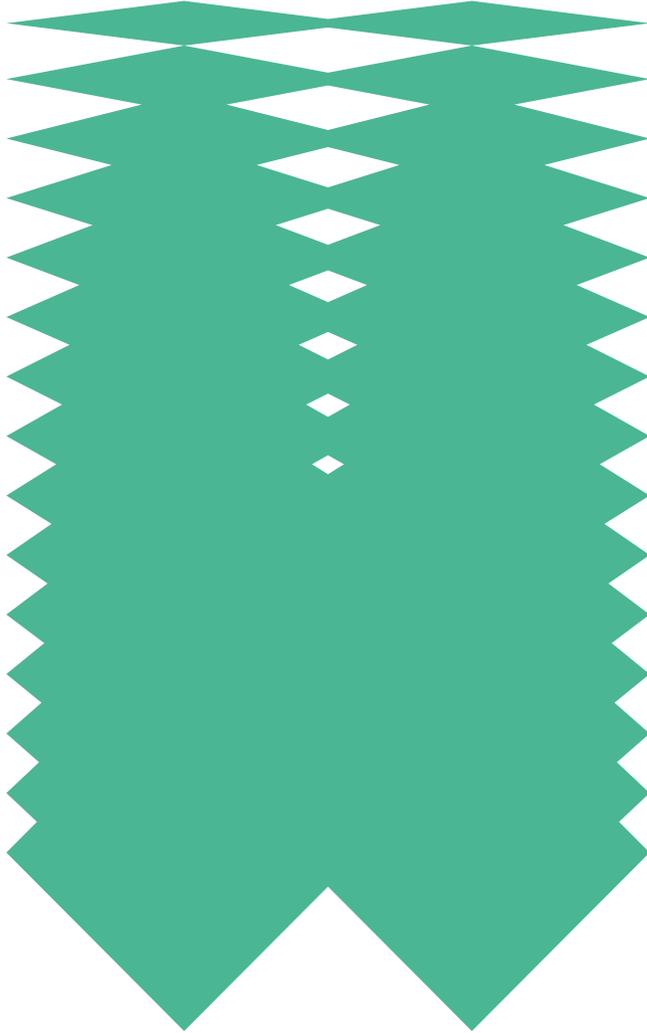


ART OF THE HOLOCAUST UNTIL 1989

Beyond an East/West Divide



Budapest & online, 8–10 June, 2022

ORGANIZED BY:



Jewish Studies
Program

CENTRAL
EUROPEAN
UNIVERSITY

KEMKI

Central European
Research Institute for Art History

ART OF THE HOLOCAUST UNTIL 1989

Beyond an East/West Divide

Programme & abstracts

Registration is required:

<https://jewishstudies.ceu.edu/artoftheholocaust>

(Both for attending in person and for the online streaming.)

ORGANIZED BY:



KEMKI Central European
Research Institute for Art History

DAY 1

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 2022

location: CEU

1051 Budapest, Nádor u. 15. / N15, room 101

📍 <https://goo.gl/maps/S4nt5bpaYUa7bR5h9>**9.00–9.30**

Registration

9.30–10.00

Welcoming remarks

András Kovács, Michael L. Miller (CEU)

Introduction

Agata Pietrasik (Freie Universität, Berlin), Daniel Véri (CEU/KEMKI)

10.00–11.00

Keynote lecture

Rachel Perry (University of Haifa)

[Graphic Witnessing "After Auschwitz": The Album as Medium](#)**11.00–11.30**

Coffee break

11.30–13.00**PANEL I: WARTIME AND EARLY POSTWAR ARTISTIC PRACTICES**

chair: Agata Pietrasik (Freie Universität, Berlin)

Paweł Michna (Jagiellonian University, Kraków)

["Excellent tables and photomontages clearly illustrate all aspects of ghetto life." Visual Communication Strategies of the Łódź Ghetto](#)

Katharina Langolf (University of Potsdam)

[Mark Zhitnitski in the Gulag: Drawing the Shoah in "a Remote Corner of the Country"](#)

Ella Falldorf (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)

[More than Symbols of Resistance? Images of Solidarity in Concentration Camps and their Transformation in the Aftermath of the Holocaust](#)

13.00–14.15

Lunch break

14.15–15.45**PANEL II: WARTIME AND EARLY POSTWAR ARTISTIC PRACTICES AND EXHIBITIONS**

chair: Lóránt Bódi (HAS, RCH Institute of History, Budapest)

Anastasia Simferovska (Northwestern University, Chicago)

["I Inscribe Myself into the Book": Visitors Respond to Poland's First Holocaust Art Shows](#)

Olga Stefan (University Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Iași)

[Art of the Holocaust in Romania: Vapniarka as a Case Study](#)

Yelena Lembersky (The Uniterra Foundation, Arlington)

[Felix Lembersky's Babyn Yars. The Paintings and How Soviets Suppressed the Art of the Holocaust](#)**15.45–16.15**

Coffee break

16.15–17.45**PANEL III: REPRESENTING THE HOLOCAUST IN FOLK AND VERNACULAR ART**

chair: Kristóf Nagy (CEU/KEMKI)

Roma Sendyka (Jagiellonian University, Kraków)

Erica Lehrer (Concordia University, Montreal)

[Holocaust-Themed Folk \(Naïve\) Art in Poland \(1945–1989\)](#)

Magdalena Waligórska (Humboldt University, Berlin)

[Transactions over Polish Holocaust-Themed Folk Art in West and East Germany as a Mode of Polish–German Reconciliation](#)

Magdalena Zych (Kraków Ethnographic Museum)

[Vernacular Memory of the Holocaust. The Art of Włodzimierz Chajec \(1904–1985\) and Józef Piłat \(1900–1971\)](#)**19.00**

Dinner for the participants

DAY 2

THURSDAY, JUNE 9, 2022

location: KEMKI

1135 Budapest, Szabolcs u. 33-35. / OMRRK campus, building C

📍 <https://goo.gl/maps/HGdEmcuTiKGbqTJK8>**10.00–10.15**

Welcoming remarks

Dávid Fehér, Emese Kürti (KEMKI)

10.15–11.45**PANEL IV: HOLOCAUST REPRESENTATIONS DURING THE COLD WAR**

chair: Dávid Fehér (KEMKI)

Mariann Farkas (Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan)

[Representation of the Holocaust by Hungarian Israeli Artists before 1989: Comparative Case Study of Hédi Tarján's Works](#)

Piotr Słodkowski (Academy of Fine Arts, Warsaw)

[Informel and the Fight for the Memory of the Holocaust. Figures by Marek Oberländer as Totems](#)

Eckhart J. Gillen (Filmuniversität Potsdam-Babelsberg)

[Boris Lurie: Searching for Truth in Images on the German Genocide of European Jews](#)**11.45–12.00**

Coffee break

12.00–13.30**PANEL V: HOLOCAUST REPRESENTATIONS DURING THE COLD WAR**

chair: Agata Pietrasik (Freie Universität, Berlin)

Mirjam Rajner (Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan)

[Adolf Weiller's "Martyrdom Cycle": Official and Unofficial Holocaust Art in Socialist Yugoslavia](#)

Asta Vrečko (University of Ljubljana)

[Depicting Suffering in Concentration Camps: Slovenian Artists Based in Socialist Yugoslavia and in the West](#)

Nataša Ivanović (Lah Contemporary Research Centre, Ljubljana/Bled)

[Tomorrow May Be Too Late: Landscape of Holocaust in Zoran Mušič's Oeuvre](#)

13.30–14.30

Lunch break

14.30–16.30

PANEL VI: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE HOLOCAUST IN EASTERN EUROPE AND BEYOND

chair: Daniel Véri (CEU/KEMKI)

Tamara Kohn (Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano, Buenos Aires)

[Art and the Holocaust in Argentina before the Institutionalization of Memory](#)

Amelia Miholca (Arizona State University, Phoenix)

[Romanian Holocaust Art](#)

Eva Janáčková (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague)

[Art of the Holocaust in Czechoslovakia: Fritz Lederer and Leo Haas](#)

Jürgen Joseph Kaumkötter (Center for Persecuted Arts, Solingen)

[Places and Meanings. The Iconography of Holocaust Art in East and West Europe](#)

16.30–17.00

Coffee break

17.00–17.15

Daniel Véri (CEU/KEMKI)

[Recycled Memory: Hungarian Exhibitions in Auschwitz](#)

(on-site visit at KEMKI)

DAY 3

FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 2022

location: CEU

1051 Budapest, Nádor u. 15. / N15, room 101

📍 <https://goo.gl/maps/S4nt5bpaYUa7bR5h9>**10.00–11.30****PANEL VII: WARTIME AND EARLY POSTWAR ARTISTIC PRACTICES AND EXHIBITIONS**

chair: Rachel Perry (University of Haifa)

Galina Lochekhina (University of Haifa)

[Representation of Sexualized Violence in Women's Graphic Novels:](#)[Naomi Judkowski and Eufrosinia Kersnovskaya](#)

Klara Jackl (University of Haifa)

[The Pictorial Diary of Dr. Henryk Beck](#)

Paul Bernard-Nouraud (Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University)

[Post-Holocaust Art and Post-Memory Art: a Reevaluation](#)**11.30–12.00**

Coffee break

12.00–13.30**PANEL VIII: OFFICIAL COMMEMORATIONS OF THE HOLOCAUST**

chair: Zoltán Kékesi (Center for Research on Antisemitism, Berlin)

Samuel D. Gruber (Syracuse University / International Survey of Jewish Monuments, Syracuse)

[Humanizing the Holocaust: The Search for a Figurative Memorial Language](#)

Eirene Campagna (IULM University, Milan)

[The Representation of the Shoah before 1989: the Case of the Museum Monument to the Deportee \(Carpi\) and the Memorial to the Italians in Auschwitz \(Block 21\)](#)

Olga Ungar (independent researcher, Givatayim)

[The Remembrance Triangle: The Case Study of Holocaust Memorials in Novi Sad, Serbia](#)**13.30**

Lunch

Paul Bernard-Nouraud

PARIS 1 PANTHÉON-SORBONNE UNIVERSITY

Post-Holocaust Art and Post-Memory Art: a Reevaluation

■ Among the many reasons why artworks created during and after the Holocaust have been generally considered beyond the scope of art history, the main one may have to do with their testimonial contents. The idea that such visual productions are mere testimonies, lacking any artistic intention, has often been reinforced by the witnesses themselves, warning the viewers that they did not mean to obey aesthetic criteria; a warning which is a well-known topos in literature as well.

■ On the contrary, post-memory art, as Marianne Hirsch coined it in the early 2000s, drew more attention from the scholars studying visual arts, since they were able to recognize, in the works of art produced over the past three decades, modernist or avant-garde influences. Therefore, they could integrate them in contemporary art history. An integration that scarcely disturbed the modernist canon, even if it has also led to major reevaluations in the sense of an “archaeology of modernity” (Godfrey).

■ This contribution aims to pay a renewed attention to a series of artworks belonging to the Holocaust and post-Holocaust period in order to demonstrate that such an archaeology may fruitfully start there. It is not to underestimate the obvious gaps between the two phases of artistic production, but to credit their authors with an agency, if not an intention (Gell), that not only asserts their subjectivity but eventually proves the visual impurity of all testimonies. Such an attempt seeks to find new paths that are grounded in ways artworks’ shapes themselves to finally integrate them in a more comprehensive art history, which is necessarily both a post-Holocaust and a post-memory one.

Paul Bernard-Nouraud, PhD

■ is an art historian and art critic, trained and based in Paris (EHESS), where he is a part-time lecturer (Paris 1 and Paris 8 Universities). He has been a post-doctoral fellow in residence at the Casa de Velázquez in Madrid (Madrid Institute of Advanced Studies). After dedicating part of his research to the figure of the “muselmann” in the Nazi concentration camps, his doctoral research studied the impact of Auschwitz in contemporary visual arts.

■ His current research projects are focused on the role of the archives in contemporary art, and the impact of current migrations on collective imaginations. Among his publications are: *Figurer l'autre. Essai sur la figure du “musulman” dans les camps de concentration nazis* (Paris, Kimé, 2013); *Sur les œuvres silencieuses. Contribution à l'étude de l'art d'après Auschwitz* (Paris, Pétra, 2017).

Eirene Campagna

IULM UNIVERSITY, MILAN

The Representation of the Shoah before 1989: the Case of the Museum Monument to the Deportee (Carpi) and the Memorial to the Italians in Auschwitz (Block 21)

■ Memory is an evolutionary process that evades time and is able to link the present to the past. Places of memory constitute a diffuse system of traces and memories. They are monuments that serve and have served as a starting point for today's memorial policies, which are less concerned with images and more with establishing an empathic link between the observer and the work. The process of memorialization of traumatic landscapes has been possible over the years thanks to the constant work of a number of institutions, foundations, associations and museums, which have created digital and real networks that can be consulted and accessed by all kinds of audiences.

■ Most museums and memorials dedicated to the Shoah and its narration have been conceived, designed and built since the 1990s. There are two Italian cases that were realised in the 1970s by the architectural group BBPR: the Museo Monumento al Deportato in Carpi and the Memorial for Italians at Auschwitz. The first, inaugurated in 1973, is a unique structure of its kind, recounting both the drama of the persecution of the Jews and the stories of those condemned to death during the Italian Resistance. The second was built in 1979 by the Quadri company of Milan and then moved to Block 21 of the former Auschwitz camp, but in the early 2000s the museum management requested its removal.

■ In this presentation I would therefore like to focus on the different elements that constitute and have constituted the basis for the persistence of memory: landscapes, museums, places and narratives represent today an interweaving of physical, visual and verbal testimonies. In particular, I would like to analyse these two pre-1989 memorialist experiences, which are also important for understanding the Italian system of commemoration.

Eirene Campagna, PhD

■ completed her doctorate in Visual and Media Studies at IULM University, Milan in 2021. In her dissertation entitled *Per una rappresentazione critica della Shoah: quale memoria è ancora possibile* (tutor Tommaso Casini, co-tutor Paolo Coen), she focused on museology of the Shoah. Already during her Master's degree in Performing Arts and Multimedia Production Sciences (University of Salerno), she dealt with the theme of memory, focusing mainly on the memory of the Shoah in second and third generation witnesses.

■ In 2019, she published her first work entitled *Tales that Survive. The stories of the witnesses and the camp*. During her PhD, she studied as a Visiting Scholar at the Bezalel Academy, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum. Currently, her main research interests are the representability of the memory of the Shoah and the forms of communication of the main museums of memory.

Ella Falldorf

FRIEDRICH SCHILLER UNIVERSITY, JENA

More than Symbols of Resistance? Images of Solidarity in Concentration Camps and their Transformation in the Aftermath of the Holocaust

■ My paper focuses on the production, content, and circulation of artistic renditions of solidarity from the Buchenwald concentration camp. A camp which was framed by the GDR authorities as a centre of successful communist resistance against the Nazis — achieved through “international solidarity”. Artistic production in Buchenwald was dominated by a network of communists from all over Europe. I therefore explore the role of their camp experiences in creating images of solidarity and the cultural frameworks that shaped the artistic renditions both before and after the liberation.

■ Images of solidarity recall Christian motifs like the Pietà or the descent from the cross as well as images of friendship promoted in romanticism. Do these iconographic predecessors attribute meaning to artworks like Herbert Sandberg’s series about “A Friendship” in Buchenwald? How did the images of solidarity change when the German-Jewish communist edited his camp drawings for publication in 1949 East Germany? How does the presented story relate to his experiences in the camp? Is the emergence of such images in the camps a confirmation of the prevalence of solidarity among inmates? Or is it an early politicized instrumentalisation that ennobles the prisoners’ actions and thereby negates the “gray zone” (Primo Levi) they were caught in?

■ The manifold visualizations of friendship, mutual support, and intimacy from various camps and artists shed new light on debates about solidarity in inmate societies that started during WWII and continued throughout the Cold War until today. They concerned the supposed difference between political solidarity of male anti-fascist heroes and female motherly caritas or compassion; as well as the gradual unification of a communist interpretation of the camps in the postwar years. How do depictions of the communist resistance’s solidary actions differ from solidarity among the weak and dying or towards and among non-communist inmates? How are 1945 artworks different from later ones?

Ella Falldorf

■ is a PhD candidate at the Art History Department at Jena University. Her dissertation deals with the interpretation of camp experiences, articulated in artworks that were created in Buchenwald and other Nazi camps. She is a graduate of the MA program in Holocaust Studies at the University of Haifa. From 2018 to 2020 she worked as a freelancer at the Art Collection of the Buchenwald Memorial. Her MA thesis was awarded the Herbert Steiner Anerkennungspreis and the Rector’s Price of Haifa University in 2020.

■ Her article *The Many Faces of the Inmate as a Worker: Artworks of Political Prisoners in the Buchenwald Concentration Camp* recently appeared in *The Journal of Holocaust Research* 35:4 (2021). In May 2022 an article about artworks that were created in Buchenwald and later edited by French Communist survivors, will appear in the anthology *Organisiertes Gedächtnis*.

Mariann Farkas

BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY, RAMAT GAN

Representation of the Holocaust by Hungarian Israeli Artists before 1989: Comparative Case Study of Hédi Tarján's Works

■ Although the Holocaust in visual arts in Hungary started to receive more scholarly attention in the last decades, the Hungarian Israeli art scene is still under-researched. Therefore, my presentation aims to introduce two figurative works of Hédi Tarján related to different sociocultural settings, the Kádár regime in Hungary and the post-Yom Kippur war era in Israel.

■ The tapestry artist, painter, and teacher Hédi Tarján (1932–2008) was born in an assimilated Jewish family in Budapest and survived the WW2 in hiding. In 1970 she immigrated to Israel but maintained her Hungarian professional contacts. Her tapestry *Anxiety* (1950s–1970s) housed at the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest portrays a barefoot woman from the back in long dress against a brick wall with raised hands. I claim that it was a college assignment, and the title and certain iconographic elements are implicit references to her personal experience during the Shoah.

■ On the other hand, her untitled painting from 1987 was created on her own initiative in Jerusalem and is in private collection in New York. I think the man walking on the ice in the picture is a reinterpretation of her father's escape story from forced labour service. The choice of subject and medium was influenced by the rise of Holocaust-themed works and the postmodern turn in Israeli fine arts.

■ The analysis will be underpinned by ego-documents and the topic will be explored from interdisciplinary and methodologically diverse points of view, including the perspective of art history, Jewish studies, and memory studies. The lecture seeks to show the relevance of this still under-studied topic and at the same time to strengthen the Israel–Diaspora relationship and cross-cultural dialog.

Mariann Farkas

■ earned her Bachelor's degree in Liberal Arts from Eötvös Loránd University and received her Master's degree in History of Art from University of Milan. She is currently a doctoral candidate at the Department of Jewish Art at Bar-Ilan University. Her research interests include East-Central European Jewish art, Hungarian–Israeli cultural history and identity studies.

■ Prior to commencing her PhD she was a coordinator at Friends of the Hungarian National Gallery. Her earlier internships at European Roma Cultural Foundation and at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem provided good understanding of the art sphere. Her study and research have been supported by the Erasmus Programme, the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation's Scholarship, the President's Scholarship of Bar-Ilan University and the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture.

Eckhart J. Gillen

FILMUNIVERSITÄT POTSDAM-BABELSBERG

Boris Lurie: Searching for Truth in Images on the German Genocide of European Jews

■ In Claude Lanzmann's seminal nine-and-a-half-hour film *Shoah*, he chose not to use any images of the Holocaust, telling the story instead solely through the words of witnesses. By contrast, art historian Georges Didi-Huberman and contemporary artist Gerhard Richter have both emphasised the power of images to reflect and educate — the former in his book *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*, and the latter in a series of paintings titled *Birkenau*.

■ The lecture is exploring the tension between these different perspectives on images, words, and the Holocaust. I will ground the discussion in the example of Boris Lurie, the subject of my exhibition *Boris Lurie and Wolf Vostell. Art after Shoah* in the Kunstmuseum Den Haag, who used art to access his buried memories before he was able to address them with words. He started with studies — still in the style of paintings of representations with surreal hints — "but then, after I learned a little in art history, I found out that illustration is not the proper art" (Lurie, 2007).

■ Instead, Lurie preferred not to transfer his experiences and memories into dramatic, theatrical scenes; thus, not historicizing, namely, transferring them into symbolic imagery. Instead he incorporates, like the Pop artists, everyday objects in his paintings and lets them appear like a piece from daily life and not like serious art. Lurie welcomes these practices, as they correspond with his intention to leave the brutality of his experiences raw and undigested, and not sublimating or idealising them.

Eckhart J. Gillen, PhD

■ received his doctorate in art history and is a freelance curator. Exhibitions on twentieth century art, including *Art of Two Germanys* at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 2009; the retrospective *R. B. Kitaj: Obsessionen* at the Jewish Museum in Berlin and the Hamburger Kunsthalle, 2012–13. Publications on German, Russian, and American art of the twentieth century, including *Feindliche Brüder? Der Kalte Krieg und die deutsche Kunst, 1945–1990* (Berlin, 2009). Numerous prizes, including the einheitspreis: Bürgerpreis zur deutschen Einheit, 2003; AICA–USA for best thematic museum show of 2009; and the Friedlieb Ferdinand Runge-Preis of the Stiftung Preußische Seehandlung in 2011 for unconventional arts education. Teaching positions since 1972 in Berlin, Bielefeld, Dresden, Kassel, Halle, and Cologne. Currently lecturer in art history at the Filmuniversität Potsdam-Babelsberg.

■ *His participation at the current conference was supported by the Boris Lurie Art Foundation.*

Samuel D. Gruber

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY / INTERNATIONAL SURVEY OF JEWISH MONUMENTS,
SYRACUSE

Humanizing the Holocaust: The Search for a Figurative Memorial Language

■ Following the Holocaust, survivors and Jewish communities strove to develop a memorial language to depict and honour Holocaust victims. For sculptors, there were no exact precedents. The present-day trend to commemorate suffering had not yet taken hold. Instead, artists drew on experience and millennia-old memorial traditions for war heroism and other types of societal changing events, or on (mostly Christian) religious art for images of suffering and grief. For most artists, it meant the inclusion of the human figure. But what kind of humans were to be represented?

■ Should they be from scripture or myth; or of famous Holocaust victims; or symbolic or allegorical figures to represent types of suffering? Should they be body only parts — hands or heads; or individuals, or family groups? Should they be naked to represent defenceless suffering, or should they heroically bear arms and be shown strong in the face of insurmountable odds? In time, all these solutions would be tried.

■ This paper examines the first sculptural attempts, from the late 1940s, to use human form to commemorate suffering and heroism. In Europe, these include the Warsaw Ghetto Monument by Nathan Rapoport (1948), the relief sculptures by Edith Kiss on Budapest's Újpest Memorial (1948), and the Auschwitz and Neuengamme Memorials by Charlotte Solomon (1948) and Pierre Honoré (1949) in Paris's Père Lachaise Cemetery. From further afield are the massive Kria Memorial, sculpted by Herman Wald in South Africa in 1946, and the Moses Relief by Croatian refugee sculptor Ivan Meštrović for the never-built, Holocaust Memorial in New York City, designed by architect Eric Mendelsohn (1949). These works and a few others reflect a moment when the history, imagery, and commemoration of what would become known as the Holocaust were undefined. They demonstrate how artists and their public grappled to give meaning in memorial art.

Samuel D. Gruber, PhD

■ earned his doctorate at Columbia University. He has been a leader in the documentation, protection, and preservation of historic Jewish sites worldwide for more than thirty years. Since 1994 he has taught at Syracuse University (and elsewhere) on Jewish art and architecture, including the course *The Holocaust, Memory, and the Visual Arts*. He is President of the International Survey of Jewish Monuments, for which he is co-director of the new Holocaust Memorial Monument Database project in partnership with the Center for Jewish Art (Hebrew University) and the University of Miami.

■ Gruber has written several books and scores of reports, chapters, and articles about Jewish art and architecture, and since 2008, the blog *Samuel Gruber's Jewish Art and Monuments*. During the pandemic, Gruber has curated two on-line exhibitions: *Romanote Memories* for Queens College, and *Synagogues of the South* for the College of Charleston.

Nataša Ivanović

LAH CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH CENTRE, LJUBLJANA/BLED

Tomorrow May Be Too Late: Landscape of Holocaust in Zoran Mušič's Oeuvre

■ The world-renowned painter Zoran Mušič (1909–2005), who worked in Venice and Paris, exhibited all around the world and created an oeuvre of more than three thousand paintings. He is best known for his series of paintings *We Are Not the Last*. He started creating the motif of a pile of bare cadavers in the early seventies when warzones were on the rise again and freedom was globally in question (war in Vietnam etc.).

■ Mušič was a painter who brought into the art world of the 20th century a new, silent, in other words, a more poetic resolution of depicting the series of Cavallini, unique impressions of the landscapes of the East and West civilizations; but on the whole, the observer could already find traces of the future motif in becoming, in a series of paintings devoted to the pathetic, fleshless dead which he saw, lying in heaps, inside the Dachau concentration camp. Between 1944 and 1945, Mušič spent a few months in Dachau, where, as he emphasised several times, he had become a "real artist". After Dachau, nothing could be the same for him, or anyone else.

■ Mušič created illegally around 120 drawings in Dachau, which paradoxically helped him survive physically and mentally. These drawings were a treasure to him, kept in his personal archive for a long time, while some were lost in transport from the camp to the painter's homeland, then Yugoslavia. The presentation is going to show what these drawings meant to the painter, how they influenced his later series of cadavers and how these works of his were received by the public. It will also answer the question whether Mušič's art led us to discover the truth before it may be too late tomorrow.

Nataša Ivanović, PhD

■ assistant professor, is head of the Research Centre Lah Contemporary in Ljubljana/Bled, where she is curating and preparing an on-line catalogue raisonné of Zoran Mušič's paintings. She is the assistant professor for Art History at the Fine Art Academy, University of Ljubljana, where she also graduated in Art History from the Faculty of Arts in 2007. In 2014, she finished her studies with a doctoral dissertation in Historical Anthropology at Alma Mater Europea, ISH in Ljubljana. During her doctoral studies, she spent various months abroad at the Institut für Kunstgeschichte, University of Vienna (fellowship from the Austrian Government ÖAD) and INHA, Paris. Between 2008 and 2013 she was an assistant researcher at the France Stele Institute of Art History, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana. In 2013, she cofounded RI19+, where she continues her research work, focusing on painting from 19th to 21st century, methodology of art history and anthropology of art.

Klara Jackl

UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA

The Pictorial Diary of Dr. Henryk Beck

■ Dr. Henryk Beck, a gynaecologist of Jewish origins and an important figure of the pre-war Polish medical world, survived the war and the Holocaust in Lviv and Warsaw. In 1946, at the age of 50, he died suddenly, leaving behind only a few personal documents and a diary, not written however, but painted. 1,700 of his watercolours and drawings from the years 1937–46 are stored in Warsaw, in the Central Medical Library and the Jewish Historical Institute. These are small, mostly colourful pictures, characterised by caricature and symbolism, forming a chronological narrative of Beck's life. 900 of them present the author's war fate, including the warfare, imprisonment by the Soviets, and hiding from the Nazis. The collection is a personal document, a historical and biographical source.

■ Depicting his own experiences as a victim of the Soviet and Nazi regimes was a continuation of Beck's artistic practice from before the war. It is possible, however, to capture the dynamics of his creative process and point to its culmination: the 1944 "Bunker" series. The 46 drawings were created in extremis, while hiding in ruins after the collapse of the Warsaw Uprising. In tiny black images Beck depicted the bunker life as well as allegorical scenes of struggle for survival, the fear of death, longings and desires. This series bears witness to the process of artistic development and spiritual resistance and expresses the multidimensional status of Holocaust art: as a document, testimony, and artifact.

■ Until now, there has been no in-depth research on Dr. Beck. Currently, under the supervision of Barbara Engelking and Rachel Perry, on the basis of his art and archives, I am reconstructing Beck's wartime biography and trying to capture the characteristic features of his expression and visual representation of his perception of the war and Holocaust.

Klara Jackl

■ is a second year student of the Weiss-Livnat International MA Program in Holocaust Studies at the University of Haifa and an employee of POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw, where since 2013 she has been working on digital collections, oral history as well as exhibitions dedicated to stories of rescue of Jews during the Holocaust. Klara is a graduate of the Institute of Polish Culture and of Museum Studies at the University of Warsaw. As a board member of the Society of Friends of the Polish Library in Paris, she is involved in projects aiming to protect and disseminate Polish cultural heritage in France.

Eva Janáčová

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC, PRAGUE

Art of the Holocaust in Czechoslovakia: Fritz Lederer and Leo Haas

■ My lecture is devoted to reflections on the Holocaust, its memory and remembering in Czech fine art after the end of World War II. It is a highly topical subject to which surprisingly little attention has been devoted. In the wider perspective the issue is connected to suppressed Jewish identities in the framework of discussions on the Holocaust in the Communist era.

■ Out of more than sixty Czech artists who relate themselves in their work to postwar reflections on the Holocaust, I will choose two, whose artworks are significant for the time of their creation and which cross the borders of their region by their motifs, style or technique. I will focus on Fritz Lederer and Leo Haas, Holocaust survivors who created vast graphic art cycles immediately after World War II, in which they recorded in an almost documentary way the harsh reality of the camps.

■ Both artists tried to capture everything they had seen and been through and to deliver to their contemporaries and future generations a message about the dread and suffering of which they had been eye-witnesses. It is interesting to focus on the question of colour in this context, as most of their artworks are either black-and-white or monochrome, which corresponds surprisingly with the tradition of images of the horrors of war as we know it from Francisco Goya to Picasso's *Guernica*. In Leo Haas' case it is also beneficial to confront his postwar work reacting to the Holocaust with his almost anti-semitic and anti-Zionist caricatures created for the totalitarian ideology of Communism.

Eva Janáčová, PhD

■ is an art historian working at the Art History Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. She also works as a lecturer at Charles University in Prague. She focuses on researching Jewish art of the 19th and 20th centuries, on the artistic manifestations of Zionism in the Czech lands, and on artworks by Israeli artists of Czech origin.

■ The phenomenon of the visual manifestations of antisemitism is one that has long been part of her work and she was the principal investigator of the grant project *The Image of the Enemy. Visual Manifestations of Antisemitism in the Czech Lands from the Middle Ages to the Present* for the NAKI II program. As co-editor and editor, she prepared the collective monographs *Imagery of Hatred. Visual Antisemitism in Central Europe* (2020) and *Images of Malice. Visual Representations of Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in the Bohemian Lands* (2021) for publication.

Jürgen Joseph Kaumkötter

CENTER FOR PERSECUTED ARTS, SOLINGEN

Places and Meanings. The Iconography of Holocaust Art in East and West Europe

■ Auschwitz 1947, the concentration camp is turned into a museum: Jerzy Adam Brandhuber and Władysław Siwek work on two comprehensive series. Brandhuber, who was deported to Auschwitz in 1943, called his cycle *Forgotten Earth*, large-format charcoal drawings that metaphorically describe life in the camp. The SS cap and skull symbolize terror. The zebra-striped suits. Life and death from the perspective of the prisoners. Siwek, who was artistically active while still an inmate in Auschwitz, produced monumental oil paintings. In *Der Appell*, kapos beat to death defenceless prisoners in the theatrical lighting of an illuminated Christmas tree, bare feet and bodies lying on the ground emblemize death. Beneath a dramatic evening sky, SS standing with their legs wide apart count the prisoners. Brandhuber's sketches are mentioned in the first museum guide that was published when the exhibition was opened in 1947, and displayed in Block 7, Siwek's are not mentioned. His pictures were purchased in 1950 for political reasons.

■ West Germany 1969, Anselm Kiefer finds a military uniform and records of Hitler speeches in the attic. The 24-year-old German artist raises the question of personal responsibility, culminating in a series of paintings called *Heroic Symbols*, self-portraits in "his father's" uniform. The lecture will introduce both artists and works of art that were created in Auschwitz, placing them in the context of the art that was made immediately after the liberation until 1989. It goes without saying that over the last 80 years art in the memory of the Shoah has changed again and again. It is surprising that different iconographies and visual languages are emerging in East and West.

Jürgen Joseph Kaumkötter

■ M.A., director of the Museum for Persecuted Arts in Solingen is a historian and art historian. He is an expert in Holocaust art. In 2020 he implemented "David Olere. The One Who Survived Crematorium III" and in 2015 he curated the exhibition *And Death Shall Have No Dominion* for the German Bundestag on the occasion of the 70th and 75th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. His foundational work on the art of the Shoah/Holocaust has been positively reviewed worldwide. He is a member of the Museum Council of MOCAK Museum of Contemporary Art in Kraków and was director of the Montanelli Museum in Prague.

Tamara Kohn

SEMINARIO RABINICO LATINOAMERICANO, BUENOS AIRES

Art and the Holocaust in Argentina before the Institutionalization of Memory

■ As early as 1946, the Jewish community of Buenos Aires inaugurated its monument to the Holocaust victims in a local Jewish cemetery. But a public memorial was not created, until 2016 in the City of Buenos Aires, clearly as part of a delayed change in the public policy towards the Holocaust. Today, Buenos Aires also has a Holocaust Museum, founded in the 1990s, and recently renewed and reopened in January 2020. The chronology regarding communal and public memorials naturally follows the tendency from most Western countries outside Europe. However, if we look at the works of individual Jewish artists, especially refugees and survivors, we may find different references to their Jewish experience related to the Holocaust.

■ This paper analyses a selection of works by Argentine artists in the post-war period, with varied approaches to their Jewish experience as a response to the Holocaust before its institutionalization. For example, Grete Stern's photography project focusing on indigenous people, or Yente's *Book of Maccabees*, both created in the 1960s. The Hungarian-born Pedro Roth also expresses — through the changes in his career as an artist — his personal experience as a Holocaust survivor. Roberto Aizenberg has isolated works that refer to memory, and Guillermo Kuitca produced early 1980s paintings related to memory, coinciding with the return of democracy in Argentina. Finally, Mirta Kupferminc, daughter of Auschwitz survivors, has approached the theme of memory already in 1989. Each case, in its context, is studied as a response to the Holocaust as part of the artists' experiences.

■ This paper offers alternative examples of artistic production related to memory and the Holocaust before the 1990s. Their response is linked to their Jewish experience, but as artists living in a non-European country with its particular historical events and memory policies.

Tamara Kohn

■ is an independent curator, museum consultant, and researcher of Jewish art history. She obtained a MA degree in Jewish Art and Visual Culture at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, in 2011. In 2012 she began lecturing on Jewish art for Spanish speakers. Between 2012 and 2013 she participated in the renovation of the Jewish Museum of Buenos Aires. In 2018–2019 Tamara worked as a curatorial researcher at the Buenos Aires Holocaust Museum's permanent exhibition, for its renovation project. She is a professor of Jewish art at the Latin American Rabbinical Seminary, based in Buenos Aires, Argentina. She is currently interested in Jewish identity, Jewish peoplehood, memory, migration, Jewish and non-Jewish relations, and their expressions in the visual arts.

Katharina Langolf

UNIVERSITY OF POTSDAM

Mark Zhitnitski in the Gulag: Drawing the Shoah in “a Remote Corner of the Country”

■ Soviet-Jewish and Israeli artist Mark Zhitnitski (1903–1993) created numerous artworks on the Shoah having experienced it “only” at a remove — or as Zhitnitski calls it: “a remote corner of the country”. Zhitnitski who lived and worked in Belarus was imprisoned from 1937 to 1946 in the Gulag of Ukhta. Rumours about Nazi crimes in the occupied territories reached him in 1943 and he started to produce a series of realistic ink drawings as a second-hand witness. He continued to produce art about the Shoah after both of his imprisonments (1937–46, 1949–55) and his immigration to Israel in 1971.

■ Mark Zhitnitski's life and work are unexplored and many questions still remain unanswered: for example, the tension between him and the Soviet state. After his return from his second imprisonment, he refused to rejoin the communist party, but was readmitted to the Artists' Union and exhibited in Minsk, Vilnius and Moscow. The reception of his works by the Soviet public and the authorities is also interesting here. Are there connections between the production of his works and historical events such as the Israeli War of Independence or the Eichmann trial? Can a change be seen in his works after his immigration to Israel?

■ My research is mainly based on primary sources such as Zhitnitski's private archive, the autobiography of his wife Basia Zhitnitskaia and his 400-page autobiographical album in text and images from 1978, which offers a unique piece of testimony about his life and a whole generation. Mark Zhitnitski's life and art are marked on the one hand by two historical traumas — Nazism and Stalinism — and on the other hand by a transcultural perspective that results from living and working both in the Soviet Union and in Israel.

Katharina Langolf

■ is a graduate student of Eastern European Cultural Studies at the University of Potsdam since October 2019 with a focus on the culture and history of Eastern European Jewry. This focus came about after a summer school in Mykolaiv and Odessa on “Jewish history of Southern Ukraine” in 2017. She finished her Bachelor's degree program in Slavic Studies at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena in 2018 with a Bachelor's thesis on Soviet Russian Shoah poetry. Before beginning her Master's degree program, she completed an internship at the Galicia Jewish Museum in Kraków. She spent the fall semester 2021 at the University of Haifa, where she took the course “Visual Culture and the Holocaust”. During research for this course she came across the life and work of the artist Mark Zhitnitski.

Yelena Lembersky

THE UNITERRA FOUNDATION, ARLINGTON

Felix Lembersky's *Babyn Yars*. The Paintings and How Soviets Suppressed the Art of the Holocaust

■ Felix Lembersky (1913–1970), a renowned Soviet Jewish artist, is best known for his *Execution: Babyn Yar* (ca. 1944–52), the earliest paintings of the massacre in Kyiv. For political reasons, these works were not allowed to be exhibited in the Soviet Union. Symbols and images from his *Babyn Yar* reappear in Lembersky's later expressionist work of the 1950s–'60s, when he abandoned Socialist Realism, required of Soviet artists, and turned to his roots in Jewish and Ukrainian Avant-Garde, which he had studied in Kyiv in the 1920s. In these later images he made visual references to the earlier Jewish masters, creating a visual conversation about pre- and post-Holocaust experience. His paintings aspire to go beyond specific historical facts, focusing on the human condition and spiritual being that transcends destruction.

■ Born in Lublin, Poland, Lembersky began his life as a refugee. His family moved to Ukraine, but war followed them. He spent the first seven years of his childhood surviving the bloodshed of World War I, the Russian Revolution, and Russian Civil Wars. He studied art at the Jewish Kultur-Lige in the 1920s and Art Institute in Kyiv in the 1930s, where he also witnessed the Ukrainian Holodomor. In 1935, Lembersky moved to Leningrad to study at the preeminent Academy of Art. He lived through the Siege of Leningrad, while his parents perished in Berdychiv, Ukraine. He remained in Leningrad after the war. His later nonconformist work could not be exhibited in the Soviet Union. After his death his family moved his oeuvre to the United States where they were able to exhibit it.

Yelena Lembersky

■ is a granddaughter of Felix Lembersky. She studied art and architecture at the Mukhina Art Institute in Leningrad, Soviet Russia, the University of Michigan, and MIT. She is author of two books, *Felix Lembersky: Paintings and Drawings* (Moscow: Galart, 2009) and *Like a Drop of Ink in a Downpour: Memories of Soviet Russia*, a memoir (Boston: Cherry Orchard Books/Academic Studies Press, 2022). She co-organized exhibitions and academic symposia focused on Felix Lembersky's art in the United States and London, UK, and presented papers at ASEES and AJS conferences.

Galina Lochekhina

UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA

Representation of Sexualized Violence in Women's Graphic Novels: Naomi Judkowski and Eufrosinia Kersnovskaya

■ The presentation analyses a work of Polish-born Israeli artist Naomi Judkowski (Zofia Rosenstrauch) in juxtaposition with a work done by Russian artist Eufrosinia Kersnovskaya. The study aims to compare two art works of two women with different backgrounds who both suffered under two oppressive regimes.

■ One of the founders of the Ghetto Fighters kibbutz in Northern Israel with its known museum and archive dedicated to the Holocaust memory and education, Naomi Judkowski was an important voice in the Israeli post-war society. Not only were her drawings used as the state of Israel put Eichmann on trial, but she also wrote a memoir of her experiences in Auschwitz-Birkenau available for future generations. At the same time, Eufrosinia Kersnovskaya represents unique evidence of the experience of forced labour and deadly conditions in the Soviet Gulag. Drawn in the 1960s, her memoir together with 680 drawings reached the audience only in 1990 when it was published by Russian and foreign periodicals.

■ Despite the importance of these works, none of them has received the proper attention to this day. However, in the works of both authors, one can clearly see the "unique female language" that served as an expression of feelings and emotions in response to the sexualized humiliations perpetrated by the men against these two women. The works of both artists are characterised by a realistic visual language and were created out of a need for emotional expression, making the viewer witness their experience.

Galina Lochekhina

■ is an emerging scholar and social activist in the field of Jewish heritage. She is a graduate of the Weiss-Livnat International MA Program in Holocaust Studies at the University of Haifa and MA in Comparative Cultural Heritage at Jagiellonian University, Poland.

Paweł Michna

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY, KRAKÓW

“Excellent tables and photomontages clearly illustrate all aspects of ghetto life.” Visual Communication Strategies of the Łódź Ghetto

■ Quote of an anonymous ghetto archivist in the title of my speech describes visual documents from the Holocaust of unique status — posters and albums commissioned by the Judenrat of the Łódź closed district. They contained text, statistical data in tables and charts, and photomontages inscribed in the graphic framework. These official documents aimed to show a positive image of the Ghetto to convince their recipients, above all, the German administration of the rationality of keeping the closed district functioning as long as possible. These materials were also created with the future recipients in mind, who were to evaluate the actions of the Ghetto's administrators after the war. The documents were made in the Graphics Office of the Statistics Department by Jewish artists from all over Central Europe. Analysed materials in their narrative and form resembled industrial advertising and propaganda inspired by the achievements of the constructivist avant-garde.

■ In my presentation, I intend to indicate and analyse possible visual references, both Western commercials, and Eastern propaganda projects from the interwar period, to which the creators of these materials reached to communicate ideological meanings desired by their principals. The way those documents were used allows me to treat these materials as an element of the Ghetto's peculiar visual communication, which was to help achieve the goals of the adopted strategy of survival through work. Such interpretation will also lead me to show reasons for the issues related to the contemporary reading of these documents created during the Holocaust and are its direct aftermath but do not show its horrors, terror, and suffering. Finally, I will show that despite presenting false images of the ghetto conditions and not fitting iconography of cosmopolitan memory of the Holocaust, those documents can nevertheless convey important knowledge about the Shoah.

Paweł Michna

■ graduated from the Department of Art History at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He is currently a PhD candidate in the Department of Anthropology of Literature and Cultural Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland, where he is working on a project on the functioning of the Graphic Office in the Łódź Ghetto. His research interests focus on politically and socially engaged art from interwar avant-garde to contemporary art and Holocaust studies, particularly art and visual documents created during Shoah. In 2020 he received the Joseph Kremen Memorial Fellowship in YIVO Institute and the Gerald D. Feldman Travel Grant awarded by the Max Weber Foundation.

Amelia Miholca

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY, PHOENIX

Romanian Holocaust Art

■ In this paper, I am spotlighting the artistic and historical significance that the art of Jewish Romanian artists and Holocaust survivors such as Mina Byck Wepper, Alex Leon, Marcel Iancu, and Arnold Daghani have on collective trauma, guilt, and remembrance of the Holocaust in a country that is still coming to terms with its responsibility to recognize and educate the Romanian public about its role in the Holocaust.

■ The artists' drawings and prints of distraught families, starving camp labourers, fragmented bodies, and harassed Jewish men and women in their daily lives foreground the enduring humanity amidst deteriorating circumstances. Their art is testimony to the necessity of Holocaust visual representations, which are pivotal to understanding Romania's role as a perpetrator of the Holocaust and to combatting Holocaust denial and anti-Semitism in present day Romania.

■ Each artist represented the Holocaust in their unique style, so it is crucial to understand how an artist's artistic style contributed to the art's political and emotional message. Alex Leon's expressionist drawings of tormented prisoners recall the woodcuts of the German Expressionists, while Mina Byck Wepper's realistic drawings of war refugees magnify the grim reality in which she lived as a Jewish artist in Bucharest. Marcel Iancu's scenes –rendered in a caricature style — of Nazi and Romanian soldiers harassing Romanian Jews are a nod to German artist George Grosz who dared to criticize the Nazi regime with his unflattering, comic depictions. Lastly, Arnold Daghani drew in an unrefined, urgent manner the daily life of prisoners in the Mikhailowkaslave labour camp and his furtive existence in the Bershad ghetto, all of which make up his diary *The Grave is in the Cherry Orchard* that he published after the war.

Amelia Miholca, PhD

■ received her doctorate in art history from Arizona State University where she wrote her dissertation on the Romanian avant-garde. Her specialization is Eastern European art and modern art, with research interests in the Dada movement, Holocaust representations, and Cold War art. She has a chapter on the Romanians of Zurich Dada in the *Narratives Crossing Borders: Transcultural Perspectives Anthology* by the Stockholm University Press, 2021, as well as an article on Romanian Cubism in the *Journal of Romanian Studies* 3:1 (May 2021). She currently teaches at University of North Texas and Arizona State University.

Rachel Perry

UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA

Graphic Witnessing “After Auschwitz”: The Album as Medium

■ After the Holocaust, graphic albums were drawn, printed, reproduced and published across Europe, in DP camps and in Palestine. Small in size, weight and print-runs, they were bought and displayed as both testimonial and commemorative objects recounting an individual and collective history that had not been able to be documented in real time by its victims. Cross discursive (or transmedial), the album is particularly suited to communicate trauma through graphic storytelling using images and words. While some aim for documentary reportage, others employ symbols and allegories in a range of styles. Rhetorically, some are personal, autobiographical narratives narrated by the maker/witness. Others speak for and to a collective experience, with deindividuated figures. In all of them, individual image-panels are linked sequentially to construct – or reconstruct – a chronology, piecing time back together.

■ Created at a unique moment in time when the survivors' memories were still vivid and unmediated, these graphic albums constitute a short-lived but widespread transnational phenomenon to create a portable memorial culture. Largely neglected by both Holocaust studies (which privileges textual, oral and video testimonies over artistic accounts) and art history (which privileges unique paintings), they belie the “myth of silence” of the early postwar years. They rightfully belong to the early postwar initiatives of *Khurban-forschung* (destruction research) that sought to write the history of Jewish suffering from the perspective of the victims. Rarely exhibited or reproduced in their entirety, graphic albums constitute one of the most important and overlooked mediums of early Holocaust testimony and representation.

Rachel Perry, PhD

■ is a scholar of Holocaust art and visual culture, she teaches in the History of Art Department at Tel Aviv University and at the Weiss-Livnat International Center for Holocaust Research and Education at the University of Haifa, where she is a senior fellow. She is the recipient of an EHRI Fellowship, a Sharon Abramson Research Grant, a Getty Postdoctoral Fellowship, the Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellowship at CASVA and a Senior Research Fellowship from the Yad Vashem International Institute for Holocaust Research.

■ Her articles have appeared in *October*, *History and Memory*, *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*, *French Cultural Studies*, *RIHA*, *Art Bulletin*, *Ars Judaica* and *Images: A Journal of Jewish Art and Visual Culture*. Her most recent project focuses on early postwar exhibitions, for which she is editing a special issue of the *Journal of Holocaust Research* (Spring 2023).

Mirjam Rajner

BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY, RAMAT GAN

Adolf Weiller's "Martyrdom Cycle": Official and Unofficial Holocaust Art in Socialist Yugoslavia

■ In 1952 the Federation of Jewish Communities in Socialist Yugoslavia commissioned monuments in five cities to commemorate "Jewish victims of Fascism". The unveiling ceremonies were attended by Yugoslav state and Communist Party officials, as well as Israeli and international Jewish delegates, and were covered by the Yugoslav mass media. They were meant to signal the post-Holocaust revival of the Yugoslav Jewish community, of which more than 80% had perished, to both, the local authorities and to the international Jewish community. Simultaneously, they were meant to underline that Jews were an ethnic group like any other within Socialist Yugoslav society, due to their "shared victimhood" in the joint struggle of the region's different national and ethnic groups against the enemy during World War II, a struggle that became a foundation myth and unifying force of the new country.

■ In contrast to this "official" version of the Jewish fate, Adolf Weiller, an artist of Croatian Jewish origin, dedicated most of his postwar art to the theme of the Holocaust, but his work remained private. Informed by his own experience and by testimonies of survivors, mainly of the Ustasha Jasenovac camp, where most of his relatives had perished — but also by growing information about the devastating character of the Holocaust in Europe — Weiller created during the 1950's a cycle of works entitled "Martyrdom". Compromised of oil paintings, drawings and lithographs, the cycle was exhibited only once — in 1963, at the Jewish community in Zagreb in order to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Since then, this cycle has remained hidden away, in the collection of the artist's family.

■ My paper will juxtapose the "official" artistic narratives of Holocaust commemoration in Socialist Yugoslavia, with the private, "forgotten" Holocaust art of Adolf Weiller.

Mirjam Rajner, PhD

■ is an associate professor and the chair of the Jewish Art Department of Bar-Ilan University. She is the co-editor of *Ars Judaica*. Her research and publications deal with the early period of Marc Chagall's art, and the visual culture of the East-, South- and Central European Jews during the long nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Her book *Fragile Images: Jews and Art in Yugoslavia, 1918–1945* was published by Brill in 2019. A book co-authored with Richard I. Cohen, *Samuel Hirszenberg (1865–1908): A Polish Jewish Artist in Turmoil*, was published by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization and Liverpool University Press in March 2022.

Roma Sendyka

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY, KRAKÓW

Erica Lehrer

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL

Holocaust-Themed Folk (Naïve) Art in Poland (1945–1989)

■ The recent turn in Holocaust studies towards the “dispersed” Holocaust that took place outside of the death camps, in full view of local “bystander” populations, requires new sources of data. Holocaust-themed folk art from Poland constitutes an important and as-yet-unexamined source that offers a unique perspective on postwar memorial processes.

■ Created from the 1940s until today (culminating in the ‘60s and ‘70s), carvings and paintings of Holocaust scenes by Polish vernacular artists, who remembered pre-war Jews and witnessed the atrocities against them, have been largely forgotten in the holdings of ethnographic museums or reside in private (mostly German) collections, without ever having been systematically examined as a source of knowledge about post-traumatic memory processes. The talk focuses on such vernacular representations of the Shoah and probes their capacity to take part in the memorial discourses of the Holocaust.

Roma Sendyka, PhD

■ associate professor (Dr. habil.), founding director of the Research Center for Memory Cultures, teaches at the Anthropology of Literature and Cultural Studies Department at the Faculty of Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University, Kraków. Specializes in memory studies, criticism and theory, and visual culture. Focuses on relations between images, sites and memory, currently working on a project on non-sites of memory in Central and Eastern Europe and bystanders’ memory.

■ PI in projects: Polish Folk Art and the Holocaust: Perpetrator–Victim–Bystander Memory Transactions in the Polish–German Context (Beethoven, NCN/DFG, Humboldt Univ., with Magdalena Waligórska, 2020–2023); Challenging Populist Truth-Making in Europe. The Role of Museums in a Digital “Post-Truth” European Society (Volkswagen, Humboldt Univ., leaders: Christoph Bareither, Sharon Macdonald 2020–2024). Co-investigator in the Partnerships: Thinking Through the Museum (2021–2028) project (Social Sciences & Humanities Research Council, Canada). Most recent publication: *Poza obozem. Nie-miejsca pamięci. Próba rozpoznania* (Beyond Camps. Non-sites of Memory, 2021).

Erica Lehrer, PhD

■ is a sociocultural anthropologist and curator. She is professor in the departments of History and Sociology-Anthropology at Concordia University, Montreal, and the founding director of its Curating and Public Scholarship Lab (CaPSL).

■ Her publications include *Curatorial Dreams: Critics Imagine Exhibitions* (2016); *Jewish Space in Contemporary Poland* (2015); *Jewish Poland Revisited: Heritage Tourism in Unquiet Places* (2013); *Curating Difficult Knowledge: Violent Pasts in Public Places* (2011), and numerous articles.

■ Her exhibitions include *Souvenir, Talisman, Toy* (2013), and *Terribly Close: Polish Vernacular Artists Face the Holocaust* (2018–19) with Roma Sendyka, Wojciech Wilczyk, and Magdalena Zych at the Kraków Ethnographic Museum. From 2021 to 2028 she is the Principal Investigator of the \$2.5 million project *Thinking Through the Museum: A Partnership Approach to Curating Difficult Knowledge in Public*, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Anastasia Simferovska

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO

“I Inscribe Myself into the Book”: Visitors Respond to Poland’s First Holocaust Art Shows

■ The Red Army soldier and military artist Zinovii Tolkachev (1903–1977) was the first to depict the Nazi crimes in Majdanek and Auschwitz. By the end of WWII, Tolkachev exhibited in several cities of Poland his two series of artworks entitled *Majdanek* and *The Flowers of Oswiecim*. The Polish press and the Soviet exhibition catalogues recognized Tolkachev’s art as a valuable historical document and a first-hand visual testimony.

■ Based on newly discovered and unexplored archival sources, my presentation introduces a non-official viewpoint on Tolkachev’s Holocaust art as it had been recorded in the exhibitions visitors’ notebooks which Tolkachev kept in his personal archive. Who were the visitors of his art shows? What and in which language they wrote? Why did Tolkachev take those notebooks with him upon his return from Poland to Kyiv in 1946? Addressing these questions, my presentation will demonstrate how and why the responses preserved in the exhibition visitors’ notebooks challenge our knowledge of the earliest public responses to the first artistic attempts to depict the Holocaust.

Anastasia Simferovska, PhD

■ is a PhD candidate at the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and a Crown Family Jewish Studies Cluster Program fellow at Northwestern University (Chicago/Evanston, USA). She also holds a PhD in Art History from the Lviv National Academy of Art (Lviv, Ukraine). Anastasiia works on the intersection of art and literatures, with a particular focus on 20th century East Europe. In her dissertation project at NU, Anastasia explores literary and artistic representations of the Holocaust in post-WWII Poland and the USSR. She analyses not only the place of the destructed Jewish body in visual and verbal texts, but also the place of these texts in the cultural and historical contexts of East Europe’s official victimhood policies, as well as individual and collective memory.

Piotr Słodkowski

ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, WARSAW

Informel and the Fight for the Memory of the Holocaust. Figures by Marek Oberländer as Totems

■ My presentation concerns a series of works by Marek Oberländer (1922–1978), a Polish–Jewish painter who stayed in the USSR during World War II while his whole family died in the Holocaust. Oberländer is noted in art history for his famous painting *Branded* (Napiętnowani, 1955). However, from 1958 to 1967 the artist also consistently developed his extensive series of paintings and prints titled *Figures* (Figury), created both in communist Poland and in France, where he emigrated in 1963.

■ In this paper, I show how *Figures* oscillate between the significance of the Holocaust testimony and the dominant aesthetics of the late 1950s and early 1960s in modern art (identified in Poland at the time as “matter painting” and Informel). I also consider how Oberländer’s works formed part of the then struggle for the memory of war and the Holocaust. To what extent were they universal, and to what extent deeply personal? And how can the totem category help conceptualise *Figures*? I look into the above questions by analysing *Figures* through the prism of unique archival sources: notes, typescripts, and Oberländer’s commentaries never previously quoted.

■ The aim of this paper is to review the turn of the 1960s as a moment of cultural liberalisation and, thereby, to examine that epoch in terms of possibilities offering testimonies to war. Reflection on how Oberländer’s visual testimonies fitted into the established rituals of commemoration (how typical or unique they were) contributes to rich socio-historical studies on the memory of war in Eastern and Western Europe. It also benefits art history as a significant area of interdisciplinary studies on the cultural consequences of the Holocaust.

Piotr Słodkowski, PhD

■ assistant professor at the Academy of Fine Art in Warsaw. Author of the book *Modernizm żydowsko-polski. Henryk Streng/Marek Włodarski a historia sztuki* (Jewish–Polish Modernism. Henryk Streng/Marek Włodarski and Art History, 2019), which was awarded by the “Polityka” weekly (2019) and Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw (2020). He co-edited *Czas debat. Antologia krytyki artystycznej z 1945–1954* (Epoch of Debates. Anthology of Polish Art Criticism, 1945–1954). His research focuses on Polish art after 1939 and complex relations between Holocaust, modernism, postwar engaged art and socialist realism. Currently he works on the art of Marek Oberländer.

Olga Stefan

UNIVERSITY ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA, IAȘI

Art of the Holocaust in Romania: Vapniarka as a Case Study

■ Vapniarka is a village on the Odessa–Lviv train line in today’s Ukraine, and during the war in the Romanian-occupied Transnistria. Starting in September 1942, a concentration camp was established there and designated as a political prisoner camp. In the first months after the arrival of the lot of 2,000 Jews deported to Vapniarka, a system of extermination was imposed by the Romanian administration. Resistance in the camp took many forms: mere survival and mutual aid, active opposition, and production of artistic objects and cultural events.

■ Focus in my presentation will be placed on an art exhibition that took place in 1943 inside the camp, an event that has been unknown to, thus not studied by, any researchers of the Romanian Holocaust. Objects from this unique exhibition made their way to Romania once the survivors were repatriated, including several woodcut plates by a famous expressionist artist who had been active as an engaged antifascist in the interwar period. The woodcut plates produced in the camp were then used to make the first prints depicting the horrors of camp life to be exhibited in post-war Romania — in Bucharest, 1945. Shortly after 1945, with the changing policies of the new communist regime towards the Holocaust memory, representations of persecuted Jews in art started to disappear as the idea that the Jews had been the primary victims of the Fascists and the Nazis faded from official historical narration in the public sphere.

■ My presentation will reveal novel works of art produced in the camp and exhibited after liberation, the role art played in the prisoners’ strategies of antifascist resistance in the camp, the importance these works had for raising awareness of the horrors experienced in concentration camps to a wilfully blind population, and address the postwar communist regime’s revisionist approach to the Holocaust as exemplified in the use of language and visual representation.

Olga Stefan

■ is a curator, researcher and documentary filmmaker focusing on the Holocaust in Romania, with special attention to the art produced about this topic in the years of the war and immediately after. In 2016 she founded the transnational platform for Holocaust remembrance, *The Future of Memory*: www.thefutureofmemory.ro where her documentaries can be viewed, and is currently enrolled as a doctoral student at the University of Iași, Romania with a thesis about Vapniarka. She is the author of the book *The Future of Memory* and a chapter about Vapniarka in the volume *Memories of Terror* (Frankfurt: CEEOL Press, 2020).

Olga Ungar

INDEPENDENT RESEARCHER, GIVATAYIM

The Remembrance Triangle: The Case Study of Holocaust Memorials in Novi Sad, Serbia

■ Out of 4,400 Jews living in Novi Sad before World War II, some 750 survived the Holocaust. How has the memory of the victims been honoured and preserved and how has the memory of the Holocaust experiences been formed and transmitted?

■ In this talk, I will present three remembrance sites — three memorials in Novi Sad, the capital of Vojvodina, the autonomous province in northern Serbia. The three commemorate different tragedies of the local community: the *Monument to the Victims of Fascist Terror* (1952) in the Jewish cemetery dedicated to all Novi Sad Jewish victims of World War II, the memorial *The Family* (1971) honouring all the victims (Serbs, Jews, and Roma) of the Novi Sad raid of January 1942, commemorating both the event and each individual victim by listing his/her name, and a memorial plaque on the Novi Sad synagogue (1985) commemorating the deportation of the city's Jews to Auschwitz on April 26, 1944.

■ The three sites are crucial for fostering a culture of remembrance of World War II civilian casualties of Jewish descent, citizens of Novi Sad. However, even though all three reflect the official patterns of commemoration of the victims, different nature of these memorials creates very different realms of memory of the Holocaust.

■ In addition to iconological and iconographical interpretations of these memorials, I will analyse the initiative, the creation period, and the unveiling, as well as commemoration ceremonies that these sites host. As the three reflect developments and changes within the culture of remembrance that took place in the Yugoslav period, I will refer to these as well.

Olga Ungar, PhD

■ graduated from the Academy of Arts of Novi Sad, Serbia, and continued to pursue higher education at the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design in Jerusalem, where she earned the MFA degree. She completed the PhD degree in 2017, at the Program in Contemporary Jewry, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, with a dissertation concentrating on Hungarian Jewish sculptor Michael Kara (1885–1964) as a doorway to the historical analysis of Hungarian-speaking East-Central European Jewish communities.

■ Her current research examines the Vojvodina Jewish heritage and especially the phenomenon of the erection of the Holocaust memorials in Jewish cemeteries by local Jewish communities in the immediate aftermath of World War II. Olga is currently employed as a content developer and educator at the E-Learning Department at Yad Vashem's International School for Holocaust Studies. She is also an independent artist.

Asta Vrečko

UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA

Depicting Suffering in Concentration Camps: Slovenian Artists Based in Socialist Yugoslavia and in the West

■ After the start of World War II Slovenia was occupied and split between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Many Slovenian artists were interned in German, Italian, and other prisons and camps. Thousands of their works have been preserved and are today part of the National Museum's collections. After the war Slovenia was part of socialist Yugoslavia that had its own foreign policy strategy of positioning itself between the East and West. This specific situation beyond the strictly bloc-oriented understanding of the world and the fact that these are non-Jewish artists means that Yugoslav artists are rarely included in studies on this subject, with the most notable exception being Zoran Mušič, who lived in Paris and Venice.

■ In my paper I will try to unveil some elements of concentration camp art using the works of Slovene artists that have survived internment and have returned to the topic of suffering and concentration camps later in their oeuvres. Artistically Yugoslavia was strongly oriented towards the West, with artists regularly travelling abroad after the early fifties onwards and were thus in contact with contemporary and modern art.

■ In my contribution, I will focus on the heterogeneity and reception of concentration camp art that emerged following the end of World War II in the case of selected Slovene artists, primarily Marij Pregelj, Bogdan Borčič and Zoran Mušič. They were all well known, represented Yugoslavia in the most important exhibitions and even had official state commissions. I will address the chosen style within the artist's general oeuvre (symbolic, realistic, or abstract) and within Yugoslav modernism. I will focus on the differences between Mušič and others that remained in Yugoslavia. I will examine the artistic and moral dilemmas of the artists living in a socialist country, which was inherently pacifist and part of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Asta Vrečko, PhD

■ is a researcher at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana and a curator. She teaches at the Academy of Fine Arts of the University of Ljubljana. Her work focuses on Slovenian and Yugoslavian art of the 20th century. She curated several exhibitions and was part of the curatorial team of 32nd Biennial of Graphic Arts "Birth as Criterion" (Ljubljana, 2017) and Pavilion of Slovenia "The Common in Community. Seventy Years of Cooperative Centres as a Social Infrastructure" at La Biennale di Venezia (2021). She is part of a research project "Exhibiting of Art and Architecture Between Artistic and Ideological Concepts. Case Study Slovenia 1947–1979" (Faculty of Arts and UIFS ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana) and curated an exhibition about interwar art in Cankarjev dom, Ljubljana (2022).

Magdalena Waligórska

HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY, BERLIN

Transactions over Polish Holocaust-Themed Folk Art in West and East Germany as a Mode of Polish–German Reconciliation

■ Polish folk art not only belonged to the most common souvenirs (West and East) German tourists bought on their travels to socialist Poland, but it also became an immensely popular object of private collections in East and West Germany, generating its own market, exhibition circuit, and a specific community of consumers. Holocaust themes constituted a small, but significant part of these acquisitions, and German folk art collectors were instrumental in shaping the production of such objects, commissioning works that referenced WWII and the Holocaust.

■ Focusing on the heyday of this scene in the 1980s, this paper discusses the ways Polish Holocaust-related folk art made its way into Germany, describing the grassroots negotiations and transactions that underlay this transfer. Looking at micro-relations between Polish artists and German collectors, commissioning, acquiring and trading in Polish folk art in Germany, the paper traces different ways in which non-state actors created forms of cultural engagement that combined memory work and *Versöhnungsarbeit* with commercial endeavours. Trade in Polish folk art constituted in this respect part of wider attempts at a Polish–German rapprochement via Holocaust education, humanitarian help, or popular support for the Solidarity movement.

■ Discussing different transactions that took place within this scene, this paper analyses power dynamics between artists and collectors, but also the changing perceptions of Poland by German actors. The commercial negotiations around Polish folk art reveal how Germans have pictured Poland both as a bucolic destination of rural simplicity, deep religiosity and authentic folk expression, and a country that was underdeveloped, “primitive” and marked by the Holocaust.

Magdalena Waligórska, PhD

■ is associate professor, based at the CARMAH Center for Anthropological Research on Museums and Heritage at the Humboldt University of Berlin. Her fields of interest include: contemporary Polish and Belarusian history, nationalism and national symbols, Jewish heritage and popular culture, Jewish/non-Jewish relations, music and identity, and memory studies. She held teaching appointments at the University of Hamburg, Free University Berlin and held a chair for East European History and Culture at the University of Bremen (2013–2020).

■ She has published extensively on Jewish culture, Jewish–non-Jewish relations and nationalism, among others, in: *East European Politics and Societies, Holocaust Studies, East European Jewish Affairs and Jewish Cultural Studies*. Her first monograph, *Klezmer's Afterlife: An Ethnography of the Jewish Music Revival in Poland and Germany*, appeared with Oxford University Press in 2013. Her second book, *Cross Purposes: Catholicism and the Political Imagination in Poland* is forthcoming with Cambridge University Press.

Magdalena Zych

KRAKÓW ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

Vernacular Memory of the Holocaust. The Art of Włodzimierz Chajec (1904–1985) and Józef Piłat (1900–1971)

■ Violence, embodied in the struggle between figures representing good and evil, was a recurring theme in the artwork of Władysław Chajec (1904–1985). The artist experienced both World Wars in his ancestral village of Kamienica Górna (eastern Poland). Born in the US, as a seven-year-old returned to Poland with his family. He started his art experience at age of 40 but soon, in the '60s, he was recognized as one of the most important folk sculptors. In his interpretations Holocaust is not evidently visible, however, he depicted a deeply human experience of war cruelty.

■ In the sculptures made by another famous folk artist from this period, Józef Piłat (1900–1971) from Dębska Wola near Kielce (central Poland), memory about Holocaust was the main topic of his art but not in a documentary sense. His representations of Madonna and Jesus always depict faces of his Jewish friends, killed during the war. Based on these two cases I will discuss the different visual narrative strategies used by the artists and the rich social context of their art. Who was commissioning, who was buying? For what reasons? What role was played by other actors of the Holocaust memory scene: museum curators, collectors, academics?

Magdalena Zych

■ is a cultural anthropologist, curator, and keeper at the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków. Since 2009 she coordinates research projects and cooperates with artists, activists, and academics. She was head of the research teams and co-curated exhibitions. She worked in research teams on a collaborative project: *Awkward Objects of Genocide. Vernacular Art on the Holocaust and Ethnographic Museums*, developed within the project TRACES (Horizon2020, Reflective Society, 2016–19), which resulted in the exhibition *Terribly Close: Polish Vernacular Artists Face the Holocaust* at The Ethnographic Museum in Kraków (2018–19). She cooperates in the project *Polish Folk Art and the Holocaust: Perpetrator–Victim–Bystander Memory Transactions in the Polish–German Context* (Beethoven, NCN/DFG, Humboldt Univ., with Roma Sendyka and Magdalena Waligórska, 2020–23).

THE CONFERENCE WAS ORGANISED BY:

Agata Pietrasik, PhD

■ art historian and graduate of the University of Warsaw and Freie Universität in Berlin, where she wrote her doctoral dissertation on the art of the 1940s in Poland, examining the interplay between aesthetics, ethics and politics of that decade.

■ She is the author of "Art in a Disrupted World Poland 1939–1949" (2021). She is currently working on "How Exhibitions Rebuilt Europe: Exhibiting War Crimes in the 1940s" as part of an Alfred Landecker Foundation grant at Freie Universität, Berlin.

Daniel Véri, PhD

■ art and cultural historian, researcher at the Museum of Fine Arts – Central European Research Institute for Art History. CEU Jewish Studies postdoctoral fellow at the Democracy Institute (2021–2022), member of the "Confrontations: Sessions in East European Art History" research group (UCL, 2019–2022). He studied at ELTE (history of art: MA, 2009; PhD, 2016), and at CEU (history, 2010).

■ His research interests include Central European art from the 1945–89 period, especially the artistic reception of Jewish identity and the Holocaust, as well as cultural diplomacy and the cultural history of blood libels. Author of *"Leading the Dead" – The World of János Major* (2013), co-author of *The Great Book Theft. French Book Exhibition Behind the Iron Curtain* (2020). Curator and co-curator of numerous research-based exhibitions.

