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The Zionist Utopias: Between Building a Future and Shaping a Past

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Abstract

This article examines Zionist utopian writing from the beginning of national Jewish thought until the end of the First World War. Unlike most of the body of research that has focused on Zionist utopianism, this article examines the connection between the writing of Zionist utopias and the formation of a national consciousness of the Jewish past. The article indicates that utopian thought and modern historical thought both flourished during the modern period. Zionist utopianism played a dual role in creating a vision for a solution to the "Jewish question" in Europe and forming boundaries of identity and a national definition based on historical Jewish memory. The utopian literature that was written in the early days of the Zionist movement reflected the various positions of the Zionist vision. The shared basis of these utopian views was that all were based on the modern utopian model. They imagined the ideal place for the Jews in modern, earthly terms – not in terms of heavenly dominion. Yet the Zionist utopias relied heavily on religious myths, Jewish culture, and the Hebrew Bible. Examining Zionist utopias sheds light on the cultural character of the Zionist movement at its inception.

Introduction

This article examines the relationship between the writing of Zionist utopias and the formation of a national historical consciousness. The Zionist utopia reflected the wide range of Zionist thought that aspired to shape the new Jews as a modern nation. In this article, I will examine the range of utopian writing from the inception of national Jewish thought until the end of the First World War. Most of the streams of the Zionist movement developed during this formative period, and they lay the foundations for political activity during the British Mandate period in Palestine until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. As I will demonstrate, Zionist utopia played a dual role in both creating a vision for a solution to the "Jewish question" in Europe and forming borders of identity and a national definition based on historical Jewish memory. Beyond analyzing the solution to the "Jewish question," the writers of the Zionist utopias articulated their view of how to form an ideal Jewish society. Many of the authors of these utopias, who wrote between 1882 and 1918, were prominent activists in the Zionist movement. Their utopian plans drew attention and sometimes incited controversy on the best way to realize their vision. Their attempts to outline an ideal society in the Land of Israel

touched on definitions of key issues such as the people, the land, religion, social equality, and national fraternity. Later, during the Yishuv period, the Zionist leadership addressed these issues once again as it aspired to create social harmony through education, culture, and language.

The utopian literature that was written in the early days of the Zionist movement reflected the various positions of the Zionist vision. The shared foundation of these utopian views was that all were based on the modern utopian model – in other words, they described a "realistic utopia" of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel.[1] They aspired to imagine the ideal place for the Jews that represented a solution to the Jewish problem in Europe, and described this place in modern, earthly terms – not just in terms of redemption and heavenly dominion. As we will show, even writers that upheld a national religious worldview integrated clearly modern elements in their writing. By contrast, secular writers often relied on religious myth, ancient Jewish culture, and the Bible. The messianic concept was also present within Zionist utopian writing, but it was presented in modern terms that were rational and realistic.

In the first part of the article, I discuss the relationship between utopia and history and identify the similarity and mutual influence of these two genres, which developed in modern times. The second topic I will address is utopian thought in early Jewish nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century. The third and main portion of this article examines the variations of Zionist utopian literature written between the 1880s until the time of First World War. Most of the utopian Zionist literature was written during this period, written against the background of the flowering of the utopian genre in Europe and the United States. Utopian writing during this period expressed the variety of utopian attitudes, including the views of Zionists from the political, cultural, religious, and socialist factions. Below I intend to demonstrate that the Zionist utopia that developed in the modern historical context aimed to create borders of definition and national identity based on ancient Jewish memory. The aim of the Zionist utopian writers was twofold. First, they wanted to plan a future for a Jewish national community in Palestine as an alternative to Jewish life in the Diaspora. Second, they wanted to form a national historical consciousness that would conceive of Jews as a people, not just a religious group. As Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi showed, the bridge between the Jewish past and present was built by Jewish writers, teachers, intellectuals, and public leaders – not necessarily by Jewish historians.[2] In this context, the writers of Zionist utopias also made a significant contribution to building a bridge to the Jewish past. The different viewpoints of the utopists reflected their national historical consciousness, which they attempted to bequeath to the Zionist movement as a whole.

The definition of Zionist utopia that I will use below views the Zionist discourse at its origin as a multivocal encounter that aims toward a social-ideological framework.[3] Zionism was not merely a political movement. Rather, it was also a cultural movement that offered a national alternative to

modern Jewish identity. Zionism's political framework enabled the formation of Jewish imagination and the channeling of this imagination into political activity. With the foundation of political Zionism, Jews from diverse cultural backgrounds encountered each other, and they held a variety of positions with regards to the future character of the Jewish state. The geographic space described by utopia writers was defined as the Land of Israel. The Zionist utopia intended to solve the "Jewish problem" in Europe, but it also created a space for identity, belonging, and definition.[4]

Many researchers of the Zionist movement have examined the utopias of the Zionist leaders and activists.[5] In *Yesterday's Tomorrow*, Rachel Elboim Dror collected, analyzed, and characterized the Zionist utopia from the 1880s to the 1920s as a literary genre. Yosef Gorny has written studies of utopian thought among the Zionist leadership during the Jewish Yishuv period of the British Mandate. Gorny has mainly related to varied expressions of the utopian mentality in the Labor movement. For example, he examined political programs that aimed to create an ideal national society.[6] In contrast to these studies, in this article I aim to examine the relationship between the Zionist utopia and the construction of a Jewish modern historical consciousness that was based on pre-modern culture. Such a study will shed light on the Zionist utopia as well as on the cultural character of the Zionist movement.

The Interplay of Utopia and History

Gregory Claeys, a researcher of utopian thought, outlined three stages in the development of the utopian concept in human history: mythic utopia, religious utopia, and positivist or institutional utopia. In the third stage, which developed in modern times, utopias are written about a social reality instead of a mythical or religious place. The longing for utopian religious redemption was replaced by the aspiration for national, geographical, and rational redemption. In the modern age, the utopian lens was directed toward the real world, instead of toward heavenly intervention or life after death.[7]

The human pursuit of utopia is ancient. Throughout history, the concept of utopia has reflected the search for an ideal past, present, and future.[8] Since Thomas More's seminal Latin work *Utopia* was published in 1516, utopia was usually identified with political thought and the aspiration to create an ideal society. For his book, Thomas More searched for a term that would express the ambivalence of the search for "the good place" ("eu-topia") and the place that does not exist ("ou-topia"). He consciously chose the term "utopia" to express these two meanings.[9] Following the travels of explorers to the New World in the late fifteenth century, More placed the island of Utopia at a long distance from Europe in the center of the ocean, and "revealed" the story of a parallel civilization or people who had created "the best" form of republic.[10] More's utopia describes a rational republic that balances the needs of society with those of the individual. The state enables a happier life for its citizens. It prevents class differentiation between wealthy

and poor, between nobles and priests on one end, and common folk on the other.[11]

More's Utopia reflected social and class justice. For example, it limited working hours to only six – in stark contrast to contemporary British law that permitted the employment of laborers from dawn until dark.[12] Religious life and ritual in Utopia were active due to their importance for social ethics and values, but there was no one dominant religion. The Utopian state prohibited insulting another religion or condemning a competing one.[13] His description of life in Utopia expressed criticism of England and Western European society of the time. His book represents a call for the creation of a more just and equal society. Considered one of the pivotal works of modern political thought, *Utopia* was written during the early modern period, when the initial version of the concept of the modern Western nation-state was formulated.[14] Here we note that since it was first coined, the term "utopia" has served as a kind of magical formula for the creation of an ideal state by revolutionary thinkers and religious leaders.[15] The concept of utopia and the attempt to create an equitable nation state gained momentum from the early modern period through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

After the publication of More's *Utopia*, the utopian literary genre that developed followed to a clear literary structure: a journey by a human voyager; a local host; the voyager is trapped in the utopia, where he hears a thorough explanation by members of the utopian society; and return of the voyager to his place origin, where he recounts the details of the utopia to the members of his community.[16] While Thomas More located his utopian society in a foreign space, since the eighteenth century most utopias have been mapped onto the future, and thus they reflect the Enlightenment concept of human progress. The first author to set his utopia in the future was Louis-Sébastien Mercier, in *L'An 2440, rêve s'il en fut jamais* (literally, "The Year 2440: A Dream If Ever There Was One"), published in 1771.[17] The futuristic utopia reflects the optimistic worldview of progress and the Enlightenment, which says that humankind can mold the future through wise planning in the present and through education and science.[18]

During this period, the modern consciousness of time that examined the past to mold the future also characterized historical thinking. In the eighteenth century, philosophers and historians related to the past as a process of progress – from ancient, primitive society to the age of wisdom and rational thinking. In *Scienza Nuova* or *New Science* (1725), Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), the Naples-born philosopher and historian, described three historical periods: the age of gods, age of heroes, and age of men. Vico was a believing Catholic, and so he did not necessarily view history as a process of progress dependent on human wisdom. But he laid the foundations for the rise of historiography as a leading science in the modern age.[19] Montesquieu, Walters, Lessing, Harder, and Hegel described history as a process of progress toward the emancipation of humanity.[20]

From then on, modern historical thought examined the past, making it the subject of scientific inquiry in order to mold the future on the basis of rational thought. Ernst Breisach, scholar of historiography, described the revolution of the eighteenth century as follows: "For centuries, the past as tradition had guided human actions in the present and human hopes for the future. Now, in total reversal, the expectations for the future governed the life of the present and the evaluation of the past."[21] As such, the point of origin for history and modern utopia is located in the conceptual world of the Enlightenment. This approach, which began in eighteenth-century Europe, led to a substantial change in the relationship of Western society to the dimension of time. The aspiration to know, to study, and to reveal the past stemmed from the desire to shape the future.

While authors of modern utopias wrote harsh criticisms of existing society and its types of government – kingship and church – modern historical writing criticized the traditional consciousness of the past. The past was no longer presented as "sacred history" that was binding, as in traditional societies. From that point on, the past became a subject of intellectual criticism according to modern values. Even sacred texts such as the Bible came under the gaze of intellectual scrutiny, particularly following Baruch Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (A Theologico-Political Treatise) (1670), and even more intensely with the development of biblical criticism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[22] Further, both historical thinking and utopian writing were characterized by the desire to use human intelligence to shape the future. Interestingly, these two genres were enormously successful in "the long nineteenth century," which also saw the development of the modern nation-state.[23]

The Early Jewish National Utopia

The first examples of Jewish national utopian writing reveal the deep connection between the desire to plan a future for the Jews in the modern age and the attempt to form a national consciousness of the past. Early Jewish national thinkers Moshe Hess and Rabbi Yehudah Alkalai represented different approaches to Jewish nationalism, but both thought in utopian terms, and expressed this in their national programs. Both Hess and Alkalai referenced the Bible directly, and both called for the establishment of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel. Despite the vast difference between the Orthodox rabbi and the socialist thinker, they shared a messianic or idealistic conception of the future.

Moshe Hess (1812-1875) was born in Bonn in the Rhein area of Germany and became a radical socialist philosopher during the 1830s and 40s. He grew up in an Orthodox Jewish home, then abandoned religion and became one of the first German socialists. However, his writing made ample use of theological motifs and expressed the desire for human emancipation. For example, in his first book *The Holy History of Mankind* (1837), he

described the process of human progress in conceptual and even theological terms. In contrast to the leftist Hegelians, Hess emphasized the important contributions to human progress made by major figures in Jewish history: Abraham, Moses, David, Ezra, Jesus, and Spinoza. As a student of Spinoza, Hess viewed Judaism not merely as a religion but rather as a nation, and he emphasized its political and national foundations in the Hebrew Bible.[24]

During the 1840s, Hess was close to Karl Marx and his colleagues. But after the Revolutions of 1848, also known as Spring of Nations, Hess strengthened the nationalist foundations of his socialist approach. According to his theory, nationalism was not a barrier to progress, but rather a necessary stage on the way to human emancipation.[25] His book *Rome and Jerusalem* gave clear expression to the utopian national view that called for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. To Hess, Jews were a nation and not a mere religious community, as many Jews during the Emancipation believed. Therefore, to him the path to their liberation led beyond civil emancipation to national equal rights. Hess asserted that the Germans' aversion and hatred for the Jews would not end through the Jews' fervent attempts toward integration, nor through religious reform or conversion, but only through recognition of their national existence. Hess decried the Reform movement and liberal Jewish integration:

> No reform of the Jewish religion, however extreme, is radical enough for the educated German Jew. But the endeavors are vain. Even conversion itself does not relieve the Jew from the enormous pressure of German antisemitism. The German hates the Jewish religion less than the race; he objects less to the Jews' peculiar beliefs than to their peculiar noses. Neither reform, nor conversion, nor emancipation throw open to the Jew the gates of social life.[26]

Thus Hess called for the establishment of an exemplary Jewish state that would combine nationalism, socialism, and universal principles of the brotherhood of nations. In his opinion, denial of the national foundation of Jewish life did nothing to help social integration and emancipation. Rather, it encouraged marginalization and hatred of the Jews:

> As long as the Jew endeavors to deny his nationality, while at the same time he is unable to deny his own individual existence, as long as he unwilling to acknowledge that he belongs to that unfortunate and persecuted people, his false position must daily become more intolerable. […] We shall always remain strangers among the nations. They may tolerate us and even grant us emancipation, but they will never respect us as long as we place the principle *ubi bene ibi partia* ("Homeland is where it (life) is good") above our own great national memories.[27]

Similarly to the view of Italian liberal nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), Hess considered that the road to freedom and equality had to pass through national liberation. This also led to Hess' fond feelings for Eastern Jews, traditional Judaism in Russia and the Eastern countries. To him, they represented the Jew who was faithful to his people and faith – as opposed to the estrangement and denial practiced by the Jews of Germany and the West: 'These (Eastern) Jews have preserved, by their belief in Jewish nationality, the very kernel of Judaism in a more faithful manner than have our Occidental Jews."[28]

Hess asserted that the basic concepts of historical Judaism were the crucible for the human desire for progress, freedom, and utopian harmony. Therefore, a Jewish state would establish an equal, just society, on the basis of the biblical principles of justice, such as Shabbat, the sabbatical year, and caring for the stranger and the orphan. For Hess, the establishment of a socialist Jewish state would implement Judaism's lofty ideals for all humanity:

> The Messianic era is the present age, which began to germinate with the teachings of Spinoza, and finally came into historical existence with the great French Revolution. With the French Revolution, there began the regeneration of those nations which had acquired their national historical religion only through the influence of Judaism.[29]

To Hess, the "Jewish problem" was part of a broader universal vision. Solving it through the establishment of a Jewish state would represent a point of origin for the progress of all humankind.[30]

Socialist philosopher Moshe Hess, who held a positivist, modern utopian view, repeatedly emphasized the theological foundations of his nationalist Jewish doctrine. Religious and cultural values, symbols, and myths are visibly present in his books, to the same extent as in the works of his contemporaries from the religious sphere, Alkalai and Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer. But Hess gave these religious principles a modern cultural interpretation, instead of the Orthodox halachic interpretation. Hess addressed the question of the nature of Jewish ritual in the future, after the Jews returned to the Land of Israel and Jerusalem. But he avoided offering concrete suggestions for changes and reform of religious ritual, due to his open distaste for the Reform movement. He thus stated: "The cult that we are going to introduce in the New Jerusalem can and must, for the present, remain an open question. Rome was not built in a day, and the New Jerusalem must needs take time for its construction."[31] Reading *Rome and Jerusalem* reveals that his political and theological interpretation lies within the framework of modern historical philosophy, in the context of its development in the nineteenth century.

Moshe Hess' philosophy contrasted sharply with that of Rabbi Yehudah Alkalai (1798-1878), who was born in Sarajevo and served for most of his life in the Serbian rabbinate. Alkalai was accepted within the Orthodox world as a traditional rabbi, yet his thinking was deeply influenced by the rise of modern nationalism in Europe and by the growth of the nation-state in the Balkan states in the nineteenth century. In his *Minchat Yehudah* (1843), Alkalai set nationalist religious principles for the establishment of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel as part of the redemptive process. Like Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, author of *Drishat Zion* (1862), Alkalai thought that the future redemption would be a historic process. In his view, redemption was not an extra-historical event that would change the known historical reality in a flash. Instead, the future redemption would be a gradual and incremental process, and it depended on the Jewish people's actions: "Little by little, by making the *holy* primary and the *profane* secondary. Rabi Hiyya said (Jerusalem Talmud, tractate Berachot 80a, Aggadah 3) such will be Israel's redemption: at first little by little, but as it continues, it will grow and grow.'"[32] Therefore, in his view, the Jews must immigrate to Palestine. They must view the Land of Israel as primary and life in the Diaspora as secondary.[33]

Some of Alkalai's arguments were written in the spirit of modern nationalism. Thus they could not have been formulated before the rise of nationalism in Europe in the nineteenth century, which emphasized the importance of language and national fraternity. For example, Alkalai considered that the sense of national unity was missing among Jews in the Diaspora, and this unity was the first step toward the redemption. In emphasizing the principle of fraternity, Alkalai's thought is similar to the ideas of the first nationalists, such as Peretz Smolenskin, who emphasized the need to unite disparate groups within the Jewish people and considered the Hebrew language as the foundation for this unity. "As our rabbis said, when the Israelites formed one unified group, they prepared themselves for redemption. This means they must improve their character qualities, and the main one required for redemption is the quality of *love and fraternity*."[34] Emphasizing the fundamental nature of fraternity broadened Alkalai's national approach beyond the narrow aspect of religion. Judaism was not merely a community of faith, but also a people, and therefore Jewish fraternity mandated mutual responsibility of the entire Jewish people. For this reason, Alkalai praised Moses Montefiore and Adolf Carmia for their activity in the Damascus affair of 1840.[35] Alkalai's emphasis on the principle of national solidarity relied on the nationalist thinking of his time. Later, Smolenskin, and Ahad Ha'am would use similar terms, despite the differences in their attitudes toward religion and Halacha.

Alkalai's call for the Jews to settle the Land of Israel was influenced by Rabbi Yehudah Bibas (1789-1852), rabbi of Corfu, who thought that redemption was a mutual process between the Jewish people and God –

meaning that the redemption required active involvement and aliya to the Land of Israel: "This is what is meant by the verse in Malachi, Return to me and I will return to you. In other words, when Israel once again takes shelter in the shade of the Land of Israel, then the Divine Presence will rest among us."[36] From this one can conclude, as did Jacob Katz, that Alkalai's approach was of a messianic religious nature.[37] But as previously noted, we must consider the influence of modern nationalism on Alkalai's viewpoint. We cannot attribute his concept of national fraternity and use of the Hebrew language to his religious approach alone. Rather, it results from the national concept as it arose in Europe following the French Revolution.[38] National unity was a cornerstone in Alkalai's utopian worldview, and he viewed the Hebrew language as the key to national solidarity, as did the Zionist thinkers after him.[39] Alkalai understood that the fact that the Jews were dispersed throughout numerous cultural spaces delayed the possibility of achieving national solidarity: "Our ancestors erred in forgetting our holy tongue to such an extent, and our people was transformed into seventy nations, and our language into seventy languages, in all the places where we were scattered."[40] In Alkalai's time, the revival of Hebrew as the Jewish people's language seemed a distant vision. Still, he called for teaching boys and girls Hebrew, as part of the project of strengthening national fraternity:

> By nature, it seems impossible that our holy language might return to its former state. But as the prophet Joel said, "After that, I will pour out My spirit on all flesh; Your sons and daughters shall prophesy."[41] The [Hebrew] word for "prophesy" is related to the word "speech," as in "language." The prophet predicted that the sons and daughters would prophesy and be able to speak clearly in distinct, pleasant language. Thus we should not be discouraged, but rather make powerful efforts to establish our language as the dominant one. May God extend his spirit over the teachers and students, boys and girls, so that they learn to speak clearly.[42]

Alkalai's appeal for teaching Hebrew as the national language must be viewed in the historical context of European nationalism, which emphasized teaching language as part of the creation of the nation-state. The concept of national unity in Rabbi Alkalai's vision was also expressed in his call to cancel the traditions that differentiated between Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews, and formulate a uniform tradition for Eretz Israel.[43] Alkalai emphasized the centrality of the foundational national elements: the Land of Israel, the Hebrew language and national fraternity. In his view, Israel's redemption depended on the active participation of the Jews and would eventually become part of the redemption of all peoples. He formulated his messianic vision and discussion of messianic times in earthly terms.[44]

As we have seen, Rabbi Alkalai and Moshe Hess did not write utopian compositions according to the principle of the utopian literary genre; however, their works clearly express utopian visions. Further, the messianic principle that was present in Alkalai's religious doctrine and in Hess' socialist doctrine reveals the existence of complex interrelationships between modern national Jewish utopianism and religious Jewish messianism. Most of the Zionist literary utopians were written during the classical Zionist period, from the time of Hibbat Zion up to the First World War. Below I will characterize the Zionist utopia of this classical period, from the 1880s to the 1920s. While I do not intend to provide a full survey of Zionist utopias, below I will relate to several examples of utopian writing that express the various streams within the Zionist movement.

Utopian Writing in the Classical Zionist Period

In the last third of the nineteenth century, the educated Jewish intelligentsia faced a crisis. The process of Jewish integration into civilian life in Central and Eastern Europe encountered the rise of political antisemitism, Jew hatred, and persecution. In this context, nationalist voices began to be heard among the Jewish intelligentsia in Europe. Antisemitism and immigration of Jews to the West prompted the Jewish intelligentsia to discuss the possibility of a national solution to the Jewish question. In *Auto-Emancipation* (1882), Yehuda Leib Pinsker suggested a plan that was very similar to the one that would be developed by Theodor Herzl in the summer of 1895 in Paris. In parallel to these political plans that led to the establishment of the Zionist movement, individuals wrote utopian literature. As we will see below, examining the Zionist utopias sheds light on the different shades of the Zionist vision during this period. Published in the early 1880s and until the end of the First World War, these utopias reflected the distinct variations within the Zionist vision: political, cultural, religious, and socialist.

Political Utopia

The political utopian trend first appears in *Ein Zukuntsfbild* ["A vision for the future"] by Menachem Edmond Eisler (1850-1942).[45] This author was an educated Jewish merchant and writer from Hungary. He published this book anonymously in Vienna in 1885. In it, he described a Jewish constitutional monarchy in the Land of Israel. The growth of modern antisemitism along with the old Jew-hatred in Eastern Europe form the origin point for the story's plot. At the beginning of this utopia, a pogrom takes place in a Jewish community, following which the Jews hold a mass funeral to bury their dead. When Eisler wrote the book in 1882, he was influenced by the pogroms in the Jewish communities in the Russian Pale of Settlement. Living in Hungary, Eisler experienced the political antisemitism of that country first-hand, such as the plan of antisemitic politician Győző Istóczy (1842-1915) to send the Jews to Palestine as part of the Berlin agreements. We find echoes of this plan in the book's foreword:[46]

> Did we not hint a thousand times over to these Jews that they must flee before it is too late? But the Jews are a stiff-necked people, and therefore they are expected to experience all the troubles that have poured down upon them. Might they deny it? Were they not warned by one of the delegates in the state council? He spoke and wrote in defamation of them, and still they refused to listen to his words. Similarly, other [antisemitic] followers who complained about the Jews made sure to denounce them daily in the newspapers. These denunciations were a clear indication, yet they did not heed or accept them. And indeed, what almost everyone had anticipated has come to pass.[47]

Thus Eisler began by addressing antisemitism – the humiliations and daily attacks on the Jews in Europe. Similar to Pinsker and later on, Herzl, he also believed there was no hope for normal civil life for the Jews in Europe. He viewed antisemitism as a real danger to Jewish existence. In his book, he describes the pogrom and its impact on the conversation within the community as an inter-generational dialogue, between the grandfather, representing pure faith and the anticipation of the Messiah, and the grandson – Avner – who is no longer willing to wait for heavenly redemption, and calls for rebellion against the Diaspora and its values:

> Grandfather! – calls the youth in a trembling voice – why did you restrain me and not permit me to punish him, that cruel savage? […] You restrained me and prevented me from punishing the plunderer. Be advised that we youth are no longer willing to bear this humiliation, to which you surrender without complaint. You elderly may be angels of suffering and humility, and I have no desire to belittle your noble traits. But we, the young generation, are human beings. If they attempt to harm us, our veins and muscles tense and rebel, and I long to take revenge against our attackers. You may remain angels, but allow us to be human beings.[48]

Following the pogroms, Eisler anticipated the need to establish a Jewish army in Eretz Israel to protect its borders. In this utopia, the Jewish army plays a very active role, as opposed to most of the other Zionist utopias, which make almost no mention of enemies or a fighting army. Eisler's fictional political system is a modern Jewish kingdom with symbols from the ancient biblical state. Avner, the hero of the story, represents the archetypal "new Jew," modern and revolutionary, but he also has elements from traditional Judaism and the "old Jew."[49]

The similarity of *Ein Zukuntsfbild* to Herzl's vision is in the author's basic political position. Like Herzl, Eisler conditioned the immigration of the Jews from Europe to Palestine on the agreement and support of the European

powers. The rise of modern antisemitism and the demand to banish the Jews from their countries of origin created a situation that obligated the Jews to establish their own state. As a result, after negotiation with the European powers and with their pressure on the Ottoman Empire, the Jews received the opportunity to settle in Palestine.[50] In the story, the departure from Europe to the Land of Israel was made peacefully.[51] Despite the many religious symbols scattered throughout Eisler's utopia, his "state of Judah" was modern and secular. Symbols taken from Jewish tradition included division into tribes, a monarchy modeled on the kingdoms of David and Solomon, and the prohibition against charging interest. But it is clear from the constitution that the state is secular. On one hand, Eisler's utopia represents the ancient hope for restoration of a Jewish kingdom, while on the other, it forbids expression of religion in the civic, public space.

The corpus of laws of the kingdom is blatantly secular, for example: "34) The king represents the religious and secular authority. 450) It is prohibited to hold religious ceremonies in public. 451) Religion belongs in the synagogue and the home. 690) The institute of marriage is civic and secular."[52] The state described accepts the principle of religious tolerance and grants equal rights to all of its citizens. The state language is Hebrew. Military service is obligatory for all citizens. As in Thomas More's *Utopia*, these laws intend to transform the country into the ideal state: "The Land of Judah became increasingly powerful under Avner's rule and was filled with hope; God extended his blessing to the peaceful and serene work, and the entire land rejoiced and was filled with gladness."[53] The relationship between the Jewish past and utopian present appears throughout the length of the work. The author describes the reconstruction of the Temple, with modern adaptations: sacrificial worship is exchanged for "marble prayer stands, which the high priests will use for reading the Torah before the nation of believers."[54] This modern interpretation of tradition describes the new Jewish kingdom as a utopian place that is entirely good in nature.

In addition to this trend, we may add the utopian political satire of Jacques Bahar, *Anti-goyisme à Sion* ["Anti-goyism in Zion"]. This story has a completely different character, as it focuses on an imaginary event that takes place in the Jewish state of 1997, on the centennial anniversary of the First Zionist Congress. Bahar was born in 1858 in Marseilles, was educated at universities in France and Germany, and belonged to leftist French circles, as his friend the poet Bernard Lazare (1865-1903).[55] Bahar published his utopia in French in 1898. It was immediately translated into German and published in the official Zionist journal *Die Welt*.[56] This utopia was written as a parody of the Dreyfus affair, positing a futuristic mirror image of the Dreyfus case that is tried in the Jewish state. In the Dreyfus case, a Jewish officer was accused by French antisemites of betraying his homeland. Bahar's story relates the opposite situation – instead of a French Jew accused of betraying France, a Jew in Palestine is tried for having anti-gentile sentiments. Beyond

its scathing criticism of contemporary French society, it was also intended to serve as a warning for Zionism. Just as racism raised its ugly head in France in the form of antisemitism, the same type of sentiment was likely to develop in the Jewish state. Eventually, racist and anti-gentile political forces were likely to arise in Eretz Israel, just as antisemitic entities were active in France in the late nineteenth century. In France, antisemitic journalist and author Édouard Adolphe Drumont had spearheaded the persecutions of Alfred Dreyfus. In Bahar's utopia, Drumont's fictional parallel is a Jew named Yitzhak Natanel Fremont "the Gentile Hater." Just as Drumont acted against Dreyfus, the fictional Fremont mobilizes journalists and public opinion against the gentiles.

Through this story, Bahar describes the tolerance of the ideal modern Jewish state: "It is not surprising that in their own country, the Jews have annulled all differences of religion, race, and nationality. They uphold one law for the foreigner and the citizen. Even the Bedouins have been given civil rights."[57] His utopian state expects individuals to be educated and useful to society, and therefore the state emphasizes education. Strong ties develop between Jews, Christians, and Muslims, and intermarriage is permitted. The gentiles circumcise their sons as a gesture of affection for the Jews in the country.[58] Due to the warm relations between Jews and gentiles, the citizens of the utopian Jewish state reject Fremont and his racist, anti-gentile supporters. Just as Drumont published *La France juive* ["Jewish France"] (1886) to incite hatred against French Jewry, his fictional grandson Fremont publishes a book entitled *Gentile Judea* to incite hatred against the Christians.

In the story, Fremont is put on trial in "the Sanhedrin," the Jerusalem court, for incitement against the Baron of Heiligstaten and the minister of the navy, San Torpedo. Fremont accuses them of "suspicious" friendship between a Jew and a gentile, which he calls "unnatural and in contradiction to my historical and sociological opinions."[59] In this parodic reversal of the Dreyfus affair, Fremont and his supporters release their unbridled hatred of Christians as an expression of their Judaism. Citing the principles of freedom and liberty that Herzl's First Zionist Congress represented, the Jerusalem court convicts and sentences Fremont.[60] Like Eisler's work, this satirical utopia also incorporates Jewish religious symbols and biblical myths, and they appear as part of the modern, tolerant Jewish state that objects to assaults on human rights and expressions of hatred against the other and the weak.

Theodor Herzl originally conceived of his utopian work *Altneuland* in 1898, after returning from a visit to Palestine. At first, Herzl thought to call it *Neues Zion*, and on August 30 of that year, he wrote in his diary: "Today while riding a rickety omnibus to Wering, the name for my Zionist novel formed in my mind: *Alt-Neuland* – Old-New Land, inspired by the name of the Prague synagogue, Altneuschul. It will become a famous name."[61] Despite the modern symbols in *Altneuland*, the title that Herzl chose for the book created a connection between the Jewish past and present. Herzl's image

of the Jewish past is reflected through the eyes of a bourgeois Jew in the Habsburg Empire in the late nineteenth century. Herzl's knowledge of Jewish history was superficial. He relied on the impression created by the great German literary figures such as Heine and Goethe, and occasionally revealed a tendency toward over-idealization. Still, we must recognize the importance of Herzl's turn[62] to the Jewish past and his honest desire to strengthen his Jewish identity. Herzl was well-aware of the power of Jewish ethnic and religious heritage to rally the Jewish masses to the ranks of Zionism. His many references to Jewish religious tradition, symbols, values, and principles in *Altneuland* were not meant as mere lip service or an instrumental tactic. They truly reflected an honest longing for the return of the Jews to self-rule and liberty, as the Jewish people had known in its ancient past. To Herzl, old and new worked together.

In *Altneuland*, Herzl outlines a highly modern Jewish society that aspires to purge reactionary and racist forces, and to this purpose, he integrates symbols of enlightened Jewish culture.[63] For example, he describes the Passover Seder in Tiberias as a pluralistic, multi-cultural event that included a tolerant interreligious encounter.[64] In the story, Jerusalem is a modern, bustling city that integrates religious symbols – alongside modern, secular life, the Temple is rebuilt and stands at the height of its glory, although in an unspecified location, and not on the site of the existing mosques on the Temple Mount.[65] Herzl describes Shabbat in Jerusalem as infusing the city with an atmosphere of sanctity. Believers and secularists, Jews and non-Jews live there together in harmony.[66] In *Altneuland*, faith and religion are part of the modernist vision of progress. In his book, Herzl reveals a warm attitude toward Jewish tradition and religion. For example, in the figure of the elderly Rabbi Samuel, he expresses his fondness for nationalist rabbis. Herzl's appreciation for Zionist rabbis intensified after he broke with Reform and Liberal rabbis in Germany and Austria, who objected strenuously to Zionism when it first appeared on the scene. In his struggle against these Westernized rabbis, whom he called *Protestrabbiner* or "protest rabbis," he praised those who supported Zionism: "Men like Mohaliver and Rilf, are noble of spirit and elevated among the people. In faithful spirit, they suffer the same persecutions as their wretched brothers, while living in the very midst of the people, where they are the most oppressed."[67]

As is sometimes argued, Herzl was not an anti-religious, secular leader. He viewed religion as an important part of the national fabric of the Jewish state. He developed close ties of mutual esteem with Rabbi Yitzhak Yaacov Reines, leader of the Mizrachi movement. But the image that arises from *Altneuland* is of a modern, Western society that utilizes and develops the achievements of science and contemporary social thought:

> For we stand on the shoulders of other civilized peoples. If a man joins us – if he accepts our institutions and assumes the duties of our commonwealth – he should be entitled to enjoy all

> our rights. We ought therefore to pay our debts. And that can be done in only one way – by the exercise of utmost tolerance. Our slogan must be, now and always – 'Man, thou art my brother!' [68]

Herzl repeatedly emphasized the debt that Zionism owed toward modern, Western attempts to create the infrastructure of an ideal society. From this aspect, Herzl's utopia was unmistakably modern. Yet Herzl was conscious of the tension between the Jewish past, present and future. As evidence, the tension between tradition and progress, religion and nationalism was the first controversy that the Zionist movement faced when the "cultural polemic" began in 1898.[69] Further, Altneuland was written in the context of a location (topos) with enormous historic, religious, and cultural weight – the Land of Israel. The land was not merely a territory for the solution of the Jewish question. Rather, it was perceived as "the Holy Land," and the messianic myth associated with it was one of the most powerful forces of Zionism. Still, Herzl described a modern, rational vision for building the Jewish state:

> Our success in social experiment is due to another cause. We established our Society without inherited drawbacks. We did indeed bind ourselves to the past, as we were bound to do – there was the old soil, the ancient people; but we rejuvenated the institutions.[70]

Within the structural tension that permeated the Zionist movement from its inception, between old and new, tradition and progress, Herzl emphasized the new beyond the old. This preference stemmed from his rational, pragmatic approach as leader of the national movement – not from any principled objection to the position of religion and tradition in the Jewish state. As we have seen, many examples demonstrate his positive attitude toward Jewish tradition and religion.

As mentioned, the composition of *Altneuland* was influenced by the socialist utopian writing of that time, particularly the works of Edward Bellamy and Theodor Hertzka.[71] Herzl also demonstrated deep knowledge of the utopian social experiments that took place during the nineteenth century. But the comparison between *Altneuland* and general utopian literature does reveal differences. The very fact that the Zionist utopia was written by an active leader of a national movement distinguishes between Herzl's work and those of the Western utopists.[72] Indeed, it was only when Herzl's success in diplomatic activity began to wane that he returned to writing his utopian book. When he realized there was no longer any hope of convincing the Ottoman sultan to agree to the idea of the charter, Herzl wrote: "If this indeed will be the decision, I can continue to write my novel *Altneuland*, for then our plans will truly be a mere vision and a fiction."[73] Among the various Zionist utopias

written at that time, *Altneuland* was undoubtedly the most significant and influential.

Cultural Utopia

Just as representatives of the political approach in Zionism wrote utopias, supporters of the cultural stream of Zionism also wrote works of this genre. The leader of the cultural stream, Ahad Ha'am (Asher Ginsberg), did not write a utopian literary work, but he had a well-defined utopian vision. His ideal was based on the revival of Hebrew literature and language in Eastern Europe and the evolutionary nationalist theory that he developed.[74] The utopian vision of the future held by the cultural stream of Zionism was expressed in a utopia published by Elchanan Leib Lewinsky, entitled *Masa le-Eretz Israel bi-shnat t't* (Voyage to the land of Israel in the Year 2040) and published in the journal *Pardes* in 1892.[75]

This utopia allotted a prominent position to the formation of modern Hebrew culture and education. The book reflected the energetic activity of members of the Bnei Moshe Association, who were active in the 1890s – but it also reflected a broader cultural worldview of early Zionism and Hibbat Zion. Supporters of this approach emphasized the centrality of Hebrew as the national language of the Jewish people. They highlighted Jewish unity as the main principle in the definition of the modern Jew, and they emphasized the centrality of the Land of Israel in the life of the Jewish people. These intellectual Zionists struggled with two disparate trends. The first defined Judaism as a community of faith with an integrated universalist vision. This trend existed within the Reform movement and among liberal, secular, and socialist Jews. The second was traditional Orthodoxy, which mostly defined Judaism as a religion and belief, not as a nation with rights to self-rule. Against these two trends, the nationalist intellectuals posited the national alternative as shared ground for a modern Jewish identity of the Jewish people. This trend was expressed in the thought of individuals such as Peretz Smolenskin, Ahad Ha'am, Yehoshua Hana Rawnitzki, and Haim Nahman Bialik, who viewed Hebrew education, Hebrew language, and development of Hebrew culture as the fundamental principle of the Zionist project. We thus find in Lewinsky's book a detailed description of the plan for Hebrew education in schools:

> I met the head teacher at the school, who is also the community rabbi. At his request and that of Mr. Nachshon, the next day I went with them to visit the school. […] Some one hundred boys and ninety girls study there. The program of study is as follows: Torah – Chumash and abbreviated Rashi, Prophets and Writings in full, grammar, composition, one foreign language, mathematics up to algebra, basic principles of measurement, basic understanding of Talmud, Jewish history, history of the Land of Israel, basic knowledge of plants and agriculture. The

> students will attend this school for four years, and some will continue to the high schools in the towns of the Galilee. I tested the boys and girls and was surprised at their level of knowledge in grammar and language analysis.[76]

As we see, the curriculum that Lewinsky described is similar to the position of Bnei Moshe, who aspired to integrate traditional Jewish studies with general secular studies and study of Eretz Israel. Bnei Moshe founded a school in Jaffa in 1892, around the time of the composition of Lewinsky's utopia.[77] Hebrew education at all levels, from pre-school to university, was the top priority for cultural Zionism, aiming "to train the minds" for the creation of the Jewish state in the distant future.

Lewinsky's fictional journey throughout the Land of Israel reveals a Jewish state that implemented the Hebrew cultural revival as envisioned by cultural Zionism. The textual references to the Hebrew language, descriptions of the characters, names of villages and other locations, mentions of Hebrew publishing and journalism, description of the establishment of institutions of higher education and Torah study in Jerusalem, and prolific examples of Bible stories – all reflected the complete cultural Zionist vision. Therefore, in his scathing critique of Herzl's *Altneuland*, Ahad Ha'am praised Lewinsky's utopia as an apt expression of the true goals of Zionism.[78]

Another Zionist utopia that was deeply influenced by Ahad Ha'am's ideas was *Yerushalayim ha-bnuya* [Jerusalem Rebuilt] by Boris Schatz, founder of the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, written in 1918.[79] This is a broad-ranging utopian work that describes a futuristic society in Jerusalem, where millions of residents live in harmony and social equality. The story describes how Bezalel eventually becomes the central force in the life of the Jewish people in Palestine. In this utopia, Schatz describes life in Jerusalem in a range of fields – education, employment, transportation, food, religion, government, health, and romantic life.

As in most utopias, the narrator is a "guest" who is invited to visit the utopian society. He is guided by a "host" who describes the inhabitants' life of contentment. In this novel, Schatz himself is the guest who awakens from a century-long sleep into the year 2018. The host is Betzalel ben Uri, the builder of the biblical Tabernacle.[80] At the beginning of the story, Schatz writes that the Temple is standing on the Temple Mount, while the Mosque of Omar was moved from the mount peacefully and with the agreement of the Arabs. In this modern Temple, the sacrifices were not renewed as in ancient times, but nevertheless, the divine spirit occupies it.[81] In general, the concept of sanctity is present in many instances throughout Schatz's writing, as well as in his artistic creations. For example, on the twentieth anniversary of the founded of the Bezalel Academy, Schatz wrote: "For me, art was a temple, and the artists were its priests. I dreamed that I would be the High Priest who served in sanctity before the holy art."[82]

Another source of influence evident in Schatz's book is the collective, socialist view of the creation of the Jewish state. Schatz gave a detailed description of an equal society as a kind of socialist utopia in the Land of Israel.[83] The education system would provide equal, free education for all citizens: "All the residents of the Land of Israel, boys from age three to age eighteen and girls up to age sixteen, will study and earn an education at government expense."[84] The society takes full responsibility for raising the children, and supplies clothing, food, lodgings, and equal education for all children, by removing them from the responsibility of their parents and family.[85]

In Schatz's vision, Judaism had "returned from Exile" to its land of origin, and thus it changed it severe character and became a "natural religion" rooted in the ground of the Land of Israel. Its symbols remained as in the past, but they were adapted and modified for the modern age. Schatz imagined the breakdown of barriers between religion and life, Judaism and universal values. After returning to their homeland, the Jewish people abandoned the barriers of Halacha that were put in place in the Diaspora, and returned the religious commandments to their original state, in order to create natural life: "With the revival of our people, our Sanhedrin renewed pure faith. Like our ancient Sages, the Sanhedrin understood the needs of the times, and declared that the Torah was given to humanity 'to live by it and not to die by it.'"[86] National redemption and the return to the Land of Israel thus represented a *tikkun* or repair of Jewish life in general and religious life in particular: "Our Sanhedrin liberated the Torah from its Exile, removed the shell that is not needed in our time, and gave us the pure Torah."[87]

Schatz described the national leadership as an elite of "high priests" or "prophets" who were focused only on the benefit of the people, as in the terminology of Ahad Ha'am and Bnei Moshe.[88] Society was equal, and organized into economic guilds under one community managed by the Sanhedrin and the president. The state was Jewish, enlightened, and upheld the principle of equality for all, including non-Jews.[89] We thus find that the general structure of Jerusalem Rebuilt recalls the cultural approach of Ahad Ha'am and his disciples – including emphasis on the Hebrew language, intensive focus on education, Hebrew journalism, and the deep connection with the Bible and its symbols.[90]

Religious Utopia

Writers in the utopian genre also include religious Zionist, such as Henry Pereira Mendes, Ze'ev Yavetz, and Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook. The latter did not write a utopia, but his doctrine was expressly focused on visions for the future.[91] At its outset, the principles of religious Zionism under Rabbi Reines were very close to Herzl's political views. In other words, its main goal was to find a national solution to the Jewish people's problems, from the persecutions of antisemitism and pogroms on one hand, to the threat

of assimilation posed by mass emigration to the United States on the other. The Mizrachi movement aspired to avoid conflicts on the issues of religion and culture. Rabbi Reines outlined this position to moderate any needless friction with the Zionist movement, because he believed it had many advantages that could save the Jewish people. But did religious Zionism also have a clear view of the future character of the Jewish state? We may gain a glimpse into the religious Zionist vision by examining the utopian literature written by religious Zionist leaders.

One unique and interesting work was written by Henry (Hayim) Pereira Mendes (1852-1937), rabbi of the Sephardic Portuguese community She'erith Israel in New York and a leader of American Zionism. Pereira Mendes was a religious Zionist and represented Mizrachi at the Zionist Congresses. His broad education in both Torah and academic subjects and his deep acquaintance with Western culture comes to the fore in his book *Looking Ahead: Twentieth Century Happenings.*[92] Pereira Mendes' book is not a utopia in the usual sense of the term, but rather a futuristic description of historical events in the twentieth century, written from the viewpoint of the author in 1899. Aside from the description of international relations, the book's Zionist utopian context is located in its description of the establishment of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel.

This speculative history of the twentieth century describes events that enable the return of the Jews to their historical homeland, as part of the overall solution for the suffering and conflicts experienced by all of humanity. Pereira Mendes astutely predicted the most disastrous events of the twentieth century, including the rapid development of technology leading to dreadful wars and the creation of weapons of mass destruction.[93] Although his description of the world wars did not exactly mirror the real events, still, he did predict a horrific world war.[94] Further, he predicted that as a result of the conflicts he described, significant changes would take place in the political map of Europe, which would lead to political change in the rest of the world.[95] In *Looking Ahead*, he writes of the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the new regional division of the territories of the Middle East, and the placement of the status of Palestine on the global agenda.[96]

In Pereira Mendes' description, as a result of the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the war took on a religious character. The Muslims called for a holy war or Jihad, and a struggle between the Muslims and the Christian world began.[97] As a result of the horrific events nations understood the need to prevent all-out war, and thus they abandoned armed conflict and preferred dialogue between nations and religions.[98] For this purpose, a world council gathered in Jerusalem and decided to give control over Palestine to the Jews. Based on this decision leaders of the Zionist movement began fervent action to establish a Jewish state in the Land of Israel.[99]

The imaginary historical process that Pereira Mendes described is of religious, messianic, and enlightened character. The Jewish government that

he describes is a democratic, modern system that reflects a realization of the vision of redemption. The Jews immigrated to the Land of Israel and began to rebuild it. But the Diaspora was not liquidated, and communities abroad continued to fulfill their universal destiny.[100] Pereira Mendes' utopian history integrated the biblical vision of the end of days with enlightenment, progress, education, and modernism.

We find another religious vision in the utopia *Hadash Male Yashan* [New full of old], which was written by Ze'ev Yavetz (1847-1924) but never published. Yavetz, an educator and religious Zionist leader, wrote a religious socialist utopia that described the development of the Jewish community in the Land of Israel as a communal socialist economy, which he called *Eruv* [boundary].[101] According to the story, the Eruv succeeded in the Land of Israel after a group of observant Jews called Yizra'el planned it while abroad: "One thousand valiant youths, including laborers, took possession of a very expansive and prosperous heritage, which today is called Yizra'el. They chose this estate as it was far from any other settlement, so that they could establish a settlement which would be follow the guidelines of Torah culture in all its characteristics."[102] Yavetz's socialist utopia was based on the foundational pillars of religion and tradition.

In his story, Yavetz made no mention of socialist thinkers or secular socialist literature. Instead, he repeatedly emphasized that the socialist program was not formulated by the "wise men of the gentiles," but rather by biblical Judaism. For him, the laws of the Torah, Shabbat, the sabbatical and jubilee years, prohibition against collecting interest were the original concepts of socialist methodology.[103] Beyond the issue of managing the communal economy of the Eruv, this utopia proposes no comprehensive plan for the issue of the religious character of Jewish state. Yavetz's utopia did not address the position of religion in society, although it does clearly state that the society is managed by Torah-observant individuals.[104] The title *New Full of Old* expressed the author's religious approach, viewing Jewish nationalism as an ancient historical process and the realization of an age-old vision – not merely the result of modern developments. Still, Yavetz's utopia is full of new socialist ideas that had no basis in Jewish tradition. The "guest" challenges Aminadav, the utopian representative: "I see that while you observe the laws of the Torah in detail, you have imitated the other nations in the laws governing the needs of the general public."[105] Yavetz's apologetic position that Judaism is the forerunner of the socialist ideal is not unique to him. As we have seen, Moshe Hess and socialist Zionists who followed him emphasized the socialist foundations present in the Bible. But unlike them, Yavetz emphasized the religious and halachic context of socialism, not just the cultural or spiritual one.

Yavetz's religious utopia emphasized the connection between ancient Judaism and modern socialism. But while the author was careful not to ascribe his own ideas to the "new" socialism, here we find that his utopia has

a modernist tone that is quite far from the world of Jewish tradition. Yavetz went farther than other Zionist utopian authors in his acceptance of the socialist principles of economic equality. For example, Lewinsky addressed socialist principles in the Bible, but unlike Yavetz, he interpreted them as laws that balance between individual initiative and the values of equality and mutual responsibility.[106] By contrast, Yavetz completely negated the principle of private ownership, and described his ideal society as a completely communal economy.[107]

In order to justify his socialist stance, Yavetz deviated from the traditional halachic conversation, and used terms such as "the spirit of the Torah" and "the spirit of Judaism" to mean economic equality.[108] For example, he wrote that Shabbat was intended to restore unity and equality between disparate parts of the people – rich and poor, scholars and laymen: "[On Shabbat], the knowledge of all and the rights of all are equal, with no individual bearing any advantage over his fellow."[109] In his view, Shabbat expressed the foremost socialist principle of equality. Annulment of private ownership would lead to the disappearance of most societal and ethical injustices. Economic equality would restrain jealousy and lead to a solution for conflicts between groups and peoples. He writes: "In the end, greed is the mother of all sin and the father of all impurity, pride, the advantage of one individual over another and the dominance of one person over his fellow for evil purpose. Once this monstrosity was uprooted from the Land, the words of the sage were fulfilled for all, from young to old – 'By your name they shall call you to return to your previous position, and in your place, they shall seat you, no person may touch that which is prepared for another, and one nation does not overlap with another.'"[110] As we have seen, as a leader of Mizrachi and the religious Zionism, Yavetz described a socialist, communal utopia in the Land of Israel based on observance of Torah and the pillars of the Jewish religion.[111]

Socialist Utopia

Socialist Zionism was the stream that was most strongly identified with the concept of utopia within Zionism. The establishment of utopian socialist communes around the world was usually identified with socialist revolutionism. It was thus understandable that socialist Zionism defined itself as aspiring to the creation of a utopian society. In 1898, Nachman Syrkin (1868-1924) published *She'lat ha-Yehudim u-Medinat ha-Yehudim ha-Sotzialistit* [The Jewish Question and the Socialist Jewish State]. To Syrkin, the only power among the Jews which was truly able to realize the Zionist goals was the Jewish worker force. Without the active involvement of the Jewish proletariat, a Jewish state would not be established. Therefore his vision, as opposed to Herzl's, was of a socialist Jewish state:

> Because the Jews are forced to find a homeland and establish a state, they have the opportunity to be the first to realize the

> socialist vision. This is the tragic element of their historic fate, but it is also a unique historic mission. What is generally the vision of a few will become a great national movement among the Jews; what is *utopian* in other contexts is necessity for the Jews.[112]

Syrkin viewed the creation of a socialist Jewish state as a necessary process, similar to Marxist terminology. In his view, "utopia" is a negative concept detached from reality.

In contrast to Syrkin, Aharon David Gordon (1856-1922) was the prophet of the socialist Zionist utopia. Gordon's philosophy did not focus on politics and the state as a primary goal. Rather, Gordon rejected the Marxist position, which distanced religion from the socialist vision. To him, the return to the homeland, nature, and working the land went beyond personal and national repair or redemption – it was also *tikkun olam*, redemption of the entire world. The modern age led to alienation of the individual from himself, nature, and divinity. Thus when returning to their land, the Jewish people must repair their qualities – by establishing a Jewish state as well as returning to their birthplace, working the land, and organic national creativity. For Gordon, Zionism should express a much deeper utopia than mere technical creation of a nation-state:

> The content of the idea is clear – the revival of the Jewish people in the Land of Israel. What needs clarification is the form of the idea – in what form do we outline this revival? […]
> First and foremost, it must be clear that our national revival, which, like and more than any revival, is in the act of creation, is not societal renewal. It is not limited to the organization of society or the spirit of society. Its scope is far greater, its conception is much deeper. It begins with the source of all life, nature and cosmic existence.[113]

Gordon thought that the ultimate goal of national redemption was not the creation of a Jewish state – rather, the individual, the Jewish people, humanity, and the cosmos all aspired to organic unity. This unity was derived from love and not the result of institutional coercion. Thus the ideal was to create social frameworks that would enable the achievement of this unity.[114] To Gordon, a political solution to the Jewish question was not enough, even if it meant a socialist Jewish state. He considered a political solution to be merely technical and not sufficient to bring the desired redemption. This led to his positive attitude toward religion and the relationship between the Jewish religion and nationalism. Gordon's approach had a strong influence on the kibbutz movement from the 1920s on. He also had a direct impact on the philosopher Martin Buber, who considered himself as Gordon's disciple in this context.[115]

Buber believed that communal settlement project in the Land of Israel represented a chapter in the fulfillment of the utopian socialist ideal.[116] In his book *Paths in Utopia*, Buber surveyed the development of utopian socialist thought from the French Revolution onward. He viewed himself as part of this stream, which was contemptuously rejected by Marx and Engels as an anti-realistic, "utopist" theory, as opposed to their "scientific" theory. Reviewing the theories of utopian socialists Henri de San Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Peter Kropotkin, and Gustav Landauer, Buber saw this school as aiming toward the creation of a proper, egalitarian social order as well as creating harmony between humanity, nature, and the cosmos, in light of the crisis of modernity.[117] Buber desired to create a society comprised of small communities that would enable the creation of an organic connection between human beings and these communities.[118] We may thus understand why Buber viewed the kibbutzim in Palestine as an opportunity to realize the utopian socialist vision.[119] From his viewpoint, the establishment of small socialist groups (*hevruta*), and not the state institutions, should be the main motivating force on the path to the Zionist utopia.[120]

Buber outlined his utopian program in his articles and talks, titled "About the Hevruta." In contrast to the utopias that aspired to create a planned, rational social order that would constitute "the good place," Buber highlighted the need to return to interpersonal harmony that existed in pre-industrial societies. In his view, this human fraternity enabled the penetration of religious, eschatological, and messianic elements, possible only when the individual interacted fully and communally with other people whom he knew personally and with whom he shared his world. Such interactions were possible only through the creation of small communes, not through large, technocratic social institutions. This socialist utopia could not exist in a broad state framework, as in it, economic equality was mechanical and institutional, and not based on organic social relationships.[121] Therefore the true Hevruta was possible only in a small group that enabled organic unity among individuals, nature, and God.[122] Buber's utopia was intended to correct the flaws of modern industrial society that created a mass alienated society that would crush the individual. Buber called for a return to the Hevruta or small group: "not the large inconceivable collective, in which individuals are connected to each other without knowing each other, nor is it a *havura*, in which the selfishness of the whole replaces the selfishness of the individual, until the 'we' expressed by each member becomes the 'self' without human ethics."[123] Gordon's and Buber's utopian socialism placed the individual at the center of society, instead of the opposite. The connection between human being, society, nature, and God stemmed from organic development and love, not from bureaucratic, institutional coercion.[124]

As we have seen above, the various examples of classical Zionist utopianism – political, cultural, religious, and socialist, were expressed within

the Zionist movement as it formed, until around the end of the First World War. They had a practical influence on Zionist activity during the British Mandate and the nascent State of Israel. After the First World War and as a result, the concept of utopia was weakened in the West. Utopian literature made way for the genres of dystopia and anti-utopia, which described an extreme society that was repressive and totalitarian.[125] Still, utopian thought had a significant influence on the various expressions of Zionism during the Yishuv period, and it played a role in all branches of the movement.[126]

Conclusion

Like the creation of a national historical consciousness, the Zionist utopian literary genre developed in the late nineteenth century in Europe. This article surveys the modern version of the Zionist utopia. Unlike utopias in the ancient and medieval periods, which described a mythical or divine world, ever since Thomas More's *Utopia*, the modern utopian work has aspired to create a "good place" in the earthly world. From this aspect, the Zionist utopia, even when written by Orthodox Jews such as Pereira Mendes and Ze'ev Yavetz, was a purely modern work. Yet all Zionist utopias, even those written by secular authors, relied heavily on ancient Jewish tradition, the Bible, and the political vision of redemption. To the utopian writers, planning the Zionist utopia did not intend to identify a solely political solution to the Jewish problem in Europe. Rather, it also aimed to create a space of identity, belonging, and ethnic boundaries. The creation of such a space had to rely on ancient Jewish culture and history, and this is why every utopia includes references to Jewish history and the Bible.[127] The Jewish history described by the utopian authors was more than the history of a religious group – it was the history of a nation.

The early national utopia reflected the world of conservative, educated Jews, both Western and Eastern. Moshe Hess described Judaism as a nation and faith that would become an ideal socialist society in the process of human progress. By contrast, the messianic thought of Rabbi Yehudah Alkalai was filled with modern nationalist aspects, including the land, Hebrew language, and education. In the classical Zionist period, Zionist utopian literature expressed the various shades of the Zionist movement – political, religious, cultural, and socialist. Above we have outlined the varied emphases that characterized utopian writing, according to each individual author's preferred path for formation of the future Jewish state. We observed significant differences between Herzl's political utopia and Lewinsky's cultural one, between Yavetz's religious world and the political socialist thought of Syrkin. The aspect shared by all the Zionist utopias is the attempt to design an ideal Jewish society in the Land of Israel that relied on the Jewish cultural past.

Endnotes

1 See: Miriam Eliav-Feldon, *Realistic Utopias: The Ideal Imaginary Societies of the Renaissance 1516-1630*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 1-15; Miriam Eliav-Feldon, "'If You Will it, it is No Fairy Tale": The First Jewish Utopias," *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 25, 2 (December 1983): 85-103.
2 Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1996 [1982]), 100. Yerushalmi asserted that: "The burden of building a bridge to his people remains with the historian." The authors of the Zionist utopia also faced this task, as we shall see below. See also: David N. Myers, "Between Diaspora and Zionism: History, Memory, and the Jerusalem Scholars," in David N. Myers and David Ruderman (eds.), *The Jewish Past Revisited: Reflections on Modern Jewish Historians* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 88-103. Michael Brenner, *Prophets of the Past: Interpreters of Jewish History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 111-36.
3 See: Jeremy Stolow, 'Utopia and Geopolitics in Theodor Herzl's *Altneuland*,' *Utopian Studies* Vol. 8 (1997): 55-76, esp. 56-7.
4 For an excellent analysis of the connection between Zionist consciousness and the practical planning of Zionist settlement, see: Ilan S. Troen, *Imagining Zion: Dreams, Designs, and Realities in Century of Jewish Settelment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 3-14. And the entire book. See also: Derek Jonathan Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine 1870-1918* (Bloomington: Indiana Univeristy Press, 1991). Hezi Amiur, *Mixed Farm and Smallholding in Zionist Settlement Thought* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 2016). For an updated analysis of national identities regarding the differences between boundaries of consciousness and geographical borders, see: Richard Jenkins, 'Boundaries and Borders,' in: J. Jackson and L. Molokotos-Lieberman (eds.), *Nationalism, Ethnicity and Boundaries – Conceptualising and understanding identity through boundary approaches* (London: Routledge, 2014), 11-27; Yitzhak Conforti, 'Ethnicity and Boundaries in Jewish Nationalism,' Ibid, 142-61.
5 Shlomo Avineri, 'Herzl's Zionist Utopia: Dream and Reality,' *Cathedra* 40 (1986): 189-200 [Hebrew]; Shlomo Avineri, 'Edmund Eisler's Zionist Utopia', *Midstream* 31, 2 (1985): 50-3; Lea Hadomi, 'Looking Again at "Looking Ahead: Twentieth Century Happenings', *Modern Jewish Studies Annual* 9 (1994): 76-85; Lea Hadomi, *Ben tikva le-safek: sipur ha-utopia* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Ha-Meuchad, 1979); Yaacov Shavit, *The Hebrew Nation: A Study in Israeli Heresy and Fantasy* (London: Cass, 1987); Peretz Sandler, *Hezyonei Medinah: Yalkut ha-utopiot ha-tsiyoniyot* (Tel Aviv: Newman, 1944).
6 Rachel Elboim Dror, *Yesterday's Tomorrow,* I-II [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 1993); Yosef Gorny, *Policy and Imagination: Federal Ideas*

in the Zionist Political Thought, 1918-1948 [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 1993); Yosef Gorny, *The People of Here and Now: Utopian Realism of Formative Figures of the New Jewish Society in Pre-State Israel* [Hebrew] (Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University Press, 2015).
7 Gregory Claeys, *Searching for Utopia: The History of an Idea* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2011), 7-15.
8 Claeys, *Searching for Utopia*, 7.
9 Thomas More, *Utopia – Latin text and English Translation*, G. M. Logan, R. M. Adams, C. H. Miller (eds.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
10 More, *Utopia – Latin text and English Translation*, 240-1.
11 More, *Utopia – Latin text and English Translation,* 158-163, 244-7.
12 In 1514-15 the law in England allowed continuous work from 5 am to 7 - 8 pm. See: More, *Utopia – Latin text and English Translation,* 127, note 27.
13 More, *Utopia – Latin text and English Translation,* 218-23.
14 Anthony D. Smith, "The Biblical Origins of Nationalism," *Historically Speaking* 7, 4 (March-April 2006): 21-4; Diana Muir Appelbaum, "Biblical Nationalism and the Sixteen-Century States," *National Identities* 15, 4 (2013): 317-32; Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge MA. and London: Harvard University Press, 1993), 71-8; Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background* (New York: Macmillan, 1944).
15 Thomas More, *Utopia: Second Edition*, Trans. Clarence E. Miller (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), vii-xxiii, esp. ix-x; More, *Utopia – Latin text and English Translation,* 248-9.
16 Fátima Vieira, "The Concept of Utopia", in: Georgy Claeys (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3-26.
17 Louis-Sebastian Mercier, 'The Year 2440' in: John Carey (ed.), *The Faber Book of Utopias* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999), 158-60. See also: Claeys, *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, 9-10.
18 Dror Elboim, *Yesterday's Tomorrow,* I, 22-3.
19 Joseph Mali, *The Rehabilitation of Myth Vico's 'New Science'* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 210-65; Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 203-5, 210-2.
20 Breisach, *Historiography*, 199-214.
21 Breisach, *Historiography*, 207.
22 On Spinoza's influence on the modern thought, see: Jonthan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosphy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 159-74; Daniel B. Schwartz, '"Our Rabbi Baruch": Spinoza and Radical Jewish Enlightenment,' in: Ari Jacowicz and Ethan B, Katz (eds.), *Secularism in Question: Jews and*

Judaism in Modern Times (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 25-47.
23 In the "long nineteenth century" (1789 - 1914) history was established as a leading science among the humanities, and during this period utopian writing also became widespread in Western Europe and North America. It is no coincidence that after the First World War, the optimistic idea of progress declined. The critique was both towards the idea of utopia and towards the scientific writing of history, see: Krishan Kumar, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 31-68, 69-98; Richard J. Evans, *In Defense of History* (New York and London: Norton, 2000), 24-7.
24 Moses Hess, *The Holy History of Mankind and Other Writings*, Shlomo Avineri (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), ix-xxvii, esp. xviii, xxiv. Hess explicitly noted Spinoza's profound influence on him, as indicated in the book's title: "By a Young Disciple of Spinoza."
25 Shlomo Avineri, *Moses Hess: Prophet of Communism and Zionism* (New York: New York University Press, 1985). Michael Graetz, 'The Return of Moses Hess to the Jewish People,' in: Moses Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem and Other Jewish Writings* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Hasifria Hatsiyonit, 1983), 255-76. Moses Hess, *The Revival of Israel: Rome and Jerusalem and the Last Nationalist Question*, Melvin I. Urofsky (ed.), (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).
26 Hess, *The Revival of Israel: Rome and Jerusalem*, 58-9.
27 Hess, *The Revival of Israel: Rome and Jerusalem*, 74.
28 Hess, *The Revival of Israel: Rome and Jerusalem*, 76-7.
29 Hess, *The Revival of Israel: Rome and Jerusalem*, 138.
30 Hess, *The Revival of Israel: Rome and Jerusalem*, 138-9.
31 Hess, *The Revival of Israel: Rome and Jerusalem*, 145. For his explicit reference to the Temple see, Ibid. 144-6.
32 *Kitvei harav Yehuda Alkalai*, Yitzhak Werfel (ed.), Vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav, 1944), 213. (Emphasis added)
33 *Kitvei harav Yehudah Alkalai*, Vol. 1, 209.
34 *Kitvei harav Yehudah Alkalai*, Vol. 1, 203. (Emphasis added)
35 *Kitvei harav Yehudah Alkalai*, Vol. 1, 195-6, 203-14. On this issue, Alkalai was influenced by his teacher, Rabbi Eliezer Papo (1786-1827), author of *Pele Yo'etz*.
36 *Kitvei harav Yehudah Alkalai*, Vol. 1, 209.
37 Jacob Katz, *Jewish Nationalism: Essays and Studies* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Hssifria Hatsiyonit, 1983), 236-84, 308-56.
38 Gideon Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology* (Hanover and London: University of New England Press, 1995), 71-4. Shimoni pointed out that scholars of religious Zionism after Katz, such as Yosef Salmon, disagreed with Katz assertion that Rabbi Alkalai and Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer acted out from religious and messianic motives alone. See: 74, 408-9.

39 Arieh B. Saposnik, *Becoming Hebrew: The Creation of a Jewish National Culture in Ottoman Palestine* (Oxford New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 65-92, 213-36; Eyal Chowers, *The Political Philosophy of Zionism: Trading Jewish Words for a Hebraic Land* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 171-214.
40 *Kitvei harav Yehudah Alkalai*, Vol. 1, 216.
41 Joel 3:1.
42 *Kitvei harav Yehudah Alkalai*, Vol. 1, 217.
43 *Kitvei harav Yehudah Alkalai*, Vol. 1, 218. (Emphasis added)
44 *Kitvei harav Yehudah Alkalai*, Vol. 1, 237.
45 Edmund Eisler, *Zukunftsbild* (Wein, 1885). A full Hebrew version appeared in: Sandler, *Hezyonei Medinah*. See also, Elboim Dror, *Yesterday's Tomorrow*, I, 9-35.
46 Istóczy formed an anti-Semitic party in 1884. On Istóczy's "Zionist" speech see: Andrew Handler, *An Early Blueprint for Zionism: Győző Istóczy's Political Anti-Sematism* (New York: Boulder, 1989), 42-51. See also: Sandler, *Hezyonei Medinah,* 19-23.
47 Elboim Dror, *Yesterday's Tomorrow*, Vol. 2, 10.
48 Elboim Dror, Yesterday's Tomorrow, Vol. 2, 12
49 Sandler, *Hezyonei Medinah*, 34-7.
50 Sandler, *Hezyonei Medinah*, 53-6.
51 Sandler, *Hezyonei Medinah*, 57-68.
52 Sandler, *Hezyonei Medinah*, 64-8.
53 Sandler, *Hezyonei Medinah*, 75.
54 Sandler, *Hezyonei Medinah*, 92.
55 Elboim Dror, *Yesterday's Tomorrow*, Vol. 1, 64-6.
56 *L'antigoyisme à Sion,* translated to German in the Zionist Journal: *Die Welt* 2 (1898): 13-15, 17-18.
57 Elboim Dror, *Yesterday's Tomorrow*, Vol 2, 39.
58 Elboim Dror, *Yesterday's Tomorrow*, Vol 2, 40.
59 Elboim Dror, *Yesterday's Tomorrow*, Vol 2, 45. The plot about the Jewish economic conspiration against France had considerable expression in France in the 1890s; during the Dreyfus affair and the 'Panama scandal.' see: Hannah Arendt, *Antisemitism: Part one of The Origins of Totalitarianism* (San Diego-New York-London, 1968), 95-120.
60 Elboim Dror, *Yesterday's Tomorrow*, Vol 2, 49-51.
61 Theodor Herzl, *Die Judensache (The Jewish Cause) Diaries 1895-1904*, Vol 2 [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Hasifria Hatsiyonit, 1999), 139.
62 See below note 126.
63 Theodor Herzl, *Old New Land* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2000), 138-40, 151-4.
64 Herzl, *Old New Land*, 185-91.
65 Herzl, *Old New Land*, 251-4.
66 Herzl, *Old New Land*, 247-50.

67 Herzl, *Writings*, Vol. 7 [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv and Jerusalem: Hasifria Hatsiyonit and Dvar, 1961), 98-103. (cited from p. 103)
68 Herzl, *Old New Land*, 152.
69 Ehud Luz, Parrallels Meet: Religion and Nationalism in Early Zionist Movement, 1882-1904 [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1985), 185-96.
70 Theodor Herzl, Old New Land, 78.
71 The most influential utopias at the time were: Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward, From 2000 to 1887* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2000 [1888]); Theodor Hertzka, *Freiland – Ein soziales Zukunftsblind* (Lieipzig, 1890).
72 Shlomo Avineri, Herzl [Hebrew] (Jersalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 2007), 144-72. Derek Penslar, *Theodor Herzl: The Charismatic Leader* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 163-200.
73 Theodor Herzl, *Die Judensache (The Jewish Cause) Diaries 1895-1904*, Vol 2, 202.
74 Yitzhak Conforti, *Shaping a Nation: The Cultural Origins of Zionism, 1882-1948* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 2019), 57-89.
75 Elchanan Leib Lewinsky, *Masa le Eretz Israel bi-shnat t't* (Voyage to the Land of Israel in the Year 2040), (Berlin: Klal, 1922 [1892]).
76 Lewinsky, Masa le Eretz Israel bi-shnat t't, 45.
77 Yosef Salmon, Religion and Zionism: First Encounters (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2002), 220-3.
78 Ahad Ha'am, *Kol Kitvei Ahad Ha'am* (Writings of Ahad Ha'am), (Tel Aviv and Jerusalem: Dvir, 1947), 322. On the Altneuland controversy, see: Yossi Goldstein, *Ahad Ha'am and Herzl: The Struggle for the Political Nature of Zionism in the Shade of Altneuland Affair* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center and Dinur Center, 2011).
79 Boris Schatz, *Jerusalem Rebuilt – A Day Dream* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Bezalel, 1924).
80 Schatz, *Jerusalem Rebuilt,* 8. On Zeev Raban's painting on the book cover, see: Nurit Shilo Cohen (ed.), *Bezalel: 1906 – 1929* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Museum, 1983), 315. See also: Dalia Manor, 'Biblical Zionism in Bezalel Art', *Israel Studies*, Vol. 6, 1 (2001): 55-75, esp. 58-62.
81 Schatz, *Jerusalem Rebuilt,* 10.
82 Shahar Ferber-Kalman, 'A Temple in the Desert,' *De'ot* 94 (July-August 2020): 4-9. (in Hebrew)
The religious and the sacred dimension is evident in many of Schatz works, see for example: Boris Schatz, *Thirty-One Oil Paintings* (Jerusalem: Dfus Eretz Israel, 1929), 10. For the centrality of the sacred dimension in modern nationalism, see: Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9-65. Smith stress that: 'it is not enough to see nationalism as a secular political ideology like liberalism and socialism,' Rather as a 'Sacred Communion' (p. 18-9); see also: Aviel Roshwald, *The Endurance of Nationalism: Ancient Roots*

and Modern Dilemmas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 50-1.
83 Schatz, *Jerusalem Rebuilt*, 11.
84 Schatz, *Jerusalem Rebuilt*, 31.
85 Schatz, *Jerusalem Rebuilt*, 32.
86 Ibid.
87 Schatz, *Jerusalem Rebuilt*, 33.
88 Schatz, *Jerusalem Rebuil*t, 66-7. On the relationship between Ahad Ha'am and Bnei Moshe, see: Yosef Salmon, *Do Not Provoke Providence: Orthodoxy in the Grip of Nationalism* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2014), 213-26.
89 Schatz, *Jerusalem Rebuilt*, 106.
90 For example: Schatz, *Jerusalem Rebuilt*, 94, 109. Yet, Schatz was also influenced by Herzl's *Altneuland*.
91 Elboim Dror, *Yesterday's Tomorrow*, Vol. 1. At the beginning of her book, Elboim Dror quoted Rabbi Kook's words: "The great dreams are the foundation of the world," as a motto for all Zionist utopias. See: the book cover without page number.
92 Henry Pereira Mendes, *Looking Ahead: Twentieth Century Happenings* (London: F. Tennyso Neely, 1899).
93 Pereira Mendes, *Looking Ahead*, 22-3
94 Pereira Mendes, *Looking Ahead*, 21-47.
95 Pereira Mendes, *Looking Ahead*, 48-65.
96 Pereira Mendes, *Looking Ahead*, 72-5.
97 Pereira Mendes, *Looking Ahead*, 174-91.
98 Pereira Mendes, *Looking Ahead*, 209-30.
99 Pereira Mendes, *Looking Ahead*, 302-7.
100 Pereira Mendes, *Looking Ahead*, 373.
101 Asaf Yedidya, 'Hadash Male Yashan (New Filled with Old): The Shelved Utopia of Zeev Jawiz,' *Cathedra* 148 (2013): 71-108. See also: Asaf Yedidya, *'To Cultivate a Hebrew Culture': The Life and Thought of Zeev Jawitz* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 2016), 120-49.
102 Zeev Yavetz, *Hadash Male Yashan* (New Filled with Old), in: Hanoch Dagan ad Benjamin Porat (eds.), *Pursuing Justice: Society and Economy in Jewish Sources* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: The Israeli Democratic Institute, 2016), 232-48. All quotations below from this edition by Asaf Yedidya.
103 Yavetz, *Hadash Male Yashan*, 238-9.
104 Yavetz related to question of religion and nationalism in other places, see: Yedidya, 'To Cultivate a Hebrew Culture,' 134-42.
105 Yavetz, *Hadash Male Yashan*, 232.
106 Lewinsky, *Masa le Eretz Israel bi-shnat t't*, 48-9. Lewinsky rejected the communist ideas proposed by Edward Blamey. On Herzl's intermediate position between free market and social planning, see: Herzl, *Old New Land*, 83-94, esp. 85-6.

107 Yavetz, *Hadash Male Yashan*, 235-6.
108 Yavetz, *Hadash Male Yashan*, 240.
109 Yavetz, *Hadash Male Yashan*, 242.
110 Yavetz, *Hadash Male Yashan*, 246. See: Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yoma, 38a-b.
111 Yavetz, *Hadash Male Yashan*, 247-8.
112 Quoted in: Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology,* 176 (emphasis added). See also: 170-177. *Kitvei Nahman Syrkin*, B. Katznelson and Y. Kaufman (eds.) (Tel Aviv: Davar, 1939), 50, 59.
113 Aharon David Gordon, *Selected Writings*, Eliezer Schweid (ed.) (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Hasifriya Hatsiyonit, 1982), 228.
114 Gordon, *Selected Writings*, 230. See also: 230-61.
115 On Gordon and Buber approaches, see: Shalom Ratzabi, *Anarchy in Zion: Between Martin Buber and A. D. Gordon* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2001). See also: Ehud Fuehrer, *A New Man, in a Jewish Form: A New Reading in A. D. Gordon's Philosophy* [Hebrew] (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2019). Eilon Shmir, *For the Sake of Life: The Art of Living According to Aaron David Gordon* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Hakkibut Hameuchad, 2018).
116 Martin Buber, *Paths in Utopia*, Avraham Shapira (ed.), [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1983), 11.
117 Buber, *Paths in Utopia*, 22-38.
118 Buber, *Paths in Utopia*, 62-3.
119 Buber, *Paths in Utopia*, 148.
120 Buber, *Paths in Utopia*, 155-6.
121 Buber, *Paths in Utopia*, 159.
122 Buber, *Paths in Utopia*, 167-9.
123 Buber, *Paths in Utopia*, 251.
124 Ratzabi, *Anarchy in Zion*, 9-31.
125 Kumar, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times*, 224.
126 See for example: Abigail Paz Yeshayahu, *Patterns of Partnership* (Hebrew; Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University Press, 2012); Michael Chayutin and Brach Chayutin, *Architecture and Utopia: Kibbutz and Moshhav* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2010); Mikhael Benadmon, *Rebellion and Creativity in Religious Zionist Thought: Moshe Unna and the Religious Kibbutz Revolution* [Hebrew] (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2013); Shavit, *The Hebrew Nation.*
127 I use here the term "the turn to History" as Ismar Schorsch in his book on Jewish modern historiography in the nineteen century. See: Ismar Schorsch, *From Text to Context: The Turn to History in Modern Judaism* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1994), Introduction and the entire book.

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