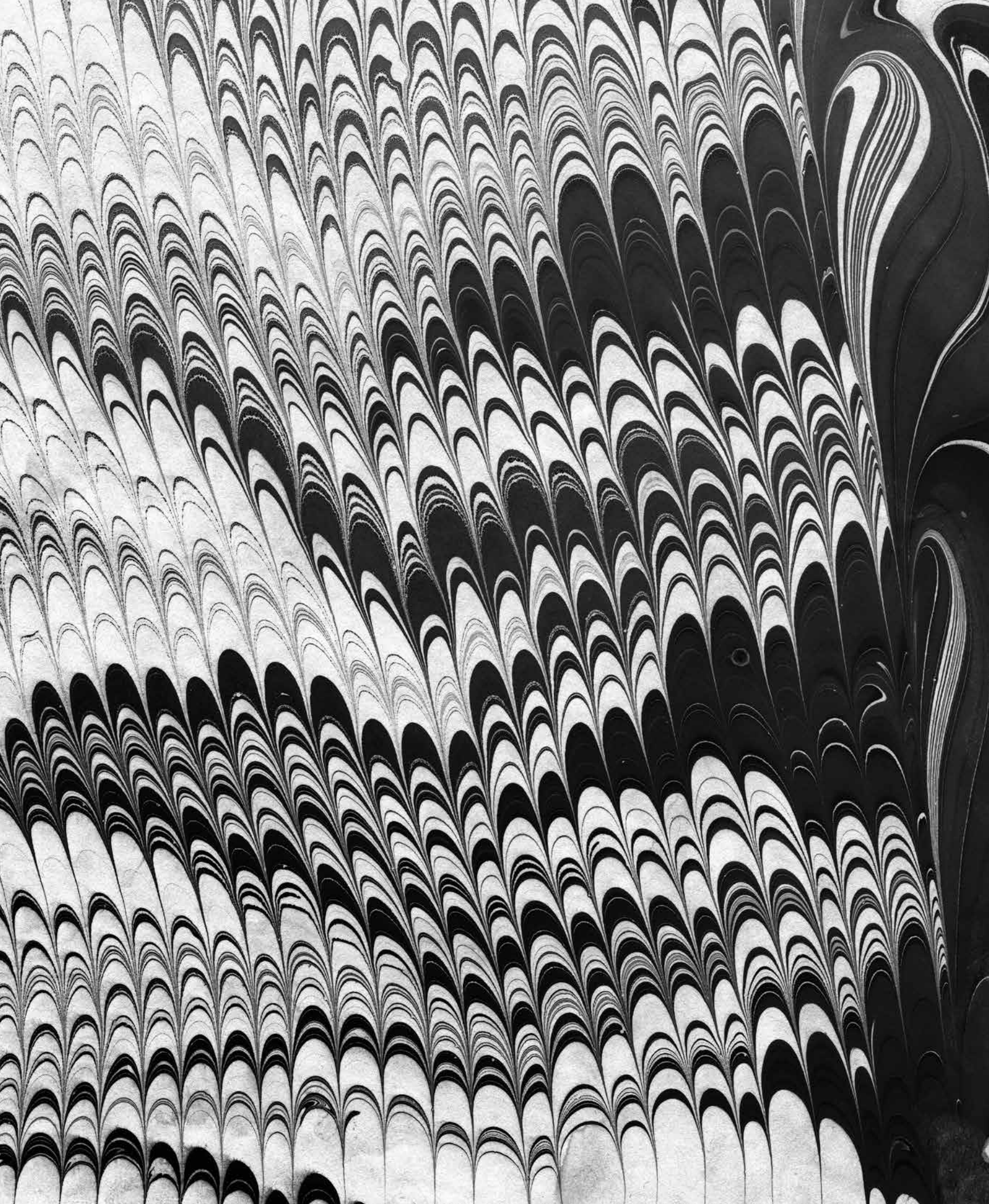


Vienna – Berlin






Edited by Agnes Husslein-Arco, Thomas Köhler,
Ralf Burmeister, Alexander Klee, and Annelie Lütgens

Vienna – Berlin

The Art of Two Cities



This exhibition enjoys the patronage of
Dr. Michael Häupl, Mayor of the City of Vienna,
and Klaus Wowereit, Governing Mayor of Berlin

The exhibition in the Berlinische Galerie has been sponsored by the
Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin, and the Kulturstiftung der Länder
(Cultural Foundation of the German Federal States)

K U L T U R
S T I F T U N G · D E R
L Ä N D E R

STIFTUNG
DEUTSCHE KLASSENLOTTERIE BERLIN

Contents

- 8 Preface** Agnes Husslein-Arco, Thomas Köhler
- 11 Introduction** Ralf Burmeister, Alexander Klee, Annelie Lütgens
- 19 The Old Imperial City and the Newcomer Hermann Schlösser
- 25 The Secessions I**
- 81 Distinctive Features of Art in Vienna and Berlin Alexander Klee
- 86 The Wiener Werkstätte in Berlin Rainald Franz
- 92 Berlin Naturalism and Impressionism in Vienna Markus Fellinger
- 98 Pictures of the "Other" Vienna Isabelle Lindermann
- 103 Julius Gustav Licht: Traces of a Collector's Life between Vienna and Berlin Wolfgang Schöddert
- 108 The Art Trade in Vienna and Berlin Katinka Gratzner-Baumgärtner
- 113 Expressionism II**
- 169 Expressionism in Berlin and Vienna Frank Whitford
- 175 The Visualization of World War I in Vienna and Berlin Clemens Klöckner
- 181 Murders of Women in the Works of Kokoschka and Dix Stephanie Auer
- 186 The Early Expressionist Magazines and their Protagonists from Vienna and Berlin Johannes Waßmer
- 191 On the Dedication of Hans Tietze and his Wife, Erica Tietze-Conrat Almut Krapf-Weiler
- 196 Music and Art in Vienna and Berlin Hartmut Krones
- 201 Dada / Kineticism III**
- 241 Dada Berlin and perhaps Austria's "Greatest Experimenter" Ralf Burmeister
- 247 Modern Women Artists between the Metropolises Annelie Lütgens
- 255 Friedrich Kiesler's Connections to Berlin Harald Krejci
- 260 The Significance of Magazines in Austria Maximilian Kaiser
- 265 New Objectivity IV**
- 337 The Painting of New Objectivity, as Seen from Berlin Janina Nentwig
- 343 "Magical" Objectivity in Vienna and Austria Cornelia Cabuk
- 349 Theater in Caricature in Viennese and Berlin Modernism Christina Korzen
- 355 Vienna in the Feuilletons of Weimar Republic Berlin Christian Jäger
- 361 Appendix**
- 362 Artists and Works in the Exhibition
- 385 Author Biographies
- 387 Index

Preface

Agnes Husslein-Arco, Thomas Köhler

Berlin and Vienna: Two metropolises connected by more than a common language. In the period just before the turn of the century until roughly 1930, a particularly lively artistic exchange appeared between the two cities. During these years the lines of connection created a tightly woven network, and artistic positions formed that were strikingly significant for both cultural areas' emergence into the twentieth century. Especially during the years of so-called classical modernism, from the Jugendstil movement via expressionism and up to New Objectivity, a vital and fruitful dialogue took place between Vienna and Berlin that embraced all aspects of cultural life. These relationships between the two cities—which have since been thoroughly investigated in the fields of literary studies, theater studies, and musicology—have been the subject of art historical attention only in the form of individual biographical studies. This exhibition, in contrast, offers a thorough overview of the artistic and pictorial realm and the connections that can be encountered there. A particular concern is making the commonalities and the interactions, as well as the different artistic approaches, discernible in the survey. The art of the two cities not only offers a picture of cultural diversity, but today is also considered symbolic of their different specific characters. Against this background, the Österreichische Galerie Belvedere in Vienna and the Berlinische Galerie decided to pursue a collaboration that resulted in conceiving and developing an exhibition based on their permanent collections. This also revisits a thought that was one of the original motivations for the founding of the “Moderne Galerie,” which preceded the Belvedere: The documentation of Austrian art along with and in the context of its international connections. Once again taking up these ideas of the secessionists, in 2007 the Belvedere mounted the exhibition *Vienna—Paris: Van Gogh, Cézanne, and Austria's Modernists*, which explored the connection between Austrian and French art. The Berlinische Galerie in turn had already taken up a similar theme in its 1995 exhibition *Berlin—Moscow 1900–1950* and elucidated the reciprocal influences and interactions between Russian and German artists. Interdisciplinary in design, the exhibition illuminated the cultural movements in both cities and thus the historical framework in which both art and people's relationship to it changed.

The present cooperative project addresses the reception of the cultural transfer from Vienna to Berlin and vice versa and, most importantly, illumi-

nates it critically. Both museums want the exhibition not only to expand the picture of the artistic connections between the two cities but also to define them more precisely. For example, the classification of Emil Orlik, who was born in Prague, as a Berlin academy professor or a Vienna secessionist, or the characterization of Oskar Kokoschka as a German or an Austrian expressionist, demands closer scrutiny.

The meeting place, base, and breeding ground for the exchange—also in Berlin—was the coffeehouse, of which the most important to mention are the Café des Westens and later the Romanisches Café. It should come as no surprise that the Viennese artists were particularly drawn to the Café des Westens, for there Berlin had assimilated a specifically Viennese characteristic. The Café des Westens was known for its good Viennese cake and original Pilsner Urquell beer. That Bohemian society felt at home there and that the artist crowd—naturally the Viennese artists as well—also liked to turn up there is understandable. Equally understandable is the attribute it shared with its Viennese counterpart. The characterization coined for Vienna's Café Griensteidl and its patrons—"Café Größenwahn" [Café Megalomania]¹—found further application and became the second name of the Café des Westens in Berlin.² It is an absolutely trivial cultural transfer, which is nonetheless representative of that phenomenon of exchange that encompassed all artistic areas, and which today is seen as particularly characteristic of Viennese modernism—a transfer that finds its continuation in this exhibition, a joint project between two important institutions in the two cities.

Our sincere thanks are owed to the exhibition's curators, Ralf Burmeister and Annelie Lütgens of the Berlinische Galerie, and Alexander Klee of the Belvedere, for so thoroughly and knowledgeably working out the original concept and for realizing and preparing the scholarly catalog. They were assisted in this work by the special dedication and great creativity of Stephanie Auer and Markus Fellinger (Belvedere) and Christina Korzen and Isabelle Lindermann (Berlinische Galerie)—all of whom are owed our gratitude as well. In addition, we would also like to thank all the lenders to both exhibitions, who, by generously making the works available, have helped to cast light on the artistic parallels and mutual influences between the Vienna and Berlin of the early twentieth century.

¹ Karl Kraus, "Eine 'Freie Bühne,'" in: *Die Fackel*, year I, no. 23, mid-November 1899, p. 21.

² Ernst Pauly (ed.), *20 Jahre Café des Westens, Erinnerungen vom Kurfürstendamm (Vergessene Autoren der Moderne*, vol. XIII, edited by Franz-Josef Weber/Karl Riha), Siegen 1987, pp. 12–13.

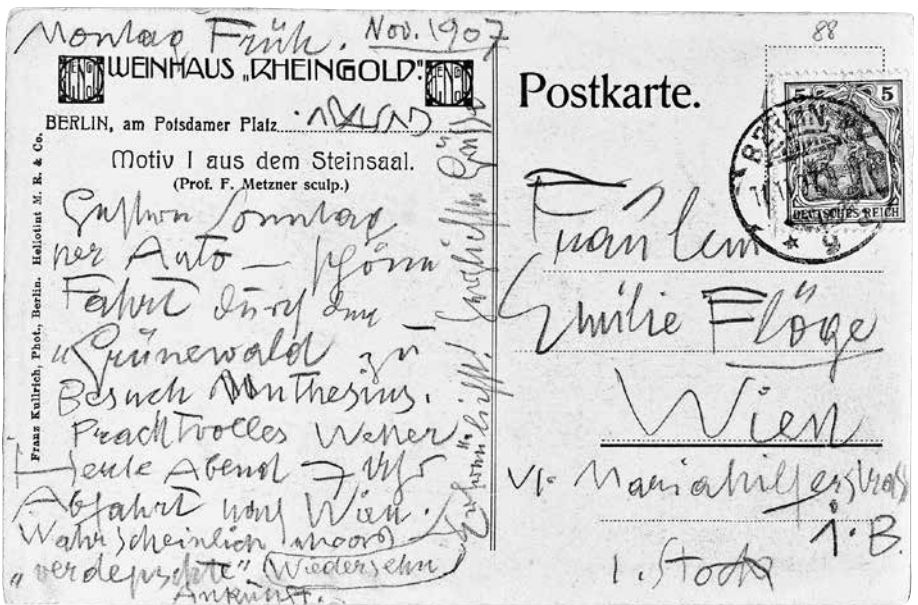
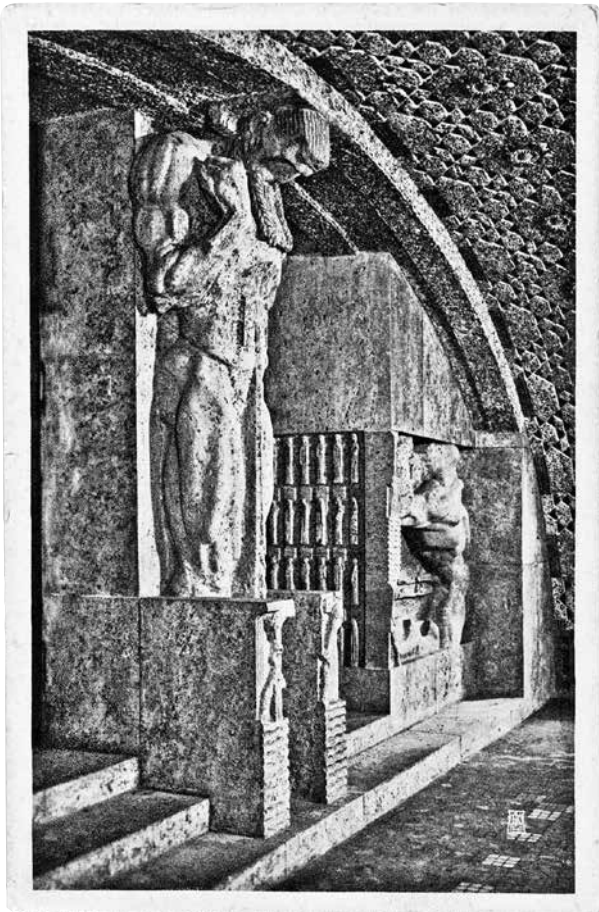


fig. 1/2 Postcard from Gustav Klimt to Emilie Flöge (11.11.1907)
front: Weinhaus "Rheingold". Berlin
Motif I from the Steinsaal, 1907

Hope and Promise: Vienna-Berlin and Vice Versa. An Introduction

Ralf Burmeister, Alexander Klee, Annelie Lütgens

The Swabian Romantic poet Justinus Kerner gave expression to the “widespread sense that Vienna differed from Berlin” as follows: “For its head, God gave the German body Berlin/As its heart, he then set Vienna twixt its limbs.”¹

During the nineteenth century, and especially after Berlin’s rise to the German imperial capital in 1871, the question of what was typically “German” about Berlin and typically “Austrian” about Vienna intensively preoccupied both German-speaking capitals. Observers in each city followed cultural life in its pendant with great attention, vacillating between admiration and skepticism, and frequently getting caught up in the above-cited clichéd opposition between the two. In 1898, Berta Zuckerkandl, an influential critic and a supporter of the *Vienna Secession*, issued a harsh verdict on Vienna—and at the same time a grudging recognition of Berlin:

“... Despite all of its natural tendencies, despite its inherent capacities and talents, Vienna has lost its feeling for beauty. Who would have imagined that Berlin could have surpassed us even in this regard! Living there is a people devoid of artistic instincts. A people with an analytical, utilitarian attitude, remote from the blithe pull of fantasy. They must literally be compelled toward beauty, must be penetrated by an iron determination in order to acquire those capacities for feeling that the Viennese possess quite naturally, toward which they are predisposed. But these people have made an effort. With great force, they have hauled everything foreign toward themselves in order to see and to learn. This mental effort has had better results than talent.”²

The closeness of the connections, as well as the magnitude of the differences and divergences between modernity as found in Vienna and Berlin: This is the focus of this exhibition. The years during which the Secessionists, Expressionism, and the New Objectivity experienced their florescence, these were the years when both countries experienced radical change—not only in the realm of pictorial forms, but in social and political character as well. That images of a joyously sensuous, cozy Vienna and of a Berlin that embodies modernity are clichés had already been demonstrated by the series of sociological studies entitled “Großstadt Dokumente” [Documents of the Metropolis], which appeared in ten volumes between 1904 and 1908 and which examined contemporary life in Berlin before addressing the same set

of questions to Vienna in a comparative analysis.³ This not only suggests an early interest in the competitive relationship between the two cities and in their comparison, but also in their analogous overall social situations.

Congregating in the late nineteenth century, both in the imperial city of the Danube Monarchy and in the emergent German capital, were artists who dared to spark the upheaval of modernism. The *Vienna Secession* was founded in 1897, and its counterpart the *Berlin Secession* a year later. Both groups turned away from the historicism that was still taught at the art academies, a style exemplified by Hans Makart in Vienna and Anton von Werner in Berlin. In Vienna, Gustav Klimt occupied a singular artistic position, one that encountered a certain degree of incomprehension in Germany, but at the same time, stylistic commonalities between painters such as Carl Moll and Ferdinand Andri in Vienna and Walter Leistikow and Hans Baluschek in Berlin remain conspicuous.

The exchange of exhibitions by the two Secessionist groups during the teens of the twentieth century, along with the contacts between the two groups of artists that were maintained through reviews such as *Ver Sacrum* and *Pan*, ensured that each group and its protagonists would receive attention in the counterpart city.

This mutual interest was documented during the Secessionist period by the changes of address between the two cities made by several critics, including Hermann Bahr and Franz Servaes. The most striking instances of such exchanges are those that took place in Berlin's art reviews, most prominently *Der Sturm* and *Die Aktion*. Published there were drawings and writings by Albert Paris Gütersloh, Egon Schiele, and Oskar Kokoschka. Emerging as early as 1909 was a successful alliance between the Viennese and Berlin avant-gardes: The artistic impresario Herwarth Walden, who founded an art review, traveled to Vienna, where he met the architect Adolf Loos and Karl Kraus, the editor of the Viennese publication *Die Fackel*. In 1910, Kraus organized his first literary evening in Berlin; in his review *Der Sturm*, Walden passionately promoted both Kraus and other members of the Viennese avant-garde. On the Berlin side, Max Oppenheimer—who had supplied illustrations for *Die Aktion* since 1912—established contacts with Viennese authors. Both reviews offered a platform for Berlin and Viennese Expressionism, whereby the divisions between the camps were more sharply drawn between the artists and writers of *Der Sturm* and *Die Aktion* respectively than between Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1911, the early period of Expressionism, an anonymous “special rapporteur” provided an account of the atmosphere that prevailed in Berlin's Café des Westens, also known as “Café Größenwahn” [Café Megalomania]. Remarkably, nearly all of those present seem to be Viennese.

“There, where Joachimsthalerstraße intersects with Kurfürstendamm, they opened up the main office of Hell.... Cassirer has hung the walls with satanic works of a Klimtian stamp.... Tables, chairs, and all of the tableware and appliances represent the very latest thing from the Wiener Werkstätten.... Men with long hair, serpentine, curling locks, wildly fluttering neckties, Secessionist socks and alcohol-free underwear enjoy life to the full.... And through their nefariously decadent coffee-drinking, they bring German art to the edge of the abyss.... Unfortunately, Altenberg cannot endure the journey, but Hermann Bahr comes over twice a week, and Alfred Kerr remains in uninterrupted telephone contact with the modernist crowd, while Karl Kraus dispatches diplomatic cables from *Die Fackel* in Vienna.... So passes the day until the evening, when the grand orgy of daily modernist night begins: The marrow-devouring work of subversion of the café literati commences.... And while food and drink menus, daily newspapers, weekly and monthly publications, the walls, and even the marble tabletops are filled with shamelessly amorous contortions, Secessionist painters huddle on the stairs, registering anatomically established data. Lovis Corinth groans, summoning distasteful reproaches, Oskar Kokoschka has brought along some dust from the street, which he requires for his colossal paintings, Max Pechstein regards human bodies as palettes.... And then the madness of modernism stretches out its tentacles: Elongated arms, far longer than is anatomically conceivable... with bathhands that no more exist than the word itself, and neotalons.... And the most admired geniuses, roused from their respective asylums, their most traditional feelings impeded, take wing in search of the land where the decaffeinated coffee and alcohol-containing alcohol flows.”⁴

This “special rapporteur” was none other than Herwarth Walden himself. Drawing upon his idol Karl Kraus, he delightedly attacks the scandalized press reports about the Bohemian habitués of the Café des Westens.

To observe the artists of Vienna and Berlin in coffeehouses is not the worst point of departure if the aim is to register the—to date still for the most part uninvestigated—artistic relationships involving mutual interest that joined Viennese and Berlin modernism. While Klimt visited Berlin’s Weinhaus Rheingold—codesigned by his countryman Franz Metzner—in 1907, and sent greetings to Vienna from there by postcard (fig. 1/2), it was the Café des Westens that served as a hot spot for younger artists and for the literati. As a place of communication, self-presentation, and not least of all of artistic production, whether of drawings, articles, or poems, the coffeehouse functioned as a studio of modernism from the late nineteenth century and well into the 1920s. It was here that the new emerged, namely the “small form:”⁵ an art that was rapid-fire, critical, and (with the exception of the breadwin-

ning journalistic production of writers like Benedikt Fred Dolbin or Egon Erwin Kisch) generally unsalable—if not, that is, for enthusiastic art promoters and dealers such as Herwarth Walden and Paul Cassirer, who supported impoverished artists, including the poet Else Lasker-Schüler.

If World War I brought about the stagnation of artistic development in both cities, then the interwar period saw the resumption of artistic exchange. Vienna, however, more gravely weakened economically, had lost much of its attractiveness in relation to Berlin.

A special position was occupied by Vienna's Kineticism on the Austrian side, and by Berlin's Dada movement on the German side. For the first time, this exhibition juxtaposes the artists of these two highly specific forms of Viennese and Berlin modernism respectively. In Berlin, the Dadaists used the city—shaken now by war and revolution—as a stage for their farewell to the old society, along with its art. The laughter of Dada was liberating, anti-authoritarian, and anarchistic. With caustic verbal satire, pointed pens, and razor-sharp scissors, Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Höch, George Grosz, and John Heartfield combated the militaristic, upper-class, and monarchical forces of the Weimar Republic.

While the Dadaists vehemently attacked the “spiritual” aspect of art, in particular Expressionism and Futurism, it was precisely these modernist tendencies which the younger Viennese artists adopted around 1922. As the legendary head of the Department of Ornamental Design at Vienna's School of Arts and Crafts, Franz Cizek shaped a specifically Viennese version of the avant-garde before World War I, one indebted to the ideas of a reform pedagogy that drew upon Cubism, Futurism, and Constructivism. With “Kineticism,” movement and ornamentation occupied the center of attention in an effort to portray the reality of the modern metropolis—and even more, to reshape it actively through poster and stage design.

The Viennese architect and designer Friedrich Kiesler was an important linking figure who connected the Viennese and Berlin avant-gardes. In 1923, he created a sensation in Berlin with his stage design for Karel Čapek's theater piece *R.U.R.* In 1924, he designed the *International Exhibition of New Theater Techniques* in Vienna's Konzerthaus. Kiesler's design for a spiral-shaped, ascending space stage, exhibited there for the first time, sought to abolish the boundaries between actors and audience, while his new Constructivist exhibition design, which he referred to as his “Träger- und Leger-system” [L + T-system] (plate 186), removed the art from the walls of the museum and repositioned them in three dimensions.

After World War I, Vienna—which had been the leading artistic and cultural metropolis around 1900, the sanctuary for all yearnings and the epitome of fleeting beauty—was transformed in the eyes of its inhabitants into a

dead state, the “merry grave on the Danube, the coziest catacombs in Europe,” as Alfred Polgar wrote in 1922. Berlin, on the other hand, was the striving city of modernism that “gasped from existential desire and rapaciousness, the will to life,”⁶ and enticed artists and intellectuals from everywhere, who arrived in the hope of enjoying the artistic freedom and economic prosperity they had not found at home. In the course of the 1920s, Berlin advanced to become the “industrial park of the intelligentsia,” as Erich Mühsam wrote in retrospect in 1927 about the Café des Westens.⁷ Forming itself now in the German imperial capital was a community of Viennese intellectuals and artists, with certain protagonists from the art market and publishing fields, including Herwarth Walden, Karl Nierendorf, Paul Cassirer, and Alfred Flechtheim, playing important roles as intermediaries. Here, Austrian artists such as Herbert Ploberger and Carry Hauser met the most important representatives of German Expressionism and New Objectivity, and stylistic affinities between artists like George Grosz and Carry Hauser, or between Karl Hofer and Franz Lerch, are unmistakable.

The coffeehouse culture of the 1920s underwent a shift of tone and of metaphorical style, namely from Erich Mühsam’s “industrial park of the intelligentsia” to Walter Benjamin’s “thought surgery” at the café table in “Polyclinic”:

“The author lays the idea on the marble table of the café. Lengthy observation, for he makes use of the time before the arrival of his glass, the lens through which he examines the patient. Then, deliberately, he unpacks his instruments: fountain pens, pencil, and pipe. The numerous clientele, arranged as in an amphitheater, make up his clinical audience. Coffee, carefully poured and consumed, puts the idea under chloroform. This idea may have no more connection with the matter at hand than the dream of an anesthetized patient has with the surgical intervention. With the cautious lineaments of handwriting, the operator makes decisions, displaces internal accents, cauterizes proliferations of words, inserts a foreign term as a silver rib. At last, the whole is finely stitched together with punctuation, and he pays the waiter, his assistant, in cash.”⁸

Benjamin’s characterization of this cool, dissecting manner of caffeine-influenced writing as an operation before an audience plays with the metaphorical coolness that is associated with New Objectivity, and which is encountered in the fine arts both in George Grosz’s drawings and in the “medical” paintings of Herbert Ploberger and Christian Schad. The culture industry of the late 1920s, with its cinemas, revues, and pleasure palaces, including Resi and Haus Vaterland⁹ in Berlin, featured their own kind of objectivity; here, the hardworking office workers and shop personnel were offered an escape from everyday existence. Siegfried Kracauer, who took

excursions to Berlin from Frankfurt in the summer of 1929 to study the culture of the white-collar workers,¹⁰ noted the following in *Haus Vaterland*: “Opening up behind the New Objectivity is Grinzing [a district of Vienna near the Vienna Woods, symbolizing the good old days] (!).”¹¹ And so it was: Berlin’s entertainment industry cultivated a bucolic and blissful image of Vienna, the critical highpoint of which can be seen in the Ufa film *Der Kongress tanzt* [*The Congress Dances*] of 1931.

Lurking beyond the hectic pace of these big city amusements was the fatigue that is recognizable in the gestures and expressions of the sitters and many portraits in this exhibition, from Hans Baluschek’s trio of bleary-eyed “ladies” in *Montagsmorgen* [*Monday Morning*] (plate 26), painted in 1898, to Ernst Neuschul’s *Zwei müde Frauen* [*Two Weary Women*] of 1925 (plate 256) and Lotte Laserstein’s almost lugubrious *Abend über Potsdam* [*Evening Over Potsdam*] of 1930 (plate 282). Melancholy emanates from Rudolf Wacker’s still lifes, as well. Here, and at the conclusion of the exhibition, we encounter the end of an era—of the battle for modern art, for diversity of opinion, for the promise of a culture of participation, for hope for the future.

Of course, even clichés harbor a kernel of truth: Vienna, city of promise, “where the mouth is full of tradition”; Berlin, city of hope, where the motto is: “If it’s so, then why can’t it be otherwise?”¹² But the commonalities and interrelationships between these two cultures are quite evident, and, to some extent, they obscure two mutually antagonistic worldviews. This project was conceptualized as a contribution to the study of metropolitan culture—although the actual relationships of exchange encompass a far broader field than this catalog is capable of illustrating.

The contrasting temperaments of these two cities, their inhabitants, their preferences and disinclinations, and their idiosyncrasies, along with their awareness of their own historicity, were and remain strikingly evident, and they were also experienced by all of the participants in this exhibition with the heart, the sense of humor, and the intellect. Through this exhibition, we seek to supplement the cartography of these German-speaking capitals in a significant way so that not only hope and promise, but also correspondences and divergences in and with art become vividly perceptible.

P.S. Attentive readers would notice that different typefaces have been used in the captions of the artist’s works and author’s essays. These different styles originate from Rudolf von Larisch, calligrapher from Vienna, and Emil Rudolf Weiss, painter and designer from Berlin. The differences are subtle, yet observable.

- 1 “Dem deutschen Körper gab zum Kopfe Gott Berlin / Als Herz doch legt er Wien, das herzliche in ihn.” Cf. Julius Bab, “Berlin und Wien,” in: Herbert Günther (ed.), *Hier schreibt Berlin*. Reprint of the first edition of 1929, Berlin 1989, pp. 248–61, here p. 249.
- 2 Berta Zuckerandl, “Wiener Geschmacklosigkeiten,” in: *Ver Sacrum*, 1898, vol. 2, p. 4.
- 3 Ralf Thies, *Wiener Großstadt-Dokumente: Erkundungen in der Metropole der k. u. k. Monarchie*, publication series of the research group “Metropolenforschung” of the Research Focus on Technology–Labor–Environment at the Berlin Social Research Center, WZB discussion paper FS II 01-503, Berlin 2001.
- 4 Unknown author (“xw-special rapporteur”), “Café Größenwahn,” in: *Der Sturm*, vol. 82, October 1911, p. 652. The author is Herwarth Walden; see Freya Mülhaupt (ed.): *Herwarth Walden*, Berlin 1991, pp. 45–47.
- 5 Fundamental here is: Eckhardt Köhn, *Straßenrausch. Flanerie und kleine Form. Versuch zur Literaturgeschichte des Flaneurs von 1830–1933*, Berlin 1989. See also the essay by Christian Jäger in the present publication, pp. 355–59.
- 6 Alfred Polgar, “Ein paar Tage in Berlin,” in: *Berliner Tagebuch* (ed. by Stefan Grossmann), vol. 1, 1920, pp. 21–25, here p. 22.
- 7 Erich Mühsam, “Boheme,” in: same author, *Ausgewählte Werke*, vol. 2: Publizistik. Unpolitische Erinnerungen, Berlin 1978, pp. 489–97, here p. 491.
- 8 Walter Benjamin, “Polyclinic,” in: “One-Way Street,” *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 1, 1913–1926, eds. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts 1996, pp. 475–76.
- 9 On *Haus Vaterland* and its various themed restaurants, see www.haus-vaterland-berlin.de.
- 10 Burkhard Lauterbach (ed.), *Großstadtmenschen. Die Welt der Angestellten*, Frankfurt am Main 1995, pp. 51–58.
- 11 Quoted from Lauterbach (see note 10), p. 54. One of the themed restaurants in the *Haus Vaterland* was named after Grinzing, a quarter of Vienna which is famous for wine and “Heurigen [wine tavern] Gemütlichkeit.”
- 12 Oskar Kokoschka, *Briefe I, 1905–1919*, edited by Olda Kokoschka and Hans Spielmann, Düsseldorf 1984, p. 109.



Hermann Schlösser

The Old Imperial City and the Newcomer: Vienna and Berlin —Two Metropolises and their Respective Breakthroughs to Modernism

“We don’t require a judge to determine whether Vienna is more beautiful than Berlin. Which is precisely the misfortune.”¹

Let us begin with a joke transmitted by the actor and director Fritz Kortner: A man from Vienna is visiting Berlin, where he orders a “Mehlspeise” (pastry) in a restaurant. Since only “Süßspeisen” (dessert) is served in the town on the Spree River, he is served a so-called “Wackelpudding” (jello). He gazes down at the spawn of the Berlin kitchen and says comfortingly: “Don’t tremble, I’m not going to eat you!”²

During the decades that followed the foundation of the German Empire, jokes of this kind were extremely popular in Vienna. The reason for this was fear of Berlin. The new German capital was modernizing at an extremely rapid tempo: In 1871, it had around 800,000 residents, but it had passed the million mark by 1877, and was home to more than two million people by 1912.³ Industry expanded, accompanied by urban infrastructure; department stores sprang up, and theaters and cinemas flourished, along with the music and art scenes. Faced with this new competition, the old imperial city assured itself—always accompanied by laughter—of its cultural superiority. The Viennese humorous magazines of the 1880s and 1890s were filled with caricatures, sketches, and anecdotes that featured know-it-all Berliners being put in their places in the most charmingly underhanded manner by the ostensibly outpaced Viennese.⁴

But the comparisons between Vienna and Berlin were presented not only in humorous publications, but in essays, commentary, and travel pictures as well. And the topic would

remain virulent well into the 1930s. Even back then, it occurred to contemporary observers that this journalistic interest was attributable primarily to Berlin’s rapid rise. In 1918, in their wide-ranging book on this topic, the Berlin journalist Julius Bab and his colleague Willi Handl stated: “Only for the last three generations has it been the practice to compare Berlin and Vienna. Previously, the bleak and sober but up-and-coming Hohenzollern capital was utterly incapable of presenting competition of any kind to the venerable, splendid imperial city.”⁵ In Vienna, one read such lines with pleasure, but they could hardly have effaced the reality that Berlin was indeed on its way up. Which is precisely why the Viennese media applied itself with such zeal to the task of verifying the cultural gap between Berlin and Vienna. And there were certainly Berliners who were prepared to pay homage to Viennese uniqueness.

A Berliner in Vienna: Julius Rodenberg

In 1875, Julius Rodenberg, the long-time editor of the Berlin magazine the *Deutsche Rundschau*, published his *Wiener Sommertage* [Vienna Summer Days]. This wide-ranging travel book had been written in 1873, when the author spent several months in Vienna reporting on the *Universal Exhibition*. This international fair was to have certified the cosmopolitan status of the imperial city. Unfortunately, the event was not as triumphant as the organizer had hoped: Just one week after the exhibition opened, the overheated Viennese stock market collapsed, wiping out major banking and personal fortunes. The same year, Vienna was stricken by a cholera epidemic, which claimed 2,983 victims.⁶ Rodenberg neither omits these catastrophes from his Vienna book nor devotes much space to them, because his depiction is tuned to a far more cheerful key.

The printed version of the book contains a lecture entitled “Berlin and Vienna,” in which Rodenberg plays the two German-speaking capital cities against one another. For him (and many others), Vienna is the center of *joie de vivre*, of extravagantly beautiful nature, of



fig. 1 Waldemar Titzenthaler
Leipziger Straße / Friedrichstraße,
Berlin, c. 1901
Landesarchiv Berlin

history-laden architectural monuments. Berlin, in contrast, stands for penuriousness and privation, but also for discipline and industriousness. He sums up this contrast with the poetic words: “In Vienna, you always have the feeling that there is some kind of holiday in the air, as though the sun is shining through stained-glass church windows. In Berlin, everything is clear and sober and sensible, like a workday.”⁷ Considering this view, it becomes comprehensible why Rodenberg and many other Berliners were happy to travel to Vienna in order to recover in its holiday atmosphere from the stresses of their hectic metropolis.

Stunted Progress in Vienna; Tempo in Berlin

While Vienna and the Viennese liked to give an impression of coziness to visitors, the city was experiencing a push toward modernization as well. Through the incorporation of localities in the vicinity, the population grew from 1,341,897 in 1890 to 2,059,000 by 1914. Among these immigrants were Czechs, Hungarians, Galician Jews, and other citizens of the multinational Habsburg state: Vienna was becoming a truly multicultural, multilingual city.⁸ In order to cope with these new challenges, municipal rail transit was expanded, as it was in Berlin, and industrialization proceeded apace.⁹

To a large extent, this period of renewal coincided with the tenure of the Christian Social Party politician Karl Lueger, who ran the city between 1897 and 1910. This popular and populist mayor combined progressive and sensible building and transit policies with reactionary social and cultural policies that were characterized by pronounced anti-Semitic tendencies. In Berlin, as well, the socioeconomic ascendancy of the assimilated Jewish community was accompanied by the anti-Jewish speeches of the court chaplain Adolf Stoecker and his Christian Social Party. In Vienna, however, Dr. Lueger succeeded in making anti-Semitism respectable government policy. With this power base located primarily in the middle classes, he was quite adept at conveying to his clientele the message that despite the novel situation,

nothing essential need change in Vienna—as long as citizens refused to surrender their city to so-called “greedy, disrespectful Jews.”

Dissembled by such “Vienna must remain Vienna” rhetoric, all of these changes took place, so to speak, covertly: No matter how much reality altered, the old image of Vienna remained intact. At the same time, key representatives of the new artistic tendencies—figures such as Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Gustav Mahler, and Gustav Klimt—cultivated elitist, upper-class traits that contrasted sharply with Lueger’s populism, and which seemed closer to the city’s glorious past than to the impending era, heralded in Vienna by cinema, sporting events, and other forms of mass culture.¹⁰

By the turn of the century, Berlin was already being perceived as the “key to modernism.”¹¹ In 1909, the columnist Arthur Eloesser summed up the situation: “Berlin is the youngest European metropolis and its development has assumed a truly American tempo; what other cities have accomplished over a period of centuries, we have been compelled to achieve in just decades.”¹² Even before World War I, and in the spirit of this “American” (which is to say overheated) tempo, modernist artistic tendencies—and Expressionism in particular—were able to articulate the shocks and temptations of the metropolis quite effectively. While in Vienna, one strove to maintain traditional notions of beauty and elegance (albeit in a modernized form); art in Berlin was of one mind with the dynamism of the new era. This distinction was the topic of frequent commentary. And it forms the background to the quotation at the start of this chapter by Karl Kraus that stands as the motto of these current reflections.

Breakthrough to a New Era

In 1918, the political situations in both Germany and Austria shifted fundamentally. Together, the two “brothers in arms” had experienced defeat in World War I; like the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollern dynasty was compelled to abdicate. In Berlin, as in Vienna, the centrist Social Democrats marshaled their forces against the radical workers’ and



fig. 2 View from Universitätsstraße towards Alserstraße, Vienna, c. 1900

soldiers' councils of the respective publics: On November 9, 1918, in Berlin, and three days later in Vienna.

The history of the first Austrian Republic was determined in fateful ways by the sharp opposition between the Catholic-dominated Christian Social Party, which controlled the government in the rural districts, and the Austro-Marxist Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria, which was dominant in the capital of Vienna. The mutual hatred between these two forces became virulent in 1927: In Schattendorf, Burgenland, two members of the Social Democratic paramilitary organization known as the *Schutzbund* were shot by opposition members during a demonstration. At the conclusion of the ensuing criminal trial, the accused were set free, which triggered demonstrations in Vienna during which a fire was set at the Palace of Justice, costing 89 lives. Historians have interpreted this traumatic event as the trigger for a calamitous intensification of conflict that would ultimately culminate in 1934 in a civil war between the two parties and the establishment of a *Ständestaat* (corporative state) under the dictatorial leadership of Engelbert Dollfuß.¹³

Vienna's Creative Potential

As recent literary studies have emphasized,¹⁴ this crisis-ridden interwar period produced far more in the way of innovative literary, scientific, and artistic achievements than received opinion has supposed. Not just Robert Musil's *The Man without Qualities* and Hermann Broch's novelistic essays are products of Vienna, but also, for example, Rudolf Brunngraber's objectivist novel of unemployment, *Karl und das XX. Jahrhundert* [*Karl and the Twentieth Century*], with its statistical underpinning. Sigmund Freud—who is generally associated with the *fin de siècle*—wrote some of his most important treatises in the period of “red Vienna,” and the philosophers of the Vienna Circle developed a wholly independent school of thought. The formative years of the philosopher Karl Popper were spent in the milieu of Viennese workers' education, and the same is true of the social scientist Marie Jahoda, who emi-

grated to Great Britain, where she spent her professional life. In 1933, she worked with a team under Paul Lazarsfeld's direction to produce the study *The Unemployed of Marienthal*—still regarded today as a pioneering work of empirical social research.

These (and many other) innovative personalities lived and worked in Vienna—many of them even after 1934—under the conditions of the authoritarian *Ständestaat*. Only the Austrian Anschluss (Annexation) by Hitler's racist Germany in 1938 drove the critical spirits—most of them with Jewish heritage—into exile. In view of these observations, it is high time that the notion of Vienna as a “dying” city with nothing better to do than mourn Emperor Franz Joseph be subjected to revision. Despite all of the problems and crises facing the First Republic, so strongly influenced by social democracy, Vienna remained a creative milieu. This must be noted because at the same time Berlin was indisputably more turbulent and further advanced in the development of its culture industry, and it was, therefore, a more attractive city for many creative personalities.

Berlin's Success Story

The Weimar Republic was similarly characterized by political and ideological brutality. A consistent thread of ideologically-charged hatred ran through the political history of the Weimar Republic: All the way from the murder of the leftist politicians Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in 1919, to the assassination of the foreign minister Walther Rathenau in 1922, to various right-wing and left-wing putsches, to the riots staged by Joseph Goebbels in 1930 in order to drive the so-called anti-war film *All Quiet on the Western Front* from the city's cinemas.

In these difficult times, and despite all of the above, Berlin succeeded in ascending to the status of an international cultural metropolis. In 1920, the city had 3.8 million inhabitants, which was primarily the result of administrative fiat: That year, seven area towns, 59 rural communities, and 27 estates were incorporated, converting Berlin into “metropolitan Berlin,” the third largest city in the world, after London and New York.



fig. 3 View from Stock-im-Eisen-Platz towards Graben; in the foreground a horse-drawn tram, Vienna, c. 1900



fig. 4 View into the Herrengasse with the Looshaus and Palais Herberstein, Vienna, c. 1900
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

(In contrast, Vienna lost around 500,000 residents after 1918. This was due primarily to the emigration of people from the former Crown lands, which no longer belonged to Austria, and instead led separate existences as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Ukraine.) More important than the number of residents, however, was the quality of cultural offerings: No central European city had such a potent film industry, more or better theaters and cabarets, more daily newspapers, or such a broad spectrum of entertainment and leisure activities than Berlin. And the illusion-free, strikingly cool texts and pictures of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* [the so-called “New Objectivity”] provided an appropriate artistic image of the city’s attitude toward life.

Another factor of Berlin’s success that cannot be underestimated was the emergence of a positive image of the city. In particular the newspapers and illustrated magazines of the Scherl, Mosse, and Ullstein firms generated a metropolitan aura through daily reports from the glittering, never-resting city.¹⁵ All of this contributed to the widely held view that in order to achieve genuine success in any cultural occupation, you had to go to the capital. During the 1920s, many qualified individuals representing the entire spectrum of the arts came to Berlin, including from Vienna Fritz Lang, Billy Wilder, Elisabeth Bergner, Lotte Lenya, Helene Weigel, and Joseph Roth, to mention just a few. And far from forming a Viennese colony in Berlin, they integrated effortlessly into the city’s turbulent goings-on.¹⁶

A Viennese in Berlin: Anton Kuh

Among the Viennese intellectuals who relocated to Berlin was the columnist, lecturer, and polemicist Anton Kuh. Born in Vienna in 1890, he left his hometown in 1926 when he perceived it as threatened by creeping provincialism. This was hardly a figment of his imagination, as Vienna, reviled by many of its detractors as a *Wasserkopf* [“bloated” or “blown out of all proportion”], was after all (and despite all of its urban culture) the capital of a small agrarian and rural state. Such abusive rhetoric originated from the arsenal of conservative would-be protectors of

the homeland, who loathed metropolitan culture as decadent, socialistic, and—in conformity with widespread prejudice—“Jewish,” and who proclaimed healthy, wholesome country life as a counter-ideal. It was precisely this ideology Kuh found unbearable, and he aimed his polemical barbs at it, claiming that “the spirit of [rural localities such as] Schladming, Unterhollersbach, and St. Kathrein”¹⁷ was corrupting the former metropolis.

As it happened, one could not escape from such sentiments simply by moving to Berlin. The same arguments that were directed at Vienna from the Austrian provinces were invoked against Berlin in Germany’s small towns. There, what Kuh had caricatured in Austria as the “spirit of Unterhollersbach” was referred to as the “insurgency of the landscape.”¹⁸

Nevertheless, Anton Kuh had settled in Berlin, and like many Viennese there, he regularly composed articles about both cities. In 1929, for example, he wrote a small *Guide to Berlin Idioms*, in which among other things he writes about a Hungarian diva who presents an “enticing scene of seduction” on Berlin’s stages. Kuh describes the high points of her performance with the words: “Now, she hops up onto the table, leans toward her beau, takes a rose from her bosom, and uses the stem, her eyes shimmering, to stir the champagne in a glass.” This is not the sort of thing that wins points with the no-nonsense Berlin public, and “precisely at the moment when the stem of the rose is submerged in the glass, a voice resounds: ‘So genau wolln wirs jarnich wissen!’ [That’s more than we wanna know!]”¹⁹

Here, the critic exposes the true character of “the Berliner”: “Found in his colloquialisms is a feel for reality, a distaste for antiquated sentimentality; a liking for rapid forward momentum, an aversion against circumlocution.”²⁰ In this super-cooled spiritual climate, small wonder that such erotic-emotional extravagance summoned only ridicule. Nor is it any wonder that the very same unnamed artist found a sympathetic public in Vienna. Kuh reports that “blubbling” breaks out when she submerges her rose in the champagne glass.



fig. 5 Max Missmann
Untitled (Potsdamer Platz),
Berlin, 1930
Berlinische Galerie



fig. 6 Haus Vaterland at night,
Berlin, 1928
Berlinische Galerie

Resonating in this column are the same leitmotifs that were encountered already in Julius Rodenberg's commentary. A summary of all these observations could be that while sober, fast-moving Berlin always kept pace with modern times, Vienna, in its own conservative yet playful way, did not exactly ob-

struct the inevitable modernization, but rather elegantly protracted and modified it. Of course, this is not "the whole truth" about either city, but it nonetheless represents a possible and not implausible interpretation of a complex web of events.

1 Karl Kraus, *Aphorismen. Sprüche und Widersprüche. Pro domo et mundo. Nachts*, ed. by Christian Wagenknecht, Frankfurt 1986, p. 147.

2 See Fritz Kortner, *Aller Tage Abend*, Munich 1970, p. 45.

3 These figures are found in the chronicle at <http://www.berlin.de/berlin-im-ueberblick/geschichte/index.de.html> (5.24.2013).

4 See Juliane Mikoletzky, "Die Wiener Sicht auf Berlin, 1870–1934," in: Gerhard Brunn/Jürgen Reulecke (eds.), *Metropolis Berlin. Berlin als deutsche Hauptstadt im Vergleich europäischer Hauptstädte 1871–1939*, Bonn 1992, pp. 471–528.

5 Julius Bab/Willi Handl, *Wien und Berlin. Vergleichendes zur Kulturgeschichte der beiden Hauptstädte Mitteleuropas*, Berlin 1918, p. 13.

6 See Peter Payer, "Wiens Aufbruch zur Weltstadt," afterword in: Julius Rodenberg, *Wiener Sommertage*, ed. by Peter Payer, Vienna 2009, pp. 327–83.

7 Julius Rodenberg, "Berlin und Wien," in: Rodenberg 2009 (see note 6), pp. 264–323, here p. 293.

8 On the importance of Vienna as a center for eastern and southern Europe, one that radiated diversity, see: Moritz Csáky, *Das Gedächtnis*

der Städte. Kulturelle Verflechtungen – Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2010.

9 See Gerhard Meißl, "Hierarchische oder heterarchische Stadt? Metropolen-Diskurs und Metropolen-Produktion im Wien des Fin de Siècle," in: Roman Horak et al. (eds.), *Metropole Wien. Texturen der Moderne*, vol. 1, Vienna 2000, pp. 284–375.

10 For the history of Vienna's urban development see Wolfgang Maderthaner "Von der Zeit um 1860 bis zum Jahr 1945," in: Peter Csendes/Ferdinand Opll (eds.), *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt. Von 1790 bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 3, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2006, pp. 175–544.

11 See the chapter "Berlin als Chiffre der Moderne," in the standard study by Peter Sprengel/Gregor Streim, *Berliner und Wiener Moderne. Vermittlungen und Abgrenzungen in Literatur, Theater, Publizistik*, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 1998, pp. 301–28.

12 Arthur Eloesser, "Großstadt und Großstädter," in: *Die Straße meiner Jugend. Berliner Skizzen*, Berlin 1987, pp. 31–38, here p. 31.

13 See Ernst Hanisch, *Der lange Schatten des Staates. Österreichische Gesellschaftsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1994.

14 See among others: Primus-Heinz Kucher/Julia Bertschik (eds.), "baustelle kultur". Diskurslagen in der österreichischen Literatur 1918–1933/38, Bielefeld 2011. – Evelyne Polt-Heinzl, *Österreichische Literatur zwischen den Kriegen. Plädoyer für eine Kanonrevision*, Vienna 2012.

15 See Peter Fritzsche, *Als Berlin zur Weltstadt wurde. Presse, Leser und die Inszenierung des Lebens*, Berlin 2008.

16 See Hermann Schlösser, *Die Wiener in Berlin. Ein Künstlermilieu der 20er Jahre*, Vienna 2011.

17 Anton Kuh, "Wien am Gebirge," in: *Jetzt können wir schlafen gehen! Zwischen Wien und Berlin*, Walter Schübler (ed.), Vienna 2012, pp. 71–73, here p. 72.

18 See Jochen Meyer (ed.), "Berlin Provinz. Literarische Kontroversen um 1930," *Marbacher Magazin*, vol. 35, 1985. – Ulrike Hafz: "Vom 'Aufstand der Landschaft gegen Berlin,'" in: Bernhard Weyergraf (ed.), *Literatur der Weimarer Republik 1918–1933*, Munich/Vienna 1995, pp. 340–70.

19 Anton Kuh, "Wat will er?" in: Kuh 2012 (see note 17), pp. 138–43, here p. 140.


20 Kuh 2012 (see note 17), p. 139.



Signs of Awakening.

The Secessions





The founding of the *Vienna Secession* in 1897 was preceded by a dispute over principles within the artist's society of the Vienna Künstlerhaus and concerned the direction and the relationship to newer international art movements. Something comparable can also be seen in the founding of the *Berlin Secession* almost exactly a year later.¹

For both *Secessions* it was important to open up the art scenes, which were strongly shaped by national sensitivities. Whereas in Berlin this strict national orientation was emphatically embodied by Anton von Werner and the art propagated by Germany's Emperor Wilhelm II, the influence exerted on art by the imperial house of the Danube Monarchy was largely characterized by tolerance.

Personal contacts already existed between members of the two *Secessions* even before their founding. Eugen Jettel, for example, a member of the *Vienna Secession*, was already well acquainted with the Berlin artists Franz Skarbina and Max Liebermann during his time in Paris.² *Berlin secessionists* such as Liebermann and Skarbina exhibited works at the first exhibition of the *Vienna Secession* in March 1898 and others such as Walter Leistikow and Karl Hofer could be seen the following year.³ It thus comes as no surprise that Jettel, Gustav Klimt, Carl Moll, Josef Engelhart, Arthur Strasser, and Emil Orlik were corresponding members of the *Berlin Secession* from 1901 and exhibited works in 1902 and 1905. The cousins Bruno and Paul Cassirer exerted a special influence on the exhibitions of the two *Secessions* as dealers and simultaneously members of the *Berlin Secession*. They were extensively involved as intermediaries in presenting the works of Impressionist artists, especially those from France. Not only the works of the French Impressionists, but also those by Giovanni Segantini, Ferdinand Hodler, Constantin Meunier, George Minne, and Théo van Rysselberghe could be seen in the *Secessions*.

Both were characterized by the fact that they united very heterogeneous artistic approaches and placed artistic quality above all else in their liberal exhibition policies. Oskar Bie describes this in a critique of the *Berlin Secession*, "If this is modern art, then it is more than a nice melody, it is a wonderful ensemble of independence, an El Dorado of much-lauded individualism."⁴

Correspondingly the *Vienna Secession* announced: "We want an art without servility to what is foreign, but also without fear or hatred of the foreign. Art from abroad should inspire us to reflect upon ourselves; we want to recognize it, admire it when it is deserving; but we do not want to replicate it. We want to bring foreign art to Vienna, not merely to educate artists, scholars, and collectors, but also the great mass of people receptive to art..."⁵ But a difference is nevertheless clear when the passage continues: "We recog-

nize no distinction between ‘high art’ and ‘the minor arts,’ between art for the wealthy and art for the poor. Art is common property.”⁶

This approach of striving for the unity and equality of the arts had a different emphasis than seen in the *Berlin Secession*.⁷ The equal treatment of painting, sculpture, architecture, and the arts and crafts distinguishes the *Vienna Secession*. This valuing of all artistic genres was already expressed in Joseph Maria Olbrich’s *Secession* building, which has become an unparalleled symbol of Vienna’s basic secessionist approach. Especially the group of form artists (“Formkünstler”) within the *Secession*—which included Josef Hoffmann, Gustav Klimt, Koloman Moser, and Carl Moll—grappled with the idea of an all-embracing and harmonious way of life through art.

The *Berlin Secession*, in contrast, appeared more combative, for it had to assert itself against the art valued by the imperial house. The appointment of Max Liebermann, a representative of Impressionism, an art movement which had little official appreciation, to the position of president of the *Berlin Secession* was a strategic move. The *Berlin Secession* courted additional important artistic figures in order to strengthen the faction of innovators in Berlin and to assert modern positions on the basis of these figures’ importance. To the annoyance of the *Munich Secession*, Lovis Corinth and Max Slevogt were enticed away and ultimately settled in Berlin.⁸ Here, the differing intentions and methods of the two associations can be seen, but also the different positions of art in Berlin and Vienna around the turn of the century. Whereas the *Vienna Secession* aimed at the reconciliation of culture and modern life, the *Berlin Secession* was still fighting for the official recognition of progressive art.

Alexander Klee

1 Nicolaas Teeuwisse, *Vom Salon zur Secession. Berliner Kunstleben zwischen Tradition und Aufbruch zur Moderne 1871–1900*, Berlin 1986, pp. 253–54.

2 Heinrich Fuchs, *Eugen Jettel*, Vienna 1975, p. 15. Among Max Liebermann’s possessions could be found a “fine earthy landscape” by Eugen Jettel. – See Karl-Heinz Janda, Annegret Janda, “Max Liebermann als Kunstsammler. Die Entstehung seiner Sammlung und ihre zeitgenössische Wirkung,” in: *Forschungen und Berichte, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1973, pp. 105–149, here p. 129.

3 Kolja Kramer, “Eine Dreiecksbeziehung für den französischen Impressionismus. Die Impressionisten-Ausstellung 1903 in der Wiener Secession,” in: Belvedere, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, issue 2, 2001, pp. 56–57. – Christian M. Nebehay, *Ver Sacrum 1898–1903*, Munich 1979.

4 Teeuwisse 1986 (see note 1), p. 254.

5 Anonymous, “Weshalb wir eine Zeitschrift herausgeben,” in: *Ver Sacrum*, year 1, issue 1, January 1898, p. 6.

6 Ibid.

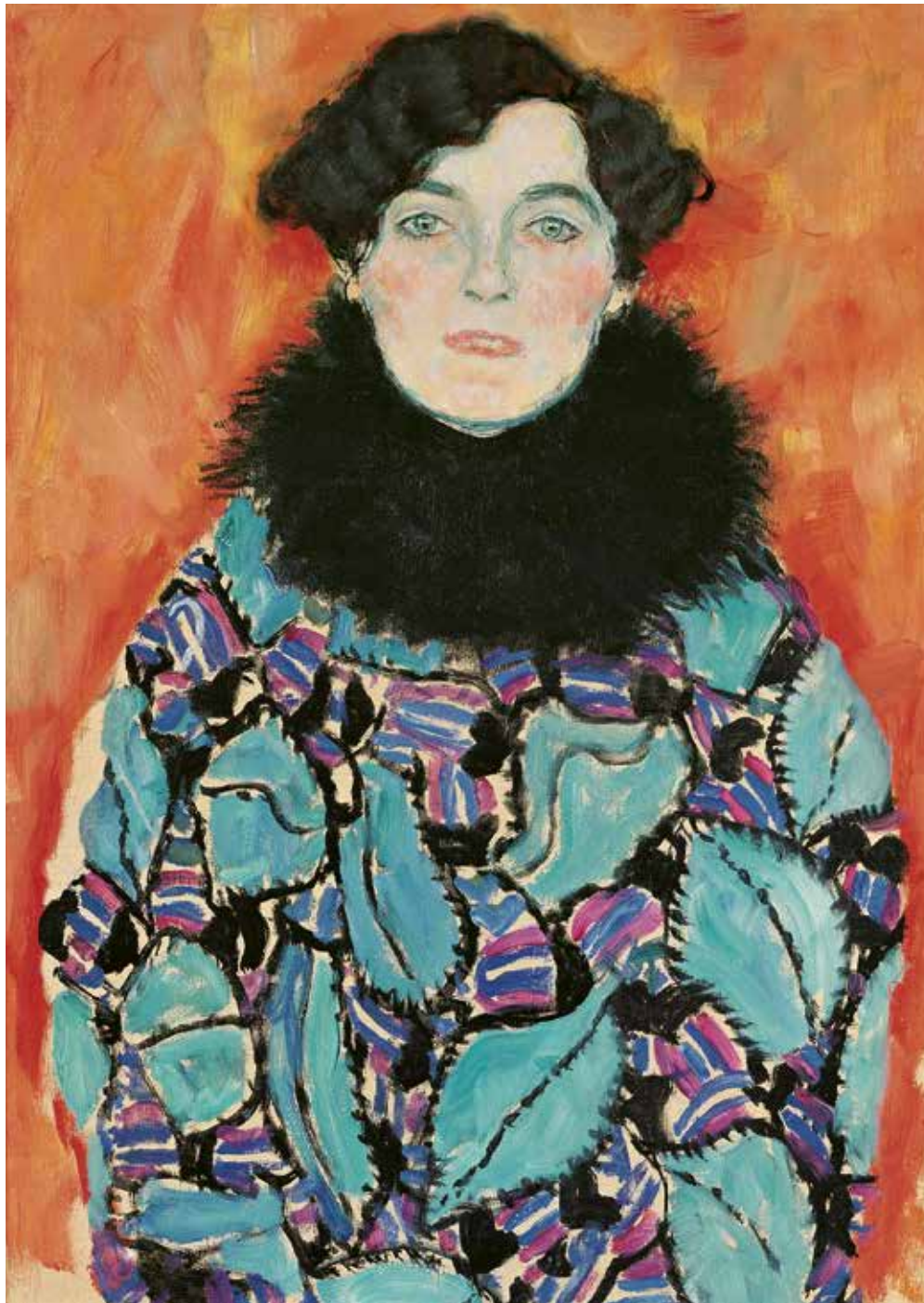
7 James Shedel, “Kunst und Identität. Die Wiener Secession 1897–1938,” in: *Secession. Vom Kunsttempel zum Ausstellungshaus* (exh. cat. Vereinigung Bildender Künstler, Wiener Secession, Vienna), Ostfildern-Ruit 1997, p. 18.

8 Teeuwisse 1986 (see note 1), p. 257.

9 Quotation on the following page: Hermann Muthesius, “Die Architektur auf den Ausstellungen in Darmstadt, München und Wien” (The Architecture at Exhibitions in Darmstadt, Munich, and Vienna) in: *Kunst und Künstler*, year 6, issue 12, 1908, pp. 491–95, here p. 495.



“The spirit of the Wiener Werkstätte is repeated on a grand scale in the Vienna ‘Kunstschau.’ There, we are confronted with the same form language, the same coloristic sensibility, the same elegance....This Viennese modernist art is perhaps the most unified, the most consummate, to have been produced in our time: cheerful, elegant, graceful, carefree, filled with joie de vivre, discreet and unaggressive, like Viennese life itself. ...”⁹ Hermann Muthesius 1908



01**GUSTAV KLIMT****Johanna Staude, 1917/18**

Oil on canvas (unfinished), 70 × 50 cm

(see plate 41)

Belvedere, Vienna



02
OTTO FRIEDRICH
 Elsa Galafrés, 1908
 Oil on canvas, 100 × 100 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna



03
OTTO FRIEDRICH
 Gabrielle Gallia, undated
 Oil on paper, 121 × 39 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna



04 EUGEN SPIRO
**The Dancer Baladine Klossowska
(Merline), 1901**

Oil on canvas, 181.5 × 121 cm

Berlinische Galerie



05 **EMIL ORLIK**
Portrait of Hermann Bahr, 1908
Oil on canvas, 97 × 52 cm
Private collection, Berlin



06 **MAX LIEBERMANN**
Self-Portrait, 1912
Oil on canvas, 88 × 70 cm
Berlinische Galerie



07
MAX LIEBERMANN
Hospital Garden in Edam, 1904
 Oil on canvas, 70.5 × 88.5 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna

08
JOSEF ENGELHART
At the Garden Restaurant, 1893
 Oil on wood, 28 × 26 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna



09 PHILIPP FRANCK
**After the Funeral. Gravediggers
Drinking Weissbier, 1902**
Oil on canvas, 100 × 130 cm
Berlinische Galerie



10 **WALTER LEISTIKOW**

From the Mark Brandenburg, 1898

Oil on canvas, 150 × 200 cm

Berlinische Galerie



11

CARL MOLL
Birch Wood in the Evening Light, c. 1902
Oil on canvas, 80 × 80 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



12

MAX LIEBERMANN**On Schleswiger Ufer, 1894**

Oil on canvas on wooden panel, 26 × 45.5 cm

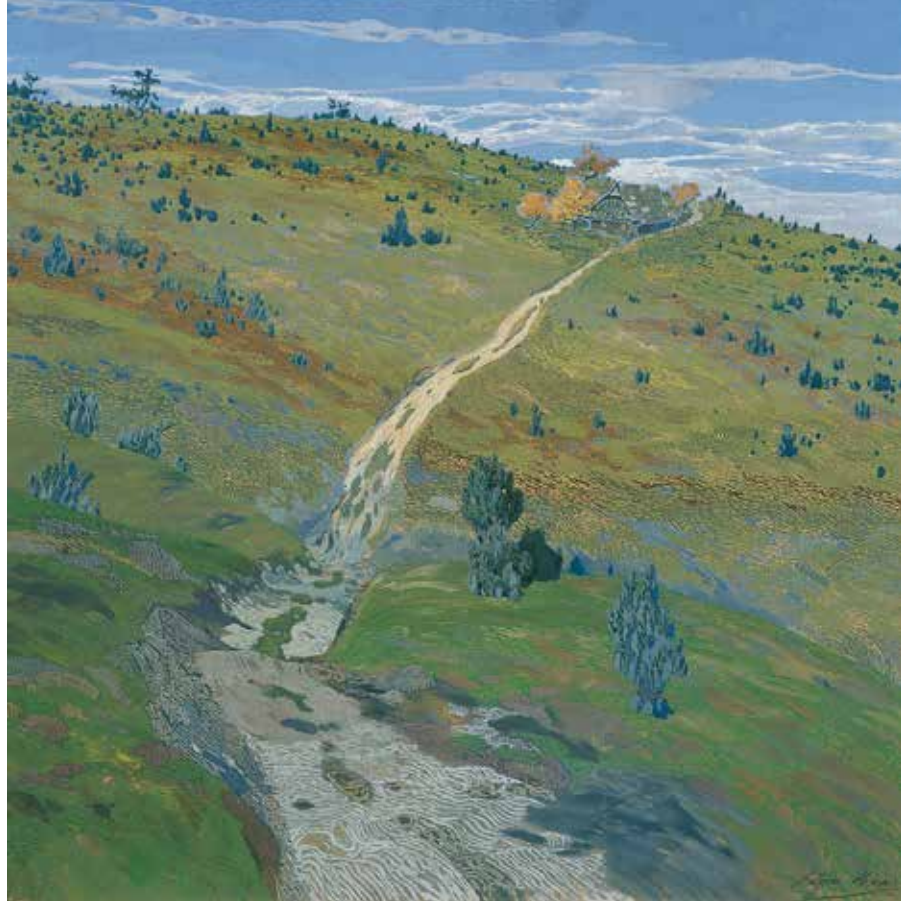
Private collection

13

FRANZ SKARBINA**Behind Nollendorfplatz, 1885**

Watercolor on cardboard, 23 × 30.3 cm

Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin



14 HUGO BAAR
Mountain Path in the Beskids, 1902
Tempera on cardboard, 60 × 60 cm
Belvedere, Vienna



15 FERDINAND ANDRI
Butter Makers, 1902
 Tempera on canvas, 115 × 121 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna



16 JOHANN NEPOMUK GELLER
Croatian Market on the Haide in Vienna, before 1898
 Oil on hardboard, 44.5 × 52.5 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna



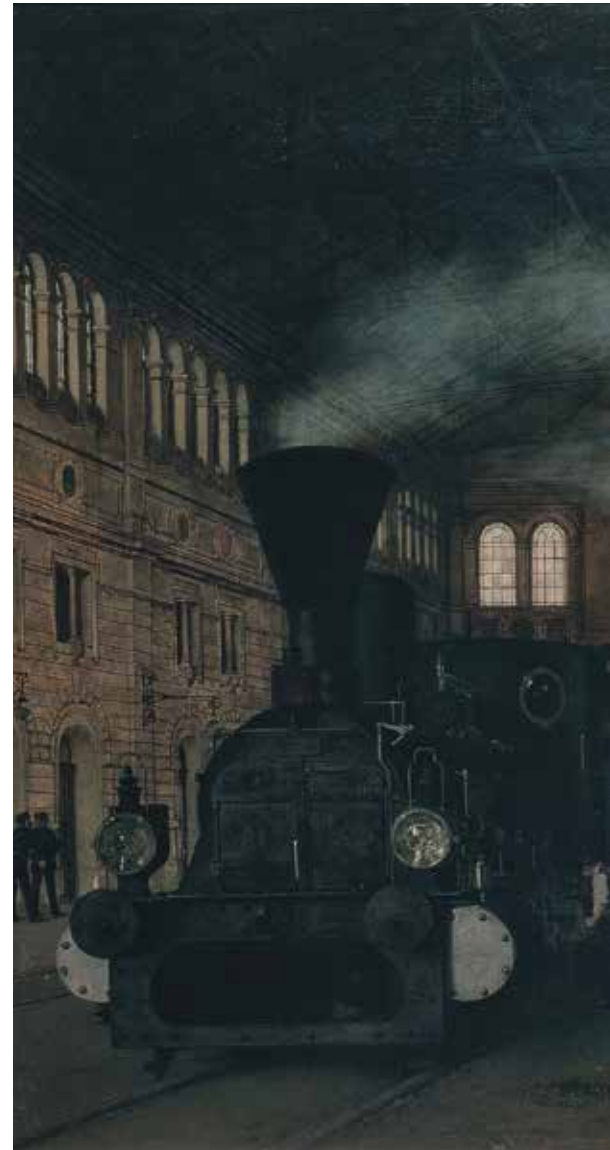
17

EUGEN JETTEL
Cattle Drinking at the Morava River, before 1894
Oil on wood, 39 × 76 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



18
LESSER URY
(At the) Friedrichstraße Station, 1888
 Opaque color (grisaille) on
 paper and cardboard, 65.5 × 46.8 cm
 Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin



19
CARL KARGER
Arrival of a Train at Vienna
Northwestern Station, 1875
 Oil on canvas, 91 × 171 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna



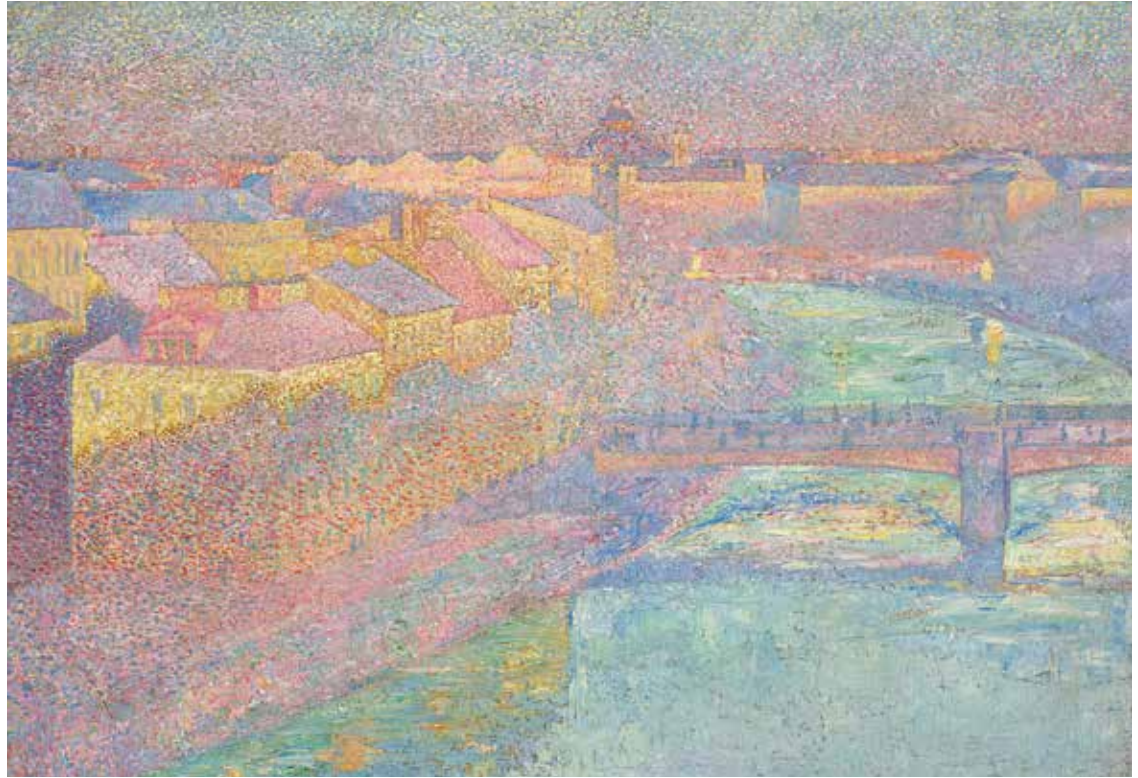


20

LESSER URY
Berlin Street Scene (Leipziger Straße), 1889

Oil on canvas, 107 × 68 cm

Berlinische Galerie



21

FRANZ JASCHKE
The Donaulände in Summer, 1903

Oil on canvas, 83.5 × 114 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



22

HANS BALUSCHEK
Idyll with Weißbier, c. 1902
 Watercolor, gouache, and pastel on
 watercolor board, 97.1 × 65.5 cm

Berlinische Galerie



23

MAX BECKMANN
People on the Street, 1914
 Part of a monumental composition
 cut into pieces by Beckmann in 1928,
 Oil on canvas, 51 × 52 cm

Berlinische Galerie



24**MAX BECKMANN****The Street, 1914**

Part of a monumental composition
cut into pieces by Beckmann in 1928,
Oil on canvas, 171 × 72 cm

Berlinische Galerie



25

GUSTAV KLIMT
Young Lady in Armchair, 1896

Charcoal and crayon on
dark brown paper, 24.8 × 38.2 cm

Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf





BRONCIA KOLLER-PINELL

The Artist's Mother, 1907

Oil on canvas, 91 × 77.5 cm

Property of the Artothek des Bundes, on permanent loan
to the Belvedere, Vienna

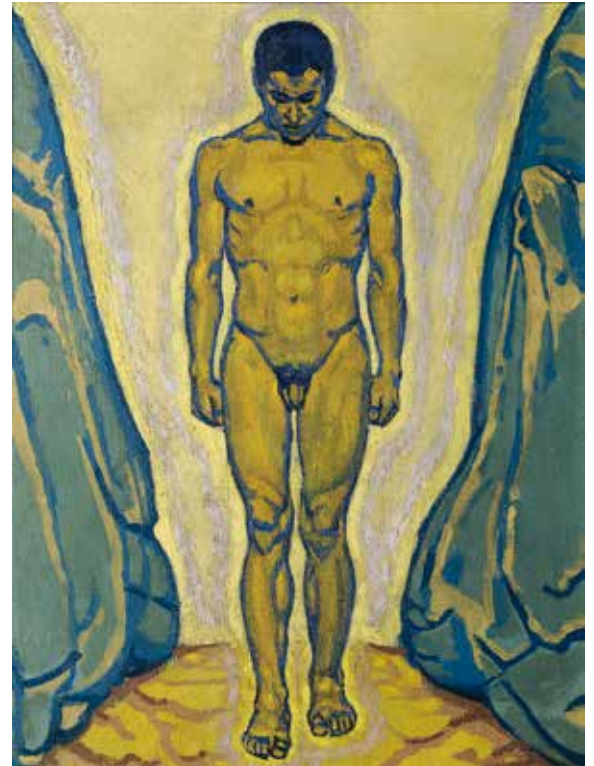


28

KOLOMAN MOSER
Mountain Peak under Snow, 1913

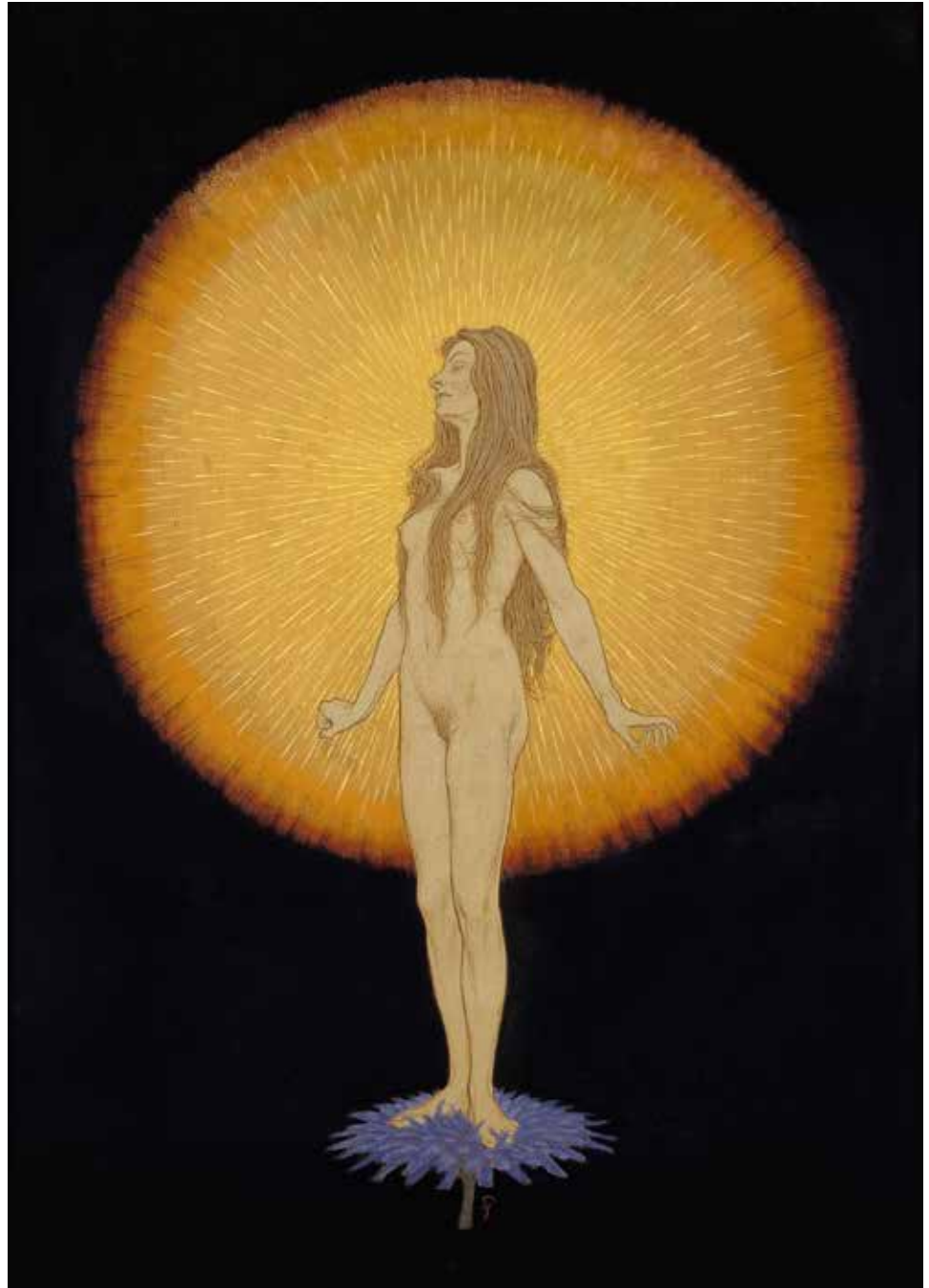
Oil on canvas, mounted on cardboard,
38 × 40.5 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



29
KOLOMAN MOSER
Woman's Portrait in Profile, c. 1910
 Oil on canvas, 50 × 50 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna

30
KOLOMAN MOSER
Young Man Standing, c. 1915
 Oil on canvas, 50.5 × 37.5 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna



31**FIDUS****The Soul Dances in the Temple, c. 1910**

Series of five paintings, oil on canvas,

100 × 70 cm each

Berlinische Galerie

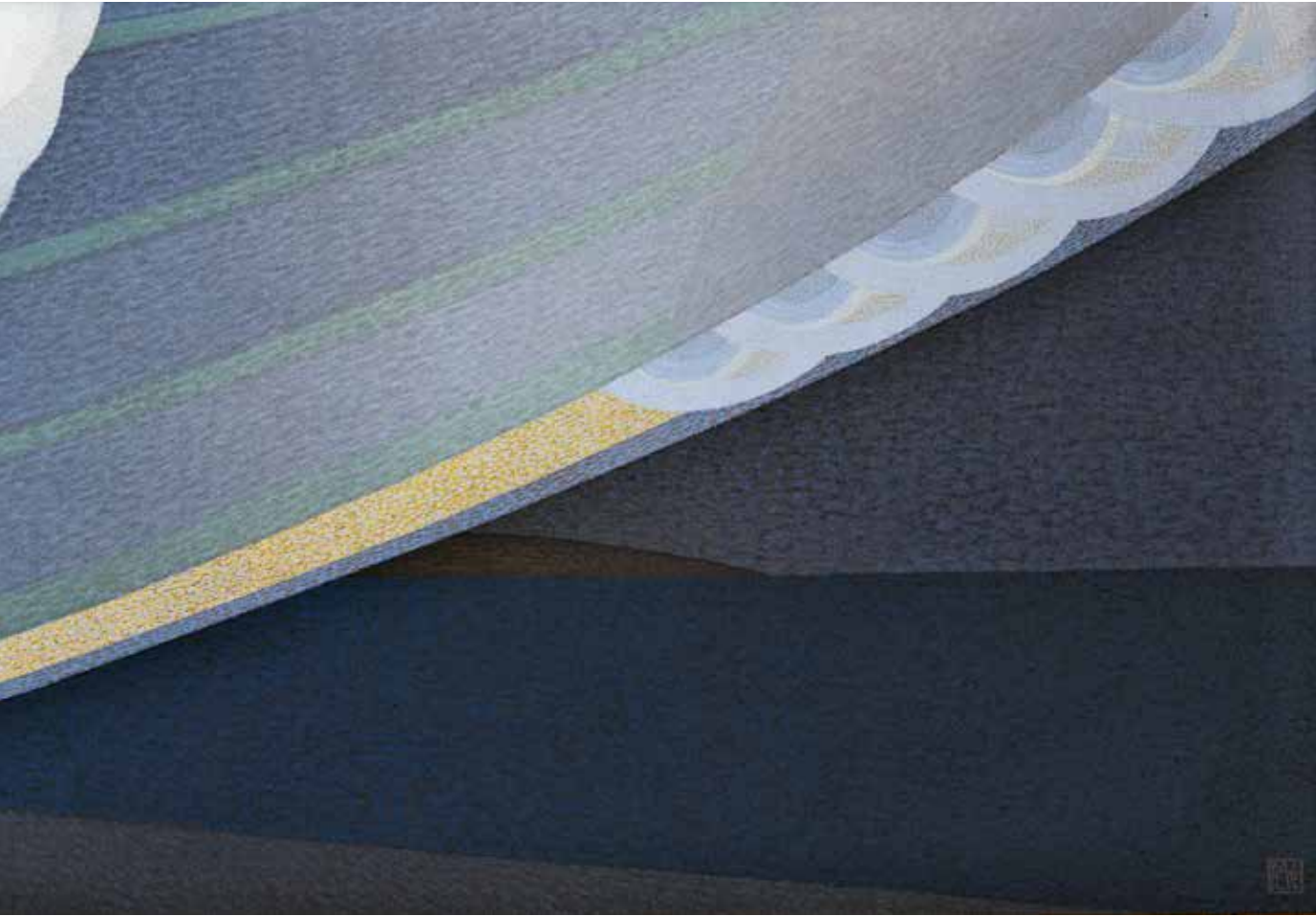


32

ERICH MALLINA
Procession of Angels, 1904

Oil on canvas, 89 × 229 cm

Belvedere, Vienna, on permanent loan from the
Universität für angewandte Kunst, Kunstsammlung
und Archiv





FRANZ METZNER

The Dance, 1908

Marble, 87 × 124 × 14 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



34

ERNST BARLACH
Tilla Durieux IV, 1912
 Porcelain, 45 × 39 × 26 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna

35

ANTON HANAK
Bust of Margarethe
Stonborough-Wittgenstein, 1925
 Marble, 44.5 × 34 × 23 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna



THOMAS THEODOR HEINE

Berlin Secession Poster, 1906

Color lithograph on paper, 35.5 × 47.5 cm

Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin



JULIUS KLINGER

Vienna Exhibition at the Berlin Secession, 1916

Color lithograph, 68.7 × 94.5 cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek and Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin



38

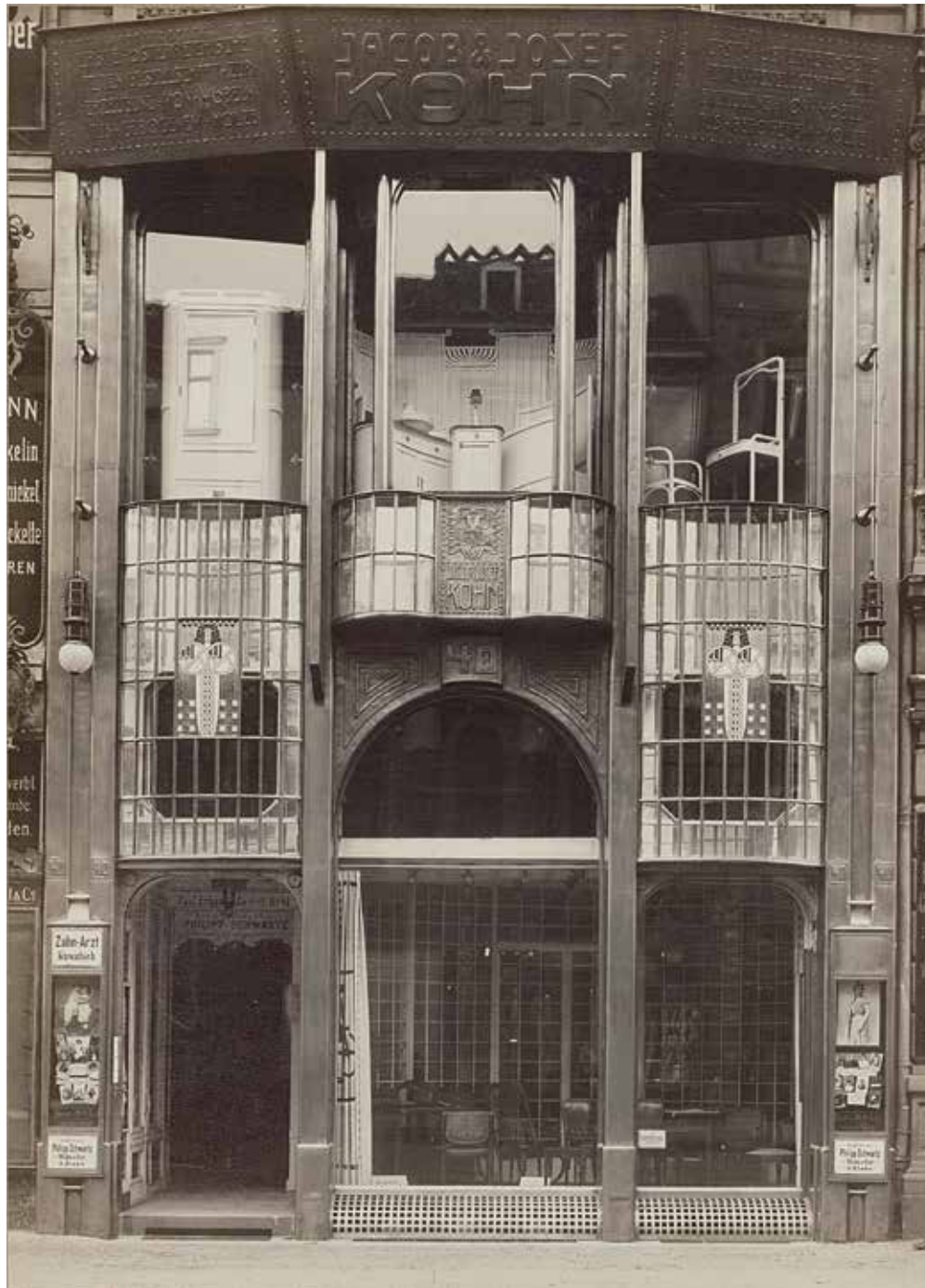
JOSEF HOFFMANN

Berlin, Shop for the Wiener Werkstätte, 1928

Photographer: Otto Kurt Vogelsang

Silver gelatin paper, 22.3 × 16.7 cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek



39

JOSEF HOFFMANN

Berlin, Business Premises for Jacob and Josef
Kohn, Front Elevation Leipziger Straße, c. 1905

Unknown photographer

Albumen paper, 34.8 × 24.7 cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek



40 JOSEF HOFFMANN
Collapsible Library Ladder, 1905
 Execution: Wiener Werkstätte
 Stained and whitewashed oak, brass, 50 × 42 × 42 cm
 Private collection

41 WIENER WERKSTÄTTE
Blouse of Johanna Staude, c. 1910
 Based on a design by Martha Alber
 Silk (see plate 01)
 Belvedere, Vienna



42

JOSEF HOFFMANN
Overdoor Relief, 1902

(reconstruction 2011)

Softwood painted white, 100 × 96 × 16 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



43

JOSEF ENGELHART
The Crook, 1888

Tempera on paper, 121 × 70 cm

Belvedere, Vienna, on permanent loan from the Verein der Museumsfreunde Wien



44

JENS BIRKHOLM
Warming Hall in Berlin, 1908

Oil on canvas, 88 × 117 cm

Berlinische Galerie



HERMANN DRAWE

**Through Vienna's Impoverished and
Criminal Neighborhoods, Vienna 1904**

Slide show with partly hand-colored
glass slides, 8.5 × 8.5 cm each

Österreichisches Volkshochschularchiv, Vienna

45

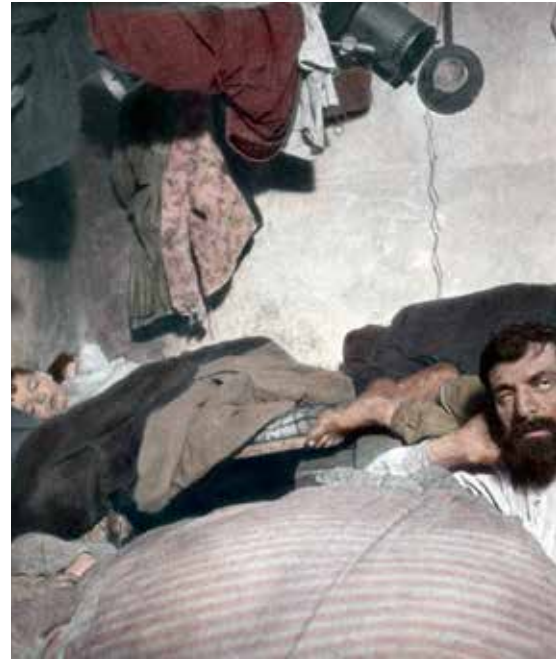
Sleeping Corner under a Spiral Staircase
B 47

46

A Warm Place on Burghardtgasse
B 60

47

To the "Stronghold"
B 41



48 Vienna Canal near the Chain Bridge
B 39

49 Camping in the Shaft
B 13

50 A Block from the Inside
B 90

51 Mass Accommodations
B 105

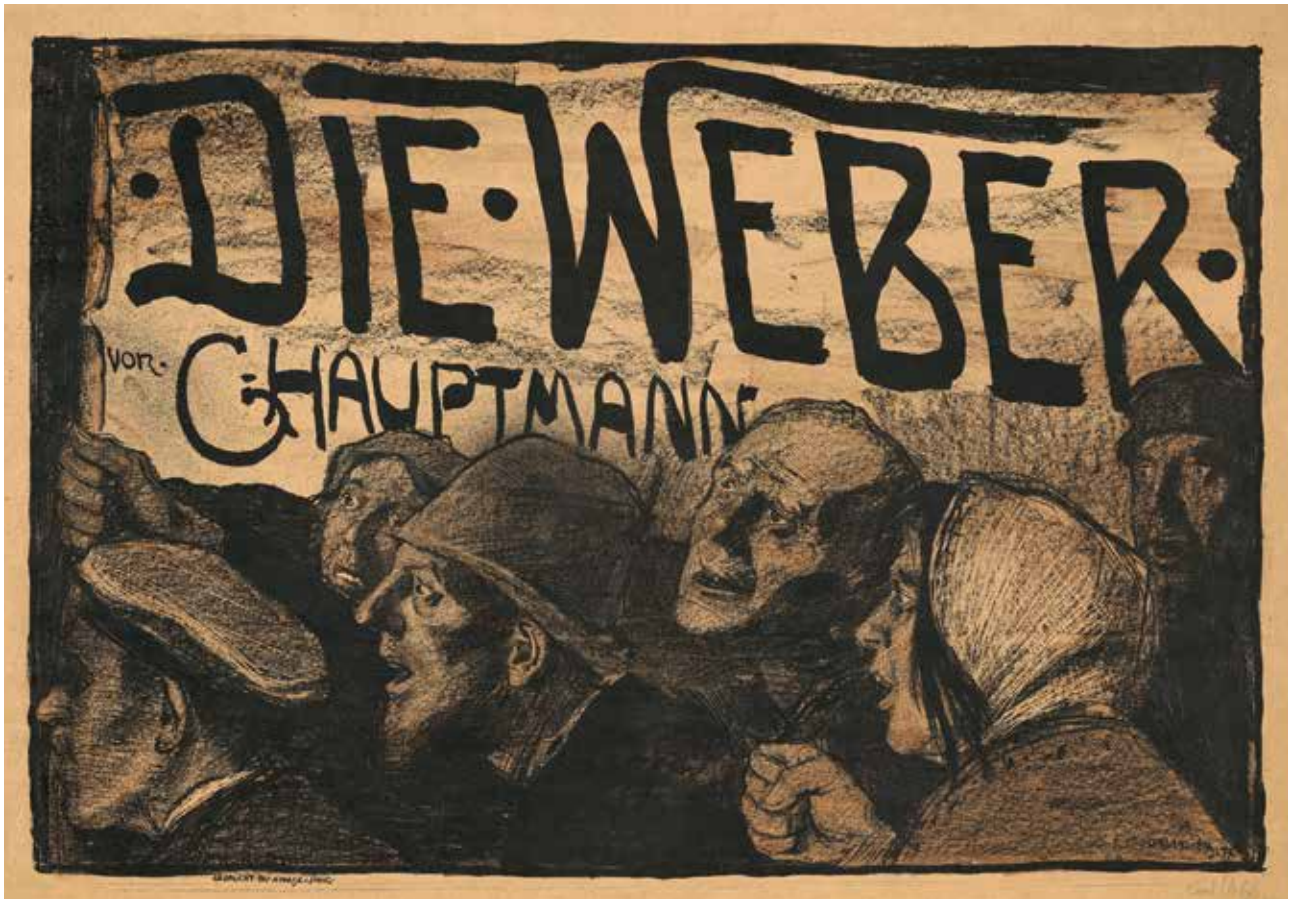


52

THOMAS THEODOR HEINE
Poster for an Exhibition in Berlin by the
Deutscher Künstlerbund, 1905

Printer's ink, paper, color lithograph, 135 × 91.6 cm

Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin



53

EMIL ORLIK**The Weavers, 1897**

Poster for the Deutsches Theater Berlin touring
in Prague and at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus, 1897

Color lithograph, 76.5 × 103.8 cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek
Albertina, Vienna



54

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ
Crushed-Poor Family, 1901

Left section of an original triptych
 Etching, drypoint and aquatint on
 cardboard, 23.8 × 20.3 cm

Sammlung und Stiftung Rolf Horn in der Stiftung Schleswig-
 Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig



55

ERNST BARLACH
Beggar with Bowl, 1906

Bronze (recast)
 30 × 30 × 22.5 cm

Berlinische Galerie

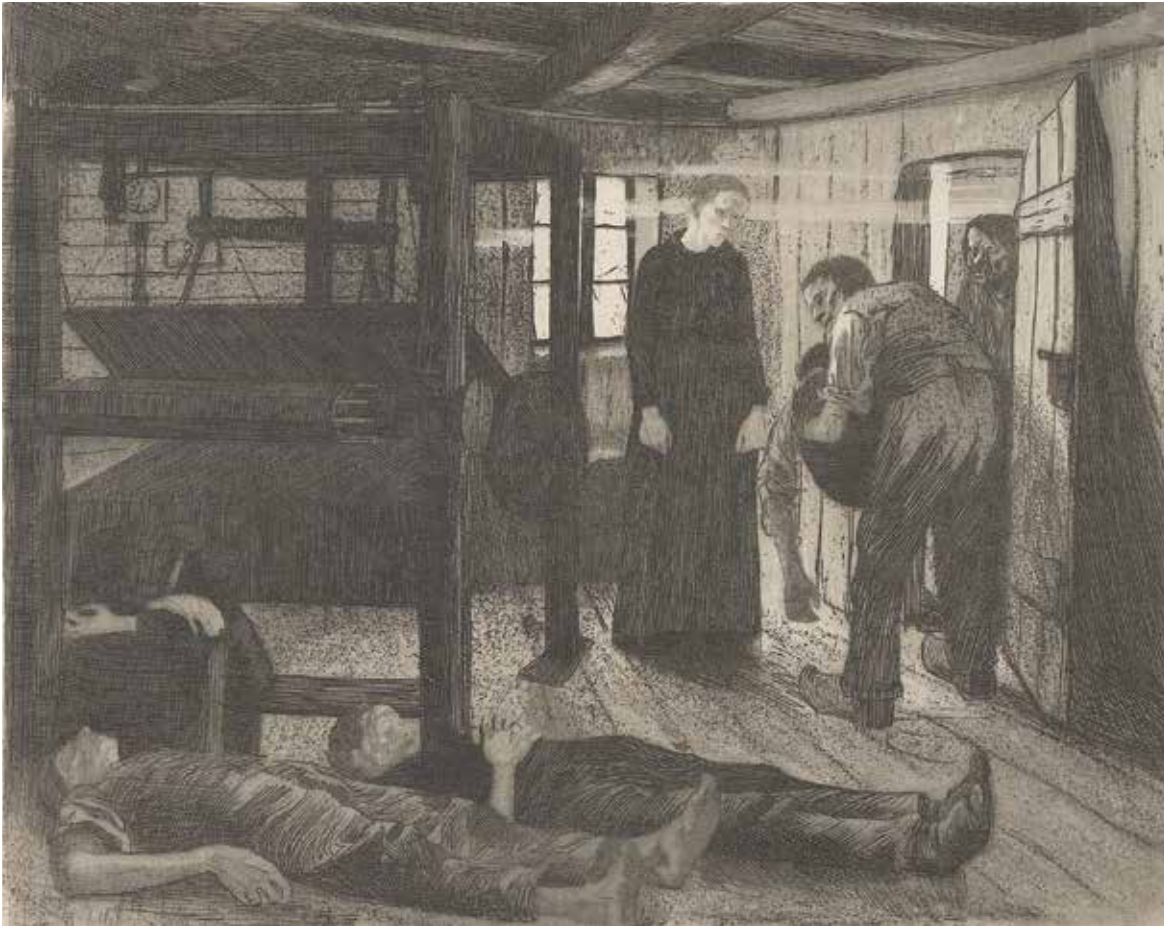


56

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ
Knocked Over, 1910

Line and softground etching on laid and
transfer paper, 24.8 × 31.9 cm

Sammlung und Stiftung Rolf Horn in der Stiftung Schleswig-
Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig



57

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ**End, 1897**From the *Weavers Cycle* based on Gerhart Hauptmann

Etching, aquatint, emery, 24.6 × 30.5 cm

Albertina, Vienna



58

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ**March of the Weavers, 1897**

From the *Weavers Cycle* based on Gerhart Hauptmann
 Etching, stipple engraving, 21.6 × 29.5 cm

Albertina, Vienna

59

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ**Revolt, 1899**

Etching, stipple engraving, roulette,
 emery, 29.8 × 31.8 cm

Albertina, Vienna



KÄTHE KOLLWITZ

In Memory of Karl Liebknecht, 1919

Woodcut, 35 × 50.2 cm

Albertina, Vienna



61

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ
The Volunteers, 1922/23

From the Cycle *The War*
 Woodcut, 35 × 49 cm

Albertina, Vienna

62

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ
The Mothers, 1922/23

From the Cycle *The War*
 Woodcut, 34 × 40 cm

Albertina, Vienna



63 CARL-LEOPOLD HOLLITZER
 Erich Mühsam with Bird, undated
 Pencil on paper, 28.7 × 19.7 cm
 Albertina, Vienna



64 CARL-LEOPOLD HOLLITZER
 Writer Joachim Ringelnatz, undated
 Charcoal on paper, 22.5 × 18 cm
 Albertina, Vienna



65 CARL-LEOPOLD HOLLITZER
Professor Kolo Moser, Professor C. O. Czeschka,
Stollberg, Dr. Eckstein, Professor Josef Hoffmann,
and Other Persons, undated

Pencil, watercolor on paper, 24.2 × 18.2 cm

Albertina, Vienna



66

CARL-LEOPOLD HOLLITZER
Group Portrait with Ferdinand Hodler,
Koloman Moser, and Wilhelm List, undated

Pencil on paper, 24 × 18.8 cm

Kunsthhaus Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm



67

CARL-LEOPOLD HOLLITZER
Portrait of Adolf Loos, undated

Pencil on lined paper, 13.5 × 10.5 cm

Kunsthhaus Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm



CARL-LEOPOLD HOLLITZER
Group Portrait with Richard Gerstl,
Josef Hoffmann, Pocsdorff, Carl Otto
Czeschka, and Other Caricatures, undated

Indian ink on paper, 21 × 33.8 cm

Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm



CARL-LEOPOLD HOLLITZER
Karl Kraus and Egon Friedell, undated
Pencil and watercolor on paper, 24 × 24 cm

Albertina, Vienna

Alexander Klee

Coincidence or Tradition? Distinctive Features of Art in Vienna and Berlin

Berlin and Vienna are both German-speaking metropolises. The fact of their shared language and the common cultural and intellectual foundations often associated with them might tempt us into the error of searching for evidence of rivalry, for example regarding cultural superiority, or at least for analogous developments. But a closer examination inevitably leads toward a recognition of their widely divergent historical paths. On the one hand, Berlin is a young metropolis that arose on the strength of political realities. It seized upon nationalism in order to escape from the condition of scattered regionalism, of microstates within a common linguistic community. Vienna, on the other hand, was the center of a territorial state that had been united to form a great power, one that had evolved from medieval and feudal structures of authority, and which formed a unified cultural realm despite—or even by virtue of—its multilingual character. The following essay sketches out some of the resultant foundations of Berlin and Vienna's commonalities and differences, and it offers an overview that focuses on particularly striking traits and interconnections.

The respective political orientations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the one hand and of the German Reich on the other led to divergent developments, whose outcomes are also reflected in their forms of artistic expression. While in the German-speaking territory of Prussia, the philosophical approaches of Kant and Hegel became well established and commanded a large following during the first half of the nineteenth century, the proscription of Kantian and Hegelian teachings in the Habsburg Monarchy led toward a genuinely Austrian development, and one not restricted to the realm of philosophy alone.

A philosophy that avoided calling the monarchical system into question was regarded

as advantageous during the Metternich era, which is why the philosophical teachings of Johann Friedrich Herbart were afforded special prestige.¹ The ascendancy of Herbart in Austria prior to and after 1848 rendered his philosophy dominant in the Austro-Hungarian Empire to such a degree that he was often referred to as the official philosopher of the Danube Monarchy—even though he never actually taught there.² Emerging as a stronghold of Herbartianism was Prague, where the ground had been prepared by the teaching activities of Bernard Bolzano.³ As a member of the Ministry of Culture and Education, established after the revolution of 1848/49, Franz Exner, a professor of philosophy in Prague, was finally able to pave the way for school and educational reforms under the direction of Minister Leo von Thun-Hohenstein.⁴ At the same time, it was Exner who promoted the acceptance of Herbart's philosophy and pedagogy throughout the Empire.

Herbart's psychological approach, however, was also advocated by many other professors in Prague, and their support led to the establishment of pedagogy in Herbart's sense—by then regarded as a scholarly discipline—as a new subject in university seminars in Austria.⁵ The consequences of the dominance of Herbart's doctrine became clearly evident in the teaching of drawing, which was to be facilitated by geometric trigonometry, by the elementary capacities of vision, and by a recognition of the ordered character of the world.⁶ The task of the fine artist was to display the form and individual characteristics of the object in such a way that the beholder could grasp it and retain it in memory.⁷ Herbart's segmentation of surfaces in the form of complex triangles was an attempt to present the depicted object in relation to characteristic formal relationships. Artistic activity was to have been regulated by geometrical conceptions, and the creative process never surrendered to the emotions.⁸ The dominance of the creative urge by the emotions, meaning among expressionists and Fauvists, was suppressed. Herbart did not, however, provide instruction in perspectival construction, but instead remained bound to the surface, which was developed from triangular forms.⁹ Helene Skladny describes the purpose of this:



fig. 1 Eugen d'Albert /
Josef Hoffmann
Small-Town Idyll, 1901
Ver Sacrum, year V, no. 24, 1901, p. 411



fig. 2 Josef Matthias Hauer /
Emilie Voglmayr
Melos Interpretation, 1921
Sammlung Dieter und Gertraud Bogner im
mumok museum moderner kunst stiftung ludwig



fig. 3 Beethoven exhibition, view into the corridor from the right-hand side hall of the Secession, 1902
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna



fig. 4 Arnold Schönberg
The Red Look, May 1910
Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna



fig. 5 Max Oppenheimer
Portrait of Sigmund Freud, 1909
New York Psychoanalytic Society and Institute Archive

“Herbart’s aesthetic consisted purely of the determination of structural forms and relationships. Here too, mathematics was an important element for the basis of the invariant beauty of the forms.”¹⁰

From this perspective, the works of many Austrian artists appear in a new light. The planarity that is reflected in Viennese Jugendstil, and its highly characteristic forms and its frequently encountered geometrization, may have been catalyzed—if not exclusively—by Herbartian theory. The “form art” of the Secession, then, must be set against the background of the philosophy of Herbart and of the Herbartian philosopher Robert von Zimmermann.¹¹ A native of Prague, Robert von Zimmermann promoted Herbart’s philosophy as an influential instructor, first in Olmütz from 1849 to 1852, then in Prague from 1852, and finally at Vienna University from 1861, where he exercised considerable influence on scholarship in Vienna and in the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a whole until 1896.¹² For decades, his *Philosophische Propädeutik für Obergymnasien*, published in Vienna in 1852/53, remained the canonical foundation for instruction in the upper gymnasium (high school) classes.¹³ For Zimmermann, art required no concrete attachments. Musical tones can be beautiful without expressing emotion, just as lines, forms, and colors can be beautiful without depicting an object (figs. 1 and 2).¹⁴ For Zimmermann, as for Herbart, the pleasure or displeasure occasioned by a work of art was a physical reality, and was not conditioned by content.

Josef Hoffmann’s *Supraporte* [*Overdoor Relief*] (fig. 3, plate 42) represents a logical development of the same presuppositions. Decisive here—to the exclusion of other concerns—is the interconnection of abstract forms into a new totality.

Gustav Adolf Lindner was also among the personalities that contributed to the diffusion of Herbartianism and its singular traits in Austria. The introduction of the subject of “philosophical propaedeutics” into the gymnasium curriculum in 1849 was accompanied by the appearance of, among other publications, Lindner’s *Lehrbuch der empirischen Psychologie*,¹⁵ which appeared in twelve editions between 1858 and 1912, and was studied by

Freud, for example, during his final year at gymnasium.¹⁶ The incorporation of this special component, so even Lindner’s textbooks closely follow Herbart’s system, sheds light on a further characteristic of Austrian painting, namely psychologization as a distinctive trait of Austrian expressionism. The hard contours of Schiele’s portrait of Eduard Kosmack (plate 90), along with the planarity of the background, are still suggestive of the art of the *Vienna Secession*. At the same time, the marked psychologization of the sitter emerges as typical of Austrian expressionism. In this context, it hardly seems surprising that it was Hugo Heller, a follower of Freudian psychoanalysis, who was the first to offer Arnold Schönberg an opportunity to exhibit his paintings (the show was held in Heller’s bookshop in 1910) (fig. 4).¹⁷ Heller was not only the publisher of the *Zeitschrift für die Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf die Geisteswissenschaften*, but he also organized lectures and readings with Sigmund Freud, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Hugo von Hofmannsthal at his bookshop (fig. 5).¹⁸

In contrast, German expressionism saw itself as an art of expression, and was hence dedicated to entirely different intentions. For the artists of the *Brücke* group in particular, the emotions were to have led back to the origins of artistic activity, and to have been aroused by the artist’s style, by the impasto application of the paint, and by the emotional effect of one’s handwriting. Like the Fauvists they pursued a reversion to an archaic sensibility of beauty that would reconcile nature and humanity, an intention that is evident in the paintings of the *Brücke* artists from the Dresden period. Another factor, discussed by Donald E. Gordon in his Kirchner monograph, and particularly evident in the works of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, is the connection between art and life. Art was said to spring directly from life, “not in the form of purely visual observations, but instead in the form of experiences of various types and from various periods (fig. 6).”¹⁹ Disturbing, yet at the same time alluring, are his street scenes with their cocottes and jagged, seemingly Gothic architectural forms. As documented by the sheer number and spontaneous character of his sketches, Kirchner allowed himself to

be guided by intuition.²⁰ Extroverted and vital in their intense colors, Kirchner's paintings are a mirror of the metropolis.

As Berlin's importance grew during the teens of the twentieth century, it also evolved into an artistic center, to some extent through the engagement of galleries such as Paul Cassirer's and Herwarth Walden's. Exhibitions such as the one devoted to the Futurists at the Sturm gallery resonated with artists like Oskar Kokoschka and Max Oppenheimer, an influence that is recognizable in the faceted structures found in paintings by both artists beginning in 1912. The impact of illustrations by Oskar Kokoschka that appeared in the journal *Der Sturm* (fig. 7), and those by Max Oppenheimer, Egon Schiele, and Felix Albrecht Harta (fig. 8) that appeared in the journal *Die Aktion*, on other artists, especially in Berlin, however, remains to be examined. Although Kokoschka's first exhibition at the Cassirer Gallery, in 1910, met with as little response as did the publication of Albert Paris Gütersloh's *Die Tanzende Törlin* [*Foolish Dancing Woman*], the key novel of expressionism, which appeared in Berlin in 1911, circumstances would change in the ensuing years. The increasing numbers of articles and illustrations by Austrian artists, and reports about their work that appeared in *Die Aktion* and *Der Sturm*, led to noticeable public familiarity, and in the case of Oppenheimer's illustrations, even popularity.

With the outbreak of World War I, this process of exchange retreated into the background. Only after the war did such activities recommence. The artist's group *Freie Bewegung* in Vienna sought to establish fresh connections by organizing exhibitions devoted to younger artists or to established figures such as Johannes Itten and Erich Heckel. The Heckel exhibition of 1920, nonetheless, was for the most part ignored by the press.²¹ Among the few reviews is one by Hermann Menkes, who wrote in the *Neues Journal* in Vienna: "Heckel, of the Expressionist stamp, who certainly does not exemplify the worst degeneration, has found many imitators of his style among the younger generation. His gestures, therefore, no longer seem astonishing. His preference is for the ugly, the angular aspects of human appearance,

all of which are distorted, exaggerated."²² Conversely, both Paul Cassirer and Paul Westheim rejected the works of the Viennese artist Carry Hauser, referring to them as "too Viennese."²³ But the Hungarian exile artist László Moholy-Nagy, who had just arrived from Vienna, issued this verdict on the Berlin art scene around the same time: "Aside from Kokoschka, who is already idolized, the Germans don't have a single decent painter."²³ These contrary positions were characterized as follows from a Viennese perspective by Carry Hauser in a letter to the art critic Arthur Roessler: "In Berlin, if you don't paint with a broom instead of a paintbrush, and if you do not allow all of the forms to stand there, carelessly brutal and angular, you are called cloyingly Viennese. That which is referred to as art in Berlin is currently Viennese artsy crafty style anno 1910, only far more tasteless, superficial, and at the same time overlaid with a wordy intellectual program. At least, back then, we referred to it openly as ornamental, while in Berlin, they call it mystical and expressionistic."²⁵

Quite early, the negative value in Austria of the concept of Expressionism led to the formulation of an Austrian and baroque Expressionism that was held to be distinct from the German and Gothic version. In the 1920s, this divergence, to which Hauser too was committed, was felt with greater force.²⁶ Not just Hauser, however, but Herbert Boeckl, Anton Faistauer, Felix Albrecht Harta, Oskar Kokoschka, and others regarded their own painting as being close to the baroque.²⁷ The use of the term Baroque Expressionism in contradistinction to Gothic and German Expressionism made it possible for Austrian art critics to use the term Expressionism—hitherto tainted with negative associations—in a new and affirmative way.²⁸ Conspicuous by then in formal terms, however, is a heightened turn toward artistic forms of expression that emphasized painterly style. Already in the nineteenth century, this approach had led to references to the work of the painter Hans Makart as being "baroque." Makart's manner of paint application, along with his allusions to baroque art, were appraised negatively by the Berlin physiologist Ernst Wilhelm Brücke, who taught in Vienna.²⁹ One



fig. 6 Erna and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner in the Wilmersdorf studio at 14 Durlacherstraße, Berlin, c. 1912/1914

Kirchner Museum Davos



fig. 7 Oskar Kokoschka
Sphinx and Strawman, 1910

Cover of *Der Sturm*, year II, no. 54, 3.11.1911



fig. 8 Felix Albrecht Harta
Portrait of Albert Paris Gütersloh, 1913

Cover of *Die Aktion*, year IV, no. 26, 1914



fig. 9 Koloman Moser
Untitled

Cover of *Ver Sacrum*, year IV, no. 2, 1901

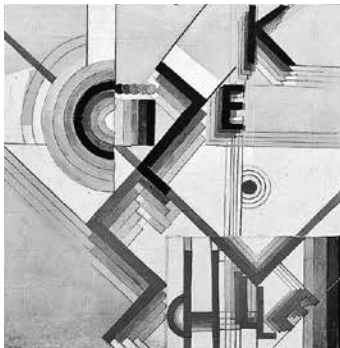


fig. 10 Erika Giovanna Klien
Type composition "Cizek School,"
c. 1924

Wien Museum

might ask whether this manifestation of prejudice was coincidental, or instead traditional and deliberately cultivated, since the Berlin-based philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel had regarded the Gothic cathedral as the consummation of Occidental architecture,³⁰ while at the same time rejecting and condemning the Baroque.³¹

Unlike the concept of the Baroque, which became a mirror of the new Austrian self-understanding during the interwar period, the concept of Kineticism, with its more cosmopolitan orientation, was unable to assume a similar function—its contribution was instead to the artistic avant-garde. This became evident at the *International Exhibition of New Theater Techniques* that took place in 1924 in Vienna.³² While Viennese Kineticism displayed the influences of Futurism and Cubism, its stringent conception of form could hardly disavow affinities with a specifically Austrian “form art” (figs. 9 and 10). Planarity and the decomposition of forms were also employed in an overarching way in sculpture and the applied arts, which revealed affinities with the “form art” practiced by the *Secession* and the *Wiener Werkstätte*. Nevertheless,

Kineticism was unable to establish itself in Vienna in the long term. This makes it clear that after the disintegration of “old Austria” and its cultural region into small nation states, a cosmopolitan artistic orientation was opposed by the formation of a national identity: A phenomenon that applies as well to the Berlin Dadaists, albeit under different preconditions.

The disintegration of the Austrian cultural sphere accelerated Berlin’s attractiveness, complemented meanwhile by improved economic conditions. Many artists of the incipient veristic tendency exchanged views or experienced the breakthrough to the new style there. This is true, for example, of Christian Schad, who produced key works in Vienna, but enjoyed success instead in Berlin. In particular among the Verists, such exchanges, along with the frequent changes of address necessitated by war or economic difficulties, led to characteristic personal styles, but not to the formation of a homogenous group or artistic collective. Artistic styles that could be associated specifically with Vienna or with Berlin were no longer recognizable.

1 Barbara Otto, “Der Secessionierte Herbart – Wissenschaftsrezeption im Staatsinteresse zur Zeit Metternichs,” in: Michael Benedikt/Reinhold Knoll/Josef Rupitz (eds.), *Verdrängter Humanismus – verzögerte Aufklärung. Bildung und Einbildung. Vom verfehlten Bürgerlichen zum Liberalismus; Philosophie in Österreich 1820–1880*, Vienna 1995, p. 143. – Johannes Feichtinger, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt – Von Bolzano über Freud zu Kelsen: Österreichische Wissenschaftsgeschichte 1848–1938*, Bielefeld 2010, pp. 147–48.

2 Eduard Winter (ed.), *Robert Zimmermanns Philosophische Propädeutik und die Vorlagen aus der Wissenschaftslehre Bernard Bolzanos. Eine Dokumentation zur Geschichte des Denkens und der Erziehung in der Donaumonarchie*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, vol. 299, 5th treatise, Vienna 1975, p. 12. – Georg Jäger, “Die Herbartianische Ästhetik – ein österreichischer Weg in die Moderne,” in: Herbert Zeman (ed.), *Die österreichische*

Literatur. Ihr Profil im 19. Jahrhundert (1830–1880), Graz 1982, p. 198.

3 Feichtinger 2010 (see note 1), p. 151. – Helene Skladny, *Ästhetische Bildung und Erziehung in der Schule. Eine ideengeschichtliche Untersuchung von Pestalozzi bis zur Kunsterziehungsbewegung*, Munich 2009, p. 123.

4 Werner Sauer, “Die verhinderte Kanttradition. Über eine Eigenheit der österreichischen Philosophie,” in: Benedikt/Knoll/Rupitz 1995 (see note 1), p. 312. – Wolfgang Cernoch, “Zimmermanns Grundlegung der Herbartianischen Ästhetik: Eine Brücke zwischen Bolzano und Brentano,” in: Benedikt/Knoll/Rupitz 1995 (see note 1), p. 683.

5 Ferdinand Maria Wendt, *Repetitorium zur Pädagogik, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Oesterreich-Ungarns*, Vienna 1879, p. 146.

6 Skladny 2009 (see note 3), pp. 112–13.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 117–121.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 119.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 120.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 124.

11 “Concerning this question, Georg Jäger in his essay ‘Die Herbartianische Ästhetik ein österreichischer Weg in die Moderne’ concludes with justification that among contemporary schools of philosophical aesthetics, none is as well-suited to provide criteria for modern non-objective art than Zimmerman’s.” Cited in Wolfgang Cernoch, “Der Auszug aus dem Akademismus,” in: Benedikt/Knoll/Rupitz 1995 (see note 1), p. 91.

12 Cernoch 1995 (see note 4), p. 681.

13 Feichtinger 2010 (see note 1), p. 151.

14 Jäger 1982 (see note 2), p. 204.

15 Gerald Grimm, “Gustav Adolf Lindner als Wegbereiter der Pädagogik des Herbartianismus in der Habsburgermonarchie. Eine Studie zu Leben, Werk und Wirken Lindners mit spezieller Fokussierung auf sein ‘Encyklopädisches Handbuch der Erziehungskunde,’” in: Erik Adam/Gerald Grimm (eds.), *Die Pädagogik*

- des Herbartianismus in der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, Vienna/Berlin/Münster 2009, pp. 21–36. Lindner's widely diffused *Lehrbuch der empirischen Psychologie* was translated into Italian, English, Hungarian, and Polish.
- 16** William M. Johnston, *Österreichische Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte, Gesellschaft und Ideen im Donauraum 1848 bis 1938*, Vienna/Cologne/Graz 1972, p. 288.
- 17** Patrik Werkner, *Physis und Psyche. Der österreichische Frühexpressionismus*, Vienna/Munich 1986, pp. 29–30.
- 18** *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 19** Donald E. Gordon, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner*, Munich 1968, p. 19.
- 20** Magdalena M. Moeller, "Die Straßenszenen," in: Magdalena M. Moeller (ed.), *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner in Berlin* (exh. cat. Brücke Museum, Berlin 2008/2009), Munich 2008, p. 313.
- 21** Ewald Schneider, *Die Künstlergruppe "Freie Bewegung" 1918–1922*, Vienna 1999, p. 100.
- 22** Cited in Schneider 1999 (see note 21), p. 100.
- 23** Cornelia Cabuk (ed.), *Carry Hauser. Monografie und Werkverzeichnis*, Vienna 2012, p. 69.
- 24** *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- 25** *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- 26** Cornelia Cabuk, *Carry Hauser. Das malerische und graphische Werk bis zum Jahr 1927. Seine Entwicklung im Umfeld der deutschen und österreichischen Kunst dieser Zeit*, dissertation, Vienna 1990, p. 54.
- 27** Eva Michel, *Inventing Tradition. Die Rezeption der Alten Meister und das "Barocke" in der österreichischen Malerei des 20. Jahrhunderts – Topos und künstlerische Strategie*, dissertation, Vienna 2009, pp. 69–77. – Cf. on the theme of the reception of the baroque in Austria: Agnes Husslein-Arco/Georg Lechner/Alexander Klee (eds.), *Barock since 1630* (exh. cat. Belvedere, Vienna 2013), Vienna 2013.
- 28** Rainer Fuchs, *Apologie und Diefamierung des "österreichischen Expressionismus." Begriffs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte der österreichischen Malerei 1908 bis 1938*, Vienna/Cologne 1991, pp. 243–44.
- 29** Alexander Klee, "Genius or Upstart: Ernst von Brücke's Criticism and the Consequences for the Reception of Makart's Works," in: Agnes Husslein-Arco/Alexander Klee (eds.), *Makart. Painter of the Senses* (exh. cat. Belvedere, Vienna 2011), Munich/London/New York 2011, pp. 125–133.
- 30** Beat Wyss, *Trauer der Vollendung – Zur Geburt der Kulturkritik*, Cologne 1997, p. 83.
- 31** *Ibid.*, pp. 104–05.
- 32** On this question, see Harald Krejci's contribution in the present publication (pp. 255–59).

Rainald Franz

“Allüberall die Formen des Quadrats und die parallelen Linien”¹ (“Everywhere the Forms of the Square and Parallel Lines”). The Wiener Werkstätte in Berlin

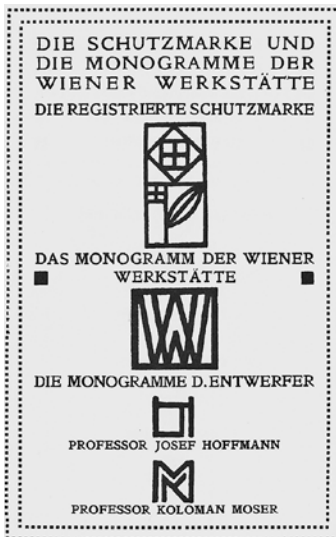


fig. 1 Wiener Werkstätte work program, 1905

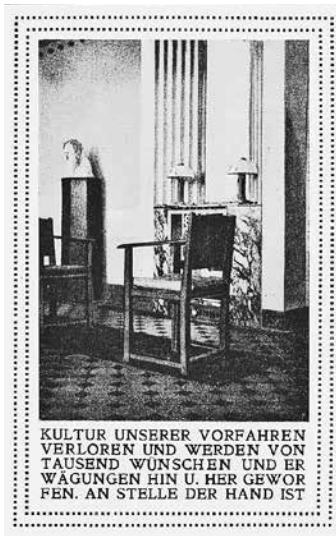


fig. 2 Wiener Werkstätte exhibition at the Hohenzollern House of Applied Arts, Berlin, 1904

The infinite calamity caused in the decorative arts by bad mass production on the one hand and the thoughtless imitation of old styles on the other runs like a great current through the entire world. We have lost all connection to the culture of our forebears and are tossed to and fro by a thousand wishes and deliberations. The hand has generally been displaced by the machine and the craftsman by the businessman. It would be madness to swim against this current. And yet we have nonetheless founded our Workshop. It is meant to create for us an oasis of peace upon our home soil and amidst the joyous sound of handicrafts and be welcome to those devoted to Ruskin and Morris. We call upon all those to whom this idea of culture seems meaningful and hope that even unavoidable mistakes will not deter our friends from promoting our objectives. We want to establish a close contact between public, designer, and craftsman and create good and simple household items.²

These are the lines that open the work program of the Wiener Werkstätte, published by its governing body in 1905. Koloman Moser (1868–1918) and Josef Hoffmann (1870–1956), both managing directors, together with the financier and first treasurer Fritz Waerndorfer (1868–1939), were the founders of the “Productiv-Genossenschaft von Kunsthandwerkern in Wien,” (Productive Cooperative of Craftsmen in Vienna) as the Wiener Werkstätte (WW) was titled in its listing in the Registry of Cooperatives of the

Vienna Handelsgericht (Commercial Court) on May 19, 1903. Already well-known as founding members of the *Secession* in 1897 and as professors at Vienna’s *Kunstgewerbeschule* since 1899, the two artists, together with textile manufacturer and art patron Waerndorfer, clearly formulated the cooperative’s business goals: “Promoting the economic interests of its members through their education and training in the applied arts, through the manufacture of all kinds of handicrafts according to artistic designs produced by the cooperative’s members, through the building of workshops, and through the sale of the wares produced,” as can be read in the Vienna commercial registry.³ The artistic orientation of the Wiener Werkstätte can be aptly characterized as a “corporate philosophy of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.”⁴

Next to photographs of the Wiener Werkstätte’s workshop and business spaces, the brochure in which the work program of the Wiener Werkstätte was published—in austere typography and with a decoration reduced to geometric forms—featured illustrations of the first exhibition by the new “productive cooperative,” which had taken place not in Vienna but in Berlin (fig. 1, fig. 2). The Berlin exhibition was considered so important to the founders of the Wiener Werkstätte and so successful in its presentation that it would become an aesthetic testimonial in the promotional brochure.

The Exhibition in the Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus, Berlin: H. Hirschwald, Josef Hoffmann, and the Wiener Werkstätte

A year and a half after its founding, the Wiener Werkstätte received an invitation to present itself as a collective project for the first time at an exhibition on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus (Hohenzollern House of Applied Arts) in Berlin (fig. 3). The exhibition took place from October 1, 1904, to January 1, 1905. Hermann Hirschwald (1845–1906), industrialist and founder of the Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus, had probably come into contact with Josef Hoffmann and Koloman Moser through

the *Vienna Secession*. In *Ver Sacrum*, the leading organ of the “Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs—Secession” (Union of Austrian Artists—Vienna Secession) notices can be found for the “largest permanent exhibition and sales hall for art and decorative arts” (fig. 4). The “Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus H. Hirschwald (G.M.B.H.) Berlin W. Leipzigerstrasse 13” appeared under the name of the “Königlich preussischer, kaiserlich österreichischer, groszherzoglich badischer Hoflieferant, gegründet 1879” (Royal Prussian, Imperial Austrian, grand ducal court supplier from Baden, founded in 1879) and offered “home furnishings, applied arts, interior decoration, and regularly changing exhibitions.”⁵ The reduced book decoration used for the notice in *Ver Sacrum*, designed by Koloman Moser in the form of black squares, would reappear three years later in the work program of the *Wiener Werkstätte*.

The history of the Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus in Berlin exhibits many parallels to the efforts to promote the applied arts that began in the second half of the nineteenth century in Vienna. Hermann Hirschwald had come to Berlin at the age of twenty as a commercial apprentice and had become familiar with the movement to promote the applied arts in theory and practice—prompted in Germany by the *Paris World Exposition* in 1867—both through exemplary works and through Berlin’s Kunstgewerbemuseum.⁶ The *Vienna World Exposition* of 1873 and the attendant reports on the applied arts penned by Julius Lessing would become formative experiences: After the Berlin commercial exhibition of 1879, Hirschwald resolved “...to found a warehouse in Berlin, in which the public will be presented with the most exquisite products of Germany’s and especially Berlin’s contemporary applied arts and be able to acquire them.”⁷ Following the commercial exhibition, Hirschwald opened his warehouse at Unter den Linden 54/55 and invited Berlin’s applied artists and exhibitors to show their products there, in order “...to lastingly capture the interest of the educated public for local industry by means of a dignified exhibition of the stylish and tasteful achieve-

ments of contemporary artistic diligence.”⁸ Hirschwald sought to make the warehouse into the “central locale of Berlin’s minor applied arts,” which he intended to support through “the introduction of designs and models of exemplary products of foreign industry, through active assistance in attempts to perfect individual branches of applied arts techniques, and/or in the production of costly individual pieces.”⁹ On October 18, 1879, the birthday of the Prussian crown prince, the warehouse opened in the ground floor of the corner house on Unter den Linden. Through good relations with the House of Hohenzollern and the support of prominent figures associated with the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum such as Julius Lessing, Hirschwald was able to establish his business idea. Hirschwald brought German and international products of the applied arts to Berlin. In the 1880s, the field was dominated by the applied arts of Munich, in a neo-Renaissance style, whereby Hirschwald soon began to produce in his own workshops. Among other things he supplied the furnishings of the royal train car of Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria-Hungary and the leather wall coverings for the ministerial office of the Prussian house of representatives. Hirschwald’s house of applied arts became the model for new foundations in other German cities, and the business grew. The owner himself became an authority in matters of the applied arts and the Prussian government’s “imperial commissioner” for commercial exhibitions, in which he also participated as exhibitor with his own products. After the *World’s Columbian Exposition* in Chicago in 1893, Hirschwald also began importing and exhibiting American products such as glass by Louis Comfort Tiffany. In 1897, Hirschwald relocated to the newly built branch store in Leipziger Straße 123, where he offered international applied arts on three floors. The business was now called “Hohenzollern-Kaufhaus H. Hirschwald” and combined business spaces and workshops. Hirschwald was also among the first on the continent to exhibit the new English furniture of the Arts and Crafts movement. Hirschwald enthusiastically participated in the displace-



fig. 3 Hermann Hirschwald's Hohenzollern House of Applied Arts, Berlin, 1910
Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität Berlin

ment of historicism by the new movements of European Jugendstil; his house of applied arts introduced new products from Belgium, France, England, and America in special exhibitions, and produced them as well. Great names of German Jugendstil such as Otto Eckmann (1865–1902) made designs for Hirschwald, and Hirschwald entrusted Henry van de Velde (1863–1957), who had moved to Berlin from Belgium in 1899, to direct his atelier and workshops. Van de Velde also furnished the new business offices in Leipziger Straße, which opened in 1901 and appeared in a new and larger form: “Modern taste demanded greater simplicity and less ornament for the exhibition halls of modern products.”¹⁰ Hirschwald invited various artists to design the individual departments. In *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* in 1903, Hermann Hirschwald initiated a public survey on the theme of “Which object is an example of the applied arts?”¹¹ The works of René Lalique were shown in a special exhibition and the anniversary year of the founding in 1904 was accompanied by several special exhibitions at the “Hohenzollern-Kunstgewerbehaus, H. Hirschwald, Berlin.” Besides Henry van de Velde, who had been responsible for the graphics department among many other things, Josef Hoffmann also appeared as a designer: Hirschwald invited Hoffmann to design the ceramics department of the Kunstgewerbehaus. In addition, in the fall of 1904 the exhibition *Wiener Plastik [Viennese Sculpture]* opened, so that one could now speak of a veritable focus on Vienna. By this time Josef Hoffmann had already made an international name for himself as a designer of exhibitions, especially in the Vienna Secession, and in Germany as well had made his mark as the architect of the *Secession* spaces in the national art exhibition in Düsseldorf in 1902.¹² After Hoffmann’s earlier commission to design the ceramics department, he was invited to participate in a special exhibition by the Wiener Werkstätte.

For Hoffmann both events occurred during a period of the highest creative productivity. In 1903 he was well-known in Vienna as part of the Wiener Werkstätte, had furnished the new sales and production of-

fices in the Neustiftgasse together with Koloman Moser, and at the same time had also been given the first large commission with the Wiener Werkstätte: the building of the Sanatorium Purkersdorf for Victor Zuckerkandl, which would become an early important work of Hoffmann and the Wiener Werkstätte.¹³ In 1904 Hoffmann was also occupied with designing the rooms for the presentation of Vienna’s Kunstgewerbeschule [school of applied arts] at the world exposition in St. Louis.¹⁴ The invitation must have been a true stroke of luck for the Werkstätte, for together with Hermann Hirschwald’s Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus, it offered a space to present their works that had prestige far beyond the German-speaking areas. Hirschwald’s business idea was in many ways consistent with the intentions of the Wiener Werkstätte. Hoffmann alone, with his design of the ceramics department, as well as Hoffmann together with Koloman Moser in the Wiener Werkstätte, took advantage of the chances to present themselves and familiarized Berlin with the “Vienna style” in the applied arts and the design of exhibitions.¹⁵ From the fourteenth to the twentieth *Secession* exhibitions (1902–1904), Josef Hoffmann and Koloman Moser had arrived together at a purist-geometric style, which must have looked radically different than the curvilinear designs of an artist like Henry van de Velde. Whereas van de Velde had made the beautiful linearity of the curve into a trademark in his rooms for the Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus, Hoffmann and Moser developed a design concept of reductionism to basic geometric forms. The publication of these spaces in Alexander Koch’s *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* shows interiors that must have made a spectacular impression, along with a comprehensively illustrated article entitled “Josef Hoffmann. Koloman Moser.”¹⁶

In the uppermost story of the Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus, three rooms were built in accordance with the ideas of the Wiener Werkstätte: Aiming to gradually intensify the impression as the visitor moved through the space, the professors of the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule staged a sequence of rooms from the foyer via an octagonal

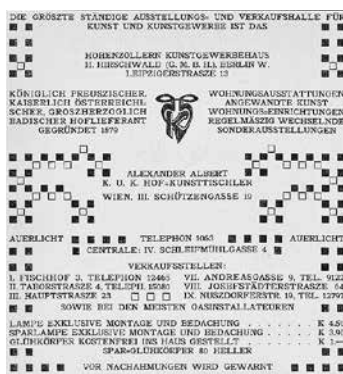


fig. 4 Advertisement for the Hohenzollern House of Applied Arts, Berlin, 1902

Ver Sacrum, year V, no. 5, 1902

hall with built-in vitrines to a barrel-vaulted gallery room glassed along a narrow side.¹⁷ A square-patterned flooring that united all the rooms set the tone that, in a certain sense, was to be varied upon in the design of the exhibitions and the objects presented. In the design of the octagonal room, with rough scratch coat plaster, Hoffmann and Moser once again returned to the idea of self-lit niches and decorative nailing, which had already been found in the seventeenth and eighteenth *Secession* exhibitions. The framing of the wall sections by moldings and the strict black-and-white contrast had already been used in *Secession* exhibitions and more recently in St. Louis and at the Purkersdorf Sanatorium, as well as in the exhibition rooms of the Wiener Werkstätte. The entryway to the special exhibition (fig. 5) was emphasized by means of two potted plants upon stele-like pedestals. These were placed against shallow wall projections that flanked the “bent” lintel, formed so that on each side of the entranceway a short element ascended toward the central piece, which was horizontal: a motif that would be repeated several times in the architecture of the exhibition rooms. The wall projections were crowned by a flat cornice and bordered along the sides by two darkly framed thin strips, each terminating with a decorative knob. Above the entrance to the next room, the logo of the Wiener Werkstätte—WW—is visible. From the vestibule, a view is offered through to the adjacent octagon and the transversely laid-out, barrel-vaulted exhibition hall. In the octagonal room (fig. 6) with built-in niches and pedestals on the sides, metalwork pieces, the famous latticework pieces, and lighting fixtures are presented; above the lintel to the next room, a picture designed by Koloman Moser appears embedded in the wall. Once again, the walls are framed by painted black strips; the linear features are massed along the embrasure of the passage to the next room. This passage leads to the main room of the presentation (fig. 7), the climax of the room composition—a long gallery with integrated niches and vitrines, glassed-in along the short side, vaulted with a decoratively structured bar-

rel. In the rhomboid pattern of the plaster ceiling, small glittering elements of colored glass have been regularly embedded in the centers of the rhombuses. Along the lower edge of the barrel vaults runs a horizontal vitrine inserted into the rough plaster of the wall surface and interrupted only by the entranceway and a niche on the opposite wall. Additional vitrines are arranged symmetrically and reach to the floor. All the elements are separated by rounded dark moldings—presumably of wood—in some cases forming frames within frames. The vertical vitrines are flanked by abstract pastework squares in the school of Moser; in the horizontal vitrines are similarly black-and-white anthropomorphic compositions by Koloman Moser, so abstracted as to be almost unrecognizable. The range of Wiener Werkstätte products shown takes up the geometric accord: From small latticework baskets and book bindings to works in silver, fauteuils and armchairs upholstered with fabrics from the firm of Joh. Backhausen, and the box by Koloman Moser veneered with jagged forms.

The Berlin press took a keen interest in the presentation of the “young professors from Vienna,” but was extremely divided in its opinion. “Everywhere the forms of the square and parallel lines” stated Dr. Egbert Delpy in *Der Tag*.¹⁸ He conceded to the exhibition a “character that has never been beheld in such things here.” According to Delpy, Moser’s and Hoffmann’s designs were among “the most idiosyncratic, surprising, and rich in character that have been presented to us in this field in the last three years.”¹⁹ Delpy noted the “bliss of designing” with which Hoffmann and Moser approached the work and the audacious innovations that the “professors from Vienna had produced from the depths of their imagination and translated faithfully into reality” in the house of applied arts.²⁰ Delpy named the anteroom and octagon an “ingeniously thought-out confession of faith to an architectonic style,” against which the actual exhibition hall with its barrel vault seem to him “distressingly like a freshly whitewashed tunnel passage,” and he questioned its spatial quality during the daylight: “The most intimate and harmonious effect is thus generated in subdued light,



fig. 5 Entrance to the Wiener Werkstätte exhibition in the Hohenzollern House of Applied Arts, Berlin, 1904
Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration, year XV, 1904/05, p. 203

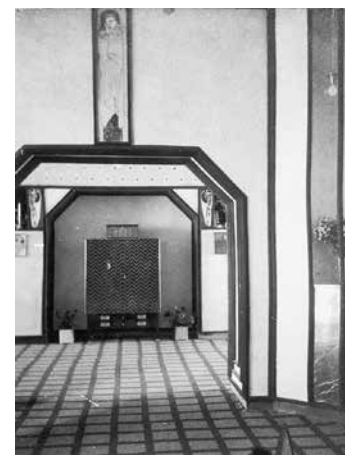


fig. 6 Octagon at the Wiener Werkstätte exhibition in the Hohenzollern House of Applied Arts, Berlin, 1904
MAK—Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst / Gegenwarts Kunst, Vienna



fig. 7 Barrel-vaulted hall at the Wiener Werkstätte exhibition in the Hohenzollern House of Applied Arts, Berlin, 1904
Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration, year XV, 1904/05, pp. 204–05

when as little as possible of the entire building complex remains visible.”²¹ He also criticized the illumination: The countless colorful square glass plates embedded into the ceiling flickered and twinkled like “toys for adults” beneath the light effect of the “glowing pendulum” made of oxidized alpaca; but it would be a good deed if “the servient spirits of the Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus would extinguish the flickering spook.” “Here, the Viennese have completely backed the wrong horse,” opined the author. Delpy also saw the contrast between the design’s playfulness and austerity as prevailing in the products of the Wiener Werkstätte, “the headstrong quadrangular and straight linearity, which issues from all of their designs, half pedantically, half capriciously, is the basic element of a serious, almost archaically severe style, which makes the comfortable activities of daily living almost into the acts of a mystical cult of high priestly earnestness.”²² For Delpy, the “gimmickry and dalliances” scattered within the “austerity of the formal language” lead to a *mélange* of styles to which the aesthetic sense reacts as to “a mixture of salt and sugar on the tongue.” He was not enthralled by the Viennese artists’ glass, eating utensils, bowls, and pitchers, but in contrast praised the women’s decoration and jewelry: only there, in his opinion, had the Viennese found a festive and beautiful union of the contrast between austerity and playfulness, in everything else this had not yet been achieved.

In the *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, in contrast, the exhibition is spoken of as a great triumph of the Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus: “It is no longer a secret that the modern decorative arts, which began in London almost privately, have produced numerous ‘workshops’ in Germany, occupied talented artists everywhere, and have just achieved a flowering in Vienna that is able, far from all pedantism and theory, to wonderfully coalesce wise artistic insights with practical needs.”²³ For the reviewer the judgment is clear: “This is the interesting group’s first exhibition and whatever the judgment about the details may turn out to be, the impression of standing here before an enormous artistic intelligence will not fade from the mind. Darm-

stadt is half illusion, half industry, Munich and Dresden are bourgeois art for living rooms; here is a striking passion, a balance of architectonic feeling between furniture and utensils, in which the architecture loses just as much unnecessary relief as the utensils acquire a delicate constructivity.”²⁴ For the reviewer, who had also seen Josef Hoffmann’s new buildings on the Hohe Warte in Vienna, Hoffmann succeeded in “creating a concentration that has fulfilled the ideal of an exhibition: of structuring the masses and making them lucid by means of pleasing rhythms.” For the *Börsen-Courier* author, “good Viennese style” was “a modernization of Empire style, a grace of construction, and the life of a strict organism. A philhellenist quadrangularity and sophisticated simplicity, which is all the rage in Viennese literature, is also all the rage in its minor arts.”

In the *Magdeburger Zeitung* of October 20, 1904, the reviewer of the exhibition in the Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus worked out the opposition he sensed between the works displayed and the works of Richard Mutz’s (1872–1931) ceramics workshops in Wilmersdorf. The refined luxury art of the Viennese is a manifestly artistic idea and the idea is too expensive to afford: “I ask myself what could be the goal of a workshop like this? Bringing art to the people is the aim of the entire modern applied arts movement. But is this an art for the people, even if one supposes that its products could find a market outside of the circle of millionaires? Does it not seem much too addicted to originality and far too heedless of the style of functionality?”²⁵ Although he concedes that the things are attractively displayed, he questions the functional value of many of the objects. “Apparently, the Wiener Werkstätte is presently experiencing its ‘Sturm und Drang’ period, as the Darmstadt Colony once did as well. But it will overcome this and then perhaps begin to work for larger circles without degenerating into the banal and impersonal.”²⁶

For Josef Hoffmann, Koloman Moser, and the Wiener Werkstätte, the exhibition in Hermann Hirschwald’s Hohenzollern Kunstgewerbehaus proved to be a success in



fig. 8 Josef Hoffmann/
Koloman Moser
The Stonborough-Wittgenstein
apartment, Berlin, 1905
MAK—Österreichisches Museum für angewandte
Kunst/Gegenwartskunst, Vienna

several respects: The presence would be used for their own promotional purposes; photographs were not only published in *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, but also used as benchmark images for the work program of the Wiener Werkstätte in the brochure published the following year. The exhibition of the Wiener Werkstätte also had a direct commercial success within the “circle of millionaires” in Berlin mentioned by the reviewer in the *Magdeburger Zeitung*: The steel magnate Karl Wittgenstein, a patron of the *Vienna Secession*, commissioned the Wiener Werkstätte in 1905 to decorate the grand apartment near the Tiergarten at In den Zelten 21a, rented by his daughter Margarethe and her new husband Jerome Stonborough

after their relocation to Berlin (fig. 8).²⁷ Koloman Moser and Josef Hoffmann furnished the six-room apartment in the style of the early Wiener Werkstätte, thus producing their first masterpiece in Berlin. And the Wiener Werkstätte would make one more guest appearance in the German capital: In 1929 a sales office designed by Josef Hoffmann opened at Friedrich-Ebert-Strasse 2–3 (fig. 9). The Wiener Werkstätte had previously owned a business in Berlin that was a distribution center for all of Germany, but had not engaged in buying and selling (plate 38).²⁸ But the “Viennese style” was not able to prevail; the office was closed as early as 1932, in the wake of the bankruptcy of the Wiener Werkstätte.²⁹

1 Egbert Delpy, “Wiener Kunstgewerbe in Berlin,” in: *Der Tag*, Berlin, 11.19.1904.

2 Work program of the Wiener Werkstätte, 1905.

3 Ernst Ploil, “Dichtung und Wahrheit, Die Gründung der Wiener Werkstätte,” in: *Parnass*, 1998, issue 2, pp. 62–68.

4 Herta Neiß, *100 Jahre Wiener Werkstätte. Mythos und ökonomische Realität*, Vienna 2004, pp. 29ff.

5 See, for example, *Ver Sacrum*, *Mitteilungen der Vereinigung bildenden Künstler Österreichs*, 1902, issues 5 to 24, inside cover.

6 Ludwig Pietsch, “Das Hohenzollern-Kunstgewerbehaus-Berlin. Aus Anlass seines 25 jährigen Bestehens,” in: *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 1904/1905, vol. XV, pp. 169–76. – A fundamental work is also Bianca Berding, “Das Hohenzollern-Kunstgewerbehaus,” in: *Kunsthandel in Berlin für moderne angewandte Kunst von 1897 bis 1914*, Munich 2012, pp. 23–45.

7 Pietsch 1905 (see note 6), p. 170.

8 Ibid.

9 Pietsch 1905 (see note 6), p. 171.

10 Pietsch 1905 (see note 6), p. 174.

11 Hermann Hirschwald, “Welcher Gegenstand ist kunstgewerblich?,” in: *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration: illustrierte Monatshefte für moderne Malerei, Plastik, Architektur, Wohnungskunst u. künstlerisches Frauen-Arbeiten*, 1903/1904, vol. 13, pp. 242–43.

12 *Ver Sacrum*, 1902, issue 21, pp. 302ff. – *Katalog der Deutsch-Nationalen Kunstausstellung Düsseldorf*, 1902. – Eduard Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann. Das architektonische Werk*, Vienna/Salzburg 1982, catalogue raisonné 65, p. 276.

13 Karin Thun-Hohenstein, *Josef Hoffmann – Sanatorium Purkersdorf*, diploma thesis, Vienna 2012. – Sekler 1982 (see note 12), catalogue raisonné 84, pp. 286ff.

14 *Dekorative Kunst. Zeitschrift für angewandte Kunst*, 1905, issue VIII, pp. 125–28.

15 Elisabeth Frottier, *Moderne Raumkunst. Wiener Ausstellungsbauten von 1898 bis 1914*, Vienna 1991. – Sekler 1982 (see note 12), catalogue raisonné 87, pp. 289–90.

16 “Josef Hoffmann. Koloman Moser,” in: *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 1904/1905, vol. XV, pp. 1–14.

17 Ernst Schur, “Individuum und Gesamtheit,” in: *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 1904/1905, vol. XV, pp. 202–06; illustrations can also be found online in the WW photographic archive at http://sammlungen.mak.at/sdb/do/detail.state?obj_id=106442&obj_index=13, WWF 101-16–WWF 101-180

18 Delpy 1904 (see note 1).

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, 10. 02. 1904.

24 Ibid.

25 *Magdeburger Zeitung*, 10. 20. 1904.

26 Ibid., and Neiß 2004 (see note 4), pp. 70–71.

27 Today John-Foster-Dulles-Allee. The illustrations of the furnishings can be found in *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 1905/1906, vol. 17, pp. 149–64; Sekler 1982 (see note 12), catalogue raisonné 97, as well as online in the digital photographic archive of the Wiener Werkstätte: WWF 101, 102, http://sammlungen.mak.at/sdb/do/detail.state?obj_id=109479&obj_index=54. The apartment was publicized in detail by Christian Witt-Döring, *Josef Hoffmann Interiors 1902–1913*, (exh. cat. Neue Galerie New York/Munich 2006, pp. 186–209. Alexander Waugh described the style of the apartment in his family history in less than flattering language as a “Mischung aus kahlem Modernismus und Kindergartenkitsch” (a mixture of stark modernism and kindergarten kitsch): Alexander Waugh, *Das Haus Wittgenstein. Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Familie*, Frankfurt 2009, p. 77.

28 Peter Noever (ed.), *Der Preis der Schönheit. 100 Jahre Wiener Werkstätte*, (exh. cat. MAK Wien) Ostfildern-Ruit 2003, pp. 384–86.

29 Sekler 1982 (see note 12), p. 419. – Wolfgang Born, “Die Wiener Werkstätte in Berlin,” in: *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 1929/1930, vol. LXV, pp. 326–30.



fig. 9 Josef Hoffmann
Berlin branch of the Wiener
Werkstätte, Berlin, 1929

Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration, year LXV, 1929/30,
p. 327

Markus Fellingner

A Proletarian in the Temple of Art? Berlin Naturalism and Impressionism in Vienna around 1900

Perhaps the most acute description of Viennese art and culture around 1900 comes from the pen of Robert Musil: "There were those who loved the overman and those who loved the underman; there were health cults and sun cults and cults of consumptive maidens; there was enthusiasm for the hero worshipers and for the believers in the Common Man; people who were devout and skeptical, naturalistic and mannered, robust and morbid; they dreamed of old tree-lined avenues in palace parks, autumnal gardens, glossy ponds, gems, hashish, disease, and demonism, but also of prairies, immense horizons, forges and rolling mills, naked wrestlers, slave uprisings, early man, and the smashing of society. These were certainly opposing and widely varied battle cries, but uttered in the same breath. An analysis of that epoch might produce some such nonsense as a square circle trying to consist of wooden iron, but in reality, it all blended into shimmering sense."¹

Musil's characterization of these strikingly heterogeneous artistic and cultural currents is reflected in the exhibitions of the *Vienna Secession*. Listed in the catalogs are works exemplifying Jugendstil, Naturalism, Aestheticism, Impressionism, Symbolism, and other styles, to some extent in variegated mixtures. In the present context, the customary equation of "Vienna around 1900" with the names Gustav Klimt, Josef Hoffmann, Koloman Moser, Otto Wagner, and Adolf Loos is inadequate. The exhibitions of the *Vienna Secession*, in particular those of the early years, represented a melting pot of the most contemporary European artistic tendencies, and brought together works by artists as different as Fernand Khnopff, Arnold Böcklin, and Max Liebermann.

Naturalism and Impressionism

To begin with, it is useful to circumscribe the at times problematical term Naturalism, whose definition was complex and ambiguous even at the highpoint of the movement around 1890.² Naturalism developed in Germany as early as the 1870s with Max Liebermann as its principal exponent, and it had its heyday in the 1880s. The term refers to a style that stands for objectivity and for total arbitrariness in the selection of subjects, that is to say, for anti-idealism. For Naturalism, every subject is worthy of artistic attention to the extent that it is derived directly from perceptual reality. At least initially, a maximal (photo-)realistic style was cultivated in an attempt to depict reality as precisely and objectively as possible. At the latest around 1890, many naturalists evolved rapidly in the direction of an impressionistic approach to painting that allowed an immediate registration of perceptions of nature and led toward so-called "German Impressionism," with Max Liebermann, Gotthardt Kuehl, Leopold von Kalckreuth, Max Slevogt, and Lovis Corinth as its main proponents.³ This naturalistic version of Impressionism was distinct from French Impressionism: Among the Germans, varicolored patches of paint were not primarily conceived as equivalent to the light that was reflected from the object, an approach that—especially with Monet—allowed the paint to become fully insubstantial and immaterial; instead, the brush strokes were deployed in order to suggest materiality in a kind of painterly shorthand, hence remaining indebted to the object. This is evident in particular in the often extremely thick paint application seen in German Impressionist paintings, which suggests a certain emphasis on materiality.

As Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand have argued, Naturalism substantially avoids the formal and aesthetic point of view, since Naturalism is "solely a resource for a far-reaching social and political upheaval."⁴ If we accept this definition, then many impressionistic works too could be regarded as naturalistic. Impressionism was often regarded as a logical consequence of Naturalism which had abandoned detailed realism in favor of the



fig. 1 Rudolf von Alt
The Iron Foundry on Skodagasse,
Vienna, 1903
Albertina, Vienna



fig. 2 Käthe Kollwitz
March of the Weavers, 1897
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

unmediated impression made by the object, but was otherwise equally committed to “optical truth.” In the words of Hermann Bahr: “The demand for the naked truth without this shell—which the understanding weaves around it as soon as it enters consciousness—for a truth whose impact is immediate and that goes to the object of the senses, a truth *avant la lettre*, is only the final and unavoidable consequence of the formula of Naturalism.”⁵ The way in which the impact of Naturalism continued in German Impressionism is clarified by a citation from a talk given at the Slevogt exhibition in Vienna in 1897: “Becoming manifest in the way in which reproaches are formulated currently is—alongside unusual coloristic capacities—a striving toward a brutal natural reality.⁶ This striving toward a “brutal natural reality” can be regarded as the trademark of Naturalism—even where the subject matter is remote from the working-class or peasant themes so often associated with the movement. Developing toward the turn of the century in this spirit was an impressionistic-oriented “Salon Naturalism” that discovered the bourgeois sphere, the boulevards, the theater, and dance performances.⁷

In Vienna, naturalistic painting could look back on a long tradition via the Biedermeier Realism of Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller. This artist was among the pioneers of a Realism that did not exclude the negative side of society, such as the poverty of the working and peasant classes. The marked hostility he had experienced from colleagues at the Academy of Fine Arts made him a figurehead for the Secessionists, along with Rudolf von Alt, who joined the *Secession* in old age in 1897, and became its honorary president.⁸ Also in his old age, Alt—who was known for his picturesque vedute and landscapes—had produced modern depictions of industry, such as his celebrated watercolors of the iron foundry on Skodagasse (1903) (fig. 1). But young artists such as Josef Engelhart too were at least initially dependent upon naturalistic models, in particular those familiar from France. Engelhart’s *Der Pülcher* [*The Crook*] (plate 43) is a central example of the Viennese Naturalism that revived around 1890. Another Secessionist who was preoccupied with Naturalism in his early years

was Emil Orlik. His 1897 poster (plate 53) for Gerhart Hauptmann’s *Die Weber* [*The Weavers*] recalls Käthe Kollwitz’s *Weberzyklus* [*Weavers Cycle*] from the same year (fig. 2), which may nonetheless have been produced independently of it. Orlik’s poster is regarded as the “foundation stone of the German socially conscious poster.”⁹ At the same time, Orlik also produced a series of naturalistic prints depicting agricultural and craft workers, as well as—during a trip to Great Britain in 1898—representations of industrial facilities and day laborers.

During the years around the foundation of the *Secession*, Carl Moll (who as a student of Emil Jakob Schindler continued to paint in the style of atmospheric realism until around 1894) produced naturalistic paintings that can be traced back primarily to his acquaintanceship with Gotthardt Kuehl (fig. 3).¹⁰ He got to know Kuehl during a series of trips to northern Germany undertaken between 1893 and 1896, where he worked in the style of Kuehl to render everyday scenes from an objective point of view, for example in his *Brauerei in Lübeck* [*Brewery in Lübeck*], 1894.¹¹ Moll did not hesitate to show these paintings at the *Secession*. Found in volume 5/6 of *Ver Sacrum*, the official magazine of the *Secession*, is a reproduction of the now lost painting *Sonntagsmorgen* [*Sunday Morning*] (fig. 4), which shows an old fisherman cleaning a weir in his home.¹² This work was on view at the first *Secession* exhibition together with the pictures *Schlosserdiele* [*Locksmith’s Hallway*] and *Aus Schönbrunn* [*At Schönbrunn*].¹³ Although he moved away stylistically from German Impressionism with the founding of the *Secession* and toward a more graphic, formalistic version of Impressionism, as late as 1906/07 he continued to paint the occasional work such as *Am Stadtrand* [*At the Edge of Town*], whose smoking chimneys in the background and dreary wooden shacks are remote from his suburban scenes of the better districts of Vienna.¹⁴

Berlin Naturalism in Vienna

To begin with, it should be pointed out that in Vienna before 1900, art from Berlin found itself in a difficult position. In contrast



fig. 3 Gotthardt Kuehl
Orphans in Lübeck, 1884
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden,
Galerie Neue Meister



fig. 4 Carl Moll
Sunday Morning, 1896
Whereabouts unknown
Ver Sacrum, year I, no. 5/6, 1898, p. 44

to artists in Munich, Düsseldorf, Karlsruhe, and other traditional art centers, very few works by Berlin artists turned up at the exhibitions of the Wiener Künstlerhaus. Prior to the foundation of the *Secession*, Max Liebermann—the central figure in Berlin’s art scene—was represented only in the *III. International Art Exhibition* of 1894. He showed the painting *Alte Frau mit Ziegen* [*Old Woman with Goats*], 1890 (fig. 5), for which he received a gold medal.¹⁵ In 1898, Liebermann exhibited again at the Künstlerhaus: On view at the great jubilee *Art Exhibition* was his early masterpiece *Arbeiter im Rübenfelde* [*Workers in the Beet Field*], 1876.¹⁶

Already at the first *Secession* exhibition, Liebermann was represented by three works.¹⁷ That Liebermann’s drawings were greeted with interest in Vienna is shown by the fact that six of his studies were illustrated in the fourth volume of *Ver Sacrum*.¹⁸ In the fifth exhibition of 1899 (consisting purely of graphic works), Liebermann showed a series of drawings and sketches.¹⁹ A review by Richard Muther indicates the direction of this interest: “At the opposite pole, standing with legs outspread and both feet on the Earth, is Max Liebermann. The mundane world is his kingdom. Here, he finds his Purgatorio and his Inferno. And despite this, the longer one examines his drawings, the more one becomes aware of something here as well that goes beyond reality. But that striving for expansiveness, for the epic stateliness of the line that shapes the style of Meunier, Segantini, and Gandara, emerges in Liebermann as well. He sets his figures in space, massive and large.”²⁰ The comparison with Meunier and Segantini is characteristic. With their point of departure in Naturalism, these artists developed a strongly expressive pictorial language that betrays tendencies toward the monumental. In some sheets, Muther attributed to Liebermann “a peculiar suggestion of spaciousness, the influence of a striving toward ‘great art.’”²¹ This impression was entirely consistent with the intentions of the *Vienna Secession*, which already favored formal expressiveness in distinction from the well-known concepts of impressionistic arbitrariness.

In the eighth exhibition, Liebermann was represented only by the picture *Strasse im*

Schnee [*Street in The Snow*].²² At the sixteenth exhibition of 1903, the large Impressionist exhibition, Liebermann and Max Slevogt were the only Germans represented. Liebermann’s contribution consisted of three works: *Papa-geienallee* [*Parrot Avenue*], *Die große Bleiche* [*The Large Bleaching Yard*] (fig. 6), and the *Porträt des Lovis Corinth* [*Portrait of Lovis Corinth*].²³ Max Slevogt exhibited: *Sommermorgen, Landschaft mit weißer Dame* [*Summer Morning, Landscape with White Lady*], and *Am Chiemsee* [*At lake Chiemsee*].²⁴ With the exception of Liebermann’s *Die große Bleiche* [*The Large Bleaching Yard*], all of the works seem to have been selected for corresponding fairly closely to French Impressionism in subject and coloration.

Although Liebermann was a corresponding member of the *Secession*, he also exhibited in autumn of 1904 at the thirteenth exhibition of the *Hagenbund*, where he was represented by altogether eighty works, including masterpieces such as *Kartoffelacker* [*Potato Field*], *Simson und Delila* [*Samson and Delilah*], and *Flachsscheuer in Laren* [*The Flax Barn at Laren*].²⁵ From this exhibition, the Ministry of Culture and Education acquired the painting *Spitalgarten in Edam* [*Hospital Garden in Edam*] (plate 07) for the *Moderne Galerie* in the *Belvedere*.

Max Slevogt was known to the Viennese even before the founding of the *Secession*. In autumn of 1897, the art dealer Eugen Artin organized a solo exhibition for the artist, then living in Munich, at the building of the *Gartenbaugesellschaft* [*Horticultural Association*], where only a few months later the first exhibition of the *Vienna Secession* was held. The exhibition brought together a series of early masterworks, including *Frau Aventure, Danae* (fig. 7), *Ecce homo, Homo Sapiens*, and *Die Ringer* [*The Wrestlers*], and it was given a surprisingly positive reception by the Viennese press: “Unlike the others, recklessly veridical, avoiding all forms of embellishment, rigorously renouncing any philistine clarity of form, effective nonetheless through tonal charm, even if the pigments are essentially impure, even dirty.”²⁶

At the *Secession*, Slevogt was already represented in the second exhibition of 1898 with two pictures, *Flieder* [*Lilac*] and the *Por-*



fig. 5 Max Liebermann
Old Woman with Goats, 1890
Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen,
Neue Pinakothek, Munich



fig. 6 Max Liebermann
The Large Bleaching Yard, 1883
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and Fondation Corboud

trät des Dr. Carl Voll [*Portrait of Dr. Carl Voll*], 1898.²⁷ Shown in the seventh exhibition, finally, was the *Triptych des verlorenen Sohnes* [*Triptych of the Prodigal Son*] (fig. 8), which now attracted notice in Vienna after having enjoyed success at the first exhibition of the *Berlin Secession*.²⁸ Richard Muther, for example, writes: “Many can only perceive Slevogt’s vehement power as barbaric brutality. Whoever resolves to view these pictures through the artist’s own eyes will nonetheless regard him as a born painter-genius. Only a few in Germany have such a sensuous directness of coloristic sensitivity and such a large, powerful stroke.”²⁹

In contrast to Liebermann and Slevogt, Lovis Corinth seems never to have exhibited in Vienna before 1905. At the *Secession*, he was represented only after the withdrawal of the *Klimt Group*, at the twenty-fourth exhibition of 1905, which was devoted to religious art. He showed a work, the *Grablegung* [*Entombment*], 1904 (fig. 9), which is now lost.³⁰ Ludwig Hevesi devoted several lines to this picture in his exhibition report: “How many different motives are signified by the names in this exhibition, and they all arrive as ‘religious.’ This includes Louis [!] Corinth, the paint-kneader from Berlin, whose worldliness will be doubted by no one, even when he paints an entombment. For him, the subject represents little more than a nude to be modeled with great skill in light and shadow, a bravura piece of deliberate delicacy in the play of forms, accompanied by the play of tones. Presumably, he wanted to do something like Liebermann in the *Delilah* picture. Religiosity as a technical problem.”³¹

Another Berlin artist who attracted notice at the *Secession* was Käthe Kollwitz. She was represented, apparently, at the fourth exhibition by the entire *Weberzyklus* [*Weavers Cycle*] (plates 57, 58, fig. 2).³² At the fifth exhibition, she was represented by two sheets, which are named in the catalog as *Aufruhr* [*Commotion*] and *Feierabend* [*Quitting Time*].³³ Although still relatively unknown at this point, she seems to have made quite an impression. At the end of his review, Ludwig Hevesi devotes a few lines of emphatic praise to her work: “Worth singling out, finally, are the etchings of a highly gifted lady, Käthe

Kollwitz, based on Hauptmann’s *The Weavers*. They look as masculine as possible. She is in command of the characterization of the figures and the energy of the lighting scheme to a high degree.”³⁴

Seen more often at the *Secession* were works by Franz Skarbina, who was already represented at the *Künstlerhaus* in 1895 with four works, among them the “*Hadernsamm-ler*” [*Ragpicker*], which may be the picture known as *Père Jean Baptiste. Der Lumpensammler* [*Père Jean Baptiste. The Ragpicker*], 1886 (fig. 10).³⁵ At the *Secession*, Skarbina was represented at the first, second, fourth, and seventh exhibitions. In a special issue of *Ver Sacrum* published to coincide with the second exhibition of 1898, we find a strongly expressive study of a worker that is named in the catalog as *Der Schnitter* [*The Reaper*].³⁶

Interestingly, and despite good connections with the Galerie Cassirer, artists from Berlin played no significant role at the Galerie Miethke. Only Lesser Ury was represented at its tenth exhibition, held in December of 1899, and this artist was—surprisingly—never exhibited at the *Vienna Secession* before 1905.³⁷ Only in 1911 did the Galerie Miethke organize an exhibition of the *Berlin Secession*, at which Liebermann, Slevogt, and Corinth, among others, were represented.³⁸ In 1914, the same three artists were represented at the 138th exhibition of the Galerie Miethke.³⁹

An exhibition of works by Max Liebermann was also presented in 1900 in the Kunstsalon Pisko. In April and May 1902 Pisko showed a collective exhibition with works of Liebermann, Leistikow, and Paul Schad-Rossa from Graz.⁴⁰

To summarize: The Naturalists and Impressionists from Berlin were underrepresented in comparison with artists from southern Germany such as Fritz von Uhde and Leopold von Kalckreuth, and with French and Belgian artists such as Constantin Meunier, Jean-François Raffaëlli, and Léon Lhermitte. In Vienna, the works of Liebermann, Slevogt, and Corinth were of course recognized as masterful artistic achievements, but given the artistic tendencies of most *Secessionists*, they can hardly have had a stimulating effect on most Viennese artists. The in-



fig. 7 Max Slevogt
Danae, 1895

Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich



fig. 8 Max Slevogt
Triptych of the Prodigal Son, 1899
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart



fig. 9 Lovis Corinth
Entombment, 1904
Burned in 1945 (formerly Tapiaw City Hall)



fig. 10 Franz Skarbina
Père Jean Baptiste.
The Ragpicker, 1886

Private collection, courtesy Galerie Gerda Bassenge

terests of the two groups respectively diverged too sharply, especially after 1900, when the expressive brushwork of the Berliners stood in sharp contrast to the stylized art of the Viennese. Only around 1910, when the more stylized phase of *Secession* art finally came

to an end, did a number of Viennese artists, including Oskar Kokoschka, Egon Schiele, Max Oppenheimer, and Anton Kolig, reorient their interest toward the achievements of Liebermann, Slevogt, and Corinth.

1 Robert Musil, *The Man Without Qualities Vol. 1: A Sort of Introduction and Pseudo Reality Prevails*, trans. Sophie Wilkins, Vintage Books 1996, p. 54.

2 On Naturalism in painting, see Gabriel P. Weinberg, *Illusions of Reality. Naturalist Painting, Photography, Theatre, and Cinema, 1875–1918* (exh. cat. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam/Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki), Brussels 2010. – Boris Röhl, *Kunsttheorie des Naturalismus und Realismus*, Hildesheim, Zurich/New York 2003. – Boris Röhl, *Realismus in der bildenden Kunst. Europa und Nordamerika 1830 bis 2000*, Berlin 2013.

3 Hermann Bahr, “Die Kunst auf der Pariser Weltausstellung 1889,” in: Hermann Bahr, *Zur Kritik der Moderne*, Zurich 1890, p. 228. – On German Impressionism see: Jutta Hülsewig-Johnen/Thomas Kellein, *Der Deutsche Impressionismus* (exh. cat. Kunsthalle Bielefeld), Cologne 2009. – Karl Römpler, *Der deutsche Impressionismus*, Dresden 1958.

4 Richard Hamann/Jost Hermand, *Naturalismus*, Berlin 1959, p. 7.

5 Bahr 1890 (see note 3), p. 228.

6 Anonymous, *Neue Freie Presse*, no. 11913, 10. 21. 1897, p. 7.

7 Standing behind this is the argument that a consequential Naturalism should encompass all aspects of reality. See: Hermann Bahr, “Der Naturalismus im Frack,” in: Hermann Bahr, *Die Überwindung des Naturalismus*, Dresden/Leipzig 1891, pp. 57–64.

8 See review by Ludwig Hevesi on the occasion of the exhibition *50 Jahre Österreichische Kunst* held in the Künstlerhaus in 1898: Ludwig Hevesi, “Zwischen zwei Sezessionen,” in: Ludwig Hevesi, *Acht Jahre Secession*, Vienna 1906, p. 60.

9 Eugen Otto (ed.), *Emil Orlik. Leben und Werk 1870–1932*, Vienna/Munich 1997, p. 147.

10 G. Tobias Natter/Gerbert Frodl, *Carl Moll (1861–1945)* (exh. cat. Bel-

vedere, Vienna), Salzburg 1998, p. 28. – Kuehl was also a frequent guest at the *Vienna Secession*. His works were shown at the first, fourth, seventh, and eighth exhibitions. Previously, Kuehl had been represented by two works at the 23rd annual exhibition at the Künstlerhaus in 1895, including the triptych *In the Lübeck Orphanage*.

11 Natter/Frodl 1998 (see note 10), no. 18.

12 *Ver Sacrum*, year I, issue 5/6, May/June 1898, p. 44.

13 *Katalog der I. Kunst-Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs*, Vienna 1898, no. 28–30.

14 Natter/Frodl 1998 (see note 10), no. 50.

15 *Katalog der III. Internationalen Kunst-Ausstellung im Künstlerhause*, Vienna 1894, p. 31, no. 2. – Matthias Eberle, *Max Liebermann. 1847–1935, Werkverzeichnis der Gemälde und Ölstudien*, vol. 1, Munich 1995, pp. 352–54, no. 1890/1.

16 *Katalog der Jubiläums-Kunstausstellung 1898*, Vienna 1898, no. 368. – Eberle 1995 (see note 15), no. 1876/1.

17 *Katalog der I. Kunst-Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs*, Vienna 1898, no. 502: “Feine Familie”; no. 503 “Der Schäfer”; no. 504: “Allee”; no. 505: “Tuchmacherei.” It is no longer possible to positively identify these paintings. They may have been drawings.

18 *Ver Sacrum*, year I, issue 4, March 1898, pp. 4–9.

19 *Katalog der V. Kunst-Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs, Secession*, Vienna 1899, nos. 456–71.

20 Richard Muther, *Studien und Kritiken*, vol. 1, 1900, Vienna 1901, pp. 22–23.

21 *Ver Sacrum* 1898 (see note 18).

22 *Katalog der VIII. Kunst-Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs Secession*, Vienna 1900. This picture cannot be

identified with certainty as a work from the oeuvre catalog.

23 Eberle 1995 (see note 15), no. 1902/27, no. 1883/1 and no. 1899/28. – *Entwicklung des Impressionismus in Malerei und Plastik. Katalog der XVI. Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs Secession Wien*, Vienna 1903, nos. 110–12.

24 Ibid. nos. 113–15. The painting *Summer Morning* is found today in the Landesmuseum in Mainz. The painting *Chiemsee* is illustrated in: Emil Heilbut, “Die Impressionisten-ausstellung der Wiener Secession,” in: *Kunst und Künstler*, vol. 1, 1902/1903, p. 200. The picture referred to as “Landschaft mit weißer Dame” cannot be identified with certainty. It may be the study entitled *Elegante Dame beim Blumenpflücken* [*Elegant Lady Picking Flowers*], which was auctioned on May 31, 2004, by Van Ham in Cologne, which was however dated there as around 1920/25.

25 Künstlerbund Hagen, *Catalog der Herbst-Ausstellung*, Vienna 1903. – Ludwig Hevesi, “Wiener Brief,” in: *Kunstchronik*, new series, vol. 16, issue 10, 1905, col. 150–51.

26 Anonymous, *Neue Freie Presse*, 10. 21. 1897, p. 7 (see also citation from note 6). Another review of this exhibition can be found in Max Schölermann, untitled, in: *Kunstchronik*, new series, vol. 9, issue 3, 10. 28. 1897, col. 44. While the review by Schölermann tends to be negative, the reviewer in the *Neue Freie Presse* offers an affirmative view of the coloristic virtuosity.

27 *Katalog der II. Kunst-Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs*, Vienna 1898, nos. 10, 37.

28 *Katalog der VII. Kunst-Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs Secession*, Vienna 1900, no. 178.

29 Muther 1901 (see note 20), pp. 73–74. A similar tone is displayed in a review by Franz von Servaes, “Secession. (Auswärtige Maler.),” in: *Neue Freie Presse*, 4.3.1900, p. 2.

- 30** *Katalog der XXIV. Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs, Secession*, Vienna 1905, no. 105 ("Grablegung/Eigentum der Stadt Tapiau"). Charlotte Behrend-Corinth, Lovis Corinth. *Die Gemälde. Werkverzeichnis*, Munich 1992, p. 94, no. 272.
- 31** Ludwig Hevesi, "Religiöse Kunst. Secession. Galerie Miethke," in: Ludwig Hevesi, *Altkunst-Neukunst*. Wien 1894 – 1908, Vienna 1909, pp. 338 – 39.
- 32** *Katalog der IV. Kunst-Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs*, Vienna 1899. The catalog lists (for the Yellow Gallery, display case I, A: *Ein Weberaufstand* [A Weaver Uprising]). Since Ludwig Hevesi's review of the exhibition speaks of numerous sheets, it can be assumed that the entire cycle was on view.
- 33** *Katalog der V. Kunst-Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs Secession*, Vienna 1899, nos. 51 and 54. Whether these were sheets from the *Weaver Cycle*, or instead a sheet from 1899 with the title *Revolt* (plate 59) and an additional sheet cannot be determined from the source currently available.
- 34** Ludwig Hevesi, "Zwei Jahre Secession," in: Ludwig Hevesi, *Acht Jahre Secession*, Vienna 1906, p. 163.
- 35** *Katalog der XXIII. Jahres-Ausstellung in Wien*, 3.30.1895, nos. 236, 365, 523, 538.
- 36** *Ver Sacrum*, year I, special issue, 1898, p. 33. – *Katalog der II. Kunst-Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs*, Vienna 1898, no. 114.
- 37** Tobias G. Natter, *Die Galerie Miethke. Eine Kunsthandlung im Zentrum der Moderne* (exh. cat. Jüdisches Museum, Vienna), Vienna 2003, p. 188.
- 38** *Ibid.*, p. 221.
- 39** *Ibid.*, p. 225.
- 40** Tobias G. Natter, *Die Tafelrunde. Egon Schiele und sein Kreis* (exh. cat. Belvedere, Vienna), Cologne 2006, pp. 100, 103.

Isabelle Lindermann

**Pictures of the "Other" Vienna:
Hermann Drawe's and Emil
Kläger's Slide Show *Through
Vienna's Impoverished and
Criminal Neighborhoods***

On the evening of May 23, 1905, the lecture hall in Vienna's Urania Palace was packed. Offered to the public that evening was the premiere of a slide lecture said to contain "sensational images,"¹ and entitled provocatively: *Durch die Wiener Quartiere des Elends und Verbrechens* [*Through Vienna's Impoverished and Criminal Neighborhoods*]²—a joint project of the journalist Emil Kläger and the criminal judge and amateur photographer Hermann Drawe. The illustrated family magazine *Wiener Bilder* had announced earlier that "the interest in this lecture... is so great that a large portion of the seats, which are being sold at elevated prices, have already been reserved."³ Despite the crush, a number of "elegant ladies and gentlemen,"³ including privy counselors, lawyers, and journalists, showed up to Vienna's Volkshaus [Center for Public Education] in order to take in an illustrated report on the city's poverty zones.

During a number of nocturnal excursions carried out in the summer of 1904, Emil Kläger and Hermann Drawe had visited the precarious accommodations occupied by Vienna's proletariat and subproletariat.⁴ Disguised as homeless men (fig. 1), they gained access to overcrowded mass accommodation and "warm rooms," wandered through brick factories and the sewer system, uncovered the hidden corners of the Prater, and tracked down the homeless of Biedersteig. The aim was to document all of those places that offered the outcasts of bourgeois society refuge and a bed for the night. Supplied with a portable camera and magnesium flash, Hermann Drawe took more than 100 photographs during these expeditions, most of workers, day laborers, and the home-

less, which he developed as hand-colored glass slides for the illustrated lecture.⁵ For the lecture text, Emil Kläger summarized their experiences during these excursions in the form of a firsthand account that included not only descriptions of the various neighborhoods and accounts of conversations that took place on location, but also critical commentary on the wretched conditions found at private charities.

Through Vienna's Impoverished and Criminal Neighborhoods became a box office triumph. Between 1905 and 1908, it was delivered more than 300 times in the Urania, and prompted by this success, was finally published in 1908 in book form with the same title.⁶ For the first time, photographic imagery was used to open up a view of the "other" in Vienna in a way that contradicted the familiar image of the metropolis on the Danube, becoming visible now were people who fell through the cracks of the new production society, people who lived in the suburbs outside of the Ringstraße, and hence remained shielded from the view of a bourgeois-aristocrat public, or else were imagined as a faceless mass. Yet precisely this conglomerate of socio-documentary images, firsthand reportage, and calls for social reform encountered public interest at the very core of Viennese society.

**Between Splendor and Housing
Shortages: Vienna around 1900**

In the discourse about the metropolis around 1900, Berlin and Vienna formed a complementary urban pairing. While the German capital on the Spree River was regarded as a newly invented city based on the American model, and was associated primarily with labor, technology, and artificiality, Vienna was regarded as a European cultural metropolis that remained faithful to its tradition of sophistication in the face of the rapidly advancing phenomena of modern civilization.⁷ With its stately buildings, theaters, and cafés, the Vienna of the Ringstraße offered the aristocratic and haute-bourgeois elite an image of identification, one that was celebrated by the booming fin de siècle metropolis. Yet this image of Vienna was one-sided. Devel-



fig. 1 The Viennese photographer Hermann Drawe in "Poor Man's Clothes". From the slide show *Durch die Wiener Quartiere des Elends und Verbrechens* [*Through Vienna's Impoverished and Criminal Neighborhoods*], studio shot, c. 1904.

Österreichisches Volkshochschularchiv, Vienna

oping in the urban edge zones outside of the city center in the course of economic expansion was a "different" Vienna—the Vienna of the suburbs, where the mass of the proletariat and subproletariat lived in precarious circumstances.⁸

Both Vienna and Berlin were characterized by the processes of modernization that were manifested by rapid population growth and the expansion of transport and communication networks. But despite the enormous building activity undertaken by Vienna's municipal government, the demand for smaller housing units for the working classes could not be satisfied. The task of overcoming this widespread misery was for the most part surrendered to private and philanthropic aid organizations, which set up growing numbers of shelters and "warm rooms." Given the tremendous scope of the problem, however, such traditional support systems were eroded and found themselves unable to relieve the mass poverty that was centered in the suburbs.

While Berlin saw the development of artistic forms of confrontation with the growing social misery found in large cities and its structural conditions, which was exemplified by the works of Heinrich Zille and Käthe Kollwitz, with their socially critical consciousness, the theme of poverty was for the most part absent from the dominant artistic praxis in Vienna, the so-called "Stilkunst." To be sure, the artists around Gustav Klimt, with their ideology of the aestheticization of everyday life, and through their associations with the Wiener Werkstätte, attempted to make art accessible to a broad public, yet this approach ultimately led toward the elitist stylization of bourgeois lifestyles that was criticized as a shimmering cultural facade by Adolf Loos in *Ornament and Crime*, published in 1908.⁹

The suburban districts, in contrast, were constructed as a counter-image to the disciplined and civilized city center as places of "foreignness" and "otherness."¹⁰ Connoted with demoralization and criminality, the industrial proletariat—and in particular the subproletariat—was imagined as an amorphous and shapeless mass and positioned spatially in the suburb.¹¹ According to these

bourgeois projections, not only did such peripheral zones emanate potential danger, but "even worse, called the new dispositive of work labor, industry, and discipline radically into question in the shape of the idler, the ne'er-do-well, and the petty crook."¹²

But if the social reality of the suburbs was dealt with artistically only in the shadow of the Klimt group, then the discourse about the precarious conditions of the proletariat and subproletariat would discover different avenues of expression.¹³ In Vienna, stimulated by the ethnographic interest in the urban edge zones that had developed in Europe beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, it was journalists, writers, and scientists who ventured into the suburbs to contribute to the "uncovering of misery"¹⁴ through their social reportage and sociological research. Their motivations, meanwhile, could be strikingly diverse: the investigative uncovering of social wrongs and the systematic registration of their structural conditions was found alongside a voyeuristic spectacularization and journalistic philistinism that was mobilized in the service of the existing societal order.¹⁵ Representative of the inquiring but at the same time sensation-hungry bourgeois public, such "urban explorers" investigated the "unknown" and the "foreign," associated with a diffuse sense of anxiety, but simultaneously a source of fascination.¹⁶ The first systematic attempts to catalog such social misery came from the left-wing political camp around the Social Democratic Workers Party and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* [Worker's Newspaper]. Several years before Kläger and Drawe, the journalist Max Winter visited the sewer system and the nighttime shelters for the sake of his socially critical reportage.¹⁷ He too disguised himself as a homeless person, thereby deploying the method of "covert participatory observation."¹⁸ But bourgeois reporters such as Else Spiller also wrote about mass misery and expressed shock over conditions in Vienna.¹⁹

With their undercover forays into Vienna's impoverished neighborhoods, then, Kläger and Drawe stood within an established tradition.²⁰ The progressive and explosive power of their project, however, consisted in presenting photographic images of hardship



fig. 2 Hermann Drawe
The Tower at Karlsplatz
Österreichisches Volkshochschularchiv, Vienna



fig. 3 Hermann Drawe
Tower Stairs
Österreichisches Volkshochschularchiv, Vienna



fig. 4 Hermann Drawe
Homeless Man Sitting by a Fire
Österreichisches Volkshochschularchiv, Vienna



fig. 5 Hermann Drawe
A "Grocer" at Breakfast in the Shaft
Österreichisches Volkshochschularchiv, Vienna

and squalor in early twentieth-century Vienna to a broad Austrian public for the first time. But what kind of image of poverty and suffering was actually conveyed by these early social documentary photographs in Austria?

Beyond Dressing Down: An Ambivalent Perspective

In depicting selected locations, the series of photographic images followed a chronological sequence.²¹ Drawe often preceded images from the interior of these districts with views of familiar urban landmarks or squares (fig. 2), thereby supplying viewers with topographical points of orientation. This created a high degree of recognizability for the public, while the selection of motifs and painterly treatment of the slide images produced an initially homey, bourgeois middle-class image of Vienna. This impression, however, was broken abruptly when the grand bridges and pretty kiosks were exposed in their subsidiary functions, namely as entrances into the sewer system for the homeless and day laborers (fig. 3). These are the thresholds leading into Vienna's underground world, and they make clear that the putatively "foreign" lies not in a supposed outside (in the suburbs), but instead in direct proximity to ordinary life. Other images, in contrast—for example the photograph *Obdachloser beim Feuer sitzend* [*Homeless Man Sitting by a Fire*] (fig. 4), or *Ein "Grießler" im Schachte beim Frühstück* [*A "Grocer" Breakfasting in a Shaft*] (fig. 5)—convey a comparatively romantic notion of the freedom of a vagrant's life: Despite the repugnant conditions in the sewer system, the depicted sewer dwellers have set up shelters using just a few objects. These scenarios generate the impression of a snug and cozy atmosphere, one that romanticizes and trivializes the real conditions of poverty in favor of a sentimentalized perspective.

Recognizable at the same time in many of Kläger's and Drawe's images is a socio-documentary interest in visualizing poverty. In and of itself, the camera, which is used covertly, deprives the for the most part sleeping people of any opportunity to fashion images of themselves, to secure any control of their own positions as subjects.²² Despite

this putative immediacy, Drawe had sufficient time—by virtue of remaining undiscovered—to position his camera deliberately and to shape the image according to aesthetic criteria. This distance from the photograph subject makes it possible to capture the spatial conditions under which these inhabitants dwell, allowing the images to convey a penetrating notion of their repugnance. Yet this reinforces the social positioning of the subproletariat in the zones of the "unknown" and the "foreign" enacted by the bourgeoisie. For the "pictorial structure that frames these figures suggests the unalterable nature of their circumstances," thereby refusing them the very possibility of "social mobility."²³

Entirely in the spirit of the title, these buildings not only display the "miserable districts" and their residents, but also scenes of crime that present individuals as "types." Deployed in this context are anxiety-provoking clichéd images, ordering visual conventions, as well as bourgeois prejudices. For the images of the series referred to as "Generalien und Typen" [general images and types], for example, Drawe taps the familiar representational schema of the "Viennese types," a popular series of collectible cards featuring stereotypical illustrations of street habitués such as the "Viennese lass" or the "crook."²⁴ But whereas the collectible cards generally depict members of the proletariat, Drawe for the most part favors representatives of the subproletariat or of criminal gangs: A vagrant, a beggar,²⁵ and a "Plattenmitglied" [gang member]²⁶ (fig. 6), all of whom exist beyond the new production-oriented social order and have no defined social status and had hence been regarded previously as unworthy of depiction. Drawe's adaptation of these conventional formulas can be understood as an attempt to devise a visual frame of reference for the subproletariat, one that would allow him to enhance their social status and heighten their acceptance among the bourgeoisie.²⁷ Becoming visible here is a perspective that is shaped by bourgeois notions: The "amorphous mass" of the "lumpenproletariat" can be captured in the form of individual types, and presumably rendered controllable as well—an expression of a backward-looking desire for a social order

that threatens to break apart with the transformations ushered in by industrialization.

In a subsequent photo series, the connection between the subproletariat and crime that already resonates in the title (and its putative interface with the bourgeoisie) is staged in the truest sense. Here, Drawe's photographs reenact knife fights and break-ins in a courtyard that resembles stage scenery (fig. 7), and which—in conjunction with images of precarious accommodations—evoke precisely those middle-class prejudices according to which the subproletariat is dependent upon criminal activities.

In light of these considerations, two photographs are of special interest, both of which function beyond conventional cultural-political perspectives and their hegemony. Both the image *Schlafecke unter einer Wendeltreppe* [*Sleeping Corner under a Spiral Staircase*] (plate 45), from the sewer system, and another from mass accommodations (plate 51) are removed from the above-discussed pictorial structures found in Drawe's photo-series. In comparison to other photos taken in the sewer system, Drawe seems to have had neither the time nor the space to position the camera. The field of view is so narrow that only the heads of several sleeping figures—who lie quite close to one another—are visible. Their bodies are cut off by the edge of the picture, as is the wall that runs along to the left. Apparently startled by the flash, one of the sleepers looks toward the camera, which captures the image from above. It appears almost as though Drawe has doubled across the bodies of the sleepers on the ground, and snapped the shutter at precisely that moment. While in this instance it was an unanticipated event that determined the structure of the image, potentially frustrating Drawe's compositional intentions, in the photograph of the mass accommodations, it was the spatial situation the photographer was seemingly unable to evade. For here too, the field of vision is extremely limited. There is barely any point of spatial orientation within the tumble of bed frames, articles of clothing, and bedding, from which the limbs of various sleepers protrude. Both photographs refuse any controlling gaze or a solid pictorial schema, and their social-

documentary aims seem to have been redeemed almost by accident. The impression of a heightened immediacy is a product of this fragmentary character—through which, in turn, both the photographic medium as a vehicle and the presence of the photographer become visible. Precisely by virtue of this (fortuitous) conditionality, these images—both shaped by precarious conditions and the impossibility of establishing distance—are invested with greater credibility, or stated differently: These images are authentic not because they do justice to socio-documentary demands, but instead because in them, the photographer involuntarily reveals himself within his own limited situation. In themselves, they are not socio-documentary; instead, the socio-documentary quality is something that happens to them.

It remains to point out that Kläger's and Drawe's project was the product of historical situations, and of the perspective of bourgeois society. This illustrated lecture is a problematical conglomerate of documentary authenticity, the avoidance of individual self-portrayal on the part of its subjects, and clichéd images of spatial and social positions. Of course, Drawe's photographs were able in many respects to fulfill socio-documentary demands, but the same time, they often betray an ambivalent view of suffering and of precarious circumstances, one that plays on middle-class anxieties for the benefit of the entertaining thrill or the effective experience of shock.

At the same time, the popularity of the lecture—despite the anxiety-ridden projections of a bourgeoisie that felt itself increasingly threatened in its hegemonistic position—was above all symptomatic of a displacement of interest toward suffering and the lower classes. This enormously successful mass media product, which not only scenarizes the theme of poverty, but also displays it to a broad public, unmasks precisely the "cultural lie" that was perpetuated by the *Klimt group* and their elitist artistic production for the aristocracy and the haut-bourgeoisie, and which was analyzed by Adolf Loos in his book *Ornament and Crime*, which was published during the last year that the illustrated lecture was performed in Vienna's Urania Palace.



fig. 6 Hermann Drawe
*A Member of the
"Scherzerplatte" Gang*
Österreichisches Volkshochschularchiv, Vienna



fig. 7 Hermann Drawe
*Brawl with Knives
(The Critical Moment)*
Emil Kläger, *Durch die Wiener Quartiere des Elends
und Verbrechens*, Vienna 1908

- 1** *Wiener Abendpost. Beilage zur Viennaer Zeitung*, no. 119, 5.24.1905, p. 3.
- 2** *Wiener Bilder. Illustriertes Familienblatt*, vol. X, no. 21, 5.24.1905, p. 10.
- 3** *Neue Freie Presse. Morgenblatt*, no. 14637, 5.24.1905, p. 6.
- 4** The concept of a subproletariat goes back to Karl Marx, who developed it in delimitation from the political function of the proletariat and its legitimation. Since then, the term's meaning has shifted. Referred to as "subproletariat" are individuals, particularly those from the proletariat, who have fallen to the lowest level of society and are threatened by joblessness, or who no longer receive regular wages, and therefore live in precarious circumstances. On the history of the term, see Gerd Stein (ed.), *Lumpenproletarier – Bonze – Held der Arbeit. Verrat und Solidarität. Kulturfiguren und Sozialcharaktere des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 5, Frankfurt am Main 1985.
- 5** Sixty of these glass slides have been preserved, and are found today in the Österreichischen Volkshochschularchiv.
- 6** Emil Kläger, *Durch die Wiener Quartiere des Elends und Verbrechens. Ein Wanderbuch aus dem Jenseits*, Vienna 1908, facsimile reprint, Vienna 2011.
- 7** Considerable influence on these polarized urban images was exercised by the exchange of feuilleton-style writings between the cities. Beginning in 1904, with his ambitious project "Großstadt Dokumente" [Documents of the Metropolis], the Berlin journalist Hans Ostwald attempted to break not just with clichéd notions about Berlin, but also—in a counterpart series—those concerning Vienna as well. Cf. Ralf Thies, *Ethnograph des dunklen Berlin. Hans Ostwald und die "Großstadt-Dokumente" (1904–1908)*, Cologne 2006.
- 8** See Wolfgang Maderthaler and Lutz Musner (eds.), *Die Anarchie der Vorstadt. Das Andere Wien um 1900*, Frankfurt am Main 1999.
- 9** Werner Hofmann, *Gustav Klimt und die Wiener Jahrhundertwende*, Hamburg 2008, p. 12.
- 10** See Wolfgang Maderthaler and Lutz Musner, "Wiener Vorstädte um 1900," in: Werner Michael Schwarz, Margarethe Szeless, and Lisa Wögenstein (eds.), *Ganz Unten. Die Entdeckung des Elends – Wien, Berlin, London, Paris, New York* (exh. cat. Wien Museum), Vienna 2007, pp. 83–89, here p. 83.
- 11** See Maderthaler 1999 (see note 8), p. 13.
- 12** Maderthaler 2007 (see note 10), p. 85.
- 13** The *Secessionist* wing grouped around Josef Engelhart, and in particular his own works, did actually take up suburban life as a theme, but nonetheless remained in the realm of a folksy transfiguration of social reality. After the dissolution of the *Klimt Group* by the *Vienna Secessionists*, the Naturalists were nonetheless propelled into the foreground. On this development within the *Secession*, see Erika Oehring (ed.), *Josef Engelhart. Vorstadt und Salon* (exh. cat. Wien Museum), Vienna 2009.
- 14** In 2007, the Wien Museum organized the exhibition *Ganz Unten. Die Entdeckung des Elends*, whose eponymous publication assembles essential research from the realms of art and media studies, sociology, ethnographic research of the metropolis, and urban history (see note 10). This catalog is a fundamental source concerning the international development and handling of precarious living circumstances from the mid-nineteenth century up until the first decade of the twentieth century.
- 15** See Margarethe Szeless, "Emil Kläger & Hermann Drawe. 'Durch die Wiener Quartiere des Elends und Verbrechens,'" in: Schwarz 2007 (see note 10), pp. 99–111, here p. 99.
- 16** See Rolf Lindner, *Walks on the Wild Side. Eine Geschichte der Stadtforschung*, Frankfurt am Main 2004, pp. 19–41.
- 17** See Hannes Haas (ed.), *Max Winter. Expeditionen ins dunkelste Vienna – Meisterwerke der Sozialreportage*, Vienna 2006.
- 18** James Greenwood was probably first to undertake this kind of disguised participatory observation in the London slums of the mid-nineteenth century. Around 1900, so-called "slumming" evolved into a popular middle-class form of urban research. Cf. Lindner 2004 (see note 16), pp. 34ff.
- 19** See Peter Payer (ed.), *Else Spiller. Slums. Erlebnisse in den Schlammevierteln moderner Großstädte*, Vienna 2008.
- 20** See Szeless 2007 (see note 15), p. 100.
- 21** See *ibid.*, p. 102.
- 22** See Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Wer spricht so? Einige Fragen zur Dokumentarfotografie," in: Herta Wolf (ed.), *Diskurse der Fotografie. Fotokritik am Ende des fotografischen Zeitalters*, Frankfurt am Main 2003, pp. 53–75, here p. 71.
- 23** See Winfried Ranke, "Zur sozialdokumentarischen Photographie um 1900," in: *Kritische Berichte*, vol. 5, issue 2/3, 1977, p. 21.
- 24** See Szeless 2007 (see note 15), p. 103.
- 25** The term "Taxameterbärsch" refers to beggars. Cf. Kläger 1908/2011 (see note 6), p. 129.
- 26** A "Plattenmitglied" is a member of an organized group that is involved in criminal machinations. Cf. Szeless 2007 (see note 15), p. 103.
- 27** See *ibid.*

Wolfgang Schöddert

**Julius Gustav Licht: Traces
of a Collector's Life between
Vienna's First District and
Berlin's Bohemian Society**

"Foreign art lovers who visit Berlin today cannot marvel enough at the short time in which the imperial capital has created an international position for itself, also in the realm of collecting."¹

The critic and art historian Adolph Donath, who lived in Berlin, did not make this assessment in the 1920s, when gallery owners such as Alfred Flechtheim, Ferdinand Möller, Karl Nierendorf, and Justin Thannhauser were aggressively championing the spread of the contemporary avant-garde, but already before World War I. Berlin had been developing from the end of the nineteenth century, and as the number of wealthy entrepreneurs grew, there was an increasing need to possess art and rare works of the applied arts in order to enhance their cultural self-perception. Donath, who came to Berlin from Vienna in 1905, had described the dynamics of Berlin as a city of art—recognized in London and Paris as well—in his book *Psychologie des Kunstsammelns* [*The Psychology of Art Collecting*], published in 1911, had sketched out the collectors and collecting practices, and had established his identity as a well-connected authority on the international art market and its leading actors. He was just as well-informed about the quality of the legendary historical collections of his day, such as those of the wealthy English eccentric and author William Beckford, as he was about the contemporary collectors and museum directors who were considered specialists on Netherlandish and Italian painting, Old Master drawings, and the applied arts and porcelain. He had found influential supporters for his book among them. In addition to Wilhelm von Bode, the director general of the *Königliche Museen zu Berlin*, the collectors Fritz Gans

in Frankfurt am Main, Albert Freiherr von Oppenheim in Cologne, and Otto Gerstenberg in Berlin, and a whole group of other notable figures, in his publication he also thanked consul general Julius Gustav Licht, who was also apparently residing in Berlin. In contrast to most of the other names mentioned, little is thus far known about Licht. He seems to have been a bibliophile and lover of old prints who owned sheets by the French engraver Abraham Bosse and prints by Albrecht Dürer and Rembrandt van Rijn.² An exemplar of his ex libris, designed in 1919 by Ferdinand Schmutzer and found today in the British Museum in London, indicates that at the time Licht also must have maintained contacts in Vienna, where Schmutzer worked as a well-known graphic artist, photographer, and painter of portraits (fig. 1).³ This relationship to Vienna can also be confirmed by the collector's sudden and apparently surprising interest in contemporary art, registered by Donath ten years after the publication of his book *Psychologie des Kunstsammelns*. In 1921 Donath, who after World War I became not only one of the most renowned critics and observers of the Weimar Republic art market, but also the biographer of the Berlin Impressionist Lesser Ury, published an appraisal of the painter's works on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. There, he assigns a number of Ury's early works to the collection of consul general Julius Gustav Licht. Specifically he mentions: *Bahnhof Friedrichstraße* [*Friedrichstraße Train Station*], *Unter den Linden, Akt* [*Nude*], and *Die Geschwister* [*The Siblings*].⁴ Because (*Am*) *Bahnhof Friedrichstraße* [(*At the*) *Friedrichstraße Station*] of 1888 (plate 18), a grisaille work in opaque black, white, and gray, and the large format painting (*Liegender*) *Akt* [(*Reclining*) *Nude*] of 1889 (fig. 2) can be found today in Berlin museum collections, research into the works' provenance has uncovered details of the collector's biography. According to this, Julius Gustav Licht was not from Berlin, but was a cosmopolitan Austrian who decided in 1910 to live in Berlin. Just when he discovered Lesser Ury for himself and began to acquire his works is not entirely clear. But his biography reveals a mutually complementary connection to the painter's work.



fig. 1 Ferdinand Schmutzer
Ex libris Julius Gustav Licht
Anno 1919
The British Museum, London



fig. 2 Lesser Ury
(Reclining) Nude, 1889
Berlinsche Galerie

City People and Images of the Cosmopolitan Metropolis

Lesser Ury arrived in Berlin at the age of twenty-six. Born in 1861 in the Prussian province of Posen, he decided early on to become an artist. He enrolled at the renowned art academy in Düsseldorf, went from there to Brussels and Paris, and finally arrived in 1887 in the young imperial capital. From that time on he painted landscapes, portraits, and religious motifs. But his favorite themes were the Berlin boulevards, the sophisticated society, ladies and dandies, theater visitors, and dark taxis or droshkies in atmospheric light (plate 20). Shaped by Paris, where he produced his first café and street scenes in the 1880s, he looked at the city with the eyes of the flaneur and in 1888, one year after his arrival in Berlin, he painted the grisaille work (*Am Bahnhof Friedrichstraße* [(At the Friedrichstraße Station)].⁵ It is an early image of the nervously pulsating nightlife of the Friedrichstraße, which captivated many artists after Ury and entered the history of art in Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's works of the 1910s. At the Friedrichstraße train station the section of the city began in which wealth, prostitution, pleasure, abyss, and the light and shadow of society converged as in scarcely any other quarter. Here, Berlin was without doubt a world metropolis. Between the cafés, hotels, and theaters along Berlin's stately Unter den Linden, and down to the Leipziger Straße with its large warehouses, Ury found countless numbers of his motifs into the late 1920s. These are impressionistic street scenes that vacillated between cheeriness and melancholy and in which the artist took up the central venues of urban life as the backdrops of his painterly interests. Ury's nocturnal scene of the train station, for example, is dominated by a dome of the Central Hotel, at the time one of the city's most elegant hotels (fig. 3).

In 1887 the legendary Wintergarten variety theater opened in its imposing, glassed-in palm garden, which became the most famous variety revue theater in Berlin and the German Empire with its international program (fig. 4). The idea for the theater is believed to have come from Julius Baron, a

Hungarian who had moved to Berlin from Vienna—and he was clearly not the only Austro-Hungarian businessman to bring illustrious ideas to the imperial capital. Only a stone's throw from the Central Hotel, and within view of the train station, the Viennese café owner Mathias Bauer had opened his legendary Café Bauer in 1877 (fig. 5). The Berlin architects Ende & Böckmann designed the furnishings of his café in a building on the intersection of Unter den Linden and Friedrichstraße, while Anton von Werner, the director of Berlin's Hochschule für die bildenden Künste (University of Fine Arts), supplied a highly regarded painting cycle for its interior decoration. From the beginning Bauer's coffeehouse was not only a café, but much more a display window for progressive Viennese cultural life. It was also the first Berlin establishment to have electrical lighting, in 1884. The Café Bauer has come down to us as an important meeting place, and a whole group of paintings attest to its special attraction to Lesser Ury as well. In 1895 he painted *Im Café Bauer* [In Café Bauer], in 1898 *Abend im Café Bauer* [Evening in Café Bauer], in 1906 *Café Bauer*, and the motif can also be recognized or vaguely discerned in an entire series of additional street and coffeehouse scenes.⁶ These images were produced after the two leading Viennese theater architects Ferdinand Fellner and Hermann Helmer had built the Theater Unter den Linden in 1892, only a block away from the Café Bauer between the streets Unter den Linden and Behrenstraße. From the time of its opening, the theater was considered the best operetta house in the city; it was a splendid pleasure palace in neo-baroque style with tables in the rear half of the seating area, boxes in the sides of the galleries, and a balcony terrace in the middle of the mezzanine.

In this environment, whose Viennese character can only be touched upon here, a whole series of leading Berlin art dealerships also established themselves beginning in the 1880s, and there is no question that contacts were made there that were decisive for the international cultural exchange. In 1880 Fritz Gurlitt had opened his groundbreaking art salon on Behrenstraße; in 1883 the first ex-



fig. 3 Waldemar Titzenthaler
Central-Hotel, Friedrichstraße
143–149, Berlin, 1902
Landesarchiv Berlin

hibition of French impressionists was mounted in Germany; and in 1889 the first exhibition was organized for Lesser Ury as well. Today one can only speculate about just who met whom at a theater performance, in a coffeehouse, in the art salon, or at other amusements and about what was undertaken where, with what success. What is documented, however, is that Adolph Donath first saw paintings by Lesser Ury at the art salon of Eduard Schulte, Unter den Linden, which he visited on a trip from Vienna to Berlin in 1901.⁷ In 1902 Ury's work was then exhibited for the first time in Austria, at the art salon Pisko on the Parkring in Vienna; Donath reviewed this exhibition in the magazine *Die Welt*, founded in Vienna by Theodor Herzl, and Wilhelm von Hartel acquired a landscape painting by the artist for Vienna's Moderne Galerie. Presumably Donath had already assumed the role of intermediary between artists, collectors, dealers, and museum personnel very early on. He had come to Vienna in 1895 from Kroměříž in the Austro-Hungarian crown land of Moravia, to begin studying law there. But the subject soon became abhorrent to him and he began regularly visiting the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Art Historical Museum), getting to know the director of the painting department, August Schaeffer, and through him Viennese collectors who visited the museum to study the works there.⁸ He established close ties that extended as far as Berlin and became acquainted with Wilhelm von Bode. Von Bode saw in Donath a colleague enthusiastic about art and possessing a talent for dealing with collectors and artists, invited him to work with him, and was able to convince him to relocate to Berlin in 1905. After some initial publications, the book supported in part by Julius Gustav Licht, *Psychologie des Kunstsammlers*, would become Donath's most important work and the basis of his further activities on the art market. Donath valued the applied arts and the Old Masters, but his preference was for modern art.⁹ Here he believed that the financially powerful collectors with whom he was acquainted should take on the role of patron, and he encouraged them not only to support the work of living artists, but also to stand beside them as "comrades." Juli-

us Gustav Licht seems to have taken up this viewpoint and it is likely that Donath acquainted him with Lesser Ury.

Interrelationships and Elective Affinities

Julius Gustav Licht was born on August 28, 1866, in Brno, the provincial capital of Moravia.¹⁰ He was the younger brother of the lawyer and ennobled member of the Austrian imperial diet Stephan von Licht, who has been shown to be a collector with a wide variety of interests. Julius Gustav Licht apparently made his career as an international merchant.¹¹ He worked as an "agent" and "commissionär" (commission-agent), presumably in international trade, and operated his business from Strohgasse 3 in Vienna's third district, while his residence was located in one of the early apartment buildings by the architects Fellner & Helmer in Goldschmidgasse 6 in the first district. From this, he was appointed consul general of the Republic of Guatemala in Vienna and held this position until June of 1908.¹² Licht then went to Berlin and there at the latest made the acquaintance of Rosa Marie Bein, who became his wife in March of 1910. Her first marriage had been to the Berlin merchant Alfred Bein, who had died in June of 1908 at the age of only forty-four years and had directed a Berlin subsidiary of the business of her father, Alfred Abraham Gerngross.¹³ Between the 1880s and the 1910s, Gerngross had built up in Vienna one of the largest warehouses in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; its main offices in Mariahilfer Straße 42–44 had also been built by the architects Fellner & Helmer between 1902 and 1904. A connection to the Viennese architects, who were internationally sought after for their theater buildings, had possibly strengthened Julius Gustav Licht's resolve to become a co-owner of the Berlin company Obronski, Impekoven and Cie in 1910. The business, with branch offices in London, Berlin, and Stockholm, operated art workshops for complete theater decor, costumes, weapons, armor, and decorations, as well as lighting and machines. Leo Impekoven, one of the company's founders and a co-owner together with Licht, was one of the



fig. 4 Maurice Biáis
Poster announcing a performance by
the French dancer Saharet at the
Variété Wintergarten, 1902
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek



fig. 5 Café Bauer, Berlin, 1900

sought-after theater painters of his day. He also worked on stage sets for Max Reinhardt together with Lovis Corinth. It is unknown whether it was during this time and because of the contacts he established in Berlin that Licht began to expand his collection to include the works of contemporary artists. What is documented is that in 1915 he visited the Wrocław branch of the Dresden gallery of Ernst Arnold, which was operated from 1913 to 1917 by Ferdinand Möller, who was later considered a promoter of the *Brücke* painters.¹⁴ There Licht acquired the works *Hofprediger Sydow* [Court Preacher Sydow] by Adolph von Menzel and *Straße bei Regen* [Street in the Rain] by Hans Hermann. These were followed in 1916 by the Max Liebermann works *Ufde, Flachsscheuer* [Flax Barn], and *Stopferin* [Darner].¹⁵ From this point on a relationship between Julius Gustav Licht and Ferdinand Möller existed that would also continue when Möller became the managing director of the Freie Secession in 1918 as successor to Paul Cassirer and relocated his gallery to Berlin. It is not known which occupation Licht pursued after World War I. After the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, he took on Czechoslovakian citizenship and lived in Berlin in an apartment at Kurfürstendamm 165/166, but also spent time in Vienna at the address Alser Straße 25 in the eighth district.

At present the life of the collector Julius Gustav Licht can only be summarized. A group of his relationships can be made out, and in terms of the cultural exchange between Vienna and Berlin it would seem more than worthwhile to trace them further. His life leads into the networks of early modernism and has connections with the art trade, theater, architects, and the exchange with South America, which was important for the industry of the time. Licht was undoubtedly a friend and supporter of the arts. Previously named among the leading collectors of his day, his significance for modern art can only be surmised today. Nor is knowledge about the extent and fate of his collection anything more than fragmentary. Licht lived in Berlin until the spring of 1931. In March of that year he returned to Vienna because of heart disease and there underwent treatment in the Cottage Sanatorium on Sternwartestraße. After his release he returned to his apartment on Alser Straße, where he passed away on September 10, 1931. His collection seems to have been completely dissolved beforehand. In his testament Julius Gustav Licht left his widow only six suits, four pairs of shoes, several collars and ties, and other pieces of clothing.

1 Adolph Donath, *Psychologie des Kunstsammelns*, Berlin 1911, p. 88.

2 Sigmund Kaznelson, *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich*, third expanded and corrected edition, Berlin 1962, p. 124.

3 *Ex libris Julius Gustav Licht Anno 1919*, The British Museum, Reg. Nr. 1978,0121.403.

4 Adolph Donath, *Lesser Ury. Seine Stellung in der modernen deutschen Malerei*, Berlin 1921, p. 134. My sincere thanks to Sibylle Groß, the author of the catalogue raisonné of Lesser Ury currently in progress, for her confirmation of the facts about Adolph Donath.

5 Ury worked in this technique from his arrival in Berlin, as evidenced by the 1887 work *Im Atelier* (In the Studio), 34.2 × 54.7 cm, in the

collection of the Berlinische Galerie (BG-G 189/76).

6 Lesser Ury, *Zauber des Lichts* (exh. cat. Käthe-Kollwitz-Museum, Berlin), Berlin 1995, pp. 147ff. and 197–98.

7 Lesser Ury 1995 (see note 7), p. 108.

8 Doris Bensimon, *Adolph Donath (1876–1937). Ein jüdischer Kunstwanderer in Wien, Berlin und Prag*, Frankfurt am Main 2001, p. 64. In 1911 Schaeffer was ennobled and his name changed to August Schaeffer Edler von Wienwald.

9 Bensimon 2001 (see note 9), p. 154.

10 My sincere thanks to Sabine Loitfeller, Abteilung für Restitutionsangelegenheiten der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien, and Felicitas Thurn-Valsassina, Dorotheum Wien, for

graciously carrying out research in the Vienna archives and providing important files on Julius Gustav Licht and his next of kin. Biographic information on Licht is also mentioned by Georg Gaugusch, *Wer einmal war. Das jüdische Großbürgertum Wiens 1800–1938*. vol. 1, A–K, Vienna 2011, p. 872.

11 Stephan von Licht (1860–1932) lived in Vienna. Drawings and watercolors by old and new masters from his collection were already auctioned in 1927 by Hugo Helbing in Frankfurt am Main, and on December 8 and 9, 1932, the Dorotheum in Vienna arranged the “Versteigerung von Aquarellen, Ölgemälden, Handzeichnungen, Radierungen, Stichen, Antiquitäten, Bronzen und Skulpturen aus dem Nachlaß Präsident Dr. Stephan von Licht” (the auction of watercolors, oil paintings, drawings, etchings, engravings, antiquities, bronzes, and sculp-

tures from the estate of President Dr. Stephan von Licht).

12 According to information from the foreign ministry of the Republic of Guatemala. When Julius Gustav Licht assumed the office of consul general and what qualifications he had cannot be determined from the ministry's files. Special thanks to Tina Seetzen, Guatemalan Embassy in Berlin.

13 She brought two daughters, Anne-marie and Erika, from her earlier marriage to Alfred Bein into the marriage with Julius Gustav Licht. Both girls were adopted by Licht.

14 On the gallery of Ernst Arnold in Wrocław, see Ruth Negendanck, *Die Galerie Ernst Arnold (1893-1951)*, Weimar 1998, pp. 123-24. On Ferdinand Möller (1882-1956), see Eber-

hard Roters, *Galerie Ferdinand Möller. Breslau, Berlin, Köln. 1917-1956*, Berlin 1984, pp. 9ff.

15 See the list of *Verkaufte Kunstwerke. Galerie Arnold Breslau* in the estate of the gallery of Ferdinand Möller, Berlinische Galerie, with thanks to the Ferdinand Möller Stiftung, Berlin.

Katinka Gratzner-Baumgärtner

The Art Trade in Vienna and Berlin during the First Third of the Twentieth Century. Contacts, Artists, Cooperations

The art trade can be seen as the mercantile driving force in the relations between Vienna and Berlin, although the framework of this essay allows for merely a sketch of the theme as pars pro toto, and can by no means make any claim to being complete. It will also not offer an outline of the Viennese art market scene at the turn of the century and beyond.¹ Rather, it will illustrate, by means of examples, fruitful lines of contact—also among protagonists who appear in the literature only seldom or not at all—that were able to come about by means of personal contacts and on the basis of institutional links between the two centers.

Vienna's avant-garde art dealers such as the Galerie Miethke, the Salon Pisko, the Galerie Würthle, and the Neue Galerie—to cite probably only the most established—rendered outstanding service in the cultural exchange between Vienna and Berlin. One prominent case in the period following World War I was the Galerie Würthle, which, starting in 1923, acted as the official Viennese representative of Berlin's Galerie Flechtheim. That same year the journal *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt* noted, "The Galerie Flechtheim has made an agreement with the Vienna art dealership Würthle in Weihburggasse for the latter to represent its artists in Austria. The plan is to exhibit German artists in Vienna. This will begin with one such exhibition of Karl Hofer in September."² With this, the assimilation of the gallery into the Flechtheim sales network was official.³ Karl Hofer had already been presented to the public in 1905 at Würthle and was represented in both cities. To judge from the letterhead from the end of May, 1924, Alfred

Flechtheim seemed to feel that the Galerie Würthle was worthy of mention, at least in parentheses and lowercase letters. The addresses of all the branches, in contrast, were emphasized by the use of capital letters (fig. 1).

That the logistics of this connection did not always proceed smoothly can be seen, for example, in a letter by Lea Bondi, who occupied the position of authorized signatory at the Galerie Würthle from 1919, to the director of the Austrian gallery, Franz Martin Haberditzl. She informed him in the letter of her intention to no longer write to him personally, "but rather to forward all the letters from Flechtheim ... in order to prove to you [Haberditzl] that the frequent requests for payment are absolutely not because of us."⁴ The letter had been preceded by Flechtheim's rejection of a deferment of payment for planned purchases of French art by the Österreichische Galerie.⁵ In 1924 the Österreichische Galerie had acquired works by Hermann Haller (*Bust of Alfred Flechtheim*), Karl Hofer (*Mädchen mit Blattpflanze* [*Girl with Foliage Plant*] (plate 253), and sculptures by Renée Sintenis (*Selbstbildnis* [*Self-Portrait*], *Esel* [*Donkey*], *Joachim Ringelnatz*) (plate 106) from the Galerie Würthle/Flechtheim (fig. 2). Hofer and Sintenis lived in Berlin and were frequently shown there and in Vienna; in addition to the Würthle and Flechtheim galleries, the Berlin galleries of Ferdinand Möller and Gurlitt were also significant in this respect.

The letterhead of the Galerie Würthle from November 3, 1924, shows that it no longer represented only the Simon gallery in Paris and Flechtheim's locations in Germany, as had been the case early in the year. In addition Würthle was now the field office for Flechtheim's own in-house magazine *Der Querschnitt*, the Paul Cassirer graphic arts publishing house, and the Galerie Grosz, also situated in Berlin (fig. 3).⁶

Even shortly after the founding of the partnership between Würthle and Flechtheim, Carry Hauser harbored the fear that Flechtheim's activities at Würthle would result in regional artists being given short shrift: "Flechtheim and Würthle have formed an alliance, which is very bad for the Fels [artists' group], since Flechtheim promotes only its



fig. 1 Letterhead of the Galerie Flechtheim, Berlin, naming the Galerie Würthle as its representative in Vienna, 1924 (detail)

Historisches Archiv des Belvedere, Vienna

German artists. In November an auction of works by Austrian artists will be held at Würthle, organized by the 'Hagenbund' for the benefit of the German Artists' Aid Society.⁷ And, in fact, both Flechtheim's logo and the press release give the impression that this one-sidedness was desired. The world financial crisis inevitably led to the discontinuation of the business contacts between Flechtheim and Würthle, of which there was no longer any mention after 1923.⁸

Together with Galerie Miethke, Salon Pisko was probably the most important art salon in turn-of-the-century Vienna, and it also specialized in exhibiting the works of female artists. Between 1906 and 1912, for example, the exhibition *8 Künstlerinnen und ihre Gäste* took place every three years. The representation of a relatively large proportion of women artists, which can be noted in the case of Miethke and Pisko, for example, was continued by Lea Bondi at the Galerie Würthle. In Berlin, for instance, Renée Sintenis was able to make her debut in 1920 at Gurlitt and Flechtheim, which was commented upon by the critic Karl Scheffler in words that today seem reactionary: "It is lovely when women have the capacity to do so much and make so little fuss about it. Knowing one's place and not striving to go beyond it with misplaced ambition: This, too, is a form of decency."⁹

Very early on, namely in 1902, Pisko exhibited work by Lesser Ury, who was living in Berlin, and in December 1909 mounted a show of the *Neukunstgruppe*, which had been founded in July of the same year. Among others, Oskar Kokoschka and Karl Hofer joined the group in 1911, two artists who were deeply involved in the artistic dialogue between Vienna and Berlin.

In 1904 Miethke became the official representative for Gustav Klimt. The artist had previously worked closely together with the gallery, including taking part in exhibitions both in Austria and abroad, as well as establishing contacts with collectors. Thanks to the artistic direction of painter Carl Moll, in 1905 the Galerie Miethke became the home of the so-called *Klimt-Gruppe*, which had broken away from the *Vienna Secession*. Miethke was the exclusive purveyor of the work of Klimt; the Berlin art dealer Paul Cassirer was

among the purchasers.¹⁰ In 1912 *Berliner Bildhauer und Maler* was brought to the Galerie Miethke. In 1919 and 1920 Othmar Miethke's son and heir, Otto Maria Miethke-Gutenegg, paid tribute to young artists by allowing, among others, the artist group *Bewegung*—which was founded in 1918 and granted female artists important positions in the association's leadership and organization and admitted them as equal members into its ranks—to exhibit free of charge at the gallery's former exhibition space in the Palais Nákó.¹¹ In addition to famous members such as Johannes Itten, Alfred Kubin, Carry Hauser, and Georg Ehrlich, female artists Helene Funke, Katharina Zirner, and Frieda Salvendy were also represented. Under the leadership of the art critic of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Arthur Roessler, the so-called *Haus der jungen Künstlerschaft* commenced activities in the premises of Vienna's Dorotheergasse 11. In 1919, just as the artists' group had renamed itself *Freie Bewegung*, Carry Hauser held his first solo exhibition there.¹² The fourth group exhibition took place in 1921 on the premises of the Vienna company Kunst und Wohnung, GesmbH Lorenz & Reichel,¹³ where the art collector Oskar Reichel also sold works from his private collection. One of the most famous purchasers of works by Oskar Kokoschka was Otto Nirenstein, the owner of the Neue Galerie in Vienna. The exhibition activities were limited to the early years, with Oskar Reichel acting as staff member and curator of exhibitions. In Berlin the Kunstsalon Gurlitt served as the exhibition venue for the *Freie Bewegung* in 1921.¹⁴ There, Viennese and Berlin artists were treated equally, for example Erich Heckel and Carry Hauser.

Similar economic calculation was exhibited by the Berlin Galerie Matthiesen, which mentions its branch office in Vienna in a written offer of 1924 to the director of the Österreichische Galerie for two paintings by Max Liebermann and Lovis Corinth (fig. 4): "If you were interested in one of the works we would request that you contact the Galerie Matthiesen in Vienna, in the Sofferhouse, which we have also notified at the same time."¹⁵ The reference here is probably to the Soffer brothers, who conducted their

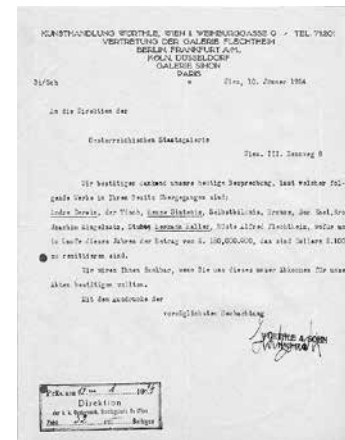


fig. 2 Letter from Lea Bondi of Galerie Würthle to the director of the Österreichische Galerie
Historisches Archiv des Belvedere, Vienna, no. 32/1924

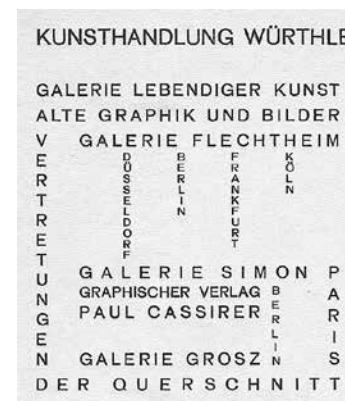


fig. 3 Letterhead of the Galerie Würthle, Vienna, late 1924
Although many of its peers were also dealing in contemporary art, it preserved its independence with a commitment to art of Austrian origin.
Historisches Archiv des Belvedere, Vienna



fig. 4 Letter from the Galerie Mathiesen to the director of the Österreichische Galerie, June 14, 1924

Historisches Archiv des Belvedere, Vienna, no. 359/1924

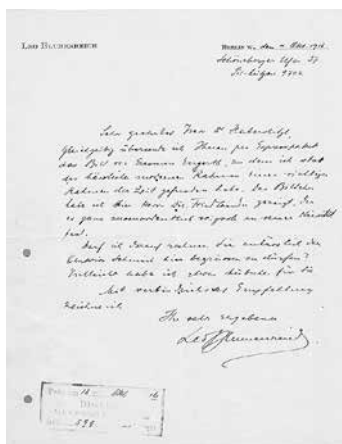


fig. 5 Letter from Leo Blumenreich to Franz Martin Haberdtz, October 4, 1916

The art dealer Leonhard Blumenreich, a colleague of Paul Cassirer's, also owned a dealership and wholesaler in Berlin—A. Blumenreich GmbH and Kunstschau A. Blumenreich, respectively—which are listed under various letterheads and addresses in the Belvedere Historical Archives as a supplier between 1923 and 1929

Historisches Archiv des Belvedere, Vienna, no. 593/1916

trade in furniture and furnishings in Vienna's Singerstraße 4¹⁶ and sought to expand their business opportunities in a manner similar to that of Lorenz & Reichel.

In presenting Vienna's "enfant terrible" Oskar Kokoschka to the Berlin public, meanwhile, Paul Cassirer demonstrated foresightedness. From 1916 the art historian Leo Blumenreich served as director and associate of Cassirer's art salon.¹⁷ During the same year, however, he also made offers in this function to the Österreichische Galerie as director of his private art dealership, with its own letterhead (fig. 5). Using the name of his brother, this business officially commenced operations in 1919 with the title A.[rnhold] Blumenreich GmbH (fig. 6).¹⁸

The Neue Galerie, founded by Otto Nirenstein in 1923, was also actively involved in the Vienna art scene. Since it was in the gallery's interest to establish itself on the German market with the artists it represented, Otto Nirenstein sought to emulate examples such as Cassirer and Flechtheim in Vienna, by constantly looking very much towards Berlin. He cultivated contacts with the German art trade by allowing exhibitions to travel there and by traveling regularly himself. In addition to traditional art, he also showed progressive works and opened his art dealership in 1923 with an Egon Schiele exhibition. In 1925 Cassirer presented pictures from Oskar Kokoschka's *Europa-Reise* in Berlin. The Neue Galerie meanwhile sold the artist's early works, for example, in its two-part exhibition of 1924, where his works could be seen for the first time since 1913 in the Galerie Miethke in Vienna.¹⁹ This connection between the Neue Galerie and Cassirer continued through Kokoschka even after 1930.

From its founding to around 1927, the Neue Galerie's partner in Berlin for exchanging exhibitions was Berlin's Galerie Gurlitt, which was enthusiastic about Egon Schiele, Gustav Klimt, Alfred Kubin, and Oskar Kokoschka. In 1925 Otto Nirenstein organized an exhibition there on Alfred Kubin, and in 1926 the Neue Galerie participated in an Egon Schiele exhibition and soon established itself as the general contact point for matters concerning Schiele.²⁰ In January of 1926, Nirenstein also organized Johannes Itten's

slide lecture entitled *Das Problem der modernen Kunst* in his gallery and took care of recruiting participants for and organizing the Vienna site of Itten's *Moderner Kunstschule Berlin*, which was on tour in 1926/27.²¹ Around the end of our period of consideration, in 1930, he brought works by Karl Hofer and others from the Galerie Flechtheim to his gallery on commission and organized an extensive collective show. But in response to Hofer's thank you for the chance to exhibit in Vienna, Otto Nirenstein nevertheless answered, "I regret extraordinarily that you are not able to come to Vienna, but—given the way things are—nor can I recommend it, for the situation is surely no better here than in Berlin. ... At the moment the situation here, as in Berlin, is such that it now seems to me in retrospect that it would almost have made more sense to purchase this work [*Angelina*] from you in Berlin rather than mounting the exhibition—this would have probably been the more enjoyable alternative for you and me. ..." ²² Although the art historian Hans Tietze considered acquiring two works, *Still Life* and *Knabe mit Ball* [*Youth with Ball*], the show was a financial flop. The newspaper critics, in contrast, were positive in tone.

In 1917 Gustav Nebhay relocated his art dealership to Vienna, after having already worked in Leipzig and Berlin. He was partial to contemporary art and in 1919 and 1920 exhibited the painter Willi Nowak, who lived in Vienna and Berlin and was a member of the *Freie Bewegung*. In 1920 he also made a contractual commitment to represent the painter Herbert Boeckl and supported him by financing a trip to Berlin and other destinations. In 1924 Cassirer also took a closer look at Boeckl's works in Vienna, but was not able to warm to them.²³ In addition to Nebhay, Willi Nowak's art was shown by Cassirer in 1911, for example, and in 1923 by Gurlitt; and starting in 1924 the Neue Galerie took over representing Nowak.²⁴ In 1928 Nebhay returned to Berlin with his art dealership business.

As early as the second half of the nineteenth century, fruitful business relations had developed between the art dealers located in Vienna and those in Berlin, and in addition the distribution of auction catalogs

also enjoyed great popularity. Whereas the exchange between Würthle and Flechthelm may have been one-sided, the artistic dialogue between the two metropolises of Vienna and Berlin cannot necessarily be seen in the same way. Numerous small, occasionally unnoticed, alliances and forms of collaboration sprang up like mushrooms between the two cities' art dealers and galleries; this expansion of the programs and the reciprocal exhibition of Berlin's and Vienna's artists was of benefit to all the protagonists.

A final observation pointedly illustrates one Berlin viewpoint of Vienna: a reference in the Lesser Ury show *Neue Bilder aus zwei Weltstädten London–Berlin u. a.* of 1926 in the Kunst Kammer Martin Wasservogel in Berlin, in which the artist—characterized as a painter of the big city—was represented with two scenes from the *Wiener Caféhaus*, which, in the exhibition's catalog, are classified without comment under the heading of “Berlin,” taking no account of Vienna as an autonomous metropolis.

1 Werner J. Schweiger has carried out pioneering research on this subject for both Austria and Germany, for example in “Damit Wien einen ersten Kunstsalon besitze.’ Die Galerie Miethke unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Carl Moll als Organisator,” in: *Belvedere. Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, issue 4, 1998, pp. 64–83. – http://www.kunsthandel-der-moderne.eu/component/option.com_frontpage/Itemid,30/, accessed 6. 25. 2013.

2 *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, new series 34, issue 58, no. 45/46, August 1923, p. 777.

3 See Otfried Dascher, “Es ist was Wahnsinniges mit der Kunst,” in: *Alfred Flechthelm. Sammler, Kunsthändler und Verleger*, Wädensill 2011, pp. 163–64.

4 Letter of 11.3.1924, Historisches Archiv, Belvedere, Vienna, Zl. 341/1924.

5 Letter of 10.30.1924 from Alfred Flechthelm to the Galerie Würthle, Historisches Archiv, Belvedere, Vienna, Zl. 341/1924. The documents do not allow the business dealings to be reconstructed exactly, for there was no work by Théodore Géricault acquired through Würthle/Flechthelm, and André Derain's *Der Tisch [The Table]* was returned to the Galerie Würthle at the beginning of 1925.

6 See Dascher 2011 (see note 3), pp. 163–64. – See also Werner J. Schweiger, “Verbindungen mit dem deutschen Kunsthandel,” in: *Galerie Würthle, gegründet 1865* (exh. cat. Galerie Würthle, Vienna), Vienna 1995, pp. 24–27.

7 Letter from Carry Hauser to Georg Philipp Wörten of 10.26.1923 from Vienna. The letter is kept in the archives of the Museum Moderner Kunst – Wörten, Passau, transcription by Bianca Buhr.

8 Dascher 2011 (see note 3), pp. 163–64.

9 Karl Scheffler, “Rezension zur Sintenis-Ausstellung in der Galerie Gurlitt,” in: *Kunst und Künstler*, vol. 18, 1920, p. 184.

10 Tobias Natter, “Galerie Miethke, Eine Kunsthandlung im Zentrum der Moderne,” in: Tobias Natter/Jüdisches Museum der Stadt Wien (eds.), *Galerie Miethke, Eine Kunsthandlung im Zentrum der Moderne* (exh. cat. Jüdisches Museum der Stadt Wien), Vienna 2003, p. 18. The business relations between Miethke and the Berlin art dealer Paul Cassirer can be documented beginning in 1905 with a Vincent van Gogh show, which was presented at Cassirer's in 1905 and at Miethke's in 1906. *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 90, 132–33. Recognition from outside came from Berlin art dealer Paul Cassirer: “Except for Miethke in Vienna there is not yet any Austrian art dealer that deals in French art,” “Paul Cassirer, Kunst und Kunsthandel,” *Pan*, issue 1, no. 14, 5.16.1911, p. 464.

11 Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber, *Künstlerinnen in Österreich. Malerei, Plastik, Architektur*, Vienna 1994, pp. 69–70.

12 See Schweiger 1995 (see note 6), “Kunsthandel der Zwischenkriegszeit in Wien,” pp. 17–18.

13 Newly founded at the end of 1919, Oskar Reichel and his wife, Malvine, were, together with Rudolf Lorenz and Samuel Goldfarb, partners of the company Kunst und Wohnung, GesmbH Lorenz & Reichel in Vienna's Seilergasse 7. The business was later relocated to Vienna 8, Josefstädterstraße 21 (the address of Klimt's atelier: in 1912 the building was torn down in the wake of a renovation) and operated under the name Moderne Galerie, Kunst und Wohnung. R. Lorenz Ges.m.b.H. See Schweiger 1995 (see note 12), p. 20.

– See also Tobias Natter, *Die Welt von Klimt, Schiele und Kokoschka. Sammler und Mäzene*, Cologne 2003, p. 262.

14 Ewald Schneider, *Die Künstlergruppe “Freie Bewegung” 1918–1922*, Vienna 1999, typescript, pp. 18–19, 26.

15 Letter of 6.14.1924, Historisches Archiv, Belvedere, Vienna, Zl. 359/1924.

16 Wiener Adressverzeichnis Lehmann (Lehmann's address list) 1924. Hans Soffer would later be the interior decorator of houses six and seven of the Werkbund colony.

17 Anja Walter-Ris, *Die Geschichte der Galerie Nierendorf. Kunstleidenschaft im Dienste der Moderne. Berlin/New York 1920–1995*, Diss., Berlin 1999, p. 37 (http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/receive/FUDISS_thesis_000000001073), accessed 6.25.2013.

18 See <http://www2.huberlin.de/djgb/www/find?fq=Branchen%3A%22B%C3%BCcher+und+Kunst%22&sort=unternehmen>, accessed 6.25.2013.

19 Werner J. Schweiger, *Der junge Kokoschka. Leben und Werk. 1904–1914*, Vienna 1983, p. 232.

20 See Marie-Catherine Tessmar-Pfohl, *Die Neue Galerie von 1923 bis 1938. Kunsthandel und Kunstpolitik im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit*, diploma thesis, Vienna 2003, p. 124.

21 The program is kept in the archive: Archiv der Neuen Galerie in the Belvedere, Vienna, Künstlerkorrespondenz no. 80/9.

22 Archiv der Neuen Galerie in the Belvedere, Vienna, Künstlerkorrespondenz no. 73/7.

23 See Tessmar-Pfohl 2003 (see note 20), p. 79.

24 Tessmar-Pfohl 2003 (see note 20), p. 128.



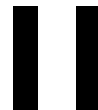
fig. 6 Letterhead of Kunstschau A. Blumenreich in Berlin, announcing the gallery's program, late 1929. The gallery's dense program is a veritable compendium of international masters, both traditional and modern

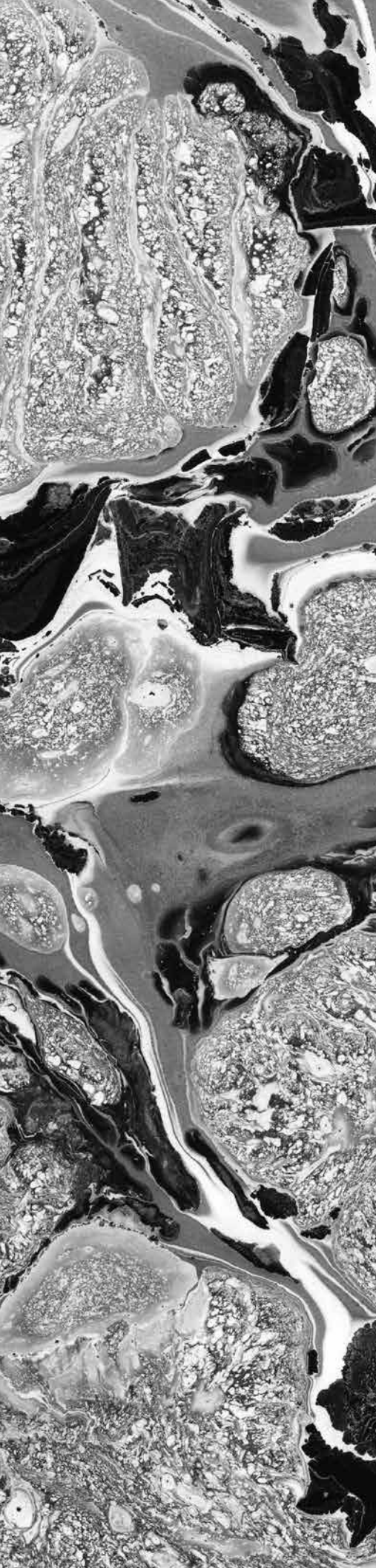
Historisches Archiv des Belvedere, Vienna, no. 681/1929.



Nervous City—Nervous Self.

Expressionism





Expressionism in Vienna and Berlin anticipated what World War I in all its brutality drove to excess: It burst open the physical and psychic limits of humans and their environment, burrowed itself deep into their guts, and brought to light shocking results. It should, in the words of Oskar Kokoschka, “compete with the discovery of psychoanalysis by Sigmund Freud and the quantum theory of Max Planck,”¹ and according to the art dealer Paul Cassirer reveal “the timeless, subjective expression of deeply rooted universal emotions in a driven, anxiety-laden world.”² If one presumes that, even despite such contradictory definitions, an art that can be categorized as Expressionism existed in Vienna and Berlin, then the lowest common denominator can probably be considered a turning away from the representation of external, superficial perceptual phenomena, as was, for example, the goal Impressionism had set for itself. The surrounding reality, the observation of one’s own and other selves, and the urban cacophony of the large city were simply catalysts for the highly subjective representation of reality, for a zeitgeist fed by the direct juxtaposition of extremes such as eccentricity and lability, mysticism and atheism, anonymity and mass society.

The art of Berlin and Vienna in the period around 1910 and afterwards was shaped by two central themes, which dominated image production with different degrees of intensity. Whereas on the one hand the body—the shell of a subject loaded with numerous invisible connotations—was virtually dissected, on the other, its environment—the growing, sprawling, and pulsing city—became the focus of the representation as a stage upon which an everyday absurd drama was played out. In the tradition of their teacher Gustav Klimt and under the influence of psychoanalysis, the Austrians Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele revealed the truths beneath the surface of life. In order to record the “sum total of a living being,”³ as Kokoschka expressed it, he radically transformed the traditional concept of portraiture. The surfaces of his portraits are furrowed with scratches left behind by the brush or finger on the surface of the wet paint. The painter noted the public’s irritation about the fact that “in the figures the nerves are depicted outside, on the skin, as if they could also be seen like that in reality.”⁴ The art historian, organizer of exhibitions, and critic Hans Tietze, one of the few defenders of this representational style—which was greeted with great hostility—saw in this the intention of “discerning an emotional and psychological quality as the dominant one, of subordinating all others to it, and of recording only the most essential aspects of the physical appearance.”⁵ Vague, unstable backgrounds, or even a completely empty space through which the represented persons move, elicit a sense of groundlessness, corresponding to a feeling frequently expressed in personal testimonials by artists before World War I. The neuroscientist Eric Kandel has recently demonstrated that

the representation of exaggerated body features, such as eyes or hands, which the artists consciously sought to generate, can trigger a shock effect in the viewer.⁶ In the search of these “primordial emotional forms,” as Kandel refers to them, Schiele in particular also experimented with secret hand gestures in order to intensify the desired effect.

Many Berlin artists adopted these strategies; Ernst Ludwig Kirchner’s hand positions in the portrait by Erich Heckel (plate 82), for example, can be traced back to Austrian portraits. The composition of Walter Gramatté’s *Kakteendame* [*Cactus Lady*] (plate 85), produced after the war against the background of a complete physical and mental collapse, clearly presupposes knowledge of Schiele’s *Bildnis Eduard Kosmack* [*Portrait of Eduard Kosmack*] (plate 90). Besides a focus on the individual, among Berlin artists it was primarily the city itself that became a protagonist. The “terribly vulgar”⁷ city of Berlin repelled Kirchner—in search of the original experience of nature—as much as it became a fascination and the catalyst of innovative works charged with energy. The central figures in his depictions of this seething juggernaut, cocottes on the overflowing city squares, are anonymous, depersonalized, interchangeable. The “bombardment by hissing rows of windows... tatters of people, advertising signs, and roaring, shapeless colored masses,”⁸ which Ludwig Meidner chose as the subjects of his images of the city, represented the other extreme in the Expressionists’ images—the nervous city—which determined the nervous self of its disoriented, drifting inhabitants and was in turn determined by them.

Clemens Klöckner

¹ Oskar Kokoschka, *Mein Leben*, Munich 1971, p. 119.

² Eric Kandel, *Das Zeitalter der Erkenntnis. Die Erforschung des Unbewussten in Kunst, Geist und Gehirn von der Wiener Moderne bis heute*, Munich 2012, p. 174.

³ Kokoschka 1971 (see note 1), p. 72.

⁴ As quoted in Claude Cernuschi, “Anatomisches Sezieren und religiöse Identifikation. Eine Wittgensteinsche Antwort auf Oskar Kokoschkas Alternativparadigmen zur Wahrheit in seinen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg entstandenen Selbstporträts,” in: *Oskar Kokoschka. Das moderne Bildnis 1909 bis 1914* (exh. cat. Neue Galerie New York and Hamburger Kunsthalle), Cologne 2002, pp. 43–50, here p. 44.

⁵ Hans Tietze, “Ausstellung Jungwiener Künstler im Hagenbund,” in: Almut Krapf-Weiler (ed.), *Hans Tietze, Lebendige Kunstwissenschaft, Texte 1910–1954*, Vienna 2007, pp. 28–37, here p. 34.

⁶ Kandel 2012 (see note 2).

⁷ Letter from Ernst Ludwig Kirchner to Luise Schiefler of 2.28.1912, in: Wolfgang Henze/Annemarie Dube-Heynig/Magdalena Kraemer-Noble (eds.), *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. Gustav Schiefler. Briefwechsel 1910–1935/38. Mit Briefen von und an Luise Schiefler und Erna Kirchner sowie weiteren Dokumenten aus Schieflers Korrespondenz-Ablage*, Stuttgart/Zürich 1990, p. 57.

⁸ Ludwig Meidner, “Anleitung zum Malen von Großstadtbildern (1914),” in: Uwe M. Schneede (ed.), *Künstlerschriften der 20er Jahre*, Cologne 1986, pp. 136–37.

⁹ Quotation on the following page: Alfred Hermann Fried, *Wien–Berlin. Ein Vergleich (Vienna – Berlin: A Comparison)*, Vienna/Leipzig 1908, pp. 17–22.



“The hustle and bustle that is the signature of Berlin’s streets is completely unknown to Vienna. In Berlin, you have the impression that an alarm has just been sounded: ‘Everything races, takes flight.’ In Vienna, one might be watching an operetta, in the background of which stagehands move about with clumsy hands.... In Vienna, it always looks as though people were going for a stroll.... If the Berliners are ashamed of resembling idle strollers, the Viennese are ashamed of working for a living.... While in Berlin, submission to the dictates of fashion is a means of standing out from the crowd, in Vienna, it is a means of vanishing into it ...” 9 Alfred Hermann Fried 1908

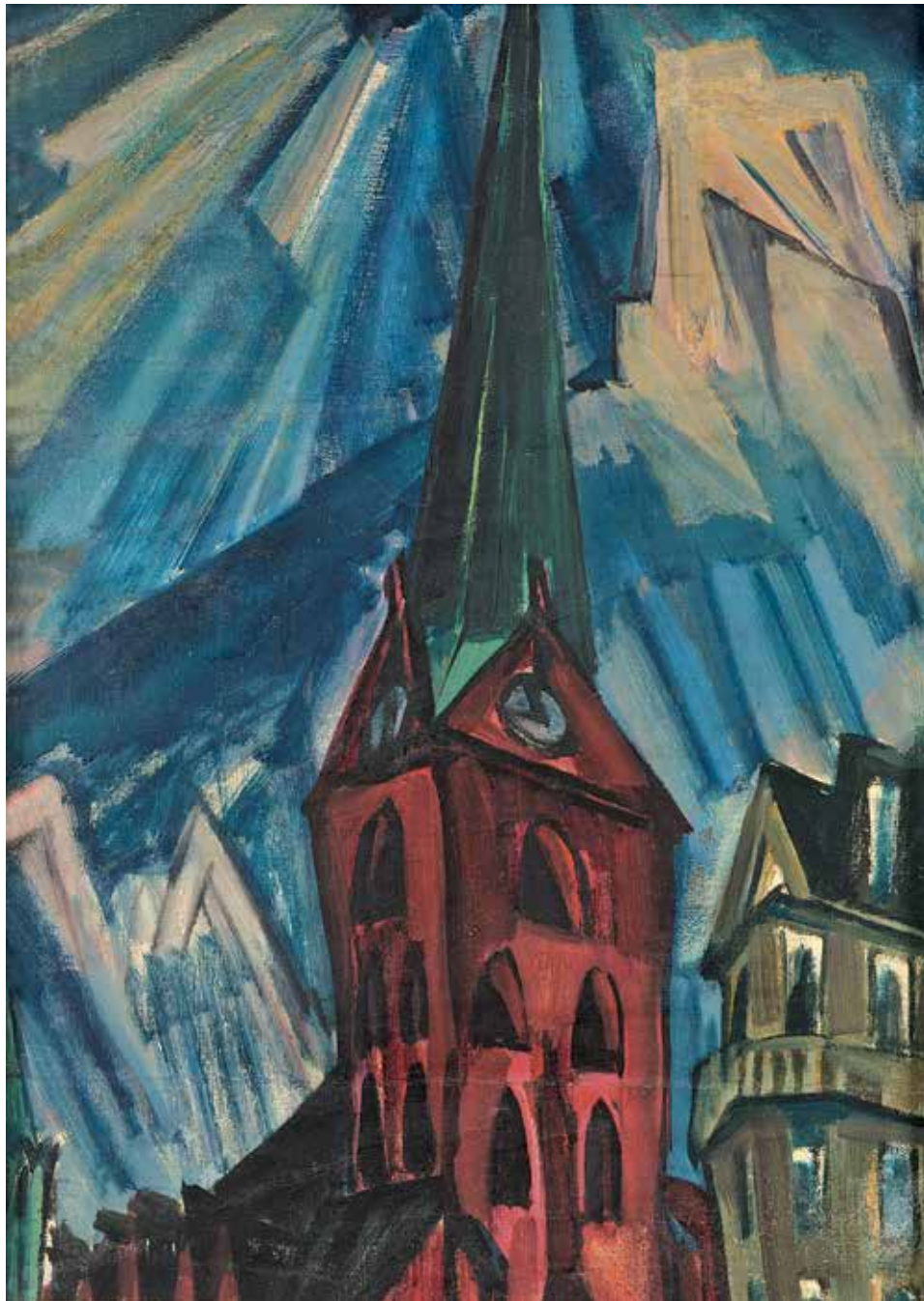


70

ERNST LUDWIG KIRCHNER
Women on the Street, 1915

Oil on canvas, 126 × 90 cm

Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal



71

RAOUL HAUSMANN
Untitled (Church), c. 1915
Oil on canvas, 67 × 50 cm
Berlinische Galerie



72

LUDWIG MEIDNER

**The Church of the "Good Shepherd" on
Friedrich-Wilhelm-Platz in Friedenau, 1913**

Watercolor over pencil, 61 × 43 cm

Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin





HELENE FUNKE

Dreams, 1913

Oil on canvas, 114.5 × 134.5 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



75

ANTON FAISTAUER
Young Woman on Red Sofa, 1913

Oil on canvas, 96 × 125 cm

Belvedere, Vienna

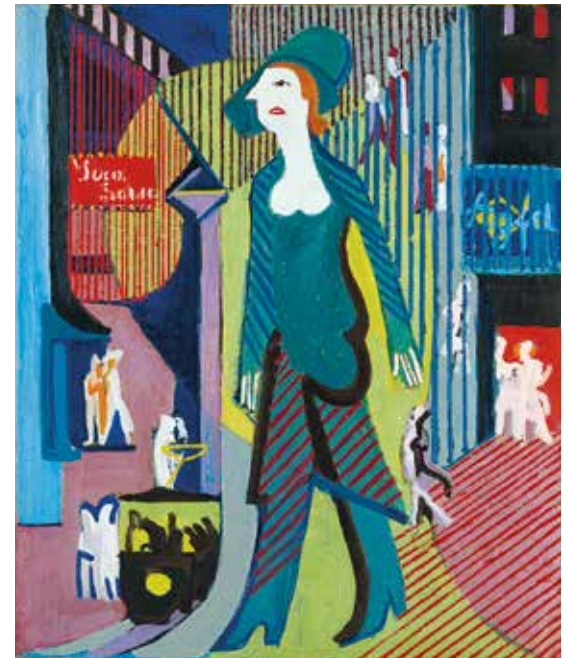




77

RUDOLF KALVACH
Indian Fairy Tale, c. 1907
 Oil on wood, 61.9 × 60.2 cm

Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien,
 Kunstsammlung und Archiv



78

ERNST LUDWIG KIRCHNER
**Night Woman (Woman Passing
 a Street in the Night), 1928/29**
 Oil on canvas, 120 × 101 cm

Galerie Haas, Zurich



79

ERNST LUDWIG KIRCHNER
Nude from the Rear with Mirror
and Man, 1912

Oil on canvas, 150 × 75.5 cm

Brücke-Museum Berlin



80 **MAX PECHSTEIN**
Pond Landscape (Krumme Lanke), c. 1912
Oil on canvas, 49.5 × 72.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna



81 ANTON KOLIG
Kneeling Narcissus, 1920
 Oil on canvas, 93 × 65.5 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna



82 ERICH HECKEL
Roquirol (Portrait of E. L. Kirchner), 1917
 Tempera on canvas, 92 × 72 cm
 Brücke-Museum Berlin



83 MAX OPPENHEIMER
Portrait of Egon Schiele, 1910/11
Oil on canvas, 46 × 44 cm
Wien Museum



84

ALBERT PARIS GÜTERSLOH
Self-Portrait, 1912

Oil on canvas, 70.5 × 54.5 cm

Belvedere, Vienna

85

WALTER GRAMATTÉ
Cactus Lady, 1918

Oil on canvas, 74.9 × 60.2 cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie



RAOUL HAUSMANN

86

Untitled (Self-Portrait), c. 1913

Oil on canvas, 70 × 60 cm

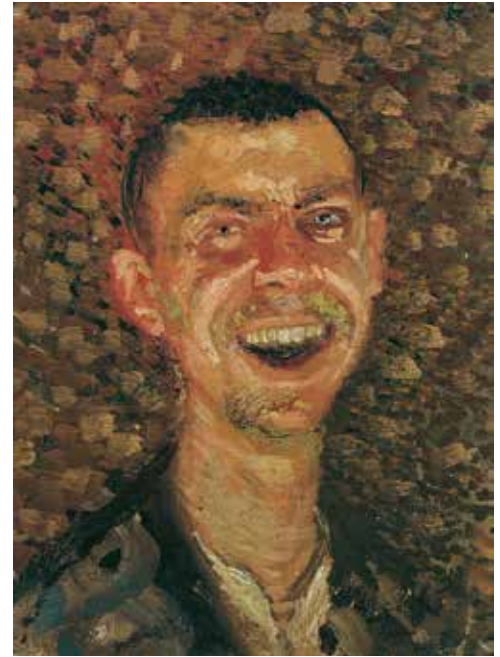
Berlinische Galerie



87

CONRAD FELIXMÜLLER
Portrait of Raoul Hausmann, c. 1920
 Oil on canvas, 85 × 67 cm

Lindenau-Museum Altenburg



88

RICHARD GERSTL
Self-Portrait, Laughing, 1908
 Oil on canvas on cardboard, 40 × 30.5 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



89

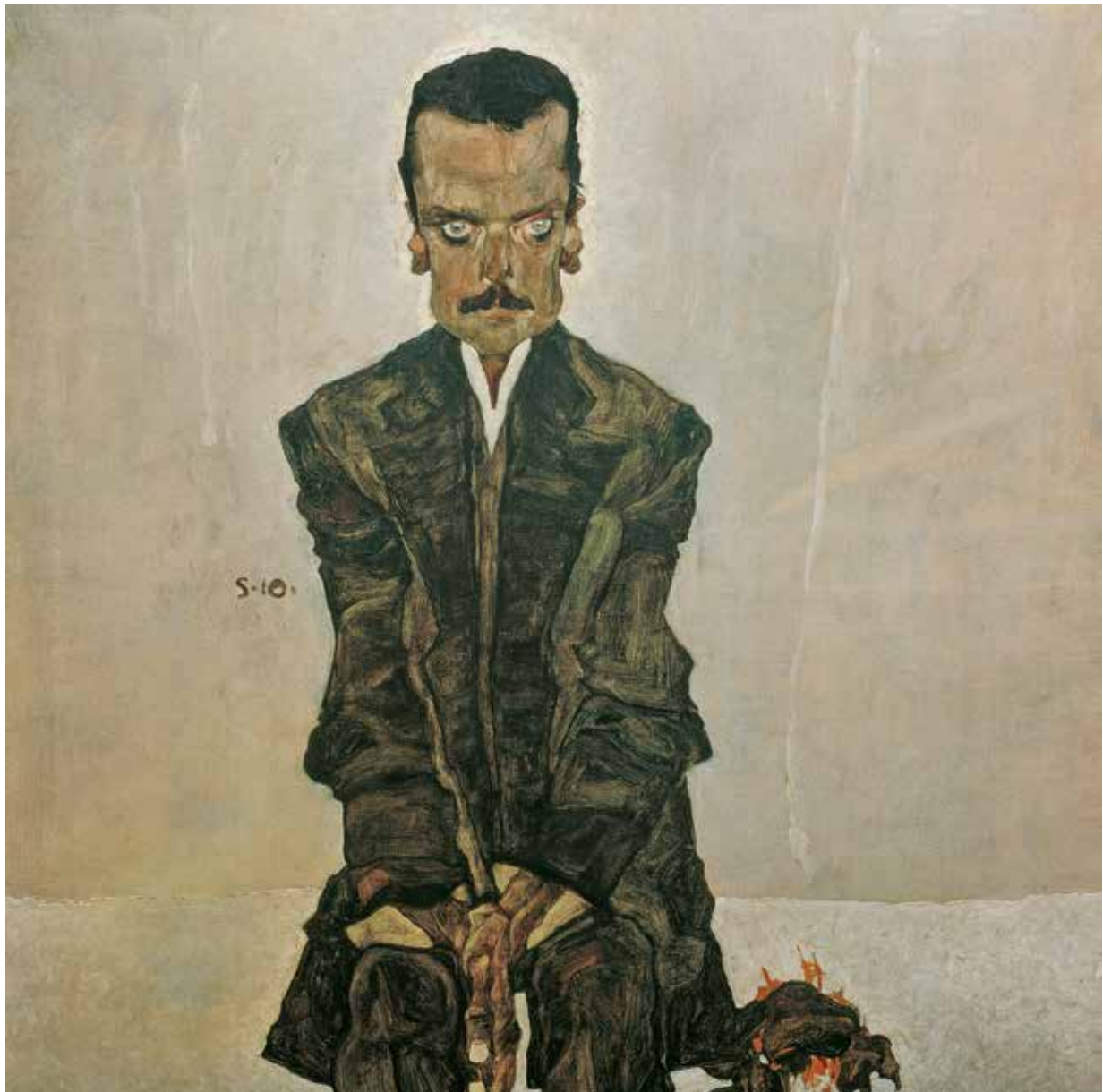
LUDWIG MEIDNER

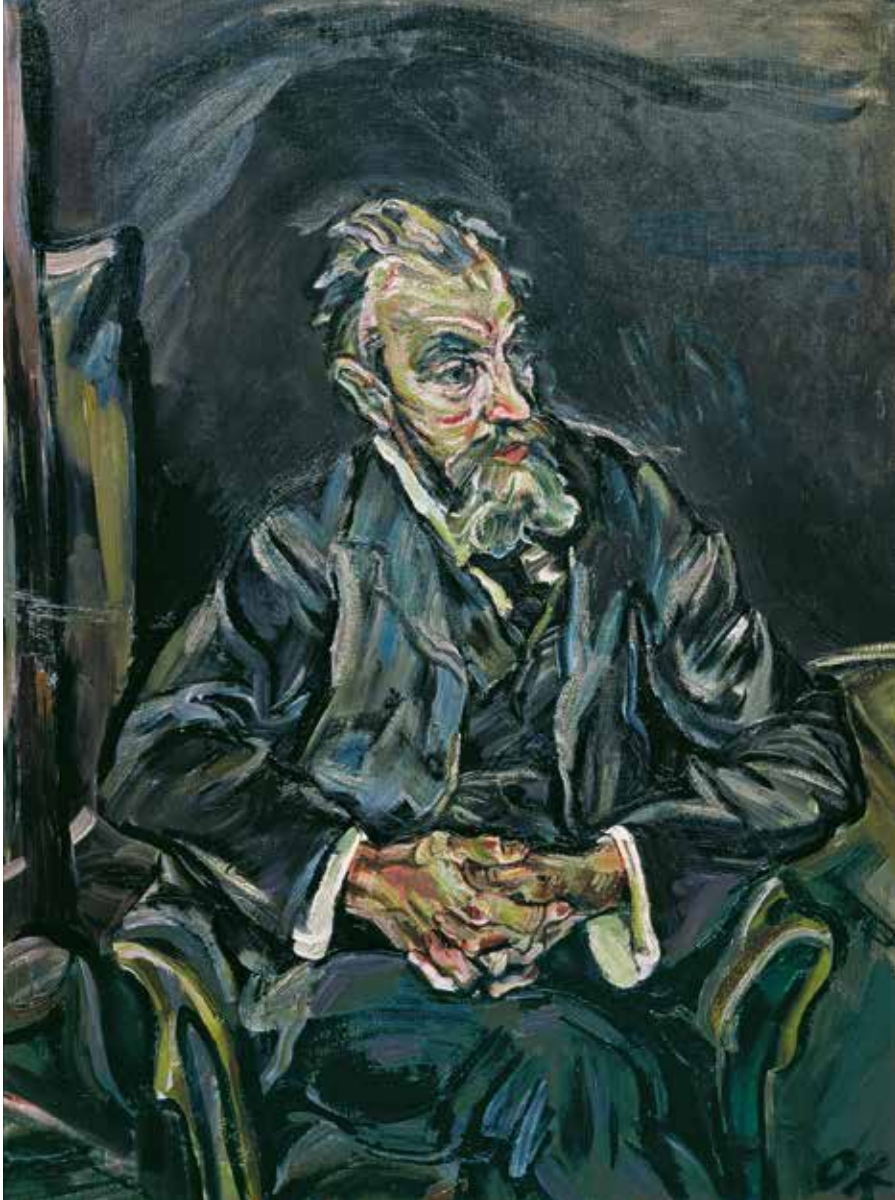
Portrait of Felixmüller, 1915

Apocalyptic Landscape (verso)

Oil on canvas, 115 × 80 cm

Berlinische Galerie (permanent loan)



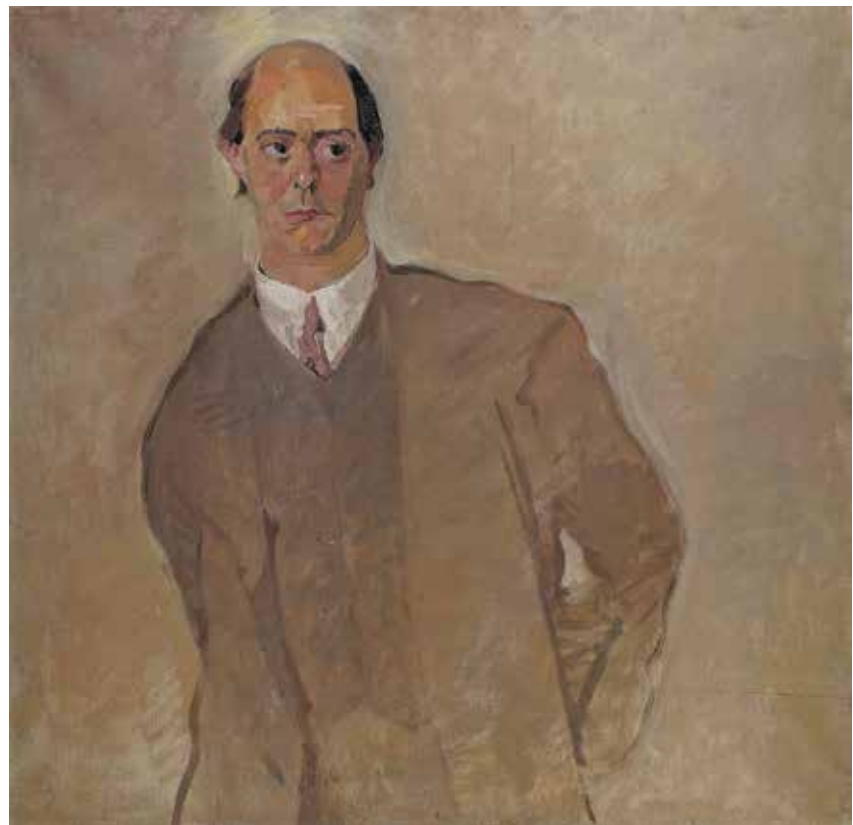




 92

MAX SLEVOGT
Bruno Cassirer, 1911
 Oil on wood, 41 × 31.5 cm

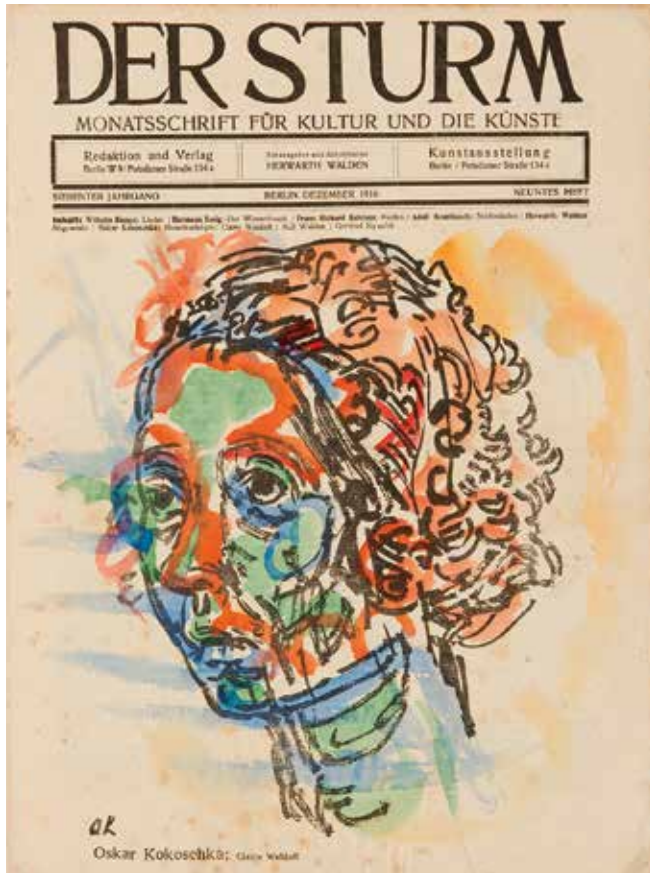
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie



 93

MAX OPPENHEIMER
Portrait of Arnold Schönberg, 1909
 Oil on canvas, 94.5 × 96.5 cm

Private collection, Zurich



94

OSKAR KOKOSCHKA
 Claire Waldoff, 1916

Cover of *Der Sturm*, year 7, issue 9

Hand-colored lithograph, 40 × 30.8 cm

Berlinische Galerie

95

OSKAR KOKOSCHKA
 Portrait of Nell Walden, 1916

Oil on canvas, 100 × 80 cm

Berlinische Galerie (permanent loan)



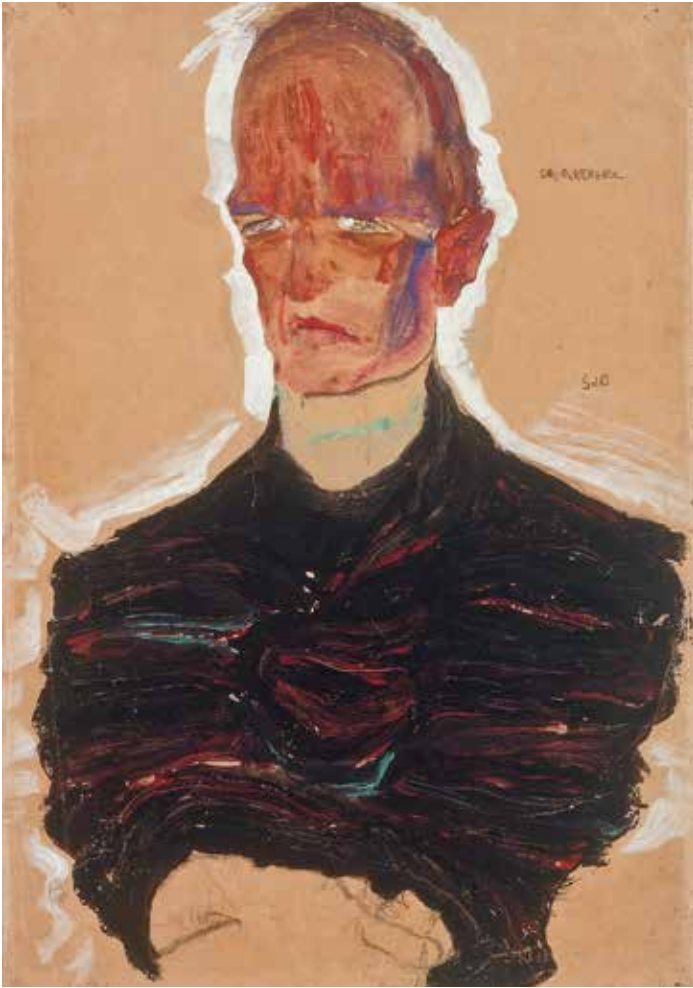
96

ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG
L.H., c. 1909
Oil on canvas, 42 × 57 cm
Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna



97

ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG
Defeated, 1919
Watercolor on paper, 35.7 × 25.6 cm
Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna



98

EGON SCHIELE
Portrait of Dr. Oskar Reichel, 1910
 Pencil, watercolor and opaque white
 on paper, 44.5 × 31.5 cm

Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm

99

MAX OPPENHEIMER
The Actor Emil Jannings, 1932
 Oil on canvas, 80 × 65 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



100

HEINRICH RICHTER-BERLIN
Our Beloved Lady of Taentzienstrasse, 1913

Oil on canvas, 149 × 79.5 cm

Berlinische Galerie



101 ERNST LUDWIG KIRCHNER
Street Scene, 1913/14
Pastels on paper, 40 × 30 cm
Brücke-Museum Berlin



102

ERNST LUDWIG KIRCHNER
In the Café Garden, 1914

Oil on canvas, 70.5 × 76 cm

Brücke-Museum Berlin



103 HERBERT BOECKL
Woman in Berlin, 1921
Oil on canvas, 56 × 42 cm
Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm



104

EGON SCHIELE
Nude with Plaid Slipper, 1917

Watercolor and charcoal on paper, 45.7 × 29 cm

Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm



105

OSKAR KOKOSCHKA
Girl Tying Back Her Hair, 1908

Watercolor and pencil, 43.7 × 30.4 cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett



106 RENÉE SINTENIS
Joachim Ringelnatz, 1923
 Stucco, 33 × 21 × 23 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna



107 WILLIAM WAUER
Portrait of Herwarth Walden, 1917
 Bronze (recast 1981), 52 × 32 × 35 cm
 Berlinische Galerie



108 RUDOLF BELLING
Eroticism, 1920
 Bronze, 32 × 30 × 24 cm
 Berlinische Galerie

109 RUDOLF BELLING
Head of Alfred Flechtheim, 1927
 Bronze, 18 × 11.5 × 11 cm
 Berlinische Galerie



110 **MAX OPPENHEIMER**
Ferruccio Busoni, 1916
Oil on canvas, 80.5 × 80 cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie

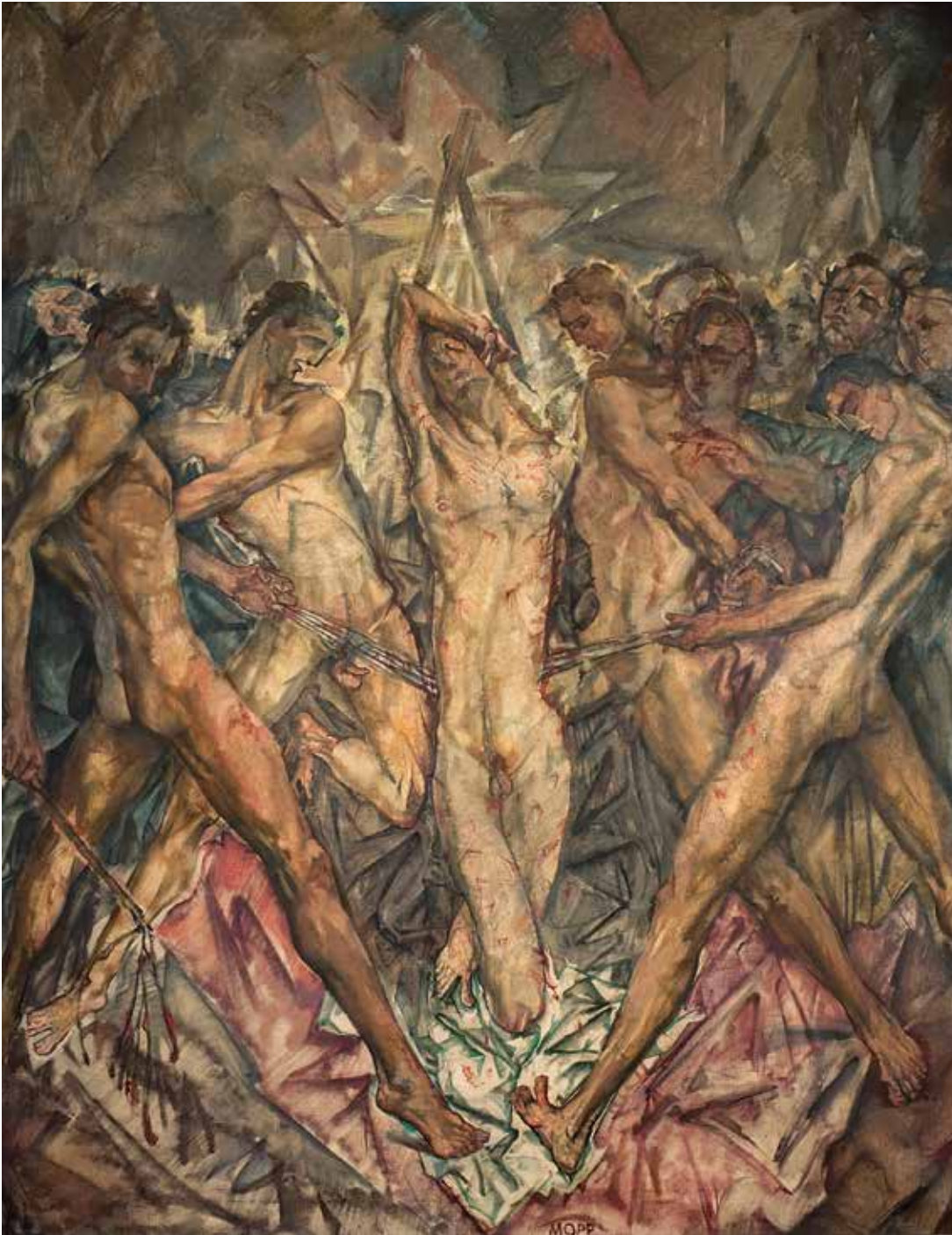


111

MAX OPPENHEIMER
The Klingler Quartet, 1917

Oil and tempera on canvas, 70 × 80 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



112 **MAX OPPENHEIMER**
Scourging, 1913

Oil on canvas, 198 × 158.5 cm

Private collection



113**OSKAR KOKOSCHKA****The Visitation, 1912**

Oil on canvas, 80 × 127 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



114 HERBERT BOECKL
Rear Tenements in Berlin, 1922
Oil on canvas, 41.5 × 61 cm
Belvedere, Vienna



115

LUDWIG MEIDNER
Street in Wilmersdorf, 1913

Drypoint, 41 × 31 cm

Berlinische Galerie



116 OSKAR KOKOSCHKA
 Der Sturm, New Issue, 1910/11
 Color lithograph, 70.6 × 47.5 cm
 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek



117

OSKAR KOKOSCHKA

Drama Komoedie. Sommertheater in the Kunstschau, 1909

The so-called "Pietà". Poster for the performance of his piece *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* at the Internationale Kunstschau

Color lithograph, 122 × 78 cm

MAK – Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst/ Gegenwartskunst, Vienna



118**WILLY JAECKEL****Memento of 1914/15, 1915**

Portfolio of 11 prints, lithograph

Plate 4, 40 × 47 cm

Berlinische Galerie



119

OTTO DIX**Wounded Soldier, 1922**

Watercolor on paper, 39.6 × 38 cm

Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm

120

OTTO DIX**Dead Men before the Position
near Tahure, 1924****The War, Portfolio V, no. 10**

Etching, 19.7 × 25.8 cm

Lindenau-Museum Altenburg



OTTO DIX

The War, Portfolios I–IV, 1924

Lindenau-Museum Altenburg

121

Nocturnal Encounter with a Lunatic
Portfolio III, no. 2, etching, 26.2 × 19.7 cm

122

Shock Troops Advance under Gas
Portfolio II, no. 2, etching, 19.6 × 29.1 cm

123

Battle-Weary Troops Retreat,
Portfolio III, no. 1, etching, 19.8 × 28.9 cm

124

Skin Graft
Portfolio IV, no. 10, etching, 19.9 × 14.9 cm



125 **Mealtime in the Trenches (The Loretto Hills),**
Portfolio II, no. 3, etching, 19.6 × 29 cm

126 **Corpse in Barbed Wire (Flanders)**
Portfolio II, no. 6, etching, 30 × 24.3 cm

127 **Frontline Soldier in Brussels**
Portfolio IV, no. 4, etching, 28.8 × 19.9 cm

128 **Wounded Soldier, Autumn 1916, Bapaume**
Portfolio I, no. 6, etching, 19.7 × 29 cm



129

OTTO DIX
This is what I Looked Like
as a Soldier, 1924
 Indian ink on paper, 42.7 × 34.4 cm

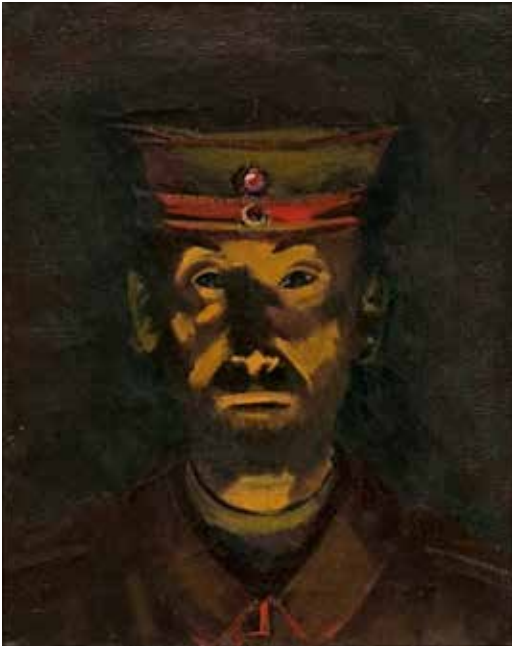
Berlinische Galerie



130

LUDWIG MEIDNER
City Under Fire, 1913
 Indian ink and opaque white on paper,
 45.2 × 56 cm

Berlinische Galerie



131

KONRAD WESTERMAYR
Self-Portrait as Soldier, c. 1916
 Oil on canvas, 50 × 40 cm

Berlinische Galerie



132

HANS BALUSCHEK
Field of Death, 1917
 Watercolor and crayon on cardboard, 48 × 36 cm

Berlinische Galerie



133 LUDWIG MEIDNER
Apocalyptic Landscape, 1913
 Oil on canvas, 67.3 × 80 cm

Private collection, courtesy Richard Nagy Ltd., London



134 FELIX ALBRECHT HARTA
View of Unter St. Veit, 1914
 Oil on canvas, 36 × 53 cm

Belvedere, Vienna





136**LUDWIG HEINRICH JUNGNICHEL****The Flood, c. 1913**

Oil on canvas, 100 × 110 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



 137

LUDWIG HEINRICH JUNGNICHEL
Cowshed, 1919

Oil on canvas, 60 × 76.5 cm

Belvedere, Vienna

 138

FRITZ SCHWARZ-WALDEGG
Confession, 1920

Oil on canvas, 117 × 88 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



139

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ**The Survivors, 1923**

Black and red brushwork and white heightening,
on beige cardboard, 54.2 × 71.8 cm

Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin



140

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ**Germany's Children Are Starving, 1923**

Study for the poster, chalk lithograph
(transfer print) on Japanese tissue paper, 42.5 × 29.5 cm

Sammlung und Stiftung Rolf Horn in der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische
Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig



141

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ
Vienna Is Dying! Save Its Children!, c. 1920
 Color lithograph, 94.5 × 57 cm

Verein der Freunde des Käthe-Kollwitz-Museums, Berlin



ERNST STERN

Revolution Day in Berlin, 1919

Portfolio with six lithographs on handmade paper

Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

142 **The Cars on the Ninth of November**
Sheet 2, 35.5 × 48.5 cm

143 **Panic in the Lustgarten**
Sheet 5, 33.5 × 52.5 cm



144

CONRAD FELIXMÜLLER
People Across the World, In Memory
of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, 1919

Lithograph, 70 × 54 cm

Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal



145 EGON SCHIELE
Portrait of the Poet
Karl Otten, 1917
Cover of *Die Aktion* (detail), year VII,
no. 43/44, 33 × 24 cm
Berlinische Galerie

146 EGON SCHIELE
Self-Portrait, 1916
Cover of *Die Aktion* (detail), year VI,
no. 35/36, 33 × 24 cm
Berlinische Galerie

147 EGON SCHIELE
Hans Flesch von Brunningen, 1914
Cover of *Die Aktion* (detail), year IV,
no. 30, 33 × 24 cm
Berlinische Galerie

Frank Whitford

A Tale of Two Cities: Expressionism in Berlin and Vienna

Culturally there is no doubt. On the one hand, Vienna had the tradition and the taste. On the other hand, Berlin, 690 kilometers to the north, was a vulgar upstart. More importantly, Berlin was also thrilling. It was a poisonous mushroom of a city. It was Protestant, disciplined, and raw. It was very good with its elbows.

The capital of a united Germany only since 1871, Berlin was internationally known for its university and for the severely neoclassical buildings designed by Schinkel. Berlin enjoyed the nickname "Spreeathen" (Athens on the Spree),¹ though in an 1892 American newspaper article Mark Twain chose to ignore the politely neoclassical surface of Berlin entirely. Under the headline "Europe's Chicago," Twain declared that the German metropolis was the most modern city he had ever seen. "Spreechicago"² was something Berliners knew in reality and were proud of. Their city even had, if only in places, an elevated railway.

It's difficult to imagine a city less like Berlin than Vienna. Within the vast polyglot Habsburg Empire (on which, joked Karl Kraus, the sun never rose),³ Vienna was undeniably dominant. In 1900, with a population of more than two million (fewer than half of whom had been born there), it was the fourth largest city in Europe. All the languages of the Empire, from Romanian and Romany to Polish and Slovenian, could be heard on its streets. It was the link not merely between East and West but also between North and South. By train, Trieste and Venice could be reached as easily as Prague and Kraków. Berlin was no farther away than Paris.

Vienna was, in an often-heard metaphor, the laboratory in which the modern world took shape. But Vienna was also one of the most exciting cultural centers on earth, envied for the quality of its music and theater.

Its relaxed way of life and its refusal to take the world too seriously were legendary, especially in such foreign parts as Prussia, where, it was said, no one had ever learned to relax.

Yet after 1866 and the battle of Königgrätz, won decisively by Prussia, Vienna suffered from an inferiority complex, an appropriate condition given that it would first be identified in the city where psychoanalysis was born. German unification in 1871 exacerbated the problem. The power and influence of the Habsburg monarchy were dwindling. "The people out there," wrote the critic Hermann Bahr, "had Sedan, Bismarck and Richard Wagner. And what did we have?"⁴

In fact, the Austrians had a great deal. They certainly had music (they even had Beethoven, who, though born in Bonn, lived most of his life in Vienna) and they also had theater. The Burgtheater in Vienna (with ceiling paintings by, among others, the young Gustav Klimt) was the envy of the German-speaking world. So was Vienna's food; so were Vienna's universities; and so were Vienna's medical specialists. As a result Vienna was also smug, and it was conservative, even reactionary. (Emperor Franz Josef refused to allow telephones in the Hofburg, and typewriters were also banned.)

Vienna also had painting, architecture, and design, all of which contributed to a cultural golden age around 1900. Vienna had, above all, the supreme decorator Gustav Klimt, the kind of dominant, single and uniquely influential figure whom the Germans (and everybody else) lacked entirely. This may explain why Klimt and his fame irritated and bemused some Germans. The Berlin critic Julius Meier-Graefe, for example, attacked his so-called "Orientalist leanings."⁵

Klimt, avuncular, rich, and at the height of his powers, encouraged younger talent. He supported both Egon Schiele and Oskar Kokoschka at the start of their careers, though Richard Gerstl, arguably a greater Expressionist than they were, found the creative energy he needed in a loathing for Klimt's preciousness and a determination to do everything differently.



fig. 1 Egon Schiele
Sitting Pair (Egon and Edith Schiele),
1915
Albertina, Vienna



fig. 2 Egon Schiele
Town on the Blue River II, 1911
Belvedere, Vienna, on a permanent loan from
Erste Bank



fig. 3 Richard Gerstl
Self-Portrait as Nude, 1908
Leopold Museum, Vienna

Improbably, then, Viennese Expressionism largely emerged from the exquisite and precision-built decoration of the city's 1897 Secession movement, together with Klimt's delight in allegory and symbol. It also preferred subject matter such as portraits, self-portraits and, to a lesser extent, landscapes, especially the kind in which, for example, a single, leafless tree or a dead or dying sunflower seems to reflect the human experience of life on earth.

With the exception of Gerstl, the Viennese Expressionists contemplated the conflict between artifice and reality, which gave Klimt's work its energy, and dramatized it to the point of torment. Kokoschka, who stripped away the facade in his portraits to reveal the—usually neurotic—personality beneath, first achieved notoriety when he showed his work at an exhibition organized by Klimt and his group. Schiele, in many ways as radical as Kokoschka (who repeatedly accused him of plagiarism) was even more indebted to Klimt. Klimt encouraged him, found him patrons, and gave him the chance to exhibit. It is in Schiele's work that so many of the concerns that characterize Viennese modernism in literature and are only hinted at in Klimt come visibly to the surface: The obsession with death and decay, the penetration of surface appearances and facades to reveal the dark side of the human personality, and, not least, the obsession with sex. Klimt was in love with dreams, the sweeter the better. In Schiele they become waking nightmares. In Klimt we find the seductive smile. In Schiele it becomes a cry of anguish, a grimace caused by mental and physical unease, a hopeless response to an uncertain and unstable world of which the artist is an impotent and unwilling victim.

The artist struggles to make contact but remains isolated, alienated. This is especially clear in such drawings as *Sitzendes Paar (Egon und Edith Schiele)* [*Sitting Pair (Egon and Edith Schiele)*], 1915 (fig. 1), and *Liebesakt [Coitus]*, 1915, Leopold Museum, in which one, and sometimes both, of the lovers are given the features and lifeless gestures of a doll. And Schiele's townscapes are empty of humans altogether. They are also devoid of nature (fig. 2).

Schiele was still a young, unformed artist in 1908 when Richard Gerstl committed suicide. Gerstl killed himself in his studio, destroying as much of his work as he could before slitting his wrists in front of the full-length mirror he used for self-portraits. He himself was one of his favorite subjects: Not long before his death he painted himself four times, three times on a single day.

The last of Gerstl's self-portraits is the uncanny and distressing *Selbstbildnis, lachend* [*Self-Portrait, Laughing*], a mesmerizing mixture of madness, uncertainty, and bravado (plate 88). The *Selbstbildnis als Akt in Ganzer Figur* [*Self-Portrait as Nude*] also dates from 1908, not long before Gerstl's suicide. It is the first naked self-portrait in the history of art since Dürer's *Selbstporträt als Akt* [*Nude Self-Portrait*, 1500–1512], Schloßmuseum Weimar, and its brazen directness is shocking. The artist's physical engagement with the canvas adds immeasurably to the mood of touchy impatience. Gerstl painted himself repeatedly, intensely, searchingly, as though the results recorded the stages in a psychoanalytical investigation. (Gerstl was, in fact, aware of Freud, whose *Traumdeutung*, 1899, interested him greatly.)

Gerstl's art is distinguished not only by the wildness of his brushwork but also the lack of all symbolism. He was an outsider. His friends were composers and musicians, not artists. He never exhibited, though he was once invited by the Galerie Miethke, the most important modern dealer in contemporary art in Vienna, to take part in a group exhibition. He refused because it would have meant showing his work with Klimt.

Gerstl's suicide was arguably less the result of a general instability than of the ending of his passionate affair with Mathilde Schönberg, the wife of the composer, Arnold. Gerstl had taught Arnold Schönberg to paint. Mathilde was persuaded to go back to her husband by his pupil Alban Berg. Gerstl then killed himself.

Schönberg took his painting very seriously, at one time as seriously as his composing. He did not possess natural talent, however. His portraits and self-portraits (plates 96, 97), of which he produced a large number, do have enormous expressive power,

though also a clumsy intensity born of determination, largely because of their untutored appearance. They are the results of what he called an *innere Zwang*, an inner compulsion.⁶ This is a central Expressionist characteristic, the product of an irrepressible creative drive. It was this that attracted Wassily Kandinsky, the Russian Expressionist based in Munich, to Schönberg's work. Kandinsky was driven by an *innere Notwendigkeit* and recognized a kindred spirit in the composer. Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* [Concerning the Spiritual in Art, 1911], was in part inspired by Schönberg's *Harmonielehre* [Theory of Harmony, 1910], and he invited the composer to contribute to the *Almanach des Blauen Reiters*, 1912, and also to the first of the two *Blauer Reiter* exhibitions in December 1911.

Schönberg, therefore, had firm connections with Germany, where his musical compositions were more widely appreciated than they were in Vienna. Another Expressionist painter with strong links to Germany was the aforementioned Oskar Kokoschka. He was lucky enough to have the architect Adolf Loos as a friend and, in turn, Loos's friend, the brilliant writer and journalist Karl Kraus, as a mentor.

Kraus published (and wrote most of) a little magazine called *Die Fackel*, which inspired the Berlin impresario Herwarth Walden to begin his own journal. This was *Der Sturm*, which quickly became one of the most important focal points of German Expressionism. On Kraus's recommendation, Walden took on Kokoschka as an editorial assistant and illustrator. The wages were vanishingly small, but *Der Sturm* helped make Kokoschka's name. It printed the text for Kokoschka's Expressionist play *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* [Murderer, Hope of Women], together with his gruesome pen and ink illustrations on the front page (s. p. 128 fig. 4).

The success of the magazine resulted in diversification. Walden subsequently founded a publishing house, a theater, and, most importantly, a gallery, all of them called *Der Sturm*. This quickly became one of the most influential galleries in all of Germany and a powerhouse of the Expressionist movement. Walden, regarded by some of his artists as unreliable, was essentially an impresario, seen

in the success he had in marketing paintings by Chagall, the Fauvists, Futurists, and Cubists, all of whom were, for him, Expressionists.

Berlin

By 1910, the year in which *Der Sturm* began publication, Berlin had become the principal center of Expressionism, not only in painting but also in literature, music, and film. Berlin was huge. With a population of more than three million, it was Europe's third largest city and one of the biggest industrial (and financial) centers in the world. Berlin was a young, ugly city of stone, concrete, and asphalt, of five-story tenement blocks built around as many as five courtyards retreating one by one from the street. They were at their depressing worst in the Alexanderplatz, Wedding, and Moabit districts of the city, which were proletarian, insanitary, and desolate.

In 1930, the town planner Werner Hegemann published *Das steinerne Berlin*,⁷ in which he pointed out that the majority of its by then 4,230,000 inhabitants lived in tenement blocks which were like "coffins of stone." In contrast, the city's public buildings and monuments were pompous and faux historic, not many of them (especially churches) built before 1870.

Given Berlin's widespread squalor, it would have been remarkable had the city not had what Hans Ostwald called "its dark existence, its human wrecks and degenerates, its uprooted and expelled."⁸ It is no wonder, then, that the artists who arrived in the capital from the provinces should have found the capital both intimidating and exhilarating. The big city, the metropolis as a seductive trap, thus became a major Expressionist subject. How could it be otherwise? Expressionism was centered on the self, and the self was reflected in the city, especially its dark and dangerous side.

Exhilaration tempered with trepidation is the dominant mood of *Ich und die Stadt* [I and the City], arguably Ludwig Meidner's most characteristic painting (fig. 4). He created it in 1913, six years after arriving in Berlin from the small Lower Silesian town of Bernstadt,

now Poland's Bierutów, via Paris (where he made friends with Amedeo Clemente Modigliani⁹). An amalgamation of cityscape and self-portrait, *Ich und die Stadt* shows the artist himself, 30 years of age, hard up against the picture plane, gazing directly at us, though lost in thought, dreaming or seeing a vision. The vision is surrounding him, and it is of a city set in motion by its own energy, in the process of destroying itself. Streets, houses, telegraph poles, and churches are all slipping into the black hole behind Meidner's head. On the right, a white zigzag obviously stands for a street and the black marks on it restless people, but it looks more like a fissure in the earth, with magma flowing from its lowest extremity. In the distance, clouds scud towards what looks like a yellow sun. It is, in fact, a hot air balloon, ascending into safety above the chaos and collapse.

This is a man who lives in a city that intimidates and consumes him. But it also inspires him and gives him energy. He can live nowhere else. He can live only here. And he cannot paint anywhere else. In one of the most important theoretical texts of the early twentieth century, *Anleitung zum Malen von Großstadtbildern*, 1914, Meidner proclaimed in dynamically lyrical prose:

"We must at last begin to paint the home where we live, the metropolis that we love without reserve. With feverish scrawling hands we must cover canvases, without number and large as frescoes, with everything that is strange and splendid, everything that is monstrous and striking, about our great avenues and railway stations, our towers and factories."

This was obviously an attack on the Impressionist and therefore ossified pictorial treatment of Paris, and Meidner contrasted his city with Pissarro's paintings of boulevards.

"A street does not consist of tonal values, but is a bombardment of rows of windows, rushing balls of light between roads, alleys of all sorts, and of thousands of vibrating spots, groups of people and threatening, formless masses of color."¹⁰

The enthusiasm for the big city, for energy and speed, is like that of the Italian Futurists, whose work Meidner had recently

seen at the *Der Sturm* gallery. Meidner's style matured during 1912 when he concentrated on city subjects. His nocturnal views of streets like canyons illuminated by streetlights, which seem to burst like star-shells and scatter their light like shrapnel, are full of the dangerous excitement of city life. They even suggest the powerful smell of crowds in confined spaces, the fetid air of subways, and sidewalks after a shower of rain. Meidner himself was obviously a creature of the night, who only came alive after darkness had fallen and returned home just before dawn.

There is little doubt that Meidner was a genuine visionary who was able to induce visions by working at night with the aid of drink and an empty stomach. He produced all of his paintings in an attic studio in Berlin's Friedenau district. His little flat was incredibly filthy, piled high with the ashes and refuse of years, and, especially in the hot Berlin summers, was filled with an almost unbearable stench.

The sexual angst that is so obviously a part of Expressionism in general, and of Austrian Expressionism in particular, is not an obvious feature of Meidner's work. It is implicit in much of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's art, however, especially the street scenes done not long after he settled in Berlin in 1911. The largest and greatest of them is *Potsdamer Platz*, 1914 (fig. 5).

In Berlin, Kirchner's work bristles with the intensity and urgency of city living. Nevertheless, he hated the place. "It's so terribly vulgar here," he wrote to Luise Schiefler in February 1912. "I realize that a fine, free culture cannot be created in these circumstances, and I would like to leave here as soon as I've got past this low-point."⁵ His experience of Berlin changed his subject matter radically. He now concentrated on scenes in circuses, cafés, cabarets, and dance halls, as well as on the streets of the capital and some of its most familiar points for his motifs (plates 73, 102).

Between 1913 and 1914 Kirchner painted ten of these street scenes. One of them is called *Straße mit roter Kokotte* [Red Cocotte], 1914/25, and it suggests that the women who appear in all of them are prostitutes.



fig. 4 Ludwig Meidner
I and the City, 1913
Private collection

Berlin already had an international reputation as one of the most licentious cities in Europe. Its sex industry was huge. In 1897 there were 3,000 registered prostitutes in Berlin; by 1914 that figure had risen to 33,000.

In the biggest and most impressive painting in the series, *Potsdamer Platz*, the size and position of the foreground figures force us to relate to them directly. Like the men warily approaching them, or summoning up the courage to do so, we are their prospective clients, about to confront a quarry that persists in ignoring us.

Potsdamer Platz was a major center of prostitution at the time in Berlin (Alexanderplatz was another). It was tolerated by the authorities only as long as the women did not look at anyone directly and kept on the move (according to the police, they had to "hover in a ladylike way" and "walk about as though ringed by bayonets"¹²). Therefore, the streetwalkers, many of whom plied their trade on one of the several traffic islands in this, the busiest concentration of traffic in all Europe (it had Europe's first traffic light), feigned aloofness. The women in this painting, too, avoid all eye contact and never rest. One detail is macabre. In 1914, after the outbreak of war, some Berlin prostitutes (such as the one on the left in the painting) began to wear the black veils worn by war widows. They provided, it was said, an extra erotic frisson.

Kirchner's Berlin street scenes of 1913 and 1914 testify to an emotional and visual engagement with the metropolis, a love-hate relationship which contributed to his increasingly fragile mental state. The pictorial style that he developed to cope with these metropolitan subjects was driven in part at least by the Italian Futurist exhibition at the *Der Sturm* gallery early in 1912. Kirchner surely saw it.

He borrowed some of the peculiarities of Futurism, such as the lines of force and the unstable composition, which create a restless, nervous structure. Crucially, however, Kirchner did not share the Italians' enthusiasm for metropolitan life. His view was darker. He found Berlin seductive and dangerous, stimulating but exhausting, ultimately alienating and toxic.

Potsdamer Platz nearly portrays hell on earth. George Grosz's *Selbstmörder* [*Suicide*], 1916, is utterly hellish (fig. 6). Only the prostitute's customer in the window, squirming with the exquisite ecstasy of the chastised masochist, seems to have been transported to a kind of heaven.

The composition and palette—mostly an infernal, flesh-broiling red—of *Suicide* are calculated to depict the city as a diabolic, perverted world out of kilter. Nature is reduced to a tiny, stunted, leafless tree in the churchyard in the background. The horror is compounded by the mystery. Are we confronted by a single suicide, a double suicide or a double murder? (The fact that Grosz called his picture *Selbstmörder*, the person who commits suicide, rather than *Selbstmord*, the act of suicide, only compounds the confusion.) And is the corpse on the ground a self-portrait, as it seems to be?

Suicide is a characteristically German mixture of disgust, a horrified fascination with the darker side of urban life, and a view of the city as a stifling, claustrophobic, and threatening place. There are thrills, but they are perverse. There are energies, but they are generated not by factories and power stations but by rapacious, mendacious, venal creatures brutalized by their inhuman environment.

Suicide is an obvious means of escaping from this hell, though Grosz is far from presenting it as a solution. The feelings aroused by Conrad Felixmüller's *Der Tod des Dichters Walter Rheiner* [*The Death of the Poet Walter Rheiner*, 1925], are startlingly different (fig. 7). Though we are witnessing a suicide, the mood is positive, touched by magic, as though Rheiner's death is a happy release, a solution to insoluble problems.

The Expressionist writer Walter Rheiner (the nom de plume of Walter Schnorrenberg) was a close friend of Felixmüller, who illustrated several of his books, including Rheiner's novella *Kokain* (1918). Rheiner, born in Cologne and living in Berlin since 1917, had been expelled from the army because of a drug habit (he was addicted to cocaine and morphine). He was immediately sucked into the destructive side of city life, ending up in a cheap and seedy room in



fig. 5 Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Potsdamer Platz, 1914
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie



fig. 6 George Grosz
Suicide, 1916
Tate, London



fig. 7 Conrad Felixmüller
The Death of the Poet
Walter Rheiner, 1925

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, Los Angeles

Kantstraße, in the Charlottenburg district. There, in the summer of 1925, aged scarcely 30, he died of an overdose of morphine.

Felixmüller romanticizes the event. This was not a fatal mistake but the result of a positive decision. Rheiner, his eyes closed, is shown leaping from the high window of his room. One hand clutches at the curtain while the other holds the fatal syringe. Be-

hind him, the view of Berlin is illuminated by the moon and the glow from streetlights and windows, creating a dreamlike atmosphere. In the distance are the twin towers of the Nikolaikirche, Berlin's oldest church. Everything is ambiguous. Is Rheiner falling or floating? In Expressionism, the city is itself ambiguous, a fatal mixture of contradictions. Be-

1 Erdmann Wircker coined this term in 1706, for the 200th anniversary of the Alma Mater Viadrina in Frankfurt/Oder, alluding to the cultural accomplishments of Frederick I in making Berlin a center of scholarship.

2 Near the end of the nineteenth century a new comparison appeared: "The Royal Prussian no longer has a place in imperial Berlin. Spree-Athen is dead, and Spree-Chicago is growing." Quote translated from: Walther Rathenau, *Die Schönste Stadt der Welt*, 1899, anonymously published by his friend Maximilian Harden in: *Die Zukunft*, vol. 26, 1899, pp. 34ff., p. 39. – Mark Twain used the expression "The Chicago of Europe [The German Chicago]" in his travel report in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4.03.1892.

3 "Austrians and Germans differ from each other through their common language. When the sun of culture is low, even dwarves cast a shadow." On this barbed aphorism, which is attributed to Karl Kraus and his magazine *Die Fackel*, see Harald Burger, *Phraseologie. Ein Internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*, Berlin 2007. Cf. Hermann Möcker, "Zwei Preisaufgaben...", in: *Österreich in der Geschichte und Literatur*, year 40, 1996, p. 303.

4 Quotation translated from Hermann Bahr, *Selbstbildnis*, Berlin 1923, p. 127.

5 Julius Meier-Graefe, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst. Vergleichende Betrachtungen der bildenden Künste, als Beitrag zu einer neuen Ästhetik*, Stuttgart 1904. The "fatal sweetness of the Viennese Orient" resembles "an ineradicable infection." Meier-Graefe; quotation translated from Rainer Metzger in: Christian Brandstatter (ed.), *Wien 1900. Kunst und Kultur. Fokus der europäischen Moderne*, Vienna 2005, pp. 19ff.

6 Schönberg detected this "outward ability developed from an inner compulsion" in musicians, quotation translated from Egon Wellesz, Arnold Schönberg, Leipzig/Vienna/Zurich 1921, p. 17. See also: Michel Leiris, "Zu Arnold Schönberg" (1929/66): www.schoenberg.at.

7 Werner Hegemann, *Das steinerne Berlin. Geschichte der größten Mietskasernenstadt der Welt*, first edition 1930 (3 1984).

8 Hans Ostwald, *Ich weiß Bescheid in Berlin. Vollständiger systematischer Führer durch Groß-Berlin für Fremde und Einheimische, für Vergnügungs- und Studienreisende*, Berlin 1908.

9 See „The Young Modigliani: Some Memories by Ludwig Meidner," *Burlington Magazine*, London, Vol. 82 (1943) pp. 87–91; in German: "Ludwig Meidner, Erinnerungen an den jungen

Modigliani," in: Ludwig Kunz (ed.), *Ludwig Meidner, Dichter, Maler und Cafés*, Zurich 1973, pp. 55–60.

10 In 1913/14 the Berlin art journal *Kunst und Künstler* asked a number of "younger" artists for their views on the most recent art and on the future of art. Meidner's contribution has been reprinted frequently, most recently in: Günter Feist (ed.), *Kunst und Künstler, aus 32 Jahrgängen einer deutschen Zeitschrift*, Berlin (East) 1971. German original quoted from "Ludwig Meidner, Anleitung zum Malen von Großstadtbildern (1914)," in: Uwe M. Schneede (ed.), *Künstlerschriften der 20er Jahre*, Cologne 1986, pp. 136–37.

11 Quotation translated from Roland März/Katharina Henkel (eds.), *Der Potsdamer Platz. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner und der Untergang Preußens* (exh. cat. Neue Nationalgalerie Berlin 2001), Berlin 2001, p. 142.

12 Robert Hessen, *Die Prostitution in Deutschland*, Munich 1910, pp. 116–17., quotation translated from Lucius Grisebach, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner* (exh. cat. Museum der Moderne Salzburg 2009), Cologne 2009, p. 144.

Clemens Klöckner

**Experience and Memory:
The Visualization of World
War I by Artists in Vienna
and Berlin**

Universal and compulsory military service meant that many young artists from the milieu of the Vienna and Berlin avant-gardes became active participants in the hostilities during World War I. Whether as members of official propaganda companies or as regular soldiers who dealt with their individual experiences independently, they generated a wealth of artistic interpretations both during the war and afterwards, some of which continue to shape our collective visual memory right up to the present. In the context of the wide-ranging visual reportage of the years 1914 to 1918, the visual testimonials examined here are not, of course, always representative,¹ but they do allow us to identify the methods these artists developed for coping with their experiences—methods that to some extent continued to play leading roles in the art world after the war as well. The focus of the following investigation is on strategies of content and style that both unite various works and provide insight into differences of mentality, rendering recognizable the various political and artistic premises that prevailed at their respective places of production.

The wartime experiences of artists were highly heterogeneous.² While the majority of German soldiers were deployed along the Western Front in France and Flanders, most of the Austrian artists were stationed either in Galicia on the Eastern Front or in the south on the Isonzo Front. The difference consisted not only in the contrast between the trench warfare on the battlefields of France, with its days-long artillery bombardment and the topographically demanding military operations in the mountains, but also in the proximity of the theater of war to one's own homeland. Not least of all, the disintegration of the Imperial and Royal Monarchy led to

the circumstance that by the interwar period, the battles in the east and southeast no longer played a role in official accounts, while the war in the west and against Italy was by contrast "exaggerated to the point of constituting the center of collective memory."³ These divergent experiences may be one reason why large numbers of German artists continued to be preoccupied with the war and with the military (and with the continued existence of nationalist groups that tended to glorify wartime experiences) even after 1918, while in many parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire which had been torn apart by the war, these themes were detectable in works of art only indirectly.

**Art in Vienna During and After
the War: Wounds, Death, and
Resurrection**

In 1917, when Egon Schiele and Albert Paris Gütersloh received a joint commission to organize the art section of the *Kriegsausstellung 1917* [*War Exhibition 1917*] in the Prater,⁴ Schiele encountered (according to his own testimony) a problem that preoccupied most of his invited artistic colleagues, including Anton Faistauer, Anton Kolig, and Ludwig Heinrich Jungnickel, along with Gütersloh himself, namely that up until that point, they had barely dealt with the theme of warfare. Faistauer—who had for the most part done his military service in the Imperial and Royal Heeresmuseum (Army Museum; today the Museum of Military History) in Vienna—contributed a number of drawings, as well as two paintings of wounded or imprisoned soldiers. Jungnickel—who had served from 1915 to 1916 in Munich, far from the front—delivered an allegorical depiction of war. According to the exhibition catalog, Kolig and Gütersloh—both of whom had experience at the front and had worked at the wartime press office—showed only a few portraits of soldiers and prisoners, and the latter artist, only an unfinished portrait of a soldier. In order to come up with a work on the requisite theme—one he had to date treated only in drawings—Schiele contrived a makeshift name change, converting an oil painting with the title *Auferstebung* [*Resurrection*]

into a *Heldengräber-Auferstehung* [*Resurrection at the Graves of Heroes*].⁵ The present investigation demonstrates that central representatives of the Austrian avant-garde depicted the war only in portraits of its protagonists, and in a way consistently detached from wartime events. This does not mean, however, that aside from these works, no confrontation with the war took place. Because artists like Oskar Kokoschka (whose war-related works will be discussed later in greater detail) were not represented in the exhibition, and because works were produced in Vienna after the war that have never or only rarely been associated with the experiences of the years 1914 to 1918, it is worth taking a closer look at precisely these works, and at the central theme that repeatedly surfaces in them: The wounded individual.

One of the few immediate reactions to the war on the part of an Austrian artist—and one that still belongs to the artistic avant-gardes during the interwar period—is found in the works of Carry Hauser. The colored pencil drawing *Soldaten* [*Soldiers*] (fig. 1) shows the transport of soldiers who stand below a cross that appears on the horizon. It seems as though the wounded soldier at the center of the composition has just been removed from the cross, so that routine wartime experience has now risen to the level of the Passion of the ordinary soldier—albeit without any promise of salvation. In the works of Rudolf Wacker, the theme of the wound appears repeatedly, for example in his still life *Two Heads* (plate 227).⁶ While his teacher Albin Egger-Lienz repeatedly heroicized the death sacrifice of the soldiers on the battlefield in a series of monumental paintings,⁷ Wacker struck a gentler tone, and was in any event utterly incapable of artistic expression during the entire period of his deployment. In 1920, after five years as a prisoner of war in Russia, Wacker returned to Berlin, where—unlike his artistic friends there—he made no attempt to endow his wartime and post-war experiences with Dadaist forms. In their morbidity, however, his scuffed and fractured heads and dolls represent a peculiarly psychedelic portrait of the times, one that reflects earlier experiences while projecting a disillusioned perspective onto the future.



fig. 1 Carry Hauser
Soldiers, 1916
Collection of Jenö Eisenberger, Vienna

It is the debris of an old world—upon which a new catastrophe now grows—that confronts us in Wacker's compositions from the 1920s.⁸ Similarly, Anton Kolig did not depict the war overtly after 1918, but a close examination of his paintings from this period reveals its indirect translation. Rather than observing his mirror image complacently in the water's surface, the *Kniende Narziß* [*Kneeling Narcissus*], 1920 (plate 81) throws his upper body backwards, his mouth open, eyes reduced to veils of paint, arm held clenched across the chest. This gesture and bodily pose are readily interpreted as the act of clutching a wound on the side—now, self-love becomes an attempt at self-preservation. Fritz Schwarz-Waldeggs *Bekennnis* [*Confession*], 1920 (plate 138), too, can be interpreted in this context: In a self-referential doubting Thomas gesture, the artist places his finger inside his own wound—a gesture that is interpretable simultaneously in physical and psychological terms. While social conflicts and scenes of revolution were certainly taken up as pictorial motives after 1918, for example in the works of Oskar Laske,⁹ it was their indirect processing through the display of bodily wounds that became a leitmotiv of Viennese art during the interwar period.

Art in Berlin During and After the War: Apocalypse and Denunciation

Art in Germany and in Berlin during the war and into the interwar period was a brisk and frequently politically tinged production of images that made reference to the military conflict. Nearly all of the Secessionists reacted to the extraordinary wartime situation, for example Willy Jaeckel, who lithographed his portfolio *Memento 1914/15*, 1915 even before his military service (plate 118). His brutal and unsparing visions of war are oriented explicitly toward the *Desastres de la guerre* [*The Disasters of War*], 1810–1814, by Francisco de Goya, who also conjured his visions of the horrors of war not according to his own experiences, but from eyewitness testimony and his own imagination. Jaeckel's portfolio was banned immediately upon publication. Not unlike Ludwig Meidner, whose *Apokalyptische Landschaften* [*Apocalyptic Land-*

scapes] (plate 133) date from the prewar era and have often been interpreted as a premonition of World War I, Max Slevogt depicts the war as a bleak vision of Armageddon. As early as 1914, when he worked as an official war artist on the Western Front, he translated his profound experience of shock into the series of lithographs entitled *Gesichte 1917* [*Visions 1917*], 1917, which was—like Jaeckel's portfolio—confiscated by official order immediately after production.¹⁰

Numerous artists, among them Max Liebermann, August Gaul, and Ernst Barlach, contributed to the magazine *Kriegszeit*, produced by the Cassirer publishing house, a publication whose tone was initially euphoric but later became increasingly restrained. Hans Baluschek, too, spent a brief period of time at the front in 1916/17, one result of which was the watercolor *Totensfeld* [*Field of Death*], 1917 (plate 132), today in the collection of the Berlinische Galerie. Käthe Kollwitz did not experience the war firsthand, but in 1916 she lost her youngest son, who entered the war without her permission. From this point onward, and into the interwar period, the theme of war—along with its consequences for those who remained at home—would shape her work: even today, she is regarded as an antiwar artist par excellence.¹¹ Alongside dramatic pacifist appeals, she produced numerous prints requesting support for aid initiatives, for example *Wien stirbt! Rettet seine Kinder!* [*Vienna is Dying! Save its Children!*] (plate 141).

While many Secessionists were spared wartime service for reasons of age, nearly all of the *Brücke* artists were conscripted. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner soon suffered a nervous breakdown and painted a self-portrait of himself as a soldier with a hacked-off hand, a graphic symbol of his fear of losing his creative powers.¹² He required years to cope with the shock, and repressed the theme of war entirely from his artistic production. In 1916, Max Pechstein dealt with his experiences at the Somme frontline by producing two relatively sober woodcut cycles, which display the typically expressive hallmarks of the woodcuts of the *Brücke* group.¹³ These works are the only ones by this artist to deal with the war, but afterwards, he became a cofounder

of the *November Group* and of the Workers' Council for Art, strongly suggesting that Pechstein did not perceive the path toward social transformation in terrifying depictions of past or present, but instead in the attempt to shape a better future. A similar perspective was held by Max Beckmann, who was compelled to witness terrifying scenes as a paramedic, and who captured his wartime experiences in numerous drawings and prints. After the war, he stated: "The circumstances are not unfavorable for creating images of war. But I have been extensively preoccupied with this material, and no longer have time to waste words on it. I've long been involved in different wars."¹⁴

The war—along with the Prussian military apparatus—remained a durable theme for the Berlin Dadaists, especially George Grosz, whose brief wartime experiences caused his art to become even more caustic. Grosz reproduced his drawn caricatures and published them as transfer lithographs in left-wing journals such as *Pleite* in order to maximize their political impact. The aggressive statements of the Dadaists were provoked by the dominant nationalism of the Weimar Republic, against which a profoundly disappointed younger generation now turned. Remarkably, the Dada movement was unable to gain any traction in Austria, where the focus lay on the overcoming of sorrow and trauma.

Finally, let us consider the compositional solutions developed by a Viennese and a (at least part-time) Berlin artist respectively—a pair that cultivated intimate if utterly divergent relationships to Dada—thereby focusing on a phenomenon that has to date received little attention. The biographies and wartime experiences of Oskar Kokoschka and Otto Dix display as many differences as commonalities, but nonetheless, they arrived at similar results in their attempts at retrospection. "Pictures whose iconography is political in the best sense tend to actualize historical motifs; a preoccupation with predetermined pictorial formulae and with traditional poses and gestures is attributed with heightened significance."¹⁵ Upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that this observation applies to the works of Dix and



fig. 2 Oskar Kokoschka
The Battle, 1916

Trustees of the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford



fig. 3 Daniel Hopfer
Soldiers Fighting, c. 1530

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden,
Kupferstich-Kabinett



fig. 4 Oskar Kokoschka
Soldiers Fighting with Crucifixes, 1917
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden,
Kupferstich-Kabinett

Kokoschka, for both succeeded in heightening their own experiences to the highest level of effectiveness only through recourse to preexisting pictorial formulae.

Oskar Kokoschka and Otto Dix: Authenticity through Prototypes

In February of 1915, Kokoschka volunteered for military service. Through the intercession of Adolf Loos, he was assigned to the Royal Imperial Dragoon Regiment "Erzherzog Josef Nr. 15," where he served alongside members of the Imperial House and the aristocracy—which required the purchase of a warhorse that cost him his entire savings.¹⁶ A photograph shows him as the dashing hussar with gleaming helmet¹⁷ who wrote privately to his beloved Alma Mahler that he was "riding as a real-life dragoon, just like someone in a picture book."¹⁸ With the exception of a fan painted for Alma Mahler, which shows Kokoschka in a gloomy battle landscape,¹⁹ he produced no works of art until August of 1915, when he was injured at the Russian front. He suffered a bullet wound to the head and was stabbed in the lung with a bayonet, which brought him a first-class Silver Star for bravery. This seems to have stilled his yearning for heroism: For his next deployment, which lasted from June to August of 1916, Kokoschka took shelter in the wartime press office. Produced along the Isonzo Front during this period were numerous landscape drawings and portraits and depictions of soldierly life at the front and in the rear echelons, which contain no value judgments. After suffering shell shock in the wake of a grenade attack, he returned to Vienna in mid-August, 1916, and then went to Berlin in September in order to see Herwarth Walden. There, remarkably, he executed a series of lithographs to illustrate the Passion narrative, which may be interpreted as analogous to his own sufferings in a way that is reminiscent of Carry Hauser's above-mentioned depiction of the "deposition from the cross."²⁰ Finally, to avoid being sent back to the front, he committed himself in December of 1916 to the Dresden Sanatorium, where physicians familiar with his case were able to prevent his redeployment. Pro-

duced during this phase was a series of drawings originally intended for a portfolio of prints dealing with the war; they were apparently forgotten, and have never been published together before.²¹ Here, Kokoschka presents the viewer a chaotic picture of the war, whose participants display caricatured features. Unnoted to date is the fact that Kokoschka apparently drew upon historical prints for these compositions. They are not simply copies, however, but instead paraphrases: The way in which these historical models processed war seems to have affirmed his own experience.

The group of five figures in *Die Schlacht* [*The Battle*] (fig. 2) makes a chaotic impression. The protagonists rush toward one another making wild movements, arms and weapons extended in all directions with no coordination. A comparison of this drawing with Daniel Hopper's etching *Kämpfende Soldaten* [*Soldiers Fighting*] (fig. 3) reveals that Kokoschka has taken over the hand and arm poses of several of the lansquenets—although their distribution has been altered slightly, and the cutting and thrusting weapons have been replaced by rifles and pistols. The sheet *Plündernde Soldaten* [*Plundering Soldiers*], in turn, is oriented toward Jacques Callot's cycle of etchings *Les misères et les malheurs de la guerre* [*The Miseries and Misfortunes of War*].²² In both Callot's *Plundering of a Farm* and Kokoschka's paraphrase, a pair of men fighting on the ground leads into a scenario of robbing and pillaging soldiers. The composition of *Soldaten, einander mit Kruzifixen bekämpfend* [*Soldiers Fighting with Crucifixes*] (fig. 4), too, is suggestive of a hitherto unidentified historical prototype in which soldiers confront one another with medieval weapons. Of course, the content of that image has been altered in an almost surrealistic manner: Now, the antagonists attack one another with the crucifixes of the title. In summary, we can say that in his retrospect of the war, Kokoschka oriented himself toward historical images of conflict in order to distill his own experiences into a universally valid, timeless form.

It is not known why the portfolio of war images for which these almost Dadaistic drawings were produced was never ultima-



fig. 5 Michael Wolgemut
Dance of the Skeletons, 1493 (Folio 264 recto from: Hartmann Schedel,
Liber chronicarum. Opus de temporibus mundi, Nuremberg 1493)
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

tely realized. It seems likely, however, that Kokoschka—not unlike Pechstein—turned his attention away from processing the war and toward new tasks, toward the renewal of the culture that had been so devastated by the conflict. If the portfolio had actually been published, it might have prevented the occurrence of the so-called “Kunstlump” debate, in whose context the Berlin Dadaists reproached him for setting aesthetics above the welfare of the people.²³ Among these critics were Otto Dix, whose painting *Streichholzändler* [*Match Seller*], 1920, includes a fragment of Kokoschka’s open letter affixed to the curbstone, thereby explicitly positioning himself alongside George Grosz and John Heartfield, with whom he had exhibited at the *First International Dada Fair*. In recent years, a wealth of literature has appeared on Dix’s wartime experiences and on his numerous paintings, prints, and drawings of the war, which has attempted to position the work politically as antiwar art.²⁴ Emerging only recently have been attempts to emphasize the “point of indifference” that is present in these works, the striving for a permanently valid depiction of existential experiences located beyond all political bias.²⁵ The notion that Dix sought to polarize does not exclude this observation; unavoidably, his depiction of war cripples (plate 119), not unlike his self-stylization as a toughened warrior (plate 129), elicits powerful and often highly emotional responses in viewers. But the main goal pursued in Dix’s works on World War I and its aftermath is the assertion of a definitive truth: They were meant to constitute a manifesto of the painter’s perspective of the world. In order to detach this point of view from a purely subjective level, Dix had recourse—not unlike Kokoschka—to motifs from the history of art, through which he was able to stylize his own experiences in a way that transcends time. Dix made no secret of the fact that before commencing work on his cycle of etch-

ings entitled *Der Krieg* [*The War*], he was intensively preoccupied with the works of old masters such as Goya and Callot, and that he incorporated stylistic and in part thematic material from them into his own work. Also identifiable are motifs drawn from photographs (*Transplantation* [*Skin Graft*]) (plate 124), from his own drawings of the catacombs of Palermo (*Tote vor der Stellung bei Tabure* [*Dead Men before the Position near Tabure*]) (plate 120), and even reminiscences of Edvard Munch’s *The Scream* (1893–1910, four versions), for example in his *Nächtliche Begegnung mit einem Irrsinnigen* [*Nocturnal Encounter with a Lunatic*] (plate 121), all of which found their way into Dix’s magnum opus on the theme of war. A decisive pictorial source, if one that has to date been given insufficient attention in the literature, is the motif of the *danse macabre* that permeates the entire cycle. Dix mixes together specific motifs from the history of art, for example Michael Wolgemut’s *Tanz der Gerippe* [*Dance of the Skeletons*], 1493, (fig. 5) in his *Totentanz anno 1917* (*Höhe Toter Mann*) [*Dance Macabre Anno 1917 (Dead Man’s Hill)*] (fig. 6) and *Drabtwerbau vor dem Kampfgraben* [*Barbed Wire in Front of the Trenches*] (fig. 7), with old folk beliefs in the dancing and promenading dead who drag the living along with them into death—a notion that was outdone by reality to a grotesque degree during World War I. Death, the dead, animate skeletons that seize the living *Mahlzeit in der Sappe* [*Mealtime in the Trenches*] (plate 125): All of these are ubiquitous in Dix’s cycle, which transports lived reality to a universal level.

Observable in the works of Dix and Kokoschka is the intention of adding supratemporal meaning to remembered personal experiences—or perhaps of highlighting the full magnitude of their meaninglessness. Together, they exemplify the attempts of an entire generation of artists to come to terms with the experiences of World War I artistically.



fig. 6 Otto Dix
Dance Macabre Anno 1917
(*Dead Man’s Hill*) (*The War*,
portfolio II, sheet 9), 1924
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg



fig. 7 Otto Dix
Barbed Wire in Front of the Trenches
(*The War*, portfolio III, sheet 10), 1924
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg

- 1** For an initial overview of the richly varied artistic depictions of the war, see Lieselotte Popelka, *Vom "Hurra" zum Leichenfeld. Gemälde aus der Kriegsbildersammlung 1914–1918* (exh. cat. Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Wien), Vienna 1981. – Christoph Bertsch, *Wenn es um die Freiheit geht: Austria 1918–1938*, Vienna/Munich 2000. – *Der Erste Weltkrieg und die Kunst. Von der Propaganda zum Widerstand* (exh. cat. Landesmuseum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, Oldenburg), Gifkendorf 2008. – *Musen an die Front! Schriftsteller und Künstler im Dienst der k. u. k. Kriegspropaganda 1914–1918* (exh. cat. Adalbert Stifter Verein, Munich), Munich 2003, 2 vols.
- 2** When not otherwise specified, biographical data on Austrian artists has been drawn from the following works: *Österreichischer Expressionismus. Malerei und Graphik 1905–1925* (exh. cat. Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna), Vienna 1998, pp. 187–91. – *Die Tafelrunde. Egon Schiele und sein Kreis* (exh. cat. Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna), Cologne 2006, pp. 216–23. – *Menschenbilder. Egon Schiele und seine Zeit. Meisterwerke aus der Sammlung Leopold* (exh. cat. Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck), Cologne 1998, pp. 165–76.
- 3** Anton Holzer, *Die Andere Front. Fotografie und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Darmstadt 2012, p. 7. – See also: Oswald Überegger, *Erinnerungskriege. Der Erste Weltkrieg, Österreich und die Tiroler Kriegserinnerung in der Zwischenkriegszeit*, Innsbruck 2011.
- 4** *Die Tafelrunde* 2006 (see note 2), pp. 38–41. – On the war exhibition itself: *Katalog der Abteilung Kunst, Kriegsausstellung Wien 1917* (exh. cat. Kaisergarten/K. K. Prater, Vienna), Vienna 1917, and *Kriegsausstellung Wien 1917* (exh. cat. Kaisergarten/K. K. Prater, Vienna), Vienna 1917, pp. 103–4.
- 5** *Menschenbilder 1998* (see note 2), p. 162.
- 6** See Rudolf Wacker und Zeitgenossen. *Expressionismus und Neue Sachlichkeit* (exh. cat. Kunstverein, Kunsthaus, Vorarlberger Landesgalerie, Bregenz), Bregenz 1993, pp. 16–21.
- 7** Popelka 1981 (see note 1), p. 58. The familiarity of Egger-Lienz's compositions is due not least to their heroic components and their monumentality.
- 8** See also Christoph Bertsch, "Bildtradition und Körpersprache. Österreichische Bildergeschichten der Zwischenkriegszeit als historischer Kommentar," in: Christoph Bertsch/Markus Neuwirth, *Krieg, Aufruhr, Revolution. Bilder zur Ersten Republik in Österreich*, Vienna 1995, pp. 73–127, here pp. 104–5.
- 9** See Markus Neuwirth, "Von der Donaumonarchie zur Ersten Republik. Bildende Kunst und Literatur Österreichs an den Schnittstellen politischer Umbrüche," in: Christoph Bertsch/Markus Neuwirth, *Krieg, Aufruhr, Revolution. Bilder zur Ersten Republik in Österreich*, Vienna 1995, pp. 13–72, esp. pp. 21–22.
- 10** See Richard Cork, *A Bitter Truth. Avant-garde Art and the Great War*, New Haven/London 1994, pp. 173–75.
- 11** Corinna Höper, "'Saatfrüchte sollen nicht vermahlen werden'—Käthe Kollwitz," in: *Kriegszeit. Kollwitz, Beckmann, Dix, Grosz* (exh. cat. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart), Tübingen 2011, pp. 27–78, on the war, see esp. pp. 53–68.
- 12** Cork 1994 (see note 10), pp. 332–33. – A self-portrait by Wacker from 1923 apparently alludes to precisely this portrait, albeit without making any other pictorial references to the war. Here as well, however, the theme of the wound may have been decisive in terms of content. See *Rudolf Wacker und Zeitgenossen* 1993 (see note 6), pp. 66–68.
- 13** *Zwischen den Kriegen. Druckgraphische Zyklen von Kollwitz, Dix, Pechstein, Masereel u. a.* (exh. cat. Käthe-Kollwitz-Museum, Berlin), Berlin 1989, pp. 43–53.
- 14** Christian Lenz, "Max Beckmann. Briefe an Reinhard Piper, Berlin 1994," cited here from: Corinna Höper, "'Zur Sache'—Max Beckmann," in: *Kriegszeit* 2011, pp. 95–109, here p. 106.
- 15** Bertsch 2000 (see note 1), p. 10.
- 16** Alfred Weidinger/Alice Strobl, *Oskar Kokoschka, Die Zeichnungen und Aquarelle 1897–1916*, Salzburg 2008, p. 504.
- 17** Ill. in *Karl Kraus* (exh. cat. Deutsches Literaturarchiv im Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Marbach), Marbach 1999, p. 253.
- 18** Oskar Kokoschka, *Briefe I, 1905–1919*, Düsseldorf 1984, p. 192.
- 19** Weidinger/Strobl 2008 (see note 16), pp. 505–06.
- 20** See Joachim Storck (ed.), *Rainer Maria Rilke: "Haßzellen, stark im größten Liebeskreise," Verse für Oskar Kokoschka*, Marbach 1988, p. 38.
- 21** A series of these sheets is illustrated in *Oskar Kokoschka. Das Frühwerk (1897/98–1917), Zeichnungen und Aquarelle* (exh. cat. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna), Vienna 1994, pp. 219–25. – According to information generously provided by Gertrud Held, an essay with the title *Oskar Kokoschka 1915–1917: Vom Kriegsmaler zum Pazifisten* will be appearing in 2014 in the framework of an exhibition in the Bundeskunsthalle that will be devoted to these works.
- 22** 1633, 18 etchings, Kupferstichkabinett Dresden, inv. no. A 59044 – A 59061.
- 23** After a painting by Rubens was damaged by gunfire in the wake of the Kapp Putsch of 1920, Kokoschka wrote an open letter condemning such cultural barbarism. Grosz and Heartfield then published a polemic under the title *Der Kunstlump*; see Karl Riha (ed.), *DADA total. Manifeste, Aktionen, Texte, Bilder*, Stuttgart 1994, pp. 140–43.
- 24** For an overview, see: *Otto Dix. Welt und Sinnlichkeit* (exh. cat. Kunstforum Ostdeutsche Galerie, Regensburg), Regensburg 2005, p. 332.
- 25** See Birgit Schwarz, "'Es lebe (gelegentlich) die Tendenz'—Dix und die Dialektik der Moderne," in: *Das Auge der Welt. Otto Dix und die Neue Sachlichkeit* (exh. cat. Kunstmuseum Stuttgart), Ostfildern 2012, pp. 62–71.

Stephanie Auer

Soul Rippers and Ripper Murder. Murders of Women in the Works of Kokoschka and Dix

“A Jack the Ripper who wouldn’t think twice about ripping the next best guy open, someone who would be capable of gulping down a bloody, raw piece of flesh from his hand. To see him then, with his bony fists on seemingly overlong arms, with his shaven nape, you could really believe that you were faced with a criminal who had just run away from the executioner’s block.”¹

These were the words used by Oskar Kokoschka’s first biographer, Paul Westheim, to describe the young artist in 1918. The bizarre identification of the painter with a criminal does not represent some singular manifestation of the author’s flowery imagination. Indeed, it exemplifies a discourse in literature, jurisprudence, and criminology that at the time postulated a “similarity in character” between artists and criminals. As opponents of the social order, both were stylized into existential outsiders and bourgeois rebels. They were considered symbols of an uncompromising and destructive brilliance, wherein the artists differed from the criminals only through their capacity to artistically sublimate their pulsional desires. This enabled the artists to repress their violence and channel it into a culturally acceptable form. The attribution of a similarity in character between artists and criminals took place not only externally but also through self-identification. A vast amount of visual evidence attests to this identification of the artist with the criminal and an intensive engagement with the theme of *Lustmord*, or sexually charged murder.²

Whereas Oskar Kokoschka’s early Expressionist play *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* [*Murderer, Hope of Women*] and the accompanying illustrations still approach the theme of the murder of a woman—despite the radical visual language—in a sublimated and my-

thologizing form, Otto Dix unsparingly confronts the viewer with a sexual murderer who can be found in the midst of society under the guise of someone assimilated into a bourgeois identity. By means of its shocking content, the theme of *Lustmord* becomes a tool for causing the bourgeois conception of self to totter.

The Age of the Sexual Murderer

As a term coined in the late nineteenth century, a lexical entry for the word *Lustmord* can first be found in 1885 in the Grimm brothers’ *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. There it is defined as “*mord aus wollust, nach vollbrachter notzucht*” [“murder out of lust, after completed rape”], and it is noted that “it is a word that has arisen only recently.”³ This way of understanding a murder as attributable to the inner condition of a sexually pathological criminal had not existed previously. It was first the series of homicides by Jack the Ripper, the London murderer of prostitutes who was never captured and thus rose to the status of a legend, that is considered the beginning of the age of sexual crimes. With reference to Jack the Ripper, the German expression “Schlitzer-Morde” [“ripper homicides”] was coined for this form of crime, defined in the *Bilder-Lexikon der Sexualwissenschaft* [*Illustrated Lexicon of Sexuality*] of the Wiener Institut für Sexualforschung in 1930 as follows: “Ripper, a type of sexual murderer, named after the notorious Jack the Ripper, a mysterious figure who never fell into the hands of penal justice.”⁴ Jack the Ripper had become the prototype of the sexual murderer, who not only inspired several real crimes, but also exerted a great fascination upon both artists and literati around the turn of the century and in the 1920s.

Kokoschka as Jack the Ripper

Although Kokoschka’s play *Murderer, Hope of Women* climaxes in a sexual murder and takes up the subject matter of a woman’s murder for one of the play’s illustrations, it was not the interest in this crime that induced Paul Westheim to use a direct comparison with Jack the Ripper in his characterization

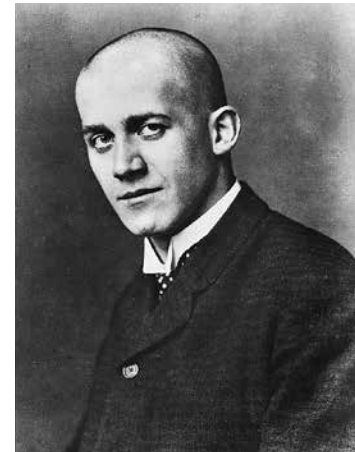


fig. 1 Oskar Kokoschka with shaven skull, 1909
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien,
Oskar Kokoschka-Zentrum



fig. 2 Oskar Kokoschka
Murderer, The Hope of Women I, 1910
Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm



fig. 3 Oskar Kokoschka
Murderer, The Hope of Women II, 1910
Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm



fig. 4 Oskar Kokoschka
Murderer, The Hope of Women III,
1910
Cover of *Der Sturm*, year I, no. 20, 714-1910

of the artist. Rather, it was the artist's series of portraits created within a period of a few years that inspired the author to seize upon the metaphor. These were considered Kokoschka's most important contribution not only to Austrian Expressionism, but Expressionism in general.

Because Kokoschka's portraits met with a fair amount of disapproval due to their complete negation of the sitter's need for social representation, Adolf Loos—"by promising to acquire them himself should the patron have a different view"⁵—enabled the young painter to free himself from the narrow conventions of this pictorial genre and to develop his expressive style of portraiture. In his lecture "Vom Bewusstsein der Gesichte" ["The Consciousness of Visions"], Kokoschka provides information about the aims and approach of his portrait painting. He alleges that the "state of the soul" can be recognized in the face, and in his portrait of a person, he said, he attempted to record this condition, which could never be deciphered completely.⁶ Kokoschka's "Seelenmalerei," or "soul painting", as the artist and his contemporaries understood it, could be seen not only in the physiognomy of the person, but above all in the view of the sitter's hands and gestures, which became central bearers of expression.⁷

From the beginning it was the psychologizing aspect of Kokoschka's early portraits that was central to their reception. Already Paul Westheim had noted "how he [Kokoschka] lays bare the spiritual physiognomy of his models. It is a virtual x-ray vision with which the inner person is seen through."⁸ For Henry Schvey, Kokoschka's portraits are "painted with the scalpel, an attempt to liberate the self in the interior from the burden of the fleshly surface ... a tearing away of the surface of the individual in order to reveal the pure psyche beneath."⁹

Although Kokoschka's portraits are frequently cited as evidence of his visionary abilities, it was undoubtedly for a different reason that the artist was able to convince his critics that the dissection of the bodily hull was capable of conveying psychological insights. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there was already an animated dialogue about the mutual influencing of the

physical and the psychological. Even scholars with approaches as contrary as those of Ernst Mach and Otto Weininger saw eye to eye on this point. They were convinced of the "complete parallelism of the psychic and physical" (Mach)¹⁰ and demanded that mental phenomena be investigated in a manner analogous to the relationship of "anatomy to physiology" (Weininger).¹¹

Analogous to Jack the Ripper, on a phantasmagoric level Kokoschka became a "ripper of souls," "painting the hand and head" with a "kind of horrible psychotomy that could be compared to vivisection" and "laying bare the spiritual skeleton of the person portrayed by him."¹²

**"Sie hatten mich dazu abgestempelt,
so war ich's halt"¹³
["They characterized me in this way,
so I played it for them"]**

Despite the fateful encounter with Adolf Loos, Kokoschka felt isolated in Vienna with his artistic work. On the assumption that his work would encounter a more understanding public in Berlin, Loos commended the painter as early as October of 1909 to Herwarth Walden, one of the most important propagandists of avant-garde painting of the time and the later publisher of *Der Sturm*.

In a poster designed for *Der Sturm* in 1910 (plate 116), Kokoschka works up the rejection he experienced into a visually stunning testimony. The self-portrait shows the artist with a shaved skull, as he provocatively appeared following the devastating critiques of his work at the Kunstschau (fig. 1). Branded a criminal and degenerate by the hostile press, he paraded his shaven head like the stigma of the social outcast and turned the provocation directed against him into its opposite. In drawing upon the passion of Christ by pointing to a wound on his breast, Kokoschka transforms himself from the accused to the accuser—and the poster into a "reproach against the Viennese."¹⁴ By combining Christian iconography with the shaven head of the criminal, Kokoschka unites the "mutually contradictory signs of divinity and criminality into a single portrait: the artist as Christ and the artist as criminal have be-

come one.”¹⁵ In him, the creative power and the destructive brilliance of this dualistic image pair are joined in a personal union.

Murder as Redemption: Murderer, Hope of Women

“A tempest such as the one that broke out in the open-air theater of the Kunstschau [during the premiere of *Murderer, Hope of Women*]”¹⁶ was probably seen again only upon the publication of Kokoschka’s play and the accompanying illustrations in *Der Sturm*, which aroused great interest among the artists of the German avant-garde. Oskar Schlemmer, who was in Berlin in 1910, describes the appearance of new drawings by Kokoschka “with each longingly awaited number” like a “tremor in the building of modern art. It is not possible to imagine these ‘sensations’ in our circle dramatically enough.”¹⁷

Executed in pen, the drawings are reduced to the storyline between man and woman and follow the play in its basic features. While on the first sheet (fig. 2) the knife in the man’s right hand, his holding tightly to the woman, and the dog between the legs as reference to the man’s bloodlust merely hint at the imminent death of the woman, in the second image the still living woman sinks down upon the man’s body (fig. 3). The drama reaches its climax in the artistically most important scene of the murder of the woman, which adorned the July 14, 1910, cover of *Der Sturm* and represents the woman’s death, which has already occurred (fig. 4). It must have been the first work produced in the series and was prepared by a drawing colored in watercolors of the murder of a woman executed in the summer semester of 1909 (fig. 5).¹⁸

In his play *Murderer, Hope of Women* and its accompanying illustrations, Kokoschka approaches the theme of the murder of a woman in a mythologizing form. The two nameless protagonists of the piece stand archetypically for “man” and “woman” and are raised to the status of bearers of a collectively understood portrayal of the eternal conflict between the sexes. At each other’s mercy in reciprocal desire and simultaneous fear, at the end of the play, the “man” places himself above the “woman,” who had initially

expressed her sexual superiority, and kills her. The meaning of this lethal force of attraction between the sexes was expressed by Kokoschka in an interview about his first dramatic work: “It was exactly what I imagined about women when I was young. . . . I am stronger! I will not be devoured by her.”¹⁹ This identification on the part of the artist with the male protagonist of *Murderer, Hope of Women* can also undoubtedly be seen in comparison with a *Self-Portrait* executed on January 26, 1912 (fig. 6). By means of his carnal desire, Kokoschka as “man” is symbolically bound to the “woman,” who draws her superiority from her powers of sexual attraction. Only by murdering the woman and thus robbing her of her corporeality does the man recover his spiritual powers and find redemption. But it is not only the man who is liberated by the murder of the woman. The “hope” of the woman, as well, lies in meeting her murderer and finding spiritual redemption through the loss of her corporeality. As was already true of Kokoschka’s self-portrait as the suffering Christ, the duality between criminal and redeemer becomes a determining element.

From Creature to Cold-Blooded Killer

In terms of typology and aesthetic realization, if one compares Kokoschka’s representation of the murder of a woman and Otto Dix’s treatment of the subject of *Lustmord* in the early 1920s, a transformation can be noted from the libidiously vitalist murderer of Expressionism to the cold-blooded killer of New Objectivity.²⁰

At the end of Kokoschka’s dramatic poem, the “man” descends into a proper murderous frenzy, to which not only the “woman” falls prey, but also the girls and warriors present, whom he slays “like gnats.” In his destructive ecstatic rage he resembles an unbound creature who becomes a sexual murderer in the course of an uncontrollable paroxysm of sexual lust and can thus be seen as the prototype of the Expressionist murderer.

Otto Dix, too, shows the elegantly dressed knife-wielding murderer in his 1920 painting *Lustmörder (Selbstbildnis)* [*The Sex Murderer*



fig. 5 Oskar Kokoschka
Murdered Woman, 1909

The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies



fig. 6 Oskar Kokoschka
Self-Portrait, 1912

Private collection



fig. 7 Otto Dix
The Sex Murderer (Self-Portrait), 1920
Whereabouts unknown



fig. 8 Otto Dix
Sex Murder, 1922
Whereabouts unknown

(*Self-Portrait*) in a moment of seemingly grotesque ecstatic frenzy, surrounded by hacked-up pieces of a woman's corpse flying through the air (fig. 7). Both Kokoschka and Dix underscore the orgiastic slaughter through formal means: Kokoschka visualizes the elemental force and energy of the scene by means of a network of jagged lines woven together and Dix uses the severed body parts placed arbitrarily throughout the room to energize the representation. Both images show the artists' identification with the murderer on two levels. Not only do they stylize their works into self-portraits, but they also show their solidarity with the criminal through their signatures: Kokoschka places his monogram on the upper arm of the man and Dix places a print of his hand upon the hip of the woman's torso.

Whereas Dix's self-portrait as sex murderer still resembles a Dionysian slaughter in which the event of the crime is at the foreground, his 1922 painting *Lustmord* [*Sex Murder*] (fig. 8) already displays the perspective of New Objectivity. The superficial provocation and the grotesquely abstracted elements recede into the background. The explosion of the most elemental kind of lust

can no longer be seen, but solely its consequences, which Dix records in minute detail, apparently drawing upon photographs of crime scenes. Unsparingly, he shows the twisted, realistically depicted corpse of a woman lying upon a bed in a nondescript room, the lower body ripped open and its viscera oozing out. Devoid of any individual features, she can be identified as a prostitute by the typical clothing of stockings and boots. Only the state of the body and the traces left in the room indicate that the crime must have involved the eruption of a primordial desire, which—in contrast to the brilliant artist—is unknown to the normal man, alienated from his vitalist roots.²¹

In contrast to Oskar Kokoschka's killing, which is carried out by a libidinous berserker in some distant "ancient time"²² under the guise of the eternal battle of the sexes, Otto Dix brings the crime into a back room of the Weimar Republic. He confronts the viewer with the stark possibility that an eruption of this kind of elemental desire, repressed by bourgeois civilization, could also take place within himself. The sex murderer becomes an everyman behind whose facade the abysses of civilization lie in wait.

1 Paul Westheim, *Oskar Kokoschka. Das Werk des Malers in 62 Abbildungen*, Postdam/Berlin 1918, p. 34.

2 On this topic see Hanis Siebenpfeiffer, "Böse Lust". *Gewaltverbrechen in Diskursen der Weimarer Republik*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2005, pp. 85–91. Additional detailed treatments of the theme can be found in: Maria Tatar, *Lustmord: Sexual Murder in Weimar Germany*, Princeton 1995; Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, "'Wenn Blicke töten könnten.' Oder: Der Künstler als Lustmörder," in: Ines Lindner, Sigrid Schade, Silke Wenk, and Gabriele Werner (eds.), *Blick-Wechsel. Konstruktionen von Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit in Kunst und Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 1989, pp. 369–93; Beth Irwin Lewis, "Lustmord: Inside the Windows of the Metropolis," in: Katharina von Ankum (ed.), *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture*, Berkeley 1997, pp. 202–32.

3 As quoted in Siebenpfeiffer 2005 (see note 2), p. 186.

4 Institut für Sexualforschung, *Bilder-Lexikon der Sexualwissenschaft*, Hamburg 1920 (reprint 1961), p. 68.

5 *Neue Freie Presse*, 9.9.1928, as quoted in Werner J. Schweiger, *Der junge Kokoschka. Leben und Werk 1904–1914* (Schriftenreihe der Oskar Kokoschka Dokumentation Pöchlarn, vol. 1), Vienna/Munich 1983, p. 117.

6 See Oskar Kokoschka, "Vom Bewusstsein der Gesichte" (01.06.1912 at the Vienna Ingenieur- und Architekten-Verein [Engineers and Architects Society]), in: Heinz Spielmann (ed.), *Oskar Kokoschka, Aufsätze, Vorträge, Essays zur Kunst*, Hamburg 1975, pp. 9–12.

7 On this see Patrick Werkner, "Gestik in den frühen Bildnissen Oskar Kokoschkas," in: Tobias G. Natter (ed.), *Oskar Kokoschka. Das moderne Bildnis 1909 bis 1914* (exh. cat. Neue Galerie, New York, Hamburger Kunsthalle), Cologne 2002, pp. 30–35.

8 Westheim 1918 (see note 1), p. 22.

9 Henry Schvey, *Oskar Kokoschka. The Painter as Playwright*, Detroit 1982, pp. 27–28.

10 As quoted by Claude Cernuschi, "Anatomisches Sezieren und religiöse Identifikation. Eine Wittgensteinsche Antwort auf Oskar Kokoschkas Alternativparadigmen zur Wahrheit in seinen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg entstandenen Selbstporträts," in: Natter 2002 (see note 7), p. 44.

11 As quoted by Cernuschi 2002 (see note 10), p. 44.

12 Albert Ehrenstein, *Menschen und Affen*, Berlin 1925, p. 112.

13 Oskar Kokoschka, "Mit seinen Koko-Strahlen," in: *Der Spiegel*, issue 31, 1951, p. 32.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 114–15.

15 Cernuschi 2002 (see note 10), p. 45.

16 Kokoschka 1971 (see note 13), pp. 65–66.

17 As quoted by Richard Calvocoressi (ed.), *Oskar Kokoschka 1886 – 1980*, (exh. cat. Tate Gallery, London, Kunsthaus Zürich, Guggenheim Museum, New York), Zurich 1986, p. 338.

18 Alice Strobl and Alfred Weidinger, "Oskar Kokoschka, 'Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen' oder 'Der Todhaß der Geschlechter,'" in: Achim Gnann and Heinz Widauer (eds.), *Festschrift für Konrad Oberhuber*, Milan 2000, p. 406.

19 Henry I. Schvey, "Mit dem Auge des Dramatikers: Das Visuelle Drama bei Oskar Kokoschka," in: Hochschule für Angewandte Kunst in Wien/

Österreichische Ludwig-Stiftung für Kunst und Wissenschaft/Verein Freunde der Hochschule für angewandte Kunst in Wien (eds.), *Oskar Kokoschka. Symposium abgehalten von der Hochschule für angewandte Kunst in Wien vom 3. bis 7. März 1986 anlässlich des 100. Geburtstages des Künstlers*, Salzburg/Vienna 1986, p. 104.

20 See Siebenpfeiffer 2005 (see note 2), pp. 196 – 97.

21 On this see Martin Lindner, "Der Mythos 'Lustmord'. Serienmörder in der deutschen Literatur, dem Film und der bildenden Kunst zwischen

1892 und 1932," in: Joachim Linder and Claus-Michael Ort (eds.), *Verbrechen – Justiz – Medien. Konstellationen in Deutschland von 1900 bis zur Gegenwart*, Tübingen 1999, pp. 273 – 305. On Otto Dix's treatment of the theme of *Lustmord* see also Olaf Peters, "Painting, A Medium of Cool Execution. Otto Dix and Lustmord," in: Olaf Peters (ed.), *Otto Dix* (exh. cat. Neue Galerie, New York, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Montréal), Munich/Berlin/London/New York 2010, pp. 93 – 107.

22 This was Kokoschka's stage direction at the beginning of the play.



Johannes Wafzmer

**A "Young Priestly Figure," a
"Dalai Lama," and a "Lotus Soul
among the Gorillas": The Early
Expressionist Magazines and
their Protagonists from Vienna
and Berlin**

The Counter-Public around 1910

Particularly in the early phase of Expressionism in Berlin around 1910, young writers and art theorists, but also many modernist artists, created their own new publication platforms and established a "counter-public."¹ In 1910 Kurt Hiller founded his Neopathe-tisches Cabaret and a year later the Cabaret Gnu; in Vienna the Akademischer Verband für Literatur und Musik was born; and in other cities as well young poets and authors attracted attention in public readings and evenings with authors. At the same time, new magazines arose in association with the artists' circle and sought to be seen as the socially critical mouthpieces of the new generation of artists—first and foremost the two Berlin magazines *Der Sturm* (1910–1932) by Herwarth Walden and *Die Aktion* (1911–1932) by Franz Pfemfert, whose publishing model was *Die Fackel* (1899–1936) by Karl Kraus, which had already been in circulation in Vienna for over a decade. All three publishers supported artists from their milieu whose work they valued and whom they knew personally, and in addition to theoretical essays and literary works, they also printed woodcuts and drawings.

Within a very short time, an intensive artistic exchange between Vienna and Berlin grew up within these circles. *Der Sturm*, above all, could not have been realized without the participation of Austrian collaborators; nor was it possible to imagine the Vienna-Berlin axis at the time without the magazine. Walden and Kraus in particular were in close and friendly contact and helped to put art-

ists in contact with one another, including the poet Else Lasker-Schüler and Oskar Koschka, who was living in Vienna at the time.

The protagonists of *Der Sturm* and *Die Fackel* appeared together publicly for the first time at the Berlin art salon of Paul Cassirer, where something unusual took place on three evenings in January of 1910: A "small gentleman with shaven head who looked very good-naturedly and harmlessly into the audience through his gold glasses"² recited from his writings, and read aphorisms and essays. The event was arranged by the Verein für Kunst [Society for Art], which had been organizing lecture evenings with writers and artists since 1904. On these three evenings in January 1910, the speaker expressed the emerging socially critical mood in Berlin's Bohemian world in unusually powerful language. One reviewer commented that he took "an almost horrible pleasure in the certainty with which a master of the literary blow dealt wound upon wound to everything philistine, to the prevailing morality, religion, the sexual lie, and the artistic movements he did not agree with."³ This "visionary,"⁴ however, lived not in Berlin, but had traveled to his lectures after some hesitation from Vienna. The lecturer was Karl Kraus, speaking before the broader public for the first time on the invitation of Herwarth Walden, the Berlin cultural artist and founder of the Verein für Kunst.⁵

The two had become personally acquainted scarcely six months before these "Berlin literary evenings"—probably through their common contact to the Viennese writer Peter Altenberg.⁶ An intense exchange soon grew up, which found its first highpoints at the beginning of 1910 in Kraus' Berlin visit and the first issue of *Der Sturm* on March 3 and which linked the environment of the Vienna *Fackel* with that of the Berlin *Sturm*.

***Der Sturm* and *Die Fackel*: A Berlin
Publisher and Vienna's "Pope among
the Critics"**

By reprinting his own *Fackel* articles and interceding for artists he supported, Kraus initially exerted enormous influence over *Der Sturm*.⁷ Consequently, countless letters and

telegrams were sent back and forth between Berlin and Vienna from 1909 to 1912: The two publishers gave each other advice on legal questions, discussed publishing strategies, exchanged addresses of artists, commented on events in the culture industry of the time, opened up their pages to the artistic milieu of the other, provided for the distribution of issues of *Die Fackel* in Berlin and *Der Sturm* in Vienna, and reciprocally sponsored each other. Their mutual praise took on almost eulogistic tones: Kraus printed the extremely positive essay "Herwarth Waldens Musik"⁸ by Samuel Friedländer, who himself wrote for *Der Sturm* under the pseudonym "Mynona," and Herwarth Walden called Kraus the "greatest writer in the German language."⁹ While Kraus hoped for a broader distribution of his paper in Germany through his connection to Walden, and to this end set up a Berlin office of *Die Fackel*, managed by Walden, Walden found in Kraus a mentor for his publishing endeavors. Kraus helped with financial difficulties and mediated contacts to various (Austrian) artists. Both mounted opposition—as did Franz Pfemfert in his *Aktion*—to bourgeois and conservative ideas of art, from which they sharply distanced themselves. The declaration "Zwei Worte" [Two Words] that prefaced the first issue of *Der Sturm* by Walden and Kraus¹⁰ exemplarily documents both its critical position and its own concept of art, which initially remained relatively vague and became more precisely defined only with time, and over which the paths of Kraus and Walden would eventually diverge:

"For the fourth time we are bringing out a new magazine. Three times attempts were made to obstruct our activities by means of gross breaches of contract, activities that were found embarrassing by the manytoo-many. We have resolved to be our own publisher. For we are still fortunate enough to be able to believe that culture and art can once again step forward in place of journalism and the 'literary journalese' of the feuilletons."¹¹

In *Der Sturm*, "culture and the arts" were subsequently grounded in theory, and in the essays the artistic objectives of the Bohemian circle were discussed critically. Even

the "Futurist Manifesto"¹²—published in *Der Sturm* in 1912—did not meet with un-mixed approval: for example, in his essay "Futuristische Worttechnik," Alfred Döblin expressed criticism of how, although Futurism originally represented an "act of liberation," with his word art Marinetti was engaging in "the breeding of epigones" and "aestheticism";¹³ and Kraus even saw the "Futurist Manifesto" as "the protest of a rabid intellectual poverty."¹⁴ The interaction between the art-theory debates and the art and literature published in the early Expressionist magazines contributed decisively to the popularization of Expressionist ideas of art.

Initially this Expressionist art program could not be conceived of without social criticism. The Austrian Robert Scheu, an essayist and author, declared in an article in one of the early issues of *Der Sturm*: "Culture cannot be allowed to sleep, it cannot be allowed to rest upon past achievements; it has the duty of constantly reconfirming its productive powers over and against the conservative worldview."¹⁵ In this sense the contributors to *Der Sturm*—and first and foremost Herwarth Walden himself—rejected previously established concepts of art and subsumed anything Non-naturalistic, Anti-impressionistic, Cubist, or Futurist under the title of Expressionism: "In the art of poetry the turning away from Naturalism, in the commercial and architectural arts the construction of a great law of the simple and organic, can be considered to have succeeded. The painting of Expressionism falls into their system with similar aspirations..."¹⁶

The Contacts among Artists

Aside from German authors such as Else Lasker-Schüler and Alfred Döblin, it is Austrian writers in particular who are represented in the early phase of *Der Sturm*, with Albert Ehrenstein, Otto Soyka, Robert Scheu, and Otto Stoessl, for example. There were various reasons for this: Due to the long period of *Die Fackel*'s existence, Karl Kraus had at his disposal a variety of personal contacts to artists. In addition, he had been writing *Die Fackel* almost exclusively by himself since 1911, so that, on the one hand, he no longer

engaged in the acquisition of authors and, on the other hand, he put former authors into contact with Herwarth Walden, who needed aesthetically high quality and at the same time culturally critical essays for his newly founded magazine, which appeared weekly. In the first year of *Der Sturm*, Walden for his part seems to have happily adopted the suggestions of his Viennese role model for contributors.

As a consequence, artists from Berlin and Vienna became personally acquainted with one another and with each other's art, exchanged ideas, forged friendships, and penned reciprocal reviews and appraisals. Alongside Karl Kraus, among the most important participants from Austria—also in the context of this essay—were the "lotus soul among the gorillas," the "stalwart... philosopher"¹⁷ Adolf Loos and the "young priestly figure" Oskar Kokoschka. Else Lasker-Schüler, one of the central poets of Berlin modernism and still married to Walden at the time,¹⁸ described the "Dalai Lama" Karl Kraus in an essay:

"Karl Kraus is a pope. His righteousness causes the salon to freeze over, and strikes society with a plague of disinclination. I love Karl Kraus. ... He blows over the towers of air and obstructs the high-speed bishops, yielding the advantage to the queens with a winning smile. He knows the black and white figures from the past and into the future. With calm papal hand he closes the chess board that nails the world together."¹⁹

Kraus returned the favor and expressed his enthusiasm for her poetic art, for example her poem "Ein alter Tibetteppich" ["An Old Tibetan Rug"], which he reprinted: "For me the ... poem is one of the most enchanting and moving I have ever read and there is little, from Goethe downwards, in which sense and sound, word and image, language and soul are as interwoven as in this Tibetan rug."²⁰

Already in the fall of 1909, shortly after the collaboration between Kraus and Walden began, *Die Fackel* presented a number of Lasker-Schüler's poems. Kraus later rejected the request to print more and in a letter to Walden declared, "The Fackel has nothing more to prove to E.L.-Sch. At least

not yet. Please explain that to her."²¹ But the contact did not break off. Kraus acquired books by Lasker-Schüler, read her poetry at evenings of the Akademischer Verband für Literatur und Musik, and used the proceeds to support the poet, who was in financial hardship. In January of 1913 he even organized an appeal for donations to Lasker-Schüler, which was signed as well by Selma Lagerlöf, Richard Dehmel, Arnold Schönberg, and Adolf Loos.²² After the end of her marriage to Herwarth Walden, the poet published works not only in Franz Pfemfert's *Die Aktion*, but also in Austria in Ludwig von Ficker's *Der Brenner*. Else Lasker-Schüler thus maintained a presence in Vienna and even Austria far beyond the phase of close collaboration between Walden and Kraus and her marriage to Walden.

She was deeply fascinated by the Viennese artists: She devoted an essay to the young Oskar Kokoschka on the occasion of his first solo exhibition in June of 1910 at Paul Cassirer's gallery²³ and among other works reflected upon his portraits of Karl Kraus and Adolf Loos:²⁴

"The ribbing of the man's hand in contrast to the image of the woman is a timeless sheet, his massive flower is the head of the Dalai Lama. I also recognize the well-known architect from Vienna, by the hearkening of his evil gorilla's pupils and his incredible ape-like speed, a dance without music. ... There is a beam of radiance on all of Kokoschka's images. ... Oskar Kokoschka's painting is a young priest's figure, his blue-filled eyes heavenward and hesitant and disdainful."²⁵

Exceptionally, the still unknown Austrian Kokoschka came into contact with the Berlin circle of *Der Sturm* not through Karl Kraus, but through the latter's Viennese milieu. Kokoschka also stumbled across the Vienna circle around Kraus in 1909, as well as the scandal architect Adolf Loos, who became an early supporter, and shared their culturally critical stance. Loos himself was seeking out a dialogue with Berlin "modernism." In March 1910 he held his famous lecture "Ornament und Verbrechen" [Ornament and Crime] in Berlin and made efforts to hold a lecture in the Verein für Kunst.²⁶ Loos and Walden had previously become acquainted

during the latter's journey to Vienna in the summer of 1909. Loos swiftly gained access to the group around Walden, and thus Else Lasker-Schüler described him as the "lotus soul among the gorillas" and dedicated the first edition of her novel in letter form, *Mein Herz [My Heart]*, to him "adoringly." Through the personal connection, Loos put the still unknown Kokoschka in contact with Walden. Kokoschka quickly established contacts not only in Vienna, where the first extensive review of his works appeared in *Die Fackel* in the spring of 1910—"Oskar Kokoschka. Ein Gespräch" [A Conversation with Oskar Kokoschka] by Ludwig Erik Tesar²⁷—but also in Berlin to *Der Sturm* circle. Although Kokoschka swore about his stay in Berlin in 1910 "my entire life is a hell,"²⁸ he was *Der Sturm's* most important illustrator until the end of 1916, and remained on staff until World War I. His influence on Berlin's Bohemian circle can scarcely be overestimated. He was vehemently defended against the ostensible or actual plagiarist Max Oppenheimer, was given his own exhibitions, at times became the subject of conflicts between Kraus and Walden, and continued to have his drawings on the cover of new issues of *Der Sturm*.²⁹

The Precipitous End and the Reminiscence of the "Circus Troupe"

Aside from the undoubtedly singular exceptions, in many cases the collaboration of the persons involved was over much more quickly than it had begun. Karl Kraus published less than a dozen articles in *Der Sturm* before distancing himself from Walden in 1912 as a result of personal and publishing differences: He found the "intrusion of the *Fackel* into Berlin's literary interests . . . embarrassing."³⁰ Along with Kraus, the colleagues from Vienna or Austria for whom he had served as a contact person—such as Robert

Scheu, Otto Stoessl, Albert Ehrenstein, and Otto Soyka—left the magazine. Although they were involved with the initial kindling of the magazine and of Berlin Expressionism, they are represented by less than ten contributions in *Der Sturm*. Their participation ended just as the magazine became established and collaboration between Kraus and Walden broke down. At the latest with Kokoschka's departure in 1916, the Vienna-Berlin axis in the milieu of the *Sturm* had run its course.

And yet over sixty years later, Oskar Kokoschka recalled a promotional trip to the Rheinland for the *Sturm*:

"We must have looked somewhat strange in our getup, like a circus troupe. Else Lasker-Schüler as the prince of Thebes in harem pants and turban, with long black hair and a cigarette in a long holder; Walden no less Bohemian than his wife, peering around sharp-sightedly through thick-lensed glasses, with a pointed bird's head, large hooked nose and long yellow hair, in a worn frock coat, the inevitable stand-up collar, and his yellow pointed-toe shoes. I believe I was just as comically and elegantly attired, still accoutred by the imperial tailor in Vienna. This is how we trekked through the streets of Bonn and naturally were laughed at and mocked by the converging passersby, cheered by the children, and smacked by the angry students."³¹

The recollection makes clear just how much the "modernists" of the cities Vienna and Berlin around 1910 shared an attitude towards life and friendship, over and above any theory. In confronting the social norms of the long nineteenth century, they placed new standards upon themselves and the world, sought possibilities for individual and collective expression, and found their own "expressionist" will to do art, which they self-confidently represented in the publication organs.

- 1** The term “counter-public” was coined by Peter Sprengel, *Literatur im Kaiserreich. Studien zur Moderne*, Berlin 1993, see pp. 147–232.
- 2** Karl Kraus, “Berliner Leseabende. Das ‘Berliner Tageblatt,’” in: *Die Fackel*, year 11, no. 294/295, 2.04.1910, p. 28.
- 3** *Ibid.*
- 4** *Ibid.*
- 5** For the starting point of the collaboration of Kraus and Walden as well as with the Verein für Kunst see Friedrich Pfäfflin, “Herwarth Walden und Oskar Kokoschka. Die Anfänge im Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer – 1910,” in: Rahel E. Feilchenfeld and Thomas Raff (eds.), *Ein Fest der Künste. Paul Cassirer: Der Kunsthändler als Verleger*, Munich 2006, pp. 165–176. – Sprengel 1993 (see note 1) pp. 174–208, especially pp. 160–65.
- 6** See the afterword by George C. Avery in *Feinde in Scharen. Ein wahres Vergnügen dazusein. Karl Kraus – Herwarth Walden. Briefwechsel 1909–1912*, George C. Avery (ed.), Göttingen 2002, pp. 615–32. – Johannes Wajzmer, “‘Damals gab es zwei Zeitschriften der radikalen künstlerischen Richtung’. Herwarth Waldens *Der Sturm*, Franz Pfemferts *Die Aktion* und ihr Werdegang,” in: Andrea von Hülsen-Esch and Gerhard Finckh (eds.), *Der Sturm. Zentrum der Avantgarde* (exh. cat. Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal), Wuppertal 2012, pp. 185–98.
- 7** Franz Pfemfert, in contrast, in his magazine *Die Aktion* and in his own commentaries on the social situation, took his orientation from Karl Kraus, but also attacked him. In general, *Die Aktion* served as less of a catalyst in the exchange between Vienna and Berlin.
- 8** Samuel Friedländer, “Herwarth Waldens Musik,” *Die Fackel*, year XIII, no. 326–28, 7.08.1911, pp. 48–49.
- 9** Herwarth Walden, “Notiz,” *Der Sturm*, year 3, no. 115/116, June 1912, p. 86. See also, by way of example, Walden’s open letter “*Die Fackel*. An Karl Kraus,” *Der Sturm*, year I, no. 7, 4.14.1910, p. 53.
- 10** Kraus edited Walden’s declaration about the opening of the magazine, even down to the wording. See Avery 2002 (see note 6), p. 168.
- 11** The editorial staff of the weekly magazine *Der Sturm*, “Zwei Worte” in: *Der Sturm*, year I, no. 1, 3.03.1910, p. 1.
- 12** Umberto Boccioni, Carlo D. Carra, Luigi Russolo, Giacomo Balla, and Gino Severini, “Manifest des Futurismus,” in: *Der Sturm*, year II, no. 103, March 1912, pp. 822–24.
- 13** Alfred Döblin, “Futuristische Worttechnik. Offener Brief an F. T. Marinetti,” in: *Der Sturm*, year III, no. 150/151, March 1913, pp. 280, 282.
- 14** *Die Fackel*, year XIII, nos. 351–53, 6.21.1912, p. 53.
- 15** Robert Scheu, “Radikalismus,” in: *Der Sturm*, year 1, no. 10, 5.05.1910, pp. 73–74, here p. 74.
- 16** Paul Ferdinand Schmidt, “Die Expressionisten,” in: *Der Sturm*, year II, no. 92, January 1912, pp. 734–36, here p. 736.
- 17** Else Lasker-Schüler, “Adolf Loos,” in: *Else Lasker-Schüler, Werke und Briefe. Kritische Ausgabe*, edited by Norbert Oellers et al., vol. 3.1, Prosa, edited by Ricarda Dick, Frankfurt am Main 1998, pp. 123–25.
- 18** The marriage contracted in 1903 between Herwarth Walden and Else Lasker-Schüler was legally dissolved in 1912.
- 19** Else Lasker-Schüler, “Karl Kraus,” in: *Der Sturm*, year I, no. 12, 5.19.1910, p. 90. On Else Lasker-Schüler’s relationship to Karl Kraus, see especially the excellent essay by Lothar Bluhm, “Karl Kraus, der Dalai Lama von Wien: Genese und Poetologie eines Kunstnamens bei Else Lasker-Schüler,” in: Lothar Bluhm and Andreas Meier (eds.), *Else-Lasker-Schüler-Jahrbuch zur Klassischen Moderne*, Trier 2003, pp. 86–101.
- 20** *Die Fackel*, year XII, no. 313/314, 12.31.1910, p. 36.
- 21** Avery 2002 (see note 6), p. 330.
- 22** See *Die Fackel*, year 14, no. 366/367, 1.11.1913, inside back cover.
- 23** The exhibition opened on June 21, 1910.
- 24** Drawings of Adolf Loos and Karl Kraus from Kokoschka’s series *Menschenköpfe* [*Heads of People*] were printed in the *Sturm: Der Sturm*, year I, no. 12, 5.19.1910, p. 91 (Kraus); *Der Sturm*, year I, no. 18, 6.30.1910, p. 141 (Loos).
- 25** Else Lasker-Schüler, “Oskar Kokoschka,” in: *Der Sturm*, year I, no. 21, 7.21.1910, p. 166.
- 26** See Avery 2002 (see note 6), pp. 62, 278.
- 27** *Die Fackel*, year XI, no. 298/299, 3.21.1910, pp. 34–44.
- 28** See Oskar Kokoschka, *Briefe I. 1905–1919*, edited by Olda Kokoschka and Heinz Spielmann, Düsseldorf 1984, p. 15.
- 29** On Kokoschka’s connection to the artists’ circle in Vienna, see Leo A. Lensing, “Gesichter und Gesichte: Kokoschka, Kraus und der Expressionismus,” in: *Oskar Kokoschka. Symposium anlässlich des 100. Geburtstags des Künstlers* (hosted by the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Vienna), Salzburg/Vienna 1986, pp. 127–53.
- 30** *Die Fackel*, year XIV, nos. 351–353, 6.21.1912, p. 53.
- 31** Oskar Kokoschka, *Mein Leben*, Munich 1971, p. 110.

Almut Krapf-Weiler

On the Dedication of Hans Tietze and his Wife, Erica Tietze-Conrat, to Modern and Contemporary Art in Vienna during the Interwar Period*

Hans Tietze consistently astonishes those who examine his career, in particular for the incredible intensity of his activities. But certain additional traits are no less astounding: He was an excellent rider, dancer, lecturer, conversationalist, historian, art historian, critic, rhetorician, public official in the Office of Antiquities and Monuments and in the Ministry of Education, and much else besides; and he was characterized finally by his personal commitment without regard to the cost, by his fearlessness, and civil courage (fig. 1). In 1930, in an appreciation written for Tietze's 50th birthday, a longtime colleague, the art historian Ernst H. Buschbeck, posed the question: "Where is unity to be found in this diversity? How is the connection between these apparently contrasting activities in a single life even possible? Just as according to Plato in the *Timaeus*, the world soul is stretched out diagonally between heaven and earth in the form of the Greek X, his spirit seems to extend far into the heavens of scientific and theoretical knowledge, and at the same time, and with the greatest energy, to circulate through the terrestrial activities of the day." And he identifies the solution to this mystery in Tietze's personality and in his idea of liveliness, which he had declared as the postulation of his conception of scholarship: "From this point, the path leads towards the difficult-to-interpret contrarities of his character, in which inexhaustible and optimistic readiness for activity coexists with the deepest melancholy of spiritual depression, and an unerring objectivity with the most profound human empathy."¹

At the beginning of her ceremonial address at a celebration of Hans Tietze's 100th

birthday, held in the Hall of Grotesques of the Lower Belvedere in Vienna in 1980, Eva Frodl-Kraft too emphasized his "stupendous versatility and astonishing efficiency": "Earning a PhD at 23, and a habilitation at 28, he had already published such a wealth of often pioneering works that the habilitation commission and its reporting secretary, Franz Wickhoff," felt obliged to place special emphasis on the many-sidedness of Tietze's achievement. In 1905, he became an assistant to Wickhoff, but left the university in 1906 to join the Institute of Art History of the Imperial and Royal Central Commission for the Research and Preservation of Artistic Monuments (later the Office of Antiquities and Monuments), then under the directorship of his old friend Max Dvořák, whose task it was to compile and publish an inclusive artistic topography of Austria, under the premise that only that which was known and catalogued could be preserved and protected.² As a private lecturer who was appointed as an adjunct professor in 1919, he lectured and held seminar exercises on a regular basis; as Frodl-Kraft reports: "Occupied at the time with the great theme of Venetian painting, he introduced students to the problem of hand drawings in front of the originals in the Albertina. Still vivid in my memory is the impression made by this small, delicate man, his character entirely unpretentious and restrained, and commanding of respect precisely for this reason, which seemed to stand in a certain contrast to the outbursts of sentiment and the rhetorical panache he allowed himself in his writings."³

Hans Tietze's beginnings as an art critic—or better as a writer on modern art, as he referred to himself—date from the first exhibition of young Viennese artists at the *Hagenbund* in 1911:

"For some members of my generation, the *Hagenbund* exhibition held in February of 1911, where a small group of Austrian artists were presented to the public for the first time, has remained one of the strongest artistic impressions and memories; for the author of these lines, it was still in a very special sense a personal experience, because it called me with inescapable stringency from scholarly reticence to the duty of declaring myself vocally



fig. 1 Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat in New Boston, Massachusetts, 1954
Private collection

and publicly in favor of the art that spoke with the greatest liveliness in the present; as a result of this exhibition, where the first of Oskar Kokoschka's wildly gestural works were on view, and where Franz Wielele and Anton Kolig appeared for the first time, where Anton Faistauer was still a struggling—and Sebastian Isepp still an aspiring—artist, I became a writer on modern art.”⁴

Shortly thereafter (1912), he dedicated himself to the *Blaue Reiter* group, to the astonishment of Klaus Lankheit, who remarks in the new documentary edition of 1997 on the group: “Characteristically, it was the pen of one of the new and open-minded art historians of the Vienna School that produced the—in my view—smartest and most comprehensive discussion; one of the very few positive reviews.”⁵

Another Tietze student, Ernst H. Gombrich, attributes an uncannily keen insight to his teacher, especially regarding a knowledge of his own time: “Tietze was an enthusiastic champion of modern art in Austria, and his bold engagement for the young Kokoschka has been immortalized in the artist's double portrait of him and his wife, executed in 1909, and today among the treasures of the Museum of Modern Art in New York (fig. 2). In fact, he was enraptured by the creations of the Expressionist revolution, which also captivated Vienna in the years before World War I, and he wore himself out in the service of the Austrian collections in his efforts to persuade the authorities to purchase contemporary works.”⁶

His main activity, which commenced in 1906, was the compilation and publication of a comprehensive topography of Austrian art, the production of which was a precondition for adequate efforts toward historic preservation. Supported by his wife, Erica Tietze-Conrat, Tietze applied himself with “unparalleled vigor” (Eva Frodl-Kraft) to this enormous task, which culminated in the publication of twelve volumes between 1906 and 1919. During the war, he was active as an instructor, and later as an officer in charge of protecting artworks in the region of Udine, from where he was able to return to Vienna at the end of the war only by facing great danger. Erica Tietze-Conrat came upon the idea (as

she herself has written) of helping Hans Tietze recover from severe depression by encouraging him to enter the civil service, which he did—not in the Office of Antiquities and Monuments, but instead in the State Ministry for Internal Affairs and Education. He also took over the editorship of Vienna's most lavish arts review, *Die bildenden Künste*, allowing him to publish defenses of the art prized by him and his circle quickly in the upcoming issue, and in particular programmatic articles such as “Art in the New Nation,” “Introduction to Modern Art,” “The Protection of Public Art Properties,” and many others.

“Art in the New Nation: An open letter to all friends of art in German Austria” presents Tietze's convictions with enthusiasm and a renewed verve:

“Now, we have become a nation, all of a sudden ethnic and governmental borders coincide, everything that formerly colored our actions and feelings, whether consciously or unconsciously, our connections with the other nations of the old monarchy, has dissolved, and lying before us, after all of these obstacles and equivocations have collapsed, is an open field for unimpeded development and exertion. German Austria is a new possibility; more than that, it is a new duty; a duty for everyone who comprehends and is seized by it to help wrest it from the humiliating timidity of this crisis-ridden transitional period. ... This new nation, which the newly created German Austrian people are to fill with lively activity, will be a democratic one. ... This transfiguration is an occasion for deep despondency and exuberant hopefulness. ... It will also be a stone-strewn virgin territory which each of us is duty bound to help render fertile in the circle of his former activities. All of us who, whether professionally or through inclination, have placed ourselves in the service of artistic interests should contribute to orienting all that is new in its relationship to art; [we] must be unquestionably and immediately moved by it as a nationally rooted and socially conditioned function. ... We also possess a great wealth of living art. How frightfully have we economized, how despicably have we squandered the best that we have! Here, an immense amount is subject to improvement; the education of the artist, which



fig. 2 Oskar Kokoschka
Hans Tietze and Erica
Tietze-Conrat, 1909
Museum of Modern Art, New York,
Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund

drives the strongest from the country, and raises the weak to the level of an enfeebled artistic proletariat; the award of scholarships, which degrades the artist and expends public resources without purpose or justification; the education of the public, whose artistic sensibilities are poisoned from school onwards ... the planning of exhibitions based on purely commercial machinations; ... both old and new require sensible sponsorship. ... The selfless efforts of all of those who have made art a concern of the future for people will encounter success; for it is our deepest conviction—a conviction that is the best pledge for our life in a state of becoming—that the spirit always moves material. Mens agitat molem should ring out like a solemn pealing bell, inaugurating our crusade for an art of German Austria.”⁷

After the failure of this publication in 1922 for financial reasons, and after Expressionism flared up fiercely once more, and finally after the termination of his activity as a civil servant as a consequence of political shifts, the Tietzes attempted something entirely different in order to assist artists: During that same year, they joined forces with friends in order to found the Gesellschaft zur Förderung moderner Kunst, the Vienna Society for the Advancement of Modern Art, in particular in order to resist the pernicious blockade that made impossible every attempt to come to terms with art outside Austria. In 1923, Erica Tietze-Conrat reports in *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt* that exhibitions are to be organized and individual outstanding works by living artists are to be purchased for the two state-run venues—the Albertina and the Österreichische Galerie—that collected contemporary art. Hans Tietze regarded it as imperative to point out that since the years of the *Secession*, the connection between the artistic life of the present day and Viennese cultural consciousness had vanished. The Society would break the ban dictating the preferential treatment of music in Vienna, thereby converting living art into something that would have a general impact. Despite the modest resources at its disposal, the Society enjoyed satisfying success by means of exhibitions, lecture series on contemporary art, the acquisition of artworks,

and so forth. The degree of difficulty characterizing this situation is highlighted by Robert Musil’s review of a Nolde exhibition presented by the Society at the Künstlerhaus, which appeared on May 2, 1924 in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in Berlin. Musil was not particularly impressed; the predominant tone is a general disappointment with Expressionism: “The majority of the exhibited pictures, however, merely distort the bourgeois objective consciousness into the most various and already familiar ways, or else fling apart a cosmos of colors that has become all too cosmetic, while neither arriving at anything positive regarding its intimations, nor at a coherent form of language; the results are as arbitrary as any invented language...”⁸ Exhibitions of so-called modern art in Vienna encountered great difficulties, even though Tietze realized that in the face of their diversity, all of the artists he exhibited at the *International Art Exhibition* of 1924, held at the *Secession* building, shared one trait: They were vibrant (fig. 3). The exhibition *Das Gesicht der Zeit. Graphische Arbeiten zweier Generationen*, organized by the Society in 1924 at the Künstlerhaus, also prepared the way for the great didactic exhibition of 1930. As early as 1924, he devised an entirely new type of artistic sponsorship: “A number of people have joined forces in order to pay 300,000 kronas each month; the resulting funds will be made available to artists based on individually agreed-upon rates in order to cover their living costs.”⁹ Participants were able to acquire works of art at half price. This so-called “artists’ fund” was intended to engender a natural relationship between artist and public, now that the “artistic existence had been deprived of all middle-class dignity.”¹⁰

As early as 1922, Hans Tietze had sketched out his intentions and grounded them theoretically in “The Social Function of Art,” published in the *Jahrbuch für Soziologie*.¹¹ In 1925/26, Tietze made the transition from an elitist- to a socially-based conception of the politics of art: “Despite everything we have preached publicly so often, we continue to believe secretly in an art for the few; nonetheless, we must resolve to regard the current movement as a healthy one. For if the social, economic, and aesthetic uprooting of art is

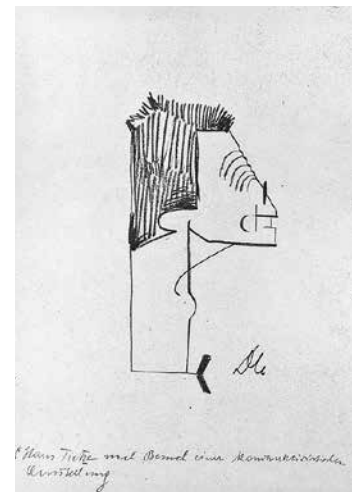


fig. 3 B. F. Dolbin
Dr. Hans Tietze after visiting a
Constructivist exhibition, 1924
Private collection



fig. 4 Erica Tietze-Conrat with her bust by Georg Ehrlich
Private collection

its greatest malady, then it must attempt by every available path to reestablish a connection to the whole.”¹² Tietze saw incipient stages of improvement in the activities of the City of Vienna in the spaces of the municipal district offices; in the exhibition *Kunst ins Volk* [Art for the People]; and in an attempt by the Educational Division of the Social Democratic Workers’ Party of Austria to combat severe hardship by making works by younger artists available for purchase cheaply and in installments—with the encouraging result that in just a few weeks, more artworks had been sold than at all of the great official art exhibitions of the previous winter combined. In connection with the colossal building activities of the municipality of Vienna, this attempt had great cultural significance when it came to material support for artists and a striving for the social recovery of art, as emphasized by the program’s directors Dr. Alfred Markowitz and Dr. D. J. Bach.

After 1925, Tietze’s educational and didactic activities continued with renewed energy. Particularly illuminating was the polemical article dealing with municipal policies and modern art in Vienna, which appeared in *Der Kampf*, the Social Democratic monthly, in August of 1927.¹³ Tietze makes reference, on the one hand, to the contrast between the magnificent new will and feeling for life that he saw displayed in the new social consciousness and feelings of responsibility, which had generated astonishing new architecture, and the total stagnation of Vienna as a city of art on the other. The experience of this exceptionalism, he says—this para-German or hyper-German, or in short Austrian form of existence—is foundational for Austrian consciousness. That which is alive and contemporary, he continues, must not be allowed to suffer from this condition. The consequences were witch hunts against Hindemith, Schönberg’s flight to Berlin, performance boycotts against all of the important young Austrian composers, the impossibility of holding contemporary art exhibitions, the impossibility of gaining even the vaguest impression of current art production in Europe from the Viennese collections, along with mediocrity, indifference, and epigonism.

The highpoint of the efforts of Tietze and his team was the didactic exhibition *Die Kunst in unserer Zeit*, which ran from March to May of 1930. In a leaflet containing an advanced notice in *Österreichische Kunst*, as well as in the catalog, Tietze once again summarizes his intentions with regard to the politics and pedagogy of art.¹⁴ The presentation is said to differ fundamentally from similar events in that art was regarded as a sociological problem. The focus was on the significance of art for life. The didactic intentions are clear in the accompanying lecture series: Hans Tietze on “Die Kunst in unserer Zeit” [The Art of Our Time] and “Die Überwindung des Ästhetischen in der Kunst” [The Overcoming of Aesthetic Elements in Art]; Josef Frank on “Form und Inhalt” [Form and Content]; Heinrich Glück on “Die Stellung Österreichs in der modernen Kunst” [Austria’s Position in Relation to Contemporary Art]; Ernst H. Buschbeck on “Die Revolution der Kunst am Anfang unseres Jahrhunderts” [The Revolution in Art at the Turn of the Century] and “Das Weltbild der heutigen Kunst” [The Worldview of Today’s Art]; Alfred Markowitz on “Die soziale Bedeutung der Kunst” [The Social Meaning of Art] and Otto Schneid on “Übermenschliches im Maschinenzeitalter” [The Superhuman in the Machine Age]. Under the direction of Hans Tietze and Ernst H. Buschbeck, the working committee included fourteen art historians, artists and architects, among them Erica Tietze-Conrat (fig. 4) and Fritz Novotny. In the leaflet’s 30 pages, Tietze sums up his theories on the rescuing of art from esoteric pretensions and a lack of connectedness “with the life that is ours.”¹⁵

Despite the efforts of patriots like Hans Tietze and his wife, who sought to strengthen Austrian self-confidence and attempted to prevent the worst by means of art, the First Republic ultimately failed. Finally, let us turn again to the words of Ernst H. Buschbeck:

“Hans Tietze’s greatest moment came after 1918. He was steeped in the conviction that reconstruction and new construction was the only possible answer to disintegration. His quick and penetrating powers of understanding recognized the singularity of the task he had set for himself, namely to bring

the venerable art collections of the court and those of the government, which had grown in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries...into a meaningful relationship with one another....If Vienna's art collections, our proudest possession, have for the most part emerged intact from that severe danger then this is first and foremost due to the efforts of Hans Tietze."¹⁶

* To my husband, Dr. Michael Krapf, with thanks for his help and patience.

1 Ernst H. Buschbeck, "Hans Tietze," in: *Belvedere*, year IX 1930, pp. 69–74. – cf. Almut Krapf-Weiler, "Zur Kunstpolitik des Tietze-Kreises," in: *Geistiges Leben der ersten Republik*, Vienna 1986, p. 78 (the latter article was the basis for the present text).

2 Cf. Eva Frodl-Kraft, "Hans Tietze 1880–1954. Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte der Kunstwissenschaft, der Denkmalpflege und des Musealwesens in Österreich. Festansprache zur Feier des 100. Geburtstages, gehalten am 3. März 1980 im Barockmuseum der Österreichischen Galerie in Wien," in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, year XXXIV, 1980, pp. 53–63.

3 Frodl-Kraft 1980 (see note 2), pp. 55–56.

4 Almut Krapf-Weiler et al. (eds.), *Hans Tietze. Lebendige Kunstwissenschaft. Texte 1910–1954*, Vienna, 2007, p. 303. – Almut Krapf-Weiler (ed.), *Erica Tietze-Conrat. Die Frau in der Kunstwissenschaft*, Vienna 2007.

5 Krapf-Weiler, *Hans Tietze* 2007 (see note 4), pp. 303–04; Wassily Kandinsky/Franz Marc (eds.), *Der Blaue Reiter*. New documentary edition, ed. Klaus Lankheit, 7th edition, Munich et al. 1997, pp. 296–97.

6 Ernst H. Gombrich, *Kunst und Fortschritt* (DuMont-Kunstaschenbücher, vol. 70), Cologne 1978, pp. 76–77. – Cf. Krapf-Weiler 1986 (see note 1), p. 79. – Almut Krapf-Weiler, "Zur Neuorganisation der Wiener Museen 1919–1925 unter der Leitung von Hans Tietze," in: Hadwig Kräutler/Gerbert Frodl (eds.), *Das Museum. Spiegel und Motor kulturpolitischer Visionen*, Vienna 2004, pp. 159–78. – Almut Krapf-Weiler, "Löwe und Eule," in: *Belvedere*, booklet 1, 1999, pp. 64–83. – same author, "Ein Mensch ist kein Stilleben," in: *Belvedere*, booklet 1, 2006, pp. 46–65. – Sabine Forsthuber, "Hans Tietzes kunstpädagogische Ausstellungen," in: Gottfried Fliedl/Roswitha Muttenthaler/Herbert Posch (eds.), *Museumsraum – Museumszeit. Zur Geschichte des österreichischen Museums- und Ausstellungswesens*, Vienna 1992, pp. 167–88.

7 Hans Tietze, "Die Kunst im neuen Staat. Ein offener Brief an alle Freunde der Kunst in Deutschösterreich," in: *Die bildenden Künste*, year II, 1919, pp. 65–66.

8 Krapf-Weiler 1986 (see note 1), pp. 95–96. – The Tietzes' personal collections were presented by Haberditzl at the Österreichische Galerie in 1931.

9 Hans Tietze, "Wiener Künstlerfonds," in: *Das Kunstblatt*, year VIII, 1924, pp. 126–27.

10 Ibid.

11 Hans Tietze, "Die soziale Funktion der Kunst," in: *Jahrbuch für Soziologie, eine internationale Sammlung*, published by Dr. G. Salomon, Karlsruhe 1925 (written in 1922).

12 Hans Tietze, "Die Reaktion in der Kunst," in: *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, 59, new issue XXXV, 1925/26, pp. 6–10.

13 *Der Kampf. Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift*, published by Otto Bauer, Adolph Braun, and Carl Renner, year XX, Vienna 1927.

14 Reprint in: Krapf-Weiler, *Hans Tietze* 2007 (see note 4), pp. 216–255.

15 Krapf-Weiler 1986 (see note 1), p. 102.

16 Ulrike Wendland, *Biographisches Handbuch deutschsprachiger Kunsthistoriker im Exil*, vol. 2, Munich 1999, pp. 689ff. – Ernst H. Buschbeck, "Hans Tietze zum Gedenken," in: *Die Presse*, 4. 16. 1954, p. 6; a very special and sincere thanks to Dr. Georg Lechner.

Hartmut Krones

Music and Art in Vienna and Berlin: A Felicitous Alliance?

“Demonic figures sit around in Café Größenwahn, contemplate their own egos and those of each other, throw wine vessels as large as beer barrels at each other’s ears, stuffed full with Stefan George, and through their unholy decadent coffee drinking, bring German art to the brink of the abyss. ... Unfortunately, Altenberg cannot endure the journey, but Hermann Bahr comes over twice a week ... while Karl Kraus dispatches diplomatic cables from *Die Fackel* in Vienna. Oskar Kokoschka has brought along some dust from the street, which he requires for his colossal paintings. At night the coffee-house literati’s marrow-corroding work of decomposition begins, and a lunatic babbling sets in.”¹

Herwarth Walden, the publisher of the magazine *Der Sturm*, penned these lines in 1911, which sketch out the literary and artistic “Vienna-Berlin” relations and, with respect to the “Café Größenwahn” [Café Megalomania], also call to mind music (fig. 1). *Der Sturm* is in fact a witness to this biotope of artistic synthesis, to which the Viennese contributed: Its authors included the “Dadasoph”² Raoul Hausmann, who combined literature, art, photography, and performance;³ the “multi-artist” Oskar Kokoschka; and the architect Adolf Loos as well as Peter Altenberg and Karl Kraus.

In Berlin there were also other “cultural imports” who had switched over from the Roman-German capital of Vienna to the Prussian-German capital of Berlin in order to realize their anti-bourgeois ideas:⁴ Franz Blei, Albert Ehrenstein, Otto Gross, Max Oppenheimer, Walter Serner and Berthold Viertel, briefly also Elias Canetti, Ödön von Horváth, Franz Kafka, Robert Musil, Alfred Polgar, and Joseph Roth. Many were delighted because they had come “to Berlin from the restful quiet of the village” and because Berlin “did something for the youth;”⁵ others were ambivalent about the city: “This city had the

courage to be built in an ugly style and this gives it the courage for more ugliness. ... It has none of its own culture in the sense of cities like Wrocław, Cologne, Frankfurt, or Königsberg. It has no religion. It has the ugliest churches in the world. It has no society. But it does have ... theater, art, the stock exchange, trade, cinema, and the subway.”⁶

Prague’s “raging reporter” Egon Erwin Kisch was even more negative: “The Berliner is in general loathsome, especially doubly loathsome; the women of Berlin are an entire conglomeration of loathsomeness. ... [The Berliner doesn’t take] the time to eat and has no sense for love, coffeehouses, and confectionary, for any kind of pleasure, that is,” and thus his “gainful activity and his love life are still [determined by] a military mentality.”⁷ Joseph Roth even saw this “military” lifestyle as a cause of New Objectivity, which dispensed with all art: “Never has the German language been written as poorly as now. And never has the opinion been so widespread that the writing in Germany is better and better. The writing is not good; it is simple. It is considered ‘direct and immediate.’”⁸

In the words of Arnold Schönberg: “I do have to teach the Berlin critics, these arrogant fools, how to speak with artists. The Viennese rabble has a pleasing quality of laughableness, which has a halfway conciliatory effect. One scorns but one does not hate. But these fellows here, who all want to be something better, are highly infuriating. ... And if they perhaps write a somewhat better German, this is due primarily to the dryness. They risk nothing. Like a Viennese waiter who causes great damage because he risks carrying an entire armful of dishes—but he’s still more likeable than the Berliner who would ruin only a few portions at most.”⁹

Arnold Schönberg is an important example of both a Viennese in Berlin and a “multi-artist”—primarily a composer and music theorist, he was also a painter, poet, political essayist, and inventor (fig. 2). And through him we also return to the Café Größenwahn, the café on the west of the Kurfürstendamm, which was an important gathering place for the Berlin art scene until 1915. The first two German cabaret theaters were “born” here in 1901: Ernst von Wolzogen’s Überbrettel as



fig. 1 Henry Bing
From the Café Größenwahn
[“Café Megalomania”]
“Ah, so you’re from Berlin, and what do you do?” – “Oh, I’m a substitute Bohemian from the Café des Westens.”

well as Schall und Rauch, run by Max Reinhardt. In 1910 and 1911, magazines such as *Der Sturm* and Franz Pfemfert's *Die Aktion* (fig. 3) originated here and musicians like Richard Strauss, Arnold Schönberg, Oscar Straus, and Victor Hollaender regularly spent time here, as did members of the literati such as Ludwig Fulda, Alfred Kerr, Christian Morgenstern, Paul Scheerbart, Johannes Schlaf, Frank Wedekind, and "our" (Viennese by choice) Roda Roda, as well as the poet Else Lasker-Schüler and the painters Max Liebermann, Ludwig Meidner, and Emil Orlik, who produced "characteristic" portraits of Gustav Mahler and Alexander Zemlinsky, for example.

But let us now return to Arnold Schönberg, who in the spring of 1901 composed songs for Wolzogen's Überbrettel cabaret, based on texts by Otto Julius Bierbaum. When the ensemble visited Vienna in September and Schönberg filled in for musical director Oscar Straus, Wolzogen then hired him for a season as musical director. From December of 1901 Schönberg thus rehearsed musical numbers in the Überbrettel, directing, orchestrating, and soon mastering the craft of the "lesser muse" so confidently that he orchestrated operettas and songs for many of the lighter composers—for Hollaender and Bogumil Zepler, but also for Leo Fall, Edmund Eysler, and Franz Lehár, for example. For the academic year of 1902 to 1903, Richard Strauss procured him a position at the Sternsches Konservatorium, and before his return to Vienna the first printing of his works was published in 1903 by the Berlin publishing house Dreililien.

In Vienna Schönberg then also matured into a painter. After some early sketches of stage sets for his own libretto designs, his ambitions grew after 1905—partly through his contact to Richard Gerstl—and from 1906 he created numerous portraits and images of nature. In June of 1910 he asked Carl Moll of the art salon Miethke to devote an exhibition to his work, but Moll saw Schönberg's "form of artistic expression as a painter still too much in its early stages."¹⁰ In October of 1910 Hugo Heller then allowed Schönberg to make a public appearance in his salon with forty works, which gave rise to diverse appraisals.

On the one hand, critics praised his high expressive capabilities, but also perceived "a most horrid amateurishness" as well as "repulsiveness" and went so far as to entitle it "Derailed Art."¹¹ His supporters, on the other hand, found the expression of these "tones transposed"¹² into images to be a felicitous alliance. And Schönberg's talent as a painter was also recognized by connoisseurs, among them Paul Cassirer, the owner of a Berlin art salon, who showed works by him that same year in an exhibition.

At the beginning of 1911 Schönberg came to the attention of Wassily Kandinsky: "Dear Sir Professor!...I just heard your concert here [in Munich] and took much genuine pleasure in it....Our aspirations...and our entire way of thinking and feeling have so much in common that I feel entirely justified in declaring my fellow-feeling. In your works you have realized that for which I had such a great longing—if admittedly only in vague form—in music..." Kandinsky compared the "construction" in Schönberg's music to his ambitions to create "constructions" in painting, spoke of the equivalence of "dissonances in art" with those in music and included some photos of his own work in the letter.¹³

In addition to a reference to his own painting, Schönberg's answer contained his emphatically declared belief in expression in art, in the "instinctive"¹⁴ qualities of the artist. Kandinsky greeted his works with great approval and he asked Schönberg to contribute to the *Blauer Reiter* almanac; he also showed four of his works in the exhibition in December of 1911. Shortly thereafter, Schönberg, together with Anton Faistauer, Oskar Kokoschka, Anton Kolig, and Egon Schiele, showed works in an exhibition of Viennese modernism in Budapest organized by Albert Paris Gütersloh, and once again the need for a radical form of expression, which emanated from Schönberg's "non-academic" images, met with approval. In a 1912 Festschrift presented to Schönberg by friends and students, Kandinsky emphasized that Schönberg "... painted [his] intuitively invented heads, which he named 'visions,' in order to give expression to emotions that could not be expressed in musical form" and "not in order to paint a 'pretty' or 'likeable' picture." And further,



fig. 2 Arnold Schönberg and his wife, Gertrud, Berlin, 1928
Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna



fig. 3 Max Oppenheimer
Still Life, in *Die Aktion*, 1917
Stiftung MUSEION – Museum für moderne
und zeitgenössische Kunst, Bolzano

"It's not every professional painter who can boast of these creative means!" Kandinsky's concluding praise must be seen as nothing less than a categorical song of songs to the expressive principle in the visual arts:

"I would most like to call Schönberg's art the 'painting of the only.' Schönberg reproaches himself for his 'lack of technique.' I would like to...change this reproach: Schönberg is mistaken—he is not displeased with his painting technique, but with his inner desire, his soul, from which he demands more than it can presently give. I would like to wish this feeling of dissatisfaction upon every artist—for all time."¹⁵

Albert Paris Gütersloh used similarly eulogistic words: "Now a person comes along and this person is a musician... and first leads... painting in all its effeteness before the ice-cold eye of logic and then, when the weaning from the representational has reached the cold pole of reason, back to the border of the prehistoric.... Arnold Schönberg, the thinker, has sought to finally recreate in painting that state of psychic primitivism... without which its present existence does not appear truly legitimate."¹⁶

Schönberg's most important paintings are in fact "visions" and "views," and also in his self-portraits it is the eyes that become mirrors of the soul. Karl Linke spoke of "inner faces painted outwardly,"¹⁷ Gütersloh of "brain nudes"; Schönberg himself believed that unlike a painter, he was able to "emulate the gaze of most people,"¹⁸ to grasp not "the whole person," however, but rather "only his soul."¹⁹ He painted Gustav Mahler with a severe gaze; his first wife, Mathilde, with terrified eyes; his second wife, Gertrud, is entirely the "high-spirited Kolisch sister"²⁰; and Alban Berg gazes into the distance with an air of superiority. An image of Mahler's funeral is inspired by a scene of the end of the world; a "Christ vision" seems to embrace the whole world; "Tears" well realistically forth from the eyes and mirror "Weltschmerz"; and from one handshake springs a universe of amicable feelings.

In all of these pictures, Schönberg indeed "made music" "with colors and forms,"²¹ but this was also above all a "chance to express myself, to share my emotions, ideas, and

feelings ... I could never express my feelings or emotions in words. I don't know if that's the reason that I tried to do it with music and painting, or vice versa."²² Karl Linke came to a very similar conclusion in 1912: "In terms of feelings it is not possible to precisely separate Schönberg's music, painting, and poetry."²³

Incidentally, as a painter, too, Schönberg felt completely Viennese. When Carl Moll sent him his picture *Wiener Atmosphäre* [*Viennese Atmosphere*] as a gift in 1932, he penned an ardent profession of admiration for Viennese painting: "I find that this fineness, this taste, this delicacy and liveliness—without principles—is aspired to by many but that only the Viennese achieve it. Your picture confirmed this to me once again."²⁴ Moll was delighted by Schönberg's view: "That you out there [in Berlin] feel that there is such a thing as 'Viennese painting'—which all of Germany ignores, indeed denies—that did my ancient Viennese soul a world of good."²⁵

From 1911 to 1915 Schönberg found himself once again in Berlin, where, among other things, he gave courses in music theory and at the beginning of 1912 was given the commission by Albertine Zehme for his great melodrama cycle *Pierrot Lunaire*, which brought him international acclaim. In Berlin he also completed his one act opera *Die glückliche Hand*, whose stage sets he designed himself in brilliant colors and whose musical score was given a visual equivalent: Instructions for the lighting, which—in harmony with the music—created effects based on color psychology. Schönberg, who here "made music with the means of the stage,"²⁶ designed the work in accordance with a kind of dream logic, in which his synesthetic approach was inspired by the ancient tradition of dream books.²⁷ In Vienna, Schönberg was not able to find a satisfying professional position for many years, so he took on a master class in composition at the Preußische Akademie der Künste [Prussian Academy of Arts] in Berlin at the end of 1925, which he directed until his emigration in April of 1933. During those years his work as a painter virtually ceased.

As a professor of composition Schönberg succeeded Ferruccio Busoni, with whom he had had a fundamental aesthetic conflict in



fig. 4 Max Oppenheimer
The Piano Virtuoso Busoni, 1916
Albertina, Vienna

1909. At the time he had sent Busoni some of his piano pieces, whose performance “demanded faith and conviction,”²⁸ but Busoni criticized both their “unpianistic” style and the unrealizable instructions on how to play them. Schönberg emphasized in reply that these pieces “would not tolerate a style of composition that would overly stroke the feeling of the sound...” and in addition certain instructions were “more a suggestion for understanding the lines than a description of how they are to be played.” When Busoni then “re-orchestrated” a piece, Schönberg refused to allow the “transcription” to be printed, since the aesthetics of his piano music were based upon transparency and “the rapid consumption of harmonies” and he had quite intentionally thrown the “old” piano style overboard: “Away from pathos! Away from never-ending 24-pound music; from the built and constructed towers, rocks, and other gigantic stuff like that.”

Viennese artists working in Berlin, such as Max Oppenheimer and Oskar Kokoschka, also merged painting and music. As early as 1909 Oppenheimer portrayed Schönberg (with whom he had once “painted the town red”²⁹ into the wee hours) (plate 93) as well as his student Anton Webern; he drew inspiration in 1911 for his sensually lustful *Salome* among other places from Richard Strauss’s opera; and he continued his depictions of musicians with an image of Ferruccio Busoni (fig. 4) as well as of string quartets, in which he pursued the “synesthetic idea of a sonorous image.”³⁰ In 1925 the *Rosé-Quartett* initiated a special Vienna thematic that was continued in *Die Philharmoniker* and the *Kolisch-Quartett*, and in 1943 his *Self-Portrait* even included two members of the philharmonic.

Oskar Kokoschka also devoted himself to *Salome* early on, gave faces to the musicians in the cabaret *Fledermaus*, portrayed Egon Wellesz and Anton Webern,³¹ traced a Bach cantata, and in *Die Macht der Musik* [*The Power of Music*] both created a “translation” of sounds into paint and made visible a “power” emanating from music; it is unnecessary to point out that it is a girl who blows the shawm and that the “power” strikes a young man. An image of the *Wiener Staatsoper* [*Vienna State Opera*], 1956, a variation of the *Macht der*

Musik, as well as drawings of a violinist (1973), round out the “musical” themes of the artist, who became an Austrian citizen again in 1975.

Another Vienna-Berlin “connection” between music and painting was the friendship of Swiss painter Johannes Itten with Josef Matthias Hauer, who met in 1919 at Itten’s exhibition in Vienna (where Itten led his own art school). They discussed the congruency of music and the visual arts as well as the comparability of tones and colors (Hauer had written *Über die Klangfarbe* in 1918, building upon Goethe’s theory of color); in addition they considered founding a music school connected to the Bauhaus, where Itten had a position at the time; but the plan was never realized. Itten, who saw Hauer’s “abstract” composing as similar in character to his own images and who dedicated his painting *Komposition aus zwei Formthemen* [*Composition of Two Form Themes*] to the musician (fig. 5), became the founder of “color type theory,” founded an art school in Berlin in 1926, and finally went (back) to Zurich in 1938. There, the Bavarian painter Christian Schad also worked for a while; he had worked closely with the Viennese writer Walter Serner in Dada days and later lived in Vienna himself from 1925 to 1928, finally moving to Berlin where he would become the painter of the self-confident woman and “sophisticated” society.

A number of other important Viennese musicians who worked in Berlin should not be forgotten: Franz Schreker, who was appointed director of the Berlin Musikhochschule in 1920 and in 1932 assumed responsibility for a master class in composition before being forced away by the National Socialists; Hanns Eisler, who twice rose to become the model composer for the “left” until he emigrated from Vienna; Alexander Zemlinsky, who was conductor for the Kroll Oper and *Unter den Linden* from 1927 to 1933 as well as teaching at the Musikhochschule; and also Ernst Krenek, Ernst Toch, and Jimmy Berg, who moved to Berlin in 1931 but soon thereafter fled back to Vienna, and who had written history as a composer in the cabaret scene, especially in his collaboration with Jura Soyfer.

As is well known, the shared cultural history of Vienna and Berlin, which combined



fig. 5 Johannes Itten
*Composition of Two
Form Themes*, 1919
Private collection

music and art and raised both to unified heights, experienced a brutal end: In Germany at the beginning of 1933 and in Austria in 1938, after there, too, democracy and “parliamentarianism” had been thrown overboard five years earlier.

- 1 Herwarth Walden, “Cafe Grössenwahn,” in: *Der Sturm*, no. 82, October 1911, p. 2.
- 2 Hans Richter, *DADA – Kunst und Antikunst*, fourth edition, Cologne 1978, p. 110.
- 3 See Hartmut Krones, “Raoul Hausmann und der Berliner Dadaismus,” in: Hartmut Grimm, Mathias Hansen, Ludwig Holtmeier (eds.), *Wien – Berlin. Stationen einer kulturellen Beziehung*, Saarbrücken 2000, pp. 143–61.
- 4 See Rolf-Peter Janz, “Dieses absterbende Riesendorf’. Literarische Städtebilder aus Wien und Berlin,” in: Grimm 2000 (see note 3), pp. 64–78.
- 5 Ödön von Horvath, “Flucht aus der Stille,” in: Traugott Kruschke (ed.), *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 8, Frankfurt am Main 1978, p. 657.
- 6 Joseph Roth, “Die Flucht ohne Ende,” in: Klaus Westermann and Fritz Hackert (eds.) *Werke*, vol. 4, Cologne 1989, pp. 464–65.
- 7 Egon Erwin Kisch, “Brief an Paul Kisch vom 11. November 1905,” in: *Briefe an den Bruder Paul und an die Mutter 1905–1930*, Berlin/Weimar 1978, p. 7.
- 8 Joseph Roth, “Schluß mit der ‘Neuen Sachlichkeit!’,” in: Klaus Westermann and Fritz Hackert (eds.), *Werke*, vol. 3, Cologne 1991, pp. 154–55.
- 9 Arnold Schönberg, entry of 2.11.1912 in his “Berliner Tagebuch” (Berlin journal), in: Arnold Schönberg, *Berliner Tagebuch*, Josef Rufer (ed.), Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Vienna 1974, p. 23.
- 10 Carl Moll to Arnold Schönberg, 6.18.1910, as quoted in: Christian Mayer and Therese Muxeneder (eds.), *Arnold Schönberg. Catalogue raisonné*, vol. 1, Vienna 2005, p. 123.
- 11 Reprints of these reviews from 1910 in: Mayer and Muxeneder 2005 (see note 10), pp. 128, 131, and 134.
- 12 Paul Stefan, “Schönberg-Abend,” in: *Der Merker. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Musik und Theater*, year 2, 1, October–December 1910, issue 2, p. 79.
- 13 Wassily Kandinsky to Arnold Schönberg, 1.18.1911, as quoted in Wassily Kandinsky/Arnold Schönberg, *Der Briefwechsel*, Jelena Hahl-Koch (ed.), Stuttgart 1993, p. 15.
- 14 Arnold Schönberg to Wassily Kandinsky, 1.24.1911, in: Kandinsky/Schönberg 1993 (see note 13), p. 18.
- 15 Wassily Kandinsky, “Die Bilder,” in *Arnold Schönberg. Mit Beiträgen von [...]*, Munich 1912, pp. 59–64, here pp. 59–60 and pp. 63–64.
- 16 Albert Paris von Gütersloh, “Schönberg der Maler,” in: *Arnold Schönberg 1912* (see note 15), pp. 67–74, here pp. 68–69.
- 17 Karl Linke, “Zur Einführung,” in: *Arnold Schönberg 1912* (see note 15), pp. 13–21, here p. 16.
- 18 Arnold Schönberg, “Blicke,” 1926 (Arnold Schönberg Center [ASC], T 04.12), ASSV 5.3.8.14, Julia Bungardt and Nikolaus Urbanek (with the collaboration of Eike Fefz, Hartmut Krones, Therese Muxeneder and Manuel Strauß), *Arnold-Schönberg-Schriften-Verzeichnis* [ASSV], in: Hartmut Krones (ed.), *Arnold Schönberg in seinen Schriften. Verzeichnis – Fragen – Editorisches*, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2011, pp. 331–568.
- 19 Arnold Schönberg, *Malerische Einflüsse*, 1938 (ASC, T 04.29), ASSV 5.3.8.40.
- 20 Schönberg to Gertrud Kolisch, 7.28.1924: “You look completely different than earlier. And so responsible that I can no longer recognize the high-spirited ‘Kolish sister’ at all”: http://www.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=1072.
- 21 Schönberg to Leopold Stokowski, 11.30.1949, as quoted in Mayer and Muxeneder 2005 (see note 10), p. 80.
- 22 Schönberg’s conversation with Halsey Stevens of July 1949, as quoted in Mayer and Muxeneder 2005 (see note 10), p. 14.
- 23 Karl Linke, “Zur Einführung,” in: *Arnold Schönberg 1912* (see note 15), p. 21.
- 24 Arnold Schönberg to Carl Moll, 12.27.1932, as quoted in Mayer and Muxeneder 2005 (see note 10), p. 79.
- 25 Carl Moll to Arnold Schönberg, 1.01.1933: http://www.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=14388.
- 26 Arnold Schönberg, *Vortrag zur Einführung in die Glückliche Hand*, 1928 (ASC, T 16.04), ASSV 4.1.7.
- 27 See Hartmut Krones, “Farbe – Klang – Traum. Doppel- und Dreiecksbeziehungen durch Jahrhunderte,” in: *Der Maler Arnold Schönberg* [= *Journal of the ASC* 6/2004], Vienna 2004, pp. 17–33, here pp. 26–27 and p. 31.
- 28 Schönberg to Busoni, 7.13.1909, as quoted in: Jutta Theurich (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Arnold Schönberg und Ferruccio Busoni 1903–1919* (1927), *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, year XIX, issue 3, 1977, pp. 163–211, here p. 164. All the letters from 1909 are not individually designated within the sequence.
- 29 Arnold Schönberg to Mathilde Schönberg, 6.23.1909: http://www.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=6496. – “Den Briefverkehr zwischen Schönberg und Oppenheimer,” in: Mayer and Muxeneder 2005 (see note 10).
- 30 Alexander Klee, “Max Oppenheimer – Musikbilder,” in: Agnes Husslein-Arco/Alexander Klee (eds.), *Oppenheimer. Mahler und die Musik* (exh. cat. Belvedere, Vienna), Vienna 2010, p. 52.
- 31 On Kokoschka’s early “music” images see: Agnes Husslein-Arco/Alfred Weidinger (eds.), *Kokoschka. Träumender Knabe – Enfant terrible*, Weitra 2008, passim. On the correspondence between Schönberg and Kokoschka, see Mayer and Muxeneder 2005 (see note 10).

The City in Fragments.
Dada and Kineticism



Avant-garde art is urban art. The variety and richness of impressions in the big city with its street life, masses of people, modern means of transportation, factories, restaurants, cafés, and bars stimulated European art after World War I. In 1920 the Berlin artist Otto Möller painted facades, cars, and letters swirling tumultuously, in this way capturing the noise of the street. The Hungarian artist Hugó Scheiber painted a cubistically splintered streetcar filled with passengers clattering through a suburban landscape. In Vienna as in Berlin, artists dreamed of the quintessential modern city, of New York.

Over the course of the 1920s, increasing numbers of Viennese artists and authors found their way to Berlin. Berlin's fascination as the German capital of modernism was reflected in their short, polished prose texts, which are still able to characterize the city's seething vitality even today: Joseph Roth declared his "Confession of faith in the Gleisdreieck,"¹ Alfred Polgar extolled "unsweet Berlin, characterized by straight lines and destroyed by film,"² and in the words of Alfred Döblin, Berlin is "the gasoline that fuels my motor."³

In Berlin the Dadaists were also a part of this urban modernism. They used the city, shattered by the deprivations of war and revolution, as a stage for their farewell song to the old society along with its art. Dada's laugh was liberating, anti-authoritarian, and anarchic. With caustic, satirical words, sharp pens, and even sharper scissors, Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Höch, George Grosz, and John Heartfield, for example, fought against the militaristic, upper-class, monarchist authorities of the young Weimar Republic. "Dadaism, for the first time, no longer approaches life aesthetically, in that it shreds into its components the whole catchphrase of ethics, culture, and inwardness, which are mere cloaks for weak muscles,"⁴ the first Dada manifesto, performed on stage by Richard Huelsenbeck, proclaimed in 1918.

While the Dadaists vehemently attacked the spiritual—and in particular Expressionism and Futurism—in art, celebrating instead nonsense and the "machine art of Tatlin,"⁵ young Viennese around 1922 were scaling the summit of this very modernism. Under Franz Cizek, the legendary director of ornamental form theory at Vienna's Kunstgewerbeschule, they had the benefit of a progressive educational approach and a specifically Viennese adaptation of the avant-garde before World War I: Expressionism, Cubism, and Futurism as applied arts. Movement and ornament were central to this "Kineticism" in order to depict the modern city or, even more so, to actively participate in designing it through posters or stage sets.

The Viennese architect and designer Friedrich Kiesler was an important avant-garde link between Vienna and Berlin. In 1923 he caused a sensation with his set design for the play *R. U. R.* by Karel Čapek in Berlin, with a machine room as the stage set for a robot story. In 1924 he designed the *Inter-*



national Exhibition of New Theater Techniques in Vienna's Konzerthaus. His design for an ascending spiral-shaped stage, shown there for the first time, sought to dissolve the boundary between actors and audience. His constructivist exhibition design, which he named *Träger-Leger-System* [*L + T System*] (plate 186), took art down from the museum walls and brought it into the room.

Collage, which had been developed by the Berlin Dadaists into a precise method of representing reality in order to depict, comment upon, and criticize the complexity of their age, could not establish a foothold in Vienna. At the beginning of the 1930s, the Viennese Bauhaus artist Friedl Dicker drew upon the political photomontages of the Berlin Dadaist John Heartfield, like him sharpening montage into a weapon in the class struggle. Her political work ultimately resulted in the artist's arrest, interrogation, and imprisonment. The early thirties were crisis years in both Berlin and Vienna. The economic and political situation was intensifying, the fascist and right-wing conservative attacks on the republic escalating. In 1930, long after she had settled in New York, Erika Giovanna Klien, the most successful of the Kineticists at the time besides Marianne (My) Ullmann and Elisabeth Karlinsky, reported on the tense situation in Austria in the form of representations of street battles and civil war. But the pictorial means of Kineticism, ideally suited for the metallic sheen of a locomotive or the flashing lights of the subway, provided a less fitting form for the impassioned visual narratives of police violence and scenes of the masses.

Annelie Lütgens

- 1 Joseph Roth, "Bekenntnis zum Gleisdreieck" (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, 7.16.1924), in: Joseph Roth, *Werke 2. Das Journalistische Werk 1924–1928*, edited and with an afterword by Klaus Westermann, Cologne 1990, pp. 218–21.
- 2 Alfred Polgar, "Berlin, Sommer 1922," in: Stefan Großmann (ed.), *Tage-Buch*, year III, issue 29, 1922, p. 1033.
- 3 Alfred Döblin, "Berlin und die Künstler," in: *Alfred Döblin, Schriften zu Leben und Werk*, Erich Kleinschmidt (ed.), Olten 1986, p. 38.
- 4 Richard Huelsenbeck, "Dada," in: Richard Huelsenbeck (ed.), *Dada Almanach*, reprint of the 1920 issue, Hamburg 1928, pp. 38–39.
- 5 "Die Kunst ist tot. Es lebe die neue Maschinenkunst Tatlins" [Art is Dead. Long Live Tatlin's New Machine Art] could be read in June of 1920 on a sign at the *Ersten Internationalen Dada-Messe* [First International Dada Fair]. Vladimir Yevgraphovich Tatlin (1885–1953) was a Russian painter and founder of machine art.
- 6 Quotation on the following page: Alfred Polgar, "Ein paar Tage in Berlin," in: *Tage-Buch*, year I, issue 1, 1920, p. 25.



**“Apart from that, Berlin Dada is
a thoroughly Dadaistic affair.”⁶**

Alfred Polgar 1920

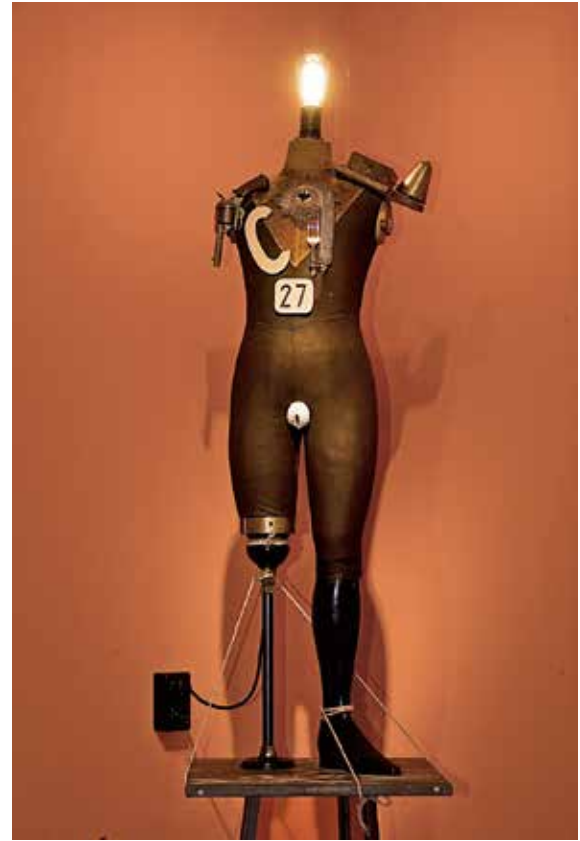


148

HANNAH HÖCH
Dada Review, 1919

Collage, gouache and watercolor
 on cardboard, 43.7 × 34.6 cm

Berlinische Galerie



149 **GEORGE GROSZ**
"Daum" marries her pedantic automaton "George" in
May 1920, John Heartfield is very glad of it.
(Meta Mech. Constr. after Prof. R. Hausmann), 1920
 Watercolor, pencil, Indian ink, and
 collage on watercolor board, 42 × 30.2 cm

Berlinische Galerie

150 **GEORGE GROSZ AND JOHN HEARTFIELD**
The Conformist Heartfield Turned Wild.
Electro-mechanical Tatlin Sculpture, 1920
 (reconstruction Michael Sellmann 1988)
 Tailor's dummy, revolver, bell, knife and fork, "C," "27,"
 false teeth, Order of the Black Eagle, Iron Cross,
 Osram light bulb, 130 × 45 × 45 cm

Berlinische Galerie



151

HANNAH HÖCH
Dada Dolls, 1916/18

Textiles, paperboard, and pearls,
 Dimensions variable

Berlinische Galerie



152

RUDOLF SCHLICHTER AND
JOHN HEARTFIELD

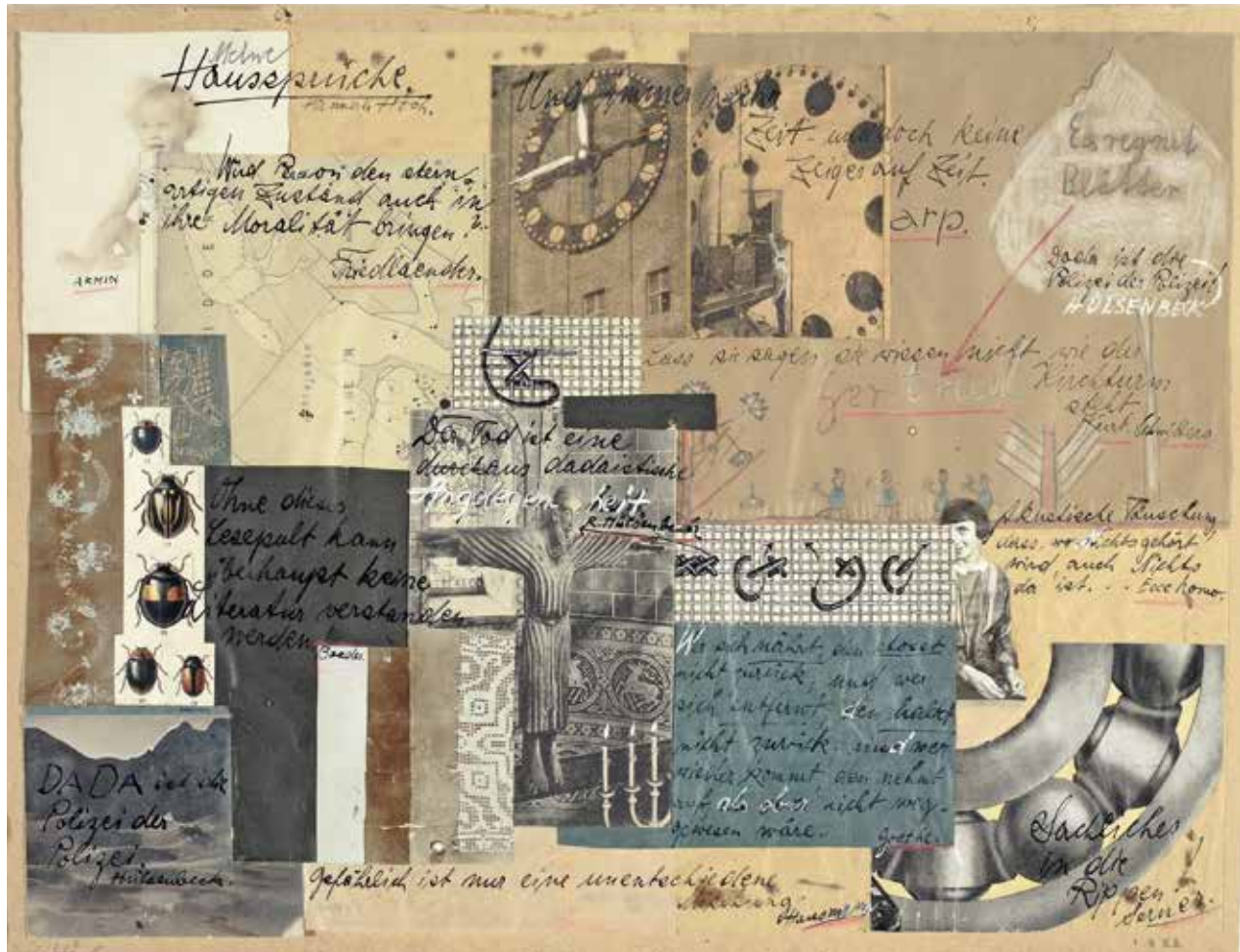
Prussian Archangel, 1920

(reconstruction by Isabel Kork and Michael Sellmann)

Papier-mâché on wire, uniform jacket,
 uniform trousers, belt, boots, etc., 180 cm

Berlinische Galerie





HANNAH HÖCH

My Proverbs to Live By, 1922

Collage, Indian ink, opaque white, crayon, gray and colored pencil on paperboard, 30 × 40 cm

Berlinische Galerie

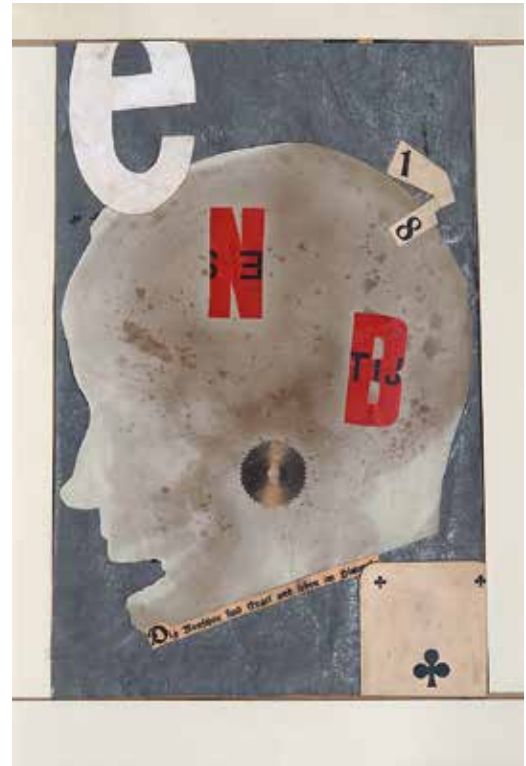


157

HANNAH HÖCH**Roma, 1925**

Oil on canvas, 90 × 106 cm

Berlinische Galerie



158

HANNAH HÖCH
German Girl, 1930

Collage on cardboard, mounted
on baseboard, 21.6 × 11.6 cm

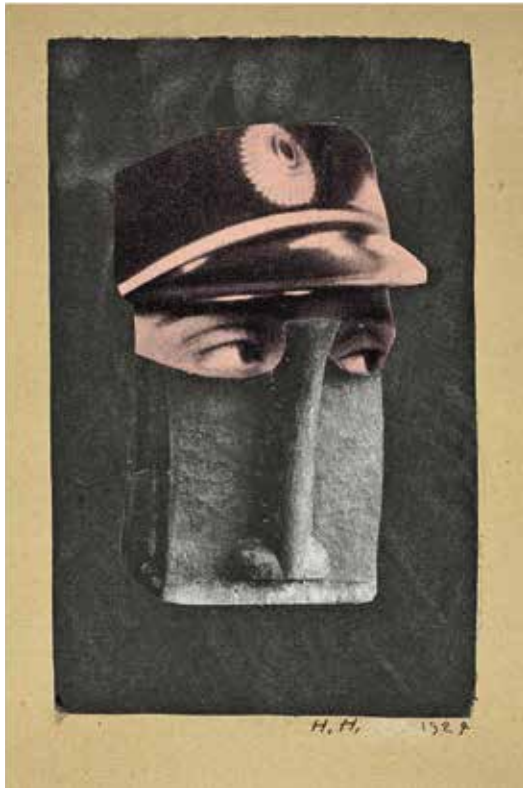
Berlinische Galerie

159

RAOUL HAUSMANN
**Humans are Angels and Live
in Heaven, 1922**

Collage and photomontage on
cardboard frame, 47.5 × 37.7 cm

Berlinische Galerie

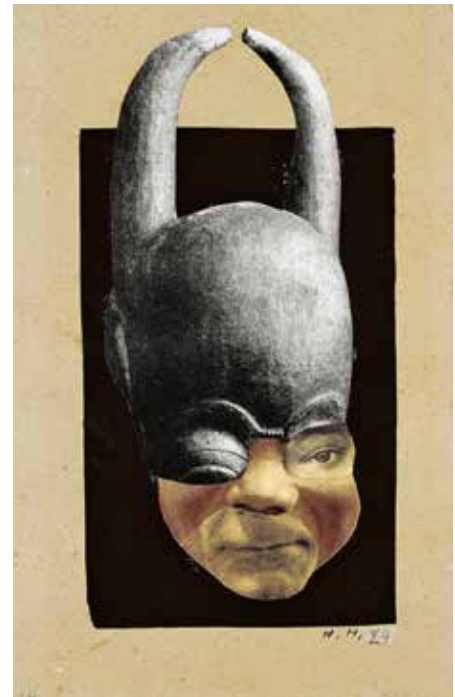


160

HANNAH HÖCH
With Cap (From an Ethnographic
Museum, no. XI), 1924

Collage on cardboard, 25 × 17.8 cm

Berlinische Galerie

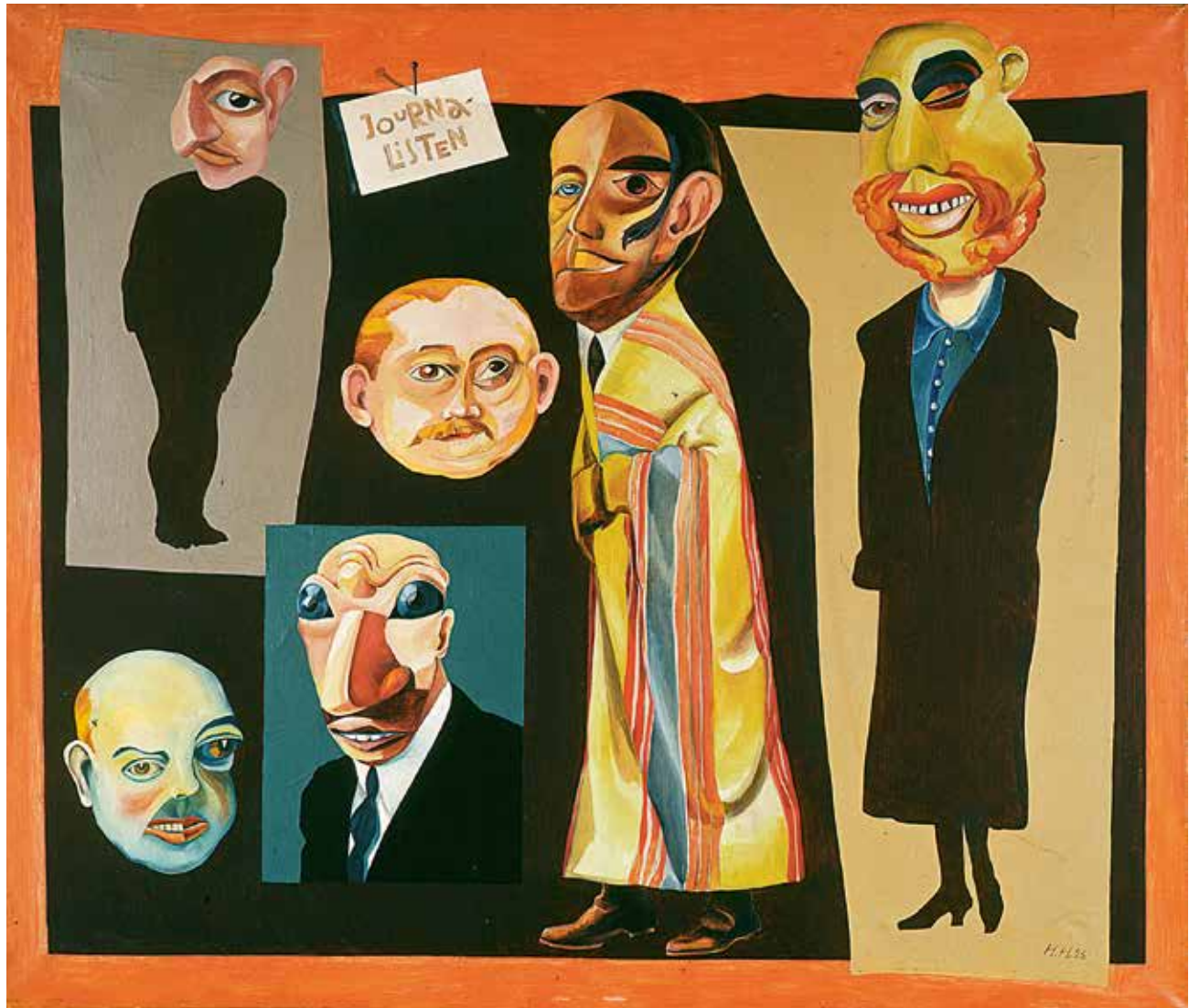


161

HANNAH HÖCH
From an Ethnographic Museum,
no. X, 1924

Collage on cardboard, 25.9 × 18.1 cm

Berlinische Galerie





GEORGE GROSZ

The Little Grosz Portfolio, 1917

Portfolio of 20 lithographs on vellum

Berlinische Galerie

163 Cover
29 × 21.6 cm

164 Lunatic's Rumpus
Plate 6, 28.9 × 21.7 cm

165 Street
Plate 2, 28.8 × 21.8 cm



166 **The Church**
Plate 15, 29 × 21.6 cm

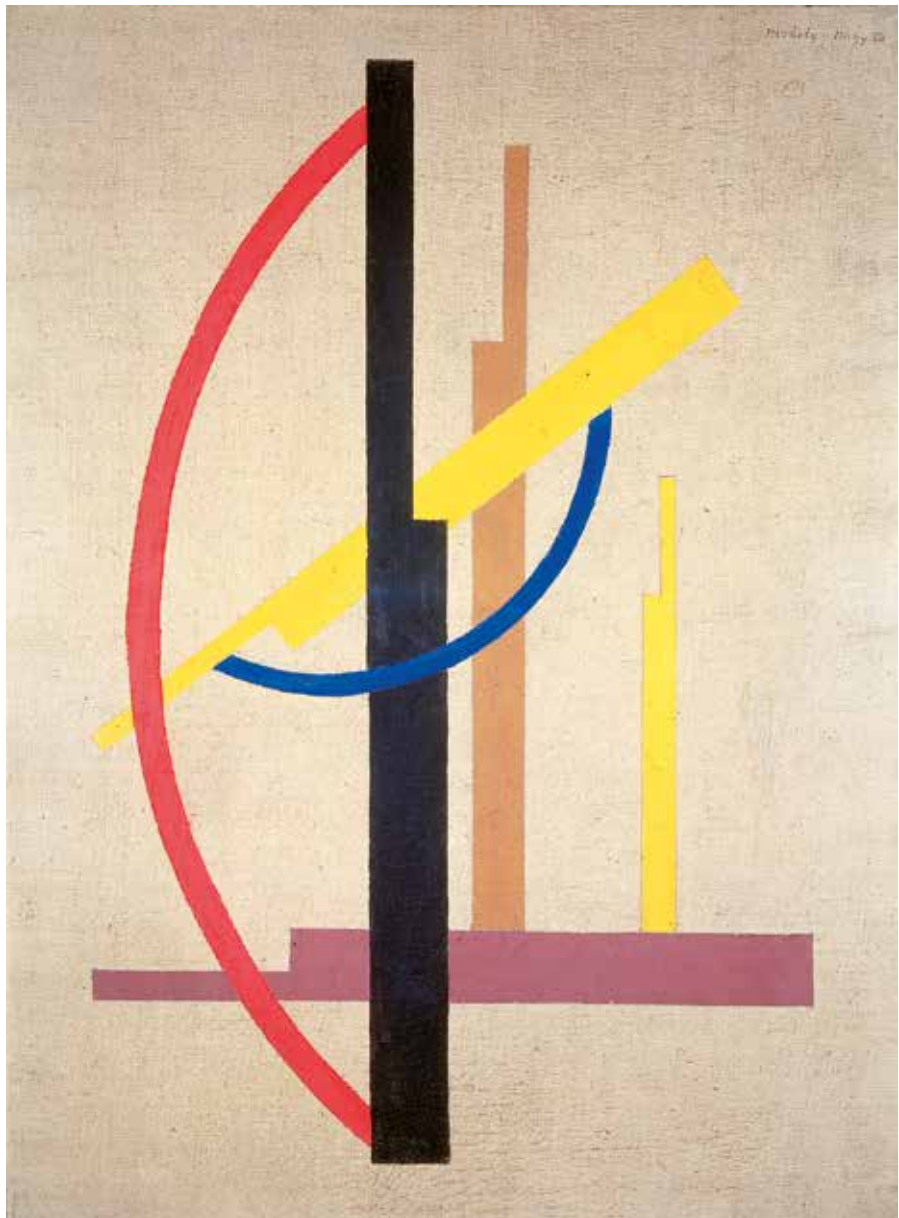
167 **Street of Pleasure**
Plate 7, 28.9 × 21.7 cm

168 **Young Lady and Lover**
Plate 1, 28.8 × 21.7 cm

169 **The Factories**
Plate 14, 28.8 × 21.8 cm



170 CIZEK SCHOOL
Kinetic Sculpture, 1924
(reconstruction Franz Hnizdo 2012)
wood, copper, plastics, 87.5 × 50 × 50 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien,
Kunstsammlung und Archiv



171 LÁSZLÓ MOHOLY-NAGY
Glass Architecture III, 1921/22
Oil on canvas, 84 × 61 cm
Museum Wiesbaden



172 JOHANNES ITTEN
Meeting, 1916
Oil on canvas, 105 × 80 cm
Kunsthau Zürich

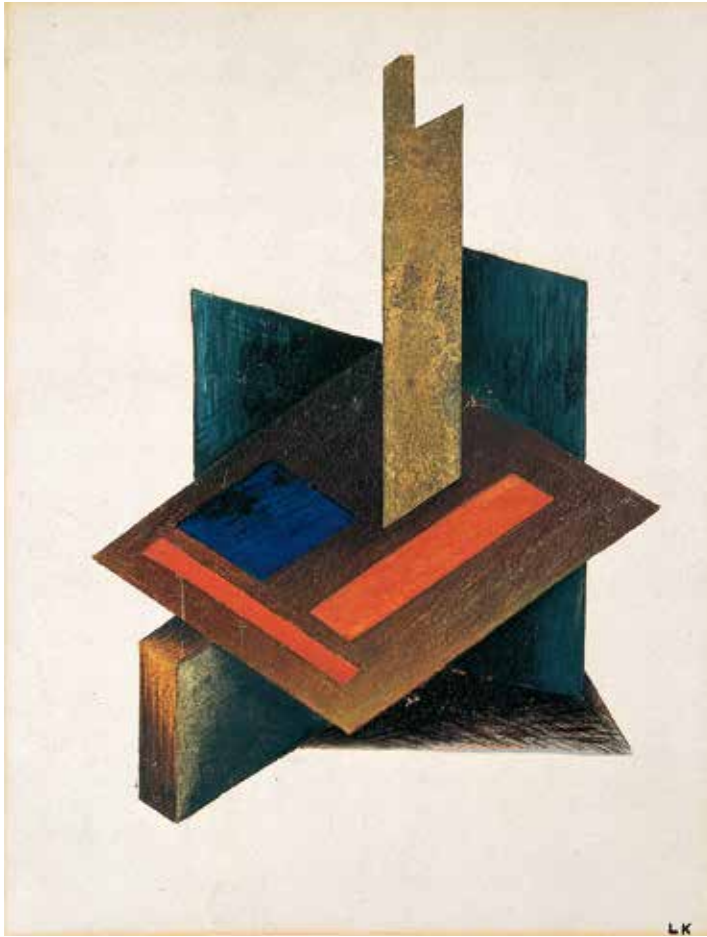


173

MORIZ MELZER
Bridge-Town, 1923

Oil on canvas, 131 × 98.3 cm

Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin



174 LAJOS KASSÁK
Architecture, 1923

Tempera on paper on cardboard, 27 × 20 cm

Sammlung Dieter und Gertraud Bogner im
mumok museum moderner kunst stiftung ludwig wien



175 JOHANNA REISMAYER-
FRITSCHKE
Abstract Composition, c. 1923

Tempera, charcoal on paper, 24 × 18.1 cm

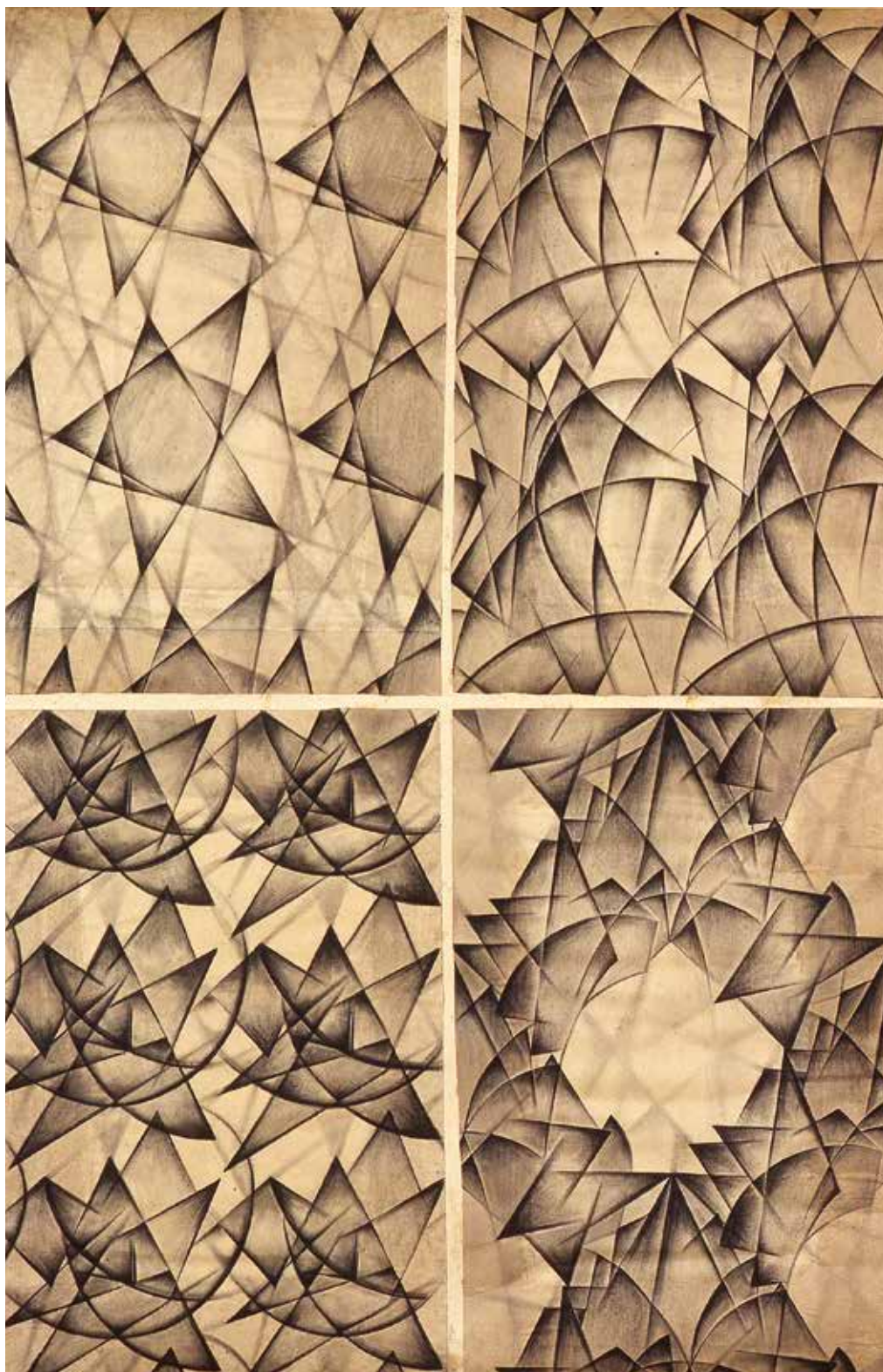
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv



176**FRIEDL DICKER****Composition with Musical Instruments, c. 1920**

Opaque white, watercolor, crayon on paper,
mounted on cardboard, 57 × 79 cm

Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv

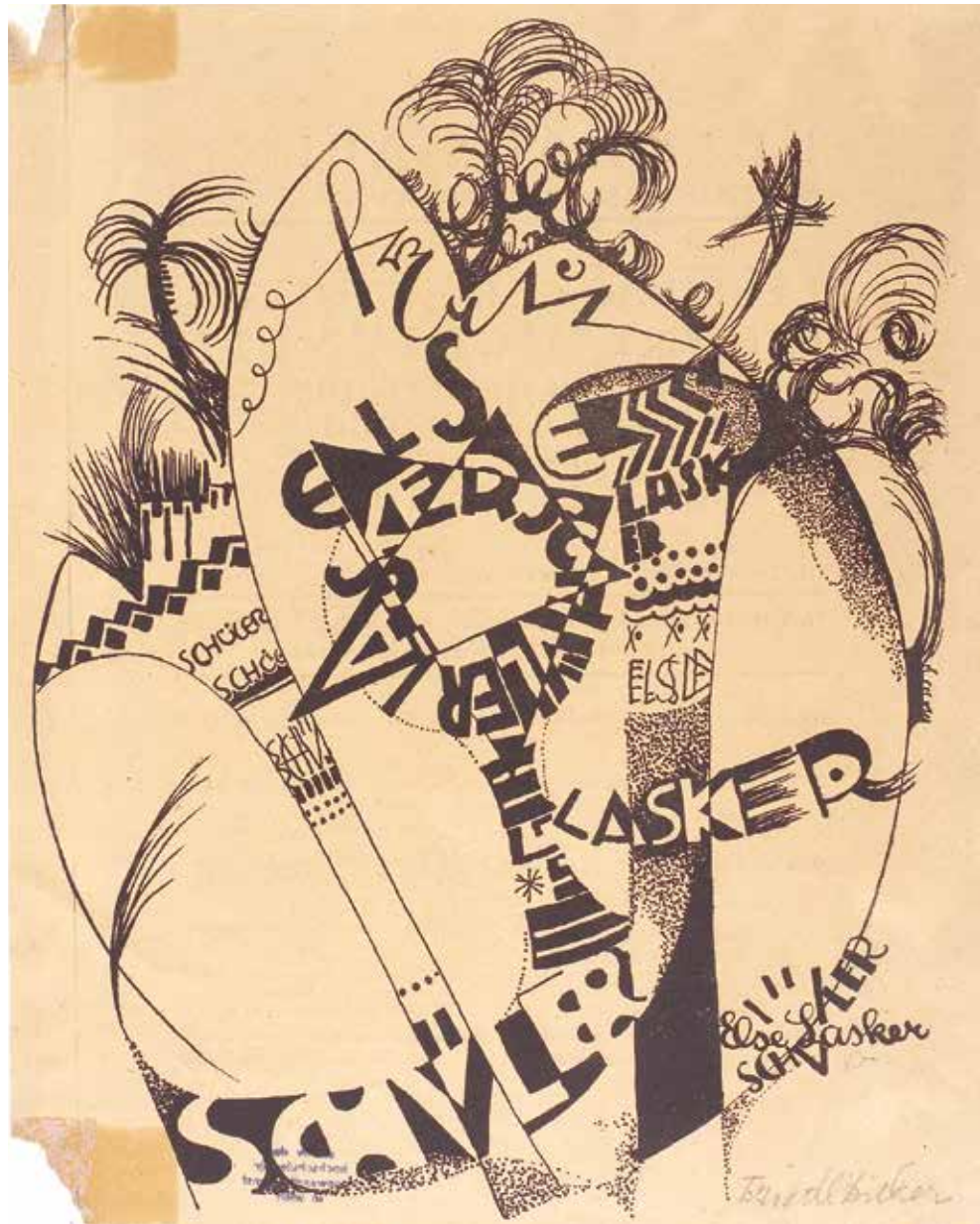


177

FRIEDERIKE NECHANSKY-STOTZ
Abstract Composition, 1922

Charcoal on transparent paper, mounted
on cardboard, 99 × 64 cm

Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv



178 **FRIEDL DICKER**
Else Lasker-Schüler, 1920

Invitation to the first Bauhaus evening with readings

Lithograph, 30.8 × 24.6 cm

Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv,
 gift of Oswald Oberhuber



179 ERIKA GIOVANNA KLIEN
Locomotive, 1926
Oil on canvas, 59.9 × 99 cm
Sammlung Pabst

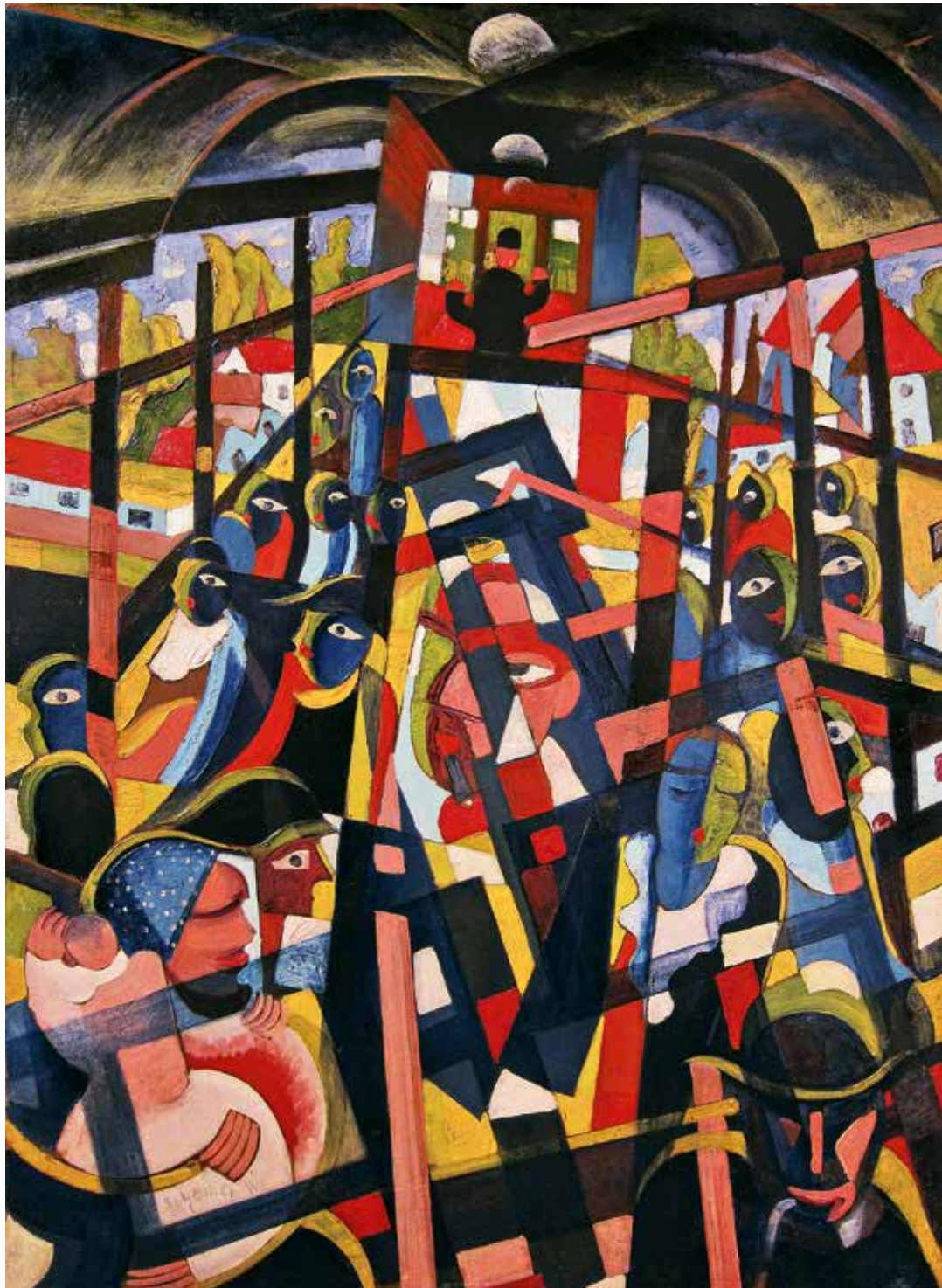


180 **RAOUL HAUSMANN**
Untitled (Abstract Composition), 1918
Mixed media (oil and collage) on canvas, 95.5 × 63 cm
Berlinische Galerie



181 OTTO MÖLLER
Street Noise, 1920
 Oil on canvas, 62.5 × 75.5 cm
 Berlinische Galerie

182 GEORGE GROSZ
The Tempo of the Street, 1918
 Oil on panel, 63.8 × 78.2 cm
 Private collection, courtesy Richard Nagy Ltd., London



183

HUGO SCHEIBER
On the Tram, c. 1925

Oil on cardboard, 69 × 98 cm

Ernst Galéria, Budapest



184 SÁNDOR BORTNYIK
Composition, 1921

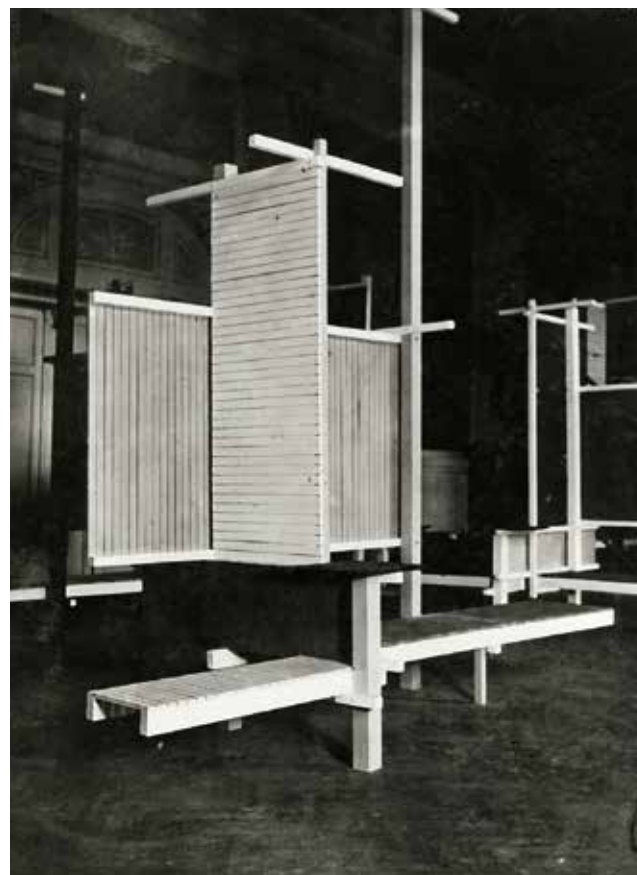
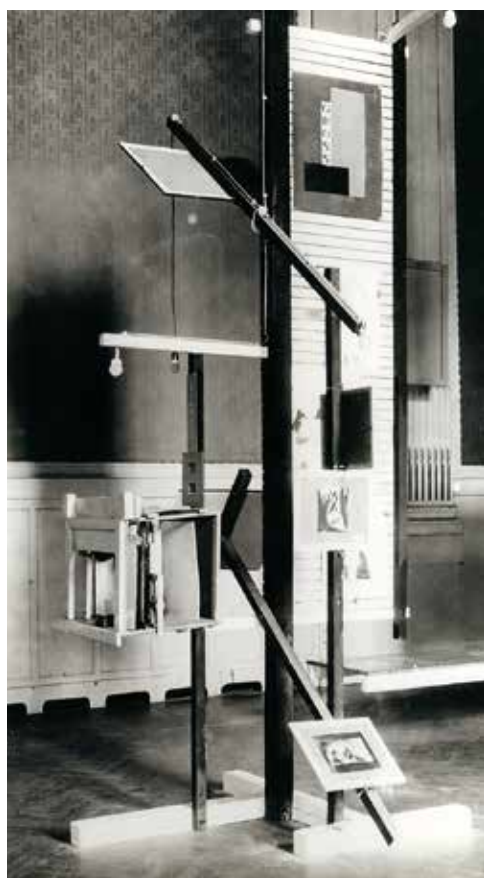
Pencil and ink on paper, 21 × 18 cm

mumok museum moderner kunst stiftung ludwig wien,
former Sammlung Paul Kövesdi, New York

185 NAUM GABO
**Constructive Head No. 3
(Head in a Corner), 1917**
(reconstruction 1964)

Silicon bronze, 62 × 70 × 35 cm

Berlinische Galerie



186 **FRIEDRICH KIESLER**
L+T-System (Träger-Leger-System), 1924

Unknown photographer

Left: Träger-System with drawings and a stage model in the *International Exhibition of New Theater Techniques*, Vienna

Right: View across the *International Exhibition of New Theater Techniques*, with the Leger-System without exhibits, Vienna

Österreichische Friedrich und Lillian Kiesler-Privatstiftung



187 OTTO ERICH WAGNER
Kinetic Space, 1924

Graphite on paper, 101 × 100 cm

Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv

188 ERIKA GIOVANNA KLIEN
Abstract Composition, 1923/24

Oil on canvas on cardboard, 29.5 × 14 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



189

ERIKA GIOVANNA KLIEN
Street Battle, 1930

Watercolor on paper, 45.7 × 61 cm

Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv

190

ERIKA GIOVANNA KLIEN
Revolution in Vienna, 1930

Watercolor on paper, 45.7 × 61 cm

Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv



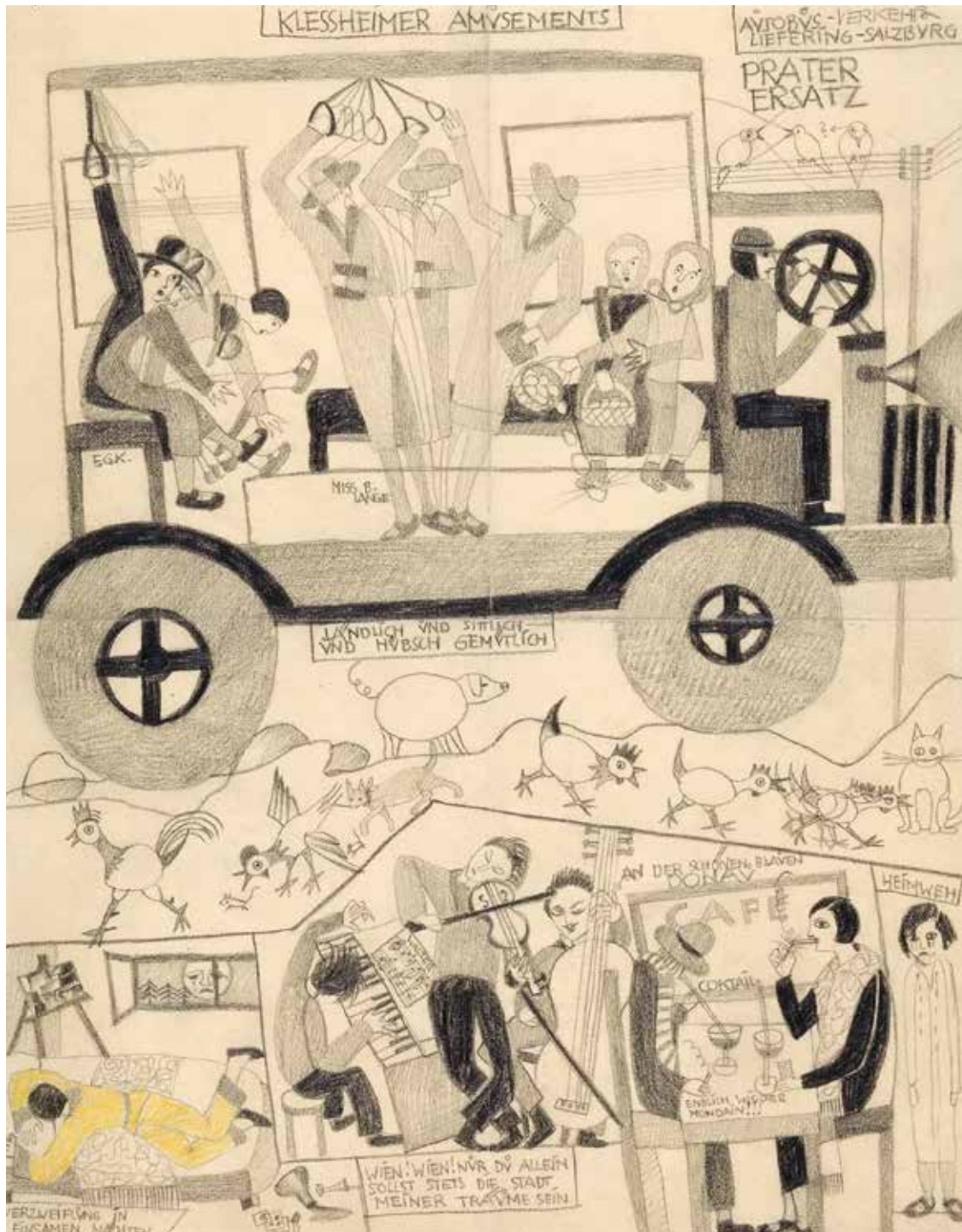
ERIKA GIOVANNA KLIEB

Klessheim Courier:

Klessheim in the Snow, c. 1926/27

Gray and colored pencil, charcoal, 31.9 × 24.4 cm

Wien Museum



ERIKA GIOVANNA KLIEN

Klessheim Courier:

Amusements in Klessheim, c. 1926/27

Gray and colored pencil, charcoal, 28 × 22 cm

Wien Museum



195

ERIKA GIOVANNA KLIEN

Klessheim Courier:

Longing, c. 1926/27

Charcoal, gray and colored pencil, 31.5 × 23.5 cm

Wien Museum



ERIKA GIOVANNA KLIEN

Klessheim Courier:

The Meeting, c. 1926/27

Charcoal, gray and colored pencil, 20 × 23 cm

Wien Museum



Ralf Burmeister

Dada Berlin and perhaps Austria's "Greatest Experimenter"

"Get a grip and hold on tight"—Dada
maxim, 1920 (and still valid today)

Arrival at Café Austria

The venue was chosen carefully. The text of the advanced notice of the Dada soirée *Club der blauen Milchstrasse* [*Club of the Blue Milky Way*], printed in the individualist-anarchist magazine *Der Einzige*, was cryptic enough to generate curiosity: "The president of the REPUBLIC of dada will be arriving from Weimar in the airplane Cassiopeja, which left on January 20, 1908. The president of the sun, the moon, and the smaller earth will announce the latest radio telegram. Each visitor is obliged to purchase a telegram."¹ In the early evening of March 12, 1919, in the Café Austria, an Austrian locale located in the Mitte district of Berlin, not far from Potsdam Bridge, two leaders of the Berlin Dada movement announced a new time reckoning to listeners. According to Johannes Baader, announced as the "President of the Republic of dada," or "Oberdada" for short,² and Raoul Hausmann, designated the "Dada-soph," the year 1919—the first year of peace after the conclusion of World War I—inaugurated the "Stunde Null," the "Zero Hour" (fig. 1). In the wake of the "great catastrophe of the century,"³ the birth of Jesus Christ was no longer valid as the fixed point of the calendar; a new time system based on the letters of the alphabet was required. Accordingly, the year "1919" was identified with an "A," and the month of "March" with a small "c," followed by the date; the Dada evening, then, began at "6 o'clock Ac. 12." On the program of the *Dada Club of the Blue Milky Way* alongside the declaration of a new reckoning of the years and the months was a performance of pieces of sound poetry such as *OFFEAH* (fig. 2), *fmsbw*, and *kp'erioUM*, composed and recited by Raoul Hausmann; a pamphlet oppos-

ing Weimar was read aloud; finally, Johannes Baader declaimed his *Acht Weltsätze* [*Eight World Statements*], whose first line ("Humans are angels and live in heaven") would supply the title for a collage produced by Hausmann in 1921, where the words are used to sign (so to speak) an x-ray image of Baader's skull (plate 159).⁴

Unheard of things were experienced on this evening, and the Café Austria was the right place for them. Alongside the celebrated Café des Westens, ridiculed by the conservative press as "Café Größenwahn" (Café Megalomania), which had served as the main rendezvous point for Berlin's avant-garde and Bohemian scenes and the Café Josty, the "Austria" was an established locale for political intellectuals and revolutionary artists. Meeting there before the turn of the century had been Edvard Munch, Erich Mühsam, and Peter Hille. In January of 1911, the Café Austria had served as a stage for the Expressionist lecture evenings known as the *Neopatbetisches Cabaret* [*Neo-Pathetic Cabaret*], at which Else Lasker-Schüler, Peter Baum, Jakob van Hoddis, Georg Heym, Kurt Hiller, and Herwarth Walden had given readings.⁵ On the above-mentioned day known as "Ac. 12," eight years had already passed since van Hoddis's prophetic *Weltende* [*End of the World*] had told how "hats fly off the pointy heads of citizens. . . . Roof-builders . . . break in half, and . . . floodtides break through dikes." Yet, even in his darkest fantasies, van Hoddis could hardly have imagined the human bone mill of Verdun, the monstrosities of World War I, an apocalypse caused not by nature, but by human beings, in which the values of western civilization were ground to dust. When Hausmann and Baader made their Dada declaration on March 12 in this coffeehouse atmosphere, hostilities had only concluded just four months earlier with the signing of the Armistice of Compiègne; fifteen more weeks would pass before the signing of the Versailles Treaty, which marked the formal conclusion of World War I; only on June 28, 1919, would the ink begin to dry.

Raoul Hausmann was born in Vienna and was fourteen years old when his family moved to Berlin, where he received his first instruction in painting from his father, the portrait



fig. 1 Johannes Baader
Double Portrait Baader – Hausmann,
c. 1919/20
Kunsthhaus Zürich



fig. 2 Raoul Hausmann
OFFEAH. Placard Poem, 1918
Berlinerische Galerie

and history painter Victor Hausmann. He would soon distance himself radically from such academic influences. He studied with Arthur Lewin-Funcke and established friendships with painters from the *Brücke* group, namely Erich Heckel, Max Pechstein, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. Beginning in 1912, he shared a studio with Heckel, where he produced his first Expressionist lithographs, woodcuts, and paintings (plate 86). From 1917, he became one of the most prominent members of the Dada movement, which saw itself as a "total rebellion against all customs, all beliefs, and all privileges."⁶ This self-understanding, together with its claims to unconditional validity, arose from the existential convulsions that accompanied the apparent collapse of civilization in World War I. Gauged by the above-mentioned action (and how can we understand the declaration of the new time reckoning other than as a joke or as megalomania?), it was sustained by a sense of seriousness that was camouflaged by joking. Or as Karna Niehoff put it so oppositely, the Dadaists were "frightful blasphemers out of an indignant love of the world."⁷

Dada was born in Zurich in 1916. Pacifists and political émigrés, as well as spies and war profiteers, withdrew to politically neutral, peaceful Switzerland during World War I. There, Dada came into existence as an anti-war "fool's game out of nothingness." Gathering under the aegis of Dada at Zurich's *Cabaret Voltaire* were visual artists and writers such as Hans Arp, Marcel Janco, Tristan Tzara, Emmy Hennings, Hugo Ball, and Richard Huelsenbeck. Appalled by the war, which they regarded as a "grandiose festival of slaughter [and] cannibalistic heroics" (Hugo Ball), they sought to initiate an uncompromising artistic countermovement. To "national hymns and flags, the Dadaists—some of whom had been purged of all traces of patriotic sentiment by wartime experiences—responded with their 'Merde!'"⁸ As a consequence, the Dada movement was propelled by a supranational sense of the world and a pacifistic internationalism.

With the aspiration of having a global impact, Dada centers and branches developed continually across national boundaries.⁹

Precisely this striving of uniting artists in the spirit of Dadaist ideas and actions in an international framework is visible on the poster that advertised the evening of the *Club of the Blue Milky Way*. Shaped motivationally by an upward rising composition of interpenetrating geometric forms that is slightly reminiscent of stylized musical instruments (one of Raoul Hausmann's so-called "abstract image ideas," a series of which he produced in watercolor or woodcut between 1917 and 1918), the lithograph poster displays the call "DADA" (plate 153). Shown on the upper left is the address of Café Austria, chosen (as mentioned above) quite purposely as the venue for this event. Below the word "AUSTRIA," Hausmann has set the words "erit in orbe ultima" (you shall be the last in the world) in parentheses.¹⁰ Accordingly, Austria would be the remotest spot on earth to be seized by Dada, or from which the Dadaist heartbeat would emanate, according to the "Berlinized" Viennese native Hausmann. Was this commentary motivated by an awareness that even at their most sophisticated, the artists found in Hausmann's motherland neither could nor would follow the direct and often rude style of the Berlin Dada tendency to which he belonged?

If we recall the motto of the *Vienna Secession*: "To the times, their art, to art its freedom," then the first line of the *Dada Manifesto*, published in 1918, almost seems like an allusion: "In its achievements and orientation, art is dependent upon the time in which it lives, and the artists are creatures of their own epoch."¹¹ At a time when—despite the epochal break brought about by World War I—the "gigantic world nonsense" (George Grosz) continued to be upheld, a vigorous nationalism and militarism required artistic forms of expression that could address the state of affairs directly and implacably.¹²

Dada Takes Hold

Hovering above the heads of visitors in the central hall of the *First International Dada Fair*, held in Berlin in the summer of 1920, was an object that embodied in paradigmatic form the confrontational and polemic basic attitude of Berlin Dada, as well as its innovative

use of materials that were hitherto regarded as foreign to art (plate 152). The authors of the ceiling sculpture *Preußischer Erzengel* [*Prussian Archangel*] were John Heartfield, the so-called "Dada engineer" of the Berlin Dada Club, and Rudolf Schlichter. The soldier mannequin wore a gray field uniform, decorated with an officer's insignia on the epaulets as well as an officer's cockade on his field cap. As we can see from the sole surviving photograph that documents this Dada angel, the figure wore a prosthetic in place of its right hand, which resembles a bayonet (fig. 3). The main semantic accent, however, was the mask which endowed the "luminous figure in the service of Prussia" with its features. Echoing World War I, the pig became an emblem of the "pessimistic anthropology" cultivated by the Dadaists,¹³ for as George Grosz had already asserted: "All the way from confirmation to the point when they pop up in the hubbub of Paradise in the Beyond: 'People are swine.'"¹⁴ Humanity, which revealed its bestial nature on the battlefield, is exposed once again in the *Prussian Archangel*: The grotesque pig mask is the true face of the epoch. Even more provocative was the fact that Heartfield and Schlichter were citing French World War I propaganda, which often depicted the hated German soldiers as pigs with spiked helmets.

Hanging from the sculpture was an explanatory sign which read: "In order to really understand this work of art, you must drill on Tempelhofer Feld for 12 hours daily with a full knapsack and in full marching order." That which today resembles the guidelines for an art action, and which consequently seems like expansion *avant la lettre* of the definition of art—and which would arrive at its concrete manifestation at the Fluxus events of the 1960s—was actually an attack on the bourgeois understanding of art in the Weimar Republic. Evoked in place of aesthetic edification were memories of dust-choked throats and wounded feet on Berlin's drilling grounds ("Tempelhofer Feld"), the naïve prelude that sought to prepare the rank-and-file for Verdun.

For the Berlin Dadaists, the young Weimar Republic was "nothing but a lie, a disguise for Teutonic barbarism."¹⁵ Or as the

art critic Adolf Behne informed his readers on the occasion of the Dada Fair: "Dada shows the world 1920. Many people will say: Even 1920 cannot be this dreadful. But it is: The human being is a machine, culture is in tatters, education a presumption, the spirit is one of brutality, the average is stupidity, and the master is the military."¹⁶ During a visit to the Dada Fair, perhaps prompted by Behne's report, a young German officer was so provoked by the objects on view that he made a complaint against the group for "insulting the armed forces." The officer (who spoke for many others) felt himself vilified in a particularly shameful way by George Grosz's portfolio of prints *Gott mit uns* [*God with us*], which comments satirically on the counter-revolutionary events of 1919 in Germany, and by the *Prussian Archangel*. The Dadaists, however, were treated leniently in the subsequent judicial proceedings; instead of being sentenced to prison, they were merely compelled to pay a fine.¹⁷

Dada versus ...

The *First International Dada Fair*, organized by George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, and John Heartfield, and on view at the art dealership of Dr. Otto Burchard at Lützow-Ufer 13 in Berlin from July 1 to August 25, 1920, was the most wide-ranging manifestation of the Dada movement.¹⁸ The "internationalism" announced in the title was redeemed by the participating artists: Alongside the Berlin group, Hans Arp in Zurich, Johannes Theodor Baargeld in Cologne, Otto Dix in Dresden, Max Ernst in Cologne, Francis Picabia in Paris, Ben Hecht in Chicago, and Rudolf Schlichter in Karlsruhe all showed their Dadaist "products," as they referred with ironic emphasis to the anti-artistic commodity character of their works. Aside from Hausmann, Walter Serner was the only participant who had been socialized at least partially in Austria. He had studied law in Vienna, and was quite familiar with the Viennese art world through his role as a columnist for the *Karlsbader Zeitung*, published by his father. In 1914, he immigrated to Switzerland, where he established casual contacts with the Dada circle. At the *Dada Fair*, Serner—who was the



fig. 3 Opening of the *First International Dada Fair*, Berlin, 1920
Left to right: Hannah Höch, Raoul Hausmann, Otto Burchard, Johannes Baader, Wieland and Margarete Herzfelde, Otto Schmalhausen, George Grosz, and John Heartfield



fig. 4 dadaist W. Serner
(print sheet "dadaco", sheet VI)
Missing collage

author of the Dada manifesto *Letzte Lockerung*, which also appeared in 1920—was represented by a collaged portrait photograph that had been envisioned for *Dadaco*, a Dada Atlas that was never actually published (fig. 4).¹⁹ There were no genuine representatives of Austria at the *First International Dada Fair*. As astonishing as it seems, the anti-art movement did not extend to that neighboring country and former so-called brother-in-arms—truly "erit in orbe ultima."

The Dadaists had two main enemies: Firstly, there was the bourgeoisie, for Berlin Dada was determined to combat the "Weimar outlook on life" through which the middle class sought to conceal its nationalist, reactionary, militant alter ego behind a mask of democracy and humanism;²⁰ secondly, there was Expressionism. Against this artistic style, which they referred to as their own in an "earlier life," the Dadaists directed relentless polemics, first and foremost Hausmann: The new (postwar) era required an experimental transvaluation of art, required new forms, and "marvelous constellations in real material" as an antipode to a *l'art pour l'art* that was free of all meaning. "A child's discarded doll, a colorful rag, are more necessary expressions than some ass who plants himself with oil paint for an eternity in an endless living room."²¹ And in December 1919 Hausmann wrote: "An absolute incapacity to say something, to grasp an object, to play with it—that is Expressionism, a spiritual poultice for blighted bowels, a slimy dish that was spoiled from the first and gives you tremendous stomach cramps."²² When Hannah Höch in her collage *Meine Haussprüche* [*My Proverbs to Live By*] (plate 154) cites Walter Serner with the sentence "Hit them in the ribs!" she too alludes to the concrete relationship between art and reality that was to have supplanted non-objectivity, with its imputed vacuousness, and its aim of instead boring into the consciousness of the receiver with barbed hooks.²³ In response to this demand, collage and its offspring, photomontage and assemblage, emerged as the genuine expressive resources of Dada.

And although works by the Viennese artist Max Oppenheimer, alias Mopp, who lived in Berlin, had been presented at the found-

ing of the *Cabaret Voltaire* in Zurich, and visual material by him appeared in Franz Pfemfert's committed anarchist-pacifist magazine, *Die Aktion*, on a regular basis, Oppenheimer nonetheless remained a dyed-in-the-wool Expressionist.²⁴ The demand for radically new forms of expression was alien to him, and he was seen as a foreign body among the Berlin Dadaists. With regard to materials and aesthetics, Rudolf Wacker's *Naturalistisches Klebebild (Frau Klimesch)* [*Naturalistic Collage (Mrs Klimesch)*] of 1924 is the sole work produced by an Austrian during those years whose impact is genuinely Dadaist (fig. 5). Wacker, an autodidact, lived in Berlin between 1921 and 1924, and in producing the collage, which is unique in his oeuvre, he attempted to use materials as authentically real according to Dada requirements. He used woolen yarn for the hair of the portrayed figure, the dress was formed from variously patterned fabrics, the framed photograph of "strongmen" that stands on the table in front of the woman, secretly in love, is genuine. Even the border of the curtains in the background was sewn by hand. Only the face, the neck down to the cleavage, the hands, and the female breasts, revealed by cutting out sections of the dress, are modeled through impasto paint application. Wacker was stimulated "by the use of real materials to heighten the contrast of structures" which allowed him, as he wrote, to give expression to the "impulse toward crass naturalism" in his work.²⁵ But the Dadaists were no born-again Naturalists—and Wacker was certainly no Dadaist. The connection to reality stimulated Dada only as a grotesque form of the Enlightenment. In Dadaist collages, for example Hannah Höch's *Dada-Rundschau* [*Dada Review*] (plate 148), the deployment of fragments of reality, in this case elements cut from newspapers and magazines, is not adopted for the sake of formal experimentation; their use is instead devoted to distorting (depicted) reality to the point of recognizability.

Dada after Dada

As great as the furor over Dada in Berlin was, the end arrived quickly. *The First International Dada Fair* of 1920 remained a unique event.



fig. 5 Rudolf Wacker
Naturalistic Collage (Mrs Klimesch),
1924
Private collection

The group around the Dada Club disintegrated after only three years: The artistic activities of George Grosz and John Heartfield were focused increasingly on Communist agitation. While remaining faithful to the collage medium throughout her life, Hannah Höch separated from Hausmann, her life companion, and established independent connections with the international avant-garde (in 1925, she met, among others, Friedrich Kiesler in Paris). Before withdrawing in the mid-1920s to Hamburg, where he worked as a journalist, Johannes Baader was the sole organizer of a *Carnival Dada Ball* that took place on January 20, 1921. Hausmann, finally, devoted himself increasingly as an autodidact to photography and the development of a synesthetic perceptual apparatus, the so-called "Optophon."²⁶ In 1921, the enthusiasm for the kind of productive artistic disturbances cultivated by the Berlin Dada group was also found among the members of the Hungarian *Ma* group around Lajos Kassák. Though based in Vienna, it came too late, and it did not last long among these Constructivist artists.²⁷ Certainly, text and graphic works by Kurt Schwitters, Hans Arp, and the "Weltdada" Richard Huelsenbeck continued to appear in the eponymous journal *Ma*, but the Berlin leftist contribution was restricted to illustrations by George Grosz that accompanied texts by Erzsébet Újváris. The fact that Grosz, eventually, published a melancholy retrospective of Dada entitled *Abwicklung [Phase-out]* in the catalog of a solo exhibition held in 1924 at Vienna's Galerie

Würthle speaks for itself. As does the fact that this wide-ranging presentation was not reported in the Viennese feature pages.²⁸ Dada's spiritual fire found no nourishment in Austria, and Thomas Milch is on target when he claims that "the Viennese were already well served by Karl Kraus!"²⁹

A half-century later, Raoul Hausmann spoke up again to express his own conviction that he was "Austria's greatest experimenter."³⁰ He composed a "Dada dictum for Austria" which reads: "Dada was born in many places, like Homer, it laid claim to many cities, and these were: Zurich, Berlin, Cologne, Hannover, and Paris. As one point of this five-pointed star, from the Dadaist Orion, I send all of my fellow countrymen the joyful message: Dada came, saw, and conquered, and Dada lives. Good people of this country, who are supposed to do nothing but get married, embrace the fable that more than 50 years ago already, you were liberated from the pragmatic sanction of all reason and logic, and have nothing else to do but to be Dada, Dada, Dada!"³¹ The *Wiener Gruppe* and the Viennese Actionists were the legitimate heirs of Dada. And with the Berlin appearances of Gerhard Rühm in the mid-1960s, and the arrival of Oswald Wiener and Christian Ludwig Attersee, who were visited occasionally by Hermann Nitsch, the artistic interrelation between Vienna and Berlin was reanimated: This is reason enough to have our exhibition followed by a second part (fig. 6).



fig. 6 Ludwig Hoffenreich, Hermann Nitsch, Oswald Wiener, Robert Klemmer, and Christian Ludwig Attersee in Berlin, February 1967
Atelier/Archiv Attersee

1 *Der Einzige*, Berlin 3.09.1919, no. 8, p. 95.

2 According to Baader, this designation can be traced back to Siegfried Jacobsohn, editor of *Weltbühne*; Baader preferred the self-chosen title "Präsident des Erdballs" (President of the Globe). – On Johannes Baader, a trained mausoleum architect who Hausmann had known since 1905, and his public Dadaist provocations, which allowed him to oscillate between artistic avant-gardist and prophetic "Inflationsheiliger" (itinerant preachers who emerged during times of crisis and especially inflation in the 1920s), cf. among others: Hanne Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas. Die Berliner Dadaisten*

und ihre Aktionen, Berlin 1993, p. 144–161. – Adrian V. Sudhalter, *Johannes Baader and the Demise of Wilhelmine Culture. Architecture, Dada, and Social Critique 1875–1920*, New York 2005.

3 George F. Kennan, *Bismarcks europäisches System in der Auflösung: Die französisch-russische Annäherung 1875–1890*, Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Vienna 1981, p. 12.

4 Two reviews on the evening appeared: "Klub Milchstraße," in: *BZ am Mittag*, Berlin, vol. 42, no. 55, 3.13.1919. – "Die 'Blaue Milchstraße' im Café Austria," in: *8 Uhr-Abendblatt, National-Zeitung*, Berlin, vol. 72, no. 58, 3.13.1919.

5 Michael Rössner (ed.), *Literarische Kaffeehäuser, Kaffeehausliteraten*, Vienna 1999, p. 111.

6 Raoul Hausmann, *Am Anfang war Dada*, Gießen 1992, p. 7.

7 Karena Niehoff, "Wiederbegegnung mit Dada. Melancholische Betrachtung zu einem toten Hund, der beißt," in: *Der Tagesspiegel*, Berlin, 10.19.1958.

8 Cf. Raimund Meyer, "Dada ist die Weltseele, Dada ist der Clou," in: *Dada global* (exh. cat. Kunsthaus Zürich), Zurich 1994, p. 14.

- 9** This detail was brought to my attention by Louisa Helene Schwöpe, for which she has my grateful thanks.
- 10** Even Georges Hugnet's early discussions of the Dada spirit in painting, published in *Cahiers d'Art* in 1932 and 1934, mention the various Dada centers with their respective protagonists. This arrangement was also followed by the first German retrospective, which took place in 1958 under the title "Dada. Dokumente einer Bewegung" (Kunstverein für die Rheinlande und Westfalen, Düsseldorf). Mentioned as Dada's principal venues alongside Zurich were Berlin, Cologne, Hannover, Paris, and New York. – On the global presence of Dada, cf. Laurent Le Bon (ed.), *Dada* (exh. cat. Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris), Paris 2005.
- 11** "Dadaistisches Manifest," cited from: Hausmann 1992 (see note 6), p. 23.
- 12** Sentence written by Grosz on a *dadaco* proof sheet now found in a private collection. Cited from: Bergius 1993 (see note 2), p. 12.
- 13** Hanne Bergius, *Montage und Metamechanik. Dada Berlin – Artistik von Polaritäten*, Berlin 2000, p. 269.
- 14** Herbert Knust (ed.), *George Grosz, Briefe 1913–1959*, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1979, letter to Otto Schmalhausen, 3.3.1918, p. 58.
- 15** Hausmann 1992 (see note 6), p. 18.
- 16** Adolf Behne, "Dada," in: *Die Freiheit*, 7.9.1920 (evening edition).
- 17** Rosamunde Neugebauer, *George Grosz. Macht und Ohnmacht satirischer Kunst. Die Graphikfolgen 'Gott mit uns,' Ecce homo und Hintergrund*, Berlin 1993, pp. 51–78.
- 18** For the *Erste Internationale Dada Messe*, cf. Bergius 2000 (see note 13), pp. 233–303.
- 19** Cf. ill. in Bergius 2000 (see note 13), p. 391.
- 20** Raoul Hausmann, *Pamphlet gegen die Weimarerische Lebensauffassung* (1919), reprinted in: Hausmann 1992 (see note 6), pp. 85–87.
- 21** Raoul Hausmann, *Synthetisches Cino der Malerei* (1919). Cited from: Hausmann 1992 (see note 6), p. 28.
- 22** Raoul Hausmann, *Der deutsche Spießler ärgert sich* (Dec 1919). Cited from: Berlinische Galerie (ed.), *Hannah Höch. Eine Lebenscollage*, vol. I (1889–1920), Berlin 1989, p. 620.
- 23** Walter Serner, *Letzte Lockerung*, Hannover 1920, p. 29.
- 24** Cf. Bernhard Echte, "Lord Mopp, der Snob. Max Oppenheimer und der Dadaismus," in: Günther Dankl/Raoul Schrott (eds.), *DADAuriche 1907–1970* (exh. cat. Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck), Innsbruck 1993, pp. 63–79.
- 25** Cited from Cornelia Cabuk, "Zwischen Vernetzung und Isolation. Österreichs Moderne und die internationale Entwicklung," in: *Zwischen den Kriegen. Österreichische Künstler 1918–1938* (exh. cat. Leopold Museum, Vienna), Vienna 2007, p. 30.
- 26** Cf. Berlinische Galerie (ed.), *Raoul Hausmann. Dada Wissenschaft*, prepared by Arndt Niebisch, Hamburg 2013.
- 27** Cf. Éva Forgács, "'Du gibst uns zu essen und deswegen kämpfen wir gegen dich.' Konzepte von Kunst und Staat bei Lajos Kassák und in der ungarischen Avantgarde," in: *Lajos Kassák. Botschafter der Avantgarde (1915–1927)* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie, Berlin), Budapest 2011, pp. 35–36.
- 28** It is telling that the important Viennese dramatist Franz Theodor Csokor was only able to publish a discussion in the German press. His criticism agrees with Austrian positions: "Grosz's infantilism is not concerned with the inner scream; he formulates his indictment in an immediate and grating way." In: *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 9.23.1924. My grateful thanks to Cornelia Cabuk, Belvedere Vienna, for reference to this critique.
- 29** That the editors of the catalog *DADAuriche* (see note 24) took a vacation in Tirol in 1921 and 1922 by Hans Arp, André Breton, Max Ernst, Paul Éluard, and Tristan Tzara as a pretext to integrate Austria into the historical art canon of Dada requires discussion. The catalog contribution by Thomas Milch already questions this attempt, when Milch writes pointedly: "Dada is Austria? Never happened, sorry." Thomas Milch, "'wiener hintere zollamt vokabeln voll grauslichkeit.' Serner – Kraus – Dada," in: Dankl/Schrott 1993 (see note 24), pp. 33–43, here p. 34.
- 30** Heimrad Bäcker (ed.), *briefe an otto breicha, friedericke mayröcker, briefwechsel mit andreas okopenko. Grafiken vom Verfasser*, Linz 1988, p. 30. – In another context, Hausmann refers to himself pointedly as a "European." For a discussion of Hausmann's nationality, see: Adelheid Koch, *Ich bin immerhin der größte Experimentator Österreichs. Raoul Hausmann, Dada und Neodada*, Innsbruck 1994, pp. 14–21.
- 31** Raoul Hausmann, "Dadaspruch für Österreich," in: *Manuskripte. Zeitschrift für Literatur, Kunst, Kritik*, Graz, April 1966, no. 16, p. 2.

Annelie Lütgens

Modern Women Artists between the Metropolises: Hannah Höch, Erika Giovanna Klien, Friedl Dicker

A "woman's art"?

In my search for commonalities between these three female artists, distributed between Vienna and Berlin, who probably never met one another during their lifetimes, I came across—of all things—Hans Hildebrandt's investigation *Die Frau als Künstlerin* [*The Woman As Artist*], which was published in 1928. The book's tendency—which is to deny women in principle any place among the ranks of innovative artists—has long since received some well-deserved criticism. In the chapter entitled "The Woman Artist of the Present Day," nonetheless, Hildebrandt does circumscribe the struggle women artists faced for equal opportunity as professionals and for emancipated roles in their partnerships, and he lists 130 names, among them Hannah Höch, Friedl Dicker, and Erika Giovanna Klien. Höch was acquainted with Hildebrandt and his wife, the painter Lily Hildebrandt. The Hildebrandts lived in Stuttgart, where they engaged in collegial and friendly exchanges with artists and architects. Friedl Dicker also belonged to this circle (fig. 1). Hildebrandt pictured her metal sculpture *Anna selbdritt* [*The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*] of 1921, and he refers to the Vienna native as "one of the most multifaceted and original female talents of the present-day."¹ With his fondness for modern architecture, this art historian found no difficulty in reconciling Dicker's applied art with his conception of a "women's art" (fig. 2).

Not unlike Friedl Dicker, who worked for the stage, Höch and Klien were both enthralled with dolls and marionettes—again, unfortunately, a genuinely "female" theme. For Hans Hildebrandt, they were therefore entirely in their own element, which he referred to as a "purely feminine sculptural ac-

tivity."² This ambivalent attitude—appreciation on the one hand, ignorance on the other—is typical for contemporary responses to the women artists who nevertheless participated in the avant-garde, and who—in the cases of Höch, Klien, and Dicker—employed modern techniques such as collage, montage, typography, and text-image procedures in deliberate and self-evident ways.

Detectable in the biographies as well as in the artistic achievements of these three women are various intersections—similarities regarding the opportunities they enjoyed, as well as the problems faced by their generation, suspended between tradition and emancipation, and similarities vis-à-vis the personal and artistic solutions they invented. At the same time, attention to their differences makes it possible to answer the question: What did it mean to be a modern female artist in the 1920s?

Beginnings

Both Hannah Höch and Erika Giovanna Klien graduated from schools of applied arts—for only beginning in 1919 were women allowed to enroll in art academies in Germany and Austria. Friedl Dicker acquired training as a photographer at the *Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt* [Graphics Teaching and Research Station] in Vienna before transferring to the *Kunstgewerbeschule* [School of Applied Arts], and then to Johannes Itten's private school. For all three, a training of necessity in the area of applied arts was advantageous in the sense that it allowed them to earn their livings. During the economically difficult years of 1916 to 1926, Höch worked half-days as a design drafter for the editorial department for handicrafts of the Ullstein publishing house in Berlin. In Vienna, Klien produced advertising graphics and taught art beginning in 1926 in Klessheim near Salzburg before moving in 1929 to New York, where she taught at various institutes. After her time at the Bauhaus, Dicker went into business with the architect Franz Singer. In 1923, they founded the *Werkstätten Bildender Kunst* [Visual Art Workshops] in Berlin-Friedenau. Working for the theater director Berthold Viertel, they designed sets



fig. 1 Lily Hildebrandt
Friedl Dicker and Hans Hildebrandt
in an open convertible, 1920
Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin

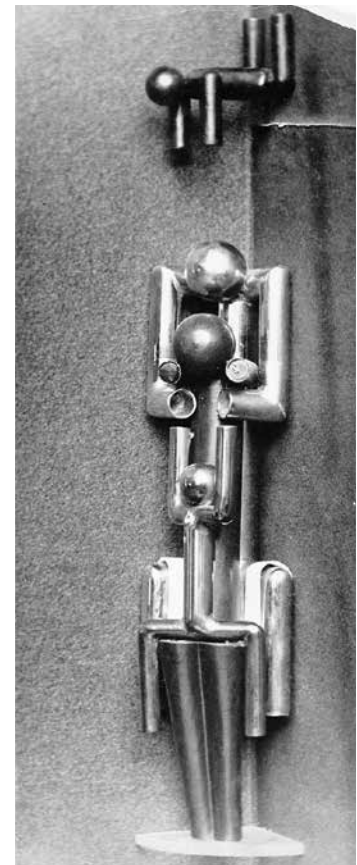


fig. 2 Friedl Dicker
*The Virgin and Child
with Saint Anne*, 1921
Whereabouts unknown

for various German stages, and commuted between Berlin, Dresden, Cologne, and Leipzig. In 1925, they opened the Atelier Dicker-Singer in Vienna, a successful small enterprise for modern architecture and interior design which established Bauhaus modernism in the Austrian capital.³

Love, Art, and Politics

Three Upheavals in a Self-Determined Life: Conflict is Never Absent, for the Artistic is Personal, is Political. The love affair and artistic friendship between Hannah Höch and Raoul Hausmann, which lasted from 1915 to 1922, is ideally documented in their texts, but also in the traces it left behind in their visual works.⁴ Among the Berlin Dadaists, Hausmann worked for Höch's participation in the *First International Dada Fair* of 1920, where she showed her first masterwork, the *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser DADA durch die letzte Weimarer Bierbauchkulturepoche Deutschlands* [Cut with the Kitchen Knife DADA through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch in Germany]. Both Dada and her artistic and philosophical encounter with Hausmann, the "Dadasoph," were stimuli for her artistic development. Collage soon became Höch's characteristic form of expression. At the same time, Hausmann insisted "with remorseless and humorless fanaticism"⁵ upon his partner's emancipation—meaning her abandonment of patriarchal models, including family ties and monogamous couple relationships. Hausmann had no desire to relinquish his intellectual and sexual relationships with either Höch or his wife Elfriede—and within this constellation, even contemplated having children with Höch. She, however, was unable to accept Hausmann's utopia of "holistic" cohabitation, itself based on the psychoanalysis of the Austrian Otto Gross.⁶ She underwent two abortions and separated from Hausmann a number of times—without, however, getting fully free of him. The broad discussion carried on in the Berlin of the 1920s about a new relationship between the sexes flowed continually into Höch's work, one example being the painting *Die Braut* [The Bride] of 1924–27 (fig. 3). A similarly productive and conflictual relationship existed be-

tween Friedl Dicker and Franz Singer (1896–1954), who met at Itten's private school in Vienna and followed their teacher to Weimar. Singer as architect and Dicker as interior designer made a successful team, first in Berlin, then in Vienna in the late 1920s, where they were responsible among other projects for the Montessori Kindergarten in the Goethehof of the Wiener Gemeindebauten [Municipality Buildings of Vienna]; for the interior design of Adolf Loos's Villa Moller; for building a tennis club; and for the interior design of a fashion salon.⁷ For both Dicker and Singer, these collaborative projects were the most successful of their careers. For Dicker the unpleasant side of this romantic and professional partnership emerged in 1921, when Singer married the singer Emmy Heim and had a son with her. Dicker herself wanted children, and it was Singer who demanded the termination of her pregnancies. When Singer's legitimate son died in 1930, both the private and professional sides of their relationship fell apart. Dicker felt guilty over the death of her lover's child—the child she would have wanted as her own. (Later, in exile in Prague, she worked through this guilt complex with a psychologist.) A period of greater social commitment began in the early 1930s; she joined the Austrian Communist Party and worked, among other things, with the organization "Jugend-am-Werk" [Youth at Work] for the resocialization of young people through technical training.

Erika Giovanna Klien, who processed her erotic yearnings and emotional roller-coaster experiences in the *Klessheimer Sendbote* [Klessheim Courier] of 1926/27, refused to be talked into having an abortion. In Graz in November of 1928, she had a child by a married man, entrusted it to foster parents, and then began a new life in New York City. Only in 1946 did she establish contact with her son via letter.⁸ It is not known whether she ever saw him again.

For all of those artists—male and female—who were unable to accommodate themselves to the National Socialist regime, who either could not or would not negotiate the delicate space of action between resistance and adjustment, whether because they were



fig. 3 Hannah Höch
The Bride (Pandora), 1924–27
Berlinische Galerie

Jews, or leftist, or simply critical spirits, the events that began to unfold in the early 1930s led to biographical ruptures. Life trajectories took sharp turns, branching into three possible directions that too often escaped individual control: Emigration, inner emigration, or deportation. Höch, Klien, and Dicker respectively shared each of the three fates.

Hannah Höch's "Querschnitte durch den Bildsalat" (Cross-Sections through a Picture Salad)⁹ Plus Chive Garnish

A modern painter found himself obliged by his wife to do the washing up. This happened four times in four years. Propelled in this way into the demeaning realm of the everyday existence of a housewife, he felt as though his manhood and his honor as an artist had been injured. In order to compensate for this affiliation, he began painting a programmatic picture, or more precisely to "cube" it. It was to have depicted "the coexistence of chives with the soul of Woman in a comparative way." In theory, the painting was already finished, and had already been registered for an exhibition. In reality, its completion took longer. After two years and two days, the painter had still not gotten beyond the chives. The painting became greener and greener, and in the end, the painter decided with a heavy heart "to omit the soul of Woman and to remain instead with the chives." The work was acclaimed at the great national exhibition. The president, enraptured, was reminded of something—but of what? His adjutant said: "Of the revolution, Mr. President. That's right, of the revolution." The painter sold the picture to the "National Gallery." Asked for the work's title, he left "out the chives and called it proudly: *The Soul of Woman*."¹⁰

Der Maler [*The Painter*], briefly retold above, is a little work of literature from Hannah Höch's pen, one that sums up in nuce the critical preoccupation with gender roles that flowed into her collaged and painted works, supplementing these with a satire on the cult of genius cultivated by the modern artist. Concerning the woman who inspired the

painting of the chives and the "soul of Woman," we learn only that she became a mother, which led to one of the four "harridan demands." Otherwise, she was apparently (like the author herself) one of those "tiny little women" who could not always be "kneaded and shaped so as to accommodate a man's psychic and physical comfort."

Höch was a master at using the kitchen knife or scissors to cut the intellectual high-altitude flights of the modern artist down to the level of an everyday practicability that deliberately ignores traditional categories of high and low, of souls and chives. Which does not mean that she was not conversant with the scientific, philosophical, and aesthetic discoveries of her time.

Her collage *Meine Haussprüche* [*My Proverbs to Live By*] of 1922¹¹ (plate 154) is conceived horizontally—a contrast to the vertical format works, most of which revolve around figures. Its arrangement of overlapping, rectangular cutout elements of the most various provenances approaches a text-image narrative of the type Erika Giovanna Klien would later configure graphically in her *Klessheimer Sendbote* [*Klessheim Courier*]. This flirtation with trivial media that are remote from high art (newspapers, proverbs, "things from garden arbors and poetry albums"¹²) links the two works, along with the mixture of personal and artistic confession, tinged with melancholy and irony. Along with *Cut with the Kitchen Knife*, it is the only collage by Höch which incorporates a photographic self-portrait, and the only one whose textual elements are handwritten. This also speaks for the intimate character of the work, which is not only described in the literature as a "key work of the Berlin Dada movement," but also as a "farewell to Dada" or as an "anti-Dada collage." Referred to here is the drifting apart of the Berlin Dada group, which disintegrated with the end of the Höch–Hausmann relationship.¹³

Among the many levels of meaning that are bundled together in this collage, it is the depiction of time and movement that is of interest in the present context. Höch does not achieve this through simultaneous action, but instead via succession, as though on a wall chart: The individual movements

of the embroidery needle through the canvas to create a cross stitch function like the fictive storyboard of an animated film; the red arrow in the children's drawing which traces the falling trajectory of the leaves from the tree, and at the same time indicates the sheet's authoress; the exterior photo of the large clock on the tower of the Siemens Building, accompanied by the words "Zeiger auf Zeit" (hand on the time), and alongside it, an interior shot which shows a worker servicing the mechanism; we see "keine Zeiger auf Zeit" (no hand on the time), a quotation from Hans Arp, but are aware of the necessity for human labor if the measurement of time is to function frictionlessly, to which the ball bearings that ensure the functioning of the wheel, incidentally, also refer.

Into the collection of citations and images entitled *Meine Haussprüche*, then, Höch weaves cosmos and cross stitch, the philosophical and the manual. She produces precisely that through which the painter in her little narrative text encountered failure.

Erika Giovanna Klien: Key Figure of Kineticism and "Misplaced Existence"¹⁴

Decisive for Klien's conception of art, to which she adhered all of her life, were her training years—which lasted from 1919 to 1924—with Franz Cizek, the legendary director of the Department of Ornamental Forms at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule [School of Applied Arts]. His instruction was shaped by reformist pedagogy and by the specifically Viennese interpretation of the avant-gardes before World War I: Expressionism, Cubism, and Futurism as forms of applied art. Central to this "kinetic" tendency were movement and ornamentation. The idea was to avoid realism, and to instead develop autonomous forms out of one's own intuitions and feelings. The same principle applied to the treatment of typography. The type interprets the text, and hence becomes a pictorial element, as we see in Klien's early works. She set her own poetic texts in type, designed posters, and in 1924 even produced a constructivist sculpture consisting of letters, the advertising kiosk *Anita Berber tanzt*

[*Anita Berber Dances*]. In the large-format *Gang durch die Großstadt* [*Path through the Metropolis*] of 1923, she scenarizes the simultaneous perception of high-rises, steel-frame bridges, advertising billboards, and human gazes in a frieze measuring seven meters in length, one that is comprehensible to viewers only when they set themselves in motion (fig. 4).

Klien's work of the 1920s brings together modern perceptions of the metropolis with movement, dance, and text. From 1922 to 1923, she took acting lessons and made appearances in suburban theaters, and in 1924 she designed a kinetic marionette theater.¹⁵ The literature paints a portrait of an eccentric, self-willed young woman who insisted upon artistic as well as sexual freedom, a "foolishly exalted, audaciously dressed, enigmatic creature."¹⁶

After Erika Giovanna Klien received supplementary teacher training following the conclusion of her studies, Cizek recommended her to the newly founded Elizabeth Duncan-Schule in Klessheim Palace near Salzburg. The school was headed by Isadora Duncan's sister, and was dedicated to the free expressive dance Duncan had developed in the early twentieth century. "Through the junction of the pedagogical objectives of the Elizabeth Duncan-Schule and Cizek's ideas on reformed teaching, an attempt was made to promote the expressive powers of the individual, thereby making a contribution to the formation of a 'comprehensively educated, harmonious human being.'"¹⁷ Between 1925 and 1928, Klien taught art there, while at the same time practicing expressive dance.

Avant-Garde News from the Provinces: *The Klessheimer Sendbote* [*Klessheim Courier*]

The title plays with allusions to a local newspaper. But behind this we find an art-historically singular pictorial narrative that almost resembles a kinetic comic strip. In place of a linear sequence of images with text, the drawings and text are combined collage-style (plates 191–197). Unusual as well is the content of these twenty-one sheets, which were sent by Klien in 1926 and 1927 from Klessheim to the members of the Cizek circle in



fig. 4 Erika Giovanna Klien
Path through the Metropolis, 1924
Exhibition by Cizek's class at the
Maryland Institute, Baltimore,
April 1–28, 1924
Wien Museum

Vienna: As depictions of the private and professional experiences of a young woman artist cast away in the provinces, they can be interpreted as a fragment of an incomplete visual autobiography. These intimate snapshots in text and image complement the modernist thematic complex comprised by technology and the metropolis which Klien pursued in her painted and applied artworks (plate 179).¹⁸ As the "psychogram of a woman artist,"¹⁹ the *Klessheimer Sendbote* belongs in the context of the confessional strain of early Austrian Expressionism, other instances being the work of Egon Schiele, Oskar Kokoschka, and Richard Gerstl.²⁰ The work depicts and reflects upon the situation of a woman artist, at the same time embodying Klien's programmatic understanding of art. It represents a thoroughly self-ironizing satire on the artistic community and the teaching profession.

Very much in the spirit of Kineticism, Klien exploited the formal discoveries of Futurism, Cubism, and Constructivism not as stylistic citations, but instead as methods for representing reality, for example in the sheet *Die Begegnung* [*The Meeting*] (plate 196). Approaching the artist here is a male figure who is staggered to depict the rhythm of a striding movement. At the same time, however, she combines this depiction of movement (which is derived from chronophotography and Futurism) with illustrative, caricature-style drawing in order to render situations and statements pointedly humorous and legible; depicted on the same sheet, which is furnished with the subtitle "Richter-Idylle" [Idyll in the sense of the nineteenth-century painter Ludwig Richter] is the artist herself, always recognizable by her black bob hairstyle. She sits smoking and darning stockings under an umbrella; she is listening to the radio with headphones, while before her stand a letter, a bottle of rum, her shoes, and a pair of scissors. On one naked foot sits a bird, from which a stream of text emerges: "Oh Erika! Oh Erika! You must go to America!"²¹

Flowing into her pictorial narratives as metaphors for yearning are New York, the Charleston, cocktail bars—in short, the ingredients of the chic lifestyle she missed in Klessheim. It is the flipside of the quarrels at

school about materials, exhibitions, and unfortunate love affairs. In Vienna, she had been one of the most prominent students of the circle around Cizek. Now, she missed the keenly competitive "seething laboratory atmosphere,"²² the stimulating discussions with fellow students and mentors. At the Duncan school, where she taught in the spirit of Kineticism, Klien generated scandal—both personally and artistically. In the *Klessheimer Sendbote* of February 12, 1927 (plate 197), she reports "news of scandal": In the upper half of the image, we see the artist sketching a kinetic nude from a live model, and behind her, her colleague Ludwig Steinmetz, who has been drawing a conventional nude from the back, and who stares now, openmouthed, at Klien's large-format sheet. Visible behind them are four additional colleagues/students, whose exasperated gestures express their expected incomprehension of modern art, underscored by Klien with phrases like "defilement of art," "nonsense," "fraud," "tasteless," and "filth." The lower section of the image is occupied by these same critics, who—like the legendary Seven Swabians from the Brothers Grimm—carry protest signs that revile Klien as a desecrator of art and as a Communist, and who charge the "Maid of Klessheim" with a lance that takes the form of a gigantic, pointed pen. Klien—also armed with pens and a quiver filled with brushes—holds her palate before her like a shield, saying: "And in battle, when even the bravest lose heart, I shall fight on, I shall never despair." Her shield is decorated with her motto: "Long live life!!!!" Along the lower edge of the picture, tilted into the horizontal and wedged between two sentences, is a closely embracing couple, and to the left, the programmatic words: "Leave me alone! Long live life!" Despite all of her courageousness, the combative artist does not escape without learning bitter lessons. She inscribes her initials under the sentence on the right: "The experience of loneliness: The false is recognizable by its intricacy—the truth is simple."

Friedl Dicker: Politics Out Of Art

The truth is simple, but nonetheless complex: Friedl Dicker transferred this proposition

from the personal to the social level, and wielded it in political struggle. The photomontages produced by Dickers in 1932 and 1933 are not only singular within her oeuvre, but are moreover unique within Austrian art of the interwar period. It is well known that there was little awareness in Austria of the collages and photomontages of the Dadaists.²³ John Heartfield's political photomontages, which appeared in the high-circulation *Arbeiter-Illustrierten-Zeitung* (AIZ) beginning in 1930, on the other hand, were known to a broad readership ranging from Berlin to Vienna to Prague, and hence also to the freshly recruited Communist Friedl Dicker. Under the conditions of the global financial crisis and the increasing danger of fascism, this modernist designer and art instructor devoted her entire visual expertise to visualizing the complex interrelationship between social misery, economic exploitation, political repression, and military armament by means of equally complex sketches, which she apparently used while teaching. Friedl Dicker exemplifies the highpoint of contemporary Marxist art theory, which called for "interventionist" and "partisan" artists.²⁴ Beginning in 1924, Heinrich Vogeler—who was known as a Jugendstil artist—had been producing his so-called "complex pictures" for purposes of political education and agitation: These are paintings whose prismatic compositions assemble scenes related to the constitution of socialism in the Soviet Union into a simultaneity.²⁵ Soviet artists such as Gustav Klutsis also deployed their Constructivist and formal principles to such agitationist and propagandistic ends. Dicker was influenced by Vogeler's formal idiom, as well as by that of Klutsis.²⁶ The ambitious aim of her series of six photomontages—which survive only in the form of glass negatives, but were planned as posters measuring 120 × 90 cm—is the socially critical analysis of capitalist society, accompanied by an appeal to transform it. As her point of departure, she generally takes up an everyday problem that is of existential significance for as many viewers as possible, such as unwanted pregnancy, housing shortages, or joblessness. A large portion of the photographic material she uses was drawn from the AIZ.

Positioned in a frontal view at the center of the collages *Fürchtet den Tod nicht* [*Have No Fear of Death*] of 1932 to 1933²⁷ (plate 273) is a seated pregnant woman. Dicker has apparently borrowed this almost iconic image either from Heartfield's collage *Zwangslieferantin von Menschenmaterial* [*Forced Supplier of Human Material*], which appeared in the AIZ on March 12, 1930, from Otto Rühle's *Illustrierter Sittengeschichte des Proletariats* [*Illustrated Social History of the Proletariat*], which also appeared in 1930, or from the Berlin *Magazin für Alle* of February 1931. Heartfield had this studio photograph of a pregnant working-class woman produced especially for his collage.²⁸ The popularity of this motif (Hannah Höch also uses it in her photomontage *Die Mutter* [*The Mother*] of 1930²⁹) is connected to the growing movement around 1930 against Paragraph 218, the German law banning abortion.

Friedl Dicker sets the pregnant woman within a diagonal cross along whose bars she arranges scenes of everyday working-class life, of proletarian men and women. Set in the triangular interspaces are scenes populated by well-situated bourgeoisie and their idyllic surroundings. While the pregnant working-class woman either loses her job or must undergo a life-threatening, illegal abortion, the middle-class woman worries about maintaining her slender figure, and has the resources to end a pregnancy under proper medical supervision. A form for applying for social assistance, found to the right of the pregnant woman; the squatting worker, condemned to idleness, shown alongside it; the squalling infant on the dark area below the woman: All narrate the pointlessness of bringing up children under such circumstances. Dicker is interested less in the theme of the "baby machine" for "cannon fodder" visualized by Heartfield, and more in the wretched living circumstances of proletarian families under capitalism.

The same idea—and moreover the same photo of an infant, now dissolved in a painterly fashion into gray-scale values—stands at the center of the collage *So sieht sie aus, mein Kind, diese Welt* [*That's the Way of the World, My Child*] of 1933 (plate 276), in which Friedl Dicker depicts the fascist terror that fol-

lowed in the wake of the seizure of power by the NSDAP in a whirl of crowd scenes and identifiable politicians, among them Adolf Hitler, that envelops the child. The experienced typographer crowns the composition with an appeal in the form of a poem that shares its tone with one of Brecht's ballads, but which seems to have been self-composed.³⁰ The concluding entreating lines—which are entirely in the spirit of Itten's typographic symbolism—bend downward toward a collage banknote. As Angelika Romauch explains: "In this way, the world is defined as being dominated by capitalism, and therefore it is here, ultimately, that the transformation formulated in the text must begin."³¹

In formal terms, this is the densest of Friedl Dicker's photomontages, and it goes beyond both the didacticism of Soviet agit-prop posters and John Heartfield's pointed visual wit. Here, it could be said, at the inception of the National Socialist dictatorship, we find a reply to Höch's collage from the early period of the Weimar Republic, the *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada durch die letzte Weimarer Bierbauchkulturepoche Deutschlands* [Cut

with the Kitchen Knife DADA through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch in Germany] (fig. 5): The wheel with the ball bearings, the industrial impetus, the central dancer who holds herself in a lucid, playful equilibrium, the whole interspersed with great (Jewish) minds—all of these have continued to gyrate until finally, in 1933, the entire "Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch" now topples into a black abyss.

Together with her dangerous Dada documents and works, Hannah Höch survived the Nazi era in a little house on the edge of Berlin. Her inner emigration consisted of continuing her work in secret, and being forgotten as an artist—and she was largely successful.

Erika Giovanna Klien immigrated to New York City in 1929. In Austria, she was forgotten, along with kineticism in general.³²

Friedl Dicker's political activities placed her in great danger. In 1933, she was interrogated and interned before fleeing to Prague. In 1942, she was deported to the concentration camp at Theresienstadt, and was later murdered in Auschwitz in 1944.



fig. 5 Hannah Höch
Cut with the Kitchen Knife DADA through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch in Germany, 1919
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie

1 Hans Hildebrandt, *Die Frau als Künstlerin*, Berlin 1928, p. 144.

2 Ibid., p. 145.

3 On Friedl Dicker in general, see: Elena Makarova, *Friedl Dicker-Brandeis. Ein Leben für Kunst und Lehre*, Vienna/Munich 2000.

4 Cf. Karoline Hille, *Hannah Höch und Raoul Hausmann. Eine Berliner Dada-Geschichte*, Berlin 2000. – And the published source material from the Hannah-Höch-Archiv in the Berlinische Galerie in: *Hannah Höch. Eine Lebenscollage*, vols. 1 and 2, Ostfildern-Ruit 1989 and 1995.

5 Hille 2000 (see note 4), p. 112.

6 On Otto Gross, see the website of the International Otto Gross Society, www.ottogross.org.

7 Pictured in Makarova 2000 (see note 3), pp. 83ff.

8 Walter Klien was an internationally successful pianist. His father was Walter Simmel, a chemist and a friend of the Rochowanskis; his half-brother was the Viennese writer Johannes Mario Simmel, born in 1924.

9 Werner Hofmann, "Zwecklos sich dagegen aufzulehnen?" in: Ralf Burmeister (ed.), *Hannah Höch—Aller Anfang ist Dada!* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, Museum Tinguely, Basel), Ostfildern 2007, p. 66.

10 Hannah Höch's brief text *Der Maler*, which dates from 1920 and takes up four typewritten pages, is found in her literary estate. Published in: *Hannah Höch. Eine Lebenscollage*, vol. 1, section 2, 1919–1920, Berlinische Galerie (ed.), prepared by Cornelia Thater-Schulz, Berlin 1989, pp. 746–49. – The citations are from this text, which was reprinted recently in: *Gnadenlos. Künstlerinnen und das Komische* (exh. cat. Kunsthalle Vogelmann/Städtische Museen Heilbronn, Kunstsammlungen Böttcherstraße Bremen), Cologne 2012, pp. 54–55. – Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius discusses this text in detail for the first time in 1991 in "Michelangelo beim Abwasch—Hannah Höchs Zeitschnitte der Avantgarde," in: Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat et al. (eds.), *Die Verhältnisse*

der Geschlechter zum Tanzen bringen, Marburg 1991, pp. 59–80.

11 For detailed interpretations, see Arnim Schulz, "Bild- und Vokabelmischungen sind Weltanschauungen. Zu Hannah Höchs Collage 'Meine Haussprüche,'" in: *Hannah Höch 1889–1978. Ihr Werk, ihr Leben, ihre Freunde* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie, Museum für Moderne Kunst, Photographie und Architektur im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin), Berlin 1989, pp. 133–45. – Janina Nentwig, "Meine Haussprüche," in: Burmeister 2007 (see note 9), p. 50. – Hille 2000 (see note 4), pp. 178–88.

12 Hille 2000 (see note 4), p. 179.

13 Cf. Schulz, Nentwig, and Hille (see note 11).

14 Self-designation by Klien in the *Klessheimer Sendbote*, 11. Jänner 1927. Illustrated in: *Kinetismus. Wien entdeckt die Avantgarde* (exh. cat. Wien Museum), Ostfildern 2006, p. 134.

15 In 1925, L. W. Rochowanski, a writer on art and friend of Cizek's, wrote enthusiastically in the *Neue Schaubühne* about *Der Kirchenmensch*, a piece written by Klien for her marionette

theater, including its techniques and stage setting: "It is a poetic piece of work in which the triumph of the new city over the old one rolls onward in victorious colors, images, and words." – Cf. *Erika Giovanna Klien Wien New York 1900–1957* (exh. cat. Universität für Angewandte Kunst Vienna), Ostfildern 2001, p. 60.

16 Ulrike Matzner, "Die drei Stars der Klasse: Klien—Ullmann—Karlin-sky," in: *Kinetismus 2006* (see note 14), p. 62.

17 Johanna Pühringer in: *Schule der bewegten Körper. Isadora & Elizabeth Duncan und Erika Giovanna Klien in Salzburg* (exh. cat. Romanischer Keller Salzburg), Salzburg 2001, p. 6.

18 In this, it is different from Höch's collages. In her work, technology and the metropolis are "inseparable from the central themes of the ruptured identity of the woman and alienated relationships between people," as Hanne Bergius pointed out in Hanne Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas*, Gießen 1989, p. 137.

19 Johanna Pühringer, "Psychogramm einer Künstlerin. Der Klessheimer Sendbote von Erika Johanna Klien," in: *Parnass*, year XX, no. 3, 2000, pp. 94ff.

20 Cf. Patrick Werkner, *Physis und Psyche. Der österreichische Früh-expressionismus*, Vienna/Munich 1986, pp. 275ff.

21 This plan was entirely realistic, for in 1924, Klien had won the New York Prize of the School of Applied Arts, and Cizek's contacts with Katherine Dreier made it possible for Klien to show works at the International Exhibition of Modern Art in Brooklyn/New York in 1926/27. After moving to New York in September of 1929, she wrote several weeks later to her mother: "[I] am having the peculiar experience of being far better known in New York than in Austria—through numerous exhibitions and through the critics," *Erika Giovanna Klien 2001* (see note 15), p. 85.

22 Matzner 2006 (see note 16), p. 61.

23 Cf. the text by Ralf Burmeister in the present catalog, pp. 241–46.

24 As early as 1925, George Grosz and John Heartfield formulated this appeal in *Die Kunst ist in Gefahr*, whose conclusion reads: "Today's artist—if he wishes to be neither a slacker nor an antiquated dud—must choose between technique and the propaganda of class warfare." Cited from Uwe M. Schneede (ed.), *Künstlerschriften der 20er Jahre*, Cologne 1986, p. 165. The word "technique" refers here to

architecture, design, and advertising, the fields where Friedl Dicker had been successful to date; now, she devoted herself instead to class warfare.

25 Cf. *Heinrich Vogeler. Künstler, Träumer, Visionär* (exh. cat. Worpsweder Museen), Munich 2012.

26 Angelika Romauch, *Friedl Dicker: Marxistische Fotomontagen 1932/33. Das Verfahren der Montage als sozial-kritische Methode*, diploma thesis, Vienna 2003. In the following discussion, I depend repeatedly on this fundamental work.

27 A detailed visual analysis can be found in Romauch 2003 (see note 26), pp. 52–57.

28 Roland März, "Gestellte Figur," in: Roland März, *Heartfield montiert 1930–1938*, Leipzig 1993, pp. 60ff.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 124.

30 Romauch 2003 (see note 26), p. 43.

31 *Ibid.*

32 On her rediscovery and reception after 1945, see Bernhard Leitner, "Geschichte. Geschichten," in: Gerald Blast, Agnes Husslein-Arco, Harald Krejci, and Patrick Werkner (eds.), *Wiener Kinetismus. Eine bewegte Moderne* (exh. cat. Belvedere, Vienna), Vienna etc. 2011, pp. 82–93.

Harald Krejci

Friedrich Kiesler's Connections to Berlin, as Reflected in the 1924 *International Exhibition of New Theater Techniques* in Vienna

The contribution by the artist and architect Friedrich Kiesler—a native from Czernowitz in the former Crown Land, who lived in Vienna—to the stage design of the science fiction production *R.U.R.* (Rossum's Universal Robots), written by the Czechoslovakian Karel Čapek and staged by the Berliner Theater am Kurfürstendamm in 1922/23, was the starting shot of an international career. In a lecture delivered at the Yale University School of Architecture in 1947, Kiesler explained the genesis of this contract retrospectively for the first time.¹ New research has shown that in 1922, in Vienna, Kiesler approached Eugen Robert (the director of the Berliner Theater am Kurfürstendamm and the newly appointed director of the Neue Wiener Bühne) with sketches and designs for the piece, and proposed its production.² At that time, Kiesler had no experience in the realm of stage design. The question remains: Why did he choose this piece by Čapek in particular? A number of isolated sources exist that help to clarify the origins of his artistic development, but considered as a whole, they provide no answer to the question of why he chose a Constructivist formal idiom for this Berlin theater production. One possible answer can be found in the artistic exchange between writers, artists, and filmmakers from Vienna and Berlin that may have motivated the then 33-year-old painter Friedrich Kiesler. What is certain is that in 1923 (thanks to the Berlin contract and the attention it earned him from Theo van Doesburg and Hans Richter), he was the only Austrian member of the international avant-garde, and was able to publish his projects in the most important European

avant-garde magazines. This also means that no artistic network was available to him in Vienna.

The Constructivists

Kiesler's stage design for *R.U.R.* used film projections and projection apparatuses such as the Tanagra apparatus, which was indebted in contentual terms to the human-machine thematic complex, and hence strongly oriented toward the literary content of Karel Čapek's work (fig. 1). The Theater am Kurfürstendamm had already operated as a "cinematographic theater" before being rebuilt in the early 1920s. Now, Kiesler used film projections of the kind that later became familiar under Erwin Piscator's direction, and which were also used for ideological ends in Constructivist agitprop theater. As early as 1920, Kiesler was able to establish links with the Constructivists through the emergence of the Hungarian avant-gardists around Lajos Kassák. After 1919, Kassák and Béla Uitz lived in exile in Austria. Through the review *MA*, published in Vienna, they introduced an interested public to Russian Constructivism in particular, as well as to various avant-garde tendencies throughout Europe (fig. 2).³ While this group was able to reach only a relatively limited public in Vienna, the art scene was quite aware of it. In 1919, in fact, the Berlin-based artist Erich Heckel had exhibited together with the Hungarian artist Béla Uitz in the *Freie Bewegung* on Kärntnerstraße in Vienna. The cofounder of this new exhibition venue in Vienna was B. F. (Benedikt Fred) Dolbin, who sought to promote the interests of the Hungarian avant-garde.⁴ Carry Hauser was active in the group *Freie Bewegung*, and had contacts in Berlin (plate 233).⁵ Taking place at *Freie Bewegung* in 1920 was Konstantin Umansky's slide show on the new Russian art, organized by the *MA* group, which featured works by Alexander Rodchenko and Kazimir Malevich, among others.

Kiesler's work on the stage design for the Theater am Kurfürstendamm was preceded by a three-month stay in Berlin in the autumn of 1921, as well as his residence there during nearly the entire first half of 1922.⁶ Coinciding with Kiesler's early days in Berlin were

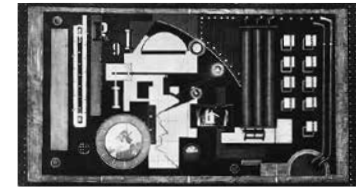


fig. 1 Friedrich Kiesler
R.U.R.
Stage Set Elevation, 1923
Österreichische Friedrich und Lillian Kiesler-
Privatstiftung

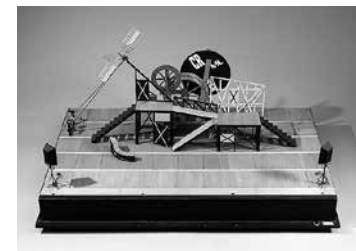


fig. 2 Ljubow Popova
Model for Vsevolod Meyerhold's
premiere of *Le cocu magnifique*, 1922
Theaterwissenschaftliche Sammlung,
Universität zu Köln



fig. 3 Friedrich Kiesler
Stage set for Eugene O'Neill's
The Emperor Jones,
Schauspielhaus Berlin, 1924
Österreichische Friedrich und Lillian Kiesler-
Privatstiftung



fig. 4 Benedikt Fred Dolbin with
Friedrich Kiesler, Kurt Rathe, Enrico
Prampolini, and other at the
*International Exhibition of New
Theater Techniques*, 1924
Institut für Zeitungsforschung, Dortmund

various important exhibitions by Constructivist artists. The highly acclaimed *First Russian Art Exhibition* was on view in the autumn of 1922 at the Galerie van Diemen. Shown in the autumn of 1921 at Herwarth Walden's gallery, *Der Sturm*, were works by Erich Buchholz; in spring of 1922, Walden exhibited works by László Moholy-Nagy, and in May, by Kurt Schwitters. On view in autumn 1922 in the gallery were works by Lajos Kassák, László Péri, Johannes Itten, and Kurt Schwitters. In Berlin, Kiesler became acquainted with the author and physician Alfred Döblin, a friend of Herwarth Walden's who was able to bring him closer to Berlin's art scene.⁷ Appearing in Vienna in 1922 was the *Buch neuer Künstler* [Book of New Artists], authored by Kassák jointly with the Hungarian artist László Moholy-Nagy, who had immigrated to Berlin via Vienna; this publication made an important contribution to the dissemination of Constructivism. Kiesler's stage design for *R.U.R.*, but even more so his designs for Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones*, realized slightly later at the Berliner Schauspielhaus in 1924 (fig. 3), showcased the ideas of international Constructivism.⁸ In Vienna as well as in Berlin, therefore, Kiesler enjoyed opportunities to familiarize himself with the latest avant-garde tendencies, and at the same time to implement them in his commissions for stage designs. In *R.U.R.*, this took the form of the incorporation of film inserts in order to set various levels of reality into relationship with one another. In his designs for *The Emperor Jones*, he instead created a continually changing and dynamic stage backdrop that resembled film and consisted of abstract forms.

Rhythm and Time

One of the few documents to shed light on Kiesler's artistic development prior to his activities in Berlin is an exhibition review appearing in early 1921 and authored by B. F. Dolbin,⁹ the financial manager of the *International Exhibition of New Theater Techniques* which took place in Vienna in 1924.¹⁰ Dolbin's critical essay, which dates from February of 1921, allows certain inferences: "Before

the color and the line have been conjoined, everything fleshly, materially conditioned, has been stripped away. Crystal hard and sparkling, color sits against color, creating intensities which...surpass anything experienced previously. In these oil paintings, in which light and color are joined into a contrapuntal unity...they fulfill a new, time-conditioned rhythm that is emanated by these artworks, enveloping those who enjoy them."¹¹ With these words, Dolbin allows us to imagine a work that is perhaps reminiscent of Fernand Léger, Carry Hauser, or Johannes Itten, or that can be associated with the works of the Futurists, early Viennese Kinetic Art, or Béla Uitz during this period.¹² In particular when Dolbin speaks of the "new rhythm" that seems to have shifted strongly into the foreground in these works, he takes up a topos that is celebrated and promoted both in Leopold Wolfgang Rochowanski's characterization of Viennese Kineticism in *Formwille der Zeit* [Form Will of the Time] of 1922¹³ and in Naum Gabo's *Realist Manifesto*,¹⁴ to become a new artistic credo and a new and universal model for design and aesthetic perception.¹⁵ The Czech artist Otto Gutfreund characterizes sculpture as "the expression of a flowing activity, of uninterrupted movement, whose rhythm is identical to the rhythm of creative processes of thought prior to their stabilization in the image."¹⁶ In 1923, Gutfreund—who had already been represented with several Cubist sculptures at the *First German Herbstsalon* in Berlin in 1913—exhibited his work in Vienna at a group exhibition of the Mánes Association of Prague Artists in the galleries of the *Hagenbund*. This shows how strongly Franz Cizek's ideas concerning Kineticism were fostered by the reception of the French and Czech Cubist works that were exhibited in the *Sturm* gallery, but also the degree to which the Czech Cubists were the focus of attention in Viennese exhibitions. On the other hand, it was the Futurist artist Umberto Boccioni who took up the challenge of translating these demands, the new life circumstances and tempo, along with the new technologies, into art via a rhythmicized and abstract formal language. Kiesler, meanwhile, who organized a meeting with the Futurists Enrico Prampolini, Filippo Tommaso

Marinetti, *De Stijl* founder Theo van Doesburg, and Franz Cizek in the wake of the theater exhibition (fig. 4), speaks in a text about the stage design for *R.U.R.* of a “living still life. . . . The frozen image is awakened to life. . . . The decor is active, joins the action. . . . The media of this coming to life are: The movement of the lines; harsh contrasts of the colors. The transformation of surfaces into relief forms, all the way to the three-dimensional sculpture MENSCH [actor]. The play of movement of colored lights and spotlights against the backdrop. Rhythmically accentuated, coordinated with the speech and movement of the actors.”¹⁷ Following this is a description of the technologies employed, together with a characterization of the technoid contents of the robot play.

Franz Cizek and the Avant-Garde

It is first and foremost Béla Uitz’s mixture of the Expressive and Constructivist treatment of form, however, that makes his work especially interesting in this context, in particular with reference to the beginnings of Viennese Kinetic Art in the class of Franz Cizek at the School of Arts and Crafts after 1918.¹⁸ Afterwards, in 1923, Uitz had a large solo exhibition at the Museum for Art and Industry which featured the Constructivist works he produced after his trip to Moscow in 1921. Dolbin contributed an exhibition review to the left-wing newspaper *Der Abend*.¹⁹ Among the artists who took special note of the Béla Uitz exhibition were Erika Giovanna Klien and Leopold Wolfgang Rochowanski.²⁰ The latter made a name for himself as an essayist on the topic of Viennese Kinetic Art; he had been preoccupied since 1923 with theater theory, and was then planning a four-volume work on the art of the theater that would be published in 1924 by the Thyrsos Verlag in Vienna.²¹ Oskar Schlemmer asked Rochowanski to keep him informed about developments concerning the Vienna Theater Exhibition, and the latter secured his participation with the *Triadic Ballet*.²²

Berlin Artists at the International Exhibition of New Theater Techniques

In February of 1923, that is to say shortly before the premiere and the construction of the stage scenery in Berlin, Kiesler participated in the founding celebration of the Society for the Advancement of Modern Art, whose chairman was Hans Tietze.²³ Alongside the International Art Exhibition initiated by Tietze and held at the *Vienna Seccession*, the theater exhibition—in conjunction with the Festival of Viennese Music and Theater—became a focus of the international avant-garde thanks to the dedication of Tietze, Kurt Rathe, Dolbin, and Kiesler. The latter contributed an innovative suspension system for the theater exhibition, as well as a spiral-shaped space stage for the Konzerthaus, thereby supplying the event with its avant-garde setting. International avant-garde publications such as the Berlin review *G* and Theo van Doesburg’s *De Stijl* publicized Kiesler’s architecture. For *De Stijl*, Kiesler deliberately chose a depiction of a dismantled layering system, thereby highlighting its artistic and sculptural qualities (fig. 5, plate 186). The pronounced view from below chosen by Kiesler for the reproduction of the space stage emphasizes the utopian character of the architecture, and itself depends upon Constructivist photography (fig. 6). In a critique of the exhibition that appeared in the Berlin review *Der Sturm*, Dolbin describes Kiesler’s stage concept: “The dynamic play of space that is demanded and striven for by all contemporary artists is made possible by Friedrich Kiesler’s ‘space stage.’ Here is the performance scaffolding, related in contentual terms to Meyerhold’s stage, from which the protagonist—so to speak as an expression of the revolutionary mass—is hurled upwards to the uppermost performance plateau, from which point he addresses the mass. Harbored in its ascending spiral and its circular structure is the centrifugal force of mass movement.”²⁴

Among Berlin’s contributions to the theater exhibition were George Grosz’s costume designs for Yvan Goll’s play *Methusalem* (fig. 7), which received its premiere at the Dramatisches Theater in Berlin in October of 1924, and would be performed on Kiesler’s space

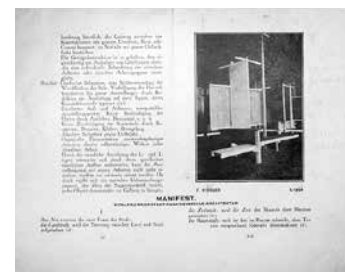


fig. 5 Friedrich Kiesler
View across the *International Exhibition of New Theater Techniques*, Vienna 1924, with a dismantled layering system
De Stijl, no. 11-12, 1924/25, p. 142-43.



fig. 6 Friedrich Kiesler and Fernand Léger on the *Space Stage*, 1924
Österreichische Friedrich und Lillian Kiesler-Privatstiftung

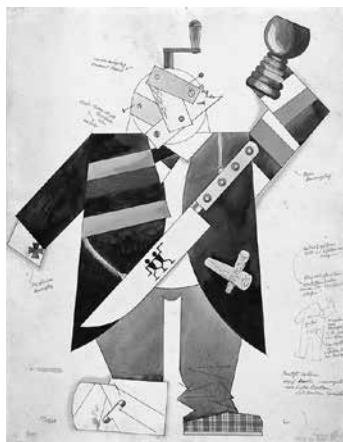


fig. 7 George Grosz
Costume design for Yvan Goll's
Methusalem, 1922

Museum of Modern Art, New York,
Mr. and Mrs. Werner E. Josten Fund

stage in Vienna as well in the framework of the theater performances.²⁵ Gert Caden's *Entwürfe für eine mechanische Exzentrik* [*Designs for a Mechanical Eccentricity*] belongs alongside László Moholy-Nagy's and El Lissitzky's designs for electromechanical stages based on Constructivist approaches from this period. Also on view were figurines by the artist Rudolf Belling for a "form ballet," and Rochus Gliese and César Klein, both displaying marked affinities to cinema, presented designs for scenery. Today, the consensus among art historians is that thanks to a pan-European network forged during the years after World War I, as well as to the initiatives of Friedrich Kiesler as a theater architect and artist, to the art historians Kurt Rathe and Hans Tietze, and to the engineer and chronicler B. F. Dolbin, the Vienna theater exhibition was able to achieve international success as the differences and discrepancies between Vienna and Berlin yielded momentarily for the sake of a joint endeavor. The "isms" were overcome, and the desire for a new liveliness through which art, technology, film, and language could join forces to engender a new form of spatial experience enjoyed an international forum.

In his review in *Der Sturm*, Dolbin once again stressed the way in which "Kiesler's novel exhibition form represented ... a kind

of 'display without contemplation.' It is impossible to overestimate the merit of the city of Vienna, which has dedicated itself in word and deed to the realization of Friedrich Kiesler's plan, promoted by the Society for the Advancement of Modern Art, in the framework of a festival of music and theater. The resonance encountered in Europe's intellectual centers testifies to the seminal character of this attempt to transform the nature of the theater and art exhibition."²⁶

In 1925, after enjoying success in Berlin and Vienna, Kiesler's path took him via Paris to New York City, where in 1926, filled with confidence, he advocated his architectural ideas for the renewal of theater building. The artists of the MA group left Vienna, while the younger artists who had discovered a new art form in Kineticism were unable to establish themselves. Thanks to his Berlin contacts, Kiesler had tilled the Constructivist field, so to speak, but the Viennese art scene was unable to enjoy its fruits. For the young progressive theater and dance scene, the arrival of Rudolf Laban's dance school from Dresden-Hellerau ushered in a phase of high artistic productivity. For a brief period after 1925, Vienna was still entirely in rhythm with the times—before the political shifts that arrived in 1934, followed by the Anschluss in 1938, destroyed all of these dreams there as well.

1 Friedrich Kiesler, Lectures delivered at Yale University School of Architecture in 1947, reprinted in: *Frederick Kiesler Artiste-Architecte* (exh. cat. Centre Pompidou, Paris 1996), Paris 1996, pp. 42–43.

2 See Barbara Lesák, in: *Frederick Kiesler, Theatervisionär – Architekt – Künstler* (exh. cat. Österreichisches Theatermuseum Vienna/Museum Villa Stuck, Munich/La Casa Encendida de Obra Social Caja Madrid), Vienna 2012, p. 25.

3 On the Hungarian avant-garde and its relationship to Vienna, see Eva Bajkay (ed.), *Béla Uitz. Graphische Arbeiten auf Papier 1913–1918* (exh. cat. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna), Budapest 1991; Eva Bajkay, *A magyar grafika külföldön. Bécs 1919–1923* [= Hungarian Graphics Abroad, Vienna 1919–1923] (exh. cat. Graphics Collection of the Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest), Budapest 1982;

Pál Derékym/Zoltán Kékesi/Pál Kelemen (eds.), *Mitteleuropäische Avantgarden. Intermedialität und Interregionalität im 20. Jahrhundert* (Budapester Studien zur Literaturwissenschaft, vol. 9), Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/Brussels/New York/Oxford/Vienna 2006.

4 See Benedikt Fred Dolbin, *Freie Bewegung*, typescript, 1918. In a text addressed to the Viennese left-wing review *Der Abend*, he demanded a review of the exhibition by Béla Uitz in the Museum for Art and Industry; see both in Dolbin's literary estate, Institut für Zeitungsforschung, Dortmund (http://www.dortmund.de/media/p/institut_fuer_zeitungsforschung/zi_downloads/nachlaesse_1/Findbuch_Dolbin.pdf).

5 See Cornelia Cabuk, *Carry Hauser. Monografie und Werkverzeichnis*, Weitra 2012.

6 See Dieter Bogner/Matthias Boeckl, "Friedrich Kiesler. Chronologie," in: Dieter Bogner (ed.), *Friedrich Kiesler 1890–1965* (exh. cat. Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien 1988), Vienna 1988, p. 11

7 Alfred Döblin to Friedrich Kiesler, Paris 12.09.1935, Archives of the Kiesler Foundation Vienna. In this letter, Döblin also asks Kiesler—who was then already living in New York City—to accommodate his son Peter in New York for a period appeared of time, which the Kieslers did. In 1923, Kiesler visited the Sturm Gallery, where he made an entry in the guestbook: Sturm Archiv, guestbook, 1923.

8 The director of the piece was the Viennese Berthold Viertel, who had founded the collective theater Die Truppe in Berlin 1922 with support from Karl Kraus. Viertel was a close friend of Else Lasker-Schüler, and later maintained contacts with Kiesler in New York.

- 9** At the time, Dolbin was married to the art historian Ninon Ausländer from Czernowitz, and moved to Berlin before emigrating to New York after a brief stay in Vienna. Dolbin maintained a friendship with Kiesler until the end of his life.
- 10** See Lesák 2012 (see note 2), p. 23. Dolbin's review is found in his literary estate, Institut für Zeitungsforschung, Dortmund (see note 4).
- 11** Benedikt Fred Dolbin, *Fritz Kiessler [Friedrich Kiesler]*, typescript, 6 pages, 1921, Institut für Zeitungsforschung, Dortmund (see note 4), an earlier handwritten version of this text is dated 2.01.1921; see note 2.
- 12** In a letter, Dolbin refers to Kiesler's work retrospectively as a mixture of Fernand Léger and Hans Arp. Letter from Dolbin to Kurt Rathe, Vienna 9.09.1935, Dolbin estate, Institut für Zeitungsforschung, Dortmund (see note 4).
- 13** "We begin, therefore, by repeating the rhythmic sequence of movements. Then we continue to accumulate impressions of movement. And finally, to a unification of both. ... Only he who feels the rhythm of our time so strongly ... and is able to endow his will with form dares to take up such a task..." Leopold Wolfgang Rochowanski, *Der Formwille der Zeit in der angewandten Kunst*, Vienna 1922. Rochowanski was a student of Cizek's, a dancer, and artist; his contact with Kiesler has been documented.
- 14** "We realize that every object has its own essential image: Chair, table, lamp, telephone, book, house, person. ... Each is a world unto itself, with its own rhythm, its own orbit. That is why when we create things, we remove labels of ownership ... , everything contingent and limited, leaving only the reality of the invariant rhythm of the forces that reside within them." From: Naum Gabo, *Realist Manifesto*, cited from: <http://gams.uni-graz.at/archive/get/o:reko.gabo.1920a/sdef:TEI/get>.
- 15** In *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, Munich 1911, Wassily Kandinsky speaks of rhythm as the highest ideal of reception; Hans Richter understands film as an optical rhythm, and created the films *Rhythmus 21* and *Rhythmus 23* in Berlin; Ludwig Klages discusses art in his text *Vom Wesen des Rhythmus*, Breslau 1923.
- 16** Arno Pařík, "Zwischen den Tschechen und den Deutschen," in: Hana Rousová (ed.), *Lücken in der Geschichte 1890 – 1938* (exh. cat. Prague, Eisenstadt, Regensburg 1994/1995), Prague 1994, p. 28.
- 17** Emphasis by the author, see Friedrich Kiesler, "De la nature morte vivante," from: Catalog of the *Internationale Ausstellung neuer Theatertechnik*, Vienna 1924, p. 20.
- 18** See Dieter Bogner, "Wien 1920 – 1930. 'Es war als würde Utopia Realität werden,'" in: *Alte und Neue Kunst*, issue 190/191, 1983, pp. 35 – 48.
- 19** Dolbin to the newspaper *Der Abend*, 2. 23. 1923, typescript, Dolbin estate, Institut für Zeitungsforschung, Dortmund (see note 4).
- 20** See letter from Klien to Rochowanski dated 6.01.1923, published in: Gerad Bast/Agnes Husslein-Arco/Harald Krejci/Patrick Werkner (eds.), *Viennese Kineticism: Modernism in Motion*, Vienna/New York 2011.
- 21** His book *Der Formwille der Zeit* deals with theoretical aspects of Kineticism for the first time; in the same period, he was working on a publication on the history of theater. See: Bernhard Leitner, *Rochowanski 1885 – 1961*, Ostfildern 1995.
- 22** Letter from Oskar Schlemmer to Leopold Wolfgang Rochowanski, Weimar 4. 10. 1924, Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, published in: Leitner 1995 (see note 21), p. 81.
- 23** Bogner 1988 (see note 6), p. 11.
- 24** B. F. Dolbin, "Die internationale Ausstellung neuer Theatertechnik in Wien, Nachworte," in: *Der Sturm*, vol. 16, issue 7 – 8, July – August 1925, pp. 97 – 100, here p. 100.
- 25** It was rehearsed but never actually performed due to financial circumstances; see Lesák 2012 (see note 2), p. 36.
- 26** See Dolbin 1925 (see note 24), p. 100.

Maximilian Kaiser

The Significance of Magazines in Austria: *Der Anbruch*, *MA*, and the *Freie Bewegung*

The Structure and Network of Avant-Garde Magazines in Vienna

In comparing the magazines *Der Anbruch* and *MA*, it is necessary first to analyze their structures more closely. There are essentially three points that make a comparison possible. These are, first, the manifestos, the programs, and the appeals meant to communicate to the readership the magazine's basic aims, as well as the strategies for achieving these. The second point—and the actual heart of the magazines—encompasses the written and visual contributions. These reflect the entire spectrum of artistic contacts and influences. Making up the final element—and most important for the magazines' continued existence—are the advertisements, classified ads, and notices of events. These make it possible to reconstruct the economic network and understand the circumstances in which these magazines arose.

Contemporaneous with the rise of Expressionism in Austria, a new chapter also began in the development of the magazines. Before World War I, the first isolated Expressionist cells emerged with their works. Soon thereafter, an intensified collaboration among individuals and groups resulted in the explosive growth of this development, and little by little an avant-garde scene appeared in Vienna. Whereas a negligible number of Expressionist periodicals such as the *Herder-Blätter* and *Der Ruf* had previously existed in Vienna, in the relatively short time period between 1917 and 1920 numerous new magazines were founded with names such as *Der Aufschwung*, *Summa*, *Daimon*, *Der Friede*, *Horizont-Flugschriften*, and also *Der Anbruch*.¹ The range of articles could extend from art and culture to social and political issues. This thematic

variety can be explained by the fact that, with the exception of the editorial teams, the collaboration on these magazines was often subject to enormous fluctuations. "Despite the heterogeneity of the individual contributions and the often heatedly discussed differences of opinion among the colleagues, the magazine appeared as a coherent body of text, conveying a specific artistic concept and a specific political program."²

Otto Schneider, one of the two editors of *Der Anbruch*, saw it as obligatory to take up once again "that great lost trail" and advocated "infusing traditional aristocratic, bourgeois, and mercantile life with spirit by means of intelligence, which is the most certain remedy against all the poisons that threaten to siphon off the lifeblood of a race."³ At heart this summons was consistent by definition with Peter Bürger's leitmotif of the avant-garde: The striving for a unity of art and life. The Hungarian artist Lajos Kassák, who had emigrated to Austria in 1919, phrased it similarly in his bilingual exhortation, "To the Artists of All Nations!" which appeared in the first Vienna edition of *MA*: "The nature of the new art is to seek out the tragic present and to illuminate it in times of birth. The mission of the new artist is mankind's awakening to itself, which has been forfeited on the one hand to the ignorance of the oppressed, and on the other hand to the peddling speculations on the part of the rulers."⁴ When Kassák said that as an artist he did not want to be a servant of the bourgeoisie, this can be explained by his direct experiences during the time of the Hungarian soviet republic, for to his statement he adds that it cannot be a matter only of replacing one class with another, "not even if that class is called the 'proletariat'."⁵ Today's view is that the *MA* group consisted of Hungarian artists and writers who contributed to the journal. Due to their political convictions, these persons were forced to leave Hungary after the failure of the revolution in order to avoid persecution. Despite the fact that some artists chose exile in Vienna (Lajos Kassák, Béla Uitz) while others went to Berlin (László Moholy-Nagy, Alfréd Kemény), the contacts were maintained, and in some cases even intensified, through *MA*, leading ultimately



fig. 1 Richard Dillenz
Untitled
Cover of *Der Anbruch*, year I, no. 7, June 15, 1918

to the avant-garde magazine's international recognition and success. In contrast, the editors of *Der Anbruch* were dependent on cooperation, especially in the early days, and first had to build up their contacts little by little. This was the case, for example, with a group of younger artists from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Germany, consisting essentially of the artists Richard Dillenz, B. F. Dolbin, Friedrich Feigl, Helene Funke, Janina Grossmann, Frieda Salvendy, Franz Skala, and Katharina Zirner, who grouped together in 1918 under the name *Bewegung*.⁶ In the announcement of the exhibition in the March edition of *Der Anbruch*, it is specifically pointed out that the founding of the group took place with the participation and upon the suggestion of the journal.⁷

From Idea to Action

A significant portion of a journal's success is determined by its broader environment. The more contacts it has available within its network, the more prominent the writers and artists it can acquire for its contributions. An additional inducement can be offered to the contributors in the form of participation in concerts, readings, lectures, or art exhibitions. This system, which developed parallel to the journals and functioned like a marketplace, created the preconditions for a pan-European exchange of the theories, texts, and artwork of the avant-garde movement.

The artist group *Bewegung* played an important role for *Der Anbruch*, despite the fact that it disbanded as a group after the first exhibition and reestablished itself in 1919 under the name *Freie Bewegung*. The artists continued to supply prints, especially lithographs, linocuts, and woodcuts, as illustrations for the journal (fig. 1). They were used both for the covers and as inserts between the written contributions. So-called luxury or preferential copies were printed on laid paper and contained originals of the same prints. This strategy was intended to win subscribers, thus standardizing the magazine's size and how frequently it appeared. The list of authors who published in *Der Anbruch* includes Robert Müller, Paul Baudisch, Erhard Buschbeck, Albert Ehrenstein,

Theodor Däubler, and many, many others. Concerts, lectures, and readings were organized in which authors from the nearby area could participate. Readings and concerts also took place to accompany exhibitions by the *Freie Bewegung*.⁸ Above all, though, it was the organization of art exhibitions that made the artist's association famous. As a group, they presented themselves as a union of young, progressively working artists. In contrast, the collective and solo exhibitions introduced the specific positions of prominent artists to the Viennese public. Among the two most important exhibitions were those of Johannes Itten in May 1919 and of Erich Heckel in September 1920. Itten had already achieved a fair amount of notoriety in Vienna as a result of his private art school. Heckel was given the opportunity as a member of the famous artist group *Die Brücke*. In the first two years of *Der Anbruch's* publication, predominantly works by Viennese artists and authors were featured. The relocation of the publishing house to Berlin resulted in an exchange between the participating persons, starting in 1919. From that point on, only artwork by members of the *Freie Bewegung* residing in Berlin, such as Erich Heckel and Friedrich Feigl, could be found in the journal (fig. 2). The reason for this was that the selection of artists was determined by Jsrael Ber Neumann, a Berlin art dealer and publisher. Hence forward, only the artists he represented could have works published in *Der Anbruch*.

For the journal *Der Anbruch*, as for the *Freie Bewegung*, contact with Berlin was not limited to the publication of artwork and the "importing" of important artists. Beginning in 1920, Otto Schneider directed the *Neue Musikgesellschaft der Anbruch* in Berlin and from there organized concert evenings in both cities. By means of the connection to J. B. Neumann's Graphisches Kabinett, Richard Dillenz was able to exhibit in Berlin in 1921, together with Ernst Wagner and Johannes Fischer. The same year, the *Freie Bewegung* also made an appearance as a group in Fritz Gurlitt's gallery.

Although numerous connections between the MA group and the international avant-garde are documented, very little is known about its contacts to the Vienna scene.⁹ The

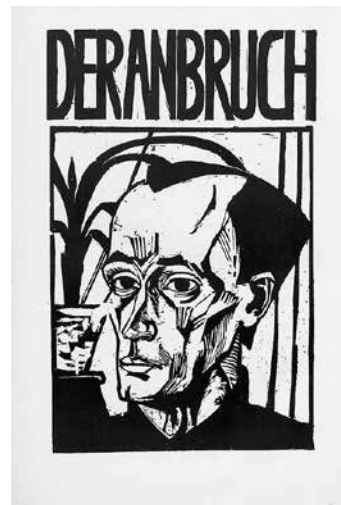


fig. 2 Erich Heckel
Portrait of E. H.

Cover of *Der Anbruch*, year II, no. 1, January 1919



fig. 3 Janos Máttis-Teutsch
Untitled

Cover of *MA*, year V, no. 1/2, 1919



fig. 4 László Moholy-Nagy
Glass Architecture
 Cover of *MA*, year VII, no. 5/6, 1922

focus of the journal *Der Anbruch* was clearly Expressionism. Through *MA*, Constructivism became known in Vienna for the first time, resulting in its reception by artists. The *MA* group began transmitting the new ideas in November 1920 with a lecture, supported by slides, by Konstantin Umanskij on the new directions in Russian art. Béla Uitz reported on this event enthusiastically in *MA*: “If, in opposition to the art of the bourgeoisie, we thus want to show the maximum manifestation of life of the revolution, then instead of the bourgeois ‘only I,’ we should set out in the direction of the creative power of ‘we’ and the possibilities of the entirety. In Russia this path has already been tread. ... In Europe it is the group of the *MA* that has organized the only public lecture thus far on Russian art.”¹⁰ The stylistic turnaround did not take place overnight, however, and reproductions of expressionistic prints can still be found in the early issues of *MA* (fig. 3). Only in 1921 did such a transition begin to be seen. Dadaistic works of art and texts by Kurt Schwitters, Hans Arp, and Richard Huelsenbeck came to be published in *MA*. Under the influence of the *Third KOMINTERN* in 1921 in Moscow, on the one hand, and the congress of internationally progressive artists in 1922 in Düsseldorf on the other, *MA*’s “Constructivist turn” was complete (fig. 4).¹¹ Both resulted in contacts being forged between members of the *MA* group and Constructivist artists such as Hans Richter, Theo van Doesburg, El Lissitzky, and Alexander Rodtschenko. With the exception of Rodtschenko, all of these artists were also immediately afterwards represented with works in issues of *MA*. Ideological and political differences between Uitz and Kassák led to Uitz’s leaving the *MA* group shortly after his return from Moscow and, together with Komját Aladár, founding the journal *Egység* [“Unity”]. As Oliver Botar writes, “The fine-arts policy of *Egység* reflected Uitz’s support of the Russian avant-garde. With the exception of a painting by Uitz, the art reproduced in the Viennese *Egység* was limited to the work of Russian avant-garde artists whom Uitz and Kemény had encountered in Moscow in 1921.”¹² In the June 1922 issue, images and works by *OBMOKhU* members Alexander

Rodtschenko, Karl Johanson, Konstantin Medunetsky, and Vladimir and Georgii Stenberg, which had been previously seen in the *Second Spring Exhibition* in Moscow, were published in Western Europe for the first time. Kassák, too, demonstrated his talent as an intermediary by publishing not only contributions from his immediate surroundings, but also remaining open to influences from outside the group. Foreign-language texts, for example by von Doesburg, Marinetti, and Schwitters, were translated into Hungarian for the first time in *MA* and the journal was circulated—in many cases not entirely legally—by means of a distribution network reaching into the neighboring countries of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and even to Romania. The fact that this feat of cultural exchange also made its presence felt in Kassák’s own art production can be seen in those works that would become known as pictorial architectures (fig. 5).

And how did things turn out for the *MA* group in Berlin? “A circle of artists, such as the one that had gathered around Lajos Kassák first in Budapest and then in Vienna, was not able to form in Berlin. ... On German soil, the Hungarian artists sought to forge connections to their land of asylum predominantly as individuals.”¹³ One of these connections was that in 1923, László Moholy-Nagy began teaching the introductory course at the Bauhaus. Another was that Sándor Ék and Jolán Szilágyi first worked in the agitprop department of the Communist Party and were both members of the *Assoziation Revolutionärer Bildender Künstler Deutschlands* [Association of Revolutionary Visual Artists of Germany, *ARBKD* for short], founded in 1928.¹⁴ The list of *MA* members who belonged to the circle around *Der Sturm* is long. The *Buch Neuer Künstler* can be seen as the most significant evidence of the exchange between the Berlin and Vienna members of the *MA* group. Kassák and Moholy-Nagy sought, in a kind of a middle path between art history and pictorial collage, to tell the story of the development of avant-garde art in the format of an artist’s book. Illustrations of technical equipment were interspersed between artworks by Klee, Kandinsky, Prampolini, and Lissitzky, with the intention of suggesting the supremacy

of Constructivism by means of a closely related aesthetic. In his review in the magazine *Der Cicerone*, Walter Passarge remarked that “writing a more in-depth review of this book means confronting the entire problem of Constructivism in all thoroughness.... It is the movement that corresponds to the essential features of our time in the field of art.”¹⁵

Parallels between *Der Anbruch* and *MA* can be found on an ideological and artistic level—the Expressionist roots of both magazines have been documented. But on the

organizational side they differed significantly. It was cooperation with publishers, gallery owners, and an artist group that was crucial to the success of *Der Anbruch*. In the case of *MA*, however, it was a group of internationally scattered artists and authors who defined themselves through the journal, built up important contacts with other avant-garde movements, and, by means of this transfer of knowledge, passed along important stimuli to their individual environments.

1 This list could be expanded by several titles. On this see Paul Raabe, *Die Autoren und Bücher des literarischen Expressionismus. Ein bibliographisches Handbuch*, Stuttgart 1985. – Armin A. Wallas, *Zeitschriften und Anthologien des Expressionismus in Österreich. Analytische Bibliographie und Register*, 2 vols., Munich/New Providence/London/Paris 1995.

2 Armin A. Wallas and Andrea Lauritsch (eds.), *Österreichische Literatur-, Kultur- und Theaterzeitschriften im Umfeld von Expressionismus, Aktivismus und Zionismus*, Wuppertal 2008, p. 11.

3 Otto Schneider, “Vom Parnass ins Parlament,” in: *Der Anbruch. Flugblätter aus der Zeit*, issue 1, leaflet 1, 12.15.1917, p. 1.

4 Ludwig Kassák, “To the Artists of All Nations,” in: *MA. Irodalmi és képzőművészeti folyóirat*, vol. 1, issue 5, 5.01.1920, p. 2.

5 Ibid.

6 Ewald Schneider, *Die Künstlergruppe “Freie Bewegung” 1918 – 1922*, Vienna 1999 (typescript), pp. 27 – 28.

7 See *Der Anbruch. Flugblätter aus der Zeit*, vol. 4, issue 1, 3.20.1918, p. 8.

8 In addition to Baudisch and Buschbeck, who have already been mentioned in association with the exhibitions, the *Freie Bewegung* also organized readings by the writers Georg Kulka and Theodor Tagger. These events were organized by the “Gruppe Literatur.” Schneider 1999 (see note 6), pp. 127 – 28.

9 The scholarly investigation into the interrelationships between the *MA* group and the artists working in Vienna is thanks especially to Pál Derék (for the literary historical perspective) and Károly Kókai and others (for the art historical perspective). See Pál Derék, “Eigenkultur – Fremdkultur. Zivilisationskritisch fundierte Selbstfindung in den literarischen Reisebeschreibungen der Aktivisten Robert Müller und Lajos Kassák,” in: *Hungarian Studies*, issue 17, no. 1, 2003, pp. 157 – 70. – Károly Kókai, “Deutschsprachige Texte im Wiener MA,” in: *Neohelicon. Acta comparationis litterarum universarum*, issue 25, 2008, pp. 265 – 95.

10 Béla Uitz, “Jegyzetek a MA oros estélyéhez,” in: *MA. Irodalmi és képzőművészeti folyóirat*, vol. 4, issue 6, 2.15.1921, p. 52. (Translated by Gabriela Neuberger.)

11 Peter Weibl describes the chronological development of *MA* on the

basis of contributions by the international avant-garde. See Peter Weibl, “Zur Entstehung des ungarischen Konstruktivismus in Wien: MA 1920 – 25. Der einzige Moment der Moderne in der Zwischenkriegszeit,” in: Peter Weibl (ed.), *Jenseits von Kunst* (exh. cat. Landesmuseum Joanneum Graz), Vienna, 1997, pp. 67 – 81.

12 Oliver A. I. Botar, “From the Avant-Garde to ‘Proletarian Art’. The Emigré Hungarian Journals Egység and Akasztott Ember, 1922 – 23,” in: *Art Journal*, issue 52, no. 1, 1993, p. 36.

13 Éva Bajkay-Rosch, “Künstler im Exil,” in: Hubertus Gafner (ed.), *Wechselwirkungen. Ungarische Avantgarde in der Weimarer Republik* (exh. cat. Neue Galerie Kassel/Museum Bochum), Marburg 1986, p. 41.

14 Jürgen Krammer, “Die Assoziation Revolutionärer Bildender Künstler Deutschlands (ARBKD),” in: *Wem gehört die Welt? Kunst und Gesellschaft in der Weimarer Republik* (exh. cat. Staatliche Kunsthalle Berlin), Berlin 1977, p. 179 – 80.

15 Walter Passarge, “Ludwig Kassák und L. Moholy-Nagy. Buch Neuer Künstler. Wien 1922,” in: *Der Cicerone. Halbmonatsschrift für die Interessen des Kunstkenner & Sammlers*, vol. 7, issue XV, 1923, p. 252.

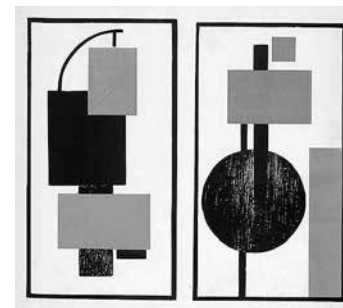


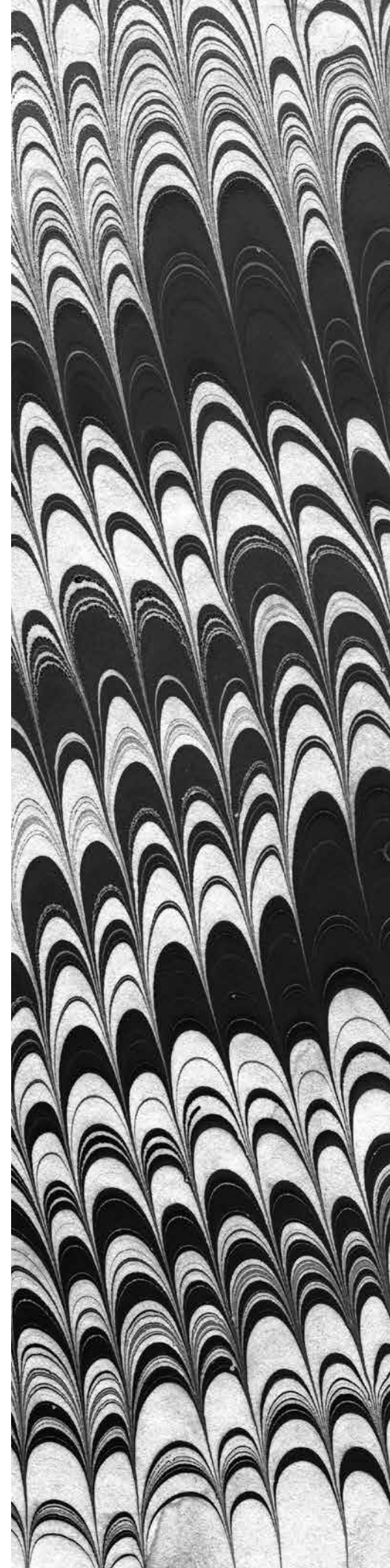
fig. 5 Lajos Kassák
Pictorial Architecture
MA, year VIII, no. 1, 1922

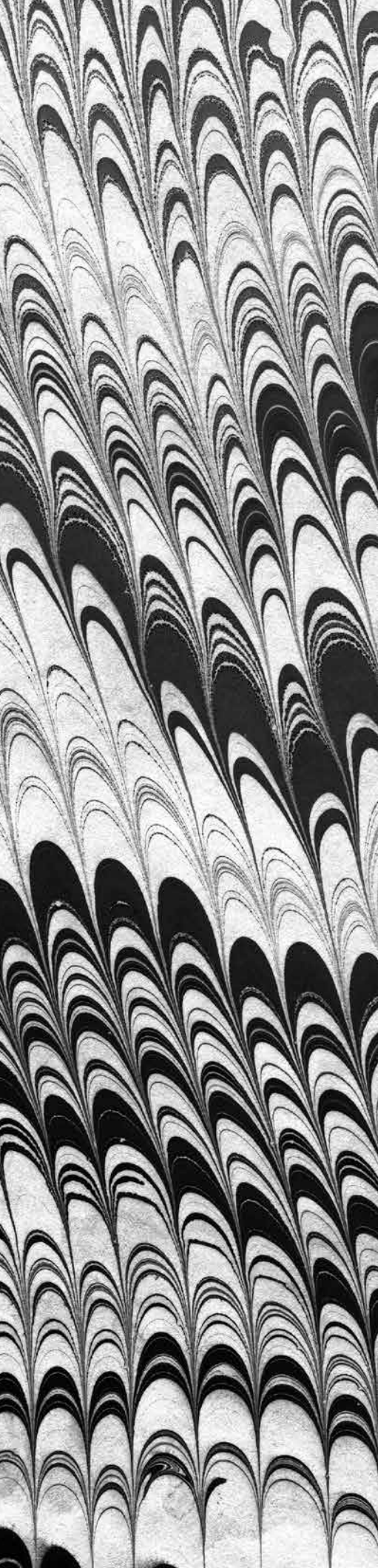


Operations on Open Hearts.

New Objectivity

IV





The much described and extolled “roaring twenties” (in Berlin) were also an age of “healthy disillusionment.”¹ The art historian and contemporary Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub found this to be true especially with respect to painting. For the period of exuberant hopes that had found their articulation in Expressionism was followed by a decade in which artists devoted themselves to the world as given, free of delusion and the film-like dissolution of one image or idea into another. The expressionistic emotionalism of disclosure, which aspired to bring the innermost outwards, was replaced by an “emotionalism of the pure sic!”² The restless and the deeply stirring, the artistic affect, and the sentiments captured on canvas yielded to a painterly motionlessness that paid homage to the thing, whether person or object. A culture of distance developed out of the traumatizing experiences of World War I.³ The “essence” of man had revealed itself in a terrifyingly bestial way on the battlefields. Now it was a matter of restraining the inward and controlling the chaos in the outward, characterized by instable political relations and social crises. Alongside non-representational art, a tendency towards realistic representationalism in painting could already be seen in Germany immediately following World War I. The brush was increasingly guided by the coordinates of control and objectivity. Ecstasy was supplanted by sobriety. Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub gave this painting dedicated to the external appearance of the world a name that would also become a cultural leitmotif: New Objectivity.

But objectified painting, which began to spread widely in Austria in the middle of the 1920s, manifested very different dispositions in both its choice of subject matter and its manner of execution. Rudolf Schlichter portrayed *Margot* (plate 198) in the darkness of the convoluted back courtyards of Berlin, but with a proletarian self-confidence completely consistent with the type of the so-called New Woman shaped by the twenties. Her trademarks: bobbed hair and a cigarette. The distinguished and chilly reserve with which Christian Schad’s ladies confront us finds its perfect interpretation in his precise, meticulous painting, which does not (any longer) allow our gaze to penetrate the surface. The portrayal of things in the form of still lifes, which was of little significance in Expressionism, once again became meaningful; this too was something characteristic of the times. The stasis of the world of objects once more attracted artists’ attention, even if the everyday objects represented did in fact refer beyond themselves, no matter how objectively they were captured. Rudolf Wacker’s *Stillleben mit Kistendeckel* [*Still Life with Crested Grebe*] (plate 230) undoubtedly contains sexual connotations, for together with the clay amphora, into the opening of which a metal funnel has been inserted, a gourd growing phallically out of a box inscribed “Lotte” defies a neutral interpretation and could be understood

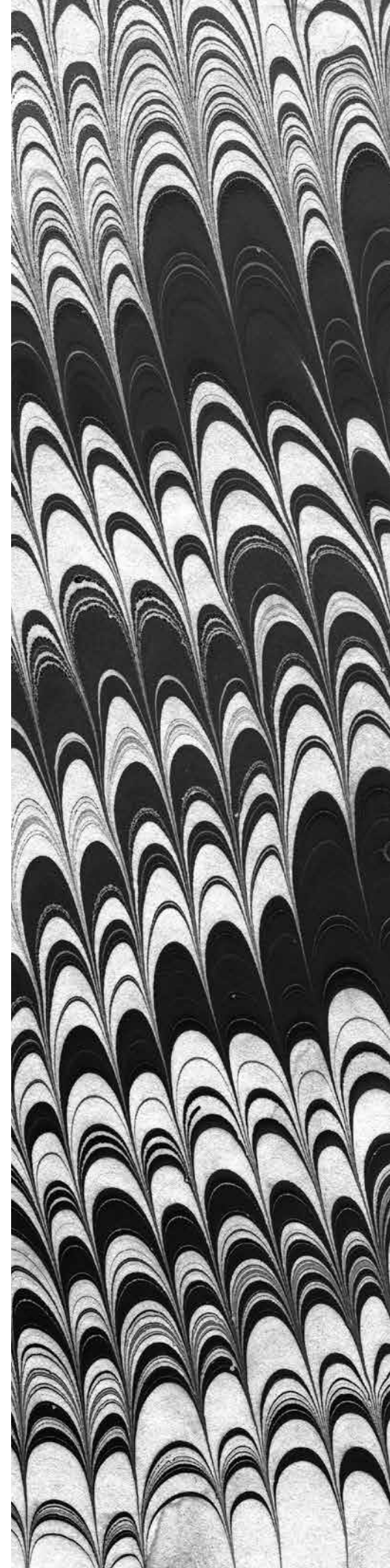
as a hint at Sigmund Freud's *Traumdeutung* [*Interpretation of Dreams*], which also associated inanimate objects with human needs and desires.

With all their coolness and objectivity, the works nonetheless also convey atmospheric, individual, or social moods or sentiments: For example, the absentminded melancholy that lies upon the face of the portrayed daughter of Albert Paris Gütersloh (plate 204) and which seems to have congealed the persons gathered at the table in Lotte Laserstein's *Abend über Potsdam* [*Evening Over Potsdam*] (plate 282). Silence has made itself at home. These works are grounded in an ominous presentiment of what is to come. Because of her Jewish descent, Laserstein, lauded as the Weimar Republic's most promising talent, was forced to flee after the National Socialists' seizure of power. Gütersloh was stigmatized as "degenerate" under National Socialist cultural policy and was banned from working. In the so-called Third Reich there was no alternative to foreign emigration or "inner emigration" for many of the artists presented here, for in fact the opposite of culture had triumphed.

Lotte Laserstein emigrated to Sweden and believed for the remainder of her life that the first work she had been able to sell to a public collection—namely to the municipality of the city of Berlin—had been burned in the attacks on the city during World War II. But the artist was mistaken: The painting *Im Gasthaus* [*In the Tavern*] (plate 202), a prime example of New Objectivity in both subject matter as well as painterly realization, had fallen victim to the National Socialist "degenerate art" confiscation action that began in 1937, in which the Nazis removed unwanted art from German museums. Until last year the work was considered lost. The pleasure of being able to present it to a wider public after almost eighty years is thus all the greater.

Ralf Burmeister

- 1 Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub in a letter to Alfred H. Barr, founding director of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in July 1929. Quoted from Kenneth Frampton, *Die Architektur der Moderne. Eine kritische Baugeschichte*, Stuttgart 1983, p. 114.
- 2 Rainer Metzger, *Berlin. Die Zwanzigerjahre. Kunst und Kultur 1918–1933*, Vienna 2006, p. 182.
- 3 See Klaus Schröder, *Neue Sachlichkeit. Österreich 1918–1938* (exh. cat. Kunstforum Bank Austria, Vienna), Vienna 1995, pp. 13–14.
- 4 Quotation on the following page: Stefan Großmann, "Reinhardt, Ufa und Berlin," in: *Das Tage-Buch*, year I, issue 32, 1920, pp. 1049–52, here pp. 1049–50.



“Berlin may bestow success on those who are robust, who persevere, but nothing more than success. Who could warm to the place? Who could call it home? I do not wish to pose such questions as an ingrate. I sense the sea close by, the refreshing air of this city; I love its vibrancy, its tremendous activity, its eternally alert good sense. But precisely this rationalist element, the perpetual propulsion and compulsion of its spirits, this air—so pregnant with plans, projects, enterprises—ultimately engenders a feeling of bittersweet emptiness in the contemplative and creative individual. ... Reigning here is a cold today. This pressure for immediate peak performance, to be sure, whips one up. But who could ever feel at home in the city of such interminable lashings?”⁴ Stefan Großmann 1920



198**RUDOLF SCHLICHTER****Margot, 1924**

Oil on canvas, 110.5 × 75 cm

Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin



199 ISSAI KULVIANSKI
My Daughter Kiki, 1927
 Oil on canvas, 127 × 96 cm
 Berlinische Galerie

200 CHRISTIAN SCHAD
Lola, 1927/28
 Oil on wood, 67 × 50 cm
 Private collection



201 CHRISTIAN SCHAD
Maika, 1929

Oil on canvas, 65 × 53 cm

Private collection



202 **LOTTE LASERSTEIN**
In the Tavern, 1927
 Oil on wood, 54 × 46 cm
 Private collection

203 **SERGIUS PAUSER**
Lady in White, 1927
 Oil on plywood, 81.6 × 61.1 cm
 Gemälde- und Skulpturensammlung der Museen der Stadt Nürnberg



204 ALBERT PARIS GÜTERSLOH
Portrait of Alexandra Gütersloh, 1934
Oil on canvas, 60 × 80 cm

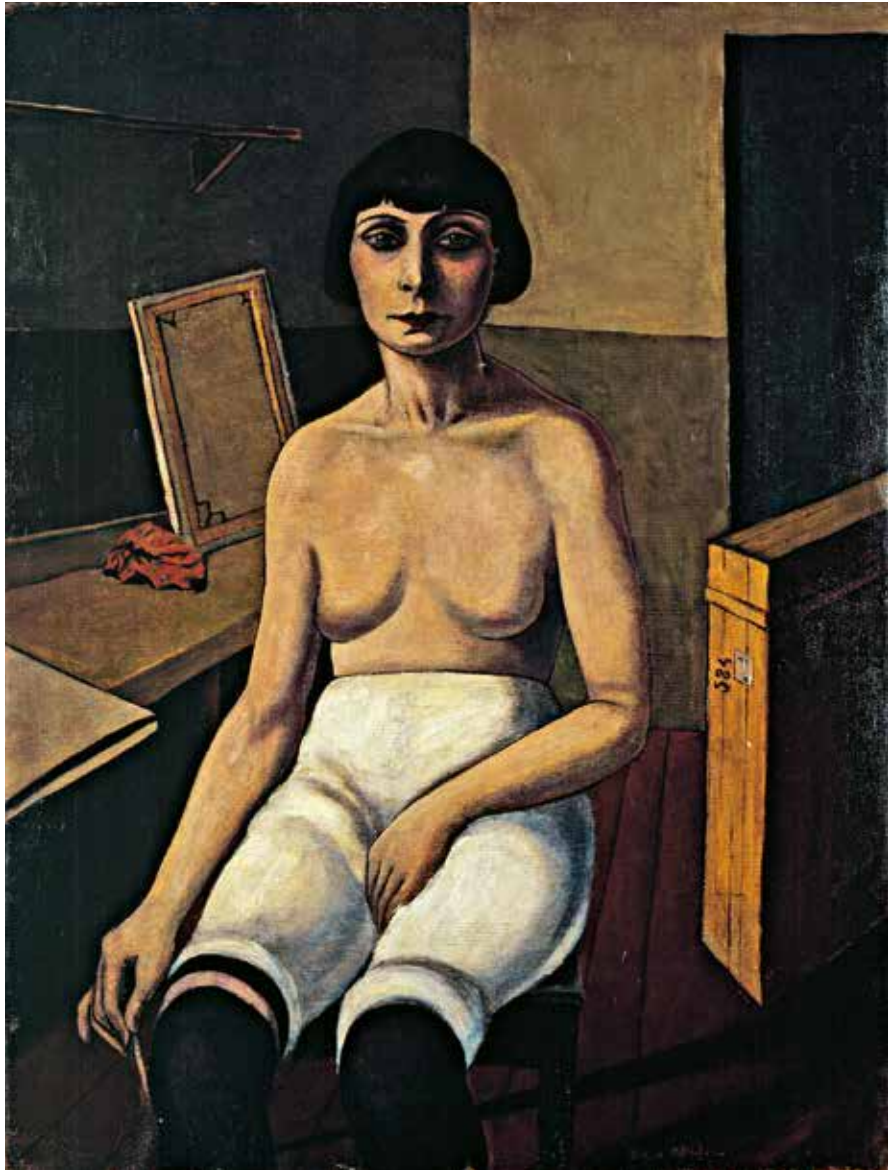
Belvedere, Vienna



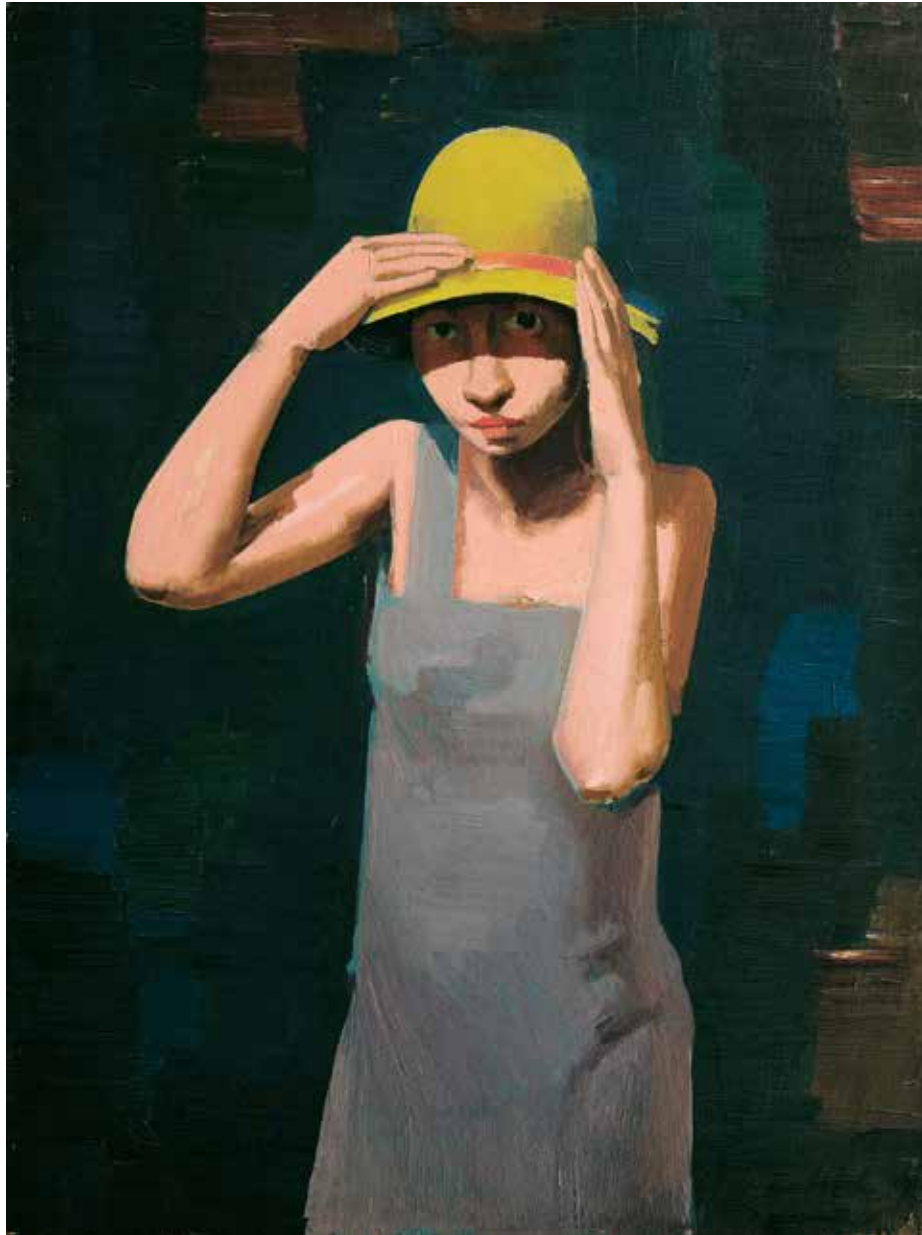
205 **KARL HOFER**
The Girl Rests, c. 1925
 Oil on canvas, 40.5 × 57.5 cm
 Private collection



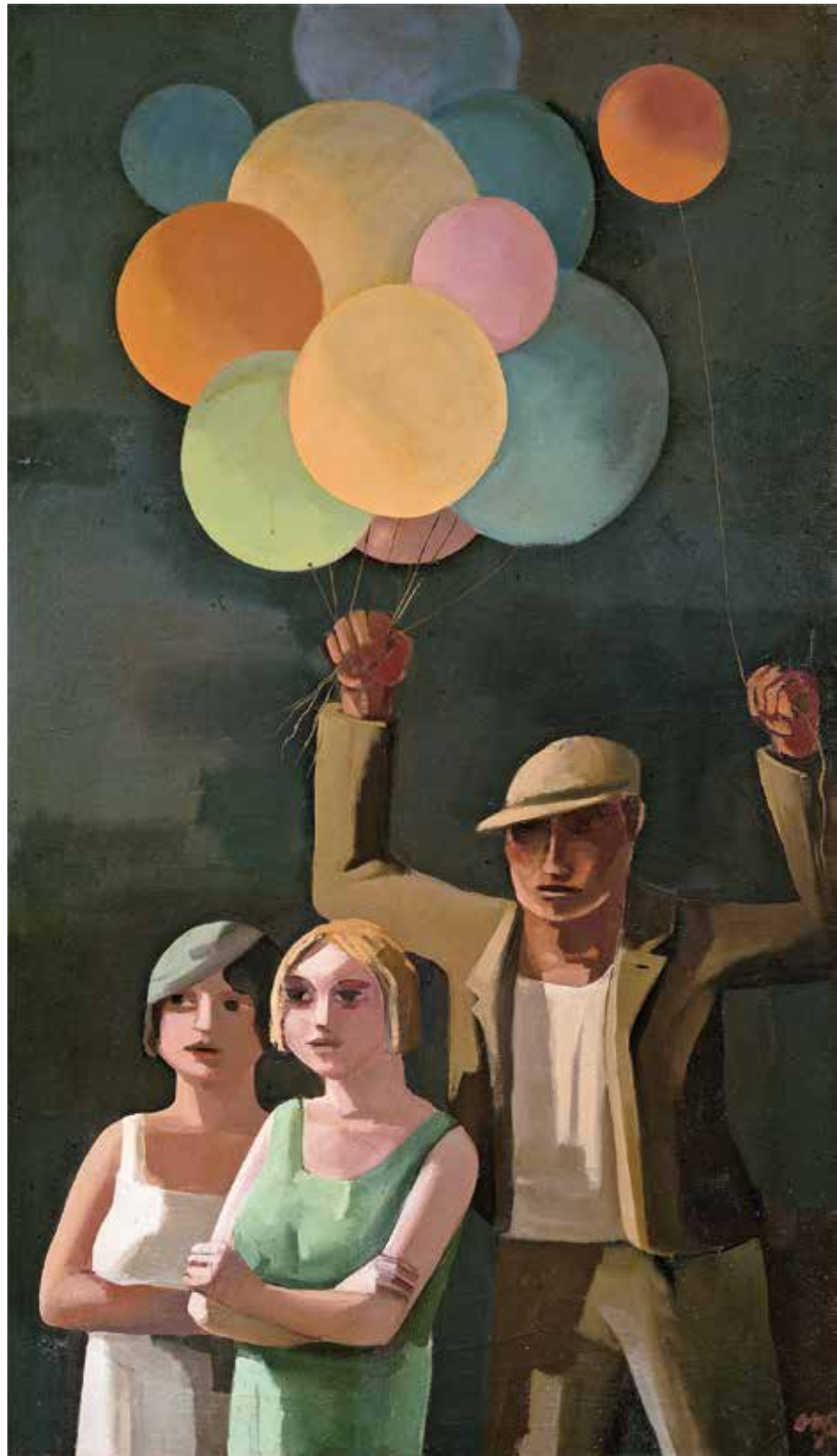
206 **FRANZ LERCH**
Girl Asleep, 1930
 Oil on canvas, 48 × 61 cm
 Wien Museum



207 RUDOLF SCHLICHTER
Jenny Seated, 1922/23
Oil on canvas, 86.5 × 65 cm
Berlinische Galerie



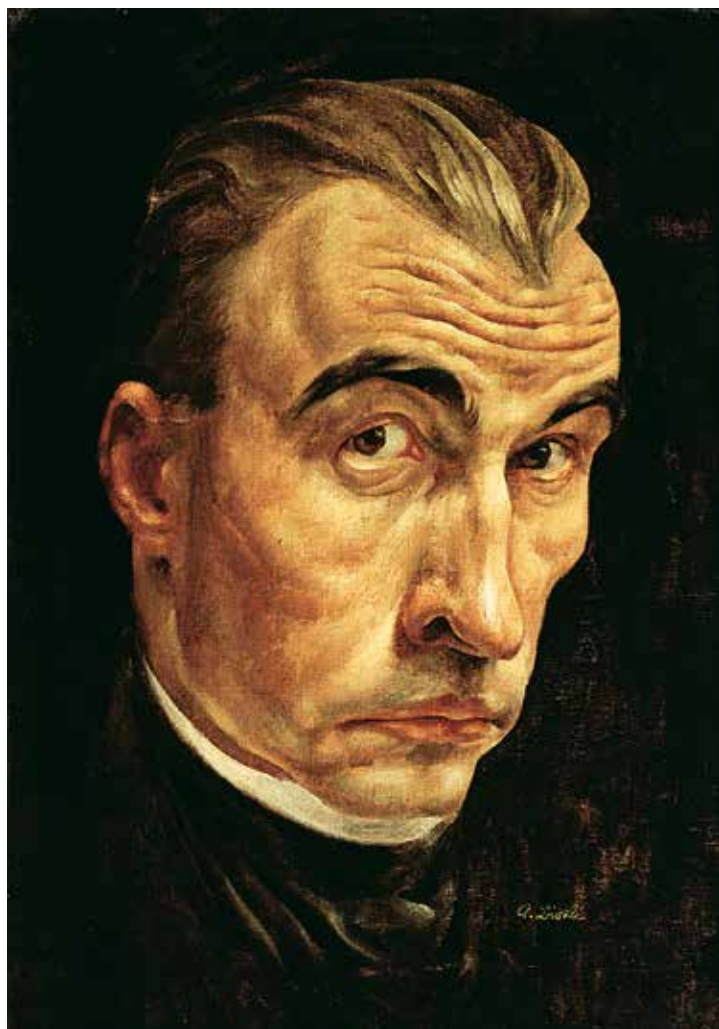
208 **FRANZ LERCH**
Girl with Hat, 1929
Oil on canvas, 80 × 60 cm
Belvedere, Vienna



209 OTTO RUDOLF SCHATZ
Balloon Seller, 1929

Oil on canvas, 191 × 110 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



210 ALBERT BIRKLE
Self-Portrait, 1922
Oil on canvas, 49 × 35 cm

Property of the Artothek des Bundes, on permanent loan to the Belvedere, Vienna



211 GEORG EHRLICH
Hans Tietze, 1931
Bronze, 32 × 20 × 24 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



212 **GEORGE GROSZ**
Self-Portrait with a Hat, 1928
Oil on canvas, 109.5 × 79 cm
Berlinsche Galerie



213 **CARL-LEOPOLD HOLLITZER**
B. F. Dolbin, 1925
Pencil and watercolor on paper, 32 × 23 cm

Berlinische Galerie



214 **BENEDIKT FRED DOLBIN**
Bert Brecht, c. 1930
 Pencil on paper, 28 × 22 cm

Berlinische Galerie

215 **BENEDIKT FRED DOLBIN**
Lotte Lenya-Weill, c. 1936
 Pencil on paper, 28.5 × 24.3 cm

Berlinische Galerie



BENEDIKT FRED DOLBIN
Max Reinhardt, c. 1936
 Pencil on paper, 29 × 22.8 cm
 Berlinische Galerie



BENEDIKT FRED DOLBIN
Franz Werfel, c. 1930
 Pencil on paper, 31 × 22.5 cm
 Berlinische Galerie



218 **BENEDIKT FRED DOLBIN**
Fritz Kortner, c. 1930
 Indian ink on paper, 29 × 23.8 cm

Berlinische Galerie

219 **BENEDIKT FRED DOLBIN**
Peter Lorre, c. 1930
 Pencil on paper, 30 × 23.8 cm

Berlinische Galerie



220

BENEDIKT FRED DOLBIN**Alfred Kerr, c. 1926**

Pencil on paper, 24 × 18.5 cm

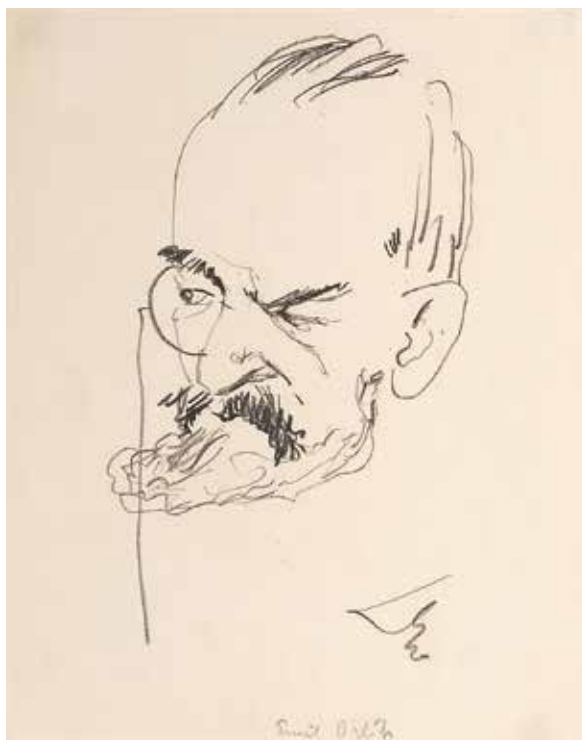
Berlinische Galerie

221

EMIL ORLIK**Portrait of Tilla Durieux, c. 1921**

Etching, 32.6 × 24.9 cm

Berlinische Galerie



222

BENEDIKT FRED DOLBIN**Emil Orlik, c. 1930**

Pencil on paper, 24.5 × 19.5 cm

Berlinische Galerie

223

EMIL ORLIK**Portrait of Elisabeth Bergner, c. 1925**Water-based inks, black and colored crayon,
white heightening on paper, 69.5 × 50 cm

Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin



224 CHRISTIAN SCHAD
Portrait of the Writer
Ludwig Bäumer, 1927
Oil on wood, 61 × 50 cm
Berlinische Galerie



225

HERBERT PLOBERGER
Self-Portrait (With Ophthalmological
Teaching Aids), 1928–1930

Oil on wood, 50 × 40 cm

Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich



226 **RUDOLF WACKER**
Still Life with Crested Grebe, 1928
 Oil on wood, 69 × 50 cm
 Oesterreichische Nationalbank



227

RUDOLF WACKER
Two Heads, 1932
 Oil on wood, 100 × 63 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



228

ALEXANDER KANOLDT
Still Life III with Amaryllis, 1926
 Oil on canvas, 106 × 80 cm

Berlinische Galerie



HERBERT PLOBERGER
Still Life, 1926
Oil on canvas, 56 × 72.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

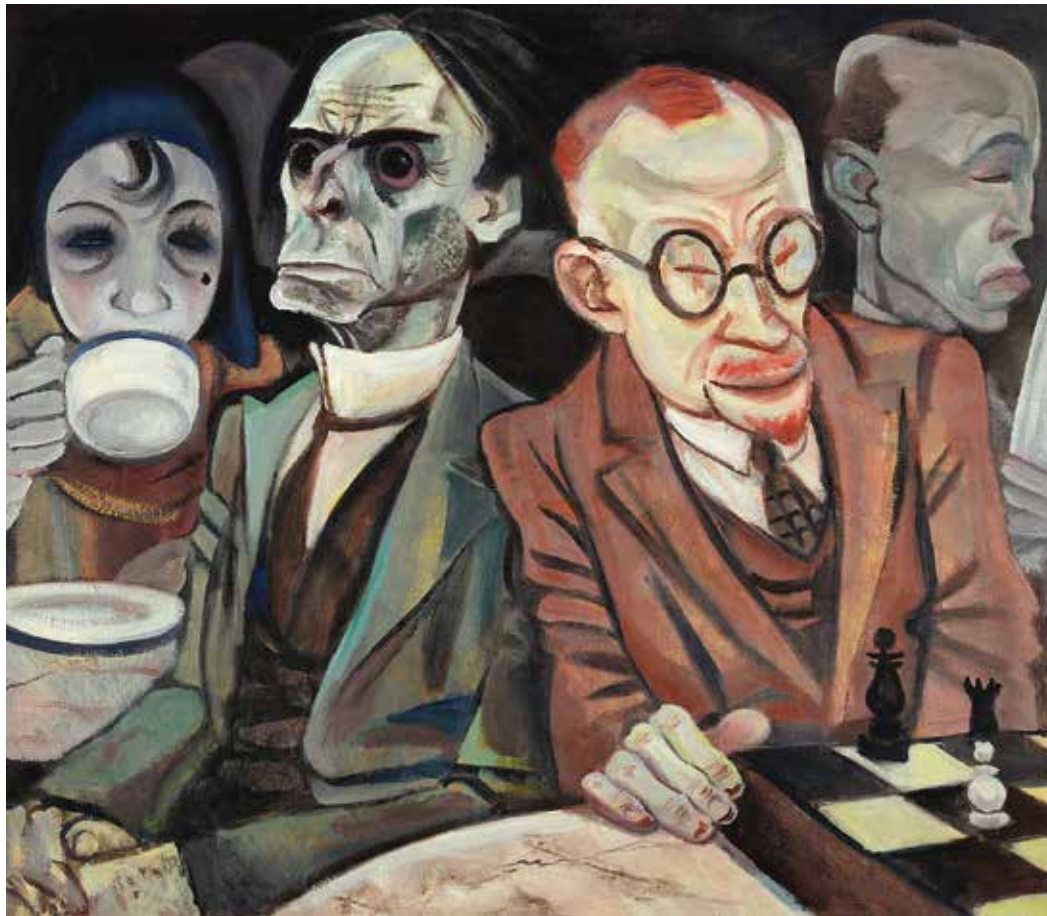


230

RUDOLF WACKER
Still Life with Lid, 1930

Oil on wood, 60 × 75 cm

Sammlung Bodenseekreis, on permanent loan from the
Zweckverband Oberschwäbische Elektrizitätswerke (OEW)



231 JEANNE MAMMEN
Chess Player, 1929/30
Oil on canvas, 70 × 80.5 cm
Berlinische Galerie



232

OTTO DIX

The Poet Iwar von Lücken, 1926

Oil and tempera on canvas, 226 × 120 cm

Berlinische Galerie



233 CARRY HAUSER
Night Wanderer, 1920
 Oil on wood, 40.3 × 32.2 cm
 Belvedere, Vienna



234 RICHARD ZIEGLER
Woman on the Street, c. 1929
 Opaque color on paper, 49.2 × 32.2 cm
 Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin



235 JOSEF HUMPLIK
Grete Wiesenthal, 1929
Terra-cotta, 56 × 41 × 44 cm
Belvedere, Vienna



237 JEANNE MAMMEN
Music Hall Girls, 1928/29
Oil on cardboard, 64 × 47 cm
Berlinische Galerie



236 JEANNE MAMMEN
Valeska Gert, 1928/29
Oil on canvas, 60 × 44 cm
Berlinische Galerie



238 HANS BALUSCHEK
Station Concourse
(Lehrter Bahnhof), 1929
 Tempera, crayon, and pencil on
 cardboard, 98.3 × 69 cm
 Berlinische Galerie



239 EGMONT SCHAEFER
Street Scene, 1928
 Black crayon on brown laid paper
 61.7 × 48 cm
 Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin



240

ALBERT BIRKLE
Kurfürstendamm, 1924

Pastel on cardboard, 68 × 87 cm

Zweckverband Oberschwäbische
Elektrizitätswerke (OEW), Landkreis Sigmaringen



241 **CONRAD FELIXMÜLLER**
Boxer from a Show Booth, 1921
Oil on canvas, 95 × 110 cm
Berlinsche Galerie





WILHELM TRAEGER

Vienna 1932, 1932

Portfolio with 41 linoleum cuts

Private collection

243

Poster Artists
Plate 1, 37.7 × 48 cm

244

Tourism on Kärtnerstrasse
Plate 36, 47.8 × 62.2 cm



245 People's Coffeehouse in Vienna
Plate 40, 49.1 × 62.1 cm

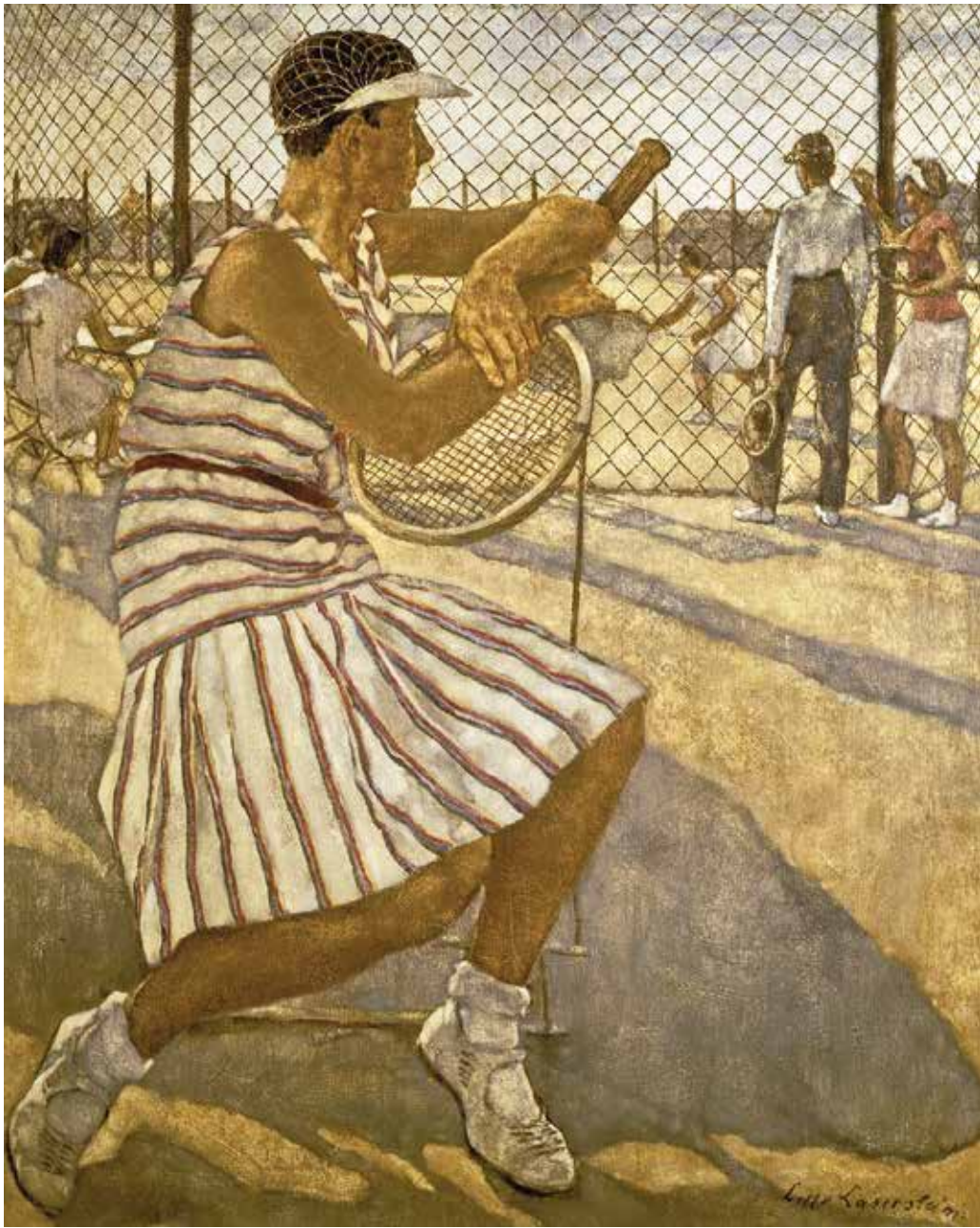
246 Street Scene II (Meidling, Tivoligasse)
Plate 35, 42.8 × 53 cm



247 BETTINA EHRLICH-BAUER
Jonny Strikes Up, 1928
Oil on canvas, 102 × 60 cm
Private collection



248 CARRY HAUSER
Jazz Band, 1927
Oil on wood, 50 × 48 cm
Private collection



249 **LOTTE LASERSTEIN**
Tennis Player, 1929
Oil on canvas, 110 × 95.5 cm
Private collection



250 **RUDOLF BELLING**
Max Schmeling, 1929
 Bronze, 54.4 × 27 × 38.7 cm
 Berlinische Galerie

251 **MAX OPPENHEIMER**
Six-Day Race, c. 1929
 Oil on canvas, 73 × 86 cm
 Berlinische Galerie (on permanent loan)



252 RUDOLF WACKER
Self-Portrait with Shaving Foam, 1925
 Oil on canvas, 82 × 62.8 cm

Belvedere, Vienna, on permanent loan from a private collection

253 KARL HOFER
Girl with Foliage Plant, 1923
 Oil on canvas, 105 × 74 cm

Belvedere, Vienna



254 **FELIX NUSSBAUM**
Organ Grinder, 1931
Oil on canvas, 88 × 73 cm
Berlinische Galerie



255 **HERMANN NONNENMACHER**
Farewell, 1928
Mahogany wood, 104 × 38 × 19 cm

Berlinische Galerie



256 ERNST NEUSCHUL
Two Weary Women, c. 1925
Oil on canvas, 100 × 120 cm
Berlinische Galerie



257 LOIS PREGARTBAUER
Railroad Crossing, c. 1922
 Oil on canvas, 35 × 75 cm

Private collection

258 GUSTAV WUNDERWALD
Factory of Loewe & Co., 1926
 Oil on canvas, 61 × 71 cm

Berlinische Galerie



259 **FRANZ LENK**
Rear Courtyards in Berlin, 1929
Oil on canvas on plywood, 113.5 × 94 cm

Berlinische Galerie



260 HANS BALUSCHEK
Summer Evening, 1928
 Oil on canvas, 120 × 151 cm
 Berlinische Galerie



261 FRANZ SEDLACEK
The City, 1926
 Oil on wood, 85.3 × 72.3 cm
 Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien,
 Kunstsammlung und Archiv



262

FRANZ SEDLACEK
**The Delayed Ghost in the Night
and the Drunkards, 1931**

Oil on wood, 55 × 82 cm

Private collection



263 **CHARLOTTE BEREND-CORINTH**
Anita Berber, 1919
 Portfolio with eight lithographs, 49.5 × 62 cm each

Lindenau-Museum Altenburg

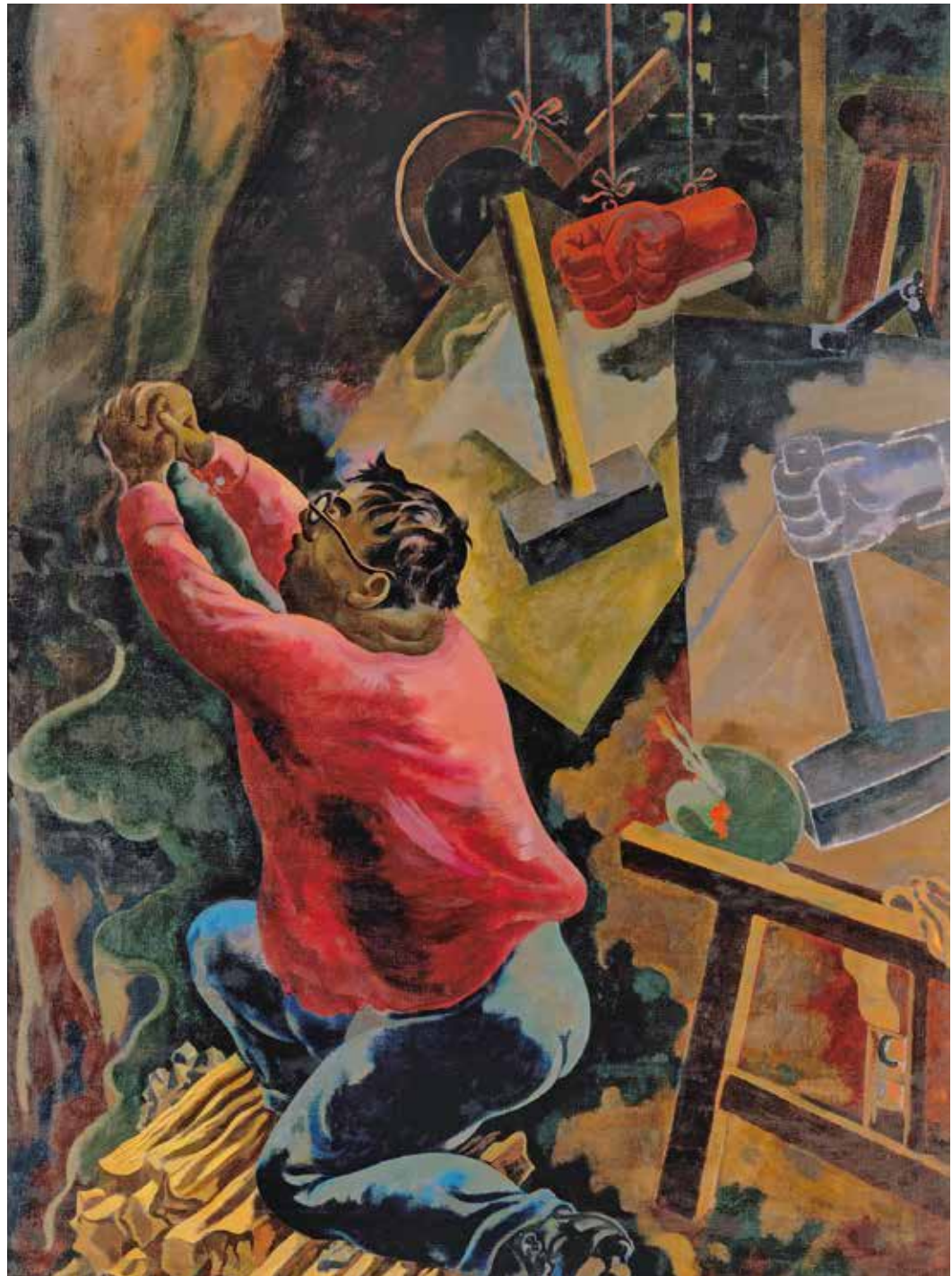




264 **OTTO DIX**
Blond Half-Nude, 1932
 Mixed media on wood, 79 × 54 cm
 Private collection



265 **GEORGE GROSZ**
Two Women, 1929
 Oil on canvas, 220 × 115 cm
 Private collection, courtesy Galerie Haas, Zurich



GEORGE GROSZ
Rudolf Schlichter in His Studio, 1929
Oil on canvas, 190 × 140 cm
Private collection









268 **MAX BECKMANN**
Group Portrait, Eden Bar, 1923

Woodcut, 49.4 × 49.8 cm

Sammlung und Stiftung Rolf Horn in der Stiftung
Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig



269 **MAX BECKMANN**
Self-Portrait in Bowler Hat, 1921

Drypoint on handmade paper, 53.5 × 42 cm

Sammlung und Stiftung Rolf Horn in der Stiftung
Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig



270

CHRISTIAN SCHAD
Civic Casino, c. 1930

from: *A Guide through Licentious Berlin*, Leipzig 1931
 Pen and black ink, sprayed on paper, 26.9 × 19.7 cm

Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

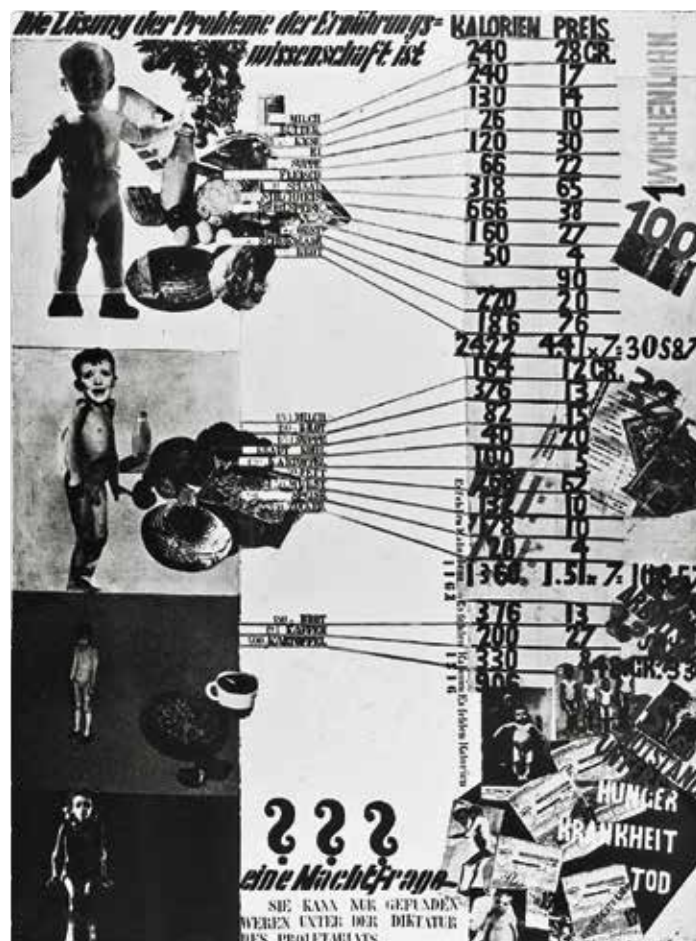
271

CHRISTIAN SCHAD
Voo Doo, c. 1930

from: *A Guide through Licentious Berlin*, Leipzig 1931
 Pen and black ink, sprayed on paper, 26.9 × 19.3 cm

Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin





276

FRIEDL DICKER
That's the Way of the World,
My Child, 1932/33

Photograph based on photocollage, 27.3 × 18 cm

Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv

277

FRIEDL DICKER
The Solution, 1930

Photograph based on photocollage, 51 × 41 cm

mumok museum moderner kunst stiftung ludwig wien,
gift of Oswald Oberhuber 1979



FRIEDL DICKLER

278

The Child's Present and Future, 1930

Photograph based on photomontage, 41 × 51 cm

mumok museum moderner kunst stiftung ludwig wien,
gift of Oswald Oberhuber 1979



279 **FELIX NUSSBAUM**
The Folly Square, 1931
 Oil on canvas, 97 × 195.5 cm
 Berlinische Galerie





280 FRIEDL DICKER
The Interrogation, c. 1934
Gouache, collage on brown cardboard, 46 × 33 cm



281

FRIEDL DICKER
Interrogation I, 1934

Oil on plywood, 121 × 80 cm

Jewish Museum, Prague



282 **LOTTE LASERSTEIN**
Evening Over Potsdam, 1930
Oil on wood, 110 × 205 cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie





283 SERGIUS PAUSER
Luis Trenker with Camera, 1938
Mixed media on hardboard, 55 × 46 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

Janina Nentwig

There's Something in the Air:

The Painting of New Objectivity,
as Seen from Berlin

Berlin, 1928. On the stage of the Komödie am Kurfürstendamm, the still unknown Marlene Dietrich sings a song which encapsulates the zeitgeist of the Weimar Republic as mockingly as it does spiritedly:

Es liegt in der Luft eine Sachlichkeit,
es liegt in der Luft eine Stachlichkeit,
es liegt in der Luft und es liegt
in der Luft, in der Luft!
Es liegt in der Luft was Idiotisches,
es liegt in der Luft was Hypnotisches,
es liegt in der Luft, es liegt in der Luft,
und es geht nicht mehr raus aus der Luft!

[There's something in the air
called objectivity.

There's something in the air like electricity.

There's something in the air,
and it's in the air, the air.

There's something in the air
that's pure silliness.

There's something in the air
that you can't resist.

There's something in the air,
and it's in the air,

And you can't get it out of the air.]¹

This refrain struck a nerve with the public and reflected the general feeling of life at the time, especially in the capital. The modern urban dweller acted rationally and emotionlessly, breathing in the famous Berlin air in the "most objective of all the great European cities."² Helmut Lethen has aptly characterized the habits and bearing of people between the two World Wars as "cool conduct."³ Objectivity was not only the motto of social relations, but became a universal maxim, which was applied in a virtually inflationary manner to all realms of life and the arts. The architecture of the Werkbund was described as objective even before 1918, and now it was the bob haircut and the demeanor of its female wearer that bore this label, as well

as the functional Bauhaus furniture, the poems of Erich Kästner, and the photographs of August Sander. The initial spark that fueled the term's steeply rising popularity was the 1925 exhibition in Mannheim's Kunsthalle *Die Neue Sachlichkeit—Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus* [*The New Objectivity—German Painting since Expressionism*], in which Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub presented the various tendencies of the new type of objectivity. In the legendary exhibition, Hartlaub gathered together artists who, instead of taking up from the formal and coloristic experiments of the Expressionists, Futurists, Cubists, or the abstract avant-garde, sought clear, quieted forms of expression. The return to the object was assessed as a "*rappel à l'ordre*" (Jean Cocteau) after the horrors and chaos of World War I: A form of self-assurance in a world and moral order that had become uncertain. In his choice of the exhibition title, Hartlaub was undoubtedly aware of the various connotations of the word "*Sachlichkeit*." The German word is not only equated with a concept of art oriented towards reality—the most important shared characteristic of the artists featured in Mannheim—but as early as the 1920s described above all an intellectual and emotional attitude. Hartlaub surely chose the term for its ambivalence, and meant both facets: "objective" in the sense of being based on objects, and "objective" in the sense of sober or dispassionate. The attribute "new" can also be understood in two ways, namely as having emerged recently or as having been renewed. New Objectivity thus refers as well to a new objectivity (in the sense of representationalism) as opposed to an old objectivity, as represented, for example, by the art of imperial court painter Anton von Werner.⁴ For the New Objectivity was not only an adverse reaction to the stylistic idioms of the prewar avant-garde, but also just as clearly manifested a distinction to the Naturalism of the nineteenth century and contemporaneous Academic Realism. The critics of the 1920s already recognized the stylistically varied movement as a creative interpretation of reality, which did not aim to imitate nature but rather grasped the world of objects in a formal language shaped by

modernism. This innovative kind of objectivity was employed by the artists belonging to it in extremely individual ways, so that New Objectivity cannot be considered a strictly defined style. Nonetheless, three currents are generally differentiated today: A neo-classical current; a veristic, more socially critical direction, which Hartlaub referred to in 1925 as the right and left wings; and a "Magical Realism" strongly influenced by the dream world of Surrealism.⁵ But despite, or indeed because of, the lack of formal unity, the term New Objectivity took hold among contemporaries, and in general usage the term reverted to its original meaning, in which it now also characterized the mood of an entire generation.

The oscillation of New Objectivity between an orientation towards the object and an emotional temperature runs like a common thread through the reception of this representational counter-avant-garde, which found one of its most important centers in Berlin. In particular the Berlin version of New Objectivity was and is ascribed the dictum of the "cool gaze," and the sobriety and precision of its representations are always emphasized.⁶ But does this way of seeing in fact represent a wiping out of all values of emotional expression? And what about the representatives of New Objectivity in Austria? Is the movement in this "nation woozy with coziness"⁷—in the words of a Berlin critic of 1927—less cold, less sober? At least with respect to the German representatives of New Objectivity, even contemporaries expressed doubts about the supposed objectivity of the representation. As evidence they pointed to the autonomy of the pictorial means and the subjective, psychologizing distortion and intensification of forms, colors, and perspectives, which expressed the profoundly felt problematic nature of reality, indicating the close connection between New Objectivity and the avant-garde.⁸

This aspiration becomes particularly clear in the early big city images by George Grosz, which stand at the transition to New Objectivity. In the painting *Der Liebeskranke* [*The Lovesick Man*] (fig. 1), Grosz presents himself during the war year 1916 as a world-weary

dandy, a revolver beneath his heart, the hopeful symbol of the anchor tattooed on his temple. He sits in a café, the last guest, immersed in a poisonous nocturnal green. Only the skeleton at another table and a dog offer the lonely protagonist company. The room, whose furnishings are literally falling in towards the viewer, is open to the city. Here, too, houses and streets tilt in various directions. The viewer's standpoint totters, just like the entire composition, which emphasizes the somnambulist and apocalyptic quality of the scene with garish color accents. Whereas the dynamics of the fractures in perspective, and the entanglement of interior and exterior space are inspired by Futurism, and the choice of color betrays the influence of Expressionism, Grosz has conceived the figures in a "drawing style that is as hard as a knife,"⁹ which would also characterize the painting of New Objectivity. As he wrote in 1924, what Grosz was after was the "transcription of my observations, dictated at the time by absolute misanthropy."¹⁰ And here it's already in the air, objectivity in both of its senses: Feelings are flash frozen in an innovative realism with no aversion to ugliness.

The Lovesick Man was shown in the spring of 1920 at Grosz's first solo exhibition in Munich.¹¹ The Viennese artist Carry Hauser was residing in the city at the time and would probably have seen Grosz's kaleidoscopically fragmented paintings and prints in the original, at the latest in the fall of that year when the Austrian artist visited Berlin. In works like *Nächtlicher Wanderer* [*Night Wanderer*] (plate 233) from the same year, Grosz can clearly be recognized as the inspiration.¹² Hauser too presents himself in this self-portrait as moonstruck, but rather than entertaining thoughts of suicide, he seems rather to float through the nocturnal streets. The simultaneous representation of inside and outside is scaled down, as are the dissonant perspectives and the aggressive color tones. The cubistically faceted pictorial tectonics are still animated, but seem calmer, an impression underscored by the muted coloration. Something dreamlike and romantic wafts through the works of this "Austrian George Grosz,"¹³ even if he devotes himself to themes associated with crime and



fig. 1 George Grosz
The Lovesick Man, 1916
Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf

the demimonde: Themes that Grosz presents unsparingly and aggressively as the driving forces of the juggernaut of Berlin.

The new realism in Berlin during the early postwar years is shrill, hectic, and distorting. But under the influence of metaphysical art [*Pittura metafisica*] and its architectural scenery inhabited by dressmakers' mannequins, an increasing solidity and calmness enters the visual language. In the work *Sitzende Jenny* [*Jenny Seated*] (plate 207) by Rudolf Schlichter, who lived and worked in Berlin from 1919 to 1932, both the atelier and the model have been congealed in an uncanny way. In a review in the biweekly periodical *Der Cicerone*, Franz Roh, whose 1925 book *Nach-Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus* presented the first extensive art-historical analysis of New Objectivity, praised the "fading colors and positive echoes of the *Valori plastici*," the magazine that had familiarized German artists with *Pittura metafisica*.¹⁴ Unlike in the works of Giorgio de Chirico and Carlo Carrà, in Schlichter's painting it is not that the *manichino* seems to come alive in a nightmarish way, but rather the human figure seems lifeless, almost like a doll. The influence of *Pittura metafisica* can be felt even more intensely in the construction of space and the coloration: Not a single picture is visible in the bare and forbidding room. Even brush and paint are missing. The small canvas to the left behind the model leans with its front side to the wall, and the portfolio on the empty table is closed, as is the crate jutting into the room from the right and blocking off access to a dark doorway. The pale, gray and green-tinged coloration intensifies the unreal feeling, as does the incoherent construction of space. The plank flooring is seen sharply from above, while the other objects are all shown from different perspectives. "The turning away of the objects confirms to the person the melancholy of his loneliness in an environment that still proves to be a 'dead world,'" stated Eberhard Roters in allusion to a 1920 watercolor by Schlichter.¹⁵ Nor does the alienation spare even one's own art production; nude and atelier as symbols of artistic creativity are part of this dead world.

Herbert Ploberger staged himself in his Vienna atelier in 1925 in a less serious man-

ner and with an irony typical of New Objectivity (fig. 2). Like Schlichter, he too denies the viewer any glimpse of his paintings. His eyes closed as in a dream, the artist works on a painting that remains hidden from the observer's view—just like the other works, packed in a large transport crate—so that the label "Vorsicht Bilder" (Handle with Care: Paintings) almost seems like a mockery. Does the artist get his inspiration solely from his own imagination? What role does reality play in his art? And can the artist even recognize reality as such? Ploberger gives no answer to these questions and leaves the interpretation of the work open. This exemplifies a central characteristic of New Objectivity—one which, in addition to formal innovations, represents one of the main characteristics of modernism.¹⁶ When Ploberger left Austria for Berlin in January of 1927, he quickly gained a foothold and that same year could be seen in the city's first New Objectivity exhibition in the Galerie Neumann-Nierendorf next to such prominent representatives as Grosz, Otto Dix, and Alexander Kanoldt.¹⁷ *Selbstbildnis (mit ophthalmologischen Lehrmodellen)* [*Self-Portrait (with Ophthalmological Teaching Aids)*] (plate 225) of 1928 seems like an explicit foil to his "blind" Vienna self-portrait. Dressed in a white smock, the artist places himself among scientific images and models of the human eye. With his hand splayed in a mannered gesture, he raises his glasses in order to study his left eye with the help of a mirror located outside the picture space. Ploberger here is grappling with the idea of sight as a prerequisite to artistic creation, with the doubling of the real by means of the mirror image, and with the status of imitation for representational painting.¹⁸ These themes, pervasive in the history of art since the Renaissance, are linked to a personal self-inquiry. As in the self-portrait in the atelier, especially the unnatural, opaque-whitish skin tone makes a surreal impression. The painted skin does not suggest vitality, but becomes a hermetic barrier between inside and outside, a pure surface, which conforms the person to the other inanimate objects in the picture while at the same time emphasizing his isolation.¹⁹



fig. 2 Herbert Ploberger
Self-Portrait, 1925
Stadtmuseum Wels



fig. 3 Christian Schad
Self-Portrait, 1927

Tate, London, on permanent loan of a private collection

Here a close connection can be seen to Christian Schad, whose representation of skin tone also has an inanimate and enamel-like quality, despite overly clear details, not least due to the smooth application of paint, as in the work of the old masters. The German artist spent two years in Vienna before, like Ploberger, being drawn to Berlin in 1927. Whereas Schad had previously devoted himself predominantly to portraits of people in his immediate environment and high society, new subjects now appear in his work and the sphere of sexuality breaks into his images. Shortly after his first visit to Berlin, transvestites in transparent dresses begin to appear beside aristocratic gentlemen in tuxedos. Schad also shows himself in a transparent green shirt, while a naked woman lies upon rumped sheets in the background (fig. 3). The self-portrait was probably produced immediately before his move to Berlin, where it could be seen by the public for the first time at the end of 1927 at the Galerie Neumann-Nierendorf—a provocative, multivalent, and in terms of painterly qualities brilliant performance by the new arrival to the city.²⁰ It was ultimately in Berlin that Schad took up further motifs that were shocking to his contemporaries, painting homosexual lovers, deformed carnival performers, and operations. But influences from his time in Vienna remained visible to those reviewing his work, “a very cultivated, indeed refined cosmopolitan feeling,”²¹ or even a “moment of Viennese litheness, but not for that reason any less frightening.”²² The portrait of writer and philosopher Ludwig Bäumer, who Schad depicted in 1927 in a fantastic mirrored cabinet, can also be characterized in the same way (plate 224). A scarcely veiled sexual allusion is in the phallic-shaped but wilted flower, whose petals are multiply mirrored in the background like lambent flames. This is a typically New Objective portrait, which shows people separated from the outer world within narrowly limited interior spaces. While the sitters often seek out the viewer’s gaze, they nonetheless avoid any interpersonal encounter—an ambivalence that is experienced as coldness, foreignness, and lack of relationship, and which constitutes the melancholic signature of the New Objectivity’s

image of humanity: “The attitude and manner of staging, which once again raises the question of the relationship between the self image and public image, between the mask and the true self, take the place of the depicted reality,” notes Beate Reese on the topos of melancholy in the New Objectivity portraits.²³

The entire representation is psychologically infused and interpreted, in the works of Otto Dix as well, who lived in Berlin from 1925 to 1927. Dix portrayed the poet Iwar von Lücken (plate 232) in a ragged suit in a mean attic. The inner riches of poetry are alluded to in the delicate yellow roses on the chair, which have been placed in a profane beer bottle, and are given almost kitschy expression in the fantastical baroque architecture visible through the window. A statue of Nike rises up in the romantically colored evening sky, the laurel wreath in her hand an ornamental symbol of victory for the poor poet. Here objectivity refers to the unsparring, pointed representation of man, whose interior life, however, does not disappear behind sober verism, but rather shifts into attributes and surroundings. These take on a signifying and interpretative function, displaying the artist’s thoroughly empathic gaze upon those represented.²⁴

Schad functioned as an important source of inspiration for Austrian artists such as Ploberger and Sergius Pauser. Verists such as Dix and their occasionally caricature-like exaggeration, on the other hand, had no role in Vienna.²⁵ What unites them, however, is their richly allusive presentation, which was also central for New Objective artists on the Danube. Pauser’s *Dame in Weiß* [*Lady in White*] (plate 203) sits sunk in melancholy in a bleak room whose door opens into an uncanny darkness. The symbolically significant blood-red cactus flower can be found precisely over the heart of the sitter, who is wedged between the edge of a table and the claustrophobically close walls. Even if the woman seems more real than Schlichter’s image of *Jenny Seated*, in the resigned and empty expression of the figure and surroundings, the close kinship cannot be overlooked.

“There’s something in the air called objectivity”: did Schad and Ploberger see the Ber-

lin revue quoted at the beginning of this essay? In 1928 Dix at least was no longer permanently in the city, and neither was Alexander Kanoldt, whose still lifes are considered prototypical and formative works of New Objectivity. At first glance the play of perspectives, colors, forms, and levels of reality and inner and outer life observed in the portraits seems to be insignificant in works such as *Stilleben III mit Amaryllis* [*Still Life III with Amaryllis*], from 1926 (plate 228). The arrangement of everyday objects could be misunderstood as a restorative reaction to the contemporary avant-garde and as a yearning for an ideal world. But as a more thorough analysis shows, the actual subject matter of the New Objective still life is "dealing formally with the representational character of illusionistic painting within the field of modernism."²⁶ The pictorial reality is not an imitation of the visible, for the sharp contouring of the forms, the almost overly plastic fleshing out of the objects, and the artificial fall of light thwart the impression of a trompe l'oeil, as does the dense, compact application of paint, which levels out the diverse materiality of the represented objects. The objects in the image lead silent but autonomous lives; they are "shapes of color and form" which, in their arrangement in space, form a "fabric of compositional structure."²⁷ If Kanoldt's still lifes are dominated not least by their melancholic timelessness, the works of other painters contain hints of a private lifeworld, of modern *vanitas* symbols, or they are explicitly situated within the contemporary history of the 1920s. Rudolf Wacker, the most important representative of the New Objectivity still life in Austria, chooses, for example, a stuffed bird as a contradictory symbol, representing a congealed reality on the one hand, and the elapsing and bygone time of life on the other (plate 226). The grebe stands upon an empty cigar box, another contemporary memento mori. Next to it Wacker has placed a cactus, the emblematic New Objectivity plant, upon an issue of the Berlin avant-garde magazine *Der Querschnitt*, for which his countryman Ploberger worked as an illustrator. Is the cactus in this context a symbol of the forbidding presence of the German capital, where

Wacker regularly stayed and would have liked to settle, although he—unlike Ploberger—was never able to realize his plans?²⁸ In the background of the still life a canvas turned towards the wall can be found, as has already been seen in the works above by Schlichter and Ploberger. In an atelier with hidden images—a central motif in the works of German and Austrian artists—the struggle for an innovative objective art that turns towards things but away from them at the same time is expressed. What does a new realism show of reality?

The still life is considered the "key currency of New Objectivity"²⁹ and even in the relevant artists' cityscapes and landscapes from the mid-1920s, life has been immobilized. Berlin's working-class quarters, factories, and lonely streets are the subjects of Gustav Wunderwald's work (plate 258). The painter has "an eye for what is characteristic of Berlin today, what is frighteningly real in the mood of moodlessness that is so entirely a feature of Berlin," wrote Paul Westheim in 1927 about the artist, highlighting "the brittleness, the inhumanity, the clinically objective," in order to simultaneously emphasize the autodidact's naïveté.³⁰ This conflicting nature elicits an idiosyncratic tension in Wunderwald's images. Austrian contemporaries such as Otto Rudolf Schatz similarly registered these "stages in the disappearance of the idyll"³¹ in their works, for example when the Prater is represented as an airless and deserted vacuum (fig. 4). "Our time is truly not idyllic.—When the idyllic is represented, it cannot be done without critical distance; we ourselves can no longer be in the idyll. We can register it, in some corner, as a remainder, as something passing away, something gone—with a tinge of sadness in the heart, with some mocking in the head, with senses that think beyond these into the distance," Wacker wrote in 1932.³² This experience of loss was formative for the entire New Objectivity movement in Germany as in Austria, in Berlin as in Vienna.

"There's something in the air called objectivity," an objectivity that is pregnant with the uncertainty of one's own artistic existence, with the individual and collective fears of the period between the wars and its social up-



fig. 4 Otto Rudolf Schatz
*In the Prater, around
the Lusthaus*, 1926
Private collection

heavals, with melancholy, isolation, and life's emptiness. The apparently cool, emotionless painting of New Objectivity captures all of this with dissonant artistic means, and in this way reveals its true colors.

- 1** As quoted by Stephen Hinton, "Neue Sachlichkeit," in: Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (ed.), *Terminologie der Musik im 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1995, p. 319.
- 2** Paul Westheim, "Gustav Wunderwald," in: *Das Kunstblatt*, vol. 1, issue 11, 1927, p. 4.
- 3** Helmut Lethen, *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen*, Frankfurt am Main 1994.
- 4** See Fritz Schmalenbach, *Die Malerei der Neuen Sachlichkeit*, Berlin 1973, pp. 73–74.
- 5** On the term and definition of New Objectivity (Neue Sachlichkeit), see Janina Nentwig's detailed discussion in: *Aktdarstellung in der Neuen Sachlichkeit*, (Schriften zur bildenden Kunst, vol. 14), Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/Brussels/New York/Oxford/Vienna 2011, pp. 3–24.
- 6** See, for example, Wieland Schmied (ed.), *Der kühle Blick. Realismus der Zwanzigerjahre in Europa und Amerika* (exh. cat. Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, Munich), Munich 2001.
- 7** Stephan Poglayen-Neuwall, "Wiener Ausstellungen," in: *Der Cicerone*, issue 19, 1927, p. 98.
- 8** See, for example: Franz Roh, *Nach-Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus. Probleme der neuesten europäischen Malerei*, Leipzig 1925, pp. 25, 30, and 94. – Alfred Neumeyer, "Zur Raumpsychologie der Neuen Sachlichkeit," in: *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, issue 61, 1927/28, pp. 66–72.
- 9** George Grosz, Abwicklung, in: *Das Kunstblatt*, vol. 2, issue 8, 1924, p. 34.
- 10** Grosz 1924 (see note 9).
- 11** See "George Grosz. Katalog der 59. Ausstellung der Galerie Neue Kunst—Hans Goltz. April—Mai 1920," in: *Der Ararat*, issue 1, first special edition, 1920, p. 8.
- 12** *Night Wanderer* could be seen in 1921 in Berlin and in 1922 in additional German cities as part of a traveling exhibition by the artists' association *Der Fels* (Cornelia Cabuk, *Carry Hauser. Monografie und Werkverzeichnis* [Belvedere Werkverzeichnisse, vol. 2], Weitra 2012, no. 1920 M 9, on the painting see also p. 80). – In Vienna, Hauser and Grosz were shown in brief succession in 1924 at the Galerie Würthle, represented by the German art dealer Alfred Flechtheim (see *Galerie Würthle, gegründet 1865* [exh. cat. Galerie Würthle, Vienna], Vienna 1995, p. 54).
- 13** Birgit Labak, "Die Neue Sachlichkeit und Österreich," in: *Zwischen den Kriegen. Österreichische Künstler 1918–1938* (exh. cat. Leopold Museum, Vienna), Vienna 1997, p. 62.
- 14** Franz Roh, "Zur Jubiläumsausstellung bei Goltz in München," in: *Der Cicerone*, issue 15, 1923, p. 156.
- 15** Eberhard Roters, "Rudolf Schlichter: Sitzende Jenny," in: *Ich und die Stadt. Mensch und Großstadt in der deutschen Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie, Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin), Berlin 1987, p. 170.
- 16** See Umberto Eco, *Das offene Kunstwerk*, Frankfurt am Main 1973. – Janina Nentwig, "Narration und offenes Kunstwerk in der Aktdarstellung der Neuen Sachlichkeit," in: *kunsttexte.de*, no. 1, 2013, pp. 1–12.
- 17** See Katharina Weinberger, *Herbert Ploberger zum 100. Geburtstag. Malerei—Graphik* (exh. cat. Lebensspuren. Museum der Siegel und Stempel, Wels, Nordico—Museum der Stadt Linz), Linz 2001, p. 27.
- 18** See Helmut Friedel/Barbara Eschenburg (eds.), *Pygmalions Werkstatt. Die Erschaffung des Menschen im Atelier von der Renaissance bis zum Surrealismus* (exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich), Cologne 2001, p. 116.
- 19** See Georgia Matt, *Das Menschenbild der Neuen Sachlichkeit*, Constance 1989, pp. 110–13.
- 20** On this work see the detailed treatment in Nentwig 2011 (see note 5), pp. 271–78.
- 21** Max Osborn, *Der Maler Christian Schad*, Berlin 1927, p. 17.
- 22** Willi Wolfradt, "Berliner Ausstellungen," in: *Der Cicerone*, issue 22, 1930, p. 23.
- 23** Beate Reese, *Melancholie in der Malerei der Neuen Sachlichkeit*, (Europäische Hochschulschriften, series XXVIII, vol. 321), Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/New York/Paris/Vienna 1998, p. 228.
- 24** See also Eva Züchner, "Otto Dix," in: *100 Jahre Kunst im Aufbruch. Die Berlinische Galerie zu Gast in Bonn* (exh. cat. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn), Cologne 1998, p. 132.
- 25** Klaus Schröder, *Neue Sachlichkeit. Österreich 1918–1938* (exh. cat. Kunstforum Bank Austria, Vienna), Vienna 1995, pp. 18–19.
- 26** Kristina Geipel, "Stilleben der Neuen Sachlichkeit—Zwischen Tradition und Herausforderung der Moderne," in: Jutta Hülsewig-Johnen (ed.), *Neue Sachlichkeit—Magischer Realismus* (exh. cat. Kunsthalle, Bielefeld), Bielefeld 1990, p. 66.
- 27** Hans-Jürgen Buderer, *Neue Sachlichkeit. Bilder auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit. Figurative Malerei der zwanziger Jahre* (exh. cat. Kunsthalle, Mannheim), Munich/New York 1994, p. 205.
- 28** On the life and work of Wacker see *Rudolf Wacker und Zeitgenossen. Expressionismus und Neue Sachlichkeit* (exh. cat. Kunsthau, Bregenz), Bregenz 1993.
- 29** Schröder 1995 (see note 25), p. 43.
- 30** Westheim 1927 (see note 2), p. 4.
- 31** Schröder 1995 (see note 25), p. 35.
- 32** Transcription of a letter to Richard Bie in Wacker's diary, April 8, 1932, as quoted in Schröder 1995 (see note 25), p. 47.

Cornelia Cabuk

“Magical” Objectivity in

Vienna and Austria

“... I am counted among the founders of the tendency that came to be referred to as the

‘New Objectivity,’ as the ‘New German Romanticism,’ or as ‘Magical Realism.’ Emerging from our experiences with the turbulent period of ‘Expressionism’ was the desire to grasp the essence of things and to maintain a fidelity to the laws of the pictorial resources. We don’t want to paint abstractions, but instead to display lawfulness within the apparently haphazard. With delight, we once again breathe in the wider world ... awakened now to a new sensuality, we grope toward the meaningful richness of even the humblest things. The simplest object is more fantastic than any invention.”¹

In 1934, the year of his first and only participation in the Venice Biennale, Rudolf Wacker sought with the painting *Zwei Köpfe* [*Two Heads*] to establish connections with the Viennese art scene (plate 227).² This picture exemplifies perfectly his characterization of Magical Realism: With an apparently fortuitous combination of simple, battered, everyday objects, he employs a hyperrealistic mode of painting to generate magical effects of sensuous presence.

Just as in the realms of literature, theater, cabaret, and music, the artists of the tendency known as *Neue Sachlichkeit*, or New Objectivity, were bound together in the metropolises of Vienna and Berlin by a dense network of relationships and mutual inspiration, whose character will be explained in the following through exemplary juxtapositions.

Reception History

When we consider the works of Magical Realism in Austria as one facet of New Objectivity within the larger context of Europe-wide trends toward realism in the 1920s, it

soon becomes obvious that, remarkably, we are in fact dealing with a relatively small yet very high-quality segment of art production between the two World Wars. Only in the 1970s was this achievement rediscovered, among others in 1977 in the exhibition entitled *Neue Sachlichkeit und Realismus—Kunst zwischen den Kriegen* [*New Objectivity and Realism: Art between the Wars*], which was organized by Wieland Schmied under the direction of Alfred Schmeller and shown by the Museum of the Twentieth Century in the 21er-Haus in Vienna, today part of the Belvedere complex.³ Exhibited in an international context were works by the Viennese painters Albert Paris Gütersloh (plate 204), Carry Hauser, Otto Rudolf Schatz, Franz Sedlacek, and Rudolf Wacker, who had exhibited in Vienna among other places at the artists’ association called the *Hagenbund*. The exhibition also included works by Berlin artists such as Otto Dix, George Grosz, Hannah Höch, Karl Hofer, and Max Beckmann, along with Christian Schad, who had lived in Vienna from 1925 to 1927 before his stay in Berlin. Presented alongside them were realistic works by Balthus, Giorgio de Chirico, Amédée Ozenfant, Pablo Picasso, and the American artists Edward Hopper, Charles Sheeler, and Georgia O’Keeffe. Also included was Karl Hofer’s painted portrait, in the style of New Objectivity, of the Austrian artist Broncia Koller-Pinell (fig. 1).

Karl Hofer, who lived in Berlin after World War I and was a member of the Prussian Academy of Arts beginning in 1923, was an important source of inspiration for Broncia Koller, as well as being a friend of the family’s and a teacher to her daughter Silvia. The cosmopolitan Viennese painter Koller was certainly aware of the importance of Berlin during the years of the Weimar Republic, probably the most important period of twentieth-century art history. She worked very successfully in the circle of the *Vienna Secession* and the *Kunstschau*, and promoted many young artists through purchases. During the decades after her death, she was completely forgotten.

“Despite political, economic, and social turmoil, what Dix called ‘their era’ was also a time of creative ferment that saw innovative



fig. 1 Karl Hofer
The Painter Broncia Koller,
c. 1921/22
Belvedere, Vienna

accomplishments in literature, film, theater, design, architecture, and other visual arts unparalleled elsewhere in Europe. It was perhaps the most creative period in the history of twentieth-century culture.”⁴

Among the many Viennese intellectuals who lived in Berlin at the time was Alfred Polgar, who referred to the German capital as “a city that hangs on to life with teeth and fists,” in comparison to Vienna, “the merry grave on the Danube, ... the coziest catacombs in Central Europe.”⁵

The golden 1920s came to an end in both Berlin and Vienna in 1929 with the stock market crash. In 1934, Karl Hofer was dismissed from his professorship and banned from working and exhibiting. During the National Socialist regime that began in 1933, many Berlin protagonists of New Objectivity were persecuted, including George Grosz, John Heartfield, Karl Hubbuch, and Max Beckmann. In Austria, the fascist movement rose to power in 1934, and beginning in 1938, artists there were persecuted under National Socialist rule. In 1934, Friedl Dicker was imprisoned for Communist activities. Later, she would paint her own interrogation in the vocabulary of New Objectivity as an oppressive, claustrophobic situation (plate 281). After her release, she fled to Prague and was ultimately murdered in Auschwitz in 1944. Rudolf Wacker died in 1939 as a result of heart disease, having suffered a heart attack during a search of his house by the Gestapo in 1938. These historical circumstances highlight the vicissitudes experienced by the artists of Magical Realism and New Objectivity in Vienna and Berlin, which alternated between acceptance and persecution.

New Objectivity as a Symptom of the Trauma of World War I

Clearly evident in the paintings of Friedl Dicker, who directed the *Werkstätten Bildender Kunst* [Visual Art Workshops] in Berlin with Franz Singer beginning in 1923, is the indexical element of the real and its influence on the painting of New Objectivity. The integration of real objects—such as the keys of a typewriter—into the painted image serves to heighten its reality content to the

level of a documentary report. In contrast, and standing alongside these elements in unmediated juxtaposition as disintegrative experiential values, are shadowy figures and subjective sensations. For this generation of artists, the origin of this break in self-perception that accompanied the “re-humanization of art”⁶ can be traced to the experiences of World War I. While many of Dicker’s male colleagues began by volunteering for military service, wartime atrocities and imprisonment made most of them turn toward profound pacifism. As Carry Hauser remarked in his wartime diary:

“Everything awful I lived through on the field and in the military appears to me a mild enough punishment./Was I insane?... that such claptrap could have beguiled me to such an extent...How brainless and hubristically stupid I must have been to have extended my good faith to the beast of the “fatherland” and its hangman’s assistants....”⁷

In 1916/17, after his experience as a grenadier in the German army, George Grosz wrote in a letter of “soldiers whose... brains, critical faculties, reason, and humanity disappeared together with the uniform.” In a way comparable to his veristic painting, Grosz describes the victory parades in front of the Imperial Chancellery as “parodistic comedy with the ugliest, the most repulsive marionettes...in the world.”⁸ For Carry Hauser (who had a one-man show in the Galerie Würthle in 1924, as did George Grosz), the frequently censored work of this German artist, so often plagued by scandal, had become a fundamental touchstone by the early 1920s.⁹ Hauser’s multilayered pictorial language unites pacifism and social critique in the spirit of Berlin Verism with autobiographical dream experiences—the latter a leitmotif of Viennese culture, from Arthur Schnitzler all the way to the psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud (fig. 2).

During World War I, the deployment of weapons of mass destruction in large-scale attrition warfare, grueling trench warfare, poison gas, and machine-gun fire led to fifteen million casualties, a hitherto unimaginable number. The reduction of the human individual to an insignificant magnitude within the gigantic war machinery was observed



fig. 2 Carry Hauser
The Sacrifice/Ecce Homo, 1922/23
Collection Maier



fig. 3 Albin Egger-Lienz
For the Nameless, 1914
Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna

by Ernst Jünger, who detected the future “deindividualization” of the human being in the interplay between soldier and machine.¹⁰ This perspective is also expressed in the war pictures of Albin Egger-Lienz, in which faceless soldiers with dull eye sockets under steel helmets wander through war-destroyed areas in a collective march (fig. 3).

Horribly mutilated victims and an army of invalids characterized everyday life after the war, and they are visible in the iconography of the Dadaist works of Otto Dix and George Grosz. Inflation and economic crisis brought about poverty and the proliferation of racketeering and prostitution. The Berlin Verists responded to the situation with sarcastic collages and montages, including George Grosz’s “Daum” marries her pedantic automaton “George” in May 1920, John Heartfield is very glad of it (*Meta-Mech. Constr. nach Prof. R. Hausmann*) (plate 149) and Otto Dix’s *Lady with Mink and Veil*, 1920 (fig. 4).¹¹ At the time, the native Viennese artist Raoul Hausmann numbered among the circle of the Berlin Dadaists (plate 86). Characteristic of George Grosz’s works on paper, which were exhibited at the *First International Dada Fair* of 1920 in Berlin,¹² is the contrast between the realistic collaged elements and the drawn nudes set before fictitious views of modernist urban architecture.

After his return from a Russian prisoner of war camp, Rudolf Wacker often stayed with his friend Otto Herbig in Berlin. Despite his fascination for Berlin’s art scene, he described the city as “the most hideous of all metropolises,” while in Vienna, one “thinks of Paris, and at the same time dreams of the Orient.” In 1924, the year of the *International Art Exhibition* at the *Vienna Secession*, Wacker recognized a “new upswing” in Vienna’s significance as a “mediator between west and east, north and south.”¹³ Wacker’s affinity for German Expressionism is evident in his *Selbstbildnis mit Rasierschaum* [*Self-Portrait with Shaving Foam*] (plate 252), which thematizes war trauma in a way comparable to the self-portraits of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner.¹⁴ In contrast to such works, Fritz Schwarz-Waldegg’s expressionist painting *Bekennnis* [*Confession*], 1920 (plate 138), for example, is rooted in the mysterious transfiguration

characteristic of Austrian Expressionism during the prewar era. Inspired by the Berlin Verists is Wacker’s *Naturalistisches Klebebild* [*Naturalistic Collage*] (see p. 244 fig. 5) of 1924: “Beyond an impulse toward crass naturalism, I was basically motivated by the possibility of using real materials to heighten the contrast of structures—to heighten the dynamism of the image through patterned structures or those generated by paint application seemed to me an important resource for painting.”¹⁵

The break with experiential reality that was carried out in Berlin was less decisive for Wacker than (alongside the provocative subject matter) the possibilities of a presentation that did “justice to the materials” in a way that was anchored in the methods of Constructivism and Cubist collage. In the photograph of the wrestlers on the side table in the collage, as well as in the reproduction of a painting on the wall, he nonetheless also reflects on various levels of reality. The capacity to empathize with materials and objects that is expressed in the text by Wacker cited at the start of the present article, in which the wartime experiences of damaged people remain consistently present, also characterizes his later paintings, including the above-mentioned *Zwei Köpfe* [*Two Heads*] 1932 (plate 227). The bonnet stand, children’s drawing, flower vase, and toy bird signal a collision between the levels of meaning of a disjointed worldview.

Images of Humanity: Christian Schad in Vienna and Berlin

In his Viennese portraits, the German artist Christian Schad developed a special affinity for the anachronistic forms of appearance that were characteristic of a morbid aristocracy after the disintegration of the monarchy. The sense of avoided reality among these former dignitaries of a multinational empire, so evident in his portraits *Count St. Genois d’Anneaucourt*, 1927 (fig. 5) and *Baroness Vera Wassilko*, 1926, motivates their “magical” alienation by Schad in scenarios where the Parisian backdrop and the chic, shady figures of the nocturnal world, including a



fig. 4 Otto Dix
Lady with Mink and Veil, 1920
Collection of Michael and Judy Steinhardt, New York

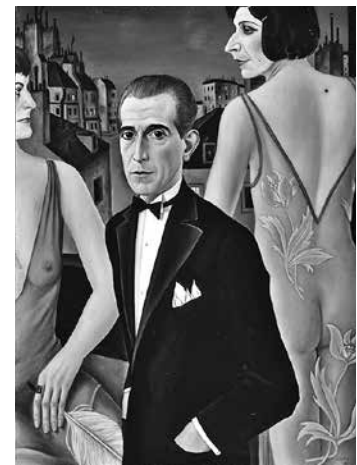


fig. 5 Christian Schad
Count St. Genois d’Anneaucourt, 1927
Centre Pompidou-CNAC-MNAM, Paris



fig. 6 Egon Schiele
Self-Portrait with Arm Twisting
around Head, 1910
Private collection, New York



fig. 7 Christian Schad
Agosta the Pigeon-Chested Man
and Rasha the Black Dove, 1929
Tate, London, on permanent loan
from a private collection



fig. 8 Franz Lerch
Amusement Park, 1931
Whereabouts unknown,
formerly Galerie Würthle, Vienna

transvestite from the Berlin club Eldorado,¹⁶ evoke an unreal atmosphere. Schad exhibited the portrait of *Baroness Vera Wassilko* in his one-man show at Galerie Würthle, and then at Galerie Neumann-Nierendorf in Berlin.¹⁷ In Vienna, Schad also painted a pioneering, optimistic portrait of the composer Josef Matthias Hauer in front of the ascending steel construction of the Eiffel Tower. Like his *Schadographs*, the photographs he began producing using real found objects on light-sensitive paper in Zurich in 1919, his late paintings emerge as illusionistic and “magically” alienated fragments of reality. Later, he identified the female figure in his *Selbstbildnis* [Self-Portrait], 1927 (see p. 340 fig. 3) as an anonymous customer from a Viennese stationery store, while her hand, fingernails ringed with dirt, was inspired by a “shooting gallery girl” in the Prater.¹⁸ Schad’s interest in research into sexuality and eroticism was stimulated further in Vienna, the city of Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalysis. Such discoveries promoted his understanding of the psychological dimensions of the Expressionistic self-portraits of Egon Schiele, who employed bodily deformation as an expressive resource (fig. 6). In Berlin, Schad’s affinity for types that are remote from social norms was concentrated on the carnival performer *Agosta der Flügelmensch und Rasha, die schwarze Taube* [Agosta the Pigeon-Chested Man and Rasha the Black Dove], 1929 (fig. 7). The symptom of the pathologically deformed body is integrated into a hyperrealistic perspective which interrogates norms of beauty and elevates the extraordinary to the level of representability as an expression of multiplicity. The vertical, hieratic composition endows this peculiar couple with dignity in a way that is comparable to the later photographs of Diane Arbus. In his portrait of the poet Ludwig Bäumer (plate 224), Schad shows his sitter before a faceted mirror, an allusion to the latter’s lecture series on squaring the circle, with its transcendental content.¹⁹

Urban Spaces

The magical image world of Franz Sedlacek was inspired by literature, including the stories of Gustav Meyrink and E. T. A. Hoff-

mann.²⁰ In the painting *Stadtbild* [The City] 1926 (plate 261), he interprets the urban realm as a menacing labyrinth where residents are seized by panic for no visible reason. The mood of this uncanny scene, set in the evening twilight, vacillates between the enchanted plazas of Italian cities seen in *Pittura metafisica* works and literary descriptions of urban space as a threatening scenario within which the stroller is imprisoned. In 1926, Siegfried Kracauer wrote in his text *Le Karree*, which was composed in Berlin:

“On the deserted square, something happens: the force of the quadrilateral pushes the person who is trapped into its center. He is alone, and yet he isn’t. Although no observers are visible, the rays of their gazes pierce through the shutters, through the walls. ... Fear is stark naked, at their mercy.”²¹

In Berlin, Kracauer expressed his preoccupation with everyday life in his so-called “street texts.” In his correspondence with Walter Benjamin, he describes *Le Karree* as a “place de l’observance,” as “the portrait of an uncanny square where we bump into one another at night.”²² Shock as the central motif of perceptions of the city in the literary miniatures of modernism²³ and in the visual culture of Berlin during the Weimar Republic²⁴ is also present in the carnival motifs of the painting of Franz Lerch (fig. 8) and Otto Rudolf Schatz (plate 209), both typical of New Objectivity. In Vienna, in contrast, we also see paintings that feature moments of private intimacy (plate 208). Lerch presents brightly lit scenarios of domestic stillness (plate 206) in which his sensibility for color values, acquired through his training with Karl Hofer (plate 205), is joined to the precision of the photographic gaze.

In both Vienna and Berlin, depictions of industry are found in the thematic repertoire of the painting of New Objectivity. While Gustav Wunderwald thematizes the dreariness, the “intriguing austerity and desolation” of the Berlin working-class districts of Moabit and Wedding, as in *Fabrik von Loewe & Co* [Factory of Loewe & Co.] (plate 258) Otto Rudolf Schatz depicts his *Fabrik* [Factory] (fig. 9) as a monument to the art of engineering, with highly effective lighting effects that allude to Fritz Lang’s *Metropolis*. The

factory—only a section of which is shown in the painting—resembles a constructive universe whose technology points to a future working-class culture. Carl Grossberg's depictions of technology are comparable, as are the works of the American precisionist painter and photographer Charles Sheeler.

Jazz and the New Media

In contrast to Sedlacek's critical perspective of modernity, the increasing dissemination of mass media, film, and radio in the 1920s prompted conscious reflection on various categories of realism among the protagonists of New Objectivity in Vienna and Berlin against the background of new types of music and new image media. Josephine Baker's appearances in Vienna in 1925 provoked a storm of controversy, offending the conservative public, while in 1927 (a year already marked by the trauma of the burning of the Palace of Justice), a New Year's Eve performance of Ernst Krenek's jazz opera *Jonny spielt auf* [*Jonny Strikes Up*] in the Vienna State Opera—which was simultaneously acclaimed and condemned—triggered vigorous debate, to some extent involving racist arguments. Bettina Ehrlich-Bauer, Carry Hauser's colleague in the *Hagenbund*, responded with a still life with a saxophone and a mask (plate 247).

In the painting *Jazzband* [*Jazz Band*], 1927 (plate 248), Carry Hauser develops innovative methods for depicting this new musical form. As early as 1920, his preoccupation with the works of the composer Josef Matthias Hauer and the painter Johannes Itten had resulted in an abstract-geometric formal vocabulary. The musicians in *Jazz Band*, however, are depicted in a modern-realist style against the abstract forms of the background. This employment of heterogeneous stylistic means, inspired by film and photography, still seems thoroughly contemporary today. Hauser's intention was to produce an homage to the new musical tendency.

One interesting treatment of a musical theme was developed by Max Oppenheimer during his Berlin period, a depiction of the well-known jazz ensemble *Weintraub Syncopators*, 1927 (fig. 10).²⁵ As one of the most

internationally successful Viennese artists of the time, he showed his monumental painting *Orchestra*—which portrays the Vienna Philharmonic under the baton of Gustav Mahler—in Paris in 1923, and at the Rome Biennale in 1925. Having specialized in depictions of classical music virtuosos such as the Rosé Quartet, Oppenheimer now visualized the intoxicating rhythms of jazz. The image focuses on the improvising saxophonist as the center of an asynchronous impulse toward movement. Founded by Stefan Weintraub in 1924 as a student group, the Weintraub Syncopators performed in numerous films and Max Reinhardt revues.²⁶ Since most of the band members were Jewish, their careers were cut short abruptly in Germany after 1933. Another artist who thematized the subculture of Berlin's jazz bars in his painting was Fritz Schwarz-Waldegg, who lived in Berlin periodically during the later 1920s (fig. 11).²⁷ He was murdered by the Nazis in 1942.

Against the background of increasing racism and anti-Semitism in Vienna and Berlin, the advocacy on the part of these artists for this form of modern music seems courageous: Carry Hauser renders the multicultural origins of jazz highly apparent in his emblematic composition of three musicians from various parts of the world. Otto Dix's *An die Schönheit* [*To Beauty*], 1922 (fig. 12), which was exhibited in 1924 at the *International Exhibition* held at the *Secession*, is exemplary for its depiction of various types. This pioneering show was organized by Hans Tietze and the Vienna Gesellschaft zur Förderung moderner Kunst (Society for the Advancement of Modern Art). Hauser, one of the Society's founding members, prized this jazz painting by Dix, who was known as a passionate "shimmy" and ragtime dancer.²⁸

Alongside numerous commonalities, a comparison of "magical" New Objectivity in Vienna and verism in Berlin turns up, in the end, a stronger tendency toward self-reflection among the Viennese, one that attempts to grasp psychological dimensions located beyond visual appearance. In the foreground among the Berliners, on the other hand, was an objective, often explicitly political point of view.



fig. 9 Otto Rudolf Schatz
Factory, c. 1929
Whereabouts unknown



fig. 10 Max Oppenheimer
Weintraub Syncopators, 1927
Whereabouts unknown



fig. 11 Fritz Schwarz-Waldegg
Jazz Dance in the Bar, 1928/29
Whereabouts unknown



fig. 12 Otto Dix
To Beauty, 1922

Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal

- 1 Rudolf Sagmeister (ed.), *Rudolf Wacker. Tagebücher 1913–1939*, 2 vols., Vaduz 1990, p. 631.
- 2 This painting has been part of the Belvedere collection since 1934, Österreichische Galerie/Belvedere, dedication, Julius Reich-Künstlerstiftung, Vienna.
- 3 *Neue Sachlichkeit und Realismus. Kunst zwischen den Kriegen* (exh. cat. Museum of the Twentieth Century, Vienna), Vienna 1977.
- 4 Sabine Rewald, “I must paint you,” in: Sabine Rewald, Ian Buruma, and Matthias Eberle, *Glitter and Doom. German Portraits from the 1920s* (exh. cat. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), New Haven 2007, p. 3.
- 5 Alfred Polgar, “Berlin, Sommer 1922,” in: Alfred Polgar, *Kleine Schriften*, Reinbeck bei Hamburg 1982, p. 339.
- 6 Devin Fore, *Realism after Modernism: The Rehumanization of Art and Literature*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 2012.
- 7 Carry Hauser, “Kriegstagebücher, 1914–1918” (manuscript), cited in: Cornelia Cabuk, *Carry Hauser. Monografie und Werkverzeichnis*, Weitra 2013, p. 25.
- 8 Herbert Knust (ed.), *George Grosz. Briefe 1913–1959*, Hamburg 1979, p. 45.
- 9 Cabuk 2013 (see note 7), pp. 73–77.
- 10 Ernst Jünger, *Die Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt*, Hamburg 1932, cited from: Ian Buruma, “Faces of the Weimar Republic,” in: Rewald/Buruma/Eberle 2007 (see note 4), p. 16.
- 11 Rewald/Buruma/Eberle 2007 (see note 4), pp. 62–63.
- 12 *Stationen der Moderne. Die bedeutenden Kunstausstellungen des 20. Jhs. in Deutschland* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie, Museum für Moderne Kunst, Photographie und Architektur, Berlin), Berlin 1988, p. 171, cat. no. 4/9.
- 13 Rudolf Wacker, “Über Wien, Ein Brief von Rudolf Wacker,” in: *Das Kunstblatt*, Paul Westheim (ed.), vol. VIII, issue 4, 1924, p. 124.
- 14 *Rudolf Wacker und Zeitgenossen. Expressionismus und Neue Sachlichkeit*, (exh. cat. Bregenzer Kunstverein) Bregenz 1993, p. 81.
- 15 Sagmeister 1990 (see note 1), p. 422, 8.19.1924.
- 16 Christian Schad, *Relative Realitäten. Erinnerungen um Walter Serner*, Augsburg 1999, p. 106. – On the sitter’s identity, see Rewald/Buruma/Eberle 2007 (see note 4), pp. 150–54.
- 17 Schad 1999 (see note 16), p. 103.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 *Christian Schad and the Neue Sachlichkeit* (exh. cat. Neue Galerie, Museum for German and Austrian Art, New York), New York/London 2003, pp. 230–31.
- 20 Elisabeth Hintner, “Realistische Parallelwelten. Ikonografische Kontexte: Rückblicke – Zeitgenössisches – Ausblicke,” in: Gabriele Spindler/Andreas Strohhammer, *Franz Sedlacek 1891–1945. Monographie mit Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Vienna 2011, p. 110.
- 21 First published on 11.26.1926 in the “Feuilleton” section of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*; Siegfried Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament*, Cambridge Massachusetts 1995, p. 39; quoted from Andreas Huyssen, “Modern Miniatures. Literary Snapshots of Urban Spaces,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 122, 2007, p. 34.
- 22 Walter Benjamin, *Briefe an Siegfried Kracauer*, ed. Theodor W. Adorno Archiv Marbach, Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, Frankfurt am Main 1987, p. 33.
- 23 Huyssen 2007 (see note 21), pp. 27–42. – Andreas Huyssen, “Miniaturen der Moderne,” in: Jost Hermand (ed.), *Positive Dialektik. Hoffnungsvolle Momente in der deutschen Kultur. Festschrift für Klaus L. Bergahn zum 70. Geburtstag*, Oxford 2007, pp. 199–213.
- 24 Cf. *The Mad Square. Modernity in German Art 1910–1937* (exh. cat. Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney), Sydney 2011.
- 25 Marie-Agnes von Puttkamer, *Max Oppenheimer – MOPP (1885–1954). Leben und malerisches Werk mit einem Werkverzeichnis der Gemälde*, Wien/Cologne/Weimar 1999, p. 143, pp. 265–66, WV 177.
- 26 Albrecht Dümmling, “Die Weintraubs Syncopators,” *Jazz Zeitung* 09/2006, www.jazzzeitung.de/jazz/2006/09/dossier.shtml.
- 27 Fritz Schwarz-Waldegg, *Maler-Reisen durchs Ich und die Welt*, ed. by Matthias Boeckl for The Jewish Museum of the City of Vienna, Weitra 2009, p. 26.
- 28 Rewald/Buruma/Eberle 2007 (see note 4), pp. 48–50.

Christina Korzen

Theater in Caricature as an Expression of Cultural Identity in Viennese and Berlin Modernism

He claimed to be "an enemy of caricature," for caricature, in which the "nose... becomes a leitmotif, the hair... an ornament..., adheres to the moment, which, however, it cannot hold on to.... It lives and dies in the moment in which it arises, beneath the swiftly moving pen that produces it.... The eternity imparted to it in the daily newspapers is already almost too long for it; the hours in the presses have already killed the persons to whom it is attached."

These words were written by the art historian Hans Tietze in 1926 in—of all places—the foreword to *Die Gezeichneten des Herrn Dolbin*, a small book with around twenty portrait caricatures of the German-Austrian intellectual world. Thousands of these drawings exist, unfolding an entire panorama of the cultural life of the cities Vienna and Berlin between 1900 and 1930. Particularly in the realm of theater, the exchange between the two metropolises was especially reciprocal and fruitful, swarming with greater and lesser stars whose names are still known even today. Less well-known are the visual artists who hung around in the environs of the stages that signified the world. What kind of gaze did the Austrian and German artists cast upon the stages? And what image of this cultural life do they convey to us?

B. F. (Benedikt Fred) Dolbin, Emil Orlik, Carl Leopold Hollitzer, and Ernst Stern were artists who moved along the intersection of the performing and the visual arts. They are examples of that loose network among specific groups of persons that extended between the two cities and functioned even beyond them in exile. Many of their fleeting sketches, which often tended towards caricature or parody and appeared in newspapers, were portraits of the countless protagon-

nists of contemporary show business. By the 1920s at the latest, this was theater, along with all its offshoots such as dance theater and variety shows. More than photography, which during these years remained quite static and was not suited for press images because of its technique,¹ these drawings were like rapid snapshots made for the curious gaze of the outsider and were able to entertain the masses due to their ephemeral and comic qualities. At the same time, these sheets were by no means pure entertainment, but testaments to and comments upon the radical upheavals to which theater was subjected at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In contrast to what Tietze had prophesied, these often biting portrait drawings, which vacillated between criticism and entertainment, did not thus remain bound to the moment, but provide contemporary insight into the era of modernism and the avant-garde, in which theater and art mutually stimulated one another in important ways and extended across far-flung networks.

Cabaret around 1900

Important stimuli for reforms in theater came from the cabaret movement that formed around the turn of the century in the cities of Munich, Berlin, and Vienna. This form—which can be adequately labeled a minor art only if one bears in mind that during this period the boundaries between so-called entertainment culture and serious culture began to shift, or rather that high culture began to open up in the direction of popular culture—began with the highest artistic ambitions and served as a melting pot for all the free spirits who hung around in the nightlight "Nachtlicht"² and whose activities were nothing more than smoke and mirrors "Schall und Rauch".³ Constant transgressions of boundaries, such as the ones that would embrace all of cultural life in the following years, made up the artistic program and allowed the cabaret to become an early experimental space for that which would take place on the large established stages some time later.

Relinquishing the conventional separation between stage and public and making the



fig. 1 Carl Leopold Hollitzer
Marya Delvard, undated
Albertina, Vienna



fig. 2 Carl Leopold Hollitzer
Cirkus Henry, undated
Albertina, Vienna



fig. 3/4 Carl Leopold Hollitzer
Ernst Stern and *B. F. Dolbin*, 1906
Double page from the *Nachtlicht*
program of April 1906
Österreichisches Theatermuseum Vienna

audience as well as the space into an indispensable part of the performance was just as much a part of this as was the dissolution of the boundaries between performing, visual, and literary artists. The Cabaret Fledermaus, founded in 1907 and furnished by the Wiener Werkstätte, was considered the quintessence of the Gesamtkunstwerk, in which scenery, costume designs, and artistic program merged together in a perfect union of Viennese Jugendstil.

Within this scene at the beginning of the century, the first points of contact arose between these very different sorts of men who were not actually rooted in the art world. Carl Hollitzer, the heir to a construction company worth millions, engineering student B. F. Dolbin, and business apprentice Ernst Stern performed in Cabaret Nachtlicht, the precursor of the Fledermaus. They drew and caricatured one another, recited, and sang traditional songs. Emil Orlik, who was born in Prague and, unlike the others, had previously studied at an art academy, arrived in Vienna in 1904 via Munich and was employed to make decorations for the Fledermaus. Photographs of the interior decoration and the elaborately designed playbills attest to the high aesthetic ambitions of this form of theater.⁴

In addition to the announcement of the evening's program points and the verses of the performers, the playbills of both the Nachtlicht and the Fledermaus contained illustrations caricaturing the group's members. While the drawings' emphasis on flat surfaces is still formally indebted to Jugendstil (fig. 1), they already demonstrate a very biting vein that encapsulates the comic quality of what was taking place (fig. 2). That Hollitzer does not shy away from depicting himself in a comic pose with a huntsman's hat and drum demonstrates the self-ironic stance behind these caricatures. They divulge the ludicrousness of the figures without vilifying them. Each is captured in his typical pose; Ernst Stern is already avidly creating the figurines he would later make a career out of as a set designer in Berlin, and Dolbin stands withdrawn and elegantly dressed, looking somewhat lost in his surroundings (fig. 3, fig. 4).

Over time the drawings become increasingly pointed and concentrate upon a few features of a figure. The critic Alfred Polgar speaks of a caricaturist as a "critic who is stingy with words... reducing a hundred lines to a single one."⁵ This stylistic means of reduction takes an extreme form in animal representations (fig. 5), distortions of human physiognomy as are characteristic of caricature. Nor is the leitmotif of the nose, as proclaimed by Hans Tietze, absent (plate 213). This tendency is taken up again some years later in Dolbin's early drawings, which defamiliarize the human face through omissions until it resembles the head of a creature that cannot be specified more precisely (fig. 6). These portraits confirm the paradox of caricature, in which exaggeration arises out of simplification. But the comical aspect of this was accessible only to those who were familiar with the particular characteristics of the people depicted or at least knew their names. The caricatures of a group of men (plates 65, 66, 68) would probably not be of further interest if they had not depicted famous representatives of the widely known and much lauded Viennese Jugendstil such as Koloman Moser and Josef Hoffmann. The people who had the chance to see these images remained a very tight-knit group, which created a certain exclusiveness.

These gatherings did not exist for long; neither cabaret was able to maintain the high artistic level and both had to extinguish their (night)lights within two years. During the subsequent period, things quieted down in the city of modernism, which had once been a leader in the areas of music and theater. Anyone who wanted to pursue a career in theater went to Berlin. In the Prussian capital it was the Viennese Max Reinhardt who was able to establish one of the most important stages with the Deutsches Theater, and one of the most important cabarets with Schall und Rauch. With his goal of operating a "theater of staging,"⁶ in which the set and costume designs and the architecture of the stage area played a crucial role, he attracted not only actors but also several visual artists to his houses and became the center of a tight network that extended between Vienna and Berlin in the realm of theater.

Ernst Stern became one of Reinhardt's closest colleagues in Berlin, and his set designs shaped the appearance of countless performances. Collaboration with Emil Orlik began even earlier; the poster of the Silesian weavers' revolt for the piece of the same name by Gerhart Hauptmann is an impressive example of this (plate 53). In 1897, after a performance of the work was forbidden due to its incendiary content, it was presented in the form of a reading in Prague under Reinhardt's direction. The portraits of the two Austrian actresses Tilla Durieux (plate 221) and Elisabeth Bergner (plate 223)—who came to Berlin before and after World War I respectively and celebrated great successes on the stage there—are testaments not only to Orlik's art of portraiture in the milieu of the Berlin theater but also to the brain drain that Austria had experienced (at the latest) after World War I. For as bustling as the scene was in Berlin, it was just as quiet in Vienna.

The 1924 *International Exhibition of New Theater Techniques* in Vienna

This silence was shattered in 1924 with the *International Exhibition of New Theater Techniques*, which for a brief moment assembled Europe's entire theater avant-garde in Vienna. An ambitious international art exhibition took place simultaneously, organized by the Vienna Gesellschaft zur Förderung moderner Kunst [Society for the Advancement of Modern Art] under the direction of Hans Tietze.

For the old colleagues from Vienna's cabaret days, this gave rise to new opportunities, or in the words of Dolbin, who still lived there, "Once again, Vienna has the chance to miss a chance."⁷ He himself was given the opportunity to combine his career as an engineer with his passion for the theater and became technical advisor to Friedrich Kiesler, whose avant-garde design of a *Raumbühne* [space stage] had caused quite a stir in the exhibition. He also published several articles promoting the space stage. In a 1925 issue of *Der Sturm*, he wrote that Kiesler's space stage was the only one that enabled "dynamic play within space" and allowed the actor to appear as "protagonist but also as it were as the expression of a revolutionary mass." His de-

mands for shifting the space of the stage into the center of the audience take up what "all present-day artists demand and aspire to": the final turning away from naturalistic theater towards a theater that moves the masses, that is less interested in illusion than in direct experience, in expression."⁸ This recalls Ernst Stern's descriptions of the mass impact of Reinhardt's large-scale acts of staging in the circus, the music hall, and the stadium,⁹ whose almost physically tangible atmosphere with its appeal to all the senses earned Reinhardt the reproach of feeding the taste of the mass public.¹⁰

Dolbin's and Stern's comments demonstrate how well-informed the artists were about current tendencies in avant-garde theater and how little they regarded it as disinterested observers, which their sketches might suggest. The preoccupation with the phenomenon of the masses is only one aspect of this engagement. With the mainstreaming of the previously small-stage entertainment forms such as cabarets and variety shows into large-scale performances like the revue in the second half of the 1920s, the culture industry experienced a fundamental transformation. Contributing decisively to this, in addition to the commercialization of the theater houses, was the advent of film, which rose to become the mass media art form par excellence and thus also overtook theater.

The Age of Faces: The Late Twenties in Berlin

After 1924 Dolbin also went to Berlin, where, to his own astonishment, it was possible for him to make his passion for rapidly drawing heads into a career. This was made possible by the media landscape of the "world's largest magazine city,"¹¹ in which the countless press illustrators supplied constant replenishment for the Weimar Republic audience's virtually insatiable hunger for new faces. The paparazzi of their age, they moved with their drawing pens in a world in which swiftness was demanded and photography was only slowly able to prevail in making images for the press. Dolbin became so well-known that one critic spoke of the "Dolbin sickness"



fig. 5 Carl Leopold Hollitzer
The Caricaturist Fred Dolbin as a Bird, undated
Albertina, Vienna



fig. 6 B. F. Dolbin
Paris Gütersloh, undated

B. F. Dolbin, *Die Gezeichneten des Herrn Dolbin mit einem Vorwort von Hans Tietze*, Vienna 1926



fig. 7 B. F. Dolbin
Mary Wigman - Obituary,
 between 1931 and 1934
 Berlinische Galerie

that had stricken all the visitors of the Romanische Café, one of the most popular of Berlin's artists' haunts.¹²

As in the early years, it was the milieu of the art and stage scene—now much larger—that captured the illustrators' attention (plate 216). What was new was that this "human stable" (Dolbin) had now become extremely popular also among the general public, thus creating a market with which the artists could survive with their otherwise often unprofitable art of drawing.¹³ The Viennese Stefan Großmann, publisher of the *Berliner Tage-Buch*, noted in 1920 that "... no talent for commercialization is missed here. The [intellectual] consumer feeds and feeds. But he becomes an... unremitting figure when he needs new feed."¹⁴ Just how great interest was in the names of the countless stars is demonstrated—in addition to the flood of illustrations in the many Berlin daily newspapers¹⁵—by a variety of publications that all bore very similar titles. By Emil Orlik it was *Fünfundneunzig Köpfe* [*Ninety-Five Heads*] and *Neue Fünfundneunzig Köpfe* [*New Ninety-Five Heads*],¹⁶ published in 1920 and 1926 respectively; by B. F. Dolbin *Die Gezeichneten des Herrn Dolbin* [*Those Portrayed by Mr. Dolbin*], with a foreword by Alfred Polgar and another edition with a foreword by Hans Tietze;¹⁷ and finally by Carl Hollitzer in 1928 the *Wiener Köpfe in der Karikatur* [*Vienna Heads in Caricature*],¹⁸ which attached a face to Vienna's as well as Berlin's intellectual worlds.¹⁹ As in a collector's album, most of these were generally solely head studies, less common were "action" portraits that showed the person portrayed at the conductor's podium or on stage, for example (fig. 7).

Alongside the general trends of popularization by mass media such as print, radio, and film, these rapid drawings contributed to making the cultural cosmos of the twenties more popular and omnipresent in everyday life than it is possible to imagine today. If at the beginning of the century they still functioned as caricaturing self-representations seen by only a very limited circle of viewers, twenty years later they were consumed in printed form by an audience of millions. And yet it is still striking today just how self-styled and self-referential these draw-

ings were despite their mass distribution. Clearly, only those persons were portrayed whose names were known within the circle of intellectuals and artists to which the illustrators also belonged. This was not true of the caricatures in the comic papers and satirical magazines such as *Simplicissimus* or the *Lustige Blätter*, which played more with social and political stereotypes.

Against the background of the imminent historical events, one could presume that these galleries of ancestors, these virtual halls of fame, served the self-assurance of a society with a uniquely diverse cultural composition, which at the same time was characterized by intense internal contradictions, and which would experience an abrupt end within a few years.

Reunion in Exile

Under an increasingly strong National Socialism, the working conditions for many producers of art and culture worsened or became impossible at the beginning of the thirties. Those—including Dolbin—who recognized in time the danger into which Germany and with it Europe was heading and who were able to summon the necessary resources emigrated, most of them to the US.

For this reason my remarks conclude with a meeting in exile in New York, which brought together once more many of the well-known protagonists of the Vienna and Berlin intellectual worlds—a circumstance that Dolbin mockingly commented upon: "At every turn I encounter rotten but important Europeans, who greet each other with an American cry of 'Hello.' Brecht, George Groß [!], Hanns Eisler, Werfel, Weill, Höllering, the dear 'colleagues'... spread yellow spots in the cityscape of Manhattan."²⁰ He too, however, was nonetheless dependent on the networks that had formed over the course of the last three decades in the exchange between Germany and Austria as well as other European countries. After initial difficulties on the American market, in 1936 he was given the commission to illustrate the recitals to *The Eternal Road*, an oratorio by the Austrian writer Franz Werfel and the German composer Kurt Weill that

told of the persecution of the Jewish people, and to publish it in the theater magazine *The Stage* (fig. 8).²¹ The work was directed by Max Reinhardt and one of the leading roles was played by Lotte Lenya, an Austrian actress and the wife of Kurt Weill.²²

Here once again, the caricature seems to combine mocking distance, which unmasks with compassionate closeness, which creates affinity. As in Hollitzer's caricature of the protagonists of the cabaret *Nachtlicht* (fig. 2), Dolbin works with parodistic elements that give the actors and their props a comic aspect: Franz Werfel with his textbook, Kurt Weill with the horn, and Max Reinhardt with the marionette.

Whereas the former image served the self-representation of a small circle of artists who sought to set themselves apart from the conventional practice of art, the image of the community of exiles assumed a new meaning against the background of the political circumstances. The exaggerated drawing, which lingers over poses, physiognomies, and typical props, conveys affiliation precisely by means of its comic aspect and thus becomes the expression and confirmation of a cultural identity at the end of European modernism, which had defined itself through its art, literature, music, and theater.



fig. 8 B. F. Dolbin
Caricature for *The Eternal Road*
New York Post, January 8, 1937
Institut für Zeitungsforschung Dortmund

1 On the predominance of drawing over photography see, for example, *Theater gezeichnet. Ingeborg Voss und Paul Gehring* (exh. cat. Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin), Berlin 1997.

2 This was the name of the cabaret theater founded in 1906 by the Munich group Die Elf Scharfrichter in Vienna, which closed one year later. On the history of the cabaret theater see, for example, Rainer Otto Rösler, *Kabarettgeschichte. Abriss des deutschsprachigen Kabarett*, Berlin 1977, and Joanne McNally and Peter Sprengel (eds.), *Hundert Jahre Kabarett. Zur Inszenierung gesellschaftlicher Identität zwischen Protest und Propaganda*, Würzburg 2003.

3 This was the name of the cabaret theater founded in Berlin in 1901 by Max Reinhardt.

4 On this see Michael Buhr, Barbara Lesák, Thomas Trabitsch (eds.), *Kabarett Fledermaus 1907 bis 1913. Ein Gesamtkunstwerk der Wiener Werkstätte. Literatur. Musik. Tanz* (exh. cat. Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Vienna), Vienna 2007.

5 Benedikt Fred Dolbin, *Die Gezeichneten des Herrn Dolbin. Literarische Kopfstücke mit einer Einleitung von Alfred Polgar*, Vienna, undated p. 6.

6 Hermann Romstöck, 1954, as quoted in Gertrud Pott, *Die Spiegelung des Sezessionismus im österreichischen Theater*, Vienna 1975, p. 18

7 Dolbin in the *Wiener Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 9.10.1924.

8 B. F. Dolbin, "Die internationale Ausstellung neuer Theater-technik in Wien," in: *Der Sturm*, issue 16, July/August 1925, pp. 97–101.

9 For example the staging of *König Ödipus* [*King Oedipus*] in 1910 in the building of the Zirkus Schuhmann in Berlin or the Musikfesthalle in Munich. On this see Ernst Stern, "Sprengung des Bühnenrahmens," in: Ernst Stern, *Bühnenbildner bei Max Reinhardt*, Berlin 1955, pp. 57–72.

10 On this see Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Sinne und Sensationen. Wie Max Reinhardt Theater neu erfand," in: Roland Koberg, Bernd Stegemann, and Henrike Thomsen (eds.), *Max Reinhardt und das Deutsche Theater. Texte und Bilder aus Anlass des 100-jährigen Jubiläums seiner Direktion*, Berlin 2005, pp. 13–27.

11 Ursula E. Koch, *Der Teufel in Berlin. Von der Märzrevolution bis zu Bismarcks Entlassung. Illustrierte politische Witzblätter einer Metropole 1848–1890*, Cologne 1991, p. 202.

12 Matheo Quinz, "Im Romanischen Café," in: *Der Querschnitt*, vol. 6, issue 8, 1926, pp. 608–10, here p. 609.

13 While photography had already made some headway in the area of "portraits of the stars," for technical reasons at the time only posed studio photographs were possible and hardly any shots of the stage. On this see Timm Starl, "Filmprogramm und Starporträt. Fotomontage und Bildpostkarte in der Filmreklame der Zwischenkriegszeit," in: Jessica Nitsche and Nadine Werner (eds.), *Populärkultur, Massenmedien, Avantgarde*, Paderborn 2012, pp. 115–36.

14 Stefan Grossmann, "Reinhardt, Ufa und Berlin," in: *Das Tage-Buch*, vol. 1, issue 32, 1920, p. 1050.

15 On this see Christian Jäger's article in the present catalog, pp. 355–59

16 Emil Orlik, *Fünfundneunzig Köpfe*, Berlin 1920; Emil Orlik, *Neue fünfundneunzig Köpfe*, Berlin 1926.

17 Dolbin (see note 5). – B. F. Dolbin, *Die Gezeichneten des Herrn Dolbin. Auf den letzten Blick. Karikaturen von B. F. Dolbin mit einem Vorwort von Hans Tietze*, Vienna 1926.

18 Julius Bauer, *Wiener Köpfe in der Karikatur. Zeichnungen von Carl Hollitzer und Alfred Gerstenbrand*, Vienna 1928.

19 This is only a selection. A further example would be Rudolf Großmann, *Fünfzig Köpfe der Zeit*, Berlin 1926. The trend continued in the fifties and sixties, the reasons for this are vividly explained in a foreword by Gerhard Ulrich: "The 1920s have attained an almost incredible popularity at present. As a one-time contemporary, one witnesses with astonishment the origin of a legend in which the era is raised to the status of an island of blessedness and all the dark spots of the image deleted. Strangely, the youth is no less involved in this process than the informants themselves, who look back with intoxication. Apparently, every generation needs ... its 'good old times.'" Gerhard Ulrich, *Köpfe aus den zwanziger Jahren von Emil Orlik*, Gütersloh 1962, unpaginated.

20 Dolbin-Estate in the Institut für Zeitungsforschung Dortmund, IAK 2002/302-21, sheet 0162.

21 In German, “Der Weg der Verheißung,” premiered on 1.07.1937 in the Manhattan Opera House, see the February 1936 issue of *The Stage*.

22 Just how small this community was can be seen, for example, in a letter of Kiesler’s, in which he “applies” to be the stage architect for *The Eternal Road*, and thus almost met up with his old friend Dolbin. See *Frederick Kiesler. Theatervisionär-Architekt-Künstler* (exh. cat. Österreichisches Theatmuseum Vienna, Museum Villa Stuck Munich), Vienna 2012, p. 88.

Christian Jäger

Viennata and Viennoiserie: Vienna in the Feuilletons of Weimar Republic Berlin

"Berlin, loud, angular, lined, filmed to ruin, unsweet, relentless, sharp, greedily desirous city, holding onto and compelling life with teeth and fists, I think affectionately and tenderly, having descended once again into the city filled with dust and wounds, into the merry grave on the Danube, into the coziest catacombs of central Europe, where one detects life only by the shaking of the ceiling."¹

These are the words of the great master of the short form, the literary essay, Alfred Polgar (fig. 1), written in 1922 about the city in which he still lived and the city in which he was preparing to live. Over the course of his life Polgar probably wrote several thousand essays, which he published in dailies such as the *Berliner Tageblatt* and other periodicals and with which he attained a prominence and—thanks to his virtuoso style—a corresponding esteem second to no other writer.

In those years the daily newspapers functioned as leading media. Radio was still in its infancy: Regular programs had begun to be aired in Berlin starting in 1923 for a couple of hours and a small group of listeners. Newsreels first arrived in the cinemas with the advent of the sound film at the end of the 1920s. In Berlin alone, over ninety daily newspapers of all possible orientations appeared, the bulk of them in both morning and evening editions. The most up-to-the-minute news appeared around the clock and was shouted out and offered for sale by vendors on the street corners, laid out at newsstands, and posted on notice boards. Newspapers had an omnipresence that can scarcely be imagined today. In the sphere of cultural life the "feuilleton," the section "unterm Strich" [under the bottom line]—in fact printed along the lower third of the newspaper page and

separated by a black line—was the site for intellectual self-understanding, for reviews, critiques, and riposte, as well as short prose works, and included the genre of the essay. In this respect the "feuilleton" was also the place where the perception of reality was written out at length and revised.

If Vienna is the subject of what follows, then it is Vienna as represented historically in the feuilletons of bourgeois periodicals, which record at least one specific class's viewpoint towards the phenomenon. The descriptions of Vienna in the feuilletons were penned by both well-known and unknown writers—mostly male—who wrote about the city either as citizens of the German Empire or as Viennese who came from the former Habsburg Empire. Surprisingly, their country of origin made little difference, nor was an author's degree of fame necessarily indicative of a higher or different quality. It is possible, in fact, to treat the feuilleton essays as a continuous text that creates a collective impression, in which stylistic differences at most can be discerned, but very few differences in terms of content are apparent.

What did, however, make a great difference was the historical situation. Especially in those heady years after World War I, the historical moment strongly influenced the manner of representation even of subject matter as apparently immutable as the Danube metropolis. Portraits of the city make references to the current political situation; this is noteworthy in that the "bottom line" generally abstained from politics, at least superficially. But only seldom did the short essays concede space for politics, which tended to have its place on the front pages or in magazines such as the *Weltbühne*, *Neue Rundschau*, and others.

But after 1918 a number of crucially important political questions thrust their way into the general discourse about Vienna and Berlin, since after the lost war the question of their current relationship became a political question as well. After the declarations of independence by various crown provinces in 1918, Vienna was seen as a dying city, no longer capable of surviving.

"The new state was plagued by terrible ills. ... Its capital, Vienna, the glamorous expo-



fig. 1 Alfred Polgar
Picture Library of the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

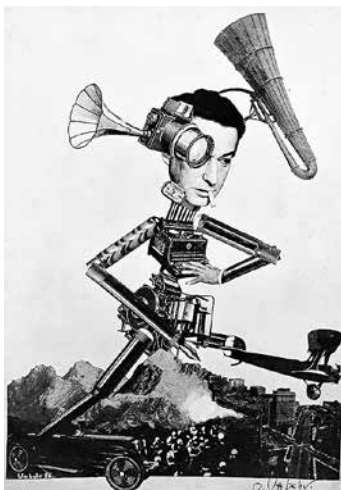


fig. 2 Umbo
The Raging Reporter
 (Egon Erwin Kisch), 1926
 Bauhaus Archiv Berlin

ment of central European culture, seemed like an unnaturally swollen hydrocephalus, great train routes transformed into local stretches, the industries were suddenly reduced to a fourth of their distribution areas, and the agriculture could not nourish the country. Austria thus fell into decline immediately after the disintegration and seemed completely lost."²

The tensions arising from the disproportionate relationship between central authority—the metaphors alternated between head and heart—and the surrounding environs were exacerbated by the political differences, formulated schematically in terms of red and black (left and right): "A 'black' countryside and a 'red' Vienna, governed by a foreign commissar and an *éminence grise*."³

The urban proletariat, which also existed in Vienna, stood against the clerically dominated rural population. "We are coming full circle with the current conditions on the land of the Old Reich and returning to our once more 'wild' Alpine people. In contrast to them, the disheveled Croats are brilliant nation-founders. These congenial, sinewy, bare-kneed, coarse, yodeling Indian tribes with their peasant cities originally formed just as many small globes revolving around themselves. Only gradually did a more all-encompassing rhythm begin to spread: And this was hatred of Vienna."⁴

The poet and essayist Robert Müller, important during his age, saw the hatred towards Vienna as the supporting idea—or rather sentiment—of the state, and as constitutive of something like the idea of "Austrianness." There were also constant and almost reflexive references to the inequality between Austria and Vienna, just like the claim that New York cannot be compared to the rest of the US; the truth content of both statements is probably also similar. It was exactly this tense disproportionate relationship between Vienna and the rest of Austria that others used in justifying the necessity of the Anschluss, Austria's annexation into Nazi Germany.⁵

If Austria now disintegrated into two parts, which were to be merged in the Anschluss, then Vienna was considered the true Austria: It was not only a metropolis that consoli-

dated the provinces, but—much more importantly—was also the retrospective consolidation of the Danube Monarchy. Surrounded by "Länder" [states] such as Carinthia or the Burgenland,⁶ it nonetheless so thoroughly eclipsed them that they were practically no longer visible. This only changed when the times changed irreversibly: In 1928, for example, the *feuilleton*—which long represented a newspaper's showpiece article—depreciated in value through the advent of a new genre: the reportage (fig. 2).

The second half of the 1920s was shaped, at least in part, by the ideals of New Objectivity. In place of the finely tuned ironic wordplays of a writer like Alfred Polgar, it was now reports from the real world that were in vogue, such as those supplied by the "raging reporter" Egon Erwin Kirsch and others. Interest in high culture—in the case of Vienna, also interest in very old high culture—receded behind a fashionable interest in the working world, sports, and leisure time pursuits. Austria rose up again to become a landscape of tourism, which cannot be said for Vienna.

"I speak of Austria. I do not speak of Vienna. Over this city hangs the grief of a deposed empress. It is essentially a museum, despite all the modernity of the administration. Its future is to be the second capital of greater Germany and the first trading center of the Balkans. This is much and certainly worth supporting; it is little compared with what Vienna once was."⁷

And when speaking of Vienna, thoughts were always cast back to imperial Vienna, to the Habsburg Monarchy: First to baroque Vienna, which had also strongly shaped the city architecturally, and the further the 1920s advanced, the more acceptable even the era under the rule of Franz Joseph I seemed.

Vignettes of the sinking Vienna set the tone of the *feuilletons*, especially in the post-war years, for not only had Vienna lost the economic hinterland, but it was also slowly atrophying culturally. There were in turn tangible reasons for this, for while young artists and intellectuals from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Galicia, and so on had previously moved to the imperial and royal capital, if they were German-speaking they now

were drawn to Berlin, which had remained—or rather become—a true capital with a corresponding charisma. Vienna sunk into political and cultural insignificance, after the Treaty of Saint-Germain in 1919 stipulated Austria's renunciation of the Anschluss. This practical and political reduction ultimately formed the empirical core of what could henceforth be read about Vienna in the feuilletons. To take as an example one place that numerous feuilletons devoted themselves to: The Prater was a favored topos indicative of social situation and political relations.

"Follow me to the K. K. [imperial and royal] Prater, which the winter's need for wood has stripped of many trees and the revolution has stripped of the possessive initials K. K. In this Prater, in which the Viennese heart still beats..., in which in the lady cook of the new nation experiences voluptuous adventures in a ride through the grottos with the now Communist "German infantry"-surrogate; ... in this two-kreuzer Prater of old, today's prices shoot fever high."⁸

Here it is the radical change from empire to republic that the Prater must signify—old and new, dichotomy and continuity. The political caesuras apparently only demanded different appellations and what had in fact changed was the cost of admission. This also makes reference to the fact that in the new age money had a different, and crucial, meaning. Money dominated and intruded destructively into a world of social representation, of which the Prater was a perfect example (fig. 3).

What affinity exists between a landmark and what it signifies? The Viennese heart still beat in the Prater, its symbol was the Ferris wheel, and in a broader sense the Prater became the established focus point for the perception of Vienna. It appeared to be the terrain upon which semantic meanings were available—more so than the urban architecture—that provided information about Vienna as a cultural occurrence.

"The Prater's most charming, most splendid characteristic over other parks in the capital is its fortunate lack of breeding. It has nothing of dressage; gardeners ignore it, both English and French. For a forest its trees are too noble, for a park its fields too 'un-

kempt.' There is no place for the 'forbidden'; only the main boulevard is straight as a pole and has its police. Otherwise people lie in the grass, in the sun or the shade, as they please. The Prater is the inhabitant of Vienna translated into horticulture. Things can also be done this way, and here no other way would be so nice."⁹

As a landmark and emblem of the city, the Prater exhibits a downright structural identity with a specifically Viennese way of life. It characterizes an art of living that asserts itself through tolerance and a certain permissiveness, which were idiosyncratic and created for individualists. Its regulations are satisfied with the maintenance of order without being overly constraining. They provide latitude for the satisfying of individual desires.

"The Würstelprater was visited on a Sunday afternoon, the headless lady, Chingachgock (!), the last of the Mohicans, the riddle of the Sphinx, the last remnants of all the European county fairs find their mummified existence here. The pretty, still buxom Viennese girls from the suburbs spin in dance with the gentlemen, and the trees flower once again obligatorily in the Prater, and the girls and boys disappear between them—there where the shrubbery's foliage starts to be denser."¹⁰

Klabund creates an ironic distance in his sketch by playing upon the popular song *Im Prater blübn wieder die Bäume* [*The trees flower once again in the Prater*] and additionally endowing this with the attribute "obligatorily." This ironic phrase demonstrates just how much the perception was determined by the cliché. But the cliché would be overtaken by reality: The merry pastoral in the shrubbery is the touch of liveliness that to some extent belies the deterioration of Prater-blissfulness. The Prater is only a remnant, a fossil that bears witness to bygone days and makes the present day mourn in light of the glorious history.

"This Prater, it's of course yesterday's world, yesterday's kitsch. Since the soldiers and their servant girls have disappeared, since the old monarchy has met with its inevitable end and the proverbial coachman's coziness has come to an end, the Prater is more of a historical curiosity."¹¹



fig. 3 M. Manenizza
On the way to Vienna's Würstelprater, in the background the Ferris wheel and the entrance to Venice in Vienna, c. 1900

Still accepted in 1928 as a living and eloquent witness to the past, within a few years the Prater has become its museum. A museum of the museum piece: "The most beautiful museum in Vienna is the inner city itself. The suburbs look truly gruesome in places."¹²

Besides the Prater, a number of other topoi of Vienna narratives recur in the feuilleton essay in disdainful seriality. For example, the Viennese "Maderl" [girl], the Viennese song, Heuriger [wine tavern] blissfulness, and coffeehouse sentimentality: These are so omnipresent that space does not suffice to represent these texts here, which were brought forth en masse and in series.¹³ Apart from stylistic peculiarities, they differ at most only in terms of how they appraise the subjects of their descriptions. Sometimes the appraisal is sentimental and nostalgic, at other times it emphasizes the *savoir vivre*, and very occasionally it is critical, putting forth a clear affirmation of modernity in opposition to this intoxication with wine and Vienna.

At some point towards the end of the 1920s Vienna then disappeared entirely from the commentaries of the feuilletons, which resulted primarily from the fact that Vienna had effectively made its way to Berlin: Viennese cafés were opened en masse; Berlin cuisine began to resemble that of Austria, and the Haus Vaterland simulated a Grinzing Weinstube [wine tavern] (fig. 4) "much more authentically than in Vienna."¹⁴

At the end of the 1920s Austrians made up the greatest number of foreign inhabitants in Berlin, Viennese songs were produced by the Berlin music industry, and even Vienna itself was constructed in the film studios at Tempelhof Field before it was converted into an airport.

"This world is just as focused on the Americans as on that raucous Grinzing gaiety that the amusement industry cannot glorify enough. Attempting to judge Vienna by these things would be like placing the Kaffee Vaterland at the center of a critical treatment of Berlin. . . . But I have nowhere heard that Heuriger-blissfulness and that sentimental caterwauling that the talking films yodel out at us as if it were Viennese folk tradition."¹⁵

Once talking films took over the image of "Vienna," it began to change rapidly. From

the previous Viennata of a declining high culture with reflected imperial splendor, now the focus was once more only on *Viennoiserie*. The former cultural center had perished and there remained only confectionary and cuisine, cafés and wine mixed with sparkling water, snide Viennese humor and a serenity that represented nostalgia for the less thoroughly capitalistic prewar era. Vienna appeared as the symbol of a more charming society, one more worth living in, that was somewhat backward, or put differently, decelerated. Even contemporaries were aware that there was an imaginary Vienna of desire, in feuilleton as in film:

"Since the silent and talking films had already slowly brought us to the brink of nausea whenever something presented itself as 'Viennese,' since we were already filled up over our ears with the operetta-idiocy of the amiably daft archdukes, of the vinous falls from paradise in the wine taverns, of the daft Schrammelmusik projected onto the screens, Werner Riemerschmid's *Buch vom lieben Augustin* [*Book of Dear Augustin*] . . . was greeted with great skepticism: Not least because in Vienna the 'blue stream' had never looked blue, but at best only dirty gray-green. But see here, although the poet . . . omits nothing of what one instinctively associates with the image of 'Vienna,' that is, wine, women, a bit of the Old Emperor, Carinthian verbal ramblings, and a menu that begins with clear broth with light dumplings, boiled pork with horseradish, roast beef, boiled beef, and paprika chicken and ends with cheese strudel, crepes, strawberry cakes, and sugared pancakes with raisins, . . . despite the fact that all of this is there, the book by Riemerschmid is truly good."¹⁶

The text on the one hand is directed against the secondary Vienna of the media, but on the other hand also Viennese reality. The review sketches out the film version of Vienna as a distortion, which had nothing to do with either the traditional image or the reality of the city. The book, in contrast, upholds precisely this "instinctive" picture, so that it is "truly good" not "despite" this, but rather because of it. Vienna clearly appears as a sentimentally charged site, which reveals itself to be a terrain of the imaginary and



fig. 4 View across Grinzing – Haus Vaterland, postcard, 1938

which rejects the reformulation presented in film. The unconscious wants to be neither known nor seen.

"All over the globe an intoxicating drink known as 'Vienna' is being demanded and proffered by the industry. Vienna and the Heurige are in even greater demand than forged Turkish furniture and Parisian chansons. . . . The people come to Vienna to experience a merry Heurige. For they have seen its false countenance in films and operettas. . . . Almost always, genuine Viennese or people from Vienna's suburbs—Brünn and Preßburg—are behind every film abomination and cesspit of an operetta. These knaves, who cannot feel out or peel away even the most superficial skin of things, who do not possess even an ear or tongue for the subtleties of Viennese language, have brought about through their bludgeon-like unscrupulousness the condition that today one mistakes the Austrian's devotion for servility, the skepticism with which he generally looks upon human work and its goals for

laziness, and the mental dialectic of his feeling for justice for disloyalty. . . . Without any correction, the detached image of the city of Vienna races around the globe. Twenty times a second it waltzes through the spotlights of the cinema and schmalzes its way through the couplets. The human soul, however humbly it may be furnished, has a homey parlor named Vienna. It is a parlor full of kitsch. And yet this kitsch and this whole unreality would not exist if Vienna itself were not very real. . . ."¹⁷

The need for Vienna was deep, reaching not only into the myths, but beyond that into the realm of desire: There, where harmonious and joyous fellowship came true, unburdened by the travail of daily work, the city appeared at the beginning of the 1930s like an eternal Heuriger, where the soul could pleasurably stretch out. This was surely not the worst thing, but it had little to do with Vienna as a real place, which, however—at least in the feuilletons—was not the point.

1 Alfred Polgar, "Berlin, Sommer 1922," as quoted by Christian Jäger/Erhard Schütz (eds.) in: *Glänzender Asphalt. Berlin im Feuilleton der Weimarer Republik*, Berlin 1994, p. 212.

2 Karl Brockhausen, "Das neue Oesterreich" in: *Vossische Zeitung*, no. 522, 11.2.1924, p. 21.

3 Karl Lahm, "Die Lehre," in: *Vossische Zeitung*, 4.30.1923, p. 1.

4 Robert Müller, "Austria... ultima," in: *Neue Rundschau*, 1923, issue 2, p. 655.

5 See Hermann Sinsheimer, "Kleine Woche Wien," in: *Berliner Tageblatt*, 5.21.1931. See also the essay written over ten years earlier by Alexander Redlich, "Reise durch Oesterreich," in: *Vossische Zeitung*, no. 492, 10.6.1920, pp. 1–2.

6 On the conflict between Vienna and the provinces, see Karl Lahm, "Oesterreichisch," in: *Vossische Zeitung*, no. 453, 9.24.1922, pp. 3–4.

7 Werner Mahrholz, "Felix Austria," in: *Vossische Zeitung*, no. 537, 11.13.1928, p. 13.

8 Max Preis, "Der Watschenmann," in: *Berliner Börsen Courier*, 6.1.1920.

9 Karl Lahm, "Kraft und Schönheit im Wiener Prater," in: *Vossische Zeitung*, no. 280, 6.16.1925, p. 5.

10 Klabund, "Im Prater blüh'n wieder die Bäume," in: *Berliner Börsen Courier*, 6.6.1928.

11 Heinrich Strobel, "Wiener Frühling," in: *Berliner Börsen Courier*, 5.17.1931.

12 Karl Scheffler, "Wiener Revue," in: *Vossische Zeitung*, no. 80, 2.16.1924, p. 3.

13 But on this, cf. Christian Jäger/Erhard Schütz, *Städtebilder zwischen Literatur und Journalismus. Wien, Berlin und das Feuilleton der Weimarer Republik*, Wiesbaden 1999.

14 Arnold Höllriegel, "Donnerwetter inbegriffen. Berlin wird so amerikanisch," in: *Berliner Tageblatt*, 11.14.1929, as quoted by Jäger/Schütz 1994 (see note 1), p. 212.

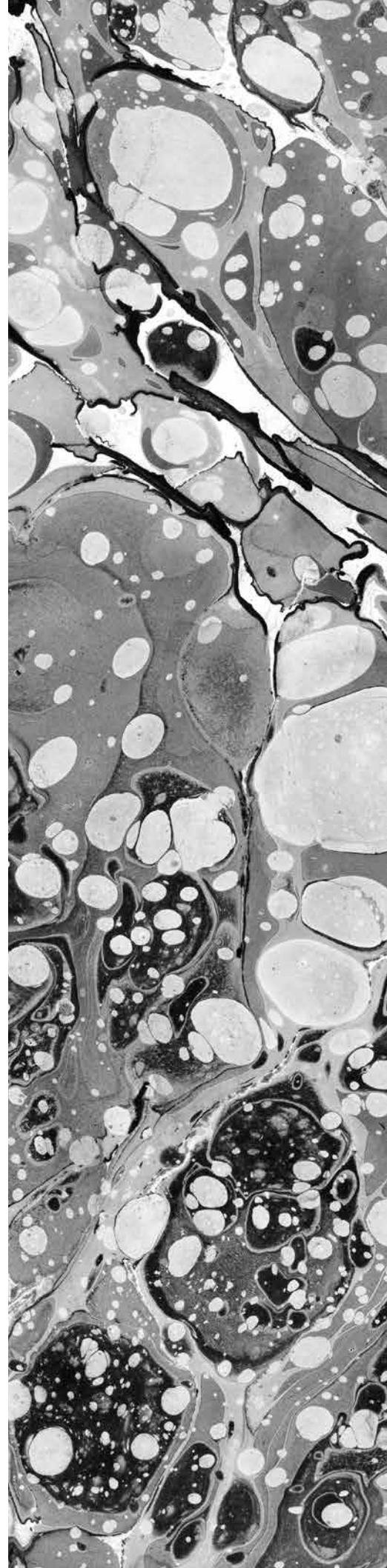
15 Strobel 1931 (see note 11).

16 Felix Langer, "Rehabilitierung Wiens. Werner Riemerschmid: 'Das Buch vom lieben Augustin'" in: *Berliner Tageblatt*, 3.8.1931.

17 Heinrich Eduard Jacob, "Wien-Fälschung und Wien-Export," in: *Literarische Welt*, issue 29, 1931, p. 1.



Appendix



Artists and Works in the Exhibition

- B Berlin only
 V Vienna only

If not otherwise indicated, the measurements of drawings, watercolors etc. refer to picture dimensions and those of printed works to plate dimensions.

FERDINAND ANDRI

- * 1871 Waidhofen, Ybbs
 † 1956 Vienna

Cofounder of the *Vienna Secession* and its president from 1905 to 1906. Numerous woodcuts and illustrations for the magazine *Ver Sacrum*. Founding member of the *Österreichischer Werkbund* in 1910. Member of the *Deutscher Werkbund*, 1912.

Literature: Adolf Bassaraba, *Der Maler Ferdinand Andri*, St. Pölten 1941.

Butter Makers, 1902

Tempera on canvas
115 × 121 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

15

JOHANNES BAADER

- * 1875 Stuttgart
 † 1955 Adldorf

1892–1895 enrolled at Stuttgart's Staatliche Baugewerbeschule, 1898/99 architectural studies at the Technische Hochschule Stuttgart, 1903–1905 member of the Dresden Vereinigung für monumentale Grabmalsbauten. 1905 relocation to Berlin and friendship there with Raoul Hausmann. Active participant in Berlin's Dada movement from the beginning. Public provocations as "Welterlöser Baader" [World Savior Baader]. Together with Hausmann editor of the magazine *Der Dada*, collaboration on the *Dada-Almanach*, *Dada-co*, *Das Bordell*, *Freiland Dada*, and other publications. Exhibited a spacefilling assemblage, *Das grosse Plasto-Dio-Dada Drama*, at the *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe*. 1925 organized a final Dada matinee, subsequently active as a journalist and architect in Hamburg.

Literature: Adrian V. Sudhalter, *Johannes Baader and the Demise of Wilhelmine Culture. Architecture, Dada, and Social Critique 1875–1920*, New York 2005.

B Club of the Blue Milky Way, 1918

Poster for the Dada Soirée on March 12, 1919, at the Café Austria, Berlin, 1918
Lithograph in original mat
Sheet: 50 × 31 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with budgetary funds of the Senate Department for Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1991

153

HUGO BAAR

- * 1873 Nový Jičín/Neutitschein
 † 1912 Vienna

Studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule under Josef von Storck and Rudolf Ribarz, at the Munich Akademie under Gabriel von Hackl and Heinrich Knirr. Active in Vienna from 1903, and from 1907 also in Neutitschein. Member of the *Hagenbund* in Vienna from 1904.

Literature: *Saur allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 6, Munich/Leipzig 1992, p. 87.

B Mountain Path in the Beskids, 1902

Tempera on cardboard
60 × 60 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

14

HANS BALUSCHEK

- * 1870 Wrocław/Breslau
 † 1935 Berlin

Founding member of the *Berlin Secession* in 1898 and board member from 1908. Part of the *Freie Secession* from 1913. Member of the artistic advisory board of the Berlin Theater around 1900, and together with Käthe Kollwitz teacher at the Künstlerinnenschule in Berlin. Opened a private painting school for women in 1908. Military service 1916 to 1917. From 1919 taught at the Volkshochschule in Berlin. Joined the SPD in 1920 and worked on their educational policy. From 1921 to 1931 collaborated on the satirical SPD magazine *Der wahre Jacob*. From 1921 board member of the Reichsverband

bildender Künstler. 1929 chair of the "Kartell der Vereinigten Verbände bildender Künstler" and leader of the *Große Berliner Kunstausstellung*. Defamed and stripped of all offices in 1933.

Literature: Margrit Bröhan, *Hans Baluschek 1870–1935. Maler-Zeichner-Illustrator* (exh. cat. Bröhan-Museum, Berlin), 2nd expanded edition, Berlin 2002.

Monday Morning, 1898

Oil on canvas
120 × 150 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

26

B Idyll with Weißbier, c.1902

Watercolor, gouache, and pastel on watercolor board
97.1 × 65.5 cm
Berlinische Galerie, transferred from the former property of the Federal State of Berlin, 1975

22

B Field of Death, 1917

Watercolor and crayon on cardboard
48 × 36 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with budgetary funds and funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1975

132

V Summer Evening, 1928

Oil on canvas
120 × 151 cm
Berlinische Galerie, transferred from the holdings of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1975

260

V Station Concourse (Lehrter Bahnhof), 1929

Tempera, crayon, and pencil on cardboard
98.3 × 69 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with budgetary funds and funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1975

238

ERNST BARLACH

- * 1870 Wedel
 † 1938 Rostock

1888–1896 studies in Hamburg, Dresden, and Paris. 1897/98 worked as sculptor in Hamburg and Altona and as illustrator for the magazine *Jugend*. First participation in the *Große Berliner Kunstausstellung*. Lived in Berlin from 1905. Traveled to Russia in 1906.

1907/08 collaboration on the satirical magazine *Simplicissimus*, member of the *Berlin Secession*, supported by Paul Cassirer. 1910 relocation to Güstrow/Mecklenburg. 1915/16 soldier in World War I. 1919 member of the Preußische Akademie der Künste. 1925 honorary member of the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Munich. 1936 confiscation of his works during the anniversary exhibition of the Preußische Akademie der Künste in Berlin. 1937 exhibition ban.

Literature: *Ernst Barlach, Sämtliche Werke. Kritische Ausgabe* (6 vols.), Leipzig 1998–2006.

Beggar with Bowl, 1906

Bronze (recast)
30 × 30 × 22.5 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senate Department for Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1985

55

V Tilla Durieux IV, 1912

Porcelain
45 × 39 × 26 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

34

MAX BECKMANN

- * 1884 Leipzig
 † 1950 New York

1900–1904 studies in Weimar. 1903–1904 study trip to Paris. 1905 relocation to Berlin, member of the *Berlin Secession*. 1913 large Beckmann retrospective organized by Paul Cassirer. Resignation from *Berlin Secession* and affiliation with the *Freie Secession*. 1914–1916 voluntary military service. 1925 took over the masters' workshop of the Städel-Kunstgewerbeschule in Frankfurt am Main. 1929 appointed professor. 1933 withdrawal of teaching appointment. 1937 defamed as "degenerate artist," works confiscated. Emigration to Paris and later Amsterdam. 1947 relocation to the USA, guest professorship at the art school of Washington University (St. Louis).

Literature: Carla Schulz-Hoffmann/Judith C. Weiss (eds.), *Max Beckmann. Retrospektive* (exh. cat. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen Munich/Nationalgalerie Berlin/The Saint Louis Art Museum/Los Angeles County Museum of Art), Munich 1984.

The Street, 1914

Part of a monumental composition cut into pieces by Beckmann in 1928
Oil on canvas
171 × 72 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and funds of the Senators for Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1993
24

People on the Street, 1914

Part of a monumental composition cut into pieces by Beckmann in 1928
Oil on canvas
51 × 52 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1993
23

Self-Portrait in Bowler Hat, 1921

Drypoint on handmade paper
Sheet: 53.5 × 42 cm
Sammlung und Stiftung Rolf Horn in the Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig
269

Trip to Berlin, 1922

Portfolio published by I. B. Neumann with ten prints and a lithographed cover
Sheet: 68 × 54 cm each
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and the Cultural Foundation of the German Federal States, 1995/2013
267

Group Portrait, Eden Bar, 1923

Woodcut
49.4 × 49.8 cm
Sammlung und Stiftung Rolf Horn in der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig
268

RUDOLF BELLING

* 1886 Berlin
† 1972 Krailling near Munich

1905–1907 trained at a handicrafts workshop under Jean Renaud. 1908–1910 studio for decoration and applied arts together with Emil Kaselow. Friendship with Max Reinhardt, intensive contact with stage and film, and collaboration with Ernst Stern for the various Reinhardt stages. Studied sculpture at the Kunstakademie Berlin-Charlottenburg under Peter Breuer around 1911. 1914

participation in the *Große Berliner Kunstausstellung*. 1915–1918 soldier. 1918 cofounder of the *Novembergruppe*, board member until 1932. 1919–1921 member of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst. 1924 solo exhibition in the Nationalgalerie Berlin. 1931 member of the Preußische Akademie der Künste, 1937 forced to resign. Removal of his works from public collections. Emigration to Turkey. 1966 return to Germany.

Literature: Winfried Nerdinger, *Rudolf Belling und die Kunstströmungen in Berlin 1918–1923*, Berlin 1981.

Eroticism, 1920

Bronze
32 × 30 × 24 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1973
108

Head of Alfred Flechtheim, 1927

Bronze
18 × 11.5 × 11 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1973
109

Max Schmeling, 1929

Bronze
54.4 × 27 × 38.7 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1979
250

CHARLOTTE BEREND-CORINTH

* 1880 Berlin
† 1967 New York

1898 beginning of art studies, 1901 student under Lovis Corinth, 1903 marriage to Corinth. Her works were exhibited in the *Berlin Secession* for the first time in 1906. From 1908 portfolios of graphic artworks and book illustrations. Opened a painting school after Corinth's death in 1925. 1939 emigration to the USA. 1948 publication of the autobiography *Mein Leben mit Lovis Corinth* (Hamburg). Organization and supervision of the estate of Lovis Corinth, edited catalogue raisonné of his works.

Literature: Karl-Ludwig Hofmann (ed.), *Charlotte Berend-Corinth, Lovis Corinth. Ein Künstlerpaar im Berlin der Klassischen Moderne* (exh. cat. Kunst- und Kunstgewerbeverein Pforzheim im Reuchlinhaus), Künzelsau 2005.

Anita Berber, 1919

Portfolio with eight lithographs
Sheet: 49.5 × 62 cm each
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg
263

JENS BIRKHOLM

* 1869 Faaborg
† 1915 Faaborg

Trained in Faaborg at the Technische Schule. Traveled to Berlin as a painting journeyman, where he overcame difficult circumstances and finally achieved success with his images of the proletariat.

Literature: *Saur allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 11, Munich 1995, p. 157.

Warming Hall in Berlin, 1908

Oil on canvas
88 × 117 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1978
44

ALBERT BIRKLE

* 1900 Berlin
† 1986 Salzburg

1919–1926 studies at the Berlin Akademie under Arthur von Kampf. Commitment to social causes in Berlin in the early 1920s. 1923 youngest member of the *Berlin Secession*. 1932 relocation to Salzburg. Financial support from the collector Dr. Max Neumann. 1936 at the Venice Biennale. Classified as “degenerate” artist; avoided work ban due to the protection of Josef Thorak. 1939 and 1944/45 soldier, in between war and barracks painter. 1947 acquisition of Austrian citizenship. Literature: *Albert Birkle. Ölmalerei und Pastell* (exh. cat. Museums-pavillon im Mirabellgarten/Kulturamt Salzburg), Salzburg 1980.

Self-Portrait, 1922

Oil on canvas
49 × 35 cm
Property of the Artothek des Bundes, on permanent loan to the Belvedere, Vienna
210

Kurfürstendamm, 1924

Pastel on cardboard
68 × 87 cm
Zweckverband Oberschwäbische Elektrizitätswerke (OEW), Landkreis Sigmaringen
240

HERBERT BOECKL

* 1894 Klagenfurt
† 1966 Vienna

1912 studies in architecture at the Vienna Technische Universität and private student of Adolf Loos. Soldier from 1914 to 1918, began to paint as autodidact after World War I. 1918 contract with art dealer Gustav Nebehay, who made possible a study trip to Berlin in 1921/22, a trip to Paris in 1923, and to Palermo in 1924. From 1926 resident in Klagenfurt. 1927 first large exhibition at the *Vienna Secession*. From 1928 lived and worked in Vienna. 1934 Großer Österreichischer Staatspreis [Grand Austrian State Prize]. From 1934 to 1939 professor at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden Künste. 1938–1945 no participation in public culture industry. 1945/46 and 1962 to 1965 head of the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna. 1952 participation in the world's fair in Brussels.

Literature: Agnes Husslein-Arco (ed.), *Herbert Boeckl. 1894–1966* (exh. cat. and catalogue raisonné, Belvedere, Vienna), Vienna 2009.

Woman in Berlin, 1921

Oil on canvas
56 × 42 cm
Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm
103

Rear Tenements in Berlin, 1922

Oil on canvas
41.5 × 61 cm
Belvedere, Vienna
114

SÁNDOR BORTNYIK

* 1893 Marosvásárhely
† 1976 Budapest

1910 studies at the Freie Kunstschule in Budapest under Károly Kernstok, József Rippl-Rónai, and János Vaszary. 1917 member of the group MA. 1919 emigration to Vienna. Publication of the portfolio *Bildarchitektur*. 1922 editor of the magazine *Kritika*. End of 1922

exhibition in Herwarth Walden's Berlin gallery *Der Sturm*. Participation in the *Kongress der Dadaisten und Konstruktivisten* in Weimar. Relocation to Weimar. Attended the De-Stijl course by Theo van Doesburg. 1923 solo exhibition at the Galerie Nierendorf. 1924 returned to Budapest, collaborated with the avant-garde theater of Zóld Szamár. 1928 founded an art school for advertising graphics, director of the school until 1938. 1948/49 teacher at the College for Arts and Crafts, until 1959 director of the University of Fine Arts in Budapest.

Literature: *László Borbély, Sándor Bortnyik. Retrospective* (exh. cat. Nationalgalerie Budapest), Budapest 1977.

Composition, 1921

Pencil and ink on paper
21 × 18 cm
mumok museum moderner kunst stiftung ludwig wien, former Paul Kövesdi Collection, New York
184

NIKOLAUS BRAUN

* 1900 Berlin
† 1950 Budapest

1920 student of Arthur Segal, through whose intercession he became a member of the *Novembergruppe*. Between 1923 and 1930 participated in several exhibitions of the *Novembergruppe*. 1924 exhibition in the gallery *Der Sturm* together with Lajos Kassák; between 1924 and 1926 his light images and light reliefs were published there. 1927 and 1928 exhibitions in Segal's painting school in Berlin and Braunschweig. Braun's works from this period are considered lost. 1937 emigration to Budapest.

Literature: *Saur allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 14, Munich 1996, p. 9.

Berlin Street Scene, 1921

Oil on hardboard
74 × 103 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1976
242

CIZEK SCHOOL

From 1902, Franz Cizek directed the course with a focus on ornamental composition at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. 1903/04 transfer from privately led drawing class to the Kunstgewerbeschule; initial spark for Vienna Kineticism. 1904 Cizek was appointed professor, 1905 inspector for methods in drawing training. 1906 ornamental supplementary course, 1910 special course for youth arts, 1914 founding of the association Kunst und Schule. Participation of Cizek's classes at the exhibitions of the Kunstgewerbeschule.

Literature: Rolf Laven, *Franz Cizek und die Wiener Jugendkunst*, Vienna 2006.

Kinetic Sculpture, 1924

(reconstruction Franz Hnizdo, 2012)
Wood, copper, plastics
87.5 × 50 × 50 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv
170

FRIEDL DICKER (-BRANDEIS)

* 1898 Vienna
† 1944 Auschwitz

1915–1916 studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule, under Franz Cizek and others. Student of Johannes Itten in Vienna, followed him to the Bauhaus in Weimar from 1919 to 1923. Founded the *Werkstätten bildender Kunst* in Berlin in 1923 together with Franz Singer. Theater design for a variety of German stages. Operated a studio for modern interior design in Vienna in 1925. From 1931 taught art for state nursery school teachers. Joined the Communist Party. Design of photo collages for agitprop posters. 1933 in the underground, interrogation and detention, fled to Prague. 1936 married Pavel Brandeis. Art lessons for immigrant children. Active in the underground. 1938 relocation to Hronov, near the Polish border. 1942 deportation to Theresienstadt concentration camp. Worked in the Jewish self-government: painting lessons, lectures, exhibitions of children's drawings, stage sets for plays. 1944 murdered in Auschwitz.

Literature: Elena Makarova, *Friedl Dicker-Brandeis. Ein Leben für Kunst und Lehre*. Wien, Weimar, Prag, Hronov, Theresienstadt, Auschwitz (exh. cat. Palais Harrach, Vienna), Vienna/Munich, 1999.

Else Lasker Schöler Invitation to the first Bauhaus evening with readings, 1920

Lithograph
30.8 × 24.6 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv, gift of Oswald Oberhuber
178

Composition with Musical Instruments, c. 1920

Opaque white, watercolor, crayon on paper, mounted on cardboard
57 × 79 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv
176

The Child's Present and Future, 1930

Photograph based on photocolage
41 × 51 cm
mumok museum moderner kunst stiftung ludwig wien, gift of Oswald Oberhuber, 1979
278

The Solution, 1930

Photograph based on photocolage
41 × 51 cm
mumok museum moderner kunst stiftung ludwig wien, gift of Oswald Oberhuber, 1979
277

Superfluity, 1932/33

Photograph based on photocolage
27.3 × 18 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv
274

Have No Fear of Death, 1932/33

Photograph based on photocolage
27.3 × 18 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv
273

The Middle Class Turns Fascist, 1932/33

Photograph based on photocolage
27.3 × 18 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv
275

That's the Way of the World, My Child, 1932/33

Photograph based on photocolage
27.3 × 18 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv
276

Interrogation I, 1934

Oil on plywood
121 × 80 cm
Jewish Museum, Prague
281

The Interrogation, c. 1934

Gouache, collage on brown cardboard
46 × 33 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv
280

OTTO DIX

* 1891 Gera
† 1969 Singen

1909–1914 scholarship for studies at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Dresden under Richard Mebert, Richard Guhr, and Paul Hermann Naumann. 1914–1918 voluntary military service. 1919 return to Dresden, founder of the *Dresden Secession Group 1919*. 1920 participation in the *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe*. 1922–1925 studies at the Düsseldorf Akademie under Heinrich Nauen and Wilhelm Herberholz, member of the artists' group *Das Junge Rheinland*. 1924 member of the *Berlin Secession*. 1925–1927 return to Berlin, 1931 member of the Preußische Akademie der Künste. 1927–1933 professor at the Kunstakademie in Dresden. 1933 relieved of all offices, 1934 exhibition ban. 1933 relocation to Schloß Randegg/Singen. 1936 relocation to Hemmenhofen on Lake Constance. 1945 drafted into the military, imprisoned, returned to Hemmenhofen.

Literature: *Das Auge der Welt. Otto Dix und die Neue Sachlichkeit* (exh. cat. Kunstmuseum Stuttgart), Ostfildern 2012.

Wounded Soldier, 1922

Watercolor on paper
39.6 × 38 cm
Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm
119

Dead Men before the Position near Tahure, 1924

The War, Portfolio V, no. 10
Etching
19.7 × 25.8 cm
Lindenu-Museum Altenburg (formerly Sammlung Hoh, Fürth)
120

B Nocturnal Encounter with a Lunatic, 1924
The War, Portfolio III, no. 2
Etching
26.2 × 19.7 cm
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg
(formerly Sammlung Hoh, Fürth)
121

B Shock Troops Advance under Gas, 1924
The War, Portfolio II, no. 2
Etching
19.6 × 29.1 cm
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg
(formerly Sammlung Hoh, Fürth)
122

B Battle-Wearied Troops Retreat, 1924
The War, Portfolio III, no. 1
Etching
19.8 × 28.9 cm
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg
(formerly Sammlung Hoh, Fürth)
123

B Skin Graft, 1924
The War, Portfolio IV, no. 10
Etching
19.9 × 14.9 cm
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg
(formerly Sammlung Hoh, Fürth)
124

B Mealtime in the Trenches (The Loretto Hills), 1924
The War, Portfolio II, no. 3
Etching
19.6 × 29 cm
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg
(formerly Sammlung Hoh, Fürth)
125

B Corpse in Barbed Wire (Flanders), 1924
The War, Portfolio II, no. 6
Etching
30 × 24.3 cm
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg
(formerly Sammlung Hoh, Fürth)
126

B Frontline Soldier in Brussels, 1924
The War, Portfolio IV, no. 4
Etching
28.8 × 19.9 cm
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg
(formerly Sammlung Hoh, Fürth)
127

B Wounded Soldier, Autumn 1916, Bapaume, 1924
The War, Portfolio I, no. 6
Etching 19.7 × 29 cm
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg
(formerly Sammlung Hoh, Fürth)
128

B This is what I Looked Like as a Soldier, 1924
Indian ink on paper
42.7 × 34.4 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and the Cultural Foundation of the German Federal States, 2013
129

The Poet Iwar von Lücken, 1926
Oil and tempera on canvas
226 × 120 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin, the Federal Minister of the Interior, and the Museum Fund of the Senators for Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1988
232

Blond Half-Nude, 1932
Mixed media on wood
79 × 54 cm
Private collection
264

B.F. (BENEDIKT FRED) DOLBIN
(Benedikt Fred Pollack)
* 1883 Vienna
† 1971 New York

1902–1920 studies at the Technische Hochschule Vienna. Studied composition under Arnold Schönberg. 1912 changed name to Dolbin. 1918 co-founder of the Vienna artists' group *Die Bewegung*. Self-taught draftsman, from the mid-1920s portrait drawings of prominent figures for Vienna newspapers. 1926 relocation to Berlin and work as art critic, press illustrator, book illustrator, and portraitist for the *Literarische Welt*, *Der Querschnitt*, *Berliner Tageblatt*, etc. Met Alexander Lesk in Vienna (1924). 1936 banned from working, brief return to Vienna and emigration to New York the same year.

Literature: Christina Korzen, "Der Kopfjäger Dolbin ist unterwegs. Eine Spurensuche," in: *Straßen und Gesichter. Berlin 1918–1933* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie), Bielefeld/Berlin 2012, pp. 93–97.

B Alfred Kerr, c. 1926
Pencil on paper
24 × 18.5 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1977
220

B Fritz Kortner, c. 1930
India ink on paper
29 × 23.8 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1977
218

B Franz Werfel, 1930
Pencil on paper
31 × 22.5 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1977
217

v Peter Lorre, c. 1930
Pencil on paper
30 × 23.8 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1977
219

v Emil Orlik, c. 1930
Pencil on paper
24.5 × 19.5 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1977
222

v Bert Brecht, c. 1930
Pencil on paper
28 × 22 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1977
214

v Lotte Lenya-Weill, c. 1936
Pencil on paper
28.5 × 24.3 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1977
215

B Max Reinhardt, c. 1936
Pencil on paper
29 × 22.8 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1977
216

HERMANN DRAWE
* 1867 Vienna
† 1925 Vienna

Judge and amateur photographer. 1897–1913 career in the court (court clerk and judge). 1904 photographic documentation of Vienna's slums and mass housing, together with journalist Emil Kläger.

Representative of dedicated social documentation in early Austrian photography.

Literature: Emil Kläger, *Durch die Wiener Quartiere des Elends und Verbrechens, ein Wanderbuch aus dem Jenseits*, new edition, Vienna 2011.

B Through Vienna's Impoverished and Criminal Neighborhoods, Vienna
Slide show with partly hand-colored glass slides, 8.5 × 8.5 cm each
Österreichisches Volkshochschularchiv, Vienna

Sleeping Corner under a Spiral Staircase, 1904
In: ÖVA, Lichtbildersammlung Urania Wien, casket 99, B 47 (42), 7865, V. 132
45

A Warm Place on Burghardt-gasse, 1904
In: ÖVA, Lichtbildersammlung Urania Wien, casket 99, B 60 (69), 7884, V. 132
46

To the "Stronghold", 1904
In: ÖVA, Lichtbildersammlung Urania Wien, casket 99, B 41 (29), 7865, V. 132
47

Vienna Canal near the Chain Bridge, 1904
In: ÖVA, Lichtbildersammlung Urania Wien, casket 99, B 39 (28, 46), 7863, V. 132
48

Camping in the Shaft, 1904
In: ÖVA, Lichtbildersammlung Urania Wien, casket 99, B 13 (16), 7837, V. 132
49

A Block from the Inside, 1904
In: ÖVA, Lichtbildersammlung Urania Wien, casket 99, B 90 (prob. 18), 7914, V. 132
50

Mass Accommodations, 1904
In: ÖVA, Lichtbildersammlung Urania Wien, casket 99, B 105 (84), 7929, V. 132
51

**BETTINA
EHRlich-BAUER**

* 1903 Vienna
† 1985 London

1920–1923 studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. 1924/25 internship in a Berlin printing house. 1930 married the painter and sculptor Georg Ehrlich. 1931 exhibitions in Vienna, with the *Hagenbund*, among others. 1931–1938 worked as a textile designer. Published childrens' books. 1938 emigrated to London.

Literature: Susanne Blumesberger, "Die Illustratorin, Grafikerin und Autorin Bettina Ehrlich. Ein Leben für die Kunst in Wien und London," in: *Arbeitskreis Emanzipation und Partnerschaft. Feministische Zeitschrift für Politik und Gesellschaft*, year 31, issue 4, 2004, pp. 34–37.

Jonny Strikes Up, 1928

Oil on canvas
102 × 60 cm
Private collection

247

GEORG EHRlich

* 1897 Vienna
† 1966 Lucerne

1912–1915 studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule under Oskar Strnad and Franz Cizek. 1915–1918 military service in Russia and Italy. 1920–1922 resided in Munich. 1921–1924 residency in Berlin, contract with Paul Cassirer. 1924 return to Vienna, support by Erica and Hans Tietze. 1925–1938 member of the Vienna artists' association *Hagenbund*. 1926 beginning of work as a sculptor. 1937 emigration to London. 1947 adoption of British citizenship. 1947–1949 taught in the USA.

Literature: Antonia Hoerschelmann (ed.), *Georg Ehrlich* (exh. cat. Albertina, Vienna), Vienna 1997

Hans Tietze, 1931

Bronze
32 × 20 × 24 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

211

JOSEF ENGELHART

* 1864 Vienna
† 1941 Vienna

Studies at the Technische Hochschule and simultaneously at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden Künste. 1883 transfer to the Munich Akademie der bildenden Künste. 1888 represented for the first time in an exhibition in Vienna's Künstlerhaus with images of the life of the people of Vienna. From 1890 to 1893 lived in Paris and had contacts there to other Austrian artists, especially Eugen Jettel. 1897 cofounder of the *Vienna Secession*, and its president from 1899 to 1900 and 1910 to 1911. 1900 named corresponding member of the *Berlin Secession* by Max Liebermann. Worked as sculptor from 1903. 1904 design of the wall decoration of the Austrian-Hungarian pavilion at the St. Louis World's Fair. 1914–1918 war painter in Galicia (Eastern Europe) and Italy. 1909 and 1919 solo exhibitions in the *Vienna Secession*.

Literature: Erika Oehring (ed.), *Josef Engelhart – Vorstadt und Salon* (exh. cat. Wien Museum, Hermesvilla), Vienna 2009.

The Crook, 1888

Tempera on paper
121 × 70 cm
Belvedere, Vienna, on permanent loan from the Verein der Museumsfreunde Wien

43

At the Garden Restaurant, 1893

Oil on wood
28 × 26 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

08

ANTON FAISTAUER

* 1887 St. Martin bei
Lofer, Salzburg
† 1930 Vienna

1906–1909 studies at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden Künste under Christian Griepenkerl and Alois Delug. 1909 left the Akademie and cofounded the *Neukunstgruppe*. Between 1909 and 1912 numerous trips to Berlin, Switzerland, and Italy. 1916–1918 military service. 1918 participant in the 49th exhibition of the *Vienna Secession*. 1920 moved to Salzburg. Exhibitions at Gurlitt's in Berlin, at the Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Vienna. 1922/23 publication of the book *Neue Malerei in Österreich*. From 1927 wor-

ked in Salzburg and Vienna. 1926 commission for the painted decoration of the Salzburg Festspielhaus. 1927 moved to Vienna.

Literature: Peter Laub (ed.), *Anton Faistauer. 1887–1930* (exh. cat. Salzburger Museum Augusto Carolinum), Salzburg 2005.

Young Woman on Red Sofa, 1913

Oil on canvas
96 × 125 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

75

**CONRAD
FELIXMÜLLER**

* 1897 Dresden
† 1977 Berlin

1911 Dresden Kunstgewerbeschule. 1912 studies at the Dresden Kunstakademie under Carl Bantzer. 1915 completed studies, then worked as freelance artist in Dresden. Stayed in Berlin, close connection with Ludwig Meidner. Contributed to Herwarth Walden's magazine *Der Sturm*, as well as Franz Pfemfert's *Die Aktion*. 1917 conscientious objector. 1917 cofounder of the group *Expressionistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Dresden* and editor of the magazine *Die Menschen*. Exhibitions at Hans Goltz in Munich and in the Galerie Arnold in Dresden. 1918 relocated to Dresden, founder and board member of the *Dresden Secession* and member of the *Novembergruppe* as well as the Communist Party of Germany (KPD). Defamed as "degenerate" in 1933. 1934 relocated to Berlin. 1937 expulsion from the Verein Berliner Künstler. 1938 removal of works from public collections. 1944 drafted into military service and in Soviet war captivity until 1945. 1949 appointed professor at Martin-Luther-Universität in Halle. 1961 emeritus status and return to Berlin.

Literature: *Conrad Felixmüller, Zwischen Kunst und Politik* (exh. cat. Kunstsammlungen Chemnitz-Museum Gunzenhauser/Städtische Galerie Bietigheim-Bissingen/Ernst-Barlach-Haus, Hamburg), Cologne 2012.

**People Across the World,
In Memory of Liebke and
Luxemburg, 1919**

Lithograph
Sheet: 70 × 54 cm
Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal

144

**Portrait of Raoul Hausmann,
1920**

Oil on canvas
85 × 67 cm
Lindenau-Museum Altenburg

87

Boxer from a Show Booth, 1921

Oil on canvas
95 × 110 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1978

241

FIDUS

(Hugo Reinhold Karl Johann
Höppener)

* 1868 Lübeck
† 1948 Woltersdorf

1887 studied painting at the Munich Akademie der bildenden Künste. Dropped out after three months, then became a student of the painter and social reformer Karl Wilhelm Diefenbach, from whom he was given the monastic name Fidus ("faithful"), and who was deeply formative for his artistic development. 1889 return to the Munich Akademie and study of nude painting under Nikolaus Gysis. 1889 relocation to Berlin. 1894 travels through Scandinavia with Amalie Reich. 1903 relocation to Amden in Switzerland to pursue the project of his temple designs. 1906 studio in Schönblick-Woltersdorf. 1928 Fidus-Gesamt-Ausstellung, zum 60. Geburtstag [Fidus Complete Exhibition, on His Sixtieth Birthday] in Berlin, Hamburg, Darmstadt, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, and Heidelberg.

Literature: Marina Schuster, *Fidus' Illustrationen in den Zeitschriften der Jahrhundertwende*, master's thesis, Bochum 1990.

**The Soul Dances in
the Temple, c. 1910**

Series of five paintings
Oil on canvas
100 × 70 cm each
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and from funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1974

31

PHILIPP FRANCK

* 1860 Frankfurt am Main
† 1944 Berlin

Training in technical drawing at the Höhere Gewerbeschule in Frankfurt. 1877–1879 studied painting at the Städelschule. 1880 Königliche Kunstakademie Düsseldorf, 1882, at the age of twenty-two, took part in an exhibition at the Düsseldorf Kunstverein, 1884 accepted into the master class of landscape painter Eugen Dücker. 1889 contact to the Königliche Kunstschule in Berlin, 1890 drawing teacher's exam. 1892 appointment to the Königliche Kunstschule. 1898 cofounder of the *Berlin Secession*, participation in *Secession* exhibitions, appointment to professorship. 1906 moved to Wannsee. Acquired a forest plot in the Colonie Alsen at Wannsee. 1911 appointed acting director of the Berlin Kunstschule, 1915 director, collaboration with Max Liebermann at the Akademie. 1933 stepped down from position as chair of the board of examiners.

Literature: Wolfgang Immenhausen, *Philipp Franck. Werkverzeichnis der Gemälde*, Berlin 2010.

▼ **After the Funeral. Gravediggers Drinking Weissbier, 1902**

Oil on canvas
100 × 130 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1976

09

OTTO FRIEDRICH

* 1862 Győr/Raab
† 1937 Vienna

1878 studies at the Vienna Akademie under August Eisenmenger and Leopold Carl Müller, and subsequently in Munich. 1891–1894 stays in Paris, travels to Spain and North Africa. 1896 return to Vienna. 1897 cofounder of the *Vienna Secession*. Worked at the *Vienna Frauenakademie* for thirty years.

Literature: *Saur allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 45, Munich/Leipzig 2005, p. 167.

Gabrielle Gallia, undated

Oil on paper
121 × 39 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

03

Elsa Galafrés, 1908

Oil on canvas
100 × 100 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

02

HELENE FUNKE

* 1869 Chemnitz
† 1957 Vienna

1899 studied painting at the Munich Damenakademie des Künstlerinnenvereins. 1905–1913 studies at the Munich Akademie, subsequently continuing her training autodidactically in Paris. 1911–1914 relocation to Vienna. Member of the *Vereinigung bildender Künstlerinnen Österreichs*. Participated in exhibitions at the *Hagenbund*, the *Vienna Kunstschau*, the *Vienna Secession*, and the *Künstlerhaus*. 1918 participated in the first exhibition of the Vienna artists' group *Die Bewegung*. From 1904 to 1938 exhibitions in Munich, Berlin, and Dresden. 1946 adoption of Austrian citizenship.

Literature: Elisabeth Nowak-Thaller (ed.), *Helene Funke 1869–1957* (exh. cat. Lentos-Kunstmuseum, Linz), Nuremberg 2007.

Dreams, 1913

Oil on canvas
114.5 × 134.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

74

NAUM GABO

* 1890 Bryansk
† 1977 Middlebury

1910–1914 studied medicine and engineering in Munich. 1912/13 visited lectures by the art historian Heinrich Wölfflin. 1915/16 first Constructivist sculptures produced. Returned to Moscow after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. 1920 first kinetic constructions and publication of the *Realist Manifesto*. 1922 moved to Berlin. Co-organizer of the *Erste Russischen Kunstausstellung* in the Galerie van Diemen. Contact to the *Novembergruppe*, to the *Bauhaus*, and to *De Stijl*. 1932 relocation to Paris, member of the artists' group *abstraction-cr ation*. 1936 moved to England, 1946 to the USA.

Literature: Jörn Merkert (ed.), *Naum Gabo. Ein russischer Konstruktivist in Berlin. Skulpturen, Zeichnungen und Architektorentwürfe, Dokumente*

und Archive aus der Sammlung der *Berlinischen Galerie* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie), Berlin 1989.

▼ **Constructive Head No. 3 (Head in a Corner), 1917**

(reconstruction 1964)
Silicon bronze
62 × 70 × 35 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1988

185

JOHANN NEPOMUK GELLER

* 1860 Vienna
† 1954 Weissenkirchen an der Donau

Studies at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden K nste under Christian Griepenkerl and Eduard Peithner von Lichtenfels, as well as private painting instruction under Anton Schr dl. 1894 member of the Vienna *K nstlerhaus*. Study trips through Austria, Italy, and Germany. 1900 founding member of the *Hagenbund*.

Literature: Anton Bodenstein/Ernst Englisch/Wolfgang Krug, *Johann Nepomuk Geller. Maler der Wachau*, Weitra 2004.

Croatian Market on the Haide in Vienna, before 1898

Oil on hardboard
44.5 × 52.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

16

RICHARD GERSTL

* 1883 Vienna
† 1908 Vienna

1898 enrollment at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden K nste under Christian Griepenkerl, 1900–1901 studied under Simon Holl sy in Nagyb nya, and afterwards at the Akademie der bildenden K nste under Heinrich Lefler; 1904 and 1905 shared studio with Victor Karl Hammer, 1906 had his own school studio. 1907/08 stayed with the Sch nberg family in Traunstein. Instructed Arnold Sch nberg in drawing. His passion for Mathilde Sch nberg led to breaking off of relations with the family. Committed suicide in November 1908.

Literature: Klaus Albrecht Schr der (ed.), *Richard Gerstl. 1883–1908* (exh. cat. Kunstforum der Bank Austria, Vienna), Vienna 1993.

▼ **Self-Portrait, Laughing, 1908**

Oil on canvas on cardboard
40 × 30.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

88

WALTER GRAMATT 

* 1897 Berlin
† 1929 Hamburg

1915–1918 training at the *Kunstakademie Berlin/K nigliche Kunstschule des Kunstgewerbemuseums*. Military service from 1916. Impressions from World War I and his illness influenced his visual language. Freelance work for the magazine *Marsyas*. Acquaintance with Erich Heckel and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, stays in Berlin, Hamburg, and Hiddensee. Defamed as “degenerate” from 1933.

Literature: Cornelia Stabenow (ed.), *Walter Gramatt  (1897–1929)* (exh. cat. Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen, Staatsgalerie Moderner Kunst, Munich), Munich 1989.

▶ **Cactus Lady, 1918**

Oil on canvas
74.9 × 60.2 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie

85

GEORGE GROSZ

* 1893 Berlin
† 1959 Berlin

1909 studies at the Akademie der K nste in Dresden. 1912–1917 studied under Emil Orlik at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* in Berlin. 1914 voluntary military service, 1915 discharged due to illness. 1917 drafted as a soldier once again, later declared permanently unfit for war duty. 1917 first graphic arts portfolio published by Malik Verlag. 1918 cofounder of *Dada Berlin*. Joined the *Novembergruppe* and the German Communist Party (KPD). 1919 edited the satirical magazines *Die Pleite*, *Jedermann sein eigener Fu ball*, *Der blutige Ernst*. 1920 co-organizer of the *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe* in Berlin. 1932–1936 taught at the Art Students League in New York, 1933 relocated to the USA. 1959 return to Berlin.

Literature: *George Grosz. Berlin - New York* (exh. cat. Neue Nationalgalerie Berlin/Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf), Berlin 1994.

The Little Grosz Portfolio, 1917
Portfolio of the Malik Verlag with twenty lithographs and a cover image for the performance of Schwejk at the Piscator theater, 1917
Lithographs on vellum
Berlinische Galerie, transferred from the Galerie des 20. Jahrhunderts from the collections of the Senators for Public Education, Berlin 1976

163-169

The Tempo of the Street, 1918

Oil on panel
63.8 × 78.2 cm
Private collection, courtesy Richard Nagy Ltd., London

182

"Daum" marries her pedantic automaton "George" in May 1920, John Heartfield is very glad of it. (Meta-Mech. Constr. after Prof. R. Hausmann), 1920

Watercolor, pencil, Indian ink, and collage on watercolor board
42 × 30.2 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1995

149

The Conformist Heartfield Turned Wild. Electro-mechanical Tatlin Sculpture, 1920

(reconstruction Michael Sellmann, 1988), Tailor's dummy, revolver, bell, knife and fork, "C", "27", false teeth, Order of the Black Eagle, Iron Cross, Osram light bulb, 130 × 45 × 45 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1988

150

Self-Portrait with a Hat, 1928

Oil on canvas
109.5 × 79 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with museum funds of the Senators for Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1984

212

Rudolf Schlichter in His Studio, 1929

Oil on canvas
190 × 140 cm
Private collection

266

Two Women, 1929

Oil on canvas
220 × 115 cm

Private collection, courtesy Galerie Haas, Zurich

265

GEORGE GROSZ AND OTHERS

Print Sheet "dadaco," 1919-1921

Sheet VI: Prophets, Machine-printed on paper
Sheet: 38.5 × 46 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1977

155

ALBERT PARIS GÜTERSLOH

(Albert Konrad Kiehtreiber)

* 1887 Vienna

† 1973 Vienna

1904-1908 acting school Vienna. Worked with Max Reinhardt at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin, among other places. 1907 began painting autodidactically. 1909 exhibited for the first time with the *Neukunstgruppe* and at the *Internationale Kunstschau Wien*. 1911 participated in the *Sonderausstellung Malerei und Plastik* by the *Hagenbund*. 1911/12 stay in Paris, lessons with Maurice Denis. 1911 publication of his expressionist novel *Die tanzende Törin* in Berlin. 1914-1918 military service, from 1917 assigned to the Kriegspressequartier [war press department] where he became acquainted with Robert Musil, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Hermann Bahr, and Franz Blei. 1918 return to Vienna. 1919-1921 trips to Munich, Berlin, and Paris. 1931 professor at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna. 1938 dismissed from teaching. 1933-1939 member of the *Vienna Secession*. 1940 banned from working. After the war until 1962 professor at the Vienna Akademie. 1950-1954 president of the *Vienna Secession*.

Literature: Heribert Hutter (ed.), *A. P. Gütersloh. Beispiele. Schriften zur Kunst, Bilder, Werkverzeichnis*, Vienna/Munich 1977.

Self-Portrait, 1912

Oil on canvas
70.5 × 54.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

84

Portrait of Alexandra Gütersloh, 1934

Oil on canvas
60 × 80 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

204

ANTON HANAK

* 1875 Brno/Brünn

† 1934 Vienna

Training with a woodcutter and cabinet-maker. 1898 studies at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden Künste. 1902 first exhibition at the *Hagenbund*. 1904/05 opened his studio in Vienna. 1906-1910 member of the *Vienna Secession*. 1907 relocation to Langenzersdorf near Vienna. 1914 participated in the *Werkbund Ausstellung* in Cologne. 1913-1932 taught the class in monumental sculpture at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. 1932-1934 taught at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna.

Literature: Gerhardt Kapner, *Anton Hanak. Kunst- und Künstlerkult. Ein Beispiel*, Vienna 1984.

Bust of Margarethe Stonborough-Wittgenstein, 1925

Marble
44.5 × 34 × 23 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

35

FELIX ALBRECHT HARTA

(Felix Albrecht Hirsch)

* 1884 Budapest

† 1967 Salzburg

Studied architecture at the Vienna Technische Hochschule. 1905 transfer to Adolf Hölzel's art school in Dachau and the Munich Akademie to study painting under Hugo von Habermann. After a brief stay in Vienna, relocation to Paris in 1908. Stays in Spain, Belgium, and Italy. 1913-1916 in Vienna, then sojourn in Salzburg, there cofounder and president of the artist's group *Der Wassermann* in 1919. 1920 founding of the *Moderne Malerakademie* and the "Neue Galerie," together with Anton Faistauer. 1924 return to Vienna. 1928 member of the *Hagenbund*. 1939 emigrated to England, taught at a college in Cambridge. 1950 return to Salzburg.

Literature: Edith Karolina Baumgartner, *Felix Albrecht Harta (1884-1967)*, unpublished diss., Salzburg 1991.

View of Unter St. Veit, 1914

Oil on canvas
36 × 53 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

134

CARRY HAUSER

* 1895 Vienna

† 1985 Rekawinkel near Vienna

1911 Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt in Vienna. 1912-1914 studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. 1914-1918 voluntary military service. 1919/20 stay in Passau, travels to Vienna, Munich, and Berlin. Exhibition in Haus der jungen Künstlerschaft in Vienna. 1925-1938 member of the *Hagenbund*, from 1928 its president. Cofounder of the Vienna artists' group *Freie Bewegung* and the German artists' association *Der Fels*. 1938 publication of his book *Von Kunst und Künstlern in Österreich*. 1938-1945 banned from working. 1939 emigration to Switzerland. 1947 return to Vienna. 1948 honorary president of the *Neuer Hagenbund*.

Literature: Cornelia Cabuk, *Carry Hauser. Monografie und Werkverzeichnis*, Vienna 2012.

Night Wanderer, 1920

Oil on wood
40.3 × 32.2 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

233

Jazz Band, 1927

Oil on wood
50 × 48 cm
Private collection

248

RAOUL HAUSMANN

* 1886 Vienna

† 1971 Limoges

1900 relocation of the family to Berlin, instruction in painting from his father. From 1910 friendship with the painters Erich Heckel and Ludwig Meidner. 1912 contributor to Herwarth Walden's *Der Sturm*, from 1917 to Franz Pfemfert's *Die Aktion*. 1918 cofounder of the Berlin Dada movement. 1919/20 editor of the magazine *Der DADA*. 1920 Dada tour with Richard Huelsenbeck to Dres-

den, Leipzig, Prague, and Hamburg. Participation in the *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe* in Berlin. 1921, together with Hanna Höch and Kurt Schwitters, the *Antidada-Merz-Tournee* to Prague. 1923 participation in the Schwitters Merz Bau in Hannover. 1933 fled to Ibiza. 1936, after outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, fled to Zurich and Prague, later to Paris. 1944 relocation to Limoges.

Literature: Adelheid Koch, *Ich bin immerhin der grösste Experimentator Österreichs - Raoul Hausmann. Dada und Neodada*, Innsbruck 1994.

Untitled (Self-Portrait), c. 1913

Oil on canvas
70 × 60 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senate Department for Cultural Affairs and from private donations, Berlin 1992

86

Untitled (Church), c. 1915

Oil on canvas
67 × 50 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senate Department for Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1991

71

Club of the Blue Milky Way, 1918

See Johannes Baader

153

Untitled (Abstract Composition), 1918

Mixed media (oil and collage) on canvas
95.5 × 63 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senate Department for Cultural Affairs and from private donations, Berlin 1992
Not on display in the exhibitions

180

dada cordial, 1919/20–22

See Hannah Höch

156

Humans are Angels and Live in Heaven, 1922

Collage and photomontage on cardboard frame
47.5 × 37.7 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1982

159

JOHN HEARTFIELD

* 1891 Berlin
† 1968 Berlin

1905/06 bookselling apprenticeship in Wiesbaden. 1908–1911 studies at the Munich Kunstgewerbeschule. 1913/14 Kunst- und Handwerkerschule in Berlin-Charlottenburg under Ernst Neumann. 1915/16 military service. Acquaintanceship with George Grosz. 1916/17 editor of the magazine *Neue Jugend*, together with Franz Jung. 1917 founding of the publishing house Malik Verlag, with his brother Wieland Herzfelde. 1918 member of the *Berlin Club Dada*. 1919 joined the German Communist Party (KPD). 1920 first stage sets for Erwin Piscator and Max Reinhardt. Co-organizer of the *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe [First International Dada Fair]* in Berlin. 1921–1938 book designs for the Malik Verlag. 1923–1927 collaboration on the magazine *Der Knüppel*. 1924 cofounder of the Rote Gruppe. 1928 member of the ASSO. 1929 participation in the Werkbund exhibition *Film und Foto* in Stuttgart. From 1930 collaboration on the *Arbeiter-Illustrierten-Zeitung* (AIZ). 1933 fled to Prague, there resumed work with the Malik Verlag and the AIZ. 1938 emigration to London. 1950 return to Germany.

Literature: *John Heartfield* (exh. cat. Akademie der Künste zu Berlin/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn/Kunsthalle Tübingen), Cologne 1991.

Prussian Archangel, 1920

(reconstruction by Isabel Kork and Michael Sellmann)
Papier-mâché on wire, uniform jacket, uniform trousers, belt, boots, etc., 180cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1988

152

The Conformist Heartfield Turned Wild, 1920

See George Grosz

150

ERICH HECKEL

* 1883 Döbeln
† 1970 Hemmenhofen

1904 studied architecture at the Dresden Technische Hochschule. 1905 cofounder of the artists' society *Die Brücke*, became its manager. 1907–1910 summer months in Dangast on the

North Sea. 1911 relocation to Berlin. 1912 the *Brücke* took part in the special exhibition in Cologne. 1913 dissolution of the *Brücke*. 1914 participation in the Deutscher Werkbund exhibition in Cologne. 1915–1918 military service as medical orderly. 1918 return to Berlin. Exhibition with the *Novembergruppe* and membership in the Arbeitsrat für Kunst. From 1920 numerous trips through Europe. 1937 confiscation of his works and exhibition ban. 1940–1942 longer stay in Carinthia. 1944 Berlin studio destroyed in bombing raid. Relocation to Hemmenhofen.

Literature: Andreas Hüneke, *Andreas Hüneke, Erich Heckel. Werkverzeichnis der Ölgemälde* (2 vols.), Munich 2010.

Roquairol (Portrait of E. L. Kirchner), 1917

Tempera on canvas
92 × 72 cm
Brücke Museum Berlin

82

THOMAS THEODOR HEINE

* 1867 Leipzig
† 1948 Stockholm

1884–1889 studies at the Düsseldorf Kunstakademie. 1889 moved to Munich. 1892 illustrations and advertising art for the magazines *Fliegende Blätter* and *Jugend*, member of the *Munich Secession*. 1895 first book decoration produced for the magazine *PAN*, followed by later commissions for the publishing house Insel Verlag. From 1896 co-editor of the magazine *Simplificissimus*. 1898 six months detention at Königstein Fortress near Dresden for lèse-majesté. From 1900 posters for the *Berlin Secession* and *Simplificissimus*. 1909 large exhibition of his paintings in a Munich gallery. 1921 illustrations for Thomas Mann's *Wälsungenblut*, with thirty-two lithographs. 1938 fled to Oslo via Prague. 1942 fled to Stockholm.

Literature: Helmut Friedel (ed.), *Thomas Theodor Heine* (2 vols.) (exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus München, Bröhan-Museum Berlin), Leipzig 2000.

Poster for an Exhibition in Berlin by the Deutscher Künstlerbund, 1905

Printer's ink, paper, color lithograph
135 × 91.6 cm
Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin

52

Berlin Secession Poster, 1906

Color lithograph on paper
35.5 × 47.5 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

36

HANNAH HÖCH

* 1889 Gotha
† 1978 Berlin

1912 studies at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Berlin-Charlottenburg. 1915 studies at the Lehranstalt des staatlichen Kunstgewerbemuseums in Berlin under Emil Orlik. 1915–1926 part-time position as design draftsman in the editorial department for handicrafts at the publishing house Ullstein Verlag. 1916–1918 contacts to the Berlin Dadaists. 1919 participation in the first Dada exhibition in Berlin at the Graphisches Kabinett I. B. Neumann. Member of the *Novembergruppe*. 1920 participation in the *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe* in Berlin. 1921 *Antidada-Merz-Tournee* with Raoul Hausmann and Kurt Schwitters. 1922 and 1925 took part in the *Schwitters Merz Bau* in Hannover. Trip to Paris. Contact with Friedrich Kiesler. 1926 trip to Holland, contact with the group *De Stijl*. 1932 return to Berlin. 1935–1945 exclusion from the art world. 1945, after the war was over, exhibitions in the Galerie Gerd Rosen, Galerie Franz, and Galerie Nierendorf. 1965 appointment as member of the Akademie der Künste in Berlin.

Literature: Ralf Burmeister (ed.), *Hannah Höch. Aller Anfang ist Dada* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie/Museum Tinguely, Basel), Ostfildern 2007.

Dada Dolls, 1916/18

Textiles, paperboard, and pearls
Dimensions variable
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1979
(reconstruction by Isabel Kork and Barbara Kugel, 1988)
Berlinische Galerie, Gift of the Ministerio de educación y cultura, Spain

151

Dada Review, 1919

Collage, gouache, and watercolor on cardboard
43.7 × 34.6 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the press foundation *Der Tagesspiegel*, Berlin 1986

148

dada cordial, 1919/20–22

Collage and photomontage on proof of the magazine *Der Dada*, year I (1919), mounted on cardboard
45.2 × 58.6 cm

Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1979

156**My Proverbs to Live By, 1922**

Collage, Indian ink, opaque white, crayon, gray, and colored pencil on paperboard
30 × 40 cm

Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1995

154**From an Ethnographic Museum, no. X, 1924**

Collage on cardboard
25.9 × 18.1 cm

Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1979

161**With Cap (From an Ethnographic Museum, no. XI), 1924**

Collage on cardboard
25 × 17.8 cm

Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1973

160**Roma, 1925**

Oil on canvas
90 × 106 cm

Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1974

157**The Journalists, 1925**

Oil on canvas
86 × 101 cm

Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1974

162**German Girl, 1930**

Collage on cardboard, mounted on baseboard
21.6 × 11.6 cm

Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1979

158**KARL HOFER**

* 1878 Karlsruhe

† 1955 Berlin

1896–1901 scholarship at the Karlsruhe Akademie der bildenden Künste. 1899 exhibition of a drawing in the *Vienna Secession*. 1902/03 studies at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Stuttgart. 1903–1908 in Rome. Member of the *Berlin Secession*. 1908–1913 stay in Paris, from 1913 in Berlin. Between 1914 and 1917 detention in France. 1918 return to Berlin. From 1920 professor at the Vereinigte Staatsschulen für freie und angewandte Kunst in Berlin-Charlottenburg. 1923 member of the Preussische Akademie der Künste. 1934 work and exhibition ban. 1943 studio destroyed in bombing raid. 1945 named director of the Hochschule für bildende Künste Berlin. 1947–1948 co-editor of the magazine *Bildende Kunst*. 1950 president of the newly founded Deutscher Künstlerbund.

Literatur: Katharina Henkel (ed.), *Karl Hofer. Von Lebensspuk und stiller Schönheit* (exh. cat. Kunsthalle Emden), Cologne 2012.

Girl with Foliage Plant, 1923

Oil on canvas

105 × 74 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

253**The Girl Rests, c. 1925**

Oil on canvas

40.5 × 57.5 cm
Private collection

205**JOSEF HOFFMANN**

* 1870 Brtnice/Pirnitz

† 1956 Vienna

Studies at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna under Karl von Hasenauer and Otto Wagner. Via Wagner contact to Joseph Maria Olbrich. 1897 founding member of the *Vienna Secession*. From 1899 teacher at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. 1903 founding of the Wiener Werkstätte together with Koloman Moser and the banker Fritz Wärndorfer. 1905 left the *Vienna Secession*. 1906 construction of the Sanatorium Westend in Purkersdorf. 1905–1911 construction of the Palais Stoclet in Brussels. 1907 cofounder of the Deutscher Werkbund, 1912 of the Österreichischer Werkbund. 1938–1945 renovation of the embassy palace of the imperial German embassy in Vien-

na. 1950 founding of the Föderation moderner bildender Künstler Österreichs together with Albert Paris Gütersloh.

Literature: Agnes Husslein-Arco/Alfred Weidinger (eds.), *Gustav Klimt – Josef Hoffmann. Pioneers of Modernism* (exh. cat. Belvedere, Vienna), Munich/London/New York 2011.

Overdoor Relief, 1902

(reconstruction 2011)

Softwood painted white
100 × 96 × 16 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

42**Collapsible Library Ladder, 1905**

Execution: Wiener Werkstätte
Stained and whitewashed oak, brass
50 × 42 × 42 cm
Private collection

40**Berlin, Business Premises for Jacob and Josef Kohn, Front Elevation Leipziger Straße, c.1905**

Unknown photographer

Albumen paper
34.8 × 24.7 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek

39**Berlin, Shop for the Wiener Werkstätte, 1928**

Photographer: Otto Kurt Vogelsang

Silver gelatin paper
22.3 × 16.7 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek

38**CARL-LEOPOLD HOLLITZER**

* 1874 Bad Deutsch-Altenburg

† 1942 Rekawinkel

Studies in Vienna at the Akademie der bildenden Künste. Work as painter, caricaturist, singer, and cabaret artist. Produced caricatures of artists and politicians, as well as watercolors and stage decors. 1906 appearances in the Vienna cabaret theater *Nachtlicht*. From 1907 collaborated at the Cabaret Fledermaus in Vienna. Founder and president of the artists' association *Jungbund*, membership in Vienna's Künstlerhaus.

Literature: Cornelia Reiter/Regine Schmidt (eds.), Oskar Laske, *Das Narrenschiff und Karikaturen von Carl Leopold Hollitzer* (exh. cat. Belvedere, Vienna), Vienna 2001.

Erich Mühsam with Bird, undated

Pencil on paper
28.7 × 19.7 cm
Albertina, Vienna

63**Writer Joachim Ringelnatz, undated**

Charcoal on paper
22.5 × 18 cm
Albertina, Vienna

64**Professor Kolo Moser, Professor C. O. Czeschka, Stollberg, Dr. Eckstein, Professor Josef Hoffmann, and Other Persons, undated**

Pencil, watercolor on paper
24.2 × 18.2 cm
Albertina, Vienna

65**Group Portrait with Ferdinand Hodler, Koloman Moser, and Wilhelm List, undated**

Pencil on paper
24 × 18.8 cm
Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm

66**Portrait of Adolf Loos, undated**

Pencil on lined paper
13.5 × 10.5 cm
Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm

67**Group Portrait with Richard Gerstl, Josef Hoffmann, Pocsdorff, Carl Otto Czeschka, and Other Caricatures, undated**

Indian ink on paper
21 × 33.8 cm
Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm

68**Karl Kraus and Egon Friedell, undated**

Pencil and watercolor on paper
24 × 24 cm
Albertina, Vienna

69**B. F. Dolbin, 1925**

Pencil and watercolor on paper
32 × 23 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Senators for Science and Art, Berlin 1977

213

JOSEF HUMPLIK

* 1888 Vienna
† 1958 Vienna

1902–1905 attendance at the technical school for ceramics in Znojmo. 1905–1909 studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule; from 1910 at the Akademie der bildenden Künste. Participation in exhibitions of the *Vienna Secession* and *Hagenbund*. 1915 plane crash during a mission in World War I, subsequently war painter on the front. After the war, specialization in portrait busts of well-known figures (among them Alban Berg, Ferdinand Ebner, Ludwig von Ficker, Jodok Fink, Anton Hanak, Georg Jahoda, Gustav Klimt, Karl Kraus, Arnold Schönberg, Anton Webern, and Grete Wiesenthal). Worked for the Vienna Burgtheater and the porcelain manufacturer Augarten. 1931 österreichischer Staatspreis [Austrian State Prize].

Literature: Erika Tietze-Conrat, "Bronzestatuetten von Josef Humplik," in: Almut Krapf-Weiler (ed.), *Erika Tietze-Conrat. 1883–1958. Die Frau in der Kunstwissenschaft. Texte 1906–1958*, Vienna 2007.

v Grete Wiesenthal, 1929

Terra-cotta
56 × 41 × 44 cm
Belvedere, Vienna
235

JOHANNES ITTEN

* 1888 Süderen-Linden
† 1967 Zurich

1904–1908 teachers' training college in Hofwil in Bern. 1908/09 primary school teacher near Bern. 1909 studies at the École des Beaux Arts in Geneva. 1910–1912 mathematics and natural sciences studies at the Universität Bern. 1912 Sonderbund exhibition in Cologne. Relocation to Stuttgart to study under Adolf Hölzel. 1916 exhibition with Herwarth Walden in the gallery *Der Sturm* in Berlin. Relocation to Vienna. 1917 establishment of a private art school. 1919 exhibition of his own work in his art school and in the *Freie Bewegung*. Relocation to Weimar, taught at the *Bauhaus*. 1923 exhibition in the gallery *Der Sturm*. Left the Bauhaus. 1926 founding of the private School of Modern Art in Berlin. 1938 returned to Switzerland, after the closure of the Berlin school due to political pressure. Until 1953 director of the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Zurich.

Literature: Willy Rotzler (ed.), *Johannes Itten. Werke und Schriften* (with a catalogue raisonné compiled by Anneliese Itten), Zurich 1972.

Meeting, 1916

Oil on canvas
105 × 80 cm
Kunsthau Zürich
172

WILLY JAECKEL

* 1888 Wrocław/Breslau
† 1944 Berlin

1906 Königliche Kunstgewerbeschule in Wrocław. 1909 transfer to the Dresden Akademie. From 1913 decorative painter in Berlin and Wrocław. 1915 member of the *Berlin Secession*. Following the outbreak of World War I collaborated on the magazine *Kriegszeit*, from 1917 soldier in the field. 1919 member of the Preußische Akademie der Künste. 1925 teaching position as professor at the Staatliche Kunsthochschule Berlin. 1926–1939 member of the *Vienna Secession*. 1933 dismissed and reinstated at the entreaty of the students. Ban from working and confiscation of his works. 1943 studio at the Kunsthochschule destroyed by bombs. 1944 voluntary termination of teaching position and withdrawal to Hiddensee. 1944 brief stay in Berlin, Jaeckel was killed during the destruction of his studio by fire bombing.

Literature: Ingrid Stilijanov-Nedo (ed.), *Willy Jaeckel (1888–1944). Das druckgraphische Werk* (exh. cat. Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg), Regensburg 1987.

B Memento of 1914/15, 1915

Portfolio of eleven prints, lithograph
Dimensions variable
Berlinerische Galerie, acquired with security funds of the Senators for Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1984
118

FRANZ JASCHKE

* 1862 Vienna
† 1910 Vienna

Studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule and from 1882 at the Akademie der bildenden Künste under August Eisenmenger and Josef Mathias Trenkwald. 1901 member of the *Vienna Secession*. Images of Viennese gardens and portraits of children, as well as his-

tory paintings and vedute (Schönbrunn, Donaukanal, Pilgrambrücke) in a pointillist style.

Literature: *Saur allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 72, Berlin/Boston 2013, p. 412.

v The Donaulände in Summer, 1903

Oil on canvas
83.5 × 114 cm
Belvedere, Vienna
21

EUGEN JETTEL

* 1846 Janovice v Podještědí/Johnsdorf
† 1901 Veli Lošinj/Lussingrande

1861–1869 studied landscape painting at the Vienna Akademie. From 1873 constantly in Paris, strongly influenced by the French plein air painting of the Barbizon School. 1897 member of the *Vienna Secession*, return to Vienna.

Literature: Heinrich Fuchs, *Eugen Jettel* (monograph and catalogue raisonné), Vienna 1975.

Cattle Drinking at the Morava River, before 1894

Oil on wood
39 × 76 cm
Belvedere, Vienna
17

LUDWIG HEINRICH JUNGNIKEL

* 1881 Wunsiedel
† 1965 Vienna

1896 studies at the Munich Kunstgewerbeschule. 1899 relocation to Vienna, studies at the Akademie der bildenden Künste under Christian Griepenkerl and August Eisenmenger. From 1903 contact with Gustav Klimt and the Wiener Werkstätte. 1908 represented in the Kunstschau. 1911 collaborated on the decoration of the Palais Stoclet in Brussels and exhibitions in Rome and Amsterdam. Professorship at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Frankfurt am Main. 1915/16 military service in Munich. 1919–1921 member of the *Hagenbund*, from 1924 member of the Vienna Künstlerhaus. 1939 defamed as "degenerate," emigration to Yugoslavia. 1952 return to Austria.

Literature: Ilse Spielvogel-Bodo, *Ludwig Heinrich Jungnickel. Wunsiedel 1881–1965 Wien. Ein Leben für die Kunst. Mit einem Werkkatalog der Druckgraphik*, Klagenfurt 2000.

The Flood, c. 1913

Oil on canvas
100 × 110 cm
Belvedere, Vienna
136

B Cowshed, 1919

Oil on canvas
60 × 76.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna
137

GUSTAV KALHAMMER

* 1886 Vienna
† 1919 (missing in action)

Training at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule under Koloman Moser. Numerous contributions to the exhibition *Österreichisches Kunstgewerbe 1911/12*. Designed interior views of Viennese restaurants and coffeehouses as well as views of Berlin and decorative cards for the postcard series of the Wiener Werkstätte.

Literature: Monika Oberchristl (ed.), *Postkarten der Wiener Werkstätte. Mit einem Werkverzeichnis des Bestandes der Grafischen Sammlung der Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseen* (exh. cat. Schlossmuseum Linz), Vienna, 2007.

B Old Berlin at the Schiffbauerdamm, 1911/12

Postcards of the Wiener Werkstätte, no. 453
Color lithography
9 × 14 cm
Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz

B Berlin Cathedral, 1911/12

Postcards of the Wiener Werkstätte, no. 434
Color lithography
14 × 9 cm
Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz

RUDOLF KALVACH

* 1883 Vienna
† 1932 Kosmonosy/Kosmanos

Studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule under Bertold Löffler, Carl Otto Czeschka, and Alfred Roller. 1908 participated in the Kunstschau and designed the poster for the exhibition. 1908–1910 designed a folding children's book, épinail prints, and postcards with humorous subjects for the Wiener Werkstätte. 1912 attended Adele von Stark's class in enamel work. Member of the *Neukunstgruppe* and the Austrian Werkbund. Fell ill with schizophrenia and spent a number of years in the Steinhof psychiatric hospital.

Literature: Tobias G. Natter (ed.), *Fantastisch! Rudolf Kalvach. Wien und Triest um 1900* (exh. cat. Leopold Museum, Wien), Vienna 2012.

√ **Indian Fairy Tale, c. 1907**

Oil on wood
61.9 × 60.2 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv
77

ALEXANDER KANOLDT

* 1881 Karlsruhe
† 1939 Berlin

1899 studies at the Karlsruhe Kunstgewerbeschule. 1901 transfer to the Karlsruhe Akademie der bildenden Künste. 1909 relocation to Munich and founding member of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München*, from which the *Blaue Reiter* emerged in 1911. 1913 founding member of the *Münchner Neue Secession*. 1914–1918 military service. After the conclusion of the war, longer stays in Italy. From 1925 professorship at the Wrocław Akademie für Kunst und Gewerbe. Took part in the *Neue Sachlichkeit* [New Objectivity] exhibition in Mannheim the same year. 1927 cofounder of the *Baden Secession* in Freiburg. 1931 resignation of teaching position. 1932 joined the Nazi Party. 1933–1936 director of the Staatliche Kunstschule zu Berlin, from 1936 appointed to the Preußische Akademie der Künste. 1937 defamed as “degenerate,” works confiscated.

Literature: Elke Fegert, *Alexander Kanoldt und das Stilleben der Neuen Sachlichkeit*, Hamburg 2008.

Still Life III with Amaryllis, 1926

Oil on canvas
106 × 80 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds of the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1983
228

KARL KARGER

* 1848 Vienna
† 1913 Vienna

From 1864 studies at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden Künste under Carl von Blaas. Participated in the decoration of the Vienna Staatsoper as assistant to Eduard von Engerth. 1871 moved to Munich, studied genre and history painting under Carl Theodor von Piloty. 1873 study trip to Italy, 1881 to Belgium (for an album on the occasion of the wedding of crown prince Rudolf and princess Stéphanie of Belgium). Copyist on commission of King Ludwig II; 1887–1908 professor at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. Executed ceiling paintings, sgraffiti, and frescos in academic style for numerous buildings of the Vienna Ringstraße.

Literature: *Thieme-Becker Kunstlexikon*, vol. XIX, Leipzig 1926, p. 558.

√ **Arrival of a Train at Vienna Northwestern Station, 1875**

Oil on canvas
91 × 171 cm
Belvedere, Vienna
19

LAJOS KASSÁK

* 1887 Nové Zámky/Érsekújvár
† 1967 Budapest

Metal worker in Győr and Budapest. Self-taught painter and poet. 1915 founder of the revolutionary journal *A Tett* [The Act] and editor of the avant-garde magazine *MA* (Today). Published works by George Grosz, Kurt Schwitters, and Hans Richter, among others. 1920 emigration to Vienna, acquaintanceship with László Moholy-Nagy. 1924 participation in the *Erste internationale Ausstellung moderner Kunst* in Bucharest. 1926 stay in Paris. After the liberation of Hungary on the Council for Art and work as editor. In the mid-1950s left public offices. 1966 participation in the Dada exhibition at the Zürich Kunsthalle and the Musée d'Art Moderne in Paris.

Literature: Csilla E. Csorba (ed.), *Lajos Kassák. Botschafter der Avantgarde 1915–1927* (exh. cat. Collegium Hungaricum Berlin/Berlinische Galerie), Budapest 2011.

Architecture, 1923

Tempera on paper on cardboard
27 × 20 cm
Sammlung Dieter und Gertraud Bogner in the mumok museum moderner kunst stiftung ludwig wien
174

FRIEDRICH KIESLER

* 1890 Chernivtsi/Czernowitz
† 1965 New York

1908–1909 studies at the Technische Hochschule and the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna. 1923 stage set for the play *R.U.R.* by Karel Čapek in Berlin. 1924 design of the *International Exhibition of New Theater Techniques* in Vienna's Konzerthaus. Design of the “space stage” and the *L + T-System* (Träger-Leger-System). 1926 relocation to New York. Participation in the *International Theater Exposition* in the Steinway Building. 1929 conception and building of the Film Guild Cinema. 1930 founding of the planning office Planners Institute Inc. 1932/33 participation in the *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition*. Member of the designers' association AUDAC. 1937 founded the Laboratory for Design Correlation at the School of Architecture of Columbia University. 1949 *Manifeste du Corréalisme*. 1950 *Endless House* in the Kootz Gallery, New York. 1957 planning work for the *Shrine of the Book* in Jerusalem, together with Armand Bartos.

Literature: *Frederick Kiesler. Theater-visionär – Architekt – Künstler* (exh. cat. Österreichisches Theatermuseum Vienna in cooperation with the Österreichische Friedrich und Lilian Kiesler-Privatstiftung, Vienna/Museum Villa Stuck, Munich/La Casa Encendida de Obra Social Caja, Madrid), Vienna 2012.

L + T-System (Träger-Leger-System), 1924
(reconstruction 2013: David Saik and RT Ausstellungstechnik in cooperation with the Österreichische Friedrich und Lilian Kiesler-Privatstiftung)
Dimensions variable
186

ERNST LUDWIG KIRCHNER

* 1880 Aschaffenburg
† 1938 Frauenkirch-Wildboden near Davos

1901–1905 studies in architecture at the Technische Hochschule in Dresden. 1903/04 attended the Kunstschule in Munich. 1905 cofounder of the artist's association *Die Brücke*. 1910 member of the Deutscher Künstlerbund, admission of the Brücke artists into the *Neue Secession* in Berlin. The *Brücke* artists moved to Berlin in 1911. 1912 participated in the Sonderbund exhibition in Cologne. 1913 *Brücke-Chronik* and dissolution of the *Brücke* group. First solo exhibitions in the Folkwang-Museum in Hagen and in the Gurlitt Galerie in Berlin. 1914 major solo exhibition in Jena. 1915/16 volunteered for military service. 1917 moved to Davos. 1923 solo exhibition in the Kunsthalle Basel. 1925/26 lived in Germany. 1928 participated in the Venice Biennale. 1931 member of the Preußische Akademie der Künste. 1937 large solo exhibition at the Detroit Art Institute. 1937 defamed as a “degenerate artist”; seizure of his works. 1938 suicide.

Literature: Magdalena Moeller, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. Die Straßenszenen 1913–1915*, Munich 1993.

√ **Nude from the Rear with Mirror and Man, 1912**

Oil on canvas
150 × 75.5 cm
Brücke-Museum, Berlin
79

√ **Street Scene, 1913/14**

Pastels on paper
40 × 30 cm
Brücke-Museum, Berlin
101

√ **In the Café Garden, 1914**

Oil on canvas
70.5 × 76 cm
Brücke-Museum, Berlin
102

√ **Belle-Alliance-Platz in Berlin, 1914**

Tempera on canvas
96 × 85 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, acquired through the Federal State of Berlin
73

√ **Women on the Street, 1915**

Oil on canvas
126 × 90 cm
Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal
70

v Night Woman (Woman Passing a Street in the Night), 1928/29

Oil on canvas
120 × 101 cm
Galerie Haas, Zurich

78

ERIKA GIOVANNA KLIEN

* 1900 Borgo di Valsugana
† 1957 New York

1918–1922 studies in ornamental form at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule under Rudolf von Larisch and Franz Cizek. In 1922 eight of her works were depicted in Leopold Wolfgang Rochowski's *Formenwille der Zeit*. 1922/23 attended the Drama School in Vienna. 1923/24 exhibitions in the context of presentations of works by the Cizek class, among others in the Netherlands, Paris, and New York. 1926–1929 head of the drawing department at the Elizabeth-Duncan-Schule in Kleßheim/Salzburg. 1929 moved to New York, lectureship at the Walt Whitman School for Painting and Architecture. 1930 exhibitions at the New School for Social Research and the New York Art Center. 1938 acquired American citizenship. 1946–1956 worked as an independent artist in New York.

Literature: Bernhard Leitner (ed.), *Erika Giovanna Klien. Wien New York 1900–1957* (exh. cat. University of Applied Arts, Vienna/Museum, Bozen/Rupertinum, Salzburg), Ostfildern-Ruit 2001.

Abstract Composition, 1923/1924

Oil on paper on cardboard
29.5 × 14 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

188

Locomotive, 1926

Oil on canvas
59.9 × 99 cm
Sammlung Pabst

179

B Klessheim Courier: Klessheim in the Snow, c. 1926/27

Gray and colored pencil, charcoal
31.9 × 24.4 cm
Wien Museum

191

B Klessheim Courier: Klessheim in the Snow, c. 1926/27

Charcoal and pencil
32 × 24 cm
Wien Museum

192

B Klessheim Courier: Steinmetz Scandal, c. 1926/27

Charcoal, gray and colored pencil
28 × 22 cm
Wien Museum

193

B Klessheim Courier: Amusements in Klessheim, c. 1926/27

Gray and colored pencil, charcoal
28 × 22 cm
Wien Museum

194

B Klessheim Courier: Longing, c. 1926/27

Charcoal, gray and colored pencil
31.5 × 23.5 cm
Wien Museum

195

B Klessheim Courier: The Meeting, c. 1926/27

Charcoal, gray and colored pencil
20 × 23 cm
Wien Museum

196

B Klessheimer Courier: Scandal News 12. Febr. 1927, c. 1926/27

Charcoal, pencil
31.9 × 24.3 cm
Wien Museum

197

v Klessheim Courier, 1926/27

Pencil, colored pencil, crayon, opaque white on paper
31.6 × 23.3 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv

Street Battle, 1930

Watercolor on paper
45.7 × 61 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv

189

Revolution in Vienna, 1930

Watercolor on paper
45.7 × 61 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv

190

GUSTAV KLIMT

* 1862 Vienna
† 1918 Vienna

1876–1883 studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. 1881 founder of the Künstler-Compagnie together with his brother, Ernst, and Franz Matsch. 1887/88 painted murals in the staircases of the Burgtheater in Vienna, and

in 1891 for the Kunsthistorisches Museum. 1893 commissioned by the government to decorate the ceilings of the main auditorium of Vienna University. 1897 cofounder and first president of the *Vienna Secession*. From 1901 corresponding member of the *Berlin Secession*. 1902 created the *Beethoven Frieze* for the exhibition of Max Klinger's statue of Beethoven at the *Vienna Secession*. 1905 represented in an exhibition of the Deutscher Künstlerbund in Berlin. 1908/09 organized the Kunstschau in Vienna. 1916 participated in an "Exhibition of the Society of Austrian Artists" in the *Berlin Secession*. 1917 honorary membership of the academies of fine arts in Vienna and Munich.

Literature: Alfred Weidinger (ed.), *Gustav Klimt. Kommentiertes Gesamtverzeichnis des malerischen Werkes*, Munich/Berlin/London/New York 2007.

B Young Lady in Armchair, 1896

Charcoal and crayon on dark brown paper
24.8 × 38.2 cm
Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf

25

Johanna Staude, 1917/18

Oil on canvas (unfinished)
70 × 50 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

01

JULIUS KLINGER

* 1876 Vienna
† 1942 Minsk

Studies at the Technologisches Gewerbemuseum in Vienna. 1895 active in the drafting studio of *Wiener Mode*. Moved to Munich in 1896. 1897–1902 staff member at the magazine *Jugend*. Lived in Berlin beginning in 1897. Staff member at *Lustige Blätter* and *Das kleine Witzblatt*. Designed numerous posters. In 1911 taught at the workshop for poster design at the Reimann School; from 1912 member of the *Deutscher Werkbund*. From 1914, honorary member of the Verein der Plakatfreunde e. V.. After 1918, opened his own commercial studio in Vienna. Left the Verein der Plakatfreunde e. V. on June 19, 1919. 1942 arrested for so-called racial reasons and according to the police register of residence, "deregistered" and sent to Minsk. Presumably murdered shortly thereafter.

Literature: Anita Kühnel, *Julius Klinger. Plakatkünstler und Zeichner* (exh. cat. Kunstbibliothek, Berlin), Berlin 1997.

Vienna Exhibition at the Berlin Secession, 1916

Color lithograph
Sheet: 68.7 × 94.5 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek
Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin

37

OSKAR KOKOSCHKA

* 1886 Pöchlarn
† 1980 Montreux

1905–1909 attended the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule, staff member at the Wiener Werkstätte. 1909 participated in the Internationale Kunstschau in Vienna, premiere of his theater piece *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen*. 1910 went to Berlin, established contact there with the artists of the *Neue Secession* and contributed to Herwarth Walden's magazine *Der Sturm*. Exhibition at the Galerie Paul Cassirer. 1911 participated in the *Hagenbund* exhibition. 1911 returned to Vienna. 1911–1914 assistant at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. 1914 volunteered for military service. 1916 seriously wounded, discharged and sent to Vienna. 1919–1924 professor at the Dresden Kunstakademie. 1924–1931 numerous journeys through Europe, North Africa, and the Eastern Mediterranean. 1931 returned to Vienna. 1934 emigrated to Prague. 1937 confiscation of his works. 1938 fled to London, active member of the *Freier Deutscher Künstlerbund*, assumed presidency beginning in 1943. 1947 acquired British citizenship. 1953 moved to Villeneuve on Lake Geneva. 1953–1963 headed the Schule des Sehens at the Salzburg Sommerakademie.

Literature: Heinz Spielmann, *Oskar Kokoschka. Leben und Werk*, Cologne 2003.

B Girl Tying Back Her Hair, 1908

Watercolor and pencil
43.7 × 30.4 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

105

B Drama Komoedie. Sommertheater in the Kunstschau, 1909

The so-called "Pietà." Poster for the performance of his piece *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* at the Internationale Kunstschau, 1909

Color lithograph
Sheet: 122 × 78 cm
MAK – Österreichisches Museum
für angewandte Kunst/Gegenwarts-
kunst, Vienna

117

B Der Sturm, New Issue, 1910/11

Color lithograph
Sheet: 70.6 × 47.5 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,
Kunstabibliothek

116

The Visitation, 1912

Oil on canvas
80 × 127 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

113

The Painter Carl Moll, 1913

Oil on canvas
128 × 95.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

91

Portrait of Nell Walden, 1916

Oil on canvas
100 × 80 cm
Berlinische Galerie (permanent loan)

95

Nell Walden, 1916

From: *Der Sturm*, year VII, issue 9
(1916)
Hand-colored lithograph
Sheet: 40 × 30.8 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with
funds provided by the Senator for
Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1978

B Claire Waldoff, 1916

Cover of *Der Sturm*, year VII, issue 9
(1916)
Hand-colored lithograph
Sheet: 40 × 30.8 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired
with funds provided by the Senator
for Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1978

94

ANTON KOLIG

* 1886 Nový Jičín/Neutitschein
† 1950 Nötsch in the Gailtal

1904 to 1906 studies under Anton von
Kenner and Erich Mallina at the Vien-
na Kunstgewerbeschule together with
Oskar Kokoschka. 1907–1912 studies
at the Vienna Akademie der Künste.
1909 cofounder of the *Neukunstgruppe*.
1911 participated in the *Special Exhi-
bition for Painting and Sculpture*. 1912
received a stipend for France on the re-
commendation of Gustav Klimt. 1912–
1914 lived in Paris. Worked as a war

painter during World War I; returned
to Nötsch after the war. 1928–1943
professor at the Württembergische
Akademie der bildenden Künste in
Stuttgart. After conclusion of profes-
sorship, returned to Nötsch. A 1944
air raid destroyed his studio and two
thirds of his works.

Literature: Otmar Rychlik, *Anton
Kolig 1886–1950. Das malerische Werk*,
Vienna 2001.

Kneeling Narcissus, 1920

Oil on canvas
93 × 65.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

81

**BRONCIA
KOLLER-PINELL**

* 1863 Sanok
† 1934 Großwaltersdorf

1870 moved to Vienna. From 1881 stu-
died painting under Josef Raab and
Alois Delug. 1885 attended Ludwig
Herterich's private school in Munich.
1892 exhibition in the Künstlerhaus in
Vienna, in 1893 in the Glaspalast in Mu-
nich, and in 1894 in the Kunstverein in
Leipzig. Visited Hallein and Nuremberg,
repeated trips to Paris. 1908 partici-
pated in the *Kunstschau* in Vienna, mem-
ber of the Klimt group. 1911 exhibition
at the Galerie Miethke in Vienna to-
gether with Heinrich Schröder. 1913 ac-
cepted by the Bund Österreichischer
Künstler. 1919 participated in the *Son-
derbund* exhibition at Galerie Mieth-
ke; invited to give the premier exhibi-
tion of the newly founded artist's asso-
ciation *Der Wassermann* in Salzburg.

Literature: Boris Manner (ed.),
Broncia Koller 1863–1934, Vienna
2006.

B The Artist's Mother, 1907

Oil on canvas
91 × 77.5 cm
Property of the Artothek des Bundes,
on permanent loan to the Belvedere,
Vienna

27

KÄTHER KOLLWITZ

* 1867 Kaliningrad/Königsberg
† 1945 Moritzburg

1881/82 studies under the painter Gus-
tav Naujok and the engraver Rudolf
Mauer. 1885–1889 studies in painting

under Karl Stauffer-Bern in Berlin and
Ludwig von Herterich in Munich. 1891
moved to Berlin. 1895 participated in
the *Freie Kunstausstellung*. 1898–1903
taught at the Künstlerinnenschule in
Berlin. From 1899 member of the *Ber-
lin Secession*. 1904 stay in Paris; attend-
ed the Académie Julian. 1908–1911 con-
tributed to the review *Simplicissimus*.
1917 numerous exhibitions throughout
Germany in honor of her fiftieth birth-
day. 1919 became the first female mem-
ber of the Preußische Akademie der
Künste; was appointed to a professor-
ship. 1921–1924 worked for Workers
International Relief. 1928 headed the
master's studio for graphics at the Ber-
lin Akademie der Künste; compelled to
resign in 1933. 1943 moved to Nordhau-
sen. 1944 moved to Moritzburg near
Dresden.

Literature: Martin Fritsch (ed.), *Käthe
Kollwitz. Zeichnung, Grafik, Plastik*
(inventory catalog of the Käthe Koll-
witz Museum, Berlin), Leipzig 1999.

v March of the Weavers, 1897

From the *Weavers Cycle* based
on Gerhart Hauptmann
Etching, stipple engraving
21.6 × 29.5 cm
Albertina, Vienna

58

v End, 1897

From the *Weavers Cycle* based
on Gerhart Hauptmann
Etching, aquatint, emery
24.6 × 30.5 cm
Albertina, Vienna

57

v Revolt, 1899

Etching, stipple engraving, roulette,
emery
29.8 × 31.8 cm
Albertina, Vienna

59

B Crushed – Poor Family, 1901

Left section of an original triptych
Etching, drypoint and aquatint on
cardboard
23.8 × 20.3 cm
Sammlung und Stiftung Rolf Horn in
der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische
Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf,
Schleswig

54

B Knocked Over, 1910

Line and softground etching on laid
and transfer paper
24.8 × 31.9 cm
Sammlung und Stiftung Rolf Horn in
der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische
Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf,
Schleswig

56

**v In Memory of Karl Liebknecht,
1919**

Woodcut
35 × 50.2 cm
Albertina, Vienna

60

**B Vienna Is Dying! Save Its
Children!, c. 1920**

Color lithograph
Sheet: 94.5 × 57 cm
Verein der Freunde of the Käthe
Kollwitz Museum, Berlin

141

v The Volunteers, 1922/23

From the cycle *The War*
Woodcut
35 × 49 cm
Albertina, Vienna

61

v The Mothers, 1922/23

From the cycle *The War*
Woodcut
34 × 40 cm
Albertina, Vienna

62

**B Germany's Children Are Starving,
1923**

Study for the poster
Chalk lithograph (transfer print) on
Japanese tissue paper
42.5 × 29.5 cm
Sammlung und Stiftung Rolf Horn in
the Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische
Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf,
Schleswig

140

B The Survivors, 1923

Black and red brushwork and white
heightening on beige cardboard
54.2 × 71.8 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

139

FRANZ KUHN

* 1864 Mistelbach
† 1938 Munich

Following private drawing instruction,
studies under Rudolf von Larisch, Os-
kar Strnad, and Heinrich Tessenow at
the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule be-
ginning in 1910. Active as an architect
in Bohemia and Moravia. Participated
in the municipal building program of
the City of Vienna; member of the
Österreichischer Werkbund. Produced
designs of architectural monuments in
Vienna, Berlin, and Budapest for the
Wiener Werkstätte.

Literature: Monika Oberchristl (ed.),
Postkarten der Wiener Werkstätte. Mit

einem Werkverzeichnis des Bestandes der Grafischen Sammlung der Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseen (exh. cat. Schlossmuseum Linz), Vienna, 2007.

Brandenburg Gate, 1911/12

B Postcard of the Wiener Werkstätte no. 436
Color lithograph
14 × 9 cm
Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum Linz

Stadtschloss in Charlottenburg, 1911/12

B Postcard of the Wiener Werkstätte no. 444
Color lithograph
14 × 9 cm
Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum Linz

Märkisches Museum, 1911/12

B Postcard of the Wiener Werkstätte no. 445
Color lithograph
14 × 9 cm
Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum Linz

Zoological Gardens, 1911/12

B Postcard of the Wiener Werkstätte no. 446
Color lithograph
14 × 9 cm
Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum Linz

The Charlottenburg Mausoleum, 1911/12

B Postcard of the Wiener Werkstätte no. 448
Color lithograph
14 × 9 cm
Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum Linz

ISSAI KULVIANSKI

* 1892 Janova
† 1970 London

1908 studies at the Art School in Vilnius and at the Jewish Handicraft School. 1912 studies under Hugo Kaufmann, Max Liebermann, and Hermann Struck at the Hochschule für bildende Künste in Berlin. 1914 exhibition at the Galerie Gurlitt in Berlin. Conscripted as a soldier into the Russian army. 1915–1918 prisoner of war in Most; executed stage decorations for the camp theater. 1918 returned to Berlin; studied at the Akademie under Leo von König and Lovis Corinth. 1920 member of the *Novemberggruppe*. 1922–1924 member of the

Verein Berliner Künstler, and in 1923, the Reichsverbandes Berliner Künstler. 1933 fled to Palestine, leaving behind his life's work. 1934 founded an art school in Tel Aviv together with Georg Leschnitzer, as well as Israel's first association of artists. 1969 returned to Berlin. Died in 1970 during a trip to London.

Literature: *Issai Kulvianski 1892–1970. Malerei, Arbeiten auf Papier, Skulpturen aus der Sammlung der Berlinischen Galerie* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie/Willy-Brandt-Haus, Berlin), Berlin 1998.

My Daughter Kiki, 1927

B Oil on canvas
127 × 96 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and with funds supplied by the Senator for Science and Art, Berlin 1972

199

RUDOLF VON LARISCH

* 1856 Verona
† 1934 Vienna

Studied at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. Worked as a typographer and font designer. 1902 appointed to the Kunstgewerbeschule as an instructor in ornamental script and heraldry. Among his students were Erika Giovanna Klien, Franz Kuhn, Johanna Reismayer-Fritsche, and Otto Erich Wagner. 1903/04 developed the *Plinius* typeface, an antiqua font, for the Austrian State Printing House. Beginning in 1910, taught at the Grafische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt and beginning in 1920 at the Vienna Akademie der Künste. Rudolf von Larisch was a founding member of the Österreichischer Werkbund.

The *Plinius* typeface is used for the Vienna texts of the present catalog, in a contemporary adaptation (*Larisch Alte*) by Radim Peško.

Literature: Otto Hurm, "Rudolf von Larisch und die Wiener Secession: zu seinem 45. Todestag," in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, Mainz 1979*, pp. 11–17. Rudolf von Larisch, *Unterricht in ornamentaler Schrift*, Vienna 1905.

LOTTE LASERSTEIN

* 1898 near Kaliningrad/
Königsberg
† 1993 Kalmar

1912 moved from Gdansk to Berlin, attended the Charnisso School, studies in art history. 1921–1927 one of the first women to study at the Berlin Kunstakademie. 1924 met Gertrud Süssenbach (Traute), who became a long-term friend and preferred model. 1925 first public success: the Prussian Ministry for Science, Art, and Public Education awarded a Ministerial Medal to students for the first time. Master student under Erich Wolfsefeld. 1927–1933 principal works featuring motifs from metropolitan life, portraits. Banned from working in 1935; emigrated to Sweden in 1937, active there as a portrait painter.

Literature: Anna-Carola Krausse, *Lotte Laserstein (1998–1993). Leben und Werk*, Berlin 2006.

In the Tavern, 1927

Oil on wood
54 × 46 cm
Private collection
202

Tennis Player, 1929

Oil on canvas
110 × 95.5 cm
Private collection
249

Evening Over Potsdam, 1930

B Oil on wood
110 × 205 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, acquired with support from the Kulturstiftung der Länder, the Ernst von Siemens Kulturstiftung, the Federal State of Berlin, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Wolfgang Wittrock
282

WALTER LEISTIKOW

* 1865 Bydgoszcz/Bromberg
† 1908 Berlin

1883 studies in painting and drawing under Anton von Werner at the Hochschule für bildende Künste; dismissed after six months for lack of talent. 1883–1885 private studies under Hermann Eschke, and until 1887 under Hans Fredrik Gude. 1887 acquaintanceship with Lovis Corinth. 1890–1893 taught at the Kunstschule Berlin. Member of the *Friedrichshager Kreis*, result-

ing in contacts with the writers Gerhart Hauptmann, Max Halbe, and Arno Holz. 1892 founding member of the group *Die Elf*, from which the *Berlin Secession* developed in 1898. 1903 co-founder of the Deutscher Künstlerbund. 1907 bestowal of the title of professor by the Königliche Akademie.

Literature: Margrit Bröhan, *Walter Leistikow (1865–1908). Maler der Berliner Landschaft*, Berlin 1988.

From the Mark Brandenburg, 1898

Oil on canvas
150 × 200 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired by the Berlin Senate
10

FRANZ LENK

* 1898 Langenbernsdorf
† 1968 Schwäbisch Hall

1912–1915 received instruction in decorative painting and lithography. 1915–1924 attended the Dresden Akademie, studies interrupted by military service. 1926 moved to Berlin. First solo exhibition at the art salon E. Richter in Dresden. Participated in the exhibitions of the *Kunstschau* in Berlin in 1928 and 1929. Admitted to the Verein Berliner Künstler in 1929. 1930 solo exhibition at the Galerie Neumann Neundorf in Berlin. 1933–1937 professorship at the Staatliche Kunsthochschule Berlin-Schöneberg. 1933–1938 annual participation in the exhibitions of the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh. 1934 collaborated with Otto Dix on landscape paintings in Hegau. In 1935 an exhibition with Otto Dix took place in Berlin. 1936 member of executive board of the *Berlin Secession*. 1937 accepted into the Preußische Akademie der Künste. 1938 gave up teaching activities and moved to Orlamünde/Thuringia. 1959 moved to Schwäbisch Hall.

Literature: Susanne Thesing, *Franz Lenk*, Recklinghausen 1986.

Rear Courtyards in Berlin, 1929

V Oil on canvas on plywood
113.5 × 94 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and the Senate for Science and Art, Berlin 1976
259

FRANZ LERCH

* 1895 Vienna
† 1977 New York

1918–1926 studies at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden Künste under Josef Jungwirth, Karl Sterrer, and Alois Delug. 1926 first solo exhibition. 1927–1938 member of the *Hagenbund* and the *Vienna Secession*. 1928 visited Karl Hofer in Berlin; intensive preoccupation with Hofer's work. From 1931 his works were acquired by Austrian museums. 1938 proscribed from membership in the *Hagenbund*. 1939/40 destroyed many of his paintings and emigrated to New York. 1958 exhibited again for the first time in Austria at the *Vienna Secession*.

Literature: Matthias Boeckl, *Franz Lerch (1895–1977). Ein Beitrag zur österreichischen Malerei der Zwischenkriegszeit und deren Fortwirken nach 1939*, unpublished diploma thesis, Vienna 1985.

Girl with Hat, 1929

Oil on canvas
80 × 60 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

208

B Girl Asleep, 1930

Oil on canvas
48 × 61 cm
Wien Museum

206

MAX LIEBERMANN

* 1847 Berlin
† 1935 Berlin

1866–1868 studies at the Faculty of Philosophy of Berlin University; received private instruction in painting from Karl Steffek. 1869–1872 studies at the Kunsthochschule in Weimar. 1871 and 1872 traveled to the Netherlands. 1873–1878 lived in France. 1878 moved to Munich after a brief stay in Berlin. 1884 returned to Berlin. 1885 joined the Verein Berliner Künstler. 1892 founded the artist's group *Die Elf* together with Walter Leistikow. 1891 large solo exhibition at the Munich Kunstverein. 1894 participated in an exhibition of the *Paris Salon*. 1898 member of the Preußische Akademie der Künste and founding member of the *Berlin Secession*, became its president in 1899. 1904 chairmanship of the *Deutscher Künstlerbund*. 1911 resigned as chairman of the *Berlin Secession*, three years later definitive withdrawal. 1912 represented in the

exhibition *Maler und Bildhauer der Berliner Secession* at the Galerie Miethke in Vienna. 1914 cofounder of the *Freie Secession*. 1917 retrospective exhibition at the Königliche Akademie der Künste. 1920–1932 president of the Preußische Akademie der Künste, honorary president in 1932/33. Resigned from the Akademie in protest and received a ban on painting and exhibiting.

Literature: Max Liebermann, *Wegbereiter der Moderne* (exh. cat. Art and Exhibition Hall of the Federal Republic of Germany Bonn/Hamburger Kunsthalle), Cologne 2011.

On Schleswiger Ufer, 1894

Oil on canvas on wooden panel
26 × 45.5 cm
Private collection

12

v Hospital Garden in Edam, 1904

Oil on canvas
70.5 × 88.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

07

B Self-Portrait, 1912

Oil on canvas
88 × 70 cm
Berlinerische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1986

06

ERICH MALLINA

* 1873 Přerov/Prerau
† 1954 Vienna

1888–1894 attended teacher training college at Opava/Troppau; worked as a primary school teacher in Laimbach. 1898–1902 studies at the Vienna School of Arts and Crafts under Alfred Roller, early work in the decorative style of the *Vienna Secession*. As contracted teacher, took over the class on art education at the School of Arts and Crafts. Illustrations for fairy tales, caricatures, and oil paintings. Cultivated a futuristic and abstract style as early as 1904. As a Zen Buddhist, he had no interest in exhibiting. 1906–1930 professor at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule.

Literature: Oswald Oberhuber (ed.), *Erich Mallina. 1873–1954* (exh. cat. University of Applied Arts, Vienna), Vienna 1980.

Procession of Angels, 1904

Oil on canvas
89 × 229 cm
Belvedere, Vienna, on permanent loan from the Universität für angewandte Kunst, Kunstsammlung und Archiv

32

JEANNE MAMMEN

* 1890 Berlin
† 1976 Berlin

1906 Académie Julian in Paris. 1908 Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts in Brussels. 1911 Scuola Libera Accademica in the Villa Medici in Rome. Fled to the Netherlands in 1914 after the outbreak of World War I. 1916 moved to Berlin. 1923–1928 worked for fashion magazines, from 1924 to 1933 for the magazines *Jugend*, *Simplicissimus*, *Uhu*, and *Ulk*. 1930 first solo exhibition at the Galerie Gurlitt in Berlin. 1933–1945 no exhibitions. After 1945, exhibition at the Galerie Gerd Rosen. 1948 participated in the exhibition *Zone 5* in the Galerie Franz in Berlin. 1949/50 designed stage decorations for the artist's cabaret *Badewanne*. Beginning in the 1950s, developed the emblematic and abstract style of her late works.

Literature: Jörn Merkert (ed.), *Jeanne Mammen 1890–1976. Monografie und Werkverzeichnis*, Cologne 1997.

v Valeska Gert, 1928/29

Oil on canvas
60 × 44 cm
Berlinerische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1977

236

Music Hall Girls, 1928/29

Oil on cardboard
64 × 47 cm
Berlinerische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1977

237

Chess Player, 1929/30

Oil on canvas
70 × 80.5 cm
Berlinerische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1985

231

LUDWIG MEIDNER

* 1884 Bierutów/Bernstadt
† 1966 Darmstadt

1903–1905 studies at the Art School in Wrocław/Breslau under Hugo Scheinert and Karl Hanusch. 1905/06 broke off his academy training and moved to Berlin. 1906/07 attended the academies of Julian, Hubert, and Cormon in Paris. 1907, after army physical, returned to Berlin, where Max Beckmann procured a stipend for him in 1911. 1912 founded the group *Die Pathetiker*, which then exhibited at Herwarth Walden's gallery *Der Sturm*. 1913 connected with the circle around Franz Pfemfert's magazine *Die Aktion*. In 1914 the review *Kunst und Künstler* published his "Anleitung zum Malen von Großstadtbildern" [Instructions for Painting Metropolitan Images]. Moved to Dresden. 1916–1918 military service as infantryman and translator. 1918 first solo exhibition with Paul Cassirer in Berlin. Founding member of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst and 1918/19 member of the *Novembergruppe*. 1924–1926 taught at the Studienatelier für Malerei und Plastik in Berlin-Charlottenburg. 1935 denounced as a "degenerate artist." 1939 emigrated with his family to London. 1940/41 internment on the Isle of Man. 1953 returned to Germany.

Literature: Ludwig Meidner, *Zeichner, Maler, Literat 1884–1966* (2 vols.) (exh. cat. Mathildenhöhe, Darmstadt), Stuttgart 1991.

B Street in Wilmersdorf, 1913

Sheet from the 4th portfolio, 1st volume of *Die Schaffenden* from 1918
Drypoint
41 × 31 cm
Berlinerische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Senate Department for Cultural Affairs, Berlin 1990

115

B City Under Fire, 1913

Indian ink and opaque white on paper
45.2 × 56 cm
Berlinerische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1980

130

v The Church of the "Good Shepherd" on Friedrich-Wilhelm-Platz in Friedenau, 1913

Watercolor over pencil
61 × 43 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

72

v Apocalyptic Landscape, 1913

Oil on canvas
67.3 x 80 cm
Private Collection, courtesy Richard Nagy Ltd., London

133

Portrait of Felixmüller, 1915

Apocalyptic Landscape (verso)
Oil on canvas
115 x 80 cm
Berlinische Galerie (permanent loan)

89

Doomsday, 1916

Oil on canvas
100 x 150 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1980

135

MORIZ MELZER

* 1877 Bělá u Jevíčka/Albendorf
† 1966 Berlin

Worked as a porcelain painter. 1902–1907 studies at the Akademie in Weimar. 1908 moved to Berlin. 1909 participated in an exhibition of the *Berlin Secession*, but was rejected by the jury in 1910; became a member of the *Neue Secession*. 1911 participated in an exhibition of the *Blaue Reiter*. 1912 founded the Berlin Schule für Freie und Angewandte Kunst together with Georg Tappert. 1912 lived in Paris. Beginning in 1913, contributed to the magazines *Der Sturm*, *Die Aktion*, and *Weißer Blätter*. 1913 Villa Romana-Prize for Florence; his stay interrupted by the outbreak of World War I. 1914 affiliated with the *Freie Secession* under Max Liebermann. 1918 cofounder of the *Novembergruppe*, chairmanship from 1922. From 1921 taught at the Reimann-Schule and at the Hochschule für bildende Künste in Berlin. 1933 received employment ban. 1945 resumption of his work as an independent painter.

Literature: *Moriz Melzer. Streben nach reiner Kunst. Werke von 1907 bis 1927* (exh. cat. Kunstforum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg), Regensburg 2007.

Bridge – Town, 1923

Oil on canvas
131 x 98.3 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

173

FRANZ METZNER

* 1870 Všeruby/Wscherau
near Plzeň/Pilsen
† 1919 Berlin

Austrian sculptor in the tradition of symbolism and the *Vienna Secession*. Lived and worked in Berlin-Zehlendorf. 1897–1902 created designs for the Royal Porcelain Factory in Berlin. From 1896 maintained his own sculpture studio in Friedenau as an autodidact. Designs for architectural complexes. 1902 member of the *Neue Gemeinschaft*. 1903 appointed to the Vienna School of Arts and Crafts, where he taught until 1906. Member of the *Vienna Secession*. 1905 left the *Secession* together with the *Klimt Group*. 1907 moved to Berlin. 1908 participated in the *Wiener Kunstschau*. Many facade- and three-dimensional sculptures produced in Berlin (Nollendorfplatz Cinema, Weinhäus Rheingold, Bellevuestraße, Volksbühne Bülow-Platz) were destroyed in World War II.

Literature: Maria Pötzl-Malikova, *Franz Metzner* (exh. cat. Museum Villa Stuck, Munich, et al.), Munich 1977.

B The Dance, 1908

Marble
87 x 124 x 14 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

33

LÁSZLÓ MOHOLY-NAGY

* 1895 Bácsbarsod
† 1946 Chicago

1913/14 studied law in Budapest. 1914–1917 military service. Began painting in 1918; close contact with the artist's group *MA*. Moved to Vienna in 1919 and to Berlin in 1920. 1922 first solo exhibition at Herwarth Walden's gallery *Der Sturm* in Berlin. Participated in the Dada Congress. 1923 master in the metal workshop and head of the preliminary course at the Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar; later an assistant to Walter Gropius in Dessau. Beginning in 1924, edited the Bauhaus books together with Gropius. 1928 opened independent studio in Berlin. 1930 participated in the Paris Werkbund exhibition. From 1933 onwards collaboration with the advertising department of the Jenaer Glaswerks Schott & Gen. 1934 emigrated to Amsterdam, to London from 1935–1937, and finally to the USA. 1937 founded the New Bauhaus in Chicago and the School of Design.

Literature: *László Moholy-Nagy. Retrospektive* (exh. cat. Schirn-Kunsthalle, Frankfurt), Munich 2009.

v Glass Architecture III, 1921/22

Oil on canvas
84 x 61 cm
Museum Wiesbaden

171

CARL MOLL

* 1861 Vienna
† 1945 Vienna

Received instruction from the Viennese landscape painter Carl Haunold. 1880–1881 studies under Christian Gripenkerl at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden Künste. From 1881 onwards student of Emil Jakob Schindler. 1897 founding member and organizer of the *Vienna Secession*. 1905 left the *Secession* together with the *Klimt Group* after differences concerning Moll's appointment as artistic director of the Galerie Miethke in Vienna. With Moll's help, the *Klimt Group* organized the Kunstschau in 1908 and the *Internationale Kunstschau* in 1909. His activity for the Galerie Miethke ended in 1912. Moll functioned as an organizer and promoter of artistic life in Vienna.

Literature: Tobias G. Natter/Gerbert Frodl (eds.), *Carl Moll (1861–1945)* (exh. cat. Belvedere, Vienna), Salzburg 1998.

Birch Wood in the Evening Light, c. 1902

Oil on canvas
80 x 80 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

11

OTTO MÖLLER

* 1883 Schmiedefeld
† 1964 Berlin

1904–1907 studies at the Kunstschule in Berlin under Philipp Franck, 1907/08 under Lovis Corinth. 1911 and 1912 participated in the exhibitions of the *Berlin Secession*. 1909 taught art at schools in Berlin. 1915–1918 military service. 1919–1932 member of the *Novembergruppe*. From 1920 worked together with Bernhard Hasler at the Zentralinstitut in Berlin on reforming art instruction in schools. 1920–1940 lectureship in methodology and pedagogy at the Hochschule für Kunstziehung [Academy for Art Education] in Berlin-

Schöneberg. 1933–1945 banned from working and exhibiting. 1946–1955 professor for art pedagogy at the Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin.

Literature: Rudolf Pfefferkorn, *Otto Moeller*, Berlin 1974.

Street Noise, 1920

Oil on canvas
62.5 x 75.5 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1987

181

KOLOMAN (KOLO) MOSER

* 1868 Vienna
† 1918 Vienna

1885–1892 studies in design and painting at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden Künste. 1893–1895 studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. 1899 teacher and from 1900 professor at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. From 1895 active as an independent graphic artist for a number of publishers, initially for Martin Gerlach, later for Hugo Bruckmann. 1897 founding member of the *Vienna Secession* and editor of the review *Ver Sacrum*. 1903 foundation of the Wiener Werkstätte, artistic director until 1907. Glass designs for Loetz, furniture designs for J. & J. Kohn, and fabric designs for Johann Backhausen & Söhne. Left the *Vienna Secession* together with the *Klimt Group* in 1905, and the Wiener Werkstätte in 1907. Participated in the *Kunstschau* and the *Internationale Kunstschau* in 1908 and 1909.

Literature: Maria Rennhofer (ed.), *Koloman Moser – Leben und Werk 1868–1918*, Vienna 2002.

Woman's Portrait in Profile, c. 1910

Oil on canvas
50 x 50 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

29

Mountain Peak under Snow, 1913

Oil on canvas, mounted on cardboard
38 x 40.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

28

Young Man Standing, c. 1915

Oil on canvas
50.5 x 37.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

30

FRIEDERIKE (FRITZI) NECHANSKY-STOTZ

* 1904 Opava/Troppau
† 1993 Vienna

1920 studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule under Rosalia Rothansl in the textile workshop; 1921/22 in Franz Cizek's ornamental design class, thereafter studies in the department of general studies under Victor Schufinsky and Adolf Boehm and 1924–1926 enamel workshop under Josef Hoffmann. 1926–1938 ran a handicrafts workshop (gold, silver, jewelry) in Vienna 6, Mollardgasse, together with Eleonore Feichtinger, Auguste Schachner, and Gerta Hammerschmid; worked for the Österreichischer Werkbund. Terminated her artistic activity in 1939.

Literature: Gerald Bast/Agnes Husslein-Arco/Harald Krejci/Patrick Werkner (eds.), *wiener kinetismus. eine bewegte moderne*, Vienna 2011

Abstract Composition, 1922

Charcoal on transparent paper mounted on cardboard
99 × 64 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv
177

ERNST NEUSCHUL

* 1895 Ústí nad Labem/Aussig
† 1968 London

Studies at the art academies in Vienna, Prague, and Kraków. 1918 enrolled at the Hochschule für bildende Künste in Berlin. 1917 joined the Communist Party in Russia, and in 1919 the German Communist Party. From 1919 member of the *Novembergruppe*, participated in the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* and in the exhibitions of the *Berlin Secession*. In 1928 became a member of ASSO. 1932 guest professorship at the Hochschule für bildende Künste. 1934 seizure of his works, flight to Aussig/Ústí nad Labem in Bohemia. 1935 honorary member of the Moscow Artist's Guild, professorship at the Academy of Fine Arts in Kharkov. Threatened with arrest for protesting the aesthetic doctrine of Socialist Realism in the Soviet Union. Fled to Bohemia again in 1936. In 1938, after the military occupation of the Sudetenland, fled via Prague to London. Cofounder of the Freier Deutscher Kulturbund.

Literature: *Ernst Neuschul 1895–1968* (exh. cat. Dům umění města, Brno/Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg), Brno 2001.

Two Weary Women, c. 1925

Oil on canvas
100 × 120 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1978
256

HERMANN NONNENMACHER

* 1892 Coburg
† 1988 London

Studies in wood carving at the Dresden Kunstgewerbeschule and the Dresden Kunstakademie 1919–1938 lived in Berlin as an independent artist. 1938 emigrated to London. 1948–1970 instructor in modeling and pottery making at the Morley College in London.

Literature: Stefan Jacob, *Hermann Nonnenmacher. Coburg 1892–1988 London. Erna Nonnenmacher Berlin 1889–1980 London. Leben und Werk in Texten, Bildern und Dokumenten*, Stegaurach 2003.

Farewell, 1928

Mahogany wood
104 × 38 × 19 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1981
255

FELIX NUSSBAUM

* 1904 Osnabrück
† 1944 Auschwitz

1922/23 studies in painting and graphics at the Hamburg Kunstgewerbeschule. 1923 moved to Berlin. Studies at the Lewin-Funcke-Schule in the class of Willy Jaeckel. 1924 attended the Vereinigte Staatsschule der Kunstakademie. 1927 first solo exhibition at Galerie Casper. 1929–1933 participated in exhibitions at the *Berlin Secession*. 1932/33 scholarship for the Villa Massimo in Rome. His Berlin studio was destroyed by an act of arson. Scholarship revoked prior to completion. 1933/34 traveled to Alassio/Italy. 1935 emigration to Ostende/Belgium. 1938 participation in an exhibition of the Freier Künstlerbund in Paris. In 1940 German troops entered Belgium; Nussbaum

was arrested in Brussels. Interned in the concentration camp Saint-Cyprien/Pyrenees; flight to Brussels. 1944 denounced, arrested, and deported to Auschwitz.

Literature: *Felix Nussbaum. Gemälde, Zeichnungen und Dokumente* (exh. cat. Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, Duisburg/Berlinische Galerie), Duisburg 1988.

The Folly Square, 1931

Oil on canvas
97 × 195.5 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1975
279

Organ Grinder, 1931

Oil on canvas
88 × 73 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1972
254

MAX OPPENHEIMER

* 1885 Vienna
† 1954 New York

1900–1903 studies at the Vienna Akademie der Künste under Christian Griepenkerl and Siegmund L'Allemand. Studied at the Prague Academy of the Arts until 1906. 1908 returned to Vienna; associated with the circle of artists around Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele. 1908 and 1909 participation in the *Kunstschau*. Study trips to France, the Netherlands, and Italy. From 1911 lived in Berlin, promoted by Heinrich Mann and the brothers Casirer. 1912 assumed the artistic nom de plume "Mopp." Exemption from military service. 1915–1924 lived in Switzerland. 1924 acquaintanceship with Hans Böhler. Solo exhibition in the *Hagenbund*. Further exhibitions in Zurich, Basel, Berlin, and Prague. 1926 moved to Berlin. Return to Vienna in 1932. 1938 emigration to New York. One year before his death, became a member of the *Vienna Secession*.

Literature: Tobias G. Natter (ed.), *MOPP Max Oppenheimer 1885–1954* (exh. cat. Jewish Museum Vienna), Vienna 1994.

Portrait of Arnold Schönberg, 1909

Oil on canvas
94.5 × 96.5 cm
Private collection, Zurich
93

Portrait of Egon Schiele, 1910/11

Oil on canvas
46 × 44 cm
Wien Museum
83

Scourging, 1913

Oil on canvas
198 × 158.5 cm
Private collection
112

Ferruccio Busoni, 1916

Oil on canvas
80.5 × 80 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie
110

The Klingler Quartet, 1917

Oil and tempera on canvas
70 × 80 cm
Belvedere, Vienna
111

Six-Day Race, c. 1929

Oil on canvas
73 × 86 cm
Berlinische Galerie (on permanent loan)
251

The Actor Emil Jannings, 1932

Oil on canvas
80 × 65 cm
Belvedere, Vienna
99

EMIL ORLIK

* 1870 Prague
† 1932 Berlin

1891–1893 attended the Munich Akademie and academic Engraving School. From 1897 worked for the Munich review *Die Jugend*. 1899–1905 member of the *Vienna Secession*, publications in the review *Ver Sacrum*. Traveled to Paris, London, and Amsterdam. 1900/01 extended stay in Japan, preoccupation with the Japanese woodcut. 1901 return to Prague. 1904 moved to Vienna; appointed that year to a professorship at the Staatliche Lehranstalt des Kunstgewerbemuseums in Berlin. Moved to Berlin in 1905. 1908 full member of the *Berlin Secession* (corresponding member since 1901); joined the *Freie Secession* after the split of 1913. Member of the Preußische Akademie der Künste. 1912 second trip to the Far East. 1923 traveled to the USA.

Literature: Eugen Otto (ed.), *Emil Orlik. Leben und Werk 1870–1932*. Prag, Wien, Berlin, Vienna 1997.

The Weavers, 1897

Poster for the Deutsches Theater Berlin touring in Prague and at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus
Color lithograph
76.5 × 103.8 cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,
Kunstabibliothek
Albertina, Vienna

53

Portrait of Hermann Bahr, 1908

Oil on canvas
97 × 52 cm
Private collection, Berlin

05

Portrait of Tilla Durieux, c. 1921

Etching
32.6 × 24.9 cm
Berlinerische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Senator for Science and Art, Berlin 1970

221

Portrait of Elisabeth Bergner, c. 1925

Water-based inks, black and colored crayon, white heightening on paper
69.5 × 50 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

223

SERGIUS PAUSER

* 1896 Vienna
† 1970 Klosterneuburg

Studies in architecture and training at the Malschule Fröhlich in Vienna. 1919–1924 studies at the Munich Akademie der bildenden Künste. 1924/25 lived in Waidhofen an der Ybbs. 1926/27 moved to Vienna, studied three months at the Vienna Akademie under Karl Sterrer. From 1927, membership and regular participation in exhibitions of the *Vienna Secession*. 1930 awarded the prize of the city of Vienna, in 1933 the Grand Austrian State Prize. Regular participation in biennales and exhibitions in Germany, Switzerland, and the USA. In 1935 his works were purchased by the Austrian Staatsgalerie (Belvedere) and the city of Vienna. Refused an appointment to the Karlsruhe Art Academy in 1942. From 1943 head of the master class for portrait painting at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden Künste. 1944/45 imprisoned as “politically unsound.” 1945/46 head of the Akademie der bildenden Künste; professor until 1966.

Literature: Regine Schmidt/Angela Pauser (eds.), *Sergius Pauser 1896–1970. Ölgemälde* (exh. cat. Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna), Vienna, et al. 1996.

Lady in White, 1927

Oil on plywood
81.6 × 61.1 cm
Gemälde- und Skulpturensammlung der Museen der Stadt Nürnberg

203

Luis Trenker with Camera, 1938

Mixed media on hardboard
55 × 46 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

283

MAX PECHSTEIN

* 1881 Zwickau
† 1955 Berlin

1900–1902 attended the Kunstgewerbeschule in Dresden. 1906 joined the artist's group *Die Brücke*. 1907 stay in Paris, contact with the circle of the *Fauves*. 1908 moved to Berlin, joined the *Berlin Secession*. 1910 cofounder of the *Neue Secession*. 1911 opened the school MUIM [instruction in modern painting] together with Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. 1912 participated in the *Sonderbundausstellung* in Cologne. 1913 dissolution of *Die Brücke*. 1914 journey through Europe and the South Pacific. 1916/17 military service. 1918 cofounder of the *Novembergruppe*. 1922 member of the Preußische Akademie der Künste from 1923 professor. 1925 designed stage decor for Max Reinhardt's Deutsches Theater in Berlin. 1933 banned from exhibiting and working. 1937 expelled from the Preußische Akademie der Künste, defamed as a “degenerate artist,” his works seized. Returned to Berlin in 1945, became a professor at the Hochschule für bildende Künste.

Literature: *Max Pechstein. Ein Expressionist aus Leidenschaft. Retrospektive* (exh. cat. Kunsthalle zu Kiel/Schleswig-Holsteinischer Kunstverein/Kunstforum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg/Kunstmuseum Ahlen), Munich 2010.

Pond Landscape (Krumme Lanke), c. 1912

Oil on canvas
49.5 × 72.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

80

The Artist's Son on the Sofa, 1917

Oil on canvas
90 × 120 cm
Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal

76

HERBERT PLOBERGER

* 1902 Wels
† 1977 Munich

1921–1925 studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule under Franz Cizek, Victor Schufinsky, and Adolf Boehm. 1925 stay in Paris, where he participated in the decoration of the pavilion for the Universal Exhibition. 1927 moved to Berlin, participated in the autumn exhibition at the Berlin Akademie der Künste and contributed drawings to the reviews *Querschnitt* and *Jugend*. 1929 participated in exhibitions featuring the art of the New Objectivity in Germany and the Netherlands. Freelancer and painter for the set designers Ludwig Kainer and Ernst Stern, among others for the premiere of *Im Weißen Rössl* [*The White Horse Inn*] in 1930 under Max Reinhardt. 1933 collaboration with Clemens Holzmeister on costume and stage designs for Max Reinhardt's production of *Faust* in Salzburg. 1934–1944 worked on film productions by UFA, Terra, and Tobis. In 1945 Ploberger left Berlin, losing his studio and the greater part of his work. Stayed in Prague, Vienna, Linz, and Hamburg. Lived in Munich from 1950 until his death in 1977.

Literature: Katharina Weinberger (ed.), *Herbert Ploberger. Malerei – Graphik zum 100. Geburtstag* (exh. cat. Lebensspuren – Museum der Siegel und Stempel, Wels/Nordico – Museum der Stadt Linz), Wels 2002.

Still Life, 1926

Oil on canvas
56 × 72.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

229

Self-Portrait (With Ophthalmological Teaching Aids), 1928–1930

Oil on wood
50 × 40 cm
Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich

225

LOIS PREGARTBAUER

* 1899 Misselsdorf near Mureck
† 1971 Vienna

1916–1918 military service. 1920/21 studies at the Technische Hochschule and the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna under Oskar Strnad. Private instruction from Erich Wagner and Remigius Geyling. 1931–1938 member of the *Hagenbund*, 1938–1945 member of the Künstlerhaus; advocate of the New Objectivity. 1937 founding member of the cultural review *Plan*; 1946–1963 member of the *Vienna Secession*; served as its president from 1956–1958. Participation in numerous exhibitions, including the *Brussels Universal Exhibition* of 1935, the *Kraków Art Exhibition* of 1943, and the *Sao Paulo Biennale* of 1951.

Literature: Andrea Martinek/Manfred Pregartbauer (eds.), *Lois Pregartbauer 1899–1971. Ölbilder und Arbeiten auf Papier* (exh. cat. Stadtmuseum Hollabrunn “Alte Hofmühle”), Vienna 2011.

Railroad Crossing, c. 1922

Oil on canvas
35 × 75 cm
Private collection

257

JOHANNA (HANSI) REISMAYER-FRITSCHKE

* 1900 Vienna
† 1963 Vienna

1912–1917 attended a school for girls, received vocal training until 1920. Produced graphics for Adolf Loos as early as middle school. 1920–1926, on the advice of Loos, studied at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule under Josef Hoffmann and Rudolf von Larisch, and in Franz Cizek's department of ornamental design. 1922 book cover and vignette designs for Leopold Wolfgang Rochowanski's publication *Der Formwille der Zeit in der angewandten Kunst* [*The Form Will in the Era of the Applied Arts*]. From 1925 member of the Österreichische Werkbund. Freelance graphic artist, designed toys and logos. From 1927 assembled a collection of arts and crafts. 1930 received a prize for the brochure *Im Auto nach Wien*, designed for the committee on tourism. 1939 teaching assistant at Oswald Haerdtl's class on commercial and industrial design at the Reichshochschule für angewandte Kunst. Taught textile design. From 1945, worked for Haerdtl as a modeler. Designed folding screens and lighting fixtures that

were presented in 1947 at the *First Austrian Art Exhibition*; 1951–1959 again assistant at Haerdtl's master class at the Akademie für angewandte Kunst; succeeded Haerdtl after his death in 1959; became a professor in 1961. Literature: Gerald Bast/Agnes Husslein-Arco/Harald Krejci/Patrick Werkner (eds.), *wiener kinetismus. eine bewegte moderne*, Vienna 2011.

Abstract Composition, c. 1923

Tempera, charcoal on paper
24 × 18.1 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst
Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv

175

HEINRICH RICHTER-BERLIN

* 1884 Berlin
† 1981 Berlin

1902/03 studies at the Hochschule der Künste in Berlin; expelled for exhibiting with the *Berlin Secession* without permission. 1910 cofounder of the *Neue Secession*, which split off from the *Berlin Secession*. 1918 founding member of the *Novembergruppe*. Published woodcuts in Walden's *Der Sturm*; contributed to Pfemfert's *Die Aktion*. 1919 cofounder of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst. 1916–1945 stage- and building designs for film productions, including those by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau. 1933 defamed as "degenerate"; exhibited in 1937 in the exhibition "Degenerate Art." From 1945 produced theater decorations for the Theater am Nollendorfpfatz, Berlin.

Literature: *Heinrich Richter-Berlin* (exh. cat. Kunstblätter der Galerie Nierendorf Nr. 32, Berlin), Berlin 1974.

Our Beloved Lady of Tautenzienstrasse, 1913

Oil on canvas
149 × 79.5 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and the Senator for Science and Art, Berlin 1975

100

CHRISTIAN SCHAD

* 1894 Miesbach
† 1982 Keilberg near
Aschaffenburg

1913 studies at the Munich Kunstakademie. From 1915 contributed to Franz

Pfemfert's *Die Aktion*. Avoided conscription during World War I by going to Zurich, where he joined the Dada movement. First solo exhibition in Zurich. Published the art review *Sirius* together with Walter Serner. 1917 moved to Geneva; ran the Geneva branch of the Dada movement together with Serner, in particular in 1919/20. 1918 developed the *Schadograph*, a camera-less photographic procedure. 1920–1925 lived in Rome and Naples, briefly in Munich, Paris, and Berlin. 1925–1928 lived in Vienna, then returned to Berlin. 1928–1943 numerous major exhibitions in Germany and abroad. 1935–1942 worked as a merchandiser in a brewery. In 1942/43 Schad's Berlin studio was destroyed by an air raid. Moved to Aschaffenburg in 1943, and to Keilberg in 1962.

Literature: Rudolf Leopold/Michael Fuhr (eds.), *Christian Schad. Retrospektive. Leben und Werk im Kontext* (exh. cat. Leopold-Museum, Vienna), Cologne 2008.

Portrait of the Writer Ludwig Bäumer, 1927

Oil on wood
61 × 50 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1989

224

Lola, 1927/28

Oil on wood
67 × 50 cm
Private collection

200

Maika, 1929

Oil on canvas
65 × 53 cm
Private collection

201

Civic Casino, c. 1930

From: *A Guide through Licentious Berlin*, Leipzig 1931
Pen and black ink, sprayed on paper
26.9 × 19.7 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

270

Voo Doo, c. 1930

From: *A Guide through Licentious Berlin*, Leipzig 1931
Pen and black ink, sprayed on paper
26.9 × 19.3 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

271

EGMONT SCHAEFER

* 1908 Berlin-Niederschöneweide
† 2004 Berlin

1928–1931 studies at the Vereinigte Staatsschule für freie und angewandte Kunst in Berlin-Charlottenburg under Emil Orlik. 1938 banned from working as a graphic designer. 1938–1944 worked as a laborer in a major Berlin printing company. 1945–1958 freelance work as a draftsman; participated in numerous postwar art exhibitions in Berlin. 1993 honorary scholarship from the Senate Department for Cultural Affairs.

Literature: *Egmont Schaefer 1908–2004* (exh. cat. Ratskeller, Galerie für Zeitgenössische Kunst im Rathaus Lichtenberg/Galerie Parterre Berlin/Berlinische Galerie/Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin/Akademie der Künste Berlin), Berlin 2008.

Street Scene, 1928

Black crayon on brown laid paper
61.7 × 48 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

239

OTTO RUDOLF SCHATZ

* 1900 Vienna
† 1961 Vienna

1918–1920 studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule under Oskar Strnad and Anton von Kenner. 1924 first exhibition in the Neue Galerie Otto Nirenstein, with whom he signed a contract. Connections with the Galerie Gurlitt in Berlin, the German Avalun-Verlag, and the Büchergilde Gutenberg [Gutenberg Book Club] in Berlin. 1925–1927 the most important illustrator for the Gutenberg Book Club, for which Wilhelm Traeger and Karl Rössing were also active. 1929 collaboration with the Strom-Verlag. 1924–1938 member of the *Hagenbund*, participated in many of its exhibitions. 1936/37 lived in New York. 1938–1944 banned from working. 1944/45 internment in a concentration camp. From 1946 lived and worked in Vienna.

Literature: Dietrich Kraft/Matthias Boeckl (ed.), *Otto Rudolf Schatz 1900–1961*, Weitra 2010.

Balloon Seller, 1929

Oil on canvas
191 × 110 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

209

HUGO SCHEIBER

* 1873 Budapest
† 1950 Budapest

1887 instruction in painting, interrupted by the need to support his family. Worked with his father as a scene painter in the Prater in Vienna. 1890 returned to Budapest. Worked as a sign painter. 1898–1900 attended the School of Arts and Crafts in Budapest. 1919 exhibited with Béla Kádár in Vienna. 1920 moved to Vienna, became a member of the Viennese *Hagenbund* and the Hungarian artist's associations *KUT* [New Society of Artists] and *UME* [Union of Contemporary Artists]. 1922 moved to Berlin. Exhibitions in Herwarth Walden's gallery *Der Sturm*; publications of his works in the art review bearing the same name. 1926 exhibited at the *Société Anonyme* in New York. 1933 participated in the *Mostra Nazionale d'Arte Futurista* in Rome. 1934 returned to Budapest.

Literature: Georges Darany/Ernest Schmidt, *Hugo Scheiber, Leben und Werk*, Basel 1982.

On the Tram, c. 1925

Oil on cardboard
69 × 98 cm
Ernst Galéria, Budapest

183

EGON SCHIELE

* 1890 Tulln
† 1918 Vienna

1906 studies at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden Künste under Christian Griepenkerl. 1909 participated in the *Internationale Kunstschau*; founding of the *Neukunstgruppe*. 1911 first solo exhibition at Galerie Miethke in Vienna. Accepted into the Munich artists' association Sema. 1911/12 lived in Krumau and Neulengbach. 1912 returned to Vienna; exhibited at the Galerie Goltz in Munich, among others, alongside works by *Blaue Reiter* artists, in Cologne together with members of the *Sonderbund*, at the Viennese *Hagenbund* and the *Vienna Secession*. 1914 solo exhibition at the Galerie Arnot in Vienna. 1915 called up for military ser-

vice, worked in the Viennese administrative office. 1916 special Schiele issue of the Berlin review *Die Aktion*. 1917 organizer of the *War Exhibition* of the Heeresmuseum in Vienna, which was shown in a different form in the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark. 1918 participated in an exhibition at the *Vienna Secession*. Died of the Spanish flu in October 1918.

Literature: Jane Kallir, *Egon Schiele. The Complete Works*, New York 1998.

**Portrait of the Publisher
Eduard Kosmack, 1910**

Oil on canvas
99.8 × 99.5 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

90

Portrait of Dr. Oskar Reichel, 1910

Pencil, watercolor, and opaque white on paper
44.5 × 31.5 cm
Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm

98

**Hans Flesch von Brunningen,
1914**

Cover of *Die Aktion*, year IV,
no. 30, 1914
33 × 24 cm
Berlinische Galerie

147

Self-Portrait, 1916

Cover of *Die Aktion*, year. VI, no.
35/36, 1916
33 × 24 cm
Berlinische Galerie

146

Nude with Plaid Slipper, 1917

Watercolor and charcoal on paper
45.7 × 29 cm
Kunsthau Zug, Stiftung Sammlung Kamm

104

Portrait of the Poet Karl Otten

Cover of *Die Aktion*, year. VII,
no. 43/44, 1917
33 × 24 cm
Berlinische Galerie

145

**RUDOLF
SCHLICHTER**

* 1890 Calw
† 1955 Munich

1906–1908 studies at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Stuttgart, and from 1911 at the Karlsruhe Kunstakademie, under

Wilhelm Trübner and Hans Thoma among others. 1916 military service; discharged following a hunger strike. 1919 cofounder of the group *Rih* in Karlsruhe. Moved to Berlin, became a member of the *Novembergruppe*, the *Berlin Secession*, the Berlin Dadaists, and the German Communist Party. Left the *Novembergruppe* in 1921. 1924 secretary of the Communist artist's association *Rote Gruppe*. 1925 participated in the exhibition *Neue Sachlichkeit* in Mannheim. 1928 joined the ASSO [Association of Revolutionary Visual Artists]. Worked for numerous reviews, including *Der Gegner*, *Der Knüppel*, *Die Rote Fahne*, *Der Eulenspiegel*, and the *Arbeiter-Illustrierten-Zeitung*. 1933 moved to Rottenburg am Neckar, and in 1935 to Stuttgart. Banned from exhibiting or working. 1942 moved to Munich, established contact with the *White Rose* resistance group. Studio and apartment destroyed by an air raid. After 1945, cofounder of the *Neue Gruppe*. 1946 participated in the *Erste Allgemeine Deutsche Kunstausstellung* in Dresden.

Literature: Götz Adriani (ed.), *Rudolf Schlichter. Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen* (exh. cat. Kunsthalle Tübingen/Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal/Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich), Munich 1997.

Jenny Seated, 1922/23

Oil on canvas
86.5 × 65 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1989

207

Margot, 1924

Oil on canvas
110.5 × 75 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

198

Prussian Archangel, 1920

See John Heartfield

152

ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG

* 1874 Vienna
† 1951 Los Angeles

Originator of twelve-tone music (alongside Josef Matthias Hauer) and of the Second Vienna School. Beginning in 1890, studied violin and composition as an autodidact. 1911 published his *Harmonielehre*. Lived in Berlin in 1901–1903 and 1911–1915. 1904 founded the Verein schaffender Tonkünstler [Society

of Creative Musicians], whose ideas are closely associated with the *Vienna Secession*. 1906–1908 friendship with Richard Gerstl. 1910 exhibited his expressionist paintings in a Viennese bookshop. Began teaching outside of the academy as a private lecturer. Founded the Verein für musikalische Privatauführungen [Society for Private Musical Performances] in 1919, since his works regularly caused protest in public presentations. 1925–1933 directed a master class at the Prussian Academy of the Arts in Berlin. Emigrated to the USA in 1934.

Literature: Hartmut Krones, *Arnold Schönberg. Leben und Werk*, Vienna 2005.

L. H., c. 1909

Oil on canvas
42 × 57 cm
Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna

96

Defeated, 1919

Watercolor on paper
35.7 × 25.6 cm
Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna

97

**FRITZ
SCHWARZ-WALDEGG**

* 1889 Vienna
† 1942 Maly Trostinez extermination camp near Minsk

1907–1911 studies at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts under Christian Griepenkerl and Rudolf Bacher. 1913 participated in the autumn exhibition of the Künstlerhaus in Vienna. 1914/15 designed the staircases for the Technische Hochschule in Berlin-Charlottenburg. Military service on the Galician and Italian fronts. 1921–1924 study trips throughout Europe. From 1922 member of the *Hagenbund*, its president in 1925/26. Received the Grand Austrian State Prize in 1934. 1934–1938 lived in Vienna as an independent painter, regular participation in the exhibitions of the *Hagenbund*. 1938 excluded from the official art scene and driven from his studio. 1942 deported and murdered.

Literature: Matthias Boeckl (ed.), *Fritz Schwarz-Waldeg. Maler-Reisen durchs Ich und die Welt* (exh. cat. Jewish Museum of the City of Vienna), Weitra 2009.

Confession, 1920

Oil on canvas
117 × 88 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

138

FRANZ SEDLACEK

* 1891 Wroclaw/Breslau
† 1945 missing in Poland

1910–1913 studied chemistry at the Technische Hochschule in Vienna; completed his studies after World War I. Autodidactic painter. 1913 founding member of the artist's association MAERZ in Linz. 1914–1918 military service. 1921 curatorial position at the Technisches Museum in Vienna; from 1937, head of the department of chemistry. 1920 first participation in an exhibition of the *Vienna Secession*. 1927–1938 member of the *Vienna Secession*, from 1938 of the Künstlerhaus. 1939 inducted for military service.

Literature: Elisabeth Hintner/Andreas Strohhammer, *Franz Sedlacek 1891–1945. Monografie mit Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Vienna 2011.

The City, 1926

Oil on wood
85.3 × 72.3 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv

261

**The Delayed Ghost in the Night
and the Drunkards, 1931**

Oil on wood
55 × 82 cm
Private collection

262

ARTHUR SEGAL

* 1875 Iași/Jassy
† 1944 London

1892 studies at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Berlin. 1895 attended the Académie Julian in Paris. 1896 received instruction at a private school under Ludwig Schmid-Reutte and Friedrich Fehr. 1899 moved to Munich, studied under Carl von Marr and Adolf Hölzel at the Munich Art Academy. 1904 moved to Berlin. 1909 and 1913 participation in the exhibitions of the *Berlin Secession*, and from 1910–1912 in the exhibitions of the *Neue Berliner Sezession*, which he cofounded. Publications in the review/exhibits in the gallery *Der Sturm*. 1914 emigration to Ascona. 1916 exhibits at the Cabaret Voltaire with the Zurich Dadaists. 1920 returned to Berlin and founded a painting school. Membership in and at times on the executive board of the *Novembergruppe*. Emigrated to Mallorca in 1933 and to London in 1936, opened a school of painting in 1937.

Literature: *Arthur Segal 1875-1944* (exh. cat. Cologne Kunstverein/Haus am Waldsee, Berlin/Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg), Berlin 1987.

√ **Abortion Act, 1931**

Oil on jute
72.5 × 91.5 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin and from the Senator for Science and Art, Berlin 1977

272

RENÉE SINTENIS

* 1888 Kłoduko/Glatz
† 1965 Berlin

1907-1909 studied decorative sculpture at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Berlin under Wilhelm Haverkamp. Interrupted her studies to work as a secretary for her father. From 1915 exhibited with the *Berlin Secession*; acquainted with the circle around the Romanisches Café; Alfred Flechtheim exhibited her works in Paris and New York. 1917 married the painter Emil Rudolf Weiß. Close friendship with Joachim Ringelnatz. 1931 member of the Berlin Akademie der Künste, taught at the Akademie until her dismissal in 1934. In 1945 the majority of her works were destroyed by bombs. 1947 professor at the Hochschule der Künste. 1955 full member of at the Akademie der Künste.

Literature: *Renée Sintenis. Plastiken, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik* (exh. cat. Georg-Kolbe-Museum, Berlin/Kulturgeschichtliches Museum, Osna-brück/Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg; Museen der Stadt Hanau/Leopold-Hoesch-Museum, Düren), Berlin 1983.

√ **Portrait of Joachim Ringelnatz, 1923**

Stucco
33 × 21 × 23 cm
Belvedere, Vienna

106

FRANZ SKARBINA

* 1849 Berlin
† 1910 Berlin

1865-1869 studies at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Berlin. 1871-1877 study trip through Europe. 1878

teaching assistant at the Hochschule für Bildende Künste Berlin. 1881 taught anatomy and proportion at the art school of the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum. 1883 participation in an exhibition at the Paris Salon. 1888 professor at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Berlin. 1889 participation in the jubilee exhibition for the hundredth birthday of the French Revolution. 1892 cofounder of the group *Die Elf*. In 1893 requested to be allowed to leave the faculty of the Akademie der bildenden Künste. Appointed a member of the Akademie der Künste. 1895 member of advisory board for the review *Pan*. 1898 founding member of the *Berlin Secession*. After 1901, participated again in the *Große Berliner Kunstausstellung*. 1904 senate member of the Royal Academy of Arts.

Literature: Margrit Bröhan, *Franz Skarbina* (exh. cat. Bröhan-Museum, Berlin), Berlin 1995.

⊞ **Behind Nollendorfsplatz, 1885**

Watercolor on cardboard
23 × 30.3 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

13

MAX SLEVOGT

* 1868 Landshut
† 1932 Neukastel

1885-1889/90 studies at the Munich Akademie. 1889 attended the Académie Julian in Paris. 1890 settled in Munich as an independent artist. 1892 member of the *Munich Secession*. 1894 member of the *Freie Vereinigung*. 1896 worked for the reviews *Jugend* and *Simplicissimus*. 1897 first solo exhibition in Vienna. 1899 participated in an exhibition of the *Munich and Berlin Secessions*. 1900 trip to Paris, represented with a work at the German pavilion of the Universal Exhibition. 1901 appointed to a professorship in Munich; moved to Berlin, from 1902 member of the *Berlin Secession*. 1906 designed stage sets and costumes for Max Reinhardt's *Kammerspiele* [chamber plays] for the Deutsches Theater. From 1914 worked as an official "war painter" on the Western Front. From 1917 professor at the Hochschule für bildenden Künste in Berlin, from 1914 member of the Preußische Akademie der Künste. 1924 designed stage sets for a production at the State Opera in Dresden. Painted the music hall of the Neukastel Castle (Palatinate).

Literature: *Max Slevogt. Die Berliner Jahre* (exh. cat. Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal in cooperation with the Stiftung "Brandenburger Tor"/Max-Liebermann-Haus, Berlin), Cologne 2005.

⊞ **Bruno Cassirer, 1911**

Oil on wood
41 × 31.5 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie

92

EUGEN SPIRO

* 1874 Wroclaw/Breslau
† 1972 New York

1892 studies at the Königliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Wroclaw/Breslau. 1894 transfer to the Munich Akademie der bildenden Künste. 1897-1904 lived in Italy, Munich, and Wroclaw/Breslau. Participated in exhibitions at the *Munich and Vienna Secessions*, and at the Deutscher Künstlerbund. Member of the *Munich Secession*; designed covers for the review *Die Jugend*. 1904-1906 lived in Berlin; membership in the *Berlin Secession*, served on the executive board from 1915 to 1935. 1906-1914 professor at the Académie moderne and the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Exhibitions at the Salon des Tuileries. Frequented the artistic circle of the Café du Dôme. 1914-1935 returned to Berlin. Became professor at the Staatliche Kunstschule and member of the acquisitions commission of the Nationalgalerie. 1933 banned from working and exhibiting. 1935-1940 emigration to Paris. In 1941 traveled to the USA.

Literature: Wilko von Abercron, *Eugen Spiro. 1874 Breslau - 1972 New York. Spiegel seines Jahrhunderts*, Alsbach 1990.

⊞ **The Dancer Baladine Klossowska (Merline), 1901**

Oil on canvas
181.5 × 121 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1982

04

ERNST STERN

* 1876 Bucharest
† 1954 London

Attended the Handelsakademie in Vienna. From 1894 studied at the Munich Kunstakademie under Nikolaus Gysis and Franz von Stuck. Published drawings in the reviews *Jugend* and *Simplicissimus*; made appearances as Tobias Loch, the quick painter, in the political cabaret Elf Scharfrichter. Member of the *Munich Secession*, the Dramatische Gesellschaft, and the *Berlin Secession*. 1905 worked in Berlin, for the *Lustige Blätter* among others. 1906-1921 principal set designer for Max Reinhardt at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin. 1924 head of scenography at the Großes Schauspielhaus; from 1918 designed film sets and costumes as well. 1933 in Paris during the National Socialist seizure of power. 1934 worked in film in Hollywood before moving to London and working at the Savoy Theatre, among others.

Literature: *Ernst Stern, Bühnenbildner bei Max Reinhardt. Mit 80 Zeichnungen des Verfassers*, Berlin 1955.

⊞ **Revolution Day in Berlin, 1919**

Portfolio with six lithographs on handmade paper
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

Strike in Mariendorf

Sheet 1
30.5 × 48.5 cm

The Cars on the Ninth of November

Sheet 2
35.5 × 48.5 cm

142

Orators at Potsdamer Platz

Sheet 3
32.5 × 48 cm

Schloßplatz

Sheet 4
32.5 × 47 cm

Panic in the Lustgarten

Sheet 5
33.5 × 52.5 cm

143

Shots at Brandenburger Tor

Sheet 6
34.5 × 48.5 cm

WILHELM TRAEGER

* 1907 Vienna
† 1980 Ried im Innkreis

1925–1933 studies at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna under Wilhelm Dachauer and Rudolf Bacher, subsequently received teacher training at Vienna Technische Hochschule. From 1933 art teacher in Upper Austria. 1935 member of the Oberösterreichischer Kunstverein and the *Vienna Secession*, moved to Ried in 1936. From 1974, president of the Oberösterreichischer Kunstverein.

Literature: Troels Andresen/Dorte Kirkeby/Verena Traeger (eds.), *Wilhelm Traeger. Wien - Fredericia - Ried* (exh. cat. Silkeborg Kunstmuseum), Silkeborg 1998.

Vienna 1932, 1932

Portfolio with 41 linoleum cuts
Private collection

Poster Artists

Plate 1, 37.7 × 48 cm
243

Tourism on Kärntnerstrasse

Plate 36, 47.8 × 62.2 cm
244

People's Coffeehouse in Vienna

Plate 40, 49.1 × 62.1 cm
245

Street Scene II (Meidling, Tivoligasse)

Plate 35, 42.8 × 53 cm
246

LESSER URY

* 1861 Birnbaum
† 1931 Berlin

1879 studies at the Düsseldorf Kunstakademie and in 1879/80 at the Art Academy in Brussels. 1883 continued his training in Paris. 1882–1884 lived in the Flemish village of Volluvet. 1885 met Anton von Werner in Berlin, was rejected as his student. 1886 attended the Munich Kunstakademie was recognized by Fritz von Uhde. 1887 return to Berlin. Initially, close friendship with Max Liebermann, which ended in a quarrel in 1894. 1889 exhibited at the Galerie Friedrich Gurlitt. Between 1890 and 1909, trips to Italy, Holstein, Thuringia, and the Baltic Sea. 1893 member of the *Munich Secession*. From 1914 member of the *Berlin Secession*, becoming an honorary member in 1921.

Further trips to London, Paris, and various German cities.

Literature: *Lesser Ury. Zauber des Lichts* (exh. cat. Käthe-Kollwitz-Museum, Berlin), Berlin 1995.

(At the) Friedrichstraße Station, 1888

Opaque color (grisaille) on paper and cardboard
65.5 × 46.8 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin
18

Berlin Street Scene (Leipziger Straße), 1889

Oil on canvas
107 × 68 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1978
20

RUDOLF WACKER

* 1893 Bregenz
† 1939 Bregenz

1909/10 attended the Fachschule für gewerbliches Zeichnen in Bregenz. 1910/11 studies at the private painting school G. Bauer in Vienna. 1911–1914 studies at the Weimar Kunstakademie under Albin Egger-Lienz and Walther Klemm. 1915–1920 prisoner of war in Russia. 1920 returned to Berlin, maintained a studio on Mommsenstraße together with Otto Herbig, and established contact with the circle of painters around Erich Heckel and with Paul Westheim, editor of the review *Das Kunstblatt*. 1923/24 lived in Vienna. 1924 settled in Bregenz; published an article on Vienna in *Das Kunstblatt*. 1925 founding member of the Bodensee artist's association *Der Kreis*. 1929/30 lived in Goslar and Berlin. Established contact with the Galerie Neumann-Nierendorf. 1931/32 stay in Switzerland. 1933 joined the conservative Vaterländische Front party [Patriotic Front]. 1934 Grand Austrian State Prize; exhibited in the German pavilion of the Venice Biennale. 1936–1938 headed the course in nude drawing at the Gewerbeschule in Bregenz. 1937 left the Vaterländische Front. 1938 suffered a heart attack after a house search and interrogation by the Gestapo.

Literature: Rudolf Sagmeister (ed.), *Rudolf Wacker und Zeitgenossen. Expressionismus und Neue Sachlichkeit* (exh. cat. Kunstverein Bregenz), Bregenz 1993.

Self-Portrait with Shaving Foam, 1925

Oil on canvas
82 × 62.8 cm
Belvedere Vienna, on permanent loan from a private collection
252

Still Life with Crested Grebe, 1928

Oil on wood
69 × 50 cm
Oesterreichische Nationalbank
226

Still Life with Lid, 1930

Oil on wood
60 × 75 cm
Sammlung Bodenseekreis, on permanent loan from the Zweckverband Oberschwäbische Elektrizitätswerke (OEW)
230

Two Heads, 1932

Oil on wood
100 × 63 cm
Belvedere, Vienna
227

OTTO ERICH WAGNER

* 1895 Klepáčov-Blansko/
Blanz-Klepatschow
† 1979 Vienna

Nephew of the architect Otto Wagner. 1919–1923 attended teacher-training college in Vienna. 1922–1924 studied at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule; attended the class on ornamental design by Franz Cizek and Rudolf von Larisch, assistant to Cizek. 1925 participated in the *International Arts and Crafts Exhibition* in Paris. After Cizek's retirement, Wagner was accepted by his successor Ceno Kosak, and at the same time taught at the Franz-Joseph-Realgymnasium in Vienna. From 1935 called himself Otto Franz. 1944/45 military induction to Yugoslavia as a measure of punishment. 1949 returned from wartime imprisonment, member of the *Vienna Secession*.

Literature: *Otto Erich Wagner. Kinetische Zeichnungen* (exh. cat. Antiquariat Christian M. Nebehay 90), Vienna 1985.

Kinetic Space, 1924

Graphite on paper
101 × 100 cm
Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv
187

WILLIAM WAUER

* 1866 Oberwiesenthal
† 1962 Berlin

1884–1887 studies at the art academies in Dresden, Berlin, and Munich. Beginning in 1888, numerous trips abroad. Around 1900 edited and worked for various reviews in Berlin and Dresden and as an advertising consultant for various companies. 1905 returned to Berlin, where he worked as a theater director from 1906–1914, among others for Max Reinhardt at the Deutsches Theater. 1911–1916 movie director. 1918 member of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst and the *Novembergruppe*. Publications in Herwarth Walden's review *Der Sturm* and exhibitions in the eponymous gallery. 1919 first chairman of the "International Association of Expressionists, Futurists, Cubists, and Constructivists," (from 1924 onwards called *Die Abstrakten*), which was banned in 1933. 1928–1933 radio lectures on art and radio plays. 1934 defamed as "degenerate." 1941 seizure of his works and work ban. 1946 participation in the *Erste Allgemeine Deutsche Kunstausstellung* in Dresden.

Literature: *William Wauer und der Berliner Kubismus. Die plastischen Künste um 1920* (exh. cat. Georg-Kolbe-Museum, Berlin/Edwin-Scharff-Museum, Neu Ulm), Cologne 2011.

Portrait of Herwarth Walden, 1917

Bronze (recast 1981)
52 × 32 × 35 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired with funds from the Stiftung Deutsche Klassenlotterie, Berlin 1981
107

EMIL RUDOLF WEISS

* 1875 Lahr/Baden
† 1934 Meersburg

1893–1903 studies (among others) at the Großherzoglich Badische Akademie in Karlsruhe and the Académie Julian in Paris. During his studies and thereafter, active as a designer, illustrator, and graphic artist. 1907 accepted by the *Berlin Secession*. Active as a teacher; appointed in 1910 as a professor at the Berlin Kunstgewerbeschule, headed the class in decorative mural painting and pattern design until 1933. 1917 second marriage to the sculptor Renée Sintenis. 1922 accepted by the Preußische Akademie der Künste in Berlin. 1928 developed the *Weiss-*

Antiqua typeface. 1933 deprived of his professorship by the National Socialists.

The *Weiss-Antiqua* typeface is used for the Berlin texts of the present catalog.

Literature: Emil Rudolf Weiss, *Emil Rudolf Weiß über Buchgestaltung*, Hamburg 1969. – Barbara Stark, *Emil Rudolf Weiss: Maler, Graphiker, Buch- und Schriftkünstler*, Hamburg 1993.

KONRAD WESTERMAYR

* 1883 Ramsau near Berchtesgaden
† 1917 Flanders

1897–1901 received training as a stained-glass artist in Munich, after which he attended the Kunstgewerbeschule. 1906 spent a semester at the Academy of Fine Arts. 1907 transfer to Bruno Paul's school in Berlin. 1910 student of Emil Rudolf Weiß. 1914 published in the review *Kunst und Künstler*. 1915–1917 military service, died in Flanders.

Literature: Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 35, Leipzig 1926, pp. 449–50.

Self-Portrait as Soldier, c. 1916

Oil on canvas
50 × 40 cm
Berlinische Galerie, Gift of Uwe Hesch and Winnetou Kampmann, Berlin 1981

131

WIENER WERKSTÄTTE

Martha Alber
* 1893
† date of death unknown

The Wiener Werkstätte (WW), founded in 1903 as a "productive cooperative of craftspeople in Vienna." Founding members were Josef Hoffmann, Koloman Moser, Fritz Wärndorfer. Close collaboration with the *Vienna Secession* and the Kunstgewerbeschule. Founded with the aim of pursuing the merging of art and handicrafts in the spirit of the Gesamtkunstwerk, involving their own designs for furniture, fixtures, clothing, decoration, postcards, etc.

Martha Alber attended the Vienna School of Arts and Crafts and worked for the Wiener Werkstätte.

Blouse of Johanna Staude, c. 1910

Silk
Belvedere, Vienna

41

GUSTAV WUNDERWALD

* 1882 Cologne
† 1945 Berlin

1896–1898 studied painting in Cologne. 1899/1900 scene painter in Gotha; from 1900–1907, theater painter for a company in Berlin. 1904–1907 stage designer for the Royal State Opera in Stockholm. 1907/08 member of the executive board of actors and musicians at the Schauspielhaus in Düsseldorf. 1909 worked at the Stadttheater in Innsbruck. 1912–1917 decorative painter for the Deutsches Opernhaus in Berlin. 1915–1918 military service. From 1918 active as an independent artist in Berlin. 1924 first solo exhibition in the Landsberg art bookshop. 1925 and 1926 participated in the *Große Berliner Kunstausstellung*. Beginning in 1935, ceased participating in public art exhibitions. 1936–1943 earned a living by coloring promotional films for UFA and Mars-Film.

Literature: Hildegard Reinhardt, *Gustav Wunderwald (1882–1945). Untersuchungen zum bildkünstlerischen Gesamtwerk*, Hildesheim 1988.

√ Factory of Loewe & Co., 1926

Oil on canvas
61 × 71 cm
Berlinische Galerie, acquired from the Senator for Federal Affairs, Bonn 1977

258

RICHARD ZIEGLER

* 1891 Pforzheim
† 1992 Pforzheim

Studied philology in Geneva, Greifswald, and Heidelberg; earned a PhD in 1919. Began producing book illustrations, woodcuts, and oil paintings. From 1925 active as an independent artist in Berlin. 1933–1937 lived on the island of Korčula. Moved to England in 1937, and to Spain in 1963. Returns to Pforzheim at the end of the Eighties.

Literature: *Richard Ziegler. Pastels and Drawings 1922–35* (exh. cat. Runkel-Hue-Williams, London), London 1991.

√ Woman on the Street, c. 1929

Opaque color on paper
49.2 × 32.2 cm
Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin

234

Author Biographies

Stephanie Auer

Art historian. Since 2007: curatorial assistant at the Belvedere. Diploma thesis on Federico García Lorca's production as a visual artist. In addition to the topic of artistic personalities with dual talents, research foci include Austrian and Central European painting during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Ralf Burmeister

MA in German language and literature, PhD in cultural studies. Curator and head of the Artist's Archive of the Berlinische Galerie. Research associate with the following research and exhibition projects: *Profession ohne Tradition* (Berlin 1992), *Raoul Hausmann und seine Freunde* (Berlin 1998), *Grotesk! 130 Jahre Kunst der Frechheit* (Frankfurt am Main, Munich 2003). Publication of the documentary estate of Hannah Höch as the edition series *Hannah Höch. Eine Lebenscollage* (Berlin 1995 and 2002); coeditor of the biographic-bibliographic lexicon *Raoul Hausmann* (DDL, Reihe VI; Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 2012). Publications on Dada, Merz, Fluxus, and contemporary art. Curator of the retrospective *Hannah Höch – Aller Anfang ist DADA!* (Berlin, Basel 2007/2008).

Cornelia Cabuk

Art historian and curator. PhD in art history and ethnology at Vienna University. Has worked at the Belvedere in Vienna, Institute for the Creation of Catalogues Raisonnés, since 2010. Author of *Carry Hausner, Monografie und Werkverzeichnis* (2012). Currently in preparation: *Catalogues raisonnés* for Carl Moll, Marc Adrian (jointly with Harald Krejci), and Otto Rudolf Schatz. Editor and author of *Florentina Pakosta. Malerei seit 1989* (2013). Editorial team at the Leopold Museum, Vienna, *Florentina Pakosta* (2011), exhibition texts and catalog contributions to *Genderantagonismen und Rollenbilder in der Kunst von Florentina Pakosta*. Areas of activity include gallery management and curating gallery activities, exhibition programs, and editions. First co-curator at the

Leopold Museum in Vienna, *Zwischen den Kriegen. Österreichische Kunst 1918–1938* (2007). Publications on art of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, including *Die Rezeption kubistischer Stilelemente in der Malerei der Zwischenkriegszeit in Österreich* (1993), as well as on Austrian exile art.

Markus Fellingner

Has worked at the Belvedere since December of 2010, initially as an assistant at the Center for the Creation of Catalogues Raisonnés; worked on the production of catalogues raisonnés for Josef Danhauser and Hans Makart; since August 2011 has worked at the Belvedere as a curatorial assistant in the area of art around 1900.

Rainald Franz

Art historian. Born in Graz in 1964. Studies in Vienna, Munich, London, Rome, Venice. Has worked since 1992 at the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts/Contemporary Art (MAK) in Vienna. 1996–2011: acting director of the library and Kunstblätter-sammlung (art on paper collection) of the MAK; beginning in 2000, commissioner on provenance; since October 2011: director of the glass and porcelain collection, responsible for cross-collection and EU projects. Numerous exhibitions and publications, organizer of symposia, including *Gottfried Semper und Wien* (Vienna 2005), and more recently *Leben mit Loos* (Vienna 2008); participation in international symposia. Lecturer at the Institute for Art History at Vienna University, and at the Institute for Conservation and Restoration Science at the University of Applied Arts, Vienna: history of ornamentation. Since 2007: president of the ICDAD (International Committee of Decorative Arts and Design); since October 2011: chairman of the Verband Österreichischer Kunsthistorikerinnen und Kunsthistoriker. Research foci: architecture of the modern era, history of ornamentation, applied arts, and early design.

Katinka Gratzner-Baumgärtner

Born in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 1972. Studies in restoration and art history in Florence and Vienna. Since 2007, research assistant at the research center of the Belvedere Vienna, member of the com-

mission for provenance research. Main pursuits: the cataloging of bequests, scholarly research, and contributions to various exhibition and research projects at the Belvedere.

Agnes Husslein-Arco

Director of the Belvedere in Vienna since 2007; art historian, curator of numerous exhibitions on classical modernist and contemporary art; author and editor of scholarly publications. Opened the Viennese branch of Sotheby's in 1981, and ran it until 2000. In 1988, assumed directorship of the Sotheby's branches in Budapest and Prague. In the 1990s, Agnes Husslein-Arco was director of European development at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York; from 2001 to 2003, director of the Rupertinum in Salzburg; and from 2003 to 2005, founding director of the Museum der Moderne in Salzburg. From 2002 to 2004, organized the expansion of the MMKK – Museum Moderner Kunst Kärnten in Klagenfurt am Wörthersee.

Christian Jäger

Studies in literature; since 2001, associate professor for modern German literature at the Institute for German Literature at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. His habilitation was published in 2005: *Minoritäre Literatur. Das Konzept der kleinen Literatur am Beispiel prager- und sudetendeutscher Werke*. Collaboration on the DFG project *Wien Berlin Feuilleton*. Appointed a Max Kade Professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and at Duke University (NC, USA) in 2008. Research foci include literature around 1800, the Weimar Republic, contemporary literature, aesthetics and literary theory. Publications include: *Gilles Deleuze. Eine Einführung*, Munich 1997; with Erhard Schütz, *Städtebilder zwischen Literatur und Journalismus. Wien, Berlin und das Feuilleton der Weimarer Republik*, Wiesbaden 1999.

Maximilian Kaiser

Born in 1983, lives and works in Vienna. Studies in art history in Vienna. In 2008, worked on the research project *Nachlass Prof. Franz Čížek. Jugendkunst/Kinetismus* at the Wien Museum. 2010: Mag. phil. at Vienna University with a diploma thesis on Viennese Kineticism and the international avant-garde. Beginning in 2011, concerned with the

methods of social network analysis and discourse theory. 2012: research stipend from the City of Vienna to execute the project *Der Wiener Diskurs zur Avantgarde*. Since 2013, research project assistant at the Belvedere in the framework of the project *Hagenbund: An International Network*.

Alexander Klee

Art historian. Since 2010, curator for late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century art at the Belvedere. Founding member of the Adolf Hölzel-Stiftung in Stuttgart; a catalogue raisonné on Adolf Hölzel is in preparation. Numerous publications on Hölzel, Georg Karl Pfahler, and classical modernist artists; research focus on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Clemens Klöckner

Born in Cologne in 1982, studies there from 2004 to 2011 in art history, classical archaeology, and classical literature. 2006–2011: assistant with the *kunst.dialoge project* at the Museum Ludwig, Cologne. 2010–2011: research assistant at the Leopold-Hoesch-Museum, Düren. 2011–2013: trainee curator at the Berlinische Galerie; since August 2013, research associate. Exhibitions and publications on art of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Thomas Köhler

Director of the Berlinische Galerie, Landesmuseum für Moderne Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur since 2010. After studies in art history, classical archaeology, and Romance studies in Paris and Frankfurt am Main, Thomas Köhler earned his PhD from Darmstadt Technical University in 2003 with a dissertation on Donald Judd. From 1994 to 1998, he worked as a research assistant at the Museum für Moderne Kunst in Frankfurt am Main, and in 1996 was a curator in residence at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York. In 1996/97, he was program director of *100 Days – 100 Guests* at the *documenta X* in Kassel. Since 1998, has taught at the University of Hildesheim, the University of Fine Arts in Hamburg (HBK), and NYU Berlin. From 1998 to 2008, headed the Department of Communication and Visual Education at the Kunstmuseum Wolfsburg, was acting director beginning in 2005. In 2008, assumed directorship of the collection and ex-

hibition program of the Berlinische Galerie. Since then, numerous exhibitions and publications on modern and contemporary art, including *Nan Goldin: Berlin Work* (2010) and *Boris Mikhalov: Time is out of Joint* (2012).

Christina Korzen

Studies in art history in Freiburg and Berlin. Master's thesis on Wolfgang Tillmans. From 2011 to 2013: trainee curator and project assistant at the Berlinische Galerie. Assisted with the exhibitions *Straßen und Gesichter. Berlin 1918–1933*, *Das Neue Berlin. Entwürfe für Regierungsbauten und Botschaften seit 1990*, and *Wien–Berlin. Kunst zweier Metropolen*. Recent publication (2012): "Der Kopfhörer Dolbin ist unterwegs. Eine Spurensuche," in: *Straßen und Gesichter. Berlin 1918–1933* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie), Bielefeld/Berlin 2012.

Almut Krapf-Weiler

Art historian. After beginning as a research assistant at the Österreichische Galerie, now works at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. Numerous publications on twentieth-century Austrian artists. 2007: edited the writings of Hans Tietze and Erika Tietze-Conrat.

Harald Krejci

Born in Linz in 1970. Studies in art history in Augsburg and Munich. Has lived in Vienna since 2000; works on twentieth-century Austrian art. Curated and organized exhibitions on Friedrich Kiesler for the Museum für Moderne Kunst in Frankfurt am Main and the Drawing Center in New York, as well as on Maurizio Sacripanti at the Kiesler Stiftung in Vienna. Member of the Belvedere team since 2009; organized the exhibition *DYNAMIK! Kubismus, Futurismus, KINETISMUS*, an exhibition on Curt Stenvert, *Utopie GESAMTKUNSTWERK*, and exhibitions on Roland Goeschl and Fritz Wotruba, as well as working on a catalogue raisonné of Marc Adrian. Research foci: art and architecture of the interwar period, the Viennese avant-garde of the 1950s and 1960s, and exile research with a focus on New York.

Hartmut Krones

Studies in music education, German language and literature, voice, vocal pedagogy, and musicology. Has taught since 1970 at the University of Music and the Performing Arts, Vienna, where he heads the Institut für Musikalische Stilforschung [Musical Style Research Institute], with departments in stylistic and performance practice, as well as the Arnold Schönberg Center. Numerous publications in the areas of performance practices in early and contemporary music, musical symbolism and rhetoric, as well as twentieth-century music (including music in emigration).

Isabelle Lindermann

Studies in art history in Marburg and Berlin. Master's thesis on the concept of entrapment and uncertainty as strategies in contemporary art. From 2011 to 2013, trainee curator, and beginning in August 2013, project assistant at the Berlinische Galerie. Worked on the exhibitions *Michael Sailstorfer. Forst, Manifesto Collage, and Wien–Berlin. Kunst zweier Metropolen*. Recent publication (2012): "Frauen erobern die Straße oder: Der Warencharakter weiblicher Großstadterfahrung," in: *Straßen und Gesichter. Berlin 1918–1933* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie), Bielefeld/Berlin 2012.

Annelie Lütgens

Since April 2011, head of the department of prints and drawings of the Berlinische Galerie. Studies in art history in Hamburg, where she earned a PhD in 1990 with a thesis on the Berlin artist Jeanne Mammen. From 1992 to 1994, research assistant at the Hamburger Kunsthalle, subsequently an art critic for various newspapers and magazines in Berlin. From 1996 to 2011, curator at the Kunstmuseum Wolfsburg, where she worked on numerous exhibitions and publications on twentieth-century art and photography. Lecturer at the Braunschweig University of Art, the University of the Arts Bremen, and the HU Berlin. Recent publications: *Fliegend läuft der Ball. Versuch über Fußball und Filmkunst*, Munich 2010; *Im Freiflug. Texte und Gespräche zur Gegenwart der Kunst*, Munich 2011; *Straßen und Gesichter. Berlin 1918–1933* (exh. cat. Berlinische Galerie), Bielefeld/Berlin 2012.

Janina Nentwig

Studies in art history, European ethnology, and communication science in Münster and Vienna. After an internship at the Berlinische Galerie, worked as a curatorial assistant on various projects, including the exhibition *Hannab Höch – Aller Anfang ist DADA!* (2007). In 2009, earned a PhD with a dissertation on depictions of the nude in New Objectivity. As a freelance author, she has written—alongside scholarly contributions—audio guides for international exhibitions, most recently *Max Ernst, Albertina in Vienna/Fondation Beyeler* in Basel (2013).

Hermann Schlösser

Born in Worms in 1953. Studied German and English language and literature in Marburg and Sheffield, leading to a PhD. Lives in Vienna; works as a feuilleton editor at the Wiener Zeitung (*extra* supplement). Writes primarily on travel, the culture of the metropolis, European literature of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Most recent publications: *Lesarten der Wirklichkeit. Literatur, Wissenschaft und Philosophie im Spiegel journalistischer Rezensionen*, Bremen 2010. *Die Wiener in Berlin. Ein Künstlermilieu der 20er Jahre*, Vienna 2011.

Wolfgang Schöddert

Born in Cologne in 1964, studies in art history, town planning, and European ethnology, master's degree. Received training in commercial dealing in contemporary art parallel to his studies, and has since worked in the area of communication and mediation—organizing exhibitions, providing consulting, and running his own project space. Has worked as a curator for the Henry Moore Foundation in Leeds. In 1993, worked with the French artist Christian Boltanski on a publication on acquisitions by art museums in the Rhineland between 1935 and 1945. On the basis of subsequent research into art commerce in modernism, came to Berlin in 2002 as a research associate at the Ferdinand Möller Stiftung. Since 2006: research associate in the area of provenance at the Berlinische Galerie.

Johannes Waßmer

Johannes Waßmer, MA, born in 1983, December 2010: completed studies with distinction in modern and early German language and literature and philosophy at the Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf; since 2007 assistant and since 2012 research assistant with the professorship in modern German language and literature; research foci: World War I and literature, literature and literary reviews in modernism and Expressionism, Martin Buber, Paula Buber, Hermann Hesse, and Stefan Zweig; PhD candidate working on *The Experience of Time and the Representations of History in the Literary Narratives of World War I*.

Frank Whitford

Born in 1941, senior member of Wolfson College, Cambridge. Author of various books on German and Austrian art, including publications on the Bauhaus, Gustav Klimt, and Kokoschka. Organized the exhibitions *The Berlin of George Grosz and Kandinsky: Watercolours* for the Royal Academy, London. Received the Hawthornden Prize for Art Criticism in 1989. Lives in Cambridge and London.

Index

- A**
- Alber, Martha 62, 384
 Albert, Eugen d' 81
 L'Allemand, Siegmund 378
 Alt, Rudolf von 92, 93
 Altenberg, Peter 13, 186, 196
 Andri, Ferdinand 12, 40, 362
 Arbus, Diane 346
 Arnold, Ernst / Galerie 106, 107, 366
 Arnot, Guido / Galerie 380
 Arp, Hans 242,
 243, 245, 246, 250, 259, 262
 Attersee, Christian Ludwig 245
 Ausländer, Ninon 259
- B**
- Baader, Johannes 208,
 241, 243, 245, 362
 Baar, Hugo 39, 362
 Baargeld, Johannes Theodor 243
 Bab, Julius 17, 19, 23
 Bach, David Josef 194
 Bacher, Rudolf 381, 383
 Bahr, Hermann 12,
 13, 32, 93, 96, 169, 174, 196, 368, 379
 Baker, Josephine 347
 Ball, Hugo 242
 Balthus (Balthasar Klossowski de Rola)
 343
 Baluschek, Hans 12,
 16, 46, 49, 159, 177, 296, 312, 362
 Bantzer, Carl 366
 Barlach, Ernst 57, 70, 177, 362
 Baron, Julius 104
 Barr, Alfred 267
 Bartos, Armand 372
 Baudisch, Paul 261, 263
 Bauer, G. / Schule 383
 Bauer, Julius 353
 Bauer, Mathias 104
 Baum, Peter 241
 Bäumer, Ludwig 286, 340, 346, 380
 Beckford, William 103
 Beckmann, Max 46,
 47, 177, 318–322, 343, 344, 362–363,
 376
 Beethoven, Ludwig van 82, 169, 373
 Behne, Adolf 243, 246
 Bein, Alfred und Rosa Marie 105, 107
 Belling, Rudolf 145, 258, 305, 363
 Benjamin, Walter 15, 17, 346, 348
 Berber, Anita 250, 314, 363
 Berend-Corinth, Charlotte 314,
 315, 363
 Berg, Alban 170, 198, 371
 Berg, Jimmy 199
 Bergner, Elisabeth 22, 285, 351, 379
 Biais, Maurice 105
 Bie, Oskar 26
 Bie, Richard 342
 Bierbaum, Otto Julius 197
- Bing, Henry 196
 Birkholm, Jens 65, 363
 Birkle, Albert 278, 297, 363
 Bismarck, Otto von 169
 Blaas, Carl von 372
 Blei, Franz 196, 368
 Blumenreich, Arnold 110, 111
 Blumenreich, Leo 110
 Boccioni, Umberto 190, 256
 Böcklin, Arnold 92
 Böckmann, Wilhelm 104
 Böhler, Hans 378
 Boehm, Adolf 378, 379
 Bode, Wilhelm von 103, 105
 Boeckl, Herbert 83,
 110, 142, 150, 363
 Bolzano, Bernard 81
 Bondi, Lea 108, 109
 Born, Wolfgang 91
 Bortnyik, Sándor 230, 363, 364
 Bosse, Abraham 103
 Brandeis, Pavel 364
 Braun, Nikolaus 299, 364
 Brecht, Bertolt 253, 281, 352, 365
 Breton, André 246
 Breuer, Peter 363
 Broch, Hermann 21
 Brockhausen, Karl (Carl) 359
 Bruckmann, Hugo 377
 Brücke, Ernst Wilhelm von 83, 85
 Brunngraber, Rudolf 21
 Buchholz, Erich 256
 Burchard, Otto 243
 Buschbeck, Erhard 261, 263
 Buschbeck, Ernst H. 191, 194, 195
 Busoni, Ferruccio 146, 198–200, 378
- C**
- Caden, Gert 258
 Callot, Jacques 178, 179
 Canetti, Elias 196
 Capek, Karel 14, 202, 255, 372
 Carrà, Carlo 190, 339
 Casper, Jacques / Galerie 378
 Cassirer, Bruno 26, 135, 177, 378, 382
 Cassirer, Paul / Galerie 13–15,
 26, 83, 95, 106, 108–111, 114, 177,
 186, 188, 197, 362, 366, 373, 376,
 378
 Chagall, Marc 171
 Chirico, Giorgio de 339, 343
 Cizek, Franz / Schule 14,
 84, 202, 218, 250, 251, 253, 254,
 256, 257, 259, 364, 366, 373, 378,
 379, 383
 Cocteau, Jean 337
 Corinth, Lovis 13,
 27, 92, 94–96, 106, 109, 363, 375,
 377
 Czeschka, Carl Otto 77, 79, 370, 372
- D**
- Dachauer, Wilhelm 383
 Däubler, Theodor 261
 Dehmel, Richard 188
- Delpy, Egbert 89–91
 Delug, Alois 366, 374, 376
 Denis, Maurice 368
 Derain, André 111
 Dicker-Brandeis, Friedl 203,
 223, 225, 247, 248, 251–254,
 325–329, 332, 333, 344, 364
 Diefenbach, Karl Wilhelm 366
 Diemen van / Galerie 256, 367
 Dietrich, Marlene 337
 Dillenz, Richard 260–261
 Dix, Otto 155–158,
 177–181, 183–185, 243, 293, 316,
 339–343, 345, 347, 348, 364, 375
 Döblin, Alfred 187,
 190, 202, 203, 256, 258
 Doesburg, Theo van 255,
 257, 262, 364
 Dolbin, Benedikt Fred (B. F.) 14,
 193, 255–259, 261, 280–285,
 349–354, 365, 370
 Dollfuß, Engelbert 21
 Donath, Adolph 103, 105, 106
 Drawe, Hermann 66, 67, 98–102, 365
 Dücker, Eugen 367
 Duncan, Elizabeth / Schule 250,
 251, 254, 373
 Duncan, Isadora 250
 Dürer, Albrecht 103, 170
 Durieux, Tilla 57, 284, 351, 362, 379
 Dvořák, Max 191
- E**
- Ebner, Ferdinand 371
 Eckmann, Otto 88
 Eckstein, Ferdinand 77, 370
 Egger-Lienz, Albin 176,
 180, 344, 345, 383
 Ehrenstein, Albert 184,
 187, 189, 196, 261
 Ehrlich-Bauer, Bettina 16,
 302, 347, 366
 Ehrlich, Georg 109, 194, 278, 366
 Eisenmenger, August 367, 371
 Eisler, Hanns 199, 352
 Ék, Sándor 262
 Eloesser, Arthur 20, 23
 Éluard, Paul 246
 Ende, Hermann 104
 Engelhart, Josef 26,
 34, 64, 93, 102, 366
 Engerth, Eduard von 372
 Ernst, Max 243, 246
 Eschke, Hermann 375
 Exner, Franz 81
 Eysler, Edmund 197
- F**
- Faistauer, Anton 83,
 122, 175, 192, 197, 366, 368
 Fall, Leo 197
 Fehr, Friedrich 381
 Feichtinger, Eleonore 378
 Feigl, Friedrich 261
- Felixmüller, Conrad 131,
 132, 167, 173, 174, 298, 366, 377
 Fellner, Ferdinand 104, 105
 Ficker, Ludwig von 188, 371
 Fidus (Hugo Reinhold Karl Johann
 Höppener) 53, 366
 Fink, Jodok 371
 Fischer, Johannes 262
 Flechtheim, Alfred / Galerie 15,
 103, 108–111, 145, 342, 363, 382
 Fleisch von Brunningen, Hans 168, 381
 Flöge, Emilie 10
 Franck, Philipp 35, 367, 377
 Frank, Josef 194
 Franz Joseph I. 21, 87, 169, 356
 Freud, Sigmund 21,
 82, 84, 114, 170, 267, 344, 346
 Fried, Alfred Hermann 115, 116
 Friedell, Egon 80, 370
 Friedländer, Samuel 187, 190
 Friedrich, Otto 30, 367
 Fulda, Ludwig 197
 Funke, Helene 109, 121, 261, 367
- G**
- Gabo, Naum 230, 256, 259, 367
 Galafrés, Elsa 30, 367
 Gallia, Gabrielle 30, 367
 Gandara, Antonio de la 94
 Gans, Fritz (Friedrich Ludwig) 103
 Gaul, August 177
 Geller, Johann Nepomuk 40, 367
 George, Stefan 196
 Géricault, Théodore 111
 Gerlach, Martin 377
 Gerngross, Alfred Abraham 105
 Gerstenberg, Otto 103
 Gerstl, Richard 79,
 131, 169–170, 197, 251, 367, 370, 381
 Gert, Valeska 295, 376
 Geyling, Remigius 379
 Gliese, Rochus 258
 Glück, Heinrich 194
 Goebbels, Joseph 21
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang v. 188, 199
 Goldfarb, Samuel 111
 Goll, Yvan 257, 258
 Goltz, Hans / Galerie 342, 366, 381
 Gombrich, Ernst 192, 195
 Goya, Francisco de 176, 179
 Gramatté, Walter 115, 129, 367
 Greenwood, James 102
 Griepenkerl, Christian 366,
 367, 371, 377, 378, 380, 381
 Grimm, Gebrüder 181, 251
 Gropius, Walter 377
 Gross, Otto 196, 248, 253
 Grossberg, Carl 347
 Grossmann, Janina 261
 Großmann, Rudolf 353
 Großmann, Stefan 17,
 203, 267, 268, 352, 353
 Grosz, George 14,
 15, 173, 177, 179, 180, 202, 206, 210,
 216, 217, 228, 242, 243, 245, 246,
 254, 257, 258, 279, 316, 317, 338,
 339, 342–345, 353, 367, 368, 372

- Grosz Galerie 108
 Gude, Hans Fredrik 375
 Guhr, Richard 364
 Gurlitt, Fritz / Galerie 104,
 108–111, 261, 366, 372, 375, 376,
 380, 383
 Gütersloh, Albert Paris 12,
 83, 129, 175, 197, 198, 200, 267, 273,
 343, 351, 368, 370
 Gütersloh, Alexandra 273, 368
 Gutfreund, Otto 256
 Gysis, Nikolaus 366, 382
- H**
- Haberditzl, Franz Martin 108, 110, 195
 Habermann, Hugo von 368
 Hackl, Gabriel von 362
 Haerdtl, Oswald 379, 380
 Halbe, Max 375
 Haller, Hermann 108
 Hammer, Victor Karl 367
 Hammerschmid, Gerta 378
 Hanak, Anton 57, 368, 371
 Handl, Willi 19, 23
 Hanusch, Karl 376
 Harta, Felix Albrecht 83, 160, 368
 Hartel, Wilhelm von 105
 Hartlaub, Gustav Friedrich 266,
 267, 337, 338
 Hasenauer, Karl von 370
 Hasler, Bernhard 377
 Hauer, Josef Matthias 81,
 199, 346, 347, 381
 Haunold, Carl 377
 Hauptmann, Gerhart 72,
 73, 93, 95, 351, 374, 375
 Hauser, Carry 15,
 83, 108, 109, 111, 176, 178, 255, 256,
 294, 303, 338, 342–344, 347, 348,
 369
 Hausmann, Raoul 14,
 118, 130, 131, 196, 200, 202, 206,
 208, 211, 213, 227, 241–246, 248,
 249, 345, 362, 366, 368, 369
 Hausmann, Victor 242
 Haverkamp, Wilhelm 382
 Heartfield, John 14,
 179, 180, 202, 203, 206, 207, 243,
 245, 252–254, 344, 345, 368
 Hecht, Ben 243
 Heckel, Erich 83,
 109, 115, 127, 242, 255, 261, 367, 368,
 369, 383
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 81,
 84
 Hegemann, Werner 171, 174
 Heim, Emmy 248
 Heine, Thomas Theodor 58, 68, 369
 Helbing, Hugo 106
 Heller, Hugo 82, 197
 Helmer, Hermann 104, 105
 Hennings, Emmy 242
 Herbart, Johann Friedrich 81, 82, 84
 Herberholz, Wilhelm 364
 Herbig, Otto 345, 383
 Hermann, Hans 106
 Herterich, Ludwig von 374
 Herzfelde, Margarete 243
 Herzfelde, Wieland 243, 368
 Herzl, Theodor 105
 Hevesi, Ludwig 95–97
 Heym, Georg 241
 Hildebrandt, Hans 247, 253
 Hildebrandt, Lily 247
 Hille, Peter 241
 Hiller, Kurt 186, 241
 Hindemith, Paul 194
 Hirschwald, Hermann 86–88, 90, 91
 Hitler, Adolf 21, 253
 Höch, Hannah 14,
 202, 205, 207, 209, 211–215,
 243–250, 252–254, 343, 369
 Hoddis, Jakob van 241
 Hodler, Ferdinand 26, 78, 370
 Hofer, Karl (Carl) 15,
 26, 108–110, 274, 306, 343, 344,
 346, 370, 376
 Hoffmann, Josef 27,
 60–63, 77, 79, 81, 82, 86, 88–92,
 350, 370, 378, 379, 384
 Hoffmann, E. T. A. 346
 Hofmannsthal, Hugo von 20, 82, 368
 Hollaender, Victor 197
 Höllering, Franz 352
 Hollitzer, Carl Leopold 76–80,
 280, 349–353, 370
 Hollósy, Simon 367
 Höllriegel, Arnold 359
 Holz, Arno 375
 Hölzel, Adolf 368, 371, 381
 Holzmeister, Clemens 379
 Hopfer, Daniel 177, 178
 Hopper, Edward 343
 Horváth, Ödön von 196, 200
 Hubbuch, Karl 344
 Huelsenbeck, Richard 202,
 203, 242, 245, 262, 368
 Hugnet, Georges 246
 Humplik, Josef 295, 371
- I**
- Impekoven, Leo 105
 Isepp, Sebastian 192
 Itten, Johannes 83,
 109, 110, 199, 220, 247, 248, 253,
 256, 261, 347, 364, 371
- J**
- Jack the Ripper 181, 182
 Jacob, Heinrich Eduard 359
 Jacobsohn, Siegfried 245
 Jaeckel, Willy 154, 176, 177, 371, 378
 Jahoda, Georg 371
 Jahoda, Marie 21
 Janco, Marcel 242
 Jannings, Emil 138, 378
 Jaschke, Franz 45, 371
 Jettel, Eugen 26, 27, 41, 366, 371
 Johanson, Karl 262
 Jung, Franz 368
 Jünger, Ernst 345, 348
 Jungnickel, Ludwig Heinrich 162,
 163, 175, 371
 Jungwirth, Josef 376
- K**
- Kádár, Béla 380
 Kafka, Franz 196
 Kainer, Ludwig 379
 Kalckreuth, Leopold von 92, 95
 Kalhammer, Gustav 371
 Kalvach, Rudolf 124, 372
 Kampf, Arthur von 363
 Kandel, Eric 114, 115
 Kandinsky, Wassily 171,
 195, 197, 198, 200, 259, 262
 Kanoldt, Alexander 289,
 339, 341, 372
 Kant, Immanuel 81
 Karger, Carl 42, 372
 Karlinsky, Elisabeth 203
 Kaselow, Emil 363
 Kassák, Lajos 222,
 245, 246, 255, 256, 260, 262, 263,
 364, 372
 Kästner, Erich 337
 Catzenstein, Franz
 see Matthiesen, Francis M.
 Kaufmann, Hugo 375
 Kemény, Alfréd 260, 262
 Kenner, Anton von 374, 380
 Kernstok, Károly 363
 Kerr, Alfred 13, 197, 284, 365
 Khnopff, Fernand 92
 Kiesler, Friedrich 14,
 202, 231, 245, 255–259, 351, 354,
 369, 372
 Kirchner, Erna 83
 Kirchner, Ernst Ludwig 82,
 83, 104, 115, 117, 120, 124, 125, 127,
 140, 141, 172, 173, 177, 345, 369, 372,
 379
 Kisch, Egon Erwin 14, 196, 200, 356
 Klabund, Alfred Henschke 357, 359
 Kläger, Emil 98–102, 365
 Klages, Ludwig 259
 Klee, Paul 262
 Klein, César 258
 Klemm, Waltherr 383
 Klemmer, Robert 245
 Klien, Erika Giovanna 84,
 203, 226, 232–240, 247–251, 253,
 254, 257, 373, 375
 Klien, Walter 253
 Klimt, Ernst 373
 Klimt, Gustav 10,
 12, 13, 20, 26, 27, 29, 48, 92, 95, 99,
 101, 109–111, 114, 169, 170, 368,
 370, 371, 373, 374, 377
 Klinger, Julius 59, 373
 Klinger, Max 373
 Klossowska, Baladine (Merline) 31, 382
 Kluttsis, Gustavs 252
 Knirr, Heinrich 362
 Koch, Alexander 88
 Kohn, Jacob und Josef 61, 370, 377
 Kocoschka, Oskar 9,
 12, 13, 17, 83, 96, 109, 110, 114, 115,
 134, 136, 143, 149, 152, 153, 169–171,
 176–186, 188–190, 192, 196, 197, 199,
 200, 251, 373, 374, 378
 Kolig, Anton 96,
 127, 175, 176, 192, 197, 374
 Kolisch, Gertrud
 see Schönberg, Gertrud
 Koller, Silvia 343
 Koller-Pinell, Broncia 50, 343, 374
 Kollwitz, Käthe 70–75,
 92, 93, 95, 99, 164, 165, 177, 362, 374
 Komját, Aladár 262
 König, Leo von 375
 Kortner, Fritz 19, 23, 283, 365
 Kosak, Ceno 383
 Kosmack, Eduard 82, 115, 133, 381
 Kracauer, Siegfried 15, 346, 386
 Kraus, Karl 9,
 12, 13, 19, 20, 23, 80, 169, 171, 174,
 180, 186–190, 196, 245, 258, 370, 371
 Krenek, Ernst 199, 347
 Kubin, Alfred 109, 110
 Kuehl, Gotthardt 92, 93, 96
 Kuh, Anton 22, 23
 Kuhn, Franz 374, 375
 Kulka, Georg 263
 Kulvianski, Issai 270, 375
- L**
- Laban, Rudolf 258
 Lagerlöf, Selma 188
 Lahm, Karl 359
 Laliq, René 88
 Lang, Fritz 22, 346
 Langer, Felix 359
 Larisch, Rudolf von 373–375,
 379, 383
 Laserstein, Lotte 16,
 267, 272, 304, 334, 375
 Laske, Oskar 176
 Lasker-Schüler, Else 14,
 186–190, 197, 225, 241, 258, 364
 Lazarsfeld, Paul Felix 21
 Lefler, Heinrich 367
 Léger, Fernand 256, 257, 259
 Lehár, Franz 197
 Leistikow, Walter 12,
 26, 36, 95, 375, 376
 Lenk, Franz 311, 375
 Lenya-Weill, Lotte 22, 281, 353, 365
 Lerch, Franz 15, 274, 276, 346, 376
 Leschnitzer, Georg 375
 Lesk, Alexander 365
 Lessing, Julius 87
 Lewin-Funcke, Arthur / Schule 242,
 378
 Lhermitte, Léon Augustin 95
 Licht, Julius Gustav 103, 105–107
 Licht, Stephan von 105–107
 Lichtenfels, Eduard Peithner von 367
 Liebermann, Max 26,
 27, 33, 34, 38, 92, 94–96, 106, 109,
 177, 197, 366, 367, 375–377, 383
 Liebknecht, Karl 21, 74, 167, 366, 374
 Lindner, Gustav Adolf 82, 84

- Linke, Karl 198, 200
Lissitzky, El 258, 262
List, Wilhelm 78, 370
Loos, Adolf 12,
78, 92, 99, 101, 171, 178, 182,
188–190, 196, 248, 363, 370, 379
Lorenz, Rudolf 109–111
Lorre, Peter 283, 365
Lücken, Iwar von 293, 340, 365
Ludwig II. 372
Lueger, Karl 20
Luxemburg, Rosa 21, 167, 366
- M**
- Mach, Ernst 182
Mahler, Alma 178
Mahler, Gustav 20, 197, 198, 347
Mahrholz, Werner 359
Makart, Hans 12, 85
Malevich, Kazimir 255
Mallina, Erich 54, 374, 376
Mammen, Jeanne 292, 295, 376
Mánes, Josef / Mánes Association of
Fine Arts 256
Mann, Heinrich 378
Mann, Thomas 369
Marinetti, Filippo Tommaso 187,
190, 257, 262
Markowitz, Alfred 194
Marr, Carl von 381
Marx, Karl 21, 102, 252
Matsch, Franz 373
Matthiesen, Francis M. (Catzenstein,
Franz) / Galerie 109, 110
Máttis-Teutsch, Janos 261
Mauer, Rudolf 374
Mebert, Richard 364
Medunetsky, Konstantin (Kasimir)
262
Meidner, Ludwig 115,
119, 132, 151, 158, 160, 161, 171, 172,
174, 176, 197, 366, 368, 376
Meier-Graefe, Julius 169, 174
Melzer, Moriz 221, 377
Menke, Hermann 83
Menzel, Adolph von 106
Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar
von 81
Metzner, Franz 13, 56, 377
Meunier, Constantin 26, 94, 95
Meyerhold, Vsevolod Emiljewitsch
255, 257
Meyrink, Gustav 346
Miethke, Hugo Othmar / Galerie 95,
108–111, 170, 197, 374, 376, 377, 381
Miethke-Gutenegg, Otto Maria 109
Minne, George 26
Missmann, Max 22
Modigliani, Amedeo 172
Moholy-Nagy, László 83,
219, 256, 258, 260, 262, 372, 377
Moll, Carl 12,
26, 27, 37, 93, 109, 134, 197, 198,
200, 374, 377
Möller, Ferdinand 103, 106–108
Möller, Otto 202, 228, 377
Monet, Claude 92
- Morgenstern, Christian 197
Morris, William 86
Moser, Koloman 27,
51, 52, 77, 78, 84, 86–92, 350, 370,
371, 377, 384
Mühsam, Erich 15, 17, 76, 241, 370
Müller, Leopold Carl 367
Müller, Robert 261, 356, 359
Munch, Edvard 179, 241
Musil, Robert 21, 92, 96, 193, 196, 368
Muther, Richard 94–96
Muthesius, Hermann 27, 28
Mutz, Richard 90
- N**
- Nauen, Heinrich 364
Naujok, Gustav 374
Naumann, Paul Hermann 364
Nebehay, Gustav 110, 363
Nechansky-Stotz, Friederike (Fritzi)
224, 378
Neumann, Ernst 368
Neumann, Jsrael Ber / Galerie
Neumann-Nierendorf 261,
339, 340, 346, 363, 369,
375, 383
Neumann, Max 363
Neumeyer, Alfred 342
Neuschul, Ernst 16, 309, 378
Nierendorf, Karl Galerie Nierendorf
(später Neumann-Nierendorf) 15,
103, 339, 340, 346, 364, 369, 375,
383
Nirenstein, Otto 109, 110, 380
Nitsch, Hermann 245
Nolde, Emil 193
Nonnenmacher, Hermann 308, 378
Novotny, Fritz 194
Nowak, Willi 110
Nussbaum, Felix 307, 330, 378
- O**
- O'Neill, Eugene 256
Obronski, Willi 105
Olbrich, Joseph Maria 27, 370
Oppenheim, Albert Freiherr von 103
Oppenheimer, Max 12,
82, 83, 96, 128, 135, 138, 146–148,
189, 196–200, 244, 305, 347, 378
Orlik, Emil 9,
26, 32, 69, 93, 197, 284, 285,
349–353, 365, 367, 369, 378, 380
Osborn, Max 342
Ostwald, Hans 102, 171, 174
Otten, Karl 168, 381
Ozenfant, Amédée 343
- P**
- Passarge, Walter 263
Paul, Bruno 384
Pauser, Sergius 272, 336, 340, 379
Pechstein, Max 13,
123, 126, 177, 179, 242, 379
- Peithner von Lichtenfels, Eduard 367
Péri, László 256
Pfemfert, Franz 186–188,
190, 197, 244, 366, 368, 376, 380
Picabia, Francis 243
Picasso, Pablo 343
Piloty, Carl Theodor von 372
Piscator, Erwin 255, 368
Pisko, Gustav / Kunstsalon 105,
108, 109
Pissarro, Camille 172
Planck, Max 114
Ploberger, Herbert 15,
287, 290, 339–341, 379
Pocsdorff 79, 370
Poglayen-Neuwall, Stephan 342
Polgar, Alfred 15,
17, 196, 202, 203, 204, 344, 348,
350, 352, 355, 356, 359
Popowa, Ljubow Sergejewna 255
Popper, Karl Sir 21
Prampolini, Enrico 256, 257, 263
Pregartbauer, Lois 310, 379
Preis, Max 359
- Q**
- Quinz, Matheo 353
- R**
- Raab, Josef 374
Raffaëlli, Jean-François 95
Rathe, Kurt 256–259
Rathenau, Walther 21, 174
Redlich, Alexander 359
Reich, Amalie 366
Reichel, Malvine 111
Reichel, Oskar 109–111, 138, 381
Reimann, Albert / Schule 373, 377
Reinhardt, Max 106,
197, 282, 347, 350, 351, 353, 354,
363, 365, 368, 379, 382, 383
Reismayer-Fritsche, Johanna (Hansi)
222, 375, 379
Rembrandt van Rijn 103
Rheiner, Walter 174
Ribarz, Rudolf 362
Richter, Emil / Kunstsalon 375
Richter, Hans 200, 255, 259, 262, 372
Richter-Berlin, Heinrich 139, 380
Riemerschmid, Werner 358, 359
Rilke, Rainer Maria 82
Ringelnatz, Joachim 76,
108, 144, 370, 382
Rippl-Rónai, József 363
Robert, Eugen 255
Rochowski, Leopold Wolfgang 253,
256, 257, 259, 373, 379
Roda Roda, Alexander 197
Rodenberg, Julius 19, 20, 23
Rodschenko, Alexander 255, 262
Roessler, Arthur 83, 109
Roh, Franz 339, 342
Roller, Alfred 372, 376
Rosen, Gerd / Galerie 369, 376
Rössing, Karl 380
- Roters, Eberhard 339
Roth, Joseph 22, 196, 200, 202, 203
Rothansl, Rosalia 378
Rühle, Otto 252
Rühm, Gerhard 245
Ruskin, John 86
Rysselberghe, Théo van 26
- S**
- Salvendy, Frieda 109, 261
Sander, August 337
Schachner, Auguste 378
Schad, Christian 15,
84, 199, 266, 270, 271, 286, 323,
340, 343, 345, 346, 348, 380
Schad-Rossa, Paul 95
Schaefer, Egmont 296, 380
Schaeffer, August 105, 106
Schatz, Otto Rudolf 277,
341, 343, 346, 347, 380
Scheffler, Karl 109, 111, 359
Scheerbart, Paul 197
Scheiber, Hugó 202, 229, 380
Scheinert, Hugo 376
Scheu, Robert 187, 189, 190
Schiefler, Luise 115, 172
Schiele, Egon 12,
82, 83, 96, 110, 114, 115, 128, 133,
138, 143, 168–170, 175, 197, 251,
346, 378, 380, 381
Schindler, Emil Jakob 93, 377
Schinkel, Karl Friedrich 169
Schlaf, Johannes 197
Schlemmer, Oskar 183, 257, 259
Schlichter, Rudolf 207,
243, 266, 269, 275, 317, 339–341,
368, 381
Schmalhausen, Otto 243, 246
Schmeling, Max 305, 363
Schmeller, Alfred 343
Schmid-Reutte, Ludwig 381
Schmidt, Paul Ferdinand 190
Schmidt-Rottluff, Karl 242, 367
Schmutzer, Ferdinand 103
Schneid, Otto 194
Schneider, Otto 260, 261, 263
Schnitzler, Arthur 344
Schönberg, Arnold 82,
135, 137, 170, 171, 174, 188, 194,
196–200, 365, 367, 371, 378, 381
Schönberg, Gertrud (geb. Kolisch)
197, 198, 200
Schönberg, Mathilde 170,
198, 200, 367
Schreker, Franz 199
Schrödl, Anton 367
Schufinsky, Victor 378, 379
Schulte, Eduard 105
Schur, Ernst 91
Schwarz-Waldegg, Fritz 163,
176, 345, 347, 348, 381
Schwitters, Kurt 245,
256, 262, 369, 372
Sedlacek, Franz 312,
313, 343, 346, 347, 381
Segal, Arthur 324, 364, 381, 382
Segantini, Giovanni 26, 94

- Serner, Walter 196,
199, 243, 244, 246, 380
- Servaes, Franz 12, 96
- Sheeler, Charles 343, 347
- Simmel, Johannes Mario 253
- Simmel, Walter 253
- Simon, André / Galerie 108
- Singer, Franz 247, 248, 344, 364
- Sinsheimer, Hermann 359
- Sintenis, Renée 108, 109, 144, 382, 383
- Skala, Franz 261
- Skarbina, Franz 26, 38, 95, 96, 382
- Slevogt, Max 27, 92–96, 135, 177, 382
- Soffer, Hans 109, 111
- Soyfer, Jura 199
- Soyka, Otto 187, 189
- Spiller, Else 99
- Spiro, Eugen 31, 382
- St. Genois d'Anneaucourt 345
- Stark, Adele von 372
- Staupe, Johanna 29, 62, 373, 384
- Stauffer-Bern, Karl 374
- Stefan, Paul 200
- Steffeck, Karl 376
- Steinmetz, Ludwig 251
- Stenberg, Georgii und Vladimir 262
- Stéphanie of Belgium 372
- Sterrerr, Karl 376, 379
- Stevens, Halsey 200
- Stern, Ernst 166,
349–351, 353, 363, 379, 382
- Stoecker, Adolf 20
- Stoessl, Otto 187, 189
- Stokowski, Leopold 200
- Stollberg 77, 370
- Stonborough, Jerome 90, 91
- Stonborough-Wittgenstein,
Margarethe 57, 90, 91, 368
- Storck, Josef von 362
- Strasser, Arthur 26
- Straus, Oscar 197
- Strauss, Richard 197, 199
- Strnad, Oskar 366, 374, 379, 380
- Strobel, Heinrich 359
- Struck, Hermann 375
- Stuck, Franz von 382
- Süssenbach, Gertrud 375
- Szamár, Zöld 364
- Szilágyi, Jolán 262
- T**
- Tagger, Theodor 263
- Tappert, Georg 377
- Tatlin, Wladimir Jewgrafowitsch 202,
203, 206, 368
- Tesar, Ludwig Erik 189
- Tessenow, Heinrich 374
- Thannhauser, Justin 103
- Thoma, Hans 381
- Thorak, Josef 363
- Thun-Hohenstein, Leo von 81
- Tietze, Hans 110,
114, 115, 191–195, 257, 258, 278, 347,
349–352, 366
- Tietze-Conrat, Erica 191–194, 366
- Titzenhaller, Waldemar 19, 104
- Toch, Ernst 199
- Traeger, Wilhelm 300, 301, 380, 383
- Trenker, Luis 336, 379
- Trenkwald, Josef Mathias 371
- Trübner, Wilhelm 381
- Twain, Mark 169, 174
- Tzara, Tristan 242, 246
- U**
- Uhde, Fritz von 95, 106, 383
- Uitz, Béla 255–258, 260, 262, 263
- Újvári, Erzsí 245
- Ullmann, Marianne (My) 203
- Umansky, Konstantin 255, 262
- Umbo (Otto Maximilian Umbehr)
356
- Ury, Lesser 42,
44, 95, 103–106, 109, 111, 383
- V**
- Vaszary, János 363
- Velde, Henry van de 88
- Viertel, Berthold 196, 247, 258
- Vogeler, Heinrich 252, 254
- Vogelsang, Otto Kurt 60, 370
- Voglmayr, Emilie 81
- Voll, Carl 95
- W**
- Wacker, Rudolf 16,
176, 180, 244, 266, 288, 289, 291,
306, 341–345, 348, 383
- Waerndorfer, Fritz 86, 370, 384
- Wagner, Ernst 261
- Wagner, Otto 92, 364, 370, 383
- Wagner, Otto Erich 232, 375, 379, 383
- Wagner, Richard 169
- Walden, Herwarth 12–15,
17, 83, 144, 171, 178, 182, 186–190,
196, 200, 241, 256, 364, 366, 369,
371, 373, 376, 377, 380, 383
- Walden, Nell 136, 374
- Waldmüller, Ferdinand Georg 93
- Waldoff, Claire 136, 374
- Wasservogel, Martin 111
- Wassilko, Vera 345, 346
- Wauer, William 144, 383
- Webern, Anton 199, 371
- Wedekind, Franz 197
- Weigel, Helene 22
- Weill, Kurt 352, 353
- Weininger, Otto 182
- Weintraub, Stefan 347
- Weiß, Emil Rudolf 382–384
- Wellesz, Egon 174, 199
- Werfel, Franz 282, 352, 353, 365
- Werner, Anton von 12,
26, 104, 337, 375, 383
- Westermayr, Konrad 159, 384
- Westheim, Paul 83,
181, 182, 184, 341, 342, 348, 383
- Wickhoff, Franz 191
- Wiegele, Franz 192
- Wiener, Oswald 245
- Wiesenthal, Grete 295, 371
- Wigman, Mary 352
- Wilder, Billy 22
- Wilhelm II. 26
- Winter, Max 99
- Wittgenstein, Karl 91
- Wolfradt, Willi 342
- Wolfsfeld, Erich 375
- Wolgemut, Michael 178, 179
- Wölfflin, Heinrich 367
- Wolzogen, Ernst von 196, 197
- Wörten, Georg Philipp 111
- Wunderwald, Gustav 310,
341, 346, 384
- Würthle, Karl Friedrich / Galerie 108,
109, 111, 245, 342, 344, 345
- Z**
- Zehme, Albertine 198
- Zemlinsky, Alexander 197, 199
- Zepler, Bogumil 197
- Ziegler, Richard 294, 384
- Zille, Heinrich 99
- Zimmermann, Robert von 82
- Zirner, Katharina 109, 261
- Zuckermandl, Victor 88
- Zuckermandl, Berta 11, 17

Picture credits

© 2013 for the illustrations of Johannes Baader, Max Beckmann, Rudolf Belling, Albert Birkle, Otto Dix, Benedikt Fred Dolbin, Josef Engelhart, Conrad Felixmüller, Albert Paris Gütersloh, Carry Hauser, Raoul Hausmann, Thomas Theodor Heine, Hannah Höch, Karl Hofer, Hugo Höppener (Fidus); Johannes Itten, Willy Jaeckel, Anton Kolig, Käthe Kollwitz, Issai Kulvianski, Wladimir Wassiljewitsch Lebedew, Franz Lenk, Jeanne Mammen, Ludwig Meidner, László Moholy-Nagy, Felix Nussbaum, Herbert Ploberger, Iwan Puni, Arnold Schönberg, Renée Sintenis, Eugen Spiro, Otto Erich Wagner, William Wauer, Richard Ziegler: VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn und VBK, Wien

© 2013 for the illustrations of George Grosz: Estate of George Grosz, Princeton, N.J./VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn; John Heartfield: The Heartfield Community of Heirs/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn; Oskar Kokoschka: Fondation Oskar Kokoschka/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn; Christian Schad: Christian Schad Stiftung Aschaffenburg/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn; Otto Umbehrr (Umbo): Phyllis Umbehrr/Galerie Kicken Berlin/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn

© 2013 for the illustrations of Herbert Boeckl: Nachlass Herbert Boeckl; Nikolaus Braun: Andrew Duncan Braun; Philipp Franck: Nachlass Philipp Franck; Naum Gabo: The Work of Naum Gabo (Nina & Graham Williams); Erich Heckel: Nachlass Erich Heckel, Hemmenhofen; Lily Hildebrandt: Alexandra Hildebrandt; Josef Humplik: Stadtgemeinde Purkersdorf; Lajos Kassák: Kassák-Museum, Budapest; Franz Lerch: Peter Lerch; Ludwig Meidner: Ludwig-Meidner-Archiv, Jüdisches Museum Frankfurt a.M.; Moriz Melzer: Renate Kneifel; Otto Möller: Christoph Möller, Diessen/Ammersee; Ernst Neuschul: Khalil Norland, Mischa Neuschul; Hermann Nonnenmacher: Nachlass Hermann Nonnenmacher; Sergius Pauser: Dr. Wolfgang Pauser; Max Pechstein: Max Pechstein Urheberrechtsgemeinschaft Alexander Pechstein; Egmont Schaefer: Berliner Kabinett e.V.; Rudolf Schlichter: Viola Roehr- von Alvensleben, München; Arthur Segal: John A. Segal; Wilhelm Träger: Verena Träger; Gustav Wunderwald: Ludwig Ziller; Max Missmann: Potsdamer Platz: Michael Rutschky; Postkarten Haus Vaterland: Gebr. Hartkopf GmbH, Berlin

Photo credits

© Albertina, Wien: 72-77, 80, 92 top, 169, 198, 349, 350 top, 351 top

© Architekturmuseum TU Berlin: 87

© Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien: 82 bottom, 137, 197 top.

© Atelier/Archiv Attersee: 245

© Auktionshaus im Kinsky, Wien: 341

© Bauhaus Archiv, Berlin: 247

© Kai-Annett Becker: 19, 22, 31-33, 44, 46 left, 53, 65, 70 right, 103 bottom, 118, 130, 136, 144 right, 145, 151, 154, 158, 159, 161, 168, 182 bottom, 206, 208, 212-217, 241 bottom, 248, 270 left, 275, 279-284, 285 left, 286, 289 right; 292, 293, 298, 299, 305, 307-309, 318-320, 330, 352

© Belvedere, Wien: 29, 30, 34, 37, 39-41, 42 right, 45, 50-52, 54, 56, 57, 62 right, 63, 64, 108-111, 121, 122, 126, 127 left, 129 left, 131 right, 133, 134, 138 right, 144 left, 147, 149, 150, 160 right, 162, 163, 170 top, 222 right, 273, 276-278, 289 left, 232 right, 290, 294 left, 295 left, 303, 306, 300, 301, 336, 343

© Georges Bodmer: 135 right

© Herbert Boswank, Dresden: 177 bottom

© bpk: 178 bottom

© bpk / Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen: 94 top

© bpk (Knud Petersen): 105

© bpk / Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Jürgen Karpinski): 93 top

© bpk (Klaus Göken): 129 right

© bpk (Dietmar Katz): 59-61, 69, 152

© bpk (Jörg P. Anders): 92 bottom, 120, 135 left, 143 right, 146, 173 top, 253

© bpk (Roman März): 334

© Brücke Museum, Berlin: 125, 127 right, 140, 141

© Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford: 177 top

© Christie's Images Ltd/Artothek: 174

© Claudia Dannenberg: 71

© Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin (S. Ahlers): 68

© Vera Eisenberger KG, Wien: 176

© Ernst Galeria, Budapest: 229

© Fotostudio Bartsch, Berlin: 165

© Fotostudio Otto, Wien: 128, 234, 274 right

© R. Friedrich: 164 right

© Galerie Bassenge, Berlin: 96 bottom

© Galerie Schlichtenmaier, Stuttgart: 297

© Willard Golovin: 191

© Graphisches Atelier Neumann, Wien: 288

© Markus Hawlik: 178 top, 207 left, 356

© Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Wien: 344 bottom.

© IMAGNO/Austrian Archives: 21 top, 357, 83 bottom

© IMAGNO/Franz Hubmann: 20

© Institut für Zeitungsforschung, Dortmund: 256 bottom.

© Birgit und Peter Kainz, faksimile digital: 218, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240

© Kirchner Museum Davos: 83 mid

© Walter Klein: 338

© Bertram Kober, Leipzig: 314, 315

© Renate Kühling: 70 left, 321, 322

© Christina Korzen: 353

© Kunsthaus Zug (Alfred Frommwiller): 78, 79, 138 left, 142, 143 left, 155 left, 182

© Kunsthaus Zürich: 220, 241 top

© Landesarchiv Berlin: 104

© Manfred Lebeau, Bad Homburg:

310 rechts, 313

© Christel Lehmann, Berlin: 49

© Lindenau Museum Altenburg: 131 left

© Mina Maier: 344 top

© MAK: 89 mid, 90

© MAK (Georg Mayer): 62 left, 153

© Museum Associates/LACMA/Art Resource NY/Scala, Florence: 183 top

© The Museum of Modern Art, New York/Scala, Florence: 192, 258

© mumok, Sammlung Paul Kövesdi, New York: 222 left, 230 left

© mumok, Schenkung Oswald Oberhuber: 328 right, 329

© mumok, Sammlung Dieter und Gertraud Bogner: S. 81 bottom

© Museum Wiesbaden: 219

© New York Psychoanalytic Society and Institute Archive: 83 top

© Neue Galerie New York: 172

© Oesterreichische Nationalbank: 21 bottom, 260, 261 top, 261 bottom, 262, 263, 82 top, 84 top

© Österreichische Friedrich und Lillian Kiesler-Privatstiftung: 255 top, 256 top, 257

© Österreichisches Theatermuseum Wien: 350 bottom

© Privatsammlung Salzburg: 302

© Dr. Erich Raithel: 347 bottom

© Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln: 94 bottom

© Monika Runge: 272 right

© Sammlung Leopold, Wien/ Leopold Museum: 10, 170 bottom, 244 bottom

© Sammlung Pabst, Wien: 226

© Stefan Schiske/ Lehr Berlin: 274 left

© Michael Setzpfandt, Berlin: 38 right, 166 top, 196 right, 294 right

© Bernd Sinterhauf, Berlin: 155 right, 156, 157, 179

© Staatsgalerie Stuttgart: 95 bottom

© Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus: 95 top, 287

© Stiftung MUSEION. Museum für moderne und zeitgenössische Kunst Bozen: 197 bottom

© Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf: 48

© Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin: 42 left, 58, 119, 164 left, 166 bottom, 221, 269, 296 right, 285 right, 323

© Studio Walter Bayer: 272 left

© Tate Gallery London: 173 bottom, 340, 346 mid

© Theaterwissenschaftliche Sammlung, Universität zu Köln: 255 bottom

© The Trustees of the British Museum: 103 top

© ullstein bild, Berlin: 106

© Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg: 88, 91

© Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv: 124 left, 222 right, 223-225, 232 left, 233, 312 right, 325-328 left, 332

© Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal: 117, 123, 167, 348

© Wenzel Weis, reproduction by Birgit und Peter Kainz, faksimile digital: 181

© Wien Museum: 84 bottom, 251

© Hans Zurucker: 339

© Zweckverband Oberschwäbische Elektrizitätswerke (OEW) / Photo Werkstatt Franz-Josef Stiele-Werdermann: 291

From secondary literature

© DADA. Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, Cologne, New York (exh. cat. Centre Pompidou Paris, National Gallery of Art Washington, The Museum of Modern Art New York), Washington 2005, p. 98: 243

© Charlotte Behrend-Corinth, *Lovis Corinth. Die Gemälde*, Munich 1992, p. 451, Nr. 272: 96 top

© Hanne Bergius, *Montage und Metamechanik. Dada Berlin – Artistik von Polaritäten*, Berlin 2000, p. 391: 244 top

© Gesellschaft zur Förderung moderne Kunst (ed.), *Die Kunst unserer Zeit* (exh. cat. Künstlerhaus, Wien) Vienna 1930: 347 top

© Agnes Husslein-Arco/Alfred Weidinger (ed.), *Kokoschka. Träumender Knabe – Infant terrible* (exh. cat. Belvedere, Wien) Weitra 2008, p. 204: 183 bottom

© Eva Karcher, *Otto Dix (1891-1969)*. "Entweder ich werde berühmt oder berüchtigt", Cologne 2002, p. 61, 70: 184

© Emil Kläger, *Durch die Quartiere des Elends und Verbrechens. Ein Wanderbuch aus dem Jenseits*, Wien 1908, unpagged: 101 bottom

© Peter Noever (ed.), *Der Preis der Schönheit. Zum 100. Geburtstag der Wiener Werkstätte* (exh. cat. Museum für angewandte Kunst / Gegenwartskunst, Wien), Ostfildern-Ruit 2004: 86

© Olaf Peters (ed.), *Otto Dix* (exh. cat. Neue Galerie, New York, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Montréal), Munich/Berlin/London 2010, p. 158: 345 top

© Renée Price (ed.), *Egon Schiele. The Ronald S. Lauder and Serge Sabarsky Collection* (exh. cat. Neue Galerie New York), Munich 2005, p. 237: 346 top

© Marie-Agnes von Puttkamer, *MOPP. Max Oppenheimer 1885-1954. Leben und malerisches Werk mit einem Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 1999, p. 143: 347 mid

© Willy Rotzler (ed.), *Johannes Itten. Werke und Schriften*, Zurich 1978, p. 136: 199

© Klaus Schröder (ed.), *Neue Sachlichkeit. Österreich 1918-1938* (exh. cat. Kunstforum Bank Austria, Wien) Vienna 1995, p. 157: 346 bottom

If in spite of our thorough research any individual illustrations have not been correctly attributed or acknowledged, we offer our apologies and would appreciate any information that will allow us to rectify the matter in future editions.

Vienna – Berlin

The Art of Two Cities From Schiele to Grosz

Berlinische Galerie
Landesmuseum für Moderne
Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur
October 24, 2013–January 27, 2014

Belvedere, Vienna
February 14–June 15, 2014

This book is published in conjunction
with the exhibition of the same name.

Exhibition

Directors

Agnes Husslein-Arco, Vienna
Thomas Köhler, Berlin

Curators

Alexander Klee, Vienna
Ralf Burmeister, Berlin
Annelie Lütgens, Berlin

Curatorial assistants

Stephanie Auer, Vienna
Markus Fellinger, Vienna
Christina Korzen, Berlin
Isabelle Lindermann, Berlin

Belvedere

Prinz Eugen-Straße 27
A – 1030 Vienna
www.belvedere.at

Berlinische Galerie

Alte Jakobstraße 124 – 128
D – 10969 Berlin
www.berlinischegalerie.de

Publication

Editors

Agnes Husslein-Arco, Vienna
Thomas Köhler, Berlin
Ralf Burmeister, Berlin
Alexander Klee, Vienna
Annelie Lütgens, Berlin

Graphic design

e o t. essays on typography, Berlin
Lilla Hinrichs and Anna Sartorius

Typesetting

e o t, Katharina Triebe

Typefaces

Berlin texts: Weiss-Antiqua
Vienna texts: Larisch Alte
General texts: Verlag

Editorial direction

Anja Paquin
Katharina Kümmerle

Copy-editing

Rita Forbes, Paul Wheatley,
Guy Ogilvy

Translation

Cynthia Hall: Preface, Auer,
Burmeister, Franz, Gratzler-Baum-
gärtner, Jäger, Kaiser, Klee (Secessi-
ons), Klöckner (Expressionsm),
Korzen, Krones, Lütgens (Dada and
Kineticism), Nentwig, Schöddert,
Wafmer, List of works
Ian Pepper: Introduction, Burmeister
(Dada), Cabuk, Fellinger, Klee

(Coincidence), Klöckner (Experience),
Krapf-Weiler, Krejci, Lindermann,
Lütgens (Modern Women Artists),
Schlösser, Biographies, List of works
Kate Vanovitch: Work titles

Production

Andrea Cobré, Cilly Klotz

Printing and binding

Kösel GmbH & Co. KG, Krugzell



Library of Congress Control Number
is available; British Library Catalo-
guing-in-Publication Data: a catalogue
record for this book is available from
the British Library; The Deutsche
Nationalbibliothek holds a record
of this publication in the Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie; detailed
bibliographical data can be found
under: www.dnb.de

Prestel books are available worldwide.
Please contact your nearest book-
seller or one of the above addresses
for information concerning your
local distributor.

Prestel Verlag, Munich

A member of Verlagsgruppe Random
House GmbH

Prestel Verlag

Neumarkter Straße 28
D – 81673 Munich
Tel. + 49 (0) 89 41 36–0
Fax + 49 (0) 89 41 36–23 35
www.prestel.de

Prestel Publishing Ltd.

14-17 Wells Street
GB – London W1T 3PD
Tel. + 44 (0) 20 73 23–50 04
Fax + 44 (0) 20 73 23–02 71

Prestel Publishing

900 Broadway, Suite 603
USA – New York, NY 10003
Tel. + 1 (212) 995–27 20
Fax + 1 (212) 995–27 33
www.prestel.com

Trade edition

ISBN 978–3–7913–5329–6

Museum edition Vienna

ISBN 978–3–7913–6534–3

All rights reserved
Printed in Germany

© 2013 Belvedere, Vienna;
Berlinische Galerie, Berlin; Prestel
Verlag, Munich · London · New York
2013; the artists and the authors

Cover illustrations

Edition of Berlinische Galerie and Prestel

Front: Herbert Ploberger
*Self-Portrait (With Ophthalmological
Teaching Aids)*, 1928–1930, Städtische
Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich
Back: Sergius Pauser
Lady in White, 1927, Gemälde- und
Skulpturensammlung der Museen der
Stadt Nürnberg

Edition of Belvedere, Vienna

Front: Otto Rudolf Schatz
Ballon Seller, 1929, Belvedere, Vienna
Back: Herbert Ploberger
*Self-Portrait (With Ophthalmological
Teaching Aids)*, 1928–1930, Städtische
Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich

Marbled paper

Aurelia Markwalder

If in spite of our thorough research
any individual illustrations have not
been correctly attributed or ac-
knowledged, we offer our apologies
and would appreciate any infor-
mation that will allow us to rectify the
matter in future editions.