Dancing Between Old Worlds and New: Max Nordau's New Jew Idea and its Manifestation in Pre-State Israeli Folk Dance

Gdalit Neuman

Constructed as the first generation of Jews born in the Land of Israel[1] following the Zionist redemption,[2] the *Sabras* were viewed as a triumphant achievement of Zionist ideology. They represented the realization of a 2,000-year-old Jewish dream to return to Zion and live autonomously in the land of their biblical forefathers. This generation,[3] born in the *Yishuv* (translation: "settlement"—the name of the Jewish community in the pre-state) was distinguished from that of their parents, the pioneering *Chalutzim* (Jewish Zionist pioneers) generation, which bridged the gap between the old world and the new. In contrast, the Sabras were conceptualized as authentic natives: born in and to their homeland. Furthermore, they came to represent the total and complete embodiment of the "New Muscular Jew" (Almog 2000), a concept invented by doctor, writer, and Zionist leader Max Nordau as a response to the anti-Semitic image of the European Jew as physically weak and effeminate.

The aim of this article is to track the New Muscular Jew image, from its inception during Nordau's speech at the Second Zionist Congress of 1898[4] to its manifestation, several decades later, as an important marker of Sabra identity in the dance realm (Spiegel 2011, 404; 2013, 7; Neuman 2011). This is relevant, I argue, because "by looking at dance we can see enacted on a broad scale, and codified fashion, socially constituted and historically specific attitudes toward the body in general, toward specific social groups' usage of the body in particular, and about the relationships among variously marked bodies" (Desmond 1997, 32). This paper is concerned with issues of identity, ideology, and the transference of ideas from one generation to the next through the unique medium that is dance, with a specific focus on the body as the site of change.

The historical disenfranchisement and perception of Jews as inferior beings had resulted in their identities being "tied to the material conditions of their bodies" (Cooper Albright 1997, 4). Indeed, in his 1991 book *The Jew's Body*, Sander Gilman identifies hegemonic stereotypes and myths about the Jew's body present throughout European history, which were endorsed by the medical community, the church, and the state. These negatively impacted the way Jews were perceived by the outside world for centuries. Moreover, by the nineteenth century, at a time when most Central European Jews were experiencing emancipation and enlightenment, centuries-old stereotypes regarding the Jews' physical inferiority continued to negatively affect their own Jewish self-image as well. Not surprisingly, then, the Zionist response, the New Jew image, was embodied in nature.

Dance scholar Ann Cooper Albright describes the body as a malleable space in which identities can be shaped, and dance as an active agent in this process: "Dance techniques not only condition the dancers' bodies, they literally inscribe a physical ideology into the dancers' physiques. Behind every different aesthetic orientation and style of movement within the field of dance dwells a view about the world that is transmitted . . . along with the dance technique" (1997, 32). In the Land of Israel case, the postures and styles produced and disseminated locally (through community dance events)

Gdalit Neuman is a PhD candidate in Dance Studies at York University's Department of Dance. She has taught ballet and pedagogy at Canada's National Ballet School as well as York University's Department of Dance, and is currently a Visiting Research Fellow at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

and globally (through the consumption of theatrical dance performances) were not subconscious at all, but of primary importance to their creators (Spiegel 2011, 404; Neuman 2011, 9).

In this paper, I will demonstrate how Israeli folk dance was designed to showcase the desired characteristics of the first generation of Jews born in the Land of Israel; that generation's athletic physicality, vibrant spirit, and distinguished character was constructed in direct negation of the anti-Semitic image of the diasporic Jew (Spiegel 2000, 390; 2011, 393; 2013, 9; Neuman 2011, 13–24; Rossen 2012, 61), which still held currency in Israel midcentury (when Israeli folk dance was being invented). I will identify dance's significance in the formation of a uniquely Sabra collective identity in line with Nordau's Muscular Jew image, which embodied the Yishuv's ideals regarding the Hebrew nation's corporeal and spiritual renaissance. Finally, I will show how the Sabra generation was taught hegemonic codes of conduct through dance activities and how these were transmitted to spectators via folk dance performances.

I conducted my original research in 2010–11 as part of my 2011 MA thesis in Dance Studies at York University's Department of Dance. Research methods included extensive archival research at relevant archives throughout Israel, primarily the Israel Dance Library and Archive in Tel Aviv and the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem. I also drew on oral history interviews. As will be seen via the citations, several other distinguished scholars—Judith Brin Ingber, Nina Spiegel, and Rebecca Rossen—working in the field of Jewish/Israel Dance Studies have drawn similar conclusions to my own. However, my work is unique in its focus on the Sabra generation and in the different sources I have utilized. Additionally, my contribution is a deconstruction of Nordau's New Jew image into the sum of its parts, as it became manifest in Israeli folk dance.

Athletic Body

The physicality inherent in dance was valued in the Yishuv (Spiegel 2011, 404; Neuman 2011, 9) as a means of cultivating the body and, by extension, preparing the body for physical labour, as well as a demonstration and performance of the New Muscular Jew (Brin Ingber 2009; Spiegel 2011, 393; Neuman 2011, 9–21). Dance was officially incorporated into the physical culture movement in the Land of Israel as the Private Teachers' Association of Physical Culture in the Land of Israel (PTAPCLI) was founded by none other than folk dance pioneer and physical education teacher Gurit Kadman in 1939 (Brin Ingber 2000, 45).[5] Many dance professionals who emigrated from German-speaking countries were members of this association, including modern dance pioneers Margalit Ornstein, Shulamit Roth, and Gertrud Kraus, who were among the presenters at its first official meeting (*Davar*).[6] Their speeches and manifestos highlight the importance placed on a strong Jewish body (Brin Ingber 2009; Neuman 2011, 10).

The women of the PTAPCLI recognized dance's potential for cultivating the body. Veteran Sabra dancer, teacher, and celebrated choreographer Yoav Ashriel explained in 2010: "[Gurit Kadman] came to *Hapoel* (the worker) sports associations and said 'You are a sports movement, Israeli dance is also exercise, it's physical training'" (pers. comm.). Scholar Elke Kaschl confirms this in her 2003 book *Performing the Nation*: "To [Israeli folk dance pioneers], dancing was a means of training the body through repetitive drills that were, in Kadman's words, 'simple and energetic' such as 'stamping, and leg swinging, the main thing being to go on for hours and hours'" (2003, 49). Clearly, then, repetition was an important aspect of this practice, which was at once a mode of distinctly

Land of Israel(i) (as opposed to Jewish) cultural expression and a part of the popular Land of Israel body culture phenomenon.

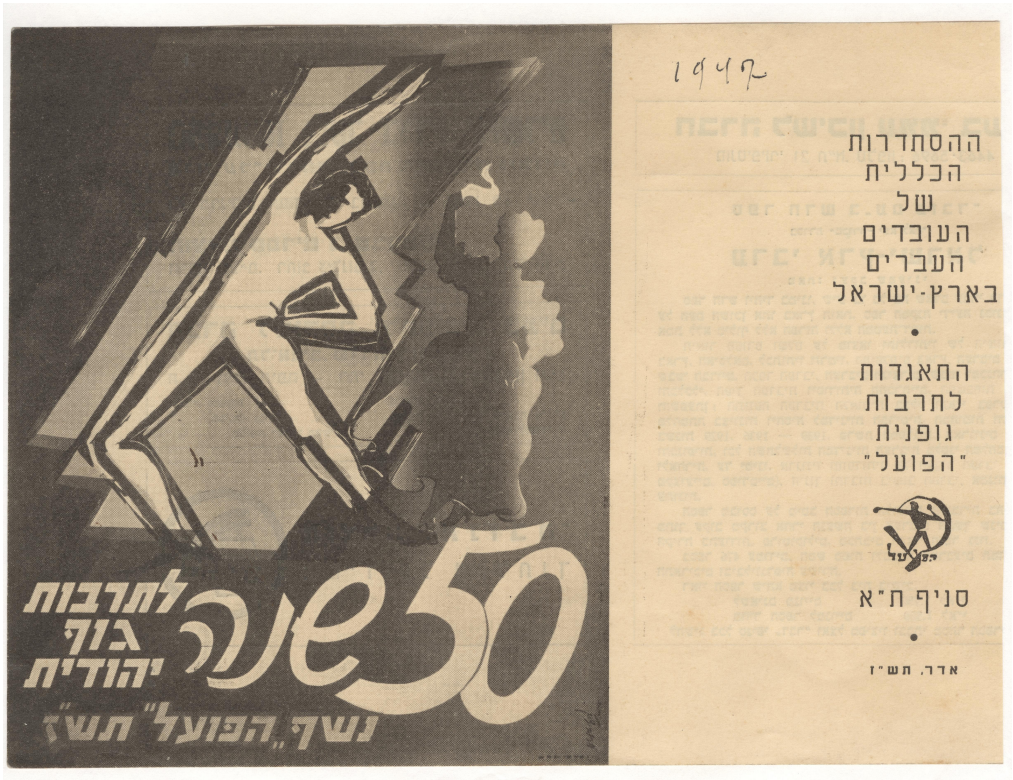
In line with the German physical culture movement model, Körperkultur, both folk and expressionist modern dance[7] were considered extensions of gymnastics, a highly regarded form of exercise at the time (Eshel 1991, 62; Hammergren 1996, 59; Bing-Haidecker 2010, 3). A *Davar Ha-sport* (the sports supplement to the *Davar* daily) article titled "Two That Are One," published in two segments on April 9 and 14, 1950, provides evidence: "Gymnastics exercise," wrote journalist Eliezer Roee on April 9, "is in actuality the basis for all our active physical culture, and certainly for folk dance." He continued on April 14, "these two branches—folk dance and gymnastic exercise—are not two separate entities but one . . . [as they] come from the same source—from the physical culture of the working nation." Kadman herself made this connection when she wrote of gymnastics as being the core element in physical culture, having influence on both sport and dance. Indeed, in her *Supplement to the Program for Physical Education in our Schools* she described gymnastics as the trunk of the tree of the physical culture movement and dance as one of its many branches (Kadman papers, file 123.5.5.2).[8]

The then-presumed relationship between gymnastics and dance, which *Davar* journalist Benjamin Heller wrote in 1933 "involves drills of gymnastics standards," is noteworthy since gymnastics was recommended by Max Nordau as the remedy for the physical degeneration of the Jewish "race," a commonly held belief throughout Europe in the fin-de-siècle period. Nordau wrote the following in the first publication of the famous Berlin-based monthly Jewish gymnastics journal, *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung*, in 1900: "In no other nation does gymnastics play such an important role as with us Jews. . . . It shall provide us with self-confidence" (quoted in Brenner 2006, 5). Indeed, a confident disposition was characteristic of Sabras in general, and certainly of the Sabra folk dancer. As celebrated first-generation Sabra folk dancer Mirali Sharon[9] told me in an interview in 2011: "You can't dance folk dance in a certain way and to be lacking self-confidence—it gives you confidence" (pers. comm.) The visual representation of a desired New Jew aesthetic—which had as its base an athletic technique akin to gymnastics, and which was performed with a confident disposition, in direct opposition to the stereotypical image of the weak (in body and character) Diaspora Jew—was carefully choreographed by the Chalutzim generation (Spiegel 2000, 390) for their children, the Land of Israeli Sabras.

Dance was valued as a physical performance of the New Jew image (Almog 2000, 235; Spiegel 2000, 390, 392; 2011, 393; 2013, 159; Brin Ingber 2009; Neuman 2011, 9); it was the antithesis of the negative image of the diasporic Jew. "[Folk dance pioneer Rivka] Sturman later recalled that the urge to create folk dance awoke within her out of that desire to negate the Diaspora" (Ronen 2009).[10] Gurit Kadman made similar comments regarding folk dance and physical education in 1981 (Brin Ingber 2011, 286). First-generation folk dance pioneers negated the anti-Semitic image of the slouching *shtetl* (Jewish European village) Jew by attributing the opposite aesthetic to dance performances (Spiegel 2013, 158): one of pride, confidence, and self-worth (Brin Inger 2009). Through participation in dance activities, the Sabra generation was given an opportunity to learn and teach to others the desired aesthetic of the New Muscular Jew (Neuman 2011, 13; Spiegel 2013, 159).[11] That aesthetic symbolized a New Jew character as well.

The "old Jew," according to labour-Zionist ideology, was to be transformed from a degenerate, wandering, urban type, into a strong, productive, simple and honest agrarian peasant.[12] Kadman educated Sabra children according to this worldview through her work in physical culture and dance. In her writings regarding the importance of physical education in schools, Kadman described grade one and two students (whose studies included dance among other techniques) as "the future labourers." She even recommended students of gymnastics perform movements imitating physical labour (Kadman papers, file 123.5.5.2). It would seem that both gymnastics exercise and dance had as a common goal the training of a strong body for work. The ideals of labour Zionism were therefore transmitted to the first generation of Sabras through these activities.

As was propagated by both Zionism and German Body Culture, the worldview of Land of Israeli dance pioneers centred on the importance of the body (Brin Ingber 2009; Neuman 2011, 15; Spiegel 2013, 1) and its potential for personal as well as societal regeneration. Dance was directly linked to other New Muscular Jew models such as the athlete and labourer. By conditioning their bodies through dance activities, young Sabras were preparing to become "the future labourers" and by extension to continue building the nation. More than solely artistic and cultural expression, dance in the context of the Yishuv mobilized Zionist ideals and the construction of the New Muscular Jew aesthetic (Spiegel 2000, 390, 392; 2011, 393; 2013, 158–59; Brin Ingber 2009; Neuman 2011, 15;) as a negation to Jewish diasporic existence.



A 1947 advertisement for a *Hapoel* (the worker) Sport Association banquet in celebration of "50 Years to Jewish Physical Culture" features an illustration by Israeli artist M. Voroibeichic. The young and powerful male gymnast, representing the future/Israel, has turned away from the Victorian female figure representing the past/Diaspora. Printed with the permission of the Zvi Nishri Archive of Physical Education and Sport at the Wingate Institute and the Dance Library of Israel.

Youthful Spirit

The native New Jew—the Sabra—was not only conceived as muscular in body, but just as importantly, strong in spirit (Gilman 1991, 53; Shapira 1997, 161; Almog 2000, 87; Mayer 2000, 100; Sela-Sheffy 2004, 480; Ben Israel 2005, 592; Zimmerman 2006, 16). This basic equation of a strong body and a healthy spirit, in opposition to the diseased mind and body as depicted by the anti-Semitic images of the diasporic Jew, is helpful in understanding just how the Sabra ideal was inscribed onto the first generation of Jews born in the Land of Israel prior to the establishment of the state.

In this worldview, a cultivated body was the means to a liberated soul (Gilman 1991, 215; Mosse 1992, 568; Spiegel 2000, 390; 2011, 404; Zimmerman 2006, 16; Presner 2007, 184; Brin Ingber 2011, 254; 2013, 9; Neuman 2011, 21). Gurit Kadman makes this clear in her address at the First National Conference of the PTAPCLI in December 1939: "In my opinion the nation took root of the idea that physical culture should motivate health . . . and happiness" (Kadman papers, file 123.5.5.2, 1). Her theories regarding the intimate relationship between body and spirit were greatly inspired by the popular Jewish gymnastics movement[13] and other well-known German thinkers. According to scholar George Mosse, an early proponent of this idea was the German educator Johann Christoph Friedrich Guts Muths (1759–1839). His famous book *Gymnastics für die Jugend* (Gymnastics for youth) emphasized the dependency of the spirit, soul, and intellect on the body (1992, 568). Indeed, Kadman mentions Guts Muths by name in her December 1940 address to the Second National Conference of the PTAPCLI (Kadman papers, file 123.5.5.2).

The partnership between body and spirit was an ongoing theme in Western European progressive thought and found its way to the Jewish national revival movement (Zionism) through Nordau's New Muscular Jew philosophy. This line of thought, whereby the mind and character were dependent on physical strength, was consistent with the *Journal of Jewish Gymnastics* (Die Jüdische Turnzeitung) founded under the inspiration of Nordau. Kadman's investment in this idea is noteworthy due to her overall influence on the physical culture movement in the Land of Israel, and folk dance in particular.

The efforts made toward the seamless integration of body with spirit is most obvious in the Hebrew folk dance realm, where value was placed on youthfulness (Ben Israel 2005, 183), vitality (Spiegel 2000, 390), and joy of spirit (Brin Ingber 2009). The name of a representative folk dance company chosen to perform in a nationally distributed heritage film in 1955 is telling. The Youth Dance Company (*Lehakat Alumim*), directed by Kadman and a young Yonatan Karmon,[14] displayed movements which exemplify qualities of lightness and joy with small leaps and plentiful buoyant "pas de basque" steps.[15] A year later, Kadman, in an otherwise critical review of a *Hapoel* folk dance company performance published in the *Davar* newspaper, reported of the satisfactory "momentum, temperament and youthful spirit,"[16] thus serving to highlight the importance of this aspect for the "mother of Israeli folk dance" (Freidhaber 1999, 52). Finally, Inbal Dance Theatre's founding director, Sara Levi Tanai, had this to say about Rivka Sturman's work: "her children from [kibbutz] Ein Harod . . . were so energetic" (quoted in Brin Ingber 1974, 26; 2011, 131). As can be seen, in Israeli folk dance, a youthful and energetic performance was codified by midcentury as exemplary of the New Jew image.

Folk dance activities served to reinforce the desired liberated spirit of Sabra youth (Spiegel 2011, 404; 2013, 158; Neuman 2011, 24). In an interview for the *Anchorage (Alaska) Daily Times* in 1968, folk dance pioneer Rivka Sturman noted that it was the spirit and instinct of Israeli youth which dictated the dancing style. Referring to the vitality and sheer energy reminiscent of classical Israeli folk dance, Sturman gives full credit, as she often did, to the Sabras themselves, thus highlighting the organic nature of this expression. In a retrospective interview with Jewish/Israel dance studies scholar Judith Brin Ingber, Sturman, for the first time, placed emphasis on the dancing itself as a vehicle toward the desired spirit, the antithesis of the anti-Semitic image of the Diasporic Jew: "from that time [of the Dalia festivals] I recognized that folk dance is worthwhile for educating our children to the special spiritual . . . quality of our country: for me it was the best means of national and human expression" (quoted in Brin Ingber, 1974, 17; 2011, 120). In line with their parents' aspirations for the moral fibre of the young nation, in folk dance the aesthetic itself was a visual representation of the young generation's pulsating spirit. Perhaps it was for this reason that the Jewish Agency[17] decided to send a representative folk dance company on a delegation tour to Europe in 1947 (Brin Ingber 1973, 23; 2000; 2011, 126–27; Sharett 1988, 83; Friedhaber 1988, 32; 1997, 6; Spiegel 2013, 7); this tour would demonstrate to the world the spirit that was alive and well in the new Hebrew nation only two years after the end of the Holocaust and the near utter destruction of European Jewry (Almog 2000, 235). A free and liberated spirit, translated into movement as a joyful and energetic presentation, was valued in the Yishuv as a remnant of Nordau's New Jew ideology.

Posture Perfect: The Intersection of Body and Spirit

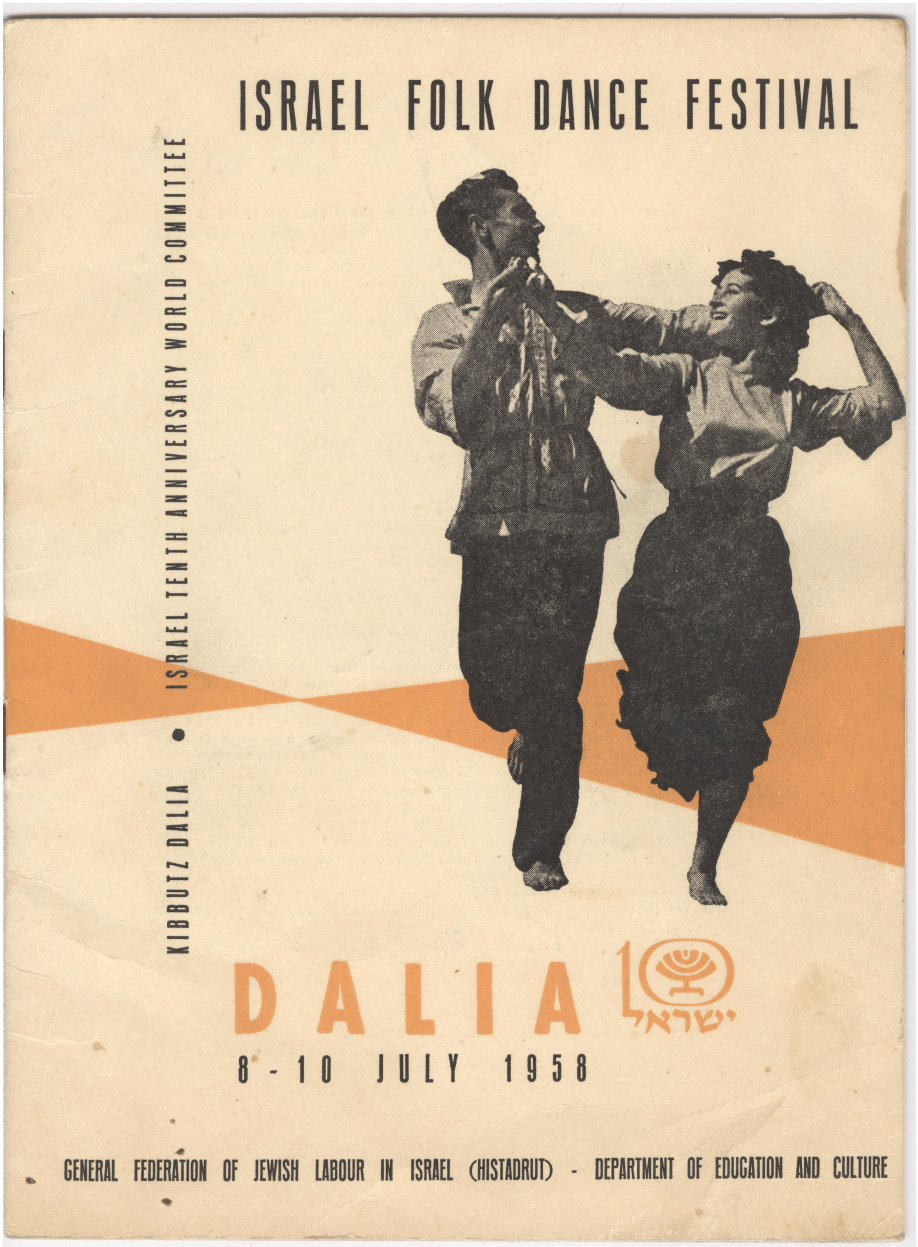
The upright posture, as a "hypercorrection" (Bourdieu in Bloom 2012, 162, 163, 169, 174)[18] to the stereotypical anti-Semitic image of the stooping diasporic Jew, was the most obvious physical characteristic attributed to the New Muscular Jew image which Nordau propagated at the Second Zionist Congress in Basel in 1898 (Almog 2000, 79, 134; Presner 2007, 59, 89, 107, 124, 129; Spiegel 2013, 32). It was also the desired aesthetic of the Sabra dancer (Spiegel 2000, 392; 2011, 393, 404; 2012, 192, 194; 2013, 158; Neuman 2011, 31). Indeed, both Rivka Sturman and Sabra folk dancer and lifelong Israeli folk dance practitioner, educator, and scholar Ayalah Goren Kadman (daughter to Gurit Kadman), recalled in 1974 (Brin Ingber 20; 2011, 123) and 2011 (pers. comm.) respectively, how Mirali Sharon embodied this posture naturally, with grace and elegance. As one of the most basic "dispositions" of the body, to use dance scholar Jane Cowan's term, posture is revealing as it showcases fundamental worldviews and value systems of a given society. "Dispositions are 'cultivated' through interaction with 'a whole symbolically structured environment,' and these 'cultivated dispositions' become 'inscribed in the body schema and in schemes of thought'" (Cowan 1990, 32). Postures, then, are very meaningful.

The embodiment of upright postures in various dance activities contributed to the desired socialization of Sabra youth by encouraging the development of prized character traits in negation of character flaws presumed by period audiences to be distinct to Jews. The significance attributed to this posture can be understood through a reading of scholar George Mosse's important 1992 article titled "Nordau, Liberalism and the New Jew." In it he states that "Nordau took up the Jewish stereotype [that] . . . the Jewish anatomical structure was inherently different from the norm and it had to be reshaped if Jews were to escape from their stereotype and recapture their dignity" (Mosse 1992, 567). Indeed, according to Mosse, the need for the restoration of Jewish dignity became a theme in Nordau's Zionist writings. Dignity, then, was performed through the embodiment of an

upright posture in all manifestations of the New Muscular Jew image (for example, the Land of Israeli soldier, the agrarian farmer, and the athlete). This performance of dignity took place alongside related characteristics such as duty, discipline, self-respect, according to Brin Ingber (2009); manliness, according to Mosse (1992); self-control and determination, according to Ben Israel (2010, 10); moral integrity, according to Sela-Sheffy (2004, 486); and good citizenship, according to Connerton (1989, 73). In other words, the body was the ideal medium by which to exhibit the "upright" character of the "new man."[19]

Gurit Kadman addresses the importance of the aspect of an upright posture in her 1962 report (written in English) "Tradition and Creation in Israeli Dance" (Kadman papers, file 123.5.5.2). Here Kadman reveals the technical similarities between Israeli folk dance and other such dances from around the world in steps and patterns. It is the "character of Israeli youth," according to her, which sets the "execution" of the dancing apart from that of any other nation. This, in turn, Kadman explains, is (at least partially) formulated through "recent historical events" such as "the struggle for independence."[20] Sabras, therefore, had demonstrated their worth through activities which shaped their bodies and spirits, such as soldiering. To the pioneering generation, it was the upright posture of the New Muscular Jew which visually represented their extraordinary and intrinsic Sabra character. By embodying the New Jew posture in various dance activities youth were taught hegemonic codes of conduct of the new "utopian" society.

In the *Supplement to the Curriculum for Physical Education in our Schools*, Kadman summarizes: "One must see in physical education a basis from which to help mold the general spirit of the child, a person who is physically fit and stable in character" (Kadman papers, file 123.5.5.2). The optimal upright posture in various New Muscular Jew activities such as sport, and by extension dance, was an expression of the Jewish community's negation of the anti-Semitic image of the diasporic Jew, in line with Nordau's ideas regarding the capacity for physical activity to heal the Jew's spirit, therefore mending his or her character.



Upright and spirited Sabra dancers performing at the 1958 Israel Folk Dance Festival at Kibbutz Dalia. Program cover. Printed with the permission of the Kibbutz Dalia Archives and the Dance Library of Israel.

Conclusion

In her 1995 book *Done into Dance*, dance scholar Ann Daly writes: "Our collective fears and our collective dreams are produced within the body" (3). This statement is appropriate when applied to the Israeli folk dance case. The Chalutzim pioneering generation wished to create a future void of any negative remnant of diasporic living, which Zionist ideology rejected and they themselves detested. It is for this reason that Nordau's New Jew idea indeed found expression in Land of Israeli folk dance as a negation of undesirable stereotypical Jewish diasporic body language (Spiegel 2000, 392; 2011, 393; 2013, 7; Schmidt 2008, 32; Brin Ingber 2009; Neuman 2011, 73; Rossen 2012, 61). In contrast, the New Muscular Jew as dancer was designed to embody the Yishuv's ideals (Brin Ingber 2011, 272) regarding the Hebrew nation's corporeal and spiritual renaissance (Spiegel 2011, 404;

Neuman 2011, 100). Dancers of the Sabra generation were taught hegemonic codes of conduct through folk dance activities. These in turn were disseminated to local and international audiences alike via staged dance performances both at home and abroad, beginning midcentury.

In 2010 I had the great privilege of interviewing Yoav Ashriel, a lifelong folk dancer, practitioner, choreographer and a first-generation Sabra. Born in tiny and remote Kibbutz Ramat David in the Jezreel Valley in 1930, only four years following the establishment of the kibbutz of which his parents were among the founding members, Ashriel represents the image of the ideal Sabra archetype. He described the distinction felt between the Sabras and young Holocaust refugee-survivors who were hosted at his kibbutz during and immediately following the Holocaust: "They were my age and we were very good friends." Many came from the infamous ship, Exodus, as did one orphaned girl whom his parents adopted. "They tried to act like us, to be like us," explained Ashriel. "They wanted to be like the Israelis." When asked what characterized Israelis, Ashriel responded: "to be free, friendly, happy, active." Ashriel's choice of simple adjectives directly correlates with historically specific notions in the Yishuv regarding the corporeal and spiritual regeneration of the Jewish people, in line with Nordau's New Muscular Jew image. His spontaneous, yet markedly specific reply many decades later shows the palpability of this description for members of his generation.

Notes

1. Land of Israel(i) is a standard term in the literature for Israel(i) prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. During the British Mandate, this geographic location was called Palestine and the Jewish community called itself the *Yishuv* (settlement).

2. Redemption in Judaism refers to the coming of the Messiah; a time in the future when G-d will gather all the world's Jews in the Land of Israel. The Zionists predated that redemption through their active settling of the Land of Israel beginning in 1874 with the *Chovevei Zion* movement. Massive waves of immigration, in anticipation of the establishment of the State of Israel, came in response to the rise of Jewish nationalism (Zionist ideology) throughout Europe as well as increasing antisemitism. Opposition from Jewish orthodox communities and anti-Zionist groups with various political orientations always existed to different degrees (Gottheil 1906). Some ultra-orthodox groups living both in Israel and abroad still consider the active settling of the land as blasphemous, since, in their worldview, such a prophecy may only be delivered by G-d.

3. *Sabra* scholar Oz Almog defines the Sabra generation as persons born in Palestine toward the end of WWI through the 1920s and 1930s, as well as those who immigrated as children either on their own or with their parents and were able to integrate. Although it is safe to assume that a second generation of Jews was born in the Land of Israel since the first Aliyah (Anita Shapira notes several dozen children by the 1920s), according to Shapira and Almog, the "Sabra generation" as a cohort did not develop group consciousness until the 1940s. This identity construct can mostly be attributed to their pioneering parents who made certain the Sabras were distinguishable from the former generation and/or from their European counterparts.

4. Nordau was not the first to suggest a new Jewish body. The French Roman Catholic priest Henri Grégoire (Abbé Grégoire) published an essay titled *The Physical, Moral, and Political Regeneration of the Jews* as early as 1788 (Brenner 2006, 4). A little over a century later, following the first Zionist Congress of 1897, the German Zionist delegate Fabius Schach called for the creation of a pro-Zionist gymnastics association "'in order to turn the Jews from bookworms into men capable of fighting the war of survival'" (Zimmerman 2006, 14).

5. This organization was just one of several formed in and around the same time in the Land of Israel and constituted a part of the larger physical culture movement. For a detailed description of multiple associations and activities on the ground see Haim Kaufman and Tali Ben Israel's separate 2005 articles in English, as well

as Haim Kaufman, Tali Ben Israel and Hagai Harif's books in Hebrew, from 2002, 2010 and 2011 respectively.

6. *Davar* (1925–1996) was the major daily newspaper for the Histadrut-General Federation of Labour, established by Labour Zionist leader Berl Katzenelson.

7. Note that folk dance and classical ballet were also listed under this heading in the Weimar Republic (Bing-Haidecker 2010, 3). According to Kadman's conference proceedings from May 1939, artistic and folk dance were the third category listed under the official umbrella title of "physical culture," following gymnastics and eurhythmics. Gurit Kadman Archives, 123.5.5.2, Dance Library of Israel.

8. Even the world famous German expressionist dancer Mary Wigman described gymnastics' close affiliation to dance. She wrote the following in 1927: "Our dance cannot live without its gymnastics; it is the basis upon which the dance stands; the actual point of its departure" (quoted in Keas et al. 1994, 686). In this manifesto, Kadman describes Wigman, Dalcroze, and Laban's philosophies (citing their names) and calls to action a different and more liberal physical education for the Yishuv's children, one based on harmonious free movement.

9. Mirali Sharon was active in the Israeli folk dance movement in her youth and later became an important Israeli modern dancer and choreographer, touring the United States and Canada with her self-choreographed solo works in the 1960s and choreographing for Batsheva Dance Company and the now-defunct Bat Dor Dance Company throughout the 1970s. Sharon founded her own company in the 1980s, which employed Israel's top dancers, including current Batsheva Dance Company artistic director Ohad Naharin (Eshel).

10. See also Sturman in Brin Ingber 1974, 17; 2011, 118; Mirali Sharon in Brin Ingber 2011, 270; Sharett 1988, 39; Rowe 2011, 366.

11. According to scholar Anita Shapira, the Sabra generation too, as did their parents the Chalutzim, wanted to suppress any characteristics that were reminiscent of the Diaspora including stereotypical body language associated with it (97).

12. Many fin-de-siècle period psychoanalysts (Jews among them) argued that Jews were predisposed to mental illness, which, according to popular thought of the time, was due to their centuries of urban living in cramped conditions.

13. In addition to taking part in German body culture prior to emigration, future Land of Israeli dance professionals were introduced to the concept of Muscular Judaism in their youth: "Kadman and . . . many of the immigrants who initiated folk dance activities in the kibbutzim [socialist labour Zionist agricultural communities] had been involved in Jewish gymnastics and the Zionist youth movement, or more generally had been influenced by the ideology of the Muscular Jewish body as postulated by these movements" (Kaschl 2003, 49). Their early introduction to this worldview, whereby Jewish body culture was inherently connected to Zionist ideology, had a lasting effect. This is undoubtedly the linking thread between Nordau's ideology of Muscular Judaism and the implicit messages about the body provided to the Sabra generation, decades later and across land and sea.

14. Yonatan Karmon was the archetype Israeli folk dancer of his generation. He began choreographing folk dances as early as 1947 (at the age of sixteen) for the first Dalia Festival. Beginning in the 1950s, he led several folk dance companies and shortly thereafter formed the Karmon Company, which became Israel's representative folklore group, featuring professional dancers and singers. Karmon's company toured Europe and won first place at an International Folk Dance Festival in Lille, France. They continued to tour in the United States, performing extensively on Broadway, and in 1958 appeared on the famous *Ed Sullivan Show* (CBS).

15. Pas de basques are a common step in all forms of European folk dance (as well as classical ballet). They are performed in many different styles. Pas de Basque steps are characterized as a leap onto one leg and ball change transference of weight. In this example, dancers from the Alumim Company performed the steps with their legs in a parallel orientation and in a casual manner.

16. Scholar Tali Ben Israel describes the phrase "dancing storm," commonly heard (in Hebrew) in these circles at the time (2005, 183).

17. The Jewish Agency for *Israel* (JAFI) was established in 1929 by the World Zionist Organization (WZO) as its branch in the Land of Israel. Both JAFI and the WZO still help manage fundamental national tasks such as education, absorption, rural settlement, immigrant housing, youth activities, etc. Today JAFI is most active in Jewish diasporic communities worldwide (Israel Foreign Ministry).

18. In his 2012 chapter "Toward a Theory of the Modern Hebrew Handshake: The Conduct of the Muscle Judaism," Eitan Bloom analyses the modern Israeli handshake *(chapcha)* as a case study in Bourdieu's theory of "hypercorrection" "wherein modern Hebrew culture fashioned itself in direct opposition to European anti-Semitic stereo-types" (162). I believe that the upright posture *(zkifut koma)*, so valued in Land of Israeli dance activities (as well as all other New Jew manifestations such as soldiering, farming, and athletics), is another example of this hypercorrection.

19. Nordau himself wrote in the Jewish gymnastics journal *Die Jüdische Turnzeitung* in 1900: "[Gymnastics] is supposed to make our bodies and our characters straight" (quoted in Brenner 2006, 5).

20. Kadman is undoubtedly referring here to the 1948 War of Independence after which the State of Israel was established. An estimated 140,000 young Jews fought in the war, and over 6,000 lost their lives.

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