

Nationalism, the Jews, and Art History

MARGARET OLIN

1. Introduction: Vienna 1980

ANTI-SEMITIC ART HISTORIANS, WE ASSUME, NEED NOT write anti-Semitic art history. Granted, Orientalism, of which anti-Semitism is a subcategory, has been convincingly exposed in many disciplines.¹ Yet we trust scholarly objectivity to keep art history free of anti-Semitism, holding Jewish art itself responsible for the scant attention paid to it, the commandment against the making of graven images presumably insuring that there was not much to talk about.² To prove anti-Semitism in art history would take more than a tally of anti-Semitic remarks made by classic art historians such as Jacob Burckhardt.³ It must be shown to play a role in shaping the discourse of art history, in dictating its terms, or in regulating access to the canon of objects deserving of study. My reflections here will be brief and fragmentary, their focus narrow and personal, but in them, I will question the habits of mind that make the exclusion of Jewish art from the discourse of art history appear natural and inevitable.⁴

I begin in 1980, during a year of research in Vienna. Reminders of anti-Semitism played at the margins of my work on art historical theory at the turn of the century. In the archives I read scholarly correspondence that interrupted theoretical discussions to complain about anti-Semitic incidents, and newspapers that juxtaposed art reviews with notices of pogroms or announcements of excursions for anti-Semites to the International Exposition in Paris in 1900.⁵ Among correspondence about historical monuments, I was struck by a letter that an unknown correspondent named "Richard" sent in 1902 to the art historian Franz Wickhoff. He sought Wickhoff's support in an effort to prevent the construction of a museum by the architect Otto Wagner on Vienna's Karlsplatz, home to Johann Fischer von Erlach's eighteenth-century Church of St. Charles Borromeus (p. 475). Fearing that Wagner's opulent structure would clash with Fischer's masterpiece, he urged the professor to take immediate action: "Say that in front of your window a dear, helpless merchant, who is harmlessly going about his business and living modestly without bothering anyone else—let's call him David Cohn—is set upon and strangled by a couple of punks. You'd see that. And, Herr Hofrat, since, to speak in Viennese terms, you're a good, lovable chap—you'd—well you wouldn't exactly go charging down there immediately and place

MARGARET OLIN is Associate Professor of Art History, Theory, and Criticism at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. She is the author of *Forms of Representation in Alois Riegl's Theory of Art (1992)*. She is currently working on a book on the concept of Jewish art in art-historical scholarship.

yourself at his service, but you would make an earnest attempt to call out for help—with all your strength. Now, David Cohn is a good man, but there are many, many of that sort around; for the purposes of cultural history he can easily be replaced. Even Herr Süß must admit that! But I will tell you, and prove it, that presently in Vienna artistic punks, a pair of brutal architects, want to attack and murder not an innocent Jew, but the great Church of St. Charles by Karl Fischer von Erlach! Cry out and protest!”⁶

Wagner’s design was not built and Fischer’s church remains in all its grandeur unfettered by the bland modernist museum built next to it after World War II.⁷ But the correspondent was wrong about the David Cohns. Their supply was not unlimited. They were killed or fled and the good, lovable chaps of Vienna closed their windows and did not call out for help. By the time I read the letter, the Jewish presence in Vienna was little more than a memory.

My interdisciplinary dissertation involved an art historian known for his work in formal theory, historical preservation, and the reevaluation of the neglected art of the Late Roman Empire.⁸ I studied his formal theories in relation to other Viennese cultural contributions in music, psychoanalysis, philosophy, and architecture. To do so, I deployed historical, psychological, literary critical and philosophical methods. Broad though it was, however, my scholarship could not encompass the documents of anti-Semitism that surrounded it. The connection between the aesthetic disruption of Karlsplatz and the violence against David Cohn was poetic but to pursue it would be unscholarly.⁹ I treated any commotion that might have occurred outside a Viennese professor’s window as at worst a momentary distraction, like the anti-Semitic tract that appeared in my room when my landlady discovered I was Jewish. It distracted me briefly from my research but did not affect the way I wrote it up.

A colleague studying a logical disputation in the late fourteenth century encountered on a building in central Vienna a fifteenth century inscription celebrating a pogrom. When further research revealed a connection between the commemorated pogrom and the logical disputation that preceded it, he concluded that abstract positions of theologians can “help shape decisions and justify actions that left an indelible imprint on the lives of their peers, the leaders of the Hussite movement, and the Viennese Jews.”¹⁰ My letter, too, suggested a context that intellectual history alone did not: it indicated that formal art history was not conceived and hotly debated in the serene and rarefied atmosphere of the ivory tower. Yet I reacted to my archival material as if it were. When, for example, an assistant in the Berlin print cabinet in the 1880s characterized a scholar as “uncouth” because he had assigned an observant Jew the topic of the “blood of the lamb,” I found myself siding against the assistant. Jewish Medievalists, I reasoned, cannot expect to avoid Christian iconography. My response assumed a realm of pure scholarship above religious or ethnic considerations.

The assistant assumed no such thing. Even if his distress was unjustified, however, it remains a historical fact worthy of analysis. Yet instead of placing his complaint in a historical context, I argued against a young man who died

in 1888 as though he stood before me in 1980. My misperception of his environment may have been due to a willful misperception of my own: to admit the possibility that seemingly disinterested scholarly research can be used as a weapon to attack an ethnic group meant to relinquish for myself as well as others the possibility of retreat into a pure realm of ideas. In trying now to make amends for my oversight, I do so in part to validate the attempt that he and others made within the constraints of their discipline, to use it as a weapon against the ethnic hatred of their time.

2. An Anti-Semitic Art History

At least one serious scholar incorporated anti-Semitism directly into his art historical research. Born in 1862, Josef Strzygowski is still remembered for his success in securing the Middle East, Asia Minor, and India a place on the art historical agenda; his works are still considered standard in the field.¹¹ There is some irony in his efforts on behalf of these marginalized areas, however, for they were directly inspired by his upbringing in a German-speaking area of Polish Silesia in 1864, which left him an ardent German nationalist.¹² Initially given a tradesman's education, he rose to become professor of art history first in Graz then in Vienna. He led armies of scholars into Syria, Persia, and Egypt to discover evidence of achievements he thought led from the Greek-influenced Hellenistic Orient to classic Roman, Romanesque, and even Gothic art and architecture.

His mode of argumentation reveals his nationalistic purpose. In *Orient oder Rom* he traced Hellenistic influence in a variety of social groups, but routinely ascribed motifs and monuments on the basis of national character. The ornament on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, for example, is Greek because it was made by "an artist devoted with love to his work, a spirit aimed at the painterly-attractive, not the Roman, academically trained engineer."¹³ The tasteless, unartistic Ashburnham Pentateuch cannot have been painted by Germanic artists, whose works are "full of the finest rhythm and an unusual ideal unity of spatial order." It must be by "Jewish Christians."¹⁴ Artistic cultures were not in question, Strzygowski stressed: "it is the contrast of two races, that to which the Greeks and Romans belong and the Semitic."¹⁵ The book ends as the Orient, crippled by Semites, is about to succumb to "the great Germanic artistic flowering in the North."¹⁶

Strzygowski softened his racist rhetoric in *Orient oder Rom* but unleashed it in full force in an essay for general readers. Evoking Delacroix's *Massacre at Chios*, he compared the spotless maiden of Greek independence, abducted by a ruthless Turk in the painting, to the beautiful maiden of Hellenic art who sells herself to an "old Semite."¹⁷ The Semite keeps her as the jewel of his harem, surrounded by the "Semitic pack" teeming with silk, gold, and jewels. This hedonistic art culminated in proliferations of flat patterns that "celebrated their orgies in the Arabesque."¹⁸ To capture the tenacity of the race that created it,

Strzygowski cites the phrase “*der ewige Jude*” (Eternal Jew), thus uniting Jew and “ruthless Turk” in a narrative that had little to do with either.¹⁹

The very terms suggest fear of miscegenation, and indeed, in the same essay Strzygowski not only mourned the disintegration of the race of Hellas, he compared it to the German race, worried that it would similarly lose its purity. Germany, apparently a masculine version of Greece, would not be raped but would succumb to Italy, a “prostitute from whose magic even the sunny, Greek-like barbarians of the North cannot tear themselves away during the Middle Ages.”²⁰ Italy’s allure threatened to turn the “powerful Germanic breed” to mannerism.²¹

Strzygowski celebrated the “blood relations” that bound Germans. Dürer and Rembrandt, he wrote, both “acquired German depth of feeling at the start as their parental inheritance.”²² German Jewish artists, however, did not have depth of feeling by birthright, as we infer from a 1907 critique of the painter Max Liebermann: “In order to salvage the title of art for painting that lacks ideas of its own, he called the search after new variations in artistic qualities ‘fantasy.’ Naturally fantasy takes place completely in the artist: it emerges from purely sensory presuppositions. At the basis of this concept is race.”²³ In the early twentieth century, the term “race” was as likely to signify culture as blood. Indeed, Liebermann’s enthusiasm for French Impressionism, which he shared with other German painters, occasionally led a critic to deny him a Germanic pedigree.²⁴ But Strzygowski makes his meaning clear in a footnote: “Notice also that Orientals in general have considerable fantasy, but this is only seldom purified into what is at issue in art: the need for a simple and clear expression of impulses of the soul, over and above sensuality.”²⁵ Liebermann, an assimilated Jewish painter born and raised in Berlin, must have had the “Oriental” in his blood, since it was certainly not in his culture.

Strzygowski waited impatiently for the great savior of German art, who will enable “us Germans to conquer the artistic heights. . . . Hans von Marées sensed the problem. When will the hero come that will solve it? When the time that will bring him forth?”²⁶ When the savior appeared, not only of German art, but of all German culture, Strzygowski was ready. Before he died in 1941 he vowed to continue to serve his Führer through his work.²⁷

Because his early, often quoted works were not yet Nazi, scholars disassociate these valuable contributions to the field from the verbose rantings of his last decade about emigre Jewish art historians who led international conspiracies from New York.²⁸ Whatever good came out of them, however, his early trips to the Middle East were conditioned by pan-Germanic ideological concerns just as were his later speculative works. Strzygowski’s ethnic ideas were not peripheral to but at the heart of his art history. For he used formal analysis, in itself a neutral tool, to identify not merely similarities but blood relationships and pathways not of influence but of migration, conquest, and miscegenation. From the beginning, Strzygowski’s agonistic art history was a battle cry of the racist and a warning against cultural influence.²⁹ Real blood could flow from such arguments.

3. The Nationality Without Art

Strzygowski's anti-Semitic art history did not transgress accepted art historical patterns because art history's relationship to nationalism imbued it with a pattern of aims and categories shared with anti-Semitism. Modern anti-Semitism was part of a structure of racism that helped give nationhood a basis in biology, while narratives of art history chronicled a people's emerging awareness of nationhood, giving its culmination in political legitimization the look of inevitability. The two strands united because cultural phenomena were among the diverse, conflicting criteria by which nineteenth century scholars classified people into races or nations.³⁰

In German-speaking countries, absorbed in activities relating to the pursuit and achievement of German unity, nationalism and art history were intertwined. In the eighteenth century, when G. E. Herder began to use language as a criterion to identify a shared cultural heritage that makes up a people in the sense of modern nationhood, J. J. Winckelmann had already inaugurated modern art historical scholarship by tying Greek art to Greek climate, culture, and form of government.³¹ The visual was thoroughly bound up in the national by the time German Romanticism promoted Gothic as a German national style, and certain media, such as wood, were defined as German and cultivated.³² In the late nineteenth century, Bismarck advocated the use of the German typeface Fraktur instead of Latin type.³³ Institutional art history grew up in the midst of such phenomena, as scholars appointed to posts in museums and universities directly by the governments of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland provided scholarship to support national claims.³⁴

While a nation can be viewed as a contingent phenomenon, for nationalists it served as the unchanging element that furnished history with coherence. This function made the investigation of origins central to nationalistic narratives. A "national art," scholars argued, must be grounded in primal traits identifiable in their pure form in early handicraft and ornament.³⁵ They sought to define German nationhood through the works of tribes that later became German. Hubert Janitschek searched "back to the darkness of the tribal past" for "the soft and gradually perceptible stirrings of the artistic spirit of the Germanic tribes."³⁶ His history of German painting dated official nationhood to the Treaty of Verdun in 843 and located in art the awakening and developing of a consciousness of German identity that preexisted even that early date.³⁷ In Sweden, Sophus Müller attributed the growth of his own discipline of prehistoric archaeology to the good powers that supported "the urge of the people for self recognition and their love for the monuments of their prehistory."³⁸

The language of nationalism could not consist in the name of just one nation, however.³⁹ Nationalists had to compare or contrast their own nationality to a network of alternative ones. To define Gothic as German was to deny that it was French. To define the German spirit as like the Hellenic required a definition of both peoples. Industrious, practical Romans and beauty-loving

Greeks were crucial to the construction of Germanic spiritual depth. The importance of ethnic Others to the shaping of German identity meant that a German scholar could form a consciousness of German identity in studies of the art of ancient Rome, baroque Italy, the Levant or India. Jews were one element in this vast complex.

One might imagine that an art history for which nationalists set the terms of the discourse, in which the contributions of countries, peoples, and races or the place of a work in a unified evolutionary development headed the scholarly agenda, had little room for Jewish art. After all, like gender minorities, Jews had no single community and geographical location; there was no established narrative into which "Jewish art history" could fit, and only a limited market for histories of Jewish monuments or the professors who specialized in them. Yet the biblical underpinnings of nineteenth century surveys made an explicit Jewish appearance obligatory, albeit sometimes brief, and always confined to what could be culled from the Hebrew bible. Even here, the cherub-bedecked ark of the tabernacle was given short shrift compared to the architectural projects of Solomon.⁴⁰ Since these monuments do not survive, most scholars professed ignorance of Jewish artistic origins, but this did not keep them from drawing wide-ranging conclusions about the Jewish artistic character. The archaeologists Perrot and Chipiez meticulously reconstructed the temples of Solomon and even Ezekiel in fanciful detail, concluding that Jews were the "least artistic of the great peoples of antiquity."⁴¹ According to Elie Faure while "Their whole effort was employed in raising a single edifice, the house of a terrible and solitary god," yet it proved unworthy of "that Jewish genius, so grandly syncretical, but closed and jealous . . . whose voice of iron has traversed the ages."⁴²

Others, citing the participation of Phoenician artists in the building of the temple, concluded that Jews had no art at all. Wilhelm Lübke wrote in his survey in 1888 that "Jews, having no artistic sensibility of their own, borrowed architectural forms on an eclectic principle from the nations dwelling around them."⁴³ The remark sounds innocent from a postmodern standpoint, but for Lübke to characterize Jews as a people who borrowed from others the art they could not create on their own lent an historical basis to the anti-Semitic stereotype of Jews as chameleon-like parasites. With reference to such ancient forebears, Max Liebermann's love of French art could be explained as owing to the chameleon quality of the Jew rather than an affinity for the Gauls. Such insinuations may have encouraged Heinrich Wölfflin explicitly to stress Liebermann's identity as a Berliner in a 1927 review in a Berlin journal.⁴⁴

The obligatory discussion of the non-artistic character of Jews in nineteenth century surveys was part of a larger effort to affirm the purity of Greek art. The de-Semitization of classic Greece became an important scholarly project in the nineteenth century because Greeks had close relations with Semitic peoples (but not Jews) at formative stages in their development. Scholars were so successful at defining Myceneans as Aryan ancestors of the Greeks and downplaying Egyptian or Assyrian influences on Greek art that

even art historians without an ax to grind against “Semites” thought it necessary to distinguish Oriental contributions to Greek art from the pure Greek component, tracing to Mycenaean art the creative, dynamic impulses in Greek art that brought an element of change to static Oriental art.⁴⁵

Jews were not only seen as a people without art, however. The commandment forbidding graven images was used to portray them, more insidiously, as a people against art. The supposedly intolerant and domineering Hebrew God, jealous of the reverence for images, is an assumption that made its way from anti-Semitic tracts to a central art historical assumption.⁴⁶ In an inspired early essay, Hegel painted a brilliant picture of the Jews as representations of pure isolating negativity. The spiritual emptiness of the Jews reflected emptiness in all their creations: their sanctuary was an “empty room,” their day dedicated to God an “empty time,” their God invisible.⁴⁷ “They despise the image because it does not manage them, and they have no inkling of its deification in the enjoyment of beauty or in a lover’s intuition.”⁴⁸

This extreme negativity distinguished Jews even from other “Semites” or “Orientals” who at least possessed a decorative tradition. At best Jews were written out of art history as a people defined by lack: lack of history, of land, and of art.⁴⁹ As an anti-artistic people, however, Jews grew into a threatening anti-nationality, and could re-enter art history as the villain. Just as Richard Wagner did not pity Jews for an alleged lack of musical ability, but feared them as a threat to Western music, so writers like Strzygowski could portray Semitic anti-art as a diabolical force, and thus give anti-Semitism a voice at the heart of art history.⁵⁰

4. Universal Art History

Nationalism and its attendant racism were and are as difficult to remove from art history as from any other area of life. Yet from the beginning, attempts were made to combat anti-Semitism by focusing on the artistic achievements of Jews. In fact, the encouragement of Jewish art was important to Zionism, under whose auspices an art academy was founded in Palestine, named after Bezal’el, the maker of the cherub-bedecked ornaments of the tabernacle ignored by surveys of art history.⁵¹ Whether undertaken by Jews or Christians, however, attempts to promote Jewish art usually partook of the prevailing view of Jews as non-visual. For example, the organizers of the first exhibit of Jewish artists in Berlin in 1907, featuring Maurycy Gottlieb, Artur Markowicz, Josef Oppenheimer, Camille Pissaro, and Lesser Ury, began the catalogue by assuming that Jewish artists faced a tradition hostile to the visual arts.⁵² Martin Buber expressed stronger sentiments in his introduction to a book celebrating the art of well-known Jewish artists such as Liebermann and Josef Israels along with lesser known artists identified with Jewish subjects. Like anti-Semites, he attributed the non-visibility of Jews to “racial characteristics.” His reference was not to “blood,” but to the climate, conditions, and social structure of early Jewish life, yet the results were grim all the same. In his view, the Jews’ inability to visualize constricted their

Weltanschauung (world view) to “I-relationships,” or function, making it impossible to see the beauty of the closed form like the Greek, or the spirituality in the objects around them like the Hindu. In the Diaspora, the limitation of Jews to money-dealing stifled emerging visual as well as spiritual urges. “This is when religious law became all powerful. The human body is despicable. Beauty is an unknown value. Seeing is a sin. Art is a sin. . . . Everything creative is smothered at its first appearance.”⁵³

To a non-Jewish reader, such judgments may appear damning. Buber’s readership, however, was for the most part Jewish, since his book appeared under Zionist auspices. He saw the recent developments in Jewish art as part of a restructuring of Jewish culture beginning with Hasidism in the eighteenth century and continuing with emancipation. His concept of the spiritualization of Jewish relational tendencies led Buber later to the dialogism of his *I and Thou*.⁵⁴ In his view the construction of a specifically Jewish art would contribute significantly to a dawning modern age, “whose essence seems to be the dissolution of substance into relationships and its transfiguration into spiritual values.”⁵⁵ A non-visual people could contribute to art in an immaterial age.

Buber was among the first Jewish thinkers to interpret tendencies within Judaism to coincide with contemporary trends.⁵⁶ A later one was Harold Rosenberg, who like Buber appeared uneasy with Jewish non-visuality. While he wrote searching essays on Jewish identity, he was unable to detect anything specifically Jewish in art when confronted with the problem in a lecture in the Jewish Museum.⁵⁷ With his tongue in his cheek, however, he turned the prohibition against images in the second commandment into an artistic manifesto, thereby transforming the ancient Jews into forerunners of the anti-art, found-art, and conceptual-art movements, stopping short only of calling them surrealists.⁵⁸

There were, however, challenges to the prevailing interpretation of the second commandment. The most ardent challenger was the Hungarian David Kaufmann, who in the late nineteenth century produced the first scholarly studies of Jewish art in synagogues and manuscripts, including, in his appendix to an 1898 Vienna edition of the Sarajevo Haggadah, the first one to appear in a mainstream art historical publication.⁵⁹ Yet the prominent Viennese art historian Julius von Schlosser, who edited the volume, strewed his contributions with speculations about Jewish racial identity discomfiting indeed in a philosemitic context. Although the remarks were probably meant to confound the simplistic assumptions of his contemporaries, Schlosser, who was antagonistic to racism and regarded himself as an Italian-German crossbreed, demonstrates the inseparability of racial and art historical speculation.⁶⁰ Reviewing Schlosser’s edition, the art historian Adolf Goldschmidt found no indication that such Jewish art took part in an “artistic development of its own.”⁶¹ The very structure of art history marginalized the Haggadah.

Another way to combat the deleterious effects of nationalist art history was to foster the belief in the universality of humanity, denying difference or

seeking a common denominator beneath it, and identifying, as Sartre pointed out in *Anti-Semite and Jew*, with universals and abstractions. In art, Jews and other anti-nationalists embraced the international style, formalist criticism, and abstract art.⁶² With no identifiable Jewish style to betray them, Jews could disappear into formalism. Unlike Marxism, which proposed to change the social structures that led to anti-Semitism, the formalist internationale offered a comfortable refuge, within received boundaries of art history, making art appear applicable to the whole of humankind, a pure realm of ideas not associated with specific racial, ethnic, or political agendas. And religious ones. Art offered Christians as well as Jews a secular religion to replace faith lost in the enlightenment. For Jews, however, the denial of religious meaning allowed them in addition to worship at Renaissance altarpieces without the necessity of a formal conversion, and to dispense completely with the religious meanings of awkward topics such as the blood of the lamb. Even better, it opened non-religious art to devotional purposes, which perhaps explains the quasi-religious imagery of critics as diverse as Harold Rosenberg and Michael Fried in praise of abstract art, itself created largely by Jews.⁶³

Nevertheless, universalism ran dangers. It could amalgamate Jewish and Christian norms, as did an early writer on the synagogue of Dura-Europos.⁶⁴ Worse, it could erect a standard and exclude as deviant those who did not conform. Gestalt psychology, for example, postulated a biophysical relationship between human response to form and internal molecular organization. Its insights could, however, be used to bolster racial stereotypes. Rudolf Arnheim came close on occasion to turning Gestalt into a new phrenology, suggesting that the external forms of “criminals and homosexuals” were related to the internal molecular organization that made them “deviants.” To bolster his call for an examination of the relation between the “spirit” of national groups and the configuration of their gestures he cited a study of Jewish and Italian communities in Brooklyn.⁶⁵

Arnheim was not the only one whose universalist model was sabotaged by the discussion of “peoples.” Bernard Berenson, whose devotion to the secular worship of Renaissance altarpieces aided him to produce many popular volumes about Renaissance art and to influence generations of connoisseurs who courted him at his Villa i Tatti in Florence, was keenly aware of the dangers of nationalism. Writing in 1938, partly in response to the Nazi threat, he condemned the search for influence because it “is seldom free of nationalistic prejudices.” Expressing his universalism, he wrote “My tendencies toward universalism and timelessness have disinclined me to dwell on differences that seem slight compared with wide and deep resemblances, and have induced me to look for the same human quality in every individual.” Yet he laid a trap for himself when he continued: “And furthermore to erect the same qualities into ultimate standards and to appraise societies as well as individuals by the extent to which they have possessed these qualities.”⁶⁶ Thus like George Orwell’s *Animal Farm*, which

found some animals more equal than others, he found some societies more universally human than others.

These remarks in his *Aesthetics and History in the Visual Arts* appear in a discussion of Jewish art that could earn him a place in the pantheon of self-hating Jews.⁶⁷ Following the traditional formulas, Berenson consigns Jews to a dismal artistic existence: in some passages they lack a national art; in others they lack art altogether. He appears to forget his own rejection of the cult of originality when he condemns Jews as imitators: “Neither they themselves nor their forebears possessed any kind of plastic or even mechanical ability. . . . As a matter of fact Israel through the ages has manifested nothing essentially national in the plastic arts, neither in antiquity, nor through the Middle Ages, nor to-day. The coinage of their Maccabaeian period is the poorest Hellenistic. . . . In later periods Jews imitated the art of the peoples among whom they were scattered, to the pitiful extent that they made use of art at all. Even in recent years when Jews emancipated from the ghetto have taken to painting and sculpture and architecture, they have proved neither original nor in the least Jewish. I defy anyone to point out in the work of Liebermann, Pissarro, Rothenstein, Modigliani, Messel, Antokolskij, Epstein, Chagall, or Soutine, anything excepting subject matter that is specifically Jewish.”⁶⁸

The assimilated nature of Pissaro’s art may be hard to refute, but Berenson’s remarkable leap from Maccabaeian coinage to the avant garde movements of his own youth suggests that for him the problem is racial.⁶⁹ He himself entertains this possibility: “The Jews like their Ishmaelite cousins the Arabs, and indeed perhaps like all pure Semites (if such there be), have displayed little talent for the visual, and almost none for the figure arts.”

These are extreme examples, but the structures of formal art history made it difficult to escape them even if one wanted to. Clement Greenberg, for example, who, like Rosenberg, wrote outside of artistic contexts with great sensitivity about the relation between a historically Jewish and universally human sensibility, and grappled with issues of assimilation, was at a loss to explain why the “apocalyptic landscapes” of the Jewish painter Mordecai Ardon recalled to him the “old testament.”⁷⁰ “Far be it from me to see an eternal Jewish soul any more than an eternal Anglo-Saxon one,” he sputters, “but . . .”⁷¹ An explanation based on traditions of biblical landscape or imagery might conceivably have helped him, but formalism forbade all but stylistic explanations, just as, for Rosenberg, the only acceptable criteria of Jewish art would have been stylistic.⁷² Although formalism helped Greenberg handle Christian art and even surrealism, whose iconography he disliked, it served him ill here and in discussions of Chagall and even Ezra Pound, whose fascist poems he is driven to find fault with formally in order to justify his dislike of them.⁷³ The separation between art and life with which he struggles in these writings recalls his view of Judaism in the old world. There, too, what really mattered, the spiritual, had to be separated strictly from life.⁷⁴

The formalist model of universalism failed to extirpate racism in part because it appropriated the rhetoric of miscegenation. The longing for purity that pervaded modernism found expression in the abhorrence of “hybrid” styles and mixed genres. To the Islamicist Herzfeld, for example, “hybrid” Persian arts appropriating misunderstood Greek forms could have historical but not aesthetic interest.⁷⁵ Greenberg’s “Toward a New Laocoon” personified artistic media and characterized literature in art as a foreign infiltrating agent. As a socialist, Greenberg imported class struggle into the arts, labeling literature “dominant” and visual art “subservient,” but his worries over their mixture come out of a different discourse. Here the medium is at the quasi-biological basis of art, and Greenberg espouses its “purity.”⁷⁶ Universalist notions of art did not extinguish racism in repressing it, but only displaced it into another realm.

5. A Cosmopolitan Art History

My reflections from Vienna have by now migrated to the United States along with many of the scholars I studied. In fact, my dissertation on early formalism researched there was addressed to formalism as I knew it here, although certainly not because I detected any racist tendency in it. Rather, I wished to focus my—impure—interdisciplinary lens on a theory I thought had begun with promise but in time had run aground. Yet the racism I did not see in early twentieth century formalism was well understood by those surrounded by it in *fin de siècle* Vienna.

After World War Two, scholars ignored Strzygowski’s eroticized anti-Semitism, but his contemporaries were well aware of it, because it emerged from a battle over ethnicities in which the entire art historical community of Vienna was engaged. Aligned against his pan-German position were scholars who took the part of the multi-national empire of which Vienna was the center. Its unity was threatened by the pan-nationalism of various groups such as the Slavs and the Germans, whose empires were contiguous with Austria-Hungary, as well as the nationalisms of smaller sub-groups among them such groups as the Bohemians. Austrian scholars, sensitive to the role of culture in nationalism, confirmed the existence of ethnic traits just as did German nationalists, but they battled ethnic isolation, arguing for the contribution of each nationality to a larger multi-ethnic entity, and to history conceived as a world-wide development. Like the multiculturalists among us, they denied the value of “purity.” The relation between their problems and our own makes their celebration of cross-cultural influence instructive.

The platform on which their battle for multiculturalism was waged was Roman art history. The Roman Empire, with its central authority presiding over a mingling of peoples, played the role of a model in this endeavor, and Austrians used it to refute the claims of German nationalists in the area of visual culture. One of them, for example, traced the so-called German script on which

Fraktur was based to an illegible derivation of Carolingian minuscule, itself a revival of clear, classical script.⁷⁷ Another, Alois Riegl, answered Strzygowski's attacks not by contesting his view of the role of Eastern art, but through differing value judgments.⁷⁸ His work routinely argued for the value of such mixtures. Greek "melody" was pure, he wrote, but incomplete without the Oriental "symphony of masses." Use of Italian sources cost Rembrandt some of his popularity among his Northern contemporaries, but these sources were essential to the achievement of his quintessentially Northern goals.⁷⁹

Far from rejecting miscegenation, Austrians often claimed for themselves, as did Julius von Schlosser, Italian roots.⁸⁰ Riegl thought Austria's mission was to introduce Italian ideas to the North, tempering Northern arbitrariness with Italian order.⁸¹ Like Rembrandt, he could expect nationalists to reject him for such statements, and indeed, his attitude toward patriotism, which he regarded as merely expanded self-love did draw fire from historians during the Nazi period.⁸² Italians were not the only foreign infiltrators Riegl's circle tried to defend, however. Although in public, art historians seldom attacked the anti-Semitism that they wrote about in private, and Jews rarely acknowledged their own ethnic identities, yet art historians published, as they do now, for multiple interpretive communities, some of them doubtless aware of political or social nuances. Thus Friedrich Portheim, the young scholar antagonistic to the "blood of the lamb," pioneered the art historical assault on pan-Germanism. His 1886 book on Hellenistic art flatly denied the notion of primeval German traits, attributing all of them to pan-Hellenism instead.⁸³

A Jewish subtext is clearer when the subject is topical rather than historical. The 1911 *Protest der deutschen Künstler* criticized the amount of money and gallery space spent on French art, the importation of French styles, and the consequent rejection of iconography in favor of formal values.⁸⁴ Yet the protesters do not blame the French for cultural imperialism. They instead accuse international conspiracies based on the accumulation of capital, rhetoric that anyone familiar with anti-Semitic discourse will recognize. Furthermore, their targets are not French but German, and most of those mentioned by name are Jewish or of Jewish descent: the painter Max Liebermann, the art critic Julius Meiergraefe and the gallery owner Paul Cassirer. The opponents of the protesters were also quiet on the subject of anti-Semitism, but they printed their answer, which appeared promptly the same year as the protest, in Latin type to counter the Germanic *Fraktur* of the original. Moreover, at least one respondent stated explicitly what others may have thought. The critic Wilhelm Hausenstein disdainfully classified the protesters among the unsavory crowd who "improve the world with the logic of anti-Semitism. . . . They are among those who allow themselves to be represented by . . . the henchmen of Mayor Lueger."⁸⁵ The Habsburg Emperor himself sought to protect the Jews from the likes of the anti-Semitic mayor of Vienna, Karl Lueger.⁸⁶

The specific controversies that led to the absence of Jews in art history have faded somewhat along with the empires that sought to protect their “multicultural” subjects. Yet the structure of art history continues to exclude Jewish art. Even now it is mostly confined to specialized, self-consciously marginalized texts. Indeed, while Carol Krinsky wrote at length, in her introduction to work on synagogues in Europe, about the increased “willingness to admit ethnic studies,” and the appreciation of diversity that made the book possible, she placed it nevertheless on the margin by pleading that a “study of cultural context also helps us to understand the special qualities of the masterful creation.”⁸⁷ Islamic art, tied to distinctive geographical centers, is beginning to find coverage in art historical surveys; yet Jewish monuments merit barely a mention and tend to be integrated into canonical, non-Jewish, artistic developments. Even specialists often do the same. In recent editions of H. W. Janson’s popular survey, the pictorial program of the third century synagogue at Dura Europos appears under the rubric of Roman Art; specialists find its justification in later Christian images, with which its frescos are “fictively linked.”⁸⁸ The Jansons, and even more the authors of the well-respected *The Visual Arts: A History*, still seem to find anomalous the fact that Jews used figured decorations at all.⁸⁹

In other respects, however, art historical scholarship has changed dramatically since surveys of art history were first written in the nineteenth century, and even since I wrote my dissertation. Formalism, for example, has lost its dominance, and the canon of high art is no longer considered art history’s main preoccupation. A study of European synagogues might still have to justify itself, but it would not go about doing so with reference to grander, more canonical works. “Purity” has become problematic, while the term “hybrid” is overused as an accolade. Furthermore, in looking back at the arguments I have been discussing, we recognize their codes. The notion of a code, and a speaking position from which to enunciate it, has also changed the way that nationalities and ethnicities are related to art history. With the decline of the notion of cultural wholes, we approach cultural controversies in terms of the different positions from which a given speaker at a certain moment offers an argument and codes it according to the fluctuating rules of a discourse.

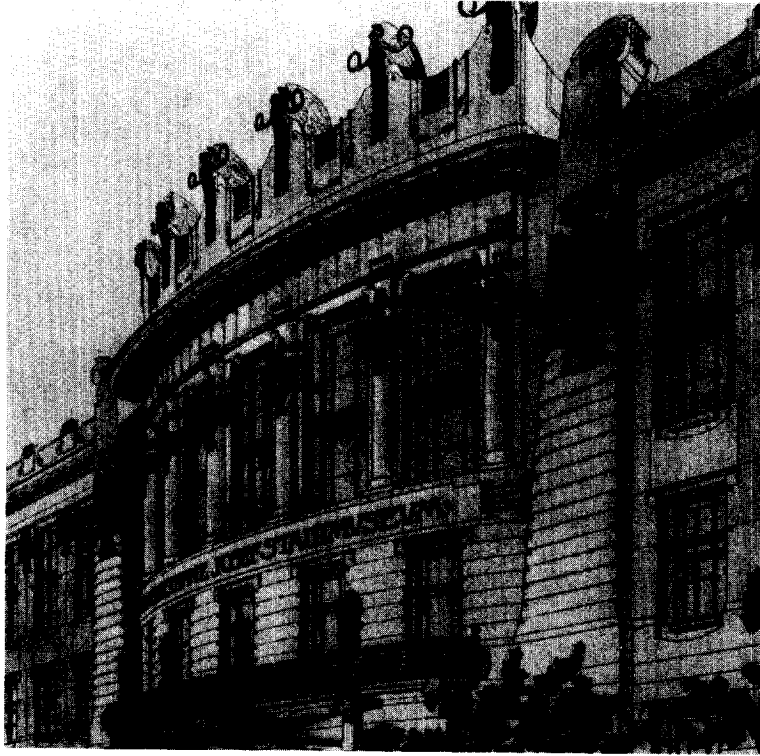
Thus although formalism initially seemed useful as an antidote to anti-Semitism in art, only its replacement by notions of discourse and code allows Jewish monuments to be discussed in terms of the intersecting concerns of Jewish and Christian culture. The synagogue of Dura-Europos, for example, should now be seen in its relation to the community for which it was made and not only in relation to canonic monuments. Indeed, in retrospect, my work was only a symptom of a change in the field that led to the celebration of the hybrid, the delight in “complexity and contradiction,” and the admission of marginalized voices into the field of art history.⁹⁰ Eventually these changes allowed me to hear the voices I had missed, past voices more

aware than I was of the structural relation between art history and sectarian nationalism. The dissolution of the essentialist ideal makes it possible to accord recognition to the problem faced by these past voices without accepting the empire that they thought was the solution.

Finally, there is a difference in the voice in which art history itself is written. This development is supported by theories that comprehend historical writing in relation to the rhetorical devices that it shares with fiction.⁹¹ It encourages art historians to write not only in the abstract voice of objectivity, but to take into account their own speaking positions. It also encourages them to acknowledge the ideological content of historical writing that links history to the present day, making it possible, as I have tried here, to examine the negative consequences for Jewish art history of assumptions accepted even by Jews: the jealous God who supposedly forbade art while proscribing graven images in the second commandment and the necessity to limit art historical study to geographically based evolutionary narratives.⁹² Jews are among the latest of minority groups to take advantage art-historically of the chance to expose the stereotypes that have kept them silent. Other racial, ethnic, and gender minorities preceded them by at least a decade. While an extensive examination of either the Jewish speaking voice or the role of anti-Semitism in art history remains to be done, however, some Jewish art historians have begun to speak from a Jewish position. Some of them have previously explored other minority positions, among them Linda Nochlin, who was a pioneer of feminist art history before she also ventured to speak as a Jew.⁹³

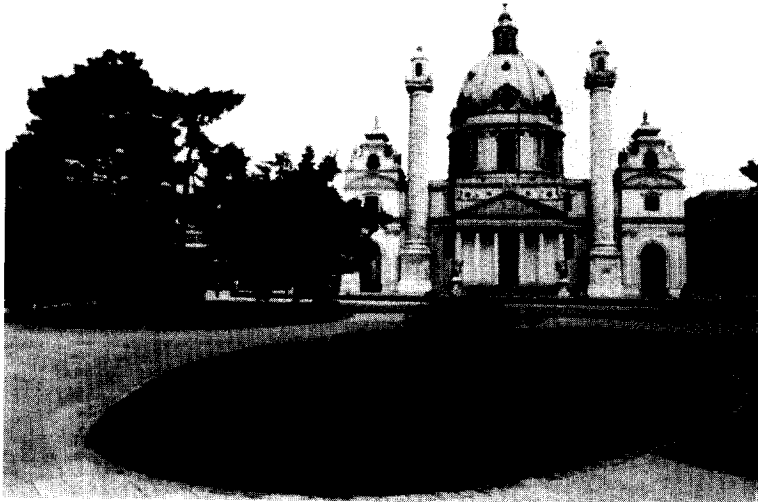
In this essay I speak not only as a Jew but, in my more cosmopolitan speaking position, I intend my words to point beyond Judaism. In this voice and for the sake of symmetry, I return to Vienna for a look at the present state of the war against racism. Like art history, Vienna has also discovered Jews since the time of my research visit. Although Fischer von Erlach's church remains on Karlsplatz as a monument to his greatness, the centrally located Albertinaplatz has a monument to the extinct species of David Cohn. If Cohn managed to escape strangling in 1907, he might have lived to scrub the streets in 1938, although not to see his act memorialized fifty years later in Alfred Hrdlicka's 1988 monument against War and Fascism (p. 476). Racism against the extinct is finally under attack. When I saw it in 1992, it was, appropriately perhaps, being used as a gathering point for refugees from the former Yugoslavia.

In 1983, however, guest workers from Turkey, the paid street scrubbers of the 1980s, could pause from their labors on Karlsplatz to contemplate the sight of their own forebears cast as Oriental warriors. These weapon-brandishing fighters topped the imposing Künstlerhaus art gallery draped by Hans Hollein in a colorful Turkish tent on the occasion of an exhibit marking the three hundredth anniversary of the siege of Vienna by the Turks. This exotic edifice on Karlsplatz finally, if only for the brief moment of the exhibit, eclipsed Fischer's masterpiece.



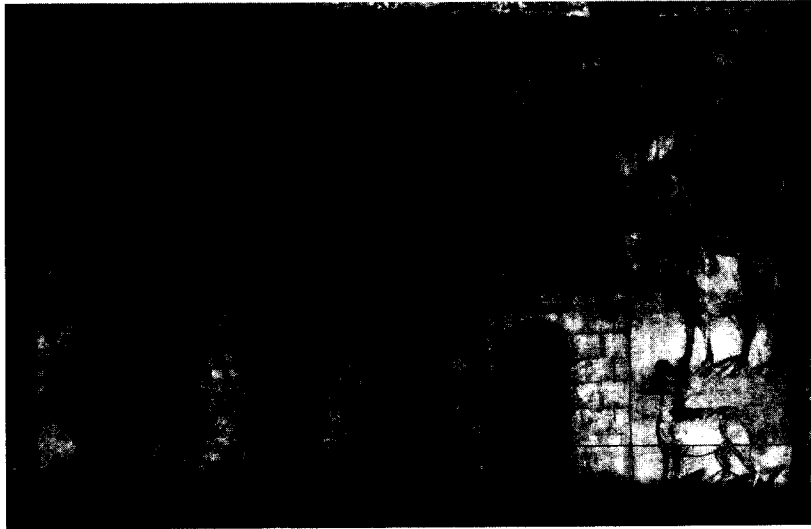
Otto Wagner, View of Central Pavilion, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, preliminary competition project, 1902.

From *Der Architekt* 8 (1902), p. 6, Art Institute of Chicago.



Johann Fischer von Erlach, Karlskirche. Vienna, 1716.

Photograph: M. Olin.



Consecration of the Tabernacle. *Wall painting, Synagogue of Dura Europos.*

Yale University Art Gallery, Dura-Europos Archive.



Alfred Hrdlicka, "Elderly Jew Scrubbing the Street," detail of Monument Against War and Fascism. Vienna, 1988.

Photograph: M. Olin.

NOTES

1. I wish to thank Kalman Bland for his bibliographical information and Joan Hart for a thorough and perceptive reading that forced me to rethink and rewrite. Norman Kleeblatt urged me to write this essay, and I am grateful for his continuing encouragement. Anti-Semitism is a "subset" of Orientalism even though the term "Semite" would seem to be inclusive. The term "anti-Semitism," however, was coined only in 1870 to refer to the hatred specifically of Jews: Robert Wistrich, *Anti-Semitism: The Longest Hatred* (London: Thames Methuen, 1991), pp. xv–xvi. The most often cited work on the subject of the ideology of scholarship on the Middle East is Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978). Said, however, fails to acknowledge fully the relation between anti-Semitism and Orientalism. He comes closest on pp. 27–28.
2. Heinrich Dilly's essay on German art historians during the Nazi period provides no evidence that even they were particularly involved in writing anti-Semitic art history. Their main concerns appeared to have been elsewhere. Heinrich Dilly, *Deutsche Kunsthistoriker, 1933–1945* (Munich, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1988).
3. For example, in *Judgments on History and Historians*, translated by Harry Zohn (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), pp. 23, 43–44, Burckhardt makes statements that suggest he believed modern life and economics were dominated by Jews. These statements, however, do not necessarily reflect on this Cicerone any more than the works of Paul de Man's mature years can be discredited by the essays he wrote for a collaborative newspaper in Belgium during World War II. Another art historian frequently accused of private anti-Semitism is Wilhelm Bode. Wolfgang Beyrodt, "Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929)," in *Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Heinrich Dilly (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990), p. 32.
4. The most glaring omission in my discussion is that of the iconographers and iconologists. The most significant omission, that of Erwin Panofsky, will soon be rectified in forthcoming publications of Joan Hart.
5. For complaints about anti-Semitism see, for example, Friedrich Portheim to Franz Wickhoff, 27 January 1886, Wickhoff *Nachlaß*, Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität Wien.
6. "Richard" to Wickhoff, 30 January 1902, Wickhoff *Nachlaß*.
7. On Wagner's plan, see Peter Haiko, "The Franz Josef-Stadtmuseum: The Attempt to Implement a Theory of Modern Architecture," in *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity (Issues and Debates, Vol. 3)*, edited by Harry Francis Mallgrave (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities), pp. 53–83.
8. Margaret Olin, "Alois Riegl and the Crisis of Representation in Art Theory, 1880–1905" (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Chicago, 1982), published in revised form as *Forms of Representation in Alois Riegl's Theory of Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).
9. The practice of using later events to judge or cast an ominous shadow over earlier ones has been criticized as "foreshadowing" or "backshadowing" by Michael André Bernstein, "Foregone Conclusions: Narrating the Fate of Austro-German Jewry," *Modernism/Modernity* 1 (January 1994): 57–79.
10. Michael Shank, *Unless You Believe, You Shall Not Understand: Logic, University, and Society in Late Medieval Vienna* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 171; and communications with the author. The inscription is quoted on page 197, n. 117.
11. Politically-oriented analyses of Strzygowski's explorations can be found in Margaret Olin, "Alois Riegl: The Late Roman Empire in the Late Habsburg Empire," in *The Habsburg Legacy: National Identity in Historical Perspective*, edited by Ritchie Robertson and Edward Timms (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), pp. 107–120; and Suzanne Marchand, "The Rhetoric of Artifacts and the Decline of Classical Humanism: The Case of Josef Strzygowski," *History and Theory* 33 (1994): 106–130.
12. Strzygowski's biography, complete with its nationalist overtones, can be found in Alfred Karasek-Langer, "Josef Strzygowski: Ein Lebensbild," in *Festschrift J. Strzygowski 70 Jahre. Schaffen und Schauen*, Vol. viii, 7 (Kattowitz, 1933), pp. 36–46.
13. Josef Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901), p. 147.
14. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, pp. 37, 39.

15. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, p. 39.
16. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, p. 150.
17. "Hellas in des Orients Umarmung," *Beilage zur Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung* 40 and 41 (1902), p. 314.
18. "Hellas in des Orients Umarmung," p. 326. To capture the tenacity of the race that created it, Strzygowski cites the phrase "der ewige Jude" ("Eternal Jew"), thus uniting Jew and "ruthless Turk" in a narrative that had little to do with either.
19. "Hellas in des Orients Umarmung," p. 315.
20. "Hellas in des Orients Umarmung," p. 326. Italy's allure threatened to turn the "powerful Germanic breed" to mannerism.
21. "Hellas in des Orients Umarmung," p. 314.
22. *Werden des Barock bei Raphael und Correggio*. (Strassburg: J. H. Ed. Heitz, 1898), p. 121. This work also (pp. 120, 125) contains allusions to the immensely popular German nationalist volume *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, by "ein Deutscher" ("a German") (Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1890). On Langbehn, see Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 97–183.
23. *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart: Ein Büchlein für Jedermann* (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1907), p. 270.
24. Alois Riegl referred to Lieberman's art as a typical example of *Stimmungskunst* in "Die Stimmung als Inhalt der modernen Kunst," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, edited by Karl M. Swoboda (Augsburg/Vienna: Benno Filser, 1929), p. 36. He illustrated the original publication in the *Graphische Künste* 22 (1899): 47, with a drawing by Liebermann. But in a review of *Die deutsche Kunst des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts: Ihre Ziele und Thaten*, by Cornelius Gurlitt, he denied Liebermann a "Germanic" nature, writing that he "ebensogut Franzose sein könnte" ("could as well be French"). *Die Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, supp. to *Graphischen Künsten* 23 (1900): 3.
25. The remark follows a bibliographic citation (*Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Bd. LI, p. 185). Strzygowski, *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart*, p. 270.
26. *Der bildende Kunst der Gegenwart*, p. 275.
27. Strzygowski, *Europas Machtkunst im Rahmen des Erdkreises: Eine grundlegende Auseinandersetzung über Wesen und Entwicklung des zehntausendjährigen Wahnes: Gewaltmacht von Gotts Gnaden statt völkischer Ordnung, Kirche statt Glaube, Bildung statt Begabung; vom Nordstandpunkt planmäßig in die volksdeutsche Bewegung eingestellt* [*Europe's Art of Power in a Global Context: A Fundamental Analysis of the Essence and Development of the Thousand-Year Delusion: Dominion of God's Mercy Instead of National Order, Church Instead of Belief, Education Instead of Talent: From the Point of View of the North, Systematically Adjusted to the Ethnic German Movement*] (Vienna: Wiener Verlagsgesellschaft, 1941), p. 749.
28. Several of these statements are quoted in Hilde Zaloscer, "Kunstgeschichte und Nationalsozialismus," in *Kontinuität und Bruch 1938–1945–1955: Beiträge zur österreichischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, edited by Friedrich Stadler (Vienna/Munich: Jugend und Volk, 1988), pp. 292–293. On Strzygowski's scholarship and reception, see W. Eugene Kleinbauer, "Prolegomena," in *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture: An Annotated Bibliography and Historiography* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1992), pp. lxxi–lxxxii. Citing Otto Demus as her source, Eva Frodl-Kraft expressed the opinion that Strzygowski's preoccupation with the North led to racism only after his retirement, and proffers his struggle with cancer as a contributing factor. "Eine Aporie und der Versuch ihrer Deutung: Josef Strzygowski–Julius v. Schlosser," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 42 (1989): p. 38, n. 117.
29. Strzygowski criticized another scholar for failing to see "wie zwei Strömungen mit einander kämpfen und die eine endlich den Sieg erringt" ("how two currents fight with one another and one finally achieves victory"). Review of *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, by Alois Riegl, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 2 (1902): 266.
30. On the role of institutions in forming "official nationalisms," see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), esp. pp. 80–103; on narratives of nationalism, see Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New

- York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 139–170. On the relation between racism and nationalism, see Etienne Balibar, “Racism and Nationalism,” in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, by Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, translated by Chris Turner (London, New York: Verso, 1991), pp. 37–67. On the historical distinction between racist and religious anti-Semitism, see Wistrich, *Anti-Semitism*, pp. 3–53.
31. Johann Gottfried Herder, “Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit” (1774), in Johann Gottfried Herder, *Schriften*, edited by Karl Otto Conrady (Munich: Rowolt, 1968), pp. 64–139; Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst (1755)* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1969).
32. For relevant quotations and some analysis, see Paul Frankl, *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretation through Eight Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 417, *passim*.
33. According to a lecture given in opposition to Fraktur: Report of a lecture delivered by Engelbert Mühlbacher on 25 January 1883, on “Die Entwicklung der Schrift,” *Mitteilungen des k.k. österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie* 18 (April, 1883): 374–375.
34. On the polemical use of scholarship to argue for specific national or international goals, see Olin, “Alois Riegl: The Late Roman Empire in the Late Habsburg Empire.”
35. Balibar, “The Nation Form: History and Ideology,” in *Race, Nation, Class*, pp. 86–106.
36. Hubert Janitschek, *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei* (Berlin: G. Grote’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890), p. 4.
37. Janitschek, p. 3.
38. Sophus Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde nach Funden und Denkmälern aus Dänemark und Schleswig*, translated by Otto Luitpold Jiriczek (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1898), 2:308.
39. Early in the century, the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure first argued that in language, meanings are created in conjunction with contrasting meanings. *Course in General Linguistics*, edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye, translated by Wade Baskin (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959).
40. The tabernacle is, however, often described, for example, by Franz Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Ebner u. Seubert, 1842), pp. 77–78.
41. Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *Histoire de l’art dans l’antiquité Judée, Sardaigne, Syrie, Cappadoce*, Vol. 5) (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1887), p. 475.
42. Elie Faure, *History of Art: Ancient Art*, translated by Walter Pach (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1921), pp. 104–105.
43. Wilhelm Lübke, *Outlines of the History of Art*, edited by Clarence Cook (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1888), Vol. 1, p. 86. The book was first published in German in 1860. For a discussion of the ideological implications of the interpretation of Phoenicians and Jews in nineteenth-century scholarship, see Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization (The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785–1985, 1)* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), pp. 337–399.
44. Heinrich Wölfflin, “Max Liebermann” (1927), in *Kleine Schriften (1886–1933)*, edited by Joseph Gantner (Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1946), pp. 139–140. Wölfflin helped Liebermann get an honorary degree from Berlin University and was careful to recommend Jewish colleagues and students for jobs they could actually get. Joan Hart kindly communicated this information to me.
45. Alois Riegl, *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (1893), repr. ed. (Berlin: Richard Carl Schmidt, 1923), pp. 120–150, esp. p. 127, where he raises the issue of the relation between the Mycenaean and the Greeks. The relationship between anti-Semitism and the conception of Greek nationality held by classicists is a major theme of Bernal, *Black Athena*, Vol. 1. A historical timelessness is often attributed to non-European “Others.” For a relevant argument see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
46. Herbert Read explains the lack of Jewish art in this way, for example. *Art and Society* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937), p. 99. Wistrich traces this attitude to Voltaire. *Anti-Semitism*, pp. 48–49.
47. G. W. F. Hegel, *Early Theological Writings*, translated by T. M. Knox (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948), pp. 182–205.

48. Hegel, *Early Theological Writings*, p. 192.
49. According to Renan, the "Semitic" race had "no mythology, no epic, no science, no philosophy, no fiction, no plastic arts, no civic life: there is no complexity, nor nuance; an exclusive sense of uniformity." Quoted in Wistrich, *Anti-Semitism*, p. 47.
50. Richard Wagner, "Das Judentum in der Musik" (1850), *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (Leipzig: E. W. Fritsch, 1887–88), Vol. 5, pp. 66–85.
51. Exodus (31:1) relates that God filled Bezal'el with the spirit of the Lord, as well as wisdom and understanding and skill in all manner of workmanship.
52. Richard I. Cohen, "An Introductory Essay: Viewing the Past," in *Art and Its Uses: The Visual Image and Modern Jewish Society* (*Studies in Contemporary Jewry* VI), edited by Ezra Mendelsohn (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 5. On Zionist debates on the role of Jewish art, see Michael Berkowitz, "Art in Zionist Popular Culture and Jewish National Self-Consciousness," in *ibid.*, pp. 9–42.
53. Martin Buber, introduction to *Juedischer Kuenstler*, edited by Martin Buber (Berlin: Juedischer Verlag, 1903), n.p.
54. Martin Buber, *Ich und Du* (Leipzig: Schocken Verlag, 1923).
55. Buber, introduction to *Juedische Kunst*.
56. Judaism has recently been interpreted so as to make it comparable to or in some cases responsible for a number of modern and contemporary intellectual currents. The most extreme such argument is Susan A. Handelman, *The Slayers of Moses: The Emergence of Rabbinic Interpretation in Modern Literary Theory* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982). Nazi ideology, of course, also saw Jews as responsible for contemporary culture, but in a less positive light.
57. Some of these essays can be found in Harold Rosenberg, *Discovering the Present: Three Decades in Art, Culture, and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 223–287.
58. Harold Rosenberg, "Is There a Jewish Art?" (1966), in *Discovering the Present*, pp. 223–231. He begins the essay (p. 223) by citing a German art historian who divides twentieth-century painting into "a Mediterranean mode and a Northern or Germanic mode." See Margaret Olin, "C[lement] Hardesh (Greenberg) and Company: Formal Criticism and Jewish Identity," in *Too Jewish? Challenging Traditional Identities*, edited by Norman L. Kleeblatt (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996).
59. Kaufmann's essay, "Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriften-Illustration," first appeared as the appendix to Heinrich Müller and Julius v. Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (Vienna, 1898). It was reprinted in David Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Frankfurt a.M.: Kommissions-Verlag von J. Kauffmann, 1915), Vol. 3, pp. 173–228.
60. Julius v. Schlosser, "Die Bilderschmuck der Haggadah," in *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, edited by Heinrich Müller and Julius v. Schlosser (Vienna: A. Holder, 1898), pp. 211–252. His remarks include speculations about the relation between Askenazim and Sephardim, imputing to both racial mixtures with surrounding peoples (pp. 216–218), and a closing discussion of the tendency of Jews to participate in surrounding cultures, "of course in their more appreciative than freely creative way." They did, however, "distort" such styles when they brought them to the East (p. 248). On the Italian identity of Schlosser and other Austrian scholars, see Olin, "Alois Riegl: The Late Roman Empire in the Late Habsburg Empire," pp. 107–120.
61. Adolf Goldschmidt, review of *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, by Heinrich Müller and Julius v. Schlosser, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 23 (1900): 333f.
62. Jean Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, translated by George J. Becker (1948) (New York: Grove Press, 1962). See comments on Sartre in Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 11–12.
63. Such as Mark Rothko and Barnett Newman.
64. Goodenough, as described by Michael Avi-Yonah, "Goodenough's evaluation of the Dura Paintings: A Critique," in *The Dura-Europos Synagogue: A Re-evaluation, 1932–1972 (Religion and the Arts, Vol. 1)*, edited by Josef Gutmann (Missoula: American Academy of Religion, Society of Biblical Literature, 1973), p. 130.

65. Rudolf Arnheim, "The Gestalt Theory of Expression," *Psychological Review* 56 (1949): 156–171, esp. pp. 158, n.1, 169. The author of the interesting study cited by Arnheim was born in Argentina to an orthodox Yiddish-speaking family. His dissertation, under Franz Boas, was intended to refute the Nazi science of race by showing that gesture systems are environmental, not inherited. To compare the gestures with the "spirit" of the group with an eye to a physical explanation would have been hard to reconcile with this goal, although an attempt at an environmental explanation might well have been appropriate. David Efron, *Gesture and Environment* (New York: King's Crown, 1941), reprinted as *Gesture, Race and Culture (Approaches to Semiotics, Vol. 9)*, edited by Thomas A. Sebeok (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1972).
66. Bernard Berenson, *Aesthetics and History in the Visual Arts* (New York: Pantheon, 1948), p. 167. According to his preface, Berenson completed the manuscript in 1941, and the notes identify the passages cited as having been written in 1938.
67. In fact, Berenson is briefly mentioned in the major study of the phenomenon of Jewish self-hatred. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, pp. 318–319. See also Meyer Schapiro, "Mr. Berenson's Values," in his *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society* (New York: George Braziller, 1994), pp. 209–226.
68. Berenson, pp. 162–163.
69. Linda Nochlin persuasively argued the lack of relation between Pissarro's Jewish identity and his work in "Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-Semite," in *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*, edited by Norman L. Kleeblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 96–116. Further remarks on the same subject appear in Richard I. Cohen, "The Visual Dreyfus Affair: A New Text?," in *Art and Its Uses*, pp. 72–73. This position was challenged by Nicholas Mirzoeff at the symposium "Prophets and Losses: Jewish Experience and Visual Culture," Southern Methodist University, October 1995.
70. On Jewish identity see especially Clement Greenberg, "Kafka's Jewishness," in his *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), pp. 266–173; "Under Forty: A Symposium on American Literature and the Younger Generation of American Jews," in *The Collected Essays and Criticism (Perceptions and Judgments, 1939–1944, Vol. 1)*, edited by John O'Brian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 176–178; and "Self-Hatred and Jewish Chauvinism: Some Reflections on 'Positive Jewishness,'" in *The Collected Essays and Criticism (Affirmations and Refusals, Vol. 3)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 45–88. For an expanded discussion of Greenberg's relation to Jewish identity, see Olin, "C[lement] Hardesh (Greenberg) and Company."
71. Clement Greenberg, *The Collected Essays and Criticism (Arrogant Purpose, 1945–1949, 2)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 216.
72. On Ardon's Jewish themes, see Michele Vishny, *Mordecai Ardon* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1973); and Ziva Amishai-Maisek, *Depiction and Interpretation: The Influence of the Holocaust on the Visual Arts* (Oxford/New York: Pergamon, 1993), p. 256.
73. Greenberg, *The Collected Essays and Criticism*, Vol. 1, pp. 164–5, Vol. 2, pp. 304–305. Benjamin Harshav has made a start on interpreting Chagall's art in the light of his Jewish heritage for an art historical audience in "The Role of Language in Modern Art: On Texts and Subtexts in Chagall's Paintings," *Modernism/Modernity* 1, no. 2 (1994): 51–85.
74. Greenberg, *The Collected Essays and Criticism*, Vol. 1, p. 178.
75. Ernst E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (London: British Academy, 1935), pp. 51–2. Berenson (*Aesthetics and History*, p. 159) quotes this passage with approval. Strzygowski (*Spuren indogermanischen Glaubens in der Bildenden Kunst* [Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1936], p. 455) quotes a similar passage on p. 99 of Herzfeld's book to indicate Herzfeld's lack of understanding of art that comes from the north.
76. Clement Greenberg, "Towards a Newer Laocoon" (1940), in *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate*, edited by Francis Fascina (London: Harper and Row, 1985), pp. 35–46. Greenberg does historicize "purism" in prefatory and closing remarks. But he supports it nevertheless against a "confusion of the arts," p. 35.
77. Engelbert Mühlbacher, "Die Entwicklung der Schrift."

78. His answer to Strzygowski's attack on his own work, while expressing embarrassment at Strzygowski's rhetoric, argued that there was no essential difference between their assessments of the significance of the East. Alois Riegl, "Spätromisch oder orientalisch?," *Münchner Allgemeine Zeitung*, Beilage, 23, 24 April 1902.
79. Alois Riegl, *Das holländische Gruppenporträt* (1902), edited by Karl M. Swoboda, 2 vols. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1931), pp. 212, 221.
80. Catholicism probably contributed to the pride with which they did so. Indeed, in 1938, Freud viewed the Catholic church as Austria's last bulwark against the Nazis. Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, translated by Katherine Jones (New York: Random House, 1939), pp. 67–68.
81. "Salzburgs Stellung in der Kunstgeschichte," *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, pp. 111–132.
82. The disparaging remarks on patriotism and monuments can be found in Riegl's response to Georg Dehio: "Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege." *Mitteilungen der k.k. Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*, 3rd ser. 4 (1905): 85–104. A nationalist socialist author who disapproved was Hans Gerhard Evers, "Georg Dehio und Alois Riegl im Gespräch über die Denkmalpflege," in *Tod, Macht und Raum als Bereiche der Architektur* (Munich: Neuer Filser-Verlag, 1939) pp. 283–303. A modern comparison between Dehio and Riegl on this point also seems to favor Dehio's position. Marion Wohlleben, "Vorwort," in *Konservieren, nicht restaurieren. Streitschriften zur Denkmalpflege um 1900*, by Georg Dehio and Alois Riegl, *Bauwelt Fundamente* 80 (Braunschweig, Wiesbaden: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1988), pp. 7–33.
83. "Nach so vielen Beweisen ursprünglicher Zusammengehörigkeit aller dieser Stil und ihrer Uebereinstimmung mit der dekorativen altchristlichen Kunst darf wohl der Wahn, es habe eine urgermanische Ornamentik gegeben, für welche am entschiedensten Sophus Müller eingetreten ist, als beseitigt betrachtet werden. Es hat ja auch ebensowenig eine urgermanische Schrift existiert." Friedrich Portheim, *Über den dekorativen Stil in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1886), pp. 36–7.
84. Carl Vinnen (ed.), *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1911). On the protest, see Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 182–199.
85. Wilhelm Hausenstein, "Mittelstandspolitik," in *Kampf um die Kunst: Die Antwort auf den "Protest deutscher Künstler"*, edited by Alfred Walter Heymel (Munich: R. Piper, 1911), p. 108.
86. The Emperor attempted to annul Lueger's election as mayor, preventing him for two years (from 1895 to 1897) from assuming his post. Lueger remained a popular mayor and role model for Adolf Hitler. He died in 1910.
87. Carol Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (New York: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985), p. 1.
88. H. W. Janson, *History of Art*, 4th ed., rev. Anthony F. Janson (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), pp. 252–253. Anabelle Jane Wharton, "Good and Bad Images from the Synagogue of Dura Europos: Contexts, Subtexts, Intertexts," *Art History* 17 (March 1994): 1–25.
89. Hugh Honour and John Fleming, *The Visual Arts: A History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Abrams, 1991), pp. 261–262. See also Frederick Hartt, *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall; New York: H. N. Abrams, 1989), p. 292.
90. The phrase "complexity and contradiction" is from Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966).
91. See, for example, Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), or *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).
92. A work that has been important in my own thinking in this regard is Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, translated by Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University, 1988).
93. She recently co-edited a collection of essays concerning the construction of the Jew in the arts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Linda Nochlin and Tamar Garb, ed., *The Jew in the Text* (London, New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996). See also her Forward, "The Couturier and the Jew," in *Too Jewish? Challenging Traditional Identities*, pp. xvii–xx.