

Kaulbach's Wandering Jew: An Anti-Jewish Allegory and Two Jewish Responses

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Wilhelm von Kaulbach (born 1804 in Arolsen (Hesse), died 1874 in Munich), was the pupil and close follower of Peter Cornelius, one of the principal members of the Nazarene movement. Following the great success of his *Battle of the Huns* in 1837, Kaulbach was appointed by King Ludwig I of Bavaria as court artist. He swiftly became the most celebrated history-painter in Germany, and later succeeded his former teacher as the leader of the Late-Classicist school in Munich.¹

Kaulbach's large painting - *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (Fig. 1) in the Neue Pinakothek, Munich, was initially commissioned by 1836 by the Countess Angelina Radziwill, who also suggested its subject. However, by 1838 the countess had lost patience and she cancelled the commission. In late 1841, when Ludwig I heard that King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, who had seen an oil sketch of the painting, coveted it for himself, he immediately commissioned the painting from Kaulbach.

The Bavarian king paid 35,000 gulden for the work, the largest sum ever paid in Germany up to then for an individual painting. The finished work entered the royal collections in about 1846 and in 1853 it was installed in a place of honour in the central hall of the Neue Pinakothek (the first museum to be dedicated to contemporary art) which had been inaugurated that year by Ludwig I, and it has been on display there ever since.²

Having failed to acquire the Munich painting for himself, The King of Prussia asked Kaulbach to include a replica of *The Destruction of Jerusalem* in the vast fresco cycle which he had commissioned from the artist in 1842 for the mural decoration of the staircase-hall of the New Museum in Berlin (then still under construction). The murals were to represent "the entire cultural development of Humanity in its artistic and religious meaning" in six large



Fig. 1: Wilhelm Kaulbach, *The Destruction of Jerusalem*. Munich, Neue Pinakothek

scenes representing a sequence of crucial chapters in the history of Civilization.³

Depictions of the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple by the Romans had already appeared in mediaeval illuminations, as well as in printed book-illustrations and easel paintings. The iconographic program of Kaulbach's painting is, however, unprecedented in many respects. Kaulbach transformed the historical event into a visual Christian allegorical sermon according to which the destruction of Jerusalem was a divine punishment wrought upon the Jews for their rejection of Christ. The destruction of Jerusalem is seen as marking the downfall and dispersion of the Jewish people and also the end of their ancient religion, and the triumphal emergence of the new faith - Christianity. In 1840, long before the completion of the final version of the painting, Kaulbach had published a booklet of detailed *Explanations* to the iconographic content of the picture, in which he identified each of the main figures. It also includes quotations from Old and New Testament prophecies purporting to relate to and support the content of the painting, as well as some references to his principal literary source - Josephus Flavius' *Jewish War*.⁴ These *Explanations* have remained our best source for the understanding of the meaning of the painting as well as of its ideological message.

In the upper section of the picture appear the four major Biblical Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, holding open books, which according to

Kaulbach's *Explanations*, refer to their wrathful prophecies foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the People of Israel.⁵

Inscriptions citing prophecies by Daniel (9: 26), and Luke (21: 24), both quoted in Kaulbach's *Explanations*, once appeared on the gilded spandrels of the original frame of the painting, now lost (Fig. 1).⁶ Kaulbach's choice of verses quoted in these two inscriptions was clearly intended to supplement the visual message of the images of the Prophets, as well as to emphasize the Christian meaning of the painting. Daniel's prophecy (only the second part of the verse is cited) was interpreted by Christian writers as foretelling the destruction of the Second Temple by Titus, which would follow the death of Christ, while the verses from the Gospel according to St Luke present a Christian variant of the Old Testament prophecies.

Below the Prophets hover seven angels, an obvious allusion to the seven Apocalyptic Angels. They are brandishing bundles of rods, a visual reference to the recurring biblical metaphor of the Rod of Wrath, and thus bear the same message as the upper heavenly scene.⁷ It has been noted that in the painting those few Jews who appear to be trying to defend themselves, are in fact not attempting to shield themselves against the swords of the Roman soldiers, but against the invisible heavenly darts of wrath.⁸

Kaulbach's interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans as a heavenly punishment brought upon the sinful people of Israel by Divine wrath, and as a fulfilment of the Old and New Testament prophecies, follows a long tradition already apparent in the teachings of early Christian writers such as Tertullian.⁹

The same pronounced anti-Jewish interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem appears to have informed Kaulbach's particular selection of historical episodes of the destruction (Fig. 2) as well as the manner of their depiction.

The principal episodes in his painting present the Jews not as being brought down by the hands of the Roman soldiers (let alone offering any resistance to their onslaught) but as bringing their own deaths upon themselves and killing their own children. The young High-Priest in the centre is depicted thrusting a dagger into his own chest after having killed his son. On the left a young mother is holding a knife in her hand, contemplating with horror the sleeping child lying on her lap, and whom she is going to slaughter; while near her, four fiendish looking starving figures huddle besides a cauldron, apparently eagerly awaiting their turn to gorge themselves upon the child's flesh. This gruesome cannibalistic scene (merely suggested here) is derived from Josephus Flavius' description of the famine in Jerusalem and the case of Maria of Beth Ezuba: an episode which, however, took place during the last phase of the siege, and not



Fig 2: Wilhelm Kaulbach, *The Destruction of Jerusalem*. Munich, Neue Pinakothek (detail of Fig. 1)

during the destruction of the city. Interesting depictions of this scene had already made their appearance in mediaeval miniatures, but it is unlikely that Kaulbach was familiar with them.¹⁰

These episodes were chosen by Kaulbach mainly because they appear to represent the fulfilment of certain wrathful biblical prophecies and they accord with the horrifying descriptions of the fall of Jerusalem included in these prophecies.

A comparison of Kaulbach's painting with other depictions of the fall of Jerusalem (e.g. by Nicolas Poussin [1638, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum], Bartolomeo Pinelli [end of the 18th century], Francois Joseph Heim [1824, Paris, Louvre], or Francesco Hayez [1867, Venice, Galleria d'Arte Moderna]) serve to show how greatly the rendering of this subject by Kaulbach differs from the pictorial reconstructions of the historical event created by other Classicist artists before and after him.¹¹

Kaulbach's interpretation of the *Destruction of Jerusalem* has also been frequently contrasted with the deeply sympathetic renderings of similar national disasters and tragedies by Kaulbach's younger contemporary, Eduard Bendemann (1811-1889) and his older contemporary Adam Eberle (died 1832).¹²

If, however, any uncertainty still remains regarding the anti-Jewish content of Kaulbach's selection of historical episodes of the Destruction of Jerusalem, there is little doubt regarding the outspoken polemics of the two Christian allegorical scenes which were appended by the artist on either side of the central scene. In the left foreground (Fig. 3), a bearded dishevelled man is fleeing from



Fig 3: Wilhelm Kaulbach, *The Destruction of Jerusalem (The Eternal Jew, detail of Fig. 1).*

the burning city, running wildly towards the viewer. He is Kaulbach's version of the Wandering Jew (the traditional title used in England and other European countries), or the Eternal Jew as he was termed in Germany.

The earliest known mediaeval source quoting the legend of the Eternal Jew appears in an Italian monastic chronicle written, presumably in Bologna, in or about 1223. According to this chronicle, while Christ "was going to his Martyrdom, a Jew drove Him along wickedly with these words: 'Go, go thou tempter' Christ answered him: I go and you will wait me till I come again". A variant of the story appeared in the entry for the year 1228 in Roger of Wendover's chronicle - *Flores historiarum*. A later version of this entry written and illustrated by Roger's successor, Matthew Paris, after the middle of the thirteenth century, was included in his *Chronica Majora* (in these two British versions the Jew is a porter in Pilate's service, and is called Joseph Cartaphilus). As in the earlier Italian version the Jew is condemned by Christ to wait (rather than to wander) until the Last Judgement.¹³

This version of the legend persisted (with many variations in the details of the story, including different names given to the Jew) up to the end of the 16th century.

The legend of the Wandering Jew appeared in print for the first time in 1602. In this version, published in German: "Kurtze Beschreibung und Erzählung von einem Juden mit Namen Ahasverus", the Jew is described as a shoemaker named Ahasverus. Unlike his mediaeval predecessors, Ahasverus of the "Kurtze Beschreibung" is not condemned by Christ to wait until His

second coming in the Last Judgement. Instead, he is doomed to expiate his crime by eternal wandering. Numerous reprints and translations into several other European languages soon followed, and made the legend of the Wandering Jew widely known throughout Europe already by the beginning of the 17th century. Variants of the legend were published in single broadsheets and in *Volksbuecher* (some of which included woodcut illustrations) in Germany and elsewhere up to the end of the 18th century, making the legend enormously popular. In the late 18th and throughout the 19th century, particularly during the rise of Romaniticism, it inspired numerous literary, poetical, theatrical and even musical works, as well as dozens of graphic illustrations and popular single-leaf prints. The best known of such works is the famous series of twelve wood-engravings made after Gustave Doré's designs (1856).¹⁴

It was, however, in Kaulbach's work that the Wandering Jew made his first appearance in a large-scale painting, and in a representation with an even stronger anti-Jewish flavour than the original legend of Ahasverus. In his flight from the burning city, the Eternal Jew in Kaulbach's paintings is pursued not by Roman soldiers, but by terrifying images of divine revenge: three winged demons - male variants of the goddesses of vengeance, the Greek Erinyes, or the Roman Furies.¹⁵ Like the Furies, their number is three, and they bear their characteristic attributes - wings and snakes. An additional biblical attribute of God's wrath, the scourge, is being brandished by one of the demons.

It has been observed that the scene recalls John Flaxman's illustrations for Aeschylus (1795), showing Orestes pursued by the Furies, as well as 19th century paintings by Pierre Paul Prud'hon (1808) and Alfred Rethel (1837), depicting a murderer pursued by symbolical figures of Wrath, Vengeance or Justice, which were inspired by the biblical story of the curse of the fratricide Cain. Later examples can be seen in Charles Gabriel Gleyre's *Pentheus fleeing from the Maenads* (1864) and Arnold Boecklin's *Furies* (1870).¹⁶

As noted above, in Kaulbach's painting the wandering of the Eternal Jew does not start immediately after his encounter with Christ, as told in the story of Ahasverus, but following his escape from Jerusalem after its destruction by the Romans.

No precedent in art exists for this new interpretation of the old legend. Kaulbach, however, may have been inspired directly or indirectly by several contemporary 19th century literary sources, which were widely known in Germany in his time.

The earliest and most influential of these writings was George Croly's triple-volume historical novel - *Salathiel*. In one of the passages of this vast work the Wandering Jew appears as one of the chief defenders of Jerusalem during the

Roman siege, escaping from the city after its fall and destruction. Soon after its publication (London 1827, second edition 1828), a plagiarized German translation by Ludwig Storch and a free German version by A. Kaiser appeared in Germany in 1829. One of these translations appears to have inspired a section in Julius Mosen's epic poem, "Ahasver", which describes the Eternal Jew escaping from Jerusalem after its destruction by the Romans. Mosen's poem was published in 1838, when Kaulbach was still working on his *Destruction of Jerusalem*. One of these German translations of Croly's novel, or possibly Mosen's poem, may have inspired Kaulbach to include the image of the escaping Eternal Jew in his monumental painting.¹⁷

However, unlike Croly's heroic defender of the city, Kaulbach's Wandering Jew escaping from the burning Jerusalem is an allegorical reference to the dispersion of the Jews that followed the destruction of their holy city. Significantly, Kaulbach, albeit fully aware of the traditional meaning of the figure, does not refer in his *Explanations* of 1840 to the Legend of Ahasuerus, but focuses on his own allegorical interpretation of the Eternal Jew as representing the "present state of the Jewish people".¹⁸ Thus, in Kaulbach's painting the Wandering Jew, pursued by the demons of revenge, represents both the legendary Ahasverus suffering the punishment for his personal sin, and the entire Jewish people, doomed to dispersion among the nations and "to eternal darkness" as divine revenge for their rejection and condemnation of Christ.

On the opposite side of the picture Kaulbach introduced another scene of purely Christian content, which is even less related to the destruction of Jerusalem than that of the Wandering Jew. This unprecedented scene constitutes a visual comment on the particular meaning given by Kaulbach to his Wandering Jew, to which it is clearly the polar counterpart. Representing the triumphal rise of Christianity, it marks the epilogue and the grand conclusion of Kaulbach's allegorical drama. It is the *Familia Christiana*, whose members are leaving the burning city unscathed, chanting prayers and carrying martyrs' palms.¹⁹ They are followed by three angels, alluding to the Holy Trinity and forming an evident counterpart to the three demons. They hold above them the radiant Eucharistic chalice - symbol of the Christian Virtue of Faith and the Triumphant Church.²⁰

On its way the group encounters three beautiful, scantily clad children, whose pathetic gestures of prayer (an allusion to the Christian Virtue of Hope) express their yearning to join the saintly community. One of the angels and the boy riding on the ass below him appear to be graciously accepting the young neophytes. The female figure riding on the ass is derived from the traditional

representation of Mary in the scenes of the Flight into Egypt (Matthew, 2:14). Here, however, she is suckling two babes, a clear allusion to the traditional personification of the Christian Virtue of Charity.

The pure beauty of the members of the Christian Family, their solemn gait, and their expressions of calm, serene devotion, sharply contrast with the haggard appearance of the the wildly fleeing Eternal Jew on the opposite side of the composition.

The contrasting images of the defeated Jew and the triumphant Christian family follow the traditional representations in art of the opposing images of the defeated *Synagoga* and the Triumphant *Ecclesia*.

The two antithetical allegories representing Sin and Virtue, marching respectively towards eternal doom and divine salvation, also evoke the analogous division between the blessed and the damned in representations of the Last Judgement.

The inverted positions of the doomed Jew and the saved Christians in Kaulbach's composition may have been inspired by Lucas Cranach's allegorical paintings - *Fall and Salvation* in Gotha and Nuerenberg, and a woodcut of the same subject (Fig. 4, also called "Damnation and Salvation", or "Law and Grace"), in which the fleeing sinner running towards the spectator, is reminiscent of Kaulbach's Wandering Jew.²¹

In 1876, about a year after Kaulbach's death, a highly talented young Polish Jewish painter arrived in Munich from Crakow and enrolled in the Academy of Art as a pupil of Kaulbach's outstanding follower, the history-painter Karl Theodor von Piloty. His name was Maurycy Gottlieb (Drohobycz 1856-1879).²² Until a year before his arrival, Gottlieb had showed little interest in Jewish matters. However, after he had been harrassed in the Cracow Academy of Art by some Polish fellow students, he became intensely interested in the history and fate of his people. This nationalistic metamorphosis began to be manifested in Gottlieb's art shortly after the beginning of his brief stay in Munich. During that year (1876), he painted two pictures in which he gave new, original interpretations to two familiar Jewish subjects which were often charged with anti-Jewish connotations: *Shylock and Jessica* (Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*) and - of particular importance to our subject - *Ahasver* (Fig. 5).²³

Gottlieb's *Ahasver* appears to be little else than a self-portrait. A similar self-portrait is featured among the onlookers in Gottlieb's *Christ Preaching in Kafer Nahum* painted a few years later (1878-79).²⁴ The apparently irrelevant title was probably inspired, or rather provoked, by the figure of Ahasver in Kaulbach's painting, which Gottlieb had certainly seen more than once during his frequent visits to the Neue Pinakothek. It was probably no coincidence that



Fig 4: Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Law and Grace*. Woodcut.

his *Ahasver* was painted shortly after Gottlieb's arrival in Munich and that he never returned to this or any similar subject afterwards. The critical message of this painting is thus mainly limited to its incongruous title, by which the artist defiantly identified himself with the doomed Ahasverus in Kaulbach's *Destruction of Jerusalem*. By depicting himself wearing a golden diadem, Gottlieb, however, added another layer of meaning to the title of the picture. This royal attribute may refer to the Persian King, the protagonist of the biblical Book of Esther, whose name - Ahasuerus, was adopted for that of the Eternal Jew by the anonymous German compiler of the first printed German edition of the legend (1602).

The diadem on Gottlieb's head thus transforms the defeated Wandering Jew into a triumphant royal figure.²⁵ Significantly, according to the biblical story, this fictitious feeble-minded monarch ultimately saved the Persian Jewish community from persecution by his non Jewish subjects and from a massacre plotted by his anti-Jewish vizier.²⁶

A much more profound and explicit reaction to the anti-Jewish message of Kaulbach's Eternal Jew occurred a few decades later in a work by another young Polish Jewish artist - Shmuel Hirszenberg (Lodz 1865-Jerusalem 1907).²⁷ In 1882 young Hirszenberg, like Gottlieb before him, was studying at the Munich Academy of Art, and like him he too would have had ample opportunity of studying Kaulbach's celebrated *Destruction of Jerusalem*, which was still on view



Fig 5: Maurycy Gottlieb, *Ahasver*. National Museum, Cracow.

in the central hall of the Neue Pinakothek.

In 1896 Hirszenberg participated in the Munich Secession exhibition with his *Oneg Shabath* (Sabbath Rest).²⁸ Shortly afterwards he began working on his opus magnum: *The Eternal Jew* (Fig. 6). In 1899 the painting was exhibited in Lodz, Warsaw and Paris. However, to Hirszenberg's great regret, the artistic authorities in both Munich and Berlin refused to exhibit his work, probably because of its outspoken polemic content. Hirszenberg died in September 1907, a few months after he had arrived in Jerusalem, having responded to an invitation by Boris Schatz to head the painting department of the Bezalel School of Art, recently founded by him. *The Eternal Jew*, which the artist had brought with him to Jerusalem, remained in the possession of the Bezalel National Museum, where it was located until the early 1950s, on the upper floor of the main building. When the Bezalel Museum became part of the new Israel Museum and was transferred to its present site, Hirszenberg's work was relegated to the museum storerooms.²⁹

Even a superficial glance at Hirszenberg's *Eternal Jew* reveals that it was not only directly inspired by the corresponding figure in Kaulbach's *Destruction of Jerusalem*, but also that it constitutes a critical comment on the anti-Jewish intent of Kaulbach's allegorical figure.



Fig 6: Shmuel Hirszenberg, *The Eternal Jew*, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

In Hirszenberg's painting, Kaulbach's legendary offender of Christ is transformed into a victim and a Martyr of Christian Persecution. For the same reason Hirszenberg also transformed the ideal generic figure of Kaulbach's Ahasver into that of a realistically rendered figure of a contemporary, frail old Jew of the Eastern Europe Diaspora.

Moreover, Hirszenberg lifted the Eternal Jew from the pseudo-historical context of Kaulbach's Christian Allegory, inserting him instead into an original symbolical environment of his own conception: a forest of dark, huge crosses strewn with massacred corpses. It is these menacing crosses, representing Christian persecution, that pursue Hirszenberg's Eternal Jew on his desperate flight, and not Kaulbach's demons of divine vengeance.³⁰

Hirszenberg's Eternal Jew is thus both a pathos eliciting variation on Kaulbach's allegorical figure, as well as a much more defiant response to its anti-Jewish message, than Gottlieb's self-portrait as Ahasver.

The symbolic forest of crosses initially appears to be an entirely original invention by Hirszenberg. However, it has its precedents in several pictorial allegories inspired by Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi*, celebrating the faithful following Christ and the imitation of His Passion and sacrifice for the salvation of Mankind. Other characteristic examples can be seen in works by artists of



Fig 7: Lelio Orsi, *Christ among the Crosses*. Drawing. Whereabouts unknown.

the 16th and 17th centuries, the best-known of which are a drawing by Lelio Orsi (Fig. 7) and a pair of paintings arguably attributed to Philippe de Champaigne.³¹ Admittedly, however, it is difficult to prove beyond doubt that Hirszenberg was directly inspired by any of these precedents. Regretably, our knowledge of this long neglected Jewish artist is still fragmentary.³²

Notes

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Fig 8: Alfred Kubin, *Ahasver*, about 1910.

- 1 For an updated bibliography on Kaulbach, see Menke: 1984, ad. voc. Kaulbach: 192-194, and *passim*; Menke-Schwinghammer 1994: 204-208; for the Battle of the Huns, see: 44-52; Kalinowski and Heilmann 1992, No. 21.
- 2 Neue Pinakothek, Munich, WAF 403, 5,85 x 7,05 m. Menke 1984: 209-213; Menke-Schwinghammer 1994: 38-44, Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, notes 127-160, 170; Schawe 1994: 9 (Fig.). My thanks are due to Dr. Schawe for his help and for this publication; Moeseneder 1996: 103-146. The galley-proofs of the article were kindly sent to me by the Editor, Konrad Renger, before its publication.
- 3 Kaulbach's murals in the New Museum, Berlin were destroyed during the bombing of Berlin in 1943 by the Allies. For the frescoes, see Menke-Schwinghammer 1994; Bertz 1996.
- 4 Kaulbach 1840.
- 5 Kaulbach 1840: 3-5.
- 6 For the two lost inscriptions on the original frame, see Moeseneder: 105, 131, and our Fig. 1 [photograph taken in 1921]. Significantly, in the *Erläuterungen*, 4-5, Kaulbach cites *in extenso* Daniel IX, 26 (given as "IX, 26-27": "And after threescore and two weeks, shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself, and (here follows the text cited on the frame of the picture) the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined".

Luke, XXI, 24: "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword and shall be led away captive into the nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden, down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled".

- 7 According to Kaulbach's *Explanations*, Kaulbach 1840: 5, the angels are holding "flaming swords" (he later probably changed his mind). The same description recurs in Moeseneder 1996: 106, 119, as well as in most of the other recent publications on the painting. For correct descriptions, see Becker 1964: 260-261; Wagner 1994: 38, but "flaming swords" in *id.* 1989: 136.

For the biblical metaphor of the Rod of Wrath, see Proverbs 22:8; Isaia 10:5.

- 8 Moeseneder 1996: 108.

- 9 Moeseneder 1996: 123.

- 10 Kaulbach 1840:5; Josephus Flavius: Bk. VI. Ch.iii, 4. For this and other anachronisms in Kaulbach's painting, see Wagner 1989: 136. For a lively description of the sinister figures in the scene, see Howit 1853: 23.

For the mediaeval depictions of the scene with Maria of Beth Ezuba about to kill her own child, see Muetherich 1979: 215-217, Fig. 1: "Christ bewailing the Fall of Jerusalem", a miniature in the Gospels of Otto III illustrating Luke XIX: 41-44, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453, fol. 188v (text on fol. 189r). Later mediaeval examples: *Historia Romanorum*, Hamburg, Staats-und Universitaetbibliothek, Cod. 151 in scrin, fol. 105v: 152-154 (Italian, thirteenth century, Muetherich 1979: 16, 17, Fig. 2, n.2.). In this miniature the scenes appears to take place contemporaneously with the triumphal procession of Titus: *Evangelica Historia* 1978: fol. 73r,v.: 251-252 (Italian, fourteenth century, Mueterich, n.15). A third illustration (fol. 72v) showing several mothers holding their butchered children, is only loosely related to the text. The confused historical account, ultimately derived from Josephus, is based on the *Legenda Aurea*, see *Legenda Aurea* (1890): Cap. LXVII, de Sancto Jacobo apostolo: 298-303.

- 11 For some earlier depictions of the Destruction of Jerusalem, see Becker 1964: 259, 276; Moeseneder 1996: 109, Figs. 7-9. For bibliography on Poussin's painting, see *ibid.*: n. 30. Several authors refer to the upward gaze of Titus in Poussin's painting as a probable reference to the fulfilment of the wrathful Old-Testament prophecies on the sinning city.

For Heim's painting, see Becker 1964: 276, Fig. 12; Moeseneder 1996: 110. For Hayez's painting, see Coradeschi and Castellaneta 1971: n. 341, Tav. LVII-LIX (1867).

- 12 For Eduard Bendemann and his paintings: *The Mourning Jews in the Babylonian Exile*, Wallraf-Richartz Museum Koln, 1832; *Jeremia on the Ruins of Jerusalem*, 1834/5 (destroyed); *The Jews led into Captivity in Babylon* (Jeremia during the destruction of Jerusalem and the Babilonian exile), 1866-1874 (1872 according to others), Berlin, National Gallery, see Becker: 261-264 (discusses also paintings of similar subjects by Bendemann's contemporaries); Saur 1994: 618-620; Renger 1996: 621-637. I am grateful to Dr. Renger for a copy of his article and for having drawn my attention to it when it was still in *statu nascendi*. See now Moeseneder 1996: 114, 130, 131, 133, 139, Figs. 13-15.

Bendemann's paintings have been recently discussed by Bertz 1996, who showed a snapshot of the little known earlier version of "*The Jews led into Captivity*" (signed and dated 1865, Goepfingen, private collection). See Wichmann 1976: 8-9, Pl. 3.

- 13 For Kaulbach's Wandering Jew, see Kaulbach 1840: 8; Moeseneder 1996: 123-126 (updated bibliography in notes 80-85, 87, 88). For a thorough discussion of the evolution of the legend in literature see Anderson 1965; Anderson 1986. For an English translation of the entry for the year 1223 in the Italian chronicle, see Anderson 1965: 18. For the entries for the year 1228 in Roger of Wendover's *Flores historiarum* and Matthew Paris' *Chronica Maiora*, (in both of which the Jew is called Cartaphilus) and for Paris' illustration, see Lewis 1987: 300-304. For a colour reproduction, see Vaughan 1993: 142. In all the known mediaeval versions of the legend, the Jew is condemned by Christ to eternal waiting, and not to eternal walking. Lewis: 300, quoting a passage of the introductory section of Anderson's discussion (11) of the early literary sources of the legend, has erroneously believed it an excerpt from a sixth century text representing the original *Legend of the Wandering Jew* "in its earliest and simplest form, dating from ca. 500 A.D.". However, this passage is simply Anderson's own summary of the *Legend of the Wandering Jew* in its later form, according to which a Jew, who offended Christ on His way to His Crucifixion, was condemned by Him to eternal walking. Anderson's somewhat misleading account is derived from the thirteenth century versions mentioned above and the much later printed version (for which, see below).
- 14 Contrary to Lewis 1987: 300, the legend of the eternally walking or Wandering Jew does not appear before 1602. See the preceding note. For the first printed German editions of the legend of the Wandering Jew: Kurtze Beschreibung 1602, and for the numerous later editions, versions and adaptations of the story, see Heitz and Ritter 1924: 77-86, nos. 247-256a, which is based on Leonard Neubaur's pioneering studies of this theme (mainly 1893, 1912, 1914, all cited in Anderson 1965, *passim*). For a discussion and almost complete English translation of the *Kurtze Beschreibung*, see Anderson 1965: 42-70. For the original German text, see: 426, n. 12; Moeseneder 1996, n. 84.

For reproductions and discussion of some graphic representations of the Wandering Jew see, Adhemar 1968: 12, 13, Figs. I-III, Pls. 2, 3, 88 (col.); Champfleury 1869: 1-104; Stern 1995: 118, 120 (figs.), Cat. nos. 236, 237, 246.

A detail in the background of the illustration on the frontispiece of Champfleury's *Histoire* showing two "men of the city welcoming the Jew" has been identified by Nochlin 1967: 209-222, Figs. 1-4, as the source of inspiration for Courbet's *Meeting of 1854*. The motif already appears in a French broadsheet of 1616 (Adhemar 1968: Pl. 2) and in Chodowiecki's illustration to one of the novels in Reichars's *Bibliothek der Romane*, 1779-85, see Bauer 1982, nr. 694 (fig.), and Moeseneder 1996: 124, Fig. 24. Champfleury 1869: 64 includes the earliest (if not the only) reference to Kaulbach's *Wandering Jew* in France. For Gustave Doré's illustrations to: Dupont 1856, *La Légende du Juif Errant*, Michel Levy frères, Paris 1856 (12 plates - prints after Doré). See, Forberg, 1975: 1, nos. 149-161. For a reference to Dupont's text, see Champfleury 1869: 43-46. See also Schmidt 1982: 2 112-123, no. 52-57. Fuchs 1921: facing 144, reproduces a coloured caricature of the Wandering Jew, signed "Dumont sc(ulpsit)", but claimed to be "by Doré, 1852". without citing his source. Reproductions after Fuch's illustration (with a similar attributive caption) appear in van Run 1987: 292, Fig. 2; Mellinkoff 1981: 39, Fig. 5-6. I have not found any reference to this print in any publication on Doré's works. Doré's second illustration to Dupont's poem

inspired two depictions of this subject by Ferdinand Hodler: *Ahasver*, 1886 (Winterthur, Oskar Reinhardt Collection), and 1910 (private collection Switzerland). For the earlier version, see Ueberwasser and Spreng 1947; Hodler 1983: 491, Fig. 97. For this and other versions of the same year, see: 76., fig. 96, and Kat. 17. Edina Meyer-Maril has kindly drawn my attention to Hodler's painting. For reproductions of the 1910 version, see Becker 1964: 275, Fig. 10; Frodl 1992: 138-139 (col. pl.), No. 15. Hodler may have also been inspired by Courbet's lithograph, *L'Apostle Jean Journet* (1850), Nochlin 1967: Fig. 20), which in its turn, may have been inspired either by a popular print or by Doré. For Alfred Kubin's little-known drawing *Ahasver* of about 1910 representing the haggard looking Wandering Jew walking in a stormy, death-stricken landscape, see W. Schneditz, *Alfred Kubin*, Guetersloh 1958, Fig. 13, and our Fig. 8.

- 15 Kaulbach 1840: 6.
- 16 See Becker 1964: 272-273, Fig. 7; Moeseneder 1996: 125, Figs. 26, 27; Wagner 1989: 136-7, nn. 188-190. [refers to the expulsion from Paradise] in fact: angel with often flaming sword, pursuing the couple; also appears in Doré, Pl. 7.
The three Furies with their characteristic attributes appear in Flaxman's drawings and illustrations to Aeschylus (Orestes pursued by the Furies) and a drawing by C. G. Kratzenstein Stub, see, Bindman 1979, Orestes Pursued by the Furies: 130, no. 159, c. 1809, drawing (with five, instead of the usual three Furies); 173, no. 243 [drawing by Christian Gottlieb Kratzenstein Stub, 1814 (?): Figs. 90, 91 (line engravings by Piroli after Flaxman illustrations); The entries in the German translation: D. Bindman and Hanna Hohl, ed., John Flaxman, *Mythologie und Industrie*, Exhib. Cat. (Hamburg 1979), Munich, 1979, are cited inexactly in Wagner 1989: 85, 98, 136, 152, 199, ns. 167, 188, 251, Figs. 93-94. For Gleyre's painting, see Zeitler 1966: no. 166a. Cf. also Arnold Boecklin's *The Furies*, 1870, Shack Gallery, Munich, see, Heilmann 1988: 85.
- 17 Croly 1827; German Translations: Storch 1829; Kaiser 1829; Mosen 1838; Anderson 1965: 188-189, 218; Rouart 1988: 72-75. See also, Aurbacher 1827, cited in Zirus 1930: 28 (includes a list of 19th century works); Moeseneder 1996: 124.
- 18 Kaulbach 1840: 8; Moeseneder 1996: 122, 124; but, cf. Kaulbach's earlier description in his letter to the Countess Radzivil, 1838, in: Mueller 1893: 386, where he refers to the Wandering Jew as Ahasuerus. For a contemporary interpretation of Kaulbach's group of the Wandering Jew and the Demons, as representing the traditional Ahasuerus, punished for rebuking Christ, see the preposterous verses sung by the demons chasing Ahasverus in the third act of Guido Goerres' tragic-melodrama - *Die Zerstoerung Jerusalems* [1847], reproduced [with a drawing after Kaulbach], in: Moeseneder 1996, Fig. 6. See also n.11.
- 19 Inexact description of this detail in Kaulbach's 1840: 8 (cit. in Moeseneder 1996: 129, but see *ibid.*: 108). Among the many copies made of this scene in the nineteenth century (Moeseneder 1996: n. 10, 99), the most important one has escaped attention. Monika Wagner 1989: 138, n.196A, Wagner: 1994: 95, mentions an unpublished letter by the director of the Berlin Museums, I. von Olfers (Kaulbach Archive IV, file: v. Olfers) at the Bavarian State Library which refers to the intention of King Friedrich Wilhelm IV to order the production of a vase decorated with a copy of the Christian

- Family after Kaulbach's mural in Berlin. Such a vase was actually produced by the Berlin Porcelain Manufacture. It recently reappeared in a sale of the collection of the Dukes of Baden in Karlsruhe. See Sotheby's 1995: 88, Lot 831 [col. reprod.]. The second vase included in the same lot is decorated with a copy of a detail from another of Kaulbach's murals in Berlin - *The Destruction of the Tower of Babel* (The Sons of Shem). Neither the subjects of the scenes nor their original prototypes, or the artist have been identified in the catalogue entry.
- 20 Moeseneder 1996: 108, 127-129. Moeseneder's historical explanation for the inclusion of the scene of the flight of the Christian Family in Kaulbach's painting is based on a passage from Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which, however, refers to the exodus of Christians from Jerusalem before the Great Rebellion. See also Kaulbach 1840: 8.
- 21 For representations of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, see Blumenkranz 1965: 55-61; Mellinkoff 1981: 92. For the *Last Judgement*, see Hughs 1968; For Kaulbach see Moeseneder 1996: 117-120. In Kaulbach's painting, the positions of the Wandering Jew and the Christian Family are reversed. For a similar reversion of the traditional positions of the Blessed and the Damned, cf. the paintings and printed illustrations made for Lutheran Propaganda, contrasting the Old Testament ("Law") with the New Testament ("Grace", "Salvation") by Lucas Cranach the Elder (Moeseneder 1996, Fig. 16 hereby Fig. 4) and the Younger, Hans Holbein the Younger, Franz Timmermann and others, in: Hoffmann 1984: Kat. 84-89; Schutwolf 1994: 20, 21, Kat. 1.3, (Fig.), col. Pl. on 35.
- 22 Guralnik 1991: 21-22. Mrs. Guralnik has kindly put her book at my disposal.
- 23 Guralnik: 21, 30, 36-37, 71, 96-98, 121 (col. Pl.), 200, cat. 7.
- 24 Cf. Guralnik: 24-25, 37, 121, 173 (col. Pls.), 209, cat. 52, Fig. 12, Fig. on 41.
- 25 Jerzy. Malinowski, in: Guralnik 1991: 98.
- 26 Esther, IX.
- 27 On Hirszenberg, see Zalmona 1983: 190-191, 329, 364, Figs. 3, 23; Talpir 1961-1962: 168-169. For Hirszenberg's little-known *Self-Portrait*, signed and dated 1890, see Sotheby's 1989, lot. 106 (Ill., bw.).
- 28 "Secession" 1896, 21, no. 177: *Sabbatruhe* (the only work mentioned in the catalogue); Talpir 1961-1962: 168 mentions a second exhibit.
- 29 Israel Museum, 343 x 293 cm. Letters of the Curator of the Department, and the Chief Curator of the Israel Museum to the author, 7.5.1989 and 11.5.89. The painting was included recently in an exhibition - "Windows" at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. The explanatory inscription claimed that the picture was "on public display for the first time in almost seven decades" (information: courtesy of the Chief curator, Yigael Zalmona).
- 30 The particular iconography of the painting has never been studied. Becker 1964: 273-274, Fig. 8, was the only writer on Kaulbach's painting to have included any reference to Hirszenberg's *Eternal Jew*; he dates the painting 1893.
- 31 For this motif, see Buettner 1983: 56-62, Figs. 45-47. For this theme and for Lelio Orsi's drawing, see Hoffman 1984: 137, Fig. 4. I am grateful to Dr. Hoffman for the photograph of Orsi's drawing. For the drawing and its derivations, see Bentini 1986: 34, 36-37, notes 15, 16; Monducci-Pirondini 1987: 188-190, Cat. 161, Fig. 161 a-f; Dorival 1976: 301, no. 1678 bis, 1679.
- 32 Piatkowska 1996 is currently preparing a monographic publication on the artist.

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