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Jugendstil in Firestone

THE JEWISH ILLUSTRATOR E. M. LILNEN
(1874–1925)
LIONEL GOSSMAN

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

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

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

1 On English influence on design on the Continent and in Germany, see Henry van de Velde’s 1929 essay “Le Nouveau: Son apport à l’architecture et aux industries d’art” in his Département d’art, 2nd ed. (Bruxelles: Archives d’Architecture Moderne, 1979), 77. Describing the effect of John Ruskin, Morris, C.F.A. Voysey, and Walter Crane on his generation, Van de Velde writes: “I can only compare what we experienced around 1894 to the feeling of deliverance one experiences at the first signs of
other English publishers and illustrators (as well as by that of William Blake a full century earlier), by a revived awareness of the graphic arts as an independent medium in which Germany had once excelled but which had been diminished by decades of subservience to painting, and by the ideal of the Gesamtkunstwerk, German poets, graphic artists, and typographers began to collaborate with a few adventurous publishers in the last decade of the nineteenth century on the production of beautifully designed books that they thought of and wanted buyers to think of as works of art in themselves.

The collaboration of the poet Stefan George with the artist Melchior Lechter bears witness to this concern with the book as a complete art object in its own right, at once visual and literary. Even after the collaboration ended and George replaced the artist’s rich Jugendstil designs with a more austere and spare layout, the poet continued to pay close attention to the material form, including the specially designed typefaces, in which his poetry was presented to the reader. Sometimes, as in the case of Heinrich Vogeler’s collection of poems, Dir (1899), the same individual was responsible for all aspects of a book, the literary text as well as the illustrations, design, and decoration. These poets, artists, and publishers did not aim to produce spring.” In the text of a talk given in Bern in 1917 (“La Triple Offense à la beauté”) Van de Velde had already evoked the “suffocation we experienced at the end of the last century, on the Continent, under the weight of the ugliness of everything… There was no honesty in anything.” Then, just at the point of despair, “we on the Continent heard the echo of Ruskin preaching the gospel of beauty on the other side of the Channel and we saw the work of his disciple William Morris. This awakened us to life” (ibid., 51–54). See also the invaluable work of Otto Grautoff, Die Entwicklung der modernen Buchkunst im Deutschland (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1903)—itself a fine example of its subject. (Throughout the text and notes, translations are by the author unless otherwise indicated.)

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

According to one art historian, Vogeler’s Dir is an outstanding example of the fin-de-siècle ideal of the Gesamtkunstwerk. Willem-Jan Pannus, “Heinrich Vogeler’s Gedichtband Dir als Gesamtkunstwerk des Jugendstils,” in Aufsätze zu Literatur und Kunst der Jahrhundertwende, ed. Gerhard Kluge (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), 150–55. Dir would thus be comparable to the creations of architect-designers like Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Arthur Mackmurdo, or Voysey, in which everything, from the building itself to the smallest piece of furniture in it, was conceived as part of a single unified composition. I salvaged a first edition of Dir from the Firestone stacks a couple of years ago and, with the cooperation of the ever-helpful staff, succeeded in having it evacuated to the relative safety of Marquand Library.

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

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

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

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

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

7 On the National Socialists' marginalizing of their early allies in the völkisch movement in favor of a "timeless" (and crude) neoclassicism, see the invaluable study by Klaus Wolbert, Die Nächten und die Töten des "Dritten Reichs": Folgen einer politischen Geschichte des Körpers in der Plastik des deutschen Faschismus (Giessen: Anabas-Verlag/Günter Kampf, 1982), 22, 34–36, 58–61, and passim. Even Ludwig Fahrenkrog's Germanische Glaubens-Gemeinschaft, established in 1907 to promote German racial purity and a native German religion, was banned by the Nazis.
the earliest members of the celebrated Worpswede artists’ colony, to which he personally invited his friend, the poet Rainer Maria Rilke (the author, in 1903, of the first major monograph on the Worpswede artists), began his artistic career as a gentle Romantic, constructing a world of beauty of his own, but was radicalized by the experience of World War I, took part in the revolutionary movement at the end of it, joined the Communist Party, and emigrated in the early 1930s to the Soviet Union. He became active as an artist in the struggle against the National Socialist regime in his homeland and broadcast to his countrymen from Moscow on behalf of the Soviets after Germany attacked the USSR. As the Nazi armies approached the Russian capital, he was evacuated—some say deported—to a kolkhoz on the steppes of Kazakhstan, where, already in poor health, he died in extreme poverty, deprivation, physical pain, and perhaps disillusionment. Of the three artists, he was the most earnest and, in my view, the most gifted. He was also the only one of the three who was a painter as well as a graphic artist. The third member of my trio, Ephraim Mose Lilien (1874–1925), was attracted to Zionism, became a friend of Martin Buber and Theodor Herzl, made a number of trips to Palestine, and helped to set up an art academy for the training of Jewish artists in the Holy Land.

Over the next few years I hope to work on a comparative study of these three artists. For reasons of space, I shall focus here on Lilien,
referring only occasionally to the others. A few words about the Lebensreform movement are necessary, however, in order to convey a sense of the larger issues raised, in my view, by these three similar, yet divergent careers.

Lebensreform is the name given to a range of varied and not always compatible programs that aspired to cure the social, moral, and psychological ills widely attributed by contemporaries to Germany's hectic and erratic commercial and industrial expansion in the years before and after the establishment of the Empire (1871) and to the positivist, utilitarian outlook accompanying and supporting that expansion. Inspired and sustained by the radical critique of political liberalism and instrumentalist rationalism in the works of thinkers such as Paul Lagarde, Julius Langbehn, and above all Nietzsche, it was a response by the children of the middle class itself (the working class played almost no role in it) to the social conflicts and widely credited decadence of modern industrial societies. Its advocates aimed to bring about the radical transformation of an allegedly soulless and egotistical civilization, which they accused of having denatured every form of natural human activity, from eating to sex; destroyed not only humanity's sense of being part of the totality of nature but all sense of community with other humans; divided the Volk, or people, into antagonistic classes; distorted and degraded the beauty of the human form; and imprisoned love, religion, creativity, and spirituality—considered the essential expressions of human freedom—in oppressive institutions of censorship and control. Lebensreform was equally a response to the devastation of the natural environment, the explosive growth of ugly urban and industrial areas, and the cramped and unsanitary conditions in which the vast majority of German workers were condemned to live; to the creation of an impoverished and resentful proletariat out of laborers and peasants alienated from their traditional communities and ways of life in the countryside and in Germany's old small towns; and, finally, to the displacement of the traditional middle class of state and city officials, mid-level professionals (such as elementary schoolteachers), and the better-off artisans by a new class of so-called parvenus, the financiers and—to a lesser extent—industrialists whose principal goals were said to be the acquisition and display of wealth as the single sign of social success. Some champions of Lebensreform placed their emphasis on spiritual degeneration (and regeneration), others on physical and biological degeneration. Nearly all were preoccupied in some measure with both. The names of two pioneering journals associated with the movement—Pan and Jugend ("Youth")—effectively convey the high value the reformers placed on the recovery of lost youth and energy, and on freeing society from the contamination of an allegedly inauthentic, derivative, and sclerotic culture.

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

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

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

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

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

10 Fidus returned many times to the theme of a youth standing on a mountaintop, arms raised as in prayer to nature or to the sun. In the earliest versions of the image—a charcoal drawing of 1890, entitled Zu Gott, which was the basis for an illustration published by the magazine Sphinx in 1892, for an oil painting (1895), and for a version entitled Betender Knabe (Praying Boy, 1905), which first appeared in the magazine Deutsche Kultur and was then reproduced in a run of 1,000 copies—the figure is that of a very young boy, almost a child. In subsequent versions (1910, 1913, 1927, 1938), it is that of a youth or a fully developed, mature man. As of 1905, Fidus habitually tried to have the original (most often an oil painting or watercolor) widely
Lebensreform has lately begun to attract scholarly attention. A major exhibition in 2001 at the Institut Mathildenhöhe in Darmstadt, once a center of the movement, showcased the full range of writers and artists connected with it at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth: Max Klinger, Ferdinand Hodler, Vasili Kandinsky, and Rainer Maria Rilke, among many others, not to mention Nietzsche, its founding inspiration. The exhibition also revealed the impact on daily life in Germany of the numerous and sometimes contradictory single-issue organizations that offered cures for the supposed decadence and corruption of the age and that, taken together, constituted the movement: vegetarianism, nudism, sun and water bathing, sexual freedom, sports and gymnastics, homeopathy and natural healing (or, as we might say, alternative medicine), eugenics, environmentalism, theosophy and anthroposophy, and "ethical culture." Lebensreform also embraced a "back to the land" movement that encompassed everything from plans for garden cities in the manner of the English pioneer Ebenezer Howard and for workers' allotments in large urban areas to a total rejection of the Großstadt (modern metropolis) and all it stands for and the setting up of artists' communes in outlying districts of the big cities to serve as models of a new kind of society.\(^\text{11}\) Many artists, including the three with whom I shall be concerned, produced posters for these movements, illustrated and wrote books advocating their objectives, or participated in one or more of the experimental artists' communes. The overwhelming longing of most Lebensreform adherents, like that of the Romantics of the early years of the nineteenth century, was for an end to fragmentation and conflict and the restoration of wholeness and harmony—between the "animal" and the "spiritual" aspects of humanity, between nature and culture, heaven and earth, religion and science, male and female, and, not least, the mutually hostile social classes.\(^\text{12}\) According to the author of a 1902 pamphlet on Die Religion und die Philosophie der Zukunft (The Religion and Philosophy of the Future),

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

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


\(^\text{14}\) It is a short distance from the "liberating" idea that humanity's destiny is to become its own God to radical rejection of Christianity, promotion of an "original" Germanic paganism (as in the seemingly emancipatory writings of the
the impulses that underlay many of the movement's varied programs (Hitler, it will be recalled, was a vegetarian), with the result that Lebensreform as a whole has come under a cloud. And indeed, there may well be some lessons here: notably, that there are no apolitical (purely cultural, environmental, spiritual, hygienic, medical, or moral) solutions to the ills of human society; that in the absence of clearly defined political principles and objectives, not to mention some understanding of economics and social dynamics, single-issue causes—the effect, if not the function of which is often to divert attention from difficult systemic problems—easily lend themselves to appropriation and manipulation by clever demagogues; and that general cultural critiques, unsupported by empirically based social analysis, provide no clear direction for political action. With regard to the three artists I have evoked, it may not be a coincidence that the one who was the most consciously and deeply politicized—in the early 1920s—was also the one who distanced himself most both from the Lebensreform movement and from his early artistic practice, whereas the one who remained closest to the ideas of his youth was drawn gullibly, without resistance or even hesitation, into becoming a Nazi sympathizer and also remained tied to the artistic forms of the early 1900s. [13

publicist Heinrich Pudor), and advocacy of a form of eugenics ("aristogenics"). Ernst Bergmann, a professor at the University of Leipzig and fervent National Socialist, elaborated on these themes in a popular lecture series given in various locations and subsequently published as Deutschland, das Bildungsland der neuen Menschheit (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1933). A revival of Old German pagan cults was already the goal of the Germanische Glaubens-Gemeinschaft, founded in 1937, with which the artists Fidus and Ludwig Fahrenkrog were both associated. In a pamphlet issued in 1913, Die Germanische Glaubens Gemeinschaft (Berlin: "Kraft und Schönheit"), the society urged all Blutdeutsche (people of German blood) to affix "the high and holy swastika" to their writing paper and postcards. This society still exists and has a quite sophisticated Web site.

[13] In a penetrating analysis of the political and social roots of the anti-Semitism embraced and promoted by the National Socialists, Paul W. Massing distinguishes between the anti-Semitism of the traditional rural population or of conservative defenders of the authoritarian state, like Heinrich von Treitschke and the notorious court chaplain Adolf Stoecker, and the anti-Semitism of middle-class artisans, bureaucrats, and professionals, threatened on the one hand by Socialism and on the other by increasingly powerful industrial and financial interests. "The most virulent kind of anti-Semitism was spread throughout Germany by teachers, students, industrial and commercial employees, petty officials, professional people, and followers of cults of every variety: members of 'life reform movements,' whole-rye bread dietitians, opponents of vivisection, and 'back to nature' builders of body and soul. From these groups, not from the peasants or the land-owning aristocracy or the reactionary clergy, narrow-minded though they might have been, came the fanatical haters of Jews." Massing, Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), 75. That the social groups pinpointed by Massing provided fertile terrain for the seeds of National Socialism seems beyond doubt. Nevertheless, it will be clear from the present essay that Jews themselves were much affected by some of the very cultural and ideological currents that fed into anti-Semitism.

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

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

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

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

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

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22 For a good overview of the literature on art nouveau and the different definitions and interpretations of the movement, see Jost Hermand, Jugendstil: Ein Forschungsbericht 1918–1964 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1965).
23 Van de Velde, “Le Nouveau,” in Déblaiement d’art, 73.
24 Van de Velde, “La Triple Offense à la beauté,” in Déblaiement d’art, 31–34, 48, 51–54. The backward look seems inseparable from many aspects of modernity. For example, Adolf Brand, the founder of the first journal dedicated to the justification and even celebration of homosexual love (Der Eigene, 1903–1933), based his case for what we would now call gay liberation on the claim that feminization and the decline of traditional manly virtues in modern times were undermining German culture. It would be saved, according to Brand, by a return to pederasty, the education of young males by older ones, which had been an essential aspect of ancient culture.
25 Cf. Van de Velde: “To halt decadence ... it was necessary to impose on the pursuit of Beauty a new discipline which ... would restore an era of rational and consequent conception in every domain—the idea of appropriate, precise, and pure form. ... A new discipline, applied like a principle of hygiene, that is the program that in my view was needed to get the better of ugliness” (“‘La Triple Offense à la beauté[,]” in Déblaiement d’art, 56, 105).
Ujejski, and Lilien won the competition for the design of the diploma. The prize money, he thought, would enable him to enroll in the art academy in Vienna, but he soon discovered that his funds were once again insufficient. After a brief stay with relatives in the Habsburg capital, he went on to Munich, where, as he put it later, the subsidy of 10 marks per month that his “wealthy” Lemberg relatives continued to provide was “not enough to live on but too much to starve to death on.”

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

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


9. Ibid. Lilien’s correspondence with his wife reveals a man with a lively sense of humor and a fondness for amusing anecdotes.

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


12. This story appeared in serial form in 1897 and was published in book form the following year (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung Vorwärts, 1898).
writers have detected the influence of Josef Sattler, another more established contributor to *Jugend*, Lilien had not yet fully realized the style that was to characterize the work of his maturity: flat surfaces with not much tonal modification, simple but dynamic lines, and strong, clear masses of black and white. Still, this new work differed completely in spirit and execution from anything by Mateiko, his only formal teacher. The drawings he continued to contribute to *Jugend* and the *Süddeutscher Postillon* showed further development in the direction of a highly stylized symbolism.

In 1905 Lilien advised his future wife, an aspiring artist, to "lay greater stress on clear line and visible movement." A year later, commenting on a woodcut she had made, he noted that it was "good, better than mine, but still too plastic; too much hatching." Briefe an seine Frau, 51, letter 19, from Berlin, October 18, 1905; 83, letter 39, from Jerusalem, June 8, 1906.

By 1899 Lilien had improved his financial situation sufficiently to move to Berlin. He was quickly caught up in the literary and artistic life of the new and fast-growing imperial capital. He co-chaired the opening of the first German poster exhibition; his drawings for *Jugend* were included in the collective exhibit of the Association of German Illustrators at the Great Berlin Art Exhibition of 1899; the first of his many fine ex-libris plates—a consistent source of income throughout his life (fig. 10)—were published in the newly founded *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*; and he was commissioned to provide the decorative borders for a book on the great novelist Theodor Fontane by the then highly regarded literary and art critic Franz Servaes. In the Fontane book the student of Mateiko showed that he had paid close attention to the work of Morris and his friends in the English Arts and Crafts movement.
During this period Lilien also designed a humorous postcard for a Berlin literary circle whose members called themselves “Die Kommenden” (People of the Future). This group, founded by the now forgotten poet Ludwig Jacobowski (an admirer and correspondent of Rilke; his poems were set to music by Max Reger, Alban Berg, and Hans Pfitzner), was similar to and loosely associated with other avant-garde groups that had already or would soon set themselves up in the more bucolic surroundings of the city’s outskirts, such as the Neue Gemeinschaft formed around Julius and Heinrich Hart in Schlachtensee or the Friedrichshagener Kreis formed around Bruno Wille and Wilhelm Bölsch in Friedrichshagen. Among Lilien’s associates in Die Kommenden were the cosmopolitan libertarian Max Nordau, the author of the novel Degeneration (1892)—an attack on the supposed cultural as well as physical decline of modern man—who was already well on his way to becoming a Zionist; the novelist and essayist Stefan Zweig; Rudolf Steiner, the founder of the German Theosophic Association and subsequently of his own brand of “anthroposophy”; the composer Hans Pfitzner, later a strong supporter of National Socialism; the poet Peter Hille, who took over the leadership of the group after Jacobowski’s premature death in 1900 (a friend of the artists Walter Leistikow, Edvard Munch, and Lovis Corinth, he is the subject of a fine portrait by Corinth); Hille’s devoted admirer, the gifted and troubled Jewish expressionist poetess Else Lasker-Schüler; and a number of other women writers and artists, including Maria Eichhorn, the author—under the pseudonym “Dolorosa”—of a volume of masochistic love poems (Confirma te Chrysate [1903]) for which Lilien provided the cover design and internal ornamentation.

The philosopher Martin Buber, then much under the influence of Nietzsche, also passed in and out of these literary circles, and it was probably in one of them that he and Lilien met and soon became comrades-in-arms in the pursuit of a new, modern Jewish culture. (Buber had attended the Gymnasium in Lemberg not long after Lilien had been a student at the Realschule there.) Both Bruno Wille’s later description of the Friedrichshagener Kreis—with which Buber, Erich Mühsam (a Jewish anarcho-socialist murdered by the Nazis in 1934), and the future Nazi Fidus were all associated—and the account by the Hart brothers of the goals of their Neue Gemeinschaft are equally applicable to Die Kommenden. The most diverse elements came together in Friedrichshagen, Wille wrote, “the solitude of nature and urban bustle; literary bohemia and socialist and anarchist programs; bold striving toward a way of life free of egoism and conventional ideas; a feeling of comradeship between intellectuals and talented manual workers that did not exclude some unprejudiced supporters from among the well-to-do; creative love of art and keen interest in the social and natural sciences, philosophy, and religion.”

Their goal, the Hart brothers explained on their side, was “to overcome the spirit of fragmentation and hopelessness produced by weary skepticism, the negativity and joylessness that have come to be all powerful in this last century…. We want to lead the way to a new Man, who will be the God and the artist of his own world.”

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

30 Bruno Wille, Aus Traum und Tag (Berlin, 1920), quoted in Frecot, Geist, and Kerbs, Fidus, 86.
31 Quoted in Gerhard Wehr, Der deutsche Jude Martin Buber (Munich: Kindler-Verlag, 1977), 84.
32 See the essays collected in Martin Buber, Die jüdische Bewegung: Gesammelte Aufsätze und Ansprüche 1910–1915 (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1916), with a cover design by E. R. Weiss, who also contributed illustrations to Die Insel. In the first essay, “Jüdische Renaissance” (1900), Buber deplores the effects on the culture of the Jewish people of “Ghetto und Galut” (isolation and exile). The new movement to regenerate Jewish culture, he argues, “will above all else place the Jew’s unitary, unbroken
so enthusiastic about these ballads on Jewish themes that he urged Münchhausen to publish them as a group and undertook to illustrate the volume.33 Doing so, he declared, would be a labor of love.34 The resulting volume, *Juda*, appeared in 1900 and was an instant success, receiving enthusiastic reviews not only in the German press but also in England and America.35 It had to be reprinted later the same year and in succeeding years to keep up with demand.36

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

The impact of *Juda* seem to have been due to the fact that poet and artist alike, while evoking a distant past, offered a vision of a reformed, reinvigorated Jewish man and woman that was consonant with the ideals both of Lebensreform and of many supporters of the Zionist movement, with which Lilien had become involved soon after keinen zu Leide / Haben wir unsere Sendung erfüllt?” (We worked together to create that for which our souls are filled with longing. We fulfilled our mission without favor or harm to anyone). Willem-Jan Pantus (*Jugendstil in Wort und Bild*, 133) quotes another reference by Münchhausen to his friendship and collaboration with Lilien: “Ephraim Mose Lilien, do you know, dear friend, how close we were brought together by this book. Do you still remember the work and the pleasure we shared?” Lilien’s letters to his wife, Helene Magnus, indicate that he visited Münchhausen’s estate quite often and talked freely with the baron and his wife about his personal affairs. For the baron he created one of his much-appreciated bookplates.

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

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

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

Geächtet Volk, ich zeige dir die Stege  
Aus Hass und Hohn zu deiner Jugend Glück,  
Verlorner Stamm, ich weise dir die Wege,  
Und deiner Wege Lösung heisst: Zurück!

Zurück zur Schönheit einst gesungener Psalmen,  
Zurück zum heiligen Bach bei Anathoth,  
Zurück zu deiner Heimat Balsampalmen,  
Zurück zu deinem alten grossen Gott!

Ich bin des Predigers Stimme in der Wüste,  
Stark ist mein Schrei, die Liebe ihn gebar,  
Ich bin des Predigers Stimme in der Wüste,  
Ein Fremdes ruft aus mir und redet wahr.

Und ruft dir zu: Lass Pfleg und Wage stehen,  
Sei was du bist, das alte Israel,  
Noch lebt dein Gott, und seine Säulen gehen  
Noch heute vor dir, höre Israel!

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

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

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

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38Theodor Herzl, Briehe und Tagebücher, ed. Alex Bein et al., vol. 6, ed. Barbara Schäfer et al. (Frankfurt and Berlin: Ullstein-Propyläen Verlag, 1993), 590–91, letter dated Vienna, 1901. As evidence that he was not reacting chauvinistically to the poems in Juda, Herzl cites his admiration for Münchhausen’s Balladen on German themes, published in the same year, and in a postscript lists his favorite poems in each collection.

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

41Theodor Zlocisti, review of Juda in Ost und West 1 (January 1901), cols. 63–66. Helene Magnus, who before her marriage to Lilien was strongly opposed to Zionism, had presciently warned her future husband that Gentile Zionists like Münchhausen were in fact anti-Semites; they encouraged Jewish emigration to Palestine because they were convinced that Jews could never be authentic Germans (Briefe an seine Frau, 36, letter 1, Helene Magnus to E. M. Lilien, from Braunschweig, March 10, 1905).
ensured that they would remain somewhat marginal to the National Socialist mainstream, their ideal vision of a muscular heroic race, elevated above mundane human passions and interests, does appear to have found expression in the officially preferred sculpture of the Nazi era.42

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

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

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

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

A now familiar delegates’ card designed by Lilien for the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basel in 1901, which the artist himself attended, conveys a message entirely compatible with that of Rabbi Kook (fig. 12). It presents the image of a strong, young, handsome angel directing the gaze of a traditional old Jew, hemmed in by thorns in the dark, lower left segment of the card, toward the distant view, in the bright, upper right segment, of a farmer plowing the land beneath the glorious rays of the risen sun. What was manifested here, according to an American art critic writing in 1906, was “not the Talmudic spirit, to German culture and, above all, to lessons learned from the German Wandervogel: “We live in the midst of German culture. Its objectives are our objectives. Our calling is to be of service to German life, on the torrent of which we too are borne.” That is why young Jews “rallied to the flag in 1914.” Above all, “the German Wandervogel showed us the way to new forms of life.” With them, Jewish youth shares “the yearning for truth and purity, for renewal and a revaluing of all life,” the desire “to replace worn-out forms and Philistinism, crassly material attitudes, with a living, hard-won, personal vision of the ideal.” Tagebuch für die jüdische Jugend 5/77 (1916–17) (Vienna: R. Löwith Verlag, 1916); also appeared as Tagebuch für jüdische Wanderer. The copy of this book in Princeton's Cotsen Children's Library was originally in the possession of the Herzl-Club, Berlin.

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

Buber’s ideal of art as the expression of a Volkseele (people’s soul) and his call for a specifically “Jewish” art strikingly paralleled a contemporary campaign in certain circles in Germany to identify and


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

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


47 Ibid., 16.
48 Ibid., 13; see also 32–33 on the destructive effects of the achievement of legal equality.
50 Ibid., 61–62.
51 Ibid., 63. This view was again expressed by Lothar Brieger in his 1922 monograph on Lilien and applied to Lilien himself. A truly Jewish art, as distinct from an art using Jewish themes, could not occur, Brieger argued, until the development of the nation had proceeded far enough to inform and sustain a national art. Consequently, “Lilien’s Jewishness cannot be seen as anything other than a matter of thematic material. What we have here is not a Jewish art that is a preparation for something to come in the future, but a Jewish-minded art [eine jüdisch gesinnte Kunst].” Brieger, E. M. Lilien: Eine künstlerische Entwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende (Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Harz, 1922), 171.
preserve the “Germanness” of German art. Not only diehard reactionaries, but even some moderately progressive artists like Carl Venus, who had worked at Worpswede and been associated with the Secession movement, believed German art was threatened by Ausländer, that is, modish foreign, chiefly French influences. Characteristically, these influences were often said to be mediated by cosmopolitan Jewish gallery owners and collectors. The aspiration to create a “Jewish” art was even expressed in terms evoking race and ethnicity similar to those being used in the contemporary discourse about the “Germanness” of German art, albeit without the exclusiveness and xenophobia that came increasingly to characterize the latter.

Thus Juda confirmed one critic in his conviction that “Lilien is a Jewish artist” who “creates out of the soul of the Jewish Volk.” That is why “only the Jew can understand and appreciate how powerfully he has tuned all the strings of his people’s joyful and painful memories and drawn on them to create his art.” Buber himself, reviewing the volume in the weekly Die Welt, the official organ of the Zionist movement, spoke of the Jewish Rassenmächtigkeit (racial resiliency) to which Lilien and Münchhausen had evidently both responded. A parallel concern with the “Englishness” of English art began with Ruskin and became widespread at the turn of the twentieth century. It was given a new lease on life by the great German refugee art historian Sir Nikolaus Pevsner in his Reith Lectures on “The Englishness of English Art,” broadcast over the BBC in 1955. See David Peters Corbett and Lara Perry, eds., English Art 1870–1914: Modern Artists and Identity (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), and David Peters Corbett, Yanne Holt, and Fiona Russell, eds., The Geography of Englishness: Landscape and the National Past 1880–1940 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002.) In “The ‘Jewish Mark’ in English Painting: Cultural Identity and Modern Art” (English Art 1860–1914, 180–94), Janet Wolff points out that a suspicion of anti-Semitism “hovers over the very identification of a difference between English and ‘Jewish’-ness in art,” but that “it is important to recall that Jews as much as non-Jews collided in this belief in ethnicity as a foundation for art-making” (185). Notable English Jewish artists like David Bomberg and Mark Gertler, she claims, shared to some extent the notion that there could be something specifically Jewish in a given artistic practice. In its issue of April 27, 1917, the Jewish Chronicle, the respected organ of British Jewry, described Jacob Epstein’s sculpture as “entirely Hebraic.” Wolff recalls a 1990 exhibition at the Barbican Art Gallery in London—“Chagall to Kitaj: Jewish Experiences in 20th Century Art”—and raises the question whether something of the old idea and ideal of a specifically Jewish art does not persist even today. A recent book by Gilya Gerda Schmidt, Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress 1901 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), would seem to indicate that it does. At the same time, none of the attempts to define Englishness or Jewishness in art was as exclusive and xenophobic as the notorious pamphlet Was Ist Deutsches in der deutschen Kunst? (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1934) by Kurt Karl Eberlein, an art historian sympathetic to National Socialism.

M. Hirschfelder in Ost und West 1 (July 1901), col. 526.

Die Welt (December 14, 1900), quoted in Mark H. Gelber, “E. M. Lilien: Jugendstil—Erotik und Kulturzisionismus,” in E. M. Lilien: Jugendstil—Erotik—Zisionismus, ed. Oz Almog and Gerhard Milchram, exhibition catalog (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 1998), 11. Gelber may be the only scholar to highlight what he rightly refers to as the völkisch-racial tendency of the mainstream of early cultural Zionism [völkisch-russische Orientierung der Hauptströmungen des frühen Kulturzionismus].
American art critic Moses Samuel Leviussoe found in Lilien’s work “the art of living Judaism.” To Stefan Zweig, the worldview at the core of Lilien’s creativity as an artist was “not an accidental or borrowed one.” It was not, in other words, taken from the host nations among whom Jews lived. On the contrary, he wrote, Lilien’s “distinctive character as an artist blossoms forth from the unique soil of his homeland, from folk myth, and from the values of his race [bluhlt aus eigenster Heimatscholle, aus Volksmythe und Rassenwerten ... ins Leben empor].” Arguing that “art is international in its means of expression and thus readily accessible to all on the surface, but national in its deepest being and therefore only to be grasped in its depths by dint of great effort and sensitive empathy,” the literary and art critic Edgar Regener distinguished between international Jewish artists like Max Liebermann, Lesser Ury, Josef Israels, and Solomon J. Solomon, who could no more be viewed as national Jewish artists than as German, Dutch, or English, and an artist like Lilien, who, Regener claimed, belonged in the essentially Jewish tradition of Buchschmuck (book decoration), the area of artistic expression to which the Jew is drawn “by the particular national capacity of his race.”

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

Leviussoe, New Art of an Ancient People, 50.

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

Regener, Lilien, 20–30. For some, “race” was a purely biological category. For others, it appears to have been a combination of the biological and the historical.

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

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

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


In a letter to Herzl defending the “cultural program” of “us young people,” Buber cites a letter from Lilien about two meetings he and Lilien had had with the highly regarded painter Max Liebermann and with one of the two brothers, Paul and Bruno Cassirer, whose gallery handled Liebermann’s work. “At the beginning [Liebermann] called our ultimate goal utopian.... Later, however, when Cassirer joined us and spoke in much the same way that Liebermann had spoken ... earlier, Liebermann became excited and talked much as the best of Zionists would have done.... He declared that if Zionism imposes no barriers to his art, he will do all in his power ... to counter such misunderstandings as that every Zionist must be a conservative Jew. He knew [Hermann] Struck, who eats only kosher food and wears tzitzis,
Lilien himself frequently indicated that he was neither religious in any traditional way nor observant. Nevertheless, he was outspokenly, perhaps defiantly, proud of his Jewish heritage and identity and also keenly aware of being a “Cohen”—that is, a member of the elite Jewish priestly caste—and it is also clear from his correspondence that he had been well educated in all aspects of Judaism.

and so he felt a strong resistance to professing conscious Judaism, for he thought that then he too would have to eat kosher and wear tefillin...I talked a great deal about...cultural Zionism with him. And...he now understands many things that were previously incomprehensible to him.” Buber to Herzl, July 24, 1902, in The Letters of Martin Buber, ed. Nahum N. Glazter and Paul Mendes-Flohr, trans. Richard and Clara Winston and Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1991), 82–83. In the same spirit, Weizmann criticized Herzl for being willing to work with Merkaz Ruchani, an organization of religious Jews founded in Vilna in 1902 with the aim of putting the Torah at the center of Zionism. Herzl, Briefe und Tagebücher, vol. 7, ed. Barbara Schäfer et al. (Frankfurt and Berlin: Ullstein-Propyläen Verlag, 1996), 669 (note to letter 4609).

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

62 The decorative page at the beginning of Juda represents a Torah ark with a seven-branched candelabrum before it in a characteristic frame of stylized flowers and plants along with female angel figures playing musical instruments (fig. 11). On the curtain of the ark, in Hebrew letters, is inscribed: “Ephraim Moshe ben Ja’akov haCohen Lilien Missne Zion Ne’emanim” (Ephraim Mose, son of Jacob Hacohen Lilien, one of the faithful sons of Zion). The letters to Helene and to his publishers give many signs of a considerable knowledge of the Bible and of Jewish religious and cultural traditions. One series of such letters presents learned arguments justifying his particular representation of the “blessing hands” motif in his illustrations of the Bible and is a further sign of his consciousness of belonging to the priestly caste of the Cohanim (Briefe an seine Frau, 97, letter 77 [1908]; 110–12, letters 118–20 [1908]; 277, Appendix II [1908]). Although distant from it, he shows a certain respect for Chasidism (ibid., 125, letter 160 [1911]), but rarely misses an opportunity to berate the “disloyal rich Jews” who think only of money and their own well-being and fail to identify with their less fortunate Jewish brethren (for instance, ibid., 46, letter 6 [1905]).

48

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

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

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

54 A reference to the “dark night of the ghetto and the even darker night of the Enlightenment” in Theodor Zucko’s piece Jueda (Ost und West i [January 1901], col. 65) is an indication of the way the cultural Zionists thought of the Enlightenment and of their links to German Romanticism.

50 From time to time the tension between “cultural” and “political” Zionism flared into acrimonious public exchanges and mutual recriminations. In 1902, Ahad Ha’am, one of the leading advocates of cultural Zionism, took Herzl to task for leaving cultural revival out of the vision he presented of the new Jewish state in his utopian novel Old-New Land (1902). Nordau responded with a sharply worded article in the official Die Welt. This in turn became the target of an angry public protest by the cultural Zionists, to which Buber lent his signature. Herzl accused the cultural Zionists, along with the Judischer Verlag (Jewish Publishing House), which Buber and Lilien had founded, of being a “nest of enemies.” Buber and Lilien then had to work hard to reassure him of their loyalty to the common cause and to him personally.
vulgar,” according to Buber, was that which starts out from the desire to make the life of the Jew more comfortable. “Not the improvement of the situation of the Jews is our aim but the redemption of the nation,” he declared. “If I had to choose between a comfortable but unproductive well-being … and a beautiful death in the extreme expenditure of vital energy,” he added with Nietzschean fervor, “I would have to choose the latter. For, if only for a moment, something divine would have been created by it, whereas the former would produce only something all-too-human.” The key word, Buber goes on in this Nietzschean vein, is “create.” “The Zionists who are sensitive to the full sacredness of that word and arrange their life accordingly seems to me to have reached the highest stage. The ideal goal the Jewish people should strive toward is the creation of new values and new works out of its ancient uniqueness, out of the depths of the special, unique power of its blood, which for so long has been imprisoned in the fetters of unproductiveness.”

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

Despite Lilien’s passionate identification with his “blood brothers,” it is by no means clear that his work can be regarded as a harbinger of the new “Jewish culture” and “Jewish art” that he and Buber aspired to create. There may well be some reminiscences in it of early printed Haggadahs or of illuminated pages from traditional Jewish pinkasim (handwritten annals of religious communities or institutions), of which he most probably had knowledge, since they were still being produced in his youth in his native Galicia. He certainly appropriated many traditional Jewish symbols—the palm tree, the harp, the seven-branched candelabra, the Star of David, the blessing hands of the Cohanim or priests, with their unique disposition of the fingers—hoping no doubt to revitalize them by adapting them to modern form. In the same way, he integrated biblical flora and fauna—roses, lilies, vines, thorns, snakes—into the decorative frames surrounding his
illustrations. He presented biblical figures in physically beautiful form and in seeming harmony with the natural landscape. To the modern eye, however, for all the Jewish references in his work, he remains above all a Jugendstil artist, a participant in an international artistic movement, who owed much to contemporary or near-contemporary models like Beardsley, Josef Sattler, and the Japanese prints popular at the time, and who used the same forms, at once decorative and symbolic—tendrils, flowing and winding tresses, fluttering ribbons, running water, drifting smoke, peacocks’ tails—as other Jugendstil artists.70 The style in which Lilien illustrated Juda was not, Michael Stanislawski observes, “a break, departure, opposition, or nationalistically inspired ‘purification’ of Jugendstil or art nouveau, but a seamless extension of genre approach and technique from the German and cosmopolitan to the specifically Jewish arena.” Long after he became associated with Herzl and the Zionist movement, Stanislawski goes on, “Lilien continued to produce drawings and ex-libris plates on non-Jewish themes and in a typical Jugendstil manner, and it is impossible to detect any difference, either stylistic or ideational, between his ‘Jewish’ and his ‘non-Jewish’ art. On the contrary, what we see in his work, beginning with Juda, is a conscious attempt to apply the Secession creed to Jewish subject matter, an attempt to create a Jewish art at once nationalistic and modernist.”71

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

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

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

spade, which for both seems inspired by an ideal of heroic nationalism (figs. 14, 15).²²

Lilien was apparently more—or at least sooner—willing than Fidus to identify real political parties and programs, rather than inspired philosophical and utopian fantasies, as valid agents of reform that might be capable of moving humanity toward the desired new life. As already noted, he was drawn to the Zionist movement because he believed it promised to deliver the Jewish people not only from external oppression (political Zionism) but also from oppressive elements in its own religious tradition, the so-called “Talmudic spirit” that had developed during the centuries of exile and had drastically distorted its cultural development (cultural Zionism). This expectation is suggested visually by the celebration of the physical in the illustrations for Juda, as well as in later work. Some of Lilien’s most striking male nudes bear Herzl’s facial features and beard (fig. 16), suggesting that Zionism, for Lilien, as for the other cultural Zionists, held out the promise of a new life of freedom from shame and unnatural conventions and of joy in the beauty of the world and of humankind.²³

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

²²Lilien did not shy away from the violence required for Jewish self-defense. During the anti-Jewish riots at Zhitomir in May 1905, he notes with satisfaction, “For the first time since the days of Bar Kochba Jews took to arms and died, not with a prayer book but a revolver in their hands” (Briefe an seine Frau, 46, letter 13, from Berlin, August 29, 1905). To a statement by “Lueger, the anti-Semitic mayor of Vien- na, warning Austrian Jews to take care lest the same thing happen to them as is happening in Russia, the Jews should respond,” he wrote, “by organizing and equipping themselves with revolvers” (ibid., 56, letter 25, from Drohobycz, December 12, 1905). A bookplate Lilien made for himself depicts him as a warrior knight bearing the shield of Zion.

²³Even the observant Struck remarked that “our leader [Herzl] was a man of super-human beauty. And I confess freely that it was this divine gift of beauty which left the deepest and most enduring impress on my mind” (Jewish Agency for Is- rael, Department for Jewish Zionist Education, “More on Herzl,” www.jaf.org.il/ education/herzl/hermannstruck.html). For a detailed analysis of Lilien’s representations of Herzl, see Milly Heyd, “Lilien between Herzl and Ahasver,” in Theodor Herzl: Visionary of the Jewish State, ed. Gideon Shmoni and Robert S. Wistrich (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press; New York: Herzl Press, 1999), 465–93. Heyd’s article also offers close readings of many of Lilien’s illustrations in terms of what she describes as the artist’s own conflicted relation to homecoming and exile, Zion and Europe, Eastern tradition and “authenticity,” and Western modernity and alienation.

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

Munich days, as noted earlier, he had contributed drawings to the Socialist Süddeutsche Postillon. A bookplate he designed for Richard Fischer—a typographer who was secretary of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in 1893, manager of the Socialist Vorwärts in 1902, and a regular delegate to International Workers’ Congresses—similarly testi-
ifies to strong Socialist sympathies (fig. 17). Like Walter Crane, who produced posters for Socialist literature, clubs, and activities both in England and on the Continent, Lilien here adapts recognizable po-
litical symbols to a typically Jugendstil design and integrates explicit captions into it. The central figure of the design is a young woman with the characteristic flowing tresses of Jugendstil female figures. Here, however, she unmistakably represents political Freedom and the working people. Her crown is captioned “Arbeit” (Labor) and
adorned with a hammer and a pair of pliers. Her robe has a pattern of Phrygian caps, the emblem of the Jacobin revolutionaries, while its borders are decorated with lily of the valley, the flower of May Day, the great holiday of the international labor movement. In her right hand she holds the torch of Enlightenment, which is adorned with a large bow. The bow's broadest ribbon, held up horizontally so that it occupies the center of the design, carries the caption “Mein ist die Welt” (The World Is Mine), a proclamation confirmed by the figure's position atop a globe. Narrower ribbons falling vertically from the bow to the ground and bearing the names of the continents where Social Democracy was already a force—Europe, Australia, America—reinforce the message of the universality of the Democratic Socialist program.

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

76 Lieder des Ghetto von Morris Rosenfeld, Autor: Übertragung aus dem Jüdischen von Berthold Feiwel, mit Zeichnungen von E. M. Lilien (Berlin: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, [1902]), based on Morris Rosenfeld, Songs from the Ghetto (Boston: Copeland and Day, 1898). The English translations in the American volume were by Leo Weiner, an instructor in Slavic languages at Harvard. Rosenfeld's original Yiddish texts were printed in German Gothic letters, rather than in the usual Hebrew ones.
author of the poems, Morris Rosenfeld, was a poor Jewish immigrant working typically long hours in one of the sweatshops of New York’s garment industry. If, for Münchhausen, the present degraded condition of the Jews, compared with their glorious past, had been a metaphor for the degradation of contemporary Germans in comparison with their heroic past, in Rosenfeld’s poems the alienation and humiliation of the Jewish garment worker was inseparable from that of the entire working class. The Ghetto was not somewhere in eastern Europe and it was not only for Jews: it existed wherever the laboring masses the world over are confined. As the speaker in the poems tells of the sufferings and humiliations of working people and their exploitation by greedy bosses, and as he expresses the hope that a day will come when they will regain freedom and dignity, he is certainly giving a voice to oppressed Jews, but also, at the same time, to all who are exploited and degraded in modern industrial society.77

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

Noch leuchten auf die mützen Augen,
Denk’ ich des Glücks vergangener Zeit;
Aus jeder Scholle sorg ich Frieden,
Ich wusste nichts von Hass und Neid.

Ich kannte nicht das grause Elend,
Nicht hat die Not nach mir gezielt,
Am sonnigen, lachen Jondanuser
Hab’ ich gesungen, gejauchzet, gespielt.

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

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

77Thus poem 6, “Die Kale van die Berg” (The Mountain Bride), in “Lieder der Arbeit” (Songs of Labor), the first of the three sections of Rosenfeld’s collection, tells of a miner’s daughter from the Appalachians. Her father and betrothed die dead in mines now abandoned, and she has gone mad with grief. The poem ends with her curse on the mine bosses, “die Menschenschlächter [the butchers of men].” (Possibly because of its unfamiliar local references, this poem was not included in Feivel’s collection.)
smallest space from those who despise me. No, no, I will not beg, like a coward, for permission to live on sufferance in a foreign land. The bonds of love still twine with miraculous strength around me and my homeland.

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

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


title page of the collection’s first section, entitled “Lieder der Arbeit” (Songs of Labor; fig. 18). His depictions of suffering also show a new element: less stylization, fewer free-flowing lines, more hatching, and more attention to the detail of expression, as in the picture of his father or of two stoical emigrants in a storm-tossed boat. Nevertheless, Lilien still usually aimed not simply to repeat what the poet had
described or narrated but to provide a visual equivalent of the feelings aroused by the poem. In the illustration of the two emigrants, for instance, strong lines and harsh diagonals create a sense of extreme tension. The beauty and harmony of the longed-for new world, in contrast, is communicated, as in Der jüdische Mai (The Jewish May; fig. 19), by the usual contrast between the bright rays of the sun and the city of the future in the upper right of the image and the darkness that fills the lower left, from which the lined face of the old Jew looks out with a mixture of weariness and hope, or by the characteristic Jugendstil vision of groups of naked moving or dancing figures, as in an image illustrating the lead poem of the section entitled “Die Erschaffung des Menschen” (The Creation of Man; see fig. 16). This image could be seen as a vision of the creation of the New Man dreamed of by so many Jugendstil artists and advocates of Lebensreform.

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

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

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

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

Most of the writing about him was by Jews (Solomon, Zweig, Gold, Levussove, and, in the early 1920s, Lothar Brieger), and his new commissions were increasingly for Jewish materials of one kind or an-

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other. Herzl, who was very taken with him and who was especially pleased by the photograph of himself at the Fifth Congress (he requested and received additional copies for his mother and his wife), commissioned him to design the “Golden Book” of the Jewish National Fund. From Russia, Maxim Gorki invited him to illustrate a

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This commission led to a temporary falling-out with Herzl and hints at a less attractive side of Lilien’s character. Lilien had apparently set his fee for the design at 300 kroner. Although he had received two advances amounting to 240 kroner without delivering any work, he apparently wrote to the Action Committee of the Zionist movement, raising his fee and demanding further payments. When the committee balked, he threatened to take the matter to court. At that point, Herzl wrote him a cold letter, informing him that the remaining 60 kroner had been mailed to him,
collection (Shornié) of works by Jewish poets; as head of a committee to defend the cause of Russian Jews at the time of the great pogroms, Gorki hoped the book would present Jews to his compatriots in a humane and sympathetic light.84

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

That his further “arbitrary” demands were unacceptable, and that he could take his case to a lawyer if he wished (Herzl to Lilien, from Vienna, May 22, 1903, Briefe und Tagebücher, 7:146). To Buber, Herzl complained of the behavior of the cultural Zionists and singled out Lilien, who had “adopted an utterly impossible tone” and, in response to the friendliest letters, had threatened court action, “whereupon I naturally broke off all relations with him.” “Even if Lilien stands on his head,” Herzl added, “I will not pay him a penny more than he has received and will not have his work used for the Golden Book of the National Fund again” (Herzl to Buber, from Vienna, May 28, 1903, Martin Buber, Briefe aus sieben Jahrzehnten, 3 vols. [Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1972–1973]), 1:199–200).

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

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

86 Princeton’s copy of the 1923 edition was a gift of Kurt Gödel, the great mathematician and colleague of Albert Einstein at the Institute for Advanced Study.
It is not surprising, therefore, that a major, highly successful exhibition of Lilien’s work organized in early 1914 by the Association of Friends of Art in Lemberg—a personal triumph for the once poverty-stricken boy from Drohobytsz—provoked a controversy regarding his status as an artist. The exhibition rooms in Lemberg, wrote a reviewer in the local Slavo Polskie, a newspaper with Polish nationalist sympathies, have been opened
to a foreign artist known throughout Europe—the outstanding Hebrew graphic artist from Berlin, Herr E. M. Lilien, who has honored our city because of his feeling for his native Galicia… The exhibition comprises a series of drawings and etchings, for the most part images
related to the Bible—the artist’s life’s work. Artistically, his productions stand at a high level of graphic art. But as far as ideas and feelings are concerned, they manifest such a fervid Hebraic patriotism, such a high idealism in their heroic interpretation of the past of the Jewish people and such an intense, loving interpretation of the Palestinian landscape that these qualities arouse real respect in the viewer for the nobility and purity of the artist’s ideals. For that very reason, those who would stamp him as a Polish artist do him a disservice. Herr Lilien has only and exclusively the ability to be a Jewish artist, and Polish art is rich enough to be able to give up all claim to such an artist, even one as worthy as Herr Lilien. It is thus quite another question whether this exhibition should have been organized under the auspices of the Association of Friends of Art, whose obligation it is to support Polish art, not Zionist art.\footnote{Reported verbatim by Lilien, Briefe an seine Frau, 178, letter 253, from Lemberg, February 24, 1914.}

An offer from Lemberg to allow the exhibition to be remounted in Krakow provoked the individuals in charge of exhibitions there to respond, in a similar vein, that “a Lilien exhibition in Polish Krakow is out of the question as a matter of principle.”\footnote{Ibid.} Lilien and his champions, including the president of the Association of Friends of Art in Krakow—who, by Lilien’s account, was enthusiastic about the exhibition and wanted it transferred immediately and in its entirety—reacted with indignation to the newspaper article. Yet, even if we take into account the anti-Semitic climate in Polish nationalist circles at the time, the episode points to the way many people viewed Lilien’s work and to the almost unavoidable consequences of his own express desire to contribute to the creation of a “Jewish” art.\footnote{This is not, of course, to say that anti-Semitic prejudice did not also target those artists who had no intention of contributing to the creation of a “Jewish” art but were solely concerned to be artists for the modern world. Modernity itself was often branded as “Jewish”—notoriously, but by no means exclusively, by the National Socialists.} It is also likely that Lilien was inclined to accept the artistic role assigned to him, not only because of his enthusiasm for the landscapes and way of life of the Holy Land (and of the Middle East in general) and for the richly varied human types among its residents, but also because of continuing pressure to achieve financial stability.

In 1906, on his return from his first journey to Palestine (under the auspices of the Zionist movement), he had married Helene Magnus, who had initiated a correspondence with him the previous year. From the beginning, Lilien had to combat the young woman’s and, above all, her family’s reservations about his commitment to Zionism. “It is our desire that we be and a matter of pride for us that we are Germans through and through, and that we cannot be distinguished in any way from others, except for the fact that we have another religion,” Helene wrote to him, adding pointedly: “I personally feel quite removed from Judaism, am not religious, and have not attended any religious services for years, since I dislike everything dogmatic, ritualistic, and external in religion.”\footnote{Briefe an seine Frau, 36, letter 1, Helene Magnus to E. M. Lilien, from Braunschweig, March 10, 1905.} In addition, he had to contend with Helene’s parents’ misgivings about him as an “eastern” Jew and, worse still, an artist without a steady income or position. Lilien justified himself to them as best he could, invoking with pride his achievements as an artist, referring to eminent personalities among his friends who could vouch for him, and even, in 1906, offering his future father-in-law a detailed account of his income and expenditures for the previous year.\footnote{Briefe an seine Frau, 82, letter 38, from Jerusalem, May 9, 1906. Lilien never made a secret of his pecuniary circumstances, but “I permitted myself to think that … without making money, I have still made things of value. … Seven years ago … I was sickly, homeless, without skills. … I was totally unknown. Today I am healthy, full of the joy of life, and … so well known that every Philistine knows I have no money!” He suggests that “Herr Justizrat” inquire about him from his friends—the writer Dr. Max Nordau, the poet Börries von Münchhausen, the sculptor Professor Boris Schatz, the politician Israel Zangwill.” In another letter from Jerusalem (ibid., 58, letter 39, June 6, 1906), he provides a detailed account for Helene’s father of all his earnings and expenditures for the year 1905. At the same time, he was resentful of the scrutiny he was being subjected to. Her parents, he told Helene, “are not entitled to think of me as having the mind of a dumbbell. I have no property in money, but I have a good name. … Your parents have every reason not to feel ashamed of their future son-in-law” (ibid., 88, letter 48, from Berlin, August 28, 1906).}
upper-bourgeois world of his new family. He was probably quite happy to continue his collaboration with the well-established Braun-
schweig publishing house of Westermann, which commissioned him
to provide illustrations for two volumes of popular selections from the
Bible (Die Bibel in Auswahl für Schule und Heim [1912] and Die Bibel in
Dr. Martin Luthers Übersetzung: Eine Auswahl fürs deutsche Haus [1914]).
When war broke out in 1914, he expressed appropriately patriotic	
sentiments, and during his service with the Austrian army commented on
the friendliness with which he and his comrades had been greeted by
the new Emperor Karl I during a royal visit to their unit in Constan-
tinople. After the death of Helene’s parents in 1920 in the wake of
the influenza epidemic of 1918, the couple settled into the substantial
Magnus house in Braunschweig, where Lilien began to lead a com-
fortable family life, appropriate to the son-in-law of a Justizrat. “I like
Braunschweig better and better every day,” he declared in 1921.

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

92 Briefe an seine Frau, 254, letter 391, from Constantinople, May 24, 1918. “It won’t
be long,” he had declared at the beginning of the war, “before the French and the
English get the whipping they deserve” (ibid., 200, letter 286, from Berlin, September
15, 1914). Lilien reserved his deepest hostility for the ally of France and England,
tsarist Russia, which he saw as condoning, even encouraging, anti-Jewish pogroms.
93 Briefe an seine Frau, 263, letter 413, from Braunschweig, July 31, 1921.
94 Hieronymus, introduction to Briefe an seine Frau, 24. According to Regener, Lilien,
99, Lilien, along with several others, had been bent on obstructing “the energetic
and dedicated activity of the Leader” (that is, Herzl) at the early Basel Zionist
Congresses. “Once the artist gained an understanding of this unique man, however, he
became his most faithful follower and there was no longer a moment when he did
not stand shoulder to shoulder with him. Lilien was deeply and durably pained by his
disagreement with Herzl and it was a gesture of reconciliation and at the same time
a mark of his friendship and admiration when he dedicated one of the stained glass
windows he was commissioned to design for the Hamburg B’nai Britz to the mem-
ory of Theodor Herzl and used Herzl’s head to impart strength and meaning to his
figure of Moses.” Lilien’s continued strong identification with Judaism and Zionism
was likewise one of the themes of Lothar Brieger’s 1922 monograph, E. M. Lilien.

Partei Deutschlands), but in the centrist and constitutionalist DDP
(Deutsche Demokratische Partei), the party of Max Weber and the
intellectuals, “an association of notables in the style of classical lib-
eralism [ein Honoratiorennenvein allliberalen Stils],” as one historian
has dubbed it.

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

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

95 Hagen Schulze, Weimar: Deutschland 1917–1933 (Berlin: Severin und Siedler, 1982), 79. On Lilien’s relation to the DDP, see Briefe an seine Frau, 264, letter 416,
from Braunschweig, October 31, 1922.
96 Briefe an seine Frau, 82, letter 57, from Jerusalem, April 26, 1906. See also ibid.,
189, letter 270, from Jerusalem, May 30, 1914, where he tells Helene he has taken
two hundred photographs of Palestinian landscapes and people, including many
Jewish types (“Köpfe, viele Judenköpfe”). Like many photographers at the time,
Lilien regarded photographs both as works of art in their own right and as aids
to drawing. Taken for themselves, they served a documentary as well as an artistic pur-
pose. Hence the numerous photographs of Jewish types, or a project to capture in
photographs “the entire peasant life of the mountain people [das ganze Bauernleben
im Gebirge]” around Zakopane on the present-day Polish-Slovak border (ibid., 143,
letter 204, from Zakopane, June 27, 1912).

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

\textsuperscript{97} Micha and Ora Bar-Am, “Photographic Aspect in the Work of Lilien,” 38.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{98} Briefe an seine Frau, 178, letter 252, from Lemberg, February 22, 1914.
the time the first catalog of his etchings was published in Vienna in 1919, 199 works were listed, of which a number had already been sold out; those still available commanded a fairly high price. Their subject matter consisted of scenes and typical local figures from the Holy Land, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey, from eastern Europe (Poland, Galicia, Ruthenia), and, to a far lesser degree, from Italy. In particular, there were etchings of countless Jewish types—males and females, children and old folk, Iranian, Turkish, Yemenite, Polish, Russian, and Rumanian Jews, farmers, peddlers, readers, Torah scribes, and water carriers. There were etchings of a couple of black African (probably Ethiopian) Jews. In a few cases the figures were dressed in ancient garb and given biblical names: Esther, Ruth, Saul, Solomon.

Mostly, they constituted an inventory of the contemporary inhabitants of the Middle Eastern lands and their way of life. A later catalog published in New York in 1922 and listing the prices in dollars contained 229 entries. All the works in this catalog appealed to the viewer’s interest in the subject matter or—for a few eastern European scenes, local views of Braunschweig, and portraits of the artist and members of his family—to the European love of the exotic and “oriental.” According to the author of an essay accompanying the 1922 catalog, Lilien not only “depicted the characteristic scenery, architecture, historic monuments and public life of the Near East ... he penetrated into the soul of the people who live in the midst of that scenery, who created that architecture and those monuments and who lead that public life. Not many children of the West have come to know and to understand the soul of the East; very few have attempted to describe or depict it. But nobody before Lilien has ever reproduced it as he does.”

Technically accomplished, the etchings of the 1910s and early 1920s may strike the modern viewer as lacking the originality, imagination, and verve of Lilien’s earlier black-and-white India ink illustrations. The contrast between the two styles and the two media is highlighted moreover by the title pages of the two catalogs, which make use of designs from the Westermann edition of Bücher der Bibel and are in the artist’s earlier flat, linear manner. In comparison with etchings being produced in the 1910s and 1920s by artists of the same generation as Lilien or only slightly younger—Käthe Kollwitz, Ludwig Meidner, Emil Nolde, Max Pechstein, Otto Dix—Lilien’s etchings appear tame and conservative, not unlike many by Struck from the early 1900s.

By 1925, when Lilien died at the relatively early age of fifty-one, while undergoing treatment for a heart attack the previous year, most of the fire and imagination of his earlier years seems to have gone out of him, along, perhaps, with some of his enthusiasm for both Zionism and Lebensreform. Although he had served in the Austrian army in the Middle East and witnessed the horror of “women and children dying of hunger in the streets” of Aleppo,100 his apparently happy and comfortable bourgeois life with Helene and their children, Otto and Hannah, seems to have protected him—his early Socialist sympathies notwithstanding—from Heinrich Vogeler’s outrage at the senselessness of the war and conviction that capitalism was at the root of both the war and the misery of the masses. Despite his enthusiasm for the Promised Land, Lilien appears not to have been tempted to abandon the relative comfort and seeming security of Braunschweig for the uncertain prospect of realizing the Zionist and Lebensreform dreams of his youth in Palestine.

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

100 Every day, I saw women and children dying of starvation on the streets of [Aleppo, Smyrna, and Kania]. In Aleppo a wagon passes every morning after sunrise to collect 30–50 corpses from the street, but only hours later others are already expiring on the street corners” (Brieffe an seine Frau, 254–55, letter 392, from Constantinople, May 27, 1918).
102 Regener, Lilien, 208–9.
occasion with an exhibition of his work. Fifteen years later Karl Schwartz, the first director of the Tel Aviv Museum, dismissed the artist who had once been "the dandy of the Zionist movement" as "stuck fast in an ingenious and, in our opinion, absolutely devious journalism."{103}


William Henry Ireland's Authentic Forgeries

JACK LYNCH

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

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

Jugendstil in Firestone:

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

(Princeton University Library Chronicle, 2004)

Supplementary Images

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

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


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


Hyperion Almanach 1911 (Munich: H. von Weber)

Iduna (Berlin: H. Costenoble, 1903)
Jungbrunnen, vol. 3 (Berlin: Fischer und Franke, 1900). Cover design by Franz Stassen.

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

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

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

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


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

Henry Van de Velde. Title page of book and title page of Part IV of Insel Verlag de luxe edition of Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1908)
F.W. Kleukens. Inside covers of *Insel Almanach*, 1908 and 1909
Behrens. AEG Factory, Berlin (1908-1910)

Vogeler. Summer Waiting Room, Worpswede Railway Station (1910)
Jugend, 3, no. 51, 17 December, 1898. Cover by Walter Crane.

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

Pan, 1895-96. Cover by Joseph Sattler.

Simplicissimus, 2, no. 39

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

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

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

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

Heinrich Vogeler. Illustration for Rilke, “Die heiligen drei Könige,” in Die Insel, 1 (March 1900), pp. 346-47.
Vogeler, Melusine. Triptych (1910). Barkenhoff-Stiftung, Worpswede

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

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


Finger. Freiheit, in Ideale Nacktheit (1914)

Paul Bürck. Empor (ca.1900). Landesmuseum, Magdeburg.
Sascha Schneider. O, Ihr Höheren! In *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 15, October, 1904, p. 57.


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

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

Max Klinger. Und doch. Etching (1898)

Fidus. Lichtgebet. Zu Gott (1892)

Fidus. Lichtgebet (1905)

Fidus. Lichtgebet (1910)

Fidus. Lichtgebet (1913)

Fidus. Lichtgebet (1922)

Fidus. Logo for Höhensonne health colony, Hanau

Fidus. Lichtgebet (1927)
Fidus. Cover of health and beauty magazine. (1909)

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

Fidus. Cover of monthly theosophical magazine (1910)

E.M. Lilien. Cover for German edition of a popular book on sex by E. Laurent and P. Nagour (1903)
Pp. 29-37.

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

Lilien. Illustration in Süddeutscher Postillon (1898)

Lilien. Illustration for Jugend, reproduced in Lothar Brieger, E.M. Lilien (1922) p.44.
Lilien. Illustration for Johann von Wildenradt, *Der Zöllner von Klausen* (1898)


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

Lilien. Pages 3-4 of Franz Servaes, *Fontane* (Berlin: Schuster, 1900) [Separate publication, with page decoration by Lilien of article by Servaes in *Pan*, vol. 5 (1900), pp. 153-160].
Lilien. Cover for poems by “Dolorosa” (Berlin: M. Lilienthal, 1903).

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

Lilien. Dedication page of Juda.

Lilien. Das stille Lied, from Juda.
Lilien. Sehnsuchtslied, from Juda.

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


Josef Thorak. “Kameradschaft.” (1936-37)
Lilien. Delegates’ card for Fifth Zionist Congress, Basel, 1901.

Lilien. Cover design for new monthly magazine of Ha’am and “cultural Zionists.” May, 1903.
Haggadah, Prague, 1526

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

19th Century Mizrach, Volhonya Province (Russia), not far from Lilien’s birthplace in Drohobycz
Fidus. Title page of magazine Deutsche Volksstimme, 1905.

Lilien, Der Jüdische Mai, in Lieder des Ghetto (1902), pp. 92-93
Lilien. Ex-Libris plate for Stefan Zweig.

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

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

Fidus. Sticker for Jugendheim Klein Graupa (1919)
Fidus. Vignettes in Evers, *Fundamente* (1893) and Henckel, *Neues Leben* (1900)

Fidus. Decoration for stationary of health association (1902)

Fidus. Nibelungen, from *Germanen-Bibel* (1919)
Lilien, Rahab, the woman of Jericho, from Juda.

Fidus. Cover for Evers, Hohe Lieder (1896)

Fidus. Hohe Wacht (1913)

Fidus. Schwertwache (1912).

Lilien, Rahab, the woman of Jericho, from Juda.
Lilien. Personal ex-libris plate.


Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel*, vol 1, pp. 40-41. The facial features of the figure in the left-hand page again evoke those of Herzl.
Ex-libris plate for Richard Fischer (c. 1900). Reproduced in *Ost und West*, 1 (July, 1901), col. 525-526
Inside double page of 1899 Mai-Festzeitung. Böcklin's Die Freiheit (1891), celebrating 600th anniversary of Swiss Confederation (now in Nationalgalerie Berlin), in a frame by Lilien depicting solidarity of Art and Labor.

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

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


Lilien. Advertisement for the Samoa Rubber Company (1905).
Lilien. Postcard based on photograph of Herzl.

Lilien. Title-page for Gorki’s Sbornik.

ZWEITER TEIL
DANIELS GESICHTE
DIE VIER WELTREICHE UND
DAS MESSIANISCHE REICH

1. In den ersten Jahren, des Könige
von Babylon, hatten Daniel einen Traum
und schrieb Geschichte im Geiste auf
seinen Platz. Da schrieb er das Traum
auf und erzählte die Dinge der Haupt
nacht. Daniel hob an und sprach:
Ich schrieb in meinem Nachgesicht,
die Geschichte, die ich wände den Herrn
bruch los auf das große Meer. Und
vier gewaltige Tiere stiegen aus dem Meer auf, jedes
von dem anderen unterscheidet. Das erste einem
Lionin und hatte Adlerflügel. Ich schrieb zu, bis ihre
Pfeile, Flügel ausloeren wurden, und es vom Himmel
aufgehen. Die Geschichte, die ich wände den Herrn
bruch los auf das große Meer. Und
vier gewaltige Tiere stiegen aus dem Meer auf, jedes
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bruch los auf das große Meer.


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

8. DIE NATUR UND DER MENSCH

JAHWEH, unser Herr, wie herzlich
ist deines Namens auf der ganzen Erde!
Diese Pracht am Himmel will ich heute
mit dem Munde von Kindern und Singlingen,
seine Worte arbeite ich unter die Gesang,
daß verstimmen Feind und Feinde.

Sei' ich den Himmel, das Werk deiner Hande,
den Mond und die Sterne, die du bereitet
was ist doch der Mensch, daß du sein gereicht,
der Sterbliche, daß du sein nährst?
Doch stellst du ihn nahe an die Götterheit,
hast ihn mit Ehre und Würde geehrt,
hast zum Herrn gemacht deiner Geschöpfe
und ihm alles zu Pilger gelegt.

Schafe und Rinder alleinstoß
und auch das Wild in der Steppe,
den Himmels Vogel, die Flüche im Meer,
offen, wo die Dörfer durchbraust.

JAHWEH, unser Herr, wie herzlich
ist deines Namens auf der ganzen Erde!

57. ZION, DIE HEIMAT

Denn er gegründet auf heiligen Höhen,
Jahweh sieht die Tore Ziems
mehr als alle Wohnungen Jahwehs.
Herrlichen spricht er von dir, Stadt Gottes.

„Egypten sonnt ich, und Babel bekannt mich.
Seh, das Philisterland, Tyros und Uzal!“ —
„Dieser hat dort seine Heimatt!“
Aber von Zion wird er heissen:
„Hier ist ihrer aller Heimatt!“
Er selbst, der Mächtige, hilft sie aufrecht.
Jahweh zieht die Völker und schreibt:
„Dieser hat dort seine Heimatt!“
Und er zwingt
und tauscht den Heiden, alle, die Heimat
haben in dir.
Lilien. *Bücher der Bibel*, vol. 6, p. 318. Song of Songs (left); vol. 7, first title page (right).


Hokusai. Great Wave at Kawagana (1823-29)
Pp. 73-77.

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

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

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


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

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

Lilien. Photo of Arab riding a donkey, 1906.

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

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

Lilien. The Talmud Reader. Etching (1915-22)
Otto Dix. The Disdainers of Death.
From Zirkus (1922)

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

Lilien. Jerusalem. Etching (1914-22)

Lilien. Woolmarket, Braunschweig (1922)

Otto Dix. The Disdainers of Death.
From Zirkus (1922)
Photographic portraits of Lilien.

Top Left. From a popular postcard.

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

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

Lilien with Helene in their apartment in Berlin, 1918