imperfection (even, indeed, the evocation of Friedemann’s Jewish-sounding name) gestures toward the psychological self-doubt of those with imperfect posture. For Mann, this malformation and its potential for transformation is part and parcel of the “general cultural development” of Europe – of the new cosmopolitanism of healthy bodies as opposed to degenerate ones.

This biological notion of the regeneration of good posture is very much in line with Theodor Herzl’s views on adaption and mal-adaptation:

Education can be achieved only through shock treatment. Darwin’s theory of imitation [*Darwinsche Mimikry*] will be validated. The Jews will adapt. They are like seals that have been thrown back into the water by an accident of nature [...] if they return to dry land and manage to stay there for a few generations, their fins will change back into legs.<sup>20</sup>

And one can add, they will “stand up straight.” “Only by providing a ‘previously emasculated Central European Jewry with an honorable and manly posture’ did Theodor Herzl believe the goal of the regeneration of a Jewish state could be achieved.”<sup>21</sup> But this was not only an ideal. The self-consciously Jewish strongman Siegmund né Zishe Breitbart (1883–1925) became the image of the “new muscle Jew” in Herzl’s Vienna and beyond:

A human being of supernatural powers. Breitbart. He bends steel as if it were soft rubber, bites through chains as though they were tender meat, drives nails into thick wood

18 Mann in Moses, *Die Lösung*, p. 244 f.

19 Mann, Thomas: Tonio Kröger and other Stories, trans. David Luke, New York 1970, p. 5.

20 Bein, Alex: Theodor Herzl: Biographie, Wien 1974, p. 173.

21 Higate, Paul: *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*, Westport 2003, p. 189.

with his bare fist. [...] A bridge loaded with hundreds of kilograms of concrete block is lowered onto his gigantic body, and the blocks are pounded with hammers.<sup>22</sup>

Costuming himself as Bar Kochba or a Roman Centurion (no matter how contradictory these two persona were), he came to represent the new muscle Jew as pseudo-military figure. Sport becomes the means, as it was in the nineteenth-century German national movement, to regenerate not only a healthy body but also a healthy mind. Through such twentieth century transformations the Jew regains a pride in being Jewish through the newly revitalized Jewish body.<sup>23</sup>

In 1908 the German-Jewish eugenicist Dr Elias Auerbach of Berlin undertook a medical rebuttal to the claims of a Jewish postural inferiority, contesting the “fact” of the predisposition of the Jew for certain disabilities which precluded him from military service in an essay entitled “The Military Qualifications of the Jew”.<sup>24</sup> Auerbach begins by attempting to “correct” the statistics, which claimed that for every 1,000 Christians in the population there were 11.61 soldiers, but for 1,000 Jews in the population there were only 4.92 soldiers. His correction (based on the greater proportion of Jews entering the military who were volunteers and, therefore, did not appear in the statistics) still finds that a significant portion of Jewish soldiers were unfit for service (according to his revised statistics, of every 1,000 Christians there were 10.66 soldiers and of 1,000 Jews 7.76). He accepts the physical differences of the Jew as a given but questions whether there is a substantive reason that these anomalies should prevent the Jew from serving in the military. He advocates the only true solution that will give Jews equal value as citizens: the introduction of “sport” and the resulting reshaping of the Jewish body even though this will not necessarily make them better qualified to be soldiers. In 1909 Max Zirker argued in the *Jewish Gymnastics Journal* that the Jewish people must develop a “class of farmers” who can till the ground, something that will counterbalance their “mostly intellectual work”. As such, they will develop the bones, musculature, and posture necessary for serving in the military and becoming national citizens able to defend a future homeland, while also honing their intellectual prowess and “mental hygiene”.<sup>25</sup>

22 Gillerman, Sharon: Samson in Vienna: The Theatrics of Jewish Masculinity, in: *Jewish Social Studies* 9 (2003), p. 65–98, here p. 85.

23 Breitbart performed often in the United States and his work had a presence there. Breitbart, Siegmund: *Muscular Power*, New York 1924.

24 Auerbach, Elias: Die Militärtauglichkeit der Juden, in: *Jüdische Rundschau*, 11 September 1908, p. 491 f.

25 Zirker, Max: Vom Basler Schauturnen, in: *Die jüdische Turnzeitung*, 4 (1903), p. 164–169.



The pathological meaning of poor posture is found throughout such defenses of the Jews with the rise of racial anti-Semitism at the close of the nineteenth century. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, in his 1893 “defense” of the Jews, notes that the Jews are characterized by the predominance of the nervous system over the muscular system: “too little muscles; too much nerves, *il est tout nerfs* [he is all nerves].” The Jew is all nerves because of his ‘oriental origin’ and his sedentary life.<sup>26</sup> At the same moment, the anti-Semites are making the same argument and drawing the same connections. In 1893, the German physician-writer Oskar Panizza, in his depiction of the Jewish body, observed that the Jew’s body language was clearly marked:

When he walked, Itzig always raised both thighs almost to his mid-rift so that he bore some resemblance to a stork. At the same time he lowered his head deeply into his breast-plated tie and stared at the ground. – Similar disturbances can be noted in people with spinal diseases. However, Itzig did not have a spinal disease, for he was young and in good condition.<sup>27</sup>

The Jew looks as if he is diseased, but it is not the stigmata of degeneracy that the observer is seeing but the Jew’s natural stance. Panizza’s Itzig undertakes massive corrective surgery, including having his bowlegs broken and reset, just as Alexander Granach does in reality at the time. Itzig then appears “somewhat taller and resembled a respectable human being” and “stood straight and tall like a pine tree”.<sup>28</sup> At the conclusion of the tale, having tried to pass as a German, his body returns to its “natural” posture revealing his immutable Jewish character.

Panizza’s satire of the Jewish body was lived out in the material world of Jewish bodies. For secular, non-Zionist Jews in Germany, some of whom had “nose jobs” beginning in the 1890s to be able to more easily “pass”, postural anomalies revealed too much. Alexander Granach (1893–1945), one of the most popular film and stage actors in Weimar Germany, was a Jew from Austrian Galicia who came to Berlin as a teenager before WWI. He starred in a series of important films from the silent *Nosferatu* (1922) to one of the first “talkies” *Kamaradschaft* (1931). In one of his most memorable stage performances, in 1920 in Munich, he even played Shylock. A major star, he immigrated to the United States and continued his film career until his untimely death in 1945. In his 1945 autobiog-

26 Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole/Hellman, Frances: *Israel Among the Nations: A Study of the Jews and Antisemitism*, New York/London 1895, p. 198.

27 Panizza, Oskar: *The Operated Jew*, trans. Jack Zipes, in: *New German Critique*, 21 (1980), p. 63–79, here p. 64.

28 *Ibid.*, p.68.

raphy *There Goes an Actor*, Granach explains how he transformed himself from an Eastern European Jew into a German by having both of his legs broken to correct his “crooked knock-knees”.<sup>29</sup> His self-consciousness about this was to no little degree because it was seen as a sign of Jewish posture, or at least Eastern European Jewish posture. Studiously, his friends “said they had never noticed that my legs were crooked”.<sup>30</sup> He saw this postural deficiency as a sign of something other than race. He attributed his “crooked baker’s-legs” to his hard work in his father’s bakery rather than to malnourishment or to race.<sup>31</sup>

Immigration policy in the United States at the time Thomas Mann was writing was shaped to no little extent by the posture of Jewish immigrants from Eastern and Central Europe who flooded New York City at the close of the nineteenth century. The medical examination at Ellis Island begun after 1892 was constituted to identify ‘irregularities in movement’ among a wide range of other disabilities. Immigrants were watched as they carried their luggage to observe if “the exertion would reveal deformities and defective posture”. One inspector wrote,

It is no more difficult to detect poorly built, defective or broken down human beings than to recognize a cheap or defective automobile. [...] The wise man who really wants to find out all he can about an automobile or an immigrant, will want to see both in action, performing as well as at rest.<sup>32</sup>

Those with “defective” posture quickly had an “L” chalked on their backs. They were then ordered to the shipping companies for transportation back to Europe. If they were admitted to the United States, that is if they were adjudged to be of healthy and of good posture, they were still seen as deformed. At the turn of the twentieth century Richard C. Cabot, a distinguished Boston physician, sitting across from such an immigrant saw

[...] not Abraham Cohen, but a Jew; not the sharp clear outlines of this unique sufferer, but the vague, misty composite photograph of all the hundreds of Jews who in the past

29 Granach, Alexander: *There Goes an Actor*, Garden City 1945, p. 189. See Zweig, Arnold: *Juden auf der deutschen Bühne*, Berlin 1928, p. 149–156.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 189.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

32 Quotations taken from Baynton, Douglas C.: *Disability and the Justification for Inequality in American History*, in: Lennard J. Davis (ed.): *The Disability Studies Reader*, New York 2010, p. 17–33, here p. 28.