

ZIONISM AND REVOLUTION IN EUROPEAN-JEWISH LITERATURE

Laurel Plapp



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LITERARY CRITICISM AND
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Preface

This book challenges monolithic understandings of the Zionist movement and calls into question the simplistic equation of the Jewish people with the state of Israel. Since 1948, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has come to be seen as the defining relationship between the Jewish people and the Middle East, and between Jews and colonized peoples. The purpose of this book is to demonstrate the actual complexity of these relationships by privileging a tendency within European-Jewish literature to criticize imperialism in any form and to call for solidarity with other oppressed groups, specifically the Arabs of Palestine and Africans in the Americas. With the intensification of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and recurrent antisemitic attacks in Europe since September 2000, I believe there is a greater urgency to distinguish between the state of Israel and the diversity of the Jewish people by pointing out the possibilities of alliance between Jews and colonized peoples expressed by European-Jewish writers themselves.

This alliance has not had a place in postcolonial studies because of the field's foundation in Edward Said's seminal text *Orientalism*, which paved the way for an understanding of Zionism as complicitous with European constructions of the Muslim Orient for the purposes of domination. The legacy of *Orientalism* for Jewish studies has been a perceived rift between support for Israel and support for the rights of the oppressed, and between Jewish identity and liberal politics. The current study criticizes such irreconcilable extremes by focusing on Jewish writers who have grappled with this dilemma and negotiated the boundaries of their identities as Europeans, Jews, and liberals. My work responds to recent scholarship that has begun to demonstrate links between Jewish studies and postcolonial studies, but unlike previous research, this book interrogates how Jewish writers have actually responded to orientalist discourse by tracing the diachronic development of European-Jewish imaginative writing on Zionism, imperialism, and racism across the

twentieth century. The goal of the interdisciplinary approach of this book is thus to illuminate issues lost in the interstices of different academic fields, not only offering insight into Jewish studies but also shedding light on broader questions concerning racism and oppression in Western society, the legacy of colonialism, and transnational and minority discourse.

The origins of this project stem from my experiences as a student at Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 1992 to 1993, where I was impacted by both the reality of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the German-Israeli dynamic in the shadow of the Holocaust. Conversations and encounters in Israel were the impetus for an exploration of the complex nexus of relationships between Palestinians and Israelis, Germans and Jews. Yitzhak Rabin was then prime minister and on the verge of negotiating the Oslo Peace Accords; two years later Rabin was murdered by a right-wing Orthodox Jewish student opposed to Rabin's negotiations with the Palestinians. Several years later I found in Arnold Zweig's novel *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (1932; *De Vriendt Returns Home*) a fictionalized account of the mirror image of Rabin's murder, that of Jacob Israel de Haan, an Orthodox Jew who favored negotiations with the Arabs and who was assassinated by Zionists in 1924. My research into Zweig's novel led me to Berlin, Germany, in 2003, where I consulted unpublished documents in the Arnold-Zweig-Archiv as well as the Anna-Seghers-Archiv at the Akademie der Künste. My archival research forms the basis for my analysis in Chapters 2 and 3 of the development of these two authors' political identities as Europeans and Jews. The historical depth and geographical breadth of this book thus not only reflect my own journey in the past 15 years but also acknowledge that debates about Jewish thought and orientalism have deep roots in both Europe and the Middle East.

I would like to thank the Fulbright Commission for support to complete archival research at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, Germany, in 2003; the University of California, San Diego, Literature Department for a fellowship in the fall of 2001; the Freie Universität Berlin and the University of California Education Abroad Program for support during the 1999–2000 academic year; and the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst for funding for study in Germany in the summer of 1998. I would also like to thank the Internationales Studienzentrum Berlin (Max-Kade-Haus) and the director Petra Fritsche for providing me with an intellectually stimulating haven while in Berlin.

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This book is for my friends and family, whose faith in me has made it all possible. I dedicate this book to my parents, to whom I owe my deepest gratitude for supporting my work, and to the memory of my grandfather, the historian Madison Kuhn.

Introduction

Jewish Orientalisms

Und ich baute Jehovah einen Tempel vom ewigen Himmelslicht.

—Else Lasker-Schüler, *Die Nächte der Tino von Bagdad*¹

At the end of the nineteenth century, Theodor Herzl proposed three different locations for the future Jewish state: Palestine, Argentina, and Uganda. While Herzl struggled to obtain a charter from the Ottoman Sultan for Palestine, the vast, apparently uninhabited tracts of land in Argentina and Uganda, which the British proposed, also appeared inviting. The discussion of the future homeland of the Jewish people in the Middle East, Africa, or South America in the first few years of the Zionist movement thus defied the Biblical connection between Jews and the Holy Land and instead geographically mirrored the sites of European colonial struggles.² The attempt to emancipate the Jewish people from oppression in Europe thus ironically followed in the footsteps of European imperialists. While the Zionist movement had set its sights on Palestine by 1905, Herzl's original plans reflect the inextricability of this *fleur de lis* of exotic locales from the European perspective, such that imperialist ventures and colonizing discourses could be as easily cast on the shores of Asia, Africa, or the Americas. This book travels with European-Jewish writers of the twentieth century to all three shores, tracing the tension embodied by Herzl's Zionism between resistance to oppression and complicity with orientalism.

This book responds to Edward Said's concept of a monolithic Christian "Orientalism" that justified European economic and political control of the Muslims and the Middle East by considering the role of European Jews in this discourse. Historically, Jews have been both participants in European culture and targets of stereotyping within Europe as "Orientals," and they have also been politically engaged in the Middle East through the Zionist movement. This positioning of European Jews between West and East complicates their

relationship with European discourse about orientalized locations. While previous scholarship has suggested that twentieth-century Jewish authors were complicit with orientalism,³ my work recognizes a simultaneous subversive tendency in German- and French-Jewish literature of the period that resists stereotyping and promotes solidarity with other groups subjected to European oppression both inside and outside Europe. The purpose of this book is to demonstrate the actual diversity of European-Jewish identity by specifically highlighting European-Jewish authors who have been critical of imperialism in any form and who have expressed possibilities of coalition between Jews and other peoples against oppression. While I have a particular interest in criticisms of orientalism from a European-Jewish perspective, this study illustrates how such texts are characterized by both an assimilation and a rejection of orientalist rhetoric to varying degrees.

The particular relationship between the Jewish people and orientalist discourse is only briefly mentioned in Said's own *Orientalism*, when he remarks obscurely:

. . . by an almost inescapable logic, I have found myself writing the history of a strange, secret sharer of Western anti-Semitism. That anti-Semitism and, as I have discussed it in its Islamic branch, Orientalism resemble each other very closely is a historical, cultural, and political truth that needs only to be mentioned to an Arab Palestinian for its irony to be perfectly understood. (28)

Said's own perspective as a Palestinian becomes evident in this comment and indicates his assumption of complicity between the Jews and orientalist discourse as a result of Zionism. As Ivan Davidson Kalmar and David J. Penslar have observed, Jews have been regarded as the "perpetrators of orientalism" because of Zionism, which has generally been understood as an "orientalist ideology in the service of Western colonialism" (xv). Kalmar and Penslar's objective in their edited volume *Orientalism and the Jews*, however, is to argue that orientalism has not just been directed against the Muslims, but also against the Jews, who have often stood in for Muslims as "Orientals" in European-Christian understandings (xi–xiv). They identify the close relationship between antisemitism and orientalism in European discourse, such that antisemitism can be seen as a form of orientalization of the Jews. Kalmar and Penslar, thus, are primarily interested in viewing Jews as "targets . . . of orientalism" (xv).

My approach, in contrast, is to recognize that European Jews have been problematically both "perpetrators" and "targets," not either/or, and that this

contradictory positioning is the basis for the dilemma facing European-Jewish writers. Rather than being limited to the depiction of Jews as oriental in the European context, this book focuses on the response of European-Jewish authors to the confluence of antisemitism and orientalism, and on their successful or unsuccessful attempts to challenge and complicate these discourses. Kalmar and Penslar delimit Jewish responses to “anti-Jewish orientalism” to two possibilities: firstly, the romanticization of the Orient and themselves as oriental; secondly, the transference of orientalization onto “traditional Jews” (xix). The defining of these two distinct tendencies, one positive and one negative, overlooks the simultaneity of contradictory trends in European-Jewish texts, that may romanticize the Orient, orientalize the Jews, and/or criticize antisemitism. I argue instead that European-Jewish writing is multifaceted and self-contradictory, including not only the construction of the Other for purposes of domination, but also approaches to the Other that are tolerant and self-critical. Drawing on Lisa Lowe’s understanding of heterogeneous “orientalisms,” I use the term *Jewish orientalisms* to acknowledge not only the multiplicity and diversity of this discourse due to national, ethnic, gender, and sexual difference, but also to refer to its internally complex and contradictory nature.

To investigate the tension within Jewish orientalisms, I focus specifically on European-Jewish authors who set fictional texts in orientalized locations—Palestine/Israel or the Caribbean—that the authors traveled to either before or after writing. These particular authors are therefore characterized by a geographical mobility between Europe and the orientalized spaces they depict that complicates their responses to orientalism. The discourse of orientalism, as constructed knowledge about the Orient, was disrupted by their own experiences in these locations, requiring them to modify and rethink their Eurocentric viewpoints. Martin Buber, Arnold Zweig, and Else Lasker-Schüler (Chapters 1 and 2) all fled to Palestine after the rise of the Nazis in 1933; Zweig’s novel *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (De Vriendt Returns Home) was particularly written in response to his initial two-month trip to the Middle East in early 1932. Anna Seghers and André Schwarz-Bart (Chapter 3) both spent time in the Caribbean prior to writing their Caribbean stories; Seghers fled through the islands on her way to Mexico City in the late 1930s, and Schwarz-Bart lived in Guadeloupe with his wife and her family in the 1960s while writing his first Caribbean novel. Jeannette Lander and Chochana Boukhobza (Chapter 4) are transnational, multilingual authors whose writing reflects their engagement with multiple national contexts. These authors were therefore not merely imagining fantasized, distant locations but were also engaged in the contemporary politics of these locations through

personal experience. The writers thus serve as agents of exchange between Europe and the Other, the Occident and the Orient, and the West and the rest, and as a result, their texts particularly demonstrate the complicated and at times ambiguous responses of Jewish writers in Europe to orientalism.

ORIENTALISMS

The exploration of a European-Jewish response to orientalism has its roots in modifications of Edward Said's original theory in *Orientalism*. Criticism of Said's text has addressed ways in which it fails to identify the complexity of the relationship between the West and the East. Critics have argued that Said's understanding of orientalism is limited in that it does not recognize national traditions other than that of France, Great Britain, and the United States, nor does it take into account differing perspectives based on gender, ethnicity, or sexual identification. My study of European-Jewish literature builds on critics' development and expansion of Said's monolithic "Orientalism" into more diversified "orientalisms."

Said's *Orientalism* (1978) encouraged the Western academy to study the connections between Eurocentric culture and Western political and economic power.⁴ Orientalism, according to Said, is a European-Christian system of knowledge about the Middle East and North Africa that has historically supported European economic and political influence over these regions (39–46). This discourse originated in philology, and specifically the distinctions that were made between Indo-European and Semitic languages beginning in the late eighteenth century (98). European domination has been implicitly justified by depictions of the "Oriental" as exotic, dangerous, and primitive in order to rationalize the need for European control of the Middle East. As a result, the orientalist's purported knowledge is actually an instrument of power that constructs the Orient in such a way as to justify domination (40–1, 94). Since this construct of the Orient was so widely distributed and accepted, Said even claims that "every European . . . was consequently a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric" (204). By the late nineteenth century, orientalist scholars and scholarship were critical to the formation of European imperialist policies, and American policies toward the Middle East since World War II have continued to further orientalist discourse, according to Said (203, 210–11, 285).

Said builds his thesis on the function of the discourse of Orientalism from the theory of Michel Foucault in particular.⁵ In his early work, Foucault conceptualizes power not as a repressive, singular force but as multiple forces operating by way of knowledge to control members of society.

Discourse is the means of exercising this power because it constructs this knowledge as reality. Said's orientalism is a discourse that functions in this manner, but Said diverges from Foucault's more "anonymous" understanding of power by identifying the importance of individuals and individual texts in contributing to this discourse. Said also relied on Antonio Gramsci's definition of cultural hegemony, in which cultural institutions such as universities promote certain ideas over others that are then accepted within society. The discourse of Orientalism has succeeded in becoming hegemonic, according to Said, because academic institutions have advanced the construction of European culture and thought as superior to that of the Middle East. Said therefore combines the work of two theorists, Foucault and Gramsci, on power and knowledge in order to explain how the discourse of orientalism functions.⁶

These two theories, however, are not entirely compatible, and the dissonance between them leads to flaws in Said's argument, according to Bart Moore-Gilbert. Foucault's concept of power, where power is disembodied and lacks direction, conflicts with Gramsci's Marxist view that resistance can come from below and lead to the overthrow of hegemonic discourse. One of the results of this tension is that Said fails to explain the origins of orientalist discourse. While Said criticizes the totalizing discourse of orientalism, his own theory of orientalism is itself an essentializing master narrative that makes vast, unsupported generalizations about Europeans and their belief systems, such as his statement that "every European . . . was . . . a racist." Said does not explain how orientalism as a hegemonic discourse emerged in the first place or what discourses were already in place that orientalism replaced or defeated, so it would appear impossible to escape from the hold of this world-view. At times, Said claims that the discourse preceded colonization, such that theories of the Orient actually instigated European domination, and at other times, he suggests that European policies led to the creation of a discourse to justify itself after the fact. Furthermore, actual resistance to orientalist discourse, whether from Europeans or the colonized peoples themselves, is negated in *Orientalism*. The concept of a totalizing discourse of orientalism prevents variation among Europeans writing about the Orient, and Foucault's definition of power particularly undermines the potential for the colonized to resist the power wielded by dominant discourses. And, while Said's later text *Culture and Imperialism* (1992) actively criticizes this problem in Foucault's concept of power and argues that there is resistance within and against the European discourse of orientalism, Moore-Gilbert claims that Said returns repeatedly to his characterization of all Europeans as complicit with orientalist discourse.⁷

The implication of these criticisms of Said's characterization of orientalism as an omnipotent and unchanging discourse, which essentializes all Europeans as simultaneously racists and imperialists, is that such a monolithic discourse does not and could not exist. Rather than viewing orientalism as a single, overpowering force that dominated European ways of thinking and acting, Moore-Gilbert's criticisms suggest the functioning of multiple discourses within European society. The themes in European scholarship and writing that subjugate the people of the Middle East may not be a consistent, organized discourse but simply points of similarity between texts that are actually internally and intertextually diverse. As a result, Said's claim that orientalist discourse was systematically and deliberately the cause (or effect) of European imperialism is brought into question. While Said does provide evidence for some such connection, European representations of the Middle East may not be entirely or only interested in justifying colonization. If texts are necessarily varied because of the diversity of the authors and their particular contexts, interests other than support for colonization may inform these texts. Recognizing that representations of the Orient may be motivated by other interests besides the celebration of successful imperialist ventures makes it possible to explore the greater diversity and multiplicity of European texts on the Orient.

One of the key dilemmas for critics is that Said ignores the diversity of differing national traditions of orientalism, particularly that of Germany. As a result of his assumption that orientalist discourse is always linked to imperialist motives, Said can only address literature that emerges from nations that were active and successful participants in colonization, Moore-Gilbert argues. The orientalism of a nation that was unsuccessful at colonization would be impossible, according to those terms, so Said focuses on French and British scholarship. The existence of German orientalist scholarship is therefore particularly problematic for Said, since Germany was neither a unified nation nor a successful colonizer. Said dismisses the problem of German orientalism by stating that the Orient was never "actual" for German authors, but merely an object of their fantasies. Furthermore, Said essentializes distinctions between French and British orientalism, such that French is considered to be "aesthetic" while British is "scientific." Said attributes these differences to British successes in the Middle East in comparison to French failures, but in fact, the French were quite successful at colonizing the Maghreb.⁸ Said appears to oversimplify variations between national traditions of orientalism and ignore the existence of others.

Nina Berman and Todd Kontje both yet differently address the potential for understanding German intellectual production in the context of

orientalism. Berman responds to Said's limited definition by arguing that while Germany was unsuccessful in obtaining colonies in the Middle East, the German-speaking lands have had a long history of economic and political "interdependence" with the Middle East (18). She states, "Diese anderen Formen der Abhängigkeit und Dominanz produzierten und produzieren kulturelle Diskurse, die strukturelle und funktionale Ähnlichkeiten zu der Art des kolonialistischen Orientdiskurses, den Said analysiert, aufweisen" (18).⁹ In other words, Berman builds upon Said's definition of orientalism to include forms of domination other than colonization that create a body of orientalist literature similar to what Said observes in the French, British, and American literary traditions. Berman sketches the changing relationship between German-speaking territories and the Middle East from the Crusades in the Middle Ages, to racist theories in the nineteenth century, and to the relationship with Israel in the later twentieth century (19–33). Berman's analysis thus provides a redefinition of orientalism that recognizes any sort of political, economic, or ideological interdependence as a potential basis for an orientalist discourse, hence allowing for German or other national orientalisms. Kontje's approach in *German Orientalisms* is to argue, in contrast, that the very fact that Germany lacked both nation and empire until the end of the nineteenth century was actually the source of Germany's creation of a discourse on the Orient. German orientalism thus took the form of an attempt to define Germany as part of the European civilizing mission and, simultaneously, to extricate Germany from the sins of imperialism by affiliating the German people with the Orient itself (2–8). Kontje's study encompasses canonical German literature from the medieval period to the present, indicating the centrality of various "Orients" to the shaping of a German national consciousness. The motivation for an orientalist discourse in a particular context thus may be discursive support for an existing colonial or political relationship or may alternatively serve as a compensation for the lack thereof. Kontje's work hence opens the way for studying the orientalism of ethnic groups such as the European Jews, whose own relationship with nationhood and imperialism has been even more problematic than for the Germans.

In addition to the diverse forms of orientalism created by various national cultures, individual identity differences are also influential in shaping portrayals of the Orient. Lisa Lowe redefines Said's "Orientalism" into a heterogeneous set of discourses called "orientalisms," thus taking into account the diversity within orientalism. Lowe characterizes Said's "Orientalism" as a "monolithic, developmental discourse that uniformly constructs the Orient as the Other of the Occident" (4). She views this generalization

of orientalism as limiting because it does not allow for resistance from the Orient nor heterogeneity within and between orientalist texts (5, 9). Thus, Lowe argues that orientalism should not be viewed as monolithic, but as “an uneven matrix of orientalist situations across different cultural and historical sites” (5). Lowe offers not only an opening for exploring orientalisms in various literary traditions, but also suggests that each text may be molded by a number of different factors, including “not only . . . nation and race but also . . . gender, class, region, and sexual preference” (29). Joseph Boone further contributes to the discussion of identity difference as an influence on orientalism by focusing specifically on sexual identification. He criticizes Said’s gendering of the Orient as feminine and submissive and the Occident as masculine and dominating, suggesting that Said’s placement of a heterosexual construct onto Orient and Occident does not completely reflect the content of orientalist literature. He argues instead that the association of the Orient with the availability of sexuality has often dealt with homosexuality rather than heterosexuality. The appeal of the Middle East to many Western men was most importantly the possibility of male-male relationships, which were forbidden in the West (90–2). Interestingly, this expansion of *Orientalism* to include homosexuality still follows Said’s notion of sexuality in the Orient as both promising and threatening (188). Homosexuality in orientalist texts is, according to Boone, depicted as a “contagion” coming out of the Orient that threatens to contaminate and destroy the West. While this contagion emerges from the Orient, these sexual desires are “uncannily familiar” to Westerners, which makes the danger to the West ever greater (93–4). The view of homosexuality as a contagion reveals the Western repression and demonization of homosexuality as well as the labeling of the Orient as uncivilized and threatening. Lowe and Boone’s redefinition of Said’s orientalism suggests that since texts vary across gender, ethnicity, and sexual identity, representations of the Orient should be read with a sensitivity to those differences.

A final important modification of Said’s *Orientalism* observes that an orientalist text may involve both orientalist and non-orientalist viewpoints. Lowe argues that every version of orientalism may be seen as “internally complex and unstable” (5). She claims that an author’s work or a single text may include both orientalist discourse, by which she means an othering of the Oriental through racism and stereotyping in order to support colonial domination, as well as challenges to orientalist discourse (4, 9). Lowe thus provides a framework for analyzing the contradictions within orientalist texts themselves, such that both resistance to and complicity with orientalism may be observed in the work of one author. In her analysis of the letters of the British

Lady Montagu, for example, Lowe reveals that the writer expresses a sense of identification with upper-class Turkish women, hence undermining male travelers' misogynist fantasies about the Orient, but that she also participates in orientalist discourse by applying English concepts and prejudices to Turkish women and Turkish culture in general (43–50). Lowe's modification allows for the assumption that representations of the Orient may include both orientalist and non-orientalist perspectives, so analyses should attempt to articulate elements of resistance and contradiction within the texts themselves.

My reading of Jewish orientalisms draws on these modifications of Said's theory that recognize the possibility of orientalism without imperialism, the influence of identity formation and identity difference in orientalism, and the internal complexity of orientalist texts. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's concept of "nomad thought" serves as a further potential model for the multiple tendencies within Jewish orientalisms. Deleuze and Guattari argue that Western philosophy, including philology and linguistics, has imposed a hierarchical or "arborescent" structure onto the Western conceptualization of the world. Nomad thought undermines this tradition in the form of the rhizome, a tuber that sends out multiple shoots in myriad directions underneath the ground, thus burrowing into the dominant culture and ways of thought.¹⁰ Nomad thought is characterized by deterritorialization, an appropriation of language or ideas, but may also have lines of reterritorialization; thus, the resistance represented by nomad thought may at times return to assimilation of arborescent thought.¹¹ Deleuze and Guattari's concept is particularly relevant for this book not only because it serves as a model for resistance to orientalism, the offspring of philology, but also because of the recognition of the simultaneity of contradictory lines of thought within this resistance. Furthermore, Deleuze and Guattari also focus particularly on European-Jewish literature as representative of rhizomorphic thinking. Their book *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature* is a study of the deterritorialization of German by Prague-born Jewish author Franz Kafka, for "strange and minor uses" (17). Thus, while Deleuze and Guattari's theory needs to be expanded to recognize the diversity of Jewish writing, particularly in the latter part of the twentieth century, their model serves as a foundation for understanding the functioning of Jewish orientalisms.

GENDER, SEXUALITY, AND REVOLUTION

The multiple Jewish orientalisms that are the subject of this book are closely connected with issues of gender and sexuality. Resistance to oppressive forces is often embodied in these texts by figures who are in between different cultures,

nations, ethnicities, genders, or sexualities. Historically, Jews, in particular, have been said to occupy these spaces in-between, not just between Europe and the Orient, but also between male and female. Jews have been feminized, or constructed in opposition to the masculine norm, by European cultures at least since the Middle Ages, if not since the Roman occupation of Palestine.¹² The feminization of the Jews culminated in discussions of sexuality in late nineteenth-century Vienna, where Otto Weininger's theory of gender and Judaism influenced both Sigmund Freud and Theodor Herzl.¹³ Weininger's equation of Jews with women and the resulting accusation that the Jews were not "manly" enough to found a nation served as a motivation for the Zionist movement to reclaim masculinity for Jews.¹⁴ While Theodor Herzl and Max Nordau attempted to reassert Jewish masculinity through Zionism, as discussed in Chapter 1, Jewish responses to this stereotyping have in fact been more diverse. Daniel Boyarin points out that the designation of femininity was often coopted by Jewish men in rabbinical tales as a form of resistance against Roman imperial authority. Their "gender bending," he argues, "thus mark[ed] their own understanding that gender itself is implicated in the maintenance of political power."¹⁵ Effective resistance, in other words, must acknowledge the investment of gender and ethnicity in power and authority. The literary characters studied in this book follow the lead of the rabbis by breaking down these categories to elicit change in power structures.

The power of the gender-bending figure to undermine authority has been recognized by Marjorie Garber, who coined the term "transvestite" to refer to a "third" category that calls into question stable binary constructions such as male/female, Jew/Christian, black/white (11–16). For Garber, "transvestism" does not actually constitute a third sex but signifies a "space of possibility structuring and confounding culture: the disruptive element that intervenes, not just a category crisis of male and female, but the crisis of category itself" (11, 17). The metaphor of the transvestite is thus not limited to sexual difference but serves to represent any figure who destabilizes binary categories, whether related to gender, ethnicity, religion, or class, and who thus challenges "vested interests" in cultural authority. Cross-dressing as a form of resistance is also suggested by Katrin Sieg's concept of "ethnic drag," which she defines as "the performance of 'race' as a masquerade" (2). This performance may be used to support "hegemonic racial discourses" but may alternatively "self-consciously . . . challenge essentialist notions of identity" (3). Sieg traces stage performances of ethnic cross-dressing in Germany, including the tradition of Jewish impersonation, and demonstrates either their confirmation of racist or antisemitic constructs or their reappropriation by those subjected to racial impersonation.¹⁶

The subversive, cross-dressing characters that Garber and Sieg describe appear in the European-Jewish literature addressed in this book, but they serve particular purposes. As in Sieg's definition of ethnic drag, the figures who occupy the borders of cultures, nations, ethnicities, genders, or sexualities discussed in this book always serve to challenge, but may replicate, racial or gender prejudices. Their liminality is however the basis for their disruptive potential. Furthermore, in Chapter 2, Isaac Josef de Vriendt and Tino von Bagdad use their positioning as a means not only to disrupt binary categories but also to unify the categories by offering mediation between Orient and Occident, Muslims and Jews. Michael Nathan and Jean Sasportas, discussed in Chapter 3, also vary Garber and Sieg's concepts by taking advantage of their intermediary positions between Europeans and Africans to facilitate revolutions in the Caribbean. As a result, Jewish drag comes to symbolize the struggle for solidarity between Jews and other peoples, which always underlies the orientalisms presented in this book. In Chapter 4, the cross-dressing figure is shattered outward onto multiple female personas, each of whom represents a different national perspective and engages in challenging racism, antisemitism, political oppression, and/or orientalism. The border figures and the voices of multiple women, who overlap in the form of the Muslim heroine Tino von Bagdad (Chapter 2), displace the heterosexual, male European subject assumed by Said's orientalism. Hence, the reappropriation of gender and sexual identity for subversive purposes is intimately connected with the critique of European oppression expressed through these Jewish orientalisms.

The first half of the book (Chapters 1 and 2) considers the German-Jewish discourse on Palestine and Zionism prior to the formation of the state of Israel in 1948. The first chapter, titled "Zionism, the Oriental, and the *Ostjude*: Theodor Herzl, Max Nordau, and Martin Buber," considers the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century work of these Zionist writers. The origins of the Zionist movement are situated in the context of trends that excluded the Jewish people from European society yet also influenced the development of Zionism, including German nationalism, racial and political antisemitism, theories of degeneracy and sexuality, and the stereotype of the Eastern European Jew, or *Ostjude*. Their writings illustrate differing ways in which Zionism employed antisemitic and imperialist rhetoric even as it undermined this discourse in the name of the emancipation of the Eastern European Jews. The first chapter thus establishes the foundation for these contradictory trends characterizing Jewish orientalisms, but also illustrates a failed negotiation between orientalism

and antisemitism that is rejected by the European-Jewish authors discussed in the following chapters.

The second chapter, “The Orient, Homosexuality, and the Allure of the Transvestite: Arnold Zweig and Else Lasker-Schüler Rewrite Zionism,” concentrates on the pre-1933 writings of these two German-Jewish authors. While other German-Jewish writers of the time, such as Franz Kafka, imagined orientalised spaces and expressed an interest in Zionism,¹⁷ these two authors knew Martin Buber, engaged with Zionist ideology in their work, and visited and later settled in Palestine in the 1930s and 1940s. Their pre-1933 work includes visions of harmony between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, contesting the imperialist tendency of Zionism in favor of cultural and/or political coalition. Zweig rewrites Jewish nationalism in his novel *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (1932) by challenging the masculinist, orientalist inheritance of political Zionism with an unconventional gay Zionist hero. De Vriendt serves as an intermediary figure between Jews and Arabs, and Western and Eastern European Jews, and offers mediation between opposing sides. The analysis of this character as a Zionist hero is supported by research in unpublished materials held at the Arnold-Zweig-Archiv at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, Germany. Lasker-Schüler also attempts to erase boundaries between “oriental” peoples by cross-dressing as Tino, a Muslim princess, in her narrative *Die Nächte der Tino von Bagdad* (1907; *The Nights of Tino of Baghdad*). Her privileging of a Muslim woman’s voice further allows her to disrupt the orientalist authority of European-Christian male authors. Tino’s rebellion against her society represents Lasker-Schüler’s desire for the freedom of expression for women in Europe, the end of European imperialism, and the possibility of uniting all “oriental” cultures.

The second half of the book (Chapters 3 and 4) provides a comparative analysis of French- and German-Jewish orientalisms after World War II. The third chapter, “*Le Parfum des Antilles*: The Caribbean Revolutions in the Works of Anna Seghers and André Schwarz-Bart,” traces a transfer of interest onto the Americas, rather than the Middle East, shortly after the war. German-Jewish author Anna Seghers and French-Jewish author André Schwarz-Bart adopt the setting of the Caribbean in their narratives to associate the European-Jewish experience with that of the African slaves of the Caribbean and to offer models of coalition between Jews and other oppressed peoples. In their texts, both Seghers and Schwarz-Bart place revolutionary power in the hands of black women, hence foregrounding women’s experience and genealogy. Seghers often links these women with Jewish characters, such as Michael Nathan and Jean Sasportas, whose intermediary positioning between blacks and whites in the Caribbean at the time of the revolutions

around 1800 affords them the possibility of infiltrating the white colonizers on behalf of the black revolutionaries. The analysis of the development of Jewish, black, and female characters in Seghers' Caribbean stories is supported by unpublished drafts held in the Anna-Seghers-Archiv at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, Germany. Schwarz-Bart, in contrast, focuses his Caribbean novels on the trauma and rebellion of two black women, Mariotte and her great-grandmother, the legendary Guadeloupean revolutionary Solitude, and carefully connects their experiences with those of the Jews during the Holocaust. Schwarz-Bart thus not only addresses Jewish history through the distance of the Caribbean setting but also expresses his sense of solidarity with the people of the Caribbean.

The final chapter, "Gender, Judaism, and Israel: The Nomadism of Chochana Boukhobza and Jeannette Lander," focuses on the representation of Israel in the works of two late twentieth-century transnational Jewish women. Both Chochana Boukhobza, a writer of Tunisian-Jewish descent who lives in France, and Jeannette Lander, an American of immigrant Polish-Jewish parents who lives in Germany, explore the relationship between Jewish identity and oppression after the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948. The heroine of Boukhobza's novel *Un été à Jérusalem* (1986; *Summer in Jerusalem*) is a French-Tunisian-Jewish woman visiting her family in Jerusalem who has conflicted connections to her multiple homelands. Lander's novel *Die Töchter* (1976; *The Daughters*) follows the scattering of three Polish-Jewish sisters to Atlanta, Berlin, and Israel, each of whom attempts to come to terms with the complexity of her own identity as well as the ethnic tensions of her land of choice. Both novels challenge the possibility of Israel as the solution to the Jewish diaspora as a result of the violence and oppression that has resulted from the state. Instead, both embrace a multinational, multicultural Jewish identity that facilitates a "nomadic" resistance to imperialism and oppression.

Chapter One

Zionism, the Oriental, and the *Ostjude*: Theodor Herzl, Max Nordau, and Martin Buber

Zionism, emerging with *Der Judenstaat* (The Jews' State) in 1896, was simultaneously an emancipationist movement in response to antisemitism and a colonizing venture in the Middle East. The contradiction in these two goals is the subject of the following chapter, which discusses the orientalizing of both Eastern European Jews, the subjects of emancipation, and the Arabs of Palestine, the objects of colonization, in early Zionist texts. The Zionist movement was a response to Western European prejudices and fears regarding both of these groups, since a Jewish state in Palestine would provide a home for the displaced, Eastern European Jewish immigrants in the West and would also, as Theodor Herzl expressed it, protect against the supposed "barbarism" of the Arab world (149). In this way, the Zionist movement in its beginnings aimed to free Jews of antisemitism, but at the same time drew on orientalist understandings of the world and Western Europeans' place in it. This chapter's focus on the functioning of orientalism within Zionism provides not only a historical basis for investigating the development of Jewish identity in relationship to imperialism and revolutionary struggles, but also marks a starting point for the contradictory division in European-Jewish writing of the twentieth century between complicity with orientalist discourse and criticism of oppression.

This chapter first provides an overview of the major trends in thought in late nineteenth-century Europe that influenced Zionism: nationalism, philology, antisemitism, theories of degeneration and sexuality, and the stereotype of the Eastern European Jew, or *Ostjude*. These ideas not only contributed to the exclusion of Jews in Europe, hence leading to the Zionist call for emancipation, but were also appropriated by early Zionist thought in

complex ways. The chapter then considers the work of three major figures in the early Zionist movement in light of these various intellectual forces. Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), the recognized founder of political Zionism, responded to the injustices caused by antisemitism and called for the rescue of oppressed Eastern European Jews, but he also drew on prejudices against Eastern European Jews and orientalist rhetoric to appeal to his Western European audience. Max Nordau (1849–1923), the other influential leader of early political Zionism, relied on antisemitic and *völkisch* conceptions in his call for *Muskeljuden* (muscle Jews) to lead the Zionist movement and presented Zionism as a civilizing mission to the Arabs of Palestine. Representing a second generation of Zionists, known as cultural Zionists, Martin Buber (1878–1965) contrasted Western and Eastern European Jews and made use of the distinctions between Semites and Europeans created by philologists; however, Buber transferred the positive value onto Eastern European Jews and Semitic peoples, hence revising Western European orientalist conceptions. Furthermore, Buber resisted imperialist rhetoric used toward the Arabs of Palestine and called for the protection of Arab rights.¹

NATIONALISM

The Zionist movement was shaped not only by the development of many nationalisms in Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but also most specifically by the German nationalist tradition. The rise in nationalism at the time has been attributed to the rush of modernity and urbanization, increasing migrations of populations, and economic depression. As opposed to the nationalism of the nineteenth century, which promoted expansion and unification of many different small national or ethnic groups into one larger nation, the nationalism of 1870 to 1914 effectively broke apart these unifications. The economic problems facing Europeans led them to blame their difficulties on the governments of these larger nations as well as other groups within their own nations, thus fostering small nationalist movements. Ethnicity and language grew in importance in determining independent nationhood. A national language, however, did not need to be the one spoken by members of the national group for communication; rather, debates over choosing or creating a national language became part of the politics of nationalism. The splintering of larger nations based on ethnic or linguistic divisions occurred throughout Europe: Turkey, Austria-Hungary, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, and Sweden. Zionism was part of this pattern of development and based its understanding of the nation on the new nationalist movements of the time.²

Since Zionism originated in the German-speaking milieu, however, it was particularly imprinted by German nationalism. The concept of a distinctly German ethnic and linguistic group has its roots in German writing of the late eighteenth century. Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte both contributed to the idea of a German nation or *Volk* as distinct from other peoples. While German nationalism can not be defined merely in terms of these two writers, their legacy is particularly relevant in the development of Zionism.³ Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784; *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*) established the concept that a *Volk* develops uniquely as a result of the particular climate, geographical location, and historical situation of the people, and that the national character of a people is based on its racial distinctiveness (507–11). He refers to each nation as a “menschliche Nationalpflanze” that has grown up in a specific place and time with distinctive customs and character (509). He lauds the German *Volk* in particular as an unusually strong, heroic, and bold people (690). The Germans were responsible for defending Europe from barbarian invaders and for developing Europe itself, Herder argues, and as a result, their great character and military prowess established the “Kultur, Freiheit und Sicherheit Europas” (695–6). Herder similarly describes the Jewish people as possessing “kriegerische[n] Mut” in “die Zeiten Davids und der Makkabäer,” but he criticizes the result of the Jewish diaspora in Europe since Biblical times. He argues that the Jewish people “. . . ist . . . fast seit seiner Entstehung eine parasitische Pflanze auf den Stämmen anderer Nationen; ein Geschlecht schlauer Unterhändler beinah auf der ganzen Erde, das Trotz aller Unterdrückung nirgend sich nach eigener Ehre und Wohnung, nirgend nach einem Vaterlande sehnet” (492).⁴ In other words, Herder labels the Jews as parasites because of their apparent lack of interest in creating their own nation on their own soil, and the lack of this foundation has contributed to their degeneration as a *Volk*. The praise of the heroic origins of the Jews, in contrast to their weaker, rootless descendants, was internalized by the Zionist movement, which mined Biblical history for masculine icons like the Maccabees who could lead the Jewish people.⁵ Furthermore, the Zionist movement developed in reaction to claims about the Jews' inability to found a nation. Herzl and Nordau's plan to create a strong, independent Jewish people as the basis for a Jewish nation thus responded to Herder's ideas about *Völker* and the Jews specifically.

Fichte's *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* (1806; *Lectures to the German Nation*) furthered Herder's argument about the German people, but he was responding to the new situation of the Germans as subjects of the French empire under Napoleon. Fichte's *Reden* attempted to reassert the greatness of the German *Volk* and to call for a regeneration of German culture in the face of this

occupation.⁶ Fichte claimed that the German people are unique because they have remained in their original geographical location and retained their original language, which means that the language has developed naturally through the experiences of the generations. A living language unites the realm of the senses and of the mind in such a way that speakers of this language are uniquely suited to developing culture and intellectual thought. In contrast, a people that adopts a foreign language, such as Latin, separates this language from the original experiences which shaped it, so it is no longer a living language (60–74). Fichte's argument therefore suggested that Germans are superior to other peoples because of their capacity for intellectual and cultural development, and that this culture should be regenerated through a rejection of French influences in particular. While the idea that a *Volk* required purification and regeneration contributed to antisemitism in Germany, Herzl himself adapted this concept for Jewish nationalism, claiming the need for the Jews to separate from other cultures in order to establish their own identity and culture.⁷

Fichte's emphasis on the German language and the rejection of other cultures in developing a German national identity was already apparent in the late eighteenth-century debate over German national literature. Gottfried Ephraim Lessing and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe were among the German intellectuals at the time who argued for the development of a German national literature. Lessing (1759) similarly directed his attack on French influence, claiming that French dramatists are inferior to the English. Goethe (1795) recognized the problem facing German writers of his time, who lacked a unified nation and national spirit as the basis for a German literary tradition. Goethe encouraged young authors to build upon existing German writing to create a national literature, but also indicated the need for a national literature in forming the German national spirit.⁸ The importance of a national language and of the development of a national literature in order to create a Jewish national spirit was also central to debates at the Zionist congresses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, hence reflecting the influence of German writers such as Fichte and Goethe. The debate focused on adopting a modernized Hebrew as the Jewish national language, but Eastern European factions favored Yiddish, a language which, as opposed to Hebrew, was spoken on a daily basis. Buber, a cultural Zionist and Hebraist, played a central role in encouraging the development of a national literature.⁹

PHILOLOGY

The importance of rejecting other cultures in order to foster one's own, an important thread in Fichte's *Reden*, developed a more scientific basis in

discussions of German nationalism through the course of the nineteenth century. This scientific grounding appeared in the newly conceived, interlinked fields of philology, biology, and Social Darwinism, which also influenced Herzl's conceptions of the Jewish nation.¹⁰ Significantly, this intellectual and ideological context supported and initiated not only nationalist movements, and Zionism specifically, but also orientalism, according to Edward Said. This overlap in ideologies represents one of the ways in which the origin of Zionism is connected to orientalist thought.

In *Orientalism*, Said identifies the source of the discourse of orientalism in philology of the late eighteenth century and notes that all orientalists, by his definition, were originally philologists (98). According to Michel Foucault, the European episteme transformed suddenly at the end of the eighteenth century, whereby modern philology, or linguistics, as well as natural science and economics, changed dramatically. These fields began to focus on the organization of knowledge according to internal structure or characteristics and relied on history, rather than taxinomia, to analyze these structures. The German linguist Franz Bopp initiated the new field of philology in the early nineteenth century by identifying roots of words as the essential mode of differentiation between languages and by categorizing languages into families according to the nature of these roots.¹¹ The categorization of languages, however, was not an indifferent endeavor, but rather one which purposefully made a distinction between the European and the Oriental. One of the influences on this trend of thought can be traced to Friedrich Schlegel's *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (1808; *On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians*). Schlegel, who, like Bopp, was clearly imprinted by Herder's ideas, named Sanskrit the mother language of German and considered all other language families in the Middle East, Africa, and Far East Asia to be unattractive and undeveloped. Schlegel thus contrasted the Indo-European family, which includes Latin, Greek, and Germanic languages as descendants of Sanskrit, with the Semitic family. His distinction between the people of India and their heirs (associated with the "Aryans") and the "Semites" served as the basis for modern philology and later led to the association of language family with race.¹²

Said indeed identifies this trend in philology as mirrored in developments in biology at the time, such that claims by linguists about the inferiority of Semitic languages and peoples were buttressed by racial classifications in biology and Social Darwinism (206). One of these prominent biologists of the mid-nineteenth century was Arthur de Gobineau, who claimed that certain racial groups were physically superior to others, and he particularly praised the Germanic tribes. Social Darwinism transferred Charles Darwin's biological theories onto the social realm and claimed that there was a struggle between

nations in which only the fittest would survive. In order for a nation to compete in this struggle, the nation must purify itself through the elimination of foreign elements and selective breeding. In other words, a “race” could become degenerated by foreign influences, so they must therefore be removed.¹³

While these trends justified the removal of any “foreign” elements, Said emphasizes that there was a distinction made between the inferiority of the racial group called “Oriental-African” and the superiority of the “European-Aryan” (206). In the mid-nineteenth century, philologist Ernst Renan wrote a companion text on Semitic languages to Bopp’s on Indo-European and presented Semitic as an inferior, “degraded” variation of Indo-European. Renan associated the Semitic language family with the anatomy, intelligence, history, politics, culture, and anthropology of “Semitic” peoples. Differences in languages corresponded to differences in the “language users” and their societies. Renan constructed Semitic peoples and their languages as “inorganic” and “ossified” as opposed to the “organic,” developing languages and peoples of the Indo-European family. Semitic peoples thus became “monstrous,” inhuman creatures who only existed in the “laboratory” of the scientist. Since science was apparently being used to clarify these distinctions between peoples, the distinctions were considered to be unchanging and unavoidable: an “Oriental” is always an “Oriental.” By the late nineteenth century, philology and biological racial theories were working in conjunction with nationalism, imperialism, and the discourse of orientalism.¹⁴

Philology and Social Darwinism appealed to proponents of German nationalism. Schlegel, Bopp, and Renan’s work appear to have further developed Fichte’s arguments about the superiority of certain peoples and their languages by providing a supposed scientific basis for this superiority. Schlegel connected German specifically with Sanskrit and argued that this lineage is superior to the “Semitic” language family, an argument supported by Bopp and Renan’s work. The exceptional status of the German language is matched by the physical superiority of the German race, according to Gobineau, and these ideas reinforced German nationalist claims to ethnic and linguistic uniqueness. However, German cultural critics began to warn that the German people were endangered by racial mixing, which was leading to the degeneration of German society. And the concern about racial mixing naturally began to focus on the “Oriental” within Europe: the Jews.¹⁵ However, these trends did not only influence Zionism because of their racial justification of antisemitism, but also because Zionist leaders relied on these ideologies in their own thought. Social Darwinist conceptions of fitness and strength are apparent in Nordau’s call for *Muskeljuden*, while Buber’s philosophy further developed distinctions between Semites and Europeans created

by philologists, and hence, orientalists. In other words, early Zionist thought was both a part of and a response against contemporary intellectual trends that were implicated in antisemitic and orientalist rhetoric.

ANTISEMITISM

The emergence of race theory in the late nineteenth century led to the transformation of antisemitism from a religious, moral, or cultural prejudice into one with racial and biological bases. But antisemitism also became political, as the economic depression of the 1870s and the pressures of urbanization and industrialization led to a backlash against capitalism, liberalism, modernity, and foreigners. Antisemitism became a part of this swell of xenophobia, anticapitalism, and fear of urbanization.¹⁶

Racial and political antisemitism was associated with a fear of the spreading power of the Jews within German society, a concept known as *Verjudung*, or Judaization. This fear focused not only on the idea that Jews were gaining influence in economics, politics, and culture, but also on the belief that a Jewish “spirit” was seeping into the German people and causing its degradation. The Jews’ growing assimilation and long-awaited emancipation in Germany in 1871 was often identified by antisemites as the problem. The solution to *Verjudung*, according to antisemites, was the removal of Jewish influences, both material and spiritual.¹⁷ Proponents of this *Entjudung* in the mid- to late nineteenth century included Richard Wagner, who explained that the inferiority of French art and music resulted from the Jewish influence in French society. Thus, Wagner conveniently linked the German disdain for French culture voiced earlier by Fichte and Lessing with a fear of Jewish control. Later influential critics, such as Eugen Dühring and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, provided a more racial basis for the threat of “foreigners” such as the Jews, claiming that Jews were polluting the German people and culture. Race theory and Social Darwinism therefore helped to shape the form of antisemitism that developed in German writing in the late nineteenth century: Jews, the argument went, were racially inferior and their presence was causing the degeneration of the German people and culture. The second and political element to antisemitism stemmed from antisemitic attitudes extending back to medieval times, which associated Jews with money-lending and materialism. The tendency to blame Jews for the problems of capitalism and urbanization in the late nineteenth century continued this long antisemitic tradition.¹⁸

Two important German cultural critics of the time, Paul de Lagarde and Julius Langbehn, provide useful illustrations of the formulations of

antisemitism, xenophobia, and nationalism popularized in the late nineteenth century. Their philosophies are part of a trend known as *völkisch* or Germanic ideology. Lagarde attacked both liberalism and modernity, as well as the current political state of Germany. His first concern was with modernity and urbanization; he saw this force, supposedly brought about by Jews, liberals, and academics, as leading to the spiritual decay of the German people. He called for a return to rural life and hard work to reinvigorate the Germans. Lagarde connected the city with all of the supposedly negative forces in society—capitalism, liberalism, modernity, and *Verjudung*—which led him to propose that Germans flee the city and adopt a peasant lifestyle. Lagarde was disillusioned by Bismarck's creation of the German Empire in 1871, and he dreamed of expanding Germany throughout all of the German lands, removing liberals and Jews in order to make way for the true German nation. Lagarde claimed that the presence of the Jews made German unification difficult because of their supposed connection to capitalism and liberalism.¹⁹ Lagarde thus presented an antisemitism that viewed Jews as both religiously different and threatening but also as politically dangerous because of their alleged connection to capitalism. Since he believed Jews were a separate race who needed to be evacuated from Germany, and called for a spiritual reinvigoration and purification of the German people through an escape from urban centers, his argument also clearly relies on the popular Social Darwinist philosophy of his time.

Langbehn, who also wrote in the late nineteenth century, focused particularly on an ideology of art as the means for transforming German society. He believed that only through the cultivation of true German artists and German art could a national German culture be saved from these forces. He also felt that the emphasis on training at the university was a negative force in society, and that the young should instead be encouraged to develop their physical strength and endurance. Like Lagarde, Langbehn embraced the ideal of the hard-working peasant, an idealized archetype of the German. Part of Langbehn's philosophy was that it was only the *Volk*, or the German people, who could develop this great art. As a result, Jews were seen as an enemy to the development of artistic creativity, but not Orthodox Jews, who had their own unique tradition. Rather, it was the assimilated Jews whom Langbehn saw as threatening, because they were infiltrating German society, and they needed to be removed.²⁰ Langbehn's philosophy differs from Lagarde's in that he emphasized the importance of Germanic art and differentiated between assimilated and Orthodox Jews, viewing the latter as admirable.

Völkisch ideas were adopted by antisemitic movements, Pan-Germanism, and youth movements, which were on the rise in the late nineteenth

century. Langbehn's notions of Germanic art, the importance of nature and physical strength, and the need to separate the Jews from the German *Volk* provided a model for future social movements. For example, the anti-intellectual nature-loving German Youth Movement, later known as the *Wandervögel*, clearly had its roots in Langbehn's philosophy. The youth movements were supplemented by a general institutionalization of the *völkisch* ideology developed by critics like Lagarde and Langbehn within German schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The curriculum emphasized Germanic legends, German literature, history and philosophy, and physical fitness.²¹ Young Germans attending schools and social organizations in the late nineteenth century therefore assimilated the antisemitic, antimodern, and nationalist teachings of *völkisch* ideology. The spread of racial and political antisemitism throughout German and European society led to a reaction by Jewish writers such as Herzl, who founded Zionism in response to growing antisemitism. At the same time, elements of *völkisch* ideology permeated early Zionist thought: both Nordau and Buber emphasized the importance of physical rejuvenation through agricultural labor, hence creating a Jewish version of the idealized German peasant, and Buber further praised the *Ostjuden* in particular as models for the assimilated Jews, as did Langbehn.

DEGENERATION

One of the central ideas within the developing nationalism of Europe in the late nineteenth century was degeneracy, since "foreign" elements supposedly needed to be removed in order to regenerate the people and form a strong nation. Degeneracy was also at issue within orientalist discourse, since oriental or Semitic people were presented as linguistically and racially inferior to Europeans. Antisemitism of the time also relied on the concept of degeneracy because Jews in particular were blamed for causing degeneracy within German society. This idea, which was clearly a central concern of late nineteenth-century Europe, therefore profoundly shaped the development of Zionism. One of the best-known works on the concept of degeneracy was, in fact, written by one of the first leaders of the Zionist movement, Max Nordau.²²

Nordau, a doctor and cultural critic of Jewish heritage, wrote his widely influential and seminal work *Entartung* (Degeneration) in 1892. As a result of his medical training, Nordau's approach to cultural criticism was scientific. A positivist, Nordau emphasized the importance of scientific progress, order, duty, rationality, discipline, self-restraint, and hard work.²³ Like other intellectuals of his time, Nordau was also influenced by Darwinist notions of the struggle for life, and he applied these ideas in his cultural criticism. As

a result of these ideological influences, Nordau's *Entartung* criticizes *fin-de-siècle* artistic and literary movements that he calls decadent, frivolous, and fantastical because, he believed, they threatened rationality and progress.²⁴ Among his targets are irrationalists and romantics like Wagner, Ibsen, and Nietzsche (2–15). Nordau claims that these artists suffer from degeneracy, which is expressed through abnormal physical and mental characteristics. Mental degeneracy is apparent through writing or other artistic expression that is characterized by immorality, insanity, emotionalism, or mysticism (16–22). Nordau therefore refers to late nineteenth-century art schools such as impressionism and symbolism as “association[s] of neuropaths,” rather like bands of deranged criminals. The public then becomes hysterical and obsessed with these new trends and the work of these bands of neuropaths proliferates (30–3).

According to Nordau, the greater prevalence of degeneracy in society at his time resulted from the exhaustion caused by the sudden acceleration of life under industrialization. Nordau argues that progress in the nineteenth century has overtaken humanity, and only the strongest have been able to adapt to this new and rapid pace; the rest have sunken into degeneracy. The increase in crime, insanity, and suicide indicate the greater stress in society as a result of industrialization (36–40). Nordau therefore views the artistic schools of the late eighteenth century not as “outbursts of gushing, youthful vigour” but rather the “convulsions and spasms of exhaustion” (43). The loss of “vital energy” is thus the cause of degeneration.²⁵ However, Nordau does have hope for the future; his Social Darwinist influences become evident in his claim that the healthy and normal individuals will recover from their fatigue and will persevere while the true degenerates will die out. Decadent art forms will fade out with the end of the degenerates, and classical artistic, poetic, and musical forms will be recognized as perfectly sufficient for self-expression (540–5).

While Nordau never addresses Jews or antisemitism in *Entartung*, his Jewish heritage may have influenced the position he took against modernism. Nordau embraced bourgeois values of normalcy and rationality, leading to the popularity of his book, but this tendency in his work has been attributed to his desire to be accepted into bourgeois society, in spite of being Jewish. Nordau's attack on modernism may have had other motives related to his Jewish heritage. He attempts to undermine antisemitic, *völkisch* claims that Jews are the cause of degeneracy within Germany by shifting the focus away from Jewish influences and onto decadent artistic movements. Furthermore, he recognizes these art movements as a “religious renaissance,” in which “mystical self-abandonment” was the goal. Nordau treated such ideas

with suspicion because they meant an end to the rational, Enlightenment ideals that would allow for an acceptance of the Jews into society, according to his view.²⁶ In other words, Nordau specifically feared the influences of religious mysticism, and his later Zionist writings actually transfer this dangerous mysticism onto the Eastern European Jews, or *Ostjuden*.

MASCULINITY AND THE JEWS

The Zionist movement reacted to perceptions of the Jewish people within European culture, including not only the designation as degenerate, but also the antisemitic understanding of the Jews as feminine. The idea of a masculine nationalism, while already evident in Herder's writings of the late eighteenth century, gathered in importance in the late nineteenth century with the birth of new nationalist movements, which adopted the masculine ideal of self-control, moderation, strength, and virtue as the basis for their ideology. The Jews continued to be viewed as incapable of masculine nationalism, and the Zionist movement therefore was a struggle to recuperate both masculinity and nationhood for the Jews.²⁷

The association of Jews with femininity has deep roots in European culture, but it became prominent in the late nineteenth century as part of the discussion of gender and sexuality in Vienna. One of the main figures in the debate on Jews and sexuality in Vienna was Otto Weininger, a Jewish cultural critic whose book *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Sex and Character) was published in 1903. Weininger viewed the forces of femininity and Jewishness, which he abstracted from actual women and Jews, as dangerous elements in society as a result of their uncontrolled passion. According to Weininger, Jews, by which he meant Jewish men, are thus incapable of fulfilling masculine roles, from agricultural work to military service, a stereotype which developed out of the exclusion of Jews from these roles in European society since the Middle Ages. Thus, Weininger argued, the Jews were incapable of forming their own nation or even participating as citizens.²⁸ David S. Luft argues that the intent of Weininger's writing was actually to achieve emancipation for all from the threats to rationality he saw embodied in femininity and Jewishness, but his views did not avoid an assimilation of antisemitic stereotypes of the time (46, 81–7). Herzl, who attended university in Vienna in the late nineteenth century prior to formulating his Zionist ideas, was susceptible to the discourse on Jews and sexuality in Vienna in the 1890s.²⁹ The Zionist movement can then be seen as both a response to and an internalization of this intellectual milieu.

Daniel Boyarin's reading of Zionism establishes the influence of discussions of gender and Judaism on Herzl. Boyarin argues that the Zionist

movement was an attempt to create a Jewish counterpart to masculine, German nationalism, and thus, a form of assimilation in which Jews could overcome their supposed degeneracy and femininity to become a nation.³⁰ Herzl's response to the feminization of the Jews was thus to try to posit Jews as the opposite of the stereotype. In order to be accepted as equals in European society, he felt, the Jews must prove their manhood by forming their own nation which, simultaneously, meant becoming colonizers, resulting in "masquerade colonialism, parodic mimesis of colonialism, Jews in colonialist drag, Jewish 'women' dressed up like 'men'" (309). This struggle to assimilate to European nationalist ideals led to the resurrection of strong, Biblical warriors, who had been generally ignored by rabbinical tradition, as leaders of the Zionist movement (273–4). The stereotypes of Jews as passive and feminine were thus transplanted onto the *Ostjuden* in the vocabulary of Herzl and Nordau. In fact, the tactic of the political Zionist movement was to shift negative characterizations of the Jews, such as physical weakness and femininity, onto the Eastern European Jews, in order to reclaim masculinity for the Western European Jews, who were then designated as "Zionists" (296). Hence, the creation of a masculine Jewish nationalism inherently required the negative stereotyping of the *Ostjuden*, as Herzl and Nordau's writings exemplify.

THE *OSTJUDE*

While the antisemitic stereotype of femininity was shifted onto the *Ostjuden*, the supposedly "oriental" nature of the Jews was also central to German-Jewish perceptions of *Ostjuden* and hence part of Zionist thought. Langbehn distinguished between Western, assimilated Jews and Orthodox Jews, arguing that the latter were superior because of their traditional religious practices. German Jews' impressions of their Eastern European counterparts, on the other hand, was complex and constantly developing and changing, depending on the societal circumstances of the German Jews.

The initial impression, during most of the nineteenth century, was that the *Ostjuden* were unenlightened, poor, and foreign. In the nineteenth century, many German Jews were striving for assimilation and emancipation in Germany through education in German literature and culture. As a result of their desire to be accepted into German society, German Jews began to distinguish themselves from the Jewish people of Poland and Russia, who were generally poorer and unemancipated. The Eastern European Jew thus became associated with the image of the ghetto, which was seen as dirty, poor, and overcrowded with Yiddish-speaking, religious Jews. German Jews wanted to disassociate themselves from these negative stereotypes in order to support

their own assimilation into German society. While the image of the ghetto was a stereotype of Eastern European Jewish life encouraged by German literature of the time, many of these Jews did live in poor, overcrowded conditions and suffered from religious oppression.³¹

In fact, pogroms spread across Russia in the 1880s, forcing almost three million Eastern European Jews to flee westward by 1914. Many of them came through Germany, where they received food, medical care, and sometimes employment from German-Jewish communities. While some Jewish immigrants settled in Germany and in Berlin in particular, Vienna had the largest Jewish population of any city in Central Europe by 1910 as a result of Jewish immigration from the East. The fact that these immigrants maintained their traditional style of the dress, with black caftans and hats, meant that they were recognizably different from other populations and in enough numbers that Adolf Hitler himself recalled encountering them as a young man in Vienna. The poverty and foreignness of this mass of Eastern European Jewish immigrants reinforced European stereotypes of Jews, and German Jews began to resent their presence. German Jews' attitudes towards Eastern European Jews worsened, and they blamed the *Ostjuden* for threatening their social position and for causing the rise of antisemitism.³²

This negative image of the *Ostjuden* was not only associated with poverty and lack of education, but also with an alien, oriental culture. Paul Mendes-Flohr argues that the stereotype of Jews as Asiatic, not European, appeared throughout Western European culture in the nineteenth century. The term antisemitism itself, he notes, which was coined in 1879, came from an attempt to label Jews as stemming from "oriental" origins. The writer Karl Emil Franzos (1848–1904), who was himself a Jew from Eastern Europe, played an active role in shifting the stereotype of the Jews as oriental and strange onto the *Ostjude*.³³ Franzos referred to the Eastern European ghetto as "*Halb-Asien*," which Mendes-Flohr describes as "an exotic world characterized by squalor, ignorance and superstition, and ruled by a fanatic mystical sect known as Hasidim."³⁴ According to this myth, the ghetto borrowed some Western aspects but was truly based in the Asian, uncultured, barbaric way of life. Franzos' novels were very popular and spread this stereotype of the *Ostjuden* and the ghetto throughout Europe. According to these accounts, Western Europeans began to view the *Ostjuden* not merely as uneducated and adverse to assimilation, but rather, as fundamentally different, oriental, exotic, and, most importantly, mystical and religious. These characteristics of the *Ostjuden* take a central role in the permutations of the *Ostjude* stereotype to follow. However, unlike other objects of exoticization, *Ostjuden* were living among the Western European Jews at the same place

and same time, which means that a great amount of energy was devoted to creating and maintaining this orientalized image of the *Ostjuden*.³⁵

While the German Jews were blaming the *Ostjuden* for antisemitism, the immigrants from the East were probably not the principal cause of rising antisemitism at the end of the nineteenth century. Although antisemitic propaganda did attack the *Ostjuden*, the modern, assimilated, local German Jews were ultimately viewed as a threat, because they were the ones who were seen to have economic and academic power and to be infiltrating German society.³⁶ The writings of *völkisch* thinkers de Lagarde and Langbehn illustrate this, since they associate assimilated Jews with capitalism, liberalism, and urbanization, which they blame for the economic downturn. The religious Jews of the East were even praised by Langbehn because they maintained their own customs, had “character” and deserved respect, while the assimilated Jews were “rootless” and lacked “integrity.”³⁷ While Eastern European Jewish immigrants may have contributed to negative attitudes towards Jews by World War I because of their association with socialist worker parties,³⁸ proponents of antisemitism in the late nineteenth century clearly focused their attacks on assimilated Jews. Thus, German-Jewish fears of the *Ostjuden* were most likely misplaced and instead seem to reflect a desire to disassociate themselves from negative characterizations of the Jews. These Western European Jewish prejudices formed the basis of early Zionist thought, as can be seen in the work of Herzl and Nordau. Interestingly, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the second generation of Zionists, such as Buber, adopted a more positive conception of the *Ostjuden* which comes closer to Langbehn’s own admiration of them.

THEODOR HERZL

The first prominent leaders in the Zionist movement were Theodor Herzl and Max Nordau. Herzl, who was born in Hungary but later settled in Vienna, worked as a playwright and a journalist, and became the Paris correspondent for the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* (New Free Press) in 1891. With this new perspective, at a distance from his home city, Herzl began work on his treatise, *Der Judenstaat* (1896). The text established the foundation for a concept of a Jewish state and presented suggestions for how to proceed in creating this state. Herzl also served as the organizer and key-note speaker at the First Zionist Congress in 1897 in Basel, Switzerland. He was viewed as the figurehead of the movement, the great leader who could rally his followers with rousing speeches. Nordau, who also came from Hungary and worked as a journalist in Paris, met Herzl in the 1890s and joined his cause. Already known for books

like *Entartung*, Nordau complemented Herzl by representing the intellectual, scientific, rational, and moral ideals of the movement. Nordau addressed the Zionist Congresses from 1897 through 1911 on the state of world Jewry, and these speeches, along with his essays on the subject of Zionism, established him as an important leader in the early Zionist movement.³⁹

The concept that the Jewish people are a *Volk* and should form a state originated in Herzl's thought, which he based on European understandings of the nation, such as in Fichte. Under Herzl's leadership, the Zionist movement quickly took on the shape of other nationalist movements of the time. Herzl had conceived of a "Society of Jews" to serve as a decision-making body for the Zionists, but Nordau encouraged him to transform this concept into the more democratic notion of a representative assembly. The first few congresses (1897–1899) thus succeeded in creating all of the essential elements of a nationalist movement: national heroes (Herzl and Nordau), a national anthem (*Hatikvah*), a flag, humanitarian goals, a sense of unity, and cultural celebrations. This program established the "normalcy" of Jewish nationalism as one of the many other nationalisms in Europe at the time, and thus earned Zionism legitimacy.⁴⁰

Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* (1896) presents the initial justifications for the Zionist movement and provides an interesting characterization of the place of Jews in the world. The book begins with a recognition of the problem that all Jews face: antisemitism (123, 129). He claims that emancipation and assimilation, in spite of its promise for the future of the Jewish people in Europe, has failed and has only served to suppress antisemitism, which, when it breaks out in full force again, will be much worse (129–131). Herzl goes so far as to say that "[t]he peoples with whom Jews live are all antisemites, without exception, discreetly or brazenly" (140). Antisemitism has actually succeeded in keeping the Jews together as a unified group, and therefore, assimilation is not possible, Herzl argues. The Jewish *Volk* "cannot perish, because external enemies hold it together" (132). On the other hand, there may be Jews in Western European countries who are comfortable and "assimilated," and from these people he asks nothing. Rather, his goal is to unite the "Jewish proletariat" who are landless and poor, and relocate them to a new country that they can call their own. They will build up the infrastructure of the nation, tilling the soil and building the roads and railways. The assimilated Jews need not relocate, and in fact, will benefit from not having these poor Jewish immigrants entering their countries and causing prejudice against Jews. He suggests, therefore, an emigration of the poorest Jewish populations; then the educated and wealthier Jews can decide if they also want to emigrate (133–5, 146–7). This "transformation will be gradual . . . and . . . will mark the end of antisemitism" (135).

The significance of these opening passages lies in his distinction between Eastern European Jews, who are implied by the term “landless proletariat,” and Western European Jews, who are the assimilated Jews. Herzl clearly establishes from the beginning that the goal of his proposal is to deal with the Eastern European Jewish immigrants who have been perceived as reflecting negatively on Western European Jews. He carefully distances himself, however, from Western European Jewish philanthropic efforts to transplant the immigrants to small, agricultural colonies in Palestine, and calls these people “antisemite[s] of Jewish background in disguise” (134). His intentions differ because he wants to create a nation where the poor immigrants could build a new foundation for their lives. Ostensibly, his own project is a charitable one, which could save the persecuted masses of Jews, but Herzl appeals to prejudices against Eastern European Jews to sway his readers.

Interestingly, however, his distinction between Eastern and Western European Jews varies as the text continues. While he initially claims that the goal is to establish a nation for the Jews, and that the Eastern European Jews in particular will create this nation with their own labor, his chapter on the cause of antisemitism points to the emancipation of the Jews as the problem. He claims that the sudden entry of the Jewish population into the bourgeoisie threatened the Christians and created unwanted competition, and the success of Jewish businesses made it impossible for Christians to challenge Jewish emancipation (143–5). This explanation of the cause of antisemitism conflicts with his earlier statements about the need for poor immigrants, not assimilated Jews, to emigrate to the new land. If the reason for Zionism is antisemitism, then Herzl implies in this passage that the assimilated Jews are actually in greater need of emigrating than the poor laborers. Herzl’s blurring of the differences between Western and Eastern European Jews reproduces the widespread attempt by Western European Jews to place the burden of antisemitism onto the Eastern European Jewish population. Herzl propagates this viewpoint even as he seemingly contradicts it.

Conflicts between Western and Eastern European Jewish perspectives are also central to the question of a national language, which Herzl addresses in *Der Judenstaat* and which significantly divided Western and Eastern European Jewish interests in the Zionist Congresses. Herzl embraces the idea that the Jewish state will have several national languages, just as Switzerland does. He rejects Hebrew as a common language, which European Jews generally could not speak. Furthermore, he states, “We will accustom ourselves to drop the stunted and oppressed jargons, these ghetto-languages, which we use at present. They were the secretive languages of captives” (196). He implies that Yiddish, rather than being a language unique to the Jewish people, represents

the suffering of the Jews in antisemitic lands, and is in fact an inferior “jargon,” not even a language. This characterization of Yiddish as a malignant form of German reflects antisemitic conceptions of Jews as incapable of speaking German correctly but as rather speaking in a secretive, abnormal discourse called “mauscheln.” Herzl’s condemnation of Yiddish was tied to his critique of what he called the “Mauschel,” the supposedly weak, effeminate Eastern European Jews, who needed to be replaced by the manly Zionists, based on the Germanic model. The fact that Herzl preferred German as the language of Zionism was thus not accidental. In spite of Herzl’s dismissal of Hebrew and Yiddish, the national language of the Jewish state became a highly contested issue during the Zionist Congresses.⁴¹

A second important issue in Herzl’s *Der Judenstaat* is the relationship between Jews and the native peoples of the land where the Jews’ state would be established. Herzl proposes the formation of the Jewish Company to raise money for purchasing the land. The purchase of the land is of great importance to Herzl, because he dislikes the notion of “gradual infiltration” of Jews into a country, such as the philanthropists are doing, which may cause antisemitism and resistance. Instead, Herzl would like the Jews to be granted sovereignty of a tract of land, according to the decision of governing nations (147–8). In *Der Judenstaat*, he proposes two possibilities: Argentina and Palestine. The advantage of Argentina, according to Herzl, is its size and sparse population; Herzl asks for a portion to be ceded to the Zionists for building a nation. Alternatively, he proposes Palestine, with its clear historical significance. He would request sovereignty over the land from the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, and in return the Jews would “put . . . the finances of Turkey completely in order” (148–9). The further justification for granting Palestine to the Jews would be that the Jewish nation would provide Europe with “a part of the barrier against Asia” and “would serve as the outpost of civilization against barbarism” (149). In this way, European nations would benefit from allowing the Jews to build their nation there. Furthermore, the Jewish state would be responsible for guarding “the holy places of Christendom,” which would further benefit European travelers (149).

Herzl’s comments about the settlement of Palestine have elicited negative responses in later scholarship, undoubtedly for their racist and orientalist implications. By referring to the peoples of the Middle East and Asia as barbarian hordes, Herzl adopts orientalist rhetoric in order to justify the need for a Jewish state to a European audience. Furthermore, he focuses on the protection of locations in the area that are sacred to Christians but fails to mention what will become of places holy to Muslims. In his diary entries that record his one and only trip to Palestine, Herzl further describes the

Arab native population as merely laborers for building the Jewish state. Herzl may have been aware of the racist implications of these statements, and that antisemitism was closely related to orientalist attitudes, but these words appealed to European audiences.⁴² Nina Berman recognizes Herzl's adoption of the role of a colonizer as problematic and points out that this tendency probably results from his desire to create a blueprint of modern, European society and politics in the Jewish state (287). Berman notes, "Juden werden hier in europäische Traditionen gestellt, als Alliierte der Christen gegen die Muslime" (288).⁴³ The Zionism of Herzl, in other words, develops out of the European concepts of nationalism, imperialism, and orientalism, and bases its legitimacy on this vocabulary.

Other passages in Herzl's diaries and works, however, suggest greater sensitivity toward native populations. Herzl considered many different locations for the Jewish state, and by the time of his death in 1904 he had not determined that Palestine was the best place to establish the nation. It was the Zionist Congress, in fact, that rejected his various suggestions, and the congress after Herzl's death, in 1905, firmly decided that Palestine was the only option. Furthermore, Herzl's writings after *Der Judenstaat* suggest an increasing concern about not disrupting the rights of the native populations, wherever the Jewish state was formed.⁴⁴ Since Herzl was not convinced that Palestine was the correct choice of a location for the Jewish state, and since he apparently was concerned about the rights of native populations, his position as merely one of the many would-be colonizers of the Middle East is questionable. However, Herzl's adoption of orientalist and imperialist discourse to explain and justify the right of a Jewish state can not be denied.

Herzl's reliance on his intellectual context in the writing of *Der Judenstaat* is evident in his adoption of German nationalist ideals, prejudices against Eastern European Jews, and orientalist rhetoric. His idea of creating a Jewish national state was clearly inspired by the development of many nationalisms in the late nineteenth century, and Zionism thus responded to antisemitism by proposing a means to transform the Jewish people into one of the many European nations. His understanding of the Jewish people as a *Volk* and a nation specifically developed out of the definition of these concepts within the German nationalist tradition. In this way, Herzl used the European, and specifically German, model of a nation when envisioning Zionism. Herzl presents his Jewish nationalist movement as a way of saving oppressed Eastern European Jews, but he tries to convince his Western European audience of this by relying on stereotypes of poor Eastern European Jewish immigrants. Furthermore, Herzl's adoption of orientalist rhetoric becomes clear when he explains that a Jewish nation in Palestine would benefit European imperialism

and would protect against the dangers of the Arab world. Herzl's Zionism thus laid out a self-contradictory program of colonization/emancipation and assimilation/self-determination that mobilized the very antisemitic and orientalist rhetoric that also justified the liberation movement.

MAX NORDAU

Nordau, while coming out of his own unique program of cultural criticism, as represented by *Entartung* (1892), similarly sets up a distinction between Western and Eastern European Jewish experience in his Zionist writing. Nordau's presentation of the *Ostjuden* differs from Herzl's, however, because he relies on the vocabulary of his own work on degeneration. The connection between Nordau's cultural criticism and Zionist writing has long been debated. Nordau himself attributed his sudden interest in the situation of the Jews to the rise of antisemitism, presumably in relation to the Dreyfus Affair. Nordau came from an Orthodox Jewish family in Pest, Hungary; his father was a rabbi. But he rejected this identity and moved west, changing his name from Simon Südfeld to Max Nordau and embracing assimilation, liberalism, and Enlightenment principles. While his liberal viewpoint influenced his attack on modernism in *Entartung*, Nordau suddenly criticized these principles in his address at the First Zionist Congress in 1897, claiming that the emancipation of the Jews has not been successful because it was based on rational principles rather than the true feelings of the Europeans.⁴⁵ P. M. Baldwin argues that Nordau's switch from liberalism to nationalism was a conscious abrupt switch, and that Nordau realized the incongruence between the two phases of his thought (108–9). He maintains that Nordau viewed Zionism as a solution to the degeneration of emancipated, Western European Jews and that he felt that Zionism could return lost “vital energy” to the Jewish people (112–3). While the idea that the Jews needed to be reinvigorated appears in his Zionist writings, I argue that Nordau's references to degeneration in these Zionist works do not identically match his definition in *Entartung* and that his concerns for revitalization focus not on the Western European Jews but on the Eastern European Jews.

Nordau's speech on the state of world Jewry at the First Zionist Congress in 1897, published in his *Zionistische Schriften* (Zionist Writings), establishes his conception of the very different situations of Western and Eastern European Jews. He describes the Eastern European Jews as relegated to the ghetto as a result of antisemitism and argues that their poverty and lack of civil rights justify the need to save them through a nationalist movement.⁴⁶ Nordau's later essay “Der Zionismus” (1902) makes further distinctions between

Western and Eastern European Jews that associate his earlier work on degeneration with his Zionist thought. He explains that solutions to the problem of the Jewish diaspora have changed over time, but that political Zionism provides a concrete, rational answer to the problem of the diaspora. At first, religious messianism instilled the belief that Jews would one day return to the homeland through the coming of the Messiah. In the late eighteenth century, Enlightenment philosopher Moses Mendelssohn encouraged assimilation, which eventually led to the creation of Reform Judaism. According to Nordau, this second trend erased the idea of Jews as an ethnic or national group in order to justify assimilation (19–21). Political Zionism responded to both of these trends and specifically rejected religious messianism because political Zionism “aller Mystik entsagt” and “die Rückkehr nach Palästina nicht von einem Wunder erwartet, sondern sie durch eigene Anstrengung vorbereiten will” (22).⁴⁷ Hard work will bring the Jews out of the diaspora, not religious fanaticism. Nordau continues this criticism of mysticism when he discusses the situation of most Jews in the world. He notes that the “ungebildete, an alten Traditionen hängende Menge” is ruled by “mystischen Tendenzen” and “religiösen Emotionen” (24–5). Their understanding of the Zionism introduced by the “gebildeten und freien Juden” is therefore tainted by these messianic beliefs, which he attributes to their suffering under antisemitism and poverty (24–5).⁴⁸ Nordau clearly distinguishes between the educated, rational Western European Jews who created political Zionism and the poor, religious Eastern European Jews.⁴⁹ While Herzl appeals to prejudices against the *Ostjuden* to justify his cause, Nordau’s repetition of mysticism in connection with the Eastern European Jews implies his own criticism of this group. In *Entartung*, Nordau attacks artistic and philosophical trends that are based on irrationality and emotionalism, and by labeling Eastern European Jews with the same tendencies, he links the Eastern European Jews with degeneracy.

Nordau does point out, however, that the Eastern European Jews have already been organizing themselves, beginning with the outbreak of pogroms in the 1880s. Leo Pinsker, a Russian-Jewish doctor, responded to this catastrophe by writing *Autoemanzipation* (1882), generally regarded as the first Zionist text (26). Pinsker recognized the persecution of Jews everywhere, and he proposed that the Jewish people should form their own nation to end the oppression. Young Jews in Eastern and Western Europe alike rose to his words, forming Zionist societies and establishing small settlements in Palestine.⁵⁰ However, Nordau returns to his criticism of these uneducated masses by explaining that these groups had little understanding of the significance of their own movement, which was based on “dunklen Gefühle” such as “Frömmigkeit” and “archäologisch-historische Sentimentalität,” and a leader like

Herzl was needed to voice the call for a state (27).⁵¹ Ultimately, like Herzl, Nordau stresses that the Eastern European Jews need to be rescued by the Western European Jews. He states toward the end of “Der Zionismus” that some 2 million of the Jews in Europe are assimilated and may be happy where they are, but 10 million “fühlen sich in ihrem Aufenthaltsorte sehr unglücklich” (36). The Zionists “wollen acht bis zehn Millionen ihrer Stammgenossen aus unerträglicher Not retten” (37),⁵² hence supporting Herzl’s claim that Zionism is only striving to rescue the Eastern European Jewish population.

In addition to connecting Eastern European Jews with mysticism and a lack of education, Nordau also expresses a concern about physical regeneration. He stresses the importance of a reinvigoration of Jews in the ghettos through physical labor.⁵³ His famous call for *Muskeljudentum* (muscle Judaism) at the Zionist Congress of 1898, and recorded in an essay in 1900, laments the supposed destruction of Jewish bodies in the ghettos. He argues that the ghetto has prevented freedom of movement and access to light, air, water, and ground (424). Jews were once strong and brave, he states, and he refers to the Bar Kochba revolt, which he sees as representative of the last Jewish warriors (425). Nordau therefore views physical exercise as necessary for Jews to return to this ideal. He praises the rise of Jewish athletic clubs and presents them as models for all Jews (426). Zionism specifically offers this return to health through the hard labor needed to build the Jewish nation.⁵⁴ While Nordau refers to Jews in general, he implies that his concern is for those Jews who are continuing to live in ghettos in Eastern Europe. The idea that Eastern European Jews have little energy because they live in the oppressive, constrained atmosphere of the ghetto interestingly resembles his discussion in *Entartung* of *fin-de-siècle* Europeans who have lost their vitality. However, ghetto Jews are not “degenerate” in the same way as Europeans who have been exhausted by industrialization and modernization. Therefore, Nordau may be similarly stressing the importance of revitalization, but the *Ostjuden* are not “degenerate” in the way Nordau defined it earlier. Rather, Nordau’s conceptions of the importance of exercise for the Jews relate to Herder’s own account of the Jews as a degenerate group with an admirable history in the Bible.

In a 1902 essay entitled “Was bedeutet das Turnen für uns Juden?” (“What Does Gymnastics Mean for the Jews?”), Nordau reaffirms antisemitic stereotypes of Jews as he further develops his program of physical activity. He recognizes that antisemites view Jews as physically weak and incompetent, and he states that Jews have internalized these beliefs about themselves. However, Nordau claims, Jews simply lack physical training. In fact, they are more capable of becoming greater athletes than non-Jews because intelligence,

which is a trait always attributed to Jews by antisemites, truly controls muscle activity, and therefore Jews have the potential. As a result, the added benefit of the physical regeneration of the Jewish population would be improved self-esteem, since athleticism is valued in European society (428–32). As Ingrid Spoerk has noted, Nordau's argument remains entirely within the framework of antisemitism even as he attempts to undermine it. While Nordau identifies that the conception of Jews as weak is part of antisemitic rhetoric, he seems to be accepting this as truth. He also concedes that Jews have great intelligence, and that this is even an innate, natural characteristic.⁵⁵

Nordau's argument for physical regeneration not only confirms antisemitic views of the Jews as weak and sickly but also draws on German nationalist discourse of his time. The achievement of spiritual improvement through physical improvement had been promoted by Friedrich "Turnvater" Jahn, but with specifically antisemitic overtones.⁵⁶ The Jewish *Turnvereine* (gymnastics clubs) that Nordau promoted, named after historical Jewish heroes like Bar Kochba, thus created the Jewish equivalents of the virile, athletic German-Christian ideal man.⁵⁷ Nordau's argument also has affinities with the work of *völkisch* philosophers Lagarde and Langbehn. Both Lagarde and Langbehn rejected the stifling city in favor of labor on German soil, just as Nordau claimed that Jews must return to physical labor in the creation of the Jewish state. Lagarde considered the Germans to be spiritually decaying and in dire need of revitalization, which Nordau similarly claimed for the Jewish people. Hence, Nordau's association of the Jewish people with a loss of vitality is informed by antisemitic thought and conceptions of degeneration in *völkisch* philosophy.

Nordau's claim that ghetto life causes the loss of energy, implying that Eastern European Jews are particularly susceptible to physical weakness, contradicts the fact that the impoverished Eastern European Jews would have been more likely to be manual laborers than the assimilated Jews of the West.⁵⁸ Herzl himself recognizes that the concept that Jews are only fit to work in finances is untrue: "[i]n the countries of Eastern Europe there are large masses of Jews who are not merchants and who do not recoil from hard physical work" (185). Eastern European Jews were therefore perhaps less likely to be physically degenerate than their Western European counterparts. Furthermore, Nordau's adoption of this direction leads him to diverge from his earlier work. While *Entartung* suggests that the industrialized, fast-paced Western European milieu is degenerate, by 1902 Nordau seems to be pointing to Jews isolated in the Eastern European ghettos as the ones in need of revitalization. This line of thought may be explained by the fact that it supports Herzl's own argument that the purpose of Zionism is to save the

Ostjuden. The logical progression of Nordau's thought, that the degenerate, assimilated Western European Jews need to be reinvigorated by their Eastern European counterparts, was actually disseminated by the later generation of Zionists, as represented by Martin Buber.

The second significant issue in Nordau's thought, as in Herzl's, is his attitude toward the Arabs of Palestine. Similar to Herzl, Nordau's speeches and writings use orientalist rhetoric in relation to Palestine. In his speech at the Eighth Zionist Congress in 1907, Nordau clarified that the Jewish settlement of Palestine would bring European culture and civilization to the "inferior" Middle East:

Wir würden uns bemühen, in Vorderasien zu tun, was die Engländer in Indien getan haben,—ich meine die Kulturarbeit, nicht die Herrschaft;—wir gedenken, nach Palästina als Bringer von Gesittung zu kommen und die moralischen Grenzen Europas bis an den Euphrat hinauszurücken. (176)⁵⁹

Nordau's clarification of various colonized peoples as "uncivilized" embraces categorizations of Europeans by philologists of the nineteenth century as superior to other peoples. Furthermore, Nordau likens Zionism to European imperialism; he aspires to the model that the British have already provided. The Jews, like other European colonizers, would civilize the world with European morals and culture. Nordau augments Herzl's offer for the Jewish state to serve as a European outpost in the Middle East in a later speech in Great Britain after the Balfour Declaration in 1917, in which he assured the British that the Jews will protect the Suez Canal for them, thus indicating that the Jewish state would further not only European culture but also European imperialist control of the region. Nordau's position, which was to be the Zionist standpoint until World War II, was that the Arabs of Palestine had their own individual civil rights, but they had no collective rights as a people to their homeland.⁶⁰ Herzl and Nordau's writings may merely reflect the orientalist vocabulary in Europe at the time, but their language is at odds with Zionism's emancipationist intent.

Nordau's grounding in the intellectual tradition of his time is apparent in several significant ways. While Herzl makes statements that reflect the reported Western European Jewish dislike for the Eastern European Jewish immigrants, Nordau specifically adopts the stereotype of the *Ostjuden* as religious and mystical, which he views unfavorably. He also expands on this stereotype by presenting Jews in ghettos as physically weakened. Nordau's solution for the physical degeneracy of the Jews, and Eastern European Jews

in particular, relies on antisemitic notions of Jewish capabilities and *völkisch* programs of revitalization. The author of *Entartung* makes use of concepts of degeneracy in these Zionist works, but he appears to transfer the location of degeneracy away from industrialized centers and into the isolated world of the Jewish ghetto. Finally, Nordau, like Herzl, uses imperialist rhetoric in his Zionist writings, suggesting his similar recognition of the importance of appealing to Western European audiences. Both Nordau and Herzl intended to promote a movement to emancipate the Jews, and *Ostjuden* in particular, from the bonds of antisemitism, oppression, and poverty. However, the anti-semitic and orientalist intellectual climate that catalyzed the Zionist movement also ironically permeated the vocabulary of political Zionism.

MARTIN BUBER

Martin Buber is representative of a shift in Zionism toward cultural Zionism in the early 1900s, which moved the focus away from a secular, nationalist program to a cultural reawakening through exposure to the Eastern European Jewish lifestyle and the land of Palestine. The rise of cultural Zionism transformed the stereotype of the *Ostjude* into a positive, spiritual model who could help assimilated Western European Jews return to their religious roots. Cultural Zionism's desire for a return to an "authentic" Judaism corresponded with a general increase in interest in irrationality, romanticism, and fascination with the Orient and Eastern religious teachings at the turn of the century, the same trends that Nordau resisted in *Entartung* and his Zionist writings. The development in interest in the Orient thus allowed Western European Jews the chance to rediscover their relationships with the *Ostjuden* and their "oriental" heritage. This emphasis, however, existed simultaneously with Herzl and Nordau's political Zionism, and was one of many factions working together to promote Zionist ideology through the Zionist congresses.⁶¹

Buber's writings and addresses on the reinvigoration of Jewish spirituality led him to appear at the forefront of the cultural Zionist movement. Born in Vienna in 1878, he was raised by his grandparents in Lvov in Galicia, where he was greatly influenced by his grandfather, a well-known Jewish scholar. In the early 1900s, Buber rewrote Hasidic tales in German in which he glorified Eastern European Jewish mysticism, spirituality, and myths, hence modifying Jewish religion by rejecting rabbinical rules and celebrating a fundamental, Jewish spirituality. The idealized and mystical figures of Buber's tales had little to do with Eastern European Jews in reality, but Buber created an association between the Eastern European Jews and this religious authenticity that appealed to intellectual, Western European Jews. In the

1910s, Buber delivered a series of addresses in Prague and Berlin that called upon Western European Jews to become conscious of their inner spirit and restart the struggle for unity between God and the world. These addresses profoundly influenced young Jews at the time, including Franz Kafka, who heard him speak in Prague, as well as Arnold Zweig.⁶²

Buber's address from 1912 "Der Geist des Orients und das Judentum" ("The Spirit of the Orient and Judaism") in particular, explains his understanding of the importance of the Jew as oriental, the *Ostjude*, and the Orient in the renewal of Judaism. This lecture explains the "oriental" nature of Jews and the Jewish religion, as well as identifying what factors led to an apparent stagnation of Judaism and what can be done to reactivate it. From the beginning of the address, Buber clearly identifies Jews as "Oriental types" like the people of India or China. He characterizes the "Oriental type" as one ruled by his "motor faculties" rather than the "sensory faculties" of the "Occidental type," which means that an Oriental's physical actions connect his soul, his body, and his natural surroundings seamlessly without the mediation of sensory perception.⁶³ Secondly, the Oriental "carries . . . truth in the essence of his being, finding it in the world by giving it to the world" (60). Thirdly, the Oriental understands that the world is not yet unified, but rather is in a "state of duality," and the Oriental must make use of his motor faculties in the struggle for the unification of the spiritual and the physical worlds. Buber claims that, while the Jewish people flourished both spatially and temporally between the Orient and the Occident, the Jew is the epitome of the "Oriental type," and Judaism expresses the most advanced form of the Asiatic religions, which teach how to strive for unity. Since Jews contain the duality of the world within themselves, they have the power to bring about change in the world through the decision to do so (60–5).

Buber also addresses how the spiritual process of Judaism was hindered, and how the struggle for unity can be reactivated. He explains that the fall of the Second Temple forced the Jewish people into exile, tearing them from their homeland and ending their spiritual progress (71). Since Judaism was originally an agrarian religion, which "taught rootedness in one's native land . . . and the building of a model human community on the scanty Canaanite soil," Buber argues that detachment from the native land, the soil, and agrarian life stunted religious development (72–3). The religion became fossilized in rabbinical laws, he states, which try to preserve Judaism rather than promote creativity and change. Despite this repressive force, original, natural Judaism has appeared in religious movements like Messianism, mysticism, and Hasidism (74–5). Hence, Buber claims that the key to reinvigorating Jewish spirituality is within the Jews themselves. "For the Jew has remained

an Oriental,” and thus continues to embody the motor faculties and the drive for unification (75–6). Interestingly, Buber offers the *Ostjuden* as proof of this continuity in the Jewish soul: “. . . all these traits still live, and can be recognized from afar, in Eastern Europe’s Jewish masses, who are . . . rich in the power of an original ethos and a spirit of immediacy” (76). He characterizes a Hasidic Jew at prayer: “to watch him as he prays to his God, shaken by his fervor, expressing with his whole body what his lips are saying—a sight both grotesque and sublime . . . here, stunted and distorted yet unmistakable, is Asiatic strength and Asiatic inwardness” (76). The *Ostjude* as the embodiment of a foreign, mystical religious power is an important image in the characterization of the *Ostjuden* as “oriental.” Furthermore, this oriental spirit, which is still within all Jews, will benefit from reaching its homeland: “[o]nce it comes into contact with its maternal soil, it will once more become creative” (77). Buber further proposes the promotion of understanding between Orientals and Occidentals, and he identifies the Jews as the ultimate mediators between Orient and Occident, and Jerusalem as the location for the meeting of East and West (78). Hence, Buber is not only pointing out the centrality of Jerusalem and Palestine in Jewish spiritual development, but also that the solution of the Jewish people’s dilemma may solve long-term conflicts between the Orient and the Occident.

Buber’s lecture, which is representative of his ideas expressed during this period, identifies three key elements—Jewish people’s inner “oriental” nature, the Eastern European Jewish model, and the Jewish settlement of the land of Palestine—in the struggle for the reawakening of Jewish spirituality. The Jewish people, he claims, are fundamentally an oriental people and their religion is of oriental origin. Their “oriental” character is marked by an inner spirituality and connection with nature which, when reactivated, could spur the unification of the spiritual and the physical, God and the world. The Eastern European Jews have clearly maintained this “oriental” nature, as evidenced in their practice of mysticism and Hasidism, but this spirituality still exists in assimilated Western European Jews, as well, and must simply be rediscovered. The settlement of Palestine and the renewal of agrarian life would be essential in the reinvigoration of Jewish spirituality, since the separation of the Jewish people from their homeland led to the stagnation of Judaism, according to Buber. Hence, Buber sees the future of Jewish religiosity in the labeling of Jews as Orientals, in the model of the *Ostjuden*, and in the reconnection of Jews with their homeland in the Orient.

Buber’s choice of the *Ostjuden* as the model for Jewish spirituality relies on the nineteenth-century stereotyping of Jews, and particularly Eastern European Jews, as “oriental,” as previously discussed.⁶⁴ Buber, in contrast

to Herzl and Nordau, represents the next stage in the development of the *Ostjude* stereotype, where the *Ostjude* comes to represent the more authentic Jew who serves as a model for assimilated Western European Jews. Nordau's critique of *Ostjuden* as religious and mystical becomes a positive quality for Buber that can help reinvigorate the spirituality of the Jews of the West, and Nordau's call for the physical rejuvenation of the Jews is particularly focused, for Buber, on the return to agricultural work in Palestine, which will in turn positively affect Jewish spirituality. Thus, Buber does accept the oriental nature of the *Ostjuden*, but he does not embrace the stereotype of femininity, instead also focusing on the development of strength through physical labor. This continuity between Nordau's *Muskeljude* and Buber's *Ostjude* suggests that Buber is still accepting antisemitic perceptions of Jews as lacking vitality. As Sander Gilman states, Buber's depiction of Jewish identity is "the standard paradigm of Jewish uniqueness presented by racial anti-Semites given a positive value."⁶⁵ In this way, Buber reverses the political Zionist critique of the *Ostjuden* as the problem that must be solved through Zionism, by instead arguing that the *Ostjuden* are actually the solution to the problems facing the assimilated Western European Jews, but Buber has simply reorganized the same antisemitic stereotypes of Jews as oriental, mystical, and degenerate used by political Zionism.

Furthermore, Buber's characterization of "Orientals" and "Occidentals" mirrors the distinction made between Semites and Europeans by the philologists who were the source of orientalist discourse. Although Buber again reverses the value of this dichotomy, he furthers the orientalist claim that the Orientals have fundamental, biological differences from the Occidentals. Buber's considerations of the Orient were particularly influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche, whose mark appears on Buber's writings from this period.⁶⁶ Cultural Zionism in general was shaped by Nietzsche's ideas of cultural regeneration and creative renewal, hence transforming Nietzsche's plan for a German renaissance into a Jewish one.⁶⁷ In 1903, Fabius Schach's submission to the Zionist journal *Ost und West* (East and West) explained the potential for rejuvenation through the following distinction between the *Ostjuden* and the Western European Jews:

"Der Osten hat einen Schatz von Wärme, Kraft und Leidenschaft. Er kann auf den Westen erfrischend und verjüngend wirken. Er kann die noch vorhandenen Keime zu neuem Leben erwecken und neue Kräfte entfalten. Der Westen hat eine harmonische, gediegene Bildung, einen Sinn für Ordnung und Organisation, für gesellschaftliches und soziales Leben. Er kann auf den Osten regulierend, zähmend und erziehend

wirken. Er kann die hier brach liegenden Kräfte nutzbar machen, die Leidenschaften in den Dienst der Vernunft stellen.”⁶⁸

Gert Mattenklott has identified the exchange between the passionate *Ostjuden* and the organized, educated Western European Jews as resembling the mutually beneficial coexistence of the Dionysian and the Apollonian in Nietzsche’s thought (296). In contrast, Buber’s application of the Dionysian/Apollonian distinction does not encourage mutual exchange between the Eastern and Western European Jews. The Oriental, for Buber, is the active, life-giving force, while the Occidental is ruled by the senses, which does indeed mirror the Dionysian/Apollonian distinction, but the two forces interact differently in his thought.⁶⁹ Buber’s criticism of rabbinic Judaism as destroying the life-giving quality of original Jewish spirituality, which he sees as still embodied in Hasidism, has been read as the problem of the triumph of the Apollonian over the Dionysian.⁷⁰ The crushing of the Dionysian by the Apollonian is similarly depicted in Buber’s presentation of all Jews as embodying the spiritual, reinvigorating Dionysian element and his argument that this force must be released from the hardening caused by Western European assimilation. Thus, Buber participates in an orientalist distinction between an irrational, life-giving East and a rational West through the filter of the Nietzschean concepts of the Dionysian and the Apollonian. His valuing of the Semitic peoples and the Orient, however, does not significantly challenge the orientalist dichotomy.

While Buber’s positive depiction of the *Ostjuden* attempted to counteract political Zionist perspectives with questionable results, his struggle for the rights of Arabs in Palestine represents an open criticism of orientalist thought. His addresses in the 1910s were a call to assimilated Jews to rediscover their oriental roots, but he became increasingly concerned with the fate of the Arabs after World War I. The intent of Buber’s ethical and socialist nationalism, which he called Hebrew humanism, was to integrate both his spiritual and political goals. In 1919, Buber wrote an essay entitled “Vor der Entscheidung” (“Before the Decision”) in response to negotiations about the future of Palestine at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.⁷¹ In the essay, Buber voices his concerns that Zionism is becoming implicated in the imperialist enterprise of the European nations negotiating at the conference, and he argues that “[w]e must . . . make it clear that we have nothing to do with [the League of Nations’] present system of values, with imperialism masquerading as humanitarianism.” He instead calls for a recognition of the rights of all peoples: “Can Jewry be truly liberated so long as Judaism’s unswerving demand for justice and truth for *all* nations is shouldered out of the way?” Furthermore, he specifically addresses the need to recognize the rights of the

Arabs in Palestine in the formation of a Jewish settlement, calling for “a lasting and amicable agreement with the Arabs in all aspects of public life” and “an all embracing, fraternal solidarity with the Arabs.”⁷² Buber’s clear message in the essay is that Zionism must not participate in the nationalism and imperialism of Europe and that a Jewish settlement of Palestine must involve the interests of the Arabs as well.

In the 1920s, Buber struggled to convince the Zionist movement to recognize his concerns about the rights of Arabs. In March 1920, Buber founded the *Hitachdut*, a world union of socialist Zionist organizations, and in 1921, on behalf of *Hitachdut*, he proposed a resolution on the Arab issue at the Twelfth Zionist Congress, which had particularly come to the fore as a result of the Arab uprising of May 1920. Buber strove to establish a clear link between the development of socialist, communal settlements in Palestine and cooperation with the Arabs in Palestine.⁷³ Buber’s resolution set forth socialist goals for Zionism, that of allowing for the “productive work of free individuals upon a commonly owned soil,” and denied any imperialist, oppressive, or capitalist intentions. He called for “a just alliance with the Arab peoples” and the possibility for their “unhampered independent development” in the land of Palestine.⁷⁴ While the Congress agreed to sign such a resolution, they did so only after Buber’s original statement was revised and diluted to the point that the resolution became more of an indictment of the recent Arab violence. In 1925, Buber became a part of *Brit Shalom* (Covenant of Peace), an organization that focused on the promotion of Jewish-Arab understanding and a binational state. Only lasting from 1925 to 1933, the organization included prominent Jewish philosophers and Zionists such as Ahad Ha’am and Gershom Scholem. While *Brit Shalom* was criticized in the Hebrew press in Palestine, leaders of the political Zionist movement such as Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion also advocated binationalism in the early 1930s, but the idea was never seriously pursued. Toward the end of the 1920s, Buber became increasingly disenchanted with Zionist politics and instead preferred to focus on the question of Arab and Jewish peace in the Middle East through organizations such as *Brit Shalom*.⁷⁵ Buber’s devotion to these issues continued after he settled in Palestine in 1938.

As George Mosse and Daniel Boyarin have remarked, the choice facing those stereotyped as unmanly is to either define themselves in opposition to the stereotype or to recuperate the stereotype and give it a positive value. One can never escape from the confines of the stereotype, but as Boyarin suggests, one can make the “ethically superior” choice.⁷⁶ The early Zionist movement exemplifies not only this negotiation between masculinity and femininity, but also between orientalism and antisemitism. Herzl and Nordau

responded to the feminization of the Jews by attempting to assimilate to the masculine ideal and by shifting the stereotype onto the *Ostjuden*, who then became the objects of the re-masculinization project. Simultaneously, Herzl and Nordau had to contend with the antisemitic stereotyping of the Jews as oriental, but their response was again to adopt orientalist rhetoric in their portrayal of both the *Ostjuden* and the Arabs of Palestine. The political Zionist movement thus failed to recognize the inextricability of orientalism and antisemitism. Instead, Herzl and Nordau's nationalist program attempted to separate orientalism from antisemitism, Jews from Arabs, and Western European Jews from Eastern European Jews. They did not identify the contradiction in responding to the injustices of antisemitism by adopting European imperialist rhetoric. Buber's response in some ways represents the opposite, and perhaps "ethically superior," approach, by recasting the stereotype of the Jews as oriental with a positive value, and furthermore, by rejecting an imperialist stance towards the Arabs of Palestine. Buber, however, resembles Herzl and Nordau in his acceptance of the masculine ideal, although he infuses the *Ostjuden* with this manly potential. The following chapter addresses two German-Jewish authors who responded to the Zionist movement by further developing Buber's ideas, not only insisting on the connection between orientalism and antisemitism, but also rejecting the masculine *Muskeljude* in favor of ambiguously gendered figures associated with the *Ostjude*.

Chapter Two

The Orient, Homosexuality, and the Allure of the Transvestite: Arnold Zweig and Else Lasker-Schüler Rewrite Zionism

The first chapter has established the complexity of the language of the Zionist movement, which mobilized orientalist rhetoric for the purposes of an emancipationist movement to free the Jews of Eastern Europe from oppression. The following chapter considers the continuation of this duality in the writing of two German-Jewish authors who criticized Zionism and attempted to create their own visions of Jewish-Arab relations in Palestine through their literature. Both Arnold Zweig (1887–1968) and Else Lasker-Schüler (1869–1945) are indebted to orientalist themes but also strive to disrupt Zionist and orientalist discourse by challenging the dominance of European masculinity. Both achieve this by employing border figures based on the stereotype of the *Ostjude* who symbolize the potential for cultural and/or political coalition between Jews and Arabs.

The origin of the power of these intermediary figures in Zweig and Lasker-Schüler's work derives from the supposed collusion of Judaism, homosexuality, and the Orient in challenging the masculine ideal promoted by European nationalism in the late nineteenth century. Masculinity was believed to be endangered by any groups or individuals labeled as sexual degenerates because they confused male and female distinctions and were prone to excessive passion. Jews and gays were said to belong to this category because of their supposed position between masculinity and femininity. Furthermore, the sexualized, degenerate "Oriental" of the European imagination was believed to threaten European male supremacy abroad. As a result, the idea of the Orient itself similarly functioned to displace the dominance of the European masculine ideal. Since the Jewish people in Europe were stereotyped as both oriental and as having an uncertain gender, they embodied

all that was opposed to European masculinity. The allure and threat of Judaism, homosexuality, and the Orient hence originated in their reputed power to disrupt boundaries between binary categories such as feminine/masculine and West/East. Border crossings, whether related to gender, sexuality, ethnicity, or geography, thus necessarily elicited both fascination and fear from the European male nationalist and orientalist. Figures on the border have been defined by Marjorie Garber as “transvestite,” because they create a “third” category within a binary construction, therefore disrupting cultural assumptions and allowing for “border crossings from one . . . category to another” (11, 16). Katrin Sieg alternatively uses the term “ethnic drag” to describe a figure who destabilizes binary categories (3). The categorical crisis of the “transvestite” or of one in “ethnic drag” thus serves as a form of resistance to European nationalism and imperialism. In sum, the challenge to European masculine subjectivity that was believed to come from Jews, gays, and the Orient, or the combination of these elements, stems specifically from the association with a transvestite or intermediary position between masculine and feminine ideals. As discussed in the previous chapter, the stereotype of the oriental, feminized Jew was transferred onto the *Ostjude* in Theodor Herzl and Max Nordau’s own Zionist writings, and Nordau’s call for *Muskeljuden* represents a direct adoption of the manly ideal promoted by European nationalism, since he rejected the stereotypically weak and feminized *Ostjude* in favor of remasculinized Jews who could form their own nation after the European model.¹

The stereotype of Jews and gays as dangerously unmanly, the association of the Orient with alluring yet threatening sexuality and transvestism, and the translation of the European masculine ideal into political Zionism’s *Muskeljuden* all inform the novel *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (1932; *De Vriendt Returns Home*) by Arnold Zweig. The novel emerges within this context of orientalism, Zionism, antisemitism, and homophobia but begins to undermine and disrupt these discourses in order to present a new vision of the future of Zionism. Zweig’s concern is how to resolve the conflicts between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, and his novel proposes a new model for the peaceful coexistence of Jews and Arabs by subverting stereotypical representations of Jews, gays, and the Orient. The novel, I argue, presents two central characters, who equally but differently represent Zweig’s proposed transformation in Zionism. The eponymous character, Isaac Josef de Vriendt, is an Orthodox Jew who resists political Zionism in favor of a Jewish-Arab political coalition as well as engaging in a same-sex relationship with a young Arab boy. De Vriendt recuperates all of the supposed threats to the European masculine subject inherent in the *Ostjude* stereotype—Judaism, homosexuality, and the Orient—and recreates

Garber's "third" as a figure who not only breaks down the divisions in Palestine but also offers mediation between opposing sides. The second character is Mendel Glass, an Eastern European Jewish immigrant who represents the Zionist ideal of a *Landarbeiter* (agricultural laborer), but Glass's moral ambiguity brings into question Zionism's appropriation of the masculine ideal. Zweig resists his cultural context in the form of these two characters, radically challenging masculine, political Zionism in favor of a new Jewish nationalism that affirms Jews, Arabs, and gays. Finally, I propose an alternative, female version of Zweig's transvestite Zionist hero in Else Lasker-Schüler's Muslim princess Tino in *Die Nächte der Tino von Bagdad* (1907; *The Nights of Tino of Bagdad*), who similarly subverts Zionism and male orientalist authority in order to envision harmony between Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

The vision of hope and unity in Palestine that Zweig expresses in *De Vriendt kehrt heim* developed out of over twenty years of writing on Western and Eastern European Jews, Zionism, and Palestine. During this period of time, his intellectual exchange with Martin Buber, a leader in the cultural Zionist movement, served as one of his greatest influences, and the following chapter first addresses Zweig's dialogue with Buber in forming his view of the future of Palestine. Zweig's exchange with Buber in the 1910s and 1920s reveals the development of Zweig's ideas in relationship to Buber's cultural Zionism. They discussed the direction of political Zionism, the need for the rejuvenation of the Jewish people, the importance of the *Ostjuden* in this enterprise, and the dilemma of the Arabs in Palestine. The first part of the chapter considers the published correspondence between Zweig and Buber from Buber's *Briefwechsel aus sieben Jahrhunderten* (*Correspondence from Seven Centuries*) as well as their unpublished letters held in the Arnold-Zweig-Archiv at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin in order to clarify their exchange of ideas on the Jew as oriental, the future of the *Ostjuden*, the settlement of Palestine, and the dangers of Jewish nationalism. Zweig's letters participate in the orientalization of the Jewish people inherent in cultural Zionism but also express ethical and socialist concerns central to Buber's thought. In contrast, *Das ostjüdische Antlitz* (1920; *The Face of Eastern European Jewry*) avoids Zweig's more liberal ideas and conceives of the *Ostjuden*, the need for the rejuvenation of Judaism, and the settlement of Palestine in a way that reveals the influence of orientalist and antisemitic rhetoric. *Das neue Kanaan* (1924; *The New Canaan*), Zweig's utopian conception of a Jewish settlement, furthers the development of his ideas concerning the Jew as oriental and the importance of land and labor, but begins to resist orientalist depictions of the Jewish people and reiterates his challenge of imperialist discourse in his discussion of the plight of the Arabs in Palestine. Zweig's ideas began

to diverge from Buber's over the course of the 1910s and 1920s, and I argue that *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (1932) represents an original reformulation of these earlier writings on the *Ostjude*, the Orient, and the future of Zionism.

ZWEIG AND BUBER'S CORRESPONDENCE

In late 1912, Zweig, inspired by Buber's writings on Judaism and Zionism, initiated a correspondence with Buber that was to last fifty years. Zweig was impressed by Buber's collections of Hasidic tales, as well as his essays on Judaism and Palestine, such as his collection of lectures *Vom Geist des Judentums* (On the Spirit of Judaism) from 1916. Zweig and Buber both became involved in Zionist efforts in the 1910s; Zweig contributed to Buber's journal *Der Jude* (The Jew), which was founded in 1916, and both were active in Zionist organizations. In spite of Zweig's disillusionment with Zionism after his exile to Palestine in 1933, which led to a rift between Zweig and Buber, they maintained contact until 1962.² Although they eventually parted ways, the existing correspondence held in the Arnold-Zweig-Archiv, which is primarily from the 1910s and 1920s, reveals an extensive exchange of ideas which, as I will argue, shape Zweig's later work. Zweig's letters indicate his reliance on Buber's connection among the *Ostjuden*, the Orient, and Palestine in his lectures from the early 1910s and his acceptance of the socialist Zionism of Buber's writings from the late 1910s. Zweig builds on Buber's ideas to construct his own lines of thought regarding the simultaneous spiritual and sociopolitical leadership of the *Ostjuden* for the settlement of Palestine and the need for a Jewish nationalism that is neither oppressive nor unethical.

In Zweig's first existing letter to Buber, he expresses his gratitude to Buber for introducing him to Judaism and Zionism, describing his reading of Buber's published lectures *Drei Reden über das Judentum* (1911; Three Addresses on Judaism) as an intense spiritual experience.³ In his lectures, Buber focuses on the need for assimilated Jews in the West to renew their connection with Judaism internally, and he calls those who become conscious of their spirituality "Urjuden," as opposed to "Galut" Jews, or Jews in exile. He also links Judaism with Asian religions and distinguishes it from Occidental, or Christian, traditions.⁴ Zweig writes in his first letter to Buber that these lectures opened up the opportunity for him to address the concerns of Jews in Germany, while his earlier encounters with Zionism had alienated him. In the first three years of their correspondence, Zweig's letters to Buber repeatedly focus on novels and essays with Jewish subjects, and he is inspired by Buber's association of Jews with the Orient and his retelling of Hasidic legends.⁵ He views Buber as the leader for the Jewish people, arguing that

the future of Judaism will be all the more meaningful the more it embodies Buber's ideas.⁶

In the spring of 1915, Zweig was summoned for military service, in part on the Eastern front, where he began to write of his own encounters with the "Orient" through the *Ostjuden*. Buber sent Zweig a copy of his new collection of essays *Vom Geist des Judentums* in early 1916.⁷ The book included the lecture "Der Geist des Orients und das Judentum" ("The Spirit of the Orient and Judaism") in which Buber claims that the Jews have an inner "oriental" nature, that the *Ostjuden* embody this spiritual essence, and that the renewal of agricultural labor on the soil of Palestine will allow for the recovery of Jewish spirituality.⁸ Zweig was again inspired by Buber's writings, and in a letter sent to Buber later that year, he writes that he felt affirmed by Buber's teachings, stating that Buber's ideas about God and Judaism were those that he had long felt within himself. Zweig's letter proceeds to indicate his assimilation of Buber's views on the oriental nature of the Jews and of the *Ostjuden* in particular. He describes an experience traveling in Yugoslavia, where he witnessed the Hebrew shop signs belonging to Eastern European Jews, which he considers to be an encounter with the "oriental." He seamlessly associates this encounter with the *Ostjuden* with images of minarets in the Orient, underscoring that Zweig sees *Ostjuden* and the Orient as indistinguishable. Furthermore, Zweig feels that Buber's work is a call to "live" what he proposes, and he vows to carry out Buber's goals as soon as the war has ended. The *Ostjuden* have inspired him to make a pilgrimage to the Orient, and until then he will long to see the Orient.⁹

The centrality of the *Ostjuden* to the enterprise of settling Palestine, which Buber implies through his discussion of the oriental spirituality of the *Ostjuden*, is further developed in correspondence after Zweig was stationed in Kovno in mid-1917 with the German press division. In an unpublished letter from early 1918, Zweig comments on his vision of a future Palestine, in which the *Ostjuden* play a central role. Zweig views the Eastern European Jewish children as the future of the Jewish people, but he is concerned about the guidance and leadership needed to shape them for the development of a Jewish homeland. He believes that the Eastern European Jewish children need to be educated to be leaders for the Jewish people, and he emphasizes his great faith and hope in both the children and the land of Palestine.¹⁰ *Ostjuden*, the land of Palestine, and Jewish spirituality become the central tenets of Zweig's vision of the future of the Jews, which remains strikingly faithful to Buber's argument in "Der Geist des Orients und das Judentum."

Zweig's exoticization and idealization of the *Ostjuden* resemble the orientalization of the *Ostjuden* by Western Europeans at this time, although,

like Buber, Zweig admires rather than condemns the “oriental” nature of the *Ostjuden*. Zweig’s interest in the *Ostjuden* and his longing for Palestine undoubtedly stem in part from his experiences with antisemitism in the German army and his resulting rejection of assimilation in favor of a uniquely Jewish identity.¹¹ In fact, Zweig was not unlike other German-Jewish soldiers who encountered Eastern European Jews on the Eastern front and became admirers of the traditional Jewish culture they felt the *Ostjuden* embodied.¹² While Zweig’s experience was not unique, Buber’s influence appears in Zweig’s particular fascination with the *Ostjuden* as oriental. Zweig is hence implicated in the antisemitic orientalization of the *Ostjuden* by adopting Buber’s perspective.¹³

In spite of his orientalization of the *Ostjuden* in his letters, Zweig also expresses concerns about the social and political plight of the *Ostjuden*. In unpublished letters from 1915 and 1916, Zweig already writes to Buber about his inability to face the dire situation of the Jews in the East. He connects the suffering of the *Ostjuden* in Eastern Europe with that of Jews fighting on both sides in World War I and in the Palestinian colonies, and he expresses his inability to watch the torment and destruction of Jewish life and culture.¹⁴ The Jewish settlements in Palestine and the *Ostjuden* thus represent the precious but endangered future of the Jewish people. In response to their threatened condition, Zweig clearly voices hope about the political organization of the *Ostjuden*, and this political discussion continues simultaneously with his orientalization of the *Ostjuden*. In 1916, Zweig describes his plan to write *Das ostjüdische Antlitz* to accompany drawings of *Ostjuden* by Hermann Struck, stating that he plans to prove through the *Ostjuden* the inherent ethical nature of the Jewish people.¹⁵ Zweig’s depiction of the *Ostjuden* as ethical reflects socialist concerns rather than Buber’s more spiritual representation of the *Ostjuden* in his lectures. This hopefulness continues after Zweig is stationed with the press in the East. In unpublished letters from 1917 and 1918, he writes that he is impressed by the young Jews and the Jewish teachers he is encountering, and assures Buber that he has a good following among Eastern European Jews. Zweig believes that he can also be helpful and influential to the Eastern European Jewish youth through his own writing, and he invites Buber to give a series of lectures in Kovno, Vilna, and Bialystok.¹⁶ However, as his stay in Kovno continues, Zweig begins to emphasize his frustration with the *Ostjuden* in their pursuit of Zionist goals. By late 1918, he claims that the *Ostjuden* are very gifted in their nationalistic abilities, but he finds that in practice they are disorganized and divided over issues and that they hesitate rather than act. He speaks of their passivity and voices fears that they do not realize that their very existence is threatened.¹⁷ Zweig expresses

concern that the Jews of Eastern Europe are apparently unable to organize an effective Zionist initiative in spite of the urgency of their situation.

Zweig's frustration with the plight of the *Ostjuden* interestingly often turns to plans of violent uprising during these years. Between 1916 and 1921, Zweig wrote of the desire to raise an army against Eastern European oppressors. He describes the creation of an international army of Jews who could save the oppressed Jews of the East; he would ask for military and medical help from the Japanese, the Indians, the Swedes, and others.¹⁸ This dream of all of the countries of the world, and particularly of the Jewish people, as an army, bringing the *Ostjuden* to safety, recalls the original impetus for Herzl's *Der Judenstaat*, and emphasizes the great value that Zweig also saw in preserving the lives of this group.¹⁹ He alternatively describes a longing for a small island in the Aegean or Black Sea that would be safe from pogroms.²⁰ Zweig's depiction of a refuge for the Jewish people here focuses on emancipation rather than a spiritual rejuvenation in the land of Palestine, interestingly resembling more the direction of political Zionism.

Zweig's representation of the *Ostjuden* in his letters to Buber thus varies between an orientalized, idealized view of the *Ostjuden* and a more complex consideration of the *Ostjuden* as an endangered group who may or may not have the political organization to save themselves. His focus on the *Ostjuden* during the 1910s thus extends beyond a mere equation between the *Ostjuden* and the Orient and indicates the importance that Zweig saw in their participation in the future of Zionism and the creation of a Jewish homeland. Sigrid Thielking argues that Zweig's changing view of the *Ostjuden* reflects his growing disappointment with the Zionist efforts of the *Ostjuden*, and that by late 1918 he had already lost interest in the possibility of the *Ostjuden* serving as leaders in the settlement of Palestine (28–9). This trajectory bears witness in the letters, since Zweig appears more doubtful about the Eastern European Zionist movement by late 1918. However, as I have illustrated, Zweig's letters maintain similar, if contradictory, claims about the nature of the *Ostjuden* throughout the period of 1912 to 1921, both before and after being stationed in Kovno in mid-1917. Furthermore, I maintain that the *Ostjuden* continued to be central in Zweig's thought, as evidenced not only by *Das ostjüdische Antlitz* (1920) but also by the two central characters of *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (1932). His dual view of the *Ostjuden*, through both spiritual and social lenses, reflects his primary reliance on Buber, who combined both elements as well, and Zweig repeats this duality throughout his texts prior to his exile in Palestine in 1933.

Their dialogue concerning the future of Zionism reveals that Zweig and Buber also similarly strove for a socialist and ethical Zionism. In late

1917, Zweig responds to Buber's vision of community in his essay "Mein Weg zum Chassidismus" ("My Path to Hasidism"), and he seems positive about the plan of combining Western industrialization with the Jewish spirit in a Zionist community. Zweig speaks hopefully of establishing a settlement in Palestine after the war ends.²¹ In early 1918, Zweig furthers these visions of community by expressing his belief in the importance of basing a Zionist organization on an ideal human community. He agrees with Buber that a Jewish nationalism must develop naturally and reflect the Jewish people in their purity. He argues that the nationalistic basis of this community will not be one that promotes oppression of others or ethnic arrogance, but one that emphasizes the importance of ethical behavior, something that Zweig sees as innate in the Jewish people. The Jews are different from other peoples because, he argues, they are not driven by violence but instead possess an essentially ethical and passionate spirit.²² These remarks, of course, contradict his calls in 1916 and 1921 for a war to save the *Ostjuden*, but Zweig clearly supports the notion of an ethical Zionism.

Buber was simultaneously developing his own concerns about an ethical and socialist nationalism, called Hebrew humanism, which argued for an integration of spiritual and political goals. Zweig expresses familiarity with Buber's writings on this subject in 1919, when he responds to Buber's essay "Vor der Entscheidung" ("Before the Decision"), which Buber wrote to promote the recognition of Arab rights in Palestine and to challenge the imperialist bent of negotiations about the future of Palestine at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Zweig's response to this essay is complete agreement. He defends Buber's decision to publish this essay, arguing that they need to make clear that the Jews are not nationalists but socialists.²³ Thus, Zweig and Buber agree on the necessity of an anti-imperialist, socialist nationalism, although Zweig does not yet specifically defend the rights of the Arabs as Buber does. Their view of Zionism as one of community, ethical behavior, and socialist intentions opposes not only the European nations negotiating the future of Palestine but also implicitly rejects the political Zionism of Herzl and Nordau.

DAS OSTJÜDISCHE ANTLITZ (1920)

While Zweig's apparently increasing interest in the emancipation of the *Ostjuden* suggests less reliance on the orientalized image of the *Ostjuden* and more emphasis on the creation of a socialist and ethical nationalism, the oriental, religious *Ostjude* recurs in his later texts, especially *Das ostjüdische Antlitz*. The book, which was conceived in 1918 and published in

1920 with drawings from Hermann Struck, is based on Zweig and Struck's encounters with Eastern European Jews while in Lithuania on the Eastern front.²⁴ Zweig's thematization of the *Ostjuden*, the Orient, and the settling of Palestine continues to reveal the influence of Buber's lectures of the 1910s. In a passage that recalls the end of Buber's lecture "Der Geist des Orients und das Judentum," in which Buber refers to the "Asiatic" praying techniques of the Hasidim, Zweig writes in *Das ostjüdische Antlitz*: "... der betende Ostjude in seiner äußersten Verzückung ist dem Derwisch näher als irgend einem modernen Juden" (32).²⁵ In addition to establishing a link between the *Ostjuden* and the Orient, Zweig also depicts the *Ostjuden* as providing the possibility of a "rebirth of Jewry." Leslie Morris contextualizes the work in the trend toward reinvigorating Judaism through the model of the *Ostjuden* by noting that the text portrays the *Ostjuden* as more "authentic" than Western European Jews. She explains that the very structure of the book suggests the possibility of this regeneration; the first chapter documents the lives and faces of the older *Ostjuden*, and the final chapter shows the faces of young, Eastern European Jewish boys. While the older men represent the authentic, traditional culture of the Jews lauded by cultural Zionists, the young boys represent the future leaders of the Jewish people, who can rejuvenate Judaism.²⁶ Zweig is here characterizing the rejuvenating qualities of the children in religious terms, drawing again on Buber: "... diese Erneuerung . . . ist . . . eine Angelegenheit des Menschen in tiefsten Ganzen und Wesen—eine religiöse" (99).²⁷ Zweig's conception of the *Ostjuden* as oriental and as facilitating the spiritual rejuvenation of the Jewish people clearly reveals Buber's influence.

The depiction of the *Ostjuden* as "oriental," however, continues to be problematic in this text, as critics have already recognized. Noah Isenberg claims that the book contains a "notable strain of orientalist rhetoric" and gives examples of Zweig's representation of the *Ostjuden* as oriental, but in the end concludes that this is not orientalism but "a complex amalgamation of romantic, mythical, and even *völkisch* notions circulating within [Zweig's] cultural orbit."²⁸ Morris, however, recognizes the close association between antisemitism and orientalism in the depiction of Jews as "oriental." She argues that Zweig's portrayal of the *Ostjuden* is in fact "orientalizing" or "colonizing," since the *Ostjuden* are seen as exotic and ahistoricized and as passive subjects of observation, and notes that this orientalizing is connected with a feminization of the Eastern European Jewish men. She describes Zweig's depiction of the *Ostjude* as "verweiblicht . . . inaktiv, statisch, gesichts- und zeitlos hingestellt, ohne Sprache . . . oder die Möglichkeit einer Selbstdarstellung . . . passiv, ahistorisch und orientalisiert" in contrast to the

active, educated Western Jew.²⁹ She thus questions the use of orientalized depictions of *Ostjuden* since they inadvertently adopt stereotypes found in antisemitic propaganda.³⁰ Of course, Zweig praises the *Ostjuden* for their supposedly oriental nature and views them as a source of regeneration, just as Buber does, which indicates that his approach does not merely replicate orientalist discourse. However, Zweig's adoption of Buber's depiction of the *Ostjuden* as more "authentic" also reveals an internalization of antisemitic discourse, since *völkisch* thinker Julius Langbehn similarly praised the *Ostjuden* for their adherence to the Jewish religious tradition in contrast to assimilated Jews.³¹ While Zweig's approach essentializes and orientalizes the *Ostjuden*, he, like Buber, places value on the *Ostjuden*, but fails to subvert antisemitic discourse through this simple reversal.

The text's emphasis on religious renewal is further connected to the value of physical labor, which is also at issue in Buber's lecture, "Der Geist des Judentums und der Orient." In this lecture, Buber presents the Jewish religion as originally agrarian and argues that the removal of the Jews from the land after the fall of the Second Temple prevented religious development and creativity.³² The need to preserve the Jewish people in the diaspora led to ritualized rabbinical laws which replaced the "God-permeated . . . creative element" of the agrarian religion with "the rigid, merely preserving, merely continuing, merely defensive element of official Judaism" (74). Only by returning to the land will the Jewish people become once more creative, productive, and spiritual, according to Buber (77). Buber and others in Berlin were active in the *Jüdische Volksheim* (Jewish Community Center), founded in 1916, which provided education for Eastern European Jewish children. While these children were provided with a Western education in topics such as German romantic literature, the plan for their future involved occupations in agriculture and manual labor. Buber was also involved in the creation of the children's village of Ben Shemen in Palestine in 1927, where young Jewish boys and girls learned agricultural skills and lived in harmony with Arab neighbors.³³ The image of the *Ostjuden*, and particularly the young, as agricultural laborers who will found the Jewish nation appears in Zweig's letters to Buber³⁴ and is central to *Das ostjüdische Antlitz*. The argument of the text is that the Eastern European Jewish boy possesses the socialist spirit and will facilitate the renewal of the Jewish people through the land. Thus, the renewal that the young *Ostjuden* offer is not only religious but also physical. Zweig depicts the *Ostjuden* as laborers in tune with the land, the work, and their bodies, which clearly recalls Buber's lectures.³⁵

However, this discourse on the need for the Jewish body to be reinvigorated through labor also depends upon antisemitic assumptions. Zweig's

idealization of the *Ostjude* as worker indicates an adoption of antisemitic discourses which portrayed Jews as “unhealthy” or “ill.” He adopts this stereotype and encourages Jews to focus on their bodies and manual labor in order to become “healthy.” Zweig thus participates in antisemitic discourses of Jews as “unhealthy,” just as Nordau did in his conception of the *Muskeljuden*, in which Jews were encouraged to recapture the manly, physical strength of the Bar Kochba rebellion in order to revitalize Judaism. However, like Buber, Zweig reverses Nordau’s move by attributing these negative, unmanly stereotypes of Jews to Western European Jews and idealizing the *Ostjuden* as “healthy.” Significantly, Nordau belonged to the Zionism of Herzl not Buber, which promoted not a religious revival but a secular state for the Jewish people and strove to save the *Ostjuden* from impoverishment and oppression. While Zweig emphasizes physical rejuvenation as a means to achieve spiritual renewal, the similarity among Zweig, Buber, and Nordau’s calls for physical fitness reflects that all three rely upon antisemitic understandings of the Jewish people, whether the Western European or Eastern European Jews, as unhealthy, unmanly, and in need of physical and/or spiritual rejuvenation.³⁶

DAS NEUE KANAAN (1924)

Although Zweig’s indebtedness to Buber leads him to adopt inherently orientalist and antisemitic images of the Jews in *Das ostjüdische Antlitz*, *Das neue Kanaan* begins to more explicitly challenge these ideas, especially as embodied by political Zionism. *Das neue Kanaan*, Zweig’s essay from 1924 on his vision of a Jewish settlement of Palestine, reveals Buber’s continuing influence on Zweig’s developing Zionist views, as well as the beginning of Zweig’s questioning of the discourses that have informed Zionism. The essay continues Zweig’s idea of the Jews as achieving both spiritual and physical rejuvenation through the settlement of Palestine but returns to questions about ethical Zionism by particularly addressing the fate of the Arabs of Palestine.

Zweig again draws on Buber’s depiction of the Jews as oriental in “Der Geist des Judentums und der Orient,” but he begins to hint at the problems of such a simplification in *Das neue Kanaan*. As Thielking has illustrated, Buber’s differentiation of the Jews and the Europeans as “motor types” and “sensory types” respectively in “Der Geist des Judentums und der Orient” is mirrored in Zweig’s description of the Jews in *Das neue Kanaan* as possessing a tendency towards self-expression, activity, and revolution (68–9). Zweig, however, presents a variation on Buber’s oriental/occidental construct by claiming that Jews are Mediterranean, but not necessarily oriental: “Der

Jude ist vom Geiste her vielleicht Orientale—manches spricht gewiß dagegen—aber ganz bestimmt ist er Mittelmeermensch” (175).³⁷ Zweig’s emphasis on the Mediterranean nature of the Jewish people may result from the development of his argument in the essay, which emphasizes the influence of a particular land and climate on the formation of a people. Therefore, since the Jews developed as a people in Palestine, their brothers are all the peoples of the Mediterranean—Arabs, Egyptians, Greeks, Spaniards, the French of Provence, Africans, and Italians (172–5). The distinction that he makes is not between East and West, but rather between North and South. The “Nordvölker, Mischvölker,” Zweig argues, persecute the Jews because of their different ways of living and their inability to understand Mediterranean peoples, while struggles between Jews and the Greeks or Romans were “Kämpf[e] von Brüdern, von Gleichen” (175).³⁸ In addition to varying Buber’s oriental/occidental contrast, Zweig also calls into question whether or not a Jewish type still exists, considering all of the places the Jews have lived (183–4). Since he believes that “Länder verändern Menschen,” the many homelands of the Jewish people throughout the world have transformed them (170–1).³⁹ Zweig recognizes the complexity of the Jewish people, as not one simple type but many: “der Jude ist . . . überbaut, unterkellert und durchadert von Wesenschichten und -elementen, die seine Geschichte ihm zugefügt hat” (183).⁴⁰ In contrast to Zweig’s unquestioning adoption of Buber’s view of the *Ostjuden* as oriental in his letters and in *Das ostjüdische Antlitz*, Zweig’s claim that the Jews are many rather than one complicates Buber’s binarism of Jews and Europeans and, as a result, resists the simple adoption of a construct originating in orientalist and antisemitic thought.

Like *Das ostjüdische Antlitz*, however, *Das neue Kanaan* accepts Buber’s views about the importance of the rejuvenation of the Jewish people. Both Buber and Zweig claim that the Jewish people inherently contain a “will to renew” that makes them unique. For Buber, the Jewish people represent the ultimate expression of an oriental nature that includes not only their motor faculties but also their internal duality, which reflects the duality of the world, and their ability to strive towards a unification of the world. The Jews have the power to decide to bring about the unity of the world, and this fulfillment of God’s will on earth is an “eternal renewal.”⁴¹ In *Das neue Kanaan*, Zweig captures the idea that the Jews inherently contain an ability to renew the world when he argues that the way to unify the disparate Jewish population is to reinvigorate their “Erneuerungswille, einer Grundkomponente des Juden,” which finds its expression in the Zionist movement (184).⁴² The “will to renew” remains an aspect of the Jewish soul, no matter how diverse the Jews seem to have become, and this tendency needs to be harnessed to

rejuvenate the Jewish people. Zweig further draws on Buber's "Der Geist des Judentums und der Orient" when he argues that the land of Palestine itself makes this renewal possible; Zweig also claims that the productivity of a people depends on their connection with their homeland.⁴³ His very argument that the land determines the characteristics of the people relates to Buber's belief in the importance of the land for rejuvenation. The concept of the renewal of the Jewish people through contact with the land hence returns to antisemitic conceptions of Jews as unhealthy and in need of revitalization. The rejuvenation of the Jews remains central but is transformed in Zweig's vision of the future of Zionism in *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, however.

In the second half of *Das neue Kanaan*, Zweig further develops Buber's emphasis on the land by proclaiming the importance of physical labor in Palestine for the future of the Jewish people. As mentioned earlier, both Buber and Nordau called for physical activity as a means to rejuvenate the Jewish people, but Nordau differs from Buber because he does not stress spiritual rejuvenation as the goal. Undoubtedly drawing on these strains in Zionist thought, Zionist travel books and periodicals that propagandized the Jewish settlement of Palestine celebrated the supposed reinvigoration of the Jewish people through labor on the land and provided photographs of settlers working in the fields. Zweig, of course, developed his vision of Palestine in *Das neue Kanaan* only through his exposure to such images propagated by Zionist vehicles, since he had not yet been to Palestine; the inspiration for the essay, as Zweig describes it, was from photographs and drawings of Palestine, including those by Hermann Struck, whose published book of photos of Palestine from 1904 included Buber among its admirers.⁴⁴

Hence, Zweig's vision of the future of Palestine in *Das neue Kanaan* similarly focuses on the body and the worker in particular, which, while clearly influenced by socialism,⁴⁵ also reflects views held by Zionists, particularly cultural and but also political. Zweig argues that physical labor is the true source of *Vergeistigung*, or spiritualization. The emphasis on intellectual life in Orthodox Judaism has led to a confusion about what *Vergeistigung* truly means, since *Geist* in German refers to both spirit and intellect (200–1). Intellectual pursuits have been viewed as *Vergeistigung*, but Zweig believes this will change: ". . . eine natürliche Ordnung des Lebens tritt ein, wie sie im antiken und talmudischen Judentume ebenso wie im russisch-jüdischen Osten in guten Zeiten regierte: Arbeit mit dem Körper ohne Verdüpfung des Geistes dort, wo er wirklich hell ist" (201).⁴⁶ He connects physical labor with the development of the spirit, and further links these elements with ancient Israel and contemporary Eastern European Jewish life, as he does in *Das ostjüdische Antlitz* (99–100). He calls this transformation part

of the “Protest des Leibes gegen den überzüchteten Kopf.”⁴⁷ Zweig transfers his view of the spiritualizing potential of labor onto the future of Jewish settlement in Palestine, where Jewish agricultural work will spread across the land (202). Zweig’s emphasis on the spirit rather than the intellect appears to be a direct response to political Zionism’s adoption of the motto of the German nationalist youth organizations, “a healthy mind lives in a healthy body,” which reflects Nordau’s internalization of antisemitic propaganda of Jews as weak and feminine.⁴⁸ Zweig diverges from this saying by focusing on spiritual rejuvenation, although, as I have argued, he fails to avoid the antisemitic implications. While the laborer and the land appear as central elements in socialism, Zweig’s vision in *Das neue Kanaan* also clearly develops out of cultural Zionist thought, which emphasizes the need for physical labor and reconnection with the land, and Palestine in particular, as a way of achieving the respiritualization and reinvigoration of the Jewish people.

Secondly, *Das neue Kanaan* significantly establishes Zweig’s resistance to political Zionism’s imperialist goals and confirms his agreement with Buber’s resistance to the oppression of the Arabs, an issue that Zweig did not explicitly voice in his letters to Buber, but which informs not only *De Vriendt kehrt heim* but also the future of his relationship with Zionism. Zweig may have been familiar with Buber’s own concerns about Jewish-Arab relations as they developed in the early 1920s. In 1921, the same year that Buber put forth his resolution on Arab rights to the Twelfth Zionist Congress, Zweig published “Das jüdische Palästina und der Orient” (“The Jewish Palestine and the Orient”), which similarly calls for a socialist Zionism that recognizes the rights of the Arabs but provides his own explanation of why a Jewish-Arab unification would be possible. He identifies the Jewish settlers as containing three elements within them: the European, the Eastern European, and the “urjüdisch” (79). The European aspect of the Jewish people brings modern science, medicine, technology, and education to Palestine, while the Eastern European element brings socialism and the desire to work the land, which will counteract the dangers of Western European capitalism and imperialism (79–82). The “urjüdisch” aspect, Zweig argues, consists in a tolerant nationalism that will allow for unification with the Arab peasants: “[s]ie müssen . . . mit den Fellahin ein kameradschaftliches Auskommen und Miteinanderleben zu finden suchen” (82).⁴⁹ He places the Arab Effendi in opposition to both the fellahin and the Zionists and calls for an improvement in the situation of the Arab peasant population through socialist economic reforms (83–4). He imagines that this unification of the Arabs and Jews in Palestine will allow for a cultural flowering which only has its parallel in a “Spanish-Moorish” period when Arabs and Jews spread the knowledge of Greece and the Orient around

the world (85). Zweig depicts the Jews as uniquely suited to be “middlemen” between Orient and Occident, which Thielking has aptly credited to Buber’s “Der Geist des Orients und das Judentum,” where he claims that the Jews are externally occidental but internally oriental and therefore are “called to fuse the spirit of the East and the West in a new teaching.”⁵⁰ Thus, Zweig envisions a world of brotherhood, peace, and equality (86). Zweig is clearly in accord with Buber’s statement at the congress because he embraces socialism and the rights of the Arabs of Palestine while explicitly denouncing imperialism, and Zweig’s romanticized, utopian vision in this essay harmonizes with the rhetoric of *Das neue Kanaan*, which appeared three years later.

Zweig’s defense of the rights of Arabs in *Das neue Kanaan* however diverges from Buber’s speech and his own earlier essay by directly criticizing Western European technology and deliberately attacking the path of Zionism. Zweig proclaims: “DAS NATIONALE HEIM DER JUDEN WIRD NUR IN PALÄSTINA UND NUR UNTER DEM BEIFALL DER ARABER PALÄSTINAS GEBAUT WERDEN KÖNNEN” (217).⁵¹ This sentence, only one of two in the essay that appear all in capital letters, emphasizes Zweig’s established position on providing rights and recognition to the Arabs of Palestine. He continues on to present, in quotations, what he would consider to be the Arab response to the Jewish settlement of Palestine; the Arabs would prefer to return to the peace and quiet of their traditions and the rhythm of their lives before the Jewish settlers came (217–8). Zweig uniquely gives a voice to the Arabs of Palestine, and this voice is particular to the peasants and workers whose lives have been disrupted. He argues that the appropriate response from the Zionists should not be racist and nationalist, and he specifically attacks strains of chauvinistic Zionism, but rather should attempt to preserve Arab experience and culture (218–9).⁵² He praises the natural nobility of the Arab world, “. . . der aus der Geste dieser Minarets, der Kontur dieser Häusergruppen, dem Gang und der Haltung dieser Menschen spricht” (220).⁵³ While drawing on stereotypical images of the Orient, Zweig attempts to present the perspective of the Arabs, directly criticizes racist nationalism, and celebrates the Arabic culture into which the Jewish settlers should try to integrate. In this passage, Zweig also importantly alludes to the possibility that Zionists were responsible for the murder of Jacob Israel de Haan, who served as the model for his hero de Vriendt (220). Zweig’s letter to Freud in 1932 is often quoted as evidence that he did not learn who murdered de Haan until he visited Palestine in 1932, and that this overwhelming discovery led him to revise his plans for his novel on de Haan and to question his belief in Zionism.⁵⁴ However, *Das neue Kanaan* indicates that Zweig was aware of discussion that Zionists, not Arabs, may have murdered de Haan, and indicates that

the seeds for his disillusionment with Zionism and his concerns about the rights of the Arabs had been sown long before his visit to Palestine in 1932.

Das neue Kanaan thus provides evidence of Zweig's developing conceptions of the Jewish people, Palestine, and the Arabs, which would inform his writing of *De Vriendt kehrt heim* eight years later. Zweig's reliance on Buber appears in his claim that the Jewish people have unique characteristics such as a particular tendency toward physical activity and self-renewal, that a return to the land of Palestine will allow the Jewish people to reinvigorate these natural abilities and rejuvenate their spirituality through physical labor, and that only a socialist Zionism will protect the rights of the Arabs. However, Zweig diverges from Buber in his resistance to a simplistic, orientalist contrast between Jews as oriental and non-Jewish Europeans as occidental, which indicates a divergence away from the orientalism of his letters and his earlier text *Das ostjüdische Antlitz*. His growing sensitivity to the problem of orientalist constructs, to the rights of the Arab population, and to the value of the Arabic culture of Palestine reveals the development of an active resistance to the orientalist and imperialist undercurrents of political Zionism, which had begun to appear in his letters to Buber in the late 1910s.

In his letters to Buber, *Das ostjüdische Antlitz*, and *Das neue Kanaan*, Zweig manifests his reliance on Buber's ideas about the oriental nature of the *Ostjuden*, Palestine as the location for the possible rejuvenation of the Jewish people, the centrality of the *Ostjuden* in this endeavor, and the need to create an ethical, socialist Zionism that recognizes the rights of the Arabs of Palestine. The ideas produced during these early exchanges with Buber on the *Ostjude*, the Orient, and the settling of Palestine are developed in his later novel *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (1932) in several key ways. First, the simultaneous, dual image of the *Ostjude* as both a spiritual, oriental figure and an ideal socialist laborer is broken apart and refracted onto two figures in *De Vriendt kehrt heim* who inherently undermine the orientalist and antisemitic overtones of these stereotypes. Secondly, the cultural Zionist idea that the *Ostjude* and the Orient have the power to rejuvenate the Jewish people is transformed by Zweig in the novel into an image of the unification of Jews and Arabs as the source of revitalization. Finally, the call for an ethical and socialist Zionism that is neither chauvinistic nor imperialist but rather acknowledges the rights of the Arabs to the land of Palestine serves as the underlying purpose of the novel *De Vriendt kehrt heim*.

DE VRIENDT KEHRT HEIM (1932)

While Zweig begins to criticize the orientalism and imperialism within the Zionist project in his writings of the 1910s and 1920s, his novel *De*

Vriendt kehrt heim represents a decisive move to challenge these discourses in the formulation of his own conception of the future of Palestine. The following analysis argues that Zweig's representation of the Orient, same-sex desire, and the *Ostjude* in *De Vriendt kehrt heim* demonstrates his struggles against orientalism and political Zionism and ultimately calls for a reconciliation of Jews and Arabs. To analyze the novel in relation to orientalist models of same-sex relationships, I first consider the character of Aschenbach in Thomas Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig* (1912; *Death in Venice*) to establish *De Vriendt kehrt heim* within and against a German tradition of orientalism. Then, I argue that Isaac Josef de Vriendt, an appropriation of the stereotype of the oriental *Ostjude* and the exact opposite of Nordau's masculine *Muskeljude*, embodies Zweig's vision of a leader for a Jewish nationalist movement because he offers the possibility of mediation between Occident and Orient, Jew and Arab. Finally, I claim that Mendel Glass, who emerges in the text after de Vriendt's death, ironically reflects the political and cultural Zionist call for the *Ostjuden* to become laborers in Palestine, but his own guilt in Zionist violence reveals the need for both figures, de Vriendt and Glass, in order for Jewish nationalism to be ethical. While Buber's influences continue to be apparent, I argue that Zweig complicates and challenges both political and cultural Zionist notions of the *Ostjuden* and Palestine to redeem the Zionist movement through a unification of Jews and Arabs.

De Vriendt kehrt heim, which is set in Jerusalem in 1929, brings together two actual events in the history of Jewish settlement in the 1920s: first, the murder of Jacob Israel de Haan in 1924, and second, the revolt of the Arabs of Palestine in 1929.⁵⁵ Isaac Josef de Vriendt, an ultra-Orthodox Jew from the Netherlands, is involved in gaining support for a political coalition between the Orthodox Jews and Palestinians against the secular Zionists (65–6). In spite of his Orthodoxy, de Vriendt is also having a secret love affair with an Arab school-boy, Saûd, and as a result, British secret serviceman Henry Irmin is concerned about de Vriendt's safety from the Arabs (19–20). An enemy of both the Zionists and the Arabs, de Vriendt is murdered by the Zionists, as in the true story of de Haan (142).⁵⁶ In Zweig's version, however, the mass attendance at de Vriendt's funeral is viewed as a Jewish protest against the Arabs, which sparks the Arab revolt (173, 183–4). Irmin, the engineer Eli Saamen, the young Polish immigrant Mendel Glass and others seek refuge from the revolts in Carmel until British ships arrive to end the rebellion (217). The final chapters of the novel recount Irmin's search for de Vriendt's murderer as well as presenting the varying viewpoints of those affected by de Vriendt's death and the aftermath.

Zweig's concerns about the direction of Zionism were already apparent in his texts preceding *De Vriendt kehrt heim*. In his letters to Buber in 1918 and 1919, Zweig emphasizes the need for Jewish nationalism to be different from other nationalisms because it must not be oppressive and reactionary, but rather humanitarian and ethical.⁵⁷ In "Das jüdische Palästina," Zweig calls for a socialist nationalism and economic reforms that will protect the fellahin, allowing for a better rapport between Jewish and Arab workers (83–4). In *Das neue Kanaan*, Zweig further criticizes the developing chauvinism of Zionism and the oppression of the Arabs, as well as expressing distress at the possibility that Zionists murdered de Haan (220). Zweig's anxiety about acts of violence and oppression by Zionists hence pre-dated his visit to Palestine in February and March of 1932.⁵⁸ However, Zweig writes Sigmund Freud after returning from Palestine that his plans for the novel *De Vriendt kehrt heim* were drastically altered during his visit when he learned that radical Zionists and not Arabs had murdered de Haan, which he claims to have believed for seven years.⁵⁹ This apparently shocking discovery has generally been considered to have transformed Zweig's view of Zionism; Robert Cohen claims that Zweig viewed the murder of de Haan as "der Sündenfall der zionistischen Bewegung."⁶⁰ Regardless of his understanding of de Haan's murder, Zweig had long before recognized the problems within Zionism as a nationalist movement, and in this way *De Vriendt kehrt heim* represents a heightening of his concerns after his visit in 1932.

Zweig's inner struggle with Zionism, which I will argue is a significant element in *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, is interestingly missing from a letter to Buber in 1932. Zweig writes to Buber of his plans for a novel that will become *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, describing the novel as the struggle of an Orthodox Jew between life and God's law.⁶¹ This account suggests that the central issue in the novel is the difficulty faced by Orthodox Jews in negotiating between strict rabbinical laws and their own natural impulses. Such an interpretation supports a psychoanalytic approach to understanding the character of de Vriendt as one who is struggling with his homosexuality, which Ursula Schumacher and Sigrid Thielking have convincingly developed.⁶² Thielking in fact argues that the de Vriendt story line is "völlig abkoppelbar" ("completely separate") from the Zionist issues presented in the text (233). While this psychoanalytic interpretation of de Vriendt logically stems from Zweig's close interaction with Freud and his familiarity with Freud's work, Zweig maintained the importance of his attack on Zionism in the novel in an essay published in the same year, "Modell, Dokument und Dichtung." He explains his task in writing *De Vriendt kehrt heim* as "Kritik des modernen Nationalismus am jüdischen Nationalismus, Kritik der Nachkriegswelt

an unserer jüdischen Nachkriegswelt, Aufhellung der Ideenkämpfe unserer geschüttelten Epoche” such as “die Ideen und Prinzipien unserer jüdischen zionistischen und sozialistischen Epoche.”⁶³ Therefore, I maintain that the character of de Vriendt is greatly influenced by Zweig’s understanding of Zionism and the work of Buber, and my interpretation of the de Vriendt narrative is within the context of Zweig’s critique of Zionism.

The centrality of the gay character de Vriendt to Zweig’s vision for the Zionist movement is further supported by the history of Zweig’s own rebellion against bourgeois morality, which certainly did not begin with *De Vriendt kehrt heim*. In fact, several of Zweig’s other works present gay relationships, and he also contributed to the call for the repeal of Paragraph 175, the German law criminalizing homosexual relationships.⁶⁴ Love affairs between men and young boys or boyish girls, called “Knäbinnen,” surface in Zweig’s writing throughout his career, and this rejection of the limitations of bourgeois marriage extended into his personal life. During the course of the dictation of *De Vriendt kehrt heim* between May and June of 1932, Zweig fell in love with a “Knäbin,” his secretary, Lily Offenstadt, who was 22 years his junior.⁶⁵ Zweig dedicated *De Vriendt kehrt heim* to her. In the months that followed, Zweig carried on an affair with Lily with the full knowledge of his wife, Beatrice, who was studying painting in Paris. In his unpublished letters to Beatrice in early 1933, he defends their polygamous marriage as necessary for improving his creativity and productivity. It was, in fact, Freud himself who assured Zweig of the incompatibility of bourgeois marriage and intellectual productivity.⁶⁶ In contrast to Jost Hermand’s representation of the affair with Lily as a departure from marriage to Beatrice (68–9), Zweig’s own letters to Beatrice indicate that he viewed the affair as an extension of their marriage. In a letter in late February 1933, Zweig writes of both his happiness with Lily and his love for his wife.⁶⁷ Zweig fails to recognize the seeming contradiction in his own statements, suggesting that he did not consider his affair with Lily to be inconsistent with his love and marriage to Beatrice.⁶⁸ The discussion of their marriage is mixed with Zweig’s concerns about the rise to power of the Nazi party,⁶⁹ and it was eventually the threat to Zweig’s life and freedom that forced the two to reunite by the late spring of 1933 to flee to the south of France, accompanied by Lily, as evidenced by his journal entries.⁷⁰ In September of 1933, Lily returned to Berlin to marry her fiancé, Hans Leuchter, and Zweig at this point comments in his journal about his reunification with his wife.⁷¹ By the end of 1933, Zweig, Beatrice, Lily and her husband had all settled in Palestine, and Lily continued to help Zweig with his work for several years. The coincidence of Zweig’s affair with the “Knäbin” Lily and the writing of *De Vriendt kehrt heim* suggests that he was

particularly open at the time to the potential of alternative sexualities to promote change, which supports an interpretation of de Vriendt's homosexuality as central to his heroism.

As a result, critics' unwillingness to recognize de Vriendt as the hero of the novel particularly because of he is gay⁷² overlooks the importance of Zweig's questioning of bourgeois morality at the same time that he was writing *De Vriendt kehrt heim*. Furthermore, there has in general been a resistance on the part of critics to recognize the centrality of homosexuality in Zweig's work. An exception is Hermand, who has drawn attention to a letter from Zweig to Freud in 1932, in which Zweig admits the relevance of de Vriendt's relationship with the young Saúd for his own life.⁷³ Hans-Albert Walter attacked Hermand's interpretation of this letter as evidence of tolerance of homosexuality by stating: "Über Zweig sagt das, wie ich finde, recht wenig, möglicherweise aber etwas über seinen Interpreten."⁷⁴ Walter's response to Hermand's reading of the letter is to accuse Hermand of being gay himself. The use of homophobic slander by critics indicates that previous interpretations of *De Vriendt kehrt heim* can only have been limited in their treatment of the theme of homosexuality in the text.

The narrative of an illicit or unconventional love affair which is or becomes associated with the Orient, a story which played out in Zweig's own life with Lily, also appears in Zweig's texts both before and after the writing of *De Vriendt kehrt heim* in 1932. Among his nonfictional works, Zweig's vision of the end of repression in the Orient appears in *Das neue Kanaan* (1924), which promotes a freeing of restraints on sexuality as part of the utopian Jewish nation. Zweig's first novel, *Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer* (1911; Sketches of the Klopfer Family), already tells a story of rebellion against bourgeois morality. The novel is narrated by a young Heinrich Klopfer, who, significantly, appears in *De Vriendt kehrt heim*; Klopfer has fled Germany to live in Palestine, where he can pursue his love affair with his sister. While the novel is not Zionist, the depiction of the Orient as a location of forbidden desire coincides with orientalist notions. A later text, written after his return to Germany, *Traum ist teuer* (1962), tells of a Jewish man, Richard Karthaus, who leaves his wife and children to run off to Palestine with his secretary. The love affair with the woman is replaced by one with a young, male Communist, whom Karthaus admires for his rebellious and brave spirit. However, Karthaus comes to realize that his own political leanings are more moderate, and he decides instead to aspire to the norms of socialism and return to his family.⁷⁵ While the later novel seems to promote a return to bourgeois normalcy, the text continues to associate the Orient and the freedom of illicit sexual desire. These two novels adhere to Said and

Boone's portrayal of the Orient as a location where fantasies disallowed by European society may be fulfilled, whether through relationships with men or with women. The fact that Zweig drew on orientalist depictions of sexual desire throughout his literary career suggests that the same-sex relationship between de Vriendt and Saúd may be informed by orientalism. However, as I illustrate in my comparison with *Der Tod in Venedig*, *De Vriendt kehrt heim* complicates this orientalist discourse by instead exploring Jewish-Arab relations through a same-sex relationship.

THE EASTERN EUROPEAN AS ORIENTAL: PATHOLOGY, HOMOSEXUALITY, AND THE ORIENT

Thomas Mann's novel *Der Tod in Venedig* provides a model of an early twentieth-century orientalist text emerging from Germany which, like *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, associates the Orient with homosexuality. The similarities between Zweig and Mann's texts might provide support for the argument that Zweig's depiction of homosexuality is based on orientalism. However, an analysis of the novel and a comparison with *De Vriendt kehrt heim* elucidates the orientalist roots of Zweig's narrative but clarifies that his text complicates orientalist concepts and in fact struggles against orientalist representations of homosexuality. *Der Tod in Venedig* presents two important developments of orientalism that are relevant to the analysis of Zweig's novel. First, Mann's text depicts the Orient as the location of same-sex desire and this desire, as Boone describes, has both alluring and dangerous aspects to it.⁷⁶ Second, Mann's presentation of the relationship between Germany and Eastern Europe provides a possible step between the French and English orientalism that Said describes and the orientalism of German-Jewish writers. Mann complicates Said's understanding of a duality of West versus East in orientalist discourse by dividing the West into Western Europe and Eastern Europe. He reveals the particular perspective of a German, living in the "Land der Mitte" (the "land of the center"), of Eastern Europe as associated with the Orient.⁷⁷ Same-sex desire serves to link Eastern Europe with the Orient in *Der Tod in Venedig*, hence threatening the boundaries of Western civilization.

In *Der Tod in Venedig*, Aschenbach travels not to the Orient per se, but to Venice, which is not only orientalized, but also characterized as a meeting point between West and East.⁷⁸ While wandering around Venice, Aschenbach discovers not a Western European town, but a town with crowded streets, oppressive smells, and threatening people, rather like the exoticized Kasbah of cities of the Orient. "Eine widerliche Schwüle lag in den Gassen, die Luft

war so dick, daß die Gerüche, die aus Wohnungen, Läden, Garküchen quollen, Öldunst, Wolken von Parfüm und viele andere Schwaden standen, ohne sich zu zerstreuen" (67).⁷⁹ This oppressive, threatening atmosphere associates Venice with something unusual and frightening. At another point, the city of Venice is referred to as a "Gewirr" (maze) and Aschenbach finds himself lost in the "Gäßchen, Gewässer, Brücken und Plätze des Labyrinthes" (132).⁸⁰ The maze of Venice envelopes Aschenbach, threatening to suffocate him. Furthermore, Venice is connected with the Orient because it serves as a point at which the cholera, coming from India, enters the West (119–120). The invasion of the oriental disease leads to stealing, prostitution, and other criminal behaviors in Venice, "wie sie sonst hier nicht bekannt und nur im Süden des Landes und im Orient zu Hause gewesen waren" (123).⁸¹ Venice is thus not only "orientalized" by this invasion, but this connection also clarifies the association of Venice and the Orient with sexual freedom.

Against the orientalized background of Venice, Aschenbach does not encounter the oriental women Said describes, nor the Arab boys identified by Boone, but rather a young, Polish boy, Tadzio, with whom he becomes infatuated. Shortly after this first meeting, Aschenbach begins to take pleasure in observing the boy (53, 57). While Tadzio is clearly not the "Oriental" of the orientalist fantasies described by Said and Boone, Eastern Europe is especially linked with the Orient in the vocabulary of Thomas Mann. In his essay "Goethe und Tolstoi," Mann points out the "mysticism," "folk-character," and "Oriental" aspects in the works of the Russian writer Tolstoy, and the German author Goethe's dislike for the "savage" nature of the Eastern European peoples (143–6). Mann prefers the exoticism of the Eastern European peoples to that of dark-skinned peoples, as he expresses in "Zum Geleit" (Preface): "Die braune Exotik etwa, mit Wulstlippen und Schaukel-Ohringen, ist nichts, wie uns scheint, gegen die mit eisgrünen Schlitzaugen und den Backenknochen der Steppe" (42).⁸² Mann thus not only connects Eastern Europe with the Orient as "exotic" and "Oriental," but he also indicates his preference for Eastern European exoticism. This preference explains why, when Aschenbach travels to an orientalized location, it is not an Arab boy, but a Polish boy, who becomes the exoticized object of desire.

The description of Tadzio further supports the notion that Aschenbach is attracted to him because of his "oriental" nature. This exoticism is particularly evident in the characterization of Tadzio's language, Polish. Overhearing Tadzio and his friends speak, Aschenbach hears "seine[] weich verschwommene[] Sprache" (57).⁸³ When Aschenbach finally understands Tadzio's name, he describes it as having an "u-Ruf am Ende" and "etwas zugleich Süßes und Wildes" (64).⁸⁴ Tadzio's language and name are foreign, wild, and

as a result, exotic. In addition, Tadzio's strikingly pale appearance, instead of dark skin, marks him as exotic. His hair is golden and his skin is "weiß wie Elfenbein" (52).⁸⁵ Aschenbach admires his beauty, and notices that, "Sein Antlitz . . . von honigfarbenem Haar umringelt, mit . . . dem lieblichen Munde . . . erinnerte an griechische Bildwerke aus edelster Zeit" (50).⁸⁶ Hence, the exotic beauty of the Polish boy's Slavic language and pale complexion provides evidence that the boy is oriental in Mann's terms, and therefore, that Aschenbach's same-sex desire is directed towards an "oriental" boy in an orientalized location. In this way, same-sex desire creates a link between Eastern Europe and the Orient, an idea which becomes further developed later in the novella.

While clearly connected to the Orient, this same-sex desire has both negative and positive aspects. As Said discusses in terms of heterosexual desire in the Orient, sexuality in the Orient is both a "promise" and a "threat" (188). Boone has further developed this notion in terms of homosexuality, claiming that while it is alluring, its threatening aspects include interfering with Western men's ability to write and causing destruction or death (93–6). *Der Tod in Venedig* follows the pattern suggested by Said and Boone since Aschenbach has both beneficial and dangerously detrimental experiences as a result of his homosexuality.

The first benefit of same-sex desire is its connection with rejuvenation. In addition to the fact that the object of desire fits the narrator's individual notion of the "Orient," and is therefore appealing because of his Oriental nature, Tadzio is a *boy*, not a man. While Boone notes the theme in many works by Western male authors of the availability of young boys in the Orient, he does not identify the basis for the particular attraction for boys rather than men. Perhaps the appeal of the young boy is simply a version of the feminized male embodied in the transvestite dancer who appeals to Gustave Flaubert.⁸⁷ However, youthfulness itself may provide the reason for Aschenbach's attraction to the younger boy; the "oriental" characteristics are not the only reason for his interest. In an analysis of *Der Tod in Venedig*, Kathleen Woodward views Aschenbach's desire for Tadzio as entirely, and only, a desire for finding the youth within himself (121). Woodward erases the implicit same-sex desire in the novella, interpreting the older man's passion as a symbolic one. I would argue, rather, that the appeal of youthfulness is an integral part of the same-sex desire.

Aschenbach's interest in youthfulness goes through two stages: first, he is naturally rejuvenated by his passion for the young boy, and then he becomes concerned about appearing younger in order to attract the boy. When Aschenbach first decides he wants to travel abroad, he characterizes it as a need for

a “Zufuhr neuen Blutes” (18). This reference to new blood suggests not only rejuvenation, but also, rejuvenation from a non-German source, perhaps an oriental source. Once he decides to give in to his desire to watch the boy, he feels “die Begeisterung seines Blutes” (77). As the days pass, Aschenbach’s health improves, such that “was Sonne, Muße und Meerluft ihm an täglicher Kräftigung zuführten, hochherzig-unwirtschaftlich aufgehen in Rausch und Empfindung” (91). He has more and more energy as he spends more time observing the boy in this oriental location. He also has the awakening of “[e]hemalige Gefühle” (92),⁸⁸ indicating perhaps the rediscovery of youthfulness and/or repressed same-sex desires. By the end of the novella, however, Aschenbach’s natural return to youthfulness is replaced with a concern for whether his aging body is appealing to the young boy; he takes on a false transformation through clothing and make-up to appear younger than he is (129–31). Rather than Tadzio symbolizing Aschenbach’s own younger self, Aschenbach’s love for Tadzio is associated with a desire for youthfulness, and possibly, a youthfulness that can only come from the Orient.

Same-sex desire provides Aschenbach with the further benefit of aesthetic inspiration and the ability to write beautifully. As Tobin argues, homosexuality for Thomas Mann was mainly associated with beauty, aestheticism, and visual observation. Same-sex desire lends itself to expression in poetic form, according to Mann. Tobin identifies this theme in *Der Tod in Venedig* because of Aschenbach’s focus on observing the boy’s beauty, linking his beauty to ancient Greek myths, and feeling artistically inspired by this beauty.⁸⁹ Hence, in contrast to T. E. Lawrence’s difficulties with writing as a result of his same-sex encounters and Gustave Flaubert’s fear of oriental homosexuality challenging his ability to write, Aschenbach’s desire for the “oriental” boy in the “Orient” provides him with inspiration.⁹⁰

However, same-sex desire in the Orient is also threatening and destructive, as Said and Boone claim is typical of orientalist texts. Homosexuality becomes linked with the orientalized Venice and disease, specifically the disease that comes out of the Orient, and this combined, passionate, destructive force kills him. Tobin has argued that Mann was influenced at the time of the writing of this novel by the antiliberal discourse about homosexuality represented by Hans Blüher, in which homosexuality is linked to masculinity, nationalism, and male-bonding. However, Tobin claims that *Der Tod in Venedig* inadvertently returns to the more liberal, minoritizing discourse about homosexuality represented by turn-of-the-century gay activists, in which gays are viewed as a biologically different “Third Sex.” This connection between homosexuality and biological or pathological difference had appeared in his earlier writing and reemerged unintentionally, Tobin argues,

in *Der Tod in Venedig*.⁹¹ Therefore, it is perhaps logical that the theme of disease and death runs throughout the text, often in connection with homosexuality. For example, in describing Aschenbach's own works, the narrator likens his heroes to the figure of St. Sebastian, who is often depicted in art with swords going through his body (24). Tobin has pointed out that St. Sebastian has been an aesthetic symbol for gays, which therefore alludes to Aschenbach's homosexuality.⁹² However, significantly, the reference also indicates that the image of homosexuality presented in the novel from the beginning is one of suffering and death.

When Aschenbach arrives in Venice, he feels the oppressive atmosphere and fears that it will be harmful to his health (67–8). The “Schwüle” (“mugginess”) of Venice may be connected with Aschenbach's own “schwul” (“gay”) desires, thus uniting homosexuality, death, and Venice's oriental nature.⁹³ Furthermore, Aschenbach's object of desire, Tadzio, is also the location of sickness; Aschenbach sees his “zackig und blaß” (“jagged and pale”) teeth, and decides, “er ist kränklich.” When Venice becomes increasingly invaded by cholera, the diseased nature of the city becomes overwhelming. Aschenbach can smell a “süßlich-offiziellen Geruch” which represents the disease. Aschenbach is pleased by the hiding of the disease by the city dwellers, because “dieses schlimme Geheimnis der Stadt” is fused with “seinem eigensten Geheimnis.”⁹⁴ The disease of cholera is thus clearly connected to Aschenbach's homosexuality.⁹⁵ In this way, Venice's oriental nature, the cholera emerging from the Orient (India), and Aschenbach's same-sex desire are all united as one disease. Although the cholera actually kills Aschenbach, its connection with the Orient and homosexuality leads them all to be seen as culprits (140). The connection between Eastern Europe and the Orient is thus apparent in Aschenbach's desire for the young, Polish boy, which becomes symbolically connected to the disease emerging from the Orient. The two oriental forces, Eastern European same-sex desire and Eastern destructive disease, combine to destroy the Western European Aschenbach, killing him.

In sum, *Der Tod in Venedig* draws on orientalist concepts of same-sex desire in the Orient as both beneficial and threatening and further connects Eastern Europe and the Orient, areas which are both east of Germany, through this desire. This analysis suggests that Mann's text is orientalist in Boone and Said's sense because it creates a value structure in which the oriental/Eastern European is threatening, diseased, and gay while the Western European/German man struggles to maintain control over these forces. The text further develops and expands on Said's orientalism because of the introduction of a geographically German perspective, in which Eastern Europe is

connected with the Orient, and because of the focus on homosexuality rather than heterosexuality in the Orient. Ultimately, however, the orientalist intent of the novel is not undermined by this distinction. Zweig's *De Vriendt kehrt heim* appears to mirror Mann's because of his similar connection between the Orient and an alluring yet dangerous same-sex desire and because of his use of homosexuality to connect Eastern Europe with the Orient, a geographically German viewpoint. However, as I argue in the following, Zweig's text deliberately disrupts this orientalist discourse as a result of his focus on the *Ostjude*, Zionism, and Palestine.

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC: *OSTJUDEN*, ORIENTALS, AND THE RETURN TO ORIGINS

On the surface, Zweig's *De Vriendt kehrt heim* appears to adhere to an orientalist depiction of same-sex relationships in the Orient, as illustrated by Mann's novel. However, I maintain that the affair between de Vriendt and the Arab boy Saûd diverges from an orientalist account and instead metaphorically represents the possibility of a spiritual, cultural, and political coalition between Jews and Arabs. The context of the novel is thus not only orientalism but specifically a debate over Zionism. De Vriendt poses a threat to political Zionism because of his embodiment of Judaism, homosexuality, and the Orient, and because of his ability to pass between the realms of the Jews and Arabs, Orient and Occident, Western Jews and religious *Ostjuden*, and gay and straight. De Vriendt dons the trappings of the political Zionists' greatest enemy, a gay, religious Jewish man with connections to the Arabs. His precarious positioning, resembling Garber's "third," thus disrupts the opposing ethnic groups and political parties that divide Palestine, but he also offers mediation between them by striving to create a coalition between Jews and Arabs. De Vriendt's mediator position reconceptualizes Buber and Zweig's earlier idea that Jews, and the *Ostjuden* in particular, may serve as "middlemen" between the Orient and the Occident by presenting the *Ostjude* figure as a mediator for the Zionist movement.⁹⁶ The following discussion considers Zweig's manipulation of orientalist discourses on homosexuality, his challenge to the imperialist and orientalist oppression of Arabs, and his revolutionary vision of the future of Zionism.

Like Venice in *Der Tod in Venedig*, the setting of *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, Jerusalem, is characterized as a meeting point between West and East, just as Buber calls Jerusalem the "timeless passageway between Orient and Occident."⁹⁷ Zweig describes Jerusalem as a "faszinierenden Stück nackten Felsens, das zwischen der Wüste und dem Mittelländischen Meer die Brücke

von Asien nach Afrika bildete" (12).⁹⁸ Jerusalem is the link between East (desert) and West (Mediterranean) as well as between the two continents that make up the Orient (Asia and Africa). Furthermore, Jerusalem is the point at which people of many different origins and faiths come together (12).

The merging of West and East in Jerusalem is also mirrored in the diverse and complex characters of the novel. The central character in the first half of the text is de Vriendt, an ultra-Orthodox Jew from the Netherlands with anti-Zionist politics. Although de Vriendt comes from Western Europe, his religious devotion leads him to be associated with the Orthodox of Eastern Europe within the text. This connection replicates Buber and Zweig's association of the Eastern European Jews with oriental religiosity. The link between Eastern Europe and the Orthodox Jews is apparent when de Vriendt talks to Rabbi Seligmann, the fictional equivalent of Rabbi Sonnenfeld, who led the Orthodox Jewish Agudah Israel in Palestine.⁹⁹ De Vriendt tells Rabbi Seligmann that he will travel to Eastern Europe to bolster support for the Orthodox Jewish position in Palestine in opposition to the secular Zionists. He describes the Polish rabbis with whom he will speak as ascetics, and Jews of the East in general as "schüchternen und zurückgezogenen" (63–4).¹⁰⁰ The greatly religious nature of these Eastern European Jews, and their ties to de Vriendt's Orthodox position, is made clear by these references. The hatred that de Vriendt inspires in the Zionists who conspire to murder him also partly stems from their stereotypes of Orthodox Jews in the East. Three Chaluzim, or Jewish pioneers, who have recently arrived in Haifa from Eastern Europe to work the land, plot de Vriendt's murder (123). One of them, Bar Bloch, describes the Orthodox Jews of Eastern Europe with hatred: "Ach wie ich sie gehaßt habe, wenn sie daheim in ihren schwarzen Röcken, ihren Pejes und hohen Stiefeln immerfort "in Schul" liefen, ihr Augenverdrehen, sich Schütteln, Gurgeln und Heulen: oidedoi! . . . und spielen darf ein Junge nicht und Handarbeit lernen darf er auch nicht, nur im Cheder sitzen . . ." (125–6).¹⁰¹ Bloch's characterization resembles the stereotype of religious, nonassimilated, and orientalized Jews of the ghetto, rather like Nordau's own prejudice against *Ostjuden* who focus on religious study rather than labor. The Chaluzim are therefore clearly identified with Western, or political, Zionism. Another Chaluz argues that these Orthodox Jews are of the past, but the narrator admits: "Ein Vaterhaus im slowakischen Dorf läßt sich offenbar nicht so schnell ausrotten" (126).¹⁰² The immigrants' experiences with Orthodox Jewish traditions of the East color their dislike of de Vriendt, and moments later their conversation turns to murder (127). Zweig draws attention to the antisemitic stereotype of the overly religious *Ostjude*, which challenges not only political Zionism's rejection of this figure but also

points out cultural Zionism's embrace of this stereotype. Zweig thus begins to deconstruct the figure of the religious *Ostjude* that he had previously relied on unquestioningly. Hence, Zweig establishes a tension between the religious Jews of the East and the young laborers of the East, who embody two images of the *Ostjuden* that emerge in Zionist thought. Although de Vriendt's origins are actually in Western Europe, his association with Eastern European Jewish traditions and stereotypes is emphasized in the text.

At the same time, de Vriendt is linked to the Orient. From the beginning, he is described as "ein Europäer und ein Orientale," and he considers taking on Bedouin dress (34–5). The relationship between the religious de Vriendt and the "oriental" boy Saûd further associates him with the Orient. In Saûd's first appearance in the novel, he is described as wearing the exotic clothing of the Middle East: ". . . eine kindliche Gestalt, den roten Tarbusch auf dem Kopf, in weißem Hemd, rotem Gürtel, die dunkelbraunen Beine nackt aus den weiten Hosen" (52).¹⁰³ In contrast to Tadzio, Saûd's description seems modeled after the young Arab boys who serve as objects of desire in orientalist literature.¹⁰⁴ Hence, de Vriendt is connected not only to a self-consciously stereotypical image of a religious *Ostjude* but also with the European man of orientalist literature who has an affair with a stereotypical "oriental" boy. In this way, de Vriendt comes to embody an intermediary figure between both Western and Eastern Europe and the Orient and Occident. While he comes from the Netherlands, de Vriendt exemplifies the stereotype of the religious *Ostjude* and therefore remains in between Western and Eastern European Jews. Simultaneously, he is Jewish, and hence both oriental and occidental by Buber's definition, and a European who engages in a relationship with an Arab boy, therefore associating him both with the Orient and Occident. The dangerous uncertainty of de Vriendt's identity becomes, as Garber has illustrated, the basis for his revolutionary power.

While Zweig appropriates orientalist and Zionist images to create an unlikely character as a new leader of Jewish nationalism, the novel also relies on the orientalist characterization of sexual desire in the Orient as both a "promise" and a "threat,"¹⁰⁵ as in *Der Tod in Venedig*. At the same time that Zweig seems to draw on this orientalist model, however, he modifies it by using same-sex desire to clarify de Vriendt's "oriental" nature through the account of his relationship with Saûd. The positive nature of de Vriendt's relationship with Saûd is that it rejuvenates him and, I argue, symbolically fosters a connection between himself and his "oriental" heritage. De Vriendt's relationship with Saûd, therefore, diverges from orientalist accounts because he does not use the boy merely for his own indulgence and fantasies, but to connect spiritually with the Arabs and the Orient itself.

The love scene between de Vriendt and Saûd, which significantly ends a chapter devoted to the Arab leaders' decision to cooperate with de Vriendt, indicates that the love affair between the two signifies more than just same-sex love or orientalist fantasy. Zweig writes: "Wer als Erwachsener ein Kind mit Leidenschaft liebt, sucht in ihm sich selbst. . . . Es muß wieder das Kleine da sein . . ." (97).¹⁰⁶ De Vriendt's love for the boy involves the process of becoming young again as part of his passion. This return to youthfulness has been interpreted through psychoanalysis as a regression to de Vriendt's own, literal childhood through the figure of Saûd.¹⁰⁷ However, like Woodward's understanding of Aschenbach's desire to become youthful again (121), Thielking's interpretation erases the presence of Saûd, hence removing the cultural and political meaning of their union. Zweig continues: ". . . auf ungemene Art hat sich hier ein Kreis geschlossen, ein Ich hat zurück zu seinem Ich gefunden, der gehaßte Strom des Lebens, einmal mußte er rückwärts fluten; nun umschlingt er seine Quelle wie mit Armen . . ." (97).¹⁰⁸ The relationship with the boy allows de Vriendt access to the source of his life, which implies not only his own youth/childhood, but also the childhood of his people, the Jews. De Vriendt has traveled to Jerusalem to become reconnected to his ethnic roots in the Middle East, and the young Arab boy, who has grown up in Jerusalem, is representative of these origins. The "gehaßte Strom des Lebens" ("the hated current of life"), the rush and force of life and change, redirects backwards, returning to its home and origins. The "Quelle" ("source") that de Vriendt embraces through the form of the Semitic boy represents his Semitic religious and cultural heritage.

Zweig's depiction of de Vriendt and Saûd's relationship clearly draws on Buber's ideas, but his statement is unique and provocative. The spiritual rejuvenation of the Jewish people through the example of the *Ostjuden* and by means of a return to Palestine appears at the heart of Buber's message in "Der Geist des Judentums und der Orient" (77). Zweig previously adopted this idea in *Das ostjüdische Antlitz*, where he presents a symbolic rejuvenation of the Jewish people by first depicting the older *Ostjuden* and ending with a portrayal of the young boys of Eastern Europe who will lead the way in founding the Jewish homeland. The idea that the Jews need to be rejuvenated, whether spiritually and/or physically, is, as I have argued, based on antisemitic stereotypes of Jews as unhealthy and unmanly. Buber and Zweig's idea of rejuvenation through the religious, "oriental" Jews of Eastern Europe takes on a unique appearance in *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, however, because rejuvenation is represented through a personal union between a religious "*Ostjude*" and an Arab of Palestine, an idea that is not only new to Zweig's own writings but also particularly contrary to political Zionist thought.

Buber and Zweig had both advocated the importance of a return to Palestine as a means of reinvigoration and the need for a socialist Zionism that recognized the rights of the Arabs in opposition to political Zionists' imperialism, but the use of a same-sex relationship as a metaphor for a spiritual and cultural unification of the Jewish and Arab peoples themselves is revolutionary. Zweig coopts the stereotypes of Jews and gays as representing the opposite of masculine nationalism and instead creates a vision of an ethical and tolerant nationalism through a gay, Jewish character. In this way, de Vriendt's rejuvenation through the boy is linked to the cultural Zionist call for a reinvigoration of the "oriental" roots of the Jewish people through reconnection with the Orient, but Zweig portrays this idea through a reconciliation between Arabs and Jews themselves, hence challenging both orientalist models of same-sex desire and political Zionist understandings of interactions with Arabs. In this manner, Zweig transforms an antisemitic assumption that Jews need rejuvenation into a means of undermining orientalist views of Arabs and same-sex relationships.

While same-sex desire symbolically provides de Vriendt with the possibility of reconnecting with his roots, homosexuality is also thematically linked to destruction and death, as in *Der Tod in Venedig*. Following the discussion of the possibility of youthfulness through same-sex love, the narrator describes homosexuality as also leading a man "über die Grenze des menschlichen Lebens, in den Anhauch der Vernichtung" (98).¹⁰⁹ De Vriendt's connection with Saûd offers rejuvenation but also threatens his life; since their relationship represents a return to origins, as I argue, the threat of homosexuality thus foreshadows the dangers of the Zionist movement itself, which served to return the Jews to Palestine and their origins. Within the plot of the narrative, de Vriendt's life is actually threatened because of his affair with the boy. Irmin learns that two Arab men have been overheard plotting to kill de Vriendt (19). The explanation for their hatred of de Vriendt is: "Wir sind nicht in Ägypten, Herr, die Freundschaft eines erwachsenen Mannes mit einem arabischen Knaben ist nicht alltäglich hier, und manche Familien sehen ungern, was ihre Sprößlinge treiben" (19–20).¹¹⁰ De Vriendt's relationship with the boy is offensive to the boy's family, and they threaten to kill him. In this case, the Orient itself is connected with the danger of homosexuality, because it is the "Orientals" who want to murder the European man for his actions. The fact that there is a distinction made between Egypt, where gay relationships are supposedly acceptable, and Jerusalem, indicates that characters in the novel draw upon orientalist discourses concerning the acceptability of homosexuality in Egypt, as opposed to the West.¹¹¹ In fact, it becomes clear later that the menace comes from Mansur, Saûd's brother,

who has been intending to kill de Vriendt because he has brought shame on his family (96).

Furthermore, the threat to de Vriendt is also embodied in an image which de Vriendt associates with himself: the Biblical figure of Jizchak (Isaac), the boy who is ordered by God to be sacrificed at the knife of his father, Abraham, on Mount Moriah. This association emerges in de Vriendt's first conversation with Irmin, who has come to warn de Vriendt that his life is in peril. The two stand at the window of de Vriendt's apartment, which looks out over the Dome of the Rock, the holy Muslim site that stands on the traditional location of both the Temple Mount and Mount Moriah (35–6). Irmin reminds de Vriendt of his sense of identification with Isaac, whose father almost sacrificed him, and de Vriendt responds that Abraham “war ein strenger Kritiker” (36).¹¹² De Vriendt alludes to the fact that he has strayed from Orthodox religious teachings by having an affair with Saûd, and therefore has disobeyed his forefathers. Through these words, de Vriendt associates the image of Isaac's sacrifice with his own concerns about his homosexuality. Homosexuality becomes connected with death, and particularly, death by stabbing, as in the case of St. Sebastian in *Der Tod in Venedig*. De Vriendt later returns to his thoughts about his identification with Isaac after Irmin informs him that others know of his relationship with Saûd; he ponders his struggle with God over his homosexuality and fantasizes that he is Isaac, being persecuted by God by being sacrificed on Mount Moriah (46–8). His anxiety about the relationship also extends to his fear that his poetry will be discovered, and that this writing will be used to destroy his reputation (68). In his poetry, de Vriendt blames God for his desires, claiming that God has made human flesh weak and corrupted (71). He questions why God would create beings in such a way that they would stray from Him, hence faulting God for his own internal religious struggle. He further challenges God by claiming that He has abandoned his creation: “Deine Ohren sind verstopft mit Wolle und Watte und Wachs,/Deine Hände zu glatt zum Helfen wie die Haut von Forelle und Lachs” (72).¹¹³ De Vriendt's rebellious and blasphemous writings, which mirror de Haan's own poetry,¹¹⁴ reflect his religious crisis as an Orthodox Jew and a gay man, and he protects and defends this expression of his struggle with his faith, and decides to carry the manuscript around with him everywhere (72–3). Significantly, just as Tazio offers Aschenbach aesthetic inspiration, de Vriendt is also moved to write poetry after his encounter with Saûd (98), which diverges from orientalist accounts where homosexuality in the Orient interferes with intellectual productivity, but the blasphemous nature of de Vriendt's poetry indicates that homosexuality causes anguish rather than joy and beauty for de Vriendt. Same-sex

desire thus takes on a paradoxical signification in the novel, providing both a means to reconnect with one's religious and cultural heritage but also leading to conflict with God and, potentially, death. While the representation of same-sex desire as a means of reconnecting with one's heritage undermines orientalist conceptions of sexual desire in the Orient, the emphasis on religious struggle as one of the difficulties of homosexuality also significantly interrupts the orientalist model.

In addition to the personal consequences of homosexuality, the representation of same-sex desire in the novel also includes a political element, which is both beneficial and dangerous. De Vriendt intends to form a political coalition between Jews and Arabs. The political atmosphere in Jerusalem at the time is one in which there is antagonism among the Zionists, who are the secularized Jews who want to create a Jewish state, the Arabs, who want to be freed of imperialist control, and the Orthodox Jews, who are opposed to the formation of a political Jewish state.¹¹⁵ Although the secular Zionists come from both Eastern and Western Europe, they ascribe to Western Zionism, the political Zionism of Herzl and Nordau. As an Orthodox Jew, de Vriendt, along with his allies, decides to submit a proposal to the British Governor of Jerusalem presenting their desire for a coalition with the Arabs, which will subvert the secular Zionists' political supremacy in Palestine (64–6). In his discussion of the political struggle in the novel, Cohen remarks that the love between de Vriendt and Sa'ud is a paradigm for love between all Jews and Arabs (132). Hence, for de Vriendt, his love for the Arab boy has another positive aspect in that it symbolizes political union and solidarity between Jews and Arabs. Zweig's new political coalition highlights not only the unification of the orientalized *Ostjuden* and the "Orientals," which Zweig has uniquely emphasized, but also the promise that cooperation between these two groups will form the basis of the future Jewish nation. Therefore, he extends Buber's ideas by emphasizing that the "oriental" nature of the *Ostjuden* offers a foundation for cooperation between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. The text also complicates Said's dichotomy of the West versus the East by breaking down the "West" into Western Europeans and Eastern Europeans, but Zweig's conception differs from Mann's because the Eastern Europeans are spiritually, culturally, and politically linked with the *people* of the Middle East, not merely the Orient itself.

Same-sex desire as a reflection of national or political union certainly has precedents, but Zweig's approach diverges. The antiliberal account represented by Hans Blüher, in which male-male desire becomes masculine, nationalist, and militaristic, excluded Jews because they were supposedly incapable of the male-bonding necessary to create a state.¹¹⁶ Theodor Herzl's

novel *Altneuland* (1902) responds to such claims by depicting a homosocial relationship as the foundation for Jewish nationalism, since a younger Jewish man is paired with an older, Prussian aristocrat in order to transform him into an assimilated, masculine man.¹¹⁷ The homosocial bond between the two symbolizes a way to masculinize the Jews to prepare them for founding a nation. However, Zweig's model of a gay relationship as the root for a Jewish nationalism appears to reject both of these versions, which are based on the fulfillment of the ideal of masculinity as the prerequisite for nationalism. Instead, Zweig appropriates masculine nationalism's objects of hatred—Jews, gays, and the Orient—and places the future of Jewish nationalism in the hands of a character who embodies all three. Rather than the masculine *Muskeljude* serving as the hero of Zionism, Zweig transforms the stereotype of the religious *Ostjude* into a mediating figure who offers a different kind of Jewish nationalism.

However, de Vriendt's attempts to serve as a mediator between the Orthodox Jews and the Arabs, hence uniting the two "oriental" sides, is unsuccessful and eventually kills him. The "Western" Zionists view de Vriendt as a political threat to the formation of the Jewish state (21–2). This hatred towards de Vriendt mounts after de Vriendt's proposal to the British Governor of Jerusalem is reported to the public (124). One of the Chaluz who is plotting de Vriendt's murder, Mendel Glass, compares de Vriendt's lack of loyalty to that of those who started pogroms in Poland earlier in the century. He complains: "Dieser hier [de Vriendt] gehört zu uns, er weiß ganz genau, dies ist unsere letzte Chance, und trotzdem verkauft er uns den Arabern" (127).¹¹⁸ Glass sets the struggle of the Zionists against the background of the persecution from which the Eastern European Jewish immigrants are fleeing. In the face of such oppression, the Chaluzim believe that the Jews should be united in creating a nation, and the Arabs and any Jewish dissenters become associated with the antisemites of Eastern Europe. Thus, Jews are divided between two positions, and the Orthodox Jewish position is linked to the "Orientals," whom the "Western" Zionists see as threatening, thus indicating the political Zionists' orientalist point of view. As a result, the Chaluzim decide they must murder de Vriendt (125). Hence, de Vriendt's life is threatened on both sides: by the "Orientals," who resent him because of his relationship with an Arab boy, and by the "Western" Zionists, who distrust him because of his political ties with the "Orientals." Ultimately, however, the ties between the two "oriental" sites are stronger than the ties between Jews; crying "Verrat tötet"¹¹⁹ it is the Zionists who murder de Vriendt (136).

At the moment that the gunshots enter his body, de Vriendt feels "drei knallenden Schlagstichen,"¹²⁰ alluding to the stabbing of Isaac, and he then

becomes immersed in a dream-like state in which he imagines that he is Isaac (136). This dream passage provides key insights into Zweig's argument about the significance of de Vriendt to the future of Zionism. In the dream, de Vriendt becomes Isaac, and he is traveling to Damascus, "sein verschwiegener Wunsch in Erfüllung, die zauberische Stadt noch einmal zu sehen" (136).¹²¹ The desire to return to Damascus had been expressed by de Vriendt himself during travels in northern Palestine with Irmin; de Vriendt declares: "Ich möchte mit Ihnen meinen alten Herzenswunsch erfüllen: den Traum Damaskus noch einmal träumen" (121).¹²² Irmin refuses and insists they turn back at Safed, and de Vriendt actually dreams of traveling to Damascus the night before his murder, pining for "sein geliebt[er] Königstadt, der mächtigen Damaskus, die schon Abraham in ihren Lehmmauern gesehen hatte" (129).¹²³ In the dream, the beauty of Damascus is described fondly as a paradise: ". . . die süßen Wasser von Dameschek umspülten Wiesen, das blaue Geäst der Pflaumenbäume, das Ebenmaß der Brücken" (137).¹²⁴ The importance of the return to Damascus also appears evident in the title of the chapter in which de Vriendt dies, "Heim nach Dameschek" ("Home to Damascus"), which suggests that the "Heim" of the title of the novel refers to Damascus. Damascus, however, never served as a home for Abraham, who merely passed through Damascus on his way from Ur to Canaan, so the reason for Isaac's desire to "return" to Damascus remains unclear. Damascus, in fact, had become a traditionally Muslim city, and Zweig had been to visit the mosques there during his visit to Palestine in 1932.¹²⁵ De Vriendt's dreamed journey to Damascus unfolds the importance of this city as his "home."

In the dream, de Vriendt, as Isaac, travels northward on his father's camels, and he watches the changing scenery and the changing groups of people he encounters. He first sees shepherds with their flocks, and Bedouin, and he passes through the mountains of Hermon. As he approaches Damascus, he witnesses a scene out of history: "Vorüber glitt das Dorf der Erscheinung: da wandelte ja auf der Straße die weiße Gestalt des Galiläers, dem kein Gruß und kein Blick entboten ward, und ihm zu Füßen krümmte sich Rabbi Saul von Tarsus, der Abtrünnige, er, der dem Herrn der Heerscharen die unheilbare Wunde schlagen sollte" (137).¹²⁶ Isaac sees Jesus walking through the streets of a village outside of Damascus, and at his feet crouches Paul, who strayed from Judaism and spread Christianity throughout the Mediterranean, hence wounding God in the eyes of Judaism. Paul's epiphany, which led to his decision to become a Christian, occurred just outside of Damascus.¹²⁷ De Vriendt is symbolically connected to Paul, since he has also rebelled against God through his poetry. In Damascus, Isaac looks for his father, Abraham, "der Zerstörer der Götzen," whom he finds in the "Hofe

der Moschee, im Tempel der falschen Götter" (137).¹²⁸ In this temple, in which Abraham has apparently once again destroyed the idols, thousands of people are praying. The temple of idols, which Abraham could have historically destroyed, however, could not have been an Islamic temple, so the reference makes it unclear whether Abraham is challenging Islam or an ancient Canaanite religion. The dream continues, claiming that earth is the mother, and "die Sonne ist der Vater, der große Sonnengott Baal, dessen Haus sich auftürmt, wo rechts ein Gebirge steht und links ein Gebirge, in der Höhlung des Hohllandes, in Baalbeck, der Stadt des Baal. Und da, in der Verwüstung des Tempels, thronte Abraham . . ." (138).¹²⁹ Even in the destruction of the temple of the idols, the Canaanite god Baal is described with reverence, as the father, the great sun-god. As a result, the thousands of people worshipping in the temple may be worshipping Baal or the enthroned Abraham. The simultaneous appearance of both Baal and Abraham creates an uncertainty about which religion rules in the temple. Thus, Damascus is associated with the ancient Canaanite religion of Baal, with Christianity, in the form of Jesus, with Islam, in the form of the mosque, and with Judaism, in the form of Abraham. Damascus, Isaac's "home," therefore represents a place which unifies all of these religions, such that they coexist across thousands of years. The city is his home not because Abraham or Isaac historically called Damascus home, but rather because the city embodies the home of the Semitic peoples, where all of their past and present religions originate.

Isaac's interaction with his father Abraham seems to provide further challenges to Judaism as the sole religion, at least within de Vriendt's mind. In the Biblical story, Isaac is not sacrificed by Abraham because God provides a ram at the last moment; Abraham has proven his faith through his willingness to sacrifice his own son, so God relieves him of this task. The test of faith, which is the meaning of the story, remains central to the dream, since de Vriendt's own faith in God is being questioned. In the dream, in contrast to the Biblical story, Isaac has actually been sacrificed: ". . . er, Jizchak, geopfert auf Moriah und nunmehr genesen" (137).¹³⁰ He has endured the sacrifice at his father's hands, and hence has been betrayed by his father, but he has healed. The narrator claims that the earth mother "geduldet hatte, daß man ihn, Jizchak, geopfert hatte auf ihrer Brust, die Moriah hieß, beschnitten, sein Blut ihm entrissen mit steinernem Messer" (138).¹³¹ Isaac has therefore not only been stabbed by the knife of his father, but this sacrifice is associated with circumcision, hence seeming to challenge the covenant between Abraham and God that forms the basis of the Jewish religion. While de Vriendt might see the sacrifice and the circumcision simply as necessary elements of Judaism, the antagonism between

Abraham and Isaac in the dream suggests that the sacrifice/circumcision has led to enmity between the two.

The description of Abraham clearly associates him with God: "Abraham . . . mit einem feuerfarbenen Barte, von dem das Sonnenlicht ausging, und dem blauen Gelächter um die Augen, denen der Himmel seine Farbe entlieh, und er war es, der Schöpfer des Alls" (138).¹³² Abraham's large form and blazing beard and eyes represent not a man, but the creator of the universe. Isaac's reunion with this god-like father does not appear joyful, but rather, Isaac trembles in fear: "Er wollte sich verstecken vor dem Blick des Vaters, aber schon hatte der ihn gesehen, und Schwindel umkreisten ihn, da er zu ihm hinkroch" (138).¹³³ In contrast to Isaac's fond memories of Damascus and his longing to return there to see his father, the actual reunion with his father is more of a confrontation, and he becomes small, weak, and child-like before him. He seems to be returning to the boy he was at the time of the sacrifice itself. Isaac crawls toward his father underneath a "Torbogen . . . der seit Menschengedenken zusammenhielt," but the archway suddenly begins to shrink around him: "Die Wölbung senkte sich auf ihn hernieder, seine Seiten preßte der Stein, seine Hände und Füße gruben sich in den Boden . . . Atmen war schon schwer" (129).¹³⁴ The ancient archway in the temple of the idols, which has stood as long as humans can remember, suddenly begins to collapse in order to crush Isaac underneath. While Isaac lies under the stones, he hears the laughter of "des fürchterlichen Vaters," who may be both Abraham and God. Abraham/God then challenges Isaac: "Willst du mich denn nicht endlich lieben, Jizchak, mein Sohn, wie ich nun einmal bin?" Isaac responds, "Nein!"¹³⁵ And this is the last word de Vriendt says as people run to help him (139). De Vriendt, in the form of Isaac, has in the end rejected God and hence Judaism. Damascus has thus become a location of rebellion against religion throughout the ages: Abraham's destruction of the temple of Baal, Paul's rejection of Judaism in favor of Jesus, and now, Isaac, the forefather of the Jewish people, rejects God as well. Damascus is therefore not only a place where all Semitic religions simultaneously coexist, but also the city where these religions have been challenged. De Vriendt/Isaac's yearning to return to Damascus thus appears to be a desire to confront God, and hence, a need to transform the religiosity and faith of the Jewish people, as Buber and Zweig had previously proposed through a return to Palestine.

In spite of this potential for change, however, the sacrifice of de Vriendt could only have negative connotations for Zweig. De Vriendt embodies the hope of the unification of Arab and Jewish interests, which Zweig also calls for in *Das neue Kanaan*; de Vriendt represents the orientalized, religious *Ostjuden*, who Buber and Zweig believed would provide models for Jewish

settlers in Palestine; and de Vriendt's murder represents the violence within Zionism, which Zweig condemns in *Das neue Kanaan*. When de Vriendt is murdered, even though the political Zionists are at fault, the possibility of harmony between Jews and Arabs falls apart. Saüd, confronted with the news of de Vriendt's death, talks of a book de Vriendt had given him: "Es handelt von der Zeit . . . da die Araber und die Juden in Spanien miteinander lebten. Das ist lange her und wird nicht mehr sein" (150).¹³⁶ Saüd refers intertextually to Zweig's "Das jüdische Palästina und der Orient," in which Zweig envisions harmony between Jews and Arabs through the model of the "spanisch-maurischen Zeit" (85; "Spanish-Moorish period").¹³⁷ The rebellion of the Arabs and the ensuing disharmony between Jews and Arabs which, in the novel, occurs as a result of the murder, supports his comment. The murder of de Vriendt by political Zionists therefore signifies Zweig's concerns about the possibility of achieving a peaceful coalition between Jews and Arabs, although de Vriendt's death does not negate the potential for change embodied in his intermediary figure. The dream therefore indicates Zweig's vision of the unity of Jews and Arabs, his call for the reinvigoration of Jewish religiosity, and his demand for a rejection of violence and imperialism.

Zweig's hope for a unification of Jews and Arabs in Palestine develops out of a history of protest by both Buber and Zweig. Certainly, the presentation of de Vriendt as a mediator between Arabs and Jews is related to the historical figure of de Haan on whom de Vriendt is based. De Haan was an ultra-Orthodox Jew, gay, and anti-Zionist, and he was concerned with criticizing political Zionism and trying to protect the rights of the Orthodox Jews of the Agudah Israel in Palestine, who were not represented by the political Zionists. However, although de Haan did negotiate with Arab leaders, he did so only in order to gain protection for the Orthodox Jews; it is debatable whether he was actually sympathetic to the Arab nationalist cause.¹³⁸ Zweig's concern about the Arabs therefore may have less to do with the historical events on which the novel is based than with Zweig's own interests. The issue of the Arabs of Palestine had emerged in Buber and Zweig's letters of the late 1910s and further developed in the early 1920s. Buber wrote a proposal for the Twelfth Zionist Congress of 1921, setting forth a socialist Zionism and an appeal on behalf of the political rights of the Arabs in Palestine, and he was also active in Brit Shalom (Covenant of Peace), an organization that promoted Jewish-Arab understanding and a binational state.¹³⁹ As a result of his close dialogue with Buber, Zweig was undoubtedly influenced by Buber's public concern about the situation of the Arabs, and his writings on the subject mirror Buber's own ideas. Zweig's essays "Das jüdische Palästina und der Orient" (1921) and

Das neue Kanaan (1924) also call for a socialist and ethical Zionism that would protect the Arabs and transform the economic system to benefit the fellahin.¹⁴⁰ Hence, Zweig's interest in the rights of the Arabs developed out of his dialogue with Buber, who was particularly engaged in political discussions on Jewish-Arab relations.

While Zweig sets forth a proposal for a Zionism that recognizes Arab rights, the novel does contain orientalist representations of the Arabs, but as I will argue, Zweig attempts to give a voice to the Arab population. Saûd, as mentioned earlier, embodies the stereotype of the young Arab boy who seduces Western male visitors, and the simultaneously alluring and dangerous nature of their relationship mirrors the notion that the Orient threatens Western masculinity. The novel also includes scenes and characters that suggest an orientalist perspective, as when Saûd's father and his associates gather to discuss de Vriendt's proposal for a coalition with the Arabs of Palestine. A room of Saûd's home is transformed into an orientalist painting:

Die Wasserpfeifen glucksen. Männer, das Haupt mit dem kleinen weißen Turban geschmückt . . . und alle wortkarg, sitzen auf ihren untergeschlagenen Beinen. . . . Das Gemach, mit bunten Fenstern nach dem Garten und edlen Teppichen in den verflochtenen Mustern der besten persischen Herstellung. . . . (90–1)¹⁴¹

Zweig evokes European ideas of what the oriental world should look like. On the other hand, in conjunction with this orientalist imagery, perspectives from different elements of the Arab population are expressed. Mansur, Saûd's brother, represents the revolutionary, violent element that calls for a revolt, while the land-owning Arab leaders call for moderation, peace, and possible negotiation with de Vriendt (91–96).¹⁴² Thirdly, the situation of the Arab peasants in Palestine, the fellahin, is contrasted with that of these wealthy landowners who make decisions for them; the narrator comments: “. . . der Arbeitstag eines Fellahin und seiner Familie, hat vierzehn bis sechzehn Stunden, und dennoch muß die Regierung ihnen alle paar Jahre die rückständigen Steuern erlassen. Effendis aber zahlen keine Steuern . . .” (88).¹⁴³ Hence, Zweig makes distinctions between the Arabs politically and economically, and he clearly criticizes the feudal system which oppresses the fellahin, not only in this context but also through the voices of multiple characters in the text, such as Nachman and Levinson.¹⁴⁴ Continuing his protest on behalf of the fellahin in “Das jüdische Palästina und der Orient” and *Das neue Kanaan* in the early 1920s, the criticism apparent in *De Vriendt kehrt heim* counteracts its orientalist scenes and characters.

Later in the novel, Zweig seems to deliberately reference the passage in *Das neue Kanaan* where he presents an adamant call for the recognition of the rights of the Arab peasants of Palestine in the formation of a Jewish national home (217), which offers a more specific intertextual insight into Zweig's critique of orientalism in the novel. When discussing the Arab uprising in reaction to de Vriendt's funeral, Zweig notes that only a fraction of the Arab inhabitants actually rose up. Most, he says, recognized that ". . . wirtschaftlicher Aufschwung, persönlicher Vorteil ist mit den Juden ins Land gekommen" (193).¹⁴⁵ While this positive portrayal of the Jewish and Arab coexistence reflects Zweig's own wishes, the language recalls similar words in *Das neue Kanaan*, where he clearly criticizes the Jewish settlers. Zweig presents the Zionist perspective: "Die Juden bringen dem Lande Vorteile. Verglichen mit Syrien und dem Irak und selbst mit Ägypten, hat nur Palästina eine Entwicklung zum Bessern genommen, die auch den Arabern daselbst zugute kommt" (217).¹⁴⁶ Then he explains what the Arab peasants would say in response: "Was Ihr Vorteil nennt und gut und ein Geschenk—uns ist es weder gut noch Geschenk. Wir wollen die alte Ruhe unseres Landes . . ." (217).¹⁴⁷ Zweig expresses the fellahin's outrage at the disruption of their culture and way of life and demands a change in Zionist politics to acknowledge the rights of the Arabs.¹⁴⁸ Hence, the novel's reference to Zweig's earlier argument implies his own criticism of the treatment of the Arabs as well as a recognition of the reasons behind the revolt. The fact that Zweig expresses not only concern about impoverished Arabs but also gives a voice to the political leaders of the Arab population in *De Vriendt kehrt heim* thus usurps orientalist and imperialist tendencies in the political Zionist movement.

Another element of the text that seems to contradict Zweig's focus on Arab rights is the stereotyping of the Arabs as childlike and irrational, which reflects typical orientalist depictions. For instance, the British official Irmin states, "Diese Leute sind große Kinder, wilde Buben ohne Hemmungen, rasch mit dem Messer in eines Mannes Rücken" (29).¹⁴⁹ De Vriendt later remarks: "Ich liebe die Araber. . . Wie einfach sie sind—ganz in Zuneigung, ganz in Abscheu. Ihr Gelächter ist herrlich . . ." (36–7).¹⁵⁰ The fact that de Vriendt falls in love with an Arab boy in a context in which Arabs are conceived of as simple yet potentially dangerous suggests that Zweig draws upon European understandings of the Orient as described by Said. Zweig's original handwritten draft of this passage, however, inserts the comment that perhaps he loves the Arabs because they built a temple on the site where his father sacrificed him.¹⁵¹ This suggests that de Vriendt feels a sense of affinity for the Muslim Arabs because of a similar devotion to the story of the sacrifice of Isaac. De Vriendt's love for the Arabs thus stems from the convergence

of Jewish and Muslim beliefs. Furthermore, these comments exist in the midst of many conflicting opinions voiced in the text. For example, Heinrich Klopfer comments sarcastically, when conversing with a group of Zionist leaders after de Vriendt's death that, "Uns schlichten Intelligenzen . . . uns geht nicht in den Kopf, wie wir in Europa für Versittlichung des Alltags eintreten können, auch des politischen, um hier als Herrenrasse Unterdrücker zu spielen" (158).¹⁵² Klopfer's critical and perceptive remark that Zionists are participating in the oppression of the fellahin is quickly dismissed by Eli Saamen, but the concern he expresses about the direction of Zionism reflects the argument established by the narrative of de Vriendt. Thus, the orientalist comments made by certain characters are overshadowed by the more cohesive argument for a cultural and political unification of the Arabs and Jews in the character of de Vriendt.

In conclusion, the narrative concerning de Vriendt establishes Zweig's unique conception of the future of Jewish nationalism that rejects orientalist, antisemitic, homophobic, and imperialist elements within Zionism. Superficially, Zweig's text appears to mirror Mann's clearly orientalist text. Like Mann's text, *De Vriendt kehrt heim* follows the pattern in orientalist literature in which homosexuality is connected with the Orient and seen as both alluring and dangerous. In addition, Zweig's novel, like Mann's novella, bifurcates the West of Said's definition into Western and Eastern Europe, and uses homosexuality as a theme to connect Eastern Europe with the Orient. However, diverging from both orientalism and Zionism, Zweig depicts a religious *Ostjude* in a relationship with an Arab boy, which represents not only the spiritual and cultural rejuvenation of the Jewish people through their reassociation with their "oriental" roots, but also the possibility of a political coalition between Jews and Arabs in the formation of a Jewish homeland in the Middle East. Thus, de Vriendt interrupts and complicates the apparently orientalist discourse of same-sex desire in *De Vriendt kehrt heim*. He has a gay relationship with an Arab boy, but he finds *himself*, as a religious, Jewish man, in the Arab boy. The purpose of same-sex desire in the text is not to fulfill fantasies but to offer the possibility of reconnecting Jews and Arabs ethnically and politically. De Vriendt thus serves as a mediator between Jews and Arabs, which is facilitated by his ambiguous positioning between Jews/Arabs, Orient/Occident, Western/Eastern European Jews, and heterosexuality/homosexuality. Unlike Garber's "third," however, de Vriendt does not merely challenge these binary categories but strives to unify both sides of the binary distinctions. The fact that de Vriendt is murdered by political Zionists, who ascribe to the ideals of European, masculine nationalism that uphold these binary categories, appears logical since de Vriendt embodies all that is threatening to masculine subjectivity. De Vriendt incarnates the

possibility of a new Jewish nationalism, directly opposed to masculine, political Zionism, which promotes tolerance and ethical treatment of all Jews, Arabs, and gays. In this way, Zweig reconceptualizes the orientalized, idealized stereotype of the *Ostjude* appearing in his earlier dialogue with Buber into a complex character who definitively undermines the orientalist, homophobic, and antisemitic overtones of political Zionism.

In addition to his subversion of orientalist discourses on homosexuality, and hence, European, masculine nationalism, Zweig's text also challenges political Zionism through his emphasis on Arab rights. Significantly, the political conflict at the center of the de Vriendt narrative is not between Arabs and Jews but between political Zionists and the anti-Zionist de Vriendt who, in fact, appears to act out part of the cultural Zionist program by trying to rediscover his spirituality and Semitic heritage. The political Zionists, who have adopted a politics born in Western Europe, are the truly dangerous elements of the Orient. Zweig's account of de Vriendt's murder relies on the account of de Haan's murder at the time,¹⁵³ but the transference of the "oriental" threat from the Arabs to the European Jews reflects not only Zweig's questioning of the path of political Zionism but also his concern about recognizing Arab rights in a Jewish state. Zweig's vision of a future Palestine in de Vriendt's dream of Damascus where Semitic peoples and religions are united further challenges the divisive, imperialist tendency in political Zionism in favor of a hope for harmony and peace between Jews and Arabs.

While seemingly orientalist in its depiction of same-sex desire in the Orient as both alluring and dangerous and its exoticization and stereotyping of the Arabs, *De Vriendt kehrt heim* actually contains a weave of orientalist, anti-orientalist, and non-orientalist arguments. Zweig intertwines orientalist structures with the anti-orientalist discourse against the oppression of the Arabs and the domination of the political Zionists and the non-orientalist theme of a reunification of Jews and Arabs made possible by the intermediary figure of the religious *Ostjude*. In the end, elements of Zweig's German-Jewish identity emerge in his representation of the Orient, such as in his concerns about Zionism, Jewish-Arab relations, and the figure of the *Ostjude*, and these concerns regarding the future the Jewish people in early twentieth-century Europe take priority over the dominant European orientalist discourse described by Said.

ROOTS, RADIC(A)L(E)S AND RHIZOMES: HOPE FOR THE FUTURE OF ZIONISM

In the second half of the novel, the political Zionist who murdered the religious *Ostjude* de Vriendt surreptitiously emerges as the central character. While

de Vriendt superficially represents the religious, mystical side of the *Ostjude* stereotype prevalent in Zweig's earlier works, Mendel Glass, de Vriendt's murderer, evokes both Buber and Zweig's vision of the *Ostjude* as socialist laborer and Nordau's *Muskeljude*, who will work the land and build the Jewish nation. Unlike Buber and Zweig's visions of the *Ostjude*, however, Glass participates in the violent, masculine nationalism of political Zionism by murdering de Vriendt, which clearly contradicts Buber and Zweig's call for an ethical, tolerant Zionism in their letters of the 1910s. Therefore, the figure of Glass calls into question the viability of this idealized, political and cultural Zionist hero. However, Glass does not merely represent hopelessness for the future. Glass's devotion to hard labor on the land of Palestine reflects his recognition that he needs to do penance for the murder.¹⁵⁴ He therefore may be spiritually renewed through his labor, which Buber and Zweig had called for in their earlier writings, and which differs from the simple physical renewal called for by Nordau. I argue that Zweig's vision of the future of Zionism therefore requires the combination of both central characters. The figure of de Vriendt mediates between Jews and Arabs, thus offering spiritual, cultural, and political reconnection, while Glass suggests a practical method of spiritual rejuvenation through labor on the land of Palestine. Zweig presents both aspects as necessary for an ethical and peaceful integration of Jews in Palestine.

As a result of the many different figures and viewpoints in the text, scholars have debated which of these characters represents Zweig's vision of hope for the future of Palestine, and my argument enters into this debate. Zweig expertly outlines many different perspectives in Palestine at the time through the viewpoints of his various characters: socialist, Marxist, political Zionist, anti-Zionist, humanist. Thielking sets in opposition the aggressive, political Zionism of Mendel Glass and Eli Saamen against the humanism of Heinrich Klopfer and de Vriendt, but later suggests that Levinson's Marxism and Nachum A. Nachman's socialism might represent Zweig's view of the future. Salamon and Schumacher, on the other hand, have both claimed that the death of Nachman indicates the failure of his idealistic socialism by this point in the Jewish-Arab conflict. Schumacher argues that Glass learns from Nachman's dying words and thus replaces him, even though Glass lacks the greatness of the socialist leader.¹⁵⁵ Since Thielking and Schumacher both believe that the de Vriendt narrative focuses on a psychological struggle rather than on Zionism, de Vriendt does not emerge in their work to represent the future of Zionism.¹⁵⁶ The presentation of these multiple voices and perspectives, however, suggests an attempt to display many possible ideologies and directions, hence making it difficult to choose which minor characters may embody Zweig's own views. As a result, I instead assert that the

two central figures of the novel, de Vriendt and his successor and murderer Glass, embody the argument of the novel, and that they deliberately challenge political Zionism's direction and guide the Jewish people toward reconciliation with the Arabs, spiritual renewal, and labor on the land.

While the ideal of the *Ostjude* as agricultural worker and the call for renewal through labor developed in Zweig's dialogue with Buber in the 1910s and 1920s, Zweig's approach in *De Vriendt kehrt heim* treats his earlier idealism with irony but continues to place hope in spiritual and physical renewal. The image of the Eastern European Jewish immigrant as an agricultural worker appears early on in the novel. In his discussion with Rabbi Seligman about traveling to Eastern Europe to stir up support for their cause, de Vriendt remarks, "Bereiten sich auf unseren Lehrgütern in Polen nicht genug thora treue Jünglinge zur Übersiedlung hierher vor?" (65).¹⁵⁷ Here, the hard-working laborer is also educated in Torah, which reflects the combination of spirituality and hard work as the way to religious renewal, as captured in both Buber's "Der Geist des Judentums und der Orient" and Zweig's *Das ostjüdische Antlitz*. The most prominent figure who embodies the socialist agrarian ideal, however, is Nachman A. Nachman, the aging leader of a socialist settlement at Daganía (156).¹⁵⁸ After the stand-off at Haifa, Irmin, Saamen, and Glass accompany Dr. Philipsthal to Daganía, where Nachman is dying from an accidental gun-shot wound (219). As the visitors mourn the impending death of Nachman, he tells them not to worry: "Ich habe das Land geliebt. Ich habe gern gelebt, ein gutes Leben" (221).¹⁵⁹ The narrator explains that Nachman had worked the soil of Palestine for sixty years, and that he had participated in socialist communities where he performed his daily labor alongside everyone else (221–2). Nachman also refers to a passage in the Scriptures which had always pleased him, "die von den siebenzig Jahren und der köstlichen Mühe und Arbeit" (223).¹⁶⁰ The laudation of Nachman and his many years of labor on the land seems to provide an example to the other characters, especially Glass. The value Nachman places on agricultural labor exemplifies Zweig and Buber's goals for the physical development needed for the settlement of Palestine.¹⁶¹ Nachman is also linked to the historical figure Ahron David Gordon (1856–1922), who established a "religion of labor" in Palestine, claiming that through communal labor on the land one could "renew" Jewish spirituality.¹⁶² In addition to his representation of the *Landarbeiter* ideal, Nachman also points out the importance of maintaining good relations with the Arabs. Since Nachman's killer has not been identified, Nachman insists that the Arabs not be blamed: ". . . die Araber nichts entgelten laßt.' Diese Möglichkeit schien ihn sehr zu beunruhigen. Er erwähnte sie noch mehrere Male . . ." (223).¹⁶³ Nachman

does not want to cause unnecessary conflicts between Jews and Arabs, as de Vriendt's death did. The perspectives of these two men who died as a result of the political conflicts are radically different. De Vriendt's position is to take advantage of Arab support in order to stand up against the secular Zionists, who are also enemies of the Orthodox Jews, while Nachman's socialist standpoint is that everyone should work alongside everyone else, and therefore there should not be bloodshed between Jews and Arabs. Zweig does not seem to reject either of these two methods of fostering coalition between Jews and Arabs; Glass, who appears to be a descendant of Nachman's ideas, and de Vriendt both represent possible versions of the future of Palestine.

Mendel Glass, who had first been introduced when planning de Vriendt's murder, insidiously and namelessly reemerges in the text, in an anti-heroic way. When many are fleeing Jerusalem because of the impending revolt after de Vriendt's funeral, a young man "mit roten Backen . . . schläfrigen blauen Augen"¹⁶⁴ appears next to Eli Saamen's taxi, and begs for a ride to Haifa (179–80). Saamen looks at the boy and immediately describes him as "harmlos," "[k]räftig," and "arbeitswillig" (180).¹⁶⁵ As they converse, Saamen learns that Glass is a recent immigrant from Poland and has a fresh, hard-working attitude. He had already benefited from "Ausbildung für Landarbeit"¹⁶⁶ before his arrival, and the narrator explains, "Er nahm auch gern Arbeit . . . auf dem Kwisch, worunter Straßenbau verstanden wurde, Schwarzarbeit, härteste Beanspruchung eines europäischen Menschen im palästinensischen Klima" (180).¹⁶⁷ Saamen is impressed by the boy's hardiness and thinks, "gutes Holz" (180).¹⁶⁸ The young Eastern European Jew is tough and willing to take on hard physical labor in order to build Palestine, and the praise he receives suggests that his attitude is a model for other Jewish settlers. However, Saamen's praise must be somewhat ironic, considering the fact that Glass is not a simple, harmless worker but a murderer and, hence, the instigator of the revolt from which they flee. Saamen's own role in the text must be investigated in order to determine whether or not his praise indicates that Glass is redeemed for his crime through his labor.

Saamen's own morality is brought into question through his comments in the novel, and Thielking and Schumacher have both argued that Saamen represents the evils of political Zionism rather than a model for the future.¹⁶⁹ In a conversation with Klopfer, the Eastern European Jew Saamen promotes aggression and oppression to rule Palestine in opposition to the German-Jewish intellectual Klopfer's humanism.¹⁷⁰ Saamen attempts to justify violent conflict with the Arabs, claiming that the Jews need to establish a majority in Palestine and gain control of the land to save themselves from extinction (166). To support his argument, he, like the Chaluzim who plotted de

Vriendt's murder, speaks of the pogroms in Eastern Europe. His father was killed in a pogrom when he was a boy, and he defended others by shooting his father's murderer; his brother, who later fought in World War I on the German side, also killed a Russian soldier to avenge his father's death (167). Saamen's pride at this history of resistance in his family also leads him to defend de Vriendt's murderer; de Vriendt's anti-Zionism made him appear to be a threat to the security of the Jews in Palestine, and therefore the Zionists murdered him (163–4).¹⁷¹ Klopfer's horrified response, that “[m]an macht nicht Löcher in Menschen, damit sie verbluten, und deckt sein Gewissen mit Aufbau-Idealen zu. Ein Mensch ist eben keine Wanze” (164),¹⁷² resembles the moral outrage that Zweig himself expressed in *Das neue Kanaan* (220) in reaction to the possibility that de Haan was murdered by Zionists. The fact that the character Klopfer has his origins in a narrative of forbidden sexual desire in the Orient¹⁷³ further links him with de Vriendt and the hope for peaceful coexistence in Palestine. As a result, Zweig appears to be condemning Saamen's belief in the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine at any cost. When discussing the Jewish right to the land, Saamen makes another statement which seems to oppose Zweig's earlier writings. Saamen muses:

“Transjordanien—eine schöne Gründung. Kriegte ich nur die drei Millionen Juden hierher, die jetzt in Rußland langsam verschwinden, und hunderttausend Gewehre, dann wollte ich den Leuten schon zeigen, ob sie uns den Eintritt in ein Gebiet verweigern dürfen, wo unser Führer Moses begraben liegt und die Knochen unserer Vorfäter in der Wüste verwehten.” (164)¹⁷⁴

Saamen asserts the right of the Jews to capture Jordan because of their ancient connections to the land, hence relying upon Biblical sources to justify the Jewish claim to the land.¹⁷⁵ Saamen's nationalistic dream of an army of *Ostjuden* contrasts with Zweig's own vision of an army of Jews in his letter to Buber, in which he talks of freeing the oppressed *Ostjuden*, because Saamen promotes a violent reappropriation of the land, while Zweig strives to emancipate the *Ostjuden* suffering under pogroms.¹⁷⁶

While Saamen's violent perspective diverges considerably from Zweig's earlier writings, other moments in the text seem to suggest a sympathy for Saamen's views. Saamen, reminiscing about Jewish history in the Middle East, mentions that Moses murdered an Egyptian, and states: “Politischer Mord am Anfang unserer Geschichte.’ Wie Romulus und Remus, erschrak Heinrich Klopfer—Kain und Abel. Am Anfang jeder Staatengründung ein Brudermord” (165).¹⁷⁷ While Klopfer expresses resignation and despair about

the violence inherent in nation-building,¹⁷⁸ their comments clearly refer to de Vriendt's murder, hence suggesting that this "Brudermord" ("fratricide"), like all others in the past, necessarily precedes the successful formation of a nation. Zweig's reliance upon this narrative in his own novel suggests that the death of de Vriendt is an unfortunate but necessary event in the formation of the Jewish state. Furthermore, Zweig's telling of the Arab revolt also seems to coincide with Saamen's own views. Zweig characterizes the revolt in the following manner: ". . . es ist ein einfacher Pogrom, man kennt ihn in der jüdischen Geschichte; aber diesmal läuft er anders ab als früher: die Opfer, diese Juden, haben sich gründlich verändert. Sie stehen sehr gerade, sie schlagen zurück, und ihr Schlag sitzt" (193).¹⁷⁹ Instead of describing the Arab revolt in a sympathetic manner, Zweig labels the uprising "ein einfacher Pogrom" ("a simple pogrom"), hence establishing an intratextual reference to Saamen and the Chaluzim's association between de Vriendt and the oppressors of Eastern Europe. The Arabs, as well, become like the Eastern European oppressors, simply because they are involved in an attack on Jews. Just as Zweig encourages laboring on the land, he praises the strength of the Zionists fighting back.¹⁸⁰ However, these comments are quickly followed by admiration for the many Arab communities that did not participate in the uprising and that tried to coexist in harmony with their Jewish neighbors, which, as I have argued, indicates Zweig's sympathy for the Arabs (193). Furthermore, Zweig's approval of violent resistance to the uprising seems to contradict his claims in both his letter to Buber in early 1918 and in *Das neue Kanaan* that Jewish nationalism must be ethical and fair, and that violence and oppression should not be used to achieve a Jewish homeland.¹⁸¹ The text therefore exposes the tension between a belief in the physical reinvigoration of the Jews and an ethical, peaceful nationalism. Nordau's essay on *Muskeldentum*, a precursor to Buber and Zweig's own ideas of physical regeneration, specifically presents the Jewish warriors of the Bar Kochba revolt as models for the Jewish people.¹⁸² Buber and Zweig's belief in a socialist and ethical nationalism, however, can not necessarily be reconciled with the Jewish warriors who will be produced by their own rhetoric of revitalization. As a result, an ambivalence appears here, such that Zweig celebrates the physical rejuvenation of the Jewish people as is evidenced in their resistance to the Arab revolt but also criticizes Zionist violence. This tension may therefore be embodied in the character of Glass, who is praised by Saamen for his hard-working attitude, but who also murdered de Vriendt, an act which Zweig clearly condemned. Therefore, although Thielking and Schumacher present convincing evidence for Zweig's disavowal of Saamen's views, I maintain that Zweig's attitude toward violence in the name of the Jewish settlement appears

to be rather ambivalent, thus allowing a morally questionable character such as Glass to become a hopeful figure. As a result of this ambiguous depiction of Saamen, I argue that Saamen's repeated praise of Glass is deliberately ironic but also intended to indicate that Glass truly has potential to be "gutes Holz" ("tough stuff").

Glass's moral transformation occurs during his visit to Daganian, where he listens to the dying words of the socialist leader Nachman. Schumacher has argued that Glass is profoundly influenced by Nachman's espousal of deliverance through labor, decides to serve his penance through hard labor, and therefore inherits Nachman's beliefs (181–4). Glass had in fact already decided that he was prepared for heavy labor, as he expressed to Saamen at their first meeting, so Glass may or may not have originally viewed labor as a way of atoning for the murder (180). In any event, Glass does question his actions after meeting Nachman and, moreover, challenges his stereotypes of religious *Ostjuden* that had been used to justify the murder. After listening to Nachman tell of his long life of labor on the soil, Glass muses: "Sonderbar doch, wie sich dieser Nachman von seinem Großvater unterschied, von dem Raw des Städtchens, von all den alten eingetrockneten Feinden, die über dem Talmud wackelten. Ganz schön, solch ein Leben ausgelebt zu haben" (224).¹⁸³ He reiterates the stereotype of *Ostjuden* as religious and physically weak that his compatriot Bloch had expressed when they plotted de Vriendt's murder, but he seems to become aware at this moment that this stereotype is flawed and inaccurate. In connection with this recognition, Glass wonders if he should have murdered de Vriendt: "Wahrscheinlich mußte jedes Leben ausgelebt werden, wie etwas Unnatürliches darin lag, einen halb erwachsenen Baum umzuhacken. Hätte er also den de Vriendt ruhig weiter machen lassen sollen?" (224).¹⁸⁴ Nachman awakens in Glass the realization of the value of individual lives and the error of committing violence against others. Importantly, Glass's revelation accompanies his reevaluation of his stereotype of the religious *Ostjude*, in which he replaces his prejudice against his religious grandfather with admiration for the *Landarbeiter* Nachman.

After returning from Daganian, Glass decides to find a job in a remote location where he would be safer from an investigation into de Vriendt's death. He asks Saamen about finding a position at a factory at the Dead Sea, and Saamen is surprised he would want to endure those conditions: "Heiß und feucht . . . keine Kleinigkeit, und einsam" (233).¹⁸⁵ When Irmin eventually tracks Glass down at the factory, the two take a rowboat onto the Dead Sea, and Glass argues against the need to punish him for the murder: ". . . der Teufel weiß, ob nicht Schwarzarbeit am Toten Meer, in diesem September zum Beispiel, härter ist als das Bagno in Akko oder wo es sonst

stehen mag” (266).¹⁸⁶ Glass indicates that the very act of hard labor in difficult conditions is not only sufficient punishment but also, it seems, a way of renewing himself. The labor itself cleanses him of his reprehensible actions. In the end, Irmin uses nature to test Glass; he forces Glass to swim to shore in the deathly salt water of the Dead Sea, and if he survives, he will not have to go to prison. It is Glass’s very physical strength and endurance that acquits him (266–7). While the murder of de Haan by Zionists shocked and disillusioned Zweig about the future of Zionism, Zweig’s depiction of the murderer of de Vriendt is ambiguous. The disturbing murder in the first half of the narrative appears to be resolved in the character of Glass, who ironically embodies the idealized, hard-working *Ostjude* of Zionist discourse. Since Glass apparently questions the morality of his actions and associates his work at the Dead Sea with a form of punishment for the murder, Glass’s labor serves as a means of attaining spiritual renewal, cleansing himself and the Zionist movement of this violent act. Thielking reads the text as a whole as a means of purifying the Zionist movement, just as Zweig’s novel *Der Streit um den Sergeanten Grischa* (1928; *The Case of Sergeant Grischa*) was meant to cleanse the German nation. Both Thielking and Schumacher point out that the later story “Tod unterm Ölbaum” (1956; “Death under the Olive Tree”), which Zweig wrote as a final chapter to *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, also suggests Glass’s attempts at atonement. In the story, Glass, a soldier in World War II, begs de Vriendt for forgiveness on his deathbed. Glass realizes that he should have just been willing to work alongside the Arabs, but that he was foolish and impatient.¹⁸⁷ This resolution of the Glass narrative therefore suggests that Zweig believed that the future of the Jewish settlement of Palestine depends on repentance for Zionism’s past, cooperation between Jews and Arabs, and agricultural labor. The spiritual renewal that Zweig calls for now, therefore, is no longer based on an antisemitic understanding of Jews as unmanly and unhealthy, but strives to heal the flaws in the political Zionist movement that have led to violence and oppression. Zweig suggests that Zionism needs to be reformed, and his two central characters offer potential models.

The continuing importance of de Vriendt in the future of Zionism appears in the final chapter, which serves as an epilogue. Irmin visits de Vriendt’s grave on the Mount of Olives, and he comes to the conclusion that de Vriendt must be happier in the grave, where he is free of his struggle between spirit and body. He describes de Vriendt’s body decaying in the ground:

Er liegt gelöst da, im wahren Sinne des Wortes, aufgelöst in seine Bestandteile, und schickt seine Substanz, die Moleküle und Zellen, die ihn bauten, aufwärts, in die Wurzeln und Würzelchen der Pflanzen, die sich

trotz allem und allem zu ihm heruntergetastet haben, und die nur auf den Gruß von oben warten, um zu wachsen, zu blühen, Samen auszustreuen. (274)¹⁸⁸

As de Vriendt's body breaks down and returns to the soil, his substance provides the basis for new growth in the land of Palestine. His ideas did not die when he was murdered, but rather, they live on through the other inhabitants of the land. The roots and radicles of the people are nourished by his teachings and may blossom and spread the seeds of his thought. De Vriendt strove for a unification of Jews and Arabs on spiritual, cultural, and political levels, and his revolutionary legacy has the potential to live on through the lives and actions of Jews and Arabs in Palestine. As Deleuze and Guattari argue, however, revolutionary thought that challenges European models of oppression such as nationalism, orientalism, and imperialism does not spread through roots and radicles, which simply mirror the structure of oppression, but rather through rhizomes, tubers which spread their shoots underneath the ground.¹⁸⁹ De Vriendt's radical message, I argue, must travel these revolutionary and disruptive paths.

In conclusion, Zweig's vision of the future of Zionism appears in the combination of two unique figures who undermine political Zionist discourse. His new Jewish nationalism combines the mediating figure of de Vriendt, who encourages a spiritual, cultural, and political reconnection between Jews and Arabs, a new religiosity that is tolerant of homosexuality, and an ethical nationalism that eschews violent and imperialist tendencies, with the morally ambivalent character of Glass, who espouses a spiritual rejuvenation through a socialist devotion to labor on the land, which also hints at the possibility of harmony between Jews and Arabs through agricultural labor. Both characters call into question masculine, political Zionism. De Vriendt, Zweig's vision of a leader in his new Zionism, embodies the intermediary "third" who threatens masculinity and rejects the orientalist and imperialist approach of political Zionism, and Glass incarnates the cultural Zionist version of the *Muskeljude* but must do penance for the violent history of the political Zionist movement. Both figures therefore also subvert the antisemitic view that Jews need spiritual and/or physical rejuvenation, which appeared in Zweig's earlier dialogue with Buber and his texts *Das ostjüdische Antlitz* and *Das neue Kanaan*. The stereotype of the orientalized, religious *Ostjude* transforms into a revolutionary figure who unifies Jews and Arabs while the idealized, hard-working *Ostjude* needs spiritual reinvigoration because of the sins of Zionism. Zweig's vision of a new Jewish nationalism therefore develops out of his earlier writings and exchange with Buber

on the Jew as oriental, the need for the rejuvenation of the Jewish people, the spiritual and physical leadership of the *Ostjuden*, and Jewish-Arab relations, but Zweig radically reconceptualizes these earlier ideas in *De Vriendt kehrt heim* in order to challenge discourses that participate in stereotyping, violence, and oppression.

Ironically, *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, which was published in late 1932, barely preceded Zweig's flight to Palestine in 1933 and expressions of disillusionment with Zionism in 1934.¹⁹⁰ The novel had a German audience only briefly before the National Socialists burned Zweig's books in mid-1933, and Zionists of the time rejected his criticism of Zionism and sympathetic portrayal of de Haan.¹⁹¹ Zweig's narrative, however, remains relevant to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict today. His words echo across the twentieth century as he tries to resist the cycle of vengeance and violence that had only just begun.

EPILOGUE: THE RESISTANCE OF THE ORIENTAL WOMAN

The mediating character of de Vriendt finds his like in the figure of Tino, a Muslim princess in *Die Nächte der Tino von Bagdad* (1907) by Else Lasker-Schüler. While Zweig's novel focuses on the theme of same-sex desire in the Orient, and thus modifies Said's orientalism by replacing heterosexuality with homosexuality, Lasker-Schüler's text is in fact concerned with heterosexual desire, but the perspective of the text is not that of a white, male European, but of a Muslim, Middle Eastern woman. In this way, Lasker-Schüler not only displaces the orientalist discourse of white, male Europeans as described by Said by giving voice to a Muslim woman, but furthermore, she, as a German Jew, cross-dresses as a Muslim, which she did not only in her literature but in her real life.¹⁹² Tino's status on the boundary between Jew and Muslim resembles de Vriendt and his potential for mediation, suggesting similar efforts by Zweig and Lasker-Schüler to find possibilities of coalition between Jews and Arabs in Palestine in opposition to the divisive tendencies of political Zionism. While Lasker-Schüler, like Zweig, draws on orientalist designations of sexuality in the Orient as both promising and threatening, Lasker-Schüler ultimately uses the Orient as a metaphor for her own, Western European society in order to express criticism of and resistance against this society as a Jewish woman.

Significantly, Lasker-Schüler was also acquainted with Martin Buber, although their relationship was considerably less congenial than the bond between Buber and Zweig. Lasker-Schüler was introduced to Buber around the same time as Zweig; they met in Berlin in 1914. However, Lasker-Schüler was wary of Buber's call for the unification of the Jewish people, and they

debated this issue in their initial letters. Lasker-Schüler's complaint in her letters to Buber focuses on her sense of alienation from Jews in Germany, who she felt ignored her contribution to Jewish culture. Lasker-Schüler did not take part in Zionist or Jewish organizations in Germany, although she did publish essays in the Zionist journal *Ost und West*. Buber and Lasker-Schüler met again in Jerusalem in 1938 and managed a friendly relationship despite their differences; Buber even took part in her literary circle, the "Kraal."¹⁹³ Hence, Lasker-Schüler was aware of Buber's work but chose to interpret it in her own unique way, as is evidenced in *Die Nächte der Tino von Bagdad*.

The main character of *Die Nächte der Tino von Bagdad* is Tino, a Muslim princess and poet. Through the course of the narrative, Tino disobeys the Islamic rules for women's behavior and dress, which she is expected to follow. The sexual freedom that Tino pursues in the Orient does have dangerous consequences, as Said has noted in the context of white, male Europeans' accounts. For Tino, however, the origin of the danger is the strong, masculine father figure, who ends Tino's relationships with violence. In one story, Tino and her cousin Minn undress and dance together outside her father's palace during a party. They are unfortunately discovered, however, by the slaves of the household, the guests, and most importantly, their fathers: "Sklassen finden uns—und zaudern—auf dem Rand des großen Beckens setzen sich die Frauen, die Gesichte gestreckt, und hinter der Palme stehen unsere Väter. . . . Wir tanzen . . ." (69).¹⁹⁴ Tino's public demonstration of her sexuality appears to disregard the wishes of her father as well as the Islamic rule of keeping her face and body covered: "Dann läßt mein Vater den schwarzen Dienern, die also gesehen haben mit ihren nackten Augen unseren nackten Tanz, meinen Leib und vor allen Dingen mein Angesicht, er läßt ihnen ihre Zungen durchbohren . . ." (69–70).¹⁹⁵ While she is in some respect exercising her freedom, the two fathers are watching over Tino and Minn. Both fathers react with violence: Tino's father punishes the slaves, who have seen Tino's uncovered face, and later in the chapter, Minn is murdered by his own father, because Minn became arrogant after winning the attention of the other princesses who had seen him unclothed (70). Thus, Tino's sexual freedom only lasts momentarily, and the father figures control this freedom.

Tino's pursuit of sexual freedom is also apparent in her relationship with her Greek lover, Apollydes. She describes the two of them, alone in a glass castle: ". . . wir sind ganz allein im gläsernen Schloß, und unsere schlanken Körper sind durchsichtig, sind zart und singen. . . . Wir berühren kaum unsere Hände . . . dann drängen sich unsere Lippen zusammen, aber sie küssen sich nicht, sie drohen zu zerbrechen im Wunsch" (83–4).¹⁹⁶ In this excerpt, the bodies of Tino and Apollydes are as transparent as the

walls of the glass castle, and they are unable to actually touch one another, which suggests that their bodies are not truly physical but spiritual. In the first example, Tino breaks the Islamic rules for women's modesty, and here she again breaks laws of physicality. As a result of this corporeal freedom, she is able to attain a relationship with Apollydes that defies physical barriers. However, her sexual freedom is once more dangerous. The lovers go into a garden, which belongs to "König Amri Mbillre," and the king discovers them together and punishes Apollydes. "Ich warnte Apollydes geöffnete Lippen—aber schon haben sie ihn angerufen. An eine Säule seines Palastes bindete der König den Griechenknaben und schwelgte in seinem blühenden Schmerz" (85).¹⁹⁷ Once again a powerful man discovers Tino and her lover, and the king tortures Apollydes to death.

In both cases, Tino pursues both sexual freedom and freedom of self-expression. She manages to transcend physical boundaries and/or sexual rules for Islamic women, but these transgressions lead to the punishment and eventual death of her lovers Minn and Apollydes. On the one hand, one could read these examples from the text as orientalist, in which the author's fantasies are projected onto the oriental backdrop of her text. These stories describe sexuality in the Orient as both alluring and dangerous, exactly as Said has characterized this theme in orientalist texts. On the other hand, Tino, a Muslim herself, struggles against controls on her sexuality that are dictated by the authorities of the oriental world, which contradicts the European notion that the Orient provides a location of sexual freedom and fantasies.

Tino's struggle and rebellion against authority in her world continues in the text in relationship to the orientalist fantasy of power and riches. At the beginning of the text it is clear that Tino lives in palaces, wears beautiful clothing, owns African slaves, and enjoys power and authority in her world (62–4). However, Tino also rebels against the hierarchy of power in the oriental world of the book during the course of the narrative. For example, Tino challenges the power structure of her society in a chapter about another uncle, Ached Bey, whose power is frequently emphasized. Eight times the phrase "seine große Hand" ("his large hand") is repeated, so that one has the sense of his strength and threatening power (65–6). After Ached Bey murders a so-called "Fremdling" ("foreigner") he himself commits suicide (66). Since the foreigner was apparently Jewish, many Jews travel to Baghdad to protest the murder (67). Tino does not defend her uncle's actions, but instead tries to relieve the tension in the city.¹⁹⁸ She dances to create a dark cloud over the city which quiets the feuding groups, and then: ". . . ich bestieg den Gipfel des Berges, der herabblickt auf die trunkene Stadt. Und da ich zu den Nächten sang, fiel in meinen Schoß das Gold der Sterne—und ich baute

Jehovah einen Tempel vom ewigen Himmelslicht" (67–8).¹⁹⁹ Tino's reaction to her uncle's actions is not to support his power and authority. She, a Muslim, builds a Jewish temple on a mountain that overlooks the city to make reparations for the murder of the Jewish man. Tino reacts with her own solution that goes against the authority and religious beliefs of her own family, and this solution is interestingly also an attempt to unite Jews and Muslims. Her action represents her empathetic connection across religious divisions and in spite of prejudice. She revolts not only against the power of the father figure of her family but also against a society that resists the peaceful unification of different ethnic or religious groups.

Tino also rebels against her family's authority in the episode with the "Großmogul von Philippopel," in which Tino is working for the Great Mogul as his representative and spokesperson because he has lost his voice. She goes to the house of representatives and explains her own wishes, which are not actually the wishes of the Great Mogul (80–1). Although she enjoys this position of power at the beginning, she begins to tire of it (80). And suddenly, she loses her position when the Great Mogul goes insane and frightens the Sultan, who punishes Tino because of her close association with him: "Man reißt mir das Gewand vom Körper, den Schleier vom Antlitz, schneidet meine langen Locken ab, und der Sultan hat den Zorn über mich gesprochen—und vertrieben werde ich aus dem Garten des Reichspalastes" (82).²⁰⁰ Significantly, this forceful removal of Tino's clothing and hair parallels her voluntary removal of her clothing to dance with Minn earlier in the narrative. Instead of mourning her expulsion from the "garden," Tino revels in her transformation: "Tino von Bagdad hat schon zweiundfünfzig Monde die Erde nicht unverschleiert gesehen, und sie war müde der blinden Blicke und sie verwünschte ihre braunen, langen Haare und alles, was sie von Eva geerbt hatte" (82).²⁰¹ Tino loses her power and riches, as well as her feminine aspects, but she recognizes that she now has the freedom that men have in the world, because she must no longer follow Islamic restrictions on women's behavior and dress.

While these examples reveal Tino's wealth and power, through which Lasker-Schüler, like other orientalist writers, could portray her own fantasies, it is clear that Tino brings into question not only the authority of her own family but the value of having power and wealth at all. She questions the authority in her society because, in these two examples, it prevents the harmony of different groups in society and it oppresses women's freedom of movement and expression.

Throughout, the theme of orientalist fantasies, whether of a sexual or monetary nature, is overshadowed by Tino's rebellion against the authority

in her world. She resists controls on her sexuality dictated by her society, and she rejects the power and wealth possessed by herself and her family. Tino's repeated rebellion against her own, oriental society suggests that Lasker-Schüler is not in fact using the Orient as a fantasy world, but as a place where she can metaphorically express her own protest against the restrictions on women and other oppressed groups in her own European society. This interpretation is based on the positioning of the main character of the text in relationship to the Orient. In contrast to Said's examples of orientalist texts, where the main characters are always European men, Tino, the heroine, is a woman, and specifically, a Muslim, Middle Eastern woman. This choice of a main character is a distinct break from Said's definition of orientalism because the character exploring these fantasies in the East is an *oriental* woman, not a European man. Significantly, Lasker-Schüler's performance of "ethnic drag" extended beyond the literary, since she adopted her literary personas in her public life in the early 1900s, dressing in "oriental" clothing and referring to herself as Princess Tino, and later as her male Muslim character, Prinz Jussuf von Theben.²⁰² The close connection that Lasker-Schüler apparently felt with her characters suggests that the Orient, of which Tino is a part, should not logically be read as something foreign or Other in the text. Rather, since the central character is part of the oriental setting, Lasker-Schüler must be portraying the Middle East not as distant or strange, but as familiar and knowable. Therefore, the Orient of the text could be seen to be a metaphorical representation of Lasker-Schüler's own society, as Nina Berman has also suggested (341–2).

If Tino represents Lasker-Schüler and the Orient represents Lasker-Schüler's own society, Tino's rebellion against societal and religious rules in her society metaphorically signifies a struggle against the European, bourgeois societal expectations and rules that Lasker-Schüler faced. Tino's removal of the veil and clothing while she dances with Minn and her later loss of the veil, as well as her power and wealth, could represent a rebellion against the regulation of women's self-expression and sexuality in Lasker-Schüler's own society. The dominating father figures who end her relationship with Minn and Apollydes, and hence, her sexual freedom, would thus symbolize the European bourgeois society that dictated appropriate behavior. And Tino's attempt to unify Jews and Muslims through the building of the temple could indicate a desire to create an alliance across religious and ethnic differences in Europe and the Middle East. Like Zweig, Lasker-Schüler herself fought against bourgeois societal norms through her own lifestyle. She was twice divorced and claimed that her son was not her first husband's son, defying bourgeois sexual restrictions on women through marriage. Lasker-Schüler

also dressed unusually, sometimes as a man, challenging societal norms of gender and sexuality. She also led an impoverished and transient life, living in hotels and writing in coffeehouses to support herself.²⁰³ Her way of life challenged restrictions on women's independence and sexuality, and thus, the freedom to express herself as an artist. As a result, Lasker-Schüler's views on the oppression of women and minorities may be metaphorically represented in Tino's rebellion against her own society. Her text modifies Said's concept of orientalism because her portrayal of European fantasies of the Orient actually tells the story of a Muslim woman who struggles against her own society in order to challenge European, bourgeois norms. Her literal transvestism from a German-Jewish woman into a Muslim and/or a man is embodied by her character Tino and by the text itself, whose "oriental" exterior disguises the European focus of the narrative.

On the one hand, Lasker-Schüler was certainly influenced by the dominant discourse on the Orient in Europe at the turn of the century. Christine Reiß-Suckow argues that there was a mania for the Orient in everyday life at this time; she describes the exhibitions of Egyptian antiquities in Germany, one of which Lasker-Schüler visited and recounted, and the circuses featuring people from all over the world. She also mentions the preference for interior decoration in an "oriental" style, which she says also influenced Lasker-Schüler, and the predominance of oriental themes in the literature of Karl May, Charles Baudelaire, and others with whom Lasker-Schüler was familiar (211–3). Therefore, Lasker-Schüler undoubtedly knew of the orientalism of male, European authors, and was also perhaps inspired by these views. Thus, it is not surprising that *Die Nächte der Tino von Bagdad* reveals orientalist themes from Said's definition.

On the other hand, Lasker-Schüler's text departs from Said's definition, most significantly in the choice of a Muslim, Middle Eastern woman as the central character. Critics have claimed that Lasker-Schüler chose Tino as her central character because of her Jewish heritage and resulting sense of alienation from German society. Lasker-Schüler always felt as if she were in exile while she lived in Germany, and she used the Middle East as the setting of her books and Middle Easterners as her central characters in order to emphasize her difference from European society. Furthermore, Lasker-Schüler's adoption of the oriental world seemed to serve as a public struggle against her society, since she sometimes dressed in public as her characters. Although she knew little about Jewish religious tradition, she embraced her Jewish difference and as a result focused her work and her life on Middle Eastern culture and Biblical stories.²⁰⁴ Hence, Lasker-Schüler's choice of a Middle Eastern woman as her main character reveals a sense of connection

with the Middle East and/or a sense of alienation in Germany as a result of her Jewish heritage. The rejection of a male, European central character is thus connected with Lasker-Schüler's sense of identification with the people of the Orient, and especially women of the Orient, as a Jewish woman. This choice suggests a symbolic alliance between herself, as a German-Jewish woman, and the people of the Middle East, and a rejection of the European struggle for domination of this part of the world, as well as the orientalist discourse which justified this struggle.

However, Lasker-Schüler chose a Muslim woman, not a Jewish woman, as her heroine. Donna Heizer claims that Lasker-Schüler chose oriental non-Jewish subjects in order to "distance herself from her own ethnic identity as a Jew, thereby gaining a more detached perspective on Jewish culture" (39). To the contrary, I would argue that the text rather reflects a spiritual, orientalized, and idealized view of her own Jewish identity that has similarities to Martin Buber's redefinition of the *Ostjude*. The character of Tino embodies the spirituality and exoticism of the oriental, religious *Ostjude* that Buber describes. She has a divine, ethereal power that suggests that she is closely connected with God. In the beginning, Tino describes herself as heavenly or otherworldly while she dances by the Nile river: ". . . ein Stern ist mein Leib" (61).²⁰⁵ Her dance also has a remarkable power, as is apparent in her ability to create a dust cloud over Bagdad by dancing (67). And she is clearly associated with God when she says, ". . . ich baute Jehovah einen Tempel vom ewigen Himmelslicht" (68). The series of stories collected in *Die Nächte der Tino von Bagdad* creates a fantasized, exotic world through which Tino travels and where she encounters different characters and has adventures. Tino embodies a pure spirituality, and the narrative describes her and her experiences as if recounting mystical legends. As a result, Tino, as a woman of the Orient, could be seen as representing the spiritualized, orientalized *Ostjude*, and these stories could be Lasker-Schüler's own legends, like Buber's Hasidic tales, but in an imaginary, oriental setting.²⁰⁶ Hessing also notices a tendency toward legendary story-telling in Lasker-Schüler's *Peter Hille-Buch* from 1906, which was written one year prior to *Die Nächte der Tino von Bagdad*, and which he has also compared to Buber's Hasidic tales (89). Dagmar Lorenz has also claimed that, "[d]espite [Lasker-Schüler's] general dislike of East European Jewish culture, she was fascinated with its mysticism and oral tradition as transmitted by Martin Buber" (76). The choice of a Muslim woman rather than a Jewish woman therefore reflects not a distancing from Lasker-Schüler's own identity, but an attempt to unite the various groups of the Middle East through their "oriental" heritage, just as Tino tries to reconcile Jewish and Muslim antagonists in the story of Ached Bey, and just

as Buber argued for a spiritual connection between Jews and other “Orientals.” The similarities between Lasker-Schüler’s text and Buber’s ideas hence suggest that Lasker-Schüler was trying to create her own, mystical, orientalized heroine and world, inspired by Jewish tales and traditions. The fact that Lasker-Schüler also identified herself as Tino at times implies that she was attempting to transform her own identity through her literature from an assimilated German Jew into the spiritual, orientalized Jew of Buber’s thought, hence symbolically acting out the call of the cultural Zionists.²⁰⁷ Like Zweig, Lasker-Schüler thus develops the image of the oriental *Ostjude* into an ambiguous, intermediary character who symbolizes the potential for the unification of Jews and Muslims in the Orient.

In identifying strains of orientalism and the figure of the *Ostjude* in Lasker-Schüler’s *Die Nächte der Tino von Bagdad*, it becomes clear that while the book includes orientalist aspects described by Said, because Lasker-Schüler projects fantasies of sexual freedom, power, and riches onto the backdrop of the Orient, the text can alternatively be interpreted to show that Lasker-Schüler was criticizing her own society through her representation of the Middle East. I have explained three of Lasker-Schüler’s criticisms of her society implied by the narrative. The first criticism is that of the control of women’s sexuality and freedom of expression in society; Tino rebels against these rules but is initially stopped by male figures of power, who represent authority in society, thus challenging the restrictions on women in Lasker-Schüler’s own society. The second criticism is that of the domination and control of the Middle East by European powers, which gave rise to the orientalist discourse itself; Lasker-Schüler’s choice of Tino as her central character defies white, male orientalism and reflects a sense of alliance with the people of the Middle East as a result of her Jewish heritage and her alienation from European society, indicating her critique of orientalism. The third criticism is that of the hierarchy of power preventing the alliance of different ethnic or religious groups; not only do Tino’s actions reflect a desire for unification of different groups in society, but the text as a whole also creates a fantasized, spiritualized world that represents Lasker-Schüler’s own attempts to transform her German-Jewish identity into an orientalized character inspired by Buber’s *Ostjude* that combines Jewish, Muslim, and other “oriental” traditions.

Zweig and Lasker-Schüler similarly adopt an ambiguous figure on the border between Orient and Occident, Muslim and Jew in order to both displace Zionist discourse and question orientalist and imperialist intentions. This “third” is, in both cases, thematically linked to the figure of the *Ostjude*, whose unmanly, mystical, and oriental qualities were rejected by political Zionism and to some extent embraced by cultural Zionism. Zweig and

Lasker-Schüler both transform the *Ostjude* stereotype by coopting these qualities to create new Jewish heroes/heroines. Furthermore, de Vriendt and Tino serve as mediators between Jews and Arabs, promoting solidarity between Semitic peoples against European control and oppression, another characteristic of the stereotype of the Jews and the *Ostjuden*, in particular. The power of transvestism, whether “gender bending” or “ethnic drag,” to challenge imperialist ventures reflects the investment of gender, sexuality, and ethnicity in political authority.²⁰⁸ Zweig and Lasker-Schüler both acknowledge the complicity of the masculine ideal in orientalism and political Zionism by mobilizing a Jewish figure who provides an alternative to the *Muskeljude*. Ultimately, however, both Zweig and Lasker-Schüler lost faith in their utopian visions of harmony in Palestine; Zweig abandoned Israel for East Germany in 1948, and Lasker-Schüler despaired of the realization of her dreams before her death in Jerusalem in 1945. During the brief period between 1896 and 1933, Jewish writers in Europe could imagine their own versions of a Jewish return to the Orient, before National Socialism, the Holocaust, and the foundation of the state of Israel determined the direction of history.

Chapter Three

*Le Parfum des Antilles: The Caribbean
Revolutions in the Works of Anna
Seghers and André Schwarz-Bart*

“Die Heimat der Sklaven ist der Aufstand. Ich gehe in den Kampf. . . .
Ich werde Wald sein, Berg, Meer, Wüste. Ich, das ist Afrika. Ich, das ist
Asien. Die beiden Amerika bin ich.”

—Jean Sasportas, *Der Auftrag* by Heiner Müller¹

The previous two chapters have addressed portrayals of Palestine by German-speaking Jews in the debate surrounding Zionism in the first half of the twentieth century. My discussion has expanded on Said's monolithic, Christian concept of orientalism by identifying a particularly Jewish perspective on the Orient that resulted from the political movement to reclaim Palestine as a Jewish homeland. The next two chapters follow in the footsteps of Said's own sequel to *Orientalism*, his book *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), which recognizes that the European effort to literally and figuratively colonize other lands and peoples was not limited to the Middle East, but also included Africa, parts of Asia, Australia, and the Caribbean. In this text, Said identifies the interdependence and hybridity between Europe and its Others and therefore concedes the possibility of resistance both within and without Europe against imperialism and its discourse.² This broader framework lays the foundation for a comparative exploration of European-Jewish criticism of imperialism in other locations and contexts.

The following chapter analyzes the late twentieth-century works of German-Jewish author Anna Seghers (1900–1983) and French-Jewish author André Schwarz-Bart (b. 1928) on the subject of the struggle for liberation by African slaves in the Caribbean around the year 1800. Both authors approach the subject by attempting to create connections between Jews and

Africans, Jewish history and African history. The relationship between Jewish and African diaspora experiences has been recognized by Paul Gilroy, who maintains in *The Black Atlantic* that the Jewish concept of “diaspora” entered pan-African studies in the late nineteenth century, at the same time that Zionism and black nationalism were developing. Themes such as dispersal, exile, slavery, ethnocide, traumatic memory, creation of cultural identity, nationalism, and the desire to return to the point of origin have all been common to both the Jewish and African diasporas. While these parallels exist, Gilroy recognizes the dangers of oversimplifying the connections between Jewish and African history, especially given the claim of the uniqueness of the Holocaust.³ Seghers and Schwarz-Bart, as both Europeans and Jews, contend with this conflict between affinity and separateness as they retell the revolutions in the Caribbean.

The slave rebellions mark a particular turn in the history of the European colonial and literary interest in the Caribbean. The revolutions, which began with the uprising of the black slaves on the French colony of San Domingo in 1791 and subsequently spread to other islands of the Caribbean, ruptured Europeans’ complacent understanding of the colonial order. Fantasies of the natural dominance of the colonizers over their colonized subjects were replaced by visions of savages who would murder their European conquerors. In Germany in particular, contemporary writers’ accounts of the slave revolts reveal both fascination and fear because of the threat of the nearby French revolutionaries, such that both Haitian and French rebels were depicted as horrifying, blood-thirsty masses. This European anxiety was therefore most importantly directed toward ethnic groups of the Caribbean such as Native Americans and Africans, who were also the subject of numerous eighteenth-century travelogues. In *Colonial Fantasies*, Susanne Zantop investigates the German obsession with South America between 1770 and 1870, when there was no unified German nation nor German colonies, and she argues that these projections onto the Americas were a means of “creating an imaginary community and constructing a national identity” for Germans.⁴

Similarly, in the late twentieth century, Seghers and Schwarz-Bart used the context of the slave revolutions around 1800 to address their own concerns about identity as both Europeans and Jews, but their unique historical situation adds another layer to their interpretations of the events. As I argue in this chapter, Seghers and Schwarz-Bart’s Caribbean texts particularly address the significance of Jewish identity in the aftermath of the Holocaust, in part because both lost parents in the Nazi concentration camps. Both were, however, also engaged in leftist political struggles—Schwarz-Bart participated in

the French Resistance and Seghers was a member of the Communist party—and were writing in the context of contemporary revolutions against colonial and military rule in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean.⁵

Seghers and Schwarz-Bart thus differ significantly from the subjects of Zantop's study because they were aware of the difficulties facing Europeans who choose to set their narratives in a non-European backdrop. As a result, both Seghers and Schwarz-Bart wrote published accounts of why they decided to write about the Caribbean. Seghers, in a letter to Renate Francke in 1963, mentions her brief stay on Martinique and San Domingo in the late 1930s as she fled from France to Mexico City. Seghers never returned to the Caribbean islands after this journey, but later, in Mexico, she read a biography of the Haitian revolutionary leader Toussaint Louverture, and she claims she was inspired by the characters of this text to write *Karibische Geschichten* (Caribbean Stories). After returning to Europe in 1947, Seghers also consulted with Aimé Césaire on the history of Guadeloupe.⁶ Seghers tries to give legitimacy to her accounts of the Caribbean revolutions by detailing her own presence on the islands, her familiarity with histories of the region, and her contact with the famous Martinican poet. In doing so, Seghers denies her difficulties in writing about the Caribbean as a European, and she conceals her own motivations for adopting the Caribbean as a setting, which, I argue, relate to her positioning as a Jewish woman in East Germany. In contrast to Seghers, Schwarz-Bart, in an article published in 1967 entitled "Pourquoi j'ai écrit *La mulâtresse Solitude*"⁷ explains that he opted to write about the Caribbean because of the connection he identified between slavery in the Caribbean and the concentration camps of Nazi Germany. Having lost his family in the Holocaust, Schwarz-Bart admits that he needed the distance of the Caribbean in order to write about the Holocaust. While explaining his sense of identification with the Caribbean as a Jew, Schwarz-Bart realized his limitations in approaching the subject as a European writer, even though he lived in Guadeloupe with his wife, Simone, and her family while working on the novel. He discovered that he could never become "le parfum des Antilles" ("the perfume of the Antilles") in spite of his attempts to immerse himself in Caribbean culture, and he therefore relied upon Simone to assist him (1, 8–9). Schwarz-Bart not only openly acknowledges the problem of writing about the Caribbean as a European, but also explains his particular, personal struggle that led him to select Caribbean history as his subject.

In light of these publicized revelations, the following discussion considers how the European and Jewish identity of Seghers and Schwarz-Bart influenced their accounts of the Caribbean revolutions. My analysis of Seghers' *Karibische Geschichten* (1962) and *Drei Frauen aus Haiti* (1980; Three

Women from Haiti) is divided into sections on Jews and Judaism, blacks and black history, and women, although the cooperation between these groups is central to Seghers' narratives. I argue that Seghers places Jews and women of color at the forefront of the Caribbean resistance as a way of channeling her own suppressed identity as a Jewish woman in the Communist movement and later in East Germany (the GDR). Seghers explores the shifting relations and interactions among antisemitism, Eurocentrism, racism, and oppression of women by laboring to counteract these tendencies in her own work over the course of her writing on the Caribbean, a period spanning the last thirty years of her life. I then compare Seghers' approach with Schwarz-Bart's portrayal of his black heroines in *Un plat de porc aus bananes vertes* (1967; A Dish of Pork and Plantains) and *La mulâtresse Solitude* (1972). I illustrate that Schwarz-Bart's transference of the Holocaust experience onto his Caribbean novels functions as a means of coping with his own traumatic memory, and argue that, in spite of this, Schwarz-Bart carefully respects the differences between Jewish and African diaspora experience. The words of Jean Saspotas, the black slave of Heiner Müller's play *Der Auftrag* (1979; The Mission), who is based on the Sephardic Jewish revolutionary of Seghers' *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* (1961; The Light in the Gallows), serves not only as a call to arms to the oppressed of four continents—Africa, Asia, and the Americas—but also as a symbol of the possibility of solidarity between Jews and Africans against European oppression.

THE TRANSVESTITE AS REVOLUTIONARY HERO: JEWISH FIGURES IN *KARIBISCHE GESCHICHTEN* (I)

As Seghers admits in her 1963 letter to Renate Francke, the central characters of her two novellas *Die Hochzeit von Haiti* (1949; The Marriage in Haiti) and *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* (1961), published in 1962 in the collection *Karibische Geschichten*, were drawn from an English biography of Toussaint Louverture that she read while in Mexico. This biography, Ralph Korngold's *Citizen Toussaint* (1944), identifies a Jewish merchant named Nathan, who was both Toussaint's jeweler and secretary, and a Jewish agent named Saspotas, who was sent by the French government to Jamaica along with Debuissou to organize a revolution of the slaves.⁸ Out of this history text, Seghers draws two Jewish characters to be her central participants in her retelling of the revolutions of the black slaves. Seghers, however, has generally been viewed as rejecting her Jewish heritage in favor of her socialist political identity.⁹ The question is, what role does the Jewish heritage of Seghers and her characters play in her account of the revolutions, and

why does Seghers select Jewish characters for these revolutions? I first demonstrate that Seghers presents the characters of Michael Nathan and Jean Saspertas as particularly gifted revolutionaries because their Jewish heritage grants them a “transvestite” or “third” positioning, in the metaphorical sense defined by Marjorie Garber, in a war that divided whites from blacks. I then consider the history of Seghers’ relationship with her Jewish identity and argue that her choice of these two Jewish heroes represents both a criticism of the suppression of the Jewish question under Communism and in the GDR and an effort to recuperate revolutionary power for the Jewish people in the aftermath of the Holocaust.

From the beginning of *Die Hochzeit von Haiti* (1949), Michael Nathan’s family is represented as separated from the ethnic groups on the island. Michael’s father, Samuel, while awaiting Michael’s arrival from Paris at the quay, is associated with neither the mulatto nor the white groups around him. Samuel is likened to a mango tree standing in a grove of coconut trees (13–14). The Jewish family is therefore shown to be outsiders who defy the categories of skin color on the island. However, the Nathans, who are jewelry merchants, enjoy a certain amount of acceptance among the white landowners. After Michael’s arrival, he and his father and grandfather go to the Evremonts’ to deliver the requested jewelry Michael has brought with him from Paris, while blacks act as silent servants (18–19). Although the Nathans are merchants at the house of the Evremonts, they are treated equally as whites and, with the exception of Michael, have the same disregard for the blacks’ situation (18–19). Thus, even though the Nathans are initially depicted as outsiders, they are still allied and associated with the whites, in spite of their difference.

In contrast to the whites’ acceptance of the Nathans, Michael’s sympathies are with the blacks’ fight for civil rights, as he explains to his sister Mali (23–26). Newly arrived from Paris, Michael had been active in the “Gesellschaft der Freunde der Schwarzen” (“The Society of Friends of the Blacks”) after the French Revolution of 1789, and he believes in the emancipatory ideals of the revolution, including the call for equal rights “für Juden, für Indios, für Neger, für Mulatten” (24).¹⁰ Thus, Michael connects the blacks’ struggle for freedom in the Caribbean with the Jews’ emancipation in France. He feels that the whites are blind to the situation of the blacks in Haiti, and he claims that this indifference is held by “nicht nur die Aristokraten, nicht nur die Familie Evremont, sondern auch unseren Vater und Großvater, ob Juden, ob Christen, ob Franzosen, ob Spanier, ob Amerikaner, ob Europäer, alles, was weiß ist” (25).¹¹ Thus, Michael, as a Jew, is, according to his own definition, both a member of a group struggling for equal rights just as the

blacks are, and a member of the oppressive “white” groups in Haiti who are indifferent to the fight for equality. Michael clearly expresses his support for the blacks’ cause in the Caribbean, embracing the revolutionary ideals of emancipation for all, but his economic position in Haitian society is of course quite different from that of the black slaves, and he is further accepted by the white upper class. He has the educational and economic advantage that affords him the privilege to choose to participate in the revolution.

Michael’s sympathy for the blacks’ cause in Haiti is put into action when a young black woman leads him to Toussaint Louverture, the leader of the slave rebellion, who brings him to the mountain hideaway of the rebels and enlists his help in writing a letter to offer his support to the leader of the French Republican troops (34–40). Hence, Michael’s involvement with the black revolutionary struggle is through his literacy, which results from his privileged class position. Despite Michael’s association with the whites, Toussaint adopts him into his army and treats him as an equal. Toussaint explains his acceptance of Michael by saying that he learned as a child, “wie wenig die Hautfarbe über den Mann besagt” (37).¹² Michael’s alliance with the blacks is sealed when he becomes romantically involved with Margot, the former slave who led Michael to Toussaint (45–7).¹³ Margot comes to Michael for protection after the commencement of the revolution and begins working as a servant for Michael and Mali (41–3). At the same time, Michael and his family continue to be regarded as whites: Michael’s family flees with the Evremonts to London when the rebellion begins, and Michael still owns property and black servants (40–4). Thus, at the beginning of the rebellion, Michael supports the revolutionaries but maintains associations with both whites and blacks.

When Napoleon Bonaparte’s navy is on its way to Haiti to regain control, however, Michael’s status changes, although his sympathies are still with the blacks. He retreats to the mountains with the black rebels, but he receives “finstere Blicke” (“dark looks”) because he is the only “Fremde” (“foreigner”) in their midst (54). Michael has changed from being an accepted member of the group to a “foreigner.” In particular, a friend of Toussaint’s yells at Michael after Toussaint is arrested by the French, “Verdammt er weißer Jude!” (55–6).¹⁴ At this moment, Michael is rejected by the blacks as a result of the betrayal of the black rebels by the French. He is no longer a member of a third category outside of the racial dichotomy: he is white. He still supports the black revolutionaries, but he is aware of his new status as indistinguishable from the whites, which is made clear by his concern about the arrival of the French army: “Er lief nur Gefahr, mit den Weißen verwechselt zu werden . . .” (55).¹⁵ Michael’s markedness as

different, which at the beginning of the story was likened to a mango in a grove of coconut trees, has disappeared, and he is no longer accepted by the blacks nor wishes to be associated with the whites. Michael's ties with the blacks have been broken, especially when he discovers that his wife Margot and their daughter have died (60–1). He leaves for England to join his family, remarries, and dies soon thereafter (62–3). The instability of the revolution itself made Michael's fluid status possible; once the imperialist powers return, the racial dichotomy is reinstated. He did not remain to see the independence of Haiti (63). His decision to leave the island thus resulted from the loss of his position as the "third," and he can no longer be useful to the revolutionaries without that status.

Michael's ability to remain an equal member of both the white and black groups until the end of the revolution is similar to the positioning of Jean Saspertas in *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, although Saspertas ultimately becomes solely associated with the black rebellion rather than with the whites. The narrative begins in the winter of 1798–99, when Saspertas, Debuissou, and Galloudec are sent by the French Republican government on an English ship to Jamaica to secretly stir up a revolution of the slaves against the English colonizers (140, 147). The first mention of Saspertas in the narrative identifies him as a Sephardic Jew who was studying medicine when he decided to join the French military (134, 145). On the ship to Jamaica, Saspertas is accepted by the English on board because he is of Spanish origin, in spite of the fact that he is a French citizen (147, 154). In Jamaica, Debuissou introduces Saspertas to his English grandfather, Bering, whose response to Saspertas is similar: "Heute sei ihm ein Spanier lieber als ein Republikaner. Darauf erwiderte Saspertas lachend, er sei weder das eine noch das andere, er sei französischer Emigrant" (146, 156).¹⁶ Thus, Saspertas' identity as a Spanish Jew allows him to be accepted not only by the French revolutionaries, but also by the English colonizers, who view him as an "outsider" to the French-English conflict. Bering forbids their colleague Galloudec, on the other hand, from coming to his plantation because he does not trust the Frenchman (157, 172–3).

Saspertas differs from Michael since he is an emissary of the French Republican authorities, but ultimately, his idealism also proves to be the basis for his commitment to the blacks' cause. Saspertas further resembles Michael because he uses his ambiguous national/ethnic identity in order to be tolerated by the colonizers. In coordination with the free mulatto Robert Crocroft, the black slave Bedford, and the maroon, or runaway slave, Cuffee, Saspertas participates in organizing the rebellion against the English landowners (164–6, 182). He insists upon going through with their plan even

after Bonaparte's coup leads Debuissou to want to abandon their mission because he fears the new government no longer supports it (184–199). Similar to Michael, Sasportas' ultimate commitment to the revolution in spite of losing the support of the French government is established by his relationship with a black slave, Ann (197). At the same time, he is allowed free movement on the plantations as a result of his supposed position as Debuissou's medical assistant. He is also invited along with Debuissou as a guest to the Raleigh estate, where he meets Ann, and his relationship with the slave is approved and, in fact, encouraged by Elizabeth Raleigh, Ann's mistress (194). His ambiguous positioning, made possible by his Spanish Jewish heritage, allows him the chance to move freely in society, hence giving him an advantage in organizing the black slave rebellion against the colonizers. Significantly, however, Sasportas never identifies his Jewish identity as the reason for his loyalty to the blacks' fight for freedom, whereas Michael does. Sasportas originally joined Debuissou on the mission to see the free Haiti for himself, and perhaps even to meet Toussaint (135), and he remains motivated by the ideals of the revolution itself throughout the narrative.

In the end, Sasportas is not rejected by the black revolutionaries when the rebellion fails, in contrast to Michael. Instead, his loyalty remains with the blacks, in spite of the fact that it costs him his life. When English officials begin to question Debuissou and Sasportas about their involvement in organizing the rebellion, Debuissou tells everything he knows, but Sasportas refuses to offer the names of any of the slaves involved (240–1). He realizes the effect his actions will have on the slaves on the island: "Er wußte, daß ihre Worte aus dem Haus dringen und sich wie ein Lauffeuer unter den Schwarzen fortpflanzen werden" (241).¹⁷ His resistance to the English in spite of the consequences will inspire the blacks on the island, Sasportas believes. Sasportas remains loyal to his comrades throughout his time in prison, and on the gallows, he yells to the crowds of slaves, who are forced to watch his hanging: "Ihr Neger, macht es wie die in Haiti!" (242–4).¹⁸ The title of the story refers to a bright light Galloudec sees emanating from the gallows on the day Sasportas is hung; this light is said to represent how Sasportas' continual resistance has given inspiration to everyone with whom he has had contact (246–8). In the end, the failure of the revolution in Jamaica means that Sasportas' "third" positioning between the rebels and the English landowners fails as well, but, unlike Michael, he chooses to remain loyal to the black slaves. Seghers' emphasis on European men as an inspiration and guidance for the revolutions, which is historically inaccurate, reflects her own Eurocentric reading of the revolutions. Her motivation for choosing these heroes, however, as I will argue, stems from

her Jewish identity and her attempt to reclaim revolutionary power for the Jewish people.

Michael and Sasportas' ability to be accepted by both white and black sides of the revolution seems to be the result of their neutral, outsider position as Jews in a society where skin color determines hierarchy.¹⁹ Their position contrasts with representations of other characters who merely switch sides during the revolutions in the Caribbean. One such contrasting example is apparent in Heinrich von Kleist's well-known narrative *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* (1811; *The Betrothal in Santo Domingo*), which Seghers names as her inspiration for *Die Hochzeit von Haiti*,²⁰ and another is embodied in Debuissou of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*. Kleist's story also presents a character who seems to be in between the white and black divisions of the revolution in Haiti: Toni, who has a white father and a mulatto mother (13). In the beginning, she supports the black revolutionaries' cause by using her light skin to lure white men into the black-occupied plantation to allow Congo Hoango, a black rebel, to kill them (4). When the Swiss soldier Gustav arrives, he is convinced by Toni's white clothing and pale skin and Babekan's references to their light skin color that they are persecuted by the blacks, and he therefore trusts them (5, 9–10). Gustav makes this mistake because he believes in a clear distinction between white and black and views skin color to be indicative of people's loyalties. After spending the night with Gustav, Toni claims the identity of a "white" woman. She clearly tries to shift from one side to the other, removing her "black" identity and taking on a "white" one.²¹ In the end, Toni's attempt to deceive her mother by pretending to be on the side of the black revolutionaries in order to secretly support the whites' takeover of the plantation backfires when Gustav instead sees her as black pretending to be white (33–43). Ultimately, Toni is killed because she can never become "white"; she is somewhere between black and white.²² In spite of her failure, her loyalties, while apparently based on emotional ties rather than political ones, reflect an essentialization of her mixed heritage: as both black and white, Toni tries to switch between the black and white sides of the war.

Therefore, Toni's status as a "third" does not function in the same way as Michael and Sasportas' Jewish identity, which allows them to be equally and simultaneously accepted by both the black revolutionaries and the white landowners. Toni, who is part-white, part-black, transfers her loyalties from the blacks' side to the whites' side, and then she tries to deceive both sides in order to continue her support for the whites' side. While Michael and Sasportas are in the end affiliated with the white and black positions respectively, Toni ends up in between, accepted by neither side.

As Zantop points out, the structure of *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* is such that transcending the white and black sides is impossible. She argues that Gustav's assumption that "he, a Swiss officer in the French army, remains an outsider to the conflict between blacks and whites, is reckless. Kleist leaves no doubt that in a revolution there is no moral third" (158). Seghers' characters, Michael and Sasportas, are thus inconceivable in Kleist's story, which relies on a dichotomous view of racial relations. Michael and Sasportas, as Jews whose "third" status allows them to mediate between black/white divisions, reconfigure Kleist's version of the revolutions in the Caribbean. Significantly, in Seghers' reconfiguration, she replaces the mulatto woman of her precursor's text with European men, hence revoking the central role granted to a woman of color. Seghers, however, does not present black or mulatto women with the same moral ambiguity and duplicity of Toni, although her depiction of women in her Caribbean texts is ambivalent, as will be discussed.

While Seghers builds on and complicates Kleist's depiction of the ethnic divisions on the islands, she also presents the contrasting character of Debuissou, in *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, who, like Toni, makes decisions about his political ties that are essentially determined by his heritage. Debuissou is identified toward the beginning of the narrative as "halb Engländer, halb Franzose, auf Jamaika geboren" (146).²³ Although he had grown up with his grandfather on the family's plantation in English-controlled Jamaica, Debuissou apparently switched to the French Republican side during their conflict with the English to free the slaves on Guadeloupe: "Er sah unsere Trikolore wehen, er wußte, wohin er gehört" (146).²⁴ In the context of this brief historical period, Debuissou's heritage as half-French and half-English leads him to be partly representative of the short-lived French emancipatory cause and partly representative of the white colonial dominance in the Caribbean. His plan to infiltrate Jamaica to stir up a rebellion among the slaves, which is supported by the French Republican government, is possible because of his English background: "Sein Übergang auf die Seite der Republik in Guadeloupe sei vor den Engländern zu verbergen. Er könne sein Verschwinden so darstellen, als sei er gefangen worden und verschleppt" (147).²⁵ Like Toni, Debuissou tries to switch from one side to the other, in this case, from the English to the French sides, but he uses his mixed heritage to deceive the opposing side (the English) into believing he is one of them. Debuissou's deception is initially successful, and the English military welcomes him and his companions on board the ship to Jamaica without question (152).

Once he arrives in Jamaica, however, Debuissou's familial ties with the English landowners complicate his loyalties. While Arlene Teraoka argues that Debuissou is "drawn by the physical beauty of the land" and thus "loses

sight of his mission of revolution" (11), I argue that Debuissou's return to the English side of the battle is based on his English heritage and his former life on the island, not the beauty of the land in itself. When he first returns to Jamaica, he is struck by the familiarity of the sights and smells of Jamaica, and he has the pleasure of being reunited with his family (155–8). Bonaparte's seizure of the government causes Debuissou's doubts about continuing with the slave rebellion since he suspects the new government will no longer support their mission (186–7). Immediately after expressing these doubts, he begins to revel in the possibility of simply settling down in Jamaica again: "Dann wäre er hier kein Fremder, kein Abgesandter mit einer furchtbar schweren Mission, dann hätte er Anteil an diesem Tal und seinen Ernten, an dem Zuckerrohr . . . dann könnte er Berings Erbe werden" (188–9).²⁶ Debuissou wishes he could become a part of the English aristocratic society in Jamaica once again; he would like to inherit his family's plantation and enjoy the company of his English neighbor, Elizabeth Raleigh (189). Hence, it is clear that Debuissou's allegiance returns to the English colonizers' position because of his personal history as an Englishman in Jamaica, not merely because of the beauty of the land. This interpretation of Debuissou's positioning is supported by Seghers' first draft of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, which was written a few years before the final version. In Korngold's account, Debuissou was a French officer who had served with the British (163), but Seghers conceives of him originally as a Frenchman without British connections.²⁷ Debuissou's betrayal of the revolution in this draft coincides with his acceptance of the aristocratic lifestyle; Sasportas comes across Debuissou, looking as if he has gained weight, dining at the plantation, and giving commands to slaves.²⁸ While the Debuissou of this version, who has never lived in Jamaica before, is seduced by the luxuries of life with slaves, the Debuissou of the final draft clearly connects his decision to abandon the mission with a desire to return to his former, familiar life. In the end, Debuissou tells the English officials everything he knows about the mission and reveals the rebels' names in order to save his life, and he is sent to prison in London rather than hanged (240–1). This decision to give up his devotion to the French revolutionary position in the end is placed in striking contrast to Sasportas' undying loyalty; Sasportas refuses to give away names to the officials and says, "Ich bin kein Debuissou" (241).²⁹

Hence, Seghers sets up a distinct contrast between the Jewish revolutionaries Michael and Sasportas and the inconstant character of Debuissou. While Michael and Sasportas, like Debuissou, are also not black, their "third" position as Jews allows them to remain accepted by both the white and black sides of the revolution while secretly maintaining loyalty to the

black revolutionaries. Debuissou is also an outsider to the black revolution, but his heritage as half-English and half-French leads him to switch back and forth between the French and the English sides, rather like Kleist's Toni. His deception of the English in Jamaica to pursue French revolutionary ideals is perhaps rather a deception of Sasportas and Galloudec, because he so easily slips back into his role as an English landowner. In the end, like Toni, Debuissou is rejected by both the French and the English, and is sent to an English prison. Seghers thus depicts Jewish heritage as leading to an advantageous "third" position between the blacks and whites in the Caribbean revolutions. The Jew as a "third" has also appeared in Arnold Zweig's *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (De Vriendt Returns Home), written sixteen years prior to *Die Hochzeit von Haiti*. De Vriendt is positioned between Jews and Arabs, and East and West, allowing him to serve as a mediator between the sides. Michael and Sasportas, in contrast, labor not to mediate but to undermine and overthrow imperialism, using their ambiguous identities as a means to infiltrate the European colonizers. Seghers' decision to portray her Jewish characters as particularly gifted revolutionary heroes suggests an affiliation with her identity as both a Jew and a Communist that has primarily been ignored in criticism of her work. In fact, as I demonstrate in the following section, Seghers' depiction of her Jewish heroes indicates an identification with her Jewish heritage that had to be suppressed in Communist circles but began to find new voice during her exile in the 1940s.

***DER SCHÖNE JUDE UND DER HÄßLICHE JUDE:*³⁰ JEWISH FIGURES IN *KARIBISCHE GESCHICHTEN* (II)**

Seghers' positioning between the two poles of her Communist identity and her Jewish identity has been debated by critics, but she has generally been viewed as favoring socialist themes over Jewish ones in her writing. As a significant contradiction to this characterization, Seghers chose Jewish men as two of the central protagonists in *Karibische Geschichten*. In fact, Jewish themes or characters also appeared in other texts in the 1940s: *Transit* (1943), *Post ins gelobte Land* (1945; Letters to the Promised Land), and *Der Ausflug der toten Mädchen* (1946; The Outing of the Dead Girls). The Jewish heroes of *Karibische Geschichten* differ, however, from the less sympathetic portrayals of Jews in these other narratives, which are all formed against the backdrop of the Nazi occupation and the Holocaust. As I argue, Seghers uses the distant Caribbean setting to reappropriate revolutionary heroism for the Jewish people in response to the loss of her mother in the Holocaust, the more tolerant Mexico City Communist community in which she lived in the 1940s, and the antisemitic trials in the Eastern bloc

in the 1950s. Seghers indirectly criticizes the suppression of the question of the fate of the Jews under Communism and in the GDR by making Jewish characters the revolutionary leaders. At the same time, Seghers continued to be influenced by the stereotyping of Jews in Germany in her works, and these stereotypes led to the creation of her two distinct heroes.

Born as Netty Reiling, Seghers met László Radványi (1900–1978), a Jewish Hungarian revolutionary and refugee, while attending university. After their marriage in 1925, Radványi obtained a position teaching at the Marxistischen Arbeitsschule in Berlin, and Seghers came into contact with Communist ideas and circles through her husband. Her devotion to her husband's political cause first became apparent in 1928 when she joined the Communist Party and won the Kleist prize for her novel *Aufstand der Fischer von St. Barbara* (Rebellion of the Fishermen in St. Barbara), about a socialist rebellion. The following year she also joined the Bund Proletarisch-Revolutionärer Schriftsteller (Association of Proletarian-Revolutionary Writers), whose purpose was to foster the production of art and literature that would serve as weapons of revolution and class struggle. Already in her early works, Seghers established the figure of the difficult and rebellious young man, who would reappear throughout her narratives as a socialist revolutionary hero.³¹

Arrested for her Communist associations in 1933, Seghers fled to France and then to Mexico with her family. In Mexico City, Seghers and her husband were part of an elite group of Communists; in all of Mexico, there were 60 German Communists, 30 of whom were Jewish. Seghers was president of the Heinrich Heine Club and involved with the journal *Freies Deutschland* (Free Germany). According to Jeffrey Herf, the discussion of the Jewish question among the Communist exiles in Mexico City was more open, partly because of the distance of Mexico from Germany. Paul Merker, a prominent non-Jewish German Communist, spoke openly in favor of Zionism and criticized the failure of antifascists to address the problem of antisemitism in Germany; these views were at the time shared by the editor of the *Freies Deutschland*, Alexander Abusch. In 1947, Seghers and many other Jewish left-wing intellectuals chose to settle in East Germany. These Jewish leftists became well-known figures in the GDR; Seghers herself headed the newly reconstituted Schriftstellerverband (Writers' Association) beginning in 1952. Seghers was particularly devoted to the ideals of the GDR; her literary output was dedicated to revolution, class struggle, and the resistance of the oppressed.³²

While Seghers clearly identified with socialist ideals, her association with Judaism is uncertain, undoubtedly as a result of the situation of the Jews

in the GDR. The official claim of the leftists, of course, was that socialism was the answer to antisemitism, which they saw as the product of capitalism, and they believed it would disappear in a socialist system. As a result, Jewish writers of the GDR were not led to focus on their Jewish identity nor to address issues of antisemitism, but rather, to write narratives of antifascism and class struggle. Seghers was no exception; she, in fact, was also not a member of the Jewish community. Coming to terms with the Holocaust was therefore also not an element of GDR society. The suppression of the Jewish question in the GDR, however, did not mean that Jews were seamlessly accepted. In spite of their prominence, Jewish intellectuals remained an isolated group, separate from the remainder of GDR society. In fact, a series of antisemitic trials swept across the Eastern bloc in the 1950s, which included a few of Seghers' friends. At the trials, Communist party affiliates, many of whom were Jewish, were accused of being agents of the supposedly joint forces of American imperialism, Zionism, and Jewish capitalism. The returned exiles from Mexico City particularly became targets; Merker was arrested in 1952 for his sympathies with the Jews and Abusch had to renounce his former statements. At Merker's trial in 1954, Seghers' husband actually testified against him, and at the 1956–57 trial of a Jewish friend from Mexico, Walter Janka, for conspiracy against the GDR government, Seghers did not speak out publicly in his defense. While she has been criticized for this, she did write a posthumously published critique of the Walter Janka trial and Communism at the time, suggesting that her lack of public criticism resulted from the political pressure exerted on her and her associates.³³

In criticism, Seghers' literary texts are often characterized as favoring socialist concerns over Jewish ones or as being generally insensitive to the fate of the Jews in Europe. Paul O'Doherty remarks that Jewish "figures were never central, nor was any Jewish theme" in her narratives (274). Susan E. Cernyak claims that Seghers' writings of the 1930s and 1940s during her exile focus primarily on her "mourning for [her] lost homeland," Germany, rather than on the persecution and murder of Jews, because she "thought of herself first and foremost as a German" (278–9). Her decision to adopt the pseudonym Anna Seghers was part of this self-identification, Cernyak argues (279–80). Seghers' novel *Transit* (1943), which was written during and after her own experience of escaping from Nazi-occupied Europe by way of Marseille, describes Jews at the port as "abfahrtssüchtig" (283; "crazed for departure"). Cernyak sees this description, and the narrator's sense of repulsion for these refugees, as mocking their desperate situation (283). The conclusion of the narrative, in which the narrator decides to stay and defend German soil, leads Cernyak to conclude that Seghers believed only political dissidents

had the right to flee (284). This insensitivity toward the persecution of the Jews is also an issue in *Der Ausflug der toten Mädchen* (1946). Seghers' equation of the murder of two minor Jewish characters in concentration camps and the death of Nazi supporters in air raids has been criticized.³⁴ Dagmar Lorenz further notes that the narrator forgives the Nazi supporters, which she views as problematic since Holocaust survivors have refused to "forgive" the extermination of a nation" (204). *Post ins gelobte Land* (1945), the story of a German-Jewish family in France, diminishes the particular backdrop of the Nazi occupation and the Holocaust to focus on the possibility for Jews to assimilate into a progressive society, reflecting a socialist solution to the problem of antisemitism. In spite of minimizing the victimization of the Jews in the Holocaust, both of these stories serve as a tribute to her parents; Seghers had learned in early 1945 of her mother's death in a concentration camp in Poland in 1942.³⁵

At first glance, *Die Hochzeit von Haiti* (1948) seems to continue the less sympathetic portrayal of Jewish characters appearing in *Transit* and *Der Ausflug der toten Mädchen*, since the novella's focus on a Jewish family is undermined by antisemitic stereotypes. When Michael arrives on the island from Paris, the narrator comments, "[e]r war überhaupt dem Vater leider ähnlicher als dem Großvater; Mendez sah eher spanisch als jüdisch aus" (15).³⁶ It is unfortunate, according to the narrator, that Michael looks more like his "Jewish" father, rather than like his "Spanish Jewish," or Sephardic, mother's family (16). Michael's Sephardic mother was once a great beauty, and the youngest daughter, Miriam, takes after her mother (16). In contrast, Michael's apparently Ashkenazic Jewish face is practically ugly: "In seinem beinahe häßlichen, nachdenklichen oder nur trägen Gesicht war alles dadurch noch mehr verlänglicht, daß er die Unterlippe schlapp hängen ließ" (15).³⁷ The "ugly" face with the limp, hanging lower lip is repeatedly associated with Michael as well as with his other sister, Mali, who "unfortunately" also resembles her father rather than her mother. The narrator describes Mali for the first time in the following manner: "Ihr Gesicht war so häßlich, daß ihr zartfarbenes Festkleid beinahe lächerlich wirkte" (17).³⁸ She also has "häßlichen Zähne" and a "tiefhängende[] Unterlippe" (17) and is later characterized as having inherited a "lange Nase" from her father (22).³⁹ The initial description of Mali as "ugly" is juxtaposed with a mango, described as a "zarte[r], goldfarbige[r] Halbmond," and foreshadows the "goldbraune Stoff" of which Michael and Margot's daughter is made (17, 53).⁴⁰ Thus, Mali's Ashkenazic "ugliness" is contrasted with the beautiful fruits of the Caribbean, as well as the beautiful, mixed people of the Caribbean. Sasportas, in *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* (1961), who is a Spanish Jew as well, is, in contrast

to Michael, also considered to be beautiful. As another character recounts in an earlier draft of the novel, “Der ist ein ganz lustiger huebscher Junge. Den Frauen gefällt er. Ich glaube, es gab deshalb noch in Brest einen Krach vor der Abfahrt.”⁴¹ Beauty is associated in Seghers’ vocabulary with blacks, mulattos, and Sephardic Jews, but not with Ashkenazic Jews. In light of the criticisms of Seghers’ apparent insensitivity to the fate of the Jews in Europe, the depiction of Samuel, Michael, and Mali as “ugly” because they are Jewish would seem to be an internalization of antisemitism, and thus, a sort of “self-hatred” in Sander Gilman’s terms.⁴² While an internalization of Jewish stereotypes is indeed apparent, I will argue that Seghers makes use of these stereotypes to create two different kinds of Jewish heroes, one Ashkenazic and one Sephardic.

The theme of Judaism in the two stories has been previously interpreted as providing a religious subtext, but these arguments are problematic. Bernhard Greiner has claimed that Jewish identity, and particularly the theme of the Messiah, plays a central role in the Caribbean cycles. He views Toussaint Louverture as a messianic figure, and argues that his “marriage” with Michael, his Jewish assistant, offers a rewriting of Christian tradition (162–3). In *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, he claims that Jean Sasportas is named after Rabbi Jakob ben Ahron Sasportas, a seventeenth-century Dutch critic of Sabbatai Zwi, the false Messiah (168). Greiner also maintains that Seghers’ reference to the Spanish-Moorish period of Spain in the fifteenth century prior to the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 in her text “Große Unbekannte” (“Great Unknown Men”), which includes a biography of Toussaint Louverture, further references the messianic theme, since interest in messianic movements among the Jewish populations increased after the expulsion.⁴³ Helen Fehevary clarifies Greiner’s interpretation by stating that the “spirit of Jewish messianism” and “the Jewish uprisings . . . that culminated in the first century A.D.” are evoked in *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* (131). Fehevary’s comments, in particular, suggest that Seghers mirrors the political Zionist attempt to recapture the heroism of ancient Israel.

These claims that Seghers was not merely addressing colonialism and slavery but also themes of messianism and revolution in Jewish history are appealing but have little textual support. The Christian themes of Toussaint as a Messiah and Sasportas on the crucifix of the gallows⁴⁴ are certainly in evidence, but they do not suggest a particular focus on Jewish issues. The connection between Jean Sasportas and Rabbi Jakob ben Ahron Sasportas is particularly tenuous, since the name Sasportas is the actual name of the historical figure that Seghers found in both Korngold’s *Citizen Toussaint* and later in R. C. Dallas’ *Geschichte der Maronen-Negern auf Jamaica* (History of

the Black Maroons in Jamaica) from 1805.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Seghers changed the name Sasportas in her first draft of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* to Jean Siqueiros, which she may have chosen in honor of the Mexican artist David Alfaro Siqueiros, whom she befriended while in Mexico City.⁴⁶ Seghers' decision to change the names of Sasportas and Debuisson apparently resulted from her uncertainty about the historical accuracy of Korngold's account. A research assistant was attempting to find reference to Sasportas and Debuisson in other historical texts in 1959,⁴⁷ and Seghers most likely came across Dallas' text at this point, which she refers to in her letter to Renate Francke: "Ich freute mich, als ich die Namen, die mir aus der ersten englischen Biographie Toussaints bekannt waren, in dieser alten Übersetzung wiederfand."⁴⁸ In other words, the name Sasportas clearly developed out of Caribbean not Dutch history, and her original decision to name the character Siqueiros undermines the claim that she had a particular reason for choosing the name Sasportas. And finally, Seghers' reference to the Spanish-Moorish period in "Große Unbekannte" mourns the end of the intellectual flowering and cultural harmony of Jews and Muslims prior to the expulsion from Spain (217). Zweig also harkens back to this historical period in his novel *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, identifying this as an epoch when Jews were able to live with other religious and ethnic groups without conflict. Seghers' embrace of this period in Spain indicates not an interest in messianism but a longing for the integration of Jews into a tolerant society, which is reflected in her depiction of Jews and blacks cooperating in the Caribbean revolutions.

Furthermore, I argue that the distinction between Spanish Jews and Ashkenazic Jews serves to clarify Seghers' depiction of her Jewish heroes. Sephardic Jews in both texts are depicted as more attractive than Ashkenazic Jews; Michael is "ugly" with a hanging lower lip and long nose, while Sasportas is a "pretty" young man who is attractive to women. Interestingly, Michael appears weaker than Sasportas, since he leaves Haiti in defeat, while Sasportas remains to the end, refusing to betray his compatriots and dying on the gallows. Seghers' more complimentary depiction of Sephardic rather than Ashkenazic heritage has in fact a long history in German-Jewish thought. Since at least the mid-nineteenth century, German Jews would choose to identify with a Sephardic background in order to disassociate themselves from the Eastern European Jews, or *Ostjuden*, who were stereotyped as Oriental and degenerate. As German Jews strove to assimilate and gain emancipation, they needed to differentiate themselves from this stereotype of the *Ostjuden*, and a claim of Sephardic heritage was one means of doing so. Heinrich Heine, for example, used the setting of medieval Spain, where Jews were integrated into society and contributing to the culture, for his poem "Jehuda ben Levy" in

1851, as a model for German society. Theodor Herzl himself claimed Sephardic ancestry, in part because the Sephardic Jews had a more illustrious and “masculine” history than the Ashkenazic Jews. The rabbis of Spain in the Middle Ages were generals in the armies, and their tales of military prowess inspired Herzl, who was concerned with presenting Jews as masculine as part of his nationalist project.⁴⁹ Seghers’ representation of Sasportas as an attractive, masculine Jew and Michael as his uglier, weaker counterpart follows in this pattern of German-Jewish identification.

However, I maintain that Michael represents merely a different kind of revolutionary than the more “masculine” Sephardic Jew Sasportas. Lorenz has noted that Michael joins in the battle for the freedom of the blacks “as only members of a traditionally persecuted minority would,” but at the same time, Michael “exchanges Judaism for the ideals of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution” (207). According to Lorenz, Michael is inspired to participate in the revolution both because he is Jewish and because he rejects his Jewish identity for abstract ideals. Michael certainly associates his experience as a Jew with that of the blacks (24), but at the same time, he clearly has adopted the ideals of the French revolution as his purpose, and he believes in creating a society where all people have equal rights, regardless of their ethnicity (23–6). In conjunction with this dedication to abstract ideals, Michael seems to be separating himself from his religion and his family. For instance, the “Gebetskapseln” (“prayer capsules”) or mezuzah, have not been put up by Samuel Nathan on the front door frame, so that the Nathans’ apartment is like all of the other apartments of the colonists (26). The family’s menorah, here referred to as a “siebenarmige[] Leuchter” (“seven-armed candelabra”) that Mali lights every Friday evening, has no meaning for Michael (42). The very words used suggest a detachment from the Jewish faith, since these objects are not described with their proper Hebrew names. In addition, Michael remains in Haiti despite the growing danger to himself. While his family plans their escape to England when the revolution breaks out, Michael insists upon staying in Haiti to aid in the rebellion (28, 41–2). Hence, Michael’s decision to participate in the revolution leads to his distancing from his heritage, but this distancing does not interrupt his “third” position, which is determined by others around him, such as the follower of Toussaint who insists upon viewing Michael as a “white Jew” (55–6). Michael’s suspension between his Jewish identity and his sympathy for the revolution parallels the difficulty that Seghers faced in her own life as a member of the Communist party and later in the GDR.

As a result of Michael’s similarities to Seghers’ own position, Seghers is most likely not condemning Michael with antisemitic stereotypes but rather

using stereotypes of Ashkenazic Jews to associate Michael with a particular revolutionary potential. In fact, the ugly, “Jewish” characteristics are later used in the story to describe Toussaint, who is the historical hero of the revolution. After Bonaparte’s navy is sent to overthrow the blacks in Haiti, and the black rebels have retreated back to the mountains, Michael visits Toussaint and notices, “daß Toussaint das Kinn im Grübeln hängen ließ wie er selbst” (57).⁵⁰ Michael then returns home to find that his wife and child have died, and he and his sister sit quietly that evening, “. . . mit hängendem Kinn, einander und ihrem Vater so ähnlich wie je” (61).⁵¹ The “hanging chin,” which is clearly connected with the three Ashkenazic Jewish characters, is also applied to Toussaint Louverture, whose embodiment of the revolutionary ideal for Seghers is clear.⁵² While Teraoka at first suggests that the hanging chin represents “sexual impotence,” she also notes that the “political and emotional affinity between Michael and Toussaint . . . is underscored by a sudden physical similarity” in the form of the hanging chin (175–6). Thus, I would argue that this “ugliness” is a symbol of a strong will and a revolutionary spirit. This similarity in physical appearance connects Michael with Toussaint, who was the leader of the fight for equality in Haiti, thus associating Michael with the struggle for unity across ethnic boundaries, and making him the hero of the story. Michael and Toussaint are further connected in the final paragraph, where they are described as dying simultaneously and as coming from the same seed (63). While Seghers depicts Michael as “ugly” because he is an Ashkenazic Jew, the fact that the famous black leader Toussaint Louverture is described as having similar physical features and that Michael adopts the revolutionary cause at the expense of his own religious beliefs suggests that Michael embodies a kind of ideal revolutionary for Seghers. Hence, Seghers transforms the antisemitic and racist stereotype of the hanging lip into a positive, revolutionary marker.

As a result, Michael’s Ashkenazic “ugliness” and Sasportas’ Sephardic, masculine beauty represent not merely a contrast between positive and negative Jewish stereotypes but also two conceptualizations of Jewish heroism. In fact, this was not the first time that Seghers dealt with the contrast between Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews. Her doctoral dissertation from 1924, *Jude und Judentum im Werke Rembrandts* (Jew and Judaism in the Work of Rembrandt) considered Rembrandt’s decision to paint the poor, immigrant *Ostjuden* in Amsterdam rather than the more illustrious Sephardic community.⁵³ While Seghers’ milieu had undoubtedly led to an internalization of stereotypes of Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews, she transforms them in her Caribbean stories into two forms of Jewish heroism, and therefore two versions of how the Jewish people could contribute to the socialist struggle.

The use of Jewish stereotypes has previously appeared in Arnold Zweig's *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, where Zweig breaks down the stereotype of the *Ostjude* in order to create his unlikely hero de Vriendt. Both Michael and de Vriendt are based on stereotypes of the *Ostjude*, function as the "third" between two antagonistic sides in their adopted homelands, and as a result of this positioning, possess a unique potential to facilitate change. Both Zweig and Seghers hence reappropriate the negative *Ostjude* stereotype in order to create Jewish characters who serve the authors' respective political purposes.

Seghers' political purpose in choosing these two Jewish heroes stems from her evident concern about the fate of the Jews and the Communist suppression of this issue. Romero has argued that the depiction of Michael remains steeped in antisemitic stereotypes but that Sasportas represents a reaction to the trials of the 1950s and an "erzählerische Ehrenrettung der Juden im Kommunismus."⁵⁴ However, Sasportas' portrayal is just as much influenced by Jewish stereotypes as Michael's. Moreover, Seghers' writings of the 1940s indicate that she was concerned with the Jewish question within Communism prior to her move to the GDR. These texts from the 1940s—*Transit*, *Post ins gelobte Land*, and *Der Ausflug der toten Mädchen*—while criticized for an apparent disinterest in the Holocaust, indicate her difficulties with her own exile from her homeland and the loss of her mother in the Holocaust. Seghers was able to address the question of the fate of the Jewish people, in spite of her Communist affiliation, because of her location in Mexico City, where there was a sympathy for the Jews among the Communist exiles. Mexico, like the Caribbean, was the location of anticolonial struggle, as well as a more recent Communist uprising. After returning to Germany, Seghers thus chose the Caribbean as a safe place to discuss the Jewish question, and to depict Jewish characters in heroic revolutionary roles, where their difference as Jews gives them an advantage. Seghers downplays the depiction of Jews as Holocaust victims in her stories of the 1940s in order to foreground Jews as revolutionaries to recuperate agency for the Jewish people after her return to Germany in 1948, where she was faced with the destruction of her country and stories of friends imprisoned and killed by the Nazi regime.⁵⁵ Her Caribbean stories hence participate in an implied criticism of the suppression of Jewish identity and the problem of antisemitism under Communism. As further evidence for this line of argumentation, Inge Diersen has claimed that the first draft of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, written arguably around the time of the trials of the early 1950s, was set ahistorically during the period of the Jacobins between 1792 and 1794, such that the failure of the mission on Jamaica is related to the oppressive Jacobin phase of the French revolution. Diersen views this original version as

an implicit criticism of the Communist revolution in Russia, which Seghers never dared to publish (47–8). Although the second version of the novella differs significantly, Diersen's interpretation indicates that Seghers was using the Caribbean setting to express her disillusionment with Communism.

Seghers' personal loss in the Holocaust, her exile experience in Mexico City in the 1940s among Communists sympathetic to the Jews, and her witnessing of the trials of these friends in the GDR in the 1950s all contributed to an ambivalence about the treatment of the Jewish question under Communism and resulted in her portrayal of Jews as ideal revolutionaries in two of her *Karibische Geschichten*. Michael and Sasportas' ambiguous status as Jews in the Caribbean revolutions grants them a unique "third" positioning that allows them to simultaneously belong to the white and black sides in the revolution, which contrasts with the more essentialized ethnic divisions that determine the actions of Toni in Kleist's novella and Debuissou. Secondly, the two Jewish characters, one Sephardic and the other Ashkenazic, offer differing models of revolutionary potential. Sasportas' "masculine," Sephardic ancestry leads him to remain loyal to the black rebellion to the end, while Michael's Ashkenazic "ugliness," associated with Toussaint Louverture's own appearance, symbolizes the revolutionary spirit. Seghers makes use of the idealization of masculinity and stereotyping of Jews particular to German and German-Jewish culture in her creation of these contrasting figures. Hence, Seghers' texts attempt to provide differing examples of cooperation between Jews and blacks in the face of European oppression, but the texts are not free of antisemitic stereotypes, essentialization of ethnic categories nor racist depictions of blacks. Seghers, however, was not unaware of these flaws in her representations of the Caribbean revolutions. Her writing of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* evidences her consciousness of the difficulties with her Eurocentric perspective in writing about the Caribbean.

THE PALIMPSESTIC TEXT: BLACKS AND BLACK HISTORY IN *DAS LICHT AUF DEM GALGEN*

Das Licht auf dem Galgen was published in 1961 along with the two earlier novellas *Die Hochzeit von Haiti* and *Die Wiedereinführung der Sklaverei in Guadeloupe* (The Reintroduction of Slavery in Guadeloupe) from 1949 in the collection entitled *Karibische Geschichten*. Several drafts of the later novella, as well as accompanying notes on historical material, appear in the Anna-Seghers-Archiv, and these drafts, apparently written over a span of at least four years, indicate the development of Seghers' conceptualizations of politics, religion, and race for the purposes of the novella.

Most interestingly, the versions trace Seghers' endeavor to overcome the limitations of her European perspective in her depictions of Africans and Caribbean history. The drafts form a kind of palimpsest, where the later drafts are written over the earlier drafts, only partially obscuring the ideas underneath. The palimpsest may be seen as a metaphor for colonization, where the colonizers' history is superimposed on the culture of the colonized, according to Anne Donadey.⁵⁶ Critics have argued that Seghers' text participates in this kind of ideological colonization, since she brings her European ideals and concepts to her depiction of the Caribbean revolutions. At the same time, the drafts themselves indicate her efforts to reverse this colonization, such that each layer strives to remove more and more traces of Seghers' European viewpoint. While the vestiges of the earlier drafts are still legible underneath, Seghers reveals her own consciousness of her prejudices and limitations, calling into question whether her texts can be simply labeled as racist. Thus, Seghers indicates in her writings the extent to which European consciousness bears the traces of racism and colonialism and strives to revise this European perspective. Furthermore, in spite of her use of the Caribbean setting to express her concerns about the fate of Jews in Europe, the texts also indicate an attempt to engage with Caribbean history in its own right, albeit from a distanced European perspective.

The depiction of black characters in Seghers' Caribbean novellas has primarily garnered criticism for her apparently Eurocentric, unsympathetic, and even racist views. While some critics have praised her for uniting blacks, mulattos, and whites in a contest against European oppressors, most claim that she represents blacks as passive even within their own history of revolution.⁵⁷ Teraoka's thorough analysis of *Karibische Geschichten* convincingly details elements of the Eurocentric stereotypes Seghers brings to the Caribbean revolutions. The dichotomies of white/black, civilization/nature, rationality/sensation, and history/timelessness govern the relationships between the white revolutionaries and the black slaves. In particular, black men, she argues, are depicted as illiterate and therefore unable to think clearly. Only when they are educated in European thought, as in the case of Toussaint Louverture, do they begin to become rational and effective. Black women, on the other hand, are associated with a racialized, animal sexuality and only exist to offer support and assistance to their white lovers.⁵⁸

In addition to these stereotypes, critics have claimed that Seghers places European Enlightenment ideals, French revolutionary ideals, and/or Marxist traditions onto the black revolutions, ignoring local traditions or

the slaves' own desires for revolt. Gertraud Gutzmann explains that Seghers' indebtedness to European Enlightenment ideals leads her to favor the humanist concepts of freedom, equality, and brotherhood from the French Revolution, hence ignoring differences of race and culture when recounting the Caribbean revolutions. Instead, Gutzmann argues, Seghers relies on a Marxist model and replaces a discussion of race with class struggle (190). Sigrid Weigel points out that in "Der Auftrag," Heiner Müller's rewriting of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, Müller elegantly expresses his critique of this tendency in Seghers' work, saying that the imposition of European ideals onto other cultures appears as a kind of writing on the body of the Other, with whips: "mit den Peitschen, die ein neues Alphabet schreiben werden auf andre Leiber in unsrer Hand."⁵⁹ The agency of black revolutionaries is hence removed by Seghers' accounts, since European categories are placed onto them, which results in a kind of re-colonization of the black slaves. This violent writing on the body of the blacks connects to the metaphor of the palimpsest, violent writing from the colonizers' perspective onto history from the blacks' own experience.

Thomas Mast has argued against this line of reasoning, noting that Seghers refers to local forms of resistance in *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, such as the leadership of the maroons in the figure of Cuffee, and in the oral tradition of African drums in the family of the black slave Bedford (35–9). He claims that Seghers therefore establishes a dialogue between European and African traditions in her account of the revolutions, hence making the novellas more accessible to German readers, her target audience (40–1). I would argue, however, that Seghers' Eurocentric tendencies can not simply be excused by her endeavor to appeal to European readers, no more than can her reliance on history books by European authors.⁶⁰ Instead, in the following I analyze the drafts of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* as evidence for the development of Seghers' depiction of blacks and black history, one from which she was continually struggling to erase her European perspective.

The account of the genesis of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* has often been based on the published letter written by Seghers to Renate Francke in 1963 that is included in the Aufbau-Verlag edition of *Karibische Geschichten*. In this letter, Seghers states that she had originally conceived of her Caribbean stories as a trilogy. She had begun a draft of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, "schrieb ein paar Seiten, doch diese Seiten gefielen mir gar nicht. Ich warf sie weg und ließ die Novelle liegen."⁶¹ Much later, she claims, she went back to the story and rewrote it. This would suggest that she began writing *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* in 1948, but then discarded the early draft and rewrote it around 1961. Her own account of these events is, however, contradicted by archival

evidence. An earlier draft of this same letter appears in handwritten form in a notebook dated to 1948–49 located in the Anna-Seghers-Archiv. The notebook is described in the archival finding aid as containing “Hs. [handschriftliche] Aufz. [Aufzeichnungen] zu den Antillen-Novellen ‘Die Hochzeit von Haiti’ und zu ‘Wiedereinführung der Sklaverei in Guadeloupe.’”⁶² However, rather than sketches for these two stories, the notebook contains Seghers’ explanation for why she wrote these two stories, and these notes clearly mirror the later letter sent in 1963. With one significant exception, that the explanation begins by stating, “Ich fing d[ie] 2 kleinen Gesch[ichten] d[ie] auf d[en] Antillen spielen bald ein nachdem ich zurück nach [Berlin] gekommen war. . . .”⁶³ She never mentions the writing of the third story, nor that she originally intended to write three stories. Only in 1963, two years after writing *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, did she claim this as her original intention. An earlier draft of the story does appear in the archive, and this version is significantly different in its characters, construction, and plot, suggesting that there was a space of time between the writing of the first draft and that of the final version.⁶⁴ A notebook belonging to Seghers first mentions *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* as the third of the Caribbean stories in December of 1957. Then, *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* appears again in 1959, and she writes that she has finished the novel on June 28, 1960.⁶⁵ This suggests that she did write an earlier version and set it aside, but not simultaneously with the two other stories.

The earlier, unpublished draft of the novella, furthermore, is accompanied by contradictory historical materials which brings the date of the first draft further into question. Diersen has noted the different setting of the first draft, such that the story takes place not between 1798 and 1799, but during the period of the Jacobins, between 1792 and 1794 (47). In the published version, Debuissou receives a letter stating that Napoleon has staged a coup, and therefore decides that their mission has become invalid (184). In the first draft, however, the fall of Robespierre, which occurred in 1794, causes the emissaries on Jamaica to lose faith in their mission. However, the first draft is accompanied by Seghers’ notes from history books and numerous timelines of the period from 1791 to 1804, detailing both occurrences on the Caribbean islands and in France.⁶⁶ The timelines repeatedly place Debuissou and Saspontas’ trip to Jamaica during the period of 1798 and 1799. One timeline states under October 1798: “Debuissou (früher engl[ischer] Offiz[ier]) wird nach San Dom[ingo] gesch[ickt]. Überfall auf Jamaica u[nd] Südstaates.” The two figures then reappear on the timeline in October or November 1799: “Denn Roume [Kommissar auf Haiti] hat Debuissou u[nd] Saspontas nach Jam[aica] geschickt[.] [M]an hat sie gefunden nach Besiegung d[er]

Negerrebelln unter Cuffee.”⁶⁷ The timelines clearly coincide with the published version of the story, since Debuissou and Sasportas fail in 1799, and secondly, the figure of Cuffee, the maroon, only appears in the final version of the story, not in the early draft. Hence, the first draft seems to be grouped with other archival materials that were only used in the writing of the final draft. This supports the claim of a closer temporal contiguity of the first and final drafts than Seghers’ published letter suggests. Furthermore, specific lines from the original draft appear in the final version, indicating that she did rely on the original in the writing of the published version.

These multiple copies of timelines already indicate that she grappled with writing about the revolutions in the Caribbean as a European. While Mast acknowledges several potential historical sources, all written by Europeans, Seghers’ notes in the Anna-Seghers-Archiv primarily mention Dallas’ *Geschichte der Maronen-Negern auf Jamaica* from 1805, and her descriptions also indicate a reliance on Ralph Korngold’s *Citizen Toussaint* from 1944. However, the majority of her notes consist of at least thirteen handwritten timelines, seven of which restate the same events from 1791 to 1804 repeatedly in slightly different although not contradictory ways. Some of these timelines are divided into three columns: “Frankreich, Antillen, Nouvelle” (“France, Antilles, Novel”). Others consist of a simple list of events in all three locations. Debuissou and Sasportas often appear on the timelines across from the dates 1798 and 1799, and often their names do not stand out more than any other historical figures, only designated later by red or blue underlines. In general, dates, figures, and events appear to be later crossed out, rewritten or underlined, as if Seghers was even rewriting each timeline. The timelines indicate, first, that Seghers was, from the beginning, conceiving of the events in the Caribbean as dependent upon the events in France. The parallel of France and the Caribbean in the timelines reveals this viewpoint, and are reflected in all drafts of the text, which begin their narratives in France and then move to the events in the Caribbean. This fact would support criticism of Seghers’ stories as relying on the ideals of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution to retell the Caribbean revolutions.⁶⁸ Secondly, the constant rewriting of the timelines, often in tiny, penciled handwriting, represents Seghers’ painstaking labor to record and apparently remember the detail and order of these events. Rather than relying on one recording of the history, Seghers wrote and rewrote the timelines, as if she were trying to memorize them or perfect her ability to retell the events. Since her grappling with the historical events and characters continues throughout the drafts of the story, the timelines suggest that, from the beginning, Seghers had difficulties writing about Caribbean history as a European.

The multiple timelines offer a prelude to the multiple drafts of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, which indicate in particular her rewriting of her representation of blacks and black history. For example, Sasportas' first encounter with blacks in the Caribbean is a scene that Seghers developed and changed several times during the writing, and Sasportas' increasing awareness throughout the drafts parallels Seghers' own increasing knowledge of Caribbean history and sensitivity to racist portrayals of blacks. In the narrative, Sasportas' first encounter is when he sees a black man swimming in the water alongside their ship as they arrive in a port on one of the islands, which is identified as Martinique in the final draft. The man is one of a "swarm" of blacks who are collecting planks of wood that have been accidentally deposited in the ocean by a cargo ship (149–50). In the earliest version of the first, unpublished draft, Siqueiros (Sasportas) describes the black man with animalistic attributes:

Der Koerper war um sich selbst gebogen, muehlos, wie knochenlos, wie ein glitschiger Fisch. . . . [S]ein Gesicht [war] fuer Siqueiros nur zwei weisse Augaepfel in einer schwarzen Maske. Er wusste nicht ob der Blick neugierig war oder stumpf, sehnsuechtig oder gleichgueltig. Er dachte: Das ist meine erste Begegnung mit dieser Art Mensch.⁶⁹

Sasportas' first encounter with a black man, which is also Seghers' first portrayal of a black man in this narrative, fails to depict the man as even a man, even though Sasportas describes him as a "type of human." The man's boneless, fish-like body, mask-like face and apparently blank, uncomprehending facial expression reflect an understanding of black men as inhuman and irrational. In the narrative, Sasportas asks whether the blacks recognized the French flag, and Debuissou then explains that they probably know who they are. Sasportas, in this first draft, says he believes that the man did know. His attribution of this comprehension to the fish-like creature in the water suggests rather the importance of the white men and their mission on the islands, rather than that the man is particularly capable of rational thought. The second version of this first draft, written apparently shortly thereafter, varies the description slightly:

Es schien ihm, der blanke, wie ein Fisch um sich selbst gebogene Koerper, verriete ihm mehr um den Schwimmer, als das Gesicht. Er sah nur die weissen Augaepfel in einer schwarzen Maske. Er wusste nicht, ob der Blick neugierig war oder stumpf, sehnsuechtig oder gleichguehlig. Siqueiros dachte: das ist meine erste Begegnung.⁷⁰

In this version, the body of the swimmer is clearly described as more expressive than the face, which provides an explanation for why the face is described as mask-like. Secondly, Sasportas does not declare that he's a "type of human," but Seghers simply removes a description of what it is Sasportas has just encountered.

In Seghers' second attempt at the story, most likely begun in 1959, she instead suggests that Sasportas has seen black men before, and is not so inexperienced as she initially indicated. Before the description of the man swimming, she adds the line: "Jean Sasportas kannte Neger in Uniformen, auf Aemter, er kannte welche aus den Pariser Clubs, und er kannte sie aus den bitteren Erzaehlungen seines Freundes."⁷¹ The sentence serves as a disclaimer for Sasportas' ignorance or racism, since he has known black men in France. This line, however, is crossed out in the draft, as if she were uncertain whether this disclaimer further incriminated Sasportas. The addition also suggests that Seghers had completed more research, and had learned that blacks were not so unusual in France. Seghers' own education about black history parallels Sasportas' growing familiarity with blacks as the drafts continue. The final, published draft includes versions of both ideas, but the meaning of the passage has changed considerably:

Sein Körper war biegsam und blank wie ein Fisch. Er drehte den Kopf nach ihrer Flagge. Lachte er? Jean hätte nicht sagen können, ob sein Blick stumpf oder neugierig war.

Er hatte als Knabe auf der Galerie des Konvents gestanden. Drunten im Saal war eine Negerdelegation vor der Tribüne erschienen. Ihr Führer, um den Bauch eine Trikolore, hatte der Republik gedankt für die Bürgerrechte, die sie ihnen verlieh. Ein Beifall war losgebrochen im Saal, als seien die Menschen überwältigt von ihrer eigenen Großmut. Die Stimmen hatten sich heiser geschrien, die Hände hatten sich wund geklatscht. (149)⁷²

The description of Sasportas' first view of a black man in the Caribbean has been greatly abbreviated, as if to lessen the problematic association of the black man with an animal, but Seghers does not remove Sasportas' uncertainty about the rationality of this man. However, the earlier reference to Sasportas having simply seen blacks in France is replaced with a specific scene that he apparently witnessed. In this scene, the magnanimity of the whites in their bestowal of equal rights on the blacks is presented with irony and sarcasm. Sasportas does not merely remember encountering blacks before; rather, he is directly criticizing the intentions of the whites in granting equality to blacks.

Sasportas, who is himself being sent to Jamaica to organize a slave rebellion, is thus credited with a very self-aware and self-critical thought. While diminishing the stereotyping of blacks in the original versions of this scene, Seghers criticizes whites who take credit for the freeing of the blacks, a criticism that is often voiced against Seghers' own representation of the whites' role in the slave rebellions. Both Seghers and Sasportas evidence an increasing sensitivity to and familiarity with blacks and the history of blacks in France as the drafts develop. While Seghers does not eliminate the residues of her originally more inhuman depiction of a black man, the drafts indicate that she sought to overcome the limitations of her European perspective.

The role that the blacks play in the action of the novella also changes greatly from the first draft to the final draft. While the published version has been criticized for its depiction of blacks, the first draft grants black slaves on Jamaica little agency of their own; they do not participate in the planning of the revolution along with Sasportas and Debuissou. The black slaves maintain a role as objects of possession, admired for their size and strength. Shortly after the two men arrive in Jamaica, they dine at a British plantation, and an uncle and nephew of the Williams family argue over the ownership of one of the slaves, Bobi. Bobi, who belongs to the nephew, is described as a "riessige[r] schwarze[r] Kerl," and the other guests at the table comment: "Der ist noch groesster als meiner, oder der knackt dir einen Bolzen wie nichts."⁷³ The uncle calls for Bobi to come to him during dinner: "Der weisse Williams sagte: Buck dich. . . . William[s] warf nur einen Blick auf die Buchstaben, die auf den Brustkorb gebrannt waren. Dann sagte er: Gut."⁷⁴ The uncle decides he would like to have this slave for himself, but the nephew argues with him and refuses. While this argument over his fate continues:

Der Neg[e]r stand imm[er] noch auf seinem alten Platz hinter Wil[l]iams Sessel. Sein [G]esicht zeigte so viel und so wenig Anteilnahme wie das [G]esicht eines Knaben gezeigt haette, wenn seine zwei Verwandte sich um ein Ding gestritten haetten, das ihm voellig belanglos erschienen waere.⁷⁵

Bobi, like the black man in the water in the first draft, has no recognizable facial expression, no sense of emotion or rational understanding. The whites appreciate him for his size and his resulting ability to perform work, but he is merely a slave recognized by the tattoo on his chest. This scene represents the white slaveowners' perspective, and Seghers may have included it to reveal the dehumanization of the black slaves. However, Seghers provides little evidence to contradict this view of the blacks, since she accords them insignificant,

mute roles in the narrative. Certainly, when Sasportas comes across Debuisson angrily commanding slaves after his decision to abandon the revolution, Sasportas thinks: “Das ist nicht der Ton, in dem wir mit Schwarzen sprechen sollen.”⁷⁶ These words serve as the conscience of the first draft as a whole, which does not present blacks in the way in which those who believe in equality should present them.

The final draft, however, emphasizes the importance of the thought and action of a black slave, Bedford. As both Gutzmann and Mast have argued, Bedford's motivations for organizing the revolt stem in part from his close ties to a family tradition of resistance. He continues to live with his family on the plantation, and the oral tradition of life in Africa before enslavement remains influential (174–5). When Galloudec speaks to Bedford of plans for the revolution, “Ein Licht ging ihm auf unter Galloudec's Worten,” Bedford's enlightenment results not merely from the influence of the whites and the French Revolution. “Bedford's Begreifen glich der Wirkung der großen Trommel, von der sein Großvater manchmal sprach” (178).⁷⁷ Bedford's inspiration to engage in the revolt resembles the power of the drums in African culture, and although Galloudec's words serve as the catalyst for action, Seghers does indicate the importance of indigenous tradition. Bedford's awareness of African tradition reveals a development from Seghers' depiction of Toussaint Louverture in *Die Hochzeit von Haiti*, where only the whites and their language serve as his inspiration.⁷⁸ In the end, Bedford becomes a necessary figure in the revolt, and when he is captured, Sasportas and Galloudec realize that they can not unify the revolutionary forces on the island without him (230). As Gutzmann maintains, these elements in Seghers' text are minor in comparison to the central role of local traditions and of the memory of freedom in accounts of the revolutions by Afro-Caribbean writers, such as in Alejo Carpentier's *The Kingdom of this World* (194–5). Seghers' attribution of agency and thought to a black slave in the final draft, however, indicates a significant transformation from the first draft, where the black slaves do not speak or participate in the organization of the revolution, and where the revolt itself never materializes. While Bedford and African oral tradition remain marginal in the final novella, the drafts indicate that Seghers' greatly developed the role of the black slaves in the novella over time, rewriting over her original account that afforded the black slaves no agency.

The representation of the maroons in Seghers' text has also been viewed critically. The maroons are merely referenced in the first draft, such as in the words of the French Commissioner on Haiti, who calls them “[B]anden von herrenlosen Neg[e]rn” who threatened the settlements of the English on Jamaica with merciless attacks.⁷⁹ As Sasportas and Debuisson venture

deeper into the island, descriptions of the wild landscape include a mention of the existence of the maroons: “Maron[e]n, wie die ungebaendigten freien Staemme nannte, ueb[e]rfliehen Plantagen und Lan[d]sitze. Sie verbrannten die Mu[e]hlen und Ernten, sie raubten die Tiere, sie verwuesteten die Haueser, sie machten ganze Familie nieder.”⁸⁰ This description of the maroons, although not attributed to any of the white characters in the text, appears to be from the perspective of the white slaveowners, who view the maroons as threats to their property. The resistance that they pose to the whites, and their potential to aid in Sasportas and Debuission’s plans for revolution, appear to be of less importance. In the final, published version, a similar account of the maroons is attributed to the British officer Galdy, which clearly identifies the description as a European perspective: “Nichts tun gefiel ihnen. . . . Wenn ihnen etwas nicht paßte, fingen sie einen kleinen Krieg an, überfielen die Farmen” (154).⁸¹ This negative view of the maroons is contrasted by a more sympathetic account told by Robert Crocroft, a mulatto who agrees to help Galloudec. Crocroft admits that they were also afraid of the maroons, but that when the Spanish sent dogs to hunt down the maroons, he was sickened and disturbed (169). Furthermore, the figure of Cuffee, a maroon, plays an important, although again marginal, role in the progress of the revolution. While Mast claims Cuffee is modeled after the historical figure Macandal, in an earlier version of the published text, Cuffee is linked with another historical figure, Cudjoe, whom Seghers had encountered in Dallas’ text.⁸² In the published version of the novella, Cuffee is an elusive, mysterious figure who captures the imagination of Bedford, and whom Bedford not only longs to meet, but must contact for the success of the revolt (171, 181–2). When Cuffee appears to Bedford in the smithy where Bedford works, Cuffee advises Bedford to flee to the mountains with him, and not to trust the whites (213). Seghers hence attributes to the maroons a revolutionary agency of their own, separate from Sasportas and Debuission’s engagement. Cuffee’s contrary voice enters only momentarily into the text, but represents a remarkable transformation from Seghers’ original account of the maroons.

While Sasportas and Debuission remain the central characters of the text, their historical importance in the Caribbean appears to diminish during the course of the drafts in the eyes of the black revolutionary leader Toussaint Louverture. In the first draft, Sasportas and Debuission attend a church service on Haiti where Toussaint is in attendance. Whites, blacks, and mulattos alike congregate in order to see Toussaint, and Toussaint walks among the people, greeting them benevolently. In all of the mix of people, “Die Off[i]ziere der franz[ösischen] Republik waren die Ehrengaeeste,” and Sasportas and Debuission in particular have earned a privileged place among the attendees. Toussaint

“hatte die zwei Fremden bemerkt. Er hatte sich wahrscheinlich scho[n] ueb[e]r den Zweck ihrer Reise unterrichtet, so geheim er gehalten wurde.”⁸³ In fact, Toussaint comes to speak to them, and particularly pulls Sasportas aside, with words only meant for him: “Sie haben Familie in Barzelona. . . . Ihr Le[be]n war frueh[e]r leichter. Sie haben richtig gewaehlt. Es ist gut so.’ . . . [Sasportas] war bestuerzt. . . . Wieso hatte er etwas darueb[e]r gewusst? Am and[e]ren Ende der Welt[,] am and[e]ren Ende des Denkens?”⁸⁴ Sasportas receives a personal message from Toussaint, who uncannily knows more about Sasportas than he should, and who recognizes Sasportas as someone with an important role in the revolution. This scene reflects a literally Eurocentric vision of the Caribbean during the time of the revolutions, in which the French apparently merit particular respect. In the final, published version, Toussaint continues to possess an otherworldly, awe-inspiring quality, but Sasportas is no longer so significant in comparison. When Sasportas and Debuissou arrive on Haiti, Sasportas witnesses Toussaint riding a horse through a crowd. Toussaint dismounts from the horse to kneel before a cross carried by a church procession. “Jean [Sasportas] dachte, Toussaint habe auch ihn bemerkt; das dachten viele” (151).⁸⁵ Sasportas has become merely one of crowd watching Toussaint in awe and admiration. The white revolutionaries, in spite of their continuing centrality in the novella, appear minor in the world of the important black revolutionary Toussaint. Seghers has chosen to tell their story, but the fact that they are Europeans, and particularly representatives of the French government, does not earn them more respect or attention from a figure such as Toussaint.

Seghers’ representation of blacks, maroons, and white revolutionaries in the course of the drafts of *Das Licht of dem Galgen* reflects an increasing awareness of her own European perspective and an increasing familiarity with the history of blacks in France and in the Caribbean. With each draft, the inhuman, irrational portrayals of blacks become lessened, and blacks are accorded greater agency and intelligence. Even as the drafts suggest an attempt to revise her European perspective in her telling of the Caribbean revolutions, Seghers fails to reverse the functioning of her imposition of European ideals and prejudices onto the narrative. The tracings of the earlier drafts remain legible in the published version, which has led to the criticism of the text. However, Seghers’ evident struggle with the dilemma of writing about the Caribbean revolutions as a European reveals a self-conscious awareness of her Eurocentrism, undermining dismissive criticisms of her novella as racist. Seghers’ statement in her letter to Renate Francke that she disliked the original draft of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* and discarded it perhaps reflects her recognition of the Eurocentrism of her text and her struggle to write over this original version. The novella is thus a palimpsestic text in a constant

state of flux, decolonizing and recolonizing the black slaves as the different layers of drafts are in turn revealed and concealed. While the text encompasses these vertical layers, the novella also includes horizontal layers in the form of nested stories, and these layers also address the problem of distance and proximity to the events in the Caribbean. The furthestmost layer is the story of Antoine in Paris in 1802, the former Parisian bureaucrat who signed the paperwork for Sasportas and Debuissou's mission (129–37). Antoine hears of the fate of Sasportas and Debuissou from Malbec, a French sailor who had received a letter from Galloudec to bring to Antoine, detailing their fate, when the two were reunited in a prison hospital in Cuba (247). And in the center of the nested stories are Sasportas and Debuissou, in Jamaica in the midst of the action in 1799. In this way, the reader, even when offered access to Sasportas and Debuissou's thoughts, is greatly distanced from the action of the narrative through all of these layers. The narrative structure mirrors the placement of Seghers' audience in Germany, distanced through time and place and European intermediaries from the Caribbean. Knowledge of the blacks of the Caribbean and their history is hidden in the center of these nested stories, far from the grasp of the European reader. This elusive knowledge also appears to increase through the vertical layers of the drafts, but continues to be covered and recovered by the European perspective of the author.

THE SCARS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY: WOMEN IN SEGHERS' CARIBBEAN CYCLES

While Seghers grants black characters increasingly significant roles in *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* during the course of writing and editing, she places women of color, in particular, at the center of her Caribbean stories as much as Jewish men. Just as Seghers has generally been viewed as neglecting Jewish characters and subjects in her work, she has also been characterized as preferring masculine over feminine themes. Such a characterization began after the success of her first novel, *Aufstand der Fischer von St. Barbara*, when an artist published his conception of the author of the novel in a newspaper as an older man with white hair and a moustache.⁸⁶ Seghers' subject matter apparently was understood as "masculine." However, this view of Seghers is also contradicted by her Caribbean cycles. In *Die Hochzeit von Haiti* and *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, the Jewish heroes are assisted in the revolutionary struggle by black women, who are also their lovers. More importantly, women of color become the central figures in her later Caribbean cycle, *Drei Frauen aus Haiti* (1980), the last stories Seghers

published in her lifetime. While criticism has focused on the continuity in the depiction of these five women—Margot, Ann, Toaliina, Claudine, and Luisa—as inactive or merely supportive figures, I argue that Seghers’ portrayal of women in the Caribbean develops over time, from 1948 to 1980, and that Seghers’ heroines increasingly embody qualities that make them similar to their Jewish counterparts. Seghers’ attempt to recuperate revolutionary power for women of color, as in her depiction of Jewish characters, represents her difficulties with her repressed identity in the GDR as both a Jew and a woman.

The female characters of the Caribbean cycles have been used to support characterizations of Seghers’ work as dismissive of women, and, particularly, women of color. Black women in the earlier stories offer the promise of sex, an allure associated with the exotic locale and the revolution itself. The women of the later collection, *Drei Frauen aus Haiti*, although central characters of their stories, have also been read as passive, helpless, speechless, and associated with nature. This characterization of women is viewed as part of a tendency in Seghers’ work to give little agency to her female characters, regardless of their ethnic origin.⁸⁷ However, Christiane Zehl Romero has observed that in Seghers’ later years, her depiction of the revolutionary changed, and apparent passivity did not necessarily have a negative connotation. Romero indicates that Seghers’ characters in general developed over time: “die Akzente haben sich . . . verschoben, im Vordergrund stehen nicht mehr wie vormals Aufbruch und Aufruhr, sondern Beständigkeit und Beharrungsvermögen.”⁸⁸ This “steadiness and inertia,” which often has led to understandings of female characters as ineffective or subordinate, were qualities that Seghers in fact increasingly valued, and placed on male and female characters alike. The theme of “waiting,” in particular, has been associated with the historical context in which Seghers was living. In spite of his critique of the portrayal of women in *Drei Frauen aus Haiti*, Vibeke Rützou Petersen has argued that Seghers’ own frustration with the censorship of authors in the GDR in the 1970s in spite of promises for reform may be reflected in the inactivity of her female characters (403). Friedrich Albrecht also claims that the theme of waiting to be freed from imprisonment, in particular, appears throughout Seghers’ work, in connection with both men and women (358–9). As a result, the association of femininity with passivity, and hence with revolutionary inactivity, may be more indicative of critics’ devaluing of traditional concepts of femininity in favor of masculinity than with Seghers’ own attitudes towards women. Seghers’ concept of heroism, which I will argue is apparent in both her female and male characters, actually embraces traditionally feminine qualities.

In *Die Hochzeit von Haiti* (1948), Margot is the small, child-like woman, who, with her dress clinging to her in the rain, lures Michael to a meeting with Toussaint Louverture, thus inextricably connecting sex with this speechless black woman and commitment to the revolution.⁸⁹ After the uprising of the slaves, Margot finds shelter with Michael, doing housework for him and bearing his child (46, 52). She later dies, mentioned as an afterthought (61). In *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* (1961), Ann, although described as mentally challenged, devotes her energies to assisting Sasportas, aiding in his nocturnal meeting with Bedford after their first encounter (197).⁹⁰ After delivering a message from Sasportas to Galloudec, which forces her to leave the plantation for two days, Ann is imprisoned in a basement room by her mistress, Elizabeth Raleigh:

Davor hatte sich Ann ihr Lebtage gefürchtet. Jetzt dachte sie, das sei das Geringste, was sie erwartet hätte. Sie schlief in sich zusammengerollt, da man in dem vergitterten Loch weder stehen noch liegen konnte. Das Gitter war eng wie ein Dickicht. (211–2)⁹¹

The “vergittertes Loch” (“barred prison”) would reappear in Seghers’ later stories of women in the Caribbean as the repeated fate of women under oppression. Ann has gathered courage and purpose from the revolution, however, and continues to aid in Sasportas’ efforts until her suspicious behavior causes her to be sold (230–1). While Teraoka argues that the women disappear silently in the background after solidifying their white lovers’ commitment to the revolution, Ann, a character created about ten years after Margot, indicates a development in Seghers’ representation of women of color in the Caribbean. Although Ann remains a marginal character in the text, her greater involvement in the revolutionary battle differentiates her from Margot. Ann’s willingness to sacrifice herself for the cause, no matter what the costs, may be read as blind obedience to her lover, but actually likens her to him, the Sephardic Jewish revolutionary Sasportas, whose “masculine” bravery and martyrdom distinguish him from Michael. In other words, I resist the assumption of other critics that gender and ethnicity are static, definitive categories and instead reveal the dynamic nature of different women of color in Seghers’ work.

The women of *Drei Frauen aus Haiti* (1980) represent a further development in Seghers’ representation of women of color. On the surface, the stories appear to merely repeat the “vergittertes Loch” of Ann’s story, since each of the three women is locked up, imprisoned, and/or tortured at some point in each story.⁹² In “Das Versteck” (“The Hiding Place”), Toaliina, an

Arawak woman escaping from Christopher Columbus at the end of the fifteenth century, hides in a cave near the coast for her entire life in order to avoid enslavement. In “Der Schlüssel” (“The Key”), Claudine, a slave during the time of the Haitian revolution, is held in a cramped, wall prison in full view of dining guests at the Evremont plantation. And in “Die Trennung” (“The Separation”), Luisa, a young woman in Haiti during Bébé Doc’s reign, is imprisoned and beaten beyond recognition. The entrapment of each of the women, who wait at times unsuccessfully to be freed by their lovers, may be read as passivity and helplessness on the part of the women. I would argue, instead, that this passivity not only reflects a kind of resistance characteristic of Seghers’ male characters, but also that, as the stories progress, the women exhibit increasing control over their own narratives.

While Toaliina’s moral choice to avoid the fate of her people may be questionable, she is, however, the only one of her people to remain in freedom, and she offers her cave as a hide-out for two husbands and others fleeing the Spanish conquerors, while her legendary existence offers hope to the others on the island (16–17). Seghers expresses Toaliina’s suffering briefly and dryly: “Das Alleinsein war bitter. . . . Toaliina hatte inzwischen begriffen, was Warten war” (13).⁹³ Although her waiting may appear inactive, the qualities of patience and silent suffering serve as a necessary and admirable form of resistance in this situation.

Claudine is freed from her wall prison during the chaos of the outbreak of the Haitian revolution; a former slave, Amédée, recovers the key and frees her, later becoming her lover (27–30). She narrates the story of the revolution to another former slave, Sophie, in workers’ quarters in the mountains near Toussaint’s prison, the Chateaux de Joux in France, where Amédée and Claudine have traveled as a show of support for Toussaint. Petersen claims that her agency in narrating her own story “is undercut by the fact that the occasion is Pauline’s [sic] voice narrating her captivity and Amédée’s rescue of her!” (402). I argue, however, that Claudine’s role in the story is more complex than simply that of a woman waiting to be freed by a man. In her narration of the revolution, Claudine’s comprehension of the significance of the revolution becomes apparent in her own recognition of her former lack of understanding. When seeing the Evremonts fleeing the plantation after they received news of the beginning of the revolution, Claudine admits: “Das habe ich freilich alles erst später erfahren. Ich konnte nur feststellen, was es aus meinem vergitterten Loch zu sehen gab” (26).⁹⁴ She was limited by the view from her both literal and figurative prison, as an uneducated house slave, but since the revolution, she has learned of how the revolution came about. In fact, she encountered Toussaint himself when the former slaves fled into the mountains. Toussaint witnesses

the reuniting of Claudine and Amédée and hears their story; he comes up to them, looks at the key hanging around Amédée's neck, and strokes Claudine's hair. Claudine, like Sasportas in the earlier draft of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, is chosen out of the crowd by Toussaint, Seghers' model revolutionary.

At the end of the frame narrative, after Toussaint has already died in his prison cell, Amédée dies while Claudine lives on. At the burial, the "Gesellschaft der Freunde der Schwarzen" ask Claudine to wear the key that Amédée has long worn around his neck, offering her a silver necklace to replace Amédée's old string. In an original, handwritten draft of the story, Claudine accepts this honor, but with reservations:

[Claudine] erwidert: "Ihr habe mir die Ehre zgedacht diesen Schlüssel zu Stelle meines Mannes zu tragen. Nun, ich danke euch, Freunde, obwohl Am[é]dée oft gesagt hatte, er mochte den Schlüssel immer auf seiner Brust tragen zur Erinnerung an die Zeit der Sklaverei, die dann schliesslich doch geendete. . . . Wenn ihr aber darauf besteht gut dann will ich den Schlüssel tragen. Nu[r] brauche ich keine feine Kette. Ich will ihn auf der Brust tragen wie Amédée, mein Mann ihn trug, an der selben . . . Schnur um meinen Hals. Dann werde viele ihm erstaunen sehen u[nd] auch fragen warum ich als Schmuckstück den Schlüssel trage. Und ich kann allen erzählen. . . ." Die Freunde stimmten zu. . . . Sie waren erstaunt, dass diese Frau, die immer wortkarg . . . war, auf einmal alles rasch u[nd] klar sagte, was sie dachte.⁹⁵

Claudine decides to take on the responsibility of her husband to continue to tell the story of the revolution, but insists on paying tribute to her own humble origins, as well as those of her husband, by wearing the old string. This account, however, contradicts the agency that Claudine actually has in the text. It is she, not Amédée, who has recounted her personal experience of the revolution in great detail within the narrative, and for her to be described as taciturn seems illogical. The explanation in the final, published version of the story varies this portrayal, and further has Claudine refuse to wear the key:

Claudine, die man als schüchtern und zaghaft kannte, fuhr zornig dazwischen: "Nein, Amédée soll ihn tragen bis zur Auferstehung aller Sklaven der Welt." Man fügte sich ihrem Willen, und man begrub Amédée mit dem Schlüssel auf der Brust. (36)⁹⁶

In this version, it is others who perceive Claudine as shy and timid, which suggests a misperception on the part of the "Freunde der Schwarzen." The

new, succinct ending to the story again transfers the focus of the narrative onto Amédée, however, since he will continue to wear the key. In spite of saving Claudine from her wall prison, Amédée remains a quiet, mournful character in the story, waiting and watching the light in Toussaint's prison cell until his death, which he reports to Claudine with tears and groans (24, 30). He later relocates with Claudine to watch over Toussaint's grave (34). Amédée's passivity, helplessness, and early death, reminiscent of Claudine's own helplessness in the wall prison, also contrasts with Claudine's adoption of the narrative voice and apparently bold decision about how to use the key to commemorate the revolution. Not only does the theme of waiting and silent suffering from "Das Versteck" reappear in the characters of both Amédée and Claudine, Claudine maintains a more active role in the narrative than her imprisonment in the wall would suggest.

Luisa's story, set in the late twentieth century, begins with her abandonment by her lover, Cristobal, who has left Haiti for Cuba to study Communism and prepare for a revolution against Bébé Doc's regime in Haiti (42). The story begins with Luisa watching Cristobal's ship disappear over the horizon: "Luisa wartete auf dem Steg" (39).⁹⁷ Her initial positioning as a woman waiting for her lover associates her with the other women of Seghers' Caribbean cycles. At first, Luisa refuses to believe in Cristobal's mission, and expresses little interest in what is happening on Haiti. Meeting with an associate of Cristobal's, Juan, Luisa is chided for her lack of understanding. In an earlier version of the story, Juan explains that Bébé Doc has appropriated the voodoo religion in order to use its power for his own purposes, and he asks: "Verstehst du Kind?" "Nicht ganz." "Denk wach."⁹⁸ This brief exchange is replaced in the final version with a more explicit criticism of Luisa's inability to think for herself:

"Ich verstehe davon nicht viel, seit mein Freund nicht mehr hier ist, der erklärte mir alles."

"Da lebst du sehr schlecht, mein Mädchen. Du mußt die bleiben, die er lieb gehabt hat, sonst hört er auf, sich nach dir zu sehnen." (45)⁹⁹

Juan suggests that Cristobal will only continue to love her if she is also engaged in the resistance against Bébé Doc, which at first likens her to Ann, whose devotion to the revolution in Jamaica is an extension of her love for Sasportas.

Luisa's initial indifference toward Cristobal's activities, however, is transformed over the span of the narrative. Luisa becomes employed in an underground library, funded by the father of a wealthy woman Cristobal marries

while in France (48). For this activity, Luisa is captured by Bébé Doc's secret police, but she remains stoic before the interrogation and torture: "Sie wartete stumpf, ohne Furcht" (50).¹⁰⁰ Her silence and patience again represent not inactivity, but inner strength. Luisa refuses to betray her associates at the library nor anyone else involved in the resistance, and is thrown into a filthy prison cell (50–1). Luisa's fate clearly ties her with Sasportas and Ann of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, both of whom bravely ignore the consequences of their involvement in the revolution and refuse to betray anyone.

In the narrative, Bébé Doc dies, the prisoners are freed and the promise of a new government leads to celebrations in the streets. Luisa and the others in her cell, however, are beaten by the guards, who apparently feared that they would be later recognized by the inmates.¹⁰¹ Cristobal and Juan miraculously hear Luisa's cries for help through the walls of the prison and above the crowds cheering in the streets, and they find her on the floor of her cell, half-dead. Luisa's face is beaten so badly that Juan is only able to identify her from a particular marking on her finger, but Cristobal continues to be doubtful, questioning Juan whether it really is she (58–9). While Luisa recovers as much as possible at Juan's home, others try to convince Cristobal that he can not marry Luisa because she has become so ugly. Luisa's friend Sophia tries to convince Cristobal, "Du wirst dich andauern zusammenehmen müssen, um ihren Anblick zu ertragen" (61). Cristobal does not respond. When Juan suggests that Luisa have plastic surgery to repair her face, Cristobal becomes angry and responds, "Nie würde ich Luisa so etwas antun! Im Gegenteil. Ich bin stolz auf diese Narben, wer sie sieht, weiß, wie sie entstanden sind" (61–2).¹⁰² Cristobal's comments suggest that he sees Luisa as a symbol of the revolution, and the destruction of her body has been viewed, in criticism, as representative of Seghers' unfeminist positioning: ". . . Seghers subsumes women under the revolution, making them revolutionary objects rather than subjects."¹⁰³ This characterization of Luisa, however, only seems justified when the story is examined in isolation from Seghers' other writing on the Caribbean.

Firstly, an earlier draft of the story indicates a very different understanding of Luisa's scars. In this version, the scenes after Luisa's rescue reflect Cristobal's continuing love for her, rather than his belief that she serves as a symbol of the revolution. When Juan and Cristobal find Luisa in the prison, the connection between Cristobal and Luisa is evident: "Christobal [sic] bückte . . . er flüsterte in ihr Ohr: 'Ich bin er, Christobal. Jetzt bist du sicher.'" When Luisa's friend tells Cristobal that he can not marry Luisa because she's too ugly: "Christobal widersprach heftig." And after Juan's suggestion that Luisa go through plastic surgery to repair her face, Cristobal's

response does not reflect his view of Luisa as a symbol of the revolution, but rather as the woman he loves: “Nein, nein!’ rief Christobal. ‘. . . Das wäre nicht mehr [Luisa].”¹⁰⁴ The idea that Luisa’s scars would serve as a witness for the revolution only developed in later drafts of the story.

Secondly, Cristobal, who comments on the symbolism of Luisa’s scars in the final version, is himself an ambivalent character,¹⁰⁵ since he becomes a target of scorn and ridicule for abandoning Haiti. He returns to Haiti twice after his initial departure and flees whenever his freedom is threatened, even at the time when Luisa herself is captured and tortured (45, 50). After Bébé Doc dies and Cristobal returns, Juan mocks him: “Bist du zur Befreiung aus Kuba zurückgekommen?’ In seiner Stimme war eine Spur Spott, die Cristobal nicht gleich verstand. ‘Um uns zu befreien oder nach der Befreiung?’” (55).¹⁰⁶ Cristobal is hence labeled, in Seghers’ iconography of characters, as a traitor to the revolutionary cause, since he became more concerned with his own safety than with the freeing of his people. In this way, Luisa clearly is the hero of the narrative, since she has remained in Haiti with her people and served the revolution to the bitter end, much like both Sasportas and Ann in *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, while Cristobal bears a closer resemblance to Debuissou. Luisa’s scars, in fact, are also reminiscent of the heroic characters in *Die Hochzeit von Haiti*, Toussaint and Michael. The two figures are united in their “ugliness,” represented by a hanging chin, and their ugliness, I have argued, serves as a marker for revolutionary potential. Luisa’s scars, and hence her ugliness, do not merely offer a commemoration to the revolution, like the key of “Der Schlüssel,” but signify that she is the model revolutionary in the story.

The ending of “Die Trennung” went through a variety of drafts, and the final product evidences Seghers’ view of Luisa as the inspirational figure. Recognizing that she can not marry Cristobal, Luisa encourages Cristobal to marry Juan’s daughter Susanna, and they continue to care for her.¹⁰⁷ In one of the earlier versions, Luisa’s death is preceded by a terrible cough, and with Susanna and Cristobal at her bedside: “Sie sagt lächelnd: ‘Ich war glücklich mit Euch beiden.’ Sie schloß die Augen und dachte: ‘Glücklich? Ganz glücklich? War ich’s wirklich? Vielleicht gibt es das gar nicht.’”¹⁰⁸ Her realization in death that she was never happy and that perhaps happiness does not exist contradicts the message of the story, which is repeated by both Juan and Luisa herself: “Man kann ohne Freude nicht leben” (46, 63).¹⁰⁹ This phrase, taken from Fyodor Dostoyevsky’s *The Brothers Karamazov* and also expressed in other texts by Seghers,¹¹⁰ appears ironic in this version, since the narrative ends by questioning the possibility of happiness. The heralded end to an oppressive era in Haitian history is overshadowed by the sad and painful

death of the heroine. The final line of this draft also undermines the significance of Luisa as heroine: "Ihr Begräbnis war ein Triumphzug, an dem alle teilnahmen, die froh gewesen waren über die Befreiung und schon vorher die Gedanken von Christo[b]al and Susanna geteilt hatten, und solche, in denen diese Gedanken erst zu keimen begannen."¹¹¹ The ending exaggerates the sense of joy and victory of the people on Haiti in contrast to the horror of Luisa's death and unhappiness. Secondly, the final line attributes revolutionary "thoughts" to Cristobal and Susanna and claims that their ideas would begin to seed and grow in others. However, Cristobal's loyalty to the Haitian cause has been unclear, and Susanna, admired for her beauty, barely has any speaking lines. The pairing of these two to lead Haiti to freedom and democracy appears doubtful.

The final draft, however, modifies the last lines of the narrative and presents the most positive ending to any of Seghers' Caribbean stories. Prior to her death, Luisa promises Juan that she is still happy, in spite of the fact that she will never be beautiful again: "Es gibt eine Freude, die aus dem Menschen nach außen dringt, dadurch kann sie ihn auch erregen und froh machen" (64–5).¹¹² Luisa's inner happiness, which is lacking in the earlier version of the story, is depicted as more important than external beauty. The funeral scene is also depicted quite differently: "Sie bekam einen stolzen Begräbniszug, an dem alle teilnahmen, die ihre Gedanken geteilt hatten, und solche, in denen beim Mitgehen diese Gedanken zu keimen begannen" (65).¹¹³ The revolutionary ideas are here more appropriately attributed to Luisa, rather than Cristobal and Susanna, and it is her thoughts that begin to seed and grow in others. In this way, Luisa's quiet and apparently unsuccessful heroism is further associated with Sasportas, whose inspiration to others is symbolized by a "Lauffeuer," which would "unter den Schwarzen fortpflanzen" (241), as well as the "Licht auf dem Galgen" when he is hanged (246).¹¹⁴ The light that spreads from Sasportas to others resembles the germination of Luisa's convictions after her death. In the end, Luisa's fortitude, ugliness, and inspiration to others ties her most closely with the two Jewish heroes of Seghers' earlier Caribbean stories, and suggests that she can not be seen merely as a symbol of the revolution or as a helpless woman waiting to be freed by her lover. Furthermore, the final story of the trilogy is the only one of the Caribbean stories in which the possibility of freedom prevails. The revolutionary struggle itself had not succeeded, but the death of Bébé Doc offers the possibility of positive change in Haiti. Seghers, of course, wrote the story before the end of the Duvalier dynasty in 1986,¹¹⁵ so this narrative, unlike any of her fictional stories set against the backdrop of Caribbean history, imagines a hopeful future. The brutality of Luisa's torture and death

indicates that Seghers continued to seek to capture the bitter realism of revolution, as she had in her previous stories, but she allows herself a positive ending to this narrative, her last to be published before her death. The fact that she chooses a young black woman as the heroine of such a narrative suggests that she places more faith in women, and women of color in particular, than critics have usually recognized.

The criticisms of Seghers' portrayal of women of color—associated with nature, sexualized, and passive—remain legitimate, but I argue that Seghers' perspective was more nuanced than the masculinist, Eurocentric viewpoint usually attributed to her. In the latter part of her life, Seghers' increasing attribution of agency to her female characters and praise of traditionally feminine qualities such as loyalty, steadfastness, and inner strength in her revolutionary heroes and heroines, as evidenced by her Caribbean cycles, coincided with a disenchantment with women's position in the GDR among the younger generation. The assumed equality between men and women under socialism began to be questioned in feminist writings of the time.¹¹⁶ In the Caribbean cycles, Seghers pairs Jewish men with black women and grants them the leading roles in the revolutionary contest. Seghers hence gives a voice to the two elements of difference in her identity—as both a Jew and a woman—that were suppressed and ignored in the GDR, and uses the safe distance of the Caribbean to express concerns about the treatment of Jews and women under socialism.

Her vision of cooperation between Jews and blacks against oppression, as embodied in the pairing of Toussaint with Michael, Ann with Sasportas, and Luisa with Michael/Sasportas, mirrors her effort to address both Jewish and African diasporic history in her Caribbean novellas. Seghers was clearly striving to overcome her use of Jewish stereotypes, her Eurocentric and racist depiction of blacks, and her masculinist view of revolutionary action over the course of writing her Caribbean stories, but the resulting narratives of Jewish and black experience continue to suggest an ambivalence toward her subject matter. Seghers' lifelong involvement in the Communist movement and residence in the GDR had encouraged her not to distinguish between different kinds of oppression—antisemitism, racism, the oppression of women—since all of these would be reputedly resolved under Communism. Her Caribbean stories depict the imbrication of these different forms of oppression and implicitly criticize the Communist movement for ignoring them. However, Seghers' criticism is undermined by traces of the very intolerance she attacks. In her letter to Renate Francke in 1963, Seghers concealed her difficulties with writing about the Caribbean as a European and her reasons for choosing the Caribbean as

a setting. As I have demonstrated, her obfuscation reflects her continued struggle with these questions.

TRAUMATIC REMEMBERING IN SCHWARZ-BART'S CARIBBEAN NOVELS

André Schwarz-Bart's approach to retelling Caribbean history differs significantly from Seghers', as suggested by his admission of his intentions in his article "Pourquoi j'ai écrit *La mulâtresse Solitude*." Schwarz-Bart's self-described sense of identification with the people of the Caribbean because of the parallel histories of slavery and persecution in the Jewish and African diasporas leads him to a more careful portrayal of these connections than Seghers is able to accomplish. *Un plat de porc aux bananes vertes* (1967), a collaboration between André and Simone Schwarz-Bart, and *La mulâtresse Solitude* (1972), attributed solely to André, both focus primarily on Caribbean history and only briefly articulate the connections to Jewish history. Furthermore, in contrast to Seghers' portrayal of women of color in traditionally feminine roles, Schwarz-Bart's central characters are, in both novels, black women of the Caribbean whose agency is not ambiguous. Drawing on Saul Friedlander's concept of traumatic transference, I demonstrate in the following discussion that André Schwarz-Bart makes use of the distance of the Caribbean to cope with his own traumatic past as a Jew in Europe. I also illustrate that in spite of his admitted difficulties in writing about the Caribbean as a European, he negotiates cautiously between Jewish and African diasporic history and depicts black women in ways not marked by the masculinist and racist overtones of Seghers' works.

André Schwarz-Bart's article, published shortly after *Un plat de porc aux bananes vertes* in *Le Figaro Littéraire*, grapples with the question, "Pourquoi j'ai écrit *La mulâtresse Solitude*," but this question has continued to trouble critics of his novels. Since Schwarz-Bart wrote the first novel in collaboration with his Guadeloupean-born wife, Simone, some critics have chosen to ignore André's contribution to the novel at all, attributing it only to Simone, thus avoiding the issue of why a French-born Polish Jew would choose to write about the life experiences of a black woman from Martinique. In a discussion of the second book, *La mulâtresse Solitude* (1972), which Schwarz-Bart authored alone, Bella Brodzki has noted that certain critics attribute the novel to Simone instead, seeing the novel, about a legendary Guadeloupean heroine, as logically reflecting Simone's origins (215–6). In a similar decision, the Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation) in Paris claims that Schwarz-Bart authored only the

Holocaust novel *Le dernier des justes* (1959; *The Last of the Just*), and that Simone wrote both of the novels focusing on the Caribbean (216). By erasing André from the authorship of these novels, critics avoid having to address why a Jewish man would write about women's experience in the Caribbean or how to analyze a novel with both Jewish and Caribbean themes, written by both a Jewish man and a Guadeloupean woman. As Laura Genevieve Yow aptly notes, the problem facing critics has been that *Un plat de porc aux bananes vertes* "is marked not so much by the 'absence' of a 'Caribbean' or 'Jewish' theme, but rather by the deliberate and unsettling presence of both" (92). However, this apparent discomfort with the coalition between European Jews and blacks of the Caribbean is central to André Schwarz-Bart's own discussion of the subject as well as to my analysis of the two novels.

In "Pourquoi j'ai écrit *La mulâtresse Solitude*," André Schwarz-Bart writes that he feels a certain affinity for the people of the Caribbean, who also suffered under slavery as did the Jews in Egypt and under Hitler (1). Schwarz-Bart specifically claims that the novel is an exploration of "le joint délicat entre l'esclavage et le thème concentrationnaire,"¹¹⁷ and he explains that *Un plat de porc* provides him with a tentative approach to writing about the Holocaust, which he has simply been unable to write about directly because of a sense of terror, a respect for the sacred, and a recognition of his own limits (8). In addition to being overwhelmed by the enormity of the event, the fact that Schwarz-Bart lost his parents in the Holocaust when he was only thirteen undoubtedly contributed to his difficulty in writing about it.¹¹⁸ Thus, Schwarz-Bart clarifies why he chose to consider the experiences of the people of the Caribbean, despite the geographic and ethnic distance between his identity and that of the main character of *Un plat de porc*. However, Schwarz-Bart did have difficulties trying to bridge the gap between his identity and the experiences of his Martinican character. He states, ". . . si j'étais en mesure, depuis une dizaine d'années, de respirer le parfum des Antilles, de l'apprécier, de le décrire au besoin, il m'était impossible de devenir moi-même parfum" (9).¹¹⁹ Schwarz-Bart sought to immerse himself in French Caribbean culture, but he realized as he began writing that he could never be Antillean, and he could never write as an Antillean would write. As a result, he turned to his wife, Simone, to add the "perfume" of the Caribbean to *Un plat de porc* (9). Therefore, in spite of Schwarz-Bart's explanations of a sense of connection between Jews and the Caribbean people, and between the Holocaust and the legacy of slavery in the Caribbean, he recognizes the uniqueness of Caribbean identity, experience, and history.

Schwarz-Bart's concept of becoming the "parfum des Antilles" is, however, dependent upon an essentialization of ethnic identity;¹²⁰ his wife "is"

the perfume since she comes from the Caribbean, and therefore, with the addition of her authorship, the novel becomes authentically “Caribbean,” and furthermore, authentically “female.” The “parfum des Antilles” therefore symbolizes the problem facing both Seghers and Schwarz-Bart to be able to write about Caribbean history without oversimplifying the difference of black or Caribbean experience nor replacing this experience with their own European and European-Jewish perspectives. Interestingly, this essentialized understanding of his wife’s contribution may have made Schwarz-Bart’s Caribbean novels immune to accusations of racism or masculinism in criticism. The joint authorship of course does offer a model for the dialogue between Jewish and Caribbean histories occurring in *Un plat de porc*.¹²¹ While I do not deny the collaborative nature of this first novel, André Schwarz-Bart’s endeavor to write about the Caribbean as a European Jew is the focus of my discussion, using his article as a starting point.

While Schwarz-Bart acknowledges the difficulties with his project, the very fact that there is distance between his experience and that of the subject matter has certain advantages. Ronnie Scharfman makes this argument when she claims that Schwarz-Bart uses the novel to indirectly write about his own past. Scharfman characterizes *Un plat de porc* as “the Holocaust novel Schwarz-Bart did not write, did not dare to write, in *Le dernier des justes*.”¹²² Furthermore, she states that Schwarz-Bart “seems to be imposing upon himself an exile from his Jewish identity that is the condition of possibility of his deepening that identity” (256). In order for Schwarz-Bart to address the Holocaust, he must “distanc[e] himself” from the Holocaust itself, which he found to be “unwritable” (254). Thus, Scharfman argues that it is only through distancing himself from the Holocaust that he can actually, in a way, write about the trauma of the Holocaust. Scharfman’s thesis draws upon Schwarz-Bart’s statements that the novel serves as an indirect approach to addressing the Holocaust, and further justifies Schwarz-Bart’s project by claiming that the only way to deal with his own experiences is to depict a character very different from himself.

The importance of distancing in dealing with traumatic experiences is also pointed out by Saul Friedlander, a Holocaust survivor himself, in his article “Trauma, Memory, and Transference.” Friedlander characterizes the responses of historians to the Holocaust through the years, identifying tendencies at first toward denial, then defensiveness and repression (256–7). He suggests that historians’ responses to writing about the Holocaust are somewhat similar to survivors’ own responses toward recounting their experiences (258–9). In an introduction to Friedlander’s article, editor Geoffrey Hartman clarifies the connection that Friedlander makes between the historians of the

Holocaust and survivors themselves. “. . . [E]ven as bystanders—as non-participant observers, either during the events or in the fifty years since—we suffer something like a trauma, a breach in normal thinking about human and civilized nature; and this breach needs more time to heal” (5–6). In other words, the attempt to write about the Holocaust as a historian or as a witness to the Holocaust results in a traumatic reaction, where trauma is defined as a psychological injury that, according to Sigmund Freud, “is bound to provoke a disturbance on a large scale in the functioning of the organism’s energy and to set in motion every possible defense measure.”¹²³ One of the “defense measures” used in dealing with traumatic experiences or memories, according to Friedlander, is to maintain a “numbing or distancing” from the event which he sees as “unavoidable and necessary” (260). Friedlander is referring to the tendency of Holocaust historians to take an intellectualized approach, simply providing data, facts, and background in order to avoid the emotional burden of the subject. I would argue that Schwarz-Bart’s choice of the history of the Caribbean as his subject matter rather than Jewish history also allows for a kind of protective “numbing” (260) that makes it possible for him to address the issue of trauma, because the experiences of these characters are sufficiently distanced from him across space, ethnicity, gender, and time. As Schwarz-Bart himself explains, writing about the Holocaust was for him emotionally impossible, and thus, he creates a comfortable distance from his own traumatic experiences by relating the traumatic history of a different group of people.

A second response to the Holocaust that Friedlander notes is the tendency to either provide closure through redemptive themes or to be simply unable to come to a conclusion in face of the rupture created by trauma (260). This dilemma governs, I would argue, Schwarz-Bart’s first novel, which, in spite of his claim in “Pourquoi j’ai écrit *La mulâtresse Solitude*” that he never wrote about the Holocaust, does in fact address the Holocaust. The novel, *Le dernier des justes*, winner of the Prix Goncourt in 1959, provides a broad historical account of a line of “Justes,” or Just Men, in a Jewish family from the Crusades to the Holocaust. The novel begins with the legend of Rabbi Yom Tov Lévy, who martyrs his congregation during a pogrom in England to save them from conversion (11–12), and ends with the acceptance of death by Ernie Lévy in a gas chamber (305–46). These men are depicted as part of the legend of the *Lamed-waf*, the 36 Just Men who take all of the suffering of the world onto themselves (12–13). The novel was criticized for its apparent depiction of Jews as passively accepting suffering and death. Raymond Bach has argued, however, that Schwarz-Bart was not portraying the Jews as accepting their victimization, but rather that he demanded an “ethical response”

from the readers, a suffering in the face of the suffering of the Jews, just as the Just Men suffer for all of the people on earth. Bach describes the ending of the novel as offering redemption through the figure of Ernie, who tells the children dying with him that they will all meet again in Israel. This fact has further garnered criticism for the use of Christian themes of martyrdom and redemption in a novel about Jewish experience (164, 173), but perhaps more importantly, the novel problematically strives to offer its readers a sense of closure in the face of the trauma of the Holocaust. The mixed response to his first novel may have contributed to Schwarz-Bart's decision to approach the Holocaust from the distance of the Caribbean; not only could he perhaps personally not deal with the subject matter, but neither could his audience. His second attempt, in the form of the Caribbean novels, avoids redemption and closure, acknowledges the rupture of traumatic events, yet offers the possibility of resistance against the past.

Since André Schwarz-Bart claims to be dealing with issues central to the Jewish experience through the subject of Caribbean history, and since he recognizes the similarity yet uniqueness of Jewish and African diasporic histories, I intend to analyze the experiences of the heroines Mariotte and Solitude as black women of the Caribbean. I focus on two key themes in the texts—traumatic memory and resistance to oppression—which develop out of the Caribbean historical setting, but which are also central to a discussion of the Holocaust. In addition, I identify the few moments at which Schwarz-Bart points out the connection between the subject of the narratives and Jewish experience in order to emphasize the interrelation he sees between Caribbean and Jewish histories. These connections serve to support the argument not only that he feels a sense of solidarity with black people of the Caribbean, but also that he is using these narratives, which are distanced from his own experience, to address the trauma of the Holocaust.

In criticism of *Un plat de porc*, Mariotte's recollection of her memories of her childhood in Martinique has often been read as a joyous reconnection with her lost identity because of her feelings of pleasure at imagining the taste of the "plat de porc aux bananes vertes" ("a dish of pork and plantains") of the title.¹²⁴ However, I would argue that most of the memories that return to her are memories of traumatic events related to the legacy of slavery in the Caribbean, the catastrophe of the eruption of Mount Pélée in 1902, and the racist oppression of people of color. From the beginning, it is clear that Mariotte is resisting her memories, not welcoming them. Mariotte describes awakening in the middle of the night screaming, and she characterizes these screams as "le passé [qui] remonte . . . le long de ma gorge" (13).¹²⁵ She explains that she does not want to recover her memory because of her fear

of accidentally uncovering painful memories, which are bound up with the positive ones (19).¹²⁶ Mariotte's defensiveness against these memories implies the traumatic nature of them to her personally, and also, as I discuss below, to the people of the Caribbean as a whole. Thus, the novel serves as a means of dealing specifically with the traumatic past of her people, to which she bears witness.

The structure of the novel in fact emphasizes the importance of the traumatic nature of her memories. The novel is composed of seven notebooks written by Mariotte, an aging woman of Martinican descent living in a retirement home in Paris; the first half of the novel addresses her traumatic past and the second half focuses on her present-day life in the home. The end of each of the first three notebooks evokes a moment in the history of the Caribbean which has had traumatic effects, especially, in the case of the first two, for women. At the end of the first notebook, Mariotte visits M. Moreau, another resident in the nursing home, to ask for a glass of wine (31, 34). M. Moreau served as a French officer in the Caribbean, and Mariotte, as the only Caribbean woman in the home, reminds him of his sexual encounters with women in the colonies, Mariotte realizes (33–36). Thus, M. Moreau is associated with the history of the colonization of the Caribbean, in which European men enslaved and raped African women, and, after the abolition of slavery, continued to dominate. After this encounter, Mariotte is unable to stop thinking about Europeans and her sensation that she is “à jamais perdue au milieu du monde obscur et froid des Blancs” (36).¹²⁷ While her remark may pertain to her life in exile in France, it also may refer to the colonization of the Caribbean and the enslavement of Africans by the Europeans, and the difficulty of recovering from this history.

At the end of the second notebook, Mariotte recalls the history of slavery again, this time through a memory of her grandmother, Man Louise. After a vision in which she encounters Man Louise in a lavatory in the nursing home, Mariotte is suddenly overcome by the memory of her grandmother on the day she died, when she hallucinated that her daughter, Mariotte's mother, was her former French mistress. Man Louise began to lick her daughter's feet, begging her not to take away her second son by selling him to another (65). Man Louise's hallucination reenacted her life as a slave for the young Mariotte, who was born after slavery was abolished. The memory brings forth not only the condition of the slave, who was at the mercy of her mistress or master, but also the particular situation of female slaves, who had to watch their children being taken away and sold into slavery. Through her traumatic memory of her grandmother's disturbing actions, Mariotte brings forth her grandmother's own traumatic memories of life as a slave in

Martinique. Hence, this memory recalls not only the personal trauma of her family, but also that of Caribbean history.

The end of the third notebook evokes a more personal memory of Mariotte's, although the event affected all of Martinique. Inspired by a conversation in the nursing home about where the residents would like to spend a vacation, Mariotte begins to remember her island. But as she imagines herself approaching her mother's home, she finds that she is unable to recall her mother's appearance. She suddenly remembers with regret that she never had the chance to say good-bye to her mother, who was killed in the eruption of Mount Pélée in 1902 (84–5). She calls to her mother in her imagination, “Aye Moman chè, la tristesse de toi est une bête qui dévore mon cœur . . .” (85).¹²⁸ The loss of her mother, her home, and her friends marks a significant trauma in her own life as well as in the history of Martinique.

In addition to these three traumatic events in the history of the Caribbean—the colonization of the Caribbean by the Europeans, the enslavement of Africans by the colonizers, and the eruption of Mount Pélée—which affected Mariotte's personal life as well as the lives of all people of the Caribbean islands, the novel as a whole emphasizes the racism that Mariotte encountered as a child and continues to encounter in various forms in France. These memories and experiences of racism are a continual reminder to Mariotte of the condition of her existence as a result of the legacy of colonization and slavery in the Caribbean. The racism that Mariotte experienced as a child has been noted previously by both Kathleen Gyssels and Beverly Ormerod. Gyssels claims that Mariotte's childhood was “marquée par la famine, la misère, le dénuement, et surtout le manque d'affection et répudiation à cause de son phénotype noir dans une famille de mulâtresses” (791).¹²⁹ Gyssels attributes this unhappiness resulting from her darker skin color to the prejudices of her grandmother Man Louise. Raised as a slave, Man Louise, Ormerod argues, internalized the hierarchy of white slave-owner over black slave because of the fear instilled in her through years of terror, and she continued to accept this hierarchy of skin color after the abolition of slavery (96–7). Mariotte explains that Man Louise carries “son maître en lui-même, alors que les chaînes sont tombées,” and that she fears disobeying the hierarchy because she believes the whites may be trying to set a trap for the blacks (48).¹³⁰ As a result, Man Louise enforces this hierarchy in her own family in a tyrannical way (62). Mariotte's initial hallucinatory encounter with her grandmother in the lavatory underscores this characterization of Man Louise. Throughout the conversation, Man Louise repeats the importance of Mariotte staying in her “place.” Man Louise insists: “. . . reste à ta place de négresse, ma fille, n'en bouge pas d'une corde; sinon le monde blanc

va t'écraiser comme un simple margouillat" (44).¹³¹ Since Mariotte was born with a darker skin color than her grandmother and mother, she was a target of Man Louise's resentment, which Mariotte describes as a "condescendance méprisante" (47).¹³² The recalling of these memories of the racism that Mariotte experienced as a child within her own family evokes her personal trauma that resulted from the establishment of slavery in the Caribbean.

The memories of the racism that she experienced as a child are linked in the notebooks with her encounters with racism in France in the present, in 1952 (189).¹³³ The connection between Man Louise's racism and the racism of her fellow residents is especially evident when Mariotte's vision of Man Louise is interrupted by Mlle. Giscard, who has been trying to gain access to the lavatory. Still caught in her reveries, Mariotte momentarily confuses Mlle. Giscard's reproaches with the criticism of her grandmother in the past (52). Mariotte's inability to distinguish between the two women suggests further that there is a similarity between Man Louise and the white women of the home: they are both prejudiced against Mariotte because of her skin color. This suggestion is evident in Mlle. Giscard's sudden resort to yelling "miam-miam" at Mariotte, a racist reference to Mariotte's supposed cannibalism (52–3).

In another conflict with a woman in the home, Mariotte realizes the depths of the racism of those around her. M. Moreau has led the others to believe that Mariotte practices "envoûtement par effigie, photos, rognures d'ongles, etc.," attributing to her their conception of voodoo (32).¹³⁴ After la Bitard has a stroke, Mariotte attempts to comfort her, holding her hand, but la Bitard suddenly responds viciously to her, accusing her of "sorcery" and refusing to lend her the glasses on which Mariotte depends (179). Mariotte's reaction to this surprise attack is to burst into tears, and as she returns to her bed, she realizes what prevents the other women from coming to her aid: "Il doit y en avoir plusieurs qui m'aiment bien et n'osent pas le montrer devant les autres; ou devant moi; ou devant une part d'elles-mêmes qui n'est pas prête à témoigner d'affection à une négresse" (179–80).¹³⁵ Mariotte understands the complexity of the other women's responses to her, and the difficulty she faces in breaking down these stereotypes and prejudices. Interestingly, Mariotte later uses their stereotypes to her advantage; when a woman tries to read Mariotte's notebooks, Mariotte chases her away with the threat that she will use her powers against her. She feels ashamed to fulfill their racist stereotypes, however: ". . . cela m'est étrangement pénible de me faire passer pour sorcière à leurs yeux . . ." (183).¹³⁶ In order to protect herself and to differentiate herself from the others, she has to become "plus 'négresse' que je suis" (183).¹³⁷ The notebooks thus record not only her memories of

racism as a child, but also the constant reminders of the effects of the history of colonization and slavery in her everyday life in France.

While the text focuses particularly on Mariotte's traumatic memories that are unique to her as a black woman from Martinique, Schwarz-Bart carefully links her experiences with the traumatic history of the Jewish people at two points in *Un plat de porc*, which supports the interpretation that Schwarz-Bart was using Mariotte's narrative to address similar elements in his own life experience. For example, while Mariotte is resisting the recollection of her memories at the beginning of her journal, which she likens to screams welling up in her throat, she comments on another woman in the home, la Biquette, who is Jewish (13, 77–78). Whenever anyone in the home refers to Jews in a derogatory manner, la Biquette becomes deranged and begins to bang her head against the wall (78). The similarity between Mariotte's initial resistance to her traumatic memories and la Biquette's distress over the recent past of her people reveals the relationship between the Caribbean and European-Jewish experience. In the second example, Mariotte takes a walk in a park in Paris, and she begins to think about how many of the people passing by her have been oppressors of her people. “. . . [C]ombien de possibles négriers, sur trente passants anonymes dans la rue, Mariotte? . . . de possibles tortionnaires d'enfants? . . . de possibles bonnes âmes tueuses de juifs?” (165).¹³⁸ Mariotte's thoughts indicate a connection between the history of colonization in the Caribbean and the Holocaust in Europe. By mentioning the points of similarity between black and Jewish experience, André Schwarz-Bart indicates his sense of solidarity with blacks as a result of their similar oppression by European society. Furthermore, he also reveals that telling Mariotte's life story is not only about her own story, but also about his own traumatic history, without erasing the differences between their experiences.

While the first few notebooks record Mariotte's recollections of her traumatic past, the fifth and sixth notebooks record two conversations with white women in the home. These notebooks further emphasize the possibility of solidarity across ethnicity, in spite of prejudices and misunderstanding. While Scharfman sees Mariotte as finding happiness and peace at the end because she comes to understand her longing for her homeland (262), Ormerod alternatively argues that Mariotte eventually realizes with distress that she has never been able to escape from the hierarchy Man Louise upheld, and that “elle est aussi esclave que l'a été son aïeule” (106).¹³⁹ I would contend rather that the telling of the memories allows Mariotte to recognize and understand the history of her people so that she may start trying to move past this history. The first conversation which suggests this possibility is with

another white, French woman in the home, la Jeanne, who asks Mariotte to tell her about her childhood in Martinique (146). However, Mariotte struggles to come up with a story, and she knows that la Jeanne understands why she is having difficulty: “. . . elle les subodorait, tous ces mondes qu’il y avait entre nous et que ça ne pouvait pas se franchir par des paroles! . . .” (146).¹⁴⁰ While they are both aware of what different worlds they come from, Mariotte tells la Jeanne of biting the hand of a French marine to find out if whites really had white blood and discovering that the blood was red just like hers (146–7). After sharing this with la Jeanne, Mariotte writes that she felt “légère comme un papillon d’avoir dit quelque chose d’un peu honnête, sur moi . . . depuis si longtemps” (147).¹⁴¹ While la Jeanne’s understanding of Mariotte at that moment is ambiguous, she seems to confuse Mariotte’s story with one of her own memories, suggesting a further connection between the two women (147). Thus, la Jeanne’s question allows Mariotte to open up about her past with a white woman despite their differences, and to allude to similarities between them.

After the second discussion, Mariotte describes herself as feeling filled with gratitude for their wonderful conversation (200). In this conversation, which occurs after Mariotte’s confrontation with la Bitard, she, la Jeanne, and la Bitard share their mutual curiosity about women of other ethnicities (190, 196). When the two white women try to claim that Mariotte has more “white” blood in her than “black,” since she seems so much like themselves, Mariotte is taken aback and instead insists, “J’ai aussi un peu de sang rouge, vous savez!” (197).¹⁴² While la Bitard thinks she is referring to Native American heritage, Mariotte clarifies, “Non, c’est du sang rouge-sang” (197).¹⁴³ La Jeanne and Mariotte both realize the significance of her statement. It is not that Mariotte has “white” blood in her, but that they all have the same kind of blood; they have a common humanity. At the end of the conversation, la Bitard, who has maliciously insisted on maintaining ownership of the eyeglasses on which Mariotte relies, almost offers to give them to Mariotte, and although she does not quite say it, Mariotte is filled with pleasure at this attempt to break down the boundaries between them (200). While both of the conversations recognize the prejudices that divide the black, Caribbean woman from the white women, specifically those focusing on biological difference as the basis for ethnic difference, there is a suggestion of the possibility of solidarity and understanding across these boundaries. These hints do not resolve the traumatic memories that Mariotte carries with her, but they suggest Mariotte’s hope that the racism that is part of the legacy of slavery and colonization will eventually, little by little, be replaced with community and mutual respect. The potential reconciliation across ethnic boundaries,

while not specifically dealing with a solidarity between Jews and blacks, may also represent Schwarz-Bart's own sense of connection to the history and experiences of people of the Caribbean.

These brief moments in which Schwarz-Bart offers the possibility of solidarity and communication between women of different backgrounds respond to the traumatic memory of the Holocaust and slavery with hope about the future but without providing definite closure or redemption, which contrasts with his first novel, *Le dernier des justes*. Yow has argued that *Un plat de porc* is marked only by "irreconcilable historical rupture," and that critics' readings of the novel as offering "closure, reconciliation, resistance and recovery" are unfounded (137–8). I claim, however, that the novel does present these instances of understanding that suggest the tentative beginnings of Mariotte's healing of her own personal trauma that results from the history of the Caribbean. Between the extremes of "irreconcilable rupture" and "reconciliation," Schwarz-Bart instead proposes the ongoing negotiation of ineffaceable differences. Furthermore, both *Un plat de porc* and *La mulâtresse Solitude* thematize resistance against oppression, an active response to the rupture of traumatic history that also reappropriates agency for those suffering under slavery and its legacy. As with the remembering of traumatic events, Schwarz-Bart uses the narratives of resistance in the Caribbean to indirectly write about instances in Jewish history.

The theme of resistance against oppression is embodied by the characters of Mariotte, her alleged father Raymoninque, and her great-grandmother, the legendary Guadeloupean heroine Solitude, who have fought against slavery and servitude. Mariotte's sense of connection to the resistance of her ancestors has been observed by previous critics of the text.¹⁴⁴ Ormerod specifically contrasts the opinions of Man Louise with the rebellious actions of Raymoninque and Solitude. Since Man Louise works to instill in her grandchildren fear toward whites because of her own traumatic experiences as a slave, she tries to frighten Mariotte by warning her that she is a descendant of the rebellious Solitude. She also disapproves greatly of Raymoninque because of his violent actions. Ormerod argues that for Mariotte, her ancestor Solitude in particular symbolizes the nobility of the escaped slaves of the past, who Mariotte tries to emulate by rebelling against Man Louise (97–8). Hence, Ormerod sees Mariotte's desire to emulate her rebellious ancestor as a way of challenging her grandmother's adherence to the hierarchy of slavery.

Mariotte's identification with Solitude and the slave revolt, however, I would argue, is particularly solidified by her close relationship with her alleged father. As Mariotte accompanies her mother to the prison to bring "un plat de porc aux bananes vertes" to the doomed rebel Raymoninque,

Mariotte mentions that in fact it is Raymoninque who has told her all of the stories about Solitude: “Ne m’étais-je pas toujours efforcée de rester fidèle . . . à l’image qu’il m’avait tracée de la femme Solitude de Guadeloupe . . . mon aïeule de par le sang d’eau croupie de Man Louise?” (105).¹⁴⁵ While Man Louise has been trying to frighten Mariotte by telling her of her heritage, Raymoninque is the one who teaches her about the glory of her great-grandmother (105, 114). Raymoninque is also delighted by the fact that Mariotte bit the hand of the white sailor who was dating her aunt (114–5). He happily tosses her in the air, asking her with in astonishment: “. . . tu te serais mise à la viande des Blancs?” (115).¹⁴⁶ Raymoninque sees Mariotte as imitating him in his rebelliousness against white authority. Following this event, she and Raymoninque are close friends, and he continues to contradict her grandmother by praising Solitude: “une négresse définitive, un grand morceau de Monde, ouaye!” (117).¹⁴⁷ Raymoninque eventually follows through on his belief in resistance when he kills the foreman of a factory, for which he is imprisoned and sentenced to death (116). In prison, however, Raymoninque claims that he is content, and he says that if he is set free alive, “ce ne sera pas pour me coucher devant un Maître” (132–3).¹⁴⁸ For Raymoninque, it is better to die than to continue to be enslaved by the hierarchy that controls the island even after slavery.

Interestingly, the theme of resistance in the fourth notebook seems to be associated with skin color. While Man Louise has lighter skin, Mariotte is born with darker skin and is therefore viewed by Man Louise as inferior. Raymoninque is also associated with a darker skin color; Mariotte describes Raymoninque in these terms: “Il n’était pas noir-noir, plus noir que noir, comme on disait: sa peau . . . avait des reflets insolites . . .” (126).¹⁴⁹ Mariotte’s model of resistance is thus someone whom she describes as having very dark skin, blacker than black. In a passage in which Mariotte allows herself to listen to the voice of her aunt Cydalise, a voice she has heard in her head since she was a child, the voice claims, “. . . vous allez voir qu’un de ces quatre matins [Mariotte] va devenir toute noire noire noire laide comme un chien sans pattes . . .” (108–9).¹⁵⁰ The voice foresees Mariotte’s transformation into a rebellious leader like Solitude herself, and this transformation is signified by the darkening of her skin. Again, as with Seghers’ Michael, Toussaint, and Luisa, the sign of a revolutionary is one who is “ugly,” in this case, because he or she has a skin color farthest removed from whiteness. Raymoninque, however, is also critical of the hierarchy in society, and Mariotte says that when Raymoninque plays his drums, he flattens out the various levels in society (127). He criticizes the hatred between peoples of varying skin colors in Martinique, and he claims he is more closely related

to a dog than to any of these people (127–8). Hence, Raymonique, while representing a rebellion of black against white, also suggests the possibility of harmony across the boundaries of skin color.

The legend of Solitude, who is the source of inspiration for both Mariotte and Raymonique, is retold in André Schwarz-Bart's later novel, *La mulâtresse Solitude*. The narrative of Solitude's life is built around the theme of resistance to slavery. Solitude, who was first named Rosalie, is the daughter of Bayangumay, who was taken from Africa to be a slave in Guadeloupe and raped by a white slaver. While Rosalie is growing up on the plantation, her mother, now known as Man Bobette, flees with her lover, a fellow slave, into the mountains (58). If she has not been caught, her mother thus becomes a maroon, a rebel against the white plantation owners. As a result of her light skin color, Rosalie is viewed as ideal to be a maid in the plantation owner's home (46). Rosalie's differently colored eyes—one dark and one green—leads her to be renamed “Deux-âmes” (“Two-Souls”) by her white mistresses, because it seems as if the two eyes belong to two different people (46, 64). By the time she is eleven, Deux-âmes becomes one of the “zombi-cornes,” or zombies, who “étaient tout simplement des personnes que leur âme avait abandonnées; ils demeuraient vivants, mais l'âme n'y était plus” (74).¹⁵¹ Since these “zombi-cornes” have no souls, they labor like animals in the fields, with little emotion or interaction with others (74). She develops a terrifying laugh, and she speaks like “les génies de la mort,” so she is sold from master to master because they fear her (74–5).¹⁵² At this point, Deux-âmes renames herself “Solitude” (75). While Brodzki identifies her state as representative of her lack of agency, and thus her state of exile (226–30), the zombie condition is also a form of resistance against her masters and her labor.

After the freeing of the slaves on Guadeloupe by French soldiers in 1795, Solitude joins runaway slaves in the mountains who are involved in fighting all of the different groups of Europeans vying for control of the island, and here she undergoes another change (80, 90, 92). A white soldier happens upon the rebels, and Solitude calmly walks toward him, saying, “Tuez-moi, tuez-moi . . .” and kills him with a stone (105).¹⁵³ At this moment, Solitude becomes human once more, as if the opportunity to take action against her white oppressors frees her from her zombie form (106–7). Another woman in the camp welcomes her back to the living: “Te voilà donc de retour, te voilà donc de retour parmi nous, négresse, négresse, négresse . . . ?” (107).¹⁵⁴ Prior to this moment, Solitude had been characterized as divided into two: half-white/half-black, one green eye/one dark, half-alive/half-dead. She had two souls and then had no soul at all. However, when she attacks the Europeans

on the island, she becomes a “négresse” (“black woman”). Her skin darkens metaphorically, and she regains her soul and, hence, her humanity. This repetition of “négresse” directly after her act of rebellion recalls the repetition of “noir” (“black”) in association with Raymoninque and Mariotte, who are also representatives of resistance. Solitude thus becomes “noir” and hence, a revolutionary. In one way, Solitude resembles the intermediary nature of Seghers’ Michael and Sasportas, since she has been both a light-skinned maid on the plantation and a dark-skinned rebel in the mountains. In another way, Solitude is similar to the essentialized identities of Debuissou and Toni, since all of them have split identities resulting from split ethnic or national backgrounds. Solitude differs from all of these characters, however, since she is able to abandon her hybrid positioning in favor of a full identity as a “négresse” and a revolutionary. In the end, when slavery is reinstated and the rebellion fails, Solitude is executed along with other rebels, and her newly born child is given up to slavery (132–3). Thus, the narrative of Solitude includes various instances of resistance: Man Bobette’s possible joining of the maroons, Solitude’s zombie state, and Solitude’s active participation in revolution. Solitude is also associated with Raymoninque and her great-granddaughter Mariotte by both her acts of resistance and the metaphorical connection of this resistance to skin color. Thus, Schwarz-Bart portrays generations of black women who have responded to oppression with violence and resistance, which differs significantly from Seghers’ more ambiguous portrayal of women of color.

The theme of resistance against oppression, which is apparent in *La mulâtresse Solitude* and in *Un plat de porc* in association with Solitude, is then very briefly connected with the resistance of the Jewish people at the end of *La mulâtresse Solitude*. Schwarz-Bart describes the experience of someone visiting the Danglemont plantation on Guadeloupe, the location of the last battle of the rebellion, in the present day, and he concludes,

Alors, s’il tient à saluer une mémoire, il emplira l’espace environnant de son imagination; et, si le sort lui est favorable, toutes sortes de figures humaines se dresseront autour de lui, comme font encore, dit-on, sous les yeux d’autres voyageurs, les fantômes qui errent parmi les ruines humiliées du Ghetto de Varsovie. (140)¹⁵⁵

Schwarz-Bart thus connects the rebellion in Guadeloupe to the rebellion of Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. By making this brief although significant association, Schwarz-Bart reveals not only that he, as a Jew of Polish origins, feels a sense of solidarity with these Guadeloupean rebels, but also, that he retells Solitude’s legend because it allows him to indirectly tell the stories of

resistance by Jews in Europe across the distance of time, space, and ethnicity, while still respectfully portraying the Caribbean experience.

In the novels *Un plat de porc* and *La mulâtresse Solitude*, André Schwarz-Bart portrays the themes of traumatic memory and resistance to oppression within the context of Caribbean history in order to both illustrate his self-described sense of solidarity with the blacks of the Caribbean as a result of the similar history of slavery and oppression of his own people, and to indirectly address events in the history of his people, such as the Holocaust, which he has felt unable to discuss directly. While describing Mariotte's recollection of her traumatic memories that stem from the history of colonization and slavery in the Caribbean and the racism which persists in Europe, Schwarz-Bart also makes key connections between Mariotte's experience and that of the Jewish people, and further suggests the possibility of solidarity between different ethnic groups. Schwarz-Bart also emphasizes the importance of resistance against the white slave-owners and the hierarchy of skin color in the Caribbean after the end of slavery in *Solitude* and Mariotte's narratives, and his reference to the Warsaw Ghetto uprising at the end of *La mulâtresse Solitude* and the memory of the rebels, which haunts the present, reveals his sense of interrelation between Jewish and Caribbean history. Thus, Schwarz-Bart's choice of the Caribbean as the subject for his novels allows him to address the traumatic history of the Jewish people using the distanced narratives of the Caribbean, while respecting the uniqueness and specificity yet interconnectedness of Jewish and African diasporic histories.

THE FATE OF THE LETTER

While Seghers and Schwarz-Bart struggle with questions of why and how to write about the Caribbean as European Jews, they also strive to use their narratives to subvert Eurocentric, imperialist discourse and to promote both revolutionary struggle and cross-ethnic coalition. Seghers and Schwarz-Bart chose the Caribbean as a location because the distance allowed them to act out concerns specific to the Jewish people in Europe. Seghers transmits her dissatisfaction with the treatment of Jews and women under Communism by placing Jewish men and women of color at the forefront of the Caribbean revolutions, while Schwarz-Bart works through his own trauma resulting from the Holocaust by relating stories of the traumatic remembering and resistance of Caribbean women. Schwarz-Bart's admission of his sense of affiliation with the people of the Caribbean because of his Jewish heritage interestingly lends itself to a more careful approach to making connections between Jewish and African diasporic history. While Seghers' Jewish heroes seem to overshadow

black revolutionaries in her *Karibische Geschichten*, Schwarz-Bart only tentatively mentions how these Caribbean stories relate to Jewish history. On the other hand, both Seghers and Schwarz-Bart grapple with this distance from the Caribbean as Europeans that prevents them from capturing “le parfum des Antilles.” Seghers’ writing over the span of thirty years testifies to her efforts to eradicate antisemitic, Eurocentric, racist, and masculinist influences on her work, yet these ideas continue to disrupt her Caribbean narratives. Schwarz-Bart, who openly acknowledged the difficulty of his European identity, problematically claims to have solved the problem by adding his wife to the byline, but he does focus exclusively on black women, granting them agency and voice in the novels, which challenges potential criticism of the texts as racist or masculinist. In spite of these dilemmas, Seghers and Schwarz-Bart both consistently advance revolutionary conflict against imperialist oppression, retelling stories of rebellion in the Caribbean and criticizing racism and racial division in historical periods spanning the past two hundred years.

The fact that the revolutionary figures in Seghers and Schwarz-Bart’s texts all fail, however, might put into question the authors’ faith in resistance and revolution to bring about change. In Seghers’ *Karibische Geschichten*, Michael is rejected by the black revolutionaries when slavery is reinstated in Haiti, and he dies in England shortly thereafter, having lost the ability to fight for his cause, while both Margot and their daughter die (55–63). The revolution does succeed at the end of this narrative, but without the participation of Toussaint or Michael (63). Sasportas, who ultimately becomes associated with the black rebels, is hung on the gallows for his involvement in the attempted revolution in Jamaica, while Ann is sold further in slavery (244). Even in “Die Trennung,” the only narrative where democracy is supposedly imminent, Luisa dies in agony (65). At the end of Schwarz-Bart’s *La mulâtresse Solitude*, the rebellion in Guadeloupe fails, Solitude is executed, and her child is put back into the slave system that Solitude was trying to overthrow. Although she laughs eerily before her execution, her resistance appears to be for nothing (136). Mariotte is dying without the opportunity to have even a taste of her homeland of Martinique in “un plat de porc aux bananes vertes,” and her childhood hero Raymoninque, who teaches her to appreciate her rebellious ancestor, has been put to death for killing a white foreman (132–3). All of these narratives thus end with the failure and death of the rebels.

In criticism, the survival of the heroes in writing is seen as compensation for the failure of the revolts. In her analysis of *La mulâtresse Solitude*, Brodzki notes Schwarz-Bart’s epigraph linking the Warsaw Ghetto uprising to the rebellion on Guadeloupe, and she emphasizes that writing provides a means of memorializing these events, which have been repressed historically

(220–22). Teraoka also notes this aspect in Seghers' first Caribbean trilogy: "Europe's revolutionaries are saved through words on a page; revolution survives, as text" (24). As support, Teraoka cites a passage near the beginning of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, where Antoine comments on the importance of the letter he has just received from Malbec, detailing what has become of Sasportas and Debuissou:

Er fühlte den Brief in seiner Tasche, als er über die Brücke ging. Er dachte einen Augenblick: Besser den Brief in die Seine werfen. Das tat ihm auf einmal weh. . . . Ein Brief ist viel wert . . . Solch ein Brief ist ein echtes Zeugnis. Leicht kann man den jungen Menschen vergessen. . . . Nur das bißchen Papier ist geblieben. (137)¹⁵⁶

Teraoka uses Antoine's musings as evidence that Seghers is arguing that these revolutionaries, even though they failed, live on through writing, both in the letter and on a metatextual level through Seghers' own narratives (24). Thus, critics have viewed the representation of the failure of the revolutions in each narrative as a way to inspire action from the reader in response to the injustice at the end of each text. Teraoka claims that this represents Seghers' European bias, since "[w]riting in books or on monuments is the mark of white history" (177n).

However, Seghers' first drafts of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* indicate that she did not originally conceive of writing itself as having such importance. In her original version, most likely written in 1957, Antoine and a colleague read and then immediately burn the letter, although Antoine maintains, "ich werde als erster dafür sorgen, dass sein Inhalt nicht verloren geht."¹⁵⁷ In a draft of the second version of the novella, Antoine actually does throw the letter in the Seine:

Er zerkaeuulte den Brief in seiner Tasche, als er ueber die Bruecke ging. Er dachte: Besser ist Besser, und er warf den Brief in die Seine. Das tat ihm auf einmal weh. . . . Ein Brief ist viel wert. . . . Jetzt schwimmt der Brief davon. Schon gibt es kein echtes Zeugnis mehr. Nur Worte sind geblieben und ein paar Erinnerungen. Man wird den jungen Menschen vergessen. . . . Das bisschen Papier sieht man schon nicht mehr.¹⁵⁸

Antoine disposes of the letter, thinking that these revolutionaries will be forgotten anyway. Seghers' apparent reason for changing to the published version stems from comments from her husband, László Radványi (Johann Lorenz Schmidt), who read and offered editorial suggestions on her writing.

He responded to this draft: "Auch mir tut es weh, dass Du ihn den Brief wegwerfen lässt. Das sollte er (wenn überhaupt) erst am Ende tun."¹⁵⁹ After these comments, Seghers published the final version with the changes above, giving the written word greater value than she had originally imagined.

Since the written word itself does not clearly symbolize a means to further the revolutionary struggle Seghers and Schwarz-Bart champion, I would propose that their message of coalition and communication across ethnic boundaries and their intermediary figures, who slip fluidly between ethnic divisions, are what survive the aftermath of the failed revolutions. Seghers places hope in pairings of black and Jewish revolutionaries who together fight to end slavery and achieve freedom from oppressive authority in the Caribbean. Schwarz-Bart depicts Mariotte, a black woman from the Caribbean, as recognizing the possibility of similarity between Jewish and black experience and of communication with the white women with whom she lives in France. Furthermore, both Seghers and Schwarz-Bart create characters whose identities and loyalties are ambiguous, split, transvestite, or hybrid. Michael, Sasportas, and Solitude are the most successful of these figures, maintaining intermediary positions that allow them to move between white and black communities until they become irremediably connected with one or the other side through the end of the revolution and death. These figures embody the potential for understanding and solidarity across ethnic divides, the theme that, I argue, overarches both Seghers and Schwarz-Bart's narratives. Seghers and Schwarz-Bart were themselves marked by hybrid or conflicting identities, since Seghers was both a Jewish woman and a socialist and Schwarz-Bart was a Jew who identified with the people of the Caribbean. Furthermore, the choice of the Caribbean as a setting was, for both authors, an attempt to bring Caribbean history to a European audience, to forge bonds narratively between whites and blacks. For them, regardless of their ultimate success, the act of writing served to connect them, as European Jews, with Caribbean and African diasporic history and narrative. Their own hybridity as authors could therefore not have led them to present intermediary identities as causing the failure of the revolutions in their narratives; rather, they put forth coalition, mediation, and hybridization as the only possible response to the rupture caused by the legacy of imperialism, slavery, and the Holocaust.

At the end of *Un plat de porc aux bananes vertes*, Mariotte's writing trails off in the midst of her reveries about the potential pleasure of the eponymous repast, and ends simply with the word, "Et" (220; "and"). The word is not followed by any punctuation. The suggestion is that Mariotte has died in the midst of writing. Although the sentence ends abruptly, rather than merely representing rupture,¹⁶⁰ I would argue that the conjunction "and" indicates

addition, combination, and continuity. Even in her death, Mariotte reaches out to others, offering to add the perspectives of others to her own account in order to facilitate communication and understanding. “Et” is the intermediary between two fixed identities, like the hyphen in hyphenated identities,¹⁶¹ between black and white, Jew and non-Jew. “Et” is the moment where coalition begins.

Chapter Four

Gender, Judaism, and Israel: The Nomadism of Chochana Boukhobza and Jeannette Lander

The previous chapter has addressed the transference of the concerns of European Jews onto the distant location of the Caribbean in the aftermath of the Holocaust. The following chapter considers post-1948 European-Jewish writers' negotiation between Europe and Israel as potential homelands. Chochana Boukhobza (b. 1959), a Tunisian-Jewish woman who lives in France, and Jeannette Lander (b. 1931), an American woman of immigrant Polish-Jewish parents living in Germany, explore issues of Jewish, gender, and national identity as they cope with their diasporic positioning. Lander and Boukhobza differ from the authors discussed previously, who have also been living in the diaspora in Europe, because they are furthermore transnational, exilic, writing in foreign languages and in foreign countries, and in Boukhobza's case, postcolonial. The following discussion therefore considers how late twentieth-century Jewish identity and experience complicate models of minor, postcolonial, and transnational literature.

As Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari have observed, the Jewish people have had both a nomadic existence and a desire for the end of nomadism, as expressed through messianic and Zionist movements. The ancient Israelites not only had a nomadic past, but the Jewish people since the fall of the Second Temple have lived in diaspora, scattered across the world.¹ At the same time, there has always been the myth of return to Palestine, whether through the coming of the Messiah, or beginning in the late nineteenth century, through the political movement of Zionism. During the nearly two thousand years of exile, Jewish tradition has created a "cultural memory" of Israel as a unified nation, whether religious or secular, in Azade Seyhan's sense of "a real or imagined past of a community in all its

symbolic transformations” (16). The creation of the state of Israel in 1948 disrupted this cultural memory, and hence, the Jewish diaspora itself, by claiming an end to “nomadic” existence. Zionism and the foundation of Israel also represented an end of nomadism in Deleuze and Guattari’s theoretical sense. Their “nomad thought,” represented by the rhizome, has the potential to infiltrate the hierarchical structures of Western thought, which includes orientalism.² In this book, Theodor Herzl and Max Nordau’s appropriation of European nationalism, orientalism, and imperialism for the purposes of their Jewish nationalism represents an outgrowth of arborescent thinking in Deleuze and Guattari’s sense, although they resisted antisemitism through an emancipationist movement (Chapter 1). Arnold Zweig and Else Lasker-Schüler questioned the orientalist direction of Zionism even as they themselves desired a return to a Jewish homeland and incorporated orientalist tendencies into their own work (Chapter 2). Thus, rhizomes do not simply negate the trees and roots of Western philosophy; rather, each model contains offshoots of the other. The late twentieth-century authors of the current chapter, Chochana Boukhobza and Jeannette Lander, continue this struggle to articulate relationships to orientalism, nomadism, and homeland after the foundation of the state of Israel.

While Deleuze and Guattari’s brief discussion of the situation of the Jewish people is useful for considering the unique positioning of the Jews in terms of both real and theoretical nomadism, their theory has itself been the target of criticism for its Eurocentrism. Their concept of a “minor literature,” which can function rhizomorphically, is constructed by a minority within a “major language” and is characterized by the deterritorialization of the “major language,” political involvement, and collective expression. Deterritorialization of language refers not merely to a removal of language from a literal “territory” but to a figurative appropriation of the language. Minor literature is hence both politically and linguistically revolutionary, stretching and questioning the meaning of words within the major language.³ Although the rhizome offers an important model of resistance, Deleuze and Guattari fail to include the voices of those other than European, white, male writers in their analysis. Their comparison of Black English and Prague German, for example, reveals their erasure of racial difference within Europe.⁴ Winifred Woodhull acknowledges the dangers of not distinguishing between “nomadic” forms of thinking and actual nomadism, and proposes that not only European intellectuals but also immigrants bringing different cultural and ethnic perspectives into Europe need to be recognized (89, 101). The problematic nature of Deleuze and Guattari’s theory has been further excavated by Christopher

L. Miller, who traces the sources for their discussion of theoretical nomadism to European anthropological accounts of actual nomads, accounts which are themselves implicated in supporting orientalism and imperialism (171–209). The fact that Deleuze and Guattari discuss nomadism both for and by Europeans means that their theory is limited when addressing the experiences of transnational, exilic, or postcolonial peoples and when considering ethnic, religious, or gender difference.

Critics have therefore explored how the situation of transnational peoples disrupts Deleuze and Guattari's understanding of the functioning of nomad thought. Françoise Lionnet and Shu-Mei Shih's "minor transnationalism" provides a model for the following chapter because they criticize the vertical major/minor construction of power in Deleuze and Guattari's work and instead promote the study of "minor-to-minor networks," while respecting ethnic, cultural, and linguistic specificity.⁵ According to their model, the "deterritorialization" of a major language is therefore limited, and as Anne Donadey has further specified, exilic writers in Europe are often more concerned with "reterritorializing" in order to "create an imagined territory for oneself and other exiles."⁶ These writers inhabit the language of their new country, decentering and deterritorializing the national language and concepts of nation through the introduction of their own perspectives and languages. The result is a kind of "literary *métissage*," or cross-cultural hybridization, that exists outside the dominant culture and creates a new homeland for exiles through writing itself.⁷

The application of "minor literature" onto late twentieth-century Jewish writers in particular has been previously proposed by Jack Zipes, who focuses on Jews in Germany. Zipes takes an approach opposite from Lionnet and Shih, instead deciding to expand and generalize Deleuze and Guattari's theory in order to be able to use their terminology. Zipes recognizes the limitation of their definition since not all German-Jewish literature is politically "revolutionary," but rather than questioning the category itself, Zipes determines: ". . . it is necessary to qualify and modify Deleuze and Guattari's categories in order to grasp the significance of Jewish culture as a minor culture in Germany" (28). He then describes "nomadic" themes in German-Jewish literature as "wandering, searching, dangling, distressing, surviving at the margins," hence exchanging the theoretical concept of "nomad thought" with images of actual nomadism (30). Ultimately, he concludes that one potential way that German-Jewish writing succeeds in deterritorializing German culture is by defining and un-defining "what it means to be Jewish" in German (41). The political engagement of German-Jewish writers would therefore be the redefining of Jewishness in Germany.

The following analysis builds on these previous interpretations of Deleuze and Guattari's theory to consider the work of two Jewish writers in between nations, languages, and cultures, whose real-life situation facilitates a "nomadic" resistance to imperialism and oppression that goes beyond merely redefining Jewish identity within a particular national context. I maintain that diasporic Jewish writers since 1948 differ from other transnational or exilic peoples because of a need to respond to the existence of Israel. Their "reterritorialization" of their chosen national language in order to create an imagined homeland through literature is complicated by the existence of a Jewish national homeland that they have rejected. Chochana Boukhobza and Jeannette Lander are both transnational, multilingual authors whose texts explore not only their diasporic positioning but also their relationships to Judaism and to Israel. As a result of their multiple nationalities and languages, both authors' nomadic tendencies are not merely expressed through "stretching" a major language for their own purposes, as in Deleuze and Guattari's model. Rather, they reveal the diversity of their Jewish identities through simultaneous, sometimes self-contradictory, multiplication of nations, languages, characters, and perspectives. Secondly, both authors problematize Israel as the solution to the Jewish diaspora by criticizing the actions of the state of Israel and imperialism or oppression of any form.

THE SPARKLING BRIDE OF GOD: CONTRADICTION AND KABBALAH IN *UN ÉTÉ À JÉRUSALEM*

Chochana Boukhobza, a Tunisian-Jewish writer living in France, is representative of the dispersal of Jews from the Maghreb as a result of oppression under Vichy-French and Nazi German rule during World War II; the foundation of Israel in 1948; the independence of Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria between 1956 and 1962; and the Six-Day War of 1967. Jews fled outbreaks of antisemitism caused by both the nationalist movements and the Arab-Israeli conflict; some chose France because of linguistic and cultural ties and French citizenship (in the case of the Algerian Jews) that would be severed by the end of colonialism; others chose Israel (primarily Moroccan Jews) because of religious convictions.⁸ As a result, Maghrebian-Jewish authors who write in French thematize their relationship to their homelands in the Maghreb and to French culture and colonialism in terms of their uniquely Jewish history and identity. Hélène Cixous, an Ashkenazic-Sephardic Jew born in Algeria and exiled in France, describes her sense of alienation in Algeria as a child through the metaphor of the Garden of Eden. A garden in Algeria becomes the location where she simultaneously learns French and is insulted

in French because of her Jewish heritage: “j’ai appris à parler français dans un jardin d’où j’étais sur le point d’être expulsée parce que juive.”⁹ The state of being “[n]ot quite/not Tunisian or French,” as Jarrod Hayes terms it, also characterizes Tunisian-Jewish writer Albert Memmi’s novel *La statue de sel* (1953; *The Pillar of Salt*), his semi-autobiographical account of growing up as the victim of both French colonialism and antisemitism. Memmi’s narrator rejects the “Orient” and struggles to become “French,” even as he resists the control of both of these concepts by colonialist/orientalist discourse.¹⁰

Boukhobza’s novel *Un été à Jérusalem* (1986; *Summer in Jerusalem*), however, diverges from this critique of the combination of French colonialism and antisemitism in the Maghreb by shifting her critique of imperialism onto the state of Israel. Boukhobza hence interrupts the France-Maghreb duality by adding a third element: Israel. This focus, of course, has its precedent in Memmi, in particular, who has addressed the effect of the foundation of Israel on Jewish-Arab relations; he defines himself as a “left-wing Zionist,” which means he wants “justice for [his] people without injustice for the others . . . Palestinians” (13). Boukhobza, however, who is almost forty years younger than Memmi, is too young to remember colonialism, World War II, or even the struggle for independence, so Israel becomes an important site of struggle for both defining Jewish identity and ending imperialism. Boukhobza’s work is thus postcolonial, post-Holocaust, but most significantly, post-Zionist. The narrator of Boukhobza’s possibly autobiographical¹¹ novel *Un été à Jérusalem* remains deeply ambivalent about both her Tunisian-Jewish origins, particularly represented by her grandmother and her extended family, and Israel, the homeland her family has chosen. The narrator, who remains nameless until the last page of the novel, expresses her nomadic positioning through her contradictory relationship to her transnational identity, to her Jewish heritage, and to Israel. Her imagined metamorphosis into the ambiguous figure of Mavrika ultimately reveals her critique of Israel’s war with Lebanon in spite of her decision to stay in Israel.

From the beginning, the narrator struggles with her transnational identification with Tunisia, France, and Israel. Her family left Tunisia when she was a child to move to France, but, seduced by Zionism, the narrator convinced her family to relocate to Israel when she was 17 (10). She, however, became disillusioned by Zionism and returned to Paris at age 20; the novel transpires three years later, in the summer of 1984, when she comes back to visit her family in the midst of the war with Lebanon (234–5). Her memories of the many locations of her identity are captured in a collection of yellowed photographs she finds at the back of her mother’s dresser shortly after she arrives in Jerusalem. At age four, she is photographed in Tunisia with her

hands in a fountain, at age nine with her brothers in Paris, and then in recent ones in Jerusalem (84). These photographs serve as the only evidence of her history and provide momentary glimpses of her at “home.” The frequent use of photographs and other documentation in the work of Maghrebian-Jewish writers has been observed by Guy Dugas, who views them as an attempt to provide proof of the North African Jewish communities, which have since disappeared. Moroccan-Jewish writer Edmund El Maleh, for example, uses photographs in his novels as a means of capturing the past or bringing the dead back to life.¹² The narrator of *Un été à Jérusalem*, however, values the photographs for their reconstruction and preservation of her many homelands, not just for memorializing the Jewish communities of Tunisia. The photographs evoke her many pasts, which are, however, not dead, but continue to live on within her.

Tunisia itself is embodied in the novel by her grandmother Rachel, whom she calls Safta. The narrator and her mother go to visit her in Beer-sheva, and shortly after their visit, she passes away. The presence of her grandmother and her ties to Tunisia and Jewish religiosity pervade the entire text, even as the extended family descends on the narrator’s home for the seven-day ritual of mourning. During her visit to Beersheva, Safta is barely conscious, but the narrator recounts memories of her childhood, her grandfather, the drunken rabbi, and her grandmother, who raised her and her two brothers in strict adherence to Jewish religious tradition (58). Tunisia, through the figure of Safta, is closely tied with Jewish heritage and a strict reliance on Jewish traditions, but also with a long history of peace and harmony that preceded immigration to Israel. During her extended family’s stay for the mourning ritual, the narrator describes their nostalgia for a land where Jews lived in peace with Muslims: “[C]’est en Tunisie qu’ils ont vécu leurs plus beaux jours. Israël ne représente que ce sol trop sacré où ils sont venus mourir . . .” (192).¹³ This idealized representation of Tunisia is set up in opposition to Israel and its violent reality; Tunisia is hence preserved, solidified into a paradise that is a part of the cultural memory of the diasporic Tunisian Jews. This characterization of Tunisia hence marks the narrator as post-postcolonial, since her memories of Tunisia are not marred by colonialism nor antisemitism. Instead, the foundation of the state of Israel and the resulting conflicts between Muslims and Jews in North Africa and the Middle East are blamed for the end of the harmony that was Tunisia. The only remnants of this paradise are the members of her family: “Mais lorsqu’ils disparaîtront, un fragment de l’histoire juive s’éparpillera sur le sol, comme du sable. Va après, va retrouver les traces!” (193).¹⁴ The image of Tunisia being “dispersed” into the sands of Israel suggests the impossibility of the command, whether expressed

by the narrator or by her relatives, to recover the fragments of their past. Not only has the Tunisian-Jewish community and its traditions been irrevocably shattered, but so has the peaceful coexistence of Jews and Muslims.

The demise of the Tunisian Jews and their heritage in Israel is evoked in a dream passage after Safta's burial on the Mount of Olives. The narrator dreams that she is back in Safta's room in Beersheva, which has been emptied of all traces of Safta's existence. She begins to dance in the room while her grandmother claps the rhythm, and she imagines her grandmother dancing with her. But the words of the song that Safta sings tell of the impending end of everything the narrator knows: "[T]ourne, quand tu t'arrêteras, tes amis auront disparu, ta langue sera incomprise, ton pays aura changé. Tourne, tu crois la vie immuable, mais le temps te trahira" (109).¹⁵ Safta describes her own experience of loss, betrayal, and alienation when she lost her family, language, and country by coming to Israel. But the song also reflects the narrator's own loss through her nomadic journeys between Tunisia, France, and Israel, and furthermore foretells her future. Even in the moment of celebrating ties to her Tunisian heritage, the narrator has a foreboding of loss and destruction.

At the same time that the narrator mourns the loss of their history, she also expresses disdain for the Maghrebian Jews who immigrated to Israel. She encounters a group of Maghrebian-Jewish immigrants of her parents' generation on a bus in Jerusalem, and describes their immigration, which led them first to Paris, Marseille, or Lyon, and then, moved by both nostalgia and fantasy, to Jerusalem. The journey has taken its toll on this generation, who she calls "transfuges" ("deserters") who speak Hebrew awkwardly (32). The narrator pities them, but she also expresses distaste for them, describing them not as people exiled against their will, but as deserters or fugitives from paradise. But the narrator can also be critical of the treatment of the Maghrebian-Jewish immigrants and their alienation, oppression, and marginalization within Israel. The residents of the immigrant neighborhood in Beersheva, where the narrator's extended family lives, consist of Jewish immigrants from North Africa and the former Soviet Union, who are marginalized by Israeli society, specifically in the wasteland of the desert, in concrete buildings rising out of a desolate landscape covered in garbage, which the Bedouin have been hired to pick up, "douloureusement du bout de leurs piques" (46).¹⁶ The narrator traces the journey from the paradise of the Maghreb to a garbage dump in the desert, not only questioning those who have made this journey, but also criticizing Israel's destruction of the land and its indigenous peoples, who have become Israel's garbage collectors. The narrator's grandfather, a

rabbi, whom she loved when they lived in France, drank himself to death in Beersheva (54).

The ambivalence the narrator conveys about her Tunisian-Jewish heritage in her discussion of Maghrebian Jews in Israel also emerges in her representation of her own nomadism and state of exile. She realizes with a feeling of unease after her arrival in Israel that she belongs nowhere: “. . . en France et ici, je reste donc pour tous une étrangère devant laquelle on parle à mots couverts” (213).¹⁷ The narrator’s discomfort with her homelessness perhaps motivates her ultimate decision to embrace Israel as her homeland, but her ambivalence toward any of her potential homelands persists. Henry, her lover in Israel, who is from Algeria (145, 174), exclaims to her, “Toi aussi, tu es de ma race, une nomade” (175).¹⁸ On the one hand, he seems to be suggesting that people in exile, transnational people, must claim their own identity, their own race. On the other hand, he may be referring to the Maghrebian Jews, who have become a people who inherently lack a home. Henry continues by describing his own attempt to find a sense of rootedness by affiliating himself with the Muslim Arabs of Palestine; he studied the Koran and tried to become one of them, but with little success (175–6). When the narrator laments the loss of her grandmother Safta, the matriarch of the family, and the subsequent loss of her heritage of songs and spices from Tunisia, Henry, however, accuses her of perpetuating the exile: “Tu es une femme de valises, de brosse à dents dans un sac, de petit slip caché au fond d’une poche” (158).¹⁹ Henry reproaches her for not creating a home or attempting to preserve her heritage, and this conflict between her simultaneous nostalgia and distaste for her past structures the entire novel.

Her problematic relationship with her third homeland, France, is evoked in her discussion of the conflicts with her Ashkenazic boyfriend Bernard, whom she has left behind in Paris. She eventually realizes that she can not love him because he is unable to enter into the memory of her nomadic past: “Je ne l’aime pas car il n’a pas voulu ou pas su m’interroger sur mon passé. Il n’est pas descendu dans mes tunnels, là où est écrit “danger”” (122).²⁰ For the narrator, her memory is cherished as the center of her identity, and she can not imagine love or understanding that does not involve a sharing of these memories. In fact, the only “home” that the narrator can claim is her own memory, which she calls her greatest ally (26). Her personal memory defines her identity and offers her solace in her nomadism. Furthermore, the narrator’s criticism of Bernard as inexplicably more interested in music, literature, and film implies her perception of the difference between the Ashkenazic and Maghrebian Jews. The narrator presents

the Jews of the Maghreb as struggling to (re)construct a memory of their native lands, while the Ashkenazic Jews who have remained in Europe seem to prefer to forget their past. Later in the novel, the Algerian-Jewish Henry, in contrast, demonstrates his closeness to the narrator by sharing his own memories with her. He says, “Tu me redonnes la mémoire. Je me croyais incapable de remonter si loin” (231).²¹ The growing relationship between Henry and the narrator is made possible by the revelation of long-forgotten memories, and hence, the creation of a mutual home between the two of them. Her rejection of her French-Jewish boyfriend in favor of her Algerian-Jewish lover suggests that their shared nomadic identity forms the basis for their sense of home.

The contradictory nature of the narrator’s relationship to her past extends to the use of languages in the text. Colette Touitou-Benitah has argued that Maghrebian-Jewish writers prior to the independence of the Maghrebian nations in 1956/1962 moved comfortably among Hebrew, Ladino, Yiddish, French, and Arabic in their writing because all of these languages and multiple identities co-existed peacefully (119–122). After independence, however, Maghrebian-Jewish writers evoked these diverse languages as a deliberate means to remember the lost culture, becoming more experimental by deliberately juxtaposing different languages, combining French and Arabic into neologisms, or translating from Hebrew into French (126–132). The use of the multiple languages of the Maghrebian Jews becomes more self-conscious in exile, Touitou-Benitah argues. This literary “*métissage*” is, however, not unique to Maghrebian-Jewish writers since it also characterizes the work of non-Jewish Maghrebian writers in exile, such as Assia Djebar, who blends French and Arabic in her texts in order to inhabit French for Arabic speakers.²²

Boukhobza’s text, however, does not fulfill these characterizations of postcolonial Maghrebian writers. The novel does mourn the loss of Tunisian-Jewish life and culture, but, unlike writers like El Maleh and others, for whom the fragmentation and loss of Jewish culture in the Maghreb remain central to their texts,²³ the individual experiences and memory of the narrator continuously return as the central focus. The yellowed photographs that the narrator finds are not those of the lost life in Tunisia but of herself, and her rejection of her Ashkenazic-Jewish boyfriend is not attributed to the fact that he never lived in Tunisia but to the fact that he is incapable of listening to her personal memories. Similarly, the use of language in Boukhobza’s text does not indicate an attempt to bring the lost Tunisian-Jewish tradition into the present nor to reterritorialize French for the Maghrebian Jews through the experimentation typical of other Maghrebian writers. Rather, Boukhobza only occasionally

interrupts the French text with Arabic terms, as if to decorate the text with local color rather than to reveal the melding of French/Arabic culture in Israel or in the characters. Occasional terms related to Jewish religious tradition appear in the text, such as Talmud, Bible, (56), and "talit" (181). These terms are sometimes explained in footnotes, such as "Chabath," which is defined as "samedi en hébreu. Jour du repos obligatoire pour les Juifs" (87).²⁴ These definitions, whether written by the author or the editor, indicate the purpose of such words to educate non-Jewish, French readers about Jewish culture rather than to create a uniquely French-Tunisian-Jewish text for the author and other Maghrebians. Additionally, occasional Arabic words enter the text and are also glossed for the reader, particularly names of foods, such as "houmous" ("purée de pois chiches"; 25) and "zlebia" ("pâtisserie tunisienne"; 230),²⁵ which again only serve to add local color, since they do not evoke particular memories or experiences for the narrator. Phrases in Arabic also rarely surface, such as "Adé Maboula" ("Elle est folle!"; 168) and more frequently "Mektoub" ("destin, en arabe"; 80).²⁶ The distinction between Hebrew and Arabic terms and traditions, however, is not always clear, as if the French-speaking reader is expected to find both languages equally foreign. Words such as "houpa" ("dais") only suggest their Hebrew origins through the fact that they are used in connection with a Jewish wedding (67).²⁷ At the most, the use of both Hebrew and Arabic words in the text without necessarily distinguishing between them suggests the combining of these two linguistic and cultural traditions in the world of the Maghrebians-Jewish narrator, but at the least indicates the presumption of an uneducated French audience for whom the distinction between the two languages is irrelevant. The text, in contrast with the transnational narrator herself, is greatly assimilated into French language and culture, again revealing the narrator's contradictory connection with her Tunisian-Jewish heritage and simultaneous rejection of it. While the narrator ultimately abandons France and her French-Jewish boyfriend, her narrative is dominated by the French language and is apparently written for a non-Jewish, non-Muslim audience. The narrator's contradictory identification reflects the struggle of Jews in France and in North Africa as of 1967, when the Six-Day War caused tensions between Jews and their neighbors and led many Jews to relocate to Israel.²⁸ The war with Lebanon functions in a similar way in the novel, forcing the narrator to decide between her loyalties to France and to Israel, and writing in French and for a French audience, she proclaims Israel as her choice, the place where she is allowed to be a nomad.

The contradictory identification of the narrator is further manifested in the narrator's conflicted relationship with Jewish religious traditions. When she first returns to Jerusalem, unannounced, she finds that her mother has

taken on the Orthodox Jewish practice of shaving her head and wearing a headscarf. She is horrified, and immediately criticizes her mother for wearing a headscarf, asking if her husband was making her wear it (14, 16). The narrator treats this adoption of an observant religious practice with disdain, and blames her father, with whom she has had a difficult relationship because of her return to France. At the center of the novel, however, is the practice of sitting shiva, or mourning the dead. All of the extended family descends on the narrator's parents' home to mourn Safta for seven days. The rabbi comes to rend the garments of the family and instructs them that they may not work, bathe, ingest meat or wine or spices, and must sleep on the floor (116). The narrator, disturbed by this invasion of her unbathed relatives, not only disregards the injunctions, deliberately defying the family's wishes, but also mocks them. At the same time, she mourns the loss of her grandmother, recognizing how irreplaceable she is, as when she senses her death and says, ". . . une main s'est refermée sur mon cœur. A Beershéba une génération s'éteignait" (103).²⁹ As the novel progresses, the narrator's conflicted relationship with Jewish religious traditions further unfolds.

The simultaneous attachment to her heritage and rebellion against it is particularly manifested in her search for a prostitute named Mavrika. After the extended family's arrival, the narrator wanders the streets of Jerusalem hopelessly, and begins to search for a prostitute she claims to have known before, Mavrika, or "étincelante" (131; "sparkling, glittering"). The narrator's reasons for searching for the prostitute relate to her own rebellion against her family's conservative views of how Jewish women should dress. She begins wandering the streets wearing brightly colored make-up, and her extended family complains that her dress is inappropriate for a young Jewish woman (134). But the narrator finds meaning in her external transformation, and she longs to meet Mavrika: "Je veux qu'elle m'enseigne l'art du déguisement" (134).³⁰ As she makes up one evening, she considers different ways to paint herself, all of which represent the different guises of Jewish women: "en putain . . . en statue pharonique . . . en négresse ou en rescapée de Dachau, visage rayé blanc et noir et numéro gravé sur le front?" (166).³¹ All of these guises have transformed the Jewish people, she argues, but for her, the exile in Israel has led to her metamorphosis into Mavrika. On the street, her face painted like the landscape of Israel—"[d]u front jusqu'aux narines, la mer . . . [le] désert qui débute au menton et chute jusqu'au cou"—passersby call her crazy (168).³² What does Mavrika symbolize, as a prostitute who defies Jewish religious codes of dress and as a representation of Israel?

While at first the narrator's fascination with Mavrika seems to represent her defiance of Jewish religious tradition, this connection in fact remains

ambiguous. On the one hand, Mavrika, as a prostitute, is associated with the suppressed, criminal world of Jerusalem which is disavowed by the rabbis, cantors, and imams (152). On the other hand, Mavrika symbolizes the feminine mystery that the rabbis have longed to solve:

Mavrika ressemble à cette femme impénétrable que traquent depuis vingt siècles les cabalistes et les talmudistes. Drapée de noir, le visage dissimulé, elle s'introduit dans les fortins les plus défendus, grelotte devant les sépharim [livres], s'oublie devant les disciples qui gémissent leurs prières, se donne sur les chemins de ronde aux soldats barbus. En hébreu, on l'appelle la Shehina. La Présence. (151)³³

In this context, the Shekhinah, defined as the "Presence," is not merely the presence or appearance of God, as the term is used in the Bible. Rather, Boukhobza references a particular tradition within a strain of Jewish mysticism, Kabbalah, which first surfaced in the thirteenth-century Spanish text called the Zohar. In the Zohar, God is represented as divided into ten parts or traits, called *Sefiroth*, and the tenth and nethermost part is the Shekhinah, the female part of God. The Shekhinah represents not merely the "bride" of God, but serves as the mystical representation of the community of Israel, in other words, all Jewish people in the world. After the fall of Adam, the Shekhinah was separated from the masculine part of God and went into exile, just as the people of Israel went into exile from God. The goal of religious practice, according to Kabbalah, is to restore God to the former unified entity, and hence to reunite the people of Israel with God, a process known as *Tikkun*, or restoration. Boukhobza's familiarity with Kabbalah is evidenced in the novel by this mention of "cabalistes."³⁴

Boukhobza connects Mavrika, the prostitute, with the Shekhinah, the feminine element of God, described as a veiled woman wandering among both the religious Jews and the soldiers and fortresses. But as a result of her designation as the Shekhinah, Mavrika also symbolizes the community of Israel, all Jewish people, who are exiled from God. She therefore can only represent the straying of the Jewish people from God and Jewish religious law, since Israel, symbolized by the "bride of God," is represented as a prostitute. Another possible interpretation of the prostitute image is from the Book of Jeremiah, which foretells the fall of the house of Israel in 70 C.E. and describes Jerusalem/Israel as a wife who has strayed from God (3). The Jewish people, according to this interpretation, have betrayed God's law and have prostituted themselves out to other gods. This interpretation adds to the sense of the impending doom of the state of Israel that haunts the text

throughout. In either case, the narrator's adoption of Mavrika as an identity challenges Jewish traditions of appropriate dress for women but also serves as a criticism of the direction of the Jewish people away from Jewish religious teachings, and in particular, the actions of the state of Israel. The narrator hence parades through the streets as Mavrika to illustrate what Israel has become. Her family resents her transformation, unable to understand that she is reflecting their own abandonment of their beliefs by accepting Israel as their homeland. This tension in the figure of Mavrika, as both a challenge to Jewish religious tradition and a protest against the loss of this tradition, symbolizes the narrator's simultaneously self-contradictory attitudes toward Tunisia and her Jewish identity expressed throughout the novel.

The criticism of Israel, represented by Mavrika, manifests itself through the course of the novel and ultimately leads to the revelation of the narrator's actual identity. From the beginning, the narrator indicates that her disillusionment with Zionism led to her departure for France, and she expresses her reluctance to be in Israel, a nation to which she no longer feels allegiance (23). Her first discussion of Israel's war with Lebanon appears in her encounter with Roger, a close friend who is now an Israeli soldier but who is himself disillusioned. Roger, a Moroccan Jew (78), had foreseen the conflict with Lebanon long before and had warned her against Zionism, and being a soldier stationed in Lebanon had trained him ironically to have great bitterness toward Israel (74). After he describes the horrors of war to her, the narrator suggests he simply leave for Europe since he does not support the war. Roger's rejection of this suggestion foreshadows the narrator's own decision in the end. He argues that fleeing resolves nothing: "C'est d'ici que je dois me battre si je veux changer les choses" (78).³⁵ In spite of his disagreement with the war in which he fights, Roger believes that being in Israel will allow him to contribute to a positive change in the nation. He also describes his choice of Israel as part of the dilemma of his transnational identity; firstly, Jerusalem contains a bit of Morocco, his homeland, and secondly, his identity as an Israeli would make assimilation impossible elsewhere, since only people in Israel understand what he has gone through (78–9). Hence, the critique of Israel's aggression is contradicted by a sense of identification with the people of Israel. Again, the narrator adopts opposing positions on the same issue, as both a critic of Israel and as a Maghrebian Jew who feels a sense of kinship with others in Israel. The narrator's decision to stay in Israel reflects this conflicting identification since it is ironically preceded by the witnessing of a conflict between Israeli soldiers and a Palestinian shopkeeper in the souks in the Old City. The Palestinian refuses to allow the soldiers to bargain a price for an item, and taunts them by saying they will not need it since they are

about to die in Lebanon anyway (185–6). The soldiers become incensed and raid his shop, along with those of others in the market, claiming that they are searching for weapons. The narrator describes the tension that underlies all interactions between Israelis and Palestinians that can erupt into violence with very little cause, a misplaced word, a look (187). The oppression of the Palestinians under Israeli rule is evidenced in this brief moment in the text, as the narrator looks on. But the realization that follows this encounter would appear to contradict her rejection of this environment: “Je sais maintenant que je resterai à Jérusalem” (189).³⁶

Her connection with Israel is ultimately sealed by a final act of violence resulting from the war with Lebanon. Her Algerian-Jewish boyfriend Henry, who is conducting interviews with Arab leaders and Israeli politicians in order to record the views of both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and who believes that the war has no purpose other than to immortalize the names of the Israeli leaders, decides that he must witness the war in Beirut himself. Henry, as Roger reports calmly to her a few days later, is struck in the eye by a stray bullet and killed while on the streets of Beirut (252–3). The narrator’s response is to descend into a trance-like state as Mavrika; she shaves her eyebrows, cuts off her hair, and rends her clothes. As she runs through the streets barefoot, she cries, “On dit que Dieu t’habite, Jérusalem! Je crois qu’il t’a maudite! Laisse donc mourir tous tes fils! Un jour, tu reviendras à tes ruines!” (254–5).³⁷ The narrator as Mavrika/the Shekhinah, who has strayed from God, foresees the destruction of Jerusalem/Israel because of this betrayal. Her descent into Mavrika as a result of the death of her lover in Beirut indicates the connection between Mavrika and the criticism of Israel. In the end, the narrator goes to Roger for comfort, and he says, “Sarah, ma belle, mon enfant,” but she responds, “Non, à présent, je m’appelle Mavrika!” (255).³⁸ For the first time, the narrator’s actual name is revealed. Sarah is significantly a Biblical figure, the wife of Abraham and the unlikely mother of Isaac, who becomes the patriarch of the Hebrews. The author’s decision to withhold the narrator’s name until the end suggests that at this moment we are to realize the religious significance of the narrator, that she, as the namesake of the mother of the Jewish people, has rejected her own name because she believes that her progeny will be destroyed as a result of the choices of the state of Israel. The narrator is associated with two central female figures in the Jewish religious tradition, Sarah, the bride of Abraham, and the Shekhinah, the bride of God in Kabbalah, yet she simultaneously defies both of these namesakes, abandoning Sarah and choosing to represent the Shekhinah as a prostitute. The symbol of Mavrika hence serves to mobilize elements of the Jewish tradition in order to participate in a criticism of the state of Israel.

Boukhobza's division of her female narrator into two figures in the Jewish religious tradition recalls the identification of her grandmother at the beginning of the novel as another Biblical figure, Rachel (57). Rachel, or Safta, as the narrator calls her, embodies Tunisian-Jewish identity itself, which indicates the narrator's privileging of the matrilineal line in representing her heritage. The multiplication of women both diachronically and synchronically resembles the attempt by other Maghrebian women writers to make women's silenced voices present through collective, female autobiographies.³⁹ For Boukhobza, the names of the generations of women are divulged reluctantly, and usually their names emerge only at moments when someone is expressing love for them. The narrator's difficult relationship with her mother is suddenly interrupted by a moment of closeness and regret, when the narrator kisses her mother and worries that her mother will die before she can tell her she loves her (182). Her expression of love for her mother is followed immediately by the revelation of her mother's name: Camille. When the narrator goes to visit her dying grandmother in Beersheva, her aunt tells her that her grandmother continued to murmur her name (49). But the narrator's name does not appear until the end, when Roger embraces her and calls her "Sarah, ma belle, mon enfant . . ." (255). Boukhobza writes the novel as if these nameless women are meant to represent many women, Jewish women of the Maghreb, but they become individuals once love names them. The hybrid nature of the female narrator symbolizes the contradictory views on Tunisia, Judaism, and Israel that are presented in the text, although ultimately, the female figure who prevails, Mavrika, represents a criticism of the destruction caused by the state of Israel. While Boukhobza doubles her narrator to present dual, opposing viewpoints, Lander triples her female narrator and sends them to different possible Jewish homelands—Europe, the United States, and Israel—in the creation of a text that is decidedly transnational.

THE SCATTERED *FLEUR DE LIS*: TRANSNATIONALISM AND *MÉTISSAGE* IN *DIE TÖCHTER*

Unlike Boukhobza, whose connections with Tunisia, France, and/or Israel are typical of Maghrebian Jews, Jeannette Lander's biography defies expectations. Lander, the child of Polish-Jewish immigrants to the United States, grew up in an African-American neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia, and spoke Yiddish as her first language. She married a German and moved to Berlin in 1960 to complete her studies at the Freie Universität Berlin, and has since remained in Germany.⁴⁰ Her biography resembles the narratives of her first three novels in German: *Ein Sommer in der Woche der Itke K.*

(1971; *One Summer in the Week of Itke K.*), the narrative of a young Jewish girl in an African-American neighborhood in Atlanta; *Auf dem Boden der Fremde* (1972; *On Strange Ground*), the story of an American-Jewish woman following her German husband to Germany; and *Die Töchter* (1976; *The Daughters*). Lander's positioning as American, German, and Jewish has led to varying attempts to classify her literary works. Leslie Adelson places Lander in the German-Jewish context, arguing that Lander disrupts "Jews and Germans/Germany" by "refract[ing]" this issue onto various national and historical locations.⁴¹ This interpretation depends on the assumption that German-Jewish relations and the legacy of the Holocaust define Lander to begin with. Heike Paul argues against Adelson, claiming that "referring to Lander as a German writer equates language with (adopted) nationality," but she prefers to view Lander as contributing to "US-American immigrant writing" and compares Lander's work with African-American writer Toni Morrison.⁴² Both of these contexts overlook Lander's essentially transnational positioning; Lander's writing is not defined by the German-Jewish or American-Jewish context, but rather by both. She is not merely redefining Jewish identity in Germany or America, as Zipes characterizes German-Jewish writing, but creating a new transnational Jewish literature. Lander's novel *Die Töchter*, in particular, demonstrates this transnational identity by multiplying the Polish-Jewish female character of her earlier novels into three sisters, who have settled in Germany, the United States, and Israel, respectively. Each character reveals her difficult relationships with her national/linguistic identification, her Polish-Jewish heritage, and forms of oppression, whether in Israel or elsewhere. Lander's nomadism is hence expressed by finding a home in this simultaneous multiplication of nationalities, characters, and languages and by her rejection of Israel as the solution to the transnationalism of Jews in the diaspora.

Lander presents her three female characters as three versions of the same person. The three sisters are "die Töchter" of a Polish-Jewish father, Jankelferisch Levandowski, who left his French-Jewish wife in Vichy-France in 1941 to visit his father's grave in Warsaw, Poland (9). The father described the three girls as "drei Blätter seines Wesens wie ein *fleur de lis*" (14),⁴³ as if they are all versions of the same individual. After the disappearance of their father in Poland in 1941 and the end of World War II, the three women become the scattered leaves of a *fleur de lis*, traveling to three different possible locations for the European-Jewish survivors of the war: Europe, the Americas, and Israel. The three have little contact with one another, to the extent that the youngest, Minouche, considers her sisters to be dead to her, and that she is also dead to the others (82). These three women represent the branches

of the European-Jewish exile after the war, revealing the results of three possible choices. The multiplication of characters to illustrate the experience of exile has been observed in the work of Maghrebian writers such as Albert Memmi, who recreates his own fragmented “Jewish-Tunisian-French-Arab identity” through a “polyphony of various people” in his novel *Le scorpion*. The many characters allow him and other Maghrebian authors to “explore the multifaceted Self that characterize[s] life in exile.”⁴⁴ For Lander, however, the three women are three different versions of one woman and reflect not a fragmented sense of self but a transnational identity that encompasses all of these possibilities. The conflicted, hybridized concept of self associated with exile or postcoloniality thus transforms in Lander’s text into the embrace of multiple identities, reflecting the acceptance of a Jewish transnational identity rather than the dilemma of fragmentation.

The first daughter whose narrative is related is Julie, the middle daughter who married a German soldier who was part of the occupying forces in France during World War II (17). They married in secret in 1944 and ironically fled to Berlin in 1946, because only there could Julie and her husband, Kurt, live in the open (19–23). The narrative transpires in the year 1966 (14), and Julie’s account reveals the difficulties with her integration in Germany as a French-Polish-Jewish woman married to a non-Jewish German. In divided Berlin, Julie navigates the complex web of public transportation through West Berlin, but she finds the Germans to be vengeful and at times sympathetic to the Nazis. On the bus, she overhears men speaking nostalgically of order under Hitler, and Julie says she prefers to ride the train as a result, but the encounter with antisemitic comments seems unavoidable (29). Julie’s relationship with her non-Jewish husband appears as strained as her relationship with his German homeland. Her husband still seems unable to understand the terror that Julie and her family suffered as Jews during World War II, and he remains cynical about her father’s faulty decision to travel to Poland in 1941 (37). After a confrontation on this issue, Julie remarks: “Bald wird er [Kurt] mir beweisen, *papa* litt unter Verfolgungswahn. *Maman* litt unter Verfolgungswahn. Ich auch. Es gibt weder Haß noch Gewalt in der Welt: Wir sind alle verrückt” (37).⁴⁵ Kurt’s insensitivity to Julie and her family, in spite of actually living through the war with them, reflects the deep divisions between Jews and non-Jews that Julie and her husband represent.

Julie further connects the conflicts with her husband to her sense of helplessness, which she attributes to femininity. During a dinner party, Julie’s inner monologue expresses this frustration: “Name ist Schicksal. Frauen heißen nicht, sie heiraten. Namenlos ist schicksalslos. Teile das Los des Mannes. Schicksal nennt man das” (47).⁴⁶ Julie equates the “-los” (“lack of”)

suffix with “das Los,” the lot, of women; their fate is defined by absence or negativity as opposed to the positive nature of men’s fate. Julie’s lack of agency as a woman is depicted throughout the chapter through child-like behavior and references to her intellectual inferiority to her husband. She seems to have no particular occupation nor education, and resents her husband’s attempts to get her involved in political discussions (27). Her husband further links her with their teenage daughter, Katinka, when, at the dinner party, Julie uses the slang word “Bulle” for police officer, and Kurt explains to the others that Julie learned it from their daughter (50). Julie’s apparent intellectual inferiority is hence not only the result of her being a woman, but also being a foreigner, who is picking up German words from her daughter and her friends. The tension between Julie and Kurt erupts into the dinner conversation in a public argument over Kurt’s comment that he had to sacrifice a great deal after the birth of their daughter, Katinka (49). Julie’s sense of isolation in Germany and from her German husband hence results from her perception of being oppressed as both a Jew and a woman as well as her linguistic and cultural difference as a non-German. Julie’s narrative has its precursor in the second novel of Lander’s trilogy, *Auf dem Boden Fremde*, which similarly addresses the difficulties of a Jewish woman married to a non-Jewish German man who was formerly a soldier and living in Germany. The relationship between the two parallels that of Julie and Kurt because it is depicted as unequal; Yvonne, the American-Jewish wife, always feels emotionally neglected and intellectually inferior to her husband. Furthermore, the marriage ends when the husband, during an argument, uses an antisemitic slur against her.⁴⁷ Thus, the first chapter of *Die Töchter* continues an exploration of the theme of the possibilities for understanding between Jewish women and German men.

Julie’s feeling of isolation in Germany as a French-Polish-Jewish woman serves as a backdrop for her desire to search for her father’s roots in Poland. As in *Un été à Jérusalem*, where the passing of Safta represents the loss of Tunisian-Jewish life, cultural memory is also represented in *Die Töchter* by a parental figure, the Polish-Jewish father, whose disappearance in Poland in 1941 is the central theme of the novel. Julie decides that the three daughters should try to recover their father’s memory by going to Poland together, and this premise opens the novel. In the prologue, Julie recounts the cycle of events that will be continued as she and her sisters travel to Poland. Her grandfather died on a trip to Paris with his son at the turn of the century, and his body was sent back from France to Poland, where his wife buried him. Her father then received a photo of his father’s grave in Poland that his mother had sent him, and in 1941 he took the photo with him to find

his father's grave. He then sent a letter to his family in France, including the photo of the grave of his father, and he was never heard from again. Julie then proposes making the same trip herself:

Und jetzt habe ich das Foto, ich, Julie. Ich werde damit nach Polen fahren, um das Grab meines Vaters zu suchen, der nach Polen fuhr, um das Grab seines Vaters zu suchen . . . in die Heimat, nach der sein Sohn Sehnsucht hatte und dessen Leiche nie gefunden worden ist, weshalb ich mit diesem Foto nach Polen fahren werde, um das Grab meines Vaters zu suchen, der nach. . . Familie und kein Ende. . . (9)⁴⁸

The memory of her Polish-Jewish heritage is depicted as an endless circle; she walks in the same footsteps as her grandfather and her father by returning to the homeland of Poland, even though only death has awaited her family there. The sentence structure that she uses to describe her mission mirrors the interconnections that Julie sees between herself and her father and grandfather, and for her, reenacting this cycle in order to reconnect with her Polish-Jewish heritage is of the greatest importance. By portraying her heritage as an endless cycle rather than a concrete origin, however, Julie indicates the fragmented nature of her own familial history, a Foucauldian understanding of genealogy that Karen Remmler has identified in the works of German-Jewish women writers Esther Dischereit and Barbara Honigmann (189). The marking of the Jewish female body with the work of remembering, referred to by Remmler as the process of “en-gendering bodies of memory,” means that Jewish women come to represent “site[s] of mourning,” locations of loss and fragmentation, in order to make Jewish memory present in Germany (188–91). In *Die Töchter*, Julie similarly takes on the burden of remembering and refracts it onto the two other versions of herself, in the US and in Israel, but the possibility of actually recovering her father's memory is already questioned at the outset in her cyclical depiction of her familial history. The fact that Julie, the one who lives in Germany, insists upon the return to Poland suggests the particular significance of restoring Jewish memory in Germany, which links this part of the text with the work of German-Jewish women like Dischereit and Honigmann.

While her father symbolizes the connection to Judaism and the homeland in Poland, Julie's memories of her mother represent an anxiety about Jewish identity and ultimately, denial of Jewish heritage. Julie recalls an event during the war when a Jewish man who has fled an internment camp in France comes to her family for help. The man claims to have known her grandfather, and to have assisted in the transport of his body to Poland (15).

But Julie's mother refuses to trust him, saying, "Er ist unser aller Mörder" (15).⁴⁹ The daughters cling to their mother, crying, and the mother begins to chant repeatedly: "*Nous sommes morts . . . nous sommes morts . . .*" (16).⁵⁰ This initial and only direct confrontation with the Holocaust in the novel is significantly connected with the mother and her fear of what was to befall the Jews in Europe. The mother's anxiety culminates in her refusal to include her family in a list of Jews in their town; she tells her husband, "*Moi et mes enfants, nous ne sommes pas juives*" (16), even though she has been clearly identified as Jewish in the novel (13).⁵¹ Julie identifies her mother with the denial of Jewish heritage or the fear of being recognized as Jewish, and interestingly, connects her specifically with France by relaying her words frequently in French, hence suggesting a difference between Western and Eastern European Jewish identity. As indicative of Eastern European Jewish identity, the father and his ill-fated trip to Poland in 1941 represent the refusal to succumb to threats against the Jews and the embrace of Jewish identity at whatever cost. Both understandings of Jewish identity appear throughout the text, suggesting the sisters' complex relationship with their Jewish heritage.

The mother's words, in particular, ricochet through the novel, reappearing at moments to reveal how the oppression of the Jewish people is connected to present-day events in the 1960s. In Julie's chapter, her mother's words are evoked at a moment when Julie encounters violence on the streets of West Berlin, when she takes part in a left-wing demonstration on May 1. Julie's nuclear family's connections with socialism are established at several points in the chapter, although Julie herself remains ambivalent about both the movement and her glimpses into East Berlin. Kurt tries to encourage Julie to read Marx's *Communist Manifesto* and to come to a lecture, but Julie refuses, claiming she does not understand a word of the manifesto (28). Later, at the dinner party, Julie questions why her husband, the socialist, is friends with people like "Ben Diamant," a diamond-dealer, in the depths of late capitalism (47). Julie sees her husband as hypocritical for maintaining his apparently socialist convictions but deciding to remain in West Berlin and associate with capitalists. Her views of East Berlin itself are similarly ambivalent, as when she rides the subway through the East Berlin stations, which are blocked off and barricaded by German soldiers (30). She is fascinated by these "toten Bahnhöfe," which she associates with "das Grau" (31–2). She links this "dullness" with her father's own experiences, presumably during World War II, but she admits that it is not the same "Grau von *papas* Alltag" (31).⁵² In spite of this ambiguous attitude toward socialism, Julie ends up accidentally getting drawn into the ranks of marching left-wing demonstrators, who

are teenagers her daughter's age, on May 1 (42–3). The police blockade the demonstration, and over a loudspeaker, announce that the demonstrators must disperse: "Achtung! Achtung! Hier spricht die Polizei" (44).⁵³ As the demonstrators scatter, Julie also runs but is stopped by a policeman, who demands her identification. As she gives it to him, the narrative is interrupted by her mother's words: "*Commissaire aux Questions Juives. Moi et mes enfants, nous ne sommes pas juives . . .*" (45).⁵⁴ The actions of the West German police to suppress the left-wing demonstration are connected to Vichy-France's enactment of Nazi policies against the Jews in France. In particular, Julie is reminded of the fear of being discovered as Jewish, a fear her mother symbolizes, which is evoked for her again when a German policeman asks for her identification. The continuity between Nazi Germany and the present-day West Germany of the novel is in fact directly stated by Kurt, who recounts that he was beaten up by neo-Nazis, who he claims must have been hired by the police, since the police merely stood by and watched (46). Hence, antisemitism in Nazi Germany is connected with violence against socialists, suggesting the association of any form of oppression with the oppression of the Jews during World War II. As the novel continues, the actions of the state of Israel are also linked with these many instances of oppression, revealing Lander's implicit critique of Israel.

The youngest daughter, Minouche, recounts her experiences in the United States, where she moved with her mother after the war. Minouche has married an American-Jewish man who owns a clothing store in an African-American neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia, hence continuing Lander's telling of life in Atlanta from *Ein Sommer in der Woche der Itke K.* Minouche's chapter is in fact indebted thematically and stylistically to the earlier novel, and in particular, the use of language in both texts has similarities. *Itke K.*, the story of one of three daughters of Polish-Jewish immigrant parents living in an African-American neighborhood in Atlanta in the summer of 1942, is narrated in Standard English, African-American English Vernacular, German, Yiddish, and Hebrew to reflect the hybridity of the community itself. Lander combines the languages in various ways: by having characters speak sentences containing Standard English, Yiddish, and/or African-American English; by expressing African-American English through double-negated German; and by recreating the flow of English by creating neologisms in German, such as "Itkeweißjüdisch" ("ItkewhiteJewish"). Lander not only draws attention to the fact that her text, while written in German, actually includes a number of different languages and dialects, but she also demonstrates the permeation of boundaries between the Jewish/Yiddish, African-American, and white American cultures by defying linguistic segregation. The African-Americans

who come to Itke's parents' grocery store have picked up Yiddish and Hebrew phrases used by the owners, just as Itke and her family draw on African-American English. Lander hence prevents the possible essentialization of language where each group would have its own unique dialect, and instead portrays the interaction between Jewish and African-American culture and language in this diverse community. Since Lander refuses to essentialize linguistic or racial identity, her disruptions of German have a political undertone.⁵⁵

Lander's experimentation with the German language has thus led her work to be read as a deterritorialization of German language and literature, as Deleuze and Guattari have observed in the work of Kafka.⁵⁶ This deterritorialization may have different intents or effects. One interpretation is that Lander may be writing specifically for Jewish readers by assuming that the reader will be able to navigate all of these different languages, even though a glossary of Yiddish words was added by the editor. Another way of understanding the function of deterritorialization is that Lander is decentering German, making it alien to native German speakers, and hence making German readers of the text more aware of Jewish or American experience. These interpretations are related to the idea of reterritorialization ascribed to transnational authors, since Lander may be trying to create a home for Jews within German language and literature.⁵⁷ Alternatively, I would argue that Lander's mixing of languages in *Die Töchter* may represent not merely the deterritorialization of German, but the depiction of diasporic Jewish existence, which is inherently multilingual.⁵⁸ Language is not merely being "stretched" but multiplied. The heteroglossia of Lander's work is representative of a transnational Jewish woman who is at home in many languages, rather than just a writer looking to inhabit German. However, this inclusion of multilinguality is not presented as unproblematic; rather, Lander uses her many languages to illustrate difference and alienation within any given nation.

In *Die Töchter*, Lander also melds a number of different languages, including German, French, Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, and Latin, mainly without translation, but each chapter of the novel represents a different mixing of languages. In Julie's chapter, Lander integrates an otherwise standard German with Katinka's German slang and her mother's French, revealing Julie's marginalization in Germany as a non-native speaker. Minouche's chapter, however, particularly exhibits the experimentation with language for which Lander is known in *Ein Sommer in der Woche der Itke K.*, suggesting that the American context itself contributes to this experimentation. Some of the elements of *Itke K.* appear, such as the occasional integration of English phrases, but the phrases Minouche fails to translate into German emphasize her sense of alienation from American culture. She recounts how her American aunt would

burst into their home without knocking, calling, “*Yoohoo, anybody home?!*” (91), which terrified her mother, and the American preference for “*light and fluffy*” clothing, which her mother refuses to wear (89). She also comments on reception at an American office, where one is greeted by a “*Blitzsmile*” (114; “*flashsmile*”). Minouche’s inclusion of English words emphasizes elements of openness and frivolity in American culture that particularly contrast with her and her mother’s experiences of living in fear in France in the 1940s.

Minouche’s language, however, most noticeably makes use of neologisms and grammatical experimentation. The modifications of the German language particularly occur during Minouche’s reveries, which are often influenced by alcohol and possibly by her own mental instability. Her husband, Mike, is connected with the instability in her life; she drinks because he comes home late from work and ignores her (73). This situation is similar to that of her sister Julie, but the alienation that Minouche experiences in the United States as a result of her estrangement from her husband is particularly expressed through an alienation of the German language itself. Minouche runs German words together to create new words, but these words defy rules for creating compound nouns in the German language because she inserts adjectives in between nouns. For example, while she waits after work to meet her boss, with whom she begins an affair, Minouche muses about her “*Hollywoodfroufroupo*” and laments the “*Kaffeebitternachgeschmack im Mund*” (105).⁵⁹ Minouche also strings phrases together into nongrammatical, stream-of-consciousness sentences, as, for example, when she thinks about her life-long sense of intellectual inferiority as she is applying for a new job:

Ich hasse sie: die Lehrerin, die Lehrerin und *maman, maman* und die Barbara Gouldenberg, die alles immer richtig hat, die Barbara so gut, die mir ihr Heft hinschiebt, so tut, als ob sie weiterschreibt und dabei Schmiere steht für mich sie ist so gut, sie zieht das Heft weg, wenn die Lehrerin guckt, sie schreibt so klein so gut ich hasse sie und weiß nicht, ob ama da steht, ama, amo, amas, amos, omas da steht und wenn du heulst Minouche, jetzt hasse ich dich, du sollst jetzt nicht—Du sollst jetzt lächeln hübsch warum kannst du nicht wie Barbara Gouldenberg Scheißweib das Blatt hübsch lächeln abgeben wie Barbaragut gelächelt immer hat sie ekelhaft ge- ugh. . . . (116)⁶⁰

Minouche’s alteration of German by creating new words, with or without meaning, and defying grammatical structures accompanies her musings about her alienation from others. Heike Paul has argued that Lander strings together German words “to re-create and incorporate the flow and rhythm

of the English language into a usually more abrupt-sounding German text” (287), and this interpretation may explain the fact that Minouche alone engages in such experimentation in *Die Töchter*. Since the narrator of the earlier novel, Itke (“Itkeweißjüdisch”), employs similar language, Lander seems to express the experience of being Jewish in the United States through this manipulation of German. In other words, Lander transforms German into English to illustrate hybrid identity. In this way, Lander’s use of language differs significantly from Boukhobza’s, since Boukhobza’s text carefully includes footnoted Hebrew and Arabic words merely to add local color. Lander’s *métissage* technique, on the other hand, resembles that of other postcolonial Maghrebian-Jewish writers, but Lander differs from these exilic writers, whose emigration from North Africa to France leads to an attempt to remember or preserve the lost Maghrebian-Jewish culture.⁶¹ Lander is not trying to recover a lost past of her own, since she chose Germany and the German language over the United States and English. Instead, her unique transnationalism leads her to embrace her many languages as her many homelands, but she reveals in her use of language that each choice of a homeland is problematic for Jewish women.

Minouche’s sense of isolation in the United States parallels her relationship with her Jewish identity. In contrast to Julie, who believes that the trip to Poland will allow her access to the cycle of her Polish-Jewish heritage, Minouche receives Julie’s letter with mocking words: “Komisches Mädchen: Julie. . . Und wenn man das mit *papa* alles weiß? Ob er hier oder dort verreckt ist? Was nützt das?” (61).⁶² Minouche’s detachment from the memory of her father is further illustrated by her recollection of sitting shiva for her father five years after his disappearance, even though they did not know whether he was alive or dead. Her skepticism about this Jewish religious practice resembles that of the narrator of *Un été à Jérusalem*. Like Boukhobza’s narrator, Minouche can not understand the purpose of the tradition: “. . . so wie ich sitzen mußte damals, auch keine Schuhe, nein in Socken mußte ich sitzen, und keiner konnte mir sagen, warum” (78).⁶³ She relates that she could not cook or work for seven days, and had to only think about her father, and yet, she was unable to remember him: “. . . was sollte ich denken über *papa*, wie sollte ich über ihn nachdenken, ich konnte ihn mir nicht einmal vorstellen, ich hatte kein Bild mehr von ihm . . . ich bat *maman*, mir ein Bild zu zeigen von ihm, aber wir saßen *Shiveh*, und man schaut sich . . . keine Bilder an” (81).⁶⁴ For Minouche, Jewish religious practices remain self-contradictory and inexplicable, even though, in the United States, her own family’s involvement with the synagogue is evident (60, 64). Minouche’s sense of Jewish identity resembles neither her father’s, whose devotion to his

heritage led to his death, nor her mother's, who lived in fear of being identified as Jewish. Instead, Minouche views her Jewish heritage from a distance, questioning both her mother's anxiety about her Jewish identity and her insistence on a practice such as sitting shiva. Ultimately, Minouche's decision to go to Poland with Julie has less to do with her affiliation with her Polish-Jewish heritage than with a reaction to the racism that she encounters in Atlanta.

As in Julie's chapter, oppression is again thematized in Minouche's chapter, with a particular focus on the treatment of African-Americans in the 1960s. Two violent events against African-Americans mark Minouche's section, reminiscent of the treatment of African-Americans in *Ike K*. Both events evoke the scene where Julie links the West German police's suppression of the left-wing radicals with Nazi German treatment of Jews. Mike is at work in his clothing store, and watches as a group of Nation of Islam members, who are handing out leaflets on the street, are overrun by policemen and one is shot. The scene is deliberately connected to Julie's own experience with the words, "Achtung! Achtung! Hier spricht die Polizei!" (71). Minouche's own encounters with racism in her everyday life, and in another significant event that ends the chapter, particularly lead to Minouche's alienation from the United States. When she decides to hire a housekeeper so that she can go to work, the advice Minouche receives about finding an African-American housekeeper is listed without commentary in a series of quotations (92–3). These statements, presented with ironic distance by using quotation marks, reveal the undisguised racism of Minouche's friends. They make use of racist slurs: "Bloß nicht in der Zeitung annoncieren! Da kannst du was erleben, was da alles für Hottentotten kommen"; they rely on stereotypes of African-Americans as lazy: "Dabei kommt sie sowieso immer so spät"; and they are insensitive to the poverty of African-Americans: "Die brauchen sowieso nicht soviel zum Leben wie wir . . . die Miete in ihren Häusern ist erheblich weniger" (92–3).⁶⁵ Minouche's own resistance to her friends' racism and lack of sympathy for the plight of the African-Americans is revealed through her relationship with Doll, the housekeeper she hires. Minouche, talking to Doll, tries to piece together Doll's family history; Doll explains that her "people" have always worked for the Carter family, who continue to find work for her (100). Minouche calculates that Doll's great-great-grandfather must have been a slave for the Carter family, hence recognizing how the history of slavery continues to control Doll's own life.

When Doll does not appear for work one day, Minouche goes looking for her in a shanty-town called Ivy-Town on the edge of the city. She is warned that Ivy-Town is too dangerous, but she is unaffected by these words

of caution. Minouche refuses to accept how the white community views the African-Americans with distrust, and insists upon seeing for herself. She maintains, in fact, that the people she encounters there are harmless: "Arme Luder. Nicht gefährlich. Aufhetzendes Geschwätz, daß die gefährlich sind, 'kriminell,' hier würde man vergewaltigt, beraubt, ermordet—alles Scheiße" (124).⁶⁶ Minouche also finds that Doll has a legitimate reason for not coming to work; her daughter had been inexplicably suspended from school (125). But on her way out of Ivy-Town, Minouche witnesses an African-American being shot by two police officers, who leave the man to die. Minouche imagines herself as the man, lying in the dust bleeding to death, which indicates her sense of identification and empathy for the African-Americans. The violence that was attributed to Ivy-Town by others is in fact, as Minouche observes, perpetrated by the whites themselves. The scene closes with another reference to Julie's experience: "ACHTUNG! ACHTUNG! HIER SPRICHT DIE POLIZEI!" (126). When Minouche returns home, she tells her husband she has decided to go to Poland, even without him and the children. Hence, Minouche's decision to flee the United States has little to do with an affinity for her Polish-Jewish heritage but rather results from racism, which she connects in her own mind with antisemitism. She sees herself, in her marginalization and alienation, as similar to the African-Americans. Lander develops this connection in both *Ein Sommer in der Woche der Itke K.* and *Die Töchter*, hence following in the footsteps of precursors such as André Schwarz-Bart and Anna Seghers, who connect the African and Jewish diasporic experience.

The third and oldest daughter, Héléne, lives with her husband and three sons in Haifa, Israel. Héléne's chapter interestingly presents two opposing viewpoints on the question of the choice of Israel, even though Lander herself, in spite of a visit to Israel,⁶⁷ chose Germany. Héléne, who fled with her husband Paul to Palestine after World War II, clearly represents a pro-Israel stance. Her response to Julie's letter, as opposed to Minouche's ridicule, is to question whether Poland is truly their homeland: "Was willst du nach Polen? Nach Israel! Hierher! . . . Du brauchst nicht Spuren der Vergangenheit zu suchen. Wir tragen unsere Geschichte gegenwärtig!" (131).⁶⁸ Héléne is a believer that the diaspora is not the answer for the Jewish people, and that Poland is "eng, schwarz, übel, beängstigend,"⁶⁹ although she has never been there. Israel is the only future for the Jewish people, according to Héléne. For Héléne, as a result, the instance of oppression that she links with that of Julie and Minouche is not an example of intolerance or racism against others, but the treatment of Jewish refugees to Palestine after the war. She worked with members of Mossad and the Palmach to assist in the preparation of the

Jews in displaced persons camps for the trip to Israel. They learned Hebrew (“Ivrit”), studied the geography of Palestine, and learned how to use weapons (133). However, when the ship arrives in the port of Haifa, the British prevent them from disembarking and eventually storm the ship and send the refugees to Cyprus. H el ene’s telling of this narrative references Julie and Minouche’s witnessing of oppression by quoting the British as repeatedly saying, “Attention! Attention!” (134). H el ene thus connects, through the layering of narratives, the treatment of Jewish refugees to Palestine after the war with Nazi German policies during the war, and hence reveals her own support of the foundation of the state of Israel.

H el ene’s youngest son Benjamin, however, presents an opposing viewpoint on the actions of the state of Israel, which is particularly depicted in his confrontation with his older brother Elija, who is in the military. Elija justifies his own involvement in attacks on Palestinian villages by saying that he does not want there to be a second Yad Vashem, referring to the Holocaust museum in Jerusalem (155). He claims that it was Jews like Benjamin who “marschiert . . . in die Gaskammer” (155).⁷⁰ Benjamin’s response counters the connection between Nazi Germany and the Arabs by arguing that the Jews need to face their own history, the role they played in World War II: “Wir m ussen unsere Vergangenheit bewaltigen, nicht die ihre, sondern die unsere” (156).⁷¹ He argues against the notion that Jews had no choice but to submit to the concentration camps because he feels the Jews then fail to take responsibility for their own actions at any time. He draws a comparison between blaming the Nazis for not giving the Jews any choice but to die and blaming the Arabs for not giving the Israelis a choice but to use violence against them: “Jetzt zwingt uns die arabische Welt, stark zu sein; zwingt uns, die Stiefel anzuziehen, die Peitsche in die Hand zu nehmen; zwingt uns, ihre D rfer auszuheben, sie zu vernichten. Da stimmt doch was nicht. Immer sind wir Opfer” (156–7).⁷² Benjamin’s inflammatory image of the Israelis as Nazis donning boots and bearing whips draws on a vocabulary that may be termed anti-Zionist. While Benjamin expresses Lander’s own questioning of the issue of the responsibility of the Jews,⁷³ Lander balances Benjamin’s voice with that of his mother. Ultimately, however, Benjamin’s voice for the oppressed links him most clearly with his aunts Julie and Minouche and their criticism of any form of violence or oppression, hence legitimating his critical view of Israel.

Benjamin’s representation of the oppressed comes through his allegiance with not only Arabs but specifically Arab Jews in Israel. At a family dinner on Shabbat at the opening of the chapter, Benjamin defends his relationship with Beryl, who is described as one of the “orientalischen Juden” (138). The “Oriental Jews,” also known as Arab Jews or Mizrahim, includes Jews from

Arab nations in the Middle East and may also be used to designate Jews of the Maghreb. In Israel, they have suffered discrimination as a result of their association with Christian and Muslim Arabs, and their culture and tradition have not been considered part of the Zionist version of history, which relies on the Ashkenazic narrative of expulsion from Europe.⁷⁴ Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin argues, in fact, that the Mizrahim suffer from discrimination in Israel because of a form of “orientalism” waged by the Ashkenazim against the Mizrahim (171–6), a new permutation of the orientalizing of the *Ostjuden* by German Jews in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Benjamin’s mother dislikes Beryl and disapproves of him going down to the lower city to go dancing with the Oriental Jews; H el ene’s family lives on Mount Carmel with the French Jews, while the Arabs and Mizrahim live below (143). Benjamin complains: “Es tut mir um so mehr weh, da  *meine Mutter* die Hetze gegen die orientalischen Juden mitmacht, anstatt sich sachlich zu informieren” (138). He claims that his family knows, “da  wir sie wie Dreck behandeln,”⁷⁵ and yet they are afraid to face this reality because of guilt. Benjamin’s sense of connection with the Arab Jews, the Jewish minority oppressed by the Israelis themselves, is set up in direct parallel with Minouche’s empathy for the African-Americans, hence emphasizing the importance of Benjamin’s voice in opposition to that of his family. In a later conversation, Benjamin also clarifies the similarity between the treatment of the Arabs and Mizrahim in Israel and that of the Jews in Europe: “Und dabei finde ich nur, da  die Araber und auch die asiatischen Juden diskriminiert werden, wie ehemals du und *Aba* und die Juden in Europa, and da  man was dagegen tun mu ” (172–3).⁷⁶ His mother, H el ene, refuses to see his point of view, but Benjamin completes the circle of oppression created by the text: from the Holocaust in Europe, to the socialists in West Germany, to the African-Americans in the United States, to the Arabs and Mizrahim in Israel, and back to the Jews in Europe. The final violent event which marks the novel also reveals the interconnection in the novel between the critique of any form of oppression and of the state of Israel.

H el ene is awakened in the middle of the night by sounds of police knocking down the door to their home. Her thoughts, as she comes to consciousness, transport her back to Vichy-France:

Soldats!

Gestapo!

Ils savent, que nous sommes juives!

Ils viennent!

Ils viennent, maman!

MAMAN! (160)⁷⁷

The police proceed to search the house, beat up Benjamin, and accuse the youngest son of being affiliated with an Israeli-Arab terrorist group (161–2). Hélène, in being reminded of her mother's fear of being discovered as Jewish, even though she is in Israel, thus sets up a string of connections between the oppressors: Nazi Germans, West German police, American police, and Israeli police. As a result, the previous instances of oppression in the novel ultimately culminate in a critique of the state of Israel, which suggests that the other examples should be considered retroactively in connection with a criticism of Israel. As Benjamin expresses, although in opposition to his own mother's protests, "Ich verurteile Gewalt. . . . Es gibt keine Rechtfertigung für Gewalt" (164).⁷⁸ Benjamin hence voices most clearly the argument that Lander makes by repeating *maman's* words at every moment of violence and injustice, regardless of who the perpetrators and the victims are. Eventually, Benjamin is able to explain to his parents why the police suspected him, although he is not a part of the terrorist group. "Ich "fraternisiere" mit israelischen Arabern. . . . Ich esse mit ihnen in ihren Lokalen, rauche Wasserpfeife, sie akzeptieren mich, sie lieben mich" (173).⁷⁹ His friendship alone, as an Ashkenazic Jew, with Arabs led him to be viewed with suspicion in Israel. Benjamin's outspoken defense of the Arabs and Mizrahim interestingly contrasts with the interactions in Boukhobza's text. The narrator does describe the impoverishment and marginalization of the Maghrebians, forced out into the desert, but she only briefly mentions the treatment of the Palestinians by the Israeli military; and even Henry, a Maghrebian Jew, is unable to feel accepted by the non-Jewish Arabs. However, the narrator of *Un été à Jérusalem* expresses a sentiment similar to Benjamin's in her critique of the war with Lebanon in the early 1980s, symbolized by her adoption of the persona of Mavrika. Boukhobza thus differs from Lander in her lack of recognition of the possibilities of solidarity with the Palestinians, but Boukhobza's stance against violent acts of the state of Israel links the two authors in their opposition to Israel as the solution to the Jewish diaspora.

As a result of the police raid, Hélène decides it is best to take Benjamin out of the country for a while, and this is the reason for their trip to Poland. Like Minouche, who leaves the United States because of encounters with racism, Hélène and Benjamin must depart because of the oppression of the Arabs in Israel. Julie is the only one of the three whose decision to go to Poland is related to a desire to rediscover her Polish-Jewish heritage. In fact, interestingly, Hélène's family's relationship with their heritage in Eastern Europe reveals divisions between family members, yet again. The family owns a store that sells Jewish religious artifacts on Mount Carmel, where they primarily have French- and German-Jewish customers (143–4). One day as

she assists a German-Jewish woman, a man comes in with dirty shoes and clothing who she identifies as “weder deutsch noch französisch” (144).⁸⁰ She dislikes that he handles greeting cards with his dirty hands, and she eyes him distrustfully. When he speaks, he insists upon speaking in Yiddish, “‘Scheene Sächalach,’ schöne Sachen, sagt er,” and Héléne’s thoughts immediately turn to her father, “‘Scheen,’ hat *papa* auch gesagt. . . . Sein ewiges Jiddisch ärgerte *maman*. . . . ‘*En France on parle Français!*’” (145).⁸¹ Héléne’s prejudice against the poor, Eastern European Jewish man stems from her French-Jewish mother’s own prejudice against her husband’s origins, which suggests that the *Ostjude* stereotype that influenced German Jews earlier in the century has now been transplanted to Israel. In Héléne’s chapter, thus, the introduction of Yiddish does not reveal her own sense of alienation in Israel, as the use of language functions in Julie and Minouche’s chapters; rather, the Yiddish-speaking man reveals Héléne’s own participation in the marginalization of non-German and non-French Jews in Israel. Héléne rejects the interruption of Yiddish into the German (i.e., Hebrew) because she feels complete certainty that Israel is home. The encounter with the Eastern European Jewish man leads Héléne to reconsider the trip to Poland, but she quickly dismisses the trip as unimportant, and argues that Hebrew (“Ivrit”) is the language they should be speaking: “Aber wir sind doch hier! Hier in Israel! Hier!” (146).⁸² Héléne thus has a monolithic understanding of the nation, where language itself represents national affiliation—“Sprache ist Heimat” (146; “language is home”)—that excludes the possibility of heterogeneity in Israel. The occasional inclusion of Hebrew words without translation in Héléne’s chapter, such as “Ivrit,” “Ima” (mom), “Aba” (dad), indicate the seamlessness of Héléne’s sense of belonging in Israel, rather than her sense of alienation. Significantly, it is Benjamin alone who ventures into an Orthodox synagogue while his parents go to a conservative one. Héléne is personally offended, indicating her own prejudice against this Eastern European Jewish tradition (150). Benjamin, however, is enthralled by the disorderly praying of the men in the synagogue. Thus, the novel clearly connects prejudice toward *Ostjuden*, Arabs, and Mizrahim in Israel, since Héléne embodies all three, and Benjamin is instead open to communication with all three groups.

Significantly, the trip to Poland does allow both Julie and Héléne to experience the memory of their father, which is evoked through the tastes and smells of Polish food and through language. As Marianne Goozé has argued, cuisine and cultural memory are closely tied in Lander’s works, since cooking is a realm where one may integrate many different identities, experiences, and locations.⁸³ As each branch of the family travels through Poland before they are reunited for the trip to Zamosc, where the father grew up,

Julie and her family wander into a market in Wrocław. Julie comes across a stand where the owner advertises, “*Smietana*,” and suddenly Julie is sunk into a reverie in Yiddish, “sagte *papa*, ‘*A Schälele Smietana a polnische! Un awade mit Jagdes mit frischen . . .*’” (191). The passage is left untranslated, as Julie remembers her father’s own raptures over a specialty from his childhood. Lander’s failure to translate the passage in Yiddish and others like it in the final chapter set in Poland creates the linguistic *métissage* attributed to exilic authors, because the melding of German and Yiddish in the text allows for the memory of her Eastern European Jewish father to enter into German literature. The specialty that Julie rediscovers is eventually translated into German as blueberries with cream when Kurt and Katinka try it, but Julie’s experience is a mix of Yiddish and German: “Julie ißt *Smietana* mit *Jagdes* auf dem Markt in der Markthalle in Wrocław in *papas Poilen*” (191).⁸⁴ Julie’s tasting of the dish is a catalyst for the recollection of her father’s stories in the Yiddish language, an evocation of cultural memory through food that her “German” family can not experience.⁸⁵ “*Smietana* mit *Jagdes*” is Julie’s “madeleine.” Similarly, Hélène and Benjamin walk to the village of Tarnegura, because Hélène feels the name sounds familiar, and as they venture into the town, her father’s stories come back to her in Yiddish of working in the summers at his uncle’s store in Tarnegura. She finds a store that matches her father’s description, and finds it filled with barrels of “Dillgurken,” “Rosinen,” “Nüssen,” and “grünen Einmachbirnchen,” “alles ist würzig, von einer haltbaren Würze ist alles” (194).⁸⁶ The smell of the spices in the store brings to life her own father’s childhood, and she suddenly understands that her father’s manner and way of living all stemmed from his youth in rural Poland. Julie’s hope that the trip to Poland would allow for the reconstruction of their Polish-Jewish heritage succeeds only in this way, when the tastes and smells of their father’s past in Poland remind them of their father’s stories in Yiddish. These intangible, fleeting elements of their familial history are, however, all that is left for them, because the concrete evidence of their father and grandfather’s life and death remain elusive.

Julie goes to the graveyard in Warsaw where her grandfather was supposedly buried, carrying the photo of the grave that her father also carried when he came in 1941. The Jewish cemetery is impenetrable, lacking a door in the wall, overgrown with weeds and jumbles of gravestones (205–6). As Julie struggles to climb through the entanglement in search of her grandfather’s grave, she finds a memorial to the officers who died in Warsaw in 1939, presumably during the German invasion. She becomes angered by this memorial, which blocks the true memorials to families, and then wonders why she is searching for this gravestone for a grandfather she never knew.

She leaves the cemetery and “sucht nicht mehr” (206; “searches no more”). Instead of finding the grave, Julie realizes the uselessness of actually searching for it in the first place. She envisioned the entire trip in order to complete the cycle of return to Poland begun by her grandfather and father, but in Poland she realizes that this concrete marker would mean nothing to her. Had her father experienced the same disillusionment in his search? The daughters’ search for the father’s resting place is equally dissatisfying when they travel to Zamosc. In their guidebooks, they find a “Rotunda” in which the sole explanation is, “Hier fanden die Erschießungen statt” (225).⁸⁷ This is the only remnant of their father’s existence; there is no gravesite to visit. One of the visitors comments on the circular shape of the rotunda: “Rotunda. Kreis. Kein Ende. Kein erkennbarer Anfang” (225).⁸⁸ The circle recalls the endless cycle of return that Julie describes as the only evidence of her heritage. The fragmentation of Jewish genealogy and the lack of a Jewish origin is evoked in this passage, and is reminiscent of the work of German-Jewish women writers like Esther Dischereit, who, in *Joëmis Tisch*, also focuses on the “absence of Jewish bodies” that prevents survivors of the Holocaust from being able to mourn properly.⁸⁹

In the end, the three daughters use their own bodies to symbolically revive the Jewish community that once was in Zamosc. They come across the mikvah, where the Jewish women would come for their ritual baths once a month, but it is abandoned and empty of water. The three women sit around the empty mikvah in the final scene of the novel, and each expresses her understanding of her place in the world as a Jew and a woman. Minouche argues that husbands and families do not offer happiness or peace, that they are “allein und egalwo” (228).⁹⁰ In other words, for her, family and heritage do not define her nor does she ever feel at home anywhere; she is alone anywhere in the world. Héléne disagrees, telling her that “deine Geschichte . . . bestimmt dich weiter” (228). She again calls to the other two to move to Israel, because, “Ihr habt nichts, womit ihr Familie und Nation ersetzen könnt” (230).⁹¹ Héléne has internalized the belief that Israel is the answer to the Jewish diaspora, and she finds the meaning of her life in her family living in Israel. But Julie has the last word, arguing that family and nation can not be so all-consuming that one forgets the rest of the world: “Es gibt Welt” (230).⁹² Julie reminds her sisters of the importance of not allowing power and violence to divide ethnic groups and classes (230); she expresses the meaning of the repetition of the same phrases in the novel every time antisemitism, racism, or oppression appears, that one must not become so involved in one’s own family and history that one is unaware of the violence and injustice in the world. This conclusion to their search for their Polish-Jewish origins

reveals that the search itself was unimportant. The encounters they had along the way that brought them to Poland—the remaining antisemitism in Germany, racism in the United States, and oppression of Arabs and Mizrahim in Israel—were the actual goal of the trip. Their Jewish origins are fragmented and irrevocable, but they have a responsibility as Jews, and survivors of the Nazi period, to resist violence and oppression.

Both Boukhobza and Lander interrupt previous interpretations of Deleuze and Guattari's theory of nomad thought because of their status as both transnational and Jewish. Both authors expand on the notions of de/reterritorialization of the major language because they do not merely stretch and redefine the national language. Boukhobza's text differs from the work of other Maghrebian writers of French because she does not focus on the mourning of the lost homeland in the Maghreb through a deterritorialization of French. Instead of creating a hybrid language, she presents a hybrid argument by engaging in a multiplication of lines of argumentation into dual, contradictory viewpoints. Her narrator is divided into two prominent Jewish female figures—Sarah and the Shekhinah—and expresses simultaneous, opposing opinions on Tunisian heritage, the Jewish tradition, and Israel. However, the self-contradictory figure of Mavrika embodies the challenge to the state of Israel and its solution as a homeland for the Jewish people. Hence, Boukhobza's concerns diverge from those of Maghrebian-Jewish authors in France who focus on the history of colonialism and antisemitism in the Maghreb because of her need to respond to the existence of the state of Israel in her definition of herself as a diasporic Jew. Furthermore, the fact that the narrator chooses Israel over France reflects the difficult positioning of Jews in France and North Africa since the Arab-Israeli conflict began. Lander, on the other hand, who does engage in literary *métissage*, differs from both German-Jewish and Maghrebian writers because she does not merely disrupt and inhabit German, but instead embraces her transnationalism itself as her homeland. She does not just reterritorialize German; rather, she is exploding boundaries between nations and languages and finding home in the diaspora and in multiple locations. Her three Jewish female characters embody these simultaneous homelands, and her use of multiple languages creates not a hybrid language for Jews in each land but rather presents the different constellations of languages participating in the marginalization of Jews or groups of Jews in each nation. Like Boukhobza, Lander presents different viewpoints on the possibility of Israel as a solution to the Jewish diaspora, but ultimately, the criticism of Israel resounds. Interestingly, she expresses this criticism in conjunction with thematic connections between antisemitism, political oppression, racism, and orientalism toward Arabs and

Mizrahim in Israel. Lander's nomadic tendencies are thus not limited to criticism of imperialism but also extend to include the expression of solidarity with other ethnic groups. In particular, Lander's connection of stereotypes of *Ostjuden* and of Arab Jews in Israel draws Arnold Zweig's deconstruction of the *Ostjude* stereotype in *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (De Vriendt Returns Home) into the present, tracing the development of the orientalization of Jews by Jews into the post-Holocaust period. Thus, Boukhobza and Lander, as Jewish writers, engage in a particularly complex nomadism because of their critique of Israel's violence and imperialism as expressed in the war with Lebanon or in its oppression of Arabs and Mizrahim. They not only reject Israel as the solution to the end of the actual nomadism of the Jewish people but they also criticize the arborescent—nationalist, imperialist, orientalist—nature of the state of Israel. After the foundation of Israel, European-Jewish responses to the Middle East were necessarily transformed, since Israel became not only the official Jewish homeland but also garnered criticism for its own complicity with European imperialism. In contrast to the idealized visions created by Arnold Zweig and Else Lasker-Schüler, Israel post-1948 became a real state, with all of the moral burdens and responsibilities of a nation. The voices of Boukhobza and Lander evince the development of the European-Jewish struggle between identification with and opposition to the Orient as the location of Jewish identity and origin, a struggle that can only continue to evolve in the future.

Conclusion

Theodor Herzl's suggestion of three different sites of imperialism to create a Jewish state—Asia, Africa, and the Americas—is reversed by the European-Jewish authors addressed in this book, who instead try to free all three continents from colonization. The Jewish orientalisms discussed here exhibit not only internal and intertextual diversity but also geographical variation, and these scattered locations become the sites of struggle for European-Jewish writers in negotiating the connections between orientalism and antisemitism. In contending with Zionism in Palestine/Israel, racism in the United States and the Caribbean, and antisemitism in Europe, these authors have criticized the history of injustice and envisioned coalition between Jews and other ethnic groups. The geographical scope of the locations of resistance to orientalism further intersects with the geographical diversity of the Jewish people. European-Jewish writers have imagined a *Muskeljude* based on a Germanic type, idealized the Eastern European *Ostjude*, and protested the marginalization of Arab Jews in Israel. This book thus also traces the historical development of the orientalizing of the Jews by Western European Jews, which exhibits most acutely the dilemma facing European-Jewish writers in responding to the imbrication of orientalism and antisemitism.

The central characters in European-Jewish writers' responses to orientalism are hybrid, intermediary figures who fulfill the role of the "third." To create these liminal, revolutionary characters, Jewish writers repeatedly evoked the stereotype of the *Ostjude*, who had come to embody negative Jewish, feminine, and oriental characteristics under Herzlian Zionism. The reappropriation of the *Ostjude* as a model for Western European Jews, which is performed in differing ways by Buber, Zweig, Lasker-Schüler, and Seghers (Chapters 1, 2, and 3), reverses these negative connotations and instead embraces the *Ostjude's* intermediary, uncertain status. Out of the *Ostjude*, these authors construct gender-bending, cross-dressing characters, situated

between Muslim and Jew, black and white, feminine and masculine, and gay and straight, whose unique positioning affords them the greatest power to promote change. They serve as potential mediators between different groups and advocates of freedom from imperialist control. Their subversive power derives from their location in-between, on the border between gender, sexual, ethnic, or national categories. Jewish drag, in other words, signifies the potential for unified resistance between Jews and other peoples against oppressive power and authority.

This tendency in European-Jewish literature to challenge imperialist authority has generally been disregarded in literary criticism, however, because of the focus on associating Zionism with orientalism. Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin expresses this perspective in Kalmar and Penslar's *Orientalism and the Jews*. In a discussion of nineteenth-century European-Jewish scholarship about the Orient, he states: "It seems to me, however, that Jews did not really offer an alternative approach to orientalism. . . . Jews did not necessarily challenge the dichotomies (or the classification itself) and in fact often reproduced them through an identification with the images and ideals attributed to the 'West,' distancing themselves from negative characteristics attributed to the 'East'" (165). He argues that Jewish scholars of orientalism were merely trying to distinguish between Jews and Muslims in order to facilitate their own integration into European society (165). Directly after these comments, however, Raz-Krakotzkin turns to Zionism as evidence of orientalist attitudes in the twentieth century, hence reiterating the claim that Jews are only "perpetrators of orientalism," which Kalmar and Penslar protest in their introduction (xi–xv). As my study represents, the connections between orientalism and Jewish thought in the twentieth century are much more complex, at times contradictory, and not so easily reduced to an equation of Zionism with imperialism. Of course, the European-Jewish literature considered here was specifically selected because of its revolutionary intent and can not be considered to represent the views of all European Jews. Late twentieth-century European-Jewish writers and filmmakers, for example, express divided loyalties to Israel. Some, like Lander, accept the difficulties of living in Europe because of political opposition to Israel, others prefer Israel as a result of continuing antisemitism in Europe, and others thematize this dilemma facing European Jews.¹ The intent of this book, however, was to interrupt the association of the Jewish people with the state of Israel and instead to deliberately reveal the criticisms of imperialism and oppression evident in European-Jewish literature.

The suppression of Jewish literature promoting solidarity across ethnic boundaries against European oppression, furthermore, has not been accidental.

The apparently problematic hybridity of André Schwarz-Bart's Jewish/Caribbean novels has led to the erasure of his authorship from these novels. Zweig's novel *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (De Vriendt Returns Home) has faced a similar silencing historically, viewed as too Zionist in Nazi Germany and the GDR, and anti-Zionist in Israel. De Vriendt's promotion of Jewish-Arab coalition and his ambivalent relationship with Zionism has in fact led critics not to read his narrative in the context of a discussion of Zionism.² Lander's novel *Die Töchter* (The Daughters), which criticizes oppression from the multiple perspectives of the United States, Germany, and Israel, has never been the subject of a scholarly article, while her other, geographically concentrated novels have been treated extensively in criticism. The suppression of these texts is the result of the limitations of institutionalized critical models. The authors whose work is considered here are on the cusp of different identities, loyalties, and locations—Europe, the Americas, and the Middle East—and their literary works correspondingly defy the compartmentalization of national literatures and ethnic studies at the university. The segregation of knowledge at the university on the basis of ethnic or national categories has led to the exclusion of such texts. In particular, institutionalized disciplinary approaches have concealed the potential for dialogue among Jewish, Arab, and African diasporic experience, which is central to the writing considered in this study. My goal in pursuing this project was therefore to explore the space created at the intersection of Jewish studies, gender studies, and transnational and postcolonial studies. The overlapping of disciplines fosters the study of hybrid texts and facilitates understanding of issues on the borders of academic fields. The interlacing strands of these theoretical approaches wind through my book, combining and interweaving to reveal the interdependency of Jewish studies with studies of race, gender, and oppression.

My hope is that this book will encourage the integration of Jewish literature into cultural, transnational, and postcolonial studies, fields where Jewish literature is often not included in research and course syllabi. The concept of the diaspora originates in the history of the dispersion of the Jewish people, and the specific cultural-political circumstances of Jewish diasporic experience have the potential to provide new and variegated perspectives on minority, exilic, transnational, and postcolonial literature when brought into this discussion. The development of transnational and transcolonial studies particularly raises the question of dialogue among Jewish and Muslim writers in Europe, who coexist in the wake of dislocations and migrations caused by the legacy of political conflicts that connect North Africa, Europe, and the Middle East. The history of French colonialism, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and European national identity politics have all affected Jews and Muslims in particular and unique ways. The differing response of Jewish and

Muslim writers to this transnational conflict is one of the avenues of study that are opened up with the recognition of the diversity of Jewish writing in relation to orientalism. This book has focused on European-Jewish authors who consistently relate their own experiences as European Jews with those of other groups subjected to European oppression, and, in order for these voices to be heard, boundaries between Jewish studies and other disciplines must become increasingly tolerant and permeable.

Notes

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. "And I built Jehovah a temple from eternal celestial light." Lasker-Schüler, *Die Nächte der Tino von Bagdad* (The Nights of Tino of Baghdad) 67–8. English translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.
2. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture* 50, 60; Boyarin, *Unheroic* 302–3; Herzl 147–9; Overberg 89.
3. Nina Berman's *Orientalismus, Kolonialismus, und Moderne* (1997) and Donna Heizer's *Jewish-German Identity in the Orientalist Literature of Else Lasker-Schüler, Friedrich Wolf, and Franz Werfel* (1996) both offer investigations into early twentieth-century German-Jewish literature, but their conclusion is that these writers betrayed their complicity with orientalism through their depiction of Arabs. Daniel Boyarin's *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (1997) includes a historical study of the relationship between Zionism, imperialism, and European ideals of masculinity, again suggesting the problematic interweaving of Zionism and orientalism. More recent books have explored other possible intersections of Jewish studies and postcolonial studies, although in different ways than my book. The volume *Orientalism and the Jews* (2005), edited by Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar, is dedicated to tracing the theme of orientalism in European art and thought from the Middle Ages to the present, but some articles equate orientalism with Zionism (see Conclusion of this book). Furthermore, European-Jewish writing since 1945 is generally overlooked in favor of that of Israel. Yaron Peleg's *Orientalism and the Hebrew Imagination* (2005) studies Hebrew-language literary texts written between 1910 and 1920 by Jewish settlers or visitors to Palestine. Peleg's book examines how Jewish nationalism fits into orientalism, but answers this question by focusing on writing from the perspective of the early Jewish settlements of Palestine, as opposed to the European positioning of the authors and broader historical and geographical context considered in my book.

4. Moore-Gilbert 5, 16, 34.
5. Said, *Orientalism* 3, 94.
6. Moore-Gilbert 36–7; Said, *Orientalism* 7, 23.
7. Moore-Gilbert 41, 49–57, 62–7.
8. Moore-Gilbert 46–7; Said, *Orientalism* 19.
9. “These other forms of dependence and dominance produced and produce cultural discourses, which display structural and functional similarities to the type of colonial Orient discourse that Said analyzes.”
10. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* xi-xiii, 3–25
11. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* 508–10.
12. Boyarin, “Masada” 306–7, 318–9; Hoberman 143; Mosse, *Image* 2–13.
13. Boyarin, *Unheroic* 300–1; Luft 36–42.
14. Boyarin, *Unheroic* 277–304; Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality* 17.
15. Boyarin, *Unheroic* 6. See also Boyarin, “Masada” 306–11; *Unheroic* 12.
16. See Sieg 11–28.
17. Isenberg, *Beyond Redemption* 28–9; Zischler 145, 152–4.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. While Zionism is in fact a very complex and diverse movement that can not be reduced to the work of three writers, these three Zionist leaders are particularly significant for my argument because German-Jewish authors Arnold Zweig and Else Lasker-Schüler responded specifically to their ideas and were in fact well acquainted with Martin Buber himself (see Chapter 2).
2. Hobsbawm 31–4, 47, 102–120.
3. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture* 41; Overberg 44–46.
4. The following translations of Herder’s *Ideen* are by T. Churchill, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man* (New York: Bergman, 1966). “human national plant” (349); “culture, freedom, and security of Europe” (482); “warlike courage” . . . “the times of David and the Maccabees” (333); . . . the Jewish people “have been . . . almost from their beginning, parasitical plants, on the trunks of other nations; a race of cunning brokers, almost throughout the whole World; who, in spite of all oppression, have never been inspired with an ardent passion for their own honour, for a habitation, for a country, of their own” (336).
5. Boyarin, *Unheroic* 273–4.
6. Overberg 43–4.
7. Overberg 56, 61–2.
8. See Lessing, “Siebzehnter Brief”; Goethe, “Literarischer Sansculottismus.”
9. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture* 40–76, 82–3.
10. Overberg 56.
11. Foucault 217–9, 281, 287–292; Said, *Orientalism* 22.

12. Bernal 226; Foucault 292; Kontje, *German Orientalisms* 106–7; Said, *Orientalism* 98–9.
13. Fest 54; Overberg 52–5.
14. Said, *Orientalism* 139–45, 231–4.
15. Fest 55; Overberg 52.
16. Craig 83–4, 93; Hobsbawm 108, 120.
17. Aschheim, *Brothers* 5, 78; *Culture* 45–6.
18. Aschheim, *Culture* 47; Fest 55; Overberg 48–60.
19. Mosse, *Crisis* 11; Stern 3–4, 32–3, 56–64.
20. Mosse, *Crisis* 24–5; Stern 100–1, 122–8, 138–141, 147–9.
21. Mosse, *Crisis* 150–8; Stern 154, 176–8.
22. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture* 9.
23. Aschheim, *Brothers* 87; Mosse, “Max Nordau” xxv.
24. Schulte 343–4.
25. Baldwin 105–6.
26. Schulte 344; Söder 475–82.
27. Boyarin, *Unheroic* 302–3; Mosse, *Image* 7–9.
28. Boyarin, *Unheroic* 284; Hoberman 141–3; Luft 36–46; Mosse, *Nationalism* 17.
29. Boyarin, *Unheroic* 300.
30. Boyarin, *Unheroic* 274–6.
31. Aschheim, *Brothers* 3–7, 11, 32.
32. Aschheim, *Brothers* 36–7, 39–42, 48; Fest 26–7, 39.
33. Aschheim, *Brothers* 28; Mendes-Flohr, “Fin de Siècle” 81–2.
34. Mendes-Flohr, “Fin de Siècle” 82.
35. Aschheim, *Brothers* 28; Mattenklott 291; Mendes-Flohr, “Fin de Siècle” 83.
36. Aschheim, *Brothers* 74–7.
37. Aschheim, *Brothers* 67.
38. Mattenklott 292–4.
39. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture* 29–36; Mosse, “Max Nordau” xiii–xiv; Overberg 7.
40. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture* 9–10, 19–39; Overberg 61–4.
41. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture* 53; Boyarin, *Unheroic* 296–99; Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred* 140–1; *Difference* 152.
42. Overberg 67, 92–3.
43. “The Jews are here placed within European tradition, as allies of the Christians against the Muslims.”
44. Overberg 88–89, 95–96.
45. Baldwin 101, 109; Nordau, *Zionistische Schriften* 45–6, 486; Schulte 350.
46. Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture* 34; Nordau, *Zionistische Schriften* 39–43, 48.
47. Political Zionism “denies all mysticism” and “does not depend upon a miracle for the return to Palestine, rather will bring it about through its own effort.”

48. “uneducated masses who rely on old traditions”; “mystical tendencies and religious emotions”; “educated and free Jews.”
49. Aschheim, *Brothers* 87.
50. Nordau, *Zionistische Schriften* 26; Overberg 21.
51. “vague feelings” such as “piety” and “archaeological-historical sentimentality.”
52. . . . ten million “feel very unhappy in their place of residence” (36). The Zionists “want to save 8 to 10 million of their tribesmen from unbearable poverty and suffering” (37).
53. Aschheim, *Brothers* 88.
54. Aschheim, *Brothers* 88; Nordau 22.
55. Nordau 426; Spoerk 267–8.
56. Gilman, *Difference* 157–8.
57. Nordau 426; Spoerk 269.
58. Gilman, *Difference* 161.
59. “We would endeavor to do in the Near East what the English did in India—I mean the cultural work, not the domination—we propose to come to Palestine as the emissaries of civilized behavior and to push the moral boundaries of Europe up to the Euphrates.”
60. Dieckhoff 289–295.
61. Aschheim, *Brothers* 95–6, 100, 112, 122; Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture* 40–1, 45; Mendes-Flohr, “Fin de Siècle” 83.
62. Aschheim, *Brothers* 123–7, 132; Buber, *On Judaism* viii, 27–9, 42–53; Friedman, Vol. I, 3–11; Mendes-Flohr, “Fin de Siècle” 84. For Buber’s influence on Arnold Zweig, see Chapter 2.
63. Buber, *On Judaism* 57–60.
64. The connection between the figure of the *Ostjude* and the Jew as oriental, which is very much intertwined in the thought of Buber, has been brought into question by Nina Berman. Berman argues that the movement in the early twentieth century led by Martin Buber involved a redefinition of Jews as Asian or Oriental (266). This movement, to which Berman also attributes Hans Kohn and Jakob Wassermann, struggled to create a minority identity within German society that rejected assimilation and modernity and embraced oriental and religious ideals (264, 267, 270–1). Berman connects this tendency with Deleuze and Guattari’s notion of a deterritorialization of language, in which a minority group creates a literature in the dominant language that expresses its own political agenda (273). Berman’s idea that Buber and others were participating in the creation of an Oriental-Jewish minority identity overlooks the importance of the developing image of the *Ostjude* in German-Jewish identity formation. While she notes that one journal that encouraged a new Jewish self-definition did try to bring Eastern European Jewish traditions to German Jews, she comments that “[d]er Begriff vom Juden als Orientalen ist jedoch nicht unbedingt mit dem vom oftmals mythisierten *Ostjuden* identisch”

(272; “the concept of the Jews as Orientals is not necessarily identical with the often mysticized Eastern European Jews”). Berman’s understanding of the major transformation in Jewish identity in Western Europe in the early twentieth century as merely the creation of an orientalized, minority identity is problematic because she ignores the longer, historical process of defining the *Ostjude* in Western Jewish thought, as well as the intimate connection between the *Ostjude* and the Jew as oriental in Buber’s thought. Since the *Ostjude* has clearly been defined as “oriental” since the early nineteenth century and as an upholder of Jewish religious authenticity since the late nineteenth century, the idea of the Jew as oriental is more likely to be part of the larger process of defining Western European Jewish identity in relationship to the *Ostjuden*.

65. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred* 273.
66. Friedman, Vol. I, 31–2
67. Aschheim, *Nietzsche Legacy* 104–6.
68. “The East is a treasure-trove of warmth, strength, and passion. It can have a refreshing and rejuvenating effect on the West. It can make the still-existing seeds germinate and develop new energies. The West has a harmonious, sound education, an understanding for order and organization, for societal and social life. It can have a regulating, taming, and educational effect on the East. It can make the fallow energies here useful and put the passions in service of reason.” Qtd. in Mattenklott 296.
69. Buber, *On Judaism* 57–60.
70. Friedman, Vol. I, 32.
71. Friedman, Vol. II, 34; Mendes-Flohr, *A Land* 16–17, 38–9.
72. Qtd. in Mendes-Flohr, *A Land* 40, 41.
73. Friedman, Vol. I, 267–71; Mendes-Flohr, *A Land* 47–8.
74. Qtd. in Mendes-Flohr, *A Land* 61.
75. Friedman, Vol. I, 273–4; Vol. II, 9–12; Mendes-Flohr, *A Land* 62–3.
76. Boyarin, *Unheroic* 311; Mosse, *Image* 13.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. The connections between the Orient, homosexuality, and transvestism have been particularly identified by Joseph Boone (90, 103–4) and Marjorie Garber (342). Edward Said’s *Orientalism* recognizes the perceived danger of sexuality in the Orient but avoids the issue of same-sex desire (188). For stereotypes of the Jews or *Ostjuden* and sexuality see Aschheim 3–31; Boyarin, *Unheroic* 296; Brenner 15; Garber 226–7; Mendes-Flohr 81–3; Mosse, *Nationalism*.
2. Alt 20, 22–3, 25–6; Mendes-Flohr, *A Land* 47; Witznitzer 21–2.
3. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 12/16/1912. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 321–2.
4. Buber, *On Judaism* 29, 31–2, 43–9, 52–3.

5. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 321–2, 345; Arnold-Zweig-Archiv (AZA) 6254. The originals of the letters from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber in AZA are located in the Martin Buber Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 350, The Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, Israel.
6. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 11/17/1913. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 347.
7. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 427.
8. Buber, *On Judaism* 56–78.
9. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 4/26/1916. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 427–8.
10. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 2/8/1918. AZA 6268. For excerpts from this unpublished letter, see Alt 20.
11. AZA 6262; Bodenheimer 90–3; Thielking 24–6; Müller 161–2.
12. Isenberg, *Beyond Redemption* 56; Aschheim, *Brothers* 143–50.
13. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred* 270–1; Mendes-Flohr, “Fin de siècle” 81–3.
14. Letters from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 8/1/1915 (AZA 6258) and 1/1/1916 (AZA 6259).
15. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 5/13/1918. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 534.
16. Letters from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 10/31/1917 (AZA 6266) and 8/24/1918 (AZA 6273).
17. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 10/21/1918. AZA 6276. For a brief excerpt from the unpublished letters from this period, see Alt 21. Letters from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 11/6/1918 and 11/26/1918. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, 9, 14.
18. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 1/1/1916. AZA 6259. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 3/29/1921. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, 72–3.
19. See Aschheim, *Brothers* 83–6.
20. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 6/6/1921. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, 77.
21. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 12/27/1917. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 520.
22. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 5/13/1918. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 534.
23. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 4/3/1919. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, 34–5. For background on Buber’s views on Arab rights, see Mendes-Flohr, *A Land* 16–17, 38–9.
24. Thielking 27–8; Morris, “Reading the Face” 189.
25. “. . . the praying Eastern European Jew is in his rapture closer to the dervish than to any modern Jew . . .”
26. Morris, “Reading the Face” 190–5.
27. “. . . this renewal . . . is . . . a concern of the people in the deepest part in their beings—a religious one.”

28. Isenberg, "To Pray Like a Dervish" 95, 108.
29. "... feminized ... inactive, static, faceless, timeless, without language or the possibility of a self-representation ... passive, ahistorical, and oriental. . . ." Morris, "Arnold Zweig" 174–5.
30. Morris, "Reading the Face" 191–6; "Arnold Zweig" 172–5.
31. Stern 140–1.
32. Buber, *On Judaism* 71–4.
33. Aschheim, *Brothers* 193–5; Friedman II, 6–7.
34. AZA 6268.
35. Aschheim, *Brothers* 202; Buber, *On Judaism* 74–7; Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred* 299; Schumacher 58.
36. Aschheim, *Brothers* 87–88; Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred* 299–300; Nordau, *Zionistische Schriften* 424–6.
37. "The Jew is in spirit perhaps oriental—some certainly argue against this—but he is most definitely Mediterranean."
38. "Northern peoples, mixed peoples"; "struggles between brothers, between those who are alike."
39. "Countries change people."
40. "The Jew is constructed with, founded on, and veined with the essential layers and elements that his history has given him."
41. Buber, *On Judaism* 60–1, 64–6.
42. "Will to renew, a fundamental component of the Jews."
43. Buber, *On Judaism* 71–78; Zweig, *Das neue Kanaan* 175–6; Thielking 67–8.
44. Zweig, *Das neue Kanaan* 166. For a discussion of Zionist propaganda at the time, see Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture* 145–6, 215; *Western Jewry* 92, 97–103.
45. Thielking 75–7; Schumacher 70.
46. "... a natural order of life begins, as it reigned in antiquity and Talmudic Judaism and in the Russian-Jewish East in good times: work with the body without the darkening of the spirit, where it truly is light." Zweig, *Das neue Kanaan* 201.
47. "Protest of the body against the overcultivated head."
48. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred* 291; Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture* 108.
49. "They must attempt to find a comradely livelihood and togetherness with the fellahin [Arab peasants]."
50. Buber, *On Judaism* 78. See also Zweig, "Das jüdische Palästina" 85; Thielking 44–5.
51. "The national home of the Jews will only be in Palestine and can only be built with the approval of the Arabs of Palestine."
52. Cohen 136; Thielking 81.
53. "... which is evident in the gesture of the minarets, the contour of the houses, and the gait and posture of these people."
54. Freud, *Briefwechsel* 53; Salamon 128; Cohen 128.

55. Thielking 118–134.
56. Berkowitz, “Doubled Trouble” 112–5.
57. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 534; Vol. II, 34–5.
58. The trip to Palestine and the environs is described in Arnold Zweig’s journal from the year 1932. AZA 2620.
59. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Sigmund Freud, 5/29/1932. Freud, *Briefwechsel* 53. Michael Berkowitz points out that in 1932, Zweig would have been informed that de Haan was murdered by a group of right-wing Zionists, and Zweig’s version of events is based on this premise. Berkowitz has uncovered, however, that de Haan was actually assassinated by the Haganah (the Jewish Defense Forces of Israel) with the knowledge of the Labor Zionist party. See Berkowitz, “Doubled Trouble” 112–5; “Rejecting Zion” 115–6.
60. “the Fall of the Zionist movement.” Cohen 128.
61. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Martin Buber, 7/1/1932. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, 443–4.
62. Schumacher 189–98; Thielking 194–234.
63. “Criticism from modern nationalism of Jewish nationalism, criticism from the post-war world of our Jewish post-war world, clarification of the struggles of ideas in our shattered epoch” such as “the ideas and principles of our Jewish Zionist and socialist epoch.” Zweig, “Modell, Dokument und Dichtung,” *De Vriendt kehrt heim* 283.
64. Hermand 64–7.
65. The dates of the dictation are clearly evident in Arnold Zweig’s journal from the year 1932. AZA 2620. See Hermand 67–9 for a discussion of his relationship with Lily Offenstadt.
66. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Beatrice Zweig, 2/17/1933. AZA 3451.
67. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Beatrice Zweig, 2/25/1933. AZA 3455.
68. Beatrice’s responses to Zweig’s affair as expressed in her letters are telling, since she barely seems disturbed by the affair or his letters, dismissing his attempts to psychoanalyze her and their marriage and insisting that she wants everyone to be happy. Letters from Beatrice Zweig to Arnold Zweig, 2/12/1933 (AZA 3663), 2/23/1933 (AZA 3666), 3/15/1933 (3675).
69. Letters from Arnold Zweig to Beatrice Zweig, 3/5/1933 (AZA 3458), 3/11/1933 (AZA 3460).
70. Arnold Zweig’s journal from 1933. AZA 2621.
71. Arnold Zweig’s journal entry from 9/21/1933. AZA 2621. For excerpts from unpublished letters and diaries about the relationship between Beatrice, Lily, and Zweig, see Hermand 68–9.
72. Thielking and Schumacher both remove de Vriendt from the Zionist narrative because of his sexual orientation and instead argue that minor characters who embrace Marxism or socialism actually represent the heroes of Zweig’s novel (Thielking 174–5, 233, 250–2; Schumacher 182–4, 191–5).

73. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Sigmund Freud, 5/29/1932. Freud, *Briefwechsel* 53. See Hermand 64–7.
74. “About Zweig that says, I find, very little, but possibly [it says something] about his interpreters.” Walter 419.
75. Hermand 60, 67, 72–3; Alt 24; Thielking 17.
76. Said 188; Boone 99–100.
77. Mann, “Deutschland” 250.
78. Thomas Mann’s association of multiple locales south or east of Germany with the Orient has been observed by Todd Kontje, and Robert Tobin has identified Mann’s particular link between Italy and homosexual freedom because of the lack of sodomy laws in this region. See Kontje, *German Orientalisms* 148; Tobin, “Making Way” 315, 332.
79. “The air in the little streets was odiously oppressive, so thick that the smells surging out of the dwellings, shops, and restaurants, a suffocating vapor of oil, perfume, and more, all hung out and failed to disperse.” Translation by Clayton Koelb, *Death in Venice* (New York: Norton, 1994) 29. All subsequent translations of *Der Tod in Venedig* are from Koelb.
80. “. . . little streets, canals, bridges, and piazzas in the labyrinth” (59).
81. “. . . never before seen here and thought to be at home only in the southern parts of the country and in the seraglios of the orient” (55).
82. “The brown exotic, with swollen lips and swinging earrings, is nothing, it appears to us, in comparison with the ice-green slit eyes and the cheekbones of the steppes.”
83. “his soft, indistinct speech” (24).
84. “drawn out cry of uuu at the end” and “something both sweet and wild” (28).
85. “white as ivory” (22).
86. “His face . . . was framed with honey-colored curls . . . a lovely mouth . . . reminiscent of Greek statues from the noblest period of antiquity” (21).
87. Boone 92, 99–103.
88. “an infusion of new blood” (6); “excitement in his blood” (34); “sun, leisure, and sea air made to his daily increase in strength in a generous, extravagant burst of enthusiasm and sentiment” (40); “feelings from long ago” (41).
89. Tobin, “Why Is Tadzio” 217, 222, 231.
90. Boone 95, 99.
91. Tobin, “Making Way” 308–329, 331–3; “Why Is Tadzio” 211.
92. Tobin, “Why Is Tadzio” 222.
93. Tobin, “Why Is Tadzio” 226.
94. “He is sickly” (29); “medicinally sweet smell” (44); “this heinous secret belonging to the city” is fused with “his own innermost secret” (45).
95. Tobin, “Why Is Tadzio” 229.
96. Zweig, “Das jüdische Palästina” 85; Buber, *On Judaism* 78.
97. Buber, *On Judaism* 78.

98. “. . . a fascinating piece of naked rock that builds a bridge between the desert and the Mediterranean, Asia and Africa.”
99. Marmorstein 6–7.
100. “shy and retiring.”
101. “‘I hated them, when back at home they ran to synagogue with their black clothes, sidelocks, and boots, their eyes moving as they shook, gurgled, and howled oidedoi! . . . and a boy is not allowed to play or learn a craft; instead, he has to sit in school.’”
102. “A father’s home in a Slovakian village apparently can not be so quickly eradicated.”
103. “. . . a childish figure with a red tarboosh on his head, a white shirt, red belt, and naked dark brown legs in wide pants.”
104. Boone 99–100, 102.
105. Said, *Orientalism* 188; Boone 93–6.
106. “One who loves a child with passion as an adult looks for him in himself. . . . The little one must be there again. . . .”
107. Thielking 209–11.
108. “. . . in a strange way a circle was here closed, an ‘I’ had returned and found his ‘I,’ the hated current of life had to flow backwards; he embraces his source . . .”
109. “. . . over the boundary of human life, toward annihilation.”
110. “‘We aren’t in Egypt. The friendship of a grown man and an Arab boy is not an everyday occurrence here, and some families look unkindly at the actions of their offspring.’”
111. Boone 93–6.
112. Abraham “was a strict critic.”
113. “Your ears are stuffed with wool and cotton and wax/Your hands are smooth like the skin of trout and salmon and can not help.”
114. Thielking 125.
115. See Zweig, *De Vriendt kehrt heim* 14, 60–1, 95–6.
116. Hewitt 120–9; Tobin, “Making Way” 322–6; Tobin, “Why is Tadzio” 218–9.
117. Press 322–3.
118. “‘This one here [de Vriendt] belongs to us; he knows exactly that this is our last chance, but he sells us out to the Arabs anyway.’”
119. “‘Treason kills.’”
120. “three exploding stabs.”
121. “. . . to fulfill his secret wish to see the magical city once again.”
122. “‘I would like to fulfill my old dream with you: the dream to once again dream of Damascus.’”
123. “his beloved royal city, the powerful Damascus, whose clay walls had already seen Abraham.”
124. “. . . the meadows washed by the sweet water of Damascus, the blue boughs of the plum trees, the elegantly proportioned bridges.”

125. Arnold Zweig's journal entries from 2/25/1932—2/27/1932 describe Zweig's visit to Damascus and Baalbek. AZA 2620. See also Thielking 232–3.
126. "Gliding by was the town of the Epiphany: there indeed on the street walked the white shape of the Galilean, to whom no greeting or look was offered, and at whose feet Rabbi Saul of Tarsus—the rebel—knelt, he who would inflict the incurable wounds on the Lord of Hosts."
127. Thielking 226.
128. Abraham, "the destroyer of the idols," whom he finds in the "courtyard of the mosque, in the temple of the false gods."
129. ". . . the great sun-god Baal is the father; his house looms above, surrounded by mountains, in the shadow of the shadowland, in Baalbeck, the city of Baal. And there, in the throne of the devastated temple, sat Abraham."
130. ". . . he, Isaac, sacrificed on Mount Moriah and then healed."
131. ". . . had allowed Isaac to be sacrificed on her breast, which was called Moriah, circumcised, his blood taken away from him with a stone knife."
132. "Abraham . . . with a fire-colored beard, from which the sunlight came, and with blue laughter around the eyes, which gave the sky its color, and he was him, the creator of everything."
133. "He wanted to hide from the look of his father, but his father had already seen him, and he was overcome with vertigo as he crawled toward his father."
134. ". . . archway . . . that had stayed together since the beginning of human thought." "The archway sank down upon him, his sides were pressed by the stone, his hands and feet dug into the earth . . . it was hard to breathe."
135. "the terrifying father"; "'Won't you finally love me, Isaac, my son, as I am?' . . . 'No!'"
136. "'It's about the time . . . when the Arabs and Jews in Spain lived together in harmony. It was a long time ago and will never be again.'"
137. Berkowitz notes de Haan's similar interest in this time period: "there are prominent homosexual and homoerotic motifs in Jewish mysticism and poetry, particularly that of the 'Golden Age' of the Jews in Spain romanticized by De Haan" ("Rejecting Zion" 123). This additional intertextual reference to de Haan's poetry further underscores the connection between Jewish-Arab cooperation and same-sex relationships thematized in Zweig's novel.
138. Marmorstein 6–10; Berkowitz, "Rejecting Zion" 110, 121. But de Haan did see himself as "the mediator par excellence between Arabs and Jews" (Berkowitz, "Rejecting Zion" 110).
139. Mendes-Flohr, *A Land* 61–3; Friedman, Vol. II, 9–10.
140. Cohen 136–7; Zweig, "Das jüdische Palästina" 79–86; Zweig, *Das neue Kanaan* 217–9.
141. "The hookahs gurgle. Men, with small white turbans on their heads . . . are silent, and sit on folded legs. . . . The room [has] colored windows facing

- the garden and noble carpets in the interwoven patterns of the best Persian manufacturers.”
142. Thielking 148–153.
 143. “. . . the workday of a fellah and his family lasts 14 to 16 hours, and nevertheless the government must ask for overdue taxes every few years. The effendis do not pay any taxes, however. . . .”
 144. Thielking 148, 154.
 145. “. . . economic upswing, personal advantage came to the country with the Jews.”
 146. “The Jews bring advantages to the land. In comparison with Syria and Iraq and even Egypt, only Palestine has made a change for the better, which also has benefited the Arabs themselves.”
 147. “What you call advantage and good and a gift—for us is neither good nor a gift. We want the former peace of our land.”
 148. Cohen 136; *Das neue Kanaan* 217–8.
 149. “These people are grown children, wild rogues with no scruples, quick to stab a man in the back.”
 150. “I love the Arabs. . . . They are so simple—wholly affectionate, or wholly repulsed. Their laughter is lovely. . . .”
 151. Sketches for *De Vriendt kehrt heim*. AZA 519.
 152. “Our simple intelligentsia has never thought about the fact that we stood up for morality in life and politics in Europe, only to come here to play the oppressors, the master race.”
 153. Berkowitz, “Doubled Trouble” 112–5.
 154. Schumacher 185.
 155. Thielking 174–5, 250–5; Salamon 134; Schumacher 182, 184.
 156. Schumacher 191–5; Thielking 233.
 157. “Are not enough Torah-loving youths being prepared on our teaching farms in Poland to emigrate here?”
 158. Schumacher 181; Salamon 134.
 159. “I loved this land. I enjoyed my life, a good life.”
 160. “. . . the one about 70 years and priceless effort and labor.”
 161. Schumacher 181–4.
 162. Salamon 134.
 163. “. . . do not allow the Arabs to pay for this.’ This possibility apparently really upset him. He mentioned it many times.”
 164. “. . . with red cheeks [and] sleepy blue eyes.”
 165. “harmless,” “strong,” “hard-working.”
 166. “training for agricultural work.”
 167. “He gladly took work . . . on the ‘Kvish,’ or road construction—black work, the toughest demand on a European in the Palestinian climate.”
 168. “tough stuff.”
 169. Thielking 249–250; Schumacher 198–9.

170. Thielking 166–9.
171. Schumacher 178.
172. “. . . you can’t put holes in people until they bleed to death and protect your conscience with delusions of grandeur. A man is simply not an insect.”
173. Hermand 60; Salamon 21–2.
174. “Transjordanian—a beautiful founding. If I could just bring 3 million Jews here, who are slowly disappearing in Russia, and 100,000 weapons, then I could show people whether they could refuse to allow us into the area where our leader Moses is buried and the bones of our forefathers blow away in the desert.”
175. Thielking 250.
176. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, 72–3.
177. “‘Political murder at the beginning of our history.’ Like Romulus and Remus, thought Heinrich Klopfer with a start, Cain and Abel. Fratricide is needed for the founding of every state.”
178. Thielking 172–3.
179. “. . . it is a simple pogrom; one knows them from Jewish history; but this time it went differently than before: the victims, the Jews, have changed fundamentally. They stand up straight, they fight back, and their blows hit home.”
180. Cohen 139.
181. Buber, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 534; Zweig, *Das neue Kanaan* 217–20.
182. Nordau 425.
183. “It was strange, though, how this man Nachman differed from his grandfather, from the rabbi of his little town, from all the old dried up enemies who shook over the Talmud. Really beautiful, to have lived such a life.”
184. “Probably every life has to be lived out; how unnatural it was to cut down a half-grown tree. Maybe he should have let de Vriendt continue to live on?”
185. “‘hot and humid . . . none of the little things, and lonely.’”
186. “. . . the devil knows whether or not black work on the Dead Sea, this September for example, is harder than being in prison in Akko or wherever it would be.”
187. Thielking 255–6; Schumacher 186.
188. “He lay dissolved there, in the true meaning of the word, dissolved into his parts, and sent his substance, the molecules and cells that made him up, upwards, to the roots and radicles of the plants, that in spite of everything reached down to him, and that waited only for a sign from above to grow, to bloom, and to scatter their seeds.”
189. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* 5–25.
190. Letter from Arnold Zweig to Sigmund Freud, 1/21/1934. Freud, *Briefwechsel* 68; Alt 26.
191. Bernhard 293–4.
192. Hedgepeth 192–4.
193. Hessing 90–5, 218–219.

194. "Slaves find us—and hesitate—on the edge of the great pool, the women are sitting, their necks craning, and behind the palm trees stand our fathers. . . . We dance. . . ."
195. "Then my father had the black servants, who had seen our naked dance with their naked eyes, and my body and above all my face, he had their tongues pierced."
196. ". . . we are all alone in the glass castle, and our slender bodies are transparent, tender and singing. . . . We barely touch our hands . . . then our lips are drawn together, but they do not kiss, they threaten to explode from desire."
197. "I warned Apollydes' open lips—but they had already called him. In the halls of the palace, the king bound the Greek boy and reveled in his blossoming pain."
198. Berman 302.
199. ". . . I climbed to the top of the mountain that looks out over the drunken city. And there I sang to the nights, the gold of the stars fell in my lap—and I built Jehovah a temple from eternal celestial light."
200. "They tore the garments from my body, the veil from my face, cut my long hair, and the sultan spoke angrily about me—and I am driven from the garden of the palace of the kingdom."
201. "Tino from Baghdad had already seen the earth for 25 moons not without her veil, and she was tired of the blind looks, and she cursed her long, brown hair and everything, that she had inherited from Eve."
202. For "ethnic drag," see Sieg 2. Hedgepeth 192–4.
203. Bauschinger 90; Lorenz 72–3; Hedgepeth 194.
204. Hedgepeth 190–4; Heizer 40; Lorenz 68–9, 74.
205. "a star is my body."
206. Aschheim, *Brothers* 125–7, 132.
207. Hedgepeth 194; Aschheim, *Brothers* 95–6, 100
208. Sieg 2; Boyarin, *Unheroic* 6.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. "The home of the slaves is the revolt. I go into battle. . . . I will be the forest, the mountain, the sea, the desert. I, that is Africa. I, that is Asia. Both of the Americas am I." Müller 40–1.
2. Moore-Gilbert 65; Said, *Culture and Imperialism* xx-xxii.
3. Gilroy 205–8, 213–4.
4. James 86–7; Zantop 7, 14–16, 31–8, 142–3.
5. Romero, *Anna Seghers* (1993) 33; Schwarz-Bart, *Last of the Just* i; Vogt 158–9.
6. Seghers, *Karibische Geschichten* 251–56.
7. Literally translated, "Why I Wrote *The Mulatto Woman Solitude*." In this article, Schwarz-Bart refers to the first novel of an intended series called *La*

mulâtresse Solitude, which was titled *Un plat de porc aux bananes vertes* (A Dish of Pork and Plantains). The second novel, simply titled *La mulâtresse Solitude*, has been translated into English by Ralph Manheim under the title *A Woman Named Solitude*.

8. Korngold 177–8, 219, 289; Seghers, *Karibische Geschichten* 253–56.
9. Cernyak 278–84; Lorenz 204; O’Doherty 274.
10. “for Jews, for Indians, for blacks, for mulattos.”
11. “. . . not only the aristocracy, not only the Evremont family, but also our fathers and grandfathers, whether Jews, Christians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Americans, or Europeans, everything that is white.”
12. “how little skin color says about a man.”
13. Teraoka 12–16, 22–4.
14. “Damned white Jew!”
15. “There was only the danger that he would be confused with the whites.”
16. “Today he preferred a Spaniard to a Republican. To that, Sasportas replied, laughing, that he was neither one nor the other; he was a French emigrant.”
17. “He knew that their words would go out of the house and spread like a wildfire underneath the blacks.”
18. “You blacks, do it like they did in Haiti!”
19. Lorenz 206.
20. See Seghers’ letter to Renate Francke in *Karibische Geschichten* 254.
21. Burwick 324; Fleming 314; Kontje, “Passing” 72; Zantop 156–8.
22. Kontje, “Passing” 72.
23. “half-English, half-French, born in Jamaica.”
24. “He saw our tricolor waving; he knew where he belonged.”
25. “His crossover to the side of the Republic in Guadeloupe was something to hide from the English. He could present his disappearance as if he had been captured and abducted.”
26. “Then he would not be a foreigner here, no envoy on a terribly difficult mission, then he would have a share of this hill and its crops, the sugar cane . . . then he could be Bering’s heir.”
27. Anna-Seghers-Archiv (ASA) 79, page 7. Page numbers on the drafts of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen* in ASA 79 have been assigned in order, beginning with the first excerpt in the folder marked “Paris Brief Abfahrt.”
28. ASA 79, page 39.
29. “I am no Debuissou.”
30. “The Beautiful Jew and the Ugly Jew.”
31. Romero, *Anna Seghers* (1993) 17–24, 27, 29–33.
32. Herf 41–2, 43–56, 63, 135–6; Kane 29, 39; Lorenz 196, 199; O’Doherty 273–4; Romero, *Anna Seghers* (1993) 44.
33. Fox 58–9; Herf 106–158; Kane 30–1; Lorenz 198, 204–5; O’Doherty 272–3; Petersen 404n; Romero, *Anna Seghers* (1993) 101–2.

34. Cernyak 282; Lorenz 201, 204.
35. Romero, *Anna Seghers* (1993) 90–1; Vogt 158–9.
36. “He was unfortunately more similar to his father than to his grandfather; Mendez looked more Spanish than Jewish.”
37. “In his practically ugly, thoughtful or just lethargic face everything was even more lengthened because he let his lower lip hang listlessly.”
38. “Her face was so ugly that her pastel-colored dress looked almost laughable.”
39. “ugly teeth”; “a low-hanging lower lip”; “long nose.”
40. “delicate, gold-colored half-moon”; “gold-brown material” (53).
41. “He is a funny, attractive young man. He likes women. I think there must have been quite a row in Brest before departure.” Draft of the second version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 81, page 18. Compare to Seghers, *Karibische Geschichten* 145. Permission to quote from unpublished materials in the Anna-Seghers-Archiv granted by Ruth Radványi and the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Germany.
42. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred* 1–21.
43. Greiner 168; Seghers, “Große Unbekannte” 217.
44. Fehevary 131.
45. Dallas 288; Korngold 177–78; Seghers, *Karibische Geschichten* 253, 256.
46. The name Siqueiros appears throughout the drafts of the first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79. For Seghers’ friendship with the artist Siqueiros, see Lürbke 151.
47. Document contained in ASA 79.
48. “I was pleased when I found the names that I knew from the first English biography of Toussaint in this old translation.” Letter to Renate Francke in Seghers, *Karibische Geschichten* 256. Permission to quote from this letter granted by Ruth Radványi.
49. Aschheim, *Brothers* 27–8; Boyarin 24–5; Goldstein 51–2.
50. “. . . that Toussaint in brooding also let his chin hang, like himself.”
51. “. . . with hanging chin, so similar to each other and their father as ever.”
52. Kassé 67–70.
53. Romero, *Anna Seghers* (1993) 24.
54. “. . . narrative retrieval of honor for the Jews under communism.” Romero, *Anna Seghers* (1993) 112.
55. Seghers, *Hier im Volk* 38–46, 49–51.
56. Donadey, “Re-membering” 10.
57. For positive reviews of the representation of people of color in Seghers’ works, see Milfull, Grimm; for critical perspectives, see Teraoka, Weigel, Petersen, Gutzman, Romero.
58. Teraoka 12–22.
59. “. . . with the whips that will inscribe a new alphabet on other bodies with our hand.” Qtd. in Weigel 304.
60. Gutzmann 192–3; Mast 29–30.

61. “. . . wrote a couple of pages, but I didn’t like these pages at all. I threw them away and put the novel aside.” Letter to Renate Francke, in Seghers, *Karibische Geschichten* 256.
62. “Handwritten sketches of the Caribbean novellas ‘The Marriage in Haiti’ and ‘The Reintroduction of Slavery in Guadeloupe.’” Entry for ASA 63 in the Akademie der Künste finding aid.
63. “I started the two small stories that took place in the Caribbean islands shortly after I returned to Berlin.” Handwritten materials, ASA 63.
64. ASA 79.
65. Handwritten notebook entries, ASA 564. See also Romero, *Anna Seghers* (2003) 195, 389n.
66. Timelines contained in ASA 79.
67. “Debuisson (previously an English officer) is sent to Santo Domingo. Attack on Jamaica and the southern states.” “Then Roume (Commissioner in Haiti) sent Debuisson and Sasportas to Jamaica. They were found out after the vanquishing of the black rebellion under Cuffee.” Timelines contained in ASA 79.
68. See Teraoka, Gutzmann, Weigel.
69. “The body was bent in on itself, effortlessly, as if boneless, like a slippery fish. . . . [H]is face appeared to Siqueiros as just two white eyeballs in a black mask. He did not know whether the look was curious or impassive, longing or indifferent. He thought: This is my first encounter with this type of person.” Draft of first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79, page 23.
70. “It appeared to him that he shone like a fish with its self-bent body, which betrayed more to him about the swimmer than the face. He only saw the white eyeballs in a black mask. He did not know whether the look was curious or impassive, longing or indifferent. Siqueiros thought: this is my first encounter.” Draft of first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79, page 12.
71. “Jean Sasportas knew blacks in uniforms, in offices, he knew some from Parisian clubs, and he knew them from the bitter stories of his friends.” Draft of second version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 81, page 20.
72. “His body was flexible and shiny like a fish. He turned his head toward their flag. Did he laugh? Jean could not say whether his look was impassive or curious.

He stood in the gallery of the National Convention as a boy. Below in the hall, a black delegation appeared. Their leader, with the tricolor around his stomach, thanked the Republic for the rights that had been bestowed upon them. Applause broke out in the hall, as if the people were overwhelmed by their own generosity. The voices yelled louder; the hands clapped until they were sore.”
73. “huge, black fellow” . . . “He is yet bigger than mine, or he’ll break a bolt for you like no one else.” Draft of first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79, page 36.

74. "The white Williams said: lean down. . . . Williams glanced at the letters that were branded on his chest. Then he said: good." Draft of first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79, page 36.
75. "The black man still stood in his old place behind Williams' seat. His face showed as much and as little participation as the face of a boy would if his two relatives had fought over something that was for him completely inconsequential." Draft of first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79, page 38.
76. "That is not the tone with which we should speak with blacks." Draft of first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79, page 39.
77. "Galloudec's words caused a light to dawn on him." "Bedford's understanding was like the effect of the big drums, from which his grandfather sometimes spoke."
78. Gutzmann 200; Mast 39.
79. "bands of stray blacks." Draft of first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79, page 31.
80. "Maroons, as the unbound, free people were called, attacked the plantations and country seats. They burned the mills and the harvests, they stole the animals, they ravaged the houses, and they massacred entire families." Draft of first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79, page 34.
81. "Doing nothing appealed to them. . . . If they didn't like something, they started a small war, attacked farms."
82. Mast 39; ASA 79; ASA 81, page 28.
83. "The officers of the French Republic were the honored guests." Toussaint "had noticed the two foreigners. He had probably already obtained information about the purpose of their trip, so secretly was it protected." Draft of first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79, page 26.
84. "You have family in Barcelona. . . . Your life was easier before. You have chosen wisely. It is good that way.' Sasportas was filled with consternation. . . . How did he know about that? On the other end of the world, on the other side of thought?" Draft of first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79, page 27.
85. "Jean [Sasportas] thought Toussaint had also seen him; so thought many."
86. Romero, *Anna Seghers* (1993) 37.
87. Lorenz 200–1; Petersen 398–402; Teraoka 11–17; Weigel 299–300.
88. "the accents have shifted; departure and revolt no longer stand in the foreground, rather steadiness and inertia." Romero, *Anna Seghers* (1993) 130.
89. Teraoka 14.
90. Teraoka 16–17.
91. "Ann had feared that her whole life. Now she thought that was the least she could have expected. She slept rolled up in a ball because one could not stand or lie in the barred prison. The bars were as confining as a thicket."
92. Albrecht 349.

93. "The loneliness was bitter. . . . Toaliina had learned in the meantime what waiting was." For a reading of this passage, see also Albrecht 355.
94. "All that I learned later. I could only determine what there was to see out of my barred wall prison."
95. "Claudine replied: 'You have given me the honor to wear the key instead of my husband. I thank you, friends, although Amédée often said that he wanted to wear the key always on his chest in memory of the time of slavery that finally ended. . . . If you insist, then I want to wear the key. But I do not need a fine necklace. I will wear it on my chest the way my husband Amédée wore it, on the same string around my neck. Then many will stare at it and also ask why I wear a key as jewelry. And I can tell all of them. . . .' The Friends agreed. . . . They were surprised that this woman, who was always so taciturn, suddenly said everything that she thought so rashly and clearly." Handwritten draft of "Der Schlüssel," ASA 68, page 12.
96. "Claudine, who one always thought of as shy and timid, interrupted angrily: 'No, Amédée should wear it until the uprising of all slaves in the world.' They obeyed her wishes, and they buried Amédée with the key on his chest."
97. "Luisa waited on the dock."
98. "'Do you understand, child?' 'Not entirely.' 'Be alert.'" Handwritten draft of "Die Trennung," ASA 68, page 6.
99. "'I don't understand very much about it, since my boyfriend is no longer here, who explained everything to me.' 'You're living badly, my girl. You must remain the one he loved, otherwise he will give up longing for you.'"
100. "She waited impassively, without fear."
101. Corrected draft of "Die Trennung," ASA 69, page 12. Seghers, *Drei Frauen aus Haiti* 54.
102. "'You must slowly pull yourself together, in order to bear looking at her.'" "I would never do that to Luisa! Just the opposite. I am proud of these scars; those who see her will know how she got them."
103. Petersen 399.
104. "Christobal leaned over and whispered in her ear: 'I am he, Christobal. Now you can be sure'" (16). "Christobal protested violently" (12). "'No, no!' yelled Christobal. ' . . . That would no longer be Luisa'" (23). Handwritten draft of "Die Trennung," ASA 68.
105. Albrecht 352.
106. "'Did you come back for the freeing of Cuba?' In his voice was a trace of mockery that Cristobal did not understand. 'To free us, or after the liberation?'"
107. Handwritten draft of "Die Trennung," ASA 68, page 22. Seghers, *Drei Frauen aus Haiti* 63.
108. "She said, laughing: 'I was happy with both of you.' She closed her eyes and thought: 'Happy? Completely happy? Was I really? Maybe there is nothing like that.'" Corrected draft of "Die Trennung," ASA 69, page 20–1.
109. "One can not live without joy."

110. Albrecht 351, 364.
111. "Her burial was a triumphal procession, in which all took part, those who were happy about the liberation and already previously shared the ideas of Christobal and Susanna, and those in whom these ideas were just beginning to germinate." Corrected draft of "Die Trennung," ASA 69, page 20–1.
112. "There is a joy that emanates from within people; in this way, they can also make others happy."
113. "She received a proud burial procession, in which all took part, those who shared her ideas, and those in whom, by participating, these ideas were just beginning to germinate."
114. "a wildfire," which would "spread under the blacks"; "the light in the gallows."
115. Petersen 405n.
116. Lorenz 199, 208–215.
117. "the delicate connection between slavery and the concentration theme."
118. Brodzki 215.
119. ". . . if I had been prepared over the past dozen years to breathe in the perfume of the Antilles, to appreciate it, to describe it, it was impossible for me to become the perfume myself."
120. Yow 117.
121. Yow 16–17.
122. Scharfman, "Exiled" 253.
123. Qtd. in Friedlander 260.
124. McKinney 23; Scharfman 260–1.
125. "the past that rises back up the length of my throat."
126. Gyssels 791.
127. "lost forever in the midst of the obscure and cold world of the whites."
128. "Oh mother, the sadness in you is an animal that devours my heart."
129. Mariotte's childhood was "marked by famine, misery, deprivation, and above all, the lack of affection and rejection as a result of her black phenotype in a family of mulatto women."
130. ". . . her master in herself, even though the chains are gone."
131. ". . . stay in your place as a black woman, my daughter, do not move; otherwise the white world will crush you like a simple lizard."
132. "contemptuous condescension."
133. Ormerod 100.
134. "sorcery by effigies, photos, nail clippings, etc."
135. "There must be some among them who like me and who do not dare show it in front of the others; or in front of me; or in front of that part of themselves that is not ready to witness affection for a black woman."
136. ". . . it was strangely troubling to pretend to be a sorceress in their eyes."
137. "more 'black' than I am."

138. “How many possible slave traders among thirty anonymous passersby in the street, Mariotte? . . . of possible torturers of children? . . . of possible killers of Jews?”
139. “she is as much a slave as her grandmother.”
140. “. . . they sensed them, all of those worlds that they had between them and that they could not overcome through words! . . .”
141. “light like a butterfly to have been able to be honest about something about myself after such a long time.”
142. “I also have a little red blood, you know!”
143. “No, it’s blood red-blood.”
144. Ormerod 97–99; McKinney 24.
145. “Did I not always endeavor to remain loyal . . . to the image that he traced for me of the woman Solitude of Guadeloupe . . . my female ancestor by the blood of the stagnant water of Man Louise?”
146. “. . . you took a bite out of the meat of the whites?”
147. “definitely a black woman, a great piece of the world!”
148. “it’s not to be for lying at the master’s feet.”
149. “He was not black-black, more black than black, as they say: his skin . . . had insolent reflections. . . .”
150. “. . . you will see that one of these four mornings [Mariotte] will become all black black black ugly like a dog without paws.”
151. “simply humans whose souls had deserted them; they were still alive, but the soul was gone.” Translation by Ralph Manheim, *A Woman Named Solitude* (New York: Atheneum, 1973) 89. All subsequent translations of *La mulâtresse Solitude* are from Manheim.
152. “the spirits of the dead” (89).
153. “Kill me, kill me . . .” (131).
154. “Here you are back again, back again with us, black woman, black woman, black woman . . .” (133).
155. “If he is in the mood to salute a memory, his imagination will people the environing space and human figures will rise up around him, just as the phantoms that wander about the humiliated ruins of the Warsaw ghetto are said to rise up before the eyes of other travelers” (178–9).
156. “He felt the letter in his pocket as he went over the bridge. He thought momentarily: better to throw the letter in the Seine. That was painful to him. . . . A letter has great value . . . Such a letter is a true witness. One can easily forget young people. . . . Only this bit of paper is left over.”
157. “I will be the first to make sure that its contents are not lost.” Draft of first version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 79, page 5.
158. “He crumpled up the letter in his pocket, as he went over the bridge. He thought: better to be on the safe side, and he threw the letter in the Seine. That was painful to him all of a sudden. . . . A letter has great value. . . . Now the letter swims away. Already there is no real witness anymore. Only

words are left and a few memories. One will forget the young people. . . . One already no longer sees the bit of paper.” Draft of second version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 81, page 9.

159. “That was also painful to me that you let him throw the letter away. He should do that (if at all) only at the end.” Comments from Johann Lorenz Schmidt on second version of *Das Licht auf dem Galgen*, ASA 82, page 1.
160. As Yow has claimed, 147.
161. Seyhan 15.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* 122–3.
2. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* xi–xiii, 3–25.
3. Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka* 16–18, *A Thousand Plateaus* 104–106; Seyhan 24–6; Zipes 21–2.
4. Woodhull 99–100. This contrasts with Seyhan’s reading, that “deterritorialization” only applies to writers taking a major language onto foreign soil, which eliminates non-native speakers writing in the major language of their adopted country, and that Deleuze and Guattari’s comparison of Black English and Prague German is therefore inaccurate, since Black English is a derivation of standard English rather than a language “imported” to another country (26–7).
5. Lionnet and Shih, 1–12. See also Behdad 231–2; Seyhan 29.
6. Donadey, “Cultural *Métissage*” 270.
7. Donadey, “Cultural *Métissage*” 269–70, “Multilingual Strategies” 29; Lionnet 100–4; Woodhull 102–8. Similar characterizations of the functioning of exilic writing have been attributed to Maghrebian writing in France, such as Assia Djebar (Donadey, “Multilingual Strategies”), and Turkish writing in Germany, such as Emine Sevgi Özdamar (Kontje, *German Orientalisms* 228–231).
8. Hyman 193–6; Laskier.
9. “I learned to speak French in the garden from which I was on the point of being expelled because I’m Jewish.” Qtd. in Stevens 84–5.
10. Grunebaum-Ralph 292; Hayes 276, 285–6.
11. Accad 674
12. Dugas, “L’iconophile” 76; Vogl 79–81.
13. “It’s in Tunisia that they lived their best days. Israel only represents the too sacred soil where they came to die. . . .”
14. “But when they disappear, a fragment of Jewish history will be dispersed on the ground, like sand. Go after them, go recover the traces!”
15. “Twirl, when you stop, your friends will have disappeared, your language will not be understood, your country will have changed. Twirl, you believe life is immutable, but time will betray you.”

16. “sadly on the tips of their spears.”
17. “. . . in France and here, I remain for all a foreigner in front of whom one speaks in cloaked words.”
18. “You too, you are one of my race, a nomad.”
19. “You are a woman of suitcases, of a toothbrush in her bag, of a little pair of underwear hidden in the bottom of her purse.”
20. “I do not love him because he did not want to or did not know how to ask me about my past. He did not descend into my tunnels, there where it is written “danger.””
21. “You give me back my memory. I did not believe I was capable of going back so far.”
22. Donadey, “Multilingual.”
23. Dugas, “Iconophile” 76; Elbaz 105; Scharfman, “The Other’s Other” 137; Vogl 72.
24. “Shabbat”; “Saturday in Hebrew. Day of obligatory rest for the Jews.”
25. “hummus”; “puree of chick peas”; “zlebia”; “Tunisian pastry.”
26. French translations: “She is crazy!”; “destiny, in Arabic.”
27. “chuppa”; “canopy.”
28. Hyman 200–203; Laskier.
29. “. . . a hand closed on my heart. In Beersheva, a generation was extinguished.”
30. “I want her to instruct me in the art of disguise.”
31. “. . . as a whore . . . as an Egyptian statue . . . as a black woman or a survivor from Dachau, face streaked white and black and a number engraved on the forehead?”
32. “. . . from the forehead to the nostrils, the sea . . . the desert begins at the chin and descends to the neck.”
33. “Mavrika resembles that impenetrable woman who has been tracked for twenty centuries by the Kabbalists and Talmudists. Draped in black, her face hidden, she enters the most defended fortresses, trembles before the books, is forgotten in front of the disciples who sigh their prayers, is abandoned on the rounds of the bearded soldiers. In Hebrew, she is called the Shekhinah. The Presence.”
34. For an overview of Kabbalah and the Shekhinah, see Scholem 111, 124, 213, 232–3, 265, 275–6. In *Un été à Jérusalem*, the narrator also visits a cafe called Chez Aboulafia; Abraham Abulafia was an Italian Kabbalist whose writings appeared simultaneously with the Zohar in Spain. Boukhobza’s most recent novel, *Sous les étoiles*, focuses more directly on Kabbalah.
35. “It’s from here that I must fight if I want to change things.”
36. “I know now that I will stay in Jerusalem.”
37. “They say that God lives here, Jerusalem! I believe that they lie to you! Let your sons die! One day, you will return to ruins!”
38. “Sarah, my beauty, my child”; “No, from now on, my name is Mavrika!”

39. Assia Djebar, *L'amour, la fantasia*; Annie Goldmann, *Les filles de Mardochée*.
40. Goozé and Kagel 17; Kraft and Lorenz 129.
41. Adelson, *Making Bodies* 87–9.
42. Paul 288; 281–3.
43. “three leaves of his being, like a fleur de lis.” Permission to quote from *Die Töchter* (Berlin: Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag, 1996) granted by Jeannette Lander. Italics are original to the text. Translations are my own.
44. Orlando 49.
45. “Soon he [Kurt] will prove to me that papa suffered from persecution mania. Mama suffered from persecution mania. Me too. There is neither hate nor violence in the world: we’re all just crazy.”
46. “Name is destiny. Women are not named; they marry. Namelessness means not having a destiny. Part of the lot of the man [husband]. One calls that destiny.”
47. Adelson, “There’s No Place” 124–5; Paul 290.
48. “And now I have that photo, I, Julie. I will take it with me to Poland, to look for the grave of my father, who traveled to Poland, to find the grave of his father . . . in the homeland, which his son longed for and whose body never was found, for which reason I will travel to Poland with this photo, to find the grave of my father, who. . . . Family and no end. . . .”
49. “He is our murderer.”
50. “We are dead . . . we are dead. . . .”
51. “Me and my children, we are not Jews.”
52. “dead train stations”; “the dullness, drabness”; “dullness from papa’s everyday.”
53. “Attention! Attention! This is the police.”
54. “Commissary of the Jewish Questions. Me and my children, we are not Jews.”
55. Adelson, *Making Bodies* 122–23; Levin 253; Paul 287.
56. Adelson, “There’s No Place” 131.
57. Adelson, *Making Bodies* 122–23; Donadey, “Cultural *Métissage*” 269–70; Levin 254; Paul 287.
58. Paul 288.
59. “Hollywoodfroufroubutt”; “coffeebitteraftertaste in the mouth.”
60. Literal translation: “I hate her: the teacher, the teacher and mama, mama and Barbara Gouldenberg, who always do everything right, Barbara so good, who pushed her notebook over to me, did it, as if she continued to write and at the same time the scrawl was for me she is so good, she takes the notebook away, if the teacher looks, she writes so small so good I hate her and don’t know, if ama stands there, ama, amo, amos, omas stands there and if you yell Minouche, now I hate you, you shouldn’t now—You should laugh now cute why can you not like Barbara Gouldenberg shitwoman the paper cute laughing give up like Barbaragood laughed always she disgustingly ugh. . . .”
61. Touitou-Benitah 126–132.

62. "Strange girl: Julie. . . . And if one knows everything about papa? If he croaked here or there? What's the point?"
63. ". . . like I had to sit then, also with no shoes, no in socks I had to sit, and no one could tell me why."
64. ". . . what was I supposed to think about papa, how was I supposed to think about him, I could not even picture him, I had no picture of him anymore . . . I asked mama to show me a picture of him, but we were sitting shiva, and one does not look at pictures."
65. "Don't announce it in the newspaper! That's an experience, what kind of Hottentots show up"; "Besides she comes too late anyway"; "They do not need so much to live as we do . . . the rent in their houses is considerably less."
66. "Poor creatures. Not dangerous. Inflammatory gossip, that they are dangerous, criminal, here one would not be raped, robbed, killed—all shit."
67. Goozé and Kage! 29.
68. "Why do you want to go to Poland? To Israel! Come here! . . . You do not need to search for the traces of the past. We bear our history in the present!"
69. "crowded, black, nasty, frightening."
70. "march into the gas chamber."
71. "We must overcome our own history, not theirs, but ours."
72. "Now the Arab world forces us to be strong; forces us to put the boots on, to take the whip in hand; forces us to take over their villages, to wipe them out. Something is wrong there. We are always the victims."
73. Kraft and Lorenz 133.
74. Raz-Krakotzkin 171.
75. "It hurts me so much the more that *my mother* participates in the propaganda against the oriental Jews, instead of informing herself of the facts"; ". . . that we treat them like filth."
76. "And at the same time I only find that the Arabs and also the Asian Jews are discriminated against, the way you and dad and the Jews in Europe were, and that one must do something about it."
77. "Soldiers!/Gestapo!/They know that we're Jews!/They're coming!/ They're coming, mama!/Mama!"
78. "I condemn violence. . . . There is no justification for violence."
79. "I 'fraternize' with the Israeli Arabs. . . . I eat with them in their pubs, smoke a hookah, they accept me, they love me."
80. "neither German nor French."
81. "Beautiful things' [in Yiddish], beautiful things [in German], he says." "Beautiful' [in Yiddish], papa also said. . . . His eternal Yiddish had angered mama. . . . 'In France one speaks French! [in French].'"
82. "But we're here! Here in Israel! Here!"
83. Goozé, "The Interlocution" 110.

84. “Julie eats blueberries [in Yiddish] with cream [in Yiddish] in the market in the market hall in Wrocław in papa’s Poland [in Yiddish].”
85. Goozé, “The Interlocution” 112.
86. “dill pickles,” “raisins,” “nuts,” “preserved green pears,” “everything is spicy, everything is from preserved spices.”
87. “Here the shootings occurred.”
88. “Rotunda. Circle. No end. No recognizable beginning.”
89. Remmler 195–6.
90. “alone and no matter where.”
91. “your history . . . defines you further.” “You have nothing with which you could replace family and nation.”
92. “There is the world.”

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1. Esther Dischereit, *Joëmis Tisch*; Lea Fleischmann, *Dies ist nicht mein Land: Eine Jüdin verläßt die Bundesrepublik*; and November Wanderin, *Berlin Beshert*, respectively.
2. Bernhard 285–295; Schumacher 191–5; Thielking 233; Yow 16.

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