

Jewish students in Strzygowski's Vienna Institute and the study of Jewish art: a forgotten chapter in the history of the Vienna School^{1*}

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For Friedrich Polleross on his retirement

After enduring a prolonged *damnatio memoriae*, the Viennese art historian Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941) has been twice-born in recent years as a harbinger of global art history. To be sure, in those parts of the globe to whose art he first drew attention his reputation has never waned. At the height of his career before his retirement in 1933, his international celebrity had no equal among any of his colleagues; the Swedish art historian Johnny Roosval nominated him for the Nobel Prize in Literature. In 1931 he was invited, along with Béla Bartók, Karel Čapek, Henri Focillon, Thomas Mann, John Masefield, Gilbert Murray and others, to participate in a colloquy-debate about 'Les Arts et les lettres' at the League of Nations. He was invited to teach in Breslau, Halle, Shantiniketan (India), Abo (Sweden), Leyden, Warsaw, Dorpat (Estonia) and Bryn Mawr. Recent evaluations of his work cleave into roughly two opposing camps. The first distinguishes between a 'good' and creative 'early' Strzygowski, and a bad later one who suffered a marked intellectual and physical decline in the closing years of his life, when he became preoccupied with race and Jewish perfidy, and wrote approvingly of National Socialism.² The second group sees *in nuce* and from the beginning elements of those sinister preoccupations to which Strzygowski eventually gave full-throated expression, so vehement that it irreparably damaged his reputation and legacy.³ One aspect of Strzygowski that has received very little attention is the large number of Jewish students he attracted, cultivated and supported, and his promotion of the study of Jewish art. The goal of this study is two-fold: to identify the distinctive character of Strzygowski's anti-Semitism in an attempt to understand why it proved no obstacle to the large numbers of Jewish students he was able to attract, and to examine the work of four of Strzygowski's Jewish students who actually took up his challenge to study Jewish art.

** In view of their size, footnotes in this paper are to be found as end notes. Illustrations will be found in a linked PDF, as will the two appendices.*

There can be no question that in the annals of art history, Josef Strzygowski has earned a reputation as an anti-Semite.⁴ His race-based approach to art history and his intermittent expressions throughout his career of anti-Jewish feeling and disparagement of 'semitic' art, in which category he sometimes included Jewish art, are partly responsible. In 1923, he warned of the dangers of Jewish world domination and insidious Jewish influence in the Post-War world, exempting some Jews from the charge: 'I am at one with some of my Jewish friends who want a return to simplicity and selfless devotion to things, and I call on Jewry itself to help in this cleansing'.⁵ Such a qualification, in the middle of an anti-Semitic rant, was highly unusual, if not unique in Late Imperial and interwar Austria, and indicates an ambivalent, or at least complex attitude toward Jews.

After his retirement from teaching in 1933 and the humiliating dismantling of his Institute, his writing about 'people of the North' and the Aryan-Persian-German art stream, and his negative references to Jews, grew more frequent and more extreme, culminating in his engagement with National Socialism and a eulogy in the *Völkische Beobachter* on his death in 1941.⁶ In the closing years of his life, Strzygowski's ideas about Jews, race, history and art history did indeed undergo a change, taking a much more malevolent turn, and it is not only his admirers and apologists who may rightfully assert the fact.⁷ The most chilling of his anti-Jewish pronouncements is found in the 1941 and 1943 editions of *Europas Machtkunst*: 'We've got rid of the Jews, but the intellectually alien humanists of the universities are still on our necks'.⁸

The vehemence with which he expressed these views was inseparable from his life-long crusade against his Rome-Centric, *Mittelmeergläubiger* ['Mediterranean True believers'] 'Humanist' colleagues in Vienna, a crusade which in itself was not intrinsically anti-Semitic, although many eminent Jewish art historians were implicated in it.⁹ Strzygowski was likely also influenced by his feuds with individual colleagues of Jewish descent, most particularly Ernst Herzfeld, whom he viewed as his nemesis in the controversy surrounding the dating of the Mschatta façade, and whom he believed to have spearheaded an international Jewish conspiracy against him.¹⁰

The complexity of Strzygowski's attitudes to and relations with Jews is demonstrated by Ernst Gombrich's recollections. According to Gombrich, Strzygowski was '...a crank. He had Jewish friends, he was not an anti-Semite or anything but he believed that the health of Europe lay...in the steppes and in migrations and so on.'¹¹ The fact is that Strzygowski eludes consignment to familiar categories of nationalist or racialist sympathies. On the basis of his racialist theories, he has been included in the ranks of Pan-German Nationalists,¹² yet his outspoken slavophile sympathies are irreconcilable with Pan-German Nationalism.¹³ Similarly his indulgence in anti-Jewish animus was not a simple matter, most particularly within the academic world of Late Imperial and interwar Austria.¹⁴ Strzygowski's pre-Anschluss anti-Jewish fulminations appear mild when set beside Professor August Rohling's *Der Talmudjude*¹⁵ and Professor Sebastian Brunner's writings and 'expert testimony' in ritual murder trials,¹⁶

to say nothing of Georg von Schönerer's effusions. Strzygowski, for example, forbears to make any mention of ritual murder (the Hilsner trial was a scant nine years before Strzygowski's appointment as Ordinarius in Vienna). This is, admittedly, a very low bar, and we must also face, in assessing the degree to which Strzygowski was an anti-Semite, the dismal reality that Austrian society and Austrian universities were riddled with anti-Semites much more virulent, and much more extreme, than Strzygowski.

Just as noteworthy as his personal brand of anti-Semitism was Strzygowski's ability to attract large numbers of devoted Jewish students, with whom he maintained close professional and personal relationships. Fourteen of the fifty-two contributors to his 1932 *Festschrift* were Jewish former students ([fig. 1](#)).¹⁷ Strzygowski's courses and Institute enrolled many more women, Jews, foreigners, and students generally than did the Institute of Franz Wickhoff, Alois Riegl, Max Dvořák and Julius von Schlosser. Strzygowski's, and Vienna's, role in encouraging pioneering studies in the history of Jewish art, written by Jews, is largely absent from the literature of Jewish art historiography.¹⁸ At some point, he began publicly to importune his Jewish students to take an interest in Jewish art, insisting that his methods and theories, in particular his exclusive reliance on formal comparisons even when they resulted in identifying lines of influence that strained the limits of historical plausibility, provided the best tools for its study. When his Jewish students did take up his challenge, his methods were mostly the means that they employed. One could construe his insistence that Jews should study Jewish art as another manifestation of his anti-Jewish proclivities, but that is belied by his entrusting of the teaching of West European art in his institute to his observant Jewish disciple Max Eisler, who was also a dedicated Zionist.¹⁹

Strzygowski's complicated, even contradictory feelings about Jews are apparent in an undated, never-published typescript article (cf. [Appendix 1](#)) he wrote in English for a journal he refers to as 'the Menorah'. This could refer to the Viennese publication *Menorah: Jüdisches Familienblatt für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur*, a Jewish journal which ran from July 1923 through December 1932 and included infrequent items published in English.²⁰ It could rather have been intended for *The Menorah Journal*, a more high-brow intellectual publication in New York where luminaries like Mordechai Kaplan, Salo Baron, Lewis Mumford and the young Lionel Trilling were contributors. Such was the magnitude of Strzygowski's international celebrity before his retirement that either venue is plausible. This essay was brought to light recently by Friedrich Polleross, who generously provided me with a copy.²¹ Here Strzygowski lamented that his Jewish students forbore to write dissertations on Jewish art, and sketched out the research process such dissertations would entail.

Strzygowski was actually ambiguous and inconsistent in his valuation of Jewish art. Recent critics draw attention to his consigning of Jewish art to the semitic group, part of what Strzygowski dubbed the lesser Southern band of culture and art-stream, or to the Oriental embrace in which he claimed Hellas was smothered.²² In the 'Menorah' essay, he emphasizes the nomadic and non-representational character of Jewish art,

features he elsewhere associates with the purer, more spiritual art of the Aryan-Iranian-Northern art stream, which he contrasts with the representational *Machtkunst* of the Roman empire. Perhaps the effort to find coherence in Strzygowski's ideas is the source of the trouble. If he wavered in his appraisal, he forbore to deny the existence of Jewish Art, as his Humanist colleague-enemies tended to do. Schlosser, in his study of the Sarajevo Haggadah, stressed the derivative and unoriginal character of Jewish artifacts.²³

The many Jews drawn to the study of art history in Vienna from 1848 to 1938 distributed around and between two poles. One consisted of those who embraced *Bildung* and the German *Kultur* as a substitute for traditional Jewish religious observance and a focus for modern Jewish identity. In doing so they identified with Austrian Liberalism and its supranational aspirations, which inspired and energized the founders of the Vienna School of art history.²⁴ These students appear to have been largely indifferent to Jewish art and focused their 'Rome-centric' attention on the periods, styles and artists studied by Riegl, Wickhoff, Dvořák and Schlosser. Hans and Erika Tietze, Oskar Pollak, Friedrich Antal, Ludwig Goldschieder and Ernst Gombrich are representatives of this group. Around the other pole clustered the mostly younger and more numerous Jews who studied with Strzygowski, the Slavophile scourge of Austrian Liberalism and 'Humanist' Rome-centric art history, and pugnacious derider of the 'Habsburg Swindle'.

Apart from the welcome he extended to students without a Classical *Matura*,²⁵ Strzygowski's emphasis on non-Western art could explain the large numbers of women who studied at his institute, since it gave them opportunities and space to excel outside of the male-dominated sphere of Western European art history, as Friedrich Polleross has noted.²⁶ Similarly, Strzygowski's ability to attract so many Jewish students may be related to his encouraging the study of non-European, including non-Christian, art, although not exclusively. Then as now, there are highly educated Jews who are discomfited by Christian religious art; for them, the study of non-Christian or non-European art perhaps seemed less of a self-erasure of Jewishness, particularly in Vienna, where the unapologetically anti-Semitic Roman Catholic clergy and laity played a large and conspicuous role in public, political and academic life, and where a Jewish national consciousness was forming in reaction to and emulation of the virulent national struggles of that time. Moreover, while the Humanist faculty and students in the other Institute spurned Nationalism and were hostile to it,²⁷ the Zionists and the less assimilationist Jews in Strzygowski's *Lehrkanzel* embraced Nationalism in its Jewish form.

In Vienna Strzygowski early formed close relations with Jewish students, particularly those whose provincial origins, indirect paths to academia and art history, and lack of a Classical *Matura* he shared. Max Eisler ([fig. 3](#)), who became a sub-altern and collaborator, was entrusted by Strzygowski with the teaching of Western European and Modern art, and leadership of the *Städtebau* (Urbanism) group at his Institute.²⁸

One senses a significant personal affinity between them. Eisler, a life-long observant Jew, prominent in the Jewish community, was also a provincial outsider in Vienna, coming from Boskowitz in Moravia, where one of the best preserved traditionally decorated synagogues in Austria-Hungary can be found. Eisler too had an indirect path to Art History. He defended a doctorate in general history at Vienna in June, 1904, the same year that Martin Buber failed his Art History *Rigorosen* with Riegl and Wickhoff, as Margaret Olin has shown.²⁹ The news of this misfortune almost surely reached Eisler; perhaps it led him to cleave unto Strzygowski and avoid the Humanists of the second *Lehrkanzel*-Institute when he returned to Vienna for his Habilitation in Art History in 1912. From 1905, Eisler taught secondary school Geography, History and German in Brünn, Iglau and Ostrau for six years and then spent a sabbatical first traveling to Italy, Germany and Switzerland, followed by two years in Holland studying art history at Leiden and Utrecht universities, and working in archives in the Hague and Haarlem collecting material that he would later use in his Vienna *Habilitationsschrift* on 17th Century Dutch city views, published in 1914.³⁰ Eisler became a *Privatdozent* in December, 1914 and *ausserordentlich* Professor in June, 1921; the three areas in which he specialized and published were Dutch painting, the history of city views and contemporary art.

As a proud and devout orthodox Jew, Eisler adroitly selected topics for research that avoided direct engagement with explicitly religious Christian art. Eisler shared his teacher's graphomania, which I discovered to my dismay.³¹ Besides his lengthy studies of Dutch painting, Dutch and Viennese city views and landscape architecture, he published studies of Klimt, Schiele, Otto Wagner, Anton Hanak, Dagobert Peche, Oskar Strnad, modern architecture and *Wohnkultur*, and Jewish art (cf. [Appendix 2](#)). It is in this last category that the kinship with Strzygowski's racist approach to art is most palpable. In 1909, Eisler published in book-form an itinerant lecture that he had delivered during his *Wanderjahren* on the Dutch Jewish painter Jozef Israels--*Von Jüdische Kunst*--where he writes:

Israels' art is Jewish. It draws on the meaning of our existence, its soul and its melody. Although he paints Dutch rooms and people, that is merely the exterior. It is Jewish art...ancient Blood rushes in him and speaks out of him when it consecrates the hour. Jewish blood.³²

He sounded similar notes in his essays on other Jewish artists, including one on Georg Merkel in *Menorah* from September 1929: 'It is an art of symbols. Is it Jewish? Certainly...he creates only out of himself, from that dark yearning of his, from our blood. And that is why his art is, in the causal sense of the word, Jewish.'³³ The *Blut und Seele* note sounded here, and its apparent echo of Strzygowski's racial preoccupations, have been observed by Edwin Lachnit³⁴ and Evelyn Adunka.³⁵ *Menorah* was a journal that identified strongly with the Revisionist Zionism of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, which was closer, in its supremacist and exclusive Jewish nationalism, to the *Stimmung* of Strzygowski's racialism, than were the bi-national or cultural factions within Zionism.

His teacher's influence is also evident in Eisler's collaborative study of Polish wooden synagogues,³⁶ since wooden architecture was a principal interest of Strzygowski's. As an observant Jew, Eisler sought to champion avant-garde architecture, which in its emphasis on light, airiness, comfort over ostentation, and goodness over beauty as customarily understood, was well suited, he implies, to traditional Jewish values and family life. This forms the most interesting portion of his art criticism, wherein, up until his death in Vienna in 1937, he championed, rather than merely reported on, the '*Wohnkultur*' designs of Joseph Frank, Oskar Wlach, Oskar Strnad and Walter Sobotka.³⁷

Eisler appears to have modelled his career on the pattern established by Strzygowski. Perhaps inspired by his teacher's titanic energy, Eisler produced a torrent of publications both scholarly and popular, i.e. aimed at a broad lay audience.³⁸ Eisler sought to address a broader public of non-academics through broadcasting as well, and collected his broadcasts into a book aimed at non-specialists,³⁹ anticipating Kenneth Clark and John Berger by half a century. He was also deeply involved in Jewish communal affairs and the Zionist movement. An active member of Agudat Yisroel, which at that time was hostile to Zionism, Eisler was surely the first, last and only prominent and active member of that organization to champion the art of Egon Schiele! Reading him today leaves the impression that he sacrificed depth for breadth, so that one can sympathize with the reaction of Erika Tietze-Conrat to one of Eisler's articles on Rembrandt: 'Diesen Eisler soll der Teufel holen, was man auch drinnen sucht, man versinkt im Wischiwaschi' [The devil take this Eisler, whatever you look for inside, you sink into wishy-washy].⁴⁰

Just as Eisler shared Strzygowski's graphomania, he had in common with him a capacity for inconsistency and self-contradiction. In a 1937 essay, he writes of wooden synagogues in Poland

They are also particularly noteworthy in other respects. For here for the first time [...] an architectural form appears which, in spite of all connections to the construction of the environment, can be called Jewish in the essential sense of the word. [...] On top of the old Jewish floor plan, the rough construction creates building forms of such bold strength with open staircases, open galleries, broken roofs and turrets on the outside, and halls of such size on the inside, picturesquely overflowing with flames and preciously furnished with such passion, that only these creations, although it can only rarely be proven that they were made with the help of Jewish hands, have a truly *volkstümlich* effect. The result is through the combined activity of so many arts a magnificent total work of art: [...] magnificent, fervent and full of character.⁴¹

Such buildings are often surmounted by wooden domical vaults, yet six years earlier he had written 'Ebenso ist der Kuppelbau als Raumform ganz unjüdisch'⁴²[As well dome construction as a spatial form is completely un-Jewish].

Another, younger Strzygowski *doctorandus* who wrote about Jewish art for *Menorah* was Otto Schneid.⁴³ Born in 1900, he grew up in Strzygowski's birthplace at

Biala-Bielez. After completing his dissertation on animals and plants in Chinese painting in Vienna in 1926,⁴⁴ he travelled for some years lecturing and making paintings and sculptures but appears to have been based in Vienna. He was heavily engaged in compiling material about contemporary Jewish artists in Europe and the U.S, corresponding with them and documenting their work. In a posthumous tribute to the Polish Jewish painter Moses Applebaum that appeared in *Menorah* in 1931, Schneid indicated his approach to Jewish art:

If, given the current state of development, it still seems premature to speak of a Jewish art, this is due to the shallowness of the Jewish Renaissance movement in Western countries, and to the sharp ascent of the Jews in Western cultures, because of their feeble progress in contemplation of blood and soul. Such contemplation, which was felt by the best minds of Western Jewry as a moral imperative, was not necessary in the East...here the existence and creation of the individual grows out of the powerful, broad basis of the life of the community. What the Jews of Poland, for example, have most recently produced in the visual arts is, allowing for all natural differentiations of the individual achievements, comprehensible from a common spiritual tradition. We are probably still far away from Jewish art; but there is *ostjudische* art.⁴⁵

Here we can discern, strangely conjoined, the influences of Martin Buber and Strzygowski. Buber was the great prophet of the 'Jewish Renaissance' in the preceding generation, which sought regeneration for assimilated Western and Central European Jews through the visual arts and through inspiration from the more authentic Jewish civilization that flourished in Eastern Europe.⁴⁶ The *Blut und Seele* racialism smacks of Strzygowski.

In 1936-1938 Schneid was in Vilna, where he established a museum of contemporary Jewish art, religious art and ritual objects, under the auspices of YIVO. In 1939, this collection was confiscated by Alfred Rosenberg, shipped to Germany and never recovered.⁴⁷ During these years, right up to the Anschluss, Schneid compiled a study of the Jews' 'creative share . . . in the artistic heritage of our time', excluding artists from Palestine and the Soviet Union (although a handful of both slipped in), asserting that they deserved studies of their own.⁴⁸ The work's stated intention was to rebut and discredit the Nazi characterization of the Jewish influence on contemporary art. This typescript was slated for publication with Heinrich Glanz Verlag in Vienna at the time of the Anschluss, with a preface by Martin Buber (figs. 4-6).⁴⁹

Schneid divides his study thematically, treating radical abstractionists, whom he discusses in terms of Strzygowski's theories of 'art streams' and nomadic non-representational art, realists who are representational and treat the figure, idealism and materialism in sculpture, the mystical tradition in contemporary Jewish art, chapters on Chagall, Expressionists, colorists, sculptors in metal, retrospective and classicizing 'time-distanced' art ('*Zeitfernen Kunst*') and 'The male encounters the female' (Modigliani and Pascin). One notes that he includes a fair number of female artists in

his categories. Schneid recognized some of the same stylistic categories in his 1946 book about the paintings in the synagogue of Dura Europos.⁵⁰ There he identifies, perhaps anachronistically, a 'National-Religious direction,' which is 'abstract-decorative-symbolic' and an 'assimilationist' direction, which is figurative and representational. He saw these categories as enduring and discernible in later Jewish art, with Ashkenazic manuscript illumination adhering to the latter group and Sephardic to the former, and even traceable in painted decorations of East European synagogues. Like Kurt Weitzmann, Schneid saw the discovery of the Dura synagogue paintings as evidence for the existence of lost Hellenistic Jewish book illustration, hypothesized by Strzygowski to have been in Alexandria, by Weitzmann in Antioch.

In his 1938 typescript, Schneid addresses Strzygowski's anti-Jewish positions expressed in 1923, seeing them as symptoms of 'rational weakness' originating in the sub-logical realm, and asserting that they prompt consideration of the relation between scholarly judgement and the instinctual life (*Triebleben*).⁵¹ He also notes the inconsistency of Strzygowski's association of aniconic abstraction and ornamental linear patterning with 'the North', when it was Semites, 'the Southern race par excellence', the Arabs in particular, who had the decisive influence on Islamic art.⁵² Schneid made a dramatic escape from Poland to Palestine in 1939, taught art history at the Technion for 13 years, and then moved to the US in 1960 and died in Canada in 1974.

Two of Strzygowski's last *doctorandi*, Paul Koeser and Fritz (Friedricke) Nobl-Stern, were Jews. Each wrote dissertations on Jewish art and followed Strzygowski's method all the way out.⁵³ The almost catechistic methodological schema repeated by Strzygowski throughout his publications ([fig. 2](#)),⁵⁴ and echoed in Max Eisler's methodological writings⁵⁵ is imprinted on the tables of contents of these dissertations.⁵⁶ Paul Koeser, born in Vienna into a family from Prague, attended *Realschule* in Pilsen and came to art history after a training in porcelain manufacture.⁵⁷ Again the similarity to Strzygowski's career path is conspicuous. He was very active in Zionist circles in Prague, Pilsen and Vienna, serving while a student as *Prefekt* of the Jewish *Lehrlingsheim* 'Zukunft' in the Grünentorgasse in Vienna.⁵⁸ He was part of the technical support team at the 1931 Seventeenth Zionist Congress in Basel.⁵⁹ He emigrated to Palestine and in 1948 had a business in Tel Aviv.⁶⁰ The date of his death is not known.

Koeser's 1932 dissertation on the first Nuremberg Haggadah⁶¹ was warmly and enthusiastically received by Strzygowski: 'Finally one of our Jewish students has engaged with a Jewish monument and, following Müller-Schlosser, tries to separate a German editorship from the Spanish one, emphasizing that this is not a national but a purely religious topic.'⁶² His enthusiasm is probably related to Koeser's sycophantic embrace of the 'Strzygowski system' as Koeser pointedly states in the introduction.⁶³ Koeser incongruously argues that the German and North Italian Jewish scribe and illuminator Joel ben Simon around 1449 used motifs that came directly from West-Asiatic and Iranian prototypes, transmitted to the West by Oriental Jewish merchants

via designs on textiles and metal objects.⁶⁴ This is not the view of the recent studies of Joel Ben Simon by Katrina Kogman-Appel,⁶⁵ Sandra Hindman and Sharon Mintz,⁶⁶ who have shown him to be the medieval scribe and illuminator about whom more is known than any of his peers, Jew or Gentile, thanks to his lengthy and detailed colophons, which document his travel between Northern Italy and South Germany. Strzygowski thought so well of Koeser's dissertation that he announced its publication in his Institute's monograph series 'Beiträge zur vergleichenden Kunstforschung', under the title 'Sinnbilder und Leitgestalten in der jüdischen Buchmalerei Deutschlands'. Although it is listed as 'Druckfertig', the publication apparently never took place.⁶⁷

Fritzi Nobl-Stern's dissertation of the following year (1933) on Ashkenazi Synagogues of Eastern and Central Europe,⁶⁸ went even further in embracing Strzygowski's ideas and methods. Born in 1906 in Mährisch-Ostrau in Moravia, she received her Matura from the *Realgymnasium* at Oderberg/Bohumín in 1924--yet another Strzygowski disciple without a Classical *Matura!* Nobl-Stern also emigrated to Palestine after the *Anschluss*, where she died in Haifa in 1983. She pushes the 'Strzygowski method' to its limits and beyond by suggesting a connection between the central position of the *bima* in traditional synagogues, between four posts, and the ancient Persian Fire Temple with its pyre in the middle of a centralized structure between four piers.⁶⁹ She also suggests a connection with ancient Slav temples with cult statues in the middle surrounded by curtains in the same location.⁷⁰ Nobl-Stern argues for 'Aryan' origins, through churches in Scandinavia and eastern Europe, for the domical roof, the dome over a square and barrel vaults.⁷¹ She identifies further connections between Ancient Persian religion and synagogue architecture in the orientation toward the east, and in the eternal flame or *ner tamid*.⁷²

The points of contact between Jews and the Iranian-Aryan art stream which she cites also include the ancient Tiberias synagogue's four central supporting piers, which she relates to close commercial contacts between ancient Palestine and Armenia, and, of course, the entire Babylonian Captivity.⁷³ Koeser and Nobl-Stern escaped from Europe with their lives, but they never returned to art history.

Riddles seek solutions. The anomaly of an avowed anti-Semite like Josef Strzygowski's cultivation and support of Jewish students, and the veneration and devotion they felt for him, is no exception. Strzygowski's attitude toward Jews is inseparable from the epic that unfolded in his mind, the cultural cosmogony that he projected simultaneously upon all of history and pre-history and his own life and career. He interwove personal animosities and vendettas with the grand sweep of history, making little distinction between them.

In his final, posthumous book,⁷⁴ he described his cultural cosmogony. This was a Manichean, or perhaps, considering his valorization of Ancient Iran, a Zoroastrian, battle in which the heroes, the People of the North or the Soulful People ('*Nordmensen*' or '*Seelenmensen*'), the Hobbits in this drama, were engaged in a cosmic struggle with the villains — Orcs, the Power People ('*Machtmensen*'). The

Nordmensch was indigenous to Iran, the steppes and Northern Europe, and produced a pure and noble *Volkskunst* based on abstract or stylized foliate and animal patterns, and wooden, mud brick and tent structures, which although they have not survived, can be reimagined from local vernacular survivals and translations of wooden and mud brick structures and tents into stone. The *Machtmensch* flourished in the Mediterranean and favored illusionistic figural *Machtkunst* and stone architecture.⁷⁵ Also mentioned are the *Triebmenschen* ('instinctual people') or *Südmenschen* of the equatorial South, who occupy an ambiguous, but decidedly inferior, position. The pre-Alexander Greeks are presented inconsistently: they are implicitly valorized, and share in that state of grace enjoyed by the *Seelenmenschen*, but theirs was a Mediterranean civilization. They were also, although Strzygowski would likely never have acknowledged it, the ultimate source of the Humanism that, he maintained, was the principal scourge polluting modern European culture. Hellenistic Greeks he included in the ranks of the *Machtmenschen* who produced *Machtkunst*.⁷⁶ The battle lines are drawn between the Soulful People of the North (Iran, India, the Steppes and Northern Europe) and both the dark-skinned Instinctual Southern People and the mixed-race Mediterranean power- and property-obsessed *Machtmenchen* of the Hellenized world after the Macedonian Conquest, of Rome, of the Romanized world ('the chaos of Rome', he called it) and of Persia (which he distinguishes from Iran).⁷⁷ There are also excurses in this last book that posit a pre-lapsarian Europe I, a fallen, racially mixed and culturally compromised Europe II and a redeemed and purified future Europe III. The Jews move in and out of the story, usually as extremely powerful malign influencers and collaborators with the Forces of Darkness, the *Machtmenschen*.⁷⁸ There is a sense in which Strzygowski turned Marx on his ear. Railing against private property (*Besitzgier*) and the lust for power (*Machtgier*) of both state and church as forces introduced by Mediterranean *Machtmenschen* to corrupt, subdue, oppress and enslave the *Nordmenschen*, Strzygowski recognized a racial struggle in place of a class struggle. This comprised the principal point of congruence between his ideas and National Socialism. In his last writings, Strzygowski projected his personal experience and animosities onto a grandiose vision of history, politics and culture.

From 1848 to the new constitution in 1867, a significant cohort of Jews in Cisleithanian Austria experienced a transformation from despised, barely subsisting village dwellers⁷⁹ to what can only be described as an urban patriciate, 'an elite of magnates to an extreme degree'.⁸⁰ The surrounding population reacted with suspicion, envy, hostility, hatred and occasional violence to this transformation, which was itself so rapid, and arguably almost instantaneous, if measured by the pre-industrial pace of change.

But this economic animus was not the primary impetus for Strzygowski's anti-Jewish grievances. The meteoric ascent of some Jews in economic and cultural life in late imperial Austria overlapped with one of the most rapid, impressive and successful large-scale extensions in European history of rigorous secondary and university education to Austrian persons hitherto without access to such schooling.⁸¹ The topmost

tier of this education system was the classical Gymnasium, distinguished by a curriculum of long years of study of Latin and Greek, with origins in the Renaissance *studium humanitatis*, the 'Humanism' against which Strzygowski railed throughout his life. Jewish students were overrepresented in these Gymnasia. In large numbers, they embraced, as a substitute for traditional Jewish observance and a focus of modern Jewish identity, the Classical Gymnasium's primary product: *Bildung* and veneration of German *Kultur*, or high culture.

Strzygowski, by contrast, attended a *Realschule*, a vocational, less prestigious type of secondary school, and then served an apprenticeship in bookbinding and textile manufacture in Greiz, Thuringia. He also, before embarking on an academic career, worked in his father's textile factory in Biala-Bielitz, manufacturing fezzes for sale in Bosnia and the Ottoman Empire. During a serious illness, he decided to study art history, and, after enduring the indignity of returning to secondary school to learn Latin and Greek alongside classmates several years his junior, he entered the academic world as an outsider on several counts.⁸² His origins in the remote provinces, his variegated and significantly less prestigious prior schooling and his checkered work history all contributed to his feeling himself an outsider, and to his hostility both to his university colleagues and to the many Jews in Vienna who embraced *Bildung* in its Humanist form, which he also derisively described as *Mittelmeergläubigkeit* ('Mediterranean True-Believing'). Some of these very same types chose to study art history at the Institute presided over by his enemies. Ironically, that same alienation from 'Humanism' and sense of being an outsider explains the strong affinity and mutual attraction between the outsider Strzygowski and his Jewish students. Their provincial origins, resistance to assimilation, indirect paths to art history or mere lack of a classical *Matura* made these students outsiders by definition, along with the very fact of their being Jewish in the Vienna of von Schönerer and Karl Lueger.

There may have been other, less disinterested motivations for Strzygowski to cultivate or attract Jewish students. Suzanne Marchand, suggested to me in a private communication that Strzygowski 'did always want to have assistants or informants who knew languages and texts he did not. Perhaps he also thought of [his Jewish students] as being possible providers of useful information for his own projects...'. Nor is it inconceivable that Strzygowski, in promoting the study of Jewish art, hoped to attract wealthy Jewish donors to support his Institute.

Strzygowski's anti-Semitism was indeed of a peculiar and interesting kind. It was rooted in personal animus and vendettas, rather than being economic or political or even racial in origin. He faulted Jews for making common cause with his professional enemies in the academy,⁸³ and for approaching scholarly problems and interpreting the history of art in ways that he judged to be not only myopic and incorrect but actually harmful to contemporary art and culture. He comes closest to familiar racial and economically-tinged anti-Semitism when he blames the Jews for the success of contemporary artistic movements that he considered malevolent in their

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influence and a threat to the interests of *Nordmenschen* and their *Volkskunst*.⁸⁴ Ernst Herzfeld's disagreement with him about the dating of the Mschatta façade was understood by Strzygowski to be a manifestation of malign Jewish influence intended to cause harm to himself, and to all Germans and *Nordmenschen*. Moreover, he perceived all of these phenomena to be related and coordinated. Just as Strzygowski was ardent in his enmities, so he was in his affinities. In this way he could publicly spout anti-Semitic vitriol and privately harbor friendly feelings and sympathetic support for Jewish students and colleagues.

History is written by the victors, and Strzygowski's fanatical later writings, his bizarre *idées-fixes*, and his Karl Kraus-like relish for provocative combativeness, have helped to condemn him to the margins. Yet his confinement there grows increasingly uneasy. In spite of his unconvincing elisions of time and space to argue for decidedly improbable lines of artistic influence, Strzygowski's global view of art history and his skepticism about Rome-centric 'Humanist' scholarly myopia and *Mittelmeergläubigkeit* appear to gain traction with each passing year. For Jewish students of art history in Vienna who balked at replacing Jewishness with *Bildung*, and for the Jewish women who faced better professional prospects in the uncrowded fields of non-Western art, Strzygowski made a space where none other existed. Although his Institute did not provide a launch for a flourishing history of Jewish art as he had once appeared to hope, it did offer Jewish students a brief interval of breathing space before emigration or extermination.

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² Alexander Zäh, 'Strzygowski, Josef, Kunsthistoriker', in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 41. Band, Ergänzungen 26 11, Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 2020, [1239-1246], 1241; ----, 'Strzygowski, Josef', *Personenlexikon zur Christlichen Archäologie: Forscher und Persönlichkeiten vom 16. bis 21. Jahrhundert*. hrsg. von Stefan Heid und Martin Dennert, Bd. 2, Regensburg: Schell und Steiner, 2012, 1200-1205; Alexander Zäh, Helmut Buschhausen, and Christina Maranci, 'Josef Strzygowski als Initiator der christlich-kunsthistorischen Orientforschung und Visionär der Kunstwissenschaft', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 107, 2012, 249-292; E. Frodl-Kraft, 'Eine Aporie und der Versuch ihrer Deutung. Josef Strzygowski - Julius von Schlosser' in: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 42, 1989, 7-52; Piotr O. Scholz, 'Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte und kein Ende', <http://strzygowski.umcs.lublin.pl/varia.html> [Accessed June 30, 2023]

³ Edwin Lachnit, *Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte und die Kunst ihrer Zeit: zum Verhältnis von Methode und Forschungsgegenstand am Beginn der Moderne*, Wien: Böhlau, 2005, 113-121; Johann Konrad Eberlein, 'Josef Strzygowski, Gedanken über die Zeitlosigkeit eines Typus', in: Lukas Madersbacher and Thomas Steppan eds., *De re artificiosa. Festschrift für Paul von Naredi-Rainer zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, Regensburg: Verlag Schnell und Steiner, 2010, 81-94; Georg Vasold, 'Riegl, Strzygowski and the development of art', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 5, Dec. 2011, 102-116, <http://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2011/12/vassold.pdf> [Accessed June 30, 2023], Christopher S. Wood, 'Strzygowski and Riegl in America', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 17, Dec. 2017, 1-19. <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2017/11/wood.pdf> [Accessed June 30, 2023]; Heinz Schödl's doctoral dissertation, 'Josef Strzygowski - Zur Entwicklung seines Denkens', Wien, 2011, *passim*, has a wide-ranging discussion of Strzygowski's racial theories and anti-Jewish proclivities, <https://theses.univie.ac.at/detail/15450> [Accessed June 30, 2023].

⁴ Hilde Zaloscer, 'Kunstgeschichte und Nationalsozialismus', in *Kontinuität und Bruch, 1938-1945-1955: Beiträge zur österreichischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Wien und München: Jugend und Volk, 1988, 283-297, ---- *Eine Heimkehr gibt es nicht: ein österreichisches curriculum vitae*, Wien: Löcker, 1988, 176. See also Margaret Olin, 'Nationalism, the Jews, and art history', *Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought*, 45, 4, Fall 1996, 461ff, ----, "'Early Christian Synagogues" and "Jewish Art Historians". The Discovery of the Synagogue of Dura-Europos', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 27, 2000, 7-28, ----, *The nation without art: examining modern discourses on Jewish art*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 2001.

⁵ Josef Strzygowski, *Krisis der Geisteswissenschaften vorgeführt am Beispiele der Forschung über bildende Kunst ein grundsätzlicher Rahmenversuch*, Wien: Schroll, 1923, 29:

Wenn ich anfangs, Sache und Beschauer auseinanderzuhalten, so wird auch jenem Geiste ein Riegel vorgeschoben, der sich infolge der Schwäche der Menschheit nach dem Kriege immer mehr ausbreitet, jenem mit spitzfindigen Einfällen und

geistreichen Auslegungen wuchernden Judentum und seiner arischen Gefolgschaft, die beide aller folgerichtig vorgehenden Sachwissenschaft ebenso gefährlich werden, wie die Ausbeutung dem gesunden wirtschaftlichen Leben. Ich weiß mich mit einigen meiner jüdischen Freunde, die zur Einfachheit und dem selbstlosen Hingebensein an die Sachen zurück wollen, eins, indem ich die Judenschaft selbst zur Hilfe in dieser Säuberung aufrufe. Wenn es so weiter geht wie im Augenblicke, daß Einfälle und Ausbeutung zur Weltmacht zu werden drohen, so steht eben alles auf dem Spiele.

Die große Gefahr liegt zudem darin, daß die Juden und ihre Geistesverwandten heute nach dem Kriege die ganze Welt durchsetzen und überall Herrschaft ausüben. Bedenkt man dabei, daß sie über alle staatlichen Grenzen hinaus geeinigt vorgehen, so ist klar, daß zu fürchten ist, die Herrschsüchtigen unter ihnen würden eine neue Art von Weltmacht aufrichten. Das sollten sich die Völker gesagt sein lassen und ihre trennenden Gegensätze endlich vernünftig über Bord werfen, um geeinigt an die stetige Entwicklung des Gedankens der Menschheit herantreten zu können. Nur so würde das Judentum als wichtige treibende Kraft, die ihr niemand absprechen wird, zum Segen werden.

Allerorten treten unter den Juden immer offensichtlicher führende Geister auf, die im Wege der jüdischen, von Land zu Land fliegenden Ausbreitung rasch Weltruf gewinnen und durch die Presse allein schon alles in Schatten stellen, was sich daneben an tüchtigen, nichtjüdischen Kräften regt, ja diese ganz natürlich überflügeln, weil die Menschheit ja noch immer, das heißt jetzt sogar erst recht wieder ihre Volksverschiedenheit zu unzähligen hemmenden ‚nationalen‘ Grenzen aufbauscht. Wenn Natur-, Geistes- und technische Wissenschaften sich nicht auf übervölkischen, in meinem Sinne sachlichen Boden stellen, wird sich die Eigenart des Judentums als Beschauer derart hemmungslos ausleben, daß für alle Teile Unsegen aus einer Bewegung herauskommt, die in ein großes Ganze und Allgemeine eingeordnet und zu stetiger Entwicklung gebracht, der gesamten Menschheit zum Nutzen sein könnte. Die Kunstgeschichte weiß von diesen Dingen ein Lied zu singen.

[When I begin to distinguish between the thing and the observer, the latch will be pushed open to that spirit which, as a result of the weakness of mankind, is spreading more and more after the war, to that Jewry, and its Aryan followers, that proliferate with subtle ideas and witty interpretations; both are just as dangerous to all logically proceeding factual science as exploitation is to healthy economic life. I am at one with some of my Jewish friends who want a return to simplicity and selfless devotion to things, calling on Jewry itself to help in this cleansing. If things go on as they are now, with by means of incursions and exploitation [Jewry] threatening to become a world power, then everything is at stake.

The great danger also lies in the fact that the Jews and their kindred spirits will prevail over the whole world after the war and exercise dominion everywhere. Considering that they are about to proceed, unified, across all state borders, it is clearly to be feared that the domineering among them would set up a new kind of world power. The nations of the world should acknowledge this and finally put aside in a sensible way the conflicts that divide them in order to be able to approach in a unified manner the constant development of human thought. Only in this way would Judaism become a blessing as an important driving force that no one will deny. Everywhere,

leading spirits are appearing among the Jews, who are becoming more and more obvious, and who, as a result of the spread of Jews flying from country to country, quickly gain world renown and, through the press alone, overshadow everything else that stirs up strong, non-Jewish forces, even quite naturally surpassing them, because mankind is still, now even more than ever, building up its national differences to countless constricting 'national' borders.

If the natural sciences, the humanities and technical sciences are not placed on a supra-national, in my sense an objective, ground, the uniqueness of Jewry as an observer will be unleashed so unrestrainedly that it will bring forth misfortune on all sectors, from a movement that could have led to a great and all-encompassing totality, organized and brought to steady development so as to be of benefit to all mankind. Art history knows a thing or two about these things.]

⁶ Bruno Brehm, 'Dem Andenken von Josef Strzygowski' *Völkischer Beobachter*, July 1941, 81. Alexander Zäh has suggested that Strzygowski's professed enthusiasm for National Socialism was motivated by his opportunistic and ultimately disappointed expectation that the new regime would implement his ideas and educational reforms on a grand scale, including building a Fire Temple on the ancient Persian model in Vienna; cf. Zäh, 'Strzygowski, Josef, Kunsthistoriker' *Kirchenlexikon*, 1241.

⁷ Strzygowski himself described this change, wherein the scales fell from his eyes in a gnostic revelation of the End Times. In his last, posthumous book, *Europas Machtkunst im Rahmen des Erdkreises*, a repellent work which no one need apologize for forbearing to read, he wrote:

I have to emphasize again that, in opposition to the power standpoint that has had exclusive authority up to now, I have since my 'Crisis' [the 1923 *Krisis der Geisteswissenschaften vorgeführt am Beispiele der Forschung über bildende Kunst ein grundsätzlicher Rahmenversuch* cited in note 3 *supra*] judged from the northern point of view and leave it to the Romans and the Humanists to continue to follow the usual paths from the Mediterranean. For me, the Soulful Man emanates from the North. *In my previous writings I have dealt with all these things far too slowly and hesitantly* [italics added]. Thus should a previously humanistically educated person come to doubt the foundations of our knowledge and belief. One must in addition be compelled to do this over the course of a long career-- the blindfolds do not come off by themselves. Think to the end! The new methods and the northern point of view open up a whole new field of vision. There is no high culture from which all of the supposedly higher spiritual life on earth emanates, rather there is also a morally much higher culture, which lies hidden in the so-called 'culture', disfigured beyond recognition and which one only notices when one has learned to see comparatively by inferences. From the spirituality of the old Orient, the Mediterranean circle and Europe, from Hellas, Iran and the Goths, deducing the origin of the soul in man and how this creative primeval material is then pounded into intellectual small change, this is what I consider thinking to the end, thinking back from our limited point of view to those primeval times when lust for power and enslavement did not yet weigh down mankind as a curse, when rather it began to find its way in the context of the Creator and the Universe, seeking light instead of being satisfied with Christianity or even Jesusism. Then we are faced with the initial questions, which at the same time automatically trigger the counter-question about the

end in the future. Thinking through to the end does not mean stumbling along with humanistic-historical blinders, but rather recognizing things in their natural conditions rooted in space and deriving from location, soil and blood sources that are more profound than history was ever able to present in writing. The way from the instinctual folk of the equatorial south belt to the soulful folk of the polar north belt and finally the transformation into the pathetic, spiritually impoverished *Machtmensch* of the central belt between north and south, that is 'history', that signifies the development of mankind and is the key to understanding the current state of our humanity. The oldest justification of what we are striving for today, we must also find for fine art originally in Europe I and in that morality which was brought by the Indo-Europeans from the high north between the Ice Ages and lasted in Iran until the Persian and Mediterranean power destroyed this Nordic culture. Instead of the power from below, brought forth from the *Volk*, came the power from above, the violent power from, by the grace of God, Europe II. Josef Strzygowski, *Europas Machtkunst im Rahmen des Erdkreises; eine grundlegende Auseinandersetzung über Wesen und Entwicklung des zehntausendjährigen Wahnes: Gewaltmacht von Gottes Gnaden statt völkischer Ordnung, Kirche statt Glaube, Bildung statt Begabung; vom Nordstandpunkt planmässig in die volksdeutsche Bewegung eingestellt*, Wien: Wiener Verlagsgesellschaft, 1941, 43:

Ich muss nochmals betonen, dass ich, im Gegensatz zu den bisher ausschliesslich massgebenden Machtstandpunkt, seit meiner 'Krisis' vom Nordstandpunkte urteile und es Romanen und Humanisten überlasse, die gewohnten Wege von Mittelmeere aus weiter zu verfolgen. Für mich geht der Seelenmensch vom Norden aus. In meinem bisherigen Schriften habe ich diese Dinge alle viel zu zahm und zögernd behandelt. Wie soll einem einst humanistisch Erzogenen auch einfallen, an den Grundsetzen unseres Wissens und Glaubens zu zweifeln. Dazu muss man schon in Laufe eines langen Arbeitslebens gezwungen werden, von selbst fallen die Scheuklappen nicht. Zu Ende denken! Die neue Verfahren und der Nordstandpunkt erschliessen einen ganz neuen Gesichtskreis. Es gibt nicht eine hohe Kultur, von der vergeblich eine sittlich noch viel höherer Kultur, die in den sogenannten Kultur bis zur Unkenntlichkeit entstellt verborgen liegt und die man erst merkt, wenn man gelernt hat, vergleichend durch Rückschlüsse sehend zu werden. Aus der Geistigkeit des Alten Orients, das Mittelmeerkreises un Europas heraus von Hellas, Iran und der Gotik zurückschliessen auf das Entstehen der Seele im Menschen und wie dieser schöpferische Urstoff dann zu geistigen Dutzenmünzen breitgeschlagen wird, das nenne ich zu Ende denken von unseren beschränkten Sicht zurückdenken in jene Urzeiten, da noch nicht Macht- und Besitzgier als Fluch auf der Menschheit lasteten, sie vielmehr ganz gross im Rahmen von Schöpfer und All sich zurechtzufinden began. Heil suchte, statt sich mit Christen- oder gar Jesustum zu begnügen. Dann stehen wir vor den Anfangsfragen, die ganz selbstätig zugleich die Gegenfrage nach dem Ende in der Zukunft auslösen. Zu Ende denken heist nicht mit humanistisch-historischen Scheuklappen herumlaufen, sondern die Dinge in ihren natürlichen, im All verwürzelten Voraussetzungen erkennen und aus Lage, Boden und Blut tiefgründlicher Quellen erschliesse, als sie jemals die Geschichte schriftlich vorführen konnte. Der Weg von Triebmenschen des äquatorialen Südgürtels zum Seelenmenschen des polaren Nordgürtels und endlich die Umbildung zum

armseligen Machtmenschen des Mittelgürtels zwischen Nord und Süd, das ist die 'Geschichte', das heist Entwicklung der Menschheit und der Schlüssel zum Verständnis des heutigen Standes unseres Menschentums. Die ältesten Begründung dessen, was wir heute anstreben, dürften wir auch für die Bildende Kunst im ursprünglich Europa I in jener Sittlichkeit finden, die von den Indogermanen aus dem hohen zwischenzeitlichen Norden mitgebracht wurde und noch in Iran dauerte, bis die persische und Mittelmeermacht diese nordische Gesittung zerstörten. An Stelle der Macht von unten, dem Volke aus, trat damit die Macht von oben, die Gewaltmacht von Gottes Gnade, Europa II.

⁸ Strzygowski, *Europas Machtkunst*, 571: 'Die Juden sind wir los, die geistig fremdtblütigen Humanisten aber der Universitäten sitzen uns noch immer in Genick.'

⁹ Strzygowski often couples 'humanistisch' with 'historisch' as a term of derision and an object of scorn, surely a result of the importance both types of scholarship attached to textual sources, while Strzygowski insisted on the exclusive primacy of the art object as a document or source in art historical research. Although Strzygowski has latterly been celebrated as a premature anti-Eurocentrist, his brief against the Rome-centric *Mittelmeergläubiger* was not merely that they focused on Mediterranean *Machtkunst* at the expense of Indogerman *Volkskunst*, but that they did not have it the other way round. His objection was not that they valorized one people's art over another's, but that they exclusively attended to the *wrong* one. Strzygowski was an ethnocentrist indeed, even if the *ethnos* he championed existed largely in his own imagination.

¹⁰ William Diebold, 'Baby or Bathwater? Josef Strzygowski's "Ruins of Tombs of the Latin Kings on the Haram in Jerusalem" (1936) and its Reception.', in *'Orient oder Rom' History and Reception of a Historiographical myth (1901-1970)*, Rome and Brno: Viella and Masaryk University, 2018, 65–82. 'We are dealing here with an association of Jewish art historians in New York. A hub of primarily German Jews has recently formed there [...]. These days, the leader of this American group of Jews is the former Berlin professor E. Herzfeld [...] with whom I have been battling since 1910.' 'Es handelt sich dabei um einen Zusammenschluß jüdischer Kunsthistoriker in New York. Dort hat sich neuerdings ein Mittelpunkt vormals deutscher Juden gebildet [...]. Führer dieser amerikanischen Judenvereinigung ist neuerdings der frühere Berliner Professor E. Herzfeld geworden, der Günstling des einstigen Ministers C.H. Becker, mit denen beiden ich seit 1910 [...] zu kämpfen hatte': Josef Strzygowski, *Nordischer heilbringer und bildende kunst*, Wien: Luser, 1939, 209; partially cited in Zaloscer, 'Kunstgeschichte', 292. In the posthumously published *Europas Machtkunst*, Strzygowski mentions the Mschatta dating controversy in connection with Jewish perfidy on 58, 67 and 744-745; it was a note he sounded throughout his published work. This work is hysterical and incantational by turns; some variant of the phrase 'von Gottes Gnaden' occurs 251 times. In this work, malign Jewish influence is associated with Humanism, 'entartete Kunst' (especially Kokoschka and Max Liebermann), and 'entartete Wissenschaft',

¹¹ Richard Woodfield, 'Gombrich on Strzygowski', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 17, December 2017, 2. <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2017/11/woodfield.pdf> [Accessed June 30, 2023]

¹² Suzanne Marchand, 'Appreciating the Art of Others', 272-273.

¹³ I am indebted to Professor Jerzy Gorzelik of the University of Silesia, Katowice, for pointing this out to me during our conversations at the 2023 Prague Conference on the Vienna School of

Art History. Suzanne Marchand, in 'Appreciating the Art of Others', 284, expresses a different view:

By this time [1917], he had long since given up on Slavophilia; if he ever believed in it, he had done so not as a self-conscious Slav, for he never saw himself as such, but simply because it seemed a useful means by which to harry Habsburg smugness. One might say that he had always been a Pan-German, of sorts, except that his tastes and research ranged far, far beyond things German and Gothic.

¹⁴ Strzygowski's enemy Julius von Schlosser wrote to his friend Karl Vossler on April 20, 1926 about the vacant Art History Chair in Munich:

In Österreich (und Prag) kommt überhaupt niemand in Betracht. Egger in Graz ist ein tüchtiger, aber enger Fachmann ... Tietze ist Jude und trotz seiner Begabung kaum zu empfehlen... Zwei die ich ausserordentlich schätze, sind in München, aus sehr verschiedenen Gründen, unmöglich: Erwin Panofsky in Hamburg (Jude, sehr sympathisch, eine ausserordentlich starke Begabung) und Rintelen in Basel.

In Austria (and Prague) no one comes into consideration at all. Egger in Graz is a capable but narrowly focused expert... Tietze is Jewish and despite his talent can hardly be recommended... Two whom I value extremely are in Munich and are impossible for very different reasons: Erwin Panofsky in Hamburg (Jew, very likeable, an extraordinarily strong talent) and Rintelen in Basel.

Thomas Lersch, 'Schlosser schreibt an Vossler. Notizen zu einer Gelehrtenfreundschaft', *Kritische Berichte*, 17, 1, 1989, 41. The identification of Tietze, whose parents and family converted to Protestantism in 1893, as 'Jude', is indicative of how ancestry, rather than religious affiliation, was the definitive factor in determining who was a Jew within Viennese academic circles.

¹⁵ August Rohling, *Der Talmudjude: zur Beherzigung für Juden und Christen aller Stände*, Münster: Adolph Russell, 1871, available online:

https://www.google.com/books/edition/_/MO9bAAAaAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1 [accessed June 30, 2023]. Cf. Joseph S. Bloch, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, Wien: R. Löwit, 1922, *passim*. Available online at <https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/urn/urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:1-121203> [accessed June 30, 2023]

¹⁶ Erika Weinzierl, 'On the Pathogenesis of the Anti-Semitism of Sebastian Brunner (1814-1893)', *Yad Vashem Studies on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance*, 10, 1974, 217-239.

¹⁷ *Festschrift Josef Strzygowski dargebracht zum 70. Geburtstag*, Klagenfurt: Artur Kollitsch, 1932. His 60th birthday Festschrift had one contribution by a Jew: Emmanuel Löwy, the classical archaeologist (!) and friend of Sigmund Freud; Strzygowski eventually came to regard Freud as a *bête noire*.

¹⁸ The emphasis on Berlin as the principal inter-war center for the study of Jewish art history has completely overshadowed coeval developments in Vienna, in particular the work of Ernst Cohn-Wiener, *Die jüdische Kunst ihre Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin: Martin Wasservogel Verlag, 1929 and Rachel Wischnitzer, *Symbole und Gestalten der jüdischen Kunst*, Berlin-Schöneberg: S. Scholem, 1935. With her husband Mark, Wischnitzer had published in Berlin from 1922 through 1924 *Milgroim. Journal for Art and Literature* (מילגרױם: צײַטשריפֿט פֿאַר קונצט)

און ליטעראטור), digitized by the Leo Baeck Institute.

https://digipres.cjh.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE4191238 [accessed June 30, 2023]. Cf. Claire Richter Sherman, 'Rachel Wischnitzer: pioneer scholar of Jewish art', *Woman's Art Journal*, 1, 2, 1981, 42-46 and Katharina S. Feil, 'Art Under Siege: The Scholarship Produced by Rachel Wischnitzer during Her Berlin Years 1921–1938', *The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, 45, 1, 2000, 121–133.

¹⁹ Josef Strzygowski, 'Das kunsthistorische Institut der Wiener Universität', *Die Geisteswissenschaften*, I, 1913-14, 14: 'Zum Bestande des Institutes gehören heute ausser des Vorstands sechs Mitglieder, die bereits im festend Bahnen sind: Dr. Eisler für Westeuropa (unter spezieller Berücksichtigung der Kulturgeschichte)...'

²⁰ Isabella Gartner, *Menorah : Jüdisches Familienblatt für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur (1923-1932) ; Materialien zur Geschichte einer Wiener zionistischen Zeitschrift*, Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2009.

²¹ Friedrich Polleross, 'Josef Strzygowski: Seine Teil-Nachlässe sowie seine Schüler und Schülerinnen zwischen Zionismus und Nationalsozialismus', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien*, 73, 3, 2021, 10.

https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2021/10/verklvergleichende_3-2021_druckfassung_041021.pdf [accessed June 30, 2023]

²² Olin, *The nation without art*, 19-21.

²³ Olin, *The nation without art*, 29-31. In his final, posthumous book, *Europas Machtkunst*, 562, Strzygowski actually appears to concur with Schlosser's assessment of Jewish art:

Ich finde durch Sonderuntersuchungen, wie sie von Juden über jüdischer Kunst in meinem wiener Institute geführt wurden, bestätigt, was ich schon in 'Orient oder Rom' annahme, dass die Juden keine eigene Bildende Kunst besaßen, sondern von Anfang an im Fahrwasser der Völker schwammen, bei denen sie wohnten.

Through special investigations, such as those conducted by Jews on Jewish art in my institute in Vienna, I find confirmation of what I already assumed in 'Orient oder Rom', that the Jews did not possess any visual arts of their own, but rather swam in the wake of the peoples from the very beginning with whom they lived.

In *Orient oder Rom*, Strzygowski was in fact much less emphatic about the lack of originality in Jewish art than he implies here.

²⁴Marchand, 'Appreciating the Art of Others', 260-262; Matthew Rampley, *Vienna school of art history: empire and the politics of scholarship, 1847-191*, University Park: Penn State Univ Press, 2015, *passim*.

²⁵ The *Matura* was the secondary school final examination in Austria, comparable to A-levels in Britain or the *Abitur* in Germany.

²⁶ Polleross, 'Josef Strzygowski: Seine Teil-Nachlässe', 3.

²⁷ Rampley, 65-66.

²⁸ There is now a very useful survey of Eisler's life and career, although not from the standpoint of an art historian: Evelyn Adunka, *Max Eisler : Wiener Kunsthistoriker und Publizist zwischen orthodoxer Lebenspraxis, sozialem Engagement und wissenschaftlicher Exzellenz*, Leipzig: Hentrich & Hentrich 2018. Eisler's devotion to Strzygowski is documented in his 60th birthday tribute: 'Josef

Strzygowski. (Zum 60. Geburtstag) Von Universitätsprofessor Dr. Max Eisler', *Neue Freie Presse* March 7, 1923, 8.

²⁹ Olin, *The nation without art*, 104-105.

³⁰ Max Eisler, *Die Geschichte eines Holländischen Stadtbildes (Kultur und Kunst)*, Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1914.

³¹ For a complete list of Eisler's art-historical publications, with URLs for items available online, see [Appendix 2](#).

³² Max Eisler, *Von juedischer Kunst (Josef Israels): ein Vortrag*, Köln und Leipzig: Jüdischer Verlag, 1910, 52-55:

'...so ist die Kunst des Israels — Judenkunst. Er schöpft unseres Daseins Sinn, seine Seele und seine Melodie. Wiewohl er holländische Stuben und Menschen malt. Das ist blosses das Aeussere. Es ist Judenkunst...Vergangenes Blut rauscht in ihm und redet aus ihm, wenn es die Stunde weiht. — Judenblut—'.

³³ Max Eisler, 'Georg Merkel: Grußadresse zum 50. Geburtstag', *Menorah*, 7, 9-10, 1929, 497-498: 'Es ist eine Kunst des Symbols. Ist sie jüdisch? Gewiss... Aber Er schöpft nur aus sich, aus dem dunkeln Drang seines, unseres Blutes. Und eben darum ist seine Kunst, in des Wortes ursächlichem Sinne, jüdisch.' Eisler also wrote about Jewish artists Abel Pann, Jehudo Epstein, Josef Floch and others; cf. [Appendix 2](#) for a complete list of Eisler's publications.

³⁴ Lachnit, *Die Wiener Schule*, 119.

³⁵ Adunka, 36-37.

³⁶ Alois Breier, Max Eisler, and Max Grunwald, *Holzsynagogen in Polen*, s.l., 1934.

³⁷ A considerable body of scholarly literature on *Wohnkultur* has appeared in recent years: Christopher Long, 'Wiener Wohnkultur: Interior Design in Vienna, 1910-1938', *Studies in the decorative arts*, 5, 1, 1997, 29-51, ----, 'The House as Path and Place: Spatial Planning in Josef Frank's Villa Beer, 1928-1930', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 59, 4, 2000, 478-501, ----, *Josef Frank: life and work*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002; Eva Ottlinger, 'Die andere Moderne, Wiener Wohnungseinrichtungen in der Zwischenkriegszeit,' *Wohnen zwischen den Kriegen: Wiener Möbel 1914-1941*, Wien: Böhlau, 2009, 15-61, Marlene Ott, 'Light and Flexible — The Austrian Architect Josef Frank and the Vienna Furnishing Firm "Haus & Garten"', *Furniture history*, 46, 2010, 217-234, Ursula Prokop, *Zum jüdischen Erbe in der Wiener Architektur: Der Beitrag jüdischer Architektinnen am Wiener Baugeschehen 1868-1938*, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2016, 109-132.

https://arepository.akbild.ac.at/view.php?uid=11049&t=d2e833716a58e3470dfd133ac9733b8f&org=/eyebase.data/dokumente/1024/3/00010838_m.pdf [accessed June 30, 2023]; Iris Meder, 'Josef Frank, Max Eisler and Austrian Architectural Criticism', *Josef Frank: Against Design*, Basel ; Boston : Birkhäuser Verlag GmbH ; Vienna, Austria : Museum für Angewandte Kunst, 2021, 74-85.

³⁸ Eisler was a frequent contributor to *Die Bau- und Werkkunst*, *Dekorative Kunst*, *Innendekoration*; *Die Kunst* (Munich); *Moderne Bauformen* (Stuttgart) and *Urania*, regularly wrote columns for the newspapers *Morgen* and the *Neue Freie Presse* and sporadically for the Jewish periodicals *Wiener Jüdisches Familienblatt*, *Menorah*, *Das Zelt*, *Die Welt: Zentralorgan der Zionistischen Bewegung*. Most of these are available online at <https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/nav/index/title> [accessed June 30, 2023]. Like Strzygowski, Eisler was deeply involved in continuing education, teaching and leading museum and walking tours at the Wiener Volksbildungsverein and the Volksheim Ottakring, cf. Adunka, chapters 4, 5, 6, 10 and 11.

³⁹ Max Eisler, *Anleitung zum Betrachten von Kunstwerken*, Wien und Leipzig: Jugend und Volk, 1926.

⁴⁰ Erica Tietze-Conrat and Alexandra Caruso, *Tagebücher*, Wien, Köln and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2015, 201. In spite of these disparaging comments, the editor of the *Tagebücher* noted in fn. 72, 273, that it was apparent from her correspondence that Tietze-Conrat took the death of Eisler in 1937 close to heart ['Aus privater Korrespondenz wird ersichtlich, dass Eislers Tod im Jahr 1937 ETC besonders nahe ging (siehe Schreiben ETC an Andreas Tietze, 7.12.1937, Privatarchiv Filiz Tietze)'].

<https://austria-forum.org/web-books/en/etc01de2015isds> [accessed June 30, 2023]

⁴¹ Max Eisler, 'Bau und Einrichtung der Synagoge', in *Jüdisches Fest, jüdischer Brauch*. hrsg. von Friedrich Thieberger, Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1936, 42ff:

Sie sind auch in anderer hinsicht besonders bemerkenswert. Denn hier zum ersten mal ...tritt eine architektonische Form zutage, die, trotz aller Beziehungen zur Bauweise der Umwelt, im wesentliche Sinne des Wortes jüdisch genannt werden darf ... Über dem altjüdischen Grundriss schafft die derbe Konstruktion schon außen mit Freitreppen, offenen Galerien, gebrochenen Dachern und Türmchen Baugestalten von so kuhner Kraft, innen Hallenräume von solcher Größe, malerisch überflammt und kostbar ausgestattet von solcher Leidenschaft, daß erst diese Schöpfungen, wiewohl nur selten nachweisbar unter Mithilfe jüdischer Hände entstanden, wahrhaft volkstümlich wirken. [Es entsteht]... durch die vereinte Tätigkeit so vieler Künste ein großartiges Gesamtkunstwerk: ... prächtig, inbünstig und voll Charakter.

⁴² Max Eisler, 'Vom Geist der Synagoge', *Menorah*, 8, 1-2, 1930, 79–86.

⁴³ Barry Dov Walfisch, 'Otto Schneid and his archive: a new digital resource for the study of modern Jewish art', *Art in Jewish Society: Polish Institute of World Art Studies*, 15, 2016, 297–304.

⁴⁴ Otto Schneid, *Das chinesische Vordergrundbild: Tier- und Pflanzenmalerei Ostasiens*, Wien: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1934.

⁴⁵ Otto Schneid, 'Moses Applebaum', *Menorah*, 9, 5-6, 1931, 272.

⁴⁶ Inka Bertz, 'Eine Neue Kunst für ein altes Volk': die jüdische Renaissance in Berlin 1900 bis 1924, Berlin: Museumspädagogischer Dienst, 1991; Margaret Olin, 'David Kaufmann und Martin Buber. Bemerkungen über Begriffe der jüdischen Kunst in der Wiener Jahrhundertwende', *Weltanschauungen des Wiener Fin de Siecle, 1900-2000, Festgabe für Kurt Rudolf Fischer zum . achtzigsten Geburtstag, herausgegeben von Gertraud Diem- Wille, Ludwig Nagl, Friedrich Stadler*, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang, 2002, 79-92.

⁴⁷ Walfisch, 297.

⁴⁸ Otto Schneid, 'Der Jude und die Kunst; Probleme der Gegenwart', Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, Ms Collection 350.

⁴⁹ Nadav Sharon, Special Collections librarian at the University of Toronto, informed me of and provided access to this manuscript, for which I am extremely grateful.

⁵⁰ Otto Schneid, *The painting of the Dura Europos Synagogue [Tsiyure bet-ha-keneset be-Dura-Eropus]*, Tel Aviv: Gazit, 1946.

⁵¹ This could have been a dig at Strzygowski's habitual disparaging description of the equatorial *Sudmensch* as a *Triebmensch*; cf note 6 *supra*.

⁵² Schneid, 'Der Jude und die Kunst', 9 note 1.

⁵³ Strzykowski refers to both of these dissertations (Koeser's by name) in his final, posthumous book, *Europas Machtkunst*, 77 and 562..

⁵⁴ Cf. Chapter VIII, 'Planmäßige Wesens- und Vergleichende Kunstforschung', of *Ursprung der Christlichen Kirchenkunst, Neue Tatsachen und Grundsätze der Kunstforschung*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: 1920 and Josef Strzygowski, *Forschung und Erziehung: die Neuaufbau der Universität als Grundlage aller Schulverbesserung: an den Verfahren der Forschung über bildende Kunst*, Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder, 1928, 79-88.

⁵⁵ Max Eisler, 'Das Sprache der Kunstwissenschaft', *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, 13, 1919, 311-316.

⁵⁶ Both tables of contents are divided into sections entitled 'Rohstoff und Werk'. 'Gegenstand', 'Gestalt', 'Form', 'Inhalt', 'Entwicklung.' and 'Bewegung' in lockstep with the categories in the tables reproduced in [fig. 2](#) and in Josef Strzygowski, *Kunde, Wesen, Entwicklung. Beiträge zur vergleichenden Kunstforschung hrsg. vom Kunsthistorischen Institut der Universität Wien (Lehrkanzel Strzygowski)*, Heft 2 Wien: A. Holzhausen, 1922, 5-91. Available online at https://www.google.com/books/edition/Kunde_Wesen_Entwicklung/TMgIAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PA1&printsec=frontcover [accessed June 30, 2023]

⁵⁷ Archiv der Universität Wien, Vienna: Philosophische Fakultät Rektoratsarchiv Rigorosen Akt 11530 Koeser, Paul, 1932.07.01-1932.07.05 (Akt) fol. 4: 'Curriculum Vitae'.

⁵⁸ Siegfried Abeles, 'Von Zufallsgemeinschaft zum Jugendbund', *Die Stimme-Jüdische Zeitung*, I:12,1938, 10.

⁵⁹ *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des XVII Zionistenkongresses und der zweiten Tagung des Council for Jewish Agency für Palästina Basel, 30. Juni bis 17. Juli 1931*, London: Zentralbureau der Zionistischen Organisation, 1931, 23.

<https://archive.org/details/zionistencongressxviibasel1931.ocr/page/n19/mode/2up?view=theater> [accessed June 30, 2023]

⁶⁰ *Cyprus Gazette*, January 15, 1948, 13.

http://cypruslibrary.moec.gov.cy/ebooks/The_Cyprus_Gazette_1948-1949/files/gazette%201948-49w.pdf [accessed June 30, 2023]

⁶¹ Paul Koeser, *Sinnbilder und Leitgestalten in der jüdischen Buchmalerei Deutschlands : Ausgehend von der Ersten Nürnberger Haggadah des Germanischen Nationalmuseums in Nürnberg*, PhD dissertation Universität Wien, 1932.

⁶² Archiv der Universität Wien, Vienna: Philosophische Fakultät Rektoratsarchiv Rigorosen Akt 11530 Koeser, Paul, 1932.07.01-1932.07.05 (Akt) fol. 3: 'Beurteilung der Dissertation: 'Endlich hat sich einer unserer jüdischen Studenten auf ein jüdisches Denkmal eingelassen und versucht unter Betonung, dass es sich dabei nicht um ein national sondern ein rein religiöses Thema handle (im Anschluss an Müller-Schlosser von der spanischen naher eine deutsche Redaktion zu trennen')'.

⁶³ Koeser, 6 and 17.

⁶⁴ Koeser, 166ff and 204ff.

⁶⁵ David Stern and Katrin Kogman-Appel, *The Washington Haggadah*, Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011.

⁶⁶ Sandra Hindman, Sharon Liberman Mintz, Lucia Raspe, and British Library, *I am the scribe, Joel ben Simeon*, Paris: Les Enluminures, 2020. A most informative recent symposium on Joel Ben Simeon at the Center for Jewish Studies at Fordham University can be found on YouTube: <https://youtu.be/aOO6r0NEuYM> [accessed June 30, 2023].

⁶⁷ *Schriften des I. Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Wien (Lehrkanzel Strzygowski)* <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2017/11/institut-i.pdf> [Accessed June 30, 2023]

⁶⁸ Friedricke Nobl, 'Die Synagogen der aschkenasischen Juden in Mittel- und Osteuropa', PhD dissertation Universität Wien: Vienna, 1933.

⁶⁹ Archiv der Universität Wien, Vienna: Philosophische Fakultät Rektoratsarchiv Rigorosen Akt 11691 Nobl, Friedricke, 1933.02.25 (Akt) fol. 5: 'Curriculum Vitae'

⁷⁰ Nobl, 163 and 170

⁷¹ Nobl, 164

⁷² Nobl, 182-184

⁷³ Nobl, 222-226

⁷⁴ Strzygowski, *Europas Machtkunst*.

⁷⁵ Strzygowski also argued for a distinction between the *Künsteler*, who makes *Machtkunst* to order at the behest of a powerful patron, and the *Künstler*, who makes *Volkskunst* as an expression of the *Volk*; cf., Strzygowski, *Europas Machtkunst*, 704-705.

⁷⁶ In *Europas Machtkunst*, 562-563, Strzygowski presents his understanding of the origins and nature of Hellenistic civilization:

The takeover of power by the Indo-Europeans, first the Persians, then the Greeks after Alexander and the Romans, and finally the other Europeans, takes place in the leading form as it had been created by the Amerasians and Atlanticists, as an order that is successful, establishes world empires by force and holds them together. It was probably this experience that prompted Alexander not to introduce the Greek attitude in Asia, but to introduce the Persian attitude in Europe. It is a completely false mirroring that has been attempted in the visual arts to present things the other way around. The fact that with Alexander the Diadochi Greek art also penetrated Asia in outward appearance means nothing: the main thing is the spirit in which it is applied. But this is by no means the Greek, that is, Indo-European, one would have found these together with Iran at that time. The fact that this was not the case and that in the millennium that followed Alexander, both Hellas and Rome increasingly succumbed to the Persian, that is, ancient oriental, attitude toward power, is the decisive factor. This began a blood mixture that eventually led to the Roman chaos. The wedge that began to be pushed between North and South at the beginning of the last ten thousand years, and which first became tangible from Egypt and Mesopotamia to historical researchers, ended up in the in the last millennium before the turn of the century in the hands of the Indo-Europeans themselves, but what a mixture of blood had taken place in the meantime! It was the southern Iranians in Persia, who were next to the Mesopotamians, who joined the circles of power, until Alexander also drew the Greeks into this calamity and Rome followed.

Hellenism. We call Alexander's power-oriented attitude, the divine right that he took over from Egypt and Persia, the Hellenism of the Diadochi period. Where therein was any remnant of the old Hellas? Cosmopolitan cities such as Alexandria, Seleucia and Antioch sprang up like mushrooms on the eastern Mediterranean coast after the opening of the border from Syria to Persia. At first, Europe could not go along at all, Hellas went under, and ancient Rome only gradually awoke from its original Nordic conception of a constitutional state to adopt the new violent power by the grace of God.

The movement of Hellenic art, which Alexander carried to the East, first led to an expansion, which was followed closely by the hollowing out of the ancient nucleus in Athens. Hellas dies in the Orient (compare the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*,

supplement, 1902, page 113f); today I rather say, in Persia's embrace. Also in terms of blood. It is not the appearance that changes at first, but the meaning of the Greek figures and forms becomes completely different. The spiritual condition of the new Macedonian empire, pushed in this direction by Alexander himself, approaches the ancient Orient, the Greek soul and art lose their independent Indo-European character, their closeness to nature, and with it at the same time the pure-bloodedness of their Nordic attitude.

Die Übernahme der Macht durch die Indogermanen, die Perser zuerst, dann die Griechen nach Alexander und Römer, schliesslich die übrigen Europäer erfolgt in der Leitgestalt, wie sie die Amerasiaten und Atlantiker geschaffen hatten, als eine Ordnung, die Erfolg hat, mit Gewalt Weltreiche begründet und zusammenhält. Diese Erfahrung war es ja wohl, die Alexander veranlasste, nicht die griechische Gesinnung in Asien, sondern die persische in Europa einzuführen. Es ist eine ganz falsche Vorspiegelung, die man im Wege der Bildenden Kunst versucht hat, die Dinge umgekehrt hinzustellen. Dass mit Alexander und den Diadochen auch die griechische Kunst der äusseren Erscheinung nach in Asien eindringt, besagt gar nichts; die Hauptsache ist, in welchem Geiste sie angewendet wird. Dieser ist aber keinesfalls der griechische, das heisst indogermanische, man hätte sich dann damals, mit Iran zusammengefunden. Dass das nicht der Fall war und Hellas wie Rom in dem auf Alexander folgenden Jahrtausend immer mehr in die persische, das heisst altorientalische Machtgesinnung hineinglitten, das ist das Entscheidende. Damit begann eine Blutmischung, die schliesslich zum römischen Chaos führte. Der Keil, der sich am Anfang des letzten Jahrzehntausends zwischen Nord und Süd zu schieben begann und den Geschichtsforschern erst von Ägypten und Mesopotamien aus greifbar wurde, geriet, wie er ursprünglich von Amerasiaten von Osten, durch Atlantiker vom Westen her vorgetrieben wurde, im letzten Jahrtausend vor der Zeitwende in die Hände der Indogermanen selbst, aber welche Blutmischung war inzwischen eingetreten! Die den Mesopotamiern zunächst sitzenden Südiranier in der Persis waren es, die sich den Machtkreisen anschlossen, bis dann Alexander auch die Griechen in dieses Unheil zog und Rom folgte.

Hellenismus. Wir nennen die Machtgesinnung Alexanders, das Gottesgnadentum, das er von Ägypten und Persien übernahm, den Hellenismus der Diadochenzeit. Wo blieb da das alte Hellas! Weltstädte wie Alexandria, Seleukia, Antiochia schossen nach Öffnung der Grenze von Syrien nach Persien wie Pilze aus dem Boden der östlichen Mittelmeerküste, Europa konnte zuerst überhaupt nicht mit, Hellas ging unter, das alte Rom erwachte erst allmählich aus seiner ursprünglich nordischen Auffassung eines Rechtsstaates zur Einstellung im Sinne der neuen Gewaltmacht von Gottes Gnaden. Die Bewegung der hellenischen Kunst, die Alexander nach dem Osten trug, führte zunächst zu einer Ausbreitung, der die Aushöhlung des alten Kernes in Athen auf dem Fusse folgte. Hellas stirbt in des Orients (vergleiche 'Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung', Beilage, 1902, Seite 113f.), ich würde heute besser sagen, in Persiens Umarmung. Auch dem Blute nach. Nicht die Erscheinung ändert sich zunächst, sondern die Bedeutung der griechischen Gestalten und Formen wird eine völlig andere. Der geistige Zustand des neuen makedonischen Reiches nähert sich, von Alexander selbst in diese Richtung gedrängt, dem alten Oriente, die griechische Seele

und Kunst verlieren ihre selbständige indogermanische Eigenart, ihre Naturverbundenheit, damit zugleich die Reinblütigkeit ihrer nordischen Gesinnung.

⁷⁷ According to Strzygowski, the *Machtmenschen* and *Machtkunst* were not least implicated as products of race mixing between the light-skinned *Seelenmenschen* of the North and the black-skinned *Triebmenschen* of the equatorial South; cf *Europas Machtkunst*, 544. The contradictions and inconsistencies in Strzygowski's categories are often bewildering. The Iran-Persia and the Hellas-Hellenistic/Roman distinctions would appear to align with his dialectic of *Volkskunst-Machtkunst*, yet his emphasis on Persian influence in Jewish art and on Christianity itself seems to be part of his argument for the historical importance of Iran and *Nordkunst* and the enduring influence of forms that originated therein. Similarly, interspersed with his venomous references to Jewish perfidy, he proudly draws attention to the work of his Jewish students and the study of Jewish art at his Institute, and invokes both as evidence supporting his theories about the primary importance of Iran-Persia in the history of art; cf. Strzygowski, *Europas Machtkunst*, 77 and 561.

⁷⁸ Strzygowski, *Europas Machtkunst*, 43, 551-570 (esp. 558), 674-693, 740-743.

⁷⁹ Before emancipation, Jews in Austria were prohibited from living in cities and owning land, excluded from all forms of livelihood save sharecropping, pack-peddling, cattle-trading, tavern-keeping, the sale of mixed goods and used clothing, and religious positions such as teaching and ritual slaughter, and they were subject to many legal restrictions including on marriage.

⁸⁰ The phrase, referring to the highest echelon of the aristocracy in the Habsburg Lands, is borrowed from R.J.W. Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, 204.

⁸¹ Gary B. Cohen, *Education and middle-class society in imperial Austria, 1848-1918*, West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1996 and 'Education and the Politics of Jewish Integration', *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, 450 – 476.

⁸² Marchand, 'Appreciating the Art of Others', 264 and Zäh, Buschhausen, and Maranci, 'Josef Strzygowski als Initiator', 251-252, Alfred Karasek-Langer, 'Josef Strzygowski--Ein Lebensbild', *Schaffen und Schauen Mitteilungsblatt für Kunst und Bildungspflege in der Wojewodeschaft Schlesien*, 8, 7/8, 1932, 36-46, esp. 38.

⁸³ Josef Strzygowski, *Aufgang des Nordens: Lebenskampf eines Kunstforschers um ein deutsches Weltbild*, Leipzig: Schwarzhäupter-Verlag, 1936, 15: 'Die Humanisten haben sich zu allen Zeiten hilfsbereite Fahnenträger gegen mich in gewissen Außenseitern, zumeist Juden, geschaffen. Was diese mir alles an Prügeln vor die Füße warfen, spottet jeder Beschreibung.' ['The humanists have at all times created helpful flag-bearers against me in certain outsiders, mostly Jews. All the canings they have aimed at my feet defy description'.]. <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/strzygowski1936/> [Accessed June 30, 2023].

⁸⁴ *Europas Machtkunst*, 356: 'Der Dadaist wurde getragen von einem verkommenen Gesellschaft, die sich schrankenlos unter Führung der Jude gehen liess. Dem hohen Trottel tratt der Verbrecher an der Hoheit der Kunst an die Seite.' [The Dadaist was borne aloft by a degenerate society, which allowed itself to go unreservedly under the leadership of the Jew. The criminal yielded to the lofty dupes in the sovereignty of art.], and 544:

Wohl aber scheint es mir wichtig, darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass dieser Erscheinung in den letzten Jahrzehnten auch noch unter uns auftrat und zur Unkunst durch eine Blutgruppe gesteigert wurde, die der die einstigen Südens nichts nachgibt,

sie nur mit den in den Jahrtausenden errungenen Mitteln insbesondere den Malerei noch überbot; jener äussere Impressionismus und Illusionismus als Handwerk, die eine Jude wie Meier-Gräfe so himmelhoch zu erheben und für den Marktpreis entscheidend hinzustellen wusste, schliesslich Expressionismus, Futurismus und Dadaismus. Diese Erkrankung, die lediglich für die Anwendung der Malmittel fruchtbar wurde, aber die Kunst selbst in ihrem innersten Bedeutungswesen ins Verderben stürzte, war dadurch, dass sie in der Hände der Juden und ihrer Anhänger geriet, zur völligen seelenlosen Willkür ausgeartet.

However, it seems important to me to draw attention to the fact that this phenomenon [the influence of the black races of the Southern band on art and music] has also occurred among us in the last few decades and has been elevated to the level of *Unkunst* by a blood group that does not capitulate to the former South, but achieves it with the means that they have gained over the millennia, in particular have they made a skill of outbidding painting; such as, on the outside, Impressionism and Illusionism, which a Jew like Meier-Graefe exalted to the skies and knew how to position decisively for the market value, finally Expressionism, Futurism and Dadaism. This disease, which was only productive for the application of painting materials, but which ruined art itself in its innermost meaning, had degenerated into complete soulless arbitrariness because it fell into the hands of the Jews and their followers.

Cf. also *Europas Machtkunst*, 704-705.



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