

## REBUILDING A DESTROYED WORLD: RUDOLF BERES – A JEWISH ART COLLECTOR IN INTERWAR KRAKÓW<sup>1</sup>

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**Key words:** Jewish art collectors, Jewish collectors; provenance research, B'nai B'rith, Kraków, Lvov, Milanówek, Holocaust, National Museum in Kraków, Association of Friends of Fine Arts, *Nowy Dziennik*, Polish artists of Jewish origin, Polish art collectors of Jewish origin, Jewish heritage in Kraków, Emil Beres, Rudolf Beres, Chaim Nachman Bialik, Maurycy Gottlieb, Jacek Malczewski, Jozef Stieglitz

**Abstract:** Interwar Kraków was a vibrant cultural center in newly independent Poland. Jewish intelligentsia played a significant part in preservation of Krakowian culture, but also endowed artist and cultural institutions. In a shadow of renowned Maurycy Gottlieb, there is his great collector and promoter of his artistic oeuvre, Rudolf Beres (1884-1964). The core of the collection was inherited from his father Emil. Rudolf, who arrived to Kraków to study law, brought these pictures with him, and with time extended the collection, not only with Maurycy Gottlieb's artworks, but also other distinguished Polish artists. As a director of the Kraków Chamber of Commerce and Industry he played an influential role in the city and country scene. As a member of *Solidarność* – Kraków B'nai Brith chapter, he was active in the cultural events and ventures in the city. He was the main force behind the famous exhibition of Maurycy Gottlieb's of 1932 in the National Museum in Kraków. Rudolf collected extensive information on Maurycy in order to commemorate his life and promote artistic oeuvre of the first Jewish artist of such significance. His home art gallery, mostly because of Gottlieb's collection was visited by various Jewish activists; for example Hayim Nahman Bialik. Moreover, Rudolf planned to exhibit Maurycy's work in Tel Aviv. With a group of B'nai B'rith members he traveled with his wife to visit Palestine. He was a close friend of Feliks Kopera, the director of the National Museum in Kraków, for which he extensively organized money collection for erecting a new galleries' building.

The paper presents forgotten and unpublished facts about a Jewish art collector of Kraków, a person whose art works he once possessed and cherished, are now in various museums and private collections as a result of WWII and communist regime. I bring the man back from obscurity of history's selectiveness. The historical documents, family heirlooms and discovered war memoirs of Rudolf construct the past of the great Jewish citizen of Kraków without whom Maurycy Gottlieb could have been unknown as much as he is known now.

The Jewish intellectual life of interwar Kraków was destroyed first by the six years of World War II and then during the ensuing decades of communist power in Poland.

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Rudolf Beres (1883-1964)

The flamboyant life of the twenties and thirties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, extinguished, never to be revived. Kraków Jewish art collectors vanish into oblivion. While their paintings disperse all over the world, many disappear from sight entirely with precious few works of art restored to the surviving families.

Rudolf Beres, an art collector of Jewish origin, a citizen of Kraków, once devoted his life to this city's cultural endeavors. Once known for his exquisite collection of works by the artist Maurycy Gottlieb, the Beres family holds not even one Gottlieb painting in their possession.

This research undertakes to present Dr. Rudolf Beres and his once remarkable collection. Unfortunately, his figure is now forgotten in the city he loved so deeply. This article is the first endeavor to restore to memory a private Jewish collector while highlighting his beloved collection he assembled in Kraków. Specifics of historical research are based on new methodology, constantly on trial, of provenance research of artworks of the Nazi era and its aftermath, and are also based on traditional gathering of the material for building a biography.

Rudolf Beres was born in Podwołoczyska district of Skala<sup>2</sup> on 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1883, as a second of four sons of Róża née Blumenfeld<sup>3</sup> and Emil Beres,<sup>4</sup> a merchant in Podwołoczyska. Emil and Rosa married on February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1881 in Maków (Myślenice district).<sup>5</sup> It was a year and a half after the sudden death of Maurycy Gottlieb (1856-1879), of an eastern Galicia town of Drohobycz, who during his short life became one of the most renowned Jewish artists of Eastern Europe. Older by about ten years, Emil became a friend, great patron and a collector of Maurycy's artworks. He owned more than ten paintings, in addition to several drawings, including a very early work from the period of Gottlieb's secondary school. Emil preserved Gottlieb's letters and postcards, as well as his visiting card and photographs. Gottlieb preserved Emil, in portraiture. These two portraits of Emil, show a distinguished man of sharp but pensive eyes with a significantly high forehead. His hair is combed to the back, beard cut short but his mustache is kept long. He wears a black frock coat with white shirt underneath. A tall collar is put up and fastened with a neat, black bowtie. This is a man of power and wealth, but there is a notion of nostalgia and contemplation. Gottlieb portrayed a romanticized vision of conflicting spirituality and reality of a wealthy man in an age of his strength.

Emil Beres, as a member of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Brody worked as a forwarding agent for the Galician Railway of Archduke Charles Louis and also became a cattle merchant. In 1893, as a co-owner of a consignment house "Emil Beres & Sikora," he established in Kraków a clearing house for transported cattle. He continued to deal with the logistics of the entrusted animals as well as offering loans.<sup>6</sup> Most likely, the initiation of this business in Kraków was driven by a need of providing his older sons Arthur and Rudolf with a quality education. Both boys were admitted to the III<sup>rd</sup> *Gimnazjum* in Kraków for the school year 1893-1894.<sup>7</sup> At that time they lived in the apartment on Zielona Street no. 8.<sup>8</sup>

In the family photo-archive there is a beautiful picture of Róża Beres dressed in a distinguished and very stylish dress of ecru color. She is surrounded by her sons. The picture was taken in Kraków in 1899. In the photograph Arthur, Rudolf and Oswald are dressed in the school uniforms. Róża looks as if she is very proud of her sons. Indeed, Rudolf was an excellent student, a high achiever. He passed the school final exams with honors in 1901. He was admitted as a freshman to the Jagiellonian University, department of law, for the academic year 1901-1902. Rudolf graduated on October 12, 1905 and in 1906

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<sup>2</sup> Skala, Ternopil province, presently west Ukraine; in Podwołoczyska there was railway border crossing between the Austria-Hungarian Empire and Russian Empire.

<sup>3</sup> Rosa Blumenfeld was a daughter of Anna and Jacob, a merchant in Maków, Myślenice district, c. 50 km south from Kraków, born on 11<sup>th</sup> August 1861.

<sup>4</sup> In the record (Birth record of Arthur Beres from *Księgi Metrykalne Gmin Wyznania Mojżeszowego z Terenów Zaburzańskich*, the oldest son, indicates that Samuel called Emil Beres was a forwarding agent of the Galician Railway of Archduke Charles Louis, stationed in Podwołoczyska, a Galician town bordering with Russian Empire).

<sup>5</sup> Rosa (also called Róża or Rozalia) and Emil besides Rudolf had three other sons, Arthur (b. July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1882), Oswald (b. May 12<sup>th</sup>, 1886) and Zenon (b. May 24<sup>th</sup>, 1892).

<sup>6</sup> An announcement in *Gazeta Narodowa we Lwowie* 1893, no. 126 (4<sup>th</sup> of June), 3 – for this information my thanks to Jolanta Kruszniewska.

<sup>7</sup> Siedlecki 1894, pp. 95-96.

<sup>8</sup> Census of the citizens of Kraków 1900, vol. 12, no. 2058.

he earned the title of Doctor of Law.<sup>9</sup> Around this time Emil, the father, died leaving the entirety Gottlieb's fine art collection to Rudolf.<sup>10</sup> The Beres family stayed living together. Even though they occupied separate apartments, they rented in the same building. Census of the year 1910 indicates that the Beres family moved to Rynek Kleparski no. 10.<sup>11</sup> In 1921 they lived on Filipa Street no 7.<sup>12</sup>



Maurycy Gottlieb, *Emil Beres*,  
oil on canvas, Munich, 1878<sup>13</sup>

Talented and acclaimed, Rudolf was nominated a vice-director of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Kraków for the years 1909 to 1930.<sup>14</sup> He also took place of a chief editor of *Wiadomości Gospodarcze*, a magazine of the Chamber.<sup>15</sup> He continued in his father's path, but was more sophisticated intellectually. He wrote two books

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<sup>9</sup> Michalewicz 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Zenon, the youngest of the four brothers was in the possession of the father's portrait, which location is presently unknown (Emil is presented from the profile, he is turned to the left; oil on canvas 56 x 45 cm; signed "M. Gottlieb 1878" – reproduction in the author's documentation).

<sup>11</sup> Census of the citizens of Kraków 1910, vol. 9, nos 1756-1757.

<sup>12</sup> Census of the citizens of Kraków 1921, vol. 7, nos 1946-1950.

<sup>13</sup> 69 x 56 cm; sig. "M. Gottlieb 1878" (location unknown). Illustration from: Waldman 1932, 45 (Dr Rudolf Beres ownership, Kraków). There was also one more portrait of Emil Beres (signed by Maurycy Gottlieb and dated 1878), the figure is captured in a profile. It was exhibited during the 1932 in the National Museum of Kraków. Prior to WWII, this portrait belonged to Zenon Beres, presently, its location is unknown.

<sup>14</sup> Kargol 2003, p. 61.

<sup>15</sup> *Wiadomości Gospodarcze*, monthly magazine of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, published since 1916. T. Kragol (2003, p. 350) indicated that Rudolf Beres was its chief editor since 1928.

*Polski Instytut Exportowy*, published in 1925, and *Braki naszej organizacji gospodarczej*, Kraków 1926. Moreover, director Rudolf Beres was a member of the Polish Export Institute (*Polski Instytut Eksportowy*) and in 1928 he was nominated to be a member of the Council of Polish Export Institute.<sup>16</sup> He also established a magazine *Przegląd mięsny*. Rudolf's political activity in his business of meat export put him in danger as he was a chief supporter of boycotting meat export to Nazi Germany.<sup>17</sup>

One of the intriguing assignments undertaken by a group of Kraków individuals led by Dr. Rudolf Beres was to take care of the city aesthetic regarding an issue of displays for store windows. In 1927, several members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Kraków took on the responsibility to keep European standards of the windowstore displays in the historical city of Kraków. This was designed in order to prevent any disturbance of coherence with the antique architecture of the surroundings. Professor Henryk Uziembło was sent to Paris to gather the latest trends in window displays. Based upon his observations, a special educational course was prepared in the Muzeum Techniczno-Przemysłowe in Kraków with the following instructors: prof. Henryk Uziembło, engineer Bronisław Biegeleisen, Paweł Dygat, architects: Jerzy Struszkiewicz, Zdzisław Strojek and dr. Rudolf Beres, whose lecture was on *Profession in Commerce and Industry*.<sup>18</sup> Twenty-one businesses took part in this course, where instruction was given regarding the structure, lighting and artistic values of the window shop exposition.<sup>19</sup> Beres published an article on the competition for the best and most suitable window store display.<sup>20</sup>

Rudolf's exemplary civic attitude was also shown in his generous response to Szyszko-Bohusz's call for financial support for renovation of Wawel, the royal castle in Kraków. Fragility of newly independent Poland and lack of financial stability required civic monetary support in continuation of the castle restoration that had begun in 1905. Efforts continued even through War World I. The chief architect and restorer professor Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz announced so called "akcja cegiełkowa" – a competition fundraiser: *Whoever makes a payment of 30.000 marks or multiplicity of the amount will be honored with a stone plaque bearing an inscription or a name of a donor on the castle's defensive wall from the side of Kanoniczna Street*. Responding to Szyszko-Bohusz's announcement, Rudolf Beres issued his donation as the fourth leading individual, and his payment of 30 000 marks was made in the early days of April 1921.<sup>21</sup>

In 1922, Rudolf was married to Jadwiga Horowitz,<sup>22</sup> a daughter of an engineer Zygmunt Horowitz of Kraków and Aurelia née Sokal from Vienna. With his very young wife,<sup>23</sup> called by the family Heda, they lived in a modern apartment on Słowackiego

<sup>16</sup> Rada Państwowego Instytutu Exportowego, *Ajencja Wschodnia. Gazeta Handlowa* 1929, no. 58 (March), Warszawa.

<sup>17</sup> Wartime Memoire by Rudolf Beres, 1 and 10.

<sup>18</sup> Odczyty i Wykłady, *Rzeczy Piękne* 1927, no. 9, p. 157.

<sup>19</sup> Kargol 2003, pp. 139-140.

<sup>20</sup> Konkurs Wystaw Sklepowych, *Rzeczy Piękne* 1927, no. 9, pp. 150-154.

<sup>21</sup> Information based on the correspondence with Zdzisława Chojnacka, the chief supervisor of Wawel, the Royal Castle Archive in Kraków (January 19, 2015) and Fuchs, Łaszczynska, Prus 1972.

<sup>22</sup> Jadwiga was born on September 24, 1902.

<sup>23</sup> Jadwiga was twenty years younger than her husband Rudolf.

Avenue 1,<sup>24</sup> where his children Jerzy (November 11, 1923) and Anita Beres (November 18, 1927) were born. Later in the early 1930's they moved to a newly built house on Sienkiewicza Street 18.

Rudolf's father-in-law, long-serving and meritorious member of the Kraków chapter of B'nai B'rith, introduced him to the prominent intellectual Jewish organization, which he joined in 1924.

Rudolf understood that as legate of the greatest collection in Poland of the artworks of Maurycy Gottlieb, he was responsible for paintings' promotion, but also for advocacy of Maurycy's artistic genius as a first renowned Jewish artist from Eastern Europe. Rudolf purchased illustrations to famous drama *Nathan der Weise* by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing ordered by Bruckmann publishing house in Munich in June 1877.<sup>25</sup> Twelve paintings were executed in the technique called grisaille that near – monochrome in the shades of gray easily to be reproduced as book illustration. The canvases showed mastery of Maurycy's talent as a painter. Mojżes Waldman, in a biographical book on Maurycy Gottlieb, stated that Dr. Beres saved these artworks from oblivion by purchasing two of three<sup>26</sup> big paintings and the set of 12 smaller grisaille artworks.<sup>27</sup> Nehama Guralnik wrote without recalling the source of information that these illustrations were in the publisher warehouse until the World War I when they were recovered by Rudolf Beres.<sup>28</sup> These are:

1. *Powitanie Natana przez Rechę / Reha Welcoming Her Father*, 1877

Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 110 x 80 cm; signed "M. Gottlieb 1877"

Provenance:

Rudolf Beres, Kraków

Władysław Kühn (1939-1978)

Alicja and Jacek Molenda, Poland

Agra Art., Auction House, Poland, 24 October, 1999

Since 1999 the painting is on a private loan in the National Museum in Warsaw, no. inv. Dep. 3117 MNW

2. *Ocalenie Rechy z płomieni / The Rescue of Reha from the Fire*, 1877

Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 110 x 80 cm; signed "M. Gottlieb 1877"

Provenance:

Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945<sup>29</sup>

Karol Bernhaut, Warsaw – Israel – Germany

Anne & Adam Bernhaut, Lower Templestowe, Australia

<sup>24</sup> *Spis Abonamentów, Państwowej Sieci Telefonicznej Okręgu Krakowskiej Dyrekcji Poczty i Telegrafów według stanu z dnia 31 grudnia 1924*, Kraków, p. 6.

<sup>25</sup> Waldman 1932. The illustrations were never published.

<sup>26</sup> The third one, final scene of *Nathan the Wise*, was in the Rothschild's collection in London, presently the painting location is unknown.

<sup>27</sup> Waldman 1932, p. 57.

<sup>28</sup> Guralnik 1991, p. 56.

<sup>29</sup> The Beres family arrived in Kraków shortly after the liberation of Warsaw and Kraków, they could have arrived at the end of January 1945 or early February; their registration numbers with the Jewish Historical Commission are: 677, 679.

3. *Powitanie Natana przez Rechę / Reha Welcoming her Father*, 1877  
Oil on canvas, glued on cardboard; 32 x 27 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945  
Józef Stieglitz, Kraków – Tel Aviv  
Asher Frenkel, Tel Aviv  
Schneibalk, Jerusalem  
David Dunitz, Tel Aviv / sold through Sotheby's New York (June 27, 1984)  
Private collection, New York
4. *Natan Mędzrzec i Rycerz Zakonny / Nathan the Wise and the Templar*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 21 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
5. *Scena w Klasztorze / Scene in a Monastery*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30.9 x 23 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Lidia (Anita) Kanarek nee Beres, Kraków – Katowice – Holon / the artwork was brought to Israel in 1969 and sold through Sotheby's Tel Aviv (October, 1993)  
Private collection
6. *Rycerz Zakonny i Dajah / Templar and Dajah*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 23 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
7. *Sitta i Dajah / Sitta and Dajah*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 23 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
8. *Saladyn i Braciszek Klasztorny / Saladin and Friar*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 20 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
9. *Saladyn i Sittah przy Szachach / Saladin and Sittah Playing Chess*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 23 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945  
Józef Stieglitz, Kraków – Tel Aviv

- Shoshana Levinson, Tel Aviv  
Private collection, New York
10. *Rycerz Zakonny / Templar*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 28 x 24 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres; Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
11. *Sittah*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 28 x 24 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
12. *Sittah, Sultan i Natan / Sittah, Sultan and Nathan*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 39 x 32 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945  
Private collection, Poland / until the 1950's  
Józef Stieglitz, Kraków – Tel Aviv  
A.G. Bineth, Jerusalem / from Stieglitz 1957  
Olga Bineth, Bnei Brak
13. *Braciszek Klasztorny i Rycerz Zakonny / Friar and Templar*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 34 x 28 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
14. *Scena końcowa / Final Scene*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 22 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown

In 1923, at the Association of Friends of Fine Arts, Rudolf exhibited at least fifteen of his owned artworks including six freshly purchased grisaille illustrations.<sup>30</sup> The profit from the exhibit supported building of a new gallery in the National Museum in Kraków. The importance of this event must be underlined with understanding that it was one of the first public collection of funds for financing growth of the city museum, and organized by Jewish citizens of Kraków who exhibited from their collections of Jewish artists. Significantly, this occurred almost ten years before the official appeal was made to the Polish and

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<sup>30</sup> *Maurycy Gottlieb 1856-1879. Katalog wystawy pamiątkowej urządzonej przez TPSP w Krakowie na dochód budowy gmachu Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, 24 czerwca – 31 lipiec, 1923*; nos 18-23. According to the information of the current archivist of the TPSP in Kraków, there is no surviving documentation of this exhibit. The catalog does not identify owners of the paintings.



Jewish citizens of Kraków to support building the new galleries.<sup>31</sup> The newspapers *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* and *Głos Narodu* reported on the event.<sup>32</sup> On Wednesday, June 23<sup>rd</sup> *Kuryer* described on the opening of the exhibit in the Palace of Art by the Szczepański Plaza. The exhibit elicited a particular interest from the viewers. Twenty three of Gottlieb's artworks were loaned from Kraków Jewish collectors. Besides Rudolf Beres, paintings came from the collections of Adolf Szwarc, Leon Holzer, and two canvases from National Museum in Kraków (*Ahaswer* and *Portrait of Maurycy Kuranda*).

Rudolf Beres's daughter, Anita Kanarek, née Beres, recalls her father as "possessed by Gottlieb's legacy."<sup>33</sup> After the monthly exhibit in the Association of Friends of Fine Arts, Rudolf undertook a challenge to collect biographical information in order to write Maurycy Gottlieb's monograph as the first, great Polish artist of Jewish origin. During the years of 1924-1925, he conversed with Jacek Malczewski on the subject of the prematurely deceased painters' genius. They also deliberated about religious subjects, relations and examined the closeness between Judaism and Christianity. Jacek Malczewski described Maurycy to Rudolf Beres as an *inspired great thinker, an epigone of prophets thrown by God's order into the whirlpool of a short but tragic artistic life struggle*.<sup>34</sup> The painter believed that Gottlieb's talent and creativeness were not prized highly enough by the Jewish society. Collected material gathered from the conversations was included in the biographical book about Maurycy Gottlieb written by Mojżesz Waldman, which accompanied the famous Gottlieb's exhibit of 1932. At the request of Michalina Janoszanka, a cousin of the painter Rudolf submitted to her the recollection of those conversations.<sup>35</sup>

Chaim Nachman Bialik's visit illustrates how magnificent and celebrated was the Beres's art collection. The revered Hebrew poet visited Kraków in the fall of 1931. It was Bialik's wish to admire paintings by Maurycy Gottlieb assembled in Rudolf's house. *Nowy Dziennik* reported on the visit:

Yesterday afternoon Bialik visited the distinguished gallery of paintings by Maurycy Gottlieb that they are owned by Dr. Rudolf Beres. Dr. Rudolf Beres provided comprehensive explanation to the poet. Bialik who is also an acclaimed fine art expert, was not able to find fitting words of admiration for the masterpieces of prematurely deceased Jewish artist and wish for this wonderful gallery to find its way to become a permanent asset of the newly established Tel Aviv Museum.<sup>36</sup>

The artworks did not reach Palestine even though certain steps were taken to exhibit Rudolf's collection in the Levant Fair of 1934 in Tel Aviv. In spring 1934, Rudolf and Jadwiga visited Palestine with an excursion organized by the Kraków travel agency Escopol for all Polish B'nai B'rith chapters and Zionist organizations.<sup>37</sup> Although a great number

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<sup>31</sup> The appeals we issued in 1933; examples of these appeals are in the Bnei Brith Collection of the State Archive in Kraków; BB 182, pp. 20-25. In the 1935 publication *Kraków Budoje Muzeum Narodowe* three brothers are mentioned as supporters of NMK: Oswald, Rudolf and Zenon, p. 24.

<sup>32</sup> *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* 1924, no. 149, p. 7 and no. 152, p. 8; *Głos Narodu* 1924, no. 121-123, p. 6.

<sup>33</sup> Conversation with Anita Kanarek, November 2014, Holon Israel.

<sup>34</sup> Janoszanka 1935, pp. 224-230. Art School's workshops of Jacek Malczewski and Maurycy Gottlieb were neighboring on the Gołębia Street in Kraków.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224.

<sup>36</sup> Ostatnie chwile pobytu Ch.N. Bialika w Krakowie, *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 283, p. 9.

<sup>37</sup> State Archive in Kraków, B'nai Brith Collection BB 166, pp. 81-84.

of paintings from Rudolf's collections of Gottlieb's artworks hang in various private collections in Israel today, only three are found in the country's public collections.<sup>38</sup>

In the midst of anti-Semitic events at the Jagiellonian University and the Academy of Fine Art where Polish nationalist parties called for boycotting of Jewish businesses, Jewish artist and intellectuals within the new Association of Jewish Painters and Sculptors in Kraków, decided to exhibit and elevate the memory of acclaimed Jewish painters, Maurycy Gottlieb and Samuel Hirszenberg. In November of 1931, Leo Schönker expressed his expectations on the page of *Nowy Dziennik* regarding the upcoming exhibit driven by Beres's leadership:

...on the streets of Kraków, where Gottlieb lived and worked, in front of the Jewish Dormitory House, where the commemorative exhibit is going to be prepared, the academic youth of National Democratic Party demonstrates. Jewish art students with difficulties are admitted to the Fine Art Academy, and artists are barely permitted to exhibit. Factual "numerus clausus" rules universities.

This is indeed a very sad circumstance, but in spite of that, we believe that the exhibit and Gottlieb's spirit will lead into a brotherly coexistence and bright future.<sup>39</sup>

Led by the painter Leo Schönker, this new association saw Rudolf Beres appointed as honorary member on behalf of the B'nai Brith.<sup>40</sup> Since the beginning of the establishment of the Association of Jewish Painters and Sculptors in Kraków, Rudolf Beres represented Jewish intelligentsia within the Association's board providing intellectual support, and sharing the audience's expectations with the artists.<sup>41</sup> The newly selected board of members included important Jewish individuals of the city of Kraków. Besides Beres there were: Wilhelm Berkelhammer, the chief editor of *Nowy Dziennik*, a leading Kraków Jewish newspaper published in Polish, Mojżesz Kanfer, the editor of *Nowy Dziennik*, Rafał Landau, the president of the Jewish Community, and also Jewish painters such as Leon Lewkowicz, Ezriel Regenbogen and Leo Schönker.<sup>42</sup> The president of the Fine Art Academy Frideryk Pautsch, the president of the Association of Friends of Fine Arts Władysław Jarocki and Feliks Kopera, the director of the National Museum in Kraków also participated in the meetings leading to organizing the first monographic exhibit of the artworks of Maurycy Gottlieb.<sup>43</sup> Preserved documents of the exhibit present the enormous engagement of Rudolf. He proposed a very innovative approach to the didactic side of the exhibit by providing a well researched biography of the artist, and a catalog of the exhibited artworks that included title, size, medium and the name of the owner of

<sup>38</sup> Public collections include: the Israel Museum (*Jewish Wedding*), the Ein Harod Museum (*Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, Portrait of Maurycy Wahrmann Deputy to the Hungarian Parliament*), and the Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot (*Portrait of the Old Man*).

<sup>39</sup> Maurycy Gottlieb jako Żyd i Polak. Na marginesie projektowanej wystawy pamiątkowej, *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 295, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Z Zrzeszenia Żyd. Art. Malarzy i Rzeźbiarzy, *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 324, p. 9. Leo Schönker (...) The others honorary members of the Association: Dr Leon Ader – the president of the B'nai Brith, Dr Henryk Apte, editor Dr Berkelhammer, Dr Rafał Landau – the president of the *Kehila* and Dr Fischlowitz – the president of the council of the Jewish community, eng. Goldwasser – the president of the Association for the Encouragement of Fine Arts and other renowned members of the Kraków Jewish intelligentsia.

<sup>41</sup> *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 317, p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> O wystawie obrazów Maurycyego Gottlieba, *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 293, p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> *Sztuki Piękne* 1932, no 1, pp. 13-14;

the exhibited picture. Beres's suggestions included a commemorative medal, restoration of Maurycy's gravestone, and a ceremony at the Jewish cemetery before opening of the exhibit.<sup>44</sup> Rudolf was responsible for enlisting loans from owners of Maurycy Gottlieb's artworks. He orchestrated the entire process of loaning and transporting the objects. 92 artworks were amassed from private collectors of Kraków, Warsaw, Lvov, Jasło, Łódź, and Paris<sup>45</sup> and from national museums of Kraków, Warsaw, Lvov and Silesia.

Rudolf lent thirty two pictures, the set of illustrations to the *Nathan the Wise* and the following:

1. *Targ Niewolnic w Kairze / Slave Market in Cairo, 1877*  
Oil on canvas; 28 x 22 (25 x 20 cm)  
Signed: "M. Gottlieb"  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / offered for sale to NMK (Nov. 1948)  
Józef Stieglitz, Tel Aviv  
I. Kiwkowitz-Haramati, Petah-Tikva, Israel  
Private collection, New York
2. *Józef i Putyfara / Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, c. 1877*  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 20 x 24 cm (20.5 x 26 cm)  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / change of ownership after January 1945  
Museum of Art, Ein Harod, Israel
3. *Ślub żydowski / Jewish Wedding, 1876*  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 32 x 24 cm  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945 to Abraham Stieglitz  
Józef Stieglitz, Tel Aviv (until 1949)  
The Israel Museum, Jerusalem
4. *Gottlieb, Kryciński i Papiński*  
Signed: "M. G." and at the bottom: "Wiedeń 8/5 75"  
Ink on paper; 15 x 10 cm
5. *Rysunek Stóp / Drawing of feet*  
Signed: "Gottlieb Moses, Schüler der II-ten cl. des II-en Obergymnasiums 1869"  
and above this a signature of the artist's teacher: "vivi Godlevski"  
Pencil on paper; 30 x 40 cm  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> Paintings from Austrian and German collections were not exhibited.

- Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Since 1939/1945 – location unknown
6. *Szkic ołówkowy / Pencil Drawing*  
Pencil on paper; 30 x 40 cm  
*Young composition on a historical subject.*  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Katowice  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Since 1939/1945 – location unknown
7. *Japonka, 1879*  
Oil on wood, 18 x 14 cm  
Signed and dated upper left: “M. Gottlieb/ 1879”  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / change of the ownership after January 1945  
Private collection, Israel
8. *Żydówka ze Wschodu (Arabka?) / Jewish Woman from the East, c. 1878*  
Oil on wood; 20 x 15 cm (20.7 x 15.6)  
Signed upper left: “M. Gottlieb”  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / change of ownership after January 1945  
Private collection, Israel
9. *Żydzi przy modlitwie / Cierpiący na zęby / Jews Praying / Figure of a Man*<sup>46</sup>  
Pencil on paper; 22 x 19 cm (27 x 22)  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Anita Beres Kanarek, Katowice – Holon, Israel (sold after 1991)  
Private collection, Israel
10. *Studium Blondynki / Portrait of a Blond Woman, 1878*  
Oil on canvas; 50 x 40 cm  
Signed “M. Gottlieb”  
*Represents a young model from Munich; the head turned to the left*  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/1945 – location unknown

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<sup>46</sup> No. 9 is a double-sided drawing, but the catalogue of 1932 indicates two separate art works: no. 76 and no. 77, p. 10.

11. *Pijak. Studium brodatego mężczyzny strona prawa silnie zaciemniona / The Drunkard*, 1876  
Oil on canvas; 46 x 36 (44 x 32 cm)  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945  
K. Bernhaut, Warsaw – Israel  
Jacob Braunstein, Tel Aviv
12. *Starzec. Studium głowy starca, tło czerwone / Portrait of an Old Man*, 1878  
Oil on canvas; 46 x 36 cm (50.3 x 41 cm)  
Signed lower right: “M. Gottlieb”  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945  
Michael Zagayski, New York  
Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot as a gift of the Michael and Dora Zagay-ski Foundation, 1978
13. *Portret Emila Beresa. Głowa zwrócona nieco w lewo, tło ciemne / Portrait of Emil Beres*, 1878  
Oil on canvas; 68 x 56 cm  
Signed: “M. Gottlieb”  
Since 1939/1945 – location unknown
14. *Zygmunt August i Gizanka / Zygmunt August and Gizanka*, c. 1874  
Composition from Matejko’s school  
Oil on canvas; 36 x 56 cm (37.5 x 62.5 cm)  
Inscribed lower right: “A/5”  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków / offered for sale to MNK (Nov. 1948)  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Pinhas and Helena Schoenberg, Poland – Tel Aviv (1949-1987)  
Eliezer Levin, Savyon, Israel
15. *Druciarz. Studium młodego Hucula na jasnym tle / Portrait of a Man (Ininerant Tinker)*, 1876  
Oil on canvas; 60 x 54 cm  
Signed lower right: “M. Gottlieb”  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Jerzy Beres, Katowice – Montreal – Ottawa  
Józef Stieglitz, Tel Aviv  
Private collection, Chicago, IL

16. *Staruszka w Czepcu. Studium staruszki w zlotolitym czepku suknia jasno niebieska / Old Woman in Cap*, 1877  
 Oil on canvas; 59 x 51 cm  
 Signed: "Maurycy Gottlieb"  
 Provenance:  
 Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
 Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
 Anita Beres Kanarek, Katowice – Holon, Israel  
 Józef Stieglitz, Tel Aviv (after 1970-1988)  
 Michael and Judy Steinhardt Collection, New York  
 Sold by the Sotheby's New York, 29 April, 2013, lot 222
17. *Chrystus w świątyni / Christ in the Temple*  
 Oil on canvas; 50 x 42 cm  
 Since 1939/45 – location unknown<sup>47</sup>

Besides these artworks Dr. Rudolf Beres enriched the exhibition with following items. It may be assumed that these souvenirs were passed by Emil to Rudolf:

1. Lithography of Maurycy Gottlieb (framed);
2. Photograph of Maurycy Gottlieb;
3. Catalog of the Commemorative Exhibit of Maurycy Gottlieb;
4. Photography presenting Gottlieb, Kryciński and Papiński;
5. Maurycy Gottlieb's business card;
6. Three letters;
7. Two postcards.<sup>48</sup>

Unfortunately, the vernissage did not bring the expected reconciliation between Jewish and Polish citizens of Kraków.<sup>49</sup> The exhibit was opened by Professor Feliks Kopera who did not dare, in that anti-Semitic atmosphere of turmoil, mention that Maurycy Gottlieb was a Jew and a Jewish artist. No Polish officials spoke. Dr. Rudolf Beres thanked everyone for support and goodwill with the show. Expressed admiration for the artworks in the Kraków press did not undertake any subject of the Polish-Jewish relationship. A summary of the exhibit in the museum's report stated that the exhibit was

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<sup>47</sup> List of artworks owned by Rudolf is based on *Katalog Wystawy Pamiątkowej Dzieł Maurycego Gottlieba*, National Museum in Kraków 1932, pp. 8-11. I decided to provide a Polish title as was written by Rudolf Beres in the catalog, the English translation is based on commonly accepted titles from Nehama Guralnik's catalog of 1919, and on the exhibit documentation from the Archive in the National Museum in Kraków. The known artwork which was not exhibited in this show was the *Portrait of Maurycy Wahrmann, Deputy to the Hungarian Parliament* presently in Ein Harod Museum, Israel (offered for sale to NMK, Nov. 1948), and *Portrait of Laura, the Artist's Fiancée*, 1877 (sold by Jerzy Bere to Gideon Rosenstein, Tel Aviv). Additional provenance information is based on the catalog of 1991 exhibition: Nahama Guralnik (1991, pp. 199-213) and my own research. Sizes of the paintings in the parenthesis, in different from original provided by Rudolf Beres, are based on measurements provided in the 1991 catalog.

<sup>48</sup> Archive of National Museum in Kraków; documents of Maurycy Gottlieb's exhibition in 1932.

<sup>49</sup> Such disappointment expressed chief editor of *Nowy Dziennik* Wilhelm Berkelhammer, "Manifestacja której nie było" in *Miesięcznik Żydowski* 1931, no. 3, pp. 280-283.

a great ideological success *only because the Museum was visited by the numerous residents of the Ghetto, who for the first time were in the museum.*<sup>50</sup> Recapitulating Rudolf's intention: he had indeed achieved his goal as he reached out to a broader audience, but he was not able to bring about a coming together and mutual understanding between Jews and Poles.

Rudolf Beres continued to work for the enrichment of Jewish culture and tradition. Not only to propagate the genius of Maurycy Gottlieb, but also to promote exhibitions and oeuvre of Jewish painters primarily within the Association of Jewish Painters and Sculptors in Kraków. He called for "Jewish cultural audience to support efforts of artists."<sup>51</sup>

In 1938, Beres, now the retired director of the Kraków Chamber of Commerce and Industry undertook the challenge of creating a Jewish educational system for acculturated Jewish families. This was accomplished by corresponding with the Bulgarian chapter of B'nai Brith in Sofia, which created an American styled youth organization "Carmel" (so called Aleph Zadik Aleph) by the B'nai Brith Chapters.<sup>52</sup> Organizers were provided educational material from the Aleph Zadik Aleph Headquarters in the United States. Rudolf created an educational program first aiming at children 6 to 12 year old, who were the children and grandchildren of B'nai Brith members in order to embody the foundation and postulates of the organization. Beres discussed his program with Jewish progressive educators: Dr. Juliusz Feldhorn and Mowsza Szmulewicz, teachers in the Hebrew school in Kraków as well as Częstochowa Rabbi, Dr. Joachim Hirschberg. They established common observance of Jewish holidays accompanied by an educational program about each holiday. In the report Rudolf wrote: *a great emphasis should be stressed on the outer side of such celebrations and they should be organized within the esthetic forms attractive for children of assimilated families that very often are fascinated with beautiful forms of visual Christian cults while deprived of their own decorativeness of cult.*<sup>53</sup> Further he suggested that Jewish holidays should be organized *impeccably, with good taste, and with an esthetical approach to the subject.*<sup>54</sup>

When in 1934 Leopold Gottlieb, the younger brother of Maurycy died, Kraków B'nai Brith chapter received information from professors dr. Maz Eisler and dr. Frankfurt about the difficult financial situation of the artist's widow, Aurelie Gottlieb, author of several articles on Maurycy Gottlieb and contemporary Jewish artists. Members of B'nai Brith including Rudolf, who at that time was a marshal of this elite Jewish organization undertook Jewish responsibility of helping the needy. He was made responsible to collect money to support Mrs. Gottlieb and her children, who lived in Paris. The letter requesting the *zedaka* was also issued to the Lvov chapter.<sup>55</sup>

Still in the winter of 1931 the Association of Jewish Painters and Sculptors in Kraków initiated within its structures a division of monuments led by Dr. Majer Balaban and Józef Stieglitz.<sup>56</sup> Most likely their implementation did not work well, Professor Balaban being

<sup>50</sup> Archive of National Museum in Kraków; documents of Maurycy Gottlieb's exhibition in 1932.

<sup>51</sup> Otwarcie wystawy Jakóba Pfefferberga, *Nowy Dziennik* 1936, no. 12, p. 9.

<sup>52</sup> State Archive in Kraków, Collection BB 177, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>55</sup> State Archive in Kraków, collection BB 195, pages not numbered.

<sup>56</sup> Z Zrzeszenia Żyd. Art. Malarzy i Rzeźbiarzy, *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 324, p. 9.

a lecturer at the University of Warsaw and Józef Stieglitz a very busy antiquities dealer. By the spring 1934 a meeting took place in the *Solidarność*'s lodge – the Kraków chamber of the B'nai B'rith, where preservation and restoration of Jewish historical monuments in Kraków was discussed. The other very crucial and innovative issue discussed there was the opening of Jewish monuments to tourists. Dr. Rudolf Beres drafted goals of the new society which were discussed by engaged Jewish activists: Holländer, Abraham Neuman, Dr. Hilfstein, Dr. Seweryn Gottlieb, engineer Tobjasz Wexner and others.<sup>57</sup> The Society for Preservation of Jewish Monuments in Kraków was thus established. Organizing committee members emerged including: Dr. Rudolf Beres, Dr. Berkelhammer, Dr. Chaim Freilich, Leon Schönker, and engineer Tobjasz Wexner.<sup>58</sup> Until 1939 there were several initiatives within the Jewish community toward preservation, restoration and description of Jewish heritage in Kraków. Unfortunately destroyed and irretrievable documentation does not allow for an assessment of Rudolfs' involvement in protection of Jewish historical sites in Kraków. Nonetheless, there exist a few surviving pages of correspondence between Dr. Beres, Professor Balaban, and an architect engineer Edward Kreisler. All these individuals were involved in the reconstruction of the legendary cemetery by Szeroka Street in Kraków-Kazimierz, a task undertaken in accordance with the *Kehila*. Rudolf Beres exhibited a very scholarly approach to the process by collecting deposited documentation of the little cemetery prepared by engineer Weinberger. Interviewing Balaban, who wrote *Przewodnik po żydowskich zabytkach Krakowa* (1935) and *Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu 1304-1655* (first edition 1913, and second revised and extended edition 1931 vol. I and vol. II 1936) Beres researched whether there were any preserved prints which would show original view of the place in order to reconstruct deteriorated walls of the cemetery.<sup>59</sup> Rudolf's approach to this restoration of the place of numerous legends was very professional, accurate, and detailed for his time.

Rudolf Beres left Kraków together with his family a few days before the German aggression on Poland in 1939. His brother Oswald, provided him with a car from his Chevrolet dealership in Kraków. Rudolf suspected that he was listed on *the black list of the Gestapo*, as he wrote in his memoir.<sup>60</sup> Rudolf left with his family: wife Jadwiga, and two children Jerzy and Anita, and his mother-in-law Aurelia Horowitz, toward Równo, where he was hosted by Józef Klein. There he experienced the initial Soviet occupation. In October, they moved to Lvov. He observed and analyzed the situation being very careful in his description of these days. He noticed the unfair treatment that the Jewish bourgeoisie received from proponents of Soviet communism.<sup>61</sup> His description of Soviet occupied Polish territories is very affected by after the war communist reality in that he specifically emphasized certain superlatives as education and peaceful coexistence between the local minorities: Russians, Jews, Ukrainians and Poles. During that time he underwent serious surgery – partial removal of the duodenum. In his memoirs, the German invasion presents great shock to everyone in Lvov and it perturbed the order set by the Soviets. This was a time when teachings by nationalists, fascists, and anti-Semites

<sup>57</sup> Ochrona zabytków żydowskich Krakowa, *Nowy Dziennik* 1932, no. 109, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> State Archive in Kraków, BB 183, pages not numbered.

<sup>60</sup> Wartime Memoire of Rudolf Beres, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.



took over common sense and respect. Because of his previous relations with the Lvov Jewish *Kehila*, he worked there until the beginning of German occupation there, but soon he realized that he must seek “Aryan papers” – identification documents for him and his family stating his non-Jewish descent. Anita remembered that one day, when the family sat together at the dining table, Rudolf decided that they would add a diacritic mark over the “s” – last letter in their surname changing it to “Bereś.” This brilliant idea, allowed preservation of the original pre-war documents but they were able to change their identity. He noticed that some of his friends with wealth and properties planned with the Poles: *Today, from much distant perspective, it seems that in Lvov, Jews were not met with such a disgraceful practice of people, whom they entrusted their real-estates and valuables as was in Kraków, where only honorable exceptions support the negative general thesis.*<sup>62</sup> Animosity towards Jews was overwhelming as Rudolf changed apartments and registered as Polish in a different part of Lvov, destroying all previous administrative documents even in the *Kehila*. Ability to “pass” was due to the fact that he and his family were unknown to Lvov citizens and therefore difficult to recognize as Jews. But as Nazi terror spread the deletions and blackmail became more often practiced by the Poles. Beres recognized the motivation as enormous greed: *it was regarding real-estate, house furnishings, valuables, gold, foreign currency that were owned by Jewish bourgeoisie.*<sup>63</sup> Until February 1942, the Beres resided on Józefa Street 8, in an apartment with an outside toilet and no water. Compared with his previous living environment, the situation felt strange, far away from normal circumstances. Rudolf and his son Jurek worked for a local disinfecting company. Unexpectedly, Jurek’s friend from work visited him at their address and soon after that incident, Rudolf received a blackmail letter with information revealing his true name, his Jewish origin, former employment, address and a threat: *If you, Mr. Director, are not going to submit the amount of 500 here.*<sup>64</sup> Although the threat was thwarted, the Nazi terror toward Jews progressed and Beres decided to move to Warsaw as did most of the Jews at that time. *We liquidated the rest of the assets, sold part of the furniture, and we left without obstacles.*<sup>65</sup> In Warsaw, they stopped in Hotel Narodowy on Chmielna Street. Through old connections they were located in a small apartment in Milanówek that was *furnished poorly and we started a new life.*<sup>66</sup> Jurek was employed in one of the central German offices in Warsaw. Jurek and Jadwiga supported the family through this time. Rudolf was not able to leave the apartment as he had been a public figure before the German assault on Poland. Additionally, he was sick as he suffered from depression as a result of his previous neurasthenia and deep negative psychological experiences intensified by unsatisfactory nutrition.<sup>67</sup>

The atmosphere in Milanówek was very specific, *there were a lot of conspired Jewish families, for instance entire group of distant relatives... who supported us generously.*<sup>68</sup> After a year of living in the town, a journalist from Warsaw, who was once employed by Rudolf in *Przegląd mięsny*, supposedly said to somebody that he had known Rudolf

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

*before the war as a big figure, and very rich man of Jewish origin.*<sup>69</sup> A German, who as a milk delivery woman chased hiding Jews, received this information and a search in the Beres' house in Mianówek was conducted by two gendarmes and a Nazi informer, volksdeutsch Walcher. *They examined the documents very precisely, they looked at our faces; however they left without any results. We were saved by my original prewar documents, and particularly the Krakovian identification card with information of my employment.*<sup>70</sup> Shortly after they experienced chastising by the apartment owner yet the Beres were strong, refusing to be frightened.

In 1944 as the eastern front was approaching people left Warsaw for neighboring towns. Rudolf wrote: *We lived in constant fear listening to approaching police cars, we fished for gossip on arrests and executions, of which there were plenty. Each Sunday worried us, when the landlady was coming because we feared that she again would press and threaten. The son was leaving for Warsaw, we counted hours until his return, knowing stories about raids in the city and on the electric train.*<sup>71</sup> In order not to be recognized, Rudolf tended to stay more indoors, but he was aware that *some of the Aryans... were informed about our secret.*<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, in order to sell the merchandise brought by his son, Rudolf went to various shops. Life included visiting a library, conducting business at city hall, as well as infrequently seeing relatives and friends, who lived in Milanówek and Podkowa Leśna, in addition to a rare trip to Warsaw.

The family went to a friends' wedding in Warsaw, and were not able to come back to Milanówek as the Warsaw Uprising broke out.

The Bereses were separated in mid-September, 1944. Jadwiga and Anita stayed in Bielany, Warsaw district,<sup>73</sup> and Rudolf evacuated with some of Warsaw residents to Włoszczowa and from there to a village of Krasów by Jędrzejów where he stayed until liberation and then returned to Kraków.<sup>74</sup> Upon their arrival they registered with the Jewish Central Historical Commission in Kraków.<sup>75</sup>

Unfortunately, it was not possible for the Beres family to return to their house on Sienkiewicza Street 18. After being a residence to Nazi officers, the villa, in February 1945 was taken over by a Soviet general. Some fine furniture was removed outdoors, however it was impossible to ascertain whether his high class art deco pieces were to be transported with Germans or were thrown away by Soviets. Wojciech was still in his post as a custodian of the property. He settled with Rudolf on a date and time when he could deliver surviving pieces of family treasure. After eighty years and deteriorated memories, and conflicting recollections of witnesses, it may be assumed that Wojciech preserved the family album, some paintings and drawings. There were also paintings on the walls in the villa. While the Soviets were preoccupied with drinking, Jurek and his best friend Julian Godlewski, who befriended one of the influential officers living there came to the house with cheap reproductions, which they exchanged taking away original

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>70</sup> Beres further noted that Walcher was killed by the Polish underground.

<sup>71</sup> Wartime Memoire of Rudolf Beres, p. 12.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Information based on interview with Anita Beres-Kanarek, November 2014, Holon.

<sup>74</sup> Rudolf Beres' Diary, pp. 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> Preserved registration cards for Anita, Jadwiga, Oswald, copies in Yad Vashem archive, Jerusalem; Zenon perished in the Shoah.

paintings from the walls.<sup>76</sup> The identified paintings taken from the house on Sienkiewicza Street 18 in the early 1945 were: *Portrait of a Man (Itinerant Tinker)*, *Portrait of Laura, the Artist's Fiancée*, *Old Woman in Cap*, *Scene in a Monastery* (a grisaille to *Nathan the Wise*) and *Drunkard*.

Following the tangled story of *Jewish Wedding* (also known as *Huppah*), and according to the documents from the NMK's archive (Kancelaria Dyrektora Kopery, LXXVIII/299, L. Dz. M. N. 672/48) for *Slave Market in Cairo*, *Portrait of Maurycy Wahrmann, Deputy to the Hungary Parliament*, *Zygmunt August and Giżanka* it may be concluded that other pictures, indicated previously, survived in Kraków and were sold after 1945.<sup>77</sup> In support of the idea of such a course of events is an imprecise note by late b. m. Ezra Mendelsohn that *after 1939 Rudolf Beres was obliged for financial reasons to sell it, mostly to Joseph Stieglitz, an art dealer in Tel Aviv, and to Mieczysław Zagayski*.<sup>78</sup>

Moreover, after the WWII two other paintings that belonged to Rudolf Beres were disbursed; one of them *Przebudzenie Wiosny* by Jacek Malczewski, which was loaned to the commemorative exhibit of Jacek Malczewski in the summer of 1939.<sup>79</sup> Some of the paintings loaned to the Association of Friends of Fine Arts were not retrieved by their owners and were until February of 1940, in the gallery storage, when they were moved and given to the custody of the National Museum in Kraków. After the occupation, surviving owners were presented with the option to reclaim their assets, or donate to the museum. The National Museum in Kraków's documentation shows that *Przebudzenie Wiosny*, was not returned to Rudolf, even though he is marked as the owner of the picture. The painting circulates until today within Polish art auctions.<sup>80</sup> The only documented painting that was sold in this period is *Sielanka* by Aleksander Kotsis. Living already in Katowice on St. Andrzeja Street 6, Rudolf offered the painting first to the National Museum in Warsaw and then it was purchased by the National Museum in Kraków, for 60,000 zł (MNK II-a – 506).<sup>81</sup>

Beres's house was not recovered from the city of Kraków. Rudolf's former achievements for the city were also not recognized, and there was not a single place allotted for the family of five. As Jurek found employment in Katowice, the Beres family went to

<sup>76</sup> The story is known by Jerzy's daughter. Alex Lauterbach, a friend of Jerzy, provided me with a similar story including the role of Julian Godlewski (nickname Gintel).

<sup>77</sup> Anita Beres-Kanarek remember *Huppah*, being taken from the house on Sienkiewicz street by Wojciech, and later sold to Józef Stieglitz by Jerzy Beres after the war, as Rudolf deeply disliked any contact and transactions with the antiquarian. The painting was offered for sale in 1946 by Józef Stieglitz to Mordechai Narkiss in Palestine as an object to the Bazalel Museum. And yet again the story written by Ron Maiberg conflicts with the Israel Museum documentation. <http://www.imj.org.il/Stieglitz/about.asp> access 5/2015. All of the paintings but *Recha Welcoming her Father* (110 x 80 cm, presently a long term loan in the NMW) were removed from Poland without proper transport documentations.

<sup>78</sup> Mendelsohn 2002, p. 187. Inexact, because there is no documentation if there was any contacts between Rudolf and Stieglitz while both of them were in Lvov in 1939-1941. Michał Zagayski left Poland in spring of 1939; any transaction with him was only possible after 1945. Accepting that most of the paintings were left on the walls and the artworks of Jewish subjects were hidden, it may be assumed that paintings whose location is unknown were appropriated or destroyed by the Germans.

<sup>79</sup> *Przebudzenie Wiosny*, 1919, oil on canvas, 118 x 144 cm. The painting was presented in the exhibit *Jacek Malczewski 1855-1929*, July-September, 1939 in the Association of Friends of Fine Arts in Kraków, p. 10.

<sup>80</sup> Polswiss Art, Warsaw October 17, 1999, lot 13.

<sup>81</sup> MNK Archive, Subwencje 1946: 351/46 – 442/46, p. LXVII/159.

live in the mining city. Dr. Rudolf Beres's farewell to Kraków was to polish the plaque for Wawel restoration.

In Katowice, Rudolf worked on the City Council and also published his last book, *Ural in Soviet Economy* in 1945. He and Jadwiga lived together with Anita and her husband Dolek. On the walls were four paintings, including *Babcia* and *Hucul*.<sup>82</sup> Pleasingly aesthetic items, mostly left by escaping Germans permitted them to furnish with some comfort. Kraków, however, was home, the city for which he longed. In the inner pocket of his blazer he carried a photo of the plaque from the Wawel defense wall.

Dr. Rudolf Beres died on January 26, 1964 in Katowice. There, he is buried in the Jewish cemetery.

Five years later, in 1968 and early 1969, because of a wave of anti-Semitic events in Poland, the children left for Israel and Canada. Anita with her husband and two children Adam and Ewa went to Israel. Heda, Rudolf's widow traveled with Anita. Jurek with his wife Wanda and little Małgorzata emigrated to Canada. Anita and Jurek divided the remaining artworks of Maurycy Gottlieb between themselves. At present none of the paintings is in the family possession. There are still several, as this paper's research shows with their whereabouts unknown.

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 National Archive in Kraków  
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### b) Press

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<sup>82</sup> Meaning *Old Woman in Cap*, *Itinerant Tinker*, *Portrait of Laura*, and *Scene in a Monastery*.

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