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Ilana Y. Zinguer and Sam W. Bloom, Eds., *L'antisémitisme éclairé. Inclusion et exclusion depuis l'Epoque des Lumières jusqu'à l'affaire Dreyfus / Inclusion and Exclusion: Perspectives on Jews from the Enlightenment to the Dreyfus Affair.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003. xi + 469 pp. Bibliography and index. €105.00, \$142.00 U.S. (hb). ISBN 90-04-12972-3.

Review by Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, California State University at San Marcos.

In 1968, in a book entitled *The French Enlightenment and the Jews*, Arthur Hertzberg threw down the gauntlet to historians of French Jewry and of the Enlightenment. Despite the Enlightenment's reputation for tolerance, Hertzberg contended, modern antisemitism arose not from counter-Enlightenment and counterrevolution but from "within the Enlightenment and Revolution themselves." "The era of Western history that began with the French Revolution ended in Auschwitz," he declared. Hertzberg attributed particular responsibility for this development to Voltaire, whom he called "the major link in Western intellectual history between the anti-Semitism of classic paganism and the modern age."^[1] Hertzberg's criticism of the Enlightenment, which struck at the movement's core, was contested immediately, even as some scholars have continued to praise it. Despite the work's oversimplifications, it remains the most complete history of eighteenth-century French Jewry, a work with which any student of the subject must grapple.

L'antisémitisme éclairé / Inclusion and Exclusion revisits the issues raised by Hertzberg. The volume is based on a 2001 Haifa conference which drew an international and interdisciplinary group of scholars. Two factors made the gathering particularly timely: the new wave of antisemitic violence which had just broken out in France, and increased tensions between France and Israel, as Israelis felt that lingering antisemitism was spurring the French to demonize them and glorify Palestinians. Israel was also an apt site for the conference, since, as Jean-Yves Mollier reminds us, modern Zionism was spurred in no small part by Dreyfus-era antisemitism, which convinced many Jews that they had no future in Europe (pp. 250-1). Though the editors note that, at the conference, participants pointed out that it was anachronistic to use the term antisemitism to cover phenomena stretching back into the early modern period (p. xi), they retained this title for the conference's published proceedings. Just as the conference aimed to examine both French antisemitism and ideas of "inclusion and exclusion" of Jews more generally, the volume contains a range of articles, exploring Gentile views of Jews (both positive and negative) as well as Jewish attitudes towards emancipation.^[2] Slightly over half of the articles are in French, with the rest in English. While the volume is centered on France, a few essays treat other parts of the world.

L'antisémitisme éclairé is organized into six sections: "Les temps modernes"; "L'époque des lumières, pré-Révolution"; "Révolution"; "La France du XIXe siècle et autour de l'affaire Dreyfus"; "Europe et outre-mer"; and "Antisémitisme ou antimodernisme?" The first section begins with Pierre Birnbaum's "Un antisémitisme à la française?", which is also labeled as the volume's introduction, though it does not discuss the other essays. In this intriguing essay, the noted sociologist asks whether one can speak of a specifically French path of antisemitism (p. 5), growing out of France's particular political arrangements; in posing the question in this way, he seeks to avoid Daniel Goldhagen's emphasis on national character.^[3] Birnbaum argues that modern political antisemitism arose in France--where it had its "apogee" (p. 7)--rather than in Germany. Like other contributors, he calls political antisemitism a modern phenomenon: a reaction to emancipation and not merely a continuation of traditional religious and economic anti-Judaism. To him, it is therefore understandable that antisemitism grew most vehemently in a country where Jews were emancipated first and where their integration met the greatest success (because of the meritocracy required by republican logic), even as it produced less physical violence than in some other locales.

Birnbaum's essay is followed by two articles on the seventeenth century. Both allude to a central theme emerging from the volume: the difficulty of reducing early modern and modern ideas about the Jews, which were almost never universally positive, to labels like "philosemitic" or "antisemitic." Ilana Zinguer argues that Montaigne seems to have deplored how Jews were treated in his time even if he did not speak publicly about it. Christiane Berkvens-

Stevelinck explores the multiple contacts between Protestants and Jews in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, while noting that Christian involvements with Jews were based on a desire to convert them.

The next section, on the Enlightenment and pre-Revolution, focuses on particular thinkers. Testing Hertzberg's findings, the authors weigh to what extent each thinker was sympathetic or hostile toward Jews. Allan Arkush argues that, just as Voltaire's ideas were too complex to be characterized simply as anti-Jewish, Montesquieu's views of Jews were similarly ambivalent.[4] Paul Benhamou presents the career of the abbé Guénée, a bestselling author he highlights as a philosemitic foil to Voltaire (though it could be argued that Guénée was chiefly defending Jews in order to mock the tolerant pretensions of the philosophes). Other figures treated in this section are Jean Le Pelletier, a scholar analyzed by Isabelle Martin, who criticized eighteenth-century pictorial representations of Biblical Jews; and Johann David Michaelis, the notoriously anti-Jewish German Orientalist, whom Dominique Borel uses to illustrate the phenomenon of "scholarly Judaeophobia" (p. 125).

The central figure in the pre-revolutionary section is, logically enough, Voltaire, who forms the subject of two essays. In an extraordinarily thoughtful piece, Harvey Chisick compares Voltaire's and Rousseau's attitudes towards the Jews (something especially valuable given the paucity of studies on the latter). Transcending the question of whether these writers were antisemitic or not, Chisick highlights the complexities of their views on Jews, and the way their attitudes help illustrate Enlightenment views of "community, inclusion and exclusion" more generally (p. 77). While not ignoring Voltaire's frequently expressed hostility toward Jews, Chisick dissents from Hertzberg's central claim about the Enlightenment, insisting that the sources of ultranationalism and racism "are best sought outside a movement whose master fictions were cast in terms of universal humanity and liberal individualism" (p. 103). Adam Sutcliffe also challenges the Hertzbergian thesis but from a different angle. While retaining a harsh view of Voltaire, whom he terms an "obsessive and violent exponent" of anti-Judaism (p. 123), Sutcliffe contends that Voltaire's views on Jews were not original or seminal, but simply derived from the clandestine manuscripts of the early Enlightenment. The Revolution section includes an essay on another figure with complex attitudes towards the Jews: the abbé Henri Grégoire. Rita Hermon-Belot seeks to defend Grégoire against Hertzberg and other historians whom she feels have read his ideas out of context. She highlights the role of Christian figurism in Grégoire's worldview, and emphasizes the sincerity of his interest in Jews.[5]

The Revolution section also includes an essay which should be of great interest to all historians of France: Ouzi Elyada's piece on images of Jews in the right-wing press during the Revolution. Building on work he has done previously, Elyada traces the evolution of anti-Jewish sentiment in right-wing newspapers, noting that writers did not originally care that much about the issue of Jewish citizenship and were sometimes sympathetic to them. After December 1789, however, an anti-Jewish campaign became central to the Right's efforts to defeat the Revolution; conservative journalists drew upon traditional anti-Jewish beliefs to turn undecided French men and women against the Revolution. They depicted it as a Jewish conspiracy which sought to corrupt society; they discredited the constitutional bishops by suggesting that they would take their episcopal oaths in synagogues and soon be circumcised. Rather than being only a footnote to the Revolution, Elyada contends, anti-Jewish rhetoric helped cement the idea that the revolutionaries aimed to annihilate Catholic France.[6]

The Dreyfus Affair and other allegations of Jewish conspiracy form the subject of several essays in the book's next section. Alain Goldschläger presents a typology of recurring themes in conspiracy theories about Jews, while Jacques-Charles Lemaire explores accusations of Jewish-Masonic plots in late nineteenth-century French literature. Robert Kaplan offers a new reading of the political climate which produced the Affair, while Jean-Yves Mollier, in an extremely rich essay, shows how increased literacy and late nineteenth-century forms of print helped spur it. Echoing Birnbaum, Mollier (like Ruthie Eitan, in her essay on the German Hep-Hep Riots later in this volume) also emphasizes the way nineteenth-century antisemitism departed from older forms of anti-Judaism. Other essays on nineteenth-century antisemitism include Sam W. Bloom's analysis of representations of Jewish antisemitism in the writings of Anatole France and Marcel Proust, and Michael Berkowitz's brief essay suggesting that anti-Jewish discourses in Britain and the United States may have had a greater impact in fostering antisemitism elsewhere than has previously been acknowledged. Finally, Jean-Marc Joubert compares Charles Maurras's strain of antisemitism with that of other antisemites, concluding, somewhat problematically, that it was more "benign" and "*une oeuvre de raison*" (pp. 347, 336).

The nineteenth-century section also includes two essays focusing more properly on the “Inclusion and Exclusion” theme. Bertram Schwarzbach presents a Jewish thinker named Samuel Cahen (who, he feels compelled to point out, was not an irreligious *maskil* but someone with “impeccable Jewish credentials” [p. 187]), who freely integrated Enlightenment ideas into his Biblical scholarship. Richard Menkis introduces the reader to Abraham de Sola, a nineteenth-century Canadian-Jewish leader who embraced the idea that Jews could integrate into Canadian society while retaining their Jewishness, though he had some private doubts about the dangers of assimilation.

The section on “Europe et outre-mer” goes even further beyond France, to Germany, Italy, and turn-of-the-century Palestine. Jeffrey Andrew Barash compares Leopold von Ranke and Heinrich von Treitschke, arguing that Treitschke’s historiographical perspective was more narrowly nationalist and thus more hostile to Jews than Ranke’s relativistic one. Marie-Anne Matard-Bonnucci uses correspondence between Alliance Israélite Universelle offices in Italy and Paris to illustrate the persistence of antisemitism in Italy even after Jews were emancipated during the Risorgimento. In a study of the French Assumptionist congregation in Ottoman and British Mandate Jerusalem, Dominique Trimbur offers one of the most fascinating contributions to the volume. He presents an exceptional case study in the history of clerical antisemitism: residing in a majority Jewish city, the Assumptionists had a greater opportunity to test their anti-Jewish stereotypes than their metropolitan counterparts. Though Trimbur highlights the Assumptionists’ hostility towards Jews and their general refusal to abandon their stereotypical attitudes, he nevertheless shows that they were occasionally sympathetic toward Jews and even toward Zionism, which they saw as a solution to the “Jewish problem” even as it threatened to derail their hopes for a christianized Holy Land purified of Jews.

The final contribution in the volume is Antoine Compagnon’s engrossing piece “Antisémitisme ou antimodernisme? Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, Bernard Lazare, Léon Bloy.” In a revisionist reading of late nineteenth-century antisemitism, Compagnon seeks to complicate the idea that antisemitism was a reaction against modernism, and to expose the fragile boundary between “philosemitism” and “antisemitism” in the late nineteenth century.

On the whole, *L’antisémitisme éclairé* is a valuable collection, revealing impressive research by its contributors and providing much food for thought. It would have been helpful, however, if the editors had offered a more substantial overview of the volume. In their *avant-propos*, they do note that most of the contributions ended up focusing on antisemitism even though their original goal had been broader; they also conclude that when people scapegoat Jews, it is generally to express opposition to some other phenomenon (p. xi). However, the *avant-propos* is only three paragraphs and does not analyze connections between particular essays. Some of the issues which could have been addressed in such a rich compilation include: What is antisemitism as opposed to anti-Judaism? What are the boundaries of the Enlightenment, and what does it mean to talk about “enlightened antisemitism” or even an “enlightened anti-philosophe,” a term offered by Benhamou? To what extent is the term philosemitism still useful as a foil to antisemitism? Were French thinkers on Jews substantially different from other Europeans?

After the success of the organizers in gathering so impressive a group of scholars at so historic a moment, it is also somewhat disappointing not to get a greater glimpse into the flavor of the conference. Only in a few places do the essays hint at the interchanges and debates which took place in Haifa. In addition to the editors’ reference to debates about the term antisemitism, Chisick refers to a seemingly tangential audience question which he later realized was of crucial significance, while Schwarzbach’s spirited essay reveals an effort to challenge the hostility of certain Orthodox Jews—including unspecified conference spectators—toward “Western thinking.”

Finally, one can be forgiven for wishing that the editors and contributors had used their research to speak more directly to the current political situation in France, something done only in Birnbaum’s essay. At a time when Jews abroad sometimes misjudge the extent of French antisemitism, while many French non-Jews dismiss it as a problem confined to a few heavily Muslim Paris *banlieues* (ignoring the way, for instance, that *sale juif* has become an epithet of choice among pupils throughout the country, applied even to non-Jews), more informed public commentary on the history of Jews and of antisemitism in France is sorely needed.[7] The contributors could thus have enhanced the usefulness of their collection had they tackled these issues more explicitly. Nevertheless, though many of the individual contributions are too specialized for the general public and for students, *L’antisémitisme éclairé* remains an essential collection for specialists of French Jewry, destined to take a place of honor among other collective works such as those edited by Bernhard Blumenkranz and Albert Soboul, Myriam Yardeni, Frances Malino and Bernard Wasserstein, and Evelyne Oliel-Grausz and Mireille Hadas-Lebel. Historians of the

Enlightenment, Revolution and late nineteenth-century France will also profit from a selective reading of the volume.[8]

LIST OF ESSAYS

- Ilana Zinguer and Sam W. Bloom, “Avant-Propos”

LES TEMPS MODERNES

- Pierre Birnbaum, “Introduction: Un Antisémitisme à la française?”
- Ilana Zinguer, “Montaigne et le Carnaval de Rome”
- Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, “En Relatif dialogue: Juifs et remonstrants à Amsterdam au XVIIe Siècle”

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- Allan Arkush, “Montesquieu: A Precursor of Jewish Emancipation?”
- Paul Benhamou, “Antiphilosophes éclairés et les Juifs”
- Harvey Chisick, “Community and Exclusion in Rousseau and Voltaire: The Case of the Jews”
- Isabelle Martin, “Autour de la représentation du Grand Prêtre des Juifs au XVIIIe siècle d’après Le Pelletier”
- Adam Sutcliffe, “Voltaire in Context: The Emergence of Antijudaic Rhetoric in the French Early Enlightenment”
- Dominique Bourel, “La Judéophobie savante dans l’Allemagne des Lumières: Johann David Michaelis”

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- Ouzi Elyada, “La Rhétorique antijuive dans la presse contre-révolutionnaire 1789-1792”
- Rita Hermon-Belot, “L’abbé Grégoire et les juifs, réforme sociale et attente spirituelle”

LA FRANCE DU XIXe SIÈCLE ET AUTOUR DE L’AFFAIRE DREYFUS

- Bertram Eugene Schwarzbach, “Samuel Cahen’s Bible Commentary”
- Alain Goldschläger, “Prolégomènes pour une théorie de la conspiration”
- Jacques-Charles Lemaire, “Le Thème du complot judéo-maçonnique dans le roman français (1870 – 1900)”
- Jean-Yves Mollier, “Les Armes de l’antisémitisme à la fin du XIXe siècle dans l’espace francophone: presse, édition, chansons, caricatures”
- Michael Berkowitz, “Rags and Riches, or Bogeymen of the Bourse: Antisemitism and the Abstract Economy in England, the United States, France and Central Europe, 1720 – 1900”
- Ruthie Eitan, “A Duel of Victorious Violence?”
- Sam W. Bloom, “Paradigms of Jewish Antisemitism: Anatole France and Marcel Proust”
- Robert Kaplan, “A Brief Political History of France in the 1890s”
- Richard Menkis, “‘In This Great, Happy and Enlightened Colony’: Abraham de Sola on Jews, Judaism and Emancipation in Victorian Montreal”
- Jean-Marc Joubert, “L’Antisémitisme d’État de Charles Maurras”

EUROPE ET OUTRE-MER

- Jeffrey Andrew Barash, “German Historiography, 19th Century German National Identity and the Jews”

- Dominique Trimbur, “Les Communautés catholiques françaises de Palestine, les Juifs et le sionisme – 1880-1939”
- Marie-Anne Matard-Bonucci, “L’Italie à la fin du XIXe siècle: Un Eden pour les Juifs de religion italienne?”

ANTISÉMITISME OU ANTIMODERNISME?

- Antoine Compagnon, “Antisémitisme ou antimodernisme? Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, Bernard Lazare, Léon Bloy”

NOTES

[1] Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968): 5, 7, 10.

[2] Interestingly, only the Hebrew version of the conference title referred to antisemitism, while the English title suggested the broader theme of inclusion and exclusion [see the conference program at <http://research.haifa.ac.il/~french/colloques/Perspectives> (accessed July 2004)]. The program also shows that the volume includes most, but not all, of the papers presented in Haifa, along with some additional articles by scholars who did not attend.

[3] Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf/Random House, 1996).

[4] Arguing against Hertzberg, Arkush has concluded elsewhere that Voltaire was more anti-Catholic than he was anti-Jewish (“Voltaire on Judaism and Christianity,” *AJS Review* 18, no. 2 [1993]: 223 – 243).

[5] Sutcliffe’s analysis of the early Enlightenment is presented in further detail in his book *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For a fuller appraisal of Hermon-Belot’s arguments and her analysis of historiography on Grégoire, see my review of her book, *L’abbé Grégoire, la politique et la vérité*, in *Zion* LXVII, no. 1 (2002): 88-95 (in Hebrew) and my forthcoming *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution: The Making of Modern Universalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, February 2005), especially chapters 3, 4, 9 and epilogue.

[6] Elyada has analyzed this material elsewhere (see for example his “La presse parisienne et la question juive,” in *Juifs en France au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Bernhard Blumenkranz [Paris: Collection Franco-judaïca, 1994], 223-38), but his argument in this version has a sharper and more historiographically significant frame.

[7] The banalization of this term can be seen in the sample of reports at <http://www.crif.org/index02.php?id=3015&menu=&type=tout> (accessed July 2004), among other places.

[8] Bernhard Blumenkranz and Albert Soboul, eds., *Les Juifs et la Révolution française. Problèmes et aspirations* (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1976); Blumenkranz and Soboul, eds., *Le grand sanhédrin de Napoléon* (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1979); Myriam Yardeni, ed., *Les Juifs dans l’histoire de France: Premier colloque international de Haïfa* (Leiden: Brill, 1980); Frances Malino and Bernard Wasserstein, eds., *The Jews in Modern France* (Hanover, NH: for Brandeis University Press by University Press of New England, 1985); Evelyne Oliel-Grausz and Mireille Hadas-Label, eds., *Les Juifs et la Révolution française: Histoire et mentalités ; Actes du colloque tenu au Collège de France et à l’Ecole normale supérieure, les 16, 17 et 18 mai 1989* (Louvain: E. Peeters, 1992); and Blumenkranz, ed., *Juifs en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Collection Franco-judaïca, 1994).

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