INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9405514

Die Neue Sachlichkeit: Post-Expressionism in Germany, 1919–1925

Crockett, Dennis Charles, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1993

Copyright ©1993 by Crockett, Dennis Charles. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

14

DIE NEUE SACHLICHKEIT: POST-EXPRESSIONISM IN GERMANY 1919-1925

by

DENNIS CROCKETT

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1993

© 1993

DENNIS CROCKETT

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

8/17/93 — Date

Rose-Carol Washton Long — Chair of Examining Committee

7-22-93 — Date

Rosemarie Bletter — Executive Officer

Rosemarie Haag Bletter

Robert Pincus-Witten

Mona Hadler

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

DIE NEUE SACHLICHKEIT:

POST-EXPRESSIONISM IN GERMANY 1919-1925

by

Dennis Crockett

Adviser: Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long

Today the original intention and understanding of the term Neue Sachlichkeit is lost. The slogan was coined in 1923 as a designation for the Post-Expressionist figurative art that had developed throughout Germany since the failed revolution of 1919, an art that had evolved out of, or in reaction to Expressionism. Although the term was coined during the period of hyper-inflation, it became a popular slogan only with the Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition that traveled throughout Germany during 1925-26 -- that is, after the German economy had been stabilized. The term then took on a life of its own going far beyond the intentions of Gustav F. Hartlaub, its originator. The phrases Sachlichkeit and Neue Sachlichkeit came to designate a new

public attitude in Weimar Germany during this period of economic and political stabilization (1924-28). Within a few years after its introduction the slogan stood for an all-business attitude, which the Germans had perceived as being intrinsically American.

In the history of art the term has since been applied to the plethora of naturalistic styles that appeared during the Weimar Republic, primarily between 1925 and 1933.

However, through a historical study of both the development of figurative Post-Expressionism and the contemporary criticism, the historical inaccuracy regarding the term Neue Sachlichkeit becomes evident. A figurative, somewhat naturalistic, Post-Expressionism was fully developed and acknowledged in Berlin, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Munich, Karlsruhe and other cities by the autumn of 1923, the point of Germany's total economic collapse. In the spring of 1923 Hartlaub began preparing for an autumn exhibition of the new art which he labeled Die neue Sachlichkeit. The economic situation, however, rendered such plans impossible until 1925, i.e. during the stabilization.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people to be thanked for the completion of this dissertation, and for my having come this far. For eight years, and with uncommon enthusiasm, Rose-Carol Washton Long has guided me in my journey into Weimar. I wish to thank her for her thorough assistance at every stage of the preparation of this dissertation. For their humor, encouragement and classroom models, I am forever grateful to Linnea S. Dietrich, Robert Pincus-Witten, William Clark and Linda Nochlin. For their careful reading of this dissertation, I thank Rosemarie Haag Bletter, Mona Hadler and Robert Pincus-Witten.

For assistance in carrying out my research, I wish to thank: Friedel Scholz, Waldkirch; Siegmar Holsten, Karlsruhe Kunsthalle; Helmut Goettl, Akademie der bildenden Künste, Karlsruhe; Karlheinz Faass, Karlsruhe; Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, Karlsruhe; Wilfried Rößling, Siebeldingen; Karin and Rudolf Lang, Eppenbrunn; Claus Pese and the staff of the Archiv für bildende Kunst, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nurnberg; the staff of the Zentral Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich; the staff of the Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich; the staff of the Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Hans-Jürgen Buderer and the staff of the Mannheim Kunsthalle; Wolfgang Schröck-Schmidt, Neckargemünd; the staff of the Kunstbibliothek, Berlin; the staff of the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz-Handschriften-

abteilung, Berlin; Eva Pankok and the staff at the Otto-Pankok-Haus, Drevenack; Florian Karch of the Galerie Nierendorf, Berlin; the staff of the Otto Dix Stiftung, Schaffhausen; Peter Barth of the Galerie Remmert und Barth, Dusseldorf; Horst Völker, Halle; Mona Wollheim, New York; the staff of the Museum of Modern Art library; the staff of the Resource Collections of the Getty Center for the History of Art and Humanities, Santa Monica; the staff of the Mina Rees Library, CUNY Graduate Center; and Susanna Simor and the staff of the Rosenthal Library, Queens College.

My research in Germany was funded by the Milton Brown Dissertation Fellowship, an Area Studies Fellowship (Center for European Studies, CUNY), and an Art History Department Dissertation Fellowship, CUNY.

For their sympathy, support and friendship, my thanks to Linda Crockett, Keir Davidson, Russell Flinchum, Joe Futtner, Jonathan Harding and Carmen Stonge.

For your love, thank you Ella and Joe.

For teaching me about perspective, thank you Mecki and Toby.

And for absolutely everything, thank you Babilon.

Dennis Crockett

Walla Walla

June 1993

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....iv
List of Illustrations.....x
Concerning the Text.....xviii
Abbreviation used in the footnotes.....xvix

Introduction.....1
The Historical Assessment of Post-Expressionism since World War II.....8

Part I The State of Art in Germany 1919-1925.....39
1. The Crisis of Expressionism 1919-1920.....40
2. Identification of a New Art Movement 1919-1922..53
3. The Art of the Inflation 1920-24.....65
3.1 The Inflation.....66
3.2 The Artists.....72
3.3 Stabilization of the Dead Art Market 1924..87

Part II Post-Expressionism in Germany 1919-1924: *The Artists*.....90
1. Berlin Dada and Associates.....91
1.1 Berlin Dada 1918-1920.....92
1.2 Post-Dada.....124
1.2.1 Berlin.....125
1.2.2 Scholz in Grötzingen 1920-1921.....142
1.2.3 Dix in Dresden 1920-1922.....147
1.3 The Opposition to the *November Group* & Socially-Engaged Art in Berlin.....156

2. The Rhineland.....165
2.1 Cologne.....166
2.2 Dusseldorf.....185
2.3 Dix and the Rhineland 1921-1924.....192
3. Munich.....223
3.1 Revolution/Rebellion in Munich 1918-1923..225
3.2 The "Munich Group".....227
4. Karlsruhe.....251
5. Other Artists Other Places.....271

Part III Post-Expressionism in Germany 1923-1925: *The Critics*.....288
1. *Die neue Sachlichkeit*: Almost an Exhibition 1923.....289
2. Criticism 1923-1924.....299
3. *Die neue Sachlichkeit*: A Real Exhibition 1925.....311
4. A Book.....326
5. The Term *Neue Sachlichkeit*.....329

Conclusion.....335

Appendix A: Gustav Hartlaub's response to Das Kunstblatt's questionnaire "Ein neuer Naturalismus??" 1922.....342

Appendix B: More German artists who developed Post-Expressionist figurative styles by 1925.....346

Appendix C: Hartlaub's working list of artists for his Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition of 1923.....351

Appendix D: Artists included in Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition of 1925.....352

Appendix E: Franz Roh's Expressionist/Post-Expressionist polarity schema 1925.....354

Bibliography.....356

Illustrations.....389

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Christian Schad, Self-Portrait, 1927. (Eberle, pl. 3.)

2. Höch, Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada through the First Weimar Beer-Belly Era, (collage) 1919. (Schrader/ Schebara, p. 65.)

3. Grosz, Germany, A Winter's Tale, 1917-19. (Hess, p. 76.)

4. Grosz, Riot of the Insane, (drawing) 1915. (Hess, p. 56.)

5. Grosz, Quitting Time, (lithograph) 1920. (U Minnesota, Grosz/Heartfield, p. 55.)

6. Höch, He & His Milieu, (watercolor) 1919. (Rubin, Dada & Surrealist Art (New York: Abrams, nd), fig. 71.)

7. Hausmann, Dada Victorious, (watercolor/collage) 1920. (Benson, Hausmann, fig. 77.)

8. Hausmann, Tatlin at Home, (watercolor/collage) 1920. (Pierre, Futurism and Dadaism, p. 69.)

9. De Chirico, Metaphysicial Interior with Large Factory, 1917. (Braun, Italian Art in the 20th Century, pl. 48.)

10. Grosz, The Engineer Heartfield, (watercolor/collage) 1920. (Siepmann, p. 27.)

11. Schlichter, Phänomen-Werke, (watercolor/collage) 1920. (Berlin, Rudolf Schlichter, p. 39a.)

12. Schlichter, The End, (drawing) 1920. (Das Kunstblatt 4 (1920) p. 109.)

13. Scholz, Nightly Scream, 1919. (Waldkirch, Georg Scholz, p. 41.)

14. Scholz, Industry Farmers, (oil/collage) 1920. (Schrader/Schebara, p. 69.)

15. Dix, war drawing ca. 1917. (Eberle, p. 34.)

16. Dix, Moon Woman, 1919. (Stuttgart, Dix: Zum 100. Geburtstag, p. 76.)

17. Dix, Electric Tram, 1919. (Karcher, Otto Dix, p. 56.)

18. Dix, Altarpiece for Cavaliers, (mixed media) 1920 (closed state). (Löffler, Oeuvre der Gemälde, 1920/5.)

19. Dix, Altarpiece for Cavaliers, 1920 (opened state). (Karcher, Otto Dix, p. 74.)

20. Dix, Sex-Murderer (Self-Portrait), 1920. (Karcher, Eros & Tod, p. 54.)

21. Dix, The Barricade, 1920. (Vierhuff, p. 28.)

22. Dix, The War Cripples, 1920. (Löffler, Otto Dix: Life and Work, pl. 28.)

23. Griebel, People Are still the Cheapest Goods, (wc) 1920. (Bertonati, p. 88.)

24. Griebel, Sunday Afternoon, (drawing) 1920. (Bildende Kunst 9 (1972) p. 429.)

25. Photograph of a room at the *First International Dada Fair*, June 1920. (Siepmann, p. 70.)

26. Hausmann, The Engineers, (wc) 1920. (Benson, Hausmann, fig. 87.)

27. Hausmann, Kutschenbauch Composes, (wc) 1920. (Frankfurt, Dada in Europa, fig. 3/667.)

28. Höch, The Fly is Dead, (wc) 1922. (Adriani, Hannah Höch.)

29. Grosz, Republican Automatons, (wc) 1920. (Frankfurt, Dada in Europa, fig. 3/661.)

30. Grosz, The New Man, (wc) 1920. (Das Kunstblatt 5 (1921) p. 10.)

31. Grosz, Berlin C, (wc) 1920. (Das Kunstblatt 5 (1921) p. 12.)

32. Grosz, Cyclist and Weightlifter, (wc) 1920. (Berlin, Wem gehört die Welt, p. 274.

33. Grosz, Magistrate for War Victims' Welfare, 1921. (Minneapolis Institute of Arts, German Realism of the Twenties, p. 98.)

34. Grosz, Unemployed Man, (drawing) 1924. (Schneede, Grosz, fig. 153.)

35. Schlichter, Rooftop Studio, (wc) 1920. (Bielefeld, Neue Sachlichkeit-Magischer Realismus, pl. 64.)

36. Schlichter, Hausvogteiplatz, (wc) 1920. (Berlin, Schlichter, fig. 35)

37. Schlichter, Portrait of Margot, 1924. (Berlin, Realismus 1919-1933, p. 107.)

38. Dix, Saucy Berta, (drawing) 1921. (Karcher, Eros & Tod, p. 19.)

39. Dix, Alma, 1921. (Löffler, Oeuvre der Gemälde, p. 95.)

40. Dix, Girl at the Mirror, 1921. (Karcher, Otto Dix, p. 90.)

41. Baldung-Grien, Death and the Maiden, 1509-11. (James Snyder, Northern Renaissance Art (New York: Abrams, 1985), fig. 425.)

42. Dix, Young Girl, 1922. (Stuttgart, Dix: Zum 100. Geburtstag, p. 149.)

43. Dix, Sex Murder, 1922. (Karcher, Otto Dix, p. 84.)

44. Photograph of George Grosz and Eva Peters in Grosz's studio, ca. 1918. (Schneede, Grosz, fig. 87.)

45. Ernst, from Fiat Modes, (lithograph) 1919. (Kölnischer Kunstverein, Max Ernst in Köln, p. 126.)

46. De Chirico, The Seer, 1915. (MoMA, De Chirico, pl. 55.)

47. Ernst, Aquis Submersus, 1919. (London, Max Ernst, pl. 7.)

48. Hoerle, from Cripple Portfolio, (lithograph) 1918-19. (Backes, p. 211.)

49. Hoerle, from Cripple Portfolio, 1919. (Backes, p. 210.)

50. Hoerle, Picture with a Peach, 1921. (Schmidt-Rost, p. 30.)

51. Hoerle, Begging War Cripple, 1921. (Schmidt-Rost, p. 34.)

52. De Chirico, Disquieting Muses, 1917. (MoMA, De Chirico, pl. 71.)

53. Hoerle, Factory Worker, 1922. (Munich, Kunst und Technik, p. 79.)

54. Seiwert, The Workman II, 1922. (Berlin, Politische Konstruktivisten, np.)

55. Räderscheidt, Rosa Luxembourg from the set of litho graphs Lebendige, 1919. LACM, German Expressionism 1915-1925: The Second Generation, p. 144.

56. Räderscheidt, Encounter, 1921. (Heusinger von Waldegg, "Räderscheidt," p. 60.)

57. Räderscheidt, Young Couple, 1922. (Richter, p. 48.)

58. Räderscheidt, Girlfriends, 1923. (Richter, p. 51.)

59. Ernst, The Elephant from Celebes, 1921. Joachimides, German Art of the 20th Century, pl. 149.)

60. Wollheim, The Wounded Man, 1919. (Berlin, Wollheim, p. 23.)

61. Wollheim, Unspeakable Pain, (drawing) 1917. (Dusseldorf: Kunstmuseum, Wollheim, fig. 50.)

62. Wollheim, The Trench, 1918. (Dusseldorf, Das Junge Rheinland, p. 68.)

63. Wollheim, The Condemned Man, 1921. (Dusseldorf: Kunst-museum, Wollheim, fig. 51.)

64. Kaufmann, Contemporaries, 1925. (LACM, German Expressionism 1915-1925, p. 94.)

65. Wollheim, Departure from Dusseldorf, 1924. (M. Wollheim, p. 51.)

66. Dix, Portrait of Dr. Hans Koch, 1921. (Vierhuff, p. 123.)

67. Dix, Portrait of Karl Nierendorf, 1923. (Berlin, Galerie Neumann-Nierendorf, Dix, p. 3.)

68. Dix, Old Couple, (wc) 1923. (London, Otto Dix, pl. 77.)

69. Dix, Metropolis, 1927-28. (Bertonati, pl. 10.)

70. Dix, To Beauty, 1922. (Joachimides, German Art of the 20th Century, pl. 161.)

71. Dix, Self-Portrait with Wife, 1923. (Löffler, Otto Dix: Life and Work, fig. 68.)

72. Dix, The Trench, 1920-23. (Stuttgart, Dix: Zum 100. Geburtstag, p. 159.)

73. Dix, The Trench, 1920-23, Detail. (Stuttgart, Dix: Zum 100. Geburtstag, p. 160.)

74. Dix, Transplant, from the set of etchings The War, 1924. (Stuttgart, Otto Dix: Bestandskatalog, p. 276.)

75. Dix, Battle-Weary Troops in Retreat (Battle of the Somme), from the set of etchings The War, 1924. (Stuttgart, Otto Dix: Bestandskatalog, p. 267.)

76. Photograph from Ernst Friedrich's book Krieg dem Kriege, 1924.

77. Dix, Soldier and Nun, (etching) 1924. (Stuttgart, Otto Dix: Bestandskatalog, p. 283.)

78. Schrimpf, woodcut, ca. 1916-17. (Published in Das Kunstblatt 1 [February 1917]). LACM, German Expressionist Prints and Drawings, p. 179.

79. Schrimpf, Self-Portrait, 1918. (Willett, The Weimar Years, p. 39.)

80. Schrimpf, Portrait of Maria Uhden, 1918. (Storch, 1918/2.)

81. Schrimpf, Mother & Child/In the Yard, 1919. (Bertonati, pl. 44.)

82. Schrimpf, Mother & Child/In the Yard, 1923. (Storch, 1923/6.)

83. Mense, Russian Winter Landscape, 1920. (Der Ararat 1921.)

84. Mense, Nude in Italian Landscape, 1921. (Der Ararat 1921.)

85. Mense, Portrait of Underberg, 1922. (Berlin, Realismus 1919-1933, p. 129.)

86. Ubaldo Oppi, Self-Portrait with Wife, 1920. (Braun, Italian Art in the 20th Century, p. 177.)

87. Davringhausen, The General, 1917. (Heusinger von Waldegg, Der General, frontispiece.)

88. Davringhausen, The Sex Murderer, 1917. (Schmalenbach, Die Malerei der 'Neuen Sachlichkeit', frontispiece.)

89. Davringhausen, The Dreamer II, 1919. (Berlinische Galerie, Ich und die Stadt, p. 140.)

90. Davringhausen, The Head, ca. 1920. (Heusinger von Waldegg, Davringhausen, fig. 73.)

91. Davringhausen, The Profiteer, 1921. (Heusinger von Waldegg, Davringhausen, p. 36.)

92. Davringhausen, Sunday Morning, 1922. (Bielefeld, Neue Sachlichkeit-Magischer Realismus, pl. 140.)

93. Walterowna von Zur-Muehlen, Dolce compagno, (drawing) 1920. (Berlin, Realismus 1919-1933, 40.)

94. Walterowna von Zur-Muehlen, Il suo paese nativo, (drawing) 1920. (Berlin, Realismus 1919-1933, 40.)

95. Parzinger, from the set of lithographs Children in the Afternoon, 1921. (Der Ararat 1921, p. 152.)

96. Carrà, The Oval of Apparitions, 1918. (Ferrara, La Metafisica, pl. 153.)

97. Edmund Kanoldt, Sta. Maria della Pace, Nobiallo, 1889. (Freiburg, Kanoldt, p. 22.)

98. Kanoldt, Clausen, 1911. (Freiburg, Kanoldt, pl. 19.)

99. Kanoldt, Cloister I, 1913. (Fischer-Hollweg, fig. 17.)

100. Kanoldt, Still Life XI, 1920. (Freiburg, Kanoldt, pl. 31.)

101. Kanoldt, Still Life V, 1922. (Freiburg, Kanoldt, pl. 36.)

102. Kanoldt, Subiaco, 1924. (Busch-Reisinger Museum, German Realist Drawings, p. 65.)

103. Schrimpf, Still Life, 1924. (Roh German Art, fig. 31.)

104. Johann Wilhelm Schirmer, The Geroldsauer Valley near Baden-Baden, Early Morning, 1855. (Holsten, p. 46.)

105. Scholz, Industry Farmers, (lithograph) 1920. (Karlsruhe, Georg Scholz, fig. 42.)

106. Scholz, Newspaper Carriers, (lithograph) 1921. (Waldkirch, Georg Scholz, p. 62.)

107. Scholz, Veterans Society, 1921-22. (Waldkirch, Georg Scholz, p. 69.)

108. Scholz, Small Town by Day, 1922-23. (Holsten, p. 36.)

109. Scholz, Small Town by Night, 1923. (Holsten, p. 37.)

110. Scholz, Portrait of the Banker Kahnheimer, 1923. (Willett, The Weimar Years, p. 81.)

111. Scholz, Landscape near Berghausen, 1924. (Bielefeld, Neue Sachlichkeit-Magischer Realismus, p. 48.)

112. Hubbuch, The Invalid, (engraving) 1919. (Karlsruhe, Hubbuch, p. 112.)

113. Hubbuch, War, (engraving) 1921. (Munich, Michael Hasenclever, Hubbuch, 1987, fig. 10.)

114. Hubbuch, The Dream of the Tit-Girls, (engraving) 1921-22. (Karlsruhe, Hubbuch, p. 123.)

115. Hubbuch, Jannowitzbrücke, Berlin, (engraving) 1922. (Hartmann, p. 23.)

116. Hubbuch, Herr Stresemann and the Piece of Pumpernickel Bread, (engraving) 1923. (Karlsruhe, Hubbuch, p. 149.)

117. Hubbuch, Duck Thieves, (wc) 1924. (Bertonati, pl. 18.)

118. Schnarrenberger, Old Men Strolling, 1922. (Bielefeld, Neue Sachlichkeit-Magischer Realismus, p. 38.)

119. Schnarrenberger, Portrait of an Architect, 1923. (Munich, Kunst und Technik, p. 220.)

120. Beckmann, Portrait of Friedel Battenberg, 1920. (St. Louis, Max Beckmann: Retrospective, pl. 21.)

121. Beckmann, Portrait of Minne-Tube, 1924. (St. Louis, Max Beckmann: Retrospective, pl. 37.)

122. Dörries, Woman in Black, 1920. (Hanover, Die Zwanziger Jahre in Hannover, p. 51.)

123. Nebel, Girls on the Balcony, 1923. (Arndt, fig. 44.)

124. Nebel, Suburb, 1923. (Arndt, fig. 41.)

125. Radziwill, First They Saw a Town, 1924. (Bielefeld, Neue Sachlichkeit-Magischer Realismus, pl. 108.)

126. Schlemmer, Supper Party, 1923. (Eberle, p. 82.)

127. Spies, The Ice Skaters, 1922. (Rhodius and Darling, Walter Spies and Balinese Art, p. 12.)

128. Stöcklin, Casa Rossa, 1917. (Das Kunstblatt, 7 (1920) p. 195.)

129. Stöcklin, Rhenish Street, 1917. (Bertonati, pl. 55.)

130. Stöcklin, Presentation, 1922. (Bertonati, pl. 54.)

131. Völker, Railroad Station, 1924. (Schulze, Völker, p. 29.)

132. Renger-Patsch, Camshaft of a Steam Engine, (photo graph) 1927. (Munich, Kunst und Technik, p. 254.)

133. Aereboe, The Red Jacket, 1924. (Maass-Spielmann, p. 84.)

134. Birkle, Portrait of Spindler, 1921. (Salzburg, Birkle, pl.4.)

135. Brockmann, Pissoir, (drawing) 1922. (Munich, Michael Hasenclever, Brockmann, 1974, fig. 6.)

136. Burmann, Frau Biene from Worpswede, 87 Years Old, 1923. (Heller, p. 37.)

137. Dressler, Bathroom, 1923. (Berlinische Galerie, Bestände, p. 97.)

138. Fritsch, Tiergarten Bridge, 1923. (Berlinische Galerie, Bestände, p. 107.)

139. Holtz, Armed Workers on the Street, 1920. (Altenburg, Karl Holtz, p. 13.)

140. Kretschmar, The Death of Secretary Krüger, (engraving) 1921. (Löffler, Kretschmar, fig. 47.)

141. Küpper, Anno 1923, 1923. (Dusseldorf, Das Junge Rheinland, p. 69.)

142. Meidner, Street in Bernstadt, (engraving) 1922. (Der Ararat 1921.)

CONCERNING THE TEXT

Although German statements and phrases will be translated throughout the text, the German words Sachlichkeit and Gegenständlichkeit, as well as their derivatives, will remain untranslated. Sachlichkeit, which lacks a single acceptable English equivalent, should be understood by its root Sache meaning: thing, fact, subject or object. Sachlich could be understood as: factual, matter-of-fact, impartial, practical; and Sachlichkeit would be the noun form of the adjective/adverb. Gegenstand is to be understood as a more tangible or concrete object or thing than eine Sache. The adjective gegenständlich could mean: concrete, object-like, and sometimes graphic.

The original text for the translated statements will be included in the footnotes. Phrases or titles will often be included in the original language in parentheses following the translated phrase or title within the body of the text.

Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by Dennis Crockett and Susan Babilon.

Abbreviations used in the footnotes:

Franz Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica =
Franz Roh Archive, Accession # 850120, Resource Collections of the Getty Center for the History of Art and Humanities, Santa Monica, California.

Otto Dix Archive, AbK Nurnberg =
Otto Dix Archiv, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nurnberg.

INTRODUCTION

The figurative Post-Expressionist art that developed and flourished throughout Germany during the Weimar Republic has made its way into the history of art under the ambiguous designation Die neue Sachlichkeit. Although numerous exhibitions of Post-Expressionist paintings and graphics have been assembled, the historical development of Post-Expressionism has received virtually no attention. Today the original understanding of the term Neue Sachlichkeit is lost. In fact, its origin had largely been forgotten within years of its invention.

The term Neue Sachlichkeit was coined in 1923 by Gustav F. Hartlaub of the Mannheim Kunsthalle as a designation for the Post-Expressionist art that was then visible all over Germany. In 1925 he organized a very popular exhibition of paintings and graphics under this title which traveled, under his direction, to Chemnitz and Dresden. From there it traveled in modified forms to cities throughout Germany into 1927. During this time "Neue Sachlichkeit" became a popular slogan in Germany. In fact, the term took on a life of its own going far beyond Hartlaub's intentions. The phrases Sachlichkeit and Neue Sachlichkeit came to designate life in Weimar Germany -- a new public attitude -- during the so-called period of economic and political stabilization (1924-28). The slogans stood for an all-business attitude, which the Germans had perceived

as being intrinsically American. The critic Waldemar George wrote in the German monthly Das Kunstblatt in 1927:

> the Neue Sachlichkeit is Americanism, the cult of the objective, the hard fact, the predilection for functional work, professional conscientiousness and usefulness.[1]

It is this meaning that has come down to us. For example, in a critical discussion of the Neue Sachlichkeit in 1977, the prominent Marxist historian Jost Hermand concluded that this art:

> is merely the ideological and aesthetic means of expression of a relatively small group from the bourgeois liberal or middling bourgeois sectors between 1923 and 1929 who, partly consciously and partly unconsciously, let themselves be captivated by the deceptive illusion of a new stabilization of social conditions.[2]

On the contrary, my study will show that a new art movement developed in Germany during the period of inflation/reparations (1920-24), that this movement was identified by critics as early as 1919/1920, and that it was designated "Neue Sachlichkeit" in 1923. Through a careful historical study of both the development of figurative Post-Expressionism and the term Neue Sachlichkeit I hope to clarify the his-

---

1. "Die 'Neue Sachlichkeit' ist Amerikanismus, ist Kultus des Zweckes, der nackten Tatsache, der Vorliebe für funktionelle Arbeit, berufsmäßiger Gewissenhaftigkeit und der Nützlichkeit." Waldemar George, "Frankreich und die 'Neue Sachlichkeit,'" Das Kunstblatt 11 (November 1927): 395.

2. Jost Hermand, "Unity within Diversity? The History of the Concept 'Neue Sachlichkeit'" in K. Bullivant, ed., Culture and Society in the Weimar Republic (Manchester: MUP, 1977): 178.

torical inaccuracy of Hermand's generally-accepted thesis.

The revolutionary period of the Weimar Republic (1918-20) was succeeded by what could be designated as the period of reparations or the period of inflation (1920-24). I intend to show that the concept of Neue Sachlichkeit was originally tied to the 1920-24 period, years that were marked by social, political and economic chaos, as well as constant hostility with the entente nations, France in particular: certainly no "illusion of a new stabilization" existed in Germany before the autumn of 1924. It will be shown that a figurative, somewhat naturalistic, Post-Expressionism was fully developed and acknowledged in Germany by the autumn of 1923, the point of Germany's total economic collapse, and that it had already been christened Die neue Sachlichkeit. It was in the spring of 1923 that Hartlaub began preparing for an autumn exhibition of the new art. The economic situation, however, rendered such plans impossible until 1925. During the time that the exhibition was on display many more artists developed in naturalistic directions; a second generation of Post-Expressionist painters actually appeared after 1924. The art of this second generation as well as the further developments of the first generation of Post-Expressionists all now fell under the Neue Sachlichkeit umbrella, although the art, in many regards, had little to do with the art of the inflation/ reparations period, the art for which the term was originally applied.

The most important German Post-Expressionist development occurred between 1920 and 1924, which will be the scope of this study. I will document the development and maturation of Post-Expressionism from the end of World War I to the Neue Sachlichkeit exhibitions of 1925-26 by dealing almost exclusively with the works of art, documents and contemporary critical literature of the period.

Contemporary critics spoke of this movement as *Post-Expressionism*, although all were dissatisfied with this designation. Hartlaub and a number of contemporary critics had used the terms Post-Expressionism, neuer Gegenständlichkeit, *Magic Realism* and *Neo-Naturalismus* to signify the new art, but these phrases lacked the novelty of the great Isms: Impressionism, Expressionism, Cubism, Futurism, etc.[3] As will be seen, as early as 1927 Hartlaub was trying to distance himself from the slogan he had invented for the art of the inflation years, and by 1929 he was calling for its removal from common usage.[4] Nonetheless, scholars have struggled for the most correct meaning and scope of this cliché. I will use the term *Post-Expressionism* simply as a more neutral term than the problematic term Neue Sachlich-

3. "New Naturalism" had as much appeal in the early 1920s as Edmond Duranty's La Nouvelle peinture had in the 1870s as a designation for the art of Degas, Monet, Renoir, etc. (Duranty's pamphlet La Nouvelle peinture was published on the occasion of the second Impressionist exhibition at the Galerie Durand-Ruel in 1876.)

4. Hartlaub's disillusionment with the popular understanding of his term will be discussed in part III.

keit for the various naturalistic styles that developed at this time in counter-distinction to Expressionism.

During the 1920s attempts had been made to categorize and to systematically characterize Post-Expressionism. The most important such study was Franz Roh's book Nachexpressionismus-Magischer Realismus of 1925 (which coincided with Hartlaub's exhibition).[5] Roh, a protegé of Heinrich Wölfflin, attempted to prove that the new art was antithetical to Expressionism (Expressionism in the broad sense, i.e. international modern art since Post-Impressionism, as it was generally understood in Germany at the time), an understanding that is still accepted today.[6] Roh's goal was to present the neatest possible picture of this movement. But German Post-Expressionism itself is too broad and untidy to be so neatly packaged. My study will not present a new Neue Sachlichkeit "package," but rather a clarification of the development of the art and the contemporary art critics' attempts to keep up with this rapidly developing movement.

The first historical study of Neue Sachlichkeit was carried out by the art historian Fritz Schmalenbach in the

---

5. Franz Roh, Nachexpressionismus-Magischer Realismus: Probleme der Neuesten Europäischen Malerei (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1925).

6. He also offered the term Magic Realism as an alternative to Neue Sachlichkeit. Roh's book will be discussed in part III.

mid 1930s (during which time all the major representatives of the movement were considered "degenerate" by the Nazi authorities). In a letter to Franz Roh in 1935 Schmalenbach wrote that he was preparing a "major work on the genesis of Neue Sachlichkeit . . . not necessarily post-Expressionist painting, . . . but the beginnings of sachlich architecture and interior design at the turn of the century."[7] However, Schmalenbach's attention was soon drawn to Post-Expressionism. The initial result of his study was an essay on the origin of the term Neue Sachlichkeit which appeared in The Art Bulletin in 1940.[8] At that time he was one of the few to understand the general misconceptions regarding the concept Neue Sachlichkeit. He emphasized that Hartlaub's original understanding of the

---

7. "Möglicherweise wird es Sie interessieren, dass ich eine grössere Arbeit "Zur Genesis der Neuen Sachlichkeit" vorbereite. Ich behandle allerdings nicht (oder nur ganz peripherisch) die nachexpressionistische Malerei, auf die das Schlagwort geprägt wurde, sondern vornehmlich die Anfänge sachlicher Baukunst und Innenarchitektur an der Jahrhundertwende." Letter, Schmalenbach to Roh, August 3, 1935, Franz Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica. Schmalenbach's interest in Functionalism came about as a result of his dissertation on Jugendstil. His personally notated copy of Roh's book is at the Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich.

8. Fritz Schmalenbach, "The Term 'Neue Sachlichkeit,'" Art Bulletin 22 (1940): 161-5. At the time of publication Schmalenbach was living in exile in Switzerland. The exhibition "Twentieth Century German Art" which traveled around the United States between 1939 and 1940 had created some interest in Schmalenbach's topic. His essay was first published in the original German in his book Kunsthistorische Studien (Basel, 1941). His book on Neue Sachlichkeit painting appeared only in 1973 [see below].

term was lost when it became a popular slogan. He claimed the concept of "Anti-Formalism" was also not Hartlaub's intent. Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit, Schmalenbach wrote, was originally applied to:

> a general change of attitude, a new disillusionment, which manifested itself in the sphere of painting in a return to the object. [But] the further the late expressionistic stage of thought and feeling was left behind, the more this meaning faded. Even with some exertion of our historical sense, it is hard for us nowadays to bring it properly to life again. What remained as a possibility of interpretation was the extremely plausible, but erroneous identification of Sachlichkeit with "objectivity" (Gegenständlichkeit).[9]

Schmalenbach -- even with Hartlaub's cooperation -- was unable to specifically define Hartlaub's original understanding of his term. I believe that when put in the context of the contemporary art criticism the intended scope of Hartlaub's term will become clear. His choice of the words Neue and Sachlichkeit are certainly problematic, but rather than becoming bogged down in one art historian's semantic impasse, it is the art movement that he intended to designate that must finally come to be understood.

---

9. Schmalenbach, "The Term Neue Sachlichkeit," 164.

THE HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT OF POST-EXPRESSIONISM SINCE WORLD WAR II

Post-Expressionism received very little attention in western Germany immediately after the second World War. Naturally, there was even less interest outside of Germany. Following the hegemony of "realism" under the Nazis, all realistic art, Post-Expressionism in particular, was scorned by those who had dethroned the Nazi museum directors, academicians and critics.

In his first post-war essay on Post-Expressionism, written in 1952, Franz Roh distanced himself from that art and declared any figurative (dingliche) art in the atomic age to be nonsensical.[10] He made it clear that he acknowledged abstract art to be the most important artistic development of the century. Roh was adding his voice to the heated debate in West Germany in the early 1950s regarding the value of figurative art.[11] The representatives of

---

10. Franz Roh, "Rückblick auf den Magischen Realismus." Das Kunstwerk 1 (1952): 7-9.

11. The figurative-abstract debate in West Germany reached a climax in 1950 at "The First Darmstadt Discussion" which centered on the question of the viability of the human figure in art. Thereafter Willi Baumeister became the chief spokesman on the side of abstraction and Karl Hofer for the figurative artists. On this debate see: Jost Hermand, "Neuordnung oder Restauration? Zur Beurteilung der faschistischen Kunstdiktatur in der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit," Kritische Berichte 12 (1984): 78-83, 69-

Post-Expressionism still living in western Germany after the war[12] had no voice in the national artistic debates. Of the major Weimar realists only Franz Radziwill and Christian Schad continued to work in their old styles after 1945.

Roh nonetheless included in his 1952 essay a revised categorization of (exclusively German) Magic Realist groups: the social critics, the Munich group, and the Rousseau School. But he emphasized that, all in all, this art represents just "one of those little retardations that history produces as a breathing spell when too much newness has been experienced."[13]

In his survey of modern German art of 1958, Roh continued to minimize the quality and value of Post-Expres-

---

...Continued...

79; Jost Hermand, "Modernism restored: West German Painting in the 1950s," New German Critique 32 (Spring/Summer 1984): 23-41; Wieland Schmied, "Typical and Unique: Art in Berlin 1945-1970" in Kynaston McShine, ed., BERLINART 1961-1987 (Munich: Prestel, 1987): 37-49; and Siegfried Gohr, "Art in the Post-War Period," in Christos M. Joachimedes, Norman Rosenthal and Wieland Schmied, eds., German Art in the 20th Century (Munich: Prestel, 1985): 465-67.

12. During the Nazi period all of the first-generation Post-Expressionists either died, left the country, or were restricted in their artistic pursuits. Among the artists in this study only Dix, Schlichter, Höch, Hubbuch, Davringhausen, Räderscheidt, Radziwill, Schnarrenberger, Mense, Dörries and Nebel were alive and living in West Germany after the war.

13. "Neben dem Hauptstrom der Entwicklung gibt es nun kleine Retardierungen, wie sie die Geschichte, als Atempause sozusagen, immer erzeugt, wenn sich allzu viel Neues ereignet hat." Roh, "Rückblick," 7.

sionism.[14] He repeated his "little retardation" quote from 1952 and elaborated on its rise and decline. He noted that the original impetus for this art came from the Italian arte metafisica and from various aspects of Constructivism, but soon "the banal realism that was to flourish in the Third Reich appeared."[15] He adopted the term Neue Sachlichkeit rather than his own "Magic Realism" because, he claimed, it had become more widely accepted. He maintained the three groups from his 1952 essay and offered a revision of his original set of Expressionist/Post-Expressionist polarities (reducing the number of polarities from 22 to 15).[16]

Werner Haftmann was regarded as one of the most important chroniclers of modern art both in and outside Germany in the 1950s and 60s. In his book Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert, which was first published in 1954, and soon translated into several languages, Haftmann divided Post-

---

14. Franz Roh, German Art in the 20th Century, trans. Catherine Hutter (Greenwich, Connecticut.: New York Graphic Society, 1968).

15. Ibid. 113.

16. His groups were an elaboration on those established in his 1952 essay: the social critics (Grosz, Dix, Kurt Günther), the Munich group (Kanoldt, Schrimpf), and the "Rousseau School" (Walter Spies, Georg Scholz [who had always been associated with Grosz and Dix] and Anton Räderscheidt [whose debt to Henri Rousseau is certainly questionable]). Under "Surrealism" Roh designated the Germans Max Ernst, Heinrich Hoerle, Franz Wilhelm Seiwert and Rudolf Schlichter (for his recent work).

Expressionism into two tendencies: "Neo-realism" and "Neoverism." The former he simply dismissed as lacking in both quality and historical value:

> It was little more than a direct German response to the classical realism of the Italians and Derain. The tendency had a large following, but it was poor in quality and ideas. It produced no more than two names that are worth remembering [Kanoldt and Schrimpf].[17]

Haftmann briefly mentioned "Neoverism," a movement independent of "Neorealism," which he saw as exemplified by Grosz and Dix.[18]

In 1957 Haftmann was invited by the Museum of Modern Art to write the chapter on painting for its catalog "German Art of the Twentieth Century." "Neorealism," here replaced by "Neue Sachlichkeit" was summarized in one

---

17. Werner Haftmann, Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert (Munich: Prestel, 1954): 316. English edition: Painting in the Twentieth Century, trans. Ralph Mannheim (New York: Praeger, 1961): 224.

18. In his study of modern art and architecture of 1953, Will Grohmann also singled out Schrimpf, Kanoldt, Grosz and Dix as the only Weimar realists worthy of inclusion (Bildende Kunst und Architektur [Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1953]: 173-76).
In the large volume of plates that accompanied Haftmann's book Weimar realism was barely included (Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert vol. 2 [Munich: Prestel, 1955]). Of the "Neoverists," Dix is represented with four illustrations and Grosz with three. "Neorealism" is represented by single works of Kanoldt, Schrimpf, Räderscheidt, Kurt Günther and Xavier Fuhr. In contrast, 27 illustrations were devoted to Haftmann's favorite artist, Paul Klee. Marc Chagall was represented with 23 illustrations and Giorgio Morandi with 17. This volume was published in English by Praeger in 1965 and again in 1966.

sentence: "It did not bring to light any name worthy of particular mention."[19] Grosz and Dix, safely divorced from Neue Sachlichkeit, warranted a paragraph each and were even represented in the exhibition.[20]

After the thirteen years of anti-modern purges and cultural isolation under the Nazis, German art historians and museum directors sought to recapture what was lost. During the late 1940s and early 1950s books devoted to the first generation of Expressionists appeared at a steady

---

19. Werner Haftmann, "Painting" in New York: Museum of Modern Art, German Art of the Twentieth Century (1957): 96. At the time, Haftmann was the director of the National-galerie in West Berlin.

20. In another survey of German modern art intended for an English-speaking audience, Gerhard Händler reserved one paragraph to "The Effects of Expressionism" and mentioned Dix, Grosz, Kanoldt and Schrimpf. Gerhard Händler, German Painting in Our Time (Berlin: Rembrandt, 1956): 28.
In his survey of German modern art of the same year Karl Gustav Gerold completely omitted Weimar realism stating that, "Heute, da wir einigen Abstand gewonnen haben, wissen wir, daß die Kunst aus der Zeit der Weimarer Republik nicht von der 'Neuen Sachlichkeit' bestimmt wurde, sondern ihr Gesicht durch einzelne bedeutende Gestalter erhielt, die ihr persönliches Welterleben auf die verschiedenste Weise umsetzten." Karl Gustav Gerold, Deutsche Malerei Unserer Zeit (Vienna/Munich: Desch, 1956): 119.
The one survey of modern art that took Weimar realism seriously was Paul Ferdinand Schmidt's Geschichte der Modernen Malerei (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1952). Schmidt had been one of the most important champions of Weimar realism. In this book he used Roh's term Magic Realism rather than Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit, and discussed six artists: Alexander Kanoldt, Georg Schrimpf, Georg Scholz, Grosz, Dix and Kurt Schwitters[!]. In a separate chapter he discussed three "Post-Expressionists:" Josef Scharl, Otto Pankok and Werner Scholz.

pace.[21] Museums that had been depleted of their modern collections focused first on acquiring works by these artists. In the late 1950s Dada was officially resurrected in Germany.[22] It would be another ten years, however, before Post-Expressionism would receive any considerable attention.

The first retrospective exhibition of Neue Sachlichkeit was assembled at the Haus am Waldsee in Berlin in 1961.[23] It included 101 works by 31 artists. Of the 31 artists only twelve had been represented in Hartlaub's exhibition in 1925/26. The large majority of the works were by artists that had appeared only after 1924 as would be the trend in subsequent exhibitions.

The next large exhibition of this art was held six years later in Wuppertal where 115 paintings by 38 artists (only twelve of whom were in Hartlaub's exhibition) were

---

21. For a list of books on Expressionism in the immediate post-war period see Peter Selz's bibliography in German Expressionist Painting (Berkeley: U Cal P, 1957).

22. The first important European publication on Dada were: Willy Verkauf ed., Dada: Monographie einer Bewegung (Teufen: Verkauf/Niggli, 1957); and Peter Schifferli ed., Dada: Die Geburt des Dada; Dichtung und Chronik der Gründer Hans Arp, Richard Huelsenbeck, Tristan Tzara (Zurich: Arche, 1957). The following year the Düsseldorf Kunsthalle organized the first major retrospective Dada exhibition in Germany (Dada: Dokumente einer Bewegung). See also Edouard Trier, "Dada renoviert und museumsreif," Baukunst und Werkform 11 (1958): 590.

23. Berlin: Haus am Waldsee, Neue Sachlichkeit (September 26 - October 29, 1961).

assembled. The term Magic Realism was chosen instead of Neue Sachlichkeit for the title of the show.[24]

An exhibition at the Galleria del Levante in Rome and Munich in 1968 featured 185 works by 23 artists (nine had been in Hartlaub's exhibition).[25] The director of the gallery, Emilio Bertonati, also published a richly illustrated catalog with works by 35 artists, and photographs of numerous lost works. It was the most important document regarding Post-Expressionism to date. He listed artists together into loose groupings according to style and/or theme. In his book (published in Italian) in 1969 Bertonati emphasized the uniqueness of Post-Expressionism, which he saw not as a call to order, but as a coming to terms with the problems of the times.[26] But he overstated the political conviction of the Weimar realists as a whole. He elaborated on his categorization of artists, and established four groups: political realists (George Grosz, Otto Dix, Otto Griebel et al); geometric realists (Heinrich Hoerle, Franz Wilhelm Seiwert, Karl Völker, et al.); poetic realists (Georg Schrimpf, Alexander Kanoldt, et al.); and magic realists (Niklaus Stöcklin, Franz Radziwill,

---

24. Wuppertal: Kunst und Museumsverein, Magischer Realismus in Deutschland 1920-1933 (September 10 - October 29, 1967).

25. Munich and Rome: Aspekte der Neuen Sachlichkeit/Aspetti della Nuova Oggettività (June - September 1968).

26. Emilio Bertonati, Il realismo in Germania: Nuova oggettività-realismo magico (Milan: Fabbri, 1969).

Christian Schad, Georg Scholz, Gert Wollheim et al.) But it is impossible to unproblematically assign most artists to any single category. In 1969 however, it was necessary to make some sense of the great number of radically different Post-Expressionists.[27]

Another exhibition of 1968 organized jointly by the Hamburg and Frankfurt Art Associations included 152 works by 63 artists.[28] The title of the exhibition, Realismus in der Malerei der zwanziger Jahre, avoided both Neue Sachlichkeit and *Magic Realism* perhaps because of the exhibition's international scope. Carlo Carrà, Edward Hopper, the Russian Ivan Babij (whom Hartlaub had included) and the Hungarian Sandor Bortnyik were represented together with 59 ethnic Germans. In the introduction to the catalog the art historian Hans Platte erroneously cited Hartlaub's exhibition and Roh's book as having begun the discussion of the new art. As will be seen, an active dialogue concerning the new art had already existed since 1920. Platte discussed the international scope of this realism, and concluded by citing its connections to Pop-Art. In fact,

---

27. Bertonati's book appeared in German in 1974 under the title Die neue Sachlichkeit in Deutschland, trans. Linde Birk (Munich: Schuler, 1974). It was republished as Neue Sachlichkeit in Deutschland (Herrsching: Schuler, 1988).

28. Hamburg/Frankfurt: Kunstvereine, Realismus in der Malerei der zwanziger Jahre (October - December, 1968, January - February 1969).

it was largely due to the popularity of Pop-Art (and *Capitalist Realism*) in Germany that Post-Expressionism became palatable to some Germans.[29]

The German art journal Tendenzen was a leading advocate of realist, politically engaged art and an enemy of formalism in West Germany throughout the 1960s. It was here that Georg Scholz, Wilhelm Schnarrenberger, Karl Hubbuch, Christian Schad, and the ASSO artists[30] received their most important critical attention since the Weimar years.[31]

Wieland Schmied's book Neue Sachlichkeit und Magischer Realismus of 1969 was the first major historical study of Post-Expressionism.[32] He still felt obliged to defend this realism against its reactionary reputation at the outset. He then briefly discussed parallel developments in Italy, France and the United States. But Schmied was completely

---

29. During the 1960s some individual Weimar realists received retrospective attention, but primarily only those still alive, most notably Otto Dix (who died in 1969).

30. Anagram for Die Assoziation Revolutionärer Bildender Künstler Deutschland, also sometimes abbreviated ARBKD. Founded in 1928, ASSO had divisions in 16 German cities and had 800 members at the time that it was banned in 1933.

31. Tendenzen issued a special Neue Sachlichkeit edition in August 1967 which included essays on Hubbuch, Schad and Kurt Querner, an essay by the East German critic Wolfgang Hütt, and numerous illustrations.

32. Wieland Schmied, Neue Sachlichkeit und Magischer Realismus in Deutschland 1918-1933 (Hannover: Fackelträger, 1969).

uncritical in his discussion of Hartlaub's and Roh's original understandings of Post-Expressionism. As suggested in the title of the book, Schmied adopted both of their terms to signify different elements of this art. He identified 128 artists that could be listed under these two different headings and offered five common characteristics of a Neue Sachlichkeit/Magic Realism painting: 1) sobriety, unsentimentality; 2) an interest in everyday things i.e. banal, unimportant, undemanding subjects; 3) static, firmly constructed compositions; 4) eradication of traces of the painting process; and 5) a new intellectual dialogue with the world of objects. But Schmied's primary concern was with the grouping of artists. He offered five geographically-determined variants of Neue Sachlichkeit/*Magic Realism*: Dresden, Berlin (both of which he perceived to be primarily political and cynical), Cologne (constructivist), Munich (classical) and Hanover (the "Rousseau School"). While Schmied's book is by no means a scholarly text, it is still to be valued as an important collection of color reproductions and original documents. Nonetheless, Schmied was regarded internationally as the leading scholar of this art into the 1980s.

In his study of Neue Sachlichkeit literature of 1970, Helmut Lethen presented what was to be a popular Marxist interpretation of Neue Sachlichkeit as representing the apparent capitalist victory of the period of economic

stability after 1923 -- the period of Amerikanismus.[33] But his interest was solely in Neue Sachlichkeit literature and the popular concept of Sachlichkeit in Germany during the second half of the 1920s. The visual arts were entirely omitted. Lethen was interested neither in Hartlaub's intentions nor his exhibition. Hartlaub and the art that concerned him (1918-25) actually played no role in what Lethen called "The Ethos of Sachlichkeit." By ignoring Hartlaub and his concept of Neue Sachlichkeit, Lethen quietly divorced the art that Hartlaub designated from the popular cultural Sachlichkeit of the stabilization period. However, rather than acknowledging this difference, subsequent studies of Post-Expressionism have generally reified Lethen's Marxist definition of Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit.

The East Germans began sorting out Post-Expressionism along party lines in the late 1960s and early 70s. In a 1972 article, Ursula Horn questioned whether a movement

---

33. Helmut Lethen, Neue Sachlichkeit 1924-1932: Studien zur Literatur des 'Weissen Sozialismus' (Stuttgart: Metzlersche, 1970). The East German art historian Wolfgang Hütt had taken a similar point of view in his essay "Neue Sachlichkeit und darüber hinaus," Tendenzen 46 (1967): 205-8. The revival of interest in the culture of the Weimar Republic of the late 1960s initially concentrated on literature. See: Horst Denkler, "Die Literaturtheorie der zwanziger Jahre," Monatshefte 59 (1967): 305-19; Horst Denkler, "Sache und Stil: Die Theorie der Neuen Sachlichkeit und ihre Auswirkungen auf Kunst und Dichtung," Wirkendes Wort 18 (1968): 167-85; Hellmut Diwald, "Literatur und Zeitgeist in der Weimarer Republik," in Hans Joachim Schoeps, ed., Zeitgeist in der Weimarer Republik, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Klett, 1968): 203-60.

actually existed or whether Neue Sachlichkeit was merely a collective phrase.[34] She questioned the validity of grouping together artists of such radically different political orientations and complained of the broad range of artists collected under its title by "bürgerlichen Kunstwissenschaft." Like Lethen, she associated Neue Sachlichkeit with the period of stabilization/Amerikanismus/late capitalism. Neue Sachlichkeit was apolitical, she claimed, and therefore could not encompass Verism, Political Constructivism, the social realism of the ASSO artists, or the Hanover group.[35] She called for anyone associated with proletarian-revolutionary art to be disassociated from the reactionary Neue Sachlichkeit. Her Neue Sachlichkeit was limited to the romantic idealists (Kanoldt, Schrimpf, Carlo Mense, Schad) and those artists more concerned with the social conditions within "late bourgeois society" without taking a specific political position (Heinrich Maria Davringhausen, Anton Räderscheidt, Ernst Fritsch, Franz Radziwill). She believed Franz Roh's term *Magic Realism* could be aptly applied to the latter group. Like Schmied, Horn offered a retrospective reconstruction rather than any historical illumination.

---

34. Ursula Horn, "'Neue Sachlichkeit' - Richtung oder Sammelbegriff?" Bildende Kunst 9 (1972): 429-33.

35. A group of artists that studied together at the School of Applied Arts in Hanover in the early 1920s: Grethe Jürgens, Hans Thoms, Erich Wegner, Gerta Overbeck, and Hans Mertens.

The first large exhibition of Weimar realist art to be held in East Germany (1974) also attempted to come to terms with the political diversity of Post-Expressionism.[36] In the exhibition catalog, Roland März emphasized the close association between realism and the class struggle in Germany after World War I, and emphasized the importance of the Russian Revolution for the Post-Expressionists. He used the colorless term neue Gegenständlichkeit for the entire realist movement and established four new categorizations: 1) Neue Sachlichkeit, by which he intended Lethen's Amerikanismus (Carl Grossberg, Radziwill, Schad, the Munich group, Walter Spies, and the Hanover group [which Horn had omitted for its commitment to the proletariat]), 2) Verism, which encompassed some political artists like Grosz and Dix, but also included Max Beckmann and the literature of Brecht, Kästner and Tucholsky, 3) Photomontage and Photogram, to include those who utilized photography to portray "late bourgeois society" (this "new" group included Herbert Bayer, Lazlo Moholy-Nagy, Paul Citroen, El Lissitsky, John Heartfield, Alexander Rodchenko, Alice Lex-Nerlinger and Oskar Nerlinger), and 4) The Proletarian-Revolutionary group which included those artists who were dedicated to a positive portrayal of the worker: Seiwert and Hoerle (both of whom had been designated "Surrealist"

---

36. Berlin (East): Nationalgalerie, Realismus und Sachlichkeit: Aspekte deutscher Kunst 1919-1933 (1974).

by Roh in 1958) and most ASSO artists.

März revised and elaborated on his categories in the catalog for an exhibition of Post-Expressionism in Japan in 1976.[37] Under Verism he now added a constructivist subheading which could include many of the Proletarian-Revolutionaries from his 1974 categories. Under Neue Sachlichkeit (Amerikanismus still) he added the subheading *Magic Realism* which encompassed the fascination with modern technology (Radziwill and Grossberg). The third and final group here is the Proletarian-Revolutionaries, now limited to "The Red Group" (to which the Verists belonged from 1924), ASSO (which superseded "The Red Group"), Hoerle and Seiwert, and Käthe Kollwitz.[38]

In 1977 a large exhibition dedicated to revolutionary art of the Weimar Republic was organized in East Berlin.[39] In the exhibition catalog Eckhart Gillen created his own categories of revolutionary art (Verism, Neue Sachlichkeit and Constructivism) which sought to improve on März's. But

---

37. Tokyo: National Museum for Modern Art, Realistische Tendenzen deutscher Kunst 1919-1933: Eine Ausstellung aus Museen der DDR (1976).

38. In 1983 März published a pamphlet with a set of reproductions of paintings which he believed encompassed Neue Sachlichkeit. It included works by Schrimpf, Kanoldt, Mense, Räderscheidt, Schad, Radziwill, Grossberg, Reinhold Naegele, Herbert Ploberger, Ernst Thoms, Fritz Tröger and Franz Lenk. Roland März, Malerei der Neuen Sachlichkeit (Leipzig: Seemann, 1983).

39. Berlin (East): Neue Gesellschaft der Bildenden Kunst, Wem gehört die Welt? Kunst und Gesellschaft in der Weimarer Republik, (1977).

this categorization was not the central part of the catalog. It remains primarily an important document regarding the cultural dialogue between the U.S.S.R. and Germany during the Weimar Republic.

As mentioned above, Fritz Schmalenbach was preparing a major study of Neue Sachlichkeit in the 1930s. With the renewal of interest in Post-Expressionism in the late 1960s he picked up the study he had abandoned thirty years earlier. His book Die Malerei der 'Neuen Sachlichkeit', published in 1973, was the first critical study of various aspects of Post-Expressionism.[40] In regard to Hartlaub's understanding of the term Neue Sachlichkeit Schmalenbach believed it was a *renewal* of Hermann Muthesius' call for Sachlichkeit -- clearly understood as Functionalism -- in architecture and design at the turn of the century. He saw more tangible parallels between this sachlich reaction to Jugendstil circa 1902 and the realist reaction to Expressionism of 1920. Although he did not discuss a single painting, he offered a means by which works could be included on the basis of form or content under the heading Neue Sachlichkeit. However, Schmalenbach had no interest in categorizing artists or restructuring the movement. He identified 110 artists under this heading and warned that

---

40. Fritz Schmalenbach, Die Malerei der 'Neue Sachlichkeit', (Berlin: Mann, 1973).

quality should be an important criteria for inclusion. Perhaps the most important contribution of this study is his discussion of proto-Neue Sachlichkeit artists who could have served as models. Some, like Richard Müller and Emil Orlik, actually trained a number of Post-Expressionists. The longest chapter in the book, however, is a defense of Neue Sachlichkeit art against its formal similarities to the officially-sanctioned art of the Nazi period.[41]

The most valuable discussion of Neue Sachlichkeit to date is Pavel Liska's 1976 dissertation.[42] He remains the only historian to have pointed out that the development of Neue Sachlichkeit/Post-Expressionism was marked by distinct

---

41. Although some realist artists of the later twenties made an easy transition under the cultural policies of the Nazis, among those artists represented in Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition of 1925, only Werner Peiner (who was represented with one painting) went on to achieve success under the Nazis. Among the other first generation Post-Expressionists, only Bernhard Dörries [see part II chapter 5] received general acceptance under the Nazis. An artist as conservative as Alexander Kanoldt [see part II chapter 3], an NSDAP (German National Socialist Workers Party) member, had 17 works removed from public collections on the grounds of "degeneracy" in 1937. Kanoldt, however, was allowed to maintain his position at the School of Fine Arts, Berlin-Schöneberg until his death in 1939. "Degenerate" though he was, he was allowed to teach in Berlin, but was rejected in his attempts to teach at the Karlsruhe academy which was his life-long ambition. His friend Georg Schrimpf, whose paintings seem equally harmless [see part II chapter 3], was also declared "degenerate" in 1933 and was fired from his position at Berlin-Schöneberg in 1937. He died the following year.

42. Pavel Liska, "Die Malerei der Neuen Sachlichkeit," dissertation, Osnabrück, 1976.

periods: 1920-1922/23, the "developmental" stage; 1922/23, the "neo-classical" period, at which time this was the newest art in Germany; and after 1925, when Neue Sachlichkeit confronted other domains of life, i.e. business, politics and leisure. Liska's acknowledgement that a painting from 1920 cannot be discussed in the same terms as a painting from 1927 is very important. He focused, however, on the period 1924-33.

Perhaps the greatest influence that Liska exerted was his call for iconographical analyses of this art. Since 1976 this has been a popular approach to Post-Expressionism.[43]

In his critical study of Neue Sachlichkeit of 1977 Jost Hermand propagated the East-German Marxist line that Neue Sachlichkeit represents the reactionary culture of the period of stabilization:

> 'Sachlichkeit' primarily signified resignation. Central to this concept is no longer the age of the November revolution, the Spartakus uprising,

---

43. For example: Adam C. Oellers, Ikonographische Untersuchung zur Bildnismalerei der Neuen Sachlichkeit (Mainz: Schreder, 1983); Marlene Angemeyer-Deubner, Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe 1920-1933 (Karlsruhe: Müller, 1988); and the catalog Bielefeld: Kunsthalle, Neue Sachlichkeit-Magischer Realismus (1991).
Oellers identified eight portrait motifs and two styles (abstract and strong realist). He reveals the big business that portrait painting became after 1925 -- especially 1927-1929 -- and therefore had little interest in the first third of the decade. He fails to discern between works of the different periods of the Weimar Realism.

> the Munich Soviet Republic, the conflicts of the Ruhr, or inflation, but rather the 'relative stability' . . . the consolidation of the basic capitalist order.[44]

He related the stabilization atmosphere to that of the Nach-März period following the revolutionary fervor of 1848. For the categorical grouping of artists, his primary criteria, like that of the East Germans, was ideology. It is useless to speak of two wings, he claimed, because "in the end the left wing forms anything but a unity."[45] Putting the "aggressive Verists" together with those stabilization Neue Sachlichkeit artists, Hermand contended, would be like throwing "Biedermeier, Jungdeutsche, or the Salon idealists and Naturalists into the same basket."[46] For him, Neue Sachlichkeit was limited to the art that was allowed to flourish under the Nazis. The Verists and the ASSO artists (who had been revered in East Germany since 1945) were thus disassociated from it.

The 1920s in general and Weimar culture in particular was beatified in Berlin in 1977 with the enormous four-part exhibition Tendenzen der Zwanziger Jahre. The section titled "Sachlichkeit und Surrealismus" was organized by

---

44. Hermand, "Unity within Diversity?," 167.

45. Ibid. 180.

46. Ibid. 178.

Wieland Schmied[47] who, in the catalog introduction, pointed out that the show represented the pan-European "Post-Expressionist and Post-Cubist era 1916-1933."[48] Just as Surrealism was the major European movement of the 1930s, he claimed, Neue Sachlichkeit/*Magic Realism* was the European movement of the 1920s. He noted (for the first time) that Neue Sachlichkeit and Magic Realism once meant the same thing, but that Neue Sachlichkeit was now to be understood as the left wing of the movement and *Magic Realism* as its right wing.[49] Schmied pointed out that Giorgio De Chirico was a central figure in the development of both Neue Sachlichkeit and Surrealism (but he failed to regard the central role played by Max Ernst who actually linked German realism with Surrealism). Schmied now offered eight characteristics of Neue Sachlichkeit/*Magic Realism* and arranged the works into ten thematic categories.

The monumental exhibition Les Réalismes/Realismus 1919-1939 of 1980-81 made a greater effort to document the broad international scope of naturalistic art between the

---

47. Berlin: Schloß Charlottenburg, Tendenzen der Zwanziger Jahre: Sachlichkeit und Surrealismus (15. Europäische Kunstausstellung, 1977). This section of the exhibition included 194 works by 77 artists (primarily German and French).

48. Wieland Schmied, "Die neue Wirklichkeit: Surrealismus und Sachlichkeit," Tendenzen der Zwanziger Jahre, 4/1.

49. As early as 1922 Hartlaub had designated left- and right-wings within Post-Expressionism. See Part I chapter 2 and Appendix A.

world wars,[50] but the overall theme of the show, the "call to order" tended to generalize the uniqueness of each country's Post-Expressionist development. There was no call to order in Germany before 1924 -- however, there certainly was after 1933.[51]

In the United States the first study to seriously consider German art after Expressionism was Arthur Dene Stevens' unpublished dissertation (completed in 1971) on the "counter-modern" movements in France and Germany after World War I.[52] It offers a remarkable American perspective on the ivory tower of modernism and the European avant-garde. In his opening argument Stevens challenged the

---

50. Berlin: Staatliche Kunsthalle, Realismus 1919-1933: Zwischen Revolution und Reaktion (Munich: Prestel, 1981). The exhibition was also held at the Centre National d'art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris under the title Les Realismes: entre Révolution et Réaction (1980).

51. The essays that dealt specifically with German art were: Wieland Schmied, "'Pittura metafisica' und 'Neue Sachlichkeit': Die Geschichte einer Inspiration" (pp. 20-25); Günter Metken, "Eine demokratische Kunst: Das Porträt der Neuen Sachlichkeit" (106-19); and Berthold Hinz, "Malerei im 'Dritten Reich' und ihre antagonistische Povenienz" (120-7); Herbert Molderings, "Die Gesellschaft der Weimarer Republik im photographischen Porträt" (300-10). Schmied's essay was republished in slightly varied form in English: "Space, Architecture, and the Image of Man: De Chirico or a Story of Inspiration" in Daidalos 2 (December 1981): 64-76; and "De Chirico and the Realism of the Twenties" in New York: Museum of Modern Art, De Chirico (1982).

52. Arthur Dene Stevens, "The Counter-Modern Movement in French and German Painting after World War I," dissertation (Indiana U, 1971).

commonly held opinion that the realist art of the 1920s represents a "period of calm."[53] He countered that this period witnessed in France and Germany:

> an energetic, and at times agonizing, reaction against the ambiguities and formalism of pre-war radical art and its avant-garde mentality for a positive purpose; to end the alienation of painting from society.[54]

Nonetheless, Stevens would find little sympathy in the United States for another decade.

Post-Expressionism received its first important attention in the United States in 1980 when a series of exhibitions focusing on Weimar culture were held in Minneapolis. The largest of these exhibitions, German Realism of the Twenties: The Artist as Social Critic, was held at the Institute of Arts.[55] The intention of the exhibition, according to Gregory Hedberg, was to "redress . . . an imbalanced view of German art of the twenties."[56] He was addressing an imbalance in American museum collections which have focused on collecting German Expressionist and

---

53. He was addressing Henry Geldzahler's essay "World War I and the First Crisis in Vanguard Art," Art News 61 (December 1962): 48-ff.

54. Stevens, "The Counter-Modern Movement," 2.

55. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, German Realism of the Twenties: The Artist as Social Critic (1980).

56. Gregory Hedberg, "Introduction," in German Realism of the Twenties, 11.

Bauhaus works while avoiding Post-Expressionist works. Included in the catalog were essays by Wieland Schmied, Emilio Bertonati and Peter Selz. Schmied's essay, republished from the catalog of the London exhibition Neue Sachlichkeit and German Realism of the Twenties of 1978-79,[57] was no more critical or enlightening than his book of ten years earlier. His goal was to construct a neat stereotype of the Post-Expressionist. In regard to the Post-Expressionists' focus on the objects of the tangible world, Schmied wrote:

> The Neue Sachlichkeit painter feels himself to have been set down in a world whose interconnections he does not understand and whose motion he does not control. In an increasingly unfathomable universe they represent something to hold onto, a last unambiguous element of certainty.[58]

Artists depict objects because they cannot comprehend the world around them. Was Schmied addressing the raison d'être of the Weimar realist in particular, or figurative artists in general? He continued by noting that the artist:

> finds himself at the mercy of the phenomenon of the modern technological world which he did not create, does not control and cannot understand. He therefore clings to the objects of everyday use

---

57. London: Hayward Gallery, Neue Sachlichkeit and German Realism of the Twenties (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978).

58. Wieland Schmied, "Neue Sachlichkeit and German Realism of the Twenties," in German Realism of the Twenties, 43.

as exemplars of a world he can grasp.[59]

Schmied seems to have been speaking of a specific artist or painting (perhaps one of the "Dream Pictures" by Carl Grossberg of 1925-29). In the catalog for the Museum of Modern Art's Giorgio de Chirico exhibition of 1982 Schmied further posited an explanation for the linear paintings produced by some of these artists:

> Through emphasis on the contour of objects and thereby the isolation of individual phenomena, they hoped to come closer to their goal of understanding our complex technological world.[60]

A decade after the appearance of his book, Schmied abstained from categorization. He accepted the term Neue Sachlichkeit "in the original Hartlaubian sense," he claimed, to cover all the Weimar realist tendencies. To designate the "left-wing" of this art he applied the term Verism, "which seems the most unambiguous and least controversial."[61] The term *Magic Realism* had been abandoned.

Bertonati's contribution to the Minneapolis catalog is its most valuable essay. He questioned two common inter-

---

59. Ibid., 43. He also established a Weimar realist type: The "typical representative emerges as a man who has not traveled the world and does not particularly want to; he is not eloquent, he seldom writes manifestoes, he is not a literary type. He is absorbed in his work."

60. Wieland Schmied, "De Chirico and the Realism of the Twenties," in New York: Museum of Modern Art, De Chirico (1982): 105. As will be seen, technology was an important theme for the Weimar realists only after 1924.

61. Schmied, "Neue Sachlichkeit and German Realism of the Twenties," 42.

pretations of German art of the twenties: 1) that "a water-tight barrier" exists in Weimar Germany between abstract and figurative art, and 2) that Post-Expressionism is antithetical to Expressionism. He wrote:

> [T]he key to understanding the relationship between abstract and figurative art in depth and to discovering that in fact the barrier was more apparent than real lies in a correct interpretation of the Bauhaus movement, which should not be considered as an isolated phenomenon, but rather as fully conversant with the liveliest, most dialectically contradictory and most wide-spread movement at the time in Germany: Neue Sachlichkeit.[62]

Rather than narrowing the movement to a formula as Schmied had attempted, Bertonati sought to expand the discussion of Post-Expressionism. He concluded with the observation: "Powerful and well-protected under the iciness and pearly silification of Neue Sachlichkeit the expressionist fire still burned."[63] In his review of the Minneapolis exhibition, the architectural historian Franz Schulze also observed that "In many ways the movement was actually an inversion rather than a repudiation of Expressionism."[64] Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand had also noted that Expressionism lived on both side-by-side and within some areas of

---

62. Emilio Bertonati, "Neue Sachlichkeit in a Wider Cultural Context," in German Realism of the Twenties, 57.

63. Ibid. 59.

64. Franz Schulze, "Cold Facts," Art in America 69 (1981): 142-7.

Neue Sachlichkeit.[65]

The catalog entries for the Minneapolis exhibition are illuminating in regard to the socio-political backgrounds of some works, but they contain a persistent desire to place the works within the framework of the English concept of "New Objectivity." For example, about an image of a prostitute with grotesquely distended breasts by Otto Dix we are told that: "He depicts sexuality matter-of-factly in the soberly materialist spirit of the Neue Sachlichkeit."[66] The words "sober" and "matter-of-fact" have regularly been applied in discussions of "The New Objectivity" or "The New Sobriety,"[67] and certainly do apply to many Weimar realist works. But they are not necessarily characteristic of the

---

65. Richard Hamman and Jost Hermand, Expressionismus (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1976): 200.
In an essay on Weimar architecture of 1983 Rosemarie Haag Bletter rejected the categorization of Expressionism and New Objectivity: "It is high time that we look for continuities within German architecture, not just between Expressionism and Hitler, but between Expressionism, the pre-war period, and the New Objectivity." ["Expressionism and the New Objectivity," Art Journal (Summer 1983): 111.] The large exhibition "German Expressionism 1915-1925: The Second Generation" which was organized by the Los Angeles County Museum in 1988 revealed the fine line that often existed between Expressionism and Neue Sachlichkeit in the work of artists like Dix, Gert Wollheim, Albert Birkle, Will Küpper, Ludwig Meidner and the sculptor Christoph Voll during the years 1920-25.

66. German Realism of the Twenties, 134, catalog entry by Ida Rigby.

67. John Willett, Art & Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety 1917-1933 (New York: Pantheon, 1978).
Actually Willett applies the term "The New Sobriety" only to the period 1924-28, which is the focus of his book.

Post-Expressionism of the inflation years. The terms "The New Objectivity" and "The New Sobriety", like the term "Impressionism," which was applied to the plein-air painters among the Manet group, are exclusive rather than inclusive and only tend to confuse issues. In contrast to the ecstatic images of some figures identified with Expressionism, an "Apocalyptic Landscape" by Ludwig Meidner for example, any painting would look *sober*.

In the catalog for another Minneapolis exhibition of 1980 Sydney Simon questioned the appropriateness of the term Neue Sachlichkeit and the idea of sobriety.[68] In regard to Christian Schad's Self-Portrait of 1927 [Fig. 1] he asked: "[I]n what sense may we view it as sachlich? . . . The power of the work lies in the appropriateness of its hard style to its highly disturbed sense of reality." Rather than as an art of stability, he sees the art of the stabilization period of the Weimar Republic as primarily cynical. Simon wrote, "'[S]obriety' is not a word that comes readily to mind when we think of Weimar. Cynicism was rampant."[69] For an art of genuine detachment he pointed to Pop Art and Photo Realism.

In his 1985 book on the effects of World War I on some

---

68. Sidney Simon, "The Weimar Republic and the Verist Tradition in Art," in Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, Grosz/Heartfield: The Artist as Social Critic (1980): 14.

69. Ibid., 16.

Weimar artists Mathias Eberle held that the return to craft, to a new interest in painting techniques on the part of the Weimar artists, was encouraged by the preeminence of industrialization which was so powerfully revealed during the war. He stated that the return to past naturalistic models "was a craft ideal opposed to the reigning machine ideal."[70] He thus saw the return to technique as the result of the extreme threat to the individual posed by a technologized society. For Eberle the large number of portraits of the Weimar period -- most of which were uncommissioned -- further represent the struggle to maintain individuality in the face of mechanization; "They record a search for human beings somehow similar to the artist."[71] Like Schmied, Eberle portrays Weimar artists as having been overwhelmed by their epoch, but unlike Schmied, he was not interested in studying the Neue Sachlichkeit/Post-Expressionist movement.

In 1988 the Berlinische Galerie assembled a documentary exhibition of the twenty most important exhibitions of German art or art in Germany during the twentieth century,

---

70. Matthias Eberle, World War I and the Weimar Artists: Dix, Grosz, Beckmann, Schlemmer (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985): 15.

71. Ibid., 16.

including Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition.[72] Helen Adkins' catalog essay is the most important study of the 1925 exhibition since Schmalenbach's of 1973. But her interest lies solely in the end result of the exhibition: the works selected for inclusion and some of the critical reaction. Still she found it necessary to state that no connection exists between Neue Sachlichkeit and Nazi-sanctioned painting.[73] Adkins made the important observation that Neue Sachlichkeit art underwent a major transition during and after the exhibition:

> After 1925 Neue Sachlichkeit came to be the art of a liberal society and clearly developed into a "style" which no longer mirrored the negative impressions of the post-war period and therefore could be adopted by the rising professional class of lawyers, doctors and architects.[74]

In another publication in conjunction with the

---

72. Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, Stationen der Moderne: Die bedeutenden Kunstausstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland (1988).

73. "Daraus kann keinesfalls auf eine Verwandtschaft der Neuen Sachlichkeit mit der Malerei des Nationalsozialismus geschlossen werden." Helen Adkins, "Neue Sachlichkeit - Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus" in Stationen der Moderne, 224.
The only artist in Hartlaub's exhibition to have received acceptance under the Nazis was Werner Peiner who was represented with one painting. He later became Hitler's favorite painter of historic battles.

74. "Nach 1925 wurde die Neue Sachlichkeit verstärkt zur Kunst einer liberalen Gesellschaft und entwickelte sich deutlich zu einem 'Stil,' der nicht mehr die negativen Eindrücke der Nachkriegszeit spiegelte, und daher von der aufsteigenden Berufsschicht der Rechtsanwälte, Ärtze, Architekten angenommen werden konnte." Ibid., 224.

Berlinische Galerie exhibition, Caroline Hille discussed Hartlaub's strategies in putting the show together and made the crucial observation that Hartlaub's exhibition marked not the beginning, but the climax of the movement.[75]

The most recent major exhibition of Neue Sachlichkeit art was organized by the Bielefeld Kunsthalle and shown in various German cities during 1991.[76] The works were arranged strictly iconographically: portrait, city, technology, industry, bridges, sex murder, still life. This exhibition had little to do with the history of Neue Sachlichkeit. Once again, works were chosen from the whole Weimar period and hung side by side based only on thematic similarities. The exhibition and the six catalog essays fail to make any more sense of Neue Sachlichkeit/Post-Eepressionism as a historical movement than was understood in 1976. No attempt was made to point out the different periods that existed within the Weimar Republic. While Liska made an important move to make sense of Post-Expressionism in 1976, his call for iconographical studies has resulted in several interesting studies and some unintrigu-

---

75. Caroline Hille, "Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus, Mannheim 1925" in Eberhard Roters, ed., Stationen der Moderne: Katologe epochaler Kunstausstellungen in Deutschland 1910-1962 (Cologne: König, 1988): 132-50.

76. Bielefeld: Kunsthalle, Neue Sachlichkeit-Magischer Realismus (1991).

ing exhibitions.

Aside from the Berlinische Galerie essays, the term Neue Sachlichkeit remains tied to the stabilization period of the Weimar Republic. And the Post-Expressionist realist art of 1920-1924 remains tied to the term Neue Sachlichkeit.

This review of the literature has aimed to reveal the various extrinsic structures forced onto Post-Expressionism. Rather than study the development and subsequent transformations of Post-Expressionism historically, art historians, in their quest to make sense of this movement, have too often chosen to construct their own pictures of Neue Sachlichkeit. In the following chapters I will study the development of this Post-Expressionist trend up to the exhibition and book of 1925 which gave it its name(s). I believe that a clear knowledge of the original understanding of Neue Sachlichkeit is only possible once the art historical structures and reifications of 1969-1991 are abandoned.

The first part of this study will establish the state of German art and society during the periods of revolution and inflation, and will discuss the dialogue relating to Post-Expressionism up to 1922.

The second part will discuss the development of Post-Expressionism geographically, beginning with the artists

associated with Berlin Dada (Hausmann, Höch, Grosz, Schlichter, Dix, Griebel and Scholz), the most vocal opponents of Expressionism. The other centers of Post-Expressionism were: Cologne (Ernst, Hoerle, Seiwert and Räderscheidt); Dusseldorf (Wollheim, Dix and the "Mutter" Ey group); Munich (Schrimpf, Mense, Davringhausen and Kanoldt); and Karlsruhe (Scholz, Hubbuch and Schnarrenberger). A final section will briefly discuss eight additional artists who worked outside these cities. Many artists considered inseparable from Neue Sachlichkeit today (Christian Schad, Grete Jürgens, Ernst Thoms and Kurt Weinhold for instance) will find no place in this study because they generally arrived as Post-Expressionists after 1924 and are therefore representative of the much broader second generation of Post-Expressionists.

The third part will focus on the contemporary art critics' attempts to come to terms with this broad movement, Hartlaub's exhibition plans and ideas, and Roh's book.

PART I: THE STATE OF ART IN GERMANY 1918-1925

> The painters liberated by Futurism are like the man liberated by the war: *they do not exist.*[1]
>
> Giorgio de Chirico

The origins of Post-Expressionism are to be found both within and in reaction to the post-war Expressionist movement. While Late Expressionism, or the end of Expressionism, has recently received considerable attention, the origins of Post-Expressionism have been virtually ignored.[2] The first chapter of this part will discuss the status of Expressionism during the critical years of 1918-1920. While Expressionism did not come to an end or disappear in 1920, many, including some of the central figures in the movement, came to question its vitality and validity at this time. The second chapter will identify the first discussions of a post-Expressionist trend in Germany between 1919 and 1922. And the third chapter will outline

---

1. Giorgio de Chirico, "Il ritorno al mestiere" ("The Return to Craft"), originally published in Valori Plastici (November-December 1919): 15-16. Trans. in Massimo Carrà, Metaphysical Art (New York: Praeger, 1971): 145.

2. The only elaborate discussion of the historical origins of Weimar realism remains Fritz Schmalenbach's brief discussion from 1973. (Die Malerei der 'Neue Sachlichkeit' [Berlin: Mann, 1973]: 41-8.) Schmalenbach identified some early discussions of the new art, some of the earliest works that could be described as Neue Sachlichkeit, and noted that some critics were declaring Expressionism dead in 1920.

the remarkable socio-economic situation in which the new art developed.

1. THE CRISIS OF EXPRESSIONISM

The German Expressionist movement was broader and more diverse, and perhaps more difficult to characterize than any other avant-garde movement of the first half of the twentieth century. Between 1911, when the French term *expressionisme* was adopted in Germany as a designation for contemporary art, and the 1920s, most critics spoke of Expressionism as an international movement encompassing Cubism, Fauvism, Futurism, etc. These critics understood "German Expressionism" to be the unique German contribution to "die neue Kunst," i.e. art since Cézanne, Gauguin and Van Gogh.[1] German Expressionism is generally accepted as

---

1. For example, see the books: Paul Fechter, Der Expressionismus (Munich: Piper, 1914, 1919) [this was the first book-length study of the international movement]; Hermann Bahr, Expressionismus (Munich: Delphin, 1916, 1920); Hans Hildebrandt, Der Expressionismus in der Malerei (Stuttgart/Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1919); and Eckart von Sydow, Die Deutsche expressionistische Kultur und Malerei (Berlin: Furche, 1920).
On the usage of the term Expressionism see: Donald Gordon, "On the Origin of the Word 'Expressionism'," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 29 (1966): 368-85; Geoffrey Perkins, Contemporary Theory of Expressionism (Bern: Lang and Cie, 1974): 11-18; Marit Werenskiold, The Concept of Expressionism: Origin and Metamorphoses, trans. Ronald Walford (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1984); Ron Mannheim, "'Expressionismus': Zur Entstehung eines kunsthistorischen Stil- und Periodenbegriffs," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 49 (1986): 86-94; Charles W. Haxthausen, "A

having begun with the formation of the *Brücke* group in Dresden in 1905. The *Neue Künstlervereinigung* (NKVM), under the leadership of Vassily Kandinsky, established Munich as a center of the international avant-garde in 1909, a position that was taken over in 1911 by Kandinsky and Franz Marc's group *Der blaue Reiter*. Herwarth Walden's journal Der Sturm (1910-32) and Franz Pfemfert's Die Aktion (1911-32) linked together and gave voice to a diverse array of literary and visual artists throughout German-speaking Europe including the *Brücke* and *Blauer Reiter* groups, and the Austrians Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele. These artists also came together in a series of large international exhibitions.[2]

Although difficult to generalize, all the German Expressionists shared a rebellious attitude toward the materialism and mores of German imperial and bourgeois society. This rebellious spirit led the visual Expression-

---

...Continued...

Critical Illusion: 'Expressionism' in the Writings of Wilhelm Hausenstein," in Rainer Rumold and O. K. Werckmeister, eds., The Ideological Crisis of Expressionism: The Literary and Artistic German War Colony in Belgium 1914-1918 Columbia SC: Camden House, 1990): 170-78; and Rose-Carol Washton Long, ed., German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism (New York: Hall, 1993): 3-5.

2. The most important of these exhibitions were the *Sonderbund* exhibitions in Dusseldorf in 1910 and 1912, and Walden's *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* of 1913. Artists from Dresden, Berlin, Munich and the Rhineland also exhibited together before the war in exhibitions organized by Walden's *Der Sturm* gallery, Hans Goltz's gallery in Munich and in the last three exhibitions of the *New Secession* in Berlin (1911-12).

ists to adopt stylistic trends imported from Paris and Milan as well as to investigate such non-traditional sources as non-western and Gothic art. Some artists experimented with various forms of abstraction in part as an attempt to rid their art of any connection to materialism.

During the war the Expressionist groups were dispersed. Among the prominent figures, Franz Marc and August Macke were killed in action; Kandinsky was forced to return to Russia; Kirchner settled in Switzerland after a nervous breakdown; and Emil Nolde settled in Schleswig-Holstein where he lived in isolation. Nonetheless, during the war new journals appeared giving voice to an increasing number of Expressionists.[3] Reactions to the war among the Expressionists ranged from disillusionment to pacifism to radicalism. This disillusionment led to the establishment of the Dada movement in Zurich in 1916.

While some studies on German Expressionism have focused only on the period 1905-1914,[4] others have attempt-

---

3. Among these new journals were: Die Dachstube (1915-18); Das Kunstblatt (1917-33); Die Schöne Rarität (1917-19); Die Weissen Blätter (1913-21); Freie Straße (1915-18); and Neue Jugend (1916-17).

4. The pioneering studies of Peter Selz (German Expressionist Painting [Berkeley: U Cal P, 1957]) and Bernard S. Myers (The German Expressionists: A Gerneration in Revolt [New York: Praeger, 1957]) paid little attention to wartime and post-war Expressionism, as did: Frank Whitford, Expressionism (London: Hamlyn, 1970); Wolf-Dieter Dube, The Expressionists (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972, 1985); and the exhibitions and catalogs Expressionism: A German Intuition 1905-1920 (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim

ed to expand and define the parameters of the movement.[5]

Expressionism reached something of a climax immediately after the war in terms of the number of artists and writers to join its ranks, and its public acceptance and popularity.[6] The historical facts regarding the Expres-

---

...Continued...

Museum, 1980) and German Art of the 20th Century (Christos M. Joachimides, Norman Rosenthal and Wieland Schmied, eds. [Munich: Prestel, 1985]).

5. See for example: Katherine Ida Rigby, An alle Künstler: War-Revolution-Weimar (San Diego State UP, 1983); Donald Gordon, Expressionism: Art and Idea (New Haven: Yale UP, 1987); Stephanie Barron, ed., German Expressionism 1915-1925 The Second Generation (Munich: Prestel, 1988) and German Expressionist Prints and Drawings: The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies 2 vols. (Munich: Prestel, 1989); Joan Weinstein, The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany 1918-1919 (U Chicago P, 1990); Rumold and Werckmeister, The Ideological Crisis of Expressionism; and Long, German Expressionism.

6. This Late Expressionist transformation first received serious documentary attention in Germany in the 1960s. The traveling exhibition organized by Paul Raabe and Ludwig Greve in 1960 represents the first time that the Late Expressionist transformation was given almost equal treatment as pre-war Expressionism (Expressionismus: Literatur und Kunst 1910-1923 [Marbach: Schiller National-museum, 1960]). This exhibition was succeeded by a number of publications of Expressionist documents which also paid equal attention to Late Expressionism: Paul Pörtner, ed., Literatur-Revolution 1910-1925: Dokumente-Manifeste-Programme, 2 vols. (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1960/1961); Dieter Schmidt, ed., Manifeste, Manifeste 1905-1933 (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1965); and Paul Raabe, ed., Expressionismus: Der Kampf um eine literarische Bewegung (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1965). Raabe also published the first study devoted exclusively to Late Expressionism in 1966 (Der Ausgang des Expressionismus [Biberach: Wege und Gestalten, 1966]).
Helga Kliemann's documentary history of the *November Group* appeared in 1969 (Die Novembergruppe [Berlin: Mann, 1969]); and Eva Kolinsky's study of the political transformation of

sionists' activities following the declaration of the German Republic on November 9, 1918 are now well documented: the foundations of the *November Group* and the *Workers Council for Art* (Arbeitsrat für Kunst) in Berlin during December 1918 and splinter groups throughout Germany united Expressionists in the hope of taking part in the changes to come following the fall of the monarchy.[7] The immediate causes for the so-called end of Expressionism, however, are less indisputable.

By the end of 1919 the revolutionary zeal of many of those associated with Expressionism had begun to fade. Historians have attributed this to their disillusionment with the political realities of the winter and spring of 1919, i.e. the lack of national support for the socialist government,[8] the lost chance for social reform, and/or the ruthless suppression of the left. By having bound itself to the revolution, Expressionism has been perceived as

---

...Continued...

the Expressionist journals during and after the war appeared in 1970 (Engagierter Expressionismus: Politik und Literatur zwischen Weltkrieg und Weimarer Republik [Stuttgart: Metzlersche, 1970]).

7. See: Weinstein, The End of Expressionism, chapter 2; Rigby, An alle Kunstler; Kliemann, Die Novembergruppe; Barron, German Expressionism 1915-1925; Marcel Franciscono, Walter Gropius and the Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar (Urbana: U Illinois P, 1971); the catalog Arbeitsrat für Kunst 1918-1921 (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1980); and Long, German Expressionism, chapter 2.

8. In the general elections of January 19, 1919 the Social Democrats failed to gain an absolute majority and was thus forced to form a coalition government with the conservative

having become a scapegoat for the revolution's failure for revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries alike.

Nonetheless, some of the Expressionists' desires had been realized: Edwin Redslob, an art historian sympathetic to Expressionism, was appointed Federal Arts Commissioner; Expressionists like Oskar Kokoschka, Otto Mueller, Cesar Klein and Georg Tappert received appointments to academies and public art schools; and public museums purchased large numbers of Expressionist works in order to fill gaps in their collections and mounted retrospective exhibitions of some Expressionists. The *November Group* was also granted space in the annual Great Berlin Art Exhibition -- Berlin's salon. Large publishing houses suddenly took an interest in Expressionist literature.[9] A plethora of Expressionist journals appeared after 1918 to serve as forums for Expressionists all over the country.[10] Expressionist drama dominated German theaters. Expressionism became fashionable. With the apparent end to the communist threat by the beginning of the summer of 1919, the art market stabilized for a short time during which Expressionists prospered.[11] But

---

...Continued...

Center and German Democratic parties.

9. See Allen, 50-1.

10. John Willett has counted 44 Expressionist periodicals in print at the end of 1919. One year later this number was reduced to 22. By the end of 1922 only 8 remained. Expressionism (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970): 133.

11. On the state of the German art market in 1919-20 see: Weinstein, The End of Expressionism, chapter 5; and O.K. Werckmeister, The Making of Paul Klee's Career 1914-1920 (U

with the public success of Expressionism came a barrage of assaults.

Wilhelm Hausenstein, a socialist and a prominent supporter of abstract Expressionism in Munich before the war, became one of the major detractors of Expressionism between 1918 and 1920.[12] In his first public statement on Expressionism since the outbreak of the war (Berlin, March 1918), Hausenstein expressed doubt regarding the historical value of the new art and wondered whether the innovative phase of Expressionism had passed.[13] Hausenstein's statement was revised for publication in the last weeks of the war and appeared in 1919.[14]

By 1920 Hausenstein was bluntly declaring that Expressionism was dead. It had fulfilled its purpose, he claimed, and was now trivial, commercial and institu-

---

...Continued...

Chicago P, 1989).

12. On Hausenstein's pre-war philosophy and his connection to the Blaue Reiter and the Munich New Secession see: Joan Weinstein, "Wilhelm Hausenstein, the Leftist Promotion of Expressionism, and the First World War," in Rainer Rumold and O. K. Werkmeister, eds., The Ideological Crisis of Expressionism, 193-217; and Long, German Expressionism, 280-81.

13. In Charles Haxthausen's recent essay on Hausenstein's ideological transformation ("A Critical Illusion") he emphasizes that Hausenstein's faith in both socialism and Expressionism was lost months before the failed revolution.

14. Wilhelm Hausenstein, Über Expressionismus in der Malerei, Kasimir Edschmid, ed., Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit

tional.[15] In April 1920 he repudiated Expressionism publicly in a sensational lecture in Munich. Leopold Zahn, editor of Der Ararat, questioned whether it was a lecture or a eulogy.[16]

Georg Biermann, editor of Der Cicerone, strongly countered Hausenstein declaring that Expressionism was only at its beginning.[17] To Biermann only the pseudo-Expressionists, those who had recently adopted Expressionist styles and attitudes, had discredited the movement. Paul Westheim, editor of Das Kunstblatt, agreed with Biermann. He wished for an end to the Expressionist academy, Expressionist style, Expressionist hangers-on, Expressionist propaganda, and Expressionist profiteers.[18]

...Continued...

vol. 2 (Berlin: Reiss, 1919).

15. Hausenstein published his condemnation of Expressionism in his book Die Kunst in diesem Augenblick (Munich: Hyperion, 1920) [see page 35 in particular]. An excerpt of this book, under the same title, appeared earlier in Der Neue Merkur. For a partial translation see Long, German Expressionism, 281-83.

16. "Apostata" Der Ararat 1 (April 1920): 53. Zahn attributed Hausenstein's attitude to "Spenglerian skepticism" and advised his audience not to take him so seriously. Oswald Spengler had assailed Expressionism as "Bluff, Kitsch and Handicraft for the snob" in his very popular book Der Untergang des Abendlandes of 1918. On Spengler and Expressionism see Max Pulver, "Der Untergang des Abendlandes," Das Kunstblatt 3 (September 1919): 285.

17. B., "Zu Wilhelm Hausenstein's 'Die Kunst in diesem Augenblick'," Der Cicerone 17 (September 1920): 659-60.

18. Paul Westheim, "Das 'Ende des Expressionimus'," Das Kunstblatt 4 (June 1920): 187-88. Westheim concluded that

The debate regarding the vitality of Expressionism reached its peak with the largest Expressionist exhibition to date during the summer of 1920. "German Expressionism Darmstadt," arranged by the Darmstadt Secession, included 673 works by artists from all over Germany. In his lecture at the opening of the exhibition, however, Kasimir Edschmid, president of the Secession, had no praise for the present state of Expressionist art:

> What once seemed a daring gesture has today become ordinary. The advance of the day before yesterday became the mannerism of yesterday and the yawn of today. . . . I am against the Expressionism that today titillates minister's daughters and manufacturer's wives toward moral uplifting.[19]

He also attacked the "cosmic wallpaper and hysterical

...Continued...

it makes no difference what artists are called as long as individuality still exists, and as long as such individuals exist there is no need to worry about the future of art. In his campaign against "bad" Expressionism, Westheim, who had founded Das Kunstblatt in 1917, began publishing a quarterly portfolio of original prints, Die Schaffenden, since 1918 in order to encourage smart collecting. On the complaints regarding the plethora of stereotype prints on the market see Ida Katherine Rigby, "The Revival of Printmaking in Germany" in Barron, German Expressionist Prints and Drawings vol. 1, 59-62.

19. "Was damals als Gebärde kühn schien, ist heute Gewohnheit. Der Vorstoß von vorgestern ist die Allüre von gestern und das Gähnen von heute geworden. . . . Aber ich bin gegen Expressionismus, der heute Pfarrerstöchter und Fabrikantenfrauen zu Erbauung umkitzelt." Kasimir Edschmidt, "Stand des Expressionismus 1920." This essay was also published in the exhibition catalogue. It was republished in Raabe, Expressionismus: Der Kampf um eine

poems" of the multitudes of new Expressionists.[20] The exhibition received wide and serious attention with each critic wondering whether it was a retrospective of the movement or a declaration of its vitality.

In his review of the exhibition for the Frankfurter Zeitung, Gustav Hartlaub, like Westheim warned against taking too seriously Hausenstein's declaration that Expressionism was dead.[21] Like Biermann and Westheim, Hartlaub was convinced that Expressionism was in a state of crisis, but far from dead; he praised Expressionism as the first spiritual art since the middle ages.[22] His problem was not with Expressionism per se, but with this exhibition alone, which he believed justified the arguments of people like

---

...Continued...

literarische Bewegung, 173-76.

20. In July 1918 Franz Pfemfert, editor of Die Aktion, condemned Edschmid (together with Walter Hasenclever and Paul Kornfeld) as a pseudo-Expressionist: "Youth has become a business; but business was never an intellectual affair. At present I can do nothing to oppose this consortion but to chase them, mercilessly, from my doorstep so that they cannot compromise us." Franz Pfemfert, "Kleiner Briefkasten," Die Aktion 8 (1918): 364. Translation in Allen, 50.

21. "Mag der Expressionismus sterben, meinen sie leichthin, wenn nur die Kunst nicht stirbt. Was liegt an der Gesinnung? L'art pour l'art." G.F. Hartlaub, "Deutscher Expressionismus: Zur Darmstädter Ausstellung," Frankfurter Zeitung (July 15, 1920). Hartlaub was a curator at the Mannheim Kunsthalle in 1920.

22. In his essay "The Term Neue Sachlichkeit" (Art Bulletin 22 [September 1940]) Fritz Schmalenbach erroneously noted that, "Hartlaub had voiced a general feeling of bankruptcy so far as expressionism was concerned." (p. 163) Hartlaub's text, like much Expressionist-inspired criticism, is difficult to decipher

Hausenstein. Works by the great Expressionists were few in number, poorly hung, and hidden among the "copyists, followers and dependents."[23] He noted, as he had in his recently published book Kunst und Religion, that in the search for something solid, for content, some Expressionists came upon traditional religious imagery and clung to it rather than discovering a new, more contemporary imagery.

Wilhelm Worringer, another major pre-war Expressionist theorist, added his voice to the eulogizing of Expressionism in a lecture delivered in Munich in October 1920 in which he declared that there was only one artistic question in 1920: the crisis of Expressionism, i.e. the end of Expressionism.[24] He too criticized the many pseudo-Expres-

---

...Continued...

at times, but he never suggested that Expressionism was bankrupt.

23. In his book Die neue deutsche Graphik (Berlin: Reiss, 1920) Hartlaub also expressed deep concern over the number of stereotypical Expressionist prints being produced (pp. 59-60). Reviews of the first November Group exhibitions also complained of the group's dedication to quantity rather than quality. See: Kliemann, 84-6; and Weinstein, The End of Expressionism 89-91.
In his review in Das Kunstblatt, Alfred Salmony also complained about the number of pedestrian Expressionists shown side by side with famous ones. "Diese Ausstellung scheint ein Kind des Zufalls zu sein. Es fehlen nicht die berühmten Namen sondern die Werke. Diese Schau hat kein Gesicht." Alfred Salmony, "Darmstadt: Deutscher Expressionimus," Das Kunstblatt 4 (September, 1920): 286.

24. "Künstlerische Zeitfragen? Der Plural ist über-

sionists "who know nothing about art," but he also found a deep flaw in Expressionism in general. The Expressionists were the first to fully understand Gothic, Baroque, primitive and Asiatic art, he claimed, but "the more we came to understand them, the more they slipped away from us as creative people." It was now clear to Worringer that the Expressionists' attempts to be "metaphysical" were futile.[25] According to Worringer, the post-Baroque period is one in which art has lost any sociological function: "Art, once a central organ of metaphysical energies, [now] distinguishes itself as a pretty, interesting speck on the wall."[26] The spiritual lives no longer in souls, he claimed, but in programs. Expressionism's loss of vitali-

---

...Continued...

flüssig. Für die bildende Kunst gibt es heute nur eine Zeitfrage. . . . Es heißt: Krise des Expressionismus. In diskreten Klammern dahinter: Ende des Expressionismus." Wilhelm Worringer, Künstlerische Zeitfragen (Munich: Bruckmann, 1921): 7. For a discussion and translation see Long, German Expressionism, 284-87.
Worringer's books Abstraktion und Einfühlung (1907, ninth printing 1919) and Formprobleme der Gotik (1911, twelfth printing 1920) were still popular immediately after the war.

25. "Gotik, Barok, primitive und asiatische Kunst: sie alle gaben sich auf einmal zu erkennen, wie sie sich -- das darf man wohl sagen -- nie einer Generation vorher zu erkennen gegeben haben. . . . Und je näher sie uns als Erkennenden kamen, um so mehr entrückten sie uns als Schaffenden. . . . [J]e mehr in uns die Kraft des Schauens für diesen echten metaphysisch legitimierten Expressionismus der Vergangenheit wuchs, . . . als wir ihr magisches Geheimnis erkannten . . . überfiel uns unausweichbar die lähmende Tragik der Selbsterkenntnis . . ., daß all unser expressionistisches Bemühen nur eine traurige Philosophie Als Ob sei." Worringer, Künstlerische Zeitfragen 10-11.

26. "Die Kunst, einst ein Zentralorgan metaphysischer Energien, bescheidet sich, ein schöner interessanter Fleck

ty, its disintegration into "peaceful wall decorations" was thus the death of Expressionism, and the death of art.[27] He concluded by speaking of post-Expressionist Europe: art must take a rest from the problematic, he believed, "Let's welcome new thought-paintings [Denkbilder]."[28]

Regardless of the continuous development of Expressionist ideas throughout the Weimar period (at the Bauhaus, and within certain thematic aspects of Post-Expressionism), the denunciations of Hausenstein, Worringer and many others compromised Expressionism in 1920 in the eyes of many artists. Some artists who had become politicized and embraced Expressionism after the war -- and who maintained their dedication to a politically-engaged art (the Dadaists in particular) -- would vehemently reject Expressionism and the official Expressionist body, the *November Group* (which continued to exhibit as a group until 1932). Other

---

...Continued...

an der Wand zu sein für Menschen, die sich hier und da auch einmal ästhetisch einstellen." Worringer, Künstlerische Zeitfragen, 15.

27. For discussions of Hausenstein's & Worringer's repudiations of Expressionism see: Long, German Expressionism, 280-81, 284; Haxthausen, "A Critical Illusion," 187; and Weinstein, "Wilhelm Hausenstein," 216.

28. Edschmid offered similar advice in his "Stand des Expressionismus:" "Es ist im Augenblick nichts nötiger als Selbstbesinnung, Arbeit und Geduld." Reprinted in Raabe, Expressionismus: Der Kampf um eine literarische Bewegung, 176.
In 1925 Wilhelm Worringer had a revelation upon seeing Carrà's Pine at the Sea which he described as his greatest aesthetic experience since Cézanne. Wilhelm Worringer, "Carrà's Pinie am Meer," Wissen und Leben: Neue Schweizer

artists, while never rejecting Expressionism, would gradually develop more naturalistic styles or a greater concern for content (as Hartlaub and Hausenstein had already observed with interest). Editors like Westheim, Zahn and Biermann, all still faithful to many of the founding principles of Expressionism, would now eagerly seek out new signs of vitality among German artists.

2. IDENTIFICATION OF A NEW ART MOVEMENT 1919-1922

In the preface to the second edition of his book Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart (dated September 5, 1919) Wilhelm Hausenstein addressed what he perceived to be a "backlash" in contemporary European art: a new interest in the "world of outer Gegenständlichkeit -- of nature."[1] Since 1912 he had enthusiastically embraced non-naturalistic art (which he perceived to be representative of socialism) and was both a supporter and defender of Kandinsky.[2] By 1920, however, in his book Die Kunst in diesem Augenblick, Hausenstein welcomed the "historical" reaction

---

...Continued...

Rundschau 10 (November 1925): 1165-69. See also Carla Schulz-Hoffmann, ed., Mythos Italien: Wintermärchen Deutschland (Munich: Prestel, 1988) 9.

1. "Soviel kann indes schon heute gesagt werden: daß ein künftiger Überblick des Gesamtbild europäischer Kunst einen Rückschlag im sinnerneuerten Interesse für die Welt auch der äußeren Gegenständlichkeit -- der 'Natur' -- wahrscheinlich wird feststellen können." Hausenstein, Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart, (Berlin: Anstalt, 1920): xv.

2. For a discussion of Hausenstein's Marxist approach to

taking place among the French Expressionists, exemplified by Picasso's emulation of Ingres: "The backlash is to be greeted."[3] On the other hand, he did not approve of contemporary Post-Expressionist developments in Germany. He detested what he regarded to be "the shamelessness of the naturalistic paintings of a Davringhausen, the neo-naturalistic, baroque-naturalistic vehemence of Meidner," and the "extreme naturalism" of some students at the Munich Academy.[4] (In his review of the Darmstadt exhibition, Alfred Salmony singled out Davringhausen as the most outstanding figure represented.[5]) In Augenblick, Hausenstein declared not only that "Expressionism is dead," but that "Verism" had already been proclaimed by its adversaries.[6] Specifically, he cited Ludwig Meidner's post-war manifesto

---

...Continued...

style in the pre-war years see: Long, German Expressionism, 280-81; Haxthausen, "A Critical Illusion," 178-80; and Weinstein, "Wilhelm Hausenstein," 193-99.

3. "Picasso malt zu Füßen des Ingres. In Frankreich ist aller Expressionismus, wenn er nicht überhaupt eine wesentliche deutsche Konvulsion und Pedanterie ist, historisch. Der Rückschlag ist zu begrüßen.... Es ist heute schon Tatsache, daß werdende Malerei auf den Boden der Natur zurückkehrt." Ibid., 8.

4. "Die Reaktion ist natürlich Verzerung. Sie bringt die travestierende Jahrmarktschauer, den Dévergondage der naturalistischen Malereien eines Davringhausen, die naturalistische, barok naturalistische Heftigkeit Meidners hervor. Oder: man betritt in der Münchner Akademie das Atelier eines der Jüngsten; noch Schüler beißt er sich in einen extremen Naturalismus ein, der trotz gewißer traditionaller Elemente wahrscheinlich mehr ist als Atavismus oder Schule." Ibid., 38.

5. Alfred Salmony, "Darmstadt: Deutscher Expressionimus," Das Kunstblatt 4 (September, 1920): 286.

"Aschaffenburg Journal" (in which the artist declared: "What many of us did before the war was wrong. . . . What we need for the future, all of us, is a fervent and fanatic naturalism."[7]) Such a backlash was incomprehensible to Hausenstein. He urged artists not to return to the *thing* or the individual, but rather to turn to the community in search of an art that could reach the masses.[8]

Gustav Hartlaub made a similar appeal in his review of the Darmstadt exhibition. He noted a return to the object on the part of some artists which he excused as, "the backlash against the abstract music making" of the prewar period,[9] and he identified some representatives of the second generation of Expressionists who were undertaking a new search for content: Albert-Bloch, Carlo Mense, Davringhausen, Kay Nebel, George Grosz ("no painter"), Ludwig Meidner and Otto Dix ("a grotesque exhibitionist").

...Continued...

6. Hausenstein, Die Kunst in diesem Augenblick (Munich: Hyperion, 1920): 37.

7. Ludwig Meidner, "Aschaffenburg Journal," in Septemberschrei, (Berlin: Paul Cassirer, 1920) 15-23. Translation in Victor H. Miesel, Voices of German Expressionism (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970): 182-4. This essay was dated August-September 1918. Part of this statement had appeared in Das Kunstblatt 3 (November 1919): 332.

8. "Der Weg der Kunst geht endlich nur durch die Gemeinschaft. Der Stil ist das Produkt der Kollektivität." Ibid., 47.
As will be seen in part II chapter 1, by the fall of 1920 some of the artists formerly associated with Berlin Dada were striving for both a return to materiality and a de-individualized style.

9. "Zurück zum Gegenstand! Der Rückschlag auf solch

But Hartlaub rejected both following historical recipes as the Nazarenes had in order to get closer to nature, and subordination to nature's impressions, as the Impressionists had. One must be patient, he advised, and cautioned against distancing oneself from the physical world or reality because, he wrote, "today no metaphysical certainty, no religion, no church will give us a hold on the transcendental."[10] He called on German artists to reconcile nature with what he described as their own "inherent laws of regularity."[11]

The first suggestion in Germany of an international Post-Expressionist movement seems to have been stated in the first German discussion of the Italian periodical Valori Plastici. In the October 1919 issue of Das Kunst-

---

...Continued...

abstraktes Formenmusizieren. . ." Hartlaub, "Deutscher Expressionismus."

10. "Expressionismus künftighin den Abstand von der sinnlichen Natur und Wirklichkeit wird verfügen müßen, denn seine metaphysische Gewißheit, keine Religion, keine Kirche gibt uns heute schon im Uebersinnlichen hast." G.F. Hartlaub, "Deutscher Expressionismus: Zur Darmstädter Ausstellung," Frankfurter Zeitung (July 15, 1920).

11. ". . . Expressionismus künftighin den Abstand von der sinnlichen Natur und Wirklichkeit wird verkürzen müssen, denn seine metaphysische Gewißheit, seine Religion, seine Kirche gibt uns heute schon im übersinnlichen Halt. Aber nicht nach einem geschichtlichen Rezept, wie die Nazarener, wollen wir der Natur uns nähern, nicht auch uns ihren Eindrücken unterwerfen, wie das impressionistische Programen es verlangt, sondern sie unserer inneren autonomen und unbedingten Gesetzmäßigkeit in erkennender Liebe versöhnen." Hartlaub, "Deutscher Expressionismus." On a nationalist note, Hartlaub claimed that 15 years of Ex-

blatt editor Paul Westheim wrote:

> Characteristic of [Carlo Carrà's] work . . . indeed, characteristic of a whole group of contemporary artists is a unique, extreme verism which strives for a correct, hard drawing, which suppresses all personal traits. In Germany, as is known, Grosz and Davringhausen are moving in similar directions.[12]

In a review of contemporary Czech art in the journal Der Cicerone seven months later Paul F. Schmidt elaborated on the international scope of the new trend:

> The combination of this ghostliness with the cool and immediate Sachlichkeit of the modelling gives them the stamp of the modern which characterizes

---

...Continued...

pressionism in Germany had brought out many more strong talents than 30 years of Impressionism had in France.

12. "Die führende Rolle scheint Carra hier einzunehmen, der ein Buch Pittura metafisica geschrieben hat, aus dem die Zeitschrift einen Abschnitt über das künstlerische Italien abdruckt. Charakteristisch für sein Schaffen . . . charakteristisch wohl schon für eine ganze Gruppe jüngerer Künstler ist ein eigenartiger, bis aufs Äußerste getriebener Verismus, der sich einer korrekten, harten, jeden Zug der Handschrift unterdrückenden Zeichnung befleißigt. In Deutschland befinden sich, wie man weiß, Grosz und Davringhausen auf ähnlichem Wege." [Paul Westheim,] "Notizen," Das Kunstblatt 3 (October 1919): 319. Valori Plastici, unquestionably the most influential foreign source for German artists immediately after the war, first appeared in Rome just days after the armistice in November 1918. Its editor, Mario Broglio, was interested in fostering a new art in the spirit of the Italian classical tradition. Early in 1918 he had come upon a fully developed response to Futurism -- somewhat in the name of tradition -- in Giorgio de Chirico, Carlo Carrà and Giorgio Morandi. See: Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, "Valori Plastici: Eine Zeitschrift, ein Verlag, eine Künstlergruppe und der europäische Ordnungsruf," in Schulz-Hoffmann, Mythos Italien: Wintermärchen Deutschland, 59-64; and Joan Lukach, "De Chirico and Italian Art Theory 1915-1920," in New York: Museum of Modern Art, De Chirico (1982): 35-54.
The last number of Valori Plastici appeared in 1921. It

> the work of a Schlemmer, Max Ernst, R. Schlichter or Dix in Germany, a Carrà and de Chirico in Italy. (In Paris Archipenko, Picabia, Le Fauconnier - ? - among others appear to be on a similar path; in Russia the 'Tatlinists'; examples are lacking at the moment.) This means a return to solidity and almost classicistic correctness of the sculptural perception of form that is quite noteworthy because, at least with the German artists, it expresses itself as a vehement urge to break free from the the last artistic fetters.[13]

Schmidt perceived this new art to be a direct reaction to Expressionism. An essay in the October 1920 edition of Der Ararat, identified Giorgio de Chirico as the leader of the international "return to craft."[14] In his review of an exhibition of contemporary Italian art in the spring of 1921, Paul Westheim identified elements common to the

---

...Continued...

was distributed in Germany by Hans Goltz through his bookshop/gallery "Neue Kunst" in Munich.

13. "Diese Gespenstigkeit im Verein mit der kühlen und unbedingten Sachlichkeit der Modellierung gibt ihnen das Gepräge des Modernen, das die Hervorbringungen eines Schlemmer, Max Ernst, R. Schlichter oder Dix in Deutschland, eines Carrà und de Chirico in Italien kennzeichnet. (In Paris scheinen Archipenko, Picabia, Le Fauconnier - ? - u.a. auf ähnlichem Wege; in Rußland die 'Tatlinisten'; Beweise fehlen vor der Hand.) Es bedeutet dies eine Rückkehr zur Festigkeit und beinahe klassistischen Korrektheit plastischer Formanschauung, die sehr beachtenswert ist, weil sie sich wenigstens bei deutschen Künstlern mit einem ungetümen Drang zur Sprengung der letzten künstlerischen Fesseln äußert." Paul F. Schmidt, "Die jungen Tschechen in Dresden," Der Cicerone 12 (May 1920): 383.
In 1921 Schmidt made similar connections in a discussion of Willy Baumeister: "Wir beobachten ähnliche Erscheinungen an vielen Orten in der Kunst der letzten Zeit: Archipenkos skulptomalerei, der Verismus de Chiricos und G. Grosz, die Bauplastiken Schlemmers." Paul F. Schmidt, "Willy Baumeister," Das Kunstblatt 5 (September 1921): 278.

Italian painters that found to be representative of an international post-Expressionist trend:

> What they strive for: form instead of deformation; strict composition; solid, tangible Gegenständlichkeit; not ecstatic frenzy of feeling, but ratio, organization of the intellectual forces; concentrated energy is an understandable reaction and a valuable principle demand. It is an encouraging sign.[15]

In the January 1922 issue of Das Kunstblatt Westheim noted that the "new naturalism" had developed in art because: "For all kinds of people there seem to have been too many exciting artistic accomplishments here in recent years; one is tired, wants to have his own peace and quiet again."[16] And he wondered whether a "new naturalist" movement had superceded Expressionism. Westheim avoided discussing any specific contemporary works. He then sent out a questionnaire regarding the status of the new naturalism to a number of international literary and artistic

---

...Continued...

14. V.D., "Italien: Die Situation der neuen Kunst in Italien," Der Ararat 2 (October 1920): 110-12.

15. "Was sie anstreben: Form statt Deformation, straffer Bildaufbau, plastisch greifbare Gegenständlichkeit, nicht ekstatischen Gefühlsrausch sondern Ratio, Organization der intellektuellen Kräfte, konzentrierte Energie ist als Reaktion verständlich, als prinzipielle Forderung von Wert. Es ist als Anzeichen erfreulich, daß es Schaffende sind, die mit solchem Verlangen nach Diziplinierung des Schaffens auftreten. P.W., "Austellungen," Das Kunstblatt 5 (June 1921): 192.

16. "Für mancherlei Leute scheint bei uns in den letzten Kunstjahren zu viel des Aufregenden geschehen und geleistet zu sein; man ist müde geworden, will wieder seine Ruh

figures and published their responses in a special edition of Das Kunstblatt in September 1922.[17]

In his introduction to the September issue Westheim noted that one movement is always replaced by another and asked if Expressionism had been replaced by a new naturalism.[18] He was also curious to know to what degree the respondents considered the new naturalism to be a "necessary development" (Entwicklungsnotwendigkeit) or just a new fashion (Mode allüre). As is always the case with questionnaires, there was no concensus.

The Expressionist writer Rudolf Leonard saw the death of Expressionism leading not to a new naturalism, but to High Expressionism. Art can only be tied to nature, he claimed, therefore all art is invariably naturalistic. Kasimir Edschmidt also found nature to be the basis for art, and therefore, claimed he could not answer Westheim's

---

...Continued...

haben." Paul Westheim, "Kleines Kolleg über 'Naturalismus'," Das Kunstblatt 6 (January 1922): 93.

17. Questionnaires had been a popular form of cultural communication in Germany since unification. In 1919, for instance, the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* had published members' responses to a questionnaire in their pamphlet Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrat für Kunst. In regard to Naturalism, in 1892 Curt Grottewitz sent out a questionnaire among German literati regarding the direction of German literature, i.e. idealism or realism. See Friedrich Rothe, Frank Wedekinds Dramen, (Stuttgart: Metzlersche, 1968): 95.

18. Paul Westheim, ed., "Ein neuer Naturalismus?? Eine Rundfrage des Kunstblatts," Das Kunstblatt 6 (October 1922): 369. Westheim chose a large number of illustrations to accompany the responses including: renaissance tapestries, German gothic paintings and sculpture, Pompeii figures, Late Gothic paintings, works by Courbet, Ingres, Derain, Braque, Curt Herrmann, Henri van der Velde, *et al.*

question. Wilhelm Hausenstein also refused to respond, but for different reasons: he felt that questionnaires impeded on artistic freedom and were therefore worthless. The Expressionist dramatist Georg Kaiser saw naturalism as a dead end and Westheim's questionnaire as useless, declaring: "We are experiencing the greatest artistic epoch: it is Expressionism."[19] Ernst Ludwig Kirchner claimed to see no evidence of a new naturalism in Germany, and warned that Germans were too quick to label and systematize new things. The architect/critic Adolf Behne acknowledged the existence of a "Neo-naturalism," but attacked it as a social (rather than an artistic) issue that was supported by the *nouveau-riche*. Wassily Kandinsky also acknowledged a new naturalism, the appearance of which he attributed to economic uncertainty and to the fact that abstraction had developed too quickly. The coming Great Realism, he assured, would help bring about the final separation of art from nature, and thus realism would serve abstraction: we are centuries ahead of our time, he declared, and abstraction was only at the beginning of its development.

The writer Alfred Döblin spoke of Expressionism in the past claiming that it offered an excess of art products which were not object-less (Gegenstandslos), but soul-less (seellos). Fritz Wichert, director of the Mannheim Kunst-

---

...Continued...

He intentionally omitted including any contemporary German "Neo-naturalism."

halle, was also tired of Expressionism, stating that naturalism represented a healthy antidote to empty stylization. The Hungarian painter and former *Fauve* Bela Czóbel wrote enthusiastically, "Only a return to nature can be fruitful and save us from ideologism."[20] The Federal Arts Commissioner, Edwin Redslob, found the new naturalism in the visual arts -- which he differentiated from the naturalism of the nineteenth century -- both a logical and a necessary development. Alexander Archipenko, who was living in Berlin at the time, similarly felt that "Expressionism and Cubism" had reached their climaxes and that change was therefore both inevitable and healthy. He spoke of a recently discovered "plastic values" in Europe ("plastischen Werten," i.e. ***valori plastici***). Maintaining the rapturous tone of his Expressionist declarations, Ludwig Meidner declared: "Greater respect for the object -- I now cry out every day!"[21]

The most interesting responses came from George Grosz, one of the most prominent "Neo-naturalists" in Germany, and Gustav Hartlaub, who was already investigating the structure of the new movement. Grosz wrote:

> The so-called <u>neue Gegenständlichkeit</u> is worthless for us today. The return to classical French

---

...Continued...

19. "Wir erleben die größte Epoche der Kunst: der Expressionismus ist da." Ibid. 406.

20. "Nur eine Rückkehr zur Natur kann Fruchtbar sein, und uns retten von Ideologismen." Ibid. 405.

> painting: Poussin, Ingres and Corot is a wretched Biedermeier-vogue. It appears that now the political reaction is following the intellectual.

He differentiated between his own art and the "neo-classicism" of contemporaries like Picasso, Georg Schrimpf, etc. Grosz saw the future of art in film ("which could be seen by many, many thousands daily") and in journalistic illustration (which was the direction he chose).[22]

In the most elaborate response to Westheim's questionnaire, Hartlaub noted that things had decisively changed since his praises of Expressionism in his book Kunst und Religion (written in 1918). There was indeed a new naturalism, he claimed, and within the new naturalist movement he perceived two "wings." To the "right wing" of the movement he designated the "classicists" who he believed sought a healthy calm after so much chaos. The "left wing," which he described as having had less faith in art, sought to depict the true face of the times. Without

---

...Continued...

21. "Größere Ehrfurcht vor dem Objekt -- rufe ich mir jetzt jeden Tag zu!" Ibid. 382.

22. "Die sogennante neue Gegenständlichkeit ist für uns heute wertlos. Das Zurückgehen auf die klassische französische Malerei: Poussin, Ingres und Corot ist eine schlechte Biedermeiermode. Es scheint, daß der politischen Reaktion nun auch die geistige folgt. Eine wertvolle und reine Gegenständlichkeit ist und bleibt der Film. Heute befriedigt bereits der Film den Bildhunger von vielen, vielen tausend Menschen täglich. . . . [h]ier liegt auch die Kunst der Zukunft.
Eine andere Gegenständlichkeit scheint in der Journalistik zu liegen, und zwar im journalistishen Tageszeichner mit Anschluß an der Rotationspresse. Dieser Zeichnertyp wird noch leben, wenn der Staffelbildmaler längst ausgestorben ist. Er ist politisch - ähnlich wie in

naming anyone, Hartlaub asserted that the artists of both wings had found the best way out of Expressionism, but added that the new art still retained many elements of Expressionism. Like Redslob, Hartlaub emphasized that this new naturalism had nothing to do with the naturalism of Lovis Corinth and Heinrich Zille, or with Canova and Hildebrandt.[23]

Just a few months after the publication of Hartlaub's letter, and immediately upon replacing Fritz Wichert as director of the Mannheim Kunsthalle, Hartlaub undertook preparations for a comprehensive exhibition of this "Neo-naturalism" which he now christened Die neue Sachlichkeit. Hartlaub's exhibition plans of 1923 and the actual exhibition of 1925 will be discussed in part III, following the discussion of the development of Post-Expressionism.

3. THE ART OF THE INFLATION

Post-Expressionism developed in the midst of a remarkable economic situation; never before or since has an economy been so favorable to the painter-printmaker. The

---

...Continued...

Amerika. . . -- mit dem konstruktivistischen Zeichner und mit dem Erfinder und Ingenieur." Ibid. 382-83.

23. Hartlaub's complete response is reproduced in Appendix A.
The other respondents to the questionnaire were: Wilhelm Pinder, Hans Thoma, Wilhelm Uhde, Max Picard, Wilhelm Schäfer, Hermann Kesser, Otto Flake, Christian Rohlfs, Wilhelm Michel, Paul Colin, Rudolf Großmann, Curt Hermann,

first section of this chapter will outline Germany's economic situation during the early years of the Weimar Republic. The second section will discuss the remarkable fate of the Post-Expressionist painter-printmaker during the hyper-inflation of 1922-23. And the third section will illustrate the dramatic shift in the art market after the stabilization of the mark in November 1923.

3.1 THE INFLATION

The Social Democratic government that was in place for the first sixteen months of the Weimar Republic was unable -- or incapable of making decisions regarding the German economy. In theory it favored nationalization, but took no steps towards realizing it.[1] The socialist majority came to an end with the elections of June 6, 1920 when it lost half of its support. Thus began what Arthur Rosenberg called "The Period of Catholic Democracy" (1920-1922).[2] The new government, led by Constantin Fehrenbach's Center Party (which included three monarchists in its cabinet) was unable to cope with the revised war reparations debt, which

---

...Continued...

Clive Bell, Rudolf Belling, Maurice Raynal, Hans Purrmann, Karl Hofer, Florent Fels and Rudolf Kaiser.

1. The first Finance Minister Rudolf Wissel, a passionate believer in planned economy, resigned in July 1919 due to a lack of support. He was replaced by Robert Schmidt, a determined opponent of planned economy.

was set at the astronomical sum of 132 billion gold marks in the spring of 1921. This government was thus replaced by the republican Wirth government, which concentrated on appeasing the Entente by making an honest effort to pay the debt. In order to pay this debt, which went far beyond the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, the government sold German currency on the foreign market where its unstable real value became fully apparent. The middle class had financed the war with war bonds, which were enacted in place of a taxation system. The enormous wartime debt was blanketed by the printing of more money: the amount of paper money in circulation at the end of the war had increased by 600% since 1913.[3]

Industry, on the other hand, had always received generous credits for investment, paid low wages, virtually no taxes, and now established a burgeoning export business. Industrialists, in control of assets of great real value, dealt with stabile foreign currencies and repaid their loans -- and paid their employees -- with German currency of decreasing value. Rather than striving for stabilization, the economy was manipulated to favor the investor and the export market. The fortunes of Stinnes, Thyssen, Siemens, Mannesmann, and Mannheimer were made under these conditions. Stinnes, convinced that the "inflation econo-

---

...Continued...

2. Arthur Rosenberg, A History of the German Republic, trans. Ian F. Morrow and L. Marie Sieveking (London: Methuen, 1936): chapter 6.

my" could last forever, lived on credit and bought out 2,000 companies.[4] It was a time of enormous exploitation and inevitable doom. Ilya Ehrenburg recalled that during the inflation, "the end of the world was postponed from one day to the next." Two names seemed to exemplify the period for him:

> Everyone was talking about Stinnes and Spengler. Stinnes was well known: he was the new Kaiser, Lord of the Ruhr, the Hephaestus of the new Olympus. Few read Spengler's books but all knew the title of one of his works -- The Decline of the West . . . even a scent called "Decline of the West" appeared on the market.[5]

In 1922 Germany seemed to have had almost mastered the inflation economy. During that summer unemployment had virtually disappeared. Small businesses prospered. Germans became accustomed to the constant fluctuation in prices.[6] But, because of the weakness of the mark, the

---

...Continued...

3. Simon Taylor, Germany 1918-1933 (London: Duckworth, 1986): 53.

4. Otto Friedrich, Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s (New York: Harper and Row, 1972): 132. Soon after his death in April 1924 Stinnes' empire of credit disintegrated.

5. Ilya Ehrenburg, Memoirs 1921-1941 trans. Tatiana Shebunina (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1966): 9, 14.

6. Constantino Bresciani-Turroni, The Economics of Inflation (London: Kelley, 1937/1968): 189; Friedrich, Before the Deluge, 135. Shopkeepers and publishers did not have time to change prices daily, so they set prices to be

government was unable to meet reparation demands.

Unable to cope with the reparations situation, the Wirth government resigned in November 1922. It was replaced by the conservative Cuno government which concentrated on resisting the demands of the Entente. In January 1923 French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr region, the center of Germany's coal, iron and steel production, in retaliation to Germany's failure to make coal deliveries (another reparations provision). The government responded with a call for a general strike. While the French and Belgians mined and hauled the coal out of the region themselves, the German government accepted the enormous economic burden of feeding and housing its striking workers. In April the mark began to collapse on the international exchange. By the time the Cuno government resigned on August 12, the mark had descended to a rate of ca. four million against the dollar, from a rate of ca. seven thousand to one at the beginning of the year.[7] The first act of the new Stresemann coalition government was to make peace in the Ruhr.

The country was in a state of chaos. A state of emergency was declared in Bavaria where Ritter von Kahr was appointed State Commissar and given dictatorial power. On

---

...Continued...

multiplied by a coefficient which changed daily. Ehrenburg, Memoirs, 15.

7. Actual daily exchange rates were inconsistent throughout Germany. For instance on August 17, 1923 the closing rate against the U.S. dollar in Berlin was 3.2

October 6, 1923 the Reichstag in Berlin abdicated, thus handing dictatorial power over to the cabinet and the army. On October 22, Stresemann ordered the army to march through Saxony and Thuringia, Germany's communist strongholds, in order to depose their governments. The right feared an attempt by the communists to seize power (which was not planned).[8] The army then marched on to Munich where the far Right was about to attempt to seize power. On November 8 Adolf Hitler interrupted a meeting of von Kahr and his ministers at a Munich beer hall, declared "The national revolution has begun!," then pleaded with von Kahr to support a march on Berlin to overthrow the republican government. Von Kahr agreed and Hitler left; von Kahr then changed his mind and Hitler was soon arrested. Because the Bavarian military dictatorship had thwarted the coup, peace was restored between Berlin and Munich and civil war was avoided.

On November 16 a new currency, the Rentenmark, was introduced, its value based on an assessment of the sum total of national wealth. It was valued at 4.2 to the dollar on the international market (as opposed to the old mark's 4.2 trillion to the dollar). By the end of the month a new conservative government, led by Wilhelm Marx,

---

...Continued...

million as opposed to Cologne's rate of 4.4 million. Bresciani-Turroni, The Economics of Inflation, 126.

8. Although the KPD was stronger than ever in Germany at the time, Moscow called for a parliamentary labor govern-

with Stresemann as Foreign Minister, replaced the Stresemann coalition. The era of speculation was over; loans had to be repaid. Bankruptcy replaced speculation. The Reichstag elections of May 1924 reflected the fears of the German people: the right and left radicals made enormous gains.[9] Germany needed help from outside. And that help began to appear.

In December 1923 the British voted in the Labor government headed by the pacifist Ramsay MacDonald. In May 1924 the French voted in the liberal, anti-militarist government headed by Edouard Herriot. Both governments officially recognized the Soviet Union. In April the Expert Commission under the leadership of the American Charles G. Dawes published its report on how Germany could come to pay its war debt. It determined that this would only be possible once Germany's economy was stabilized. In order to stabilize its economy, to return it to the gold standard, foreign loans were necessary. With the new allied governments willing to deal with Germany, the Dawes Plan was put into effect on September 1, 1924. Foreign loans poured in and the occupying armies left the Ruhr. The German election results of December 1924 reflected a more optimistic populace as millions abandoned the radical parties in favor of moderate ones. The Locarno Pact and

---

...Continued...

ment in Germany rather than revolution. Rosenberg, A History of the German Republic, 154.

the Berlin Treaty, both signed by Stresemann in January 1925, guaranteed European stability and security for at least as long as these governments remained in control.

3.2 THE ARTISTS

The artists who had come together at the end of the war hoping to play a role in the shaping of the new society were instead swept along involuntarily by the post-war situation. The general lack of goods of real value, however, put the artist, as a producer of a commodity, in an unprecedented economic position. Money needed to be exchanged daily in order to avoid depreciation. During this period of speculation people with the means turned to art works as an investment. Long-time collectors, on the other hand, continued to acquire works often by bartering with artists and dealers. While a master pupil at the Dresden Academy, Otto Griebel once received a package of prepared meats in exchange for a portrait.[10] Conrad Felixmüller recalled bartering for furniture, clothing, shoes, tropical fruits and vegetables.[11]

On December 24, 1919 a new tax was imposed on luxury

...Continued...

9. The KPD, for instance, received 4 million votes as opposed to 400,000 in 1920.

10. In fact, it was a portrait of a dog. Otto Griebel, Ich war ein Mann der Straße (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1986): 118.

11. Fünfzig Jahre Galerie Nierendorf 1920-1970: Rückblick,

items which exempted works of art made by living (or recently deceased) artists if purchased directly from the artist (or the artist's immediate family). Naturally this put the contemporary artist in a very favorable position to the detriment of the dealer.[12] Nonetheless, at the end of 1920 the Munich dealer Hans Goltz proudly included a summary of his sales for the year.[13]

According to the results of a questionnaire published

...Continued...

Dokumentation, Jubiläumsausstellung (Berlin: Galerie Nierendorf, 1970): 33.

12. Hans Goltz published a long diatribe against the tax stating that: "Aus der Erbärmlichkeit und der Schmach unserer Tage führt uns nur die Kunst heraus." He argued that artists should be busy creating, not soliciting their work; artists needed dealers more than ever. He complained that this situation could and was being avoided by unscrupulous dealers. Thanks to journals like his Der Ararat, he claimed, German art was now being bought by foreigners (especially Scandinavians) and at prices competitive on the world market, but in Munich there had been no market since the new tax was initiated. Goltz concluded that he was joined in his demand to alter the tax law by the dealers Alfred Flechtheim in Dusseldorf and Paul Cassirer in Berlin. Hans Goltz, "Die Abwürgung der jungen Kunst in Deutschland," Der Ararat 1 (October 1920): 124. For a time late in 1920 Flechtheim, Cassirer and Hildebrandt Gurlitt in Berlin closed their galleries in protest of the law. See "Ausstellungen," Das Kunstblatt (December 1920): 381.
This luxury tax was modified early in 1922 and twice in 1923. See: "Kunststeuern," Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt 17 (January 20, 1922): 277-79; Dr. Felix Szkolny, "Die Luxussteuer auf Kunstwerke," Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt 21 (February 23, 1923): 397-404; Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt 41/42 (July 13/20, 1923): 73-4.

13. "Mitteilung der Galerie 'Neue Kunst' und des 'Goltzverlages'," Der Ararat 2 (December 1920): 174.
Of the works he had lent to the annual Salons in Darmstadt and Dusseldorf he had sold oil paintings by Davringhausen, Eberz, Mense, two by Schrimpf, and "numerous" graphics and watercolors by Davringhausen, Eberz, Grosz, Klee, Scharff, Schrimpf and Seewald. And he boasted that paintings by

during the winter of 1920-21 in Der Ararat regarding the reception of contemporary German art in various German cities, there were many collectors, but they were concentrated in the Rhineland.[14]

Sales of all kinds soared in 1922. The Frankfurter Zeitung reported that spring, "Germany is craving, hungering for goods and he who possesses goods is master of the situation." And on the Leipzig Fair in March the Berliner Tageblatt noted, "It's no longer simply a zeal for acquiring, or even a rage: it is a madness," and "Business has reached a maximum of intensity. Buyers care nothing about prices. There is a general rush for goods."[15]

During the hyper-inflation of 1923 the buying continued, but artists often had trouble keeping up with the inflation. That summer Otto Griebel sent "a whole collection" of drawings and watercolors to Johanna Ey who promptly sold all but two. When the artist received his money back in Dresden, however, it was worth "two trips on a streetcar."[16] On the other hand, artists sometimes sold works for stable foreign currencies. In October 1923 Franz Radziwill sold two paintings for U.S. dollars and

---

...Continued...

Davringhausen and Mense were hanging in a cloister in Czechoslovakia.

14. "Die Neue Kunst und die Deutschen Städte: Eine Rundfrage," Der Ararat (December 1920): 139-48 and (January 1921): 12-21.

15. Bresciano-Turroni, The Economics of Inflation, 191-2.

several days later bought a house with the money.[17]

The inflation economy discouraged the production of oil paintings which were both time-consuming and expensive to produce. The art of the inflation was made on paper rather than canvas. Otto Dix, for example, produced his first post-war woodcut prints under the advice of Conrad Felixmüller in 1919. Felixmüller, who was knowledgeable of the art market, advised Dix that graphics were cheaper to produce and easier to sell. In 1919 Expressionism was selling, and the woodcut, due to its sense of immediacy and spontaneity, and its dramatic black and white contrasts, was the Expressionist medium of choice.[18] In 1920 Dix made the significant transition to engraving, a linear medium which demands a more deliberate handling; woodcut is as ideal a medium for conveying gestural abstraction as engraving is for naturalism. Between 1920 and 1924 engraving rapidly replaced the woodcut as the print medium of choice in Germany. Even Ernst Ludwig Kirchner abandoned the woodcut in favor of engraving at this time.

George Grosz largely owed his public fame to the new market for works on paper. Together with the Malik-Verlag he published nine lithographs of the suppression of the

---

...Continued...

16. Griebel, Ich war ein Mann der Straße, 173.

17. Rainer W. Schulze, ". . . Zwischen verschiedenen Stühlen," Franz Radziwill (Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, 1981): 8.

18. See Rigby, "The Revival of Printmaking in Germany,"

revolution, Gott mit Uns, in 1920 in three editions: twenty deluxe numbers priced at 2,000 marks; forty signed numbers at 1,000 marks; and sixty-five unsigned at 500 marks. Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse, a collection of reproductions of 55 drawings published in 1921, was intended for mass distribution. The 25,000 copies were available bound in cardboard for 3 marks, and in half-linen for 15 marks (fifty deluxe editions were available for 100 marks). For his portfolio Im Schatten of 1921 one hundred numbers of various quality were available for 2000, 1,500, 1,200 and 900 marks. And again a cheap edition was made available for workers.[19] There were certainly a number of Grosz's enemies among the owners of his deluxe editions. As Beth Irwin Lewis has stated, "It was only a step from enjoying [Wilhelm] Busch's cheerfully cruel satires to collecting Grosz's vitrolic and polemical ones."[20] Surely in many -- if not most -- cases these works were purchased not for their artistic value, but for their monetary (real) value.

Between 1920 and 1925 no German artist received as much nation-wide attention as Grosz who was regularly discussed in national art magazines like Das Kunstblatt, Der Ararat, and Der Cicerone. In 1920 he signed an exclusive contract with Hans Goltz who gave him a large exhibi-

---

...Continued...

39-65.

19. Beth Irwin Lewis, George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic (Princeton UP, 1971/1991): 272-73.

tion in the spring. One year later Willi Wolfradt published the first Grosz monograph[21] and Grosz was featured in an exhibition with the Kestner-Gesellschaft in Hannover. In 1922 and 1923 he designed sets and costumes for Berlin productions of two Georg Kaiser plays. And the confiscation of his book Ecce Homo on grounds of obscenity early in 1923 could not have hurt his reputation. During the hyperinflation of that year he signed a contract with Alfred Flechtheim who ran the most prestigious gallery for modern art in Germany. In 1923 Grosz was in a position to patronize his friends.[22]

Next to Grosz, Otto Dix was the most widely publicized artist in Germany during the inflation period. Dix met the Cologne-based dealer Karl Nierendorf on his first trip to the Rhineland during the winter of 1921-22 and in June 1922 they agreed on a general contract for watercolors and graphics. Nierendorf took care of all publicity and also served as Dix's creative adviser. For instance, in May 1922 he recommended that they publish a portfolio of prints on the theme of the circus, a popular theme at the time, and a picture book like Grosz's Das Gesicht der herrschen-

---

...Continued...

20. Lewis, George Grosz, 215.

21. Willi Wolfradt, George Grosz, Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1921. This was part of the series "Junge Kunst." An excerpt was published in Klinkhardt and Biermann's Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst (1921): 97-112.

22. For example, he bought several lithographs from Scholz

den Klasse.[23] Nierendorf traveled almost constantly promoting Dix and in his frequent letters to Dix continuously begged for more watercolors.[24]

Between mid-August and the beginning of November 1922 Dix earned 110,850 marks through Nierendorf, a great deal of money. Thereafter his works were to be sold exclusively in U.S. currency (engravings $ .10, woodcuts $ .08, drawings $ .20 or .25, and watercolors $1.00 to $1.25).[25] Although the dollar remained stable, these prices were doubled on January 1, 1923. Dix's first solo exhibition at the Galerie von Garvens in Hannover in 1923 was a great financial success. Nierendorf then arranged the first comprehensive exhibition of Dix's work during the spring of 1923. He also published a pamphlet on Dix with an essay by

---

...Continued...

and his former classmate Karl Hubbuch.

23. Letter, Nierendorf to Dix, May 2, 1922, Otto Dix Archive, AbK, Nürnberg. Max Beckmann, Rudolf Schlichter, and Bernhard Kretschmar, among others, had recently published prints of the circus, a theme that was dear to Nietzsche. In an undated letter (probably July 1922) Nierendorf urged Dix to get the circus plates to him as soon as possible; he already had three subscribers. Letter, Nierendorf to Dix, undated, Otto Dix Archive, AbK, Nürnberg.

24. Nierendorf and Dix were successful enough to afford to be cocky. In September 1922 Nierendorf wrote to Dix of Hans Goltz's upcoming tenth anniversary exhibition and recommended sending Goltz, who hated Dix's work, three "unsellable" watercolors on "propaganda grounds." "Goltz macht eine Jubiläumsausstellung zum 10 jährigen Bestehen. Sollen wir ihm aus Propagandagründen 3 unverkäufliche Blätter schicken?" Letter, Nierendorf to Dix, September 29, 1922, Otto Dix Archive, AbK, Nürnberg. They sent Goltz three cripple engravings from 1920.

25. Letter and sales list, Nierendorf to Dix, November 5,

Paul F. Schmidt, the director of Dresden's municipal collections, and, with the cooperation of Nierendorf's friend Paul Westheim, published important essays on Dix in Das Kunstblatt and the Frankfurter Zeitung.[26]

Westheim discussed the phenomenal current state of the art market in the August 1923 issue of Das Kunstblatt. Since the beginning of the inflation the work of art had taken on a new status, he noted, as an object of real value, like jewelry and automobiles. Works of art on the market were no risk for speculators, he pointed out, as long as they were by artists with reputations. He described the typical buyer as wealthy, eager to acquire works, and less choosy about quality (which made for a greater market for controversial art according to Westheim): "The times have gotten so perverse that good art is being accepted and paid for."[27] Subject matter was not an issue on the market because the financial value was attached only to the artist. And because of this, some artists, Westheim observed, had given up on quality. He may have had Dix's watercolors in mind [Fig. 68]. Many of

---

...Continued...

1922, Otto Dix Archive, AbK, Nürnberg.

26. Carl Einstein, "Otto Dix," Das Kunstblatt 7 (April 1923): 97-102; Paul Westheim, "Otto Dix," Frankfurter Zeitung (August 17, 1923).

27. "Die Zeit ist so pervers geworden, daß sie sogar auch das künstlerisch Gute akzeptiert und honoriert." Paul

the nearly 400 watercolors Dix produced during the inflation were crudely executed rehashings of earlier themes: prostitutes, circus scenes, sex murders and sailors.[28] Westheim pointed out that while musicians, poets, doctors and lawyers were just getting by financially, painters, as producers of objects of real value, were flourishing thanks to the speculation economy.

Unknown artists, on the other hand, with no market value, were forced to rely on personal contacts. How was it possible for an artist to become *known* at this time? The editors of the most popular contemporary art journals in Germany, Paul Westheim (Das Kunstblatt) and Georg Biermann (Der Cicerone and Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst), were perhaps the most powerful reputation-makers in Germany. In part, because Westheim largely ignored the Munich artists Schrimpf, Mense and Kanoldt, for instance, their prices remained very low and their works sold slowly during the hyper-inflation.[29]

...Continued...

Westheim, "Kunst als Sachwert," Das Kunstblatt 7 (August 1923): 230.

28. In her recent catalogue raisonné of Dix's watercolors and gouaches, Suse Pfäffle attributed 224 works to 1922, 163 to 1923, as opposed to only 8 to 1921, and 48 to 1924. Otto Dix: Werkverzeichnis der Aquarelle und Gouachen (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1991).

29. In 1921 Westheim wrote to Franz Roh, who contributed reviews of Munich exhibitions to Das Kunstblatt, about Georg Schrimpf: "Ich muss Ihnen offen gestehen, das ich für ihn eigentlich mehr sympathien hatte als er noch nicht

Georg Scholz's experience was more typical of the inflation-era artist. He lacked a dealer/promoter and lived outside of Karlsruhe, far from the major artistic centers. His letters and a sales ledger (Scholz estate, Waldkirch) from this period offer a remarkably clear picture of the insecurity of the period and the strategies it necessitated. Between 1920 and 1923 he made a meager income illustrating books[30] and occasionally received 150 marks for a print published by the Malik-Verlag. Throughout 1923 he received a small stipend from the Karlsruhe academy where he was an assistant instructor. He established important friendships with Willy Storck, director of the Karlsruhe Kunsthalle, and with the physician Theodor Kiefer of Kaiserslautern (who had cared for him after he was wounded in action in 1918). Kiefer was a good friend and steady patron, and Storck an occasional patron and an excellent contact. He also found an important (but perhaps exploitative) contact in the Mannheim dealer Tannenbaum. Between 1920 and early 1924 Scholz made exactly twelve oil

---

...Continued...

diese falsche Italienisiererei betrieb. Auch mit Mense geht es mir eben so. Leute, die etwas auf sich halten, sollten sich doch aus so ephemeren Moden heraushalten." Letter, Westheim to Roh, December 12, 1921, Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica. Only in mid-1923 did Schrimpf receive attention by the important contemporary art journals (and this was due to the influence of his friends Roh and Oskar Maria Graf) [see part II chapter 3].

30. He illustrated five books in this period including Don Quixote and Robinson Crusoe for the publishers Abel und Müller (Leipzig) and Reuss und Itta (Constance). This was an opportunity available to naturalistic artists rather than Expressionists by more traditional publishers. In

paintings: one on canvas, three on wood, and eight on paper. Most were commissioned; Scholz could usually only afford the materials and time if the sales were guaranteed. Unfortunately, during the inflation prices agreed upon at the outset of a commission were often meager upon the completion of the work. Scholz later complained that Tannenbaum once commissioned a portrait [Fig. 110] at the peak of inflation in 1923, and after three months of work, during the stabilization, refused to reassess the deflated fee.[31] Occasionally Scholz began a work without a commission and was forced to hunt for a buyer before its completion. Sympathetic artists frequently offered to help. Heinrich Maria Davringhausen, who had exhibited with Scholz at Goltz's, liked his work and offered to try to sell one of his paintings. Both Grosz and Dix bought and exchanged prints with Scholz. Kurt Schwitters offered to exhibit his paintings in Hannover, but Scholz never had finished paintings laying around his studio.[32] It is difficult to determine his standard of living at this time, but in October 1922 Scholz told Kiefer that his family required a minimum of 15,000 marks per month (which would have roughly equaled the salary of an unskilled laborer). With a rare three

---

...Continued...

1925 a publisher seeking illustrators requested the addresses of some artists in Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition.

31. Letter, Scholz to Gustav Hartlaub, May 10, 1925, Kunsthalle, Mannheim.

major sales that month he earned 19,542 marks. In the three-month period in 1922 during which Dix earned 110,850 marks (after Nierendorf's one-third share), Scholz earned 47,642.

Scholz's sales ledger reflects the insurmountable task of the independent artist to keep up with the hyper-inflation of 1923. He carefully recorded the sales of his works in Reichsmarks (with ever-increasing zeros), as well as in dollars and Swiss francs until October/November when he simply wrote "uncontrollable" across the ledger.[33] Scholz's bookkeeping in this ledger concludes with the $25 commission for the Kahnheimer portrait in December 1923. It is conceivable that he found no buyers in 1924.[34]

Nierendorf reported to Dix from Munich on September 3, 1923 of a crisis there. Goltz had made few sales in the past three months, and his last Paul Klee exhibition had seen no sales at all. And he noted that prices in Munich

---

...Continued...

32. Letters, Davringhausen to Scholz, June 8, 1923; Dix to Scholz, undated; Schwitters to Scholz, May 1, 1923, Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch; and Letter, Scholz to Dix, October 6, 1922, Otto Dix Archive, AbK, Nürnberg.

33. By September 1923 Scholz was selling lithographs for 1,700,000,000 marks.
Scholz received his most important publicity during this period when he was featured in the November 1923 issue of Das Kunstblatt. (Hans Curjel, "Zur Entwicklung des Malers Georg Scholz," Das Kunstblatt 7 [September 1923]: 256-64.)

were half of those in the Rhineland.[35] Also around September Paul Westheim sent out a questionnaire to a number of dealers around the country:

> How do you judge the present state of the art market, especially in regard to the possibility of sales of contemporary art, the resumption of exhibitions and the possible repercussions on the creation of art?

The responses, which were published in the October issue of Das Kunstblatt, offer a clear picture of the abrupt end of the speculation market.[36] Goldschmidt and Wallerstein in Berlin pointed out that the only patrons in Germany remained in the lower Rhineland and Ruhr region. And they explained the logistics of staying in business through the coming winter: they would have to sell forty watercolors per month just to cover their heating costs. They also emphasized the economic futility of exhibiting unknown artists. Hans Goltz complained that in 1922 artists did not need "completely ignorant, bloodsucker" dealers, but now, one year later, artists were coming back to the dealers for help. Alfred Flechtheim was very pessimistic due to the astronomical freight costs. He had made contact with dealers outside of Germany, but found no interest in

---

...Continued...

34. Scholz was appointed director of the foundations class at the Karlsruhe academy on January 1, 1924. This promotion offered a more significant and steady income. In April 1925 he was made professor.

35. Postcard, Nierendorf to Dix, September 3, 1923, Otto

contemporary German art. The response from the Moderne Galerie Thannhauser in Munich was simply: "sehr pessimistisch." Ernst Arnold in Dresden and Ferdinand Möller in Berlin similarly saw the situation as hopeless. Nierendorf was the only true optimist:

> A true artist will always create. . . . A true Collector will always expand his collection. . . . A true dealer will always be an indispensable assistant to artists and collectors.[37]

Regardless of the situation, Nierendorf was going ahead with plans for a large exhibition of Dix's oil paintings in October 1923. And he was actively promoting Dix's sensational painting The Trench which had been completed in the summer and acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne in October.[38] Due to the economy in October, the Wallraf-Richartz Museum was unable to pay for the painting with currency so a trade was worked out in which Nierendorf received William Beechey's painting English Officer, (which

---

...Continued...

Dix Archive, AbK, Nürnberg.

36. "Wirtschaftslage und Aussichten des Kunstmarktes," Das Kunstblatt 7 (October 1923): 294-301.

37. "Ein echter Künstler wird immer schaffen; ich kenne solche, die für den Winter zuerst Vorräte an Farben, Leinwand etc. besorgten, ehe sie an die Kohlen und Lebensmittel dachten. - Ein echter Sammler wird stets seine Sammlung durch Neuerwerbungen ergänzen; ich kenne solche, die auf ihre Sommerreise verzichteten im Interesse ihrer Sammlung. - Ein echter Kunsthändler wird immer sowohl für Künstler wie Sammler ein unentbehrlicher Helfer sein; ich kenne solche, die in stillen Zeiten selbst kaufen." "Wirtschaftslage und Aussichten des Kunstmarktes," 300.

was guaranteed to be worth 10,000 gold marks).[39] Nierendorf saw to it that The Trench was illustrated (with details) wherever possible.[40] Because of the controversy surrounding its purchase by the most important public collection in western Germany, by the end of 1924 The Trench was the most widely-discussed painting in Germany [see part II chapter 2.3].

The speculation art market which had slowed dramatically with the political and economic uncertainty of September 1923, was over by the time of the introduction of the Rentenmark in November.[41] Artists and dealers once again had to depend on the true art lovers. The "true art lovers", however, were extremely cautious with their Rentenmarks in 1924. The end of the German art market was confirmed at the end of October 1923 when the magazine Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt ceased publication.

...Continued...

38. See part two section 2.3. The Trench may have been the largest oil painting produced in Germany during the inflation.

39. See Wolfgang Schröck-Schmidt, "Der Schicksalsweg des *Schützengraben*" in Wulf Herzogenrath and Johann-Karl Schmidt, eds., Otto Dix: Zum 100. Geburtstag (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1991): 159-64.

40. It was first illustrated by Westheim to accompany Paul Fechter's article, "Die nachexpressionistische Situation," Das Kunstblatt 7 (November 1923): 321-29. Included was a full illustration as the issue's frontispiece and a detail.

41. Of the Mannheim Kunsthalle exhibitions during the

3.3 STABILIZATION OF THE DEAD ART MARKET 1924

In March 1924 Nierendorf wrote to Dix (who was living more inexpensively in Italy), "Business can only be done with personal relationships. The Rentenmark is stable, but no one has any."[42] Two weeks later Nierendorf noted that, "Business in Berlin and Germany is lifeless. I am the only dealer who is still selling, - everyone (Wallenstein, Cassirer, Flechtheim) is whining." And he asked Dix to send something, "At least some watercolors?"[43] By December 1924 Dix was complaining about his financial situation and was assured by Nierendorf that he was still selling well compared to other artists. He pointed out that Otto Mueller, who he also handled, had sold only one

---

...Continued...

fall/winter of 1923-24, Walter Jacob (September-October) and Hans Gött (January) saw no sales, and Fritz Winkler (March) sold four prints.

42. "Man kann heute nur Geschäfte durch persönliche Beziehungen machen. Die Rentenmark ist zwar stabil, aber niemand hatwelche." He wrote that Dix's friend Johannes Bredt had bought a water-color, but was unable to pay at the time, and that a woman in Mannheim [Nierendorf made a point of never mentioning patron's names to Dix unless they were friends] had bought an oil for 500 marks now and 1,000 later. Letter, Nierendorf to Dix, March 19, 1924, Otto Dix Archive, AbK, Nürnberg. In the same letter Nierendorf boasted to Dix that Alfred "Flechtheim schrimpft wiedermal, nennt Dich 'Forzenmaler' und erzählt überall, das Deine Bilder stinkt."

43. "Berlin und Deutschland ist geschäftlich flau. Ich bin der einzige Kunsthändler, der noch verkauft, - alle (Wallenstein, Cassirer, Flechtheim) jammert. - Kannst Du mir nicht etwas schicken? Wenigstens einige Aquarelle? Ich kann ja gar nichts mehr von Dix zeigen!" Postcard,

drawing since March [!].[44] Those works by Dix that were being sold were almost exclusively works on paper. According to a sales account from November 1924, Nierendorf had sold 48 prints, 15 watercolors, and only 3 oils by Dix.[45]

Dix's set of fifty etchings, The War, which Nierendorf published in 1924 was to be the last, and ironically the largest, of the major collections of prints of the period. But, regardless of the promotional blitz undertaken by Nierendorf [see part II chapter 2.3] and excellent reviews, the portfolio sold poorly.[46]

The end of the speculative art market brought about an end to the explosive production of graphics and watercolors of 1922-1923. With the security of the Dawes-Plan economy at the end of 1924 the traditional art collectors returned. The return to a normalized art market was observed by the return of Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt on April 3, 1925. In its opening statement the new editor Alfred Kuhn declared that it would now regard contemporary art to be just as

---

...Continued...

Nierendorf to Dix, March 30, 1924, Otto Dix Archive, AbK, Nürnberg. It was written on a postcard illustrating Grosz's The Adventurer which was published by Goltz.

44. Letter, Nierendorf to Dix, December 17, 1924, Otto Dix Archive, AbK, Nürnberg.

45. List of sales from Nierendorf to Dix, November 13, 1924, Otto Dix Archive, AbK, Nürnberg.

46. Fritz Löffler had noted that only one portfolio was sold. Actually Nierendorf continued to sell sets, however

important as the art of the masters. Its stated goals were now: "Purity of the art market, clarity in criticism, freedom of inquiry, growth of the new, the fresh, and the Sachlichkeit of the public art world."[47]

In the spring of 1925 Paul Westheim published his two-part essay on "The Death of Contemporary Art" in which he lamented the uncontested success of the new art with the press, museums, dealers and collectors: "The new art has had the misfortune of having become fashionable. . . . What 'business' has been made of this new art!"[48]

...Continued...

slowly, for years. A sampling of reviews of the prints was included in the exhibition catalogue for Dix's large exhibition with Nierendorf in 1926. Otto Dix (Galerie Neumann-Nierendorf, 1926): 15-17.

47. "Die Reinlichkeit des Kunstmarktes, die Ungetrübtheit der Kritik, die Freiheit der Forschung, das Wachsen der Jungen, Frischen, die Sachlichkeit des Öffentlichen Kunstlebens sind ihre Ziele." Alfred Kuhn, editorial statement, Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt (April 3, 1925): 3.

48. "Die neue Kunst hat das Unglück gehabt, in die Mode zu kommen. . . . Welchen 'Betrieb' hat man mit dieser neuen Kunst gemacht!" Paul Westheim, "Die tote Kunst der Gegenwart." Das Kunstblatt 9 (April, May 1925): 141. Westheim failed to acknowledge his own contribution. His

---

...Continued...

Das Kunstblatt together with Klinkhardt and Biermann's publications (Der Cicerone, the annual Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst, and the series of monographs Junge Kunst) were the primary arenas for the new art since 1920.

II POST-EXPRESSIONISM IN GERMANY 1919-1924: *THE ARTISTS*

> "Die neue Sachlichkeit lives in Munich. But there are also sufficient numbers of idiots elsewhere."[1]
>
> Herwarth Walden, 1926

To illustrate the diversity and contemporaneity of the development of the German Post-Expressionist movement, as well as the disparate conditions under which various artists came to turn their backs on Expressionism, I will discuss the principal artists associated with Post-Expressionism geographically. The cities to be discussed (Berlin, Dresden, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Munich and Karlsruhe) were home to groups of Post-Expressionist artists during the period 1919-24. The word "group" is used loosely here as the only Post-Expressionist artists in Germany during this period to have resembled a formal group were the members of Berlin Dada (Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Höch, George Grosz and Rudolf Schlichter) and their close associates (Georg Scholz, Otto Dix, and Otto Griebel). Although Dix and Scholz will be further discussed in successive chapters, they were so closely connected with the Dadaists in Berlin during 1919 and 1920 that their develop-

---

1. "Die neue Sachlichkeit wohnt in München. Aber es gibt auch anderswo genügend Idioten. Ich bin für Kopfstücke." Herwarth Walden, "Die Neue Sachlichkeit," Der Sturm 17 (April 1926): 145.

ments are best understood in relation to the Berliners.[2]

During the years 1918-1923 Berlin, Dresden and Munich were in different states of socio-political chaos; Cologne was under British occupation; Dusseldorf was a free city within an occupied territory; and Karlsruhe was a quiet city across the river from the French occupied Rhineland-Palatinate. Some Post-Expressionists were politically active and used their art to propagandistic ends, others completely avoided the socio-political realities, and still others struggled to reconcile their artistic and political interests with the practicalities of surviving as artists.

1. BERLIN DADA AND ASSOCIATES 1918-1921

The first section of this chapter will discuss the post-Expressionist or anti-Expressionist elements in the works of the individual Berlin Dadaists up to the time of the First International Dada Fair of the summer of 1920. The second section will deal with their attempts to reconcile their socio-political concerns with their art once their Dada activities had ceased, a period that I will regard as Post-Dada, i.e. when the artists were still in close contact, but no longer under the banner of Dada.

---

2. Other associates of the Berlin Dadaists who developed more independently of the Berlin artists during this period will be discussed geographically (i.e. Max Ernst [Cologne], Karl Hubbuch [Karlsruhe], Georg Schrimpf [Munich] and Heinrich Maria Davringhausen [Munich]).

1.1 BERLIN DADA 1918-1920

One of the commonly held convictions among the diverse members of the Berlin Dada group, which came together during 1918, was their vehement opposition to Expressionism. They were particularly infuriated by the Expressionists' claim to embody Germany's spiritual salvation. Already at the first German soirée in the name of Dada in April 1918[1] Expressionism seems to have been denounced.[2] Raoul Hausmann (1886-1971) concluded the evening with a manifesto (originally titled "The New Material in Painting") which (when published in 1919)

---

1. It was held in the rooms of the *Berlin New Secession*, one of the Expressionist centers, on April 12, 1918.

2. Richard Huelsenbeck's manifesto, as published two years later, read in part: "Hat der Expressionismus unsere Erwartungen auf eine Kunst erfüllt, die eine Ballotage unserer vitalsten Angelegenheiten ist?
Nein! Nein! Nein!
Haben die Expressionisten unsere Erwartungen auf eine Kunst erfüllt, die uns die Essenz des Lebens ins Fleisch brennt?
Nein! Nein! Nein!"
Richard Huelsenbeck, "Dadaistisches Manifest" in Huelsenbeck, ed., Dada Almanach (Berlin: Reiss, 1920): 8. Although Hausmann's and Huelsenbeck's manifestos were only published in 1919 and 1920, respectively, Willi Wolfradt's review of the first Berlin Dada soirée confirms that the manifestos delivered on April 12 denounced "Futurismus, Cubismus und Aktivismus": "Aber alle Definitionsversuche geben eine viel zu ernsthafte Vorstellung von dieser peinlichsten Flegelei, die je startete, nicht ohne zuerst einmal jede Beziehung zu den veralteten Erscheinungen des Futurismus, Kubismus, Aktivismus etc. lärmend abzuschwören. Und mit Recht." Willy Wolfradt, "Der Dadaismus," Der Friede 1 (May 24, 1918): 434-35. Reprinted in Karl Riha, Da Dada da war ist Dada da (Munich: Hanser, 1980): 283-84.

assailed Expressionism for its aesthetic flight during such a crucial time in history.[3] In opposition to the spiritual and stylistic vagaries of Expressionism, Hausmann called for a direct approach to material, a concept that would lead him in a direction antithetical to Expressionism.

According to Timothy Benson, Hausmann's concept of materialism was a guiding principle in the development of his optophonetic poems, collages, photo-collages and his naturalistic watercolors of the second half of 1920 [see below].[4] In search of a more immediate experience in his (art) works Hausmann originally sought to bypass traditional forms of representation. Wieland Herzfelde made a similar declaration in 1920 when he wrote that what was needed was not representations of objects, but the objects themselves, and recommended cutting out the desired images from paintings.[5] In regard to the photo-collages of Hausmann and Hannah Höch (1889-1978) from 1919 and 1920,

---

3. The title "Das neue Material in der Malerei" was later changed to "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei" and published as a pamphlet in 1919. Reprinted in Michael Erlhoff, ed. Raoul Hausmann: Bilanz der Feierlichkeit. Texte bis 1933 vol. 2 (Munich: Text und Kritik, 1982): 14-16. For a discussion see Timothy O. Benson, Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1987): chapter 3.

4. Benson, Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada, chapters 3 and 4.

5. Wieland Herzfelde, Forward to the catalogue of the Ersten Internationalen Dada-Messe. Reprinted in Berlin (East): Nationalgalerie, Realismus und Sachlichkeit: Aspekte deutscher Kunst 1919-1933 (1974): 173. English translation in Rose-Carol Washton Long, German Expressionism (New York: Hall, 1993): 273-74.

they chose to take the necessary images from contemporary newspapers and magazines.[6] Höch's monumental montage Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada through Germany's First Era of Weimar Beer-Belly Culture of 1919 [Fig. 2] is comprised of printed images of technology (bearings, gears), contemporary personalities (political, military, Dadaist) and various artistic, commercial and entertainment figures from the pages of Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung and Die Dame. The photomontage technique allowed the artist to bypass rather than to negate the traditional crafts of painting and draftsmanship. Similarly, Hausmann's Mechanical Head, constructed of real mass-produced materials, denied sculpture its "manmade" quality.

George Grosz (1893-1959) shared Hausmann's and Höch's interest in forms of representation, yet his objectives were far more polemical than theirs. His major painting of 1917-19 borrowed its title from Heinrich Heine's epic satirical critique of German society, Germany, A Winter's Tale [Fig. 3]. Harry Kessler, who saw the painting in Grosz's studio in February 1919, recorded in his journal:

---

6. On the use and choices of such images see: Hanne Bergius, "The Ambiguous Aesthetics of Dada: Towards a Definition of its Categories" in Richard Sheppard, ed., Dada: Studies of a Movement (Buckinghamshire: Alpha Academic, 1980): 32-6; and Maud Lavin, "Strategies of Pleasure and Deconstruction: Hannah Höch's Photomontages in the Weimar Years" in Irit Rogoff, ed., The Divided Heritage: Themes and Problems in German Modernism (Cambridge UP, 1991): 93-115.

> He wants to become the German Hogarth, deliberately realistic and didactic; to preach, improve and reform. . . . He loathes painting and the pointlessness of painting as practiced so far, yet by means of it wants to achieve something quite new or, more accurately, something that it used to have (through Hogarth or religious art), but which got lost in the nineteenth century.[7]

Although this lost work has often been described, only Sidney Simon has previously observed that this painting "stands at the turning point from Expressionism to the new verism."[8] The painting's Futurist formal dynamics are relegated to the background while the primary figures are caricatural, but clearly rendered. The man at the dinner table, in the uniform of a reserve officer, is easily identified by the monarchist ribbon on his lapel, his Wilhelm II-like moustache, and his newspaper, the conservative Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger. Below are personifications of the church, the General staff, and the schoolmaster -- the chief civilian advocates of the war. Around the comfortable bourgeois is a synopsis of the state of Germany: prostitution, funerals, suspicious sailors, chaos. The chaos is inherent in the futurist distortions and

---

7. Harry Kessler, In the Twenties: The Diaries of Harry Kessler, trans. Charles Kessler (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971): 64.

8. Sidney Simon, "The Weimar Republic and the Verist Tradition in Art," in the catalogue Grosz/Heartfield: The Artist as Social Critic (Minneapolis: U Minnesota, 1980): 20.

by the colors.[9] The only objects subjected to formal distortions, however, are the building façades; all other objects are plainly represented (thus Kessler's comment "deliberately realistic"). In this way Grosz's painting is very close to Hoch's Cut with the Kitchen Knife with the exception that he chose to paint, for example, an easily recognizable "general" rather than representing a member of the Officer Corps with a photograph. This desire for legibility of representation was to be crucial to the development of German Post-Expressionism. The fact that this painting was included in Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition in 1925 suggests that he saw it as a transitional Expressionist/Post-Expressionist work.

With the end of the war the Dadaists focused their attention on the revolution. Grosz, Herzfelde and John Heartfield joined the newly formed German Communist Party (KPD) on the last day of 1918. One of the top priorities of the KPD was to gain access to the press media by any means possible in order to battle the provisional government and to make known their own platform.[10] By late January Herzfelde was soliciting financial support for his own revolutionary journal. Since 1917 Herzfelde-

---

9. A color photograph of this painting does exist. See Briony Fer, et al, Realism, Rationalism, Surrealism (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993): plate 261.

10. Richard Sheppard discussed the political makeup of Berlin Dada, its Communist and Anarchist wings, in "Dada and Politics" in his Dada: Studies of a Movement, 39-74.

Heartfield-Grosz had had their own small publishing house, the Malik-Verlag, which they now sought to put at the service of the revolution.[11]

When compared to his wartime drawings (like those published in the First George Grosz-Portfolio and Small Grosz Portfolio of 1917) [Fig. 4], Grosz's drawings of 1919 and 1920 reveal an increasing clarity of form [Fig. 5]. The cubo-futurist distortions of Germany, A Winter's Tale and the aggressive graffiti of his earlier drawings were now purged. This new discipline was largely a result of the clarity necessitated for political works intended for the Malik press's mass audience [see below].[12]

The metaphysical works of Giorgio de Chirico and Carlo Carrà illustrated in Valori Plastici may have been the most important stylistic influences for the Dadaists in their desire to annihilate Expressionism, and again when they

---

11. Beth Irwin Lewis, George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic (Princeton UP, 1970/1991): 124. In order to assure their independence, the Malik-Verlag refused to accept funding from the KPD or the U.S.S.R.. Herzfelde met with Harry Kessler on January 18, 1919 to discuss his ideas and ask for funding (which he received). Kessler, 60.
In March, during the squashing of revolutionary activities in Berlin, Herzfelde was arrested and Grosz narrowly escaped arrest. See: Kessler, 90; Lewis, Grosz, 74-6; and Martin Kane, Weimar Germany and the Limits of Political Art (Fife: Hutton, 1987): 35-7.

12. Grosz, the house artist, illustrated half of the 36 titles published by Malik between 1919 and 1921. Lewis, Grosz, 124.

sought to transcend Dada later in 1920.[13] Because Carrà, the Futurist, was known to German artists before the war[14] his new style could have been understood to represent a repudiation of Futurism/Expressionism. De Chirico, whose artistic and philosophic roots were German,[15] had been

---

13. Published by Mario Broglio in Rome, the first number of Valori Plastici appeared on November 15, 1918 with essays and illustrations by Carrà, de Chirico and others. The final number of Valori Plastici appeared in the spring of 1921.
It was distributed in Germany by Hans Goltz through his bookshop/gallery "Neue Kunst" in Munich.

14. Carrà was among the five signees of the "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Painting" which appeared in Der Sturm in 1912. Herwath Walden actively promoted the Italian Futurists in both his journal and gallery during 1912 and 1913.

15. De Chirico had studied at the Munich Academy of Visual Arts from 1906 to 1910 and, like many of his his German contemporaries, had been deeply impressed by the philosophers Nietzsche, Weininger and Schopenhauer. On de Chirico at the Munich Academy (where he was enrolled as "Georg von Kiriko") and his interest in the German philosophers see Wieland Schmied, "Die Geburt der Metaphysik aus dem Geiste Münchens" in De Chirico und sein Schatten (Munich: Prestel, 1989): 35-56. Schmied has pointed out that de Chirico, who had lived in Italy only briefly (1905-06), actually came to see Italy through the eyes of German philosophers and artists (like Arnold Böcklin, Alfred Kubin, and the *Deutschrömer*, those German artists who spent most of their careers in Tuscany or Rome). See "Die metaphysische Kunst des Giorgio de Chirico vor dem Hintergrund der deutschen Philosophie," in De Chirico und sein Schatten, 41-2.
It is important to look at de Chirico's early Parisian work (1911-15) more as a product of *Deutschrömertum* than of Cubism or Futurism. De Chirico had more in common with his generation of Germans, during this period, than with his Italian contemporaries. However, the Nietzsche-Schopenhauer fascination in the limits of human understanding and the perception of the world as one of appearances -- basic principles for de Chirico's art -- apparently had little impact on his German contemporaries. In the statement for his first major exhibition after the

acknowledged as a Dadaist by Tristan Tzara and Richard Huelsenbeck[16] and during the war was in correspondence with Tzara and supplied with Dada publications. He was also included in the first two Dada exhibitions in Zurich.[17] His painting The Evil Genius of a King (New York, MoMA) was illustrated in the second number of the magazine Dada

...Continued...

war, de Chirico emphasized the importance of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche who taught "the profound non-sense of life." Giorgio de Chirico, "Noi Metafisici," Cronache d'Attualità (February 15, 1919).
The italianate architecture of de Chirico's squares actually has more to do with the architecture of Munich than with that of Florence, Turin or Greece, the places usually identified as his sources. The single most important building for de Chirico in Munich must have been the Romanesque revival Hauptbahnhof (destroyed 1945) considering the role that trains, arcades and clocks played in the works of his first Paris period.

16. In a letter from Tristan Tzara to Richard Huelsenbeck dated August 22, 1919 de Chirico is identified among the Italian Dadaists. Letter reprinted in Richard Sheppard, ed., Zürich-Dadaco-Dadaglobe: The Correspondence between Richard Huelsenbeck, Tristan Tzara and Kurt Wolff (1916-1924) (Tayport, Fife: Hutton, 1982): 18-20. Two works by de Chirico were to be illustrated in Dadaco. In the third number of Dada (April 1920), de Chirico's name was included as a signee of a protest by the "International Dada Company" against the banning of Charlie Chaplin films in Germany.

17. 1. Exposition Dada, Cubistes, Art Negre, Zurich: Galerie Corray, (January 1917); and Ausstellung von Graphik, Broderie, Relief, Zurich: Galerie Dada (May 1917). De Chirico wrote to Paul Guillaume (no date 1917): "Tzara a écrit qu'il organize à Zurich de tableaux modernes et qu'il esperait que vous lui auriez envoyé des tableaux de moi." Venice, Palazzo Grassi, La Pittura Metafisica (1979): 119-120. De Chirico's brother Alberto Savinio had introduced Filippo de Pisis to the periodical Cabaret Voltaire during summer of 1916. De Pisis began a correspondence with Tzara in September 1916. See Bona de Pisis and Sandro Zanotto, eds., Filippo de Pisis: Futurismo-Dadaismo-Metafisica (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1981). See also Ferrara: Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, Alberto Savinio (1980).

(December 1917), and Louis Aragon's essay "Le délire du fantassin à G. de Chirico" appeared in Dada 4/5 (May 15, 1919).[18] In April 1920 the art historian Carl Einstein noted in his review of a Rudolf Schlichter exhibition, "For six weeks the Futurists of the Berlin suburbs have been looking at Valori Plastici. Chirico, who was managed in Paris in 1911, landed in Berlin in 1920 . . ."[19] He perceived de Chirico to be the source of a new tendency.

The Berlin Dadaists' experiments with the space and iconography of the illustrations of Valori Plastici seem to have begun at the end of 1919. Without quoting de Chirico and Carrà directly as some other Germans did, Hannah Höch's watercolor He and His Milieu [Fig. 6] of late 1919 or early 1920 employs a tilted foreground plane, prominent shadows, flags blowing in the wind, and, perhaps inspired by de Chirico's broad vocabulary of monumental edifices of different historic periods, Höch assembled together the great pyramid of Giza, the Cologne Cathedral, the Eiffel tower, the Tower of Babel (via Breughel) and an American skyscraper. Suspended by a rope tied to the armature of a gas lamp is a mechanical man, the proprietor of this world, as well

---

18. In Surrealist literature, however, de Chirico is invariably portrayed as having been discovered by the Surrealists.

19. "Seit sechs Wochen betrachten Futuristen der Berliner Vororte Valori Plastici. Chirico, der 1911 in Paris gemanagt wurde, landete 20 in Berlin und in kurzem beglückt man uns mit Perspektiv." Carl Einstein, "Rudolf Schlichter," Das Kunstblatt 4 (April 1920): 105.

as its victim.[20] In the first important monograph on Höch, Heinz Ohff noted a similarity between some of her works (like He and His Milieu) and de Chirico's metaphysical works, but believed there was no direct influence.[21] For Höch, and for the Berlin Dadaists this work marks the return -- a dramatic return -- to three-dimensional space (which had been denied or ignored by Expressionism). There should be little question regarding Höch's having been influenced by Valori Plastici considering this transition coincided with the appearance of Valori Plastici in Germany.

Raoul Hausmann, who worked closely with Höch at this time, also underwent a major stylistic transformation after coming into contact with Valori Plastici. His collage known as Dada Victorious of early 1920 [Fig. 7][22] reveals a close study of the space and iconography of de Chirico and Carrà. In his quest for materiality, Hausmann must have believed he had found kindred spirits in the pages of

---

20. Thirty years later she recalled "Hausmann and I were trying to suggest, with elements borrowed from the world of machines, a new and sometimes terrifying dream world. . . ." Edouard Roditi, "Interview with Hannah Höch," Arts 34 (1959): 27.

21. Heinz Ohff, Hannah Höch (Berlin: Mann, 1968): 32. Eberhard Roters also spoke only of similarities between Höch and de Chirico ("Pictorial Symbolism in Hannah Höch's Work" in Hannah Höch 1889-1978: Collages [Stuttgart: Institute for Cultural Relations, 1985]: 65).

22. Listed in the catalogue of International Dada Messe as Ein bürgerliches Präzisionsgehirn ruft eine Weltbewegung hervor.

Valori Plastici. A work closely related to Dada Victorious, Tatlin at Home [Fig. 8] also reveals the infinite illusory -- or material -- possibilities suggested by de Chirico and Carrà. The extremely distorted perspective is similar to that of de Chirico's Metaphysical Interior with Large Factory [Fig. 9]. And, just as in de Chirico's interiors, the individual objects ignore the limitations of such a space.[23]

In 1920-21 Hausmann authored or co-authored three important essays -- or manifestos -- calling for a new naturalistic art that have received very little attention. In the first, titled "Return to Gegenständlichkeit in Art" (published in Dada Almanach in 1920), Hausmann spoke in a

---

23. In 1967 Hausmann discussed the spontaneous process of creating this work: "In the Berlin of 1920 . . . the avant-garde spoke enthusiastically about machine technology, of which they had only a vague idea. One day, I thumbed through an American magazine absolutely absent-mindedly. All of a sudden, the face of an unknown man struck me, and I do not know why I automatically made the association between him and the Russian Tatlin. . . . But above all, I wanted to make the image of a man who had nothing in his head but machines, cylinders and motors, brakes and car steering wheels. This man must be thinking of a grand machine. I searched for this in my photos and found the stern of a ship with a huge propeller. This I put behind on the back wall. Didn't this man also want to be a voyager? Here is the map of Pomerania on the left wall." Michel Giroud, ed., Raoul Hausmann: Je ne suis pas un photographe (Paris: Chêne, 1975): 22. Translation in Dada: Berlin, Cologne, Hannover (Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art 1980): np.
Nearly half a century after producing this work Hausmann recalled it having come together in a burst of creative inspiration. But the application of images was preceded by the creation of a painted de Chirico-like interior. Once the images were fixed, he painted-in the dark shadows, in order to place the objects firmly on the ground.

food metaphor about Germany's need to change its diet if it were to go beyond plans for "world domination and Expressionism:"

> A people like the Italians, with their veal, their polenta and their red wine, must always . . . tend to clarity, whereas on the other hand, the Germans, with their soups and stollen and their beer, were only able to manage a disgusting darkening of things, called Expressionism. . . . If one can say that Romans possess a good digestion, and the Slavs could digest everything, then a German suffers from a switching between constipation and diarrhea.[24]

Without discussing art, Hausmann clearly believed that the Italians of Valori Plastici offered the Germans an escape from the darkness of Expressionism. He continued:

> The man of an outspoken nation will love the explainable, the everyday, not the extravagance of dark idiocy. He will want to understand the Gegenständlichkeit of the environment and the

---

24. "Ein Volk wie die Italiener, mit ihrem Kalbfleisch, ihrer Polenta und ihrem Rotwein, muß immer, in jeder Weltsituation zur Klarheit neigen, wie dagegen der Deutsche es neben Suppen und Stullen und seinem Bier nur zu einer ekelhaften Verdunkelung der Dinge, Expressionismus genannt, gebracht hat. . . . Wenn romanische Völker eine gute Verdauung besitzen, die Slaven alles verdauen können, so leiden die Deutsche an einem schmachvollen Wechsel von Verstopfung und Durchfall. . . ." Raoul Hausmann, "Rückkehr zur Gegenständlichkeit in der Kunst" in Richard Huelsenbeck, ed., Dada Almanach (Berlin: Reiss, 1920): 149-50. In the most important study of Hausmann's philosophy Benson (Raoul Hausmann) ignored this essay.

Sachlichkeit of occurrences . . . .[25]

Although it is doubtful that this essay was a crucial influence on German artists, Hausmann defined the direction that the German Post-Expressionist painting was to take. Hausmann would further elaborate on the new painting in the unpublished, collaborative essay "The Laws of Painting" of September 1920 [see below].

George Grosz had ties to Valori Plastici through both Theodor Däubler, who had been his first important supporter and Valori Plastici's magazine German correspondent, and Hans Goltz, the official German distributor of the magazine.[26] Goltz gave the artist his first major exhibition during the spring of 1920 (101 works), and Leopold Zahn, editor of Goltz's periodical Der Ararat, published an essay on Grosz in Valori Plastici for the July/August 1920

---

25. "Der Mensch einer ausgesprochenen Nation wird das Erklärbare, das Allgemeine lieben, nicht die Extravaganzen des dunklen Blödsinns. Er wird die Gegenständlichkeit der Umwelt und die Sachlichkeit des Geschehens fassen wollen. . . ." Hausmann, "Rückkehr zur Gegenständlichkeit in der Kunst," 150.

26. The fourth edition of Valori Plastici (which appeared in October 1919) included the first in a series of essays by Däubler. Däubler had had written the first article on Grosz the Expressionist in 1916 ["George Grosz," Die Weissen Blätter 2 (1916): 167-70].

number.[27] As early as October 1919, in one of the first discussions of Valori Plastici in Germany, Paul Westheim noted that Grosz and Davringhausen were moving in directions similar to de Chirico and Carrà.[28]

Grosz's development towards greater clarity in 1919 was partly mandated by the need for easy legibility: as the Malik Verlag's house artist Grosz had to appeal to a (perceived) new proletariat audience. In an essay on Grosz written in February 1920, the art historian Alfred Salmony emphasized that, "An effective art must be strongly gegenständlich. So striking as to be understood by the simplest person."[29] Grosz's contact with Valori Plastici is apparent in the works illustrated to accompany the essay when it appeared in Das Kunstblatt in May: Germany, A Winter's Tale, a "graffiti" drawing of 1918, a cubistic work, and the new collage The Engineer Heartfield [Fig. 10]. The latter is a radical departure from the others illustrated in regard to the clarity of the space and forms (with the

---

27. Leopold Zahn, "George Grosz - Paul Klee" Valori Plastici 2 (July-August 1920): 88-9. In 1924 Valori Plastici press published a pamphlet on Grosz with 32 illustrations. Tavolato, Italo, Georg Grosz (Rome: Éditions de Valori Plastici, 1924.

28. "Notizen," Das Kunstblatt 3 (October 1919): 319.

29. "Eine aktive Kunst muß stark gegenständlich sein. So schlagend, daß sie der Einfachste versteht." Alfred Salmony, "George Grosz," Das Kunstblatt 4 (May 1920): 97.

help of printed or photographed material).[30]

Grosz's political drawings became more naturalistic and more specific in 1920. The first third of 1920 witnessed a resurgence on the part of the government to unleash the Free Corps to ruthlessly suppress any threat to the government. Grosz's print Quitting Time [Fig. 5], which was included in his portfolio of nine lithographs God with Us (appeared in June 1920), is one of the most important images relating to the political murders of 1919-20.[31] The incentive for the new clarity of form was communication with "the man on the street." When Expressionists like Max Pechstein and Cesar Klein created images to appeal to the general public in 1919, they were deemed incomprehensible and even insulting due to their figurative distortions.[32] Grosz and other socially-committed artists now strove for a style that the masses would accept, and through which the politically-engaged artists could enlighten them.

---

30. Other similar works from this time (late 1919-early 1920) that fuse elements of Valori Plastici with collage: Daum Marries Her Pedantic Automaton "George" in May 1920, John Heartfield is very Glad of it, 1920 (Galerie Nierendorf, Berlin), and Nude (private collection, England).

31. In his book Four Years of Political Murder of 1922, Emil J. Gumbel claimed that there were 354 political murders carried out by right-wing fanatics, and 22 by the left. The left-wing murders brought 17 heavy sentences while 326 of the 254 right-wing murders went unpunished. See Otto Friedrich, Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s (New York: Harper and Row, 1972): 118.

32. See Rigby, An alle Künstler, 35-7.

Rudolf Schlichter (1890-1955) became a central figure among the Berlin Dadaists upon his arrival from Karlsruhe at the end of 1919. Schlichter had received an apprenticeship as an enamel painter, spent three years at the School of Applied Arts in Stuttgart, then enrolled at the Karlsruhe Academy. From 1913 until he was called to military duty in 1916 he was a master student, but, like many students at the Karlsruhe Academy at the time, Schlichter concentrated on the graphic arts.[33] He partly supported himself at this time by selling erotic and sado-erotic prints to a regular clientele.[34] After being sent to the western front in 1916 Schlichter went on a hunger strike and was eventually discharged. Immediately after the war he joined his friends from the academy, Georg Scholz, Vladimir Zabotin, and others, to form Karlsruhe's first radical artists group, *Rih* (named after the horse of Old Shatterhand, Karl May's cowboy-hero) which declared solidarity with the *November Group*. But there was no interest in radical art in Baden. By the end of the year,

---

33. The Karlsruhe Academy was unique in that it offered study in engraving and lithography. Schlichter was master student under Wilhelm Trübner and Caspar Ritter. On his study in Karlsruhe see his autobiography Das widerspenstige Fleisch (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1932): 333-68.

34. Ulrich Weitz, "Sexualphantasien und Proletariat, Rosenkranz und Stahlgewitter: Das bewegte Leben des Malers Rudolf Schlichter." Tendenzen 149 (January-March 1985): 57.

Schlichter had moved to Berlin and met Grosz and Heartfield.

Schlichter's first solo exhibition was held in Berlin in the spring of 1920.[35] The 42 works in the show represented the wide range of styles and subjects Schlichter had experimented with in Karlsruhe and Berlin since 1916: Cubo-Futurism, Grosz-inspired graffiti and Dada collage [Fig. 11]; scenes of the wild west, prostitutes, cabarets, sadism and sex murder. His repertoire of subjects had actually changed little since his years at the Karlsruhe Academy.

Schlichter's drawing The End [Fig. 12] is a culmination of his major thematic interests of 1920: violence, prostitutes and the metropolis. His chief concern here was in the graphic description of the corpse of the prostitute. The roughly sketched bridge and onlookers seem to have been included for narrative purposes. Two styles are apparent: the crude graffiti of Grosz (the top) and a more academic naturalism (the prostitute). Schlichter seems to have realized at this time that the most appropriate style for his favorite imagery (i.e. the surest route to the desired effect: shock, revulsion, fascination) was the most legible naturalism.

Carl Einstein saw the Schlichter exhibition as representative of the de Chirico-inspired transition from

---

35. The exhibition immediately preceded the First International Dada Fair at Otto Burchard's gallery (May 20 - June 15, 1920).

sentative of the de Chirico-inspired transition from Expressionism: "Schlichter, who earlier followed abstraction in a consistently carefree manner, is now following the minute, veristic gegenständlich direction."[36] He found some of the works so gegenständlich that they reminded him of cinema. Cinema, not reality, because the subjects seemed to come more from the violent, bloody adventure films of their youth, and the post-war uncensored pornography and spectacles, rather than from real life.[37]

Through Schlichter, Georg Scholz (1890-1945) established close ties with the Berlin Dadaists while remaining in Baden. Scholz entered the Karlsruhe Academy in 1908 and was also a master student there from 1912 until he was called-up for military duty in 1914. Like Schlichter,

---

36. "Schlichter, früher unbekümmert folgerichtig dem Abstrakten folgend, geht jetzt dem Gegenständlichen minutiös veristisch nach." Einstein, "Rudolf Schlichter," 106.
Like many of his contemporaries, Einstein used the word "abstrakt" not to imply "objectless," but to describe the Expressionist manner of stylistically distorting forms derived from nature. "Objectless" paintings would have been described by Einstein as "gegendstandslos" or "ungegenständlich."

37. The popular films of Schlichter's youth were close in subject to the popular trash literature of the time: violent crimes, gun fights, knife fights; in general, anything having to do with blood. See Gary D. Stark, "Cinema, Society and the State: Policing the Film Industry in Imperial Germany" in Gary D. Stark, and Bede Karl Lackner, eds., Essays on Culture and Society in Modern Germany (Arlington: U Texas, 1982): 122-66.
On the public craving for pornographic films in the Weimar Republic see Otto Friedrich, Before the Deluge, 64-6.

academy and was most interested in graphic artists like Alfred Kubin and the illustrators associated with Simplicissimus.[38] After returning home in 1918, following his recovery from a serious wound, Scholz was politicized; he joined the USPD, and in January 1919, the KPD. It was also at this time that he made his first Expressionist paintings [Fig. 13] and co-founded the *Rih Group*.[39] When *Rih* failed to have any impact beyond annoying some local critics, Schlichter moved to Berlin. But Scholz, who was married and had a child, remained in the town of Grötzingen (near Karlsruhe), where he and his family lived more inexpensively than was possible in Karlsruhe, yet where he could still have access to the printing facilities of the academy.

It may be impossible to determine the extent of Scholz's collaboration with Berlin Dada, or when he actually met with them, because his private documents were purged

---

38. On the early influences of Scholz, Schlichter and Karl Hubbuch while at the Karlsruhe Academy see Schlichter, Das widerspenstige Fleisch, 341. Expressionism had made little impact on the conservative city before the war. The only significant exhibition of contemporary art in Karlsruhe before the war was a Futurist show at the Badische Kunstverein, of which students from the nearby Academy were certainly aware.

39. Scholz's ecstatic Expressionist period spanned all of 1919 and the beginning of 1920. His Expressionist works are always composed of sharp linear forms of high-keyed colors and dramatic color contrasts (e.g. The Exotic Princess, 1919 [Pfalzgalerie, Kaiserslautern], and Nightly Noise, 1919 [Fishman collection, Milwaukee]).
For a discussion of Scholz's Expressionist work see Reinhold Heller, ed., Art in Germany 1909-1936: From Expressionism to Resistance (Munich: Prestel, 1990): 221-22.

of all radical contacts during the Nazi period.[40] But Grosz and Heartfield wrote Scholz a friendly letter just days before the opening of the Dada Fair asking him to send his "farmer picture."[41] They were referring to Scholz's painting/collage Industry Farmers [Fig. 14], a work based on a recent experience. Scholz had attempted to procure provisions for his family from a farmer and was told to get what he wanted from the compost pile.[42] During the economic crisis of 1916-1924 farmers in Germany lived very comfortably through bartering. Based on a Biedermeier family-portrait type, the family is surrounded by clearly-represented possessions that reflect their power and values: a bust of the last Kaiser, a photograph of an officer, a new food processor, a well-fed, very friendly priest, and a new state-of-the-art harvester. The father, with sections of paper money attached to his head, holds a bible. The mother, with a screw in her head, holds a baby pig. The child, whose head is open and hollow ("patent pending"), is

---

40. This purging extended to cutting-out Grosz's inscription in his copy of Ecce Homo. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. Scholz was under the constant threat of the local Gestapo during the Nazi regime. He died on November 27, 1945, as mayor of the town of Waldkirch.

41. Postcard, George Grosz and John Heartfield to Georg Scholz, June 16, 1920, Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. The postcard carries George and Eva Grosz's wedding photo. It was published in Stationen der Moderne: Die bedeutenden Kunstausstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland (Berlinische Galerie, 1988): 166.

42. Account told to me by Friedel Scholz, the artist's daughter-in-law.

blowing through a straw placed in a frog's anus. The newspaper on the table, the conservative Der Bote, tells of "stores of potatoes." This was a profiteer that the Berliners were unaware of; he belonged to the world that Scholz inhabited and it was this type that Scholz would assault with increasing clarity for the next three years.[43]

Although Otto Dix (1891-1969) had contact with Dada in Dresden already in 1919, he became an active "Dadaist" only after establishing close contact with Grosz in early 1920. Like Grosz, Hausmann, Schlichter and Scholz his art underwent a shift away from Dada after the International Dada Fair of the summer of 1920.

After completing an apprenticeship as a decorative painter Dix studied applied arts in Dresden before the war, at which time he emulated the styles of the old German, Netherlandish and Italian masters as well as van Gogh and Futurism. During the war Dix received an Iron Cross for valor and produced an enormous body of paintings and drawings under the influences of Expressionism and Futurism [Fig. 15]. In January 1919, just one month after being demobilized, Dix was enrolled at the Dresden academy,[44] and became a member of Dresden's politicized Expressionist

---

43. Scholz's development after 1920 will be discussed in chapter 4.

44. Dix studied drawing with the fanatic naturalist Richard Müller, Grosz's former teacher.

became a member of Dresden's politicized Expressionist group, the *Dresden Secession 1919 Group* which was founded under the leadership of the 22-year-old communist Conrad Felixmüller following the bloody suppression of the KPD in Dresden in January 1919. (Regardless of his youth, Felixmüller was one of the major recipients of the popularity of Expressionism after 1916 with important contacts and patrons in western Germany.[45]) Although Felixmüller eventually abandoned the *1919 Group* due to its inability to establish a political unity among the members, its exhibitions served to bring Dix his first critical attention. The group's first exhibition at the Galerie Emil Richter in April 1919 was a critical success. Dix's work was hailed by local critics as "pure representation of emotion" (Will Grohmann) and as representing "the explosive act of procreation" (Hugo Zehder).[46] However, some local critics questioned the sincerity of Dix's Expressionist paintings

---

45. Felixmüller had a contract for graphics with Emil Richter in Dresden. Patrons included August Freiherr von der Heydt in Wuppertal, Heinrich Kirchhoff in Wiesbaden (with whom he had a first-refusal contract worth 3,000 Marks a year), and Dr. Hans Koch in Cologne. He had also made contact with Herzfelde and Hausmann in Berlin in 1915 (through Meidner). Hausmann was active with Felixmüller in Dresden in 1917 as a member of the Expressionistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Dresden.

46. Fritz Löffler, Otto Dix: Life and Work. Trans. R. J. Hollingsdale. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982): 20; and Weinstein, The End of Expressionism, 154-58. This interpretation of Dix was propagated in Felixmüller's portrait Otto Dix Paints, 1920 (Berlin, National Gallery) which depicts the artist aggressively attacking his canvas.

Moon Woman [Fig. 16] for example.[47] It is evident from subsequent works of that year, Electric Tram [Fig. 17] and The Sailor Fritz Müller from Pieschen (Torino, Museo Civico) for example, that Dix's art was undergoing a transformation away from Expressionist styles and themes towards a more aggressive unsophisticated crudeness. This change in attitude corresponds to Dix's contact with Dada in Dresden. In the fall of 1919, at which time Dix was accepted as a master pupil at the Dresden academy, he came into the circle of the brothers Erwin and Vio Schulhoff, musicians who had made contact with Berlin Dada.[48]

It was at the time of the "Dada tournée" at the Saal der Kaufleute in Dresden (January 19, 1920) that Dix and

---

47. F. Z., "Dresdner Sezession," Dresdner Nachrichten (July 26, 1919); and H. Z. [Hugo Zehder], "Otto Dix," Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung 2 (September 1919): 119-20. See Weinstein, The End of Expressionism, 150-53. Grosz, Kurt Schwitters and Walter Spies (who had just arrived from Russia) were also included in this exhibition.

48. Erwin Schulhoff had performed at the first "Dada Soirée" and had brought Dada periodicals back from Berlin. Among the artists in the group were: Otto Griebel, Lasar Segall, Kurt Günther and Eric Johansson. Griebel, Ich war ein Mann der Straße, 76-7, 91-3. Griebel's autobiography contains the best account of Dada in Dresden. See also Hanne Bergius, Das Lachen Dadas: Die Berliner Dadaisten und Ihre Aktionen (Berlin: Anabas, 1989): 254-59. As a master pupil at the academy Dix was an assistant to the Impressionist painter Otto Gussmann. The position offered Dix a studio and the possibility for private commissions. His studio adjoined those of the other master pupils: Otto Griebel, Walter Jacob, Bernhard Kretschmar and Peter August Böckstiegel.

Griebel came into close contact with Berlin Dada.[49]

Dix's Altarpiece for Cavaliers of 1920 [Figs. 18 & 19] reveals his adoption of the collage technique of the Berliners as well as the thematic content of Grosz's work. A montage with five doors on hinges, it is like a Dada advent calender. With the doors closed, it represents a street scene with two Grosz types: a large-bosomed prostitute and a Nazi sympathizer. They walk past a corner building with four shuttered windows. The Nazi's head opens to reveal a photograph of Wilhelm II and snippets of nationalist and anti-semitic newspaper texts. The prostitute-door opens to reveal the body of an elderly woman with artificial adornments for her breasts, buttocks and legs. The three shuttered windows of the corner building open to reveal a masturbating sailor, a brothel, and the scene of a sex murder.

Dix depicted himself as Jack-the-Ripper in his oil Sex-Murderer (Self-Portrait) of 1920 [Fig. 20]. Dressed in a fashionable tweed suit with spats, the killer/artist grimaces maniacally while holding a knife and a leg in his raised hands. The victim's head, limbs and torso are scattered about in an instantaneous frenzy. As a finishing touch the artist marked the woman's dismembered parts with

---

49. For an account of the evening see Raoul Hausmann, "Dadatour" in Mel Gordon, ed., Dada Performance (New York: PAJ, 1987): 86-8.

his "bloody" handprint.[50]

Dix's artistic output for 1920 was tremendous. Among the 21 oils that can safely be dated to that year are his largest works to date: The Trench, [Fig. 72] (which was completed in 1923) and The Barricade [Fig. 21]. But his major work of 1920, probably from the first half of the year, was the cycle of four large war cripple paintings: Pragerstraße, The Match Seller, The Skat Players (all Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart) and The War Cripples [Fig. 22].[51] The enormous number of maimed veterans on the streets of every German city, whether peddler or beggar, was a constant sobering reminder of the war.

The largest of the cripple paintings, known simply as The War Cripples, was listed under the title "45% Employable" at the International Dada Fair. Once the National Pension Law was effected in April 1920 it was up to doctors to determine the percentage of each veteran's disability. Pensions were then based on this percentage (from 20% to

---

50. Grosz had produced a series of "sex murder" drawings as early as 1912 and another series of drawings and watercolors from 1916-18 (Sex Murder on Ackerstraße, 1916, When it was All Over They Played Cards, 1917, John the Sex Murderer, 1918 [Kunsthalle, Hamburg] and The Lady Killer 1918 [private collection, Milan]).

51. Griebel remembered Dix working "like a lunatic" during 1920. In response to Griebel's preoccupation with KPD activities Dix scolded him: "Du mit deiner Scheiß-Politik, setz dich lieber auf den Arsch und male." Griebel, Ich war ein Mann der Straße, 102.

100%).[52] The painting attacks virtually everyone: the imperial military structure (which was still in place) for aimlessly butchering his generation, the public (the viewer) for its indifference or fascination in these reconstituted freaks, and the cripples themselves for their undiminished national pride, for having learned nothing. One of the most dramatic mass actions of the revolution took place in Dresden on April 12, 1919 when a mob of war victims forced its way into the War Ministry in Dresden, abducted the Saxon war minister, threw him into the Elbe river and shot him.[53] Dix's cripples, however, still proudly displaying their imperial medals, are not revolutionaries.

The war may still have been too close in 1920 for artists to come to terms with their personal experience. By dealing with the cripples Dix could circumvent his own personal experience and still play out his own unspeakable frustration.[54] In the first important sale of Dix's career, The War Cripples was acquired by Paul F. Schmidt for the Dresden public collection during the winter of

---

52. See Robert Weldon Whalen, Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War, 1914-1939 (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1984): 136-39.

53. Whalen, Bitter Wounds, 125.

54. Ernst Toller in his drama Hinckemann is similarly merciless in his treatment of the castrated veteran who is tormented by his wife's lover Grosshahn (Big-cock).

1920-21.[55]

Dix and the Dadaists found an important theoretical adversary in Oskar Kokoschka during the Kapp Putsch at which time a Free Corps unit briefly seized control of the government offices in Berlin. On March 15, 1920 the army fired on a mass of striking workers on Dresden's Postplatz killing fifty-nine workers. During the battle a stray bullet entered the nearby Zwinger Gallery and hit Ruben's painting Bathsheba at the Well. The following day Kokoschka, a professor at the Dresden academy, and one of the most famous Expressionists in Germany at the time, published an appeal to those interested in fighting to take their gunfights outside the cities. It appeared in over 40 German papers and was pasted all over Dresden.[56]

---

55. The painting was acquired against the protests of some members of the Acquisitions Committee. See Griebel, Ich war ein Mann der Straße, 119. Schmidt, who had been both a passive member of the *Brücke* group and an honorary member of the *1919 Group*, was appointed director of Dresden's museums in July 1919 and fired in 1926 after seven years of controversial acquisitions.

56. It read in part: "Ich richte an alle, die hier in Zukunft vorhaben, ihre politischen Theorien, gleichviel ob links-, rechts- oder mittelradikale, mit dem Schießprügel zu argumentieren, die flehentlichste Bitte, solche geplanten kriegerischen Übungen nicht mehr vor der Gemäldegalerie des Zwingers, sondern etwa auf den Schießplätzen der Heide abhalten zu wollen, wo menschliche Kultur nicht in Gefahr kommt." Oskar Kokoschka, "An alle Einwohner von Dresden" included in John Heartfield and George Grosz, "Der Kunstlump," Der Gegner 1 (1919/1920): 48-56. Reprinted in Eckhard Siepmann, Montage: John Heartfield (Berlin: Elefanten, 1977): 54-6.

The most famous Expressionist-cum-academic loudly placing the fate of works of art before human destiny, offered an ideal target for the Dadaists who were both anti-Expressionist and leftist. Grosz and Heartfield responded in the next number of Der Gegner by condemning Kokoschka's statement as representing everything that was wrong with the class system and culture.[57]

Dix addressed Kokoschka's statement in two paintings. In The Match Seller I (Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart) he glued one of Kokoschka's appeals in a gutter where it is about to absorb a stream of dog urine. The Barricade [Fig. 20] depicted a barricade composed entirely of treasured objects: a piano, a crucifix, a reproduction of Titian's Tribute Money, etc. And in the face of the dead revolu-

---

57. They proclaimed: "Wir begrüßen mit Freude, daß die Kugeln in Galerien und Paläste, in die Meisterbilder der Rubens sausen, statt in die Häuser der Armen in den Arbeitervierteln!" Heartfield and Grosz, "Der Kunstlump," 55. Kokoschka unwittingly set off a debate in the left-wing press regarding the nature of Germany's cultural heritage in the new society. For the debate in the communist press on this issue see: G.G.L., "Herrn John Heartfield und George Grosz," Die Rote Fahne (June 9, 1920); J.G., "Kunst, Vandalismus und Proletariat. Eine Antwort an G.G.L.," Die Rote Fahne (June 22, 1920); G.G.L., "Kunst, Vandalismus und Proletariat. Erwiderung," Die Rote Fahne (June 23/24); A. Th., "Das Proletariat und die Kunst. Politische Bemerkungen," Die Rote Fahne (June 24, 1920). These essays are republished in Manfred Brauneck, ed., Die Rote Fahne: Kritik, Theorie, Feuilleton 1918-1933 (Munich: Fink, 1973): 63-75. "Der Kunstlump" was reprinted in Die Aktion (June 12, 1920): 327-32. See also: Franz W. Seiwert, "Das Loch in Rubens Schinken," Die Aktion 10 (July 24, 1920); Kurt Hiller, "Zum Fall Kokoschkas," Der Gegner 2 (1920-21): 45.

tionary at bottom left was a "real" bullet hole.[58]

Kokoschka's actions -- individual though they were -- only served to emphasize more emphatically for the opponents of Expressionism just how out of touch Expressionism was with contemporary events.

Otto Griebel (1895-1972) worked closely with Dix in Dresden during their Dada period, and formed a close friendship with Grosz. His training closely paralleled that of Dix. After an apprenticeship with a decorative painter, he also studied applied arts in Dresden and, after his war service, was accepted as a master pupil at the academy. During 1919 he experimented with a variety of Expressionist styles only to reject Expressionism outright in 1920. His naturalistically rendered and completely unsentimental drawings People Are still the Cheapest Goods [Fig. 23] and Sunday Afternoon [Fig. 24] are typical of the work of his Dada period. In Sunday Afternoon a blind, limbless uniformed soldier is depicted in his basement room surrounded by the things he once enjoyed, but are now lost to him: his violin, goldfish, an illustration of womens' shoes, his girlfriend or wife (seen in a photograph), a

---

58. Nonetheless, in a recent essay Frank Whitford promotes Dix's reputation as a reactionary claiming that: "Although [Dix] did not participate in the *Kunstlump* debate, there is no doubt that he would have stood with Kokoschka." "The Revolutionary Reactionary," in Otto Dix 1891-1969 (London: Tate Gallery, 1992): 13.

painting on the wall, a girl walking by his window in a short skirt. His proudly displayed medals are just as useless as the cup of coffee he cannot hold.[59]

The International Dada Fair (June 30 - August 25, 1920), the final public spectacle in the name of Dada in Berlin, brought together many of the anti-Expressionist works just discussed. Among the 174 works listed in the catalog were: Hausmann's Dada Victorious [Fig. 7][60] and Tatlin at Home [Fig. 8]; Grosz's Germany, A Winter's Tale [Fig. 3], The Engineer Heartfield [Fig. 10], and his set of prints Gott mit Uns; Höch's Cut with the Kitchen Knife [Fig. 2]; Otto Dix's War Cripples (45% Employable) [Fig. 22]; Rudolf Schlichter's Prussian Archangel; and Georg Scholz's Industry Farmers [Fig. 14]. The central room [Fig. 25] was dominated by Grosz's Germany, A Winter's Tale, Dix's War Cripples (the two largest paintings in the show), Schlichter's Archangel (a dummy dressed in the uniform of a field officer with the head of a pig, visible on the ceiling) and a de Chirico-inspired construction by Grosz and Heartfield titled Der wildgewordene Spießer Heartfield (visible at the far right).

---

59. In 1921 Griebel, Dix and Sergius Winckelmann edited the only number of Der Moloch which, though Dadaist in its typography and presentation, did not mention the word Dada.

60. Listed as "Ein bürgerliches Präzisiongehirn ruft eine Weltbewegung hervor."

The Russian cultural emissary Konstantin Umanski, who had just published a series of essays and a book on Russian Constructivism,[61] was quoted on one of the many posters at the exhibition:

> Art is dead
> Long live the new
> Machine art of
> T A T L I N [62]

The number of displays that referred to Tatlin at the Dada Fair reveals just how much interest they had in Umanski's writings and the mysterious new Russian art. Hausmann would certainly have been interested in the emphasis Umanski placed on the material aspects of Constructivism.[63] However, it is difficult to determine just how Grosz and Hausmann responded to this "Tatlinism." In his book

---

61. Konstantin Umanski, "Neue Kunstrichtungen in Rußland: Der Tatlinismus oder die Maschinenkunst," Der Ararat (January 1920): 12-13. (Grosz was also featured in this issue.) "Die neue Monumentalskulptur in Rußland," Der Ararat (February/March 1920): 29-33. Anatoli Lunascharsky sent Umansky (pseudonym of "comrade Krainy") to Berlin late in 1919 to inform the Germans of recent artistic developments in the Soviet Union.

62. "Die Kunst ist tot \ es lebe die neue \ Maschinenkunst \ T A T L I N S"
Umanski wrote: "Die Kunst ist tot - es lebe die Kunst, die Kunst der Maschine mit ihrer Konstruktion und Logic, ihrem Bestand-teile, ihrem Material, ihrem metaphysischen Geist, - die Kunst des 'Kontrereliefs'." Neue Kunst in Rußland 1914-1919 (Munich: Goltz and Kiepenheuer, 1920): 19-20 (appeared April 1920); this quote also appeared in his essay "Neue Kunstrichtungen," 12.

63. "Nur das Schicksal des weiteren kulturellen Fortschrittes wird den Sieg des 'Geistigen' in der Kunst oder den Triumph der materiellen Kunst, der Kunst der Maschine, herbeiführen." Umanski, "Neue Kunstrichtungen," 12.

Umanski stated that something as useless as Dada would have been impossible in the U.S.S.R.[64]

While the Dadaists could have ignored Umanski's criticism of their activities, it was more difficult to ignore the official organ of the KPD, Die Rote Fahne, which ridiculed the Dada Fair as "tiny and insignificant" in the face of the class struggle. The working class would triumph without the help of this "bourgeois clique," it claimed.[65] It is usually stated that Berlin Dada came to an end with the trial of April 20, 1921, when Grosz, Schlichter, Herzfelde and Otto Burchardt faced charges of insulting the army.[66] But Grosz, Hausmann, Schlichter, Scholz and Dix

---

64. Umansky, Neue Kunst in Rußland 51.

65. "Das proletariat wird diesem Kampf führen and gewinnen auch ohne den Extrafeldzug gegen Kunst und Kultur, den eine bürgerliche Literatenklique unternimmt." G.G.L. [Gertrude Alexander], "Dada," Die Rote Fahne (July 25, 1920). Reprinted in Manfred Brauneck, ed., Die Rote Fahne: Kritik, Theorie, Feuilleton 1918-1933 (Munich: Fink, 1973): 75-8.

66. In 1967 Hausmann recalled that the trial had put an end to Dada in Raoul Hausmann, "Dada Riots Moves and Dies in Berlin," Studio International 181 (April 1971): 165. An army captain, offended by the "Off Duty" print from Gott mit Uns and Schlichter's Archangel, filed charges against these four for deliberate insult to the honor and dignity of the army (Herzfelde was the publisher of Gott mit Uns and Burchardt supplied the rooms). It was the anti-military objects in the show that caused the greatest uproar. At the trial, Grosz and Herzfelde claimed that Gott mit Uns was not aimed against the army, but was purely satire. Paul F. Schmidt, testifying on their behalf, emphasized that Dada was entirely humorous and satiric and lauded the artistic value of Grosz's work. Grosz and Herzfelde received fines, the charges against Burchard and Schlichter were dismissed. See: "Dada vor Gericht," Der Ararat 2 (May 1921): 81; Kurt Tucholsky, "Dada-Prozeß," Die

seem to have abandoned both the term Dada and its artistic concerns with the closing of the exhibition. Documents regarding the activities of these artists during the summer of 1920 are scant and few, but their writings and experiments of the fall of 1920 reveal that they were seriously rethinking the direction their art should take while maintaining their stands against Expressionism, the government, and capitalism.

1.2 POST-DADA

Between the summers of 1920 and 1921 the artists that had been associated with Berlin Dada authorized a series of important Post-Expressionist theoretical essays. Although the artists discussed here were living in three different parts of Germany, their collaborative experiments placed them at the forefront among those German artists who sought to transcend Expressionism.

This section will discuss, in four parts: a manifesto signed by Hausmann, Grosz, Schlichter and Heartfield (1920), and Grosz's essay "On My New Pictures" (1920); two statements by Georg Scholz (1921, 1922); Otto Dix's Post-

---

...Continued...

Weltbühne 17 (1921): 454 (reprinted in Karl Riha ed., Dada Berlin: Texte, Manifeste, Aktionen [Stuttgart: Reclam, 1988]: 127-9); Lewis, George Grosz, 216-8; and Martin Kane, Weimar Germany and the Limits of Political Art: A Study of the Work of George Grosz and Ernst Toller (Fife, Scotland: Hutton, 1987): 44-5.

Dada development while living in Dresden (1920-21); and the situation surrounding the most important public repudiation of Expressionism by the Post-Dadaists, "The Open Letter to the *November Group* of 1921.

1.2.1 BERLIN

The earliest known theoretical document produced by the former Dadaists in Berlin after the International Dada Fair was an unpublished essay signed by Hausmann, Grosz, Heartfield and Schlichter titled "The Laws of Painting" and dated September 1920.[67] It represents their attempt -- just a few months after declaring that art was dead -- to formulate a theory as to why and when painting had died, and to spell out how it was to be revitalized. The essay opens with a restatement of Daumier's maxim: "The painter must possess the ability to accurately perceive the essential aspects of his time."[68] Painting, they claimed, was a discovery of the middle ages that reached its end with the

---

67. George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, John Heartfield and Rudolf Schlichter, "Die Gesetze der Malerei," two-page typed manuscript in the Hannah Höch Archive, Berlinische Gallery, Berlin. Reprinted in Berlinische Galerie, Hannah Höch: Ein Lebenscollage (Berlin: Aragon, 1989): 296-98. This essay has received relatively no attention aside from a very brief discussion in Timothy O. Benson, Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press): 195, 199.

68. "Der Maler muß die Fähigkeit besitzen, das Wesentliche seiner Epoche genau wahrzunehmen." "Die Gesetze der Malerei."

High Renaissance (Michelangelo introduced "the individualistic trash [Sauerei]" that killed painting, they claimed). Rembrandt was identified as the creator of Expressionism, and Kandinsky his direct predecessor. "In Europe painting only begins anew with Ingres," they continued, "and only developed further with Carra and Chirico."[69] They observed a few good examples in Germany (by Thoma, Steinhausen and Haider), but believed the "craving for invention hindered a clear attitude toward the true duties of representation."[70] What they rejected above all was personal expression:

> Painting is the visualization of material space through the relation of bodies. The concepts of bodies were discovered through the rules of stereometry and perspective, which make possible a clear conception of vision and the optical milieu. Materialistic painting is based on the plasticity and tenacity of perception and not on the indecisiveness of subjective impressions or spiritual excursions.[71]

---

69. Ibid. "In Europa fängt die Malerei erst bei Ingres wieder an, ihre Weiterenwicklung findet sie entgültig durch Carra und Chirico."

70. Ibid. "[D]er Drang nach Sinnigkeit verhinderte eine klare Einstellung gegenüber den wahren Aufgaben der Darstellung."

71. "Die Malerei ist Verbindlichung des materiellen Raumes durch die Beziehung der Körper. Die Begriffe der Körper fand man durch die Regeln der Stereometrie und der Perspektive, die erst eine klare Auffassung des Sehens und des optischen Milieus ermöglichen. Die materialistische Malerei basiert auf der Plasticität und Festigkeit der Wahrnehmung und nicht auf der Unentschiedenheit der subjektiven Impressionen oder seelischen Exkurse." Ibid.

This amounted to a negation of stylistic distortions and was an elaboration and revision of Hausmann's theory of a new materialism, now applied to painting. "Painting is a language," they (probably Grosz-Heartfield) continued:

> which must raise the optical impressions of the masses toward singleness of meaning. We reject the standpoint of abstract art or l'art pour l'art, as much as the sentence 'la nature vue à travers d'un temperament.' Painting is collective.[72]

They proceeded to sound like academicians:

> Perspective is the bridle and rudder of painting. Perspective is a reasoning thing. We know very well that one recognizes oversights in other peoples' work more easily than in one's own, and in order to avoid such uncertainty, one should above all make sure one is a good perspectivist and that one knows the proportions of man and other animals. Besides that, one should be a competent constructor in order to represent buildings and machines: and for a precise course of study one cannot go wrong by making use of photography.[73]

---

72. "Die Malerei ist eine Sprache, die die optischen Vorstellungen der Masse zur Eindeutigkeit zu steigern hat. Wir verwerfen den Standpunkt der abstrakten Kunst oder l'art pour l'art ebenso, wie den Satz 'la nature vue à travers d'un temperament.' Die Malerei ist Kollektiv." Grosz would later emphasize this in his essay "On My New Pictures" [see below]. Ibid.

73. Ibid. "Die Perspektive ist Zügel und Steuer der Malerei. Die Perspektive ist ein beweisführender Gegenstand. Wir wissen genau, daß man die Versehen besser in den Werken anderer erkennt, als in den Eigenen und um solcher Unwissenheit zu entgehen, sorge man vor allem dafür, daß man ein guter Perspektivist sei und die Masse der Menschen und andere Tiere kenne. Außerdem sei man ein

This "return" to the laws of painting was a response to what they perceived to be Expressionism's overemphasis on individualism. However, they omitted a statement regarding what they considered to be acceptable subjects or themes for painting. It must be kept in mind that, although they had the means to, they chose not to publish this essay, suggesting perhaps that in the end they did not fully approve of it as a manifesto. Nonetheless, it gives a clear indication of their common experimental interests after the summer of 1920.

There are two conclusions to the essay representing the chief concerns of Grosz (with Heartfield/Herzfelde): "The painter must strive to be universal. . ."; and of Hausmann: "We support a clear and certain materialistic painting in our time."[74]

Hausmann's artistic training was limited to instruction under his father, an academic painter and restorer. Shortly after the closing of the International Dada Fair

---

...Continued...

tüchtigen Constructeur, um Gebäude und Maschinen darzustellen: zum genauer Studium verschmähe man nicht, sich der Photographie zu bedienen."
Parts of this call for a return to the laws of the old masters is remarkably similar to De Chirico's essay "Il ritorno al mestiere" which appeared in the November/December 1919 issue of Valori Plastici.

74. Ibid. "Der Maler muß trachten, universell zu sein, weil es nicht angeht, daß er eine Sache gut macht und andere schlecht. . . . Wir treten in unserer Zeit für eine klare und bestimmte materialistische Malerei ein."

Hausmann produced a series of apparently technical academic studies. The Engineers [Fig. 26] represents a dramatic shift on the part of the Berliners to positive, non-critical images. The linear perspective is accurate. The figures, now well-dressed human dummies rather than constructions, seem to represent the New Humans, the architect-engineers of the new world. The platform on which the primary figure stands as well as the topographical illustration are similar to elements found in the works of de Chirico and Carrà in Valori Plastici.

Kutschenbauch Composes [Fig. 27] is very closely related to Carrà's "metaphysical" interiors as is the mechanical drawing to certain Dada works by Picabia and Ernst. So, as academic as they may first appear, these works are specifically derivative of several contemporaries. Kutschenbauch, in a trance, churns out poetry. Is Kutschenbauch an Expressionist? Is he a New Human? Or is this the imagistic non-sense (*nicht-Sinn*) that de Chirico had adopted from Schopenhauer and Nietzsche? Benson interprets these works as representative of Hausmann's attempt to formulate "a compositional means to convey the inherent uncertainty of the transitional environment of the New Man."[75] But in his attempt at depersonalization Hausmann only created dummies: dummies making art and dummies redesigning their environment.

---

75. Benson, Raoul Hausmann 179-80.

Benson passed these sober works off as products of "the growing social stability after the Dada-Messe."[76] In regard to Grosz's simultaneous experiments Uwe Schneede simply concluded: "In 1920 Grosz made an artistic digression."[77] But this brief experiment was no simple "digression." It was a radical response to Expressionism -- an attempt to circumvent Expressionism by promoting its antithesis. This fact should not be understated.

Hausmann was clearly dissatisfied with the results of this brief experiment; they represent his last paintings of the Weimar period.[78]

Hannah Höch's walk from Munich to Rome during the fall of 1920 may be perceived as her first Post-Dada activity. Although she does not seem to have taken an active part in the Post-Dada discussions during the fall of 1920, the few paintings she produced during the period 1920-24 reveal a continued interest in the fantastic imagery of de Chirico, and are in sympathy with the contemporary works of Hausmann, Grosz and Schlichter [Fig. 28].

---

76. Benson, Raoul Hausmann, 195. He devoted only two pages to Hausmann's "return to traditional artistic media."

77. Uwe Schneede, George Grosz: Life and Work, trans. Susanne Flatauer (London: Fraser, 1979): 66.

78. Early in 1921 Hausmann gave up painting, declared himself "Presentist," and performed acts of immediate actuality (sometimes in conjunction with Kurt Schwitters). See Benson, Raoul Hausmann, 199-211.

George Grosz wrote his own theory of his first series of post-Dada watercolors in November 1920. His essay titled "On My New Paintings" appeared in the January 1921 edition of Das Kunstblatt accompanied by five illustrations including Republican Automatons [Fig. 29], The New Man [Fig. 30] and Berlin C [Fig. 31].[79] Anyone able to see beyond their studio walls, Grosz wrote, must admit that "art today is absolutely a secondary affair" (a sentiment touched on in "The Laws of Painting" two months earlier). He repeated that individuality in art was meaninglessness and that content was primary. As for the artists' role in the new society, Grosz advised, "Go to a proletarian meeting and . . . [u]nderstand - the masses are the ones who are reorganizing the world. Not you! But you can help if you want to!"[80] And what was the new art to look like? "Again stability, construction, functionalism . . . no more

---

79. George Grosz, "Zu meinen neuen Bildern," Das Kunstblatt 5 (January 1921): 10-16. Much of the same communist sentiment was expressed in "Statt einer Biographie" (dated August 1920) which was included in Willi Wolfradt George Grosz (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1921).

80. "Geht in ein Proletarier-Meeting und seht und hört wie dort die Leute, Menschen wie ihr, über eine winzige Verbesserung ihres Lebens diskutieren. Begreift, diese Masse ist es, die an der Organisation der Welt arbeitet! Nicht Ihr! Aber ihr könnt helfen, wenn ihr nur wollt!" Ibid. 11-14.

dynamic, futuristic romanticism," he declared.[81] As for *his* new work he stated:

> I am again trying to give an absolutely realistic picture of the world. I am attempting to be understood by everyone. . . . In an effort to achieve a clear and simple style one involuntary moves toward Carra. Nevertheless, I am entirely different than Carra who wants to be appreciated in a very metaphysical sense when all the while his position is bourgeois. . . .

Grosz then elaborated on the anti-individualist position introduced in "The Laws of Painting:"

> Man is no longer represented as an individual to be psychologically dissected, but rather as a collective, almost mechanical concept. Individual fate is no longer important. Like the ancient Greeks, I would also like to create absolutely simple sport symbols which would be comprehended and enjoyed by everyone without commentary. . . .

Grosz concluded his essay by declaring his faith in "pure craftsmanship" which he regarded as anathema to "the holy temple of art."[82]

---

81. "Wieder Stabilität, Aufbau, Zweckmäßigkeit - z.B. Sport, Ingenieur, Maschine, doch nicht mehr dynamische, futuristische Romantik." Ibid. 14.

82. "Ich versuche wieder ein absolut realistisches Weltbild zu geben. Ich strebe an, jedem Menschen verständlich zu sein - ohne die heute verlangte Tiefe, - in die man doch nie steigen kann ohne einen wahren Taucheranzug, vollgestopft mit geistigen kabbalistischem Schwindel und Metaphysik. Bei dem Bemühen, einen klaren einfachen Stil zu bilden, kommt man unwillkürlich in die Nähe Carras. Trotzdem trennt mich alles von ihm, der sehr metaphysisch genossen sein will, und dessen Problemstellung bourgeois ist. . . . Ich versuche, in meinem sogenannten künstlerischen Arbeiten eine ganz reale Plattform aufzubauen. Der

As in "The Laws of Painting," Grosz offered only formal suggestions while avoiding any specifications regarding subject matter. His watercolor The New Man [Fig. 30] is an ambiguous and contradictory picture. These are "positive" images, he claims, and thus representative of the New Man: a well-dressed, athletic engineer energetically approaches his machine schematic in his no-nonsense studio. But he has the head of a tailor's dummy. Because Grosz's talent lied in biting parody, it is easier to understand this picture as a parody of the Expressionist "Oh Mensch! -- Man is Good" New Man.[83] The sincerity of Grosz's optimism for or faith in humanity must be called

---

...Continued...

Mensch ist nicht mehr individuell, mit feinschurfender Psychologie dargestellt, sondern als kollektivistischer, fast mechanischer Begriff. Das Einzelschicksal ist nicht mehr wichtig. Ich möchte, wie im alten Griechenland, auch ganz einfache Sportsymbole zeigen, jedem verständlich und ohne Kommentar genießbar. . . . Die Entwicklung der Malerei sehe ich in zukünftigen Werkstätten, im rein handwerklichen, nicht im heiligen Kunsttempel. Malerei ist eine Handarbeit wie jede andere, die kann gut oder schlecht gemacht sein. Heute haben wir ein Starsystem wie in anderen Kunstzweigen auch -- das wird verschwinden. . . . Es wird eine Zeit kommen, in der der Künstler nicht mehr jener bohemehafte schwammige Anarchist ist -- sondern ein heller, gesunder Arbeiter in der kollektivistischen Gemeinschaft. Solange dieses Ziel von der arbeitenden Masse noch nicht verwirklicht ist, wird der Geistige ungläubig zynisch hin und her schwanken." Ibid. 14.

83. See for example: Lothar Schreyer, "Der neue Mensch," Der Sturm 10 (May 1919): 18; and Walter Rilla, "Der neue Mensch," Die Erde 1 (January 1919): 9-15.

into question.[84]

The technique is intended to appear as mechanical as possible and, rather than signing these works, Grosz used rubber stamps reading: "Constructed by George Grosz" or "George Grosz Constructor." Did he believe himself to be working in sympathy with the Russian Constructivists? If so, his "constructivism" seems to have been inspired most by Valori Plastici.[85] Like the images of Hausmann and Schlichter from this period, many of the individual forms and objects in Grosz's series of works were adapted from the illustrations in Valori Plastici.[86]

Berlin C [Fig. 31] is a revision of Grosz's numerous

---

84. Beth Irwin Lewis discusses Grosz's inability to produce positive imagery in George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic (Princeton UP, 1971/1991): chapter 6. See also Matthias Eberle, World War I and the Weimar Artists: Dix Grosz, Beckmann, Schlemmer (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985): chapter 3.

85. In a discussion of contemporary art in Italy Theodor Däubler described de Chirico's paintings as "constructive," a choice of terminology that may have caused some confusion since the word "Constructivism" had already arrived from the U.S.S.R., yet no German had seen a Constructivist work. And de Chirico's figures and still-lifes certainly look "constructed." Theodor Däubler, "Neue Kunst in Italien," Der Cicerone 12 (May 1920): 349-55.

86. In his essay on Grosz's watercolors of 1920 Martin Kane believed that Grosz was working in concert with the Russian Constructivists. He makes no mention of Umansky or the lack of real knowledge of Constructivism in Germany before 1922, nor does he mention Valori Plastici. Martin Kane, "George Grosz: Constructivism Parodied" in Richard Sheppard, ed., New Studies in Dada: Essays and Documents (Driffield: Hutton, 1981): 35-45. Grosz's set of seven "Material-izations" published under the title Mit Pinsel und Schere in 1922 was certainly produced between the fall of 1920 and the summer of 1921.

street scenes from 1916-1919, the major difference being the use of mathematical perspective and the treatment of the figures in the round. Any meaning in the picture, however, remains ambiguous. Although Grosz was "attempting to be understood by everyone," his subjects had never been so ambiguous.

Grosz attempted a more specific political statement in this new style with the watercolor Republican Automatons [Fig. 29]. In his new urban space he included two prominent figures: republican number 12 with a derby hat (as was regularly worn by Ebert) and a wooden leg waving in his prosthetic hand a republican flag, and a motor-driven aristocrat with an iron cross who cheers on command. The prosthetics suggest that they are maimed veterans. Grosz had achieved his greatest level of formal clarity since 1915, but the clear, naked anger of 1915-19 is now replaced by ambiguity.

The one work by Grosz from this period that approached his intentions stated in "On My New Pictures" was his lost mural Cyclist and Weightlifter [Fig. 32] which was originally intended as a design for a workers' sports center.[87] Here was an "absolutely simple sport symbol" -- a positive image of the worker: attached to the factory, but encour-

---

87. A study of this work was illustrated in Der Ararat 3 (April 1921): 146. For a discussion see Peter Hielscher, "George Grosz in der Turnhalle" in Berlin (East): Neue Gesellschaft der Bildende Kunst, Wem gehört die Welt, Kunst und Gesellschaft in der Weimarer Republik (1977): 274-5.

aged to better himself.

In one of his few oil paintings of the period, Magistrate for War Victims' Welfare of 1921 [Fig. 33], Grosz returned to pure contempt. All the extreme political parties took a great interest in the government's care of war victims: maimed soldiers, widows, orphans and dependents.[88] Grosz's magistrate wears a monarchist red, white and black ribbon on his lapel, and a black arm band; the quintessential monarchist mourns only for the loss of the Kaiser. His square may aid in the construction of the brick wall being built between himself and the maimed, unemployed veteran on the street. Another magistrate seems to be hiding around a corner to avoid being seen by the veteran. To the left, a schematized, faceless miner walks to work. The miner's role in this narrative is ambiguous (perhaps he is intended to emphasize the veteran's unemployed status), but Grosz's feelings toward the magistrate is perfectly clear. This work may have been the last

---

88. It was estimated that six million people (ca. 10% of the population) were disabled veterans or dependent survivors of soldiers killed in action. Pensions were finally standardized with the National Pension Law of April 1920, but because the pension law did not account for inflation, the monthly pension for a veteran with 100% disability soon sunk below the poverty level. The pensions fund dominated the national budget throughout the Weimar Republic. See Robert Weldon Whalen, Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War, 1914-1939 (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1984): 16, 147-48. Whalen states that at least one-third of the funds available to the government between 1920 and 1932 was tied up in pension costs.

political image in oil by Grosz during the inflation period. Oil painting was an unsuitable medium for propagandistic art; his graphic works reached a much wider audience (and like watercolors, were much more profitable).

Grosz became internationally famous during the inflation period as a result of his published collections, especially The Face of the Ruling Class (1921) of which 25,000 copies were printed, and Ecce Homo (1923) which resulted in a widely publicized obscenity trial in 1924. By 1920 Grosz was receiving great attention in the press. His first exhibition with Hans Goltz in the spring of 1920 was widely publicized and reviewed, and the catalog of the exhibition was published as a special number of Der Ararat.[89] In 1921 Willi Wolfradt's monograph on Grosz with 33 illustrations appeared,[90] and a small collection of his prints was published in the United States.[91]

Published during the winter of 1922-23, Ecce Homo was

---

89. Der Ararat Erstes Sonderheft: George Grosz Katalog (April/May) 1920.

90. Willi Wolfradt, George Grosz (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1921). In 1962 Paul Westheim recalled that the Wolfradt monograph of 1921 was confiscated: "Erinnerungen an George Grosz," Die Weltkunst 32 (November 15, 1962): 16. A section of this book appeared in Der Cicerone 13 (February 1921): 103-18; and Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst 2 (1921): 97-112.

91. Hi Simons, ed., George Grosz: Twelve Reproductions from His Original Lithographs (Chicago: Musterbookhouse, 1921). Simons also published "George Grosz: Artist-Communist," The Liberator (July 1922): 28-9. For the most complete bibliography see Lewis 305-24.

a retrospective of drawings and watercolors by Grosz since 1915. The images collected are socio-sexual rather than socio-political. It included apparently any image from the past eight years that dealt with sex -- or more precisely, naked women: prostitutes, orgy clubs, sex murders, sun worship, etc. Grosz's enemy again is clearly identified as the German bourgeois, but rather than promoting an ideology, Ecce Homo as a whole seems to be accusation for the sake of accusation; Grosz's attitude towards bourgeois mores seems to have turned from contempt to fascination.[92] What all the works share -- those from 1922 as well as 1915 -- is a great concern for characteristic details, i.e. information. It was these details that resulted in charges of obscenity being brought against Ecce Homo in February 1924.[93]

In 1924 Grosz (together with Schlichter) returned to his academic roots in a series of precise life drawings of acquaintances and people on the street [Fig. 34]. Grosz's interest was clearly in technique as well as politics. In August 1924, after seeing some recent paintings by Georg

---

92. This may have been a result of Grosz's disillusioning trip to the Soviet Union in 1922. See George Grosz, A Little Yes and a Big No, trans. Lola Sachs Dorin (New York: Dial, 1946).

93. The Ecce Homo trial and Grosz's moralizing exhortations were widely publicized. See Lewis, Grosz 218-19. Grosz and his publishers, Wieland Herzfelde and Julian Gumpertz, were fined 500 marks each after two trials.

Scholz he wrote to Scholz inquiring about his technique:

> I would be interested to know what technique you are working with: tempera underpainting or all oil, and which dilution, linseed oil? Do you make careful preliminary studies? . . . It would be interesting to exchange technical knowledge.[94]

Shortly thereafter Grosz returned to oil painting with his Portrait of Max Hermann-Neiße (Kunsthalle, Mannheim), his most famous "Neue Sachlichkeit" painting.

Although Grosz was not finished with propagandistic political imagery his collection of 60 recent drawings published under the title Der Spießer Spiegel in 1925 were entirely lacking in the aggressive polemic of his prior work. The drawings are clearer and more exact than any of his previous publications and are not so much caricatures as type portraits: rather than being detestable, the bourgeoisie was now just interesting.

Rudolf Schlichter's major works of the second half of 1920, the watercolors Rooftop Studio [Fig. 35] and Hausvogteiplatz [Fig. 36] seem to have been experiments with Valori Plastici iconography and relationships rather than a

---

94. "Würde mich interessieren in welche Technik Du gearbeitet: Tempera Untermalung oder alles Öl welche Verdünnung, Lainöl [sic]? Machtest Du vorher Sorgfältige[?] . . . Ich finde es ganz interessant wenn wir technische Kenntnisse austauschen würden." Letter, Grosz to Scholz, August 18, 1924, Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. Grosz and his wife had spent time in Grötzingen with Scholz during the previous summer.

further development of his recent naturalistic works like The End [Fig. 12]. Schlichter's best-known work, Rooftop Studio defies specific translation. The composition is like an academic perspective study. But this work primarily addresses Gustave Courbet's famous painting The Artist's Studio which had just been purchased for 700,000 franks and hung in the Louvre: at the right of Schlichter's painting is an artist (with a gasmask) sitting before an empty easel, a little girl, and a model on a pedestal; these figures relate to the central group in Courbet's painting. The ambiguous figures to the left in Schlichter's painting similarly relate to those on the left of Courbet's painting which represent the "world of trivial life, the people, misery, poverty, wealth, the exploited and the exploiters, the people who live off of death."[95]

Schlichter's watercolor Hausvogteiplatz is an urban street scene that functions more as a still life of dissonant objects, as de Chirico's *metaphysical* paintings do, than the works of his Berlin companions. Nonetheless, like Hausmann and Grosz, Schlichter soon abandoned his *pittura metafisica* imagery.

During the inflation period Schlichter's artistic output was largely devoted to naturalistic book illustra-

---

95. Letter, Gustave Courbet to Champfleury, November-December 1854. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, ed., Letters of Gustave Courbet (U Chicago P, 1992): 131.

tions.[96] His independent drawings and watercolors from this period are also clearly naturalistic, and generally fall into one of two categories: type portraits and murder/suicides. The latter appealed to the public fascination for grisly crime reports. It appears that his last sex murder image was produced in 1924. In fact, the "sex-murder period" for Schlichter, Grosz and Dix seems to have come to an end in 1924, whereas the popular fascination in sex crimes and serial murders has never waned.

Schlichter's portraits from before 1925 are primarily of anonymous sitters, usually working-class people and prostitutes. His favorite model during 1924-25 was a prostitute named Margot, who he drew repeatedly. When he returned to oil painting in 1924, Portrait of Margot [Fig. 37] may have been his first. Like Dix, Grosz, and many other contemporary Germans, Schlichter was attracted to this subject for her striking individuality, i.e. her physical peculiarities. She stands in a street among dismal tenements staring out boldly, striking a pose perhaps more characteristic of a politician than a prostitute. The immediacy of the figure reveals Schlichter's interest

---

96. He illustrated ten books between 1922 and 1924. Including 61 engravings for a new edition of Oscar Wilde's The Ballad of Reading Gaol (Munich: Recht, 1923). During 1925-26 he illustrated six more books. See Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Christlust Präger, "Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Buch-illustrationen von Rudolf Schlichter" in Berlin: Staatliche Kunsthalle, Rudolf Schlichter 1890-1955 (1984): 59a-64a.

in sixteenth-century German portraiture. In fact, Schlichter praised Dürer, Grünewald and the German tradition in letters to Georg Scholz in 1923 and 1925.[97] During the second half of the twenties Schlichter was primarily a portraitist of Berlin's literati.

1.2.2 SCHOLZ IN GRÖTZINGEN 1920-1921

Georg Scholz, who as stated above, enthusiastically embraced Expressionism immediately after the war, wrote his own Post-Expressionist statement in a letter from March 1921 to Hans Siebert von Heister, one of the leaders of the *November Group*. This letter was subsequently included in the group's first annual publication. Scholz wrote:

> Today's Expressionism appears to me ultimately to be no revolutionary movement or reaction to Impressionism, but a continuation of it. Just like Impressionism, Expressionism is dependent on the principle of "l'art pour l'art" (or better yet,

---

97. Schlichter's letters to Scholz were probably destroyed by Scholz during the Nazi period, but Scholz often discussed Schlichter in his correspondence with Theodor Kiefer. In a letter (December 9, 1923) and a postcard (May 11, 1925) to Kiefer Scholz discussed Schlichter's praise of Dürer, Grünewald and German tradition, as well as his contempt for "Dilettantismus" in Germany. Scholz's correspondence with Kiefer is preserved in the Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

l'artiste pour l'artiste).[98]

His arguments against Expressionism were similar to those recently stated by Hausenstein, Edschmidt, Hartlaub and Worringer [see part I chapter 1], as well as those of Hausmann and Grosz. Rather than establishing contact with the people, he argued, Expressionism had only achieved a new interior decoration. He criticized Expressionists for believing that they could establish a foundation for a new culture based on lost or remote cultures (i.e. Gothic or tribal).[99] Rather than outright rejection of Expressionism, Scholz called for the creation of "new, interesting (!) paintings into whose Expressionist [elements] Gegenständlichkeiten filled with the Sachlichkeit of the present will be incorporated"[100] His own conversion from Expres-

---

98. "Der Expressionismus unserer Zeit scheint mir letzten Endes gar keine umstürzende Bewegung, keine Reaktion auf den Impressionismus zu sein, sonderm eine konsequente Fortführung desselben. Der Expressionismus ist ebenso wie der Impressionismus bedingt durch das Prinzip l'Art pour l'Art (oder noch besser l'artiste pour l'artiste)." "Brief" (Scholz to Heister) in Hans Siebert von Heister, ed., Veröffentlichung der Novembergruppe 1 (Hannover: Steegemann, 1921): 42.

99. "[M]an jammerte über verlorene 'Kultur', gab dem Volk nur Kunst zu erziehen (wie jeder bewußte Reformversuch zwecklos!). . . . Ich glaube, daß die uns erkennbaren Gesetze des Organismus früherer Kulturen durchaus nicht Grundlagen einer gegenwärtigen oder zukünftigen Kultur sein können." Ibid., 44.

100. "Mit den aus dem Expressionismus erworbenen Mitteln müssen neue, interessante (!) Bilder geschaffen werden, in deren durch den Expressionismus gewonnenen Raume mit der Sachlichkeit der Gegenwart erfüllte Gegenständlichkeiten hineingebaut werden. . . ." Ibid., 44.

sionism was less a personal development, he claimed, than the result of a general development. Rejecting art history's structure of great artists "like a family tree" [als ein Stammbaum], he stated that it was the mean talents -- rather than the rare genius -- that determined the face of the period. Finally, in order to be understood by the people, he advised artists to look at popular culture, kitsch![101]

One year after writing this letter Scholz published an essay in a Karlsruhe journal, titled "Art and Kitsch," wherein he reiterated and elaborated on the need to reconsider kitsch. Always fascinated by his own taste for kitsch, Scholz noted that what is condemned today as kitsch may someday be regarded as culture.[102] "The people want kitsch," Scholz declared, and called on artists to abandon

---

101. "Jede Kulturperiode entsteht nach eigenen Gesetzen und Bedingungen, die aus der Distanz von Jahrhunderten denen anderer ähnlich sehen mögen. Wer weiß, wieviel Resultate unserer Zivilisation schon Elemente einer neuen Kulturperiode sind, wieviel sogenannter 'Kitsch' und 'Geschmacklosigkeiten' (die immer sehr subjektive Begriffe sind) zu einer neuen Kultur schon gehören? Vielleicht werden diese Dinge später ganz anders bewertet als von uns, die wir meist rückwärts schauen und wehmutsvoll Vergleiche anstellen. Tatsachen lassen sich nicht wegleugnen, sie sind da, auch der 'Kitsch'. . . . Man soll lieber 'tendenziöse' Bilder malen, als l'art pour l'art! Bei dem Streben nach einer dem breiten Publikum 'verständlichen' Form halte ich es für wichtig, die Ausdrucksmittel jener Art bildlicher Darstellung nachzuprüfen, die noch Resonanz im Volke fand, des sogenannten 'Kitsches' im Sinne der Ansichtspostkarten und der photographisch genauen Malerei." Ibid.

102. Georg Scholz, "Kunst und Kitsch" Die Pyramide: Wochenblatt zum Karlsruhe Tageblatt (2 April 1922): 97.

l'art pour l'art in order to "bridge the gap" between art and kitsch. In order to do this he made a suggestion that reveals his sympathy with George Grosz and the Berliners: "In striving for a form that will be understood by the broad public, one must above all renounce one's own anxiously guarded 'individuality'." He went on to make a statement that seems to have been adopted from "The Laws of Painting:" "All technical achievements must be used, above all: photography. The old masters [after all] used technical aids. . . ."[103]

Two months after the appearance of Scholz's essay, Paul Westheim published a similar call for a reappraisal of kitsch in which he criticized contemporary artists for being out of touch with reality -- for being unable to make contact with living people. The art of the masses, he pointed out, was the inexpensive chromo-lithograph and

---

103. "Das Volk will den 'Kitsch,' er beherrscht blühende Industriezweige, während die vom Hersteller und Händler dringend angepriesene 'Kunst' wird. . . . Es wird die Aufgabe der jüngsten Generation sein, das l'art pour l'art fallen zu lassen und den Gegensatz von 'Kunst' einerseits und 'Kitsch' anderseits zu überbrücken. . . . Bei dem Streben nach einer dem breiten Publikum verständlichen Form muß vor allem das ängstliche Hüten der eigenen 'Individualität' aufgegeben werden. . . . Alle technischen Errungenschaften müssen benutzt werden, vor allem die Photographie. Die alten Meister benutzten Hilfsmittel. . . . " Scholz also repeated his statement from his letter to Hans Siebert von Heister: "Es müssen neue, interessante (!) Bilder geschaffen werden, in deren durch den Expressionismus wiedergewonnenen Raum mit der Sachlichkeit der Gegenwart erfüllte Gegenständlichkeiten hineingebaut werden, vollständig unbekümmert um alle 'Errungenschaften' und 'Qualitäts'-Begriffe des Im- und Expressionismus."

colportage literature: "pleasant entertainment" was desired in art and literature. Westheim asked whether the problem was with art or with the masses? He reminded his readers that his whole generation had grown up loving Karl May (who wrote tomes of violent adventure novels) and suggested that a reassessment of the kitsch of their youths could refreshen their art. He recommended that artists climb off their high horses and acknowledge all the lively forces in the "unartistic."[104] Suggesting that a reassessment of the popular chromo-lithographs that were so popular in their youths might enable artists to speak to a much wider public, and concluded that this should be especially appealing to those artists who were already interested in addressing the masses in political terms: "Grosz, Schlichter, Scholz, Masereel, Davringhausen, Dix and Ernst."

---

104. "Heißt das, was jene Maler feststellen, Problematik der Kunst oder heißt es Problematik der Masse? . . . Vielleicht frischt uns, vielleicht frischt es auch die Kunst auf, wenn wir einmal Versuchen, von unserem Kathurn herunter zu steigen und die lebendige Kraft, die einströmt in jene 'Unkunst,' unserem Schaffen zuzuführen. . . . Das wir heraus aus der Isolierung unseres Künstlertums müssen." Paul Westheim, "Der 'arrivierte' Öldruck," Das Kunstblatt 6 (June 1922): 347-8.
This interest in kitsch -- which was shared by a number of contemporary artists and critics besides Westheim and Scholz -- has a historical parallel in the interest in popular imagery and songs shared by Gustave Courbet, Champfleury and Max Buchon.

1.2.3 DIX IN DRESDEN 1920-1922

As the Berliners undertook their investigation into the laws of painting after the Dada Fair, Dix continued his assault against traditional artistic sensibilities, determined to be "either famous or infamous."[105]

Dix lived on Ziegelstraße in Dresden's red-light district, a popular location for students at the academy (according to Hans Grundig) for the abundance of inexpensive models after the war.[106] His series of prostitute drawings of 1920-21 are individual character portraits of the celebrities of Ziegelstraße. Dix often included their names, Saucy Berta for example [Fig. 38]. Like Toulouse-Lautrec's brothel scenes, and even the *Brücke* artists' images of Fränzi, these women are completely comfortable with their nakedness. After the war, the brothel was one of the few places where a veteran could feel comfortable; and Dix's sympathy with these prostitutes is unquestionable. They are not portrayed as women forced into a life

---

105. Both Conrad Felixmüller and Otto Griebel recalled Dix making this statement: "Ich kumm uff keinen grienen; meine Malereien sind unverkäuflich! Entweder ich werde berühmt oder berüchtigt!" G.H. Herzog, ed., Conrad Felixmüller: Legenden 1912-76 (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1977): 54; and Otto Griebel recalled Dix making the statement: "Entweder werde ich berühmt oder berüchtigt," at the time of the Dada Fair in 1920. Griebel, Ich war ein Mann der Straße, 95.

106. Hans Grundig, Zwischen Karnival und Aschermittwoch: Erinnerungen eines Malers, (Berlin (E), 1958): 51, cited in Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, Die Dresdner Künstlerszene 1913-1933 (1987): 60-1.

of sin, the product of a brutal society, but rather as professional performers.

Saucy Berta seems to have been the prototype for Dix's painting Alma of 1921 [Fig. 39]. In a photo-montage-like arrangement, Alma is surrounded by images of her fantasy and her reality. She dreams of glamour, making love to her Romeo, attending a formal ball, and traveling to distant ports. Her reality is a bleak room with fashion plates pasted to the wall and a factory looming prominently outside her window (perhaps derived from de Chirico's Metaphysical Interior with Large Factory [Fig. 9][107]). In the guide to Berlin's Great Art Exhibition of 1921 Raoul Hausmann noted that Dix's formal arrangement was based on postcards and the posters of traveling circuses: the kitsch of their childhood.[108]

Dix's oil Girl at the Mirror [Fig. 40] of 1921 marks his renewed interest in the German masters of the sixteenth century. It is the first in his long series of works on the *vanitas* theme. Perhaps it was natural that Dix looked

---

107. Illustrated in both the de Chirico monograph of 1919 and number 7/8 of Valori Plastici in 1920.

108. ". . . wie Plakate aus Wanderzirkussen. In den alltäglichen Formen der Postkarte oder Dilettantenmalerei läßt der Maler hier satirisch unsere Zeit durch sich selbst ausdrücken - so seid ihr, sagt er uns, so banal, so kitschig und dabei doch so romantisch." Raoul Hausmann, "Führung durch die Abteilung der Novembergruppe," Grosse Kunstausstellung Berlin, 1921.

to Hans Baldung-Grien, the German master of *vanitas* imagery, considering the fact that Baldung -- like many old German masters -- was just being rediscovered by historians. Seen from behind, Dix's subject appears to be a "girl," but her mirrored image reveals an aged prostitute whose physical charm (her livelihood) has faded. In Baldung-Grien's Death and the Maiden [Fig. 41] the girl's mirrored image is a death's head. From the left a naked elderly woman moves in to protect her from death's advance. Dix was both paying homage to Baldung-Grien and exploiting the shocking, "unartistic" image of a naked aged woman. In a published statement of 1927 Dix expressed his disdain for formal innovations, preferring instead to expand on the "intensity that was already present at the core of the forms of expression of the old masters."[109] If the subject is forceful enough in itself, Dix believed, then no exaggerations or distortions are necessary.

Dix's investigation into the domain of the unartistic, untraditional, and unacceptable led to the iconic Young Girl [Fig. 42] in 1922. The girl is depicted posing uncomfortably, her right arm slightly extended, her eyes transfixed to the right of the viewer. She stands as if for a

---

109. ". . . in einer Steigerung der eben bei den alten Meistern bereits im Kern vorhanden Ausdrucksformen." "Das Objekt ist Primäre," Berliner Nachtausgabe (December 3, 1927). Reprinted in Berlin: Staatliche Kunsthalle. Realismus 1919-1933: Zwischen Revolution und Reaktion (Munich: Prestel, 1981): 141.

medical examination. This is perhaps Dix's most "objective" painting. His primary interest seems to have been in the network of veins under the girl's fair skin. He added curtains and a balustraded balcony in the background as an ironic "artistic" effect. Young Girl is the progeny of images of naked girls by Edvard Munch, the Dresden *Brücke* artists, and Egon Schiele, but where those Expressionists were concerned with the young girl's sexual awakening, her natural uninhibited state, or her eroticism, Dix says absolutely nothing about the model's psyche. We are confronted only by her flesh.

Dix's objective approach led him to produce some of the most offensive (and unsellable) works of the period, his Sex Murder of 1922, for example [Fig. 43]. In comparison to The Sex Murderer (Self-Portrait) of 1920 [Fig. 20], only the chair and the lamp are the same. The earlier image is one of frenzied violence and black humor. The present work, however, is one of gruesome information -- like a police photograph. Dix gives only the details; the mirror on the wall offers a clear view of the victim's mutilated vagina. The black humor is limited to the fallen chair mimicking the pose of the victim.[110] In an art historical sense this work could represent the annihilation

---

110. According to Fritz Löffler, the room depicted was Dix's apartment on Ziegelstraße. Otto Dix 1891-1969: Oevre der Gemälde (Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1981): 304.

of the tradition of the reclining nude, the beginning of which is marked by Giorgione's Sleeping Venus (Gemäldegalerie alte Meister, Dresden), one of the most celebrated paintings in Dresden. Similarly, it could represent the end of the tradition of the female nude as the symbol of love and beauty. Dix also played to the public fascination in sex murder and sex murderers. With the Jack-the-Ripper murders in the 1880s, cheap popular publications of violence and sadism immediately became popular in Germany.[111] "Sex maniac" murders received great attention in the German press and fostered a wave of "lady-killer" novels. Small publishers fed a popular lust for graphic descriptions of sex murders and mutilations. Rarely is there an interest in the killer's motivation in such literature.[112] The world of science and pseudo-science also took an interest in sex crimes (beginning with Richard von Kraft-Ebing's Psychopathic Sexualis in 1886[113]). According

---

111. See Beth Irwin Lewis, "Lustmord: Inside the Windows of the Metropolis" in Charles W. Haxthausen and Heidrum Suhr, eds., Berlin: Culture & Metropolis (U Minnesota P, 1990):

112. See Deborah Cameron and Elizabeth Frazer, The Lust to Kill: A Feminist Investigation of Sexual Murder (New York UP, 1987): chapter 2. They point out that when the victim of a sex murder is discovered to be a prostitute, the killer is perceived to be less of a sadist (p. 31).

113. Kraft-Ebing's book underwent constant editions and reprintings through 1903. See Cameron and Frazer, The Lust to Kill, 94-5. Kraft-Ebing believed that rape and sex-murder were on the increase because of "the degeneration of the race." Erich Wulffen's Der Sexualverbrecher, first published in 1910 and also widely read, included photo-

to the pioneer sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld, when the war broke out in 1914 the German press "indulged the demand for the most hair-raising atrocities," but he noted that readers eventually became bored with the monotony.[114] Postcards of executions were similarly very popular during the war.[115]

The issue of Dix's own sexual psyche in 1922 is also to be considered. Magnus Hirschfeld opened his Institute for Sexual Research in Berlin in 1919 in order to study the effects of the war on the sexual health of Dix's generation. Hirschfeld, a student of Freud, argued that neurosis and psychosis are not merely the result of sexual repression, but that eroticism, sadism and "the mad desire to destroy" are closely connected.[116] During the war soldiers were drilled into "one enormous unspeakably brutal monster," he wrote. "In the soldier the human being is

---

...Continued...

graphs from police archives. Dix owned a copy. (Dusseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, Dix-Pankok-Wollheim: Freunde in Düsseldorf 1920-1925. (1989): 81-2.) The major works in this area during the Weimar period were Magnus Hirschfeld's Sexualität und Kriminalität (Vienna: Erdtracht, 1924) and Wulffen's Sexualspiegel von Kunst und Verbrechen (Dresden: Aretz, 1929). The latter briefly discusses the Lustmord images of Dix and Grosz in relation to Wedekind's Erdgeist (p. 319).

114. Magnus Hirschfeld, The Sexual History of the World War (New York: Cadillac, 1941): 282.

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid. 31.

systematically killed and the animal is aroused."[117] The ultimate sado-erotic impulse excited by combat, he claimed, was murder connected with rape and/or mutilation. With their erotic excitations of brutality and cruelty aroused in the trenches, the soldiers' sexuality was further brutalized by frequent trips to cities like Lille and Brussels, easily accessible from the trenches, which had virtually been turned into brothels for the use of the German army. The regimented barbarism of the trenches was relieved only by the regulated brutality of the army brothels. Such conditions naturally created a deep gender gap between soldiers and civilian women. With the end of the war the brutalized soldier was required to make an immediate transformation; a dramatic unlearning process was necessary. The capacity for empathy and intimacy, dissolved by the war, needed to be rediscovered.[118] Most of the close female relationships Dix and other art student/veterans had immediately after the war in Dresden were with the prostitutes who modeled for them. At the time he painted his Sex Murder Dix was living with Martha Koch, the wife of Dr. Hans Koch [see chapter 2.3] and a woman from

---

117. Ibid. 271, 266.

118. For an important recent study on the transition from combat to civilization see Stephen M. Sonnenberg, Arthur S. Blank and John A. Talbott, eds., The Trauma of War: Stress and Recovery in Vietnam Veterans (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric P, 1985): 50.

the enlightened bourgeoisie.[119] It may be impossible to assess Dix's process of reassimilation in 1922, but he had certainly managed to distance himself in 1922 from his violent themes. While one could easily speak of a cathartic aggression in the 1920 Sex Murderer, the 1922 picture is more objective, more journalistic; like the popular literature which inspired it. Dix's Sex Murder of 1922 depicts not a random crime, but specifically a Jack-the-Ripper-type murder of a prostitute in which the killer remains on the loose and the evidence is to be scrutinized and sensationalized.

In her study of the sex murder images of Dix, Grosz and Schlichter, Lewis emphasized that these images were products of "social anxieties about the [changing] role of women."[120] She made clear the pervasiveness of misogyny in German/European society circa 1920, but ignored the actual motivation for these works. Rather than only stemming from a personal fear of women, these images are the product of a culture that did not perceive such images as anti-female, but as a new genre. The artists' fascination with such kitsch must be taken into account.

A photograph in the Grosz archive in Berlin reveals the playful attitude these artists had towards the sex

---

119. Martha and Otto Dix remained together until the artist's death in 1969.

120. Lewis, "Lustmord" 115.

murder sensationalism [Fig. 44]. Grosz is shown hiding behind a full-size mirror clenching a dagger, grimacing menacingly at a woman (his future wife, Eva Peters) who is admiring her reflection in a hand-held mirror. Grosz reveals a keen knowledge of the popular sex murder iconography: a crazed assassin who will punish a woman guilty of vanity/temptation: a just punishment according to lady-killer tradition.[121]

In Dix's case one must also consider the reputation that he sought to establish for himself, i.e. of an uncompromising, violent -- perhaps psychosexual -- radical artist.[122] Psychology had suddenly become fashionable in Germany after the war, and many artists and writers shared in the fascination in the deranged.[123] Dix at the time was embracing the most offensive images possible. In preparation for the 1922 Sex Murder, Otto Griebel recalled that

---

121. Sex-murder imagery also sold well. Lewis cites a notation in Grosz's accounting ledger: in December 1920 Grosz sent 50 lithographs of his drawing Sex Murder on Ackerstraße (1916-17) to his dealer Hans Goltz; all were sold by the end of February 1922 -- in just over a year. Lewis, "Lustmord," 140 n. 55.

122. Lewis cites an anecdote about Dix having told a friend (Wilhelm Höpfner) that had he not been able to paint these sex murder images he may have been capable of sex murder. [Lewis, "Lustmord" 132.] The source of the anecdote is uncited in Diether Schmidt, Otto Dix in Selbstbildnisse (Berlin [East]: Henschel, 1981): 58. This statement should be taken in the context of Dix's invented self-image.

123. Walter Laquer, Weimar: A Cultural History 1918-1933 (New York: Putnam, 1974): 212.

Dix took him to a hospital morgue to study the corpses of both young and old women.[124]

1.3 *THE OPPOSITION TO THE NOVEMBER GROUP* & SOCIALLY-ENGAGED ART IN BERLIN

Although in its guidelines the *November Group* emphatically declared that it was not merely an exhibiting organization, it may never have been more than just that. Nonetheless, the group represented different things to different artists. For many members it simply represented something that was impossible under the Kaiser: a large group of Expressionists regularly exhibiting together at officially-sanctioned salons. The November revolution, or more accurately, the declaration of the German Republic on November 9, 1918 made this possible for the first time. The *November Group* demanded a voice in the artistic decisions of the new Republic, but ultimately their most important accomplishment was to have procured a place in Berlin's annual salon beginning in 1919. The *November Group* had quickly become one of Germany's major exhibition societies. Already in December 1919 the *November Group* was

---

124. Griebel, 110. Griebel noted that the attendant doctor was interested in their sketches and made some helpful comments. Dix's oil Female Corpses (Löffler 1922/23) was from this session.
Dix's work in the Rhineland will be discussed in section 2.3.

accused of having betrayed the revolution and of representing purely artistic and financial interests.[125]

Otto Dix wrote to his friend Otto Pankok in Dusseldorf during January 1921 that the director of the Great Art Exhibition in Berlin wanted to censor two works by Schlichter and himself from the *November Group* section on "moral grounds" and that the *November Group* leaders had refused to defend them.[126] This lack of support on the part of the *November Group* triggered the reunion of the artists that had been associated with Berlin Dada, now in opposition to the *November Group*.

Georg Scholz wrote to his friend, the director of the Karlsruhe Kunsthalle, Willy Storck on June 15, 1921 that "a few days ago" he had received a letter signed by "Grosz, Hausmann, Dix, etc." stating their intention to form a new group called "die Internationale." The *November Group* had subsequently written to Scholz urging him to remain with the group, he claimed. Scholz rejected the "so-called

---

125. Otto Freundlich, "Absage," Die Erde 1 (December 15, 1919): 686. See Allan Carl Greenberg, "Artists and the Weimar Republic: Dada and the Bauhaus 1917-1925" (dissertation, U Illinois, 1967): 63.
See also Helga Kliemann, Die Novembergruppe (Berlin: Mann, 1969): 76-86; and Long, German Expressionism, 210-11.

126. Letter, Dix to Pankok, January 15, 1921, Otto Pankok Haus, Drevenack. Dix also complained of the situation in three letters to Hausmann from April and May 1921 (Hannah Höch Archiv, Berlinische Galerie).
See also Berlin: Staatliche Kunsthalle, Rudolf Schlichter 1890-1955 (1984): 45a.

abstraction" of the *November Group*, but was also wary of the newly-formed group because it "looks too much like a family."[127] However, because of the lack of support for Scholz's art in Karlsruhe, he felt it necessary that he regularly exhibit in Berlin. He concluded that the best possible solution would have been to leave the *November Group*, but, rather than "the Grosz-Hausmann-Group," to join the *Free Secession*. However, Scholz was not sure his work was compatible with theirs. On June 24 he wrote to his friend and patron Dr. Theodor Kiefer that he had left the *November Group* and joined "a more proletarian-minded group in Berlin." But he was still actively trying to gain admittance into the *Free Secession* (with the help of Stork).[128]

The six former Dadaists (joined by five others) published their "Open Letter to the November Group" in Der Gegner in 1921. It was signed, not by "die Internation-

---

127. "Für mich liegen nun die Verhältnisse so, daß ich mich eventuell zwischen 2 Stühle setze. Die Novembergruppe paßt mir nicht recht wegen ihrer einseitigen Einstellung auf sogenannte abstrakte Malerei, die neuzubildende Gruppe sieht mir zu sehr nach Familie aus." Letter, Scholz to Storck, June 15, 1921, Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe. I am grateful to Dr. Siegmar Holsten for making this and other letters available to me. The letter from Berlin is not preserved in the Georg Scholz Estate in Waldkirch.

128. Letter, Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, June 24, 1921, Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. Stork contacted Karl Hofer, a native of Karlsruhe, to intervene on Scholz's behalf. Hofer, however would have nothing to do with Scholz. Letter, Scholz to Storck, August 4, 1921, Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

ale," but simply by "THE OPPOSITION TO THE NOVEMBERGROUP": Otto Dix, Max Dungert, George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Höch, Ernst Krantz, Franz Mutzenbecher, Thomas Ring, Rudolf Schlichter, Georg Scholz and Willy Zierath.[129] They addressed the first *November Group* circular that called for revolutionary artists to join, noting: "One can scarcely claim that only a change in the forms of painting and sculpture was meant."[130] They accused the leaders of the *November Group* of collusion with the bourgeois academy. "We never had anything in common with the leaders," they claimed:

> Our love belongs to the proletariat, because only the proletariat, through communism, will bring about the equality of the people and all work-values and the freedom from slavery and abuse. We are not artists in order to live in a comfortable and irresponsible manner off of the capitalist exploiter's lust for luxury.[131]

Their stated goal was:

---

129. Der Gegner 2 (8/9 1920/21): 297-301. Reprinted in: Kliemann 61-4; and Uwe Schneede, Die Zwanziger Jahre: Manifeste und Dokumente deutscher Künstler (Cologne: Dumont, 1979): 95-101. Partial translation in Long, German Expressionism, 219-21.

130. "Man wird wohl nicht behaupten können, daß hier nur, wie die Prominenten dies heute auszulegen versuchen, die Veränderung der Formen der Malerei oder Plastik gemeint war." Ibid. 298.

131. "Unsere Liebe gehört dem Proletariat, weil nur das Proletariat im Kommunismus die Gleichwertigkeit aller Menschen und aller Arbeitswerte und die Freiheit von der Sklaverei und Ausbeutung herbeiführen wird. Wir sind nicht dazu Künstler, um auf eine bequeme und verantwortungslose Art zu leben von der Ausbeuter Luxussucht." Ibid. 300.

> to overcome the trade in aesthetic formulas through a new Gegenständlichkeit, which will be born out of the disgust with the exploitative bourgeois society or out of experimentation with ungegenständlich optics, which likewise rejects the aesthetics and society in question in order to discard individuality for the sake of a new human type.

The "new Gegenständlichkeit" that they sought was to be the antithesis of the artistic, the capitalist, the Expressionist. But they now also embraced objectless experiments that sought the same result (meaning Constructivism probably, of which they knew very little).[132] The primary issue was ideological rather than stylistic. What they really wanted was a recommitment to the founding principles of the *November Group*:

> We call on members who understand that today art is a protest against bourgeois sleepwalking and against immortalizing the abuse and spieß individuality. We call on those to join our opposition and to help bring about the necessary purification of the goals. [W]e must be . . . an instrument of the necessity of our time and of the masses, and we refuse any relationship with the aesthetic profiteers and academicians of tomorrow.[133]

---

132. Dungert and Ring were associated with *Der Sturm* gallery, the center of objectless art in Germany. The approval of objectless art was surely influenced by what was known of the official support of Constructivism in the Soviet Union.

133. "Und darum sagen wir den Promanenten: Es muß als Ziel angesehen werden, die ästhetische Formelkrämerei zu überwinden, durch eine neue Gegenständlichkeit, die aus dem Abscheu über die ausbeutende bürgerliche Gesellschaft geboren wird, oder durch vorbereitende Versuche ungegenständlicher Optik, die ebenfalls in Ablehnung dieser

The *November Group*'s response to the "Open Letter," published in Der Gegner in March 1922, reaffirmed that the *November Group* was, and always had been, a union of artistically radical artists.[134]

In January 1922 Grosz, Dix, Hausmann, Ring and Schlichter announced that they had left the *November Group* and its Expressionism and had founded a "Community of Workers."[135] In 1924 these artists came together again with the foundation of the *Red Group*, the dominant union of

---

...Continued...

Ästhetik und Gesellschaft eine Überwindung der Individualität zu Gunsten eines neues Menschentypus sucht. . . . Wir fordern die Mitglieder, die begreifen, daß heute die Kunst Protest gegen den bürgerlichen Schlafwandel und gegen die Verewigung der Ausbeutung und der Spießerindividualität ist, auf, sich unserer Opposition anzuschließen und die notwendige Reinigung der Absichten herbeiführen zu helfen. Wir wissen, daß wir Ausdruck der revolutionären Kräfte, Instrument der Notwendigkeiten unserer Zeit und der Massen zu sein haben und wir leugnen jede Verwandtschaft mit den ästhetischen Schiebern und Akademikern von morgen ab." Ibid. 300-1.
Dix and Scholz were to be "academics of tomorrow." Dungert exhibited with the *November Group* every year except 1921. Kranz and Ring never did. Scholz exhibited with the *November Group* again in 1922. Dix exhibited with them for the last time in 1921. Grosz exhibited with them only in 1929. Hausmann did not exhibit after 1921. Schlichter next exhibited with the November Group in 1928. Höch did not exhibit with them in 1921, but did regularly thereafter until 1926. Mutzenbrecher exhibited again in 1924. Zierath exhibited once more in 1922. See Kliemann, Die Novembergruppe, 50-2.

134. Otto Möller, "Erwiderung," Der Gegner 3 (March 1922): 30. Möller's complete letter is published in Kliemann, Die Novembergruppe 64.

135. "Gemeinschaft der Werktätigen," Sozialistische Monatshefte: Internationale Revue des Sozialismus (January 9, 1922): 66.

German artists with leftist sympathies (until it was superseded by *ASSO* in 1928). Among the goals and strategies stated in their manifesto (June 1924) was the exploitation of non-communist art exhibitions for propagandistic purposes.

German artists with communist sympathies had little guidance during the first years of the Weimar Republic. Die Rote Fahne, the official mouthpiece of the KPD, for example, did not discuss art at all during 1919. The artistic discussion among the radical left which took place outside Die Rote Fahne during 1919 and 1920 focused on theories of art and the proletariat. There was much debate regarding recent essays by Russians like Lunacharsky and Bogdanoff, but there was little knowledge of the actual art in the U.S.S.R.[136] The Kokoschka affair of the spring of

---

136. Lunacharsky's book Die Kulturaufgaben der Arbeiter-Klasse and Alexander Bogdanow's Die Kunst und das Proletariat were both published in Germany during 1919. In March 1919 both Das Kunstblatt and Die Aktion published articles on the official Soviet art reforms that had given progressive artists almost complete control of the art institutions: "Das Kunstprogramm des Kommissariats für Volkaufklärung in Rußland," Das Kunstblatt 3 (March 1919): 91; A. Lunatscharski, "Proletkult," Die Aktion 9 (March 15, 1919). In April an enthusiastic letter from Kandinsky concerning the activities of the state-supported modern artists appeared in Germany ("Kunstfrühling in Rußland," Die Freiheit 2 [April 9, 1919]). David Sterenberg's manifesto "Ein Aufruf der russischen Künstler" was published in three periodicals early in 1919 (Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung 1 [February 1919]: 213-14, Die Pleite 1 [March 1919] and Menschen 2 [March 1919]. Sterenberg was the president of the Soviet Art Board.

1920 only emphasized the ideological disparity of the radical left. Die Rote Fahne only began to offer their consent or dissent of politically-engaged art in 1921.

The two-part review of the Great Berlin Art Exhibition of 1921 by Gertrud Alexander, the regular art critic for Die Rote Fahne, focused on the former Dadaists. The first part was devoted to a discussion of Raoul Hausmann's catalog essay "Guide through the November Group Section." Regardless of his rhetoric, Alexander claimed, Hausmann could not convince the proletariat that this art was revolutionary. The newest art traits, according to Alexander, were "flights from reality, and pain."[137] The second part of the review discussed the works. In the rooms of the *Berlin Secession*, Alexander found only pain, and pain, she pointed out is a product of the Catholic church. She condemned everything in their section for being produced

---

...Continued...

On other contacts between the Russians and Germans at this time see: See Christine Lodder, Russian Constructivism (New Haven: Yale UP, 1983): 48-50, 233-35; and Richard Sheppard, "Dada and Politics," in Dada: Studies of a Movement (Buckinghamshire: Alpha Academia, 1980): 39-74.
The first discussion of the new official Soviet art with illustrations only appeared in April 1920 with the publication of Konstantin Umanski's book Neue Kunst in Rußland 1914-1919 (Munich: Goltz and Kiepenheuer, 1920).
The first opportunity for Germans to see real Russian art came with the arrival of Ivan and Xenia Puni to Berlin in October 1920.

137. "Wirklichkeitsflucht und Schmerz könnte man die Gebärde der modernsten Kunst nennen." G.G.L., "Ausstellungskunst," June 14 and 15, 1921 Manfred Brauneck, ed. Die Rote Fahne: Kritik, Theorie, Feuilleton 1918-1933 (Munich: Fink, 1973): 135.

solely for the market. Among the artists of the *November Group*, Otto Dix and Georg Scholz were singled out for praise. On Dix's paintings Alma [Fig. 39] and Suleika, the Tatooed Wonder (private collection, Italy), Alexander wrote:

> [I]n the repulsive shamelessness and the brutal baseness of their surroundings, in the degradation of their situation, [they are] a formidable indictment of the society in which such pictures are reality.[138]

Dix's Barricade [Fig. 21], on the other hand, failed to depict the face of the proletariat according to Alexander: the faces of his workers read as brutal murderers -- the face of the Free Corps! Georg Scholz's Industry Farmers [Fig. 14] was praised for its clear, legible, positive protest. Thus, in 1921 there was official communist approval for acceptable themes carried out in a clear, legible, naturalistic style.

---

138. "Weiter von Otto Dix-Dresden zwei Dirnen [!] "Alma" und "Suleika" in der abstoßenden Schamlosigkeit und der brutalen Gemeinheit ihrer Umgebung, in der Menschenunwürdigkeit ihrer Situation, eine furchtbare Anklage für die Gesellschaft, in der solche Bilder Wahrheit sind." Ibid. 136.

2. THE RHINELAND

Post-Expressionist developments in the neighboring Rhineland cities of Cologne and Dusseldorf occured independently of each other. The major artists group of the region, *Das Junge Rheinland*, was founded in Dusseldorf in 1919 and, because of the city's unique situation, remained primarily a Dusseldorf group. While Cologne and the other Rhineland cities were placed under allied occupation after the war, Dusseldorf remained a free city. Dusseldorf, home to the regional art academy and situated among the greatest concentration of art collectors in Germany, had always attracted artists from all over the country, whereas Cologne had ceased to be a significant artistic center 400 years earlier. Although neither city had been a center of Expressionism as Munich, Berlin and Dresden had been, both became centers of Post-Expressionism in the early Weimar years.

This chapter will discuss the art and theory of the major Post-Expressionists in Cologne and Dusseldorf between 1919 and 1924. The largest section of this chapter will focus in greater detail on Otto Dix's years in Dusseldorf (1922-25), during which time he became known as the chief representative of Post-Expressionism in Germany.

2.1 COLOGNE

During the war the homes of Käthe and Carl Oskar Jatho in Cologne and the Kalltal region became the centers for a local group of pacifist writers and artists. They arranged small exhibitions (in collaboration with Hans Goltz in Munich) and published the pacifist journal Der Ziegelbrenner. Among the central members of this group were the artist Franz Wilhelm Seiwert, who had been medically exempted from military duty, and Karl Nierendorf, who was to become Otto Dix's dealer/promoter in 1922.[1] In December 1919 Nierendorf founded *The Arts Society* (Die Gesellschaft der Künste) which claimed to represent the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* in the Rhineland. To this, the major socialist artists' group in the Rhineland, belonged the artists Seiwert, Heinrich Hoerle, Max Ernst, Anton Räderscheidt and Otto Freundlich, as well as the art historian Alfred Salmony and the dealers Martha and Hans Koch, all of whom would play leading roles in the development of Post-Expressionist art in the Rhineland. In January 1919 Nierendorf began publishing the group's journal Der Strom through

---

1. On the Ziegelbrenner group and the Kalltal refuge see: Carl Oskar Jatho, Franz W. Seiwert (Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1964); and Max Ernst in Köln: Die rheinische Kunstszene bis 1922 (Kölnischer Kunstverein, 1980): 131-2.

which contacts were made with artists throughout Germany.[2]

Throughout 1919 the city of Cologne was under the strict occupation of the British army which had imposed a state of martial law on the city.[3] The primary objective of the British was to prevent subversive agitation by the communists. Supporters of the Spartikus revolution, like those associated with Der Ziegelbrenner and Der Strom, therefore faced strict censorship by the British.

Disguised as a weekly cultural supplement to a daily paper, some members of the *Arts Society* published the anarcho-socialist newsletter Der Ventilator for six weeks during February and March 1919 before it was banned.[4] Funded by Alfred Grunwald (alias Johannes Theodor Baargeld), it included anonymous essays and prints by Ernst, Hoerle and Seiwert. In Der Ventilator's only essay to discuss Expressionism, the anonymous author (Seiwert?)

---

2. *Die Gesellschaft der Künste*/Der Strom was in close contact with the *Aktivistenbund* in Dusseldorf, Heinrich Maria Davringhausen and Carlo Mense in Munich, Conrad Felixmüller in Dresden, and Wieland Herzfelde and George Grosz in Berlin. Der Strom published Herzfelde's essay "Der Mensch" (number 1, January 1919), a drawing by Grosz (number 4, November 1919), and carried advertisements for Malik-Verlag publications. Regardless of the close contact with Berlin Dada, however, there seems to have been no discussion of Dada in Cologne until the fall of 1919.

3. The Lord Mayor of Cologne, Konrad Adenauer was assured by the British commander that Cologne would be treated just as Belgium had been while under German occupation during the war. See D. G. Williamson, "Cologne and the British 1918-1926," History Today 27 (1977): 695-702.

4. Der Ventilator carried the subtitle: Unterhaltungs-beilage zur Tagespresse.

questioned the revolutionary nature of Expressionism:

> [Expressionism] became a powerful factor in practice through the revolution which began on November 9 and was social-democratically solidified on January 13. . . . Expressionism became Salon-able through the revolution.[5]

The writer continued, "*There is no art* that has nothing to do with politics,"[6] and then questioned the revolutionary claims of the Expressionists. In conclusion, the reader was warned against elitist "swindle" in the guise of art. It was not Expressionism in general that was being rejected here, but its apparent insincerity. Revolutionary art, the writer claimed, is art absolutely for the people. Nonetheless, this appears to have been a very rare denouncement of Expressionism in the Rhineland during the first half of 1919.

Dada came to Cologne upon the return of Max Ernst (1891-1976) and Baargeld from a Bavarian vacation in

---

5. "Er ist, und das hat er mit der Praxis der 9. November losgebrochen und am 13. Januar gesellschaftlich demokratisch gefestigten Revolution gemein, ein Machtfaktor geworden, der es also eigentlich gar nicht mehr nötig hat, revolutionär zu sein. Der Expressionismus ist durch die Revolution salonfähig geworden, wenn auch in beschränktem Mass." Y., "'Revolutionäre' Künstler," Der Ventilator 3 (1919): np.

6. "*Es gibt keine Kunst*, die mit Politik nichts zu tun hat." Ibid.

September 1919.[7] In Munich Ernst had visited Hans Goltz's gallery to see a large Paul Klee exhibition.[8] There he discovered not only the recent whimsical images of Klee, but Dada publications from Zurich and Berlin (which were distributed by Goltz) as well as the first two or three

---

7. Contrary to chronologies of some of Ernst's biographers, Cologne Dada was christened only upon the return of Ernst and Baargeld from Munich in September 1919. In his often-cited biography of Ernst John Russell incorectly claimed that he was an active Dadaist immediately after the war. Max Ernst: Life and Work (New York: Abrams, n.d.): 39-67. Charlotte Stokes has repeated many of the same inconsistencies in regard to Ernst's post-war activities in Cologne in her essay "Dadamax: Ernst in the Context of Cologne Dada" in Stephen C. Foster, ed., Dada/Dimensions (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1985): 113-29. Until very recently only in Cologne has there been an interest in historically reevaluating Cologne Dada. See: the Kölnische Kunstverein exhibition catalogs Vom Dadamax bis zum Grüngürtel (1975); Franz W. Seiwert: Leben und Werk (1978); Max Ernst in Köln (1980); Angelika Hoerle (1981); and Willy Fick: Ein Kölner Maler der zwanziger Jahre wiederentdeckt (1986); The Dada Period in Cologne: Selections from the Fick-Eggert Collection (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1988); Dirk Backes, Heinrich Hoerle 1895-1936: Leben und Werk (Cologne: Rheinland, 1981); Uli Bohnen, Das Gesetz der Welt ist der Änderung der Welt: Die rheinische Gruppe progressiver Künstler (1918-1933) (Berlin: Kramer, 1976): 25-41.
William A. Camfield's exhibition catalog Max Ernst: Dada and the Dawn of Surrealism (Munich: Prestel, 1993) has incorporated and added to the German contribution.

8. As a student at the University of Bonn before the war Ernst had been a member of August Macke's circle. His visit to Munich to see the Klee exhibition, to meet Klee (who had been a close friend of Macke's before the war), and to borrow works to exhibit in Cologne, must be seen as an act of reverence for Expressionism and a prominent Expressionist on Ernst's part. Ernst's own work at the time revealed a strong influence by Marc Chagall. See his paintings Hat in Hand, Hat on Head, 1913 (private collection, England), City with Animals, and Life at Home, 1919 (both Jewish Museum, Prague). On Ernst's involvement with Rhenish Expressionism see: Max Ernst in Köln; and Die Rheinischen Expressionisten: August Macke und seine Malerfreunde (Bonn: Städtisches Kunstmuseum, 1979): 139-66.

editions of Valori Plastici.[9]

Upon his return to Cologne, Ernst's art and attitude revealed an immediate and dramatic transformation. Two prints in his well-known series of lithographs Fiat modes, pereat ars (which he later described as an homage to de Chirico[10]) carry the signature "dadamax," and one of these prints [Fig. 45] carries the Dadaistic phrase: "hands off the holy art" ["finger weg von der hl. cunst"]. Ernst's first anti-Expressionist essay, "On Cézanne" appeared in the first Cologne Dada publication, the catalog Bulletin D of November 1919:

> Everyone loves everyone's Cézanne and rolls his eyes: 'This paaynting! Ooo this paaynting!' Je m'en fou de Cézanne because he is an enormous piece of painting. Everyone also loves everyone's Expressionists, but he turns away in disgust from the gifted drawings in pissoirs. The most perfect sculpture, on the other hand, is the piano hammer.

---

9. According to Paul Klee's notes Ernst came to his studio on September 19, 1919. Max Ernst in Köln, 126. It has been mentioned on several occasions that in Munich Ernst also met Hugo Ball. Actually, Ball was living in Berne at the time. A letter written by Ball and dated during the third week of September 1919 states Berne as its place of origin. Ernst Teubner, ed., Hugo Ball (1886-1986): Leben und Werk (Berlin: Publica, 1986): 184.

10. Max Ernst in Köln, 33, 126. Ernst was employed at a printing shop in October 1919. It was there that these prints were produced with the financial backing of municipal unemployment insurance.

dada.[11]

Ernst also immediately embraced the imagery of de Chirico and Carrà. Although his debt to de Chirico has been noted frequently, only once has the issue of his initial exposure to Valori Plastici been discussed in any detail.[12] The pose of the figure, the high horizon and the dashed lines of the "hands off" lithograph of Fiat modes correspond closely to de Chirico's painting The Seer [Fig. 46] (considering the drawing as it appeared on the stone).[13] It is remarkable just how many iconographic elements Ernst borrowed from de Chirico and Carrà in these eight prints.[14]

---

11. "Jedermann liebt jedermanns Cézanne u. rollt Augen: 'Diese Pänthür! Ooo diese Pänthüüüre!' Je m'en fou de Cézanne, denn er ist ein enormes Stück Malerei. Jedermann liebt auch jedermanns Expressionisten, aber er wendet sich mit Abscheu weg von den genialen Zeichnungen in Pissoirs. Die vollkommenste Plastik hingegen ist der Klavierhammer. dada." Max Ernst, "Über Cézanne" Bulletin D (1919), republished in Vom Dadamax bis zum Grüngürtel (Kölnische Kunstverein, 1975): n.p.
Ernst's statement was followed by Heinrich Hoerle's parodic poem "Expressionismus?"

12. Helmut R. Leppien, "Ein Besuch bei Goltz und die Folgen," in Max Ernst in Köln, 126-130.

13. The Seer had been unpublished. However, Richard Huelsenbeck had received a photograph of The Seer from Tristan Tzara for publication in the planned anthology Dadaco in 1919. Ernst had had contact with the Berlin Dada group through *The Arts Society* and Der Strom.
Ernst had actually met Grosz and Herzfelde in Berlin in 1916 when he exhibited at *Der Sturm* gallery. See Monika Steinhauser, Max Ernst-Dadamax (Munich: Piper, 1979): 27.

14. For further discussion see Leppien, "Ein Besuch bei Goltz."

The small canvas Aquis Submersus [Fig. 47] of late 1919 may have been Ernst's first oil painting after his discovery of Valori Plastici. It was based on Theodor Storm's novel Aquis Submersus (which was republished in installments in the Rheinische Zeitung during the fall of 1919) which concludes with the drowning of an illegitimate child while the mother meets clandestinely with the natural father (who happened to be an artist).[15] Like the Berlin Dadaists, Ernst created a clearly definable image based on de Chirico's use of space. The father figure is a vertical mass unarticulated except for his Kaiser-like moustache. Regardless of the abstract nature of the humanoid forms, they are clearly defined and cast prominent shadows.[16]

The mechanical collages that Ernst began to produce at the end of 1919 were also inspired in part by the pictorial flexibility of objects he had seen in Valori Plastici. (He had also discovered the mechanical drawings of Picabia in

---

15. It is easy to understand why such a story would have found pictorial form with Ernst, who had been rebelling against his own father since his youth, and who had been reading Freud since his studies at the University of Bonn before the war. On Ernst's study of Freud see Elizabeth M. Legge, Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989): chapter 1. For psychoanalytic interpretations of Aquis Submersus see: Legge, Max Ernst, 31-6; and Laura L. Meixner, "Max Ernst's Aquis Submersus as Literary Collage," Arts Magazine 61 (November 1986): 80-5.

16. Legge has pointed out the thematic similarity between Aquis Submersus and Ernst's Expressionist paintings of the first-half of 1919 like Life at Home and The Family Outing which also deal with "something amiss in the family and society." Max Ernst, 31.

his journal 391 at Goltz's.) By 1920 Ernst had abandoned the distortions and abstractions of Expressionism in favor of clear, representational forms -- regardless of their irrational combinations.

Other members of the *Arts Society* at first shared Ernst's enthusiasm for Dada: Heinrich Hoerle (1895-1936), his wife Angelika Hoerle (1899-1922), Seiwert (1894-1933), Otto Freundlich and Anton Räderscheidt. The Hoerles' apartment became the base of Cologne Dada -- the *Dadaheim*. Because Nierendorf and other members of the Society did not approve of the apparent frivolity of Dada, the first action of the Cologne Dada group was to create a split within the *Arts Society*. For the *Arts Society* exhibition at the Cologne Art Association (Kunstverein) in November 1919 the Dadaists prepared to exhibit in their own rooms. They also printed their own catalog, Bulletin D, which declaimed the Expressionism of the *Arts Society*. By the time the exhibition opened, however, Seiwert, Freundlich, Räderscheidt and the Hoerles had chosen not to exhibit with Ernst and Baargeld. Seiwert, who now dismissed Dada as "bourgeois art business" [bürgerlicher Kunstbetrieb], apparently spoke for the ex-Dadaists.[17] The Hoerles, however, seem to have

---

17. Bohnen, Das Gesetz der Welt, 35. See also Hans Schmitt-Rost, Heinrich Hoerle (Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1965): 12-13. Among the Klees, Campendonks and Nauens of the *Arts Society* section were also works by Grosz, Davringhausen and Mense.
In the monographs on Ernst, the details regarding the first

moved easily between the Dada of Ernst and the political-activism of Seiwert until the spring of 1920.[18]

Hoerle's major work of 1918-19, his set of twelve lithographs, The Cripples Portfolio [Die Krüppelmappe], was produced between the fall of 1918 and November 1919. The individual prints reveal a clearly discernible stylistic development from a decorative, *Jugendstil*, handling [Fig. 48] to a stark linear style [Fig. 49].[19] (The latter style may reveal Hoerle's exposure to the contemporary graphic works of George Grosz during 1919.) The tone of the prints also varies from the black humor of a limbless veteran staring astonished at the sight of hands and feet sprouting from flowerpots, to the anguish of a (symbolically) castrated veteran and his wife who embraces him. The

---

...Continued...

Cologne Dada exhibition are always obscure and often imprecise. See for example the most recent monograph: Werner Spies, ed., Max Ernst: A Retrospective (Munich: Prestel, 1991): 292.

18. The Rheinische Zeitung reported on the *Dadaheim* on February 19, 1920 and identified Heinrich Hoerle as the "Fürst der Dada-Dilettanten." Willy Fick, 27, 35. The Cologne Dadaists always played up the fact that they were untrained artists.

19. Although it is usually dated 1919-20, the January 1919 issue of Der Strom (number 1) advertised it as a set of seven lithographs, and the complete set of twelve was advertised in the November 1919 issue (number 4). It was exhibited at the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Cologne in January 1920. Two prints were illustrated in Die Aktion in 1920 (numbers 439 and 442). Like Ernst's Fiat modes, Die Krüppelmappe was financed with municipal unemployment funds. The complete set is reproduced in Backes, Hoerle, 210-11.

earlier, more decorative works tend to be humorous, while the later are more somber in mood. In a statement published in the communist Sozialistische Republik in conjunction with the exhibition of Hoerle's Krüppelmappe at Cologne's Museum of Applied Arts in January 1920 Franz Wilhelm Seiwert wrote:

> Do you see the unfortunate ones, your brothers, who can no longer live -- yet who are not entirely dead either -- and now stand in the streets as memorials to your fault?[20]

Seiwert put a political twist on Hoerle's set of prints that was not intended in the early prints. Although Seiwert and Hoerle were to work very closely until their premature deaths in the 1930s, Hoerle's work of the early 1920s fluctuated between proto-Surrealist dream images like Picture with Peach [Fig. 50] and socio-critical images which were closely related stylistically and theoretically to Seiwert [Fig. 51].

The Hoerles collaborated on Die Schammade, the only international Dada publication to be produced in Cologne (which was printed at the *Dadaheim* in early April 1920[21]),

---

20. "Sieht ihr die Armen, eure Brüder, die nicht mehr leben können, aber auch nicht ganz tot sind und nun als Denkmäler eurer Schuld in den Straßen stehen?" Franz Wilhelm Seiwet, "Krupp-Krüppel" Sozialistische Republik (January 1, 1920). Republished in Wem gehört die Welt? Kunst und Gesellschaft in der Weimarer Republik (Berlin (E): Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst, 1977): 211.

21. See Dirk Backes, Heinrich Hoerle: Leben und Werk (Cologne: Rheinland, 1981): 26; and Max Ernst in Köln, 138.

but this seems to have been their final participation with Dada. The "Dadavorfrühling" installation at the Brauhaus Winter in Cologne in April 1920, which was the climax of Dada in Cologne, was the work of Ernst and Baargeld (with only small contributions from Hans Arp, Francis Picabia and Wilhelm Fick).[22] In June, Ernst and Baargeld alone represented Cologne at the International Dada Fair in Berlin.

During the summer of 1919 the Hoerles, Seiwert, Fick, Räderscheidt, Marta Hegemann and Gottfried Brockmann called their own group *Stupid*.[23] According to Brockmann, who was Hoerle's assistant in the early 1920s, Hoerle had now come to find Dada a "completely antiquated bourgeois cabaret."[24] This final split with Ernst and Baargeld coincided with the violent suppression of the Spartikus uprising in the Ruhr by the Free Corps. Seiwert, the major public spokesman of the group, had recently made contact with Franz Pfemfert and Marxist circles in Berlin.[25]

---

22. Ernst's group called itself *Dada W/3*, meaning the West Stupidia (i.e. Germany) 3: Ernst Baargeld and Arp. In Die Schammade the group, with the inclusion of the Hoerles, was called *Dada W/5*.

23. Their pamphlet Stupid accompanied their first group exhibition at Räderscheidt's studio in November 1920.

24. "[V]öllig überholtes bürgerliches Kabarett." Quoted in Backes, Hoerle, 27.

25. See Uli Bohnen, Das Gesetz der Welt ist die Änderung der Welt: Die rheinische Gruppe progressiver Künstler 1918-1933 (Berlin: Kramer, 1976): 39-41. Seiwert's published five essays in Die Aktion during 1920: "Tuet Bekenntnis/ Fordert Bekenntnis" (number 7/8), "Das Loch in Rubens

Seiwert discussed the principles of the new group in a letter to Pol Michels, a friend from the Kalltal:

> We want to do simple work beyond trendy spirituality. Since we are simply artists and sculptors, we will begin with ourselves [and our own experiences]. With the materials at our disposal we are attempting to be so clear that everyone will be able to understand us.[26]

Seiwert's desire for universal comprehensibility is similar to the goals stated in George Grosz's essay "On My New Paintings" (which was written several months later). Seiwert went on to raise another issue that was in sympathy with Grosz and the Post-Dadaists in Berlin: "We have turned away from all individualistic anarchy. . . . We know that personal destiny and personal experience are worthless as sources for art."[27] And, perhaps also in accord with the Berlin Post-Dadaists, Seiwert concluded:

...Continued...

Schinken" (number 29/30), "Worum handelt es sich?" (number 37/38), "Es kommt auf das Fundament an" (Heft 43/44), and "Aufbau der proletarischen Kultur" (Heft 51/52). The latter criticized Anotoly Lunacharsky's essay "Die Kulturaufgaben der Arbeiterklasse" Die Aktion 9 (Heft 10/11) for his fascination with technology.

26. "Wir wollen jenseits von aller schwatzhaften Geistigkeit einfache Arbeit tun. Da wir nur Maler, Plastiker sind, fangen wir bei uns, fangen wir dort, wo uns ein nicht zufälliges Geschehen einsetzte, an. Wir versuchen innerhalb der uns gegebenen Form, des Bildes, der Plastik, so eindeutig zu werden, daß jeder uns verstehen kann." Letter, Seiwert to Pol Michels, reprinted in Franz W. Seiwert: Leben und Werk, 79; and Willy Fick, 36-8.

27. "Wir haben uns abgekehrt allem individualistischen Anarchismus. . . . Wir wissen, daß das Einzelschicksal, das Einzelerlebnis zu wertlos ist, als daß es sich lohnte es zum Werk zu steigern." Ibid.

> [W]e reject the supposed anti-bourgeois dadaist buffoonery which only served to amuse the bourgeoisie because our concern is not with the bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie, but rather with the working spirit of the masses.[28]

Hoerle's Begging Warcripple of 1921 [Fig. 51] is representative of their attempts to establish a depersonalized group style with a clear political agenda while still embracing certain international stylistic currents like *De Stijl* and pittura metafisica (see de Chirico's Disquieting Muses [Fig. 52]). Similar to Grosz and Scholz's practice of signing their work with rubber stamps, Hoerle depersonalized his own signature to a standardized "h". In his oil painting Factory Worker of 1922 [Fig. 53] the worker is depicted as spiritually maimed as the soldier was physically. The worker's head registers "0". His prosthetics relate to the technology of the factory; his hooked hands may actually be more suitable for this factory than his fingered hands had been. For Hoerle the worker and war cripple became synonymous.

Seiwert's paintings of the early twenties represent a unique attempt to reconcile political imagery with contem-

---

28. "[L]ehnen wir die zur Ergötzung des Bürgers vollführte, angeblich antibürgerliche, dadaistische Harlekinade ab, weil wir nicht den Bankrott des Bürgertums sondern den Schaffenswillen der Masse sichtbar zu machen haben." Ibid.

porary theories of abstraction like *De Stijl* and Constructivism (by 1922 he was in contact with Theo van Doesburg, Lazlo Moholy-Nagy, Hans Richter and El Lissitzky). However, Seiwert supported no political party and embraced no one else's art theory. In an essay written in 1923 titled "Art and the Proletariat" he rejected the cultural theories of most Marxists declaring:

> There is no such thing as proletarian art. Because art is the expression of a culture, it is the intensification of a feeling of life which has become visible. And the proletariat has no culture. . . . The proletariat will never have a culture of its own because the concept of proletariat is inseparably tied to the concept of profit economy.

Similarly, he rejected the Constructivists' attempts to mandate a proletarian art:

> The Constructivists are mistaken when they believe that today they can draw a system of communist work regulations in their pictures. . . . The only thing that we can do at present is to put clarity into ourselves and our relationships, and give this clarity expression in our work through the medium.[29]

---

29. "Proletariat Kunst gibt es nicht. Denn die Kunst ist die Äußerung einer Kultur, ist die sichtbargewordene Steigerung eines Lebensgefühls. Und das Proletariat hat keine Kultur. . . . Das Proletariat wird nie eine eigene Kultur haben, denn der Begriff des Proletariats ist mit dem Begriff der Profitwirtschaft untrennbar verbunden . . . (und es gibt keine andere als bürgerliche Intellektuelle). . . . Die Konstruktivisten sind im Irrtum, wenn sie glauben, heute eine Organization kommunistischer Arbeitsregelung in ihren Bildern aufzeichnen zu können. . . . Das Einzigste, was wir tun können ist zunächst Klarheit

Seiwert and Hoerle were the major opponents of easel painting in Germany, but there were very few commissions for murals. Nonetheless, their works always seem to have been designed as murals. Seiwert's oil painting The Workman II of 1922 [Fig. 54] employs almost standard early-Weimar proletariat iconography: a prominent worker placed before a smoking industrial complex. The major difference between Seiwert's image and all others of the genre from this period is that his worker is smiling. (This came two years before the KPD called for more positive images of the proletariat.[30]) Seiwert's proletariat images are often related to medieval Christian imagery which he accepted as a foundation for his a new universal art.[31]

Around 1924 Seiwert and Hoerle came to call their

...Continued...

hineinzubringen in uns und unsere Beziehungen und dieser Klarheit in unserem Werk Ausdruck zu geben mit den Mitteln des Werks."
Franz Wilhelm Seiwert, "Die Kunst und das Proletariat" Die Tat 5 (1923/24). Republished in Von Dadamax bis zum Grüngürtel, 91-2.

30. See Diether Schmidt, ed., Manifeste Manifeste 1905-1933, vol. 1 (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1965): 28-29.

31. Seiwert's biographer Uli Bohnen has written, "[J]ust as Christian art pins its hope for salvation on the figure of Jesus, Seiwert connected the dream of social liberation to the existence of the worker. "Uli Bohnen,"Conservatism and Modernity: Drawing in Cologne during the Twenties" in German Realist Drawings of the Twenties (Cambridge: Busch-Reisinger Museum, 1986): 55.

group *The Progressives*.[32] Although they published no formal group program, they were in sympathy with the Russian revolution while rejecting its centralization. Their desire was for a humanistic Marxism. In regard to this study, their most important contribution was their rejection of both the formalism and pathos of Late Expressionism and the frivolity of Dada in favor of a new clarity of form and purpose.

Anton Räderscheidt (1892-1970) had studied at the Dusseldorf academy before being called for military duty in 1914, and returned there after his release on a medical discharge in 1917. In the fall of 1917 he took a position as a drawing instructor at a Gymnasium in Cologne. Immediately after the war he met Ernst, Hoerle and Seiwert and soon quit his job. In the spring of 1919 he worked closely with the Hoerles and Seiwert. Their major group project of this period, under Hoerle's direction, was the series of Expressionist-style woodcuts of martyred revolutionary leaders, Lebendige, which included prints of: Rosa Luxembourg (by Räderscheidt) [Fig. 55], Karl Liebknecht and Gustav Landauer (Seiwert), Jean Jaurès and Eugen Leviné

---

32. In 1929 Seiwert and Hoerle officially founded the *Gruppe Progressive Künstler* and began to publish their journal a bis z (1929-33).

(Angelika Hoerle), and Kurt Eisner (Peter Abelen).[33]

Räderscheidt recalled having been enthusiastic about Valori Plastici upon Max Ernst's return from Munich,[34] and its influence would soon be apparent in his work. During 1920 Räderscheidt abandoned the geometric figuration which he had developed while working closely with Hoerle and Seiwert and created the first of his "Lonely Couple" paintings.[35] His painting Encounter of 1921 [Fig. 56] represents the meeting of a well-dressed man and woman on an empty -- incredibly bleak -- street of tenements. The woman's face tells us only that this is not a happy encounter. The man's pose is one of complete resignation. Although seen from behind, he seems to stare straight ahead, avoiding the woman's gaze. The positions of the man and woman are reversed in Young Couple of 1922 [Fig. 57], but a similarly tense moment is depicted; when words seem

---

33. According to Räderscheidt's biographer Horst Richter, Hoerle was calling for stylistic unity already at this time. Anton Räderscheidt (Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1972): 12. This set of prints is reproduced in Stephanie Barron, ed., German Expressionism 1915-1925 (Munich: Prestel, 1988): 144.

34. Richter, Räderscheidt, 14. He recalled having had the first two numbers of Valori Plastici.

35. It is difficult to evaluate Räderscheidt's early development because all but a few of his works were supposedly destroyed when his Cologne studio was bombed during World War II. A number of early works, however, have recently appeared in German galleries. On the controversy surrounding Räderscheidt's work see "Anhaltendes Beben um Maler Räderscheidt" Der Spiegel 28 (1985): 134-36.

to be useless. An enormous psychological gulf appears. Girlfriends of 1923 [Fig. 58] depicts the same situation, but with a lesbian couple. The standing naked figure stares at the top of the chair in which her lover is seated. The seated figure stares uncomfortably out a window. Here is a modern twist to an old theme; rather than an erotic lesbian image, Räderscheidt depicted a psychologically-charged personal moment.

Räderscheidt soon distanced himself from the politically-committed Hoerle-Seiwert group and was never a member of *The Progressives*. He received little local attention and no national attention until Hartlaub's exhibition and the appearance of Franz Roh's book in 1925. Thereafter, he found a dealer and a broad clientele in Cologne.

During 1920-21 Max Ernst primarily experimented with collage in various media and imagery, and produced few oil paintings. One painting of this period, The Elephant from Celebes of 1921 [Fig. 59] reveals Ernst's continued dialogue with Pittura Metafisica. Here Ernst seems to have discarded all traces of Expressionist forms.[36] While his art has on a few occasions been discussed in the context of post-war Cologne, it has never been discussed in the con-

---

36. The "elephant" is based on an illustration of a Sudanese corn bin which Ernst found in an English anthropological journal. See Roland Penrose, Max Ernst's Celebes, (University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1972).

text of German Post-Expressionism.

Ernst received little recognition in Cologne; his exhibition at the Cologne Art Association in October 1920 was poorly received.[37] Since the beginning of 1920 he had been in correspondence with Tristan Tzara in Paris and was trying to get invited into the *Section d'Or* exhibitions.[38] At the same time he made important contacts with Paul Eluard in Paris and the Johanna Ey group in Dusseldorf, where he found far more sympathy than in Cologne. Ey began to buy and exhibit his paintings, and Eluard planned to exhibit his collages in Paris.[39]

After his move to Paris in 1922 Ernst maintained his ties with Ey who remained his major dealer until the late twenties.[40] His influence began to be felt in the Rhineland in the mid-twenties and by 1929 the art critic Gerth Schreiner could write of an "Ernst school" in the Rhineland.[41] Although it has usually not been acknowledged, the "Surrealism" that Ernst brought to Paris in 1922 was, in

---

37. See Max Ernst in Köln, 35, 131-47.

38. Ernst's letters to Tzara are published in the catalog Max Ernst (Paris: Grand Palais, 1975): 36-40.

39. This exhibition took place at the Galerie Au Sans pareil in May-June 1921.

40. In 1924 Johanna Ey bought all the works by Ernst in her possession to finance his trip to Indochina. See Johanna Ey und ihr Künstlerkreis (Dusseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, 1984): 42.

41. Gerth Schreiner, "Max Ernst," Das Kunstblatt 14 (April 1929): 114.

fact, an aspect of German Post-Expressionism.

2.2 DUSSELDORF

The general feeling of provincial inferiority among Dusseldorf's artists around 1918 has recently been discussed by Friedrich Heckmann and Ulrich Krempel.[42] At the annual Great Art Exhibition in Dusseldorf, for example, Rhineland artists were regularly poorly represented in comparison to Prussian artists; and when Berlin's Great Art Exhibition was temporarily relocated to Dusseldorf in 1918 local artists were virtually absent. It was in response to this situation that the *Junge Rheinland* movement developed, first with the January 1918 exhibition of contemporary Rhenish art under the title "Das junge Rheinland" at the Cologne Art Association,[43] and then in February 1919 with

---

42. Friedrich Heckmann, "*Das Junge Rheinland* in Dusseldorf 1919-1929: The Summit of Mount Expressionism: A Beginning before the End" in Stephanie Barron, ed., German Expressionism 1915-1925 The Second Generation (Munich: Prestel, 1988): 82-3; Ulrich Krempel, ed., "Am Anfang: Das Junge Rheinland" in Das Junge Rheinland: Eine Friedensidee (Dusseldorf: Classen, 1988): 10-11.

43. The exhibition was organized by Walter Cohen, the director of the Kunstverein. It was intended to carry on the Rhineland's dialogue with modern art which had begun with the international *Sonderbund* exhibition (held in Dusseldorf) in 1912. Cohen had been one of the organizers of the *Sonderbund* exhibition. He and his two brothers had been major proponents of Expressionism in Dusseldorf from the beginning.
The central figure in Cohen's show was August Macke, who had been one of the first victims of the war. Among the

the foundation of the artists group *Das Junge Rheinland*. The founders' intentions were to arrange exhibitions and to make contact with artists' organizations throughout Germany in order to take part in their exhibitions -- in short, to put the Rhineland and Rhenish artists on Germany's cultural map for the first time since unification. One hundred thirteen artists were represented in the first group exhibition at the Dusseldorf Kunsthalle in the summer of 1919. The exhibition and its catalog lacked the *November Group*'s initial revolutionary rhetoric as well as its universal embrace of Expressionism. Unlike the *November Group*, *Das Junge Rheinland* claimed at the outset to be no more than an exhibition group. The result was a hodge-podge of styles and intentions. Dusseldorf and *Das Junge Rheinland* lacked both an artistic center and a personality that could attract national attention. Then, at the end of 1919 the coffee shop of Johanna Ey was discovered by the Berliner Gert Wollheim.

Soon after their arrival in Dusseldorf, Wollheim and Otto Pankok established Ey's coffee shop as a center of

---

...Continued...

seventeen artists included were: Heinrich Nauen, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Paul Seehaus, Heinrich Campendonk and Max Ernst.

operations.[44] The coffee shop became the most important alternative exhibition space in the Rhineland. By the end of 1920 it carried a new name: "Neue Kunst Frau Ey" and crowds, often hostile, began to gather in front of her shop.[45]

Otto Pankok (1893-1966) and Gert Wollheim (1894-1974) had studied together at the Weimar academy prior to being called for military duty in 1914. Both were medically discharged from the army in 1917, Wollheim having received a serious abdominal wound and Pankok having been buried alive in an exploded trench. They rediscovered each other in Berlin at the end of the war and, together with the artists Ulfert Lücken and Hermann Hundt, set off to establish an artists' colony in the town of Remels in Ostfriesland.[46] None of the four had been involved with Expres-

---

44. Before the war Johanna Ey's coffee shop, situated near the Dusseldorf art academy, had become a popular meeting place for art students whose paintings she would display in her window. While a student at the Dusseldorf academy in 1912 Otto Pankok had been a regular at Ey's.

45. On the foundation of Johanna Ey's "gallery" see: Johanna Ey, "Das rote Malkästle," Das Kunstblatt 14 (January 1930): 79-80; Johanna Ey und ihr Künstlerkreis (Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, 1984); Anna Klapheck, Johanna Ey: Eine Düsseldorfer Kunstszene (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1978); and Heinrich Böll, "Mutter Ey: Versuch eines Denkmals in Worten," in Aufsätze, Kritiken, Reden (Cologne/Berlin: Kiepenhauer und Witsch, 1967): 55-83.

46. While in Berlin Wollheim had contact with both the *Novembergruppe* and the *Arbeitsrat* through his friend the publisher Stephen List. Gert H. Wollheim 1894-1974: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Dokumente (Düsseldorf: Stadtmuseum,

sionism or Expressionists until the latter part of the war, but in Remels they worked closely in their newly adopted Expressionist styles, primarily with woodcuts. Wollheim seems to have produced the only major oil paintings among the Remels group, in particular a triptych of which only the central panel exists today, The Wounded Man [Fig. 60].[47] Stylistically this painting is quite different than his graphic works of the early Weimar years.[48] Like most of his oil paintings of the period, Wollheim's Wounded Man is representative of his war-time style. Between 1914 and 1917 he produced a series of monumental Michelangesque drawings of soldiers in battle and at rest. After his own injury his imagery began to focus on the personal agony and exhaustion of the war, but in a similar style [Figs. 61 & 62]. Unlike the universal images of the suffering of mankind that were popular during the Late Expressionist period, Wollheim's Wounded Man is a self-portrayal of his own war experience. In 1919 Gustav Hartlaub observed that Expressionism had thus far been unable to invent a contem-

...Continued...

1984): 18. There has been no discussion regarding Pankok and Wollheim's activities during the revolution, but they seem to have left Berlin around Easter 1919, after the squashing of the revolution in Berlin.

47. The wings depicted individual dead and dying figures. For a reconstruction of the triptych see: Gert H. Wollheim 1894-1974, 54-5. The wings are believed to have been destroyed in Remels in 1945.

48. In fact, Wollheim was praised for his stylistic plurality/versatility. Paul Westheim, "Wollheim," Das Kunstblatt 10 (October 1926): 289-95.

porary iconography comparable to traditional Christian imagery.[49] In his own experience Wollheim found an image emotionally comparable to a crucifixion or a St. Sebastian. It is important to note that Wollheim relied not on modernist formal distortions, but on Late Gothic sources (Grünewald and Multscher, for example) to achieve this forceful image, just as Max Beckmann had in his religious themes of 1917.[50]

The Remels group had been kept informed of activities in the Rhineland through Hundt who was a native of Dusseldorf. Around the end of October 1919 Wollheim and Pankok followed Hundt back to Dusseldorf where they immediately became active in the city's artistic activities. They became central figures in the radical *Activist League*[51] and Wollheim edited the three numbers of The Book

---

49. G. F. Hartlaub, Kunst und Religion (Leipzig: Wolff, 1919): 103. Hartlaub warned: "Wer heute schon das religiöse Kunstwerk gleichsam vorwegnehmen will, sei sich der ungeheuren Veerantwortung bewußt!"

50. Wollheim claimed that his first and decisive experience with art was seeing reproductions of the Isenheim Altarpiece: "Unter dem Kreuz des Mathias hab ich als Kind die Kunst gefunden." Mona Wollheim, Gert H. Wollheim: Gedanke und Werk (Munich: Thieming, 1977): 14.

51. The artist Gerd Arntz (a central member of *The Progressives*) recalled that with the *Aktivistenbund 1919*, "alles was 'links' war zusammenkam: Schriftsteller, Journalisten, Schauspieler, Maler und übrige Intelligenz, nicht zu vergessen die Rechtsanwälte der linken Parteien." Johanna Ey und ihr Künstlerkreis, 26. At the center of this group, which linked the Stupid group in Cologne to the

of the Activist League 1919 in 1920.[52]

Wollheim's canvas The Condemned Man [Fig. 63], painted in Dusseldorf in 1921, is as forceful an image as The Wounded Man, and similarly autobiographical. In 1917 Wollheim was ordered to witness the execution of a Belgian farmer who was heard uttering the word *boche* as German soldiers plundered his house.[53] Though the expressive drama of the earlier painting is now entirely subdued, The Condemned Man is no less powerful. From Ey's shop Wollheim published the three numbers of the journal Das Ey, the most radical art journal (both politically and artistically) to be published in the Rhineland in 1920. Its attack was focused primarily on the academy, the Galerie Flechtheim and the more moderate elements of *Das Junge Rheinland*. Unlike the artists associated with Dada, however, Das Ey

---

...Continued...

Johanna Ey group, was the chemist/photographer Erwin Quedenfeld.

52. Wollheim initially attracted the interest of Alfred Flechtheim, owner the most successful "blue chip" gallery in Germany and the only gallery in Dusseldorf, who paid the freight charges to have Wollheim's Wounded Man shipped from Remels. Upon seeing it, however, he refused to exhibit it. Instead it was submitted for an exhibition to benefit war victims at the Dusseldorf Kunsthalle, but rejected. According to Ey, the large panel (156 x 178") was then stored in the basement of the museum while Wollheim tried to *give* it away. He offered it to Ey under the condition that she hang it over her bed, which she reluctantly agreed to do. Ey, "Das rote Malkästle," 79; Mona Wollheim, Gert H. Wollheim: Gedanke und Werk (Munich: Thieming, 1977): 18; Gert H. Wollheim: Die Wilden Jahre 1919-1925 (Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmels und Barth, 1984): 18-22.

53. Gert Wollheim 1894-1974, 17.

never condemned Expressionism directly, but rather focused its attack against the comfortable Rhineland bourgeois tradition. In 1920 Das Ey made contact with Max Ernst in Cologne and Otto Dix in Dresden, two artists with only limited local reputations, yet who Pankok and Wollheim believed represented a new vitality in German art. Above all, Das Ey sought to pump new life into the Rhineland.

Wollheim and the Mutter Ey group usurped the leadership role of *Das Junge Rheinland* in 1921 and began publishing their journal Das Junge Rheinland in October of that year.[54]

The Johanna Ey group, the central figures of which were portrayed in Arthur Kaufmann's painting Contemporaries in 1925 [Fig. 64], began to dissolve in 1924 due to internal conflicts. In 1925 Dix, the most famous member of the group, and Wollheim, its spokesman and driving force, both moved to Berlin. Wollheim's painting Departure from Dusseldorf of 1924 commemorates his departure [Fig. 65]: the fashionably-dressed women of Dusseldorf swoon as Wollheim (in top-hat and tails) departs. Like Dix, Wollheim had by this time seriously adopted the painting techniques of the old masters -- down to pulverizing and

---

54. Other members of the group ca. 1923 included Arthur Kaufmann and Adolf Uzarski, the founders of *Das Junge Rheinland*, Theo Champion, Carl Schwesig, Walter Ophey, Adalbert Trillhaase. Räderscheidt, Marta Hegemann and *The Progressiven* in Cologne also exhibited at *Neue Kunst Frau Ey* at this time.

mixing his own pigments -- as described by Max Doerner in his book Malmaterial und seine Verwendung im Bilde (The Materials of the Artist and their Use in Painting) which was first published in 1921.[55] Doerner, a professor at the Munich academy, offered a clearly detailed instruction manual on the techniques of various old masters. It quickly became a standard text for artists and students. Few, if any, academies could previously have taught exactly *how* Grünewald, for instance, painted. Doerner offered a new access to Late Gothic art. Wollheim also quoted Grünewald's Isenheim Altarpiece in several passages.

2.3 DIX AND THE RHINELAND 1921-1925

As extensive as the literature on Otto Dix is, the details regarding the establishment of his reputation have received relatively little attention.[56] This section will

---

55. After his move to New York in 1947 Wollheim searched the city diligently and successfully for both a German copy of Doerner's book and a supplier of unmixed pigments. Conversation with Mona Wollheim, the artist's widow, June 22, 1992. Wollheim worked in the old master/Doerner technique until his death in 1974.

56. Studies on Dix are often plagued by inaccuracies and inconsistencies. The most important major study to date remains Otto Conzelmann, Der andere Dix: Sein Bild vom Menschen und vom Krieg (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1983) which concentrates on Dix's Nietzschean approach toward his war experience. But even this study, like most monographs, is somewhat compromised by the author's personal veneration for the artist. The most important studies to concentrate on Dix's Dusseldorf period are: Otto Dix und die Düssel-

deal with the most crucial period in the career of the most important representative of Post-Expressionism.

Although much has been written of Dix's connection with Dusseldorf, the financial importance of this contact has always been understated. Aside from two or three important collectors, Dresden had no art market to speak of in 1920, whereas dealers in the Rhineland had access to the largest concentration of active art collectors in Germany. With the help of Felixmüller, Dix was fortunate enough to attract the interest of the Rhinelanders. Since 1918 Felixmüller had been represented by the Graphisches Kabinett von Bergh und Co. in Dusseldorf, which was under the direction of Hans and Martha Koch. In 1919 the Kochs showed works by the *Dresden Secession 1919 Group*.[57]

Dix first made contact with the Rhineland in July 1920 when he sent ten recent engravings to Pankok and Wollheim.[58] One month later, by demand, Dix sent them

---

...Continued...

dorfer Künstlerszene 1920-1925 (Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, 1983); and Dix-Pankok-Wollheim: Freunde in Düsseldorf 1920-1925 (Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, 1986).

57. On Felixmüller's assistance to Dix in 1920-21 see Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, Otto Dix und die Düsseldorfer Künstlerszene 1920-1925 (1983): chapter 2.

58. Letter, Dix to "Das Ey," July 14, 1920, Otto-Pankok-Haus, Drevenack. The engravings sent were: Kriegskrüppel, two prints of Streichholzhändler, Lustmörder, Billiardspieler, Dame im Sofa, Kartenspieler, Straße, Matrose und Mädchen, and Fleischerladen. Dix also asked Hans Koch to send the four prints in his possession to Ey.

twelve recent drawings and five Expressionist-style woodcuts from 1919.[59] The September issue of Das Ey published an essay by Felixmüller on Dix emphasizing the brutality of the artist's images:

> This is no Merz painting, no ballyhoo either. . . . OTTO DIX is lonely, despairing and very poor. He knows that no one is going to buy his pictures from him; regardless of their great artistic power.[60]

Dix could not have survived in Saxony by producing works like Girl at the Mirror [Fig. 40] had he not made contact with the western German market.

Dix got the opportunity to travel to the Rhineland (with paintings) in October 1921 when he received a portrait commission from Hans Koch. During his brief stay there he sold a number of paintings, established friendships with Wollheim and Pankok, and made contact with Karl Nierendorf who had just opened a gallery in Cologne. He returned to Dresden four months later (February 1922) with

---

59. Letter, Dix to "das Ey," August 14, 1920, Otto-Pankok-Haus, Drevenack. Ey herself bought a number of these works. For an account of the Dusseldorf situation in 1920 see Remmert und Barth, Otto Dix, chapter 3.
In September Dix responded to a request for more prints by stating that he was a painter rather than a graphic artist and recommended sending photographs of his work to Dusseldorf to be shown around. Letter, Dix to "Das Ey," September 8, 1920, Otto-Pankok-Haus, Drevenack.

60. "Es ist keine Merzmalerei, auch kein Klamauk. . . . OTTO DIX ist einsam, verzweifelt und ganz arm. Er weiß, daß ihm diese Bilder kein Mensch abkauft; obwohl sie eine große künstlerische Kraft verraten." Conrad Felixmüller, "Otto Dix," Das Ey 3 (September 1920): 10.

Martha Koch. One year later they were married.

Dix portrayed Hans Koch in his professional role as a urologist/gynecologist [Fig. 66]. The doctor, with his dueling scars prominently displayed, holds a hypodermic needle in one hand and a frightful red tube (a catheter?) in the other. The artist recorded the physical information of the doctor's office, with its shiny steel utensils and bottles of colored fluids, as a chamber of horrors. Koch is depicted as its crazed, sadistic proprietor.

While Dix was in the Rhineland, Hans Goltz in Munich was also becoming interested in his work. He wrote to Dix (in Dresden) on December 5, 1921 of his desire to exhibit his graphic works in February, and to be his sole dealer in Bavaria.[61] But he was disappointed by the works Dix sent him in February. He responded to Dix on February 4 that he could not open his newly refurbished gallery with a show which the press would rightly have described as a "brothel exhibition." He found paintings like Departure from Hamburg (Galerie Gunzenhausen, Munich) and Salon I (Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart) "unartistic", having nothing to do with "our modern art." "To me," he wrote, these works are the

---

61. Letter, Hans Goltz to Otto Dix, December 5, 1921, Otto Dix Archive, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nürnberg. While Dix was away, Goltz visited Dresden and was impressed with his works in the public collection, especially the Old Worker in the Attic (Städtische Kunstsammlung, Freital) and the bust of Nietzsche (1912, location unknown). Letter, Goltz to Dix, January 17, 1922, Otto Dix Archive, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nürnberg.

"pure naturalism which the whole art revolution since 1910 has had absolutely nothing to do with. Such paintings could have been painted from 1890 to 1900."[62] He wrote that he would exhibit all the graphics, just a few drawings, and nine paintings, and that the other works would be shown only upon request.

Dix's response to Goltz is lost, but in Goltz's final letter to Dix (March 6) he wrote: "The tone and content of your letter unfortunately makes it personally impossible for me to enter into any kind of business arrangement with you."[63] Perhaps Dix realized that there was no market for his work in Bavaria. And now that he had Rhineland contacts, his need for Goltz was less desperate.

Karl Nierendorf first wrote to Dix on April 14, 1922, proposing to handle his watercolors and graphics, as well

---

62. "Ich kann meine neu eingerichteten Räume nicht mit einer Ausstellung eröffnen, welche in der Presse mit Recht als eine Bordell-Ausstellung bezeichnet werden würde. Dazu kommt noch, daß ein Gemälde wie Abschied von Hamburg in meinen Augen unkünstlerisch ist und Salon I, so wie einige andere mit unserer jungen Kunst nichts zu tun haben. Das ist für mich reiner Naturalismus für den die ganze Kunstrevolution seit 1910 überhaupt nicht da war. Solche Gemälde konnten schon 1890 bis 1900 gemalt werden." Letter, Goltz to Dix, February 4, 1922, Otto Dix Archiv, AbK, Nürnberg.

63. "Der Ton und Inhalt Ihres Briefes macht es mir leider unmöglich persönlich in irgend einem brieflichen oder sonstigen Verkehr mit Ihnen zu gehen; was noch geschäftlich zu regeln ist, wird Ihnen von meinem Sekretariat mitgeteilt beantwortet [sic] werden." Letter, Goltz to Dix, March 6, 1922, Otto Dix Archive, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nürnberg.

as all publicity.[64] Thereafter Dix became his major project [Fig. 67]. He would advise Dix on marketing strategies and would get his name mentioned and his pictures illustrated wherever, and whenever possible.[65] Nierendorf sold Dix's work as fast as the artist could produce it: during 1922-23 Dix produced nearly four hundred watercolors and gouaches [Fig. 68].[66]

Dix moved to Dusseldorf in the fall of 1922 to take a position as master pupil under Heinrich Nauen at the Dusseldorf academy. The three-year appointment provided Dix with a small stipend and a studio at the academy (just as he had had in Dresden during the previous three years). He immediately assumed a central position among the "Mutter" Ey group and established a closer relationship with Karl Nierendorf who was rapidly moving Dix's work, especially watercolors, on the inflation market [see part I

---

64. Letter, Nierendorf to Dix, April 14, 1922, Otto Dix Archiv, AbK, Nürnberg. Nierendorf's letter to Dix of June 26 is the first confirmation of their contract. His gallery was not big enough for paintings, nevertheless, he knew that the works on paper had a far greater turnover in 1922 than did oils.

65. At the very start of their collaboration, for instance, Nierendorf recommended that they publish a portfolio of prints on the circus, a popular theme in the early twenties, or a book "like the Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse by Grosz." The result was the set of engravings titled Circus which was published by Nierendorf in the summer of 1922.

66. Suse Pfäffle, Otto Dix: Werkverzeichnis der Aquarelle und Gouachen (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1991).

chapter 3].

Although Dix's triptych Metropolis of 1927-28 [Fig. 69] is regarded as the quintessential image of the "Golden Twenties", the central panel was actually a revision of his smaller canvas To Beauty of 1922 [Fig. 70] which Beeke Sell Tower has aptly called, "a veritable encyclopedia of Amerikanismus."[67] The artist depicted himself as the savvy proprietor of a night-club featuring American jazz (as exemplified by the black drummer whose bass drum is ornamented with the head of an Indian chief and the name "Tom Boston"). The decor is classical kitsch. Dix himself, at the center of this world, stares out in an intimidating manner, warily, his face powdered, one hand in his jacket pocket, the other clenching a carefully rendered telephone receiver.[68] Dix knew this night-club world; he was nicknamed "Jimmy" or "Jim" after his favorite dance, the shimmy. His relationship with Martha Koch seems to have originally been founded on their mutual love of jazz and dancing.

---

67. Beeke Sell Tower, "*Jungle Music* and *Song of Machines*: Jazz and American Dance in Weimar Culture" in Envisioning America: Prints, Drawings, and Photographs by George Grosz and His Contemporaries 1915-1933 (Cambridge: Busch-Reisinger Museum, 1990): 94.

68. The telephone may be a reference to Nierendorf who was nicknamed "Telefonierendorf" by friends. See Henry Schaefer-Simmern, "Erlebnisse mit Karl Nierendorf," in Fünfzig Jahre Galerie Nierendorf 1920-1970: Rückblick, Dokumentation, Jubiläumsaussellung (Berlin: Galerie Nierendorf, 1970): 50.

Soon after Dix's move to Dusseldorf his painting Girl at the Mirror [Fig. 40] was confiscated from the Jury Free exhibition in Berlin on grounds of obscenity (October 30, 1922). The ensuing two years of scandal and controversy established a national reputation for Dix the Dusseldorfer. The publication of obscene and immoral literature and illustrations had been outlawed in the German Criminal Code of 1871 under paragraph 184, but it did not define the criteria for obscenity or immorality. This law was repeatedly cited before World War I against the publication in postcard form of paintings such as Giorgione's Sleeping Venus, Ruben's Judgment of Paris and Ingres La Source.[69] The state sought a fine of 50,000 marks and prohibition of further exhibition of the work. Dix and his supporters greeted the opportunity to face the prosecutor with enthu-

---

69. On the history of paragraph 184 see Ludwig Leiss, Kunst im Konflikt: Kunst und Künstler im Widerstreit der 'Obrigkeit' (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1971): 250-65. Due to the subjective nature of the obscenity law there was no consistency in the rulings. The Giorgione, for example, was deemed obscene in Berlin in 1907, not obscene in Dresden in 1907, and obscene in Berlin again in 1913. The most widely publicized obscenity case since the e nd of the war was the nine-volume collection of erotic prints by established contemporary artists titled Der Venuswagen which was published in 1919. The publisher was eventually fined 1,000 marks for the publication of the first volume only, which included eight color lithographs by Lovis Corinth. Alfred Richard Meyer, ed., Der Venuswagen: Eine Sammlung erotischer Privatdrucke mit Original-Graphik, 9 volumes (Berlin: Fritz Gurlitt, 1919). The trial took place in 1921. See Fritz Grünsprach, "Der Kampf gegen die Kunst," Der Querschnitt 6 (December 1921): 226. See also Orrel P. Reed Jr., German Expressionist Art: The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection (UCLA, 1977): 348-50.

siasm.[70] The publisher Felix Stössinger responded to Dix/Nierendorf's request to defend the artist in court: "The confiscation of your pictures made me very happy. All talent only begins to be effective with the indignation of the bourgeois society. Thus: Our congratulations!"[71] The trial took place in Berlin on March 23, 1923. Dix argued that his intention was to show people the consequences of prostitution and thus scare them from this lifestyle. When the judge asked whether the image had to be so graphic, Dix argued that such an intention could only be carried out through such a strong, realistic manner. In his ruling the judge agreed with Dix that the graphic realistic style was necessary in order to carry out his intention and praised

---

70. Wollheim's painting Lenkbares Stück Festland passiert unter wehender Flagge den Raum von Omega (lost) had been confiscated from Ey's window in 1921. The artist was charged under paragraph 184 for the inclusion of a carefully-rendered penis in the center of the picture. Wollheim was eventually acquitted, but lost his job at the Volkshochschule. See: Gert H. Wollheim: Die wilden Jahre, 26-7, 50; Johanna Ey und ihr Künstlerkreis, 79-80; Leiss, 325-7; and Das Junge Rheinland-Novembergruppe Berlin-Dresdner Sezession 1 (May 1922): 6-10.

71. "Die Beschlagnahme Ihrer Bilder hat mich sehr gefreut. Mit der Empörung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft beginnt jedes Talent zuerst zu wirken. Also: Unsern Glückwunsch!" Letter, Felix Stössinger to Dix, December 12, 1922, Otto Dix Archive, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nürnberg. Stössinger headed the communist Verlag der Neuen Gesellschaft in Berlin and was well acquainted with Dix's work. Also prepared to testify on Dix's behalf were the Jury-Free leaders Max Slevogt, Carl Hofer and Hermann Sandkuhl, as well as the architect Adolf Behne, and the art historians Paul F. Schmidt, Willi Wolfradt, Max Osborn and Carl Einstein.

his artistic talents.[72]

During the summer of 1923 Dix's brothel painting Salon II was confiscated from the "Exhibition of German Art" in Darmstadt. At his trial in October 1923 Dix again argued that the painting's grotesqueries were necessary to convey the spiritual death and physical depravity of prostitution. The judge suspected that Dix was trying to insult the modesty of the viewer, but since there was no proof that Dix anticipated such a response, he was acquitted.[73] Due to the coverage of the trials in popular local newspapers, Dix had attained a reputation as a painter of unsightly prostitutes.[74]

In the spring of 1923 Nierendorf arranged the first Dix exhibition at J. B. Neumann's gallery in Berlin. And,

---

72. The account of the trial from the Berliner Lokal Anzeiger is published in Dieter Schmidt, Otto Dix in Selbstbildnisse (Berlin (East): Henschel, 1981): 202-3. The account of the trial from the Vossische Zeitung is published in Leiss, Kunst in Konflikt, 327-30.

73. The court transcript is published in Diether Schmidt, Otto Dix in Selbstbildnis, 203.

74. Dix's Naked Girl [Fig.], however, would probably not have held up against paragraph 184 had it been exhibited or illustrated in 1923. It would certainly have been more offensive to the public than Girl at the Mirror. Naked Girl was first illustrated in Willi Wolfradt's monograph and in an article on Dix in the fall of 1924. By that time, however, "morality boards" were formed in many German cities composed of artists and writers in order to aid the police and the public prosecutor in matters of obscenity and immorality in art. It resulted in far fewer citations of paragraph 184.

under Nierendorf's supervision, a series of publications by prominent critics in praise of Dix appeared. In the pamphlet that accompanied the exhibition, Paul F. Schmidt, director of Dresden's municipal collections, noted that Dix had not yet approached the wide recognition of George Grosz. While the images of Grosz, Schlichter and Davringhausen could be appreciated for their beauty, Schmidt wrote, Dix's "unforgivable" images could never. He described Dix as:

> the most artless of this revolutionary circle. He takes the object by the throat: he says the ugly with ugly words; he makes not the least concession for what is commonly understood as art. . . . We are not talking about a return to the outworn ideals of our fathers. Nor the empty materialism of mimesis: the creative spirit of a god rules here.[75]

Concurrent with the exhibition Dix was featured in the

---

75. "Sehr ähnliche Dinge werden uns auch von Grosz, Schlichter, Dav aufgetischt; aber man muß gerecht sein und zugeben: mit soviel Feinheit und Noblesse des Ornaments und der Farbe, daß auch ein Liebhaber schöner Kunstsachen sich darin verlieben kann. Das ist beileibe kein Vorwurf, sondern nur eine Feststellung. Dix aber geht mit einer barbarischen Geradheit auf sein Ziel los. Er ist der Konsequenteste und der scheinbar Kunstloseste dieses Revolutionskreises. Er packt den Gegenstand an der Kehle: er sagt das Unschöne mit unschönen Worten; er macht nicht die geringste Konzession an das, was man gewohnheitsmäßig unter Kunst versteht. . . . Hier ist nicht die Rede von einer Rückkehr zu den abgestandenen Idealen unserer Väter. Nicht der öde Materialismus einer Naturnachahmung: der schöpferische Geist eines Menschengestalters waltet hier." Paul F. Schmidt, forward to Otto Dix (Cologne: Karl Nierendorf Neue Kunst, 1923): n.p. The pamphlet included ten illustrations of works from 1920-22.

April 1923 issue of Das Kunstblatt, the widest-circulating magazine devoted to contemporary art in Germany. In his essay, Carl Einstein condemned Expressionism: "We are tired of [all the colorful stuff] of Gauguin and van Gogh. Enough of the Dionysian decorators. . . . Perhaps we can save the frames for their real value." Contemporary art was one of extreme poles, he observed: at one end Constructivism, "the dictatorship of form," at the other Grosz, Dix and Schlichter who "demolish reality with precise Sachlichkeit. . . . Such an attitude of revolt has nothing to do with the creation of a congenial social painting."[76]

In August, Paul Westheim wrote an essay on Dix for the nationally-circulated Frankfurter Zeitung in which he emphasized Dix's images as both an artist at the cutting edge of a new art ("Otto Dix is the attempt to win a new type of Sachlichkeit for painting") and as a wildman ("A kid with whom one can go horse-stealing. . . . Had he not become a painter, he may have been an ambassador or a

---

76. "Man ist der farbtunkenden Bauernschwäger Gauguins und van Goghs satt. Genug der dionysischen Anstreicher. . . . Vielleicht rette man die Rahmen: Sachwert. Die Pole heutiger Kunst liegen bis zum Reißen gespannt. Konstruk-teure, Gegenstandlose errichteten die Diktatur der Form; andere wie Grosz, Dix und Schlichter zertrümmern das Wirkliche durch prägnante Sachlichkeit. . . . Solche revoltierte Einstellung hat mit leutseliger Sozialmalerei nichts zu schaffen. Carl Einstein, "Otto Dix," Das Kunstblatt 7 (April 1923): 97-8. This essay was accom-panied by seven illustrations.

pimp").[77]

In an essay in the Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst of 1923 Willi Wolfradt identified Dix as part of a new European movement and emphasized that his linear art is far more than merely objective observation. He also chose the word Sachlichkeit to characterize this movement. On Dix's doll-like Self-Portrait with Wife of that year [Fig. 71] Wolfradt wrote:

> The meaning and intentions of Sachlichkeit can be understood by a glance at the smoothly combed-back hair, whose oiled streaks of the comb are carefully rendered, by a glance at the creases in the clothes suitable for a shop window, or at the silvery flower which has been placed (!) on the belt.[78]

---

77. "Otto Dix ist der Versuch, für die Malerei eine neue Art von Sachlichkeit zu gewinnen. . . . Dix scheint sich eine Sensation davon versprochen zu haben, Wulffs [sic] Kriminalpsychologie zu illustrieren. . . . Ein Bürschen, dieser Dix, mit dem man Pferde stehlen gehen könnte. Einer, der mit allen Waffen gewaschen ist, der sehr genau weiß, was er will. Wenn er nicht Maler geworden wäre, er hätte vielleicht auch Gesandtschaftsattaché oder Mädchenhändler werden können." Paul Westheim, "Otto Dix," Frankfurter Zeitung (August 17, 1923).

78. "Was hier Sachlichkeit heißt und will, das lehrt ein Blick auf die glatt zurückgelegten Haare, deren pomadisierte Kämmsträhnen sorgfältig gegeben sind, auf diese Schaufensterhafte Bügelfalte, auf die plastisch aufgesetzte (!) silbrige Gürtelblume." Willi Wolfradt, "Ein Doppelbildnis von Otto Dix," Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst (1923): 176.
The term Sachlichkeit was used regularly in regard to the new art in 1923. As will be seen in part 3, Gustav Hartlaub was attempting to organize an exhibition of the new art under the title Die neue Sachlichkeit throughout the spring and summer of 1923 and was corresponding with a number of critics throughout Germany.

Real national recognition (and infamy) came for Dix in 1924 after the sale of his major work of this period -- his manifesto -- to the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne. The Trench [Figs. 72 & 73] was begun in Dresden in 1920 and originally belonged to the war cripples series. It was by far his largest work to date (ca. 98½ x 89½ inches), and was painted on a surface of two joined sections of heavy canvas.[79] It depicts the aftermath of an over-night artillery assault on a German trench on the western front. The best description of this missing work was supplied by one of its greatest enemies, Walter Schmits, the regular art critic for the Kölnische Zeitung:

> In the cold, sallow, ghostly light of dawn, . . . a trench appears into which a devastating bombardment has just descended. A poisonous, sulfur-yellow pool glistens in the depths like a smirk from hell. Otherwise the trench is filled up with hideously mutilated bodies and human fragments. From open skulls brains gush like thick red groats; torn-up limbs, intestines, shreds of uniforms, [and] artillery shells form a vile heap. . . . Half-decayed remains of the fallen, which were probably buried in the walls of the trench out of necessity, and were exposed by the exploding shells, mix with the fresh, blood-covered corpses. One soldier has been hurled out

---

79. Otto Griebel recalled that, because canvas was so expensive and hard to find after the war, he and Dix would occasionally steal canvas awnings from shop fronts on Sunday nights. All the cripple paintings were painted on these shabby surfaces. Otto Griebel, Ich war ein Mann der Straße (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1986): 95.

> of the trench and lies above it, impaled on stakes.[80]

Most of those who saw this painting in Cologne and Berlin during 1923-24 knew absolutely nothing about this aspect of the war. Alfred Salmony, writing in Der Cicerone, noted the freshness of the maggots on the unearthed bodies, and was impressed by the atmospheric accuracy: "That is how it was on those autumn days in the trenches south of Soissons."[81] Dix was the only artist in Germany bold

---

80."In dem kalten, fahlen, gespensternden Licht des Tagesgrauens, unter trübem Himmel, an dem ein blasser, ironischer Regenbogen, die biblische Friedensurkunde, winkt, tut sich ein Schützengraben auf, über dem ein vernichtendes Feuer niedergegangen ist. Wie ein Lächeln der Hölle blinkt in der Tiefe eine giftig schwelgelbe Lache, sonst ist der Graben ausgefühllt von gräßlich verstümmelten Leichen und Menschenfragmenten. Aus geöffneten Schädeln quillt das Gehirn gleich dicker roter Grütze; zerrissene Glieder, Eingeweide, Uniformfetzen, Patronenkapseln bilden einen wüsten Haufen, den man, wenn man ein Stück daraus herausschnitte, mit seinen rätselhaften Formen und starken, schleimig gleißenden Farben vielleicht für die Darstellung eines Salzwasseraquariums voll abscheulicher Gebilde, halb Tieren, halb Pflanzen, halten würde. Zwischen die frischen, blutüberströmten Leichen mischen sich halbverweste überreste von Gefallenen, die wohl in den Seitenwänden des Grabens notdürftig verscharrt waren und durch explodierende Geschosse bloßgelegt worden sind. Ein Soldat ist aus dem Graben geschleudert worden und liegt oben auf den Pfählen aufgespießt; an anderen Pfählen klebt blutiges Leinen und formloses rötliches Geschlinge." Dr. Walter Schmits, "Ein Bild des Krieges," Kölnische Zeitung, December 7, 1923.

81. "Die neue Galerie des 17. bis 20. Jahrhunderts im Museum Wallraf-Richartz in Köln," Der Cicerone 16 (January 1924): 8. Three illustrations of The Trench accompanied the essay. These same illustrations had also been featured in Das Kunstblatt 7 (November 1923): 320-29. Karl Nierendorf had launched a campaign to have photographs of the painting published. Salmony was director of Cologne's Museum of Far Eastern Art.

enough to attempt to paint a monument to the war at a time when artists were concentrating more and more on other media due to the cost of canvas and oil paint and the state of inflation.

Like his cripple and prostitute paintings, Dix aimed to please no one with The Trench. The soldier is depicted not merely as a victim, but also as the means by which war is carried out.[82] To the numerous soldier organizations that formed after the war and to the cult of the hero which had flourished during the war, Dix seemed to be insulting those who had sacrificed themselves on "the altar of the Fatherland."[83] The Trench could also be deemed unnecessarily offensive to those who had lost loved ones in the trenches. But these issues could have been ignored had the painting not been purchased by a major public museum that happened to be in a city under allied occupation.[84]

The Trench was acquired in October 1923 through Karl Nierendorf for the Wallraf-Richartz Museum by its new

---

82. In 1927 Ernst Kallai pointed out that interpretations of the painting could vary radically, from pacifist propaganda to war lust. "Dämonie der Satire," Das Kunstblatt 3 (March 1927): 97-104.

83. The hero cult was fully revived in 1925 when Hindenburg was elected president (April) and the remains of Manfred von Richthofen, The Red Baron, were returned to German soil (November). See Whalen, Bitter Wounds, chapter 1.

84. The city of Cologne and other cities of the lower Rhineland were under British occupation until 1925, Belgium occupied the area around Neunen, and the French occupied the Rhineland Palatinate and (after 1921) the cities of Bonn and Düren.

director of art of the modern era, Hans F. Secker. In a letter to Dix, Secker assured him that it had been acquired "not without blood and sweat." Nonetheless, he was very proud to have it in his museum. When the new collection is opened to the public on December 1, he assured Dix, "your painting will most likely be the greatest sensation."[85] Perhaps in order to assure a "sensation" Secker placed the painting behind a large gray curtain which dominated the room. To view the painting, the visitor had to venture behind the curtain. In his essay on Secker's new collection, Salmony focused on Dix's painting, and warned, "The city of Cologne and its director will be both attacked and praised for this acquisition." A similar prediction ap-

---

85. "Es ist nicht ohne Hängen und Würgen gelungen, Ihr Kriegsbild dem Museum Wallraf-Richartz einzuverleiben. . . . Die Wiedereröffnung unserer Galerie ist wahrscheinlich am 1. Dezember. Ihr Bild wird dann wohl die größte Sensation sein." Letter, Secker to Dix, October 31, 1923, in the Otto Dix Archiv, AbK, Nurnberg. At the same time Secker purchased Dix's Portrait of the Artist's Parents I (Kunstmuseum, Basel). The Trench was acquired not with money (which was impossible during October 1923, the lowest point of Germany's monetary collapse), but by trade. Nierendorf received William Beechey's English Officer in exchange. See Wolfgang Schröck-Schmidt, "Der Schicksalsweg des Schützengraben" in Wulf Herzogenrath and Johann-Karl Schmidt, eds., Otto Dix: Zum 100. Geburtstag (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1991): 159-164. In the fall of 1924, after much strife, Nierendorf received 10,000 marks from Secker. Nierendorf sent Dix his 6,670 marks share on November 13, 1924. Secker also acquired four watercolors, four lithographs, one single etching and The War engravings by Dix from Nierendorf. Hans F. Secker, Die Galerie der Neuzeit im Museum Wallraf-Richartz (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1927). See also Dennis Crockett, "The Most Famous Painting of the 'Golden Twenties'? Otto Dix & the Trench Affair," Art Journal (Spring 1992): 72-80.

peared in the Kölnische Volkszeitung: "Represented is perhaps the most gruesome picture ever painted, . . . [it] will always find many enemies."[86]

The acquisition of The Trench was repeatedly attacked by the critic Walter Schmits of the Kölnische Zeitung, the city's most popular daily paper, who demanded that the authorities return it to the artist.[87]

Paul Westheim's review of the new Wallraf-Richartz Museum for the Frankfurter Zeitung also concentrated on Dix's painting, calling it "the war painting of a generation," a painting made specifically for veterans of the trenches.[88] By the end of January 1924, the Frankfurter Zeitung could report that because of all the publicity, large numbers of visitors who probably would have ignored the work had come to see it.[89]

---

86. Salmony, "Die neue Galerie," 8; H. Reiners, "Neuordnung der Kölner Museen," Kölnische Volkszeitung, December 1, 1923.

87. Schmits, "Ein Bild des Krieges."
See also Schmits, "Nochmals das Kriegsbild von Dix," Kölnische Zeitung, December 14, 1923. This was a response to F. Friedrich, "Der Krieg," Rheinische Zeitung, December 12, 1923. Friedrich's essay had addressed a review of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum by "-u-," the regular critic of the Kolner Stadtanzeiger, of December 2. "-u-" found the Dix painting too graphic, but stopped short of calling for its removal. Schmit was in turn attacked by "Dr. Frosch" in the pacifist Die Welt am Montag on December 24.

88. Paul Westheim, "Eine moderne Galerie im Kolner Wallraf-Richartz Museum," Frankfurter Zeitung, January 11, 1924.

89. G. Bayer, "Kölnerbrief," Frankfurter Zeitung, January 29, 1924.

Just five months after its debut in Cologne, The Trench was borrowed by Max Liebermann, president of the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin, for his Spring Exhibition, where it was prominently displayed in the first room. The exhibition then ran through June with no protests.[90]

This situation changed dramatically soon after the exhibition closed, when Julius Meier-Graefe, as a guest critic, published a review of it in Berlin's conservative, antirepublican Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. Meier-Graefe, who had been one of the first important supporters of modern art in Germany, had founded his career on controversy.[91] By the 1920s, however, he had become politically conservative, deeply nationalistic, and disillusioned by contemporary culture. He found only one painting in the show worthy of discussion, "a painting that gave the hardened skeptic a shot in the spine: The Trench, by Dix." He explained that he had seen this painting a few months earlier at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, hung in a special

---

90. Karl Scheffler, editor of Kunst und Künstler, was the first to review the show. He had known of the controversy surrounding the painting in Cologne and was not impressed: "Das vielbesprochene Sensationsbild "Der Krieg" von Otto Dix versagt. [D]ie Grausamkeit ist sentimental. . . . Das bild ist schlecht." Karl Scheffler, "Die Frühjahrsausstellung der Akademie der Künste: II. Kritik der Ausstellung," Kunst und Künstler 22 (May 1924): 288-89. A detail of The Trench was illustrated in the exhibition catalogue.

91. Meier-Graefe had been branded and rebranded a traitor to German culture because of his devotion to French art and his criticism of German art. For a synopsis of his career in controversy, see Kenworth Moffett, Meier-Graefe as Art Critic (Munich: Prestel, 1973).

room "under the same roof as the holy relics of Stephan Lochner" and had been unable to keep himself from telling the director that this acquisition was a "public nuisance." He explained that he had pleaded in many personal letters to have the "monstrosity" removed. He had even offered his own services to speak with the artist about replacing it. He criticized the painting as poorly executed. There is, he said, "a penetrant joy of detail, but not sensual detail." Such a graphic display of "brains, blood, and guts could make a person salivate." And he drew a comparison with Rembrandt's Anatomy of Dr. Joan Deyman (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam): "Rembrandt's second Anatomy, with its open stomach, is enough to make one want to kiss it. This Dix -- excuse the harsh word -- is enough to make one puke." All previous discussions of this controversy have quoted this last colorful, but ambiguous, statement by Meier-Graefe. And with it they have generally concluded the case against Dix's painting.

But Meier-Graefe raised a far more controversial issue. He argued that this painting, once brought into public view, "becomes a German cultural document." In Cologne he had seen some officers "from the other side" standing before the painting, and had had to walk away in order to avoid hearing their comments. Although the British occupation of Cologne had eased since 1919, the Rhineland Palatinate was still under the rigid occupation of the French, who supported an independent Rhineland

nation. Separatist activities had reached a climax during 1924. Though neither widespread nor popular, they were nonetheless deemed threatening to the stature of Germany by nationalists. To Meier-Graefe, therefore, this was much more than a bad painting: in the occupied Rhineland it was a national embarrassment and potentially subversive.[92]

---

92. "Über die Akademie ist nicht viel Allgemeines zu sagen. . . . Es gab aber etwas besonderes in der Ausstellung, das sich den gewohnten Redensarten entzog, ein Bild, das dem abgebrühten Skeptiker ins Rückrad stach: Der Schützengraben von Dix. . . . Ich sah das Bild vor ein paar Monaten an noch geweihter Stätte, im Walraf-Richartz-Museum in Köln. Es hing dort in einem besonderen Raum unter gleichem Dache mit den Heiligtümern Stephan Lochners, und ich konnte mich damals nicht enthalten, dem verantwortlichen Leiter dieses Kunst-Instituts vorausstellen, daß die Erwerbung dieses Bildes die Grenzen des erlaubten Unfugs überschritt und die Brutalität dieser Manifestation gar nichts mehr mit dem Wenn und Aber des Kunstschwatzes zu tun habe, sondern öffentliches Ärgernis sei. Ich gab mir die Mühe, den Herrn Direktor in mehreren persönlichen Briefen friedseliger Art flehentlich zu bitten, das Monstrum wieder zu entfernen, bot mich an, mit dem Künstler zu verhandeln, um ihn zum Ersatz des Monstrums zu bewegen, kurz, ich tat so, als ob mich die Sache etwas anginge. . . . Dieser Schützengraben ist nicht nur schlecht, sondern infam gemalt, mit einer penetranten Freude am Detail, aber bitteschön, nicht am sinnlichen Detail, sondern am begrifflichen. Gehirn, Blut, Gedärm können so gemalt werden, daß einem das Wasser im Munde zusammenläuft. . . . Die zweite Anatomie Rembrandts mit dem offenen Bauch ist zum Küssen. Dieser Dix ist - verzeihen Sie das harte Wort -- zum Kotzen. . . . Das Bild, an öffentliche Stelle gerückt, wird deutsches Kulturdokument. Das ist der Haken. Ich sah in Köln ein paar Offiziere von drüben vor dem Monstrum stehen und machte mich dünne, um nicht ihre fach-berechtigte Kritik mitzunehmen." Julius Meier-Graefe, "Die Ausstellung in der Akademie," Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, July 2, 1924. Anton von Werner had been Liebermann's predecessor as president of the Academy of Arts, and no friend of Meier-Graefe. It is clear from a letter published by Liebermann three months later that he had wanted The Trench in his Berlin show because he was convinced of its importance. Determined to protect works

As Salmony and others had predicted, the painting found many enemies in Cologne. But it took a well-known critic, writing for a conservative, nationally circulating daily newspaper like the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, to rally national opposition against it. Meier-Graefe succeeded in presenting this painting to conservatives, the radical right, and the Cologne "city fathers" as a national embarrassment. Where Dix had previously been known publicly as a painter of unsightly prostitutes, he was now much more widely known as a radical pacifist. And this was the image of Dix that Nierendorf himself aggressively promoted. On August 8, 1924, he proudly informed Dix: "You are now a famous man and known all over Germany."[93] Because this controversy came to a climax during the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the war -- and in the days preceding the first national Memorial Day -- Dix and his painting affronted the largest possible audience. The German taste for hero-worship had received a serious blow when the war was lost, but hero-worship itself was by no means dead. This was less a question of the painting's aesthetics than of its appropriateness as a nationally-sanctioned depiction

---

...Continued...

of art from political interference, he had never shied from including a controversial work in his biannual exhibitions.

93. "Du bist jetzt ein berühmter Mann und in ganz Deutschland bekannt und ich gestatte mir ergebenst Dir dazu eine Gratulation zu Füssen zu legen." Postcard, Nierendorf to Dix, August 8, 1924, in the Otto Dix Archiv, AbK Nurnberg.

of the fallen. In a country that could not agree on war-memorial designs -- or even on whether there should *be* war memorials -- the presence of Dix's painting in the most important public collection in western Germany was a guaranteed scandal.[94]

On July 3 Nierendorf informed Dix of Meier-Graefe's attack on The Trench, the Academy, Secker, and Cologne, and that Paul Westheim intended to respond immediately. "It seems a lively dance is about to begin," he wrote.[95] Westheim attacked Meier-Graefe's call for official censorship in a letter that appeared in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung on July 8, adjoined to a statement by the paper's regular art critic, Paul Fechter. Fechter expressed admiration for Dix's "honesty," but concluded that Meier-Graefe should be thanked for trying to get this painting removed

---

94. On the national debate concerning how the fallen were to be memorialized, see Annegret Heffen, Der Reichskunstwart: Kunstpolitik in den Jahren 1920-1933 (Essen: Blaue Eule, 1986), chapter 3. During the Weimar Republic neither a national war memorial, nor a national memorial day received national sanction.

95. "Meier-Graefe hat soeben in der Deutschen-Allgemeinen-Zeitung einen heftigen Angriff gegen das Schützengrabenbild losgelassen, der sich auch gegen die Akademie, aber besonders scharf gegen das Kölner Museum und die Stadt Köln richtet, Westheim hat darauf, wie er mir sagt, eine Erwiderung eingerichtet, und es scheint ein lebhafter Tanz los zu gehen." Letter, Nierendorf to Dix, July 3, 1924, in the Otto Dix Archiv, AbK Nurnberg. Westheim gave a lecture at the Kölnische Kunstverein upon the reopening of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in which he praised Dix for leading the way to the future of modern art. See -ü-, "Kunst-Vortrag Paul Westheim," Kölner Stadtanzeiger (December 3, 1923).

from a museum in occupied territory where it could have led the English, French, and Belgian "guests" to false presumptions about the Germans' attitude toward defending themselves. He concluded that were The Trench to be hung in Berlin permanently it would be far less humiliating than in the Rhineland.[96]

When The Trench returned to Cologne (to the Great Dusseldorf Art Exhibition which was held in Cologne that year) people supposedly lined up to see it.[97]

Heinrich Hoerle, Franz Seiwert, Anton Räderscheidt and members of the "Mutter" Ey group defended Dix against

---

96. "Daß aber Meier-Graefe versucht hat und noch versucht, dieses Bild aus dem Museum in Köln zu entfernen - dafür verdient er Dank und nicht den törichten Vorwurf der Denunziation. Denn Köln ist besetztes Gebiet - und den Engländern und ihren französischen und belgischen Gästen Derartiges als Dokument deutscher Gesinnung von heute offiziell im Museum vorzusetzen - das heißt Vorstellungen von der Mentalität der Deutschen wecken die die Herren drüben nur zu immer neuer Mißachtung und Anmaßung treiben. Und wenn Liebermann diesen Schinken durchaus in seine Akademieausstellung holen mußte - obwohl er ihn sicher ebenfalls scheußlich findet - dann hätte er ihn wenigstens vorläufig hier behalten sollen. Hier tut er immerhin noch weniger Schaden als in Köln. Hier wirft er schließlich bloß Kreise der Kunst, und die sind ziemlich belanglos: dort wirft er auf das Leben. Und da soll man eingreifen -- und wenn man selbst Stadtväter mobil machen muß." Paul Fechter, "Der Kölner Dix," Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, July 8, 1924. Fechter later published a revision of this exchange in the Cologne-based Der Querschnitt 4 (October 1924): 261-62. Fechter was also a contributor to the conservative monthly Deutsche Rundschau (Berlin), which in 1924 regularly published essays on the heroism of the German army, on the separatist movement in the Rhineland, and on the humiliation of the French occupation.

97. Dietrich Schubert, Otto Dix in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten (Reinbeck: Rowolt, 1980), 67.

Meier-Graefe in a letter published in Das Kunstblatt in which they condemned the critic for his enthusiasm for the war.[98] Max Liebermann published an open letter to Hans Secker in the Kölner Tageblatt, praising The Trench as one of the most important postwar paintings. He complimented Secker for having it in Cologne and expressed regret that it had not found its deserved place in the National Gallery in Berlin.[99]

Many of the progressive critics came to Dix's defense by justifying his aesthetics. In his monograph on Dix published in the fall of 1924, Willi Wolfradt addressed Meier-Graefe: "Surely [The Trench] was painted to make one puke, not to comfort." And he reminded his public that this was the painting of a Frontschwein, a veteran of the trenches: "It is simply unaesthetic! -- and, of course, that is just what Dix is."[100]

---

98. "Zu dem Artikel von Meier-Graefe: 'Die Ausstellung in der Akademie,'" Das Kunstblatt 8 (October 1924): 317-18. The signers of the letter were F. W. Seiwert, [Heinrich] Hoerle, Anton Ruderppidt [Raderscheidt, whose handwriting was illegible], Gert Arntz, A[rthur] Kaufmann, Jankel Adler, and Peter Abelen. At the very beginning of the war Meier-Graefe had written the first editorial for Paul Cassirer's patriotic paper, Kriegzeit (August 31, 1914).

99. "Max Liebermann uber das Schutzengrabenbild von Otto Dix," Kölner Tageblatt, October 9, 1924. The following day his letter also appeared in the Mannheimer Tageblatt.

100. "Wahrlich zum Kotzen und nicht zum Komfort ist das gemalt. . . . Wie halt so ein Frontschwein malt, meine Herren; es ist direkt unästhetisch! -- Allerdings, und das ist Dix überhaupt." Willi Wolfradt, Otto Dix (Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1924), 13-14. A portion of this

Writing in the pacifist weekly Die Weltbühne, Paul F. Schmidt declared that nothing in the picture is exaggerated, only condensed. He praised Dix's painting as "the most horrible representation of death ever painted (the only exception being Grünewald's Crucifixion)."[101] Allusions to Grünewald were common in discussions of The Trench. Alfred H. Barr later called it a:

> masterpiece of unspeakable horror. . . . Looking back over the history of painting we cannot find its equal except in that other dreadful masterpiece, the Altarpiece of Isenheim by . . . Grünewald.[102]

The editor of Der Querschnitt actually called Dix "the new Grünewald."[103]

...Continued...

monograph appeared in Der Cicerone 16 (October 1924): 943-54. Wolfradt feared that the sensational attention The Trench was receiving would undermine its serious intention. Like many other critics, he considered Dix's recently published portfolio of etchings, The War, to be far more effective than The Trench.

101. "[E]s entstand als großes Kunstwerk: ein Bekenntnis zum Leben in der grausamsten Darstellung des Todes, die wohl jemals gemalt worden ist (mit einziger Ausnahme von Grünewalds Gekreuzigtem)." Paul F. Schmidt, "Der Schützengraben," Die Weltbühne 20 (August 7, 1924): 236.

102. Alfred H. Barr, "Otto Dix," The Arts 4 (1931): 244.

103. H[ans] v[on] Wedderkopp, "Das Grosse Kölner Tapetenfest," Der Querschnitt 4 (Spring 1924): 22.
Meier-Graefe had recently declared Grünewald "the greatest artistic figure ever born this side of the Alps," but he was not prepared to address Dix's painting as a contemporary Grünewaldesque vision. "Damals haben wir der Welt Maathias Grünewald geschenkt, die größte Gestalt, die je die Kunst diesseits der Alpen gebar." Julius Meier-Graefe, "Der Beitrag Deutschlands zur Kunst Europas," Ganymed 4 (1922): 7.

Regardless of Dix's broad support, Secker was forced to yield to conservative public and municipal pressure, and The Trench was returned to Nierendorf in January 1925.[104]

In a directly related controversy, Paul Westheim, one of Dix/Nierendorf's chief supporters, was dismissed as art critic for the Frankfurter Zeitung in November 1924 (a position he had held since 1912) and was replaced by Meier-Graefe.[105]

During 1924 Dix became a major player in the pacifist

---

104. The Trench was exhibited at the International Art Exhibition in Zurich (summer-fall 1925), where it received international acclaim. In 1926 it was included in large Dix exhibitions in Berlin (Nierendorf) and Munich (Thannhauser). After it was acquired by Dresden The Trench was not exhibited, but placed in storage. According to Fritz Löffler, the Nazis were later assured that the painting had been purchased in order to keep it away from the public. Löffler, Otto Dix: Life and Work, 55. It was probably in response to this censorship that Dix executed the most ambitious work of his life, the The War triptych begun in 1929. This work directly addressed the controversy of 1924. See Crockett, "Otto Dix and the Trench Affair," 79. The Trench was taken out of storage by the Nazis in 1933 and included as a centerpiece in every major "Degenerate Art" exhib between 1933 & 1938. On January 22, 1940, The Trench was sold by the Nazi authorities for $200 and has since been unlocated. See Andreas Huneke, "On the Trail of the Missing Masterpieces," in Stephanie Barron, ed., Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany (New York: Abrams, 1991), 133, n. 39.

105. See: Paul Westheim, "Musterbeispiel produktiver Kritik," Das Kunstblatt 9 (January 1925): 25-26; and "Kritische Angelegenheit," Frankfurter Zeitung, January 9, 1925.

movement, a fact that has usually been played down.[106] In the fall of 1923 he began his series of war etchings that was to be published by Nierendorf in time for the festivities of the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the war.[107] If The Trench represented only one side of the war (as the Kölnische Zeitung complained), then The War showed every side [Figs. 74 & 75]. These details of the war are often time and place specific. Mathias Eberle has discussed this specificity as being the primary difference between these prints and Dix's allegorical Expressionist war drawings of 1915-18 [Fig. 15].[108] Indeed, it is the autobiographical nature that separates these two series of works. Just as Goya had done in his series Los Disastres de la Guerra, Dix emphasized that he actually witnessed

---

106. The one study to have attempted to place Dix within the context of the pacifist movement is Dietrich Harth, Dietrich Schubert and Ronald Michael Schmidt, eds., Pazifismus zwischen den Kriegen: Deutsche Schriftsteller und Künstler gegen Krieg und Militarismus 1918-1933 (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek, 1985).

107. At the Dusseldorf Academy Dix studied graphic techniques with Wilhelm Herberholz. The War etchings was to be the last major set of prints of the period. By the time it appeared in the late summer of 1924 the booming market for prints, which had begun during the last year of the war, had dried up.

108. Matthias Eberle, World War I and the Weimar Artists (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985): 36-37.

these incredible things.[109] Dix later told Fritz Löffler, "I wanted no ecstatic extravagances. I depicted states of affairs produced by the war, and the consequences of war, simply as states of affairs."[110] The print Transplant is one such state of affair. Dix made no comment on the veteran depicted whose face is now composed of sections of flesh from various parts of his anatomy. Just as with his cripple paintings, Dix's cynical interest was in what modern science could do for the maimed veteran. As outrageous as the veteran looks, such dramatic and apparently haphazard grafting was quite common, as documented in Ernst Friedrich's book Krieg dem Kriege (also of 1924) which included a series of photographs of even more incredible reconstructions [Fig. 76].[111]

Nierendorf enlisted the famous French pacifist and Marxist Henri Barbusse to write a foreword for the bound edition of The War. "It cannot be said that he exaggerated," Barbusse wrote, "The war absolutely cannot be exaggerated." He called the set of prints "The apocalyptic hell

---

109. Nierendorf acquired a copy of Los Desastres de la Guerra in Paris during the winter of 1923-24. Letter, Nierendorf to Dix, undated (February 1924?), Otto Dix Archiv, AbK, Nürnberg. He also bought a large number of lithographs by Daumiers on this trip.

110. Fritz Löffler, Otto Dix: Life and Work trans. R. J. Hollingsdale (NY: Holmes and Meier, 1982): 70.

111. Ernst Friedrich, Krieg dem Kriege (Berlin: E. Friedrich, 1924). Friedrich had founded the International Anti-War Museum in Berlin in 1923. Dix's friend and patron in Dresden, Hugo Erfurth, had also made war photographs.

of reality!"[112]

The War was available in a deluxe edition of five sets of ten prints as well as a cheaper bound edition of 24 prints. Nierendorf launched a promotional blitz, sending out 500 copies of the bound edition to writers and publishers both radical and conservative. Fifteen hundred individual prints were to be distributed at the big Anti-War Day festivities on September 21, 1924.[113] The prints were shown at an exhibition arranged by the International Women's League for Peace and Liberty at the Künstlerhaus in Berlin in conjunction with the 23rd World Peace Congress in 1924. They were also featured at Max Liebermann's Fall Art Exhibition at the Prussian Academy of Arts.

There was actually a print from The War series that Nierendorf persuaded Dix not to include for fear of confiscation. Nierendorf had heard from different people in Berlin that if the image of a soldier raping a nun [Fig. 77] were included the whole set might be confiscated. Nierendorf was aware that overkill was unnecessary. He wrote to Dix, "[A]s it is, your representation of the war

---

112. "Der diese Bilder des Grauens sich aus Hirn und Herzen riß und vor uns ausbreitet, stieg in den letzten Schlund des Krieges. Ein wahrhaft großer deutscher Künstler, unser brüderlicher Freund Otto Dix schuf hier in grellen Blitzen die apokalyptische Hölle der Wirklichkeit! Man sage nur nicht, er übertreibe. . . . Man kann den Krieg gar nicht übertreiben." Henri Barbusse, forward to: Otto Dix, Der Krieg (Berlin: Karl Nierendorf, 1924).

113. Letter, Nierendorf to Dix, undated 1924, Otto Dix Archiv, Abk, Nürnberg.

in itself is a slap in the face of everyone who is celebrating our 'heroes' this anniversary week."[114] Nierendorf suggested including only the prints that dealt with the front in five portfolios and recommended publishing a special set of ten prints of the de-militarized zone. The nun print was eventually available as an individual print.

At the peak of the Trench controversy, and while Dix's war prints were receiving national attention, Willi Wolfradt's monograph on Dix, with 53 illustrations, appeared.[115] Dix was now widely regarded as the most important Post-Expressionist, as well as the most contro-versial artist in the country. In 1925, at the peak of his fame, he moved to Berlin where he worked primarily as a portrait painter for cultural and governmental figures. In 1926 he was offered (and reluctantly accepted) a professorship at the Dresden academy which he held until his dismissal by the National Socialist authorities in 1933.

---

114. "[Z]umal deine Darstellung des Krieges an sich ein Schlag ins Gesicht ist für alle, die in der Jubiläumswoche unsere 'Helden' feiern." Letter, Nierendorf to Dix, July 17, 1924, Otto Dix Archiv, AbK, Nürnberg.

115. Willi Wolfradt, Otto Dix (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1924).

3. MUNICH

With the exception of Paul Klee, the most important representatives of pre-war Expressionism in Munich were nowhere to be seen in the Bavarian capitol at the end of the war.[1] Nonetheless, after the war three artists -- Georg Schrimpf, Carlo Mense and Heinrich Maria Davringhausen -- had moved to (or established contacts in) Munich where their Post-Expressionist art received a great deal of attention.[2] After Davringhausen's return to the Rhineland in 1922 the 43-year-old Alexander Kanoldt, former treasurer of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung*, became closely associated with Schrimpf and Mense. By the spring of 1925, however, these three also had left Munich.

Although Schrimpf, Mense, Davringhausen and Kanoldt never developed into a formal group (Davringhausen and Kanoldt may never have even met), they are generally regarded as representing the core of the "Munich group" of

---

1. Franz Marc and August Macke were dead; Kandinsky was in the Soviet Union; Jawlensky and Werefkin were in Switzerland; and Gabrielle Münter was living in isolation outside the city.

2. Since the foundation of the art academy in 1808, Munich (or more precisely Schwabing) had always attracted artists from outside the region.

the Post-Expressionist movement.[3]

The writer Oskar Maria Graf, the art critics Leopold Zahn and Franz Roh, and the dealer Hans Goltz became important supporters of these artists from the beginning. Goltz's gallery exhibited the most important and diverse array of Post-Expressionist art during the early twenties, and his periodical, Der Ararat (1919-1921, edited by Zahn), was also a major showcase for Post-Expressionism in Germany.

The Schrimpf-Mense-Kanoldt group developed more uniformly in terms of style and theme than had any other Post-Expressionist "group." All created an escapist Romantic art; the terms neo-classical and neo-Nazarene have quite justifiably been attached to them from the beginning. They held much stronger ties to the nineteenth century than any of their German contemporaries before 1926. Because their sympathies were so close to the Deutschrömer, those German Romantics who found their inspiration in central Italy,[4] this trio might best be described as the *Neo-Deutschrömer*. Although their escapist work seems exemplary of the art of the "stabilization" period, it must be understood that it developed against the backdrop of the extremely volatile

---

3. "Michael Koch, "Neue Sachlichkeit - Magischer Realismus: Der Beitrag Münchens zur nachexpressionistischen Malerei und Graphik," Die Zwanziger Jahre in München (Munich: Stadtmuseum, 1979): 121.

4. Anselm Feuerbach, Hans von Marées and Arnold Böcklin in particular.

political situation in Munich between 1918 and 1923. The political situation in Bavaria during this period will thus need to be outlined briefly before discussing the individual artists, but only in order to emphasize just how much of contemporary reality is omitted in their works.

3.1 REVOLUTION/REBELLION IN MUNICH 1918-1923

The Free People's State of Bavaria was declared in Munich two days before the declaration of the German republic in Berlin. On November 18, 1918 a large group of diverse artists founded the *Council of Artists* which, like the *November Group* and the *Workers Council for Art*, intended to wield influence over the cultural affairs of the new government.[5] In February 1919 a splinter group, which deemed the Council too conservative, formed the *Action Committee of Revolutionary Artists*.

Following the murder of Kurt Eisner, the president of the Bavarian republic, on February 21, the government fled the city in panic. A second republican government was in power until April 7 at which time the Council Republic (Räterrepublik) was declared. It was dominated by the Independent Socialists (USPD), and led by the twenty-six

---

5. For an account of the activities of the Council of Artists during the first months of 1919 see: Joan Weinstein, The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany 1918-1919 (U Chicago P, 1990): chapter 4.

year old dramatist Ernst Toller. Six days later, after an attempt by the government in exile to overthrow Toller's government, a Communist Council Republic was established by the leaders of the Communist party, Eugen Leviné and Max Levien. The *Action Committee*, rather than the much larger *Council of Artists*, was now called on by Gustav Landauer the Commissioner for People's Enlightenment, to plot the cultural course of the revolution. Among the members of the *Action Committee* were Schrimpf, Graf, Hans Richter, Heinrich Campendonk and Klee. In the three weeks of its existence as the art dictatorship of Bavaria, the *Action Committee* had little time to do more than fire the professors at the academy and take over Munich's two major daily papers.

The Communist government was violently suppressed by a Prussian division of the Free Corps during the first week of May 1919. Landauer, Leviné, Levien and hundreds of others were killed, and participants in the revolution, including the members of the *Action Committee*, were arrested or sought by the military authorities. For the next three months Munich was in a state of martial law as the area was purged of all radical Left influences.

In March 1920, contemporaneously with the Kapp Putsch in Berlin, radical anti-republicans with the backing of the paramilitary Civil Guard seized power in Munich through something of a coup d'etat. Under the presidency of Ritter von Kahr (1920-21) and the conservative Bavarian People's

Party (1921-23) Munich became the center of right-wing paramilitary activity in Germany. During 1922 these various nationalist groups organized under the leadership of the United Bavarian Patriotic Associations (*Vereinigte Vaterländische Verbände Bayerns*). In January 1923 Adolf Hitler, leader of the NSDAP and his own paramilitary organization, the SA (Storm Troops), first received serious attention in Munich. During the hyper-inflation crisis of 1923 the Patriotic Associations in Munich planned for a March on Berlin (based on Mussolini's March on Rome of the previous year). As the country braced for civil war in November 1923, Kahr, who was now given dictatorial power over Bavaria, called off all plans for the march. It was at this time that Hitler staged his "Beerhall Putsch" which collapsed overnight. Thereafter, Kahr was more willing to cooperate with the Berlin government. In November he disarmed the paramilitary groups. During 1924, when Hitler was tried and imprisoned, the paramilitary groups turned their attention to organized politics rather than insurrection.

3.2 THE "MUNICH GROUP"

The revolutionary Georg Schrimpf (1889-1938) had moved from his native Munich to Berlin in the spring of 1915 after being declared medically unfit for military service. Through his friend Oskar Maria Graf, who had earlier set-

tled in Berlin, Schrimpf came into contact with the capitol's radical literati. Together with Franz Jung, Otto Gross, Richard Oehring and Cläre Otto they published the six numbers of the journal Freie Straße (1915-18), the last number of which, edited by Richard Huelsenbeck, was the first publication of the Berlin Dadaists.[6] The Freie Straße group worked in close contact with the group around the pacifist journal Neue Jugend (1916-17) which included: Wieland Herzfelde, John Heartfield, George Grosz, Johannes Becher, Theodor Däubler, Else Lasker-Schüler, Heinrich Maria Davringhausen and Carlo Mense. Schrimpf, an autodidactic artist, made his first oil paintings in Berlin and had his Expressionist-style woodcuts published in Der Sturm, Die Aktion and Das Kunstblatt [Fig. 78]. He became part of the circle around Nell and Herwarth Walden (with whom he exhibited regularly from 1915-1925), and through the Waldens, he met his first wife the artist Maria Uhden. They were married in May 1917 and moved to Munich the following September. Shortly after his return to Munich, Schrimpf came under contract with Hans Goltz who arranged his first exhibition there in June 1918.

The pendants Self Portrait and Portrait of Maria Uhden

---

6. Raoul Hausmann later recalled, "In Berlin Dadaism was able to gain a hold in 1918, because the journal Die Freie Strasse offered a psychological base to work from." "Club Dada. Berlin 1918-20" in Paul Raabe, ed., The Era of German Expressionism, trans. J. M. Ritchie (Woodstock, NY: Overlook, 1985): 225.

[Figs. 79 & 80] were painted shortly after the death of Maria Uhden in August 1918, two months after she had given birth.[7] These paintings represent a departure from his rhythmic Expressionist works whose sweet lyricism is suddenly replaced by a severe frontality, and more naturalistic, rigid forms. Schrimpf's energies were apparently focused on politics soon after Maria Uhden's death, yet his specific activities during the revolution remain unclear. He was a founding member of the *Action Committee*, joined the KPD in January 1919 and may have left the party in April -- i.e. before the fall of the communist government. He was arrested -- not for his involvement in the revolution it seems, but for having obtained false papers and a passport for a fugitive communist -- and was interned from May 3 until June 16, 1919.[8]

Perhaps Schrimpf's first oil painting after the revolution,[9] Mother and Child/In the Yard of 1919 [Fig. 81] poignantly portrays Maria Uhden holding her son within an enclosed backyard (a *hortus conclusus*) while the child

---

7. Schrimpf's Portrait of Oskar Maria Graf (private collection, Germany), also of 1918, is of identical proportions and in the same style as these two paintings.

8. Wolfgang Storch, ed., Georg Schrimpf und Maria Uhden: Leben und Werk (Berlin: Charlottenburg, 1985): 254.

9. Like many Weimar artists, Schrimpf produced very few paintings in the first years after the war. Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Christmut Praeger list two oils from 1919, three from 1920 and five from 1921 (in Storch, Georg Schrimpf und Maria Uhden).

points to a goldfinch (symbolizing the soul of the deceased). The Marian symbols, the sad expression of the mother, and the treatment of space reveal a study of Late Gothic imagery. But, while this was to be the dominant theme in Schrimpf's art until 1926 (when his sons were no longer infants[10]) this stylization would yield to a greater naturalism. A version of this same theme from 1923 [Fig. 82], for example, is more representative of Schrimpf's mature style. All the same elements are included: the mother and child, the trash cans, the dog, the tree, and the paved yard. The spacial distortions are gone, the idyllic quality diminished, and the attributes of class more apparent, yet the classicistic calm that pervades all of Schrimpf's works remains. Aside from an exclusive interest in working-class and peasant subjects, nothing of Schrimpf's political beliefs or experiences is apparent in his work. In a rare statement on his art from 1932 Schrimpf wrote:

> My imagery has nothing to do with programmatic painting. . . . What I want in my paintings has little to do with life the way it is, despite all coincidental effects and appearances. Thus I strive for clarity and simplicity the fundamentals that are important to me, in the hope of also

---

10. Schrimpf remarried in 1921 and had son with his second wife in 1924.

coming close to the inner value of things.[11]

In 1921, although his work could hardly have been described as "programmatic," Leopold Zahn aptly described Schrimpf as the "idyllist of proletarian life."[12]

In a 1923 essay on Schrimpf, Franz Roh spoke of the artist's "new truth to the object."[13] But Roh was not speaking of mimesis; Schrimpf's *truth to the object* had little in common with Karl Hubbuch's fascination in the physical nature of things, for example [see chapter 4]. Roh was most likely refering to Schrimpf's absence of Expressionist formal distortions. Roh later noted that Schrimpf never used models, not even for his landscapes.[14]

---

11. "Meine Darstellung hat mit programmatischer Malerei . . . nichts zu tun. . . . Was ich in meinen Bildern will, gilt dem Leben schlechthin, so wie es trotz aller zufälligen Wirkungen und Erscheinungen abläuft. So bemühe ich mich um Klarheit und Einfachheit als den mir wesentlichen Grundzügen, in dem Glauben, eben dadurch auch dem inneren Wert der Dinge nahezukommen." Georg Schrimpf, forward to the exhibition catalog Georg Schrimpf (Graphisches Kabinett München, 1932) reprinted in: Die Zwanziger Jahre in München (Munich: Stadtmuseum, 1979): 126.

12. "[...] dieser Idylliker des Proletarierlebens. . ." Leopold Zahn, "Münchner Ausstellungen," Der Cicerone 13 (May 1921): 284.

13. "[D]er neuen Gegenstandstreue." Franz Roh, "Georg Schrimpf und die neue Malerei," Das Kunstblatt 7 (September 1923): 268. Roh used the word *Realismus* in quotations in relation to the art of Schrimpf. In the 1950s, Roh dismissed the works of his deceased friend Schrimpf as naïve and clumsy.

14. Franz Roh, Nach Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus, Probleme der neusten Europäischen Malerei (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1925): 38.

During 1921 and 1922 Schrimpf lived in Italy (where his second wife Hedwig Marschall found work as a nurse). In Rome, he made contact with Mario Broglio's *Valori Plastici* circle (Broglio bought three works from Schrimpf), and Schrimpf established a friendship with Carlo Carrà. In 1924 Carrà published a small monograph on Schrimpf in which he praised Schrimpf as a leading representative of Europe's new "mystical painting."[15] Franz Roh claimed that Schrimpf had first seen Valori Plastici in 1921 "when his style was already certain,"[16] but Schrimpf certainly would have known of the Roman journal, and would have been interested in it, as soon as it first arrived in Goltz's bookstore in 1919. Nonetheless, Schrimpf's development was more dependent on the works of the *Nazarenes* and certain Biedermeier painters than on the Italians.

It was only after World War I that German art historians began to take a serious interest in German painting of the nineteenth century. Some of the major spokesmen for Post-Expressionism were also leading historians of nineteenth-century German painting, Paul F. Schmidt in particular. In 1922 alone Schmidt published two books, each containing a large number of illustrations: Biedermeier-

---

15. Carlo Carrà, Georg Schrimpf (Rome: Editions Valori Plastici, 1924).

16. "Schrimpf sah erst 1921, als er schon seines Stiles sicher war, Abbildungen der Valori Plastici." Roh, "Georg Schrimpf," 264.

Malerei (137 illustrations) and Deutsche Landschaftsmalerei von 1750 bis 1830 (108).[17] In the following two years he published a monograph on Philipp Otto Runge[18] and a major study of *the Nazarenes*. Schrimpf's quest for beauty and simplicity together with his prosaic subject matter inevitably encouraged critics, sometimes negatively, to associate his art with Biedermeier and *the Nazarenes*. Leopold Zahn, on the other hand, assured that: "Schrimpf's Nazarene-like paintings and watercolors are the results of a long, continuously progressing development of this artist who had been thoroughly influenced by Franz Marc." He also praised Schrimpf for being "free of the academy and museum cult."[19]

Schrimpf received his first important critical attention in 1923 when Oskar Maria Graf's monograph (with 53 illustrations) and two articles on Schrimpf appeared (in

---

17. Willi Wolfradt wrote well-informed reviews of Schmidt's Biedermeier-Malerei (Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt 8 [November 24, 1922]: 145-46) and later on the Johann Erdmann Hummel exhibition at the National Galerie (Der Cicerone 15 [July 1924]: 696-713, with 10 illustrations).

18. Both Schrimpf and Otto Dix produced portraits of their children based on Runge's portraits of the Huelsenbeck children (which were illustrated in Schmidt's book).

19. "Die nazarenerhaften Bilder und Aquarelle Schrimpfs sind Ergebnisse einer längeren kontinuierlich verlaufenen Entwicklung dieses durch Marc hindurchgegangenen Künstlers. . . . [F]rei von Akademie und Museumskult." Zahn, "Münchner Ausstellungen," 284.

Das Kunstblatt and Jahrbuch der jungen Kunst).[20] Nonetheless, in need of some financial security, Schrimpf took a position at a school in Haubinda (Thuringia) in 1925.

Although Carlo Mense (1886-1965) only spent brief periods in Munich, through his relationships with Schrimpf, Goltz, Graf and Roh, he was regarded as a principle Munich artist. Mense had studied at the Dusseldorf academy (1905-08) and in Berlin under Lovis Corinth. A central figure among the Rhenish Expressionists before the war, Mense had taken part in both the *Sonderbund* exhibition and Walden's *Herbstsalon*. Together with Davringhausen, another Rhenish Expressionist, Mense spent the summer of 1914 in Ancona, Switzerland (which had become a summer haven for German anarchists and artists). Stylistically, Mense's work of this period is almost indistinguishable from Davringhausen's. At the outbreak of the war Mense was called up for military duty and Davringhausen, who had been exempted from military service due to poor vision, moved to Berlin (where he had many contacts from Ancona). Throughout the war Mense spent his leave time with Davringhausen in Berlin among the Neue Jugend group.

Through Schrimpf, both Davringhausen and Mense came

---

20. Oskar Maria Graf, Georg Schrimpf (Junge Kunst no. 37) (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1923); Graf, "Neue Bilder von Georg Schrimpf," Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst (1923): 178-83; and Franz Roh, "Georg Schrimpf und die neue Malerei," Das Kunstblatt 7 (September 1923): 264-68.

under contract with Hans Goltz in 1918. Goltz gave Mense his first solo exhibition in 1918 and Davringhausen his in early 1919. But while Davringhausen relocated to Munich in 1918, Mense settled in the Rhineland after being demobilized. Davringhausen and Schrimpf were thus kept well-informed of activities in the Rhineland through their close contact with Mense until his move to Munich at the end of 1920.[21]

Mense's painting Russian Winter Landscape of 1920 [Fig. 83] is representative of his transition to static, yet fantastic images. This sparse, dream-like style is similar to certain contemporary works by Davringhausen, especially his lithographs.[22]

In an autobiographical statement published in Der Ararat in October 1920 Carlo Mense wrote:

> I am living in Cologne-Bonn and attempting to make paintings which I present for criticism to my unattainable models in Cologne: the Master of St. Severin, Bartel Bruyn, the unknown Lower-Rhine and Westfalen masters.
> I have very little interest in anything else going

---

21. In 1919 both Davringhausen and Mense took part in the first exhibition of *Das Junge Rheinland* in Dusseldorf, the first *November Group* exhibition in Berlin, and the exhibitions of Karl Nierendorf's *Society of Arts* in Cologne.

22. It is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to study Mense's oeuvre thoroughly because so many of his works from the twenties were destroyed during World War II both by the Nazi authorities and by allied bombing (his studio was bombed).

> on around me. . . .[23]

In his review of an exhibition at Goltz's in 1921 Leopold Zahn wrote:

> Mense seems to have gone back to the lessons of the old German and Netherlandish masters. . . . Thank God: the patience of the old masters seems to have been rediscovered.[24]

Mense's painting Nude in Italian Landscape of 1921 [Fig. 84] is representative of a move to the idyllic subjects of Schrimpf, but with more traditional classical subjects. In 1922 Mense traveled to Italy where he joined Schrimpf in contacting the Valori Plastici group (whose influence is already apparent in his work). In the same year they were represented in an exhibition organized by Mario Broglio in Florence. Mense's Portrait of Underberg, which was probably painted after his Italian trip [Fig. 85], is almost indistinguishable from contemporary Italian portraits by

---

23. "Nun lebe ich in Köln-Bonn und versuche Bilder zu machen, die ich meinen Kölner unerreichbaren Vorbildern, den Meister von St. Severin, dem Bartel Bruyn, den unbekannten niederrheinischen und westfälischen Meistern zur Kritik vorlege.
Was sonst um mich vorgeht interessiert mich wenig, und andere noch weniger, ist ja immer dasselbe. Die Hauptsache, daß gute Bilder gemalt werden, wer dies nur zufällig tut, ist Neben-sache." Carlo Mense, "Autobiographie," Der Ararat 2 (October 1920): 105.

24. "Mense scheint bei den altdeutschen und niederländischen Meistern in die Lehre gegangen zu sein. . . . Gott sei Dank: man scheint die Geduld der alten Meister wiedergefunden zu haben." Zahn, "Münchner Ausstellungen," 284.

Felice Casorati, Mario Sironi and other *Novecento* painters [Fig. 86].

In 1923 Mense returned to the Rhineland where he and his wife struggled unsuccessfully to sell his paintings.[25] With the help of Kanoldt, Mense received a professorship at the Breslau academy in 1925 which offered him some financial security, but far less time to paint.

Heinrich Maria Davringhausen (1894-1970) studied briefly at the School of Applied Arts in his native Aachen and briefly at the Dusseldorf academy before the war. Like many young German artists, Davringhausen was strongly influenced by Vincent van Gogh immediately after seeing his work (at the *Sonderbund* exhibition in 1912). And, like many of his contemporaries, he was equally interested in the early German and Netherlandish masters at the same time. Davringhausen exhibited for the first time in 1914 with the Rhenish Expressionists at the Galerie Flechtheim in Dusseldorf.

In Berlin during the war Davringhausen established a close relationship with George Grosz whose influence is clearly evident in the two paintings that mark the beginning of Davringhausen's mature work: The General and The Sex Murderer of 1917 [Figs. 87 & 88]. Compared to his

---

25. The Menses' letters to Roh are collected in the Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica.

earlier works, the individual forms are now more carefully delineated, and there is a new interest in narrative. In 1924 Oskar Maria Graf noted about Davringhausen: "[F]rom the very beginning, and in contrast to the decomposition of the Expressionists, this artist aimed towards an emphatic formal Gegenständlichkeit."[26]

In The Sex Murderer Davringhausen employed a contemporary literary theme as a twist on the traditional figure of the reclining nude.[27] Like Grosz and Dix, Davringhausen treats the subject of sex murder with black humor. Only once the assassin under the bed is identified does the theme become more than a traditional reclining nude. Davringhausen's The General is thematically similar to Grosz's Germany, A Winter's Tale [Fig. 3] which was begun around the same time. Like the bourgeois in Grosz's painting, Davringhausen's general, with all the props and physical attributes of his position, is seated at a table eating his wurst, beer and schnapps. From outside a group of tired, hungry soldiers stare in at the general's table with looks of desperation. Despite his close relationship to Grosz, Herzfelde and Heartfield, Davringhausen never em-

---

26. "[D]ieser Maler von Anfang an, und im Gegensatz zur Aufgelöstheit der Expressionisten, auf eine betonte formale Gegenständlichkeit hinzielte." Oskar Maria Graf, "Heinrich Maria Davringhausen," Der Cicerone 16 (January 1924): 59.

27. Wolf-Dieter Dube points to Titian's Venus and Cupid in the Uffizi as the specific source for Davringhausen in "Der Lustmörder von Heinrich Maria Davringhausen," Pantheon 31 (Spring 1973): 181-85.

braced Dada. Herzfelde later recalled, "He could not be lured by any -ism."[28]

During the time Davringhausen lived in Munich (1918-1922), his themes fluctuated between those of his Munich friends and those of the Dadaists in northern Germany (thus Willi Wolfradt described him as "a metropolitan Romantic."[29]) His sardonic attitude, however, was not suited to painting italianate idylls.

The Dreamer II of 1919 [Fig. 89] is typical of the psychological portraits that Davringhausen produced throughout the Weimar period. The protagonist's dream of an encounter with a woman in the desert appears above like a cloud. On the table before him is a bottle of schnapps, a glass and a bloody razor. On a bed in the background is a murdered woman. Is she related to the woman in his dream? Is the corpse also a dream? Just as his friend Max Ernst was beginning to do in Cologne, Davringhausen enjoyed playing with ambiguities between reality and dream. This

---

28. "[E]r fühlte sich von überhaupt keinem Ismus angezogen. . . ." Letter, Herzfelde to Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, August 21, 1974, quoted in Heusinger von Waldegg, Heinrich Maria Davringhausen: Monographie mit Werkkatalog 1912-1932 (Cologne: Rheinland, 1977): 19. Heusinger aptly argues that Davringhausen fits into none of the Neue Sachlichkeit categories established by historians, and notes that he developed earlier than any artist associated with Neue Sachlichkeit.
Like Mense, many of Davringhausen's early works were destroyed in his Cologne studio during World War II.

29. Willi Wolfradt, "Heinrich Maria Davringhausen," Die Dame 50 (1923): 3. Republished in Heusinger, Davringhausen, 138-39.

interest in psychological states reflects the central interest of the Freie Straße group. The brilliant colors still speak of Rhenish Expressionism, and such an interest in psychological extremes (a central theme for Davringhausen throughout the Weimar period) was popular among the *Brücke* artists as well, yet this painting looks nothing like the Expressionism produced between 1905 and 1919.[30] It was works by Davringhausen like The Dreamer that attracted so much attention at the great Expressionism exhibition in Darmstadt of 1920.

The Head of 1919/20 [Fig. 90] offers another twist on the sex-murder theme. A grossly understated work, at first glance it seems to be a typical Davringhausen figure with a trance-like gaze. Eventually a bloody knife beside the head is noticed, and then comes the realization that the head is disembodied. There is no violence. The drapery adds an artistic touch to this still life. Leopold Zahn wrote about such works by Davringhausen: "Horror was never before presented with so much countenance and Sachlichkeit".[31] (The term Sachlichkeit seems never to have been used in regard to Schrimpf and Mense.)

---

30. See Heusinger, Davringhausen, 43. The Dreamer II was included in the "Deutsche Expressionismus" exhibition in Darmstadt, and was included in a Dresden Secession exhibition in 1920.

31. "Nie ward Entsetzliches mit so viel Contenance und Sachlichkeit dargestellt." Leopold Zahn, "Heinrich Maria Davringhausen," Graphik des Westens (ed. H. von Wedderkop, 1922): 69. Reprinted in Heusinger, Davringhausen, 138

In an essay of 1920 Leopold Zahn discussed the diverse forms of "infantilism" in contemporary art. He saw the biting graffiti of ("the German-American") George Grosz standing at opposite poles with Henri Rousseau's innocent images. Zahn praised Rousseau as the first European of our time to see and experience things again with the surprised eyes and pure soul of a child: "Everything was new and meaningful to him. . . . Behind reality he saw not the [natural] law, but the wonder." Zahn identified a group of "nordic" artists who were bound to Rousseau in outlook: "above all Chagall, Albert-Bloch and Davringhausen."[32]

The Profiteer of 1921 [Fig. 91], like The General, is a Grosz-like type-portrait of the opposition. Like The Dreamer II, the protagonist stares contemplatively off to the left of the viewer. On his desk are a box of cigars, a compass, a pen and ink well, a telephone, and a glass of wine. The windows offer a view of a city of featureless tenements.[33] Davringhausen presents a psychological portrait of the exploitative entrepreneur. The rapidly receding background was a popular portrait motif throughout the Weimar period.

---

32. "Alles war ihm neu und bedeutsam. . . . Hinter der Realität sah er nicht das Gesetz, sondern das Wunder." Leopold Zahn, "Über den Infantilismus in der neuen Kunst," Das Kunstblatt 4 (March 1920): 85.

33. The interior space and architectural style are similar to those employed by Grosz at this time, and perhaps derivative of certain published works by de Chirico and Carrà.

Davringhausen's ridiculously iconic painting Sunday Morning of 1922 [Fig. 92] may have been intended as a parody of Franz Marc's utopian animal paintings (which were well known ten years later).[34] The space is dominated by an enormous hog eating from his trough who pauses for a moment to stare out at us (with his blue eyes). Beneath him is a tiny piglet seen from behind. Davringhausen's motif seems to be closely related to the drawings of Edita Walterowna von Zur-Muehlen which had recently appeared in both Valori Plastici and Das Kunstblatt [Figs. 93 & 94].[35]

In 1922 Leopold Zahn noted in regard to Davringhausen:

> He paints like an old master: with a verism developed to total clarity with even the supernatural, and an accuracy which emulates the glazed precision of the early Netherlandish masters.[36]

But it was only after a prolonged trip to Spain in 1924-25 and a careful study of Max Doerner's manual Malmaterial und seine Verwendung im Bilde that Davringhausen adopted an oil glazing technique derived from the old masters.[37]

Davringhausen left Munich in 1922 (perhaps due to the

---

34. Some of Marc's animal paintings were available in postcard form through Hans Goltz's bookstore.

35. Theodor Däubler, "Moderne Italiener," Das Kunstblatt 5 (1921): 49-53.

36. "Er malt wie ein alter Meister: mit einem selbst das Geisterhafte zu voller Deutlichkeit entwickelnden Verismus und einer Sorgfalt, die lasierenden Feinmalerei früher Niederländischer nacheifert." Zahn, "Davringhausen," 69.

37. Heusinger von Waldegg, Davringhausen, 140.

slow market there) and lived in Berlin until 1924 where he was again in close contact with Grosz and Herzfelde.[38] Like Grosz he signed a contract with Alfred Flechtheim who ran the most prestigious gallery of modern art in Germany.

In the spring of 1921 Hans Goltz assembled an exhibition of recent works by four artists under contract with him who revealed a new stylistic unity: Davringhausen, Mense, Schrimpf and Tommy Parzinger. Parzinger, who worked primarily as a furniture painter, was only associated with the "Munich group" in 1921 when Goltz published his portfolio of lithographs Children in the Afternoon [Fig. 95]. Images of children at play, which were popular throughout the Weimar period, appeared frequently in the "metaphysical" works of De Chirico and Carrà [Fig. 96]. However, the largest collection of images of children appeared in 1921: Max Sauerland's Kinderbildnisse aus 5 Jahrhunderten der europäischen Malerei (Leipzig: Klinckhardt und Biermann). Still no one could fail to see Parzinger's almost undigested influence of Valori Plastici. Leopold Zahn wrote of these prints in 1921:

> Parzinger, a new man who brings us new things. The inclination towards austerity and regulation, born out of the spirit of Cubism and the contemporary Italians, is strong in him. The closed form

---

38. Davringhausen illustrated the Malik-Verlag's edition of Eugen Lewin Dorsch's Die Dollarmännchen in 1923.

> is reestablished just as it is with the 'Metaphysical' artists of the Valori Plastici group.[39]

For his Davringhausen-Mense-Schrimpf-Parzinger exhibition, Goltz had the visitor walk through two rooms displaying reproductions of classical works before seeing the works of his artists. Leopold Zahn described the group as "the conquerors of actual Expressionism" and identified three common aspects of their work:

> 1. The painting technique. The individual brushstrokes are rubbed, glazed, banned. 2. Clarity of form in connection to the forms of nature. A new naturalism -- to put it bluntly. 3. The predilection for perspectival spatial construction. La divina perspettiva! Evviva Italia! Evviva Paolo Uccello![40]

Zahn lamented in an aside, "Too bad that Grosz has not sent his new *sport-paintings* [Figs. 30 & 32] to complete this

---

39. "Parzinger, ein neuer Mann, der uns Neues bringt. Der Wille zur Strenge und zur Regel, aus dem Geist des Kubismus und des jungen Italiens geboren, ist in ihm mächtig. Die geschlossene Naturform ist - wie auch bei den 'Metaphysikern' der valori-plasticigruppe hergestellt." Leopold Zahn, "Parzinger: Kinder am Nachmittag," Der Ararat 4 (1921): 147.

40. "Diese Representanten der jüngsten Generation -- Überwinder des eigentlichen Expressionismus -- haben bei allen individuellen Verschiedenheiten etliches gemeinsam: 1. Die Maltechnik. Man verreibt, man lasiert man verpönt den sichtbaren individuellen Pinselstreich. 2. Die Eindeutigkeit der Formengebung im Anschluß an die Naturform. Ein neuer Naturalismus - um es grob auszudrücken. 3. Die Vorliebe für perspektivistische Raumgestaltung. La divina perspettiva! . . . . Evviva Italia! Evviva Paolo Uccello!" Zahn, "Münchner Ausstellungen," 285.

very instructive collection."[41] (Grosz was also under contract with Goltz at the time.)

Soon after Davringhausen left Munich, Franz Roh introduced Schrimpf and Mense to Alexander Kanoldt (1881-1939).[42] While studying at the Karlsruhe Academy (1901-06) Kanoldt spent his summers painting in Italy beside his father, Edmund Kanoldt [Fig. 97]. In 1932 he wrote:

> I am the son of the last true Deutschrömer landscape painter Edmund Kanoldt. . . . For all the 'modernity' of my efforts I cannot eradicate in myself the tradition of [the Deutschrömer] Josef Anton Koch and Friedrich Preller.[43]

Soon after the completion of his academic studies Kanoldt

---

41. "(Schade übrigens, daß Grosz keines seiner neuen 'Sportbilder' eingesandt hat - zu Komplettierung dieser sehr instruktiven Kollektion.)" Leopold Zahn, "Münchner Ausstellungen," 284.
Grosz had exhibited together with Schrimpf, Mense and Davringhausen at Goltz's group exhibition in the fall of 1920.

42. According to an essay by Franz Roh of 1926, Schrimpf and Mense had admired the work of Kanoldt, but only made personal contact with him in 1923. Franz Roh, "Alexander Kanoldt," Der Kunstwart 39 (1926): 56. Kanoldt lived in Pasing, just outside of Munich.
Born the same year as Pablo Picasso and Franz Marc, Kanoldt was a decade older than most of the Weimar realists.

43. "[I]ch bin doch der Sohn des letzten richtigen Deutsch-römischen Landschaftsmaler Edmund Kanoldt. . . . Bei aller 'Modernität' meines Schaffens kann ich die Tradition Josef Anton Koch - Friedrich Preller nicht in mir ausmerzen." Letter, Kanoldt to Friedrich Lieber from July 3, 1932. Reprinted in Alexander Kanoldt 1881-1939: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Lithographien (Freiburg im Breisgau: Museum für Neue Kunst, 1987): 207.

experimented with Divisionism and Cézannism.[44] In 1909 he was settled in Munich as secretary of the *Neue Künstler Vereinigung* (which included Adolf Erbslöh, a friend from Karlsruhe, Kandinsky, Alfred Kubin, Jawlensky, Münter, et al.). During 1911-13 he developed a landscape style based on his study of Cézanne which was similar to the contemporary landscapes of André Derain [Fig. 98].

Kanoldt's work underwent a dramatic change just prior to the outbreak of war. The similarity of Cloister I, a unique painting in his oeuvre, dated 1913 [Fig. 99], to certain contemporary works by Giorgio de Chirico, The Enigma of the Hour of 1911-12 (private collection), for example, is uncanny. Any connection with de Chirico has been denied by art historians.[45] But it is quite possible that Kanoldt had seen this very work in Paris.[46] This

---

44. In a letter to Franz Roh Kanoldt wrote that Seurat and Cézanne taught him discipline. Letter, February 2, 1925, Franz Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica.

45. See: Matthias Eberle, "Alexander Kanoldt, or Belated Classicism," German Realist Drawings of the Twenties (Cambridge: Busch-Reisinger Museum, 1986): 63-67; Michael Koch, "Neue Sachlichkeit - Magischer Realismus," 124; and Brigitte Fischer-Hollweg, "Alexander Kanoldt und die Kunstrichtungen seiner Zeit," (diss. Bochum, 1971).

46. Kanoldt and his wife traveled to Tuscany after their marriage in Prague in March 1913. According to his biography, sometime in 1914 he made a trip to Paris. However, taking into account how unique this work is compared to contemporary works by Kanoldt, and its similarity to De Chirico's painting, it seems possible that he either visited Paris in 1913 or that the work was predated after a 1914 trip to Paris.
De Chirico's The Enigma of the Hour was shown both at the

could be the first and only evidence of De Chirico's influence in Germany before the war.[47]

Kanoldt spent the war years in uniform and produced very little work. Among his first paintings after the war was a second version of Cloister (Wiesbaden, private collection). In 1919 he also exhibited with Goltz for the first time since 1914. He probably came into contact with Valori Plastici at this time. He would surely have had an interest in the new "classicism" coming out of Italy; and the work of Carrà and the still lifes of Giorgio Morandi would surely have interested him.[48] During 1920 he began a series of still lifes with increasingly naturalistic colors. In an autobiographical sketch written for Franz Roh in 1925, Kanoldt wrote:

> The living situation that had been forcibly changed, the narrowly drawn borders -- which finally brought peace after a life of adventure of almost 5 years, lured me to the atelier, where I busied myself with the still life which I scarcely gave attention to earlier, a task which became more and more attractive to me from day to day and with which I will not be finished for a long

---

...Continued...

Salon des Indépendants in 1913 and in de Chirico's exhibition at his studio in October of that year. Ferrara: Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, La Metafisica (1981): 154.

47. Walden had planned to exhibit de Chirico at *Der Sturm* in 1915, but the war put an end to his plans. Rome: Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Giorgio De Chirico 1888-1978 (1981): 55.

48. Morandi was featured with 11 illustrations in Valori Plastici 4 (1921).

time.[49]

In the early still lifes, Still Life XI of 1920 [Fig. 100] for example, objects are clustered together similar to some of de Chirico's interiors [Fig. 9]. Over the next two years Kanoldt's still lifes became simpler, increasingly sharper in contour, airless and lifeless. By 1922 the rubber tree, perhaps the most lifeless looking of plants, became a favorite object for Kanoldt [Fig. 101]. Eberle suggests that the "icy coldness" of Kanoldt's post-war work was a result of the war: "he aims, after the great slaughter, to bring everything elemental and emotional under control, to freeze it in place."[50] This is quite plausible considering that no war images by his hand are known, that his first marriage ended in divorce while he was still in uniform in 1918, and that he became a recluse immediately after his discharge. According to a letter from 1921, the publishers Klinkhardt and Biermann had planned a monograph on Kanoldt to be written by his childhood friend Wilhelm

---

49. "Die zwangsweise veränderte Lebenslage, die enggezogenen Grenzen - die endlich Ruhe nach einem fast fünfjährigen Abenteuerleben fesselten mich ans Atelier, wo ich ganz natürlich auf die Auseinandersetzung mit dem von mir vorher wenig beachteten Stilleben verfiel, eine Aufgabe, die sich mir von Tag zu Tag reizvoller gestaltet und mit welcher ich mich noch lange nicht fertig sehe." Letter, Kanoldt to Roh, February 2, 1925, Franz Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica. This autobiography was probably requested in preparation for Roh's book Magischer Realismus which was published in the fall of that year.

50. Eberle, "Kanoldt," 64.

Hausenstein and that Der Ararat was planning a special Kanoldt number, but the artist rejected both projects: "We artists say 'yes' too easily in the quiet hope that our external lot will improve -- and that is wrong."[51] Kanoldt seems to have been as impersonal as his pictures.

In Schrimpf and Mense, Kanoldt found kindred spirits. After the departure of Davringhausen, these three formed a more homogeneous group -- *Neo-Deutschrömer*. In 1924 and again in 1925 Kanoldt traveled to Italy for the first time since before the war. These trips resulted in a new series of monumental landscapes in the tradition of Edmund Kanoldt and the Deutschrömer. The village Subiaco [Fig. 102] had been a favorite subject of Josef Anton Koch. The uphill view used by Kanoldt in his painting of 1924 was frequently employed by his father. The palette is simple and harmonious, warm and cool forms lock each other in place (a lesson learned from Cézanne). All is simplified, purified, solidified, sterilized, monumentalized: perfectly rigid. Even the river is motionless.

As early as 1920 Schrimpf was depicting conceptual italianate landscapes perhaps based on the landscapes of Bellini (e.g. Woman in Landscape, 1921, Stuttgart, private

---

51. "Wir Maler neigen zu leicht zum Ja sagen, in der stillen Hoffnung, unser äußeres Los damit zu verbessern - und das ist sicher falsch." Letter, Kanoldt to Walter Dexel, April 1, 1921, reprinted in Alexander Kanoldt, 200. This monograph was to be part of the series "Junge Kunst."

collection). His landscapes evolved during the following years into uniquely Upper Bavarian sites (although he never painted outdoors).

The influence of both Kanoldt and André Derain[52] is apparent in a series of still lifes by Schrimpf [Fig. 103], Mense, Walter Schulz-Matan, Adolf Erbslöh, Max Unold, Richard Seewald and other members of the *Munich Neue Secession* in the early twenties.

In 1926, when everyone was talking about Die neue Sachlichkeit, Franz Roh pointed out that Munich had already been the center of Post-Expressionism in 1920, but noted that Kanoldt, Schrimpf, Mense and Davringhausen had all since left.[53]

---

52. Derain's first post-war exhibition in Germany was held at the Galerie Thannhäuser in Munich in 1922.

53. Franz Roh, "Alexander Kanoldt," Der Cicerone 18 (June 1926): 475.

4. KARLSRUHE

Karlsruhe was unique among German cities in that it was home to one of the country's major art academies, yet, unlike Dresden, Munich and Dusseldorf, had seen virtually nothing of modern art before 1919. The academy had long been the domain of Baden's regionalist landscape painters [Fig. 104], Hans Thoma in particular (the Impressionist Wilhelm Trübner was regarded as the *radical* member of the faculty). The academy was unique among German academies in that it was affiliated with schools of engraving and lithography. In 1920, following the Weimar Bauhaus model, the Großherzögliche Akademie was fused with the adjoining crafts and graphics schools and renamed the Badische Landeskunstschule.[1] The major artists in Karlsruhe had always been attached to the academy in some way, and this was the case with the three Post-Expressionist artists to be discussed in this section: Georg Scholz, Karl Hubbuch and Wilhelm Schnarrenberger. During the exceptionally difficult years of 1923-25 and 1929-33 the academy served them as a source of financial security. This chapter will survey the developments of these three artists up to the year 1924, at which time Hubbuch and Schnarrenberger found

---

1. See Karlsruhe: Staatliche Kunsthalle, Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950 (1981): 66-7.

stylistic and thematic modes that were to last throughout most of the decade. For Scholz, 1925 marked the end of his polemic phase. Thereafter he concentrated on purely academic formal/visual problems while shunning political content.

Georg Scholz (1890-1945) had studied at the Karlsruhe academy under Thoma and Trübner from 1908 until the outbreak of war in 1914. Immediately after the war he embraced both Expressionism [Fig. 13] and the KPD. Through his friend Rudolf Schlichter he made contact with the Berlin Dada artists and his work underwent a radically abrupt change. His painting/collage Industry Farmers [Fig. 14] was exhibited at the First International Dada Fair.[2] Sometime after the painting was back in his possession Scholz created a lithograph version of it, as he would do regularly with his paintings during the inflation period. The Industry Farmers lithograph [Fig. 105] is caricatural and satirical, but it lacks the irrational collage elements of the Dadaist painting. Like the central figures of Berlin Dada, Scholz seems to have quickly moved beyond Dada after the Dada Fair, and he remained in close contact with Schlichter and Grosz until the late twenties.

---

2. See part one section 3.3 for discussion. The initial studies for Industry Farmers date from 1919; a study for the head of the father (in the Scholz Estate, Waldkirch) is dated 1919.

Scholz's continued ideological sympathy with Grosz is evident in one of his major themes of 1920-21, Newspaper Carriers [Fig. 106].[3] As in Grosz's work, the figures are clearly identified according to class and intentions. This was the kind of clarity of purpose sought by Der Gegner, and indeed the print was reproduced in its March 1922 edition where it carried the caption:

> WORLD GONE WRONG
> The Fat: live off the work of the thin.
> The thin: spread the wisdom of the fat.[4]

In Newspaper Carriers Scholz's obese, pig-headed profiteer/pimp, a character he would depict regularly throughout the early twenties, appears for the first time.

One of the most important Post-Expressionist theorists during the early twenties, Scholz called on artists to "bridge the gap" between art and kitsch in order to be more comprehensible to the masses. And, like Grosz, he called on artists to renounce their infatuation with individuality. One of Scholz's first attempts at such an image was

---

3. As a child Scholz had sold newspapers to support himself. His mother had put him in an orphanage after his father's suicide.
Scholz produced two watercolors and a lithograph version of The Newspaper Carriers. One of the watercolors (Pfalzgalerie, Kaiserslautern) is signed with a rubber stamp, as was Grosz's practice at this time.

4. "VERKEHRTE WELT
Der Dicke: lebt von der Arbeit der Dünnen.
Die Dünnen: verbreiten die Weisheit der Dicken."
Der Gegner 3 (March 1922): 38.

his oil painting Veterans Society of 1921-22 [Fig. 107] which was intended to resemble a commemorative photograph or postcard. Three members of the society pose on a village square during the preparation for some militaristic memorial festivities. Scholz, however, added a contemporary social twist to the image by giving the features of the industrial magnate Hugo Stinnes to the figure on the left (By 1924 Stinnes had bought out ca. 2,000 companies; his name appears above the factory in the distance).[5] The figure in the center is representative of Scholz's prototype Spießbürger. The standard-bearer on the right (resembling the old Bismarck) represents the last remaining heralded veterans of the Franco-Prussian War -- Germany's last victorious war. All three wear black, red and white ribbons (the colors of the Hohenzollern monarchy, although the black, red and yellow flag of the German Republic was adopted in 1919). Scholz's trio parody those Germans who, after the disgrace of 1918, felt they could still be proud of the army of Sédan. The war memorial in the center is dedicated to the victims of the Franco-Prussian War, the most recent war memorialized in Germany. In keeping with the overstatement of postcard symbolism, the hotel on the square is named "The Iron Hindenburg," the standard carries the motto "With God for Pride and [Father]land," beside the

---

5. In a sales ledger in the Scholz Estate in Waldkirch this painting is listed under the title "Stinnes."

memorial is a sapling oak tree, and a poster on the wall to the right reads: "Save Upper Silesia!" (Upper Silesia had been seceded to Poland in 1919, yet on March 20, 1921 Free Corps troops were sent there.)[6]

Scholz employed a new painting technique in Veterans Society, an oil-on-tempera technique painted on wood, similar to the technique of the Late Gothic masters which he learned from Max Doerner's book Malmaterial und seine Verwendung im Bilde, which was first published in 1921. Scholz's library (which remains intact) reveals his great interest in both the old masters and Doerner's book.[7]

---

6. In the lithograph based on the painting, The Apotheosis of the Soldiers Society [Fig.], "Herr Lieber Gott" rests on a cloud above the town speaking into a telephone directly connected to the local church. He is surrounded by German weapons and a ring of Giotto-like putti. Beneath him are Wilhelm I and Bismarck in the poses of the angels of the Sistine Madonna.

7. Among Scholz's books inscribed and dated immediately after the war are: the series Klassiker der Kunst, which focused on old masters and nineteenth-century Germans (like Trübner); Richard Muther's three-volume Geschichte der Malerei (1920); the series of monographs of old German masters by the Insel-Bücherei (some of which were received as Christmas gifts in 1919); the series Die Kunst, edited by Richard Muther, of old masters and French Impressionists; copies of Wilhelm Worringer's Cranach (Munich: Piper, 1920) and Die Altdeutsche Buchillustration (Munich: Piper, 1921); H. H. Joosten's Mathias Grünewald (Bielefeld: Velhasen und Klassing, 1913) [which was a birthday gift from his wife in 1918]; as well as many other books on the middle ages and the old masters. He later acquired a copy of Ludwig Coellen's Über die Methode der Kunstgeschichte (Darmstadt: Arkaden, 1924) which was extensively marked with underlines and exclamation marks. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. Scholz's friend Willy Stork, the director of the Karlsruhe Kunsthalle, was responsible for the largest collection of works by Grünewald in Germany. In

Scholz's copy of Doerner's book, which is inscribed and dated 1921 by Scholz, is very worn and thoroughly soiled with paint-stained fingerprints. In a letter to his friend and patron Dr. Theodor Kiefer in 1922 Scholz described his new technique as adapted from Doerner.[8] One month earlier he wrote enthusiastically to Kiefer about the second edition of Doerner's book and of his attempt to obtain a copy of a lecture Doerner had recently delivered.[9]

Doerner's importance in the development of Post-Expressionism has remarkably always been ignored.[10] Although the fascination in German Late Gothic painting developed simultaneously with Expressionism in Germany, it was only after the war -- after the demobilization of many of the country's art historians -- that a large number of books on Late Gothic art appeared. With the appearance of Doerner's manual artists tended to show their emulation of

---

...Continued...

1920 he published a portfolio of drawings by Grünewald. Another friend of Scholz, Hans Curjel, published a book on Hans Baldung Grien in 1920.

8. Postcard, Scholz to Kiefer, October 19, 1922, Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

9. Letter, Scholz to Kiefer, September 11, 1922, in the Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. He included Doerner's address in Munich which suggests that Scholz was in correspondence with Doerner.

10. The only study to have discussed the importance of Doerner's book during the Weimar period is Bruce F. Miller, "Otto Dix and His Oil-Tempera Technique," Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art 74 (1987): 332-55. But his interest is only in Dix, and only in his works after 1925.

the old masters not stylistically, as some Expressionists had attempted, but rather technically. In a letter to Kiefer in September 1924 Scholz aptly noted that the Expressionists' reacted sentimentally to the old masters while being content with a "late-Impressionist" technique. He described his own approach to the old masters as "a cool but lively interest, the way a physician dissects."[11]

Scholz's major works on the theme of German provincial conservatism are the pendants Small Town by Day (1922-23) and Small Town by Night (1923) [Figs. 108 & 109].[12] The idyllic towns and landscapes depicted are unique to Baden. By day the provincials show their ugly public faces: in the foreground a butcher is busy squeezing out the contents of a slaughtered pig's entrails; an undertaker is in search of a corpse; on the village square, near the "Gasthaus zur Deutschen Eiche," are a policeman, a fat priest, a monument

---

11. "Das fabelhafte ist aber, daß ein guter Teil der deutschen Expressionisten sich nur sentimental an den alten Meistern der Gothik orientierte, handwerklich aber sich mit der direkt Verrohung des an sich schon ziemlich ärmlichen Handwerks der späteren Impressionisten begnügte. Ich mache es nun gerade umgekehrt. Natürlich bewundere ich in guten Stunden die ungeheure Einheit von Menschentum, Form, Inhalt und Handwerk der Alten. Als Maler aber betrachte ich deren Werke mit kuhlen aber lebhaften Interesse, wie vielleicht ein Mediziner vivisesiert."
Letter, Scholz to Kiefer, September 24, 1924, Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

12. On the reverse sides of these paintings were the inscriptions "Badische Kleinstadt bei Tage Dez 1922 - Jan 1923" and "Deutsche Kleinstadt bei Nacht 1923 (IX)," respectively.

to a prince, a wine cart, a boy cleaning up after the horses and a one-legged man on crutches leaving the town; in the distance are factories and an idyllic castle ruin. By night the ugly private face appears: prostitutes, thieves and peeping-Toms take over the streets; on the village square the veterans' society is meeting at the monument to Wilhelm der Große; a pig-faced bourgeois propositions a little girl outside a pissoir; rowdy drunkards return home, one stops to vomit; a suicide victim hangs from a tree; in the distance couples make their way into the romantic moonlight towards a castle ruin. Scholz's social panoramas seem to have more in common with allegorical village scenes by artists like Bosch, Breughel, and A. Lorenzetti (all of whom are well represented in his library) than with modern art. The interest in the public/private and interior/exterior aspects of the society further relates Scholz's *Small Town* paintings to Dix's Altarpiece for Cavaliers [Figs. 18 & 19], but where Dix gives us a glimpse into the brothel, Scholz takes us into the bedroom of the rural bourgeois. Scholz's pendants are also related to the very popular before-and-after cartoon type. A contemporary example, published in the French magazine L'Illustration in 1918, for example, depicts an Alsatian village under brutal German occupation in one image and the same town peaceful and happy after liberation by the French

army in the other.[13]

During the economic collapse of November 1923, Scholz was featured in Das Kunstblatt[14] and received his only portrait commission of the period. The Portrait of the Banker Kahnheimer [Fig. 110][15] represents a point of departure for Scholz. It marks the end of the period of speculation and the end of the *Small Town* caricatural parodies. It is also exemplary of the type of portrait that would become popular after 1925. Kahnheimer is depicted behind the desk of his Frankfurt office. He stares out intensely to the left of the viewer holding a pencil in one hand, a cigarette in the other. On his desk are a telephone, a cigarette case, a sheet of paper, and an Archipenko-like figurine. On the wall behind him is a map of the shipping

---

13. The cartoons were by "Hansi" published in L'Illustration August 3, 1918. It is very likely that Scholz came to know these specific images considering his interest in cartoons and popular art. While at work on these paintings Scholz wrote to Kiefer "Ich halte das 'Plakat' für den Ausdruck unserer Zeit." He noted that Ernst Würtenberger, under whom he worked at the Karlsruhe academy, found his works poster-like. Letter, Scholz to Kiefer, January 23, 1923, Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

14. Hans Curjel, "Zur Entwicklung des Malers Georg Scholz," Das Kunstblatt 9 (1923): 256-64.
Curjel wrote of Scholz's intention: "Die polemischen Elemente herrschen vor; aller Sattheit, aller Verbohrtheit, aller herzigen Banausen Sentimentalität, aller gepropften Sexualität, aller kapitalistischen Roheit, aller vaterländischen Dummheit wird unerbittlicher Kampf angesagt, der mit brutaler Offenheit geführt wird."

15. The portrait was commissioned through the Mannheim dealer Tannenbaum. Herbert Kahnheimer purchased the two *Small Town* paintings through Tannenbaum at this time.

routes of the Hamburg-Amerika Lines. Kahnheimer is portrayed not necessarily as a banker, but as a no-nonsense businessman: when the idea comes to him he will quickly sketch something down, pick up the phone, and put things into motion. Like so many Renaissance portraits, Scholz flattered Kahnheimer by emphasizing both his sense of business and culture. This portrait demands to be compared to the best-known "Veristic" businessman portrait, Davringhausen's Profiteer of 1921 [Fig. 91] which Scholz certainly knew.[16] The Kahnheimer portrait is remarkably similar to Davringhausen's image of a modern day monster. The position of the figures is nearly identical.

Scholz played a similar game of duplicity in his Landscape near Berghausen of 1924 [Fig. 111]. In accord with nineteenth-century romantic local tradition [Fig. 104], the artist depicted his own hat and wine bottle in the foreground in his portrayal of an extensive valley. But this is where the comparison with the Baden Romantics ends. Scholz's once-bucolic valley has been deforested. The flora that exists is entirely domesticated; e.g. poplars now grow in a neat single row. The man-made railway embankment splits the valley in two. The right foreground is dominated by a factory (perhaps a munitions factory as

---

16. Scholz and Davringhausen exhibited together on two occasions with Hans Goltz, and in 1923 they were in correspondence. The Profiteer was illustrated in the second number of Der Cicerone in 1923 (p. 61) which Scholz would have seen while he was working on the Kahnheimer portrait.

Scholz depicted in his View from Grötzingen, 1925 [Kunsthalle, Mannheim]). The town of Berghausen in the distance is punctuated by factory chimneys and a church spire. Only the hill in the upper-right is allowed to grow wild. And it casts an ominous shadow across the village. This is a site that could just as well have been portrayed 75 years earlier for its sublime beauty.

Scholz was hired as an assistant in the academy's lithography class in January 1923. One year later he was appointed director of the foundations class, and in 1925 he was made professor. His growing commitment to the Karlsruhe academy coincided with a reduction in his number of paintings and an increasing fascination in techniques. The March 1924 edition of Das Kunstblatt carried an instructional essay by Scholz titled "The Rudiments of Attaining Effects in Paintings"[17] in which he declared (or redeclared) that painting was primarily a reconciliation of opposites: e.g. light-dark, warm-cool, smooth-rough, and primary-complementary. *Alla prima* painting, he claimed, was only suitable for painting outdoors. Most of his paintings from 1924 and later clearly reveal his infatuation with technique and formal effects (e.g. Signal Box, 1924-25, Kunstmuseum, Dusseldorf; Seated Nude with Antique

---

17. Georg Scholz, "Die Elemente zur Erzielung der Wirkung im Bilde," Das Kunstblatt 8 (March 1924): 77-83.

Bust, 1927, Scholz Estate, Waldkirch). These works are representative of the general eradication of polemical imagery during the so-called period of stabilization (1924-28).

The second prominent Karlsruhe Post-Expressionist, Karl Hubbuch (1891-1980), had studied at the academy with Scholz and Schlichter from 1908 to 1912, and like them, had focused on print-making. Like George Grosz, after completing his academic studies, Hubbuch enrolled at the School of the Arts and Crafts Museum in Berlin to study drawing under Emil Orlik (1912-14, in the same class were Grosz, Karl Holtz and Oskar Nerlinger). Orlik encouraged his students to draw all over Berlin: in the museums, in the cafés, on the street, etc. Although he was enthusiastic about Expressionism while in Berlin (1912-14),[18] Hubbuch's art seems to have been unaffected by it.

Hubbuch volunteered when the war broke out and virtually ceased drawing for almost four years. At war's end he was home with his parents in Neuburg (near Karlsruhe) convalescing from malaria. He seems to have had contact with neither politics nor art during the pivotal first half of 1919. He was unaware, for instance, of the activities

---

18. This is according to a discussion with Hubbuch's student and friend Helmut Goettl (June 16, 1991). The major biographical study of Hubbuch is the catalog: Karl Hubbuch 1891-1979 (Karlsruhe: Badische Kunstverein, 1981).

of his friends who had formed the *Rih Group* in Karlsruhe. In this isolation he began a series of narrative autobiographical engravings. In The Invalid [Fig. 112] the weary artist/veteran is depicted in uniform with a cane watching from a distance as people socialize at his parent's house (a home-coming celebration?). Hubbuch seems to have avoided any formal stylization; this psychological gulf may not have been better expressed by other stylistic means.

Hubbuch returned to the Karlsruhe Academy in 1920 as a master pupil in the engraving class of Walter Conz and renewed contact with Scholz (who was producing his lithographs at the academy at the time). Through Scholz he became acquainted with Dada, but he seems to have been as unaffected by it as he had been by Expressionism.

His engraving titled War of 1921 [Fig. 113] concerns specific experiences from his service in the Tirol. Rather than a battle between opposing armies, Hubbuch's war is one of rape, terror and destruction against a civilian population. The artist is depicted in the lower center scratching his head, his rifle slung over his shoulder. He is observing a group of Gypsies who are consoling one of their women who seems to have been victimized by the soldiers. There is an explosion in the background, ruined buildings, drinking soldiers, and cannons; but the central theme is the barbaric treatment of the villagers by the soldiers, whether German, Italian or Serbian. Hubbuch struggled to come to terms with himself after the war by depicting the

brutalization of humanity and sexuality of the war.

Hubbuch's *horror vacui* space became more complex and ambiguous in his series of dream/nightmare images of 1921-22. The Dream of the Tit-Girls [Fig. 114] represents a cluster of figures, each carefully rendered, but with no clear theme: naked prostitutes, mourning women, bourgeois kitsch furniture, tailor's dummies, statuettes, toys and weapons fill the interior space. A number of the objects are commonly found in the works of de Chirico and Carrà in Valori Plastici (a boy's sailor suit, a tennis racket and a clock, as well as the clustered ambiguous interior space) which is not surprising considering the wide attention the Valori Plastici artists were receiving in Germany during their exhibition in the spring and summer of 1921.[19]

During 1921 Hubbuch found an important patron in the fabric merchant Otto Oppenheim who funded the artist's trip to Berlin in 1922. In Berlin Hubbuch contacted Schlichter who put him in touch with his former classmate George Grosz. Hubbuch also contacted Orlik and Karl Holtz. At

---

19. Because of the Germans' great interest in the new Italian painting, Mario Broglio organized an exhibition exclusively for the Kronprinzenpalais in Berlin in the spring of 1921. The exhibition consisted of 89 paintings, 120 drawings, and eight sculptures, but was dominated by de Chirico (26 paintings) and Morandi (19). The show was enthusiastically received and taken to Hanover by the Kestner-Gesellschaft after it closed in Berlin. From Hannover it traveled to Dresden.
For a sampling of reviews see: Der Ararat 2 (April 1921): 178-80; and Maurizio Fagiolo dell' Arco, Giorgio de Chirico: il tempo di "Valori plastici" 1918/1922 (Roma: De Luca Editore, 1980): 62-4.

the side of Orlik, a popular figure in Berlin's cafés, Hubbuch filled pages with sketches of heads at the Romanische Café -- not caricatures, but physiognomic studies. He drew all over Berlin: types on the street, public spectacles, architectural peculiarities.

Hubbuch printed three versions of his engraving Jannowitzbrücke, Berlin [Fig. 115], the most ambitious work from his Berlin trip. It seems to have faithfully recorded the unique faces of the area's buildings, including their advertisements as they appeared in 1922. The second and third versions include narratives to the backdrop of the city. Down on the embankment a policeman speaks to a man who apparently just prevented a woman from drowning herself. She sits wrapped in a blanket as onlookers ogle.[20]

A letter from Grosz to Hubbuch written after Hubbuch's return to Karlsruhe in 1923 reveals that Hubbuch was in sympathy with Grosz's artistic and political beliefs at this time:

> I'm so happy that you are standing on common grounds with us, and that it has become clear to you, that there is an activity that can change this appalling stupidity and the senseless anarchy

---

20. In the second state of the engraving the artist depicted himself down the steps of the embankment, being stared at by three onlookers.

> [of] this rotten bourgeois world.[21]

Back in Karlsruhe Hubbuch embarked on a series of political lithographs which were most likely intended for publication in a political forum like Die Pleite or Der Knüppel. These works are more precisely rendered than his earlier prints, yet almost as complicated. Herr Stresemann and the Piece of Pumpernickel Bread [Fig. 116] is exemplary of Hubbuch's weakness as a propagandist. Stresemann is easily identifiable as are Chancellor Wilhelm Cuno and President Friedrich Ebert (at the right singing "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles!"). The major political parties are represented by donkeys suffering from diarrhea. To the left an impoverished worker and member of the KPD holds a piece of bread and the 20,000 marks required to purchase it. Stresemann, the bread, and the money are punctuated by arrows. In 1970 Hubbuch recalled that these works were "not direct enough" for Grosz and the editors:

> My prints were too involved for him, . . . not comprehensible enough for the reader. Thus, at most one excerpt of a print would be reproduced,

---

21. "Ich freue mich sehr, daß Sie mit uns gemeinsamer Front stehen, und daß Sie eingesehen haben, daß es wohl eine Aktivität gibt, die diese entsetzliche Dummheit und die unsinnige Anarchie, diese verfaulte bürgerliche Welt ändern kann." Letter, George Grosz to Karl Hubbuch, May 31, 1923, Helmut Goettl, Karlsruhe. Grosz had previously given Hubbuch a book by Henri Barbusse (probably Das Feuer which was published in German in 1918). Grosz now sent a copy of his banned book Ecce Homo.

which irked me quite a bit.[22]

By the time Hubbuch took over Scholz's position as assistant to Ernst Würtenberger, the lithography professor at the academy in January 1924, his period as political propagandist had come to an end. Hubbuch's drawings from his third trip to Berlin in the summer of 1924 reveal a tighter draftsmanship and a greater fascination in inanimate objects. Upon his return to Karlsruhe his ambiguous compositions took on a new monumentality, and he began to use color. His watercolor Duck Thieves [Fig. 117] reveals a meticulous handling of line in the wire fence, the Düreresque flora, and the demolished building. The characters seem to come out of the type of trash literature that is sticking out of the jacket of the figure on the left. Overt politics seem to have been abandoned for a contemporary comic genre.

After attending Ernst Würtenberger's class on painting techniques at the academy during 1924 Hubbuch undertook his first oil painting, The Classroom (Helmut Goettl, Karlsruhe), which was completed in the spring of 1925.[23]

---

22. "Meine Blätter waren ihm [Grosz und dem Redaktionsstab] zu verschachtelt, für den Beschauer nicht rasch genug erfassbar. Deshalb wurde höchstens mal ein Ausschnitt aus einem Blatt reproduziert, was mich sehr mopste." Letter, Hubbuch to Hans Kinkel, February 19, 1970, published in Hans Kinkel, "Entdeckung eines Zeichners," Die Weltkunst 9 (1971): 495.

23. From a discussion with Helmut Goettl, June 16, 1991.

Like Scholz, Dix, Wollheim, Davringhausen, and many other contemporary German artists, Hubbuch employed a technique recovered from the old masters: oil glazes over a tempera base, painted on a wood panel.[24]

Hubbuch's drawings of the stabilization period are marked by an increasing tightening of the forms, a fascination in increasingly more trivial subjects (e.g. meter boxes), and a complete absence of polemical imagery. He received his first national attention in 1925 when the Mannheim Kunsthaus staged an exhibition of his graphic work to coincide with the *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition at the Mannheim Kunsthalle in the summer of 1925.

Wilhelm Schnarrenberger (1892-1966) could be discussed in either of two cities. A native of Baden (Buchen), he studied at Munich's School of Applied Arts from 1911 to 1916 and again from 1919 to 1920. He also studied art history at the University of Munich (under Wöllflin) before the war. In 1921 he left Munich to take a position at the Karlsruhe academy (professor of commercial art) which he held until 1933. Nonetheless, while in Karlsruhe between 1921 and 1925 Schnarrenberger maintained his ties with the *Munich New Secession* and his work continued to be closer stylistically and thematically to the Munich artists than

---

24. Hubbuch was appointed professor of painting at the academy in 1928, was dismissed in 1933, and reappointed from 1947 to 1957.

to either Scholz or Hubbuch. He exhibited with Hans Goltz in 1916, 1918, and 1919. Furthermore, he exhibited together with Schrimpf, Mense and Davringhausen at Goltz's in 1922 and 1923, and with the *New Secession* in 1921, 1924 and 1925.

Schnarrenberger's painting Old Men Strolling, painted in Karlsruhe in 1922 [Fig. 118], is based on a lithograph done while in Munich in 1920 (the architecture in the background is unique to Munich).[25] The simplified, almost naive handling of the figures and trees is similar to the work of Henri Rousseau,[26] who seems to have been more important to Schnarrenberger than to any other Munich paint-

---

25. Marlene Angemeyer-Deubner, Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe 1920-1933 (Karlsruhe: Muller, 1988): 126.
Schnarrenberger produced very few paintings after taking his position at the academy. Ingrid Nedo lists only five oil paintings between 1921 and 1924. ("Wilhelm Schnarrenberger 1892-1966," dissertation [Tübingen, 1982].) There were a combination of factors that limited his production of oil paintings: e.g. his time was largely devoted to teaching, the high price of oil paint, and the market disadvantages of producing elaborate work during the inflation era. Nedo lists eight oils by Schnarrenberger to 1925.

26. Rousseau was well-known in Germany already before the war: seven of his works had been illustrated in Der Blaue Reiter Almanach in 1912; Wilhelm Uhde's monograph Henri Rousseau was published in Germany in 1914, a second edition appeared in 1921, and a third in 1923; an essay by Helmut Kolle with 13 illustrations of Rousseau's paintings appeared in Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst in 1921; and Kolle's monograph on Rousseau appeared in 1922 (Henri Rousseau [Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1922]).
Although Rousseau was greatly appreciated by artists like Kandinsky and Picasso before the war, it is remarkable that his influence only becomes widely apparent after the war.

er. But Schnarrenberger's vertiginous background panorama is far more complex than any attempted by Rousseau, and reveals an intensive study of decorative pattern. A dream-like image depicted with clarity and precision, yet without linear perspective, Old Men Strolling is a fine example of the art Franz Roh was soon to label *Magic Realism*.

For his Portrait of an Architect of 1923 [Fig. 119] Schnarrenberger employed a portrait motif that was popular at the time, i.e. a rapidly receding architectural background (e.g. Dix's portrait of Nierendorf, [Fig. 67]). The architect (Schnarrenberger's friend Karl Kölmel) stares out to the right of the viewer in a manner similar to the figures in Davringhausen's The Profiteer [Fig. 91] and Scholz's Portrait of the Banker Kahnheimer [Fig. 107], but unlike those paintings, Schnarrenberger portrayed his friend; there is no evil or negative intent here. The architect is depicted at the construction site of one of his designs (he holds a blueprint in his hands). He stares out, perhaps visualizing the building's completion, or perhaps suddenly visualizing his next project; it is a portrait of a white-collar visionary who actually changes the community (presumably) for the better. In the background, however, a bricklayer is depicted carrying out the arduous business of the actual construction of these visions.

After 1925 a second generation of Weimar realists,

students of Hubbuch, Scholz and Schnarrenberger, emerged from the Karlsruhe academy.[27]

5. OTHER ARTISTS OTHER PLACES

Although the cities and groups discussed in the previous four chapters have covered most of the major representatives of Post-Expressionism in Germany, some have been omitted. Therefore, this section will briefly discuss eight diverse artists who figure prominently in the development of Post-Expressionism, yet who worked outside the cities discussed above.

Appendix B briefly identifies an additional 16 artists in order to further emphasize the extent and diversity of the German Post-Expressionist movement before 1925.

MAX BECKMANN

Max Beckmann (1884-1950) underwent a dramatic artistic transformation after his war experience that would warrant him a central (and controversial) place in Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition, but it is doubtful whether we can consider this to have been a Post-Expressionist transforma-

---

27. Chief among these artists were Rudolf Dischinger, Hanna Nagel, Hermann Sprauer and Erwin Spuler.

tion. In 1925 Paul Westheim noted in praise of Beckmann that if there had been no Beckmann Expressionism would have had to invent him. He called Beckmann "the true Expressionist."[1]

One can hardly designate the religious images produced by Beckmann following his military service as Post-Expressionist since the lack of religious imagery is one of the few characteristics common to all Post-Expressionist works. Nonetheless, Hartlaub originally included Beckmann's Christ with the Woman Taken in Adultery of 1917 (Art Museum, St. Louis) in his exhibition.[2] Rather it may have been Beckmann's few published contemporary statements -- which certainly sound Post-Expressionist -- that led Hartlaub to perceive Beckmann as the central representative of the new trend. For example, in his creative credo written in 1918 and published in 1920 Beckmann wrote in regard to Expressionism:

> Hopefully we have discarded much of what was before. From a thoughtless imitation of the visible, from a weak archaic degeneration of empty decoration and from a false and sentimental swelling mysticism, we may now hopefully come to the transcendental Sachlichkeit, which can emerge from a deeper love of nature and people, such as we find in the art of Mäleszkircher, Grünewald,

---

1. Paul Westheim, "Beckmann: Die Wahre Expressionismus" Für und Wider (Potsdam: Kiepenheuer, 1923): 104-05.

2. This painting was owned by the Mannheim Kunsthalle.

Breughel, in Cézanne and van Gogh.[3]

Beckmann posed his own "transcendental Sachlichkeit" as antithetical to the "empty decoration" of Expressionism; what he sought above all was clear representation of his powerful visions. Nonetheless, it is impossible to consider such post-war works by Beckmann as The Night (Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Dusseldorf) and the set of lithographs Hell of 1919 as anything but Expressionist. Beckmann, however, like Gert Wollheim, Max Ernst, Picasso and others, simultaneously worked in a number of different styles. Thus, certain works by Beckmann from the early twenties look blandly naturalistic enough to be considered Post-Expressionist, especially his portraits [Figs. 120 & 121], while others seem almost super-Expressionist (e.g. The Dream, 1921 [St. Louis Art Museum] and Dance in Baden-

---

3. "Vieles sind wir hoffentlich losgeworden, was vorher war. Aus einer gedanklosen Imitation des Sichtbaren, aus einer schwächlich archaistischen Entartung in leeren Dekorationen und aus einer falschen und sentimentalen Geschwulsmystik heraus werden wir jetzt hoffentlich zu der transzendenten Sachlichkeit kommen, die aus einer tieferen Liebe zur Natur und den Menschen hervorgehen kann, wie sie bei Mäleszkircher, Grünewald und Breughel, bei Cézanne und van Gogh vorhanden ist." Max Beckmann, "Schöpferische Konfession," in Kasimir Edschmidt, ed., Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit 13, (1920): 66.
The Tegernsee Altarpiece (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), formerly attributed to Gabriel Mäleskircher, was illustrated in a book by Beckmann's close friend Curt Glaser, Zwei Jahrhunderte deutsche Malerei (Munich: Piper, 1916). Donald Gordon links Beckmann's idea of "the four great masters of masculine mysticism" to Karl Scheffler's concept of Gothic as "Germanic" and "masculine" in Scheffler's book Geist der Gotik, (Leipzig: Insel, 1917). Gordon, Expressionism: Art and Idea (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985): 113.

Baden, 1923 [Munich, Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst]) .

BERNHARD DÖRRIES

Bernhard Dörries (1898-1980) had just completed his architectural studies at Hannover's Technical High School when he adopted an Expressionist style, was befriended by Kurt Schwitters and became a founding member of the Hannover Secession in 1919. Dörries, however, was far more interested in the art of Holbein and Cranach than in modern art.

On the occasion of the third Secession exhibition in 1920 the 22-year-old Dörries wrote the catalogue forward in which he echoed some of the ideas of the Post-Dadaists in Berlin. He discussed the role of the artist in antiquity who had been valued not as an individual, but as part of the Gesamtkultur. He criticized Impressionism and Expressionism as having produced only unique individual creations and lacking any sense of community.[4] The only reasonable direction for contemporary artists, Dörries believed, was to return to the lessons provided by the old masters.

Five other members of the Secession immediately joined together to publish a statement claiming that Dörries'

---

4. Bernhard Dörries, "Strenge Bildkomposition," in III. Austellung der Hannoverischen Sezession, (Hannover: Kestner-Gesellschaft, 1920). Reprinted in Bernhard Dörries (Hannover: Kunstverein, 1981): 41-2.

reactionary views did not represent those of the Secession.[5]

Dörries was primarily a portrait painter in the early 1920s. Woman in Black of 1920 [Fig. 122], like most of his early portraits, emulates the immediate, frontal portrait style of Cranach and Holbein. He was among the first Germans to return to painting on wood. In 1923 he traveled to Italy to study the frescoes of Piero della Francesca.

Dörries never exhibited outside of Hanover during the Weimar period.

KAY NEBEL

Kay Nebel (1888-1953) was apprenticed as a commercial artist in Hamburg, then studied at the Berlin School of Applied Arts (1907-11) where he developed a desire for monumental figure compositions like those of Hans von Marées and Ferdinand Hodler. In 1911 he traveled to Paris where he was more impressed with Uccello's Battle of San Romano than with the Parisian avant-garde. The following year he travelled to Italy where he studied quattrocento

---

5. Otto Gleichmann, Lotte Gleichmann-Giese, Max Burchartz, Otto Hohlt and Kurt Schwitters, "Erklärung zum Vorwort vom Dörries," Der Zweemann 6 (April 1920). Reprinted in Die Zwanziger Jahre in Hannover (Hannover: Kunstverein, 1962): 43.

frescos.[6] He joined the cavalry at the outbreak of war and was seriously wounded in Poland in 1915.

During the war years he produced a number of paintings of animals in a style related to both Franz Marc and Heinrich Campendonk. In 1919 he accepted a position as a life drawing instructor at the Darmstadt School of Applied Arts and became a founding member of the Darmstadt Secession (with Beckmann). In his review of the Darmstadt Secession exhibition of January 1920 Kasimir Edschmid linked Nebel with Beckmann in praising their unique combination of strong Gegenständen with Geist.[7] Later in 1920 Nebel accepted a position at the School of Fine Arts in Kassel where he hoped to finally get the opportunity to paint murals. In 1922 Nebel began a brief series of monumental figure paintings of rural scenes which employ a rather twisted trecento perspective. Girls on the Balcony, of 1923 [Fig. 123] depicts a Piero della Francesca-like woman serving breakfast to another, more fashionably dressed, but haggard-looking prostitute who gazes down from her perch. Another painting of the same year, Suburb [Fig. 124] depicts a woman (with a child at her feet on the steps of her house) flirting with two men passing on horseback.

---

6. Nebel's large collection of photographs of Italian renaissance frescos remains in his estate. Karl Arndt, Kay H. Nebel ein Maler der Neuen Sachlichkeit' (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1975): 37.

7. Kasimir Edschmidt, "Die Darmstädter Sezession," Der Cicerone 12 (January 1920): 63.

The subjects are related to the small town scenes of Georg Scholz, but Nebel's whimsical treatment of the forms makes them appear far more harmless.

In the spring of 1924 Franz Roh invited Nebel to take part in a "Post-Expressionist exhibition" at the Galerie Thannhauser in Munich. Nebel responded that he would be glad to exhibit with Mense and Schrimpf, but argued against the belief (of "fools") that Expressionism was dead.[8] One year later Nebel complained to Roh of his personal dissatisfaction with his own work since 1922.[9] And in 1925 he criticized Roh (who had recently published an article on Nebel's recent work) for misunderstanding his art; there was no "warmth of life" in the works of 1922-24, Nebel wrote, "what I painted were laws."[10] He claimed that since the summer he had painted two works with which he was very satisfied.

The year 1925 marked a decisive break in Nebel's art.

---

8. Letter, Nebel to Franz Roh, April 24, 1923, Franz Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica.

9. Letter, Nebel to Roh, May 22, 1924, Franz Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica.

10. "Sie sagten meine Bilder seien hart und es fehle gie Güte! - Sie sind mit grösster Liebe und Andacht gemalt, aber was ich malte, waren Gesetze und nur diese leben in diesen Bildern, soweit ist kein warmes Leben darinnen. Diese Bilder erschrecken. Dies konnte ich aber selbst erst sehen, durch mein heutiges Schaffen. Zwei Bilder habe ich gemalt seit ich wieder in Cassel bin, ich bin voll Glück, voll Freude und Dankbarkeit. Ich male nicht mehr, es malt aus mir, ich brauche kein Gesetz mehr, ich lebe und liebe." Letter, Nebel to Roh, January 8, 1925, Franz Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica.

He received his first public mural commission, for the conference room of the Schleswig town hall, which occupied him for the next two years. He developed imagery and a style applicable for an official provincial building. The style was a fusion of Uccello and Piero. Nebel later destroyed all the works from the 1922-24 period in his possession (including Girls on a Balcony and three other works that were included in Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition).

FRANZ RADZIWILL

Franz Radziwill (1895-1983) experienced one of the more dramatic Post-Expressionist transformations in 1923. He was trained as an architecht in Bremen before the war and had contact with the Worpswede artists. After his release as a British POW in the fall of 1919 Radziwill attended the Bremen School of Applied Arts, and concentrated on painting. One year later he moved to Berlin, joined the *November Group* and the *Free Secession*, and made contact with George Grosz, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff and Erich Heckel. Just like the *Brücke* artists, Radziwill was trained as an architect and self-taught as a painter. In 1921 his wild, Chagall-inspired works received important recognition in both Das Kunstblatt and Der Cicerone. The following year he and Schmidt-Rottluff traveled together to Dangast on the North Sea, where the *Brücke* artists painted occasionally

from 1907 to 1912, and where Radziwill was to settle.[11]

For a time in 1923 Radziwill abandoned painting. When he resumed he produced a series of fantastic townscapes. The fantasy and humor of his early works remains, but the individual forms are treated in a far more naturalistic manner. The painting First They Saw a Town of 1924 [Fig. 125] depicts a group of well-dressed people, one on horseback, approaching a town at night. Suddenly they are startled by a 3-legged, winged jackal on the road before them. The landscape seems to be lit up by a bolt of lightning (a common effect in his paintings of the twenties). The moon is draped with curtains. Radziwill's proto-Surrealist style was developed in relative seclusion.

Radziwill made something of a sensation at the *Jury Free* exhibition in the fall of 1924 where he was given a room of his own.[12] Although he was not included in Hartlaub's exhibition, his own exhibition in Oldenburg in 1925 established him as a major Post-Expressionist.[13] In 1927 he entered the Dresden academy, where he studied under Otto Dix, in order to sharpen his naturalistic skills. In

---

11. In October 1923, during the peak of the hyper-inflation, Radziwill sold two paintings for (stabile) U.S. dollars and soon bought a house with the money. Franz Radziwill (Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst), 1981): 8.

12. See Paul Westheim, "Ausstellungen," Das Kunstblatt 8 (November 1924): 349.

13. Exhibition held at the Augusteum in Oldenburg under the direction of the *Vereinigung für junge Kunst*.

Dresden he came under the spell of the Saxon Romantics Caspar David Friedrich and C.G. Carus. His style and subject matter remained largely unchanged up to his death in the 1980s.

OSKAR SCHLEMMER

For some reason, perhaps because of his connection with the Bauhaus, Oskar Schlemmer (1888-1943) has always been omited from discussions of Post-Expressionsim. But in terms of his paintings, Schlemmer actually shares more with the artists in this study than with the other painters associated with the Bauhaus (Kandinsky, Klee, Muche, Feininger, Itten and Moholy-Nagy). Schlemmer's art was above all a constant struggle to reconcile polarities, e.g. the Dionysian with the Apollonian, the mechanism and the organism. In a diary note of November 29, 1919 Schlemmer wrote as a guiding principle for himself:

> Ensor - Redon - Rousseau - Carrà.
> The noble synthesis of everything great in art.
> Goals: truth, no self-assertiveness, no senseless mysticism; the forms of reality at the service of art. Instead of artificial stimulation, grandeur of conception.
> Slow, deliberate, thoughtful, consistent work. No subservience to architecture.[14]

---

14. Tut Schlemmer, ed., The Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer, trans. Krishna Winston (Middletown Ct: Wesleyan UP, 1972): 75.

His rejection of "senseless mysticism" and "artificial stimulation" is in the spirit of the condemnations of Expressionism that were beginning to be heard in the fall of 1919. In his diaries and letters Schlemmer constantly rewrote the names of those artists he admired; Ensor, Grünewald, Friedrich, Carrà and de Chirico are the ones that kept reappearing throughout his life. Originally Schlemmer only applied the "constructive" aspects of *pittura metafisica* to his plaster sculptures (e.g. Architectural Sculpture R, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart). It was only in 1923 with works such as Supper Party [Fig. 126] that his paintings began to reflect an investigation into the various spatial and formal aspects of the Italians. Throughout the twenties his interiors became more monumental, perhaps more "heroic."

Although many historians would quickly link Schlemmer with Fernand Léger because of their similar interests in mechanics, Schlemmer noted in his diary on August 13, 1930: "I incline more in the direction of a Chirico or a Carra and their Belgian successors [Carel Willinck, Pyke Koch, etc.] than in the direction of a Léger."[15]

Schlemmer's formal concerns were actually closest to those of Heinrich Hoerle and Franz Wilhelm Seiwert,

---

15. Ibid., 265.

although Schlemmer never shared their polemic aims.[16]

WALTER SPIES

Walter Spies (1896-1943) spent only a very brief part of his life in Germany. Born into a German family in Moscow, he studied at the Dresden academy between 1910 and 1914 and was back in Russia at the outbreak of the war where he was interned (in a small town in the Urals). During the revolution he returned to Moscow where he saw paintings by Henri Rousseau for the first time. He traveled back to Germany and settled in Dresden where he came into contact with, among others, Kokoschka and Dix. He supported himself as a dance teacher in Dresden until he was invited to live with the film director Friedrich Murnau in Berlin-Grunewald in 1920.

In a letter to his father from May 1919 he complained of his overeducation in theory and fixed rules of drawing.[17] He went on to express his desire to overcome established values of taste and beauty as Chagall and Klee had done. During 1922 and 1923 he was in correspondence with Franz Roh who took an interest in his work which he

---

16. In 1930 Schlemmer took a position at the Breslau academy where he joined Carlo Mense and Alexander Kanoldt whose work he despised.

17. Hans Rhodius, ed. Walter Spies: Maler und Musiker auf Bali 1895-1942 (Den Haag: Boucher, 1964): 30.

believed was in harmony with that of the Munich artists Schrimpf, Mense and Davringhausen. Spies's painting The Ice Skaters of 1922 [Fig. 127] epitomizes what Roh later refered to as "Magic Realism."[18] Roh wanted to include Spies in Hans Goltz's large anniversary exhibition of 1923, but Spies expressed his anxiety at the thought of exhibiting beside "Schrimpf, Dix, Mense and Grosz" ("es ist sehr kitzlich"). He felt his own paintings were not serious enough, and considered himself a musician rather than a painter. He also believed his paintings looked silly when hung in large rooms. His only major exhibition at this time was at the Stedelijk in Amsterdam in the spring of 1923. In the summer of 1923 he left Europe forever and traveled to Bali.

NIKLAUS STÖCKLIN

The appearance of Niklaus Stöcklin's painting Casa Rossa of 1917 [Fig. 128] on the pages of Das Kunstblatt in July 1918 must have come as something of a shock to artists like Heinrich Maria Davringhausen and Carlo Mense for whom Ticino held a special meaning and whose own work was beginning to look stylistically similar to Stöcklin's. In the

---

18. Spies made very few paintings. In a letter of July 1923, for instance, he advised Roh that he would have another painting finished in October. Letter, Walter Spies to Franz Roh, July 11, 1923, published in Rhodius, Spies, 110.

feature essay on contemporary Swiss artists of that issue of Das Kunstblatt Karl Joël wrote: "No, the Swiss are no gothics, no mystics, no romantics -- but even less naturalists."[19] The only appropriate term for Stöcklin's very sharply delineated but uncanny images seems to be Franz Roh's term *Magic Realism*.

Stöcklin's painting Rhenish Street also of 1917 [Fig. 129] is indebted to neither Expressionism, nor to Henri Rousseau. We are presented only with a simple view out a third-story window down to a street; the converse apartments, the street-level shops, and the sidewalk are in view. Todays specials are posted in the butcher's window: "Blut- und Leber-Würste." Above the dry cleaner's shop an elderly woman watches a pigeon eat breadcrumbs while her cat sleeps. On the street, someone or something has urinated on the building. The only movement appears to be the pigeon's bobbing head and the stream of urine slowly making its way to the gutter.

A native of Basel, Niklaus Stöcklin (1896-1982) had studied briefly at the Munich School of Applied Arts just prior to the outbreak of the war, then studied lithography at the Basel School of Applied Arts. In 1918, after service with the Ticino military border service, he became a

---

19. "Nein, die Schweizer sind keine Göthiker, keine Mystiker, keine Romantiker - aber noch weniger Naturalisten." Karl Joël, "Bekenntnis zur schweizerischen Kunst," Das Kunstblatt 7 (July 1918): 194.

founding member of the group *Das neue Leben*, Switzerland's major Post-Expressionist group (other members included the four Baraud brothers, Janebé, and Fritz Baumann).[20] Stöcklin became involved in socialist politics at this time and produced posters for socialist causes.

In 1921 Stöcklin won a mural competition for Zurich's Frauminster. In preparation for this work he undertook a study of Late Gothic painting, Conrad Witz in particular, and he traveled to Venice and Tuscany. His knowledge of both the early German and Italian masters is evident in his 1922 oil painting Presentation [Fig. 130]. In accord with Gothic norms, the bedroom is revealed by the cutting away of a wall. A peg-legged organ grinder has travelled along a path. Something made him discard his organ and then his crutch. He now kneels to peer through a hole in the wall to see the displayed corpse of a girl. An unlit candle stands on a purple cloth on a chair. A bowl of fruit sits on the night table. A serpent slithers across the floor. . . wearing a white bow tie. The forms are clear and solid in a Conrad Witz sense; the narrative is clear in a *quattrocento* sense. Stöcklin's subjects and forms were to become increasingly simplified throughout the twenties. Today he is best known in Switzerland for his poster designs.

---

20. See: Neue Sachlichkeit und Surrealismus in der Schweiz 1915-1940 (Winterthur: Kunstmuseum, 1979).

Stöcklin was represented in Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition in 1925.

KARL VÖLKER

There was more official sympathy for communism in Halle, the industrial center of central Germany, than in any other German city. Karl Völker (1889-1962), the leader of the *Halle Artists Group* (the local *November Group*), devoted his art entirely to the class struggle during the first half of the Weimar period. He produced numerous essays and prints for the two local KPD papers and painted frescos for the offices of one of these, Klassenkampf.[21]

While Völker's graphic work continued to utilize Expressionist formal means throughout the decade, his few paintings became increasingly naturalistic between 1919 and 1925. His painting Railroad Station of 1924 [Fig. 131], which depicts the recently completed station in Halle, represents an attempt to depict technology at the service of the masses (in accord with Soviet dictates). Beginning in 1921 (and especially in 1924) Völker was deeply involved with *International Workers Relief* (IAH), contributing prints and taking part in exhibitions to benefit the fund,

---

21. Völker had been trained as a decorative painter. Professionally he painted and restored ceiling frescos in nearby churches and municipal buildings. He worked with Bruno Taut in Magdeburg 1921-23.

but because his prints appeared almost exclusively in the journals Klassenkampf, Das Wort and Pravda, he was known outside of Halle only to radical circles before 1928.

III: POST-EXPRESSIONISM IN GERMANY 1923-1925: *THE CRITICS*

"Since the Modern is unmodern, let the Unmodern once again be modern."[1]
Hans Tietze, 1925

Part I chapter 2 outlined the first discussions of the developing Post-Expressionism in Germany between 1919 and 1922. As soon as German critics began to learn of post-war artistic trends in other parts of Europe they began seeking parallels to the direction in which a number of German artists were moving. By 1922 Paul Westheim had Germans (as well as other Europeans) debating whether or not this new movement had superseded Expressionism. It was during 1923 -- one of the most catastrophic years in German history -- that the Post-Expressionist trend was generally recognized as being the most vital art movement in Germany. Attempts were made to give coherence to this diverse movement, and various terms were proposed to characterize it at this time. This final part will discuss the attempts by contemporary critics to come to terms with the Post-Expressionist movement.

---

1. "Da das Moderne unmodern ist, soll das Unmoderne wieder modern sein." Hans Tietze, "Die Reaktion in der Kunst," Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt 1 (April 3, 1925): 6.

1. *DIE NEUE SACHLICHKEIT*: ALMOST AN EXHIBITION 1923

During the fall and winter of 1922-23 Hans Goltz's gallery "Neue Kunst" held a two-part tenth anniversary exhibition. The first part (November-December) featured works on paper and the second part (January-February) paintings by artists who had exhibited with Goltz in the past. *Der Blaue Reiter, Die Brücke*, Cubists and Futurists were represented along with Davringhausen, Mense, Schrimpf, Parzinger, Schnarrenberger, Scholz, Dix, Grosz, Schlichter, Hausmann, and Max Ernst. In his review of the exhibition for Das Kunstblatt Franz Roh expressed a much greater interest in the post-Expressionists and noted the need for someone to organize an exhibition of the post-Expressionist state of Europe: "Such a show would be the most complicated, but most interesting undertaking known to the modern exhibition world."[2]

As his first project as director of the Mannheim Kunsthalle, Gustav Hartlaub set out to organize just such an exhibition in the spring of 1923. In 1922, while still an assistant to the director of the Kunsthalle, Hartlaub had produced the most articulate statement on the new art

---

2. "Solche Schau wäre die schwierigste, aber interessanteste Aufgabe, die das moderne Ausstellungsleben kennt." Franz Roh, "Ausstellungen - München," Das Kunstblatt 7 (February 1923): 64.

in response to Paul Westheim's questionnaire "Is there a new Naturalism?" [see part I chapter 2 and appendix A]. Without naming artists, Hartlaub indicated that there were actually two trends or "wings" to the new naturalistic art movement. His interest in this art represented a dramatic about-face from his stand of 1917-20 on the occult, Expressionism, and his belief in a new spiritualism.[3] In his review of the "German Expressionism Darmstadt" exhibition in 1920 Hartlaub had sharply criticized the selection of works for the show claiming that they had little to do with the greatness of Expressionism. He perceived a reaction to Expressionism, a "return to the object," by artists like Grosz and Dix, but found little value in their attempts. Regardless of the exhibition, Hartlaub expressed his confidence in German artists' ability to create great art.[4]

---

3. See: G. F. Hartlaub, "Die Kunst und die neue Gnosis," Das Kunstblatt 1 (June 1917): 166-79; and Kunst und Religion (Leipzig: Wolff, 1919). See also the annotation and partial translation of the former in Rose-Carol Washton Long, German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism (New York: Hall, 1993): 91-4.

4. G. F. Hartlaub, "Deutscher Expressionismus: Zur Darmstädter Ausstellung," Frankfurter Zeitung July 15, 1920.
In his essay "The Term *Neue Sachlichkeit*" [The Art Bulletin 22 (September 1940): 163] Fritz Schmalenbach wrote, "Hartlaub had voiced a general feeling of bankruptcy so far as expressionism was concerned." Citing Schmalenbach's overstatement, Maret Werenskiold misstated, "Hartlaub . . . had already publicly declared expressionism bankrupt on the occasion of the big exhibition 'Deutscher Expressionism' in Darmstadt in 1920." [The Concept of Expressionism: Origin and Metamorphoses, trans. Ronald Walford (Oslo:

Although he seems to have retained this faith in German art in 1922-23, his hope and enthusiasm for a spiritual art had vanished.

Hartlaub's working title for his own exhibition was:

> Return to Nature.
> Exhibition of Post-Expressionist Art.
> Neue Sachlichkeit.[5]

The central figure in the show was to be Max Beckmann (whose painting Christ with the Woman Taken in Adultery was owned by the Kunsthalle). As the first step in his project Hartlaub wrote to Beckmann on May 17 stating his concept of the Post-Expressionist situation, that Beckmann was to be the show's central artist, and that if Beckmann could not take part there would be no exhibition.[6]

On the following day Hartlaub sent a questionnaire to seven people requesting names and addresses of artists that could fit within the framework of his exhibition. Of the seven, three were dealers: Hans Goltz (Munich), Karl Nierendorf (Cologne), and J. B. Neumann (Berlin); two museum

---

...Continued...

Universitetsvorlaget, 1984): 57.]
As I have stated in part I chapter 1, Hartlaub's criticism was reserved for the Darmstadt exhibition itself, and not Expressionism in Germany.

5. "Rückkehr zur Natur. Ausstellung nachexpressionistischer Kunst. Neue Sachlichkeit. 1923" This is written on a folder cover which is preserved in the files of the Mannheim Kunsthalle.

6. "Wenn Sie aber nicht mit machen, fällt der ganze Plan in sich zusammen." Letter, Hartlaub to Beckmann, May 17, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle. Hartlaub emphasized that he was not attempting to found a new "-ism."

personnel: Walter Cohen (assistant director, Dusseldorf Collections) and Paul Ferdinand Schmidt (director, Dresden Collections); and two critics: Wilhelm Hausenstein (Munich) and Eckard von Sydow (Hanover).[7] These were form letters, slightly personalized. Four opened with the statement:

> In the fall I would like to arrange a medium-sized exhibition of paintings and prints which could be given the title "Die neue Sachlichkeit." I am interested in bringing together representative works of those artists who in the past ten years [!] have been neither impressionistically obscure nor expressionistically abstract; neither purely externally sensual, nor purely internally constructive. I would like to show those artists who have remained, or who have once again become true to positive, tangible reality. . . . I think you know what I mean. We should consider the "right" wing (Neo-Classicists, if one may say so), as exemplified by some things of Picasso, Kay H. Nebel, etc., as well as the left "veristic" wing, in which a Beckmann, Grosz, Dix, Drexel, Scholz etc. could be counted.[8]

Hartlaub's exhibition was to cover not only the post-war

---

7. All letters dated May 18, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle. The latter two critics had been major champions of Expressionism.

8. "Ich möchte im Herbst eine mittelgrosse Ausstellung von Gemälden und Graphik veranstalten, der man etwa den Titel geben könnte 'Die neue Sachlichkeit'. Es liegt mir daran, repräsentative Werke derjenigen Künstler zu vereinigen, die in den letzten 10 Jahren weder impressionistisch aufgelöst noch expressionistisch abstrakt, weder rein sinnhaft äußerlich, noch rein konstruktiv innerlich gewesen sind. Diejenigen Künstler möchte ich zeigen, die der positiven greifbaren Wirklichkeit mit einem bekennerischen Zuge treu geblieben oder wieder treu geworden sind. Sie verstehen schon, wie ich es meine. In Betracht kommen sowohl der "rechte" Flügel (Neu-Klassizisten, wenn man so sagen will), wie etwasgewisse Sachen von Picasso, Kay H. Nebel etc., als auch der linke "veristische" Flügel, dem ein Beckmann, Grosz, Dix, Drexel, Scholz etc. zugezählt werden können."

years, but to go back to 1913. It was to include former Expressionists as well as artists who had never bought into Expressionism. In his letters to Goltz and Neumann, Hartlaub specified that the exhibition would open on September 15 and that it would represent those artists:

> who before and after the high tide of Expressionism, in the narrow sense of the word, held fast to the world of physically tangible reality with a professed positivism, who are, nonetheless, indebted to that 'Expressionism'. . . [9]

Hartlaub obviously had certain artists in mind who were not part of the Post-Expressionist development of 1919-1923, in particular Max Beckmann, who had undergone a dramatic artistic transformation after his release from the army in 1916. Hartlaub may have recently learned that Picasso had been producing his Ingresque drawings as early as 1915. It is also likely that Hartlaub had Georg Kars in mind. Kars, who had exhibited at the Kunsthalle in 1921, was an artist connected with Goltz who had been painting linear, Renoir-like nudes since the pre-war years.

In his letter to Nierendorf, the only personal letter, Hartlaub mentioned that they had recently discussed the

---

...Continued...

Letters, Hartlaub to von Sydow, Hausenstein, Cohen and Schmidt, May 18, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle.

9. "[...] welche während und nach der im engeren Sinne expressionistischen Hochflut an der sinnlich greifbaren Wirklichkeit der Welt mit einem bekennerischen Positivismus festgehalten haben, welche aber zugleich jenem 'Expressionismus' eine strengere Formenzucht und einen geschlosseneren Bildaufbau verdanken." Letters, Hartlaub to Goltz and

planned exhibition together, and now asked for Nierendorf's help in regard to Otto Dix while emphasizing, "in a public collection caution must naturally be exercised so that public opinion is not irritated." He continued, "It makes no sense at all to spoil the success of this entire undertaking because of an excessive proclamation."[10] Hartlaub mentioned that he would like to have those works by Dix that were currently on exhibit in Darmstadt (This was several weeks before Dix's painting Salon II was confiscated by the local authorities on grounds of obscenity).

Nierendorf responded that he would guarantee a number of the most important works by Dix.[11]

Walter Cohen, who was an important figure in the Rhineland, wrote very enthusiastically about Dix and recommended Gert Wollheim and Max Ernst for the exhibition.[12]

Schmidt was enthusiastic about the exhibition, but disagreed with Hartlaub's designation of Beckmann and Drexel as "Verists." He associated Beckmann with the Expressionist artists (Ausdruckskünstlern): Nolde, the

---

...Continued...

Neumann, May 18, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle. To the "right wing" Hartlaub now added: "and certain drawings by Archipenko."

10. "Betonen muß ich freilich, daß in einer öffentlichen Sammlung natürlich mit einiger Vorsicht darauf gesehen werden muß, daß die Publikumsmeinung nicht durch allzu grosse Handgreiflichkeiten gereizt wird. Es hat gar keinen Sinne, sich durch ein allzugrosses Bekennertum in dieser Richtung den Erfolg des ganzen Unternehmens zu verderben."

11. Postcard, Nierendorf to Hartlaub, May 23, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle.

Brücke artists and Kokoschka; and he saw Drexel as a "feeble Constructivist (schwächlicher Konstruktivist) like van Doesburg etc." He recommended Walter Jacob (Worpswede), Fritz Winkler (Dresden), and Wilhelm Rudolf (Dresden) "from the right, realistic, close-to-nature wing" (naturnahen Flügel), and "the Verists" Dix, Scholz, Schlichter, Grosz, Davringhausen, and Otto Griebel.[13]

Goltz responded that he had been considering such an exhibition for the past year, but had concluded that the time was not yet right: "I see two embryonic developments under Post-Expressionism. One could be described with the slogan 'The New Nazerenism' (Schrimpf etc.), the other with the slogan 'Verism.'"[14] As Verists he named Grosz ("Der Vater der letzteren"), Davringhausen, Dix, Schlichter, and Scholz. Within the Verist group he also saw two subgroups: "Neo-Romantics" (Dix, Archipenko, Davringhausen), and "Lyricists" (Eberz, Frau Eberz-Alber, Arnthal, and Ernst Lasser). Goltz offered to send works by Schrimpf and Davringhausen and "perhaps some new prints by Meidner." He concluded his letter expressing his "discomfort" with the work of "people like Scholz, Schlichter, Dix" who he re-

---

...Continued...

12. Postcard, Cohen to Hartlaub, May 23, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle.

13. Letter, Schmidt to Hartlaub, May 23, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle.

14. "Ich sehe unter den Nachexpressionisten zwei embryonale Entwicklungen. Die eine könnte man mit dem Schlagwort 'Das neue Nazerenertum' (Schrimpf etc.), die

garded as "illustrating Wedekinds." "In general," he signed off, "the quality of the rising generation is wretched."[15]

In a brief postcard Hausenstein recommended the Munich artists Walter Teutsch and Maffei, but failed to comment on either Post-Expressionism or Hartlaub's exhibition.[16]

With the aid of these responses, Hartlaub established a list of 52 artists: 49 Germans together with the Belgian Franz Masereel, Picasso and Archipenko (who lived in Berlin 1921-23) [See Appendix C].[17] On July 11 Hartlaub sent out an inquiry to these artists stating that he sought works that could be described as "neue Sachlichkeit, Gegenständlichkeit, Realisierung," and explained his understanding of the two perceptible "wings" (the classicistic and the

---

...Continued...

andere mit dem Schlagwort 'Veristen' bezeichnen." Letter, Goltz to Hartlaub, May 29, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle.

15. "Ich kann bei Leuten, wie Scholz, Schlichter, Dix (bei diesem teilweise) die unangenehme Empfindung nicht loswerden, das sie zeichnende Wedekinds sind. Die Qualität des jungen Nachwuchses ist im allgemeinen trostlos." Ibid. Goltz provided Hartlaub with a long list of young and old Munich artists which included Post-Expressionists, as well as non-Expressionists: Max Unold, Richard Seewald, Hugo Troendle, Julius Hess, Th. Th. Heine, Karl Arnold, Rudolf Grossmann, Dr. Emil Pretorius, Dr. Adolf Schirmerer, Franz Hecht, Hans Gött and Willi Geiger.

16. There is no response to Hartlaub's inquiry from von Sydow in the Kunsthalle's files. It is possible that he took no interest at all in Hartlaub's exhibition in 1923, but the file from 1923 may not be complete.

17. Among German cities, Munich was by far the best represented. All but a few of the 19 Munich artists listed

veristic) within the new art. He assured them, as he had Beckmann, that he was "certainly not interested in promoting a new 'direction' in taking a stand against an earlier movement."[18]

The response from the artists was generally positive. Max Schwarzer, for example, replied, "The attempt to put together an exhibition of Post-Expressionist art meets an urgent need."[19] Lesser-known artists were naturally more eager to take part than were some established artists. Dix, for example, who was experiencing such great success during the spring and summer of 1923, grew apprehensive when Hartlaub requested that the artists submit photographs of their work for selection.[20]

...Continued...

were associated with Hans Goltz's gallery. Neither of the artists recommended by Hausenstein appear on the list.

18. "[K]eineswegs handelt es sich darum, für eine neue 'Richtung' Propaganda zu machen oder gegen eine frühere Richtung aufzutreten; lediglich soll das Vorhandensein einer neuen Welle von Gesinnungen aufgezeigt und nachgeprüft werden, ob auch diese Welle starke junge Begabungen emporzutragen sich fähig erweist." An abbreviated form of this letter appeared in Der Querschnitt 3 (Fall 1923): 200. Because the list lacks addresses for Masereel, Picasso and Archipenko, and the addresses of all 49 German artists are followed by a check mark, it seems safe to assume that Hartlaub never contacted these three artists.

19. "Der Versuch von berufener Seite eine Ausstellung nachexpression. Kunst zusammenbringen zu lassen, entspricht einer dringenden Notwendigkeit." Letter, Schwarzer to Hartlaub, August 11, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle.

20. In an undated letter, Dix refused to take part in any juried exhibition. In the spring of 1923 Dix was in court in Berlin defending his painting Girl at the Mirror against

According to a note by Hartlaub's assistant, Edmond Strübing, Karl Nierendorf visited the Kunsthalle on August 23, 1923. Nierendorf thought the exhibition was a good idea, but seriously doubted that it could actually be arranged considering the state of the economy. The Kunsthalle had agreed to pay the return freight costs if the artists would pay to send their works to Mannheim. Nierendorf claimed to have just spent 60 million marks to ship Dix's painting The Trench from Dusseldorf to Cologne. He also warned of the difficulties of transporting works of art out of the occupied territories.[21] On September 11

...Continued...

charges of indecency and that summer his painting Salon II was confiscated from the Ausstellung Deutsche Kunst in Darmstadt on the same grounds (that trial took place in October). After receiving Dix's negative response, Hartlaub pleaded with Nierendorf to persuade Dix to reconsider, stating that it was not a question of artistic judgment, but that he had to reserve the right to exclude things "die gegenständlich allzu leicht misverstanden werden können." [Letter, Hartlaub to Nierendorf, July 24, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle.] He argued that he had to deal carefully with a "culturally active public that knows little about art," and emphasized that his was a public museum and not a private gallery. Without works by Dix, Hartlaub continued, he would have no exhibition. After consulting with Dix, Nierendorf advised Hartlaub that the artist still refused to submit works for selection, but Nierendorf agreed to send the works returning from the Darmstadt exhibition (To Beauty, Young Girl, and Dr. Staedelmann) and a number of watercolors. Nierendorf was careful not to mention Salon II. [Letter, Nierendorf to Hartlaub, July 27, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle.] Still hoping for a greater number of works by Dix in mid-August Hartlaub suggested to Nierendorf, "Vielleicht werden wir einen besonderen Raum für Dix reservieren, vorausgesetzt, dass wir mit genügend viel Material rechnen können." [Letter, Hartlaub to Nierendorf, August 14, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle.]
Dix vowed to avoid the exhibition if Grosz and Scholz were excluded. Both were having trouble procuring works for the exhibition from private owners.

Strübing notified Nierendorf that, as he had predicted, the exhibition would have to be delayed. He expressed his hope that Nierendorf would be of help in the future and mentioned the possibility of assembling a Dix exhibition in Mannheim.[22] The following day Hartlaub sent out a letter to all the artists stating that due to the "difficult transport situation" (schwierigen Transportverhältnisse) the exhibition was being canceled.

2. CRITICISM 1923-1924

Knowledge of Hartlaub's exhibition plans may have incited the debate in the German art press regarding the status and significance of the new art. Nonetheless, few critics agreed on the appropriate name for the new art. In an essay on the 19th-century naturalist painter Karl Haider, Franz Roh discussed the parallels between the development of naturalism in the 19th century and in contemporary Europe and offered his own term for the new movement:

> A movement that could be called Post-Expressionism has been developing in all European countries since about 1920. By [Post-Expressionism] I mean to say that it maintains certain metaphysical elements of Expressionism which are, on the other hand, changing into something completely new. The

---

...Continued...

21. Note, by Strübing, August 23, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle.

> concept 'Magic Realism,' which could also be applied to this new epoch, suggests the *new*, which thus renounces any expression of continuity.[1]

This seems to have been Roh's first use of the term *Magic Realism*, a term which he felt best described the art of his friends in Munich. In a review of the Munich New Secession exhibition during the summer of 1923 Roh wrote:

> In the last couple of years a new painting style has developed, very distinct from that of the *Blaue Reiter*, in which a new heightened awareness of the object was brought to Expressionism. This current, eventually noticeable throughout Europe, was begun in Munich by three painters . . . Schrimpf, Davringhausen and Mense.[2]

For the first time, a German critic was attributing the origins of the international Post-Expressionist movement to German artists. There was a particle of truth to Roh's

---

...Continued...

22. Letter, Strübing to Nierendorf, September 11, 1923, Mannheim Kunsthalle.

1. "Eine Bewegung nun, die seit etwa 1920 in allen europäischen Ländern hervorkeimt, sei Nachexpressionismus genannt, womit ich sagen will, daß sie gewisse metaphysische Bezüge des Expressionismus behält, diese anderseits aber zu etwas durchaus Neuem wandelt. Der Begriff des 'magischen Realismus,' der für die einsetzende Epoche ebenfalls angewandt werden kann, deutet das Neue an, verzichtet dafür aber auf den Ausdruck der Kontinuität." Franz Roh, "Zur Interpretation Karl Haiders: Eine Bemerkung auch zum Nachexpressionismus," Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst (1923): 73.

2. "Nun hat sich in den beiden letzten Jahren ein neuer Stil der Malerei entwickelt, stark unterschieden von dem des 'Blauen Reiters', indem man dem Expressionismus neue Schärfung des Gegenstandsbewußtseins zuführte. Diese Welle, allmählich in ganz Europa spürbar werdend, ist in München heraufgeführt worden durch drei Maler, welche, so verschieden sie unter sich, in Zukunft zweifellos ein und derselben eröffnenden Stufe zuzurechnen sind. Es handelt sich um die neueren Arbeiten von Schrimpf, Davringhausen

statement; these three artists did develop their styles independently during 1917-20, nonetheless, they cannot be credited with having "begun" the international movement itself. Roh concluded that where the public complained in 1890 about the radical abstraction of artists like van Gogh and Gauguin, it now complained about the radical realism (Dinglichkeit) of contemporary art.

At the same time, Willi Wolfradt similarly identified a new "language of form" which he saw developing:

> away from the flickering restlessness and loose approximation of modes of expression, away from a vague fantasia and visionary opacity, over to graphic precision, more sachlich determination, smooth accuracy.[3]

He chose the term "Verism" to describe this new international phenomenon which he assumed had come from France, (where "every new linear style appears to have developed"). He went on to identify the Italian Valori Plastici group as "the most extreme Verists." In Germany he perceived Georg Schrimpf as representing "the Nazarene element" (Nazarenertum) of the movement, while Davringhausen, Grosz and Dix were described as "polemic Verists." Since 1919 critics

---

...Continued...

und Mense." Franz Roh, "Münchner Neue Sezession: Ein Bericht," Der Cicerone 15 (July 1923): 642.

3. "Die Formensprache der modernen Malerei besteht heute aus eine unverkennbare Entwicklung: fort von flackernder Unruhe und von lockerem Ungefähr der Ausdrucksweise, fort von verschwommener Phantastik und visionärer Undurchsichtigkeit -- hin zu zeichnerischer Prägnanz, sachlicher

had generally reserved the term Verism exclusively for Grosz, Dix, Schlichter, Scholz and sometimes Davringhausen. This was certainly the most clearly identifiable trend within the Post-Expressionist movement in Germany. In the spring of 1923 Paul F. Schmidt had associated Dix, Grosz, Schlichter and Davringhausen with Verism.[4] In his essay on Dix from the summer of 1923 Paul Westheim saw the artist as representing "the attempt to win a new type of Sachlichkeit for painting."[5] He attributed the origins of Verism in Germany to Grosz, and also linked Dix, Grosz, Schlichter and Scholz together. Franz Roh described Dix, Grosz and Scholz as "the three bourgeois-eaters" (Bürgerfresser),[6] and described the work of Davringhausen as "Magic Verism."[7] Wolfradt also found "Magic Verism" a term that fit Davringhausen well.[8]

...Continued...

Entschiedenheit, ruhiger Akkuratesse." Willi Wolfradt, "Ein Doppelbildnis von Otto Dix," Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst 1923: 175.

4. Paul F. Schmidt, Otto Dix (Cologne: Nierendorf, 1923).

5. "Otto Dix ist der Versuch, für die Malerei eine neue Art von Sachlichkeit zu gewinnen." Paul Westheim, "Otto Dix," Frankfurter Zeitung August 17, 1923.

6. Franz Roh, "Austellung: München," Das Kunstblatt 7 (August 1923): 254.

7. "Die Sensation [at Goltz's exhibition] war ein neuer Davringhausen [Boy with Soap Bubbles (lost)] mit dem magischen Verismus dieses Zauberers. Eine Riesenminiatur." Franz Roh, "Ausstellungen München," Das Kunstblatt 7 (June 1923): 190.

In an essay on Georg Scholz and the "new Gegenständlichkeit" in the fall of 1923 Hans Curjel equated the "eclectic Nazarenism" of Schrimpf, Mense and Davringhausen with contemporary French neoclassicism. Curjel also saw a parallel development that had "grown out of the direct experience of the contemporary conditions and political realities." Speaking of the development of the new art in the past tense, he attributed the development of the "new Gegenständlichkeit" to "a striving for general intelligibility."[9] Borrowing Paul Westheim's term "the successful

---

...Continued...

8. "Man hat bei ihm sehr glücklich von einem 'magischen Verismus' gesprochen." Willi Wolfradt, "Heinrich Maria Davringhausen," Die Dame 50 (1923): 3.
During 1924 all the artists associated with "Verism" or "Polemocal Verism" were associated with the *Rote Gruppe*, an organization of communist or left-leaning artists founded by Grosz, Schlichter, Heartfield and Erwin Piscator in that year. Among the members were: Dix, Griebel, Davringhausen, Birkle, Hoerle, Völker, Eric Johanssen and Otto Nagel. These artists had also been associated with the *International Arbeiterhilfe* (IAH) which was fostered by Lenin, organized by Willi Münzenberg, and headquartered in Berlin since December 1921. In 1924 Nagel assembled an exhibition for IAH of contemporary German art, primarily by socially-committed artists from various groups, which was staged in Moscow, Saratov and Leningrad in 1924-25 (*1. Allgemeine deutsche Kunstausstellung*). The Russian critics seem to have focused on the "Verists," which they generally prefered to the Expressionists, but did not necessarily approve of their imagery and intentions. See: Wem gehort die Welt, Kunst und Gesellschaft in der Weimarer Republik (Berlin (East): Neue Gesellschaft der Bildende Kunst, 1977): 243-45; and Katherine Ida Rigby, An alle Kunstler: War - Revolution - Weimar (San Diego State UP, 1983): 64-5.

9. "Neben solche formalistischeen Strömungen steht eine Entwicklung, die aus dem unmittelbaren Erlebnis der Gegenwart, der Zustände, der politischen Realität hervorgewachsen ist. . . . [d]as Bemühen nach allgemeiner Verständlichkeit führte zur Gegenständlichkeit, zu klarer Faßbarkeit der Figuren, zu zugespitzter Stoffmalerei."

chromo-lithograph" (arrivierte Öldruck)[10] to describe the paintings of Scholz, Grosz, Dix etc., Curjel warned that their art was:

> no little joke by witty political artists, but the result of an artistic development that falls back on fundamental laws of the production of gegenständlich painting (e.g. the painting techniques of the old masters).[11]

He concluded that this art was "based on the idea that cool, sachlich creation gives a forceful expression to the deepest essence of things."[12]

Paul Fechter, one of the principal theorists of the Expressionist movement, published his own very insightful assessment of the Post-Expressionist movement in the Novem-

---

...Continued...

Hans Curjel, "Zur Entwicklung des Malers Georg Scholz," Das Kunstblatt 7 (October 1923): 257-58.
Curjel was the director of the Badische Kunstverein in Karlsruhe.

10. In Westheim's essay "Der 'arrivierte' Öldruck" [Das Kunstblatt 6 (June 1922): 347-8] he advised artists, especially those interested in addressing the masses in political terms: "Grosz, Schlichter, Scholz, Masereel, Davringhausen, Dix and Ernst," to look to the popular, unartistic/kitsch chromo-lithograph in order to create an art that would make contact with the masses. See part II chapter 1.2.

11. "Der 'arrivierte Öldruck' ist also kein Späßchen witziger politischer Künstler sondern das Ergebnis einer künstlerischen Entwicklung, die auf fundamentale Gesetze der gegenständlichen Bildgestaltung zurückgreift (vgl. auch die Technik der altdeutsche Malerei)." Curjel, "Scholz," 258.

12. "[...] daß durch kühle, sachliche Gestaltung das tiefste Wesen der Dinge am eindringlichsten zum Sprechen komme, daß gerade die sachliche Darstellung des Volumens

ber issue of Das Kunstblatt.[13] He disagreed with Worringer's and Hausenstein's claims that Expressionism was dead, declaring that only the first phase was over. Post-Expressionism, which he preferred to call "Neo-Naturalism," had put Expressionism behind, he claimed, and was going forward. Fechter saw this "Neo-Naturalism" not only in the art of people like Dix, but also in the literature of Hans Henny Jahnn, Arnolt Bronnen and Bertoldt Brecht. And he emphasized that this naturalism had nothing at all to do with that of Arno Holz, Johannes Schlaf and Gerhard Hauptmann, but rather it "emphasizes feeling -- is expressionistic, a 'fanatic naturalism,' as Meidner proclaimed it."[14] There was now less distance from the subject, he noted, citing the actual bullet-hole in Dix's painting The Barricade [Fig. 21]. He perceived this to be exemplary of a fanatic need to document. He now acknowledged that the goals of Expressionism were not so universal after all; the striving now was for immediacy. Fechter concluded that the healthy vitality of Expressionism remained within this

---

...Continued...

der Dinge das künstlerische Verhältnis des Beschauers zur Erscheinungswelt hervorbringe. Daß die Wirklichkeit dann am vernehmlichsten spricht, wenn das Individuum vor dem Objekt zurücktritt." Curjel, "Scholz," 264.

13. Fechter's book Der Expressionismus (Munich: Piper, 1914) which emphasized the unique German contribution to the Expressionist movement was largely responsible for the popularization of the term in Germany. See Werenskiold, The Concept of Expressionism, 50-4.

14. "Der alte Naturalismus hatte den Ehrgeiz des naturwissenschaftlichen Jahrhunderts: er wollte sachlich feststellend sein; der neue dagegen ist gefühlsbetont -

"Neo-Naturalism."[15]

At the same time, two other former champions of Expressionism, Emil Utitz and Hans Hildebrandt, were acknowledging that a "New Realism" or "New Naturalism" had superseded Expressionism.[16]

During the stagnant market year of 1924 the progressive art periodicals continued to focus on the new Post-Expressionist art. And the debate concerning a slogan for the new movement continued. In the first number of Der Cicerone of 1924 Alfred Salmony wrote, "Verism and Naturalism are empty words, we do not even know yet what [the new

---

...Continued...

expressionistisch, ein 'fanatischer Naturalismus', wie Meidner ihn proklamierte." Paul Fechter, "Die nachexpressionistische Situation," Das Kunstblatt 7 (November 1923): 324.

15. Fechter also perceived a post-Expressionist abstraction derived from Suprematism and Constructivism, but questioned its artistic value.

16. Emil Utitz, "Neuer Naturalismus," Kunst und Künstler 22 (April 1924): 164-68. Utitz was the author of Die Grundlagen der jüngsten Kunstbewegung (Stuttgart: Enke, 1913), and Die Kultur der Gegenwart (Stuttgart: Enke, 1921). In 1927 he published a study of the Post-Expressionist cultural transformation: Die Überwindung des Expressionismus (Stuttgart: Enke, 1927).
Hildebrandt wrote Der Expressionismus in der Malerei (Stuttgart & Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1919). He included a chapter on the "Neue Realismus" in his book Die Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts (Potsdam: Athenaion, 1924): 410-14. In his discussion of Expressionism, he

art] will be called one day."[17] Oskar Maria Graf seems to have adopted Hartlaub's term when he spoke of Davringhausen as one of "those artists who entered into the calmer realms of a neue Sachlichkeit after overcoming their expressionist storm years."[18]

In an essay on the new art published in the March 1923 edition of Das Kunstblatt, Hans Curjel, acknowledged both Hartlaub's and Roh's terminology speaking now of "the so-called Neue Sachlichkeit" and "as has been said, Magic Naturalism." Curjel tied the expansion of the new art to Germany's political development: "harmony, naturalism, regularity" would prevail, he claimed, now that the storm was over. He mentioned that figures like Picasso, Grosz, Scholz, Schrimpf and Kanoldt as well as Georg Kaiser, Paul Hindemith and Igor Stravinsky were reaching back to axioms that had been denied by Expressionism. And he called for a similar transformation in art criticism. With the embrace of Alois Riegl's concept of Kunstwollen, he believed, art history had become valueless. Art criticism had lost

---

...Continued...

carefully distanced the significant art of the first generation of Expressionists from that of post-war Expressionism which he regarded as having represented a degeneration of Expressionism.

17. "Verismus und Naturalismus sind leere Worte, wir wissen noch gar nicht, wie das einmal heißen wird." Alfred Salmony, "Die neue Galerie des 17. bis 20. Jahrhunderts im Museum Walraff-Richartz in Köln," Der Cicerone 16 (January 1924): 8.

18. "Unter allen jenen Malern, die nach Überwindung ihrer expressionistischen Sturmjahre, in die geruhigen Bezirke

contact with reality, he continued, when it embraced the ecstasy of Expressionism. "Revolutionary ecstasy is succeeded by revolutionary discipline," he declared, and called for art criticism to adapt accordingly to the "new manner of doing business" ("Neue Wirtschaftsform").[19]

In September 1924 Gustav Hartlaub published an attack against the Verists' "cool, snotty indifference" (kaltschnäuzige Gleichgültigkeit) in Germany's most popular nationally-circulated paper. Nonetheless, he regretfully noted that these artists were, "perhaps the strongest, clearest talents of our younger generation."[20] The issue with the Verists (no names were given) was not one of morality, Hartlaub stated emphatically, but of a "lack of any sort of moral distance" from their subjects.[21] There were lessons from the past that these artists seem to have forgotten, according to Hartlaub, including the difference

---

...Continued...

einer neuen Sachlichkeit einmündeten, ist dieser junge Aachener einer der interessanten und rätselhaftesten." "Oskar Maria Graf, "Heinrich Maria Davringhausen," Der Cicerone 16 (January 1924): 59.

19. "Auf revolutionären Rausch folgt die revolutionäre Disziplin. Man wird auch in der Kunstliteratur (wie in der Kunst selbst und wie in der Politik) zu einer 'neuen Wirtschaftsform' greifen müssen. Die Entwicklung der Kunst selbst zeigt, wie es scheint, den Weg." Hans Curjel, "Die 'Neue Wirtschaftsform'," Das Kunstblatt 8 (March 1924): 82.

20. "Aber hier -- scheint mir -- sprechen vielleicht die stärksten, deutlichsten Begabungen unserer jüngeren Generation." G. F. Hartlaub, "Zynismus als Kunstrichtung?" Frankfurter Zeitung September 13, 1924.

between art and propaganda (Tendenz). Hartlaub lamented in conclusion that just yesterday it was believed that mankind was good, and asked, "can he have become so radically bad?"

Paul F. Schmidt responded to Hartlaub's essay in the December issue of Das Kunstblatt noting that, "Art doesn't give a damn about the art critic."[22] Schmidt pointed out that in the past few years a group of artists had developed a type of art "that could only have grown on German soil."[23] This group included Grosz, the "satirist," and the "objectivists" Dix, Scholz, Schlichter and Otto Griebel.[24] "Because the child must have some kind of a name," Schmidt wrote, "we call them the 'German Verists.'"[25] He pointed out in regard to Hartlaub's call for reconsideration of the Expressionists' faith in the goodness of mankind that these artists had never bought

---

...Continued...

21. "Was mich an vielen unserer modernen Veristen so tief befremdet, ist der Mangel eines moralischen Abstandes, wie ihn eben nur die Anerkennung einer sittlichen Wertwelt möglich macht." Ibid.

22. "Die Kunst kümmert sich den Teufel um die Kunstrichter." Paul F. Schmidt, "Die deutschen Veristen," Das Kunstblatt 8 (December 1924): 373.

23. "[E]in Kunstart, die nur auf deutschen Boden erwachsen konnte. . ." Ibid. 368.
Georg Scholz expressed his disagreement with Hartlaub's essay in a letter to Theodor Kiefer the day after it appeared. Letter, Scholz to Kiefer, September 14, 1924, Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

24. Editor Paul Westheim included a drawing by Karl Hubbuch on the title page of Schmidt's article perhaps to express his opinion that Hubbuch should have been included among this group.

25. "Nennen wir sie, weil das Kind irgend einen Namen

into that philosophy.

When the periodical Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt reappeared in April 1925 (its last edition had appeared in October 1923), it committed itself to devote more attention to contemporary art than it had in the past. As quoted in part II chapter 6.3, its new editor Alfred Kuhn declared that the magazine's goals were now: "Purity of the art market, clarity in criticism, freedom of inquiry, growth of the new, the fresh, and the Sachlichkeit of the public art world."[26] This statement was followed by an essay on the Post-Expressionist situation by the prominent art historian and supporter of Expressionism, Hans Tietze. Tietze observed a dramatic transformation in European art since the last edition of Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt. He saw a fully-developed response to Expressionism which he believed had come about during the immediate, market-less past:

> Moderation has suddenly once again become a virtue. Instead of the fearless leap into the future, a holding-on to the past; instead of dissolution of form, painfully precise [and] thorough working [of the form]; instead of revelry in all stimulations, a pronounced need for peace; after the violence of gegenstandlos constructions,

---

...Continued...

haben muß, die 'deutschen Veristen.'" Ibid. 368.
In the preface to his book published several months later, Franz Roh offered the new art movement the title "Magic Realism" "Da das Kind einen wirklichen Namen haben mußte."

a new naturalism.[27]

He was addressing the recent work of artists all over Europe ("Picasso, Togores, Coubine, Dix, Schrimpf, Mense, Krimlicka, Casorati, Merkl, the Russian Konkretivisten") in which he perceived "the same tired tranquility" (die gleiche müde Abgeklärtheit). By including Otto Dix in his list of those revealing a "tired tranquility," Tietze seems to have revealed his own lack of understanding of the depth and contradictions within the new movement.

3. *DIE NEUE SACHLICHKEIT*: A REAL EXHIBITION 1925

Hartlaub never gave up his exhibition plans. In March 1924 he wrote to Franz Roh regarding the possibility of bringing to Mannheim an exhibition of Post-Expressionist

---

...Continued...

26. "Die Reinlichkeit des Kunstmarktes, die Ungetrübtheit der Kritik, die Freiheit der Forschung, das Wachsen der Jungen, Frischen, die Sachlichkeit des Öffentlichen Kunstlebens sind ihre Ziele." Alfred Kuhn, editorial statement, Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt (April 3, 1925): 3.

27. "[T]rotz der verhältnismäßig kurze Zeitspanne der Unterbrechung ist kein Zweifel, daß diese Situation eine wesentlich andere ist. . . . [D]er künstlerische Nachwuchs steht in Gegensatz zu der vorangagengenen Existenz. Maßhalten ist mit einem Male wieder eine Tugend geworden. Statt des kühnen Satzes in die Zukunft ein Zurücklenken zur Vergangenheit; statt der Auflösung der Form ihre peinlich genaue Durcharbeitung; statt des Schwelgens in allen Erregnungen ein ausgesprochenes Bedürfnis nach Ruhe; nach den Gewaltsamkeiten der gegenstandslosen Konstruktionen ein neuer Naturalismus. . . . Die Produktion von Kunstwerken

art that Roh was organizing at the Galerie Thannhauser.[1] But nothing came of either exhibition.

Georg Schrimpf wrote to Roh from Italy in December 1924 asking if they could put together a "Sachlichkeit" exhibition.[2] Carlo Mense wrote to Roh two months later that they were arranging an exhibition at Goltz's for March 1925. He had invited Davringhausen, Kanoldt, Schnarrenberger and Scholz, and asked if Roh could find a painting by Walter Spies (who was now living in Bali). A few weeks later he wrote that Goltz, for personal reasons, refused to include Schrimpf in the exhibition.[3]

At the same time Hartlaub began preparations once again for his own Neue Sachlichkeit show. On March 27, 1925 he sent letters to an unknown number of artists inviting them to submit photographs of their work. He now sought artists "who, after overcoming the expressionistic, are striving towards a manner of representation which is

---

...Continued...

ist einem Male gewachsen, das keineswegs einem dahinterstehenden unmittelbaren Bedürfnis entsprach, sondern vielfach ein recht künstliches Erzeugnis gewesen war." Hans Tietze, "Die Reaktion in der Kunst," Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt 1 (April 3, 1925): 6.

1. "Wäre es nicht möglich, daß wir in der Kunsthalle Ihre Ausstellung 'Nachexpressionismus' übernehmen?" Letter, Hartlaub to Roh, March 18, 1924, Kunsthalle, Mannheim.

2. "Könnten wir nicht eine Ausstellung 'Sachlichkeit' machen? Kanoldt möchte sehr gern." Postcard, Schrimpf to

compositionally constrained and again gegenständlich."[4] His scope now seemed more definitive than it had been in 1923. On the same day he contacted a number of critics and dealers, the most important of which was Franz Roh, who was to be responsible for assembling works by the Munich artists. Hartlaub assured Roh that in the exhibition catalog he would acknowledge that the idea of the exhibition was devised by both of them (which he did).[5] Hartlaub also asked Hans Goltz to send works from his current "Post-Expressionism" exhibition, and he asked Nierendorf to insure that Dix would be well-represented.[6]

...Continued...

Roh, December 8, 1924, Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica.

3. Letters, Carlo and Vera Mense to Roh, February 12, 1925 and March 3, 1925, Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica.

4. "[...] die nach [die] Überwindung der expressionistischen Art zu einer Kompositionell gebunden, zugleich aber wieder gegenständlichen Darstellungsweise streben." Circular to artists, March 27, 1925, Mannheim Kunsthalle.

5. "Ich werde selbstverständlich im Katalog vorwort darauf hinweisen, daß die Idee dieser Ausst. von uns gemeinsam gefaßt werden *[sic]* ist und daß Sie uns bei der Zusammenstellung des Münchener Materials entscheidende Dienste geleistet haben." Letter, Hartlaub to Roh, March 27, 1925, Mannheim Kunsthalle.

6. Letters, Hartlaub to Goltz and Nierendorf, March 27, 1925, Mannheim Kunsthalle. After sending out these initial letters Hartlaub left for an eight-week Greek vacation. Hartlaub had traveled to Munich to see Goltz's exhibition, and had made an agreement with Goltz and the artists that upon closing, the exhibition would be sent on to Mannheim. But Goltz responded on April 1 that the works could not be sent. Hartlaub and his assistant Strübing were left to

It seems that Hartlaub had led Roh to believe that the exhibition was to be dominated by, or exclusively of the Munich artists. On June 3, just eleven days before the opening, he notified Roh that the concept of the exhibition had undergone a "decisive expansion" to include, not only the "'right wing' (Schrimpf, Kanoldt, Mense, etc.)", but that now the "'left wing' (Dix, Scholz, Grosz, etc.)" would be well represented.[7] Two days later, perhaps upon arrival of Hartlaub's letter, Roh informed Hartlaub -- apparently for the first time -- that he had just sent to print a book "on the whole phenomenon in Europe" (meaning his book

---

...Continued...

contact the artists individually.
The work by Dix that Hartlaub wanted most was the Portrait of the Artist's Parents of 1924 which had just been purchased by the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne. Hartlaub repeatedly begged the director of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum to lend the work, but was to be denied each time.
On May 28 Nierendorf telegraphed Hartlaub "drahtet ob Kriegsbild dix eilfracht erwuenscht." Hartlaub apparently responded immediately: "Kriegsbild in dieser Ausstellung leider unmöglich erbitten Leichenwagen und Elternbild." [Handwritten over Nierendorf's telegram, Mannheim Kunsthalle.] Nierendorf had just received Dix's large painting The Trench back from the Wallraf-Richartz Museum. But by this time it was the most controversial painting in Germany [see part II chapter 2.3]. Nierendorf also sent several works by Schrimpf in his possession.

7. "Der Ausstellungsgedanke hat insofern eine entscheidende Erweiterung erfahren, als neben den gegenständlich gerichteten Künstlern des 'rechten Flügels' (Schrimpf, Kanoldt, Mense, etc.) auch der 'linke Flügel' (Dix, Scholz, Grosz, etc.) sehr repräsentativ zur Anschauung kommt." Letter, Hartlaub to Roh, June 3, 1925, Mannheim Kunsthalle.
Actually, when Hartlaub was in Munich in March he had

Magischer Realismus).[8]

The Mannheim exhibition opened on June 14 with 124 paintings and at least 36 works on paper by 32 artists (other works were included after the opening) [see Appendix D].[9] Only 15 of these artists had been included on Hartlaub's list of 52 artists from 1923. Probably in order to emphasize the breadth of the new art Hartlaub included one or two works by a number of lesser-known artists from a variety of cities. This could explain the inclusion of Reinhold Ewald (Hanau), Benjamin Godron (Münster), Werner Peiner (Bonn), Otto Ritschl (Wiesbaden), Otto Wilfried (Mannheim, perhaps the token local artist), and Ernst Haider (Munich, son of the Naturalist Karl Haider whose retrospective was held at the Kunsthalle in 1924). Rudolf von Ripper was included at Carlo Mense's request, as were Schulz-Matan at Georg Schrimpf's, and Adolf Erbslöh and

---

...Continued...

discussed with Kanoldt the inclusion of at least Dix and Beckmann. Kanoldt wrote to Roh on March 21, 1925 that, "Dr. Hartlaub war hier und übernimmt uns [our exhibition] für Mai. Da kommt auch Schrimpf dazu - Dix - Beckmann und viele andere." Letter, Kanoldt to Roh, March 21, 1925, Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica.

8. "Habe inzwischen ein Buch über das gesamte Phänomen in Europa in Druck gehen lassen." (Actually, Roh had written the foreword to the book in March.) In this note he also mentioned that he and Goltz anticipated the exhibition travelling from Mannheim to Munich where it could be housed jointly by Goltz and the Galerie Caspari. Postcard, Roh to Hartlaub, June 5, 1925, Mannheim Kunsthalle.

9. For instance, when Max Beckmann's exhibition at the Hamburg Kunstverein closed in July nine works were sent on

later Editha Kanoldt at Kanoldt's request.[10]

All the artists in the show were German except for the two Russians Ivan Babij and Nikolaus Glustschenko, both of whom were living in Berlin when the exhibition was planned, and Nikolaus Stöcklin of Basel. The exhibition was dominated by the Munich artists: Kanoldt was represented with 14 paintings, Schrimpf with 12, and Mense with 11. Hartlaub wanted a similar number of works by Davringhausen, but was only able to procure 4 paintings and 13 graphics.[11] Six other Munich artists were included: Erbslöh, Haider, Heise, Godron, Schulz-Matan and Kars. The only other artists to be as prominently represented as the Munich three were Beckmann (14 oils) and Grosz (6 oils, 7 watercolors).

The Mannheim exhibition carried the title: "Die neue Sachlichkeit: German Painting since Expressionism."[12] In his catalog essay Hartlaub emphasized that while this artistic trend might appear to be a backlash against

---

...Continued...

to Hartlaub. We must be careful not to place too much emphasis on the choice of works for the exhibition because, in most cases, Hartlaub had to take whatever he could get at the time. A Cézannesque work by Kanoldt from 1911 was accepted. And five of the seven oils by Grosz were from before 1919.

10. A number of artists were rejected by Hartlaub upon receipt of their photographs. And, perhaps after further consideration, a number of artists were informed at the last minute that one or more of their works would not be exhibited, including Karl Rössing (1 of 4 was removed), Werner Peiner (3 of 4) and Anton Räderscheidt (2 of 4).

11. Hartlaub stated his disappointment with the small number of works by Davringhausen in a letter to the artist

Expressionism:

> no position against Expressionism and the generation of artists who belong to it is being taken. Indeed, it is highly doubtful whether Expressionism is dead at all. . . . Soon it will be recognized that the seed of the new art was already contained in the old, and that even today's 'Verism' retains much of the visionary fantastic quality of the older art.[13]

Hartlaub emphasized that the identification of this art as an "-ism" would be left to the historian. Acknowledging the argument that there existed a Post-Expressionist gegenstandslos art, Hartlaub explained that this exhibition did not intend to represent the entire Post-Expressionist Kunstwollen since it omitted "Constructivism." Within the gegenständlich Post-Expressionist tendency he identified his two wings, but expressed his dissatisfaction with the designations "Verists" and "Classicists":

> We do not want to commit ourselves to the new catchwords. All that we are showing is that *there*

...Continued...

[August 13, 1925, Mannheim Kunsthalle]. Two additional paintings by Davringhausen were included in the Dresden and Chemnitz exhibitions.

12. "Nachexpressionistische Malerei" was used as the working title on most documents related to the exhibition.

13. "An der Schwelle dieser Ausstellung neuester deutscher Malerei gilt es einen gefährlichen Irrtum abzuwehren. Indem hier von künstlerischen Strebungen Zeugnis abgelegt wird, die nach dem Expressionismus erkennbar geworden sind und die -- in gewisser Hinsicht -- einen Rückschlag gegen diesen darzustellen scheinen, wird nicht etwa Stellung genommen gegen den Expressionismus und die zu ihm gehörige Künstlergeneration. Es ist zweifelhaft, ob der Expressionismus tot ist -- die Weiterentwicklung seiner besten Vertreter gerade in jüngster Zeit gibt zu denken. . . .

> *is still art* . . . . That it *lives*, in spite of a cultural situation which seems as hostile to the idea of art as few ages have been, and that the artists -- disillusioned, sobered, often resigned to cynicism almost giving up after a moment of unbounded, almost apocalyptic hopes -- are, in the midst of catastrophe, recollecting what is the nearest, most certain and most durable: truth and craft.[14]

In a press release for the exhibition, Hartlaub's assistant Strübing pointed out that the exhibition had been planned two years earlier, and emphasized that while there were now many artists within this movement, "the strongest representatives of this new art show that the 'Neue Sachlichkeit', the post-war painting, is the art of the repara-

---

...Continued...

Bald wird man wissen, daß die neue Kunst schon in der älteren keimhaft enthalten war und daß von der visionären Phantastik der älteren selbst im 'Verismus' von heute viel bewahrt geblieben ist." G. F. Hartlaub, "Zum Geleit," Ausstellung "Neue Sachlichkeit:" Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus (Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim: 1925).

14. "Wir wollen uns nicht auf die neuen Schlagworte festlegen. Was wir zeigen, ist allein, daß *die Kunst noch da ist*, daß sie zu Neuem, Ungesagtem strebt, Neuem, Ungesagtem sein Recht erkämpft. Daß sie *lebt* -- trotz einer kulturellen Situation, die dem Wesen der Kunst so feindlich scheint, wie selten ein Zeitalter es war. Daß die Künstler -- enttäuscht, ernüchtert, oft bis zum Zynismus resignierend, fast sich selber aufgebend nach einem Augenblick grenzloser, beinahe apokalyptischer Hoffnungen -- sich mitten in der Katastrophe auf das besinnen, was das Nächste, das Gewisseste und Haltbarste ist: die Wahrheit und das Handwerk." Ibid.
Hartlaub spoke of the "catastrophe" in the present. Did he mean the socio-economic catastrophe of 1918-24, the present state of the art market, or the recent election of Paul Hindenburg as the new president of the German Republic (April 26, 1925)? On the day of his inauguration (May 11)

tions years."[15] According to this statement, Strübing (and Hartlaub) believed the Neue Sachlichkeit was ultimately bound to the post-war reparations years (which we now understand to have come to an *end* during the socio-economic stabilization of 1924-25). They were fully aware of the great number of artists who had very recently arrived at naturalistic styles, but wanted to emphasize the fact that the exhibition was about "the strongest representatives" whose art matured immediately after the war. Although the statement was written in the present tense, Strübing seems to have been suggesting that the Neue Sachlichkeit was representative of the immediately past era.

The perceived importance of the Mannheim exhibition is evident in the responses from museums and art groups throughout Germany. Already in July the Saxon Art Society (Sächsischer Kunstverein) in Dresden and the Chemnitz city museum contacted Hartlaub about taking on the exhibition. The Art Societies in Dessau, Jena, Gera, Halle and Erfurt, the Kestner-Gesellschaft in Hanover, and the public museums in Oldenburg, Stettin and Essen also expressed their inter-

---

...Continued...

the procession route was lined with monarchist flags. Four days after the inauguration Harry Kessler wrote in his diary: "Farewell progress, farewell vision of a new world." Harry Kessler, In the Twenties: The Diaries of Harry Kessler, trans. Charles Kessler, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971): 267.

15. "An den Verhältnissen des letzten Inflationsjahres scheiterte die Aufführung des Unternehmens, nicht zum Schaden der jetzigen Ausstellung. Was damals wohl gefühlt

est in the show.[16]

As the exhibition continued to travel for a year and a half, both the term Neue Sachlichkeit and the new art received great attention.[17] In his review of the Mannheim show Paul F. Schmidt spoke of it as an exhibition, "of the painters of 'Verism'. . ., or, as it is called by the director Hartlaub, the 'Neue Sachlichkeit.'"[18] He pointed out here that both terms were intended to designate the same art, but that neither term really covered all the works in the show. Using Grosz and Schrimpf as an example of the extreme polarity represented in the show, Schmidt posed the all-important question: what unites these artists? He responded, "The unity lies in the opposition to so-called Expressionism." Counter to the "anarchistic"

...Continued...

und gewollt sich bei einigen wenigen Künstlern anbahnte, ist jetzt ausgereift und bereits Gemeingut weiter Kreise geworden. Die stärksten Vertreter dieser neuen Kunst aber zeigen, daß die 'Neuen Sachlichkeit' die Nachkriegsmalerei, die Kunst der Reparationsjahre ist." [Edmund] Strübing, "Ausstellung Mannheim," Der Cicerone 17 (July 1925): 74.

16. Once it was decided that the exhibition would travel to Dresden and Chemnitz, it became accessible to other east German cities that would otherwise have been unable to afford the freight costs to bring the show from Mannheim.

17. A large collection of exhibition reviews is held in the files of the Mannheim Kunsthalle.

18. "Die Mannheimer Kunsthalle . . . hat . . . die Maler des 'Verismus' in ihre Räumen geladen oder, wie es der Direktor Hartlaub nennt, der 'Neuen Sachlichkeit.' Paul F. Schmidt, "Die 'Neue Sachlichkeit' in Mannheim," Hannoverische Kurier, August 19, 1925.
Hartlaub was disturbed by a number of the reviews by people who he felt failed to understand the new art, especially in local papers. He was especially upset by a review in

spiritual values of Expressionism, he continued, these artists concentrate on "the most exact and documentary grasp of reality possible to the exclusion of all spiritual and expressive ploys."[19] Like Hartlaub and Paul Fechter, Schmidt noted connections between Verism and Constructivism (i.e. rejections of sentiment, need for Objektivität), but emphasized that the leaders of Constructivism were in Russia and Holland, whereas Verism was exclusively a German matter (with distant connections to "the Romans"). He pointed out that Hartlaub had largely divided up the show into two sections, one representing the social critics and the other representing the "idyllic" painters. Schmidt objected to the inclusion of Max Beckmann and the choice of works by Grosz. He praised Otto Dix as the dominant presence in the new movement and complained that the show did him little justice. He regarded Scholz to be the ultimate Verist: noting his "ice-cold Sachlichkeit," Schmidt wrote, "Not since the old German masters have we experienced such

---

...Continued...

Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt (Eberlein, "Ausstellung 'Neue Sachlichkeit' in Mannheim Städt. Kunsthalle," Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt (October 3, 1925): 445-47.). He pleaded with the editor to review the exhibition again in Dresden. He also pleaded unsuccessfully with Wilhelm Hausenstein to write a review for the Frankfurter Zeitung.

19. "Zwischen George Groß auf der einen Seite und Schrimpf etwa auf der anderen klafft ein sehr bedeutsamer Abgrund, daß man zunächst fragen muß: was eint diese Künstler? Was ist 'Verismus' oder 'Neue Sachlichkeit'? Das Einigende liegt in dem Gegensatze zu dem sogenannten 'Expressionismus'. War bei diesem alles auf Ausdruck geistiger Werke

intensity of colorful gegenständlich rendering."[20]

In his review of the exhibition, Paul Westheim also pointed out that only one half of Post-Expressionism was represented, i.e. Verism, with the omission of Constructivism. To the major Verist group ("Grosz, Dix, Schlichter, Scholz, Hubbuch and Kretschmar") Westheim wrote, Hartlaub had added "a Munich variety of French Neoclassicism." Westheim had never been a supporter of the Munich artists.[21] Nonetheless, he noted proudly (though erroneously) that most of the works in the exhibition had previously been illustrated in Das Kunstblatt. He also credited Das Kunstblatt with being the first to identify the new movement in its 1922 special issue on the new naturalism. Thus, Westheim was very proud of Hartlaub's exhibition. Like Schmidt, he too found Dix to be the outstanding figure in the show. He praised Schlichter's illustrations, Scholz's work, and Hubbuch's first oil painting The Classroom, then hastily dismissed the Munich artists (including Davringhausen). Westheim concluded that some artists like

---

...Continued...

gestellt, die Form aber anarchistisch aufgelöst, so beschränkt sich das veristische Bild auf eine Möglichkeit exakte und dokumentarische Feststellung der Wirklichkeit, mit Ausschaltung aller seelischen und expressiven Hintergründe und mit starker Betonung des inhaltlichen Momentes." Ibid.

20. "Der stärkste, rein veristische Typus ist Georg Scholz, von einer eiskalten Sachlichkeit der Beobachtung, ein bizarrer Chronikeur des deutschen Spießers und der deutschen Kleinstadt; in technisch vollkommener Beherrschung des Handwerks: seit den Altdeutschen ist eine solche Intensität der farbigen Vergegenständlichung nicht

Ewald, Nebel and especially Beckmann ("who is anything but Sachlichkeit") did not belong in the exhibition.[22] Hartlaub was forced to address the criticism concerning the validity of Beckmann's place in the exhibition.

In both the Dresden and Chemnitz catalogs Hartlaub explained that the show was structured so as to identify leading figures around whom were grouped some of their followers (Mitstrebenden). In the Dresden catalog he addressed the Beckmann criticism claiming it was the "merciless actuality of his subjects" that linked Beckmann to the others. Nonetheless, while Beckmann was represented with 15 paintings in the Dresden show, only one was shown in Chemnitz suggesting that Hartlaub had abandoned his

---

...Continued...

mehr erlebt worden." Ibid.

21. In a letter to Franz Roh already in 1921 Westheim had stated his lack of interest in the "falsche Italienisiererei" [*sic*] of Mense and Schrimpf. December 12, 1921, Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica.

22. Paul Westheim, "Kunst im deutschen Westen: II. Mannheim: Ausstellung 'Neue Sachlichkeit'," Das Kunstblatt 9 (September 1925): 266-68.
Reinhold Ewald was not included in the Dresden and Chemnitz exhibitions.
Kanoldt complained to Roh that the works of Beckmann, as well as the futurist works of Grosz, did not belong in the exhibition. He also complained of the large number of low-quality followers. Nonetheless, he proudly declared that the exhibition was most about the Munich artists and noted that "we" should have had more influence in putting the show together. But his major complaint was with the choice of cities that were to hold the exhibition. Dresden, Chemnitz and the other east German cities were among the country's poorest. "Leider geht die Ausst. an lauter Orte, wo wenig verkaufschancen sind. Sie hätte sich nur im Rheinland bewegen sollen," he wrote. Letter, Kanoldt to Roh, April 8, 1926, Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa

original position regarding Beckmann.[23]

When the exhibition opened in Dresden on October 18 its subtitle was changed to: "A Section of German Painting since Expressionism." Hartlaub's essay also underwent revision. He now emphasized more emphatically the fact that the exhibition represented only one facet of the "reaction to the so-called Expressionism" (omitted was the "sachlich-constructive" tendency). He stated that all that was meant by the term Neue Sachlichkeit was a "new desire for depersonalization" and an "attempt to get objective ground under ones feet again."[24] In Dresden, the cradle of German communism, Hartlaub was at liberty to state that he saw the source of the new art in the sobriety that followed the failed revolution.

As the Chemnitz Kunsthütte was preparing to receive the show in November 1925, its director wrote to Hartlaub requesting some revisions in his Dresden essay because the city officials were apparently wary of "Bolshevism in

---

...Continued...

Monica.
According to a letter from the Sächsische Kunstverein to Hartlaub, Kanoldt had also written an angry letter to them in which he complained that his works were not selling and insulted the city of Dresden. (November 19, 1925, Kunsthalle, Mannheim).

23. Hartlaub nonetheless regarded Beckmann to be the most important contemporary artist in Germany. In 1925 he was preparing a Beckmann monograph for Klinkhardt and Biermann's "Junge Kunst" series (which never appeared).

24. "'Neue Sachlichkeit': nur dieser in der Tat neue Wille zur Entpersönlichung, dieser Versuch, wieder objektiven Boden unter die Füße zu bekommen, ist mit dem Kennwort unserer Schau gemeint." G. F. Hartlaub, "Zur Einführung,"

art."[25] Therefore, in Hartlaub's essay in the Chemnitz catalog all sentences refering to politics or the revolution were altered. Entirely omitted for example was the sentence: "The general social and political disillusionment and sobering, the resignation, following a time full of high-flying manifestoes runs parallel with the artistic reaction."[26]

From Chemnitz the exhibition, no longer under Hartlaub's direction, traveled to Erfurt, Dessau, Halle, Jena and Essen. With each stop, works and artists were removed or replaced. The exhibition that opened at the Folkwang Museum in December 1926 no longer carried the title Die neue Sachlichkeit, but "Painting After the War" and included 76 works by ten Germans, together with Derain and De Chirico.[27]

...Continued...

Die neue Sachlichkeit: Ausschnitt aus der deutschen Malerei seit dem Expressionismus (Sächsischer Kunstverein, Dresden, 1925): 3.
Just as he had in his review of the Darmstadt Expressionism exhibition of 1920, Hartlaub warned of the danger of "eines neuen romantischen Nazarenertums."

25. Letter, Dr. Schreiber-Wiegand to Hartlaub, November 2, 1925, Mannheim Kunsthalle. Schreiber-Wiegand had recently been attacked for his purchases of works by Kirchner, Heckel and Schmidt-Rottluff.

26. "Die allgemeine soziale und politische Enttäuschung und Ernüchterung, die Resignation nach einer Zeit voll hoch fliegender Manifeste geht mit dem künstlerischen Rückschlag parallel." Hartlaub, Dresden catalog, 3.

27. It was composed of paintings by Carl Hofer (12), Mense

4. A BOOK

The first book devoted entirely to Post-Expressionism, Franz Roh's Nach-Expressionismus - Magischer Realismus, appeared around September 1925.[1] Just as Hartlaub refused to part with his term "Neue Sachlichkeit," Roh refused to relinquish the term he had invented for the new art. In his foreword he claimed to have chosen the term *Magic Realism* simply because, "the child must have . . . a real name," and he preferred it to "Ideal Realism," "Verism," or "Neoclassicism" to encompass the whole movement.[2] Roh, who had studied under, and served as an assistant to Heinrich Wölfflin,[3] now attempted to prove clearly and systematically that the new art represented the antithesis of Expressionism (in the broad international sense). Unlike Hartlaub's exhibition, Roh's book was international in

---

...Continued...

(9), Scholz (8), Davringhausen (7), Grosz (7), Schrimpf (6), Beckmann (6), Dix (5), Kanoldt (5), Bernhard Kretschmar (5), André Derain (3) and Giorgio de Chirico (3).
In the spring of 1927 Karl Nierendorf staged his own exhibition under the title Die neue Sachlichkeit.

1. Georg Schrimpf thanked Roh for his copy in a letter dated September 4, 1925, Roh Archive, Getty Center, Santa Monica.

2. "Auf den Titel '*Magischer Realismus*' legen wir keinen besonderen Wert. Da das Kind einen wirklichen Namen haben mußte und 'Nachexpressionism' nur Abstammung und zeitliche Beziehung ausdrückt. . . . Er erscheint uns wenigstens treffender als 'idealer Realismus' oder als 'Verismus' und 'Neuklassizismus', welche je nur einen Teil der Bewegung darstellen." Franz Roh, Nach Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus, Probleme der neuesten Europäischen Malerei (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1925): foreword.

scope. He identified seven possible discernible directions within Post-Expressionism: 1) a group of colorists still tied to Impressionism (Hermann Huber, Tscharner, etc.); 2) those that still used Expressionist elements, but who had sharpened and solidified their objects (Beckmann, Carl Hofer, Ernst Fritsch, Richard Seewald, Max Unold); 3) the Constructivists "in the widest sense of the word" (Kandinsky, Klee, Schlemmer, Ozenfant); 4) the Valori Plastici artists; 5) the neoclassicists (the Munich group, Nebel, Ewald, Picasso, Derain, Coubine, Metzinger); 6) the "Rousseau School" (Herbin, Miro, Linnqvist, Bôrje and "above all" Walter Spies [who was singled out for special praise]); and 7) the Verists (Grosz, Dix, Scholz, Schlichter, Hubbuch, Dreßler, Schnarrenberger, Smith, Sebba).

At the end of his 17 essays Roh included his often-quoted list of 22 Wölfflinesque, Expressionist/Post-Expressionist polarities: Ecstatic objects - sober objects; dynamic - static; loud - quiet; warm - cool; etc. [See Appendix E] He then applied these criteria to a series of carefully chosen thematic comparisons: horsemen by Kandinsky and Carrà; depictions of the city by Delaunay and de Chirico; portraits by Schmidt-Rottluff and Mense, etc. Although Roh's list did spell out some of the formal and thematic differences between some Expressionist and some Post-Expressionist works, it should be regarded primarily as a kunstwissenschaftlich exercise. Above all, Roh suc-

...Continued...

ceeded in identifying the international breadth of the Post-Expressionist situation. He included illustrations of 52 Post-Expressionist artists (20 Germans) and added a list with an additional 60 names (35 German) while emphasizing that the actual numbers were far greater.

Roh's book, as important as it was in 1925, has some major shortcomings that have led to a general misunderstanding of Post-Expressionism. In an attempt to emphasize the international scope of the movement, he failed to differentiate between the dramatically different circumstances under which Post-Expressionism developed in various countries. He failed to acknowledge, as Hartlaub had done in his catalog prefaces, that the German development was inextricably tied to the immediate post-war socio-political situation. But the greatest flaw of the book is to be found in Roh's thesis: he grossly overstated the differences between Expressionism and Post-Expressionism. His polarities and comparisons apply to particular Expressionist and Post-Expressionist works rather than to the two movements in general. Many German Post-Expressionists are, in fact, closely related either thematically or stylistically to certain Expressionists (in the broad international sense of the word, as Roh used it); for example: Kanoldt's landscapes and still lifes to Cézanne; the prostitute imagery and street scenes of Dix, Grosz and Nebel to Kirchner; the intense psychological moments and street scenes of Räderscheidt and Karl Holtz to Munch; and the

...Continued...

"naïve" imagery of Schrimpf, Mense, Spies, Davringhausen, Schnarrenberger, Fritsch and Dressler to Henri Rousseau.[4]

Although Roh's term *Magic Realism* may have been a more appropriate designation for more of the artists associated with Post-Expressionism, it never gained acceptance as the slogan for the international movement.[5] Since 1925 Hartlaub's term Neue Sachlichkeit, rather than Roh's, has been attached to the German naturalistic Post-Expressionist movement. Roh's term remarkably has been more commonly used as a literary description, primarily in Latin America.

5. THE TERM *NEUE SACHLICHKEIT*

The term Neue Sachlichkeit is recorded for the first time in Hartlaub's letters of inquiry of May 17-18, 1923. The art he intended to designate by this term should be clearly understood as the various figurative trends that

---

...Continued...

His failure to recognize Hartlaub's term was probably not accidental.

3. Roh had been an assistant to Wölfflin at the University in Munich (1916-19), where he completed his dissertation on seventeenth-century Dutch painting in 1919.

4. Also, artists like Conrad Felixmüller and Otto Freundlich, were dealing with many of the same themes as artists like Dix, Griebel and Grosz, while continuing to paint in an Expressionist manner during the early twenties.

5. In fact, none of the major surveys of twentieth-century art currently in print acknowledge a Post-Expressionist movement in the 1920s. For example: Sam Hunter and John Jacobus, Modern Art. Third edition. (New York: Abrams, 1992); H.H. Arnason, A History of Modern Art. Third

developed parallel to, and in counter-distinction to Expressionism between 1918 and 1923 (as Hartlaub had attempted to articulate in response to Paul Westheim's questionnaire "Ein neuer Naturalismus?" in 1922). His choice of the words Neue and Sachlichkeit, however, are problematic if one chooses to analyze them.

In his studies, Fritz Schmalenbach traced the source of Hartlaub's Sachlichkeit to the architectural ideal formulated and fostered by Alfred Lichtwark, Adolf Loos and especially Hermann Muthesius in the first years of the century.[1] In his dissertation, Pavel Liska pointed to a more recent and more appropriate usage of Sachlichkeit in regard to Hartlaub's term: a guide to the 19th-century German paintings in the National Gallery by Ludwig Justi published in 1920. Justi noted that the most important common characteristic of paintings from the 1830s by Blechen, Hummel, Menzel, Spitzweg, et al, was their Sachlichkeit, by which he meant their linear exactitude and faithfulness to the individual objects.[2] Hartlaub's con-

---

...Continued...

edition (New York: Abrams, 1986); Robert Hughes, The Shock of the New (New York: Knopf, 1981); Peter Selz, Art of Our Times (New York: Abrams, 1981). Only Norbert Lynton includes a chapter on international developments during the twenties, yet its organization leaves much to be desired (The Story of Modern Art. Second edition. [Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1989]).

1. Fritz Schmalenbach, Die Malerei der 'Neuen Sachlichkeit' (Berlin: Mann, 1973): 79; "The Term 'Neue Sachlichkeit'." Art Bulletin 22 (1940): 163.

2. Ludwig Justi, Deutsche Malkunst im 19. Jahrhundert: Ein

cept of Neue Sachlichkeit was closer to Justi's usage of the term than to Muthesius'. However, considering his respect for Max Beckmann, we must take into account Beckmann's use of the word Sachlichkeit after his war experience. In his creative credo written in 1918 and published in 1920 Beckmann wrote:

> Hopefully we have discarded much of what was before. From a thoughtless imitation of the visible, from a weak archaic degeneration of empty decoration and from a false and sentimental swelling mysticism, we may now hopefully come to the transcendental Sachlichkeit, which can emerge from a deeper love of nature and people, such as we find in the art of Mäleszkircher, Grünewald, Breughel, in Cézanne and van Gogh.[3]

Beckmann was calling for replacing the formal and mystical vaguaries of Expressionism with a "transcendental Sachlichkeit." Hartlaub actually borrowed Beckmann's call for "a deeper love of nature and people" in reaction to the vagueness of Expressionism in the conclusion of his review of the 1920 Darmstadt exhibition in which he warned that "no religion, no church will give us a hold on the transcenden-

---

...Continued...

Führer durch die Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1920. See Pavel Liska, "Die Malerei der Neuen Sachlichkeit," dissertation (Osnabrück, 1976): 102.
J. A. Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth uses the term Sachlichkeit in exactly the same way in regard to Biedermeier painting in "Naturalismus und Realismus: Versuch zur Formulierung verbindlicher Begriffe," Städel Jahrbuch 5 (1975): 256.

3. "Vieles sind wir hoffentlich losgeworden, was vorher war. Aus einer gedanklosen Imitation des Sichtbaren, aus einer schwächlich archaistischen Entartung in leeren Dekorationen und aus einer falschen und sentimentalen

tal," but rather that it was up to German artists to reconcile nature with their own "inherent laws of regularity."[4] It is not important to analyze Beckmann's understanding of "transcendental Sachlichkeit," but rather to acknowledge the fact that he intended this to be a reaction to the type of Expressionism that Hartlaub and many others criticized at the Darmstadt show in 1920.

Schmalenbach also questioned the usage of Hartlaub's prefix "Neue": was he seeing a newly emerged, a renewed, or a novel kind of Sachlichkeit? According to a letter Schmalenbach had received from Hartlaub, he was addressing the "old bourgeois Naturalism of the Dusseldorf Academy" and "the unartistic Naturalism of Richard Müller."[5]

Regardless of their semiotic pitfalls, Hartlaub's term Neue Sachlichkeit and Roh's *Magic Realism* should both be understood as synonyms for the Post-Expressionist movement of the inflation years. Since the 1950s historians have

---

...Continued...

Geschwulsmystik heraus werden wir jetzt hoffentlich zu der transzendenten Sachlichkeit kommen, die aus einer tieferen Liebe zur Natur und den Menschen hervorgehen kann, wie sie bei Mäleszkircher, Grünewald und Breughel, bei Cézanne und van Gogh vorhanden ist." Max Beckmann, "Schöpferische Konfession," in Kasimir Edschmidt, ed., Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit 13, (1920): 66.

4. ". . . Expressionismus künftighin den Abstand von der sinnlichen Natur und Wirklichkeit wird verkürzen müssen, denn seine metaphysische Gewißheit, seine Religion, seine Kirche gibt uns heute schon im übersinnlichen Halt. Aber nicht nach einem geschichtlichen Rezept, wie die Nazarener, wollen wir der Natur uns nähern, nicht auch uns ihren Eindrücken unterwerfen, wie das impressionistische Programen es verlangt, sondern sie unserer inneren auto-

had problems with the inappropriateness of both terms to encompass all the artists associated with Post-Expressionism. The terms are inappropriate because they are too descriptive, or suggestive. Historians have since used such terms as "resignation" and "sobriety" to describe Post-Expressionist paintings, but they too are no less exclusive than the terms of Hartlaub and Roh. None of these terms are suitable as a common designation for artists as diverse as Dix, Ernst, Schrimpf and Hoerle. Yet artists of such diversity were part of a common -- though very broad -- movement. All the artists in this study had been involved with the German Expressionist movement before 1920 and came to reject both Late Expressionism's cubo-futurist distortions and euphoric optimism. Although Paul F. Schmidt embraced the most colorless phrase of all for the new art, *Verism*, he emphatically pointed out in his review of Hartlaub's exhibition that what linked these diverse artists was their common opposition to Expressionism. It was less an issue of style or thematic concerns than of a broad transformation away from Expressionism. This was the essence of what Edmond Strübing called the art movement of the "reparations years." However, Roh's attempt in 1925 to categorically pose Post-Expressionism as antithetical to Expressionism was far too narrow. In 1923 Roh himself had noted that the new art, "maintains certain

---

...Continued...

metaphysical elements of Expressionism."[6] In the same year Paul Fechter noted that the healthy vitality of Expressionism remained within the "Neo-Naturalism."[7] In his Mannheim catalog essay, Hartlaub wrote, "Soon it will be recognized that the seed of the new art was already contained in the old [Expressionism], and that even today's 'Verism' retains much of the visionary fantastic quality of the older art."[8] As I have noted above, certain Post-Expressionists have more in common with certain Expressionists than they do with other Post-Expressionists. If one is to seek an art that is antithetical to Post-Expressionism, it is not to the first generation of Expressionists that one should look, but to Late Expressionism: the type of Expressionism that was chastised by Hartlaub, Worringer and Westheim in 1919-20; the Expressionism that so many were tired of at this time.

Nonetheless, Hartlaub's exhibition popularized the slogans Neue Sachlichkeit and Sachlichkeit which were

---

...Continued...

nomen und unbedingten Gesetzmäßigkeit in erkennender Liebe versöhnen." G. F. Hartlaub, "Deutscher Expressionismus: Zur Darmstädter Ausstellung," Frankfurter Zeitung July 15, 1920.

5. Schmalenbach, Die Malerei der 'Neue Sachlichkeit', 76-77; "The Term 'Neue Sachlichkeit'," 163.

6. "[S]ie gewisse metaphysische Bezüge des Expressionismus behält. . . ." Franz Roh, "Zur Interpretation Karl Haiders," 73.
Roh had the Munich artists foremost in mind.

immediately adopted to imply a new attitude in German society, the attitude that Waldemar George associated with Amerikanismus [see page 2].

CONCLUSION

Parallel to the popularization of the term Neue Sachlichkeit during 1925-26 there occurred a widespread growth in the number of artists working in Post-Expressionist figurative styles. The formal experiments and utopian declarations of Late Expressionism were by this time things of the past. Unlike all of the first "generation" of Post-Expressionists, few among the multitude of artists to take to painting naturalistically-rendered images of contemporary subjects around 1925 had had any direct personal experience with the Expressionist movement.[1] A new genera-

---

...Continued...

7. Paul Fechter, "Die nachexpressionistische Situation," 324. Fechter had Dix foremost in mind.

8. "Bald wird man wissen, daß die neue Kunst schon in der älteren keimhaft enthalten war und daß von der visionären Phantastik der älteren selbst im 'Verismus' von heute viel bewahrt geblieben ist." G. F. Hartlaub, "Zum Geleit," Ausstellung "Neue Sachlichkeit".

1. Among the artists who came to be associated with the Neue Sachlichkeit after 1925 were: Christian Arnold, Carl Barth, Mathias Barz, Rudolf Bergander, Volker Böhringer, Herbert Böttger, Leo Breuer, Fritz Busack, Rudolf Dischinger, Wilhelm Dodel, Heinrich Ehmsen, Conrad Felixmüller, Peter Foerster, Xavier Fuhr, Barthel Gilles,

tion of artists that had entered the academies and art schools at the end of the war appeared.[2]

Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition coincided with a major transformation in Germany's self-identification. The United States was widely perceived as the model of political stability and economic strength. When Germany adopted the Dawes Plan in 1924, Germans in general eagerly embraced everything they believed to be American. Henry Ford's autobiography, for example, appeared in German at the end of 1923 and soon sold 200,000 copies. Ford became the model American in Germany: an entrepreneur, practical and rich, who was modernizing the world. While the desire to marry technology with culture existed in Germany since the beginning of the century, it only became a national infatuation in the mid 1920s.[3] It was natural that painting would follow.

...Continued...

Rudolf Grossmann, Hans Grundig, Karl Günther, Carl Christoph Harting, Erich Hartmann, Albert Heinrich, Wilhelm Heise, Werner Heldt, Manfred Hirzel, Theo Hölscher, Eugen Hoffmann, Werner Hofmann, Hermann Huber, Grethe Jürgens, Joachim Karsch, Georg Kinzer, Moise Kisling, Hanns Kralik, Wilhelm Lachnit, Lea Langer-Grundig, Carl Lautherbach, Jeanne Mammen, Josef Mangold, Herbert Marxen, Hans Mertens, Erwin Merz, Otto Möller, Reinhold Nägele, Hanna Nagel, Oskar Nerlinger, Ernest Neuschul, Felix Nussbaum, Erich Ockert, Richard Oelze, Wilhelm Ohm, Gertha Overbeck-Schenk, Herbert Ploberger, Curt Querner, Max Radler, Otto Rodenwald, Ludwig Ronig, Karl Rüter, Christian Schad, Josef Scharl, Wilhelm Schmid, Richard Seewald, Fritz Skade, Hermann Sprauer, Erwin Spuler, Jakob Steinhardt, Ernst Thoms, Eberharb Viegener, Bruno Voigt, Rudolf Wacker, E. Adam Weber, Josef Wedewer, Kurt Weinhold, Erich Wegner and Gustav Wunderwald.

2. Unlike the first generation, a number of women artists

Technological imagery became popular among the German Post-Expressionists only after 1924, a fact that previous studies of art and technology during the Weimar Republic have failed to note. The true master of the machine aesthetic was not a painter, but the photographer Albert Renger-Patzsch, who became a prominent -- if not *the* prominent -- representative of "Neue Sachlichkeit" in the late twenties [Fig. 132]. His technological photographs -- even those produced during the depression years (1929-33) -- are products of the stabilization and the America-Cult.

Like Expressionism after the war, with the popularization and proliferation of Neue Sachlichkeit after 1925 there came a series of attacks. For example, in his condemnation of Amerikanismus in 1927 Adolf Halfeld wrote: "We speak of Americanization, neue Sachlichkeit, rationalization and chauffeur-people positively, as if the spiritual needs of a cultural people were being served."[4] One of the more interesting attacks against the Neue Sachlichkeit, written by Alfred Durus for the first number of Die Rote Fahne of 1929, the Neue Sachlichkeit was condemned as the bourgeois art of the stabilization. It was this argument

---

...Continued...

were active among this generation, representative of the opening of the academies and art schools to women after the war.

3. Already in 1922 the periodical Technik und Kultur began to appear, and in 1923 the Bauhaus, which placed itself at the center of this endeavor, opened its very popular exhi-

that Jost Hermand took up in 1977 when he wrote that the Neue Sachlichkeit was:

> merely the ideological and aesthetic means of expression of a relatively small group from the bourgeois liberal or middling bourgeois sectors between 1923 and 1929 who, partly consciously and partly unconsciously, let themselves be captivated by the deceptive illusion of a new stabilization of social conditions.[5]

However, Hermand seems to have missed an important aspect of Durus' critique: he had only praise for "artists like Scholz and Schrimpf," as well as Grosz and the *ASSO* artists.[6] It was not Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit of 1923 that was being condemned in 1929, but the current state of German realism. Just as Expressionism had become a fashion at the end of the war -- a fashion that could be reduced to a recipe and easily reproduced -- so too had Neue Sachlichkeit painting; and just as in 1920, it was not necessarily the originators, but the hangers-on of the movement that were castigated.

When the remainder of Hartlaub's exhibition (although no longer under his direction) opened at the Folkwang

---

...Continued...

bition "Art and Technology: A New Unity" which marked the beginning of a new focus for the school.

4. "Wir sprechen von Amerikanisierung, neuer Sachlichkeit, Rationalisierung und Chauffeurmenschen mit einer Unbedingtheit, als ob damit auch die geistigen Bedürfnissen eines Kulturvolkes gedient wäre." Adolf Halfeld, Amerika und der Amerikanismus: Kritische Betrachtungen eines Deutschen und Europäers, (Jena: Diederichs, 1927): xiv.

Museum in Essen in December 1926 it was simply titled "Painting After the War." In the catalog essay it was explained that the anonymous author (Ernst Gosebruch?) had no faith in the terms Neue Sachlichkeit and *Magic Realism*. And apparently the author had no interest in inventing his own slogan for this art. Franz Roh briefly adopted the term Neue Sachlichkeit in 1926, then switched to speaking of the neue Dinglichkeit. Finally, his catalog essay for Karl Nierendorf's exhibition Die neue Sachlichkeit in the spring of 1927 carried the neutral title: "Post-Expressionistic Art."[7]

In an essay of 1927 Hartlaub attempted to distance himself from his term as it was applied to contemporary art when he spoke of "the so-called Neue Sachlichkeit - neue Gegenständlichkeit."[8] In a letter to Alfred H. Barr in 1929 Hartlaub discussed the art for which the term was applied in 1923 as opposed to its popular understanding in 1929:

...Continued...

5. Jost Hermand, "Unity within Diversity? The History of the Concept 'Neue Sachlichkeit'" in K. Bullivant, ed., Culture and Society in the Weimar Republic (Manchester: MUP, 1977): 178.

6. Alfred Durus [Kemény], "Zwischen 'neuer' und revolutionärer Sachlichkeit," Die Rote Fahne January 1, 1929; reprinted in Manfred Brauneck, ed., Die Rote Fahne: Kritik, Theorie, Feuilleton 1918-1933, (Munich: Fink, 1973): 365-8.

7. Franz Roh, "Alexander Kanoldt," Der Cicerone 18 (June 1926): 473; "Zur jüngsten niederrheinischen Malerei," Das Kunstblatt 10 (October, 1926): 363-8; "Nachexpressionistische Kunst," Die Neue Sachlichkeit (Berlin: Galerie Neumann-Nierendorf, 1927).

> It was related to the general contemporary feeling in Germany of resignation and cynicism after a period of exuberant hopes. . . . Cynicism and resignation are the negative side of the Neue Sachlichkeit; the positive side expresses itself in the enthusiasm for the immediate reality as a result of the desire to take things entirely objectively on a material basis without immediately investing them with ideal implications. This healthy disillusionment finds its clearest expression in German architecture. In the last analysis this battle cry is today much misused and it is high time to withdraw it from currency.[9]

To Hartlaub, Die neue Sachlichkeit was inextricably tied to the post-revolutionary, pre-stabilization inflation years.

...Continued...

In his catalog essay for the large international art exhibition in Dresden in 1926 Will Grohmann used both Neue Sachlichkeit and Magischer Realismus in his discussion of the new art. "Die Kunst der Gegenwart," Internationale

---

...Continued...

Kunstausstellung Dresden (1926): 8.

8. "[...] der sog. neuen Sachlichkeit - neue Gegenständlichkeit. . ." G.F. Hartlaub, "Rückblick auf den Konstruktivismus," Das Kunstblatt 11 (July 1927): 253.

9. Alfred H. Barr Jr., "Otto Dix," The Arts 4 (1931): 237. Harlaub erroneously recalled having coined the term in 1924.

APPENDIX A

Gustav Hartlaub's response to Paul Westheim's questionnaire "Ein neuer Naturalismus??" Published in Das Kunstblatt 6 (September 1922): 389-93.

1918 schrieb ich für mein Buch *Kunst und Religion*: "Es kommt darauf an, daß der Expressionismus sich treu bleibe." Dieses, von abstraktester Gesetzmäßigkeit der Formberechnung bis zu freiester Gefühlsaussprache, vom Kubismus bis zu Kandinsky, sich ausbreitende Kunstwollen hatte doch seinen gemeinsamen Ausgangspunkt in der Erkenntnis: "Im Innern ist ein Universum auch." Es hatte, wenn auch auf verschiedenste Weise, den leidenschaftlichen Versuch unternommen, dieses Universum gegenüber der äußeren Dingwelt sichtbar zu machen. Insofern war der "Expressionismus" das höchst denkwürdige Zeichen für das Wiederaufleben eines metaphysischen, im weiteren Sinne des Wortes *religiösen Erneuerungswillens* innerhalb ganzer Generationen gewesen. Sobald dieser gemeinschaftliche Wille nachließ, mußte der abenteuerliche Vorstoß inmitten unserer materialistischen Gesellschaftsordnung und Weltanschauung fast wahnwitzig erscheinen und darum *zersplittern* oder *ganz zurückgenommen* werden.

So ist es denn auch gekommen. Die zweite und dritte Generation der "jungen Kunst", meist wieder tief ungläubig geworden, grenzenlos enttäuscht und ermüdet durch Krieg,

Revolution und Nachkriegszeit, hat *versagt*. Sie hat sich zum Teil darauf beschränkt, die neuen formalen Möglichkeiten zu schematisieren, sie, mehr oder weniger billig, dekorativ auszunützen. Zum anderen Teil hat sie die Abstraktion in allerlei bewußt angeordneten Experimenten der künstlerischen Sinnlichkeit *verzettelt*, die vorläufig nur einen kleinen Kreis angehen. Viele haben ferner den "praereligiösen" Willen durch heillose Unechtheit kompromitiert. Noch andere waren ehrlicher; wo zuerst ein göttlicher Atem die Erscheinung der Welt durchleuchten und ihre entkörperten Formen zu reineren, geistigeren Gebilden zusammenfügen wollte, haben sie zusehends mehr eine satanische, schwarze Magie über sich Herr werden lassen. Sie haben die Welt nicht durchleuchtet, sondern nur in Vorstellungsbruchstücke zertrümmert und fügen diese dann, statt zu höherem organischen Leben, vielmehr mit einem cynischen Futurismus zu kunsthaften Mechanismen zusammen, golemartigen Bildmachinen, argen Gleichnissen unserer perversen Zeit. Nur in ganz wenigen aber lebt noch jener tiefe mystische Antrieb der Romantik, den die Modernen vom Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in das impressionistische Weltgefühl hineingetragen hatten. Diese Wenigen sind heute einsam, es sind gewissermaßen "Spezialisten". Auf einem Paul Klee läßt sich keine Schule aufbauen.

So mußte die *Reaktion* zwangsläufig eintreten, genau wie auf politischem Gebiet heute Reaktion herrscht und Resignation nach all den mächtigen Utopien von 1918.

In welcher Richtung dieser Rückschlag erfolgen mußte, lag von vornherein klar. Man sagt nicht das Tiefste im Sinne reinen Kunstdenkens, wohl aber das Greifbarste über die neue Strömung wenn man sie unter das Stichwort *'Zurück zur Natur'* stellt.

Ich sehe einen *rechten*, einen *linken Flügel*. Der eine konservativ bis zum Klassizismus, im Zeitlosen Wurzel fassend, will nach so viel Verstiegenheit und Chaos das Gesunde, Körperlich-Plastische in reiner Zeichnung nach der Natur, vielleicht noch mit Übertreibung des Erdhaften, Rundgewachsenen wieder heiligen. Michelangelo, Ingres, Genelli, selbst die Nazarener sollen Kronzeugen sein. Der andere linke Flügel, grell zeitgenössisch, weit weniger kunstgläubig, eher aus Verneinung der Kunst geboren, sucht mit primitiver Feststellungs-, nervöser Selbstentblößungssucht Aufdeckung des Chaos, wahres Gesicht unserer Zeit.

Da der Expressionismus als ursprünglicher, umfassender Gesinnungsantrieb sich nicht treu zu bleiben vermochte, ist der gefundene Ausweg vieleicht noch der einzigste, beste, heilsamste. Es bleibt nichts übrig, als ihn zu *bejahen*, zumal er stark genug scheint, neue künstlerische Willenskräfte aufzurichten. Entscheidend ist dabei der folgende Umstand: trotzdem die beiden Richtungen sich so unromantisch geben wie nur denkbar, haben sie keineswegs ganz mit dem Wertvollsten gebrochen, was der Geistigkeitswille voriger Geschlechter erobert hatte. Gewisse tiefe Bewußtseinsschichten, die einmal aufgerührt waren, senden auch

jetzt noch ihre verjüngenden Kräfte empor. Das Kindhafte, Elementare ist uns als Sehnsucht geblieben, bisweilen auch als Vollbringen. Seelische Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten, die gefunden waren, "Verinnerlichung" (die freilich oft nur in die Nervenzone führte, nicht tiefer) sind unverloren. Vor allem auch die strengere formale Zucht, die neuen konstruktiven Möglichkeiten, wie sie etwa der Kubismus fand, bleiben ebenso unvergessen, wie die kühne gefühlssymbolische Auswertung der *Farbe*. Es hat der neue Naturalismus nichts zu tun mit dem eines Corinth oder Zille. Und auch der neue "Klassizismus" - wenn man ihn so nennen darf - möchte sich sowohl von Canova wie von Adolf Hildebrand unterscheiden.

So bekennen wir uns denn, wenn auch mit einigen Resignationsschmerzen, zu dieser jüngsten "Rückkehr zur Natur". Mag auch viel Mache und Gehabe, viel bloß kunstgewerblicher Geschmack auch bei diesen neuen Puristen, diesen (mit Hausenstein zu reden) etwas "negroid" gefärbten Klassizisten sein, mag auch politische Wut, Cynismus den Horizont der Anderen verengen und ihren grellen Überschneidungen etwas Starrkrampfartiges geben: vielleicht gelingt doch morgen oder übermorgen schon die Einigung beider Ströme und damit die Schaffung eines breiteren Strombetts. Wir warten auf einen zukünftigen, einen erlösten Max Beckmann.

Und wir vergessen überdies nicht, daß es eine Reihe moderner Maler gibt, für die alle jene Kämpfe und Probleme, von denen die Rede war, niemals bestanden haben: Glücklichere Erben Cézannes, als die Kubisten es gewesen sind. Es lebt *André Derain*.

APPENDIX B

More artists throughout Germany who developed Post-Expressionist figurative styles by 1925.

The purpose of this list is 1) to bring to light some artists who have not generally been associated with Neue Sachlichkeit yet who played a role in the development of Post-Expressionism; 2) to identify some artists who are best known as abstract artists, yet who were originally part of the Post-Expressionist movement; and 3) to identify some artists who were associated with Post-Expressionism before 1925 yet whose art basically remained unchanged since the war years.

Albert Aereboe (1889-1970), professor at the Kassel School of Visual Arts 1920-25, and a close friend of Nebel. He underwent a sudden transition from Expressionism to painting portraits and still lifes in an old master technique in 1924 [Fig. 133]. In 1925 he gave up his professorship to live in isolation on the island of Sylt.

Albert Birkle (1900-86) studied at the Berlin academy 1918-25. A Spartakus sympathiser, he made a series of semi-naturalistic revolutionary images 1919-21. Thereafter he developed a technique based on the old masters [Fig. 134].

Julius Bissier (1893-1965) studied art history at the University of Freiburg and briefly studied at the Karlsruhe academy before the war. In the early 1920s he primarily painted landscapes in the technique of the old masters.

Gottfried Brockmann (1903-83) served as Heinrich Hoerle's assistant in Cologne 1920-24, at which time he produced drawings of cripples and schematic figures influenced by Hoerle, Grosz and Räderscheidt [Fig. 135]. In 1925 he entered the Dusseldorf academy where he remained until 1931.

Fritz Burmann (1892-1945) studied at the Munich and Dusseldorf academies before the war. A member of the Johanna Ey circle, he experimented with the techniques of the old masters in the early twenties [Fig. 136] and was included in Hartlaub's 1925 exhibition.

Theo Champion (1887-1952) was also a member of the Johanna Ey circle in Dusseldorf. He painted desolate landscapes, usually along railroad lines. He was to be included in Hartlaub's 1923 exhibition, but was not included in 1925.

August Wilhelm Dressler (1886-19) moved from Leipzig to Berlin in 1924. He was a member of the Berlin Secession and the *November Group*, and had painted idyllic monumental

figures similar to Fritsch and Schrimpf since 1920 [Fig. 137].

Ernst Fritsch (1892-1962) was a member of the *November Group* and the New Secession in Berlin. Since the war years he painted monumental Chagall- and Rousseau-like figures and landscapes [Fig. 138]. He was included in Hartlaub's 1925 exhibition.

Carl Grossberg (1894-1940) who spent most of his adult life living in isolation in Sommerhausen near Wurtzburg, was trained as an architect before war, and later studied at the Bauhaus. In 1923 he began a series of increasingly naturalistic images primarily dealing with technology.

Karl Holtz (1899-1978) lived in Berlin where he was a member of the KPD. He took part in the street fighting of early 1919 while a student under Emil Orlik at the School of Applied Art in Berlin (where he had studied with Grosz and Hubbuch). His paintings and graphic works of the revolution emphasize the tension and anxiety felt on the streets [Fig. 139].

Bernhard Klein (1888-1967) lived in Berlin and was a member of the *November Group*. He painted static, simplified, Rousseau-inspired works since 1920.

Bernhard Kretschmar (1889-19) was a fellow master pupil at the Dresden academy and a close friend of both Otto Dix and Otto Griebel during the early twenties. He embraced Expressionism during the war (he was a close friend of Conrad Felixmüller). While at the academy he focused on intaglio. His themes, which centered on bourgeois mores at this time, are closer to Georg Scholz than to either Dix or Griebel [Fig. 140].

Will Küpper (1893-1972) was a childhood friend of Max Ernst in Brühl. Before the war he was associated with both August Macke and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. He was seriously wounded in the final year of the war. Once back home, he embarked on a series of images of war victims reflecting a dramatic formal and thematic transformation from his previous Expressionist works [Fig. 141].

Ludwig Meidner (1884-1966), a founding member of both the *November Group* and the *Working Council for Art*, published a manifesto in 1920 in which he renounced "pictures that were remote from our world" and called for a "return to a passionate naturalism."[1] He left Berlin briefly in 1919 to

---

1. Ludwig Meidner, "Aschaffenburg Journal," in Septemberschrei, (Berlin: Paul Cassirer, 1920) 15-23. Translation in Victor H. Miesel, Voices of German Expressionism (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970): 182-4. This essay was dated August-September 1918.

stay with his mother in Bernstadt where he underwent an artistic transformation. He now concentrated on engraving and drypoint and for the next few years produced primarily portraits and cityscapes in a style and technique that approached the old German masters [Fig. 142].

Otto Nagel (1894-1967) was a native of Berlin-Wedding who began to paint after the war. A member of the KPD, he first exhibited in the *Arbeitsrat's* "Worker Art Exhibition" of 1920. He was the most active organizer of radical art during the Weimar period. His art was certainly too polemical for Hartlaub's exhibition.

Otto Ritschl (1885-1972) of Wiesbaden began to paint in 1919, at the age of 34. Hartlaub saw his realist work exhibited in Wiesbaden and invited him to take part in his exhibition in 1925. Upon seeing the exhibition, Ritschl rejected figurative art forever.

...Continued...

Part of this statement had appeared in Das Kunstblatt 3 (November 1919): 332.

APPENDIX C

Gustav Hartlaub's working list of artists for his first attempted Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition, 1923. The list includes the names and addresses of all the artists he considered including in the exhibition.

1. George Grosz
2. Georg Scholz
3. Otto Dix
4. Hans Drexler
5. Alex[ander] Kanoldt
6. Max Beckmann
7. Georg Schrimpf
8. Karl Mense
9. R[ichard] Ewald
10. H. Davringhausen
11. Kay H. Nebel
12. Max [Arthur] Kaufmann
13. M. Schulze-Sölde
14. Albert-Bloch
15. Franz Masereel
16. Georg Kars
17. Rudolf Schlichter
18. Max Burchartz
19. Theo Champion
20. G[ert] H. Wollheim
21. Max Ernst
22. Walter Jacob
23. Fritz Winkler
24. Wilh. Rudolf
25. Otto Griebel
26. Prof. [Wilhelm] Schnarrenberger
27. [Vladimir] v[on] Zabotin
28. [Julius] Bissier
29. R. Segewitz
30. Otto Schließler
31. H. Lismann
32. A. Partikel
33. Martin Weingarten
34. [Karl] Hubbuch
35. Alexander Archipenko
36. Picasso
37. Max Unold
38. Rich. Seewald
39. Hugo Troendle
40. Julius Hoeß
41. Th. Th. Heine
42. Karl Arnold
43. Rudolf Großmann
44. Prof. Emil Pretorius
45. Prof. Adolf Schirmerer
46. Franz Hecht
47. Hans Gött
48. Wilhelm Schmurr
49. O. Trepte
50. Max Schwarzer
51. Walter Spies
52. Gerhard Prangel

APPENDIX D

Artists included in Gustav Hartlaub's Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition, 1925-26. The artist's name is followed by the city in which the artist was active during this time, and the number of works in each exhibition:

(M) Kunsthalle, Mannheim June 14 - September 13, 1925
(D) Sächsischer Kunstverein, Dresden October 18 - November 22, 1925
(C) Kunsthütte, Chemnitz December 13, 1925 - January 17, 1926*

The names of those artists that Hartlaub believed to be the major representatives appear in bold.

	M	D	C
Ivan Babij, Berlin/Paris	2+	4	5
Max Beckmann, Frankfurt	15@	15	1
Fritz Burmann, Dusseldorf	4	4	4
H. M. Davringhausen, Munich	3+	8	9
Otto Dix, Berlin	7	4	12
Alexander Erbslöh, Munich	3	2	2
Reinhold Ewald, Hanau	2	0	0
Ernst Fritsch, Berlin	3	3	3
Nikolaus Glutschenko, Berlin/Paris	4	5	5
Benjamin Godron, Munich	1	1	1
George Grosz, Berlin	7+	12	13

continued:

---

* No longer under Hartlaub's direction, the exhibition continued on to Erfurt, Dessau, Halle, Jena and Essen (December 1926). In the spring of 1927 Galerie Neumann-Nierendorf in Berlin assembled its own exhibition under the title Die neue Sachlichkeit. The catalogs from all but the Essen (Folkwang Museum) show lack a list of works included.

\+ An unknown number of works on paper were also included.

@ Five works by Beckmann were listed in the catalog, but nine more were added in July.

	M	D	C
Ernst Haider, Munich	1	1	1
Wilhelm Heise, Munich	1	0	0
Karl Hubbuch, Karlsruhe	1+	4	0
Alexander Kanoldt, Munich/Breslau	15	16	14
Editha Kanoldt	0	1	0
Georg Kars, Munich/Paris	2	0	2
Arthur Kaufmann, Dusseldorf	2	2	2
Bernhard Kretschmar, Dresden	1	1	1
Carlo Mense, Munich/Breslau	11	8	8
Kay H. Nebel, Kassel	6	6	6
Wilfried Otto, Mannheim	1	1	1
Werner Peiner, Bonn/Dusseldorf	1	1	1
Anton Räderscheidt, Cologne	2	2	2
C. T. von Ripper, Munich	1	1	1
Otto Ritschl, Wiesbaden	2	3	3
Karl Rössing, Essen	3+	9	9
Gustav Schaffer, Chemnitz	0	0	3
Rudolf Schlichter, Berlin	2+	8	8
Wilhelm Schnarrenberger, Karlsruhe	2	0	6
Georg Scholz, Grötzingen	7	6	9
Georg Schrimpf, Munich	12	7	7
W. Schulz-Matan, Munich	3	5	5
Nikolaus Stöcklin, Basel	6	3	3

APPENDIX E

Expressionist/Post-Expressionist polarity schema by Franz Roh [Nach Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus, Probleme der neusten Europaischen Malerei (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1925): 119-20.]

Expressionismus	Nachexpressionismus
Ekstatische Gegenstände	Nüchterne Gegenstände
Viel religiöse Vorwürfe	Sehr wenig religiöse Vorwürfe
Objekt unterdrückend	Objekt verdeutlichend
Rhythmisierend	Darstellend
Erregend	Vertiefend
Ausschweifend	Eher streng, puritisch
Dynamisch	Statisch
Laut	Still
Summarisch	Durchführend
Vordergründig (Nahbild)	Vorder- und hintergründig (Nahbild + Fernbild)
Nach vorn treibend	Auch zurückfliehend
Großformig	Großformig + vielspältig
Monumental	Miniaturartig
Warm	Kuhl, bis kalt
Dicke Farbsubstanz	Dünne Farbschicht

Expressionismus	Nachexpressionismus
Aufrauhend	Glättend, vertrieben
Wie unbehauenes Gestein	Wie blank gemachtes Metal
Arbeitsprozeß (Faktur) spüren lassend	Arbeitsprozeß austiligend (reine Objektivation)
Expressive Deformierung der Objekte	Harmonische Reinigung der Gegenstände
Diagonalreich (in Schrägen), oft spitzwinklig	Eher rechtwinklig, dem Rahmen parallel
Gegen die Bildränder arbeitend	In ihnen festsitzend
Urtümlich	Kultiviert

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ades, Dawn. Photomontage. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986.

Adriani, Götz, ed. Hannah Höch: Fotomontagen, Gemälde, Aquarelle. Cologne: DuMont, 1980.

- - - , et al. Hannah Höch 1889-1978: Collages. Stuttgart: Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1985.

Allen, Roy F. Literary Life in German Expressionism and the Berlin Circles. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1983.

Altenburg: Staatliches Lindau-Museum. Karl Holtz: Das Frühe Werk 1918-1933. 1981.

Amsterdam: G.I.N. Gallery. A. C. Willink: Berlinijse Periode. 1980.

Angemeyer-Deubner, Marlene. Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe 1920-1933. Karlsruhe: Müller, 1988.

Angress, Werner T. Stillborn Revolution: The Communist Bid for Power in Germany 1921-1923. Princeton UP, 1963.

Arndt, Karl. Kay H. Nebel ein Maler der Neuen 'Sachlichkeit'. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1975.

B. (Georg Biermann) "Zu Wilhelm Hausenstein's Die Kunst in diesem Augenblick." Der Cicerone 12 (September 1920): 659-60.

Backes, Dirk. Heinrich Hoerle: Leben und Werk. Cologne: Rheinland, 1981.

Barron, Stephanie. German Expressionism 1915-1925 The Second Generation. Munich: Prestel, 1988.

Barr, Alfred H. Jr. "Otto Dix." The Arts 4 (1931): 235-251.

Barton, Brigid. Otto Dix and Die Neue Sachlichkeit, 1918-1925. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1977.

Basel: Gewerbemuseum/Museum für Gestaltung. Niklaus Stoecklin 1896-1982. 1986.

Belting, Hans. Max Beckmann: Tradition as a Problem in Modern Art. Trans. Peter Wortsman. New York: Timken, 1989.

Benson, Timothy O. Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1987.

- - - . "Mysticism, Materialism, and the Machine in Berlin Dada." Art Journal (Spring 1987): 46-55.

Bergius, Hanne. Das Lachen Dadas: Die Berliner Dadaisten und Ihre Aktionen. Berlin: Anabas, 1989.

Berlin: Berlinische Galerie. 1913-1933 Bestände: Malerei, Skulptur, Graphik. nd.

- - - . Hannah Höch: Eine Lebenscollage. 2 vols. 1989.

- - - . Ich und die Stadt: Mensch und Großstadt in der deutschen Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts. 1988.

- - - . Gustav Wunderwald: Gemälde, Handzeichnungen, Bühnenbilder. 1982.

- - - . Stationen der Moderne: Die bedeutenden Kunstausstellungen der 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland. 1988.

Berlin: Galerie Neumann-Nierendorf. Otto Dix. 1926

- - - . Die Neue Sachlichkeit. 1927.

- - - . Georg Schrimpf. 1928.

Berlin: Galerie Nierendorf. Fünfzig Jahre Galerie Nierendorf 1920-1970: Rückblick, Dokumentation, Jubiläumsaussellung. 1970.

- - - . Sechzig Jahre Galerie Nierendorf 1920-1980: Rückblick, Dokumentation, Jubiläumsaussellung. 1980.

Berlin: Haus am Waldsee. Neue Sachlichkeit. 1961.

Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett. Max Beckmann: Die Hölle 1919. 1983.

Berlin (East): Nationalgalerie. Otto Nagel 1894-1967: Gemälde, Pastele, Zeichnungen. 1984.

- - - . Realismus und Sachlichkeit: Aspekte deutscher Kunst 1919-1933. 1974.

Berlin (East): Neue Gesellschaft der Bildende Kunst. Politische Konstruktivisten: Die "Gruppe progressiver Künstler" Köln. 1975.

- - - . Wem gehört die Welt, Kunst und Gesellschaft in der Weimarer Republik. 1977.

Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst. Franz Radziwill. 1981.

Berlin: Staatliche Kunsthalle. Realismus 1919-1933: Zwischen Revolution und Reaktion. Munich: Prestel, 1981.

- - - . Rudolf Schlichter 1890-1955. 1984.

Berlin: Veranstaltet vom Senator für Wissenschaft und Kunst. Gert H. Wollheim: Malerei, Graphik, Plastik. 1971.

Bertonati, Emilio. Neue Sachlichkeit in Deutschland. Munich: Schuler, 1974.

Bie, Richard. Deutsche Malerei der Gegenwart. Weimar: Duncker, 1930.

Bielefeld: Kunsthalle. Neue Sachlichkeit-Magischer Realismus. 1991.

Bletter, Rosemarie Haag. "Expressionism and the New Objectivity." Art Journal (Summer 1983): 108-20.

Bohnen, Uli. Das Gesetz der Welt ist die Änderung der Welt: Die rheinische Gruppe progressiver Künstler 1918-1933. Berlin: Kramer, 1976.

- - - . Franz W. Seiwert 1894-1933: Leben und Werk. Cologne: Rheinland, 1978.

Bonn: Rheinisches Landesmuseum. Die Zwanziger Jahre im Portrait. 1976.

Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art. Dada: Berlin, Cologne, Hannover. 1980.

Braun, Emily, ed. Italian Art in the 20th Century. Munich: Prestel, 1989.

Brauneck, Manfred, ed. Die Rote Fahne: Kritik, Theorie, Feuilleton 1918-1933. Munich: Fink, 1973.

Brües, Otto. Carlo Mense. Bonn: Haus der Städt. Kunstsammlung, 1961.

Cambridge: Busch-Reisinger Museum. Envisioning America: Prints, Drawings, and Photographs by George Grosz and His Contemporaries 1915-1933. 1990.

- - - . German Realist Drawings of the Twenties. 1986.

Cameron, Deborah and Elizabeth Frazer. The Lust to Kill: A Feminist Investigation of Sexual Murder. New York UP, 1987.

Camfield, William A. Max Ernst: Dada and the Dawn of Surrealism. Munich: Prestel, 1993.

Canetti, Elias. The Torch in My Ear. Trans. Joachim Neugroschel. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1982.

Carrà, Massimo. Metaphysical Art. Trans. Caroline Tisdall. New York: Praeger, 1971.

Castelfranco, G. "Giorgio de Chirico." Jahrbuch der jungen Kunst (1924): 128-33.

Cologne: Kölnischer Kunstverein. Max Ernst in Köln: Die rheinische Kunstszene bis 1922. 1980.

- - - . Von Dadamax bis zum Grüngürtel: Köln in der 20er Jahre. 1975.

- - - . Willy Fick: Ein Kölner Maler der zwanziger Jahre wiederentdeckt. 1986.

Conzelmann, Otto. Der Andere Dix: Sein Bild vom Menschen und vom Krieg. Stuttgart: Klett, 1983.

- - - . Otto Dix: Handzeichnungen. Hannover: Fackelträger, 1968.

Coyner, Sandra J. "Class-Consciousness and Consumption: The New Middle Class During the Weimar Republic." Journal of Social History 10 (March 1977): 310-31.

Craig, Gordon A. Germany 1866-1945. New York: Oxford UP, 1978.

Crockett, Dennis. "The Most Famous Painting of the 'Golden Twenties': Otto Dix and the Trench Affair." Art Journal 51 (Spring 1992): 72-80.

Curjel, Hans. "Zur Entwicklung des Malers Georg Scholz." Das Kunstblatt 7 (September 1923): 256-64.

- - - . "Die 'Neue Wirtschaftsform'." Das Kunstblatt 8 (March 1924): 81-3.

Darmstadt: Landesmuseum. Carl Grossberg: Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen, und Druckgraphik. 1976.

Däubler, Theodor. "Moderne Italiener." Das Kunstblatt 5 (February 1921): 49-53.

- - - . "Neue Kunst in Italien." Der Cicerone 12 (May 1920): 349-55.

Davies, Ivor. "Giorgio de Chirico: The Sources of Metaphysical Painting in Schopenhauer and Nietzsche." Art International 26 (January-March 1983): 53-60.

Deak, Istvan, Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals: A Political History of the *Weltbühne* and Its Circle. Berkeley: U Cal P, 1968.

Deri, Max. Naturalismus, Idealismus, Expressionismus. Leipzig: Seeman, 1922.

Deutsch, Rosalyn. "Alienation in Berlin: Kirchner's Street Scenes." Art in America 71 (January 1983): 65-72.

Diehl, James M. Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1977.

Dix, Otto, Max Dungert, George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Höch, et al. "Offener Brief an die Novembergruppe." Der Gegner 2(1920/1921): 297-8.

Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlung. Kunst im Aufbruch: Dresden 1918-1933. 1981.

Dube, Wolf-Dieter. The Expressionists. Trans. Mary Whithall. London: Thames and Hudson, 1985.

- - - . "Der Lustmörder von Heinrich Maria Davringhausen." Pantheon 31 (Spring 1973): 181-85.

Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth. Dix-Pankok-Wollheim: Freunde in Düsseldorf 1920-1925. 1989.

- - - . Otto Dix und die Düsseldorfer Künstlerszene 1920-1925. 1983.

- - - . Die Dresdner Künstlerszene 1913-1933. 1987.

- - - . Johanna Ey und Ihr Künstlerkreis. 1984.

- - - . Gert H. Wollheim: Die Wilden Jahre 1919-1925. 1984.

Düsseldorf: Stadtmuseum. Das Junge Rheinland: Eine Friedensidee. 1988.

- - - . Gert H. Wollheim 1894-1974: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Dokumente: Zum 90. Geburtstag des Künstlers. 1984

Düsseldorf: Städtische Kunsthalle. Avant-Garde Gestern: Das Junge Rheinland und Seine Freunde 1919-1929. 1970.

Eberle, Matthias. World War I and the Weimar Artists: Dix, Grosz, Beckmann, Schlemmer. New Haven: Yale UP, 1985.

Ehrenburg, Ilya. Memoirs 1921-1941. Trans. Tatiana Shebunina. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1966.

Einstein, Carl. "Otto Dix," Das Kunstblatt 7 (April 1923): 97-102.

- - - . "Rudolf Schlichter." Das Kunstblatt 4 (April 1920): 105-8.

Elderfield, John. "Dissenting Ideologies and the German Revolution." Studio International 180 (November 1970): 180-87.

Enns, Abram. Kunst und Bürgertum. Hamburg: Christians, 1978.

Erickson, John D. Dada Performance Poetry and Art. Boston: Twayne, 1984.

Erlhoff, Michael, ed. Raoul Hausmann: Bilanz der Feierlichkeit. Texte bis 1933. 2 vols. Munich: Text and Kritik, 1982.

Ertel, K. F. Carlo Mense. Wesel: Bradke, 1960.

Euler-Schmidt, Michael. "Gert Heinrich Wollheim 1894-1974: Leben und Werk bis 1947." Dissertation. Bremen, 1986.

Eyck, Erich. A History of the Weimar Republic. Two volumes. New York: Atheneum, 1970.

Fagiolo, Maurizio. Giorgio de Chirico: il tempo di "Valori Plastici" 1918/1922. Roma: De Luca Editore, 1980.

Fechter, Paul. Der Expressionismus. Munich: Piper, 1914.

- - - . "Dix, Meier-Graefe, Stinnes und Westheim." Der Querschnitt 4 (1924): 261-2.

- - - . "Die nachexpressionistische Situation," Das Kunstblatt 7 (November 1923): 321-329.

Ferrara: Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna. La Metafisica. 1981.

Fischer, Lothar. Otto Dix: Ein Malerleben in Deutschland. Berlin: Nicolaische, 1981.

Fischer-Hollweg, Brigitte. "Alexander Kanoldt und die Kunstrichtungen seiner Zeit." Dissertation. Bochum (Ruhr U). 1971.

Frankfurt am Main, Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitute. Max Beckmann in Frankfurt 1915-1933. 1984.

- - - . Dada in Europa: Werke und Dokumente. 1977.

Freiburg im Breisgau: Museum für Neue Kunst. Alexander Kanoldt 1881-1939: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Lithographien. 1987.

Friedrich, Otto. Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Frommhold, Erhard. Otto Nagel: Zeit-Leben-Werk. Berlin (E): Henschel, 1974.

Fulbrook, Mary. The Divided Nation: A History of Germany 1918-1990. New York/Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992.

George, Waldemar. "Frankreich und die 'Neue Sachlichkeit'." Das Kunstblatt 11 (November 1927): 388-97.

- - - . "Pariser Brief." Das Kunstblatt 8 (August 1927): 316.

Giroud, Michel, ed. Raoul Hausmann: Je ne suis pas un photographe. Paris: Chêne, 1975.

Gleisberg, Dieter. Conrad Felixmüller: Leben und Werk. Dresden: VEB, 1982.

Goltz, Hans. "Die Abwürgung der jungen Kunst in Deutschland." Der Ararat 1 (October, December 1920): 123-27, 166-72.

Gordon, Donald. "Content by Contradiction." Art in America (December 1982): 76-89.

- - - . Expressionism: Art and Idea. New Haven: Yale UP, 1987.

Graf, Oskar Maria. "Heinrich Maria Davringhausen." Der Cicerone 16 (January 1924): 59-63.

- - - . "Der Maler Carl Mense." Der Cicerone 15 (April 1923): 380-84.

- - - . "Der Maler Georg Schrimpf." Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst 2 (1921): 337-45.

- - - . Georg Schrimpf. (Junge Kunst no. 37) Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1923.

- - - . "Der Maler Walter Schulz-Matan." Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst (1923): 262-66.

- - - . "Neue Bilder von Georg Schrimpf." Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst (1923): 178-83.

Greenberg, Allan Carl. "Artists and the Weimar Republic: Dada and the Bauhaus 1917-1925." Dissertation. U Illinois, 1967.

Griebel, Otto. Ich war ein Mann der Strasse. Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1986.

Grohmann, Will. Bildende Kunst und Architektur. Berlin: Suhrkampf, 1953.

Grosz, George. A Little Yes and a Big No. Trans. Lola Sachs Dorin. New York: Dial, 1946.

- - - . "Zu meinen neuen Bilden." Das Kunstblatt 1 (1921): 11-16.

- - - . "Unter anderem ein Wort für deutsche Tradition." Das Kunstblatt 15 (March 1931): 79-84.

Hagen: Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum. Gottfried Brockmann: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Graphik. 1976.

Halle: Städtische Galerie im Moritzburg. Karl Völker: Leben und Werk. 1976.

Hamburg: Kunstverein. Realismus in der Malerei der 20. Jahre. 1968.

Hamman, Richard and Jost Hermand. Expressionismus. Munich: Nymphenburger, 1976.

Hanover: Kestner Gesellschaft. Neue Deutsche Romantik. 1933.

Hanover: Kunstverein. Bernhard Dörries. 1981.

- - - . Die Zwanziger Jahre in Hannover. 1962.

Hartlaub, G. F. "Deutscher Expressionismus: Zur Darmstädter Ausstellung." Frankfurter Zeitung July 15, 1920.

- - - . Fragen an die Kunst: Studien zu Grenzproblemen. Stuttgart: Koehler, n.d.

- - - . Kunst und Religion. Leipzig: Wolff, 1919.

- - - . "Zynismus als Kunstrichtung?" Frankfurter Zeitung September 13, 1924.

Hartmann, Wolfgang. Karl Hubbuch der Zeichner. Stuttgart: Hatje, 1991.

Hausenstein, Wilhelm. Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart. Berlin: Anstalt, 1920.

- - - . Die Kunst in diesem Augenblick. Munich: Hyperion, 1920.

Hausmann, Raoul. "Dada Riots Moves and Dies in Berlin." Studio International 181 (April 1971): 162-5.

- - - . "Der deutsche Spiesser ärgert sich." Der Dada 2 (1919): 2.

- - - . "Führung durch die Abteilung der Novembergruppe." Große Kunstausstellung Berlin, 1921.

Haxthausen, Charles W., and Heidrum Suhr, eds. Berlin: Culture and Metropolis. U Minnesota P, 1990.

Heffen, Annegret. Der Reichskunstwart: Kunstpolitik in den Jahren 1920-1933. Essen: Blaue Eule, 1986.

Heister, Hans Siebert von, ed. Veröffentlichung der Novembergruppe. Hannover: Stegemann, 1921.

Heller, Reinhold, ed. Art in Germany 1909-1936: From Expressionism to Resistance. Munich: Prestel, 1990.

Herf, Jeffrey. Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich. Cambridge UP, 1984.

Hermand, Jost. "Unity within Diversity? The History of the Concept 'Neue Sachlichkeit'." Culture and Society in the Weimar Republic. (K. Bullivant, ed.) Manchester: MUP, 1977.

Herzog, G. H., ed. Conrad Felixmüller: Legenden 1912-76. Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1977.

Hess, Hans. George Grosz. New York: MacMillan, 1974.

Heusinger von Waldegg, Joachim. Heinrich Maria Davringhausen: Monographie mit Werkkatalog 1912-1932. Cologne: Rheinland, 1977.

- - - - . H. M. Davringhausen, Der General: Aspekte eines Bildes. Cologne: Rheinland, 1975.

- - - - . "Zur Ikonographie der 'Einsamer Paare' bei Anton Räderscheidt." Pantheon 37 (1979): 59-68.

- - - , ed. et al. Die Rheinischen Expressionisten: August Macke und Seine Malerfreunde. Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1980.

- - - . "Über einige Motive im Frühwerk von Otto Dix und Karl Hubbuch." Pantheon 40 (1982): 317-20.

Hirschbach, Frank D., et. al. Germany in the Twenties: The Artist as Social Critic. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980.

Hirschfeld, Magnus. The Sexual History of the World War. New York: Cadillac, 1941.

- - - , ed. Zwischen Zwei Katastrophen. Hanau: Schustek, 1966.

Holsten, Sigmar. Georg Scholz: Gemälde, Zeichnungen. Karlsruhe: Kunsthalle, 1990

Horn, Ursula. "'Neue Sachlichkeit' - Richtung oder Sammelbegriff?" Bildende Kunst 9 (1972): 429-33.

Huelsenbeck, Richard. Dada Almanach. New York: Something Else Press, 1966.

- - - . Memoirs of a Dada Drummer. Trans. Joachim Neugroschel. Berkeley: U California P, 1991.

Hütt, Wolfgang. Deutsche Malerei und Graphik im 20. Jahrhundert. Berlin (East): Henschel, 1969.

- - - . "Neue Sachlichkeit und darüber hinaus." Tendenzen 46 (1967): np.

- - - . "Über die Gesellschaftskritischen Arbeiten von Karl Völker." Bildende Kunst 3 (1958): 186-88.

Hüttl, Anita and Wolf Rüdiger. Will Küpper: Oeuvre der Gemälde. Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1983.

Jaffé, H. L. C. Willink. Amsterdam: Muelenhof/Landshoff, 1979.

Jansen, Franz M. Von damals bis Heute: Lebenserinnerungen. Cologne: Rheinland, 1981.

Jatho, Carl Oskar. Franz W. Seiwert. Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1964.

Joachimides, Christos M., Norman Rosenthal, Wieland Schmied, eds. German Art of the Twentieth Century. Munich: Prestel, 1985.

Joël, Karl. "Bekenntnis zur schweizerischen Kunst." Das Kunstblatt 7 (July 1918): 193-6.

[Kahnweiler], Daniel Henry. "André Derain." Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst (1920): 93-5.

Kallai, Ernst. "Dämonerie der Satire." Das Kunstblatt 11 (March 1927): 97-104.

Kane, Martin. Weimar Germany and the Limits of Political Art: A Study of the Work of George Grosz and Ernst Toller. Fife, Scotland: Hutton, 1987.

Karcher, Eva. Eros und Tod im Werk von Otto Dix. Münster: Lit, 1984.

- - - . Otto Dix 1891-1969: His Life and Works. Trans. Doris Linda Jones and Jeremy Gains. Cologne: Taschen, 1989.

Karlsruhe: Badische Kunstverein. Karl Hubbuch 1891-1979. 1981.

- - - . Georg Scholz: Ein Beitrag zur Diskussion realistischer Kunst. 1975.

Karlsruhe: Staatliche Kunsthalle. Hans Baluschek 1870-1935: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Graphik. 1975.

- - - . Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950. 1981.

Karsch, Florian. Bernhard Klein: Die Künstlerische Gesamtwerke. Berlin: Nierendorf, 1979.

Kaufmann, Arthur. Old Canvas, New Varnish. The Hague: Albani, 1963.

Kessler, Harry. In the Twenties: The Diaries of Harry Kessler. Trans. Charles Kessler. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

Keiser, Herbert Wolfgang and Rainer W. Schulze. Franz Radziwill: Der Maler. Munich: Thieming, 1975.

Klapheck, Anna. Mutter Ey: Eine Düsseldorfer Künstler-legende. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1977.

Kliemann, Helga. Die Novembergruppe. Berlin: Mann, 1969.

Knust, Herbert, ed. George Grosz: Briefe 1913-1959. Reinbeck: Rowohlt, 1979.

Kolb, Eberhard. The Weimar Republic. Trans. P.S. Falla. London: Hyman, 1988.

Kolinsky, Eva. Engagierter Expressionismus. Stuttgart: Metzlersche, 1970.

Krempel, Ulrich. Am Anfang: Das Junge Rheinland: Zur Kunst- und Zeitgeschichte einer Region 1918-1945. Düsseldorf: Classen, 1985.

Kruse, Joachim. Gottfried Brockmann. Schleswig: Schleswiger Nachrichten, 1970.

Küster, Bernd. Franz Radziwill. Oldenburg: Isensee, 1981.

Lange, Rudolf. Bernhard Dörries. Braunschweig: Westermann, 1982.

Laquer, Walter. Weimar: A Cultural History 1918-1933. New York: Putnam, 1974.

Larkin, David. Max Ernst. New York: Ballentine, 1975.

Legge, Elizabeth M. Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytical Sources. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989.

Leiss, Ludwig. Kunst im Konflikt: Kunst und Künstler im Widerstreit der 'Obrigkeit'. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1971.

Leonhard, Kurt. Otto Ritschl: Das Gesamtwerk 1919-1972. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1973.

Lethen, Helmut. Neue Sachlichkeit 1924-1932: Studien zur Literatur des 'Weissen Sozialismus'. Stuttgart: Metzlersche, 1970.

Lewis, Beth Irwin. George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic. Madison: U Wisconsin P, 1971.

Lippard, Lucy. Dadas on Art. Engelwood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1971.

Liska, Pavel. "Die Malerei der Neuen Sachlichkeit." Dissertation, Osnabrück, 1976.

Löffler, Fritz. Otto Dix: Life and Work. Trans. R. J. Hollingsdale. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982.

- - - . Otto Dix 1891-1969: Oeuvre der Gemälde. Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1981.

- - - . Bernhard Kretschmar. Dresden: VEB, 1985.

London: Hayward Gallery. Neue Sachlichkeit and German Realism of the Twenties. Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978.

London: Tate Gallery. Otto Dix 1891-1969. 1992.

- - - . Max Ernst: A Retrospective. 1991.

Long, Rose-Carol Washton, ed. German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism. New York: Hall, 1993.

Los Angeles County Museum. German Expressionist Prints and Drawings. Munich: Prestel, 1989.

Maass-Spielmann, Brigitte. Der Maler Albert Aereboe 1889-1970. Kiel: Kunsthalle, 1983.

März, Roland. Malerei der Neuen Sachlichkeit. Leipzig: Seemann, 1983.

Maier, Charles S. Recasting Bourgeois Europe: Stabilization in France, Germany and Italy in the Decade After World War I. Princeton UP, 1975.

Mannheim: Kunsthalle. Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit Expressionismus. 1925.

Maur, Karin. Oskar Schlemmer: Monographie. München, Prestel, 1979.

Meier-Graefe, Julius. "Die doppelte Kurve." Ganymed 1 (1919): 12-52.

Menton, Seymour. Magic Realism Rediscovered, 1918-1981. London: Associated University Presses, 1983.

Miesel, Victor H. Voices of German Expressionism. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Milan/Munich: Galleria del Levante. Aspekte der 'Neuen Sachlichkeit'. 1968.

Miller, Bruce F. "Otto Dix and His Oil-Tempera Technique." Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art 74 (1987): 332-55.

Minneapolis Institute of Arts. German Realism of the Twenties: The Artist as Social Critic. 1980.

Minneapolis. University of Minnesota. Grosz/Heartfield: The Artist as Social Critic. 1980.

Moser, L. "Mannheim: Kunsthalle Ausstellung: Die Neue Sachlichkeit." Kunst und Künstler 12 (1925): 474.

Munich: Museum Villa Stuck. Otto Dix 1891-1969. 1985.

Munich: Staatsgalerie Moderner Kunst Franz Roh: Kritiker, Historiker, Künstler. 1990.

München: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus. Kunst und Technik in den 20er Jahren: Neue Sachlichkeit und Gegenständlicher Konstruktivismus. 1980.

Munich: Stadtmuseum. Die Zwanziger Jahre in München. 1979.

Mynona (Salomo Friedländer). George Grosz. Dresden: Kaemmerer, 1922.

Nedo, Ingrid. "Wilhelm Schnarrenberger 1892-1966." Dissertation. Tübingen, 1982.

Neitzel, L. H. "Schweitzer Kunst: Ausblick und Ueberblick." Das Kunstblatt 7 (July 1918): 196-205.

Neumayer, Alfred. "Zur Raumpsychologie der 'Neuen Sachlichkeit'." Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst 3 (1927/28): 66-72.

New York: Museum of Modern Art. De Chirico. 1982.

New York: Guggenheim Museum. Expressionism: A German Intuition 1905-1920. 1980.

Nochlin, Linda. "Return to Order." Art in America 69 (1981): 75-83.

Nuremberg: Archiv für Bildende Kunst. Conrad Felixmüller: Werke und Dokumente. 1982.

Olbrich, Harald. "Die 'Neue Sachlichkeit' im Widerstreit der Ideologien und Theorien zur Kunstgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts." Weimarer Beiträge 12 (1980): 65-76.

Oellers, Adam C. Ikonographische Untersuchung zur Bildnismalerei der Neuen Sachlichkeit. Mainz: Schreder, 1983.

- - - - . "Zur Kunst der 20er Und 30er Jahre in Aachen." Aachener Kunst Blätter 56/57 (1988/89): 353-65.

Paris: Centre national d'art et culture Georges Pompidou. Max Ernst. 1975.

- - - - . Paris-Berlin 1900-1933: rapports et contrastes. 1978.

- - - - . Les Réalismes 1919-1939. 1980.

Paris: Galerie nationales du Grand-Palais. Max Ernst. 1975.

Passarge, Walter. "Geschichtliche Anmerkungen zur Kunst des Nachexpressionismus." Das Kunstblatt 13 (September 1929): 263-72.

Pechstein, Max. "Der Expressionismus lebt." Der Querschnitt 3 (Summer 1923): 93.

Perkins, Geoffrey. Contemporary Theory of Expressionism. Bern: Lang and Cie, 1974.

Pfefferkorn, Rainer. Albert Birkle: Leben und Werk. Hamburg: Christians, 1983.

Pierre, José. Futurism and Dadaism. Trans. Joan White. Geneva: Edito-Service S.A., 1969.

- - - - . "Die Neue Sachlichkeit / La Nouvelle Objectivité," L'Oeil 206-7 (1972): 12-19.

Quinn, Edward. Max Ernst. New York: Abrams, 1977.

Raabe, Paul, ed. The Era of German Expressionism. Trans. J. M. Ritchie. Woodstock, NY: Overlook, 1985.

Reed, Orrel P. Jr. German Expressionist Art: The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection. UCLA, 1977.

Reiss, Wolfgang A. Die Kunsterziehung in der Weimarer Republik: Geschichte und Ideologie. Basel: Beltz, 1981.

Rhodius, Hans, ed. Walter Spies: Maler und Musiker auf Bali 1895-1942. Den Haag: Boucher, 1964.

Rhodius, Hans, and John Darling. Walter Spies and Balinese Art. Zutphen: Terra, 1980.

Richter, Hans. Dada: Art and Anti-Art. Trans. David Britt. New York: Abrams, 1965.

Richter, Horst. Anton Räderscheidt. Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1972.

Rigby, Katherine Ida. An alle Künstler: War-Revolution-Weimar. San Diego State UP, 1983.

- - - . "German Expressionist Political Posters 1918-1919: Art and Politics, A Failed Alliance." Art Journal 44 (Spring 1984): 33-39.

Riha, Karl. Da Dada da war ist Dada da. Munich: Hanser, 1980.

Roditi, Edouard. "Interview with Hannah Höch," Arts 34 (1959): 24-9.

Roh, Franz. Nach Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus, Probleme der neusten Europäischen Malerei. Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1925.

- - - - . "Gegenständlichkeit: Grundsätzliches zur Wendung neuester Malerei." Der Cicerone 17 (December 1925): 1113-118.

- - - - . German Art in the 20th Century. Trans. Catherine Hutter. Greenwich, Ct.: New York Graphic Society, 1968.

- - - - . "Zur Interpretation Karl Haiders: Eine Bemerkung auch zum Nachexpressionismus." Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst (1923): 73-4.

- - - - . "Zur jüngsten niederrheinischen Malerei." Das Kunstblatt 10 (October, 1926): 363-8.

- - - - . "Münchner Neue Sezession: Ein Bericht." Der Cicerone 15 (July 1923): 641-46.

- - - - . "Rückblick auf den Magischen Realismus." Das Kunstwerk 1 (1952): 7-9.

- - - - . "Georg Schrimpf und die neue Malerei." Das Kunstblatt 7 (September 1923): 264-68.

Rome: Galleria del Levante. Aspetti dello 'Nuova Oggettività. Firenze: Centro Di, 1968.

Roters, Eberhard. Berlin 1910-1933. Trans. Marguerite Mounier. New York: Rizzoli, 1982.

- - - - , ed. Stationen der Moderne: Katologe epochaler Kunstausstellung in Deutschland 1910-1962. Cologne: König, 1988.

Rumold, Rainer and O. K. Werckmeister, eds. The Ideological Crisis of Expressionism: The Literary and Artistic German War Colony in Belgium 1914-1918. Columbia SC: Camden House, 1990.

Russell, John. Max Ernst: Life and Work. New York: Abrams, n.d.

Sagemeister, Rudolf, ed. Rudolf Wacker: Bekenntnisse. Lustenau: Neufeld, 1983.

St. Louis: Art Museum. Max Beckmann: Retrospective. 1984.

Salmony, Alfred. "Darmstadt: Deutscher Expressionimus." Das Kunstblatt 4 (September, 1920): 286.

- - - . "George Grosz." Das Kunstblatt 4 (May 1920): 97-8.

Salzburg: Museum Carolino Augusteum. Albert Birkle: Ölgemälde und Pastelle. 1980.

Sandner, Oscar. Rudolf Wacker: Zeichnungen. Lustenau: Galerie Neufeld, 1975.

- - - . "Der Wolf der nicht Heulen Konnte: Rudolf Wacker in Bregenz." Ver Sacrum 5 (1974): 168-74.

Sauerlandt, Max. Die Kunst der letzten 30 Jahre. Berlin: Rembrandt, 1935.

Shapiro, Theda. Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde and Society 1900-1925. New York: Elsevier, 1976.

Schlemmer, Tut, ed. The Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer. Trans. Krishna Winston. Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan UP, 1972.

Schleswig: Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum. Conrad Felixmüller: Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen, Druck-graphik, Sculpturen. 1990.

Schlumberger, Eveline. "Le regard froid." Connaissance des Arts 317 (1978): 46-55.

Schmalenbach, Fritz. Die Malerei der 'Neuen Sachlichkeit'. Berlin: Mann, 1973.

- - - . "The Term 'Neue Sachlichkeit'." Art Bulletin 22 (1940): 161-5.

Schmalenbach, Werner. Julius Bissier. Cologne: DuMont, 1974.

Schmidt, Diether. "'Ich war ein Mann der Straße' Otto Griebel zum 70. Geburtstag." Bildende Kunst 6 (1965): 314-17.

- - - . Manifeste Manifeste 1905-1933. Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, n.d.

- - - . Otto Dix in Selbstbildnisse. Berlin (East): Henschel, 1981.

Schmidt, Johann-Karl, ed. Otto Dix: Zum 100. Geburtstag. Stuttgart: Hatje, 1991.

Schmidt, Paul F. "Die Auferstehung des Inhalts." Das Kunstblatt 10 (November 1926): 404-7.

- - - . "Bücher: Franz Roh: Nachexpressionismus." Das Kunstblatt 10 (March 1926): 125-26.

- - - . "Die deutschen Veristen." Das Kunstblatt 8 (December 1924): 367-73.

- - - . Otto Dix. Cologne: Nierendorf, 1923.

- - - . "Führerpersönlichkeiten auf Gebiete der deutschen Graphik." Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst (1922): 293-94.

- - - - . Geschichte der Modernen Malerei. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1952.

- - - - . "Inhalt und Kunstform (Problem der jüngsten Malerei)." Das Kunstblatt 10 (July 1926): 279-80.

- - - - . "Die jungen Tschechen in Dresden." Der Cicerone 12 (May 1920): 383-4.

- - - - . "Konstruktivismus." Das Kunstblatt 8 (March 1924): 83-5.

- - - - . Kunst der Gegenwart. Potsdam: Athenaion, 1924.

- - - - . "Max Beckmann." Der Cicerone 11 (January 1919): 675-84.

- - - - . "Runge und die Gegegwart," Der Cicerone 15 (May 1923): 457-64.

- - - - . "Der Schützengraben." Die Weltbühne 20 (1924): 236.

- - - - . "Willy Baumeister." Das Kunstblatt 9 (1921): 276-82.

Schmied, Wieland. De Chirico und sein Schatten. Munich: Prestel, 1989.

- - - - . Neue Sachlichkeit und Magischer Realismus in Deutschland 1918-1933. Hannover: Fackelträger, 1969.

- - - - . "Space, Architecture, and the Image of Man: De Chirico or Inspiration." Daidalos 2 (December 1981): 64-76.

Schmitt-Rost, Hans. Heinrich Hoerle. Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1965.

Schneede, Uwe M. "Brockmann: An Optical Morality of Painting." Arte Milano 1 (1972): 19-22.

- - - . George Grosz: His Life and Work. Trans. Suzanne Flatauer. New York: Universe Books, 1979.

Schoeps, Hans Joachim, ed. Zeitgeist in der Weimarer Republik. Stuttgart: Klett, 1968.

Scholz, Georg. "Die Elemente zur Erzielung der Wirkung im Bilde." Das Kunstblatt 8 (March 1924): 77-83.

- - - . "Kunst und Kitsch." Die Pyramide 11 (April 1922): 97-8.

Schräder, Bärbel and Jürgen Schebera. The'Golden' Twenties: Art and Literature in the Weimar Republic. Trans. Katherine Vanowitch. New Haven: Yale UP, 1988.

Schubert, Dietrich. Otto Dix in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten. Reinbeck: Rowolt, 1980.

Schulz-Hoffmann, ed. Mythos Italien: Wintermärchen Deutschland. Munich: Prestel, 1988.

Schulze, Franz. "Cold Facts." Art in America 69 (1981): 142-7.

Schulze, Ingrid. Die Erschütterung der Moderne: Grünewald im 20. Jahrhundert. Leipzig: Seemann, 1991.

- - - . Karl Völker. Berlin (E): Henschel, 1974.

- - - . "Karl Völker und die 'Hallische Künstlergruppe'." Bildende Kunst 12 (1974): 598-603.

Selz, Peter. Art in a Turbulent Era. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1985.

- - - - . German Expressionist Painting. Berkeley: U Cal P, 1957.

Servaes, Frank. "Ergebnisse der Expressionismus." Die Woche 46 (1920): 1195-97.

Sheppard, Richard, ed. Dada: Studies of a Movement. Buckinghamshire: Alpha Academic, 1980.

- - - - . New Studies in Dada: Essays and Documents. Driffield: Hutton, 1981.

- - - - . Zürich - Dadaco - Dadaglobe: The Correspondence between Richard Huelsenbeck, Tristan Tzara and Kurt Wolff (1916-1924). Tayport, Fife: Hutton, 1982.

Siepmann, Eckhard. Montage: John Heartfield: Vom Club Dada zur Arbeiter Illustrierten Zeitung. Berlin: Elefanten, 1977.

Silver, Kenneth. Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War 1914-1925. Princeton UP, 1989.

Simon, Marchàn Fiz. "La 'Nueva Objetividad' 1918-1933." Goya 105 (1971): 176-81.

Sonnenberg, Stephen M., Arthur S. Blank, John A. Talbott, eds. The Trauma of War: Stress and Recovery in Vietnam Veterans. Washington D.C.: American Psychiatric Press, 1985.

Stark, Gary D. and Bede Karl Lackner, eds. Essays on Culture and Society in Modern Germany. Arlington: U Texas, 1982.

Steneberg, Eberhard. Russische Kunst Berlin 1919-1932. Berlin: Mann, 1969.

Stevens, Arthur Dene. "The Counter-Modern Movement in French and German Painting after World War I." Dissertation. Indiana U, 1971.

Storch, Wolfgang, ed. Georg Schrimpf und Maria Uhden: Leben und Werk. Berlin: Charlottenburg, 1985.

Stuttgart, Galerie der Stadt. Otto Dix: Bestandskatalog. 1989

- - - . Otto Dix: Zum 80. Geburtstag. 1972.

- - - . Otto Dix: Zum 90. Geburtstag. 1982.

- - - . Otto Dix: Zum 100. Geburtstag 1891-1991. 1991.

Stuttgart: Würtemburger Kunstverein. Realismus: Zwischen Revolution und Machtergreifung 1919-1933. 1971.

Tokyo: National Museum for Modern Art. Realistische Tendenzen deutscher Kunst 1919-1933: Eine Ausstellung aus Museen der DDR. 1976.

Tube, Minna, ed. Max Beckmann: Briefe im Krieg. Berlin: Cassirer, 1916.

Utitz, Emil. "Neuer Naturalismus." Kunst und Künstler 22 (April 1924): 164-68.

- - - . Die Überwindung des Expressionismus. Stuttgart: Enke, 1927.

Vaubel, H. O. " Zur Entstehung des 'Verismus' in der modernen Malerei." Der Cicerone 17 (November 1925): 1095-96.

Velte, Maria. Otto Ritschl: Leben und Werk. Coblence: Mittelrhein Museum, 1970.

Verona: Galleria dello Scudo. Realismo Magico: pittura e scultura in Italia 1919-1925. 1989.

Vienna: Museum des 20. Jahrhunderts. Neue Sachlichkeit und Realismus: Kunst zwischen den Kriegen. 1977.

Vierhuff, Hans Gotthard. Die Neue Sachlichkeit: Malerei und Fotografie. Cologne: DuMont, 1980.

Vitt, Walter. Auf der Suche nach der Biographie der Kölner Dadaisten Johannes Theodor Baargeld. Starnberg: Keller, 1977.

- - - . Heinrich Hoerle und Franz Wilhelm Seiwert: Die Progressiven. Cologne: Städt. Nachrichtenamt, 1975.

Vogt, Paul. Expressionism: German Painting between 1905 and 1920. Trans. Anthony Vivis. Cologne: DuMont, 1979.

Walden, Herwart. "Die Neue Sachlichkeit." Der Sturm 17 (April 1926): 145-6.

Waldkirch: Georg-Scholz-Haus. Georg Scholz 1890-1945. 1990.

Walser, Rupert and Bernhard Wittenbrink, eds. Ohne Auftrag: Zur Geschichte des Kunsthandels. Munich: Walser and Wittenbrink, 1989.

Wedderkop, H. von. "Die Kölner Museumsfrage." Der Cicerone 12 (March 1920): 253.

Weinstein, Joan. The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany 1918-1919. U Chicago P, 1990.

Weitz, Ulrich. "Sexualphantasien und Proletariat, Rosenkranz und Stahlgewitter: Das bewegte Leben der Malers Rudolf Schlichter." Tendenzen 149 (January-March 1985): 56-9.

Werenskiold, Marit. The Concept of Expressionism: Origin and Metamorphoses. Trans. Ronald Walford. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1984.

Werkmeister, O. K. The Making of Paul Klee's Career 1914-1920. U Chicago P, 1989.

Westheim, P. "Aktivistische Malerei." Das Kunstblatt 1 (August 1917): 254-5.

- - - . "Der 'arrivierte' Öldruck." Das Kunstblatt 6 (June 1922): 344-8.

- - - . "Dix." Das Kunstblatt 10 (April 1926): 142-6.

- - - . "Otto Dix." Frankfurter Zeitung August 17, 1923.

- - - . "Das 'Ende des Expressionimus'." Das Kunstblatt 4 (June 1920): 187-88.

- - - . Für und Wider. Potsdam: Kiepenheuer, 1923.

- - - . Helden und Abenteuer: Welt und Leben der Künstler. Berlin: Reckendorf, 1931.

- - - . "Kleines Kolleg über 'Naturalismus'." Das Kunstblatt 6 (January 1922): 93-95.

- - - - . "Kunst als Sachwert," Das Kunstblatt 7 (August 1923): 229-231.

- - - - . "Kunst im deutschen Westen: II. Mannheim: Ausstellung 'Neue Sachlichkeit'." Das Kunstblatt 9 (September 1925): 266-68.

- - - - . Künstlerbekenntnisse: Briefe/Tagebuchblätter/ Betrachtungen heutiger Künstler. Berlin: Propyläen, 1925.

- - - - . "Novembergruppe." Das Kunstblatt 4 (July 1920): 223.

- - - - , ed. "Ein neuer Naturalismus?? Eine Rundfrage des Kunstblatts." Das Kunstblatt 6 (October 1922): 368-414.

- - - - . "Zur Psychologie der Massenerfolgs." Das Kunstblatt 8 (October, November 1924): 301-5, 333-38.

- - - - . "Stil der Sachlichkeit: Zur Entwidlung der jungen Kunst." Frankfurter Zeitung November 10, 1923.

- - - - . "Die tote Kunst der Gegenwart." Das Kunstblatt 9 (April, May 1925): 106-14, 141-49.

- - - - , ed. "Wirtschaftslage und Aussichten des Kunstmarktes," Das Kunstblatt 7 (October 1923): 294-301.

- - - - . "Wollheim." Das Kunstblatt 10 (October 1926): 289-95.

Whalen, Robert Weldon. Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War, 1914-1939. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1984.

Whitford, Frank. Expressionism. London: Hamyl, 1970.

Wille, Hans. Adolf Erbslöh. Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1982.

Willett, John. Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriey, 1917-1933. New York: Pantheon, 1978.

Winterthur: Kunstmuseum. Neue Sachlichkeit und Surrealismus in der Schweiz 1915-1940. 1979.

Wohl, Robert. The Generation of 1914. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1979.

Wolfradt, Willi. "Heinrich Maria Davringhausen." Die Dame 50 (1923): 3-*ff*.

- - - . "Ein Doppelbildnis von Otto Dix," Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst 1923: 175-7.

- - - . Otto Dix. (Junge Kunst no. 41) Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1924.

- - - . "Otto Dix," Der Cicerone 16 (August 1924): 953-54.

Wollheim, Mona. Gert H. Wollheim: Gedanke und Werk. Munich: Thieming, 1977.

Worringer, Wilhelm. Künstlerische Zeitfragen. Munich: Bruckmann, 1921.

Würzburg: Städtischen Galerie. Carl Grossberg 1894-1940: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Aquarelle. 1979.

Zahn, Leopold. "Dadaismus oder Klassizismus?" Der Ararat 2 (April 1920): 50-2.

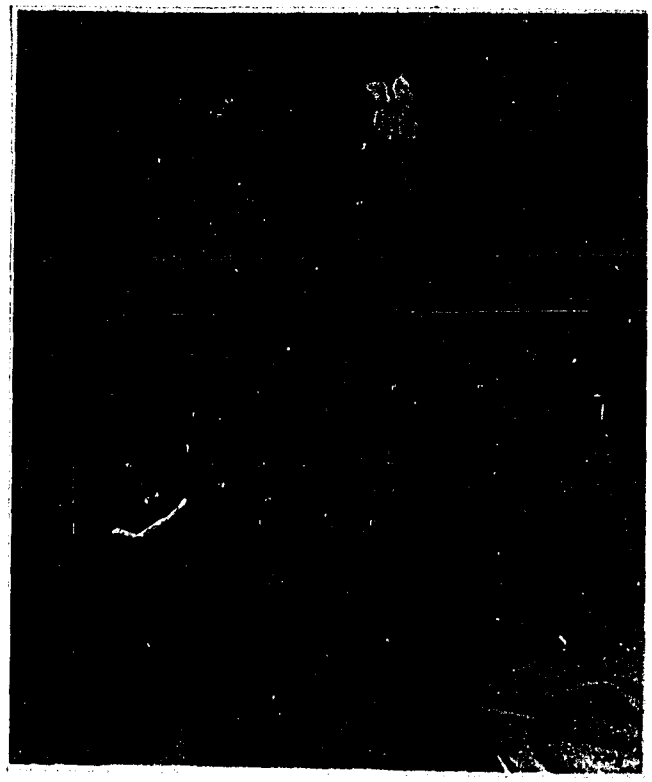
- - - . Kleine Geschichte der Modernen Kunst. Berlin: Ullstein, 1956.

- - - , ed. "Die Neue Kunst und die Deutscher Städte: Eine Rundfrage." Der Ararat 2 (December 1920): 139-48; 3 (January 1921): 12-22.

- - - . "Parzinger: Kinder am Nachmittag." Der Ararat 4 (1921): 147.

- - - . "Über den Infantilismus in der neuen Kunst." Das Kunstblatt 4 (March 1920): 84-6.

"Zehn Jahre Novembergruppe." Kunst der Zeit special issue 3 (1928).



1. Schad, Self Portrait, 1927.



2. Höch, Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada through the First Weimar Beer-Belly Era, 1919.



3. Grosz, Germany, A Winter's Tale, 1917-19.



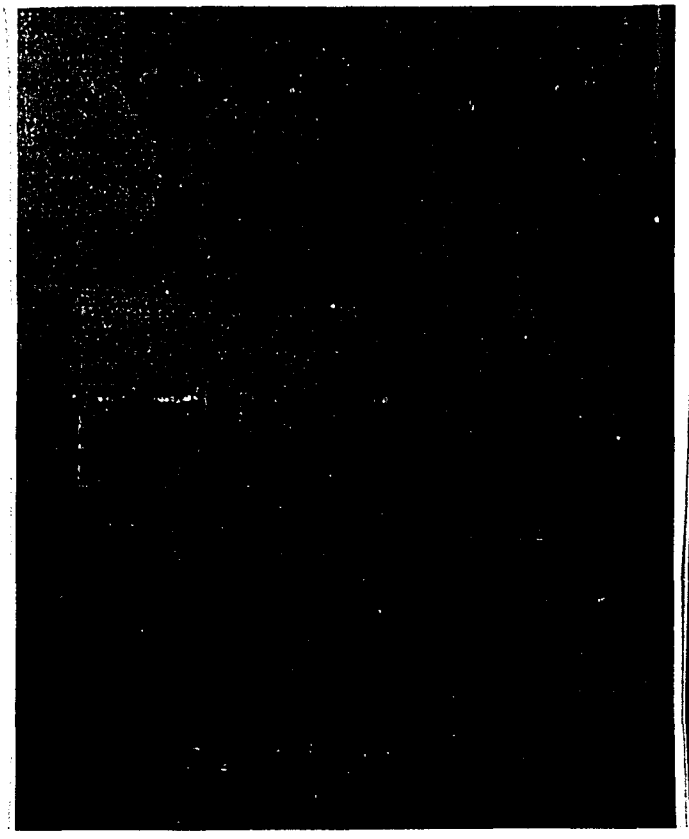
4. Grosz, Riot of the Insane, 1915.

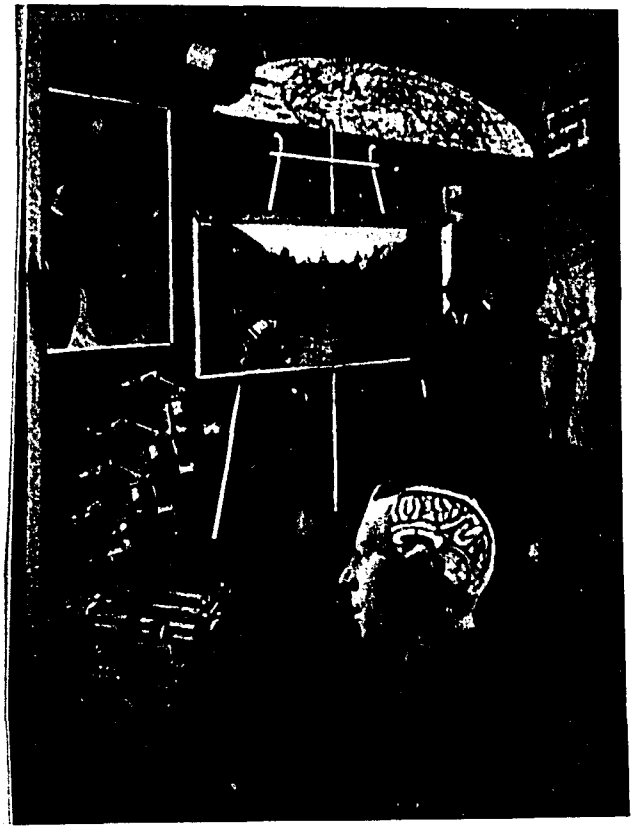


left
5. Grosz, Quitting Time, 1920.

below left
6. Höch, He & His Milieu, 1919.

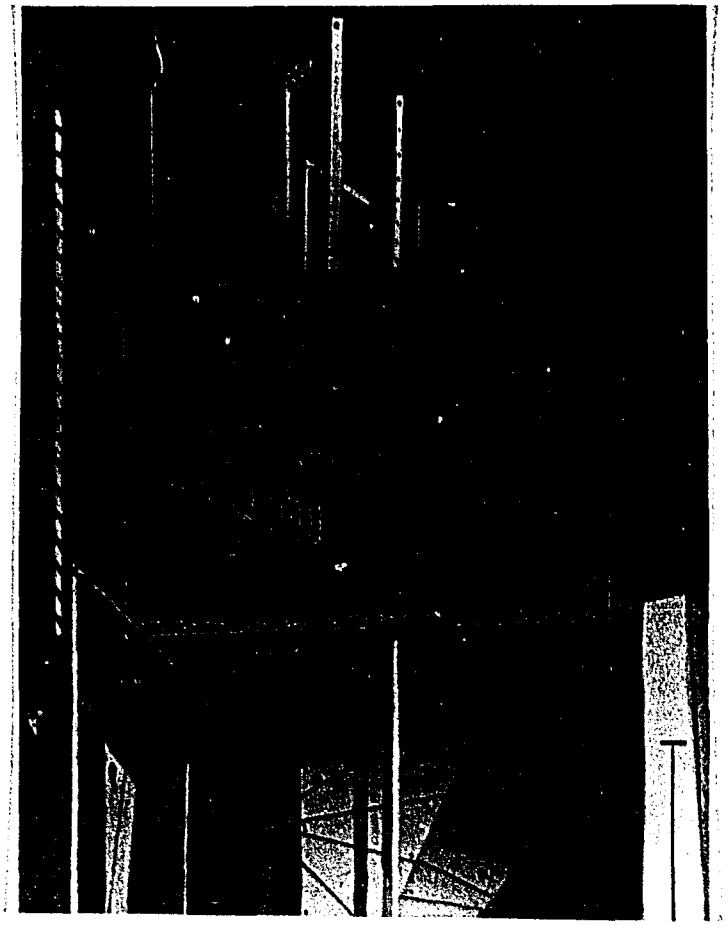
below right
7. Hausmann, Dada Victorious, 1920.



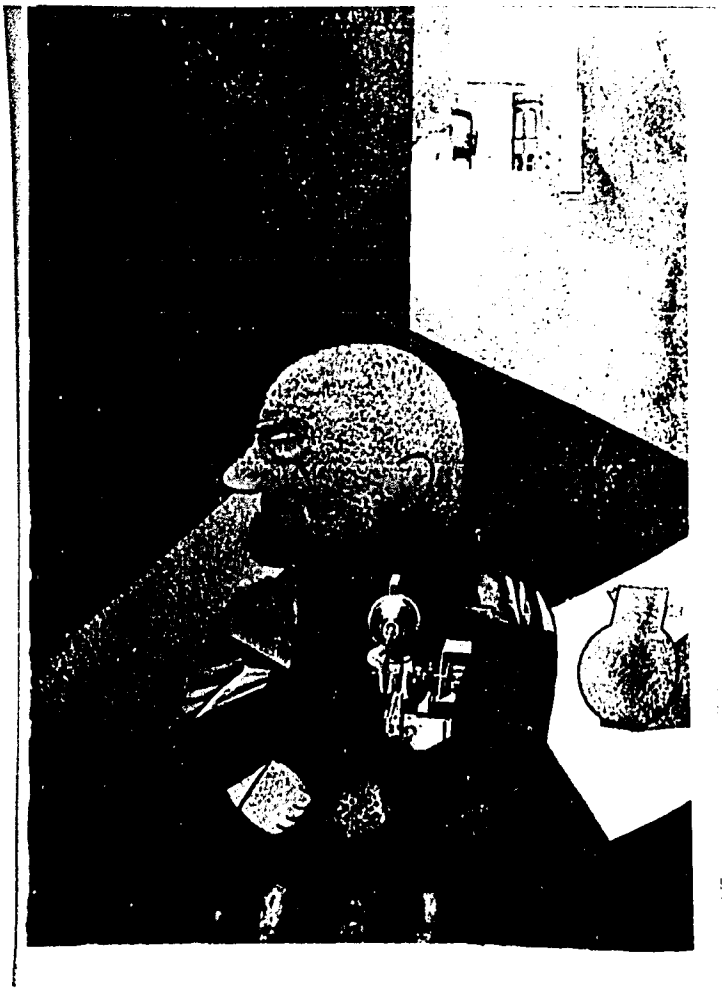




8. Hausmann, Tatlin at Home, 1920.



9. De Chirico, Metaphysicial Interior with Large Factory, 1917.

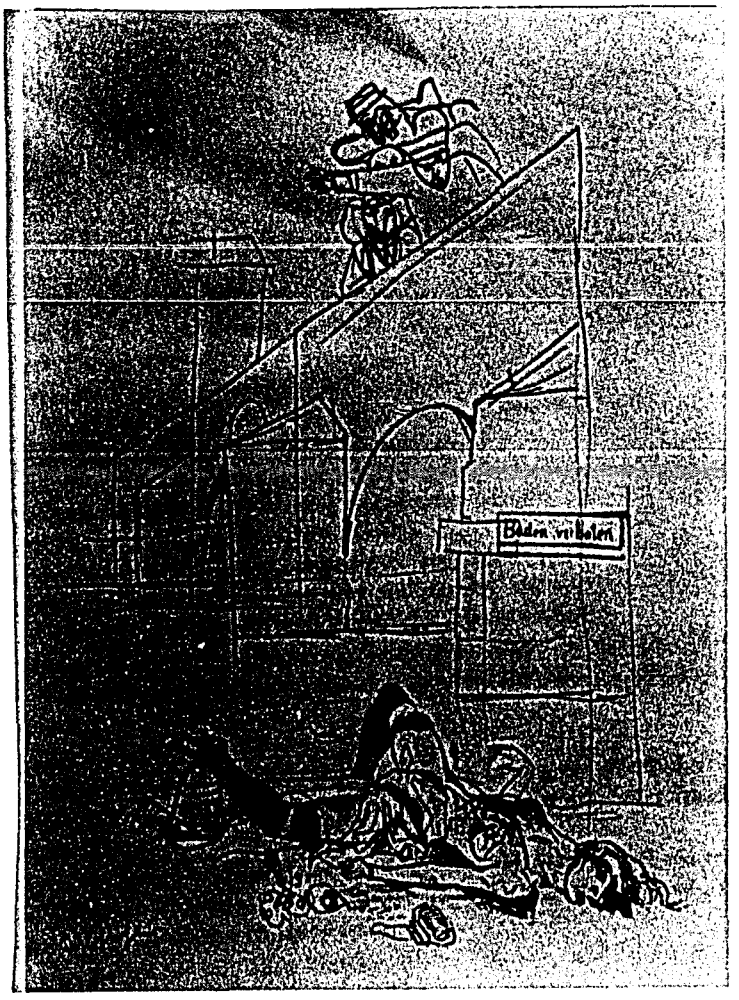


10. Grosz, The Engineer Heartfield, 1920.

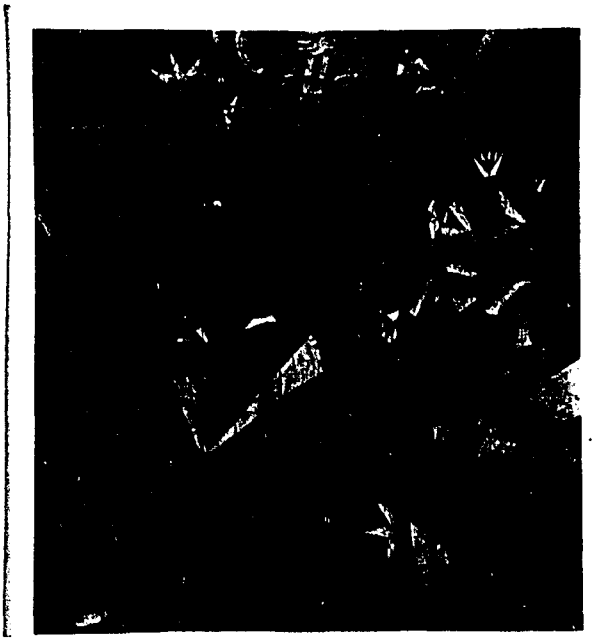


11. Schlichter, Phänomen-Werk, 1920.

12. Schlichter, The End, 1920.



13. Scholz, Nightly Scream, 1919.



14. Scholz, Industry Farmers, 1920.

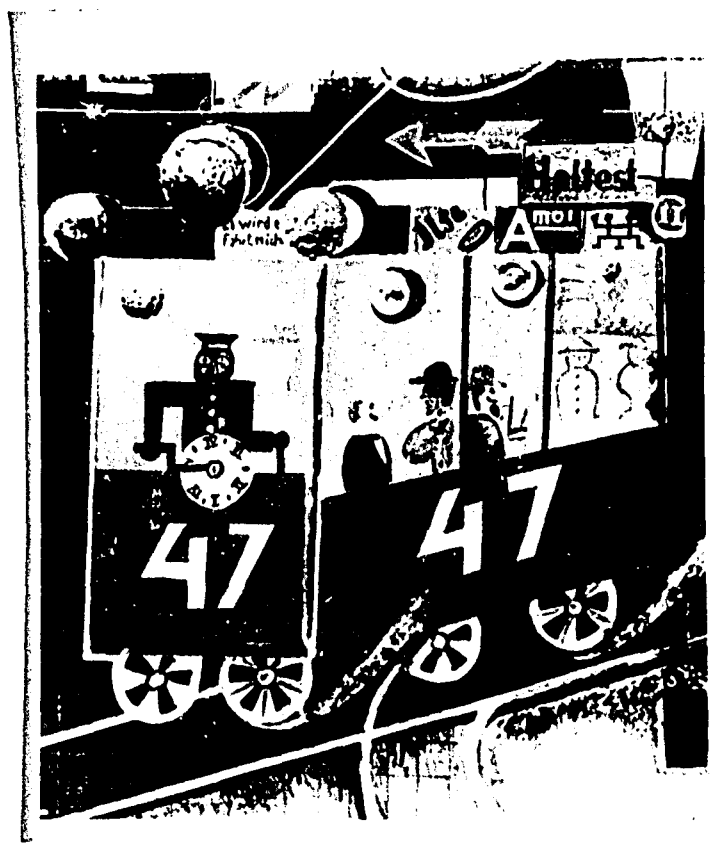


15. Dix, war drawing ca. 1917.





16. Dix, Moon Woman, 1919.



17. Dix, Electric Tram, 1919.







above left
18. Dix, Altarpiece for Cavaliers, 1920 (closed state).

above
19. Dix, Altarpiece for Cavaliers, 1920 (opened state).

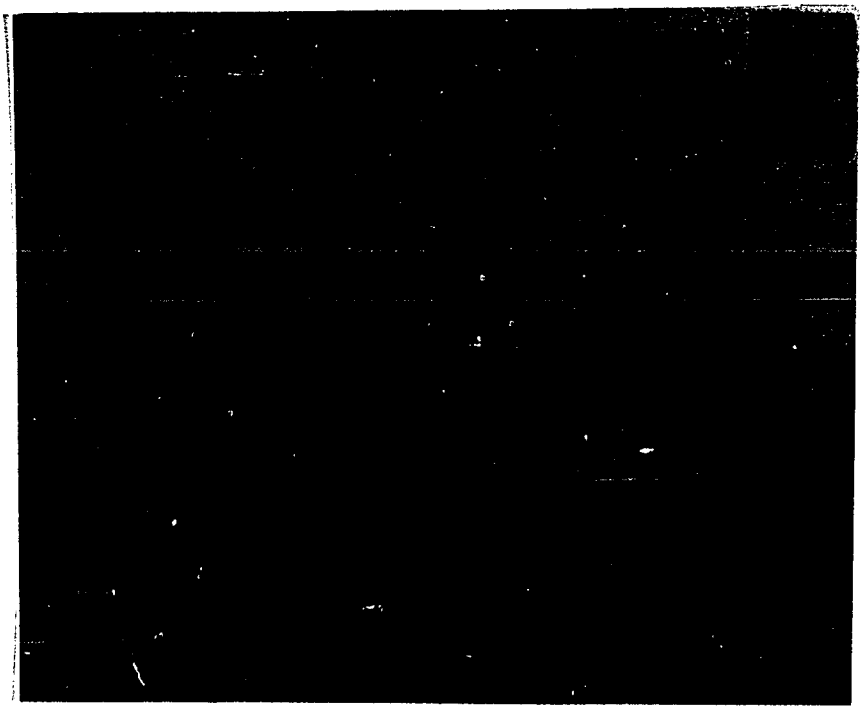
left
20. Dix, Sex-Murderer (Self-Portrait), 1920.

21. Dix, The Barricade, 1920.

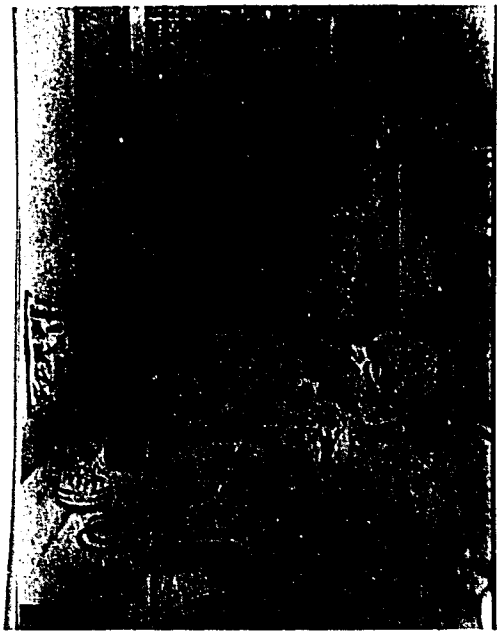


22. Dix, The War Cripples, 1920.





23. Griebel, People Are still the Cheapest Goods, 1920.



24. Griebel, Sunday Afternoon, 1920.

25. Photograph of a room at the *First International Dada Fair*, June 1920.

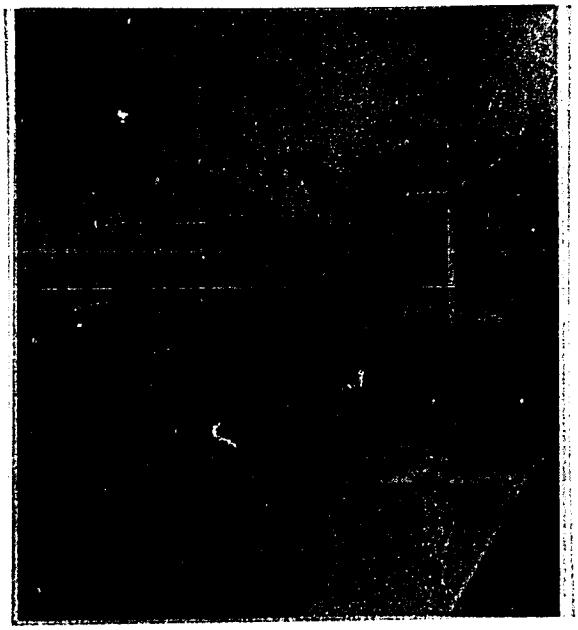


26. Hausmann, The Engineers, 1920.

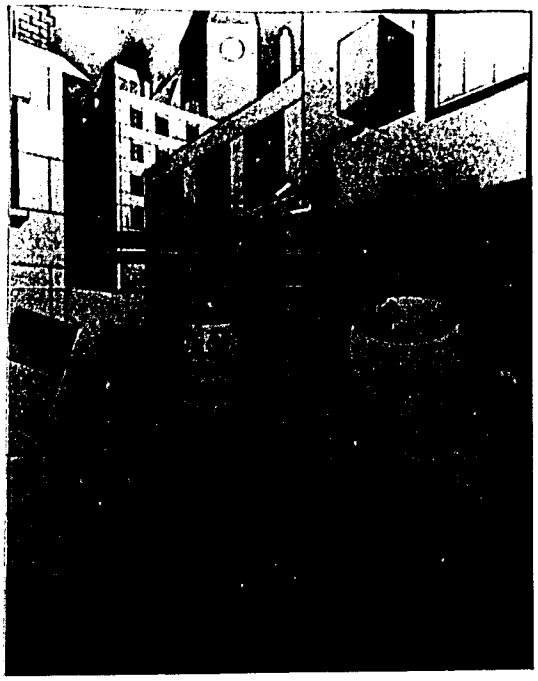


27. Hausmann, Kutschenbauch Composes, 1920.



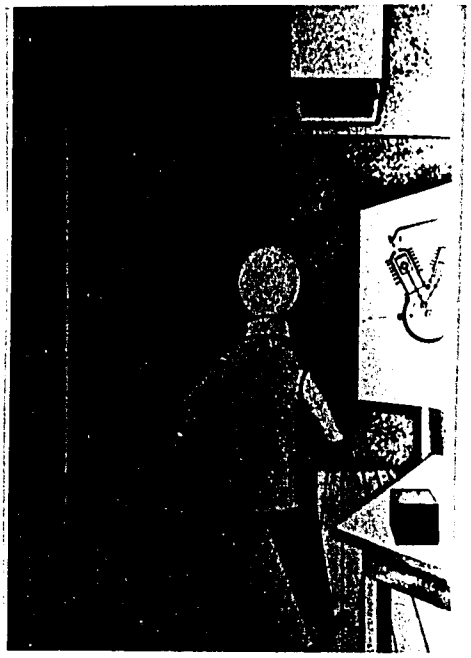


28. Höch, The Fly is Dead, 1922.



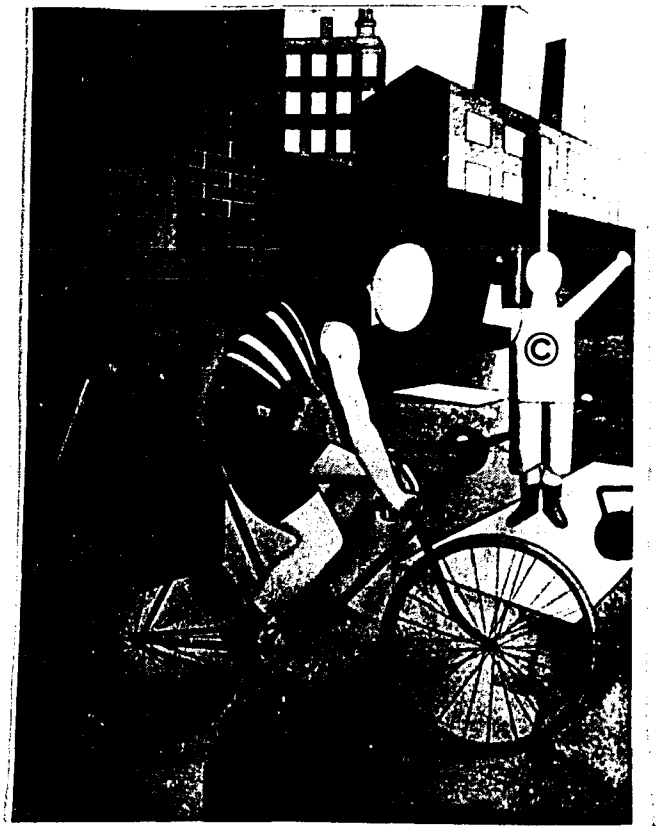
29. Grosz, Republican Automatons, 1920.

30. Grosz, The New Man, 1920.



31. Grosz, Berlin C, 1920.



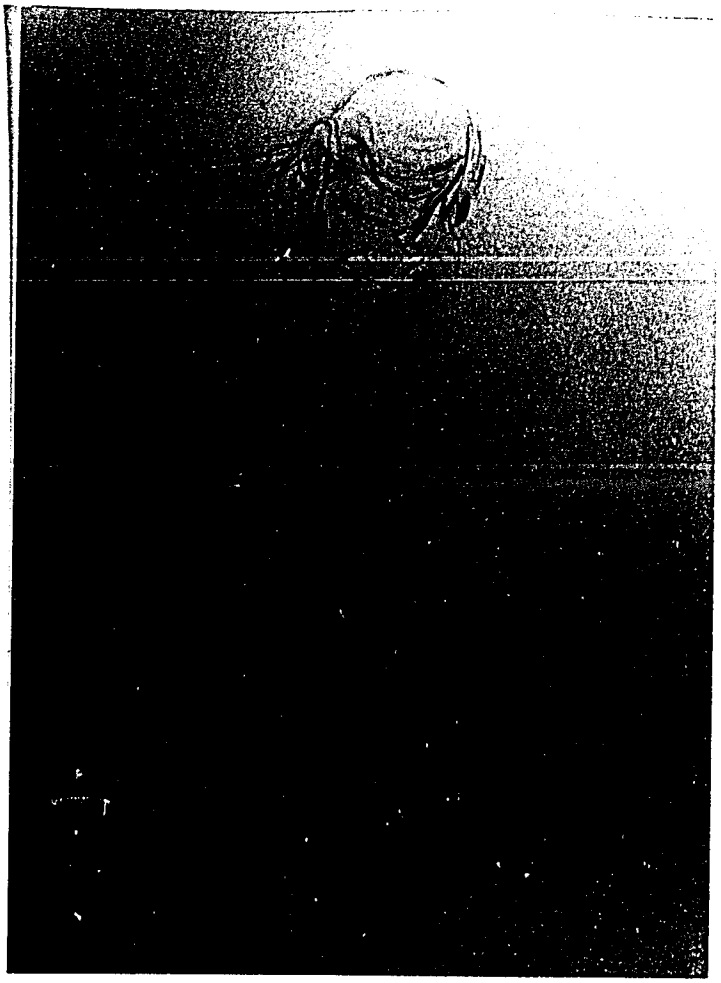


32. Grosz, Cyclist and Weightlifter, 1920.



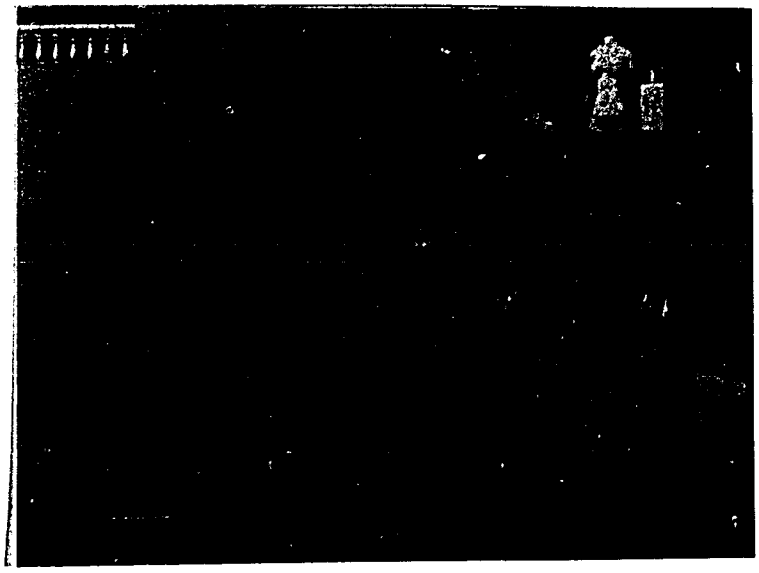
33. Grosz, Magistrate for War Victims' Welfare, 1921.

34. Grosz, Unemployed Man, 1924.



35. Schlichter, Rooftop Studio, 1920.

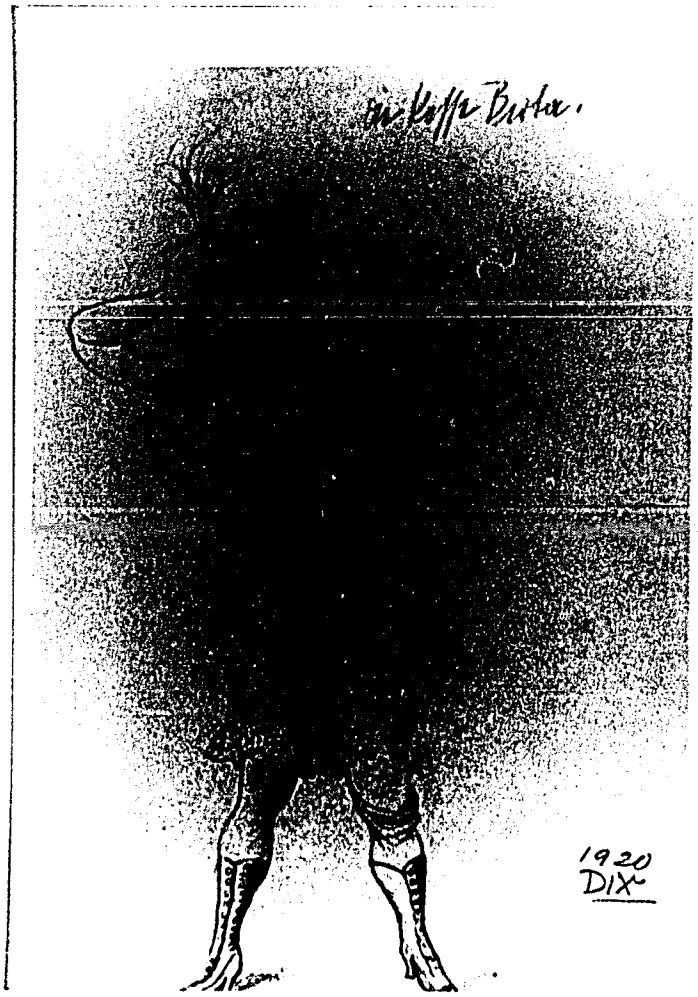




36. Schlichter, Hausvogteiplatz, 1920.



37. Schlichter, Portrait of Margot, 1924.



38. Dix, Saucy Berta, 1921.



39. Dix, Alma, 1921.



40. Dix, Girl at the Mirror, 1921.



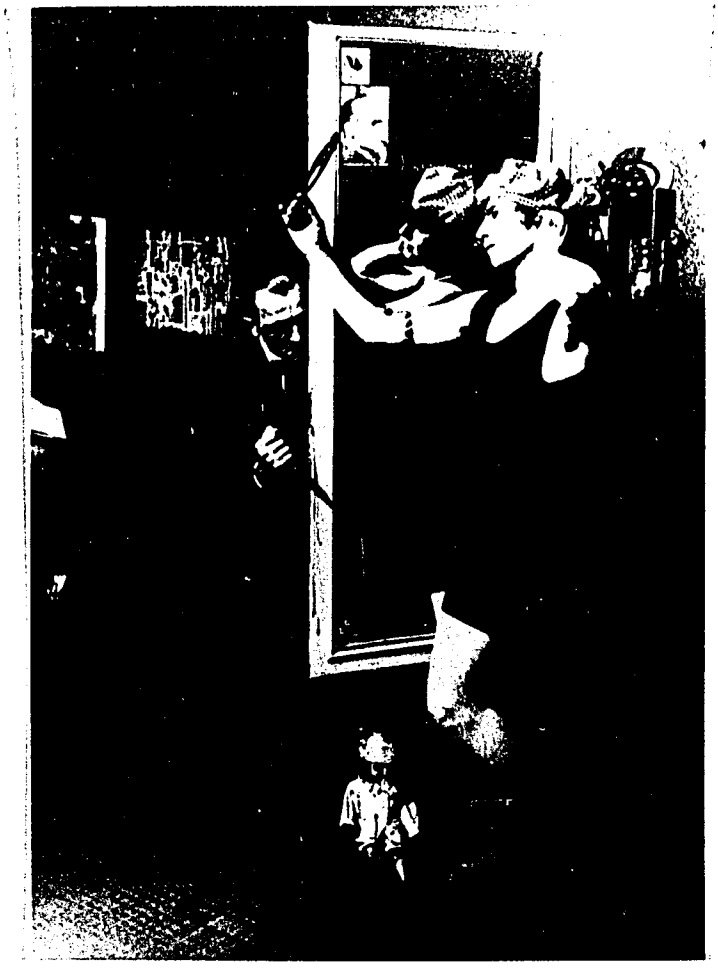
41. Baldung-Grien, Death and the Maiden, 1509-11.



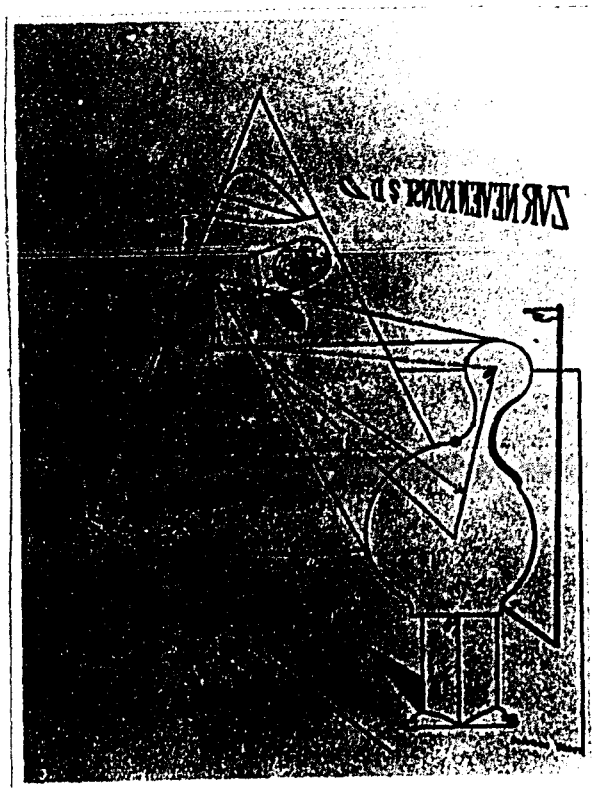
42. Dix, Young Girl, 1922.



43. Dix, Sex Murder, 1922.



44. Photograph of George Grosz and Eva Peters in Grosz's studio, ca. 1918.

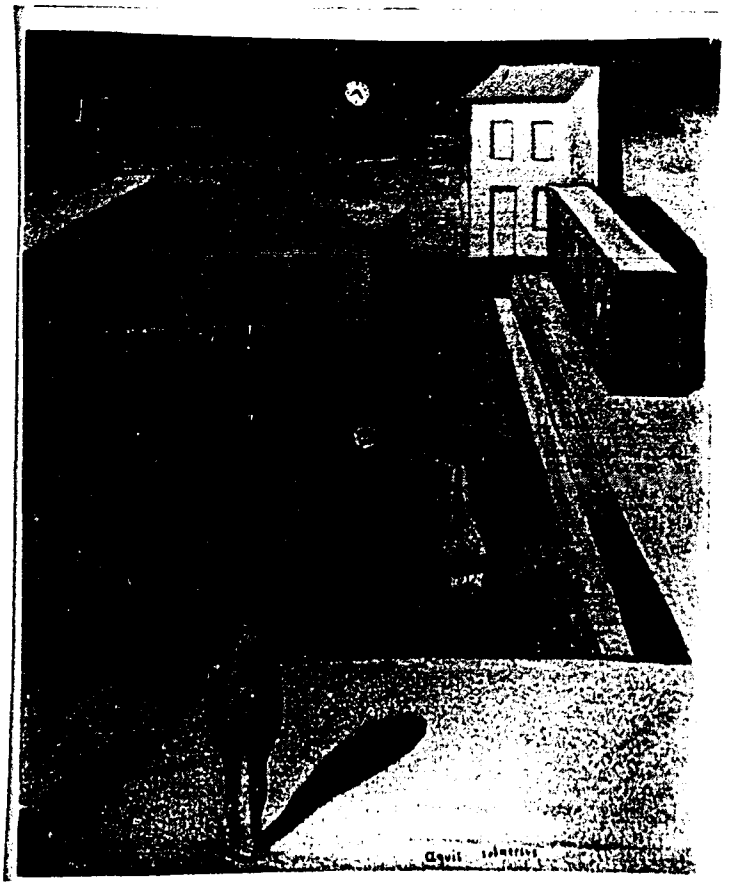


45. Ernst, from Fiat Modes, 1919.

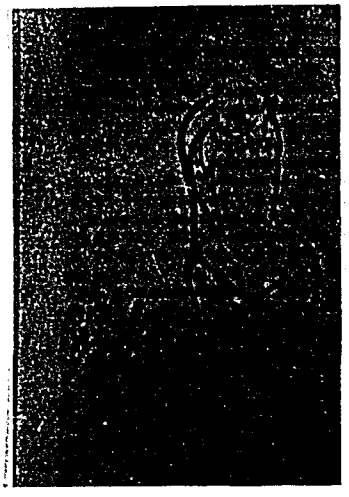


46. De Chirico, The Seer, 1915.

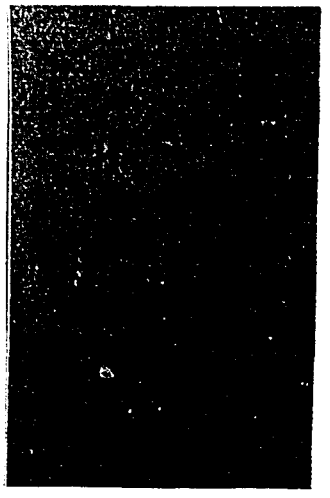
47. Ernst, Aquis Submersus, 1919.



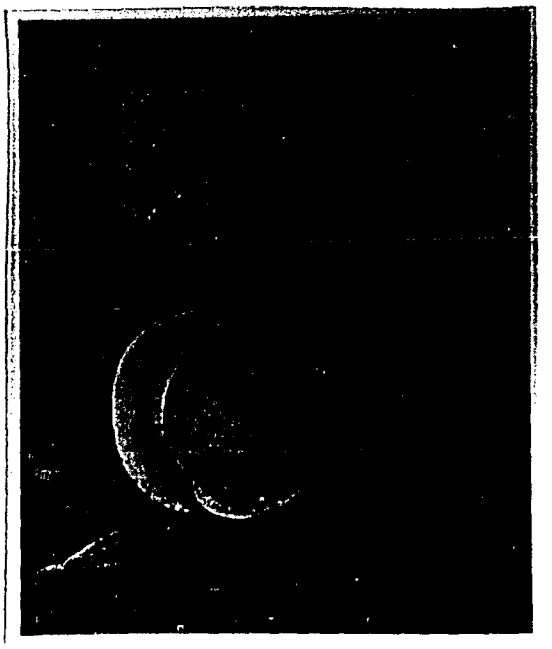
48. Hoerle, from Cripple Portfolio, 1918-19.



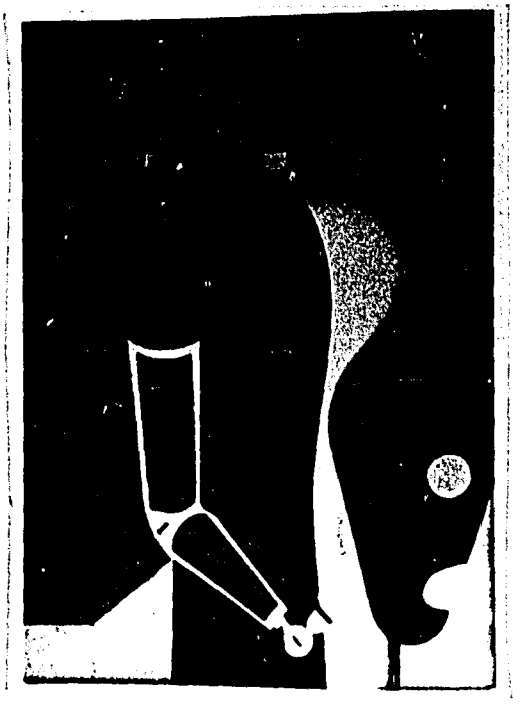
49. Hoerle, from Cripple Portfolio, 1919.



50. Hoerle, Picture with a Peach, 1921.

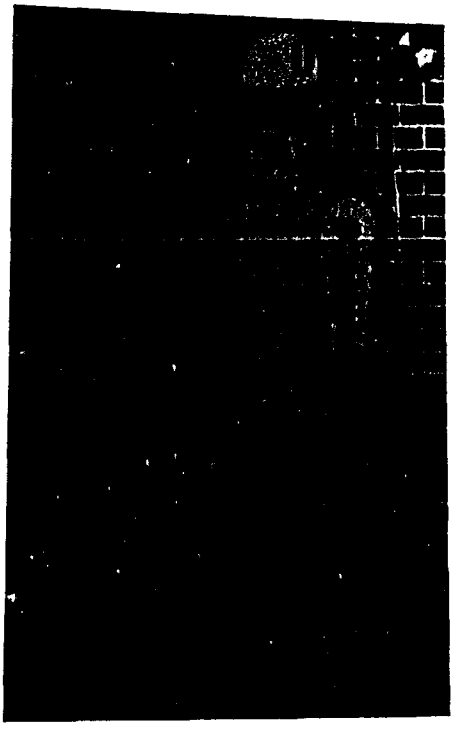


51. Hoerle, Begging War Cripple, 1921.

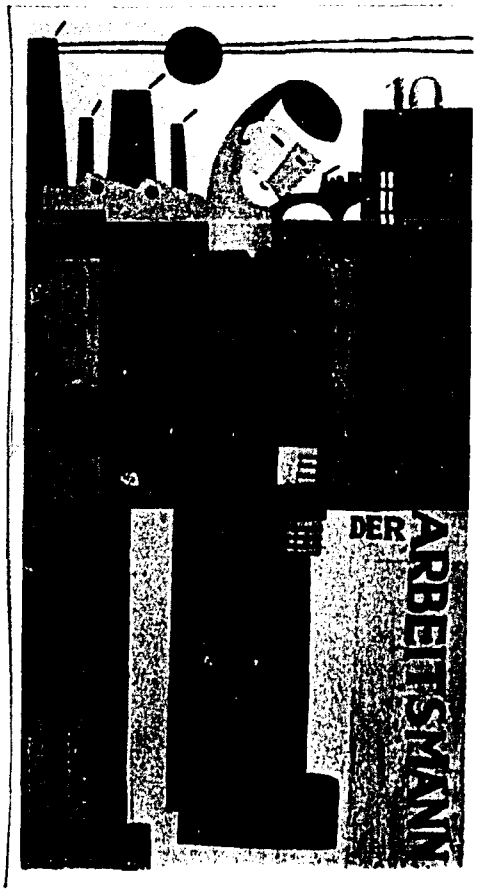


52. De Chirico, Disquieting Muses, 1917.

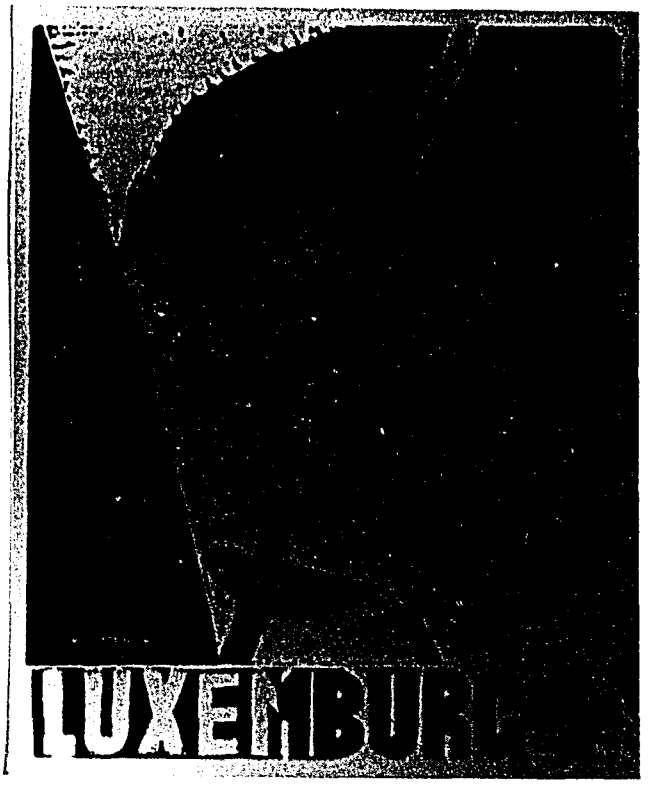




53. Hoerle, Factory Worker, 1922.



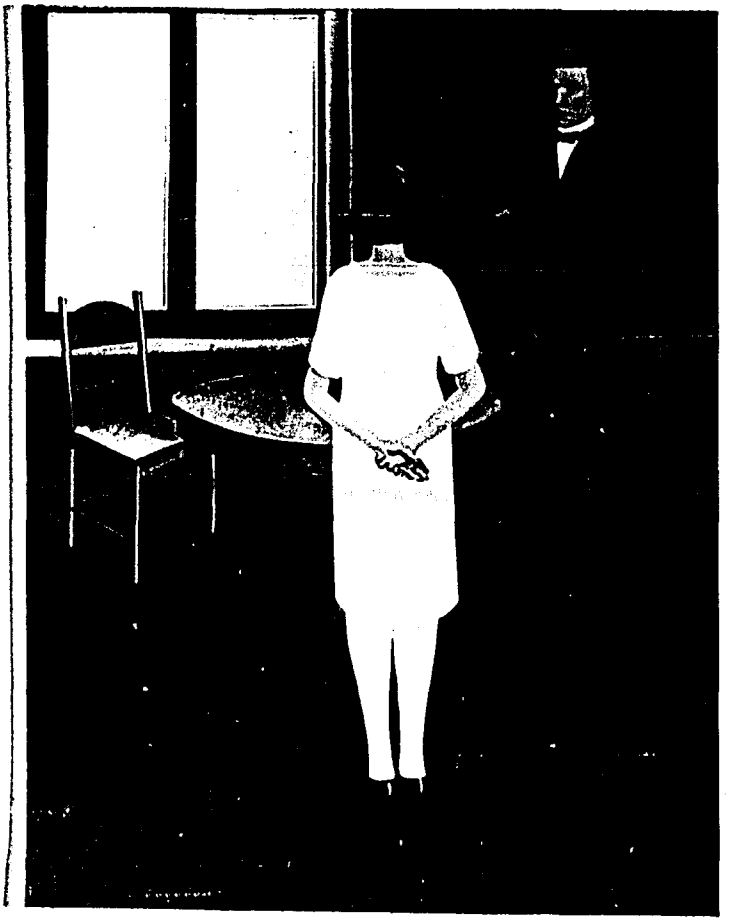
54. Seiwert, The Workman II, 1922.



55. Räderscheidt, Rosa Luxembourg from the set of lithographs Lebendige, 1919.



56. Räderscheidt, Encounter, 1921.



57. Räderscheidt, Young Couple, 1922.



58. Räderscheidt, Girlfriends, 1923.



59. Ernst, The Elephant from Celebes, 1921.

60. Wollheim, The Wounded Man, 1919.



61. Wollheim, Unspeakable Pain, 1917.





62. Wollheim, The Trench, 1918.

63. Wollheim, The Condemned Man, 1921.



64. Kaufmann, Contemporaries, 1925.





65. Wollheim, Departure from Dusseldorf, 1924.

66. Dix, Portrait of Dr. Hans Koch, 1921.





67. Dix, Portrait of Karl Nierendorf, 1923.



68. Dix, Old Couple, 1923.



69. Dix, Metropolis, 1927-28.



70. Dix, To Beauty, 1922.



71. Dix, Self-Portrait with Wife, 1923.

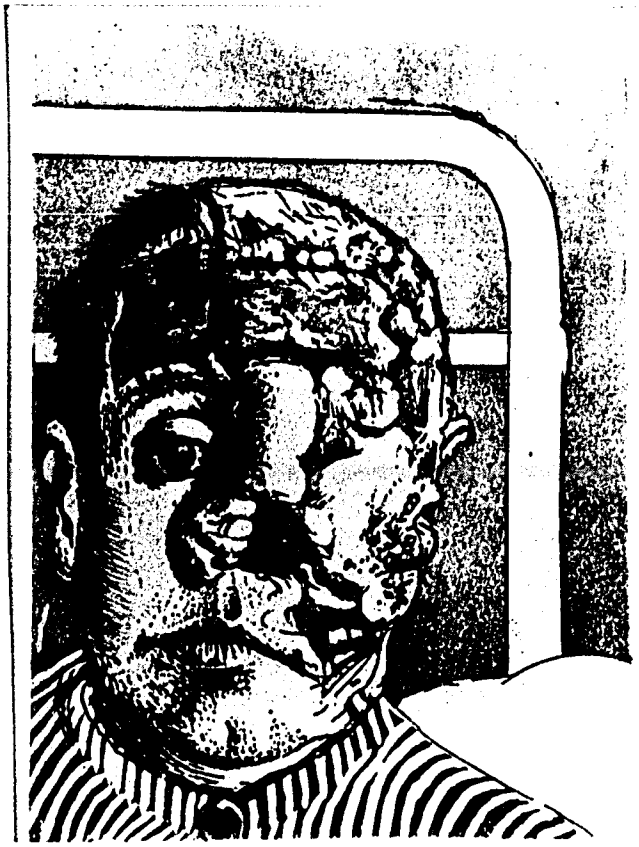


72. Dix, The Trench, 1920-23. Lost.

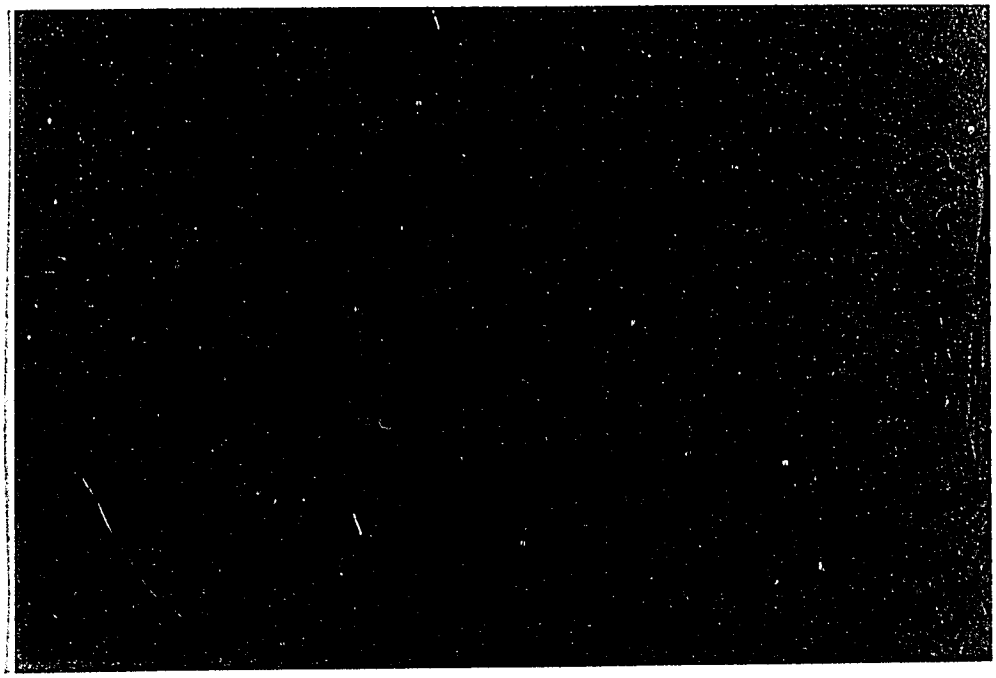
73. Dix, The Trench, 1920-23, Detail.

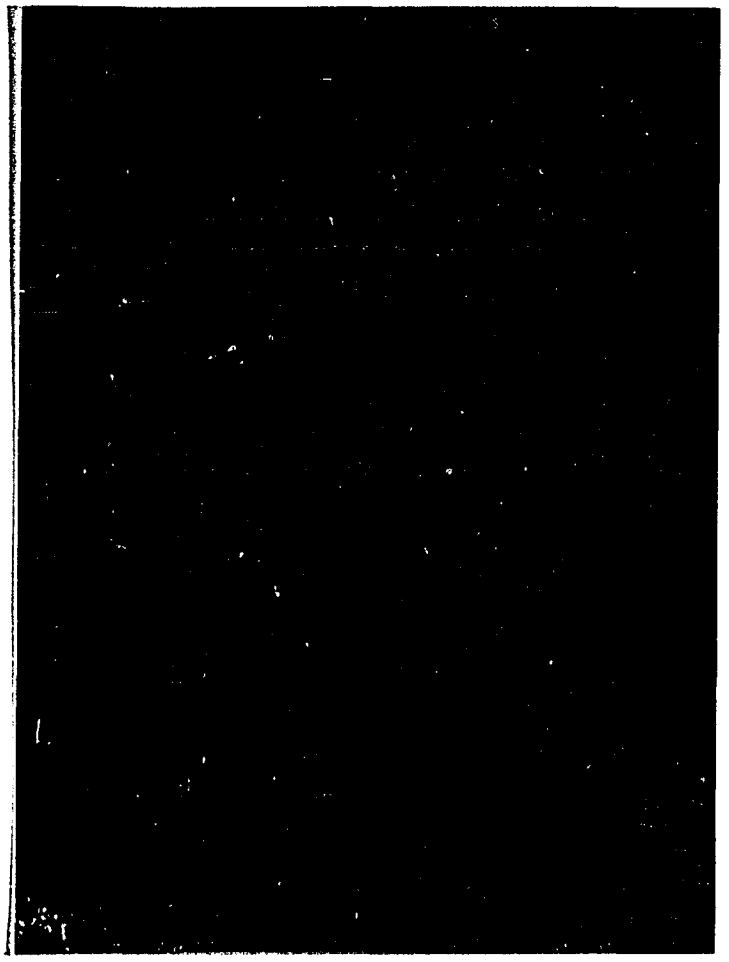


74. Dix, Transplant, from The War, 1924.



75. Dix, Battle-Weary Troops in Retreat (Battle of the Somme), from The War, 1924.





76. Photograph from Ernst Friedrich's book Krieg dem Kriege, 1924.



77. Dix, Soldier and Nun, 1924.



78. Schrimpf, woodcut, ca. 1916-17. (Published in Das Kunstblatt 1 [February 1917]).

below
79. Schrimpf, Self-Portrait, 1918.

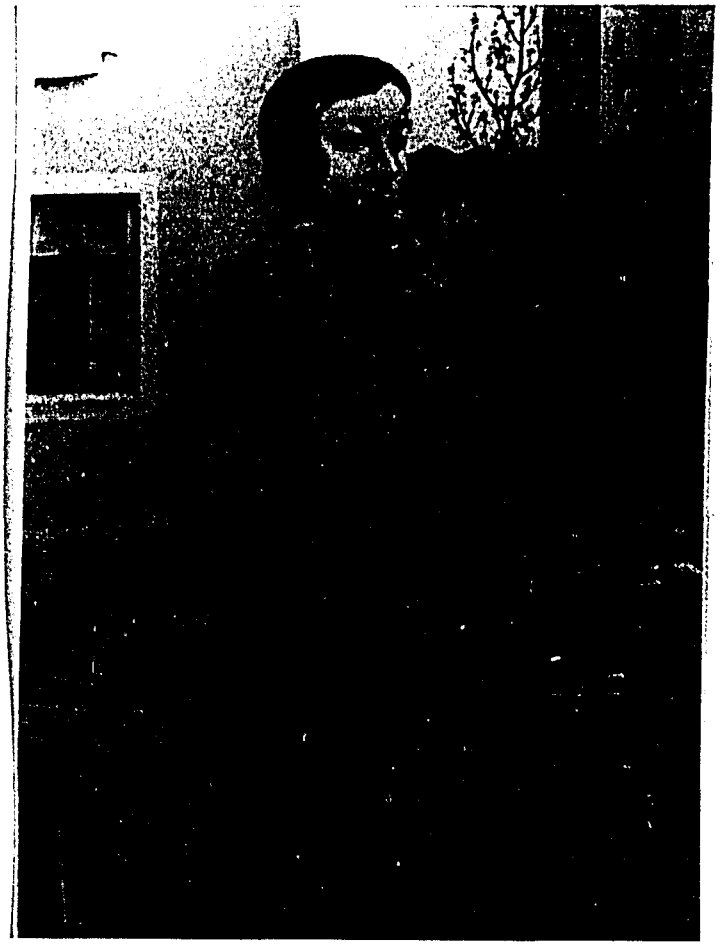
below right
80. Schrimpf, Portrait of Maria Uhden, 1918.



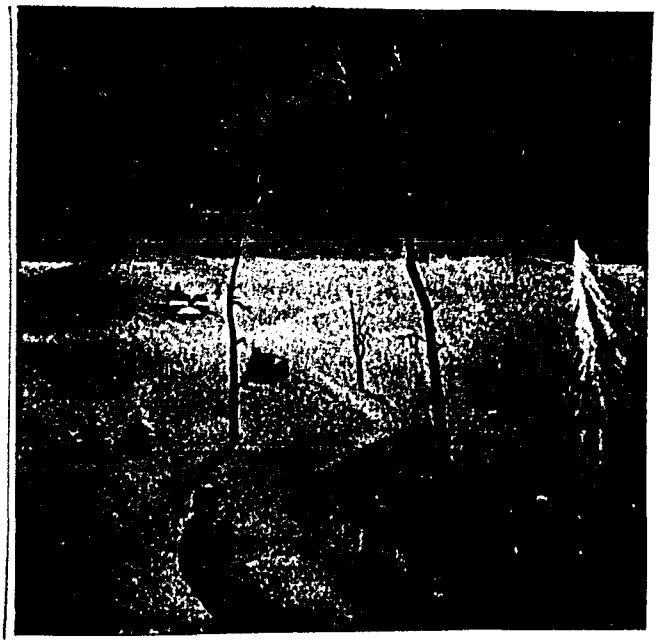




81. Schrimpf, Mother & Child/ In the Yard, 1919.



82. Schrimpf, Mother & Child/In the Yard, 1923.



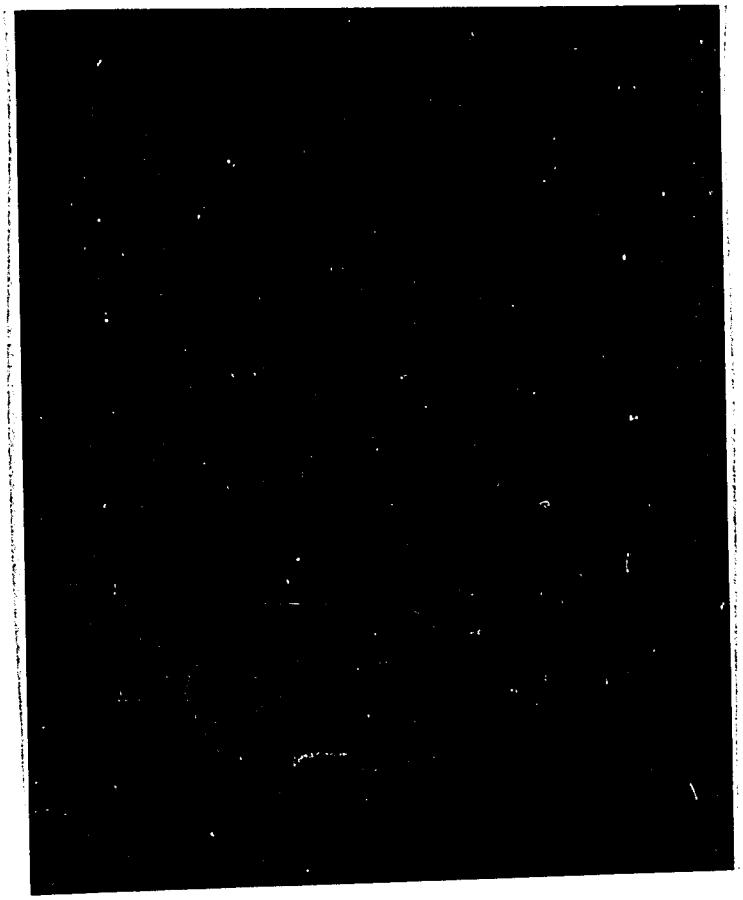
83. Mense, Russian Winter Landscape, 1920.



84. Mense, Nude in Italian Landscape, 1921.



85. Mense, Portrait of Underberg, 1922.

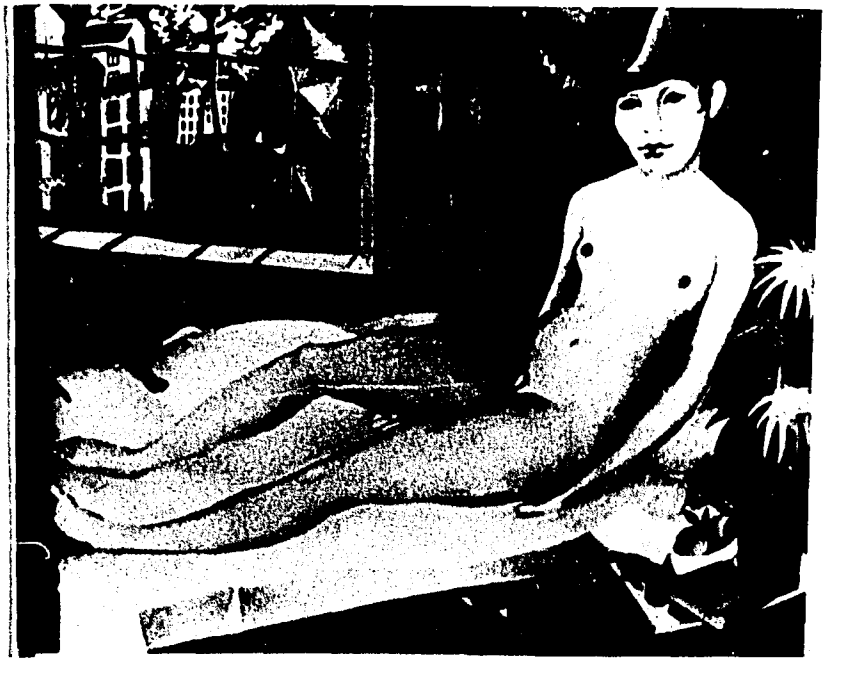


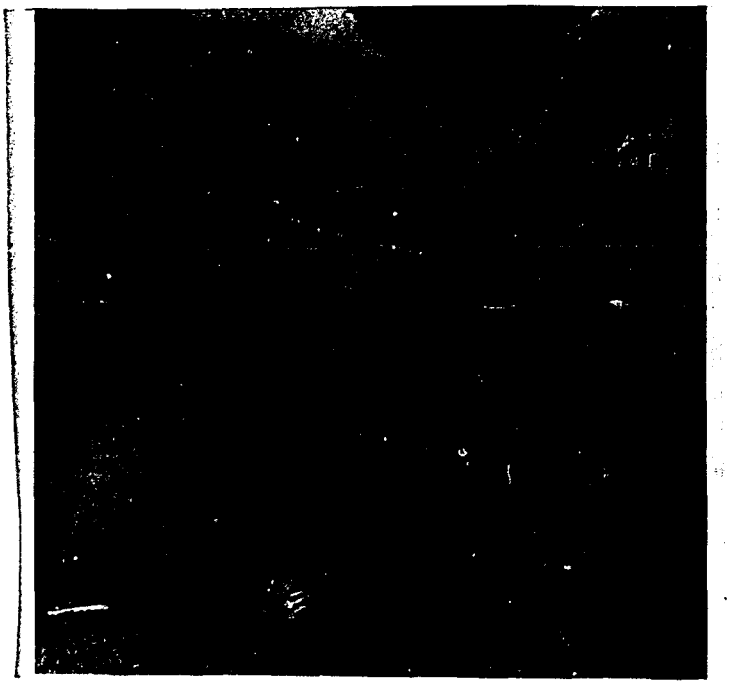
86. Ubaldo Oppi, Self-Portrait with Wife, 1920.



87. Davringhausen, The General, 1917.

88. Davringhausen, The Sex Murderer, 1917.

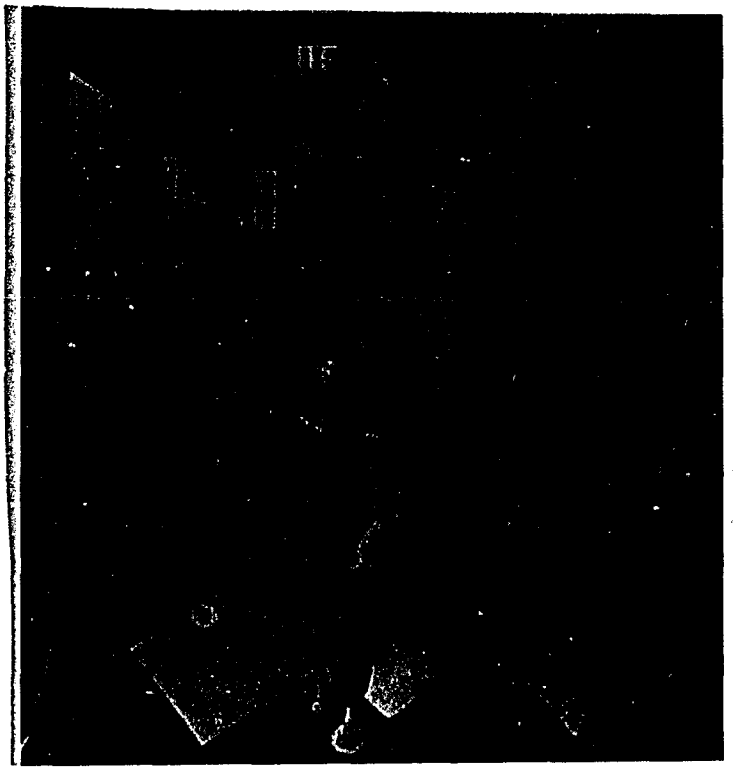




89. Davringhausen, The Dreamer II, 1919.

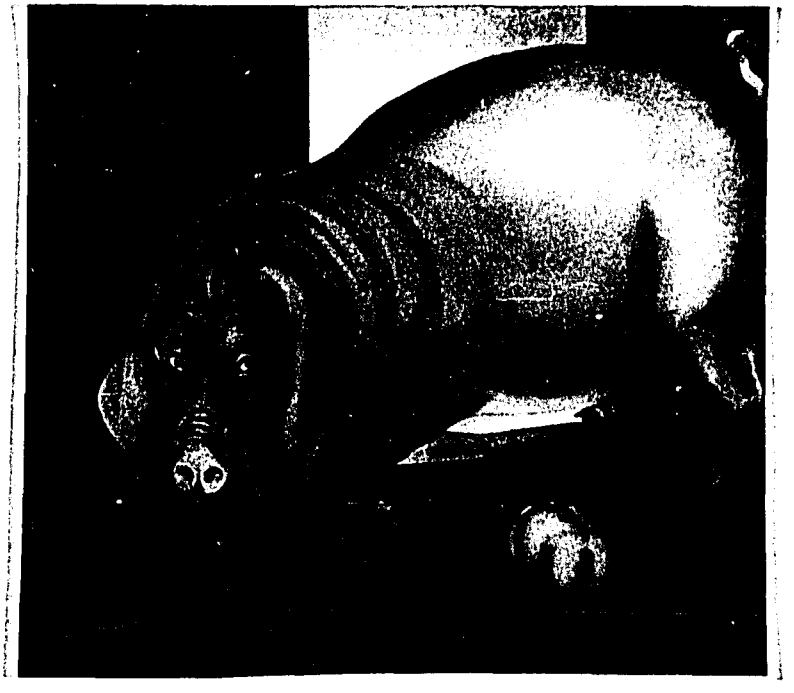


90. Davringhausen, The Head, ca. 1920.



91. Davringhausen, The Profiteer, 1921.

92. Davringhausen, Sunday Morning, 1922.



below left
93. Walterowna von Zur-Muehlen, Dolce compagno, 1920.

below
94. Walterowna von Zur-Muehlen, Il suo paese nativo, 1920.



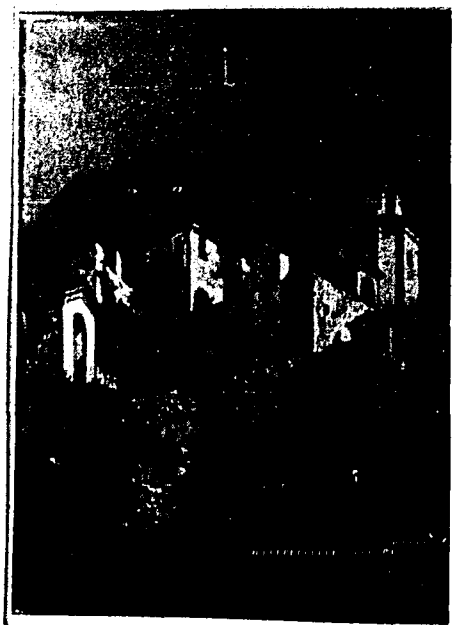




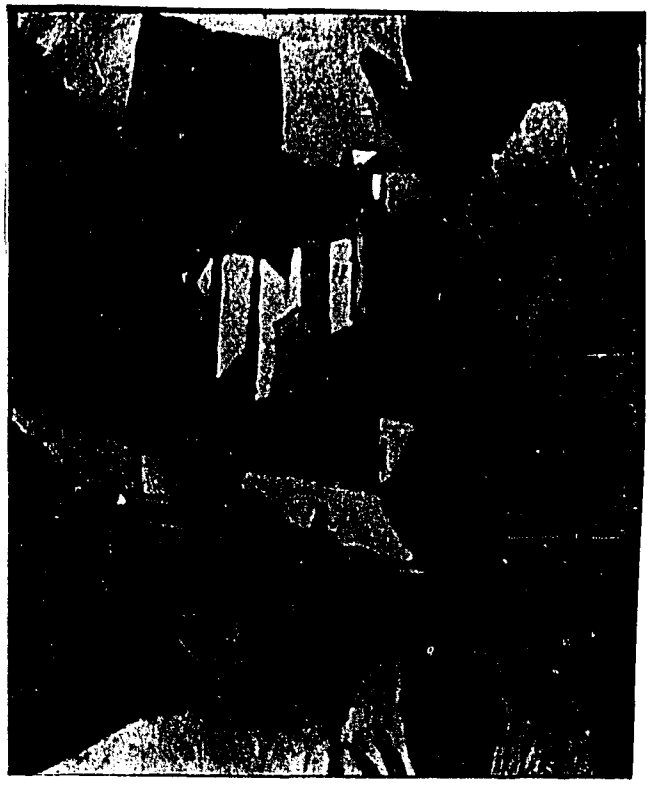
95. Parzinger, from Children in the Afternoon, 1921.



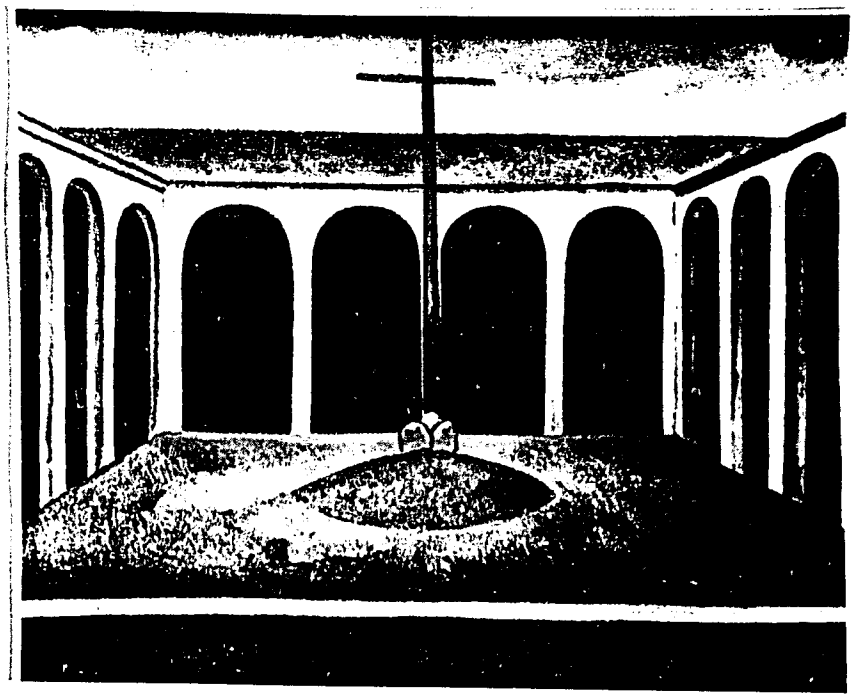
96. Carrà, The Oval of Apparitions, 1918.



97. Edmund Kanoldt, Sta. Maria della Pace, Nobiallo, 1889.



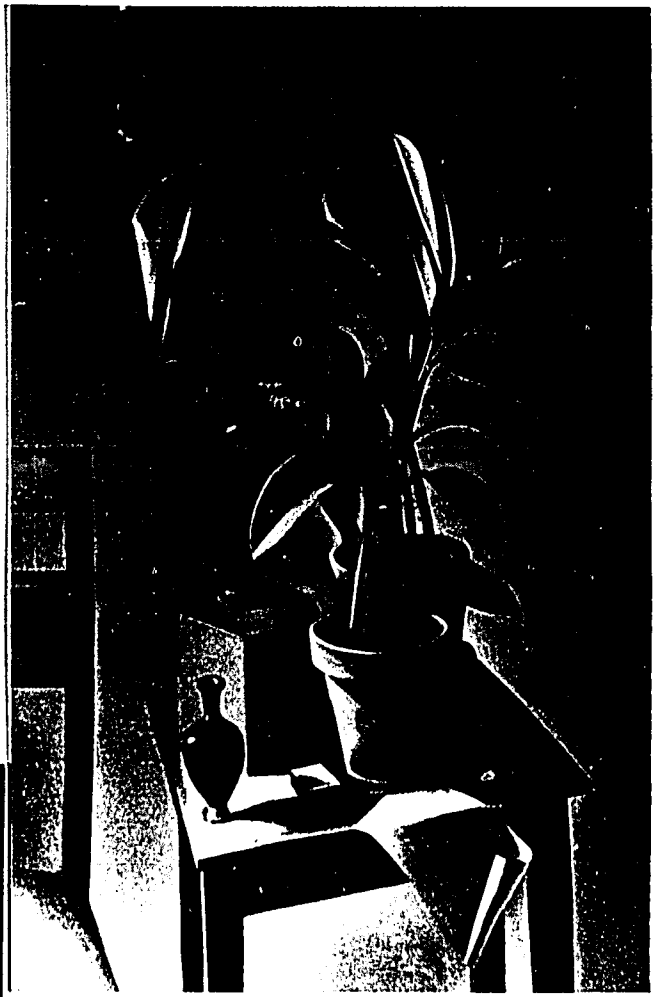
98. Kanoldt, Clausen, 1911.



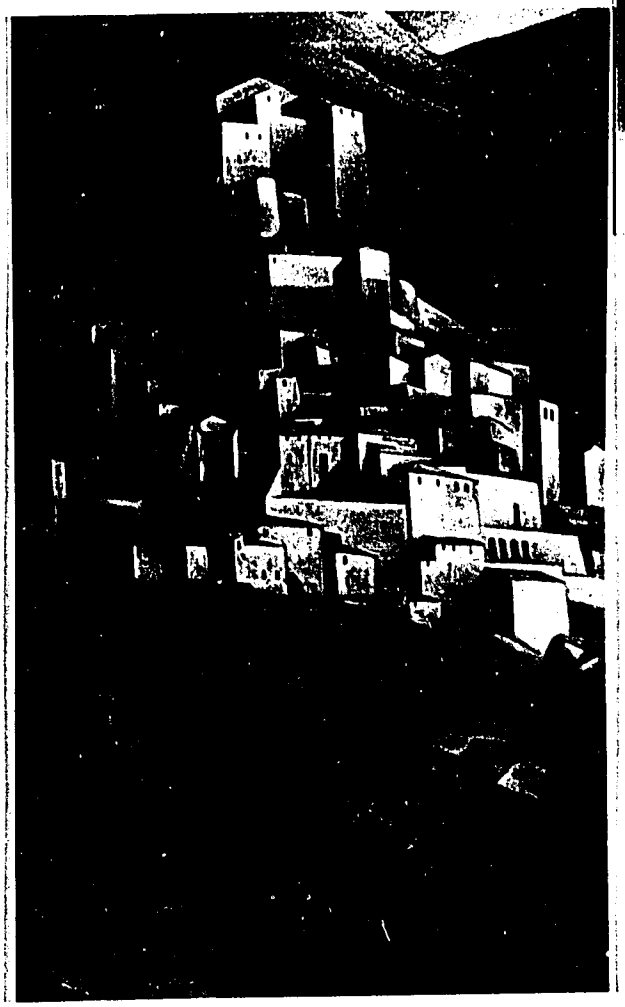
99. Kanoldt, Cloister I, 1913.



100. Kanoldt, Still Life XI, 1920.



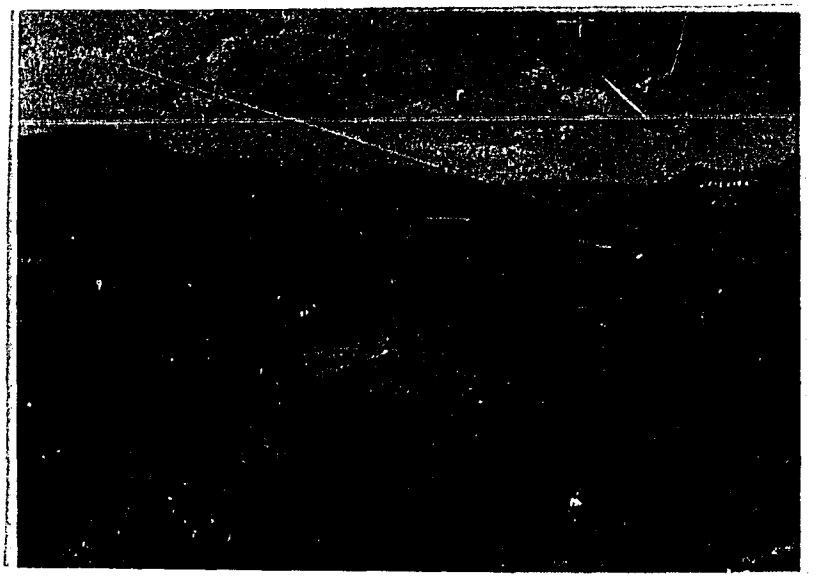
101. Kanoldt, Still Life V, 1922.



102. Kanoldt, Subiaco, 1924.



103. Schrimpf, Still Life, 1924.



104. Johann Wilhelm Schirmer, The Geroldsauer Valley near Baden-Baden, Early Morning, 1855.

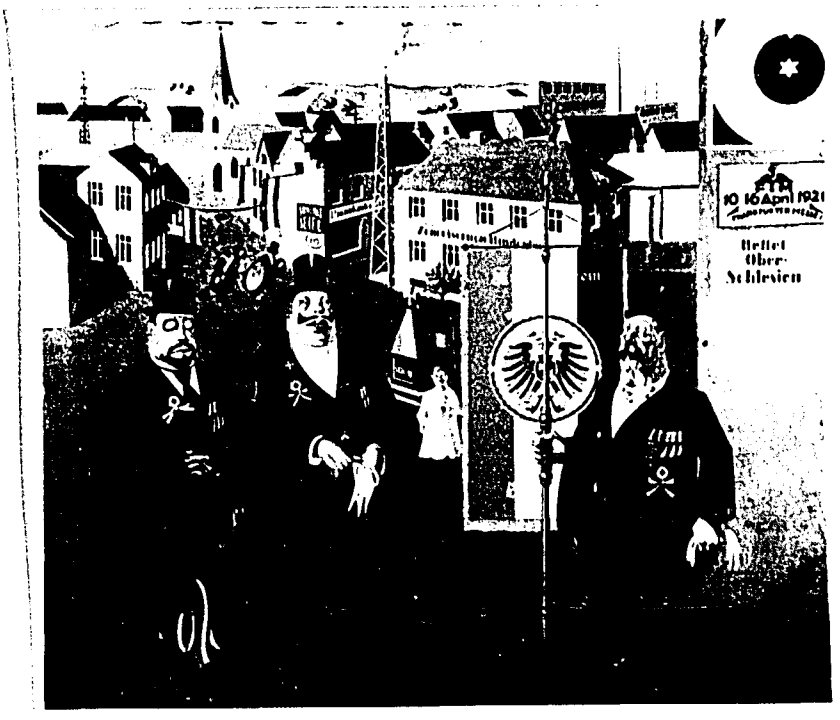
105. Scholz, Industry Farmers (lithograph), 1920.





106. Scholz, Newspaper Carriers, 1921.

107. Scholz, Veterans Society, 1921-22.





108. Scholz, Small Town by Day, 1922-23.

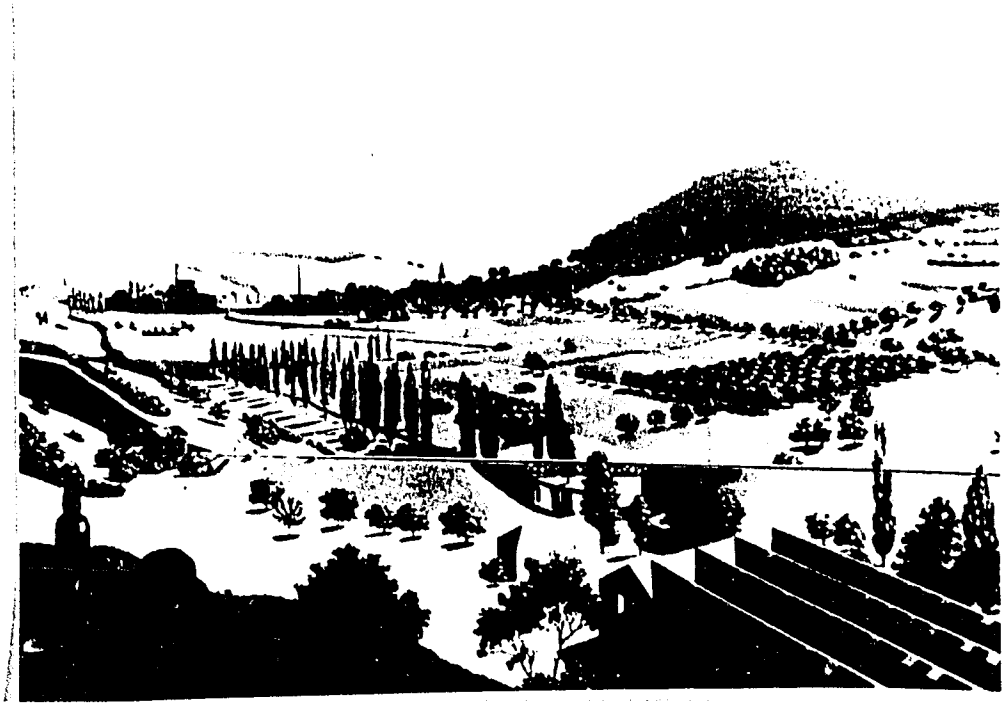


109. Scholz, Small Town by Night, 1923.



110. Scholz, Portrait of the Banker Kahnheimer, 1923.

111. Scholz, Landscape near Berghausen, 1924.

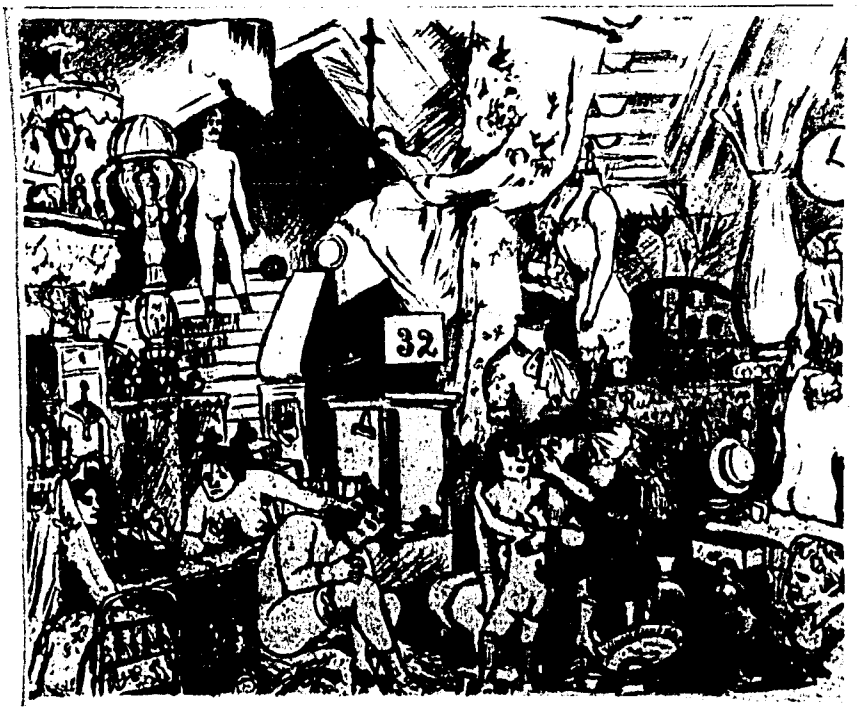




112. Hubbuch, The Invalid, 1919.

113. Hubbuch, War, 1921.





114. Hubbuch, The Dream of the Tit-Girls, 1921-22.

115. Hubbuch, Jannowitzbrücke, Berlin, 1922.





116. Hubbuch, Herr Stresemann and the Piece of Pumpernickel Bread, 1923.

117. Hubbuch, Duck Thieves, 1924.





118. Schnarrenberger, Old Men Strolling, 1922.



119. Schnarrenberger, Portrait of an Architect, 1923.



120. Beckmann, Portrait of Friedel Battenberg, 1920.

121. Beckmann, Portrait of Minne-Tube, 1924.

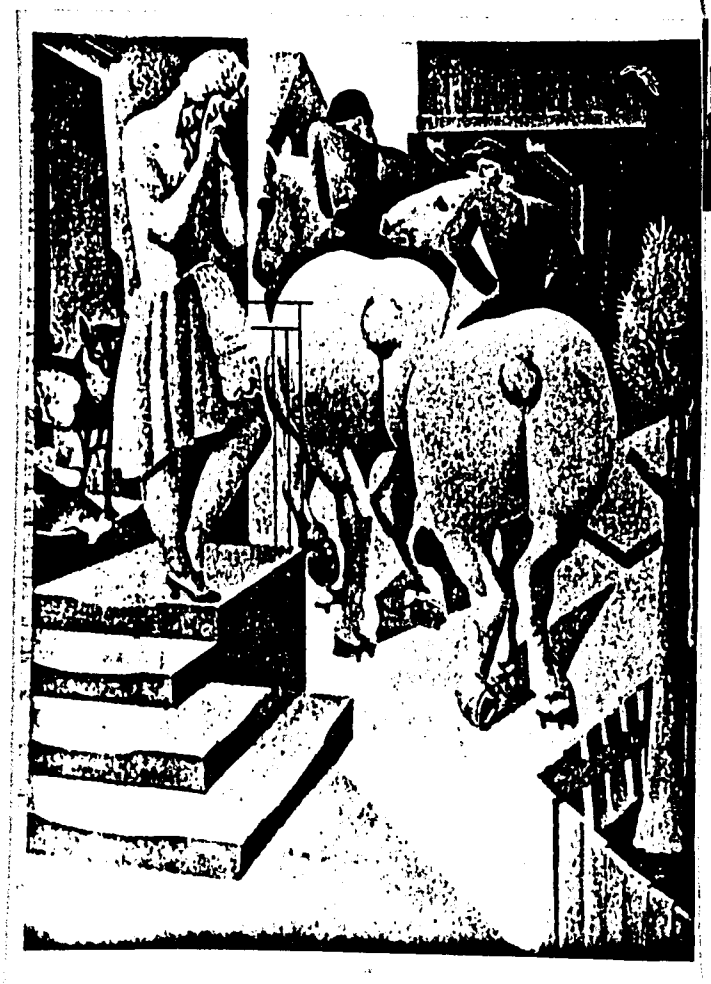




122. Dörries, Woman in Black, 1920.



123. Nebel, Girls on the Balcony, 1923.

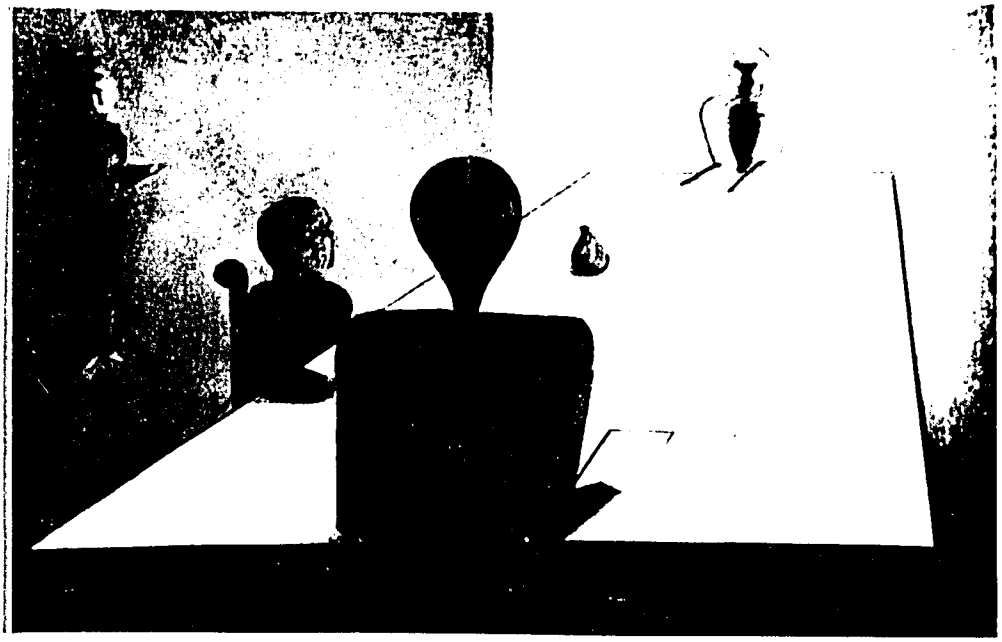


124. Nebel, Suburb, 1923.



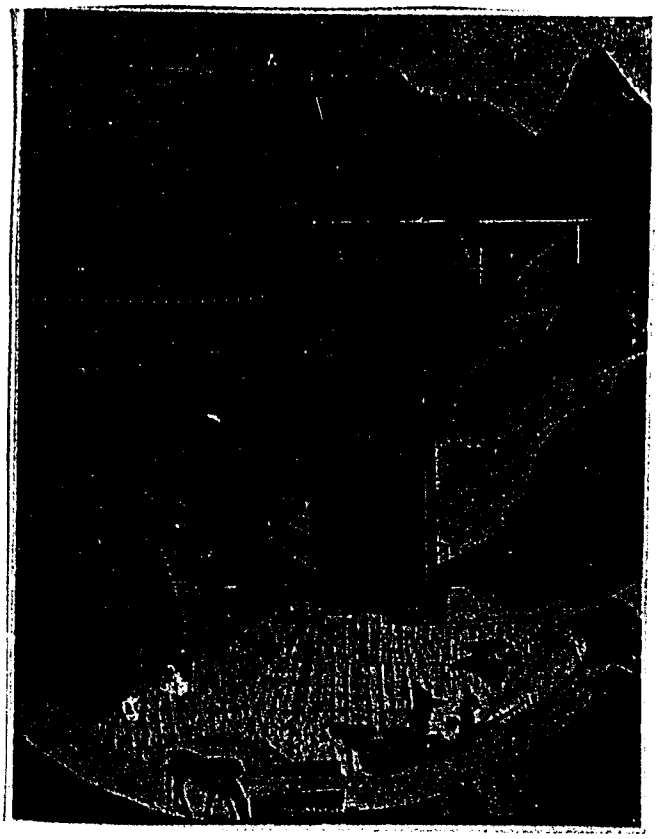
125. Radziwill, First They Saw a Town, 1924.

126. Schlemmer, Supper Party, 1923.

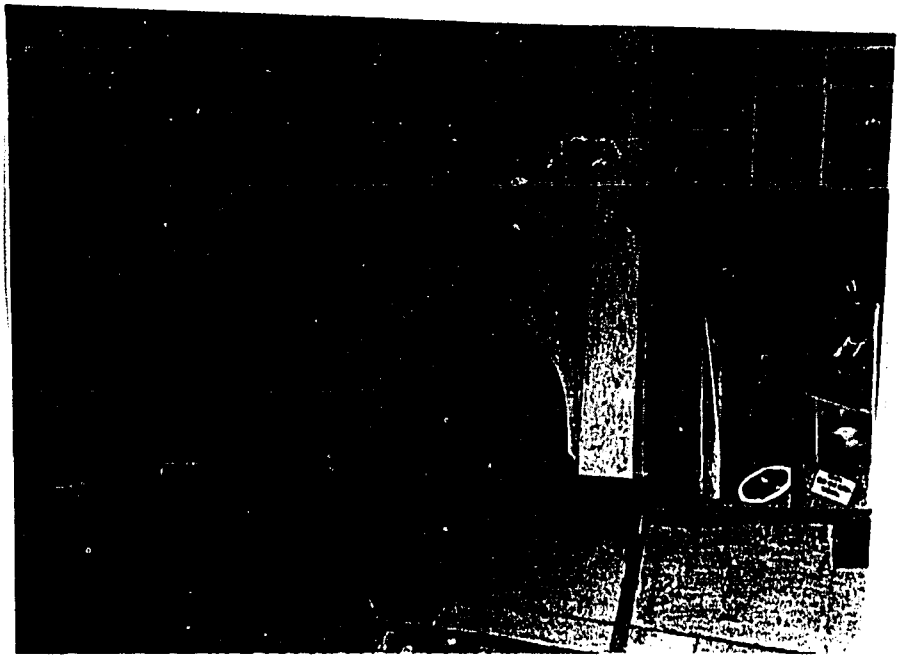




127. Spies, The Ice Skaters, 1922.

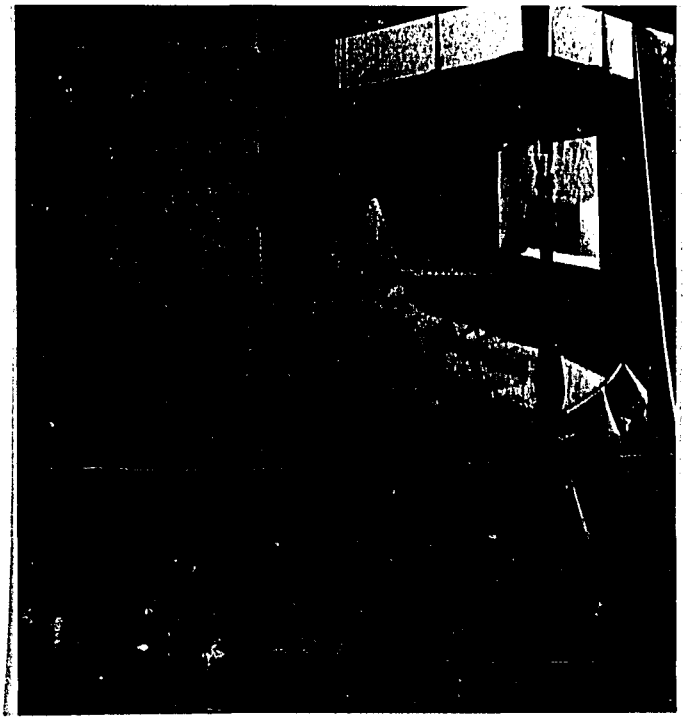


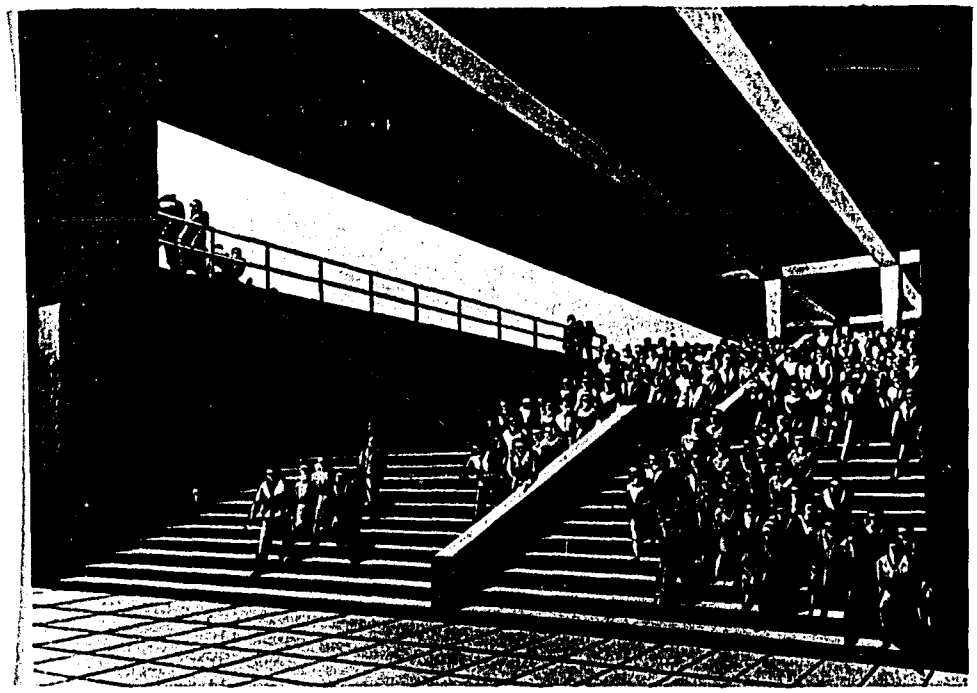
128. Stöcklin, Casa Rossa, 1917.



129. Stöcklin, Rhenish Street, 1917.

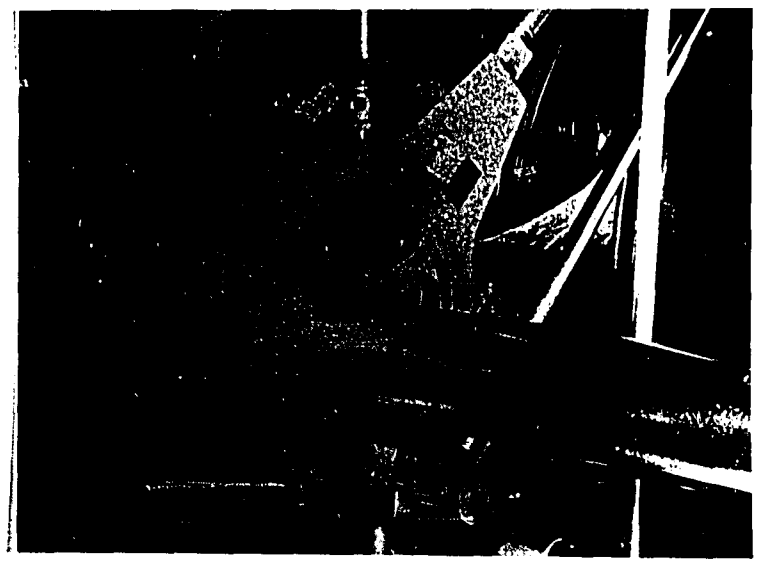
130. Stöcklin, Presentation, 1922.





131. Völker, Railroad Station, 1924.

132. Renger-Patsch, Camshaft of a Steam Engine, 1927.





133. Aereboe, The Red Jacket, 1924.





134. Birkle, Portrait of Spindler, 1921.

135. Brockmann, Pissoir, 1922.



136. Burmann, Frau Biene from Worpswede, 87 Years Old, 1923.



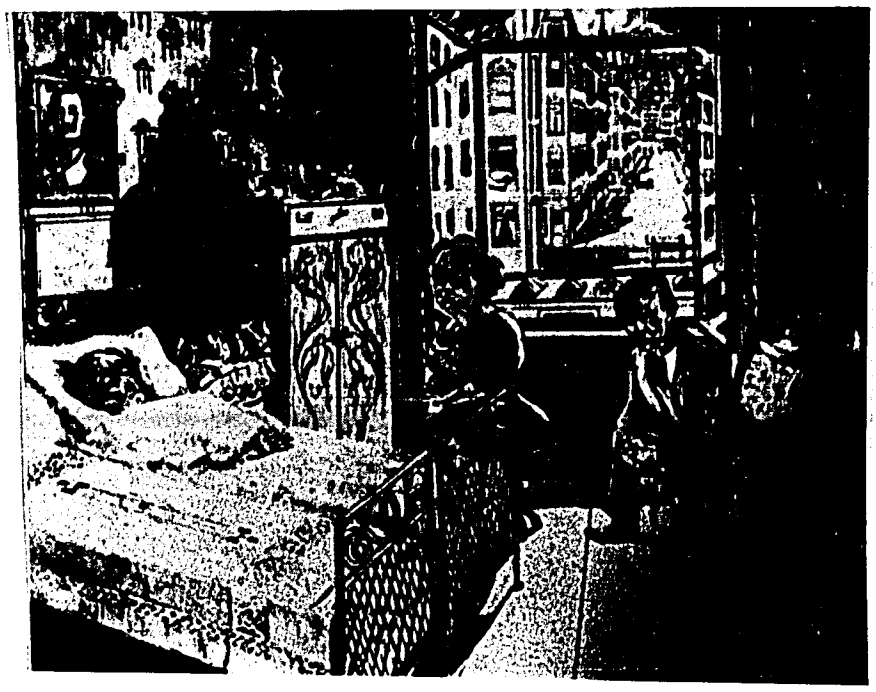
137. Dressler, Bathroom, 1923.



138. Fritsch, Tiergarten Bridge, 1923.

139. Holtz, Armed Workers on the Street, 1920.

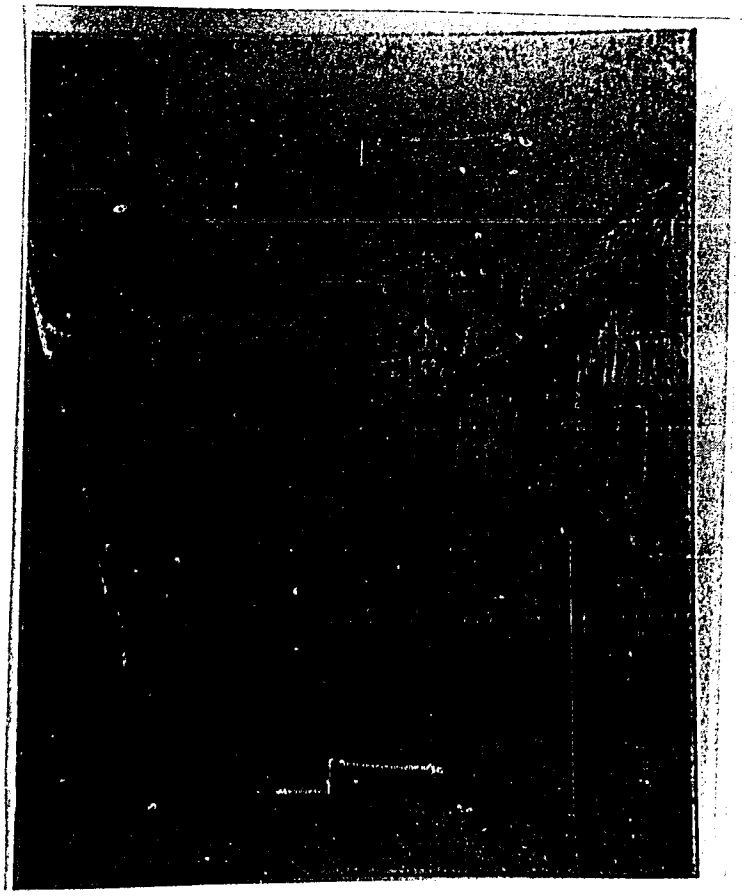




140. Kretschmar, The Death of Secretary Krüger, 1921.

141. Küpper, Anno 1923, 1923.





142. Meidner, Street in Bernstadt, 1922.