

# **Jews among the Peoples: Visual Archives in German Prison Camps during the Great War<sup>1</sup>**

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## **Drawing on the Borders**

Minorities were a menace to modern nationalism, and none more so than Jews in Germany in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among other issues, their seeming cosmopolitanism made them a threat to the cultural categories on which nationalism based its claims. Richard Wagner inveighed against “Judaism in music,” because, as outsiders, Jews could not express the soul of a nation, rooted only in the blood of its natives.<sup>2</sup> The field of art history warded off similar threats to national ethnic ideals and its own nationalistic structure in a more straightforward fashion, with recourse to the anti-Semitic notion that Jews were forbidden to make art.<sup>3</sup> The present chapter concerns the situation of the Jew along the borders between ethnicities as they were constructed in the early years of the twentieth century. In doing so, the chapter operates on other seams and boundaries as well: the blurred boundaries around visual phenomena we call art, the boundaries between Self and Other in the visual communities constructed by photographs and other depictions, and the boundaries between anthropology and art. These boundaries demarcate spaces, determining who may, or must, enter them, and who is pushed, or allowed, out. This chapter takes place in a location that was itself a blurred

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- 1 This chapter is a draft of ongoing research. I am grateful to all participants in the conference on Anthropology in Wartime for their suggestions, and particularly to Andrew Evans, Britta Lange, and Monique Scheer, for sharing their forthcoming publications and research with me.
- 2 Richard Wagner, “Das Judentum in der Musik” (1850), in *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, vol. 5 (Leipzig: G. W. Fritzsch, 1888), 66–85.
- 3 Margaret Olin, *The Nation without Art: Examining Modern Discourses in Jewish Art* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 2001), esp. 5–31.

boundary: German prisoner-of-war (POW) camps during the Great War. Co-habited by prisoners from many parts of the world, visited by German scholars and artists, the POW camps were the source of eclectic collections of visual images of prisoners, their captors, and the scholars who studied them.

The questions addressed here derive ultimately from a few sentences in Wilhelm Doegen's 1925 book *Unter Fremden Völkern*. Doegen had conducted phonographic recordings of prisoners in the camps as part of a large, government-sponsored interdisciplinary undertaking, involving a distinguished group of anthropologists and linguists, "to use prisoners of war undergoing an involuntary residence in Germany for phonetic speech recordings."<sup>4</sup> In the preface, Doegen discussed the genesis of the project. Along with recordings, he wrote, skull measurements and X-rays were sometimes taken, and a dentist, Doegen's brother, took an image of the upper surface of the vocal tract (a palatogramm) of some prisoners in order "to study the unusual sounds of exotic tribes at their place of origin."<sup>5</sup> A member of an exotic tribe, that of Lutheran bookkeepers, was actually recorded and photographed in the dental office of a prison camp.<sup>6</sup> While the recordings became the basis of an acoustical archive, initially housed in the *Preußische Staatsbibliothek*, the essays by the scholars were collected in Doegen's book.<sup>7</sup>

The book also contained photographs of prisoners representative of each ethnic or linguistic group. Doegen distinguished the photographs of the prisoners taken to accompany the text, however, from the rest of the project.

My illustrations are based on photographs that I personally arranged, completely autonomously, and independently from the sound recordings in the prisoner of

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- 4 Wilhelm Doegen, ed., *Unter fremden Völkern: Eine neue Völkerkunde* (Berlin: Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, 1925), 9. For more on this project, see Britta Lange, "Ein Archiv von Stimmen: Kriegsgefangene unter ethnografischer Beobachtung," in *Original/Ton: Zur Mediengeschichte des O-Tons*, vol. 34, *Kommunikation audiovisuell*, eds. Harun Maye, Cornelius Reiber, and Nikolaus Wegmann (Constance: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2007), 317–342.
- 5 Doegen, *Unter fremden Völkern*, 16; see Lange, "Ein Archiv von Stimmen."
- 6 The identification card of one such prisoner, Josef Klemmer, of Estonia, is illustrated in Horst Bredekamp, Jochen Brüning, and Cornelia Weber, eds., *Theater der Natur und Kunst*, vol. 2, *Katalog: Wunderkammern des Wissens* (Berlin: Henschel, 2000), 124, fig. 8/37b.
- 7 The archive is now in Humboldt University. For its history, see Susanne Ziegler, "Die akustischen Sammlungen: Historische Tondokumenta im Phonogramm-Archiv und im Lautarchiv," in *Theater der Natur und Kunst*, vol. 1, *Essays*, eds. Horst Bredekamp, Jochen Brüning, and Cornelia Weber (Berlin: Henschel, 2000), 197–208. See also the website of the Berliner Lautarchiv, <http://publicus.culture.hu-berlin.de/lautarchiv/geschichte.htm> (accessed February 23, 2010).

war camps, and without any government funds. For providing stimulation and the guidance for these photographs, which were made to my specifications by the photographer at the Art Historical Institute of the University of Berlin, Herr Gerdes, I hereby thank Professor Goldschmidt.<sup>8</sup>

Adolph Goldschmidt (1863–1944) was himself a distinguished scholar, founder of the Institute for Art History in Halle in 1904, and Ordinarius for Art History in Berlin from 1912. A major force in the field of medieval art studies, Goldschmidt came into contact with, and mentored, most significant art historians and curators of his day and later, in many different fields, in Germany and the United States.<sup>9</sup> These few words, in which Doegen acknowledges that he included photographs on the urging of a renowned art historian, suggest a unique interdisciplinary collaboration between anthropology and art history.

The role of anthropologists who studied prisoners in camps has attracted the interest of scholars.<sup>10</sup> The role of the Art Historical Institute of Berlin, and of Goldschmidt as its head, is perhaps less well studied. Goldschmidt's participation did not end with his suggestion to Doegen that photographs be taken. According to his memoirs, the Art Historical Institute housed a card catalog of the languages of the prisoners, intended for philologists.<sup>11</sup> These cards are presumably the ones now located in the acoustical archive. Even more signif-

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8 Doegen, *Unter fremden Völkern*, 6.

9 On Goldschmidt's life and works, see especially Kathryn Brush, *The Shaping of Art History: Wilhelm Vöge, Adolph Goldschmidt, and the Study of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Kurt Weitzmann, *Adolph Goldschmidt und die Berliner Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Fachbereich Geschichtswissenschaften der Freien Universität Berlin, 1985); Carl Georg Heise, ed., *Adolph Goldschmidt zum Gedächtnis: 1863–1944* (Hamburg: Ernst Hauswedell, 1963); Adolph Goldschmidt, *Adolph Goldschmidt, 1863–1944: Lebenserinnerungen*, ed. Marie Roosen-Runge-Mollwo (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1989); Heinrich Dilly and Gunnar Brands, eds., *Adolph Goldschmidt 1863–1944: Normal Art History im 20. Jahrhundert* (Weimar: VDG, 2007).

10 See Andrew D. Evans, "Anthropology at War: Racial Studies of POWs during World War I," in *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, eds. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 198–229; Monique Scheer, "'Völkerschau' im Gefangenengelager: Anthropologische 'Feind'-Bilder zwischen populärnisierter Wissenschaft und Kriegspropaganda 1914–1918," in *Zwischen Krieg und Frieden: Die Konstruktion des Feindes*, ed. Reinhard Johler et al. (Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 2009), 69–109.

11 Goldschmidt, *Adolph Goldschmidt, Lebenserinnerungen*, 186–187. Most of the following information about Goldschmidt's activities in the camps comes from these memoirs, where the camps are discussed on pp. 185–192.

cantly, Goldschmidt participated in the photographs themselves. Herr Gerdes was a fine photographer, Adolf Goldschmidt wrote, but his intelligence did not extend to the task at hand, and someone with a greater understanding had to accompany him. Consequently, Goldschmidt himself spent a great deal of time during the war years in German POW camps. There, besides photographing the prisoners, the photographer also took pictures of the camps themselves and the activities held in them. Goldschmidt owned a copy of at least one of the books in which Doegen used his photographs, perhaps given him by Doegen in recognition of his role.<sup>12</sup>

His motivations for taking on this assignment may have been varied. Goldschmidt was an enthusiastic traveler. In 1916/17, when he could not leave Germany, the prison camps allowed him to enjoy the illusion of worldwide travel. There, he celebrated his birthday, saw French plays, took a dislike to an Indian festival, and was afraid to be left on his own in a room full of Africans, but he asked to be introduced to Nigerians from Benin, the origin of wonderful bronze heads that he had seen in Berlin, as though he wondered whether Nigerian artistic sensibilities had changed in the four centuries since the sculptures were created. A curiosity about the relation between ethnicity and art may have led him to the camps. His memoirs express his lively interest in the prisoners whom he met there during the Great War. Indeed, the different ethnicities he encountered in his travels, including African Americans he met in the United States during various sojourns there, invariably attracted his interest.

This explanation, however, leaves several questions open. The first few involve the photographs themselves. As an art historian, did Goldschmidt have a scholarly reason to urge that these photographs be taken, and, having done so, why was it necessary for him to direct the photographer who took them? It is hard to imagine a photographer so intellectually challenged as not to grasp the only guidelines that Goldschmidt mentions, namely, that the photographs necessitated sharp profile and frontal views, taken, where possible, without any headgear.<sup>13</sup> Most portraits in the book follow these guidelines straightforwardly (Figure 1).

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12 Goldschmidt, *Adolph Goldschmidt, Lebenserinnerungen*, 192. Since the book Goldschmidt mentions discusses the conditions of the camps themselves, it is probably Wilhelm Doegen, *Kriegsgefangene Völker*, vol. 1, *Der Kriegsgefangenen Haltung und Schicksal in Deutschland* (Berlin: Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, 1921), which is illustrated mainly with views of the camp and photographs of prisoners engaged in activities. In its preface (p. v), Doegen thanks Goldschmidt and Gerdes.

13 Goldschmidt mentioned the difficulties involved in persuading the Sikh prisoners to remove their turbans. Goldschmidt, *Adolph Goldschmidt, Lebenserinnerungen*, 190.

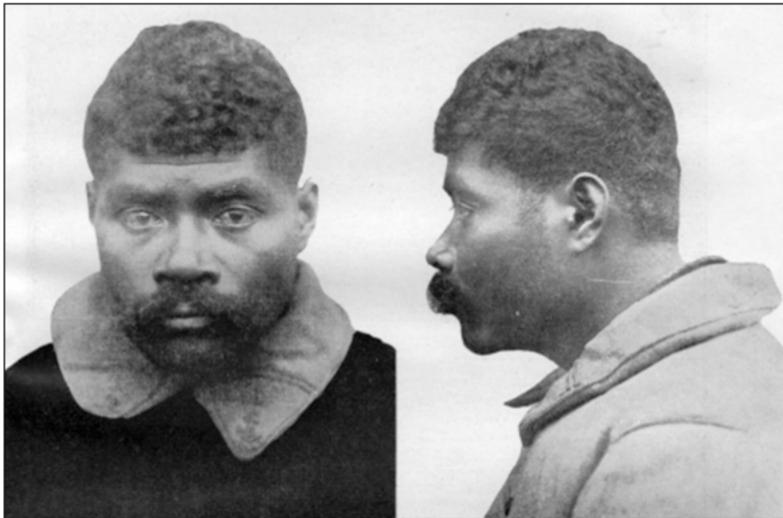


Figure 1. "Ein Neukaledonier im Messbild." Source: Doegen, Unter fremden Völkern.

A second set of questions touches on another aspect of Goldschmidt's fame. In 1904, an imperial dispensation made him the first Jew to hold a chair in art history without converting to Christianity. No direct evidence explains why Goldschmidt, a secular Jew, refused to convert to Christianity, but his identification with his own ethnicity is unmistakable.<sup>14</sup> The question of Goldschmidt's Jewish identity makes his participation in Doegen's project even more puzzling. Andrew D. Evans has already pointed out that among the exotic sounds of the foreigners were the sounds of fellow Europeans. He has suggested that the consequences of these studies were to racialize the difference between Germans and other Europeans. This use of prisoners, he argues, helped German anthropology move from a universal standpoint in the nineteenth century to racism in the twentieth, introduced the idea of experimenting on prisoners, and, hence, led to many of the abuses of the Third Reich.<sup>15</sup>

At the end of that "hence" were Jews, the Europeans perhaps most threatened by a racial interpretation of their differences. Interestingly, Jews were among the groups that Gerdes photographed, apparently under Goldschmidt's direction (Figure 2). Some are photographed to accentuate stereotypes, with ears that protrude, small eyes, a prominent nose, or frizzy hair. Their captions, as Evans points out, subtly suggest stereotypical Jewish professions, such as

<sup>14</sup> See Margaret Olin, "Adolph Goldschmidt: Another Jewish Art History for the Education of Mankind?" in Dilly and Brands, *Adolph Goldschmidt 1863–1944*, 397–411.

<sup>15</sup> Evans, "Anthropology at War," 226–229.



Figure 2. *"Jüdische Volkstypen,"* Source: Doegen, *Unter fremden Völkern*.

"lawyer," while the other prisoners in Doegen's books, if their jobs are mentioned at all, are usually farmers.<sup>16</sup> Did the Jewish professor arrange for the

<sup>16</sup> Andrew D. Evans, "Capturing Race: Anthropology and Photography in German and Austrian Prisoner-of-War Camps during World War I," in *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, eds. Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson (London: Routledge, 2002), 250.

photographs of fellow Jews as exotic Others? Although as eastern Jews, some German Jews would have thought them culturally inferior, few would have thought of them as racially distinct. His own sensitivity to anti-Semitism should have influenced his actions, unless, as I shall suggest below, there could have been another explanation.<sup>17</sup> In his memoirs, Goldschmidt spoke only of the other ethnicities in the camps, however, never his own.

The participation of other Jews in the studies of the prison camps raises similar issues. Apart from the authors of scholarly essays included in Doegen's book, one of whom will be discussed below, these also include at least one artist. Hermann Struck, a well-known artist and Zionist, was an important contributor to the visual archives of prisoners in the camps. Struck had joined the German army, which employed him as a Yiddish interpreter.<sup>18</sup> Like other artists in uniform, he had ample opportunity to pursue his artistic activities, under the auspices of General Erich von Ludendorff himself, and make them part of the war effort.<sup>19</sup> An important fruit of this artistic campaign was a book of lithographs of POWs, introduced by the anthropologist Felix von Luschan.<sup>20</sup> According to Luschan, the drawings were primarily "art," but had scientific value as well. Like the photographs, most of the drawings utilize frontal or profile views, perhaps in response to a request by the anthropologist.<sup>21</sup> Letters from Struck to Luschan indicate that he reworked some of his drawings to conform to Luschan's racial stereotypes. He told Luschan, for example, that he had revised a drawing to give an African "pretty, frizzy" hair.<sup>22</sup> One might conclude that anthropologists followed preconceived notions of the races and made sure that illustrations corresponded to them. The illustrations, however,

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17 See Olin, "Adolph Goldschmidt." A discussion of changing attitudes toward Jewish identities and the "Ostjude" can be found in Steven E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982); Michael Brenner, *Marketing Identities: The Invention of Jewish Ethnicity in Ost und West* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University, 1998).

18 Jane Rusel, *Hermann Struck (1876–1944): Das Leben und das graphische Werk eines jüdischen Künstlers* (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1997), 165.

19 Ibid., 165. Among Struck's war-related publications were *In Russisch Polen: Ein Kriegstagebuch* (Berlin: J. Bard, 1915); Hermann Struck and Herbert Eulenberg, *Skizzen aus Litauen, Weißrussland und Kurland* (Berlin: George Stilke, 1916). Other artists also worked on the front, whether or not in uniform themselves, producing such books as, Theodor Rocholl et al., *Kriegsfahrten deutscher Maler: Selbsterlebtes im Weltkrieg 1914–1915* (Bielefeld: Velhagen and Klasing, [1916]).

20 Hermann Struck, *Kriegsgefangene: Hundert Steinzeichnungen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1916).

21 Felix von Luschan, "Einführung in die Grundfragen der Anthropologie," in Struck, *Kriegsgefangene*, 3.

22 Evans, "Capturing Race," 235.



Figure 3. "Media Diouf," lithograph. Source: Struck, Kriegsgefangene.



Figure 4. "Isaac Chotoran," lithograph. Source: Struck, Kriegsgefangene.

may sometimes have been more subtle than the anthropologists intended. A glance at Struck's lithographs, for example, indicates that he showed some restraint in the area of frizzy hair even in the final images<sup>23</sup> (Figure 3).

In other ways, also, Struck may have destabilized the borders between ethnic groups. Not surprisingly, Struck's images of fellow Jews stray the farthest from common stereotypes. Certainly, their features are less stereotypically "Jewish" than the images that Goldschmidt's photographer took for Doegen. Isaac Chotoran, for example (Figure 4), has a nose as straight as any proud Nordic type and no other noticeably ethnic "Jewish" features, such as the pop-out eyes and hook noses, thick lips, and weak chests attributed to Ashkenazi Jews by Ferdinand Freiherr von Reitzenstein in a similar volume of anthropological texts paired with illustrations, Leo Frobenius's lavish 1920 publication of essays, watercolors, and drawings, *Deutschlands Gegner im Weltkriege*.<sup>24</sup> Had Luschan demanded from Struck ethnic representations true to type in all respects, the results would have disappointed.

In fact, Struck's images, although Luschan rarely refers to them in his text, surely did not disappoint the anthropologist. To the contrary, Chotoran's depic-

23 Rusel discusses the work along similar lines. Rusel, *Hermann Struck (1876–1944)*, 169–173.

24 Ferdinand Freiherr von Reitzenstein, "Kaukasischer Bergjude," in *Deutschlands Gegner im Weltkriege*, ed. Leo Frobenius (Berlin: Verlagsanstalt Hermann Klemm, [1920]), 48.



Figure 5. "Chajus Krasikow," lithograph. Source: Struck, *Kriegsgefangene*.

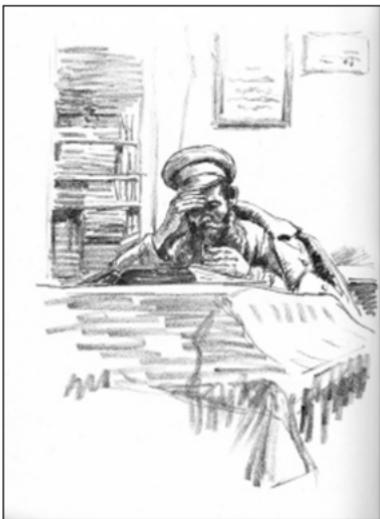


Figure 6. "David Bomblatt," lithograph. Source: Struck, *Kriegsgefangene*.

tion, and those of other subjects, suggest that Struck, probably with Luschan's tacit consent, may have intended his drawings specifically to attack stereotypes of Jews and perhaps of other peoples as well. Differences between his depiction and those in Doegen's book abound. Gerdes has taken his photographs of Jews from slightly below; the subjects lean back from the camera and avoid gazing directly into the lens, giving them a possibly devious appearance. Struck depicts his subjects, such as the bookkeeper Chajus Krasikow, straight on or from slightly above, and the viewer must meet their gaze (Figure 5). Krasikow's eyes even turn from his slightly off-center view to meet the beholder. Unlike the Jews in Doegen's book, Struck's subjects are in military uniform, rather than civilian or prison garb. These explicitly military images of Jews in themselves disrupt Jewish stereotypes. If anything, Jews were characteristically considered military shirkers, more loyal to their fellow Jews than to their so-called "host" countries, and physically unfit for military service.<sup>25</sup> Struck depicted one officer, David Bomblatt, a temple official like one of Doegen's subjects, not only in uniform, but also in his religious pursuits (Figure 6). If Struck strived to depict types, he also sought to make his subjects individuals. Perhaps this combination is what Luschan meant when he called them "art."

<sup>25</sup> Omer Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust," *The American Historical Review* 103 (1998): 771–816; Sander Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 38–59.

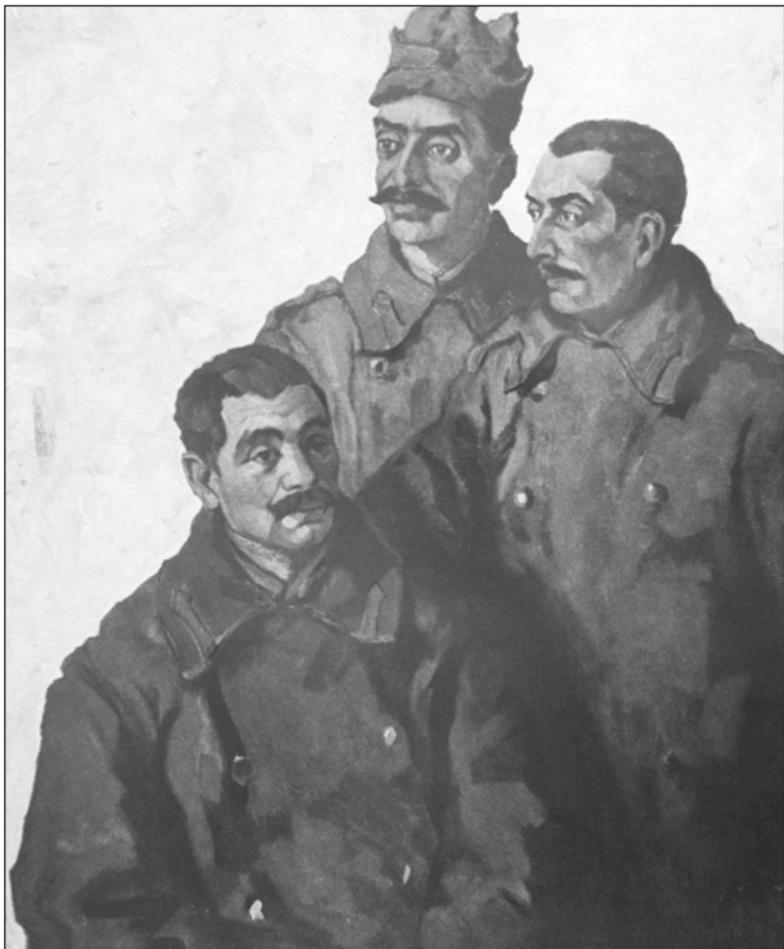


Figure 7. Erwin Emmerich, "Rumänen (Lipovean u. rumän. Juden)." Source: Frobenius, Deutschlands Gegner im Weltkriege.

Other such illustrated works also raise issues involving the visual interpretation of Jews. In the above-mentioned work by Frobenius, for example, the portrayals echoed the standard format, often grouping prisoners to exhibit frontal, three-quarter, and side views of the same ethnic type within the same frame. These groupings could be compared with one another. Erwin Emmerich's Rumanian Jews, for example, seem to be a gloss on Wilhelm Thöny's Rumanians (Figures 7 and 8). The poses mirror one another, as though commenting on one another. The facial features form part of the contrast. The Jews have pop-out eyes and curving noses; the Rumanians all wear hats, yet their faces appear less round than the Jewish faces; even the Jews' moustaches

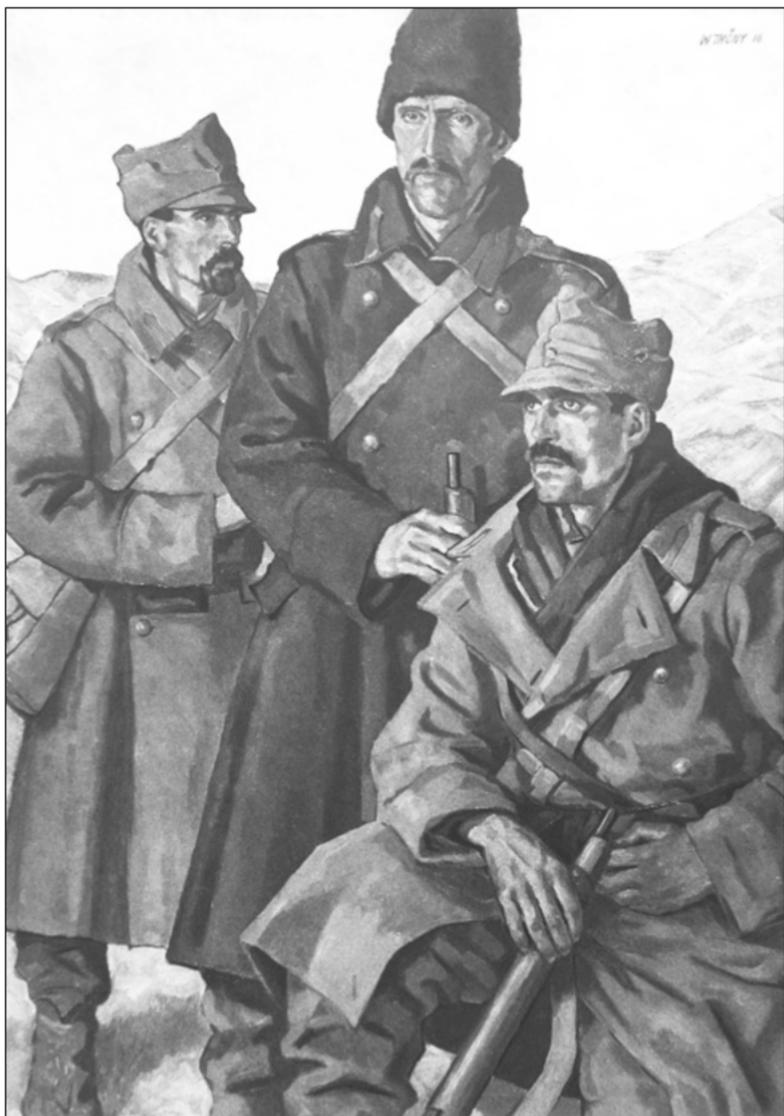


Figure 8. Wilhelm Thöny, "Rumänen (Oltean/Lipovean und Moldovean)." Source: Frobenius, Deutschlands Gegner im Weltkriege.

protrude in a way that ties them together and distinguishes them from the Rumanians. The one hat worn by a Jew has a crinkled look, and the jagged outline of his uniform contrasts with the smooth outline of the Rumanian's garb. The Jews seem an unkempt group of soldiers, compared to the straight-arrow Rumanians.



Figure 9. Egon Schiele, "Portrait of Eduard Kosmack," 1910, oil on canvas. Reprinted with permission, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere.

type of Ashkenazi Jews mentioned above, for example, is found in an essay on "Mountain Jews of the Caucasus," where it is accompanied incongruously by

These observations might appear to emanate from stylistic differences alone. Indeed, the jagged outline Emmerich lends his Jews recalls portraits by Egon Schiele (Figure 9). This avant-garde style, however, was sometimes itself associated with Jews, because so many of the patrons, though not the artists, were Jewish.<sup>26</sup> It was not Emmerich's only style, however, and he may have intended it to suit his subject. His Georgians, in the same volume, wear smooth coats (Figure 10). Oddly, the description in the texts does not always match the illustration. The ethnic stereotype of Ashkenazi Jews mentioned above, for example, is found in an essay on "Mountain Jews of the Caucasus," where it is accompanied incongruously by



Figure 10. Erwin Emmerich, "Georgier (Grusiner)." Source: Frobenius, Deutschlands Gegner im Weltkriege.



Figure 11. Ernst Liebermann, "Kaukasischer Bergjude," dated 1916. Source: Frobenius, Deutschlands Gegner im Weltkriege.

26 See James Shedel, *Art and Society: The New Art Movement in Vienna, 1897–1914* (Palo Alto, CA: Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1981).

Ernst Liebermann's illustration of a seemingly stalwart mountain man with a steady gaze (Figure 11). Perhaps Reitzenstein never saw the picture. Or perhaps Liebermann, like Struck, wished to avoid corroborating visual stereotypes.

If artists like Struck tried to avoid including Jews among exotic others, however, why did they include images of them, singled out as Jews? Struck's job was visual—if Jews did not look distinctive, what was their purpose in being there? Perhaps the archives were a visual project after all, including the ostensibly aural project by Doegen. While Doegen's project appears based on aural signs of race, languages rather than facial forms, the divisions in his books do not always correspond to language. Jewish, after all, is not a language, even though some Jews speak languages limited to Jews, such as Yiddish or Ladino. Since language groups are not really the (only) criteria, then the possibility arises that the aural project was partially organized along visual lines. The next section returns to Goldschmidt, approaching this visual project through the relation between art history and anthropology.

## A Connoisseur of People

The two disciplines shared a great deal. They were new disciplines. Both of them were constantly in danger of being mistaken for dilettantism.<sup>27</sup> But beyond that, they had similar tools and techniques, similar methods of analysis, and similar aims.

Their tools and techniques involved travel and observation and the compilation of visual archives and notes. Officially, neither discipline trusted photographs. Scale is difficult to ascertain in photographs, as anyone knows who has looked at a projected slide of a small cameo or studied a large fresco in a book. Anthropologists, too, had reservations about scale, because they depended on accurate measurements that were difficult to take even from subjects in the flesh.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, photographic representations were difficult to control. As Goldschmidt put it, the photograph can show “naturally not everything, and to be sure not the most essential thing, which can only be grasped through study of the original.”<sup>29</sup> In Goldschmidt's day, art historians continued to make extensive use of drawings. As a student, Goldschmidt had worked

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27 Adolph Goldschmidt, “Kunstgeschichte,” in *Aus Fünzig Jahren deutscher Wissenschaft: Die Entwicklung ihrer Fachgebiete in Einzeldarstellungen*, ed. Gustav Abb (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1930), 192–193; Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 118–119.

28 Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, 164–165.

29 Goldschmidt, “Kunstgeschichte,” 195.

as a draughtsman on art historical expeditions.<sup>30</sup> The anthropologist Gustav Fritsch wrote that drawings represent “in a clear manner many of the parts that in the photograph, are more difficult to see.”<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, photography was increasingly important to both fields, and compilation of a photographic archive was not optional. With an archive, scholars could study works in their absence and compare them with one another.

Examination and comparison was important to both disciplines, because they shared an investigative method: close visual analysis, pursued with a “sharp, discriminating [*unterscheidendes*] eye,” trained through exercises in connoisseurship that continued to be a dominant practice in art history departments into the late twentieth century.<sup>32</sup> A skill honed on assigning dates and provenances to paintings or sculptures, without questioning the social circumstances of their making, in which words like “volumetric” or “abstract” could be applied indiscriminately to Buddhas and madonnas, figures of hunters or marginal ornamentation, could it not apply just as well and just as significantly, to people on the bus one took to class? Once the types are established, the scholar can find them anywhere that seems convenient.

By the late twentieth century, the ability to assign dates in the third or sixteenth centuries, not only to sculptures of those periods, but to actual people living in the twentieth century, made connoisseurship, as practiced in many art historical seminars, appear to be a meaningless parlor game. At least it seemed harmless. On further reflection, however, maybe it was not. For such connoisseurship was exactly Goldschmidt’s expertise. His ability to spot “types” must have been what enabled him to show the photographer what to do. Just as, in the field, he knew which sculptural plinths or miniatures to photograph or draw (one would never send a photographer on his own to photograph a Romanesque church), so he could walk into a room of people and spot the “typical” ones. Apparently, Goldschmidt drew the comparison between connoisseurship of art and of people. But for him it was no parlor game. When he asked to meet Africans from Benin, he was surely trying to combine the practice of anthropology and art history by seeking formal relationships between present-day people and the sculptures made by their ancestors. If this practice led to racism, then Goldschmidt had a hand in it.

If the methods of the two disciplines seem the same, it is no accident; for their goals were the same. Both art historians and anthropologists wished to explain

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30 Goldschmidt, *Adolph Goldschmidt, Lebenserinnerungen*, illustrates several examples of Goldschmidt’s drawings. Franz Wickhoff, Meyer Schapiro, and many other art historians have been known to draw as part of their scholarship.

31 Quoted in Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, 99.

32 The quotation is from Goldschmidt, “Kunstgeschichte,” 193.



Figure 12. Ivory carving, Musée Cluny, Paris. Source: Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen* (detail of plate 78).

origins and, having done so, to explain change. The point of Goldschmidt's exercises in connoisseurship was to understand "whether a work originates in a unitary conception or whether it is imitative or jumbled together."<sup>33</sup> In his scholarship, for example in his corpus of Romanesque ivories, he put these exercises into practice:

We will call the whole northern Spanish production provisionally Castilian, since the individual provenances cannot be determined [...].

The first group corresponds to Mozarabic manuscripts [...] from the end of the 10th century [...]. The figures are very flat in relief and very crudely drawn. The heads are egg formed, pointed below, with a flat cranium mostly seen frontally, sometimes in sharp profile, seldom slightly turned. The nose is made of two parallel lines. [Figure 12]

[...] We encounter a style in the middle of the 11th c., which is much more developed in its individual forms, and which is represented by the gifts of Ferdinand I to his newly built church S. Isidoro in Leon. [...] The heads have completely changed. The hair no longer sits like a flat cap on the cranium, but frames the face, which in contrast to earlier appears more in halfprofile. The nose is aquiline, the mouth has strongly plastic lips, the groove between cheek and mouth is strongly hollowed out,



Figure 13. Ivory carving, Museo Arqueológico, Madrid. Source: Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen* (detail of plate 94).

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

the eyes are deeply drilled out, the hair often has a corrugated look or is sharply subdivided diagonally.

A completely new character has come in, which is obviously derived from the cloisters of Catalonia, especially from Ripoll, where the richly illustrated bibles of Farfa and Rosas were made in the first half of the 11th century.<sup>34</sup> [Figure 13]

If carried to an extreme, this method, based on close visual analysis, could result in a highly speculative conclusion, as it did in the work of one of Goldschmidt's students, who concluded similar analyses by postulating the existence of an original ideal type, often from classical antiquity, sometimes from Jewish sources, although provisionally these works existed only in his imagination.<sup>35</sup>

Anthropologists similarly derived origins from descriptions. Frobenius describes a drawing by Walter Georgi as follows:

The head is large for an African of his stature; the face broad, the forehead over the eyes springs forward, not arched like young negroes. The nose is clear cut and not swelling. The eyes are relatively close together and smaller than negro eyes usually are. The skin color is brown, but not very dark [...]. The hands are light, [...]. One must conclude that [the hair] is rather more wavy than frizzy.

What we have here is probably one of those oasis mixtures, as from Arab, Fulbe und Negroes from the interior.<sup>36</sup> [Figure 14]

Luschan explains a contrast through origins as well:

Such types, however, have been mixing along the whole northern rim of Africa for millenia, in that continual lighter blood has seeped through to the darker tribes, and not seldom also Negro blood into the lighter Berbers and Arabs. The many different mixtures are self explanatory. Wonderful, and only comprehensible in Mendel's sense is the fact that any pure forms still exist.<sup>37</sup> [Figure 15]

The concentration on origins, shared by both disciplines, made such arguments seem worthwhile. But the people themselves are not the basis of Luschan's argument. The types he describes are depictions, not people, just as are the ivories and illuminations described by Goldschmidt. Luschan's man of "lighter blood" is depicted in three-quarter view and a steady gaze, in the style of Victorian portraiture, while the African with more "negro blood" is treated in the style of a so-called "*Meßbild*." Furthermore, the whiter man is treated to

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34 Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Romanischen Zeit, XI–XIII. Jahrhundert*, vol. 4 (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1926; reprint ed. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1975), 1–2.

35 For a discussion of one such scholar, see Olin, *The Nation without Art*, 139–148.

36 Frobenius, *Deutschlands Gegner im Weltkriege*, 198.

37 Luschan, "Einführung in die Grundfragen der Anthropologie," 60.



Figure 14. Walter Georgi, "Höriger Mischling aus Igli (Gusfanatal)." Source: Frobenius, Deutschlands Gegner im Weltkriege.

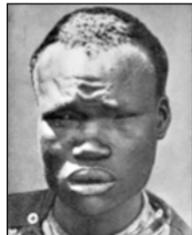


Figure 15. "Berber aus Marokko, and Sudanese aus dem Quellgebiet des weißen Nil," illustrations in Luschan, "Einführung in die Grundzüge der Anthropologie." Source: Struck, Kriegsgefangene.

soft and even lighting, while the black man, like many of the photographs Luschan uses (he took this one himself), is lit harshly. His eyes appear sunken, his nose and lips stand out, like an animal in headlights. In contrast, Goldschmidt's photographer did not avail himself of either style. Rather, he lit his subjects like statues, trying to illuminate them evenly,

making all the detail clearly visible. In other words, apart from the subjects themselves, the representations of prisoners in the camps created by Luschan and Goldschmidt would themselves be good candidates for the kind of visual analysis that Goldschmidt practiced on manuscript illuminations.

## Jewish Space

The concentration on origins, which united art history and anthropology, also helps explain why Jews like Goldschmidt would place themselves willingly within the discourse of racial imagery. While their motives may differ, examining Jews among other ethnic identities, including those of other Europeans, allowed Jews to establish their identity as a people among peoples, rather than as a people apart. In his art historical scholarship, Goldschmidt aimed primarily at understanding German artistic origins. He saw these origins, however, not as purely Germanic, but as hybrid. His dissertation on Lübeck painting and sculpture understood its local forms in terms of the adaptation and assimilation of styles from outside, due to Lübeck's participation

in the Hansa league. In his book on the *Evangeliar in the Goslar Rathaus*,<sup>38</sup> he speculated that it would have been better for German art if French Gothic had not hindered it from its ongoing assimilation of Byzantine art. He regarded Jewish art as not having a particular style of its own. Rather than being a shortcoming, however, this lack of style meant that Jews could participate universally in all arts.

Luschan may have shared such views. At the end of his introductory essay to Struck's portfolio, he celebrated the unity of mankind along with its protean nature.<sup>39</sup> Luschan looked at hybrid races similarly to the way that Goldschmidt looked at hybrid styles; he endeavored, for example, to defend the notion of a single origin of mankind. Consequently, he needed to discuss the myriad hybrid forms of mankind: If the origin of humanity can be traced to a single source, then nearly everyone is a mixture. Everyone is related to everyone else, and the original source is not as important as the variety of forms taken by all the family members. These remarks, even if they do not intentionally allude to the issue of Struck's Jews, suggest that, if Struck's depictions of Jews had a double motive, Luschan may have participated knowingly.

In Doegen's book, the text on Jews, along with the section on Tatars, was written by a Jewish scholar, Gotthold Weil. Weil identified the *Ostjuden* as linguistically German. These German Jews had been true to their homeland, but the homeland had rewarded the immense contributions they had made to it by cruelly driving them away.<sup>40</sup> If we fail to recognize the German character of these émigrés, we have only our ignorance of *Mittelhochdeutsch*, from which Yiddish descends, to blame. Weil's discussion of these Jewish "enemies" in fact argues that they were really relatives (Germans) who had been driven away. He was to know all too well what he was talking about. Weil had to wait until 1932 to be named Ordinarius in Frankfurt (for Semitic philology). He had a year to enjoy his success before he himself was cruelly driven away, as Goldschmidt would also be a few years later.<sup>41</sup>

Weil's argument that the Jews he studied were really Germans makes a point similar to that of other contributors to the volume and transcends the relation between Jews and Germans. The contribution of the Anglicist, for example, begins by characterizing the English prisoners as "cousins" [*ein Vetterntvolk*]. The English (like Weil's Jews) are really Germans. Furthermore, as a

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<sup>38</sup> Adolph Goldschmidt, *Das Evangeliar im Rathaus zu Goslar* (Berlin: Bard, 1910), 18.

<sup>39</sup> Luschan, "Einführung in die Grundfragen der Anthropologie," 27.

<sup>40</sup> Gotthold Weil, "Die Juden," in Doegen, *Unter fremden Völkern*, 258.

<sup>41</sup> Jacob M. Landau, "Gotthold Eljakim Weil (Berlin, 1882–Jerusalem, 1960)," in *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. 38, no. 3, *The Early Twentieth Century and Its Impact on Oriental and Turkish Studies* (November, 1998), 280–285.

sign of their relationship, they invited their captors to tea.<sup>42</sup> Since, as we have seen, anthropologists like Luschan had already pointed to the common origin of all mankind, it is easy to draw from these books, collectively, the conclusion that the world lined up against the Germans (the books make this point almost against themselves) was, for better or worse, actually full of relatives and friends.

A perusal of these camp studies suggests that the myth of the happy cosmopolitan camaraderie of prison camps during the Great War developed even before the war was over. Film director Jean Renoir, speaking after World War II of his prewar film *La Grande Illusion* (1938), expressed this myth and even a kind of nostalgia for the Great War. "In 1914", said Renoir, "the Nazis hadn't spoiled yet the spirit of the world. May I say that to a certain extent, the war of 1914 was almost a war of gentlemen."<sup>43</sup> His film depicts the camaraderie that the war fostered among soldiers from different backgrounds and the communities that sprang up in prison camps, where captors and captives, peoples of different origins, all got along together. The scholars and artists who came to the camps to measure, record, photograph, and draw the prisoners fostered this myth long before Renoir. To them, the prison camps were wonderful, multiethnic places with opportunities to see and record peoples from all over the world, which made even an urban metropolis like Berlin seem homogeneous. Furthermore, the visitors regarded the camps as humane and civilized. The Austrian artist Egon Schiele, who also drew in the camps, could not understand why the well-treated Russian prisoners in the camp tried to escape.<sup>44</sup>

The POW camp in Renoir's film was a place to put on plays and to break down the barriers of class and ethnicity, a place where a Jew named Rosenthal (played by Marcel Dalio), with his multiple origins and defiance of categories, could fit in. As Rosenthal explains, he was born "in Vienna, capital of Austria, to a Danish mother and a Polish father, naturalized French."<sup>45</sup> At the end of the film, the Breton Lieutenant Maréchal, played by Jean Gabin, successfully escapes with Rosenthal. When finally they walk off together across the border to Switzerland, ready to fight again for La France, Gabin says to Rosenthal,

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42 Alois Brandl, "Der Anglist bei den Engländern," in Doegen, *Unter fremden Völkern*, 362–375.

43 Jean Renoir, in the theatrical trailer for rerelease of *La Grande Illusion*, DVD, directed by Jean Renoir (1937, rerelease 1960, Criterion Collection, 1999).

44 "Das Gefangenentaler ist mit allem Komfort ausgestattet, und doch versuchen immer wieder welche auzubrechen." Egon Schiele to Marie and Melanie Schiele, 6. May, 1916, quoted in Christian M. Nebehay, *Egon Schiele, 1890–1918: Leben Briefe Gedichte* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1979), 376. His drawings of prisoners can be found in the collection of the Albertina, Vienna, and in the Leopold-Museum, Vienna.

45 Soundtrack, *La Grande Illusion*.

affectionately, “Goodbye, Dirty Jew,” thus sealing their camaraderie with a reference to the ethnic obstacles that their shared experience in the prison camp has helped them to overcome.

The German camps were probably less congenial than Renoir depicted them, and the Jews less welcome in their microcosm of society. Even Renoir suggests some inequality when he portrays the condescension of his French officers to an African prisoner who rooms with them. The depiction in memoirs, if not of POW camps, then of the camp for displaced persons at Ruhleben, is less than rosy as it concerns Jewish inmates. According to the memoirs of one Jewish prisoner, the Jews were at first housed with their national groups. But soon, when a nearby synagogue offered to send kosher food to the camp, the guards lined up the prisoners. Those who wanted kosher food were to step out of line and move to a barrack together, so that their food could be distributed to them efficiently. Either they did not keep kosher or they were wary about being singled out. In any case, few volunteered. So the Germans added to their number everyone with a Jewish name and finally hauled off more people who simply looked Jewish. People in other barracks assumed that the Jews were getting exclusive privileges. “Barrack 6” became a standing joke and a target of anti-Semitic caricature in camp newspapers. Hastily scrambled together from an old stable, “Barrack 6” was not a nice place to live; the German congregation found it harder to supply food to the prisoners than it had anticipated; food arrived late, in insufficient amounts, and half-spoiled. Eventually, the barrack was dissolved, and the Jews, to their relief, were redistributed about the camp.<sup>46</sup> The memoirist was probably not paranoid or exaggerating. Another memoir of the camps, this one by a Christian, mentions the privileges acquired by “Barrack 6.”<sup>47</sup>

The German scholars and artists we have discussed walked a delicate line. On the one hand, they wished to use their writings about Jews, or their support of Jewish artists like Struck, to combat anti-Semitism. Jews, similarly, put themselves on the genealogical map by allowing themselves to be identified as people among other peoples. On the other hand, by identifying Jews as a category, they participated in their own racialization. When Jews eagerly portrayed Jews, and cooperated in the anthropological studies in the camps, did they realize that they risked facilitating a visual identity not *among* the nations, but outside and against them? Certainly, this had come about by World War II. Luschan did not live long enough to experience the consequences, but Doegen

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46 Israel Cohen, *The Ruhleben Prison Camp: A Record of Nineteen Months' Internment* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1917), 40–50, 196–209.

47 Henry Charles Mahony with Frederick A. Talbot, *Sixteen Months in Four German Prisons: Wesel, Sennelager, Klingelputz, Ruhleben* (London: S. Low, Marston, 1917), 278.

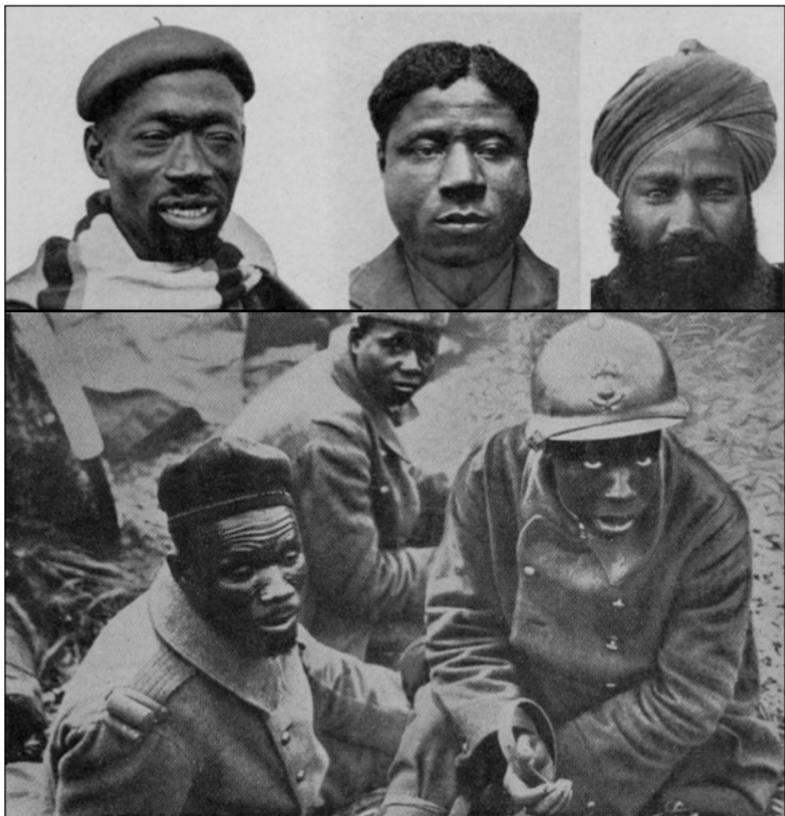


Figure 16. "Französischer Kolonialsoldat 1940." Source: Doegen, *Unsere Gegner damals und heute* (detail plate II).

did. His last book illustrated with Goldschmidt's pictures, *Unsere Gegner, damals und heute*, appeared in 1941.<sup>48</sup> In it, the recent portraits differ sharply from the pictures in the same volume that stem from the earlier war and from the camera, most likely, of Gerdes. The portrait of a French colonial soldier, with his open mouth and squinty eyes, characterizes him as belonging to a lower order of humanity, compared to the portraits of prisoners from World War I, who are ranged to his right (Figure 16). The prisoners who did not want to belong to "Barrack 6," or presumably have their portraits taken as Jews, had sound instincts.

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48 Wilhelm Doegen, *Unsere Gegner damals und heute: Engländer und Franzosen mit ihren europäischen und fremdrassigen Hilfsvölkern in deren Heimat, an der Front und in deutscher Gefangenschaft im Weltkriege und im jetzigen Kriege; Großdeutschlands koloniale Sendung* (Berlin: Oskar Franz Hübner, 1941).

Yet the Jews who participated in the archival effort may have been prescient after all. In the preface to *Unsere Gegner damals und heute*, Doegen did not thank the recently emigrated Goldschmidt. Weil's essay on Jews did not appear in the book. His essay on the Tatars appeared anonymously.<sup>49</sup> If one is included in the community of enemies, one is at least in the community of mankind. By World War II, the Jews were no longer accorded the dignity of being an enemy.

## Epilogue

In a still later work of 2002, another German artist looked for a similar melting pot to make a record of the speech of peoples from all over the world. The project involved sound recordings, photographs, essays, and speculations on the relationships between peoples. This collaboration between art and anthropology, similar to the one held in the POW camps of the Great War, took place in New York City in 2002.

Karin Sander's work *Wordsearch*, sponsored by Deutsche Bank, ran in the stock pages of the *New York Times* on October 4, 2002.<sup>50</sup> A member of each of 250 linguistic groups in New York City contributed a word, which was then translated into all the other languages. The words ran in long columns in the *New York Times*. At first glance, the tables looked like the stock pages into which they were interpolated. Like the audio archive, "cards" were made for the contributors, giving their provenance and their location when the research team found them and samples of their handwriting. One could access the cards on the internet. By clicking on a speaker icon, one could hear the person pictured on the card pronounce his or her word. The project was more consistent than that of the anthropologists and linguists in the camps. Since only language was used as a classification, there were no classifications for ethnic groups, such as "Sikh" or "Jewish." Instead, one could find Hebrew, Yiddish, and several Indian languages.

In spite of this level of sophistication, *Wordsearch* nevertheless resembles Doegen's research in several ways. It still conveys the enthusiasm of finding many different languages in a small place. The participants seem to cooperate

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49 "Tartaren aus Ufa und Orenburg und der Krim singen exotische Chöre," in Doegen, *Unsere Gegner damals und heute*, 82–83. This essay is excerpted, slightly rewritten, with some additions, from Gotthold Weil, "Die Tartaren," in Doegen, *Unter fremden Völkern*, 177–190.

50 Additional information on *Wordsearch* can be found in the catalog, "Wordsearch: A Translinguistic Sculpture by Karin Sander," advertising supplement, *The New York Times Magazine*, September 29, 2002, and on the website, <http://www.moment-art.com/e/sander/> (accessed February 23, 2010).

out of ethnic pride, a desire to see themselves in the community of languages. Yet, with each distinct culture boiled down into a word, is their trust rewarded better than that of the prisoners in German camps during World War I?

Interdisciplinarity is a virtue fostered by globalism, but also, it seems, by war. War turned a connoisseur of images into a connoisseur of people, enabling him to unite with anthropologists and artists, who with light, camera angles, and line, subtly competed to produce a complex discourse of visuality and race. In another moment of warfare, the two disciplines of the same age, with a shared history that intersected during World War I, intersect once again in the pages of this chapter, revisiting their history and questioning the significance of their shared moment in their past.

