

Jewish Dimensions in Modern Visual Culture

antisemitism,
assimilation,
affirmation

EDITED BY

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a reproduction, see *George Grosz: Berlin, New York*, 333. White believes that Grosz's use of a soldier's uniform on his lower-class burgher in the center of the painting is a reference to German criticisms that the inadequacy of Jewish soldiers during World War I contributed to Germany's defeat; see White, "Grosz Case," 451. Peter Chametzky, "Lost and Found Dada Objects (and Subjects)," also argues for the connection of Berlin Dada artists with issues of Jewish identity.

53. In *Kurt Tucholsky*, Poor devotes a section of his last chapter to some of the critiques of Tucholsky for "Jewish self-hatred"; he also discusses Gershom Scholem's viewpoint that Tucholsky contributed to antisemitism; see esp. 218–219.

54. Andreas Hüneke uses a reproduction of this poster to begin his essay, "Dubiose Händler operieren im Dunst der Macht," in *Alfred Flechtheim: Sammler*, 100.

55. The National Socialists, as is well known, viciously attacked blacks as well as Jews for contributing to the decadence of German life.

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Tristan Tzara / Shmuel Rosenstock**The Hidden/Overt Jewish Agenda**

Students of modern art are well versed in the Dada manifestos written by Tristan Tzara in 1918. Rarely are they aware, however, that the name is a pseudonym and that Tzara was Jewish. Tzara has been studied within the framework of modernism's universality. In 2005, in an early version of this essay, I discussed Tristan Tzara's hidden Jewish complex, and in the following year Tom Sandqvist demonstrated the connection between Tzara and the Rumanian Yiddish world.¹ The postmodern reading I offer here raises the issue of Tzara's particularism, or more precisely, the tension between his universalism and his Jewish particularism.

Tristan Tzara as well as Man Ray / Emmanuel Radnitsky, another avant-garde artist who suppressed his Jewish origin, shared a complex attitude about their Jewish roots and a need to detach themselves from their origins by changing their names and native countries. Paris was chosen by each of them as the "promised land." They had close artistic interactions: Tzara was the first admirer of Man Ray's rayograms, and Man Ray photographed Tzara frequently.

There is a common denominator among the Dadaists and Surrealists who turned to fabricated new identities as artists. Duchamp chose the persona of "Rose Sélavy," and much of Dalí's autobiography, appearing under the paradoxical title *The Unspeakable Confessions of Salvador Dalí*, is the artist's reconstruction of his childhood and self as a means of achieving aesthetic freedom. Tristan Tzara, Man Ray, and Duchamp rebelled against essentialist definitions of identity. Yet there is a difference between Duchamp, on the one hand, and Man Ray and Tzara, on the other, regarding their chosen identities and name-change. Obviously, Duchamp kept his original name and did not hide his "original" identity. He adopted a feminine sexual alter ego as a provocative rebellion against the notion of paterfamilias—a role he did not wish to play, as attested by his *Great Glass, The Bride Laid Bare by Her Bachelors, Even*.² By contrast, for Man Ray and Tristan

Tzara, their constructed identities and pseudonyms were not solely a matter of poetic license but also a response to the external threat they felt as Jews. A pseudonym, as in Duchamp's case, is the use of another name for oneself for certain purposes rather than the denial of one's original name; a name change, like Tzara's and Man Ray's is a complete rejection of one's name of birth for all purposes. Although Duchamp did not hide his Franco-Christian family origins, Man Ray, Tzara and others concealed their Jewish ancestry by changing their names.

Man Ray's newly acquired persona was manifested by his need to sever himself from the sweatshop experience within which he grew up; artistically, however, sewing machines, flatirons, and needles populate his art. Clearly, Man Ray's struggle with his identity nourished his creativity (as I discussed in an essay of 2001).³ In the present essay, I study the question of Tzara's suppressed Jewish background. While the Man Ray piece dealt mainly with his internal struggle with his Jewish background, my discussion of Tzara will also consider the attitude of Tzara's artistic compatriots to his Jewish origins. Leah Dickerman in a recent Dada exhibition catalogue mentions that Tzara and Marcel Janco were both Romanian Jews, also giving Tzara's original Jewish name.⁴ Yet there is neither an analysis of this factor in the essay, nor an acknowledgment that there might be a connection between Tzara's dual identity and his Dadaism. Such analysis is missing regarding other artists who were born Jewish and are also acknowledged as such in the catalogue. The long list includes: Man Ray, Hans Richter, El Lissitzky, Morton Livingston Schamberg, and Arthur Segal,⁵ which brings to mind the vast Jewish presence and contribution to Dada and avant-garde in general.

I shall also ask here if, in spite of Tzara's deliberate distancing from his Jewish ancestry, it is possible to detect traces of Judaic concepts in his writings. Consequently, the Jewish dimension will be addressed both through the external circumstances—namely, antisemitism—as well as via Tzara's internal processes. Both Tristan Tzara's and Man Ray's struggle for identity, can be classified under the title "The Hidden Jew and the Avant-Garde." In postmodern terminology the present study is that of a reappropriation.

Tristan Tzara: The Bruised Eye

To get a sense of the background to the historical and theoretical analysis, let us look at some visual images of the Dadaist ideologue: a drawing (fig. 8.1) from the Dada Zurich period (1916) done by his Jewish-Rumanian friend



FIGURE 8.1 Marcel Janco, *Portrait of Tristan Tzara*, 1916. Graphite on paper, 665 x 400 mm. (17 x 10½ in.). Gift of Ruth Berger, in memory of her brother Benjamin Golin, 1974. Reg. No. 624.74, Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem

and artist Marcel Janco, who did not suppress his Jewish identity and eventually founded an artist community in Ein-Hod, Israel. Here, Tzara is seen reading in a *vita contemplativa* posture drawn in a pseudo Cubist-Constructivist style. Janco's emphasis is on Tzara's inwardness, on his power to concentrate. Because he is looking down, the viewer does not meet his eyes. Janco portrays Tzara's full-length body as having African features that accentuate his mouth, evoking Tzara's own African verses, and interest in African art.

Man Ray photographed Tzara numerous times. As a rule the photographer captured Tzara's handsome face, emphasizing his intelligent eyes. Whereas Janco highlighted the bookish introvert pose, Man Ray's photographs of Tzara are charged with tension, with a special emphasis on the eye—the artist's eye. A case in point is a photograph (date unknown) in which Tzara's handsome face is seen in three-quarters pose. A monocle encircles the eye and therefore alludes to Tzara's unique way of seeing. His unique sense of sight both physically and metaphorically, is underlined further in a later photograph (1934), a close-up on the bust of Tzara seen from below. Here, the hands and black clothes encircle the head in a provocatively feminine way. The head is given importance through its fragmentation, combining intellectuality with sensuality. The monocled eye endows Tzara's asymmetrical eyes with a somewhat demonic expression. In an earlier photograph with René Crevel (fig. 8.2) (c.1928) Tzara is typically the smaller of the two. His monocled eye is blackened, suggesting the dark side of his personality. Its bruised look echoes the external attacks Tzara had to face in the post-Dada period, but it also calls to mind the inner price he paid for having a unique vision and for suppressing his identity. It would be worthwhile to reconsider how the complexity of Tzara's art is considered. The bruised-eye metaphor should be key to such a reading. Tzara's eyes project anxiety in contrast to the open, untroubled look of Crevel, his carefree fellow artist. We see here two ways of constructing the image of Tzara: Marcel Janco sees the bookish introvert; Man Ray, as a photographer, portrays a man who engages in a whimsical-painful visual dialogue with the spectator. In other words, Man Ray penetrates beyond the theatrical playfulness of Tzara the Dadaist. Yet, in both cases the image projected is that of a loner.

Shmuel Rosenstock/Tristan Tzara's Early Rumanian Days

"Dreyfus innocent! Esterhazy culpable!" exclaimed the young child Shmuel (Hebrew for Samuel) Rosenstock in his native town, Moinesti, Rumania.⁶ We can infer from this statement that the Dreyfus case hung



FIGURE 8.2 Man Ray. Tristan Tzara and René Crevel, c. 1928 (printed later). Gelatin silver print, 30.5 x 21.5 cm. (7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.). The Vera and Arturo Schwarz Collection of Dada and Surrealist Art in the Israel Museum. Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. © 2007 Man Ray Trust/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris

over Samuel's (nicknamed, Sami) childhood and was a topic of discussion and concern to the Rosenstock family. Nonetheless, the child did not grow up to be involved in Jewish matters. As a young poet, he changed his name to Tristan Tzara, and gained his worldwide reputation in the service of Dada's universal nihilism. Tzara chose name-change as a ticket for integration in Rumania, later opting for the western European world. Hence, he left for Zurich, and eventually settled in Paris.

Tzara was born in April 1896 and attended elementary school in Moinești (province of Bacau, Moldavia, in Rumania) as Samuel Rosenstock, the son of Philippe and Emilie. Unlike Man Ray he came from the middle class, "the son of well-to-do Jewish parents."⁷ Tzara's first poems published in *Simbolul* (The symbol), a magazine founded with Marcel Janco and Ion Vinea in 1912, were signed S. Samyro, an abbreviation of Sami Rosenstock.

Evidence of his Jewish affiliation in his secondary school days can be found in a photograph taken in 1912 in the company of Janco and others in the Lyceum "Gheorge Lazar" in Bucharest. The photograph is inscribed: "In Erinnerung an die Künstler des jüdischen Gymnasiums" [*sic*].⁸ (As a souvenir of the artists of the Jewish gymnasiums). Graduation was an event that was documented in terms of one's ethnic origin. In 1914 he received the certificate asserting his graduation from the Lycée Mihaiu Viteazul; it is inscribed "Samuel Rosenstock, de nationalité israélite."⁹

The name Tristan Tzara was first used in October 1915 in the magazine *Chemarea* (The Call), edited by Vinea. Beyond the obvious allusions to Tristan and Isolde, it has been suggested that it may mean "sad in the country" (*trist en tsara*). Tzara is also based on "tara," Rumanian for country, more specifically, insinuating land.¹⁰ Another view holds that the pseudonym echoes the name of the poet Tristan Corbière.¹¹ A further reading of the name was offered by the French poet Max Jacob, namely, that "Tzara" is short for Zarathustra, implying a Nietzschean influence.¹² Finally, "Tzara" also suggests the word "problem" in Yiddish, implying "problem" in a Jewish context.

After enrolling for one year at the university in Bucharest (1914–1915) where he took courses in mathematics and philosophy, he went to Zurich to study philosophy after the onset of the First World War, becoming involved in Dadaist activities, which led him to Paris in 1921.

Tzara's background should be seen in conjunction with deep-rooted Rumanian antisemitism a major constituent of that country's political and popular culture, caused by religious prejudices, economic competition, and xenophobia. As early as 1878, the Congress of Berlin linked Rumanian

independence with granting political and civil rights to Jews (Article 44). However, such rights were not actually endowed. The government authorized "naturalization" only on an individual basis. It was not until in 1923 that Jews in Rumania gained legal equality.¹³

A recent reading of Tzara in the midst of Rumanian avant-garde artists such as the painter and architect Marcel Janco, Arthur Segal, M. H. Maxy (Max Herman), as well as Victor Brauner, offers a new perspective that places Tzara in a Jewish setting. Indeed, such a contextualization would not have been considered during the height of modernism that placed art in a linear western European frame of reference. The contemporary art historian, Steven Mansbach, introduced the eastern European context and, more specifically, the Jewish background and circumstances that this group of artists shared. The Rumanian avant-garde included many artists who were considered "foreigners" by the conservative Rumanians. As "pseudo-Rumanians, those of Jewish birth or ancestry advocated a culture whose very experimental and cosmopolitan cast would affirm their outsider status while simultaneously making Bucharest an international capital of modernism."¹⁴ For example, Tzara and Janco, the editors of *Simbolul* (Tzara was also its illustrator), were motivated by being "self-conscious of their status as Jewish outsiders."¹⁵ Tzara's name-change can therefore be viewed as a reaction to antisemitism and also as a wish to re-create his identity as an artist.

Some of Tzara's early work was published in *Contimporanul* (Present Time), edited by Marcel Janco who had returned to Rumania in 1922 after taking part in the activities of Dada both in Zurich and Paris. It seems significant to me that the January 1923 cover shows an image of an unknown artist in which a bound, bearded, small Jew with his face turned upward is in the center of the composition.¹⁶ He is harassed by a tall soldier with a rifle on one side and by another with a knife on the other side. Tzara's poem from 1915 "Cântec de război" (fig. 8.3) appears on the same page.

Judaism and Tzara's Early Poetry vis-à-vis His Dada Manifesto

Tzara's early poetry, originally written in Rumanian, contains a few rare references to "Jews/Jewish."¹⁷ Hence, in his love poem, "Friend Mamie," he promises his beloved:



FIGURE 8.3 Cover of *Contimporanul*, January 1923

I'll buy you earrings from a Jewish jeweler
 And expect nothing in return
 Give you seeds of rare flowers
 To develop your literary tastes¹⁸

In another poem written in 1915, "Come with me to the Country"
 (*Viens a la Campagne avec moi*), the second stanza reads:

Entre deux marronniers chargés comme les gens qui sort de
 L'hôpital
 Le cimetière juif a poussé parmi les Pierres;
 Au-delà de la ville, sur la colline
 Comme des vers se traînent les tombeaux.¹⁹

Here, the image of a Jewish cemetery is projected: "Between two chestnut-trees laden like men leaving the hospital/The Jewish cemetery grew." The phrase is built on an unexpected contrast: the positive associations of the chestnut trees are annulled by the comparison with men who

depart from hospitals. The description of the Jewish cemetery is further based on polarity evolving from high to low: "among boulders. On the edge of town, on a hill / Graves crawl like worms." As they are represented in their death, the Jews are crawling like worms; their motion within the grave suggests life. It is implied here that the Jewish dead (though in their graves) are not quite dead; they are crawling like worms. There is an insinuation here, an identification of Jewish life with Jewish death. Such might explain why the protagonist disassociates himself from the Jewish lot. As the poem continues, the protagonist wishes "to scandalize the priest," thereby rejecting the Christian alternative. Universal Eros challenges Thanatos and the various religions as he invites a girl to bathe naked "and our clothes will be stolen and the dogs will bark." Returning to the state of nature, both in a physical sense and in a metaphorical one of being true to oneself, becomes a celebration of a freedom fantasy in which the poet distances himself from the Jewish cemetery as well as from the priest. Hence, he sets himself on a plane that transcends ethnicity, particularism, and religion.

In the two poems, "Jewish" is mentioned in two contexts: "the Jewish jeweler" and "the Jewish cemetery." Tzara's attitude to Jewishness here is one of ambivalence. There is beauty alluded to by the jewelry, but there might also be an allusion to Jewish professions in which jewels, precious stones, and gold were stereotypically seen as Jewish money-related occupations that were perceived negatively. As for the Jewish cemetery, it represents that from which the poet wants to break away, the cemetery symbolically standing for that past he wished to bury.

It is nonetheless noteworthy that in another context, Tzara's "Hamlet-Variant II (sketch)," dealing with the source of creativity, there is an allusion to the biblical figure of Moses. Here creativity—or, more specifically, "how a love song suddenly sprang up"—is "Like the water from the rock after the Israelites struck it with his rod."²⁰ The creative act is compared to a biblical act of defiance (Moses had been instructed to talk rather than to hit the rock; his punishment was to see the land of Israel from afar).

These images contrast sharply with the change that took place with Dada. Tzara moved on to diametrically opposed expressions of what art should deal with. Adopting an avant-garde persona, Tzara broke the rules of language, grammar, and syntax as part of a nihilistic worldview, as if wanting to start from scratch, opting for the universal, rather than the national, and rejecting all religious points of view. In his "Dada Manifesto"

(1918) he called for the elimination of authority and tradition, for a break from history and family ties: "Every product of disgust that is capable of becoming a negation of the family is *dada*; . . . DADA every hierarchy and social equation established for values of our valets . . . DADA the abolition of memory: DADA the abolition of archaeology. DADA the abolition of the prophets: . . . DADA; the absolute and indisputable belief in every god that is an immediate product of spontaneity . . . to strip one's church of every useless and unwieldy accessory."²¹ Furthermore, it is significant that one of the last sentences of Tzara's seven manifestos reads: "Only DADA can enable *you to escape from destiny*."²² Tzara betrays his own need to recreate his life by escaping his own destiny. The notion that art and therefore Dada transcends nationality was almost an article of faith for its supporters, as can best be seen in the 1921 *Dada soulève tout*.²³

Tzara: Biography as "Autofiction"

Tzara himself did everything possible to dispense with biographical data. The notion of biography itself is ridiculed in an ironic text, *Notes Biographiques*, in which the title suggests a scientific approach, but the so-called biographical entries are a playful fantasy in which Tzara constructs short life histories for various artists, including himself, intentionally mixing fiction and fact. The text's irony becomes apparent quickly: as the common denominator for all the artists (Tzara, Arp, Duchamp, Picabia, Stieglitz) Tzara arbitrarily dated their birth to 22 January. In his aestheticized *Autofiction*, he romantically claimed to have been born in Constanti-nople, thus circumventing his true origin in a Jewish family in a little town in Rumania and giving himself more exotic origins. He also described his height as close to almost six feet (1.90 m)—obviously wishful thinking—yet he stated truly that his nose was short and straight (*nez droit cour*), making the point that it was not the "hooked" nose stereotypically attributed to Jews. His chosen study place, "Sophia," reads like a pun on his smartness as well as with philosophy.²⁴ The need to refer to the notion of a biography while at the same time twisting all biographies into jokes shows that Tzara *was* occupied with the question of his own life history. However, by destroying the truth, not just in his own case but also in that of his fellow artists—as if he were saying "if it's not relevant to them it is not relevant to me"—he established himself as part of a constructed group, a strategy that served as a distancing device from his own past. Yet

fantasy makes up for his rejected past. We are reminded of Man Ray, his fellow Dadaist, camouflaging his Jewish background by parody. Shortly after his arrival in Paris, Man Ray, or perhaps Tzara his friend, wrote the text for a catalogue entry of an exhibition at Librarie Six: "[I]t is no longer known where Man Ray was born. After a career as a coal merchant, millionaire several times over and chairman of a chewing-gum trust, he has decided to accept the invitation of the Dadaists to show his latest canvas in Paris."²⁵ The fantasy and the linguistic allusions here are obviously linked to an American context. Clearly, Dadaist playful iconoclasm served both Tristan Tzara and Man Ray in their need to rid themselves of their past. Unlike Tzara, however, Man Ray was of a different cast of mind: staying away from artistic conflicts, he did not take part in the debates that tore Dada and Surrealism apart and abstained from any political involvement.²⁶

Detachment from one's biography also finds its expression in Tzara's 1918 Dadaist manifesto in which he opposed the beliefs in the "common psychic base" of humanity. More important, he dismissed Freud's reinterpretation of the classical command "Know thyself" as being utopian.²⁷ He also claimed, "Psychoanalysis is a dangerous disease, it deadens man's anti-real inclinations."²⁸ In a later publication he wrote, "if there is a common characteristic to be found in people who are creating today in literature, it will be that of anti-psychology."²⁹ Such a view is also grounded in Tzara's poetry as elucidated beautifully by Robert Short: "His poetry expresses the ascetic's voluntary shedding of identity in the universal flux."³⁰ Thus his attack on psychoanalysis also expresses his own repression of his personal memory, his personal history.

It is therefore quite revealing that a correspondence between Tzara and his parents exists. Most of the letters are from the 1920s, a few are from the 1930s, and a couple from the post-World War II period. The family in Rumania emerges as typical of the bourgeoisie, with strong family values. Yet they never ever ask Tzara about his professional interests. The letters show a gap between physical and financial concerns and the lack of interest in Tzara's intellectual life. It seems that *they* did not dare ask (it probably was beyond their understanding) and *he* did not care to share his avant-garde persona with his family back in Rumania. Furthermore, there is no mention by either side of Jewish matters except for occasional requests that Tzara meet friends of the family in Paris, mostly bearing Jewish names. Tzara found all kinds of excuses for not visiting his family in Rumania and he even refrained from inviting them to his wedding.³¹

"That Little Rumanian Jew":

Tzara's Artistic Milieu's Attitude to His Identity

It seems ironic that in spite of the Dadaist nihilistic breaking of social rules and Tzara's gestures of severing himself from family and history, he was not always spared "particularistic" comments regarding his Jewishness. His new persona notwithstanding, there were instances in which he was perceived by his fellow artists as well as by his opponents as a Jew. Such can be seen in the various euphemisms used in relation to him and by persistent remarks about his appearance. Upon seeing Tristan Tzara and Marcel and Georges Janco (and a fourth man) for the first time, Hugo Ball's reaction was: "an Oriental-looking deputation of four little men arrived."³² The term "oriental" was used here as a euphemism for Jewish. Recall Tzara's choice of Constantinople as a birthplace in his mock biography: it becomes a Freudian shift of the "accusation" of being "oriental" (in the sense of being Jewish) to being born "oriental" in Constantinople. He turns rejection into an exotic description of his roots. According to Ruth Brandon, Hugo Ball, although not Jewish, was exposed to antisemitic remarks when he was a student because of his appearance and consequently "had . . . an operation on his nose because he thought it looked too Jewish." Ball's use of "oriental" is ironic vis-à-vis his high-minded statement: "The Cabaret Voltaire has as its sole purpose to draw attention across the barriers of war and nationalism to a few independent spirits who live for other ideals."³³

Another Dadaist, Hans Richter, could not bring himself to actually use the word "Jew" in his book. Rather, he had recourse to metaphors from the Hebrew Scriptures when he talked about Tzara, comparing his lack of height on the one hand and his superior intellect on the other. He alluded to his Jewishness through the biblical analogy of David and Goliath. Intellectual aggression compensates for physical inadequacy: "He was a small man but this made him all the more uninhibited. He was a David who knew how to hit every Goliath in exactly the right spot and with a bit of a stone, earth or manure, with or without the accompaniment of witty *bons-mots*, back-answers and sharp splinters of linguistic granite."³⁴ Tzara, it should be noted, was associated with various types of hard stones as well as with manure. As for Marcel Janco, he is discussed in the context of "the rush basket, Moses' portable dwelling for the first few days of his life."³⁵ Again, the biblical allusions circumvent the word "Jew." The repression of the Jewish factor in Richter's writing becomes more questionable as

Richter speculates about the fate of Marcel Janco in the post-Dada period, not knowing his whereabouts: "But then came the Iron Guard to kill thousands of Rumanians and then the Nazis again killed thousands."³⁶ Even in the post-World War II period, in the context of Jewish victimization, there is a repression here of the fate of the Jews.

Richter's case is intriguing. It is another instance of the hidden Jew and the avant-garde. In his autobiographical book, written in 1971, there is no mention of Richter's parents' names or the fact that he was born a Jew.³⁷ It was only as late as 1989, in the post-unification period in Germany, that we learn that he was born Jewish, the son of Moritz Richter, and that his mother's maiden name was Rothschild. He had to leave Germany in the Nazi period not just because he was an avant-garde artist, as is claimed in his autobiography, but because he was Jewish.³⁸ Therefore his comments about Tristan Tzara reveal his own suppressed Jewish identity.

Tzara constantly had to defend himself against accusations of being a foreigner or a supporter of foreign interests. Even before transferring his Dada activities from Zurich to Paris, *La Nouvelle Revue Française* published an unsigned article warning against Dada influences on French writers. These influences were seen as a kind of collaboration with the enemy "straight from Berlin" during the war. Tzara was asked by Breton to respond, whereupon he explained his "raceless" point of view: "People these days no longer write with their race but with a blood (what a platitude). That which for the other sort of literature, was a *characteristic*, is today *temperament*. . . . It's only too natural that a new type of men is being created here, there, and everywhere."³⁹ Beyond his defense, the argument used here is significant for our understanding of Tzara's attitude to his own identity. He is asking to consider one's temperament as relevant to art, not to one's race — and hence obviously not to his Jewishness.⁴⁰ Man Ray, who shared these views about race, wrote later (1933): "Race or class, like style, become irrelevant."⁴¹ (After the Dada period, Tzara did not share Man Ray's views about class.)

However, although Breton was looking forward to Tzara's arrival in Paris, "a sense of Gaelic resentment at the intrusion of this bizarre foreigner on the French literary scene was never far below the surface."⁴² Another example from French magazines demonstrates that Tzara was attacked indirectly because of his religious heritage. In answer to a questionnaire published in *Littérature* asking, "Why Do You Write?" the playwright Jean Giraudoux replied: "I write in French, being neither Swiss nor Jewish, and

because I've earned all my diplomas." Polizzotti, Breton's biographer, makes the point that this response was "in direct reference to Tzara and his truncated university career."⁴³ The only thing Breton says about himself is that he distinguishes himself from Tzara without mentioning the latter's name. Other attacks in literary magazines called for the reader's comments on the question: "Faut-il fusiller les dadaïstes?" In one of the responses, which does not mention Tzara, Dada is perceived as Trotskyism: "Le grand Maître du dadaïsme c'est en réalité le juif Braunstein [sic] dit Trotski. C'est pour cela que je réserve mon opinion au sujet de ce qui attend les dadaïstes. Trotski finira-t-il fusillé ou pendu? Les disciples doivent suivre le sort du maître."⁴⁴ In fact, both Trotsky and Tzara were attacked for being Jews even though, ironically, both advocated universalism. Against a particularistic Jewish point of view, Trotsky opposed the Bund's (Jewish Socialist Party's) demands for cultural autonomy (1903). Nevertheless, he later met with antisemitic comments by members of his party.⁴⁵

Tzara faced attacks in which the negative attitude to Dada was intermingled with the negative attitude to his Jewishness, so that Dada and Jewishness came to be viewed as inseparable. André Gide's remarks in *La Nouvelle Revue Française* are quite astounding:

It's a pity.

I'm told he's a very young man.

Apparently he's charming. (Marinetti was irresistible too.) I'm told he is a foreigner. — I find that easy to believe. Jewish. — Just what I was about to say. I'm told he doesn't use his real name; and I can well believe that Dada itself is nothing but a pseudonym.

Dada — is the deluge, after which everything begins again. Naturally foreigners aren't much interested in our French culture. It's up to the legitimate heirs to protest: the former have everything to gain, the latter everything to lose.⁴⁶

Mark Polizzotti aptly evaluates Gide's review as a "condescension rub[bing] shoulders with antisemitism."⁴⁷ One of the condescending devices used is that Gide refrains from mentioning Tzara by name although he does name Marinetti. Furthermore, he openly says that this person who is Jewish is someone who hides his identity and his real name. The subtext also shrewdly suggests the motivation for the need to have a pseudonym.

On the ideological level we encounter here a formulation of modern antisemitism. Classical antisemitism denounced the Jews for setting them-

selves apart from society, for being different, adhering to particularistic norms and customs. But the enlightened Jew advocating universalism posed threats of an opposite nature: universalism threatening local, national, religious values. Tzara's universal nihilism presented such a threat to traditional French culture as can be seen in Gide's claim that "naturally foreigners aren't much interested in our French culture." The historical irony is that Jewish assimilation and integration in Western Christian society often meant the rejection of Jewish particularism. But because the ticket for integration was universalism, at the same time it posed a threat to the particularistic Western Christian culture to which Jews wished to be absorbed.

In Gide's claim that foreigners are not interested in "our French culture," what is implied in the context of Tzara's Dadaist texts is that the language this foreigner used is different. In this respect Gide conveyed the belief that Jews either know all the languages or have no language at all and that they have a hidden language of their own that could corrupt the national language in the country where Jews lived at a certain period.⁴⁸

Nonetheless, the most dramatic events that show the problematics of Tzara's identity in terms of his fellow artists occurred during the "Congress of Paris" (1921) in which the final break with Dada took place. A reading of the material describing the proceedings of the congress⁴⁹ discloses that Tzara was not accepted as part of the society to which he attempted to belong. When he acted in opposition to Breton's initiative in founding "a congress for the determination and defense of the modern spirit," the arguments deployed by the latter against him were similar to Gide's accusations. The ad hominem arguments exclude him as an "Other," claiming that he was different. Just as Gide avoided mentioning Tzara's name, so does Breton when he wished to disavow his Dadaist colleague. In acrimonious language Breton expressed himself "against the maneuverings of a publicity-mongering imposter known as the 'promoter' of the movement from Zurich whom it is not useful to name in any other way and who has nothing to do with the current reality."⁵⁰ Breton, as everyone knew, was talking about Tzara but did not see him worthy of a name. Tzara is perceived as a foreigner who does not belong. Although Breton does not explicitly say that Tzara is a Jew, as did Gide, the subtext was clear. Furthermore, his suggestion that Tzara is an "imposter," echoed Gide's insinuation that he was an illegitimate heir.

Tzara's reply to Breton after what he had to say in the Congress of Paris

showed that he fully understood the insinuation that he was an alien: "An 'international' congress which reproaches someone for being a foreigner no longer has a reason to exist."⁵¹ Breton later withdrew the accusations and admitted that he used "*une périphrase Malheureuse*" that associated him with "*nationalisme*" and "*xenophobia*."⁵²

Ruth Brandon's contemporary reading of the subtext of Breton's attack sees the severity of Breton's accusations "as unforgivable in France's xenophobic, post-war, post-Dreyfus atmosphere, doubly so."⁵³ Polizzotti sees the accusation as "smack[ing] a little too much of Xenophobia."⁵⁴ With Dada's cosmopolitanism and antinationalism, Breton's reaction in a state of cultural crisis does not conform to these lofty ideals.

Breton's sentiments toward the congress contrast with statements in his early letters in which he urged Tzara to leave Zurich and come to Paris. He shared his thoughts with Picabia, to whom he wrote that he was waiting for the arrival of Tzara: "Je l'attends comme je n'ai peut-être attendu personne."⁵⁵ Breton's oblique reference to Tzara as the person "just arrived from Zurich" certainly marks a change of heart. To the fellow Dadaist, Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, in his recounting of Dada history, mentioned that "Picabia had called him a 'Jew.'"⁵⁶ In another instance, Pierre de Massot, Breton's faithful lieutenant during the congress wrote an article in the Belgian review *Ça ira* calling him "that little Rumanian Jew."⁵⁷ Writing recently, Herbert Lotterman aptly notes that Picabia's description of Tzara as "this modernist of light complexion and greasy hair . . . underscored Tzara's Jewish origins."⁵⁸ Indeed, this description (an indirect reference avoiding mention by name) is based on the stereotypical bodily appearance of the Jew with "greasy hair," adding the negative value sign to the Jewish essence. The exterior stands for the mind.⁵⁹

Tzara's Physical Self-image

Tzara himself made fun of these stereotypes in the "Manifesto of rm.aa the anti-philosopher" that was read in Paris in February 1920, revealing that he was self-conscious about the way he was physically perceived by his milieu:

Have a good look at me!
I'm an idiot, I'm a practical joker, I'm a hoaxer.
Have good look at me!

I'm ugly, my face has no expression, I'm small.
I'm like all the rest!⁶⁰

In line with Dada's rules of the game, this ironic poem, a verbal self-portrait, is that of a man who is eager to shock, and to overturn the norm according to which beauty is the topic of art. Even so, he openly puts on the table that which he felt was being said about him.

The awareness of one's Jewish looks as part of the reaction to what one "should" look like can be compared with that of the composer/painter Arnold Schoenberg. In Schoenberg's case, the awareness is projected in his self-portraits, many of which were painted in 1910, as part of his quest for his identity as an artist and his ethnic and religious heritage.⁶¹ Unlike Tzara, Schoenberg converted to Protestantism but later (1933) reclaimed his Jewish faith. In a series of letters to Kandinsky (1923), in which Schoenberg accuses Kandinsky of rejecting him as a Jew, Schoenberg makes a point of his appearance and of his looks: "[W]hen I walk along the street . . . each person looks at me to see whether I am a Jew or a Christian."⁶² Later, in 1937, Schoenberg writes: "I am small; I have short legs, I am bald having a central bald patch and a small crown of dark hair around it. My nose is big and hooked. I have dark big eyes, big eyebrows. My mouth is the best of me; I have usually hands crossed on the back, my shoulders are round." Both artists would fit Sander Gilman's description in his analysis of the Jewish body: "It is in being visible in the 'body that betrays,' that the Jew is most uncomfortable. For visibility means being seen not as an individual but as an Other, one of the 'ugly' race."⁶³ And as we have seen, Tzara uses the epithet "ugly" for his self-description, in blatant contrast to his intelligent handsome looks (see figs. 8.1 and 8.2).

For all their similarity—in spite of both Tzara's and Schoenberg's consciousness of their looks—the two texts differ. For Schoenberg the Jewish consciousness is an explicit part of his discourse. For Tzara, it is implicit. As part of a manifesto it has a declaratory function. Schoenberg complained that people were looking at him; Tzara invited people to look at him. However, in Tzara's manifesto there is, as one would expect, a surprise, a playful punch line. Following the description of all that is negative in him, he reversed the mirror to those who look at him: "I'm like all the rest." In other words, he becomes the mirror image of his milieu, fastening on the similarity between the "I" and the "rest," thereby annulling all differences. Rather than being "the Other," the different one, he presents himself as the norm.

Like Schoenberg, Tzara remained preoccupied with his looks even at a later time (Tzara in his post-Dada period and Schoenberg in his post-Vienna and Berlin period). It became the topic of the conclusion to his 1931 memoir. He ended his reminiscences with a recollection of a tour he made in Constantinople in the company of a Greek doctor who lived in Paris. The situation described is one of dramatic irony: the doctor boasts of having known Tristan Tzara, without being aware that he was actually talking to him. In response to Tzara's "innocent" question about what Tzara looked like, the doctor responded that "he is tall and blond," which led to Tzara's concluding comment: "I couldn't keep from laughing, because I am small and dark."⁶⁴ In other words, regardless of whether this story actually happened or Tzara had made it up, we can learn from it that by constantly raising the issue of his looks he continuously made one aware that he did not fit certain ideal standards.

The Jewish-Rumanian critic Ovid Crohmălniceanu (pseudonym for Moses Cohen), in an attempt to answer the question, "What was Jewish in Tzara?" related the self-degrading ironic verbal self-portrait to Jewish humor, which is based on verbal self-whipping, skepticism, and irony as a substitute for physical aggressiveness. Hence, according to him, it is also, closely associated with Dada's "black humor."⁶⁵

And yet, Man Ray was the one to capture artistically the sense of danger hovering over Tzara. The *Portrait of Tristan Tzara* (1921), places him in suit and tie, vis-à-vis a towering photograph of a nude woman. As if to compensate for his lack of height, Tzara is seen smoking a cigarette seated on a high window; his feet rest on a ladder. His body foreshortened, his handsome intelligent face and cyclopic eye look down anxiously. On the manifest level, this portrait insinuates the male-female juxtaposition and alludes to the femme fatale. However, the axe and the clock, tied to the wall and hovering above Tzara's head threateningly, evoke more than memories of Salome. Clock, axe, and ladder connecting Tzara to the theme of Vanitas also suggest that Tzara's time may be up (clock); his head, representing his intellect, is about to be chopped off (axe); and that he may have climbed too high (ladder), by being in the forefront of the avant-garde. His feet resting on an unstable ladder may be at risk of tripping. Beyond the humor and the unexpected Dada combination of man and object, Man Ray's coded comment makes visual Tzara's state of mind in 1921 and his awareness that his days of glory were about to be over.

Universalism versus Particularism: "The Non-Jewish Jew"

The concept of the "Non-Jewish Jew," coined by Isaac Deutscher, can also be applicable to Tzara. Deutscher included Spinoza, Heine, Marx, Rosa Luxembourg, Trotsky, and Freud among those who transcended the boundaries of Judaism. Looking for universal principles, they all became major intellectual thinkers who influenced Western thought. Their mode of thinking was fertilized by living on the borderlines of epochs, in the margins of their societies, being "in society and yet not in it, of it and yet not of it." As such, they rose above their societies and opened new perspectives. Their rootlessness and their deep appreciation of the intellectual tradition as well as their quest for a governing principle for *all* mankind, however, did not spare them persecution and intolerance.⁶⁶

Applying Deutscher's analysis to Tzara, we can see that Tzara's anti-intellectual posture is well grounded within an intellectual tradition. The paradoxical aspect of his manifestos inheres in the use of logical arguments to refute logic. Furthermore, his Dadaist nihilism is applicable to all mankind. He changed his name and advocated universalism, wishing to integrate into society. Tzara lived on the fringes of society, born a Jew in Rumania, a country known for its intolerance to Jews. He originally wrote poems in Rumanian. He was no different from other Jewish artists who, because they were not integrated in their country, turned to the language of the avant-garde or left their countries for a supposedly more accommodating environment. And yet, breaking away from his Jewish background, his country of birth, and writing in French, he was often conceived of as "Rumanian," "oriental," "Jew," "a foreigner," or as someone whose name or religion were not to be mentioned but alluded to through euphemisms.

In his manifestos, Tzara advocated universal nihilism: his place in the development of the avant-garde cannot be appreciated enough. In no way do I mean to detract from his writings any of the universalism inherent in the metaphors he used. Still, I inquire whether there are any implicit Judaic concepts or values embedded in the way he articulated his universalism. Did his use of language reveal another layer of meaning that added a Jewish dimension? In the quotation from his 1918 manifesto mentioned above, there are four phrases to which we should pay further attention. These are: "DADA the abolition of memory," "DADA the abolition of prophets," "DADA the abolition of the future," "DADA can enable *you* to

escape from destiny.” Beside the obvious universal connotations of the terminology used here, I suggest a reading that highlights those expressions having a particular meaning within Judaism. I refer particularly to “memory,” “prophets,” and “destiny.” As for the first, Judaism is *the* religion of memory. The central place of memory within the Jewish tradition has been the subject of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi’s remarkable book, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*.⁶⁷ The starting point for his study is the Hebrew word *Zakhor*: “Remember,” a command pivotal in the Hebrew Bible where it appears one hundred and sixty-nine times complemented by the command to refrain from forgetting.⁶⁸ God reveals himself in concrete historical events rather than in the metaphysical or natural order of things. Hence memory and the investment of the past with historical meaning are the primary expressions of Jewish religious faith rather than the recognition of God’s glory as the Creator of the Universe. In injunctions such as “Remember the days of old, consider the years of ages past” (Deut. 32:7), “Remember that you were a slave in Egypt,” the command is uttered unequivocally. Genealogical trees are constantly reiterated. The implications of some of the commands to remember are often ironic, deflating of national pride, as the focus is on how things have happened.⁶⁹ Furthermore, as Yerushalmi writes: “Indeed in trying to understand the survival of a people that has spent most of its life in global dispersion . . . the history of its memory, might prove of some consequence.”⁷⁰

The prophets are the predictors of the future as well as the foremost agents of the collective memory. The importance attached to the chronological look backward is counterbalanced by the focal place assigned to the prophets in the Hebrew Scriptures, as the prophets also project the future. In other words, meaning is seen in terms of the past (memory) and the future — not the present.

As for “destiny” or “fate,” Tzara, the previous philosophy student, presents it in a form of a formally invalid syllogism.

No one can escape destiny

No one can escape DADA

Only Dada can make you escape destiny⁷¹

Beyond the play of wit, the showing off of his command of logic, Tzara is “syllogistically” using “escape” three times. It is relevant here, that as a result of a history of persecution, the Jewish people, more than any other people, see themselves in the perspective of the inescapable and the unavoidable, as the people who cannot evade their destiny.

It seems therefore significant that Tzara uses terminology that is part and parcel of Judaic thinking and yet subjects these very concepts to his nihilistic attack. “Memory,” “prophets,” and “destiny” are, according to Tzara’s manifesto, to be abolished. Nihilism is seen here as an ahistoric concept, a means of overcoming the oppressive past. Herein lies the paradox: not wanting to share Jewish memory, rejecting the legacy of the prophets — and most important, as is relevant to his actual life, putting a special emphasis on escaping destiny — Tzara cannot avoid using terminology with strong resonance for Jews. Part of the terminology used in his manifesto indicates that he had interiorized some basic concepts within Judaism highly representative of the fate of the people from whom he wished to be disassociated. This is a typical Dadaist paradoxical position; by attacking these concepts he also revealed his knowledge precisely of that which he wished to forget. Furthermore, ironically, in the totality of his ideological position and in the fury animating his 1918 manifesto, he sounded like a secular prophet: “destroy the drawers of the brain, and those of social organizations: to sow demoralization everywhere, and throw heaven’s hand into hell, hell’s eye’s into heaven.”⁷² But also, “every man must shout: there is great destruction, negative work to be done. To sweep, to clean,”⁷³ a line that echoes many utterances by the prophet Isaiah, such as “for all the tables full of vomit and filth so that there is no place clean.” (Isaiah: 23:7). Moreover, Dada’s furious anti-idolatry stance is well grounded in the Jewish tradition.⁷⁴

Did Tzara Escape His Destiny?

Did Tzara manage to be absorbed in the universal world? He visited Russia in 1929. His interest in Marxism made him join the socialist-communist movement in 1935. His support of the antifascist cause in Spain brought him to Barcelona in 1936 where, working in collaboration with Christian Zervos, he compiled a catalogue of the art treasures of Catalonia for the Catalan government. Thus he brought many of the treasures to safety. In 1937 Tzara was nominated secretary to the committee for the defense of Spanish culture and organized an international writers’ congress in Madrid.

Tzara’s reaction to World War II was to join the French Resistance with the National Writers Committee. False papers enabled him to live in Souillac from 1942 to 1944, where he edited and published clandestine magazines. Here he published under the name T. Tristan. In the last year of the

war Tzara held various official posts in the French Propaganda Service and was president of the Centre des Intellectuels in Toulouse. In joining the Resistance he differed from the Surrealist André Breton, who sought refuge from the war in the United States. After the war, Tzara gave a speech about Breton's absence during the war at the Sorbonne, "Le Surréalisme et l'après-Guerre." A group of Surrealists led by Breton led a demonstration against him.⁷⁵

In the light of the events that took place in the post-Dada period, we may ask whether Tzara changed his attitude to his Jewishness. The evidence shows that his own universalism remained constant and his attitude to his Jewish background did not alter after World War II. Getting to know Tzara in 1947, the poet Jack Lindsay described him as a Rumanian, symptomatically relegating the question of his Jewish background to a footnote. Tzara, according to this writer, "rather liked mystification about himself" and hence turned aside any query as to his ancestry by saying: "I was born a Rumanian." When speculating on the reason for this reply, Lindsay assumes that Tzara "was refusing to be involved in the sectarian issues of a country with so many national minorities as Rumania." Lindsay's interpretation, displacing the question of Jewish identity to the Rumanian minorities and, obviously, missing the hidden Jewish agenda, was ironically in line with Tzara's own act of denial.⁷⁶

Whereas Dadaist nihilism served Tzara well during World War I, in the post-Dada period, especially during and after the Spanish civil war and World War II, Tzara's language altered, expressing the belief that poetry ought to be committed to a social cause. In poems such as "The Weight of the World," written after World War II, there occur representations that could have been used to describe the horror of the Holocaust: "Dead people in lace / mangled packed liquefied / tossed on the rubbish-heap." Yet there is no explicit reference to the Jewish fate. His universalistic outlook remained constant, as can be seen in another context when Tzara drew all-inclusive moral conclusions from the Holocaust. From the fact that "there were people who placed masses of other people into gas-chambers and ovens," he learned about Man's nature.⁷⁷ This attitude is compatible with the way he related to his own family in Rumania. In a February 1946 letter to his sister, Tzara wrote: "I heard that you are all alright and you will understand my great worries for all of you during those dreadful years. I tried to write to you but do not know whether you got my post-cards."⁷⁸ Apparently he held fast to his universalism.

I conclude this essay on Tzara, the artist with the bruised eye, with the final universal lines of the poem "The Weight of the World:"

It's true I struggle on.
My love / the present and future love
the weight of the world.⁷⁹

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NOTES

1. Milly Heyd, "Tristan Tzara/Sami Rosenstock: The Hidden/Overt Jewish Agenda," *Les Cahiers Tristan Tzara 3* (2005): 98–109. Tom Sandqvist, *Dada East: The Romanians of Cabaret Voltaire* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006). I thank Dr. Leon Volivici from the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism at the Hebrew University for his help and for sharing with me his deep knowledge of the Rumanian scene. I am also grateful to Judith Avraham for her translations from Rumanian of the correspondence between Tzara and his family. Thanks are also owed A. B. Jaffe, who was generous in letting me consult the Tristan Tzara file, part of his archive for the study of Jewish-Rumanian poets and writers.
2. I have elaborated on Duchamp's "against paterfamilias" in "The Imago of the Artists' Father's: Duchamp vis-à-vis Cézanne," *Source* (Spring 2008): 40–48.
3. Milly Heyd, "Man Ray/Emmanuel Radnitsky: Who is Behind the Enigma of Isidore Ducasse?" in *Complex Identities: Jewish Consciousness and Modern Art*, ed. Matthew Baigell and Milly Heyd (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 115–141.
4. Leah Dickerman, ed., *Dada*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 22.
5. Amanda Hockensmith, Sabine Kriebel, with contribution of Isabel Kauenhoven, "Artists Biographies" in *ibid.*
6. Irina Atanasiu, "Vacances à Gârteni," *Les Cahiers Tristan Tzara*, ed. Vinea, no. 1 (Bucharest, 1998), 16. Irina, the daughter of Sami Rosenstock's father's sister, tells here the story as told by her mother.
7. *Tristan Tzara Primele Poeme/First Poems*, trans. with biographical outline by Michael Impey and Brian Swann (New York: New Rivers Press, 1976), 16. The translators were in contact with Tzara's son Christopher.
8. Harry Seiwert, *Marcel Janco* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), 48.
9. Henri Béhar, *Tristan Tzara: Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Flammarion, 1975) annotated by Henri Béhar, 115. See also *Chanson Dada: Tristan Tzara, Selected Poems*, trans. Lee Harwood (Boston: Black Widow Press, 2005).
10. According to Béhar in regard to the final choice of the name Tristan Tzara

("Triste au pays," lui demanda Sernet, et souriant: "Peut-être"); *Oeuvres Complètes*, 1:632.

11. Michael H. Impey, "Before and After Tzara," in *The Eastern Dada Orbit: Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Central Europe and Japan*, ed. Stephan Foster (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998), 128.

12. On Nietzsche's influences see, Robert E. Kuenzli, "The Semiotics of Dada Poetry," *Dada Spectrum: The Dialectics of Revolt*, ed. Stephen Foster and Rudolf Kuenzli (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1979), 15: ("Tzara! Tzara! Tzara! Tzara! . . . Thousand").

13. Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania* (Chicago: Ivan Dee, 2000), xviii.

14. Steven A. Mansbach, "The 'Foreignness' of Classical Modern Art in Romania," *Art Bulletin* 80 (September 1998): 536; for the complete article, see 534–554. Mansbach mistakenly refers to Tzara's original name as Sami Rosentein, not Sami Rosenstock.

15. *Ibid.*, 536.

16. *Contimporanul* 2, no. 27 (January 1923): 538.

17. Tzara's early poems were written in Rumanian and were published by Sacha Pana, *Primele Poeme* (Bucharest: Editore Unu, 1934). They were later translated to French by Claude Sernet, *Premiers Poèmes* (Paris: Seghers, 1965).

18. *Tristan Tzara: Primele Poeme/First Poems*, trans. Impey and Swann, 26. According to Impey "[a] remarkable series of poems written in Romanian a language which was not even his mother tongue, since he was of Jewish extraction" ("Preface," 10). "Je t'achèterai sans conditions des boucles d'oreilles / Chez des bijoutiers juifs" in *Premiers Poèmes*, in Henri Béhar, *Tristan Tzara: Oeuvres Complètes*, 1:65, trans. Claude Sernet.

19. *Tristan Tzara: Primele Poeme/First Poems*, trans. Impey and Swann, 33. The English translation reads, "Between two chestnut-trees laden like men leaving hospital / The Jewish cemetery grew—among boulders. / On the edge of town, on a hill / Graves crawl like worms" (26).

20. *Ibid.*, 76.

21. *Tristan Tzara: Seven Dada Manifestos and Lampisteries*, trans. Barbara Wright (London: John Calder, 1977), 13.

22. Emphasis in original.

23. On *Dada soulève tout*, see Michael Impey, "Preface," 13.

24. The *Biographical Notes* were intended for the anthology *Dadaglobe*. Published in English in *New-York Dada* (April 1921): 3. It was later published in *Les Cahiers Dada-Sur-réalisme* 1 (1966): 120–122. Also in *Oeuvres Complètes*, 581–582.

25. Arturo Schwarz, *Man Ray* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 56.

26. As for mixing politics and art, Man Ray changed his attitude from his early works such as *Mother Earth* (1914), done in America. For the study of the early works, see Francis Naumann, "Man Ray and the Ferrar Center: Art and Anarchy in the Pre-Dada period," in *New York Dada*, ed. Rudolf Kuenzli (New York: Willis Locker and Owens, 1986), 10–31.

27. Tristan Tzara, "Connais-toi est une utopie," *Sept manifestes DADA Lampisteries*

(Paris: Jean-Jacques Pauvert, 1963), 22. Originally published by author between 1917 and 1922.

28. Tristan Tzara, "Dada manifesto 1918," *ibid.*, 9. "La psychanalyse est une maladie dangereuse, endort les penchants anti-réels de l'homme" (28).

29. Tristan Tzara, "Open Letter to Jacques Rivière," in *Seven Dada Manifestos and Lampisteries*, 87. "Si l'on trouve un caractère commun à ceux qui font la littérature d'aujourd'hui, ce sera celui de l'anti-psychologie." Tristan Tzara, "Lettre ouvert à Jacques Rivière" in *Sept Manifestes DADA Lampisteries*, 116. First published in *Littérature* (December 1919).

30. Robert Short, "Paris Dada and Surrealism," in *Dada, Dada, Dada: Studies of a Movement*, ed. Richard Sheppard (Norfolk: Alpha Academic, 1979), 94.

31. The correspondence between Tzara and his family was published in Rumanian in the Bucharest *Aldebaran*, nos. 2–4 (1996): 15–22 (large A3 pages).

32. Hans Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 16.

33. *Ibid.*, 14.

34. *Ibid.*, 18–19.

35. *Ibid.*, 22. On the other hand, in Hugo Ball's diaries we find other instances in which the word "Jew" is used. A case in point is his reference to Heine: "Such a clear stylist as Heine could not deal with Germany; such a penetrating mind as Nietzsche's could not either. Neither a Jew nor a Protestant can. . . . Only a Catholic can do that." (10.viii, 1917) in Hugo Ball, *Flight Out of Time: A Dada Diary*, trans. Ann Raimés (New York: Viking, 1974), 125.

36. Hans Richter: "Dada XYZ . . . (1948)." The text was written especially for Robert Motherwell, ed. *The Dada Painters and Poets* (Boston: Wittenborn Schultz, 1981), 287.

37. Hans Richter, *Hans Richter by Hans Richter*, ed. Cleve Gray (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).

38. Marion von Hofacker, "Chronology," in Stephen C. Foster, ed., *Hans Richter: Activism, Modernism, and the Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), 240, 265.

39. Tristan Tzara, "Open Letter to Jacques Rivière," in *Tristan Tzara Seven Dada Manifestos and Lampisteries*, 87; emphases in original.

40. This response was first published in *Nouvelle Revue Française*, 1 September 1919, 636; also referred to in Polizzotti, *Revolution of the Mind: The Life of André Breton* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), 114.

41. Man Ray, "L'âge de la lumière," *Minotaure* 3–4 (December 1933; Arturo Schwarz Library, Israel Museum Collection): 1–5.

42. Michael Impey "Preface," 10.

43. *Littérature* 9 (November 1919): 1. Published in Polizzotti, *Revolution of the Mind*, 116.

44. The quotation from *Revue de L'époque* (1920) is cited in Henri Béhar, Michael Carassou, *Dada Histoires D'une Subversion* (Mensil-sur-l'Estré, 1990), 58. The title is "Should the Dadaists Be Shot." The text reads, "In reality, the great Dadaist master was the Jew, Braunstein, says Trotsky. Therefore, I refrain from giving my opinion

regarding the subject or the Dadaists. Was Trotsky shot or hung? The disciples should follow the master's fate" (trans. by Renee Baigell).

45. The gap between Trotsky's universal aspirations in his wish to transform mankind and the antisemitic insults he faced is discussed in Isaac Deutscher, *The Non-Jewish Jew* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 37.

46. Quoted in Ruth Brandon, *Surreal Lives: The Surrealists, 1917-45* (London: Macmillan, 1999), 143. André Gide, *Nouvelle Revue Française* (1 April 1920): 477.

47. Polizzotti, *Revolution of the Mind*, 135.

48. On the languages of the Jews in antisemitic discourse, see Sander Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York: Routledge, 1991), see esp. "The Jewish Voice," 1-10.

49. A detailed chronology of the congress is outlined in the chapter "Le 'Congrès de Paris,'" in Michel Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 331-359. Also Bibliothèque nationale (NAF 14316).

50. The text was published in *Comoedia* on 7 January 1922. Quoted in Michel Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, 341. The translation here is by Marx Polizzotti in *The Lost Steps: André Breton, Les Pas Perdus* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 164.

51. "La Ville at les arts," *Paris-Midi* (14 February 1922), 2. Translated in William Canfield, *Francis Picabia: His Art, Life and Times* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), 179.

52. André Breton with André Parnaud, *Entretiens (1913-1952)* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1969), 70.

53. Brandon, *Surreal Lives*, 164.

54. Polizzotti, *Lost Steps*, xvi.

55. Breton's letter to Picabia dates from 4 January 1920. Reproduced in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, 539.

56. Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, "Histoires de dada," *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, nos. 213-214 (1931). Also published in English in Motherwell, ed., *Dada Painters and Poets*, 119 (trans. Ralph Manheim). The entire text reads: "In writing of Tzara, he [Breton] used pejoratively such terms as 'arrived from Zurich,' just as Picabia had called him a 'Jew.'" Breton accused Tzara of not being the father of Dada, of not writing the 1918 manifesto. Breton also "called Tzara a publicly-mad impostor."

57. Ruth Brandon, *Surreal Lives*, 167.

58. Herbert R. Lotterman, *Man Ray's Montparnasse* (New York: Abrams, 2001), 65.

59. On the Jew's body as "different," signifying corruption, see Gilman, *The Jew's Body*.

60. Tristan Tzara, *Seven Dada Manifestos and Lampisteries*, 23.

61. For a further elaboration see Milly Heyd, "Arnold Schoenberg's Self-portraits between 'Iconism' and 'Anti-Iconism': The Jewish Christian Struggle," in *Ars Judaica* 1(2005): 133-147.

62. Schoenberg's letter of 24 April 1923 to Kandinsky in Jelena Hahl-Koch, ed. *Arnold Schoenberg, Wassily Kandinsky; Letters, Pictures and Documents* trans. John C. Crawford (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), 78.

63. Gilman, *Jew's Body*, 193.

64. Tristan Tzara, "Memoirs of Dadaism," (1931); the story is in the introduction to Motherwell, ed., *Dada Painters and Poets*, xxv.

65. Ovid S. Crohmălniceanu, "Ce a rămas din Samuel Rosenstock in Tristan Tzara," *Revista Culturii Mozaic* 1 (February 1987): 7; no. 662 published in Bucharest.

66. Deutscher, *The Non-Jewish Jew*, 24-41. See esp. 26, 27, 33.

67. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982).

68. *Ibid.*, 5.

69. *Ibid.*, 13.

70. *Ibid.*, 5.

71. In the original:

personne ne peut échapper au sort

Personne ne peut échapper à DADA

Il n'y a que DADA qui puisse vous faire échapper au sort

(Tristan Tzara, *Sept Manifestes DADA Lampisteries*, 80)

72. Tristan Tzara, "Dada manifesto 1918," 8. The original reads: "Je détruis les tiroirs du cerveau et ceux de l'organisation sociale: démoraliser partout et jeter la main du ciel en enfer, les yeux de l'enfer au ciel, rétablir la roue féconde d'un cirque universel dans les puissance réelles et la fantaisie de chaque individu" (*ibid.*, 27).

73. Tristan Tzara, "Dada manifesto 1918," 12.

74. See also Crohmălniceanu, "Ce a rămas."

75. Impey and Swann, *Tristan Tzara: Primela Poeme/First Poems*, 18.

76. Jack Lindsay, *Meetings with Poets* (London: Frederick Muller, 1968), 224-225n.

77. Cited by Crohmălniceanu, "Ce a rămas."

78. Private translation from Tzara's letter reproduced in *Aldebaran*, nos. 2-4 (1996): 17; special edition dedicated to Vinea-Tzara, published in Bucharest in Rumanian.

79. "The Weight of the World," in *Chanson Dada*, 95-99. For the lines referred to here see 97, 99. The poem "Le poids du monde," in *Mémoire d'homme* (Paris: Editions Bords, 1950).