

1 Clement Greenberg's modernist shadow

Clement Greenberg is the closest thing we have to a rabbi of "High Art": in his synagogue of abstraction the artist transcends ethnicity – and class – and everything – to find universal *gesundheit* through his "signature style": Frank Stella with the stripes; Newman with HIS stripes; Olitski with the drips . . . Abstraction is kosher; pop and kitsch, feh, treyf!¹

(Rhonda Lieberman, 2002)

This chapter focuses on Clement Greenberg, the New York art world's foremost Jewish critic during the postwar period, for the purposes of bringing to the surface the unacknowledged role of Jews and their negotiations of their place in the history of American art, the "New York art world," and art criticism. In this book, Greenberg serves as a place holder for naming a set of problems around the whitening of Jewish immigrants and immigrant culture in the United States, a process that indeed established a monolithic and flattened idea of Jewishness in the 1940s. The mechanisms through which the American art establishment banished specificity with claims to the universal, most notably through the writings of Greenberg, promoted art world dogmas and norms (Abstract Expressionism, the myth of the individual genius, New York as the center of the art world) that silenced Jewish specificity and Jewish identity, just as Jews were becoming, for the first time, a strong visible presence in the arts.

The anxiety about making Jewishness visible was felt widely among secular Jews in the second half of the twentieth century, and continues to create a fault line generationally among Jewish artists and critics (both men and women). For a number of the artists I write about in this book, Greenberg was a force they have had to contend with in the production and reception of their work. In the interviews I conducted with various women artists, especially the New York-based artists discussed in Chapter 5, many of them made reference to how the critical authority of Greenberg's writings loomed large for their generation and influenced their own history as artists. Rhonda Lieberman's statement above is suggestive of

how far her generation has come in terms of dealing directly with the unacknowledged role of assimilation and Jewish identity in the history of US contemporary art. She even goes so far as to parody Greenberg as the "rabbi of 'High Art' " who lays down the law of aesthetics almost as if they were Jewish dietary laws. This recent shift has been due in part to the growing scholarship, including my own, on questions of Jewishness and Greenberg that details how his art criticism emerges through and against historical discourses of ethnicity, race, nationalism, and gender.²

Greenberg stands out in my account because his art criticism became far more influential than that of his left-wing Jewish counterparts, owing in part to his drift in his career from the left to the right of the political spectrum during the McCarthy period, when his writing maintained a greater separation between art and politics. Throughout his career, he was nevertheless consistent in not wanting any notion of identity to be articulated primarily or purely through visual signifiers. Thus none of his writings on Jewishness are linked to his art criticism or specific artists. In some ways his emerging neoconservative views were reflected in his art criticism, and can be seen in his refusal to grant artistic or cultural context much place in his analysis of art, and his narrow definition of what was considered great art. By the late 1940s in a cultural atmosphere informed by anticommunist hysteria that made many artists' former socialist associations as well as their Jewishness suspect, it was certainly safer to believe that there was a firm separation between art, identity, and politics.

One of the legacies of this period is the image constructed by Greenberg of Abstract Expressionism in the 1940s as a "new indigenous school of symbolism,"³ or a purely American cultural product devoid of any ethnic determination, and thus by default, as it were, as white and all American. By omitting Jewishness from his art criticism through formalism and its aspirations to universality, Greenberg was able to erase ethnic differences and thus avoid the problem of having New York and its art critics be associated with "Jews."⁴ As Margaret Olin points out, "like other minority identities, Judaism enters into his criticism primarily to explain provinciality."⁵ It is in this respect that Greenberg contributed to what could be termed the whitening of Jewish artists in modern art in the 1940s.

To understand the shift from the 1930s to the 1940s is to comprehend how the status of Jews in the art world changed at a moment when Jews were accepted as white and American for the first time. This chapter links Greenberg's thinking on issues of aesthetics to the anxieties handed to him by the wider culture, namely, the traditions of European and American anti-Semitism, American nationalism, the Holocaust, and later, McCarthyism. These same demons were inherited by the women artists in this book.

Universalism and particularism

[Eastern European Jews] have been and still are the most particularist people on earth; yet they have been accused of making it their particular mission to destroy particularity, to internationalize, to create the brotherhood of man.⁶

(Clement Greenberg, 1943)

This statement by Greenberg emphasizes the contradictions and paradoxes of a certain US modernist Jewish dilemma as it was understood in the 1940s. Taking the perspective of the informed Jewish insider, Greenberg praises the Eastern and Central European Jews' predilection for a contradictory set of local and global attachments, as well as a discomfort with nationalism, particularly the historical European nationalism that assumes only a superficial recognition of Jews as authentic citizens of the nation. To circumvent the national, Greenberg celebrates a discourse of universal humanism that "produce[s] the supreme example of the gratuitous and disinterested man."⁷ He is referring here to the lack of self-interest on the part of Jews who advocated a discourse of universal humanism that would erase all difference.

Greenberg's interest in the contradictions inherent in a certain Jewish subjectivity appears within the larger context of his critique of the (anti-Semitic) view that cast Jews as outsiders, people with a hidden language and manner of thinking that makes them "devious."⁸ One of the ways Greenberg tackles this stereotype is by delineating the complexity of the very idea of the Jew and of the Jewish response to this projection of difference:

The last thing the Jew is, is tricky, and the last thing he thinks of is his front to the world. The ostentatious Jew – that myth of the Anglo-Saxon world – is ostentatious only about his wealth, and unlike maharajas and Vanderbilts, makes no other claim by his ostentation than that of his wealth. And when he loses it he does not bother to keep the lace curtains hanging in the front parlor.⁹

Greenberg's emphasis on the Eastern European Jews' abhorrence of mainstream culture's hypocrisy and its insistence on etiquette and decorum, present in this passage, is also important in understanding the quote that opened in this section. Just as he suggests that as a people Eastern European Jews do not bother to keep up appearances, he also notes that when Jews are threatened with marginalization or exclusion from nationally imagined communities, they will not abide by the niceties of appearance for the sake of propriety.

The paradox of Greenberg's dualistic thinking, in which he sets particularism against internationalism as a way to transcend the national, has quite a powerful legacy in the present. However, I would argue that his ideas, though they may have

enabled a certain way of thinking that was effective at the time they were written, no longer provide us with an accurate map of US social relations in 2006. The discourse of the devious Jew is no longer as widespread as it was during World War II, when Greenberg started becoming active as a writer in the United States, nor is the pure internalization of a negative image of Jewishness as prevalent for my generation as it was for Greenberg's. Another major change that has taken place is that an earlier generation's predilection for the universal is now being replaced by a more contemporary notion of the global and the transnational combined with the local. The latter is not as tied in with a discourse of imperialism as the forms of "globalism" and "universalism" championed in the 1940s. In addition, new conceptions of locality and connectedness are emerging, which are not so bound up with a discourse that sees ethnicity as distinct from a spectrum of other identities and differences. Contradictory and constantly shifting relations can now define a given community that can be both local and transnational simultaneously. As a result, social solidarity and belonging are no longer stigmatized in the same way as they were in the forties, and there is now a place for ethnicity in cosmopolitanism. This is in contrast to the cosmopolitanism of Greenberg's day which often failed to recognize the social conditions of its own constructions, presenting itself as freedom from social belonging rather than a special sort of belonging, a view from nowhere or everywhere rather than from particular social spaces. As a result, to examine in greater depth the politics of location in the history of art of Greenberg's period, the cultural identities of artists and art critics need to be taken into account, especially when analyzing, in retrospect, a discourse of modernism which with its extremely universalistic orientation was conceived by its proponents to dislodge the notion of identities altogether.

New York art discourses in the 1930s and 1940s

In the growing field of visual cultural studies, there has been interest in inflecting into the discourse of contemporary art history a much more self-conscious and critical analysis of how power relations work, focusing on gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, and nationalism as opposed to the power relations typical of the market-based institutions of New York art galleries, museums, and art magazines. One of the ways this is currently being done is by deconstructing the notion of the New York art world as monolithic and unchanging. Critics such as Irit Rogoff, working in the area of visual culture, explain how the New York art world is "a world unto itself, with a distinct cultural and linguistic tradition and a vehement sense of territoriality."¹⁰ Rogoff proceeds to formulate this particular art world much the way that historian Benedict Anderson theorizes the nation as "an imagined community" or as a performative space where roles and relationships both of belonging and of outsider status are acted out.¹¹ In some key ways, the New York

art world and the nation in Anderson's sense operate analogously. Both are mythic yet very powerful and effective communities that are built on shared fictional narratives. Both have key performers (artists, critics, curators, and art dealers in the case of the art world) with the discursive power to define how they situate themselves as well as Others within this community that they interpret and control. Both arouse, in Anderson's words, "deep attachments" of belonging and "command profound emotional legitimacy."

Despite these similarities, what is paradoxical about the concept of the New York art world is its simultaneous attachment to and detachment from the US nation, and how this ambivalent connection to the United States actually authorizes its universalizing image of itself. It is fitting that the genealogy of the term *New York art world* and its attendant cosmopolitan aspirations can be traced to the beginnings of the Cold War and the development of a vital New York art market. As Serge Guilbaut argues in his intellectual history of the period, titled *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, this also was a moment when New York began to have dreams of replacing Paris as the presumed cultural center of the so-called West.¹² Likewise, Abstract Expressionist painting – the defining style of this period – was embraced by New York intellectuals not merely as a New York school of painting or as American painting but as a universalist cultural style that transcended the geographically specific. In 1943, the *New York Times* art page launched this art movement with the headline " 'Globalism' Pops into View."¹³ This media recognition coincided with a letter sent out by Adolph Gottlieb and Mark Rothko – both New York Jewish artists – writing as members of the cultural committee of the Federation of American Painters and Sculptors:

The current 3rd annual exhibition of the Federation . . . prompts us to state again our position on art, and the new spirit demanded of artists and the public today. At our inception we stated "We condemn artistic nationalism which negates the world tradition of art at the base of modern art movements" . . . As a nation we are being forced to outgrow our narrow political isolationism. Now that America is recognized as the center where art and artists of all the world must meet, it is time for us to accept cultural values on a truly global plane.¹⁴

The insistent globalism that defined the terms by which these painters authorized themselves reappears in the writings of both Jewish and non-Jewish art critics and artists of the time, although for our purposes here, I will concentrate on the writings of Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg, who were key figures in constructing an identity for the New York group.¹⁵ One way in which Greenberg extolled the international significance of these mostly New York-based painters was by explaining how a real culture, an avant-garde, was possible in a nation imagined as a cultural vacuum. Greenberg accomplished this by discursively

transforming the abiding perceived limitation of American culture – its putative isolation – into an asset:

Isolation is, so to speak, the natural condition of high art in America. Yet it is precisely our more intimate and habitual acquaintance with *isolation that gives us our advantage* at this moment. Isolation, or rather the alienation that is its cause, is the truth – isolation, alienation, naked and revealed unto itself, is the condition under which the true reality of our age is experienced. And the experience of this true reality is indispensable to any ambitious age.¹⁶

In Greenberg's formulation, modernity, alienation, and what it means to be American went hand in hand. He turned a previously undesirable way of being in the United States (alienation) into cultural capital. Ironically, he used America's greatest weaknesses – its geographical isolation, its so-called lack of culture, and its alienation – to great advantage.

Harold Rosenberg's discursive strategy was similar to Greenberg's.¹⁷ He also saw the proverbial alienation that artists experienced in America as something beneficial:

Attached neither to a community nor to one another, these painters experience a unique loneliness of a depth that is reached perhaps nowhere in the world. From the four corners of their vast land they have come to plunge themselves into the anonymity of New York, annihilation of their past being not the least compelling project of these aesthetic Legionnaires . . . The very extremity of their *isolation forces upon them a kind of optimism*, an impulse to believe in their ability to dissociate some personal essence of their experience and rescue it as the beginning of a new world.¹⁸

For Rosenberg, it was precisely because American artists were alienated that they were antiprovincial, and thus he saw them capable of imagining the creation of a "new world," a world without alienation. However, the two critics disagreed sharply about how this would come about. Writing in 1947, Greenberg states:

In the face of current events painting feels, apparently, that it must be epic poetry, it must be theater, it must be an atomic bomb, it must be the Rights of Man. But the greatest painter of our time, Matisse, preeminently demonstrated the sincerity and penetration that go with the kind of greatness particular to twentieth century painting by saying that he wanted his art to be an armchair for the tired business man.¹⁹

For Greenberg, this new world could not be achieved unless artists returned to

purely visual formal values. In his desire to preserve high culture by cutting it off altogether from the social, Greenberg wanted art to be an "armchair" for the exhausted capitalist, whereas Rosenberg and other critics disagreed. In his now famous manifesto of Abstract Expressionism titled "The American Action Painters" (1952), Rosenberg elucidated that Abstract Expressionist art embodied this formalist ideal by bringing art and life closer together. This collapsing of life into art was seen as an absolute heroic task compared to which any other form of engagement would pale by comparison: "The lone artist did not want the world to be different, he wanted his canvas to be a world."²⁰

Despite the disagreements between the two critics, what linked their ideas was the way each made the claim that great aesthetic experiences occur most profoundly in a cultural vacuum. Such an argument was effective in giving a new cosmopolitan prestige to American art in the 1940s and 1950s. But, as I will later suggest, it also set the stage for the continuing belief in the dissident artist as an alienated modernist, unable to engage in any form of political art not based on the notion of the outsider.

The roots of Greenberg's universalism: antinationalism and anti-Semitism in the 1930s

The pre-World War II generation of New York intellectuals and artists in the 1930s saw themselves as much more autonomous from an American business culture than the generation that followed them. They directed their energies not toward promoting an aggressive international art market in which modern art played a leading role, but toward a more populist agenda, politically creating a local culture in which the working class could represent themselves as participants in power.²¹ This socialist project, which involved numerous writers and visual artists in the United States, also valorized a cosmopolitan ideal, but one that was linked to social revolution in Russia and to the Marxist notion of a revolutionary international class struggle. This political project was eventually challenged and, in some cases, redefined when Soviet policy itself moved away from its original purpose. This shift began in July 1935 when the Seventh World Congress set a new Soviet policy of the Popular Front, which was an attempt to unite a broad group of intellectuals in a common campaign against fascism. Similarly, in the United States, in discussions held in 1936 by the First American Artists' Congress, artists and intellectuals joined forces to fight fascism and tried to widen their political base by recruiting nonaligned Marxists and liberals so as to play a more significant role in a more broadly based American cultural politics. Worried that fascism could spread to the United States, the Artists' Congress saw a parallel between the new emphasis on nationalism in the arts in the United States as expressed through the regionalist popular agenda and the way the Nazis and Italian fascists were using the arts as a means to build group identities centered on the

myths of nationalism and racial superiority. These fears were especially pronounced among Jewish critics, who brought to their work a strong sense of coming from elsewhere, of standing outside the white American mainstream at a time when there was general uneasiness about artists and critics of Jewish descent. As Lynd Ward and Meyer Schapiro suggested in a speech given by Ward at the 1936 Artists' Congress titled "Race, Nationality, and Art":

We have many appeals for an "American Art" in which the concept of America is very vague, usually defined as a "genuine American expression" or "explicitly native art," and sometimes includes a separation of American painters into desirable and undesirable on the basis of Anglo-Saxon surnames . . . finally the word "American" used in that way has no real meaning. It suspends a veil of fictitious unity and blinds our eyes to the fact that there can be no art in common between the Americans who own Rockefeller Center, the Americans in the Legion in Terre Haute, and the Americans in, as a symbol, Commonwealth College in Arkansas.²²

Harsh words were directed toward an ideology of a national "American art," since it assumed only a perfunctory recognition of ethnic and racial differences in favor of a common culture that Ward and Schapiro evidently felt ambivalent about. The limited pluralism of such an agenda was evident to Schapiro, who might be perceived as "undesirable" himself, given his Jewish surname. It is worth noting that although they were uneasy about the idea of a "genuine American expression," both were also equally skeptical about an essentializing notion of a Jewish cultural expression:

But even if there is no ground for a structure of racial differences in Europe, the theorists of blood chemistry will still point to the Jewish race as evidence of the persistence of unique qualities that can be traced to blood alone. They hold it to be self-evident that the Jewish race has definite physical characteristics and equally characteristic cultural qualities, and the one stems from the other . . . In our time we have the same lack of evidence as regards a common blood and culture. Rothenstein is English; Pissarro, French; Soutine, Russian; Pechstein, German; Modigliani, Italian. Who can point to anything in the work of these men that can be said to be common to all of them . . . and therefore a Jewish characteristic?²³

Any mapping of art by Jewish artists according to racialized categories was obviously suspect, since the last thing Jewish critics wanted was for Jewish-American artists to be reduced to their very "un-American" religious or ethnic background. According to Ward and Schapiro:

the import of this has a direct bearing on our problems as American artists, for if there is not one iota of evidence acceptable to scientists that will support a claim of uniqueness in the Jewish blood stream, then we must read out of court all propositions based on it, such as the condemnation of Alfred Stieglitz's place in American art because he is a Hoboken Jew.²⁴

This was a moment when individual artists such as Stieglitz had to live with the threat that they might be called to account not for their art or their writing, but for their Jewishness. Anti-Semitism was on the rise in the United States prior to America's entry into the war, and in this climate an attempt was made to discredit Stieglitz's authenticity as an American artist solely on the basis of his ethnicity. In 1934, Thomas Craven, a conservative US art critic, wrote:

Stieglitz, a Hoboken Jew without knowledge of, or interest in, the historical American background, was – quite apart from the doses of purified art he had swallowed – hardly equipped for the leadership of a genuine American expression; and it is a matter of record that none of the artists whose names and work he has exploited has been noticeably American in flavor.²⁵

Stieglitz's Jewishness made him a so-called inauthentic American, according to Craven, and thus disqualified him from a leadership position in constituting a "genuine" American art.²⁵ Though individual artists may have been targeted in the United States because of their Jewishness, the practice of modern art in general was rarely made synonymous with Jewishness to the extent it was in Hitler's Germany. The 1937 Degenerate Art exhibition in particular functioned as a broad condemnation of all modern art, which was seen by the Nazis as "Jewish."²⁶

How Jews became Caucasians in the postwar period

Toward the end of the war, when the full scope of the European Holocaust became known, there was a move on the part of Jewish writers and art critics to assert their ethnic identity, as evidenced by the following pronouncement made in 1944 by the organizers of the Under Forty symposium, which was printed in an issue of *Contemporary Jewish Record*: "American Jews have reached the stage of integration with the native environment. They are spectators no longer but full participants in the cultural life of the country."²⁷ Despite this celebratory rhetoric, the ability of US Jews to pass as fully white was by no means a foregone conclusion, especially since definitions of the ethnic category "white" have constantly shifted at different historical moments in US culture. As Matthew Frye Jacobson explains:

Jews did not disappear from racial view overnight in the mid-1920s, nor had racial Jewishness vanished completely even by the 1940s . . . When Nazi

policy began to make news in the 1930s and early 1940s, headlines in journals like the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Detroit Free Press* revealed the extent to which Americans and Germans shared a common lexicon of Racial Jewishness . . . World War II and the revelations of the horrors of Nazi Germany were in fact part of what catapulted American Hebrews into the community of Caucasians in the mid-twentieth century . . . Changes wrought in the US social order by the war itself and by the early Cold War, too, helped to speed the alchemy by which Hebrews became Caucasian.²⁸

Jacobson's account of how Jews became Caucasian in the US is important in understanding how the shift in their status toward Jewish assimilation in postwar America was anything but uniform. At other points in his writing, Jacobson goes into greater detail about the diversity of the Jewish diasporic community in the United States, especially the marked differences between German and Eastern European Jews (many of whom did not speak English in the mid-1940s), and the role played by postwar prosperity and postindustrial shifts in the economy that tended to disperse the Jews.

It is in the context of this shift in the ethnic category of "white" that we can better understand Greenberg's positions. These are the cultural waters in which Greenberg would find himself having to navigate but also whose currents he helped channel and direct.

Greenberg's flight: from ethnic particularism to cosmopolitan values

In 1955, Greenberg scripted himself in terms of his ethnic identity in the following oft-quoted biographical entry which appeared in *Twentieth Century Authors*:

I was born in the Bronx, in New York City, the oldest of three sons. My father and my mother had come, in their separate ways, from the Lithuanian Jewish cultural enclave in northeastern Poland, and I spoke Yiddish as soon as I did English. When I was five we moved to Norfolk, Va., but moved back to New York – Brooklyn this time – when I was eleven. My father had by that time made enough money to change over from storekeeper (clothing) to manufacturer (metal goods). However, I can't remember there ever having been any worrying about money in our family, or any one in it lacking for anything. Which is not to say that we were rich.

I attended public school in Norfolk and Brooklyn, took the last year of high school at the Marquand School, and went to Syracuse University for an A.B. (1930). For two and a half years after college I sat home in what looked like idleness, but did during that time learn German and Italian in addition to French and Latin. The following two years I worked in St. Louis, Cleveland,

San Francisco and Los Angeles in an abortive left-handed venture of my father's into the wholesale dry goods business; but I discovered that my appetite for business did not amount to the same thing as an inclination. During the next year I supported myself by translating . . . At the beginning of 1930 I went to work for the federal government, first in the New York office of the Civil Service Commission, then in the Veterans Administration, and finally (in 1937) in the Appraiser's Division of the Customs Service in the Port of New York. Until then I had been making desultory efforts to write, but now I began in earnest, in my office-time leisure – of which I had plenty – and fairly soon I began to get printed.²⁹

This rather lengthy biographical statement in which Greenberg makes his Jewish origins part of his public persona suggests among other things that he is at ease with his Jewish background. This self-presentation is markedly different from the one he earlier scripted in 1950 in which he casts himself in the role of “a self-hating Jew.” The article “Self-Hatred and Jewish Chauvinism: Some Reflections on ‘Positive Jewishness’” starts out as a bitter and acrimonious indictment of his own inability to deal with his self-criticism:

The Jewish self-hatred in myself . . . its subtlety and the devious ways in which it conceals itself, from me as well as from the world outside, explains many things that used to puzzle me in the behavior of my fellow Jews. It is only reluctantly that I have become persuaded that self-hatred in one form or another is almost universal among Jews – or at least much more prevalent than is commonly thought or admitted – and that it is not confined on the whole to Jews like myself.³⁰

Greenberg's confession casts his successful career and his secure reputation in a different light and as such is a significant piece of writing in Greenberg's oeuvre. In tandem with the gesture to universalize his personal experience and connect it to that of all American Jews, the article is noteworthy for its frank interrogation of his own ethnic anxiety and his willingness to narrate the unspeakable about himself.

This 1950 article inscribes Greenberg in a more complex relationship to his Jewishness than his 1944 comments for the Under Forty symposium suggest. In that earlier piece he presented himself as caught within the restrictive injunctions his parents had internalized, including how they downplayed their ethnicity in public in favor of an identification with socialist politics:

This writer has no more of a conscious position toward his Jewish heritage than the average American Jew – which is to say, hardly any. His father and mother repudiated a good deal of the Jewish heritage for him in advance by

becoming free-thinking socialists who maintained only their Yiddish, certain vestiges of folk life in the Pale, and an insistence upon specifying themselves as Jews.³¹

This inscription of himself within a private familial narrative nevertheless permits him to reject a self-conscious quality of Jewishness in public, while still acknowledging some aspect of his ethnic identity that he associates with “heredity”: “I believe that a quality of Jewishness is present in every word I write . . . It may be said that this quality . . . is very informal, being transmitted mostly through mother's milk and the habits and talk of the family.”³² What comes through most clearly in this short essay is not only his sense of familial loyalties in private but his allegiance to an elitist-tinged socialism and to cosmopolitan values over and above his ethnicity, equating the latter with conventional notions of identity and narrow bourgeois middle-class values:

Jewish life has become, for reasons of security, so solidly, so rigidly, restrictively and suffocatingly middle-class . . . No people on earth are more correct, more staid, more provincial, more commonplace, more inexperienced; none observe more strictly the letter of every code that is respectable; no people do so completely and habitually what is expected of them.³³

Greenberg's act of writing frees him from a “suffocatingly middle-class” Jewish identity and enables him to become a member of the cosmopolitan cultural elite. Still, what he most wants to escape is not his ethnicity, but the constraints of a certain US ethnic particularism:

Flight – as well as its converse, pursuit – is of course a great American theme, but the Jewish writer sets himself off by the more concerned and more immediately and materially personal way he treats it. His writing becomes essentially a career which provides him with the means of flight. This writing is my wings away.³⁴

In the international world of letters and art criticism, of Anglophone high culture, Greenberg finds a space of flight that is seemingly neutral. What is ironic, though, is that writing and the history of Jewish culture have always been intertwined – most specifically in rabbinic, Eastern European culture, for instance, as well as in early twentieth-century Viennese culture, where Jews had a strong presence in publishing. Though Greenberg doesn't acknowledge the connection between writing and Jewish culture, he does work to salvage the modernist notion of the Jew as outsider and Other, even after Jews became Caucasians. He emphasizes in the 1944 essay “the Jew's chronic conception of himself as a wanderer even when he has lived in the same place all his life . . . Centuries of existence as an insecure

minority make people conceive of themselves as always coming into the world from outside it.³⁵ Most significant, he values what he sees as the Jewish ability to theorize and analyze. Greenberg's valorization of abstraction can also be seen in his 1943 book review of Maurice Samuel's *The World of Sholom Aleichem*, in which he suggests that the tendency to conceptualize, to think abstractly, was a mode of self-protection for the Jew from the excruciating realities of the ghetto. Interestingly, in his 1944 essay, in which he asserts himself in the privileged role of the cosmopolitan writer firmly removed from life in the ghetto, he sees himself also energized by the powers of abstraction, which he essentializes as a Jewish quality:

There is a Jewish bias towards the abstract, the tendency to conceptualize as much as possible, and there is a certain *Schwärmerei*, a state of perpetual and exalted surprise – sometimes disgust – at the sensuous and sentimental data of existence which others take for granted.³⁶

His emphasis on the abstract is significant. It authorizes his assignment of a negative valence to the sensuous and the everyday, and it sets the terms of his construction of oppositions between the categories of the general and the particular, the abstract and the detail which will inform his art criticism and direction of modern art in the postwar years.³⁷

Avant-garde and kitsch

Greenberg's hostility toward the incursions of everyday detail into high art is most fully articulated in his famous 1939 essay "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," in which he places the blame on

that thing to which the Germans give the wonderful name of *Kitsch*: popular, commercial art and literature with their chromotypes, magazine covers, illustrations, ads, slick and pulp fiction, comics, Tin Pan Alley music, tap dancing, Hollywood movies, etc. etc.³⁸

In Greenberg's view, kitsch is tied to the constraints of ethnic particularism and the everyday, whereas high art by contrast does not have any identifiable referent and is thus "valid solely on its own terms."³⁹ Even though Greenberg's theories of abstract art – in which the decorative or the illustrative has no place – seem on the surface to have nothing to do with the question of cultural identity and sexual, ethnic, and racial difference, their privileging of the abstract as the only authentically avant-garde art worked to ensure a reading of art that consistently favored the assimilation and integration of mostly New York white male artists – including Jackson Pollock (of Scotch-Irish descent) and artists of Eastern European and European Jewish origins (Adolph Gottlieb, Barnett Newman, Mark Rothko) – over

and above those nonwhite artists and women artists who did not produce nonrepresentational art. Thus, implicit in his theory was a certain selective privileging of a particular ethnicity and gender stated in new terms that valorized a nonethnic cosmopolitanism. This position can be seen in his reviews of artwork by nonwhite artists. Writing in 1942, Greenberg claims that Wifredo Lam's Afro-Cuban work suffers from "a straining after bravura effects, by showy motions . . . obsessive rhythms, and the inability to be more than decorative."⁴⁰ On the prints of the Mexican artist José Guadalupe Posada, he concludes: "Posada's art was after all limited in its range. The same points are made again and again. The patterns in which the picture rectangle is organized are unerring yet repetitious."⁴¹ And finally Mexican artist Rufino Tamayo's "error," according to Greenberg, "consists in pursuing expressiveness and emotional emphasis beyond the coherence of style. It has led Tamayo . . . into an academic trap: emotion is not only expressed, it is *illustrated*."⁴²

Ann Gibson in her book *Abstract Expressionism: Other Politics* points out how the work of women and nonwhite male heterosexual artists was consistently denigrated in Greenberg's writings for its lack of originality:

Greenberg often associated gender distinctions with his evaluative terms "major" and "minor." Major art was for him art that withstood the test of international scrutiny and escaped debilitating feminine associations. Major artists were geniuses who, like Paul Klee, opened a new territory for others. Not surprisingly, major art was produced by men. In 1947, the only Americans who Greenberg regarded as "major" were Jackson Pollock and David Smith.⁴³

She goes on to explain how in 1948 Greenberg called the art of Theodor Stamos, an artist who was believed to be gay or bisexual by many of his colleagues, as "sickeningly sweet" and accused the artist of lacking in authenticity, a code phrase for pointing out that gays were not "real men." Greenberg was not alone among critics in casting Stamos in a negative light, not by mentioning his sexuality directly but by using code words to state his disapproval. Greenberg used this same critical club with women, often focusing on their supposed lack of originality. This can be seen in his failure to take the work of Lee Krasner seriously and in his faint praise of women artists who though lacking creativity are good at assimilating the work of great men into their art.

In some ways Greenberg's art criticism stands in contrast to his theory, in which abstract art can be presumed to be egalitarian. That egalitarianism does not seem to extend to middle-class women, gays and lesbians, or to non-Western artists who as stated earlier were consistently criticized by Greenberg for lacking originality. This lack of originality is also a theme of "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," in which he writes that an epidemic of kitsch is responsible for "crowding out and

defacing native cultures in one colonial country after another, so that it is now by way of becoming a universal culture."⁴⁴ According to Diana Trilling, in the initial draft of the essay Greenberg had written: "Unable to resist the oncoming tide of kitsch the first thing these marvelous native tribesmen in Africa and Australia, who do such wonderful abstract work, demand of the explorer is not the works of Picasso but picture postcards, gaudy, horrible."⁴⁵ But the problem here is Greenberg's own rigidity. Latin American and Mexican artists such as Lam, Posada, and Tamayo were capable of being interested in both Picasso *and* picture postcards, thereby not following the Greenbergian script. As a result, these artists were seen as failures in Greenberg's terms, not because they liked kitsch, but because they liked modern art over folk art. They were faulted by him precisely because they did not conform to the most available stereotypes concerning non-cosmopolitans. For Greenberg, none of these artists' work was authentic enough as a vernacular folk expression but, in the context of modern art, stylization evinced an inability to be anything more than decorative.

In Greenbergian dogma, modeled on his own escape from his "suffocatingly middle-class Jewish identity" through the writing of art criticism, all artists, regardless of ethnicity, gender, or race, can aspire to greatness as long as they leave their middle-class background behind and admit to the superiority of abstract art. Greenberg's dogmatism regarding abstract purism is likened to another romantic myth, that of romantic love, in a rather ironic collage made in 1946 by Ad Reinhardt (Figure 1.1). In this image, a young girl standing helplessly on the railroad tracks is equated with "art" and is rescued just in time from "sin, money-grubbing, corruption, inferiority complexes, drink, linguistic stereotypes, prejudice, and banality" by her male suitor and hero, who is likened to "abstract art."

In Greenberg's art critical practice, Abstract Expressionism became a white, ethnic, masculinist aesthetic designed to check the rise of a literal emotionalism or a formal decorativeness. Greenberg wrote that "decoration is the spectre that haunts modernist painting."⁴⁶ His emphasis on abstract purity, the sublime, and a timeless and placeless definition of art, at the expense of the illustrative and the everyday, worked to include certain Jewish and Irish male artists, at least in a reshaped intellectual art culture, and left out many others who did not share these aesthetic priorities. It could be argued that his emphasis on a modernist art theory of the abstract, despite its claims of neutrality, reasserted the priority of one axis of identity over another, as the very gendered terms of Reinhardt's rescue image suggest. In 1944, even as the discourse of modernism provided protection against charges of being different, the acceptable modernist aesthetic criteria were too prescriptive, rigid, and even alienating to encompass those who were not of European descent, or could not pass as white, or were not men. The embrace of high culture in the discourse of universalism heralded by Jewish art and literary critics such as Greenberg can be seen as a critique of narrow nationalist and

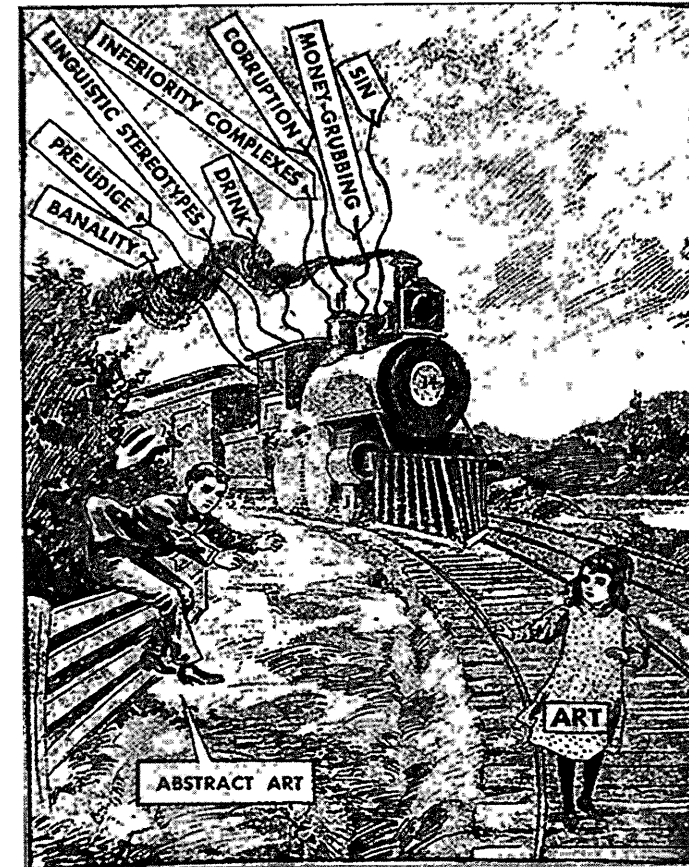


Figure 1.1 Ad Reinhardt, *The Rescue of Art*, collage drawing published in *Newsweek*, 12 August 1946. Copyright 1998 Estate of Ad Reinhardt/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

chauvinist agendas and of the conservative, traditional bonds of a provincial realist American art and literature. Today, in very changed historical circumstances, many now reject this European universalism, since its schema, despite its purported inclusiveness, now seems too parochial.

Recent scholarship on Abstract Expressionism

In the 1970s and 1980s a number of important critiques of Greenberg and formalist modernism appeared by such art critics as Eva Cockcroft, Serge Guilbaut, Max Kozloff, Fred Orton, Griselda Pollock, and David and Cecile Shapiro, among others.⁴⁷ They took issue with canonical accounts of American art, particularly the understanding of Abstract Expressionism as epitomizing "alienation,"

"individualism," and revolutionary avant-gardism. These writers opened up questions that were neglected by an earlier generation of art historians and critics. They examined among other issues how Greenberg, and other intellectuals of his generation, moved from leftist positions associated with Trotskyism in the late 1930s and early 1940s to anti-communism during the 1950s and after (Guilbaut); the similarities between "American cold war rhetoric" and the way many Abstract Expressionists articulated their "individualist" existential experiences (Kozloff); how Greenbergian modernism became institutionalized at the Museum of Modern Art and turned into modernist ideology and dogma (Cockcroft); and the political implications resulting from the transformation of aesthetic modernism from a mere style to a Cold War weapon (Cockcroft). Such scholarship mapped out a critical history of modernism and opened a debate that was instrumental in unraveling a certain Cold War era consensus in the arts. In an important way, these critical writings made it no longer acceptable to look at modern art as something autonomous or disengaged from the work's conditions of production and reception. As a result of these critics' resistance to modernist dogma, and despite ongoing attempts by neoconservatives to maintain a commitment to a tradition of high art and a purist notion of Western culture, a younger generation of curators, art critics, and historians is not speaking so smugly or unconsciously about an insulated and value-free tradition of "quality art." Although the revisionist critics of the 1970s and 1980s did not concern themselves with questions of multiculturalism, postmodernism, feminism, or queer theory per se, they nevertheless helped to displace the idea of a perfect norm or a correct visual standard, and in this way they set the stage for a contemporary critical art discourse that has become more multiple, more complex, and more paradoxical even to this day.

By the mid-1990s, there was an enormous shift in how Abstract Expressionism and Greenberg were written about. For example, art historians such as Ann Gibson stressed the breadth and historical context of Abstract Expressionism to consider the movement from other cultural perspectives than that theorized by Greenberg. Gibson writes:

Reinstating the voices of those persons, politics, and cultures that have disappeared from the rolls . . . is a critical element in opening the territory around Abstract Expressionism as the white, ostensibly heterosexual, and male wing of a larger development that is only now becoming available on what Gadamer called our moving horizon. A restructured version of Abstract Expressionism will be a history that responds to more than one agenda, that tells more than one truth.⁴⁸

Gibson's and other more recent studies, including David Craven's *Abstract Expressionism as Cultural Critique: Dissent during the McCarthy Period*, are committed to broadening the understanding of the artistic milieu in which Abstract

Expressionism existed by dealing with its various legacies and diverse lineages. Both Gibson and Craven address abstract art that was considered outside the canon of art as defined by New York at midcentury. Gibson discusses female African-American artists such as Thelma Johnson Street and Rose Piper, among others, to show, in her words, that universality stops short at the boundaries of race and gender.⁴⁹ Craven extends this project to look at the broader reception of Abstract Expressionism throughout the Americas and the Third World during the 1950s and 1960s, thereby presenting a very different picture of the signification of this movement both in the US and abroad. In addition, by differentiating Greenberg from other influential left-wing critics of his time, Craven has contributed greatly to restoring the important legacies of Harold Rosenberg and Meyer Schapiro as well as of the Abstract Expressionists who conceived of the movement in far less ethnocentric and masculinist terms than Greenberg did.

Indeed, recent revisionist work by scholars such as Craven and Gibson is beginning to transform our understanding of Abstract Expressionism as a movement. I would argue that as a result of such scholarship the range of "imagined communities" in the arts even during that period has expanded tremendously. The rethinking of the tropes of art history and criticism was indeed long overdue by the 1990s, when revisionist scholars began to transform our understanding of Abstract Expressionism and Greenberg's writings. This approach differed in important ways from that of an earlier generation of scholars, especially in that it no longer privileged an older diasporic discourse based on the alienated and autonomous artist-intellectual as outsider to the United States, a condition so central to Greenberg's criticism. It is also important that this new writing, in its attempt to diversify its own practices by including a more heterogeneous group of artists as well as a wider transnational frame, deals more openly with the differences of race, ethnicity, sexuality, and nation to shift the art world's lingering paternalism toward artists who foreground their identity in their work.

- theory, see Hilary Robinson (ed.), *Feminism – Art Theory – An Anthology 1968–2000*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2001. Also see Amelia Jones (ed.), *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, London: Routledge, 2003, and Fiona Carson and Claire Pajczkowska (eds), *Feminist Visual Culture*, New York: Routledge, 2001.
- 8 D. Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*, New York: Routledge, 1991, 188.
 - 9 Adorno wrote, "to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric." Original quote from "An Essay on Cultural Criticism and Society," in *Prisms*, Cambridge: Mass.: MIT Press, 1955, 34.
 - 10 The specter of my own Jewish identity, which I never considered as playing a large role in my academic life, has come to the fore in my academic career. For example, while teaching as a lecturer at the University of California, Irvine, in 1992, I was targeted by an "interested citizen" for teaching a photography book by Edward Said and Swiss photographer Jean Mohr titled *After the Last Sky*, in an undergraduate art history seminar. The seminar raised questions about the debates around museum exhibitions and photography books regarding questions of gender and sexuality, linked to recent scholarship on nationalism, colonialism, and postcolonialism. I learned from students in my class that the author of numerous notes addressed to me, the chair of the department, and the dean were written by an Israeli aide to a right-wing California senatorial candidate who was married to one of the art history students in the department. These sole complaints resulted in my dismissal.
 - 11 The antagonism between art history and visual cultural studies was expressed in a set of articles, with the earliest aptly titled "Art History's Anxiety Attack" by Eloy J. Hernandez, *Afterimage*, May/June 1994, 6; see also Hernandez's article "Questionnaire on Visual Culture," *October* 7, Summer 1996, 25–70; and the three articles written by Scott Heller: "Rochester Is Only University Offering Ph.D. in Visual Culture," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 19 July 1996, A15; "Visual Images Replace Text as Focal Point for Many Scholars," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 19 July 1996, A8; "Changing Course: Art Historians Replace Traditional Surveys with New Approaches," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 3 May 1996, A19. For an overview, see M. Dikovitskaya, *Visual Culture: The Study of the Visual after the Cultural Turn*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005.
 - 12 E. Lipton, "The Pastry Shop and the Angel of Death: What's Jewish in Art History," in J. Rubin-Dorsky and S. Fishkin (eds), *People of the Book: Thirty Scholars Reflect on Their Jewish Identity*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996, 288.
 - 13 *Ibid.*, 289.
 - 14 Some of the conversations that have been taking place recently are happening in the context of exhibitions and lecture series at Jewish community centers. See, for example, S. Zalkind and G. Levin, *Upstarts and Matriarchs: Jewish Women Artists and the Transformation of American Art*, Denver, Colo.: Mizel Center for Arts and Culture at the Center for Judaic Studies, 2005, and *Ms. Behavin': Jewish Feminist Artists* at the Gottlieb Art Gallery, Lawrence Family Jewish Community Center, La Jolla, California, 2005.
 - 15 C. Soussloff (ed.), *Jewish Identity in Modern Art History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2.
 - 16 Guilbaut's book examines how the ascendancy of the New York art market coincided with the emergence of Abstract Expressionism, the best-known and most financially successful artistic movement of the 1950s because its ideology coincided with Cold War values.

1 Clement Greenberg's modernist shadow

- 1 R. Lieberman, presentation at the Jewish Museum, 6 November 2002.
- 2 See Lisa Bloom, "Ghosts of Ethnicity: Rethinking Art Discourses of the 1940s and 1980s," *Socialist Review* 94, nos. 1–2, 1995, 129–64. Also see the extended version of the article in Lisa Bloom (ed.), *With Other Eyes: Looking at Race and Gender in Visual Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, 19–43. Note that the following articles were available before the publication of my initial article on the subject. M. Kozloff, "Jewish Art and the Modernist Jeopardy," *Artforum* 14, no. 8, April 1976, 43–7. Thanks to Max Kozloff for giving me the reference to this intriguing article. Also see S. Tillim, "Criticism and Culture: Greenberg's Doubt," *Art in America*, May 1987, 122–7, 201; Collins, "Le pessimisme politique et 'la haine de soi' juive." I am grateful to Bradford Collins for sending me a copy of the English translation. His excellent article gave me the foundational history that I needed to build my own argument. Other important articles on the topic which became available after my initial article was published in *Socialist Review* include Margaret Olin, "C[lement] Hardesh (Greenberg) and Company: Formal Criticism and Jewish Identity," in Norman Kleeblatt (ed.), *Too Jewish? Challenging Traditional Identities*, New York and New Brunswick, NJ: The Jewish Museum and Rutgers University Press, 1996, 39–59, and a later version "C[lement] Hardesh (Greenberg): Formal Criticism and Jewish Identity," in *The Nation without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001, 157–78.
- 3 Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Hedda Sterne and Adolph Gottlieb," *The Nation*, 6 December 1947; reprinted in J. O'Brian (ed.), *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*, vol. 2, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, 188.
- 4 Four of the major figures amongst the first generation of Abstract Expressionists were Jewish – Barnett Newman, Mark Rothko, Lee Krasner, and Adolph Gottlieb – as were some of the major critics defending the Abstract Expressionists on the left, such as Meyer Schapiro, Harold Rosenberg, Elaine de Kooning, Dore Ashton, and Thomas Hess.
- 5 See Olin, "C[lement] Hardesh (Greenberg): Formal Criticism and Jewish Identity," 171.
- 6 C. Greenberg, "The Jewish Dickens: Review of *The World of Sholom Aleichem* by Maurice Samuel," *Nation*, 16 October 1943; reprinted in J. O'Brian (ed.), *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*, vol. 1, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, 158.
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 For more on the stereotype of Jewish deviousness, see S. Gilman, "The Jewish Voice: Chicken Soup or the Penalties of Sounding Too Jewish," in *The Jew's Body*, New York: Routledge, 1991, 10–37.
- 9 Greenberg, "The Jewish Dickens," 156.
- 10 I. Rogoff, "The Empire of Art: Ana Mendieta," unpublished paper, 1992, 1.
- 11 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983. The quotes that follow are from pages 16 and 14, respectively.
- 12 S. Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- 13 E. Jewell, "'Globalism' Pops into View," *New York Times*, 13 June 1943, 9.
- 14 Guilbaut, *How New York Stole*, 222 n. 81 (my emphasis). According to Guilbaut, this quotation originally appeared in a letter sent by the Federation to the papers on the occasion of another show at the Wildenstein Gallery, 2–26 June 1943.
- 15 Greenberg started by valorizing the work of single artists beginning with Jackson

- Pollock in 1943 about whom he wrote six times through 1948. He followed with David Smith, Willem de Kooning, Hans Hofman, Robert Motherwell, William Baziot, Adolph Gottlieb, Clyfford Still, Mark Rothko, and Barnett Newman. Harold Rosenberg wrote on the work of Willem de Kooning, Jackson Pollock, Arshile Gorky, and Yves Franz Kline, among others.
- 16 C. Greenberg, "The Situation at the Moment," *Partisan Review*, 5 January 1948; reprinted in *Collected Essays*, vol. 2, 193 (my emphasis).
- 17 For an extended discussion of the connection between Rosenberg and existentialist thought, see E. Doss, *Benton, Pollock, and the Politics of Modernism: From Regionalism to Abstract Expressionism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, 378–87.
- 18 H. Rosenberg, [Maeght show catalogue], cited in *Possibilities* 1, Winter 1947–48, 75; reprinted in Guilbaut, *How New York Stole*, 159 (my emphasis).
- 19 C. Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of the Jane Street Group and Rufino Tamayo," *Nation*, 8 March 1947; reprinted in *Collected Essays*, vol. 2, 133–4.
- 20 H. Rosenberg, "The American Action Painters," *Artnews*, December 1952, 23.
- 21 The study of worker narratives of a native US culture was taken on by Farm Security Administration photographers James Agee and Walker Evans in their *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941; by Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White in *You Have Seen Their Faces: A Folk History of the Negro in the United States*, New York: Modern Age Books, 1937; and by Richard Wright in *12 Million Black Voices*, New York: Viking, 1941, among others.
- 22 L. Ward, "Race, Nationality, and Art," *Art Front* 2, March 1936; reprinted in M. Baigell and J. Williams (eds), *Artists against War and Fascism: Papers of the 'First American Artists' Congress*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 119–20. Meyer Schapiro is acknowledged by Lynd Ward as contributing part of the material contained in the paper. For further historical information regarding this period see Matthew Baigell's chronology of the lives and careers of Jewish-American artists in New York City in his essay "From Hester Street to Fifty-Seventh Street: Jewish American Artists in New York," in N. Kleeblatt and S. Chevlowe (eds), *Painting a Place in America: Jewish Artists in New York 1900–1945*, New York: The Jewish Museum, 1991; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 28–88. For an extended discussion on Meyer Schapiro and the Popular Front, see P. Hill, "1936: Meyer Schapiro, *Art Front*, and the Popular Front," *Oxford Art Journal* 17, no. 1, 1994, 30–41.
- 23 Ward, "Race, Nationality, and Art," 116–17.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 117.
- 25 T. Craven, *Modern Art*, Garden City, NY: Halcyon House, 1934, 312.
- 26 S. Barron (ed.), *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991. Modern art was not directly equated with Jewishness, but this was implied when it was connected with Bolshevism in 1921. When the Metropolitan Museum reluctantly recognized modern art, a group of anonymous supporters of the museum issued "A Protest against the Present Exhibition of Degenerate 'Modernistic' Works in the Metropolitan Museum." See E. Abrahams, *The Lyrical Left: Randolph Bourne, Alfred Stieglitz and the Origins of Cultural Radicalism in America*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1986, 169.
- 27 Clement Greenberg, "Under Forty: A Symposium on American Literature and the Younger Generation of American Jews," *Contemporary Jewish Record* 7, no. 1, February 1944, 3; reprinted in *Collected Essays*, vol. 3, 177.
- 28 M. F. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998, 187.

- 29 Reprinted in J. O'Brian, "Introduction," in *Collected Essays*, vol. 1, xix–xx.
- 30 C. Greenberg, "Self-Hatred and Jewish Chauvinism: Some Reflections on 'Positive Jewishness'," *Commentary*, November 1950; reprinted in *Collected Essays*, vol. 3, 45.
- 31 *Collected Essays*, vol. 3, 176.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 177.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 178–9.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 178.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 177.
- 36 Greenberg, "Under Forty," in *Collected Essays*, vol. 3, 177.
- 37 Robert Jensen has rightly pointed out to me how derivative Greenberg's ideas were concerning his critique of the illustration and the detail. However, since I am not concerned in this essay with authorship but with discourse analysis, Greenberg's lack of originality doesn't weaken my argument critiquing his social and cultural assumptions.
- 38 C. Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Partisan Review*, Fall 1939; reprinted in *Collected Essays*, vol. 1, 11.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 8.
- 40 C. Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Corot, Cézanne, Eilshemius, and Wilfredo Lam," *Nation*, 12 December 1942; reprinted in *Collected Essays*, vol. 1, 131.
- 41 C. Greenberg, "Review of an Exhibition of José Guadalupe Posada," *Nation*, 30 September 1944; reprinted in *Collected Essays*, vol. 1, 232.
- 42 Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of the Jane Street Group and Rufino Tamayo"; reprinted in *Collected Essays*, vol. 2, 133.
- 43 Ann E. Gibson, *Abstract Expressionism: Other Politics*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997, 10.
- 44 Greenberg "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," in *Collected Essays*, vol. 1, 13–14.
- 45 Diana Trilling, "Interview with Dwight Macdonald," *Partisan Review*, 1984, 806.
- 46 Gibson, *Abstract Expressionism*, 35. Original quote from C. Greenberg, "Milton Avery," *Arts Magazine*, December 1952, 41.
- 47 See the following articles in F. Frascina (ed.), *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate*, New York: Harper & Row, 1985: F. Orton and G. Pollock, "Avant-Gardes and Partisans Reviewed," 167–84; S. Guilbaut, "The New Adventures of the Avant-Garde in America," 153–66; T. J. Clark, "Clement Greenberg's Theory of Art," 125–34; D. and C. Schapiro, "Abstract Expressionism: The Politics of Apolitical Painting," 135–52; M. Kozloff, "American Painting during the Cold War," 130–46; E. Cockcroft, "Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War," 147–54; also see V. Burgin, "Modernism in the Work of Art," in *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity*, Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1986, 1–28; B. Reise, "Greenberg and the Group: A Retrospective View," *Studio International* 175, no. 901, May 1968, 254–7 [part 1] and 175, no. 902, June 1968, 314–16 [part 2]; reprinted in F. Frascina and J. Harris (eds), *Art in Modern Culture: An Anthology of Critical Texts*, New York: HarperCollins, 1992, 252–63; K. Larson, "The Dictatorship of Clement Greenberg," *Artforum* 25, Summer 1987, 75–9; S. Ostrow, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch, Fifty Years Later: A Conversation with Clement Greenberg," *Arts Magazine*, December 1989, 56–64.
- 48 Gibson, *Abstract Expressionism*, xxxviii.
- 49 *Ibid.*, xxi–xxii.