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INVOKING SAMUEL HIRSZENBERG'S ARTISTIC LEGACY—ENCOUNTERING *EXILE**

Abstract

Samuel Hirszenberg (1865–1908), the Łódź-born artist, created several signature works of art that would emerge as emblematic of the Jewish historical experience of the twentieth century. *Exile* (1904) is one of these works that came to evoke the trials and tribulations of Jewish fate in the decades following its creation. After placing *Exile* in the context of Hirszenberg's oeuvre, this essay charts its cultural and artistic reception over close to a century in diverse media. *Exile* evoked instinctive, negative responses alongside a deep sense of identification and appropriation. The essay illuminates the ways in which a seminal work of art can engender intense interaction over decades, allowing a wide range of interpretations, references, and quotations.

Samuel Hirszenberg (1865–1908), the Łódź-born artist, has had—like many cultural creators—an unequal reception over the course of the last century. Celebrated in his lifetime by Polish contemporaries, and as the visionary of the new Hebraic art by some Zionists, Hirszenberg was deeply mourned on his premature death. His memory has withstood the trials and tribulations of the twentieth century, and possibly, also benefited from its unprecedented developments. Hirszenberg's oeuvre is far more extensive than those few of his works that engaged later generations. His more dramatic creations, which deal with Jewish themes, highlight the sense of dispossession, suffering, and agony that remain at the heart of his cultural legacy, and these have primarily shaped his image and reception. Indeed, no artist of Jewish origin before him gave voice to the sense of exile and struggle as he did, and no visual image evoked the prevailing mythic notions of persecution, hopelessness, victimization, and tragedy as did his *Exile* (1904) (fig. 1). As such, his clarion calls on the state of Jewish life have also incited strong, instinctive, negative responses that threatened to (and still do) consign his oeuvre to oblivion. That too is part of his mixed legacy.

Exile, known also as *Galut, Golus, They Wander*, and *Verbannung* (Banishment) was also commonly called "The Refugees" in certain circles, and possibly at times by Hirszenberg himself.[1] The diversity of the names attributed to the painting attests to the different interpretations of the Jewish experience that Hirszenberg portrayed and the sensitivities and ideological leanings of the interpreters. One author, Yosef Sandel, writing in Poland in the 1950s, even expressed his anger with "a Jewish reactionary circle" which continued to use a false name for the painting, calling it "*Golus*," implying clearly that by turning the painting into a signifier of the diaspora Jewish experience its original clamor against the brutal Tsarist policy towards Jews and peasants was totally transformed.[2] Notwithstanding Sandel's attempt to attribute a more universalistic, Marxist approach to the painting, the work came to be recognized as the ultimate portrayal of the diasporic Jewish experience, and we have followed the common nomenclature for the painting.

Prior to pursuing the impact of the work, let us revisit briefly the painting at the time of its creation.[3] Hirszenberg's *Exile*, signed and dated 1904 (visible on

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[1] See in Henryk Lew, "Z pracowni malarskich," *Izraelita* 12 (1899): 125–6; however, in a letter from Hirszenberg to Leo Winz of *Ost und West*, 8 Dec. 1903, he mentions that he is working on a very large canvas with many figures, entitled "die Vaterlandslosen" (the stateless ones), that clearly refers to *Exile*. See auction by EAC Gallery, Spring 2012, Lot #994.

[2] Józef Sandel, *Yidishe motivn in der poylisher kunst* [Jewish Motifs in Polish Art] (Warsaw: Yidish bukh, 1954), 153–63; idem, *Shmuel Hirshenberg* (Warsaw: Yidish bukh, 1952).

[3] See Ziva Amishai-Maisels, *Depiction and Interpretation. The Influence of the Holocaust on the Visual Arts* (Oxford and New York: Pergamon Press, 1993). Her monumental study sees *Exile* as a "prototype for works dealing with Jewish refugees" (19) and pursues it at various instances.

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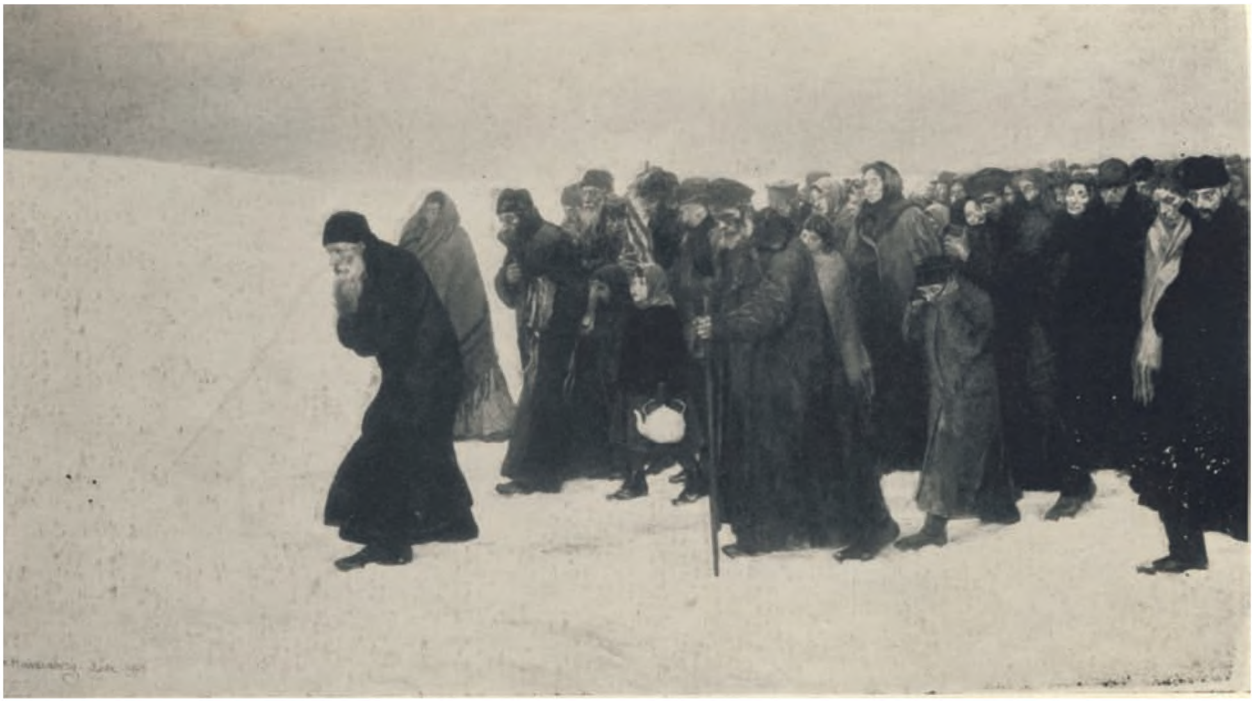

Fig. 1. Samuel Hirszenberg, *Exile*, 1898–1904. Whereabouts unknown.

all its reproductions) first appeared on the pages of *Ost und West* in that year, together with a wide variety of preparatory sketches. Its publication, following the Kishinev pogrom of the previous year, has often encouraged interpreters of the painting to regard it as the artist's response to this dramatic event, parallel to, *mutatis mutandis*, Picasso's response in 1937 to the bombing of Guernica. Reading *Exile* in this context enabled exponents of the new Hebrew culture to wax poetically on the misery of Jewish life in Diaspora and provide confirmation of their Zionist identity—the painting's expressiveness performing the visual counterpart to Hayyim N. Bialik's dramatic poem "In the City of the Slaughter." Moreover, the fact that the artist left Kraków in 1907 to assume his position as a teacher in the newly founded Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem, provided further evidence for such a reading. Succinctly put: Kishinev led to *Exile* that led to personal exile.

However, this equation needs to be altered and placed in a wider focus. In 1899, Henryk Lew, the well-known acculturated ethnographer and theater critic, described in the Polish-Jewish journal *Izraelita* his visit with Hirszenberg in his studio in Łódź. Lew recounted his first impressions: "Upon entering Hirszenberg's studio, you feel that you are first and foremost [in the space of] a Jewish artist; a good Jew, who cares dearly about the issues of his people, and who lives in its present and breathes its past. Ragged and unremarkable figures of his coreligionists—perhaps trivial on first sight, but all radiating solemnity and a somewhat dolorous charm—gaze at you from the walls." And then he went on to describe the painting that he called *Emigrants*:

> 'The Emigrants' provides some sort of translation of this legend into a more realistic language. Entire masses of ragged, destitute figures carrying bundles on their backs move in front of one's eyes: here a poor, emaciated mother carries her only treasure—a sick child—in her arms; there—a son leads his old mother; and over there, a barefoot child carries a "kettle," a family heirloom. And these victims of historical doom walk, full of resignation and pain, and it seems as if you clearly hear their quiet complaint . . . Where are they going? For what? They had been expelled from there, they will be expelled from here, and there they will not let them in . . . Still, they walk and quietly complain.

Lew interspersed his remarks on Hirszenberg's attempt "to portray the story of the exile," by quoting stanzas from Stanisław Kozłowski's play *Esterka*, in which he speaks of the impending disaster of the Jewish people, who are being persecuted by God and man, and cursed as they wear the sign of Cain. ("Tell that the Creator broke the miracle wand/And the world curses us!/That we carry the mark of Cain on our foreheads/That we are given as a dredge of peoples!/That our life is that of a pauper!").[4]

Lew's article noted that Hirszenberg had been deeply engaged with the twin themes of wandering and exile—the mythic and the reality—simultaneously, and that together with *Exile*, he was working on a related painting—the *Wandering Jew*—and planned to exhibit both paintings at the forthcoming International Exhibition in Paris of 1900.[5] It would appear from Lew's article that Hirszenberg intended to represent together on two monumental canvases a continuum of Jewish life—from the Christian myth of the Wandering Jew to the present Jewish condition. Alas, that original design did not materialize, as *Exile* was not completed in time. The *Wandering Jew* was exhibited in Paris and the unfinished *Exile* remained in Łódź.

Lew's account is substantiated from an earlier work by the artist, *Sabbath Rest* of 1894, presently in the Ben Uri Gallery in London, where Hirszenberg's engagement with the themes of exile and wandering were already referenced (fig. 2). An earlier version of *Sabbath Rest*, in the Museum of Modern Art in Łódź (1890), points to certain changes and developments in his thinking during these four years. The 1890 version is striking in its portrayal of a Jewish family in a state of poverty and meager existence. Seemingly living in the workers' area of Łódź (the view from the window allows a glimpse of a factory's chimney), a family is portrayed in a solemn moment. Four years later the artist added several new details and changed the family arrangement in the painting to highlight the three generations, as noted by "Ruth" (clearly a pseudonym for the artist's wife, a convert) in *Ost und West* (1902).[6] An elderly and sick female lies in a bed, while a young child leans on an elderly orthodox man; a middle-aged couple is seated at the table while possibly their two grown children are closest to the window (and hopefully to a brighter future). The young man next to the window is apparently reading to the rest of the family from a brochure, which "Ruth" calls "Letters from Argentina," thus opening the possibility for future interpreters of the painting to use this as a title or subtitle of the painting. The young woman, the only figure in the painting that wears bright colored clothing, listens pensively to the young man reading. The addition of the Sabbath candlesticks on the table and the hanging *Judenstern* lamp lends the home its traditional Jewish ambience.[7] In addition, two portraits, hung on the wall, enliven this otherwise bare interior. The larger one can be identified as Baron Maurice de Hirsch, as noted by Simon Millner in 1906,[8] which creates a link with the brochure being read and the upheaval in Jewish life in Eastern Europe. Moreover, the smaller portrait may relate to a relative of the family who is no longer in Łódź, who may have emigrated to Argentina or elsewhere. Thus, by adding these elements Hirszenberg managed to skillfully convert a simple genre-scene into a programmatic work, treating at one and the same time the transformation taking place within Jewish traditional life, and the growing economic plight of East European Jews that engendered their mass migration across the sea in the 1890s. Baron de Hirsch, seen by some as a modern Moses, who led the procession of the exiled Jews, worked indefatigably to jumpstart Jewish immigration to and settlement of colonies in Argentina, via the Jewish Colonial Organization he established in 1891. His presence in *Sabbath Rest* (1894) serves as the background to the deliberations of many Jewish families of the day (and probably to Hirszenberg's as well), to the artist's own personal preoccupation with this dilemma on various levels,

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[4] Lew, "Z pracowni malarskich," 125–126. The article also deals with a visit to Leopold Pilichowski's studio. *Esterka* appeared originally in the Polish daily *Gazeta Polska* in 1886 and was translated two years later into Hebrew, seemingly the first Polish play ever to be translated into Hebrew. It was reviewed in the Polish-Jewish newspaper *Izraelita* in 1897, following its separate publication. On the importance of Kozłowski's work to Yiddish literature in Poland, see Chone Shmeruk, *The Esterke Story in Yiddish and Polish Literature. A Case Study in the Mutual Relations of Two Cultural Traditions* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1985), 33–36.

[5] For the illustration of this seminal work and its interpretation see Richard I. Cohen and Mirjam Rajner, "The Return of the Wandering Jew(s) in Samuel Hirszenberg's Art," *Ars Judaica* 7 (2011): 33–56.

[6] See Shmuel Werses, "Agnon be-olamo shel "Bezalel"—bein bedyon lemitziyut," in *Kovetz Agnon*, ed. E. Yaron, R. Weiser, D. Laor, R. Mirkin (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994), 248, on the attribution of "Ruth" to his wife. Werses's assumption is substantiated in Hirszenberg to Winz, 12 August 1903 (above, fn. 1).

[7] The addition of the *Judenstern* lamp and the presence of three generations in the painting seem to derive from Moritz Oppenheim's *Sabbath Afternoon* (1860), presently in the HUC Skirball Cultural Center, Los Angeles that may have inspired the entire composition of Hirszenberg's *Sabbath Rest*. Oppenheim's painting was later redone in grisaille for his well-known album *Scenes from Traditional Jewish Family Life* (1882) that was reproduced in different media. As Hirszenberg was interested in using his art to comment on Jewish life and destiny in Eastern Europe, Oppenheim necessarily served as an ideal and inspiring source.

[8] See Simon Millner, "Samuel Hirszenberg. A Discourse from the Art World," (*Shmuel Hirszenberg. Sicha me-olam ha-omanut*) in *Hame'orer* (Jan. 1906): 21–24.

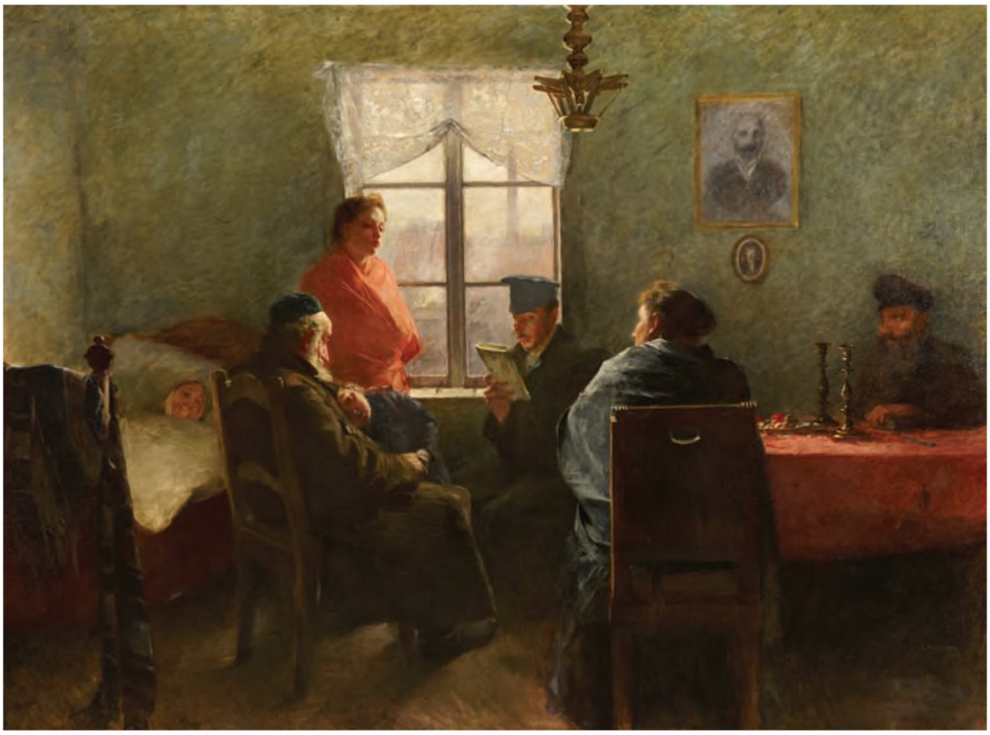

Fig. 2. Samuel Hirszenberg, *Sabbath Rest*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 149.5 × 206.5 cm. Courtesy of Ben Uri Gallery, London.

and probably to the additional title given the painting ("Letters from Argentina"). A fascinating echo of such thoughts appears in *He Will Wait* (1891), a painting by the Russian Jewish artist Leonid Pasternak. There an elderly Jew sits hunched over in deep introspection and thought, his hands clasping a wanderer's cane, as he contemplates his destiny.[9] Pasternak's image was later used for postcards entitled *Le-an?* (Whither); the title clearly refers to Mordekhai Ze'ev Feierberg's best-known story (1899–1900). All these works were reacting to the crossroads East European Jewry encountered at the turn of the century and the clash between tradition and modernity; between the Old World and the new opportunities offered to those who decided to leave it (voluntary or forcefully) and emigrate to the New World.[10]

At this juncture, Hirszenberg began to work on his *Wandering Jew* and apparently soon after on *Exile*. Through the *Sabbath Rest* and these two works, he attempted to interweave the idea of migration as a Jewish and human experience with its mythic and symbolic process. However, in depicting wanderers of all ages, of both sexes, and different levels of traditional religious practice in *Exile*, he refrained from painting only downtrodden wanderers, but rather gave expression to their determination to move on: a man (possibly the artist himself?) holds the Torah and another holds a child in a similar position, both symbolizing, as "Ruth" explains, the strength of Jewish survival or the belief in a future and continuity. Although it is not entirely clear when Hirszenberg completed this striking painting (Kishinev was possibly a catalyst to finish it),[11] once *Exile* was reproduced it became a household item in postcards and posters, and was added to the canon of images of East European Jewish immigrants, which depicted concrete situations and diverse scenes of Jewish migrants.[12]

Exile's legacy and resonance, the subject of this article, became entangled from the outset with the momentous events of the Jewish historical experience of the twentieth century—waves of migration, anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, and the creation of the State of Israel—and mythic notions of the Jewish historical evolution. Indeed, without granting Hirszenberg the role of a prophet, it is as if he foresaw the tragic moments of the century, a fact noted by Franz Landsberger, the director of Berlin's Jewish Museum, in a text entitled "Sie Wandern," dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the artist's death in September 1938. Landsberger chose to highlight and reproduce *Exile*, which had been shown in Berlin in 1933 at the opening of the Jewish museum, and again in the middle of the 1930s, as it clearly spoke to the deliberations of his German-Jewish audience.[13] Landsberger was not the first to associate the painting with the actual phenomenon of migration; he was preceded in a much more positive light by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, which placed on the front page of its magazine *The Jewish Immigrant* in 1909, a multi-layered image that had as its backdrop some elements deriving from Hirszenberg's *Exile* and others from E. M. Lilien's *Fathers and Sons* (1903). The two together create a long procession of exiled and wandering, traditional, Torah-carrying Jews approaching from a distant horizon (fig. 3). A solitary image of a Wandering Jew (based again on Lilien) is superimposed over them and welcomed into an open gate by "Lady America" who holds its key.[14] The image heralded America for its immigration policy that enabled close to two million Jews—like those depicted in *Exile*—to settle in the United States from 1890–1910, and linked the American flag, and a flag with the Star of David, with the verse from Psalm 17:8, "shelter us in the shadow of thy wings." Other associations between the painting and the migrations of Jews would recur.

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[9] For Pasternak's work see Mirjam Rajner, "Chagall's Jew in Bright Red," *Ars Judaica* 4 (2008): 68–71, figs. 5–8.

[10] Instead of using the original painting's title, the postcard's title refers to Feierberg's story entitled "Le-an?" published in 1900 in *Ha-Shiloah* (Hebrew) and *Voskhod* (Russian). See Hamutal Bar-Yosef, "Feierberg, Mordekhai Ze'ev," in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, ed. Gershon David Hundert, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008): 507–508.

[11] Hirszenberg to Leo Winz, 12 August, 1903 affirms that Hirszenberg was working on this painting also in 1903.

[12] See Galit Hasan-Rokem, "Jews as Postcards, or Postcards as Jews. Mobility in a Modern Genre," *JQR* 99 (2009): 512–513, 542–545,

Indeed, from its initial showings in Kraków and Paris in 1905, and then in the classic exhibition of Jewish art at the Galerie für Alte und neue Kunst in Berlin in 1907,[15] through its last showing, also in Berlin, at the Jewish Museum in 1936, the painting evoked cultural responses of a diverse nature, eventually becoming enshrined on the reverse side of the famous Warsaw Ghetto monument by Nathan Rapoport, for which it served as one of the inspirations. Yet the legacy of *Exile* was never a uniform one.

The first decade of the twentieth century was a turbulent one in Jewish life in Eastern Europe, and a host of cultural and political currents emerged that challenged dramatically traditional patterns of life. Part and parcel of these developments was the increasing Jewish involvement with different artistic currents in Galicia, and in Russian Poland in general; Hirszenberg was one of many artists of Jewish origin that attempted to make art his métier. In fact, when Martin Buber, who believed that "Jewish art is . . . a great educator . . . a teacher for a living feeling of all that is strong and beautiful,"[16] created his volume of *Jüdische Künstler* in 1903, Hirszenberg was not included. But Buber was apparently so enraptured by *Exile* and its preparatory drawings and studies that several agitated letters that Hirszenberg exchanged with him in 1905 demonstrate that he planned to create special reproductions of the painting.[17] In the spirit of his remarks at the Fifth Zionist Congress, Buber probably envisioned the potential of this image for the Zionist movement and wanted to make it easily accessible to its followers; Hirszenberg in turn was distressed at the length of time it took for the painting to be reproduced, seeking to earn some money as well as further recognition.

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fig. 23.; note as well, her own encounter with the image in the home of her relatives. Advertisements for Hirszenberg postcards and posters appeared in *Ost und West* and are available in different collections, private and public. It was published in Moscow by "Hevrat Levanon," in Germany, and elsewhere. See David G. Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 275–278, who offers a fine description of *Exile* and quotes Ansky's remark that reproductions of the painting were extensively shown in early twentieth-century Eastern European Jewish homes.

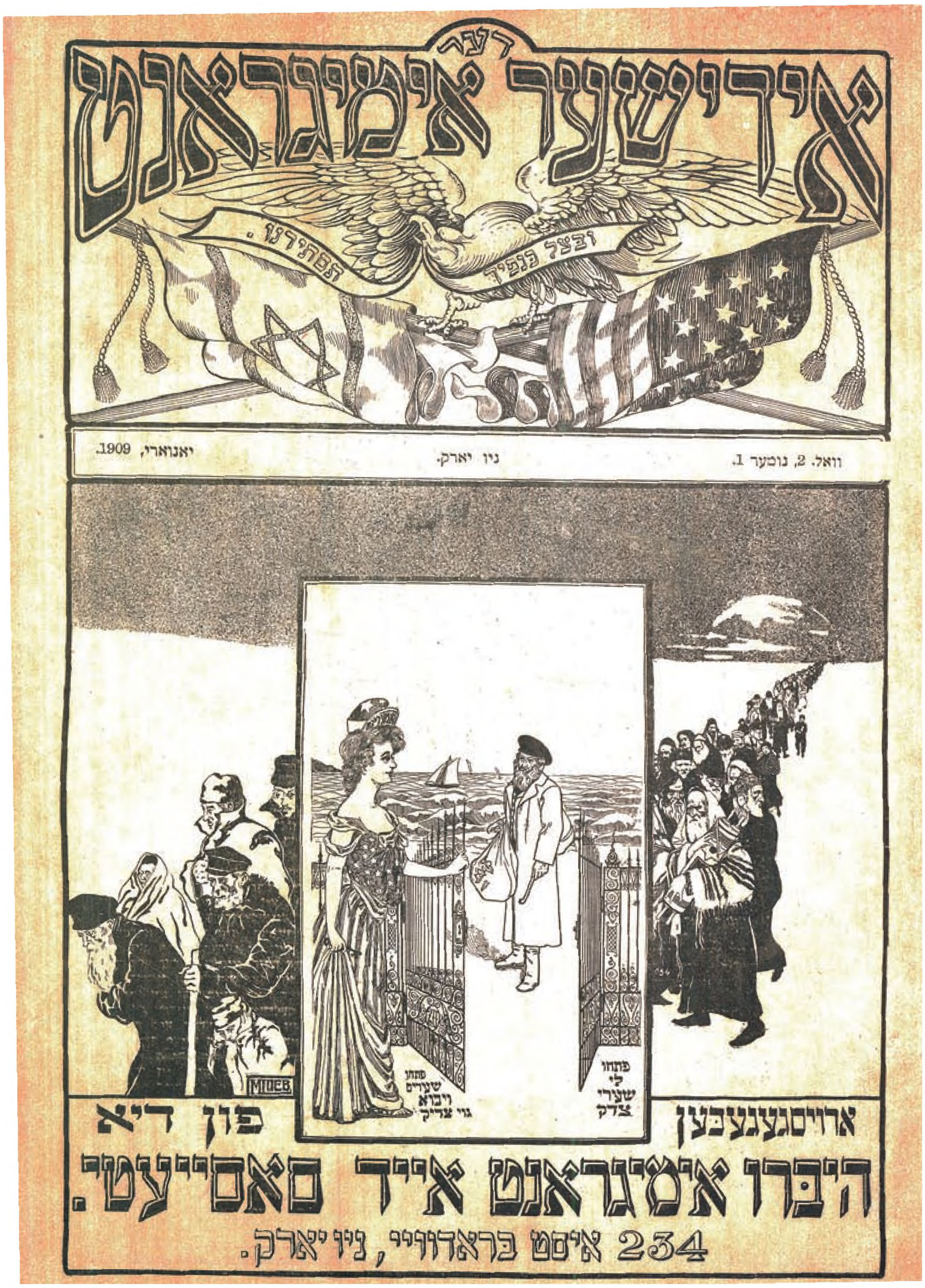
[13] Franz Landsberger, "Sie wandern. Zu Samuel Hirszenbergs 30. Todestage," *Gemeindeblatt der Jüdischen Gemeinde Berlin* 18 September 1938, 5; Hermann Simon, *Das Berliner Jüdische Museum in der Oranienburger Strasse* (Berlin: Berlin Museum, 1983), 86–87; 8; David Davidovitch, "Shmuel Hirszenberg," *Davar* 30 Sept. 1949 (Hebrew), 4 related to the "prophetic" aspect of *Exile* post-factum.

[14] *The Jewish Immigrant* 11 (January, 1909), cover. Lilien's image of the Wandering Jew is from 1902, and appears among the illustrations of Morris Rosenfeld's *Lieder des Ghetto* (1902, German translation). It accompanies the poem entitled "Elul." Cf. the card commemorating Jewish immigration into USA (1909) published by the Hebrew Publishing Co. commemorating Jewish immigration to the United States (1909).

[15] *Ausstellung jüdischer Künstler*, exh. cat. (Berlin, 1907); see also Batsheva Goldman Ida, *Fragmented Mirror. Exhibition of Jewish Artists, Berlin, 1907*, exh. cat. (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Museum of Art, 2009); it would appear that Hirszenberg's works were not shown in the very extensive exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Gallery, London in 1906. See *Exhibition of Jewish Art and Antiquities*, exh. cat. (London, 1906), and the extensive discussion of the exhibition in the *Jewish Chronicle* in November and December 1906. Nevertheless, several paintings in the exhibition dealt with the themes of exile and wandering. For references to the Paris showing, see below.

[16] From Buber's address on Jewish art in the Fifth Zionist Congress, 1901. See Gilya G. Schmidt, ed. and trans., *The First Buber. Youthful Zionist Writings of Martin Buber* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 51.

[17] Hirszenberg to Buber, 6 July 1905; 24 July 1905. Letters in Polish in the Martin Buber Archive, Israel National Library, Arc. Ms. Var. 350.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234 איסט בראדוויי, ניו יארק.

Fig. 3. *Jewish Immigrant*, 1909. Courtesy of Israel National Library, Jerusalem.

Whereas Buber was engaged with the painting, Yosef Hayim Brenner, a leading figure in the renaissance of modern Hebrew literature, gave vent to his unswerving revulsion against the nature of Jewish life in the Galut, epitomized by *Exile*. Having served in the Russian army for three years before escaping to London in 1904, Brenner voiced his feelings in an early story (*Maasim* [Actions], 1905), in which he described how its protagonist, a manual laborer from Palestine, upon seeing a reproduction of the painting hanging in his room, tore it to bits, ranting: "we are gypsies, gypsies, not sons of the Galut, damned gypsies."[18]

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[18] Quoted in Richard I. Cohen, *Jewish Icons. Art and Society in Modern Europe* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 233, based on the discussion in Avner Holtzman, *Aesthetics and National Revival: Hebrew Literature against the Visual Arts* (Tel-Aviv: Haifa University Press/Zmora-Bitan, 1999), 67–68 (Hebrew); on Brenner's condemnation of Galut, and his

Although Brenner's ideological rejection of the painting intimated a troubled relationship that certain later Zionist interpreters would have with *Exile* and its reflection of the Jewish fate in the Diaspora, it did not override its more positive, communicative value for Jews of a similar persuasion in his day. Even in the short-lived journal *Hame'orer* that Brenner co-founded in London in 1906, an acclaiming voice was sounded by Simon Millner, whose short laudatory piece on Hirszenberg ended with a paean to the artist and to his "great painting, whose content is the beginning and end of all the questions of the Hebrews' lives—'The Exile'."[19]

Millner's words were echoed in the melancholic poem of Morris Rosenfeld (1861–1923), "A Goles Marsh," that appeared in Warsaw's Yiddish newspaper *Roman-tsaytung* in 1907, alongside a large reproduction of *Exile*. Noted especially for his *Songs of the Ghetto* (1899, English translation) the American Yiddish poet now evoked dramatically the eternal suffering and wandering that Jews in Russia and Russian Poland sensed following the extensive loss of life in the violent pogroms of 1905 and again in 1906 in Białystok and Siedlce. Placed aside Hirszenberg's painting, the poem appeared to present a poetic commentary on the artist's intent, while relating directly to themes in the painting and to the classic figure of the Wandering Jew—("With the wanderer's staff in hand, /With no home and with no land, /No friend or savior on the way, / . . . Always walk, walk, walk, /Always stride, stride, stride, /While your strength can still abide."). Following *Roman-tsaytung*'s announcement of a competition for an appropriate melody, Rosenfeld's "A Goles Marsh" became a well-known, popular song. Its gloomy presentation of Jewish life, the epitome of a lachrymose interpretation of Jewish history, would also become *Exile*'s classic reference.[20]

What resonated for Millner, Buber, and others whom we will encounter shortly was clearly the sense in which *Exile* touched a nerve for those Jews who saw in it an expression of Jewish rootlessness. Moreover, the human tragedy imbued in this work spoke as well to Polish audiences, who may have detected in its depiction a characterization of their own distinct predicament—a people, whose homeland was still under foreign occupation. A case in point was an event that took place in the presence of Hirszenberg himself. On 12 December 1904 *Exile* was shown as a *tableau vivant* in the majestic Municipal Theater of Kraków (Teatr Miejski w Krakowie), performed by a group of actors, on an evening of the Maccabee society that included diverse musical renditions and a reading of Theodor Herzl's "The Menorah" (1897) by Dr. Seweryn Gottlieb. A lawyer, art critic and collector, and a friend of Hirszenberg's in the latter's last years in Kraków, Gottlieb recalled several years later the *tableau vivant*, which he considered a sublime moment. He described the emotional involvement of the audience made up of Jews and Poles, who wept during the performance and were shaken after seeing it. Performed a day after the completion of the Hanukkah holiday, the theatrical portrayal of the wandering and alarmed group of Jews in freezing weather, a live enactment of "Galut" created a strong feeling of identification with *Exile* among the audience. Hirszenberg was greeted enthusiastically by the audience. Gottlieb noted: "Struck by that painting, the audience, petrified, held their breath. Only when friends forcefully pushed the author onto the proscenium were we relieved and a storm of a previously unheard of enthusiasm began to rage. This was a tremendous [and] startling experience that the artist presented us with through the artistic synthesis of our entire fate."[21]

Some attention to the painting was given by Polish art critics. Antoni Chołoniewski, a Polish nationalist journalist who worked for several newspapers before becoming associated in 1903 with *Świat*, the bi-weekly Polish journal, was then somewhat sympathetic to the plight of Jews and denounced anti-Semitism, but as a Polish positivist, viewed Jewish assimilation into Polish

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political and social perspective in 1905–1906, see Jonathan Frankel, "Yosef Haim Brenner, the "Half-Intellegentsia," and Russian-Jewish Politics, 1899–1908," in *Culture Front. Representing Jews in Eastern Europe*, ed. Benjamin Nathans and Gabriella Safran (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 145–175.

[19] Millner, "Samuel Hirszenberg," 24. Millner (1882–1952) gradually devoted much of his life to writing on the plastic arts. He published works on Lesser Ury (1943), on Spinoza and the arts (1946), and on the Swedish artist of Jewish origin Ernst Josephson (1948), and others.

[20] See *Roman-tsaytung*, no. 9, 5 July 1907: 273–274. The painting was reprinted in ibid., no. 36, 1908, 1133–1134 aside the announcement of the artist's death. On the pogroms in 1905–1906, see Scott Ury, *Barricades and Banners. The Revolution of 1905 and the Transformation of Warsaw Jewry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), passim. For the translation of the section from Rosenfeld's poem, see: Benjamin Harshav, *The Polyphony of Jewish Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 220.

[21] Seweryn Gottlieb, "Samuel Hirszenberg. Wspomnienie," *Wschód* 39 (1908): 2–3; our sincere thanks to Dr hab. Diana Poskuta-Włodek, head of the Art Archives of the Juliusz Słowacki Theater in Kraków for her gracious assistance in sending us a copy of the evening poster and the review in *Glos Narodu*, no. 345 (1904): 4. The latter strongly criticized the municipal Polish theater for willing to host such an evening, devoted to the memory of the Maccabees, and celebrated Jewish ethnicity.

society as the ultimate goal.[22] Writing on Hirszenberg in 1907, Chołoniewski envisioned *Exile* as part of an imaginary triptych, together with the *Wandering Jew* (1899) and *The Black Banner* (1905).[23] As such, he saw the three paintings as a visual synthesis of Jewish history, of two thousand years of "wandering and martyrdom... from the collapse of their fatherland." Though desiring to see their complete integration into Polish society, Chołoniewski commiserated with Hirszenberg's Jews, and created a clear connection between *Exile* and Hirszenberg's *Wandering Jew* (1899), very much in the manner that the artist himself depicted it in his studio, as reported by Henryk Lew.[24] "The procession moves slowly," Chołoniewski wrote, "step by step in a snowstorm, without any will to make this journey faster. The end of it is not coming and nobody believes in it. There is no place to rest! The wandering Jew cannot relax."[25]

The theme of the painting overshadowed interpretations of a non-iconographic nature. However, one Polish writer related to other aspects of Hirszenberg's painting after seeing it in an exhibition in Lwów, sponsored by the Society of Friends of Fine Arts in the city. Marian Olszewski was clearly taken by the work, and related to the artist's individualization of each person, his ability to bring out the inner psychological feelings of the figures as they embark on a journey, the color arrangement, and the morose atmosphere created. Olszewski considered it a "masterpiece created by a very sensitive eye and hand" and treated it as a work of modern art, in a purely formalistic way, uninterested in its narrative qualities and burdensome message.[26]

Exhibiting works of Jewish artists in Poland was by no means novel, nor was their treatment in Polish newspapers. Indeed, an important element among Krakówian Jews, like Seweryn Gottlieb, continued to maintain a strong Polish identity, and find a source of support in Polish empathy with the Jewish plight. Henryk Hochman, a Kraków sculptor of Jewish origin (1881–1943), who was part of the circle of young Jewish artists that met in Hirszenberg's studio between 1904 and 1907 in Kraków, reversed the direction of the *Exiles'* wanderers: instead of leaving Eastern Europe, they are seen arriving in Poland (fig. 4).[27] Hochman's relief (1907–10) depicted a theme that Polish artists in the nineteenth century, like Wojciech Gerson, treated with imagination and empathy—the arrival and acceptance of Jews to Poland by Kazimir the Great in the fourteenth century. Hochman shows Jews arriving in a subservient manner, with one youngster carrying the Torah as does an elder figure in *Exile*. They are all received by "Poland," represented in Hochman's work as a crowned and winged angel. Commissioned by Kraków's Jewish community, which clearly wished to stress its sense of belonging to Poland, Hochman upheld what Ezra Mendelsohn has aptly termed an "integrationist approach," one that shows identification both with the host country and culture while maintaining a sense of Jewish identity. One can only imagine that Hochman, as part of Hirszenberg's young milieu, was present at the evening at the Municipal Theater in 1904, and was inspired by Hirszenberg's work. Alas, Hochman's relief is presently installed on a wall of the Town Hall in Kazimierz (a historical area of Kraków), to commemorate the former Jewish quarter, a decision made by city officials following WWII.

Beyond Poland, *Exile* resonated as well. Hirszenberg sent the painting to an extremely large salon in Paris in 1905, where several thousand paintings and sculptures were exhibited, a fact noted with exasperation by various reviewers, who sensed the inability to truly separate the wheat from the chaff. Notwithstanding, *Exile* was illustrated in the official catalogue under the title *En Exil* (*Juifs*)—Jews in Exile—and received commendable one-line comments by various reviewers, who described the scene depicted.[28]

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[22] See e. g. Stanislaus A. Blejwas, "Polish Positivism and the Jews," *Jewish Social Studies* 46 (1984): 21–36.

[23] *The Black Banner* is presently in the Jewish Museum in New York. See Norman L. Kleeblatt and Vivian B. Mann, *Treasures of the Jewish Museum* (New York: Universe Books, 1986, 166–167.), and, "The Black Banner," accessed July 19, 2014, http://thejewishmuseum.org/collection/19689-the-black-banner.

[24] See above p. 48 and Lew, "Z pracowni malarskich," 125–126.

[25] Stosław [Antoni Chołoniewski], "Samuel Hirszenberg," *Świat* 8 (1907): 4–5; Chołoniewski gradually gravitated to a much more antagonistic position towards the Jewish presence in Poland, becoming a staunch supporter of Roman Dmowski's Polish National Democratic Party and viewed favorably the expulsion of the Jews from the country. His critical essays were published in 1913 in *Krytyka*. See David Engel, "Salo Baron's View of the Middle Ages in Jewish History: Early Sources," *Studies in Medieval Jewish Intellectual and Social History. Festschrift in Honor of Robert Chazan*, ed. David Engel, Lawrence W. Schiffman, and Elliot R. Wolfson (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 306–308.

[26] Marian Olszewski, "Jesienna wystawa w TPSPwe Lwowie," *Nasz Kraj* III (1907): 66.

[27] On Hochman's participation in the circle around Hirszenberg in Kraków between 1904 and 1907, see Natasza Styrna, "Jewish Artists in Kraków, 1873–1939," in idem, ed., *Jewish Artists in Kraków* (Kraków: The Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, 2008), 42 ff.

[28] See *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1905 publié sur la direction de Ludovic Baschet* (Paris: Société des artistes français, 1905), 79 (12); *Le Monde artiste*, 11 June 1905, 376; *Les Annales*, 11 June 1905, 372; *Le xix^e^ siècle*, 30 April 1905, 4; *Revue internationale de sociologie* 3 (1905), 400.

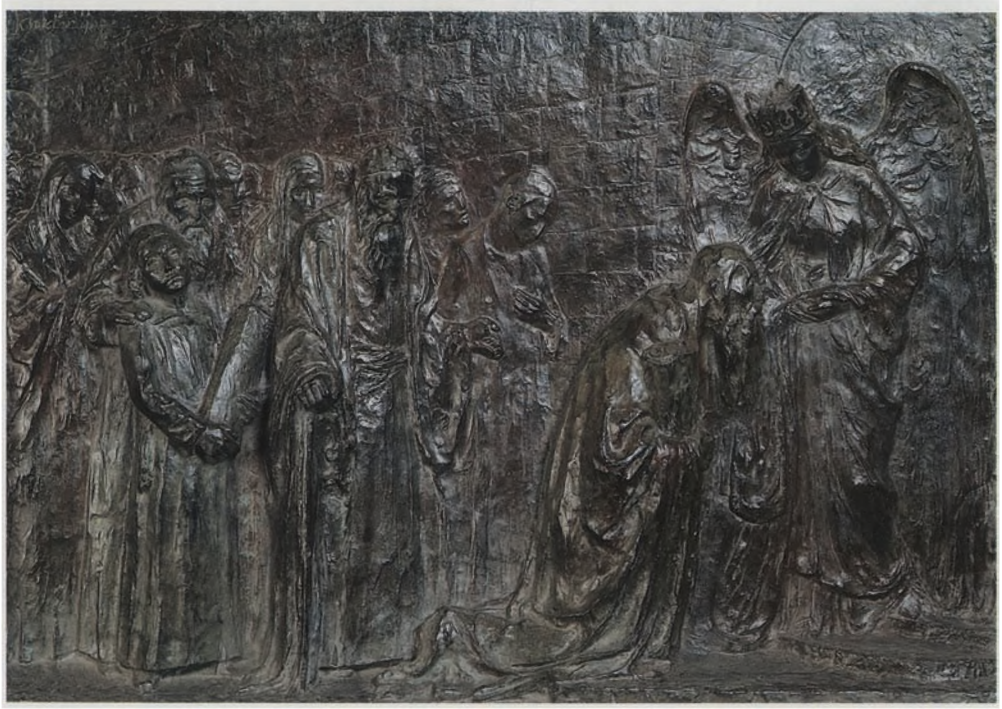

Fig. 4. Henryk Hochman, *The Arrival of Jews to Poland*, 1907–1910. Image courtesy of Eugeniusz Duda, Historical Museum of the Municipality of Kraków Old Synagogue.

Two years later the painting was exhibited in a more favorable venue with less than 200 works of art, the *Ausstellung Jüdischer Künstler* in Berlin at the Gallery for Ancient and Modern Art, and illustrated in its small catalogue. In his introduction to the catalogue, Alfred Nossig, the sculptor and eclectic intellectual, remarked on what he considered the unique art of Jewish artists—their portrayal of exile, wandering, suffering, and the ghetto experience—what he called the art of *Heimatlosigkeit* (homelessness).[29] Certainly *Exile* (called *Verbannung* in the exhibition) figured prominently in the minds of the catalogue's editor and the exhibition's organizers, but even more so in the thought of certain Zionists. Berthold Feiwel, a collaborator of Buber's, and a leading Moravian Zionist, who was a central figure in Zionist cultural projects in the west, hailed the painting's enduring social message. On seeing it amidst the exhibition of other works by Jewish artists, Feiwel proclaimed that *Exile* overshadowed them all, for it alone succeeded in synthesizing the Jewish experience of the age. It would appear that Feiwel viewed the painting in the context of Kishinev, whose pogrom he expended a good deal of effort to document in texts and photographs (April, 1903). He spared nothing from his readers. He documented physical atrocities and plunder luridly, while celebrating acts of Jewish heroism. *Exile* undoubtedly touched Feiwel's sensitivity to Jewish suffering but also served his purposes in promoting the *völkisch* orientation of cultural Zionism and in developing a Jewish "racial strength" (*Rassenkraft*) and a "people's personality" (*Volkspersönlichkeit*) that would serve the aesthetic ideal. *Exile* had aroused the need for what Feiwel had called "the new spirit." To interpret the painting in this vein encouraged recognition of the tragic nature of Jewish history and its flip side—the pessimistic message of Zionist ideology that pervaded all forms of life in the Diaspora, but encouraged the assistance of Jews in distress.[30] Feiwel was not alone in his interpretation of the painting. Aron Harmoni, the editor of *Ha-olam* wrote a brief account of his visit to the 1907 exhibition that was devoted almost entirely to *Exile*. He described some of the individuals in the painting poetically or mystically and in awe, described the leading figure as walking with great courage, his eyes full of hope as he calls to all—"we are in *galut*, but we who have lost our land will be returned slowly but surely." Harmoni went on: "And I hear the cry of the wind that accompanies this symphonic tragedy. And the children . . . (stet) they are cold, the poor ones . . . Yes, the Galut has already found its artist, the brush of Hirszenberg has expressed it all."[31]

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[29] See *Ausstellung jüdischer Künstler*; Goldman Ida, *Fragmented Mirror*, 141. See also the brief comments by G. Kutna on the two paintings, *Exile* and *Spinoza*, Hirszenberg exhibited in 1907. Kutna, "Zur Ausstellung jüdischer Künstler," *Ost und West* 8.1 (1908): 24.

[30] Based on Cohen, *Jewish Icons*, 231–233; see also Berthold Feiwel ed., *Die Judenmassacres in Kischinew von Told* [pseud.]. *Mit einer weiheblatt von E. M. Lilien und Illustrationen* (Berlin: Juedischer Verlag [1903]).

These deeply evocative descriptions of *Exile* offer the cultural context that elicited its dramatic impact on various artists. Abel Pann (born in 1883 as Abba Pfeffermann, in Kreslawka, in the Vitebsk region of White Russia) visited Kishinev in 1903 as a young member of the *Radikal Po'alei Zion* movement and documented in various drawings scenes from the pogrom. In his own *Refugees*, an oil painting of 1906, Pann clearly draws on *Exile*, but by then in Paris, and under the influence of the camera, he created contemporary, "real" looking people, divested of the more symbolic, "timeless" attributes that Hirszenberg had given his wanderers (fig. 5). Later images of Pann from World War I (his "Jug of Tears" series) continued his involvement with the expulsion and wandering of Jews, and may reflect a persistent impact of Hirszenberg's work.[32]

Hirszenberg's premature death in 1908 echoed throughout the Jewish and Polish press, in the Yishuv and in Europe. By then a new generation of Jewish artists was already emerging and some, notably Marc Chagall, Jacob Steinhardt and Joseph Budko felt the need to measure themselves against the "old master," to be inspired by him, but ultimately to reject him. It was the young Chagall who first responded to the reproductions of Hirszenberg's *Exile* (by now known in a variety of media) in an entirely different manner. Chagall intentionally entered into a dialogue with Hirszenberg with a pencil sketch dated 1909, but probably created somewhat later, close to his departure from Russia for Paris in early 1911 (fig. 6).[33] The handwritten color-instructions in Russian suggest that the drawing was meant to be a preparatory work for a larger oil painting that was never executed. Chagall transformed the solemn mood of Hirszenberg's *Exile* into a less serious, even comic and child-like portrayal, with an entirely different message. Thus, while some of the figures still echo individuals depicted in Hirszenberg's work, the young artist seemed to deliberately alter details to project his message. By granting the children an active role in leading the grownups, by placing Jews in a clear setting leaving behind a rural house with a picket fence (rather than wandering through a timeless nowhere), and by adding an angel hovering above the migrants, pointing towards the direction in which they are going and thus suggesting (somewhat mockingly) God's involvement in this exodus, Chagall seems to be relating to his own situation and his personal "exodus." Not to the Promised Land as suggested by the angel's gesture in Lilien's famous design for the Fifth Zionist Congress in 1901, but to Chagall's own "Promised Land" of Paris. Hirszenberg, born more than twenty years before Chagall, seems to have already presented for him a tradition, and *Exile* a legacy, from which Chagall—as a member of the younger generation of Jewish artists—was expected to learn. However, being part of an entirely different artistic epoch, marked by early twentieth-century modernism and the avant-garde, Chagall had to challenge this tradition in order to define his own position.

Even in Jerusalem and in the Yishuv in general *Exile* would struggle for a preeminent place in the Zionist canon. It did have a great supporter in Boris Schatz, who, in attempting to define the New Hebrew art through the Bezalel School of arts and crafts, used *Exile* as an example of the old Diasporic life and art's depiction of it. Just as he often stood for photographs with Zionist dignitaries in front of Hirszenberg's *Wandering Jew*, so Schatz endeavored in the memorial plaque he created in memory of Hirszenberg (ca. 1914) to firmly establish an eternal bond between the creator of *Exile*, his rejection of Galut, the Jewish wanderers, and the vision of Zionism (fig. 7). He showed the deceased artist holding his palette and looking at the images he created—the desolate Eastern European Jews as they wander and gradually fade into the background of the relief. The inscription Schatz appended to this work merged Hirszenberg with the wanderers and gave the artist's migration to Palestine in 1907 a clear Zionist twist not completely commensurate with the artist's original motivation in coming to Jerusalem:

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[31] Aron Harmoni, "Bataarucha (ziyyonei-iparon)," *Ha-olam* 1 (1907): 606–607.

[32] See Yigal Zalmona, *The Art of Abel Pann. From Montparnasse to the Land of the Bible*, mus. cat. (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 2003), 8–9, 15, and other images from World War I (35, 47).

[33] Cf. Amishai-Maisels, *Depiction and Interpretation*, 19–20; idem, "Chagall and the Jewish Revival: Center or Periphery?" in *Tradition and Revolution. The Jewish Renaissance in Russian Avant-Garde Art, 1912–1928*, ed. Ruth Apter-Gabriel, mus. cat. (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1988), 73, 92 fn. 12.

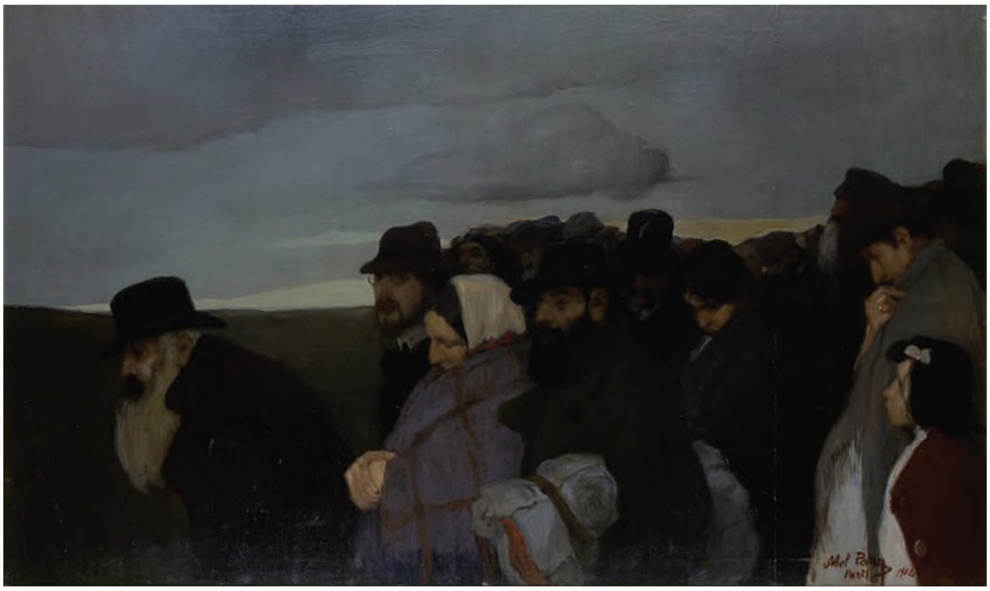

Fig. 5. Abel Pann, *Refugees*, 1906. Oil on canvas. 97 × 60 cm, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum by Avshalom Avital.

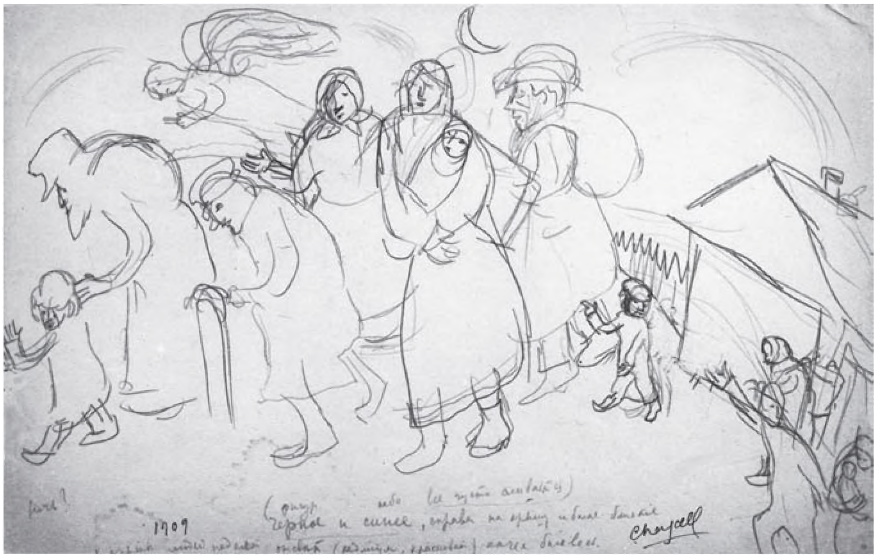

Fig. 6. Marc Chagall, *Exodus*, 1909, pencil on paper, 21.9 × 35.6 cm, private collection © ADAGP, Paris [*2015*].

Broken and rejected in the Diaspora
With a painful and sick soul
To the land of your forefathers you migrated

To renew your days in the rebirth
To revive the Hebrew art
You aspired and hoped

Why did bitter death
Take you from us so soon?[34]

However, Schatz's design to maintain the centrality of these themes in Bezalel did not sustain the changing artistic and cultural spirit of the school and the Yishuv. Though individuals remained attached to the painting and preserved reproductions of it in the private sphere, and Zionist organizations appropriated it for publicity and other goals,[35] *Exile* engaged artists in Palestine only for a decade. Moreover, it became

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[34] Alec Mishory, *Lo and Behold. Zionist Icons and Visual Symbols in Israeli Culture* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2000), 57–58 (Hebrew). We follow here his dating.

[35] E.g. in 1910 the Jewish National Fund published a reproduction of *Exile* on the title page of a children's book, in which a mother reminds her son that she saw Russian Jews wandering through

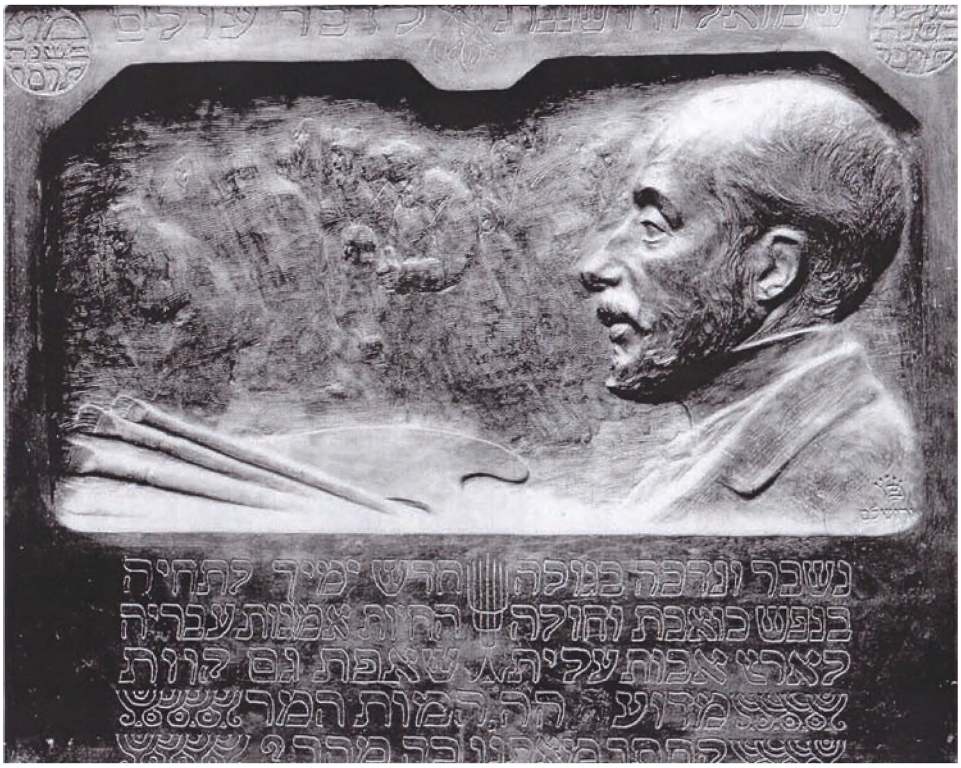

Fig. 7. Boris Schatz, *The Memorial Plaque Dedicated to Hirszenberg*, ca. 1914. Courtesy Central Zionist Archives, PHG/1017415.

the symbol for the old detested world, of exile and non-belonging, of a world of frustration and anger, as earlier expressed by Brenner's protagonist. In a letter written in 1916, during World War I, by Moshe Sharett to Rivka, his elder sister, the future prime minister of Israel included a postcard of Hirszenberg's *Galut* (as Sharett cited it), and added the comment: I would call this interesting postcard "the role of the Jew in the universal war." A year later he received a letter from his sister who described to him in detail the exile of Jews from Tel Aviv-Jaffa by the Ottoman Empire, and she added: "Are we children of the land, connected to the land and think that our lives are connected to the place where we live, our homeland, the land of our efforts/work (ארץ עמלנו), or are we simply Jews, Diaspora Jews, eternal Jews with a walking staff, and a kettle and a bag in our hands. Do you remember the picture by Hirszenberg? 'Galut'!"[36]

Indeed, not until the work of Ze'ev Raban, who began teaching at Bezalel in 1912, do we see once again an attempt to integrate the Hirszenbergian motifs of *Exile* into Zionist art. Raban returned to *Exile* during the trying moments of the school's "swan song" in the late 1920s, when Boris Schatz tried desperately to revive it. *Exile* appeared this time as a motif decorating a large repoussé frame, today framing the well-known 1909 photograph of Schatz and Arnold Lachovsky (an artist of Ukrainian-Jewish descent, who replaced Hirszenberg at Bezalel for a short period), standing in front of the Bezalel building.[37] The photograph was

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their town after having been expelled from their homes, and helps him decide to put a coin he received from a relative into the JNF blue box to help build up Palestine for the needy. Simon Neumann, *Der Traum von der Nationalfondsbüchse: ein Märchen für Kinder* (Cologne: P. Amsel: [1910]); and a French version with *Exile* on the opening page Simon Neumann, *Le rêve de la tirelire du Fonds National. Conte pour enfants* (Brussels: Mercas, 1917); see also Michael Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 174.

[36] Moshe Sharett, *Nitra'eh ve-ulai lo. Mikhtavim min ha-tsava ha-'Otomani 1916–1918* (Tel-Aviv: ha-'Amutah le-moreshet MoshehSharet (!), 1968), 50; Sharett's letter was from 24 March 1916; his sister's letter to him was from 27 April 1917.

[37] Different dates have been given to the photograph of Schatz and Lachovsky. We have followed the dating provided by the Jerusalem Artists' House, as it is consistent with the dates Lachovsky taught at Bezalel and the date noted in Nurit Shilo-Cohen ed., *Bezalel 1906–1929*, mus. cat. (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1983), 72; cf. Yigal Zalmona, *Boris Schatz. The Father of Israeli Art*, mus. cat. (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2006), who dates the photograph to 1913.

enlarged and placed in the frame to be shown at the Bezalel retrospective in 1982 at the Israel Museum, and presently hangs at the entrance to the Jerusalem Artists' House in the Old Bezalel building in Jerusalem. Placing this image and photograph in the entrance creates a clear link between the Old Bezalel and the New, and grants Schatz, Raban, Hirszenberg, and the building itself a sense of continuity with the past and a formative role in the development of Israeli art. Raban's frame shows a much larger number of wanderers than does *Exile*, but the source of its inspiration is transparent. Raban's wanderers are flanked by the figures of Moses and Aaron, establishing a connection between the modern wandering and the biblical.[38] That association, and the trauma of World War II, was inevitably behind the series of stamps (Stamps of the Diaspora) printed by the Jewish National Fund in 1943 that included a detail of Hirszenberg's *Exile* surrounded, as were the others, by a frame comprised of the twelve biblical tribes. On the whole, the stamps placed in sharp relief the Zionist emphasis on the revival of biblical glory and national revival, against the diasporic life of wandering, persecution, and helplessness.[39]

However it was in Europe once again that Hirszenberg's work found resonance as Jews were wandering to and fro, looking for a haven of refuge in the interwar years, especially during the 1930s, when the economic situation in Poland was exacerbated by growing anti-Semitism, and German Jews began to leave their homeland as they encountered the Nazi onslaught. One can detect a certain cognizance of *Exile* in Jacob Steinhardt's woodcut in his 1923 Haggadah, which depicts Jacob being led by his sons to Egypt (fig. 8). Steinhardt—who was born in 1887 in Żerków in the Posen district of Germany (now in Poland)—had fought in World War I and encountered Jewish life and misery in Lithuania, had studied with Hermann Struck and others, and after the war turned extensively to depict Jewish themes. The image of Jacob in a carriage appears on the page of the Haggadah that records the story of Laban the Aramean who wanted to uproot all, and Jacob is brought down to Egypt. Issues of exile and persecution are intimated in this woodcut;[40] the harried look on the faces of the individuals reflected Steinhardt's concern during those years.

Several years later, as mentioned, *Exile* was shown at the opening of the Jewish Museum in Berlin on 24 January 1933, and intermittently thereafter, leaving clearly an impression on visitors and the staff. But it was Arthur Szyk, the Łódź born artist (1894), who was certainly engaged with the painting of his Łódź predecessor. Szyk, who completed in the 1920s a variety of illustrations with Jewish content, began in 1933 to work on a Haggadah that would eventually become one of his signature efforts. Our attention is drawn to one of the images (created in 1936), the English dedication page to the British king that reads: "At the Feet of Your most Gracious Majesty I humbly lay these works of my hands, shewing forth the Afflictions of my People Israel." Szyk filled the page with numerous Jewish, English, and Polish symbols and at the bottom placed a group of despondent, traditional Jews, heading towards a castle shaped building adorned with a Star of David and inscribed with the word "Zion" (in Hebrew). As several commentators have noted, the wanderers are separated from the castle by an English ship that is ostensibly patrolling the waters to prevent Jewish immigration to Palestine. Szyk's crestfallen wanderers bunched together clearly evoke the figures in *Exile*, as one carries a Torah, another a baby, and are headed in the same direction as are Hirszenberg's figures. Szyk, who was not prone to show dejected Jews, utilized the Hirszenberg model to call upon the king to revoke the White Paper that England promulgated in 1939 to curb Jewish immigration to Palestine and offer these wanderers a home and sustenance. George VI who ascended the throne in 1936 was the recipient of the Haggadah in 1940 when it was eventually printed. It would appear that Szyk was beholden to *Exile*, and its uncanny relevance to the inter-war migration of Jews,

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[38] On Raban, see Batsheva Goldman Ida, *Ze'ev Raban. A Hebrew Symbolist*, mus. cat. (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Museum of Art and Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2001). Hebrew; Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, passim. Neither work discusses Raban's frame. It is interesting to ponder whether Meir Gur-Arie's sketch for a leather box to include a gift to Lord Balfour in 1925 was not in some way consciously reconstructing and reversing Hirszenberg's *Exile*, in the use of the motif of a large parade of diverse figures (farmers, orthodox, women, children), following a traditional Jew holding a scroll of law, on their way to Jerusalem. Ibid., bet. 16–18.

[39] The series also included works by Lilien, Struck, Steinhardt, Budko, and Leonid Pasternak. Not all the stamps evoked a sense of tragedy. See Stamps of the Diaspora in www.zionistarchives.org.il.

[40] *Haggadah shel pessach* (Berlin: Ferdinand Ostertagverlag, 1923). Steinhardt executed the illustrations for the *Haggadah* both as etchings and as woodcuts during 1920–1922. See Ziva Amishai-Maisels, *Jakob Steinhardt Etchings and Lithographs* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1981), 12.

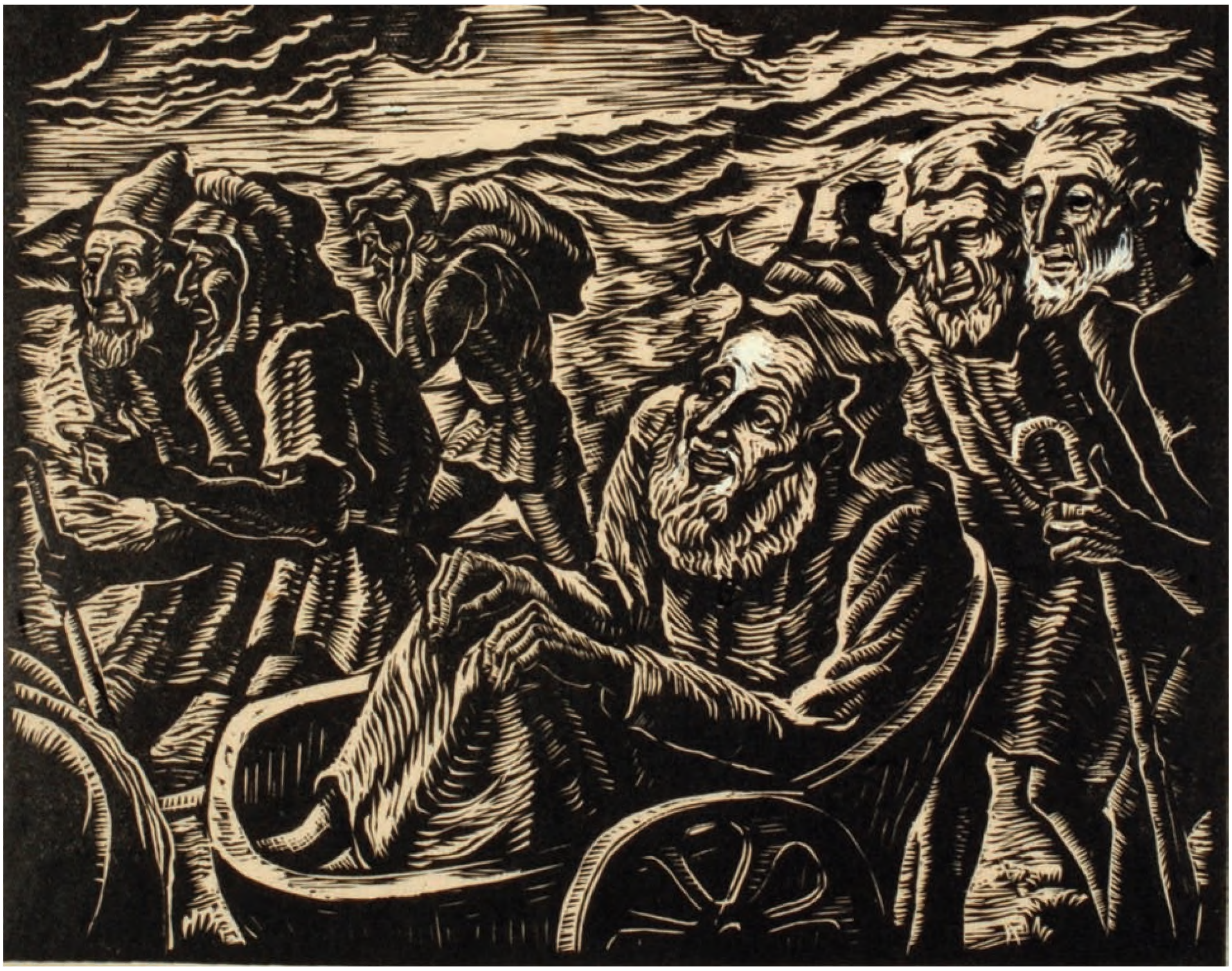

Fig. 8. Jacob Steinhardt, *Jacob on the Way to Egypt*, 1920–1922/1923. Illustration to Passover Haggadah, Berlin, 1923. Woodcut, 1920. 143 × 182 cm. The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

as he returned to it for inspiration in at least two later depictions of Jews as refugees (1940) and prisoners of wars (1939).[41]

During the Holocaust years, artists active in anti-Fascist movements, prisons, ghettoes, camps or in exile, turned repeatedly to Hirszenberg's *Exile* for inspiration. At first depictions of the stream of refugees, and later the forceful deportations often echoed, consciously or unconsciously, this known Jewish icon. Wishing not only to refer to the current situation, but also to elevate it to the level of a new symbol of Jewish catastrophe, artists turned to the archetype—Hirszenberg's timeless picture of Jewish migration. Only now, it did not lead to an unknown destination but to a definite one—to death.

Understandably, the first examples of this iconographic impulse emerged from Germany, where already during the Weimar Republic much creative social art was produced that responded sensitively to the suffering and aftermath of WWI. Lea Grundig, a German-Jewish communist artist who from 1933 actively opposed Nazism by using bold graphic art to express her political stand, was one of the first artists to react to the streams of Jewish migrants. A student of the Dresden Academy, Grundig came under the influence of Otto Dix, and created from 1934–1936 several cycles of etchings (*Under the Swastika*, *War Threatens!*, and *The Jew is to Blame*). In *The Flight Begins* (1934), rather than show individuals migrating in an orderly procession across the empty field, she portrayed them running in circles, as they are pushed and maltreated by young Germans, projecting a state of panic and total uncertainty.[42] From 1933 on, Lea, born Langer, and her husband Hans Grundig, a German communist and an artist in his own right, were repeatedly imprisoned and interrogated. Finally, she was allowed to emigrate from Germany and in 1940 she arrived in Palestine as a refugee. Highly sensitive to the destiny of European Jews, having experienced herself Nazi persecution, she was able to imagine in 1942–1943 the atrocities, albeit known but not yet fully understood. In the album originally entitled *B'gai ha-haregah* (Tel Aviv, 1944) Grundig included among the depictions of the train transport and the death in gas chambers, a scene (*Refugees*) where she now clearly turned to *Exile* for inspiration.[43] Although once again the composition reveals a much greater state of despair, achieved by filling the entire space of the painting with densely crowded, frightened, and concerned images of kerchiefed women and working-class men, Grundig included in the crowd two elderly, bearded, traditionally dressed Jews. One of them (a rabbi ?) carries a Torah scroll, clearly recalling the figure from Hirszenberg's work. Similarly, as in *Exile*, he is matched by a young man carrying a bundle and a baby. Yet, both men carry their precious burden awkwardly—the Torah lies in the old man's arms horizontally like a child; as the child hangs lifelessly over the young man's arm. The positive symbols of Jewish spiritual and physical continuity, present in Hirszenberg's work, received here a pessimistic comment.

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[41] Steven Luckert, *The Art and Politics of Arthur Szyk* (Washington: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2002), passim; Joseph P. Ansell, *Szyk. Artist, Jew, Pole* (Oxford and Portland, OR.: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 92–98; Shalom Sabar, "The Historical and Artistic Context of The Szyk Haggadah," in *Freedom Illuminated. Understanding the Szyk Haggadah*, ed. Byron L. Sherwin and Irvin Ungar (Burlingame: Historicana, 2008), 56–59. Sabar was the only commentator to note the influence of Hirszenberg on this image.

Such was the atmosphere that prevailed in Ludwig Meidner's work created while living in exile in London during WWII. One of the leading members of the German expressionist movement, Meidner, an artist of Jewish origin, whose work the Nazis considered "degenerate art," escaped from Germany in 1939. His 1942 cycle of drawings "*Massacres in Poland*" or "*The Suffering of Jews in Poland*" dedicated to the persecution and murder of European Jews, includes a scene entitled *The Procession of People* showing a line of emaciated men and women, dressed in rags, many of them barefoot. The scene showing either refugees or camp inmates is the artist's imagination based on frightening news he was receiving during the war years in England.[44]

Raphael Mandelzweig, a Polish Jewish artist who escaped to the Soviet Union during the war, returned to Poland and eventually emigrated to Argentina. In his *Refugees*, 1945–1947, the artist entirely relied upon *Exile*. Clearly a witness to scenes of Jewish plight and persecution in Eastern Europe, he depicted a procession of fugitives, dressed in contemporary clothes and led by an elderly patriarchal figure. Other figures: an elderly, bearded Jew with a cane; and the young girl, carrying a basket, rather than the symbolic kettle, *inter alia*, together with the mise en scène, recall *Exile* in mood and detail. Although walking in an open field they leave behind a burnt and destroyed town.[45]

From another angle, from the perspective of artists who were incarcerated in ghettoes and camps, *Exile* continued to reverberate, especially when depicting or reconstructing the memory of the transports and deportations. Charlotte Burešová, a native of Prague, who survived the Theresienstadt ghetto, where she had worked under orders in the artists' workshop to paint copies of classical masterpieces, used her skill (which eventually saved her from deportation) to create numerous "unofficial" works, deliberately showing the rich artistic and cultural life of the ghetto. By portraying spiritual pursuits, and not wallowing in suffering and fear, she believed that she could distance somewhat and fight the misery around her. It was only much later, in 1965, now back in Prague that she relived the fear she had experienced of being transported to the East. In an ink and charcoal drawing entitled "Deportation," in which elderly, bearded Jews, women and children, are huddled together in an empty space, Hirszenberg's *Exile* is recast (fig. 9). No Torah is carried, but heavy sacks of worldly possessions weigh down people's backs, as they tread lifelessly. So too does the central figure, an elderly patriarchal Jew, who supports himself on a wanderer's cane, replicating Hirszenberg's prominent migrant.[46]

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[42] On Grundig's art and life see Amishai-Maisels, *Depiction and Interpretation*, 25–26, 379 fn. 94. See also Gideon Ofrat, "Matai gilta ha'omanut ha'israelit et ha'shoa?" accessed July 20, 2014, http://gideonofrat.wordpress.com/2010/12/27/.

[43] Leah Grundig, *B'gai ha-haregah: rishumim* (Tel Aviv: Dfus Ha'aretz, 1944). n. p.

[44] On Meidner's art and life in exile and an illustration of this work see Erik Riedel, " 'Man lebt hier wie in die Wüste'. Zu jüdischen Exilkünstlern und ihrer Rezeption," in *Das Recht des Bildes—Jüdische Perspektiven in der modernen Kunst*, exh. cat., ed. Hans Günter Golinski and Sepp Hiekisch-Picard (Bochum: Museum Bochum, 2003), 242, 244.

[45] Raphael Mandelzweig, *Pintura—Dibujos* (Buenos Aires: Comite de Homenaje a R. Mandelzweig, 1950), unpaginated introduction; image, 24.

[46] On Burešová and her drawing see Pnina Rosenberg, *Art = Remembrance. Artists in the Holocaust*, exh. cat. (Lohamei Haghetaot: Ghetto Fighter's Museum, 2007), 107, fig. 65.; see also Roskies,

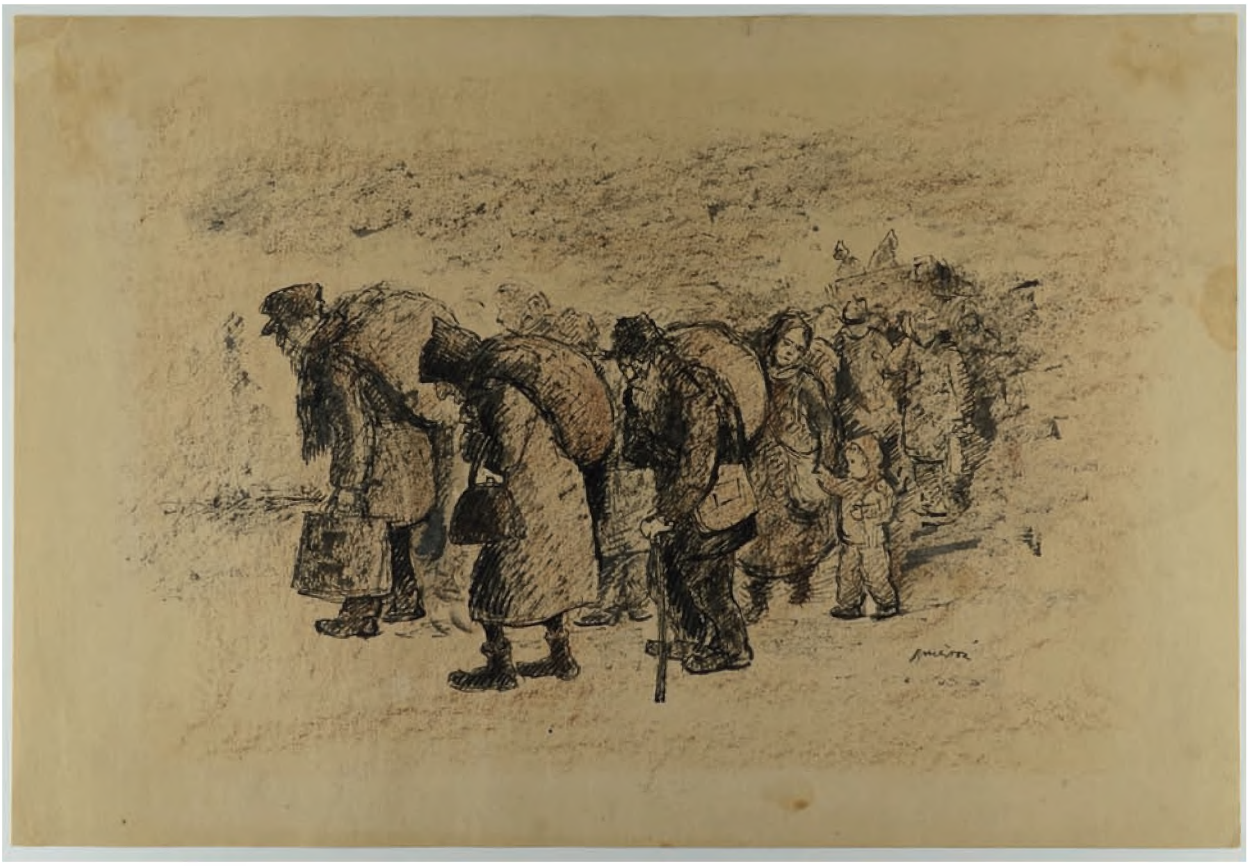

Fig. 9. Charlotte Burešová, *Deportation*, 1965. India ink and charcoal, 30 × 42 cm. Courtesy Art Collection, Beit Lohamei Haghetaot—Ghetto Fighters' House Museum, Israel, cat. no. 1006.

In contrast to these artists, Bedřich Fritta (the pseudonym of Fritz Taussig) created numerous scenes depicting the hardship of his imprisonment in Theresienstadt. As head of the drawing studio in the Jewish self-administration's technical department, he used the office supplies to create unofficial drawings depicting the misery of the ghetto life. Once caught, together with the entire group of artists, he was imprisoned and later sent to Auschwitz, where he perished in 1944. Before being deported, the artists managed to smuggle out and hide their drawings, which survived the war.[47] One of the undated works entitled *Incoming Transport II* shows a long trail of people, diminishing towards the horizon, most of them old and frail, bent under their possessions marked by numbers.[48] They are facing towards the left side of the drawing, as in Hirszenberg's work, however not striding westwards, but entering Theresienstadt's fortress.

The tragedy of European Jewry in the Holocaust gave further "life" to *Exile*, but once again not all in the same spirit. Clearly, the most public and dramatic representation quoting the painting is Nathan Rapoport's memorial to the Warsaw ghetto uprising, which was built on the site of the bunker from which the first shots were fired by the insurrectionists. Now situated in front of the recently inaugurated Museum of the History of Polish Jews, the monument was first unveiled on 19 April 1948, five years to the day after the uprising began. Whereas on the frontal side of the monument, one encounters seven figures that symbolize all ages and both sexes, who are truly "transformed from skeletal to legendary proportions," highlighting

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Against the Apocalypse, 290, fig. 13 (date is mistakenly given as c. 1944); see also the pencil and ink drawing *The Train to Hell*, (1947) by the Warsaw born artist David Olère in Rosenberg, *Art = Remembrance*, 101, fig. 68.

[47] See Bedřich Fritta, *Drawings from the Theresienstadt Ghetto*, Jewish Museum Berlin, 17 May–29 September 2013, accessed May, 25, 2015, http://www.jmberlin.de/fritta/en/biographie.php.

[48] For illustration and moving description of this work see Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse*, 290–294, fig. 14.

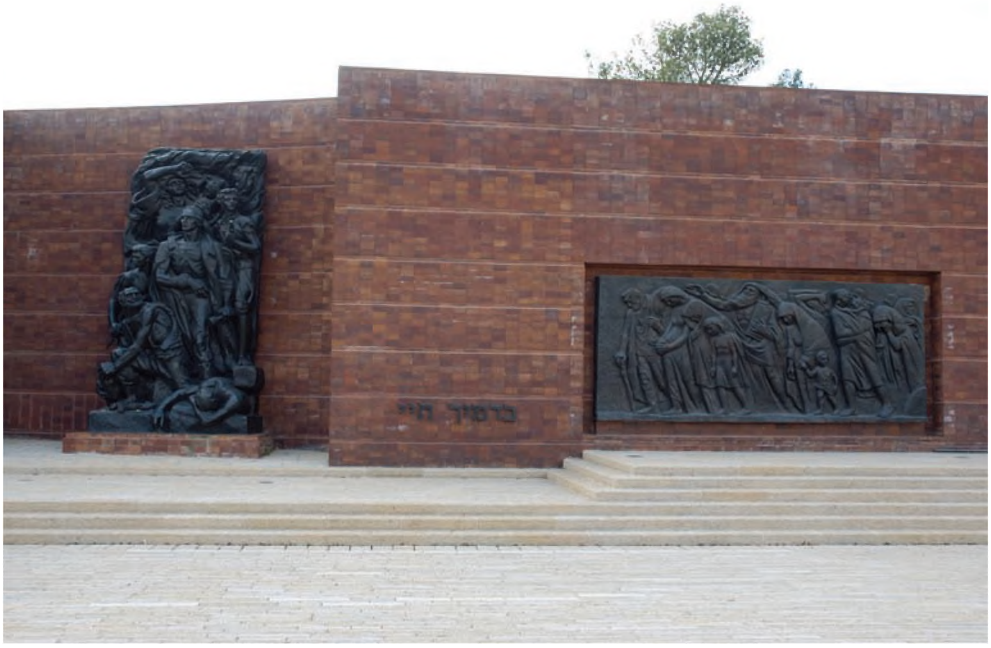

Fig. 10. Nathan Rapoport, *Warsaw Ghetto Monument*, 1948/1973. Yad Vashem. Courtesy of Art Department Museums Division. Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority.

the fighting spirit of the underground, the reverse side has merged historical depictions of exile. On that side Rapoport has integrated the procession motif of the famous Arch of Titus in Rome (where Roman soldiers are seen carrying out booty from the Temple) and elements of Hirszenberg's *Exile*. The hinted presence in the procession of Nazi soldiers, seen only by their bayonets and helmets, makes the destination of the downcast Jews overly apparent. It is a death march of men, women, and children. Twenty-five years later, in 1973, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem decided to commission a reproduction of the monument for its remembrance plaza (fig. 10). The plaza moved away from the two-sided monument and shows in a book-like shape, "both sides simultaneously, inviting the eye to follow the procession from archetypal martyrs from right to left to heroically rising figures." The tableau of martyrs has been reproduced in various sizes and has become commonplace in institutions that commemorate the Holocaust. In this sense, Rapoport's monument on the eastern wall added a dimension to *Exile* that began to appear in some of the art work during the war and its aftermath—the procession was integrated into the death march, and stamped the wandering with closure.[49]

And, yet, the Israeli artist Nachum Guttman, only a year and a half after the establishment of the State of Israel, published and illustrated a short story to mark 40 years since the founding of Tel Aviv and related to the expulsion of the Jews from the city during World War I (in 1917) by the Turks.[50] The story is far from a tragic one. Both the text and Guttman's illustrations are light-hearted and humorous. At the center of the story is Mr. Ayzik, who is forced to contend with two orders—the Turkish order of expulsion and his wife's demand that he find an alternative living space in nearby Petach Tikva, and to find a wagoner to pack up their belongings and move them. The story relates how Ayzik prepared to relate to his wife his arrangements for their move, his negotiations with the movers, accompanied by humorous illustrations of the author-illustrator. Eventually the move to Petach Tikva begins and Mr. Ayzik and his wife follow the wagon on foot until they reach the new city. Then the text reads as follows: "Mrs. Ayzik sat upright and held in her hand a white parasol for sunny days and a black umbrella for rainy days. Both in one hand. And she was the only person to see as far as the coming days of winter. Tel Aviv! You are unrecognizable. Tel Aviv, you have turned into a refugee camp. Like in Hirszenberg's picture: a girl with a kettle. Like in the Diaspora (*galut*)."[51] Yet, Guttman illustrates Mrs. Ayzik in a playful manner with two umbrellas, one in each hand (not as in the written text), completely different from the association with the young girl holding the kettle in *Exile*. Moreover, as Milly Heyd has insightfully pointed out, Guttman quickly leaves his identification with *Exile* by following his text with a title: "There's a Difference, There's a Difference," and goes on to describe how the exiled are being helped by young, brawny farmers, who succeeded in skirting the Turkish army to help the Tel Avivians rearrange themselves. And Guttman both depicted and illustrated one such modern Jew, rooted in the land, who is seen wearing a broad straw hat, as he stands in front of his two donkeys that were to help with the move. "This procession of wagons brought with it a new spirit. When you have brothers, oh, when you have brothers for assistance—it's easier to withstand all tragedies. Security comes as we can overcome the tragedy... Thus the other side appeared, rather than depression came rejuvenation. The flowering smell of the orchards..."[52] Thus Guttman's reference to *Exile* and the life of the Diaspora was turned into a positive story about the life of Jews rooted in their land, so that even a momentary expulsion could be turned into a source of optimism and humor, unlike the experience of those depicted in Hirszenberg's work.

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[49] Quotations from James Young, *The Texture of Memory. Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 172, 182–183; see also Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse*, 297–301.

[50] Nahum Guttman, "Al ha-adonayzick ve-al ha-eglonim," (On Mr. Ayzik and the Wagoners) *Davar* 10 Nov. 1949; republished in his *Sippurim meẓuyarim* (Merḥavia: Sifriat ha-poalim, 1950, 1978); Milly Heyd, "On Two Stories of the Expulsion from Tel Aviv by Nahum Guttman," *Journal of Jewish Art* 8 (1981): 68–79.

However, one need not see the Yad Vashem monument or Guttman's fleeting reaction to *Exile* as the only forms in which Israeli society has engaged the painting. As Israeli society continues to evolve and reassess time and again its notions of Homeland and the meaning and attitude to Diaspora life and culture, one is also confronted with explorations into the notions of wandering and meaning of place by curators, scholars, writers, and artists.[53]

A case in point is Yosl Bergner. Born in Vienna (1920), he grew up in Warsaw, and moved with his family to Australia in 1937 and then to Israel in 1950. The son of the Yiddish poet Melech Ravitch, Bergner like other Israeli artists, began to turn to the Holocaust as a theme of his art, following the Eichmann trial, and the general engagement of Israeli society with that period.[54] His painting *Destination X*, created in 1969, replaces the endless procession of people with one of old furniture (fig. 11). Numerous chairs, tables, chests and closets, mirrors, graters, and oil lamps create tragic associations with the lost lives of people who once used them. A foreboding sky hovers above. Situating the objects in an empty desert-like landscape, recalling the new immigrants to Israel and their new surroundings, stresses even further their displacement and the loss of the world they once shared. The lone samovar placed on a table in front of the procession alludes to the East European origin and possibly even refers to the young girl carrying the teapot in Hirszenberg's painting. Only she is now gone; the symbol of the lost home remained.

And as the engagement with exile and homeland persists in Israeli society, it resonates with different thinkers, as it has with Gideon Ofrat, the tireless and unique curator of and commentator on Israeli art. Ofrat's preoccupation and continued fascination with the painting, as in his book *Shivḥei galut* (In Praise of Exile), brings to a close this exploration into the impact of *Exile* (fig. 12). Struck by the painting as a 7 year old child when he first saw it in his aunt's unattractive apartment, Ofrat tried to unravel his persistent attachment to the work, notwithstanding its threatening, depressing atmosphere. He asks: "are they my forefathers? Is my fate theirs? Their Holocaust mine? Their Galut mine?" and he responds that "the painting creates a meeting point between the man-child and his forefathers' spirit. The spirit of Galut. From this side—the spirit of life (מצד זה רוח חיים)."[55]

Hirszenberg's *Exile* illuminates the potential communicative message of a work of art. It has resonated in social and cultural contexts for the last century as an avatar of the dilemmas Jews faced in this period,

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[51] We follow here Heyd's translation, ibid., 75 and her interpretation.

[52] Guttman, "Al ha-adon." Our translation.

[53] See, e.g., *Routes of Wandering. Nomadism, Voyages and Transitions in Contemporary Israeli Art*, mus. cat. (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1991).

[54] See Carmela Rubin, ed., *Yosl Bergner, a Retrospective*, exh. cat. (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Museum of Art, 2000).

[55] Gideon Ofrat, *Shivḥei galut* (In Praise of Exile) (Jerusalem: Carta, 2000), 207–208.

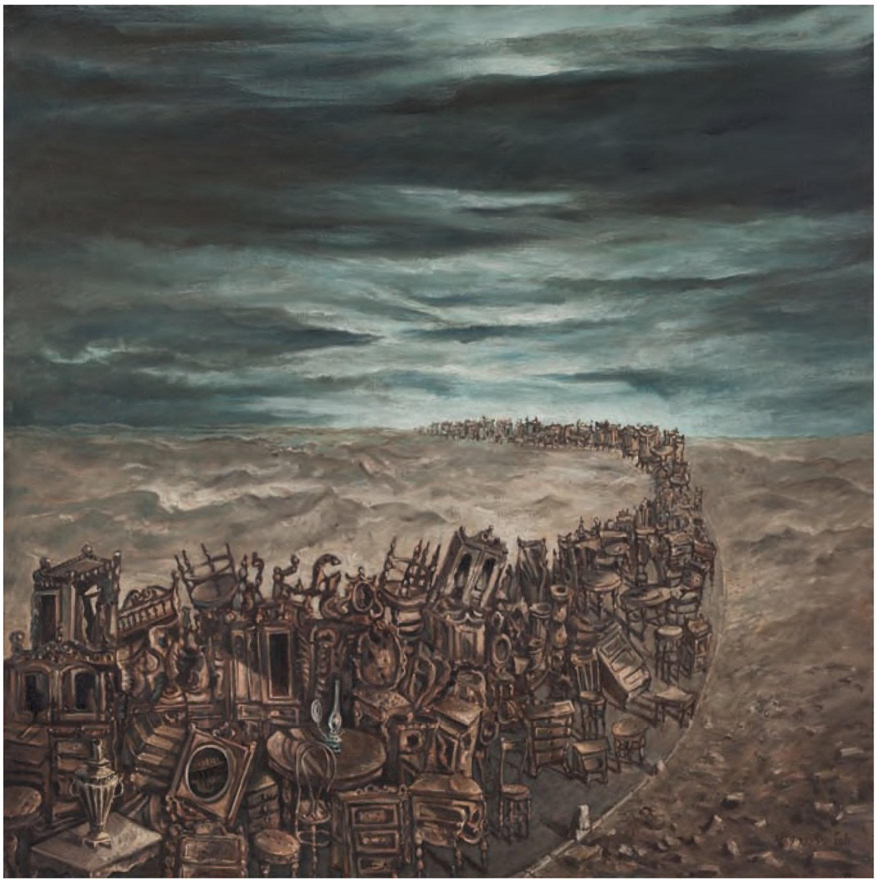

Fig. 11. Yosl Bergner, *Destination X*, 1969. Oil on canvas. 100 × 100 cm. Photo Liat Elbling. Courtesy of David Bineth, Tel Aviv.

entering the consciousness and memory of diverse individuals when provoked emotionally or culturally. As issues of exile, place, homeland, belonging continue to reverberate in the modern Jewish and Israeli experience, one can only imagine that *Exile*, although still lost and unaccounted for, will continue to roam and inspire the imagination of artists, writers, and thinkers.

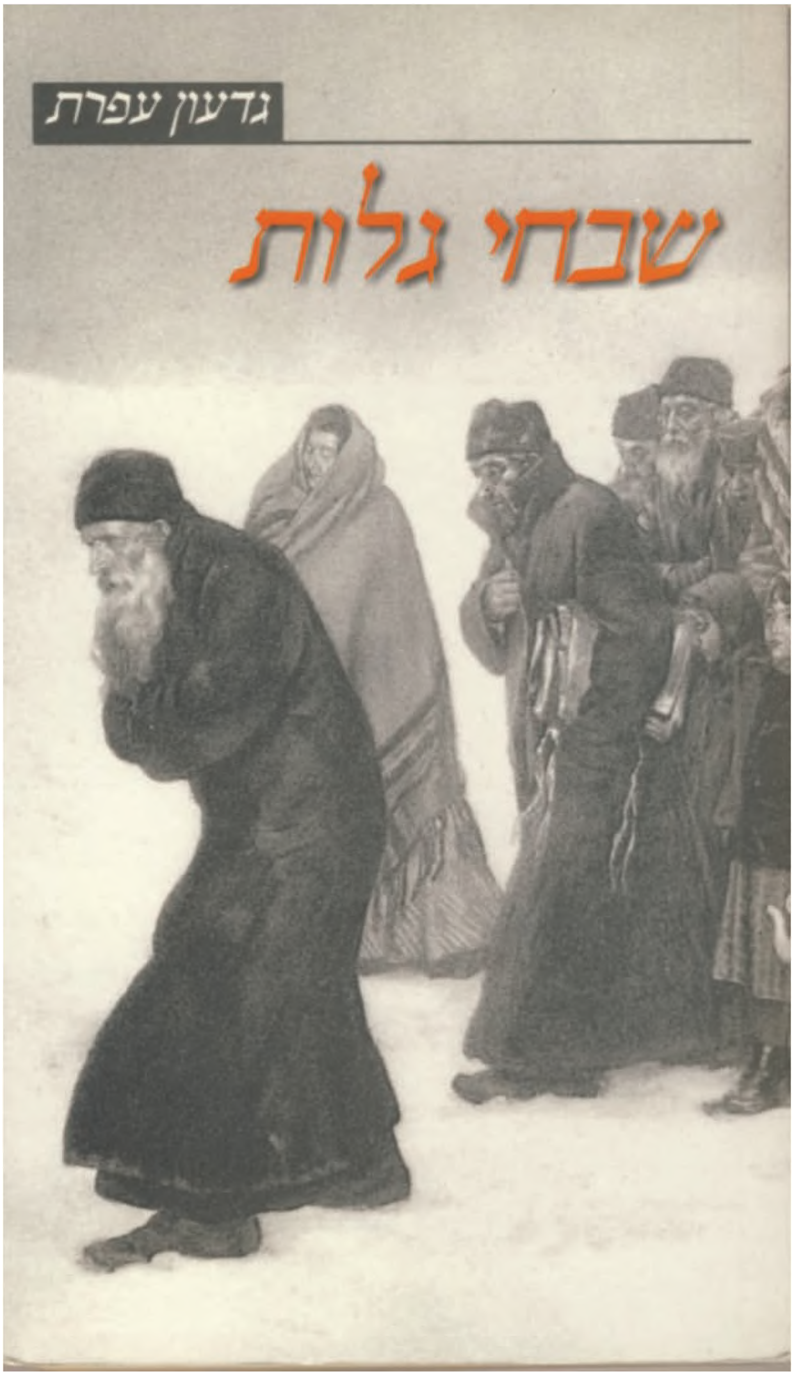
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Fig. 12. Cover for Gideon Ofrat's book, *In Praise of Exile* (Jerusalem: Karta, 2000).