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Reinhabiting the City as an Artistic Open Space: Urban Imprints of Exile Artists in Buenos Aires and Marseille in the 20th Century

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History and the uses of space

In 1935, the German artist Clément Moreau sailed from the port of Marseille to Buenos Aires. He had acquired a passport with the help of his future wife, Nelly Guggenbühl, whom he met at the Z-Haus in Zurich where he was hosted as an emigrant. Because of his political activism, he had to change his name, originally Carl Meffert, but retained the same initials with which he already signed his work (*Clément Moreau* 1994). As becomes clear when looking at figures such as Clément Moreau, the place-makings of exiled artists are multiple and make up a geography of "polycentric modern" art (Joyeux-Prunel 2018). The collaborative research presented in this chapter focuses on two different contexts inscribed into Moreau's exile journey – Buenos Aires and Marseille. These two cities are informed by the logics of circulation and forced mobility. While both were sites of great vitality due to the many creative endeavours of the exiled artists residing there, they were also port cities and as such have historically been places of departure and arrival. Port cities relate to space in very specific ways: their coastal location contributed to their importance for industry and trade, which in turn deeply affected the production of an urban space aimed at improving the speed of production (Hein 2011). The issues of speed and movement in port cities can

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also be connected to the many trauma-related displacements of the 20th century, caused for example by the rise of National socialism or by various postcolonial decolonization movements.

This chapter compares different imprints left by artists in urban space. As French historian Paul Veyne reminds us, the comparison is an "operator of individualization", aiming not to confuse historical situations, but enabling us to differentiate between them (Veyne 1976). It therefore directly engages with one of the central questions of historical research: the relationship between intellectual/artistic life and migration in mid-century societies. Throughout this chapter, we are applying the methodological frameworks of spatial history as they are uniquely positioned to mine and activate issues of artistic agency in and through cities. Refusing to posit space as a universal category, historians engaged in spatial methods promote a conception of space as contingent on political and economic conditions. This dimension is exemplified for instance by Lefebvre's famous dictum, "(social) space is a (social) product" (Lefebvre 1974). Born in the wake of the 1970s alongside developments in cultural history, the spatial turn in history offers a way to understand the past: it allows us to grasp the ways in which both built environment and mapping strategies serve as a context within which a range of political entities, from the body to the neighbourhood, can be reconsidered vis-à-vis a historical methodology.

This chapter casts new light on the relationship between exile, city and artistic creativity by mingling two spatial scales: in order to discern the cultures and mentalities of exile, we consider both material and imaginary spaces. A spatial method applied to the study of how art is created within the context of exile reveals itself to be particularly promising for overcoming the difficulty of locating artistic expression of/in exile, which can be difficult to grasp in its material forms (i.e. painting, photography, etc.). While they may be considered oppositional to the project of historiographical spatial history, material sites in cities and the imaginary projections attached to them can address one of the most important problems of historical research in art history, especially when it deals with exilic artistic production in the 20th century: that of sources.

These remarks intend to settle broader methodological and intellectual implications for historical research by facing the lack of archival traces of exile; these are implications that also resonate beyond the contexts of Buenos Aires and Marseille of course. One of the questions we need to ask is how we can preserve and understand the artistic expressions of émigrés today, especially considering their ever-changing status as citizens of different countries, so that our analytical and interpretive lens shifts from the material realm of artistic production to also include these artists' intellectual lives and communities. To address art in/off exile then also means to address a series of shifts: first, a shift in focus from the careers

of individual artists to more collective artistic practices that emerge from migratory uprootings and re-routings. This is a question of mapping the global networks into which the local productions of artists are embedded, and the broader political contexts that lead artists to be exiled. Second, a shift concerning the scale of research: this means looking for archives rather than for single works, though the lack of material traces of art in exile does not mean that artistic life did not occur. A spatial methodology that focusses on both geographical sites and imaginary spaces allows us to overcome the paradox of exilic artistic production which leave sometimes ephemeral material traces that may be difficult to grasp today.

As Paul Stock posits, spatial methods can reveal issues that render the boundaries between material and representation more porous. Such methods allow us to address the relation between material environment and intellectual life (Stock 2015, 2). As such, this chapter draws on a historical approach that further develops the study of material space: buildings, hotels, cafés and publishing houses are considered as some of the most important 20th-century sites where intellectual life flourished – this allows us to analyze major artist networks and even some of the artworks that have survived from that time.

By drawing on different archives, we document domestic spaces (flats, studios) and public spaces (districts, hotels, streets, bars) that have been integral to both exilic artistic and social practices and exilic networks and interactions between émigrés. We also mine artworks and correspondences to delineate the importance of exiled artists of the cities they had to leave behind. A focus on spatiality thus allows us to foreground issues of representation, visualization and images, and to reconstruct visual processes even if usual sites of visual expression – the artistic work – remain largely inaccessible. This chapter constitutes a visual enquiry into the exilic city, supplementing a traditional art historian approach with cultural history as influenced by the spatial turn.

Indeed, the objects as well as the social relations produced in exile in the first half of the 20th century convoke material and methodological realities inscribed in profoundly spatial logics. Migration, poverty and untenable living conditions deeply affected artists, thereby bringing into light the fluctuation and uncertainties of artistic creation within exile, from its material forms to the sites where artists used to dwell and gather (café, hotels, etc.). Whether they concern the physical belongings of artists in the city or relate to purely imagined projections, the different forms of urban relations brought into play by exile seem to come under what Irit Rogoff has called a "general crisis of the capacity to represent any form of stable geographical knowledge as an orientation asset concerning identity" (2013, 3). Therefore, when art history rests on the assumption that geography is fixed, stable and determines identity, how can we apprehend exile when exile in and of itself denounces the principles on which art historical analysis is founded?

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Adopting a method that reflects on the way in which exile links to the disruption of spatial knowledge can help to get around this very problem. This "emergent rhetoric of reterritorialized subject" (ibid.) that accompanies exile can be addressed by using approaches that (1) recognize that space is not an abstract category and (2) think about space beyond pre-existing conceptions which usually priorities hierarchies between centre and periphery and tend to nationalize artistic narratives. Finally, it is from the methodological perspective of decentering modernist narratives about art and places that this chapter wishes to make sense of the particularities that compose urban artistic traces in the two cities of Marseille and Buenos Aires. As they are based on conceptions of space as constructed, postcolonial studies prove to be a helpful tool to consider the spatial journeys of artists in unfamiliar places. Studying exile through a postcolonial lens forces us to reconsider traditional frameworks of cultural identity and to rework our relations to spatially-infused concepts such as cultural identity. Considering the latter, Edward Said explains for instance that exile means "acting as if one were at home where one happens to be" (2002, 55). In order to interrogate this argument, our study of exile urban traces, focused in particular on specific neighbourhoods, wishes to challenge methods of art history that hold on to ossified, old-fashioned understandings of space, art and materiality.

Marseille and Buenos Aires as exile metropolises

While Marseille was a city that for a long time relied on the mythic narrative of its foundation by "Others" (Péraldi/Samson 2006), this image was finally realized by early 20th-century economic migrations from Italy, Spain and Maghreb. During the Second World War, Marseille became a city of foreign refugees stranded in the southern zone. It was here, the only large French port still open after the defeat of 1940, where refugees were waiting for visas. After May and June 1940, the huge exodus was to push the banks of the Mediterranean a panic-stricken population who put under pressure Marseille's reputation as "welcoming city" (Hewitt 2019, 9). Marseille was the only possible place of departure to the arrival cities such as Buenos Aires for the Anti-Nazi Germans, foreigners, Jews, and subversive artists who hoped to leave a country where they were now undesirable (Yagil 2015). André Breton, his wife Jacqueline Lamba, Victor Serge, Óscar Domínguez, Victor Brauner, Wifredo Lam, Marcel Duchamp, André Masson, Jean Arp, Jacques Hérold, Hans Bellmer and Benjamin Perret were among the Surrealists established in Marseille (Bertrand Dorléac 1993; Guiraud 1999). Marseille was only one step on the path that led artists beyond metropolitan France towards the United States, Latin America, the Caribbean or North Africa. Some artists, however, stayed long

enough to leave behind their exile imprints. It was in the district of Vieux-Port that many of these traces of mass migration and mass arrival can still be seen today. In Marseille, a city that had been largely provincial and focussed on regional themes (Guiraud 1999), the newly emerging modernist artistic geography marked one of the first and most visible effects of exile. Many surrealists had come to the region – some to flee the occupied zone, others waiting for a visa.[1] And while their artistic activities mainly focussed on the district of the Vieux-Port, this community of 'permanent travellers' soon infused the whole city, forever changing its socio-cultural structures.

On the other side of the globe, Buenos Aires can be regarded as Marseille's mirror: instead of hosting those who wanted to leave, it welcomed those who had come to stay. With a three centuries-long colonial history, the city was permeable to foreigners, be they exiles or migrants. Buenos Aires had been founded in 1580 and became the capital of the Virreinato del Río de la Plata in 1776.[2] Since then, it became a land of promises for generations and generations of Europeans, most of whom were Spanish at the time. The successive independence that Latin America has experienced since the beginning of the 19th century did not break this migratory inertia (Devoto 2003). Buenos Aires, and more generally Argentina, had a great reserve of natural resources and vast lands to attract Europeans in search of prosperity and fortune. Between 1878 and 1885, the military campaign that stripped the local populations of their land and their freedom left available land to be settled and worked. With the arrival of the new century, European migrations into the country intensified, also spurred by the improvement of the steam engine which allowed for faster transatlantic ship travel the 1860s on.[3] President Nicolás Avellaneda's law[4] in 1876 also fostered travel and settlement. Since then, and about roughly until the 1950s, Buenos Aires acted as an important arrival port for passengers from European ports, with a peak of foreign population in 1914 (Comisión Nacional del Censo/Martínez 1916, 203f.). During the 1930s and 1940s, due to the persecutions in Franco's Spain and Nazi Germany, the metropolis cemented its quality as a cosmopolitan city in which multiple customs and traditions coexisted and nourished each other.

Being and place-making in Buenos Aires and Marseille

Place-making in Buenos Aires and Marseille is closely linked to the artists who settled in these metropolises of exile. Whether exiles, expatriates, refugees or nomads, for those who experience distance from their homes and from their native languages, place- and home-making prove to be the most important aspect of migration (Suleiman 2012). Marseille's city centre became much more cosmopolitan,

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a fact which disrupted already-existing racial and social lines reflected in the city's geographical makeup. While many of the exile artists eventually found accommodation in Villa Air-Bel and Montredon, they initially stayed in cheap hotels beside Hotel Splendide near the Gare Saint-Charles (like Victor Serge and his wife and son, André Breton or Varian Fry) where they encountered areas which were predominantly Mediterranean and working-class (Dell'Umbria 2006; Breton/Maestraggi 2016). Jacques Hérold for example stayed in the Algerian district behind the Cours Belsunce and recalls: "My district in Marseilles was the rue Sainte-Barbe, the rue des Chapeliers […] At night the corridor of the house where I lived was invaded by Arabs who slept there" (Hérold, qtd. in *La Planète affolée* 1986, 54). While the city centre was already inhabited by Algerian colonial workers, the additional settlement of exilic artists there upset traditional spatial orders (which allocated certain ethnic groups to certain spaces) and social borders.

As Surrealist artists migrated, they also brought their artistic activities and modalities to Marseille, enlivening the local coffee house culture which was usually found much more frequently in Europe's capitals. While cafés had been a space that served to ward off conservative forces since at least the 19th century, the new cultural geography developed in Marseille flourished in artistic innovation and frenzy. Surrealists gathered in the cafés of the Vieux-Port's like the Brûleurs de loups or Mont-Ventoux (*Le Jeu de Marseille* 2003), which were sites that both showcased avant-garde artistic expression and provided the concrete possibility of obtaining resources to survive exile and leave Marseille (Guillon 1999). There, exiles swapped stories and rumours of ship departures and plotted how to amass the tickets and the bewildering numbers of visas. As Anna Seghers writes in her novel *Transit:* "I even heard that there was mention of a certain boat to Oran. While next door, at Mont-Ventoux, the regulars would detail all the circumstances of a crossing, here people would discuss all the problems of a copper shipment" (Seghers 1995, 156).

Some 11,000 kilometres away, Buenos Aires had been a refuge not only for people fleeing Spanish fascism and German National-Socialism but also for communities from other European countries. The arrival of people from so many different contexts generated structural needs in a city open to urban transformations and to the development of new creative, collaborative networks. Buenos Aires thus saw the emergence of many different groups, communities and centres, some of which were motivated by common origin and language – the Circulo Italiano (Libertad Street 1264), the Centro Gallego (Belgrano Street 2199) and the Casal de Catalunya (Chacabuco Street 863), among others –, while others built on shared professional interests, such as the Agrupación de Intelectuales, Artistas, Periodistas y Escritores[5] (Belgrano Street 1732, meeting place; Perú Street 190, exhibition venue) and the Asociación Amigos del Arte[6] (Florida Street 950 and 659).[7]

As was the case with Marseille, the exiles' everyday habits were immediately transplanted and transfused into Buenos Aires' city life. In Argentina these early 1920s migratory waves were neither the first nor the only ones, although they were certainly among the most important. Buenos Aires' large scale offered many opportunities to settle and build a new life. The foreigners did not all stay in the same district, although many remained in the city centre and the neighbourhoods closest to the Río de la Plata, which opens onto the Atlantic Ocean and where the ships from Europe arrived. The city's main axis then was the famous Florida Street, still well-known today. Both foreign and local artists gravitated around it, attracted by the shops and galleries, many of them opened by first- or second-generation European exiles (Karp Lugo 2020, 35–38).

Gaining intimate knowledge about these local sites allows us to enter the daily lives of exiled artists, about whom historical sources are otherwise scarce. By tracking the streets and addresses where the artists socialized and created networks we can also re-trace the artistic trajectories of the European artists in exile in Buenos Aires. Of course, this strategy can also be extended to other communities and other geographies. In a previous article, we argued for Florida Street as the nodal centre of socialization in the artistic and cultural field of Buenos Aires (Karp Lugo 2020): galleries, bookshops, artistic and general shops and publishing houses lined the street every few metres, sometimes next to one another, facilitated artistic an economic circulation and dissemination. And when some of these places still exist today, as is the case with some of them, a stroll through the city is enough to grasp how close these places were to one another and how easy intellectual exchange must have been.[8] When they no longer exist, sources allow us to fill in the gaps. However, the sources in studies of exiled subjects are often deficient and fragmented. In our case, one of the most important sources are period guides as they provide the addresses of shops, doctors and artists. In this sense, guides such as the *Gran guía de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires*, edited by Edelmiro Mayer and published by Hugo Kunz & Cie from 1886 as well as the multiple editions of *Anuario Kraft* (Costa 2012) since 1885 are a valuable source for understanding the urban fabric of exiled artists' topographies. So are correspondences and business cards. The archive of French artist Henri Stein, first illustrator for and then editor and owner of the satirical newspaper *El Mosquito*, shows the wealth of resources that the careful preservation of business cards means for the researcher.[9] Addresses guides as much as business cards are valuable sources for exile/art historical research.

Thus, a topographical approach and a knowledge of the places that operated at the time provide interesting and rich alternatives to fill the gap left behind by fragmented sources. Having arrived in Buenos Aires in 1934, the Austrian artist Gertrudis Chale settled in the suburb of Quilmes, a neighbourhood in the south of the city, and quickly integrated into the metropolis' artistic and intellectual milieu,

joining a group of artists and intellectuals made up of both Europeans and Argentinians. But why Quilmes, a neighbourhood that was twenty kilometres away from the city centre? An analysis of the existing historical structures in the city can help us to answer this question. Indeed, when Chale arrived in Quilmes, there was an important German community that had developed around the Cervecería Quilmes (the Quilmes brewery), founded by German immigrant Otto Bemberg in 1888 (12 de Octubre Avenue y Gran Canaria Street, Quilmes). Very soon, facilities were developed to make daily life easier for the workers of the successful brewery, including a sports centre and a health service. Nearby, the German club of Quilmes (former Asociación alemana de cultura física de Quilmes – German Association of Physical Culture of Quilmes) was founded in 1923 (Hipólito Yrigoyen Street 1400, Quilmes). Many German-speaking immigrants (Germans, Austrians and Swiss) settled in Quilmes, attracted by the job opportunities offered by the Quilmes Brewery. There was also the Holmberg Deutsche Schule, known as the German School, which had opened in 1898 (Sarmiento 679, Quilmes). Undoubtedly, the German-speaking environment had attracted German, Swiss and Austrian exiles to the city of Quilmes, including Gertrudis Chale.

Artistic and literary presses as a nexus for exile networks

Magazines played a major role in the integration and gatherings of exile artists in both Buenos Aires and Marseille. The way exiled artists brought changes to the urban geographies of Marseille was also reflected in the transformation of cultural spheres, such as journalism, literature and publishing houses. The journal *Les Cahiers du Sud* helped make Marseille into a habitable, liveable place of possibility and futurity for refugees who could not imagine ever returning to their home countries. The journal was created by Jean Ballard whose offices were located in Quai du Canal and acted as an important *centre d'accueil*, sometimes even offering a physical place of asylum by accommodating intellectual refugees and artists who fled from the German invasion and the Vichy regime (Guiraud 1999; Hewitt 2019). While the journal functioned as a conceptual hub of connection, networking and solidarity in text form for a community of exiles, its offices in the city served as a concrete, material safe harbour for political refugees. As Nicholas Hewitt posits, under Ballard's leadership, *Les Cahiers du Sud* was committed "to a pan-European and pan-Mediterranean liberal humanism, a staunch supporter of the Front Populaire, the Spanish Republicans, Italian anti-fascists, and the opponents of Nazism it had given space to dissident writers throughout the 1930s" (2019, 76). Thus, from 1933, *Les Cahiers du Sud* became a shelter for exiled German writers and intellectuals, like Ernst Erich Noth, who was a regular member of the editorial team from 1935 onwards, and after the declaration of war for refugees

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such as Ernst Toler and Walter Benjamin (Breton/Maestraggi 2016; Hewitt 2019). The journal's hub-like character was sustained and underlined by Ballard's conception of the city as relating to long-distance geographical scales and scopes: and the journal was positioned within this global nexus. Opposed to provincialism, Ballard conceived the Vieux-Port as belonging to the Mediterranean, to trade networks and to travellers – and so did the journal. This sense of place directly contributed to the anchoring of his ideal of fraternity. As he wrote in 1927: "*Les Cahiers* is not the regional review of Provence. It is the review of Marseilles and it lives at the same rhythm as the city" (Hewitt 2019, 145). Ballard's publishing activities fostered a number of other charity organizations and aid platforms operating in Marseille from 1940 to 1942, most with religious affiliations. The most well-known among them is undoubtedly the American Emerging rescue committee established in 1938 by Thomas Mann, supported by Eleanor Roosevelt, and directed by the journalist Varian Fry from 1939 onwards.[10]

Published at about the same time as *Les Cahiers du Sud*, the magazine *Sur* similarly became a shelter for exiled German writers and intellectuals in Buenos Aires. The Argentine writer and intellectual Victoria Ocampo founded this literary magazine and the publishing house of the same name in 1931; both were aligned with the anti-fascist cause and should become a major hub for intellectual exchanges in Buenos Aires for the next two decades.[11] The close ties that Victoria Ocampo had with José Ortega y Gasset, a Spanish philosopher and writer, were decisive for the magazine's identity. Ortega y Gasset had first travelled to Argentina in 1916 to give a series of lectures. Very soon after his arrival, he met Ocampo, with whom he would maintain a lasting friendship. When Ocampo told Ortega y Gasset about her publication project, he was in Spain running the journal *Revista de Occidente*, which he had founded in 1923. The idea for the name for Ocampo's magazine arose out of their close friendship and the spirit of creative collaboration: "It was chosen over the phone, across the Ocean. It seems that the whole Atlantic was needed for this baptism" (Ocampo 1931, 14). *Sur* was published approximately every three months from January 1931 to July 1934. Monthly issues followed from July 1935 to January 1951.[12] Ocampo not only edited the magazine *Sur* but also founded a publishing house under the same name which, without a doubt, contributed to the dissemination of literary culture in Argentina. A large network of artists and writes surrounded her, including the exiles Gertrudis Chale, Grete Stern and Gisèle Freund.

Depicting the exilic city

While cafés constituted a landscape of refuge, the decoration of Marseille's Eden Bar by the exiled artists Zelman Otchakovsky and Bernard Zehrfuss allows us to highlight how the city was materially reshaped by a new and collective international

artistic geography. Together with Alexey Brodovitch, Zehrfuss was the creator, after the armistice, of Le Groupe d'Oppède, a small group of students of architecture and painting from the Beaux-Arts, based in the oil mill buildings of the old village of Oppède of Provence located 88 kilometres from Marseille. The group organized a network of resistance while continuing to work on concrete architectural projects.[13]

In 1941, the architect Louis Olmeta commissioned Bernard Zehrfuss to decorate the Eden Bar, located at 2, rue Corneille, a street behind the Vieux-Port. He called upon several artists who were members of the Oppède group, such as Zelman Otchakovsky (who emigrated from Bessarabia to Paris in 1935) or Jacques Hérold and François Stahly (born in Germany, who emigrated to Paris in 1931). The decorations, now destroyed, were composed of heterogeneous parts forming an environment with a marine theme, at the heart of which was a monumental wooden mermaid sculpture by François Stahly featuring, in the upper part, "a sort of vault with dolphins" (Dubbeld 2010). This decoration was directly connected to the migratory experience of the artists. Evoking and echoing their coastal environments, these artworks trace the artists' mental and experiential maps, and the spatial political contexts they were surrounded by: tracing such processes allows us to understand the production of spatial imaginings within these cities of exile (Gilbert 2002). While possibly evoking longstanding ways to represent Marseille through maritime themes, the ocean (and its representations) gained new significance as a space of transit and travel inextricably linked to exilic identity. On their journeys towards the Americas, the Caribbean or North Africa, for exiled artists Marseille was only a transitory stop along the way. The surrealists for example explored the connective nature of this coastal space in graphic works in which they imagined Marseille as a physical door opening towards a journey or an imaginary landscape of exile, a site of anguish. In 1941, when exiled in Marseille, André Masson produced *La ville crânienne,* a drawing of the Vieux-Port which can be conceived of as a document of the exilic condition. Visualizing the local environment vis-à-vis his fear of death, he drew a ship and a seagull whose lines reconstruct a skull. While such figurative approaches encapsulate the city as a site of travelling connections and transit, global port cities also concretely materialize the 'urban imprints' of exile.

While Marseille is well known as a city that temporarily hosted a large part of the global intelligentsia, in Buenos Aires European artists and intellectuals arrived fleeing from war and dictatorial regimes and in most cases established themselves there permanently. They created new networks while also investing in already existing local networks; they portrayed the city and its surroundings. An analysis of such exilic artistic production reveals a deep fascination with the city and its urban fabric. The French painter Léonie Matthis, who had arrived in Argentina in 1912, worked on emblematic places in the city centre, contributing to shaping the historical

imaginary of the city on the basis of events in Argentine history. She was interested in representative urban spaces such as the Plaza de Mayo, whose visual history she reconstructed from colonial to contemporary times.[14] The photographers Leonor Martínez Baroja and Grete Stern, Spanish and German respectively, depicted the everyday life of streets, wall posters and terraces. Stern left behind photographs of key buildings in the city of Buenos Aires, including the obelisk (fig. 25.1) and other main buildings in the city, such as the Edificio Kavanagh (fig. 25.2). The Argentine photographer Horacio Coppola, Grete's partner, left remarkable aerial views that show a particular interest in the river (where ships arrived from Marseille and other European ports), the Hotel of Immigrants built on its borders, the views of the city taken from the point of view of the passenger landing and aerial views where the city's grid pattern stands out. A similar interest in the city, but from a different perspective, led Gertrudis Chale to focus on representing the edges and limits of the city (fig. 25.3). Her exilic experiences motivated an interest in borders, belonging and displacement which infuse her creative endeavours (Karp Lugo et al. 2020). Her paintings and drawings explored the suburbs as a liminal space between two worlds: urbanity and nature. For Chale, Quilmes represented this ambiguous in-between space.

FIGURE 25.1: Grete Stern, *Obelisk*, Buenos Aires, 1951/1952 (Príamo 1995, 80).

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FIGURE 25.2: Grete Stern, *Holy Sacrament Church and Kavanagh Building*, Buenos Aires, 1951/52 (Príamo 1995, 80).

FIGURE 25.3: Gertrudis Chale, *Bocacalle de Sarandí*, 1940, tempera, 62 × 74.5 cm (© Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires).

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Concluding remarks and open perspectives

This chapter played out as a game of mirrors between two port cities which, although distant, have a point in common in terms of the history of migration and exile. Marseille was, like Buenos Aires, a space of refuge for people fleeing the political regimes of their home countries. Entire neighbourhoods grew around this reality, this presence of foreigners. In the first half of the 20th century, Marseille hosted these exiles and gave them the opportunity to develop their networks and activities around the Vieux-Port, a geographical location which stood for the longing to board ships, to leave for less challenging living conditions or less dangerous regions (than Spain under Franco or Nazi Germany) where it was possible to continue their lives. As Anna Seghers has argued, the city forever remained linked to unresolved futures as exiles struggled to receive visas or obtain the permission to leave Europe (Seghers 1995). On the other side of the Atlantic, metropolises like Buenos Aires regularly welcomed ships loaded with passengers that Marseille and other European ports sent out to sea. While both were port cities, Marseille was one of the main cities of departure and Buenos Aires a major arrival city. Although the centre of Buenos Aires is located close to the port (thus giving the name "Porteños" to the inhabitants of the city) and even though the riverfront was a great source of inspiration for the artists (especially for photography), the new arrivals did not necessarily settle in the port area. The fact that many of the migrants who arrived in Buenos Aires were there to stay for good motivated them to settle in different parts of the gigantic metropolis, looking for more affordable areas or joining other exile communities from the same home country. This was the case for Quilmes which, as we have shown, had a substantial ties to the German-speaking community in Argentine.

Although this chapter focused on artists and cultural agents, its reflections on exile go beyond the discipline of art history insofar as our approaches and methods can be mobilized for the research of exile studies in general. When it comes to exiles, the sources scholarship depends upon – such as historical documents, letters, photographs, personal writings, etc. – remain particularly fragmentary, sometimes even wholly untraceable. There are many reasons for the dispersal or disappearance of such sources: quick and sometimes unexpected departures, the need to reduce luggage for the crossing, multiple changes of residence before finding a permanent accommodation. When the exiles had just arrived, they often did not know the city or did not have sufficient resources to choose a suitable place. It is exactly this moment in the lives of artists – when they arrive, when they leave, when they look for a network which they might fit into – which offers a rich source for understanding individual artists' strategies of enduring, even flourishing, in new environments. If personal sources are not preserved, an important part of the research is

compromised. When these artists manage to settle down permanently and comfortably, the role of migrant/local networks tends to diminish. Although personal sources are usually best preserved at this stage of the exiles' lives, they are often of a different nature and do not reflect the key issues of the arrival and integration period. Faced with this paradox, this chapter, by reading the city as source for research on exile and art, has sought to propose a possible methodological approach to fill in as many gaps as possible left by incomplete or missing sources. Starting with addresses, maps and places, it is possible to follow the trail of artists in urban space: the encounters, the places they frequented, the neighbourhoods that were familiar to them and that marked their daily lives as much as their production.

NOTES

1. For accounts on Varian Fry's role in the process of helping exiles, see Fry (2008).
2. For a more extensive study of Argentine's history, see Fradkin/Garavaglia (2009), Yankelevich (2014).
3. See Thurston (2015).
4. "Ley de inmigración y colonización, n. 817" (Avellaneda law), article 12c, chapter V, enacted on 19 October 1867.
5. Agrupación de Intelectuales, Artistas, Periodistas y Escritores – AIAPE (Association of Intellectuals, Artists, Journalists and Writers).
6. Asociación Amigos del Arte – AAA (Friends of the Arts Association).
7. See the Buenos Aires Archive on METROMOD's website www.//metromod.net/.
8. See the Buenos Aires Walk on METROMOD's website www.//metromod.net/.
9. Fondo Enrique (Henri) Stein (Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires).
10. Varian Fry is credited with saving between 2,000 and 4,000 anti-Nazi and Jewish refugees. Unlike other organizations, it focused predominantly on artists and intellectuals. For accounts on the Emergency Rescue committee, see Guillon 1999.
11. For a more extensive study of *Sur*, see King (1989), Pasternac (2002), Gramuglio (2010).
12. From then until 1970, the magazine was published every two months. In the last period, until 1980, special issues were published irregularly.
13. See Desmoulins (2008), Dubbeld (2010).
14. Her work can be seen in the Museo histórico de Buenos Aires Cornelio de Saavedra (Buenos Aires). See also Gutiérrez Zaldívar (1992).

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