The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies

German Expressionist Prints and Drawings

ESSAYS

German Expressionist Prints and Drawings

Volume 1
Essays by Stephanie Barron, Wolf-Dieter Dube, Alexander Dückers, Peter Guenther, Rose-Carol Washton Long, Paul Raabe, Robert Gore Rifkind, and Ida Katherine Rigby

Volume 2
Catalogue of the Collection by Bruce Davis

The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art contains the world's most comprehensive and distinguished collection of German Expressionist prints and drawings, illustrated books, and periodicals. This two-volume publication documents for the first time the Study Center's immense holdings.

The richly illustrated essays in volume 1 place the collection in the context of the history and development of the German Expressionist movement, survey research in the field, and include Robert Gore Rifkind's interview with Oskar Kokoschka.

Volume 2, the largest and most inclusive ever published on German Expressionist graphic art, illustrates and precisely catalogues each of the more than five thousand works in the collection. The volume's six indexes permit access to this outstanding material by book, periodical, and portfolio titles; authors and publishers of illustrated works; and the subjects of portraits.

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volume 1

Essays by

Stephanie Barron

Wolf-Dieter Dube

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Peter Guenther

Rose-Carol Washton Long

Paul Raabe

Robert Gore Rifkind

Ida Katherine Rigby

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Prestel

Cover
Conrad Felixmüller
Germany, 1897–1977
Selbstbildnis mit Frau, 1921
(Self-portrait with wife)
Color woodcut
15¾ x 15¼ in. (40.0 x 40.0 cm)
M.82.288.61
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Contents

vii **Foreword**
Earl A. Powell III

xi **Preface**
Robert Gore Rifkind

xv **A Salute**
Wolf-Dieter Dube

1 **An Introduction to the Expressionist Movement**
Peter Guenther

39 **The Revival of Printmaking in Germany**
Ida Katherine Rigby

67 **Portfolios**
Alexander Dückers

115 **Illustrated Books and Periodicals**
Paul Raabe

131 **The Embrace of Expressionism: The Vagaries of Its Reception in America**
Stephanie Barron

151 **Wild Passion at Midnight: Reflections on Thirty-five Years of Collecting Art**
Robert Gore Rifkind

163 **A Conversation with Kokoschka at Ninety-two**
Robert Gore Rifkind

173 **The Library: Resource for the Study of German Expressionism**
Paul Raabe

183 **Scholarship: Past, Present, and Future Directions**
Rose-Carol Washton Long

208 **Index**

In captions for works from the Rifkind Study Center, credit lines have generally been omitted. For works with museum numbers beginning with M.82.287 and M.82.288, the credit line is Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies; for works with museum numbers beginning with 83.1, the credit line is Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies; purchased with funds provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition Fund, and Deaccession Funds.

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The collection of the library of the Rifkind Study Center is catalogued in Susan Trauger, *The Catalogue of the Library of the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1989).

Max Pechstein
Germany, 1881–1955
Unser täglich Brot/gieb uns heute, 1921
(Give us this day our daily bread)
Woodcut with watercolor
15¾ x 11⅝ in. (40.0 x 29.6 cm)
From portfolio Das Vaterunser
83.1.22 e
Davis 2258.5

Foreword

Los Angeles and Europe, particularly Germany, have had a special relationship for the past fifty years. During the 1930s and 1940s dozens of well-known artists, collectors, writers, musicians, architects, actors, directors, and producers emigrated to Los Angeles from Europe. During the early 1950s, in fact, the codirector of the Los Angeles County Museum of History, Science, and Art, William R. Valentiner, was a German refugee who had had a long-standing interest in the German Expressionists. Valentiner encouraged members of the Hollywood émigré community to collect and donate to the museum works by the German Expressionists. The connection with Germany was strengthened in 1967, when Los Angeles was named the sole sister city of Berlin. We are delighted to be able to extend this relationship in a center dedicated to connoisseurship and scholarship.

With the acquisition of the Robert Gore Rifkind collection in 1983, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art became in a single stroke a major force in the collection, study, and display of German Expressionist art, the home of the largest single holding of German Expressionist graphic art, and the repository of an exceptional library of more than four thousand volumes, many containing original graphics. The opening in 1987 of the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, a handsome space of twenty-eight hundred square feet, was a momentous step for the museum and one in a recent series of expansions that has included the construction of the Robert O. Anderson Building and the Pavilion for Japanese Art and the addition of new galleries for the departments of Prints and Drawings and Photography.

Mr. Rifkind has frequently made reference to a great private library established by Wilhelm F. Arntz, who lived in Haag, a small town outside of Munich. He visited Arntz many times and acquired works for his own collection from him. The Arntz collection, which comprises sixty thousand books, periodicals, and manuscripts devoted primarily to twentieth-century art, contains an extensive body of works on German Expressionism. In April 1986, following Arntz's death, the J. Paul Getty Trust acquired his library, bringing together in Los Angeles a truly extraordinary collection of materials on German Expressionism. Many German newspapers, reporting the acquisition, commented that with the Rifkind holdings at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the Arntz holdings at the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, many German scholars would now find it necessary to come to Los Angeles to do extensive original research.

The center, along with the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation, will continue to make it possible for distinguished scholars-in-residence (who have included Wolf-Dieter Dube, Peter Guenther, and Gunther Thiem) to come to Los Angeles to pursue research in the field, drawing upon the center's resources. The museum will also carry on its series of exhibitions drawn from the center's collection. It is extremely gratifying that Mr. Rifkind has continued to augment the center's holdings. Since the museum's acquisition of the collection he has added extensively to the library and has filled lacunae in the print collection.

These volumes—the complete illustrated catalogue of the print collection and the accompanying commemorative collection of

Karl Lorenz
Germany, 1888–1961
Untitled (design with flowers), 1931
Woodcut with watercolor
12½ x 9½ in. (31.7 x 24.2 cm)
From portfolio R. M. Rilke: Holzschnitte von Karl Lorenz
L.86.1.1 e; lent by the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation, Beverly Hills, California
Davis 17So.5

scholarly essays—allow the scholar access to the collection and provide an extraordinary visual record of the graphic achievement of the German Expressionists.

The publication of these volumes was an ambitious undertaking. The catalogue, intended primarily for scholars, is perhaps the largest fully illustrated volume documenting a single collection ever published by an American museum. For his extraordinary commitment to its compilation I am grateful to Bruce Davis, curator of prints and drawings. The commemorative essay volume is intended primarily to encourage a world of interested readers and museumgoers to enhance their experience of German Expressionist prints and drawings. For their dedication to this goal I am grateful to Victor Carlson, senior curator of prints and drawings, and to the staff of the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, headed by Timothy Benson, associate curator. Other staff members who were involved in this project include Mitch Tuchman, managing editor, who coordinated these volumes and negotiated with our copublisher, Prestel-Verlag, and Deenie Yudell, head graphic designer, who designed the handsome volumes despite the rigors of her administrative responsibilities. Stephanie Barron, curator of twentieth-century art, contributed valuable advice on all phases of the project in addition to writing an essay for the commemorative volume. The other authors—Wolf-Dieter Dube, Alexander Dückers, Peter Guenther, Rose-Carol Washton Long, Paul Raabe, and Ida Katherine Rigby—all of whom took time from their schedules to write essays, are gratefully acknowledged. Karen Jacobson undertook the editing of both volumes, achieving the highest standards of consistency in this complicated bilingual project.

I am above all thankful to Robert Gore Rifkind, who in enriching the museum's collections in such an extraordinary way has also enriched our community and the world of scholarship.

Earl A. Powell III
Director

Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Eispalast-Tänze, 1912
(Dances at the ice palace)
Woodcut with watercolor
13 x 9¼ in. (33.1 x 23.4 cm)
M.82.288.118
Davis 1451


Zeitbild

Preface

Great private collections have been the source of many great museum collections. Over the centuries certain individuals have built collections that reflect their own interests and tastes and have donated them to museums, which have in turn made the works available to the public. I believe that my own efforts have been in this tradition.

The building of a great art collection requires the collaborative efforts of the collector and of many other individuals, and my collection is no exception. With pleasure I take this opportunity to thank the many people who have helped build the Rifkind collection, many of whom have become good friends and shared memorable experiences with me. Although the seventeen years I have spent collecting German Expressionist art have not been without their disappointments, for the most part collecting has been one of the great joys of my life.

My relationship with other collectors, dealers, curators, and art historians has been truly symbiotic. They have taught me, inspired me, and helped shape my collection, while I have stimulated their collecting and scholarship. I should therefore like to acknowledge this group generally and three distinguished collectors of German Expressionist art in particular: Morton D. May of Saint Louis, Wilhelm F. Arntz of Haag, and Lothar-Günther Buchheim of Feldafing. Each of them gave me much encouragement.

I should also like to thank the many scholars who have so graciously and generously imparted their knowledge to me. To begin with, I should like to thank the coauthors of this catalogue for their contributions to the study of German Expressionism. Each one is a friend who has fostered my collecting. In addition I want to thank other scholars who have inspired me. I regret that contributions to this catalogue could not be made by the late Ernst Scheyer and the late Donald Gordon, who were both more than generous in offering advice and encouragement. It is also a pleasure to thank Gunther Thiem, former curator of the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, who has been a supporter of the collection almost from the beginning. Thanks are due as well to Isa Lohmann-Siems, former curator of the Barlach Haus in Hamburg, who introduced me not only to the works of Ernst Barlach but also to German Expressionist sculpture in general. I must also acknowledge the contributions of Hans Bolliger of Zurich and Elmar Seibel of Boston. Without them I would not have been able to build the great library that is now in the possession of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Obviously I cannot individually acknowledge everyone who has assisted me, but I must single out Orrel P. Reed, Jr., the first curator of the collection, who guided me in all aspects of building the collection; Karin Breuer, currently assistant curator of the Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, who served as curator for almost five years and was responsible for much of the preliminary cataloguing of the collection; and Susan Trauger, who has served as librarian of the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation and the Rifkind Study Center for several years, bringing order to an extraordinarily complex collection.

Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to Earl A. Powell III and the trustees of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art for

Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Plakat Nina Hard, 1921
(Poster of Nina Hard)
Color woodcut
21¼ x 15¼ in. (54.0 x 38.7 cm)
M.82.288.127
Davis 1477

their support of this enormous project. I am particularly grateful to trustee Franklin D. Murphy, a longtime admirer of German Expressionist art whose early support of the museum's acquisition of the collection was invaluable; to Julian Ganz, Jr., chairman of the board of trustees, who spent many hours negotiating the acquisition; and to the board's president, Daniel N. Belin.

It is an enormous satisfaction to me that the aforementioned persons have made possible the publication of this volume and the accompanying catalogue of the collection. I believe that these publications will stand as landmarks in the field of German Expressionist graphic art for many decades.

Robert Gore Rifkind

Otto Schubert
Germany, 1892–1970
Untitled (lion attacking zebra), c. 1920
Color woodcut
12⅝ x 9½ in. (32.0 x 24.1 cm)
From portfolio Bilderbuch für Tyll und Nele
83.1.750 b
Davis 2638.3


Der Löwe kommt vom fernen Land
König der Tiere wird er genannt
Er schüttelt die mächtige Mähne
Und zeigt seine Raubtierzähne


Um die Kraft
und
Die Herrlichkeit

A Salute

Among the most fascinating chapters in the history of art appreciation is without a doubt the one devoted to collecting and collectors. Every collection is, as it were, an autobiography, a testament to the wishes, dreams, and even the obsessions of an individual and to that person's capacity for sensual and spiritual perception. A collection bears the marks of the struggle toward realization, of ambitions and of actual achievements. Thus every collection is unique and, above all, much greater than the sum of its parts. This is why we are so dismayed when a collection is dissolved, for it is the destruction of a life's work, an accomplishment that developed from loving dedication. Collector's stamps on graphic works, bookplates in private libraries, collection catalogues are all attempts to preserve the traces and to keep the individual's intellectual contribution from being forgotten.

An effective way to prevent such a disappearance is to make a collection available to the public, either by establishing an independent institution or by making it part of a larger one. Yet it is not appropriate for every collection to become part of a large museum collection, and this often causes problems. Even for those collectors who claim that they love their collection more than life itself, personal considerations often outweigh concern for the collection when the time comes to donate it to an institution.

The significance of the Rifkind collection can perhaps be better understood in light of other great collections of German Expressionist art in both Germany and the United States. The earliest collections were formed by contemporaries of the movement who were often friends of the artists. These include the collections of Walter Hess of Erfurt, Markus Kruss of Berlin, and Gustav Schiefler of Hamburg. Of these only the Kruss collection has remained relatively intact; parts of it can be seen today at the Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen in Munich, which acquired it by bequest. More extraordinary is the history of the collection formed by Sofie and Emanuel Fohn, painters living in Rome. The Fohns had assembled a collection of German Romantic drawings, which they were able to offer the Nazis during the "degenerate art" campaign of 1937 in exchange for the protection of their collection of Expressionist masterworks. Today their paintings and watercolors are part of the collection of the Staatsgalerie Moderne-Kunst in Munich. Like other great, publicly minded collectors, the Fohns saw themselves as trustees of their collection, and it was inevitable that it would be given to the public.

Other important collections reflect the collectors' love of a particular aspect of Expressionism. In Saint Louis Morton D. May, under the influence of Max Beckmann, amassed an extensive painting collection, which today is the core of the Saint Louis Art Museum's holdings of German Expressionist paintings. More recently it was announced that the collection of Jacob and Ruth Kainen of Washington, D.C., a fine group of Expressionist prints, would become part of the National Gallery's holdings. In Germany the collection of Expressionist paintings and prints formed after the war by Lothar-Günther Buchheim remains an independent collection.

The collection assembled by Robert Gore Rifkind since 1971 distinguishes itself from those already mentioned in a unique way: it

Max Pechstein
Germany, 1881–1965
Und die Kraft/und/die Herrlichkeit, 1921
(And the power and the glory)
Woodcut with watercolor
15¾ x 11¾ in. (40.0 x 29.8 cm)
From portfolio Das Vaterunser
83.1.22 k
Davis 2258.11

is an extensive and systematically built print collection, which traces in a comprehensive way the development of German Expressionism in the graphic arts and is supplemented by a very complete library. For Rifkind, a lawyer who has long been attracted to a systematic way of thinking, the formation of a collection of this type may be especially appropriate. He has also collected masterworks of Expressionist painting and has formed one of the most comprehensive collections of German Expressionist sculpture as well as an extensive collection of German posters from the early twentieth century. But when one speaks of the Rifkind collection, it is immediately understood that one means that unique combination of prints, drawings, and primary and secondary literature that is now housed in the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. It is interesting that the library of works on German Expressionism and twentieth-century art formed by Wilhelm F. Arntz is now part of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, also in Los Angeles. Yet the Arntz library is quite different; it is a great personal library, not one built as systematically and carefully as the Rifkind collection.

It remains an extraordinary phenomenon that in 1971 a Jewish lawyer, a third-generation resident of Los Angeles, decided to collect German Expressionist graphic art and from the very beginning also collected illustrated books and periodicals, literature of the era, and important interpretative and descriptive writings on art. All this was carefully collected, documented, conserved, and catalogued. His ambition was great and his goal, a distinguished one. Yet this goal could not be attained alone in occasional weekend and evening hours. It was necessary to find advisers and colleagues. These were found, and they were of the highest quality. Rifkind cast a wide net and drew into it all those concerned with German Expressionism: collectors, dealers, auctioneers, scholars, and interested admirers. Overcome by his passion, these advisers have devoted their expertise and experience to the fulfillment of his ambitious goal.

But what was and has remained Rifkind's cause? It is first and foremost the collecting itself. But there is more. Sometimes it seems to me as if he, the lawyer, were conducting a trial, methodically assembling the witnesses and the evidence. This always impressed me whenever I had the opportunity to do research in the original study center, which was housed within Rifkind's law offices in Beverly Hills. Now, with the transfer of the collection to the museum and the opening of the new study center, the situation is different. Yet the collecting process continues. It was a wise decision to entrust this collection to a bigger institution whose mandate is the preservation of works of art; for now future generations will benefit from its richness and complexity.

Wolf-Dieter Dube

Translated from the German by Ernestine Kahn

Gabriele Münter
Germany, 1887–1962
Aurelie, 1906
Color woodcut
7 3/16 x 6 9/16 in. (18.2 x 16.7 cm)
M.82.288.219
Davis 2058

1

An Introduction to the Expressionist Movement

Peter Guenther

The graphic works in the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies form a convincing and comprehensive visual core of one of the most extraordinary developments in the arts in the first quarter of the twentieth century. They are not only remarkable creative achievements by individual artists but, of equal importance, documents of what must be called the Expressionist movement. Even a cursory glance at the holdings shows clearly that they do not represent a single style. A study of the painting, sculpture, literature, theater, music, dance, and film of this period only reinforces this. Neither in form nor in content is there a commonality that would permit a stylistic definition. Yet there was an underlying trend, a shared vision of the world, that allied many artists with the Expressionist movement. At its roots it consisted of two specific and seemingly diametric positions. One was a profound no to the parent generation, the dominant historicism, the restrictive patterns of society, and the strains caused by rampant industrialization and the materialism that accompanied it. The other was a deep-seated hope for a revolutionary change that would bring greater freedom for the arts, a truly humane existence for all, and a brotherhood of man, which pronounced an equally emphatic yes. This hope was grounded in the belief that the arts could bring about change by making the viewer, reader, or listener a participant in the building of a better society. A virtually religious or spiritual attitude toward life and freedom underlay the Expressionist movement.

It appears difficult at first to understand the no, since the German Empire, barely thirty years old, was politically stable, had adopted advanced social laws, and was undergoing rapid economic growth and phenomenally swift industrialization (aided by indemnities imposed on France after Germany's victory in 1871). The administrators and politicians were not corrupt, and their prestige was nearly as high as that of the military. Nationalistic pride was evident everywhere. There were, however, problems behind this impressive facade that caused the younger generation to rebel. Industrialization had brought about the rapid growth of cities in which the individual lived in virtual anonymity. The urban population had grown from about two million in 1871 to more than fourteen million by 1910.[1] The grimy facades of the ugly, dark apartment houses in which the majority of the workers lived, often in deplorable conditions, stood in sharp contrast to the palatial villas and grandiose apartment houses to which the upper middle class retreated. It was this bourgeoisie, with its eagerness to maintain the status quo, that set the rules of everyday life for its own segment of society while paying little attention to the masses. In this patriarchal society the unquestioned authority of the "higher rank" was considered a praiseworthy value. Sustained by William II, the aristocracy retained at least a visual prominence, although it had lost much of its economic strength and the idea that rank and intelligence were not inseparable had begun to surface.

Although most of the artists who were part of the Expressionist movement came from the dominant middle class, their no was directed against the predictability of life that society treasured. They rejected the measurement of progress in material terms, derided the value accorded possessions, and spurned reliance on historical examples in dealing with contemporary issues.

1
Richard Seewald
Germany, 1889–1976
Sodom und Gomorrha, 1914
(Sodom and Gomorrah)
Woodcut with watercolor
5½ x 6⅜ in. (14.0 x 16.2 cm)
From portfolio Zehn
Holzschnitte zur Bibel
M.82.288.288 e
Davis 2699.6

2

3

2
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Signet Künstlergruppe Brücke; Programm der Künstlergruppe Brücke: Text, 1906
(Signet of the artists' group the Brücke; Manifesto of the artists' group the Brücke: Text)
Two woodcuts or linoleum cuts
4 5/16 x 2 in. (11.0 x 5.0 cm); 6 x 2 15/16 in. (15.2 x 7.5 cm)
Collection, the Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of J. B. Neumann

3
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Mitgliederverzeichnisse der Künstlergruppe Brücke, 1907–10
(Membership lists for the artists' group the Brücke)
Brochure with 5 woodcuts
8 x 27 1/8 in. (20.3 x 68.9 cm)
L.85.2.38 a–e; lent by the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation, Beverly Hills, California
Davis 1424

A no, no matter how loud, cannot constitute an artistic movement, however, unless it is sustained by an equally strong yes. The Expressionist movement's yes was for a different world, a better world, a world in which the emotions of the individual were important, even sacred, and in which injustices and social inequities were eliminated. This utopian vision was vague since the young artists shared neither a common philosophy (although Nietzsche's influence cannot be overlooked) nor a specific political program. While their various nos can be defined quite clearly, their yes remained general and was stated mostly in emotional terms.

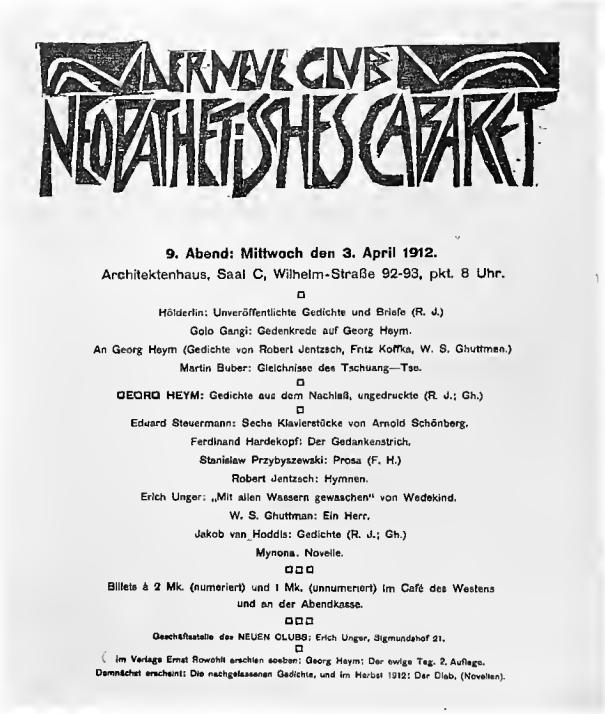
The Expressionist movement began inconspicuously in Dresden, the rather provincial capital of the kingdom of Saxony, on June 7, 1905, when four former architecture students decided that work in the visual arts could give them the creative freedom that architecture, with its prevalent historicism, could not. These four—Fritz Bleyl, Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff—were amateurs in the best sense of the word, with rather limited art instruction. They formed a community they called the Brücke (bridge), in which they learned with and from one another. They were eager to find forms that would not so much imitate nature as make visible on paper and canvas their emotional responses to it. Their works were to be documents of personal perception and feeling, permitting the viewer to see even familiar sights with new eyes. They taught themselves to sketch quickly, concentrating on significant form and choosing bright colors to enhance emotional appeal. It was not accidental that they discovered the power of the woodcut, with its inherent demand for abbreviation; its imposition of pure, flat colors; and thus its innate requirement for deformation.

These young men did for the first time what most later groups in the Expressionist movement would do from then on: state their fundamental concepts and goals in a manifesto (see fig. 2). "With faith in evolution, in a new generation of creators and art lovers, we call together all youth, and as youth, which bears the future, we want to gain freedom of movement and life against the well-entrenched older forces. Everyone who renders what impels him to create directly and without adulteration is one of us."[2]

Their appeal won a few new members. Max Pechstein filled the gap when Bleyl became a teacher in Freiberg. The Swiss Cuno

Amiet, the north German Emil Nolde, the Dutch Kees van Dongen, the Finn Axel Gallén-Kallela, the Czech Bohumil Kubišta, and the Germans Otto Mueller and Franz Nölken joined the group, some only for short periods. Small exhibitions in 1906, two of them in a lamp-factory showroom, elicited few responses, and their first larger exhibition, in 1907 at the reputable Galerie Emil Richter in Dresden, earned mostly negative criticism. Traveling shows were sent to any gallery that would have them. Yet the large number of graphic works and paintings that the group produced in various studios (a former butcher's shop and later a cobbler's shop) indicates the strength of their creativity and determination. Their stylistic innovations are most evident in representations of the nude and the landscape (see figs. 4, 97), which defied the idealization and academic posturing of the past by depicting freely moving human forms in colors that heightened the underlying eros and made them appear as essential parts of their surroundings.

4
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Drei Badende an den Moritzburger Seen, 1910
(Three bathers at the Moritzburg Lakes)
Drypoint
7 x 8 1/16 in. (17.8 x 20.5 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke V (1910)
M.82.288.369 d
Davis 1430



5
Karl Schmidt-Rottluff
Germany, 1884–1976
Der neue Club, Neopathetisches Cabaret, 1911
(The new club, Neopathetisches Cabaret)
Woodcut
1⅞ x 6⅝ in. (4.7 x 16.8 cm)
M.82.288.261
Davis 2538

Pechstein, whom most critics at that time considered the most promising Brücke artist, moved to Berlin in 1908. Shortly thereafter the others also left the staid city of Dresden for vibrant Berlin. By this time, however, each was beginning to find his own style, and the group dissolved in 1913. Each became a significant force in the Expressionist movement on his own.

The history of the Brücke artists consists therefore of two parts. Between 1905 and 1911 they were influenced by the artists of the Jugendstil (the German version of Art Nouveau), Vincent van Gogh, the Fauves, and especially Edvard Munch, and they developed a short-lived communal approach. Their later works cannot be associated with the Brücke; individual biographies and achievements demand a different focus.

During the first period the young artists tried to gain support and enlisted "passive" members, to whom they offered annual portfolios of prints with a report of their exhibition activities. The published membership list of 1907 includes eight active and twenty-nine passive members, a number that increased to forty-eight in 1909 and reached sixty-eight in 1910 (see fig. 3). The names of the supporters (six lived in Switzerland, one in Sweden, the rest in Germany) furnish a clue to where these young artists found acceptance: among open-minded middle-class intellectuals.[3]

While the artists of the Brücke developed a new vision in their works, poets and writers also began to search for new themes and forms of expression. In 1909 the polemicist Kurt Hiller formed Der neue Club (the new club) in Berlin and shortly thereafter the public Neopathetisches Cabaret (see fig. 5), in which young poets read their works to one another and to a public that at first considered them laughable entertainment.[4] The list of participants forms á Who's Who of early Expressionist poetry: Ernst Blass, Paul Boldt, Golo Gangi (Erwin Loewenson), Georg Heym, Alfred Lichtenstein, Ernst Stadler, and Jakob van Hoddis (Hans Davidsohn), whose poem "Weltende" (End of the world), published in 1911, the poet Gottfried Benn considered the beginning of literary Expressionism. Johannes R. Becher, another important early Expressionist poet, recalled that this poem "elevated us out of a world of dull bourgeoisie, which we despised and which we did not know how to leave."[5] The poem became the first in the famous anthology *Menschheitsdämmerung* (Twilight of humanity), in which many of the important Expressionist poems written prior to 1919 were assembled.[6] The editor of this epochal collection, Kurt Pinthus, divided the poems into four groups that categorized the dominant moods of the poets: fall and scream, awakening the heart, appeal and redemption, and love for humanity. Other anthologies proclaimed the same emotions, as their titles indicate: *Die Gemeinschaft* (The community, 1919), *Kameraden der Menschheit* (Comrades of humanity, 1919), *Die Botschaft* (The message, 1920), *Verkündung* (Annunciation, 1921), and *Die Entfaltung* (The unfolding, 1921).[7]

The main vehicles through which the poets reached their public were two important journals founded just a year apart, one in 1910 and the other in 1911. Herwarth Walden, after editing a number of other journals, founded *Der Sturm* (The storm), whose title was suggested by his first wife, the notable poet Else Lasker-Schüler. In the pages of this remarkable publication the new poetry and prose were combined with

the new graphic works. Some illustrations were originals printed from woodblocks; others were reproductions, among which portraits by Oskar Kokoschka as well as drawings accompanying his drama *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (Murderer, hope of women; see fig. 6) were the most outstanding in the early issues. Walden and his various assistants (Lothar Schreyer, for example, and the well-known reciter Rudolf Blümner) became the self-appointed spokesmen for the Expressionist movement as they understood it. Intolerant of other interpretations of the new arts, they engaged in heated arguments, especially about aesthetics, which occupied increasing space in the journal. Without *Der Sturm* the Expressionist movement would have lacked one of its most significant voices.

A slightly different trend was followed by *Die Aktion* (Action; see fig. 7), subtitled "weekly for politics, literature, arts." Franz Pfemfert, its only editor, was the first to combine politics with the arts. From its beginnings and increasingly over the years, the journal displayed pronounced socialist tendencies. Pfemfert at first supported the Spartakus Bund (Spartacus league), the most radical of the Communist factions, and welcomed the Russian Revolution of 1917, but he later became as outspoken an opponent of the Communist party as he had been of the First World War.

6
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Mörder: Hoffnung der Frauen, 1910
(Murderer: Hope of women)
Reproduction of a drawing
15 x 11¼ in. (20.3 x 16.5 cm)
From *Der Sturm* 1, no. 20 (1910)
L.86.1.37; lent by the Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills, California

7
Karl Jakob Hirsch
Germany, 1892–1952
Widmungsblatt für "Die Aktion," c. 1918
(Dedication page for *Die Aktion*)
Woodcut
4¾ x 4$^{15}/_{16}$ in. (12.0 x 12.5 cm)
From *Die Aktion* 8, no. 31/32 (1918)
83.1.1538 a
Davis 1168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JAHRGANG 1910 — BERLIN/DONNERSTAG DEN 14. JULI 1910/WIEN — NUMMER 20

INHALT: OSKAR KOKOSCHKA: Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen / PAUL LEPPIN: Daniel Jesse / Roman / ALFRED DÖBLIN: Gespräche mit Kalypso über die Musik / SIEGFRIED PFANNUCH: Liegt der Friede in der Luft / PAUL SCHEERBART: Gegnererklärung / KARL VOGT: Nissen als Theaterdirektor / MINIMAX Kriegsbericht / Karikaturen

Zeichnung von Oskar Kokoschka zu dem Drama **Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen**

Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen
Von Oskar Kokoschka

Personen:
Mann
Frau
Chor: Männer und Weiber.

Nachtthimmel, Turm mit großer roter eiserner Käfigtür; Fackeln das einzige Licht, schwarzer Boden, so zum Turm aufsteigend, daß alle Figuren reliefartig zu sehen sind.

Der Mann
Weißes Gesicht, blaugepanzert, Stirntuch, das eine Wunde bedeckt, mit der Schar der Männer (wilde Köpfe, graue und rote Kopftücher, weiße, schwarze und braune Kleider, Zeichen auf den Kleidern, nackte Beine, hohe Fackelstangen, Schellen, Getöse), kriechen herauf mit vorgestreckten Stangen und Lichtern, versuchen müde und unwillig den Abenteurer zurückzuhalten, reißen sein Pferd nieder, er geht vor, sie bilden den Kreis um ihn, während sie mit langsamer Steigerung aufschreien.

Männer
Wir waren das flammende Rad um ihn,
Wir waren das flammende Rad um dich, Bestürmer verschlossener Festungen!
geben zögernd wieder als Kette nach, er mit dem Fackelträger vor sich, geht voran.

Männer
Führ' uns Blasser!
Während sie das Pferd niederreißen wollen, steigen Weiber mit der Führerin die linke Stiege herauf.

Frau rote Kleider, offene gelbe Haare, groß,

Frau laut
Mit meinem Atem erflackert die blonde Scheibe der Sonne, mein Auge sammelt der Männer Frohlocken, ihre stammelnde Lust kriecht wie eine Bestie um mich.

Weiber
Mögen sich von ihr los, sehen jetzt erst den Fremden.

Ersten Weib flüstern
Sein Atem saugt sich grüßend der Jungfrau an!

156


Die Aktion

WOCHENSCHRIFT FÜR POLITIK, LITERATUR, KUNST
VIII. JAHR. HERAUSGEGEBEN VON FRANZ PFEMFERT NR. 31/32

INHALT: Karl Jakob Hirsch: Widmungsblatt für die AKTION (Titelblatt) / Wilhelm Schäfer: Totenklage / Jean Paul: Zum fünften Jahr / Ludwig Börne: Unzeit-Gemälde · Otto Freundlich: Dem toten Freunde Rois / Jan Wronecki: Holzschnitt / Georg von Charasoff: Die Marasche Proteusformel / Karel Teige: Federzeichnung / August Graf Zamoyski: Aktstudie / Pauls Modersohn: Aktstudie / Christian Schad: Porträt / Rudolf Monasse: Politik / Oslo Kofler: Studie / Aus Bakunins Briefwechsel / Max Schwimmer: Federzeichnung / Herbert Sackel: Mondaufgang / Paul Boldt: Der Leib / Ludwig Bäumer: Irrenhausgarten / Georg Kulka: Segen / Erich Goldbaum: Holzschnitt / Wilhelm Klemm: Der Grübler / Julius Kaufmann (Straßburg): Friedenssehnsucht / Oskar Theer: Der Mittag des Paradiesers / Edith Renyi: Bittres Gebet / Oskar Schürer: Todesrausch / Jules Talbot Keller: Ein Brief an Carl Steenhelm / Max Herrmann: Holitschers Bruder Wurm / F. P.: Ich schneide die Zeit aus; Kleiner Briefkasten (mit „Lyrik" von Herbert Eulenberg)

VERLAG · DIE AKTION · BERLIN-WILMERSDORF

HEFT 80 PFG.

8
Wassily Kandinsky
Russia, 1866–1944
Der Spiegel, 1907
(The mirror)
Color linoleum cut
12¾ x 6¼ in. (32.4 x 15.9 cm)
M.82.288.106
Davis 1363

Die Aktion and *Der Sturm* covered all aspects of the Expressionist movement. They published the new literature and art, they criticized public institutions as well as individuals if they were not progressive, and they reported on and criticized, sometimes savagely, the theater and other artistic activities if they did not support the new direction. In their different ways both journals were strongholds of the movement.

While these publications made Berlin the center of Expressionist polemics, another aspect of the movement within the visual arts developed in Munich. It began in 1896, when a Russian named Wassily Kandinsky gave up a promising academic career and moved to Munich to become a painter. Having studied with various teachers and become acquainted with the modern French schools, he began a career of extraordinary creativity.[8] After freeing his work from the restrictions of Jugendstil, he achieved a style that permitted the omission of recognizable objects (see figs. 8, 9) and thus by 1910 had significantly contributed to the Expressionist movement. The burst of energy to which his biography bears witness led to the formation in 1909 of an influential artists' group, the Neue Künstlervereinigung München (new artists' association Munich), or NKVM. The following year he was instrumental in presenting to the Munich public within an exhibition of this group the first large-scale show of modern French and Russian artists. The list of participants remains impressive. Georges Braque, André Derain, van Dongen, Henri Le Fauconnier, Pablo Picasso, Georges Rouault, and Maurice de Vlaminck were shown side by side with Vladimir Bechtejeff, David and Vladimir Burliuk, Wassily Denissoff, Moyssey Kogan, Alexander Mogilewski, and the Munich painters whom Kandinsky had united in the NKVM: Alexej von Jawlensky, Gabriele Münter, Marianne von Werefkin, and others. Quarrels ensued the following year, and in December 1911 Kandinsky, Alfred Kubin, Franz Marc, and Münter left the group, immediately planning a counterexhibition, since the artistic differences within the group had become irreconcilable and a break inevitable when Kandinsky's *Composition v* was rejected by the jury.

During the same year Kandinsky and Marc worked on an almanac that they envisioned as a voice for the new arts. They used its proposed title to announce the *Erste Ausstellung der Redaktion der "Blaue Reiter"* (First exhibition of the editors of *Der blaue Reiter*). It was not a large exhibition, consisting of only forty-three works, including two by Henri Rousseau, who had died in 1910, and five by Robert Delaunay. Kandinsky, after hearing a concert of Arnold Schönberg's music, initiated an exchange of letters with the composer.[9] He felt a commonality in their strivings and insisted that three of Schönberg's paintings, a self-portrait and two works called *Vision*, be included in the show. The other works were by Kandinsky's friends Albert Bloch, the Burliuks, Heinrich Campendonk, Elisabeth Epstein, Eugen Kahler, August Macke, Marc, Münter, and Jean Bloé Niestlé.

Although the exhibition was significant, the almanac *Der blaue Reiter* (The blue rider, 1912; fig. 10) became one of the most important documents of modern art.[10] While the Brücke had begun as a community of artists, the Blaue Reiter consisted only of Kandinsky and Marc (with the support of Macke), both of whom attracted individuals who had

already developed their own styles and approaches. In short, the Blaue Reiter was not a community, and the participants' styles were as different as their personalities. A statement in the catalogue of the first exhibition expressed the group's philosophy: "We wish to propagate in this small exhibition not one precise and special form, but we intend in the variety of the forms represented to show how the *inner wish* of the artists expresses itself."[11]

This acceptance of diversity was based on a concept that was central to the Expressionist movement: the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art), which found its finest expression in *Der blaue Reiter*. Assembled in its 143 pages were theoretical essays, discourses on the modern arts, explorations of modern music, an introduction to modern Russian painting, as well as musical scores by Schönberg and his most famous students, Alban Berg and Anton von Webern (see figs. 11, 12). The span of the articles was remarkable, and the 144 illustrations represented an astounding new view of the arts. Reproductions of sculptural works from Africa and Mexico were interspersed with paintings by Paul Cézanne, Henri Matisse, Picasso, members of the Brücke (Kirchner, Mueller, Pechstein), children's drawings, Bavarian paintings on glass, Egyptian shadow-play figures, and Renaissance woodcuts. Much space was devoted

9
Wassily Kandinsky
Russia, 1866–1944
Lyrisches, 1911
(Lyrical)
Color woodcut
5 1/16 x 8 1/2 in. (14.5 x 21.6 cm)
From Wassily Kandinsky, *Klänge*
83.1.102.5
Davis 1368.3

9

10

11
Alban Berg at his home in Vienna, with a portrait of him by Arnold Schönberg, c. 1932

12
Anton Webern, 1911

to Kandinsky's article "Über Bühnenkomposition" (Concerning stage composition), followed by his play *Der gelbe Klang* (The yellow sound). The lead article by Marc, entitled "Geistige Güter" (Spiritual goods), lamented the general lack of interest in spiritual values and also expressed the editors' belief that their ideas were elements of a new movement whose "vibrations were felt all over the world." Using the term *Wilden* (wild ones), obviously a reference to the French Fauves, Marc nearly repeated the manifesto of the Brücke in another article: "In our epoch of the great battle for the new arts, we fight as wild ones against an old, organized power. The fight seems uneven, but in spiritual matters it is never the number but the strength of ideas that will be victorious."[12] Among the other "wild ones," he listed the Brücke (with which Kandinsky had had connections since 1906, when he sent woodcuts to their graphics exhibition in the lamp factory); the Berlin Neue Sezession (new secession), formed in 1910 by Pechstein, his Brücke friends, and other Expressionist artists as a counterorganization to the more conservative Sezession; and even the NKVM. Each of the artists in these groups used different forms, Marc stated, but all desired "to create through their works symbols for their times, which belong on the altars of the coming spiritual religion and behind which their technical creator will disappear." In the draft of an announcement he repeated, "[The Blaue Reiter] shall be the call that summons the artists who belong to this new time, and it shall awaken the ears of the laymen."

The second Blaue Reiter exhibition, held in Munich in 1912, was called *Der blaue Reiter: Schwarz-Weiss* (The blue rider: Black and white) and presented 315 graphic works in a wide variety of styles. In the same year Kandinsky's important theoretical work *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (Concerning the spiritual in art; fig. 13) was published by Reinhard Piper in Munich.[13] Along with the various manifestos and the Blaue Reiter almanac, which express the mood as well as the spirit of the young artists, this small booklet has become an often quoted and studied document of the Expressionist movement.

By this time Expressionist works of art were being shown in several galleries. The first Blaue Reiter exhibition, for instance, went from Munich to the Gereonsclub in Cologne and from there to Der Sturm in Berlin, the gallery that Walden had opened to provide a showcase for the artists whom he supported in his journal. In 1913 this gallery showed the largest international modern art exhibition ever held in Germany and called it, following the French example, *Erster deutsche Herbstsalon* (First German autumn salon). Seventy-five artists from twelve countries contributed 366 works, which represented all of the contemporary styles, including Expressionism. Although the latter remained primarily a German development, it had become obvious to critics and the public that the "old" arts had found successful challengers in all of Europe.

At the openings for his exhibitions (he organized more than two hundred, many of which traveled to other galleries in Germany and abroad) as well as at his later soirées, Walden propagated the Gesamtkunstwerk by offering recitations from works of authors published in the journal and performances of contemporary music. (Walden himself was a gifted pianist who had won the Liszt Prize; he composed a number of

10
Wassily Kandinsky
Russia, 1866–1944
Holzschnitt für den Almanach "Der blaue Reiter," 1911
(Woodcut for the almanac *Der blaue Reiter*)
Color woodcut (electrotype)
11 x 8 5/16 in. (27.9 x 21.1 cm)
From Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, eds., *Der blaue Reiter*
83.1.105 a
Davis 1366

13
Wassily Kandinsky
Russia, 1866–1944
Stehender und stürzender Turm mit Reiter, 1911
(Standing and falling tower with rider)
Woodcut printed in green
4 5/16 x 4 3/4 in. (10.9 x 12.0 cm)
From Wassily Kandinsky, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*
83.1.103 k
Davis 1367.1

13

operas and symphonies.) In short, Expressionist literature and music as well as painting and graphics found support in Berlin. Other galleries had also begun to present works by the still-controversial artists. Gallery owners Paul Cassirer, Fritz Gurlitt, and I. B. Neumann became spokesmen for their artists and thus for the movement. But it was not only in Berlin that these new works could be seen. In Munich the Blaue Reiter exhibited in the Heinrich Thannhauser and Hans Goltz galleries, and in Dresden Emil Richter and Ernst Arnold provided space for the former Brücke members and other contemporary artists. Many gallery owners, including Alfred Flechtheim in Düsseldorf, Karl Nierendorf in Cologne, and Ludwig Schames in Frankfurt, were eager to show new works just as publishers such as Ernst Rowohlt and Kurt Wolff in Leipzig, A. R. Meyer and Erich Reiss in Berlin, and R. Weissbach in Heidelberg were eager to print the new poetry and prose. It was a hectic period, and although the general public still rejected and derided Expressionism, new voices were heard and new images were seen. The Expressionist movement had gained a strong foothold in the artistic life of Germany. And then the war broke out.

The year 1914 was a true caesura, a divide; a wave of patriotism that quickly became chauvinistic engulfed all of Europe and especially Germany. Many writers and artists welcomed the war, including Alfred Döblin, Rudolf Leonhard, Ernst Wilhelm Lotz, Thomas Mann, and Paul Zech. Marc's diaries and letters echoed this sentiment. Many artists volunteered, as they and countless others believed that the war would be short and would truly bring about a totally new beginning. Although, as expected, artistic activity declined because of censorship and the scarcity of paper and canvas, there were still exhibitions. *Der Sturm* and *Die Aktion* continued publication; the latter strongly opposed the war from early on. Kandinsky returned to Moscow, and Jawlensky and Werefkin moved to Switzerland, but other artists were able to remain active in Germany. In the Red Cross unit led by the art historian and curator Walter Kaesbach, Heckel, Otto Herbig, Max Kaus, Anton Kerschbaumer, and others found time to paint.

The early news of German victories on all fronts that had fanned so much enthusiasm was soon replaced by tragic accounts. Macke had died, as had Lotz, Marc, Wilhelm Morgner, Stadler, and Georg Trakl. The list grew steadily. Accounts of victories became rare, and by 1916 the number of dead and maimed changed the public's mood. At home hunger stalked the streets of the cities, and hopes for a new world grew dimmer. One example of this change must suffice: in 1914 Paul Cassirer, the gallery owner and publisher, initiated a series of illustrated broadsides entitled *Kriegszeit: Künstlerflugblätter* (Wartime: Artists' broadsides), which were prowar, chauvinistic, and popular. Many of the better-known artists, such as August Gaul, Otto Hettner, and Max Liebermann, contributed, as did Ernst Barlach, Germany's greatest sculptor and an extraordinary graphic artist, writer, and dramatist, who had been represented by Cassirer since 1907. Among the eleven works that Barlach published in 1914 and 1915 were lithographs that suggest that he was following the chauvinistic trend. In issue number 17 a print entitled *Der heilige Krieg* (The holy war; fig. 14) appeared, and in number 20, *Erst Sieg, dann Frieden* (First victory, then peace). In 1916, however,

14
Ernst Barlach
Germany, 1870–1938
Der heilige Krieg, 1914
(The holy war)
Lithograph
16¼ x 10 in. (41.3 x 25.4 cm)
From *Kriegszeit*, no. 17 (1914)
83.1.1416 c
Davis 74

Cassirer recognized the changed mood and appointed a new editor, the well-known musicologist and pacifist Leo Kestenberg, and changed the title of the publication to the more neutral *Der Bildermann: Steinzeichnungen fürs deutsche Volk* (The picture man: Lithographs for the German people). By then Barlach too saw the war differently. In issue number 14 of *Der Bildermann*, his lithograph bears the title *Anno Domini MCMXVI post Christum natum* (The year of our Lord 1916; fig. 15) and shows a figure of Christ confronted by the Tempter, who points to a vast landscape filled with crosses on the graves of soldiers. Two issues later Barlach's print *Selig sind die Barmherzigen* (Blessed are the merciful) appeared, and in number 18 a symbolic kneeling figure is presented, with the title *Dona nobis pacem* (Give us peace; fig. 16).

The Expressionist movement was stalled: Kirchner was hospitalized with a nervous condition, Max Beckmann had been furloughed after a collapse, Kokoschka was recovering from a wound he had received a year earlier, Karl Hofer was interned in France, and Pechstein was in Palau. René Schickele had moved his pacifist journal *Die weissen Blätter* (The white papers) to Bern, and Hugo Ball had left Germany for Zurich, where he founded the Cabaret Voltaire, the birthplace of the Dada movement.

The horrors of the war became more visible every day. The growing strength of the Allies, the hunger and deprivation at home, mounting strikes in industry, and the mutiny of the navy brought the German war effort to an end. Within days an uprising swept over Germany, the kaiser and various princes and dukes resigned, and on November 9, 1918, the birth of the German Republic was proclaimed. Nobody, however, seemed to have made any plans for this event. In the streets of the larger cities armed battles broke out between political factions, each of which had a different concept of this new Germany. The political left was deeply divided. Some wanted to duplicate the Russian form of government using a system of *Räte*, or councils (the Russian Revolution of 1917 had made a great impression as a possible model for Germany), while another faction wanted a socialistic republic. The new government was unable to quell the unrest and called on the political right to volunteer for quasimilitary service in the *Freikorps* (armed volunteer corps), which brutally suppressed various uprisings and protest marches.

The artists who had expressed their fervent hope for an end to the war in their works were ready to help build the new society. Even before the election for the Constitutional Assembly had been announced (November 29, 1918), the young artists had made their presence felt in the political arena. On November 9 a group of writers appeared in the parliamentary building in Berlin under the leadership of Hiller, the founder of the Neopathetisches Cabaret and the later Aktivisten Bund (activist league) and publisher of the yearbook *Das Ziel* (The goal). They established themselves with the permission of the Arbeiter- und Soldatenrat (workers' and soldiers' council) as Rat geistiger Arbeiter (council of intellectual workers). This group presented a radical, socialist political program that had been signed by many writers, artists, and intellectuals. The council, self-appointed and self-renewing, wanted to become the intellectual counterpart of the provisional government and its

15

16

15
Ernst Barlach
Germany, 1870–1938
Anno Domini MCMXVI post Christum natum, 1916
(The year of our Lord 1916)
Lithograph
7 9/16 x 9 1/4 in. (19.2 x 23.5 cm)
From *Der Bildermann* 1, no. 14 (1916)
83.1.1462.53
Davis 83

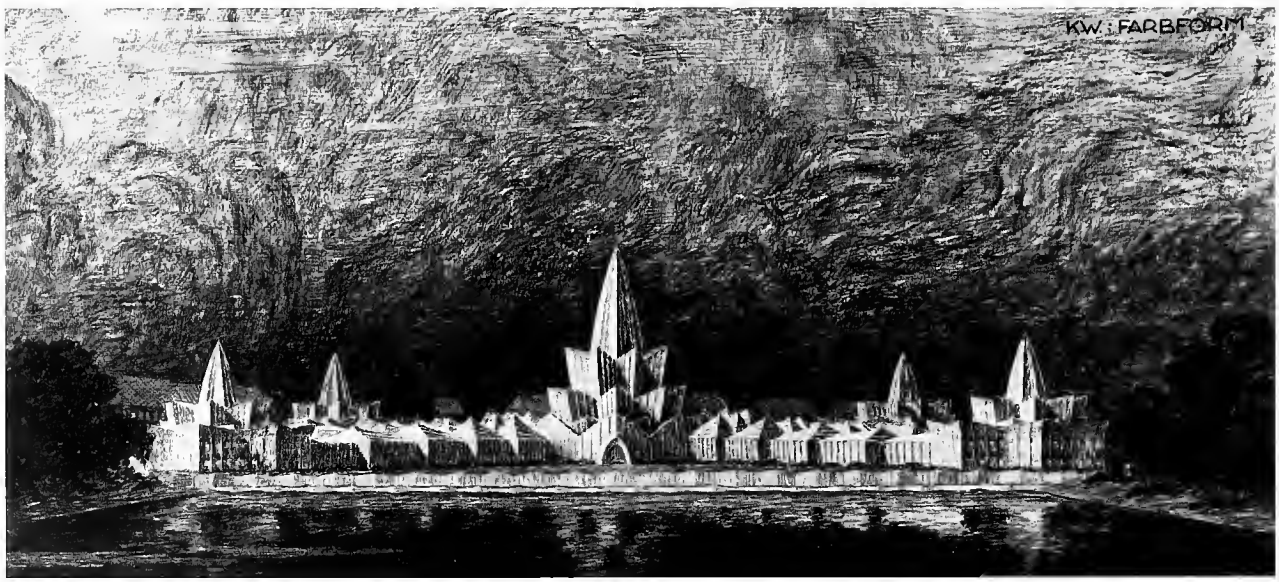
16
Ernst Barlach
Germany, 1870–1938
Dona nobis pacem, 1916
(Give us peace)
Lithograph
7 x 9 1/8 in. (17.8 x 23.2 cm)
From *Der Bildermann* 1, no. 18 (1916)
83.1.1462.69
Davis 87

permanent adviser on all cultural matters. The organization existed through the middle of 1919 and weathered a number of internal disagreements, yet it remained powerless and isolated from the government. Although the activist wing of the Expressionist movement existed for only a short time, many of its ideas later became law even without its participation. (Several such councils existed in Munich, where Heinrich Mann was the president, and in Dresden, Hamburg, Leipzig, and other cities. Their effectiveness, however, was minimal.)

Another council made its appearance at the same time. The Arbeitsrat für Kunst (working council for art) was formed by a group of architects, painters, sculptors, and critics who had a common goal: "Art and people must form a unity. The arts shall no longer be just the delight of the few, but the happiness and life of the masses. The unification of all of the arts under the wings of a great architecture is the goal."[14] Among the founders were many prominent Berlin Expressionists. Two outstanding architects—Bruno Taut and, slightly later, Walter Gropius—the painter and stage designer César Klein, and the critic Adolf Behne formed the executive committee. On the board were former members of the Brücke, including Heckel, Pechstein, and Schmidt-Rottluff; the sculptors Georg Kolbe and Gerhard Marcks; the painter and poet Ludwig Meidner; Heinrich Richter-Berlin; and many others. A committee assigned the task of recruiting additional adherents consisted of Lyonel Feininger, Otto Freundlich, Karl Jakob Hirsch, and Georg Tappert, among others. They proclaimed: "The most important task for the immediate future . . . lies in the common planning of a comprehensive utopian building project that should combine in equal parts architecture, sculpture, and painting."[15]

While rejecting governmental interference, the Arbeitsrat demanded that the new government recognize that all building activities were of a public nature and thus a cultural activity in which the council was to participate. In every town *Volkshäuser* (peoples' houses) were to be erected, which would have the task of introducing the people to all of the arts, especially the modern arts. The council also demanded that museums be reorganized, that lectures be given to all museum visitors, and that more exhibition space be made available. Aware of the public's reluctance to accept modern art, the council emphasized its educational program, demanding the complete restructuring of all art schools and academies. "Convinced that political change must be used to free the arts from decades of tutelage," it also called for the destruction of all "artistically valueless" monuments in public spaces and an immediate end to the planning of war museums.[16]

17
Hans Luckhardt
Germany, 1890–1954
Sketch for the Deutsches Hygiene-Museum, Dresden, 1920



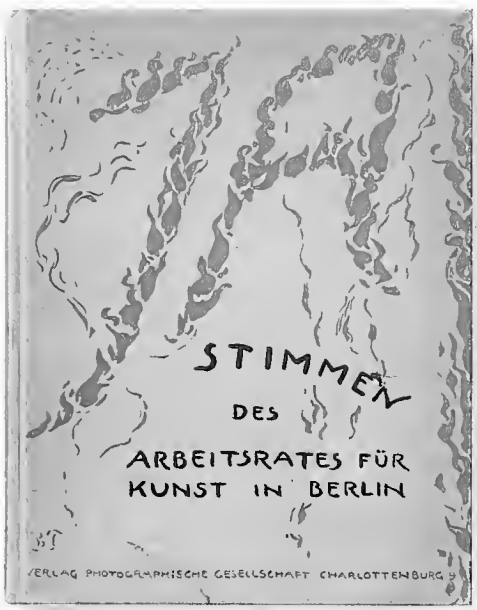
17

Among the council's first activities were the distribution of a radical architectural program by Taut and a manifesto by P. R. Henning demanding greater use of terra-cotta for sculpture as well as in and on buildings; an exhibition for the "unknown architect"; and the publication of a booklet, *Ruf zum Bauen* (Call to building), with an introduction by Behne. Due to the cessation of construction during the war, many of the utopian plans and models designed by architects allied with the movement were now introduced to the public for the first time. Some of these, by Hermann Finsterlin, Wenzel A. Hablik, Carl Krayl, Hans and Wassily Luckhardt, and others, remain impressive to this day (see fig. 17). It had to be expected that the press and the public were startled by what they perceived as the impracticality of these plans.

Far more important and indicative of the shared goals within the Expressionist movement was a booklet entitled *Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrates für Kunst in Berlin* (Yes! Voices of the working council for art in Berlin; fig. 18), which contained answers to a questionnaire that had been sent to many artists in the spring of 1919.[17] The artists' proposals embraced a wide range of topics, including reforms of the education of

artists, the role of the state vis-à-vis the social position of the artist, future building plans, how to interest the public in the Gesamtkunstwerk, plans to introduce more color into cities, and the establishment of closer relations with similar artists' groups in other countries. The Arbeitsrat tried to translate many of the Expressionist dreams into reality. Since neither the populace nor the government reacted positively, it merged in 1921 with another group formed during the 1918 revolution, the Novembergruppe (November group), which took its name from the month of the revolution, when hopes for the construction of a new state and a new society were still intact.[18]

Unlike the Arbeitsrat, the Novembergruppe never intended to be more than an organization of "radical artists, radical in the use of new means of expression." The letter sent to prospective members began: "The future of the arts and the seriousness of this hour forces us revolutionary artists of the spirit (Expressionists, Cubists, Futurists) to unity and close association." The executive committee consisted of Rudolf Belling, Klein, Moriz Melzer, Pechstein, Richter-Berlin, Tappert, and others. They declared that they wanted to be more than just an exhibition organization; their aim was to influence all artistic questions that the new republic would face. Paralleling much of the program of the Arbeitsrat, they announced, in addition to an annual exhibition each November, several publications and performances of modern music. It is not surprising that many members of the Novembergruppe (which lasted, albeit as an exhibition organization, until the 1930s) had also been members of the Arbeitsrat or signatories of its program. Both organizations as well as the Rat geistiger Arbeiter were part of the Expressionist movement, and the majority of their members were Expressionists. It was not by accident that the opening sentences of the Novembergruppe manifesto read: "We stand on the fruitful ground of the revolution. Our motto is: Freedom—Equality—Brotherhood!" Ten years after its formation the influential critic Will Grohmann recalled: "The miracle happened—that, with very few exceptions, all artists felt [themselves] to be a community, morally obligated to believe in the goodness of man and to create the best possible world. That pathos was genuine and had an ethical accent."[19] The terminology used, the characteristic overstatement, and the utopian goals were an integral part of the Expressionist movement.



18
Bruno Taut
Germany, 1880–1938
Cover design for *Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrates für Kunst in Berlin*, 1919
83.1.354

The pronouncements of the Arbeitsrat and the Novembergruppe reached other cities and towns, where new artists' groups were formed. Many, if not most, began with a manifesto, exhibitions, and a flurry of other artistic activities. There was Der Wurf (the throw) in Bielefeld, Die Schanze (the trench) in Münster, Die Kugel (the sphere) in Halle, the Kräfte (forces) group in Hamburg, Rih in Karlsruhe, Freie Bewegung (free movement) in Vienna, and many others. The two that deserve special attention since they exemplify the variety within the Expressionist movement are the Dresden Sezession: Gruppe 1919 (Dresden secession: group 1919) and Das junge Rheinland (the young Rhineland).

The Dresden group was typical of postwar artists' organizations: a small group of very young artists began to meet at the end of 1916 and called themselves Expressionistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft (Expressionist working group). They were painters, poets, writers, and

15. März 1918. — Nr. 2.

FELIX STIEMER VERLAG DRESDEN

FELIX MÜLLER NUMMER

Werbeblatt

für die

Felixmüller-Mappe

(Felix Stiemer Verlag)

100 Exemplare, Nr. 1—25 M. 40,—
Nr. 26—100 M. 20.—

Frühzeitig von der Neuen Kunst gepackt, erkannte ich in ihr meinen Weg. Studierte schnell, um zu gestalten, was mich bewegte. Und gedrängt von meinem unzufriedenen Charakter, gelangte ich bald zu den Resultaten, die ich hier als meine Graphik zeige. Eine kitschige Café-Haus-Gaslampe, Schönbergs Pierrot Lunaire, die eckigen Dichtungen Jacob van Soddis, die Ehen meiner Freunde, schnurgerade Strassen, die Evas von Lukas Cranach und kleine Hügel in der Landschaft sind die Entzünder meiner Exaltationen. Die Arbeit geschieht hastig, — aber nicht überstürzt. Erwartet den Moment der Reife, um zu zögern, und zwingt mit Gelassenheit das Erlebte — Gefühlte — Durchdachte mit kluger Hand zum Niederschlag. — Noch nie war eine Kunst „der Kunst so nahe als die Neue".

Felixmüller.

19
Conrad Felixmüller
Germany, 1897–1977
Menschen, 1917
(Humanity)
Woodcut
18 x 5⅞ in. (45.8 x 14.9 cm)
Promotional flier for periodical *Menschen*
83.1.1362 a
Davis under 583

critics, and after a while they began to hold public soirées where they read their works, gave lectures, and discussed the visual arts. Beginning in January 1918 they found an outlet for their ideas in the characteristically expressionistic journal *Menschen* (Humanity; see fig. 19). The Gruppe 1919 was officially formed shortly after the Novembergruppe and announced that it was "founded by a number of artists who wished to realize ideal projects that—like their art—necessarily separated them from previous artists. Basic principles are: truth—brotherhood—art."[20]

In the catalogue for the group's first exhibition, at the Galerie Emil Richter, the artists repeated the familiar no as well as yes, stating that the group was formed out of the "inner necessity to take final leave of the old ways and means" and that the members considered themselves "mature [enough] to take on the leadership of the young local forces."[21] Soon, however, internal dissension disrupted the group. Conrad Felixmüller, the guiding spirit of the group, was convinced that only in connection with a strong political force could they expect to transform their hopes into reality and that this required membership in the Communist party. While Constantin von Mitschke-Collande sided with Felixmüller for a while, the others refused to take this step. Otto Dix, Wilhelm Heckrott, Otto Lange, and Lasar Segall continued to exhibit with the group and were later joined by Gela Forster, Christoph Voll, and others. Peter August Böckstiegel (Felixmüller's brother-in-law), Otto Schubert, and the architect Hugo Zehder left for personal reasons. Even Felixmüller's political-artistic drive vanished not long thereafter.

The journal *Menschen* remained important, but even there the change from the revolutionary to the purely artistic did not take long. In its first issues the editors stated that it was "the expression of poets, writers, painters, and musicians for whom the arts were a means to change man" and only slightly later expanded its concept to include what "in literature, painting, music, and criticism is called Expressionism . . . and in politics . . . a national socialism." In March 1919 the word "politics" was dropped from the masthead, and in September 1920 the new editor, Walter Hasenclever, simply informed its readers: "We begin the editorship of this journal under the condition of strict political neutrality." The history of the Gruppe 1919 and *Menschen* illustrates the speed with which the mood among artists changed.

Berlin, Dresden, and Munich had produced very different strands of the Expressionist movement. It was therefore to be expected that the movement's development in the Rhineland would likewise take a different form. There the first important event was the exhibition held in Cologne in 1912 by the Sonderbund westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler (special association of west German friends of art and artists), which proclaimed in its exhibition catalogue that it provided an overview of "that movement that has been called Expressionism."[22] Significant was the large number of works in this show by Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, van Gogh, and, among the living artists, Picasso. Many Expressionists were represented, including the former Brücke members (Heckel and Kirchner were given the honor of painting the chapel) and the artists who had exhibited with the Blaue Reiter. (It was this exhibition that sparked the famous Armory Show of 1913 in New

20
Cover of *Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar, 1919–1923*
83.1.41

York.) It remained an isolated event, however, because the organizing group disbanded in 1915.

In January 1918 another group, Das junge Rheinland, made its appearance with an exhibition called *Rheinische Expressionisten* (Rhenish Expressionists), in which Heinrich Campendonk, E. M. Engert, Max Ernst, Otto Freundlich, Franz Henseler, Heinrich Nauen, and others participated. Macke, who had died in the war, was represented by thirty paintings. It is noteworthy that this group was considerably less demonstrative and that its emphasis on politics was far weaker than that of the Novembergruppe and many other groups.[23] In 1922 Das junge Rheinland became instrumental in forming the Kartell fortschrittlicher Künstlergruppen in Deutschland (cartel of progressive artists' groups in Germany), in which the Gruppe 1919 as well as the Novembergruppe and the Darmstädter Sezession (Darmstadt secession) also participated. The only political platform that the group retained was the demand for the immediate dissolution of the art academies. The Expressionist movement had lost its revolutionary impetus in the Rhineland.

That the call for the dissolution of the art academies was still on the agenda is intriguing because this was one of the few demands of the radical artists' groups that were realized, in the form of the establishment of the state-supported Bauhaus in Weimar, a truly new and innovative school.[24] In 1919 Gropius was able to persuade the government of Thuringia to allow him to combine the Grossherzogliche Hochschule für bildende Kunst (grand-ducal high school for fine arts) and the Grossherzogliche Kunstgewerbeschule (grand-ducal school for applied arts) into a single institution. He hired an extraordinary faculty that shocked the populace of Weimar and delighted the Expressionists: Feininger, Johannes Itten, and Marcks. Later additions included Kandinsky, Paul Klee,

21
Oskar Schlemmer
Germany, 1888–1943
Die erste Bauhaus Ausstellung in Weimar, Juli bis September 1923, 1923
(The first Bauhaus exhibition in Weimar, July to September 1923)
Publicity pamphlet written and designed by Schlemmer
7⅞ x 23⅝ in. (20.0 x 60.0 cm)
83.1.45

21

Georg Muche, and Oskar Schlemmer. The pamphlet in which Gropius announced the program of the new school echoed statements made by the Arbeitsrat and the Novembergruppe: " 'The final aim of all artistic activity is building.' Let us desire, conceive, and create together the new structure of the future, which shall be all in one form—architecture and sculpture and painting—and which will one day rise toward heaven from the hands of a million workers as the crystalline symbol of a new and coming faith." The pamphlet's cover was a woodcut by Feininger depicting a crys-

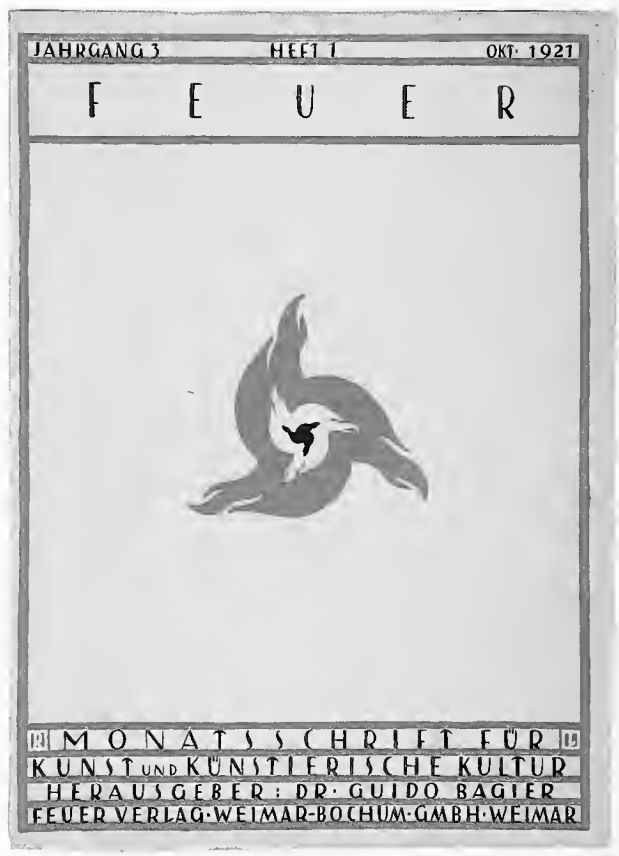
talline cathedral (fig. 23). The accomplishments of the Bauhaus during the years in Weimar and after 1923 in Dessau are too well known to require an extended account. That the school's approach to the education of artists and designers was innovative is unquestionable, yet it should be noted that architecture did not become a part of the curriculum until after the move to Dessau. By that time, however, the Expressionist ardor had dissipated, and a new, Constructivist-influenced approach had gained the upper hand.

22
Title page of *Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar, 1919–1923*
83.1.41

23
Lyonel Feininger
United States, 1871–1956
Kathedrale, 1919
(Cathedral)
Woodcut
12 x 7⅜ in. (30.5 x 18.7 cm)
From brochure *Programm des Staatlichen Bauhauses in Weimar*
83.1.3 a
Davis 563

24

25



26

24
Karl Schmidt-Rottluff
Germany, 1884–1976
Kündung: Eine Zeitschrift für Kunst, 1920
(*Kündung:* A magazine for art)
Color woodcut
12⅛ x 9⅜ in. (30.8 x 23.8 cm)
M.82.288.273
Davis 2570

25
Richard Seewald
Germany, 1889–1976
Revolution, 1913
Woodcut
5½ x 3^{15}⁄$_{16}$ in. (14.0 x 10.0 cm)
From *Revolution* 1, no. 1 (1913)
83.1.1635 a
Davis under 2695.2

26
Cover of *Feuer* 3, no. 1 (1921)
83.1.165

27
Conrad Felixmüller
Germany, 1897–1977
Selbstbildnis, 1916
(Self-portrait)
Woodcut
6¾ x 6 in. (17.2 x 15.3 cm)
From *Der Weg* 1, no. 5/6 (1919)
83.1.1217 a
Davis 574

28
Cover of *Der Ruf* [no. 2] (1912)
83.1.826

27

28

So far the attempt has been made to trace the history of the Expressionist movement through the formation of various artists' groups. The young artists who founded these groups proclaimed in manifestos and programs that their art was no longer pretty, decorative, or imitative in nature, but was a philosophical, spiritual, or even political statement. These artists were willing to subordinate their individuality by exhibiting with like-minded colleagues and friends. By presenting a common front, they would demonstrate to gallery owners, museums, critics, and the public that their vision of man and the world was a shared one. While most of the Expressionist breakthroughs in the visual arts and in literature occurred before the war, the horrors of war and the restrictions imposed during wartime make the stridency of these groups' revolutionary pronouncements understandable. To make a movement out of a "trend" (if that term may be used for Expressionism), however, requires that the other arts follow a parallel course. Only a few groups were formed by poets and writers. We know of their endless discussions in coffeehouses, but the coherence of the visual artists within their groups remained singular.

To attempt to find group structures among poets and writers by comparing the appearances of their works in the many journals and magazines of the era is not productive, since the same author can be found in different journals at the same time. Yet the titles of some of these publications do suggest a common denominator, since they reflect the direction of their editorial policies: *Anbruch* (Beginning), *Feuer* (Fire; fig. 26), *Der Friede* (Peace), *Kündung* (Annunciation; fig. 24), *Die Rettung* (Deliverance), *Revolution* (fig. 25), *Der Ruf* (The call; fig. 28), and *Der Weg* (The way; fig. 27). The parallel to the titles of the poetry anthologies is obvious. A careful study of *Der Sturm*, *Die Aktion*, and some of the other periodicals reveals that the graphic works and the poems and stories published in them have little in common as far as content is concerned; they do, however, have the same roots. One can offer proof of the basic soundness of calling Expressionism a movement by sketching its development in an art form in which literature and the visual arts are combined, such as theater or film.

The German theater always had a pronounced social function. The Expressionist theater frequently came close to being a pulpit, a place from which the transformation of man and thus of society could be effected.[25] The psychological dramas of Henrik Ibsen, August Strindberg, and Frank Wedekind were the forerunners of the later Expressionist dramas and, like them, suffered from censorship as well as a hostile public. They inspired their directors to develop a new kind of stagecraft, which became one of the characteristics of the plays within the Expressionist movement.

The earliest of these new plays came, not surprisingly, from two great visual artists: Kokoschka, whose *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (see fig. 32) was first performed in Vienna in 1907 and created a scandal (the second performance took place in Dresden in 1913 before an invited audience), and Barlach, whose *Der tote Tag* (The dead day, 1907–10) was first performed in Leipzig in 1919. Both plays included features that influenced many later playwrights, such as the transformation of specific characters into types and a stylized linguistic structure that

29

30

29
Ernst Deutsch in Walter Hasenclever's *Der Sohn*, Deutsches Landestheater, Prague (first performance, September 30, 1916)

30
Sketch for a production of Walter Hasenclever's *Der Sohn*, Stadttheater, Kiel (first performance, October 31, 1919; director: Gerhard Ausleger; set designer: Otto Reigbert)

substituted a staccato of highly emotional statements accentuating the intensity of the action for the well-constructed explanatory sentences and dialogues of conventional drama. Ideas and psychological events were transformed into symbolic characters and actions. The Expressionist playwrights saw themselves as visionaries, as prophets whose voices were raised for the *Erneuerung des Menschen* (regeneration of humanity).

The importance of drama within the Expressionist movement was very great. The theater was once again a moral institution. Reinhard Sorge's *Der Bettler* (The beggar, 1912) portrays the transformation of a young man, an incarnation of pure emotion, who kills his parents and then ascends to heaven, having freed himself from all bonds, even that of love. In importance this drama was paralleled by Hasenclever's *Der Sohn* (The son, 1914; see figs. 29, 30), in which a young man thirsts for self-determination. When his father has him brought home in handcuffs by the police, the son aims a pistol at the father, who dies of a heart attack. In Arnolt Bronnen's *Vatermord* (Patricide, 1915), the conflict was widened, and the influences of the social milieu and of genetic inheritance were accentuated. In Georg Kaiser's *Die Bürger von Calais* (The burghers of Calais, 1914), which was inspired by Rodin's sculpture, suicide is interpreted as bravery if one willingly becomes a martyr for a good cause but not if one fights senselessly for one's honor. Schickele's once-famous *Hans im Schnakenloch* (Hans in Schnakenloch, 1920) revolves around an Alsatian's love for both France and Germany, a conflict that was well known in both countries. Like many other Expressionist plays, it emphasizes the ideals of pacifism and socialism.

Merely to summarize the plays' content, however, makes little sense. Indeed Ernst Toller's deeply moving play, *Die Wandlung* (The transformation, 1919; see fig. 33), which the playwright completed while imprisoned for his activities in the Bavarian revolution, defies summary. The play is essentially a lyrical monologue about the love of humankind, calling on spectators to transform their lives; it is, in other words, a call for utopia. In all of these plays and in many, many others, reality and dream, actual events and visions interact in new ways and establish new forms. The plays furiously denounce the past and the present (most were written before the war), and many project a redemption that relates them to the old mystery plays.

The new plays required new directors and actors as well as new stage designers capable of translating the texts into appropriate visual forms. Some of the directors who made these plays famous and who in turn became famous by staging them have not been forgotten: Ludwig Berger, Jürgen Fehling, Karl-Heinz Martin, Max Reinhardt, and Berthold Viertel, among others. The same holds true for the actors who became known for their performances in these dramas, for instance, Ernst Deutsch (see fig. 29), whose interpretation of Hasenclever's *Der Sohn* set a new standard. Heinrich George, Eugen Klöpfer, Fritz Kortner, Werner Krauss, Gerda Müller (see fig. 31), Agnes Straub, Alice Verden, and many others became personifications of these unconventional heroes and heroines. The stage designer's role gained new prominence, since the plays demanded new visual interpretations. Designers became something like codirectors, transforming stages into haunting

abstract spaces and turning actual places into symbolic visual experiences. Many of the works of designers such as César Klein, Robert Neppach, Emil Pirchan, Otto Reigbert, Ludwig Sievert, and Ernst Stern are now known only from photographs and sketches (see fig. 34), most of which would fit perfectly into any Expressionist art exhibition.

It was not only in Berlin that these new theatrical experiences were available. Theaters in Darmstadt, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Mannheim, and Munich also dared to confront the public with controversial plays. The theater critics of the larger newspapers traveled to the premieres of these plays and thus encouraged other directors to stage new works. That the theater was central to Expressionism becomes obvious when one recalls that as early as 1916 Hasenclever had demanded the "stage for art, politics, and philosophy!" terms that are at the core of the movement.[26]

31

Gerda Müller in Fritz von Unruh's *Platz*, Schauspielhaus, Frankfurt am Main (first performance, June 3, 1920; director: Gustav Hartung, set designer: August Babberger)

32

Scene from Oskar Kokoschka's *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen*, Neues Theater, Frankfurt am Main (first performance, April 11, 1920; director: Heinrich George; set designer: August Babberger)

33

Scene from Ernst Toller's *Die Wandlung*, Die Tribüne, Berlin (first performance, September 30, 1919; director: Karl-Heinz Martin; set designer: Robert Neppach)

34

César Klein
Germany, 1876–1954
Sketch for a production of Georg Kaiser's *Von morgens bis mitternachts*, Lessingtheater, Berlin (first performance, April 14, 1921, director: Viktor Barnowsky)

32

33

34

35

36

35
Scene from *Der Golem,*
directed by Paul Wegener, 1920

36
Scene from *Nosferatu*, directed
by F. W. Murnau, 1921

37
Anonymous
Untitled, 1919
Silver print
10 x 13 in. (25.4 x 33.0 cm)
Scene from *Das Cabinet des*
Dr. Caligari, directed by
Robert Wiene, 1919
M.82.287.1 d
Davis 3184.4

37

A new art form, film, made its appearance shortly before the period under discussion and is the only Expressionist theatrical form that is still well known since some of the films have been preserved.[27] The most famous is *Das Cabinet des Doktor Caligari* (The cabinet of Doctor Caligari, 1919; see fig. 37). Director Robert Wiene, writers Hans Janowitz and Carl Mayer, designers Walter Reimann, Walter Röhrig, and Hermann Warm (who were allied with *Der Sturm*), and the actors Lil Dagover, Rudolf Klein-Rogge, Werner Krauss, Hans Heinz von Twardowsky, and Conrad Veidt created an outstanding work of Expressionist art in this new medium. The original story was mellowed on the insistence of the producers, but the painted background decorations, the highly stylized performances, the costumes, and the makeup set an unforgettable mood. The film's graphic quality nearly overshadowed the horror story, with its themes of murder, hypnosis, somnambulism, and mental derangement.

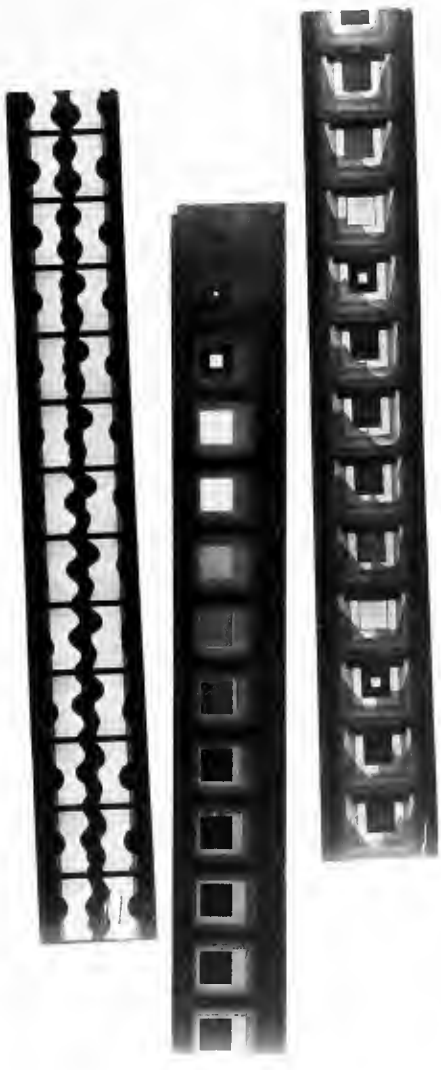
Doktor Caligari also broke a pattern that had been established soon after the abolition of censorship in 1918: explicit sex films, frequently under the guise of sex education or condemnation of prostitution, competed with historical films such as *Madame Dubarry* or *Anne Boleyn* and with film versions of *Hamlet* or *Othello*. Once Wiene had proven that Expressionism could be successfully translated into the medium of film, other directors quickly followed suit. Karl-Heinz Martin filmed an adaptation of Kaiser's 1916 play *Von morgens bis mitternachts* (From morning till midnight, 1920), the story of a bank clerk who makes a nightmarish attempt to break out of poverty by embezzling money but finds that he cannot buy anything of lasting value and finally commits suicide. Martin had become famous as a director of Expressionist plays in Frankfurt and founded a theater in Berlin, Die Tribüne, with Rudolf Leonhard in 1919. There he directed Toller's *Die Wandlung*, using a black stage on which the actors were isolated by bright spotlights. The film ver-

sion of the play made use of this device and, with Neppach's designs, was another outstanding example of expressionistic film. In this case it was not only the form that was striking but also the typical Expressionist condemnation of materialism and glorification of the poor and downtrodden.

There were other films that were important to the movement primarily because they reached a wide public. *Genuine* (1920)—directed by Wiene, based on a script by Mayer, and with designs by Klein—serves as a good example. Once again it was the visual form that made the film important, since the story is a melodramatic tale of a femme fatale. This type of horror fairy tale was typical of the Expressionist imagination, as was the second version of *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* (The Golem and how he came into the world, 1920; see fig. 35). Based on a script by the actor Paul Wegener, who also directed the film and played the lead role, *Der Golem* retold the story of the terrible clay figure in the possession of Rabbi Loev in Prague, which in the end is destroyed by the innocence of a child. The sculptor Rudolf Belling made the mask for the Golem while the architect Hans Poelzig re-created medieval Prague as background. The atmosphere is as dense and haunting as that created by Albin Grau in another well-known film, *Nosferatu: Eine Symphonie des Grauens* (Nosferatu: A symphony of horror, 1921; see fig. 36). F. W. Murnau, one of Germany's great directors, used Henrik Galeen's adaptation of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, in which the plague is symbolized by a vampire who lives on human blood. Again the story was secondary to the visual impact of this most horrible of films. Meidner created expressionistic designs for the film *Die Strasse* (The street, 1923; see fig. 39), which Carl Grune directed, although they were tamer than the apocalyptic visions he had painted around 1912.

38
Frames from *Rythmus 21*, directed by Hans Richter, 1921

39
Scene from *Die Strasse*, directed by Carl Grune, 1923



38

39

40
Bruno Taut, c. 1911

Attempts to make abstract films show another interrelationship among the arts. Viking Eggeling, a Swedish painter, made the first such film, *Diagonal-Symphonie* (Diagonal symphony), in Berlin, using animated linear designs. Hans Richter's *Rhythmus 21* (Rhythm 21; see fig. 38) was also a work of pure abstraction. G. B. R. Hoboken and Walter Ruttman experimented with moving planes and colors. A few artists, among them László Moholy-Nagy, worked with the same concepts in later years. Many other films were part of the movement, but the public soon began to prefer more entertaining, less challenging fare. After 1924, when political conditions permitted the importation of films from America, there was no longer a market for expressionistic films.

The most frustrated artists within the Expressionist movement were the architects.[28] As prolific as they were in producing sketches, models, and theoretical writings in the postwar period, the great new tasks and commissions for which they had hoped never materialized. Germany needed new factory buildings and new apartment houses, not utopian designs. Bruno Taut (see fig. 40) became convinced that large groups like the Arbeitsrat or the Novembergruppe, contrary to their manifestos, were not conducive to the development of new architectural forms. At the end of 1919 he initiated an informal exchange of letters and drawings among a small number of colleagues to spur the development of a new architecture in order to be ready for new commissions. They shared the conviction that architecture, through its visual and spatial impact, could be a forceful device for social change. Architecture needed to be the symbol of the new world, and Taut called on his friends to become "imaginary" architects, recognizing that "the bourgeoisie, our colleagues included, belittled the revolution by proceeding as if nothing had happened."[29] The Gläserne Kette (glass chain), as the group called itself, also shared the concept of the Gesamtkunstwerk that Kandinsky, Gropius, and many others advocated. Wenzel A. Hablik, a member of the group, stated: "We need new ideals. One of these is the Gesamtkunstwerk, the building. Not the brick box or the minimal living-space box, but architecture as a living element comparable to the cosmic laws."[30]

41

42

43

42
Erich Mendelsohn
Germany, 1887–1953
Sketch for the Einstein Tower, Potsdam, 1917–21

43
Erich Mendelsohn
Germany, 1887–1953
Einstein Tower, Postdam, 1917–21

41
Rudolf Steiner with a model for the first Goetheanum, 1914

The architects believed that the centers of the cities, the "crowns of the cities" as they called them, would be templelike structures in which all of the arts would be brought together and which the populace would regard as the spiritual axes of the cities. Taut and the others recognized, however, that before such projects could be built, a larger segment of society had to be willing to accept the new ideas: "The direct carrier of the spiritual forces, molder of the sensitivities of the general public—which today is slumbering but tomorrow will awaken—is architecture. Only a complete revolution in the spiritual realm will create this new architecture."[31] This was stated in 1918, but the expected spiritual revolution never took place.

Very few of the buildings erected during this period can be called expressionistic. One of the best examples of expressionistic architecture was created not by an architect but by the founder of the Anthroposophical Society, Rudolf Steiner. Between 1913 and 1920 he designed a number of ingenious wooden buildings in Dornach, Switzerland, which were to provide a harmonious frame for the activities of his society (see fig. 41). After a fire on New Year's Day of 1923 destroyed the buildings, they were replaced between 1924 and 1928 by concrete structures that were more conservative in form. Another example of expressionistic architecture that is often cited is the Einstein Tower in Potsdam (1917–21; see figs. 42, 43), an observatory designed and built by Erich Mendelsohn. Its powerfully curving forms and the imaginative stacking of the floors give it the appearance of a monolith. (It was reconstructed after the Second World War.) No other large commissions were offered. Gropius designed a complex triangular structure as a memorial to the workers who were killed by government troops in Weimar in March 1920. It is far more dynamic than the massive memorial Ludwig Mies van der Rohe built in Berlin for Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, two Communist leaders who were murdered by right-wing militarists. A third memorial could be added here, the sculptural arcade built by Max Taut for the Wissinger family at the cemetery in Stahnsdorf-Berlin.

Major commissions that would have demonstrated what expressionistic architecture could achieve simply did not come about. Only in modern church buildings did expressionistic forms become visible. The use of more imaginative forms to enhance the spirit of the faithful was more readily accepted by religious organizations. Domenikus Böhm built the Church of Saint John the Baptist in Neu-Ulm (1921–26), and Otto Bartning built the Church of the Resurrection in Essen (1929–30), both of which display an architectural vocabulary that is clearly expressionistic. After the Second World War, when many churches had to be rebuilt, expressionistic forms were revived. Examples include such diverse structures as Rainer Disse's Church of the Transfiguration in Feldberg (1961–65) and Gottfried Böhm's Pilgrimage Church in Neviges (1966–68).

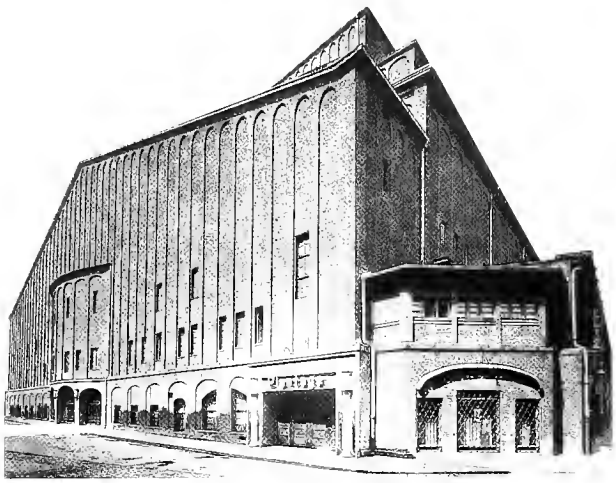
As far as interior design is concerned, two well-known expressionistic solutions must be mentioned. Poelzig reconstructed the interior of a former circus building, transforming it into the largest theater in Berlin, the Grosses Schauspielhaus (see figs. 44–46), in which Max Reinhardt staged some of the great performances of 1919–20. The archi-

44–46

Hans Poelzig

Germany, 1869–1936

Grosses Schauspielhaus,
Berlin, 1919



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tect covered the wide dome structure with stalactite forms and designed a color lighting system that could evoke various moods. On a much smaller scale the interior of the Tanzkasino (dance casino) Skala in Berlin, designed by Belling and the architect Walter Würzbach, was dependent upon cubistic crystalline forms (see fig. 47). It is typical of the period that Behne concluded his critique of this interior with the comment: "Plastic conception of space and movement can be splendid when a free will carries the art. Whether or not that [spirit] can be active in rooms for playboys and profiteers remains doubtful."[32]

One other aspect of architecture within the Expressionist movement must be mentioned. It was introduced by Bruno Taut and concerned the use of color in architecture. The uniformly gray facades of urban buildings and the lack of green spaces in the cities contributed to the oppressive atmosphere that many of the young Expressionist poets had lamented. Blass, Albert Ehrenstein, Heym, Lotz, Stadler, and Franz Werfel all inveighed against the inhumanity of the cities and the individual's isolation. Ehrenstein asked, "I beg you, destroy the city," and Berthold Viertel wrote, "I call you hell of the contaminated—/ City, constructed without soul." To alleviate the gloominess, Taut advocated the use of bright colors on buildings. When he became city architect of Halle (1921–23), he immediately put his idea into practice. The lower parts of the city hall were painted fire-engine red, the loggias green, the statues and capitals yellow, and the horizontal courses of the seventeenth-century building black. Assisted by his office, many houses quickly put on new coats of paint, and blue, green, pink, and yellow buildings soon gave the inner city a new look. The Barasch department store was decorated with multicolored cubistic designs in complete disregard of the underlying facade. (Taut's garden city of Falkenberg, near Berlin, was called *Kolonie Tuschkasten* [paint-box colony].) The public was critical, however, and the program was discontinued. It is possible that this color experiment

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47
Rudolf Belling
Germany, 1886–1972
Walter Würzbach
Tanzkasino Skala, Berlin, 1921

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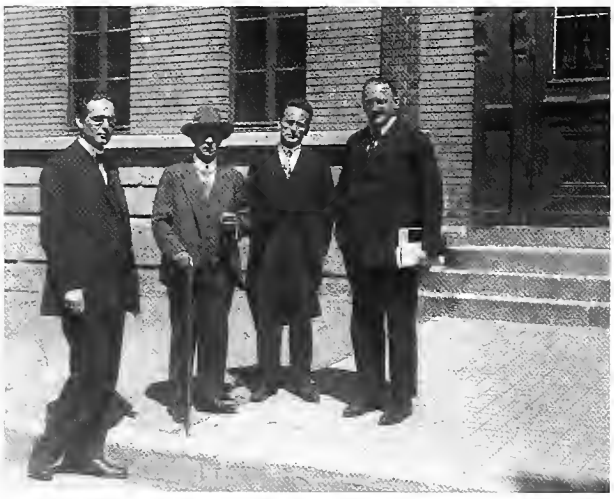

49

48
Arnold Schönberg

49
Otto Klemperer, Arnold Schönberg, Anton Webern, and Hermann Scherchen outside the Atelier Grill in Donaueschingen, Germany, 1924

strengthened the trend toward the predominant use of white in modern architecture.

Although considered utopian, some of the architects allied with the Expressionist movement were highly gifted and found a way to prove it after 1924. At that time many large apartment blocks and satellite settlements were being built, and these architects designed and built some outstanding socially conscious developments. Taut, together with Martin Wagner, built the influential Horseshoe settlement in Berlin, and Gropius created a satellite in Törten, near Dessau. The Uncle Tom's Cabin settlement in Berlin was designed by Taut, Hugo Haring, and O. R. Salvisberg, and Hans Scharoun developed the plans for Siemens-Stadt. The settlements integrated practical layouts of apartments, kindergarten buildings surrounded by wading pools and sandboxes, public libraries, shops, and green spaces (frequently achieved only after conflicts with community leaders). The mixture of single dwellings and larger apartment blocks and the configuration of the streets broke the monotony of the typical city. These projects were based on the dreams of the prewar period and the social idealism of the Expressionist movement.

Music, an art form that is undoubtedly an important part of the movement, nevertheless defies stylistic classification. Neither composers nor even specific works can be called "expressionistic," yet Schönberg (see fig. 48) is certainly the most important composer who contributed to the movement. The confusion of terms is obvious in a statement about the composer by his student and friend Webern: "His feelings create entirely new values of expression; therefore they also need new means of expression."[33] Schönberg himself struggled with the terminology. In a lecture before the performance of his musical drama *Die glückliche Hand* (The fortunate hand, 1909) in Breslau in 1928, he stated: "One has called this type of art expressionistic, and I don't know why. It never expressed more than what was in it. . . . I have said [before], it is the art of representing inner processes."[34] Contemporary critics considered Schönberg's music to be pure mathematics, while the composer maintained throughout his life that the source of his music was inspiration and inner necessity.

Schönberg's relationship with the Blaue Reiter began in January 1911, when Kandinsky referred in a letter to the "similarity of their aspirations," which he had felt while listening to Schönberg's music. Three of the composer's paintings were included in the first Blaue Reiter exhibition, and Kandinsky insisted that Schönberg write an article for the almanac. In *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, Kandinsky wrote: "[Schönberg's] music leads us into a realm where musical experience is a matter not of the ear but of the soul alone, and at this point the music of the future begins."[35]

In addition to Schönberg's contribution, two other articles on music were included in the almanac. Thomas von Hartmann wrote "Über die Anarchie in der Musik" (Concerning anarchy in music), strongly advocating the freedom to use unusual sounds and sound patterns as long as they corresponded to a composition's inner necessity. (Hartmann had begun working with Kandinsky on the concept of the Gesamtkunstwerk in 1909[36] and had written the music for the artist's

drama *Der gelbe Klang*. In this play, music, light, solo as well as choral voices, and projected colors were combined with actors who portrayed types.) Two additional defenses of modern music were included in the almanac; Leonid Sabanejew praised Aleksandr Scriabin's opera *Prometheus* as a *ritual mysterium*, while N. Kublin propounded *Thesen der freien Musik* (Theses of free music).

The chronological parallel of Kandinsky's and Schönberg's work during this period is significant. Kandinsky published his *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* at the same time that Schönberg published his *Harmonielehre* (Structural functions of harmony). While Kandinsky was beginning to paint abstract watercolors, Schönberg was dissolving traditional tonality and painting his Visions. In 1914 Schönberg developed the twelve-tone method (at the same time as Josef Matthias Hauer), now known as dodecaphony, while Kandinsky began to work on his *Punkt und Linie zu Fläche* (Point and line to plane). This parallel is the exception in the chronology of the Expressionist movement. The date when a work was written and its publication date were frequently as far apart as the completion of the manuscript for a play and its first performance. In music the same holds true. Only in 1924 were Schönberg's two musical dramas—*Erwartung* (Anticipation), written in 1907, and *Die glückliche Hand*, composed in 1909—first performed.

Likewise Berg's opera *Wozzeck*, based on a dramatic fragment by the Romantic playwright Georg Büchner, was begun in 1917 but was not performed until 1925. It is truly expressionistic in content as well as in form and therefore met with the same mixed reaction that so many works within the movement encountered. In Prague in 1925, during the third performance, scuffles broke out between the work's admirers and its detractors. A review by Paul Zscholrich in *Deutsche Zeitung* exemplifies the bitterness of the attacks on many Expressionist works by critics and the public: "the perpetrator of this work counts safely on the stupidity and charity of his fellow man, and for the rest relies on God Almighty. . . . I regard Alban Berg as a musical swindler and a musician dangerous to the community." To provide some balance, the publisher of

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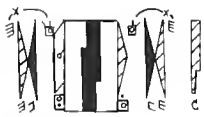
Oskar Schlemmer
Germany, 1888–1943
Sketch for a production of Paul Hindemith's opera *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen*, based on the play by Oskar Kokoschka. Landestheater, Stuttgart (first performance, 1921; director: Otto Erhardt)

the opera compiled a booklet entitled *"Wozzeck" und die Musikkritiker* (*Wozzeck* and the music critics), which included critiques like Zscholrich's as well as more serious and positive ones.

Kokoschka's early plays were transformed into operas by Paul Hindemith and Ernst Křenek (see fig. 50). The latter also wrote *Zwingburg*, a cantata based on a text by Werfel. Many such ties between contemporary composers, poets, and writers existed. The Novembergruppe's concerts of modern music were organized by Max Butting, who published a lecture on contemporary music by Paul Bekker and offered it to the public as an introduction.[37] One of the foremost propagators of modern music was Hermann Scherchen (see fig. 49), who was a conductor, a member of a famous string quartet, and editor of *Melos*, a journal dedicated to modern music. His influence on music could be compared with that of Walden on literature and the visual arts. Scherchen was considered one of the most gifted interpreters and performers of works by the younger composers, including Karl Amadeus Hartmann, Hindemith (who rejected the twelve-tone method), Hans Jelinek, Křenek, Egon Wellesz, and Stefan Wolpe. The innovations of those composers who were an important part of the Expressionist movement are still apparent in today's music.

The one art form that could be called an offshoot of the movement was modern dance, which for a while was called the German dance in English-speaking countries.[38] Like Expressionism in the visual arts it was based on a strong no, in this case to traditional dance and the ballet, as well as a forceful yes to freedom for the body to express human passions and inner experiences through gesture and rhythm. There had been forerunners, such as Isadora Duncan, whose limited gestures and positions were based on Greek sculpture and vase paintings; Ruth St. Denis, who reinterpreted Indian temple dances; and Sent M'Ahesa, who re-created Egyptian forms. There was a growing awareness that the body needed to be freed from the unnatural shackles that society had imposed on gesture and movement. Gymnastic schools were also instrumental in changing the late nineteenth-century ambivalence toward the body. Even Steiner's anthroposophical movement developed its own form of dance movement.



51
Mary Wigman performing *Song of Fate*, with Labanotation by Ilene Fox

The truly new developments in dance were introduced by Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, the Swiss music theoretician, and Rudolf Laban de Varaljas (see fig. 52), the Hungarian dancer. Jaques-Dalcroze studied the relationship between rhythm and body movement and concluded that allowing the body to react freely to music or texts would create new experiences for both the dancer and the audience. In 1905 he demonstrated his system of Eurythmics for the first time, and in 1911, with the help of Wolf Dohrn, he opened a school for rhythmic movement in Hellerau, one of Germany's first garden cities and an artistic and intellectual center. In 1913, in the school's specially built theater, he performed Paul Claudel's *Mariä Verkündigung* (The Annunciation), in which rhythmic choirs performed *Gebärde-Spiele* (gesture plays), thus providing a visual interpretation of the content and spirit of the play. A later performance of Christoph Gluck's *Orpheus und Eurydike* (Orpheus and Eurydice) was a significant event in the development of the modern dance the-

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Rudolf Laban

ater. When the war broke out, Jaques-Dalcroze moved his school to Switzerland and later, after the war, to Hamburg.

One of Jaques-Dalcroze's most outstanding students was Mary Wigman (see fig. 51), who became the fountainhead of the new dance. Nolde called Wigman's attention to the school that Laban had opened. Laban rejected the idea that dance was primarily an interpretation of music. He taught that ideas, experiences, and emotions could be communicated through free body movement. He frequently used only gongs, tambourines, and different kinds of drums to set the rhythms for his dances. Laban's *Geräusch-Musik* (noise music) was closely related to the exploration of the arts of Africa and Oceania by the Brücke artists as well as by Picasso, Matisse, and the Fauves. This recognition of the expressive force of non-Western arts was an important influence on the Expressionist movement. Laban's school in Munich and especially his summer courses in Ascona, Switzerland, one of the European centers where artists and intellectuals met before and after the war, provided Wigman with the impetus to develop "absolute" dances. She participated in several of his attempts to create a Gesamtkunstwerk, including his famous *Sonnenfest: Tanzhymnus in drei Teilen* (Sun festival: Dance hymn in three parts), based on Otto Borngraeber's poem, which was staged in 1917. Performed in three acts—at sunset, at night, and at sunrise—the work included more conventional music as well as Geräusch-Musik, voices reciting poetry, colorful costumes, and solo as well as group dances illuminated by torches and bonfires. Laban was one of the great theoreticians of modern dance, inventing Labanotation (see fig. 51), a system of signs capable of recording all of a dancer's movements, thus permitting exact repetition.

53
A performance of Kurt Joos's *Der grüne Tisch*

Wigman had been Laban's assistant before she began her career as a solo dancer in 1919. The public was as little prepared for new forms of dance as it was for innovations in the other arts. After a difficult beginning she had her first great success in Hamburg and from then on was acknowledged as Germany's outstanding dancer. A few years later she opened her own dance school in Dresden and assembled a group of extraordinarily gifted students with whom she performed all over Germany with great success. Her *Sieben Tänze des Lebens* (Seven dances of life) and many of her other choreographed solo and group dances set a standard few later dancers could sustain.

Among the members of Wigman's first troupe was Gret Palucca, who after an impressive career opened a school in Dresden, which is still active today. Other famous dancers who trained with Wigman were Yvonne Georgi; Hanya Holm, who opened a Wigman school in New York; Harald Kreutzberg; Vera Skoronel; Max Terpis; Berthe Trümpy; and Kurt Joos, whose dance drama *Der grüne Tisch* (The green table; see fig. 53), first performed in 1932, has remained one of the enduring Expressionist dances. All of these artists left their mark on modern dance, taking leading positions in theater companies or forming their own schools and groups.

The new dance forms inspired many of the visual artists just as some of their works had influenced the gesture patterns of the dancers. Kandinsky used one of Palucca's dances as a model in his *Punkt und Linie zu Fläche* (see fig. 54). Modern dance forms also appeared in the works of Barlach, Kirchner, Klee, Nolde, and Pechstein, among others. Poets too tried to capture the spirit of the new dance forms in their lyrics, among them Ivan Goll, Adolf von Hatzfeld, Walter Rheiner, and Alfred Wolfenstein. Modern dancers appear in several novels, among which Alfred Döblin's and Max Krell's works are the best known. A great number of books on modern dance and dancers were published. Fritz and Hanna Winther wrote *Der heilige Tanz* (The holy dance), and the Expressionist poet Rudolf Adrian Dietrich rhapsodized in his *Tanzbuch* (Dance book): "Dance is the bodily expression of the spiritual world. It is the physical consciousness of the religious sphere in which cosmic vibrations gain expression."[39]

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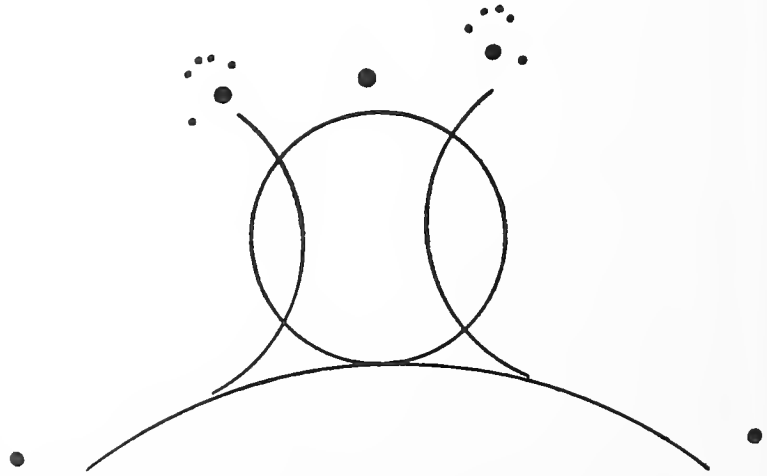

It is significant that many of the terms and concepts typical of the Expressionist movement defy translation. This is due not only to the inventive approach to language adopted by writers and poets but also to the use of vague, general terms that had become commonly accepted even though they lacked precise meaning. The term *Weltanschauung* (discredited since the Nazis used it for their inhumane doctrines) could be related to ideology, but in Germany it denoted something different. It contained a smattering of Henri Bergson's antimechanistic and spiritualistic metaphysics, a little of Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra* (Thus spake Zarathustra), a bit of Georg Simmel's metaphysics of life, and many other fragments. This is not to imply that the philosophical discussions among the Expressionists were not based on careful study; such fragmentation was typical of the conversational tone of the period.

Zeitgeist (spirit of the times), a term frequently invoked by writers and critics, presents similar problems. It was regarded not as something that could be identified by means of a careful historical or sociological analysis, but as a semi-independent power that forced artists and society to adopt a specific direction in work and in life. Even more complex is the word *Geist* (spirit), which was constantly used by artists within the movement.[40] Literally it means spirit, but it can also mean intellect; in most cases, however, it was used in a pantheistic and thus mystical religious way. Only the context can reveal the writer's intent. The term *Seele* (soul) took on a broader meaning; it not only embraced man's spiritual aspect but was also attributed to the nation, to flowers, and to animals and was even used to refer to disembodied emotions.

Other terms that are likely to pose problems for the English-speaking public include *sozial* (social) and *Sozialismus* (socialism). The latter immediately conjures up a political concept frequently associated with communism. For most Germans it did not hold this meaning. They related the term to the only political party standing in opposition to William II's regime and thus gave it very positive connotations. *Sozial*, however, refers to a vague conglomerate of ideas going back to the 1848 revolution, to August Bebel and Ferdinand Lasalle, and to the idealism of Marx's *Communist Manifesto*. Except for schooled party members, people in general used the term to describe a government policy of protecting the individual from economic exploitation and assisting the unfortunate while at the same time defending a nearly unlimited freedom. The vagueness of these concepts allowed many Expressionists to welcome, for a while at least, the Russian Revolution as the solution to the problems of the modern world. This belief faded rather quickly once further news was received from Russia, but it was also obvious that the socialist-governed Weimar Republic was not the embodiment of the movement's utopian ideals.

The list of words that defy accurate translation is a long one and may even include the term *Feuilleton*, which refers to a specific column in German newspapers. The lower quarter of the second page was separated from the news above and was used for a variety of contributions. Some newspapers used it to print novels in installments, but most devoted this area to cultural news: reviews of books, plays, concerts, art exhibitions, and dance performances. The writers and especially the edi-

54
Illustrations from Wassily Kandinsky, *Punkt und Linie zu Fläche*, 1926
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tors of these columns frequently exerted great influence on the public by either praising or condemning modern art. Some of the critics became famous, and their articles were read all over Germany, mainly in the coffeehouses where out-of-town and foreign newspapers were available. Today these articles can be regarded as cultural barometers of the period as long as one keeps the writer's bias in mind.

The frustrating vagueness of so many terms parallels the multiplicity of styles that the Expressionist artists developed. No strict definition for *Expressionism* or even for *expressionistic* can be given. Viewing the imposing number and variety of graphic works in the Rifkind Study Center within the framework of the cultural history of the Expressionist movement makes each work an eloquent testimony to its strength, vitality, and artistic brilliance. Each work is a profession as well as a confession and, as such, must be seen in context.

Why did such a multifarious movement based on such strong emotions and beliefs die? Having noted the vagueness of such terms, one would not wish to lay the blame on Weltanschauung or Zeitgeist. What has frequently been asserted, namely that the Nazis killed the Expressionist movement, is incorrect. It is true that they declared this art to be decadent and degenerate, confiscated it from museums and galleries, suppressed and burned books, prohibited artists from exhibiting and, yes, even from working. But at the time of the Nazi onslaught of 1936–37, the Expressionist movement was already dead. It is possible to state that the decline had already begun in 1919, when the movement seemed to have attained its greatest strength. The large number of younger artists who came back from the war or who had been too young to serve formed a second wave of Expressionism, but only a few were truly innovative and added new accomplishments to the movement. They inherited the forms and motivations of the previous generation; thus many of their works were basically variations on those created before the war. Kasimir Edschmid commented on this phenomenon: "What formerly appeared as a brave gesture is today commonplace. The advance of yesterday is the allure of today and the yawn of tomorrow."[41]

The abundance of new works produced after the First World War created a new art market to which publishers and gallery and theater owners responded, unleashing a flood of new journals, galleries, and theaters. The number of books with original graphics, portfolios of prints, and special editions of poetry collections grew daily. One example speaks for itself. The industrialist Hugo Stinnes ordered his art dealer to acquire one print from each new edition. Within a short time his collection numbered in the thousands. That sector of society against which the Expressionists had fought, the bourgeoisie, was now the public that bought their works, while the majority of the people, the group the artists had tried to reach, rejected them as before.

The hope that the new republic would effect a transformation of society in which the artists would be able to participate soon grew dim. It was not the fault of the government alone; a true inner revolution had never taken place. The economic hardships caused by the war did not end quickly, since the reparations demanded by the Treaty of Versailles prevented the reconstruction of a sound economy. There were

strikes, unrest, and bitter, violent armed clashes between the political left and right. The still-dominant bourgeoisie demanded a return to normalcy and calm, becoming impatient with the emotional and strident Expressionist artists. The terrible inflation of 1923–24 wiped out the savings of the middle class and impoverished the nation yet provided enormous profits for some speculators. By the time the currency was reordered, all the vitality of the Expressionist movement had dried up. The artists of the founding generation retained their styles but mellowed their colors and weakened their forms; the writers changed themes, subjects, and style. The second generation turned to a kind of neorealism and frequently even to sentimentality in descriptions of everyday life. Galleries began to close; journals were discontinued; publishers looked for a different type of literature, many giving up publishing altogether; and theaters dropped controversial plays from their repertoires.

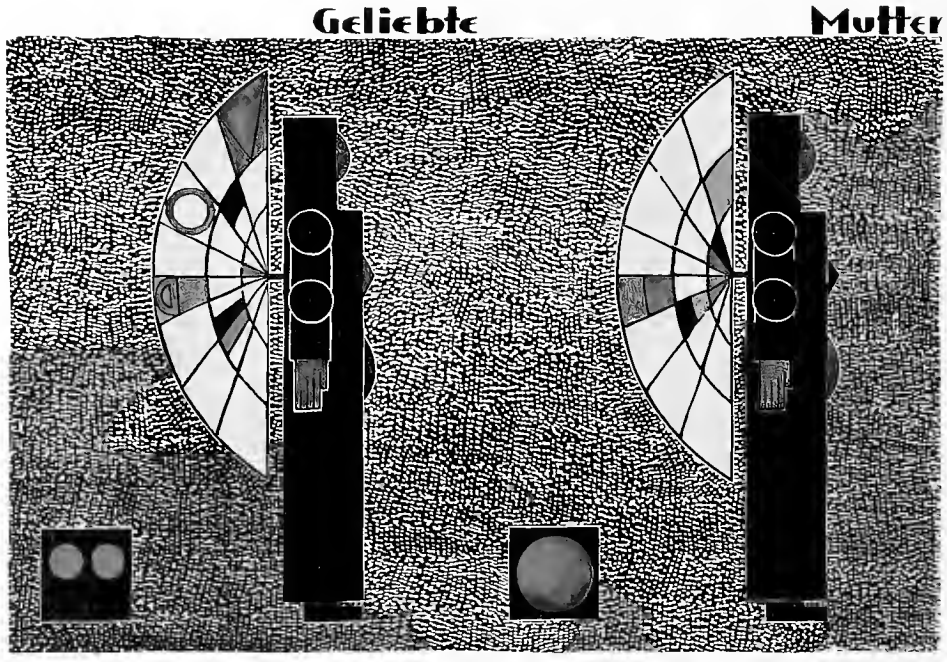
Some of the critics had foreseen such a development and had pronounced Expressionism dead or at least dying as early as 1919 or 1920. Wilhelm Hausenstein, Rudolf Kayser, Wilhelm Worringer (considered the most important theorist of Expressionism after the 1908 publication of his book *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* [Abstraction and empathy]), and others had recognized that the proclaimed spiritual, intellectual, and political aims of the movement had become questionable and certainly unattainable. Schickele convincingly stated what had brought the movement about: "We were unhappy in the twilight of our era: we wanted out of a world that was making clever business deals with both heart and mind." And: "On the ninth of November [1918, the beginning of the revolution], I felt I was, I might almost say, tangibly in heaven. I felt that from now on I should never be alone, never despair of myself or others."[42]

In 1920 Goll published an obituary of the Expressionist movement in the Yugoslavian journal *Zenit:*

> *What is being rumored, deridingly laughed at, anticipated everywhere, proves itself: again, an art dies of the times that betray it. Whether it is the fault of the arts or of the times is inconsequential. . . . Expressionism was not the name of an artistic form but that of a conviction. [It was] probably more a sense of a world view than the object of an artistic necessity. . . .*
>
> *Therefore, demand, manifesto, appeal, accusation, incantation, ecstasy, struggle, man screams, we are, to each other, pathos. Who was not a part of it? All took part. . . .*
>
> *Not a single Expressionist was a reactionary. Not a single one was not against the war. Not a single one did not believe in brotherhood and solidarity. Also among the painters. Proof: conviction. And: Expressionism was a beautiful, good, great thing. Solidarity of the spiritual* [Geistigen]. *Parade of the truthful. The result is, unfortunately and through no fault of the Expressionists, the German republic of 1920.*[43]

This short summary of the development of the various arts within the Expressionist movement leaves one important question: While other artistic movements became international in scope, why was the Expressionist movement confined basically to Germany? The visual artists were certainly influenced by and aware of the works of Gauguin, van Gogh, the Cubists, and the Fauves; Munch left indelible marks, especially on the early graphic works; the Orphism of Delaunay was greatly admired; Cézanne and Picasso were thoroughly studied, as were the Russian Constructivists. In short, German artists were aware of artistic movements beyond their borders, but German art remained unappreciated for a long time in France, England, and the United States. Neither the poetry nor the theater nor the films achieved an international reputation until much later on. There seems to be only one possible answer. The emotional intensity, the frequently too honest and depressing subject matter, the strong social undertones, the spiritual ties to a pantheistic world view, the inherent religious fervor, and the harsh condemnation of materialism were understandable only within the historical context of Germany. No other country experienced the violent generational conflict that Germany did; none so fervently embraced the belief that the arts could and should change man and society.

Note: All translations by the author. This essay was made possible by an appointment as scholar in residence by the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation and by a visiting senior fellowship to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Expressions of gratitude are also due to the Akademie der Künste, Berlin; the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden; the Deutsche Bibliothek, Leipzig; the Deutsches Literatur-Archiv, Marbach; and to the numerous friends who shared their knowledge freely.



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Lothar Schreyer
Germany, 1886–1966
Geliebte / Mutter, c. 1920
(Lover / mother)
Woodcut with pochoir
8 7/16 x 12 3/16 in. (21.5 x 30.9 cm)
From Lothar Schreyer,
Kreuzigung: Spielgang Werk VII
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NOTES

1 Wolfgang Zorn, ed., *Handbuch der deutschen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, vol. 2, *Das 19 und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1976), p. 22.

2 See Lothar-Günther Buchheim, *Die Künstlergemeinschaft Brücke* (Feldafing: Buchheim Verlag, 1956); Georg Reinhardt, *Die frühe Brücke: Beiträge zur Geschichte und zum Werk der Dresdner Künstlergruppe Brücke der Jahre 1905–1908*, Brücke-Archiv, no. 9/10 (Berlin: Brücke-Archiv, 1978); Hans Bolliger and E. W. Kornfeld, *Ausstellung Künstlergruppe Brücke: Jahresmappen, 1906–1912* (Bern: Klipstein & Kornfeld, 1958).

3 Reinhardt, *Die frühe Brücke*, pp. 75, 129–31.

4 See Kurt Hiller, *Die Weisheit der Langenweile: Eine Zeit- und Streitschrift*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1913); Juliane Habereder, *Kurt Hiller und der literarische Aktivismus: Zur Geistesgeschichte des politischen Dichters in den frühen zwanziger Jahren* (Frankfurt and Bern: Lang, 1981); Wolfgang Rothe, ed., *Der Aktivismus, 1915–1920* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1969).

5 Johannes R. Becher, "Über Jakob van Hoddis," in Paul Raabe, ed., *Expressionismus: Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen der Zeitgenossen* (Olten, 1965), pp. 51–52.

6 Kurt Pinthus, ed., *Menschheitsdämmerung: Symphonie jüngster Dichtung* (Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt, 1920).

7 See Ludwig Rubiner, ed., *Kameraden der Menschheit. Dichtungen zur Weltrevolution: Eine Sammlung* (Potsdam: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1919); Paul Raabe, *Die Zeitschriften und Sammlungen des literarischen Expressionismus* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964); idem, *Die Autoren und Bücher des literarischen Expressionismus* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1985).

8 See Will Grohmann, *Wassily Kandinsky: Leben und Werk*, 2d ed. (Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1961).

9 See Jelena Hahl-Koch, ed., *Arnold Schönberg—Wassily Kandinsky: Briefe, Bilder und Dokumente einer aussergewöhnlichen Begegnung* (Salzburg and Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1980).

10 See Rosel Golleck, *Der blaue Reiter im Lenbachhaus München: Begegnungen und Wandlungen, 1896–1914* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1982); and Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, eds., *Der blaue Reiter* (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1912). There is also a reprint of the almanac, edited by Klaus Lankheit (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1965), which has also been published in an English-language edition: *The Blue Rider Almanac*, Documents of Twentieth-Century Art (New York: Viking, 1974).

11 Golleck, *Der blaue Reiter*, p. 274.

12 Franz Marc, "Die 'Wilden' Deutschlands," in Kandinsky and Marc, *Der blaue Reiter*, p. 5.

13 Wassily Kandinsky, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1912). Published in English as *The Art of Spiritual Harmony*, trans. Michael T. Sadler (London and Boston, 1914).

14 Manfred Schlösser, ed., *Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin, 1918–1921*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1980), pp. 88–89. See also Eberhard Steneberg, *Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin, 1918–1921* (Düsseldorf: Edition Marzona, 1987).

15 Schlösser, *Arbeitsrat*, pp. 88–89.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., see pp. 10–26.

18 See Helga Kliemann, *Die Novembergruppe* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1969); *Die Novembergruppe: Teil 1, Die Maler*, Tendenzen der Zwanziger Jahre, exh. cat. (Berlin: Kunstamt Wedding, 1977).

19 Will Grohmann, "Zehn Jahre Novembergruppe," *Kunst der Zeit* 3, no. 1/3 (1928): 1.

20 Fritz Löffler, Emilio Bertonati, and Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, *Dresdner Sezession, 1919–1923*, exh. cat. (Milan and Munich: Galleria del Levante, 1977), unpaginated; see also Fritz Löffler, "Die Dresdner Sezession, Gruppe 1919: 1919–1925," in *Kunst im Aufbruch: Dresden, 1918–1933*, exh. cat. (Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister, 1981), p. 39ff.; *Conrad Felixmüller: Werke und Dokumente*, exh. cat. (Nuremberg: Archiv für bildende Kunst, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1982).

21 Löffler et al., *Dresdner Sezession*, unpaginated.

22 Madalena M. Moeller, *Der Sonderbund: Seine Voraussetzungen und Anfänge in Düsseldorf* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1984), p. 54. See also Günter Aust, "Die Ausstellung des Sonderbundes 1912 in Köln," in *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, vol. 23 (Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1961).

23 See Aurel Bongers, Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, and Dierk Stemmler, eds., *Die rheinischen Expressionisten: August Macke und seine Malerfreunde*, exh. cat. (Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1979); Ulrich Krempel, ed., *Am Anfang: Das junge Rheinland: Zur Kunst- und Zeitgeschichte, 1918–1945*, exh. cat. (Düsseldorf: Claasen, 1985).

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27 See Lotte Eisner, *The Haunted Screen: Expressionism in the German Cinema and the Influence of Max Reinhardt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969); Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1947); Rudolf Kurtz, *Expressionismus und Film* (Berlin: Verlag der Lichtbildbühne, 1926; reprint, Zurich, 1965); Thomas G. Plummer et al., eds., *Film and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (New York and London: Holmes & Meier, n.d.); Jerzy Toepitz, *Geschichte des Films, 1895–1928* (Munich: Rogener & Bernhard, 1975).

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30 Wenzel A. Hablik, "Utopie und Wirklichkeit," reprinted in Harald Szeeman, ed., *Der Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk: Europäische Utopien seit 1800*, exh. cat. (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1983), p. 368; see also Wolfgang Reschke, *Wenzel Hablik, 1881–1923* (Münsterdorf: Hansen & Hansen, 1981).

31 Bruno Taut, *Ein Architektur-Program*, Flugschriften des Arbeitsrates Berlin, reprinted in Schlösser, *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*, p. 86.

32 Adolph Behne, "Berlin: Banten," *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 27 (February 14, 1921): 165–66.

33 W. Hoffmann, "Beziehungen zwischen Malerei und Musik," in *Schönberg—Webern—Berg: Bilder—Partituren—Dokumente*, exh. cat. (Vienna: Museum des 20. Jahrhunderts, 1969), p. 117.

34 Hahl-Koch, *Arnold Schönberg—Wassily Kandinsky*, p. 133.

35 Wassily Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, trans. Michael T. Sadler (1914; reprint, New York: Dover, 1977), p. 17.

36 Szeemann, *Der Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk*, pp. 269–78.

37 See H. H. Stuckenschmidt, "Musik und Musiker in der Novembergruppe," *Der Anbruch* 6 (October 1928): 293–95; Heinz Tiessen, *Zur Geschichte der jüngsten Musik, 1913–1928: Probleme und Entwicklungen* (Mainz: Melos, 1928).

38 See Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, *Rhythmik, Theorie und Praxis der körperlich musikalischen Erziehung* (Basel, 1926); Rudolf Laban, *Die Welt des Tänzers: Fünf Gedankenreihen* (Stuttgart: Walter Seifert, 1920); idem, *Gymnastik und Tanz* (Oldenburg: G. Stalling, 1926); Walter Sorell, *Der Tanz als Spiegel der Zeit: Eine Kulturgeschichte des Tanzes* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1985); idem, *The Mary Wigman Book* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); Rudolf Adrian Dietrich, *Das Tanzbuch* (Regensburg: Franz Ludwig Habbel, 1921); Fritz Böhme, *Der Tanz der Zukunft* (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1926); Egon Vietta, *Der Tanz: Eine kleine Metaphysik* (Frankfurt: Societäts Verlag, 1938); Rudolf Bach, *Mary-Wigman-Werk* (Dresden: Kaemmerer, 1933).

39 Dietrich, *Tanzbuch*, p. 4. See also Fritz Winther and Hanna Winther, *Der heilige Tanz* (Rudolfstadt: Greifenverlag, 1923).

40 See the discussion in Peg Weiss, *Kandinsky in Munich: The Formative Jugendstil Years* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979)

41 Kasimir Edschmid, "Stand des Expressionismus," lecture at opening of the first German Expressionist art exhibition in Darmstadt, June 10, 1920, reprinted in *Sechzig Jahre Darmstädter Sezession*, exh. cat. (Darmstadt: Neue Darmstädter Sezession, 1979), p. 18.

42 René Schickele, *Der Neunte November, mit einem Nachwort und einem Anhang*, 5th ed. (Berlin: Erich Reiss, 1919).

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The Revival of Printmaking in Germany

Ida Katherine Rigby

Printmaking was central to the German Expressionist artists' quest for the bold, emotion-laden forms that would convey their intense engagement with the temporal and spiritual circumstances of their lives. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner testified to this sense of the significance of printmaking when he wrote, "Nowhere does one come to know an artist better than in his prints."[1] In their effort to communicate powerful emotions with immediacy, the Expressionists cultivated a direct, energetic engagement with their materials. This in turn led to experimentation with printmaking techniques. In their search for condensed, abstract equivalents for highly charged emotional and metaphysical states, printmaking was a constant companion. The first group of Expressionist artists, the Brücke (bridge), brought about a renaissance in German printmaking.

The appeal of the graphic media lay in part in their ability to satisfy the artists' urge to record subjective visions quickly, with the physical and emotional directness of drawing. Each medium was distinguished by inherent material qualities and techniques the artists found conducive to the development of a new, abstract language. The woodcut in particular demanded a degree of simplification that they believed resulted in the revelation of profound emotional states.

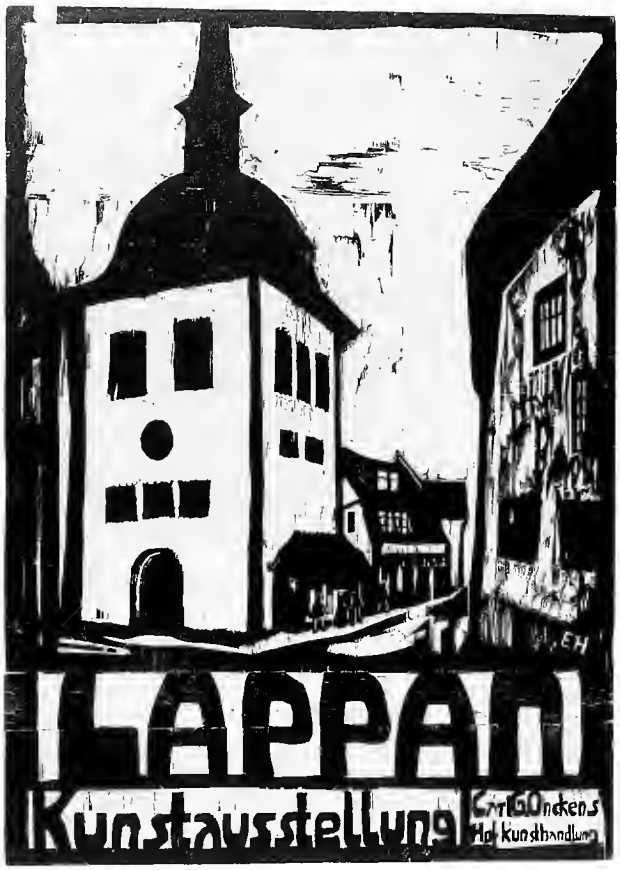
The woodcut had had a long, revered history in Germany, which surrounded it with a special aura. In a 1920 article the art historian Wilhelm R. Valentiner explained the historical sanction and affirmation of cultural continuity that it offered:

> *From the time of the oldest timberwork architecture of the Germans, from the wooden sculpture of the German Gothic and Renaissance, from the art of the woodcut of Dürer's time, the German artist has preferred the use of wood for the expression of his ideas in architecture, sculpture, and printmaking. It is as if the structure of the rough trunk, with its knotty, misshapen form that nevertheless submits to the passionate carving knife, were especially suited to the half-barbaric, half-sentimental, self-sacrificing German character.*[2]

The Expressionists regarded frank personal expression as the key authenticating characteristic of contemporary art. They did not promote and refine the old, cherished technical values of connoisseurship and therefore depended on a new kind of collector. Representative of this new generation was the Hamburg collector Gustav Schiefler.[3] He perceived the essence of the new sensibility and was especially attracted to print collecting: "One feels the pulse of an artist when one contemplates his graphic work . . . ," he wrote. "The needle, the crayon, the cutting knife are simpler and therefore more penetrating means of expression than brush and color."[4] Schiefler befriended the artists, collected their work, and wrote monographs on the prints of Kirchner, Edvard Munch, and Emil Nolde.

The belief that printmaking could offer a more intimate insight into the creative process was shared by artists and critics. Paul Fechter, one of the first critics to recognize Expressionism, wrote in an article on Max Pechstein's prints: "Whoever wants to experience the in-

56
Franz Marc
Germany, 1880–1916
Geburt der Pferde, 1913
(The birth of horses)
Color woodcut
8½ x 5¾ in. (21.5 x 14.5 cm)
M.82.288.204
Davis 1834



57

58

ner many-sidedness of the human, the singular characteristics of this humanity in relation to things and men, the intimate life and the identity between being and creation, must take up prints."[5]

These artists and critics also assumed that the abstract language of printmaking revealed truths inaccessible to traditional realism. The art critic Emil Alphons Rheinhardt encouraged readers to take the time to learn the new "cipher language" before dismissing Expressionism. Therein, he wrote, the viewer could find not a distancing from nature, but the direct experience of its underlying forces.[6]

The authenticity and profundity valued by Schiefler and the critics was neither immediately nor generally appreciated. Schiefler later recalled some of the early negative responses: "The mandarins of the Dresden print room would like to discern here only uncouthness and crudeness. . . . It was perhaps lucky not to have been understood there. . . . So no patronage built barriers to their development. Free and bold they could reach into the world of experience and live life to the fullest."[7]

This repudiation on the part of the "mandarins" was predictable. What was unexpected was another response reported by Schiefler, that of Edvard Munch when he first saw Karl Schmidt-Rottluff's prints. "Edvard Munch was at my place when the first shipment of his prints arrived. He said: 'The Lord protect us! Difficult times are ahead.'" Although this anecdote is often quoted, Munch's second thoughts are usually omitted, perhaps to preserve the dramatic effect of his initial response. "The following day he corrected himself: there must be something therein; he had had to think about it the whole night."[8]

Even among friends of the artists many were disturbed by the new, distorted forms. A good example is Hans Fehr, a former student of Nolde and a subscriber to the initial Brücke portfolio. In a letter to Nolde, Fehr expressed his concern about the "recklessness" and "licentiousness" of the prints included therein. Fehr later published Nolde's response, which defined and defended the new sensibility:

> *Every true artist creates new values, new beauty. . . . When you notice anarchy, recklessness, or licentiousness in works of contemporary art, when you notice crass coarseness and brutality, then occupy yourself long and painstakingly precisely with these works, and you will suddenly recognize how the seeming recklessness transforms itself into freedom, the coarseness into high refinements. Harmless pictures are seldom worth anything.*[9]

In their quest for new values the Expressionists departed from conventional printmaking techniques as the urge for personal expression took precedence over the technical refinements savored by connoisseurs. Among the Brücke artists' innovations was their insistence on printing by hand. Kirchner explained the importance of this: "Where Kirchner does his own printing, he is in a position to utilize fully all technical possibilities. Only the artist who has a love and an aptitude for craftsmanship should make prints; only when the artist truly prints himself does the work earn the name original print."[10] Pechstein too expressed faith in the authenticating power of craftsmanship: "What a variety of shapes exists in

57
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Plakat der Eröffnungs-ausstellung der Kunsthandlung C. G. Oncken im Lappan, Oldenburg, 1909
(Poster for opening exhibition of the C. G. Oncken art gallery in Lappan, Oldenburg)
Woodcut
33 1/16 x 23 9/16 in. (84.0 x 59.8 cm)
L.84.5.19; lent by the Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills, California

58
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Titelholzschnitt, 1910
(Title woodcut)
Woodcut
6 9/16 x 4 5/16 in. (16.7 x 10.9 cm)
From *KG Brücke*, catalogue of exhibition at Galerie Arnold, Dresden, 1910
M.82.288.374 a
Davis 1024

59
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Pantomime von W. S. Guttmann, 1912
(Pantomime by W. S. Guttmann)
Woodcut
3 5/16 x 4 3/8 in. (8.5 x 11.1 cm)
M.82.288.80
Davis 1029

the lithograph when one prepares the stone for printing, etches it, and prints oneself. Above all, one must do the printing oneself!"[11]

Printmaking played many roles in the Expressionist movement. Before the First World War it had a decisive influence on the development of the Expressionists' new, abstract language. After the war individual prints and prints published in portfolios and Expressionist journals and as posters not only continued to reflect a stylistic evolution but also became vehicles for the artists' new politicized stance. In presenting a general discussion of Expressionist prints, the balance of this essay addresses four subjects: the renaissance of printmaking in Germany, the role of printmaking in the work of individual Expressionists, assessments by the artists' contemporaries, and the repercussions of their work on print collecting.

The Expressionist Revival of Printmaking

Influenced by Paul Gauguin, Munch, Félix Vallotton, the Jugendstil artists, and Japanese printmakers, the first generation of Expressionists broke with the nineteenth-century practice of using printmaking as a vehicle for illustration and revived it as an independent artistic pursuit. The art historian Hans Tietze paid tribute to their accomplishment in an early book on German prints, stating that they had "returned to German printmaking its long-silent voice. . . . Original printmaking established itself as having equal right beside the proud sister, painting; [painting] learned much from the newly resurrected medium."[12]

The first to explore new printmaking techniques were the artists of the Brücke. One of its founders, Schmidt-Rottluff, emphasized the group's spirit of experimentation in a letter inviting Nolde to join. He wrote, "One of the aims of the Brücke is to attract all revolutionary elements."[13] In his memoirs Schiefler described the total dedication to art that prevailed in the group's quarters:

> *In the days that I spent in Dresden in the middle of December . . . I was together with Kirchner and Heckel a great deal. . . . Here they led a singular bohemian life, liberated from any ordering of daytimes and mealtimes; when they had the impulse they worked the whole night through and slept through the morning. I was convinced that they not infrequently lived on coffee, cake, and cigarettes. . . . When the lamps were lit, we sat on benches and crouched over the batiked fabrics that were spread around the low table and looked at the portfolios with hand drawings and printed sheets; all the time strange, grotesque sculptures peered over our shoulders. The two showed me how they etched their lithographs, printed their etchings, and Kirchner drew two . . . portraits of me with the drypoint needle.*[14]

The Brücke artists soon abandoned the decorative values of the Japanese woodcut, Vallotton, and the Jugendstil in deference to the expression discovered in printmaking processes and materials. In an early article on Nolde's prints, the art historian Alois Schardt described this

60

61

60
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Die Ballade vom Zuchthaus zu Reading von Oskar Wilde mit Holzschnitten von E. Heckel, 1907
(The Ballad of Reading Gaol by Oscar Wilde with woodcuts by E. Heckel)
Woodcut
3 7/16 x 5 13/16 in. (8.8 x 14.8 cm)
From portfolio Die Ballade vom Zuchthaus zu Reading
M.82.288.87 l
Davis 1010.1

61
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Stiftsfräulein im Garten, 1912
(Canoness in the garden)
Woodcut
4 5/8 x 3 1/8 in. (11.8 x 8.0 cm)
From Alfred Döblin, *Das Stiftsfräulein und der Tod*
83.1.110 d
Davis 1453.4

new source of inspiration: "The same sense of the... individuality and the nature-given force of a material that led Nolde in his etchings to allow the etching acid, above all, to work, made him use in his woodcuts not the end of the block, which had been utilized until then, but the long side. . . . With Nolde it is precisely on the structure of the wood that the language of his cuts comes to depend and by which it is stimulated."[15]

Printmaking was important to the Brücke artists both as an expresssive medium and as a means to publicize their new vision. In their 1906 manifesto they declared their faith in a new generation not only of artists but also of collectors and appreciators. They sought patronage and attempted to spread their ideas by offering associate, or "passive," memberships. Associates received the yearly Brücke portfolios of original prints (see pp. 67–78).[16] The artists designed posters for exhibitions (see fig. 57) and used prints to reproduce paintings in exhibition catalogues (see fig. 58). Invitations (see fig. 59) and membership cards were themselves original prints. Their manifesto was a woodcut, as were parts of the 1913 *Chronik KG Brücke* (Chronicle of the artists' group the Brücke).

Prints, like drawings, recorded every aspect of the artists' lives. In an essay on Pechstein's prints, Fechter described the autobiographical role printmaking played: "[Prints] not only show the change and transformation of [Pechstein's] artistic goals but are also both the mirror and chronicle of his external life. They report on his journeys and trips, on life in the cities and in nature; they exhibit life's surroundings."[17] Every Expressionist theme—including the self-portrait, portraits of friends, the studio, madness, violence, illness, passion, trips to the Moritzburg Lakes or to the northern fishing villages, and the metropolis, with its streets, circuses, variety shows, prostitutes, and cafés—was taken up in prints.

The Expressionist artists' interest in literature is evident in their prints. Heckel's early portfolio Die Ballade vom Zuchthaus zu Reading (The Ballad of Reading Gaol; see figs. 60, 202–5) was inspired by Oscar Wilde's poem. Five woodcuts by Kirchner illustrated the 1913 edition of Alfred Döblin's *Das Stiftsfräulein und der Tod* (The canoness and Death; see figs. 61, 169). Kirchner's semiautobiographical woodcuts for Adelbert von Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* (The wondrous story of Peter Schlemihl) were published in 1915. In 1924 Kurt Wolff brought out an edition of Georg Heym's *Umbra Vitae* (Shadow of life; see figs. 62, 164–65) with fifty original woodcuts by Kirchner.

After the Brücke artists moved to Berlin their contacts with German and European avant-garde artists were broadened. In Herwarth Walden's gallery, Der Sturm (The storm), they saw and were influenced by the work of the Cubists and Futurists. Cubist ideas are reflected in Schmidt-Rottluff's broad, planar forms. Heckel's brittle angularities evidence the influence of Cubism and Futurism, as does the work of their mutual friend Lyonel Feininger. Kirchner's tense Berlin street scenes are animated by futurist force lines.

Although the urban environment was a vital stimulus for the Brücke artists, they found it dehumanizing and sought reinvigoration in communion with nature and contact with simple, rural people. Their interest in tribal cultures and peasant life was fueled both by the German

62
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Alle Landschaften haben . . ., 1919–23
(All landscapes have . . .)
Woodcut
5¾ x 3⁹⁄₁₆ in. (14.6 x 9.1 cm)
From Georg Heym, *Umbra Vitae*
83.1.116.12
Davis 1474.4

62

Romantic tradition of seeking inspiration in union with nature and by the example of Gauguin, whom they envisioned as the primal Adam living in a South Seas paradise. Nolde's dancers (see fig. 63), the exotic adornments of their studios, and summer sojourns to German fishing villages reflected this yearning for contact with the primal and unspoiled. Fechter captured the spirit of these sojourns when he described Pechstein's summers in Nida, in western Lithuania, where he lived "less as guest than as a primitive person among primitive men. . . . After the excesses of the big city he once again experiences existence in the close-to-earth forms of closest connectedness."[18] Nolde traveled to the South Seas with an anthropological expedition in 1913, and Pechstein visited Palau in 1914 (see fig. 64). Two rhapsodic passages from Pechstein's Palau diaries perfectly render his Brücke comrades' dream:

> *A new day. Calm as seldom the beginning of such a one. Did I dream? No! Dream and contented pure was the night. . . .*
>
> *It is the sure certainty of having found unity with nature, this calm causes one of the strongest experiences.*
>
> *Man, air, trees, world are laid bare and are one!*[19]
>
> *Contented sleep releases the limbs. We await full moon. Await the dance!*[20]

In addition to the Brücke artists, others created prints in the Expressionist mode. Many, including César Klein, Oskar Kokoschka, Moriz Melzer, Wilhelm Morgner, Heinrich Richter-Berlin, Jakob Steinhardt, and Georg Tappert, were published in Walden's *Der Sturm*. In addition to including Expressionist prints in his journal and exhibiting them in his gallery, Walden published special editions of prints by Heinrich Campendonk, Wassily Kandinsky, Kokoschka, Franz Marc, Morgner, Gabriele Münter, and Pechstein, among others. It was the Berlin secessionists, however, and not the Expressionists whose prints won recognition before the war. H. W. Singer's otherwise comprehensive 1914 book on modern prints, for example, gave extensive coverage to the secessionists and ignored the Expressionists.[21] Many well-known members of the Berlin Sezession—Max Beckmann, Lovis Corinth, Käthe Kollwitz, Max Liebermann, Hans Meid, and Max Slevogt—were printmakers, but they worked in the romanticized impressionistic or realistic modes that dominated the Berlin Sezession. The sculptor and printmaker Ernst Barlach was the exception. He belonged to the Berlin Sezession, but he was an Expressionist.

In Munich the Blaue Reiter (blue rider) group devoted its second exhibition, in February 1912, to prints, drawings, and watercolors. Included were the works of Heckel, Kirchner, Nolde, and Pechstein. The artists who were themselves most closely associated with the Blaue Reiter made comparatively few prints. Printmaking was not, as it was for the Brücke, at the core of their work. Nevertheless the abstracting nature of the woodcut was well suited for expressing Kandinsky's and Marc's spiritual concerns. Kandinsky illustrated his 1913 book *Klänge*

63

(Sounds; see figs. 9, 207) with woodcuts from 1911–12 that embodied the inner musical resonance he sought to convey. Each chapter in his *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (Concerning the spiritual in art, 1912) was headed by an abstract, symbolic woodcut. The cover of the 1912 almanac *Der blaue Reiter* was a woodcut by Kandinsky. Before he went to war, Marc had asked Heckel, Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Kokoschka, and Alfred Kubin to collaborate on an illustrated Bible. Marc completed some prints for his section, Genesis (see fig. 56).

The outbreak of war temporarily halted most artistic activity as German artists volunteered or were drafted. Some even welcomed the war. Beckmann, for example, saw it as an opportunity to fill his sketchbooks with scenes of high adventure. Dix volunteered out of a desire to participate fully in the events of his day and to observe humanity in extreme situations. Marc saw in it the cathartic cataclysm that would purge a corrupt Europe. For many the war heralded the new age embodied in Kandinsky's and Meidner's apocalyptic prewar visions.

During the war artists continued to record their experiences in prints. Kirchner suffered a breakdown early in the war, and his woodcuts for Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl* mirror his shattered psyche. Heckel recorded the faces of the wounded and those who cared for them. Dix kept detailed sketchbooks that became the basis for Der Krieg (War, 1924; see pp. 78–85), his portfolio of fifty etchings drawn from his four years in the field. Pechstein's portfolio Somme 1916 (1919; see fig. 65) recorded the experiences that led him to request a transfer from active duty. In a discussion of the portfolio, art critic Curt Glaser identified its Expressionist component, the desire to tap levels of meaning beyond the quotidian: "For this intensely solitary man the war itself also became an experience of the highest unfolding of existence. He saw not so much the suffering as the powerful exertion of all forces, which in the etchings of the battle of the Somme were raised to a maximum of expression."[22]

The war brought bitter disillusionment, which artists expressed in prints and portfolios published in the years following the war. Christian Rohlfs's *Der Gefangene* (The prisoner, 1918; fig. 66) is the testament of a weary, disheartened old man. Conrad Felixmüller's *Soldat im Irrenhaus* (Soldier in a madhouse, 1918; fig. 67) ensnares the viewer in the jumbled world of the shell-shocked. A portfolio by George Grosz, Gott mit uns (God with us, 1920; see pp. 86–99), ridicules the military machine the artist came to hate. Beckmann's portfolio Die Hölle (Hell; see fig. 145), created during his March 1919 stay in Berlin, embodies the horrific aftermath of war and revolution. The Expressionist periodicals published or reproduced prints of battered bodies and shattered souls. In 1924, six years after the war ended, Kollwitz published her portfolio Sieben Holzschnitte zum Krieg (Seven woodcuts on the war; see fig. 68), which chronicled the cycle of sacrifice, grief, and acceptance that was the experience on the home front. The same year Dix's Der Krieg reported the horrors of the front in obsessive detail.

One of the most anguished utterances to issue forth from postwar Germany was Schmidt-Rottluff's emblematic *Kristus* (Christ, 1918; fig. 71), from the portfolio Neun Holzschnitte (Nine woodcuts, 1919), carved while the artist was on the censor's staff at the Russian front. In the periodical *Der Cicerone* (The cicerone), Valentiner described the image as

> *a frightful vision on which is distinctly marked the stifling terror of the German people, who dragged themselves through four war years. . . . The one eye is closed in pain; the other, open wide in prophecy: therefrom pierce glances of sorrow and oppression, which bore deep into one's mind. The forehead, however, is branded with the number 1918 as a reminder to humanity, which in these times has gone astray, as an eternal sign that, as the caption reads, in this year, "Christ did not appear to you."*
>
> *The tragedy of a people on whom it suddenly dawns that it gave its best for iron instead of for the spirit trembles convulsively through these sheets.*[23]

63
Emil Nolde
Germany, 1867–1956
Tänzerin, 1913
(Dancer)
Color lithograph
20⅞ x 27⅛ in. (53.0 x 69.0 cm)
M.82.288.232
Davis 2125

64
Max Pechstein
Germany, 1881–1955
Untitled (native family on boat), 1913–14
Lithograph
8¾ x 5¹⁵⁄₁₆ in. (22.2 x 15.0 cm)
From *Reisebilder: Italien, Südsee*
83.1.165.42
Davis 2228.42

64

65

66

The Expressionists' contemporaries looked to artists to give transcendent meaning to their plight by means of shared cultural symbolism. As P. F. Schmidt wrote, commenting on Beckmann's Die Hölle, that was considered their mission: "We live in such a hell, only we are not conscious of it; we have shifted all of the torment and doubt of our situation onto the artist's conscience; as prophet and soothsayer of the times, he carries our burden; he expresses the meaning and insanity of the everyday, which we hold hidden in our hearts."[24]

Schmidt-Rottluff's Neun Holzschnitte, Kollwitz's Sieben Holzschnitte zum Krieg, and Barlach's Die Wandlungen Gottes (The transformations of God, 1921; see fig. 73) testify to the concentrated power that so often made the woodcut the bearer of the Expressionists' message of grief, disillusionment, and transcendence. A letter written by Barlach to a cousin in 1919 explains why the woodcut spoke so poignantly to the times: "As the misfortune befell in November [1918], I threw myself into the woodcut. . . . It is a technique that provokes one to confession, to the unmistakable statement of what one finally means. It, or far more she, enforces a certain general validity of expression. . . . I have finished a number of large woodcuts that deal with all of the distress of the times."[25]

During and immediately after the war the Expressionists frequently used Christian symbolism and biblical metaphors to convey both disillusionment and hope. Even in the pages of the antibourgeois political and cultural journal *Die Aktion* (Action), prints of the crucifixion appeared as the symbol of a martyred humanity and its redemption. Ecstatic, mystical imagery filled the postwar Expressionist periodicals (see fig. 70). Grohmann attributed the prevalence of religious imagery to a heightened spiritual awareness induced by the daily proximity of death. In characterizing Schmidt-Rottluff's postwar work, he wrote:

> *He returned from the field altered, but the new impulse came less out of political and social revolution than . . . out of the assurance that there existed a tie to the numinous, the sacred, the religious. . . .*
>
> *. . . He gives the old symbols new content through human bearing and transforms them into symbolic terms of expression with contemporary appeal. . . .*
>
> *. . . What he painted in 1919 and 1920 was born out of the sense of being near death and again being given the gift of life.*[26]

In his book *Kunst und Religion* (Art and religion, 1919), Gustav F. Hartlaub addressed this postwar phenomenon within the broader context of the metaphysical underpinnings of the Expressionist movement. He illustrated prints by Barlach, Heckel, Kokoschka, Otto Lange, Marc, Meidner, and Fritz Schaefler and paintings by Josef Eberz and Alois Wach, among others. He perceived the postwar mysticism as an intensification of the prewar Expressionists' effort to unite the human soul (*Menschenseele*) with the source of all being (*Urgrunde*). He saw the Christian imagery as part of a radical, antibourgeois desire to create a new socialist society and a new religion. He wrote: "The main thing is that

65
Max Pechstein
Germany, 1881–1955
Somme 8, 1918
Etching with drypoint
15⁹⁄₁₆ x 12½ in. (39.5 x 31.8 cm)
From portfolio Somme 1916
L.85.2.10 h; lent by the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation, Beverly Hills, California
Davis 2247.8

66
Christian Rohlfs
Germany, 1849–1938
Der Gefangene, 1918
(The prisoner)
Woodcut
24¼ x 18⅜ in. (61.1 x 46.6 cm)
M.82.288.253
Davis 2383

67
Conrad Felixmüller
Germany, 1897–1977
Soldat im Irrenhaus, 1918
(Soldier in a madhouse)
Color lithograph
15⅛ x 12⁹⁄₁₆ in. (38.4 x 31.0 cm)
M.82.287.16
Davis 602

Expressionism remain true to itself. It is then, for its part, built on the foundation of a way of thinking that should create the new symbols that for us today are still totally missing and through which Christianity will gain its new form of existence. Not until this existence is ensured will the new religious art also be born."[27]

This desire to comprehend events in spiritual terms was reflected in the artists' recurrent images of seers and prophets (see fig. 72). They envisioned themselves as the potential spiritual leaders of the new, postrevolutionary society and believed that their prewar images had presaged the cataclysm that was making this new world possible. A statement by Walther Rilla, editor of *Die Erde* (The earth), expressed their ecstatic faith in the imminence of a new dispensation: "After a huge span of catastrophic dehumanization, we stand with trembling hands before a new beginning: the humanization of humanity. And of the earth."[28]

The Expressionists fervently believed that the new age would nurture the "new man." His image filled their periodicals (see fig. 69), and everywhere they celebrated his advent: "The new man, the fellow creature, the brother-man, creation and creator of the earth, prince of the lost paradise, the human man, who should stride out of the roar of the times into the light—humanity is in danger! A new beginning must be found—in man. Revolutionizing the heart, soul, and conscience. . . . Nothing will help socialism so long as it is not connected, and connected with humanism."[29]

For activist artists, socialism was the political manifestation of this new humanism, the mechanism through which their utopian goals would be realized. Many Expressionists therefore identified with the international socialist workers' movement. Posters and prints calling for reconciliation, fraternization, and the repatriation of prisoners of war reflected a renewed internationalism. Kollwitz, for example, collaborated with Elisabeth Asch, the wife of a prisoner of war, on a poster entitled *Heraus mit unsern Gefangenen* (Set free our prisoners, 1920), and her frontispiece for the 1924 edition of Henri Barbusse's *Der singende Soldat* (The singing soldier; fig. 74) was a plea for fraternization. During the war the writings of Barbusse and Romain Rolland had been a rallying point for pacifist, internationalist sentiment. Postwar Expressionist journals called for international congresses of writers, artists, and intellectuals and carried articles like art critic Willi Wolfradt's "Bruderkrieg" (Fraternal war), in which he argued that "a thousand commonalities between men, the parallels between their presentiments and longings above all . . . cause all men to be brothers" and make every war a "fraternal war" and therefore a crime against humanity.[30]

The Expressionists' heady celebration of humankind had its corollary in their infatuation with the working class. A statement by Hartlaub typifies this romanticizing of the proletariat: "The 'humanity' toward which the Expressionist turns in the impersonal, as it were, only temporary forum of exhibitions, periodicals, and manifestos is . . . to be found in no class. Certainly, however, in the final analysis, the propertyless are closer to them than the propertied, and an intelligent worker will more easily come to appreciate a Nolde than an intelligent bourgeois."[31]

The many radical artists' groups founded throughout

69
Karl Jakob Hirsch
Germany, 1892–1952
Untitled (head), c. 1919
Woodcut
6 3/16 x 2 5/8 in. (15.7 x 6.6 cm)
From *Die Aktion* 9, no. 20 (1919)
83.1.1552 a
Davis 1177

70
Alois Wach
Anstria, 1892–1940
Erlösung, c. 1919
(Release)
Woodcut
5 9/16 x 6 7/8 in. (14.2 x 17.4 cm)
From *Der Weg* 1, no. 2 (1919)
83.1.1214 a
Davis 305S

68
Käthe Kollwitz
Germany, 1867–1945
Das Opfer, 1922–23
(The sacrifice)
Woodcut
14 9/16 x 15 3/4 in. (37.0 x 40.0 cm)
From portfolio Sieben Holzschnitte zum Krieg
M.82.288.193 a
Davis 1606.1

69

70

Germany, such as the Novembergruppe (November group) and the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (working council for art), declared it their purpose to bring art and architecture closer to the people and thereby overcome the elitist alienation of the avant-garde. Themes of proletarian life and images of leaders such as Kurt Eisner (see fig. 76), Karl Liebknecht, and Rosa Luxemburg, and of the evils of capitalist oppression appeared as individual prints, in portfolios, and in Expressionist periodicals. Dix, Felixmüller, Grosz, Franz Maria Jansen, Kollwitz, and Constantin von Mitschke-Collande were among the most prominent artists to explore proletarian themes in prints (see fig. 75).[32] In a review of the 1918 exhibition *Der expressionistische Holzschnitt* (The Expressionist woodcut) at Hans Goltz's gallery in Munich, a critic for *Der Weg* characterized the Expressionist prints of that period as representing "the desire for more than just the so-appearing world and passionate commitment to this goal. Recruiting, revolt, protest!"[33]

In the opening months of the war, artists had contributed prints to patriotic, nationalist periodicals such as publisher and gallery owner Paul Cassirer's *Kriegszeit* (Wartime). Soon, however, implicitly critical periodicals, such as Cassirer's *Der Bildermann* (The picture man; see figs. 15, 16), which was the successor to *Kriegszeit*, and explicitly antiwar journals, such as *Die Aktion*, began to reflect the artists' growing disaffection. After the war quickly produced and speedily disseminated prints became the common currency of activist artists who designed political posters and pamphlet covers and contributed prints to the myriad radical Expressionist journals that covered the café tables when Wilhelmine censorship was lifted. Schmidt-Rottluff designed covers for *Kündung* (Annunciation; fig. 24) and *Die rote Erde* (The red earth; fig. 181); Felixmüller designed the logo for *Menschen* (Humanity; fig. 19). When the new republic was established, Schmidt-Rottluff contributed a woodcut to the competition for the new imperial coat of arms.

Although Berlin was the most influential and the best-documented center of radical activity by artists, the city of Munich actually established a soviet-style government that included intellectuals and Expressionist literary figures Gustav Landauer, Erich Mühsam, and Ernst Toller close to the inner circle. Eisner, the head of the provisional Bavarian government, was the only politician to address the issue of the artist's place in the new, postrevolutionary society directly and seriously. His speech on the arts, delivered to the provisional Bavarian assembly, was printed posthumously in the Novembergruppe's booklet *An alle Künstler!* (To all artists! fig. 246). In Munich a few artists, notably Wach and Schaefler, were engaged with the revolutionary cause through the Aktionsausschuss bildender Künstler (action committee of visual artists) and created woodcuts on revolutionary themes for *Der Weg*, whose staff was closely associated with the Aktionsausschuss. Grosz's print *Feierabend* (After work; fig. 133) illustrates the violence that, in May 1919, ended the Munich experiment.

For a brief period after the war Expressionism was the accepted idiom of protest and revolution as well as for the expression of spiritual and aesthetic experiences. Lesser-known artists, such as Kirchner's student Werner Gothein and Heckel's follower Max Kaus,

71

72

continued to work in their mentors' styles. Max Burchartz, Eberz, Walter Gramatté, and Steinhardt are among the lesser-known Expressionist printmakers who worked after the war. Burchartz's Die Dämonen (The devils; see fig. 77), for example, continued the prewar Expressionists' absorption with psychologically probing Dostoyevskian themes. His work reflected the depression induced by two years at the front.

In the early 1920s the Expressionist movement lost its vitality, partly because of the rise of new sensibilities, partly as a result of market forces exploiting its popularity, and partly due to the artists' disillusionment with politics. The Dadaists in particular mounted a campaign against Expressionism, accusing it of abandoning the revolution. They condemned Expressionism in an open letter to the Novembergruppe published in Wieland Herzfelde's *Der Gegner* (The opponent).[34]

The prevalence of critical commentary announcing the end of Expressionism prompted Schmidt to ask in a 1922 article on the movement's leading printmakers, "Might one dare join in with the joyful night watchman's horn blowing about the end of Expressionism?"[35] His answer was a resounding no, and he paid tribute to the "extraordinary richness" of German printmaking. The same year Tietze offered his assessment of the importance of printmaking for the Expressionists, a statement that in retrospect served as an epitaph: "The prints of our time will give evidence of [the Expressionists] to a later generation as the truest document of the fever that agitates us."[36]

The Role of Printmaking in Individual Expressionists' Work

The Expressionists and their admirers believed that the graphic arts were particularly well suited to capturing and conveying spiritual experiences and to developing an emotionally compelling, abstract style. Comments by some of the artists responsible for introducing this new style make clear the vital role printmaking played in its evolution.

Nolde, for example, wrote that the bold, lively results of his work in the printmaking media had encouraged him to abandon the external emphasis of Impressionism for the internal world of Expressionism. In a 1906 letter to his friend Schiefler, he described how the exhilarating new sense of collaboration with the medium had freed him from the constraints of traditional etching techniques and encouraged bolder, freer expression:

> *I want so much for my work to grow forth out of the material, just as in nature the plants grow forth out of the earth, which corresponds to their character. In the print* Lebensfreude *[Joy of living, 1905] I worked for the most part with my finger, and the effect I hoped for was achieved. There is hidden in the print a bit of wantonness, in the representation as well as in the boldness of the technique. If I were to make the "ragged and moving" contours "correctly" in the academic sense, this effect would not nearly be achieved.*[37]

This exploitation of the expressive potential of a medium is a defining characteristic of Expressionism. In order to intensify the dra-

71
Karl Schmidt-Rottluff
Germany, 1884–1976
Kristus, 1918
(Christ)
Woodcut
19¾ x 15⅜ in. (50.1 x 39.1 cm)
From portfolio Schmidt-Rottluff: Neun Holzschnitte
M.82.288.270
Davis 2558

72
Josef Eberz
Germany, 1880–1942
Der Prophet, c. 1918
(The prophet)
Woodcut
10¾ x 7¾ in. (27.3 x 19.8 cm)
M.82.287.13
Davis 501

matic tonal effects in his etchings (see fig. 78), Nolde repeatedly reworked the plates, developing up to ten proofs, as he reported to Fehr. He used iron rather than the softer copper plates because iron imparted a harshness and a coldness that expressed his feelings. He also experimented with a variety of grounds, including liquid asphaltum, and brushed in effects with his fingers, a palette knife, and stiff brushes, which resulted in a uniquely painterly overall tonal treatment of the plate's surfaces. The extensive rebiting of plates produced accidental effects that delighted Nolde. He also used a variety of richly colored inks. In two 1905 letters to Fehr, Nolde described the role his experiments in etching played in generating the subjective, abstract imagery and unorthodox surfaces that unlocked his inner world:

> *I produce a form, an impression of light, a beauty of tones. . . . The etchings are now full of life, an ecstasy, a dance, a gentle motion and fluctuation in tones.*
>
> *Therefore etching produces a different result from the ten drawings of the same character. . . . [The etchings are] better, in that they are fresher, bolder, and freer. . . .*
>
> *You speak of errors. . . . Men who are so correct and flawless are mostly boring; small weaknesses can be loved. . . . One chief characteristic of the etchings gives me much pleasure: because out of them streams forth a tremendous life.*[38]

73
Ernst Barlach
Germany, 1870–1938
Der erste Tag, 1920–21
(The first day)
Woodcut
10⅛ x 14⅛ in. (25.7 x 35.9 cm)
From portfolio Die Wandlungen Gottes: Sieben Holzschnitte
83.1.7 a
Davis 98.1

73

74

74
Käthe Kollwitz
Germany, 1867–1945
Verbrüderung, 1924
(Fraternization)
Lithograph
9¼ x 6¹⁵⁄₁₆ in. (23.5 x 17.0 cm)
From Henri Barbusse, *Der singende Soldat*
83.1.128 a
Davis 1608

75
Franz Maria Jansen
Germany, 1885–1958
Untitled (workers arriving), 1921
Etching with drypoint
10⅛ x 7¹¹⁄₁₆ in. (25.7 x 19.6 cm)
From portfolio Industrie 1920
83.1.12 b
Davis 1302.3

76
Fritz Schaefler
Germany, 1888–1954
Bildnis Kurt Eisner, c. 1919
(Portrait of Kurt Eisner)
Woodcut
10⅝ x 7¹⁵⁄₁₆ in. (27.0 x 20.2 cm)
From *Der Weg* 1, no. 3 (1919)
83.1.1215 b
Davis 2446

Nolde's woodcuts reveal a similar appreciation for the expressive potential of the medium. They appear to have grown out of the block and to reflect the organic processes that created it. Nolde wrote: "In the working of wood and for the determining of its character I had had enough experience in my five-year pursuit of woodcutting. I also always gladly let the various charming grainings and sometimes the knots become involved in the printing."[39]

Before his brief association with the Brücke, Nolde had studied wood carving in Flensburg, but from the Brücke he learned to exploit the advantages of printing by hand. Nolde's early woodcuts were animated by a flickering play of light. Soon, however, he discovered the power of broad planar masses. In his prototypical Expressionist woodcut, the 1912 *Prophet* (fig. 80), he combined monumental planar effects with dramatic use of light. In it the brooding power of prophecy, the mysterious emanation of vision out of darkness, and the melancholy of the prophet who is too often unheeded in his own time seem to well from the inner recesses of the block, demonstrating the unity of form and content that characterizes Expressionism.

Nolde also made lithographs, but lithography did not open new vistas for him as did etching and wood carving because it was too closely allied with drawing and painting. In 1913 Nolde spent eight weeks working at a lithographic workshop in Flensburg. From there he wrote exuberantly to Hans Fehr of his discovery of the pleasures of working directly on the stone; previously he had worked through the intermediary of transfer paper. "I could do as I pleased. . . . It was a pleasure, and my happiness was great as I could carry away all of the rolled sheets. The *Tänzerin* [Dancer, 1913; fig. 63], the last of the prints, was to manifest passion and my joy."[40]

The central figure in the Brücke circle, Kirchner, published an essay on his prints in 1921 under the pseudonym L. de Marsalle. There he discussed the formative role printmaking played in the development of his Expressionist style. "The woodcut," he wrote, "is the most graphic of the printmaking techniques. Its practice demands much technical ability and interest. Kirchner's technical skill made woodcutting easy for him. Thus he came in a spontaneous way through the simplification necessary here to a clear style of representation. We see in his woodcuts, which constantly accompanied his creative work, the formal language of the paintings prefigured."[41] This enforced simplification produced what he called *Gestalten*, the clear, graphic forms that in his paintings he called "hieroglyphs," simplified, dematerialized, abstract equivalents of the underlying meanings of things.

Kirchner discovered that for him printmaking processes were more conducive to achieving personalized results than procedures followed in other media. He wrote, "The technical manipulations make . . . free in the artist powers that are not important in the much easier handling of drawing and painting."[42] For Kirchner the power of printmaking to contribute to the development of new forms grew out of the technical demands of the medium: "A primitive power of artistic sensuousness speaks from the prints, which itself develops directly from the graphic technique that is tied to painstaking effort. Like the 'savage' who

75

76

with patience cuts the figure . . . out of the hard wood, so the artist creates perhaps his purest and strongest pieces . . . following the primordial curse, if one may so understand it: from the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread."[43]

Kirchner's comments reflect the awe the Brücke artists felt for aboriginal peoples, their respect for craftsmanship, their reverence for medieval artisans, and their sense of the sanctity of their own work. While making woodcuts, they could identify romantically with both the exotic work of faraway peoples and their own medieval heritage.

In contrast to Nolde, Kirchner felt that he had achieved even richer effects in his lithographs than in his woodcuts. By washing the lithographic stone with water to which a little turpentine had been added and pulling a maximum of ten prints by hand, he was able to intensify the deep blacks and silky grays produced when the turpentine loosened the crayon or lithographic wash and spread it across the grainy surface of the stone. Kirchner also experimented with a variety of new techniques for multicolored lithographs, using colored inks in a monotype technique and printing on citron yellow paper.[44]

After the war etching became Kirchner's favorite medium. He attributed this to its responsiveness. Etchings, he wrote, "develop in the first states the most immediate hieroglyphs. Rich in lively handwriting and rich in variety of motifs, the etchings are like a diary of the painter."[45] He carried plates with him and made initial sketches directly from nature.

Kirchner sustained his vital relationship with printmaking into his years in Switzerland (1917–38). In a 1924 letter to Schiefler he described the continuing direct relationship between printmaking and his work in other media:

> *I find it increasingly necessary to express my ideas first in engraving or lithography so that they may develop before I start to paint. Every year my form and expression become more sensitive, and my ideas frequently have to pass through three graphic stages before I can start on the canvas. . . . I can hear you say no, that is impossible because the value of the colors demands quite different treatment from black and white, but it is the inner idea that I try to establish firmly through graphic preparation.*[46]

The development of Heckel's work exhibited a similar reciprocity between printmaking and painting. Schiefler noted in his 1918 article on Heckel's prints that the artist's desire for simplification of form made the woodcut an appropriate medium: "As far as I can see, as a printmaker Erich Heckel essentially developed out of the woodcut. Because it imposes the necessity to simplify, it is a good means of education." Schiefler also commented on Heckel's propensity to seek a contribution from the material itself, the same urge for authenticity to which Nolde attested when he wrote that he wanted his images to seem to have grown out of the materials. Schiefler wrote, "Sometimes it charmed him to take advantage of the nature and quality of specific woods; in that way he cut

the weather-beaten face of an old man in oak that had lain in the moor for hundreds of years."[47]

Schiefler noted that although most of Heckel's images appeared tightly bound to the character of the wood, in the early woodcuts more painterly qualities prevailed. The high point of this painterly treatment, he felt, was Heckel's extraordinary portfolio Die Ballade vom Zuchthaus zu Reading. Schiefler wrote that the artist's sense of the medium, however, led him to a more angular woodcut style: "Heckel was inclined to feel that he dared not advance further on this path without inflicting violence on the style of the woodcut. He found the lithograph as a substitute."[48]

Other Brücke members shared this respect for the integrity of the medium. Pechstein described how he had rejected the traditional method of drawing an image on the block in favor of direct engagement with the medium: "It was and still is fundamental: to begin the work with the same tools with which it will be ended, without making a preliminary drawing on the wood, stone, or metal. Sketches and drawings done in advance clarify the intention, and with it ready in the head, the requisite tool realizes the idea."[49]

The Brücke artists' dedication to process contributed to the revival of printmaking as a serious, independent art. Schiefler highlighted the novelty of their direct approach when he wrote of Heckel:

> *It is characteristic of his relationship to the means of expression of his art that he himself imprinted on stone. . . . He often got up at night in order to seize that seen within, which quickly with a crayon, quickly with a broad brush, he brought onto the stone, and the use of acid allowed him to bring out the finest and most capricious tones. Through all the preciosity of the treatment these works preserve exactly the characteristic features of the lithographic technique. That then is the prize an artist carries away from the most intimate acquaintance with the material.*[50]

Fechter, who wrote the first monograph on Pechstein's prints, pointed out that the artist's nature was essentially painterly and that therefore he took to printmaking more slowly than the other Brücke artists. Pechstein, Fechter noted, was often dissatisfied with his prints because "instinctively he already feels transposition into line, into black and white, somehow as abstraction and as an intermediate position. . . . Fundamentally, so to speak, he perceives the symbolic colorfulness in the black and white of the plane as a preliminary phase; like a text for which the music is still missing."[51] Pechstein experimented with color woodcuts and lithographs, using blue or other tinted inks for etchings and hand-colored prints. This, according to Fechter, resulted in a less integrated graphic process because the original feeling for form out of which the imagery arose became a secondary, abstract structure over which grew an independent, sensuous surface.

The Brücke artists, as the first generation of Expressionists, discovered in printmaking a collaborator in their endeavor to find

77

77
Max Burchartz
Germany, 1887–1961
Dämonen 2, 1919
(Devils 2)
Lithograph
6½ x 4⅜ in. (16.5 x 11.3 cm)
From portfolio Die Dämonen
83.1.11 b
Davis 335.2

new forms for expressing new ideas. Two very different media, the etching and the woodcut, approached afresh on their own terms rather than through the refined techniques cherished by connoisseurs, led the artists to the fresh, spontaneous, abstract language that boldly conveyed their subjective visions. A second-generation Expressionist, Otto Dix, gave perhaps the ultimate tribute to printmaking. "When one etches," he said, "one becomes the purest alchemist."[52]

Contemporary Critics on the Role of Printmaking in Expressionism

Printmaking received some attention before the First World War, but it was not until the end of and immediately after the war that prints became a prominent and increasingly popular mode of expression and con-

sequently received considerable attention.[53] Books and articles came from such diverse sources as then-curator Hartlaub; the critic, art historian, and art commissioner for the new Weimar Republic, Edwin Redslob; the Hamburg collector Schiefler; and publisher and art critic Westheim. Articles featured some of the new, younger artists, like Eberz and Gramatté, but discussion centered on the achievements of the pioneering Brücke artists. The writings of German art critics and historians reflected the self-consciousness with which the Expressionist artists had turned to printmaking, as they discussed the revival of printmaking as a culturally significant phenomenon, especially renewed work in the woodcut, which became the symbol of the new sensibility.

The woodcut was a fundamental part of the material and ideational development of Expressionism, influencing, as we have seen, the Brücke artists' individual and collective stylistic development. Of this phenomenon, Hartlaub wrote: "The year 1906 . . . an important date for the history of the new German art and for the decisive role that the black-and-white arts played therein! . . . A characteristic, in a certain sense epoch-making, manner of woodcutting came to maturity. . . . Even more than with Munch or Nolde, one receives from the painters of the Brücke the impression that the formal language of the woodcut also influenced their manner of expression in painting."[54]

78
Emil Nolde
Germany, 1867–1956
Tischgesellschaft, 1906
(Dinner party)
Etching
5 15/16 x 7½ in. (15.1 x 19.0 cm)
From *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* n.s., 19, no. 2 (1907)
M.82.288.233
Davis 2113

78

79
Georg Schrimpf
Germany, 1889–1938
Untitled (cover), c. 1918
Woodcut
$7^{15}/_{16}$ x $6^{1}/_{8}$ in. (20.2 x 15.5 cm)
From *Der expressionistische Holzschnitt*, catalogue of exhibition at Neue Kunst/Hans Goltz, Munich, 1918
83.1.721 a
Davis 2618.1

As art critics, historians, and dealers turned their attention to Expressionist printmaking, the woodcut became their primary focus. Goltz mounted an exhibition, *Der expressionistische Holzschnitt*, in Munich in June and July of 1918 (see fig. 79). In the introduction to the catalogue he argued that the woodcut was charged with cultural symbolism rooted in affinities with the work of medieval artisans. Hartlaub reflected the same attitude when he wrote of woodcuts: "They are like folk songs and folk tales in which something of the sublime awe of the sagas still echoes. They are mostly 'awkward.' . . . Nonetheless something of that grace that in the Middle Ages the crudest workman let fall into his stammering to the praise of God still hangs over them."[55]

Critics offered a variety of explanations for this interest in the woodcut. Westheim attributed it to the artists' striving for monumentality and their renewed concern for the honesty of handwork and craftsmanship. Hartlaub tied it to what he defined as the essence of Expressionism, the artists' desire to express an intense inner relationship with the exterior world. One of the most dramatic testaments to the woodcut's ability to probe and reveal this relationship was written by Rudolf Adrian Dietrich in response to the Goltz exhibition: "The simplest medium, a woodblock is enough. . . . It is terribly exciting to paint, but most exciting are the black-and-white planes. Now there are only contrasts. Snow-covered mountains and abysses; each cut of the knife is a cut into the inner self. This wood is indeed flesh of thy flesh."[56] Hartlaub began his study of German Expressionist printmaking with a statement that summarizes the reverential, mystical aura that surrounded the medium: "In the beginning was the woodcut."[57]

In his *Das Holzschnittbuch* (The woodcut book, 1921) Westheim explained the medium's appeal to young German artists: "In the woodcut one of their most determined efforts, the return to a primitive manner of representation and manual handicraft, comes to fruition. . . . In it they seem to have found a medium of expression that particularly advanced their creative intentions."[58] Like others, Westheim viewed the nineteenth century, in which the woodcut was used for illustration, as a "detour" in the history of the medium. He admitted that even in the revered fourteenth and fifteenth centuries illustrators used the woodcut as a substitute for drawing, but at the same time the "authentic, primitive woodcut" developed in the workshops, "in the hands of simple form cutters . . . free from artistic, speculative designs."[59] It was their tradition that he saw the Brücke artists following as they began to explore the unique expressive potential of the woodcut rather than continue "false misuses" thereof. He attributed this new interest to shared aesthetic values that he identified as a striving for monumentality and craftsmanlike simplicity, and a concern for planar tectonics and surface rhythm.

Westheim also discussed the role of material factors, such as the resistance of the medium, and the manual discipline required by the virtual impossibility of restoring cut areas. He explained that the woodcutter, no matter how adept, remained bound to wood's material character and that the Expressionists savored their engagement with the primitive, unyielding medium. The structure of the woodblock, he concluded, cast a spell over them as they experienced in it the tree's growth,

the structure of its cells, and the stirring of its sap. Westheim also stressed the role the artists' emphasis on craftsmanship played in the development of the new Expressionist sensibility: "They no longer experience form and the coming into being of form on paper alone, but in the manual work of printing and cutting. . . . The hand no longer glides over the surface; it senses the resistance of the material. . . . In the swinging of a curve the viewer still experiences something of the power of the hand that guided the knife."[60]

Westheim also cited the special appeal that the strong black-and-white qualities of prints held for this generation of German artists: "A specifically modern sensibility likes the black-and-white print—be it the woodcut, the etching, or the drawing—in its movement so intensified that this alternation of light and dark suggests a colorfulness that even while it is suggestive, far surpasses what a colored plane could give."[61]

In an article for *Das Kunstblatt* (The art paper), which he edited, Westheim described the evolution of the woodcut into a distinctly Expressionist medium. The first step, he wrote, was for artists to free themselves from the influences of Japonisme and the Jugendstil. Both had contributed to the development of abstraction, but their decorative linearity hindered the expression of the deeper, violent emotions (*Erschütterungen*) that the Expressionists sought to convey. Instrumental, Westheim observed, in affecting this break was the artists' "colossal astonishment" before the far more primitive woodcutting of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century illustrators whose work embodied the qualities they strove to achieve: freshness, spontaneity, purity of feeling, and authenticity. In the presence of these works the Expressionists were awakened to the power inherent in lines "torn" from the wood and to the inimitable structural nuances that the inked surfaces of the prints revealed.[62]

At this point a word of chronological clarification is in order. Stephan von Wiese has pointed out that although Kirchner stated in the 1913 *Chronik KG Brücke* that he had brought to the group the inspiration of Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach gained during a 1903 visit to Nuremberg, it was not until 1910 that old German prints played a role in the Brücke artists' work. It was then that revivalist interests led them to emphasize printmaking as part of the continuous expression of the German national character.[63] Wilhelm Worringer's *Formprobleme der Gotik* (Form problems of the Gothic) and *Die altdeutsche Buchillustration* (Old German book illustration) were symptomatic of and instrumental in encouraging this revival.[64]

Accompanying the discovery that the woodcut could offer emotional intensity was the realization that this inherently abstract medium could also give form to the symbolic meanings the Expressionists sought to convey:

> *The woodcut . . . becomes the cause of the development of a grand sign language. The sensuous content will retreat, the spiritual-tectonic rules the surface and form. . . . Such an adjustment can occur only . . . when, so to speak, a dematerialization takes place. It results in the necessity to abstract . . . it was necessary to think*

80
Emil Nolde
Germany, 1867–1956
Prophet, 1912
Woodcut
12⅝ x 8⅜ in. (32.0 x 21.2 cm)
M.82.288.239
Davis 2123

> *through further the consequences of the realization that such lines and such planes could no longer be the expression of something, no longer the representation of something, no longer the description, the portrayal, the reproduction of things. As though of itself, one's eye was converted.*[65]

Redslob dated the contemporary recognition of the independence of printmaking from book illustration to Liebermann, although he felt the artist did not sense the real cultural consequences of his work.

> *He knows nothing of the community and team feeling that, since Menzel, gave German prints their own necessity, in which resides the secret of their inner warmth and also their cultural liveliness.*
>
> *But just for that reason . . . the graphic work of Liebermann is of particular significance. Before him all currents in the graphic arts somehow flowed to the book. . . . With those who come after him, everything strives . . . for the wall, for grandeur, for monumental laws.*
>
> *Corinth and Slevogt stand at the beginning.*[66]

Whereas most critics attributed the renaissance of printmaking in Germany to the influence of foreigners such as Munch and Gauguin, Redslob pointed to the work of German artists and did not allow the mystique of the woodcut to blind him to the importance of the lithograph. When he turned to the woodcut, however, he did so with the enthusiasm characteristic of his time: "Then, however, the woodcut!" He too commented on the special correspondence between the expressive inclinations of contemporary young artists and the woodcut's tendency to enforce abstraction. "They want symbols," he wrote. "They want to reach out over the earth and grasp the soul of the world."[67]

After the First World War printmaking served less as a medium of style formation and more for the quick execution and rapid dissemination of ecstatic, utopian images and politicized statements. It might even be argued that its role was the reverse of that played during the formative years, since the widespread adaptation of Expressionist mannerisms in the flurry of postwar printmaking may have contributed to the devaluation of the movement. Rather than reflecting a fresh, authentic involvement, the distortions became easy formulas.

Hartlaub was concerned that the popularization of printmaking was diminishing its vitality and authenticity. Of the plethora of postwar prints, he wrote:

> *Does the ecstasy of these young artists have a contaminating effect? Whoever thumbs through the newest portfolios and volumes notices their cries and gestures almost everywhere! They have become stereotypes, like so much in the expression and the means of recent graphic arts. . . . We had the courage to speak of a new blossoming of German printmaking, of a high formal*

> *level, at the same time also, however—in face of the avalanchelike production of recent times—of an always threatening danger of leveling! Does . . . the heroic period, the period of strong personalities already lie behind us? In any case the selective collector does not have it easy vis-à-vis the latest generation.*[68]

Even this early, at the height of the movement's popularity, Hartlaub was not alone in expressing concern that the second-generation Expressionists were exhausting a once-vital impulse. In 1920, the year Hartlaub's book appeared, Worringer lectured in Munich on the waning of Expressionism, and the next year in *Das Kunstblatt* Wolfradt observed not only the waning of the old but pointed to new, rising forces.[69] Just as printmaking had contributed to the movement's development, printmaking participated in and reflected its decline.

Many of the assumptions expressed by these critics were not unique to Expressionism. Both the populist rhetoric applied to printmaking and the presumption that there existed a link between printmaking and German culture were part of traditional German thought. The Expressionists reflected these assumptions in their analyses; critics in the Third Reich reframed the same assumptions to fit their priorities. This made it possible for Nazi critics to celebrate the woodcut in terms similar to those used by the Expressionists. For Nazi critics, prints expressed the spirit of the German people (*Volksgeist*); Expressionist critics spoke in more aesthetic terms, positing a tie between the German will to create art (*Kunstwillen*) and printmaking. Both groups emphasized the role of craftsmanship in a healthy art. The result in the Third Reich was *völkish* kitsch; among the Expressionists it was powerful spiritual and emotional statements.[70]

Repercussions in Print Collecting

The Brücke artists recognized the role the print could play as ambassador for their cause and immediately began a series of yearly print portfolios (1906–12). Their purpose was twofold: to spread their new ideas to a group of subscriber-supporters and to help finance their endeavors. From the beginning the Expressionists envisioned a central role in their movement for print collecting.

A new group of print collectors arose in response to the burgeoning production of prints. As a result, after the First World War articles on print collecting and on the imminent dangers of the popularization of printmaking appeared in German art journals. Critics, curators, and historians viewed the growing commercialization of print collecting with alarm. A discussion in *Der Cicerone* summarized their concerns: "In Germany the worst is the deluge of prints, which is not to be killed off. Who buys all this produce? In a flash the most expensive portfolios with four (next perhaps with five) zeros behind an imaginary figure are out of print. Catastrophic!"[71]

Curt Glaser, who later published an important history of modern German printmaking, wrote an article expressing his concern that the growing appeal of print collecting to those whose motivations were

only incidentally related to art was debasing printmaking.[72] He feared that merchandising was taking precedence over quality. Central to his discussion was the pernicious role of what he termed the *"Auch"-Sammler* ("also" collector), who collects because he wants to have what he sees others buy. Greedy publishers, Glaser wrote, were exploiting these collectors by producing a boundless flood of "original" prints. The problem was compounded when the collectors' uneducated preferences influenced publishers' choices of what to publish. When collectors bought simply to keep up with the latest publications, they followed, according to Glaser, an equally dangerous motivation, valued a false kind of rarity, and thereby encouraged the publication of inferior works. This false rarity resulted from the artists' practice of destroying unsuccessful plates after pulling a few proofs. These collectors purchased the inferior, "rare" proofs.

Glaser expressed the hope that serious collectors would emerge who would concentrate their energy and means on assembling the complete graphic work of artists of the caliber of Max Klinger, Liebermann, Nolde, or Pechstein and thus prepare the bases for important monographs. At the time, however, it appeared to him that those who focused their collections at all were concentrating not on particular artists but on particular publishers or presses. He feared that this practice only encouraged publishers to inundate the market with "limited" editions, discrediting the whole enterprise. The "also" collector, he noted, was supported by the "also" publisher and "also" artist.

Many collectors, Glaser cautioned, would be disappointed to find that when the masses of prints that then found such ready buyers flooded the market for a second time, their value would have declined precipitously. In conclusion he wrote:

> *We are in a new flowering of printmaking techniques. . . . But its extent is not necessary, and so it is dangerous when quality threatens to be drowned. Only the individual has value in art and from his work only the best. For that reason an ideal print collection is . . . small compared with the limitless, streaming production. . . . Its composition reflects the picture of a strongly marked will, an independent judgment that will err through no false example and no simple collector's ego.*[73]

Glaser's article was published in tandem with Walter Ley's overview of new print publications for collectors to consider.[74] The insight into which publications a discerning contemporary observer favored remains interesting. Ley noted that Barlach's first woodcuts had appeared in a volume of poetry, Reinhold von Walter's *Der Kopf* (The head), and he anticipated Barlach's forthcoming series of religious woodcuts (see fig. 73). Ley mentioned Meidner's fourteen lithographs in his book *Septemberschrei* (September cry) and quoted from its impassioned appeal for brotherhood. He cited the "diabolically insightful" political-satirical manifestos by George Grosz published in Malik-Verlag's *Die Pleite* (The bankruptcy) and noted that many of the drawings and lithographs reproduced in the periodical were also published in portfolios. He listed five recent portfolios and books by Pechstein, including Somme

1916, Exotische Köpfe (Exotic heads, 1919), and *Reisebilder: Italien, Südsee* (Travel pictures: Italy, South Seas, 1919). He noted that Kurt Wolff had published Neun Holzschnitte by Schmidt-Rottluff and that I. B. Neumann had published a portfolio of the latter's woodcuts from 1913 to 1919. He mentioned Paul Cassirer's two biblical portfolios by Otto Gleichmann, Alfred Flechtheim's portfolio by Burchartz on Fyodor Dostoyevski's character Raskolnikoff, and Gramatté's illustrations to Nikolay Gogol's *Der Mantel* (The overcoat, 1919; see fig. 81), published by Gustav Kiepenheuer.

Ley concluded by mentioning Die Schaffenden (The creators), a series of portfolios containing prints by a number of artists, published by Westheim, editor of *Das Kunstblatt*.[75] Since his article appeared in *Das Kunstblatt*, Ley considered it inappropriate to comment on the series other than to state: "Only this might be said: now, when such an unbounded number and so uselessly many prints are brought to the market, its mission of sorting out and selection, of education through example appears especially urgent. So much the more as it is not limited to the names that on all sides are known but . . . takes pains to reach after new, emerging talents."[76] The portfolios had included prints by Feininger, Heckel, Kokoschka, Meidner, Paula Modersohn-Becker, Otto Mueller, Pechstein, and Rohlfs.

In the October 1922 issue of *Das Kunstblatt*, Westheim himself wrote a history and implied defense of Die Schaffenden: the format (four issues a year of ten hand-signed originals with only one or two prints by each artist in editions of 125) permitted him to introduce collectors to the work of lesser-known artists and to lay the groundwork for their broader acceptance. The project originated in his "wish to serve the living creators of these, our times." Westheim noted that in order to emphasize the seriousness of his endeavor he had included sheets with biographical information and descriptive and critical data. He also addressed the value of the portfolios as investments, noting that the first complete portfolio (1918) had sold for six hundred marks; the price for the current portfolio (1922) was forty-five hundred marks. In conclusion he asked: "Might one say that therewith is created a foundation for a modern print collection? The foundation for a wider pursuit of these artists and for further collecting according to individnal intentions."[77]

Hartlaub also addressed print collecting and characterized the type of collecting necessitated by the new values embodied in Expressionist prints:

> *We close our vast print portfolio, whose contents at the same time might give an example of how print collecting must come to be done today. . . . It is no longer an art for lovers of minor masters' artistic translations of technical refinements and variations. . . . It imperatively demands a new type of collector, who unhesitantly aims more at artistic content and less at rarity and every possible collector's value. . . . It must come to be evaluated as the artist himself valued it in the creation. . . . In the final analysis, print collecting today should no longer be car-*

81
Walter Gramatté
Germany, 1897–1929
Der Morgenweg zum Amt, 1918
(The morning route to the office)
Lithograph
6⅝ x 5⅞16 in. (16.8 x 13.5 cm)
From *Der Mantel: Zwölf Lithographien zur Erzählung von Nicolai Gogol*
83.1.63 a
Davis 839.1

> *ried on in a cabinet and in a private, capitalistic manner. Printmaking today is public and popular. Today graphic art, above all its most important exponent, the woodcut, does not want to be motionlessly preserved in portfolios. The print wants to fly, a broadsheet fluttering down out of the spiritual clouds on a vast populace with hands stretched upward!*[78]

Hartlaub addressed two issues, one aesthetic, the other political. In distinguishing the Expressionists' celebration of expressive concerns from the conventional emphasis on technical refinements, he defined the new sensibility that supplanted traditional connoisseurship. His paean to the public nature of printmaking was characteristic of a period that saw the founding of radical artists' groups that proclaimed the need to place art at the service of the people.

Hartlaub's book was republished with some minor editing in 1947. Shortly after the Second World War he reiterated the German avant-garde's faith in the redemptive power of art and in the potential popular role of printmaking. Echoing his sentiments of 1920, he wrote: "The print wanted to fly, a broadsheet, fluttering down out of spiritual clouds on a vast populace with hands stretched upward—as artists in those years believed they saw it before them; . . . Expectations, how so suddenly they then became cruelly disillusioned, and . . . now, after the sealing of our downfall in the Second World War, [they] are totally unrepeatable."[79] After the war there was to be no heady celebration of cultural renewal. Demoralization and disillusionment were too complete.

What had been the result of intense searching and experimentation by the first generation of Expressionists too often became the basis for rote repetition of successful formulas in the hands of their followers. Fortunately, discerning collectors, curators, critics, and publishers supported and preserved the most vital work and avoided the pitfalls outlined by Glaser, Hartlaub, Ley, and Westheim, and it is their legacy, not the popularizations, that today forms our conception of German Expressionist printmaking.

NOTES

1 L. de Marsalle, "Über Kirchners Graphik," *Genius* 3, no. 2 (1921): 252.

2 Wilhelm R. Valentiner, "Karl Schmidt-Rottluff," *Der Cicerone* 12, no. 12 (1920): 467.

3 See Gustav Schiefler, *Meine Graphiksammlung* (Hamburg: Gesellschaft der Bücherfreunde, 1927; reprint, 1974); Gerhard Schack, ed., *Postkarten an Gustav Schiefler* (Hamburg: Christians Verlag, 1976).

4 Gustav Schiefler, "Erich Heckels graphisches Werk," *Das Kunstblatt* 1, no. 9 (1918): 283–84.

5 Paul Fechter, "Das graphische Werk Max Pechsteins," in *Almanach auf das Jahr 1920* (Berlin: Fritz Gurlitt Verlag, 1920), pp. 193, 195.

6 Emil Alphons Rheinhardt, "Ein Gespräch über Graphik," in *Der Ruf: Internationale Schwartz-Weiss Ausstellung, Wien, 1913* (Vienna, 1913), p. 10.

7 Gustav Schiefler, "Die Inkunabeln der neuen deutschen Graphik: Kirchner, Heckel, Pechstein, Schmidt-Rottluff," in *Das graphische Jahrbuch,* ed. Hans Theodor Joel (Darmstadt: Karl Lang Verlag, 1920), p. 17.

8 Ibid., pp. 19–21.

9 Hans Fehr, "Aus Leben und Werkstatt Emil Noldes," *Das Kunstblatt* 3, no. 7 (1919): 208.

10 Marsalle, "Über Kirchners Graphik," p. 263.

11 Buchheim, *Künstlergemeinschaft Brücke*, p. 303.

12 Hans Tietze, *Deutsche Graphik der Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Verlag von E. A. Seemann, 1922), p. 3.

13 Arts Council of Great Britain, *German Expressionist Watercolours, Prints, and Drawings by the Painters of the Brücke* ([London:] Arts Council of Great Britain, 1969), unpaginated.

14 Schiefler, *Meine Graphiksammlung*, p. 51.

15 Alois J. Schardt, "Nolde als Graphiker," *Das Kunstblatt* 11, no. 8 (1927): 294.

16 Each subscriber received a membership card, an annual report, and a portfolio of original prints. There were not more than twenty copies of the 1906–7 portfolio printed; by 1910 the Galerie Arnold listed sixty-eight associate members. The last portfolio (1912), by Max Pechstein, with a cover by Otto Mueller, was never distributed; a few, according to Erich Heckel, came into collectors' hands. For a detailed description of the Brücke portfolios, see Hans Bolliger and E. W. Kornfeld, *Ausstellung Künstlergruppe Brücke: Jahresmappen, 1906–1912*, exh. cat. (Bern: Klipstein & Kornfeld, 1958).

17 Fechter, "Das graphische Werk Max Pechsteins," p. 192.

18 Ibid., p. 197.

19 Max Pechstein, "Tagebuch," in *Almanach auf das Jahr 1919* (Berlin: Fritz Gurlitt Verlag, 1919), p. 33.

20 Max Pechstein, "Aus dem Palau-Tagebuch," *Das Kunstblatt* 2, no. 6 (1918): 179.

21 See H. W. Singer, *Die moderne Graphik: Eine Darstellung für deren Freunde und Sammler* (Leipzig: Verlag von E. A. Seemann, 1914).

22 Curt Glaser, *Die Graphik der Neuzeit vom Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1923), p. 545.

23 Valentiner, "Karl Schmidt-Rottluff," pp. 470, 475.

24 P. F. Schmidt, "Führerpersönlichkeiten auf dem Gebiete der deutschen Graphik," in *Jahrbuch der jungen Kunst*, ed. Georg Biermann (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1922), pp. 841, 844.

25 Barlach to his cousin, 1919, in Erhard Göpel, *Deutsche Holzschnitte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Insel Verlag, 1955), p. 44.

26 Will Grohmann, *Karl Schmidt-Rottluff* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1956), pp. 90, 92.

27 Gustav F. Hartlaub, *Kunst und Religion: Ein Versuch über die Möglichkeit neuer religiöser Kunst* (Leipzig: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1919), p. 103.

28 Walther Rilla, editorial, *Die Erde* 1, no. 1 (1919): 1.

29 Walther Rilla, "Der neue Mensch," *Die Erde* 1, no. 1 (1919): 9, 13.

30 Willi Wolfradt, "Bruderkrieg," *Das Tribunal* 1, no. 3 (1919): 39–40.

31 Hartlaub, *Kunst und Religion*, p. 73.

32 See Ida Katherine Rigby, *An alle Künstler! War—Revolution—Weimar: German Expressionist Prints, Drawings, Posters, and Periodicals from the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation*, exh. cat. (San Diego: San Diego State University Press, 1983).

33 T[rautner], "Galerie Neue Kunst Hans Goltz, München," *Der Weg* 1, no. 2 (1919): 8.

34 See [Otto Dix, Raoul Hausmann, George Grosz, et al.] "Offener Brief an die Novembergruppe," *Der Gegner* 2, no. 8/9 (1920–21): 297–301. For criticism of the Novembergruppe's lack of sustained political activism from a friend of the group, see Adolf Behne, "Graphik und Plastik von Mitgliedern der Novembergruppe Berlin," *Menschen* 14, no. 81/86 (1919): 1–2.

35 Schmidt, "Führerpersönlichkeiten," p. 293.

36 Tietze, *Deutsche Graphik*, p. 7.

37 Nolde to Schiefler, 1906, in Gustav Schiefler and Christel Mosel, *Emil Nolde: Das graphische Werk*, vol. 2 (Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1966–67), p. 8.

38 Nolde to Fehr, October 23, 1905, and November 22, 1905, in Fehr, "Aus Leben und Werkstatt," pp. 205–6.

39 Schardt, "Nolde als Graphiker," p. 289.

40 Nolde to Fehr, 1913, in Martin Urban, *Emil Nolde: Graphik aus der Sammlung der Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde* (Seebüll: Stiftung Ada und Emil Nolde, 1975), p. 25.

41 Marsalle, "Über Kirchners Graphik," pp. 252–53.

42 Ibid., p. 251.

43 Ibid., p. 263.

44 For a detailed discussion of the innovative printmaking techniques employed by the Brücke artists, see Frances Carey and Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Germany, 1880–1933: The Age of Expressionism*, exh. cat. (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), pp. 29–39.

45 Marsalle, "Über Kirchners Graphik," p. 258.

46 Kirchner to Schiefler, 1924, in Annemarie Dube-Heynig, *Kirchner: His Graphic Art* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1961), p. 96.

47 Schiefler, "Erich Heckels graphische Werk," p. 284.

48 Ibid.

49 Buchheim, *Künstlergemeinschaft Brücke*, p. 304.

50 Schiefler, "Erich Heckels graphische Werk," p. 284.

51 Fechter, "Graphische Werk Max Pechsteins," p. 201.

52 Florian Karsch, *Otto Dix: Das graphische Werk* (Hannover: Fackelträger-Verlag Schmidt-Küster, 1970), p. 15.

53 See Glaser, *Graphik der Neuzeit;* Gustav F. Hartlaub, *Die neue deutsche Graphik*, 3d ed. (Berlin: Erich Reiss Verlag, 1920); Kurt Pfister, *Deutsche Graphik der Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1920); Tietze, *Deutsche Graphik;* H. von Wedderkop, ed., *Deutsche Graphik des Westens* (Weimar: Geuerverlag, 1922); Paul Westheim, *Das Holzschnittbuch* (Potsdam: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1921). Numerous almanacs were also published, including Fritz Gurlitt, ed., *Almanach auf das Jahr 1919; Almanach auf das Jahr 1920;* and *Das graphische Jahr,* 2 vols. (Berlin: Fritz Gurlitt Verlag, 1921 and 1923); Joel, *Das graphische Jahrbuch;* Georg Biermann, ed. *Jahrbuch der jungen Kunst* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1920–24); Paul Erich Küppers, ed., *Das Kestnerbuch* (Hannover: Heinrich Böhme Verlag, 1919).

54 Hartlaub, *Neue deutsche Graphik*, pp. 47–49.

55 Ibid., pp. 7–8.

56 Rudolf Adrian Dietrich, "Gesichte (Zur Ausstellung 'Der expressionistische Holzschnitt' bei Goltz in München)," *Die schöne Rarität* 2, no. 4 (1918): 16.

57 Hartlaub, *Neue deutsche Graphik*, p. 7.

58 Westheim, *Holzschnittbuch*, p. 5.

59 Ibid., p. 7.

60 Ibid., p. 168.

61 Ibid., p. 159.

62 Paul Westheim, "Holzschnitt und Monumentalkunst," *Das Kunstblatt* 2, no. 2 (1918): 42.

63 Stephan von Wiese, *Graphik des Expressionismus* (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1976), p. 23.

64 Wilhelm Worringer, *Formprobleme der Gotik*, 3d ed. (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1915); idem, *Die altdeutsche Buchillustration* (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1912).

65 Westheim, "Holzschnitt und Monumentalkunst," pp. 50–51.

66 Edwin Redsloh, "Der Weg zur Graphik," in *Das graphische Jahr* (1921), p. 10.

67 Ibid., p. 16.

68 Hartlaub, *Neue deutsche Graphik*, pp. 93–94.

69 Willi Wolfradt, "Der Stilkonflict in der Kunst der Gegenwart," *Das Kunstblatt* 5, no. 2 (1921): 38–48.

70 For those interested in pursuing this subject, articles by two German printmakers from the Third Reich may be of interest. See Paul Dietrich, "Vom Holzschnitt und seiner Aufgabe," *Das innere Reich: Zeitschrift für Dichtung, Kunst und deutsches Leben* 6 (November 1939): 814–20; Alfred Zacharias, "Lob des Holzschneidens," *Das innere Reich: Zeitschrift für Dichtung, Kunst und deutsches Leben* 2, no. 1 (1935): 29–41; idem, "Von deutscher Holzschnittkunst," *Das innere Reich: Zeitschrift für Dichtung, Kunst und deutsches Leben* 9 (December 1942–January 1943): 469–80.

71 Wiese, *Graphik des Expressionismus*, p. 183.

72 Curt Glaser, "Vom Graphik-Sammeln," *Das Kunstblatt* 3, no. 11 (1919): 321–30.

73 Ibid., p. 330.

74 Walter Ley, "Graphische Neuerscheinigungen," *Das Kunstblatt* 3, no. 11 (1919): 331–37.

75 For a detailed discussion of this publication, see Beate Jahn and Freidemann Berger, eds., *Die Schaffenden: Eine Auswahl der Jahrgänge I bis III und Katalog des Mappenwerkes* (Leipzig and Weimar: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1984).

76 Ley, "Graphische Neuerscheinigungen," pp. 336–37.

77 Paul Westheim, "120 Blatt Originalgraphik," *Das Kunstblatt* 6, no. 10 (1922): 440, 442.

78 Hartlaub, *Neue deutsche Graphik*, pp. 94–96.

79 Gustav F. Hartlaub, *Die Graphik des Expressionismus in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1947), p. 52.

82
Otto Lange
Germany, 1879–1944
Verspottung Christi, probably after 1919
(The mocking of Christ)
Color woodcut
20⅝ x 18⅜16 in. (52.4 x 46.2 cm)
M.82.288.198
Davis 1704

82

Portfolios

Alexander Dückers

The collection of the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies includes more than seventy portfolios containing approximately eight hundred graphic works by more than 120 artists. The earliest was issued in 1898 by the Verein für Originalradierung (original etchings society) in Munich; the latest are the eleven Holzschnitte niederrheinischer Künstler (Woodcuts by artists from the lower Rhine) of 1934. The artists represented in these portfolios range from those who are now forgotten or who were known only in Germany, such as Walter Grammatté and Felix Meseck, to well-known figures such as Max Beckmann, Otto Dix, George Grosz, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Paul Klee, and Oskar Kokoschka.[1]

Any attempt to discuss such a huge body of work, even in the barest outline, would far exceed the bounds of this essay; only a few representative portfolios can be presented here. The choice has fallen to the *Jahresmappen*, or annual portfolios, of the Brücke group, which appeared between 1906 and 1912; George Grosz's Gott mit uns (God with us) of 1920; Max Beckmann's Jahrmarkt (Annual fair) of 1922; and Otto Dix's Der Krieg (War), published in 1924.

The works chosen could be categorized by theme, but the number of themes is so large and the themes overlap in so many ways that such an analysis would be impossible in the space available.[2] So the choice has been based on a particular characteristic of German art of the first quarter of this century: in no other European country, with the exception of Russia, was the art of those years more closely bound to current social and political events. For this reason works have been chosen that are not only of outstanding artistic quality but that are also representative of specific phases of German artistic and social history. Through these four works—or rather, as they include the seven Jahresmappen, these groups of works—it is possible to trace the process of stylistic change that led from Jugendstil by way of Expressionism to Neue Sachlichkeit, or new objectivity. They also mark four phases of German political history: the empire of William II, the First World War, the German revolution of 1918–19, and the Weimar Republic.

83
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Stehendes Kind, 1910
(Standing child)
Color woodcut
14¾ x 10¹³⁄₁₆ in. (37.5 x 27.4 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke VI (1911)
M.82.288.370 b
Davis 1021

"Everyone who renders what impels him to create directly and without adulteration is one of us."

This key sentence from the manifesto published in 1906 by the artists who called themselves the Brücke (bridge)[3] does not shed much light on the group's guiding theoretical principles; it is hardly precise enough for that. But the four young men who had founded the Brücke in Dresden in the preceding year were not especially interested in theory. Fritz Bleyl, Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff were between twenty-one and twenty-five years of age in 1905; all were students of architecture and in any generally accepted sense purely self-taught as artists. Kirchner alone had had a few months' training in composition, life and landscape drawing, watercolor, and printmaking, "but in the schools," as he himself put it, "not much stimulus was to be found."[4]

The attitude of the founding members of the Brücke was antiacademic in the broadest sense of the word. They had turned against not only the institution of the art academy, riddled as it was with historicism, but also the very notion that art could be "learned" in schools. For

85

85
Félix Vallotton
Switzerland, 1865–1925
La Paresse, 1896
(Laziness)
Woodcut
7 x 8¾ in. (17.7 x 22.2 cm)
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin
(SMPK)

84

84
Axel Gallén-Kallela
Finland, 1865–1931
Mädchen und Tod im Walde, 1895
(Maiden and Death in the woods)
Woodcut printed in dark brown
6½ x 4⅝ in. (16.5 x 11.7 cm)
Proof before edition in portfolio
Die Brücke II (1907)
M.82.288.364
Davis 667

these artists academic training and theory were supplanted by "faith in evolution, in a new generation of creators and art lovers,"[5] that is, by a belief in the individual. The Brücke artists' self-taught status was no impediment; on the contrary it was a necessary precondition for their work as creative artists because it set them free to pursue their own "evolution" through collective work in the studio and in open-air locations. There they were able, as the *Chronik KG Brücke* (Chronicle of the artists' group the Brücke), written by Kirchner in 1913, records, "to study the nude, the foundation of all pictorial art, in total freedom and naturalness. From . . . this basis there emerged the feeling, shared by all, of taking creative stimulus from life itself and submitting to the decisive experience."[6]

The impulse that underlay the artists' work is evident in the name of their group. On February 4, 1906, Schmidt-Rottluff wrote: "One of the aims of the Brücke is to attract all revolutionary elements—that is what the name *Brücke* means."[7] The tone of this is reminiscent of the group's manifesto, which makes an appeal to "all the young" to espouse a new art that is to be an expression of individual experience untrammeled by established norms. *Brücke* in this sense represents the bond that tied the four young men in Dresden to the kindred souls to whom their collective offered itself as a spiritual home.

Another interpretation of the name *Brücke*, quite compatible with Schmidt-Rottluff's, refers to a passage from Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra* (Thus spake Zarathustra): "Man is a rope that stretches from the animal to the superman—a rope across an abyss. . . . What is great in man is that he is a bridge and not a goal; what can be loved in man is that he is a way across and a way down."[8] Here the word *bridge* represents the always precarious spiritual dimension of humanity. The young artists, who wanted a name for their alliance and who revered Nietzsche,

86

86
Fritz Bleyl
Germany, 1881–1966
Haus mit Freitreppe, 1905
(House with flight of steps)
Woodcut
8⅞ x 6¹¹⁄₁₆ in. (22.5 x 17.0 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke I (1906)
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK)

87

87
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Kauernder Akt vom Rücken gesehen, 1905
(Kneeling nude seen from the rear)
Woodcut
5⅛ x 3¹⁵⁄₁₆ in. (13.0 x 10.0 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke I (1906)
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK)

88

88
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Die Schwestern: Weibliche Akte, 1904
(The sisters: Female nudes)
Woodcut
7⅜ x 5½ in. (18.7 x 14.0 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke I (1906)
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK)

found in his writings the very attitude that served as their own inspiration: contempt for the materialism of their age. They took no explicit position in regard to the social and political situation in Wilhelmine Germany, with its blend of conservatism and fanatical faith in material progress, but their fundamentally antibourgeois attitude, despite their bourgeois origins, and their antiacademic approach stood in contradiction to the values of their age.

The first of the Brücke's seven portfolios came out in 1906, one year after the group's founding; the last appeared in 1912, the year before it was dissolved. Their publication was occasioned by the formation in 1906 of a circle of "passive" members, friends and collectors who undertook to promote the group's ideas and to provide financial backing. In return for a yearly fee of twelve marks (by 1912 it had risen to twenty-five), they received a membership card that was an original print and an annual report of the group's activities, which was copiously illustrated with original graphics, along with a portfolio of three or four prints.[9]

If we look at the first Jahresmappe and assess its three woodcuts by Bleyl, Heckel, and Kirchner in light of the group's stated ambition "to attract all revolutionary elements," a trace of disappointment is inevitable. Revolutionary is one thing that these woodcuts definitely are not. Formally they go not one inch beyond Art Nouveau, known in Germany as Jugendstil. Borrowings from artists who were part of the Art Nouveau movement in the broader sense of the term—including Félix Vallotton (see fig. 85); the illustrators who worked for the Viennese periodical *Ver sacrum;* and William Nicholson, whose *Types de Londres* (London types) was published in Paris in 1898—are manifest both in the use of the woodcut medium[10] and in the style.

Nor do these works do much to satisfy the Brücke demand for direct expression of "experience." Bleyl's *Haus mit Freitreppe* (House with flight of steps, 1905; see fig. 86) perhaps comes closest to this goal, but it does so in the spirit of German Impressionism; experience is mediated here primarily by the eye and not by the emotions. Kirchner's nude (fig. 87), seen from behind, may derive from concrete experience—in contrast to Vallotton, he at least allows one detail, the dent in the cushion under the left foot, to suggest the body's weight—but the pose looks contrived. This applies even more decisively to Heckel's woodcut *Die Schwestern* (The sisters, 1904; fig. 88). Although his imagery may be drawn from a literary source, Heckel appears to be using the contrast between the freely moving, youthful figure and the line of patient, mute, crouching women to convey the traditional theme of *vanitas*, the vanity of human life, through the contrast between youth and age.[11] The melancholy atmosphere of this scene has overtones of Heckel's later works, which are frequently elegiac in feeling, but this does nothing to mitigate the dramatic contradiction between the avowed aims of the Brücke artists and the actual form and content of their early graphic work.

A telling illustration of this contradiction is the work contributed by the Finnish artist Axel Gallén-Kallela to the second Jahresmappe in 1907. This woodcut, *Mädchen und Tod im Walde* (Maiden and Death in the woods; fig. 84), dates from 1895, ten years before the Brücke's formation, and is another pure manifestation of Jugendstil. This

90

89
Emil Nolde
Germany, 1867–1956
Akt, 1906
(Nude)
Etching and aquatint
7⅝ x 5⅞ in. (19.4 x 14.9 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke II
(1907)
M.82.288.365
Davis 2112

90
Karl Schmidt-Rottluff
Germany, 1884–1976
Holbeinplatz in Dresden, 1906
Lithograph
8½ x 13¹³⁄₁₆ in. (21.6 x 35.1 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke II
(1907)
M.82.287.96
Davis 2528

91
Max Pechstein
Germany, 1881–1955
Unsere Frau, 1907
(Our lady)
Woodcut printed in dark green
9 x 4⅞ in. (22.8 x 12.4 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke III
(1908)
M.82.287.97
Davis 2212

92
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Segelboot, 1907
(Sailboat)
Woodcut
6⁵⁄₁₆ x 8⅝ in. (16.1 x 21.9 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke III
(1908)
M.82.288.366
Davis 1012

89

second portfolio occupies something of a special position. Apart from one work by Schmidt-Rottluff, it consists entirely of works by new members of the group: Gallén-Kallela, Cuno Amiet, and Emil Nolde. This serves to record the broadening of the group's base and no doubt explains why Gallén-Kallela's contribution was welcome. Because the founding members were still feeling their way, they were not troubled by the discrepancy between their statements and their publication of a work expressing the decorative concerns of the turn of the century.

The Swiss artist Amiet was not a central figure in the Brücke, nor did Nolde remain in the group for long. Nevertheless both men, born in 1868 and 1867, respectively, influenced the younger artists of the Dresden group.[12] Amiet's radically simplified style obviously matched the younger artists' aspirations, and this explains the cordial wording of the letter that Heckel sent him on September 1, 1906: "We saw your work with feelings of admiration and enthusiasm. . . . Our group would be exceedingly glad to find in you a comrade in arms and a champion of its cause."[13] Amiet was no doubt of interest to the group as well because he had spent time in Paris and Pont-Aven studying modern French art, in particular the work of Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, and Vincent van Gogh.[14]

Nolde's contribution to the second Jahresmappe, the etching *Akt* (Nude, 1906; fig. 89), differs in a number of ways from the works considered so far. His handling of the subject has neither literary nor symbolist overtones; his nude, who makes no attempt to adopt a mannered pose, is rendered with spontaneity. No other graphic work in the early Jahresmappen so vividly realizes the group's objective of "taking creative stimulus from life itself and submitting to . . . experience." Nolde not only took as his subject a nude of "free naturalness" but endowed it, through a dramatic, expressive use of light and shade, with palpable presence.

Schmidt-Rottluff's contribution to the second Jahresmappe makes it clear that it was intended not only to present the group's new members but also to introduce new graphic techniques. Just as

93
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Porträt Schmidt-Rottluff, 1909
(Portrait of Schmidt-Rottluff)
Woodcut printed in red
15¾ x 11¾ in. (40.0 x 29.8 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke IV
(1909)
M.82.288.368 a
Davis 1427

91

92

93

Nolde taught the younger Brücke members the technique of etching, Schmidt-Rottluff introduced them to lithography, as Kirchner confirms in the *Chronik*. In 1906 Schmidt-Rottluff produced no less than thirteen works in this medium, including the one in the portfolio, *Holbeinplatz in Dresden* (fig. 90), a night view of a market square, all lamplight and great umbrellas, above which looms the dark mass of a fountain dedicated to *Justitia*. He sketches the view in a few terse strokes—as lithography, which is closer to drawing than any other printmaking technique, permits—and gives solidity to the composition with large, strongly emphasized areas of darkness.

In the third Jahresmappe (1908) Max Pechstein, who had joined the group in 1906, taking the place of Bleyl, made his first appearance in this context. Born in 1881, he belonged to the same generation as Heckel, Kirchner, and Schmidt-Rottluff, but unlike them he was a trained, professional artist who had studied at the Kunstgewerbeschule (school of arts and crafts) and later at the Königliche Kunstakademie (royal academy of art), both in Dresden. It is wholly in keeping with the Brücke's anticonventional ethos that Kirchner states in the *Chronik* that Pechstein introduced into the fellowship "the endeavor to break free of academic sterility."

In the woodcut *Unsere Frau* (Our lady; fig. 91), some examples of which are inscribed and dated "Paris 08,"[15] Pechstein has come a long way from the flowing Jugendstil line that he too had imitated. He frees the religious motif from all vague sweetness and historicist clutter, pulling it back "into life" with a vigorous, almost crude cutting stroke. Kirchner too, in his *Stilleben mit Krug und Blumen* (Still-life with pitcher and flowers; fig. 94), takes a step beyond his earlier works. The composition is more firmly constructed, and color has been added. Heckel, in the woodcut *Segelboot* (Sailboat; fig. 92), conjures up the power of nature, which is intensified by the massive, rounded clouds that serve as emblems of untrammeled motion. The program set forth in the Brücke manifesto had been a statement of intention, a verbal breach with the past, far outstripping the artists' creative capacity. Now those promises began to be honored.

With the 1909 Jahresmappe the structure of the portfolios changed. Each of the first three had included the work of three or four different artists; from 1909 on, each contained three graphic works by a single artist, with a cover designed by another member of the group. In the first portfolio of the new type, Schmidt-Rottluff presented two lithographs, *Bildnis Erich Heckel* (Portrait of Erich Heckel) and *Berliner Strasse in Dresden*, a view of the street on which both Heckel and Kirchner had studios, and one etching, *Altdresdner Häuser* (Old Dresden houses). These works reveal just how far the artist still had to go in terms of formal invention and technical skill before the major achievements of his later work. In both lithography and etching he was clearly still in his formative phase; whereas his woodcuts of 1909—one need only think of *Liebespaar* (Lovers)[16]—are among the most eloquent examples of the art of the Brücke.

The cover of this fourth portfolio (fig. 93), a woodcut by Kirchner, incorporates a portrait of Schmidt-Rottluff together with three

94

Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Stilleben mit Krug und Blumen, 1907
(Still life with pitcher and flowers)
Color woodcut
8 x 6⅝ in. (20.2 x 16.8 cm)
Proof before edition in portfolio
Die Brücke III (1908)
M.82.288.367
Davis 1423

94

tiny, vignettelike motifs. Printed in red, the image derives its highly individual sense of tension from the wide space that separates the smaller subjects on the left from the head on the right. This head is a powerful presence, especially compared with Schmidt-Rottluff's portrait of Heckel from the same portfolio; it suggests the hand of Kirchner the sculptor. The print is given an air of elemental closeness to nature by Kirchner's use of the wood grain as part of the composition, a technique familiar from Edvard Munch's woodcuts of the 1890s.[17]

In the fifth Jahresmappe, published in 1910, Kirchner himself is the protagonist, as is Heckel in that of 1911, and both portfolios contain masterpieces of the mature Brücke style. The Kirchner portfolio features a cover design in black on yellow by Heckel (fig. 96), showing two nudes, a woman and a man, who kneel to embrace each other. This is no mere decoration; it is an emblem of harmony embodied in physical closeness, an apt prelude to the three prints by Kirchner inside.

The first of these is a scene of high-spirited, sensuous enjoyment in which four naked bathers of both sexes throw reeds at one another (fig. 97). In comparison to the still life of 1907 this image of arcadian happiness is marked by sharply contrasting colors that match the

animated movements of the bathers: red for the bodies, green for the plants and shoreline, black for water and sky. The drawing of the figures and of the natural setting is schematic; the composition emerges from broadly outlined planes and decisively drawn lines. Kirchner makes no attempt to individualize the faces; clearly his concern is to capture not a specific experience enjoyed by particular individuals at the Moritzburg Lakes, but a moment of delight that transcends the personal.

The second print in the portfolio, the black-and-white woodcut *Tänzerin mit gehobenem Rock* (Dancer with lifted skirt; fig. 95), is related to the bathing scene in that it too shows a fleeting moment, a figure in motion. The erotic keynote is here too, but in a motif with a big-city setting, that of vaudeville.

95
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Tänzerin mit gehobenem Rock, 1909
(Dancer with lifted skirt)
Woodcut
9⅝ x 13⁹⁄₁₆ in. (24.4 x 33.8 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke v (1910)
M.82.288.369 c
Davis 1428

96
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Knieende Akte, 1910
(Kneeling nudes)
Woodcut
11¾ x 15¾ in. (29.9 x 40.0 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke v (1910)
M.82.288.369 a
Davis 1016

95

96

97
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Mit Schilf werfende Badende, 1910
(Bathers tossing reeds)
Color woodcut
7⅞ x 11⁷⁄₁₆ in. (20.0 x 29.0 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke v (1910)
M.82.288.369 b
Davis 1432

97

98
Max Pechstein
Germany, 1881–1955
Knieender Akt mit Schale, 1911
(Kneeling nude with bowl)
Woodcut
14 11/16 x 12 in. (37.3 x 30.4 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke VI
(1911)
M.82.288.370 a
Davis 2220

99
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Szene im Wald, 1910
(Scene in the woods)
Lithograph
11 x 13 3/4 in. (28.0 x 34.9 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke VI
(1911)
M.82.288.370 c
Davis 1023

100
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Badeszene unter überhängenden Baumzweigen, 1913
(Bathing scene under overhanging branches)
Woodcut
16 1/8 x 15 5/16 in. (41.0 x 38.5 cm)
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK)

In the last print Kirchner takes us back into nature (fig. 4), so that a sequence among the three prints becomes apparent. This final piece, an etching, *Drei Badende an den Moritzburger Seen* (Three bathers at the Moritzburg Lakes), is like the color woodcut in the economy with which the figures are evoked, which is in keeping with the nature of the medium. A single line traces both the legs of the woman in the center and those of the one seated on the right, so that they are indissolubly interlocked. The mood is markedly different from that of the first bathing scene; in place of a joyous, carefree interaction—itself an implicit counter to the sexual strife and loneliness expressed in the work of Munch—there is psychic harmony, peace, and stillness. The concord that prevails among these three human beings is suggested by formal means; it extends also to nature, of which the figures are an integral part.

For the 1911 Heckel portfolio, Pechstein provided the cover. Along with the previous year's Kirchner portfolio, this marks the high point of the entire series. The cover woodcut, *Knieender Akt mit Schale* (Kneeling nude with bowl; fig. 98), is not as powerful as Heckel's cover for the Kirchner portfolio, but it is a magnificent example of the collective Brücke style that in 1910 and 1911 temporarily overrode the individuality of the group's members. Heckel gives the portfolio a certain structure by presenting three different types of image in three different techniques: an interior (woodcut); a scene showing human figures in nature (lithography); and a street scene (drypoint).

The interior, *Stehendes Kind* (Standing child; fig. 83), printed from three blocks in black, green, and red, is a classic work of Expressionism. The girl Fränzi, who along with her sister Marcella modeled for the Brücke artists both in Dresden and at the Moritzburg Lakes, stands with her thin but lithe and vigorous body twisted round, in an attitude combining childish grace with aloofness. Spatial elements play a far less important role in the pictorial structure of this work than do color and plane. The surface is divided summarily into three broad, horizontal background zones, which in the right-hand half are overlaid and tied together by the standing figure. The color increases in intensity as the eye moves upward, making sharp transitions from black to green to red. The skin tone of the naked girl, which is the color of the underlying paper, extends across all three zones, so that the head, the most expressive feature, is seen against the strongest color, red. Heckel is sparing with elements of drawing within the outlines. He emphasizes the line of the groin, the navel, the emerging breasts, and especially the face. Above the mouth, with its faint hint of a smile, two sweeping lines define nose and eyebrows at a stroke, creating wide arcs above the bright, alert, yet somehow pensive and inward-looking eyes. Within a face that is already highlighted by means of form and color, the eyes are given added emphasis by overdrawing, an Expressionist technique about which both Kirchner and Schmidt-Rottluff have written.[18]

Heckel's characteristic use of an irregularly shaped block—in this case one that becomes narrower toward the top—also serves to focus attention on the head. The tapering format echoes the slenderness of the girl's body, making the image seem weightless. Nakedness is often an emblem of sensuality, but here Heckel depicts an almost

99

100

101
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Strasse mit Fussgängern—Hamburger Hafen, 1910
(Street with pedestrians—Hamburg harbor)
Drypoint
6 1/16 x 7 15/16 in. (17.0 x 20.1 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke VI (1911)
M.82.288.370 d
Davis 1022

infantile body, emphasizing the face and especially the eyes, and chooses a format and hence a composition that create an effect of lightness. In all these ways he adds to a remote echo of eroticism a breath of the sublime.

The lithograph *Szene im Wald* (Scene in the woods; fig. 99) is another manifestation of the Brücke conception of the unity of all living things, yet it also contains a subversive element. The central, crouching female figure—in contrast to the two corresponding images in the 1910 Kirchner portfolio and to the figures who accompany her—does not represent humanity in communion with nature. She has her clothes on, her eyes are shut, and she conveys an impression of total introversion, which is enhanced by the way her body is shielded from view. The two figures in the foreground are also isolated. A similar contrast is evident in Kirchner's woodcut of two years later, *Badeszene unter überhängenden Baumzweigen* (Bathing scene under overhanging branches; fig. 100), in which the artist himself appears on the shore as a detached, fully clothed, pipe-smoking spectator.

In the third print in the Heckel portfolio, the drypoint *Strasse mit Fussgängern—Hamburger Hafen* (Street with pedestrians—Hamburg harbor; fig. 101), the theme is space and movement. Not only is the curve of the tree-lined street on the right strongly emphasized, but the viewpoint chosen reveals a second street branching off to the left, which conveys a sense of opposing movement. An equally strong sense of motion is created by a group of three passersby, the leading member of which is cut off by the lower edge of the image, as in an action photograph, and also by the rise and fall of the line of the treetops, which is prolonged by that of the roofs. On the sidewalk under the trees, figures are walking into town, away from the big, striding figures in the foreground. A boat sails in the opposite direction, toward the bridge that rises

101

above the line of sight on the right. For all its initial air of northern European austerity, this Hamburg street scene reveals an abundance of complex and problematic sequences of motion that can be read both in the obvious sense—as expressions of the multifarious activity of city life—and as metaphors of tension.

The cover of the final Jahresmappe, which was issued in 1912, is by Otto Mueller. Kirchner and Heckel met Mueller when they visited Berlin in 1910, and soon afterward he became the last artist of note to join the Brücke. Pechstein, who was responsible for the three prints inside this portfolio, had been living in Berlin since 1908, and the other active members of the group moved there in the fall of 1911.

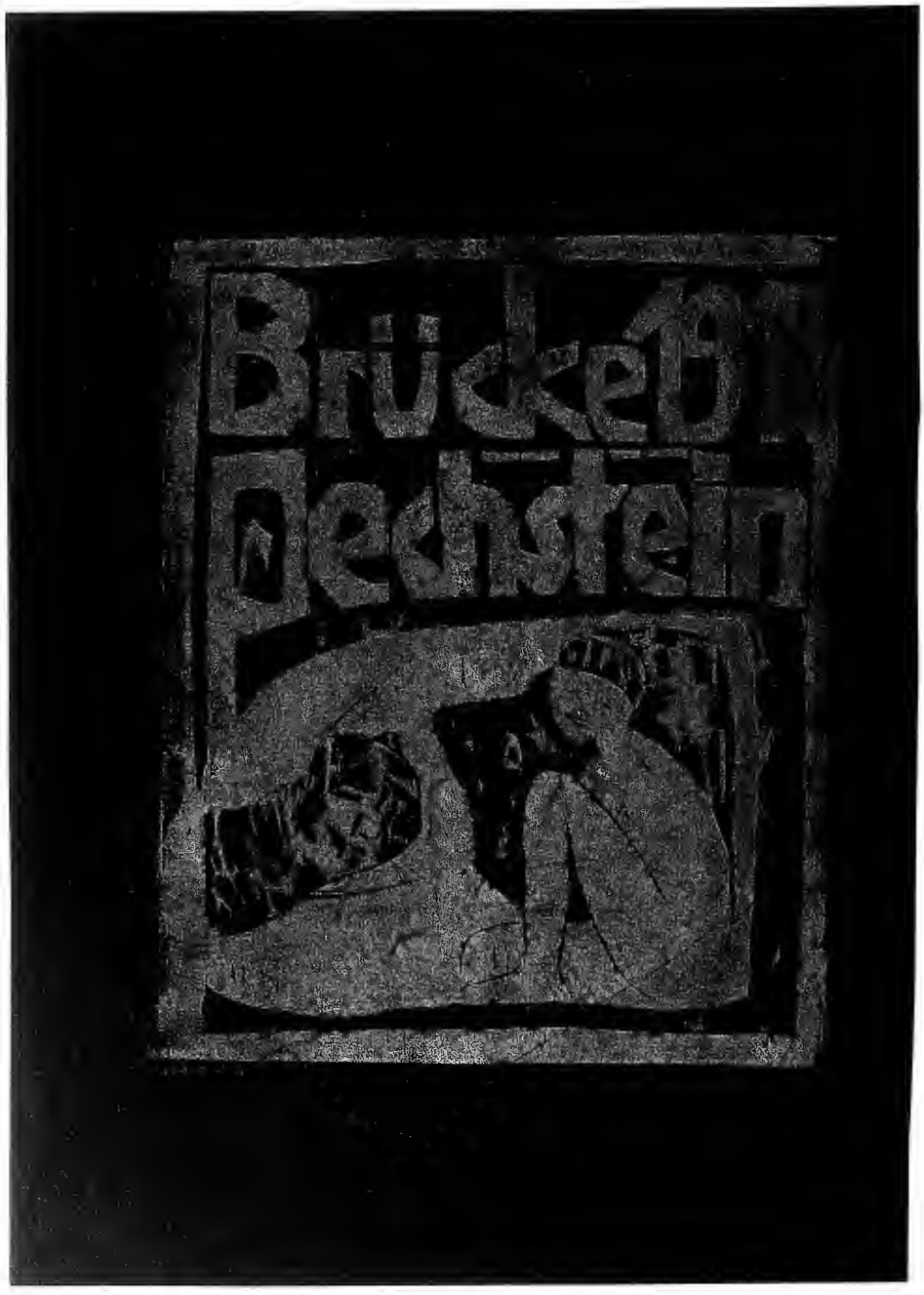
The cover woodcut, *Sitzender Akt auf Wiese* (Seated nude in meadow; fig. 104), printed in gold on a black ground, is remarkable for its sumptuous presentation, the harmony between lettering and

102
Max Pechstein
Germany, 1881–1955
Fischerkopf 7, 1911
(Head of a fisherman 7)
Woodcut
11⅜ x 9½ in. (29.0 x 24.1 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke VII (1912)
M.82.288.373
Davis 2219

102

103

103
Max Pechstein
Germany, 1881–1955
Russisches Ballet 1, 1912
(Russian ballet 1)
Etching and aquatint
11 13/16 x 9 13/16 in. (30.0 x 25.0 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke VII (1912)
M.82.288.371
Davis 2224



104

105

104
Otto Mueller
Moravia, 1874–1930
Sitzender Akt auf Wiese, 1912
(Seated nude in meadow)
Woodcut printed in gold
14 15/16 x 12 in. (38.0 x 30.5 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke VII (1912)
M.82.287.98
Davis 2049

105
Max Pechstein
Germany, 1881–1955
Tanzende und Badende am Waldteich, 1912
(Dancers and bathers at a forest pond)
Lithograph with watercolor
17 1/16 x 12 13/16 in. (43.3 x 32.5 cm)
From portfolio Die Brücke VII (1912)
M.82.288.372
Davis 2226

image, and its lyrical tone, which was characteristic of Mueller. Pechstein's three works are much more down-to-earth; they leave little room for halftones, and there is almost no sign of Heckel's and Kirchner's concern with the harmonizing of subject and form. The central action in the etching *Russisches Ballet 1* (Russian ballet 1; fig. 103) is rendered in a narrative technique, and instead of using the surrounding space to develop the theme in a meaningful way, Pechstein contents himself with baldly reproducing the exotic stage setting. The woodcut *Fischerkopf 7* (Head of a fisherman 7; fig. 102) is an important testimony to the Brücke hankering for the primeval, but formally it lacks tension in comparison with the graphic work of most of the other members. Much the same can be said of the hand-colored lithograph *Tänzende und Badende am Waldteich* (Dancers and bathers at a forest pond; fig. 105), with its manifest echoes of Henri Matisse (Pechstein had spent nine months in Paris in 1908). Here Pechstein pays homage to the Brücke dream of an earthly paradise, but his setting owes less to experience than to the desire to incorporate the figures into an ornamental pattern.

The year 1912 brought a breakthrough for the Brücke artists in terms of public recognition, but it also marked the beginning of the group's end. The Sonderbund exhibition, held in the summer of 1912 in Cologne, established Cézanne, Gauguin, and van Gogh as the founding fathers of modernism; it also included more than thirty works by Munch. The Brücke artists, along with Pablo Picasso and the Fauves, represented a nucleus of younger talent. In February 1912 the group participated in an exhibition in Munich organized by the Blaue Reiter, which traveled to Der Sturm in Berlin. In April the Galerie Fritz Gurlitt, also in Berlin, organized a Brücke show that traveled to the Galerie Commeter in Hamburg. The work of Pechstein was missing at the second venue, however; he had been expelled from the group after a quarrel over the relationship between the Brücke and a Berlin artists' association, the Neue Sezession (new secession). That year the decision was taken to make a written record, the *Chronik*. The group was already laying claim to its place in history. The *Chronik* was published in several small, privately printed editions, but Kirchner's account of the origin and development of the group was repudiated by the other members, who believed that he had grossly exaggerated his own role. In May 1913 the group disbanded.

The outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 brutally relegated the Brücke ideal, its faith in brotherhood and harmony between man and nature, to the realm of utopian dreams. Disillusionment had begun to set in even before the war, as Kirchner's *Badeszene unter überhängenden Baumzweigen* of 1913 suggests. As the artist had declared that it was his "appointed task" to "create an image of the age,"[19] the work can be seen as more than an expression of private conflicts. Kirchner, who was more excited than any other member of the group by the experience of life in the big city, had captured even more clearly the precariousness of that prewar world in his Berlin street scenes, both prints and paintings, with their abruptly plunging perspectives and their population of demireps.

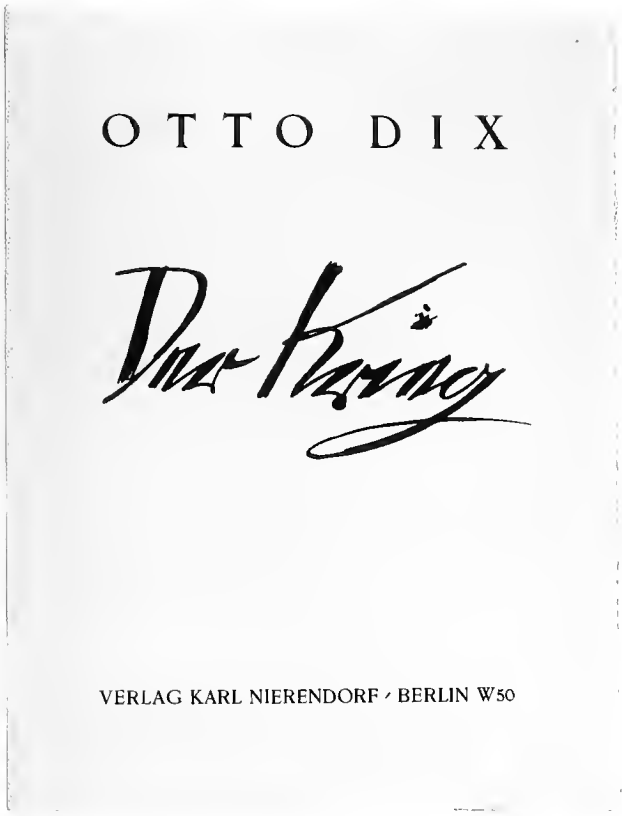
Although none of these images appears in the Jahresmappen, they are essential evidence in any consideration of the relation-

ship between the Brücke artists' work and their times. In 1916 Kirchner drew an analogy between his own situation after his wartime physical and mental breakdown and the motifs that had characterized his art just before the war: "Bloated, one staggers off to work, where all work is in vain and the onslaught of mediocrity flattens everything. Like the cocottes that I painted, that is how one is now. Wiped out, next time gone."[20]

"No, artists are not there to reform and convert. They are far too little for that. They must testify."

Such was the credo of Otto Dix,[21] who in 1923–24 recorded his experience of the First World War in fifty etchings issued in five portfolios of ten prints each. Dix, who was born near Gera in Thuringia in 1891 and studied at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Dresden from 1909 to 1914, was drafted into the field artillery shortly after the outbreak of war. One year later he volunteered for front-line duty, and from then until the fall of 1918 he served in France, Flanders, Poland, and Russia.

Dix was not the only major German artist of his day to volunteer for military service. Grosz did the same, not out of any special enthusiasm for the business of legalized killing, but because his age made him liable to be drafted. As a volunteer, he was eligible for certain privileges, including that of choosing the branch of the service in which he was to serve. Beckmann, for his part, went to the eastern front in September 1914 as an escort for a shipment of supplies and stayed there as a volunteer medical orderly.[22] Later he served as a medic in Flanders. It has been conjectured that Beckmann's intention was to keep himself from becoming part of the machinery of mass slaughter,[23] and the tone of bitterness and grief in his 1914 etchings *Weinende Frau* (Weeping woman) and *Kriegserklärung* (Declaration of war)[24] lends plausibility to this interpretation. It is contradicted, however, by isolated remarks in his wartime



106
Title page of Der Krieg

107

107
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Verwundeter, Herbst 1916, Bapaume, 1924
(Wounded man, autumn 1916, Bapaume)
Etching with aquatint
7¾ x 11⅜ in. (19.7 x 29.0 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.51 f
Davis 484.6

108
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Lens wird mit Bomben belegt, 1924
(Lens being bombed)
Etching with aquatint
11¾ x 9 11/16 in. (29.8 x 24.6 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.54 c
Davis 484.33

109
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Bei Langemarck, Februar 1918, 1924
(Near Langemarck, February 1918)
Etching with aquatint
9¾ x 11 9/16 in. (24.7 x 29.3 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.51 g
Davis 484.7

letters: "Out there is the wonderful, tremendous sound of battle, . . . [its] special, fearful, magnificent music."[25]

Dix's diary of 1915–16 and the postcards he wrote from the front in 1914–16 embody similar contradictions. In one place he writes: "Lice, rats, barbed wire, fleas, grenades, bombs, holes, bodies, blood, schnapps, mice, cats, gas, guns, dirt, bullets, mortars, fire, steel: that is war! The work of the Devil!" But Dix was not a pacifist. His conception of humanity left no room for belief in a world without war: "Money, religion, and women have been the occasion of wars, but they have never been *the root cause, which is an eternal law.*" He hoped that "there [would] soon be peace" but regarded war as a terrible but inevitable part of human life. Dix believed that an artist must have the courage to say yes to all aspects of life, both light and dark, and concluded that "*war too* must be regarded as *a natural phenomenon.*"[26]

Beckmann expressed similar views, writing in May 1915 that war "in itself is one of the manifestations of life, like disease, love, and lust. And just as I follow fear, disease, lust, love, and hate to their utmost limits, well, now I am trying war. It is all life, wonderfully various and rich in inspiration."[27] Both artists' beliefs had a common source in the philosophy of Nietzsche. Since long before the war, both had subscribed to his vitalistic interpretation of the world, his conception of life as a "power of motion without a goal, beyond all categories of good and evil, which gives birth and devours its own offspring, only to give birth anew."[28]

Beckmann did not succeed for long in maintaining his view of war as a more or less normal phenomenon, however. In 1915 he broke down, like Kirchner in the same year, and like Grosz in 1917.[29] By contrast Dix held on through the worst of the "work of the Devil" and never changed his view of it. As late as 1961 he said, "The war was a

108

109

110

111

horrible business, and yet there was something tremendous about it." Two years later he said in conversation with friends:

> *I'm a man who is concerned with reality. I have to see everything. I have to plumb the depths of life. And so I go to war. That's why I volunteered. And when I tell people that nowadays, they say, "Good grief, so Dix was an out-and-out militarist! How does that fit together? He painted a war picture that was so frightful, so horrific, and now he says he was a militarist?" Yes, that's just it! What I said was: "If you want to be a hero, you have to see this whole mess and still say yes to it."*[30]

The "war picture" to which Dix referred is probably *Der Schützengraben* (The trench), painted in 1923 and destroyed during the Second World War. He later explained his motive for painting it, saying "I just wanted to get rid of it, that's all!"[31] But he also confessed that he had "for years, ten years at least, always had these dreams in which I had to crawl through the ruins of houses, through openings I could barely get through." Despite his claims to the contrary—"it's not that painting was a way of setting myself free"[32]—there can be no doubt that Dix sought release from his nightmares through art. His purpose in painting his war pictures, he said later, was "to banish the war,"[33] but he never entirely succeeded, though he went on trying all his life.

Dix returned to the theme of war in a number of major paintings after *Der Schützengraben*, such as the triptych *Der Krieg* (1919–32; Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), *Flandern* (Flanders, 1934–36; Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin), and the post–Second World War mural painting *Krieg und Frieden* (War and peace, 1960; Rathaus, Singen). His desire—and at the same time his inability—to exorcise oppressive memories and recurrent dreams may explain why, immediately after finishing *Der Schützengraben*, far from laying the theme aside even temporarily, he embarked on a renewed and massive effort to banish the horror through the fifty prints of Der Krieg. Dix's ambivalence toward the war—his view of it as both "horrible" and "tremendous"—was still evident in a 1965 interview in which he denied having created these works "for the peace of my soul." On the contrary: "The cause is the urge to create. I have to do it! I saw it, I remember it, I must paint it."[34]

While working on Der Krieg, Dix relied not only on his recollections but also on a large number of drawings that he had made at the front. He also set out "to recapture the sensory experience of war, painting watercolors of human viscera in the dissecting room, drawing the skulls in the Palermo catacombs in 1923, and poring over the photographs in Ernst Friedrich's pacifist book *Krieg dem Kriege* [War on war, 1924]."[35]

Dix used a number of aids to visualization, but none of them went beyond what he himself had experienced. He set out to give "a genuine reportage of the war."[36] What he saw were the crazed, staring eyes and clenched hands of *Verwundeter* (Wounded man, no. 6; fig. 107); the shattered landscape of *Bei Langemarck* (Near Langemarck, no. 7; fig. 109); a street in the town of Lens in northern France, where women and

112

113

114

110
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Besuch bei Madame Germaine in Méricourt, 1924
(Visit to Madame Germaine's in Méricourt)
Etching with aquatint
10¼ x 7¾ in. (26.1 x 19.8 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.54 f
Davis 484.36

111
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Frontsoldat in Brüssel, 1924
(Front-line soldier in Brussels)
Etching with aquatint
11⅝ x 7¹³⁄₁₆ in. (28.8 x 19.8 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.54 d
Davis 484.34

112
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Mahlzeit in der Sappe, Lorettohöhe, 1924
(Mealtime in the trench, Loretto heights)
Etching with aquatint
7¾ x 11⅞ in. (19.6 x 29.0 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.52 c
Davis 484.13

113
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Die Irrsinnige von Sainte-Marie-à-Py, 1924
(The madwoman of Sainte-Marie-à-Py)
Etching with aquatint
11⅝ x 7¾ in. (28.8 x 19.8 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.54 e
Davis 484.35

114
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Transplantation, 1924
(Skin graft)
Etching with aquatint
7¹³⁄₁₆ x 5⅞ in. (19.8 x 14.9 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.54 j
Davis 484.40

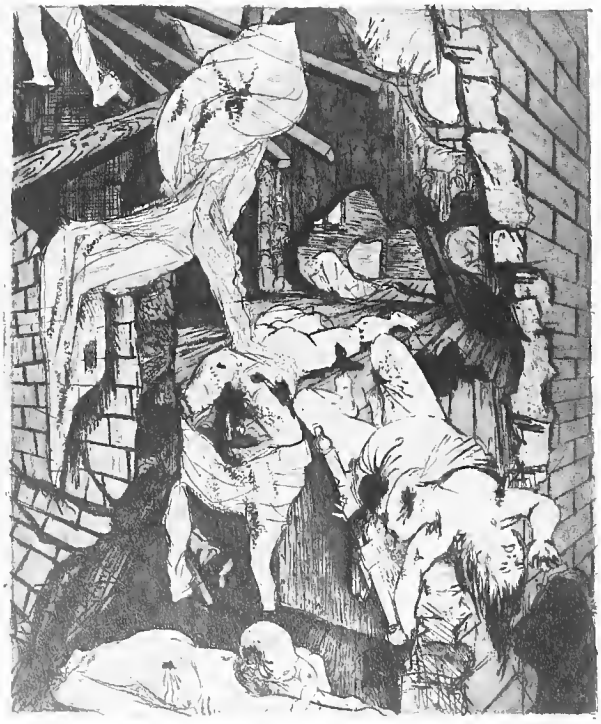
children flee in terror or lie prostrate while a bomber swoops over them like a great, evil insect (no. 33; fig. 108); medics standing by impotently, rendered obsolete by the new reality of murder by gas (no. 3). He also witnessed the sheer lust for life that emerges in men who eat, like cattle, their meal in the trench (no. 13; fig. 112); in sailors who dance in an Antwerp bar (no. 32); in a visit to an aging, grotesquely bedizened whore (no. 36; fig. 110); or in the ample, rounded forms of the women at whom a soldier looks upward with an air of perplexity and near incredulity (no. 34; fig. 111). Dix also saw apocalyptic landscapes of shell craters (no. 4), which he described in one of his postcards from the front as "the eye sockets of the earth";[37] soldiers dying on barbed wire, their grisly contortions a modern version of the medieval dance of death (no. 19); the monstrous aftermath of a skin graft (no. 40; fig. 114); and, finally, people who are no longer capable of a lust for life but have reacted to death and destruction by going to another extreme, that of insanity (no. 35; fig. 113).

Dix rarely shows actual combat in Der Krieg; he is concerned with the effects of war on people, the qualities it brings out in them. He does not adopt a narrative form but offers widely contrasting glimpses of war. In the fourth portfolio (nos. 31–40), for instance, he juxtaposes a skull stripped bare by worms, an orgy, fighting, a street lined with whores, madness, a visit to a brothel, drunkenness, dismembered soldiers, civilians killed by bombing from the air, and a survivor with a grisly, patched-up face.

Der Krieg has often been likened to Francisco de Goya's Los desastres de la guerra (The disasters of war), and formal affinities have been traced, for instance, between *Durch Fliegerbomben zerstörtes Haus* (House destroyed by aerial bombs, no. 39; fig. 115) and *Estragos de la guerra* (Ravages of war; fig. 116).[38] One major difference has also been

115
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Durch Fliegerbomben zerstörtes Haus, 1924
(House destroyed by aerial bombs)
Etching with aquatint
11¾ x 9⅝ in. (29.8 x 24.4 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.54 i
Davis 484.39

116
Francisco de Goya y Lucientes
Spain, 1746–1828
Estragos de la guerra, 1810–c. 1820
(Ravages of war)
Etching, drypoint, burin, and burnisher
5½ x 6¹¹⁄₁₆ in. (14.0 x 17.0 cm)
From series Los desastres de la guerra
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK)



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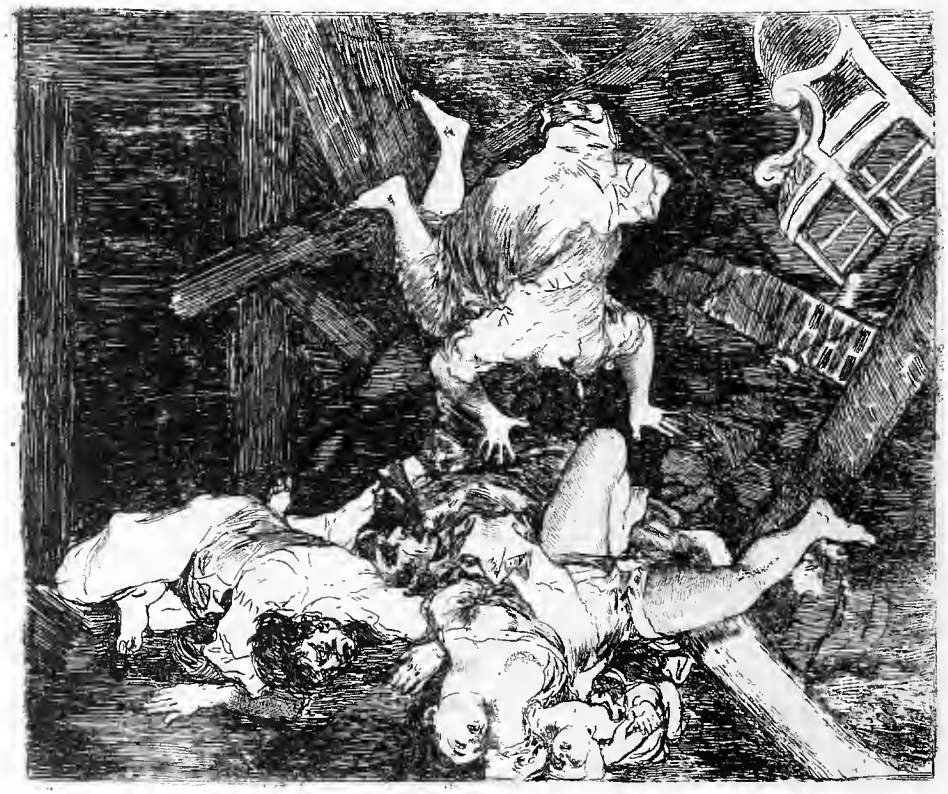

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118

117
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Gesehen am Steilhang von Cléry-sur-Somme, 1924
(Seen on the escarpment at Cléry-sur-Somme)
Etching with aquatint
10¼ x 7¾ in. (26.0 x 19.6 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.53 h
Davis 484.28

118
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Verlassene Stellung bei Neuville, 1924
(Abandoned position near Neuville)
Etching with aquatint
7¾ x 5¾ in. (19.7 x 14.6 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.52 a
Davis 484.11

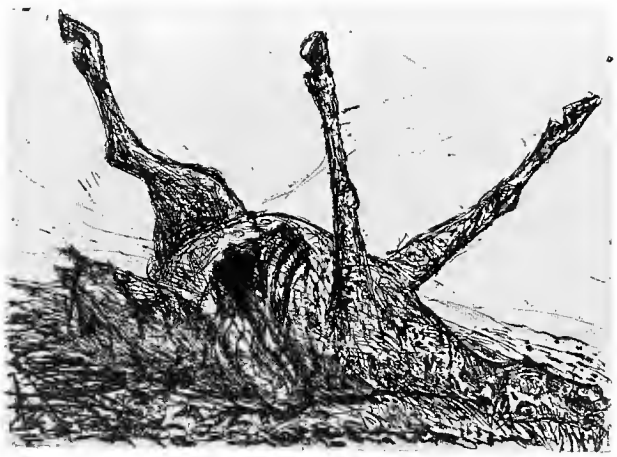
pointed out: Dix, unlike Goya, passes no comment on what is going on.[39] Textually the two sequences do indeed differ in that Dix takes no explicit position, but one thing they share is an insistent emphasis on the authenticity of what is shown. Number 44 of Los desastres bears the title *Yo lo vi* (I saw it), a claim also made by Dix not only in the 1965 interview but also within the portfolio itself: *Gesehen am Steilhang von Cléry-sur-Somme* (Seen on the escarpment at Cléry-sur-Somme, no. 28; fig. 117).

The fact is that Dix does incorporate a commentary, not in words, but through the graphic medium. At first glance it seems to be the eye of an objective reporter that sees new shoots sprouting from a shattered tree in *Verlassene Stellung bei Neuville* (Abandoned position near Neuville, no. 11; fig. 118) or a shell hole ringed with flowers (no. 24; fig. 120) or the sun blazing over a battlefield, with its promise of undiminished vital power (no. 43; fig. 121). An etching with the same theme of death juxtaposed with new life, *Toter Soldat* (Dead soldier; fig. 123), was published in 1922 in a portfolio with the programmatic title Tod und Auferstehung (Death and resurrection).[40] The three images from Der Krieg can thus be interpreted as statements of a position, ripostes to death. They have their origin in Nietzsche's concept of the eternal cycle of becoming, decay, and renewal, but they are also foreshadowed in earlier German graphic art, in that of Max Klinger (see fig. 122), for instance.[41]

120
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Granattrichter mit Blumen, Frühling 1916, 1924
(Shell crater with flowers, spring 1916)
Etching with aquatint
5 13/16 x 7 13/16 in. (14.8 x 19.8 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.53 d
Davis 484.24

119
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Pferdekadaver, 1924
(Horse cadaver)
Etching with aquatint
5 11/16 x 7 3/4 in. (14.5 x 19.7 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.51 e
Davis 484.5

121
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Essenholer bei Pilkem, 1924
(Ration carriers near Pilkem)
Etching with aquatint
9 5/8 x 11 3/4 in. (24.5 x 29.8 cm)
From portfolio Der Krieg
M.82.288.55 c
Davis 484.43



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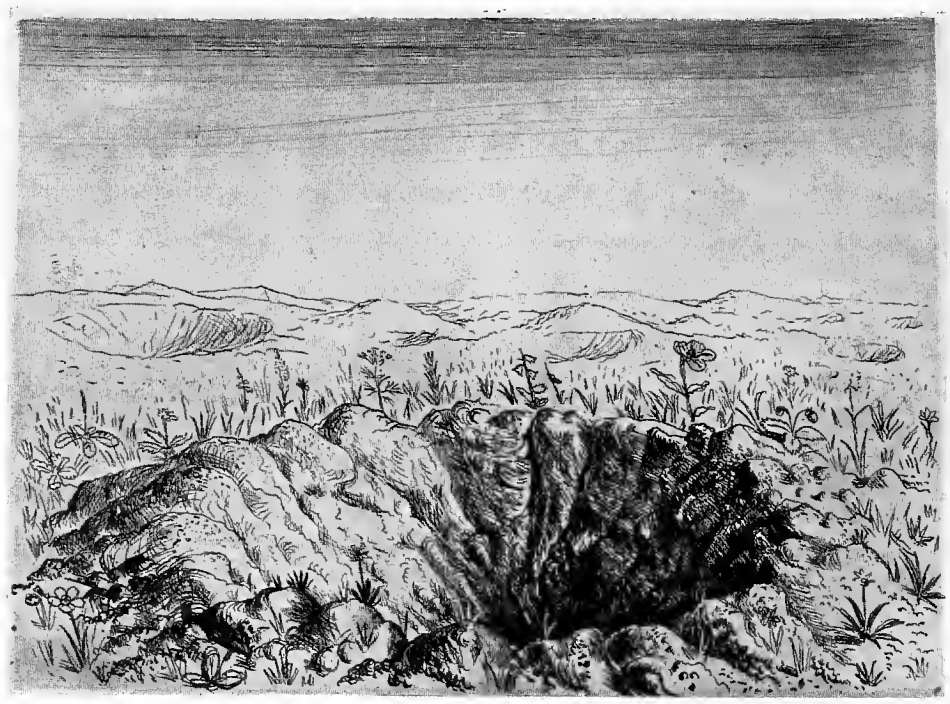

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121

An element of commentary may also be found in images that reflect Dix's conviction that war is both "horrible" and "tremendous." He shows the horror of war in close-up; he faces reality in all its crudeness without attempting to palliate the starkness of human suffering by overlaying it with heroism. Yet he also shows the drama of war: the legs of a dead horse pointing to the sky (no. 5; fig. 119); the remnants of trees and houses that punctuate the skyline of *Zerfallender Kampfgraben* (Disintegrating trench, no. 9); *Nächtliche Begegnung mit einem Irrsinnigen* (Nocturnal encounter with a lunatic, no. 22); or *Überfall einer Schleich-*

patrouille (Surprise attack, no. 44), an almost cinematic scene that flashes out of the darkness with all the suddenness of the bayonet thrust in the sentry's chest.

None of these appeals to emotion seems contrived or imposed; Dix does not manipulate his subjects. He does, however, highlight them through the choice of detail, through a low viewpoint, or through the use of light and shade. In other prints, such as *Besuch bei Madame Germaine in Méricourt* (Visit to Madame Germaine's in Méricourt, no. 36; fig. 110), he uses elements of caricature, but never the kind of overemphasis that is designed to intensify the emotional impact of a particular object, which is found in Brücke graphics and can also be seen in Pechstein's Somme 1916 (see fig. 65). His approach is, one might say, a soberer one. "The brutal naturalism," wrote a critic immediately after the publication of the portfolio, "is an attempt to give painting a new style of objectivity."[42]

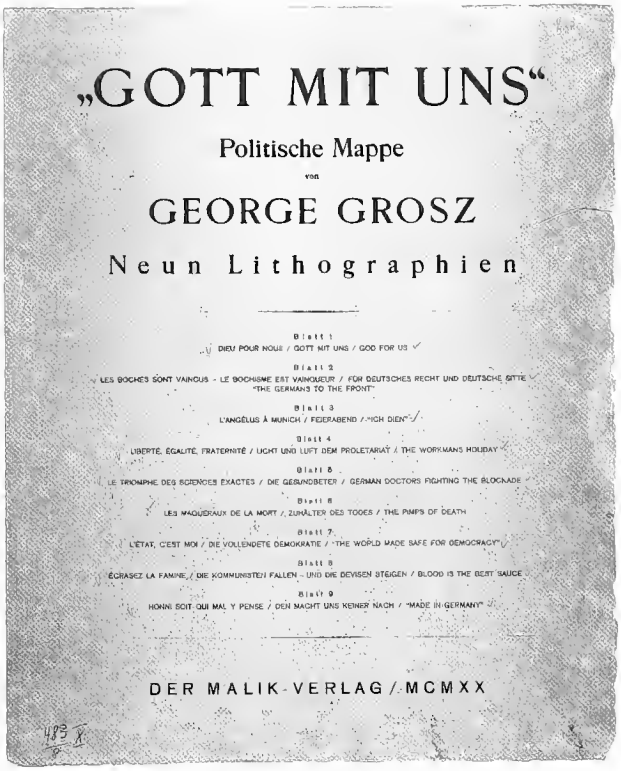
Dix was not celebrating heroes, as the propagandistic journal *Kriegszeit* (Wartime) so unremittingly and bombastically did; nor was it his concern to mourn the victims and, like Käthe Kollwitz in her Sieben Holzschnitte zum Krieg (Seven woodcuts on the war, see fig. 68), to call upon the survivors to change their ways. He would certainly not have subscribed to her motto, "In this age, I want to have an effect";[43] he did not believe that the exhortation on her poster *Nie wieder Krieg* (Never again war, 1924) could possibly make any difference. Dix laid claim to an artistic mission of another kind, and his choice of subjects, his attitude to what he depicted, and his graphic virtuosity[44] allowed him to perform what he saw as the artist's task: to testify.

122
Max Klinger
Germany, 1857–1920
Tote Mutter, 1889
(Dead mother)
Etching and engraving
17⅞ x 13¹¹⁄₁₆ in. (45.5 x 34.7 cm)
From portfolio Vom Tode II
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK)

123
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Toter Soldat, 1922
(Dead soldier)
Drypoint
10¹³⁄₁₆ x 13⅝ in. (27.5 x 34.6 cm)
From portfolio Tod und Auferstehung
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK)

122

123



124
Title page of Gott mit uns

"Brutality! Clarity that hurts!
There are enough musics that put people to sleep!"

When, in April 1918, George Grosz demanded this approach of a painter friend—and of himself—as a guiding principle for all future work,[45] the slaughter of the First World War was well into its fourth year. The war had convinced him that art could be used as a weapon, and the experience of the revolution that began in Germany at the end of the war, in November 1918, and continued into the spring of 1919 was hardly likely to soften his hard line. What it did was to make him more keenly aware of the nature of his adversary. The first great "manifesto" of Grosz's struggle was the portfolio Gott mit uns. A brief look at his earlier work—in particular his first two portfolios of prints, the Erste George Grosz-Mappe (First George Grosz portfolio) and the Kleine Grosz Mappe (Little Grosz portfolio), both published in 1917—helps explain its position and significance in his oeuvre.

Grosz, born in Berlin in 1893, began his studies at the Königliche Kunstakademie in Dresden. From 1912 to 1916, with some interruptions, he attended the Kunstgewerbeschule in Berlin. His first published work appeared in 1910. It was a drawing that he later converted into his first original print, the etching *Zwei Männer in Betrachtung eines Paares* (Two men watching a couple, 1911).[46] The drawing was reproduced in *Ulk*, the humorous supplement to the daily *Berliner Tageblatt*, and it is this, rather than anything in the work itself, that classifies it as satirical. It is only one of Grosz's many early drawings that display an affinity with the fashionable linearity of Jugendstil. Even during his time in Dresden, however, he had begun to explore the tangible world, drawing constantly in order to capture those impressions that the plaster casts of the academy drawing classes could not offer him.

Grosz's sketchbooks from this early period have the air of an inventory, but this does not mean that his subjects were chosen at random. His wanderings in Berlin did not take him along Unter den Linden, into the fashionable West End, or to the middle-class residential areas; they took him instead to the back door, as it were, of the whole sprawling industrial conurbation. The dismal landscape of the outskirts of Berlin provides the subject matter of a succession of early prints with titles like *Bahndamm* (Railroad tracks), *Zirkus* (Circus), *Arbeiter* (Workers), and *Arbeitergegend* (Working-class district).[47]

There is a sense of taking stock also in the sequence of five closely related self-portraits that date from 1913–14; they bear all the marks of juvenile self-interrogation in front of a mirror.[48] Other figural prints of this period, with their subjects' exaggerated physical characteristics and eccentric arm and hand gestures, oscillate between caricature and an expressive language reminiscent of Ludwig Meidner's, conveying psychic upheavals through a radical remolding of the human face and figure.[49] These early works reveal the desire to understand the world that presents itself to the artist's eye, but there is also a second, subliminal thematic level. This draws on Grosz's reading of that late Symbolist fiction, much of it comparatively trivial, that looks beyond the reality of bourgeois life to a shadow side that is violent, spine-chilling, heavy with eroticism. *Der Mord* (Murder) and *Lasterhöhle* (Den of iniquity) bear the

influence of the penny-dreadful fantasies that formed the young artist's staple reading.[50]

On November 13, 1914, Grosz volunteered for military service for reasons that have already been discussed in connection with Dix.[51] He probably never went to the front, and on May 11, 1915, he was discharged as medically unfit for duty.[52] His time in the army, however, and the omnipresence of the war in newspapers, rallies, speeches, and parades opened his eyes to one devastating fact. The acceptance of violence and the craving for life were not confined to distant battlefields; the great city to which he returned was the very source and focus of the plague. From that time onward he set out to strip people and objects of their flimsy masks of pretence.

Grosz told of slaughter not only on the battlefield but also in the cities themselves in works such as *Attentat* (Attack), *Blutiger Karneval* (Bloody carnival),[53] and *Krawall der Irren* (Riot of the insane; Kleine Grosz Mappe, no. 6; fig. 125). Erotic desires no longer seek out the seclusion of shady drinking dens but flaunt themselves in the daylight of *Strassenbild* (Street scene; Kleine Grosz Mappe, no. 3; fig. 126): a man raises his hat, and the top of his skull comes off, revealing that he is mentally undressing a woman.[54]

Once Grosz came to see the appearance of things as a masquerade, he dissolved the scenic unity of space and time and came close to the pictorial formula developed by the Futurists, who had exhib-

125
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Krawall der Irren, 1915–16
(Riot of the insane)
Transfer lithograph
9 5/16 x 5 3/4 in. (23.7 x 14.6 cm)
From portfolio Kleine Grosz Mappe
M.82.288.72 f
Davis 951.6

126
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Strassenbild, 1915–16
(Street scene)
Transfer lithograph
9 3/16 x 5 1/2 in. (23.4 x 14.0 cm)
From portfolio Kleine Grosz Mappe
M.82.288.72 c
Davis 951.3

125

126

127

127
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Der Dorfschullehrer, 1915–16
(Village schoolmaster)
Transfer lithograph
8⅜ x 5⁵⁄₁₆ in. (21.3 x 13.5 cm)
From portfolio Kleine Grosz Mappe
M.82.288.72 q
Davis 951.17

128
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Peripherie, 1915–16
(Outskirts)
Transfer lithograph
12¹⁄₁₆ x 8⅞ in. (30.6 x 22.5 cm)
From portfolio Erste George Grosz-Mappe
M.82.288.71 g
Davis 950.7

129
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Die Fabriken, 1915–16
(The factories)
Transfer lithograph
8⅜ x 5⁵⁄₁₆ in. (21.3 x 13.5 cm)
From portfolio Kleine Grosz Mappe
M.82.288.72 n
Davis 951.14

130
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Erinnerung an New York, 1915–16
(Memory of New York)
Transfer lithograph
14⅞ x 11⅝ in. (37.8 x 29.6 cm)
From portfolio Erste George Grosz-Mappe
M.82.288.71 a
Davis 950.1

ited in Berlin as early as April 1912: reality is captured not by a static, framed section of the visual field, but by the representation of moving objects and of contrasting events occurring simultaneously in different places. "The Holy Simultaneity" was now Grosz's ideal.[55] The simultaneistic panoramas of *Erinnerung an New York* (Memory of New York; Erste George Grosz-Mappe, no. 1; fig. 130) and *Die Fabriken* (The factories; Kleine Grosz Mappe, no. 14; fig. 129) testify to the artist's fascination with the vitality of the modern city.

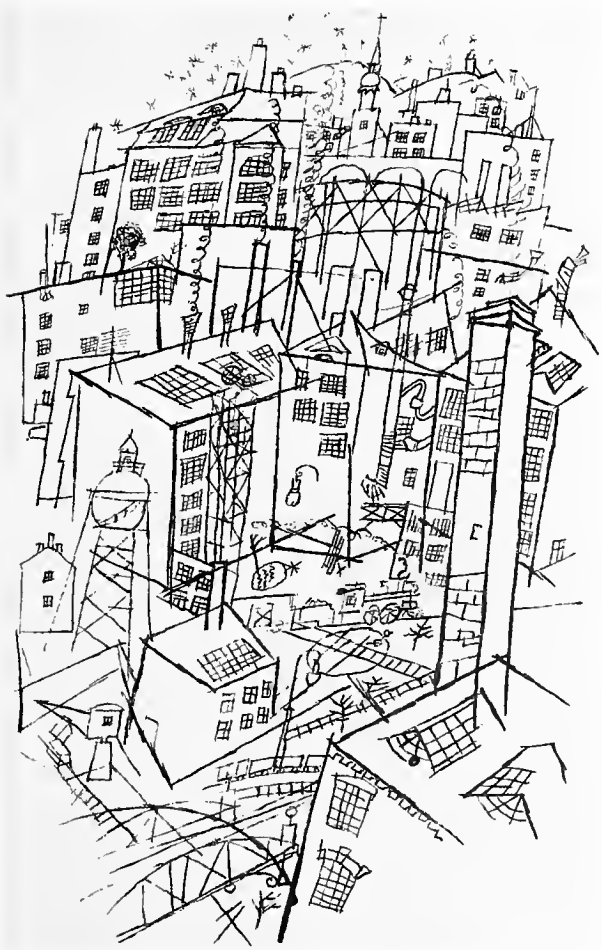
With the possible exception of the skyscrapers of Grosz's New York vision, which is not a "memory" at all but a fantasy, the architecture in his work has none of the Futurist rhetoric of progress and the "age of speed." He treated the facades of buildings as he did the garments of human beings, stripping them of their historicist decor, leaving them unadorned and bare, with perhaps one absurd turret, unmasking them as what the poet Theodor Däubler called "crates for people."[56] These ciphers for buildings, which appear frequently in Grosz's first two portfolios (see fig. 128), have none of the solidity of real structures. Lightweight as collapsible cartons, often devoid of side and back walls, they lean out of plumb, their sharp, pen-drawn outlines often converging and conflicting. The same high tension pervades the pictorial space, which often unfolds in a zigzag, and the attitudes of the people, who not only cross one another's paths but also often seem to be facing two ways at once. Grosz adapted the methods of Futurism, the Cubist multiple viewpoint, and the summary depiction of objects in children's drawings and graffiti in order to translate reality into a configuration of sharply delineated forms.[57]

Antithesis became the foundation of Grosz's work. He drew a world that is as fragile as it is explosive, and he constantly confronted desire with death. The street corner, with its implicit spatial dialectic, became a favorite setting. It creates unexpected encounters; it reveals and conceals at the same time; it allows some to emerge into the light while affording others, like the murderer (see fig. 131), anonymity. And death too has its antithesis here: not only the naked woman at the window but the mongrel bitch with bulging teats.

Grosz often combined the polarity of desire and death with elements from other contexts to compose a tight chain of motifs and associations replete with contradictions. He said of the print *Menschen in der Strasse* (People in the street; fig. 132), from his first portfolio: "I drew . . . a cross section through an apartment building: in one window a man is hitting his wife with a broom, in the second two people are making love, in the third someone is hanging from the transom with flies buzzing around him."[58] There is a fourth motif as well, that of a social outcast who peers out of the barred window of the basement.

Such images are like drawers with a succession of false bottoms, each containing something completely different from the others. They also recall the masks behind which Grosz chose to conceal himself. He introduced himself to Wieland Herzfelde, founder of Malik-Verlag, the publishing house that was to issue nearly all of Grosz's portfolios, as a "businessman from Holland."[59] Around the late summer of 1916 he changed his name from Georg Gross to George Grosz. Like his friend Helmut Herzfelde, who renamed himself John Heartfield, Grosz

128



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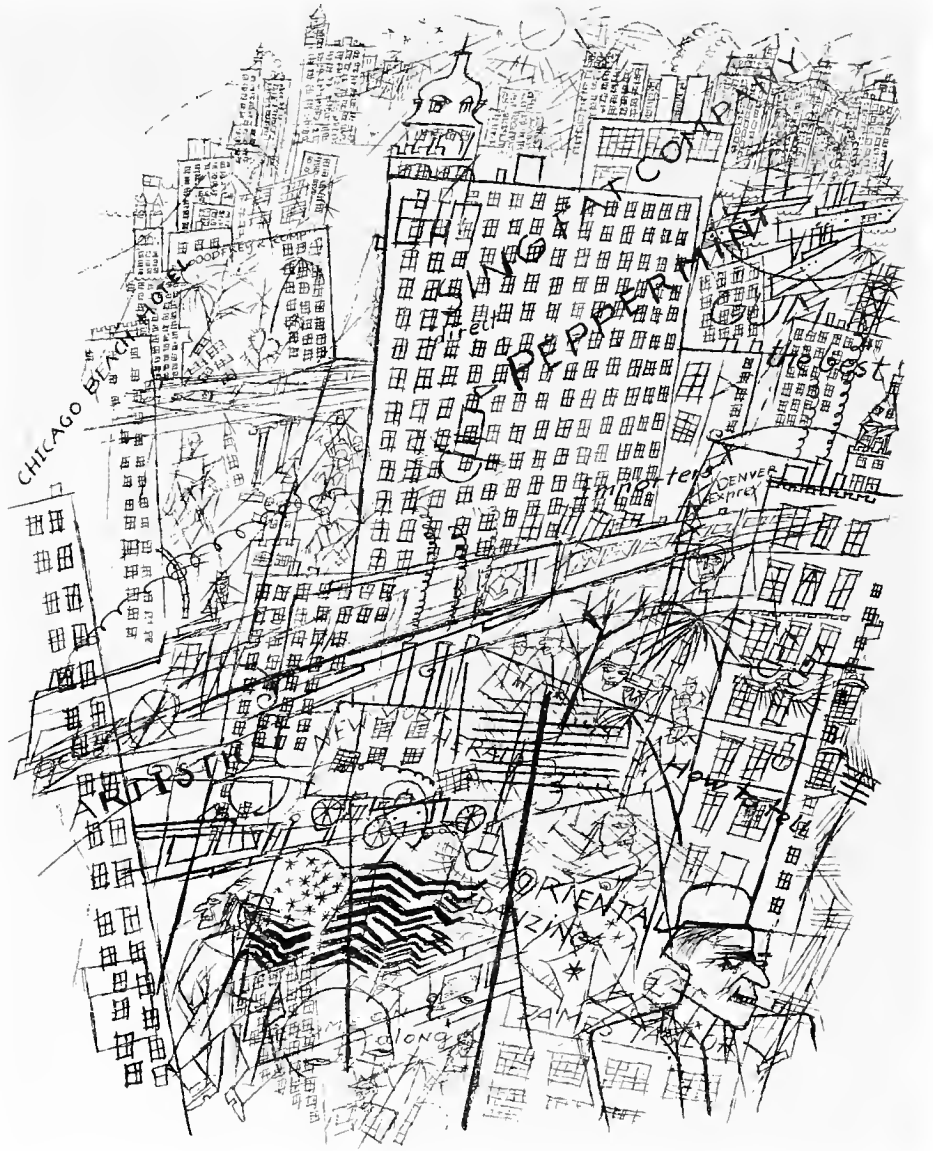
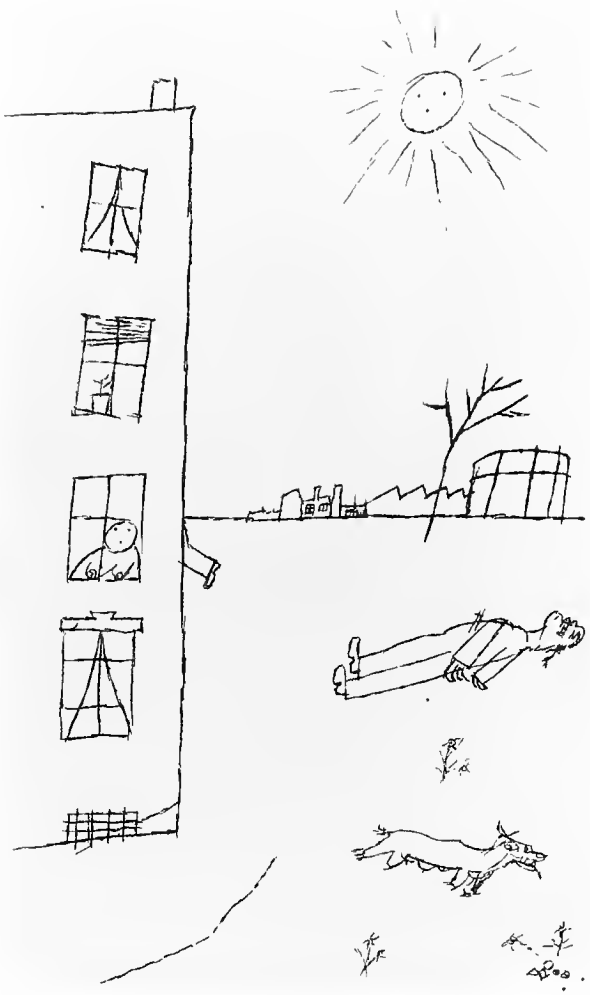


130

was trying to distance himself from the prevailing mood of warlike nationalism. From then on he pronounced his surname with a short *o*, to rhyme with *cross*.[60] The harder sound of the new name was a contributory sign of a new identity. He also used a whole string of pseudonyms with contradictory associations that indicate his capacity to identify simultaneously with disparate and indeed irreconcilable roles.[61]

In early January 1917 Grosz was recalled into the army, only to be transferred shortly afterward to Görden mental hospital near Brandenburg. From there he wrote on April 4: "Day after day gasped away, slowly seep hours when fettered or immured, only at times does imagination scale the palisades that the spirit of chaos and confusion, the spirit of reactionary bombast, has set up around us—dreams, dreams of endless, destructive hate! Mists of hate, beclouding the burning brain!"[62] At the end of April 1917 he was sent home, and on May 20 he was discharged on grounds of "permanent unfitness for duty."[63]

He responded to the torment of those months with intensified hostility to all that was inherited and established: "That this age is on a destructive downward course: of this I am immovably sure."[64]



131

132

He became even more unshakably convinced that the only path open was that of negation. The images of dancing stars and a pipe-smoking moon in the Erste George Grosz-Mappe and Kleine Grosz Mappe (see fig. 127), done before his second period of military service, can be seen as links in a chain of antitheses and as ciphers of a veiled but still perceptible hope. Such celestial portents were to disappear almost without a trace.

The message of Dadaism, brought to Berlin from Zurich early in 1917 by Richard Huelsenbeck, was that there must be a clean sweep. Grosz had arrived at the same position independently. Like the other manifestations of Dadaism—in Zurich, Paris, and Cologne—Berlin Dada, in which Grosz speedily became a leading figure, was avowedly antiartistic. Grosz condemned the Expressionists along with the Cubists, whom he regarded as narcissistically obsessed with issues of form. What they produced was *Kunscht*—or "art, schmart"—and he wanted "nothing whatever to do with it. Once and for all, it is time to toss out that vapid French tradition that has almost monopolized German painters. No more dreary sentiment—insipid painters—Cézanne, Picasso, and so forth."[65]

Grosz had anticipated the Dada attack on "high" art in his espousal of children's drawings; the montages of 1918–19 and the incorporation of extra-artistic fragments into his drawings and watercolors are a logical consequence of this. But in Berlin—and only in Berlin—Dada had another side; after the war and the disappointment of the revolution, it became an explicitly political movement.

When Huelsenbeck moved to Berlin he found a city

> *where people were just about to start baking bread out of straw. The main focus of interest . . . was a vegetable, the rutabaga, which was served up as cake, as roast hare, and as malt beer. Profiteering was rampant; all moral inhibitions were cast to the winds . . . And all the time the official hocus-pocus of war went right on, military trains took shipments of human flesh and pork to the front, and that eminent criminal and hypocrite, Guillaume II, continued to make speeches to his people. It was a time of passive resistance, a time when patriotic and monarchical truths began to be subject to stirrings of doubt, a time of mute rage that waited for its moment to strike, a time of airless misery.*[66]

Two years later Berlin was the capital of a defeated, demoralized country. The revolution had driven out the kaiser and the princes, but in the eyes of Grosz and his friends nothing had really changed. The Social Democratic Party (SPD), which in the person of Friedrich Ebert supplied the chairman of the Council of People's Representatives, had a stain on its record. Amid the nationalistic fervor of 1914 it had succumbed to the fear of being branded unpatriotic and had voted for war credits. And now, after the collapse of the monarchy, it turned to the generals, the pillars of the old regime, to ensure public order.

In 1917 the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USPD) broke away from the parent party. In turn Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht led a splinter group from the USPD, the

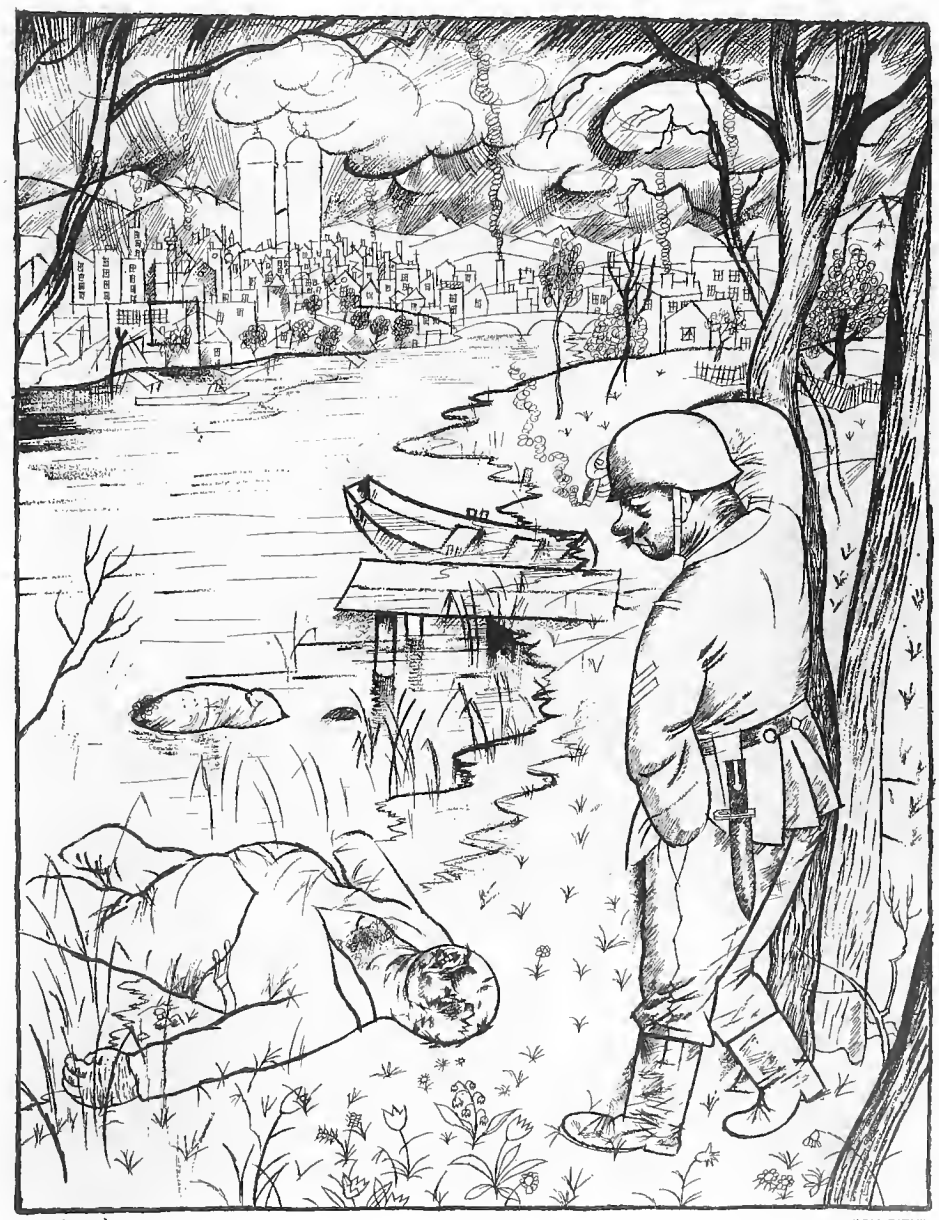
Spartakus Bund (Spartacus league), which on December 30, 1918, became the Communist party of Germany, or KPD. Grosz joined the new party, as did Heartfield and his brother Wieland Herzfelde, probably right after its inauguration.[67]

Gott mit uns appeared in June 1920 and incorporates nine photolithographs with captions in German, French, and English, based on drawings done in 1919 (with the exception of number 5, probably drawn in 1918). The Rifkind Study Center has the original drawing for number 7 (see fig. 138).[68] The term *Lithographien*, which appears on the title page and suggests that Grosz worked directly on the stone or used a transfer technique, is misleading. Art to him and to his publisher, Herzfelde, was primarily a political weapon, so the distinction between an original print and a reproduction was no doubt meaningless to them. A few months after the publication of the portfolio, Grosz wrote: "Art today is an absolutely secondary matter. Anyone who is able to look further than the walls of his own studio can see this. . . . All the same, art is a business that

131
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Mord, 1915–16
(Murder)
Transfer lithograph
9 x 5 5/16 in. (22.9 x 13.5 cm)
From portfolio Kleine Grosz Mappe
M.82.288.72 s
Davis 951.19

132
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Menschen in der Strasse, 1915–16
(People in the street)
Transfer lithograph
10 7/8 x 8 5/16 in. (27.6 x 21.7 cm)
From portfolio Erste George Grosz-Mappe
M.82.288.71 e
Davis 950.5

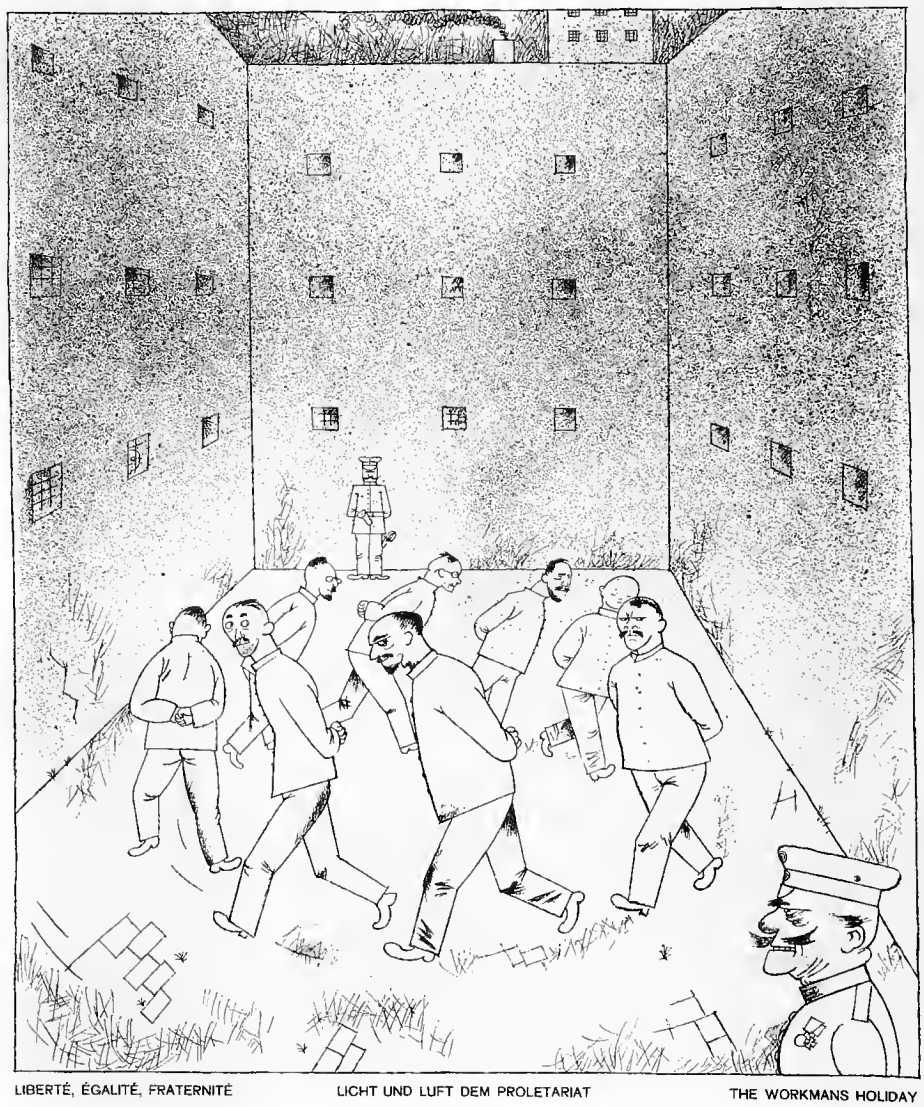
133
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Feierabend, 1919
(*"Ich dien"*)
Photolithograph
15 1/4 x 11 13/16 in. (38.7 x 29.9 cm)
From portfolio Gott mit uns
M.82.288.73 c
Davis 953.3



133 L'ANGÉLUS À MUNICH FEIERABEND "ICH DIEN"

134

135



136

demands a very clear decision from anyone who undertakes it. It is not immaterial where you stand in this business. . . . Are you on the side of the exploiters or on that of the masses, who want to wring the exploiters' necks?"[69]

Immediately after Gott mit uns appeared—with the description "political portfolio" on the title page—it was shown at the *Erste internationale Dada-Messe* (First international Dada fair) in Berlin. Such typical Dadaist features as the unexpected juxtaposition of fragmentary objects from widely disparate contexts and the disruption of logic are, however, absent from Grosz's prints. It is not because they fit previously established criteria of Dadaism that these works are Dadaist; through them Dadaism acquired a new face. Its target was no longer merely established art, but something that it had previously attacked only by implication: the political establishment.

Gott mit uns was the motto on the belt buckles of German soldiers; no doubt it had originally been a prayer—"may God be with us"—but the nationalist mind had transformed it into an article of overweening faith: "God is with us." In nine images denouncing the cynicism, stupidity, and brutality of the German military caste, Grosz laid

bare the hypocrisy that underlay this belief. His targets hit back. Shortly after the portfolio came out, Grosz was indicted for "insult to the German Army." The suit, brought by the Army Ministry, ended with a verdict that some regarded as truly Dadaist. A Berlin newspaper reported in April 1921: "The court ordered the artist Grosz to pay a fine of 300 marks and the publisher Herzfelde to pay 600 marks, ordered the plates and printing forms to be confiscated and destroyed, and assigned publication rights to the ministry—Dada!"[70]

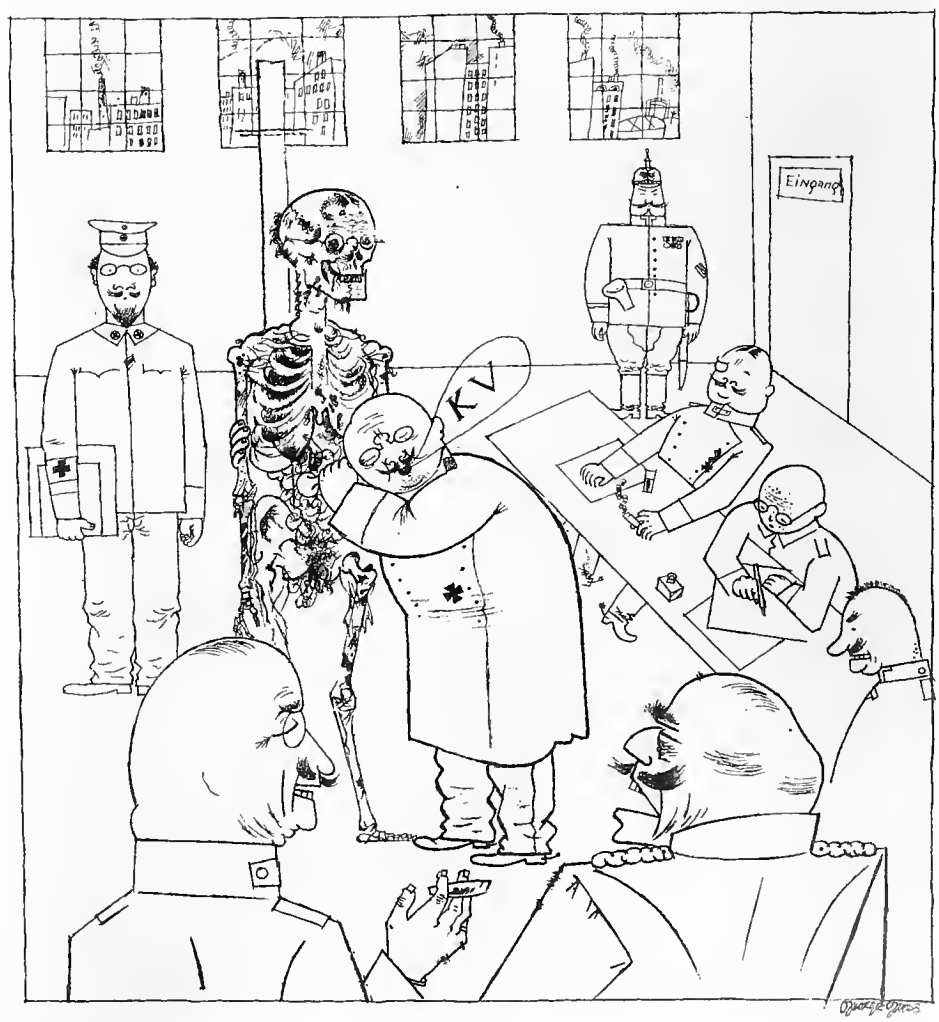
The first two prints in the portfolio present representatives of the German military. In the first (fig. 134), four soldiers march along like puppets on strings. The second (fig. 135) depicts a brooding, bemedaled officer in a spiked helmet with his retinue: the fat, brutal, stolid type with revolver in hand; the cool, arrogant type with a cigarette in the corner of his mouth; and two subordinates who stand rigidly at attention at a respectful distance, awaiting orders. On a meadow carpeted with flowers, these worthies stand, as the German caption has it, *Für deutsches Recht und deutsche Sitte* (For German right and German traditional values). The English caption, *"The Germans to the Front,"* is no more reassuring,[71] but the most pertinent comment on the events of the immediate postwar period is provided by the French caption: *Les boches sont vaincus—le bochisme est vainqueur.* The *boches* (a First World War

134
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Gott mit uns, 1919
(God with us)
Photolithograph
11⅞ x 16⅞ in. (30.2 x 42.9 cm)
From portfolio Gott mit uns
M.82.288.73 a
Davis 953.1

135
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Für deutsches Recht und deutsche Sitte, 1919
("The Germans to the Front")
Photolithograph
14 15/16 x 12 5/16 in. (38.0 x 31.3 cm)
From portfolio Gott mit uns
M.82.288.73 b
Davis 953.2

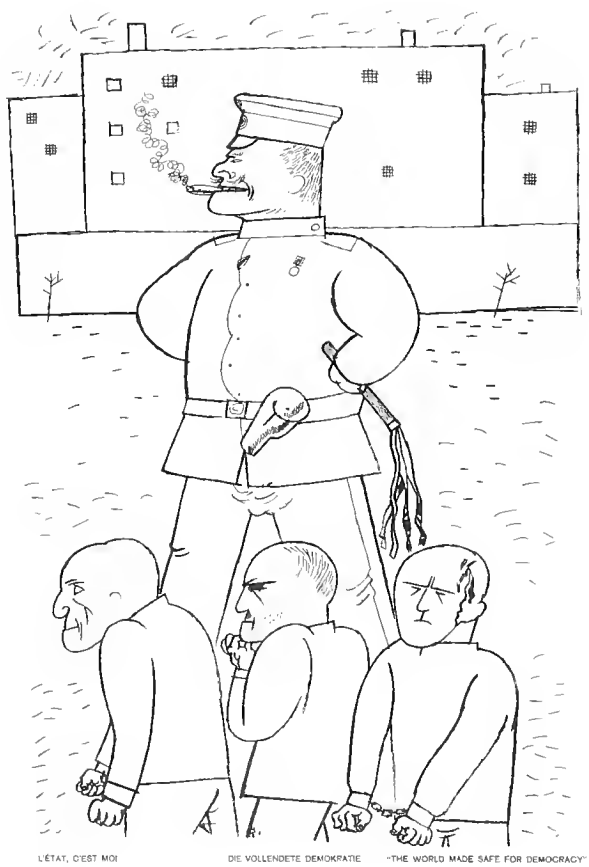
136
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Licht und Luft dem Proletariat, 1919
(The Workman's Holiday)
Photolithograph
13¾ x 11 11/16 in. (34.9 x 29.7 cm)
From portfolio Gott mit uns
M.82.288.73 d
Davis 953.4

137
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Die Gesundbeter, 1918
(German Doctors Fighting the Blockade)
Photolithograph
12 7/16 x 11⅝ in. (31.6 x 29.6 cm)
From portfolio Gott mit uns
M.82.288.73 e
Davis 953.5

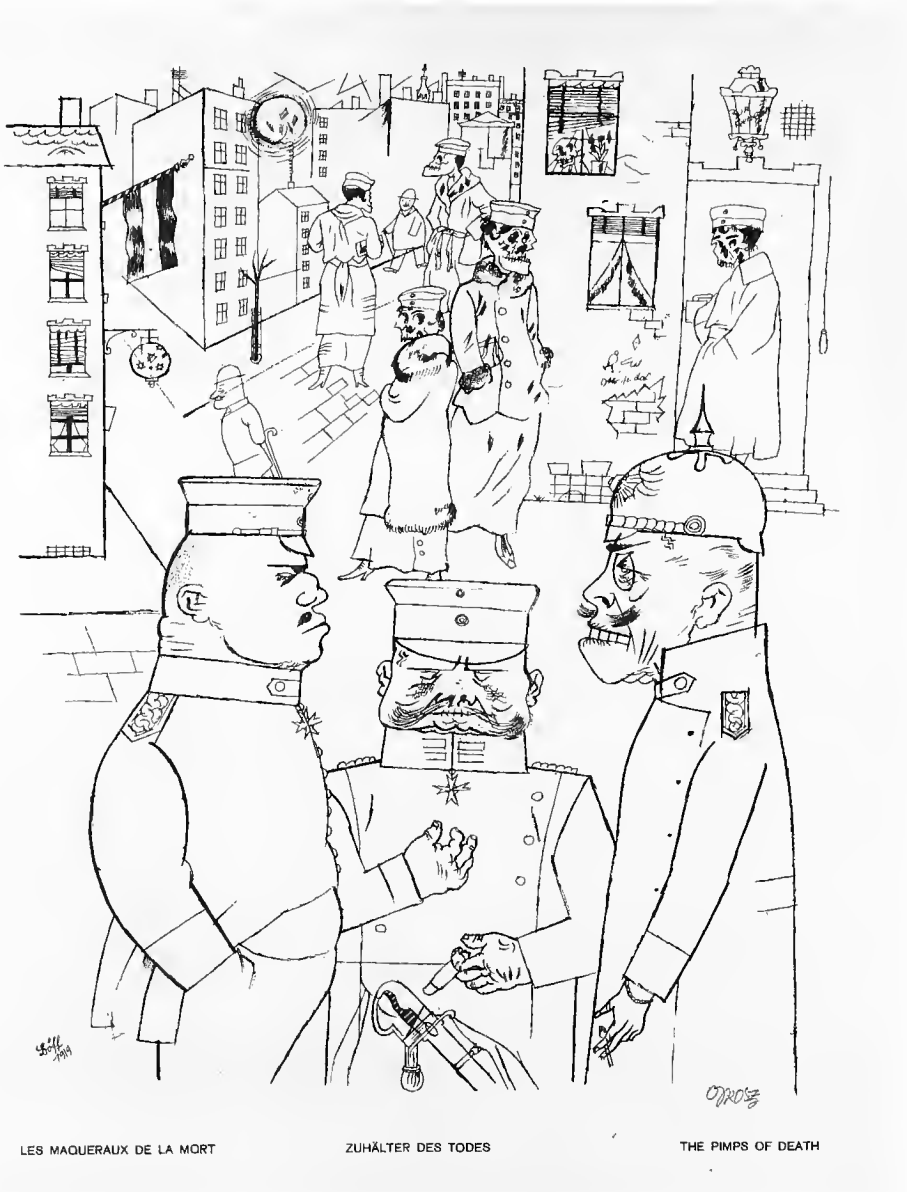


LE TRIOMPHE DES SCIENCES EXACTES DIE GESUNDBETER GERMAN DOCTORS FIGHTING THE BLOCKADE

137



138



139

slang term for Germans, originally meaning "woodenheads") were beaten, but *bochisme*—at least on home ground—was the victor.

It would far exceed the scope of this essay to attempt to recount the historical events that lie behind this portfolio; it must suffice to point to a few of the more salient developments. In the wake of the street fighting that broke out in Berlin in December 1918, the USPD left the government. A mass demonstration of left-wing workers on January 5, 1919, signaled the beginning of the Spartacist uprising, which lasted until January 12. The commander in chief, Gustav Noske of the SPD, quelled the uprising with troops mustered in the environs of Berlin by officers of the old army. "The doom of the German Republic was sealed, not by the fact that Noske used force, but [because of] the troops he used to exert that force. . . . Soon the German Republic had a counterrevolutionary army led by the kaiser's officers."[72] Luxemburg and Liebknecht were murdered on January 15 by troops loyal to the old regime.

Another important event was the March 1919 insurrection in Berlin, which emerged from the decision to hold a general strike:

The political objectives of this and similar actions were the adoption of socialism . . . and the disbanding of the volunteer corps. . . . At the outset of the Berlin uprising there were many rumors of alleged atrocities on the part of the insurgents. Noske let himself be rushed into issuing a fateful order. He decreed that any insurgent who was caught with a weapon in his hand would be shot. Noske intended this to act as a deterrent and bring the insurrection to a speedy end. But he should have known the mentality of his volunteers better, and he should have understood the consequences of an order to shoot. The suppression of the March 1919 uprising . . . was accompanied by mass shootings. Very many of those killed had nothing at all to do with the uprising. The worst case of this type is associated with one Lieutenant Marloh of the government forces. A group of sailors . . . [who] had not joined the insurrection lined up peacefully to collect their pay. Marloh had [them] surrounded, arrested, and shot en masse.[73]

The diplomat, collector, and publisher Count Harry Kessler, who knew Grosz,[74] said of this event that it had "opened a rift within the German people that would not heal for decades."[75]

A second locus of the German revolution was Munich, where workers' and soldiers' councils, or soviets, had been formed even before the upheaval in Berlin. On November 7, 1918, a republic was proclaimed, and Kurt Eisner of the USPD was named premier. Eisner was murdered on February 21, 1919, by a young man who, because he was half Jewish, had been "expelled from the Thulegesellschaft, an association that later boasted with some justification that it was the germ cell of the Nazi movement."[76] A few weeks after the killing of Eisner a soviet republic was proclaimed in Munich, whereupon the central government in Berlin decided to resort to force:

The Reich government dispatched a number of Freikorps *[volunteer corps] to Munich to suppress the soviet republic. These were joined by newly formed Bavarian volunteer units. These Bavarian volunteers, who were recruited from the bourgeoisie and led by officers of the old king's army, wanted to put an end to the whole Bavarian revolution and all Eisner's handiwork. The animosity of the government troops was intensified when it became known that the soviets had ordered a number of bourgeois hostages to be shot. On May 1 and 2 the government troops took Munich. There were hundreds of shootings. . . . The grisliest episode was when a group of volunteers broke up a peaceful meeting of twenty members of a Catholic fellowship, decided the members were Spartacists in spite of their protestations to the contrary, and slaughtered them to a man.*[77]

138
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Die vollendete Demokratie, 1919
("The World Made Safe for Democracy")
Photolithograph
17½ x 11¹⁵⁄₁₆ in. (44.5 x 30.3 cm)
From portfolio Gott mit uns
M.82.288.73 f
Davis 953.6

139
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Zuhälter des Todes, 1919
(The Pimps of Death)
Photolithograph
15⅛ x 11¹³⁄₁₆ in. (38.4 x 30.1 cm)
From portfolio Gott mit uns
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK)

140

The German title of the third lithograph of Gott mit uns is *Feierabend* (After work; fig. 133). The French title, *L'angélus à Munich*, together with the towers of the Frauenkirche, serves to localize the scene. The day's work done, a soldier leans against a tree in an idyllic riverside landscape, smoking a cigar and observing with total indifference the cadavers washed up on the riverbank.[78]

The fourth print is entitled *Licht und Luft dem Proletariat/Liberté, egalité, fraternité/The Workman's Holiday* (fig. 136). A close variant was published on May 1, 1919, under the title *Maifeier in Plötzensee* (May Day in Plötzensee), on the cover of the satirical paper *Die Pleite* (Bankruptcy).[79] The leadership of the new German state, which set out to govern in accordance with the ideals formulated during the French Revolution, soon found itself oppressing the majority of the population with the aid of the military. In the print prisoners arrested at the time of the Spartacist uprising and the March 1919 insurrection celebrate the "workman's holiday" in the yard at Plötzensee Prison in Berlin. The world outside the prison walls is nothing but a variation on that within. In one tiny detail Grosz shows a sooty sky, a smoking chimney, and a factory building with barred windows.

The fifth image, *German Doctors Fighting the Blockade* (entitled *Die Gesundbeter*, "praying for recovery," in German; fig. 137), is the only one to refer specifically to the First World War. A skeleton, symbol of the starved, exhausted Germany of the war's last months, is declared *KV* (*kriegsverwendungsfähig*, "fit for active duty") by the medical officer of the draft board. It has been pointed out that both this image

and Bertolt Brecht's "Legende vom toten Soldaten" (Legend of the dead soldier) have their origin in a story that made the rounds in Germany at the end of the war, to the effect that dead bodies were being dug up to be sent to the front.[80] Grosz, who often titled his works differently according to the political situation or the place of publication, brought the theme up to date when the drawing was first published, in the third issue of *Die Pleite*, in April 1919, by adding a reference to a doctor's strike that took place during the months of upheaval following the war: "Dedicated to the doctors of Stuttgart, Greifswald, Erfurt, and Leipzig. They supplied Death with his prey for four and a half years; now that their job is to keep people alive, they have gone on strike. They have not changed. They have remained true to themselves. They fit into the German revolution."

This is followed by an image of the obscenity of power (fig. 139): figures of Death, dressed as whores, walk the streets of the red-light district, as do two little figures of bourgeois men. The kaiser's flag flies over all. There is a distant echo of the motif of Eros and Thanatos, familiar from northern European Renaissance art and revived by Munch and Beckmann, but Grosz interprets it in political terms. Death's prey is brought in by the officer class; they are his procurers.

In numbers 7 and 8 Grosz expresses his view of power relationships in postwar Germany (fig. 138). The German title of number 7, *Die vollendete Demokratie* (Democracy perfected) is his sarcastic gloss on an image of the working man, cudgeled by the military, handcuffed, but clenching his fists. And that, of course, is also the import of the English title, *"The World Made Safe for Democracy,"* a free quotation from a speech made by President Woodrow Wilson a few days before the entry of the United States into the war on April 6, 1917. In Grosz's eyes this elevated goal is twisted into its exact opposite, the absolute rule of the military caste (hence the French title, *L'état, c'est moi*).

Die Kommunisten fallen—und die Devisen steigen (The Communists fall—and the currency rises)[81] becomes in French *Ecrasez la famine* (Crush famine) and in English *Blood Is the Best Sauce* (no. 8; fig. 140). Above the well-provided table at which two gentlemen are dining, a wild mob of soldiers is killing two workers, one of whom is identified as a demonstrator by the tattered banner he holds. Grosz is commenting not only on the suppression of the revolution but also on the crushing poverty that affected much of the German population at the time.

Gott mit uns ends with a profile head of a soldier (fig. 141) whose expression conveys a stupidity not far short of imbecility and whose ugliness Grosz makes demonic in a manner that recalls late medieval art, turning it into a symbol of evil: *Den macht uns keiner nach / Honni soit qui mal y pense / "Made in Germany."*[82]

This portfolio marks a decisive shift in Grosz's work. Instead of capturing fleeting moments in which figures meet and rush past one another, he presents single scenes with clearly readable spatial contexts. There is an element of simultaneity in *Die Kommunisten fallen*, but the former multiplicity of events has become a single stark juxtaposition. The war had reduced Grosz to a state approaching blind rage. The revolution provided a target for this rage, directing it against specific groups within society.

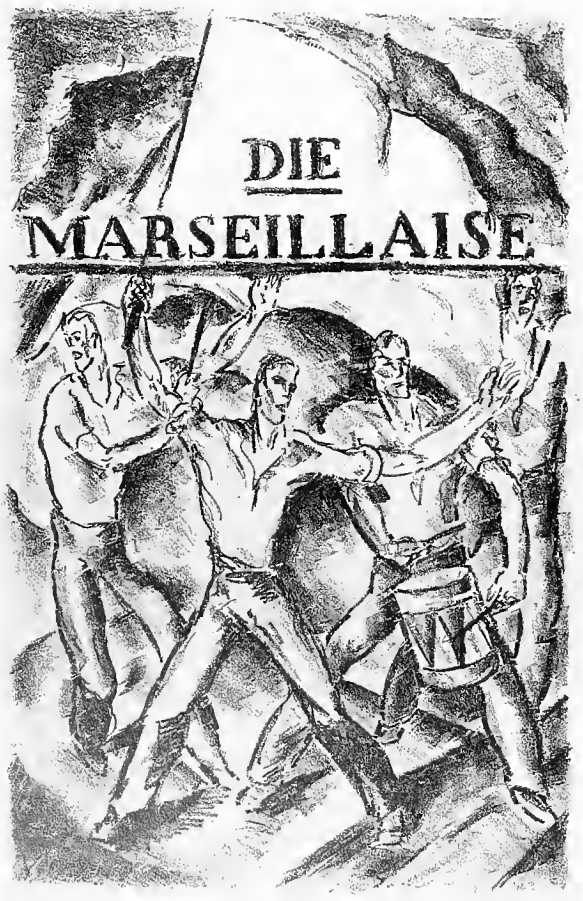
140
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Die Kommunisten fallen—und die Devisen steigen, 1919
(Blood Is the Best Sauce)
Photolithograph
12 x 17 13/16 in. (30.5 x 45.2 cm)
From portfolio Gott mit uns
M.82.288.73 g
Davis 953.7

141
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Den macht uns keiner nach, 1919
("Made in Germany")
Photolithograph
11 3/16 x 9 3/4 in. (28.4 x 24.7 cm)
From portfolio Gott mit uns
M.82.288.73 h
Davis 953.8

141

142
Wilhelm Plünnecke
Germany, 1894–1954
Untitled (title page), 1919
Lithograph
18¼ x 11½ in. (46.4 x 29.2 cm)
From portfolio Die Marseillaise
83.1.28 a
Davis 2304.2

143
Constantin von Mitschke-Collande
Germany, 1884–1956
Die Zeit ist reif, 1919
(The time is ripe)
Woodcut
13¾ x 11$^{13}/_{16}$ in. (35.0 x 30.0 cm)
From portfolio Der begeisterte Weg
M.82.288.211 f
Davis 2008.6



142

143

Unlike Constantin von Mitschke-Collande, whose portfolio Der begeisterte Weg (The inspired way, 1919; see fig. 143) celebrated the revolution as the beginning of a new age whose coming, though subject to delay, was inevitable, Grosz saw the reality of defeat and in the act of saying so achieved a "clarity that hurts." The kind of virtually comment-free, idealized images that Wilhelm Plünnecke provided in his portfolio Die Marseillaise (The Marseillaise, 1919; see fig. 142), with their modishly elongated figures of revolutionary heroes, could never satisfy Grosz. And his intimate political involvement prevented him from interweaving the themes of war and revolution, as in the timeless vision of Beckmann's Die Hölle (Hell, 1919).[83]

Shortly after the publication of the Erste George Grosz-Mappe, a reviewer noted:

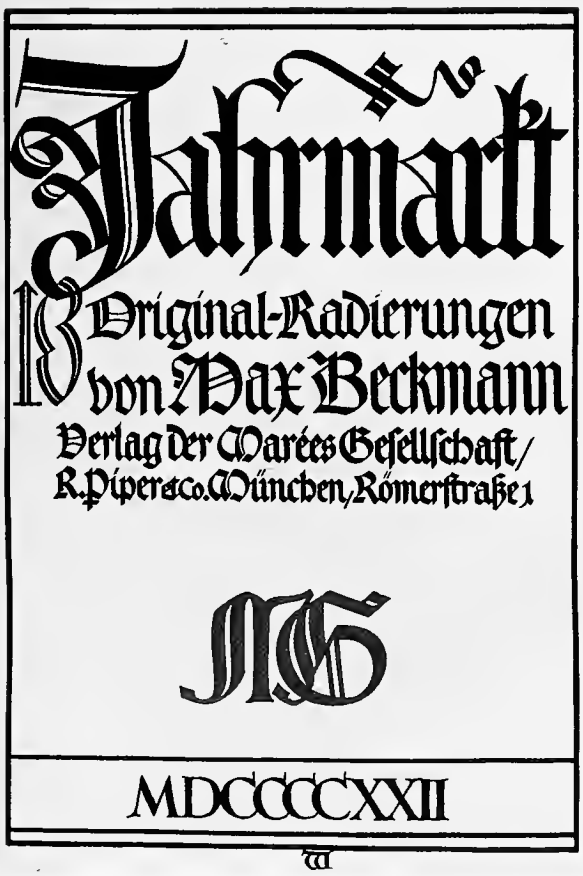
> *This cynic is a secret moralist. Negation is merely his manner of speaking; what he really . . . loves is the positive. One might think: one little push, and he would be painting pictures full of ecstasy and mysticism. It is his personal bad luck that he is condemned to be a caricatur-*

ist. In any case he is never going to be a humorist like Wilhelm Busch, one of the comfortable kind. There is no telling what he will become. For the time being we recall the old saying that yes and no are very close neighbors, in life and in art.[84]

Grosz became the prototype of the twentieth-century political artist and consequently the one most bitterly persecuted by the reactionary bourgeoisie. In later years he distanced himself from his political and satirical work; he had lost his faith in art as an effective instrument for promoting political change. He was not prepared to give up thinking for himself in favor of following a party line, but he continued to fight against oppression and for the powerless.[85] His attitude is summed up by the title of his memoirs, which was perhaps inspired by the words of that early critic: *Ein kleines Ja und ein grosses Nein* (A little yes and a big no).

"If one regards all this–the whole war, or even the whole of life–as merely a scene in the *theater* of infinity, much becomes easier to bear."

Max Beckmann wrote this sentence in 1940,[86] but the self-protective idea was one he had espoused decades earlier. In the margin of the drawing *Mann mit Krücke im Rollstuhl (Verwundeter Soldat)* (Man with crutch in wheelchair [wounded soldier]), now in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, he wrote: *Theatre du monde—Grand Spectakel* [sic] *de la vie* (theater of the world—grand spectacle of life). He originally wanted to give the portfolio Gesichter (Faces, 1919) a different title, Welttheater (Theater of the world),[87] and the portfolio Die Hölle, published in the same year and encapsulating his experience of war and revolution, was described on the cover as a "grand spectacle in ten pictures."



144
Title page of Jahrmarkt

After studying at the Grossherzogliche Kunstschule (grand-ducal art school) in Weimar and spending several months in Paris, the twenty-year-old Beckmann settled in Berlin in 1904. Over the next ten years he produced the work of his early phase, idiosyncratically combining themes from mythology, Christian tradition, and contemporary history in a style that has been dubbed "expressive impressionism."[88] His concerns are expressed in a diary entry of 1909, written after a visit to an exhibition of Chinese art: "My heart beats more for a rougher, more ordinary, more vulgar art that does not live in a poetic, fairy-tale dream but admits the fearful, the common, the magnificent, the ordinary, the banal grotesque in life. An art that can always be directly present to us when life is at its most real."

On the same day he noted: "Martin thinks there will be a war. Russia England France against Germany. We agreed that it would be no bad thing for our rather demoralized present-day civilization if everyone's instincts and drives were to be harnessed to one cause."[89] Beckmann's initial attitude toward war, and the influence of Nietzsche's philosophy on him have been mentioned in the context of Dix's Der Krieg. It has also been noted that Beckmann, unlike Dix, was unable to stand up to war. In April 1915 he confessed that it was "amusing all the same, how the peacetime life we cursed and groaned about now elevates

145

Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Der Nachhauseweg, 1919
(The way home)
Transfer lithograph
28 13/16 x 19 3/16 in. (73.3 x 48.8 cm)
From portfolio Die Hölle
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK)

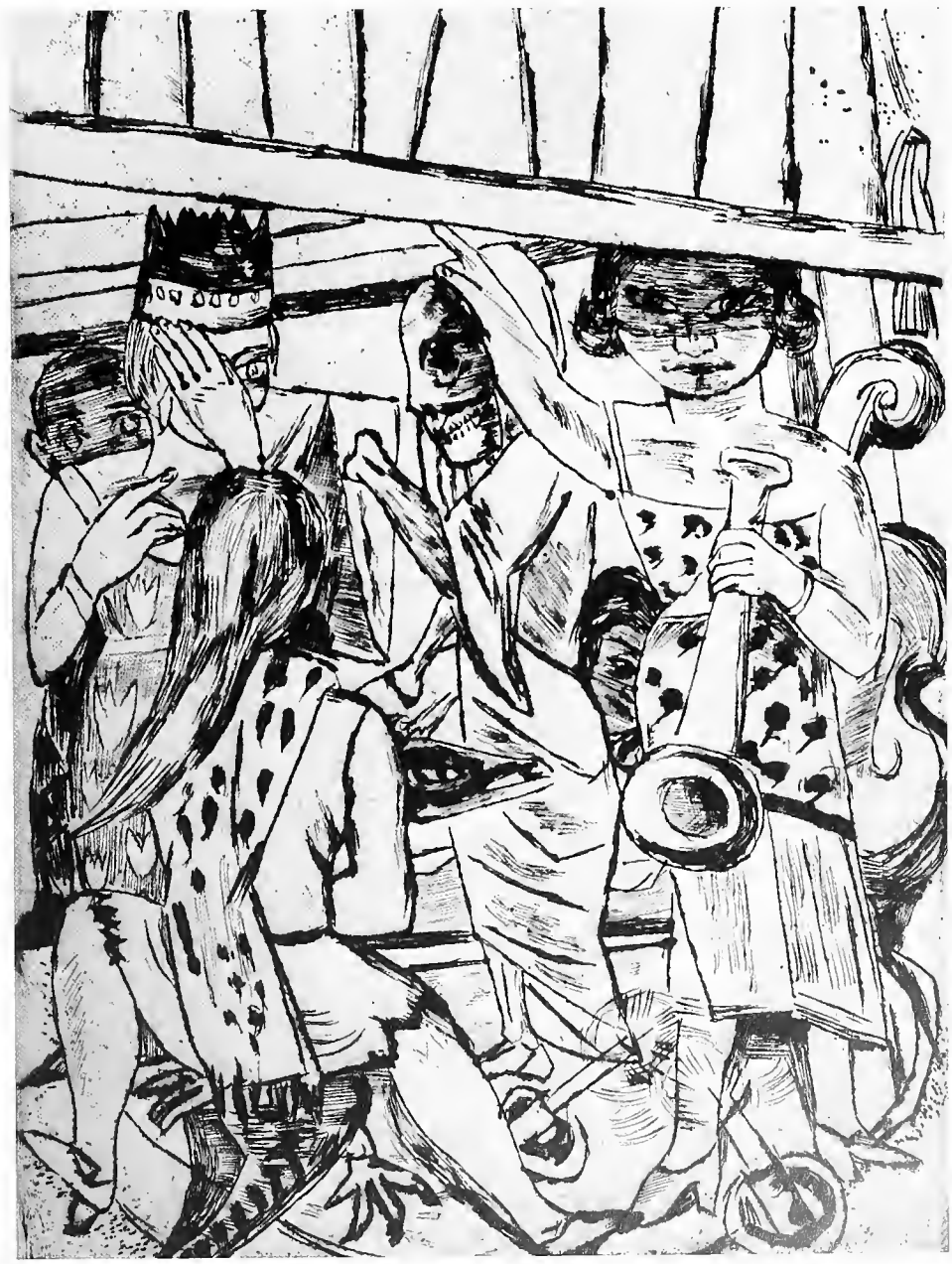
145

itself with iron logic to the status of paradise."[90] He became aware of "the wild lunacy of this vast slaughter." In war, "life had really become a paradoxical joke."[91]

After his mental breakdown in 1915 Beckmann moved to Frankfurt, and his art underwent a fundamental transformation that is most fully realized in the painting *Die Nacht* (Night, 1918–19; Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf) and in the lithographs of Die Hölle, in one of which the composition of *Die Nacht* reappears. The characteristics of this new pictorial language are epitomized by the first print in Die Hölle, *Der Nachhauseweg* (The way home; fig. 145). This nocturnal encounter between the artist and a mutilated soldier is marked on the formal level by the way the objects are packed tightly together, extending beyond the inner border of the image, and by the discontinuity

of the space. In his "Schöpferische Konfession" (Creative credo) of 1918, Beckmann wrote: "To me the most important thing is roundness captured in height and breadth. Roundness in the plane, depth in the feeling of the plane."[92] Giving spatial context to the elements in a two-dimensional image creates an impression of dynamism and also of compression.

Another important element in Beckmann's new pictorial language is the encoding of the content. We are forced to decipher, often laboriously, what objects are and how they relate to one another; this creates a multiplicity of meaning. Then there is his frequent use and progressive elaboration of elements of Christian and other traditional symbolism derived from his knowledge of earlier art, in particular northern European art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for which he expresses admiration in the "Schöpferische Konfession." A striking feature of his imagery is what one critic has called *Dingsymbole*, symbolic objects like the overturned candles that denote the extinction of life in *Der Vorhang hebt sich* (The curtain is raised; fig. 146).[93]



146

146
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Der Vorhang hebt sich, 1923
(The curtain is raised)
Etching and drypoint
11 9/16 x 8 1/2 in. (29.4 x 21.6 cm)
Private collection

147

147
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Die Verächter des Todes, 1922
(The disdainers of death)
Etching with drypoint
13⅜ x 10⅞ in. (34.7 x 27.7 cm)
From portfolio Zirkus
M.82.288.50 a
Davis 476.1

148
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Der Ausrufer–Selbstbildnis, 1921
(The barker–self-portrait)
Drypoint
13¼ x 10⅜16 in. (33.6 x 25.9 cm)
From portfolio Der Jahrmarkt
M.82.288.19 a
Davis 138.1

149
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Garderobe, 1921
(Dressing room)
Drypoint
8⅛ x 5¹³⁄₁₆ in. (20.7 x 14.7 cm)
From portfolio Der Jahrmarkt
M.82.288.19 b
Davis 138.2

150
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Hinter den Kulissen, 1921
(Behind the scenes)
Drypoint
8¼ x 12 in. (21.0 x 30.5 cm)
From portfolio Der Jahrmarkt
M.82.288.19 c
Davis 138.3

151
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Abendgesellschaft, 1913
(Evening party)
Etching and drypoint
5¾ x 7¹¹⁄₁₆ in. (14.6 x 19.7 cm)
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK)

Each of the Beckmann portfolios issued around 1920 starts with a self-portrait. In the first image of the 1922 portfolio Jahrmarkt, a sequence of ten drypoints that dates from the previous year,[94] he appears as *Der Ausrufer* (The barker; fig. 148). He stands in front of a sign reading "Circus Beckm[ann]," rings a huckster's bell, and points to the attractions that await the public. The barker is clearly aware—to judge by the "trace of insolence in the delicately chiseled features"[95]—that the pleasures he is extolling are dubious ones at best. This introductory image suggests that Beckmann is trying to distance himself entirely from whatever may happen in those that follow, but we shall meet him again as a performer in his own circus.

This circus is very different from the one shown in Dix's portfolio Zirkus (Circus; see fig. 147), of the same year. Dix sees himself once more as an objective reporter. Only on the surface is Beckmann's fairground a place of spectacle and backstage genre scenes like those he had depicted in earlier works such as the lithograph *Jahrmarktbude* (Fairground booth, 1912).[96] Just as he presented the murder of Rosa Luxemburg as a scene enacted on a fairground stage in the print *Martyrium* (Martyrdom), from Die Hölle,[97] here he disguises his real subject, "normal" human life, in circus images.

The barker is not followed immediately by the acts he extols; Beckmann first takes us backstage (see fig. 149). In a dressing room a woman and a man are seated at makeup tables. They face each other, self-absorbed, preparing for a performance of *Vanity Fair*. The mirror that frames the woman's face, a traditional vanitas symbol, points to the deeper meaning of the scene: drawing attention to a body by ornamenting it only makes us all the more conscious of its transience.

In the following print, *Hinter den Kulissen* (Behind the scenes; fig. 150), space is tight. The performers are crammed into a low, boxlike room; its ceiling of rough boards almost touches the heads of even some of those who are seated. In spite of their proximity, there seems to be no real communication among them; they look past one another. This was not a new motif for Beckmann. He is giving pointed expression to a theme he had already incorporated in an etching of 1913 that shows a bourgeois social gathering, *Abendgesellschaft* (Evening party; fig. 151). He put it into words in an early diary: "People together are lonely."[98]

All the performers in *Hinter den Kulissen* are ready to go onstage; they are dressed, they know their lines, and all their instruments are at hand, but there is no sign of an end to their wait. The bearded man in the long robe paces restlessly, the little man seated at the table in the foreground is making faces, and the rest gaze ahead in a cheerless stupor. The young woman smokes a cigarette to kill time, looking at nothing in particular through eyelids that are starting to droop. She has clearly abandoned any thought of going onstage to do her dance; her tambourine, propped against the wall, will probably remain at it is, a useless, silent accessory. Opposite her sits a man with wide, staring eyes. He leans on the table with clasped hands and stares ahead with an air of deadly seriousness, as if overcome by some shattering realization.

The source of his consternation can probably be traced through the motif of the brightly burning candle placed between him and

148

150

149

151

152
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Der grosse Mann, 1921
(The tall man)
Drypoint
12 1/16 x 8 3/16 in. (30.7 x 20.8 cm)
From portfolio Der Jahrmarkt
M.82.288.19 e
Davis 138.5

153
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Schiessbude, 1921
(Shooting gallery)
Drypoint
12 1/2 x 9 3/4 in. (31.8 x 24.8 cm)
From portfolio Der Jahrmarkt
M.82.288.19 d
Davis 138.4

154
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Die Gähnenden, 1918
(The yawners)
Drypoint
12 1/8 x 10 1/16 in. (30.8 x 25.5 cm)
From portfolio Gesichter
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin
(SMPK)

153

154

the dancer. In contrast to the overturned, spent candles in *Der Vorhang hebt sich* and like the upright, burning candle in *Die Nacht*, this one is a symbol of life. The mute, frustrated actors sit around it; there is no indication that their wait, aggravated by their confinement, will end before it gutters out. There is no way out of this antechamber, which is life itself; there is nothing more to life than this vain expectation of a "real" life. Presumably this is the realization that has struck the man with such force.

Is Beckmann simply dispelling a widely held illusion, or does he go one step further to deal with the reason for so vain a hope? Is the bull looking through the window on the right an allusion to the fear of taking risks?[99] And the monkey squatting on the floor? In medieval iconography the monkey is a symbol of folly; here he might serve to underline the foolishness of the human cast, whose role-playing never actually gets them onstage.

The theme of the absurd, of "the world turned upside down," recurs in several of these scenes of fairground life. One is left with the grotesque impression that the girl holding the gun in *Schiessbude* (Shooting gallery; fig. 153) has a squint. Beckmann does not exploit physical defects for hostile purposes, as Grosz sometimes does, but incorporates them into his imagery as signs. Even so, no conclusive interpretation offers itself to link the motif with the deeper meaning of *Schiessbude*. All that can be said is that the squint promotes a false view of nature and that this probably has something to do with the suffering creature, transformed into a target, that can be glimpsed behind the girl's back.

The sideshow that exhibits the tall man (see fig. 152) is swamped by the din of other attractions: the swingboats, the panorama, and the performance that the spectators are so avidly watching. The man with the wind instrument hanging around his neck is giving the giant's performance the best buildup he can, but even those who stand around to listen do not seem particularly impressed. At first sight it looks as if the woman on the right has opened her mouth to shout, but the look of the other spectators and the parallels in earlier works by Beckmann—the etching *Strasse II* (Street II, 1916)[100] and especially the 1918 print *Die Gähnenden* (The yawners; fig. 154)—make it seem much more likely that she is yawning. All endeavors to draw attention to the protagonist have been in vain. The audience is indifferent, if not openly bored.

The faces of the individuals shown, although distorted to the point of caricature, suggest that Beckmann may have meant the tall man to represent himself and the two figures nearest him, the man at his feet on the right and the one with the wind instrument, to represent his publishers, Reinhard Piper and I. B. Neumann.[101] If this interpretation is correct and the print incorporates an implied criticism of contemporary taste, laced with self-mockery, then it is one early sign of the artist's recovery from a long period of existential crisis.[102]

The link between the sixth item in the portfolio, *Der Neger* (The Negro; fig. 155) and the lithograph *Christ and Pilate* (fig. 156) from the portfolio Day and Dream (1946) was pointed out some time ago by Friedrich Wilhelm Fischer: "The 'harlequin' next to the black obviously represents Pilate (see the suggestion of a laurel wreath on the back of the head and the pointing gesture). . . . It cannot be by chance that an

early state of the fairground scene contains the syllable WI, and the final version has the clearly legible syllable KEIT. The word EWIGKEIT [eternity] was later concealed in a number of pictures."[103]

The image of an outsider, a black, placed on show as a fairground attraction is a modern variant of the *ecce homo* theme, and the word *eternity* indicates that Beckmann sees the fate of Christ as prototypical of a recurrent pattern of degradation and destruction. The obvious affinity between the 1921 and 1946 prints and *Der Nachhauseweg* suggests that the mutilated soldier in the latter also stands in line of succession to Christ.

As has often been pointed out, *Das Karussell* (The carousel; fig. 157) is a particularly clear image of the world turned upside down, for the animals on the carousel are ridden by adults, whose antics are watched by two children. The ride has not yet started; the woman on the pig still has her left foot on the balustrade. The passengers on this ship of fools look forward to their ride in high good humor; their enjoyment is all in anticipation. By contrast the showman has a contemplative air. He knows that high hopes often come to nothing.

Already in the great sun of the etching *Auferstehung* (Resurrection, 1918)[104] Beckmann had drawn the spokes of a wheel "as a symbol of a mechanical process."[105] The carousel can likewise be interpreted as a Dingsymbol of life. Human beings set out on this absurd jaunt, unsuspecting, high-spirited, craving pleasure. This craving is represented most clearly by the woman who sits with her skirts up on the back of a highly realistic pig, "which may well serve as a crude symbol of sexuality."[106] She seems to prefigure the woman who straddles a reptile in *Der Vorhang hebt sich* and who, together with the crowned woman beside her (they personify lust and earthly power, respectively), is the object of death's onstage admonition: their rule approaches its end. The fairground scene contains no such explicit warning of the vanity of human hopes and desires; it relies more on the symbolism of its subject. The carousel goes round, gets nowhere, and leaves the riders just where they were when they started. The showman is not the only one who is in the know; so are the demons who grin from the pillars of the carousel, like those who look down on the couple in *Liebespaar II* (Lovers II, 1918).[107]

Die Seiltänzer (The tightrope walkers; fig. 159) is described in a dedication to Beckmann's first wife as "a self-portrait of both of us."[108] He sees life, one deduces, as a foolhardy high-wire act, and the Ferris wheel in the background must be a thinly veiled allusion to the wheel of fortune. It is a surprise to see the moon in the picture; it makes no sense to suppose that the two artists are performing their routine by moonlight. It does not seem likely, however, that the moon is just a meaningless bit of scenery. The only other place in Der Jahrmarkt where this particular motif appears is *Der Neger*, and perhaps the idea of eternity, which underlies that image, has some relevance here. It seems possible that Beckmann used the moon to indicate the permanence of certain unpalatable facts, whether the human propensity to despise those who are in some way different or the precariousness of human existence.

There is room to doubt the supposition that some have voiced[109] that in *Niggertanz* (Nigger dance; fig. 161) Beckmann is revert-

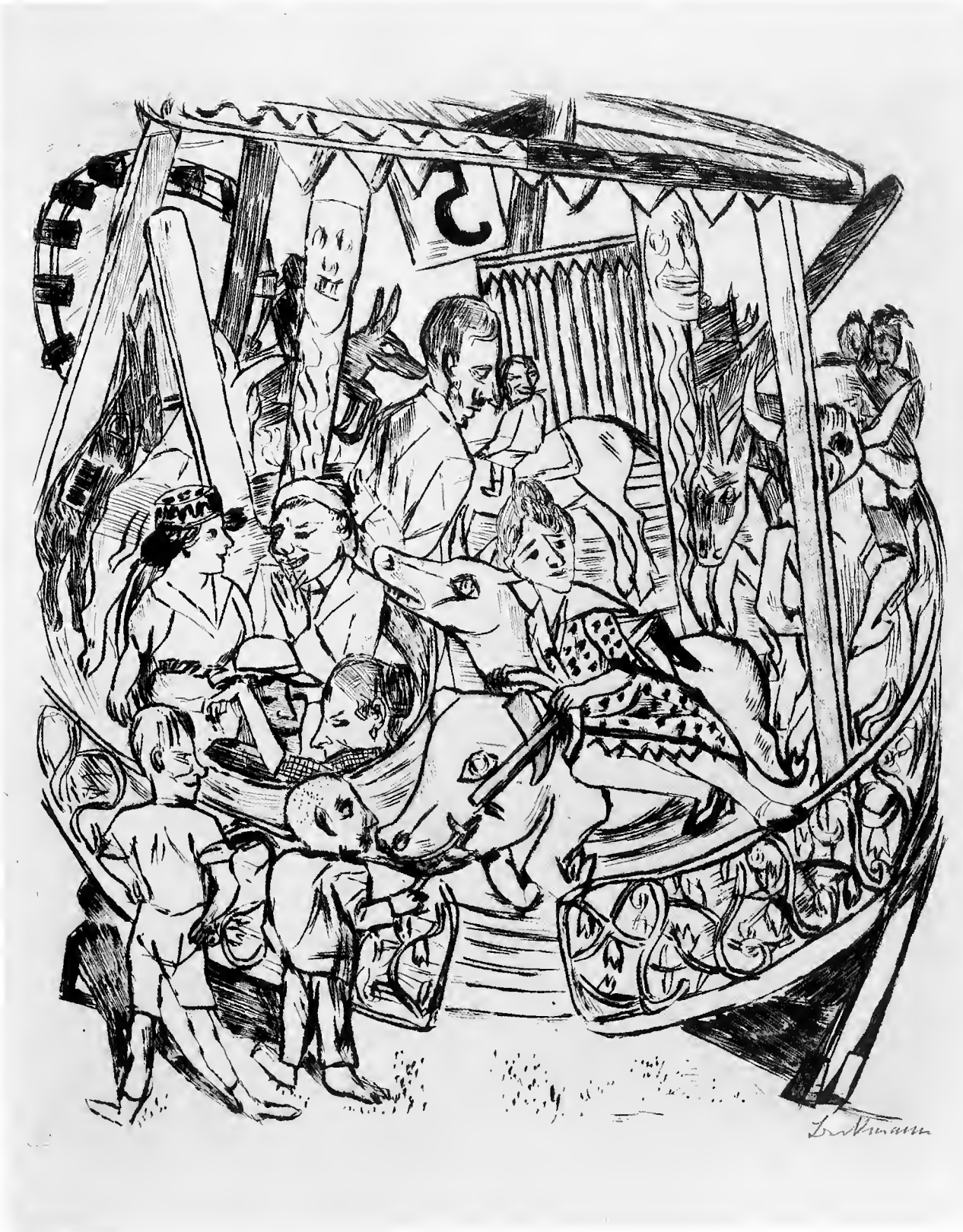
155

156

155
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Der Neger, 1921
(The Negro)
Drypoint
11⅜ x 10¼ in. (28.9 x 26.0 cm)
From portfolio Der Jahrmarkt
M.82.288.19 f
Davis 138.6

156
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Christ and Pilate, 1946
Lithograph
13⁹⁄₁₆ x 10⅞ in. (34.4 x 27.6 cm)
From portfolio Day and Dream
M.82.287.6 o
Davis 151.15

157
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Das Karussell, 1921
(The carousel)
Drypoint
11⁷⁄₁₆ x 10 in. (29.0 x 25.4 cm)
From portfolio Der Jahrmarkt
M.82.288.19 g
Davis 138.7



158

159

158
Israhel van Meckenem
Netherlands, c. 1445–1503
The Dance for the Prize (The Morris Dancers), c. 1490–1500
Engraving
Diameter: 6⅞ in. (17.4 cm)
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK)

159
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Die Seiltänzer, 1921
(The tightrope walkers)
Drypoint
10⅛ x 10 1/16 in. (25.7 x 25.6 cm)
From portfolio Der Jahrmarkt
M.82.288.19 h
Davis 138.8

160
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Malepartus, 1919
Reduced reproduction of a lithograph
9 15/16 x 6⅛ in. (25.2 x 15.6 cm)
From *Die Hölle*
83.1.762

160

ing to the theme of racial discrimination. Apart from the fact that such a repetition would be unusual within a single portfolio, Beckmann's image does not seem calculated to engage our sympathies with the black musicians, whose gestures suggest both ecstasy and boredom. Nor does the title suggest any involvement with the fate of an oppressed humanity. The underlying meaning must be sought elsewhere.

The key to this image lies not in the skin color of the performers but in what they are doing. It may help to refer to Israhel van Meckenem's engraving *The Dance for the Prize* (fig. 158). The gestures and movements of morris dancers of the type shown in the engraving clearly influenced Beckmann's image of the dancers in the Malepartus bar (fig. 160) from Die Hölle.[110] In the present case the reference to the Netherlandish engraving implies no formal inspiration but serves to elucidate the content: this too is a dance performed to win a woman, one who possesses pronounced physical charms. And the dance—the servitude of sex—retains its hold even on the obviously jaded man in the center of the picture; sexual desire represents an unfreedom from which there is no escape.[111]

Just as Jahrmarkt begins with a full-page portrait, that of the barker, it ends with another, *Schlangendame* (Snake lady; fig. 162). If *Der Ausrufer* announces what is to come, then *Schlangendame* may be expected to sum up what has gone before.

A beautiful woman with a fashionable hairstyle, wearing an earring, a string of pearls, and a headband emblazoned with stars, looks at us with mysterious, hooded eyes. Her adornment is completed by the snake that coils round her neck like a living necklace. A visitor, who may be on his way in or out, peers through the doorway as if to make sure that he is unobserved. He comes to the alluring snake lady in secret; their meeting, one deduces, is a forbidden act.

This woman, who is skin-to-skin with an embodiment of mortal danger, is herself the embodiment of the demonic beloved, the femme fatale. She is a type who appears many times over in the literature and art of the fin de siècle, and Beckmann himself had used her in the biblical guise of Delilah.[112] The most famous depiction of the femme fatale in the German art of the turn of the century is probably Franz von Stuck's painting *Die Sünde* (Sin; fig. 163), of which eight marginally differing versions exist and which was undoubtedly known to Beckmann. His *Schlangendame* is an updated version of Stuck's "eternal Eve" in a circus setting. With an image of a woman whose charms bring ruin, an image of sin, Beckmann sums up the whole doomed folly of life's Vanity Fair. The stars on the woman's headdress can be read as allusions to the timeless power of sin and the eternal human folly that causes us to succumb to it.

The treatment of space and plane in Das Jahrmarkt does not manifest the abrupt discontinuities, the splintery sharpness, seen in *Der Nachhauseweg*, for instance. Beckmann has not abandoned the pictorial vocabulary of his earlier works, but he uses it with less vehemence. This again can be seen as a sign of the gradual healing of his psyche after the traumatic experience of war. The Welttheater formula ("all the world's a stage") that underlies the Jahrmarkt images contributed to this change. Beckmann always poured all of himself into his work, and ultimately it

161
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Niggertanz, 1921
(Nigger dance)
Drypoint
10¼ x 10 in. (26.0 x 25.4 cm)
From portfolio Der Jahrmarkt
M.82.288.19 i
Davis 138.9

162

163

162
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Schlangendame, 1921
(Snake lady)
Drypoint
11 7/16 x 10 1/16 in. (29.0 x 25.5 cm)
From portfolio Der Jahrmarkt
M.82.288.19 j
Davis 138.10

163
Franz von Stuck
Germany, 1863–1928
Die Sünde, c. 1894 (detail)
(Sin)
Oil on canvas
34 5/8 x 20 11/16 in. (88.0 x 52.5 cm)
Nationalgalerie, Berlin (SMPK)

was through art that he found deliverance from the anguish of the human condition. In 1948, in one of his *Drei Briefe an eine Malerin* (Three letters to a painter), he wrote: "In any case the will to form bears within it a portion of the redemption that you seek. The way is hard, and the goal is endless—but there is a way."[113]

An account of the seven Brücke Jahresmappen, Dix's Der Krieg, Grosz's Gott mit uns, and Beckmann's Der Jahrmarkt can describe no more than a tiny portion of the great panorama of German graphic art of the first third of this century. Leaving aside for a moment the printing technique used in the Grosz portfolio, they are magnificent products of an age of incomparable graphic achievement. The quality of the printmaking of those decades is reflected in the fact that it is impossible to assess the aims and achievements of, say, the Brücke artists without considering their woodcuts, etchings, and lithographs. Der Krieg and Gott mit uns are central not only to the work of Dix and Grosz but also to twentieth-century German art as a whole. In Beckmann's development of pictorial form, graphic art not infrequently played the part of pathfinder. Yet for Beckmann, as for the other artists discussed here, prints were in no sense mere by-products: "The graphic work is not a sketch but a concentrated essence, a definitive formulation of a motif that has been reduced to its core of rhythmic and expressive content. Such works are the antithesis of fleeting improvisations."[114]

Translated from the German by David Britt

NOTES

1 On the portfolio in general, see Gerhard Pommerantz-Liedtke, *Der graphische Zyklus von Max Klinger bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Künste, 1956), and Waltraut Neuerburg, "Der graphische Zyklus im deutschen Expressionismus und seine Typen, 1905–1925" (Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität, Bonn, 1976).

2 Neuerburg refers in the table of contents of "Der graphische Zyklus" to the nine "most important types of Expressionist graphic cycle": the big-city cycle, the religious cycle, self-confession, stages of human life, cycles on current events, popular series and picture stories, capriccios, hymns to nature and images of travel, and heads and portraits. She subdivides these into seventeen narrower thematic categories.

3 On the *Programm der Künstlergruppe Brücke*, which Kirchner printed as a woodcut in 1906, see Annemarie Dube and Wolf-Dieter Dube, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Das graphische Werk*, 2 vols. (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1967), no. 696.

4 Kirchner, in Hans Bolliger and Georg Reinhardt, "Text-Bild-Dokumentation," in *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, 1880–1938*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Nationalgalerie [Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz], 1979–80), p. 48.

5 Quoted from the *Programm* (see note 3).

6 Kirchner, in Wolf-Dieter Dube, *Der Expressionismus in Wort und Bild* (Genf and Stuttgart: Skira, Klett-Cotta, 1983), p. 34.

7 Schmidt-Rottluff to Emil Nolde, in Lothar-Günther Buchheim, *Die Künstlergemeinschaft Brücke* (Feldafing: Buchheim Verlag, 1956), p. 53.

8 See Annemarie Dube-Heynig, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Graphik* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1961), p. 26. There is also an English-language edition: *Kirchner: His Graphic Art* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1961).

9 In some ways the Jahresmappe resembles the *Jahresgaben* sent out by the various *Kunstvereine* in Germany. These associations for the promotion of the arts, founded not by state or city authorities but by private citizens, were set up in large numbers in the mid-nineteenth century. They issued, and in some cases still do issue, reproductions and artists' prints at concessionary prices; nowadays they often distribute small sculptures, drawings, and photographs as well. For more on the Jahresmappen, see Hans Bolliger and E. W. Kornfeld, *Ausstellung Künstlergruppe Brücke: Jahresmappen, 1906–1912*, exh. cat. (Bern: Klipstein & Kornfeld, 1958).

10 This connection is pointed out by Annemarie Dube and Wolf-Dieter Dube in the introduction to *Erich Heckel: Holzschnitte, Lithographien, Radierungen aus den Jahren 1903–1963*, exh. cat. (Munich: Staatliche graphische Sammlung, 1963), p. 4. In the *Chronik*, however, Kirchner stressed the inspiration of German Old Master woodcuts (see Dube, *Expressionismus in Wort und Bild*, p. 34). There must have been influences of this kind, but there is no need to refer back to Albrecht Dürer, for instance, for an explanation of the revival of the woodcut; this was already taking place all over Europe in the decade that preceded the founding of the Brücke.

11 Heckel's concern with this theme at the time is confirmed by his woodcut *Psalm* 90 (Dube 46), a portrait of an old woman that dates from 1905. The reference is clearly to verse 10: "The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away."

12 Amiet joined the Brücke in 1906; Gallén-Kallela, in 1907. Nolde became a member after his exhibition at the Galerie Arnold in Dresden in January 1906. He moved to Dresden for a while but left the group eighteen months later.

13 Heckel, in Günter Krüger, "Die Künstlergemeinschaft Brücke und die Schweiz," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 39, no. 1/4 (1980): 132.

14 It should be noted, however, that the founding members of the Brücke did not rely entirely on information from elsewhere for their knowledge of what was going on in European art; Dresden at that time was an extremely lively artistic center with far-reaching international ties. It seems to me that Orrel P. Reed, Jr., in *German Expressionist Art: The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, University of California, 1977), has underemphasized this (for Amiet and Gallén-Kallela, see nos. 48, 49). Paintings by Cézanne were seen in Dresden as early as 1896; the Galerie Arnold showed fifty works by van Gogh in 1905 and, in the following year, a collective show that included Gauguin, van Gogh, the Nabis, and the Neo-Impressionists. In addition Kirchner had seen works by van Gogh, Paul Signac, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Vallotton, and others in various exhibitions in Munich in the winter of 1903–4.

15 This applies at the very least to the one reproduced in Bolliger and Kornfeld, *Künstlergruppe Brücke*, p. 15.

16 See Rosa Schapire, *Karl Schmidt-Rottluffs graphisches Werk bis 1923* (Berlin: Euphorion Verlag, 1924), no. 25.

17 Kirchner, Heckel, and Schmidt-Rottluff all later denied any connection with Munch, or dismissed it as purely incidental. It is nevertheless known that the Munch exhibition mounted by the Sächsischer Kunstverein in Dresden in February 1906 was visited by the members of the Brücke, that Schmidt-Rottluff sent nine letters and postcards to Munch between 1906 and 1909 inviting him to exhibit with Schmidt-Rottluff himself or with the Brücke; and that in 1908–9 the Brücke artists considered inviting Munch to join their group. Munch never answered any of the letters, and this is probably the reason for the group's later attitude toward him. See Marit Werenskiold, "Die Brücke und Edvard Munch," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 28, no. 1/4 (1974): 14off.

18 Kirchner wrote in "Über Kirchners Graphik," an essay published in 1921 under the pseudonym L. de Marsalle, that "the artist's specific interest in individual forms also influences the form of the work. Thus, in a figure whose head particularly interests the artist, this will grow larger, while the other parts dwindle" (reprinted in Lothar Grisebach, *E. L. Kirchners Davoser Tagebuch: Eine Darstellung des Malers und eine Sammlung seiner Schriften* [Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1968], p. 192). For his part Schmidt-Rottluff explained: "On occasion I came to exaggerate certain forms, in violation of scientific proportion but in accordance with the balance of their spiritual relationships to each other. I made heads vastly oversized in relation to other parts of the body, because the head is the point of concentration of all the psyche, all expression" (in Gerhard Wietek, *Schmidt-Rottluff: Graphik* [Munich: Verlag Karl Thiemig, 1971], p. 100).

19 Kirchner to Gustav Schiefler, March 28, 1919, in Dube-Heynig, *Kirchner: Graphik*, p. 49.

20 Ibid.

21 Dix made this remark in 1958; see *Otto Dix, 1891–1969*, exh. cat. (Munich: Museum Villa Stuck, 1985), p. 279.

22 Peter Beckmann, *Max Beckmann: Leben und Werk* (Stuttgart and Zurich: Belser Verlag, 1982), p. 36ff.

23 Peter Selz, *Max Beckmann*, exh. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, [1964]), p. 21.

24 See Klaus Gallwitz, *Max Beckmann: Die Druckgraphik* (Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1962), nos. 49, 57; James Hofmaier, *Max Beckmann: Werkverzeichnis der Druckgraphik* (in preparation), nos. 70, 76.

25 Max Beckmann, *Briefe im Kriege*, comp. Minna Tube, afterword by Peter Beckmann (Munich and Zurich: R. Piper & Co., 1984), p. 18.

26 Dix, in *Otto Dix, 1891–1969*, p. 273.

27 Beckmann, *Briefe im Kriege*, p. 67.

28 Rainer Beck, "Dix und der Krieg," in *Otto Dix, 1891–1969*, p. 14. For Beckmann's interest in Nietzsche, see Alexander Dückers, *Beckmann: Die Hölle, 1919* (Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett [Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz], 1983), pp. 71–72.

29 "My nerves went to pieces," Grosz wrote in a letter of March 15, 1917 (*Briefe, 1913–1959*, ed. Herbert Knust [Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1979], p. 48).

30 Dix, in *Otto Dix, 1891–1969*, p. 280.

31 Dix made this remark in 1949; ibid., p. 275.

32 From an interview given in 1965; ibid., p. 288.

33 Dix made this statement in 1947; ibid., p. 275.

34 Ibid., p. 288.

35 Beck, "Dix und der Krieg," p. 17.

36 From an interview given in 1966; see *Otto Dix, 1891–1969*, p. 290.

37 Ibid., p. 273.

38 Beck, "Dix und der Krieg," p. 17.

39 Ida Katharine Rigby, *An alle Künstler! War—Revolution—Weimar: German Expressionist Prints, Drawings, Posters, and Periodicals from the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation*, exh. cat. (San Diego: San Diego State University Press, 1983), p. 12.

40 The fact that the print was mistakenly reproduced as plate 24 in the little book *Der Krieg: 24 Offsetdrucke nach Originalen aus dem Radierwerk von Otto Dix* (Berlin: Karl Nierendorf, 1924) provides further evidence that it is related to the portfolio Der Krieg. Karl Nierendorf had also published the original graphics.

41 The clearest example is Klinger's engraving *Tote Mutter* (Dead mother, 1889), published in 1898 as number 10 of the series Vom Tode II (Of death II). The decisive influence on Klinger's thought was not Nietzsche, however, but Schopenhauer, who had the same conception of a new life emerging from the old. See Alexander Dückers, *Max Klinger* (Berlin, 1976), p. 98ff.

42 Paul Westheim, in *Das Kunstblatt* 8, no. 8 (1924): 286. The term *Neue Sachlichkeit* is used in a narrower sense to refer to the work of Alexander Kanoldt, Georg Scholz, and Georg Schrimpf. In this sense it was used as early as 1923 in a letter to Scholz from Gustav F. Hartlaub, who in 1925 organized an exhibition at the Kunsthalle Mannheim that bore the title *Die neue Sachlichkeit*.

43 Diary entry of November 1922, in Käthe Kollwitz, *Aus meinem Leben* (Munich: List Verlag, 1967), p. 109.

44 Some writers have reservations about the application of all this virtuosity to this particular subject matter: "The depiction of terror, on the one hand; on the other—one hardly dare say it—the aesthetic and sensual quality of horror, embodied in an incredible mastery of graphic technique" (Beck, "Dix und der Krieg," p. 17). The same author goes on to point out that the decayed body in *Leiche im Drahtverhau* (Corpse in barbed wire) is realized in "the subtlest gradations of aquatint, but at the same time [is] so terrible that one has the impression of breathing the stench of putrefaction." One might answer such expressions of unease by saying that Dix, by deploying all his graphic skill, attained his objective of bearing witness to what he had experienced. The "aesthetic and sensual quality of horror"—whether in the images of hell and martyrdom of past art, in Goya's Desastres de la guerra, in Picasso's *Guernica*, or in the work of Francis Bacon—touches on the question of the "beauty" with which great art endows evil and fear, an issue that cannot be gone into here. There is, however, a real danger in virtuosity, one to which graphic art is particularly subject: that it will be pursued, regardless of the theme, for the sake of a tour de force. This danger Dix has avoided. His mastery remains the servant of his avowed aim.

45 Grosz to Otto Schmalhausen, April 22, 1918, *Briefe*, p. 62.

46 See Alexander Dückers, *George Grosz: Das druckgraphische Werk* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1979), no. E 1.

47 Ibid., nos. E 4–6, 23.

48 Ibid., nos. E 7–10, 13.

49 Ibid., nos. E 11, 19, 20.

50 Ibid., nos. E 14, 17; see also E 12, 30. On Grosz's reading matter, see George Grosz, *Ein kleines Ja und ein grosses Nein: Sein Leben von ihm selbst erzählt* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1955), p. 22ff. This was first published in English as *A Little Yes and a Big No*, trans. Lola Sachs Dorin (New York: Dial Press, 1946). A more recent translation is also available: *George Grosz: An Autobiography*, trans. Nora Hodges (New York: Macmillan, 1983).

51 As early as 1913 Grosz was speaking of his own "social-democratic, antimilitaristic" views (Grosz to Robert Bell, July 1913, *Briefe*, p. 27).

52 On the evidence against the hypothesis that Grosz served at the front, see Dückers, *George Grosz*, p. 133.

53 On the war scenes, see ibid., nos. E 24–26; on the other two scenes, see ibid., nos. E 29, 40.

54 The "doffed cranium" motif reappears in two of the figures in Grosz's drawing *Wir treten zum Beten vor Gott den Gerechten!* (We step up to pray before God the just!), in George Grosz, *Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse* (Berlin: Malik-Verlag, 1921), p. 6. The same figures then reappear in the 1926 painting *Stützen der Gesellschaft* (Pillars of society; Nationalgalerie [Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz], Berlin).

55 Grosz to Otto Schmalhausen, December 6, 1917, *Briefe*, p. 56.

56 Theodor Däubler, "George Grosz," *Neue Blätter fur Kunst und Dichtung* 1 (November 1918): 153.

57 On the influence of graffiti and children's drawings, see *George Grosz: Leben und Werk*, ed. Uwe M. Schneede, with contributions by Georg Bussmann and Marina Schneede-Sczesny (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1975), p. 38, where there is a quotation from a text by Grosz, "Abwicklung" (Unwinding), published in *Das Kunstblatt* 8, no. 2 (1924): 32ff., in which he acknowledges this influence. In the 1930s Grosz encouraged his students at the Art Students League in New York to study children's drawings: "A composition should be simple and clear. That is why the drawings of children and primitives are so strong" (quoted from a student's unpublished papers, "Notes on Drawing and Water Color, 1935–36," George Grosz estate, Princeton, N.J.).

58 Grosz, *Ein kleines Ja*, p. 102.

59 Wieland Herzfelde, *Immergrün* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1961), p. 92.

60 "Kurz (wie in *Rost*)"; see Wieland Herzfelde, *John Heartfield: Leben und Werk* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1971), p. 1. The announcement of the Erste George Grosz-Mappe that appeared in the August/September issue of the periodical *Neue Jugend* provides evidence of the name change.

61 Some of the names Grosz gave himself in letters written between 1913 and 1920 are "Prof. Thomas," "Ritter von Thorn," "Gogo," "Dr. Maschin George Ventil," and, complete with place of residence, "Lord Hatton-Dixon, New Castle Town," and "Edgar H. Hussler, Boston." He often signed drawings with "Böff" (or "Böffel" or "Föbb"; see number 6 of Gott mit uns); this was a variation on "Boeuf," which was his friends' nickname for him. There is often an element of Dadaist alienation and also of straightforward fun in this, but not always. At the end of September 1915 Grosz, whose second name was Ehrenfried, wrote to Robert Bell: "I am lonely without measure; that is to say, I am alone with my doubles, phantasms in whom I realize specific dreams, ideas, inclinations, and so on. I rip three other people out of my inner life, give them names, and believe in them myself. Gradually three clearly defined types have emerged. 1. Grosz. 2. Count Ehrenfried, the nonchalant aristocrat with the well-manicured fingernails, concerned only with cultivating himself; in a word, the detached, aristocratic individualist. 3. The physician, Dr. William King Thomas, the more American, practical counterweight to Grosz the mother figure" (Grosz, *Briefe*, p. 30ff). Count Ehrenfried and Dr. William King Thomas in turn have multiple identities; see Dückers, *George Grosz*, p. 142ff.

62 Grosz to Otto Schmalhausen, *Briefe*, p. 49.

63 Grosz to Otto Schmalhausen, June 1, 1917, ibid., p. 51.

64 Grosz to Otto Schmalhausen, December 15, 1917, ibid., p. 57.

65 Grosz to Otto Schmalhausen, April 22, 1918, ibid., p. 62.

66 Richard Huelsenbeck, *Dada siegt! Eine Bilanz des Dadismus* (Berlin, 1920), p. 28ff.

67 As doubt is still being cast on Grosz's membership in the German Communist party (see Winfried Nerdinger, *Rudolf Belling und die Kunstströmungen in Berlin, 1918–1923* [Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1981], pp. 73–74, n. 158), I refer to a statement by Grosz that I have quoted elsewhere (see Dückers, *George Grosz*, p. 12, n. 5). It appears in a newspaper report of the case brought against Grosz for blasphemy over his portfolio Hintergrund (Background): "Presiding Judge: Do you belong to a political party? Accused: Yes, the Communist party" (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, December 4, 1930, second morning edition [copy in the archive of the National-Galerie, East Berlin]). It is true that in the 1920s, perhaps as early as his return from Russia in 1922, Grosz came to distance himself somewhat from the party; see his 1927 letter to Otto Schmalhausen (*Briefe*, pp. 102–3). But there can be no doubt that he did belong to it. Concerning the date at which he joined, and for other views on the membership question, see Dückers, *George Grosz*.

68 On other drawings and the portfolio, see Dückers, *George Grosz*, nos. M III, 1–9.

69 George Grosz, "Zu meinen neuen Bildern," *Das Kunstblatt* 5, no. 1 (1921): 11; the article was written, as the text itself makes clear, in November 1920.

70 Unsigned article in *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin, April 21, 1921, first supplement). Grosz was indicted in 1923 for "dissemination of indecent writings" (by which was meant the compilation *Ecce Homo*) and in 1928 for "blasphemy" (primarily over the print *Maulhalten und weiter dienen* [Shut up and do your duty], better known as *Christus mit Gasmaske* [Christ with a gas mask], from the portfolio Hintergrund); see Dückers, *George Grosz*, nos. S 1 and M VI, 10. At this point Grosz had exhausted the bourgeois catalogue of sins.

71 Words attributed to a British officer in the international expeditionary force that was sent to suppress the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900.

72 Arthur Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Weimarer Republik*, ed. Kurt Kersten, 18th ed. (Frankfurt: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1977), p. 59ff.

73 Ibid., p. 64.

74 There can be no doubt that there were contacts between Grosz and Kessler. Grosz writes in his memoirs that after he was drafted for the second time he assaulted a medical corps sergeant, adding: "I was supposed to be shot as a deserter. Fortunately Count Kessler heard of it. He intervened for me, with the result that I was pardoned and sent to an institution for war lunatics" (Grosz, *Ein kleines Ja*, p. 114). There is no other evidence of such an intervention on Kessler's part.

75 Count Harry Kessler, *Tagebücher, 1918–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Pfeiffer Belli (Frankfurt: Insel-Verlag, 1961), p. 156 (March 13, 1919).

76 Sebastian Haffner, *Die deutsche Revolution, 1918/19*, 2d ed. (Munich: Kindler, 1979), p. 184.

77 Rosenberg, *Geschichte*, p. 70.

78 The English title of this print is not in English at all. It is the motto of the Prince of Wales: "*Ich dien*" (I serve). These German words were originally on the coat of arms of John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia, who was killed fighting on the French side against England in the battle of Crécy in 1346. The "Black Prince" of Wales assumed his arms and motto by right of conquest (see Barbara Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978]). This title may reflect a general antimonarchist attitude, but it is not directed specifically at English policy in the period of the November Revolution. What Grosz is doing is bringing the motto home, as it were, to apply it to those in

power in Germany and unmask their murderous hypocrisy.

79 *Die Pleite* 1, no. 4 (1919). The overall compositional layout goes back to a wood engraving after Gustave Doré, *In Newgate Prison* (Gustave Doré and Blanchard Jerrold, *London: A Pilgrimage* [London, 1872]), which inspired van Gogh's painting *In the Prison Exercise Yard* (1889–90, Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow). *Licht und Luft dem Proletariat* means "light and air for the proletariat."

80 Beth Irwin Lewis, *George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), p. 76ff.

81 Uwe M. Schneede points out in *George Grosz*, p. 72, that the German title refers to something Rosa Luxemburg wrote in her treatise *Die Krise der Sozialdemokratie*, published in 1916 under the pseudonym Junius: "It is the soldiers of Socialism themselves—the proletarians of England, France, Germany, Russia, Belgium—who have been slaughtering each other at the behest of capital for months on end. . . . The dividends rise, and the proletarians fall" (*Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 4 [Berlin, 1974], p. 49ff.). This, according to Grosz, was also what happened in the struggle that broke out within Germany when the war was over.

82 Here too Grosz gives a ironic interpretation of his own to a familiar phrase. *Den macht uns keiner nach!* (there's not going to be another one like him!) is what William II is supposed to have said of the "Captain of Köpenick," the penniless shoemaker Wilhelm Voigt, who on October 16, 1906, put on a captain's uniform, collected a number of soldiers he met on the street, and ordered them to occupy the city hall of the suburb of Köpenick (now in East Berlin) and hand over the city funds.

83 Dückers, *Beckmann: Die Hölle*, n. 29.

84 Ludwig Coellen, "Die erste George Grosz Mappe," *Das Kunstblatt* 1, no. 1 (1917): 349.

85 This applies especially to the compilation *Interregnum*, published in New York in 1936, see Dückers, *George Grosz*, nos. S II, 1–64.

86 Max Beckmann, *Tagebücher, 1940–1950*, comp. Mathilde Q. Beckmann, ed. Erhard Göpel (Munich: Langen-Müller Verlag, 1955), p. 11 (September 12, 1940).

87 See Stephan von Wiese, *Max Beckmanns zeichnerisches Werk, 1903–1925* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1978), p. 113.

88 Peter Beckmann, "Nachwort," in Beckmann, *Briefe im Kriege*, p. 80.

89 Max Beckmann, *Leben in Berlin: Tagebuch, 1908–1909*, ed. Hans Kinkel (Munich and Zurich: R. Piper & Co., 1983), pp. 22–23 (January 9, 1909).

90 Beckmann, *Briefe im Kriege*, p. 38 (April 5, 1915).

91 Ibid., pp. 33 (March 28, 1915), 64 (May 21, 1915).

92 Beckmann's "Schöpferische Konfession" was first published in *Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit*, no. 13 (1920): 66, and was reprinted in Dückers, *Beckmann: Die Hölle*, p. 52ff.; for an English translation, see Victor H. Miesel, ed., *Voices of German Expressionism* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1970).

93 The term *Dingsymbol* was introduced by Friedrich Wilhelm Fischer in *Max Beckmann: Symbol und Weltbild* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972).

94 Jahrmarkt is one of four portfolios that Beckmann produced in his most prolific period of graphic production, 1916–23. More than half of his graphic output—more than two hundred etchings, lithographs, and woodcuts—dates from this period. Along with many individual prints, a considerable number of book illustrations, and Jahrmarkt itself, he produced the portfolios Gesichter, Die Hölle, and Berliner Reise (Berlin journey) of 1922. Die Hölle and Berliner Reise were published in Berlin by I. B. Neumann, and Gesichter and Jahrmarkt bear the imprint of Beckmann's other major publisher, Reinhard Piper in Munich.

95 Friedrich Wilhelm Fischer, "Themenwahl und Bildwelt in Beckmanns Druckgraphik," in *Max Beckmann: Das druckgraphische Werk*, exh. cat. (Zurich: Kunsthaus, 1976), p. 16.

96 Gallwitz, *Max Beckmann*, no. 24; Hofmaier, *Max Beckmann*, no. 36.

97 See Dückers, *Beckmann: Die Hölle*, p. 88.

98 Beckmann, *Leben in Berlin*, p. 28 (January 14, 1909).

99 The motif was erroneously described in a recent exhibition catalogue (*Max Beckmann: Aus dem Menschenorchester, graphische Zyklen um 1920* [Krefeld: Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, 1985], unpaginated) as follows: "A visitor peers voyeurlike through the window." Nor does the assertion in the same text that the figure of a man in the center of the scene is a self-portrait of Beckmann seem tenable. There is, however, some plausibility in the writer's suggestion that the fiddler and the young woman on the right are modeled on Reinhard Piper and Beckmann's first wife, Minna Beckmann-Tube.

100 Gallwitz, *Max Beckmann*, no. 79; Hofmaier, *Max Beckmann*, no. 100.

101 Compare Beckmann's portrait etchings of I. B. Neumann from 1919 and of Reinhard Piper from 1920 (Gallwitz, *Max Beckmann*, nos. 125, 134; Hofmaier, *Max Beckmann*, nos. 151, 161). For the physiognomy of the "tall man," with his grotesquely jutting chin, see Beckmann's self-portrait in the etching *Familienszene* (Family scene, 1918), from the portfolio Gesichter (Gallwitz, *Max Beckmann*, no. 98; Hofmaier, *Max Beckmann*, no. 125).

102 Fischer has much the same assessment of the portfolio, "with all its ambivalence" ("Themenwahl und Bildwelt," p. 21ff.). A number of Beckmann's self-portraits of 1921–22 lend themselves to a similar interpretation; see Dückers, *Beckmann: Die Hölle*, p. 74.

103 Fischer, *Symbol und Weltbild*, n. 120, p. 42. See also idem, "Themenwahl und Bildwelt," p. 17.

104 Gallwitz, *Max Beckmann*, no. 103; Hofmaier, *Max Beckmann*, no. 130.

105 Fischer, *Symbol und Weltbild*, p. 25.

106 *Max Beckmann Retrospektive*, exh. cat., ed. Carla Schulz-Hoffmann and Judith C. Weiss (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1984), p. 413. That Beckmann himself is one of the passengers on the "ship of fools," as is asserted in that publication, is not by any means certain.

107 Gallwitz, *Max Beckmann*, no. 97; Hofmaier, *Max Beckmann*, no. 124.

108 Fischer, *Symbol und Weltbild*, p. 40, n. 105.

109 See *Max Beckmann*, exh. cat. (Hannover: Kunstmuseum Hannover mit Sammlung Sprengel, 1983), p. 186.

110 See Dückers, *Beckmann: Die Hölle*, p. 102.

111 Beckmann himself said so several times and castigated the folly of supposing that sexual gratification leads to fulfillment. On one occasion he wrote: "Is there to be no getting away from this loathsome vegetative physicality? . . . Utter contempt for the lewd enticements that always lure us back into life's clutches. And when, half-parched, we seek to quench our thirst, the gods laugh us to scorn" (Beckmann, *Tagebücher*, p. 156 [July 4, 1946]).

112 See the 1911 lithograph of Samson and Delilah (Gallwitz, *Max Beckmann*, no. 15; Hofmaier, *Max Beckmann*, no. 26).

113 Beckmann, *Max Beckmann: Leben und Werk*, p. 86.

114 Curt Glaser, in Curt Glaser et al., *Max Beckmann* (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1924), p. 20.


Georg Heym
Umbra Vitae
Kurt Wolff Verlag München

Illustrated Books and Periodicals

Paul Raabe

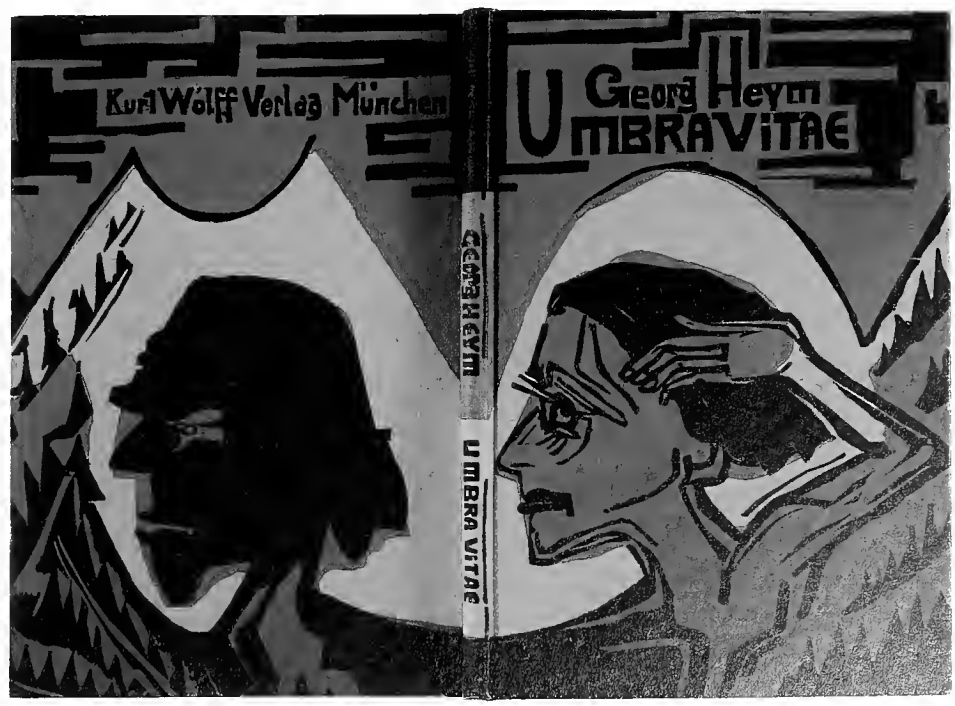
The longer one is involved with literary Expressionism, the more fascinated one becomes with the interaction of writers and painters throughout this stimulating artistic and literary epoch in Germany, 1910 to 1922. We are familiar with the faces of Expressionist poets from the powerful portraits left by the painters, and Expressionist writers, Theodor Däubler in particular, were the first to take up the cause of the new art. Friendships between painters and writers led to mutual exchange and stimulation: in the early period, for example, the friendships between Oskar Kokoschka and Herwarth Walden, Ludwig Meidner and Ernst Wilhelm Lotz, Wassily Kandinsky and Hugo Ball; in the late period between Conrad Felixmüller and Walter Rheiner, Josef Achmann and Georg Britting. The movement should not be seen, however, in terms of a common, unified spirit. What must be acknowledged are the disunities, the diversity of Expressionism: the dissent as well as the consensus; the opposition as well as the cooperation; the primacy of the individual in the context of sympathy for kindred spirits, be they poets or painters, writers or printmakers, sculptors or composers, art dealers or publishers.

Ernst Barlach and Kokoschka were important Expressionist dramatists; Kandinsky wrote the first avant-garde literary work in German; Meidner was a Expressionist lyric poet; and Wilhelm Lehmbruck and Egon Schiele—artists who matured and died young—were published poets too. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and Paul Klee kept diaries, which are among the literary testaments of the period. Many painters were talented correspondents, able to capture in words as well as in painting the world as they perceived it.

The history of literary Expressionism cannot be written without taking the Expressionist artists into account—they bring color and vitality to the chronicle—yet the impact of literary life on the art scene, although overshadowed at times by the prestige of Expressionist art, should be stressed again and again, and the fascination associated

164
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Untitled (title page), 1919–23
Color woodcut
5 9/16 x 3 9/16 in. (14.2 x 9.1 cm)
From Georg Heym, *Umbra Vitae*
83.1.116.3
Davis 1474.3

165
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Untitled (cover), 1919–23
Color woodcut
9 13/16 x 13 3/4 in. (25.0 x 35.0 cm)
From Georg Heym, *Umbra Vitae*
83.1.116.1
Davis 1474.1



165

with the writers and literary forms of Expressionism widely promulgated.

The Brücke painters came to Berlin in 1911, attracted by the avant-garde literary life emerging there. Kirchner became an ardent admirer of the poet Georg Heym. Karl Schmitt-Rottluff designed a logo for the programs of the Neopathetisches Cabaret (see fig. 5), the club that became the first stage for Expressionist writers. It was through readings of their work there that Ernst Blass, Heym, Else Lasker-Schüler, Alfred Lichtenstein, Ludwig Rubiner, and Jakob van Hoddis became known.

Apart from the mutually stimulating relationships between artists and writers, two types of publication were produced—the illustrated book and the literary-artistic journal—in which the encounter between art and literature in Expressionism has been preserved. The holdings of the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies reveal the close ties between artistic representation and literary expression, substantiating the thesis of symbiotic interaction.

Expressionist Book Illustration

The illustrated book in Germany has a long, significant history. It leads from the medieval miniature through the early illustrations in the incunabula—including the oldest printed illustrated book, Ulrich Boner's *Der Edelstein*, published in Bamberg in 1461, in the collection of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel—to the illustrated publications of the Reformation and the Baroque and thence to those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Only with the advent of Impressionism and Jugendstil at the turn of the century, however, did painters and graphic artists in Germany, like their French and English predecessors, devote their energies to book illustration, that is, to the interpretation of the text via the artist's pen as well as to its decorative enhancement.

Lovis Corinth, Alfred Kubin, Max Slevogt, and Hugo Steiner-Prag were dedicated to the graphic interpretation of literary texts—older ones for the most part—and succeeded in producing a number of large-format books superbly illustrated with lithographs or drawings. They were masters of Impressionist book illustration, and in their sketches re-creating crucial scenes they captured acts and fleeting gestures with emotional intensity and excitement. Corinth's *Das Buch Judith* (The book of Judith, 1910) and Slevogt's *Sindbad der Seefahrer* (Sinbad the sailor, 1908) contain typical examples, as do their large-format books published between 1919 and 1924 by Bruno Cassirer and Fritz Gurlitt of the Avalun and the Propyläen publishing houses. Kubin's edition of Dostoyevski's *Der Doppelganger* (The double, 1912) or Steiner-Prag's illustrations for Gustav Meyrink's *Der Golem* (The golem, 1915–16) distinguish themselves through their visionary, mysteriously effective formal energy. Kubin in particular became master of a fantastic style of drawing in his book illustrations, works that stand apart from those of his contemporaries because of their narrative tendency and their strongly impressionistic character.

To comprehend the stature achieved by Expressionist book illustration, one must first realize that the market for illustration was dominated at that time by conventional artists and Impressionists, that Slevogt's and Corinth's illustrated books were published for the most part

166
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Hiob, Anima und der Kautschukmann, 1916–17
(Job, Anima, and the contortionist)
Lithograph
11 5/16 x 9 1/4 in. (28.8 x 23.5 cm)
From Oskar Kokoschka, *Hiob*
83.1.126 f
Davis 1572.6

during the Expressionist period, as were those by Rudolf Grossmann, Thomas Theodor Heine, Max Oppenheimer, and Emil Orlik. It is understandable therefore that the transition between the established and newer styles is not clearly demarcated and that it is difficult to designate precisely a canon of Expressionist book illustrators.

The illustrations published by young artists prior to their involvement with Expressionism are practically indistinguishable from those published by other artists of the day. The same can be said of the contemporaneous early works of writers who later became Expressionists: Heym, Lasker-Schüler, René Schickele, and Ernst Stadler, for example. Lyonel Feininger's delicate drawings and vignettes for Max Dreyer's burlesque play *Das Tal des Lebens* (The valley of life, 1904) could have originated from the pen of Emile Preetorius. Kokoschka's first book, *Die träumenden Knaben* (The dreaming boys, 1908)—one of the most charming of its day, with its deliberately naive character and its freshness and color—could as easily be attributed to some other artist from the Wiener Werkstätte. Max Beckmann's impressive lithographs for *Eurydikes Wiederkehr* (The return of Eurydice, 1909), an otherwise long-forgotten epic by Johannes Guthmann, an admirer of the young Gerhart Hauptmann, are amazingly similar stylistically to Slevogt's illustrations. The existence of such books encourages reflection on Zeitgeist and the evolution of style, on originality and influence.

A new phase in the history of illustration began in March 1910. It was not a book, however, that launched this new epoch but Kokoschka's illustrations for his drama *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (Murderer, hope of women; see fig. 6), which appeared in an early issue of Walden's *Der Sturm* (The storm). (*Der Sturm*, itself the earliest example of an Expressionist periodical, is a publication to which we shall return.) Kokoschka's work had undergone a radical transformation from the idyllic *Träumenden Knaben* (see pp. 164–67) to the brutal representation of the "murderer of women." In style and expression the latter are cipherlike, grotesque harbingers of a new age filled with menace and fear.

Kokoschka's illustrations in *Der Sturm* were followed a year later by his illustrations for *Tubutsch*, a collection of Albert Ehrenstein's early Expressionist stories. During the war years Kokoschka created large, painterly lithographs for his dramas *Der gefesselte Columbus* (The bound Columbus, 1916) and *Hiob* (Job, 1917; fig. 166). Composed in a formal idiom at once forceful and gentle, they render the plays as mythological events.

The painters of the Brücke and the Blaue Reiter witnessed the prewar breakthrough of literary Expressionism in Berlin and Munich, and the self-described Pathetiker (artists of pathos)—Meidner, Richard Janthur, and Jakob Steinhardt—were to become during and after the war typical practitioners of a lyrical Expressionism in book illustration. Indeed as early as 1912 Meidner designed the first Expressionist book cover, for *Söhne* (Sons; fig. 167), Gottfried Benn's collection of poems, published by A. R. Meyer Verlag as part of the epoch-making literary series of early Expressionism, Lyrische Flugblätter (Lyrical pamphlets). Hurled forth like a challenge, Meidner's drawing signaled a new sense of life.

167
Ludwig Meidner
Germany, 1884–1966
Untitled (cover), 1913
Reproduction of a drawing
5⅝ x 5 1/16 in. (14.4 x 12.7 cm)
From Gottfried Benn, *Söhne*
83.1.221

167

168

168
Ernst Barlach
Germany, 1870–1938
Unser Schuldbuch sei vernichtet, 1924
(Let all old scores be forgotten)
Woodcut
10 5/16 x 14 3/16 in. (26.1 x 36.0 cm)
From Friedrich von Schiller, *An die Freude*
83.1.36 g
Davis 103.7

Alfred Döblin's story *Das Stiftsfräulein und der Tod* (The canoness and Death) appeared as part of the same series in 1913, accompanied by a title woodcut (fig. 169) and four full-page woodcuts (see fig. 61) by Kirchner, who manifested a special sensitivity to the book and modern texts. This was the initial, and highly successful, experiment in book illustration by a representative of the Brücke. Modest yet penetrating, Kirchner's woodcuts attest to a new unity of typography and illustration, the woodcut being an ideal complement to a forceful typeface. The unity of text and image in the same printing process and the unity of literary and graphic configuration reflected the harmony in the thinking and feeling of poets and painters.

Of all the Brücke painters Kirchner demonstrated the most acute sense of script and typography. As a carver of woodcuts he loved forceful, dramatic expression and angular forms. He had carved in wood and printed himself the first manifesto of the group (fig. 2) in 1906, and in 1910 he took the trouble to carve in Antiqua, the Expressionist typeface, the names of the seventy-five associate members of the Brücke into five woodblocks for the catalogue of a Brücke exhibition at the Galerie Arnold in Dresden (see fig. 3).

Despite their love of the book, the Brücke painters were unlucky with publishers. Erich Heckel was the first of their number to attempt to engage the woodcut in the service of the book. In 1907 he prepared a series of eleven woodcuts for Oscar Wilde's *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (see figs. 60, 202–5). Despite the fact that these woodcuts in their mysterious, sinister effect correspond completely with the text of the poem (which had already inspired illustrations by Kubin and was later to inspire Frans Masereel and Rudolf Schlichter), no one could be found at that time who was willing to publish the combination of Wilde's text and Heckel's illustrations.[1]

Kirchner had similar experiences. The seven splendid large-format woodcuts for Adelbert von Chamisso's famous story *Peter*

Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte (The wondrous story of Peter Schlemihl), works that were realized during Kirchner's stay at a sanatorium in Königstein, likewise remained unpublished. The account of a man who sells his shadow, as Kirchner commented in a letter to Gustav Schiefler of June 27, 1919, is "in actual fact the life story of a persecution complex, that is to say, the paranoid narration of a man who through one event or another is suddenly made aware of his infinite smallness and at the same time finds the means by which to deceive the world in general concerning this discovery."[2] For Kirchner the *Schlemihl* illustrations were a release from existential anxieties. Kurt Wolff's 1924 publication of Heym's volume of poems *Umbra Vitae* (Shadow of life; see figs. 164–65), with fifty woodcuts by Kirchner, was indeed a major event in book art, yet the illustrated collection, which manifested an unsurpassed unity of text and illustration, appeared post festum. Nevertheless it is one of the few works that

169

169
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Untitled (title page), 1912
Woodcut
4½ x 3⁵⁄₁₆ in. (11.5 x 8.4 cm)
From Alfred Döblin, *Das Stiftsfräulein und der Tod*
83.1.110 a
Davis 1453.1

show a great Expressionist artist in the process of coming to terms with an important Expressionist poet.

Neither Heckel nor Kirchner nor Schmidt-Rottluff nor Emil Nolde were ever to have an opportunity to prepare large-format illustrated books in which the force of the Expressionist woodcut could have answered the power of Expressionist texts. Erhart Kaestner, who was so impressed by the magnificent French *livres d'artiste* of the twentieth century, has with reason expressed regret about this.[3] The only Brücke painter to be given such an opportunity, which ultimately could not be fully exploited, was Max Pechstein. He provided fifteen lithographs, six of them full-page illustrations, for *Die samlandische Ode* (The Samland ode) by Heinrich Lautensack, who was not an Expressionist author but a turn-of-the-century poet. This collection, published in 1918 by Fritz Gurlitt, contains captivating illustrations filled with drunkenly ecstatic expressivity, which nevertheless accompany a text of minimal significance.

If one surveys the long list of Expressionist illustrated books from the point of view of harmony of text, typography, and illustration, one must recognize Kandinsky's *Klänge* (Sounds, 1913; see figs. 9, 207), published by Reinhard Piper in Munich, as a masterwork. This work was printed in a heavy, rich Antiqua typeface, which almost gives an impression of the grotesque (a style that coincided with Kirchner's conception of typography). It contains pre-Dadaist abstract poems by the artist accompanied by full-page abstract woodcuts. Each poem is introduced by a vignette woodcut. With the publication of *Klänge*, an ingenious, completely modern Expressionist book had come into being, one that still never fails to awaken enthusiasm in its readers and viewers.

The almanac *Der blaue Reiter* (The blue rider), published in 1912 by Kandinsky and Franz Marc, had already revealed Kandinsky's modern approach to book design, but Marc, August Macke, and the other contributors were never accorded an opportunity to produce books. Only Klee, who like Kirchner was an intellectual and a passionate reader, became involved with book illustration, probably under the influence of Kubin. His twenty-six drawings to accompany Voltaire's *Candide*, produced in 1913, were published in 1920 by Wolff. These charming reproductions give the collector cause to regret that they are not original prints. Klee's ten illustrations for Curt Corrinth's *Potsdamer Platz* (1919; fig. 170) were also reproductions, yet it is one of those books in which an otherwise forgotten author continues to live thanks to the overriding brilliance of a great artist who illustrated his work.

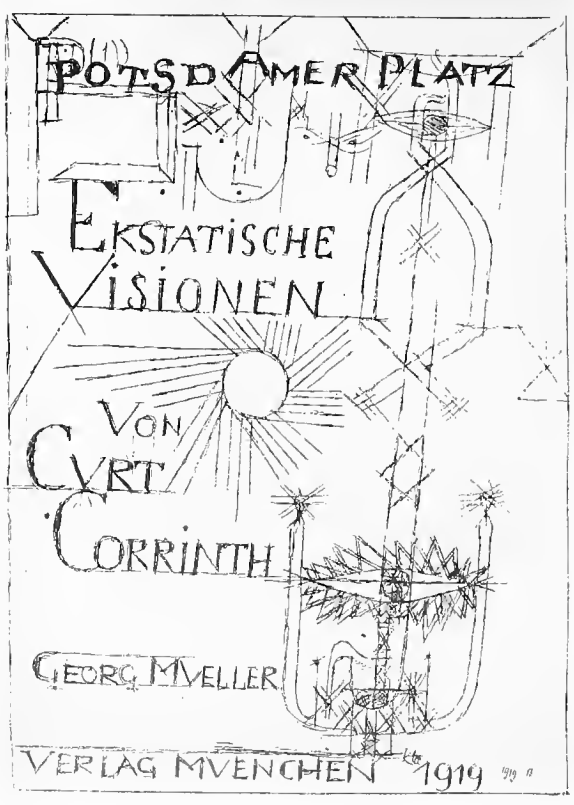
During and after the war, as Expressionism gained increasing recognition, more and more books were accompanied by expressionistic illustrations. Publishers such as Paul Cassirer, Fritz Gurlitt, Paul Steegeman, and Kurt Wolff commissioned Expressionist artists to illustrate books, and thus there finally arrived a golden age of Expressionist book art. In the brief span between 1917 and 1924 the brilliant illustrations of Barlach, Beckmann, René Beeh, Kokoschka, Meidner, and Steinhardt appeared along with work by many other artists.

Two major works assure Beckmann of a place in the history of Expressionist book illustration: Kasimir Edschmid's novella *Die Fürstin* (The princess, 1918) contains his etchings; *Stadtnacht* (City night,

171
Ludwig Meidner
Germany, 1884–1966
Untitled (man kneeling among bones), 1918
Lithograph
$7^{15}/_{16}$ x $5^{13}/_{16}$ in. (20.2 x 14.8 cm)
From Ludwig Meidner, *Septemberschrei*
83.1.155 n
Davis 1927.14

172
Max Beckmann
Germany, 1884–1950
Stadtnacht, 1920
(City night)
Lithograph
$7^{5}/_{8}$ x $6^{1}/_{16}$ in. (19.4 x 15.5 cm)
From Lili von Braunbehrens, *Stadtnacht*
83.1.40 c
Davis 136.3

170
Paul Klee
Switzerland, 1879–1940
Untitled (title page), 1919
Reproduction of a drawing
$3^{3}/_{16}$ x $5^{5}/_{16}$ in. (8.1 x 13.4 cm)
From Curt Corrinth, *Potsdamer Platz*
83.1.121



170

171

172

1921; see fig. 172), Lili von Braunbehrens's collection of poems, his lithographs. Forceful and expressive, the figures fairly explode on the pages. One is left with the impression that the artist gave no consideration to the verbal nuances of the authors. The expressiveness of the graphic form forces the text into the background.

Barlach resolved the problem of book art in a different fashion. The forceful, pregnant, stone-printed lithographs for his drama *Der arme Vetter* (The poor cousin, 1919), like the lithographs for his first play, *Der tote Tag* (The dead day, 1912), accompanied the text in a separate folio the same size as the text pages. The unity of text and illustration was thereby dissolved—a split that was to become standard for artist's books in Europe—nevertheless the artist succeeded in freeing himself from the pages of the text.

In contrast to other print media, such as lithography and etching, the woodcut again and again proved appropriate for Expressionist illustrations. It is ideally suited to the communication of passions such as enthusiasm and despair. This suitability assured the woodcut a place in book art. Josef Eberz, Felixmüller, Walter Gramatté, Constantin von Mitschke-Collande, Georg Schrimpf, and Georg Tappert as well as forgotten illustrators such as Curt Stoermer and Wilhelm Tegtmeier provided books with woodcuts that typify Expressionist book illustration, but Barlach was its master. His woodcuts for Reinhold von Walter's poem *Der Kopf* (The head, 1919); for two works by Goethe, *Walpurgisnacht* (1923) and a selection of poems (1924); and for Schiller's *An die Freude* (Ode to joy, 1927; see fig. 168) are among the works of genius in Expressionist book art. Here Barlach took up anew the early art of the woodcut and made it his means of expressing a modern sensibility.

The most successful Expressionist book artist, however, was Frans Masereel, who prepared woodcuts for many books published by Kurt Wolff, works by authors such as Charles-Louis Philippe, Emile Verhaeren, August Vermeylen (see fig. 174), and Emile Zola. For certain books he produced illustrations in narrative series unaccompanied by text. Indeed Masereel's art resided in just this ability to depict a wide variety of stories within the confines of the pages of a book. He was a social activist, and his sympathy for modern man made him a popular illustrator between the wars.

Meidner, another artist promoted by Wolff, was both a talented draftsman and poet. He produced portraits of his contemporaries as well as depictions of cities as threatening and threatened stations of human life. His books *Im Nacken das Sternemeer* (The sea of stars at my back, 1918) and *Septemberschrei* (September cry, 1920) rock with volcanic graphic eruptions. He was indeed passionately in tune with his times, as the caption beneath one of his drawings for *Septemberschrei*, "Horcher in die Zeit" (listener in time; fig. 171), suggests.

Steinhardt, who created lithographs that complemented the Jewish themes of the books of Jizchok-Leib Perez, including *Gleichnisse* (Parables) and *Musikalische Novellen* (Musical novellas), both published by Gurlitt in 1920, is also worthy of note. His etchings, which express the dilemma of the Jews in such a shattering and prophetic way, inspired the poet Arno Nadel to write and publish a collection of poems

173

174

entitled *Rot und glühend ist das Auge des Juden* (Red and glowing is the eye of the Jew, 1920).

Janthur also became a successful, multifaceted Expressionist book artist. Enamored of exotic themes, he provided Rabindranath Tagore's *Vierzehn Gedichte* (Fourteen poems, 1920) with graceful border decorations and full-page figures and produced intoxicating lithographs for Jonathan Swift's *Des Captain Lemuel Gullivers Reise in das Land des Houyhnhnms* (Captain Lemuel Gulliver's travels in the land of the Houyhnhnms, 1919), and Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1922), illustrating the adventures of their heroes in an acerbic burlesque.

The Expressionist writer Ludwig Rubiner titled his 1917 book *Der Mensch in der Mitte* (man in the middle), and there he stands in Expressionist book illustration as well: man endangered, man pursued, but man with the capacity for hope and love. His image is reduced to the human figure—its face, its stance—as in Angelus Silesius's maxim "Mensch werde wesentlich" (man, become essential), a phrase taken up by Stadler in his early Expressionist poems. Such is the case in the illustrations of Barlach, Beckmann, and Kokoschka. The same is true of the illustrations of Beeh, who died at thirty-six, after having produced impressive lithographs for Gottfried Keller's stories, and those of Gramatté, the talented Expressionist whose large-format lithographs brought to life Akaky Akakievich's battles of the soul in Nikolay Gogol's *Der Mantel* (The overcoat, 1919; see fig. 81). It is true as well of Max Kaus, who produced illustrations for Gustave Flaubert's *Die Sage von Sankt Julian dem Gastfreien* (The tale of Saint Julian the hospitable, 1919; fig. 173), and for Schlichter, whose lithographs for Christoph M. Wieland's *Auszug aus Lucians Nachrichten vom Tode des Peregrinus* (Excerpt from Lucian's account of the death of Peregrinus, 1920; see fig. 175), with their grotesque groupings of figures and scenes, deserve special mention among his book illustrations.

The Expressionist artists chose to interpret both classical and modern texts, their diversity offering a wide range of stylistic possibilities, which resulted in the use of a variety of graphic techniques and modes of formal expression. This is evident in the work of all the artists mentioned as well as that of Felix Meseck, Richard Seewald, and above all Willi Jaeckel, who must be mentioned for the sake of completeness.

The transition to the socially critical art of the 1920s was realized most consistently in the work of George Grosz, the master of satirical-grotesque scorn of the bourgeois *juste-milieu*. Grosz too began as an Expressionist book artist, creator of the charming and at the same time sinister illustrations for Alphonse Daudet's famous story *Die Abenteuer des Herrn Tartarin aus Tarascon* (The adventures of Herr Tartarin from Tarascon, 1921) and of the aggressive illustrations for Richard Huelsenbeck's novel *Doctor Billig am Ende* (Doctor Billig at the end of his rope, 1921; see fig. 176). As an Expressionist contributor to the Malik-Verlag, he was a political agitator of the drawing pen, whose books still convey most forcefully the image of the postwar years in Germany.

The inflation of 1922–23 marked the end of the Expressionist movement and resulted in publishers' no longer having the resources to finance profusely illustrated luxury editions with original

175

173
Max Kaus
Germany, 1891–1977
Untitled (man and woman), c. 1919
Lithograph
7 x 4 15/16 in. (17.8 x 12.6 cm)
From Gustave Flaubert, *Die Sage von Sankt Julian dem Gastfreien*
83.1.108 f
Davis 1385.6

174
Frans Masereel
Belgium, 1889–1972
Untitled (street fight), c. 1921
Woodcut
5 7/8 x 4 1/2 in. (14.9 x 11.4 cm)
From August Vermeylen, *Der ewige Jude*
83.1.147 e
Davis under 1851

175
Rudolf Schlichter
Germany, 1890–1955
Untitled (crowd around man on pedestal), c. 1920
Lithograph
9 3/16 x 4 15/16 in. (23.3 x 12.6 cm)
From Christoph M. Wieland, *Auszug aus Lucians Nachrichten vom Tode des Peregrinus*
83.1.176 a
Davis 2508.1

176
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Untitled (Billig raste in seiner betrunkenen . . .), c. 1920
Reproduction of a drawing
9 11/16 x 6 3/4 in. (24.6 x 17.1 cm)
From Richard Huelsenbeck, *Doctor Billig am Ende*
83.1.68

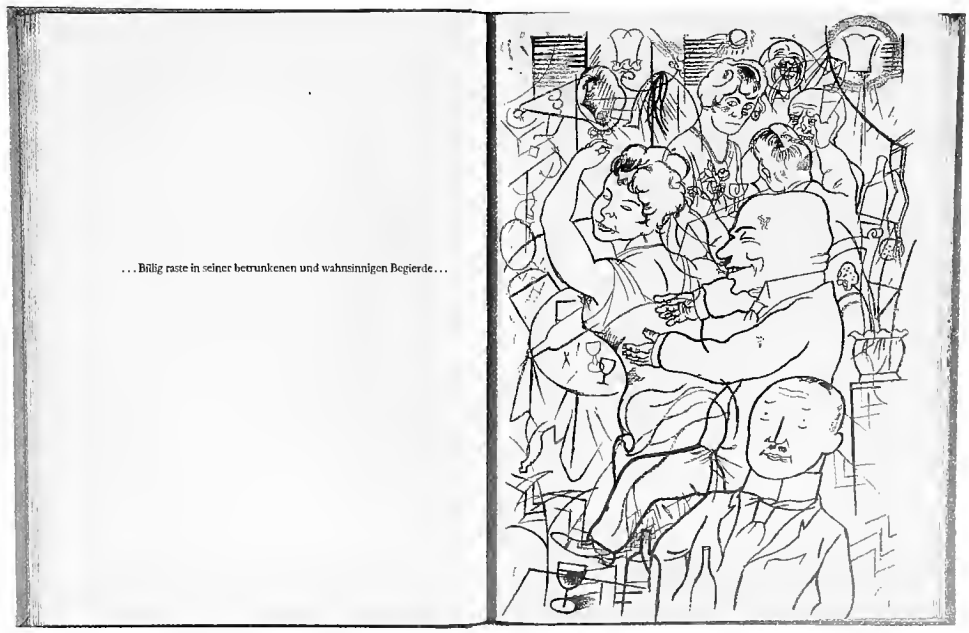
prints on handmade papers. Kirchner's *Umbra Vitae* was the melancholy swan song of a rich and exciting period of book art, a significant era in the history of publishing in Germany and one that is far from being sufficiently researched.

Expressionist Art Periodicals

Kokoschka's drawings for *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* appeared in 1910, the first year of *Der Sturm*, the "weekly magazine for culture and art." The date is thus significant not only for the history of Expressionist illustration but also because it marks the beginning of Expressionist art periodicals in Germany. With few exceptions, such as the bibliophile periodical *Marsyas* (1917–19), illustrations for poems and stories were not commonplace in these publications. But the art journals were where writers and visual artists collaborated most closely. It was in these journals that the convictions shared by the young writers and artists of the Expressionist movement were most clearly and conspicuously manifested.

As is the case with the illustrated books of the era, these periodicals, appearing between 1910 and 1922, continued a tradition established around the turn of the century. There is no better standard by which to evaluate them than *Pan* (1895–1900), the most elaborate German artistic-literary Jugendstil periodical; *Jugend* (Youth, 1896–1940), which gave its name to Jugendstil; and *Simplicissimus* (1896–1944). It became the custom around 1900 for artists, especially those with a talent for drawing, to offer their works, which were often satirical, to periodicals such as these as well as to *Ver sacrum* (Sacred spring, 1898–1903), *Insel* (Island, 1899–1902), and later *Licht und Schatten* (Light and shadow, 1910–16). The educated public took pleasure in such editions, and the periodicals in turn attracted their own readership alongside that of the illustrated family magazines.

Nineteen eleven marked the advent of literary Expressionism. It was the year that van Hoddis published his famous poem "Weltende" (End of the world), shortly after his friends in the circle



176

177

177
Cover of *Der Anbruch* 2, no. 10/11 (1919), with a reproduction of Erich Heckel's woodcut *Zwei Männer am Tisch*

178
Lasar Segall
Lithuania, 1889–1957
Die irrenden Frauen, c. 1919
(The wandering women)
Woodcut
6¼ x 4⅝ in. (15.9 x 11.8 cm)
From *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung* 2 (May 1919)
83.1.1655 a
Davis 2745

179
Cover of *Das neue Pathos* 1, no. 1 (1913), with a reproduction of a drawing by Ludwig Meidner

180
Cover of *Saturn* 3, no. 2 (1913), with a reproduction of a woodcut by Ernst Ludwig Kirchner

around Kurt Hiller founded the Neopathetisches Cabaret. This circle became the seminal cell of the Expressionist movement in literature. Walden's founding of *Der Sturm* contributed significantly to these beginnings. The weekly became the mouthpiece of the new literature and art; its publisher, a thirty-two-year-old musician and journalist, the most important promoter of modern art in Germany. From 1911 on he published the woodcuts and drawings of the Brücke artists, the school of Paris, and those of many other artists. *Der Sturm*'s large pages, with their modern design, proclaimed and disseminated the new movement. Marc Chagall, Heckel, Kirchner, Macke, Marc, Pechstein, Pablo Picasso, and Schmidt-Rottluff were the most prominent contributors before the war.

Walden opened an art gallery, and his *Erster deutsche Herbstsalon* (First German autumn salon) of 1913 included the works of the European avant-garde for which he had become the spokesman. Gradually original woodcuts and reproductions came to occupy at least half of each issue. The emphatic print of the masthead and the woodcut beneath established the image of the magazine, which remained the most important and also the most modern organ for Expressionist art and writing into the 1920s. *Sturm* artists such as Rudolf Bauer, Heinrich Campendonk, Jacoba van Heemskerck, Georg Muche, Georg Schrimpf, and Maria Uhden were promoted and supported by Walden. Encompassing a stylistic spectrum that ranged from the early Expressionists to László Moholy-Nagy and Kurt Schwitters, from the Dadaists to the Constructivists, *Der Sturm* became the definitive vehicle for the propagation of modern art through original graphic contributions, reproductions, and texts. A new genre of periodical had come into being. Almost a quarter of the more than one hundred literary and artistic magazines that appeared between 1910 and 1922 published a mixture of literary and graphic contributions. Crucial to the propagation of Expressionism in their day, they remain primary sources of the movement's graphic art. Today *Der Sturm* remains a unique document of Expressionism, in whose pages one can still discover, in the midst of the well-known Expressionists, many an unfamiliar or forgotten artist.

Franz Pfemfert's weekly magazine, *Die Aktion*, began publication the year after *Der Sturm*, and both continued appearing until 1932. Like *Der Sturm*, *Die Aktion* published graphic contributions—original woodcuts and reproductions—on a regular basis. By contrast, however, it developed a more political bent. "Maler bauen Barrikaden" (Painters erect barricades) was the title of a famous feature article by Rubiner published in the summer of 1914, a title that underscored the political involvement of artists. The graphic art in *Die Aktion*, especially that published between 1917 and 1919, took the form of activist manifestos and appeals to solidarity and the love of mankind. Schiele and Schmidt-Rottluff were among the early contributors, as were Moriz Melzer, Heinrich Richter-Berlin, and others. Felixmüller, Otto Freundlich, Karl Jakob Hirsch, and Georg Tappert became so-called *Aktion* artists, whose works Pfemfert exhibited in his gallery.

Der Sturm and *Die Aktion* were combative journals that opened the way for modern art between 1912 and 1918 against the resistance of conventional art journals such as *Der Kunstwart* (The curator)

LASAR SEGALL: Die irrenden Frauen, Originalholzschnitt

178

1919

NEUE BLÄTTER FÜR KUNST UND DICHTUNG

DIE ZWEI TAGE DES SIEGFRIED REICH

Von Will Erich Peuckert

Aus einem Romanentwurf

Je länger Siegfried Reich in sich grub, ganz untergetaucht in die Erlebnisse der letzten Tage, umso größer wurde der Zwischenraum in seinem Hirn, als liege dies schon Jahre hinter ihm. Er wußte fast nichts mehr von den Wirrnissen, die der 28. Oktober in seinem Hirn angezündet hatte, und wenn er doch einmal daran dachte, blieb er so ruhig, als höre er zum ersten Male fremde Menschen von fremden Dingen reden. Er fühlte nichts in sich, das ihm Schmerz bereitete. — Je nun, — so oder so, — ein Ende mußte das alles doch einmal nehmen, und ob er wieder ewig Matten flocht oder nach dumpfem, besinnungslosem Brüten eines Tages plötzlich starb, — — wie sollte er das entscheiden!

Einmal, wahrscheinlich aus Versehen, besuchte ihn der Gefängnisgeistliche, — (ein Protestant). Er wußte wohl nicht, daß Reich Jude war, — und Siegfried Reich hütete sich, es ihm zu sagen, — denn es tat ihm unendlich wohl, wieder Worte zu hören von einem Menschen, der nicht gefangen saß. — Sie sprachen lange miteinander.

Von Abraham und Mose, David und Elia, — aber kaum ein Wort über Jesu. Jedesmal, wenn der Geistliche das Gespräch so lenken wollte, verstand es Siegfried Reich, neue Fragen aufzurühren, — und sie rühmten beide mit heißem Herzen die Männer Gottes. Es tat Reich gut wie Balsam, so von denen zu hören, die schon lange wie Väter bei ihm waren.

„Ob ich auch zweifacher Mörder wäre, wenn man mich statt Siegfried Samuel geheißen hätte?" fragte er zitternd, da eine neue Erkenntnis jach in ihm aufquoll. Und er ließ es sich nicht nehmen, — denn er dachte, vielleicht verkaufte ich dann als Händler Aktien oder schriebe für eine Zeitung, fern von den Nöten und der Bangnis meiner Seele.

O du, — — verbranntes Herze, — du, —

Weil dieses Geschick, so waehgerüttelt, sich auf ihn stürzte, verlor er alle Farbe in seinem Gesicht und fror in der ganzen Qual seiner Verdammnis. Der Geistliche verspürte, wie Grausen über Siegfried Reich herfiel und las ihm die Geschichte aus dem Lukasevangelium vor, die in die lauchzenden Worte des Erbarmens mündet.

Ein Mensch hatte zween Söhne; und der jüngste unter ihnen sprach zu dem Vater: Gib mir, Vater, das Teil der Güter, das mir gehört. Und er teilte ihnen das Gut. Und nicht lange danach sammelte der jüngste Sohn alles zusammen und zog ferne über Land; und daselbst brachte er sein Gut um mit Prassen.

Da er nun all das Seine verzehrt hatte, ward eine große Teuerung durch dasselbige Land, und er fing an zu darben. Und ging hin und hängte sich an einen Bürger desselbigen Landes, der schickte ihn auf seinen Acker, der Säue zu hüten. Und er begehrte, seinen Bauch zu füllen mit Trebern, die die Säue aßen, und niemand gab sie ihm.

Da schlug er in sich und sprach: Wie viele

179

Das neue Pathos

Beiträge von: Stefan Zweig, Emile Verhaeren, Richard Dehmel, Jakob Steinhardt, Gottfried Benn, Rudolf Leonhard, Franz Werfel, Ernst Lissauer, Robert R. Schmidt, Ludwig Meidner, Else Lasker-Schüler, Hanns Ehrenbaum-Degele, Walter Hasenclever, Paul Zech

Saturn

Eine Monatsschrift, herausgegeben von Hermann Meister und Herbert Großberger

E. L. Kirchner: Holzschnitt

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Bildbeigaben: E. L. Kirchner: Holzschnitt; Herbert Großberger: Frau St.

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Saturnverlag Hermann Meister, Heidelberg-Leipzig

180

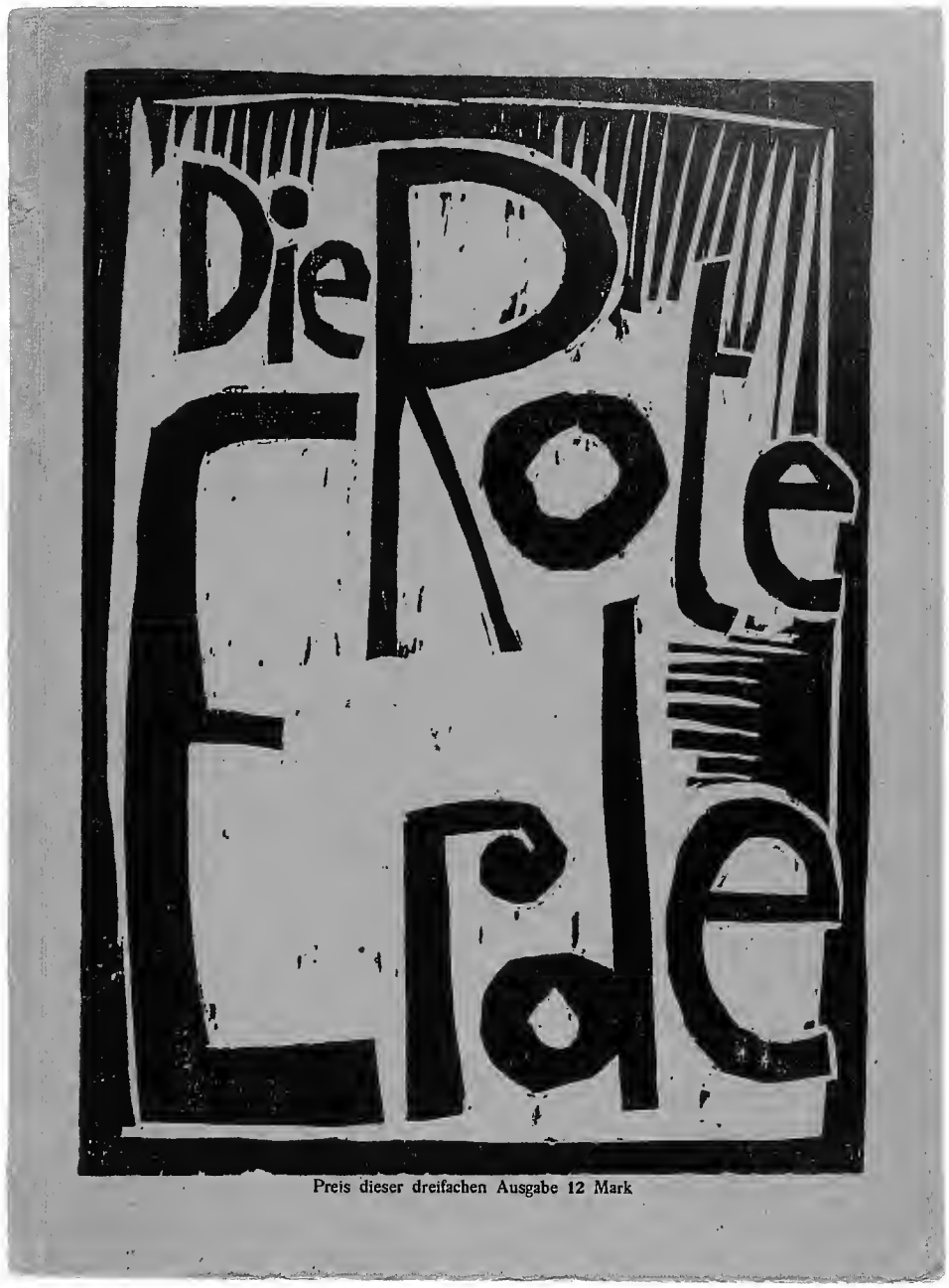
and *Der Cicerone* (The cicerone). A host of journals came into being after 1917, modeled after these publications, though certain early periodicals with characters all their own also appeared: above all *Das neue Pathos* (The new pathos, 1913–14; see fig. 179), which published Expressionist texts and original graphic contributions by Heckel, Meidner, Steinhardt, and others on handmade papers and the still-famous *Revolution* (1913), with the woodcut of the same title by Richard Seewald on its cover (fig. 25). In contrast to these, the linoleum cuts and woodcuts in certain smaller-format monthly literary journals—*Saturn* (1911–20; fig. 180); *Bücherei Maiandros* (Maiandros library, 1912–14); and *Die weissen Blätter* (The white papers, 1913–21), an important periodical for literary Expressionism, for example—were of marginal significance.

During the war three periodicals appeared with the express purpose of publishing original graphic work. *Zeit-Echo* (Echo of the times, 1914–17), published small-format graphic works by Feininger, Klee, Kokoschka, Edwin Scharff, Adolf Schinnerer, Max Unold, and many others, while Paul Cassirer's *Der Bildermann* (The picture man, 1916) printed full-page lithographs by Barlach and Kokoschka and more often works by Grossmann, Liebermann, and Slevogt. The same was true of its predecessor, *Kriegszeit* (Wartime, 1914–15).

During the war *Der neue Pan* (The new Pan, 1917) attempted to revive the tradition of *Pan*. The purpose of the publication was to bring together art, literature, philosophy, and the history of art. Only one issue of *Der neue Pan* actually appeared, but the concept of the journal was carried on in *Genius* (1919–21). This periodical for "art of the past and art that is becoming" existed to integrate Expressionism into "the celebration of art," art already realized to the fullest. Two other periodicals—*Marsyas* and *Eos* (1918–21), a "quarterly publication for poetry and art"—had the same purpose. But Expressionism demanded action, change, rebellion: deeds. Thus neither *Der Bildermann* nor *Genius* could become quintessential Expressionist journals.

More exciting was the flood of magazines that began with the end of the war. In these the late phase of Expressionism observed its great triumph. In a certain sense they revived the tradition of *Die Aktion*, which after the November Revolution of 1918 gradually became a purely agitative leftist organ, with politics forcing poetry and graphic art into the background. These new avant-garde periodicals debuted in quick succession between 1918 and 1922, presenting an unusual unity of graphic art and literature: the ideas of the authors joined with the hopes of the painters for a rejuvenation of the world in the spirit of brotherhood.

Menschen (Mankind; see fig. 19) was the name of a large-format periodical that began publication in 1918 in Dresden. Each issue was printed on a different colored paper, and the style of the journal was characterized by the powerful woodcuts of Felixmüller and his friends. The daring gestures of Expressionist art and the initiatives for the unification of mankind set forth in the new literature can be studied in the impressive collection of material here. Also in Dresden there appeared between 1918 and 1921 *Neue Blätter fur Kunst und Dichtung* (New paper for art and poetry; see fig. 178), in whose composition the late Expressionist graphic artists were active. Careful study of this magazine and others



181

181
Karl Schmidt-Rottluff
Germany, 1884–1976
Untitled (cover), 1919
Electrotype
11 x 7⅞ in. (27.9 x 20.0 cm)
From *Die rote Erde* 1, no. 8/10 (1920)
83.1.972

reveals the vast network of personal relationships among authors and graphic artists that characterized the late Expressionist period. Eberz, Felixmüller, Hirsch, César Klein, Schrimpf, Tappert, and others contributed to the many journals. One can find their names in *Die Bücherkiste* (The book chest, 1919–21), in the Kiel magazine *Die schöne Rarität* (The beautiful rarity, 1917–19), in the Darmstadt *Tribunal* (1919–21), and in *Münchner Blätter für Dichtung und Graphik* (Munich paper for poetry and graphics, 1919). *Der Weg* (The way, 1919; see fig. 70) and *Die Sichel* (The sickle, 1919–21), which the poet Georg Britting published with his friend the painter Josef Achmann, are also rich in woodcuts, most of them printed from the block.

Its large-format reproduction of the best woodcuts and lithographs makes *Der Anbruch* (Commencement, 1918–22; fig. 177), published by I. B. Neumann and devoted entirely to graphic art, one of the most attractive late Expressionist journals. Turning its pages, one can

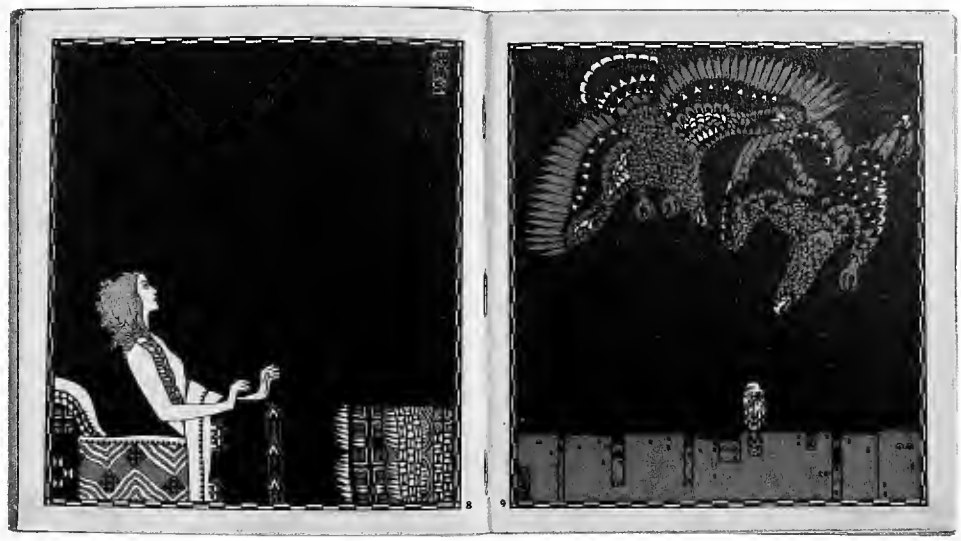
ascertain how ideally Expressionist woodcuts were suited to reproduction. The few issues that were published are rarities among such periodicals. This is also the case for *Ararat* (1919–21), published in Munich by Hans Goltz. Among the later journals, two interesting and valuable Hamburg publications should also be mentioned: *Die rote Erde* (The red earth, 1919–23; see fig. 181), edited by the painter, graphic artist, and poet Karl Lorenz, and *Kündung* (Annunciation, 1921; see fig. 24). Impressive prints, especially woodcuts, by otherwise unknown Hamburg artists can be found in the former. The same artists were involved with the latter, which has remained memorable above all for the contributions of Schmidt-Rottluff, who provided woodcuts not only for the cover but for selected texts and initials as well.

With the exception of *Der Sturm* and *Die Aktion*, all the Expressionist periodicals were short-lived. Most existed a year at most and seem to have been printed in small editions, hence their rarity. In their immediacy and forcefulness of expression the graphic contributions are completely in keeping with the poetry and prose they illustrate. There is relative similarity of appearance among them, and yet they are quite distinct. They attest to the activities of artists and poets and bear witness, in the wake of a devastating war, to the hopes of painters and graphic artists in the period following the revolution of 1918.

Few of these hopes were realized. The end of Expressionism signaled the end of most of the new artistic-literary periodicals as well, publications that had constituted a highly diversified presence in the literary marketplace of 1920. Their collection and careful study offer an important means of access to the art of Expressionism and a key to understanding it in the context of the movement as a whole.

182
Conrad Felixmüller
Germany, 1897–1977
Q–R, 1925
Woodcut with watercolor
$7^{13}/_{16}$ x $9^{13}/_{16}$ in. (19.9 x 24.9 cm)
From *ABC: Ein geschütteltes, geknütteltes Alphabet in Bildern mit Versen von Londa und Conrad Felixmüller*
83.1.656 k
Davis 617.11

182



183

183
Carl Otto Czeschka
Austria, 1878–1960
Untitled (woman dreaming of birds), c. 1905
Color lithograph
5¼ x 4 1/16 in. (13.3 x 11.9 cm)
From Franz Keim, *Die Nibelungen: Dem deutschen Volke wiedererzählt*
83.1.59 a, b
Davis 459.1

There were to be no imitators of Expressionism in the Weimar Republic or in the years that followed. The abundance of artistic production that characterized Expressionism disappeared; the desire of artists to contribute graphics to periodicals was in large part lost. One journal nevertheless preserved the heritage of Expressionism until it was proscribed in 1936. That periodical, *Der Querschnitt* (The cross section, 1921–36), initially published as a gallery journal by art dealer Alfred Flechtheim, who was deeply involved in the Expressionist movement, developed into a monthly magazine conveying remarkable insight into the art, literature, theater, film, dance, and sports of the 1920s. In this context Expressionism continued to be represented: new paintings and graphic works were reproduced, exhibitions discussed, and news concerning artists and museums reported. These communications were delivered with the same degree of engagement and enthusiasm that one associates with the early Expressionist periodicals. Yet the conclusion that the productive phase of Expressionism had been replaced by Neue Sachlichkeit (new objectivity) and its program of social criticism cannot be avoided. The new movement coincided with the introduction of new techniques for reproducing art. There was no longer a significant place for the original graphic art that had so powerfully marked the style of Expressionist books and journals. As a result, this moment in the history of art, when a plenitude of artistic talent yielded an amazing panorama of possibilities for development and expression, seems all the more important today. Through the illustrated books and literary-artistic journals of the period, it is possible to explore the extent to which Expressionism constituted the German contribution to modernism, to the art of the twentieth century.

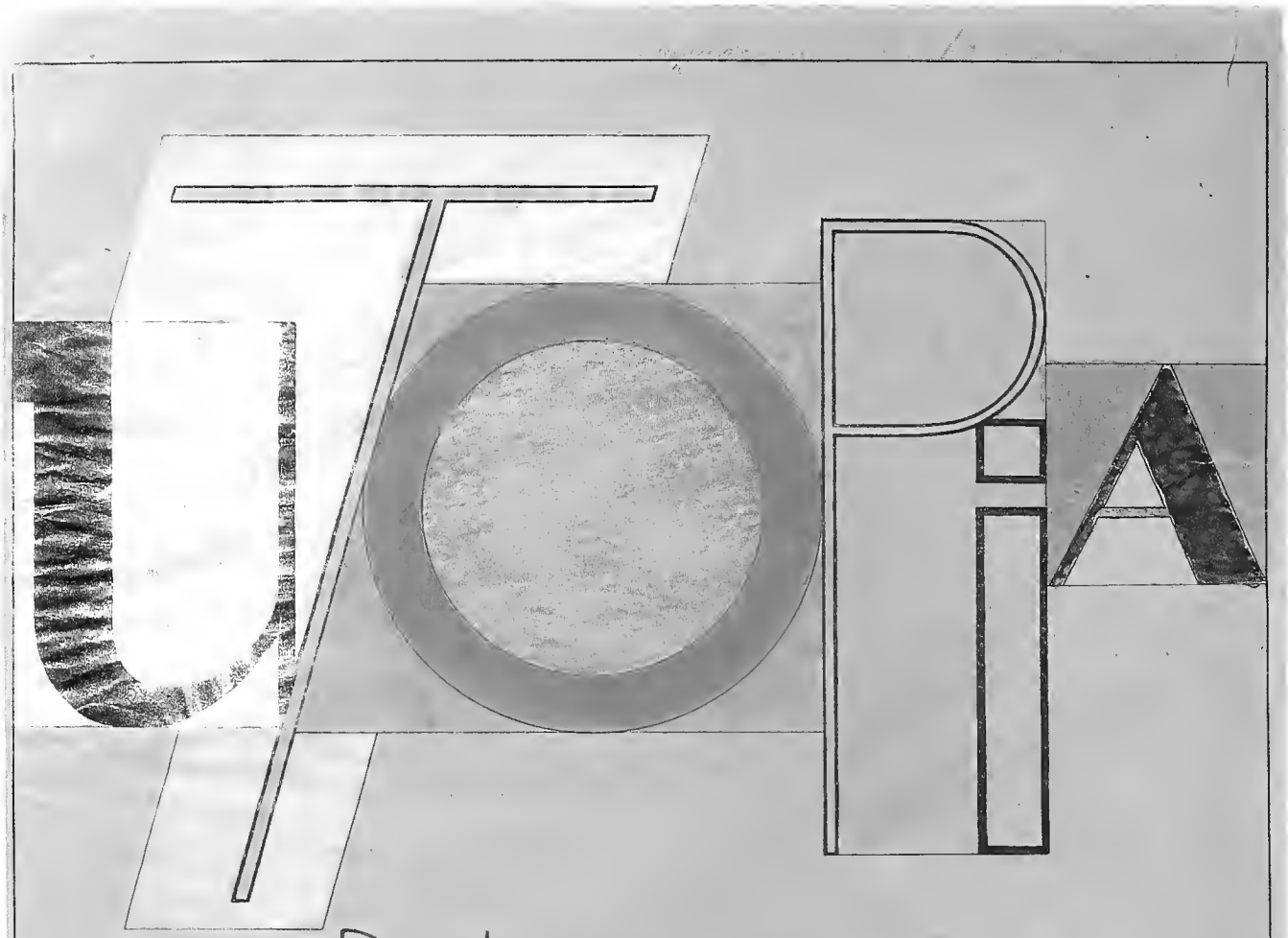
Translated from the German by Harriet Watts

NOTES

1 For this reason it is impossible, in my opinion, to designate 1907 as the beginning of Expressionist book illustration, as does Lothar Lang in his richly illustrated and documented book *Die expressionistische Buchillustration in Deutschland, 1907–1927* (Lucerne and Frankfurt am Main: Verlag C. J. Bucher, 1975), a pioneering study of this aspect of Expressionism (see p. 41).

2 Annemarie Dube-Heynig, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Graphik* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1961), p. 8.

3 Erhart Kaestner, *Der Malerbuch des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Stammheim, 1968), p. 28.



DOKUMENTE DER WIRKLICHKEIT

II

The Embrace of Expressionism: The Vagaries of Its Reception in America

Stephanie Barron

The Armory Show of 1913 is regarded as the first large-scale international exhibition of avant-garde art in America, yet its organizers included only a few examples of German Expressionist art, even though they presented dozens of examples of French art created at the same time. This is all the more curious since it was the experience of viewing the 1912 Sonderbund exhibition in Cologne that inspired the organizers to mount very soon thereafter an equally ambitious international exhibition in America. The show in Cologne included French, Dutch, and German art of the avant-garde, but the Armory Show (see fig. 185) included only one painting each by Wassily Kandinsky and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, as well as two sculptures by Wilhelm Lehmbruck. Artist-organizer Walt Kuhn not only visited the Sonderbund exhibition but also traveled to Berlin and Munich, where he met with eminent dealers Hans Goltz and Heinrich Thannhauser.[1] Yet Kuhn did not return to the States with any other examples of Blaue Reiter or Brücke painting, to say nothing of works by other Expressionist artists, many of whom were represented in Cologne. Thus, from the very first major avant-garde exhibition in America, the role of the German Expressionists was acknowledged only nominally.

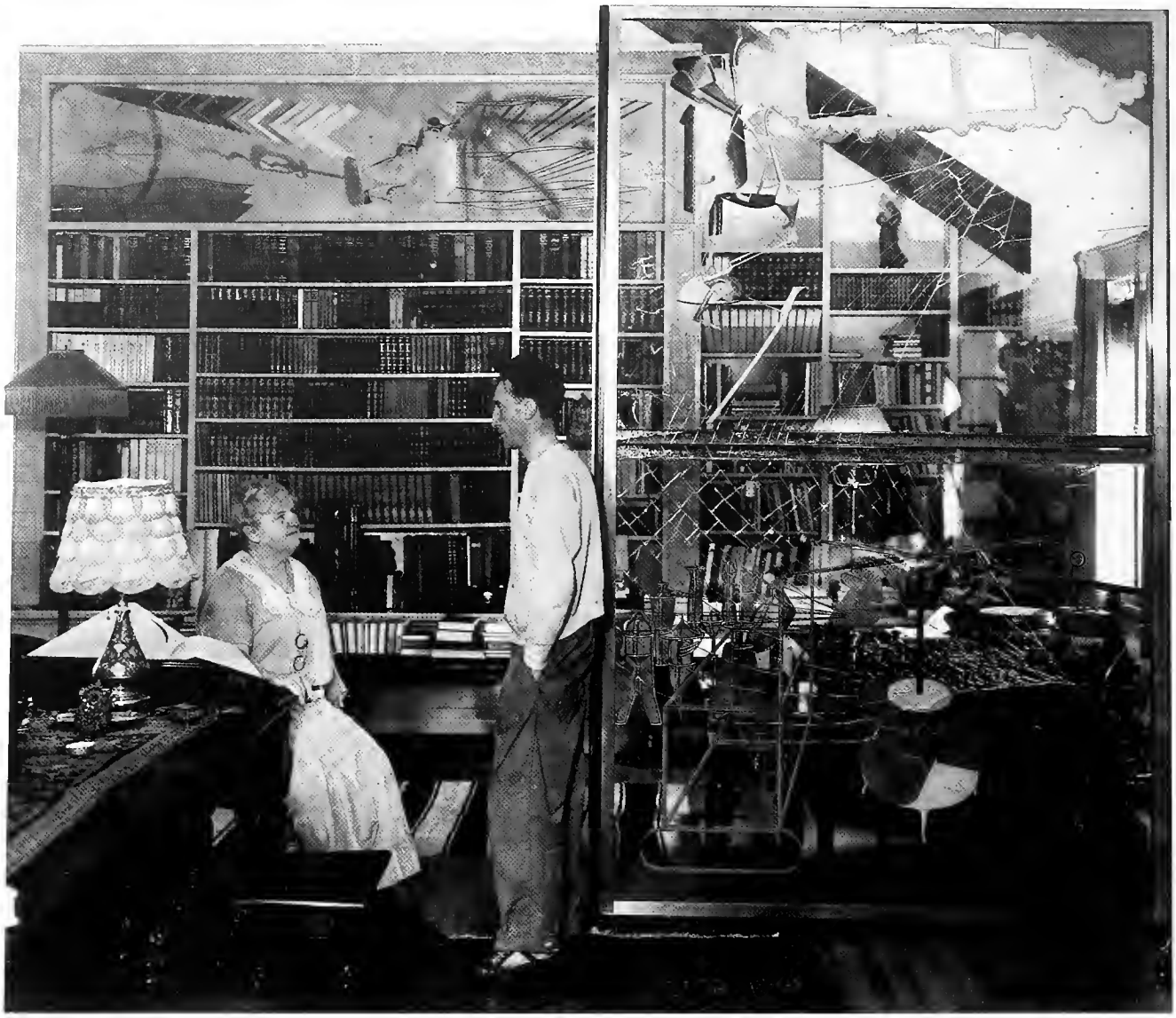
The German Expressionist works in the Armory Show were Kandinsky's *Improvisation (No. 27)* (1912), which was sold to Alfred Stieglitz and then given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Kirchner's *Wirtsgarten in Steglitz* (Garden restaurant in Steglitz, 1911), which was returned to Goltz. Lehmbruck's *Stehende weibliche Figur* (Standing woman, 1910), a plaster, was destroyed after the 1916 casting (the bronze is in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York). His stone *Knieende* (Kneeling woman, 1911) remained unsold; today it is in the collection of the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo.

Despite these inauspicious beginnings, Expressionism did find support in America. The history of the gradual appreciation of the movement in this country involves a number of individuals, both German émigrés and native Americans, who shared an enthusiasm for contemporary German art. Through their writings, through the exhibitions they organized, and through their acquisitions for important public and private collections, these individuals introduced Expressionism to museums, collectors, critics, and the public.

184
Oskar Schlemmer
Germany, 1888–1943
Utopia: Dokumente der Wirklichkeit, 1921
(Utopia: Documents of reality)
Lithograph with watercolor and metallic paint
12¼ x 9½ in. (31.2 x 24.2 cm)
Cover of book with lithographs by Johannes Itten
83.1.93 k
Davis 2506

185
Installation view of the Armory Show, New York, 1913

185



186
Katherine Dreier and Marcel Duchamp in Katherine Dreier's living room, 1936–37

While evidently the organizers of the Armory Show did not respond favorably to modern German art, an American collector traveling in Berlin, Katherine Dreier (see fig. 186), was captivated by what she saw at Herwarth Walden's gallery, Der Sturm. Along with Dada artist Marcel Duchamp, she dedicated herself to the exhibition, acquisition, and dissemination of the most progressive art. Under the aegis of her organization, the Société Anonyme, she introduced works by "large numbers of unknown artists to New York, especially German artists whose works she found during her frequent trips to Europe. Der Sturm was her chief source, and she borrowed many dozens of paintings, drawings, and prints, and a few sculptures, planning to sell them and return the money to the artists or their galleries—hopes seldom realized."[2]

Between 1920 and 1926 the Société Anonyme organized thirty-five exhibitions, including monographic presentations of the work of Heinrich Campendonk, Kandinsky, and Paul Klee, which were their first solo shows in America. The organization also sponsored a group show of German Expressionist art.[3] In 1926 Dreier undertook an extremely ambitious project, the mounting of an international exhibition of progressive art at the Brooklyn Museum. She and Duchamp invited 106 artists

representing nineteen countries to participate with more than three hundred works. In contrast to the Armory Show, which was certainly in Dreier's mind, the Brooklyn show, *International Exhibition of Modern Art*, included works by many of the leading avant-garde artists in Germany, including Willi Baumeister, Carl Buchheister, Campendonk, Otto Gutfreund, Heinrich Hoerle, Johannes Itten, Kandinsky, Edmund Kesting, Klee, Franz Marc, Johannes Molzahn, Gabriele Münter, Hans Nitzshke, Hugo Scheiber, Kurt Schwitters, Franz Seiwert, Kate Steinitz, Fritz Stuckenberg, and Friedrich Vordemberge-Gildewart.

The Brooklyn show explored modernism more fully than any previous American exhibition, devoting equal attention to the contributions of German, Russian, Hungarian, and Dutch artists, while including the standard homage to the French. Critical reaction to the exhibition revealed "a dearth of real understanding of the intentions of the modern artists and a remarkably low level of perceptivity. Steeped in the writings of Clive Bell and Roger Fry and nurtured on the modern French aesthetic tradition, the vast majority of the critics proved incapable of assessing the works as anything more than pleasing formal exercises."[4]

Although the exhibition was accompanied by provocative lectures and selections from the exhibition traveled to Manhattan, Buffalo, and Toronto, it is difficult to assess its impact. As art historian Robert Herbert has written, "It was reviewed in all major New York dailies and in the national art press, but the evolution of modern art in America appears not to have been accelerated nor even sidetracked by the show."[5] On another level the exhibition had a significant effect, since most of the works included were ultimately acquired by Dreier for her collection or for the collection of the Société Anonyme, most of which was bequeathed to Yale University.

187
Cover of the catalogue of the twenty-sixth Carnegie International Exhibition, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, October 13 through December 4, 1927
83.1.340

The annual Carnegie International Exhibition in Pittsburgh (see fig. 187), begun in 1896, sought to show a range of European modern art side by side with American achievements. In its early years the exhibition did not feature avant-garde artists, tending instead toward more established, noncontroversial figures. In 1924, when Homer Saint-Gaudens assumed the directorship of the Carnegie Institute, he began a new system of information gathering to assemble the exhibition. For fifteen years, from 1924 to 1939, he hired a German adviser, Charlotte Weidler, whose job was to recommend artists and works to be seen by the visiting American committee and then to arrange for the collection and transport of the chosen works. Weidler was a scholar and art critic for the newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt* and a contributor to the periodical *Das Kunstblatt*.

Correspondence between Weidler and Saint-Gaudens, recently published by the Archives of American Art, reveals the struggle to continue to include German artists in the International after the Nazis seized power. In the thirties not only were the Expressionists purged from teaching positions and their works banned from museums, but dealers were also proscribed from showing their art. Through her unstinting efforts Weidler was able to continue to locate work and send it to the States for inclusion in the exhibition. The correspondence sheds an interesting light on the political nature of the International. A sense of urgency underlies Weidler's letters:

I pray all day that [you] receive all money for the next International. It is very important for the German section that [you] yourself come to Germany [1933].[6]

All German painters thanks you very much, that you make the German section and the important International. . . . It would be very nice, if you would be here and you can hear what they say. For most of them, are your exhibitions the onliest possibility to show [their] work. These are Schmidt-Rottluff, Beckmann, Kokoschka, Heckel, Nolde, etc. I will pray that you can continue. If you have difficulties to continue . . . German section, please say, that these exhibitions are the onliest exhibitions for [these] painters, who suffer under the Nazi-Terror [1934].[7]

Unfortunately the impact of the German art chosen for the International during those years was not overwhelming, perhaps because it was difficult to obtain top examples after the Nazis took power. Yet the attitude of the organizers is worth noting. Their inclusion of works by artists who were being persecuted in their native land was as much a political statement as an artistic one.

188
William R. Valentiner

The expatriates and refugees who were intimately involved with the Expressionist artists in Germany played a crucial role in the history of German Expressionism in America. Chief among them, and certainly one of the earliest, was William R. Valentiner (see figs. 188–89), who received museum training in Berlin under Wilhelm von Bode, director general of the Berlin Museum. Valentiner had studied seventeenth-century Dutch art, but he maintained a lively interest in contemporary art. Through the intervention of von Bode, he was offered the position of curator of decorative arts at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1907. This began a lifelong connection with museums in America, including the Detroit Institute of Arts, the Los Angeles County Museum, and the North Carolina Museum of Art, not to speak of the dozens of colleagues he influenced at museums throughout the United States.

For six years Valentiner's curatorial duties at the Metropolitan Museum brought him into contact with some of the major collectors of the day, including industrialists J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller. Valentiner traveled to Europe annually in conjunction with acquisitions for the Metropolitan and its collectors. In 1914 he returned to Europe, and the outbreak of war there forced him to remain in Germany. He enlisted in that year and served in the Bavarian field artillery. He met Franz Marc during their training. The Expressionist artist was killed only a few days after finishing the training. Valentiner wrote in his diary:

I found time to ask [Marc] about these [German Expressionist] artistic endeavors in Germany, the subject of an impassioned conflict for some time before the war. Because of my professional activity in America in the years preceding the war, I had almost no contact with German artists. Thus I had never seen any paintings by Marc or

by his friend August Macke, whose death at the beginning of the war had deeply distressed Marc. . . . I never had the opportunity to express to this master how deeply the spirit of his unique art moved me. What fantasy and, at the same time, what logical constructions could be discerned in Marc's creations—how consistent this development had been from his impressionist beginnings to the abstract compositions of his last years![8]

Following the armistice, Valentiner returned to Berlin. He was acquainted with many artists and writers there, and he became one of the founders of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (working council for art), one of the short-lived radical artists' groups that emerged following the November Revolution of 1918.

At the invitation of the collector Joseph Widener, Valentiner returned to America in 1921, specifically to catalogue Widener's collection of Old Master paintings. The reception he encountered in America was quite different from his earlier experience. Collectors and colleagues at the Metropolitan and elsewhere were initially aloof, and only gradually did he become comfortable again in the States.

In 1921 Valentiner received an invitation from the Anderson Galleries in New York to arrange an exhibition of modern German art. The Anderson Galleries had a well-established commitment to modernism. Under the direction of Mitchell Kennerly the gallery had made its rooms available for the showing of the Forum exhibition of American art, a successor to the Armory Show, in 1916, and it maintained a relationship with the Société Anonyme for several years. Valentiner corresponded with the artists in 1922 and selected works for the show, which opened in the fall of 1923. Among the artists included were Campendonk, Karl Caspar, Maria Caspar-Filser, Arthur Degner, Lyonel Feininger, Herbert Garbe, George Grosz, Erich Heckel, W. R. Huth, Max Kaus, Klee, Georg Kolbe, Lehmbruck, Gerhard Marcks, Otto Mueller, Heinrich Nauen, Emil Nolde, Alfred Partikel, Max Pechstein, Franz Radziwell, Emy Roeder, Christian Rohlfs, Edwin Scharff, Richard Scheibe, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Martel Schwichtenberg, Richard Seewald, Renée Sintenis, Milly Steger, and Max Unold.[9]

The exhibition included 272 works; watercolors, drawings, and prints were shown for one week, followed by a presentation of paintings and sculptures. In the introduction to the exhibition catalogue, *A Collection of Modern German Art*, Valentiner wrote:

The exhibition in New York of a collection of modern German art is an experiment. Many are entirely unacquainted with the German phase of the modern art movement; many are hostile to it. It is indeed very difficult to understand the artistic spirit of a country that has been cut off from the world for years and has developed an art more indigenous than almost ever before in its history. Courage to hold this exhibition has been given by the well-known lack of prejudice and the broad understanding of American friends of art.[10]

189
Karl Schmidt-Rottluff
Germany, 1884–1976
Bildnis Valentiner 1, 1923
(Portrait of Valentiner 1)
Woodcut
19 9/16 x 15 1/2 in. (49.7 x 39.3 cm)
M.82.287.60
Davis 2573

He went on to compare the situation of France in 1870, at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, with that of contemporary Germany. Politically France was in turmoil at that time, yet art flourished. Valentiner understood that Americans would have trouble comprehending the new and often raw experiences offered by Expressionist art and tried to provide a context for its creation: the war years, suffering, and the socially progressive spirit of postwar Germany. He continued:

> *Let us not be misled if our first impression is unexpected and not always pleasing. . . . This latest movement in art has perhaps even more violent adversaries than those who fought against the masters of the Barbizon School or against the Impressionists. . . . Only he who does not see the extraordinary break of history caused by war, by its antecedents and its consequences, can expect that art, this mirror of nations, will continue in its normal way as it did during preceding generations.*[11]

Not all the artists selected fell into the category of Expressionist, for Valentiner included artists who represented other currents within modern German art as well. For the most part he chose artists who were already well established in Germany and whose works were included in museum collections. He discussed the works and the artists sympathetically and with conviction. The art press was hardly laudatory:

> *It would be inadvisable to search this exhibit for artistic greatness; but anyone should visit it who is not afraid of frank expression of powerful feelings. Indeed, the expression to be found here is more than frank; it is aggressive. . . . These Germans are not concocting pretty and pleasant pictures with an eye on a comfortable public whose art palate is to be profitably tickled; they are perhaps indifferent to any and all public. . . . In this assemblage of post-war art such a hysterical quality predominates.*[12]

That very few of the exhibited works were sold Valentiner considered of incidental importance. Despite the mixed criticism, he wrote, "the main goal has been accomplished, I believe; German art, which for fifty years . . . has not been accepted but has instead been pushed aside by French art, has at last arrived in America and been judged favorable."[13] The artists, though disappointed by the lack of sales, were grateful to Valentiner for the opportunity to exhibit. Several American and European dealers saw the exhibition. Some German dealers had already established branches in New York, including Paul Cassirer and Koelher; others, such as Ferdinand Moeller and I. B. Neumann, were probably encouraged to open branches there.

While this first showing in America was not a propitious beginning for German Expressionism, it did introduce to some the intensity, power, and subject matter of this art. Throughout his life Valentiner kept in contact with the Expressionists, seeking them out during frequent trips to Europe. They in turn sought his help quite actively after Hitler

came to power. For many artists Valentiner was the only link to America, just as Katherine Dreier and Galka Scheyer were for others. The Brücke artist Schmidt-Rottluff always considered Valentiner his greatest friend and felt that Valentiner alone was responsible for awakening American art collectors to the significance of German Expressionism.

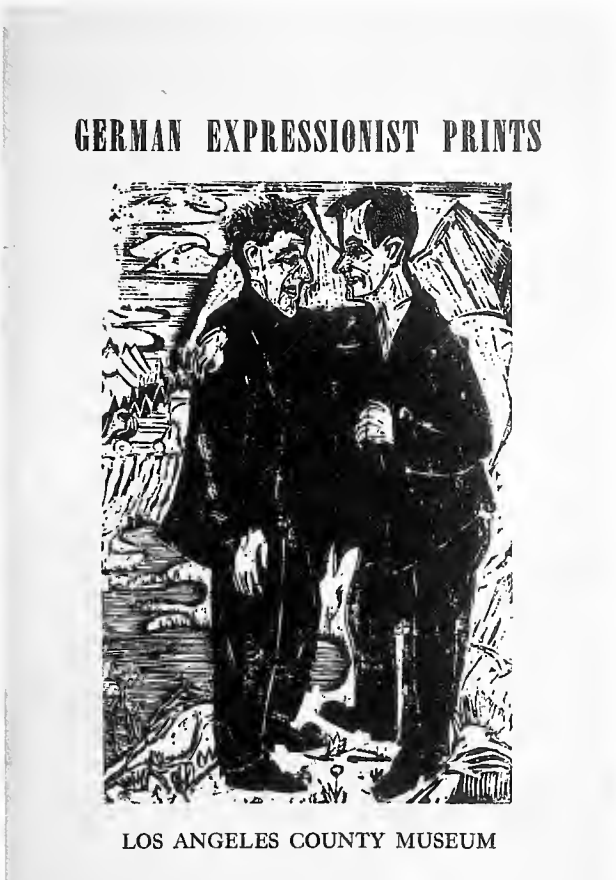
While he was organizing the Anderson Galleries show, Valentiner visited Detroit at the invitation of Ralph H. Booth, who as president of the Detroit Arts Commission was involved in planning a new museum for that city, to study "problems with particular reference to the new building in order that the architects might have the benefit of his experienced judgement."[14] Thus began a relationship with the Detroit Institute of Arts that would last until 1945; first as a consultant and later as the museum's first director, he guided the museum and many of its trustees in the formation of a collection of Old Master works and modern art. On a buying trip to Germany in 1922 Valentiner was accompanied by Booth and his wife, whom he convinced to purchase several examples of German Expressionist art. The Booths continued to buy Expressionist art for a number of years. Valentiner noted, "Mr. Booth is my best pupil among these Americans, who are susceptible to German Expressionism."[15] Valentiner acquired works by Schmidt-Rottluff, Max Beckmann, Kokoschka, Feininger, Nolde, and Kirchner for Detroit well in advance of purchases made by other institutions. His influence in Detroit extended beyond the exhibitions and acquisitions that he arranged for the museum. During his tenure he worked with colleagues who went to other museums instilled with a love for German Expressionism.

One of the most important of these "disciples" was Perry Rathbone, who became director of the City Art Museum of Saint Louis and later director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In 1940 Rathbone wrote the catalogue for an exhibition that already reflected his appreciation for the German Expressionists.[16] His passion for Expressionism and awareness of Beckmann led him to invite the painter to Saint Louis in 1947. This liaison proved to be very important in the history of Expressionism in America, as is discussed later in this essay.

In 1945, after Valentiner reached retirement age, he was offered the job of director-consultant for the art division of the Los Angeles County Museum. While still traveling for the Detroit Institute, Valentiner had become a friend of Clifford Odets. In Los Angeles Odets introduced Valentiner to members of the Hollywood community, many of whom were also German expatriates. At that time the Los Angeles County Museum was a museum of both art and natural history, and Valentiner made great strides in raising the level of professionalism and increasing the emphasis on fine art. He encouraged members of the filmmaking community to collect. Many of them were familiar with the German Expressionists and were receptive to Valentiner's suggestions. There already was an audience sympathetic to Expressionism in Los Angeles, as Galka Scheyer had recognized as early as the late 1920s.

In 1948 Valentiner traveled to Saint Louis to see his former colleague Rathbone and was greatly impressed with the Beckmann exhibition he saw there. He made arrangements for the show to come to Los Angeles, although "he was afraid that the Beckmann paintings would

190
Cover of the catalogue of the exhibition *German Expressionist Prints*, Los Angeles County Museum, October 8 through November 28, 1954



be a shock to many in Los Angeles." He was dubious about the way the governors would react but confident that "it [would] be a feather in our cap for the future that we are among the first to show it."[17] Valentiner personally gave the museum many of the graphics that became the foundation of its collection of German Expressionist prints. In 1954 Ebria Feinblatt, the museum's curator of prints, organized one of the first postwar exhibitions of German Expressionist prints (see fig. 190).[18]

Valentiner ended his museum career in Raleigh, where he was appointed director of the North Carolina Museum of Art in 1955. Three years later he organized a Kirchner memorial exhibition there. By then many of his museum colleagues had recognized that his contribution to the history of modern art rested on his sensitive scholarly writings on German Expressionism and his relentless efforts to acquaint a younger generation of art historians and museum curators with the movement. On the occasion of Valentiner's death later in 1958, E. P. Richardson, then director of the Detroit Institute of Arts, recalled, "in Germany, between 1914 and 1921, he developed his friendship with the German Expressionist painters and sculptors whose works are now world famous and to whose fame his support and writings contributed greatly."[19]

Another German expatriate, beginning in the 1920s, had a long-lasting influence on the exposure of German Expressionist artists in America. Artist-turned-collector-turned-dealer Emmy "Galka" Scheyer (see fig. 191) was a passionate advocate for the art of Lyonel Feininger, Alexej von Jawlensky, Wassily Kandinsky, and Paul Klee. In Germany she had occasionally sold works for Jawlensky; after the early 1920s she began to do the same occasionally for Klee, Kandinsky, and Feininger. It was in 1924, however, when an opportunity arose for Scheyer to travel to America, that her relationship with these artists became formalized. All four authorized her to act on their behalf in the States. They also agreed that 50 percent of any proceeds would be paid to them, 30 percent to Scheyer, and 20 percent to a trust established on their behalf, called the Blue Four. By the end of that year Scheyer had sold only one work in America, but she was not deterred and lectured and wrote widely about "her artists." The first exhibition of the Blue Four was mounted by Scheyer at the Daniel Gallery in New York in 1925. It was not a success, but Scheyer, hoping to improve the response to the artists, traveled west, lecturing as she went. In California she found the response she was seeking.

Between 1925 and 1928 she organized exhibitions and lectured in San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles. She kept in touch with her artists through an extensive correspondence. Among the California exhibitions were traveling shows that were seen at the Oakland Art Gallery, the Braxton Gallery in Hollywood, the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco, and the Los Angeles County Museum. In 1927 Scheyer took up residence in Los Angeles, moving into a house designed by R. M. Schindler. There her proselytizing efforts on behalf of the Blue Four and modern art continued unabated for two decades. The collection of works by the four artists that she assembled is extraordinary, and her unstinting support did much to increase the American public's awareness of their importance. Today the Galka Scheyer collection of the Blue Four is housed at the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, California.

191
Galka Scheyer

Baroness Hilla von Rebay, another European expatriate, was an artist and later a museum director whose early exposure to the German Expressionists yielded results when she emigrated to America in 1927. As a young woman in Germany in the 1910s and 1920s, she was an ardent follower of avant-garde activities. She was greatly influenced by the exhibitions and activities sponsored by Walden. She became friendly with Chagall, Kandinsky, Klee, and Marc through their participation in Der Sturm events. Throughout her life, however, Rebay was drawn to the abstract and spiritual aspects of modern German art. It was the nonobjective aspect of this art that she championed in her subsequent involvement with the Guggenheim family, and she was instrumental in the formation and direction of the Museum of Non-Objective Painting. Of all the museums in New York, only the Museum of Non-Objective Painting had a strong identification with contemporary European art. Rebay's acquisitions for the museum were the basis for the collection of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, which has continued to honor its heritage by presenting many exhibitions of northern and central European modern art.

While the pioneering efforts of some American collectors acknowledged the achievements of modern German art and the Expressionists in particular, there were several other collectors of avant-garde art whose collections and reputations are remarkable, if not legendary, yet who were seemingly ignorant of or indifferent to German Expressionism. Lawyer-collector John Quinn, who, it can be argued, built the finest collection of avant-garde painting and sculpture in the United States during the 1910s, collected French and American artists almost exclusively.[20] The Stein family—Gertrude, Leo, Michael, and Sarah—never bought any works by German Expressionists, although they were in Europe during the early decades of the century. They collected exclusively in the area of modern French painting, amassing sizable holdings of works by Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, and others. Perhaps more surprising is the case of the Cone sisters of Baltimore. Claribel and Etta Cone, who were friendly with the Steins, shared their interest in collecting French art. Claribel was a physician, fluent in German, who spent the years 1909 to 1915 in Munich, exactly during the development of the Blaue Reiter. It is curious that either she had no awareness of the radical activity of Kandinsky and Marc and the impact that they were having on German avant-garde art or that she had no interest in it. Contemporary German art also had no appeal for the collector from Merion, Pennsylvania, Albert C. Barnes, whose taste also ran to masterpieces of the French school.

As an advocate for modernism, there can be no doubt that Paul Sachs, professor of art at Harvard University, was one of the most influential people in America. Sachs believed that his students should not only have a sound grounding in art of the past but also be knowledgeable about the art of their time. From his appointment in 1915 and for thirty-five years thereafter, his teaching, advice, and influence helped to guide the founding of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston, and the Busch-Reisinger Museum at Harvard and the development of dozens of other American museums. This is not the place for an extended discussion of Sachs's role

192
Alfred H. Barr, Jr., 1929

in American museum history; it has been considered only insofar as it relates to the impact and spread of Expressionism.

Through the perseverance of three Harvard sophomores the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art was founded in 1928. It would turn out to be the model for the first museum in America devoted to modern art. The students—Lincoln Kirstein, John Walker, and Edward Warburg—sought to exhibit contemporary works of art that the Fogg Museum at Harvard would not show. Sachs was one of the faculty sponsors and took an active role in this advisory capacity. It is likely that Sachs's interest in the project stemmed from his experiences with a former graduate student, Alfred Barr, Jr., who was then teaching modern art at Wellesley College. During the first year of its eight-year history, the Harvard Society mounted monthly exhibitions of works drawn from dealers and private collectors in the Northeast and sponsored lectures and performances.[21]

It was also at Harvard in 1903 that the only museum in America devoted exclusively to Germanic art was founded. The Germanic Museum's collection included full-scale plaster casts of medieval monuments, reproductions, and books. A new building for the museum, paid for by Adolphus Busch, was begun in 1914, on the eve of the First World War. It was hardly a propitious moment, and the new museum was not completed until 1922. Sachs recommended Charles Kuhn, who was then studying Catalan Romanesque art at Harvard, as the new curator for the museum. In 1930 Kuhn was appointed despite his lack of experience in Germanic studies. His first and most profound change was to amend the acquisition policy to include original works of art. On his first trip to Germany on behalf of the museum, Kuhn acquired Rudolf Belling's sculpture *Bildnis des Kunsthändlers Alfred Flechtheim* (Portrait of the art dealer Alfred Flechtheim, 1927). Through his determined efforts the museum acquired Beckmann's *Selbstbildnis im Smoking* (Self-portrait in tuxedo, 1927); *Der Bettler* (The beggar, 1930), the first Barlach sculpture to enter an American museum; Erich Heckel's *Genesende (Triptychon)* (Convalescent woman [triptych], 1912–13); and presented exhibitions of works by Käthe Kollwitz (1933); Grosz (1935); Otto Dix (1936); Feininger (1938); Klee, Mies van der Rohe, Beckmann (1940); Marc (1941); and many others before they were well known. The Busch-Reisinger Museum, as it is known today, is still devoted to the art of Germany and contains, in addition to a fine collection, important archival resources.

During 1927–28 Alfred Barr (see fig. 192) left his teaching post at Wellesley for one year to travel through Europe and observe firsthand contemporary developments abroad. He maintained a lively correspondence with Sachs recounting his experiences in France, Germany, and the Soviet Union. Upon his return he delivered a series of lectures on contemporary art at Wellesley. It is not surprising that in 1929, when the founders of the Museum of Modern Art in New York asked Sachs to recommend a director, he suggested Barr.

Most histories of modern art focus on the examples set forth by the Museum of Modern Art during its early years and consequently reflect the attitudes and tastes of its first director. An examination of the museum's acquisitions, exhibitions, and publications during his

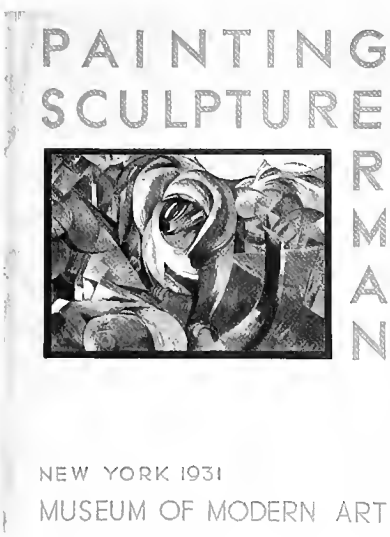
tenure shows clearly that Barr's predilection lay with abstract art. Writing in *What Is Modern Painting?* Barr identified abstraction as the greatest achievement of twentieth-century art. He traced a linear formalist development from Paul Cézanne to Picasso and on through the decades, championing qualities of line, color, and form independent of content. His were powerful arguments, supported by detailed catalogues and ambitious educational programs.

In 1931 Barr mounted the second American museum exhibition devoted exclusively to modern German art, *German Painting and Sculpture* (see figs. 193–94).[22] It was drawn from nineteen private collections in America and Europe, three galleries, and nine German museums. The show included current avant-garde art from Germany but eschewed German Impressionists such as Lovis Corinth, Max Liebermann, and Max Slevogt. Also excluded by Barr were those artists who followed directly in the pattern of Matisse—such as Rudolf Levy, Oskar Moll, and Hans Purrmann—and the pure abstractionists most closely associated with the Bauhaus, for example, Kandinsky and László Moholy-Nagy. Feininger was omitted because, according to Barr's catalogue, his work had recently been shown by the museum. Jean Arp and Max Ernst were also omitted; Barr identified them as belonging to the School of Paris. He described the parameters of the exhibition as 1905 until the First World War, thus establishing a frame of reference that has remained in place for decades.

One of the problems of the 1931 exhibition was that it failed to make a statement about Expressionism through the selection of artists; instead it was a somewhat diluted survey of Expressionism, the

193
Cover of the catalogue of the exhibition *German Painting and Sculpture*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, March 12 through April 26, 1931

194
Installation view of the exhibition *German Painting and Sculpture*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, March 12 through April 26, 1931



193

194

195
James Plaut, 1940

Bauhaus, and more academic strains in modern German art. In the catalogue Barr compared the works in the exhibition to French art: "To appreciate German art, it is necessary to realize that much of it is very different from either French or American art. . . . Most German artists are romantic, they seem to be less interested in form and style as ends in themselves and more in feeling, in emotional values and even in moral, religious, social and philosophical considerations."[23]

Barr's implication is that German art is not as pure as French or abstract art. He saw Expressionist art as antithetical to the French predilection for pure line, color, and form. In the exhibition celebrating the Modern's tenth anniversary, *Art in Our Time*, he included Georges Rouault in the Expressionist section with this startling comment: "Rouault, although a Frenchman, is the greatest of the artists called 'Expressionist,' a term usually associated with German art."[24]

The Francocentric orientation of most histories of modern art and most collecting patterns in America can certainly be traced to the philosophies and practices of the Museum of Modern Art and Alfred Barr. For many decades the Modern and its collection have been the standards by which artists, critics, scholars, collectors, curators, and dealers have judged modern art. That the museum's attitude toward Expressionism had not changed by 1984 was evident in the reinstallation of the collection that year. Critic Hilton Kramer wrote on that occasion:

> *Has a decision been made to downgrade the entire Expressionist movement? It would seem so. Thus, no room has been found in the galleries devoted to the European masters for the greatest German painter of the century, who is also the culminating figure of the Expressionist movement—Max Beckmann. . . . Someday the entire subject of Expressionism is going to have to be reconsidered at the museum. Elsewhere in the art world it is a particularly hot subject just now, but word of this development does not seem to have reached the museum's Department of Painting and Sculpture.*[25]

During the decades when Barr was espousing his formalist concept of modern art, there were a few lone voices that called out for an appreciation of representational art that reflected the conditions of contemporary society. In the 1930s another institution was formed with the goal of disseminating modern and contemporary art. In 1936 a group of five Boston citizens organized an associate chapter of the Museum of Modern Art with the intention of presenting exhibitions but with no goal of forming a permanent collection. In 1938 Sachs again suggested a director for a new institution; hence the appointment of James Plaut, a graduate of Harvard, as director of the Boston Institute of Modern Art (the institution had voted to drop its affiliation with New York's MOMA).[26]

Plaut (see fig. 195) conceived an ambitious schedule of exhibitions during his initial years at the institute, including a controversial show, *Sources of Modern Painting* (1939). In the catalogue he argued that a painting is "a complicated organism, embodying many diverse elements, of which the painter himself may be conscious of only a few. His

heredity and his place in the social, economic, and political orders which prevail at the time of his activity combine with other more strictly pictorial forces to determine the nature and content of his painting."[27] Plaut set the groundwork for a series of exhibitions and catalogues that sought to examine the meaning behind modernism and not to examine art on a purely formal basis.

In 1939 Plaut organized *Contemporary German Art* (see fig. 196), an exhibition containing seventy-four examples of painting, sculpture, and prints drawn from public and private collections in America, many belonging to recently arrived émigrés. In the catalogue he warned the American viewer: "Contemporary German art has none of the gaiety, charm, and technical brilliance readily associated with the spectacular school of Paris or the best of our own Americans. It seems almost overburdened with sociological implications and guided by repression or adversity; emotional intensity and extraordinary invention are peculiarly Germanic qualities however, which are felt in every serious work of these artists and establish the merit of their efforts."[28] Where known, in the catalogue citation for each work Plaut included an indication of provenance, which often included well-known German museums, for example, "formerly in the National Gallery, Berlin."

There was interest in the exhibition, if only because it was connected with political events in Germany. Many of the best works in the exhibition had been lent by refugee art dealers. Some of these dealers had been bidders at the 1939 auction at the Gallery Fischer in Lucerne or had brought the works with them when they fled Germany. Beckmann's *Selbstbildnis im Smoking* was purchased by Harvard for four hundred dollars in 1942. Formerly it had been in the collection of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin and was brought to this country by a dealer.[29]

Among the German refugees who moved to America was prominent art dealer Curt Valentin, whose Buchholz Gallery became an important place to see examples of German Expressionism. Valentin emi-

196

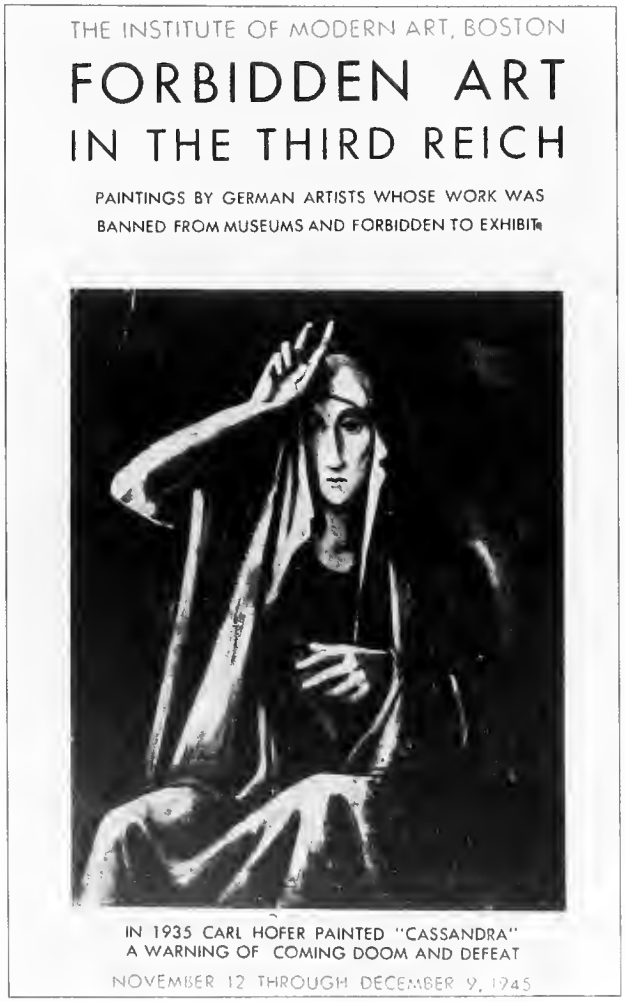
196
Installation view of the exhibition *Contemporary German Art*, Institute of Modern Art, Boston, November 2 through December 9, 1939

grated in 1937 and opened a gallery in New York. He collaborated with museum directors, helping to organize exhibitions in New York, Boston, and Saint Louis. He was generous in his donations of German Expressionist works to many museums as well. It is notable that at least one major museum exhibition (*German Art of the Twentieth Century*, Museum of Modern Art, 1956) and one monograph (Bernard S. Myers's *The German Expressionists: A Generation in Revolt*, 1957) were dedicated to his memory. On the occasion of a memorial exhibition in 1955, Perry Rathbone, then director of the Saint Louis Art Museum, wrote, "In the brief span of less than two decades Curt Valentin laid an impress upon the cultural development of his adopted county which will be as enduring as the art he loved, understood, and sponsored."[30]

One of the exhibitions that addressed the Nazi's prohibition against modern art most directly was mounted by Plaut at the Boston Institute of Modern Art in 1945. *Forbidden Art in the Third Reich* (see fig. 197) was organized with the assistance of émigré art dealer Karl Nierendorf and was augmented by a selection of German Expressionist prints that had recently been acquired by another émigré, Jacob Rosenberg, curator of prints at the Fogg. In the late 1940s and early 1950s Plaut organized a series of Expressionist exhibitions accompanied by landmark publications. A trilogy of monographic shows began in 1948 with a retrospective of Oskar Kokoschka's work that was very well received in Boston and the other cities it visited. This was followed by shows devoted to Edvard Munch (1950) and James Ensor (1951). All three shows were later seen at the Museum of Modern Art. In the exhibitions Plaut sought to represent the "extraordinary innovations of Northern European painters. . . . conscious of the fact that the Museum of Modern Art was concerned very heavily with the School of Paris and with abstraction per se."[31]

A few museums had begun to acquire German Expressionist art in the 1930s, including the Museum of Modern Art (Kirchner, Klee, and Lehmbruck); the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo (Kolbe, Lehmbruck); the Toledo Museum of Art (Karl Hofer); the Art Institute of Chicago (Marc); the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design (Marc); the Detroit Institute of Arts, and the Saint Louis Art Museum.

Saint Louis is a city that has been associated with German Expressionism and, in particular, with the painter Max Beckmann since the late 1940s. In 1947 Beckmann emigrated to the United States from Amsterdam, where he had spent the war years in exile from his native Germany. Rathbone had offered him a teaching position at Washington University. Beckmann taught there for two years and made a lasting impression on his students.[32] In 1947–48 Rathbone organized the first Beckmann retrospective in twenty years, which traveled to major American museums and helped acquaint Americans with this giant of modern German art. In 1948 Saint Louis collector Morton D. May saw his first painting by Beckmann at Valentin's gallery and acquired *Zwei Schauspielerinnen bei der Garderobe* (Two actresses in their dressing room, 1946). He only then learned that the artist was living in Saint Louis. Thus began an enormously productive two years in which May, under the guidance of Beckmann, set out to establish a collection of modern German art. By 1951 May had acquired thirty-nine works, including twelve Beck-



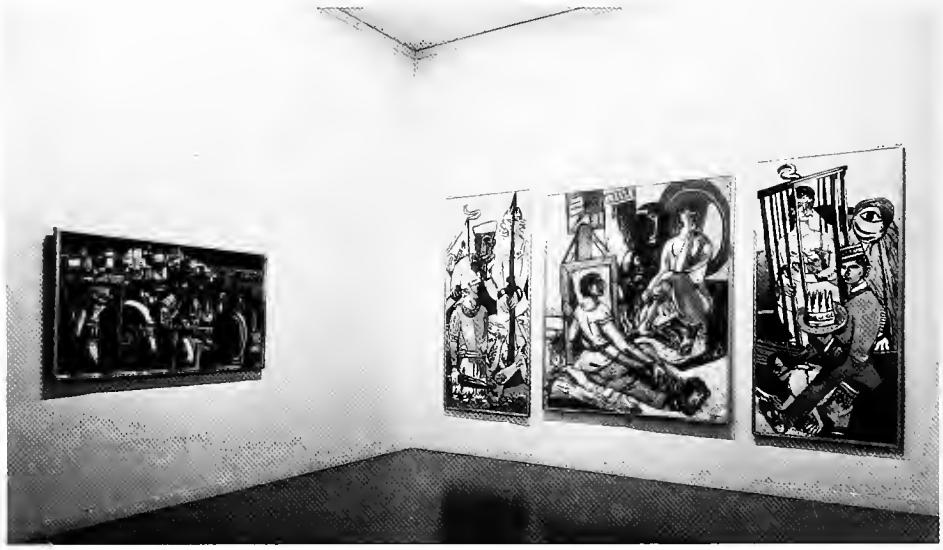
197
Cover of the catalogue of the exhibition *Forbidden Art in the Third Reich*, Institute of Modern Art, Boston, November 12 through December 9, 1945

manns. By 1970 the number of Beckmann paintings in the May collection had swelled to fifty-six. The strength of the collection is in the figurative current of German Expressionism. In 1983 May left more than one hundred German Expressionist paintings and sculptures to the Saint Louis Art Museum, thus making it one of the largest collections of its kind.

A somewhat similar situation evolved in Minneapolis surrounding the visit of Kokoschka in 1957. During his stay the artist not only painted many portraits but also stimulated several private collectors and benefactors of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts to support Expressionism. The director of the institute in the 1950s was Richard L. Davis, who was an advocate for Expressionism and did much to encourage acquisitions of Expressionist works during his tenure. The institute's holdings are particulary strong in works by Barlach, Beckmann, Kirchner, and Kokoschka, all of which were donated by collectors who began buying in the late 1950s under Davis's influence.

The mid-1950s marked the beginning of a new attitude toward Expressionism in America. It was no longer a cause championed by a few individuals; it had become accepted as a significant modern art movement. The role of museums in encouraging appreciation of German Expressionist art became much more pronounced during this period. After several years of very little activity, the 1956–57 season produced several major books in English on Expressionism and a large survey exhibition and accompanying catalogue from the Museum of Modern Art. In 1957 it seemed as if German Expressionism was the favorite topic of discussion, whether as a movement in itself or in relation to recent American painting. The exhibition at the Modern, *German Art of the Twentieth Century* (see fig. 198), was organized by Andrew Ritchie, with the assistance of Werner Haftmann for the paintings, Alfred Hentzen for sculpture, and William S. Lieberman of the museum's curatorial staff for prints. It was a comprehensive exhibition that was not limited to Expressionism. The show was organized chronologically, beginning with the Brücke and the Blaue Reiter and continuing with Neue Sachlichkeit (new objectivity) and the Bauhaus, omitting any Nazi-approved art, and concluding with some postwar developments. In the introductory text French and German art were constantly juxtaposed in an effort to define characteristics of German painting. The organizers chose excellent examples of paintings and prints; the selection of sculpture was extremely uneven.

Especially since this exhibition and catalogue appeared simultaneously with several monographs on the movement, there seems to have been an outpouring of critical attention. Commentary varied considerably, from scholarly assessments by Herschel Chipp, Joshua Taylor, and Edith Hoffmann, to less scholarly and fairly hostile response from Alfred Frankenstein, among others. Writing in *Art Bulletin*, Chipp identified three possible reasons for the recent upsurge in interest in German Expressionist art: (1) the lack of high-quality French art in the marketplace and the consequent need to look to other schools; (2) the popularity of Abstract Expressionist art in the postwar period, which had stimulated interest in the German Expressionists, who were seen as forerunners; and



198

(3) the fact that German culture had been regarded unsympathetically in America during and after the war and thus was ripe for investigation.[33]

In an editorial in *Art News*, Frankenstein wrote:

> *The Expressionist boom, at least in the marketplace, if not in endurable aesthetic values, is building up into a landslide. . . . To those who are inclined to jump aboard, we recommend a careful reading of [Edith Hoffmann's] article—and we add a friendly caution. Expressionist painting, it seems from this vantage point, was decidedly a secondary and often provincial phase of twentieth-century art—especially in the hands of its German practitioners. (Kandinsky—always the top name associated with publicity for the entire movement—can scarcely be made out to have been an Expressionist except for his influence upon his German followers.)*
>
> *The capital of painting style, for the first half of this century, was Paris. This is not to say there were not provincial originals, or that one or another of them did not occasionally put forth a picture, complete and outstanding on its own premise. But by its very nature, and the complexity of its motives, Central European Expressionism was doomed to remain not only provincial but so intellectual that it usually strayed beyond the proper limits of painting as such.*[34]

This invective concluded, "it would be ridiculous to make an aesthetic investment in this now revived Central European School in any respect other than as a minor corollary to the main currents of European style."[35]

Frankenstein was particulary incensed by the successful and aggressive efforts of Valentin and singled him out as "the shrewd German-born salesman who managed to influence a number of American museum officials, one example of his influence cited is the Boston Museum's current first show of modern painting which naively over emphasizes German Expressionism."[36]

198
Installation view of the exhibition *German Art of the Twentieth Century*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, October 2 through December 1, 1957

The 1960s saw much commercial activity in New York among dealers, many of them refugees, who now turned to Expressionism. They were not part of the original wave of dealers who brought with them a continuing tradition of Expressionist exhibitions—Valentin, Nierendorf, and Otto Kallir—but a group including Helen Serger, Serge Sabarsky, Dorothea Carus, and Leonard Hutton. Serger emigrated from Silesia in 1941. She dealt privately until 1964, when she and her husband opened a small gallery on the Upper East Side, showing works by the Cubists, Matisse, and other French artists. "The French artists started to get too expensive, so I started with the German Expressionists," said Serger.[37] She presented exhibitions focusing on Egon Schiele, Paula Modersohn-Becker; Viennese art and design; Schmidt-Rottluff; Herwarth Walden and the artists of Der Sturm; and "degenerate" art. Sabarsky emigrated to America in 1939 from his native Vienna and opened his gallery in 1968, specializing in Schiele, Kokoschka, and the Viennese Expressionists. Carus is a German-born art historian who switched from her field of specialization, thirteenth-century sculpture, to German Expressionism after being overwhelmed by a Schmidt-Rottluff woodcut. She specializes in works on paper. Hutton was one of the few dealers who had ties to the original group of German dealers in New York. After Valentin's death in 1955 he was the only dealer handling German art, with the exception of Otto Kallir. Hutton emigrated in 1935 but only began dealing full-time in 1956. He had known Kirchner, Pechstein, and Schmidt-Rottluff when he was in Germany. Many artists had their first introduction in America at his gallery and through the well-illustrated catalogues he published.

Museum exhibitions of Expressionist art were not plentiful in the 1960s. In 1964 Peter Selz organized a Max Beckmann retrospective for the Museum of Modern Art, which traveled to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Art Institute of Chicago. Selz and Herschel Chipp mounted several exhibitions at the University of California Art Museum at Berkeley and at the Pasadena Art Museum. Despite the paucity of museum exhibitions during this period, there was a growing interest among scholars, many of whom trained at Berkeley with Selz and Chipp, in studying and publishing about Expressionism.

The 1977 show at the University of California, Los Angeles, of five hundred German Expressionist prints and illustrated books from the Robert Gore Rifkind collection, accompanied by a detailed catalogue by Orrel P. Reed, Jr., began a resurgence of interest in Expressionism, with particular emphasis on printmaking. This was followed by a succession of smaller shows, each with a well-documented catalogue, exploring other aspects of the Rifkind collection, at museums in Berkeley, San Diego, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Chicago, and Milwaukee. The 1981 exhibition *Expressionism: A German Intuition, 1905–1920* at the Guggenheim Museum and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art was the first extensive show of German Expressionist paintings and prints in America in twenty-five years. Reaction to that show was very positive, coinciding with an interest among contemporary artists in the content-laden, expressive quality and heavy painterliness found in Expressionism. The hitherto unknown sculpture of the German Expressionists was ex-

plored in my 1983 exhibition *German Expressionist Sculpture*, which opened at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and traveled to the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden in Washington, D.C., and to the Josef-Haubrich Kunsthalle in Cologne.[38] In 1982–83, with the acquisition of the Rifkind collection, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art established the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, which offers research facilities for scholars and also provides the opportunity for many specialized exhibitions.

In the last few years exhibitions of German Expressionist art have proliferated across America, and many of them have been accompanied by scholarly catalogues. Since the rather feeble beginning at the Armory Show in 1913, the appreciation and exposure of Expressionism in the United States has grown dramatically. Yet of all the major twentieth-century art movements it is still one of the least explored. When one considers the volume of exhibitions and literature on other movements, it becomes obvious that it is an area still ripe for further study.

Note: I would like to acknowledge the information I received on acquisitions of German Expressionist material from the staffs of the following museums: Art Institute of Chicago; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Busch-Reisinger Museum; Saint Louis Art Museum; Detroit Institute of Arts; Philadelphia Museum of Art; Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Museum of Modern Art; Wadsworth Atheneum; and San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. In addition I would like to thank Herschel Chipp, Leslie Rubin, and Lynn Brylski for their assistance.

199
Lothar Schreyer
Germany, 1886–1966
Mutter, 1921
(Mother)
Lithograph with pochoir
8⅞ x 6⅝ in. (22.5 x 16.8 cm)
From portfolio Neue europäische Graphik: Erste Mappe
M.82.287.62
Davis 2605

NOTES

1 Milton Brown, *The Story of the Armory Show* (New York: Joseph H. Hirshhorn Foundation, 1963), p. 48.

2 Robert L. Herbert, Eleanor S. Apter, and Elise K. Kenney, eds., *The Société Anonyme and the Dreier Bequest at Yale University: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 4.

3 German Section in sesquicentennial exposition, Société Anonyme, Philadelphia, June–December 1926.

4 Ruth L. Bohan, *The Société Anonyme's Brooklyn Exhibition: Katherine Dreier and Modernism in America* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1982), p. 122.

5 Herbert et al., *Société Anonyme*, pp. 10–11.

6 "Letters from Germany," *Archives of American Art Journal* 25, no. 1/2 (1985): 16.

7 Ibid., pp. 19–20.

8 Margaret Sterne, *The Passionate Eye: The Life of William R. Valentiner* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980), p. 115.

9 See *A Collection of Modern German Art*, exh. cat., intro. by William R. Valentiner (New York: Anderson Galleries, 1923).

10 Ibid., p. 2.

11 Ibid.

12 *The Arts* 4, no. 4 (1923): 214ff.

13 Sterne, *The Passionate Eye*, pp. 143–44.

14 Ibid., p. 143.

15 Ibid.

16 See Perry T. Rathbone, *Landmarks in Modern German Art*, exh. cat. (New York: Buchholz Gallery, 1940).

17 Sterne, *The Passionate Eye*, p. 328.

18 See *German Expressionist Prints*, exh. cat., intro. by Ebria Feinblatt (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum, 1954).

19 E. P. Richardson, in *College Art Association Journal* 18, no. 3 (1958–59): 247.

20 See Judith Zilczer, *"The Noble Buyer": John Quinn, Patron of the Avant-Garde* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978).

21 Caroline A. Jones, *Modern Art at Harvard* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985), p. 44.

22 The first museum exhibition in America devoted exclusively to modern German art was organized by A. Everett "Chick" Austin, who had worked under Sachs at the Fogg. In 1927 he was appointed director of the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford. During his eighteen years at the Atheneum, Austin led an innovative program devoted to contemporary art, music, design, and architecture. Among the first exhibitions he presented was *Modern German Art* in the spring of 1930. The exhibition included twenty-one paintings, ten sculptures, and more than twenty-three works on paper, representing Beckmann, Grosz, Heckel, Hofer, Kaus, Kirchner, Klee, Kokoschka, Kolbe, Mueller, Nolde, Pechstein, Rohlfs, Schmidt-Rottluff, Max Schulze-Sölde, and Schwichtenberg. The works in the exhibition were drawn primarily from the collections of Valentiner and the Detroit Institute of Arts. This proved to be the first and last exhibition of German art during Austin's tenure.

23 Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *German Painting and Sculpture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1931), p. 15.

24 Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Art in Our Time* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1939), no. 122.

25 Hilton Kramer, "The Museum of Modern Art in the Postmodern Era," *The New Criterion* 2, no. 10 (1984): 29.

26 A recent essay by Reinhold Heller yields more information about the philosophy and policies of this energetic director. See "The Expressionist Challenge: James Plaut and the Institute of Contemporary Art," in *Dissent. The Issue of Modern Art in Boston* (Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1985), pp. 16–55.

27 James Plaut, ibid., p. 23.

28 James Plaut, in *Contemporary German Art*, exh. cat. (Boston: Institute of Modern Art, 1939), p. 8.

29 *The Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University*, intro. by Charles Haxthausen (New York: Abbeville Press, 1980), p. 11.

30 Perry Rathbone, in *Tribute to Curt Valentin*, exh. cat. (Saint Louis: City Art Museum of Saint Louis, 1955), p. 5.

31 James Plaut, in Heller, "The Expressionist Challenge," p. 44.

32 See Walter Barker, "Beckmann as Teacher: An Extension of His Art," in *Max Beckmann Retrospective*, exh. cat., ed. Carla Schulz-Hoffmann and Judith C. Weiss (Saint Louis: Saint Louis Art Museum; Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1984), pp. 173–79.

33 Herschel Chipp, "Book Reviews," *Art Bulletin* 41, no. 1 (1956–57): 119–24.

34 Alfred Frankenstein, in *Art News* 56, no. 7 (1957): 23.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 *Art and Auction* 7, no. 10 (1985): 42.

38 See Orrel P. Reed, Jr., *German Expressionist Art: The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, University of California, 1977); Wolf-Dieter Dube et al., *Expressionism: A German Intuition, 1905–1920*, exh. cat. (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1980); Stephanie Barron, ed., *German Expressionist Sculpture*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1983).

„Kopf mit Pfeife"

Wild Passion at Midnight: Reflections on Thirty-five Years of Collecting Art

Robert Gore Rifkind

The four young men who in 1905 founded German Expressionist art—Fritz Bleyl, Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff—lived and worked together in their studio-home in Dresden. So fervent was their desire to revolutionize the print media that, inspired by some new graphic idea, they would frequently arise in the middle of the night, rush to a lithographic stone, draw an image, pull a few impressions, and return to bed. Sixty-five years later, so eager was I to learn about these artists and their work that, a chronic insomniac, I would spend the middle of the night poring over any book available on German Expressionism. In fact most of my reading on the subject took place after midnight. This essay was written primarily during the early morning hours.

A Brief Overview of German Expressionist Art

The two great developments in twentieth-century art are Expressionism and abstraction. Together they changed the course of art history: how the artist looked at the world and how the viewer looked at art. Expressionism and abstraction were kindred developments, yet in some respects they were antithetical too. While abstractionists were dematerializing the world, and particularly the human image, the Expressionists looked at the world, and particularly the human figure, with extraordinary introspection. Neither movement attempted to achieve beauty in any conventional sense, but the Expressionists treated their subjects with a passion seldom seen in the history of art, and in return they expected, indeed demanded, an equally passionate response from the viewer.

The great events of the first quarter of this century were the First World War and Sigmund Freud's development of psychoanalysis. For me art of this time that does not relate to these events seems almost superficial. It is impossible by examining the entire body of early twentieth-century French art to learn either that the First World War had shaken man's destiny or that Freud had revolutionized our knowledge of the human mind. By contrast the German Expressionists were so deeply affected by both of these events that they returned to the theme of the horrors of war and its aftermath over and over again. Rather than dematerializing man, they strove to penetrate his psyche to a degree that has not been seen before or equaled since. These qualities of German Expressionist art fascinate me. I feel that this art has much to teach us today, when war and the threat of war are constantly in our minds and as we strive for a deeper understanding of the human condition.

It is my belief that our complex society needs constant examination and criticism. Only the most insensitive citizen can be indifferent to the problems menacing us. I believe that the artist has an important role to play in examining society and using his art as a vehicle for social criticism. No group of artists has done this better than the German Expressionists, and we have a lot to learn from them. With some significant exceptions, this role has been abandoned by artists today and left primarily to political cartoonists. How wonderful it is to see an Otto Dix take on the entire German bureaucracy and still maintain his integrity as a great artist. Such feats were repeated over and over again in the works of the German Expressionists. They not only were unafraid to assault a bourgeois, bureaucratic society but felt it their duty to do so. Yet they

200
Emil Nolde
Germany, 1867–1956
Kopf mit Pfeife, E. N., 1907
(Head with pipe, E. N. [self-portrait])
Lithograph with watercolor
15⅞ x 11⅝ in. (40.3 x 29.5 cm)
M.82.288.229
Davis 2116

201
Peter Behrens
Germany, 1868–1940
Untitled (the kiss), c. 1898
Color woodcut
10 1/16 x 8 7/16 in. (27.2 x 21.5 cm)
From *Pan* 4, no. 2 (1898)
83.1.1356 k
Davis 221

never compromised the artistic integrity of their work or abandoned the hope that it would have a salutary effect on society. This goal remained constant throughout the history of German Expressionism, from the earliest works of the daring young Brücke artists through the Dresden Sezession: Gruppe 1919 (Dresden secession: group 1919) and into the 1930s. Small wonder that the National Socialists could not tolerate these artists and declared them degenerate.

The Importance of Prints and Books in German Expressionist Art

The graphic media hold a particularly important place in German Expressionist art. All of the Expressionists felt a need to express themselves in the graphic media, and they produced a huge body of work, work that in my opinion is superior to their paintings and sculpture, as beautiful and as widely admired as those works are. Having examined every form of German Expressionism, I am convinced that the movement is best understood through its graphics, not its paintings or sculpture.

The German Expressionist movement was built not by a few giants, but by scores of artists of great competence. Their enormous output of graphic work is readily understandable in view of their desire to reach the widest possible audience in their announced eagerness to change bourgeois society. Often they are represented today only by their graphic output, which managed miraculously to survive. It seems to me that the movement itself was more prolonged in graphics than in other media, probably in part because so many artists continued to produce great prints at a time when their paintings and sculpture had begun to lose their vitality and intensity.

After looking at and comparing thousands of prints, I became convinced that the German Expressionists were the most innovative and exciting, in short, the best printmakers of this century. That is not to say that others did not turn out beautiful, technically refined works. The Expressionists, however, have a profound effect on me. I am dazzled by the range, intensity, and beauty of their graphics.

Another reason why German Expressionist prints particularly fascinate me is that of all the graphic media, the woodcut is the most exciting, the most emotionally charged, and has the greatest "wall power." The Germans brought the woodcut to a high level of technical and aesthetic accomplishment in the early sixteenth century, and the Expressionists made a conscientious effort to revive the art form of their ancestors. To me the results have been spectacular and emotionally overwhelming.

Some of the most important Expressionist prints are to be found in periodicals and books. To a significant extent the artists' involvement in social movements explains the astounding depth and breadth of their involvement in illustration. For them, creating images, primarily woodcuts, for publication as original prints in political periodicals as well as having their prints and drawings reproduced in such periodicals were important forms of social engagement. One must realize that from the years before the First World War until the 1930s dozens of periodicals devoted entirely to political and social issues were published, and many of these were widely distributed. Thus for an Expressionist artist, publishing an illustration in such a periodical was a practical way of influencing

202
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Zur Ballade 1, 1907
(To the ballad 1)
Woodcut
7⅞ x 5⅞ in. (20.0 x 15.0 cm)
From portfolio Die Ballade vom Zuchthaus zu Reading
M.82.288.87 a
Davis 1010.2

202

203
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Der Wärter, 1907
(The prison guard)
Woodcut
8¼ x 5⅞ in. (21.0 x 15.0 cm)
From portfolio Die Ballade vom Zuchthaus zu Reading
M.82.288.87 e
Davis 1010.6

203

204
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Der Richter, 1907
(The judge)
Woodcut
6⅜ x 5⅛ in. (16.2 x 13.1 cm)
From portfolio Die Ballade vom Zuchthaus zu Reading
M.82.288.87 d
Davis 1010.5

204

205
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Das Grauen, 1907
(The horror)
Woodcut
7⅞ x 5¹³⁄₁₆ in. (20.1 x 14.8 cm)
From portfolio Die Ballade vom Zuchthaus zu Reading
M.82.288.87 h
Davis 1010.9

205

the greatest number of people. *Die Aktion* (Action), *Kriegszeit* (Wartime), and *Der Sturm* (The storm), to name but a few, were intensely politically and socially motivated periodicals. Thanks to the wisdom of their editors, they were also in the avant-garde of the German art world. Expressionist artists were only too eager to participate, and the collaboration between artists and writers produced some of the greatest artistic-political-social publications ever created. Interestingly these periodicals appealed to the entire range of German Expressionist artists, from Franz Marc before the war to Conrad Felixmüller in the 1920s. I am very proud that the Rifkind Study Center has issues of approximately one hundred different periodicals, many of them in complete runs.

I must emphasize, however, that the periodicals in the center are not limited to those concerned with political and social issues. Indeed the majority of them must be regarded as deluxe art magazines that strove to obtain original works of art and reproductions from the great artists of the day. For example, the center has a complete run of *Pan* (see fig. 201), the granddaddy of all German art periodicals, which spanned the period from Jugendstil through early Expressionism. (I confess to gloating a bit over the fact that the center's set is not missing a single original work of art, whereas many others have been cannibalized.)

The necessity of collecting a library became obvious to me when I realized that the German Expressionist artists had a true affinity with authors and poets, German and non-German. They were obsessed with illustrating the great literature of their day. In addition a number of the Expressionist artists, including such diverse figures as Ernst Barlach, Wassily Kandinsky, and Oskar Kokoschka, were also playwrights and poets who illustrated their own works.

The Rifkind Study Center has hundreds of books and portfolios containing original prints, ranging from the first Expressionist illustrations, Heckel's eleven woodcuts for Oscar Wilde's poem *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (see figs. 60, 202–5), to Alfred Richard Meyer's racy novel *Lady Hamilton* (see fig. 206), with eight hand-colored lithographs by George Grosz. The center has also attempted to acquire every book of the period about German Expressionism, as well as more recent publications in the field, so that the scholar's research resources are as comprehensive as possible.

The real point here is that one cannot truly collect German Expressionist prints unless one also collects the illustrated books and periodicals, because such an enormous body of Expressionist prints is found in these sources. Not to have Heckel's woodcuts for *Reading Gaol*, Kandinsky's fifty-six woodcuts illustrating his volume of poems *Klänge* (Sounds; see figs. 9, 207) or Barlach's illustrations for his own plays (see fig. 209) would make any collection of German Expressionist prints woefully incomplete.

Thus my desire to collect prints extended to books and periodicals and further to all books on German Expressionist art. It was not my original intention to amass a library that would be used by scholars from all over the world, but that has been the very happy and fruitful result. And yet how strange that such a library should end up in Los Angeles, with its weather and culture so different from those that the

German Expressionists knew. A few years ago a cultural attaché from the German embassy in Washington spent a day at the center. I shall never forget his concluding remark: "Erich Heckel would never have dreamt that his finest works would end up in sunny, star-studded Beverly Hills." How true. I hope Heckel would have been as pleased as I am.

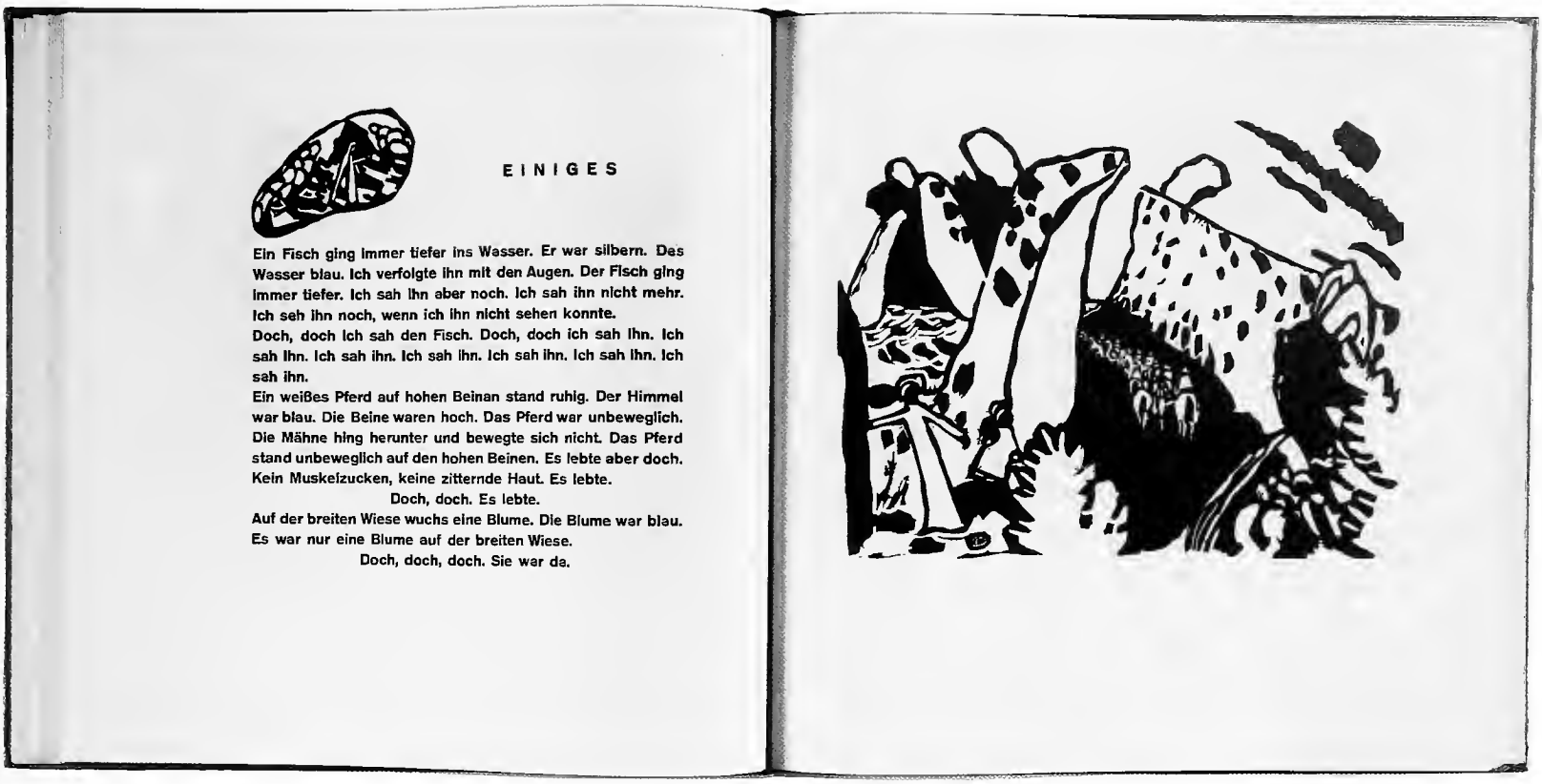
How and Why the Collection Was Built

In 1954, upon graduation from Harvard Law School, I returned to Los Angeles and rented a small apartment. Within a week I was walking up Camden Drive in Beverly Hills and entered Frank Perls's gallery. I perused a large number of prints. One particularly intrigued me, and I asked Perls how much it cost. "Three hundred and seventy-five dollars," he responded. I explained that my apartment was unfurnished and that I needed to buy a sofa. Perls asked how much I intended to pay. "One hundred and twenty-five dollars," I replied. (One could buy a sofa for $125 then.) Perls said, "Why don't you spend the $125 on the print and sit on the floor?" So insecure was I at my first art purchase that I said, "You mean you will sell me this print for only $125?" "Yes," he said, "if you'll sit on the floor." "But what if I find I don't like the print?" "Then you can return it, and I will refund your $125." The deal was struck. I bought the print, hung it over the fireplace, and sat on the floor and looked at it with rapture. It was at that moment that I realized I could never live without great art. (The print was Pablo Picasso's majestic *Portrait of Jacqueline*, and I loved it for years.) Basically I have been "art broke" ever since. And so began my true interest in twentieth-century art.

My introduction to German Expressionist art had occurred earlier, while bicycling to Harvard Law School past the Busch-Reisinger Museum. Often I stopped to view its collection of German Expressionist works. The wonderful paintings by Max Beckmann, Heckel, and Kokoschka and Barlach's monumental sculpture *Der Bettler* (The beggar; fig. 208) intrigued me. Here was art by artists I had never heard of, and the difference between it and French art of the same period was clearly so great that I never visited the museum without leaving perplexed. Unfortunately the Busch did not have a catalogue of its collection at that time; nor did it have docents. As a result I was never able to get a coherent explanation of the collection. Compounding that problem was the unavailability of major texts in English on German Expressionist art. One must remember that Bernard Myers's and Peter Selz's landmark works had not yet been published, nor had Wolf-Dieter Dube's opus been translated into English. (It is hard to believe that thirty-five years ago one could not simply walk into a library or an art bookstore and find books in English on Expressionism.) Since I could not easily learn more about the Expressionists, upon my return to Los Angeles I forgot about them and started my collection of School of Paris prints. I really liked and was very proud of them. I collected the best early works I could find, particularly by Georges Braque, Marc Chagall, André Derain, Henri Matisse, Picasso, Maurice de Vlaminck, and the rest of that gang. In this I was greatly aided by Perls and another dealer, James Vigevino, both of whom not only guided me but also were generous in financing my purchases.

206
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Lady Hamilton mit Fächer und Lyra, 1922–23
(Lady Hamilton with fan and lyre)
Photolithograph with watercolor
7½ x 5½ in. (19.1 x 14.0 cm)
From Alfred Richard Meyer, *Lady Hamilton*
83.1.74 f
Davis 962.6

206



207

207
Wassily Kandinsky
Russia, 1866–1944
Vignette bei "Einiges"; Reiterweg, 1911
(Vignette with "Something"; Riding path)
2 woodcuts
1 13/16 x 2 7/16 in. (4.7 x 6.2 cm); 6 7/16 x 8 1/4 in. (16.3 x 21.0 cm)
From Wassily Kandinsky, *Klänge*
83.1.102.20, 21
Davis 1368.9

A sunny Sunday in 1968 changed my life. The old Pasadena Art Museum, then housed in a Chinese-style building, had a Paul Klee exhibition, which I viewed with excitement, such excitement in fact that I rushed back to my home in Beverly Hills and insisted that my wife and two visiting friends instantly return to Pasadena with me and view the exhibition. Their enthusiasm was underwhelming, but mine increased. As I was leaving the museum, I saw at the desk a stack of Myers's *The German Expressionists: A Generation in Revolt*. I bought a copy, took it to Mazatlán, Mexico, where I was taking a week's vacation, and read it twice. Back in Beverly Hills, when I would awaken every night with insomnia, I would reread at least one chapter. I dog-eared the pages, underlined particularly meaningful passages, and made my own annotations. Rereading the work recently, I noticed that on my initial reading I had written "great!" by a reproduction of Kokoschka's *Die Windsbraut* (The bride of the wind; fig. 210). You can imagine my joy at seeing the original five years later in Basel.

I then discovered Selz's *German Expressionist Painting*. I devoured the work. I read it three times from cover to cover, cross-indexed it, annotated it, and underlined passages. (When I showed my copy to Professor Selz, he inscribed it: "What a pleasure to see this book used as it should be!") Subsequently, English editions were published of Lothar-Günther Buchheim's *The Graphic Art of German Expressionism* and Dube's *Expressionism*. What a revelation they were for a collector of twentieth-century prints.[1]

As Francis Bacon wrote in his essay "Of Studies": "Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested." It took me a year to chew and digest those four

208

volumes, and I committed much of them to memory. During this time I wanted to stick my toe in the water and start buying. Unfortunately Vigevino knew nothing about German Expressionism, and Perls, a Jewish émigré, actually had an antipathy to anything German. When I told him that I absolutely had to start buying German Expressionist prints, he said that he did not feel knowledgeable enough to help me and suggested, if I must persist in what he believed to be a mania, that I contact Orrel P. Reed, Jr., who, he said, was the most knowledgeable dealer of German art in Los Angeles.

Jake Zeitlin, the famous La Cienega Boulevard book dealer, told me that it is every dealer's hope to encounter a customer who wants to build the collection of the dealer's dreams. So it was with Reed and me. For almost three decades he had been studying German Expressionist prints but had relatively few buyers in the field. I told him of my interest. In November of 1970 he went to the winter auctions in Munich and bought for me my first German Expressionist works, including a superb lithographic self-portrait by Emil Nolde (fig. 200). He also bought for me at the German and Swiss auctions in the summer and winter of 1971. Subsequently he told me that the only way I could really accomplish my objectives was by accompanying him.

Unlike American and English auctions, which are usually limited to around one hundred lots and last about an hour, the German and Swiss auctions contain as many as three thousand lots and last two or three days. The experience of viewing was in itself an education. I told Reed that as a Jew I did not think I could feel comfortable in Germany, that as an American who had grown up during the Second World War, I had experienced such an intensely anti-German milieu that I did not think I could shake the feelings of my youth. (My parents would not even listen to Richard Wagner during the war.) Reed jawboned me until I finally agreed to join him in Germany and Switzerland for the summer auctions in 1972. He went on ahead but was so apprehensive that I would renege that on the day I was to leave he telephoned me from Germany to make sure that I was not getting cold feet.

My paranoia about visiting Germany is best illustrated by an anecdote. On this trip Reed and I were staying at the Kempenski Hotel in Berlin. At the end of a long day we were relaxing in the hotel sauna, which was occupied by two other men speaking German. It was clear to us that they were constantly referring to Jews and to Israel. After listening for ten minutes, I was convinced that they were engaged in an anti-Semitic conversation. I turned to them and asked if they spoke English. One of them did. With some hostility I asked why he was talking so much about Jews. He looked at me with surprise, hesitated, then stated, "I am the Reform rabbi of Berlin!" Since then I have never experienced an anti-Semitic incident in Germany. It was an important lesson for me.

The initial trip exceeded our expectations. Reed and I were the hit of the auctions. We bought and bought and bought and bought. In addition I met many museum directors, print curators, dealers, and other collectors, all of whom were to be enormously helpful to me in the future. Up to this time I had divided my affection between two mistresses. After the auctions of 1972 I gave up my French love and con-

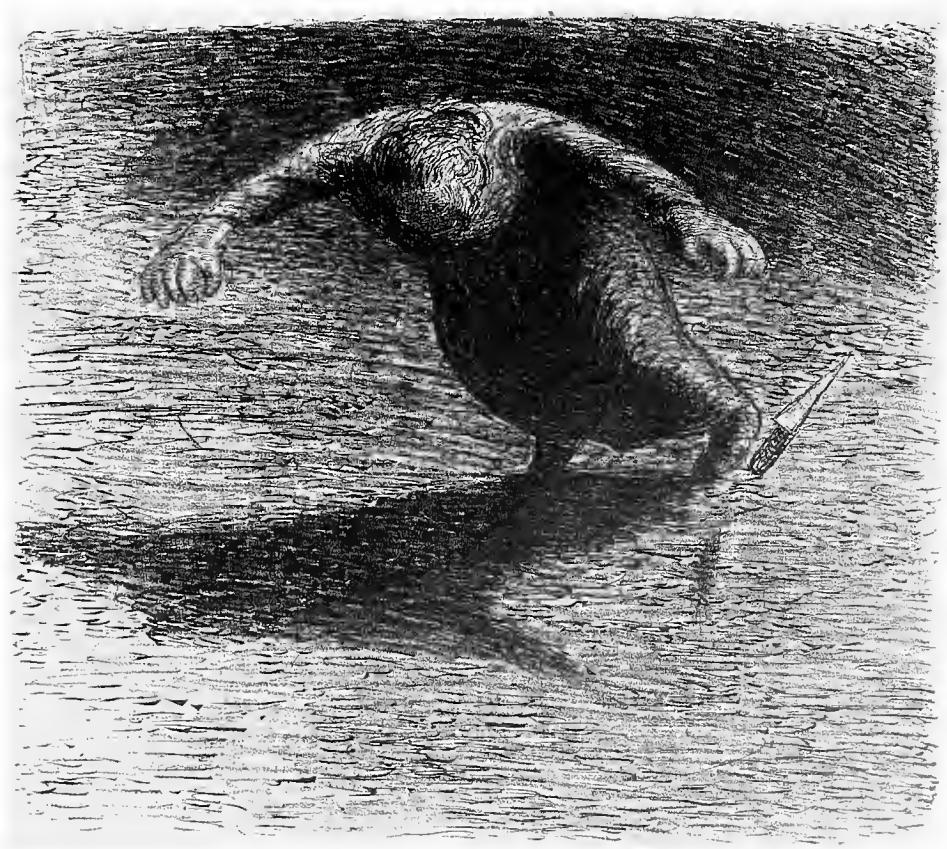
centrated solely on German Expressionism. My buying spree continued for the next ten years, resulting in the collection of five thousand prints and forty-five hundred books that forms the core of the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Needless to say, my reluctance to visit Germany evaporated completely, and since that first trip I have visited Germany at least once a year. I think that I have now made friends of almost every prominent art historian, museum director, dealer, and collector in the field.

More importantly—and in a certain sense I think this has been my major contribution to the field—I went far beyond the texts of Buchheim, Dube, Myers, Selz, and for that matter all the other writers in the field, who had essentially limited themselves to the period from about 1900 to the First World War. What I discovered was that there was a significant group of unknown artists working before the war and a second wave of German Expressionists active after the war and that these artists produced many of the most poignant works of art in all of Expressionism. This was particularly true of the works depicting the war and its psychological effects. The art produced by the second wave of German Expressionists deeply related to both the First World War and psychoanalysis, often painfully. That is one of the reasons why the art of that period has meaning for us today, coping now, as the Germans did then, with an apocalyptic undercurrent.

I remember an argument with Paul Vogt, director of the Museum Folkwang in Essen, in the mid-1970s. He declared that no significant art was produced by the Expressionists after the war. I insisted that he had just eliminated Otto Dix and Max Beckmann, not to mention doz-

208
Ernst Barlach
Germany, 1870–1938
Der Bettler, 1930
(The beggar)
Bronze
85⅜ x 22⅞ x 17¾ in. (217.0 x 58.0 x 45.0 cm)
M.84.97, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, gift of Anna Bing Arnold

209
Ernst Barlach
Germany, 1870–1938
Stürzende Frau, 1912
(Woman falling)
Lithograph
10 13/16 x 12 9/16 in. (27.4 x 31.8 cm)
From portfolio Der tote Tag
83.1.2.2 z
Davis 71.26



209

210

210
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Die Windsbraut, 1914
(The bride of the wind)
Oil on canvas
71¼ x 87 in. (181.0 x 221.0 cm)
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung,
Basel, Kunstmuseum

ens of other great artists. By 1978, when he published *Expressionism: German Painting, 1905–1920*,[2] Vogt had come around to my point of view and even borrowed from me photographs of works by such an obscure artist as Constantin von Mitschke-Collande (see figs. 211–12) to include as illustrations. Similarly, when Dube wrote his 1983 book *Expressionists and Expressionism*, he included a generous sampling of the second-generation artists.[3] Again this was at least partially a result of exposure to these artists in my collection.

Not only was there an extraordinary second wave of German Expressionist artists, but there were artists' groups in various cities that rivaled the well-known groups the Brücke and the Blaue Reiter. For example, after the war, in Dresden, the birthplace of German Expressionism, a group of artists led by Felixmüller founded the Dresden Sezession: Gruppe 1919 and produced important works.

What especially pleases me as a collector of German Expressionist art is that the field is still relatively untapped so that one can continue to learn. Even as I dictate this essay, I am preparing for a trip to East Germany, where I hope to discover additional unknown second-generation Expressionists.

Some Observations on Collecting Art

Having collected chronically and passionately for more than thirty years, I have developed what I term my "axioms for art collectors."

1. Be a collector, not an accumulator. A collector has a goal in mind and buys systematically to fulfill that goal, even if the goal changes as the collector learns, as it did for me. A corollary is that any time a so-called collector says he doesn't have room for more art you know he's not a true

collector, because a true collector must have particular items even if he keeps them under the bed or in storage.

2. Collecting is 90 percent knowledge and 10 percent taste, or "eye." Many collectors have a good eye, but without knowledge they can never be great collectors. I have never met an important collector who had not devoted an enormous amount of time to studying his field or had advisers who were very knowledgeable. This is especially important in the area of prints because of the numerous graphic media, the technical nature of printmaking, and the differences among the various states and impressions of a print. For German Expressionist prints it is crucial since the artists generally preferred to turn out several different states of a given print in small editions, rather than making large editions.

3. The biggest mistake collectors make is *not* buying certain items. We all buy things that turn out to be mistakes, but that can be corrected. Frequently what one doesn't buy can never be found again. I have my own regrets in this area.

4. The second-biggest mistake collectors make is looking back at prices at which they could have bought. The fact is that if the art one is collecting is appreciating in value, the prices are going to go up, and the collector has to pay the going rate. I remember that a particularly rare early Kirchner woodcut was offered to me by a Chicago dealer for twenty thousand dollars. I turned it down because of the price. The print was then sold to a Munich dealer, who offered it to me for twenty-five thousand dollars. I again turned it down on the basis that I had been offered that very impression for five thousand dollars less. Several months later a New York dealer offered me the same impression for thirty thousand dollars. I then realized that I had to have the print and that I'd better buy it then and there because the next dealer was going to offer it to me at a still higher price. At least I was able to correct my mistake.

5. Many potential collectors make the mistake of believing that they are starting too late to collect what they want. Usually they feel that it's too late because prices have risen so much. From that point of view, I started at least ten and perhaps fifteen years too late. Other collectors of German Expressionist prints and books had built their collections at a fraction of the cost of mine. Again, if you love the material and have to have it, then it's not too late. It's only too late when the material is no longer available. For example, I doubt that, regardless of how much money one were willing to spend, the library of the Rifkind Study Center could be duplicated today.

6. The third major mistake that collectors make is exhibiting their collections too early. I was constantly being urged by various institutions to exhibit my collection. On Reed's advice I held off until we could mount a comprehensive exhibition at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1977, accompanied by a detailed catalogue of the collection and a good poster. It was hard for me to wait, since I did want to share my collection with other people. In the end I realized that it was worth the wait to be able to mount a traveling exhibition accompanied by a catalogue that is still regarded as a major English-language text on German Expressionist

211

212

prints and illustrated books. Through this catalogue the UCLA show has continued to live and has influenced thousands who were unable to see it.

7. Do not buy art simply as an investment. Buy it because you love it and must have it. Great art is a good investment.

8. The last major mistake made by collectors is refusing to acknowledge their mistakes. We all make mistakes, and I have made my share. The important thing is to admit to the mistake and then do something to remedy it. In my case, when I began collecting, I frequently purchased second-rate examples. As I became more knowledgeable, I realized that I would never have a great collection unless I concentrated on prime examples. So with some reluctance I sold the second-rate examples and upgraded the collection.

The Purposes and Objectives of the Rifkind Study Center

The Rifkind Study Center is intended to be the major resource for serious scholars in the field. That we have succeeded is attested to by the fact that scholars have come to the center from all over the United States and Europe because they cannot find such a comprehensive library and print cabinet anywhere else. When Dube wrote his recent book on German Expressionist art, for example, he did much of his research at the Rifkind Study Center because, as he put it, even though he had access to every resource in Germany, there was nothing comparable to what we have in Los Angeles. I think that Los Angeles in general, and the museum in particular, should feel very proud of this.

Many people have queried my reasons for setting up the Rifkind Study Center at the museum at this time. In fact William Wilson, art critic for the *Los Angeles Times*, noted that I had chosen to make my gift to the museum as a relatively young man, while most donors do so much later in life or by bequest. I had several reasons. Los Angeles has been very good to the Rifkind family, and this was a way of repaying the people of my city. I'm often reminded of the anecdote of the pig and the cow. The pig asked the cow: "Why does everyone like you so much better than me? You give only milk, while I give bacon, ham, pork chops, pig's knuckles, and spareribs." The cow replied, "You're no good to anyone until you're dead." I preferred to be the cow.

Not only that but I have seen many great collections broken up by sale, either during the collector's lifetime or posthumously, and I wanted to ensure that this would never happen to my print collection and library. To be quite blunt, I felt that my wishes would be better carried out if I was around to collaborate with the museum in setting up the study center and to have the Rifkind Foundation assist scholars financially if necessary. It is my relationship with the contributors to this catalogue, for example—and they are some of the most distinguished authorities in the field—that persuaded them to take the time to research and write the articles in this volume. In short, out of friendship and a shared interest in German Expressionist art, these scholars have made contributions to this book that I know money could not have persuaded them to make. This is all in our common cause of advancing the knowledge of German Expressionism.

211
Constantin von Mitschke-Collande
Germany, 1884–1956
Untitled (sailboats and cliffs), c. 1923
Color woodcut
4 5/16 x 3 1/8 in. (11.0 x 8.0 cm)
From Walther Georg Hartmann, *Die Tiere der Insel*
83.1.746 k
Davis 2010.11

212
Constantin von Mitschke-Collande
Germany, 1884–1956
Untitled (fish), c. 1923
Color woodcut
4 5/16 x 3 1/8 in. (11.0 x 8.0 cm)
From Walther Georg Hartmann, *Die Tiere der Insel*
83.1.746 b
Davis 2010.2

While for obvious reasons the general public cannot have ready access to the thousands of prints and books in the collection, Earl A. Powell III, the museum's director; Victor Carlson, senior curator of prints and drawings; and I agree that this material should be seen by the public. To this end we have scheduled regular exhibitions over the next fifteen years which will allow the public to view the treasures of the study center. The first of these exhibitions was a 1985 show of the early works of Erich Heckel and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, which was accompanied by a splendid catalogue with a scholarly introduction by Gunther Thiem, former curator of graphic art at the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart. With the assistance of the Rifkind Foundation, the museum was able to price the catalogue at three dollars, which meant that it was affordable for any person who had a serious interest in owning it.

I would also like to point out that before transferring the prints and library to the museum, I had two curators prepare an index of the collection and an individual file on each print and had a librarian devise a new classification of German Expressionist art books (since the Library of Congress has merely one category, German Expressionism). This classification includes approximately sixty subcategories. It was done in consultation with numerous scholars in the field and today constitutes the most complete classification in the field. It was important to me that the indexing, preparation of files, and card cataloguing be done before the material was turned over to the museum, since I wanted it to be instantly available to scholars. Most institutions do not have the staff to handle projects of this magnitude quickly. When I was at Harvard in the fifties, for example, the Feininger archives were largely unusable because the five thousand documents had not been indexed and catalogued. Thirty years later this work has still to be completed. At other archives, such as the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, much of the material is neither indexed nor catalogued, and it is difficult to conduct research. With the running start given them, the study center's staff has carried on the indexing and cataloguing of the collection, so that all material is quickly and easily available to scholars.

Just as it has been my ambition to make the Rifkind Study Center the definitive research facility for scholars in the field, it is my hope that the catalogue of the collection that is being published at the same time as this volume will help to advance our knowledge of German Expressionism even further. While there have been many catalogues devoted to specific artists or aspects of the movement, this book documents the entire scope of German Expressionist printmaking: the numerous artists involved, the diversity of styles and subject matter, and the sheer quantity of works produced. In this respect I believe that it is a unique resource and one that will make the collection available to an even wider audience.

NOTES

1 See Bernard S. Myers, *The German Expressionists: A Generation in Revolt* (New York: Praeger, 1957); Peter Selz, *German Expressionist Painting* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957); Lothar-Günther Buchheim, *The Graphic Art of German Expressionism* (New York: Universe Books, 1960); Wolf-Dieter Dube, *Expressionism* (New York: Praeger, 1973).

2 Paul Vogt, *Expressionism: German Painting, 1905–1920* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1980). Originally published as *Expressionismus: Deutsche Malerei zwischen 1905 und 1920* (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1978).

3 Wolf-Dieter Dube, *Expressionists and Expressionism* (Geneva: Skira, 1983).


DER STVRM
NEVE NVMMER
OK

A Conversation with Kokoschka at Ninety-two

Robert Gore Rifkind

Oskar Kokoschka and his wife, Olda, invited me to visit them in their home in Villeneuve, Switzerland. With their permission I brought with me Peter Guenther, professor of art history at the University of Houston, and Jelena Hahl, curator of the Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich. We flew from Munich to Geneva, arriving midafternoon September 30, 1978, in a heavy rain. As we drove to Villeneuve, we looked back and saw Geneva still shrouded in rain and clouds, but ahead the rain had slackened, and slowly the sun broke through, causing an extraordinary series of huge rainbows, larger and more brilliant than any of us had seen before. The full arc and both terminal points of each rainbow were clearly visible. As we drove under the first rainbow, it disappeared, and the next beckoned us more brightly still. Peter said, "Kokoschka has painted rainbows to welcome us."

At dusk the rain fell heavily. Twice we lost our way, but frazzled and damp we were greeted by Olda Kokoschka, a tall, handsome woman in her late fifties or early sixties. She ushered us through the reception hall, past a large living room, and into a small library, where Kokoschka sat in a big armchair, smoking a cigarette and drinking scotch. We saw his long legs first and then his famous visage. I started. Despite the passage of sixty-eight years since his self-portrait had appeared on a poster for *Der Sturm*, the resemblance was close. Although Peter and I are both in our fifties, we agreed later that we felt like youths.

Kokoschka offered us cigarettes and scotch. Mrs. Kokoschka brought food. I drank. Peter smoked. What follows are excerpts from my recording of the next two hours' conversation.

213
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Selbstbildnis (Sturmplakat), 1910
(Self-portrait [*Sturm* poster])
Color lithograph
26½ x 17⅝ in. (67.3 x 44.7 cm)
L.84.5.9; lent by the Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills, California

214
Oskar Kokoschka and Robert Gore Rifkind, 1978

214

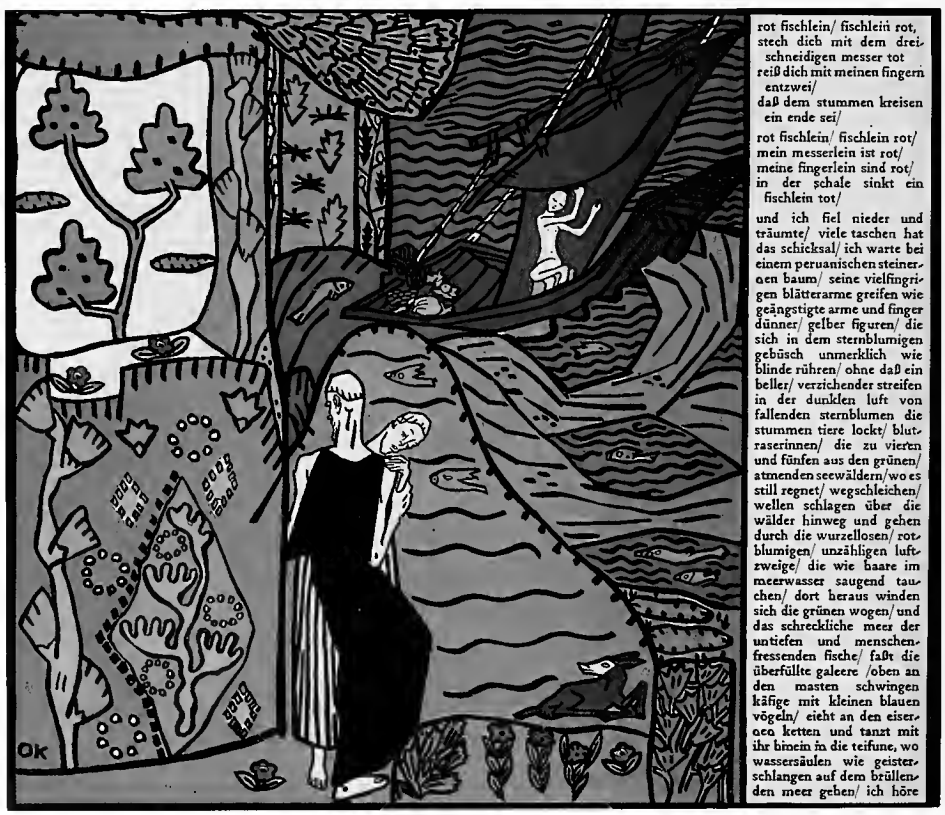
215
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Schlafende Frau, 1906–8
(Sleeping woman)
Color lithograph
9½ x 9 1/16 in. (24.1 x 23.0 cm)
From Oskar Kokoschka, *Die träumenden Knaben*
83.1.125 a
Davis 1556.1

216
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Das Segelschiff, 1906–8
(The sailboat)
Color lithograph
9½ x 9 in. (24.1 x 22.8 cm)
From Oskar Kokoschka, *Die träumenden Knaben*
83.1.125 b
Davis 1556.2

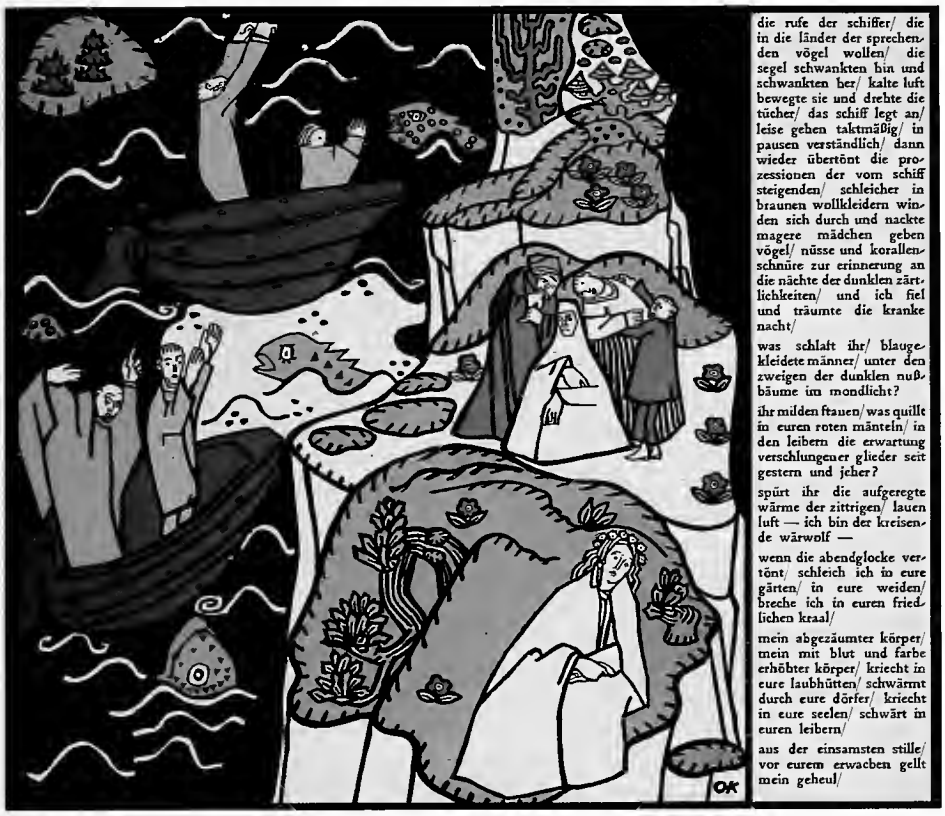
217
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Die Schiffer rufen, 1906–8
(The sailors shout)
Color lithograph
9½ x 9 1/16 in. (24.1 x 23.0 cm)
From Oskar Kokoschka, *Die träumenden Knaben*
83.1.125 c
Davis 1556.3

218
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Die ferne Insel, 1906–8
(The distant island)
Color lithograph
9½ x 9 1/16 in. (24.1 x 23.0 cm)
From Oskar Kokoschka, *Die träumenden Knaben*
83.1.125 d
Davis 1556.4

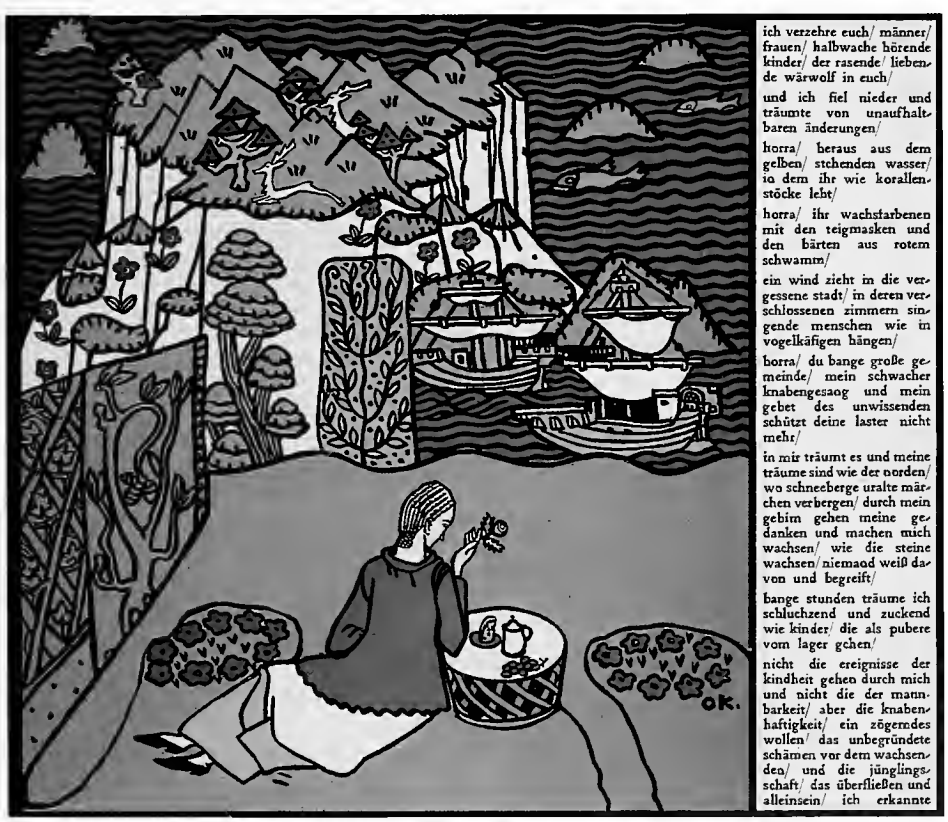
215



216



217



218

Die träumenden Knaben

RIFKIND: I read that at the time you wrote and illustrated *Die träumenden Knaben* (The dreaming boys) there was a fellow pupil called Lilith and that you were thinking of Lilith when you were doing the book.

KOKOSCHKA: *Ja*, sure. I hardly saw her because when she paid me a visit, she was always veiled.

RIFKIND: Veiled?

KOKOSCHKA: She covered her face.

MRS. KOKOSCHKA: Why?

KOKOSCHKA: Because I loved her so much.

RIFKIND: As I understand the story, she left before you finished the poem, the book, so you could never show it to her.

KOKOSCHKA: It is true.

RIFKIND: Seventy years later, as you look back, what thoughts go through your mind?

KOKOSCHKA: I would fall in love with her again.

GUENTHER: That's a lovely idea.

MRS. KOKOSCHKA: There was some trouble in the end. Oskar, remember? I don't know the story. Someone told you something about her.

One of my husband's qualities, which he has retained from his earliest years, is that he is jealous. He is capable of all sorts of frightful things out of jealousy, and someone told him something about this girl. And he believed it, and she was so cross that he believed it that she never wanted to see him again.

KOKOSCHKA: No, it was another way. Somebody was jealous and told me a story about her. She left school then.

RIFKIND: How long did it take you to write the book and do the lithographs?

KOKOSCHKA: Maybe a year. As long as the girl was in school. When she left, there was calumny against me. Somebody told bad stories about me; she was angered.

RIFKIND: What were the stories they told about you?

KOKOSCHKA: That I loved somebody else.

RIFKIND: And you didn't?

KOKOSCHKA: No, it was absurd. There wasn't anybody else. She was my idol. She's in all the pictures.

RIFKIND: The first color plate [*Schlafende Frau* (Sleeping woman)]: that's Lilith? Was she blonde?

KOKOSCHKA: Very blonde.

RIFKIND: She's not in this one [*Das Segelschiff* (The sailboat)], is she?

KOKOSCHKA: Maybe she's inside the boat.

RIFKIND: Who's in the black?

KOKOSCHKA: That's me.

219
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Paare im Gespräch, 1906–8
(Couples in conversation)
Color lithograph
9 7/16 x 9 1/16 in. (24.0 x 23.0 cm)
From Oskar Kokoschka, *Die träumenden Knaben*
83.1.125 e
Davis 1556.5

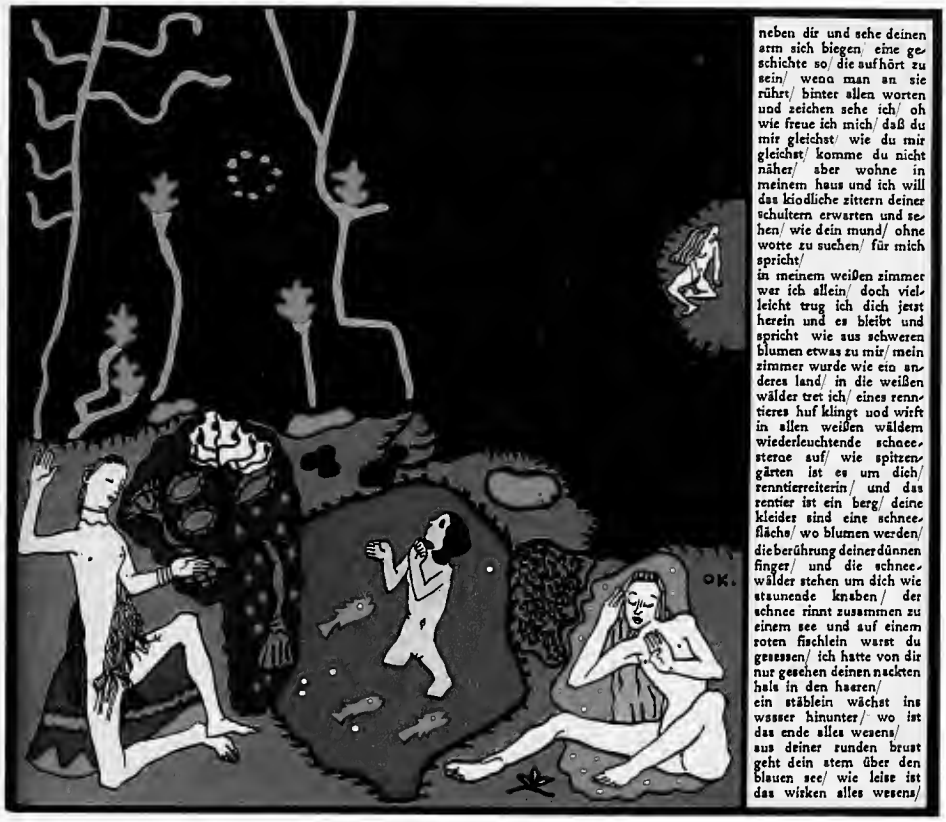
220
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Die Schlafenden, 1906–8
(The sleeping ones)
Color lithograph
9 1/2 x 9 1/16 in. (24.1 x 23.0 cm)
From Oskar Kokoschka, *Die träumenden Knaben*
83.1.125 f
Davis 1556.6

221
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Die Erwachenden, 1906–8
(The awakening ones)
Color lithograph
9 1/2 x 9 1/16 in. (24.1 x 23.0 cm)
From Oskar Kokoschka, *Die träumenden Knaben*
83.1.125 g
Davis 1556.7

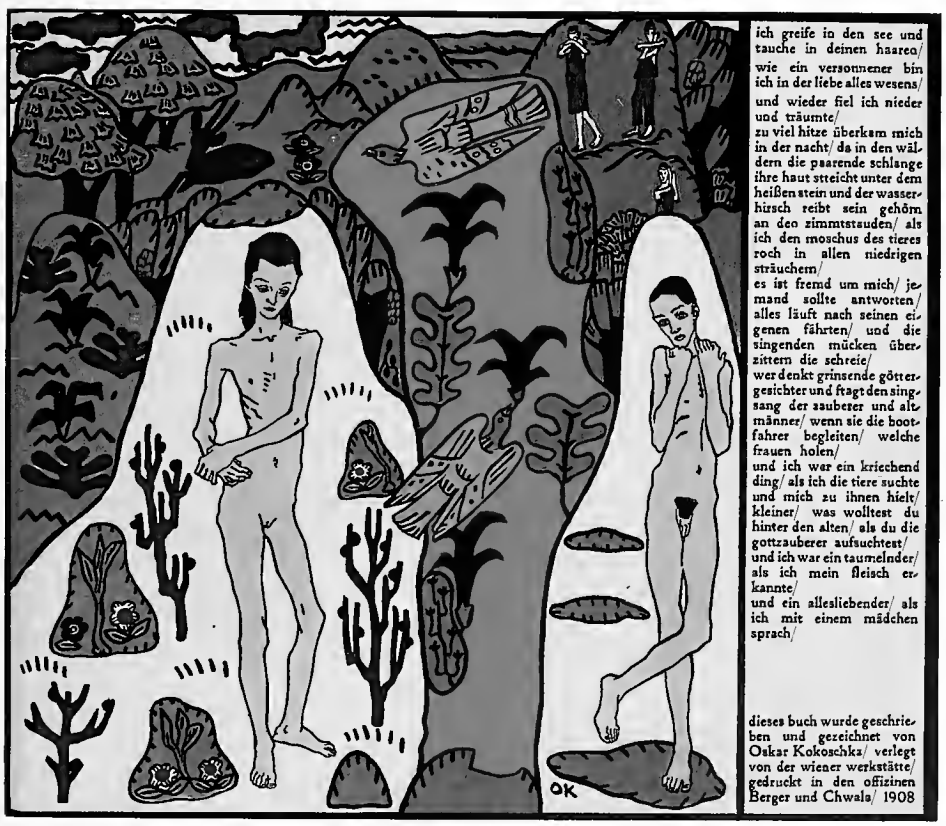
222
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Das Mädchen Li und ich, 1906–8
(The girl Li and I)
Color lithograph
9 7/16 x 9 1/16 in. (24.0 x 23.0 cm)
From Oskar Kokoschka, *Die träumenden Knaben*
83.1.125 h
Davis 1556.8

219

220



221



222

RIFKIND: In the third plate [*Die Schiffer rufen* (The sailors shout)] the figure on the right, and in the fourth plate [*Die ferne Insel* (The distant island)] this must be Lilith.

KOKOSCHKA: *Ja.* Always. Always she.

RIFKIND: In the fifth [*Paare im Gespräch* (Couples in conversation)], the center figure. Is that Lilith?

KOKOSCHKA: *Ja.*

RIFKIND: Is that you in purple?

KOKOSCHKA: That's me.

RIFKIND: Here, in the sixth plate [*Die Schlafenden* (The sleeping ones)], would the lady in the middle in yellow be Lilith?

KOKOSCHKA: That's she, of course.

RIFKIND: Would this be you, asleep on your hand?

KOKOSCHKA: *Ja, ja,* that's me.

RIFKIND: You've gone to sleep while working. Then in the seventh plate [*Die Erwachenden* (The awakening ones)], the figure on the extreme right is Lilith, because she's blonde. And in the eighth plate [*Das Mädchen Li und ich* (The girl Li and I)] . . .

KOKOSCHKA: That's me, and that's she. I was so clean.

MRS. KOKOSCHKA: He means he was so innocent.

RIFKIND: He was twenty, but he was young for twenty.

MRS. KOKOSCHKA: Yes, if you compared him with today.

GUENTHER: What was the reason for the dedication to Gustav Klimt?

MRS. KOKOSCHKA: Klimt made it possible for Oskar to participate in the Kunstschau of 1908. Oskar refused to be judged by the jury, and Klimt said: "Never mind. Let's let him do as he likes." Oskar was thankful to Klimt because this was allowed, and he dedicated the book to him.

KOKOSCHKA: *Die träumenden Knaben* was unique in that period.

GUENTHER: How did Klimt like it? Do you remember?

KOKOSCHKA: So far as I can remember Klimt loved it.

223
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Frauenmord: "Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen,"
c. 1908–9
(Murder of women: "Murderer, hope of women")
Pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper
12⅛ x 10⅛ in. (30.8 x 25.7 cm)
M.82.287.85
Davis 1559

224
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Selbstbildnis, Hand auf der Brust, 1911
(Self-portrait, hand on chest)
Color lithograph
35⅜ x 21⅜ in. (90.5 x 55.0 cm)
L.84.5.7; lent by the Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills, California

224

Frauenmord: "Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen"

RIFKIND: Mr. Kokoschka, today do you like *Die träumenden Knaben* or *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (Murderer, hope of women) better.

KOKOSCHKA: Both are my children, born out of the storms of my youth, my stormy youth. My heart was torn to pieces. It was love for that young lady.

MRS. KOKOSCHKA: Yes, but there were so many. There were always so many.

KOKOSCHKA: It was better that way.

Selbstbildnis (Sturmplakat) *and* Selbstbildnis, Hand auf der Brust

RIFKIND: Here is the poster for *Der Sturm.*

MRS. KOKOSCHKA: Oskar was very proud that you would use the other one, *Selbstbildnis, Hand auf der Brust* (Self-portrait, hand on chest), as the frontispiece in your book and that it was a color reproduction.

RIFKIND: We felt that that lithograph was the essence of Expressionism, that you couldn't get more expressionistic than that.

KOKOSCHKA: Your catalogue [*German Expressionist Art: The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection*] is a beautiful book.

RIFKIND: Why did you show yourself with your head shaved in the *Sturm* poster?

KOKOSCHKA: I was deeply, deeply ashamed about the story with the girl.

MRS. KOKOSCHKA: *Nein, nein.* That was not with the girl. The papers said you acted like a convict. You wanted to show them in that case that you looked like one.

KOKOSCHKA: *Ja.*

MRS. KOKOSCHKA: He shaved his head because he opposed artists with long hair. He wanted to set himself apart from that, so he did the opposite, I should think.

KOKOSCHKA: I wanted to look different. I was different. I still am. That's me. I can identify myself. It's funny that I got wounded with a bayonet in that exact place five years later. How many years after I did that: you can still feel it, the bayonet wound.

225
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Corona 1, 1918
Lithograph printed in red-brown
22 7/16 x 15 3/4 in. (56.4 x 40.0 cm)
M.82.288.158
Davis 1577

226
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Walter Hasenclever, Brustbild nach links, 1918
(Walter Hasenclever, bust-length portrait facing left)
Lithograph
24 7/16 x 16 5/8 in. (62.1 x 42.3 cm)
M.82.288.159
Davis 1579

227
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Paul Westheim–Kopf, 1923
(Head of Paul Westheim)
Lithograph
10 9/16 x 11 7/8 in. (26.9 x 30.1 cm)
From portfolio Die Schaffenden 4, no. 3 (1923)
M.82.288.162
Davis 1582

228
Oskar Kokoschka
Austria, 1886–1980
Mann und Weib mit Schlange, 1914
(Man and woman with snake)
Lithograph
6 1/8 x 4 13/16 in. (15.5 x 12.2 cm)
From Allos Makar, from *Zeit-Echo* 1, no. 20 (1915)
83.1.1205 e
Davis 1563.5

225

226

Corona 1

RIFKIND: Tell me about Corona.
KOKOSCHKA: She was much later.
RIFKIND: Was she your model or just a friend?
KOKOSCHKA: Lilith was a model.
MRS. KOKOSCHKA: Corona was a friend. Corona Stevens she was called. After the First World War the shock of war was so great that Oskar didn't like the company of men at all. He had the feeling that they had done something awful just a few months before. So he preferred to be in the company of women. He found it more agreeable to be with people who hadn't taken part in the war. He surrounded himself in Dresden with women who were not necessarily his girlfriends. He preferred them. They hadn't killed anybody. They hadn't done anything. I think that was the reason, because really there were so many models.

Walter Hasenclever, Brustbild nach links

RIFKIND: Were you very friendly with Walter Hasenclever?
KOKOSCHKA: He was a great patron of mine. *Ja.* And he killed himself because . . . one thing with Germany . . . he was a Jew . . . Hitler . . . he killed himself. He was a great, great poet.

Paul Westheim–Kopf

RIFKIND: Tell me about Paul Westheim.
KOKOSCHKA: He was a good friend, a very good friend of mine.
RIFKIND: How many years did you know him?
KOKOSCHKA: Oh, twenty years maybe.
RIFKIND: Did he like this picture?
KOKOSCHKA: He loved it. It's a small world. He published a beautiful book about me. You ought to have it. You ought to search for it. It's a beautiful book.

227

228

RIFKIND: Listen, we've been here a long time. We don't want to overstay.
MRS. KOKOSCHKA: Yes. When he gets tired . . .
KOKOSCHKA: You had your dinner?
MRS. KOKOSCHKA: No, they haven't, and we haven't, and I think it would be best if we ended soon.
KOKOSCHKA: Not yet. Another scotch?
RIFKIND: I would love some more whiskey, thank you.

Allos Makar

RIFKIND: I sent you [the periodical] *Zeit-Echo*, and you were very nice: you signed each lithograph.
MRS. KOKOSCHKA: Yes, he signed them all.
RIFKIND: *Zeit-Echo* is so rare. Nobody in America ever sees it.
MRS. KOKOSCHKA: No, no. They are very rare.
RIFKIND: Do you have this one: Allos Makar?
KOKOSCHKA: I lost my copy of Allos Makar.

GUENTHER: What brought you to Villeneuve?
MRS. KOKOSCHKA: After the war we decided that we wanted to move out of London. We were there so long, and we wanted to get out. We were in Italy in 1951. We had a new car, and [Oskar] said, "We'll drive on until we see [Lake Geneva]"—coming from Italy, coming from the south—"and then we'll stop for the night and we'll look around." We stopped here in Villeneuve and started looking for a house.
KOKOSCHKA: That's how we discovered this place. There was no house, nothing.
MRS. KOKOSCHKA: We saw some houses, but they were not possible. We had very little money at the time. A big house we didn't want. Then we were told about this land, which was going to be divided. We bought the land very cheaply. We started to build in 1952. We moved in in '53.

■

At about eight thirty Peter, Jelena, and I took our leave. It was a long, dark, rainy drive back to Geneva, but none of us minded. We were warmed by the fires still burning in this noble nonagenarian. We had had a unique and uplifting encounter with the greatest portrait and landscape painter of the twentieth century.


JAHRBUCH DER JUNGEN KUNST 1922
1902
Jugend münchner illustrierte Wochen Schrift
G. Schiefler Die Graphik E.L. Kirchners
Jugend münchner illustrierte Wochen-Schrift
1917 I.
1917 II.
CURT GLASER UND ANDERE
MAX BECKMANN
OSBORN MAX PECHSTEIN
München Künstler Feste
SŒRGEL
Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit
NEUE FOLGE
SCHWARZER GREIF
Das neue Pathos
AKtion I.
AKtion II.

The Library: Resource for the Study of German Expressionism

Paul Raabe

The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies represents far more than the conventional graphic cabinet; it is also a comprehensive facility for the study of Expressionism. A wise and farsighted collector, Robert Gore Rifkind has succeeded in gathering all the primary and secondary resources that are indispensable to a profound study of the Expressionist movement. As a result, the center's library occupies a special position in relation to the graphics collection.

The books and periodicals available to scholars working at the center can be divided into four principal categories, though these divisions do not correspond precisely to the highly differentiated system by which the library is organized. The most comprehensive category, which might be termed *artistic sources*, contains books incorporating original graphic art; these are grouped according to the artists who illustrated them. The remaining categories, all smaller than the first, are contemporaneous anthologies and general publications, periodicals, and secondary literature, which comprises both research literature and reference works. Books that appeared before 1939 are regarded as primary source materials; those from a later date, as secondary sources.

Primary Sources

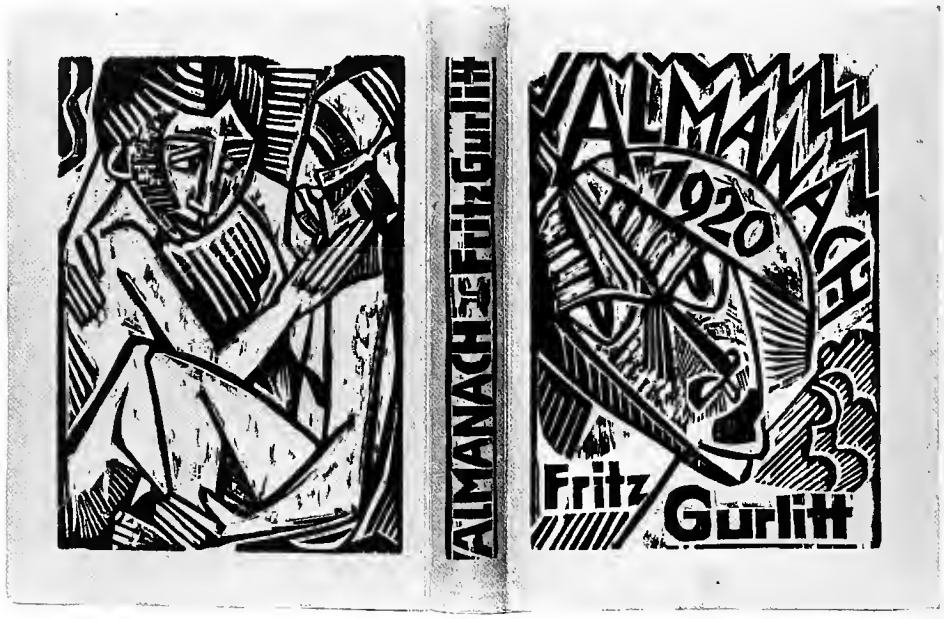
The first category, artistic sources, can be subdivided into illustrated books, portfolios, and periodicals; solo and group exhibition catalogues; anthologies; literary series; and publisher's almanacs and catalogues. These were acquired as supplements to the print collection.

These works provide evidence that many Expressionist prints were created for the purpose of illustration. Max Beckmann's drypoint illustrations for Kasimir Edschmid's novella *Die Fürstin* (The princess, 1918) or Ernst Barlach's woodcuts for Goethe's poem *Walpurgisnacht* (1923) are graphic works that stand on their own, print series comparable with those in the large portfolios in which each artist elaborated his themes. During the Expressionist period, as at the turn of the century, original prints were often published in periodicals, usually in special editions. One can find such prints in Paul Westheim's monthly *Das Kunstblatt* (The art paper, 1917–33), for example, or in Georg Biermann's *Jahrbuch der jungen Kunst* (Yearbook of recent art, 1920–24). Original prints are also included in many of the other artistic sources, found in impressive abundance in the Rifkind Study Center, as well as in some of the early secondary literature. The covers of publisher's almanacs often featured original graphic art. Max Pechstein provided a woodcut for Fritz Gurlitt's 1920 almanac, for example, while Frans Masereel provided one for Kurt Wolff's 1925 almanac (figs. 230–31). Some of the early exhibition catalogues produced by artists' groups such as the Brücke (bridge) and the Dresden Sezession: Gruppe 1919 (Dresden secession: group 1919) also contain valuable Expressionist applied graphic art.

Expressionist book art can also be found in many of the documents of Expressionism. In this respect the oeuvre catalogues of Rosa Schapire and Gustav Schiefler represent special rarities. For Schiefler's 1924–26 catalogue of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's graphic oeuvre (see fig. 235), for example, the artist produced woodcut borders and tailpieces as well as designing the cover and endsheets. Such interre-

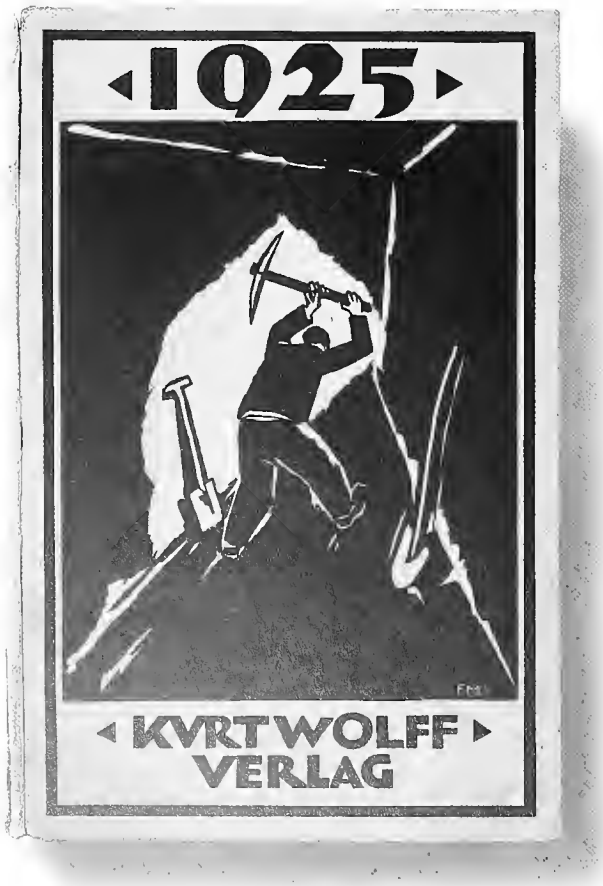
229
Books from the collection of the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies

230
Max Pechstein
Germany, 1881–1955
Untitled (cover), 1919
Woodcut
Book: 8¾ x 13⅞ in. (22.3 x 35.2 cm)
From Fritz Gurlitt, ed., *Almanach auf das Jahr 1920*
83.1.83 d, e
Davis 2254



230

231
Cover of *1925: Ein Almanach für Kunst und Dichtung aus dem Kurt Wolff Verlag*, with a reproduction of a woodcut by Frans Masereel
83.1.643



231

latedness of text and image exemplifies the Expressionist ideal of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art) and invests the oeuvre inventory with a unique quality. Such is also the case for Will Grohmann's comprehensive monograph on Kirchner (see fig. 232); the design and preparation of the cover, typography, and illustrations by the artist resulted in an impressive document of Expressionist book design.

Some of the most charming examples of Expressionist applied graphic art were created not for illustrated books and periodicals, but for bookplates, advertisements, announcements, posters, and printed proclamations. Artists willingly employed their talents on their own behalves to represent their associations or communicate their ideas about art or politics in flyers and brochures. In this regard the documents of artists' associations in Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, Munich, and other cities are exemplary.

However attractive a selection of Expressionist applied art this copious array of contemporaneous publications may be, their fundamental value for researchers lies in their nature as documentary sources. The center's collection of exhibition catalogues represents an especially valuable resource. These early catalogues are concerned with the secessionist groups that came into being after 1900, first in Berlin and Munich and later in many provincial cities. Documents of annual shows and special exhibitions, they convey a vivid impression of the contemporary art scene. Such a rich collection makes it possible to trace the participation of individual artists in the various group exhibitions of the period. The catalogues of the Brücke (see fig. 233), the Neue Künstlervereinigung München (new artists' association Munich), the Berlin Sezession, the Novembergruppe (November group), and other associations throughout Germany exist in the library side by side with solo exhibition catalogues. Especially appealing examples are the early Kirchner catalogues (see fig. 234), for which the artist provided woodcuts.

Anthologies, including manifestos of individual artists' associations, contemporary works on Expressionism accompanied by original prints, and serial publications, are catalogued separately in the

232
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Untitled (title page), 1925
Color woodcut
7 1/16 x 7 in. (18.0 x 17.8 cm)
From Will Grohmann, *Das Werk Ernst Ludwig Kirchners*
83.1.379 a
Davis 1482.1

232

library. Extensive research on Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc's almanac, *Der blaue Reiter* (The blue rider, 1912; see fig. 10), has made this particular anthology well known and accessible. This is not yet true, however, of the impressive political documents of Expressionism: the publications of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (working council for art), for example, or a work like *Das neue Hamburg* (The new Hamburg, 1922), which highlights the art scene in this Hansa city after the First World War, or such a rare work as *Utopia: Dokumente der Wirklichkeit* (Utopia: Documents of reality, 1921; see fig. 184), designed primarily by Johannes Itten.

In the Expressionist era the literary series was much loved. Der jüngste Tag (Judgment Day, 1913–22), published by Wolff, offered the latest editions of Expressionist poetry. In Der rote Hahn (The red cock, 1917–25), Franz Pfemfert, who was also the publisher of *Die Aktion* (Action), brought out individual literary or poetic texts. Even more revealing for scholars of Expressionism are the little volumes in Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit (Tribune of art and time, 1919–23), edited by Edschmid, for here one finds important testimony regarding the situation of Expressionist art around 1920. There were serial publications devoted exclusively to Expressionism; one of the most valuable is the collection *Der schwarze Turm* (The black tower, 1919–20), which presented graphic artists of the late Expressionist period. Popular monographs were also produced. The best-known series, Junge Kunst (Recent art), presented monographs on more than fifty artists between 1919 and 1933.

233

233
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Untitled (title woodcut), 1912
Woodcut and collage
7 9/16 x 3 1/16 in. (19.2 x 7.8 cm)
From *Ausstellung von Künstlergruppe Brücke*
M.82.288.375 a
Davis 1455

234
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Untitled (front cover); untitled (back cover), 1916
Two woodcuts
6 3/16 x 4 1/8 in. (15.7 x 10.5 cm);
4 15/16 x 3 3/8 in. (12.5 x 8.5 cm)
From *Katalog der Ausstellung E. L. Kirchner, Galerie Schames, Frankfurt*
83.1.111 a, b
Davis 1466.1–2

These early publications on Expressionism are unquestionably among the most valuable source materials. If one surveys the introductions to the work of Beckmann, Kandinsky, Kirchner, Paul Klee, Oskar Kokoschka, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Emil Nolde, and Pechstein, one comes away with a fascinating insight into the involvement of art writers and certain avant-garde art historians in the Expressionist movement. The early discussions of Expressionism in books by Fritz Burger, Carl Einstein, Wilhelm Hausenstein, and Eckart von Sydow are all to be found in the library of the Rifkind Study Center.

Expressionism could not have had the dramatic impact it did had it not been for the courageous involvement of art dealers and gallery owners such as Paul Cassirer, Hans Goltz, Gurlitt, I. B. Neumann (see fig. 239), Ludwig Schames, and Herwarth Walden; nor would it have been possible without the cooperation of publishers (of whom we shall say more presently) and the commitment of art historians and critics, who played a significant role in the history of the movement. At a moment of transition, as the world of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie came to an end with the First World War, in a period in which a new consciousness was establishing itself, these writers promulgated the ideas of the movement and aided the artists in gaining acceptance and fame. Many of the critics wrote in a style as expressionistic as that of the Expressionist authors, and thus the effect of the art they were describing coincided with their written reflections. Certain names are representative of this intellectual avant-garde: Curt Glaser, Grohmann, Gustav F. Hartlaub, Hausenstein, Max Osborn, Kurt Pfister, and Westheim (see fig. 236).

In the pages of the early research literature one can trace the interaction of artists and writers on art. In the art journals in particular one can observe the close relationship between the production of Expressionist art and its reception. A superb insight into art criticism and the art market of the time can also be gained from a study of contemporary periodicals of a more general nature. These provide an important means for understanding Expressionism in its day. The initial debates on modern

234

235
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Untitled (cover), 1922–24
Color woodcut
10⅝ x 12⅝ in. (27.0 x 32.0 cm)
From Gustav Schiefler, *Das graphische Werk von Ernst Ludwig Kirchner bis 1924: Band 1, bis 1916*
83.1.380.53
Davis 1479.1

235

art were recorded in Walden's *Der Sturm* (The storm), which began appearing in 1910. Again and again Walden engaged in polemics not only with newspapers but also with conventional art periodicals such as Ferdinand Avenarius's *Der Kunstwart* (The curator, 1887–1932) or *Kunst und Künstler* (Art and artists, 1902–33), which is so rich in information on the contemporary art scene. Its publisher, Karl Scheffler, a friend of the Impressionists Lovis Corinth and Max Slevogt, had no sympathy for newer tendencies in art, in contrast to Biermann, who published *Der Cicerone* (The cicerone, 1909–30) with Klinkhardt und Biermann in Leipzig. After the war Biermann supported Expressionism in his *Jahrbuch der jungen Kunst* (see fig. 237). *Das Kunstblatt* (see fig. 238) was also sympathetic to the movement, as an announcement of the first issue, published in 1917, indicates: "*Das Kunstblatt* seeks to serve art on its way to becoming. It is there for the sake of an art that . . . places the yearning for creation, the divine inner urge, above formulaic beauty, above beauty that ingratiates with glitter and sensual stimulation. . . . Existing only to serve this strength and authenticity, only for an art of the . . . personality, this publication has not the slightest intention of dictating the latest artistic fashion." *Das Kunstblatt* is an outstanding chronicle of Expressionism in the years 1917 to 1925.

Also available in the Rifkind Study Center are the many smaller but equally stimulating publications of the period documenting modern art in text and image, for example, *Das graphische Jahrbuch* (The graphic yearbook, 1920), edited by Hans Theodor Joel in Darmstadt, and *Das Kestnerbuch* (The Kestner book, 1919), edited by Paul Erich Küppers in Hannover, and foremost among them, Julius Meier-

Graefe's superbly edited *Ganymed: Blätter der Marées-Gesellschaft* (Ganymede: Papers of the Marées society, vols. 1–2, 1919–20), which continued publication as *Ganymed: Jahrbuch für die Kunst* (Ganymede: Yearbook for art, vols. 3–5, 1921–25) under the direction of Hausenstein, another editor who was also involved in the Expressionist cause. *Ganymed* was affiliated with the Berlin printing house of the same name, founded in 1917, which produced the ambitious Drucke der Marées-Gesellschaft (Prints of the Marées society), edited by Meier-Graefe and published by Reinhard Piper in Munich.

The almanacs of Piper's firm from the years 1904 to 1924 provide further evidence of his commitment to Expressionism, but the most beautiful and interesting publisher's almanacs were produced by Fritz Gurlitt Verlag in Berlin, a house that contributed to the dissemination of Expressionism with a wide selection of prints, illustrated books, and portfolios. The almanacs of Cassirer in Berlin and Wolff in Munich, along with the art periodicals and anthologies they produced, not only provide accounts of their firms' publications but also contain essential bibliographical information.

The activities of art publishers and dealers can also be traced through their advertisements in illustrated periodicals and journals. Neumann's *Bilderhefte* (Picture pamphlets, 1920–23; see fig. 240) and Alfred Flechtheim's *Der Querschnitt* (The cross section, 1921–36), which publicized exhibitions at their galleries, are the best sources in which to follow the involvement of these notable advocates of Expressionist art.

236
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
Paul Westheim, 1923
Lithograph
15¼ x 18¹¹⁄₁₆ in.
(38.5 x 47.5 cm)
M.82.288.47
Davis 481

236

While scholars visiting the Rifkind Study Center can conduct research on well-known artists or follow the trails of the many little-known or as yet undiscovered painters, printmakers, sculptors, and architects of the Expressionist movement, the original sources—unpublished manuscripts, notebooks, and letters—necessary to a more detailed investigation are not available there in great quantity. Archival work of this nature, however, depends upon previous examination of the published sources, and for this purpose a comprehensive collection such as that of the center is indispensable. Such an institution not only makes possible the study of individual artists, it also offers facilities for general research on Expressionism that can be the basis for in-depth studies on specific topics. An overview of the published primary source materials of a period can stimulate an unlimited number of detailed studies. In the center one can explore the nature of exhibitions, examine the role of artists' associations, and determine the significance of provincial German cities in the development of Expressionism. (Berlin, Munich, and Vienna were not the only centers of modern art. Individuals and institutions in many smaller cities also took part in the dissemination of Expressionist art and supported young artists in a variety of ways.) One can follow the history of art publishers as well as that of the art market in the published sources—books, catalogues, periodicals, and advertisements—and pursue the role of writers on art as well as that of museums, many of which proved to be remarkably open to modern art. Finally, the struggle surrounding modern art is reflected in the documents of an Expressionist library. For a history of the reception of Expressionism and for its social history, the study of contemporaneous books and periodicals is essential.

238
Georg Schrimpf
Germany, 1889–1938
Untitled (woman seated in landscape), c. 1917
Woodcut
7⅛ x 5⅛ in. (18.1 x 13.0 cm)
From deluxe edition of *Das Kunstblatt* 1, no. 2 (1917)
83.1.1086 a
Davis 2617

238

237
Cover of *Jahrbuch der jungen Kunst* (1922), with a reproduction of a woodcut by Georg A. Mathéy
83.1.800

237

Secondary Literature

As we have seen, a large number of monographs and essays on Expressionism and Expressionist artists were written by contemporaries of the movement. Although the production and dissemination of modern art in Germany was interrupted by the Nazis, an intervention that culminated in the unparalleled defamation and destruction of an entire art movement, the end of the Second World War saw a renewed interest in this early twentieth-century movement in the United States as well as in Germany. Books by Hartlaub, Hausenstein, Max Sauerlandt, and others attest to this revival.

Since the war research into Expressionism has taken new directions, focusing not only on the life and work of the major artists—for example, those of the Brücke and the Blaue Reiter—but also on "loners" such as Barlach and Kokoschka. Together with Beckmann, Lyonel Feininger, Erich Heckel, Alexej von Jawlensky, Kandinsky, Kirchner, Klee, Alfred Kubin, August Macke, Marc, Otto Mueller, Nolde, Pechstein, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, minor artists of the movement as well as artists of late Expressionism (for example, Conrad Felixmüller, Ludwig Meidner, Jakob Steinhardt, and Georg Tappert) have found biographers. These studies have expanded the narrow idea of Expressionism that was prevalent immediately after the war. In addition there have been studies of developments that originated in Expressionism, for example, Dada, rendering a more varied picture of the time. Research into individual genres such as sculpture, graphics, and poster art has also made noticeable progress. Oeuvre catalogues for individual artists have appeared, as have collections of documents and letters. Monographs on artists are, as before, worthwhile book projects, especially as reproduction techniques have become more refined. There now exist numerous scholarly studies of individual artists as well as comprehensive and partial surveys of Expressionism, presentations of individual artists' associations, studies of the movement in particular cities, and works exploring the history of its influence and reception.

239

240

Exhibitions of Expressionist art continue to be popular at museums and galleries throughout the world. If one compares the modest catalogues of the period to the superbly designed, richly illustrated, thoroughly researched exhibition catalogues of the present, one can see that today's catalogues represent a major portion of the research being done on Expressionist art and artists. Many have become standard works on the subject. In this context another type of catalogue, the auction catalogue, should also be mentioned. Auction catalogues have helped to make many Expressionist works accessible for the first time, and they are an essential element of the literature of Expressionism.

Seen as a whole, Expressionist art has become a wide arena for research that is mirrored in a rich array of primary and secondary literature. The contribution of English-language publications to this literature has been considerable, not least of all because so many works have been translated from German into English. Expressionism has become an art possessed by the entire world.

From the very beginning Robert Gore Rifkind included secondary research literature in his collection. Today this particular portion of the center's collection continues to grow; it constitutes a second area of concentration in the library. One hardly needs to mention that the library also makes the standard reference works on modern art in general and on Expressionism in particular available to its users. The personnel overseeing the Rifkind Study Center make work in the library pleasant and rewarding. Their eagerness to be helpful and their level of expertise, which allows for gennine collaborative thinking, mark the atmosphere of a library that makes a concerted effort to accommodate scholars and their research projects. For the opportunity to conduct such in-depth research on Expressionism in Los Angeles, the scholar must also thank the collector, who has complemented his extraordinary holdings of Expressionist graphic art with such a rich and multifaceted library. Even more respect is due this collector in light of the fact that he has placed his collection in an accessible public institution.

Translated from the German by Harriet Watts

239
Otto Dix
Germany, 1891–1969
I. B. Neumann, 1922
Etching and drypoint
11 1/16 x 9 1/2 in. (29.7 x 24.1 cm)
M.82.288.48
Davis 474

240
Erich Heckel
Germany, 1883–1970
Titelblatt zu I. B. Neumanns Bilderheft "Erich Heckel," 1922
(Title page to I. B. Neumann's picture book *Erich Heckel*)
Woodcut
7 3/8 x 5 1/2 in. (18.7 x 13.9 cm)
83.1.630 a
Davis 1055

241
The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies

241

Scholarship: Past, Present, and Future Directions

Rose-Carol Washton Long

Of all the movements associated with the development of European modernism—Cubism, Expressionism, Futurism, Surrealism—Expressionism may be the least understood and the most often maligned. Throughout the twentieth century Expressionism has been accused of failure, moral vapidity, and degeneracy as well as formlessness and subjectivity. That Expressionism is most commonly associated with Germany, a country twice at war with the rest of Europe during the first fifty years of the century, is not unrelated to the antipathy many art historians have had for it. But the Second World War has been over for more than forty years, and Expressionism, along with all other movements associated with modernism, had been severely attacked in Germany during the 1930s by the governing National Socialists. Yet, until recently, French manifestations of modernism, such as Cubism and Surrealism, have received much more scholarly attention. Obviously more is involved than a simple reaction to a style associated with a nation that was once an opponent.

The attitude that France has been the repository of Western culture, an attitude strongly felt during the first fifty years of this century, has certainly contributed to the emphasis upon French art. But numerous misinterpretations, among them the sentiment that Expressionism was influenced by too many other styles to have an identity of its own, have also encouraged the perception that German art is inferior to French art. A quote from the chapter on Expressionism in George Heard Hamilton's otherwise very useful survey of European art, *Painting and Sculpture in Europe, 1880–1940*, illustrates this general bias: "After an examination of French art, modern German painting and sculpture may seem to lack any consistent direction. The logical progression of the French is absent, and in its place there are apparently only flashes of genius in the midst of unregulated idiosyncracies."[1] Even in 1984 the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition *"Primitivism" in Twentieth-Century Art* revealed a bias in favor of French Cubism and Surrealism in its reevaluations of early modernism in Europe. Affinities between German Expressionism and primitive art were displayed in the exhibition, but the examples of German Expressionist art were too few to convey the complex influence of tribal art on modernist artists in Germany.[2]

In the past decade art historians have nonetheless become increasingly aware that a large part of European art has been left unexamined. As admiration for recent German art, especially Neo-Expressionism, has grown, critics, scholars, and the public have once again begun to explore the painterly qualities of texture and color and the cultural and political ideograms that marked much of the work associated with German Expressionism. Studies of Expressionist artists have proliferated.[3] These studies have not been confined to acknowledged masters from the period before the First World War, such as Wassily Kandinsky and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, but have ranged over a multitude of lesser-known artists as well as activist political organizations such as the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (working council for art), to which many of the Expressionists belonged after the war. Numerous misconceptions about Expressionism persist nevertheless, and a thorough reevaluation has yet to be written. To illuminate areas for further research, this essay focuses on some of the historical reasons for the lacunae of German Expressionist

242
Otto Lange
Germany, 1879–1944
Vision, probably after 1919
Woodcut and color monotype
20¾ x 18⁷⁄₁₆ in. (52.7 x 46.8 cm)
M.82.288.199
Davis 1705

studies as well as directing attention to recent approaches in the field, for it has become increasingly clear that we have much to learn in this arena.

Explorations in the field have been complicated by the fact that Expressionism in Germany was an exceptionally diverse phenomenon, affecting a number of disciplines and ranging across several generations. Painting is generally acknowledged to be the first of the arts to have been labeled Expressionist,[4] but sculpture, architecture, printmaking, literature, poetry, photography, film, and drama were also described in Germany as Expressionist. Despite the fact that the term *Expressionismus* was used by artists and critics during the period of its prime influence, the accuracy and meaning of the term have been continually questioned. Relating artists to specific movements can be problematic, and some historians have asserted that the term was used only by art dealers and critics. Artists did indeed use the term before the First World War,[5] although some rejected it entirely.[6] Today most scholars in the field of German modernism in the visual arts lean to the interpretation that Expressionism reflects a multiplicity of antinaturalist, tension-producing styles in addition to a variety of utopian attitudes from the period before, during, and after the First World War. Although scholars may not always agree upon which artists should be included under the term, sufficient evidence—in the form of exhibitions, manifestos, artists' letters, and essays[7]—exists to remind us of Expressionism's power in Germany's cultural life from roughly 1908[8] to 1921[9] and even, albeit in altered form, into the 1930s. Indeed, in that decade, after its reputed demise, Expressionism retained enough stature to be attacked by both the fascists and the Communists.

The Expressionists' utopian belief that art could be the vehicle of political and cultural transformations made them particularly vulnerable to ideological attacks. Whatever their political persuasions, the majority of Expressionists were committed to reaction against established traditions, whether artistic, social, political, economic, or sexual. Their exalted hopes contributed to their immense appeal after the First World War and ultimately to the intensity of the attacks upon them. Eventually, as Expressionism became an ideological football for both the National Socialists and the Communists, misinterpretations turned into gross parodies that have had long-lasting negative effects.

Explorations of the phenomenon of Expressionism have also been complicated by the fact that from the beginning of its identification in Germany, Expressionism was involved with the highly emotional questions of internationalism and nationalism. Before the First World War supporters of Expressionism often justified its radical departures from nature by stressing its relation to other European artistic developments. The museum director Richard Reiche and the publisher Herwarth Walden viewed the German-based Brücke and Blaue Reiter artists along with French Fauvists and Cubists, Italian Futurists, Norwegian and Dutch Symbolists (in the persons of Edvard Munch and Vincent van Gogh) as Expressionists. Others, such as P. F. Schmidt and Paul Fechter, defended the new art against those who called it un-German, rubbish, and mad by emphasizing those aspects of Expressionism that reflected

the Germanic past.[10] Identification of Expressionism with the Gothic was especially stressed. By 1914 critics such as Adolf Behne and Fechter were suggesting that Expressionism was more metaphysical than avant-garde experiments in other countries.[11] This type of apotheosizing interpretation would lead to much self-flagellation after the war. And the earlier nationalist attacks on Expressionism[12] as a betrayer of an indigenous art form would also increase in intensity after the war.

To a certain degree some of the negative aura that has surrounded Expressionism can be traced to the exalted expectations of many of the early defenders of Expressionism. In the late teens and early twenties the harshest critics of Expressionism were quite frequently the very same ones who had first championed the movement. Where Expressionism had been praised before the First World War for its antimaterialist themes and style, in the late teens it was condemned for succumbing to fashion and for its mystical impulses. The initial utopian hope that a new style of art could contribute to a moral and ethical renewal could not be sustained by the political and economic realities after the November Revolution of 1918.

For example, in one of the earliest defenses of Expressionism, the art historian Wilhelm Worringer, writing in 1911, praised the new style for its purity, simplicity, and mysticism and equated these traits with those of primitive art.[13] Barely ten years later Worringer attacked the movement that he had believed would be significant for the future development of German art. In public lectures of 1919 and 1920 he called Expressionism "an empty shell," dismissing it as a "superficial thrill." He explained that a spiritual art could not exist in the cultural climate of that moment and denounced Expressionism for degenerating into decoration, or "artistic fashion calligraphy."[14]

The critic Wilhelm Hausenstein was another Expressionist defender turned attacker. Before the war Hausenstein had also praised the idealistic direction of Expressionism,[15] but a year after the war his radical socialist political commitments led him to attack angrily the style that had become identified with what he felt were the failures of the Weimar Republic.[16] The popularity of Expressionism among the urban upper and middle classes and its lack of acceptance by the great mass of the German people also contributed to Hausenstein's belief that it had failed in its mission.

At the same time a younger generation of artists living in Berlin who felt even more committed to political activism attempted to separate themselves from Expressionism by vehemently denouncing the style and politics they had earlier admired. The Dada manifesto (fig. 243) reverberated with righteous indignation as the young artists proclaimed rhetorically: "Have the Expressionists fulfilled our expectations of an art that burns the essence of life into our flesh? No! No! No! . . . On pretext of carrying on propaganda for the soul, they have in their struggle with naturalism, found their way back to the abstract, pathetic gestures which presuppose a comfortable life free from content or strife."[17]

Conservatives also intensified their attacks on Expressionism and international modernism after the November Revolution. Paul Schultze-Naumburg, taking off from Max Nordau's earlier associ-

dadaistisches manifest

Die Kunst ist in ihrer Ausführung und Richtung von der Zeit abhängig, in der sie lebt, und die Künstler sind Kreaturen ihrer Epoche. Die höchste Kunst wird diejenige sein, die in ihren Bewußtseinsinhalten die tausendfachen Probleme der Zeit präsentiert, der man anmerkt, daß sie sich von den Explosionen der letzten Woche werfen ließ, die ihre Glieder immer wieder unter dem Stoß des letzten Tages zusammensucht. Die besten und unerhörtesten Künstler werden diejenigen sein, die stündlich die Fetzen ihres Leibes aus dem Wirrsal der Lebenskatarakte zusammenreißen, verbissen in den Intellekt der Zeit, blutend an Händen und Herzen.

Hat der Expressionismus unsere Erwartungen auf eine solche Kunst erfüllt, die eine Ballotage unserer vitalsten Angelegenheiten ist?

Nein! Nein! Nein!

Haben die Expressionisten unsere Erwartungen auf eine Kunst erfüllt, die uns die Essenz des Lebens ins Fleisch brennt?

Nein! Nein! Nein!

243
Richard Huelsenbeck,
Dadaistiches Manifest, c. 1920
83.1.342

243

ation of mental degeneracy with experimental art,[18] savagely described the antinaturalistic and antirepresentational developments of Expressionist art as un-German, commercial, materialistic, superficial, and degenerate. His book *Kunst und Rasse* (Art and race, 1928) presents a classic example of this point of view.[19] After the events of 1918 the right had begun to view Expressionism as connected with communism, using the term *Kultur-bolschewismus* (cultural Bolshevism)[20] to discredit all modernist efforts in the arts. While many of the artists and intellectuals of the movement had associations with groups on the left ranging from the majority Social Democrats and the smaller Independent Social Democrats to the splinter parties of the Communists and various anarchist movements, a number of artists associated with Expressionism, Ernst Barlach and Oskar Kokoschka among them, remained deliberately aloof from political involvements, and a few, including Emil Nolde, openly admired *völkisch* political parties and later the National Socialists.[21] Nonetheless almost all those associated with Expressionism eventually became the victims of the National Socialist determination to stamp out all evidence of non-German influence.

While the attacks upon Expressionism in the 1920s foreshadow the developments of the following decade, they do not adequately prepare one for the intense animosity against Expressionism that characterized the 1930s. The National Socialists were particularly brutal in their attempt to discredit all aspects of modernism. Although almost all artists in Germany associated with international modernism were attacked by the National Socialists, a majority of those whose works were officially labeled degenerate had been specifically connected with Expressionism at one time or another. Among the artists whose works were included in the *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate art) exhibitions were Max Beckmann, Otto Dix, Conrad Felixmüller, George Grosz, Erich

Heckel, Kirchner, Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Kokoschka, Franz Marc, Nolde, Max Pechstein, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff,[22] names frequently associated with Expressionism a decade or two earlier. A few words from the catalogue of the 1937 Munich *Entartete Kunst* exhibition (see figs. 244–45), the best known of these grotesque exhibition parodies, might remind us of the virulence of the National Socialist position. A speech by Adolf Hitler, reprinted in the catalogue, described the works as portraying "deformed cripples and cretins, women who inspire nothing but disgust, human beings who are more animal than human."[23] Other commentaries described the selected paintings and sculptures as artistic Bolshevism responsible for anarchy and disorder, as catering to Jewish art dealers, as representing the Negro as the most elevated moral type, as products of mental defectives suffering from visual malfunctions. At the conclusion of the catalogue, works of the insane were set side by side with examples of modern painting and sculpture. Supported by these preposterous arguments, the catalogue announced that all work by the artists included in the exhibition would be forbidden.

The facts of how many paintings were taken from museums across Germany, how many directors of modern museums or modern wings of museums were removed from their positions, how many artists were banned from the national academies, how many paintings were burned or sold outside Germany to provide needed capital are well known.[24] By the time the Nazis were defeated, many of the artists whose work had been banned, mutilated, or destroyed had either been forced to emigrate or had been so traumatized by the inconceivable experience with fascism that they did not wish to be associated with a movement that had been thought to have national characteristics, even if only from the medieval past. For these artists, to view modernism as having any connection with a German Expressionism would be too closely associated with the National Socialist concept of racially inspired art forms.

It is ironic that while the right wing viewed Expressionism and other avant-garde movements as leading to communism, the extreme left viewed Expressionism as leading to fascism. Although the radical left in Germany had criticized Expressionism since the 1920s for lacking a clear ideological program and for being incomprehensible to the masses, a debate over Expressionism in the Moscow-based German émigré periodical *Das Wort* (The word) in 1937–38 intensified and immortalized the Marxist criticism of Expressionism.[25] Many of the essays in this periodical refer to George Lukács's 1934 critique, "'Grösse und Verfall' des Expressionismus" (The significance and decline of Expressionism). Lukács acknowledged the rebellious antiright, antiwar tone of the Expressionists, but reflecting the antimodernist Stalinist direction, he criticized the Expressionist response as anarchistic and bohemian, without economic and ideological foundation. Describing Expressionism as formless, devoid of content, and subjective, he maintained that its chaotic style hid the true nature of social realities and allowed even the fascists to accept its stylistic qualities since they masked political and social conditions.[26] In *Das Wort* Ernst Bloch, who had sympathized with the Communists but had not become a party member, pointed out that Lukács was concerned more with literature than with

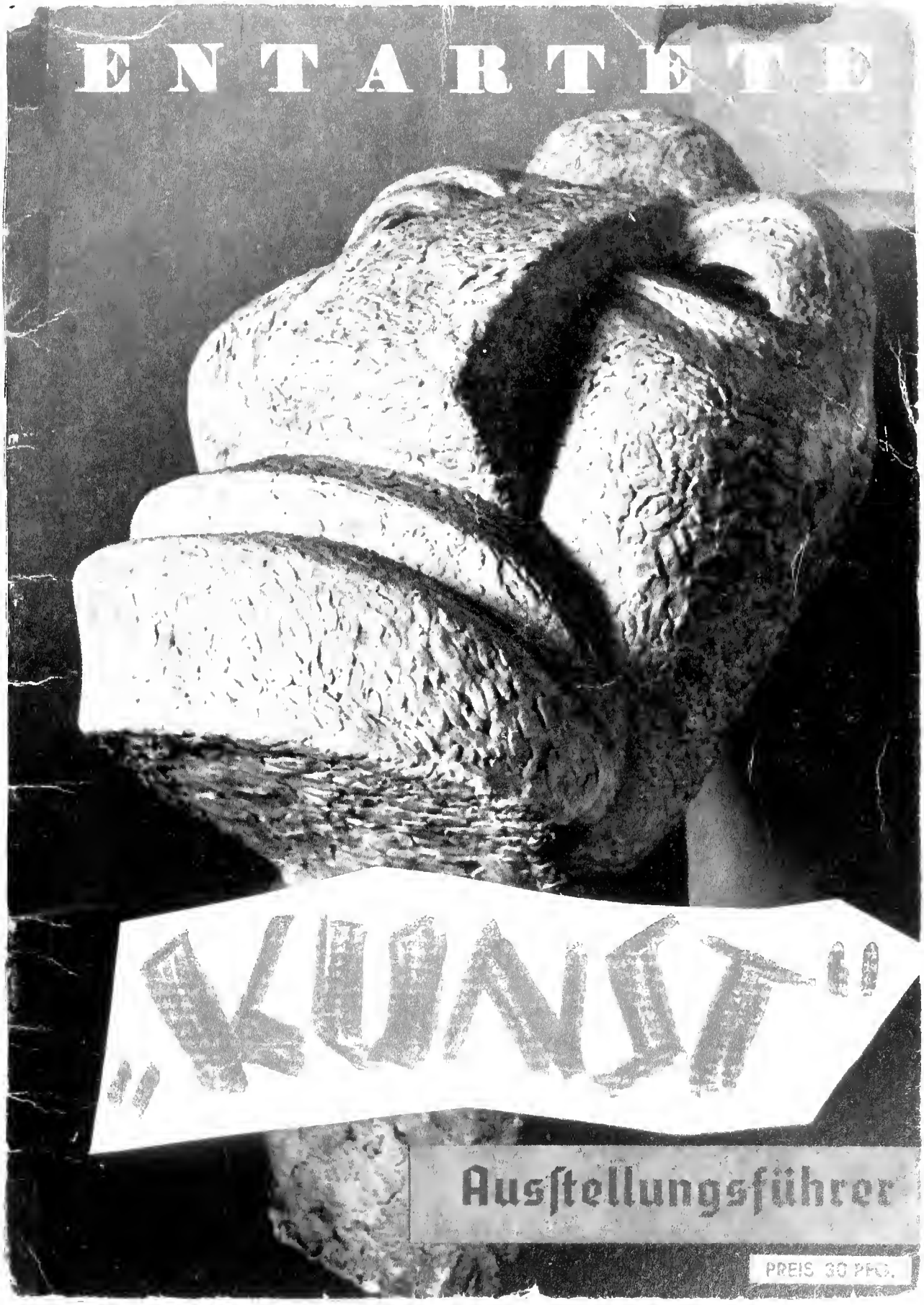
244
Page from *Entartete Kunst: Ausstellungsführer*, the guide to the 1937 Munich exhibition
83.1.280

painting and wanted a political art to be created from a mimetic tradition.[27] He emphasized the revolutionary nature of the Expressionists' pacifism and experimentation with new forms.

Another contributor to *Das Wort*, Alfred Kurella (writing under the pseudonym Bernhard Ziegler), stressed that Expressionism was decadent, bourgeois, irrational, and mystical and that these tendencies led to the acceptance of fascism. Kurella cited the Expressionist poet Gottfried Benn's absorption of fascist ideas as evidence supporting his view. Defenses of Expressionism by Herwarth Walden, former editor of the Expressionist periodical *Der Sturm* (The storm) and owner of the gallery of the same name, and by Klaus Berger, an art historian, appeared in later issues, along with denunciations by the painter Heinrich Vogeler and rebuttals by Lukács and Kurella.[28]

The debate in *Das Wort*, which has had interesting ramifications for the evaluation of Expressionism, has been the subject of several studies. Franz Schonauer, in a 1966 essay, "Expressionismus und Faschismus: Eine Diskussion aus dem Jahre 1938" (Expressionism and fascism: A discussion from the year 1938), stressed that the attempt to form "an ideology against fascism" and the International Writers Congress's rejection of modernism in favor of Socialist Realism lay behind the hysterical attacks on Expressionism in *Das Wort*. Believing that Expressionism was originally a radical, leftist movement, Schonauer asserted that Lukács's attack was an attempt to deny its revolutionary origins.[29] In the first section of his essay Schonauer discussed Klaus Mann's article in *Das Wort* about Benn's aberrant attraction to fascism, which Schonauer attributed to the poet's isolation from the humanistic and progressive side of Expressionism. As for Kurella's invective against Expressionism, Schonauer traced his views to his failure as an Expressionist painter and his attempt as a member of the Communist party to make a career out of writing about the issues of culture and politics.[30] In the second part of his essay Schonauer discussed other articles that were part of the debate, among them the defenses of Expressionism written by Berger, Bloch, and Walden.[31]

More recently, and specifically directed to an English-speaking audience, Stephen Eric Bronner in his essay "Expressionism and Marxism: Toward an Aesthetic of Emancipation" focused on the views of Lukács and Bloch, in addition to including Bertolt Brecht's critique of Lukács. Bronner contended that the Expressionist debate in the thirties was in actuality a debate over what a "revolutionary" or "progressive" art was supposed to be.[32] He pointed to the Stalinist advocacy of Socialist Realism coupled with the determination to extend the popular front to all the arts as creating the intense controversy over Expressionism. Bronner's discussion incorporates many of the major issues of the Expressionist debate. While Bronner did not address the assertion of Lukács and Kurella that Expressionism led to fascism, he did seem to reflect this pejorative critique when he asked whether the Expressionist rebellion against society wasn't too bohemian and anarchistic, inadvertently creating a turbulent climate in which fascism could flourish. Since this point crops up from time to time in the literature on Expressionism, Bronner's reflection of this sentiment is worth quoting: "The expressionist demand



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245
Cover of *Entartete Kunst: Ausstellungsführer*, the guide to the 1937 Munich exhibition, with Otto Freundlich's sculpture *Grosser Kopf ("Der neue Mensch")*
83.1.280

for liberation from outmoded social mores was obvious: still, it could be asked whether or not the freedom which these bohemians sought was not simply a state of license which would create the conditions of chaos necessary for the rise of fascism."[33]

Such comments have contributed to the sentiment that Expressionism was somehow tainted compared with other artistic movements. Another example may indicate the perfidious nature of this view. In *Expressionist Architecture* (1973) Wolfgang Pehnt asked if Kurella was correct in stating that many of the arguments used by the Expressionists became part of National Socialist propaganda. Pehnt pointed to the similarity between Expressionist antimaterialism and National Socialist posturing against commercialism. He also cited the Expressionist call for a return to crafts and folk art as leading to the National Socialist eradication of internationalist references in art and architecture.[34] Since attacks on industrialism and materialism occurred all over Europe in the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century and an investigation of crafts and folk art was part of the search by intellectuals in England, France, and Russia for unconventional sources for culture and art, it is misleading to suggest that Expressionist antimaterialism and interest in folk art led to fascism. Although the National Socialists praised German folk art, they had no interest in folk examples from other nations and severely denigrated tribal art, which, along with folk art from all nations, had profoundly influenced the Expressionists.

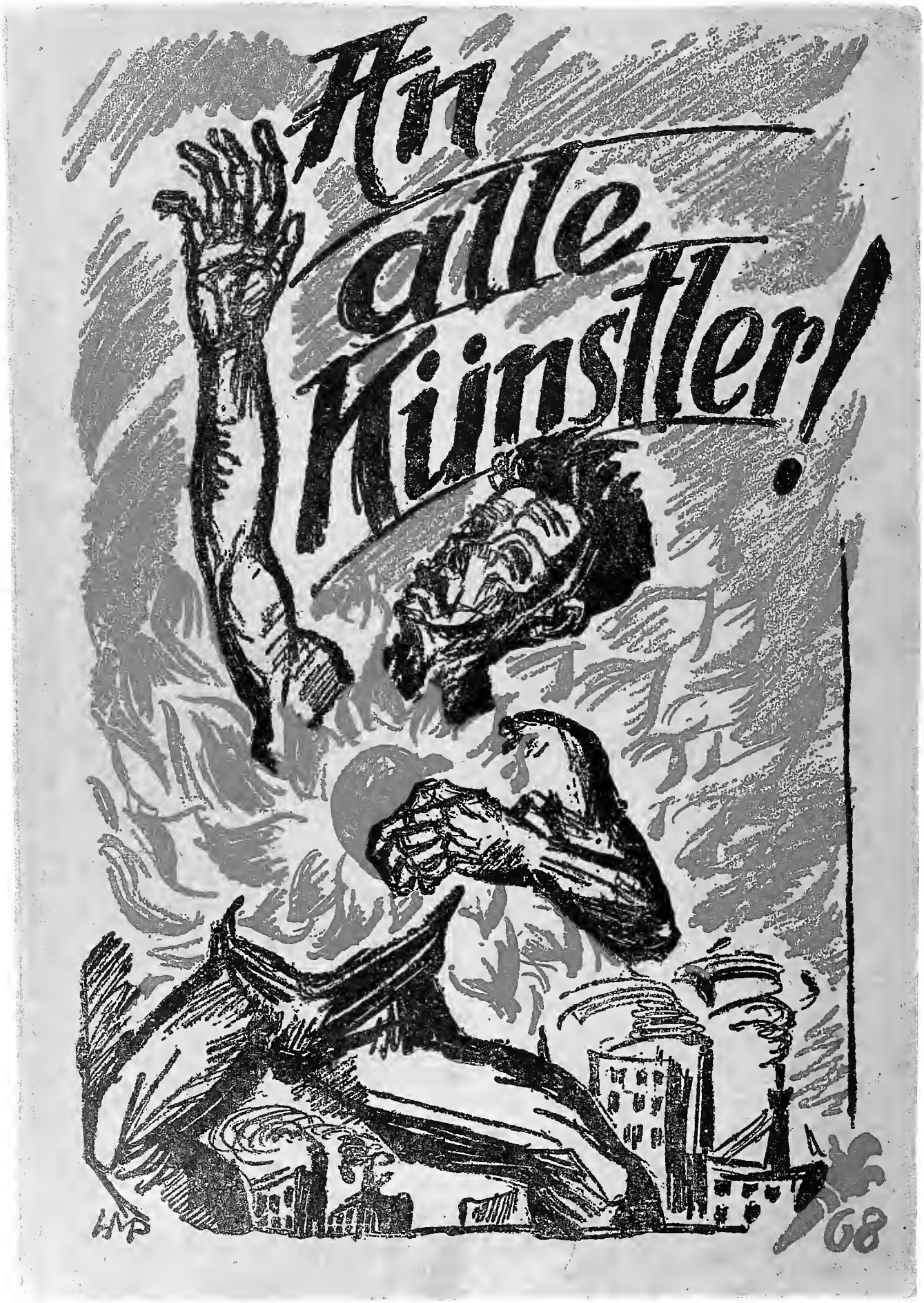
In a 1985 article, "Expressionism in Literature," Wolfgang Rothe castigated the notion that Expressionism was a precursor of fascism. He emphasized that the Expressionist fascination with communalism, which was based on belief in a transformation of human values, was quite separate from the nationalist concept of a community built on race. Rothe wrote: "This Expressionist revolution in the social sphere strove for a new quality of common interest with 'You' and 'We' replacing the isolated, egotistical, narcissistic 'I.' . . . a concept utterly unlike that of the ultra-chauvinistic ideologists of race, blood and atavistic Germanity before and after 1914 (and after 1933)."[35]

The ideological attacks upon Expressionism that took place in the 1930s contributed to a number of other misconceptions that have hindered a thorough assessment of Expressionism.[36] The lack of emphasis in studies done after the Second World War on the political inclinations and utopian aspirations of many of the Expressionists is a legacy of the politicization of Expressionism in the thirties. In an attempt to reassert the aesthetic viability of Expressionism, examinations of the movement in the visual arts from the 1950s and early 1960s tended to stress those artists whose individual creativity and international recognition either had removed them from political activity or had masked their political sympathies and mystical inclinations. Wolfgang Paulsen's *Expressionismus und Aktivismus* (Expressionism and activism, 1935), which separated Expressionism into two different typologies, may have been one of the models for this approach. Paulsen viewed the generation of artists working before and during the war as more poetic and romantic than those who emerged after the war, whom he described as activists because of their greater political involvement.[37]

The two major English-language introductions to German Expressionist painting by Peter Selz and Bernard Myers, published in the late 1950s, tended to concentrate more on the giants of early Expressionism, giving brief accounts, if any, of the less known but more politically oriented artists who emerged after the First World War.[38] In Germany critics such as Lothar-Günther Buchheim, for example, in his 1958 study of German Expressionist graphics, also focused primarily on the Brücke and Blaue Reiter groups, among the least politically active of the artists' groups associated with Expressionism.[39] Regarding the political sympathies of the most radical of the Brücke artists, Pechstein, Buchheim emphasized the work done before the First World War and reproduced none of his politically inspired images, such as the cover of the Novembergruppe publication *An alle Künstler!* (To all artists!; fig. 246). The more politically radical artists who emerged after the First World War, such as Felixmüller of the Dresden Sezession, were mentioned too briefly to bring recognition. The mystical orientation of the Blaue Reiter and the occult sources for its vision were not discussed. One suspects that the avoidance of the issue of mysticism and Expressionism sprang from the fear that the acknowledgment of the occult and utopian sources on which artists such as Kandinsky drew could tar with the taint of the irrational not only the artists but the movement as well.[40]

After the Second World War interest in abstraction increased in Germany. Not only were most of the creators of abstract art committed to internationalism, but many writers at that time also tended to view abstraction as reflecting the freedom to choose a style without censorship.[41] As Abstract Expressionism gained recognition, first in the United States and then in Europe, painting was increasingly discussed as a reflection of the artist's will through the gestural direction of the brush stroke and the use of texture. The great value placed upon individuality and personal choice enhanced the value of subjectivity, feeling, and personal expression, turning some of the negative critiques of Expressionism into positive interpretations that did little to portray accurately the intentions and goals of the artists.

One example of the misleading equation of Expressionism with emotionalism during this period is the 1966 essay "On the Origin of the Word 'Expressionism,'" by Donald Gordon.[42] Although Gordon's views changed over the years, especially in the posthumously published *Expressionism: Art and Idea*,[43] his 1966 essay has frequently been cited for its succinct presentation of the sources of the term. The essay focuses on a 1914 study of Expressionism by Paul Fechter, whom Gordon then incorrectly believed to have been the first to apply the term to the Brücke and Blaue Reiter artists.[44] While Gordon briefly mentioned Fechter's belief that Expressionism reflected Germanic metaphysical longings,[45] he tended to select quotations from Fechter that supported his own equation of Expressionism with an irrational expression of personal feeling.[46] Ignoring the specific social and political context from which Expressionism emerged in Germany, Gordon came to the conclusion that the concept of Expressionism was the creation of German critics and writers. He maintained that a "communality of interests and aims" did not exist among the members of the Brücke and Blaue Reiter and other artists of


Für alle Künstler!
HMP
'68

the German avant-garde before the First World War.[47] Gordon's assessment of Expressionism as anti-intellectual, as dealing primarily with individual feeling, and his questioning whether the artists involved had any common attitudes or aims has contributed to the dismissal of Expressionism as a significant part of twentieth-century modernism. While it would be farfetched to trace Gordon's interpretation of Expressionism as representing personal emotions to the Marxist criticism of Expressionism as irrational, subjective, and individualistic, the parallels are striking.

Geoffrey Perkins was stimulated by Gordon's study to delve more deeply into the German cultural situation in his *Contemporary Theory of Expressionism* (1974). Contradicting Gordon's findings, Perkins pointed to the application of the term *Expressionismus* to the German avant-garde by late 1911 as a response to the nationalistic criticism that the new art was too French-oriented, too modern, too cosmopolitan.[48] For Perkins, Worringer was the theoretician who provided the defense for the new art by tying the antinaturalistic tendency of Expressionism to a metaphysical, Gothic, and German tradition.[49] Perkins, however, did not examine either the artists' beliefs or their works to see if one or the other or both reflected any of the qualities Worringer and other German critics described as Expressionist. Despite his acknowledgment that artists such as Kandinsky wrote defenses of the new art, Perkins concluded that he was in agreement with Gordon's 1966 assessment that Expressionism existed primarily in the minds of the critics. This view, however, has been less evident in recent years.

In the past twelve years most scholars in the field of German modernism in the visual arts have emphasized that Expressionism was a vital force not only for critics but also for artists and architects living in Germany before and after the war. Although the postwar artists are viewed as more politically involved, most scholars feel that the Expressionist artists of both generations shared a common (but not identical) outlook based on utopian hopes for a transformation of social values and a genuine faith in the power of experimental color, form, space, and imagery to assist in this transformation. The work of the cultural historian Paul Raabe has been instrumental in this shift. His essays in *Der Ausgang des Expressionismus* (The end of Expressionism, 1966) concentrate specifically on developments after the First World War, directing attention to the lesser-known Expressionist artists and the periodicals in which their works were reproduced.[50] His bibliographical compilations, including *Die Zeitschriften und Sammlungen des literarischen Expressionismus* (The periodicals and anthologies of literary Expressionism, 1964) and his eighteen-volume *Index Expressionismus* (Index of Expressionism, 1972), have provided useful research tools for widening investigations.[51]

The exhibition of Expressionist documents, books, manuscripts, and posters that Raabe and Ludwig Greve prepared for the Schiller Nationalmuseum in Marbach in 1960,[52] which traveled to Munich, Berlin, New York, and Florence, contributed to the revival of interest in Expressionist studies. Several documentary collections of essays by Expressionist poets, critics, and artists—such as Paul Pörtner's two-volume *Literatur-Revolution, 1910–1925* (Literature revolution, 1910–1925), Dieter Schmidt's *Manifeste, Manifeste, 1905–1933* (Mani-

246
Max Pechstein
Germany, 1881–1955
Cover design for *An alle Künstler!* 1919
83.1.1

festos, manifestos, 1905–1933), and Raabe's *Expressionismus: Der Kampf um eine literarische Bewegung* (Expressionism: the struggle for a literary movement)—were also published in the 1960s,[53] making it impossible to ignore the complex pronouncements on Expressionism that had dominated the German cultural scene from 1911 until the early 1920s.

Interest in the social and economic context of Expressionism intensified during the late sixties and early seventies, reflecting in part the politicalization of many intellectuals as a result of the Vietnam War and the student unrest in Europe and the United States. Eva Kolinsky's *Engagierter Expressionismus: Politik und Literatur zwischen Weltkrieg und Weimarer Republik* (Engaged Expressionism: Politics and literature between the First World War and the Weimar Republic) of 1970, Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand's *Expressionismus* (Expressionism) of 1975, and the 1977 Berlin exhibition *Wem gehört die Welt: Kunst und Gesellschaft in der Weimarer Republik* (To whom does the world belong: Art and society in the Weimar Republic) have provided much information on the political conditions that spawned Expressionism and led to its demise.[54] Although Kolinsky, Hamann and Hermand, and the organizers of the Berlin exhibition displayed great interest in the Expressionists' utopian visions, as Marxist art historians they (with varying degrees of intensity) ultimately condemned Expressionism for lacking a clear commitment to a specific political ideology. Their provocative explorations contributed nonetheless to the shift away from the towering figures of the early Expressionist years.

The trend to examining several generations of Expressionists in a political and social context has been evident in much of the research in England and the United States in the past twelve years. Peter Guenther's assessment in his catalogue *German Expressionism: Toward a New Humanism* (1977) was strongly influenced by the work of Raabe and other German scholars.[55] The publication in 1977 of O. P. Reed's catalogue *German Expressionist Art: The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection*, which accompanied an exhibition at the University of California, Los Angeles, brought the Los Angeles collector's extensive holdings of Expressionist prints and periodicals, which encompass a broad spectrum of artists, to the attention of a wider public.[56] The Rifkind collection has been the most significant resource for several West Coast exhibitions that have focused on the absorption of Expressionism in German artistic circles after 1914. The English critic John Willet, building on his earlier study of Expressionism, published the encyclopedic *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety, 1917–1933* in 1978.[57] The collection of essays *Passion and Rebellion: The Expressionist Heritage*, edited by Stephen Eric Bronner and Douglas Kellner and published in 1983, emphasizes the role of Expressionism as a reaction to German culture and politics.[58] Following the Blochian tradition, many of the essays view Expressionism as a rebellion against German industrialism as well as the mores of established society.

The clearest discussion of the political and social conditions that radicalized many Expressionist artists after the war, causing them to link their avant-garde style of art with the politics of the young Weimar Republic, is presented in Ida Rigby's 1983 catalogue for the exhi-

bition *An alle Künstler! War—Revolution—Weimar* at the University Gallery of San Diego State University. Building from several studies of the radical groups that sprang up after the war,[59] Rigby's essay clarifies which critics tied Expressionism to socialism and why many artists and critics were for a short while determined to politicize all artistic efforts. Drawing on the resources of the Rifkind collection, she examined the utopian themes and aggressively truncated styles used by artists such as Felixmüller, Constantin von Mitschke-Collande, and Pechstein to express their euphoric hopes for the new republic and their eventual disappointment with it. Rigby's catalogue also introduces the question of why interest in Expressionism declined in the early twenties. Her discussion of the critic Hans Friedenberg's 1919 analysis of why the new art was not involving the masses points to one of the reasons why politically active artists began to reject Expressionism, calling it elitist.[60]

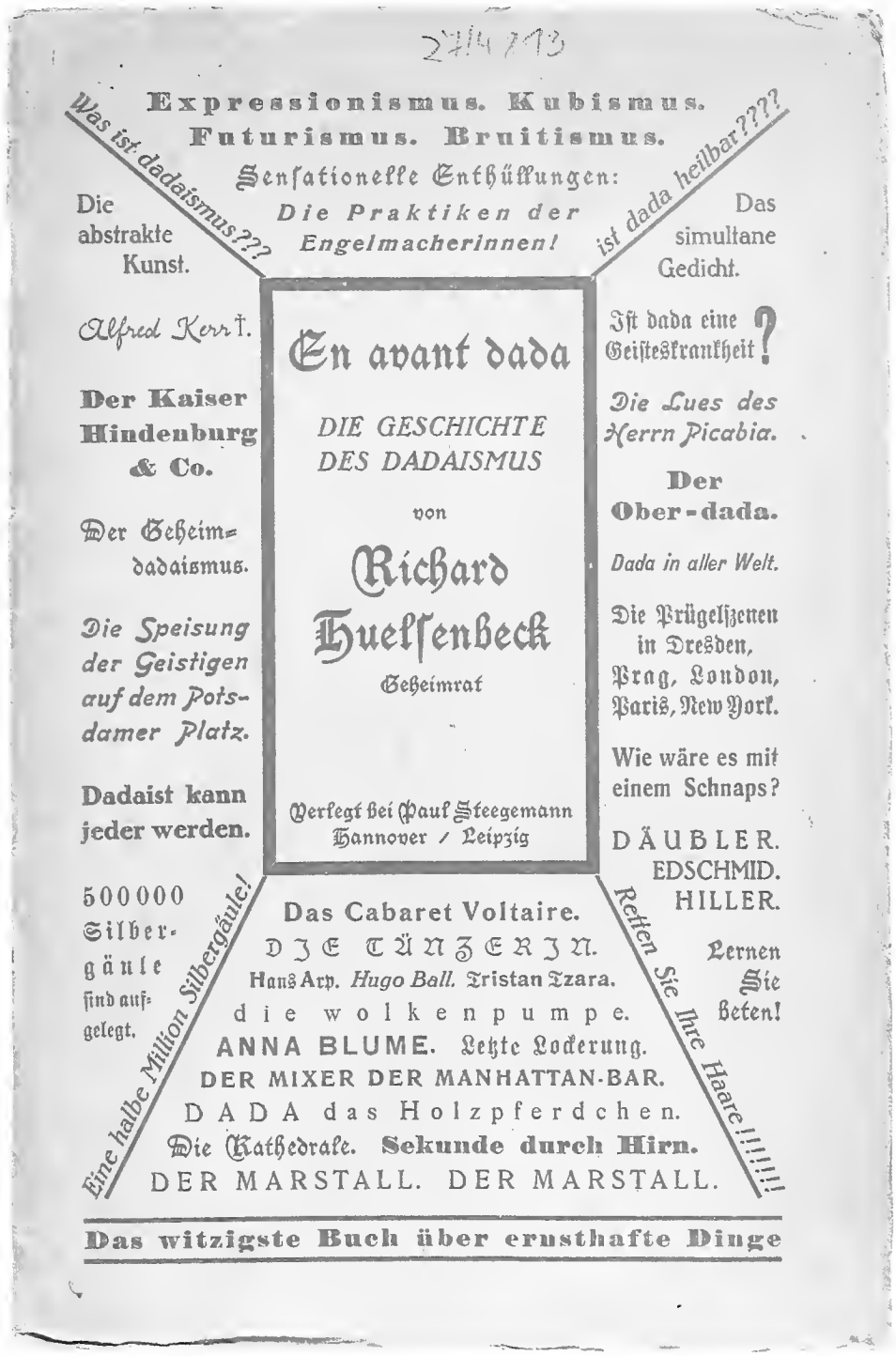
Although the Norwegian art historian Marit Werenskiold does not deal directly with these intertwinings of Expressionism, socialism, and brotherhood after the First World War, her book *The Concept of Expressionism: Origin and Metamorphoses* (1984) also examines how Expressionism originally gained such an extensive hold upon German intellectual life and theory. Werenskiold discusses the national and international currents that combined to create the impact Expressionism would have on German cultural life. Using contemporary reviews to pinpoint when the Brücke and Blaue Reiter artists and others were first called *Expressionisten*, she explains how the concept of Expressionism came from English theoretical writings and French painting.[61] She then traces how this international concept came to have such strong nationalist implications in the writings of Fechter and other supporters of the new art. Although she does not examine the political and social views of the critics who wrote about Expressionism or investigate their reactions to the increasing industrialism and materialism of their age (which led them to celebrate a style emphasizing purity, simplicity, and the primeval), her book offers a description of the complex play of sentiments used to defend the new art in Germany. Roy F. Allen's dissertation, published in 1983 as *Literary Life in German Expressionism and the Berlin Circles*,[62] is a useful complement to Werenskiold's book. His reconstruction of the interrelationships among artists, writers, editors, and the publishers of the many literary journals that influenced the reception of Expressionism in Germany is a rich resource.

The perimeters of Expressionism have been more clearly defined by many of these recent studies. Expressionism is no longer viewed as the mythic creation of a few critics or rejected as a false concept. It is also no longer separated from the cultural conditions that gave it its particular character. The complexity of its utopian goals and the variations in its antinaturalist formulations are no longer interpreted as proof that it did not exist. Nonetheless the expectation that Expressionism should have changed society, transformed its values, has led it to be judged by a different set of criteria than French art has been. As a result, numerous areas remain open for investigation.

The complex utopianism of Expressionism needs much more study. Too often those artists who explored mystical and occult texts have been viewed in opposition to those who looked to political solutions for change or who sought a liberated sexuality as the basis for transforming their generation. This type of polarization obscures the fact that many Expressionist artists explored a variety of options outside mainstream political, religious, philosophical, sexual, and artistic thought in their search for alternatives to the repressive culture of the Wilhelmine empire. For example, the pioneering abstractionist Kandinsky studied theosophical and anarchistic texts as part of his effort to transform society.[63] The architect Bruno Taut and the poet Paul Scheerbart, both part of the *Sturm* circle around 1912, were also interested in mysticism and anarchism.[64] The Dada artists Hugo Ball, founder of the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich, and Raoul Hausmann, well known for his denunciations of Expressionism, both studied mystical and anarchistic books.[65] Investigations of the overlapping groups[66] dedicated to exploring alternatives (whether the psychology of Sigmund Freud and Otto Gross, the occultism of Helena Blavatsky and Rudolph Steiner, the mysticism of Jakob Böhme, or the communism of the new Soviet Union) could help to explain further the Expressionist artists' commitment to unconventional forms that they hoped would shock their contemporaries into reexamining their acceptance of established values. Such investigations would also help illuminate the links between Expressionism and Dada, which the artists of the Dada generation so vehemently denied.

To understand why Expressionism, with its utopian, antimaterialist, antinaturalistic tendencies, was so quickly accepted by a small group of intellectuals, museum curators, gallery owners, and patrons of the arts in Germany, investigation of their philosophical goals, education, and socioeconomic backgrounds would be very enlightening. Although some patrons of the arts, such as Karl Ernst Osthaus,[67] have been the subjects of studies, others, including Rosa Schapire and Gustav Schiefler,[68] both supporters of the Brücke, and Bernard Kohler, a supporter of the Blaue Reiter, have not been thoroughly investigated. Studies of museum personnel such as Hugo von Tschudi, director of the Bavarian State Museum, and Gustav F. Hartlaub, curator and then director of the Kunsthalle Mannheim, could reveal the reasons behind their fascination with Expressionism. Since gallery owners such as Walden[69] played a significant role in the acceptance of Expressionism in Germany, further studies of Walden and I. B. Neumann, among others, should be contemplated. The publishers and editors of major periodicals, for example, Franz Pfemfert of *Die Aktion* (Action)[70] and Paul Westheim of *Das Kunstblatt* (The art paper),[71] should be carefully noted, as they often worked in collaboration with the artists and poets whose work was included in their journals.

The relationship of Expressionism to modern movements in other European countries is another of the many areas that need more thorough study. For example, Expressionist artists have been described as creating a mélange of Cubism and Futurism, especially in works done during the war and immediately afterward. To evaluate this interpretation, it would be important to understand how French Cubism



247
Cover of Richard Huelsenbeck, *En avant Dada: Die Geschichte des Dadaismus*, 1920
83.1.343

247

and Italian Futurism were received by German intellectuals before and during the war. The writings of the critics Adolf Behne and Theodor Däubler are central to this issue. Both tended to see Cubism as part of Expressionism since they viewed Expressionism as an attitude or approach and not as a specific stylistic direction. Behne, for example, stated in a speech published in December 1914 in *Der Sturm:* "Expressionism designates the goal. Modern art wants to be an art of expression. Cubism is the language used by many, not all Expressionists."[72] Given Behne's internationalist and socialist leanings, it is not surprising that he would interpret the multiplicity of Expressionism's origins, its receptiveness to stylistic influences from other countries, as proof of its power to

248

248
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Germany, 1880–1938
Strassenszene nach dem Regen, 1914
(Street scene after a shower)
Woodcut
10¾ x 10 in. (27.3 x 25.4 cm)
M.82.288.121
Davis 1461

transcend national boundaries. Däubler saw Cubism and Futurism as contributing to simultaneity, which he interpreted as the essence of Expressionism.[73] Although Däubler and Behne were not systematic thinkers, their willingness to view Cubism as part of Expressionism would have encouraged German artists, particularly those with internationalist and pacifist sentiments, to adopt aspects of Cubism for their own purposes, creating a style that could be called Cubo-Expressionism.

A study of other visual alternatives to the outworn conventions of academic art and their cultural significance would also add much depth to our understanding of Expressionism. Gordon's 1984 survey of Expressionism and primitive art gives some indication of the significance tribal art had for the Expressionists.[74] A history of the Expressionist fascination with the Gothic is long overdue. It should include Worringer's apotheosis of Gothic art as a sign of the metaphysical sensibility of the northern European artist as well as Gropius's adoption of a name derived from the medieval term for building guild, *Bauhütte*, for his new school for all the arts, the Bauhaus.[75] Scholars should also explore the interest in children's art shared by many Expressionists. A 1985 catalogue of the collection of the drawings of German mental patients assembled by the art historian and physician Hans Prinzhorn documents other alternative visual sources available to artists emerging at the end of the

Expressionist era. An essay from that catalogue by Sander L. Gilman presents some of the theories that allowed enlightened psychoanalysts and artists to regard certain drawings of the mentally ill as evidence of artistic talent.[76] Mentioning a 1922 monograph on the drawings of the schizophrenic Adolf Wölfli, which followed art-historical principles, Gilman suggests that Hitler's resentment of his failure as an artist may have been intensified by a climate of opinion that glorified the work of the insane rather than his own type of work.[77] Gilman reminds us that Hitler began to associate communism, the Jew, the madman, and the artist in the early 1920s, and he indirectly suggests that the enlightened liberalism of Weimar Germany ironically bears some responsibility for its entropic decline. Future examiners of Expressionism should consider the implications of making Expressionism the scapegoat for Germany's acceptance of National Socialism.

The relatively few women who achieved recognition for their work in Germany during this period are yet another area for exploration. While the names of a few—Käthe Kollwitz, Paula Modersohn-Becker, and Gabriele Münter—are well known, investigations of societal attitudes toward women in Germany before and during the First World War would reveal the difficult conditions under which these and other women artists labored. In Berlin, for example, women could not attend the school of fine arts, although they could enroll in the school of applied and decorative arts.[78] A study of the various educational institutions available to

249
George Grosz
Germany, 1893–1959
Eheszene, 1916
(Domestic scene)
Offset lithograph
8⅛ x 8 1/16 in. (20.6 x 20.5 cm)
From *Ecce Homo*
83.1.73.63
Davis 952.63

artists, whether male or female, during the period might uncover further links among those artists who chose Expressionist experimentation over adherence to academic conventions.

Critics may have claimed that Expressionism was dead as early as 1919, but the attacks of the National Socialists and the Communists indicate that Expressionism still represented a significant force in German cultural life into the 1930s. Scholars also need to examine the role Expressionism played in German intellectual life in the 1920s and 1930s. The absorption of Expressionist artists into established Weimar institutions and art schools should be explored. Kokoschka's appointment in 1919 to the Dresdner Akademie (Dresden academy) and Pechstein's nomination to the Preussische Akademie der Künste (Prussian academy of arts) in 1922[79] are a few examples of the integration of the former avant-garde into Weimar society. At the Weimar Bauhaus ties to Expressionism were quite evident not only in Gropius's utopian goal of integrating all the arts[80] but also in the number of painters with Expressionist links whom he appointed to the faculty. Johannes Itten, Kandinsky, Klee, Oskar Schlemmer, and Lothar Schreyer continued to perpetuate many of the visionary, internationalist, antinaturalist goals of Expressionism. Scholars have pointed to the influence of Expressionist ideas on the theories of Gropius and Taut.[81] Taut's use of color in architecture is reported to have been strengthened by his knowledge of Kandinsky's experiments with color before the First World War.[82] Other architects should also be examined in relation to Expressionism.

The relationship of Expressionist paintings to the more representational works of the twenties also needs examination. Exhibitions such as Hartlaub's *Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus* (New objectivity: German painting since Expressionism),[83] prepared for the Kunsthalle Mannheim in 1925, and books such as Franz Roh's *Nach-Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten europäischen Malerei* (Post-Expressionism: Magical realism: Problems of recent European painting), published in 1925, used Expressionism as a foil for contemporary directions in painting. Roh's list of more than fifteen stylistic traits, which he used to differentiate Neue Sachlichkeit works from Expressionist ones, could be a basis for an analysis of the paintings chosen for both his book and Hartlaub's exhibition.[84]

If Roh's analysis of possible stylistic categories might be used to examine the multiple directions within Expressionism's antinaturalism, a compilation of common themes in Expressionist art might also be helpful. Representations of urban life are common in Expressionist works. Reinhard Heller's essay "The City Is Dark" discusses Kirchner's and other artists' street scenes (see fig. 248) as reflecting their predominantly negative attitude toward urban life.[85] Future historians might examine the degree to which other artists in Kirchner's circle and in the groups that arose after the war reveal similar attitudes.[86] Both Beth Lewis in her study of Grosz and Brigit Barton in her study of Dix have analyzed the satirical interpretations these artists brought to their morbid views of city life (see fig. 249).[87] Barton traces Dix's use of the prostitute, the psychopathic sexual murderer, the maimed, and the cripple from his Expressionist period to the works of the Neue Sachlichkeit. Some of Barton's

250
Ludwig Meidner
Germany, 1884–1966
Untitled (man running from town), 1918
Lithograph
8 1/16 x 6 in. (20.5 x 15.2 cm)
From Ludwig Meidner, *Septemberschrei*
83.1.155 c
Davis 1927.3

251
Constantin von Mitschke-Collande
Germany, 1884–1956
Der begeisterte Weg, 1919
(The inspired way)
Woodcut
13⅜ x 11¾ in. (34.0 x 29.8 cm)
From portfolio Der begeisterte Weg
M.82.288.211 a
Davis 2008.1

251

categories might be used in investigations of city themes in the work of other artists of the Expressionist generation. Depictions of factory life as well as of general street life and outcasts of society should be examined.

The writings of the sociologist Georg Simmel, who lectured on the inherent conflicts between the individual and social institutions to a generation of students before the war,[88] should also be reviewed. The Nietzschean call for a transformation of values needs a more thorough and systematic study if Nietzsche's influence on artists of the period is to become more than a brief footnote in the surveys of Expressionism. In addition the concepts of Freud and other psychosexual theoreticians might be viewed as reinforcing many artists' sense of repression and stagnation. Exploration of the sociological, philosophical, and psychological as well as political theoreticians who may have influenced the dark views of life in the Wilhelmine Empire and the Weimar Republic could provide rich material for an investigation of the urban themes and motifs in Expressionist art.

Conversely examination of the utopian landscapes of the Expressionists would provide much information about the idealistic visions of many of the artists associated with Expressionism. From the carefree nudes in exotic settings of the Brücke[89] to the pastel paradises of

252
Conrad Felixmüller
Germany, 1897–1977
Untitled (the injection), c. 1917
Reproduction of a drawing
7⅝ x 5⅜16 in. (19.4 x 13.2 cm)
From Walter Rheiner, *Kokain*
L.84.5.337; lent by the Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills, California

Kandinsky,[90] from the flowerlike diagrams of Taut's utopian cities[91] to Mitschke-Collande's images of revolutionary fervor (see fig. 251),[92] hopeful solutions to the disharmony of urban industrial life abound.

Many Expressionist painters illustrated poems and novels that emphatically convey the dramatic contradictions of life during the era of Expressionism. Felixmüller's illustrations for Walter Rheiner's novel *Kokain* (Cocaine; see fig. 252), Ludwig Meidner's illustrations for his book *Septemberschrei* (September cry; see fig. 250), and Kandinsky's prints accompanying publications of his poetry are but a few of the many graphic cycles that would enrich such an investigation.[93] Many of the Expressionists wrote essays and were on intimate terms with the poets and critics around them. For example, Franz Marc greatly admired the Expressionist poet Else Lasker-Schüler,[94] who was Walden's first wife. Much could be learned from a study of these overlapping relationships.

Further research might also be focused on the paradox suggested by the oppositions of city and country, decay and paradise, that dominated the works of Expressionism. From the very beginning artists associated with Expressionism sought themes and styles that would startle the viewer. They attacked not only the conventions of art but also the conventions of a society they found materialistic and dehumanizing. At the same time they longed to inspire the great mass of the people to work for the greater good of mankind. The first generation often sought a vision of a better society in occult and mystical tracts, while the second generation, inspired by the revolutions in Russia, believed a different political system would lead to greater benefits for all. Yet, despite this hopeful vision, the antinaturalism that was to spur change met with resistance from the very classes the artists wished to inspire. The paradox of finding a style that would not repeat the past, that would reflect its own time, and yet would lead to the future was part of the Expressionist ethos. Future scholars of Expressionism ought not to forget this commitment to change if they are going to give the phenomenon of Expressionism in the visual arts its long-overdue reevaluation.

December 1986

NOTES

1 George Heard Hamilton, *Painting and Sculpture in Europe: 1880–1940*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 180.

2 William Rubin, ed., *"Primitivism" in Twentieth-Century Art*, 2 vols., exh. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984).

3 Some of these recent studies are discussed below.

4 See [Lovis Corinth] "Vorwort," *Berlin Secession* (1911), pp. 9–12, for the first reference in Germany to the painters of Matisse's circle as Expressionists. For a survey of the use of the terms *Expressionisten* and *Expressionismus* in Germany, see Marit Werenskiold, *The Concept of Expressionism: Origin and Metamorphoses* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1984); Victor H. Miesel, "The Term Expressionism in the Visual Arts (1911–1920)," in *The Uses of History*, ed. Hayden White (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1968), pp. 135–51.

5 See, for example, Paul Klee, "Die Ausstellung des Modernen Bundes im Kunsthaus Zürich," *Die Alpen* 12 (August 1912): 606–704, reprinted in English translation in Rose-Carol Washton Long, ed., *Sources and Documents of German Expressionism* (Boston: G. K. Hall, forthcoming).

6 The sculptor Ernst Barlach, for example, was referred to as an Expressionist late in 1911; see, for example, Walter Heymann, "Berliner Sezession, 1911," *Der Sturm* 2, no. 68 (1911): 543. For Barlach's rejection of the term, see "Letter to Reinhard Piper" (Güstrow, December 28, 1911), in *Voices of German Expressionism*, ed. Victor H. Miesel (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 95.

7 Although the focus is on Expressionism and literature, the anthology *Expressionismus: Manifeste und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur, 1910–1920*, ed. Thomas Anz and Michael Stark (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1982), contains a good selection of manifestos and documents related to the visual arts. The forthcoming volume *Sources and Documents of German Expressionism* (see note 5) includes a number of these manifestos in addition to letters and other essays in English translation.

8 Although the term *Expressionisten* did not come into vogue in Germany until 1911, artists in that country had experimented before that date with intensified colors and distorted forms and spaces, qualities that created the complex tensions that began to be associated with Expressionism in 1911. By 1908 artists from Matisse's circle had exhibited in Dresden, and Pechstein and Kandinsky had returned from Paris, where they saw Matisse's work. By 1910 Pechstein and Kirchner of the Brücke and Kandinsky and Jawlensky of the Neue Künstlervereinigung were exhibiting with artists from Matisse's circle in the Düsseldorf Sonderbund. Moreover Matisse's "Notizen eines Malers," with its emphasis on "expression" (translated as *Ausdruck*), was published in *Kunst und Künstler* 7, no. 8 (1909): 336, 339. For a discussion of the term *Ausdruckskunst* and its relationship to the acceptance of the term *Expressionismus* in Germany, see Ron Mannheim, "Expressionismus: Zur Entstehung eines kunsthistorischen Stil—in Periodenbegriffes," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1986): 73–91.

9 Many articles were written about the death of Expressionism in the early twenties, yet a new generation of Expressionists was popularized in journals, and both generations were the subject of an increasing number of monographs during that decade. Moreover the full effect of Expressionist ideas was not felt in theater and film until the early twenties. See, for example, Ulrich Gregor, "Film in Berlin," and Arno Paul, "Theater," in *Berlin, 1910–1933*, ed. Eberhard Roters et al. (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), pp. 174–85, 208–24. See also Rudolf Kurtz, *Expressionismus und Film* (Berlin: Verlag der Lichtbildbühne, 1926; reprint, Zurich, 1965), p. 65ff.

10 For a brief survey of some of the arguments used by the early supporters of Expressionism, see Werenskiold, *Concept of Expressionism*, pp. 38–53; Peter Selz, *German Expressionist Painting* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957), pp. 316–17.

11 See Adolf Behne, "Deutsche Expressionisten: Vortrag zur Eröffnung der neuen Sturm-Ausstellung," *Der Sturm* 5, no. 17/18 (1914): 114–15; Paul Fechter, *Der Expressionismus* (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1914). Behne's outlook was, however, much more internationalist than Fechter's, as is discussed below.

12 See Carl Vinnen, ed., *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1911).

13 Wilhelm Worringer, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Malerei," *Der Sturm* 2, no. 75 (1911): 597–98.

14 Wilhelm Worringer, *Künstlerische Zeitfragen* (Munich: Hugo Bruckmann, 1921), pp. 19–20. This essay was presented as a lecture in Munich in October 1920. An earlier essay on a similar subject, "Kritische Gedanken zur neuen Kunst," was also presented as a lecture in Cologne in March 1919 (*Genius* 1, no. 2 [1919]: pp. 221–36).

15 Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1914), chaps. 13 and 14, pp. 262–309.

16 Wilhelm Hausenstein, "Was ist Expressionismus," *Der neue Merkur* 3, no. 10/11 (1919): 119–25. For a selection of other essays with similar critiques, see Paul Raabe, ed., *Expressionismus: Der Kampf um eine literarische Bewegung* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1965), pp. 171–86.

17 Richard Huelsenbeck et al., "Dadaistisches Manifest," in *Dada Almanach* (Berlin, 1920); translated by Ralph Mannheim as "Collective Dada Manifesto," in Robert Motherwell, ed., *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1981), p. 244.

18 See Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (1892; English edition, New York: Howard Fertig, 1968), pp. 27, 118–28.

19 Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Kunst und Rasse*, 4th ed. (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1942), especially pp. 111–28.

20 For a discussion of the term *Kultur-bolschewismus*, see Istvan Deak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals: A Political History of the Weltbühne and Its Circle* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 1–5.

21 See Ida Katherine Rigby, *An alle Künstler! War—Revolution—Weimar: German Expressionist Prints, Drawings, Posters, and Periodicals from the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation*, exh. cat. (San Diego: San Diego State University Press, 1983), p. 2; Roy F. Allen, *Literary Life in German Expressionism and the Berlin Circles* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1983), pp. 47–49, Miesel, *Voices*, pp. 189–211.

22 For a list of artists whose work was considered degenerate by the Nazis, see Franz Roh, *"Entartete" Kunst: Kunstbarbarei im dritten Reich* (Hannover: Fackelträger-Verlag, 1952).

23 The guide to the 1937 Munich exhibition *Entartete Kunst* is reprinted ibid.; see facsimile, p. 16.

24 In addition to ibid., see Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunst Diktatur im dritten Reich* (Hamburg: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1949). For the non-German reader, the first three chapters of Berthold Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*, trans. Robert Kimber and Rita Kimber (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), first published in Munich in 1974, give a clear introduction to this material.

25 Many of the numerous articles on the topic are reprinted in Hans-Jurgen Schmitt, ed., *Die Expressionismusdebatte: Materialien zu einer Marxistischen Realismuskonzeption* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1973), pp. 337–38.

26 Georg Lukács, " 'Grösse und Verfall' des Expressionismus," *Internationale Literatur* 1 (1934), translated by David Ternback as "Expressionism: Its Significance and Decline," in Rodney Livingstone, ed., *Georg Lukács: Essays on Realism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980), pp. 77–113.

27 Ernst Bloch, "Diskussionen über Expressionismus," *Das Wort* 3, no. 6 (1938), translated by Rodney Livingstone as "Discussing Expressionism," in *Aesthetics and Politics* (London: NLB, 1977), pp. 16–59.

28 See Schmitt, *Expressionismusdebatte*. An English translation of Klaus Berger's essay "Das Erbe des Expressionismus," *Das Wort* 2, no. 2 (1938), appears in Miesel, *Voices*, pp. 204–6.

29 Franz Schonauer, "Expressionismus und Faschismus: Eine Diskussion aus dem Jahre 1938," pt. 2, *Literatur und Kritik* 8 (November 1966): 45–46.

30 Schonauer, "Expressionismus und Faschismus," pt. 1, *Literatur und Kritik* 7 (October 1966): 44–54.

31 Schonauer, "Expressionismus und Faschismus," pt. 2, pp. 45–55.

32 Stephen Eric Bronner, "Expressionism and Marxism: Toward an Aesthetic of Emancipation," in *Passion and Rebellion: The Expressionist Heritage*, ed. Stephen Eric Bronner and Douglas Kellner (South Hadley, Mass.: J. F. Bergin, 1983), pp. 411–53.

33 Ibid., p. 415.

34 Wolfgang Pehnt, *Expressionist Architecture*, trans. J. A. Underwood and Edith Kustner (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), pp. 206–7; originally published as *Expressionistische Architektur* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1973). For further comments on Pehnt's point of view, see Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "Expressionism and the New Objectivity," *Art Journal* 43, no. 2 (1983): 109–10.

35 Wolfgang Rothe, "Expressionism in Literature," in Christos M. Joachimedes et al., eds., *German Art in the Twentieth Century*, (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1985), p. 99.

36 Paul Raabe has stated that these attacks delayed the revival of interest in Expressionism; see *Expressionismus: Der Kampf*, p. 228. In "On the Rediscovery of Expressionism as a European Movement," *Modern Germanic Studies* 2, no. 2 (1976): 201–2, Raabe suggests that Lukács's dislike of anarchism also contributed to the direction of his attack. See also Miesel, *Voices*, p. 182.

37 See Wolfgang Paulsen, *Expressionismus und Aktivismus* (Bern and Leipzig: Gotthelf Verlag, 1935), especially pp. 13–15.

38 See Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*; Bernard S. Myers, *The German Expressionists: A Generation in Revolt* (New York: Praeger, 1957).

39 Lothar-Günther Buchheim, *The Graphic Art of German Expressionism* (New York: Universe Books, 1960).

40 See, for example, Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Expressionism, Abstraction, and the Search for Utopia in Germany," in *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting, 1890–1985*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1986), pp. 201–17.

41 See, for example, Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Art under a Dictatorship* (1954; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1973), pp. 239–48.

42 Donald E. Gordon, "On the Origin of the Word 'Expressionism,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966): 368–85.

43 In the introduction to *Expressionism: Art and Idea* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), Gordon explained that he had reevaluated his earlier approach and now believed that there might be some "common denominator" linking different aspects of Expressionism (see p. xv). Nonetheless he maintained that Expressionist art theory had little relevance to the art (see p. 185ff.).

44 See notes 4 and 8.

45 See Fechter, *Expressionismus*, pp. 28–29.

46 For example, Gordon quoted the following statement from Fechter's essay out of context: "Expressionism puts the accent essentially upon the experience of feeling and on its formulation in the most intensely concentrated manner possible" ("On the Origin," p. 376).

47 Ibid., p. 384. In *Expressionism: Art and Idea*, Gordon discussed the intellectual milieu of Expressionism in addition to its iconography, style, and social psychology, but he continued in places to refer to Expressionism as "subjective" and "emotional"; see, for example, pp. 69 and 185. His death before the completion of the editing of the book may explain some of his word usage, particularly the simplification of the complex and paradoxical term *inner*. Although the German term *inner* is often translated as "inner" or "internal," *inner*, like *innerlich* and *Innerlichkeit*, is frequently used to refer to the difference between the world of appearances and the world of ideas, to distinguish the metaphysical or cosmic inner world from the material outer world. For a brief discussion of some of these issues, see Rose-Carol Washton Long, *Kandinsky* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 5.

48 Geoffrey Perkins, *Contemporary Theory of Expressionism* (Bern and Frankfurt: Herbert Lang, 1974), pp. 24–31.

49 Ibid., pp. 53–58.

50 Paul Raabe, *Der Ausgang des Expressionismus* (Biberach an der Riss: Wege und Gestalten, 1966), includes the catalogue for the exhibition *Der späte Expressionismus, 1918–1922*, at Galerie Biberach, November–December 1966.

51 See Paul Raabe, *Die Zeitschriften und Sammlungen des literarischen Expressionismus* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964); idem, *Index Expressionismus*, 18 vols. (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Thomson, 1972).

52 See Paul Raabe and Ludwig Greve, eds., *Expressionismus: Literatur und Kunst, 1910–1923*, exh. cat. (Marbach: Schiller Nationalmuseum, 1960).

53 See Paul Pörtner, ed., *Literatur-Revolution, 1910–1925: Dokumente—Manifeste—Programme*, 2 vols. (Neuwied am Rhein: Hermann Luchterhand, 1960–61); Dieter Schmidt, ed., *Manifeste, Manifeste, 1905–1933* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1965); Raabe, *Expressionismus: Der Kampf*.

54 See Eva Kolinsky, *Engagierter Expressionismus: Politik und Literatur zwischen Weltkrieg und Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970); Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand, *Expressionismus* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975); Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, *Wem gehört die Welt: Kunst und Gesellschaft in der Weimarer Republik*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, 1977).

55 Peter Guenther, *German Expressionism: Toward a New Humanism*, exh. cat. (Houston: Sarah Campbell Blaffer Gallery, 1977).

56 Orrel P. Reed, *German Expressionist Art: The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, University of California, 1977). Awareness of the number of artists and media associated with the Expressionist tradition was further expanded when Stephanie Barron organized the exhibition *German Expressionist Sculpture* for the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1983.

57 John Willet, *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety, 1917–1933* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

58 See Bronner and Kellner, *Passion and Rebellion*.

59 See Manfred Schlösser, ed., *Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin, 1918–1921*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1980); Helga Kliemann, *Die Novembergruppe* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1969); Fritz Löffler, Emilio Bertonati, and Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, *Dresdner Sezession, 1919–1923*, exh. cat. (Munich and Milan: Galleria del Levante, 1977).

60 Rigby, *An alle Künstler*, pp. 35–37.

61 See Werenskiold, *Concept of Expressionism*, especially pp. 35–50. In *Expressionism: Art and Idea*, Gordon posits that the term was first used by Antonin Matějček in the introduction to the catalogue for a 1910 exhibition in Prague; see pp. 175–76.

62 See Allen, *Literary Life*.

63 See Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Occultism, Anarchism, and Abstraction: Kandinsky's Art of the Future," *Art Journal* 46, no. 1 (1987), pp. 38–45.

64 See, for example, Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "The Interpretation of the Glass Dream: Expressionist Architecture and the History of the Crystal Metaphor," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 40, no. 1 (1984): 20–43. Ian Boyd White, in *Bruno Taut and the Architecture of Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), stresses Taut's interest in anarchism and pacifism but does not explore Taut's or Scheerbart's knowledge of occultism.

65 See, for example, John Elderfield, *Flight out of Time: A Dada Diary* (New York: Viking, 1974); Timothy O. Benson, "Mysticism, Materialism, and the Machine in Berlin Dada," *Art Journal* 46, no. 1 (1987): 46–55.

66 See Janos Frecot, "Literatur zwischen Betrieb und Einsamheit," *Berlin um 1900*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1984), pp. 319–47, 351–53. See also Arthur Mitzman, "Anarchism, Expressionism, and Psychoanalysis," in *Passion and Rebellion*, pp. 55–81.

67 Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus et al., *Karl Ernst Osthaus: Leben und Werk*, 2 vols. (Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1971).

68 The letters of Gustav Schiefler are being prepared for publication by Annemarie Dube-Heynig. For a brief discussion of Schiefler, see Hans Platte, ed., *Gustav Schiefler: Aus den Erinnerungen von Luise Schiefler* (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1965).

69 A summary of the Walden archival material in the Handschriftenabteilung of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and a general overview of Walden and *Der Sturm* can be found in Georg Bruhl, *Herwarth Walden und "Der Sturm"* (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1983), pp. 85–89. See also M. S. Jones, *Der Sturm: A Focus of Expressionism* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1984).

70 For an overview of Pfemfert and *Die Aktion*, see Paul Raabe, Schlusswort, in the reprint of *Die Aktion* (Munich: Kosel-Verlag, 1967), pp. 85–89. See also Kolinsky, *Engagierter Expressionismus*, pp. 7–35; Barbara Drygulski Wright, "Sublime Ambition: Art, Politics and Ethical Idealism in the Cultural Journals of German Expressionism," in *Passion and Rebellion*, pp. 82–112; Sylvia Schlenstedt, "Gruppe, Zeitschrift, Verlag: Zu Lebensformen des literarischen Expressionismus," in *Expressionisten: Die Avantgarde in Deutschland, 1905–1920* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1986), pp. 37–46.

71 See Paul Westheim, "How *Das Kunstblatt* Was Born," in *The Era of German Expressionism*, ed. Paul Raabe (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1974), pp. 201–5. For Walden's dislike of Westheim, see Jones, *Der Sturm*, pp. 44–46.

72 Behne, "Deutsche Expressionisten," p. 115.

73 Theodor Däubler, *Der neue Standpunkt* (Dresden and Hellerau: Hellerauer Verlag, 1916), pp. 24–25, 179–85.

74 Donald E. Gordon, "German Expressionism," in *Primitivism*, pp. 369–403. See also Jill Lloyd, "Primitivism and Modernity," in *German Art*, pp. 105–11.

75 The clearest expression of Worringer's point of view appears in his *Formprobleme der Gotik*, 3d ed. (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1915). For a discussion of Worringer's theories and an evaluation of the Expressionist interest in the Gothic tradition, see Perkins, *Contemporary Theory*, pp. 47–91.

76 Sander L. Gilman, "Madness and Representation: Hans Prinzhorn's Study of Madness and Art in Its Historical Context," in *The Prinzhorn Collection* (Champaign: Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign, 1984–85), pp. 7–14.

77 Ibid., pp. 12–13.

78 See J. Diane Radycki, "The Life of Lady Art Students: Changing Art Education at the Turn of the Century," *Art Journal* 42, no. 1 (1983): 9–13. See also Richard J. Evans, "Liberalism and Society: The Feminist Movement and Social Change," in *Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*, ed. Richard J. Evans (London: Croom Helm, 1978), pp. 186–214.

79 For an overview of the Expressionist artists who received appointments to academies of art in Germany after the war, see Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*, p. 317.

80 See, for example, Walter Gropius, "Bauhaus Program" (first published 1919), in Hans M. Wingler, *The Bauhaus* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969), p. 31.

81 See Marcel Franciscono, *Walter Gropius and the Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar: The Ideals and Artistic Theories of Its Founding Years* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), pp. 85–152; Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart's Vision: Utopian Aspects of German Expressionist Architecture" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973), pp. 323–71, 417–51, 555–60.

82 Bletter, "Bruno Taut," pp. 47–49, 78–86, 193–243.

83 For a discussion of the Hartlaub exhibition and the term *Neue Sachlichkeit*, see Jost Hermand, "Unity within Diversity? The History of the Concept 'Neue Sachlichkeit,'" in *Culture and Society in the Weimar Republic*, ed. Keith Bullivant (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), pp. 167–82. See also Peter Selz, "The Artist as Social Critic," and Emilio Bertonati, "Neue Sachlichkeit in a Wider Cultural Context," in *German Realism of the Twenties: The Artist as Social Critic* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Museum of Art, 1980), pp. 32, 57–59.

84 Franz Roh, *Nach-Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten europäischen Malerei* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1925), pp. 119–20.

85 Reinhold Heller, "The City Is Dark," in *Expressionism Reconsidered*, ed. Gertrud Bauer Pickar and Karl Eugene Webb (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1979), pp. 43–57.

86 See, for example, Sarah O'Brien-Twohig, "Beckmann and the City," in *Max Beckmann Retrospective*, exh. cat., ed. Carla Schultz-Hoffmann and Judith C. Weiss (Saint Louis: Saint Louis Art Museum; Munich. Prestel-Verlag, 1984), pp. 91–109.

87 See Beth Lewis, *George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971); Bridget S. Barton, *Otto Dix and Die neue Sachlichkeit, 1918–1925* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1977).

88 See, for example, Lewis Coser, ed., *Georg Simmel* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1965), pp. 18–26, 53–57.

89 See, for example, C. S. Kessler, "Sun Worship and Anxiety," *Magazine of Art* (November 1952): 304–12.

90 See Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Kandinsky's Vision of Utopia as a Garden of Love," *Art Journal* 43, no. 1 (1983): 50–60.

91 For a discussion of Taut's utopian aims, see Bletter, "Interpretation of the Glass Dream," pp. 20–43.

92 See Rigby, *An alle Künstler*, pp. 40–43.

93 See Walter Rheiner, *Kokain* (Dresden: Dresdner Verlag, 1917–18), which includes seven drawings by Felixmüller; Ludwig Meidner, *Septemberschrei* (Berlin: Paul Cassirer Verlag, 1920); Wassily Kandinsky, *Klänge* (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1913). For numerous other examples, see Paul Raabe, *Die Autoren und Bücher des literarischen Expressionismus* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1985).

94 For background on the poet, see Erika Klüsener, *Else Lasker-Schüler* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1980).

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Akademie der Künste, Sammlung Baukunst, Berlin: p. 24, fig. 40; p. 25, fig. 42

Anthroposophical Press; from the book *The Goetheanum:* p. 24, fig. 41

Beverly Hills Public Library, Dorothi Bock Pierre Collection: pp. 30–31, fig. 51 (photos); p. 32, fig. 53

Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Kunstgeschichtlichen Institut der Philipps-Universität, Marburg: p. 26, figs. 44, 45; p. 27, fig. 47

Milton Brown, *The Story of the Armory Show* (New York: Joseph H. Hirschhorn Foundation, 1963): p. 131, fig. 185

Dance Notation Bureau, New York: pp. 30–31, figs. 51 (Labanotation), 52

Detroit Institute of Arts, courtesy of the Museum Archives: p. 134, fig. 188

Deutsches Theatermuseum, Munich: p. 20, figs. 29, 30; p. 21, figs. 31, 32

Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston: p. 143, fig. 196 (photo: John Stuart); p. 144, fig. 197

Kraus, Murnau: p. 101, fig. 146

Kunstmuseum, Basel: p. 158, fig. 210

Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK), Archiv: p. 69, figs. 86–88; p. 85, fig. 123

Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (SMPK); photo: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin: p. 68, fig. 85; p. 75, fig. 100; p. 82, fig. 116; p. 85, fig. 122; p. 94, fig. 139; p. 100, fig. 145; p. 103, fig. 151; p. 105, fig. 154; p. 108; fig. 158; p. 110, fig. 163

The Museum of Modern Art, New York: p. 2, fig. 2; p. 140, fig. 192; p. 141, fig. 194; p. 146, fig. 198

The Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archives, New York: p. 22, fig. 35; p. 23, fig. 38

Norton Simon Museum of Art, Pasadena, California: p. 139, fig. 191

James Plaut: p. 142, fig. 195

© Cervin Robinson 1987: p. 25, fig. 43

The Arnold Schoenberg Institute Archives, Los Angeles: p. 8, figs. 11, 12; p. 28, figs. 48, 49

Theatermuseum des Instituts für Theaterwissenschaft der Universität Köln, Cologne: p. 21, figs. 33, 34; p. 29, fig. 50

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut; Bequest of Katherine Dreier: p. 132, fig. 186 (photo: Leslie E. Bowman)

Frans Masereel
Belgium, 1889–1972
Untitled (man and buildings), c. 1921
Woodcut
5⅛ x 4¼ in. (13.0 x 10.8 cm)
From *Der Querschnitt durch 1921*
83.1.827 a
Davis 1853

Index

Page numbers for illustrations are in *italics*.

ACHMANN, Josef, 115, 127
AKTIONSAUSSCHUSS bildender Künstler, 49
ALLEN, Roy F., 195
AMIET, Cuno, 2–3, 70, 111 n. 12
ARBEITSRAT für Kunst, 11–13, 24, 49, 135, 175, 183
ARNOLD, Ernst, 9
ARNTZ, Wilhelm F., vii, xvi
ASCH, Elisabeth, 48
AUSTIN, A. Everett "Chick," 149 n. 22
AVENARIUS, Ferdinand, 177

BABBERGER, August, 21
BALL, Hugo, 10, 115, 196
BARBUSSE, Henri, 48
BARLACH, Ernst, 9–10, 32, 43, 61, 154, 179, 186, 203 n. 6
  in *Der Bildermann*, *11*, 126
  as dramatist, 19, 115
  as illustrator, 120, 121, 122, 153, 173
  museum holdings, 140, 145
  on use of woodcut, 46
  works illustrated, *10*, *11*, *51*, *118*, *156*, *157*
BARNES, Albert C., 139
BARNOWSKY, Viktor, 21
BARR, Alfred H., Jr., 140–42
  photograph, *140*
BARRON, Stephanie, 148, 204 n. 56
BARTNING, Otto, 25
BARTON, Brigit, 200–201
BAUER, Rudolf, 124
BAUMEISTER, Willi, 133
BEBEL, August, 33
BECHER, Johannes R., 4
BECHTEJEFF, Vladimir, 6
BECKMANN, Max, xv, 10, 43, 67, 99–110, 154, 176, 179, 186
  in exhibitions, 137, 140, 144, 147, 149 n. 22
  as illustrator, 117, 120–22, 173
  museum holdings, 137, 140, 143, 145
  Kramer on, 142
  in U.S., 137, 144
  and war, 44, 46, 78, 79
  works illustrated, *100–101*, *103–10*, *121*
BECKMANN-TUBE, Minna, 113 n. 99
BEEH, René, 120, 122
BEHNE, Adolf, 11, 12, 27, 185, 197–98
BEHRENS, Peter
  work illustrated, *152*
BEKKER, Paul, 30
BELL, Clive, 133
BELLING, Rudolf, 13, 23, 27, 140
  Tanzkasino Skala, *27*
BENN, Gottfried, 4, 117, 188
BERG, Alban, 7, 29
  photograph and portrait of, *8*
BERGER, Klaus, 188
BERGER, Ludwig, 20
BERGSON, Henri, 32
BERLIN SEZESSION, 43, 174
BIERMANN, Georg, 173, 177
BLASS, Ernst, 4, 27, 116
BLAUE REITER, 6–9, 15, 131, 179, 184, 191, 195, 196
  in exhibitions, 7, 43, 77, 145
  and literary Expressionism, 117
  Schönberg and, 28
BLAVATSKY, Helena, 196
BLEYL, Fritz, 2, 67, 69, 151
  work illustrated, *69*
BLOCH, Albert, 6
BLOCH, Ernst, 187, 188
BLÜMNER, Rudolf, 5
BÖCKSTIEGEL, Peter August, 15
BODE, Wilhelm von, 134
BÖHM, Domenikus, 25
BÖHM, Gottfried, 25
BÖHME, Jakob, 196
BOLDT, Paul, 4
BONER, Ulrich, 116
BOOTH, Ralph H., 137
BORNGRAEBER, Otto, 31
BRAQUE, Georges, 6, 154
BRAUNBEHRENS, Lili von, 121
BRECHT, Bertolt, 97, 188
BRITTING, Georg, 115, 127
BRONNEN, Arnolt, 20
BRONNER, Stephen Eric, 188, 194
BRÜCKE, 31, 85, 131, 179, 184, 191, 195, 196, 201
  and Arbeitsrat für Kunst, 11
  and *Der blaue Reiter*, 7, 8
  book illustration by members of, 117–20
  exhibition catalogues, 173, 174
  in exhibitions, 9, 15, 145
  history of, 2–4, 67–78
  and Matisse circle, 203 n. 8
  and Munch, 111 n. 17
  and literary life, 116, 117
  portfolios issued by, 60, 67, 69–76
  printmaking revival, 40, 41–43, 52–58
  Walden publishes work of, 124
BUCHHEIM, Lothar-Günther, xv, 155, 191
BUCHHEISTER, Carl, 133
BÜCHNER, Georg, 29
BURCHARTZ, Max, 50, 62
  work illustrated, *55*
BURGER, Fritz, 176
BURLIUK, David, 6
BURLIUK, Vladimir, 6
BUSCH, Adolphus, 140
BUTTING, Max, 30

CAMPENDONK, Heinrich, 6, 16, 43, 124, 132, 133, 135
CARLSON, Victor, 161
CARUS, Dorothea, 147
CASPAR, Karl, 135
CASPAR-FILSER, Maria, 135
CASSIRER, Bruno, 116
CASSIRER, Paul, 62, 120, 136, 176, 178
  Der Bildermann and *Kriegszeit*, 9–10, 49, 126
CÉZANNE, Paul, 7, 15, 36, 70, 77, 111 n. 14
CHAGALL, Marc, 124, 139, 154
CHAMISSO, Adelbert von, 42, 45, 118
CHIPP, Herschel, 145–46, 147
CLAUDEL, Paul, 30
CONE, Claribel and Etta, 139
CORINTH, Lovis, 43, 59, 116, 177
CORRINTH, Curt, 120
CRANACH, Lucas, 58
CZESCHKA, Carl Otto
  work illustrated, *129*

DAGOVER, Lil, 22
DARMSTÄDTER SEZESSION, 16
DÄUBLER, Theodor, 88, 115, 197–98
DAUDET, Alphonse, 122
DAVIDSOHN, Hans. *See* Hoddis, Jakob van
DAVIS, Richard L., 145
DEFOE, Daniel, 122
DEGNER, Arthur, 135
DELAUNAY, Robert, 6, 36
DENISSOFF, Wassily, 6
DERAIN, André, 6, 154
DEUTSCH, Ernst, 20
  photograph, *20*
DIETRICH, Rudolf Adrian, 32, 57
DISSE, Rainer, 25
DIX, Otto, 15, 49, 55, 67, 102, 140, 186
  Barton's study of, 200
  wartime art and experiences of, 44, 45, 78–85, 99
  works illustrated, *78–85*, *102*, *178*, *180*
DÖBLIN, Alfred, 9, 32, 42, 118
DOHRN, Wolf, 30
DONGEN, Kees van, 3, 6
DOSTOYEVSKI, Fyodor, 62, 116
DREIER, Katherine, 132–33, 137
  photograph, *132*
DRESDEN SEZESSION: Gruppe 1919, 13–15, 16, 158, 173, 191
DREYER, Max, 117
DURE, Wolf-Dieter, 155, 158, 160
DUCHAMP, Marcel, 132
  photograph, *132*
DUNCAN, Isadora, 30
DÜRER, Albrecht, 58

EBERT, Friedrich, 90
EBERZ, Josef, 46, 50, 56, 121, 127
  work illustrated, *50*
EDSCHMID, Kasimir, 34, 120, 173, 175
EGGELING, Viking, 24
EHRENSTEIN, Albert, 27, 117
EINSTEIN, Carl, 176
EISNER, Kurt, 49, 95
ENGERT, E. M., 16
ENSOR, James, 144
EPSTEIN, Elisabeth, 6
ERHARDT, Otto, 29
ERNST, Max, 16
EXPRESSIONISTISCHE Arbeitsgemeinschaft, 13–15

FECHTER, Paul, 39, 42, 54, 184, 185, 191, 195
FEHLING, Jürgen, 20
FEHR, Hans, 40, 51, 52
FEINBLATT, Ebria, 138
FEININGER, Lyonel, 11, 42, 62, 126, 137, 138, 179
  at Bauhaus, 16
  in exhibitions, 135, 140
  Harvard archives, 161
  as illustrator, 117
  work illustrated, *17*
FELIXMÜLLER, Conrad, 115, 121, 127, 179, 186
  and Dresden Sezession: Gruppe 1919, 15, 158
  political views and work of, 15, 49, 124, 126, 191, 195
  wartime art of, 45
  works illustrated, *cover*, *14*, *19*, *47*, *128*, *202*
FINSTERLIN, Hermann, 12
FISCHER, Friedrich Wilhelm, 105, 113 n. 93
FLAUBERT, Gustave
  illustration for work of, 122, *122*
FLECHTHEIM, Alfred, 9, 62, 129, 178
FOHN, Sophie and Emanuel, xv
FORSTER, Gela, 15
FOX, Ilene, 30
FRANKENSTEIN, Alfred, 145, 146
FREIE BEWEGUNG, 13
FREUD, Sigmund, 151, 196
FREUNDLICH, Otto, 11, 16, 124
  work illustrated, *189*
FRIEDENBERG, Hans, 195
FRIEDRICH, Ernst, 80
FRY, Roger, 133

GALEEN, Henrik, 23
GALLÉN-KALLELA, Axel, 3, 69, 70, 111 n. 12
  work illustrated, *68*
GANGI, Golo. *See* Loewenson, Erwin
GARBE, Herbert, 135
GAUGUIN, Paul, 15, 36, 41, 43, 59, 70, 77, 111 n. 14
GAUL, August, 9
GEORGE, Heinrich, 20, 21
GEORGI, Yvonne, 32
GILMAN, Sander L., 199
GLASER, Curt, 45, 60–61, 176
GLÄSERNE KETTE, 24
GLEICHMANN, Otto, 62
GLUCK, Christoph, 30
GOETHE, Johann Wolfgang von, 121, 173
GOGH, Vincent van, 4, 15, 36, 70, 77, 111 n. 14, 184
GOGOL, Nikolay, 62, 122
GOLL, Ivan, 32, 35
GOLTZ, Hans, 49, 57, 128, 131, 176
GORDON, Donald, 191–93, 198
GOTHEIN, Werner, 49
GOYA y Lucientes, Francisco de, 82
  work illustrated, *82*
GRAMATTÉ, Walter, 50, 56, 62, 67, 121, 122
  work illustrated, *62*
GRAU, Albin, 23
GREVE, Ludwig, 193
GROHMANN, Will, 13, 46, 174, 176
GROPIUS, Walter, 11, 24, 25, 28, 198, 200
GROSS, Otto, 196
GROSSMANN, Rudolf, 117, 126
GROSZ, George, 49, 61, 67, 79, 86–99, 186
  as book artist, 122, 153
  in exhibitions, 135, 140, 149 n. 22
  Lewis's study of, 200
  wartime art and experiences, 78, 87, 89, 96
  works illustrated, *87–94*, *96–97*, *123*, *154*, *199*
GRUNE, Carl, 23
  scene from movie directed by, *23*
GUENTHER, Peter, 194
  conversation with Kokoschka, 163–71
GURLITT, Fritz, 9, 116, 120, 121, 173, 176
GUTFREUND, Otto, 133
GUTHMANN, Johannes, 117

HABLIK, Wenzel A., 12, 24
HAFTMANN, Werner, 145
HAHL, Jelena, 163
HAMANN, Richard, 194
HAMILTON, George Heard, 183
HARING, Hugo, 28
HARTLAUB, Gustav F., 46, 176, 179, 196, 200
  on Expressionists, 48, 56, 57
  on printmaking, 59–60, 63
  on print collecting, 62–63
HARTMANN, Karl Amadeus, 30
HARTMANN, Thomas von, 28–29
HARTUNG, Gustav, 21
HASENCLEVER, Walter, 15, 20, 21, 170
  Der Sohn production sketch, *20*

Hatzfeld, Adolf von, 32
Hauer, Josef Matthias, 29
Hauptmann, Gerhart, 117
Hausenstein, Wilhelm, 35, 176, 179, 185
Hausmann, Raoul, 196
Heartfield, John, 88, 91
Heckel, Erich, 41, 44, 49, 140, 151, 154, 179, 187
and Amiet, 70
and Arbeitsrat, 11
and the Brücke, 2, 67
in Brücke portfolios, 69, 71, 72, 74–76
exhibitions, 15, 43, 135, 149 n. 22, 161
as illustrator, 118, 120, 153
influences on, 42
printmaking, 53–54
publication of works of, 46, 62, 118
wartime artwork of, 9, 45
work in periodicals, 124, 126
works illustrated, *40–42*, *66*, *69*, *71*, *73*, *75*, *124*, *153*, *180*
Heckrott, Wilhelm, 15
Heemskerck, Jacoba van, 124
Heine, Thomas Theodor, 117
Heller, Reinhard, 200
Henning, P. R., 12
Henseler, Franz, 16
Hentzen, Alfred, 145
Herbert, Robert, 133
Herbig, Otto, 9
Hermand, Jost, 194
Herzfelde, Helmut. *See* Heartfield, John
Herzfelde, Wieland, 50, 88, 91, 93
Hess, Walter, xv
Hettner, Otto, 9
Heym, Georg, 4, 27, 42, 43, 116, 117, 119
Hiller, Kurt, 4, 10, 124
Hindemith, Paul, 29, 30
Hirsch, Karl Jakob, 11, 124, 127
work illustrated, 5, *49*
Hitler, Adolf, 187, 199
Hoboken, G. B. R., 24
Hoddis, Jakob van (pseud. of Hans Davidsohn), 4, 116, 123
Hoerle, Heinrich, 133
Hofer, Karl, 10, 144, 149 n. 22
work illustrated, *144*
Hoffmann, Edith, 145, 146
Holm, Hanya, 32
Huelsenbeck, Richard, 90
Dadaistisches Manifest, *186*
cover of *En avant Dada*, *197*
illustration for work of, 122, *123*
Huth, W. R., 135
Hutton, Leonard, 147

Ibsen, Henrik, 19
Itten, Johannes, 16, 133, 175, 200

Jaeckel, Willi, 122
Janowitz, Hans, 22
Jansen, Franz Maria, 49
works illustrated, *53*
Janthur, Richard, 117, 122
Jaques-Dalcroze, Emile, 30, 31
Jawlensky, Alexej von, 6, 9, 138, 179, 203 n. 8
Jelinek, Hans, 30
Joel, Hans Theodor, 177
Joos, Kurt, 32
photograph of dance drama, *32*
Junge Rheinland, 13, 16

Kaesbach, Walter, 9
Kaestner, Erhart, 120
Kahler, Eugen, 6
Kainen, Jacob and Ruth, xv
Kaiser, Georg, 20, 21, 22
Kallir, Otto, 147
Kandinsky, Wassily, 6, 9, 24, 43, 139, 176, 179, 187, 193
at Bauhaus, 16, 200
and *Der blaue Reiter*, 6, 8, 44, 120, 175
book design, 120
dance forms in work of, 32
in exhibitions, 131, 132, 133, 203 n. 8
Frankenstein on, 146
occult and utopian sources, 191, 196
and Scheyer, 138
and Schönberg, 28–29
and Schreyer, 138
Taut influenced by, 200
as writer and illustrator, 43–44, 115, 120, 153, 202
works illustrated, *6*, *7*, *8*, *9*, *31–32*, *155*
Kartell fortschrittlicher Künstlergruppen in Deutschland, 16
Kaus, Max, 9, 49, 122, 135, 149 n. 22
work illustrated, *122*
Kayser, Rudolf, 35
Keim, Franz
illustration for work of, *129*
Keller, Gottfried, 122
Kellner, Douglas, 194
Kennerly, Mitchell, 135
Kerschbaumer, Anton, 9
Kessler, Count Harry, 95, 112 n. 74
Kestenberg, Leo, 10
Kesting, Edmund, 133
Kiepenheuer, Gustav, 62
Kirchner, Ernst Ludwig, 7, 39, 67, 71, 124, 151, 159, 176, 179, 187
as book artist, 123, 174
and the Brücke, 2, 68, 76
in Brücke portfolios, 69, 72–74
catalogues, 173, 174
dance forms in work of, 32
in exhibitions, 15, 43, 131, 138, 149 n. 22, 203 n. 8
and Hutton, 147
illustrations, 42, 118–20
influence of, 49, 72
influences on, 42, 111 n. 14
and literary life, 115, 116
museum holdings, 137, 144, 145
on overdrawing, 111 n. 18
publication of work, 7, 67, 124
on printing, 40, 52–53, 58
Schiefler on, 41
during war, 10, 45, 78, 79
works discussed, 75, 77, 200
works illustrated, *ix*, *x*, *2*, *3*, *42*, *43*, *69*, *71–73*, *75*, *114–15*, *119*, *125*, *175–77*, *198*, *211*
Kirstein, Lincoln, 140
Klee, Paul, 32, 44, 115, 139, 144, 176, 179, 187
at Bauhaus, 16, 200
hook illustrations, 120
in exhibitions, 132, 133, 135, 140, 149 n. 22, 155
publication of work, 67, 126
Schreyer and, 138
work illustrated, *120*
Klein, César, 11, 13, 23, 43, 127
work illustrated, *21*
Klein-Rogge, Rudolf, 22
Klemperer, Otto
photograph, *28*
Klimt, Gustav, 167
Klinger, Max, 61, 83
work illustrated, *85*
Klöpfer, Eugen, 20
Koelher, 136
Kogan, Moyssey, 6
Kohler, Bernard, 196
Kokoschka, Olda
conversation with Kokoschka, Rifkind, Guenther, 163–71
Kokoschka, Oskar, 44, 46, 115, 154, 155, 176, 179, 187, 200
conversation with Rifkind and Guenther, 163–71
exhibitions, 144, 149 n. 22
as illustrator, 117, 120, 122, 123, 153
museum holdings, 137, 145
photograph of, *163*
plays of, 19, *21*, 29, 30, 115
political position of, 186
in Sabarsky's gallery, 147
in war, 10
work in periodicals, 5, 43, 126
work in portfolios, 62, 67
works illustrated, *5*, *116*, *158*, *162*, *164–71*
Kolbe, Georg, 11, 135, 144, 149 n. 22
Kolinsky, Eva, 194
Kollwitz, Käthe, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 85, 140, 199
works illustrated, *48*, *52*
Kortner, Fritz, 20
Kräfte group, 13
Kramer, Hilton, 142
Krauss, Werner, 20, 22
Krayl, Carl, 12
Krell, Max, 32
Křenek, Ernst, 30
Kreutzberg, Harald, 32
Kruss, Markus, xv
Kubin, Alfred, 6, 44, 116, 118, 120, 179
Kubišta, Bohumil, 3
Kublin, N., 29
Kugel, 13
Kuhn, Charles, 140
Kuhn, Walt, 131
Küppers, Paul Erich, 177
Kurella, Alfred, 188, 190

Laban de Varaljas, Rudolf, 30, 31, 32
photograph, *31*
Landauer, Gustav, 49
Lang, Lothar, 129 n. 1
Lange, Otto, 15, 46
works illustrated, *65*, *182*
Lasalle, Ferdinand, 33
Lasker-Schüler, Else, 4, 116, 117, 202
Lautensack, Heinrich, 120
Le Fauconnier, Henri, 6
Lehmbruck, Wilhelm, 115, 131, 135, 144, 176
Leonhard, Rudolf, 9, 22
Lewis, Beth, 200
Ley, Walter, 61–62
Lichtenstein, Alfred, 4, 116
Lieberman, William S., 145
Liebermann, Max, 9, 43, 59, 61, 126
Liebknecht, Karl, 25, 49, 90, 94
Loewenson, Erwin [pseud. Golo Gangi], 4
Lorenz, Karl, 128
work illustrated, *vi*
Lotz, Ernst Wilhelm, 9, 27, 115
Luckhardt, Hans, 12
work illustrated, *12*
Luckhardt, Wassily, 12
Lukács, George, 187, 188
Luxemburg, Rosa, 25, 49, 90, 94, 102, 113 n. 81

Macke, August, 6, 9, 16, 120, 124, 135, 179
M'Ahesa, Sent, 30
Mann, Heinrich, 11
Mann, Klaus, 188
Mann, Thomas, 9
Marc, Franz, 6, 9, 120, 124, 139, 144, 179, 187, 202
and *Der blaue Reiter*, 6, 8, 175
in exhibitions, 133, 140
publication of work of, 43, 46, 124
use of woodcut by, 43, 44
Valentiner on, 134–35
work illustrated, *38*
Marcks, Gerhard, 11, 16, 135
Martin, Karl-Heinz, 20, 21, 22
Marx, Karl, 33
Masereel, Frans, 118, 121, 173
works illustrated, *122*, *174*, *207*
Mathéy, Georg A.
work illustrated, *179*
Matisse, Henri, 7, 31, 77, 139, 154, 203 n. 8
May, Morton D., xv, 144–45
Mayer, Carl, 22, 23
Meckenem, Israhel van, 109
work illustrated, *108*
Meid, Hans, 43
Meidner, Ludwig, 11, 23, 44, 46, 61, 62, 126, 179
as illustrator, 117, 120, 121, 202
as poet, 115, 121, 202
works illustrated, *117*, *121*, *125*, 200
Meier-Graefe, Julius, 177–78
Melzer, Moriz, 13, 43, 124
Mendelsohn, Erich, 25
works illustrated, *25*
Meseck, Felix, 67, 122
Meyer, Alfred Richard, 9, 153, 154
Meyrink, Gustav, 116
Mies van der Rohe, Ludwig, 24, 140
Mitschke-Collande, Constantin von, 15, 49, 98, 121, 158, 195, 202
works illustrated, *98*, *160*, *201*
Modersohn-Becker, Paula, 62, 147, 199
Moeller, Ferdinand, 136
Mogilewski, Alexander, 6
Moholy-Nagy, László, 24, 124
Molzahn, Johannes, 133
Morgan, J. P., 134
Morgner, Wilhelm, 9, 43
Muche, Georg, 16, 124
Mueller, Otto, 3, 7, 62, 64 n. 16, 76–77, 135, 149 n. 22, 179
work illustrated, *76*
Mühsam, Erich, 49
Müller, Gerda, 20
photograph, *21*
Munch, Edvard, 39, 40, 184
and Brücke members, 111 n. 17
exhibitions, 77, 111 n. 17, 144
influence of, 4, 36, 41, 59, 72
Münter, Gabriele, 6, 43, 133, 199
work illustrated, *xvii*
Murnau, F. W., 22, 23
Myers, Bernard, 155, 191

Nadel, Arno, 121
Nauen, Heinrich, 16, 135

Neppach, Robert, 21, 23
Neue Künstlervereinigung München, 6, 8, 174, 203 n. 8
Neue Sezession, 8, 77
Neumann, I. B., 9, 62, 105, 113 n. 94, 136, 176, 196
  journals published by, 127–28, 178
  portrait of, *180*
Nicholson, William, 69
Nierendorf, Karl, 9, 144, 147
Niestlé, Jean Bloé, 6
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 2, 32, 68, 83, 99
Nitzshke, Hans, 133
Nolde, Emil, 39, 61, 120, 156, 176, 179, 187
  in the Brücke, 3
  and Brücke portfolios, 40, 70
  and dance, 31, 32
  in exhibitions, 43, 111 n. 12, 135, 149 n. 22
  political views of, 186
  printmaking, 50–52
  Schardt on prints of, 41–42
  Valentiner purchase of work of, 137
  works illustrated, *44*, *56*, *59*, *70*, *150*
Nölken, Franz, 3
Nordau, Max, 185
Noske, Gustav, 94, 95
Novembergruppe, 13, 16, 24, 30, 49, 174, 191

Odets, Clifford, 137
Oppenheimer, Max, 117
Orlik, Emil, 117
Osborn, Max, 176
Osthaus, Karl Ernst, 196

Palucca, Gret, 32
Partikel, Alfred, 135
Pathetiker, 117
Paulsen, Wolfgang, 190
Pechstein, Max, 4, 10, 32, 147, 176, 179, 187, 200
  artists' groups, membership in, 2, 8, 11, 13
  in Brücke portfolios, 71, 74, 76–77
  in exhibitions, 135, 149 n. 22, 203 n. 8
  Fechter essay on, 39, 42
  as illustrator, 120
  on printmaking, 40–41, 54
  political views, 191, 195
  publication of works, 7, 43, 61–62, 64 n. 16, 124, 173
  wartime experiences and art, 45, 85
  works illustrated, *iv*, *xiv*, *45*, *46*, *71*, *74*, *76–77*, *174*, *192*
Pehnt, Wolfgang, 190
Perez, Jizchok-Leib, 121
Perkins, Geoffrey, 193
Perls, Frank, 154, 156
Pfemfert, Franz, 5, 124, 175, 196
Pfister, Kurt, 176
Philippe, Charles-Louis, 121
Picasso, Pablo, 7, 31, 36, 124, 139, 154
  in exhibitions, 6, 15, 77
Pinthus, Kurt, 4
Piper, Reinhard, 8, 105, 113 n. 94 and n. 99, 120, 178
Pirchan, Emil, 21
Plaut, James, 142–43, 144
  photograph, *142*
Plünnecke, Wilhelm, 98
  work illustrated, *98*
Poelzig, Hans, 23, 25
  Grosses Schauspielhaus, *26*
Pörtner, Paul, 193
Powell, Earl A., III, 161
Preetorius, Emile, 117
Prinzhorn, Hans, 198

Quinn, John, 139

Raabe, Paul, 193, 194
Radziwell, Franz, 135
Rat geistiger Arbeiter, 10–11
Rathbone, Perry, 137, 144
Rebay, Baroness Hilla von, 139
Redslob, Edwin, 56, 59
Reed, Orrel P., Jr., 147, 156, 159, 194
Reiche, Richard, 184
Reigbert, Otto, 21
Reimann, Walter, 22
Reinhardt, Max, 20, 25
Reiss, Erich, 9
Rheiner, Walter, 32, 115, 202
Rheinhardt, Emil Alphons, 40
Richardson, E. P., 138
Richter, Emil, 9
Richter, Hans, 24
  Rhythmus 21 frames, *23*
Richter-Berlin, Heinrich, 11, 13, 43, 124
Rifkind, Robert Gore
  conversation with Kokoschka, 163–71
  photograph with Kokoschka, *163*
Rigby, Ida, 194–95
Rih, 13
Rilla, Walther, 48
Ritchie, Andrew, 145
Rockefeller, John D., 134
Roeder, Emy, 135
Roh, Franz, 200
Rohlfs, Christian, 45, 62, 135, 149 n. 22
  work illustrated, *46*
Röhrig, Walter, 22
Rolland, Romain, 48
Rosenberg, Jacob, 144
Rothe, Wolfgang, 190
Rouault, Georges, 6, 142
Rousseau, Henri, 6
Rowohlt, Ernst, 9
Rubiner, Ludwig, 116, 122, 124
Ruttman, Walter, 24

Sabanejew, Leonid, 29
Sabarsky, Serge, 147
Sachs, Paul, 139–40, 149 n. 22
St. Denis, Ruth, 30
Saint-Gaudens, Homer, 133
Salvisberg, O. R., 28
Sauerlandt, Max, 179
Schaefler, Fritz, 46, 49
  work illustrated, *53*
Schames, Ludwig, 9, 176
Schanze, 13
Schapire, Rosa, 173, 196
Schardt, Alois, 41–42
Scharff, Edwin, 126, 135
Scharoun, Hans, 28
Scheerbart, Paul, 196
Scheffler, Karl, 177
Scheibe, Richard, 135
Scheiber, Hugo, 133
Scherchen, Hermann, 30
  photograph, *28*
Scheyer, Emmy "Galka," 137
  photograph, *139*
Schickele, René, 10, 20, 35, 117
Schiefler, Gustav, xv, 39, 50, 53, 56, 173, 196
  on Expressionists and the Brücke, 40, 41
  on Heckel, 54
Schiele, Egon, 124, 147
Schiller, Friedrich, 121
Schindler, R. M., 138
Schinnerer, Adolf, 126
Schlemmer, Oskar, 16, 200
  works illustrated, *16*, 29, *130*
Schlichter, Rudolf, 118, 122
  work illustrated, *123*
Schmidt, Dieter, 193
Schmidt, P. F., 46, 50, 184
Schmidt-Rottluff, Karl, 11, 42, 137, 151, 179, 187
  and the Brücke, 2, 41, 67, 68
  in Brücke portfolios, 70–71
  in exhibitions, 135, 147, 149 n. 22, 161
  and Munch, 40, 111 n. 17
  Neun Holzschnitte, 45, 46, 62
  and New York dealers, 147
  on overdrawing, 111 n. 18
  work in periodicals, *18*, 49, 124, *127*, 128
  works illustrated, *4*, *18*, 50, *70*, *127*, *135*, *212*
Schonauer, Franz, 188
Schönberg, Arnold, 6, 7, 28–29
  photographs of, *28*
Schopenhauer, Arthur, 111 n. 41
Schreiber, Hugo, 133
Schreyer, Lothar, 5, 200
  works illustrated, *36*, *148*
Schrimpf, Georg, 121, 124, 127
  works illustrated, *57*, *179*
Schubert, Otto, 15
  work illustrated, *xiii*
Schultze-Naumberg, Paul, 185–86
Schulze-Sölde, Max, 149 n. 22
Schwichtenberg, Martel, 135, 149 n. 22
Schwitters, Kurt, 124, 133
Scriabin, Aleksandr, 29
Seewald, Richard, 122, 126, 135
  works illustrated, *xviii*, *18*
Segall, Lasar, 15
  work illustrated, *125*
Seiwert, Franz, 133
Selz, Peter, 147, 155, 191
Serger, Helen, 147
Sievert, Ludwig, 21
Signac, Paul, 111 n. 14
Simmel, Georg, 32, 201
Singer, H. W., 43
Sintenis, Renée, 135
Skoronel, Vera, 32
Slevogt, Max, 43, 59, 116, 117, 126, 177
Sonderbund westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler, 15–16, 131
Sorge, Reinhard, 20
Stadler, Ernst, 4, 9, 27, 117
Steegeman, Paul, 120
Steger, Milly, 135
Stein family (Gertrude, Leo, Michael, Sarah), 139
Steiner, Rudolf, 25, 30, 196
  photograph, *24*
Steiner-Prag, Hugo, 116
Steinhardt, Jakob, 43, 50, 117, 120, 121, 126, 179
Steinitz, Kate, 133
Stern, Ernst, 21
Stevens, Corona, 170
Stieglitz, Alfred, 131
Stinnes, Hugo, 34
Stoermer, Curt, 121
Stoker, Bram, 23
Straur, Agnes, 20
Strindberg, August, 19
Stuck, Franz von, 109
  work illustrated, *110*
Stuckenberg, Fritz, 133
Swift, Jonathan, 122
Sydow, Eckart von, 176

Tagore, Rabindranath, 122
Tappert, Georg, 11, 13, 43, 121, 124, 127, 179
Taut, Bruno, 24, 25, 27, 28, 196, 200, 202
  and Arbeitsrat für Kunst, 11, 12, 24
  photograph, *24*
  work illustrated, *13*
Taut, Max, 25
Taylor, Joshua, 145
Tegtmeier, Wilhelm, 121
Terpis, Max, 32
Thannhauser, Heinrich, 131
Thiem, Gunther, 161
Tietze, Hans, 41, 50
Toller, Ernst, 20, 22, 49
  scene from play by, *21*
Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri de, 111 n. 14
Trakl, Georg, 9
Trümpy, Berthe, 32
Tschudi, Hugo von, 196
Twardowsky, Hans Heinz von, 22

Uhden, Maria, 124
Unold, Max, 126, 135

Valentin, Curt, 143–44, 146, 147
Valentiner, William R., vii, 39, 45, 134–38
  photograph, *134*
  portrait, *135*
Vallotton, Félix, 41, 69, 111 n. 14
  work illustrated, *68*
Veidt, Conrad, 22
Verden, Alice, 20
Verhaeren, Emile, 121
Vermeylen, August, 121
  illustration for work of, *122*
Viertel, Berthold, 20, 27
Vigevino, James, 154, 156
Vlaminck, Maurice de, 6, 154
Vogeler, Heinrich, 188
Vogt, Paul, 157–58
Voigt, Wilhelm, 113 n. 82
Voll, Christoph, 15
Voltaire, 120
Vordemberge-Gildewart, Friedrich, 133

Wach, Alois, 46, 49
  work illustrated, *49*
Wagner, Martin, 28
Walden, Herwarth, 43, 115, 139, 147, 176, 184, 188, 196, 202
  Der Sturm, 4, 5, 124, 177
  Der Sturm gallery, 8, 42, 124, 132
Walker, John, 140
Walter, Reinhold von, 61, 121
Warburg, Edward, 140
Warm, Hermann, 22
Webern, Anton, 7, 28
  photograph, *8*, *28*
Wedekind, Frank, 19
Wegener, Paul, 22, 23
Weidler, Charlotte, 133
Weissbach, R., 9
Wellesz, Egon, 30
Werefkin, Marianne von, 6, 9
Werenskiold, Marit, 195
Werfel, Franz, 27
Westheim, Paul, 56, 57–58, 62, 170, 173, 176, 196
  portraits of, *171*, *178*
Widener, Joseph, 135

WIELAND, Christoph M., 122
  illustration for work of, 123
WIENE, Robert, 22, 23
WIESE, Stephan von, 58
WIGMAN, Mary, 31–32
  photograph, 30
WILDE, Oscar, 42, 118, 153
WILLET, John, 194
WILLIAM II, Kaiser, 1, 33, 67, 94, 113 n. 82
WILSON, William, 160
WILSON, Woodrow, 97
WINTHER, Fritz and Hanna, 32
WOLFENSTEIN, Alfred, 32
WOLFF, Kurt, 9, 62, 175, 178
  Expressionists' illustrations for publications of, 42, 119, 120, 121, 173
WÖLFLI, Adolf, 199
WOLFRADT, Willi, 48
WOLPE, Stefan, 30
WORRINGER, Wilhelm, 35, 58, 60, 185, 193, 198
WURF, 13
WÜRZBACH, Walter, 27
  Tanzkasino Skala, 27

ZECH, Paul, 9
ZEHDER, Hugo, 15
ZEITLIN, Jake, 156
ZOLA, Emile, 121
ZSCHOLRICH, Paul, 29

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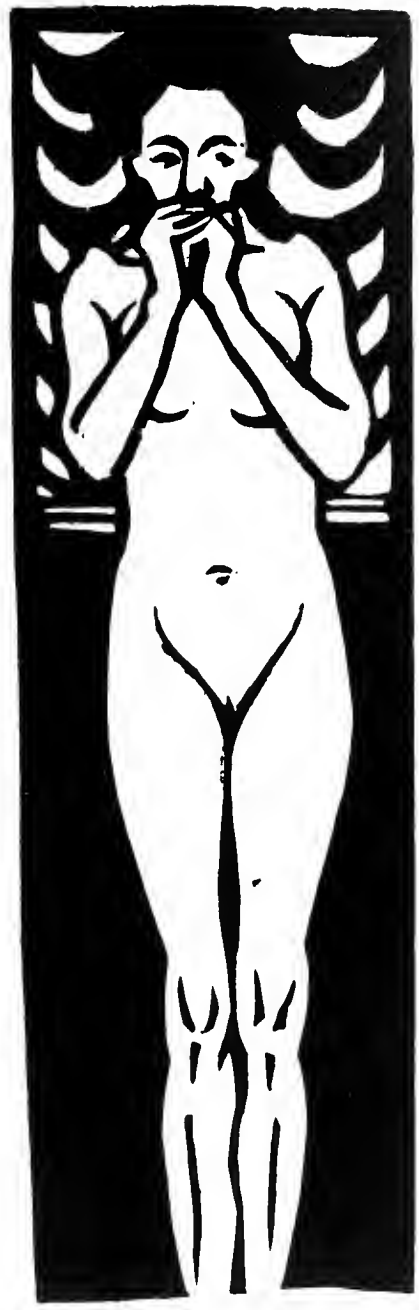

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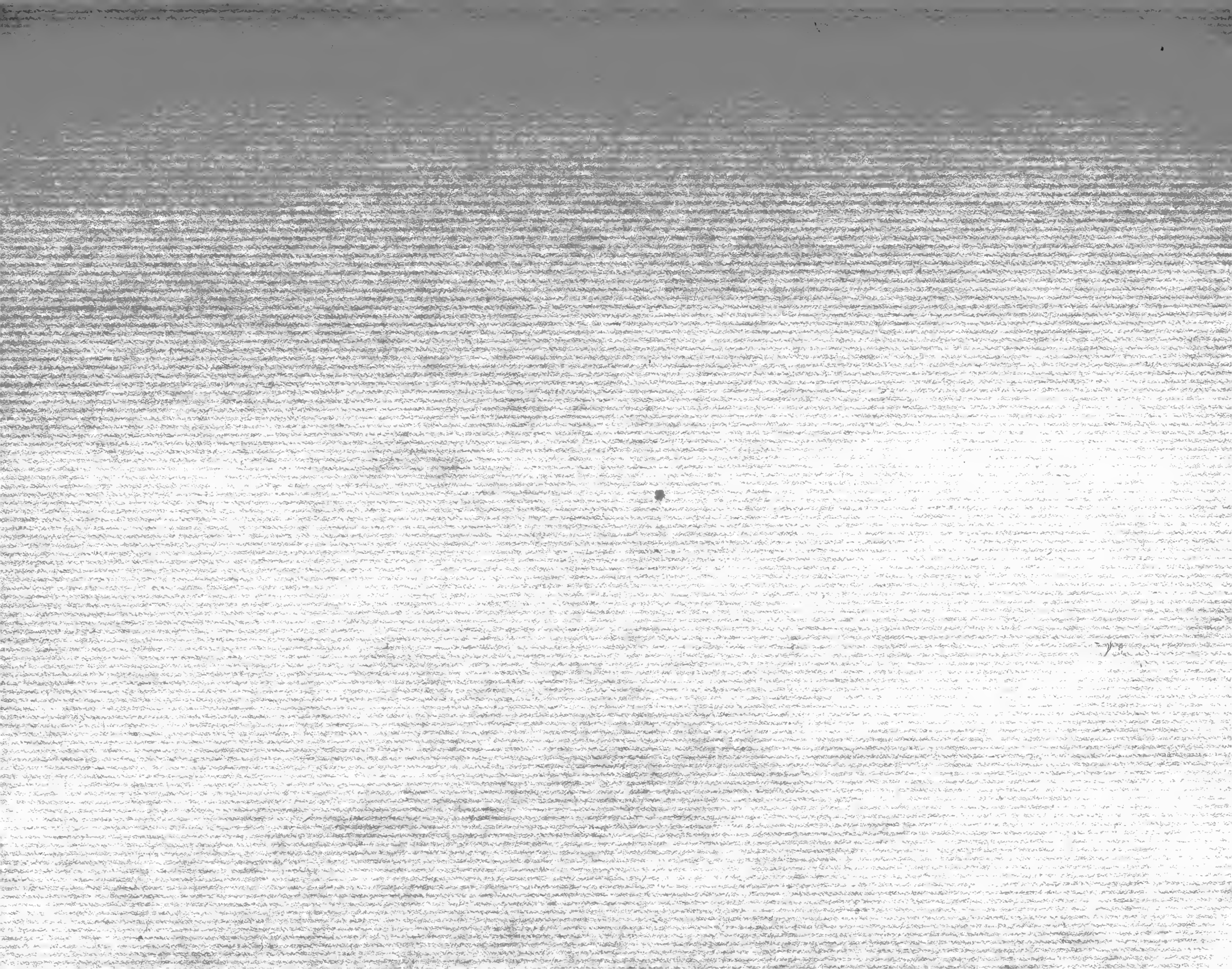

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