STUDIA EUROPAEA GNESNENSIA 6/2012
ISSN 2082–5951

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THEODOR HERZL: FROM AHASVERUS TO BAAL TESHUVA[1]

Abstract

The paper focuses on an iconographic analysis of a 1908 portrait of Theodor Herzl by Leopold Pilichowski. The author draws on the context of Zionist interpretation, which consisted in the negation of the Diaspora and utilised the representation of Ahasverus, as an archetype of the so-called pejorative image of a ghetto Jew. Herzl's portrait was to be a platform response to that negative visual domain and a guideline for the new Zionist ideals

Key words

Theodor Herzl, Zionism, iconography, Jewish art, Ahasverus, the Wandering Jew, Jewish ghetto, the Promised Land

[1] A similar version of the analyses outlined here, albeit in Polish and substantially abridged, without notes and under a different title appeared in the periodical: Miasteczko Poznań 1(6), 2009.

Theodor Zeev Benjamin Herzl (1860–1904)[2] was the creator of Zionist ideology[3], which changed the face of Jewry of the 20th century. In his works, particularly in "Der Judenstaat" (The Jewish State)[4], he developed the three principal concepts of Zionism; the need of a unified leadership among the Jews, the need of amelioration of the so-called national character of the Jewry and the necessity to start a movement, an organisation striving to create a state managed by the Jews. Hence, in the conclusion of the book he argues that Jews have no future in the Diaspora without an independent centre in the land of Israel. Herzl decided to present his scheme to a wide spectrum of representatives of Jewish

[2] For selected biographies see: A. Stand, Theodor Herzl, Warsaw 1905; O. Thon, Theodor Herzl, Berlin 1914; J. de Haas, Theodor Herzl, I–II, New York 1927; M.W. Weisgal (ed.) Theodor Herzl. A Memorial, New York 1929; A. Bein. Theodor Herzl. A Biography, Wien 1934 (Jerusalem 1941); J. Fraenkel, Theodor Herzl. A Biography, London 1946; I. Cohen, Theodor Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism, New York 1959; D. Stewart, Theodor Herzl: Artist and Politician, London 1974; S. Beller, Herzl, London 1991; A. Falk, Herzl, King of the Jews. A Psychoanalytic Biography of Theodor Herzl, Lanham–New York–London 1993; J. Kornberg, Theodor Herzl. From Assimilation to Zionism, Bloomington and Indianapolis 1993; J.H. Schoeps, Theodor Herzl 1860–1904. Wenn Ihr wollt, Ist es kein Marchen, Wien 1995; R. Hecht and Y. Zamora, When the Shofar Sounds. Herzl, His Image, Achievements and Selections from His Writing, 1, 2, Haifa 2006.

[3] Zionism is a term whose semantics refers to the core issue of Jewish identity, and thus to the place of Jews among other nations. It expresses a set of views drawing on the idea of *return* of all Jews from the Diaspora and the creation of the so-called "national seat" in Erec Israel, identified with the Promised Land. The notion is derived from the word Zion, denoting a mountain in south-eastern Jerusalem; originally identified with Jerusalem, and according to the Jewish tradition — also standing for the entire Israel. Selected publications on Zionism: Sh. Avineri, The Making of Modern Zionism. The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State, New York 1981; A. Hertzberg, The Zionist Idea. A Historical Analysis and Reader, Philadelphia and Jerusalem 1997; J. Reinharz and A. Shapira (ed.), Essential Papers on Zionism, New York and London 1995; M. Berkowitz (ed.), Nationalism, Zionism and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and Beyond, Leyden 2004; idem, Western Jewry and the Zionist project, 1914–1933, Cambridge 1997; M. Stanislawski, Zionism and the Fin de Siècle. Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 2001; H. Haumann (ed.), The First Zionism Congress in 1897 — Causes, Significance, Topicality, Basel 1997.

[4] T. Herzl, Der Judenstaat. Versuch einer modernen Losung der Judenfrage, Wenn 1897 (Państwo Żydowskie. Próba nowoczesnego rozwiązania kwestii żydowskiej, transl. by J. Surzyn, Kraków 2006). Other key publications of Herzl's include: Altneuland: Roman, Leipzig 1902 [U wrót nowego życia — (Altneuland): powiesc-utopja, E. Giltin, 1934]; Das Neue Ghetto, Wien 1898; Das Palas Bourbon, Leipzig 1905; Der Flüchtung, Leipzig 1901; Feuilletons, Bd. I–II, Berlin–Wien 1903; Philosophische Erzählungen, Berlin 1900 (new edition: Berlin–Wien 1919); Theodor Herzls Tagebücher, Bd. I–III, Berlin 1922–23.; Zionistische Schriften, ed. L. Kellner, Berlin 1905 (2nd edition: Berlin 1920).

milieus all over the world, and in 1897 the First Zionist Congress was held in Basel, where the World Zionist Organisation came into existence. Herzl was therefore a political promoter of the idea of return to the Land of Israel, taking all steps preparing the nation for the building of a state.

Many participants of the first congresses were graduates of European universities, some of them studied at fine arts academies. Hence the discussion was concerned not only with the issues of emigration, the future international diplomacy and the possibility of financing Herzl's concept[5], but also addressed the issues of aesthetics and art among Jews[6]. The broadly understood visual culture was not only supposed to give expression to the Jewish nationality and specificity, but it was to be intelligible, comprehensible and acceptable for the broad masses of both religious as well as secularised Jews. Therefore art — a crucial aspect of the new Jewish culture, construed chiefly as a Zionist medium — constituted an important element in the building of Zionist ideology by utilising visual, artistic means[7]. Consequently, a new Zionist iconosphere was created and here a key place fell to Theodor Herzl's iconography[8]. The figure became the most important Zionist icon; it is a multi-layered carrier which rendered the changes and the evolution of ideology: a "visual type" from which many icono-

[5] The Jewish National Fund (Keren Kajemet la Israel) was created for that purpose.

[6] See: E. Berkowitz, Art in Zionist Popular Culture and Jewish National Self-Consciousness, 1897–1914, [in:] E. Mendelsohn (ed.), Arts and Its Uses. The Visual Image and Modern Jewish Society (Studies in Contemporary Jewry. An Annual VI), New York and Oxford 1990, p. 9–42; G.G. Schmidt, The Art and Artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress, 1901. Heralds of a New Age, Syracuse–New York 2003; J. Malinowski, Malarstwo i rzeźba Żydów Polskich w XIX i XX wieku, Warszawa 2000.

[7] Zionism used visual propaganda in abundance, employing various posters, postcards, brochures etc. See e.g.: Blue and White in Color. Visual Images of Zionism, 1897–1947, Exhibition catalogue, curator: Rachel Arbel, Beth Hatefutsoth / the Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora Tel Aviv, Israel 1996.

[8] On the cultural and political context of the likeness of Herzl himself see: R.S. Wistrich, Theodor Herzl: Zionist Icon, Myth-Maker, and Social Utopian, [in:] R. Wistrich and D. Ohana (ed.), The Shaping of Israeli Identity: Myth, Memory and Trauma, London 1995, p. 1–38; D. Tartakover, M. Scheps, Herzl in profile. Herzl's Image in the Applied Arts. Catalogue exhibition, Tel Aviv Museum, 1979; S.A. Herskowitz, Theodor Herzl. If You Will It, It Is Not a Dream, catalogue exhibition, Yeshiva University Museum, New York 1998; Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War, Cambridge 1993; Herzl and the Stock Exchange, [in:] G. Shimoni and R.S. Wistrich (ed.), Theodor Herzl. Visionary of the Jewish State, New York 1999, p. 99–111.

graphic themes and sequences characteristic of the movement may be derived[9]. His "typified" image was to be an embodiment of Zionism and to communicate its ideas. The portraits showed his as a man who is "serious, proud, intelligent, noble, attractive, unique, manly and the same time — recognizably Jewish"[10]. Such message of handsomeness and attractiveness was a significant element of the projection of the adopted concepts, while his portraits were to betoken the ideology and serve as an object of identification for the broad Jewish masses.

One of such "embodiments" is a portrait of Herzl by Leopold Pilichowski[11], made in 1908 upon commission from the delegates of the seventh congress[12] (fig. 1).

Pilichowski presented Herzl *en pied* standing atop Mount Zion, elegantly dressed in a long black smoking jacket, black gloves, a travelling cane and a hat in hand, and a black coat slung over his arm. His gaze is directed towards the viewer, his right hand, palm up, points downward and to the side.

Such composition evokes a range of designated iconographies, while juxtaposition of the portrait with other works allows one to discern relevant iconographic sequences and series[13]. The image refers to numerous motifs, including the invitation to the Promised Lad, it implies the concept of the sower, constitutes an example of a political representative of a nation with royal associations, but above all draws on the idea of banishment from the Diaspora, embroiled in the iconography of the Ahasverus (The Wandering Jew) — focusing on his generalised appearance.

In 1893, Henri Meige, published a dissertation with a medical analysis of the appearance of Ostjuden males[14] and the derivative (alleged) singular ap-

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[9] On the so-called gallery of other Zionists see e.g.: M. Berkowitz, The Jewish Self-Image in the West, New York, 2000.

[10] M. Berkowitz, Art in Zionist, p. 24. It needs to be noted that Herzl himself was an object of criticism. See e.g.: Sh. Spiegel, Three Types of Herzlian Opponents. The Theologian, the Philantropist, the Eastern Jew, [in:] M.W. Weisgal (ed.), Theodor Herzl, p. 92–94.

[11] For more on the artist see J. Malinowski, Malarstwo i rzeźba, p. 51–68.

[12] L.S. Reiss, Through Artists' Eyes. The Portraits of Herzl as Revelation of the Man, [in:] M.W. Weisgal (ed.), Theodor Herzl, p. 113–114.

[13] See other texts by this author: The Portrait of Herzl by Leopold Pilichowski. The Meanings of the Picture, [in:] J. Malinowski, T. Sztyma-Knasiecka, R. Piątkowska (ed.), Jewish Artist and Eastern-Central Europe: Art-Centres–Identity–Heritage From the XIX Century to the WWII, Warszawa 2010, p. 209–222; Syjonizm i sztuka. Analiza ikony Theodora Herzla w kontekście aszkenazyjskiego kręgu kulturowego, [in:] Studia Judaica 9, 1(17), 2006, p. 33–46.

[14] It is a mid-19th century German denotation of the Jews from Central-Eastern Europe, see:

Fig. 1. "Herzl", portrait by Leopold Pilichowski (oil on canvas) (1908), (missing). Photograph from the collection of the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem

Fig. 2. A study of an old Jew, late 19th cent. Source: Eduard Fuchs, Die Juden in der Karikatur: ein Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte, Albert Langen, München 1921

pearance, which the Western Europe saw as strange, defined by the term of "Munchhausen syndrome" — as a consequence of permanent existential insta-

S. Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness 1800–1923, Madison 1982.

bility[15]. In his work, he provided several portrait studies of contemporary Jews, including a Moser C., forty-five-year-old Jew from Warsaw and Gottlieb M., a forty-two-year-old Jew from Vilnius. Furthermore, his study features several sketches of the then stereotypical representations of the legendary figure of the Wandering Jew, comparing it with the aforementioned images of Jewish patients[16] (fig. 2).

According to Meige's analyses, those Jews, as an incarnation of Ahasverus, are characterised not only by a special attire, but also by a "pathognomic physiognomy" which was supposed to be indicative of the so-called Jewish psychiatric phenomenon[17]. This paranoid pseudo-medical system — as S. Gilman observes — resorting to *fin de siècle* scientific terminology as a rhetorical structure for the representation of this "type" of Jew were to justify their characterisation as others and aliens[18]. The illustrations were supposed to demonstrate cultural transmutation from the beautiful, masculine Aryan to the category of the ugly, feminised Jew (Ostjuden)[19].

Still, Meige's analysis is a proof to the topicality and widespread nature of the myth of Ahasverus at the turn of the 19th century in Europe — in this case as a substitute of the central-eastern Jewry.

It has to be remembered that Ahasverus, or the archetype of the Wandering Jew who ceaselessly roams foreign lands, is a myth of a world wanderer brought into existence by the medieval Christian culture as a product of imagination of the masses[20]. Derived from a legendary figure of a Jerusalem shoemaker, he was

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[15] H. Meige, Etude sur certains neuropathes voyageurs: Le juif-errant a la Salpetriere, Paris 1893, after: S. Gilman, The Jew's Body, London 1991, p. 72, note 31.

[16] After: S. Gilman, The Jew, p. 72, 74–76.

[17] After: ibidem, p. 76.

[18] J. Goldstein, The Wandering Jew and the Problem of Psychiatric Anti-Semitism in Fin de-Siècle France, Journal of Contemporary History 20, 1985, p. 535; See also: S. Gilman, The Jew's Body. Thoughts on Jewish Physical Difference, [in:] N.L. Kleeblatt (ed.), Too Jewish? Challenging Traditional Identities, catalogue exhibition, The Jewish Museum New York, 1996, p. 60; S. Gilman, Love+Marriage=Death. And Other Essays on Representing Difference, Stanford 1998, p. 100–112; Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness, Ithaca 1985; R.S. Wistrich (ed.), Demonizing the Other. Antisemitism, Racism and Xenophobia, Amsterdam 1999; D. Pick, Faces of Degeneration. A European Disorder, 1848–1918, Cambridge 1989.

[19] See also: D. Boyarin, Goyim Naches, or Modernity and the Manliness of the Mentsh, [in:] B. Cheyette and L. Marcus (ed.), Modernity, Culture and 'the Jew', Cambridge 1998, p. 63–64.

[20] G.K. Anderson, The Legend of the Wandering Jew, Providence, Rhode Island 1965; G. Has-

to illustrate the followers of Judaism as those banished to wandering in punishment for refusing to help Christ on his way to Golgotha. R. Edelman observes that the figure is a Jew only by virtue of the assumption, not even because of the name, and became a "Jew" since he embodied the meanings focused around that people[21]. In the modern times, he reflects European perception of the Jews — which the above example of Meige's analyses illustrates.

One of the first mentions about the alleged presence of Ahasverus in Europe comes from Aachen, from 1602, while his appearance in London was described in the book entitled "The Description and Story of a Jew Named Ahasuerus" published in 1640 — with a woodcut image on the cover[22]. In the 17th century, Ahasverus was a relatively frequent sight in France, while in 1774 his presence in Brussels was recorded.

Ahasverus is an object of folk legends, theological speculations, literature, music and plastic arts. In the 19th century his demonic figure was popularised by a range of various postcards, press caricatures and book illustrations. In those, he is most often presented as a homeless , filthy and repulsive pilgrim, a world wanderer, and constitutes a personification of the history of the Jewish nation (fig. 3). In turn, from the Jewish point of view, especially towards the end of the 19th century, the character embodies the issues related to the "exile" and Jewish wanderings in Europe (Galut)[23]. It is also associated with the stere-

an-Rokem and A. Dundes (ed.), The Wandering Jew: Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend, Bloomington 1986.

[21] R. Edelman, Ahasverus, the Wandering Jew: Origin and Background, [in:] G. Hasan-Rokem and A. Dundes, The Wandering, p. 33.

[22] R.I. Cohen, Jewish Icons. Art and Society in Modern Europe, London 1988, p. 223–255.

[23] Diaspora is a Greek term, which lacks a traditional equivalent in Hebrew. The word appeared for the first time in Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1876, describing dispersion, especially of the Jews, around the world; it is a political term denoting geo-political displacement. See: H. Wettstein, Coming to Terms with Exile, [in:] idem (ed.), Diaspora & Exiles. Varieties of Jewish Identity, London 2002, p. 47–8. In turn, the Hebrew Gola, also Galut — originally with a pejorative overtones, is a religious, theological term denoting exile (from a centre, from home); it also means uprooting, displacement, being in an inappropriate place and refers to characteristic ontological values and existential circumstances. See: A. Eisen, Galut: Modern Jewish Reflection on Homelessness and Homecoming, Bloomington 1986; and Y.F. Baer, Galut, New York 1947. Galut, The Exile or Diaspora is a widespread, or even dominant aspect of Jewish history. What is more, the condition of living in exile is a consequence of the choice of the wrong human nature. Moreover, exile is an exclusion of the human from the framework of mythical time, i.e. between the mythological past of the "Eden before the apple" and the mythological future of the Messianic time — hence it is also a displacement of the human in time. See: E. Levine, The

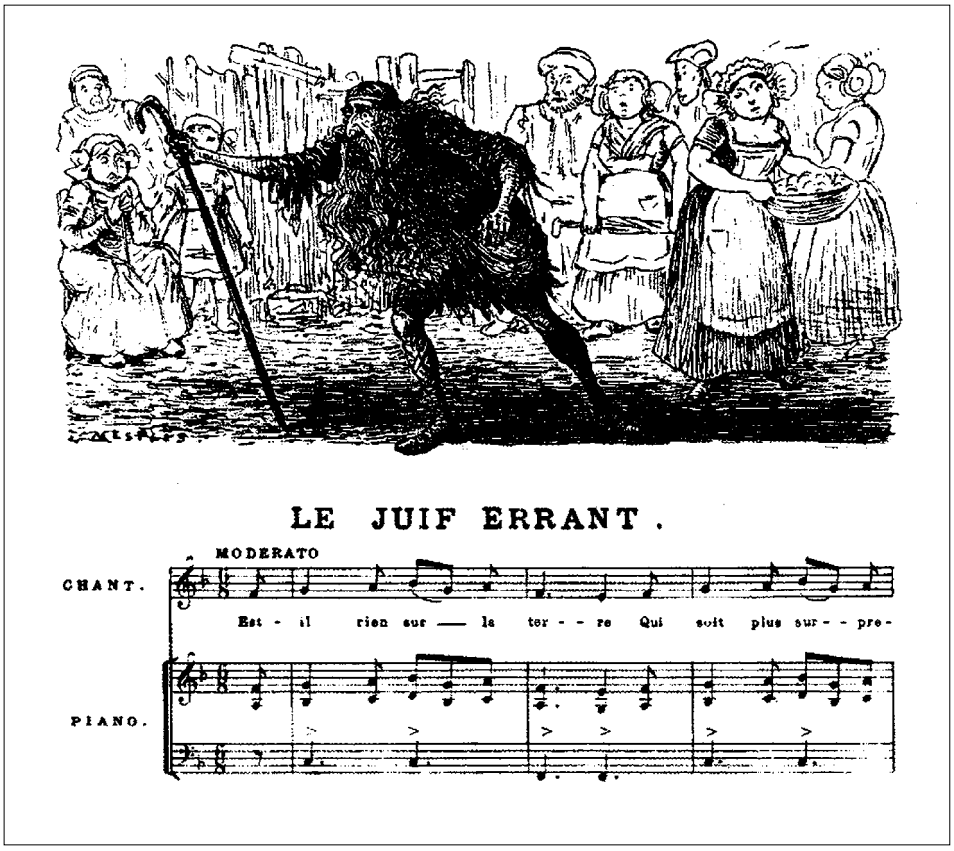

Fig. 3. "Le Juif errant", a French postcard, late 19th cent. Source: Eduard Fuchs, Die Juden in der Karikatur: ein Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte, Albert Langen, München 1921

otypical imagery of contemporary Jews (most frequently Ostjuden) as a negative representation of the European Jewry[24].

Jews in Time and Space, [in:] idem (ed.), Diaspora: Exile and the Jewish Condition, New York 1983, p. 1–11.

[24] A typical visualisation of a cultural phenomenon of this kind were the so-called "ghetto types", presented by the Zionists as repulsive individuals, also quite a common motif in the 19th century art. Nevertheless, this sort of visualisation has a twofold basis: on the one hand the ghetto types reflected the widespread (negative) stereotype of the Jew (in the eyes of Europeans) — as a frequent object of contemporary caricature showing a populace incapable of full emancipation and the possibility of blending in with the European environments. On the other hand, some of these visualisations do not stem from the anti-Semitic factor, but represent a kind of European perception of the Jews at the time and, most importantly, it is a kind of imagery that

The dispersion of the Jews hampered national mobilisation, as an unacceptable perspective of continuation of the Jewish existence in unfavourable times; this would lead to increasing discrimination from the outside and internal decadence. One of the most important Zionist premises states that Galut (bearing in mind discrimination, persecution, anti-Semitism and even assimilation) — in the sphere of Jewish morality and spirituality — leads in consequence to physical destruction of Jewishness in a precipitating process.

The negation of Diaspora was therefore a prime premise of the new Jewish reality, geographical-national settlement and country building[25]. The "order of departure", also understood as devaluation and degeneration of the Diaspora became a major subject of debate and was one of the key elements if the Zionist programme defined as *Shlilat ha-Gola*[26]. The Jewish ghetto — which gathered a considerable number of people — was an important addressee of the Zionist idea, while its negative visualisation was an impediment in realising the concept of the new person. The so-called New Jew was to defy a range of negative traits and provide a foundation for the new image of a Jewish individual and the entire community as well[27].

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the then Jewish world accepted. Zionism starts out with criticizing both modes of reception of such an image of the Jew, i.e. both his caricature and the "neutral", "objective" social object — as well as the associated complex meanings.. See: S. Gilman, The Jews Body, London 1991.

[25] A definitive criticism of the Diaspora had already been voiced by Max Nordau in his key Zionist publications such as: The Conventional Lies of Civilization, [in:] Paradoxes, Particularly in Degeneration (Entartung) (1892), See: M. Nordau, Zionistische Schriften 2nd ed. Berlin, 1923. His reservations with regard to Diaspora focused on the modernist aspects, as a social degeneration and the so-called concept of health and disease. On the negation of Diaspora in Nordau's writings see also Sh. Avineri, The Making of of Modern Zionism, Chapter 10, Nordau. The Jews and the Crisis of Western Civilization, p. 101–111; M. Stanislawski, Zionism, Chapter 4, Nordau's Zionism. From Heine to Bar Kochba, p. 74–97.

[26] Or the "exile from Diaspora". The terms Gola, Golus i Galut mean Diaspora, while Hebrew Shlilat (exile) comes from *lishloah*: cast out, banish or else negate, deprecate etc. See: E. Schweid, The Rejection of the Diaspora in Zionist Thought: Two Approaches, [in:] J. Reinharz and A. Shapira (ed.), Essential papers, p. 133–160.

[27] For more see: B. Halpern and J. Reinharz, Zionism and the Creation of the New Society, London 2000; E. Mendelsohn, On Modern Jewish Politics, Oxford 1993; M.H. Gelber, Melancholy Pride. Nation, Race, and Gender in the German Literature of Cultural Zionism, Tubingen 2000; D. Ohana, Zarathustra in Jerusalem: Nietzsche and the 'New Hebrews', [in:] D. Ohana and R.S. Wistrich (ed.), The Shaping of Israeli Identity. Myth, Memory and Trauma, London 1995, p. 38–60.

Shlilat ha-Gola was primarily a justification of the demand of return as the only means to solve the so-called Jewish question[28] and negated other attempts of resolving the problem — founded both on religion[29] as well as emancipation[30]. Thus the concept legitimised Zionism as the only proper and positive idea, as an apposite response to the degeneration of the Diaspora — incapable of accomplishing the most attractive Zionist motivations, namely the Jewish national independence, geographical settlement and the restoration of Jewish culture[31]. Therefore a part of the Diaspora which did not espouse the Zionist ideals, was to acquire a widespread, pejorative meaning as an epitome of Jewish apathy, while the project was to play a major role in the elevation of Zionism.

For this purpose a pejorative visualisation of the so-called ghetto types was employed[32], serving as examples of "Ahasveran" condemnation and dejection — defined in the categories of the *Judenschmerz*, or Jewish suffering[33].

This negative import of visual motives served to criticise the image of the Diaspora, which in view of the projection of the new values, the so-called new Jew, had to be negated and ousted. Simultaneously, the pessimistic ideological message was entailed in the concept that *Judenschmerz* is by no means a contemporary issue, but a constant historical phenomenon, in which suffering pervades all forms of life in the Diaspora[34]. As of that time, the themes of hopelessness, migration and pogroms become the Zionist perspective of

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[28] The term was used for the first time in 1882 by Eugen Dühring in the book Die Judenfrage als Frage der Rassencharakters und seiner Schädlichkeit für Existenz und Kultur der Völker, to which Herzl referred in a diary entry under February 15th, 1882, See also: J. Fraenkel, Theodor Herzl, p. 26.

[29] See: Y. Salmon, Religion and Zionism. First Encounters, Jerusalem 2002.

[30] See: P. Birnbaum and I. Katznelson (ed.), Paths of Emancipation. Jews, States, and Citizenship, Princeton 1995.

[31] The political concept of negating Diaspora was abandoned only in the early 1970s, when religious parties first entered Israeli parliament. See: J. Boyarin and D. Boyarin, Powers of Diaspora. Two Essays on the Relevance of Jewish Culture, Mineapolis–London 2002, s. 13–14.

[32] One of the most representative Zionist artists who addressed that aspect in art was Herman Struck. See: A. Fortlage and K. Schwartz, Das Graphische Werk von Hermann Struck, Berlin 1911, p. 3–8; K. Muhsam, „Kunstlerportrats: Hermann Struck", [in:] Der Kritiker (Berlin) 2, 29, 1913, p. 6; G.G. Schmidt, The Art, p. 85–119.

[33] This issue is analysed in the context of Jewish art at the turn of the 19th century by R.I. Cohen, [in:] Jewish Icons. Art and Society in Modern Europe, London 1988, p. 223–255.

[34] See: B. Feiwel, „Geleitwort", [in:] Judische Almanach 5663, p. 9–16.

Jewish existence in the Diaspora, and such visualisation was to bolster national self-determination[35].

Significantly enough, in his diaries of the time, Herzl himself noted several unfavourable observations on the so-called Jewish physique as a *ghetto effect* and the aftermath of living in the Diaspora state of mind[36]. He was overwhelmed by the image of "degenerate physicality and mentality", caused by the dreary ghetto and whose influence persists despite the fact that the wall had been torn down[37]. In Herzl's opinion, precisely that culture of Golus and Ahasverus is responsible for the degeneration of Jews across the ages, paralysing Jewish activity, creativity and their sense of freedom.

The extensive use that Zionism made of the Wandering Jew imagery was a warning to the Diaspora that living in exile is permanent slavery, a condition of helplessness, stagnation and danger.

Ahasverus, identical with the notion of *Judenschmerz*, was thus included in the repertoire of iconographic motifs and became an element of a complex programme of relentless negation of the Diaspora, its debasement and depreciation (*Shlilat ha-Gola*).

The likenesses of Ahasverus made a relatively frequent appearance in the most important Zionist monthly, the "Ost und West"[38] (fig. 4 a, b). Already the

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[35] The aspect is in evidence both for visual media as well as Zionist propaganda literature of the time. A Union of Jewish (Hebrew) Writers (Ahad HaAm, Simon Dubnow, Joshua H. Ravinsky, Ben Ami i Nahman Bialik) was established in 1903. See: N. Seidman, A Mariage made in Haven. The Sexual Politics of Hebrew and Yiddish, Berkeley 1997.

[36] T. Herzl, Diares, 1:4–5; Der Judenstaat, p. 47–49.

[37] The essential part of Herzl's play Das Neue Ghetto concerns that aspect. Wilhelm Hansen's book, The Jews of Cologne, had a substantial influence on Herzl perception of the ghetto culture. See: J. Fraenkel, Theodor Herzl, p. 45. The issue was studied by T. Lessing in: Der jüdische Selbsthass, Berlin 1930. See also: S. Gilman, Franz Kafka: The Jewish Patent, New York 1995 and by the same author: Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jew, Baltimore 1990.

[38] Established in 1901 by Davis Trietsch and Leo Winz, "Ost und West. Illustrierte Monatsschrift für Modernes Judentum" was to assert unification of the cultures of the so-called eastern and western Jews, in the course of Jewish cultural renaissance ("Jüdische Renaissance"). A number of artists was involved in its publication, including Lesser Ury, Herman Struck and E.M. Lilien, poets such as Morris Rosenfeld and Mark Scherlag, essayists such as Aha HaAm, Martin Buber and many others. The key aspect was the recognition of art as a significant component in the cultural revival of the nation. See: M.H. Gelber, The Jungjudische Bewegung — An Unexplored Chapter in German-Jewish Literally and Cultural History, Leo Baeck Institute Year Book 31, 1986, p. 105–119; G.D. Rosenfeld, Defining Jewish Art. In Ost und West, 1901–1908. A Study in the Nationalisation of Jewish Culture, Leo Baeck Institute Year Book 39, 1994, p. 83–110.

Fig. 4a, b. "Ahasverus" by Alfred Nossig (sculpture). Source: Tygodnik Ilustrowany, Warsaw 1900 (2)

cover of the first issue of the periodical (1901), bore an illustration showing Alfred Nossig's sculpture of Ahasverus from 1900. In July that year, the magazine published a reproduction of E.M. Lilien's *Ahasverus*, the *Heimatlos*, with a walking stick and a sack on his back, while in October 1902 its pages featured *Ahaswerus* (*Der Ewige Jude*) by Samuel Hirschenberg (fig. 5) and in November the same year — a work by Julius Cohn[39].

[39] All the quoted issues may be found in the University Library in Poznań. Alfreda Nossig's work had been reproduced a year earlier in Tygodnik Ilustrowany, Warszawa, 2, 1900. The work is also discusssed by G.G. Schmidt, The Art, p. 212; On E.M. Lilien's work see: M. Heyd, Lilien: Between Herzl and Ahasver, [in:] G. Shimoni and R.S. Wistrich (ed.), Theodor Herzl, p. 277–291; on S. Hirschenberg's work see: J. Malinowski, Malarstwo i rzeźba, p. 82; R. Piątkowska, Pożegnanie z Golusem, [in:] P. Paszkiewicz and T. Zadrożny (ed.), Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej, Warszawa 1997, p. 115–124.

Fig. 5. "Ahasverus" by Samuel Hirschenberg (1899) (oil on canvas). In the painting collection of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. Source: Jerzy Malinowski, Malarstwo i rzeźba Żydow Polskich w XIX i XX wieku, Warsaw 2000

Naturally, Theodor Herzl is present in the deliberations on the figure of Ahasverus and its Zionist conceptual reworking — both in the domain of biographical analyses and against the backdrop of iconographic convention. L. Pilichowski's portrait of Herzl (fig. 1) constitutes the final element of an iconographic chain in a pictorial sequence containing the works of Gustave Dore (1852) (fig. 6.), Samuel Hirschenberg (1899) (fig. 5) and Alfred Nossig (1900) (fig. 4 a, b). The "Moses on Mount Nebo" by Borys Schatz from 1890 should be added to the sequence (fig. 7)[40].

The Wandering Jew by Gustave Dore is presented as a grotesque figure, emaciated, excessively hairy, bare-footed, with exaggerated physiognomic features. He is dressed in torn clothes, supports himself on a walking stick, and a cross-like motif is branded on his forehead. The Jew in the image was perceived as the one who bears the mark of Cain and symbolized the negative traits of the poor,

[40] See: R. Cohen, Jewish Icons, p. 227–230.

Fig. 6. "Ahasverus" by Gustav Dore (1852) (print). Source: Eduard Fuchs, Die Juden in der Karikatur: ein Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte, Albert Langen, München 1921

religious masses of the Ostjuden (emigrating West)[41]. It should be mentioned that Cain is a son of Adam and Eve, the first people to be banished from the paradise and condemned to wandering. Furthermore, identifying Cain with Jews dates back to St. Ambrose (375 A.D.)[42], and some time later, St. Augustine writes that "as Cain was cursed from the earth […] the Jewish nation, whether under Pagan or Christian monarchs, has never lost the sign of their law, by which they are distinguished from all other nations and people […] and dwells in the land of Naid[43], which is nowhere".

Thus, both the figure of Ahasverus and Cain are the image of the popular, anti-Semitic concept of the condemned Jewry. Still, this negative representation of Ahasverus by Dore does not stem from anti-Semitic inclinations of

[41] As above.

[42] See: R. Mellinkopf, The Mark of Cain, London 1981, p. 92.

[43] After: ibidem, p. 93–94.

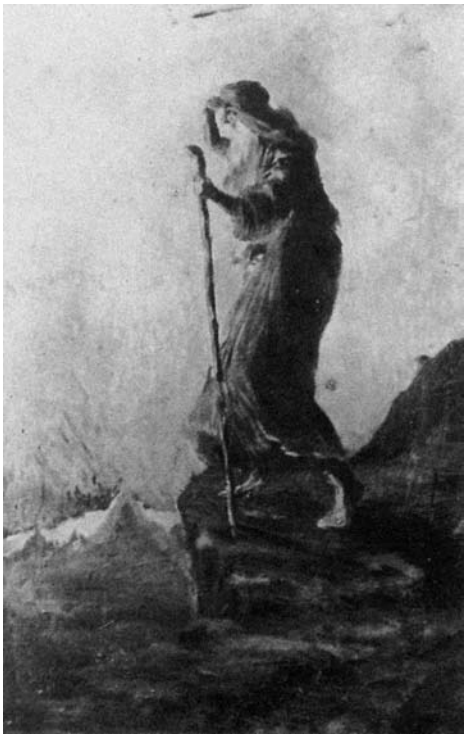

Fig. 7. "Moses on Mount Nebo" by Borys Schatz (1904) (oil on canvas). Source: Jerzy Malinowski, Malarstwo i rzeźba Żydów Polskich w XIX i XX wieku, Warsaw 2000

the artist, being rather a reflection of the historical Judaeo-Christian relationships. The mark of the cross on the forehead, an iconographic motif assigned to Cain, functions here as a suggestion of the negative Christian projection of that character. Cain is a pre-figuration of Ahasverus (i.e. Jews), who features in the Christian iconography (as well as in Talmudic Jewish literature)[44] as a stigmatized figure, i.e. "marked" in a mysterious way by God — a figure whose body received a mark[45].

In the first translation of the Septuagint by St. Jerome, Cain — since the moment he was marked — became a figure living in permanent terror, petrified and trembling (*gemens et tremens*/*vagus et profugus*), and according to St.

[44] The Pentateuch and Rashi's Commentary, transl. by A. Ben Isaiah and B. Sharfman, Brooklyn 1949, after: R. Mellinkoff, The Mark of Cain, p. 29, note 26.

[45] In Exodus 4, the only fragment on Cain and Abel, there is no mention concerning the nature of the sign, but according to the translation — as R. Mellinkopf suggests — it was a sign of protection. Ibidem, p. 2.

Ambrose, it is a figure who shall never know peace on Earth — "groaning and trembling"[46]. Also the Ethiopian Bible states that "The Creator said to him, Be trembling and quaking […] God bring trembling and terror upon him, that might see peace in which he was at first, and see also the trembling and terror he endured at the last"[47]. In turn, Pseudo-Philo wrote that "wherefore art thou come thus trembling"[48]. The land of Cain has a name — the land of Nod (Naid): a place that does not exist, or any where his abode is[49].

The quoted deliberations on the nature of the mark, have led to various interpretations of the corporeality of Ahasverus as a "Jew" — among other things, to the image of bodily deformation, degeneration, animalization, demonization and other grotesque representations[50], emphasizing the bestial character of the fratricide (which needs to be referred to the aforementioned psychiatric analyses of Henry Meige).

The second element in this pictorial sequence is Samuel Hirschenberg's 1899 painting entitled "The Wandering Jew". The artist shows a half-naked, hairy figure travelling among the crosses and corpses under the cover of night[51]. The picture was exhibited in Łódź, then in Warsaw, and subsequently at an international exhibition in Paris in 1900, where it received the bronze medal[52]. In 1916 it was displayed in the Jerusalem art school Becalel, where it occupied the principal place[53]. Shortly after the Paris exhibition, the Berlin organ of Zionism, *Kunstlerverlag Pheonix* disseminated Hirschenberg's work reproduc-

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[46] Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel, p. 432: R. Melinkopf, The Mark of Cain, p. 40, note 64.

[47] Ibidem, p. 45.

[48] After: ibidem, p. 45.

[49] Ibidem, p. 51–52. The authoress addresses the theme of the mark of Ahasverus also in: The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Though, Berkeley 1970 and in: More about the horned Moses, [in:] Jewish Art 13, 1987, p. 185–198.

[50] For an extensive iconographic analysis of negative imagery of Jews in Christian art see: H. Schreckenberg, The Jews in Christian Art. An Illustrated History, New York 1996.

[51] To a large extent, the picture was a response to the waves of pogroms taking place in Europe towards the end of the 19th century. Thereby, it was integrated into the framework of Zionist projection (visualisation) of negation of the Diaspora.

[52] J. Malinowski, Malarstwo i rzeźba, p. 81; G.D. Rosenfeld, Defining "Jewish Art", p. 97––98.

[53] The Vice-chancellor of the school, Borys Schatz was photographed on many occasions with the groups of inspectors visiting Becalel with that picture in the background, after: R. Cohen, Jewish Icons, p. 224.

ing it in a series of magazines, posters and postcards published in eastern and western Europe[54]. The work addresses Jewish national issues, Judaism, as well as alienation, struggle with Christianity, the homelessness and hopelessness in the Diaspora.

R. Cohen observes that Hirschenberg must have been aware of Dore's work, as well as the popular iconographic and literary sources of the theme, and above all the urgent Zionist need for that particular visualization[55]. Unlike in Dore's painting, Hirschenberg's *Ahasverus* does not support himself on a walking stick, there are no flowing robes there, while a hand covers the forehead, trying to conceal that mark of the cross which is present in Dore's work[56]. While the latter's *Ahasverus* is a traditional, Christian interpretation of that figure, Hirschenberg, as Cohen suggests — highlights the manifestation of Jewish suffering and looks for its responsibility in Judaeo-Christian relationships. Cohen suggests that Hirschenberg — through that expressive stance of Ahasverus and the surrounding scenery (crosses as Diaspora) — implies a strenuous attempt to "get out", in other words to escape[57]. Such transfiguration situates the work in the second place within the iconographic sequence — as a conscious implication of negation of the Diaspora.

Two years after the painting had been displayed for the first time (1901), another Zionist, Alfred Nossig, responded to the images of Hirschenberg and Dore with an identically titled sculpture (fig. 4 a, b). His Jew also supports himself on a walking stick, sports a beard resembling the one in Dore's picture, and a flowing fragment of robe on his back. Nevertheless, Nossig's Jew has little in common with the established meaning of the previous representations. There is a Phrygian cap on his head as a symbol of freedom and equal rights, he is muscular, physically strong and clutches the scroll of Torah to his chest. The connotations associated with the pejorative meaning of Ahasverus and Cain are abandoned, while the figure acquires positive features — with meaningful Zionist overtones in the shape of a David's star on the Torah — a new Zionist mark of Cain (who is identical with Ahasverus).

The protocol to the fifth congress of 1901, where Nossig's work was shown, states "it is a painful embodiment of the entire martyrdom of our dispersion.

[54] It was also reproduced in Jüdischer Almanach 5663.

[55] R. Cohen, Jewish Icons, p. 226.

[56] Ibidem.

[57] Ibidem.

But the almost youthfully elastic body, even though the back is slightly bent as if from the burden of eons, as well as the courageously forward-stepping foot are in strange contrast to the severity of the face. […] the eternal Jew continues on his path without fail, bothered and detained, but always continuing purposefully to the old home: Zion!"[58]. Therefore A. Nossig intended to transform the negative meanings attached to Ahasverus into a positive Zionist context, exposing a muscular body[59], and giving him the attributes of Moses, in the shapes of Messiah's stick and the scroll of Torah pressed against his chest. The artist envisaged the work situated on Mount Carmel, in the Land of Israel, the place where the wandering comes to an end[60].

The work of L. Pilichowski (fig. 1) is also a part of this pictorial tradition — this time as the final element of the iconographic sequence. Herzl, with the characteristic travelling hat and a pilgrim's stick, standing at his destination, on the mount Zion, he is — on the one hand — a reversal of the anti-Semitic myth of the wanderer, while on the other, a direct Zionist imperative of the end of Diaspora and initiation of Jewish settlement in the Promised Land. As a Zionist reconceptualisation of Jewish wandering and exile, it is an example of a full revitalization of Ahasverus. Perceived from then on in the categories of Jewish vitality, Herzl-Ahasverus is a pictorial negation of all pejorative meanings of the Diaspora.

And so the very same Herzl, here with a gesture of his hand, as if suggesting an invitation, indicates the place and direction of any migration of the Diaspora Jews. Meanwhile, the perspective of the endless horizon evokes the infinite possibilities of the future country. As Jacob Golomb writes: "Herzl, with his determination, imagination, and personal courage, was exactly the right man

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[58] (Dr Alfred Nossig, 6, 113–114), after: G.G. Schmidt, The Art, p. 212.

[59] On the building of the so-called new Zionist body as "Muskeljudentum", see: M. Buber, „Ein Wort über Nietzsche und die Lebenswerte", [in:] Die Kunst im Leben 1, 2, 1900, p. 13–17; J. Golomb, Nietzsche and Zion, New York 2004; Nietzsche's Positive Religion and the Old Testament, [in:] J. Urpeth and J. Lippitt (ed.), Nietzsche and the Divine, Manchester 2000; H.J. Kieval, Imagining 'Masculinity' in the Jewish Fin de Siecle, [in:] J. Frankel (ed.), Jews and Gender. The Challenge to History (Studies in Contemporary Jewry, An Annual XVI), Oxford 2000, p. 143–172; D. Ohana, Zarathustra in Jerusalem: Nietzsche and the 'New Hebrews', [in:] idem and Robert Wistrich (ed.), The Shaping, p. 38–60; M. Ruthers, 'Muscle Jews' and 'Effeminate Jews', [in:] H. Haumann (ed.), The First, p. 320–323; D. Biale, Zionism as an Erotic Revolution, [in:] H. Eilberg-Schwartz (ed.), People of the Body. Jews and Judaism from an Embodied Perspective, New York 1992, p. 294–295.

[60] R. Cohen, Jewish Icons, p. 229.

Fig. 8. *Yizkor* (medal-plaque commemorating Herzl's death) by Borys Schatz (1907, bronze) Illustration from the collection of the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem

at the right time to follow the Nietzschean call to overcome the 'old' time. In so doing he would begin a radically new history that would sweep away the maladies of the new and old ghettos and overcome the syndromes of marginality and tradition"[61]. One should add that Herzl's cultural-social experiment would gain the following of the masses.

Moreover, Richard Cohen suggests that Pilichowski's work be compared with the "Moses on Mount Nebo" by Borys Schatz[62]. The title encompasses two objects, identical in terms of theme and iconography, namely an oil painting from 1890 (fig. 7) (in the Israel Museum) and a late 19th century sculpture (missing) — showing Moses with a walking stick and his hand raised to brows, who strains his eyes looking towards the Promised Land. Those protagonists, i.e. Moses (also identical with Ahasverus) and Herzl are linked by a pictorial analogy — the presentation of the entire figure and the parallel position, high above the horizon. Moreover, on the historical and the existential plane, both Moses and Herzl lead their people to the Promised Land.

As regards the discussed context, one should also quote another work by B. Schatz (fig. 8), i.e. Yizkor[63] (medal-plaque) from 1907, being an iconic com-

[61] J. Golomb, Nietsche, p. 40.

[62] R. Cohen, Jewish Icons, p. 241–244.

[63] Yizkor, (Hebr.) recollect, remember, is a special prayer for the departed relatives recited during the act of remebrance, especially during Yom Kippur. Yizkor also has its equivalent in Jewish art, a custom of creating small, personal portrait forms, utilising the medium of plaques, cameo brooches, pins, album inserts, small pictures, cut outs and photographs which serve to commemorate a given person.

pilation of two different works. The medal features Herzl's profile[64] and a full representation of Moses on Mount Nebo. In the bottom part Schatz placed an inscription — frequently quoted motto of Herzl's — *im tircu ein ze agada* (If you wish for something, it is not a myth anymore)[65].

R. Edelman, in his comprehensive publication concerning Ahasverus, writes that in linguistic terms the figure should be associated with the so-called Baal Teshuva, an "exiled man" — as a Galut wanderer, known in Judaism from the writings of Philo to those of Agnon[66].

The fact that in Hebrew *teshuva* also stands for response is not without significance. In this respect, it would be worthwhile to note M. Buber's interesting linguistic interpretation based on the origin of the word *teshuva.* Buber observed that its core or root, *shuv,* a Hebrew wrod denoting return after a (temporary) absence — which in his view stands for the return to the Jewish homeland, to the Promised Land and to Biblical Jewish roots, as a progressive return[67].

Therefore, Baal Teshuva appears to be a Jew exiled from the paradise — in the sense of its location in the Middle East — only to begin wandering the world. Subsequently, the Wandering Jew returns after 2 thousand years of absence, by the agency of Zionism and in Herzl's incarnation.

The Zionist "negation of the Diaspora" was an essential means which paved the way for the implication of new, diametrically different concepts of life. It was to be the opposite of the former — in Zionist understanding — negative principles of existence, so as to make place for the new ideals. The direction of changes which promoted Zionism, could not do without the expulsion of the old ideas, which would have rendered realisation of the new ones impossible.

The ghetto mentality and the attachment to its fossilised rules — i.e. perceiving the world in the fashion of religious Jews — were a substantial hindrance in the building of the so-called New Jew and in the new understanding of the Promised Land, new education, the value of work and social relationships. The

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[64] Modelled after Herzl's portrait by Herman Struck from 1903.

[65] T. Herzl, U wrót nowego życia, p. 5.

[66] R. Edelman, Ahasverus, p. 9 (author's translation). I change Ba'al-Teshuva into a Polish equivalent: Baal Teszuwa. It is sometimes also translated as "the penitent Jew".

[67] W. Kaufmann, Buber's Failures and His Victory, [in:] Y. Bloch, H. Gordon and M. Dorman (ed.), Martin Buber: One Hundred Years of His Birth, Tel Aviv 1981, p. 21–35 after: J. Golomb, Nietsche, p. 155–156, 209; See also: M. Buber, On Zion. The History of an Idea (transl. by Stanley Godman), London 1973.

negation of the Diaspora, in other words self-negation and self-deprecation were the first crucial stage in the development of a new human and new country. In this context, images of Herzl were a key template of all the aspects of Zionism discussed here.

Artur Kamczycki

THEODOR HERZL: OD AHASVERUSA DO BAAL TESZUWY

Streszczenie

Theodor Zeev Benjamin Herzl (1860–1904) był twórcą ideologii syjonistycznej, która w celu przygotowania narodu żydowskiego do masowej migracji do Ziemi Obiecanej i stworzenia tam państwa w pełni wykorzystywała dostępne środki obrazowe i kulturę wizualną. Stworzono zatem nową ikonosferę syjonistyczną, w której istotne miejsce zajmuje ikonografia Herzla. Postać ta stała się najważniejszą ikoną syjonistyczną, a jej stypizowany wizerunek miał być ucieleśnieniem syjonizmu i wyrażać jego idee.

Jednym z takich „ucieleśnień" jest portret Herzla autorstwa Leopolda Pilichowskiego, wykonany w 1908 roku na zlecenie delegatów VII Kongresu Syjonistycznego. Kompozycja ewokuje szereg wytycznych obrazowych, a zestawienie tego portretu z innymi dziełami (A. Nossiga, S. Hirszenberga, G. Dore'a i B. Schatza) pozwala wyłowić ciąg ikonograficzny, odnoszący się do idei Ahaswerusa (Żyda Wiecznego Tułacza). Ahaswerus to dla syjonizmu archetyp tzw. negatywnego wizerunku Żydów getta (typów getta), stanowiących przeszkodę na drodze narodowej mobilizacji i tym samym przedmiot krytyki syjonistycznej. Był elementem ucieleśniającym wygnanie, tułaczkę, dyskryminację, prześladowania, wewnętrzną degenerację, społeczną patologię i dewiację psychiczną, marazm egzystencjalny i karykaturalność fizjonomiczną.

Portret Herzla natomiast miał być programowym zaprzeczeniem tych negatywnych przyległości (także wizualnych) i wytyczną dla nowych ideałów syjonistycznych, których odpowiedzią jest Baal Teszuwa — czyli Żyd powracający do Ziemi Obiecanej.