TYPES OF ANTISEMITISM OUTLINE

1. A. Characteristics of religious antisemitism.

-Religious antisemitism assumes that the Jews are first, a religion, second, an ethnic group with cultural and social cohesiveness, and third, a religious nation or race.

-Religious ideology about monotheism, the messiah, a chosen people, tribal organization, and the torah distinguish the Jews as a people apart, a separate people. The exclusiveness of monotheistic religion contrasted with the polytheism of the Greeks and the Romans and even the old mythic deities of primitive Anglo-Saxon, Nordic, and Germanic peoples.

-In the early centuries after Christ, a fierce competition existed between church and synagogue, which continued through Byzantine, Medieval, Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, and Modern eras.

-The religious type of antisemitism suffered from prejudice as well as nonrational or irrational judgments and was based usually on religious dogma derived and synthesized from holy texts.

1. B. Charges associated with religious antisemitism.

-Jews were called lepers and thieves. They were slaves who came from Egypt which was pejorative in early times. They were ostracized as nonconformists, antisocial, separatists, and exclusivists.

-The supercession myth regarded Christians as God's newly chosen people and the Jewish people as apostate and damned. Second century and later Christian apologists regarded the Jews as heretics and infidels, so they consequently were harbingers of the anti-Christ.

Hellenistic and Byzantine cultures linked the Jews with the son of perdition, and this identification combined apocalyptic, messianic, and millennial strains of thought.

-The deicide myth charged Jews with the death of Jesus who was believed to be the Son of God. So the Jews were thought to be killers of a divine person. Collectively, the Jews incurred blood guilt, i.e., "his blood be on us and on our children" (Gospel of Matthew 27.25). Interestingly, this has parallels in modern, individualistic times. The Jews were seen as villains and were collectively libeled for their part in the ancient drama of the passion of Christ and kept alive through passion plays like the one in Oberammergau, Germany.

-They were God-abandoned, God-forsaken, God-damned. They were poisoners, parasites on Christian society, and doomed to hell.

-They were segregated into ghettos. They were compelled to live as "dregs" of society.

-In the religious fervor of intense social upheavals, such as the Crusades, Jews were harassed, tortured, and killed.

1. C. Reasons for religious antisemitism.

-The birth of Christianity from the womb of Judaism alienated both religions from each other. Christianity postulated Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah, and because of early Christianity's evangelistic efforts among Gentiles, an early and persistent dispute arose between Gentiles and Jews, especially in regards to dietary laws, rules of cleanliness and uncleanliness, and the temple cult and synagogue worship. The vision of the Jews as a "witness people" (so the Apostle Paul and St. Augustine) gave way to Jews as other, especially in their anti-Christian religious convictions and practices.

-Cohesive factors that made Jews a "race" of their own occasioned them as targets for easy propaganda and persecutions. Often, they were forced to convert, especially in medieval Spain. They lived in state-less-ness, often without land, and with little or no rights as citizens of the countries they inhabited.

-By 1096, Pope Urban II organized the first crusade against the Islam infidels in Palestine. Jews became identified as infidels and were massacred in England, France, and Germany. Religious leaders, like Peter the Hermit, led mobs against Jews. Bishops and lords tried to stop the abuse, but even the townspeople who generally had cordial relations with the Jews felt overwhelmed and gave in to the persecution of Jews. "Hep" mobs tried to force conversion of Jews, but many faced persecution rather than give up their ancestral faith. Even upon conversion to Christianity, Jews often were not forgiven because of their former unbelief in Jesus as Messiah.

-In 1215, Pope Innocent III's Fourth Lateran Council imposed restrictions on the Jews, especially the distinct marking of Jews with a circular yellow badge. This had profound cultural and social spin-offs and continued in various places into the twentieth century (i.e., Naziism's marking of the Jews).

-After the Crusades, Christian hostility grew against the Jews with accusations of blood libel and ritual murder. An occurrence close to Easter such as the death of a child gave discontents the opportunity to make Jews out to be no less than the devil and his demons incarnate. In medieval-type imagery, Jews became agents of Satan and were described as foulsmelling, a corrupting leaven, poisoners of wells, and harbingers of disease and disorder. This

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was never a part of official Roman Catholic Church teaching or theology, but church leaders themselves never were sufficiently free of antisemitism to consider or punish it as heresy. While they were able to control blasphemy, they could not distinguish antisemitism as something aberrant, since it signified popular and even ecclesiastical beliefs that approximated orthodoxy.

-When one-third of Europe died in the fourteenth century as a result of the Black Death, Jews were blamed and massacred. They became the scapegoats, and Jewish communities were torn to pieces. They suffered a double "punishment"–the bubonic plague itself and the flagellations of a devastated society to "pay" for their "sins". By the time of the Jewish massacres of 1348, the visitations of God in the fierce plague had given way to the evil work of the devil, and the latter found an incarnate representation in the Jews who in the popular mind had poisoned wells. This was especially the case across Spain. The devastation of entire villages, towns, and cities invited outbursts of violence against the Jews, as a frustrated populace tried to make sense of the utter waste of death caused by an undetected biological agent.

-Eventually, the Jew, not protected by Christian or secular law, came to be seen as a pariah and was held in contempt, scorned, and derided. Jews generally responded by withdrawal, and they became timid, fearful, and neurotic. With extreme pressure on them, Jews confessed, they fell victim to self-oblation (even entire villages), and they committed suicide. But they also built up resentment against their oppressors, a psychological internalization of their deprivation and the source of many psychic scars from centuries of oppression.

-The Protestant Reformation challenged Roman Catholicism, and when Martin Luther broke with the Church in 1521, a new era of religious tolerance, especially for the Jews, seemed

inevitable. But Luther's initial courting of the Jews turned into vitriolic antisemitism, predominately in his *On the Jews and their Lies* (1546). In this antisemitic diatribe, he advocated Jewish rejection, the burning of their holy books and their synagogues, and the despoiling of their wealth and possessions. This was definitely a precursor to genocidal antisemitism.

-Luther's antisemitism was partly economic, since he felt that Jews bilked Christians economically and would in time take over Christian society due to the Christian naivete about fiscal matters. This strange or mysterious idea about Christian inability or innocence pointed to psychological aspects of Luther's antisemitism–the odd enigma of the minority take-over that was similar to the medieval view of Jewish omnipotence and omnipresence (e.g., like the devil they held metaphysical powers).

-Conversely, Jews experienced an oasis of religious and social acceptance in Islamic lands. In old Babylonia, Jewish communities flourished. In Spain from the eighth century until 1492, the Golden Age of Sephardic Judaism, the culture of Moses Maimonedes, thrived. But this epoch of glory had its corresponding age of despair, as forced expulsion ("ethnic cleansing" by modern standards) created the travails of emigration for those who left and the challenges of integration for those who stayed.

-The development of a so-called Christian state further aggravated the Jewish situation and their status as citizens. A quasi-religious political antisemitism replaced what was before a thoroughgoing religious antisemitism.

2. A. Characteristics of economic antisemitism.

-Economic antisemitism reacted to the role of the Jews in the evolution of commerce and the rise of capitalism. It also sought to identify and stereotype traits or characteristics of Jews that seemed to suit or adapt the Jew for his role in business, commerce, and trade. In this sense, economic antisemitism prefigured racial antisemitism.

-Economic antisemitism came from various motivations, i.e., competition for business, jobs, and trade, political and religious reasons, psychological and social prejudice, and cultural differences. Control of the economy and what anti-Jewish antagonists perceived to be its most persistent forces-the Jews-played a key role in economic antisemitism.

-The industrial revolution aided the Jewish transition from a ghetto world (secluded) to a materialistic world (open). Economic change possibly did more for Jews in their emancipation than any other factor, even politics. But industrialization and modernization negatively lay the foundation for invectives against the Jews such as charges of worldwide financial conspiracy.

2. B. Charges associated with economic antisemitism.

-Jews were called greedy, money-grubbers. They were charged with taking excessive interest or usury. The Jew was seen as a treacherous Judas (a biblical, religious stereotype), a skinflint, and the avaricious archetype of evil. As such, they became objects of derision, and the status of the Jew was reduced.

-They furthermore were accused of being the innovators of capitalism. Marx, although himself of Jewish origin, particularly criticized the egoism of Jews as promoters of *Schacher* or haggling. He held Jews in contempt, since he believed they were responsible for capitalism.

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-The conservative reaction against modernization also attached Jews, by association with capitalism, to political revolution, social disruption, and cultural pollution. These accusations also added to misinformation that sparked alarm about a worldwide Jewish conspiracy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

-The myth of an economic Jewish world-conspiracy marked a modern adaptation of the classical, Byzantine, and Medieval demonological traditions—a secret Jewish government, a world-wide network of hidden agencies, a wide range of control of political parties, governments, the press, public opinion, banks and economic developments, the aim of world dominion, and near its desired goal or imminent. The evolved focus of anti-Jewish sentiments sought to quell the terror of typically modern anxieties and resentments—the dynamic restlessness and innovation of urban civilization, the rise of new economic classes, and the threats to the old order by democracy, liberalism, and secularism.

2. C. Reasons for economic antisemitism.

-As early as the fourth century, St. John Chrysostom's railings against Jews of Antioch marked an incipient economic antisemitism in that the prelate's congregants felt threatened by the increased involvement of Jewish merchants in the town's trade with the East.

-By the eighth century in Europe, with Jewish agriculture diminished and Jews generally excluded from land ownership (especially in Lithuania and Poland), Jews were marginalized in their ability to provide for themselves and their families. Because they too were excluded from membership in Christian-controlled guilds (although there were some exceptions to this), they began to function as middlemen and as peddlers and traders of small wares. The revival of trade

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during the Renaissance necessitated the abandonment of barter and its replacement with a money-economy. Jews, who found themselves in a good position as traders and lenders and who were dispersed throughout Europe and the Middle East, became leaders in early commercial capitalism. They had been squeezed into professions that proved advantageous in a new world economic order. For a select few, business endeavors turned into accumulation of wealth, but they were vastly outnumbered by Italian, Arab, and some German competitors. A new form of antisemitic hostility nevertheless arose–economic envy.

-The Fourth Lateran Council proscribed a close watch on the practice of usury in order to guard against high interest, and it also placed in Church coffers the tithes from Jewish lands.

-Due to economic envy, by the end of the thirteenth century, Jews were expelled from England, France, and most of Germany.

-In the pre-modern period, feudal lords who needed money for building projects, for military operations, and for social manipulation sought out Jews who had accumulated capital and were willing to extend credit on interest. But these "Court Jews" generally increased their estrangement from Gentile society and were held in contempt by the common people for the atrocities of the rulers but seldom held in high esteem for beneficent actions by rulers (although exceptions exist).

-After the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), "Court Jews" became very influential, so that by modern times, especially in Austria and Germany, well-known and wealthy Jewish families helped finance the early rise of nation states (e.g., the Rothschild dynasty helped finance the Napoleonic Wars of 1792-1815, and this was the foundation, to a large extent, of their fortune).

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-In more developed times, Jews were compelled to help their rulers. They had little choice but to lend to kings, knights, and bishops. They were not fully citizens, until after emancipation, and as guests without full protection of the law, they often could not recover funds due to defaults on loans. They ultimately served those who held political power.

-Christians were forbidden from taking interest from fellow Christians in the lending of money. But Jews were not so restrained. Capital in the form of credit arose with the rise of the use of money in economic transactions and the demise of the medieval barter economy. With no legal sanctions against their involvement as money-lenders to the Christian populace, Jews profited from their economic astuteness. But in a predominant Christian environment, they had to be very careful in dealing with Christians. Jews were seen as less respectable, as second-class citizens and, in reality, not citizens in any sense in most countries.

-Christians often treated Jews harshly and rudely. So even though Jews gained "profit" from this new role in the economic world, they paid for it dearly in the development of a stereotype that would haunt the Jews until and even after the Holocaust. They also paid for it in the ostracization they received as a result of their role in everyday monetary affairs. Jews, out of religious or humanitarian leanings, typically would not loan at interest to fellow Jews (compare Islam), but they held no such scruples in their dealings with Christians, and this only heightened feelings of animosity against them in "Christian" society.

3. A. Characteristics of cultural antisemitism.

-Jewish "set-apartness" and "otherness" transferred from the religious sense enhanced the social ostracization of Jews on the basis of cultural distinctiveness. Even in the diaspora, Jews remained adverse to the prevalent culture.

-The restrictions placed on Jews and their ghettoization during the Middle Ages advanced popular beliefs about Jews as "a wholly alien people," "strange creatures," and "demons in human form."

-Following emancipation, Jews gained some legal freedoms, but they still appeared to be an "exclusive community" and as such displayed a "mysterious quality" (an ancient concept) which ironically became, to the old order, a symbol of modernity.

3. B. Charges associated with cultural antisemitism.

-As a result of their otherness, Jews were persecuted and estranged from other peoples. Institutional aspects of Judaism conflicted not only with remnants of Christian culture, they also established a framework for Jewish identity that hindered Jewish assimilation. These conflictive structures gave those who were already prejudiced toward the Jews just another reason to view them as non-citizens and strangers in their midst.

-The natural response to this otherness was antagonism, abuse, and outright rejection of the rights of Jews to the extent that extreme cultural antisemitism sought opportunity to deny the right of Jews even to exist, i.e., cultural genocide or annihilation. Unfortunately, cultural antisemitism did not disappear after nationalism and emancipation.

3. C. Reasons for cultural antisemitism.

-The Jews' own spiritual and legal systems, in talmud and midrash, attacked Christianity as a heretical, idolatrous sect. The negative response of Christians, both leaders and laypersons, was predictable.

-With its inherent expectation of segregation, Judaism gladly accepted the mutual religious and cultural dissociation fostered on it by a Christianized Europe. But Jews lacked security in a Europe controlled by Christian leaders. They were tolerated and protected for the most part, but they enjoyed no certain legal status. They thus fell victim to the ever-changing whims of political expediency.

-By the time of the Inquisition, they were no longer guaranteed protection from forced conversion to Christianity.

-By edict of the Fourth Lateran Council, baptized Jews were forbidden Jewish customs, and a distinctive dress became mandatory for both Jews and Saracens. They further could not intermarry nor practice concubinage.

-Even as late as 1858, the Mortara Case in Italy, an example of the sharp Christian protest against Judaism, revealed the potency of cultural antisemitism. The papal claim to religious authority over the child and his education invoked the assistance of legal, secular authority. They sought to influence the entire culture–politically, socially, and religiously–in their attempt to establish Church preeminence over parental rights of Jewish parents. The Jewish response, however, came speedily in the formation of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* (1860) to safeguard

the rights of Jews in a predominant Roman Catholic culture that failed to distinguish appropriate realms of jurisdiction.

-During the latter part of the nineteenth century, a bitter cultural struggle evolved between those who accepted modernization and those who hoped to restore the old traditional order. This cultural struggle, which engaged European society as a whole, gave the Jews new opportunities but also brought on them serious perils.

4. A. Characteristics of racial antisemitism.

-In 1879, Wilhelm Marr made popular the term "antisemitism" and convinced the Germans that the Jews were not a religion but a separate race. He warned about Jewish domination of German life and did so from premises of Jewish racial inferiority.

-Intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews was prohibited on so-called scientific grounds. This was a tenet of eugenic-type ethnic cleansing and purification.

-A "super-race" mentality relegated Jews to inferior status. A need to "prove" its superiority or to "save face" in reaction to demeaning events caused racial antisemitism to utilize an old religious ploy–the scapegoating of the Jews via a process of demonization. The strict dichotomy between good and evil was borrowed from Manichaeanism.

-From rational Higher Criticism came the inferiority of Judaism as something external and formal. The infusion of spirit made Christianity a "higher" achievement on the evolutionary scale of progress. This Hegelian view of Judaism influenced Kant and others to postulate Judaism as full of ritual and dogma, something weak and corrupt, devoid of spirit and livelihood. Naturally, adherents of such a primitive, backward system could only be deficient themselves.

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-Popular works like Fritsch's *Anti-Semitic Catechism* and prejudicial statements from intellectuals like Treitschke ("the Jews are our misfortune") stirred up hatred toward the Jews.

-Jews suffered verbal and physical violence.

-A vicious antisemitism emerged out of a complex set of ideologies–anti-Christian or atheistic, economic, ethnic or national, metaphysical, and political or Christian-social.

-Racial antisemitism was based partly on legitimate anthropology and partly on classical conceptions of beauty that supposedly revealed obvious differences between Jews and non-Jews. Racial stereotypes about Jewish physical characteristics were advocated as "good science" (e.g., the "Jewish nose").

-Racial antisemitism also used concepts from eugenics and social thought (i.e., Social Darwinism) to disadvantage the Jews.

4. B. Charges associated with racial antisemitism.

-After the Reconquista in Spain, Jewish converts to the Christian faith were called *marranos* or "swine." They were forced to either convert or leave the country.

-As part of an inferior race, Jews were viewed as aloof, distant, and estranged from the world.

-The antisemitic movement in Germany in the late 1870s offered a "diagnosis of the illness of their time." Three possibilities all contained charges of racial antisemitism. Judaism was a social disease due to the economic competition of the Jews, the eagerness of the Jews to gain and hold positions in society, and the religious persistence of Jewish aversion to Christianity. It was a Zionist ploy, not a passing ill but a chronic condition of the heart, and only

surgery or removal of Jews to a state of their own could remedy the problem. And, it was an outcome of the essential nature of the capitalist system, so postulated the socialists.

-The fear of degeneration hounded the racial theorists, and Jews predominately represented the epitome of this negative process. Purity of blood came to symbolize the purity of the race. Jews, who were assimilating in increasing numbers, became the enemy.

-In Germany, under the influence of an irrational romanticism, race and religion were joined, and Aryanism represented the nation's and even humanity's life force.

-Jaeger said that different races have different smells, inferior races were irrevocably dirty and smelly, and Jews had a very unpleasant smell.

4. C. Reasons for racial antisemitism.

The Golden Age of Judaism in a Spain ruled by Muslims, whereby Jews distinguished themselves intellectually, commercially, professionally (i.e., in legal and medical fields), and spiritually, ended with Spain's Reconquista. The neo-Christianization of the Iberian peninsula resulted in a radical convergence of Church and State and the eradication of all elements of nonconformity. Forced conversions brought "bad blood" into the Church-State and thereby created a problem for the perpetrators of Spanish racial purity. Torquemada proceeded to solve the problem by purging the realm of its "pollutants," and this religio-racial cleansing caused much bloodshed, migrations, and internal dissent.

-Hegel and others gave anti-Jewish ideas a philosophical justification and introduced a pseudo-intellectual basis for racial antisemitism.

-In Germany, Fichte, Goethe, and Schleiermacher spread racial antisemitism in an effort to thwart Jewish assimilation.

-Renan used "race" culturally, not biologically, to dismiss Judaism as ritualistic and obsolete. He was the first writer to use race as an explanatory concept of historical phenomena, and he introduced the notion of race into the discussion about the Jews.

-Bauer agreed that Judaism represented an inferior system that was obsolete in its sacramental rituals. But his radicalism also advocated the abolition of all dogmatic religion including Christianity. He voiced the opinion that all of society, not the Jews alone, needed emancipation. But Bauer's observations carried negative overtones of discrimination against Judaism. He is a prime example of the transfusion of the partisan evaluation of Judaism into a post-Christian and even anti-Christian context.

-Gobineau and Chamberlain spoke of an Aryan race that was superior to all other races including the Jews. They warned against cross-breeding.

-Rohling issued a scathing assault on Judaism in *The Talmud Jew* (1871). While he fought the Christian side of the *Kulturkampf*, he actually helped establish racial antisemitism albeit in its religious and cultural formulations.

-Duering stressed the unchanging universality of Jewish racial inferiority. He united under this umbrella of Jewish undesirability fragmented thought about the problem from various political and religious persuasions.

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-In France, Drumont's *La France Juive* (1886) continued the antisemitic barrage begun by Toussenel and Gobineau. His work poisoned the popular French mind against the Jews, and this became significant during the lengthy and bizarre Dreyfus affair.

-Sciences, like anthropology and eugenics, and pseudo-sciences, like phrenology and physiognomy, were corrupted by proponents of Jewish racial differences–a so-called "scientific" antisemitism.

5. A. Characteristics of social antisemitism.

-The world of the talmud and its regulatory precepts of *halakhah* gave ancient Judaism its framework for the religious cult and the pragmatic ethical aspects of daily life. This world gave the Jew a resting place, a refuge, a "safe haven" to which he could retreat in times of desperation and trouble.

-With the advent of secularization, nationalism, and assimilation came a dramatic clash of cultures. Resentment against the socio-economic role of Jews in post-emancipation society led to condemnation of the Jews as haughty, haters of mankind, and perpetrators of destructive modernism.

-Socialists wanted to subject private property and the distribution of income to government control, and they felt that Jews, on the whole, disrupted this by their promotion of capitalistic enterprise. But in this socialist indictment, anti-Jewish sentiments and socialist teachers were combined in a wide array of conflictive denunciations of the Jews from Marxist to liberal, from statist to libertarian.

-Various organizations, political and social, sought to eradicate "Jewish socialism" and its influence in German life.

5. B. Charges associated with social antisemitism.

-The Jews were segregated into ghettos. Jewish quarters were nothing new. Legal and physical separation, as versus incarceration, provided protection for the Jews and was seen often as a privilege. But the pattern of life that developed in the ghettos became demeaning. The "pale" represented the fringe or poor area of the city or town; it was enclosed by walls; and it usually was overcrowded and the gates were guarded. The pale became indicative of a people on the fringes of society, and it was little better than imprisonment under lock and key. As a result, the ethnic solidarity of the Jews, their devotion to torah and synagogue, and their introversion and focus on the past led to a "ghettoized mentality."

-In the thirteenth century, Jews were forced to wear a circular yellow badge that marked them as distinct from the general populace. When outside their ghettos, they had to wear a pointed hat similar to the modern dunce cap. The distinctive badge varied from country to country–a yellow sphere or *rouelle* in France, the *Judenhut* in Germany, or a pointed hat in Poland.

-Jews were not always readily identifiable, specially by physical appearance (hence, a strong argument against later pseudo-scientific racial caricatures about Jews). So a need existed for them to be marked by conventions in order to isolate Jews for various stereotypical purposes. This physically marked off Jews from the rest of the environment, so much so that Jews stood out like pariahs.

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-They became prey to insult, shame, and violence, especially in times of crisis. Over time, this psychological demoralization affected the Jewish people. They lost self-respect, they became careless in speech and dress, and they turned inward and timorous. They also harbored resentment of their oppressors. In essence, the Jews changed.

-Segregation was pretty much universal-intermarriage, intercourse, and eating together were not allowed. Contact with Christians generally was prohibited, and this was imposed on Jews and Christians alike. This helped each social group to remain cohesive and preserved social and cultural identity, but it also fostered misunderstanding and mistrust.

-The slow movement and eventual failure of Jews to fully assimilate into European societies after emancipation was a source of bitter resentment among many liberal thinkers. Thus, ideologies of the nineteenth century contained their own brand of antisemitism. Liberal antisemitism accused Jews of rigidity, intolerance, etc. This not only divided leaders who advocated emancipation, it also divided the Jewish community (i.e., the Reform movement, the Zionist movement). Similarly, "self-despising Jews" censured their own (the division among Orthodox, Conservative or Traditional, and Reform branches of Judaism).

-Jews who tried to assimilate eschewed traditional occupations in favor of law, medicine, and science. Some even entered politics as diplomats, journalists, and legislators, but only a few entered the military (i.e., laws governing military participation varied widely from country to country). Some excelled in philosophy, literature, theater, and the arts, and others remained content to fill their classic role as merchants, bankers, or traders. For example, Moses Mendelssohn, leader of the Haskala movement, combined ideas of Judaism with the rationalism

of the Enlightenment in an effort to bring Jews into the mainstream of European culture. Similarly, Gabriel Riesser tried to align German culture with Jewish faith in his quest for civil emancipation of the Jews. But these movements were not without their resistors.

-The Jews felt in their own communities a tension between insiders and outsiders, and a new sensitivity over the issues of justice versus injustice arose as a result of this conflict of Judaism with itself. Secular Jews no longer felt shackled by the constraints of the traditions of religious beliefs and practices. They were open to radical change. Some had become part of the "haves," and they were resistant and unsympathetic to the "have nots." Others, perhaps not so fortunate or prosperous in the secular realm, mingled tenets of old messianic Judaism with their secular pursuits. Jewish thinkers contributed disproportionally to their overall numbers to the various social movements, the isms and ideologies, the political and social fervor of the times.

-As a result, a new socialistic antisemitism appeared, the backlash of the believers in the *ancien regime* against the avid proponents of progressive forces. This social antisemitism was both syncretistic and eclectic. Traditionalists tried to discredit the forces of progress in every field of endeavor–the arts, science, education, banking and commerce, politics–by associating each and its liberal ideologies and practices with the pervasive and deteriorating aspect of Jewish involvement.

-Conservative antisemitism saw the Jews as fostering modernity that stood contrary to everything the conservatives believed in–God, tradition, heritage, solidarity. Christian artisans had been replaced by industrial factory workers. Jews were responsible for white collar workers' loss of prestige and unemployment. The spread of technology, urbanization, and

industrialization along with the popularization of ideologies like materialism, capitalism, and communism was blamed on the Jews. They were criticized for "Jewish Marxism" and "Jewish radicalism."

-The old ruling caste could only see a traditional, Christian society dissolved by "godless" revolutionaries. So much so, that it was easy to blame society's restructure on the Jews who in the opinion of the reactionists benefitted from revolution and emancipation.

5. C. Reasons for social antisemitism.

-In their diaspora, both in Babylon and Palestine originally, the Jews preserved the integrity of their communities through adherence to torah and midrash.

-A social migration of Jewish labor and capital from well-developed countries to less well-developed nations, primarily in Eastern Europe, occurred from the fifteenth thru the eighteenth centuries. Jews vacated France, England, and Spain, so that by the end of the fifteenth century there were no Jews in Spain and few Jews in England and France. Religious and cultural persecutions had pushed them out. The concept of "wandering Jew" became a reality.

-The process of secularization changed the image of the Jew especially among Reform Jews. There was a move from religious foundations to a lack thereof. The function of the Jews as a "witness people" or a "foundation people" no longer had credence in a secular society.

-After emancipation, the majority of Jews were of the proletarian class. They were involved in organized guilds and unions, they took active part in labor movements and other socialist causes, and they even abandoned their faith. They accepted secularization to escape the abuses heaped on traditional Jewish society, and they left the ghettos to work for liberty in

institutions of capital and labor and become a part of society's progress. But this increase in Jewish involvement eventually aggravated the anti-Jewish backlash.

-Political emancipation did not cause the "old animosities" against the Jews to disappear. National, economic, and ethnic resentments replaced theological acrimony. "Less hated as a 'deicide people,' Jews became abhorred as supposedly unassimilable economic parasites. . . . As the spirit of rationalism and skepticism rose, the need to justify the discrimination in purely secular terms grew. . . . If the plight of the Jews did not stem from the crucifixion, it came from themselves, their ethnic makeup; Jews, in a word, were innately perverse. Thus there emerged a new brand of antisemitism, rationalistic and ethnical in character" (Flannery, *The Anguish of the Jews*, 174-175).

-This brand of antisemitism can be traced to the pagan Celsus. Modern proponents include Spinoza, Voltaire, Rousseau, Frederick II, Harnack, Hegel, and Herder. Toussenel's *The Jews, Kings of the Epoch* (1840) represented this mix of rationalism, socialism, and antisemitism.

6. A. Characteristics of psychological antisemitism.

-The psychology of the monotheist, with the projection of jealousy, anger, and intolerance onto the deity, did much to suspicion and condemn alternative viewpoints. While this added much to the overall psycho-religious confidence of the Jewish people, it destroyed their ability to accept radical non-conformity, and thereby made them immensely susceptible by way of psychological perception and reality to attack from both within and without. In other words, they

could not easily bear criticism and outright persecution except to react and counterattack or to turn inward, withdraw, and eventually self-destruct.

-Further, the projection of the deity as primarily a patriarchal figure (i.e., God, the Father), who required submission and who recompensed the sins of fathers on successive generations, led to Jewish submission to both religious and secular tyrants. This attitude of submission, in some measure, explained the "inwardness" as well as the "exclusiveness" of the Jews, their "inability" to dynamically counter the prevailing Christian culture, and their "refusal" to promote a Jewish identity in harmony with, rather than contrary to, the general culture.

-But the limitations of this type psychological analysis are readily apparent in the many, many examples that contradict the above generalizations (especially after emancipation and assimilation of Jews in different European nations).

-Contrarily, rationalist antisemitism, evidenced as early as Celsus in the second century, provided an alternative to the psychology of religion. Much later, after the Enlightenment, philosophers like Feuerbach diminished Judaism, as well as Christianity, to the emotional, irrational aspects of human experience. God therefore was merely the outward projection of mankind's inner nature, and Judaism merited an even lesser place than polytheism on the pecking order of religious systems (an idea that would resurface during Nazi Germany, but not for the same reasons).

-Psychological antisemitism also resulted from the peculiar qualities of mass movements and the people who were attracted to them. Those who were frustrated, discontented, had blind faith and zealous loyalty, were credulous and optimistic, who themselves had been discarded,

rejected, and disaffected in sundry ways gravitated to charismatic leaders with antisemitic ideas. They gave psychological antisemitism its illogical even bizarre justifications.

-In France, Dreyfus exemplified the paranoia of antisemitism and its psychological transfer of collective guilt to an archetype (i.e., the scapegoat theory).

6. B. Charges associated with psychological antisemitism.

-See religious and cultural antisemitism.

6. C. Reasons for psychological antisemitism.

-With increasing ghettoization the belief in the Jewish people as a "bastard" nation also intensified (i.e., that they were collectively responsible for Jewish crimes). Rabbis and community leaders as a result felt compelled to treat Christians gingerly or with undue fairness.

-A tradition of martyrdom developed among the Jews, the Ashkenazim in Germany, Poland, and Russia, and the Sephardim in Spain and Portugal. A passivity evolved among the Jews; they would not strike back. But with the repression of anger and hostility, which Jews knew would be dangerous since they lacked political rights, their passive resistance occasionally erupted in mass suicides.

-An inner culture of detestation among their own surfaced with accusations, disturbing the peace, spreading maladies, spreading perversions, immorality, impiety, hatred of mankind, etc. Since it was not safe to rebel, they could at least displace their rage on an internal scapegoat (a Freudian psychological projection).

7. A. Characteristics of *political* antisemitism.

-As early as the Third Council of Toledo (589) in Visigoth Spain, anti-Jewish statutes limited Jewish personal rights and their interaction in society at large. The Muslim victory brought about a measure of relief for Jews, and the spiritual hegemony of Judaism passed from its Babylonian center to Spain. A rich and vibrant culture developed as a result, and Jews even became involved in international commerce.

-Before secularization, Jews depended on Christian society for their political status. The process of secularization did little to eradicate what might be called "soft" antisemitism prevalent in European society (i.e., from its pagan or religious antisemitic roots), an anti-Jewishness that also could be called secular and racial.

-Conservative backlashes during the periods of stabilization that followed periods of upheaval sought to impose strict controls on revolutionaries (i.e., police control, censorship). Jews, who were seen as part of subversion against the *ancien regime*, were attacked. Anti-liberal voices warned against riots as inspired by Jews.

-The Jewish Question, a problem of assimilation, logically followed the political emancipation of the Jews: What is to happen to this "semi-naturalized" group, conspicuous by its occupational narrowness and its religious nonconformity? It is, at once, not just a political question, but also a social and religious question. This difficulty naturally came up after the dissolution of the ghettos and as a sequel to the break-up of the old order. Emancipation meant a loss of control and a situation of uncertainty in regard to the Jews.

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7. B. Charges associated with *political* antisemitism.

-Jews upset the balance of liberated societies, especially in their quest for full equality while yet remaining entrenched in their peculiar traditions.

-Anti-Jewish propaganda from the extreme right associated Jews with revolutionaries and sought their expulsion from the state. Newly gained rights and freedoms were curtailed.

-Conservative proponents of a Christian state, albeit secular, wanted to deny Jews their civic voice, particularly in positions of leadership. In Germany, they argued that liberals and their *Judenpolitik* had allowed Jews to infiltrate and control policy-making in the government.

7. C. Reasons for *political* antisemitism.

-The idea of progress (secular teleology) contrasted sharply with the inherited religion of the Jews. In the eighteenth century, things changed dramatically with the removal of discrimination and the political emancipation of the Jews. Enlightenment ideas weakened the religious underpinnings of society along with Christianity and its antisemitic views. Inherently, Enlightenment thought produced disdain of religion and religious systems–whether Christian or Jewish–among its notable proponents like Voltaire. Hegel's theory of the state was basically areligious if not anti-religious. His secular political "state" could not include citizens' religious convictions.

-Theoretically, though, Jews were accepted as equal to all others with respect to their status as citizens and their civil rights. But in reality, Christian society did not really accept the presence of Jews in its midst. A wide gap existed between the legal status of Jews and their social status as Jewish citizens in the various states of Europe.

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-Assimilation of the Jews was expected by important thinkers, even though it was believed that their segregated environment made them different socially and that years of ghettoization worked to their disadvantage. Naively, political philosophers thought integration could alter Jewish culture and make it blend in and disappear in the countries of Western Europe. So, liberal, enlightened leaders insisted on equal rights for Jews to eradicate their particularity and to make them part of the universal family. But these same enlightened philosophers seemed intolerant when Jews did not readily change nor alter their peculiar habits. They too, like those who disfavored emancipation, had expected the Jews to disappear but for different reasons and in a different way. They had expected the Jews to blend in, to disappear that way. After the rise of nationalism, assimilation became the secular counterpart to conversion, and the expectations for the Jews to blend in via assimilation were just as strong as the old expectations for Jews to convert to Christianity. When that did not happen, though, these leading intellectuals felt incensed, outraged, and even deceived. Thus, emancipation created problems for the Jews.

-Suddenly, Jews felt emancipated, and they felt liberated. They had supported the causes for liberty, equality, and fraternity in France and America. They believed they were equal, and they insisted on that equality. But this penetration of a resistant society created an antisemitic backlash. Also, varying degrees of the process (emancipation, assimilation, conformity, secularization, and homogenization) among different Jews and distinct Jewish communities caused problems for political leaders and social organizers. This made it all the more difficult on occasion for the public and its leaders to recognize who was and who was not a Jew. This

ambiguity served to heightened suspicion and fear in accordance with popular stereotypes about the Jews when conditions in society led to periods of reactionary panic.

-Jews were seen as both the cause and beneficiaries of the revolutions (e.g., the political upheavals of 1848 that affected many European nations).

-In Austria, unscrupulous men like Karl Lueger used popular antisemitism to further their own political causes.

-In Russia, apart from the Pale of Settlement, Russification of the Jews involved a process of assimilation through education, then repression, and finally expulsion. Ultimately, pogroms provided the "best" political solution to the Jewish Question in the Ukraine, Poland, and Russia proper.

8. A. Characteristics of Manichaean antisemitism.

-Manichaeanism, a dualistic influence on Christianity (compare Mithraism), drew a strong distinction between good and evil, light and darkness, the saved and the damned.

-The Jews were viewed as evil, of Satan, as part of the damned and devoid of any opposite tendency-the good, the brave, the noble.

8. B. Charges associated with Manichaean antisemitism.

-See religious antisemitism.

8. C. Reasons for Manichaean antisemitism.

-The synthesis of various religious systems in the Hellenistic period gave rise to Manichaean thought and antisemitism.

-Of particular importance was the role of Platonic philosophy in the development of Christian anthropology and its concept of spirituality. Also of note was the evolution of Stoicism and the many parallels with the teachings of St. Paul the apostle.