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Modernism/modernity, Volume 13, Number 4, November 2006, pp. 701-728  
(Article)

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/mod.2006.0091>



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# Muscle Jews and Airplanes: Modernist Mythologies, the Great War, and the Politics of Regeneration

Todd Presner

## I. The Military Might of Old-New Maccabees

At the end of the nineteenth century, when Max Nordau issued his call for the re-creation of a lost “muscular Judaism,”<sup>1</sup> there was probably no stereotype as deeply imprinted on the Jewish body as that of the cowardly and un-soldierly Jew. Because of their small chest size, their flat-footedness, their ungainly gait, their hunched-over backs, their susceptibility to certain diseases (diabetes, tuberculosis, alcoholism), their dietary restrictions, their inability or unwillingness to abandon the world of abstractions and speculations, and their inherent cowardice, Jews could never become good soldiers.<sup>2</sup> Their unfit bodies, cowardly psychic disposition, and religious-cultural strictures supposedly prevented them from defending the countries in which they lived, consigning them to “unheroic conduct.”<sup>3</sup> In a scathing caricature from 1780, the year before Christian Wilhelm von Dohm published his famous treatise advocating, among other things, for the “military” improvement of the Jews, a Viennese caricaturist by the name of Johann Löschenkohl published an illustrated poem called “Jewish Recruits Complaining About Learning Military Drills.”<sup>4</sup> Condensing virtually all of the anti-Semitic stereotypes of the un-soldierly Jew, the poem consists of a dialogue between a Jewish recruit named “Mauschel”<sup>5</sup> and a corporal who is overseeing his training. Mauschel says: “Look out, oh German world! Watch with wonder. We’re going into the battlefield. Ach! Is this befitting? We have to become, all at once, a Mauschel and a soldier. We swear by our beards, the

MODERNISM / *modernity*  
VOLUME THIRTEEN, NUMBER  
FOUR, PP 701–728.  
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UNIVERSITY PRESS

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702 heavens and the earth: It's not going to happen because we lack courage. And yet we're called upon to be warriors. ... We fear the smell of gun powder and the whistle of the bullets; we are so scared when the canons fire. Look at how deep it cuts to my heart when a great enemy stands before me ... Oi Vey, Mr. Corporal, I'm going to pee in my pants. Oi Vey, Mr. Corporal, listen to my screaming. Free me from this pain. Oi Vey! Oi Vey! Oi Vey!" [Figure 1].

In a somewhat later caricature of a Jewish soldier, "Jacob as Recruit and Jacob as Poet," the physical inadequacies of the Jew come to the foreground next to his deep-seated cowardice [Figure 2].<sup>6</sup> When the diminutive Jacob, with flat feet and misshapen legs, cannot follow the commands of the drill sergeant—"Left, right! Left, right!"—, he asks: "Am I to blame for growing this way?" As the counterpart to the tall, muscular, serious, and erect standing German soldier, Jacob is small in stature, weak in physical composition, whimsical in demeanor, and downright terrified of his weapon. He cannot march straight due to his awkward gait; he does not know how to use his musket-bayonet; he falls prostrate on the ground in a plume of smoke. As the sergeant looms angrily above him, he cries out: "Ach! I'm dead. I'm kaputt." The final scenes show Jacob, at home, ogling a girl from his window and sitting at his desk composing poetry. Military service, we are to conclude, is not a Jewish characteristic.

Since defense of the state demonstrated loyalty to the state, military service became connected to the debate over Jewish emancipation and the extension of civil rights throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Of course, detractors found ample ammunition to bar Jews from serving in the military: Not only were Jews physically unfit for military service, they argued, but Jewish religious strictures, particularly the Sabbath and kosher dietary requirements, made them less than ideal candidates for fighting side-by-side with their Christian counterparts in battle. But when Frederick William III signed the Edict of Emancipation in 1812, Jews were recognized for the first time as "Einlaender," or native Prussian state citizens, thereby rendering them "subject to military conscription."<sup>7</sup> In fact, more than 700 Jews—the majority of whom volunteered for military service—fought for Prussia during the Wars of Liberation (1813–15).<sup>8</sup> After years of backlashes and modest gains, more than a thousand Jews fought for Prussia in 1866, prompting Theodor Fontane to remark that "it was as if they had vowed to put an end to the old notion that Jews are unwilling and unfit to fight in war."<sup>9</sup> About seven thousand Jews fought in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71 and hundreds were decorated, numbers that approximated the rate of service and decoration for the rest of the population.<sup>10</sup>

Although there was a significant record of Jewish military service in German-speaking lands prior to World War I, the stereotype of Jewish physical inferiority persisted in equal measure. An anti-Semitic pamphlet, *Israel im Heere* (Israel in the Army), which was first printed in 1879, circulated widely at the end of the nineteenth century and resurrected many of the stereotypes of the Jewish body found in the caricatures created earlier.<sup>11</sup> The author maintained that since the Jews "lived off other people as parasites" (13), they have never had to defend the nations in which they resided. Citing Herder's assessment of their physical inferiority with approbation, Naudh writes that



704 Jews “do not have the complement of muscles as Northern people, and they lack the firm sinews of Arabs. . . . Their bones are not strong like those of the Germans . . . their entire bone structure is defective; the chest is not broad and developed, the shoulders are not straight and level, the neck and head are not upright” (5–6). He concludes that “physical inferiority is rarely the basis of warrior bravery” (7). Indeed, such stereotypes inflamed anti-Semitism and caused another backlash against Jewish civil rights.

More than a century after the debate over Jewish fitness for military service began in earnest, the negation of the stereotype of the un-soldierly Jew now became a central part of the Zionist platform. It is no coincidence that the names of Jewish war heroes from antiquity—particularly, Bar Kochba and the Maccabees—would be resurrected as the models for regenerating the Jewish body and cultivating a martial manliness characterized by the soldierly values of bravery, courage, and aggression. And what is remarkable is that the very stereotypes promulgated by the anti-Semites would be internalized, oftentimes, as Sander Gilman has shown, through the mechanisms of Jewish self-hatred.<sup>12</sup> Here, Walter Rathenau, the assimilated German-Jewish industrialist who would become the foreign minister of Germany in 1922, provided one of the paradigmatic accounts of this transformation, citing his own “metamorphosis” from a “tribal” Jew into a “German” Jew. In 1897, the year before Nordau’s call for a “muscular Judaism,” Rathenau published a short essay in the influential Berlin journal, *Zukunft*, called “Höre, Israel!” (Hear, O Israel!), in which he appealed to Jews to “look at [themselves] in the mirror” and take the necessary steps to reform their bodies.<sup>13</sup> With regard to Jews living in a society imbued with Prussian military values, he writes: “You should be all the more careful not to walk about in an unkempt and lethargic manner, and thereby become the laughingstock of a disciplined race brought up in a strict military fashion. As soon as you have recognized your puny build, your hunched shoulders, your clumsy feet, your flaccid roundish shape, you will resolve to dedicate a few generations to the regeneration of your outer appearance” (458). In Rathenau’s assessment, Jews—as a race—lacked the martial discipline and physical constitution of their German counterparts. Although Rathenau later withdrew this essay from circulation when it became clear that it abetted anti-Semitism, the critiques that he raised were vociferously debated in the years that led up to World War I and widely accepted as a justification of the Jewish politics of corporeal regeneration.

Across the political spectrum, Jews began to call upon fellow Jews to undertake a rigorous physical program of corporeal reform and to resurrect the martial traditions of their ancestors, which they had variously given up or lost in the diaspora.<sup>14</sup> In 1907, for example, Elias Auerbach published a short but programmatic piece “On the Military Fitness of the Jews” in *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* (Jewish Gymnastics Journal), in which he argued that Jews are not inherently less capable of serving in the military than other people; rather, they are called up in smaller numbers because the quantitative indicators of their fitness—particularly, chest size measurements—are, on average, lower. He explains: “Chest circumference essentially depends upon two things: the size of the lungs and the strength of the chest muscles. Both are closely related to the intensity of breathing. This is obvious with regard to lung size, but it is also the case

with the strength of the chest muscles, which are primarily breathing muscles and gradually strengthen with deep breathing, as will other muscles with regular training” (JTZ: 1907, no. 10/11, 189). People who work in the country (as opposed to the city) and who engage in manual labor will have larger chest muscles and, hence, appear to be more fit for military service. Among the Jews, he argues, there are very few farmers but lots of “accountants, traders, tailors, and academics” (JTZ: 1907, no. 10/11, 189). Hence, there are lots of Jews with small chests. The solution, which can hardly be surprising for the journal’s readership, is physical training, exercise, and sports, with a specific attention to gymnastics exercises aimed at developing the chest muscles. The result, Auerbach predicts, would be more Jews selected for military service and more Jews distinguishing themselves in the military.

The following year, Heinrich Loewe, an avid supporter of Jewish ethnic pride and nationalist feeling, published an essay in *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* called “Die Makkabäer” (The Maccabees). Loewe had been instrumental in organizing the first Jewish-nationalist student associations, particularly the *Vereinigung Jüdischer Studenten* (Association of Jewish Students) as a counterweight to the anti-Semitic *Verein Deutscher Studenten*.<sup>15</sup> For Loewe, as with many of his Zionist colleagues, the Maccabees represented the quintessential paradigm of Jewish nationalist strength and bravery, a “heroic race” [*Heldengeschlecht*] that must be emulated today (JTZ: 1908, no. 12, 213). According to Loewe, the Maccabees demonstrated that “heroes [could be] created from a cowardly tribe,” proving that “even an inconsequential tribe is in the position, through national self-help, to defy a militarized world” (JTZ: 1908, no. 12, 217). Loewe concludes his celebration of the Maccabees by citing what he imagines to have been their high level of physical fitness: “The first resistance of the heroic Maccabee race was probably due to gymnastics. . . . Their heroic deeds thoroughly proved that their bodies were trained in all the gymnastic arts and steeled for genuine battles” (JTZ: 1908, no. 12, 218). Not coincidentally, this was the same rhetoric that the *Vereinigung Jüdischer Studenten* had used for nearly a decade to call upon its members to reform their bodies: “By steeling our physical strength and increasing our dexterity, our bodies will be masculine and full of energy, ready to execute the orders of the mind.”<sup>16</sup>

Shortly after the start of World War I, the *Jüdische Rundschau*, under the editorial direction of Loewe, reprinted a rousing speech by Franz Oppenheimer entitled “Alte und neue Makkabäer” (Old and New Maccabees).<sup>17</sup> The editor included a short prefatory note explaining the decision to reprint the speech nearly a decade after it was delivered by referencing the timeliness of the historical moment in which “the ideals of the fight for freedom in Russia, in which the blood of Jewish heroes has been spilt, can be realized” (353). Not only did the vast majority of Jews entertain the hope that the First World War would bring about better conditions and even liberate the masses of Eastern European Jews living in ghettos and miserable poverty, but they also believed that the War would be a proving ground for the emergence of an “old-new” Jewish race, one which was imbued by the heroic bravery and strength of the Maccabees. In his speech, Oppenheimer cites the spate of violent pogroms across Kishinev, Homel, Odessa, and Kiev, and wonders—not unlike the poet Haim Nahman Bialik<sup>18</sup>—whether

706 “the Jewish masses have lost their Maccabee anger and Maccabee courage” (353). Perhaps it has been suppressed, he suggests, but even the poor “pants-selling youth”<sup>19</sup> of the Eastern European ghettos are, he maintained, “true descendants of the Maccabees” (354). Now, more than a decade later, World War I would be the decisive moment to reawaken this pride and regenerate the heroism of the “old” Maccabees.

Indeed, just days after the start of World War I, Loewe had already called upon the German Jews to defend their fatherland with the courage and bravery exhibited by the Maccabees.<sup>20</sup> Like Oppenheimer, he saw no contradiction between this unflagging support of Germany and the ideals of the Maccabees: It was through Germany that “progress, freedom, and culture” would be preserved against the “terrible tyranny, bloody cruelty, and dark regression” (343) enveloping Europe. Fighting for Germany was essentially a Maccabean fight against a modern-day tyranny that sought to “annihilate ‘the land of culture’” and place a stranglehold on Jewish freedom and prosperity (343). Loewe’s call to German Jews, supported by the *Reichsverein der Deutschen Juden* and the *Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland*, reads as follows: “In these hours, it must be shown anew that we—as tribally proud Jews—belong among the best sons of the fatherland. The nobility of our millennia of history obliges us. We expect that our youth will voluntarily and cheerfully defend the flag. ... We trust that our youth—strengthened by the cultivation of their Jewish consciousness and their physical education [*körperliche Ausbildung*] in ideal conviction and manly courage—will distinguish themselves in all war-like virtues” (343). Emboldened by their heroic fighting tradition and physically regenerated in the gymnastics halls of modern-day Europe, Jews would bravely serve the German fatherland and prove, once and for all, that they were a military people.

Significantly, nearly all the Zionists (and Loewe was no exception) did not perceive a contradiction between their loyalty to the nations in which they lived and their ultimate desire for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.<sup>21</sup> In fact, the *Jüdische Rundschau* carried a permanent citation from the Basel Program across its masthead, which read: “The goal of Zionism is to establish a legally and publicly secure state in Palestine for the Jewish people.” In August 1914, printed just a few inches below this citation was Loewe’s call to German Jews “to give their entire heart, their entire soul, and their entire means to the service of the fatherland” (343). As Michael Berkowitz points out, “Zionists in both the Central and Allied powers ... rationalized that their own country’s victory would hasten the conversion of Zionist dreams into reality.”<sup>22</sup> They did not perceive an issue of conflicted or double loyalties. According to Loewe, fighting for the German fatherland not only gave Jews the chance to showcase their loyalty and permanently negate the stereotype of Jewish cowardice, but it also allowed Jews to fight for a common goal, side-by-side with their German brothers in arms: “When we fight as citizens of our fatherland, the bravery of our ancestors, the courage unto death of the Maccabees, the tremendous fight of Bar Kochba, and the heroic death of hundreds of thousands of our people throughout the ages comes shining through as a glorious example. We will be victorious. We have the confidence in the German Emperor that he is leading us right. We have confidence in the German people that they will fight to their last

breath, and we have the unshakable confidence in the divine justice that will bring victory to our honest brothers in arms.” (343).

Jewish enthusiasm for the War and unequivocal support of Germany persisted across the ideological spectrum in a range of pro-Zionist, non-Zionist, and anti-Zionist publications, something that underscores the fact that muscular Judaism was part of a broader, European-wide project of modern body reform. For example, while the pan-Jewish cultural magazine *Ost und West* never embraced an explicit pro-Zionist or pro-German nationalist political platform, it came out actively in support of the War. In 1914, Binjamin Segel published an extraordinary lead article in the magazine called “Der Krieg als Lehrmeister” (The War as Master Teacher), in which he argued that the War was essentially caused by the “groundless hatred” of Germany by other countries and that German-Jewry would summon its own ancestral glory to defend its fatherland.<sup>23</sup> “Unlike any other historical event,” Segel writes, “war answers the question of how much bravery, contempt for death, discipline, organizational capacity, sacrificial courage, and physical strength lies within a people” (635). Far from being “cowardly” or “un-warlike,” Jews have a long “warrior” tradition, including, among others, the warriors of Jephtha, Gideon, Saul, Job, Jehuda, and, of course, the Maccabees (635). Both ancestral Jews and present-day Jews embody the values of “cold-bloodedness, determination, resourcefulness, heightened vigilance, and unconditional trustworthiness” (638), thereby negating the “fable of the Jew who is militarily inferior” (640). The War, Segel believed, would not only teach present-day Jews to be warriors but also teach the rest of the world to accept the regenerated muscle Jews as a legitimate warrior people.

On the other side of the Jewish ideological spectrum, the anti-Zionist *Kartell-Convent vereingten Korporationen*, formerly the *Kartell Convent deutscher Studenten jüdischer Glaubens* (Association of German Students of Jewish Faith) came out strongly in support of the War, publishing an array of articles on the success of the war effort and lists of its fallen brothers who “died a heroic death for the fatherland.”<sup>24</sup> The Kartell-Convent, or K.C. for short, was originally formed in 1896 when three Jewish fraternities established an interuniversity association to advocate for full academic equality for Jewish students and fight anti-Semitism.<sup>25</sup> The students of the K.C. proclaimed that they were German students of Jewish faith and supported activities, such as gymnastics, fencing, and dueling, which would showcase their physical fitness, honor, and ethnic-national pride.<sup>26</sup> Its main publication, the *K.C.-Blätter*, carried the following mission statement: “The bonds of the K.C. are tied to the ground and convictions of the German fatherland. Its goal is to fight anti-Semitism in the German student body and to educate its members to become self-aware Jews who are conscious of the fact that the German Jews form an indissolubly connected part of the German fatherland through history, culture, and law, and are always prepared to stand up for the political and social equality of the Jews.”<sup>27</sup>

Beginning with its first issue in October 1910, the *K.C.-Blätter* also featured an extraordinary illustration on its cover depicting three naked youths engaged in battle [Figure 3]. The illustration was printed on the cover for its first year and then it was



708 removed; it returned in the March–April 1915 issue and was carried on the cover of each subsequent “war edition.” In it, we see three highly stylized, muscular Jews lunging toward light with swords in their hands, as if engaged in a fight for their honor, with an enemy that is not or cannot be depicted. While the image may represent three Jews dueling for their honor against anti-Semitism in 1910, its reproduction in 1915 is certainly meant to illustrate Jewish military bravery in the fight for the German fatherland. Since the faces are partially or fully obscured, we are drawn directly to the musculature of their bodies: their strong arms, the build of their chest and breast, and the sinews of their buttocks and legs. Each figure is shown from a slightly different angle revealing the side, the phallus, and the buttocks. Indeed, the left-most figure appears to have an erection as he lunges forward with all his virility into the depths of battle.<sup>28</sup> This, it seems, is how many German-Jewish men greeted World War I: As a proving ground for their muscularity, militancy, and masculinity.

Many reasons have been given to explain the prevalent and widespread enthusiasm with which Jews—both Zionist and non-Zionist, German and non-German—welcomed the coming of the War.<sup>29</sup> Foremost among the reasons was the belief harbored that the War would finally bring about full acceptance and equality. According to Ludwig Geiger in 1914, Jews “felt themselves to belong to their respective countries” and would “fight and suffer for their fatherland.” In return, they expected to be treated “justly.”<sup>30</sup> As István Deán further explains: “World War I marked the apogee of Jewish participation in the life of Central Europeans. In the delirious enthusiasm of August 1914, Jews were among the greatest enthusiasts. They endorsed the war, in part because the enemy was the anti-Semitic Russian empire, in part because the outcome of the conflict promised to bring their final and complete acceptance.”<sup>31</sup> While this explanation is certainly true, I would hasten to add that the War represented something else as well: It was the ultimate proving ground for the regenerated muscle Jew. In essence, the War was a chance for male European Jews to definitively prove that they were the modern descendants of their ancestral heroes and thus, particularly for the Zionists, capable of founding and defending a nation-state. The Jewish soldiers in World War I were the modern-day incarnations of the Maccabees or Bar Kochba, and it would be in the trenches and, as we will see below, in the air where they would demonstrate their muscular virility.

Even after 1916, the year the German War Ministry undertook its notoriously humiliating “Judenzählung” (Jew Count) to collect statistical information about the number of Jews serving in the German army, a census that spurred massive anti-Semitic attacks accusing Jews of shirking service and engaging in war profiteering,<sup>32</sup> the War remained a proving ground for Jewish soldiers. Jewish statisticians such as Felix Theilhaber and Jacob Segall quickly published “Jew counts” of their own in order to rebuke the anti-Semites who accused Jews of shirking their duties, or worse, stabbing the German nation in the back.<sup>33</sup> Jewish war statistics were widely circulated: 100,000 Jews served Germany in the War, the vast majority on the frontlines; 12,000 Jews died fighting; 35,000 Jews were decorated in the War; and 2,000 Jews became officers.<sup>34</sup> Although the War Ministry never officially published its census findings, excerpts were



▲  
Fig. 3.

widely used and manipulated by anti-Semitic ideologues, ushering in a tidal wave of propaganda that scapegoated Jews for Germany's defeat. Otto Armin's *Juden im Heere* (Jews in the Army), a statistical argument purporting to demonstrate Jewish responsibility for Germany's defeat, was published in 1919 and quickly circulated among right-wing, nationalist organizations.<sup>35</sup> Armin attempted to demonstrate that Jews fought in significantly lower percentages on the front, volunteered to serve in markedly smaller numbers than their non-Jewish counterparts, and, most damningly, could not distinguish themselves as war heroes because of their inhering "Händlergeist" (61). Jews, he argued, had a sneaky, business-like mindset, which predisposed them toward egoistic secrecy, money, espionage, and questionable morality; Germans, on the other hand, had a "Heldengeist," which predisposed them toward national heroism, courage, and self-sacrifice: In the War, Armin concludes, "the 'heroic spirit' of the Germans was driven into the ground by the 'business spirit' of the Jews" (61).

In light of the virulence of post-War anti-Semitism, it is all the more understandable that Jewish war veterans (both Zionist and non-Zionists) would see the War as the defining crucible for forging a heroic, nationally and ethnically proud, military masculinity. To this end, the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten* (National Association of Jewish Combat Veterans), or RjF for short, was established in 1919 and sought to

710 rebuke the anti-Semitic lies by educating the public about the Jewish contributions to the war effort and cultivating a heroic, militaristic sensibility among Jewish youth. At its peak, the RjF had between 30,000 and 40,000 members (membership was restricted to Jewish war veterans in Germany), the majority of whom came from middle-class and working-class backgrounds.<sup>36</sup> It had an expressly anti-Zionist platform and, like the German-Jewish student associations, sought to cultivate both a Jewish ethnic and German national pride. Leo Löwenstein, who authored the RjF's first call for members in January 1919, argued that Jewish war veterans cannot allow detractors to characterize them as "cowardly shirkers" [*Feige Drückeberger*]: "We are too proud to stand by idly while our honor as Germans and Jews is besmirched."<sup>37</sup> Disassociated from political parties, the RjF fought for the recognition of Jewish war veterans and supported the regeneration of the German nation. It was to be composed of "every German Jew who put his life on the line to fight for the fatherland" and sought to work "to help it blossom with new strength" (221). The RjF existed up until 1938.<sup>38</sup>

Beginning in 1920, the RjF began publishing *Der Schild* (The Shield), a weekly news journal directed primarily at Jewish war veterans and Jewish youth. It specifically sought to combat anti-Semitic propaganda and change public perceptions about Jewish war service. At the same time, the journal carried an extensive array of articles on the regeneration of the Jewish body, focusing primarily on the nexus between sports and military heroism. Not limited just to gymnastics and fencing, the RjF supported a wide-range of contact combat "body exercises" including boxing, Jiu-Jitsu, wrestling, and judo, all of which were considered to "strengthen and steel the entire musculature."<sup>39</sup> Cognizant of the specifications of the body for military service, the RjF wanted its members and youth to "fully develop their respiratory system, increase their chest circumference through exercise, and open up the capacities of their lungs all the more." It also wanted the heart "strengthened and the blood pressure increased." Importantly, the RjF believed that sports would not only result in a body fit for serving in the military but also cultivate specific military qualities such as "striking power, determination, mental presence, complete mastery of the body, adroitness, agility, courage, bravery, coldbloodedness, tenacity, endurance, the cultivation of reason and abstinence." As the author succinctly concludes: "Sport is battle!"<sup>40</sup>

To be sure, the link between sports and militarization was hardly new and, at least in Germany, extends back to Prussian military training and the growth of the *Turnen* movement throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Even in Jewish periodicals, such as *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung*, the connection between military training and gymnastics was evident years before the First World War, with numerous articles articulating the relationship between sport and military fitness.<sup>42</sup> In fact, as early as 1907, Hebrew was introduced to Jewish gymnastics practices as a "commando" language (very much in contrast to Yiddish) in order to elicit ancient heroic traditions.<sup>43</sup> As Gideon Reuveni has pointed out, the drill commands of the Israeli army can probably be traced back to the Hebraicization of certain German phrases used in gymnastics practice<sup>44</sup>: "Eyes looking forward!", "Head high!", "Shoulders back!", and "Chest out!" were commands used by "the Hebrew gymnastics commando" to refer to both gymnastics exercises and

military drills.<sup>45</sup> It should come as no surprise, then, that the RjF firmly believed—not unlike German nationalist thinkers, such as Ernst Jünger—that “the most important condition of life remains the completely steeled body!” [*der allseitig gestählte Körper*].<sup>46</sup> Through sport and military activities, muscle would be transformed into steel.

It was precisely this rhetoric of “steeling” and “hardening” the Jewish body that emerged as the single most important leitmotif in *Der Schild*. In 1922, *Der Schild* called upon Jewish women to educate their children “in equal measure with respect to mental and physical strength.” Mothers and sisters would “fight along with” the male members of the RjF by preserving “the sublime source of our Judaism through the steeling of the body.”<sup>47</sup> Not only, then, would the members of the RjF act as “the living statistics of Jewish soldiers on the front,” but the organization would also support the development of a militaristic level of “physical fitness” in all the German-Jewish youth, thereby permanently “steeling body and mind.”<sup>48</sup> But after World War I, it was not gymnasts, boxers, wrestlers, or even front soldiers who represented the epitome of the steeled body; it was aviators—for the flier literally melded together man and machine in the destructive world of the technological sublime.

On the one hand, then, the project of “steeling” the Jewish body—of turning muscle Jews into military Jews, of transforming flesh into steel—was a response to the virulently anti-Semitic propaganda accusing German Jews of shirking their military duties and undermining the German nation. It was an attempt to prove that Jews were both militaristic and patriotic, regardless of their position with respect to Zionism. Moreover, it was an attempt to negate the stereotype of the Jew as bourgeois merchant or speculator, who deals in abstractions and leeches off the German people. On the other hand, the “steeling” of the Jewish body has to be seen as part of a broader, decidedly modern social and cultural project of connecting the Jewish male body with both its heroic ancestral tradition and its future-oriented national redemption. In this regard, the steeled muscle Jew stands at the center of a tradition facing both ways at once.

For proto-fascist thinkers such as Ernst Jünger who put forward a new, heroic masculinity derived explicitly from the front experience, “war is a process that regenerates both the nation and the soldier male himself.”<sup>49</sup> Jünger, as Klaus Theweleit explains, rejected the same stereotypes—the merchant, the man of abstractions and speculations, the safety and security of the intellectual, the complacency and weakness of the bourgeoisie—in favor of an image of a new race of warriors who embraced an ethos of military masculinity, discipline, strength, and heroism. But what is significant is that Jews embraced these ideals as well and modeled their bodies after them. To be sure, we all know that the image of the German Jew that ultimately won out in the final years of the Weimar Republic was not the one that was muscular, nationalistic, and militarized; rather it was the one that was an exploiter, a degenerate, parasitic contagion who undermined and emasculated the German nation.<sup>50</sup> But there is another side of the story prior to 1933. In fact, in the first third of the twentieth century, German Jews also sought to combat degeneracy, weakness, and emasculation by embracing the very same ethos of military masculinity, discipline, strength, and heroism.

712 At the same time that the specter of the effeminate, homosexual, and degenerate Jew haunted the integrity of the fascist male body and thereby helped to negatively define its contours,<sup>51</sup> we must also consider the very real ways in which Jews sought to regenerate their own bodies and engineer their own forms of armoring, social administration, and muscular militancy. The Great War was both the proving ground and the crucible for the creation of a militarized race of “old-new Maccabees”—Jews, who in their steeled bodies and warrior image, exhibited the same “heroic spirit” of their German counterparts. Jewish bodies, then, cannot be considered merely allegories of the weak, formless, and deviant in contrast to the armored heroism of German bodies, even if they were precisely that for the fascist imaginary. We must also inquire into what the Great War meant for Jewish masculinity by examining the representational and rhetorical practice of Jews. As we will see, the steeled muscle Jew is a paradigmatic figure of the tensions, ambivalences, and dangers of European modernism.

Emerging out of the War and reaching a heyday during the Weimar Republic, there is no better image of the steeled Jewish body than that of the Jewish flier. As a combat ace, aviator, glider, and even world-record holder, the Jewish flier melded the muscled body with the technologically steeled body. Felix Theilhaber endowed the Jewish flier with its most enduring cultural expression in his 1924 book, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (Jewish Fliers in World War).<sup>52</sup> In the years that followed, countless paeans to Jewish fliers, many of which followed upon and referenced Theilhaber’s book, would be featured on the pages of *Der Schild*, including the story of Charles Levine, a New York Jew who broke Charles Lindbergh’s distance record in 1928. But before turning to Theilhaber’s book and the Jewish flier, we must first briefly contextualize the mythology of flying in the modernist imaginary. After a discussion of the machine-body complex in the years surrounding the Great War, I will, then, turn to Jewish aviation fantasies and Jewish fliers. The steeled muscle Jew, I conclude, is the embodiment of the dialectic of modernity, its corporeal hopes and catastrophes.

## II. Bodies, Machines, War: Jewish Aviators and the Modernist Imaginary

Shortly after the end of World War I, Max Ernst, the co-founder of Cologne Dadaism, produced an untitled collage, which is known today simply as *Airplane* (1920). The central image of the collage consists of portions of a biplane fused with strangely elongated human arms. Ernst foregrounded the machine-body amalgam in the center of an undifferentiated sky, and on the ground, in the lower-right-hand corner, he placed two men clad in military uniforms evacuating a third who appears to be injured. Viewers who encountered this image in 1920 probably intuited the relationship between the three men in the corner and the anthropomorphic machine in the sky: Airplanes both extended and destroyed the integrity of the human body. In effect, men could merge with flying machines, and flying machines could annihilate the body. After all, World War I was the first “material battle” (*Materialschlacht*) in which aviation technologies were widely used in reconnaissance missions, man-to-man combat, and, by the end of the War, bombing raids. In Ernst’s collage, the human arms and bourgeois tie ap-

pear to naturally grow out of the airplane's nose, while the plane's front fuselage and tail have replaced a human head and legs. It is as if the body and the machine have become fused into a new machine-man via the double-logic of the prosthesis: The machine adds to (while destroying) and subtracts from (while creating) the body.<sup>53</sup> In the corner of Ernst's collage, the tiny, fragile body is carried away, while the machinic technology, melding with and also destroying the human body, looms larger than life from above.

When Ernst composed a short biographical sketch of the key dates in his life several years later, he indicated the significance of the War as both a destroyer and a creator, an assessment he shared with many of his dada colleagues: "Max Ernst died on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1914. He resuscitated on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, 1918 as a young man aspiring to become a magician and to find the myth of his time."<sup>54</sup> The myth of his time is embodied, I would suggest, by the technologies of flight, and for the modernist imaginary, nowhere were its dialectical possibilities more fully expressed than in the First World War. As a modern mythology, flying not only elevated human beings into the air and unbound them from the seemingly mundane fetters of the earth, but it also transformed the very nature of time and space by reconfiguring the phenomenology of distance, speed, and duration.<sup>55</sup> And, at the same time, the technologies of flight unleashed massive, new means of destruction, ones that would become ever more radicalized as time and space were mastered. One need only call to mind the unending panegyrics to the Wright brothers in the first decade of the twentieth century, the feat of Louis Blériot flying across the English Channel in 1909, the wild embrace of flying by the Futurists to liberate human beings from the facticities of time and space, or the celebrated image of the combat ace in the popular imagination. As the Russian Futurist writer, Vasily Vasilyevich Kamensky, recalled with respect to the period around 1910: "The airplane—that is the truest achievement of our time. The aviator is the man of worthy heights. If we are really Futurists ... if we are people of the motorized present, poets of universal dynamism, newcomers and messengers of the future, masters of action and activity, enthusiastic builders of new forms of life—then we must be, we have no choice but to be, fliers."<sup>56</sup> Kamensky was heralding the emergence of a new race: A race of fliers.

Prior to the Great War, it was the Italian Futurist, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, who most fervently celebrated the new body-machine amalgam of the flier in all its dialectical expressions of destruction and rebirth.<sup>57</sup> As the great apostle of speed and technology, he famously glorified war as "the world's only hygiene" and hailed the emergence of a new race of "gay incendiaries with charred fingers."<sup>58</sup> Inspired by his experience in an aircraft during the international air show at Brescia in 1909, a "momentous event" that launched "the aviation craze in Italy ... and introduced the muses into an Italian aerodrome for the first time,"<sup>59</sup> Marinetti considered flying, as he wrote in the "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature" (May 1912), "to break apart the old shackles of logic and the plumb lines of the ancient way of thinking."<sup>60</sup> The manifesto, composed shortly after returning from the Battle of Tripoli, a colonial war in which he participated "in all the most violent, most virile, and most heroic actions,"<sup>61</sup> consists of an airplane

714 propeller dictating laws for “[destroying] syntax” and creating a new form of subjectivity (84). Marinetti ends by claiming that “we will conquer the seemingly unconquerable hostility that separates out human flesh from the metal of motors” (89). In effect, the airplane will inaugurate a new mode of being-in-the-world, one which brings man together with machine, flesh together with motor.<sup>62</sup> Not without irony, it was the young Franz Kafka who made a similar observation about Blériot’s body, when he witnessed the famous aviator take off in the 1909 Brescia air show: “One sees his straight upper body over the wings, his legs are stretched down like part of the machinery.”<sup>63</sup> Man and machine have become one.

It was this permanent melding together of man and machine that Ernst Jünger would later celebrate in his autobiographical chronicles of the Great War as well as in his essayistic reflections on the utopian possibilities of total warfare. In his book, *Das Wäldchen 125*, a diary of six weeks of trench warfare during July–August 1918 in an area known as Rossignol Wood or Copse 125 of the Western Front, Jünger proclaimed that the War brought forth a new kind of human being, one in which man and machine had become fused together in an amalgam of bloody flesh and dangerous explosivity: “I see in old Europe a new and commanding breed rising up, fearless and fabulous, unsparing of blood and sparing of pity, inured to suffering the worst and to inflicting it and ready to stake all to attain their ends—a race that builds machines and trusts machines, to whom machines are not soulless iron, but engines of might which it controls with cold reason and hot blood.”<sup>64</sup> And like Marinetti, it was the airmen, the combat aces who embraced “the ardor of speed” and become “dismembered by the rush of air if they are shot down by the enemy” (*Copse 125*, 88, 89), who represented “a new manifestation of mankind” (*Copse 125*, 87).

Jünger not only imagined war in the same hygienic terms as Marinetti, but he went even further: He conceived of a world in which the horror of technological warfare was its permanent fixture. As Walter Benjamin perceptively characterized his vision: The desire for an “endless war ... is nothing other than an uninhibited translation of the principles of *l’art pour l’art* to war itself.”<sup>65</sup> That is to say, Jünger glorified war not for some other end, such as why and how war is waged, but only for the sake of war itself. Unlike other contemporary cultural commentators and critics, Jünger had no interest in working through or coming to terms with the trauma of war<sup>66</sup>; instead, the Great War was an absolute end in itself, a creative, downright regenerative force that brought a new race of men into the world.

Of course, the vast majority of soldiers who survived the War did not come back as the embodiments of Marinetti’s man-machine aesthetic or Jünger’s new race of technologically steeled soldier-workers.<sup>67</sup> Instead, they came back shell-shocked, with massively disfiguring injuries to their faces, arms, and legs, all of which undermined the integrity of their manhood and their ability to regenerate the German nation.<sup>68</sup> As Paul Lerner has shown in his illuminating study of war trauma, it was the figure of the male hysteric—“Hysteria virilis”—who haunted the German imagination and symbolized the nation’s various shortcomings and failures during the First World War and its immediate aftermath. Because the male hysteric was unable to work or serve

in the military and, according to the argument of German psychiatrists, shirked his patriotic duties, he threatened Germany's economic power, political stability, and military strength. Male hysteria, according to Lerner, had less to do with an explicit feminization and more to do with "medically manufacturing proper German subjects" able to rise up and defend the nation due to their health, capacity for work, military service, patriotism, and ability to engage in biological reproduction.<sup>69</sup>

It was Ernst Toller, a German Jew who fought in World War I, who composed the most damning indictment of how the war emasculated "German" men. His play, *Der deutsche Hinkemann* (written in 1921/22), thematized the trauma of war on the body of the German soldier. It was performed throughout Germany and across Europe in the following years. The main character, Hinkemann, returns home from the war to his devoted wife as a cripple, "as something monstrous," nothing but a "living corpse."<sup>70</sup> During the war, we find out, Hinkemann suffered an injury that left him without male genitalia, and he is now designated a "eunuch." Although he tries to claim his injury as his own—"Here stands a real-live eunuch!" (197)—and wonders how those who publicly ridicule him will be man enough to build a new society, his mortification eventually drives his wife to commit suicide at the end of the play. Before the final desperate scenes, Hinkemann searchingly poses a critical question which links his masculinity with social productivity: "When someone ... who was in the war ... for example ... had one's sex ... one's sex shot off ... what ... what would happen to him in the new society?" (192). In German, the term "*Geschlecht*" (sex) can refer to biological sex and gender as well as race or lineage. Hinkemann wonders whether someone without a "*Geschlecht*" can participate in—that is to say, reproduce—a society (*Gesellschaft*) in which men are supposed to be healthy, productive, and self-sufficient.

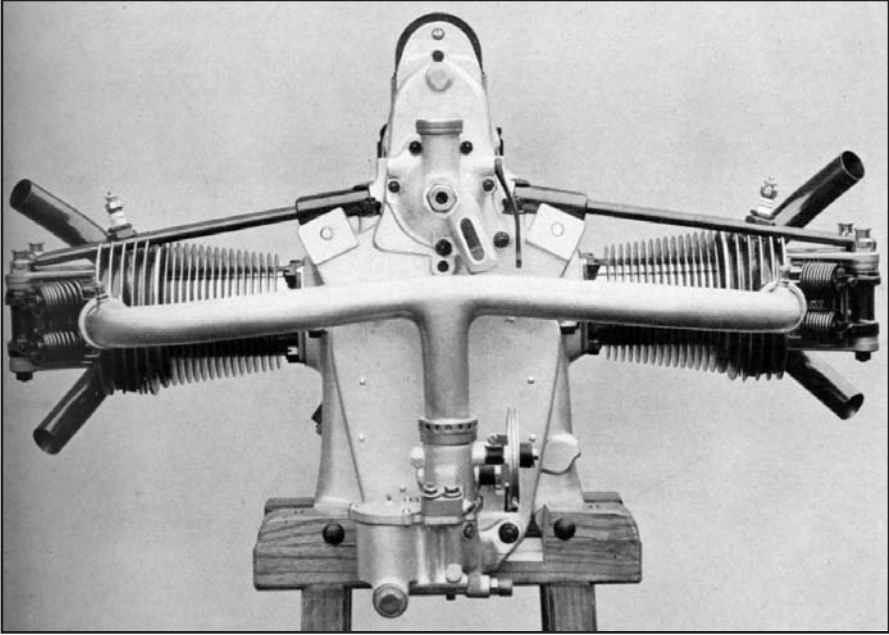
Jünger's response was simply to come up with a new creation myth, one which obviated biological reproduction. In *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* (*The Battle as Inner Experience*) (1922), Jünger detailed the birth of a new race of "super men." It was none other than Nietzsche's "*Übermensch*" brought to the frontlines and left there forever.<sup>71</sup> In a paradigmatic statement of the war's uniquely generative sexuality, Jünger explains: "The war, father of all things, is also our father. He hammered us, chiseled us, and hardened us into what we are. ... The war is not only our father but also our son. We gave birth to him and he to us" (11–12).<sup>72</sup> Jünger's martial parthenogenesis is striking not only for its capacity to be an exclusively male domain but also for its total obviation of reproduction itself. If the war is our forefather and also our offspring, then the war not only gave birth to the men in the trenches, but they also, closing the circle, gave birth to it. Jünger considers the war to be the showcase of virility, charged to the limit with an "overflowing manliness" [*überströmende Männlichkeit*] (19).<sup>73</sup> In his unambiguous words: "The style of the material battle and trench warfare ... gave birth to men that the world has never seen before. It was an entirely new race embodied by energy and loaded with the highest force. Supple, lithe, sinewy bodies, prominent faces, and eyes hardened under the helmets by a thousand horrors. ... The battle is not only destruction but also the manly form of creation [*die männliche Form der Zeugung*]" (37, 50).



716 In 1933, Jünger published a photo anthology, *Flying is Necessary*, in which he hoped for the coming of “a complete race [*Geschlecht*] of fliers.”<sup>74</sup> He glorified the form of the well-oiled, metallic motor as the “embodiment of a new martialism” (LN, 9), and in his magnum opus, *Der Arbeiter: Herrschaft und Gestalt* (The Worker: Dominance and Form), even declared that “the motor ... [is] the symbol of our time.”<sup>75</sup> Not surprisingly, the photograph anthology is filled with hundreds of pictures of airplanes, combat fliers, and shiny motors. He intimates a crucial connection between technology, war, and the virile body of the flier when he writes that “the person who flies is perhaps the most vivid manifestation of a new manliness. He represents a type who was already indicated during the war” (LN, 8–9). As the underbelly to Ernst’s murderous airplane, in which both man and technology are destroyed by one another, there is a strikingly unambiguous anthropomorphism in the staging of many of the photographs of motors in *Flying is Necessary* [Figure 4]. Jünger himself had posed what he termed “the decisive question of nature” regarding the breakdown of the difference between machines and human beings: “Who flies then, the machine or me?” (LN, 9). The answer, it seems, judging by the photographs of airplane motors with outstretched, cylindrical ‘arms,’ bolted ‘faces’ which spurn individuality, and mechanical ‘torsos’ composed of only the most efficient circuitry for routing blood, appears to be the sublation of the binary man/machine into the form of the “soldier-worker,” heralding a new race of combat fliers.

While the “steeling” of the Jewish male body was never expressed in terms that equal the extremity of Jünger’s technological fantasy, it is also worth noting that the Jewish male body was never represented (at least not in the Jewish press) as enfeebled, hysterical, or emasculated. There was no Jewish “Hinkemann,” and certainly in the representations created by the RjF, there was no Jewish “hysteria virilis.” The Great War, we are to believe, had quite the opposite effect on Jewish men. Even if a Jewish man was crippled by injuries sustained during the War, he still took to the air because he was part of a new race of fliers. As Felix Theilhaber indicates in his telling of the heroic story of Jacob Ledermann, a Jewish combat ace who was shot in the stomach, crashed in enemy camps, and suffered seemingly debilitating injuries (JF, 37–39), Ledermann returned to fly again by the end of the War, entering German gliding competitions at the Rhön.<sup>76</sup>

In his cultural history of Jewish aviators in the War, Theilhaber reproduces two pictures of the Jewish war hero [Figures 5–6]: The first shows a boyish-looking Ledermann, outfitted in his flying gear and gazing into the space of the unknown with a decisive clarity of vision. The photograph captures his muscular torso, his strong arms and broad chest, but only intimates the presence of the flying machine. Prepared for aerial combat, Ledermann is the embodiment of the steeled muscle Jew. The second photograph, taken at a gliding contest in the Rhön in 1924, shows Ledermann’s plane shortly after its release. In this picture, the machine dominates, and Ledermann’s head can barely be made out in the cockpit. As a kind of sublation of the man-machine binary, the greatness of the new amalgam eclipses the mere mortals scattered on the ground, for Ledermann and his glider embodied a new kind of heroic masculinity, one that absorbed and perhaps even negated the injuries he suffered in the War. As proof of



▲  
Fig. 4. "Light Aircraft Motor" from: *Luftfahrt ist Not* (1933)



◀  
Fig. 5. Jacob Ledermann, from: Felix Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (1924)

his heroism, Theilhaber cites a report from a German newspaper, which mythologizes his return to flight: "Ledermann, who was severely injured in the War, sat in a glider for the first time. Like a bird of prey with outstretched wings that defied gravity, his machine climbed a path into the blue ether" (JF, 38). He went on to win four prizes in the German gliding competition at the Wasserkuppe.

As Peter Fritzsche has indicated in his cultural history of German aviation, the combat ace was widely celebrated and deeply respected in the popular imagination during and after the War because he represented a new ideal of individual courage



▲  
 Fig. 6. Ledermann as Glider in the Rhön, from: Felix Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (1924)

in the face of the monstrous mass death on the ground. In Fritzsche's words: "In control of his fate, handling his airplane with great courage and skill but also with an envied recklessness, the aviator appeared to be a genuine war hero, comparable to cavalymen in Napoleon's era or chivalrous knights in the Middle Ages. Beginning in 1915, aces found themselves lionized as hugely popular celebrities, particularly in France and Germany. And after the War, a steady stream of hagiography enhanced their heroic status."<sup>77</sup> The combat ace—outfitted in a leather cap, flying goggles, and a scarf—became an instantly recognizable symbol of the heroic qualities of the nation, linking individual courage with military-technical precision. It is not by accident that Theilhaber reproduces pictures of Jewish aces that are meant to remind the German public of its favorite aces, Oswald Boelcke and Baron von Richthofen. Poised with an unflappable confidence in their deeds, in their machine, and most of all in themselves, these men embodied a new heroism.

While Jünger saw the worker-soldier or combat ace as a fundamental break with the past, Theilhaber and members of the RjF believed that the Jewish men who had come forth in battle were finally reunited—in a decidedly modern incarnation—with their ancestral heroes. They were hardened, chiseled, and steeled in the trenches and in the air. This is because the modern-day flier, like the ancient warrior family of the Maccabees, "is unquestionably of a soldierly, heroic nature."<sup>78</sup> As one report from the RjF's "gliding group" asserted with respect to flying: We will "toughen [*stählen*] our hearts and lungs, practice with our eyes and hands, raise our Jewish youth in the spirit of the Spartans, teach them courage, self-mastery, coldbloodedness, bravery, mental presence in the spirit of our heroic forefathers, [so that they] fight strongly and prove victorious!"<sup>79</sup> As Leo Löwenstein later wrote with regard to the importance of "gliding" for the German-Jewish youth: "From the beginning, the noble task of the RjF

has been to assure the physical and moral fitness of the coming generations,” and it is through flying that “new sources of muscular and mental strength will be opened up for our youth.”<sup>80</sup> Jews will be tough because they fly, and they will fly because they are tough.

When Theilhaber published the first edition of his book, *Jüdische Flieger* in 1919, picture books and magazines glorifying flying were already legion in Germany. Nearly all celebrated the transcendental possibilities of flight and coupled it with an evocation of nationalist feeling and achievement.<sup>81</sup> The title of one of the best known German aviation books published in 1915 leaves little question about the ideological and technological motivations: *Deutschlands Eroberung der Luft* (Germany’s Conquest of the Air).<sup>82</sup> The book contained more than three hundred glossy photographs documenting the history of flight in Germany up through the first year of the War, including the technological developments of different kinds of flying machines, aerial reconnaissance pictures, and scores of pilots, especially world record holders. But as Theilhaber rightly pointed out, the feats of Jewish fliers remained considerably less well-known. Due to the rise of anti-Semitism that “named Jews as cowards, shirkers, and saboteurs” (JF, 9), it was all the more important to draw attention to and celebrate this history.

As a committed Zionist, Theilhaber was not interested in propagating nationalist hymns to the German fatherland; instead, he was interested in presenting an accurate picture of Jewish participation in the Great War and showcasing Jewish heroism. For the 1924 edition of *Jüdische Flieger*, Theilhaber solicited the non-Jewish Lieutenant Colonel Siegert, the officer who oversaw the German air force during the War, to write the introduction. Siegert not only points out the broad competencies required for flying (the fact that it brings technical and strategic skills together with the knowledge of physics, aerodynamics, and meteorology) but also underscores the fact that Jewish fliers excelled in all these areas: “The contributions that our Jewish citizens made to the War must be judged more highly and recognized more selflessly than those made during times of peace” (JF, 7). In this regard, the book is both a rejoinder to the anti-Semitic propaganda and a celebration of the “warrior existence [*Kriegerdasein*] of Jewish soldiers” (JF, 10).

Theilhaber begins the book by elucidating the qualities of “heroism” and “bravery” by attempting to unlock “the solitary world of the flier” (JF, 14). Illustrated by an aerial photograph of the Zugspitze, Germany’s highest mountain covered in snow and bathed in clouds, Theilhaber immediately evokes the transcendental mythology of flying. Very much in line with the place of aviation in the modernist imaginary, Jewish fliers also partook in “the romance with the machine.”<sup>83</sup> Soaring above the clouds elicits a profound greatness that breaks away from the everyday sense of being limited to the ground. It cannot be achieved by just anyone and certainly “a people of physically inferior elements will not produce a strong contingent of fit fliers” (JF, 15). But as we learn by reading Theilhaber’s book, there were hundreds of Jewish fliers who partook in the widest range of activities during the War, ranging from aerial combat to reconnaissance missions. And they came from all walks of life—actors, school teachers, factory workers, merchants, traders, and artists—something that proves, in Theilhaber’s

720 view, that Jews are not an inferior race (JF, 118). Instead, they are, in Nordau's tellingly prescient notion, the embodiment of the "true moderns," those individuals who are best adapted to the demands of modern society through discipline, rationality, and clarity of vision.<sup>84</sup>

Theilhaber's book is illustrated by numerous airplanes and aviators perched in the cockpit ready to undertake heroic missions over enemy territory [Figure 7]. And, interestingly, it also included a single picture of a mangled biplane that crashed in a heavily wooded area [Figure 8]. Far from undermining Jewish aerial skills, the photograph evokes the inherent risks of flying, something that accords with Jünger's celebration of danger. In fact, Jünger published an entire photo book, *The Dangerous Moment*, documenting crashing airplanes, balloons, and automobiles in order to demonstrate how the bourgeois world of security had been displaced by a new world of technology, mobilization, and warfare. As he wrote in the introduction, "the increased intrusion of danger into daily life" is a sign that the "bourgeois epoch" of the past is receding and a new world, characterized by danger, uncertainty, and militancy, is unfolding.<sup>85</sup> Theilhaber considers the Jewish flier to be a part of this new world of danger.

He indicates in no uncertain terms what this meant for the Jewish bourgeoisie, who, in their traditional role, remained safely ensconced behind their desks "in the offices of the metropolis" (JF, 26): Warfare placed new physical, intellectual, and emotional demands on Jewish men, which required them to show courage and fortitude in the face of hunger, cold, and extreme violence. "It is no wonder," Theilhaber writes, "that the lethargic and weak Jewish merchant fell by the wayside all the more quickly" (JF, 27). Here, he not only accepts the prevalence of the Jewish stereotype—the very same one that Jünger would rail against—but also indicated how it was radically dispelled and displaced by the militarization of the Jewish body in war. Unlike the work of the bourgeoisie, "service in the air force requires iron energy and a daily willingness to sacrifice one's life" (JF, 32). The fact that Jews became exemplary pilots and combat aces, many of whom were decorated for their valor, indicates the extent to which they left behind the old stereotypes and embraced the new ideals of danger, militarism, and wartime heroism. Unlike Jünger, however, Theilhaber writes that Jews did not consider the War to be "sublime" (JF, 68); rather it was a duty in which they served loyally and heroically. The fact that they were honored for their service was not only "proof of their fitness" (JF, 32) but also proof of the fact that "Maccabean courage beat in Jewish hearts" (JF, 88). In effect, the War reconstituted a long lost Jewish militarism, one which, in its modernist incarnation, transformed muscles into steel.

Theilhaber's book was widely received and praised in both the Jewish and non-Jewish press when it was reissued in 1924: In *Der Schild*, it initiated an entire discourse around Jewish bravery and aviation fantasies, bringing ancestral pride and modernist triumphs to bear on the physical constitution of the new Jewish body. "Our Jewish youth can summon as much courage and mental presence to show the whole public that our new generations are strong enough in terms of body and soul to successfully undertake athletic competitions, including those in the air, that they are capable of putting forth their men as we [the members of the RjF] did in World War. The old spirit



Fliegeroberleutnant Friedländer

Fig. 7. Flying Officer Friedländer from: Felix Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (1924)



Fig. 8. From: Felix Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (1924)

722 of the Maccabees has not died out!”<sup>86</sup> The RjF published scores of articles reviewing and referencing Theilhaber’s book and encouraged members to share it with their children. Within the non-Jewish public, Paul Loebe, the President of the Reichstag, even added his own words of praise.

But perhaps the most unexpected reception of Theilhaber’s book on Jewish fliers came in the summer of 1927 when the RjF presented a copy to a Jewish businessman from New York City named Charles A. Levine. Together with his pilot, Clarence Chamberlin, Levine had just undertaken an extraordinary transatlantic flight and landed in a wheat field in Germany, about forty miles short of his intended destination, Berlin. Levine embarked on the 4,000 mile journey across the Atlantic Ocean on June 4, 1927, a few weeks after Charles Lindbergh became a world sensation for having completed the first non-stop flight from New York to Paris. Chamberlin and Levine broke Lindbergh’s record, flying some four-hundred miles further and eight and half hours longer. The RjF sung their praises: “Lindbergh established an absolute record. Chamberlin and Levine broke it repeatedly. First of all, they flew further. Second, they flew in tandem, thus becoming the first passenger flight over the ocean and demonstrating that air travel is ready to take off. If one is willing, there is also a third record: It consists in the fact that the first Jew flew across the ocean.” Although Levine was not the pilot, the RjF argued that it was still an “achievement of courage” and demonstrates the same “manly courage” as that of Jews who served on the front and in the air force.<sup>87</sup>

In Europe, Levine was greeted by dignitaries from Hindenburg to Mussolini. Back in New York, the Yiddish daily, *Der Tog*, explained the significance of his flight within the history of the Jewish people, making particular reference to the military spirit of the Jews in War and placing the achievement squarely within the modernist mythology of flight: “This is the record of Jewish bravery, courage, and fortitude . . . We are no longer obliged to prove that Jews are just as capable and strong on the field of physical bravery as they are on the field of intellectual achievement. Every front during the war from 1914–1918 could tell the story of Jewish courage and heroism. Every sport bears the names of Jewish players and record-holders. Until recently, however, we have heard little of Jewish pilots giving themselves over to flying. And so it has fallen upon a New York Jew, the son of immigrants from Vilna, to show that the Jew does not stand on the sidelines of the newest, noblest, and most important of human accomplishments.”<sup>88</sup> Levine emerged as a veritable Jewish hero and within days was immortalized in Yiddish songs which proclaimed him to be “the hero of Israel . . . like the patriarchs of old.” Two of the songs, one by Irving Grossman and the other by Joseph Feldman, even set their notes to what was then the unofficial Jewish national anthem, “Ha’Tikvah” (The Hope).<sup>89</sup> Levine, like the Jewish fliers before him, had embodied, however fleetingly, the modernist mythology of flight in all its dialectical manifestations of transcendence and materiality, nationality and war, muscularity and militancy, hope and catastrophe. Not only is this the legacy of the steeled body and the muscle Jew, but it represents paradigmatically the challenges and tensions inherent to Jewish modernism.

## Notes

1. In a speech delivered at the Second Zionist Congress in 1898, Nordau argued that Zionism “awakens Judaism to new life. It achieves this morally [*sittlich*] through the rejuvenation of the ideals of the Volk and corporeally [*körperlich*] through the physical rearing of one’s off spring, in order to create a lost muscular Judaism [*Muskeljudentum*] once again.” *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des II. Zionisten-Congresses* (Vienna: Verlag des Vereines ‘Erez Israel,’ 1898), 14–27. Here, 24. Nordau published the first complete call for “Muskeljudentum” in *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* (June 1900), no. 2, 10–11. A follow-up article emphasizing the relationship between gymnastics and health appeared in July of 1902, “Was bedeutet das Turnen für uns Juden?” (What does gymnastics mean for us Jews?). Further references to *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* will be documented parenthetically as JTZ, followed by the year, volume, and page number. Both articles are also reprinted in *Max Nordau’s Zionistische Schriften*, ed. Zionistische Aktionskomitee (Cologne: Jüdischer Verlag, 1909), 379–381 and 382–388, respectively. For a fuller discussion of Nordau, see my forthcoming book, *Muscular Judaism: The Jewish Body and the Politics of Regeneration* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2007) and article, “‘Clear Heads, Solid Stomachs, and Hard Muscles’: Max Nordau and the Aesthetics of Jewish Regeneration,” *Modernism/Modernity* 10.2 (April 2003): 269–96. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are mine.

2. For a discussion of these stereotypes, see Klaus Hödl, *Die Pathologisierung des jüdischen Körpers* (Vienna: Picus Verlag, 1997), esp. 168–77, and Sander Gilman, *The Jew’s Body* (New York: Routledge, 1991). Also, see John Efron’s *Medicine and the German Jews: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), ch. 4, “The Jewish Body Degenerate?”

3. Daniel Boyarin celebrates this “unheroic conduct” as an indicator of a uniquely Jewish, “soft” manliness, which he sees to stand in contradistinction to the “macho” heroism of the warrior. See his *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

4. The poem and illustration are reprinted in Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur* (Munich: Verlag Albert Langen, 1921), 37.

5. “Mauschel” is a variant of the Yiddish word for “Moses” and is used here in a pejorative sense to refer collectively to hapless, Yiddish-speaking Jews.

6. Reprinted in Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur*, 93.

7. The full edict was republished in *Sulamith*, the first German language journal aimed at a Jewish readership and the central organ of Jewish emancipation in Prussia, under the title: “Bürgerliche Verbesserung der Israeliten im Königreich Preußen” (1812), 54–63. An English translation of a portion of the “Edict of Emancipation” appears in: *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, eds. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 141–42. Here, 142.

8. For more on the history of Jewish military service in Prussia, see Horst Fischer, *Judentum, Staat und Heer in Preussen im frühen 19. Jahrhundert. Zur Geschichte der staatlichen Judenpolitik* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1968), and Erik Lindner, *Patriotismus deutscher Juden von der napoleonischen Ära bis zum Kaiserreich: Zwischen korporativem Loyalismus und individueller deutsch-jüdischer Identität* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1998).

9. Qtd. in Lindner, *Patriotismus deutscher Juden von der napoleonischen Ära bis zum Kaiserreich*, 311.

10. Cf. Geiger, *Deutschen Juden und der Krieg* (Berlin: C. U. Schwetschke, 1915), 52; Rolf Vogel, *Ein Stück von uns* (Mainz: v. Hase und Koehler, 1977), 35–6.

11. H. Naudh [J. Nordmann], *Israel im Heere* (Berlin: Otto Heutze Verlag, 1879). Citations will be documented parenthetically.

12. Sander Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

13. Rathenau published the original essay pseudonymously under the name Walter Hartenau: “Höre, Israel!” *Zukunft* 18 (March 16, 1897): 454–62. A portion of the essay is translated by J. Hessing and appears in *The Jew in the Modern World*, 267–68. I provided my own translation with reference to Hessing’s.



14. For an extensive discussion of Jewish military might and violence in antiquity, see Warren Rosenberg, *Legacy of Rage: Jewish Masculinity, Violence, and Culture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), esp. ch. 2.

15. See the discussion by Moshe Zimmerman, "Jewish Nationalism and Zionism in German-Jewish Students' Organizations," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 27 (1982): 129–53, and Keith H. Pickus, *Constructing Modern Identities: Jewish University Students in Germany, 1815–1914* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 104–110.

16. This is a quote from the Leipzig chapter of the Vereinigung Jüdischer Studenten from around 1900. Qtd. in Pickus, *Constructing Modern Identities*, 108.

17. The speech was originally delivered in 1905 at the Berlin Zionist Association and the title certainly plays off of Herzl's utopian novel, *Altneuland*. Franz Oppenheimer, "Die alte und neue Makkabäer," *Jüdische Rundschau* 35 (August 28, 1914), 353–55. Further citations will be documented parenthetically.

18. Bialik's 1903 poem, "The City of Slaughter," is perhaps the most famous indictment of Jewish passivity in the face of the pogrom in Kishinev. The poem ends with the following lines, aimed at the Jews themselves: "The scurrying of roaches was their flight; / They died like dogs, and they were dead!"

19. The reference is to an anti-Semitic phrase made famous by Heinrich von Treitschke who believed that Germany was being "invaded year after year by multitudes of assiduous pants-selling youths from the inexhaustible cradle of Poland, whose children and grand-children are to be the future rulers of Germany's exchanges and Germany's press." "A Word About Our Jewry" (1880), reprinted in: *The Jew in the Modern World*, 343.

20. Heinrich Loewe, "Feinde Ringsum!" *Jüdische Rundschau* 32 (August 7, 1914), 343–44. Further citations will be documented parenthetically.

21. The classic study to analyze this phenomenon is Jehuda Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land: The Dilemma of the German Jew, 1893–1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1975).

22. Michael Berkowitz, *Western Jewry and the Zionist Project, 1914–1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 7.

23. Benjamin Segel, "Der Krieg als Lehrmeister," *Ost und West* 9–12 (September–December 1914): 624–40. Further citations will be documented parenthetically.

24. Cf. *K.C. Blätter: Monatsschrift der im Kartell-Convent vereingten Korporationen* (November–December 1914).

25. The K.C. was preceded by the landmark establishment of an Association of Jewish Students at Breslau. In their manifesto, the regeneration of the Jewish body played a critical role in fighting both anti-Semitism and Jewish self-hatred. To quote from the manifesto: "Physical training has been since the time of the ancient Greeks the most powerful impulse toward forming body and mind. We saw the results in Jahn's and Friesen's training in the Wars of Liberation. We, however, have been barred from these exercises. Our association is to be, first of all, a place for physical training of every kind: gymnastics, fencing, rowing, and swimming. We have to fight with all our energy against the odium of cowardice and weakness which is cast on us. We want to show that every member of our association is equal to every Christian fellow-student in any physical exercise and chivalry. Physical strength and agility will increase self-confidence and self-respect, and in the future nobody will be ashamed of being a Jew." Qtd. in Adolph Asch and Johanna Philippson, "Self-Defence at the Turn of the Century: The Emergence of the K.C." *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 3 (1958): 122–139. Here, 124.

26. The literature on the students' movement in Imperial Germany is quite extensive. For an overview, see Konrad Jarausch, *Students, Society and Politics in Imperial Germany: The Rise of Academic Illiberalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982). For Jewish student associations in particular, see Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land*; Pickus, *Constructing Modern Identities*; Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Moshe Zimmerman, "Jewish Nationalism and Zionism in German-Jewish Students' Organizations." For more on dueling and honor, see Kevin McAleer, *Dueling: The Cult of Honor in Fin-de-Siècle Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Ute Frevert, *Ehrenmänner: Das Duell in der Bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991).

27. The journal carried this quote on every issue from October 1, 1910, onwards.
28. As we will see below, there is an intimately dialectical connection between warfare and masculinity in World War I: On the one hand, trench warfare was imagined by certain German nationalist proponents, such as Ernst Jünger, to give birth to new, technologically steeled men “loaded with overflowing manliness.” *Der Kampf als Inneres Erlebnis* in: *Sämtliche Werke: Essays I, Betrachtungen zur Zeit*, vol 7 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), 19. On the other hand, the war destroyed men and masculinity, creating what Paul Lerner has called “modern male hysteria.” *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry, and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 249. For a broad treatment of the topos of the military, war, and masculinity, see the essays in: Ute Frevert, ed., *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), esp. Frevert’s essay, “Das Militär als ‘Schule der Männlichkeit’: Erwartungen, Angebote, Erfahrungen im 19. Jahrhundert,” 145–173. Also, see Gregory A. Caplan, “Germanising the Jewish Male: Military Masculinity as the Last Stage of Acculturation,” in Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter, eds., *Towards Normality? Assimilation and Modern German Jewry* (Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 159–84.
29. See the essays in Werner E. Mosse and Arnold Paucker, eds., *Deutsches Judentum im Krieg und Revolution, 1916–1923* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971); George Mosse, “The Jews and the German War Experience, 1914–1918,” *Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture 21* (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1977); Paul Mendes-Flohr, “The *Kriegserlebnis* and Jewish Consciousness,” in: *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik / Jews in the Weimar Republic*, eds. Wolfgang Benz, Arnold Paucker, and Peter Pulzer, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1998), 225–37.
30. Ludwig Geiger, “Der Krieg und die Juden,” *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 34 (August 21, 1914): 297–98. Here, 298.
31. István Deán, “Jewish Soldiers in Austro-Hungarian Society,” *Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture 34* (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1990), 21.
32. For a thorough discussion of the “Jew Count,” see Werner T. Angress, “The German Army’s ‘Juden-zählung’ of 1916: Genesis—Consequences—Significance,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* (London: Leo Baeck Institute, 1978), 117–137.
33. Felix Theilhaber, *Die Juden im Weltkriege: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse für Deutschland* (Berlin: 1916) and Jacob Segall, *Die deutsche Juden als Soldaten im Kriege 1914–1918: Eine statistische Studie* (Berlin: 1921).
34. Cited in Vogel, *Ein Stück von uns*, 150.
35. Otto Armin, *Juden im Heere* (1919). Quotations will be documented parenthetically.
36. Ulrich Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten 1919–1938* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1977), 32–33.
37. Leo Löwenstein, “Erster Aufruf zur Gründung des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten” (January 1919) reprinted in *Der Schild* (July 5, 1929): 221. Further quotations are documented parenthetically.
38. For the most thorough discussion of the RjF, see Gregory Kaplan’s PhD dissertation, *Wicked Sons, German Heroes: Jewish Soldiers, Veterans, and Memories of World War I in Germany* (Georgetown University, 2001).
39. Walter Friedländer, “Unsere Leibesübungen: eine Volks-Hygiene,” *Der Schild* 3 (February 1, 1925): 54.
40. Friedländer, “Unsere Leibesübungen: eine Volks-Hygiene,” *Der Schild*, 54.
41. Cf. Svenja Goltermann, *Körper der Nation: Habitusformierung und die Politik des Turnens, 1860–1890* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998).
42. See, for example, Julius Heilbrunn, “Militärische und turnerische Erziehung,” *Jüdische Turnzeitung* 6 (1903): 102.
43. “Die hebräische Kommando,” *Jüdische Turnzeitung* 11/12 (1907): 186.
44. Gideon Reuveni, “Sports and the Militarization of Jewish Society,” in: *Emancipation through Muscles*, eds. Michael Brenner and Gideon Reuveni (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 44–61.
45. Johanna Thomaschewsky, “Das hebräische Turnkommando,” *Jüdische Turn- und Sportzeitung* 1 (1919): 15.

46. Friedländer, "Unsere Leibesübungen: eine Volks-Hygiene," *Der Schild*, 55.
47. "Jüdische Frauen!," *Der Schild* 10 (October 1922), np.
48. "Was will der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten?" (1924), advertisement reprinted in Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten 1919–1938*, 209.
49. Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies: Volume 2, Male Bodies: Psychoanalyzing the White Terror*, trans. Erica Carter and Chris Turner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 88.
50. For the classic analysis, see Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, esp. 7–16.
51. Hal Foster, building on the insights of Theweleit, shows how the artist Hans Bellmer, in creating disarticulated and dismembered dolls, subverts the "fascist armoring" emblematically embodied by Nazi sculptors such as Arno Breker and Josef Thorak. Bellmer's dolls, he argues, confront "the masculine subject [with] his greatest fear: his own fragmentation, disintegration, and dissolution," precisely the qualities exhibited by "bodies somehow deemed feminine (Jews, communists, homosexuals, 'the masses')." *Compulsive Beauty* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), 109 and 115.
52. Felix Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (Berlin: Verlag der Schild, 1924). A significantly smaller first edition was published in 1919: *Jüdischer Flieger im Krieg: Ein Blatt der Erinnerung* (Berlin: Louis Lamm Verlag, 1919). All citations will be documented parenthetically as JF, followed by the page number to the 1924 edition.
53. For a discussion of the logic of the prosthesis in interwar European art, see Hal Foster, "Prosthetic Gods," *Modernism/Modernity* 4.2 (1997): 5–38, and Hal Foster, "Armor Fou," *October* 56 (Spring 1991): 64–97. For a path-breaking treatment on the machine-body complex, see Mark Seltzer, *Bodies and Machines* (New York: Routledge, 1992).
54. Max Ernst, *Max Ernst: Beyond Painting* (New York: Wittenborn, Schultz, 1948), 29.
55. For a brief discussion of the airplane vis-à-vis modern notions of temporality and spatiality, cf. Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), esp. 242–47.
56. Kamensky, *Put' entusiasta*. Qtd. in Robert Wohl, *A Passion for Flying: Aviation and the Western Imagination, 1908–1918* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 145.
57. Some of the key studies of Futurism, war, and aviation are: Marjorie Perloff, *The Futurist Movement: Avant-Garde, Avant-Guerre, and the Language of Rupture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Jeffery T. Schnapp, "Propeller Talk," *Modernism/Modernity* 1.3 (1994): 153–78; *Futurism in Flight: "Aeropittura" Paintings and Sculptures of Man's Conquest of Space (1913–1945)*, eds. Bruno Mantura, Patrizia Rosazza-Ferraris, Livia Velani (Rome: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte, 1990).
58. Marinetti, "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism" (February 1909), in: *Marinetti: Selected Writings*, ed. R. W. Flint (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1972), 42, 43.
59. Schnapp, "Propeller Talk," 156. The most comprehensive history of the 1909 air show is: Peter Demetz, *The Air Show at Brescia, 1909* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002).
60. Marinetti, "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature," in: *Marinetti: Selected Writings*, ed. R. W. Flint, 88. Further citations will be documented parenthetically.
61. Qtd. in Schnapp, "Propeller Talk," 154.
62. For a wide-ranging and fascinating cultural history of the "human machine," see Anson Rabinbach's *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
63. Franz Kafka, "The Aeroplanes at Brescia," trans. G. Humphreys Roberts, in: *The Metamorphosis, The Penal Colony and other Stories* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 306. Translation modified.
64. Ernst Jünger, *Copse 125: A Chronicle from the Trench Warfare of 1918*, trans. Basil Creighton (London: Chatto and Windus, 1930), 21. Further quotations will be documented parenthetically, as *Copse 125* followed by the page number.
65. Walter Benjamin, "Theories of German fascism: On the Collection of Essays *Krieg und Krieger*, edited by Ernst Jünger" (1930), trans. Jerolf Wikoff, *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 2, 1927–1934, eds. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1999), 312–321. Here, 314.
66. For example, Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920), or Erich Maria Remarque's *Im Westen nichts Neues* [*All Quiet on the Western Front*] (1929).

67. For a comparative discussion of the cultural and social implications of the mutilated male body, see: Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914–1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Joanna Burke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996); Bernd Hüppauf, "Langemarck, Verdun, and the Myth of a New Man in Germany after the First World War," *War and Society* 6 (1988): 70–101.

68. See, for example, Freud's classic study of the repetition compulsion in shell-shocked veterans: *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. For an anti-war photo book of bodily injuries suffered by war veterans, see Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege* (1924).

69. Paul Lerner, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 7.

70. Ernst Toller, "Hinkemann" (1922), in: *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Welt, 1961), 167–219. Here, 172.

71. Ernst Jünger, *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* (1922), in: *Sämtliche Werke: Essays I, Betrachtungen zur Zeit*, vol 7 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980). Further citations will be documented parenthetically.

72. The original reads: "Der Krieg, aller Dinge Vater, ist auch der unsere; er hat uns gehämmert, gemeißelt und gehärtet zu dem, was wir sind. ... Nicht nur unser Vater ist der Krieg, auch unser Sohn. Wir haben ihn gezeugt und er uns." In English, the last sentence can be translated to eliminate all reference to the German gendering: "We gave birth to it, and it to us." Although the pronouns "er" and "ihn" probably refer to the war, the slippage between the father, the son, and the war is explicitly part of Jünger's argument insofar as the masculinity of the war is to be equated with that of both forefathers and progeny.

73. For a more extensive discussion of Jünger, see my article "The End of Sex and the Last Man: On the Weimar Utopia of Ernst Jünger's 'Worker,'" in: *Qui Parle* 13.1 (Winter 2001), 103–136.

74. Ernst Jünger, "Vorwort" to *Luftfahrt ist Not* (Berlin: Wilhelm Andermann Verlag, 1933), 6–10. Here, 10. The first edition came out in 1928 and was expanded and reissued in 1933. The quote, "Flying is Necessary," is from Heinrich Himmler and is a play on the double meaning of "Not" as 'necessity' and 'danger.' Further citations will be documented parenthetically as LN, followed by the page number.

75. Ernst Jünger, *Der Arbeiter: Herrschaft und Gestalt* (1932), in: *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 8 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), 41.

76. Following Germany's defeat, severe restrictions were placed on motorized aircraft. In defiance of these restrictions, annual gliding competitions in the mountainous Wasserkuppe took place starting in 1920. With speed and endurance records smashed every year, the rallies quickly became "irrepressibly patriotic" and fostered a revival of German nationalism. For a fascinating discussion of this phenomenon, see Peter Fritzsche, *A Nation of Fliers: German Aviation and the Popular Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), ch. 3. Here, 109.

77. Fritzsche, *A Nation of Fliers*, 64.

78. "Die Juden als Soldaten," *Der Schild* 5 (March 1, 1925): 93.

79. "Neues von der Segelfluggruppe des RjF," *Der Schild* 28 (October 16, 1925): 386.

80. Leo Löwenstein, "Unsere Segelflieger: Die Alten und die Jungen," *Der Schild* 29 (July 19, 1929): 233–34.

81. See Fritzsche's *A Nation of Fliers* for a comprehensive bibliography.

82. Willi Hackenberger, *Deutschlands Eroberung der Luft* (Siegen: Verlag Herman Montanus, 1915).

83. Marjorie Perloff, "The Great War and the European Avant-garde," in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the First World War*, ed. Vincent Sherry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 146.

84. Max Nordau, *Entartung* (Berlin: Carl Duncker, 1893), vol. 2: 562.

85. Ernst Jünger, "On Danger" (1931), trans. and reprinted in: *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, eds. Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 369–72. Here, 369.

86. "Neues von der Segelfluggruppe des RjF," *Der Schild* 28 (October 16, 1925): 386.

87. "Der Luft übers Weltmeer: Chamberlins und Levines Flug New York-Kottbus," *Der Schild* 22/23 (June 14, 1927).

88. "The New Jewish Record," *Der Tog* (June 7, 1927). Translated and viewed on the Yiddish Radio Project website: <http://www.yiddishradioproject.org/exhibits/levine>. Accessed July 1, 2006. I thank Erica Scheinberg for the kind reference.

89. Songs and lyrics accessed from the Yiddish Radio Project website: July 1, 2006.