



GROUP DYNAMICS

The Blue Rider

The artists from the Blue Rider circle regarded art as a universal language. Their creed was: “The whole work, called art, knows no boundaries or nations, only humanity.” In their *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, they reproduced a wide variety of works in dialogue. The vision of an equality of the arts of all peoples was groundbreaking for their time, and yet it remained constrained by the colonial world order preceding the First World War. For the first time, the Lenbachhaus is presenting the art of the Blue Rider in the context laid out in the almanac: Bavarian and Russian folk art, Japanese woodcuts, children’s drawings, contemporary music, and a variety of works from Bali, Gabon, Oceania, Sri Lanka, Mexico, and Egypt.

This vivid presentation explores the manifold relationships and gives attention not only to well-known “main figures” such as Kandinsky, Münter, Marc, Macke, and Klee, but also to important fellow artists such as Elisabeth Epstein, Maria Franck-Marc, Arnold Schoenberg, and Alexander Sakharoff.

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Group Dynamics

The Blue Rider

Lenbachhaus

Group Dynamics The Blue Rider

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A Word of Welcome
from the
Kulturstiftung des Bundes

This exhibition catalogue constitutes both the centerpiece and heart of a three-stage critical review process to which the Lenbachhaus is submitting its own collection history. Stage one consisted of a lavish reprint of the 1912 almanac, *Der Blaue Reiter*; stage two reconstructs the complex “group dynamics” of the legendary *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* NKVM (New Artists’ Association Munich) that lay behind it; and at stage three the Lenbachhaus will investigate what has distinguished the working methods of modernism’s artistic collectives and the influence they exercise.

In traveling this path, the research project is doubly radical. On the one hand it deals with the historical roots of the Blue Rider, whose works no other museum can display in such unmatched quality and quantity. On the other, the Lenbachhaus is espousing a new, globally oriented approach to the writing of art history—an approach beyond all allegiances to a Western system of art, and one that casts new light on those alternative avant-gardes we have yet to encounter outside the canon and the continent of Europe. With this opening up, the question arises how such “multiple modernisms” can be collected, displayed, and researched from manifold perspectives.

As for fascination with stimuli from outside Europe, in the case of the Blue Rider the door already seems to have stood wide open in 1912: “Opposites and contradictions—that is our harmony,” Kandinsky declared in his manifesto, *On the Spiritual in Art*. This bold conflation of divergent elements was not just a feature of the “group dynamic” awakenings between Munich, Murnau, and the Maghreb; calculated dichotomy seems to have been one of the editors’ maxims for the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac. It was a channel that brought together participants and materials from various realms and eras: glass paintings alongside wood carvings, beside children’s drawings and masks from Cameroon, alongside scores of songs by Arnold Schoenberg. Though the leitmotif may have been protest against the academicism prevalent at the time, the political impulse behind these assemblages was emancipatory: for example, women artists, whom academies were still forbidding to matriculate, were afforded exposure, as were folk art and art by children, whose creative wilfulness had been taken up by the progressive educational movement.

From a modern standpoint, this exhibition catalogue likewise shows that the abolition of aesthetic boundaries also had its limits: women who painted (and there were many of them) seem to have counted, for the Blue Rider, primarily as “natural talents,” with no standing of their own on the art market; children remained as anonymous as the peasants in the Russian provinces, remembered by Kandinsky mainly as “flecks of color on two legs.”

The artists’ engagement with a multiplicity of ethnographica—from Benin bronzes to Chinese painting—was also molded by that “exclusive inclusivity” (as Susanne Leeb terms it) of the perspective engendered by colonial rule, in which on the one hand the “primitive” assumed an aura, while on the other the historical idiosyncracies and contemporaneity of its producers bear hardly any weight.

In line with this contemporary subject, the Lenbachhaus is setting new benchmarks for interrogating its collection with this exhibition project, developing its facilities for outreach work, engaging diaspora groups in the civic community in museum work, and demonstrating that the “Group Dynamics” title has not simply been coined to denote the historical emergence of the Blue Rider, but can also be understood as a positive self-description of an institution in transition. The Kulturstiftung des Bundes is glad and grateful for the determination and foresight with which the Lenbachhaus has tackled this exhibition project in the context of our program “*Museum Global—Sammlungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in globaler Perspektive*” (Global Museum—Twentieth-Century Collections from a Global Perspective). We would like to thank the entire team under the direction of Matthias Mühling with Annegret Hoberg and Anna Straetmans, and wish further explorations of their own as well as modernist collectives worldwide much success and a large audience.

Hortensia Völckers

Artistic Director

Kirsten Haß

Administrative Director

Foreword and Thanks

“The whole work, called art, knows no boundaries or nations, only humanity,” Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky wrote in 1912 in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac. The programmatic yearbook established the Blue Rider as one of the first transnational movements in twentieth-century European art. This credo inspired us at the Lenbachhaus to consider the work of the artists involved not only in aesthetic and historical terms, but to give it a fresh and unprejudiced look within its intellectual, social, and political contexts. The circle of the Blue Rider advocated the utopia of a “universal” art not only with words, but also with pictures and deeds. Trapped in the time of the colonial world order before the First World War, however, the group did not succeed in carrying through an emancipatory artistic practice beyond national affiliation and traditional genres and hierarchies.

Still, the idea pursued in the almanac of granting equal status to all cultural production is a striking one. For that reason, we want it to be fundamental—however contradictory—to this exhibition project. The implementation of such utopian ideas as the ones we find in the texts and the selection of images in the almanac has defined the concept of the exhibition: artworks from different eras and regions of the world are set side by side in a broadly equitable way. Within this pluralism of forms and ideas there lies the truly modern element of the Blue Rider, the one that remains contemporary even today. For the new presentation of the collection, this means that the work of the artists within the group’s circle is rooted within the context of a broad narrative of artistic and cultural history that starts with the character, both vivid and ideal, of the almanac. The many connections that the Blue Rider has with, for example, woodblock prints, Bavarian and Russian folk art, children’s drawings, contemporary music, and art from places such as Bali, Gabon, Polynesia, New Caledonia, Sri Lanka, and Mexico are presented extensively with reference to precisely selected, high-quality loans. Aside from this, the exhibition and catalogue project questions the reception of the Blue Rider which has long prevailed even at the Lenbachhaus, casting a critical light upon it and sometimes relating its story in a new and different way.

For some years, discourse within the area of visual art has increasingly tended to draw attention to developments in modern and contemporary art that cannot be located in Europe. In future, too, non-Western players—artists, curators and theorists—will help to shape museum practices and fundamentally revise their still predominant Eurocentric narratives. Against this backdrop the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (Federal Cultural Foundation), with its “Museum Global” program, has sponsored projects of the Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen

Düsseldorf, the Nationalgalerie-Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, the MMK Museum for Modern Art Frankfurt am Main, and the Lenbachhaus in Munich to view their collections of modern art from a global perspective and, by doing so, reflect critically on their own collecting history. The worldwide networks of relationships between people, artistic trends, and objects that have been largely neglected within the current narrative of modern art, are to be made visible. It is not, however, merely a matter of revealing gaps in the history of the collection—our goal is to develop a new and complex picture of the collections in question and stimulate a discussion about the future of the museum as an institution. Since 2017, many years of work and research have led to new presentations of the collections of all four museums, both permanent and special collections. Common to all the exhibitions is the fact that the museum’s own holdings are at the center, and connections with non-Western artistic production are sought on that basis.

In the Lenbachhaus, the Federal Cultural Foundation has found a partner in this cause which has addressed the task with pleasure, since we view the exploration and reevaluation of the most important area of our collection—the Blue Rider—as a great responsibility of the museum. We are now presenting the first results in the exhibition *Group Dynamics—The Blue Rider*. This will be followed in October 2021 by a second exhibition, *Group Dynamics—Collectives of the Modernist Period*, in which we see, for the first time in the museum’s history, the significant collection of the art of the Blue Rider placed in the context of modern artists’ collectives around the world. From about 1900 onwards, we can observe a surprising abundance of collective processes and the establishment of groups of artists who formulated shared aesthetic attitudes in their exhibitions and writings, as well as their intention to introduce intellectual and social changes. An analysis of the phenomena of the artistic collective and group dynamics allows us to discuss such categories as authorship and artistic autonomy. In this way art as a communal process and intense debate moves to the center!

The work on the exhibitions *Group Dynamics—the Blue Rider* and *Collectives of the Modernist Period* has changed the Lenbachhaus from the very first day. Our sincerest and warmest thanks—not least in the name of the City of Munich—go out first of all to the Federal Cultural Foundation, particularly to its artistic director Hortensia Völckers, the administrative director Kirsten Haß, and the former administrative director Alexander Farenholtz. Without the motivation of the Foundation’s initiative, sponsorship, critical support, and international networks we would not have been able to assume and implement this task. As well as for its sponsorship,

we are particularly grateful to the Federal Cultural Foundation for giving us an encouraging echo chamber, taking part in our intense discussions, and giving us critical companionship. Here we should particularly like to thank, as well as those mentioned above, Uta Schnell, Friederike Tappe-Hornbostel, Stephanie Regenbrecht, and Lutz Nitsche.

One lasting outcome of the project is a fundamental change to our perspective on the Blue Rider and the so-called avant-garde or modern art. The Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, based in the Lenbachhaus, administers the painter's extensive legacy of art works and documents of the Blue Rider. There has been an intense collaboration between the two institutions for six decades, manifested in countless exhibitions, publications and international collaborations. The Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation has an extensive archive of historical sources such as the lengthy correspondence between Münter and Kandinsky, so that the history of the Blue Rider can be told time and again based on this privileged access to primary sources. This unique combination of foundation archive and museum has so far produced a "first hand" account of the Blue Rider. The project *Group Dynamics—The Blue Rider* also falls within this tradition, calls upon the encyclopedic knowledge produced by several generations—and would still like to undertake a now necessary source critique, approaching the traditional narrative of the Blue Rider with critical distance. In a major rereading of the academic and art-historical reception of the Blue Rider and an equally comprehensive review of the collected objects in the stores and archives of the Lenbachhaus and the Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation we left many supposed certainties behind us. We devoted critical attention not only to our working method but also to the way in which we address our visitors. Even our acquisition policy has changed, because important acquisitions could be made thanks to the vital momentum supplied by the project.

We are particularly proud of the fact that the Lenbachhaus and the Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation are now the owners of the only paintings by Elisabeth Epstein from the time of the Blue Rider. Kandinsky had bought her self-portrait from the legendary *First Exhibition of the Editorial Board of the Blue Rider* in 1911 for his personal collection. It is believed to have disappeared. Now we have been able to buy two other, related self-portraits by Epstein from the same year, the presentation of which amounts to a small sensation within the exhibition project. We have also been able to purchase major works by Maria Franck-Marc, previously a grievous gap in our collection. In particular, the watercolor *Tanzende Schafe* (Dancing Sheep) from the *Second Exhibition of the*

Editorial Board of the Blue Rider has a central place in the new presentation. We should also mention the acquisition of a first work by Wilhelm Morgner for the Lenbachhaus, August Macke's *Kinder am Brunnen II* (Children at the Well II) from 1911 and Marianne von Werefkin's outstanding 1910 painting *In die Nacht hinein* (Into the Night). The Förderverein Lenbachhaus e.V. (Friends of the Lenbachhaus) supported these purchases or transacted them on behalf of the Lenbachhaus, and for this we are very grateful. For over twenty-five years the Förderverein has, dependably and with great dedication, supported the museum's activities: purchases, exhibitions, publications, equipment, and educational programs. The close friendship both with members and with the board of directors has also made this project possible.

The acquisitions mentioned above have made a considerable contribution to the retelling of the story of the Blue Rider. But a comprehensive account would not have been possible without further loans. For that reason, we thank the Franz Marc Museum in Kochel and its director Cathrin Klingsöhr-Leroy for making available to us valuable East Asian prints directly connected with the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac and the Blue Rider exhibitions of 1911 and 1912. We wish to thank Uta Werlich and the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich for generously agreeing to lend us outstanding works that demonstrate the Blue Rider's connections with ethnographic objects from various parts of the world. We should also like to thank the curators Hilke Thode-Arora and Michaela Appel for their help and advice with regard to our treatment of the objects, as well as providing archive material and writing the texts that have allowed our exhibition guide to become a readable and informative publication. We would also like to thank Frauke von der Haar and her colleagues at the Münchner Stadtmuseum for the impressive shadow-theater figure that features in one of the few color illustrations in the almanac. We are very grateful to Sandra Uhrig and the Schloßmuseum Murnau for kindly allowing us to show two portfolios of valuable Japanese woodblock prints from the estate of Franz Marc for the duration of the exhibition. Our warmest thanks to Kathrin Elvers-Svamberk and the Saarland Museum, Moderne Galerie, for permission to show a rarely loaned work by Heinrich Campendonk, which was shown at the first Blue Rider exhibition and was thus indispensable to this presentation. We are grateful to Annette Werntze and the Wilhelm Morgner Museum in Soest for the loan of a print by Wilhelm Morgner, which was illustrated in the almanac and also shown in the second Blue Rider exhibition. Our thanks to Ulrike Hammad, director of the Faber-Castell Collection, for her collegial loan of a characteristic drawing by Alfred Kubin,

also reproduced in the almanac. We are also greatly obliged to Angelika Möser and Therese Muxeneder of the Arnold Schoenberg Center in Vienna, as a Blue Rider exhibition without the works of Arnold Schoenberg is unthinkable; Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc admired the composer and painter and included his works in a number of different ways in the Blue Rider program. We wish to thank the Historical Museum, Bern, and particularly Gudrun Föttinger and Alban von Stockhausen, for the extremely generous loan of central works illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, and of which August Macke had photographs taken. Their scientific advice on matters of ethnological terminology and the presentation of the objects was helpful and generous. Alban von Stockhausen and Samuel Bachmann also contributed texts about the works to our exhibition guide. We would like to thank Bernard Blistène and Angela Lampe at the Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne, for lending key works by Henri Rousseau and Natalia Goncharova, which were not only shown in the exhibitions of the Blue Rider but also in Kandinsky's private collection all his life. Angela Lampe also showed great dedication in replying to our concerns and questions. We are most grateful to Laurence des Cars, Elise Bauduin, and the Musées d'Orsay et de l'Orangerie, Paris, for an important work by Henri Rousseau, illustrated in the almanac and now presented in the central room of our exhibition. We are very grateful once again to Richard Armstrong and Tracey Bashkoff at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, for putting at our disposal the outstanding painting by Robert Delaunay for the duration of at least a year. This generous loan once again marks the collegial relationship between our two institutions, which have supported one another time and again with their similar collections.

We should also like to give our warmest thanks to the private lenders who do not wish to be named and on whose support we have relied, in some cases for decades.

The fact that such a varied range of loans and items from the collection can be shown together in a conceptually and aesthetically convincing way we owe to the exhibition design of Juliette Israël. The house in Murnau and Gabriele Münter's painting *Kandinsky und Erma Bossi am Tisch* (Kandinsky and Erma Bossi at the Table), 1912, provided the unifying idea of the bower or the corner of the dining room as a group-dynamic chatting area that brings the various artists, cultures, manifestations, and opinions together "at a single table."

We would like to thank Anna Cairns and Flo Gaertner (magma design studio) for the design concept of the exhibition and the catalogue. Inspired by the design of the 1912 almanac, they developed a graphic timetable that combined concision

and complexity. For including the catalogue in its publishing program we would like to thank Hatje Cantz, with Nicola von Velsen and particularly Richard Viktor Hagemann, who has expertly managed the project on the part of the publishing house. Thanks also to Piper Verlag in Munich, and especially to Marco Krönfeld, who produced a new facsimile edition of the almanac, so that for the first time in many years the almanac is available once again in its original layout and the bibliophilic version that remains an inspiration even today. The new edition of the almanac was also made possible with the support of the Federal Cultural Foundation.

Along with the Chair of Theory and History of Architecture, Art, and Design in the Department of Architecture at the Technical University, Munich, we launched the public investigation of the theme of our project. With Sarah Hegenbarth, to whom we are greatly indebted, we developed the lecture series *Perspectives in Plural: Collaborating Cultures, Negotiating Identities*. We were delighted that Kristian Handberg, Kerstin Pinther, Jeff Bowersox, Thomas Thiemeyer, Viola König, Antje Krause-Wahl, Camille Varenne, Pascale Obolo, and Lilia Youssefi accepted our invitation to speak in Munich.

Our warm thanks to Daniela Stöppel for her idea of critically examining the history of the Blue Rider in a seminar at the Institute of Art History at the Ludwig Maximilians University in Munich. We are also grateful to the students at that seminar for their frank reflections and impassioned debates. On the initiative of Burcu Dogramaci (Institute of Art History, Ludwig Maximilians University Munich) the lecture series *Modern Times: New Perspectives on Modern Art and the Canon of Art History* was also held in the spring of 2019, a canon-critical project that sat perfectly with the questions we were asking. For their inspiring discussion we thank Burcu Dogramaci, Susanne Leeb, Anselm Franke, Gregor Langfeld, and Änne Söll.

One major inspiration with regard to the theme of "group dynamics" was the symposium *Collectives of the Modernist Period* in the spring of 2020, which had to be moved at short notice to the digital arena because of the worldwide COVID-19 pandemic. Our dialogue with the speakers, which has continued until today, has been an inspiration to us throughout the project. For their valuable contributions we thank Samina Iqbal and Zehra Jumabhoy, Carol Yinghua Lu, Morad Montazami, Harper Montgomery, Noriko Murai, Lena Naumann, Teresa Riccardi, Nada Shabout, and Aihe Wang.

One major collaborator on the project is the Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation. The holdings of the Lenbachhaus and the Foundation have never been presented together

so comprehensively. Important works and documents shown in the exhibition have been introduced from the Foundation's collections and archive. The project also owes much of its appeal to the illuminating research and extensive work by the foundation's staff. Our very special thanks go out to the manager and curator Isabelle Jansen and her two assistants Maite Ruge and Carmen Kühnert. We would also like to thank the directorial board of the Foundation, Beatrix Burkhardt, Sabine Helms, and Hans-Werner Hürholz, who were particularly helpful when making the necessary decisions involved in the purchase of a work by Elisabeth Epstein. This exhibition project is clear evidence of the benefits for the public that come from the Lenbachhaus and the Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation pooling their resources. Thanks to the founder herself, Gabriele Münter, and her life companion, the art historian Johannes Eichner, are more necessary than ever. Neither must we forget the instigator of this construct, Hans Konrad Roethel, director of the Lenbachhaus from 1956 until 1971, without whose commitment the Lenbachhaus as the museum of the Blue Rider would be unimaginable. We are therefore just as committed to preserving the memory of all those mentioned as we are to ensuring that the potential of common efforts between the Lenbachhaus and the Foundation remains visible, and to secure it for the future.

The conservation studio team has accomplished a huge task with great scientific know-how and pragmatic creativity. The task of conserving all the archive materials and artworks and preparing them in a presentable way was a challenge in itself, not least because many of the objects are being shown for the first time. Added to this was the responsibility of looking after the highly sensitive international loans. Warm thanks, then, to Iris Winkelmeyer, Bianca Albrecht, Isa Päßgen, Daniel Oggenfuss, and Franziska Motz for their enthusiastic engagement. Sarah Bock, Melanie Wittchow, and Lisa Kern not only contributed texts about the works to our accompanying booklet, but also helped us with the captions in the plate section by painstakingly identifying the provenance of each individual work. They also checked the provenance of the art works in the exhibition as part of a "first check," and also gave some of the works a more detailed examination with extensive research. For the catalogue, Ernst Jank and Simone Gänzheimer took pictures of the many works that had never previously been photographed. Our operations section, directed by Andreas Hofstett and Stefan Terhorst, provided the installation. The communication department, Claudia Weber, Valerie Maul, Beate Lanzinger, Jacqueline Seeliger, and Juness Beshir delivered content to the people with a keen sense

of mission. Our colleagues in art education, Tanja Schomaker, Clara Laila Abid Alsstar, Charlotte Coosemans, and Diana Schuster, along with a team of independent experts in the field, produced a rich and sophisticated program and developed a set of critical tools, which not only convey information about the exhibition but also draw attention to the contradictions of our institution and the production of knowledge in general. We are also grateful to the staff of the Tool-Gruppe, the Third Space and the youth advisory board of the Lenbachhaus. All aspects of the project were tendered, calculated, and financially managed by our dependable colleagues in administration. For the masterful handling of the complex logistics involved in setting up the exhibition and organizing the transports of international loans under the complicated conditions of a global pandemic we thank our registrar's department, particularly its team leader Stefan Kaltenbach and his colleagues Martine Dühr and Karola Rattner. As art-historical corrector of the texts, Vanessa Joan Müller was central to the exhibition project in her critical and supportive reading of our findings, and for that we owe her our great thanks.

We thus owe the exhibition and the catalogue to the enthusiasm of many. We should stress that for the first time *all* the members of staff of the Lenbachhaus and the Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation have combined forces. So, our thanks first and foremost should go to the museum team, which has supported the complexity of the project with group-dynamic dedication, and will continue to do so. The overall *Group Dynamics* project was and is overseen by Karin Althaus. Clara Laila Abid Alsstar, Susanne Böller, Charlotte Coosemans, Sarah Louisa Henn, Eva Huttenlauch, Martina Oberprantacher, Sebastian Schneider, Tanja Schomaker, Diana Schuster, and Stephanie Weber are involved in the development of both content and art education.

Annegret Hoberg and Anna Straetmans, as my co-curators, are responsible for the exhibition and catalogue of *Group Dynamics—The Blue Rider*. Their tireless dedication and grace under pressure have united science and imagination into an inventive and narratively complex exhibition. The entire Lenbachhaus is indebted to their commitment.

Matthias Mühling

Director
Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus
und Kunstbau, Munich

Group Dynamics—The Blue Rider

Matthias Mühling

On December 2, 1911, Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc and Gabriele Münter announced that they were quitting the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* (NKVM, New Artists' Association Munich). Only two weeks after this bombshell, they held a counter-exhibition in the Thannhauser Gallery in Munich and showed, alongside their own work, pieces by August Macke, Heinrich Campendonk, Robert Delaunay, Jean Bloé Niestlé, Elisabeth Epstein, Albert Bloch, David and Vladimir Burliuk, Arnold Schoenberg, Eugen von Kahler and Henri Rousseau. The title *Die 1. Ausstellung der Redaktion Der Blaue Reiter* (*The First Exhibition of the Editorial Board of The Blue Rider*) referred explicitly to the plan for the almanac (published in 1912), a programmatic annual with which the Blue Rider established itself as one of the first transnational artists' circles.

The story of the foundation of the Blue Rider as outlined here has been told often, and yet it leaves a lot of questions open. The most important is: What was the Blue Rider? These days there are different answers to that question. So how can we describe this short-lived project of European "modern" art? Who and what was important? And why do we have such a fixed image of it in our head, and yet one so far from the historical reality?

Even just to establish who belonged to the Blue Rider and who did not is complicated. In the inner circle there were active personalities who were in close contact with one another, while in the wider circle there were only loose connections, which either became closer over time, or broke off again, or only ever existed via long-distance communication. The Blue Rider clearly defined itself through its editorial and journalistic activities, which were made manifest with the publication of the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac by Piper Verlag in May 1912. Previous to this, the *First Exhibition of the Editorial Board of the Blue Rider* had been held between December 18, 1911 and January 1, 1912; it would go on to tour Europe in a slightly altered form until the summer of 1914, and was shown in Cologne, Berlin, Bremen, Hagen, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Budapest, Oslo, Helsinki, Trondheim, and Göteborg. Even during the first *Blaue Reiter* exhibition, preparations were being made for the *2. Ausstellung der Redaktion Der Blaue Reiter. Schwarz-Weiß* (*Second Exhibition of the Editorial Board of the Blue Rider: Black and White*), which was put on at the Galerie Goltz in Munich between February 12 and April 2 of the same year. After these three central enterprises, however, the collective had only a few projects, many unrealized, before it broke up at the beginning of World War I in the summer of 1914. The project of a second volume of the almanac did not come to fruition, and neither did a planned publication of Bible illustrations. Participation in various exhibitions suggested that the

Blue Rider project remained alive, however. In the summer of 1912, some artists took part in the Cologne *Sonderbundausstellung* (Exhibition of the Special League), and Marc organized a so-called "*Exhibition of those Refused by the Sonderbund*" in the Berlin Der Sturm Gallery, which disputed the selection criteria of the Sonderbund. In 1913, Kandinsky and Marc took part in Herwarth Walden's *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* (First German Fall Salon), which means that exhibition projects of art-historical significance by the so-called pre-war avant-garde also have a loose connection with the Blue Rider. The exhibitions, along with the publication of the almanac with its various editions and reprints, attracted a huge amount of attention, and news of it was widely disseminated. If we add to that the varied reception, the countless international exhibition projects continuing to the present day, the research on central and peripheral themes of the Blue Rider, and the unabated popularity of their works, it becomes apparent that the success of this circle of artists extends far beyond the sequence of two exhibitions and a book.

Today, however, the background of the central figures is more likely to be central than the works or activities of those fourteen artists who took part in the first exhibition. The artistic biographies of some of the protagonists such as Kandinsky or Marc tend to overshadow the movements' other interesting and significant figures and ideas. Often this is due to a still-canonically-minded art history and the blind spots that it entails, supported by the interests of the art market. In many cases, however, it is also due to the participants themselves retrospectively distorting history and reinterpreting it from their own perspective. With his text "The Blue Rider (Reminiscence)" Kandinsky had given a strategic thrust to the history of the movement's reception, privileging his personal achievement as a combination of his "first" abstract painting and its theoretical underpinnings.¹ For this reason Münter, Alexej von Jawlensky, Marianne von Werefkin, and many others involved in the exhibitions or the almanac often go entirely unmentioned.

The few weeks that Münter, Kandinsky, Werefkin, and Jawlensky spent in Murnau in the autumn of 1908 have made such an impact on the founding myth of the Blue Rider that the very place name of Murnau has become an art-historical term in its own right; and so the story of the exhibition also begins with this myth. The works shown in the section *Murnau, Sindelsdorf, Tegernsee* were not produced only in Murnau in 1908, and yet they all clearly share the evidence of an altered concept of painting that can be attributed to their intensive collaborative work and discussions during those few weeks. The establishment of this

founding myth, in which the abandonment of post-impressionistic creativity turns into expressivity, is closely connected with another common art-historical theme: the sequence of eras.² Expressionism was retrospectively invented by a few of its protagonists in the context of a “theory of the avant-garde” based on a small number of very contained episodes. According to this narrative, along the road to abstraction the world was captured “expressively” in colors on the canvas, and no longer in terms of the impression of a retinal reflex. Even today this difference between Impressionism and Expressionism is seen as one of the most concise and canonized art-historical distinctions, perhaps outdone only by the distinction between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.³

The second significant prehistory of the Blue Rider is directly connected with the communal activities in Murnau. Kandinsky and Münter, Jawlensky and Werefkin, along with Adolf Erbslöh, Alexander Kanoldt, Alfred Kubin, Vladimir Bekhteev, and other progressive personalities from the Schwabing scene founded the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* (NKVM). The founding document dates from January 22, 1909, and Kandinsky was elected the first chairman. The NKVM was a well-defined group that operated according to the law of associations, had lists of members, and was obliged to keep a record of new members and resignations. However, after significant exhibition activities the tensions between the conflicting interests and ideologies increased constantly throughout 1911. On December 2, decisions were to be made about the selection of the artworks in the third NKVM exhibition. With *Composition V* Kandinsky had submitted a painting that was a few centimeters too large according to the statutes, and was predictably rejected. This calculated escalation was followed by the resignations of Marc, Münter, Kubin, and Henri Le Fauconnier, and so it happened that the *First Exhibition of the Editorial Board of the Blue Rider* was held at the Galerie Thannhauser, in parallel with the third exhibition of the NKVM, which in turn included works by Jawlensky and Werefkin. These two artists had not resigned along with the others but declared themselves vaguely in agreement with Kandinsky’s goals. Their connection with the Blue Rider would be reactivated only later.

It is possible to establish basic definitions of the Blue Rider phenomenon in comparison with its predecessor, the NKVM. It is not a group of artists that can be grasped through the usual mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion—membership lists, manifestos and statutes were certainly not part of their arsenal. The Blue Rider was a network of different personalities of different origins who were active in various disciplines in different places. From a superficial perspective they were like-

minded individuals, but on closer analysis they were personalities with conflicting ideas and interests. Those involved in the Blue Rider were women and men who dealt with one another on a more or less equal basis, and who were primarily concerned with the visibility of their works and the reception of their ideas. There are a few protagonists at the core, and many on the periphery. These dissimilar characters had strong relationships or were loosely connected, there were differences and disagreements that existed from the beginning, or only developed in the course of their activities. Nonetheless, the dynamics of affiliations and rivalries, love and strife, enthusiasm and controversy, led to a climate in which each individual’s own position was constructively deployed to distinguish it from that of the others. The upshoot was a creative productivity whose results continue to occupy us even today. The unabated intensity of the reception in research, music, aesthetic theory, and visual art, as well as the huge popularity of the Blue Rider are due to this accomplishment.

The Question of Form

The Blue Rider decidedly eschewed any common aesthetic. And it never—as is often claimed—took as its central goal the implementation and realization of abstraction. Without a stylistically binding concept, the artists accepted abstract and figurative forms side by side, as long as they were felt with “inner necessity,” and thus opened up the prospect of the utopia of equal status for the art of “humanity” that today is most adequately summed up by the auxiliary term “world cultures.” What the endeavors of the Blue Rider do have in common, however, is that the supposed heterogeneity of the participants and their artistic production is lent a recognizable cohesion by the intellectual superstructure of “spiritual goods,” based on a diversity of expressive means. The truly astonishing thing about the ideas in the circle of the Blue Rider is the fact that the “question of form” is *not* at the center of their considerations: everything is imaginable. The deciding question is what the “form” *stands for*, what it is capable of conveying. Kandinsky put it like this in his essay “On the Question of Form” in the almanac: form is only significant if it can stand credibly for a “feeling,” and “inner sound” or, ideally, for “the spiritual.”⁴ And that is why in our exhibition the heterogeneity of the forms and different artistic products that the Blue Rider brought into the world is presented as a deliberate antithesis to the modernist “auratization” of a museum installation, in which the uniqueness of supposed “masterpieces” is celebrated according to their tem-

poral sequence in spaces painted in white or in color. Everything brought together in the name of the Blue Rider is diverse: people, ideas, and art. Accordingly, this exhibition and its catalogue present: folk art, children's art, painting, sculpture, music, and applied art in astonishing cultural and technical variety from diverse times and places. These are juxtaposed in the spirit of an imagined "equal status"—and yet are still characterized by hierarchies.

For the Blue Rider, the epoch-spanning presence of aesthetic products of "world cultures" marks the complex and utopian ideal of a universalist aesthetic. Today, however, we recognize the contradictions that lie in that universality, which was constructed entirely from a Eurocentric perspective. Ultimately the Blue Rider with its philosophy, theology, ethnology, music theory, and sociology, is also an intellectual and ideological project that started with a few people and proliferated outwards, and, as a catalyst, must be repeatedly re-explained, criticized, or productively misinterpreted. Kandinsky's 1911 essay *On the Spiritual in Art* is particularly prominent in this respect. Even today it is considered one of the most influential texts on European aesthetics produced by the self-appointed avant-gardes. The artistic products of the Blue Rider—whether compositions in music or paint—along with the texts and pictures in the almanac, were widely received as aesthetic contributions and discussions in pre-war Europe. That is not to say, however, that the project and the movement are sacrosanct in terms of their thoughts and actions. It is precisely an account of the contradictions inherent in the Blue Rider that allows us to better understand the context of its creation, and to connect it with issues relevant today.

The Blue Rider and its activities are closely linked to the city of Munich and its idyllic upland satellites such as Murnau or Sindelsdorf. But it would be a mistake to describe the project as a German one. This is probably one of the most misguided descriptions in the history of its reception. Many of those involved came from the then Russian Empire, Austria, France, Switzerland, or the USA. In terms of its setting, however, the Blue Rider is of course closely linked to the history of the German Empire and its social reality at the time. This pertains to the free and libertarian climate in the kingdom of Bavaria within the Empire, and particularly in Schwabing in Munich, as well as the restrictions of a society subservient to authority, with all the intolerable force used by that society and its institutions of power. Sexism and structural racism were a tangible everyday reality, while the crimes perpetrated by the colonial regime had state legitimacy and could rely on the conscious or unconscious approval of the populace. In this publica-

tion Annegret Hoberg has devoted a fundamental essay to the connection between the artistic activity of the Blue Rider and this political and social reality; for the first time it provides a thorough examination of the close connections between colonial policy and the Blue Rider project. Her essay, rich in knowledge and material, also fundamentally re-evaluates the sources of the world cultures that inspired the group.

At the same time, however, it should not be forgotten that the artists themselves were also targets of strong resentment, whether because they were not citizens of the German Empire, or because as women they assumed active and confident roles. The end of the Blue Rider is due above all to the fact that after the outbreak of war in August 1914, as "enemy aliens" many artists had to leave the country within forty-eight hours. The hostile attitude towards those involved with the Blue Rider became particularly intense with the seizure of power by the Nazis. Some were subjected to ideological or racist persecution with the full force of the dictatorial state and had to leave the country merely to survive.

The Blue Rider—The Beginning of Its Reception

The Lenbachhaus houses the world's largest collection of the art of the Blue Rider thanks primarily to the generous donation of Gabriele Münter. In 1957, this unique gift, made on the artist's eightieth birthday, turned the Municipal Gallery into a world-ranking museum. Her outstanding gift included numerous works by Kandinsky from the period leading up to 1914, her own works, and others by artist colleagues from the extended circle of the Blue Rider. This was followed by acquisitions and gifts such as the similarly generous donation in 1965 of Elly and Bernhard Koehler Junior, son of the important patron and collector of the same name, featuring works by Franz Marc and August Macke. This made the Lenbachhaus the central place for the research and mediation of the art of the Blue Rider, a role that it has now performed for over six decades. The driving force behind this development was Hans Konrad Roethel, the director of the Lenbachhaus from 1956 until 1971. After his tenure, Armin Zweite and Helmut Friedel also successfully committed themselves to the expansion of the collection and its presentation in exhibition projects. We should, however, give special mention to the year 1966: four years after the death of Gabriele Münter, the Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation gained legal capacity and became inviolably associated with the

Lenbachhaus as the museum of the Blue Rider. The foundation was established by a testamentary provision made by Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner (1886–1958), the artist's partner. Münter had met the art theorist and philosopher Eichner in Berlin in 1927. He studied and wrote about her art and Kandinsky. The Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation preserves and administers the painter's rich estate, which includes not only artworks and written documents but also the artist's house in Murnau. Johannes Eichner and the future director of the Municipal Gallery at the Lenbachhaus, Hans Konrad Roethel, met in 1952 and went on to become close friends. As a result, in 1956 Roethel was for the first time able to see the collection of all the paintings by Münter and Kandinsky that the artist had kept in the basement of her house in Murnau and protected from the Nazis. This was followed a year later, in 1957, by Münter's gift to the Municipal Gallery at the Lenbachhaus.

Beyond the Lenbachhaus, the reception of the Blue Rider was varied and often complicated. The individual paths taken in the discussions and definitions of Expressionism in the interwar period led directly to defamation and persecution by the Nazis, and then to the excessive and uncritical enthusiasm of the decades after 1945. These paths are still trodden today, and often look like worn-out tracks leading nowhere. Their lack of nuance was the actual motivation for this project—the Blue Rider deserves much more attention than simple exploitation by international exhibitions aimed at maximizing audience sizes and tendentious relationship analyses. There are also, however, many interesting approaches to the group's reception. Hans Konrad Roethel, for example, a student of the eminent art historian Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968), had initiated in his texts a hitherto underestimated conflation of iconology and “modern,” particularly abstract art. Traces of his “concept of iconology” can be found even today, especially in American art history. We should pursue this in the future and write a detailed history of the reception of the Blue Rider. Just to demonstrate the influence of the first exhibition of Blue Rider art after World War II at Haus der Kunst (*Der Blaue Reiter. München und die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts 1908–1914*), initiated and curated by Ludwig Grote in 1949, and at *documenta 1* in Kassel six years later, would be a worthwhile undertaking for researchers. Some principles of Grote's groundbreaking exhibition may doubtless be found in the first *documenta* held in 1955. The disturbing similarities between thoughts on “Expressionism” that Werner Haftmann expressed in 1934 in the Nazi-associated magazine *Kunst der Nationen* (Art of Nations) and those set out in the catalogue of *documenta* or his publication *Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert* (Painting in the Twentieth

Century), however, demand closer scrutiny.⁵ Also, it was not known until now that the exhibition of the art of the Blue Rider at Haus der Kunst, curated by Grote, was in fact supposed to have been held at the Lenbachhaus. Arthur Rümman, the then director of the museum, did not, however, succeed in getting this plan past the city authorities.⁶ The surviving press reports demonstrate the positive response to the exhibition at Haus der Kunst; there were enthusiastic reviews all over West Germany.⁷ Critics like Johannes Eichner and Will Grohmann reacted enthusiastically, but Haftmann's rapturous style seems strangely outdated. The exhibition was also well reviewed in France, Italy, Great Britain, the USA, and Switzerland. There was a lack of nuanced criticism in Germany, however. Only Rudolf Schlichter, one of the important figures in art during the Weimar Republic, known as an anti-fascist and a *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) painter, found the sudden enthusiasm suspicious, and he also perceived the lack of a historical classification of the Blue Rider.⁸ Clear-sightedly, he pointed out that what had once been revolutionary in this art could not simply be affirmed as revolutionary forty years later: “Revolutions can't be put on hold; once they have fulfilled their task, they should calmly be removed from these patterns of the past, and not turned into compulsory fetishes.”⁹

In line with Schlichter's criticism, we are aware that with this project we are already acting as “restorers of completed revolutions”¹⁰ and that we must nonetheless resist the tendency to market the “fetishes” of cultural history as if they were mandatory. In his article, written only a few years after World War II, Schlichter had expressed the terrible suspicion commonly applied to various projects of the European avant-gardes, whether justly or otherwise: “That the totalitarian rulers called and continue to call the artistic revolutions degenerate cannot deceive anyone with any insight about the fact of their originally shared origin.”¹¹

Schlichter's assertion that avant-garde and totalitarianism had a common origin that made them directly dependent on one another is, with regard to the Blue Rider, only a suspicion and cannot be confirmed. However, it remains striking how many of the authors who wrote positive reviews in 1949 had already been active in their profession as art critics or art historians and also active in the National Socialist Party during the Nazi dictatorship—Haftmann, as mentioned above for example, or Gustav Barthels, to name only two. As early as 1949, then, it became apparent to what extent modern art and the artists involved who had been vilified and persecuted by the Nazis as “degenerate” were put to the use of a general exoneration of the collective conscience, and subsequently experienced exaggerated reverence and uncritical recep-

tion. The project of redeeming persecuted artists and their art became the dominant undertaking of cultural and museum policies in West Germany. This justified enterprise was thus automatically connected in its origin and motivation to the exclusionary and murderous policies of the National Socialists, and paradoxically it was often, though not always, implemented by the very same staff who had been actively or passively involved in the cultural policies of National Socialism. This led to some highly successful exhibitions and shaped the history of the collections of many museums in the German Federal Republic. Without a doubt the history of the Blue Rider at the Lenbachhaus is part of this success story. However, the blind spots of this policy sometimes led to grotesque distortions of history, as the case of Emil Nolde clearly reveals: as a self-confessed, committed National Socialist and also an artist vilified as “degenerate,” he was able to stylize himself as a prime example of the persecuted Expressionist.¹² It should actually be in the nature of reception history that those received cannot choose their own reception. In complicity with their own reception, however, they can also manipulate perspectives and interpretations with enduring effect.

In the reception of the Blue Rider the vehement criticism to which an individual artist such as Kandinsky was subjected is often overlooked. In 2000, the “theorist of the avant-gardes,” Peter Bürger, felt obliged to devote a long article to the Blue Rider in the arts section of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in order to rescue the movement from the condemnation of history. “Inner sound and blue chord do not lead to a storm of steel—salvation does not lie in form: the program of the ‘Blue Rider’ is full of contradictions, but the spiritual was not a pre-fascist revolt,” was the heading of his essay, in which he plausibly refuted the assumption that Expressionism was “secretly” close to National Socialism.¹³ Criticism of the Blue Rider has its origin and certainly also its cause in the period following the First World War. In the profoundly felt “collapse of civilization” which followed the experience of the devastating war with its industrial-scale killing, the utopian ideas of the Blue Rider could no longer be assessed outside of that context. Everything that was “before the war” was now also linked to the conflict as a possible result—whether causal or otherwise. There were many different reasons, from many different angles, for people to distance themselves from the Blue Rider.¹⁴ In 1920, for example, Eckart von Sydow decried the “ahistorical [...] passion for discovery” in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac.¹⁵ What before the war had been seen as utopian indifference was now discredited as an ahistorical form of curiosity. Franz Roh, the proponent of Neue Sachlichkeit art as the “contemporary

art” of the 1920s, in his authoritative work of 1925, *Nach-Expressionismus* (Post-Expressionism), also attested a historical alienation to all Expressionist art. Reduced to a mere counter-movement to Impressionism, and imbued with a “love of fantastical, superterrestrial, or remote objects,”¹⁶ this aesthetic was no longer contemporary. For Roh, the spiritual and mystical aspect of the Blue Rider was far-removed from the urgent and compelling social questions of the [his] present: “If animals were shown, they were blue sky-horses and red moon-cows, intended to carry us, not least in representational terms, far beyond everything that could be experienced on this earth.”¹⁷ Roh treats all the isms of the pre-war period as Jean Arp and El Lissitzky did in the book *Die Kunstismen* (The Isms of Art), which they also published in 1925.¹⁸ Expressionism is drily dismissed: “Expressionism is a ‘cobbled-together hybrid’ of Cubism and Futurism. Marc Chagall and Paul Klee serve as an illustration for it.” Wassily Kandinsky was dismissed under the heading of “abstractivism”: “Abstract art creates the ‘non-representational,’ without the artists being ‘linked together by a common problem.’” Aside from Kandinsky, Nathan Isaevich Altman, Ljubov Popova, and also László Moholy-Nagy fell under this heading.¹⁹ At least Franz Marc, Paul Klee, and Kandinsky featured in these critical reflections. Other artists who had been very active in the Blue Rider circle were not even considered worthy of mocking detachment.

The main problem of the reception history of the Weimar period lies in this concentration on a few names, in contrast to the historical diversity of the participants in the Blue Rider project. The continuing effect of this emphasis on individual personalities and their work, while neglecting collective ideas and achievements, is still apparent today, reinforced by the selective interests of the art market. Interestingly, the biggest echo chamber for this reception was opened by Carl Einstein, who introduced the Blue Rider to art history. Einstein’s *The Art of the 20th Century* was published as the sixteenth volume in the series *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* (Propylaea Art History), when the century was just twenty-six years old. A new edition appeared in 1928, and a fundamental revision in 1931.²⁰ Einstein presented the Blue Rider as an artists’ group in 1931, but acknowledged only Marc, Kandinsky, and Klee. And just as the concept of the artists’ group is inaccurate, Einstein’s focus on Klee is also questionable, even though it remains extremely influential today. Einstein assigned a leading role to Klee, who had actually only played a special role. He also reviewed Klee’s works positively, while severely criticizing Marc and Kandinsky. This was particularly painful for Kandinsky, since Einstein refused to acknowledge,

let alone value, his theoretically formulated and practically executed concept of abstraction as stringent, and thus narrowed the perspective on his oeuvre.

This reduction to a small number of protagonists and their supposedly unique achievements has led to a flourishing of misleading arguments in the reception. Debates surrounding the “invention” of abstraction in terms of “first” paintings continue to rage, and still lack a truly enlightening theoretical basis. Will Grohmann (1887–1968), as an important interpreter of Kandinsky, devoted a great deal of attention to the theme of abstraction. In his monograph *Wassily Kandinsky—Leben und Werk* (Kandinsky—Life and Work)²¹ a full-page reproduction of a watercolor is captioned “First abstract watercolor, 1910.”²² Kandinsky’s intellectual achievements are acknowledged at length in the chapter: “Geniezeit und erster Höhepunkt. 1910–1914” (Genius in Full Swing, 1910–1914).

Kandinsky’s theoretical foundations for abstraction and his paintings are without a doubt major contributions to twentieth-century art history. The fetishization of the “first” paintings, however, has less to add to the understanding of abstraction than its intelligent contextualization within the “spiritual” present of the time.²³ And yet abstraction has been elevated to the almost teleological and single goal of the Blue Rider. Marc and Macke had not been able to fully achieve this goal, having died a “hero’s death” in the First World War—individual artistic personalities being once again romantically mythologized. This extraction of single individuals and their individual achievements from the overall enterprise of the Blue Rider continues to prevail even today, and obscures the view of the complex, demanding, synaesthetic, and interpersonal endeavors of the Blue Rider. It is precisely the diverse and fruitful interconnections, however, that make up the interesting side of the Blue Rider and have produced the “most beautiful” results—and that are therefore at the center of this exhibition.

Blind Spots of Spiritual Goods

The Blue Rider distinguishes itself by a positive interest in “artistic” products of “world culture,” to use contemporary vocabulary. When and where in its works we find ourselves dealing with appropriations of “foreign” cultures is less easy to determine than it would be, for example, with the “primitivism” of The Bridge (Die Brücke) group, since it is not a matter of simple adaptation, modifications, or borrowings of “forms.” In the case of the Blue Rider, appropriation is done

through vague concepts like the “inner sound” or the “spiritual,” or through simply “showing,” for example by printing a photograph in the almanac. Considering the Blue Rider through the lens of an “ethics of showing” or “appropriation,” however that may be defined, was the starting point of this project. In doing so, we have also tried to enlarge upon the idea that even though appropriation may in many ways intend appreciation of the material appropriated, there is also a disrespectful decontextualization inherent in the picture sequences in the almanac, because it is based on stereotypes. The series of images featuring the many ethnographic objects from the collections of the then ethnographical museums is at once groundbreaking and dubious, since it reveals the close interconnection between colonial expansion policy with the often illegal “purchase,” if not actual plunder, of African or Oceanian objects in particular. The Blue Rider, meanwhile, viewed these objects solely from the perspective of its own present, defined them in terms of its own aesthetic, and paid little if any attention to their country of origin, let alone the producers of the work in question. While the geopolitical colonization of space is highly visible, as Annegret Hoberg shows in her essay, the colonization of time is implemented only through latent techniques. The objects thus become neutralized testimonies to human skill. Whether they be children’s drawings or breechcloths, they belong radically to the ideological present of the Blue Rider and stand for the idea of humanity that the editors of the almanac have devised—and not for the societies from which they came nor the people who made them. The Blue Rider’s “world view” developed, as so often in the progressive project of European modernity, to a large extent within the narrow limits of European experience, and was based on epistemic privileges that continue to define that world view into the present day.

Failed Utopias

The Blue Rider did not fail on its own premises, but on its reception by those who call the premises into question. As a museum, however, we must also measure the Blue Rider by the standards of the present day. And today the Blue Rider’s utopian universalisms seem to us as innovative as they are contradictory. The vision of the Blue Rider consisted in producing symbolic works of art that convey an experience of the spiritual to the people of the present and the future. “The whole work, called art” should not know any “borders and nations,” only “humanity.” That vision did not become reality. But it is not discredited by the fact that it

failed in its utopian goal. On the contrary, in the chances taken and missed, discussions held and not held, successful and failed emancipations, transgressions, and above all the great number of artworks that it produced, the Blue Rider awakens for us the memory that reality could be different from what it is—and that there were people before us whose desire it was to change that reality.

to reflective historiography to depict historical events authentically, and the huge importance of maintaining a respectful coexistence in the present day.

Editorial note

Like all exhibition and publication projects, this one is also the expression of our possible perspectives on things and history at the moment of its completion. Thus the exhibition shows only a selection of what would really be required, just as the publication represents only one selection of possible ideas, thoughts, and perspectives. *Group Dynamics—The Blue Rider* is in the end the product of our effort to live up to the grand goals that we set ourselves three years ago, as we hopelessly but valiantly chase after them. What you are reading and seeing, then, is the result of well thought-through decisions, the pragmatics of running a museum, completed and uncompleted research, successful and unsuccessful discussions. The results of our work are also full of blind spots and contradictions, and yet at the same time they also open up new perspectives through new findings. The presentation and the quoted literature do not claim to reflect for all phenomena and across all disciplines the current state of academic research. However, we are sure that the project reflects our enthusiasm for the tasks associated with the Lenbachhaus' collection, and may form the starting point for a new reception of the Blue Rider including controversial discussions. Our prime motivation is to ensure that our interest and enthusiasm are conveyed to our readers and visitors.

This project engages with the history and art of the early twentieth century. This means that we are dealing with historical sources whose expressions in language and image may contain disparaging or even racist elements. We have therefore attempted to quote or show those sources only when they can—in our opinion—expressly serve the understanding and critical judgement of the historical contexts. We are also aware that the display and quotation of degrading images and language always leads to the reproduction of the ideology indissolubly associated with it. We should therefore base our actions on the sensitive balancing of two conflicting poles: the responsibility of an institution devoted

1
Wassily Kandinsky, "Der Blaue Reiter (Rückblick)," in *Das Kunstblatt*, 14 (1930), 2. In 1936, Paul Westheim, the editor of the magazine, commissioned a second memoir from Kandinsky, this time on "Franz Marc" on the occasion of what would have been Marc's fiftieth birthday. This text also includes additional details about the Blue Rider from the author's perspective.

2
Unter Freiem Himmel—Unterwegs mit Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky, eds. Matthias Mühling, Sarah Louisa Henn, Edition Lenbachhaus No. 6, (Munich, 2020), 20ff.

3
Impressionismus—Expressionismus. Kunstwende, ed. Angelika Wesenberg, exh. cat. Alte Nationalgalerie Berlin, (Berlin, 2015).

4
Wassily Kandinsky, "Über die Formfrage," in *Der Blaue Reiter. Herausgeber: Kandinsky, Franz Marc. Reprint der Originalausgabe für das Lenbachhaus anlässlich des Programms Museum Global der Kulturstiftung des Bundes | Lenbachhaus, Kulturstiftung des Bundes* (Munich, 2019), 74–100.

5
Cf. Werner Haftmann, "Geographie und unsere bewußte Kunstsituation," in *Kunst der Nationen*, 2 (Oct. 1934), 20, 3f; Werner Haftmann, *Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1954) and Werner Haftmann, "Introduction" in *documenta. Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts. Internationale Ausstellung im Museum Fridericianum in Kassel* (Munich, 1955).

6
Cf. the press reports in the archive of the Lenbachhaus alongside the correspondence between Arthur Rümmer and the then second mayor of the City of Munich, Walther von Miller.

7
Ibid.

8
Ibid. Rudolf Schlichter, "Die Explosion in der Kunst—Bemerkungen zu einer Ausstellung des 'Blauen Reiters'" in *München: Echo der Woche* (September 30, 1949).

9
Ibid.

10
Ibid.

11
Ibid. The conflict between differing ideologies that sought to achieve interpretational sovereignty over the avant-garde after 1945 remains confusing. The Schlichter case is also interesting to the extent that he had been regarded since the early 1930s as broadly "conservative" and "Catholic," and at the same time formulated the only critical objection to the affirmative admiration

of the Blue Rider in Germany in the immediate postwar period. In terms of his biography and his statements, Schlichter is also extremely contradictory and hard to pin down, and therefore in a particular way also typical of twentieth-century artists' biographies.

12
Cf. *Emil Nolde—Eine deutsche Legende. Der Künstler im Nationalsozialismus*, exh. cat. Hamburger Bahnhof Museum für Gegenwart (Berlin, April 12–September 15, 2019).

13
Peter Bürger, "Innerer Klang und blauer Akkord münden nicht im Stahlgewitter," in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Tuesday, May 23, 2000, No. 119, 56.

14
Cf. the enlightening essay on the reception of the Blue Rider by Christine Hopfengart, "Wie der Blaue Reiter auf die Landstraße kam. Stationen seiner öffentlichen Resonanz in Deutschland," in *Der Blaue Reiter*, ed. Christine Hopfengart, exh. cat. Kunsthalle Bremen (Cologne 2000), 17–26.

15
Eckart von Sydow, *Die deutsche expressionistische Kultur und Malerei* (Berlin, 1920), 131.

16
Franz Roh, *Nach-Expressionismus. Magischer Realismus. Probleme der neuesten europäischen Malerei* (Leipzig, 1925), 23.

17
Ibid.

18
Hans [Jean] Arp, El Lissitzky eds., *Die Kunstismen* (Erlenbach-Zürich, Munich, Leipzig, 1925). Reprint Baden 1990.

19
Ibid.

20
Carl Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte) vol. 16, Berlin, 1926. New edition 1928, revised new edition 1931, reprint Reclam Leipzig, 1988.

21
Will Grohmann, *Wassily Kandinsky—Leben und Werk* (Cologne, 1958).

22
In fact, the watercolor does not date from 1910, but from 1913—an error that influenced research for almost three decades.

23
Cf. for example Maurice Tuchman ed., *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890–1985*. exh. cat. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago, Haags Gemeentemuseum Den Haag (New York, 1986).

Is All Art Created Equal?

The Blue Rider
and Widening
Horizons

Annegret Hoberg

“Among the various reasons for the Blue Rider’s existence, liberation is particularly important to us. There really are enough people concerned with the building of barriers. Our task is rather to demonstrate the relative and ephemeral nature of any barrier.”

This expression of one of the Blue Rider’s central aims, repeated by Kandinsky in many of his writings, should stand as a superscription here, so that we may measure against it how far this aim was realizable, and how strongly, from a cultural-historical standpoint, it was constrained by its time.¹ In the final sentence of the unpublished preface to the *Blue Rider* almanac, Kandinsky and his co-editor Franz Marc had gone even further, proclaiming: “The whole work, called art, knows no borders or nations, only humanity.” We should note that in their work for the almanac there was a turning away from those ancient cultures that stretch back thousands of years—from Egypt to Babylon, and China to Japan—and a turning towards both the ethnographic collections then being established and the art of so-called “savages,” which for them connoted authenticity. This phenomenon did not occur in isolation within the avant-garde; there were parallels with the Cubists in France as well as with the Expressionists of The Bridge (Die Brücke) and their reception of sculpture from Africa and Oceania—in each case these receptions took place in a context of aggressive colonial subjugation. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the Blue Rider artists adopted only to a very limited degree a recognizable formal language, in the sense of a stylistic source on which to draw; rather, they posited a spiritual equality for all art. Our task here is to outline the extent to which this concept and the perceptual patterns on which it is founded stand up to scrutiny and put it up for debate.

Germany as Colonizer

The Blue Rider artists lived in the age of New Imperialism, the era between 1880 and 1914 when colonial competition between the European powers was a determining factor in politics, commerce, and society.² Until recently, the enormous extent to which colonialism shaped the Wilhelmine empire has been only superficially a subject of public discourse. It is thanks to the restitution debate around provenance and the return of ethnographic objects that Germany’s colonial past has been brought back to the public eye. Germany, or rather the German Empire, only became a unified state after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 and the proclamation in January 1871 of Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, as emperor of Germany. The abolition of customs boundaries between Germany’s former states, in addition to the huge war reparations of five billion francs that France was required to pay to Germany, led to the boom of the *Gründerjahre* (literally the “founders’ years,” a time of expansive commercial enterprise and speculation), and the new country’s sustained prosperity. Despite all the social conflicts and the impoverishment of the new urban industrial proletariat, the long periods of rule under both Wilhelm I and his grandson Wilhelm II contributed to an impression of prosperous stability, aided by the dominant forces of the military and the great industrial enterprises such as Borsig, Krupp, and Siemens, as well as by the successes of “positivist” disciplines, against whose “materialism” its bourgeois intellectual beneficiaries reacted with increasing vehemence until the outbreak of war in 1914.

The more liberal kingdom of Bavaria, in which the protagonists of the later Blue Rider group—Wassily Kandinsky, Gabriele Münter, and Franz Marc—lived, had negotiated a special status for itself as the largest state at the founding of the German Empire. Nevertheless, it was affected by the general course of politics in exactly the same way as the empire’s other territories. No one could have

escaped the topic of colonial expansion in political reporting, especially as the conflicts between the European powers gave way to a competition for colonies before leading to the First World War.

From as early as the time of Wilhelm I and Bismarck (who turned his attention to colonial policy from 1884), the course was set for more vigorous commitment to the occupation of territories outside Europe, which were largely regarded as commodities and “no man’s land.” The “scramble for Africa” had begun only a few years previously, after France annexed Tunisia in 1881 as a protectorate, and now turned its attention to the rest of the supposedly free continent.³ The Berlin Conference, convened at Bismarck’s instigation, was held over several months in 1884–85. The participants were France, Great Britain, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Norway, Russia, Austro-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and the USA. Contrary to the conference’s intention of achieving more moderate and conciliatory outlooks among the states of Europe in relation to their “territorial gains,” it resulted, among other things, in the special legal status afforded to the “Congo Free State,” which was tied as a sort of private possession to King Leopold II. The king was subsequently the only person to retain the slave trade and he subjected the native population, held in bondage in the copper mines, to a particularly brutal form of exploitation. Essentially, however, the Berlin Conference, affirmed the abolition of the centuries-long, mostly trans-Atlantic slave trade, already ended by Great Britain in 1814–15. During the course of the nineteenth century, other powers, such as Portugal and Brazil, had also reluctantly agreed to abolition.⁴ From this state of affairs—the fact that Germany did not participate in the slave trade during the era of New Imperialism—sprang the enduring myth that the country has incurred less guilt in relation to its colonies than other states. However, the abolition of slavery, for example in the British Empire through the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act, did not, ultimately, put an end to oppression and racist persecution: Germany’s relatively late entry into the business of colonialization was enforced with barely less brutality than that which had already routinely been practiced elsewhere.⁵ It forms part of a history of colonial oppression of non-European parts of the world by European nations lasting nearly four hundred years.⁶ From this point, Germany made a rapid series of claims to lands it was colonizing, usually after trading posts of large firms, for which “protection” was requested, had already been established on the coast, or following cruel military expeditions, such as that undertaken by Carl Peters which scoured East Africa. In 1885, Wilhelm I issued a writ of protection for Peters’s *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*, and “German East Africa”—an area encompassing roughly the modern states of Tanzania, Burundi, and Rwanda—became an official colony of the German Empire in 1891.⁷ The acts of violence perpetrated by Peters continued under Hermann Wissmann, commander of the “protection force,” and Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, and included struggles with neighboring colonial powers, for which locals were pressganged as auxiliary soldiers.

For other colonies, Germany concentrated on West Africa. After Adolf Lüderitz, the agent for a Bremen tobacco dealer, had purchased a piece of land (which came to be known as Lüderitz Bay) for a minimal price from the Nama people of south-west Africa in 1883, Otto von Bismarck placed the area under the “protection” of the German Empire in 1884. The area soon expanded considerably by means of further similar acquisition agreements followed by occupation.⁸ “South West Africa,” modern Namibia, became the largest colony of German settlers, and the country bears the demographic imprint of its colonial structures to this day. The native population’s loss of land and cattle and its miserable living and working conditions under despotic colonial administrators led to the uprising of the Herero people in 1904, later also the Nama, and the targeted genocide of the Herero. One name that came to be written in the annals of this terrible war waged by the German “protection force” is that of Lieutenant-General Lothar von Trotha.

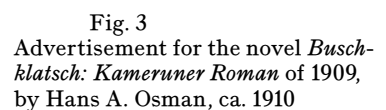
Also in 1884, the German Empire acquired “Togoland,” the smallest German colony, on the Gulf of Guinea (modern Togo, between Ghana and Benin), from a local ruler by means of a sham contract. It then exploited the impassable, practically unknown hinterland, suppressing revolts for nearly two decades. Even this was surpassed by the acts of violence, depredations, and rape in the incomparably larger Cameroon, which became a German colony in the same year, the ground having been laid by the establishment there of Adolph Woermann’s powerful trading concern (his father had founded a branch office there back in 1868). The appalling regime of Cameroon governor Jesko von Puttkamer and his commander Hans Dominik has been described on many occasions. The excesses were so extreme in this case that Puttkamer was pensioned off by the German Empire in 1907.⁹ Moreover, with commercial exploitation in mind, vast tracts of Cameroon were covered with large-scale plantations, which for the native population meant an extensive land-grab and forced-labor working conditions. The journalist and Africa scholar Bartholomäus Grill has written: “Sisal, rubber, tropical woods, sugar, bananas, peanuts, cocoa, tea, coffee, tobacco, palm trees for palm oil and coconuts, cotton—Africa’s fertile regions were covered with plantations. The same pattern prevailed in all the colonies. Not only did the cultivation of cash crops for markets in the ‘mother countries’ create the agricultural monocultures on which many African states are dependent now as ever, but also a structural deficiency in foodstuffs.”¹⁰

While deputies in the German Reichstag such as August Bebel of the Social Democrats or Matthias Erzberger of the Center Party repeatedly denounced conditions in the colonies, the extent to which the German people were aware of the realities in the colonized areas, (aside from the commercial advantages, such as new commodities, and military, picturesque, and erotic images), should be set out. At the very least, social life and popular culture in the country’s metropolises were determined by a public perception of Germany’s “own” colonies. The *Deutscher Kolonialverein* (German Colonial Association), publisher of the widely read *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* (German Colonial News), was founded in 1882 in Frankfurt am Main, and in 1887 it merged with the *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation* (Society for German Colonization) headed by Carl Peters, becoming the powerful *Kolonialgesellschaft* (Colonial Society), whose headquarters were in Berlin; in the years that followed, it had more than 40,000 employees in 400 locations. In Berlin there were, among other things, the *Deutsches Kolonialmuseum* (German Colonial Museum) at Lehrter Station, and the *Deutsches Kolonialhaus* (German Colonial Store), with its exotic façade and a rich array of colonial wares on offer.¹¹ After the massive armament and expansion of the imperial fleet as a tool to enforce colonial interests on the world’s seas from 1898 onwards, the newly founded *Flottenverein* (Naval Association) became one of Germany’s largest associations, with more than a million members. Fashions now featured sailor suits for children, sou’westers for the men of the German “protection force” in Africa, and, for women, ostrich feathers, which were imported in great numbers. The literary scholar Sibylle Benninghoff-Lühl writes: “Regulated by the ministry for colonies in Berlin and financed by industry and trade, promotion of the colonies was found in educational and leisure contexts, in youth clubs, in the military, and in businesses, in the form of exhibitions, pageants, posters, circus performances, talks, newspaper articles, the advertising put out by companies, etc.”¹²

Large guesthouses, such as the “Boarding Palast” on the Kurfürstendamm in Berlin, acted as a gathering point for those wishing to leave the country; they usually set out to the colonies via Bremerhaven or Hamburg. There were frequent advertisements in newspapers such as *Kolonie und Heimat: Die deutsche koloniale Bilderzeitung* (Colonies and the Homeland: German Colonial Illustrated News) for those willing to make the journey, as well as for banks and credit houses prepared to invest overseas (fig. 1). The most effective organ, however, was the mass media such as the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (Berlin Illustrated News) or the *Leipziger*



Fig. 2
 “Yambassa Woman” from South
 Cameroon, cover image from *Kolonie
 und Heimat*, 6, no. 9, 1912



Illustrierte Zeitung (Leipzig Illustrated News), which distributed via images printed in various techniques, and countless photographs from the colonies the atrocities that took place there. As well, the press salaciously conveyed the sexual allure of the occupied regions, particularly their women, who were shown scantily clad or even naked. For the men of Wilhelmine society, with its strict regulation of desire and its social barriers between the sexes, these photographs constituted an opportunity, sanctioned on a grand scale, to view naked women voyeuristically.

Cameroon, the colony best known to the German public on account of the country's products, alongside "South West Africa," with its tales of the illusory romance of settler life, became the particular object of sexist projection on the part of men, encouraged by reports from its occupiers: the image of the "proud Cameroonian woman" was circulated in countless photographs (fig. 2). As Bartholomäus Grill comments: "In any case, colonial officials knew no feelings of guilt; indeed, all they did was to act out the machismo of a hormonally driven male of the master race. [...] White occupiers saw taking sexual possession of African women—for which read rape—not only as their privilege, but virtually a chauvinistic duty."¹³

In books such as Hans A. Osman's *Buschklatsch: Kameruner Roman* (Bush Chat: A Cameroonian Novel), which displays on its frontispiece a Cameroonian woman in a wrap dress, the Cameroonian woman has become a belittling cliché, tailored to the women readers of such publications as *Kolonie und Heimat in Wort und Bild: Organ des Frauenbundes der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft* (Colonies and the Home Country in Word and Image: Journal of the Women's Association of the German Colonial Society) (fig. 3).¹⁴ *Buschklatsch* is but one example from the plethora of colonial novels that achieved widespread circulation in German households. The most famous of these, *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest* (Peter Moor's Journey to the South West) by Gustav Frenssen is about the campaign of the German "protection force" against the Herero. The hero of the novel travels on a Woermann steamer, with a stopover in Liberia, to Swakopmund and takes part in the skirmishes led by Lothar von Trotha, up to the Battle of Waterberg and the subsequent encirclement and annihilation of the Herero. In the year in which it was published, 1906, *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest* had a print-run of 44,000, and during the First World War one of 500,000 copies.¹⁵

Lastly, after Germany's entanglements in Africa, parts of what is now Papua New Guinea became a German colony. Here too there had been earlier arrivals, in the form of trading concerns, such as the *Neu-Guinea-Kompagnie* (New Guinea Company), with claims of ownership. The new colony along the north coast of the world's second largest island, to the north-east of Australia (Great Britain and the Netherlands had already divided up the rest of the island between them), was christened "Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land," and included the outlying islands of "Neu-Pommern," "Neu-Mecklenburg," and "Neu-Hannover," reaching as far as the Solomon Islands.¹⁶ Until the First World War, the territory, which was felt to be hard to access and always perilous (as is also apparent, for example, in Emil Nolde's account of his South Pacific expedition), was occupied by only a small number of German settlers and administrative officials.¹⁷ It was only in 1914, with the occupation of these areas by Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, that a kind of law-free zone became established, in which plantation owners, Germans among them, could make large profits, with the result, as historian Hermann Joseph Hiery observes, that "it was only now that New Guinea became, to a large extent, a European plantation colony."¹⁸

There was a completely different attitude towards Samoa, one of the Polynesian islands, which for decades was coveted and fought over by the German Empire (under Emperor Wilhelm II) and other European powers, until in 1899 part of it was declared a German colony, with its capital at Apia. The South Pacific island of Tahiti had haunted the minds of the German educated elite (who named it *Otaheiti*), as a paradise from a golden age, ever since the publication of *Reise um*

die Welt (A Voyage Round the World) by Georg Forster, who together with his father had been part of James Cook's second circumnavigation of the globe, in 1772–75.¹⁹

Samoa's inhabitants, as was also the case with Palau and Tahiti, corresponded more closely to European conceptions of beauty than the ethnic groups of present-day Papua New Guinea, which lay much further south. Enthusiasm for the beautiful people of Samoa, almost an addiction, became an international phenomenon among imperialist Europeans. Joachim Radkau describes this fascination: "The enchantment with Samoa was not just a fancy on the part of the emperor, but a collective frenzy."²⁰

Samoans were also advertised as an attraction at "*Völkerschauen*" or "ethnological exhibitions," which are discussed elsewhere in this catalogue. Here one should simply note the ethnological exhibitions devised by Carl Hagenbeck that were mounted in zoological gardens in Germany from 1874 onwards. These were the shows that made his Hamburg zoo famous through tours, advertising posters, and postcards, and in which the humiliated individuals were "exhibited" and displayed in the vicinity of the zoo's primates.²¹ There was already a long tradition of "ethnological exhibitions": the international exhibitions had offered them a forum since London's Great Exhibition of 1851, such as Paris's *Exposition Universelle* of 1889, which inspired Paul Gauguin to make his first journey to the South Pacific after encountering representations of its culture there. In 1901, Gabriele Münter took photographs at the Munich *Oktoberfest* when "viewing" foreign peoples (cat. p. 233). Again, the photograph taken of Prince Regent Luitpold at the 1910 jubilee *Oktoberfest* suggests an easy and peaceful coming together of peoples—an impression that may well owe more to the self-confident candor of the Samoans on display than to the prying gaze of those "viewing" them (fig. 4).

The period of Wilhelm II's rule, from 1888 to 1918, was marked by mounting nationalism, national armament, and an unpredictable foreign policy that was responsible for the German Empire's increasing isolation. In the competition for colonies, Germany felt at a disadvantage. In its claim in China over Jiaozhou Bay, together with the capital Tsingtau (Qingdao), which was declared a leased territory as late as 1898, this feeling became a dictum—in the words of Bernhard von Bülow, the then secretary of state in the ministry for foreign affairs: "We have no desire to put anyone in the shade, but we also claim our place in the sun."

Following the First Moroccan Crisis of 1905, provoked by Emperor Wilhelm, who during a visit to Tangiers stood with the insurgents against French colonial policy, the Second Moroccan Crisis of 1911, with the dispatch of the German gunboat SMS *Panther* to Agadir, brought Europe to the brink of a great war. Neither France nor the other powers, however, responded to this provocation, which at the same time staked a number of territorial claims. There were numerous caricatures in newspapers, both in and outside Germany, mocking the country's humiliation (fig. 5). In conservative circles in Germany the Second Moroccan Crisis at Agadir was felt to be a source of profound shame, and thereafter the expectation in the country that there would be war did not abate. Conceptions of the "purifying storm of war" were not first formulated in 1914 by artists such as Franz Marc, but had been shaping European colonial policy since what had been a rather marginal incident.²²

There are presumably two reasons why the period of German colonial policy—rather short-lived in comparison with that of other European powers, though having an equally momentous impact, with the subjugation, exploitation, and dismantling of existing social, religious, commercial, and cultural structures—has for the most part disappeared from public consciousness. Firstly, after losing the First World War, Germany was "compelled" by the Versailles peace treaty of 1919 to surrender its colonies.²³ Germany's colonial past was effectively cut off after this point—unlike in its neighboring countries, Great Britain, France, and Belgium, as well as that of Portugal, whose colonies had to fight for their freedom in wars of independence as late as the 1980s. Yet this German amnesia



Fig. 4
Prince Regent Luitpold “viewing”
the Samoans at the jubilee *Oktoberfest*
of 1910.
Photograph: Münchner Stadtarchiv

Fig. 5
“The Panther’s Leap to Agadir,” the
Second Moroccan Crisis, caricature in
Simplicissimus, 16, no. 18, July 31, 1911

is probably also rooted in a second act of repression: as late as the era of National Socialism, 1933–45, the “glories” of colonialism received a new lease of life, and this reinvigoration was linked at the same time to Hitler’s racist policy and concomitant fantasies of dominance; we shall return to this later.

The picture of German participation in colonialism from 1885 to 1919, roughly outlined here, portrays the period as a snapshot—and this solely from the perspective of the rulers, not their victims or those they oppressed, and lacking moreover the pre- and post-histories of appropriation and depredation. This catalogue project attempts to recall that the Blue Rider circle had no unprejudiced perspective from where to perceive works produced by native societies around the world.

Preliminaries: Orientalism

The early years of the artistic collaboration between Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky were shaped by frequent travels abroad. At the start of 1902, Münter had become a student in Kandinsky’s Phalanx Class, which he ran under the auspices of the eponymous artists’ association founded by him at the same time (fig. 6). In 1903, Münter and Kandinsky became a couple. Since he was still married to his Russian cousin Anya Semyakina, who had accompanied him from Moscow to Munich in 1896, and because they had sufficient financial means due to their bourgeois backgrounds, the two undertook trips on several occasions from 1904 onwards.

After a stay in the Netherlands, in October 1904 Spain was under consideration; later there was also talk of Egypt. In a letter dated November 12, 1904, Kandinsky suggested that they should “travel to Marseille and then to Africa with the steamer, spend winter there and spring in Spain and France. Summer could be Sweden. If possible, can you get hold of a Baedeker for North Africa? Tunis, Tangère (I don’t know how to spell the wretched things properly, but you know what I mean), and perhaps Egypt. If there is no Baedeker for the first two, then we’ll buy something in French.”²⁴ There is no obvious explanation for the choice of Tunisia. It was probably rather pragmatic considerations that came into play, because since its transformation into a French protectorate in 1881, this North African country offered not only what from a contemporary European perspective was considered exotic, but in some areas, on account of colonial occupation, European infrastructure and its customary comforts. Indeed, Kandinsky and Münter traveled well-worn tourist trails through Tunisia, with their travel guide to hand, so to speak, even if it was not a Baedeker.²⁵ The quest they pursued, however, was not for that fictitious “image of the Orient” stoked by European projections and prejudices that artists before them had shaped during the long period of European expansion and colonialism in North Africa.²⁶ At the start of this period, a fashion for the Egyptian in art and furnishing had been triggered by Napoleon’s unsuccessful expedition to Egypt in 1798–99, but from 1830 at the latest, with the conquest of Algiers by French troops, further images of those lands emerged, subsumed under the Eurocentric concept of the “Orient.” In particular, “orientalizing” nudes and odalisques—from Eugène Delacroix via Eugène Fromentin to those created by Henri Matisse during his sojourn in Morocco in 1911—had a formative influence on an image of the region rooted in erotic fantasies, an image held in common by numerous English artists.²⁷

Until the nineteenth century, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Egypt belonged to the Ottoman Empire, of which the Indian historian Pankaj Mishra writes: “It stretched across three continents, from the Danube to the Persian Gulf, from Tripoli to Trebizond on the Black Sea, and was the world’s cosmopolitan state, exerting little pressure on the regions situated at its periphery, which were

completely or partly autonomous.”²⁸ Yet the Sultan of Turkey, the “sick man of Europe,” as he was mockingly named by the major powers of Europe, from the end of the 1850s gradually lost influence. In Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Egypt, the indebtedness of the sultan’s representatives, who reigned relatively independently as viceroys, offered an opportunity for occupation—paradoxically, because local rulers had attempted to implement reforms, thereby coming into financial difficulty.²⁹ In Tunisia, the bey’s debts led in 1868 to the establishment of an international financial commission, which was soon controlled solely by France and powerful commercial enterprises such as the French railway company. With the Treaty of Bardo in 1881, Tunisia became a French protectorate, that is, a pseudo-sovereign state under French “protection” that was largely governed and administered directly, like a French *département*. Unlike in Algeria however, here France refrained from embarking on more extensive colonial occupation: by 1906, there was a total of only 24,000 French men and women living in Tunisia, who were engaged in administration and medicine, or in the military and engineering, and it limited itself to commercial exploitation of the country. Sometimes, as for example with the phosphate mines, this was implemented by military force.³⁰ A further peculiarity of this “protectorate” policy is the fact that the French largely eschewed Christian mission in these Muslim North African lands, in complete contrast, for example, to the intensive missionary activity south of the Sahara, where German missionaries in particular were in force.³¹ Due to the French inhabitants’ close connection with the central administration in Paris, France’s own *entrée* into North Africa resulted in an inheritance that has lasted through the wars of independence until this day.

These are the conditions that Kandinsky and Münter encountered at the end of December 1904 on arriving in Tunis, where they wintered in a hotel in the French modern city. Between this district, built by the French to accommodate their own infrastructure, and the Medina there was not only a wasteland, but also a profound ideal and social abyss.³² That the country, whose appearance was perceived as alien, made a deep impression on them is witnessed by the nearly 180 photographs taken by Münter, who was clearly fascinated by the motifs of the North African world: the series far outnumbers nearly all the other sets of photographs that she took.³³ The camera was the main tool for exploring the colonies, and not only for Münter. It was even more so in the quest for the titillatingly “foreign” during research expeditions undertaken as part of the conquests of Central Africa and New Guinea. Advertising had discovered this scheme for itself, promoting travel to areas in which one could move about with European comfort around 1900; in North Africa this also applied to Egypt, which was dominated by Great Britain (fig. 7). The image of a black boy as a camera porter sufficed as an advertising trope that, alongside the attractions of the journey found in all colonial images of the era, highlighted the division between masters and servants, between European visitors and “natives” (fig. 8). In her photographs, Münter often captured deserted alleys and archways in the old city of Tunis in ever-new views, concentrating on their almost geometric architectural appearance. Other shots show a few individual passers-by swathed in white burnouses; Arab men squatting before shopping areas and cafés; and market-place scenes. Towards the end of their stay, Münter and Kandinsky undertook a short trip to Sousse and Kairouan, where they trod exclusively tourists’ paths in the company of a guide.³⁴ Kandinsky’s Tunisian sketchbooks bear witness to his selective interest in Arab architecture and ornamental forms, clothing and customs, rather than the modern world of the French occupation. An ethnographer’s remove seems to permeate his drawings. He, too, owned a camera.³⁵ In his shot of Münter and two Arab horsemen on a country road, he captured an encounter at a distance that clearly expresses, likely unintentionally, the hybrid nature of the coexistence of Europeans and the local population (fig. 9). There was little to be had in the way of gains from the couple’s Tunisian trip for their painting—they produced a few oil studies in



Fig. 6
Kandinsky's evening class at the
Phalanx School, 1902. From left to right:
Olga Meerson, Emmy Dresler, Wilhelm
Hüsgen, Gabriele Münter, Richard
Kothe, Maria Giesler, Wassily Kandinsky.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Fig. 7
Camera advertisement, Soennecken
& Co., Munich.
Münchener Stadtmuseum, poster
collection

Fig. 8
Camera advertisement, Richard Hennig
& Co., Dresden, ca. 1912

Fig. 9
Gabriele Münter and Arab horsemen,
Tunis, 1905.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

a late-Impressionist style, and Kandinsky created works in tempera employing the ornamental decorative scheme of his scenes of Old Russia, which he translated into Arab motifs. Half a decade later however, impressions of Tunisia come to life again in the quite large pictures produced by Kandinsky such as *Oriental* (cat. p. 311) and *Improvisation 6 (African)* (cat. p. 315). A few years after Kandinsky and Münter, the artist Eugen von Kahler, who was later to be a colleague in the Blue Rider group, traveled in North Africa, making multiple stops in Egypt, Algeria, and Tunisia. In his works characterized by a sensuousness both colorful and romantic, a fantastical “image of the Orient” echoes a fairytale, for example in the pictures entitled *The Garden of Love* and *Bathers* with which he was represented at the first *Blue Rider* exhibition, in 1911 (cat. p. 178).

We can only touch here on what is considered, in the German-speaking context at least, the most famous journey to Tunis—that made by August Macke, Paul Klee, and Louis Moilliet in April 1914. As well, it marked the end of the series of journeys undertaken by artists to the “Orient.” They, too, spent their fourteen-day stay in the new town in Tunis, initially in the city apartment of one Dr. Jäggi, a Swiss doctor friend of Moilliet (Macke stayed initially at the Grand Hôtel de France), before they decamped to the doctor’s country home at Saint-Germain, a neighborhood of villas on the Gulf of Tunis. Unlike for Kandinsky and Münter, sexualized topoi associated with the “Orient” since the nineteenth century, of “harem women” played a role for the three artists who are known to have wandered through the so-called “love districts” of the Medina together.³⁶ In the course of this, Macke and Klee attempted on several occasions to observe the women from closer up and to photograph them, but they were unsuccessful. Even on the last day in Tunis there was an entry in Klee’s diary that should be noted here without further comment: “Once, just that once, we saw a small Arab beauty, and it was uncanny how much she resembled August’s wife. [...] In fact, they were two streetwalkers, but the other was less attractive. Everything is allowed on such occasions, but unfortunately not photography. It happens only rarely. The moment they see the camera, they run away.”³⁷ The round-trip they took at the end, to Sidi Bou Said, Carthage, Hammamet, and Kairouan, lasted five days and was broken off early by Klee. In 1921, Wilhelm Hausenstein dedicated his book *Kairuan: Eine Geschichte vom Maler Klee* (Kairouan: How Klee Came to be a Painter) to the artist’s journey to Tunis. In contrast to the orientalizing title, however, there is barely anything written in this highly influential publication about the trip itself, or about the vibrant and transparent blocks of color that find their way into the watercolors of both Klee and Macke under the impact made by North African light. The book, about Klee the “painter-draughtsman,” is more of an example of a sort of coping literature, dealing with wartime experiences and hopes for the post-war period. On the subject of Tunisia itself we find only such arid sentences as: “The caravan of three painters arrived in Kairouan. Kairouan is the main town of one of Tunisia’s regions, lying between salt marshes, in the middle of a wide plane. Kairouan is surrounded by a red-brick wall measuring 10 m in height that is interrupted by five gateways and at intervals supports round towers like crowns.” He continues by mentioning that in the central district there are nearly one hundred mosques and schools. “For Muslims, Kairouan is one of the four gates to paradise. Europeans had always been forbidden from entering the city, until French conquistadors entered, exercising the conqueror’s odious right. Since then, the flag fluttering over Kairouan’s battlements has been one of Europe’s, though its most striking: the tricolor in blue, white, and red.”³⁸ Notwithstanding this, for Hausenstein the Tunis watercolors of 1914 embodied, within a fantasy of the Orient pervaded by cliché, an important shift of artistic emphasis in the direction of Modernism. Yet despite this new treatment of color and form, the result was not an eschewal of motifs, but, as Christoph Otterbeck writes in his study of artists’ travels in the early twentieth century, “through the insistence on the use of image elements that allowed associations with the Orient, an updating and modernizing

of well-known images of yearning. [...] A narrow repertoire of symbols simulates idyllic situations that seem to tell of the possibility of a simple existence: small houses and boats, donkeys, camels, and palm trees. This tranche of everyday life was to become the backdrop to tourism.”³⁹

Preliminaries: Japonisme

During his time of active engagement in the politics of art, after the founding of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* (NKVM, New Artists' Association Munich) at the start of 1909, Kandinsky acted as correspondent for the St Petersburg journal *Apollon*; in this capacity he penned, under the heading “Letters from Munich,” five extensive discussions of exhibitions that were all published before the end of 1910. In the first “Letter” of October 1909, he reported on the large international exhibition in the Munich Glaspalast (Glass Palace), which on this occasion focused on the Secession. Apart from this, on the Theresienhöhe (Munich's exhibition district), “a special exhibition of East Asian, mainly Japanese art was just coming to an end—*Japan and East Asia in Art*. Its patron, Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, had made available many of the woodcuts, paintings, and so on, that he himself had collected in the Far East, works of astonishing refinement and depth. Museums in Berlin and Cologne as well as many private collectors participated with items from their own collections, all of which together took up the twenty rooms—a huge number of woodcuts, beginning with the primitives, then hand-colored prints, a collection of large and small sculptures, painting (China, from the twelfth century onwards), books, and craftwork.” A whole room was filled with woodcuts and other graphic works, and, Kandinsky continues: “So much becomes clear, again and again, to someone imbued with Western culture, when he sees these works from the East, endlessly varied but essentially subordinate to and determined by a common foundational ‘sound’! This shared ‘inner sound’ is not found in the West, and it cannot be found there, because, for reasons hidden from us, we have reached the external from the internal; but perhaps we shall not need to wait much longer, and there will awake in us that mysteriously stilled inner sound, which, when ringing out in our depths as a Western counterpart, will perforce reveal an element related to the East, just as with all peoples a single common sound will resound—in audible for us today even so—in the as yet unfathomed gulf of their soul: the sound of the soul of man.”⁴⁰ Even though this discussion speaks to a genuine empathy on the part of the artist and to his reflections on the theory of art, and while Kandinsky integrated various elements from Japanese models into his early prints, the reception of Japanese woodcuts in his and Münter's work was essentially mediated through French woodcut art from the last third of the nineteenth century. After colored Japanese woodcuts had been exhibited for the first time in large numbers at the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, their enthusiastic reception first made headway among the avant-garde in France and Belgium. The new printmaking, as an autonomous genre, was omnipresent in Paris at the turn of the century, above all in the journal *L'Estampe originale* (Original Prints), which between 1893 and 1895 published nine highly regarded albums with works by (for example) Émile Bernard, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Édouard Vuillard, and Pierre Bonnard—and in the Nabis prints produced by the art-dealer Ambroise Vollard. Munich *Jugendstil* (literally, “youth style” a decorative art movement roughly equivalent to Art Nouveau) took up these stimuli avidly; in particular, Münter reworked Japanese print motifs, as filtered through *Jugendstil*, in her color linocuts. With their flatness and reduction of form, Japanese prints had made a significant contribution to the dismantling of the pictorial laws of European painting since the end of the nineteenth century. Later, in 1907, in the series of prints that she produced during the year she spent with Kandinsky in Paris,

Münter would rework a Tunisian subject with clearly contoured lines and areas of color: *Marabout*, the view of a domed Arab tomb with orange sellers, is based on one of her photographs and a gouache of January 1905 in her sketchbook (fig. 10).⁴¹ It does not seem to have been the case, as has been shown with Franz Marc, August Macke, and Alexej von Jawlensky, that the artist couple of Münter and Kandinsky collected Japanese woodcuts on a larger scale.⁴² Yet it is clear from the “shop talk” in their letters that the two knew what they were doing when it came to trading in objects of this nature. Thus, during his visit to Moscow, Kandinsky asked Münter to procure and send to Russia some Japanese woodcuts for a musician couple with whom he had made friends, Thomas and Olga von Hartmann. Von Jawlensky in Munich was also drafted in, and he sought out prints—and not just in the “Türkenstrasse, chez Sir Knight of Something or Other” (Münter meant the shop of Thaddeus (Heinrich), Ritter von Pohoretzki).⁴³

Again, by 1904 at the latest, Franz Marc was in close contact with the Munich antiquarian dealers Emil Hirsch and Thaddeus von Pohoretzki. Although Marc, son of landscape painter Wilhelm Marc, came from an educated middle-class background and had a series of affluent forebears, during his studies and the first decade of his work as an artist he often found himself in financial difficulty, which he tried to redress from 1907 by, among other things, offering tuition in animal anatomy for private students. He had previously found sources of income in the art trade. From 1904, he had a close relationship with Annette von Eckardt, the wife of Richard Simon, a well-known Munich professor of Indology and Sanskrit studies. Von Eckardt was a popular figure in Munich’s Schwabing district’s art and antiquity trade at the time. In addition to her activity as an artist, producing craftwork and weavings, and, later, copying medieval illuminated manuscripts, she was also active as a private intermediary for antiquarian dealers acquiring books and antiques. Franz Marc dabbled in the same area at the time, initially with von Eckardt’s support. It was at this time at the latest that he developed his interests and knowledge in the area of *objets d’art*, ancient arts and crafts, illustrated books, and also Japanese woodcuts.

This was the impression shared by August Macke and his two companions, when in January 1910 they met Marc for the first time in the Schellingstraße in Munich: Macke’s cousin Helmuth Macke describes Marc’s studio as a “brightly lit room in which were gathered together, apart from studio tools, and unfinished paintings and sculpture, what to our notions at the time was nothing but a miscellaneous collection of objects—Venetian glassware, Japanese woodcuts, and all kinds of bits and pieces from all periods and peoples—sat around on a very diverse range of furniture.”⁴⁴ At the time, Marc owned “numerous Japanese ink drawings, colored woodcuts, illustrated books, and small *objets*, as is apparent from the surviving body of material formerly in his possession.”⁴⁵ Among these were at least eighty prints, as well as a series of artist-illustrated books, some of which are now owned by museums (cat. p. 294–300). Macke and Marc were soon thrown together, if nothing else on account of their common interest in craft, small-scale sculpture, and prints of various origins. Their preoccupation with Japanese, Persian, and Indian works on paper occupies a large part of their correspondence. Macke had been interested in Japanese art ever since his studies at the Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf. Marc apparently soon encouraged his new artist friend, during the latter’s year-long stay at Tegernsee, to begin purchasing such objects again, and introduced him to the relevant dealers in Munich. Even after Macke’s return to Bonn, the subject remained in their thoughts. In a letter written at Christmas 1910, he asks Marc to beat down prices with Emil Hirsch for him: “perhaps he’ll send me some Japanese erotica to look at.” He goes on: “I’m returning some hand-crafted Japanese books to Proheretzky [sic] because I’m bored with them now. Perhaps you could choose something for me in exchange (a woodcut, netsuke, or something that takes your fancy). There are five books at 3.50 each, but what you pick must be exquisite. He has these lovely little erotic prints.”⁴⁶



Fig. 10
Gabriele Münter, *Marabout*, 1907,
color linocut.
Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus
und Kunstbau, Munich

Fig. 11
Franz Marc, *Man and Dolphin*,
ca. 1905–06, chalk, watercolor and
tempera. Illustration for the poem
Autumn by the “Emperor Wu-Ty” in
the German version by Hans Bethge,
in Franz Marc, *Stella Peregrina*,
Munich 1917

Fig. 12
Wassily Kandinsky, *Song of the
Volga*, 1906, tempera on board.
Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée National
d’Art Moderne, Fonds Kandinsky

The sexualized gaze at Far Eastern erotica which became possible for Europeans through the transfer of the patriarchal patterns of the Japanese models themselves, and which, at the same time, was “permitted” on account of the prints’ aesthetic refinement, was without doubt a primary motivating force in the contemporary passion for collecting. At this time, such enthusiasms had reached larger circles, especially in France and the German Empire, and was served in part from Japan by means of standardized forms and mass production.⁴⁷

Annette von Eckardt introduced Marc to the lyric poetry of Arab and Asian countries. From this shared focus sprang illustrations to poems that Marc executed between 1904 and 1909, and which were published by Eckardt after his death as hand-colored facsimiles, under the title *Stella Peregrina* (Wandering Star).⁴⁸ Marc’s illustrations for these poems—which alongside verse translations of Arabic, Egyptian, ancient Babylonian, and Chinese poetry included works by contemporary authors such as Hans Bethge, Richard Dehmel, Gustav Falke, and Margarete Susman—are formally heterogeneous and fluctuate between Munich *Jugendstil* and vicarious exotic models. For his illustration of the poem *Autumn* by the “Emperor Wu-Ty,” in a German version by Hans Bethge, Marc chose “Man and Dolphin” as the subject, executed in the animated style of Chinese artist-illustrated books (fig. 11).

Marc, who was more inspired by works of Asian cultures than other Blue Rider artists, clearly adopted the motif of a horse seen from behind and facing into a landscape, which became a central element of his pictures from 1910, from Japanese color woodcuts. For example, Utagawa Hiroshige’s *Two Horses by Mount Fuji*, which was in his own collection of Japanese works (cat. p. 291).⁴⁹ These depictions had in turn Chinese antecedents, such as the work rendered as a black and white drawing and reproduced by Reinhard Piper in his 1910 book *Das Tier in der Kunst* (The Animal in Art) with the label “Han-Kan (ca. 700 AD): Two Horses. Painting.” It was used as an advertising image at the back of the Blue Rider almanac for this book and others produced by his publishing house.⁵⁰

Kandinsky as Ethnographer

Wassily Kandinsky was born into an upper-middle-class family in Moscow; his father was the director of a company that traded in tea, and his mother came from an eminent Muscovite family. He learned German as a child from his Baltic grandmother. In 1885, he began to study jurisprudence and political economy at Moscow University. As late as 1861, access to universities in the Russian Empire, and thereby acquisition of Western knowledge, had been the exclusive preserve of the nobility.⁵¹ It was during his university studies, at the latest, that Kandinsky’s education came to be influenced by the progressive Russian intelligentsia, whose thinking was shaped decisively by a pronounced spiritualism and antimaterialism.⁵² In 1893, after completing his undergraduate studies, he began a doctoral thesis on “Iron Law and the Workers’ Fund” that he did not however bring to completion.⁵³ He worked for a year running a printworks in Moscow, and then at the end of 1896, he moved to Munich to study painting. During his decade of studies there, he stepped away for the years 1889–92 to pursue other interests, including ethnography. In the summer of 1889, Kandinsky was able to undertake a study trip to Vologda with the support of the ethnographic section of the Imperial Society of the Devotees of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography in Moscow,⁵⁴ to which he had previously given a paper entitled “The Beliefs of the Permyaks and Zyryans.”⁵⁵ After the trip, by 1890, seven reviews by Kandinsky of ethnographic publications on traditions and customs in rural areas of the Russian Empire appeared, as well as of Oskar Peschel’s *Völkerkunde* (Ethnology); in addition, he published a sort of travel journal, “Selected Materials on the Ethnography

of the Sysolsky and Vychegodsky Zyryans: National Deities.”⁵⁶ In his *Rückblicke* (published in English as *Reminiscences*) of 1913, Kandinsky gave a much-cited account of his commission for the expedition that he undertook to the remote area northeast of Moscow: “The other particularly strong impressions that I experienced during my time as a student, and which subsequently had a decisive effect on me for many years, were the Rembrandts in the Hermitage in St Petersburg, and the trip I undertook to the Vologda Oblast, where I was sent as ethnographer and jurist by the Imperial Society for Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography. My task was twofold: to study the criminal law of the rural population (that is, establish the principles of primitive law), and to record what was left of the heathen religion of the Zyryans, a fishing and hunting people who are slowly disappearing.”⁵⁷ Kandinsky’s trip lasted from June 9 to July 15, and his Vologda diary carefully notes the stops on the journey and contains some drawings of traditional dress and architectural details.⁵⁸ In an analysis that was as sober as it was enlightening, the Russian ethnologist Boris Chichlo averred that for a true ethnographic field trip, this undertaking was not only too short, but had also been blown out of proportion in later scholarship: “This trip swiftly became the subject of intellectual speculation, particularly in Russia, that disproportionately overhyped Kandinsky’s ‘experiences in ethnography’ and on occasion drew completely fantastical conclusions from them.”⁵⁹ Yet even preceding publications such as *Kandinsky and Old Russia: The Artist as Ethnographer and Shaman* tended to trace nearly all motifs in Kandinsky’s work back to his having been inspired by ethnography.⁶⁰ Contrary to the view expressed by many that Kandinsky delved deep into the population’s religious beliefs, folk festivals, and language, Chichlo paints a picture of a swift succession of stop-offs, during which Kandinsky met almost exclusively Russian officials (such as governors, district leaders, and librarians), who also accompanied him on his rare visits to the huts of those working the land—in short, a picture of Kandinsky as a law student from Moscow collecting material for his publications. It was also striking, he said, that “with Kandinsky Russians are depicted as individuals” (with a name, and official position or similar), “whereas in his ‘Picture of Vologda’ the Zyryans (Komi) always appear as a group, as ‘flecks of color.’”⁶¹ This perception corresponds exactly with the well-known description found in Kandinsky’s *Rückblicke*: “I came to villages where suddenly the whole population was clad in grey from top to toe, with yellowish-green faces and hair, or where they were suddenly displaying colorful dress and walking around like living, versicolor pictures on two legs.” Chichlo concludes: “There are noticeable tinges of cultural arrogance in his snapshot of a foreign people” when Kandinsky continually resorts to linguistic generalities such as, “but they are very receptive to friendly treatment,” “the Zyryans are a very friendly people,” and “in Shoy-Yag there are real savages.”⁶²

On the other hand, Kandinsky’s visual experiences during this trip undoubtedly had a strong formative influence on his work. Barely a monograph appears without citing the description from his *Rückblicke*, after the “flecks of color on two legs,” of his impression of the colorfully painted interiors of peasant houses: “I shall never forget those large wooden houses decorated with carvings. In these marvelous houses, I experienced something that I have not experienced since then. They taught me how to move *in a picture*, how to live in a picture. I can still remember when I first entered the main room and how I stood stock still before the unexpected picture that presented itself to me. The table, the benches, the big oven (which is very important in Russian peasant houses), the cupboards, and every object was lavishly decorated with colorful ornament. On the walls there were folk pictures: a symbolic portrayal of a hero, a battle, a painting of a folk song. The ‘red’ corner (in Old Russian, ‘red’ also means ‘beautiful’) was entirely and thickly covered with painted and printed images of saints. [...] When I finally entered into the room, I felt surrounded by painting, into which I thus stepped.”⁶³ This is not the place to debate the much-discussed ramifications of these

impressions for Kandinsky's conception of art and his evolution towards abstraction; it should only be pointed out that this may have been a starting point not only for his interest in collecting folk art, but also why the walls of his Munich and Murnau flats were thickly hung with reverse glass paintings.

As has been frequently noted, Kandinsky's early work, from 1901 to 1907, is dominated by Old Russian motifs and figures; his links with Russian art nouveau and symbolism—for example, with the depictions by Ivan Bilibin and Nicholas Roerich, similar to his own work, of the imaginary, fairytale world of medieval Russia—have been the subject of intensive investigation.⁶⁴ Across his large tempera pictures, such as *Song of the Volga*, there spreads a colorfully variegated mass of human figures that seem to belong to a forgotten past and among which one might think it is possible to detect the “yellowish-green” hair and laughing faces of the people whom Kandinsky visited (fig. 13).⁶⁵ Kandinsky's interest in collecting folk art, which he shared with Gabriele Münter, developed further during his Munich and Murnau years; he also acquired figures of the Madonna and shepherds in Russian markets.⁶⁶ At his instigation, in addition to quite a large number of the reverse glass paintings that he and Münter so prized, reproductions of Russian popular prints (known as *lubki*, cat. p. 376) were incorporated into the almanac. Kandinsky comments about these explicitly in the almanac: “This type of sheet was produced mainly from the beginning to the middle of the nineteenth century in Moscow (the tradition goes back much further of course). They were offered for sale by itinerant book dealers, even in the most out-of-the-way places. They can still be seen in peasant homes, although they have been superseded for the most part by lithographs and oleographs.”⁶⁷ Furthermore, references to folk art in the work of Russian avant-garde artists, as well as to “barbaric” traditions that dated far back (such as Scythian art), were very much a phenomenon at the time.⁶⁸ In contrast to the output left by David Burliuk's younger brother Vladimir, who died in battle 1917 during the First World War, David's was incomparably larger. From 1908 onwards, David positioned himself as a leading figure between Primitivism and Cubo-Futurism. In his essay for the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac “Russia's ‘Primitives’” he cast light on the latest trends in painting in his homeland, and in doing so also numbered Munich colleagues among the leaders of the avant-garde: “Their representatives, Larionov, P. Kuznetsov, Saryan, Denisov, Konchalovsky, Mashkov, Goncharova, von Wisen, V. and D. Burliuk, Knabe, Yakulov, and, living abroad, Sherebtsova (Paris), Kandinsky, Werefkin, Jawlensky (Munich), revealed *new principles of beauty* in their work, as did the great French masters (such as Cézanne, Van Gogh, Picasso, Derain, Le Fauconnier, and to some extent Matisse and Rousseau).”⁶⁹ The traditional concept of beauty is however immediately relativized as being a tradition that is reforged, “whose origins we find in the works of ‘barbaric’ art: the Egyptians, Assyrians, Scythians, etc.”⁷⁰ The Burliuk brothers had taken a similar stance earlier, in their foreword to the catalogue of the second exhibition of the NKVM, in 1910, in an attempt to explain French Cubism's fascination with the Russian avant-garde: “The extravagance of line and color, the archaic, simplification—synthesis—these are absolutely present in the creative soul of our people. One only has to recall our church frescoes, our popular prints (*lubki*), our images of saints (icons), and lastly the wonderful fairytale world of Scythian sculpture, as well as those terrible idols that are convincing in the rawness of their form, not seen anywhere else, and which convey a genuine, monumental greatness. Only the most ancient creations of half-savage peoples can, to a certain extent, measure up to this monumental greatness.”⁷¹ In the present context, it is possible to give only the briefest of outlines of the large collection assembled by Mikhail Larionov and Natalia Goncharova, whom Kandinsky got to know in person in 1910 in Moscow, and whom he later involved in the Blue Rider's activities. The Russian art historian Yevgenia Ilyukhina makes this brief summary: “Over the course of time, Larionov amassed a considerable collection of over 600 objects—an almost complete panorama of folk art, from *lubki* and icons, via

printed textiles, trays, and wooden molds for *pryanik* [gingerbread], to shop signs, advertisement boards, and mechanical toys.”⁷² In 1913, Larionov began his *Original Icons and Lubki* exhibition in a Moscow gallery with works from his own collection; this ran in parallel to another exhibition, with “naïve” artists such as Niko Pirosmiani and “sign painters.”⁷³ The simple, artless forms and often bright colors of shop signs also made an impression on Marianne von Werefkin, who describes them in her letters from Lithuania; the colorful decoration of peasant houses is also found in some of her works.⁷⁴ Sign-painting—on which Goncharova drew impressively in her uncompromising paintings on rural themes—was a topic to which Kandinsky returned when planning the second volume of the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac. In June 1913, he wrote: “And what are we to do for images? So far, I’ve had just the one idea, which I would like you to keep completely to yourself for the moment (with the exception of your wife of course). I’m thinking about shop signs and advertising images, and would also include stall-painting with these (for example, those at the *Oktoberfest*). I would like to attempt here to go to the boundaries of kitsch (or, as many will think, *beyond* the boundaries of kitsch).”⁷⁵ Memories of folk art from the Russian Empire pervade the whole of Kandinsky’s output, and any study of the artist’s late works, produced during his Paris period, justifiably includes a reference to Kandinsky’s “Russian,” almost “Far Eastern” coloration. As for the considerable extent to which in the second half of his life, at the Bauhaus and in Paris, Kandinsky still identified with his Russian heritage, it should suffice here to draw attention to an interpreter of Kandinsky’s work whom the artist favored, but who has remained pretty much unknown. The configuration of colors in the Dessau Master House, which the young Felix Klee apparently dubbed an “East Asian museum,” caused quite a sensation.⁷⁶ Kandinsky had the walls of the small sitting room painted in pink and ivory colors, the doors black, and the ceiling grey, and had the niche inlaid with gold leaf.⁷⁷ It was the gold in particular, reminiscent as it was of icons, that contributed to the seemingly eccentric effect of the coloration in Walter Gropius’s sober architecture. Shortly after they had moved in, in July 1926, the Viennese art historian Fannina W. Halle, who had Russian roots, visited the Kandinsky/Klee double house at the instigation of Paul Westheim, the editor of the journal *Das Kunstblatt* (The Art Paper). In 1920, she had published a book entitled *Alt-russische Kunst* (Old Russian Art), and a year later she produced a study entitled *Kandinsky, Archipenko, Chagall*.⁷⁸ Kandinsky liked her work so much, that he later frequently recommended her as an author on his work.⁷⁹ When the catalogue to Kandinsky’s *Jubiläums-Ausstellung zum 60. Geburtstag* (Sixtieth Birthday Jubilee Exhibition) at the Galerie Arnold in Dresden was published in 1926, in addition to texts of Paul Klee, Will Grohmann, and Katherine Dreier, there was also a piece by Halle with observations on the Russian origins of Kandinsky’s art.⁸⁰ When there was a further, small exhibition of Kandinsky’s work in Paris in 1930, the catalogue included a piece by Halle, at the artist’s specific request. He had earlier drawn Christian Zervos’s attention to Halle’s publication on old Russian art in the monastery cities of Vladimir and Susdal, for Zervos’s journal *Cahiers d’art*, and he sent him Halle’s German typescript for the Paris catalogue. The latter also makes clear the extent to which Kandinsky clearly wished his art to be positioned in the context of his Russian origins, even though this was an exhibition at which the works displayed were exclusively from his earlier Bauhaus years.⁸¹

Throughout his life, Kandinsky carried with him a few pieces of Russian folk art that he managed to preserve despite his many changes of address and emigrating three times. Among these is the large wooden sculpture of a reclining siren⁸² (fig. 14). It is not clear whether the wooden sculpture *Battle with the Dragon*, which is reproduced in the almanac with the caption “Russian folk art” and of which a photograph survives in the artist’s estate, was actually formerly owned by Kandinsky. In any event, Münter used it as the model for two of her pictures, a small version (cat. p. 398) and a larger version of St. George’s *Battle with the Dragon*;



Fig. 13
Siren, undated, Russian folk art,
painted wood.
Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée National
d'Art Moderne, Fonds Kandinsky

Fig. 14
Photograph of a wood sculpture of a
"Battle with the Dragon" scene.
Image: Gabriele Münter and Johannes
Eichner Foundation, Munich

Fig. 15
Gabriele Münter, *Drachenkampf*
(Battle with the Dragon), 1913,
oil on canvas.
Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée National
d'Art Moderne, Fonds Kandinsky

here the saint appears, in line with Russian folk tradition, as the opponent of a seven-headed dragon (figs. 14, 15). Lastly, we should broach the possibility that Kandinsky may have drawn inspiration for the almanac idea—the Blue Rider’s central project—from Russian sources. In a comment that has received little attention, Jessica Horsley has pointed to the fact the David Burliuk—whom Kandinsky had known personally since meeting him at the Vladimir Isdebsky Gallery in Odessa in the winter of 1910 and with whom he was in frequent communication, beyond Burliuk’s contributions to the second NKVM exhibition—had organized the 1908 exhibition of the *Zveno* group (The Link) and protested against conventional painting in the catalogue.⁸³ Kandinsky may have absorbed stimuli from the Russian avant-garde, if he was able to write, in a letter to Marc dated June 19, 1911, “The whole year should be mirrored in the book, and this mirror must be brought to life fully by a chain to the past and a shining beam into the future. [...] The book can be called ‘The Chain,’ or something else.”⁸⁴

Franz Marc’s Contacts with the Cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Southeast Asia

Like Kandinsky, Franz Marc came from an educated, in his case German, middle-class background, the mixture of which his first biographer, Alois Schardt, attempted to characterize in 1936.⁸⁵ After the examinations at the end of his secondary school study, he vacillated as to whether he should become a philologist, theologian, or painter. In this he clearly had in mind the example of his elder brother Paul, who was engaged in Byzantine and Indological studies in Munich. In 1906, Marc accompanied his brother on a study trip to the Greek monasteries on Athos. Paul Marc obtained his doctorate after studying under the eminent Munich Byzantinist Karl Krumbacher, founder of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Byzantine Journal), and worked as its editor until the outbreak of the First World War.⁸⁶ In Franz Marc’s correspondence with his brother and his mother Sophie, a certain drive to justify not having adopted a career more in line with his education and academic aspirations can be detected, especially during his first ten “unsuccessful” years as an artist, from 1900 to 1910.

For Marc’s absorption in the cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Southeast Asia, we should point once more to the influence of Annette von Eckardt. Due to her background, she would have introduced him to the Arab world, among other things: during her younger years, she had lived in Tunis, where her father was stationed as Consul General, and she remained attached to the country until her death. Her sister, Isabella von Eckardt-Talayrach, wrote a book about this homeland of their youth, *Von Karthago nach Kairouan* (From Carthage to Kairouan), which was published in 1894.⁸⁷ His relationship with Annette undoubtedly deepened Marc’s interest in the literature of the Indian Vedas, Chinese love poems, and Arabic poetry; he must also have been familiar with the writings on India by Annette’s husband Richard Simon, who, having obtained his doctorate on Vedic schools, in Halle, worked from 1902 in Munich as an external lecturer. In the university context, he was, incidentally, in competition initially with Lucian Scherman, later director of the Völkerkundemuseum in Munich, who had habilitated ten years previously in Sanskrit and the history of ancient Indian literature.⁸⁸ For the book of poems *Stella Peregrina*, mentioned above, which was conceived by von Eckardt and Marc together and published by her after his death, Marc attempted with *Höllenfahrt der Ishtar* (Ishtar’s Journey to the Underworld) a visual realization of the Babylonian goddess’s fate as described by the verse fragment they had selected together (fig. 17). The intensity of the couple’s absorption in the poetry of Arab cultures, India, and China is also apparent from a small album dated 1908 that has poems carefully transcribed in Annette von Eckardt’s hand and illustrations

by the artist; it is divided up into “Egypt 4000 BC,” “Babylonian and Assyrian Literature,” “The Jews,” “The Indians,” and “The Chinese (1200—140 BC).”⁸⁹ The illustration on the first double-page spread, executed for the project and entitled *Ägyptische Fischer im Boot* (Egyptian Fishermen in their Boat), took as its model a relief of the 5th Dynasty from Saqqara, with which Marc was familiar from a photograph in a book by Eduard Meyer in his possession, *Ägypten zur Zeit der Pyramidenbauer* (Egypt at the Time of the Pyramid Builders), published in 1908.⁹⁰

In Marc’s output there are numerous examples of his following such models from the cultures of antiquity, especially in his sketchbooks.⁹¹ Only a small number of striking examples need to be highlighted here. First of all, there is Marc’s recourse to an Egyptian limestone relief of ca. 2600 BCE, for his painting *Eselfries* (Donkey Frieze) of 1911, which was noted in 1933 by Elisabeth Weiss and by Klaus Lankheit (Figs 19, 20).⁹² After Marc’s “Japonisme phase,” he was for a while intensely preoccupied with Egyptian models. He wrote to his partner Maria Franck-Marc in Berlin on February 20, 1911: “How closely the Egyptian cow sticks to the rules! Egyptian art began to go into decline when the strict rules were abandoned, when it was ‘naturalized.’ I write as if I already knew these iron rules, which are the stuff of my dreams!” He goes on to recommend: “If you’re able to go out more often now, do if possible, visit the Egyptians in the Altes Museum regularly.”⁹³ Marc was familiar, however, with the Egyptian relief that he used as a model not from the museum, but from his publisher, Reinhard Piper. Piper proved to be a dissemination and collection point for models and ideas that can be traced through Marc’s work in particular—not just on account of his large collection of reproductions of art from antiquity to the modern era, but also through his press’s publications, which included, for example, the first editions of Buddhist texts in German.

Thus, the Chinese subject mentioned above—the Two Horses, which Piper reproduced in his 1910 book *Das Tier in der Kunst*—was not to be Marc’s only source of inspiration for his animal painting. As for Piper, this was not the only picture he clearly borrowed from a compendium that was causing a stir at the time, but which today has largely sunk into oblivion: Karl Woermann’s *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker* (The History of Art of All Times and All Peoples), which initially appeared in three volumes, the first published in 1900, and was expanded to six volumes by 1920. The examples that Piper used for his compilation, which also included Assyrian reliefs, are found in Woermann’s first volume, *Die Kunst der vor- und außerchristlichen Völker* (The Art of pre-Christian and non-Christian Peoples).⁹⁴ The volumes’ first edition contained 1361 reproductions (photographs, wood engravings, and forty-two color plates); the second edition of 1904 already offered 2028 illustrations. In his study of Woermann’s publishing project, Thomas W. Gaehtgens writes: “This vast flood of images, with reproductions of buildings and works of art from throughout the world, succeeded in imparting to the educated middle classes of Germany in the first decades of the twentieth century a mental image of the world’s cultures not previously available to them.”⁹⁵ These reproductions determined the icons of world art for the collective visual memory of the German public, from ancient Egypt’s *Seated Scribe* to the *Nike of Samothrace*, and they were certainly familiar to Marc through his circle (von Eckardt, Simon, Piper) and not least of all through his brother Paul.⁹⁶

Woermann’s publication may also have played a marginal role as a stimulus in the selection of images used for the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac; among other things, Woermann’s work contains an “Indian quilt with eye ornamentation” very similar to the breechcloth reproduced in the almanac—though in Woermann’s case the original did not come from the Völkerkundemuseum in Munich, but from that in Berlin.⁹⁷ It is by no means insignificant that the final sentence of the unpublished foreword to Kandinsky’s and Marc’s almanac may be read as an oblique reference to and apparent protest against the title of Woermann’s book, *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*: “The whole work, called art, knows no borders or nations, only humanity.” The methodological weaknesses—one possible reason for the



Fig. 16
Franz Marc, *Ishtar's Descent to Hell*,
ca. 1905/06, black chalk, illustration
for verse after an ancient Babylonian
fragment, in Franz Marc, *Stella
Peregrina*, Munich 1917

Fig. 17
Franz Marc, *Donkey Frieze*, 1911,
oil on canvas.
Franz Marc Museum, Kochel am See
(on permanent loan from a private
collection)

Fig. 18
Egyptian relief, 2,700–2,600 BC,
limestone.
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden,
Leiden

Fig. 19
Franz Marc, *The Bull*, 1911,
oil on canvas.
The Solomon R. Guggenheim
Museum, New York

failure of this monumental compendium of world art history to make an enduring impact—seem to be mirrored, like a distant echo, in the almanac and the way in which it dealt with images, as Gaehtgens states in his study: “Art emerges as such a general concept that it is applicable to all periods and all regions. The question as to whether the conception of ‘art’ should not also be historically and geographically delimited and defined for each new epoch and culture did not occur to him. As a result, the objects he treats derive from the most diverse contexts, both functional and aesthetic.”⁹⁸

Mention should also be made of a further determining influence on the Munich avant-garde: the exhibition *Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst* (Masterpieces of Mohammedan Art), which ran from May until October 1910 in the city’s exhibition park on the Theresienhöhe, was conceived on a similarly monumental scale as Woermann’s compendium with 3350 works spread across eighty rooms. The exhibition, which featured a commercial section for craftwork and a display with examples of musical instruments, was the largest ever of its type until that point. It attracted numerous artists, among whom were Henri Matisse and Albert Marquet, who came from Paris especially and visited the exhibition with Hans Purrmann. This huge exhibition has been the subject of an analysis, both detailed and enlightening, that also touches on the evaluation of Islamic art implicit in the exhibition and adumbrated in its title, with its concept of “masterpieces.”⁹⁹ The analysis discusses not only the “Eurocentric universalism” by which the organizers’ view, for all its erudition and critical appraisal, was shaped, but also the objects’ decontextualization on account of their having been deemed “art.” On this front, too, a contemporary connection with the approaches adopted for the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac appears. In her analysis of the exhibition, Eva-Maria Troelenberg notes: “Was this then the consistent approach across the exhibition—to generate an ahistorical space that simultaneously neutralized history and brought the objects into the present, by recasting historical evidence as pure exhibit? In fact, this idea seems very much in conformity with the spirit of the imperial age: in his sketch of the history of ideas within the empire, which is thought out from a universal standpoint, Herbert Schnädelbach highlights as a primary outcome of the era ‘the rejection of history, the crisis of historicism, and the emancipation of the present.’”¹⁰⁰

Kandinsky visited the exhibition with Gabriele Münter¹⁰¹ and subsequently wrote a review for the St Petersburg journal *Apollon* that ended up being even more extensive and enthusiastic than his discussion of the Japanese exhibition the previous year:¹⁰² “A large number of the most diverse works, almost entirely first-rate: carpets, majolica, weapons, tiles, materials, and lastly—the thing that is most exciting and closest to our hearts Persian miniatures.”¹⁰³ Persian miniature painting, with its detailed depictions, stood at the heart of Kandinsky’s interests at the time, and scholars have followed up on the traces of its influences in his work.¹⁰⁴ August Macke too came to Munich from Tegernsee to see the exhibition;¹⁰⁵ another visitor was of course Marc, who had seen the *Exposition des Arts Musulmans* in Paris in 1903, the largest show of its type prior to that in Munich, and annotated his diary with the comment “Superb! Sensational!”¹⁰⁶ The Munich exhibition probably also provided some of the influence for Marc’s bronze *Mortar and Pestle* (cat. p. 310), which is unique in his output with its ornamental chasing of the pestle and the engraved image of a goat on the show side of the mortar.¹⁰⁷ Further evidence of Marc’s visit is found in the weighty, positive review he wrote of the second exhibition of the NKVM in the autumn of 1910, before he had come into personal contact with the artists who had come together there: “It is a shame that Kandinsky’s large composition, along with many other things, cannot be hung next to the Muhammedan carpets in the exhibition park. A comparison between the two would be unavoidable, and how instructive it would be for us all! In what does our amazed admiration for this Oriental art consist? Does it not taunt us with the one-sided and restricted nature of our European

conceptions of painting? Its coloristic and compositional skill, a thousand times deeper than our own, puts our conventional theories to shame.”¹⁰⁸

There were further points of contact in the Munich milieu with the art of cultures from abroad, which can only be sketched roughly here. The art historian Otto Fischer specialized in Japanese and Chinese art at an early stage. In 1911, he became a member of the NKVM and in 1912 caused a scandal with his book *Das Neue Bild* (The New Image) about the artists who remained in the group after those associated with the Blue Rider had left on account of Fischer’s polemic against Kandinsky’s abstract painting. In the same year, he habilitated in Göttingen with a thesis about Chinese painting, and his book *Die Kunst Indiens, Chinas und Japans* (The Art of India, China, and Japan), published by Propyläen in 1928, became a standard work on the subject.¹⁰⁹

After his Japanese, Egyptian, and Islamic “phases” however, Marc was drawn towards the Assyrian and Indo-Persian art cultures.¹¹⁰ His painting *Der Stier* (The Bull)—the only one of his works to be reproduced in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac—belongs in this context (fig. 21). The almanac’s editors presumably selected this image not least because of the associations particularly concentrated in this animal symbol, which takes up much of the picture. Here we should cite the description of the work by Klaus Lankheit, written in a style that today would be deemed old-fashioned and tending towards the idealizing: “Kandinsky, who was always able to detect an image’s icons, will have sensed the deeper sacral meaning of this work. The bull is considered a sacred animal by some peoples; in the cult of Mithras the generation of plants and animals is ascribed to the sacrifice of the hallowed *ur*-bull. White, being the color of purity, is appropriate for the animal. In order to heighten, so to speak, the white’s cultic quality, it is embedded in a lively blue and green, which in turn are activated by a red on the body’s skin. Thus, what is presented here is not the naturalistic depiction of any bull at pasture in the country, but the basic concept or idealized conception of the Holy Bull.”¹¹¹

In summary, it may be noted that as far as his motifs are concerned, Marc was considerably more susceptible, or rather receptive, to the art of high cultures outside Europe than Kandinsky was. For the latter, folk art remained a central source in his search for authenticity, which is in line with his Russian cultural origins and early interests. The same can be said for Münter.

Awareness of Colonial Collections

In 1930, Kandinsky wrote a short retrospective account of the Blue Rider. On the subject of the almanac he wrote: “The pernicious act of dissociating one art from another, and further of dissociating ‘art’ from folk art, children’s art, and ‘ethnography,’ those solidly constructed walls between what to my eyes are such related and quite often identical phenomena—in short, artificial relationships—did not allow me any peace of mind.” In the same place he enthused about the “profoundly affecting impact” that the African art in Berlin’s Völkerkundemuseum had had on him.¹¹²

After a stay in Berlin at the very start of 1911, Marc wrote to Macke on January 14 about his experience of a decisive new impetus: “I was very thorough in the Völkerkundemuseum, so I could study the methods employed in the art of ‘primitive peoples’ (as they are called by [Bernhard] Koehler and most of today’s critics when they are wanting to characterize our efforts). Ultimately, deeply moved and amazed, I latched onto the Cameroonian carvings, which are perhaps only surpassed by the sublime works of the Incas. I find it so self-evident that we should seek the rebirth of our artistic sensitivity at the cold dawn of artistic intelligence, and not among those cultures whose trajectories have already run for a thousand years, like those of Japan or the Italian Renaissance.”¹¹³

It is not chance that the two editors of the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac experienced the formative impact of African art for the first time in the Völkerkundemuseum in Berlin. During the era of New Imperialism, German museums had, in rapid succession, been filled with ethnographic objects and artworks from the colonized world.¹¹⁴ A center for this was the Königliches Völkerkundemuseum in Berlin, founded in 1873, which in 1886 received a pompous building at 120 Königsgrätzer Straße that had been six years in the building (fig. 22). We cannot begin to address here the complexity of the collections, part of which are currently being transferred to the Humboldt Forum in Berlin (Mitte), while divisive debates continue about provenance and legitimacy of ownership, in relation to both individual objects and whole collections. A few observations on the internal organization and public awareness of the museum at the turn of the twentieth century will have to suffice.¹¹⁵ The ethnological objects belonged to the older core of the museum's holdings and had come into the Prussian collections following Humboldt's expeditions. In the 1880s, the museum inherited numerous objects, especially from Alaska and British Columbia, from its first director, Adolf Bastian, who had acquired them on his research expeditions.¹¹⁶ Until 1911, Berlin's Völkerkundemuseum had a pivotal position among the German Empire's ethnographic collections.¹¹⁷

In the official museum guide to the Berlin Völkerkundemuseum, the close connection with German colonial exploitation was given a positive gloss, without any sugar coating: "The Königliches Museum is also particularly grateful to the Colonial Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and indebted to the governors as well as the many public servants and officers in the protectorates, through whose untiring cooperation it has become possible to bring the African and Oceanian collections to a peak, and maintain them there, that other museums do not surpass or even match."¹¹⁸ Around this time, as the 15th (1911) edition of the museum guide indicates, visitors to the ethnology department such as Kandinsky and Marc saw the "cultural property of those peoples not included in the historical and geographical framework of world history that revolves around ancient Mediterranean culture." "As to this, first place belongs to the artifacts produced by so-called primitive peoples, and there follow the independently evolved cultures of India and its neighboring lands, and the cultures of East Asia and ancient America"; there were also collections relating to the pre- and early histories of regions of Europe.¹¹⁹ A separate wing was set aside exclusively for objects from Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at the hill of Hisarlik, including "Priam's Treasure," the museum's visitor magnet and one of the Wilhelmine empire's most prestigious possessions.¹²⁰ The African and Oriental departments were at the time under the direction of Felix von Luschan, who among other things made a name for himself by acquiring the ornate works in bronze from the kingdom of Benin that today are at the center of the discussions on stolen art. After a "punitive expedition" and plundering by English troops in 1897, these works ended up in large numbers not just in the British Museum in London, but also other European and American collections, including in Hamburg and Munich. Von Luschan was one of the first to describe the high artistic quality of these now world-famous bronze and ivory sculptures from Benin, documenting them in a three-volume publication; nearly all of the purchases of works made during this acquisition phase were at auctions in London, but von Luschan was obviously aware of their provenance during one of the bloodiest episodes of depredation in colonial history.¹²¹ So it is no coincidence that as far as "authenticity" was concerned, it was the art of West Africa, with its sculptural representations of people and masks, that caught our protagonists' eyes—and first and foremost the works from Cameroon, on account of the variety of production there, as well as the country's particular status in the German public's awareness of its colonies. By contrast, the art of East Africa, molded for centuries by Arab and Indian influences, featured less in the reception of African art in Germany.

The second ethnological museum that the two artists knew from visiting in person (and in addition to them probably also August Macke and Gabriele Münter) was the Königlich Ethnographische Sammlung (Royal Ethnographic Museum) in Munich, which was founded in 1862 by Maximilian II, and which, between 1868 and 1925, was housed under changing names in the gallery building of the northern Hofgarten arcades (fig. 23). From 1912 to 1917, it was called the Königlich Ethnographisches Museum, and for decades thereafter the Museum für Völkerkunde.¹²² Its foundational holdings were exotica previously owned by the Wittelsbach family; and at the start of the nineteenth century were added, through purchases made by King Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria, “three extensive and important collections, from the expeditions of Spix and Martius (1821, Brazil), Krusenstern (1821), and Cook (1825: Oceania, Eastern Siberia, Alaska, and the west coast of North America.”¹²³ Maximilian’s successor, Ludwig I, expanded the collection, particularly through the purchase of the Indian collection assembled by the French naturalist Christophe-Augustin Lamare-Picquot. The founding director of the museum, from 1862 to 1867, was Moritz Wagner. Lucian Scherman, director of the museum at the time of the Blue Rider until his dismissal in 1933, wrote: “Wagner’s successor was Prof. Dr. Max Buchner (d. 1921), whose name was frequently mentioned in the context of our colonial politics in Africa, and whose post I took over in 1907. The collections Buchner procured and appropriated on a world trip added greatly to the museum’s holdings, and were followed by the spoils of my trips to the Indian subcontinent and Burma in 1910–11.”¹²⁴ Scherman moved from an academic path at university to working in a museum; he completed a doctorate specializing in Oriental languages and in 1892 habilitated in Sanskrit and the history of ancient Indian literature.¹²⁵ While the cultures of India and Asia remained his main area of expertise, during his time in office not only did he make efforts to establish a more precise definition of his field in relation to ethnology, but he also attempted, by “unifying ethnography, craft, and high art,”¹²⁶ to organize and present the collection holistically, despite its being displayed tightly packed in over-filled cabinets. Coupled together with these “efforts to aestheticize,” which were also being made in other ethnological museums in Germany at the time, were attempts to recognize the artistic quality of objects stemming from cultures that were not, at the time, recognized as advanced or so-called high cultures—a policy that Scherman pursued increasingly vigorously.¹²⁷ The correspondence between the Munich museum director and Kandinsky and Marc will be discussed below, because the artists did not select for the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac any pieces from the Berlin Völkerkundemuseum, which they describe so tellingly in their writings. They did however choose eight works from the Munich collection, and one can only guess as to the reasons for their limited selection. In his essay on the history of the Munich Völkerkundemuseum, Jean-Loup Rousselot speculates: “In the display of the collection they saw there were several thousand objects on view, and if one considers the extent of the display space, primacy was afforded to the cultures of India, South Asia and the Far East, China, and Japan. The artists bypassed these ancient civilizations, choosing instead ‘outliers from high cultures’—in fact, almost exactly as the ethnologist Scherman did in 1922 for his exhibition.”¹²⁸

The ethnological and folk objects from the Historisches Museum in Bern selected for reproduction in the almanac by the Blue Rider artists will be discussed below (the museum had been brought to the artists’ attention by their Swiss artist friend Louis Moilliet). At this point one ought just to mention the British Museum in London, which Franz and Maria Franck-Marc visited in 1911, and the Völkerkundemuseum in Dresden, to whose South Seas carvings Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Erich Heckel, and Max Pechstein continued to make reference in the long term. The British Museum, which at its founding in 1759 stretched to only three departments (manuscripts, printed books, and natural history), had a century later grown in leaps and bounds, in line with the British Empire’s colonial expansion, and together with the Louvre in Paris it counted as one of the largest museums



Fig. 20
View of the Indian Room, 1912,
Königlich Ethnographisches Museum,
gallery building in the Hofgarten
arcades.
Image: Museum Fünf Kontinente,
Munich, photographic collection

Fig. 21, 22
Photographs from East Africa, in
*Deutschland als Kolonialmacht: Dreißig
Jahre deutsche Kolonialgeschichte*,
Berlin 1914, pls. 18 and 19

in the world. At the turn of the twentieth century, the ethnographic department took up nearly the whole of one wing of the building.¹²⁹ In the comprehensive guide to the museum's ethnographic collections of 1910 issued under Charles Hercules Read, among the numerous drawings and photographs, there are also works similar to those that we will encounter among the works selected for reproduction in the almanac, such as a shadow puppet from Java and an ancestor figure from Easter Island in profile and lateral views.¹³⁰

While we know of Marc and Macke that during their several stays in Paris they made thorough and enthusiastic visits to the Louvre including its departments of non-European cultures, there is no record of their having visited the Musée d'Ethnographie in the Trocadéro, founded in 1879. It was here that Pablo Picasso famously experienced his "awakening," when he came face to face with the African sculptures on display.¹³¹ This collection—which at the time received few visitors and was neglected—also increased in size and range within a few decades during the era of New Imperialism, and on the occasion of the 1937 universal exhibition it was renamed the "Musée de l'Homme" (Museum of Mankind) and rehoused in the Palais de Chaillot. The majority of its holdings are now amalgamated with those of the former Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie in the Musée du quai Branly, which is numbered among the largest collections in the world.¹³²

The artists of The Bridge in Dresden were also aware of the art objects in their city's Völkerkundemuseum. "The Dresden collections were (and are) famous for their particularly old ethnographic objects from South America, Africa, and Asia, as well as for the main focus of its founding director, A. B. Meyer, on the 'island peoples of the Indian and Pacific oceans'; when the 'departments of ethnography and anthropology' were established in 1875, they were housed in the eastern entrance pavilion of the Zwinger.¹³³ Because of the overabundance of objects, the museum was closed in 1905, extended around the Zwinger's arcaded "Bogengalerie," and opened again in 1909. Kirchner was evidently among the earliest visitors to the reopened museum, and he proved himself to be familiar with its holdings. On March 31, 1910, he wrote to Erich Heckel and Max Pechstein: "The Völkerkundemuseum here has reopened, just a small part of it, but the famous Benin bronzes were a pick-me-up and a pleasure, a few things from the pueblos of Mexico are still on display, as are some N*** sculptures."¹³⁴ Of central significance for him and his artist-friends, however, was a single object. On a postcard from Kirchner to Heckel dated June 20, a few months later, we find: "The beam however is beautiful, over and over." The object to which Kirchner was referring is a beam with carved and painted reliefs from a meeting house in the Palau archipelago of the South Seas, which had been added to the German Empire's colony of New Guinea, together with the Caroline Islands, in 1899. It is apparent, and not just from the ethnologist's point of view, that Kirchner evidently projected his yearning for a free—and permissive—life onto the Palau beam's painted figural sculpture, in other words that he was seeking confirmation of his own conceptions in the foreign; beyond that however he was not able to fathom the work's meaning.¹³⁵

Pechstein mentioned the same beam and other posts from the Palau house kept in Dresden in his autobiography and described how "in the Museum für Völkerkunde the carvings on the roof beams and crossbeams from the Palau islands in the Pacific Ocean filled [me] with longing, as if I already sensed this distant tropical world."¹³⁶ As it happens, Max and Lotte Pechstein embarked on a two-year trip to the South Seas in spring 1914, but their stay on the Palau island of Koror was interrupted after six months by the outbreak of the First World War; they reached Europe again after a return journey that lasted a month.¹³⁷ Prior to this, in 1913, Emil Nolde—who had spent the winter of 1911–12 drawing intensively in the Berlin Völkerkundemuseum and for years after that used this trove of objects, masks, and fetishes as a source of inspiration for his still lives and

religious paintings—had set off on a journey to the South Seas, accompanying the German New Guinea Medical and Demographic Expedition, carried out at the behest of the imperial Colonial Office, in order to (as Nolde put it) “ascertain the reasons for the decline in birthrate among the native population. This was a matter of considerable concern if the colony was to thrive, as the native population formed the workforce for the plantation-owners and colonists.”¹³⁸ When, in December 1913, Emil and Ada Nolde reached the colonial capital of Rabaul, after an intermediate stop at Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen (modern-day Madang, on the island of New Guinea), they had already encountered Papuans, imprisoned on the ship, whom Nolde, protected by a batten door, began to draw. “From that moment on, all the encounters that came about over the following five months between him and people he considered ‘savage’ were frightening experiences.”¹³⁹ The journey to the German lands of the South Seas undertaken by Nolde, who was not unaware of the exploitation in the colonies, also finished half a year earlier than planned: he began the journey home in May 1914. Like Pechstein’s work however, Nolde’s subsequent reworkings of material for his art had a formative influence on the German public’s cultural life from the First World War until the early 1920s.

Photography played an important role in the distribution of motifs from the colonies in popular media, and first and foremost in this regard were images of people, landscapes, and wild animals. In any event, those circles of society with an interest in the colonies were catered for by a veritable flood of images in books and journals on the subject. As late as the start of 1914, an opulent volume bearing the Prussian eagle embossed in silver, *Deutschland als Kolonialmacht: Dreißig Jahre deutsche Kolonialgeschichte* (Germany as Colonial Power: Thirty Years of Colonial History), was published, with series of photographs spread across 580 plates illustrating the colonies’ inhabitants, their clothing, their domestic architecture, and everyday objects, and (to a lesser extent) also representational artworks from cultic contexts; the volume already feels like an obituary for a history of thirty years of dominion (fig. 25).¹⁴⁰

Modernist Art and Non-European Art. The Folkwang Museum in Hagen and its Relationship to the Blue Rider

The Folkwang Museum in Hagen was the first museum in the German Empire to display works by artists of the European avant-garde in its halls alongside works from China, Japan, Korea, Africa, and Oceania. In his 1918 dissertation “*Grundzüge der Stilentwicklung*” (Fundamentals of Style), the museum’s founder, Karl Ernst Osthaus, wrote retrospectively about this pluralist approach: “It was not hard to recognize that all of them (painters, architects, sculptors, artisans) were producing work under conflicting influences. One was very keen on Ravenna, another was enticed by Japan, and yet another by the Orient or Mexico. Lastly, N*** art emerged as a mentor to the Expressionists. Was this an artificial situation? Absolutely not. But equally it could not last long. These were the roots that the modern creative urge put down into the wide earth of modern knowledge to gather for itself the nutrients containing everything needed to construct a new form of life for art.” In conclusion he wrote: “We have stepped away from the culture of our cities, our land, and Europe: the culture that is to come is of the world.”¹⁴¹

Osthaus came from a banking and industrialist family and acquired the first pieces for his collection as far back as 1897–98, during a trip through Algeria and Tunisia. In 1900, he commissioned the Belgian architect Henry van de Velde for the interior decoration of the Folkwang Museum, which was already being constructed at the time¹⁴² (fig. 26). When the museum opened in 1902, the

foremost collections, in line with its emphasis on craft and its pedagogical aims, were those relating to the Far East, ceramics, and lacquer work; the interest specifically in Japan had been fostered by van de Velde.¹⁴³ Alongside the ceramics and lacquer work there was an extensive collection of Noh and Kyogen masks. In 1908–09, Osthaus, accompanied by Walter Gropius, then an architecture student, traveled to Spain, where he acquired nearly 500 Moorish tiles, some of which were lent two years later to the *Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst* exhibition in Munich.¹⁴⁴ In 1910, 109 Javanese shadow-puppet figures were purchased in Amsterdam.

A little later, the impetus for Osthaus to begin collecting African objects came, curiously, from August Macke. On this, one might cite Volprecht's account of the Hagen museum's history: "In May 1913, Osthaus received a letter from what was then the most important collecting point for ethnographic objects from all corners of the world, the Völkerkundliches Institut und Museum J.F.G. Umlauff in Hamburg. 'At the behest of August Macke of Bonn am Rhein, I am taking the liberty of offering you three Chinese pictures.' It comes across as a polite gesture on the part of August Macke, but one out of step with the times, that he [...] wanted to act as intermediary for Chinese pictures at this point. But in doing so he sealed an important business relationship, for that very year Osthaus began seeking out various objects (that can no longer be identified) in Hamburg in person. There are references in passing to a Tibetan collection and a collection of bronzes. A year later, Umlauff offered Osthaus the opportunity to acquire pieces from the Frobenius Collection. These come from an expedition to Yorubaland (Nigeria) undertaken by the Deutsche Inner-Afrikanische Forschungs-Expedition (German Inner Africa Research Expedition), organized and led by one of the leading German specialists in Africa of the time, Leo Frobenius."¹⁴⁵ With this acquisition, in line with Osthaus's unusual collecting interests, artful quotidian objects outnumbered sculptures from the ambit of the Ifa culture, which were far better known.¹⁴⁶ This collection formed from Frobenius's expeditions was displayed in the Folkwang Museum in July 1914, constituting one of the first exhibitions dedicated to African art. A little later, further African works were added to the collection from other sources, including a Baoulé figure and a Bayaka mask, which Carl Einstein included in his photographic guide to African sculpture published in 1915.¹⁴⁷

The relationships of the Blue Rider artists to Osthaus and his collection were manifold. In 1910, the Folkwang Museum was one of the venues for the second NKVM exhibition (the Kunstverein in Barmen, one of the most progressive institutions in Germany, led by Richard Reiche, had been one of the venues for the first traveling NKVM exhibition). Collective exhibitions of work by Kandinsky, Marc, von Jawlensky, and Bekhteev followed. Macke was one of the museum's keenest visitors. It was a sort of "Mecca" for him, in the words of his cousin Helmuth Macke;¹⁴⁸ for example, he wrote to Marc on Boxing Day 1910: "I was in Hagen and saw two Matisses, which were ravishing. There was also a large collection of Japanese masks. Divine! There was freedom in the way in which they were brought together, but the lighting was bad."¹⁴⁹ Marc could have been inspired by Osthaus's collection of Japanese *tsuba* (sword guards), (figs. 23, 24) when he produced his bronze keyhole clasps "in the form of a sword guard" of which he gave two examples to Macke (cat. p. 310).¹⁵⁰ Macke knew his friend's predilection for craftwork, both antique and from outside Europe. He extolled his native city of Bonn and advised him: "Then we have a provincial museum with splendid Roman sculpture, mosaics, and jewelry in gold and with precious stones, before which you might fall to your knees and pray like a Roman emperor."¹⁵¹

On their return journey from London in June 1911, Franz Marc and Maria Franck-Marc stopped off in Bonn to visit August and Elisabeth Macke, and together with their Rhenish friend they visited (in addition to the Kunstverein in Barmen, where there was an exhibition of Marc's work at the time) the Folkwang Museum in Hagen.¹⁵² A month later Marc was making enquiries at the museum

regarding photographs for reproduction in the almanac, and he wrote to Kandinsky with the bearing of an expert: "The Hagen museum has of course sent the Siamese sheets back to the dealers in Holland. I've now written to them to ask for a consignment on approval."¹⁵³ In 1911, Gabriele Münter made a trip through the Rhineland, where the museums and collectors most open to modern art of the time were concentrated. On her tour she visited the Folkwang Museum in order to do some "advertising" for the NKVM.¹⁵⁴

On the occasion of the museum's tenth anniversary in 1912, a portfolio was produced, to which Kandinsky and Marc generously contributed original graphic works; later, in 1913, we find two watercolors in Marc's sketchbook after antique gold jewelry in the Folkwang Museum: *Ornamentstudien* (Ornament Studies) and *Vogelfries* (Bird Frieze) (figs. 25, 26). What was particularly important for Marc however was Osthaus's purchase in 1911 of his large painting *Red Horses* (*Horses at Pasture IV*), one of the first of the artist's works to be acquired for a museum. That it should have become one of Marc's most famous works today is in no small measure due to its then being accessible to public view and its being reproduced in color at an early stage.¹⁵⁵ After Osthaus's death in 1921, his heirs sold the entirety of the museum's holdings and the rights to its name to the city of Essen and the Essen museum association, which founded the present-day museum in 1922. With the redisplay of the material that followed, Marc's picture was exhibited together with paintings by Erich Heckel and Paula Modersohn-Becker alongside Asian sculptures, as is evident from a photograph taken by Albert Renger-Patzsch in around 1930 (fig. 27).

The presentation of the permanent collection in the Folkwang Museum in Hagen—a display that was innovative even for its day—could also have motivated the group around the Blue Rider to abolish the barriers between the arts. In August 1913, Gertrud Osthaus, Karl Ernst Osthaus's wife, described in detail the museum's then layout in an article for the *Kölnische Zeitung* (Cologne News): Moorish tiles and ceramics from Spain, together with other Islamic art, were displayed in the lower-ground floor, and European art up until the Rococo was on the first floor, with the route to the modern European and Buddhist sections marked by modern graphic works and figures from Bali. "In the vestibule however China and Japan are on display, and in the subsequent rooms on the east side, Korea, Siam, and India, and lastly also Egypt and works of ancient African art; the central hall and the rooms on the west side on the other hand accommodate mainly works produced by our modern cultures. [...] In the adjoining rooms however the desire to bring together spiritually related periods, lands, and histories takes over. Between sacred stones from Korea and bronzes from Laos there hang pictures by Gauguin and there stands a sculpture by Minne. And strangely, the inner lives of these works merge into a seamless whole; the viewer's gaze glides from one work to the next, only perhaps more stimulated with each successive work on account of the previous one ... From this, the fact that the demonic works produced by African culture accompany groups of the most recent paintings and sculptures—by Expressionists, represented here mainly by Matisse and Nolde—seems almost self-evident. For indeed, as a result of some mysterious spiritual relatedness, all these artists took their inspiration and sometimes even the same means of expression from those dark, distant regions."¹⁵⁶

While the works discussed so far were pieces of both lesser and greater import acquired from dealers, the pieces that came into the collection from Africa and German New Guinea after 1914 clearly derived from colonial contexts—a fact criticized in a submission made by Emil Nolde himself, who for many years utilized the stimuli furnished by these objects for his own art. He sent a copy of his criticism of this "trade in stolen goods" and its "artistic/ethnographic products" to Osthaus.¹⁵⁷ Two years later, the Folkwang Museum exhibited 120 of Nolde's New Guinea watercolors. Osthaus was delighted; he wrote a piece about Nolde's South Seas trip and acquired three watercolors for himself. He also championed the



Fig. 23, 24
Japanese sword guards, ca. 1750–1800,
iron, partly gold-plated.
Museum Folkwang Essen, formerly
the Museum Folkwang Hagen

Fig. 25
Franz Marc, *design (frieze of birds)*, 1913;
watercolor.
Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus
und Kunstbau, Munich (loan from
a private collection)

Fig. 26
Franz Marc, *design (ornament studies)*,
1913; watercolor.
Franz Marc Museum, Kochel am See



Fig. 27

Installation view, Museum Folkwang, Körner-Bau, room with paintings by Emil Nolde, Paula Modersohn-Becker, Erich Heckel, in the background Franz Marc's *Red Horses (Horses at Pasture IV)*, as well as sculptures and other artworks of non-European provenance. Museum Folkwang Essen, photograph by Alfred Renger-Patzsch, ca. 1930–33

Fig. 28

Installation view, Museum Folkwang, Körner-Bau, with paintings by Emil Nolde and objects from Oceania. Museum Folkwang Essen, photograph by Alfred Renger-Patzsch, April 1934

pictures elsewhere, encouraging the Nationalgalerie in Berlin to purchase Nolde's New Guinea watercolors. That very year, the imperial colonial office consequently bought fifty watercolors, which covered the costs of Nolde's entire trip.¹⁵⁸

The display of the Folkwang Museum in Essen, in around 1930, combined works by Nolde with Malagan and Papua New Guinean Uli figures from Osthaus's collection, which for the most part had only been made at the start of the twentieth century (fig. 28).

The *Der Blaue Reiter* Almanac: Sculptures from Colonial Contexts

During the planning of the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, which began in 1911, Kandinsky, Marc, and Münter contacted many other artists. The almanac contains numerous reproductions of artworks of different genres, regions, and periods, spread throughout, and presented in unusual juxtapositions, typically without any direct connection to the texts. Arenas of art, such as painting by Old Masters and new Masters, folk art, works from so-called "primitive" cultures of Africa, North and South America, and Polynesia then being "discovered," pictures by the mentally impaired, medieval sculpture, and "children's art," which the European concept of art had until then considered hierarchically separate, were displayed alongside one another for the first time, thereby suggesting, at least in theory, their equality.¹⁵⁹ The focus here is on the Blue Rider's engagement with works from colonial contexts.

Among the various photographs, postcards, and the sheets of illustrations that the artists requested for their project were photographs from three ethnological collections (in Berlin, Munich, and Bern); some of these survive in Kandinsky and Münter's estate, others were returned after use. August Macke was also involved in procuring this material, as Kandinsky was later to recollect: "Franz Marc brought a helpful collaborator on board in the person of August Macke, who was very young at the time. The principal task that we set him, one in which we also participated ourselves, was to procure ethnographic material. He acquitted himself splendidly and was given the further task of writing an essay about masks, something he managed equally admirably."¹⁶⁰ It was evidently Macke who made enquiries about photographs with the Bern Historisches Museum, a collection of which he probably became aware through his Swiss artist friend Louis Moilliet.¹⁶¹ Marc and Kandinsky corresponded with Lucian Scherman, director of the collection in Munich, and Münter (and probably also Kandinsky) was in contact with the Völkerkundemuseum in Berlin.¹⁶²

The works from museum collections ultimately selected for reproduction in the almanac came from the Historisches Museum, Bern, and the ethnographic collection in Munich. From Bern, the *Ancestral Figure (male)* from the Dayak of Borneo; a *Bapunu Mask* from Gabon; and the painted wooden figures from Bali, *Wooden Figure (Female)*, *Wooden Figure (Male)* and *Wooden Figure (Mother and Child)* (cat. p. 307). From Munich, a *Cult House Post* from Cameroon; the *Tapir Head Mask* from the north-west Amazon in Brazil; a *Moai Kavakava* from Easter Island (cat. p. 386); *Mask of an Ancestor Spirit* from New Caledonia in Melanesia (cat. p. 397); the Aztec ceramic figure *Xipe Totec* from Huexotla, Mexico (cat. p. 396); the *American Nobleman's Garment*, worn as a breechcloth from the Chilkat in Southern Alaska on the north-west coast of America; a *Stilt (tapuvar toko)* from the Marquesas Islands in Polynesia (cat. p. 350); a relief panel from the kingdom of Benin (territory now in Nigeria); and a *Maha-Kola Mask* from the Sinhalese people of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) (cat. p. 385).¹⁶³ The majority of these works, which are completely different from one another, are spread throughout the almanac; the only exception was Macke's essay "Masks," whose six illustrations are exclusively of ethnographic works (fig. 29).

As is also the case with the Berlin Völkerkundemuseum, we do not know who Macke's official point of contact at the museum in Bern was. There is however a strong argument to be made that it may have been the then vice-director, and keeper of the ethnographic collection, Rudolf Zeller, who probably also undertook the selection of photographs himself,¹⁶⁴ for the official museum guide of 1912 singles out from the extensive ethnographic collection, with copious commentary, precisely those pieces reproduced in the almanac: "The Museum owns a series of such ancestral figures from Borneo," (cat. p. 391) (including two in ironwood) and "The figures from Bali and Lombok, which derive in part from the ancient Indian pantheon, are striking for their polychrome treatment."¹⁶⁵ The delicate *Bapunu Mask* (cat. p. 351) is described in particularly careful terms; familiarity with this description would have sufficed for the almanac's editors not to have given this object the title "Chinese Mask (?)" in their list of illustrations. According to the museum guide, the mask came from the British colony of Sierra Leone (here, Upper Guinea), where such cult objects were used by female secret societies, namely the Bundu and the Yassi.¹⁶⁶

Macke wrote to Münter on September 25, 1911, about the search for a theme for his textual contribution: "I have had some important thoughts, but it will be hard for me to set them free. 'The Justification for Peasant Art' or 'Temperament in Pot Ornament,' 'Masks and Puppet Plays among the Greeks, Japanese, and Siamese,' 'Mystery Plays among Pagans and Early Christians,' 'Living and Dead Ornament,' 'The Naked Fact in Art,' etc. A mishmash of all this is brewing in my head. If I manage to fish something sensible out of this, then I'll gladly write it up. Apart from that, I'm coming to Munich, Sindelsdorf, and Murnau soon."¹⁶⁷ Macke would have been the first to agree that he was approaching his theme with rather playful capriciousness, and he clearly had a grasp, though without much background knowledge, of topical contemporary discussions (from the appreciation of ornament all the way to the shadow puppet figures that had just been discovered by the circle of friends). The difficulties he had in putting pen to paper in the end for his half-poetic, half-theoretical piece are attested by the numerous versions of the text that survive in his papers.¹⁶⁸ The oft-cited associative, lyrical opening lines—"A sunny day, a cloudy day, a Persian spear, a holy vessel, a pagan idol and a wreath of everlasting flowers, a Gothic cathedral and a Chinese junk"—were placed right at the end of the text in its first version, which throughout combined contrasting impressions, not just visual, but also auditory and purely atmospheric.¹⁶⁹ Just like Kandinsky, Macke dubs children and "savages" examples of creators of strong forms, but only towards the end of his text does he go into the illustrations associated with it: "The contemptuous wave of the hand with which connoisseurs and artists to this day have banished all artistic forms of primitive cultures to the fields of ethnology and applied art is astonishing at the very least."¹⁷⁰

During the meetings of the almanac's editors in Murnau and Sindelsdorf in October 1911, Marc began to assemble three provisional copies of the book in order to drum up financial and non-material support from the likes of the patron Bernhard Koehler, the gallery-owner Alfred Flechtheim, and Hugo von Tschudi, director of the Staatliche Gemäldesammlungen (State Paintings Collections) in Munich. Since coming together, the circle of Munich artists had had particular hopes of von Tschudi, the Swiss museum man who had been dismissed from his post at the Nationalgalerie in Berlin on account of his progressive acquisition policy and, since 1909, had been employed at Munich's Painting Collections. It was von Tschudi who, after interviewing Kandinsky in person in the summer of 1909, had engineered the opportunity for the NKVM to hold its first exhibition, at the Galerie Thannhauser.¹⁷¹ Because von Tschudi was on sick leave, it was his colleague Heinz Braune who received the provisional copy of the almanac. On November 9, 1911, Marc wrote to Macke: "Today, I'm sending the provisional, greatly enlarged version (the second since our meeting) to Dr Braune for inspection. Your article



Fig. 29
Double page spread from August Macke's "Die Masken," *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, 1912



Fig. 30
Two Power Figures, Democratic Republic of Congo, second half of the 19th century.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

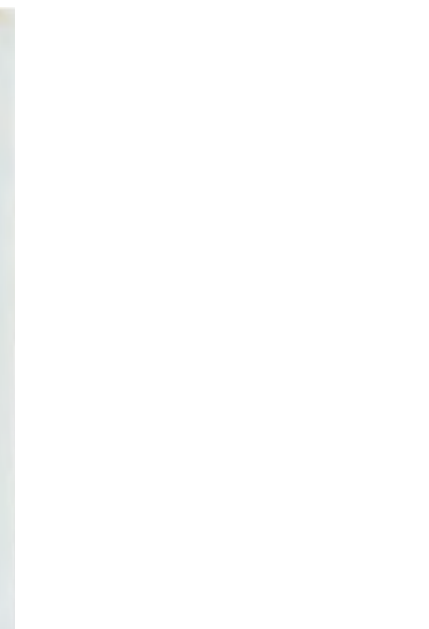


Fig. 31
Sherbo Figure, from Moboray, Sierra Leone, end of the 19th century.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

has been embellished with those ethnographic marvels.”¹⁷² A day later, Marc also let Kandinsky know that “August’s article has been embellished with the ethnographic artifacts.” Kandinsky’s response was immediate: “You have arranged the pictures very beautifully” (by which he was referring to how the whole issue was illustrated at that point).¹⁷³ Although it is rather unlikely, as von Tschudi’s illness was at an advanced stage, there may have been an exchange with him about the plans to include “ethnographic artifacts” in the almanac. Von Tschudi’s father Johann Jakob, a naturalist and explorer, had spent quite a long time in Peru, Brazil, and Chile. He published on the languages and cultures of the indigenous peoples of South America, and from 1860 onwards was temporarily the Swiss envoy in Brazil. His son may well have become familiar early on with other facets of colonial expansion, a policy also pursued by Switzerland right up until that time, particularly through the Basel Mission, with its combination of Christian evangelism and trade interests. After being suspended from his post as director of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin in 1908, Hugo von Tschudi spent nearly a year travelling through Japan, China, and Egypt.¹⁷⁴ By the end of November 1911, however, he was already dead, and the almanac was dedicated “to the memory of Hugo von Tschudi.” In his text “*Geistige Güter*” (Spiritual Goods), Marc also elaborated on von Tschudi’s career.¹⁷⁵

With regard to the final selection of ethnographic objects for the almanac, it is remarkable that relatively few pieces from Africa were included, and none of these were from the Berlin museum whose African collection had so fascinated Kandinsky and Marc. Going by the discarded photographs, which survive in the bundle of images that were considered for reproduction but which did not make the final selection, one can only guess what prompted the editorial team not to illustrate certain examples of African as well as Colombian art, for example the *Two Power Figures* from the Congo, or the *Sherbo Figure* from Sierra Leone. It might be because there were too few formal analogies with the examples of European art selected, because they were too sexually explicit, or because the images seemed to stand alone (figs. 30, 31).¹⁷⁶

Overall, we can assume that the editors’ knowledge of the ethnographic works reproduced in the almanac—all of which had made their way to their respective collections from colonial contexts—was extremely slight, and that they disregarded the provenance, history, and meaning of these works with what might well be deemed a “Wilhelmine” lack of concern. They may even have remained unaware of these objects’ functions, as is apparent, for example, from the designation of the North American breechcloth as a “chieftain’s collar” in the list of illustrations (cat. p. 256). Similarly, they may have been oblivious to the role played by the small Aztec figure of a divinity during the ritual flaying of humans who had been sacrificed¹⁷⁷ (cat. p. 396). They were also clearly ignorant of the age of these works, which they regarded as witnesses of an ahistorical authenticity, but some of which were only executed around 1900.¹⁷⁸ It is telling as well that the captions for the images feature blanket geographical indications, such as “Alaska,” “Brazil,” and “Mexico,” even though more precise indications of provenance would definitely have been available—a state of affairs to which Lucian Scherman, Director of the Munich Völkerkundemuseum, objected.¹⁷⁹ After he had received a complimentary copy of the almanac, he wrote to Kandinsky on November 11, 1912: “Dear Sir, On account of the museum’s support of the project, a copy of the *Der Blaue Reiter* was delivered to me yesterday in your name. While I repeat the thanks that have already been expressed verbally for this donation to the institute’s library, I cannot refrain from giving expression to my dismay that the reproductions of objects from the Ethnographic Museum are not favored with indications of provenance. This contravenes scholarly practice and surprises me all the more in the present instance, as the case is put in the text of the book for the appreciation of artistic activity outside Europe—in the very way as it can be studied in the Ethnographic Museum. Yours faithfully, L. Scherman.”¹⁸⁰

Moreover, a decisive factor for the visual effect of many works in the book was the process of cropping or “emancipating” the images; this process affected the objects from outside Europe in particular, for example, by the omission of pendant figures and the total exclusion of the backgrounds present in the original photographs. We can gain a good understanding of this process through some of the surviving original shots, which have Kandinsky’s markings on the obverse and his directions to the printer on the reverse. Thus, on the original photograph for the *Ancestral Figure* from Southern Borneo, we can see that a figure to the left was omitted from the book, and that Kandinsky edged the right-hand figure with white, because he wanted it to appear “emancipated,” that is, without any background, on the white of the printed page (cat. p. 271). He went through exactly the same process with the *Mother and Child* statuette from Bali: despite first experimenting by edging the male pendant figure with white on the photograph supplied by the museum, he liked this so little that not only did he note “Remove the background,” he also emphasized, “don’t include the second figure,” (fig. 32).¹⁸¹

We can also gain an understanding of the dominant role that photographic reproductions were beginning to play in the interchange between artists and artifacts from around the world in Macke’s cautious drawing of an ancestral figure from Easter Island (fig. 33). In this case the drawing is not after the example illustrated in the almanac in Macke’s “Masks” essay, but a similar figure in the collection in Munich, as a photograph in the collection’s archive shows (fig. 34). Macke’s drawing is demonstrably of the left-hand figure in the photograph.¹⁸² It is precisely this photograph that was used on another occasion, as the first numbered illustration, occupying a full page, in Wilhelm Hausenstein’s *Der nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten* (The Naked Body in the Art of All Times), with the erroneous caption “Wooden statues of a South Seas islander. Munich, Ethnographic Museum” (fig. 35). It is highly likely that this book served as Macke’s model. In it, the author discusses very few examples outside of European art, though goes into detail regarding this first image, approaching these previously unknown objects warily;¹⁸³ over many lines, he endeavors to evaluate the carving of these figures specifically with regard to their anatomical “errors.” In his 1922 book *Barbaren und Klassiker* (Barbarian and Classic Artists), Hausenstein seemingly lapsed into an expressively exaggerated, even sultry prose style, repurposed for the idealization of the “primitive” and thereby in line with a contemporary mindset. This was expressed in a flood of more or less scholarly publications and picture books, for example Ernst Fuhrmann’s *Afrika: Sakralkulte* (Africa: Sacred Cults, 1922), Eckart von Sydow’s *Die Kunst der Naturvölker und der Vorzeit* (The Art of Indigenous Peoples and Prehistory, 1923), Herbert Kühn’s *Die Kunst der Primitiven* (The Art of Primitives, 1923), Ernst Diez’s *Die Kunst des Islam* (Islamic Art, 1925), Otto Fischer’s *Die Kunst Indiens, Chinas und Japans* (The Art of India, China, and Japan, 1928) and Oskar Beyers; *Welt-Kunst: Von der Umwertung der Kunstgeschichte* (World Art: On the Reassessment of Art History, 1923).¹⁸⁴ All these volumes benefited from extensive sections of reproductions, which for their part became the lens through which artistic creativity around the world, “world art,” was perceived.¹⁸⁵

Writing on the significance of photographic reproduction for the reception of non-European art, Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff has shown in a groundbreaking article “what the mise-en-scène of coffee table books on world art and tribal art since the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac of 1912 and Carl Einstein’s *N***plastik* (N*** Sculpture) of 1915 ignore: the scene in which this art was appropriated and the drama of the metamorphosis of non-European artifacts into objects of European art and scholarship.”¹⁸⁶ The separation of ethnographic objects from their culture of origin, specifically also by means of photographing them in isolation before a neutralizing background, suggests among other things that they had fallen into Europeans’s laps as unclaimed goods. This separation also removed the objects’ makers “from their position as cultural agents—a position disowned by the artists of Classical Modernism as a matter of course, putting them beyond the

reach of criticism to this day. Derain, Matisse and Picasso, Kirchner and Schmidt-Rottluff simply could not imagine that the masks and figures that they admired unreservedly, collected feverishly, and valued above ancient models were produced by artists in colonial societies who plied a trade similar to their own in Paris and Berlin.”¹⁸⁷ Remarkably, this does not only go against the idealization of “authentic” creative power, but in a sense also against the European avant-garde’s ideal of the artist collective. “It was not by chance that aesthetic appreciation of ethnographic objects as avant-garde art went hand in hand with the nullification of those who produced them. The Romantic vision of a societally relevant *tribal art* at the center of a collective’s social and religious practice was a source of fascination for bohemians at the social fringes. The model brought the promise of priestly authority, of which the aesthetic formal character of ‘primitive’ artists was, for the avant-garde, also always a token.”¹⁸⁸

*N***plastik*, Carl Einstein’s 1915 book on African sculpture, adopts an ambivalent stance in the photographic and ideological appropriation of non-European art. On the one hand, it has been acknowledged repeatedly as the first publication to ascribe to African works (in this case exclusively sculptures) the status of autonomous art.¹⁸⁹ On the other hand, it seems highly disconcerting today that the 141 pages of photographic plates are provided with absolutely no titles, details of provenance, dating, or other information, and are presented without any captions. Einstein was clearly aware of the lack of documentation for individual works, information on areas of artistic production, and even simply indications of provenance in the first edition of his book, and he attempted to compensate for these omissions with his second book, *Afrikanische Plastik* (African Sculpture) of 1921.¹⁹⁰ Lucian Scherman, expert as he was, did not only reflect on the way in which photographs were dealt with in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, but later clearly pondered publications such as Einstein’s book, as is evident in this acute critique: “For a long time now in Europe we have walked past the [...] art of Africa with indifference, if not disdain. [...] Only in recent decades has a new attitude come into view, hailing from France and Belgium in particular. Efforts were made to understand form in terms of content—and lo! Our appreciation became different, from the ground up. [...] Often with the best of intentions, but with inadequate understanding, books on African art were brought onto the market with a concomitant outpouring of rich visual material. As lacking as these works were at the start in a systematic approach, and as light-heartedly as they deemed it permissible to forego all ethnographic substance, they found readers willing to go along with this.”¹⁹¹

The almanac’s two editors remained unaffected by this critique; they were also far removed from the discussions being held among experts concerning the application of the concept of primitivism, for example in relation to African art.¹⁹² By contrast, the Blue Rider artists certainly registered the work being undertaken by a new generation of art historians such as Alois Riegl, Josef Strzygowski, Heinrich Wölfflin, Richard Hamann, and Wilhelm Worringer, who were subjecting the fringes of European art to critical scrutiny and reaching out to areas outside Europe. Worringer’s *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (Abstraction and Empathy) exercised an influence on their creative output, as did also Wölfflin’s comparative history of art.¹⁹³ There are parallels to the artists’ evolution in contemporary exhibition practice, which could likewise have been a source of stimulus for them.¹⁹⁴ Thus, not only were Russian *lubki* exhibited at the second Blue Rider exhibition of 1912 alongside the latest works of the avant-garde, but Herwarth Walden’s *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*—the largest exhibition mounted by a gallerist before the First World War of work by the international avant-garde—included pieces by the Russian autodidact Pawel Kowalenko and an anonymous Turkish artist, as well as Japanese and Chinese rice pictures.¹⁹⁵

At this point it is worth remembering that even before plans for the almanac, the idea of juxtaposing conventional and “genuine” modern art, with the intention at the same time of reflecting a decline in quality, existed, for example, in the



Fig. 32
Mother and Child, Bali, ca. 1900, with
retouchings by Wassily Kandinsky.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich



Fig. 33
August Macke, drawing after an Easter
Island figure, 1911, pencil.
Kunsthalle Bremen, Department
of Prints and Drawings



Fig. 34
Male Figures, Easter Island, from
the front, before 1911.
Photograph: Museum Fünf Kontinente,
Munich, archive



Fig. 35
“Wooden sculptures by a South Seas
islander” (ancestor figures from
Easter Island).
Illustration from Wilhelm Hausenstein's
*Der nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller
Zeiten*, Munich 1910

initiative proposed in reaction to Carl Vinnen's conservative tract *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler* (A Protest by German Artists) published in the spring of 1911.¹⁹⁶ And later, on September 8, 1911, when Marc was telling his friend Macke for the first time about the plans being formulated, he wrote: "We want to found an 'almanac' that will be the journal for all new, authentic ideas of our times [...] Our principal aim is that much should be explained by means of comparative material.— Your earlier plans to deal with art history comparatively will fit in here."¹⁹⁷ These developments were only made possible by the positivism of the preceding decades, in this case the historical sciences (including those dealing with images), against whose "materialism" Kandinsky and Marc were to turn so vehemently in their writings. In his essay on "The New Painting," Marc acknowledges this utterly: "Should one wish to find the external impetus for this movement, then it can perhaps be detected in the historical research of the nineteenth century, which presents the earliest episodes in the history of art in immense abundance; the impact became more overwhelming with each passing year; it caused a renaissance in ideas about art, not dissimilar in effect to the Italian Renaissance; let no one accuse us of presumption; we stand at the beginning of the movement; only the coming decades, centuries perhaps, will teach us how profound the effect was."¹⁹⁸

It did not escape the artists in the Blue Rider circle that the broadening of this body of knowledge in particular was closely linked to colonial expansion. In this context, it is generally overlooked that Marc already reacts to colonial annexations in the second sentence of his introductory contribution to the almanac: "If, for example, someone conquers a new colony for his country, the whole country rejoices for him, and does not hesitate—even for a day—to take possession of that colony. [...] On the other hand, if someone should think of giving his country a new purely spiritual treasure, it is almost always rejected with anger and irritation."¹⁹⁹

There was no innocent gaze, just as no criticism is known to have been levelled at colonialism by the German or French avant-garde. There again, the almanac's editors endeavored to move on from the supposition of colonialism with approaches that were truly artistic. Marc imagined beyond the "disconnected, restlessly moving manner"²⁰⁰ of the almanac's pictorial world, a vision of new, worldwide mode of art production, without traditional presuppositions: "From all corners of the world, art itself comes to our aid. It shows us every day that with our ideas and images we are but the tool of a great new burgeoning, which is bestirring itself everywhere, in places and lands that have never seen a Picasso or a Cézanne; new ideas are carried across the lands by the wind. It does not help to struggle against it; it is how our children come into the world; and children will testify against their fathers."²⁰¹

Kandinsky was pursuing his ideal of a fundamental emotional experience of art into which he also absorbed, without any distinction, objects from colonial contexts, when he made this recommendation in his contribution to the almanac, "On the Question of Form": "If the reader is able to rid himself of his own desires, his own ideas, his own feelings for a while and leafs through this book, going from a votive painting to Delaunay, from Cézanne to a work of Russian folk art, from a mask to Picasso, from a glass painting to Kubin, etc., etc., then his soul will experience many vibrations and he will enter the sphere of art. Here he will not find shocking defects and annoying faults, and instead of a minus he will attain a spiritual plus. And these vibrations and the plus arising from them will enrich his soul as no means other than art can do."²⁰²

In conclusion, we should return, with very simplified and in principle familiar arguments, to the relationship of the avant-garde's receptivity and awareness of colonial conquest, and thereby also to what was claimed at the start: the German public's amnesia surrounding this interconnectedness. The double repression of Germany's colonial past—after the “loss” of the colonies at the end of the First World War, and again after 1945—may also have its roots in the reinvigoration of the colonial racism during National Socialism, which people likewise have wanted to repress (fig. 36). Adolf Hitler's racial theory in particular can be traced back to colonialism and the “anthropological” conception of the people in the areas that had been conquered, as fabricated in the countless photographs taken for measuring skulls and other physical characteristics published in renowned publications at the time, such as the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie: Organ der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (The Ethnology Review: Journal of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory).²⁰³ Arthur de Gobineau's racist tract *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races) continued to form the basis of the “theory” of racism propounded during the imperial age as well as during National Socialism. This pseudo-scientific cultural theory formulated in 1853–55—which centers on the description of the “three great races,” in hierarchical order, and their geographical and historical spread—had a wide and deep impact in Germany after being translated into German in 1900. This was amplified by the writings of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, with his arguments for German nationalism and the concept of the *Untermensch* or subhuman, which gave expression to the extreme racist thinking of the time. In 1935, de Gobineau's book appeared in a new German translation, this time with the title shortened to indicate what was deemed indisputable, *Die Ungleichheit der Menschenrassen* (The Inequality of the Human Races).²⁰⁴

Considerably more popular, but no less racist in its undertones, was Hans Grimm's novel *Volk ohne Raum* (A People without Space), which first appeared in 1926. It was one of the most widely read books during the Weimar Republic and the National Socialist era: by 1944, 550,000 copies had been printed (fig. 37). From its title, which later became the motto for Hitler's expansion policy, one might presume that the novel was a contemporary story about the *Drang nach Osten* (Drive to the East). The plot unfolds however mainly during the Wilhelmine era and centers on a sort of antihero from a peasant background, who after working in a quarry, then in a coal mine in Bochum, and after being imprisoned in Germany emigrates to the African colonies, initially South Africa, then Lüderitz Bay in German South West Africa; after being imprisoned during the First World War by the British, he flees back to his homeland via Portuguese Angola. It is apparent from the text that the author himself lived in the colonies. Earlier, in 1913, Grimm wrote the Expressionist and erotic *Südafrikanische Novellen* (South African Novellas), also widely read, and he later wrote numerous other titles, such as *Der Gang durch den Sand* (Passage through the Sands) and *Der Ölsucher von Duala: Ein afrikanisches Tagebuch* (The Prospector of Duala: An African Diary). The colonial past was present during the National Socialist era, its cause also advanced by Hermann Göring, whose father Heinrich Ernst Göring had been the first Reich commissioner (1885–90) for German South West Africa and had later filled the same role in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. It was also on Göring's initiative that an imposing tome was republished in 1937: *Das Buch der deutschen Kolonien. Herausgegeben unter Mitarbeit der früheren deutschen Gouverneure von Deutsch-Ostafrika, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Kamerun, Togo, Deutsch-Neuguinea* (The Book of German Colonies. Published with the Collaboration of Former German Governors of German East Africa, German South West Africa, Cameroon, Togo, and German New Guinea). The book appears to gloss over the First World War losses.



Fig. 36
 Rudolf Hermann, exhibition poster for
 the *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art)
 exhibition, Hamburg 1938.
 Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe,
 Hamburg, poster collection

Fig. 37
 Hans Grimm, *Volk ohne Raum*, first
 edition 1926, 430,000 copies, Munich
 1942, Cover

Grimm also supplied a brief foreword to the book entitled '*Warum Kolonien?*' (Why Colonies?).²⁰⁵

Like so many other things, these connections all came to be forgotten after the Second World War. Since this time, there have only been scattered instances of "post-colonial rereading" of the idealization of the "primitive" (for example, that evinced by the Bridge after 1945), and of the numerous ways in which "primitivism" was received in the Federal Republic of Germany. On this, Kea Wienand writes: "In West German art historiography, in addition to [...] Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff (2003), Barbara Paul takes a similar approach, coupling research into the history of National Socialism with post-colonial studies, taking them up, and applying them to the discipline of art history itself (2003). Paul highlights that after 1945 the latter continued to center around *white*, male, and heterosexual artists, while simultaneously excluding those creating art outside Europe, for the benefit of a 'beautiful, healthy world (order)'. This sort of exclusion formed the backdrop to discussions had in the first decades of the twentieth century regarding the expansion of the art-historical canon. Paul is able to illustrate how both colonial history and Germany's National Socialist past molded the discipline of art history. As a result, she argues the case for a closer coupling of post-colonial research with analyses of the histories of National Socialism and antisemitism."²⁰⁶ In Wienand's own remarks, in *Primitivismus in Deutschland: eine genealogische Skizze* (Primitivism in Germany: A Genealogical Sketch), she notes, in relation to the art of the Bridge and the Blue Rider, that the fetish/stereotype of borrowings from foreign cultures simultaneously denied and recognized cultural difference, and that a paradox underlies reference to the "primitive": "On the one hand, they had recourse to cultures deemed the 'children of humanity' in order to legitimize abstract art; on the other, with their own artistic practices they staked a claim to be absolutely 'modern.' Even if European artists' orientation towards and partial self-identification with extra-European 'others' has contributed, at first glance (even if not lastingly), to their being recognized as artists, yet at the same time it becomes clear what acts of stereotyping were effected in relation to primitive art, lending further support to a hierarchical image of the world."²⁰⁷

Although the cultural and societal conditions in our current moment continue to fail going in this direction, Kandinsky should have the final word here: "As we have often said before, we should strive not for restriction but for liberation."²⁰⁸

Letter from Wassily Kandinsky to Gertrud Osthaus, collector and wife of Karl Ernst Osthaus, dated January 3, 1913, cited from Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, *Der Blaue Reiter und das Folkwang-Museum Hagen* (Hagen-Haspe 1980), n. pag.; I would like to thank here Vanessa Joan Müller, Matthias Mühling, and Stephanie Weber for their careful reading of this essay. Unless otherwise indicated, translations of original and secondary source material in the English edition of this essay are by Joseph Spooner.

At the start of the nineteenth century, Europe governed 55 percent of the world's surface on account of its spheres of influence; it was 67 percent in 1878, and 88.4 percent in 1914. See, among others, David Fieldhouse, *Die Kolonialreiche seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main, 1965), 139.

Between 1881 and 1898, the whole of Africa was divided up between the colonial powers of France, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, and Portugal (which owned settlements in Angola and Mozambique from an early stage). In 1911–12, Morocco came under French control, and the Libyan desert under Italian control. The only countries to remain independent were Liberia, and Ethiopia. See Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2009), 577.

This did not affect however the trade in African slaves transported to Egypt and the Arab world, a commerce that had similarly lasted hundreds of years. "Only in the 1960s, a full century after slavery had been abolished in the USA, was a broad consensus achieved against the juridical legitimacy and societal acceptability of slavery. Muslim Mauritania was the last state in the world to proscribe slavery, in 1981." Osterhammel *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, 1189.

On this, see, among others, Bartholomäus Grill, *Wir Herrenmenschen: Unser rassistisches Erbe. Eine Reise in die deutsche Kolonialgeschichte* (Munich, 2019). Grill gives brief account of the early development of European expansion from 1493 onwards, with Portugal in South America from 1500; France in the Antilles and West Indies from 1607; the Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia; and, from the early eighteenth century onwards, the building of Britain's global empire, which included India, making it the colonial power with the widest reach. See Eberhard Schmitt and Matthias Meyn eds., "Der Aufbau der Kolonialreiche," in *Dokumente zur Geschichte*

der europäischen Expansion, vol. 3 (Munich, 1987). In addition, there was the European policy of settlement of and emigration to North America, for whose "Manifest Destiny" the USA formulated a justification for colonizing native American lands.

Volker Harms ed., "Das positive Bild des Kolonialismus in unserer eigenen Kultur," in *Andenken an den Kolonialismus: Ausstellungskatalog Völkerkundliches Institut Universität Tübingen*, 17, exh. cat. (Tübingen 1984), 1.

Grill, *Wir Herrenmenschen*, 35. For Carl Peters's crimes in German East Africa, on account of which he was dismissed from state service, and his later life, see *ibid.*, 35–38.

Ibid., 162.

For a summary, see *ibid.*, 118–152. After civilian forces in Cameroon had deposed the governor, Dominik fell into disgrace. He died in 1910 during his return journey to Germany.

Grill *Wir Herrenmenschen*, 142. See also Lewis H. Gann and Peter Duignan, *Kolonialismus in Africa 1870–1960*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1969), 103–105.

Christoph Otterbeck, *Europa verlassen: Künstlerreisen am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne [etc.] 2007), 56, with reference to Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller eds., *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche* (Berlin, 2002).

Sibylle Benninghoff-Lühl, "Ach Afrika! Wär ich zu Hause," in *Andenken an den Kolonialismus: Ausstellungskatalog Völkerkundliches Institut Universität Tübingen*, 17, exh. cat., edited by Volker Harms (Tübingen 1984), 13–29, here 26.

Cameroon was particularly provocative and enticing: "... practically nowhere else was the countenance of Africa, that black beauty, so serious, so dark, so menacingly forbidding!" Grill *Wir Herrenmenschen*, 109–110.

Also, in the Catholic mission schools of Cameroon were sung the lines: "Hail to you, who wear the victor's laurels! We in Cameroon are now your children too. Hail to you, our emperor!" This is recorded in a slender, bibliophile volume in the *Jugendstil* manner: K. Woermann, *Togo und Kamerun: Eindrücke und Momentaufnahmen von einem deutschen Abgeordneten. Mit 37 Vollbildern und einer Karte* (Leipzig, 1905), 85.

Sibylle Benninghoff-Lühl, "Ach Afrika," 21–22.

Hans Fischer, *Die Hamburger Südsee-Expedition (1908–1910): Über Ethnographie und Kolonialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981).

Hermann Josef Hiery, *Das Deutsche Reich in der Südsee (1900–1921): Eine Annäherung an die Erfahrungen verschiedener Kulturen* (Göttingen, 1995), 305.

Ibid., 305.

James Cook had mapped out the South Pacific during three journeys around the world, between 1768 and 1779. See Stefan Goldmann, "Die Südsee als Spiegel Europas: Reisen in die versunkene Kindheit," in *Wir und die Wilden: Einblicke in eine kannibalische Beziehung*, ed. Thomas Theye (Hamburg 1985), 208–224, esp. 211–213. Forster's travelogue, as well as its precursor by Louis Antoine de Bougainville, established enthusiasm in Europe for the South Pacific. "These reports allowed Tahiti to become within a few years an ideal world in the European imagination, a world that no longer had anything to do with reality. Just as Forster was sufficiently aware that he must have known 'the color of the glass through which I look,' enthusiasts of the South Pacific, directed back towards nature by Rousseau, found their yearning for lost happiness fulfilled, completely uncritically, in this earthly paradise on the other side of the world. South Pacific islanders became the prototype of the 'noble savage,' and sexual freedom remained a significant component of the European vision of the South Seas." Renate Wilke-Launer and Ekkehard Launer, "Sexotik—Biedermann im Paradies," in *Exotische Welten. Europäische Phantasien*, exh. cat., Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen und Württembergischer Kunstverein Stuttgart (Stuttgart, 1987), 106–113, here 108.

Joachim Radkau, *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität: Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler* (Munich, 1998), 303–304; Radkau cites in turn Alfred Vagts (1935).

Sibylle Benninghoff-Lühl, "Die Ausstellung der Kolonialiserten: Völkerschauen von 1874–1932," in *Andenken an den Kolonialismus: Ausstellungskatalog Völkerkundliches Institut Universität Tübingen*, 17, exh. cat., edited by Volker Harms (Tübingen 1984): 52–65, here, 54. See also Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, "Völkerschauen," in *Plakate 1880–1914: Inventarkatalog der Plakatsammlung des Historischen Museums Frankfurt*, eds. Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, Kurt Wettengel and Almut Junge, Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt am Main, 1986), 224–267.

For a detailed account of this, see Joes Segal, *Krieg als Erlösung: Die deutschen Kunstdebatten 1910–1918* (Munich, 1997), 68–71.

The surrender of Germany's colonies required by the "dictated peace" of Versailles—something not envisaged in the Fourteen Points drawn up as principles for peace by Woodrow Wilson in November 1918—coupled with the high level of reparation payments was regarded as a humiliation for Germany and was exploited as propaganda by the National Socialists in particular as they gained strength.

Annegret Hoberg, "Gabriele Münter. Biographie und Photographie 1901 bis 1914," in *Gabriele Münter, Die Jahre mit Kandinsky: Photographien 1902–1914*, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (Munich, 2007), 19; Sarah Henn and Matthias Mühling, *Unter freiem Himmel: Unterwegs mit Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky | Under the Open Sky: Traveling with Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter*, Edition Lenbachhaus 06, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau (Munich, 2020), 117.

Cristina Maria Ashjian, *Representing "Scènes et Types": Wassily Kandinsky in Tunisia 1904–1905*, diss. (Evanston, Illinois, 2001). She observes: "The artist couple's visits and excursions in Tunisia, rather than suggesting any independent exploration, closely correspond to the recommendations available to tourists in authoritative guidebook sources." Ibid., 2. For a more comprehensive account, see Roger Benjamin, *Kandinsky and Klee in Tunisia* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 2015), as well as the recent exhibition catalogue Henn and Mühling, *Unter freiem Himmel*, 114–122.

On this, see also Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," in *Exotische Welten* 1987 (no 19), 172–179.

Ernst-Gerhard Güse, "Vor der Tunisreise," in *Die Tunisreise: Klee, Macke, Moilliet*, ed., Ernst-Gerhard Güse, exh. cat. Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster/Städtisches Kunstmuseum Bonn (Ostfildern, 1983), 19.

Cf. Pankaj Mishra, *Aus den Ruinen des Empires: Die Revolte gegen den Westen und der Wiederaufstieg Asiens* (Frankfurt am Main, 2013), 79. Such forbearance was not the case however in spheres of influence closer to the centre and led to the Greek War of Independence against the Turkish overlords.

In the case of Egypt, the khedive came to be dependent on France and the United Kingdom on account of the debts incurred in the building of the Suez Canal, whereas condominium was taken over by the United Kingdom after the Fashoda Incident. The 1912 treaty establishing the French protectorate of Morocco, which was negotiated after almost twenty years of discussion, resembled the Treaty of Bardo for Tunisia.

Around 1900, there were 189,164 French settlers living on the land, partly in *communes mixtes* (mixed communities) with the native population; by 1924 there were only 180 rural settlers in Morocco. See Stephen Roberts, *History of French Colonial Policy, 1870–1925*, vol. I (London, 1929), 13.

James Cooke, *New French Imperialism 1880–1910: The Third Republic and Colonial Expansion* (Hamden, Conn., 1973), 10.

Saloua Khaddar Zangar, "La Régence de Tunis à l'aube du XXe Siècle," in *Klee, Macke, Moilliet*, ed. Anna M. Schafroth, exh. cat. Bardo National Museum (Tunis, 2014), 21–29, esp., 21–23.

Cf. Hoberg, "Gabriele Münter. Biographie und Photographie"; Henn and Mühling, *Unter freiem Himmel*.

Cf. Henn and Mühling, *Unter freiem Himmel*, 117–120.

Hoberg, "Gabriele Münter. Biographie und Photographie," 18.

Cf. August Macke's letter to Bernhard Koehler, as well as Paul Klee's diary entries, which were usually intended ironically.

Cited from "Paul Klee: Die Reise nach Tunesien. Tagebuch III" in *Die Tunisreise 1914: Paul Klee, August Macke, Louis Moilliet*, ed. Michael Baumgartner, exh. cat., Zentrum Paul Klee (Bern, 2014), 259.

Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Kairuan: Eine Geschichte vom Maler Paul Klee*, Michael Haerdter and Kenneth Croose Parry eds. (Munich, 2014), 82–83.

Otterbeck, *Europa verlassen*, 183.

Helmut Friedel, Gabriele Münter, and Johannes Eichner Foundation eds., *Wassily Kandinsky, Gesammelte Schriften 1889–1916* (Munich; Berlin; New York, 2007). The five exhibition reviews were only available in Russian until 2007. Also cited in Brigitte Salmen, "Die Maler des 'Blauen Reiter' und ihre Begegnung mit japanischer Kunst," in

Die Maler des "Blauen Reiter" und Japan: "... diese zärtlichen, geistvollen Phantasien ...", ed. Brigitte Salmen, exh. cat. Schloßmuseum Murnau (Murnau, 2011), 81. On the 1909 exhibition, see also Andrea Hirner, "Die Ausstellung 'Japan und Ostasien in der Kunst,'" *ibid.*, 61–68.

Helmut Friedel ed., *Gabriele Münter: Das druckgraphische Werk*, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (Munich, 2000), cat. no. 14, 86–87; in the same catalogue see also Annegret Hoberg, "Zur Druckgraphik Gabriele Münters," 12f. Kandinsky's systematic preoccupation with woodcuts had been inspired in 1903 by his visit to the 17th exhibition of the Viennese Secession, where works by Elena Luksch-Makowsky and Emil Orlik were on display. After his first trip to Japan, in 1900–1901, Orlik was deemed one of the principal representatives of Japonisme. On the connections with the Parisian journal *Les Tendances Nouvelles*, see also Isabelle Jansen, "Gabriele Münter in Paris 1906 bis 1907," *ibid.*, 39–47.

Fourteen color woodcuts and one black and white prints did survive however as part of Kandinsky's estate. See also Salmen, "Die Maler des 'Blauen Reiter,'" 79–81, as well as cat. nos. 141–153, p. 257–258.

On this, see Annegret Hoberg, "Jawlensky und Werefkin—Im Kreis der Neuen Künstlervereinigung München und des Blauen Reiters," in *Lebensmenschen—Alexej von Jawlensky und Marianne von Werefkin*, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (Munich, 2019), 200–219, here 205.

Helmut Macke, cited after Johannes Langner ed., *Franz Marc 1880–1916*, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (Munich, 1980), 27.

For a detailed account, see Salmen, "Die Maler des 'Blauen Reiter,'" 69–88, here 69, as well as Claudia Delank, "Die Japansammlungen der Maler des 'Blauen Reiter' und ihr Einfluß auf die Malerei," *ibid.*, 89–95.

See Wolfgang Macke ed., *August Macke, Franz Marc: Briefwechsel* (Cologne, 1964), 34.

See also the texts on East Asian prints, and Japonisme and Exoticism in this catalogue, p. 223–227, 228–236.

Stella Peregrina. *Achtzehn Faksimile-Nachbildungen nach den Originalen von Franz Marc. Handkoloriert von Frau Annette v. Eckardt. Mit einer Einleitung von Hermann Bahr* (Franz Hanfstaengl, Kgl. Bayer. Hofkunstanstalt, Munich, 1917).

See also Annegret Hoberg, "Franz Marc in Kochel, Sindelsdorf, Ried und wieder Kochel," in *Franz Marc Museum: Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Cathrin Klingsöhr-Leroy (Cologne, 2008), 92–105, here 96f., fig. 12. Famous examples where this motif is taken up are, among others, Marc's *Grazing Horses I*, 1910 (cat. p. 108); *Horse in Landscape*, 1910 (Museum Folkwang, Essen); *Grazing Horses IV (Red Horses)*, 1911 (Busch-Reisinger-Museum, Harvard); and *Blue Horse II*, 1911 (Kunstmuseum, Bern).

50

Reinhard Piper, *Das Tier in der Kunst: Mit 130 Abbildungen* (Munich, 1910); see chapter "Die Inder und Chinesen" 31, fig. 19. As is generally known, Piper incorporated at the end of the book Marc's bronze sculpture *Two Horses*; in addition, the artist wrote at Piper's request his first art-theoretical text, on "animalization"; figs 126–127, 190.

51

Noemi Smolik, "Prophet oder Widersacher der Moderne? Kandinskys Weg aus der russischen Provinz in die bayerische Kunstmetropole," in *Wassily Kandinsky*, eds. Helmut Friedel and Annegret Hoberg (Munich, 2008), 30. See also Noemi Smolik, *Ikonen der Moderne? Zur Entstehung des abstrakten Bildes bei Kandinsky und Malewitsch* (Stuttgart, 1999).

52

Valery Turchin, *Kandinsky in Russia* (The Society of Admirers of the Art of Wassily Kandinsky: Moscow 2005), esp. chs. "University: 'The Days of Our Lives ...,'" 38–44, and "The Professor Chuprov Circle," 46–56.

53

The extensive manuscript of the thesis is kept in the Historical Central Archive, Moscow. Kandinsky informed his doctoral supervisor of his decision not to continue on the path to a legal career in November 1895. He remained friends all his life with his supervisor, who died during a visit to Munich in 1908. The title of the thesis presented has been translated from its German version to English.

54

See, among others, Jean-Claude Macardé, "Kandinskys universitäre Tätigkeit (1885–1895)," in Friedel, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, *Wassily Kandinsky*, 667–669, here 667.

55

Published in March 1889 in the *Volga Herald*, Kazan; see Friedel, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, *Wassily Kandinsky*, 27–28.

56

The article was published in German translation in Hans K. Roethel and Jelena Hahl-Kock eds., *Kandinsky, Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. I (Bern, 1980) 68–74. Kandinsky's publications in the

field of ethnography far outnumber the three he published in the field of law; apart from the draft of his thesis, these are "Über Strafen in den Urteilen" (On Punishments when Passing Judgment) and "Le minimum salaire" (The Minimum Wage).

57

Roethel and Hahl-Kock, *Kandinsky*, 34.

58

The Russian original was published for the first time, with German translation, in Friedel, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, *Wassily Kandinsky*, 30–77.

59

Boris Chichlo, "Wassily Kandinskys Erfahrungen in der Ethnographie. Ansichten eines Ethnologen," in Friedel, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, *Wassily Kandinsky*, 653–664, here 653. See more generally Hal Foster, "The artist as ethnographer," in *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, ed. George E. Marcus, (Berkeley/London, 1995), 302–309.

60

Peg Weiss, *Kandinsky and Old Russia: The Artist as Ethnographer and Shaman* (New Haven/London, 1995); idem., "Kandinsky: The Artist as Ethnographer," *Münchener Beiträge zur Völkerkunde*, 3 (1990), 285–329.

61

Chichlo, "Wassily Kandinskys Erfahrungen in der Ethnographie," 655. The author also demonstrates that Kandinsky's book reviews were not taken up or cited in later scholarly ethnographic literature.

62

Ibid., 655. Chichlo's approach has not hitherto been followed up; see recently, among others, the general remarks in Elina Knorpp, "Wassily Kandinsky. Ethnografie, Volkskunst und der Blaue Reiter," in *Folklore und Avantgarde*, eds. Katja Bauduin and Elina Knorpp, exh. cat. Kunstmuseum Krefeld 2019/20, 104–110. For the text quoted from Kandinsky's *Rückblicke*, see Roethel and Hahl-Kock, *Kandinsky*, 37.

63

Roethel and Hahl-Kock, *Kandinsky*, 37. The memory persisted even into old age, and Kandinsky gave a brief outline of it in his 'Interview with Karl Nierendorf' 1937: "When I was about twenty years old, I was sent by one of Moscow University's scientific institutes to the Vologda oblast (in the north-east of European Russia), to undertake juridical and ethnographic research. There I saw peasant houses whose interiors were completely painted, in a non-representational manner. The ornament, the furniture, the cutlery—everything was painted. I had the impression that I was stepping into a painting that was not 'relating' anything." Kandinsky,

Essays über Kunst und Künstler, edited and with commentary by Max Bill (Bern, 1963), 212.

64

See, for example, John E. Bowlt and Rose-Carol Washton-Long eds., *The Life of Vasily Kandinsky in Russian Art* (Newtonville MA, 1980); Armin Zweite "Kandinsky zwischen Tradition und Innovation," in Armin Zweite ed., *Kandinsky und München: Begegnungen und Wandlungen 1896–1914*, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (Munich, 1982), 134–177, esp. 151–158; Magdalena M. Möller ed., *Der frühe Kandinsky 1900–1910*, exh. cat. Brücke Museum Berlin/Kunsthalle Tübingen (Munich, 1994/95).

65

See *Kandinsky: Œuvres de Vassily Kandinsky (1866–1944). Catalogue établi par Christian Derouet et Jessica Boissel*, (Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée national d'art moderne: Paris, 1984), no. 57, 58–59; Moshe Barasch ed., *Kandinsky's Quest: A Study in the Artist's Personal Symbolism, 1866–1907*, Hermeneutics of Art 13 (Frankfurt am Main, 2006).

66

See also p. 237–241 of this volume, Reverse Glass Painting.

67

Der Blaue Reiter 1912. Herausgeber: Kandinsky, Franz Marc. Reprint der Originalausgabe für das Lenbachhaus anlässlich des Programms Museum Global der Kulturstiftung des Bundes (Munich, 2019), 136. Kandinsky commented similarly in the catalogue to the second Blue Rider exhibition, in 1912, at which eight *lubki* he possessed were exhibited.

68

Evgenia Petrova and Jochen Poetter eds., *Russische Avantgarde und Volkskunst*, exh. cat. Staatliche Kunsthalle: Baden-Baden; State Russian Museum: St Petersburg, 1993.

69

David Burliuk, "Die 'Wilden' Russlands," in *Der Blaue Reiter 1912*, 17.

70

Ibid., 18. Burliuk's essay in the almanac is illustrated with examples of Russian art, including paintings by him and his brother Vladimir, who was active as an archaeologist and apparently took part in excavations. *Futurismus in Russland und David Burljuk, "Vater des russischen Futurismus"*, exh. cat. Von-der-Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal, 2000, 175–178.

71

Neue Künstlervereinigung München, exh. cat. (September, 1910), 5. "This relatedness at soul level is the cause and reason for the boundlessly enthusiastic uptake, nay adulation, on the part of the best elements in Russian art, of the French ideas of 'new art' mentioned." *Ibid.*

Evgenia Iliukhina, *Michail Larionow und Natalja Gontscharowa: Blick auf die Kunst des Primitiven, in Folklore und Avantgarde*, (Kunstmuseum Krefeld 2019/20), 137–144, here 138.

Ibid.

Laima Lauckaitė-Surgailienė, “Der unbekannte Briefnachlaß von Marianne Werefkin,” in *Marianne Werefkin: Die Farbe beißt mich ans Herz*, ed. Verein August Macke Haus e.V. (Bonn, 1999), 59–71, esp. 63, 65.

Wassily Kandinsky, *Franz Marc. Briefwechsel. Mit Briefen von und an Gabriele Münter und Maria Marc*, edited, with an introduction and commentary, by Klaus Lankheit (Munich/ Zürich, 1983), 226.

“Whenever we went to Kandinsky’s, we always said ‘Now we’re going to an East Asian museum.’” Nina Kandinsky, *Kandinsky und ich* (Munich, 1976), 147.

On the configurations of colors in the Master Houses, see Gilbert Lupfert, *Architektur und Kunst: Das Meisterhaus Kandinsky-Klee in Dessau* (Berlin, 2000).

Fannina W. Halle, *Alt-russische Kunst*, Orbis-Pictus, ed. Paul Westheim, 2, (Berlin, 1920); Idem., *Kandinsky, Archipenko, Chagall* (Vienna, 1921).

Fannina W. Halle, “Dessau: Burgkühnauer Allee 6–7 (Kandinsky und Klee),” in *Das Kunstblatt* (July, 1926): 203–210; cited from Annegret Hoberg, “Wassily Kandinsky – Absolut. Abstrakt. Konkret” in Helmut Friedel ed., *Kandinsky—Absolut. Abstrakt* (Munich, 2008), 209.

Fannina W. Halle, in *Kandinsky: Jubiläums-Ausstellung zum 60. Geburtstage*, exh. cat., Galerie Arnold, (Dresden, 1926), 10–18. “Recently, both sides have dreamed ever more frequently of a different, spiritual merging of two worlds that touch yet are so distant from each other—the worlds of Germany and Russia. But until now, no-one has attempted and perfected this merging, this ‘summation arising from innermost necessity,’ to such a high degree as Kandinsky the painter,” (ibid., 12). Klee also goes into the relationship between East and West. His contribution to the catalogue ends with the words often cited in later literature: “And today I say ‘Good day!’ and make a small bow in his direction from the West. He takes one step towards me, and my hand rests in his. In Germany, in the year 1926.” (ibid., 8).

“For despite his close-knit relationship with German culture and art throughout his entire development as an artist and half of his life, this painter, the father of abstract painting—and we should not forget this in any way—is a Russian by birth. That is, he is from Moscow, the most fantastical, emotional, picturesque city of forty times forty churches, and he also carries within himself that transcendent, transfigured world, ever turned away from earthly things, of old Russian icons (images of saints), the mystery of whose soul has been poured completely and equally into the icons’ coloration, coloristic purity, line, silhouette, and harmony of form, and which at the same time amounts to a visual revelation of the spiritual and not of the sensory. [...] And thus here, as there, one is raised into an atmosphere in which, freed from the pressure of all material things, beyond the bounds of what can be perceived by the senses, one feels oneself to be present at an invisible divine service that does not however take place within the spatial confines of a church, but in the universe, the cosmos.” Quoted in its entirety in Hoberg, “Wassily Kandinsky Abstrakt. Absolut. Konkret,” in *Kandinsky: Absolut, Abstrakt*, ed. Helmut Friedel, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau (Munich, 2008), 191–225, here 213.

Derouet and Boissel, *Kandinsky: Œuvres de Vassily Kandinsky*, 452, no. 807: *Siren*, Russian popular art, painted wood, 22.9 × 47.4 × 6.1 cm.

Jessica Horsley, *Der Almanach des Blauen Reiters als Gesamtkunstwerk: Eine interdisziplinäre Untersuchung* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), 93.

Kandinsky–Marc Briefwechsel, 41.

Alois J. Schardt, *Franz Marc: Mit hundert-fünfzehn Abbildungen* (Berlin, 1936), 9–14. On Marc’s ancestry, see also Annegret Hoberg, “Franz Marc—Aspekte zu Leben und Werk,” in *Franz Marc. Die Retrospektive*, eds. Annegret Hoberg and Helmut Friedel, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau (Munich, 2005), 9–10, with further references.

On Paul Marc (1877–1949), see also Hoberg and Jansen, *Werkverzeichnis Marc*, vol. I, 27, notes. 26–30. Paul Marc lived in Munich until 1919 and he added his address in the Theresienstraße in Schwabing to the letterhead of the “Editorial Board of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* [Byzantine Magazine].” From 1920, he worked at the Institute for Foreign Affairs in Hamburg, moved to Berlin after his Jewish director was

dismissed, and in 1944 returned destitute to Bavaria after his house was destroyed in a bombing raid.

Hoberg, “Franz Marc,” 9–49, 46, note 18.

Richard Simon (1865–1934), who was an external lecturer in Munich from 1902 and “barely ever got a chance there however,” was made a non-tenured professor in 1906 (a level Scherman had already achieved in 1901/02). He received only a few teaching contracts, but counted nevertheless as an outstanding authority on Vedic literature. See Wolfgang J. Smolka, *Völkerkunde in München—Voraussetzungen, Möglichkeiten und Entwicklungslinien ihrer Institutionalisierung (ca. 1850–1933)*, diss., Munich (Berlin, 1991), 209 and note 99.

Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, gift of Heilwig Weger, dated as follows: “The first five presentations finished at Christmas 1908”; the section on “The Greeks” was clearly added only later, Hoberg, “Franz Marc,” 13f.

See also Isabelle Jansen, “Die Sehnsucht nach einer ursprünglichen Welt: Exotische Motive in der Kunst von Franz Marc,” in *Franz Marc. Die Retrospektive*, eds. Annegret Hoberg and Helmut Friedel, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau (Munich, 2005), 77, fig. 2, 81f., figs 9 and 10.

For a concise summary of this subject, see Jansen “Die Sehnsucht nach einer ursprünglichen Welt,” 73–91.

Elisabeth Weiss, *Franz Marc: Ein Versuch zur Deutung expressionistischer Stilphänomene und ihrer Voraussetzungen*, diss. (Frankfurt am Main, 1933); Klaus Lankheit, *Franz Marc: Sein Leben und seine Kunst* (Cologne, 1976), 74. See also Jansen “Die Sehnsucht nach einer ursprünglichen Welt,” 82–84, with reference to Donald Gordon, who considers the possibility of the *Helmet Mask in the Form of a Buffalo Head* from Cameroon (Völkerkundemuseum, Berlin) being a source of stimuli.

Cited after Annegret Hoberg ed., “*Ich will Dich an der Hand führen, um Dir die Wunder der Welt zu zeigen...*”: *Briefe von Franz und Maria Marc* (Munich, 2018), 117, as well as Lankheit, *Franz Marc*.

Karl Woermann, *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker, vol. 1: Die Kunst der vor- und außerchristlichen Völker*, 1st ed. (Leipzig, 1900). In the second edition of 1904, used here, the “Hankan: Study of Horses” is found in the upper right-hand corner of the plate on page 258. With the abundance of reproductions and examples discussed, Woermann’s “world art history” went

far beyond Franz Kugler's and Karl Schnaase's early art-historical handbooks of 1848 and 1853.

95

Thomas W. Gaetgens, "Weltkunstgeschichte als Kunst der Menschheitsgeschichte. Zu Karl Woermanns Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker," in *Synergies in Visual Culture—Bildkulturen im Dialog*, ed. Manuela De Giorgi, Annette Hoffmann, and Nicola Suthor (Paderborn/ Munich, 2013), 543–560, here 556.

96

Karl Woermann was a son of the Hamburg ship owner Carl Woermann. Unlike his brother Adolph, who (as mentioned above) considerably expanded his firm's presence in the German colonies and dominated the shipping route to Africa, Karl studied art history and was director of the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden from 1882 to 1910; he published extensively in the field of art history, right up until his death in 1933. When a new edition of his work appeared during the First World War, now expanded from three to six volumes (the second volume of which was dedicated in its entirety to the *Kulturkreis* of Central, South, and East Asia), Woermann's undertaking again received a detailed critical appraisal in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (East Asian Journal), which said that Woermann's was the only mind attempting, all alone, "to master the field of world art," and in doing so was going beyond the norms of European art history. See William Cohn, "Die Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker," in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Beiträge zur Kenntnis und Kultur des Fernen Ostens*, ed. Otto Kümmel and William Cohn, vol. 5 and 6 (Berlin, 1916–18), 100–110, here 105. In the discussion of this second, newly revised and expanded edition, published in 1915 by the *Bibliographisches Institut Leipzig und Wien*, Cohn writes: "We can be proud of the fact that the first history of art with a worthy account of the peoples of East Asia has been written by a German." Ibid. The discussion of Woermann's publication in Werner Schmalenbach, *Die Kunst der Primitiven als Anregungsquelle für die europäische Kunst bis 1900* (Cologne, 1961), 91–93, remained unnoticed by scholarship for decades.

97

Woermann, *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*, fig. 64 ("Nach [Adolf Bastian]").

98

Gaetgens, "Weltkunstgeschichte als Kunst der Menschheitsgeschichte," (no. 95), 555. "Woermann's creed is characterized by its universalism. Typical of the positivism of the second half of the nineteenth century are not only its proximity to natural history, but

also the conception that, as an expression of human creativity in all periods and with all cultures, art arises on the same foundations." Ibid., 558.

99

Eva-Maria Troelenberg, *Eine Ausstellung wird besichtigt: Die Münchner "Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst" 1910 in kultur- und wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, series XXVIII, art history, vol. 438, (Frankfurt am Main, 2011). See also Andrea Lerner and Avinoam Shalem eds., *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst" Reconsidered*, Islamic History and Civilisation, vol. 82, (Leiden/Boston 2010), especially the contribution there by Annette Hagedorn, "Der Einfluss der Ausstellung 'Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst' auf die zeitgenössische Kunst," 285–315.

100

Troelenberg, *Eine Ausstellung wird besichtigt*, 209. "This entailed the formulation of a radically modern standpoint in opposition to historicism [...] There was widespread understanding of matters historical; one could take this for granted and now consider the object independently of them." Ibid. See also Herbert Schnädelbach, "Die Abkehr von der Geschichte. Stichworte zum 'Zeitgeist' im Kaiserreich," in Ekkehard Mai, Stefan Waezoldt, and Gert Wolandt eds., *Ideengeschichte und Kunstwissenschaft: Philosophie und bildende Kunst im Kaiserreich*, Kunst, Kultur und Politik im Deutschen Kaiserreich, 3 (Berlin, 1983), 31–43, here 31.

101

Hagedorn, "Der Einfluss der Ausstellung," 301.

102

Wassily Kandinsky, *Briefe aus München* (V), in Friedel, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, *Wassily Kandinsky*, 369–373.

103

Kandinsky had already seen Persian miniatures in Berlin, where a large department of Islamic art was under development. "Yet the works in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum were but a drop in the ocean compared with the abundance on display at the current exhibition in Munich. In Berlin there were a few flowers of similar type; here there is a fairytale garden."

Cited after Troelenberg, *Eine Ausstellung wird besichtigt*, 387. Among other things, Room 18 of the Munich exhibition had Persian miniatures from five centuries on display. "The realm of Persia and the Sassanids thus constituted the exhibition's primary focus, qualitatively and quantitatively speaking, and was set up *in extenso* as a coherent spatial unity stretching over twenty-four rooms." Ibid., 105.

104

On this, see Hagedorn, "Der Einfluss der Ausstellung," 301–309, and Troelenberg, *Eine Ausstellung wird besichtigt*, 387–391.

105

Hagedorn, "Der Einfluss der Ausstellung," 300.

106

"superbe! Ereignis!" Troelenberg, *Eine Ausstellung wird besichtigt*, 392; Klaus Lankheit ed., *Franz Marc: Schriften* (Cologne, 1978), 79.

107

The unillustrated guide to the exhibition lists numerous bronze mortars. *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst: Amtlicher Katalog, München 1910*. Its group of authors—"Dietz, E.; Dreyer, M.; Nöldeke, A.; Sarre, F.; List, C.; Kühnel, E.; Bassermann-Jordan, E"—constituted the elite of Germany's Islamic scholars. Among the principal organizers were Felix Sarre and his assistant Ernst Kühnel, and the concise introduction was written by Ernst Dietz, whose later book *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft (Potsdam, 1915) became a standard work. For reproductions of Islamic repoussé works, see, among others, Gereon Sievernich and Henrik Budde eds. *Europa und der Orient 800–1900*, catalogue of an exhibition mounted as part of the 4. *Festival der Weltkulturen Horizonte '89*, Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin (Berlin, 1989).

108

Cited after Troelenberg, *Eine Ausstellung wird besichtigt*, 391–392. For a complete text of Marc's review on the second exhibition of the NKVM, see Annegret Hoberg and Helmut Friedel eds., "Anthologie," in *Der Blaue Reiter und das Neue Bild. Von der "Neuen Künstlervereinigung München" zum "Blauen Reiter,"* exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (Munich, 1999), 36–38, here 37.

109

Otto Fischer, *Die Kunst Indiens, Chinas und Japan*, Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte vol. 4 (Berlin, 1928). On the arguments surrounding Fischer's *Das Neue Bild*—after publication of which at the end of 1912 Marianne von Werefkin and Alexei von Javlensky also left the NKVM, which then unraveled—see Hoberg and Friedel, "Anthologie," 15–16, 53f.

110

On the references to Assyrian art, especially the depiction of stars, which appear in Marc's later works up until the *Turm der Blauen Pferde* (The Tower of Blue Horses) of 1913, see Jansen "Die Sehnsucht nach einer ursprünglichen Welt", 84f. Marc also owned books with reproductions of Assyrian art, which form part of his estate and include Friedrich Delitzsch's *Zweiter Vortrag über Babel und Bibel* (Stuttgart,

1903), and J. Hunger and H. Lamer, *Altorientalische Kultur im Bilde* (Leipzig, 1912).

111

Lankheit, *Franz Marc*, 77.

112

Kandinsky, *Essays über Kunst und Künstler*, 134–135. Six years later, Kandinsky tried to explain this approach once again, this time in a text of 1936 commemorating Franz Marc: “So my idea was to demonstrate, with one example, that the difference between what was ‘officially’ art and what was ‘ethnographic’ art had no justification in real life, and that the pernicious practice of not seeing, among the variety of external forms, the inner, organic root of art in general, could lead to the total loss of the interdependence between art and the life of human society. And similarly, the difference between children’s art, ‘dilettantism,’ and ‘academic’ art—the distinctions of level between ‘consummate’ and ‘not consummate’ expressions of art—masked their power of expression and common root.” Ibid., 199f.

113

Macke–Marc, *Briefwechsel*, 39f.

114

See, among others, H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill/ London, 2002).

115

For the extensive engagement with the subject, see among others Karl-Heinz Kohl, *Das Humboldt Forum und die Ethnologie* (*Der ethnologische Blick*, Band 1), (Frankfurt am Main, 2019); www.africavenir.org/de//Dekoloniale-Einwände-gegen-das-Humboldt-Forum/ Weiterführende-Literatur-&-Links, Presse-spiegel (last accessed March 2021).

116

On this, see, among others, Fritz W. Kramer, “Eskapistische und utopische Motive in der Frühgeschichte der deutschen Ethnologie,” in *Exotische Welten: Europäische Phantasien*, (Stuttgart, 1987), 66–71, here, 67: “Adolf Bastian (1826–1905) may count as the founder of academic ethnology in Germany, but he cannot be associated with any school, and the half of his life as an ethnologist that he spent on indefatigable travels around the world alienated him from European culture, although he observed the latter’s behaviors with almost disconcerting precision. His first journey took him, between 1850 and 1858, via Australia to the South Seas, America, India, the Middle East, South Africa, and Angola; later he traveled in Indochina and East Asia, the Loango coast, America again, Polynesia, Southern Russia, and finally Egypt, East Africa, India, Indonesia, and the South Seas once more. He died in Trinidad, during his ninth world trip.”

117

In 1888, it had been decided in the upper house of the German parliament to first assemble at the museum all objects arriving from the colonies, and only to pass on doubles to other museums. See, among others, Wolfgang Lustig, “‘Außer ein paar zerbrochenen Pfeilen nichts zu verteilen.’ Ethnographische Sammlungen aus den deutschen Kolonien und ihre Verteilung an Museen 1889–1914,” *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg*, no. 18, (1988): 157–178, esp. 157–161. This did not affect the core pieces of these institutions’ own collections (for example, those donated privately). In around 1908, there were, in addition to the seven large collections in Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, Dresden, Cologne, Frankfurt, and Munich, also other centers for colonial art, such as the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart (which had been founded by the Colonial Society for Trade with Württemberg under its director Karl von Linden), Brunswick, Lübeck, Darmstadt, Freiburg, and Kassel. The museums in Bremen and Hannover in particular have begun to engage with their colonial pasts; see ed. Julia Binter, *Der Blinde Fleck: Bremen und die Kunst in der Kolonialzeit*, exh. cat. Kunsthalle Bremen (Bremen, 2017); Alexis von Poser and Bianca Baumann eds., *heikles erbe: Koloniale Spuren bis in die Gegenwart*, eds. Alexis von Poser and Bianca Baumann, exh. cat. Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum (Hannover, 2016/17).

118

Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Führer durch das Museum für Völkerkunde, published by the museum’s general administration, 13th ed. (Berlin, 1906), 68.

119

Ibid., 57.

120

Schliemann had already given the oldest part of the collection to the German Empire in 1881; two further donations followed, as well as a bequest, after Schliemann’s death in 1890, from his house in Athens. The excavations were continued in 1893, at first at the expense of Schliemann’s Greek widow, and in 1894 at the expense of Emperor Wilhelm II. See also Christiane Zintzen, *Von Pompeji nach Troja: Archäologie, Literatur und Öffentlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1998).

121

“For these works from Benin stand at the utmost pinnacle of European casting techniques. Benvenuto Cellini could not have cast them better, nor anyone else before or after him up until the present day. Technically, these bronzes are at the very highest level of what can actually be achieved.” (Felix von Luschan) The Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin bought more than 1000 pieces, many of which were lost during the

Second World War. Ulrich Klever, *Handbuch der afrikanischen Kunst* (Munich, 1975), 22–23.

122

In 1925, the institution, today called the Museum Fünf Kontinente (Museum of Five Continents), moved to its present building at 42 Maximilianstraße. The building housed the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum from 1865 and from 1906 the newly founded Deutsches Museum.

123

Jean-Loup Rousselot, “Das Münchner Völkerkundemuseum zur Zeit von Marc und Kandinsky,” in *Der Blaue Reiter*, ed. Christine Hopfengart, exh. cat. Kunsthalle Bremen (Cologne, 2000), 264.

124

Lucian Scherman, “Das Museum für Völkerkunde [München],” in *Die wissenschaftlichen Anstalten der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München*, ed. Karl A. von Müller (Munich, 1926), 257–261, here 260.

125

Smolka, *Völkerkunde in München*, 207f.

126

Ibid., 261. On this, see also Sigrid Gareis, *Exotik in München: Museumsethnologische Konzeptionen im historischen Wandel am Beispiel des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde München* (Munich, 1990), especially the chapter entitled “Lucian Scherman: Ein Vertreter der ‘älteren Ethnologie’ verwirklicht ein hochmodernes Museum oder: die Synthese von ‘Kunst’ und ‘Ethnographica’ (1907–1933),” 85–96.

127

Gareis, *Exotik in München*, 108. “But from a historical point of view, the museums’ emphasis on art—for all the subjective aesthetic applied to their objects, for all the disregard of culturally specific intentions in the production process of particular pieces, and lastly also the complete disappearance of producers behind the objects themselves—was considered *per se* to be rather a progressive and de-exoticizing exercise on their part.” 107.

128

Rousselot, “Das Münchner Völkerkundemuseum,” 264–266, here 266.

129

“The Ethnographical Collections and the more ancient remains from North and South America occupy nearly all the eastern side of the upper floor.” *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (London, 1901), V.

130

Charles H. Read, *British Museum: Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections, with 15 plates, 275 illustrations and 3 maps* (London, 1910), 168, fig. 147. This guidebook featured individual chapters dedicated to Australia, Oceania (Papuasians, Polynesians and Micronesians), and Africa.

"One day, after leaving the Musée de sculptures comparés (which at the time was in the left-hand wing of the Trocadéro), I was driven by curiosity to open the doors leading to the hall of the old ethnographic museum." William Rubin, "Picasso," in *Primitivismus in der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. William Rubin, exh. cat., The Museum of Modern Art (New York, 1984), (German ed. Munich), 262–263.

The Musée du Congo Belge / Museum van Belgisch-Kongo in Brussels (Tervuren), now renamed the Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale / Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika, is an example of an even more problematic "success story" in the amassing of objects over an even shorter period of time.

Annegret Nippa, "Ernst Ludwig Kirchner im Völkerkundemuseum Dresden. Eine Recherche zur Wahrnehmung des Fremden," in *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden: Berichte, Beiträge*, vol. 32, *Sonderband Gruppe und Individuum in der Künstlergemeinschaft BRÜCKE. 100 Jahre BRÜCKE—Neueste Forschung* (Dresden, 2005), 31–37, here 32.

Otterbeck, *Europa verlassen*, 212.

"Reconstruction of his visits to the museum sprang from my amazement at how many fascinatingly foreign objects that have no parallels in the European image canon he must have looked past in order to experience of the joys of recognition – the familiar in the foreign." Nippa, "Ernst Ludwig Kirchner," 36.

Ibid., 214.

According to Pechstein's memoirs, after arriving on the Palau island of Angaur in June 1914, they encountered "a small European colony of the Südsee-Gesellschaft, probably the only institution to make money out of the Palau archipelago." The indigenous population was resettled in a sort of reservation in the south after the German government had purchased the island from them for 1200 Mark. Because of a lack of "authenticity," Pechstein and his wife moved to Koror, where they lived in a converted meeting house in the vicinity of the village inhabitants. Here, as the artist himself put it, he had rarely "felt so at ease as in this community of childlike people, the Palauans." For a more extensive account, see Otterbeck, *Europa verlassen*, 238–257, here 241.

Emil Nolde, *Welt und Heimat* (Cologne, 1965), 14, cited after Otterbeck, *Europa verlassen*, 222. At least as much has been

written about Nolde's South Sea travels as Klee, Macke, and Moilliet's journey to Tunis, so just one further reference should suffice here: Denise Daum, "Emil Noldes 'Papua-Jünglinge.' Primitivismus, Rassismus und Zivilisationskritik," in *Die Freiheit der Anderen: Festschrift für Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff zum 21. August 2004* (Marburg 2004): 156–164.

Otterbeck, *Europa verlassen*, 220–238, here 223.

Deutschland als Kolonialmacht: Dreißig Jahre deutsche Kolonialgeschichte. Herausgegeben vom Kaiser-Wilhelm-Dank, Verein der Soldatenfreunde. Mit 580 Abbildungen und 11 Karten (Berlin, 1914).

For the essentials of what follows, see Karl Volprecht, "Folkwang 2. Teil—Die Sammlung außereuropäischer Kunst," in *Karl Ernst Osthaus: Leben und Werk* (Recklinghausen, 1971), 245–255; Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," *ibid.*, 119–241; and the Essen exhibition catalogue "*Das schönste Museum der Welt: Museum Folkwang bis 1933*," Museum Folkwang (Essen, 2010), including the essay "Außereuropäische Kunst," 227–344. Quite a large proportion of the museum's works are appraised for the first time in this publication, by various authors, presented with detailed information and in full-page reproductions. The archival material relating to this area of the Osthaus collection survives only in part, following the move into the Folkwang Museum in Essen in 1922 and the Second World War. A research project, led by Nadine Engel, is currently cataloguing those parts of the collection that have not been examined systematically.

After this first trip, Osthaus authored a slender volume entitled *Beitrag zur Kenntnis Nord-Afrikas* (A Contribution to Our Knowledge of North Africa). He travelled to Tunis again in 1906, with his wife, stopping in Aix-en-Provence on the way to visit Paul Cézanne.

After Osthaus's buying interests became known, "countless offers and consignments on approval flooded into the institution from dealers in East Asian work, both better-known and less well-known, and from private collections (East Asia merchants and members of the expeditionary force sent out to put down the Boxer Rebellion)." Volprecht, "Folkwang 2. Teil," 246.

Annette Hagedorn, "Ornament als Bild. Islamische Schalen, Töpfe und Fliesen, 9.–16. Jahrhundert," in "*Das schönste Museum der Welt*" exh. cat., 273–274, here 274; Troelenberg, *Eine Ausstellung wird besichtigt*, 169–170.

Volprecht, "Folkwang 2. Teil," 251.

"The fact that the number of figural sculptures from Africa was relatively small leads one to think that in this area of art Osthaus was only making a representative selection, because the sculptures are found alongside a larger number of decorated wooden beakers and containers, and a carved buffalo horn—all from the area where the Bushongo style is prevalent (DRC). These, in addition to a small number of decorated bamboo caddies from the Sunda island of Timor as well as the Ifa oracle boards, may constitute proof of the collector's having a greater interest in craft." Volprecht, "Folkwang 2. Teil," 252.

Ibid., 251. The first exhibition on African Art in Hagen had taken place in 1912. See: Rainer Stamm, "Weltkunst und Moderne," in *Das schönste Museum der Welt—Museum Folkwang bis 1933. Essays zur Geschichte des Museum Folkwang* (on the occasion of the exhibition *Das schönste Museum der Welt*), Museum Folkwang Essen 2010, Göttingen 2010, 27–46.

Ibid., 251.

Macke–Marc, *Briefwechsel*, 32.

See also Annegret Hoberg and Isabelle Jansen, *Franz Marc, Werkverzeichnis. Vol. II: Aquarelle, Gouachen, Zeichnungen, Postkarten, Hinterglasmalerei, Kunstgewerbe, Plasti* (Munich/ London, 2004), cat. nos. 389, 390.

Macke–Marc, *Briefwechsel*, 25.

"Together they also visited Franz's exhibition, at which he had sold two pictures, and then the Folkwang Museum in Hagen, and all their artist friends in Cologne." Elisabeth Macke-Erdmann, *Erinnerung an August Macke* (Stuttgart, 1962), 181.

Letter from Marc to Kandinsky, dated July 31, 1911, in *Kandinsky–Marc, Briefwechsel*, 49.

Annegret Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter in Murnau und Kochel 1902–1914: Briefe und Erinnerungen*, (Munich, 1994, 2000, 2005), 105, 117–125. See also *Kandinsky–Marc, Briefwechsel*, letter from Kandinsky to Marc dated August 11, 1911, 50–51.

The work was seized in 1937 for being degenerate; today it is in the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Cambridge MA. See also Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, *Verlust der Moderne*, 201–212, as well as

'Bilder-Schicksale', in *"Das schönste Museum der Welt"* exh. cat., 213–222, here 221–222.

156

Cited after Hesse-Frielinghaus, "Folkwang 1. Teil," 214.

157

Volprecht, "Folkwang 2. Teil," 252; Otterbeck, *Europa verlassen*, 228–238, here 231.

158

Nolde received 500 Marks for each watercolor, a total of 23,000 Marks; Otterbeck, *Europa verlassen*, 237–238.

159

See in this volume, "Der Blaue Reiter Almanac: The Images," 267–275.

160

Wassily Kandinsky, *Der Blaue Reiter*, 1930, in Kandinsky, *Essays über Kunst und Künstler*, 136.

161

Der Blaue Reiter, Kunsthalle Bremen, (see note 123), 228.

162

An envelope for a photograph from Berlin, addressed to Münter, survives in their estate, held at the Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation.

163

The descriptions of the objects from Munich and their provenances have been taken from *Der Blaue Reiter und das Münchner Völkerkundemuseum*, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde (Munich, 2009), 16–39. A reproduction of a painted gourd from Guatemala serves as a final vignette, above the list of illustrations. The provenance of the object in the photograph is not given. For a comparative example from the Munich collection, see Elke Bujok, "Zwei Kalebassen, Guatemala," *ibid.*, 40.

164

Zeller worked at the museum in Bern in these capacities from 1910 until 1940. The director from 1910 to 1948 was Rudolf Wegeli. See Karl Zimmermann, "Chronikalische Notizen zur Museums-geschichte," in *100 Jahre Bernisches Historisches Museum 1894–1994, Separat-druck der Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* (1993/94), 371–454. 1882 saw the opening of the first "Historical Museum," which had incorporated objects relating to the city's history with pre-existing ethnographic and archaeological collections (for example, one donated in 1791 to the city of Bern by the engraver John Webber [Johann Wäber], who accompanied James Cook on his third voyage around the world). The museum has been housed in its current building on the Helvetiaplatz since 1894. The ethnographic department encompasses works from India, the Malay Archipelago, China, Korea, Japan, Melanesia, Australia, Polynesia, America, and Africa. Macke was not in

Bern at this time and probably never visited the collection in person.

165

Führer durch das bernische historische Museum, Herausgegeben von der Direktion (Bern, 1912), 86–87.

166

"The beautiful masks of the Bundu society belong among these [...] their decoration consists mainly of a stylized rendition of their hairstyle with combs; they are carved from the soft wood of the cotton tree [...] and are worn by priestesses during official ceremonies." *Ibid.*, 126.

167

Cited after *Der Blaue Reiter*, eds. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, *Dokumentarische Neuausgabe von Klaus Lankheit* (Munich, 1965), 263f.

168

Westfälisches Landesmuseum Münster, Macke Archive. For a detailed analysis, see Ursula Heiderich, "'Der Leib ist die Seele.' August Macke's Beitrag zum Almanach *Der Blaue Reiter*," in *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kunsthalle Bremen (see note 123), 248–254. For the title of Macke's piece, "Die Masken" (Masks), Heiderich draws attention to Macke's work as a set designer for the Düsseldorf Theatre in 1904; the theatre's journal, published by Macke's friend Wilhelm Schmidtbonn, bore the same title and included notes by Macke on the ethnographic material that Schmidtbonn illustrated.

169

See the chapter "Exoticism" in this volume, 228–236.

170

August Macke, "Die Masken," in *Der Blaue Reiter 1912: Reprint*, 24. On the use of the word "savages," see Macke's comment "Are not savages artists who have their own form, as strong as the form of thunder?" 22.

171

Barbara Paul, *Hugo von Tschudi und die moderne französische Kunst im Deutschen Kaiserreich*, Berliner Schriften zur Kunst, ed. Kunsthistorisches Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, vol. 4 (Mainz, 1993), including esp. "Tschudi und sein Verhältnis zu Wassily Kandinsky und Franz Marc 1909–1911," 327–333. Von Tschudi's conflict with the German Empire went down in art history as the "Tschudi Affair."

172

Macke–Marc, Briefwechsel, 77. See also Heiderich, "Der Leib ist die Seele," 249.

173

Kandinsky–Marc, Briefwechsel, 75f.

174

Andrea Zell, "Hugo von Tschudi—ein Wegbereiter der Museumsarbeit des 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Oberbayerisches Archiv*, ed. Historischer Verein von Oberbayern, Munich, 117/118, 1993/94 (1994): 7–83, here 13, 15.

175

Franz Marc, "Geistige Güter," in *Der Blaue Reiter: Reprint*, 2–4.

176

Illustrated in Helmut Friedel and Isabelle Jansen eds., *"Die Blaue Reiterei stürmt voran." Bildquellen für den Almanach *Der Blaue Reiter*. Die Sammlung von Wassily Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter*, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation (Munich, 2012), 28, cat. nos. 5, 6, 7. Here there are also reproductions of two sketchbooks drawings that Münter drew after originals in the Berlin Völkerkundemuseum, including *Male Figure with the Head of a Catfish*, kingdom of Benin, see *ibid.*, 17–18 and figs 4, 5, 6.

177

The knobbly surface of the figure's garment and its mask-like face are explained by the appearance of a human skin turned inside-out after completion of the sacrificial rite for a good harvest: "The skin was subsequently removed from the victim and worn over the head and body by the sacrificial priest or a person representing the god Xipe Totec, who then spent twenty days dressed this way, living as a vagrant. Xipe Totec was therefore represented as a human figure clothed in the skin flayed from a human sacrifice." Elke Bujok, "Xipe Totec," in *Der Blaue Reiter und das Münchner Völkerkundemuseum*, 29.

178

This applies even to the Egyptian shadow-play figures that Paul Kahle had published in two issues of the journal *Islam*; while according to his research they follow a long tradition, some of them were made only after 1850. Franz Marc's brother Paul had drawn Kandinsky's attention to the publications. (Paul Kahle, "Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Ägypten," in *Der Islam*, vol. I, pp. 264–299, vol. II, pp. 143–195. Cf. *idem*, "Das islamische Schattentheater in Ägypten," in *Orientalisches Archiv*, III. Jg., H. 3, pp. 103–109, as well as the letters of cards from Kandinsky and Marc to Kahle, in: *"Die Blaue Reiterei stürmt voran"* 2012 (see note 176), 94–97.

179

See also the chapter in this volume, "Der Blaue Reiter Almanac: The Images," 267–275.

180

Cited after Bujok, "Xipe Totec," 13. This document is a copy of Lucian Scherman's letter in his own hand. It is preserved in the archive of the Völkerkundemuseum and is replete with abbreviations; see the facsimile of the manuscript, *op. cit.*, 14, fig. 8.

181

See also Annegret Hoberg, "Die Male-rei allein genügte uns nicht. Wassily Kandinsky und Franz Marc—Neues zum Almanach 'Der Blaue Reiter,'" in *Wassily Kandinsky*, ed. Helmut Friedel

and Annegret Hoberg (Munich, 2008), 82–141, here 134.

182

Michaela Appel, in *Der Blaue Reiter und das Münchner Völkerkundemuseum* (see note 163), 23–25, figs 15, 19.

183

Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Der nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten. Mit 150 Abbildungen* (Munich, 1911), 1–4, fig. 1.: “In this sense, the primitive South Seas carver of these wooden statues was a poet. We have to reach a point of being able to disregard the inhibitions that arise at first from the cultural evolution specific to our life in Europe. One look at a nude by Gauguin makes it easier for us to refocus. [...] We have to be capable of seeing the form’s original emphasis.” (p. 1).

184

See also “Neolithische Kindheit, Begleitheft,” *Bildatlanten-Projekte der 1920er Jahre. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Orbis Pictus, Kulturen der Erde, Das Bild und Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, 024–025.

185

“Art theories and art-historical writings are formulated with recourse to art from outside Europe, so that at the same time they may banish it to the fringe of the arts and ascribe to it the status of proto-art or craft.” Susanne Leeb, *Die Kunst der Anderen: “Weltkunst” und die anthropologische Konfiguration der Moderne* (Berlin, 2015), 10.

186

Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, “‘N***-kunst’ ohne ‘N***künstler.’ Zur fotografischen Aneignung außereuropäischer Kunst,” in *Ästhetik der Differenz: Postkoloniale Perspektiven vom 16. bis 21. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1: text, vol. 2: illustrations, here vol. 1, 291.

187

Ibid., 298–299.

188

Ibid., 299.

189

Thus also the postscript to the 1992 edition, which has the following as an apologia: “What is ‘epoch-making’ about Carl Einstein’s book *N***plastik* is the fact that he considered three-dimensional works from the African continent without prejudice, primarily as art and specifically as sculpture, and that he reflected on them as such – this at a time when colonialism was common practice, with all its inhumane policies that left a definitive mark on the scholarship and culture of the period.” Rolf-Peter Baacke, “Rezeptionsgeschichtliche Anmerkungen zur ‘N***-plastik,’” in Carl Einstein, *N***plastik*, ed. Rolf-Peter Baacke (Berlin, 1992), 153–160, here 153.

190

“Despite this disposition, Einstein clearly wanted to obviate any further criticism of the African sculptures’ lack of contextualization and planned a further publication on the subject.” His 1921 book *Afrikanische Plastik* “contains in addition to detailed description of the sculptures and objects reproduced on the forty-eight plates an index of the same, with details of provenance, current location, and a bibliography oriented towards the scholarly.” Baacke, 156.

191

Lucian Scherman, foreword to the exhibition catalogue *Afrikanische Kunst und ihre Beziehungen zur Hochkultur: Sammlung Coray, Lugano*, with introduction by Meinulf Küsters, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde (Munich), 1931, 3.

192

In art history the term was often employed to designate a chronological category; for example, ‘primitives’ was used of the artists of the Early Renaissance. “Another, equally common, is where the art of savages is styled primitive, and, so often as not, without reference to the precise cultural stage to which they have attained.” Charles Hercules Read, “Presidential Address: Primitive Art and its Modern Development,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XLVIII (1918): 11–21, here 12.

193

See the chapter in this volume, “The Spiritual in Art,” 143–162.

194

See also Sigrid Köllner, *Der Blaue Reiter und die “Vergleichende Kunstgeschichte,”* (diss. Karlsruhe, 1984), esp. 125–167.

195

Ibid., 164. See also Magdalena Bushardt, “‘Echtes bleibt neben Echtem bestehen ...’. Zum Bildkonzept des Blauen Reiters,” in *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kunsthalle Bremen (see note 123), 243.

196

For his suggestion of a rejoinder to Vinnen’s tract, see the letter that Marc wrote to Kandinsky April 4, 1911: “I’m thinking for example of juxtaposing reproductions of works—Maillol alongside Taschner and Flossmann, Cézanne alongside Groeber and Nissl, a Renoir nude alongside Münzer and Putz, Picasso alongside Greiner and Stuck, Derain alongside Buttersack and Dill, Matisse alongside Erler and Habermann, etc.” *Kandinsky–Marc Briefwechsel*, 28.

197

Macke–Marc Briefwechsel, 72.

198

Franz Marc, “Die neue Malerei,” first published in *PAN*, 2nd year, no. 16 (March, 1912); cited here after *Franz Marc: Schriften*, ed. Klaus Lankheit, (Cologne, 1978), 103.

199

Der Blaue Reiter: Reprint, 1.

200

Foreword to the second edition of 1914, cited after Marc, “Die neue Malerei,” 153.

201

Marc, “Die neue Malerei,” 104.

202

Wassily Kandinsky, “Über die Formfrage,” in *Der Blaue Reiter: Reprint*, 99

203

“The Ethnology Review: Journal of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory.” See also *Der geraubte Schatten: Die Photographie als Ethnographisches Dokument*, exh. cat. Münchner Stadtmuseum/Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin/Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum für Völkerkunde Cologne, (1989/90); and Stefan Goldmann, “Wilde in Europa. Aspekte und Orte ihrer Zurschaustellung,” in Theye, *Wir und die Wilden*, 243–267. Numerous images survive, in the photographic collections of ethnological museums from Berlin via Cologne to Dresden, as do collections of skulls assembled at the time, for example, those of the Überseemuseum in Bremen, the former Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg, and Rudolf Virchow’s institute in Berlin.

204

Arthur de Gobineau, *Die Ungleichheit der Menschenrassen*, Berlin edition of 1935, including, for example the chapters “Die besondere Eigenart jeder der drei großen Rassen: soziologische Wirkungen der Mischungen. Überlegenheit der weißen Rasse und in ihr wiederum der arischen Familie” (The Particular Nature of the Three Great Races and the Sociological Effects of Mixing. The Superiority of the White Race and of the Aryan Family Within That), 151–157, and “Warum nur die weißen Völker Geschichte haben; und warum fast alle Zivilisationen sich auf der westlichen Halbkugel entwickelten.” (Why Only White Peoples Have History; and Why Nearly All Civilizations Developed in the Western Hemisphere), 355–362.

205

Das Buch der deutschen Kolonien. Herausgegeben unter Mitarbeit der früheren deutschen Gouverneure von Deutsch-Ostafrika, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Kamerun, Togo, Deutsch-Neuguinea. Vorwort von Dr. Heinrich Schnee, (Leipzig, 1937). There were also contributions from members of the Office for Colonial Policy in the National Socialist Party’s ruling body, such as “Unser Recht auf Kolonien” (Our Right to Colonies) and “Gewalt vor Recht—geraubt und aufgeteilt” (Might before Right—Robbed and Divided). From a present-day standpoint, this edition is of interest mainly for its appendix, in which there is a meticulous list of the names of all the “governors and Reich commissioners of our colonies” with

their periods in office, including (p. 433)
Jesko von Puttkamer and Lothar von
Trotha, who are mentioned earlier.

206

Kea Wienand, *Nach dem Primitivismus?
Künstlerische Verhandlungen kultureller
Differenz in der Bundesrepublik Deutsch-
land, 1960–1990: Eine postkoloniale Re-
lektüre* (Bielefeld, 2015), 25.

207

Ibid., 37–63, here 49.

208

Wassily Kandinsky, “Über die Form-
frage,” in *Der Blaue Reiter: Reprint*, 99.

“MURNAU”:
MURNAU,
SINDELSDORF,
AND TEGERNSEE
AS SITES OF
EVOLUTION AND
ENCOUNTER

Murnau on Lake Staffel is an old market town in the Alpine foothills of Upper Bavaria: it has an excellent connection to Munich (via the Munich to Garmisch-Partenkirchen railway) and was served daily from the city from around 1900. In the history of the Blue Rider's art and its reception, the term "Murnau" denotes primarily the transformation in painting collectively put into effect by Gabriele Münter, Alexej von Jawlensky, Wassily Kandinsky, and Marianne von Werefkin during a number of stays in Murnau lasting several weeks in 1908, 1909, and 1910—a process that moved away from post-Impressionism towards a way of painting that was expressive, reveled in color, and abstracted reality, rendering emotions rather than a reality perceptible by the senses.¹ This process can be traced in the numerous studies painted in anti-academic manner under the open sky, which capture the light particular to the place, the landscape of the Murnauer Moos, the locale and its surroundings.

"It was a wonderful, interesting, and joyful spell of work, with many conversations about art with the enthusiastic *Giselists*,"² wrote Münter, retrospectively, in her diary about the first painting sojourn, in 1908. "All 4 of us made great efforts, and each one of us developed personally. I painted a vast number of studies. There were days when I painted 5 studies, many when I painted 3, and few when I did not paint anything at all. We were all hard at work."³ The fact that Münter lays so much emphasis here on the time spent together, invites us to consider this old market town in the Alpine foothills of Upper Bavaria both as a site where artistic matters evolved and as a place of encounter and exchange.

During the period from mid-August until the end of September 1908, Jawlensky and Werefkin accompanied Kandinsky and Münter to Murnau for the first time, staying at the Gasthof Griesbräu on the Obere Hauptstrasse. This productive painting sojourn for the four artists was also the starting point of plans for the establishment of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* (NKVM, New Artists' Association Munich) in Werefkin's salon at the end of that year, and thus the nucleus of the Blue Rider group that emerged from it. The two couples worked in Murnau again in the spring and summer of 1909; this time they initially lived together in private lodgings in Echter's Bazar on Pfarrgasse. In June, Kandinsky and Münter moved to a small villa at the edge of town, on what is today Kottmüllerallee (formerly Murnau 33a); Münter bought the villa at the end of August, and she and Kandinsky stayed there on many occasions until the summer of 1914.

As a result, Murnau became established as a place of retreat and inspiration for the two artists. Here, spatially distanced from city life—and in keeping with the then prevailing utopia of a life-reform movement that sought to offer a counterpoint to the industrialized life of large cities, the hustle and bustle, time pressure, and artistic competition—they could indulge in the contemporary illusion of country life and the freedom associated with it. This is also where they first came into contact with the Bavarian tradition of reverse glass painting and where, probably in the summer of 1909, they created their first paintings in the medium.

Daily life at one with nature and the creativity it sparked, which in turn was manifested in their art, underline the unity of art and life for which they strove. The garden around the house played a special role in this. Both

Kandinsky and Münter invested a great deal of energy in it, as we learn from numerous letters, notes and photographs. The many hand-painted items of furniture and architectural elements show that the house and its furnishings were integrated into a holistic, artistic way of life. Everyday rural life was enlivened by visits from family, friends, and artists from Germany and abroad.

At almost exactly the same time as Münter and Kandinsky were in Murnau, Franz Marc and Maria Franck moved from the “debilitating Munich of yesteryear”⁴ to the Alpine foothills of Upper Bavaria, although the two couples did not know each other at this point. From 1909 until 1914, Marc and Franck lived in Sindelsdorf, in a simple apartment on the first floor of master carpenter Josef Niggel’s property (today Franz-Marc-Strasse 1). Marc set up his studio under the roof, in the unheated attic. It was here, in the “Sindelsdorf tranquility”⁵ afforded him, that Marc, having already developed his horse groups during his summer stay in Lenggries in 1908, found his expressive painting style. Works such as *Yellow Cow* (1911), *Bull* (1911), and *Blue Horse* (1911) were inspired by animal motifs that Marc came across in the meadows and fields around Sindelsdorf.

Also in 1909, August and Elisabeth Macke moved from Bonn to the Alpine foothills of Bavaria and lived for a year in Tegernsee. The two arrived there in the fall, originally at the invitation of their artist friend Wilhelm Schmidtbonn. At the beginning of 1910, the couple obtained a new home of their own in the Staudacherhof on Bahnhofstrasse in Tegernsee. August and Elisabeth lived on the second floor until the following fall, before returning to Bonn. During this extremely productive phase in his creative life, in which he developed his individual style, August Macke painted seascapes and villagers, still lifes, interiors, his wife Elisabeth, and on a few occasions the Staudacherhof, where Franz and Maria Marc were also received on their first visit.

Yet it was not just Münter and Kandinsky, August and Elisabeth Macke, and Maria Franck and Franz Marc who were living in the country at that time, but also some of the other artists who later became allies of the Blue Rider. The animal painter Jean-Bloé Niestlé, who was a close friend of Franz Marc from 1905 onwards, lived in Sindelsdorf with his partner Marguerite Legros. The two came to the place in 1909 and remained there until they relocated to Seeshaupt in 1914. They lived on the second floor of the then Lautenbacher bakery, at Hauptstrasse 15; Niestlé worked in a studio in the attic. Heinrich Campendonk, who in the autumn of 1911 took up Franz Marc’s invitation to come to Sindelsdorf, settled in the area shortly after, living there with his partner Adelheid Deichmann (known as Adda) from 1911 to 1916.⁶

Beyond the personal artistic development achieved by each of the artists in these Upper Bavarian towns, the three loci in close proximity—Murnau, Sindelsdorf, and Tegernsee—should be understood as one locus of encounter and exchange that opened up space for a dynamic process of collective work. Many of the ideas which characterized the creative work and the visions of the artists in the ambit of the Blue Rider had their origins in the friendly companionship they found here. Lively visits to one another’s homes and evenings spent in each other’s company were a fixed feature of this “colony” living in the countryside.⁷ It was in this context that regular mutual visits by the Marcs and Mackes came about during the year-long stay in Tegernsee. They continued



1



2

Fig. 1
Münter's house in Murnau, seen from
the garden, 1909.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Fig. 2
Gabriele Münter in front of her house
in Murnau, ca. 1910.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich



3



4

Fig. 3
Franz Marc and Maria Franck-Marc
with their dog Russi in front of the
house in which they lived in Sindels-
dorf, 1911.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Fig. 4
The Staudacherhof building in
Tegernsee, before 1914.
Photograph: August Macke-Haus,
Bonn

after August and Elisabeth had returned to Bonn and enabled a direct exchange of their respective ideas. Finally, from the spring of 1911, contact between Marc and Kandinsky became more frequent, with the two taking turns to visit each other in Murnau and Sindelsdorf, and together beginning to develop the idea for the Blue Rider.⁸ Already then, Marc attributed a significant role to this exchange and to collaborating in a set place, and in July 1911 wrote to August and Elisabeth Macke: “You two really must come this summer—for my part, you can be as contrary as you wish. I am convinced that we all make swifter and better progress when we’re in one another’s company than when we’re apart.”⁹ That fall, the Mackes responded to this summons and continued work on the almanac in Sindelsdorf, which was followed by an editorial meeting at Münter’s and Kandinsky’s house in Murnau at the end of October.

AS

1

Already after her first stay in 1908 Gabriele Münter wrote: "After a brief period of torment there, I made a huge leap—away from depicting nature—more or less impressionist—towards feeling a subject, abstracting—towards rendering an essence." Gabriele Münter, *Rückblickendes Tagebuch* [Retrospective Diary], May 1911, in Annegret Hoberg "Wassily Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter," in *Murnau und Kochel 1902–1914: Briefe und Erinnerungen*, (Munich, 1994, 2007), 45–51, here 46.

2

Münter's "*Giselisten*" refers to the apartment in Munich on Giselastrasse 23, in which Marianne von Werefkin and Alexej von Jawlensky lived, and where Werefkin regularly held her salon, which offered to various artists and literary figures, as well as aristocrats and other official dignitaries a place to meet and exchange views. On this, see also Anna Straetmans, "Konversation als Medium—Der 'Rosafarbene Salon' Werefkins und ihr Selbstverständnis als Künstlerin, 1896–1906," in *Soulmates. Alexej von Jawlensky and Marianne von Werefkin*. eds. Roman Zigelgänsberger, Annegret Hoberg, and Matthias Mühling, exh. cat. Lenbachhaus, Munich and Museum Wiesbaden (Munich, 2019), 100–108.

3

Gabriele Münter, *Rückblickendes Tagebuch*, in Hoberg 1994 (see note 1), 46.

4

Letter to Macke dated August 9, 1910, in *August Macke–Franz Marc, Briefwechsel*, ed. Wolfgang Macke (Cologne, 1964), 17.

5

Letter of November 7, 1910, in *ibid.*, 21.

6

After their moves to Seeshaupt, which lies on Lake Starnberg, these two couples were supported financially by the patron Bernhard Koehler, an uncle of Elisabeth Macke.

7

Letter from Wassily Kandinsky to Gabriele Münter dated June 26, 1909, in Hoberg 1994 (see note 1). See also the text "Folk Art" in this catalogue, 242–246.

8

The house in Murnau and the arbor in Sindelsdorf are important locations where Kandinsky and Marc carried out their editorial work on the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac. Kandinsky later commented on this: "We [Marc and Kandinsky] came up with the name *Der Blaue Reiter* while drinking coffee in the arbor in Sindelsdorf." Cited in Wassily Kandinsky, "Der Blaue Reiter (Rückblick)," in *Das Kunstblatt* 14 (1930), 59.

9

Letter of July 9, 1911, in *Macke–Marc*, 1994 (see note 4), 58.



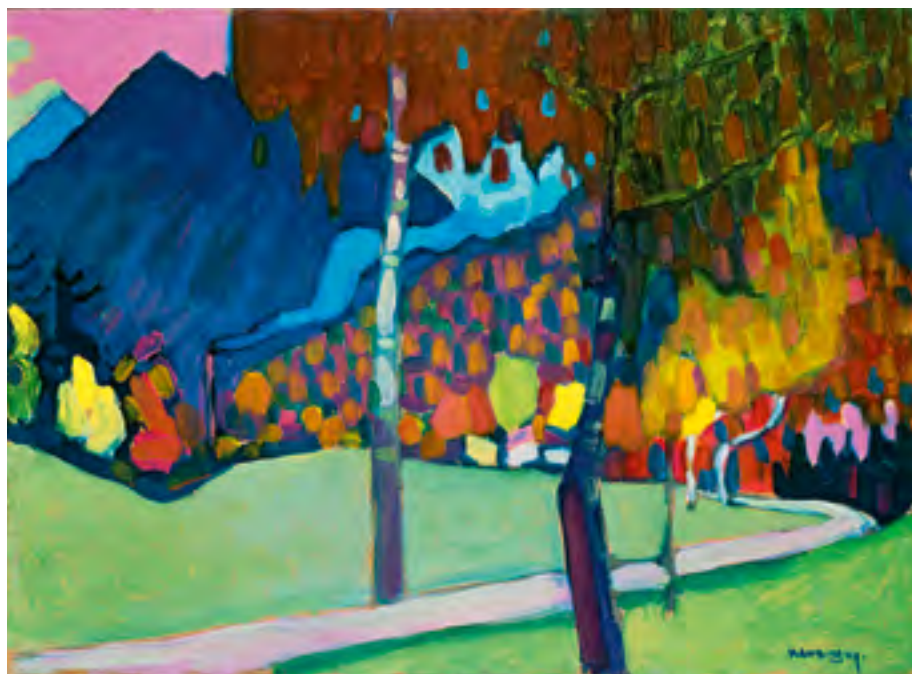
Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau-Footpath and Houses, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 32.7 × 44.5 cm
 GMS 36, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



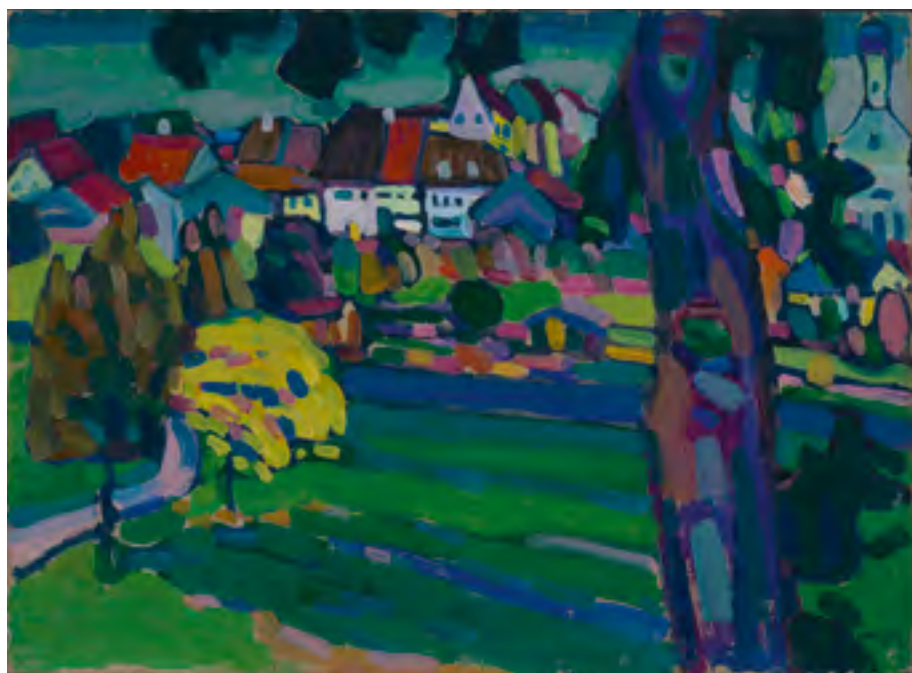
Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau-Houses, 1908
 Oil on cardboard, 32.8 × 40.7 cm
 GMS 32, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau-View from the Window of the Griesbräu,
1908
Oil on cardboard, 49.8 × 69.6 cm
GMS 34, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Autumn Study near Oberau, 1908
 Oil on cardboard, 32.8 × 44.5 cm
 GMS 28, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau-Study for "Landscape with Tree Trunk,"
 1908
 Oil on cardboard, 32.5 × 44.2 cm
 GMS 31, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau-View over the Staffelsee, 1908
 Oil on cardboard, 32.8 × 41 cm
 GMS 33, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



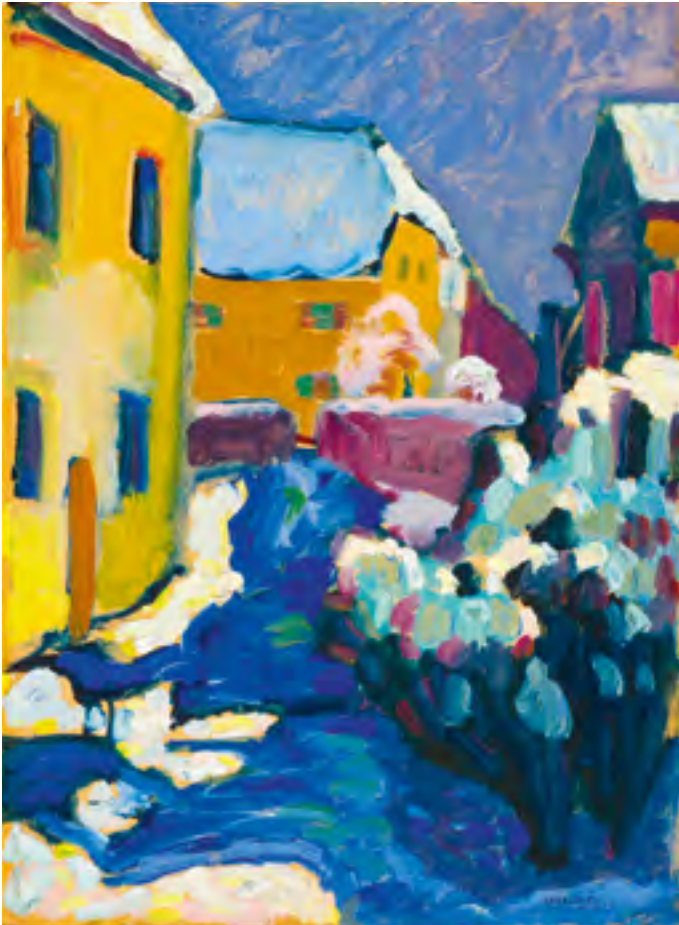
Gabriele Münter
View of the Murnau Moor, 1908
 Oil on cardboard, 32.7 × 40.5 cm
 GMS 654, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Kochel-Snow-laden Trees, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 32.8 × 44.5 cm
 GMS 38, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau-Grüngasse, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 33 × 44.6 cm
 GMS 42, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Kochel-Graveyard, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 32.9 × 44.6 cm
 GMS 39, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Kochel-Graveyard and Rectory, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 44.4 × 32.7 cm
 GMS 43, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
Grave Crosses in Kochel, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 40.5 × 32.8 cm
 GMS 658, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Alexej von Jawlensky
Landscape near Murnau, 1908/09
Tempera on cardboard, 49.7 × 53.6 cm
GMS 678, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Gabriele Münter
Jawlensky and Werefkin, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 32.7 × 44.5 cm
 GMS 655, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Alexej von Jawlensky
Summer Evening in Murnau, 1908/09
 Oil on cardboard, 33.6 × 45.2 cm
 G 13109, gift of Gabriele Münter 1960



Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau—Study for "Landscape with Tower," 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 32.7 × 40.2 cm
 GMS 37, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau—Landscape with Rainbow, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 32.8 × 42.8 cm
 GMS 41, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



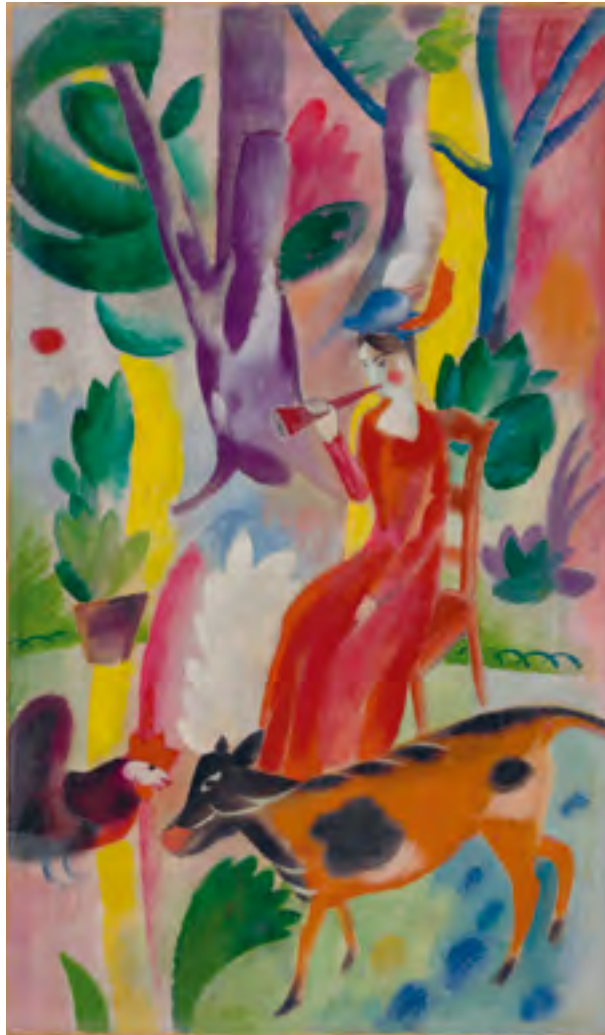
Alexej von Jawlensky
Murnau Sketch, 1908/09
 Oil on cardboard, 33.1 × 40.6 cm
 GMS 677, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau-Castle and Church, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 33.1 × 44.8 cm
 GMS 40, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Marianne von Werefkin
Washerwomen, ca. 1909
Tempera on paper, on cardboard, 50.5 × 64.6 cm
GMS 711, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Heinrich Campendonk
Shawm Player, 1914
Oil on canvas, mounted on cardboard,
54.9 × 33 cm
G 12821, acquired from Herbert Campendonk
1961



Gabriele Münter
Wagon Loads of Chaff, 1910/11
Oil on canvas, 32.9 × 40.8 cm
GMS 648, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau-Trees in the Snow, 1909/10
 Oil on cardboard, ca. 32 × 44 cm
 GMS 61, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Gabriele Münter
Autumn, 1910
 Oil on cardboard, 32.8 × 40.6 cm
 GMS 660, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau-Landscape with Bare Tree, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 32.8 × 44.5 cm
 GMS 44, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Kochel-Straight Road, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 32.9 × 44.6 cm
 GMS 45, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Study for "Winter II," 1910/11
 Oil on cardboard, 33.1 × 45 cm
 GMS 47, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Study for "Autumn I," 1910
 Oil on cardboard, ca. 33 × 45 cm
 GMS 48, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau-Mountain Landscape with Church, 1910
Oil on cardboard, 32.7 × 44.8 cm
GMS 46, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau with Church I, 1910
Oil on cardboard, 64.7 × 50.2 cm
GMS 59, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Murnau-Garden, 1910
Oil on canvas, 66 × 82 cm
GMS 60, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Franz Marc
Grazing Horses I, 1910
 Oil on canvas, 64 × 94 cm
 G 12576, gift of the Bavarian state
 government on the occasion of the
 800th anniversary of the City of Munich,
 1959



Franz Marc
Two Horses, 1908/09
 Bronze, height 16.4 cm
 G 13319, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
 Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
 of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
 acquired from Franz Marc



Franz Marc
Deer at Dusk, 1909
 Oil on canvas, 70.5 × 100.5 cm
 G 12763, gift of Gabriele Münter 1960,
 formerly owned by Bernhard Koehler,
 Berlin



Jean Bloé Niestlé
Migrating Starlings, 1910
 Oil on canvas, 151 × 90.8 cm
 G 13338, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
 Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
 of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
 acquired from Jean Bloé Niestlé



August Macke
*The Spirit in Home Furnishings:
Still Life with Cat*, 1910
Oil on canvas, 69 × 74 cm
Private collection



August Macke
Our Little House in Tegernsee, 1910
 Oil on panel, 30 × 19.5 cm
 G 19231, acquired from a private collection
 2019, estate of August Macke

August Macke
Corner of Living Room in Tegernsee, 1910
 Oil on canvas, 42 × 48 cm
 G 13024, gift of Bernhard Koehler Jr.,
 1962



August Macke
Portrait with Apples, 1909
Oil on canvas, 66 × 59.5 cm
G 13326, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
Foundation 1965
Gift from the estate of
Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
acquired from August Macke



Gabriele Münter
Grave Crosses with Pink Perennials, 1908
Oil on cardboard, 40,9 × 32,8 cm
L 135, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter



Gabriele Münter
Murnau Farmer's Wife with Children, ca. 1909/10
 India ink, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 26.1 × 23.3 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 733, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
Brewer Schöttl of the Murnau Angerbräu,
 ca. 1910
 India ink, oil behind glass,
 in painted original frame, 22.1 × 16.3 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 G 12189, acquired 1957

Wassily Kandinsky
St. George I, 1911
 India ink, oil, silver and gold bronze behind
 glass, in original frame, 22.9 × 23.5 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 105, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
With a Yellow Horse, 1909
 Oil behind glass, in original frame,
 17.9 × 30.9 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 117, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

August Macke
Two Girls in a Landscape, 1911
 India ink, oil behind glass, in painted
 original frame, 23.5 × 29.8 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 720, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
Bavarian Landscape with Isolated Farm House,
 ca. 1910
 India ink, oil behind glass, in painted
 original frame, 16.9 × 24 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 735, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
Murnau from the Lake, ca. 1910
 India ink, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 10.7 × 15.8 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 736, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

NEUE
KÜNSTLER-
VEREINIGUNG
MÜNCHEN,
NKVM

(NEW ARTISTS'
ASSOCIATION
MUNICH)

After their productive time in Murnau in 1908, Wassily Kandinsky, Gabriele Münter, Alexej von Jawlensky, and Marianne von Werefkin intensified discussions with the other progressively minded artists in Munich, who met regularly at Werefkin and Jawlensky's apartment in the district of Schwabing (fig. 1). In January 1909, they founded the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* (NKVM, New Artists' Association Munich) as a platform for exhibitions, sales, and the promotion of their ideas. Other founding members were Adolf Erbslöh, Alexander Kanoldt, Alfred Kubin, Paul Baum, Vladimir Gerogievich Bekhteev, Erma Bossi, Moissey Kogan, and the dancer Alexander Sakharoff (fig. 2).

The founding circle clearly shows that many of the participants came from Eastern Europe or Russia, and that Marianne von Werefkin's salon was a nucleus of the association. Bekhteev, born in Moscow in 1878, moved to Munich in 1902 on Jawlensky's recommendation. Kogan, born in Bessarabia in 1879, had worked as a gem-cutter and sculptor in Munich since 1903, and had probably come into contact with Jawlensky, Werefkin, and Kandinsky through the gallery-owner Vladimir Isdebsky. By 1908, Bossi, born in what was then Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was living in Munich, and also spent some of that year in Murnau. The young dancer, Alexander Sakharoff, born in 1886 in Mariupol, in Russia at the time, now Eastern Ukraine, had been close friends with Jawlensky and Werefkin since his arrival in Munich in 1905.

In NKVM's founding circular, issued in March 1909, Kandinsky wrote programmatically: "We start with the idea that apart from the impressions that he receives from the outside world, from nature, the artist constantly collects impressions in an inner world; and the search for artistic forms to express the interpenetration of all of those experiences—forms that must be stripped of everything trivial in order to give powerful expression only to the necessary—in short, a striving for artistic synthesis, this seems to us to be a watchword that is at present spiritually uniting more and more artists."

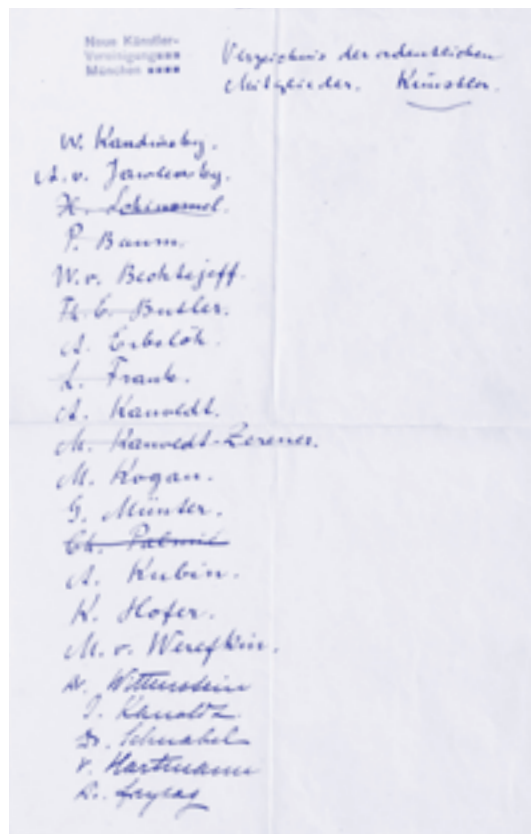
By "synthesis" he does not only mean the innovation, particularly on the part of the French successors of Paul Gauguin, of seeing the image as an autonomous formal unit of color planes and contours; there is also a call for a synthesis of the external subject and the artist's inner emotional vision, as a way of bidding a definitive farewell to traditional academic realism.¹

The first NKVM exhibition was shown in December 1909 in Heinrich Thannhauser's newly opened gallery at a prime location in central Munich, through the intercession of Hugo von Tschudi, the museum director of the Munich Pinakotheken, who had previously been suspended from his post in Berlin for his progressive acquisition policy. Alongside works by both the founder members as well as Emmi Dresler, Robert Eckert, and Carla Pohle, France was already represented by Pierre Girieud, who exhibited as a guest. Subsequently the association worked intensively to expand its international contacts; in 1910 Girieud and Henri Le Fauconnier joined the NKVM (figs. 3, 4).

The second NKVM exhibition in September 1910 had an international character because of its guests from European countries, and showed at least 115 works by, among others, Georges Braque, David and Vladimir Burliuk, Wassilij Denissoff, André Derain, Kees van Dongen, Francisco (Paco) Durrio, Eugen von Kahler, Alexander Mogilevsky, Adolf Nieder, Pablo Picasso,



1



2

NEUE KUNSTLER-
VEREINIGUNG
MÜNCHEN S. V.

Anmeldeschein.
(Bitte ausfüllen bei der Anmeldung.)

Name des Künstlers: _____
Adresse: _____

No.	Jahr	Titel des Werkes	Ort	Preis

Adresse der Einreichung der Werke: _____
Adresse der Rücksendung der Werke: _____
Bitte unterschreiben! Unterschrift des Künstlers: _____

3

NEUE KUNSTLER-
VEREINIGUNG
MÜNCHEN S. V.

Bulletin d'inscription
(Bitte ausfüllen bei der Anmeldung.)

Nom et prénom de l'artiste: _____
Adresse: _____

No.	Année	Titre des œuvres	Quantité	Prix

Adresse pour l'envoi des œuvres: _____
Adresse de retour: _____
Petite d'artiste: _____ Signature de l'artiste: _____

4

Fig. 1
Marianne von Werefkin, Alexej von Jawlensky and two visitors in their drawing room at 23 Giselastrasse, Munich, around 1905.
Photograph: Alexej von Jawlensky-Archiv S.A., Muralto

Fig. 2
List of members of the NKVM Munich, 1909.
Manuscript by Gabriele Münter
Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Figs. 3, 4
Application form for the NKVM in German and French, 1909.
Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau, Munich

Georges Rouault, Edwin Scharff, Serafim Sudbinin, and Maurice de Vlaminck. The exhibition catalogue included five prefaces by Le Fauconnier, David and Vladimir Burliuk, Kandinsky, and Odilon Redon, as well as a separate preface to a Rouault exhibition. This unique quality of the second NKVM exhibition cannot be stressed enough: for the first time in Europe an artists' association invited a considerable number of external guests from the avant-gardes of foreign countries, (even if the selection was largely restricted to French and Russian artists) almost all of whom were being shown in Germany for the first time.

Contact with the French artists had been made through the intercession of Girieud, and the same was true of Picasso, a close friend. Kandinsky had invited his colleagues from Russia. However, the second NKVM exhibition in 1910 brought about a change in Kandinsky's relationship with the Russian avant-garde. Soon he not only came to regret inviting Denisov, who was still closely associated with Art Nouveau, in October he traveled again to Moscow and Odessa where he had not been for some time. He strengthened his contacts with Nikolai Kulbin, the St Petersburg artist, music theorist, and founder of the artists' association *Treugolnik* (Triangle), whom he later commissioned to collaborate on the almanac. In Moscow, Kandinsky also made the personal acquaintance of Aristarkh Lentulov, Natalia Goncharova, and Mikhail Larionov, who advocated a much more radical return to Russian folk art and the "primitivism" of their own peasant tradition than the Burliuk brothers. All of these artists had been recommended to him by David Burliuk for the second NKVM exhibition, but at that time Kandinsky had refused to invite them to Munich. In Moscow, he now recognized the potential of the so-called "Neo-Primitivists" and the Jack of Diamonds (*Bubnovyi Valet*) group, which was just coming into being. He and Jawlensky had already been invited to the group's planned first exhibition in Moscow, and now Kandinsky canvassed for the involvement of other members of the NKVM. The *Jack of Diamonds* exhibition held in December 1910 contained, alongside works by Larionov, Goncharova, David and Vladimir Burliuk, Pyotr Petrovich Konchalovsky, Lentulov, Kazimir Malevich, Ilya Mashkov, and Alexander Kuprin, pieces by the NKVM members Kandinsky, Jawlensky, Münter, Werefkin, Erbslöh, Kanoldt, and Bekhteev. Even before this, Kandinsky had engineered an invitation for the NKVM artists to Isdebsky's exhibition *Isdebsky Salon 2* in Odessa, which also opened in December 1910.²

The two NKVM exhibitions of 1909 and 1910 in Munich received scathing reviews in the press. Particularly violent were the polemical attacks by the critic Maximilian Karl Rohe, who wrote of this "Munich Association of Eastern Europeans," "that the majority of the members and guests of the association are incurably insane, either that or we are dealing with shameless bluffers who are not unacquainted with our time's need for sensation, and who are trying to exploit the current boom."³ It was this review which led Franz Marc, who had for a long time been working largely in isolation in Munich, to side actively with the group, and brought him into contact with the NKVM (fig. 5); first, while Kandinsky was spending that autumn in Russia with the group's secretary, Erbslöh, as well as Jawlensky and Werefkin. On January 1, 1911, Marc met Kandinsky and Münter in person for the first time at Werefkin and



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Fig. 5

Review by Franz Marc of the 2nd NKVM Exhibition, 1910.

Published in *Zwei Kritiken. Zur Ausstellung der Neuen Künstlervereinigung Munich*, 1910. Eight-page brochure with the reviews of Maximilian Karl Rohe and Franz Marc.

Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau, Munich.

Jawlensky's salon, and in February 1911 he finally became a member of the NKVM. Kandinsky and Marc became close friends, and their artistic ideas soon brought them into conflict with the more moderate members.

In spite of the terrible reviews, the NKVM consistently pursued its artistic goals with traveling exhibitions. The tour of the first exhibition in 1909/10 took it to Brunn, Elberfeld, Barmen, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Wiesbaden, Schwerin, and Frankfurt am Main. The tour of the second exhibition in 1910/11 traveled to Karlsruhe, Mannheim, Hagen, Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, and Weimar. In the Rhineland in particular the works met with a far more positive reception than in Munich: the artists not only enjoyed their first sales or, in some cases, solo exhibitions, but also acted as successful intermediaries between colleagues, galleries, and museum directors.

Beginning in the summer of 1911, in collaboration with Gabriele Münter, Kandinsky and Marc worked on the publication of an art almanac to which they gave the name *Der Blaue Reiter* (The Blue Rider). Soon they ceased to consider contributions or works by their colleagues in the NKVM for inclusion in the publication. During the preparations for the third NKVM exhibition, conflicts arose over the inclusion of artists from other European countries, which Kandinsky and Marc's emphatically supported, but which the group around Erbslöh and Karnoldt was able to prevent. When the jury of the third NKVM exhibition rejected an almost abstract painting by Kandinsky on December 2, 1911, Kandinsky, Marc, and Münter left the NKVM and organized a show of their own, the now famous first Blue Rider exhibition. While various representatives of a spiritually inclined Expressionism came together in the circle of the Blue Rider, the third NKVM exhibition traveled with a small line-up of works by Barrera-Bossi, Bekhteev, Erbslöh, Girieud, Jawlensky, Kanoldt, Kogan and Werefkin to the Kunsthaus Zürich; another seven planned venues were abandoned. When in 1912, the art historian Oskar Fischer, also a member of the NKVM, published his book *Das Neue Bild: Veröffentlichung der Neuen Künstlervereinigung München* (The New Painting: Publication by the New Artists' Association Munich), in which he criticized Kandinsky's path into abstraction, Werefkin and Jawlensky towards the end of the year also left the group, which subsequently disbanded.

AH

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See in detail, *Der Blaue Reiter und das Neue Bild. Von der "Neuen Künstlervereinigung München" zum "Blauen Reiter,"* eds. Annegret Hoberg and Helmut Friedel, exh.-cat. Lenbachhaus, Munich, (Munich, 1999), 30.

2

See Annegret Hoberg, "München leuchtet. Kandinsky, Jawlensky, Werefkin und Der Blaue Reiter," in *Russen und Deutsche. 1000 Jahre Kunst, Geschichte und Kultur*, exh. cat. Staatliches Historisches Museum, Moscow/Neues Museum (Berlin, 2012/13), 374–383, here 377–380.

3

Maximilian K. Rohe's review of September 10, 1910, for the Munich newspaper *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, "Zweite Ausstellung der Neuen Künstlervereinigung München in H. Thannhausers Moderne Galerie im Arco-Palais," is cited in Andreas Hüneke, *Der Blaue Reiter: Dokumente einer geistigen Bewegung* (Leipzig, 1986), 29.



Wassily Kandinsky
Membership Card of the Neue Künstlervereinigung München, 1908/09
 Woodcut, print from a woodblock in black on laid paper, inscriptions printed separately and combined with woodcut, mounted on black construction paper, 16 × 16 cm (size of page)
 GMS 249, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Moissej Kogan
Medal of the NKVM, 1910
 Cast bronze, diameter 2.9 cm
 GMS 695, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



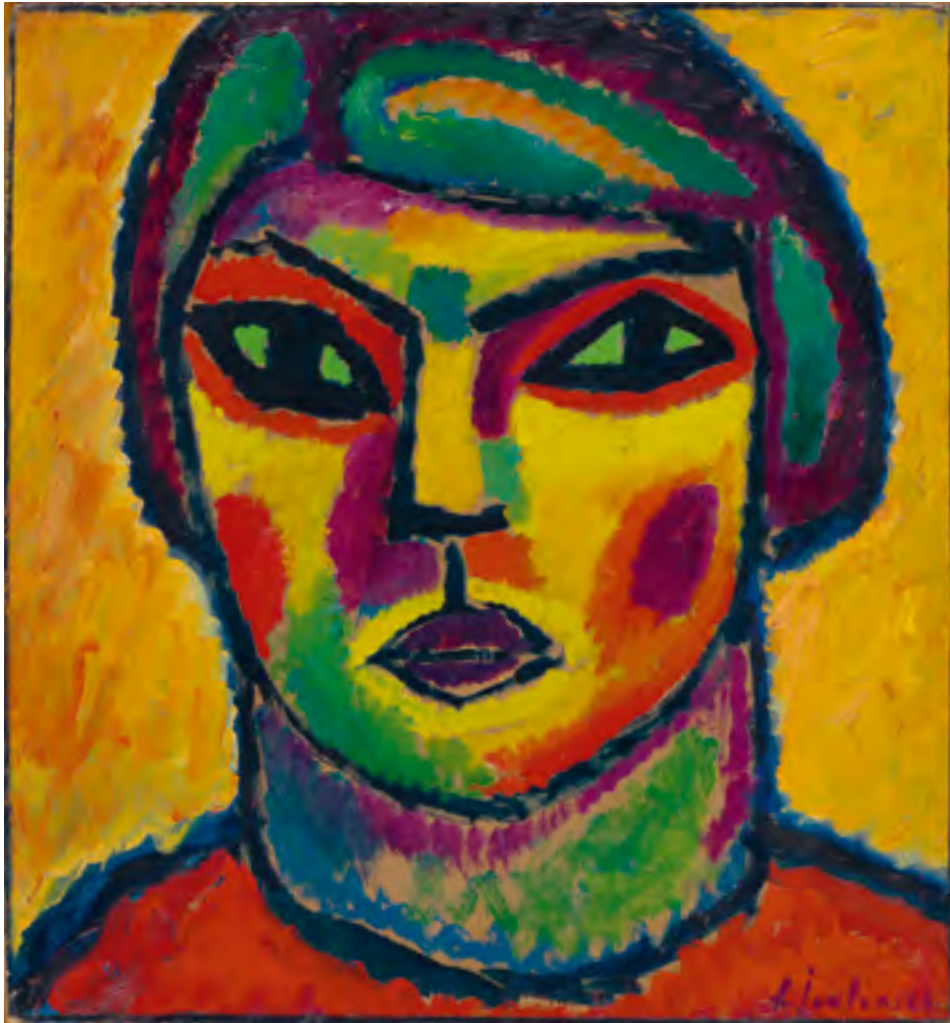
Wassily Kandinsky
*Poster for the First Exhibition of the
Neue Künstlervereinigung München, 1909*
Color lithograph, 94 × 64 cm
G 14252, acquired 1969



Vladimir Bekhteev
Horse Tamer, ca. 1912
Oil on canvas, 110 × 94 cm
AK 5, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, acquired 1965



Emmy Dresler
Children Playing, ca. 1907
Tempera on cardboard, 39.7 × 34.8 cm
GMS 740, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Alexej von Jawlensky
Maturity, ca. 1912
Oil on canvas, 53.5 × 49.5 cm
G 13000, acquired 1962



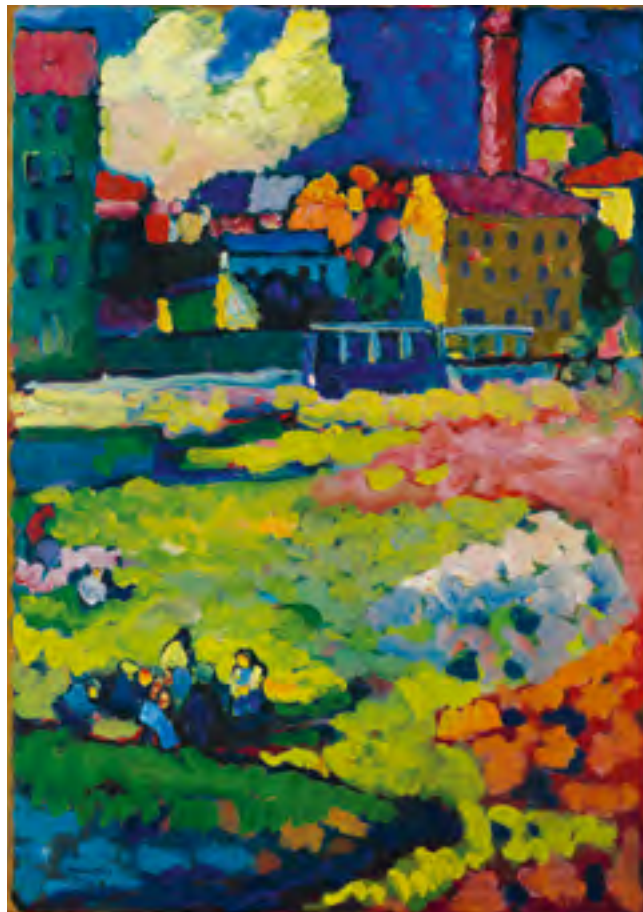
Pierre Girieud
Judas, 1908
Oil on canvas, 92.3 × 73 cm
AK 36, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, acquired 1987



Alexander Kanoldt
Iron Bridge, 1911
 Oil on canvas, 40.5 × 60 cm
 G 17693, acquired 1993



Alexander Kanoldt
Stone Desert, 1910
 Oil on cardboard, 53.5 × 37.5 cm
 AK 52, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired 1997



Wassily Kandinsky
Interior (My Dining Room), 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 50 × 65 cm
 GMS 52, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Munich—Before the City, 1908
 Oil on cardboard, 68.8 × 49 cm
 GMS 35, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



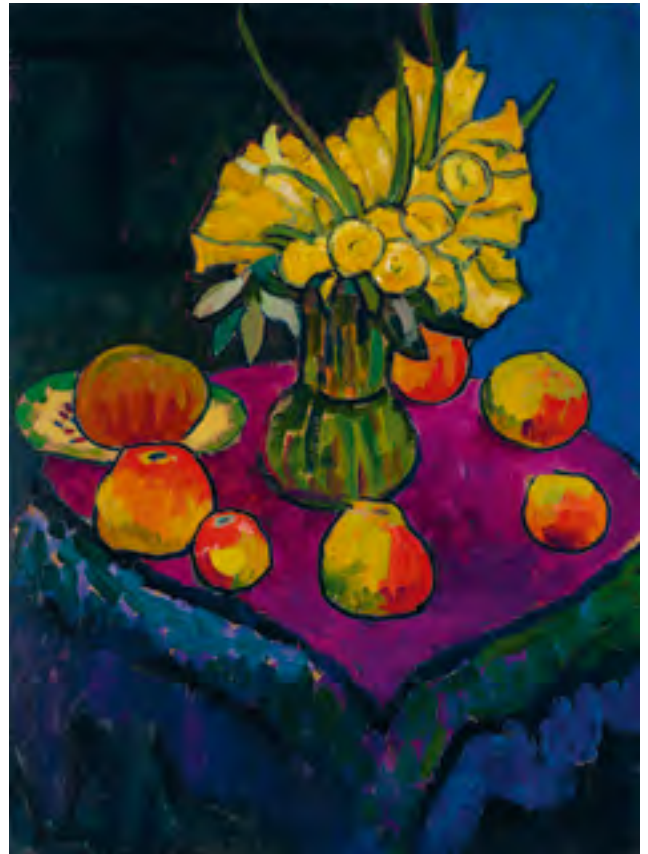
Alfred Kubin
Thunderstorm, 1906
 Gouache, 33.7 × 36.3 cm
 G 12415, acquired 1958



Alfred Kubin
The Foreboding, 1906
 Gouache, watercolor, 30.7 × 25.3 cm
 Kub 288, acquired 1971 with the Kubin Archive
 of Dr. Kurt Otte, Hamburg



Alfred Kubin
The Czar at the Tombs of his Ancestors, 1905
Watercolor, colored paste, gouache, chalk,
24 × 34.2 cm
Kub 284, acquired 1971 with the Kubin Archive
of Dr. Kurt Otte, Hamburg



Alexej von Jawlensky
Still Life with Fruit, ca. 1910
 Oil on cardboard, 48.3 × 67.9 cm
 GMS 680, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Erma Bossi
Portrait of a man, 1910
 Oil on cardboard, 63.5 × 52 cm
 FH 504, on permanent loan from a private
 collection

Gabriele Münter
Apples and Daffodils, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 66.8 × 50 cm
 GMS 653, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Erma Bossi
Interior with Lamp, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 23.5 × 32.6 cm
 GMS 673, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Adolf Erbslöh
Summer Evening, ca. 1911
 Oil on canvas, 49 × 46 cm
 G 18639, acquired 2009



Adolf Erbslöh
March Sun, 1909
 Oil on canvas, 47 × 52 cm
 FH 324, on permanent loan from a
 private collection

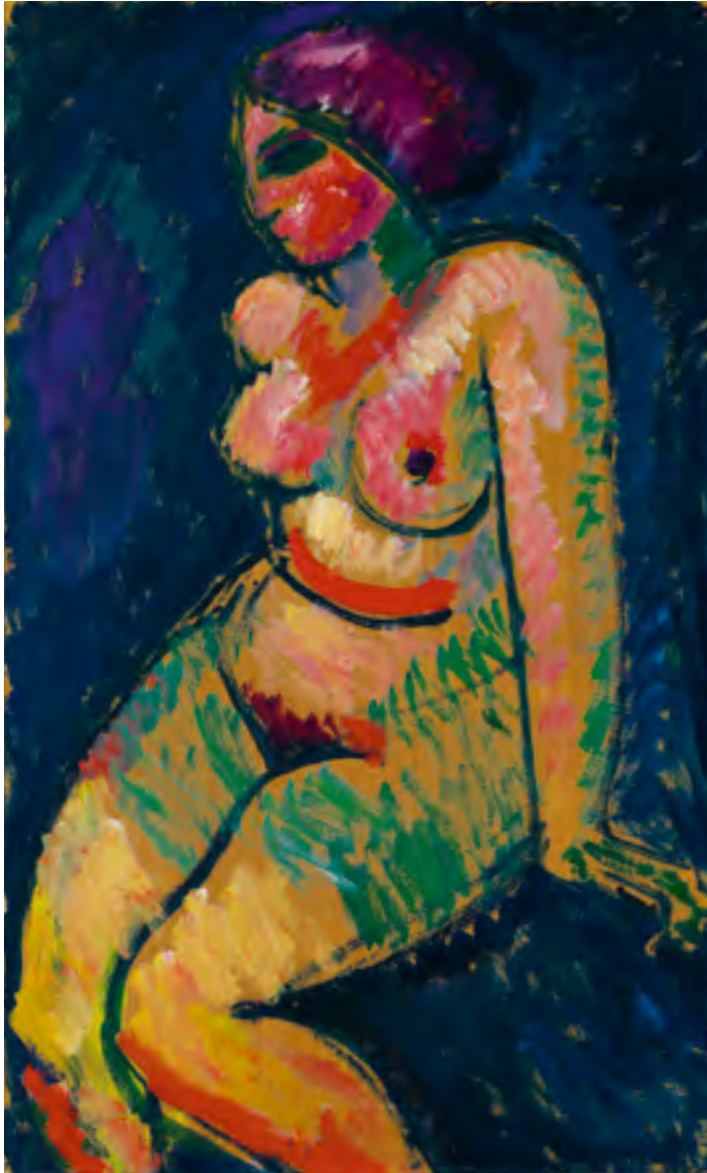
Alexander Kanoldt
Wilted Flowers, 1910
 Oil on cardboard, 79.2 × 49.5 cm
 G 17965, acquired 1997



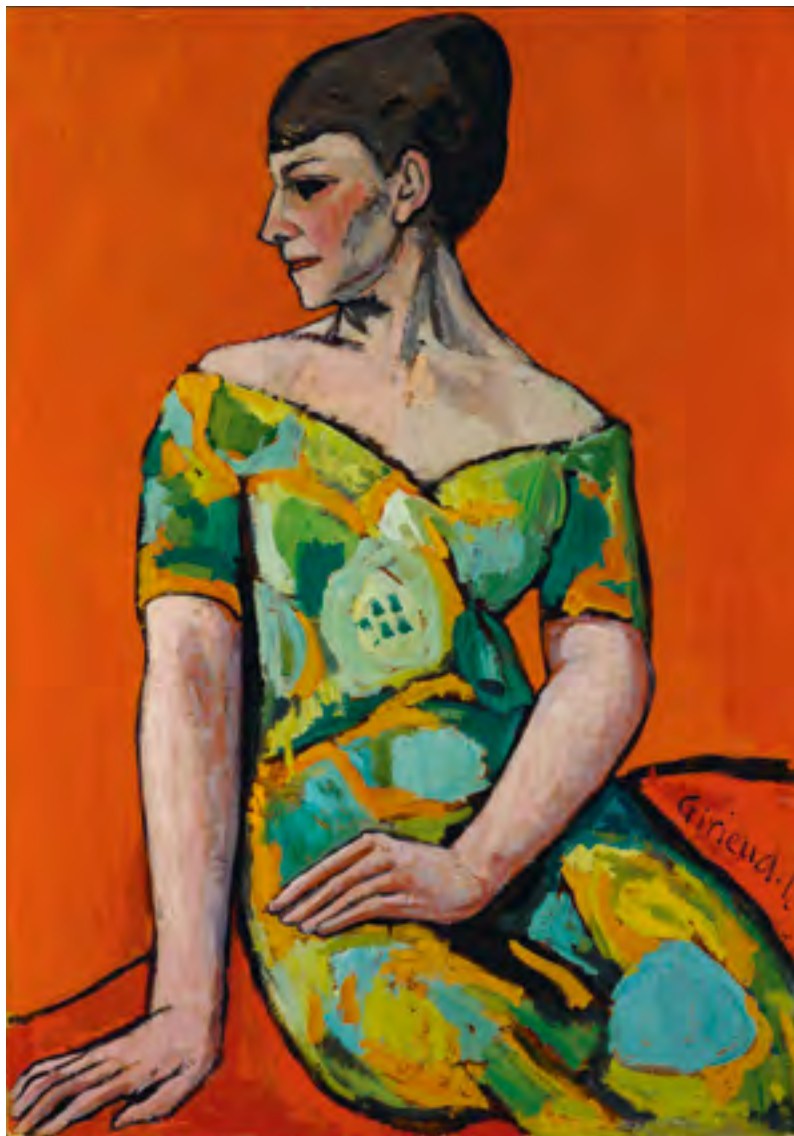
Erma Bossi
Circus, 1909
 Oil on cardboard, 64 × 79 cm
 AK 68, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired 2004



Marianne von Werefkin
Into the Night, 1910
 Tempera on paper on cardboard, 75.3 × 102.3 cm
 FVL 41, acquired by the Förderverein
 Lenbachhaus e.V., 2018



Alexej von Jawlensky
Seated Female Nude, ca. 1910
Oil on cardboard, 70.6 × 42.7 cm
G 12476, acquired 1958



Alexander Sakharoff
Portrait of the Artist's Mother, 1905
 Oil on canvas, 25.0 × 27.0 cm
 AK 20, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired 1971 from
 Clotilde von Derp-Sakharoff

Pierre Girieud
Portrait of the Painter Emilie Charmy, 1908
 Oil on cardboard, 101.5 × 72 cm
 AK 61, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired 1999



Vladimir Burliuk
Dancer, ca. 1910
 Oil on canvas, 100 × 61 cm
 G 12532, acquired 1958



Gabriele Münter
Study with White Spots, 1912
 Oil on cardboard, 38.5 × 25.5 cm
 GMS 667, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
*Study for "Improvisation No. 2
(Funeral March)," 1909*
Oil on cardboard, 49.8 × 69.8 cm
GMS 50, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

THE SPIRITUAL IN ART

The art of the Blue Rider can be assigned to the larger movement of Expressionism at the beginning of the twentieth century. The expressive mode of this great movement revolved around the representation of a subjectively experienced vision of material things intended to penetrate their external reality and render their internal world visible. The Blue Rider artists are distinguished from other Expressionist groupings, however, by their spiritual approach, through which they opened up new formal expressive possibilities that ultimately paved the way to abstraction.

Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky occupied a special position in the Blue Rider's endeavors: although quite a large circle was involved editorially in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, Marc and Kandinsky are prominent among them, as the sole named editors. As the authors of several contributions, their share of the almanac was also greater than that of all the others involved. Moreover, both of them were particularly engaged with the theoretical foundations of their art, as is apparent from their writings on aesthetics. The missionary zeal of the texts they penned in the years around 1912 continue to astound today, which—in addition to the artists' awareness of a great and radical change of epoch—in their self-definition come across as an entirely distinctive, forward-looking form of the artistic avant-garde. As authors and artists, Kandinsky and Marc consciously laid claim to an intellectual role characterized by (what for the period was) a typical and messianic sense that they were pioneers. It was from their prophetic perspective, and theirs alone, that they could—from the specific historical moment that was their present—discern the meaningfulness of a universal art for “humanity.” The concept of the avant-garde that informed their thought and actions was one of a call to arms. Inherent in Marc's and Kandinsky's ideas in this respect is an outlook that cannot be ignored—one whose utopian presumptuousness is as interesting as the spiritual wrong turns taken in its name; one of these, as has been mentioned often, is the persistence of the views expressed by Marc, which extended to his enthusiasm for war at the outbreak of the First World War.¹

This particular form of avant-garde, however, which is distinct from contemporary trends such as Cubism and the Expressionism of The Bridge (Die Brücke), also encompasses a debate around an expanded concept of art. In this, a role is played by an artwork's “inner” quality, which acts as an index of the work's quality, across all epochs and lands of origin, and independent of whatever outer form it displays. This “inner” quality becomes the factor by which all “genuine” works of art are compared with one another.²

This consciousness that their striving for spiritual values was an untrodden path finds expression in Marc's contribution to the almanac, “The ‘Savages’ of Germany.” In it, Marc pays tribute to the most recent art, for example that of The Bridge in Dresden, but distinguishes it from his own movement. Written in November 1911, one month before the Blue Rider broke away from the NKVM (New Artists' Association Munich), his text refers to the latter's progressive ideals. Their “beautiful, strange exhibitions that drove critics to despair,” as Marc put it, alongside their inclusion of young guest artists from France and the Russian Empire, “stimulated thought, and people came to understand that art was concerned with the most profound matters, that renewal must not be merely formal but is in fact a rebirth of thinking. *Mysticism* was awakened in their

souls and with it the most ancient elements of art.”³ Another of Marc’s famous utterances, often cited outside this context, falls in his text: “The most beautiful prismatic colors and the celebrated cubism are now meaningless goals for these ‘savages.’ Their thinking has a different aim: To create out of their work *symbols* for their own time, symbols that belong on the altars of a future spiritual religion, symbols behind which the technical heritage cannot be seen. [...] Not all of the official ‘savages’ in or out of Germany dream of this kind of art and of these high aims. All the worse for them. After easy successes they will perish from their own superficiality despite all their programs, cubist and otherwise.”⁴

Whatever the differences in their intellectual backgrounds, Marc and Kandinsky, artists and friends, were at one in creating a polarity between “superficiality” and “interiority,” material and spirit. With Marc, this had its roots in ideas springing from German Romanticism and idealism.⁵ For his part, Kandinsky was strongly influenced by movements in spiritualism, which in Russian philosophy, literature, and art offered robust opposition to the positivism and materialism of court culture from the second half of the nineteenth century, at the same time encouraged a harking back to national roots.⁶ Formulated by the influential philosopher Vladimir Solovyov, who was later persecuted by the regime, the concept of *dukhovnoye* (rendered in German as “*das Geistige*” and in English as “the spiritual”) also played a role in Kandinsky’s university milieu.⁷

Like the almanac, Kandinsky’s 1912 book *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (On the Spiritual in Art) in many places proclaimed the redemptive message of a coming epoch of “great spirituality,” in which the arts and all future expressions of culture would participate (figs. 1, 2). In their unpublished foreword to the almanac, Kandinsky and Marc write: “We are standing at the threshold of one of the greatest epochs that mankind has ever experienced, the epoch of great spirituality.”⁸ The concept of “inner necessity” central to Kandinsky’s theory of art makes itself felt in both his book and the almanac: “*The most important thing in the question of form is whether or not the form has grown out of inner necessity.*”⁹ Like Marc, albeit in a different way, Kandinsky in his essay “On the Question of Form” appears convinced that he was standing at the dawn of a new epoch, in which the spiritual forms itself anew after the materialism of the nineteenth century: “These characteristics of a great spiritual epoch (which was prophesied and is today in its initial stage) can be seen in contemporary art.”¹⁰ The influence of Kandinsky and his tract *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* on the evolution of abstraction in the twentieth century has been expounded on many occasions, and Leah Dickerman offers a succinct overview: “The breadth and intensity of the reception of Kandinsky’s work situate him as one of the most generationally influential theorists of Modernism.”¹¹

Considerably less attention, however, has been paid in this reception to the problematic nature of the claims to absoluteness that Kandinsky and Marc staked in their theories of the spiritual. The moral rigor with which they pursued the principle of an “interior,” “authentic” art, elevating it above all other trends of their time, becomes particularly clear in the image of the *Führer* (leader). In the chapter entitled “*Die Bewegung*” (The Movement) in *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, Kandinsky uses a language rich in his characteristic metaphors to describe the expected evolution as an upwards-pointing triangle:

“The entire triangle moves slowly, almost invisibly, forwards and upwards, and where the apex was ‘today’, the second segment is going to be ‘tomorrow.’”; and it is at this apex, he writes, that artists and cultural creators will be designated leaders.¹² This self-conception as leaders of a multitude that must perforce follow their ideas is also expressed in Marc’s foreword to the second edition of the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac (1914), whose register expresses even more clearly Friedrich Nietzsche’s concept of the artist as the “most exalted stage in the type’s evolution.”¹³ Most importantly, conceptions such as the construction of “a new spiritual empire” and “the epoch of great spirituality” may conjure up connotations of the National Socialist era that was later, and from a completely different standpoint, also to propagate ideas of purity and the *Führer* (fig. 3).¹⁴ It cannot be denied, at any rate, that the Blue Rider circle had “a tendency to proclaim salvation, something absolutely autocratic, a claim to power over everything.”¹⁵

Among the multiplicity of influences on the idea of rendering the “spiritual” apparent in the visual arts, an idea that could also entail a paradigm shift in the choice of motifs, was Wilhelm Worringer’s dissertation *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (Abstraction and Empathy). Published by Piper in 1908, the work was already in its third print-run in 1911, and Kandinsky and Marc were not the only artists to find it electrifying (fig. 4).¹⁶ They both knew Worringer, who at the time was living temporarily in Munich.¹⁷ In *Abstraktion und Einfühlung*, he formulates, for the first time in a theoretical tract, the renunciation of mimesis—something that was still revolutionary at that time—that is, the renunciation of the aspiration to imitate nature as perfectly as possible, which since the Renaissance had been elevated to a norm in European art, in its reference to antiquity. Worringer declares the drive towards abstraction, the “spiritual dread of space,” and “‘native peoples’ fear of the chaos of appearances” to be the origin of art. He writes: “We find that the artistic will of all primitive eras in art and ultimately the artistic will of certain evolved Oriental cultures exhibits this tendency towards abstraction. Thus at the inception of every art we find a drive towards abstraction, which remains the dominant drive with certain peoples at an advanced stage of their cultural evolution, but slowly subsides, for example, with the Greeks and other Occidental cultures, to yield to empathy.”¹⁸ Worringer saw in the development of ornament not only the first tendencies towards abstraction, but the origin of artistic production itself.¹⁹ This revaluation of ornament and further “marginal areas” of artistic production around the world amounted to a reinforcement of Modernism’s tendency towards abstraction, a tendency, however, that can also be understood, occurring as it did at a particular point in history, as an expression of alienation from prevailing conditions of production and the loss of meaning.²⁰ Worringer’s evolutionary chronology is extremely similar to that formulated by the Blue Rider. At the same time, however, Worringer imposed a hierarchy on those perceived as “native peoples” and “primitives” through his own central argument that tendencies towards abstraction were more evolved than the mere “drive towards naturalistic imitation.” In this respect, in his polarization of abstraction and empathy (in the sense of mimetic convergence), Worringer proclaims the equality of all cultures far less than the Blue Rider does.



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Fig. 1
Wassily Kandinsky, preliminary design for the cover of *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, ca. 1910.
GMS 611, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957, gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly the property of Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky.

Fig. 2
Wassily Kandinsky, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, R. Piper & Co. Verlag (Munich, 1912).

Fig. 3
Franz Marc, "Geistige Güter," published in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, 1912.

Fig. 4
Advertisement for Kandinsky's book *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* and Wilhelm Worringer's work *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (Abstraction and Empathy), printed in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, 1912.
Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau, Munich

The influence of theosophy on the development of abstract painting and on the work of Kandinsky and other artists, such as Piet Mondrian or Hilma af Klint, has frequently been the subject of art-historical research, and in Kandinsky's case reference is often made to his reception of the writings of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky.²¹ Kandinsky's *Improvisation 19* (cat. p. 154) has been taken as a prominent example of the artist's attempt to depict transcendental phenomena such as "thought auras and emotion auras." While the Blue Rider's engagement with theosophy has been the subject of intense scholarly debate, the influences of Buddhism, which created a stir in the Munich milieu through Piper's publications, have hitherto been barely noticed. In 1905, the first German translation of *Krischnas Weltengang* (Krishna's Journey through the Worlds) appeared, and in 1911 the first German translation, by Karl Eugen Neumann, of *Die letzten Tage Gotamo Buddhos* (The Last Days of the Gautama Buddha).²² Artists such as Marc—who drew numerous Buddha figures in his sketch books and even in his wartime letters to his wife recommended retaining a bearing that was "Indian and anachronistic"—but also Alfred Kubin, show themselves to have been inspired by this trove of spiritual ideas.²³

On the connection between abstract art and the latest discoveries in physics, reference has often been made, in Kandinsky's case, to the splitting of the atom, something the artist himself mentions in *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*. As for Marc's striving for dematerialization, his engagement with the achievements of modern physics became central to his later writings and artworks—with X-rays, modern lighting, and telegraphy—whose practical applications he rejected with reasoning akin to that employed in critiques of civilization.²⁴ Many of the *Aphorisms* he coined during the war in 1914–15 have this as their focus: "The coming age, the 'epoch of the spiritual' as Kandinsky calls it, will create its ethical and artistic forms from the laws of exact science."²⁵ "The old order's view of the world will become the new order's view through the world." This adage, quoted frequently in relation to Marc's pictures, gains a new dimension in light of the newly discovered laws of physics.²⁶

While Marc adapted the stylistic vocabulary of Cubism and Futurism in his visualization of the powers immanent in nature, Kandinsky's approach to visualizing the spiritual in art led, via the disguising and concealing of symbolically deployed figurative fragments, to an abstract formal material. The second edition of the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac was supplemented with two forewords by Kandinsky and Marc, which in 1914 already reveal the noticeable remove they felt from their original undertaking. Kandinsky declares: "Two years have passed since this book first appeared. One of our aims—to me the main one—has remained virtually unattained. It was to demonstrate through examples, practical juxtapositions, and theoretical proofs that the question of form in art was secondary, that the question of art was primarily one of content. [...] Maybe the time has not yet come for "hearing" and "seeing." But the justified hope that that time will come is rooted in necessity. And this hope is the most important reason for a further edition of the *Blaue Reiter*."²⁷

With their belief in the universal application of the meaning of "pure art,"²⁸ as well as in the universalism of abstract formal language, the editors pushed to the limit the conception of autonomous art and with it a concept formulated as far back as the Enlightenment of eighteenth-century Europe.

At the same time, their vision of the spiritual in art comes across as one of the last of twentieth-century artistic utopias. For decades, their ideal of the avant-garde informed the ideal of (Western) avant-gardes after 1945, and at the same time, freedom in art was exploited, in the East–West conflict of the postwar period, as a metaphor for freedom as to one’s way of life.²⁹

AH, MM

Cf. Beat Wyss, *Der Wille zur Kunst: Zur ästhetischen Mentalität der Moderne* (Cologne, 1996), 180ff. Wyss has offered arguably the sharpest criticism of the Blue Rider to date. However, his sights are not set so much on the group's broader context, with all its diverse facets and personalities, as on its "avant-garde" protagonists, Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky.

See also Annegret Hoberg, "Kandinsky, Marc und das Sendungsbewusstsein der Avantgarde," in *Der Blaue Reiter: Marc, Macke, Kandinsky, Münter, Jawlensky aus der Städtischen Galerie im Lenbachhaus, München*, exh. cat., Museum Frieder Burda, (Baden-Baden, 2009), 55–69, here 55.

The Blaue Reiter Almanac, eds Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc (London, 2006), 250; *Der Blaue Reiter 1912. Herausgeber: Kandinsky, Franz Marc. Reprint der Originalausgabe für das Lenbachhaus anlässlich des Programms Museum Global der Kulturstiftung des Bundes* (Munich, 2019), 7.

The Blaue Reiter Almanac, 2006 (see note 3), 250; *Der Blaue Reiter, 1912/2019* (see note 3), 31–32.

See among others Carla Schulz-Hoffmann, „Franz Marc und die Romantik. Zur Bedeutung romantischer Denkvorstellungen in seinen Schriften," in *Franz Marc 1880–1916*, exh. cat. Lenbachhaus (Munich, 1980), 95–111.

See among others Noemi Smolik, "Prophet oder Widersacher der Moderne? Kandinskys Weg aus der russischen Provinz in die bayerische Kunstmetropole," in *Wassily Kandinsky*, eds. Helmut Friedel and Annegret Hoberg (Munich, 2008), 30–53, here 30–38; Anthony Parton, "Avantgarde und mystische Tradition in Rußland 1900–1915" in *Okkultismus und Avantgarde: Von Munch bis Mondrian 1900–1915*, exh. cat. Schirn Kunsthalle (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 193–215.

Smolik 2008 (see note 6), 32.

The Blaue Reiter Almanac, 2006 (see note 3), 250; *Der Blaue Reiter, 1912/2019* (see note 3), IX. Similarly, in his textual contribution to the almanac "Zwei Bilder" (Two Pictures), Marc expresses the belief that he was standing "at the turning point of two long epochs" (*an der Wende zweier langer Epochen*). Ibid., 12.

The Blaue Reiter Almanac, 2006 (see note 3), 153; Wassily Kandinsky, "Über die Formfrage" (On the Question of Form), in *Der Blaue Reiter, 1912/2019*, 78.

Kandinsky also sets out this view in later writings, for example in the essay "Malerei als reine Kunst" (Painting as Pure Art) written in the Soviet Union in 1918: "The determining element is that of the content. *Form is the material expression of abstract content*. The choice of form is also determined by *inner necessity*, which is in essence the sole unalterable law of art." *Wassily Kandinsky, Essays über Kunst und Künstler* (Bern, 1963), 64.

"Diese Merkmale einer großen geistigen Epoche (die prophezeit wurde und heute in einem der ersten Anfangsstadien sich kundgibt), sehen wir in der gegenwärtigen Kunst." Ibid., 147.

Leah Dickerman, "Vasily Kandinsky, without words," in *Inventing Abstraction 1910–1925: How a Radical Idea Changed Modern Art*, exh. cat. The Museum of Modern Art, (New York City, 2012) 50–53, here 51.

Wassily Kandinsky, *On the Spiritual in Art*, edited by Hilla Rebay (Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, for the Museum of Non-Objective Painting, New York City, 1946), 16–17.

Marc writes: "We counter the great centuries of the past with a no. [...] We know that the great masses cannot follow us today; the path is too steep, too untrod-den for them. But the fact that many people already want to travel with us today is something we have learned from the fate of this little book, which we are now releasing into the world in the same form as before, even as we ourselves, already detached from it, engage in new work. We do not know when we will gather for a second almanac. Perhaps only at the point at which we find ourselves alone again, when modernity has ceased wanting to industrialize the primeval forest of new ideas." *Franz Marc, Schriften*, ed. Klaus Lankeit, (Cologne, 1978), 153–154,

Kandinsky's *On the Spiritual of Art* finishes with the words: "Finally, I wish to state that we are fast approaching the time of conscious composition [...] We have before us the age of conscious creation with which the spiritual in painting will be allied organically; with the gradual forming structure of the new spiritual realm, as the spirit is the soul of the epoch of great spirituality." (see note 12), 99.

Jürgen Kolbe, *Heller Zauber: Thomas Mann und München 1894–1933* (Munich, 2001), 220.

Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung: Ein Beitrag zur Stilpsychologie*, ed. Helga Grebing, with an

introduction by Claudia Öhlschläger (Munich, 2007). "Philosophers of culture, scholars of literature and language, and later even theoreticians of film, also saw him as an important source of inspiration." Ibid., 8.

On this, see also the letter from Kandinsky to Marc, dated April 1, 1911, about a visit Worringer paid him on Ainmillerstraße: "and he declared himself absolutely ready and willing to take part vociferously in a sort of 'counter-protest'." *Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc: Briefwechsel. Mit Briefen von und an Gabriele Münter und Maria Marc*, ed. Klaus Lankeit (Munich/ Zurich, 1983), 29. The mutual esteem in which the two held each other is also expressed in some of Worringer's messages to Kandinsky (now in the Münter Eichner Foundation).

Worringer, 2007 (see note 16), 81; In an appendix entitled "Von Transzendenz und Immanenz in der Kunst" (On Transcendence and Immanence in Art) that Worringer added to the third edition of 1911, he concluded from this dichotomy at the end: "This is the issue by which any retrospective appreciation of art must orient itself, if it does not wish to persist in its narrow-mindedness." Ibid., 175.

See also Markus Brüderlin, "Einführung: Ornament und Abstraktion" in *Ornament und Abstraktion: Kunst der Kulturen, Moderne und Gegenwart im Dialog*, ed. Markus Brüderlin, exh. cat. Fondation Beyeler Basel (Cologne, 2001): "In his observations on the psychology of style, the author contrasts the urge for empathy (which can be identified with the instinct to emulate) with the urge for abstraction (which he says is more primal)." 18.

Öhlschläger 2007 (see note 16), 14–19. See also Evelin Priebe, *Angst und Abstraktion: Die Funktion der Kunst in der Kunsttheorie Kandinskys* (Frankfurt am Main/Bern/New York, 1986).

The fundamental source is: Sixten Ringbom, *The Sounding Cosmos: A Study in the Spiritualism of Kandinsky and the Genesis of Abstract Painting*, Turku 1970; idem, "Kandinsky und das Okkulte," and "Die Steiner-Annotationen Kandinskys," in *Kandinsky in München: Begegnungen und Wandlungen 1896–1914*, ed. Armin Zweite, exh. cat. Lenbachhaus Munich (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), 85–101, 102–105; Parton 1995 (see Note 6); on Blavatsky see Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Die okkulten Wurzeln des Nationalsozialismus* (Graz/Stuttgart, 1997); Victor and Victoria Trimondi, *Hitler, Buddha, Krishna: Eine unheilige Allianz vom Dritten Reich bis heute* (Vienna, 2002).

22

Krischnas Weltengang. Ein indischer Mythos. In zwanzig Andachten aus dem Vischnupuranam, German version with an introductory note by A. Paul (Munich, 1905); *Die letzten Tage Gotamo Buddhos: Aus dem grossen Verhör über die Erlöschung Mahāparinib-Bānasuttam des Pāli-Kanons*, trans. Karl Eugen Neumann (Munich, 1911). Neumann's edition of *Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos* followed in 1912, also published by Piper Verlag; it has had numerous reprints to date.

23

Franz Marc to Maria Marc, April 12, 1915, in *Franz Marc: Briefe aus dem Feld*, eds. Klaus Lankheit and Uwe Steffen (Munich/ Zürich, 1985), 65; Kubin also created numerous Buddha figures, coped with the news of Marc's death by going into a "Buddhist crisis", and compiled a comprehensive list of occult and Buddhist literature for his friend Fritz von Herzmanovsky-Orlando in a letter of February 8, 1910; see Fritz von *Herzmanovsky-Orlando: Der Briefwechsel mit Alfred Kubin 1903 bis 1952*, ed. and annotated by Michael Klein (Salzburg/ Vienna, 1983), 43–46.

24

Especially in his theoretical tract "Zur Kritik der Vergangenheit" of 1914, published in Lankheit, 1978 (see note 13), 117–120. On this, see also Annegret Hoberg, "Psyche und Physik. Das Bild der Natur im Spätwerk von Franz Marc" in *Franz Marc, Kräfte der Natur: Werke 1912–1915*, exh. cat. Staatsgalerie Moderner Kunst Munich/Westfälisches Landesmuseum Münster (Ostfildern, 1994), 190–207.

25

Franz Marc, "Die 100 Aphorismen, Das zweite Gesicht," no. 46, in Lankheit 1978 (see note 13), 199.

26

He writes that the new European, on the threshold of the present era, is only beginning to comprehend the powers at work invisibly in nature with his "second face." The seemingly mysterious subtitle to Marc's "100 Aphorismen," namely "the second face", which is usually studiously avoided by scholars of his work, can be understood in the context of these utterances as the modern European's supposedly clairvoyant sense of perception in relation to newly discovered laws of nature and their consequences; Annegret Hoberg, "Über das 'Geistige in der Kunst' bei Franz Marc," in *Zeitenspiegelung: Zur Bedeutung von Traditionen in Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift für Konrad Hoffmann zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter K. Klein and Regine Prange (Berlin, 1998), 267–277, here 273–274.

27

Cited after *The Blaue Reiter Almanach*, 2006 (see note 3), 257.

28

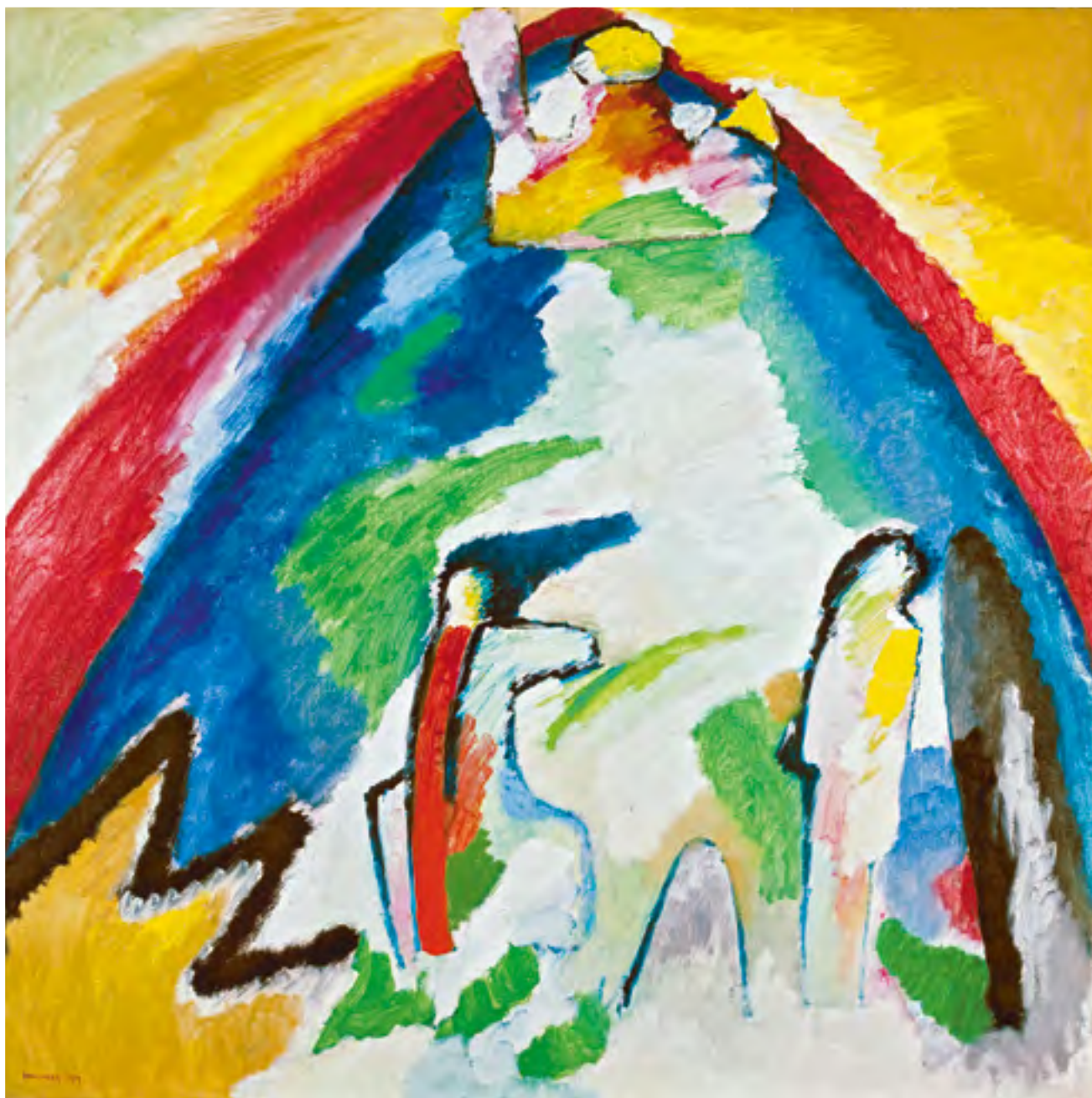
Kandinsky, "Malerei als reine Kunst" in Kandinsky 1963 (see note 9), 63–69.

29

Otto Karl Werckmeister, *The Political Confrontation of the Arts in Europe, from the Great Depression to the Second World War*, arthistoricum.net, Heidelberg, 2020, 28–29.



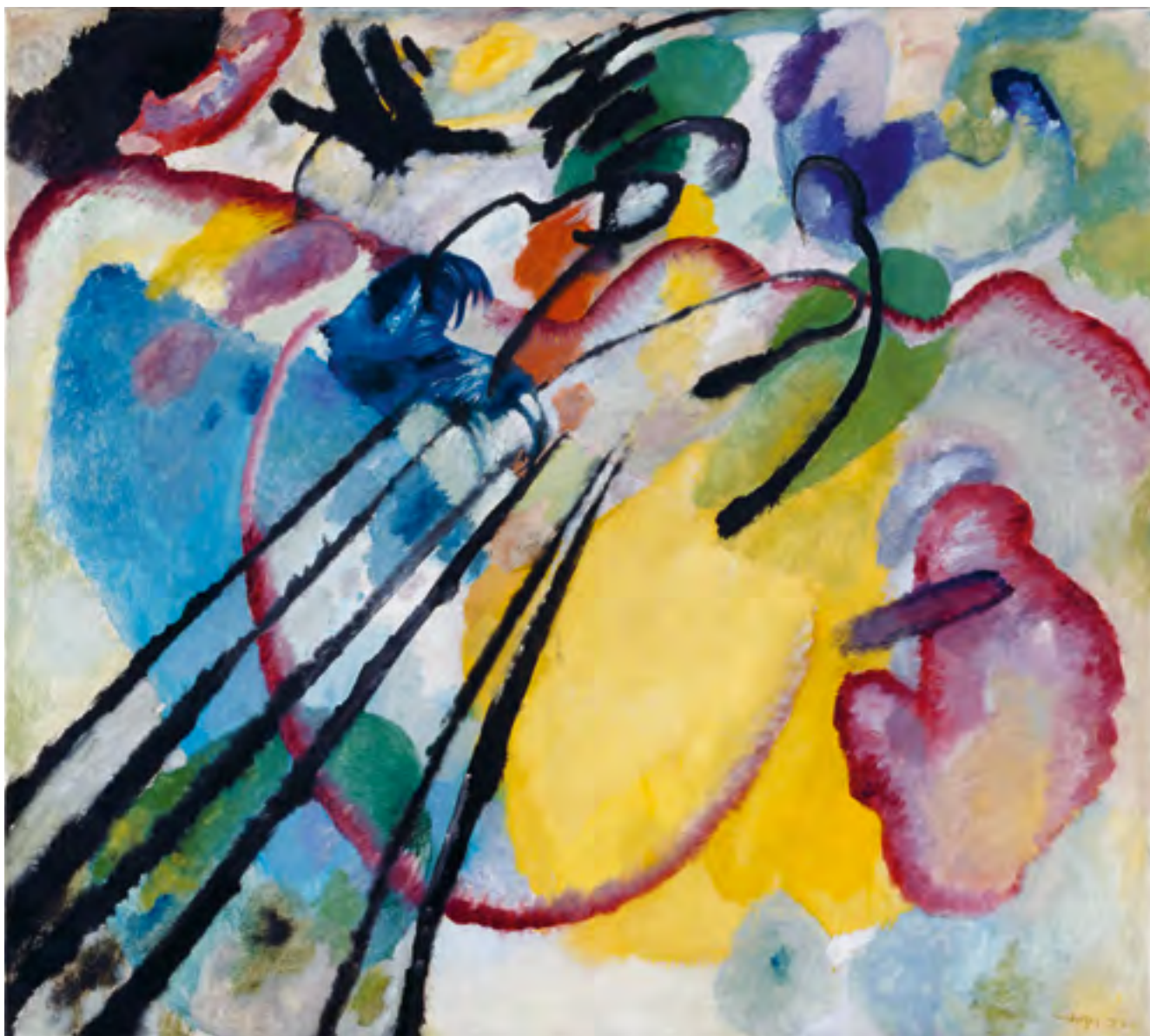
Franz Marc
Blue Horse I, 1911
Oil on canvas, 112 × 84.5 cm
G 13324, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
acquired from Franz Marc



Wassily Kandinsky
Mountain, 1909
Oil on canvas, 109 × 109 cm
GMS 54, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Improvisation 19, 1911
Oil on canvas, 120 × 141.5 cm
GMS 79, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



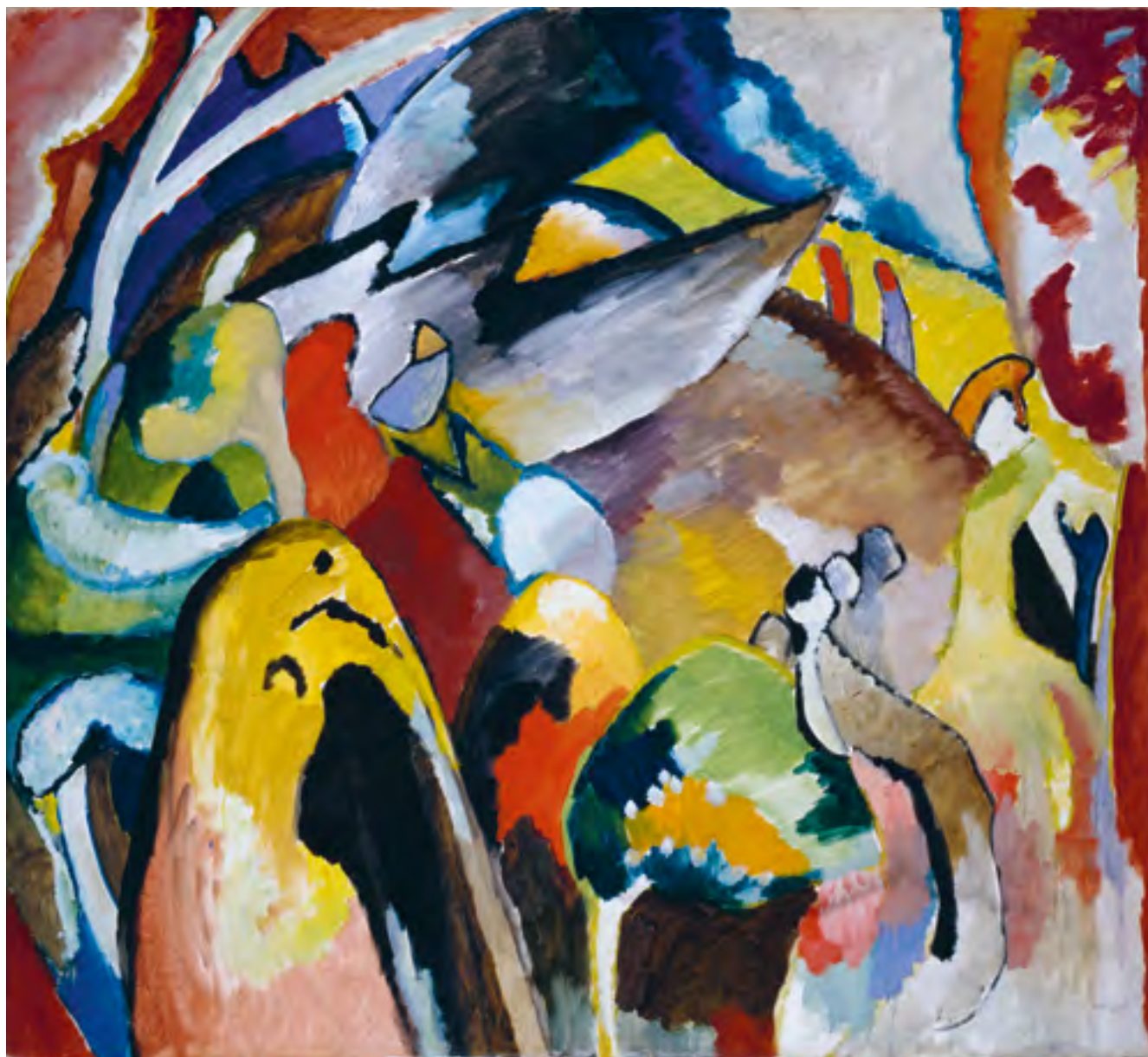
Wassily Kandinsky
Improvisation 26 (Rowing), 1912
Oil on canvas, 97 × 107.5 cm
GMS 66, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



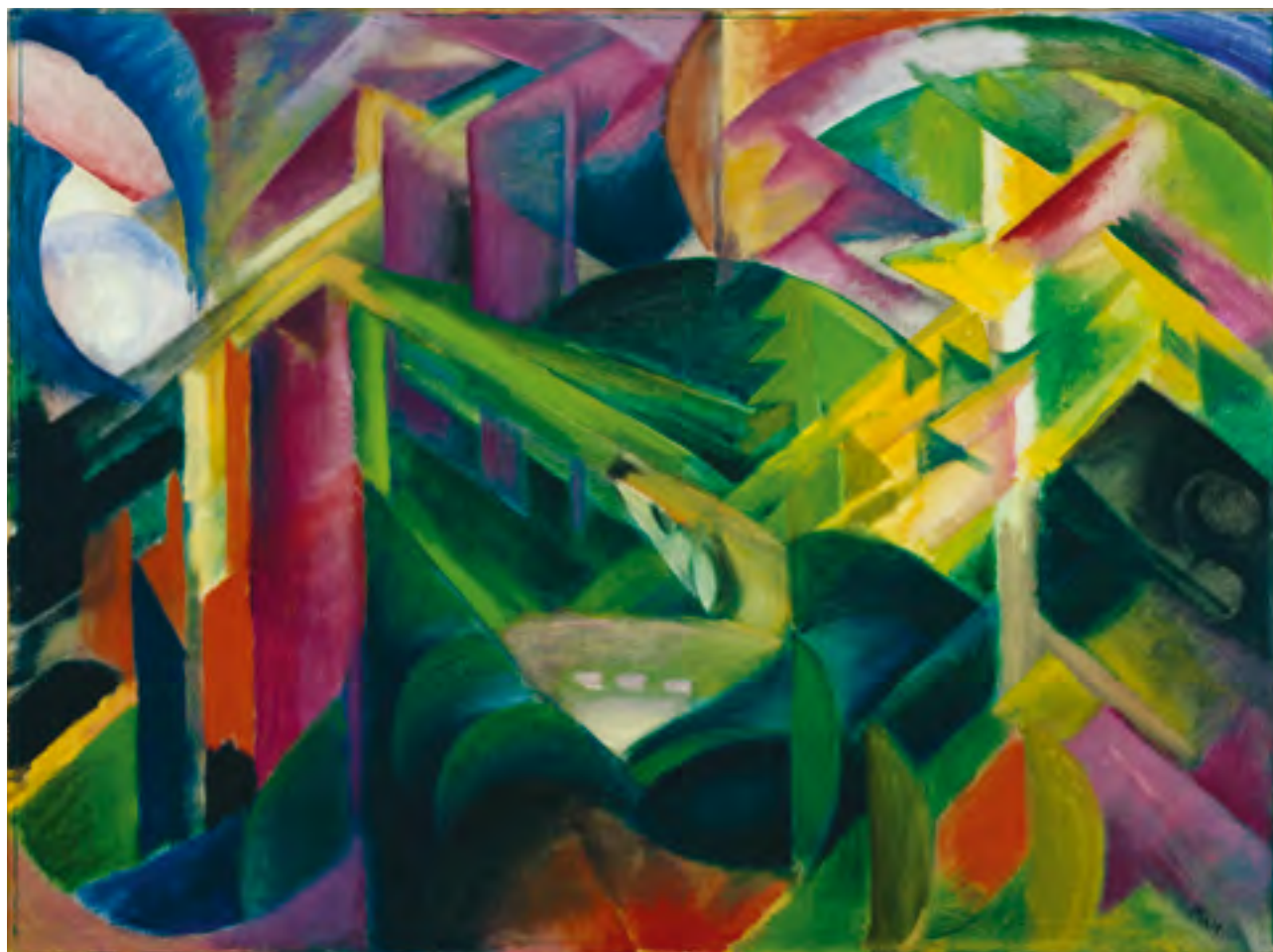
Wassily Kandinsky
Romantic Landscape, 1911
Oil on canvas, 94.3 × 129 cm
GMS 83, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
All Saints II, 1911
Oil on canvas, 86 cm × 99 cm
GMS 62, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Improvisation 19 a, 1911
Oil on canvas, 97 × 106 cm
GMS 84, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Franz Marc
Deer in the Monastery Garden, 1912
Oil on canvas, 75.7 × 101 cm
G 13323, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
acquired from Franz Marc



Franz Marc
Birds, 1914
Oil on canvas, 109 × 100 cm
G 17489, acquired 1990, Co-ownership
of the Federal Republic of Germany,
due to purchase support

THE FIRST
EXHIBITION
OF THE EDITORIAL
BOARD OF
THE BLUE RIDER
1911/12

In the last few months of 1911, tensions mounted between Kandinsky, Marc, and Münter and the moderate members of the NKVM (New Artists' Association Munich), not least because of their ideas for the almanac. Preparations for the planned third NKVM Exhibition at the Thannhauser Gallery in Munich ended with an argument about the inclusion of international guests, as had happened when French and Russian artists were invited to the second NKVM exhibition in 1910. This time the group around Erbslöh and Kanoldt was resolutely opposed to accepting Kandinsky and Marc's suggestions that the German-American painter Albert Bloch, who lived in Munich, or the Paris-based Russian painter Elisabeth Epstein be allowed to participate. When Kandinsky's painting *Composition V* was rejected by a majority of members for the planned exhibition on the grounds that it was too large, matters came to a head: on the very same day Kandinsky, Marc, and Münter announced that they were leaving the association, and demanded that out-of-town members such as Alfred Kubin, Henri Le Fauconnier and Pierre Girieud, as well as the composer Thomas von Hartmann, show solidarity with them. Jawlensky and Werefkin remained in the NKVM for the time being (figs. 1, 2).¹

A short time later, the new and still nameless group thought of organizing an exhibition of their own, which would be shown in parallel with the third NKVM exhibition, also in the spaces of the Thannhauser Gallery. A postcard from Franz Marc to Kandinsky written on December 4, 1911, outlines the exhibition program; in the selection of the artists and further art objects its affinity with the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac is striking: "L.K., at Thannhauser a special room for 2nd half December alongside the association, in which we 2 are allowed to exhibit what we want. So *off we go* and be *serious* about it. In haste Fz M." And in a PS: "My program: Burliuk, Campendonk, August [Macke], some paintings on glass, Schönberg, Bloch, and, if at all possible, a Rousseau (not too big). Then Delaunay and maybe two, three old things (rice paper paintings, paintings on glass, votive paintings). *It needs to be a fine thing.*"² (fig. 3)

After two weeks of frenzied activity, while artists like Macke, Heinrich Campendonk, Albert Bloch, and Robert Delaunay had to be notified and the transport of their paintings organized, the exhibition opened on December 18, 1911, under the title *The First Exhibition of the Editorial Board of the Blue Rider* thus referring explicitly to the almanac (fig. 4). The exhibition ran until January 1, 1912, was then extended to January 3, and, according to the catalogue, showed forty-three works by Albert Bloch, David and Vladimir Burliuk, Heinrich Campendonk, Robert Delaunay, Elisabeth Epstein, Eugen von Kahler, Wassily Kandinsky, August Macke, Franz Marc, Gabriele Münter, Jean-Bloé Niestlé, Henri Rousseau, and Arnold Schoenberg. In addition, there were seven uncatalogued works including Schoenberg's *Night Landscape* and the reverse glass paintings *With Sun* by Kandinsky and Marc's *Landscape with Animals and Rainbows*. Macke had been brought in by Marc, with whom he had been friends since 1910, and he in turn had introduced his Munich colleagues to Campendonk, who subsequently moved to Sindelsdorf, not far from Marc's home. Bloch had approached the artists' circle independently. Epstein had known Kandinsky since 1904, just as Marc had known the animal painter Niestlé. All of the artists apart from Epstein and Niestlé, who soon withdrew from the project, were also represented in the almanac.



1



2

*I Ausstellung der Redaktion
"Der Blaue Reiter"*

<u>Block A (München)</u>		
1	Kochkunst	600
2	Kampendone Käse und Schokolade	400
3	Kampendone	400
4	Eine Kandel Kandelone	300
5	Die drei Kandelone	300
6	Kopf	100
<u>Block B (München)</u>		
	Kopf	200
	Pfunde	200
<u>Block C (Klein)</u>		
	Kandelone	300
	Pfunde	250

3

Fig. 1

On the balcony of Kandinsky and Münter's apartment at 36 Ainmillerstrasse, Munich, ca. 1911/12. From left: Maria Franck-Marc, Franz Marc, Bernhard Koehler sen., Heinrich Campendonk, Thomas von Hartmann, Wassily Kandinsky (seated). Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Fig. 2

On the balcony of Kandinsky's and Münter's apartment at 36 Ainmillerstrasse, Munich, ca. 1911/12. From left: Gabriele Münter, Maria Franck-Marc, Bernhard Koehler sen., Thomas von Hartmann, Heinrich Campendonk, Franz Marc (seated). Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Fig. 3

"Ausstellung der Redaktion 'Der Blaue Reiter'"
Handwritten exhibition list by Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc
Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich



4



5

Fig. 4
The First Exhibition of the Editorial Board of the Blue Rider, 3-page advertising prospectus, with the text "The Great Upheaval" by Wassily Kandinsky. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau, Munich

Fig. 5
First exhibition of the Blue Rider, Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser Munich, 1911–12, Room 1. Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Although the exhibition attracted very little attention in the Munich press, and bore no relation to the outrage concerning the previous actions of its protagonists, it achieved respectable sales within the circle of “initiates.” Three paintings by Delaunay were immediately sold to Bernhard Koehler, Erbslöh, and Jawlensky, for example. The patron Koehler bought another four works by other artists, while Kandinsky bought two paintings by Rousseau and a portrait by Epstein. Later he also came to acquire Vladimir Burliuk’s *Landscape*.

The group did not, as Marc’s postcard had announced, get “a space of their own” for the exhibition at the Thannhauser Gallery. While the third NKVM exhibition was being shown simultaneously in the big glass-roofed room on the ground floor, the first Blue Rider exhibition was held in three small rooms on the upper floor of the gallery; the artists had removed the furniture and hung the walls with rolls of dark paper. Six photographs by Gabriele Münter of that legendary first Blue Rider exhibition have been preserved and are of enormous documentary value. One photograph shows, between paintings by Delaunay and Campendonk, the “Rousseau memorial corner”: next to Rousseau’s painting *The Poultry Yard*, which Kandinsky bought from Delaunay via Elisabeth Epstein, we see the small reverse glass painting *Henri Rousseau* by Marc, a copy of Rousseau’s *Self-Portrait with Lamp*, which he gave as a Christmas present to Kandinsky. Below it hangs a laurel wreath, a sign of respect for the artist who died in Paris in 1910, and who is now regarded as one of the main representatives of naïve painting. Brochures were laid out on a small table, presumably along with copies of Kandinsky’s book *On the Spiritual in Art* which, although its official publication date was 1912, had already been brought out at the end of 1911 and was on sale at the exhibition (fig. 5).

The only text in the small-format exhibition catalogue is a short introductory sentence by Kandinsky: “In this little exhibition it is not our intention to promote a precise and specific form, but to show through the variety of the forms represented how the artist’s inner desire is manifested in different ways” —a pluralistic approach, as represented with a greater range of works in the almanac.

One striking aspect of this group of exhibitions is the almost total absence of the foreign guests whose participation had been so earnestly debated beforehand. Apart from Delaunay as a “new discovery,” no member of the French avant-garde was involved, and the former NKVM members Le Fauconnier and Girieud had not joined the Blue Rider. The only Russian participants were the brothers David and Vladimir Burliuk. Since NKVM’s participation in the Jack of Diamonds exhibition in late 1910, however, they had found themselves in conflict with Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov: these accused the party around the Burliuk brothers of plagiarizing “Munich Decadence” and declared themselves fervently in favor of the inclusion of Russian peasant art and the complete rejection of Western influences, which they deemed to be superficial. At first, they rejected any further collaboration with Kandinsky, and did not reply to his invitation to the first Blue Rider exhibition. After the show, however, they did take part in the second Blue Rider exhibition a few weeks later, in 1912. All that the organizers knew of the Italian Futurists at the time, on the other hand, was their *Manifesto*. They only became aware of their

paintings in 1913, at the same time as they discovered the work of young artists such as the American Marsden Hartley or the Dutchman Adriaan Korteweg.

Like the NVKM shows, the first Blue Rider exhibition went on tour, largely organized by the protagonists Marc and Kandinsky, now joined by Macke. First it traveled to Cologne, to Olga Oppenheimer and Emma Worringer's Gereons club, before moving on in a changed and expanded form to Herwarth Walden's Sturm Gallery in Berlin. These stops were followed by Bremen, Hagen, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Budapest in 1913, and then, once again, Walden's gallery in Berlin. Here works by Jawlensky and Werefkin were also included, as they would be on the Blue Rider tour to Oslo, Helsinki, Trondheim, and Gothenburg in 1914. The primary guiding impulse behind the first Blue Rider exhibition in 1911–12 was, we should note, its openness to artistic expressive forms as well as a wish to transpose an inner, "spiritual" content. In this respect it differed from other avant-garde movements in Europe, and continued to shape further developments in twentieth-century art, particularly in abstraction.

AH

In a much-quoted letter to August Macke, Franz Marc writes as early as August 10, 1911, still in the context of the NKVM:

“Make sure you join us as quickly as possible, and for the following reason: I can clearly see, like Kandinsky, that the next jury meeting (in late fall) will have a terrible argument, and either now or next time we will see a split or the departure of one party or another; and the question will be who remains. We don't want to abandon the association, but inadequate members need to leave.

(It is my firm conviction that Kanoldt, Erbslöh, and Kogan will prove inadequate in the longer or shorter term).

Unfortunately, that's how things stand with voting numbers.” Here Marc adds three columns, separated by question marks: on the left Kandinsky, Münter, Marc, Jawlensky, Werefkin, in the middle Kogan and Bekhteev, on the right Erbslöh, Kanoldt, Dr Wittenstein, Dr Schnabel, Miss Kanoldt. He continues:

“The sore point is the money, rolling down from right to left, of Messrs Erbslöh and Wittenstein. Of course, the Baroness is playing the important part here, rather than Jawlensky, but he is a weak man! Please don't be put off by this depiction.” *August Macke–Franz Marc, Briefwechsel*, ed. Wolfgang Macke (Cologne, 1964), 65. The fact that Jawlensky and Werefkin stayed on in the NKVM for personal reasons is mentioned once again in the letter from Maria Marc to Macke of December 3, 1911, see *ibid.*, 85.

Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc: Briefwechsel. Mit Briefen von und an Gabriele Münter und Maria Marc, ed. Klaus Lankheit (Munich/ Zurich 1983), 74. The card is postmarked 4.11.1911, [November 4, 1911] and has therefore caused confusion among art-historians and given rise to the theory that Kandinsky and Marc had already, through their “machinations,” made detailed plans for an exhibition of their own even before leaving. The tensions months beforehand are well known, but the accounts of Maria Franck-Marc and Gabriele Münter in their letters of December 2, 1911, and additional correspondence with other participants, all sent after this key date, testify to the haste with which this “counter-exhibition” was planned. This is in fact clearly an incorrect (and much discussed) fallacious postmark on which the date of the month has not been moved forward. See also Helmut Friedel, *Das Münter Haus in Murnau* (Munich 2000), 55ff, and the earlier Karl-Heinz Meissner, “Delaunay-Dokumente”, in exh. cat. *Delaunay und Deutschland*, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst (Munich, 1985), 484.



Franz Marc
Portrait of Henri Rousseau, 1911
Ink, oil and metal foil application behind
glass, in original frame, 17.8 × 14.1 cm
(frame dimensions)
GMS 723, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
Shown in the first *Blue Rider* exhibition,
1911, not in catalogue



Henri Rousseau
The Chicken Yard (La Basse-Cour), 1896–98
 Oil on canvas, 24.6 × 32.9 cm
 AM 81-65-860, Centre Pompidou, Paris,
 Musée National d'Art Moderne, Fonds Kandinsky,
 Legs de Nina Kandinsky 1981
 Illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
 almanac, 1912, p. 81



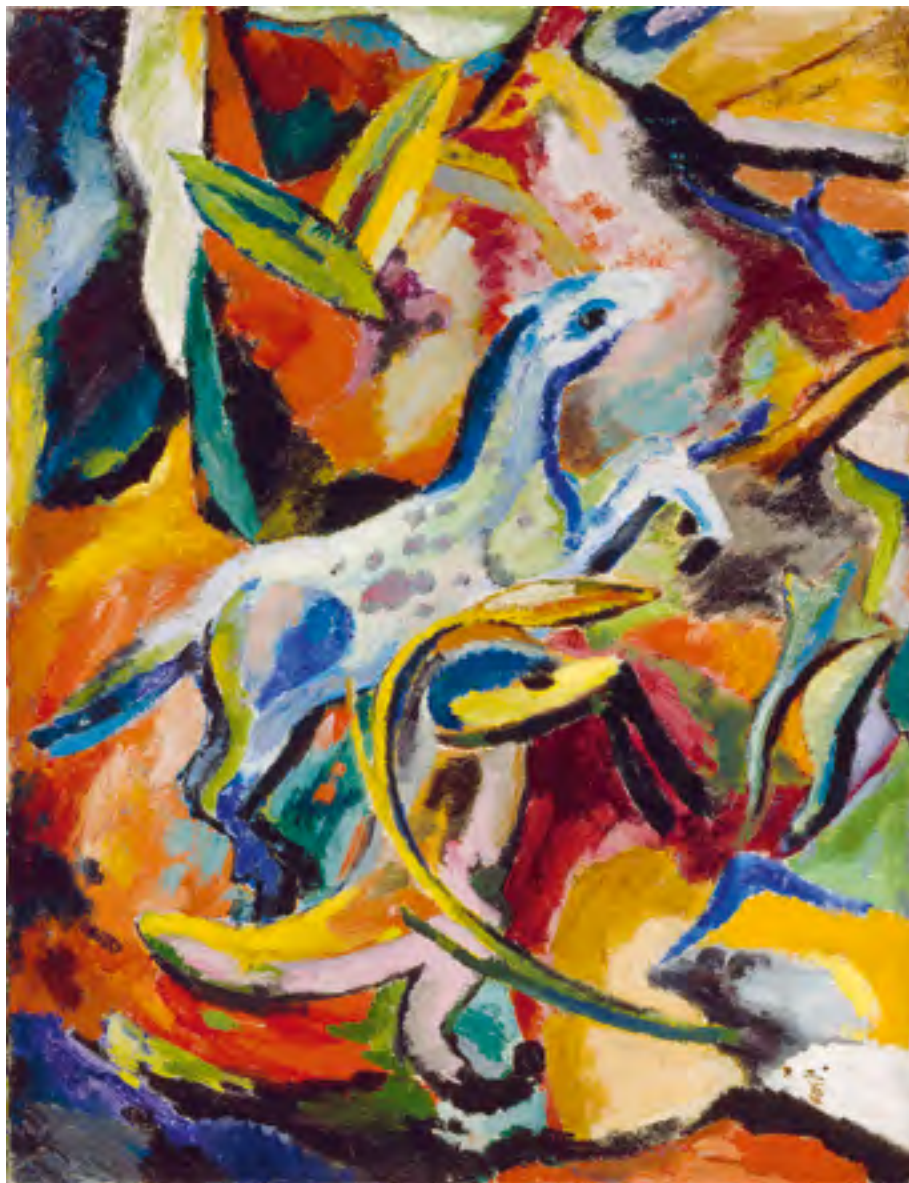
Albert Bloch
Munich Houses with Tower, 1911
Oil on canvas, 58.2 × 76.7 cm
G 17991, gift of Mrs. Anna F. Bloch,
Lawrence, Kansas (USA), 1997



Vladimir Burliuk
Landscape (Flowering Trees in Spring), 1911
Oil on canvas, 73.2 × 92.5 cm
Private collection, courtesy Galerie Thomas,
Munich
Probably shown under the title *Landschaft*
[Landscape] at the first *Blue Rider*
exhibition in 1911/12, No. 11, shown in
a full-page illustration in the *Der Blaue*
Reiter almanac, 1912, p. 61, formerly owned
by Wassily Kandinsky



Vladimir Burliuk
The Trees, 1911
Oil on canvas, 64 × 84 cm
AK 31, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, acquired 1980



Heinrich Campendonk
Leaping Horse, 1911
Oil on canvas, 85 × 65 cm
NI 1234, Saarländmuseum—Moderne Galerie,
Saarbrücken, Stiftung Saarländischer
Kulturbesitz, acquired 1955
Illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac, 1912, p. 10



Robert Delaunay
The City (La Ville; La Ville no. 2), 1911
Oil on canvas, 145 × 112 cm
38.464, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum,
New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Founding
Collection, by gift of Solomon R. Guggenheim,
1938, acquired from the artist by Solomon
R. Guggenheim 1938



Elisabeth Epstein
Self-Portrait, 1911
 Oil on cardboard, 67.7 × 52 cm
 G 19229, acquired 2019

Elisabeth Epstein
Self-Portrait, 1911
 Oil on cardboard, 67.7 × 52 cm
 AK 122, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired 2019



Eugen von Kahler
Bathers, 1910/11
 Gouache, white opaque paint, ink on cardboard,
 original mount, 18 × 22.2 cm (image size)
 GMS 683, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
 Shown under the title *Zeichnung (Privatbesitz)*
 [Drawing (Private collection)] in the first
Blue Rider exhibition in 1911, No. 22
 or No. 23; Kandinsky's private collection

Eugen von Kahler
Garden of Love, 1910/11
 Gouache, white opaque paint, ink on brown
 paper, glued to cardboard, 19 × 27.2 cm
 (image size)
 GMS 684, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
 Shown under the title *Zeichnung (Privatbesitz)*
 [Drawing (Private collection)] in the first
Blue Rider exhibition in 1911, No. 22 or
 No. 23; Kandinsky's private collection,
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
 almanac, 1912, p. 55



Wassily Kandinsky
Improvisation 21a, 1911
Oil on canvas, 96 × 105 cm
GMS 82, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957,
gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
With Sun, 1911
 India ink and oil behind ornamental glass
 in painted original frame, 34.1 × 43.6 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 120, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
 Shown in the first *Blue Rider* exhibition,
 1911, not in catalogue



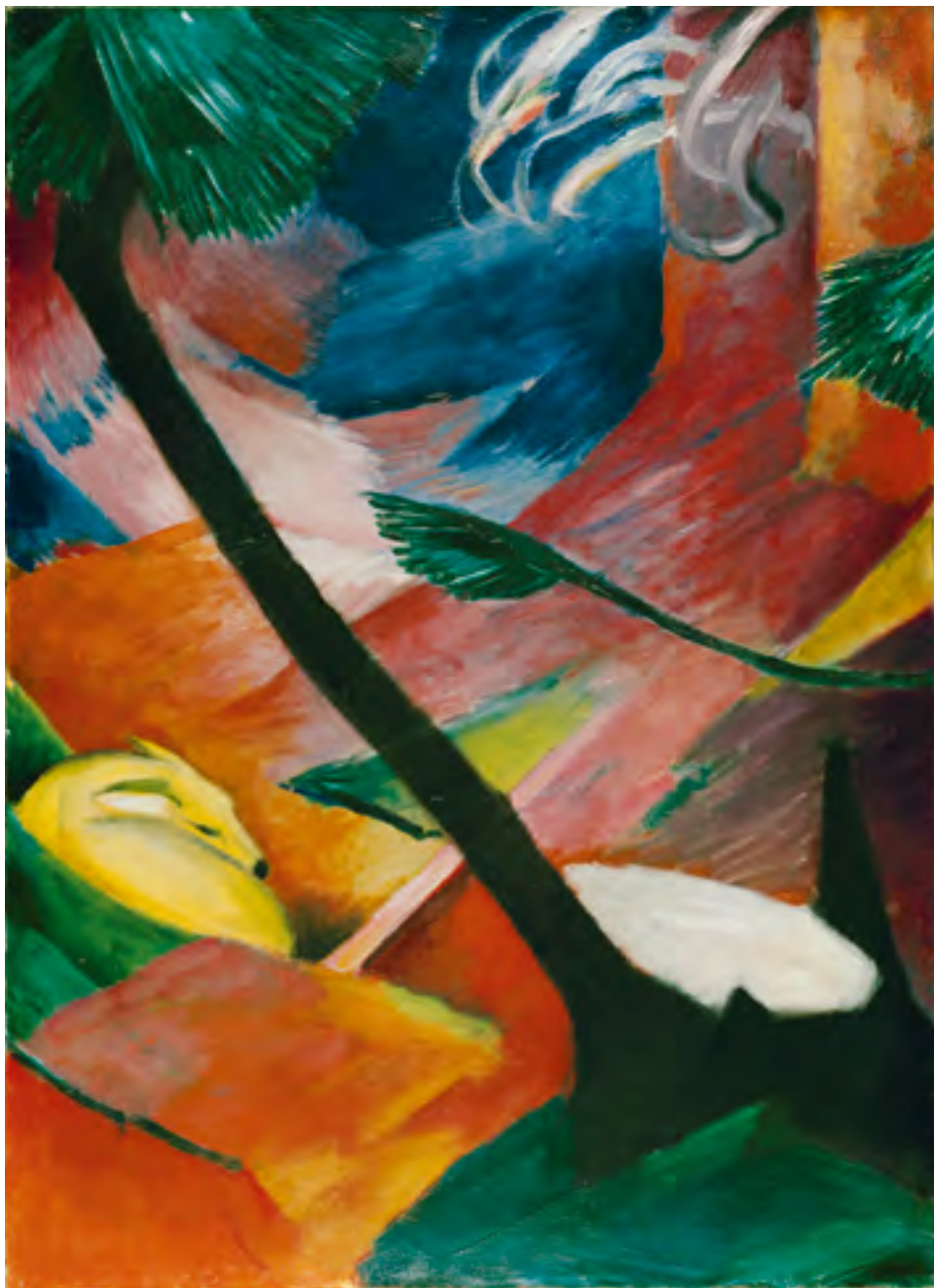
Wassily Kandinsky
St. George II, probably summer 1911
 India ink and oil behind ornamental glass
 in painted original frame, 33.9 × 18.5 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 110, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
 Shown in the first *Blue Rider* exhibition,
 1911, not in catalogue



August Macke
Flowers in the Garden, Clivia and Geraniums,
1911
Oil on canvas, 90 × 71.5 cm
G 14665, from the bequest of Elly Koehler
(estate of Bernhard Koehler Jr.) 1971



August Macke
Indians on Horseback, 1911
 Oil on wood, 44 × 60 cm
 G 13327, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
 Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
 of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
 acquired from August Macke
 Shown under the title *Indianer* at the
 first *Blue Rider* exhibition in 1911,
 No. 28
 Purchased at the exhibition
 by Bernhard Koehler



Franz Marc
Deer in the Woods II, 1912
Oil on canvas, 110 × 81 cm
G 13321, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
acquired from Franz Marc
The version shown at the first
Blue Rider exhibition in 1911 was
Deer in the Woods I



Franz Marc
Cows, Red, Green, Yellow, 1911
Oil on canvas, 62 × 87.5 cm
G 13140, acquired with funds from
Gabriele Münter 1961



Gabriele Münter
Dark Still Life (Secret), 1911
 Oil on canvas, 78.5 × 10.5 cm
 S 152, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter
 Shown under the title *Stilleben (dunkel)*
 [*Still Life (dark)*] in the first *Blue Rider*
 exhibition in 1911, No. 335, illustrated
 in the catalogue



Jean Bloé Niestlé
Water Pipit, 1909
Oil on canvas, 64.5 × 90.5 cm
G 13337, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
acquired from Jean Bloé Niestlé



Arnold Schoenberg
Self-Portrait (from behind), 1910
Oil on canvas, 48 × 45 cm
Arnold Schoenberg Center, Vienna,
estate of Arnold Schoenberg
Illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac, 1912, p. 85

THE SECOND
EXHIBITION
OF THE EDITORIAL
BOARD OF
THE BLUE RIDER:
BLACK AND
WHITE
1912

The Second Exhibition of the Editorial Board of The Blue Rider: Black and White, was held between February 12 and March 18, 1912 at the gallery of the newly founded Hans Goltz Munich art gallery. After the violent criticisms of the first exhibition and the previous NKVM shows, Heinrich Thannhauser no longer had the courage to expose himself to further attack. The exhibition's subtitle *Black and White* meant that only prints were shown (even though colored watercolors, gouaches and colored pencil drawings were also included) and clearly borrowed from the "Black and White Exhibitions" of the Berlin Secession, in which Kandinsky had been involved in 1907–08. The concept of "black and white art" had in turn been introduced by Max Liebermann, who, from 1901, had mounted exhibitions under this title, featuring only prints by contemporary artists.

The second Blue Rider exhibition, organized within six weeks after the first Blue Rider exhibition in the winter of 1911–1912, was very large, including 315 works on paper. By no means did it only show works by artists from the inner circle such as Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc, Gabriele Münter, August Macke, Heinrich Campendonk, Albert Bloch, Paul Klee, and Alfred Kubin; the strong presence of The Bridge (Die Brücke) artists such as Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, and Max Pechstein, as well as Georg Tappert and Wilhelm Morgner was remarkable. Members of the Moderner Bund (Modern League) from Switzerland were also represented by Jean Arp, Wilhelm Gimmi, and Walter Helbig, along with the Russian artists Natalia Goncharova, Mikhail Larionov, and Kazimir Malevich. Once again, Kandinsky and Marc had also invited guests from the French avant-garde around Pablo Picasso, whom they had already introduced at the second NKVM exhibition in Germany in 1910, although the photographic reproductions of their works arrived too late to be included in the catalogue. As a result, the small catalogue published by Bruckmann in Munich excluded the French artists and reproduced a small selection of twenty works arranged alphabetically by the name of the artist. Nevertheless, the pictorial material reveals at first glance the vivid and heterogeneous character of the exhibition, for example in the sequence of drawings by Arp, Bloch, Franck-Marc, Gimmi, Goncharova, and Heckel, stressing tendencies towards a deliberately naïve, "primitive" art.

There are close connections between the exhibition, its catalogue and the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, published in May 1912; in some instances, both publications used the same photographs. In the almanac, Macke's *Ballet Sketch* was combined with a print by Hans Baldung Grien, and Heckel's lithography *Circus* was juxtaposed with a *Russisches Volksblatt* (Russian Broadsheet). Some of these folk paintings (known as *lubki*) from Kandinsky's collection, were also shown in the exhibition and went down particularly badly with an already hostile public. Apparently, their simplicity, borrowed from the formal language of medieval handbills, was felt to be particularly clumsy and "primitive."

After the opening of the exhibition, Marc wrote to Macke in Bonn: "Dear August, please find enclosed three catalogues. Bruckmann has set them quite stupidly, but I think they still look very inspiring in the way that the illustrations are arranged [...]. Goltz is under furious attack from the people of Munich because of this exhibition; the mood against it is so vulgar and over-excited that I don't know what to do. He didn't anticipate this, but neither did I, or not to this degree."¹ In spite of the negative reaction of the Munich public, Marc

tried to offer the exhibition to other venues, and in the end the comprehensive exhibition was shown a second time at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne.

Of the Blue Rider artists, those most prominently represented were Paul Klee with seventeen works on paper, Münter with fourteen works, Kandinsky with twelve watercolors, and Alfred Kubin with eleven pen-and-ink drawings. Klee and Kubin made their first appearance with the circle of the Blue Rider—working as they did in drawing, they had not been involved in the first 1911–12 exhibition, which included almost exclusively paintings. Klee later became Kandinsky's closest colleague when the two men met again after World War I as teachers at the Bauhaus, and the reception of their work really got under way.

In the *Black and White* exhibition Macke showed a dozen untitled drawings as well as four titled works. Two of these, *Unloading a Barge and Men on Shore*, can be identified by the original stickers from the second Blue Rider exhibition on the reverse. Graphic works by Münter can also be identified by the stickers on the reverse as having been shown in the exhibition, for example *Landscape with Rainbow and Mountain Landscape (House in Front of Mountains)*, as well as *Watercolor No. 3 (Garden of Love)* by Kandinsky.

As an overall concept uniting the different artistic positions, Marc had originally devised the motto “break with the program!” for the second exhibition in a letter to Kandinsky dated January 3, 1912. The fact that both Marc and Kandinsky chose their national and international guests in a very careful selection process is apparent not least in their discussions surrounding the inclusion of the artists of The Bridge. After Kandinsky had written to Marc on December 31, 1911: “Don't forget to invite the Berliners to our *Black and White!*” Marc replied promptly from Berlin: “D[ear] K[andinsky], This morning we visited Pechstein and Kirchner; a truly artistic wind is blowing there. A huge amount of material for our *Black and White* exhibition, in which they are happy to participate without the slightest pretention.” And he was soon able to report: “Colossal material for the *Black and White* exhibition.”

Meanwhile Kandinsky had a visit from a “young Swiss [artist]”—Jean Arp, who helped him by introducing him to the Zürich association the *Moderner Bund*: “At any rate we now have the Swiss! That was a very unpleasant gap. Do you feel how all nations are actually mystically pushed together?” On this occasion Kandinsky spontaneously asked Arp not only to take part in the exhibition, but also to design initial letter vignettes for the almanac.

In discussions about the The Bridge (*Die Brücke*) artists, on the other hand, Kandinsky revealed increasing misgivings; he evidently found the Expressionism of The Bridge too “external” and too materialistic to completely satisfy his ideals of “inner meaning” in art: “Of twenty-four photographs, nine and a half are nudes with and without pubic hair, five bathers and two circus paintings. You know I don't want to accuse any artist of taking precisely this and not something else as the starting point for his pictures. But here I could not completely avoid the statistic: it appeared all by itself, you see: you often do animals, Macke—Indians, boats, Arp—giant heads, Delaunay—cities, Kubin—‘dreams’, Kahler—fantasies, Schönberg—‘visions’ etc.”²

The conflict over the significance of The Bridge dragged on until shortly before the opening of the second exhibition; Marc repeatedly, and clear-sightedly, defended them, just as he proved more open than Kandinsky to the

painting of the Italian Futurists, which the two men would discuss at a later date. When it came to the illustrations in the almanac, Kandinsky again justified his attitude towards the Berlin artists in an unusually emotional letter: "We must show such things. But immortalizing them in the document of our contemporary art (and that is what our book is intended to be), as a relatively crucial, premier force, is not right in my eyes." Here he once again emphasized the importance that the almanac held for him. "At any rate I would be opposed to large reproductions. (...) Small reproduction means: this is also being done. Large: this is being done." In the end the almanac presented six small reproductions of works by The Bridge artists. Marc in turn argued for their inclusion in the second Blue Rider exhibition, and ensured that they were represented with a large number of works on paper.

Kandinsky, Marc, and Münter, who was also involved in the organization of the exhibition, were united in their conviction that they should accept only "authentic" and "inwardly felt" art. With the second exhibition in 1912, they extended the "international principle" by involving contemporary avant-gardes from Switzerland, France, and Russia, as the unpublished preface to the almanac demanded, but this involvement remained restricted to a few European countries.

AH

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Letter from late February 1912, in *August Macke–Franz Marc, Briefwechsel*, ed. Wolfgang Macke (Cologne, 1964), 105.

2

Letter from 14.1.1912, in *Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc: Briefwechsel. Mit Briefen von und an Gabriele Münter und Maria Marc*, ed. Klaus Lankheit (Munich/ Zurich 1983), 113.



1



2

Figs. 1, 2
Cover and title page of the catalogue:
*Die zweite Ausstellung der Redaktion DER
BLAUE REITER. Schwarz-Weiss*, Hans
Goltz Kunsthandlung, Munich,
February 12–April 2, 1912.
Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte,
Munich



Albert Bloch
Harlequinade, 1911
Watercolor and India ink over pencil,
23.1 × 30.8 cm
G 19178, gift of Christian Strenger 2018,
formerly owned by Paul Klee



Maria Franck-Marc
Dancing Sheep, 1908

Gouache, opaque white paint, watercolor,
 and chalk over pencil, 37.5 × 48.5 cm

G 19052, acquired 2017 from the estate
 of Maria Marc

Shown in the second *Blue Rider* exhibition 1912,
 No. 18 or No. 19, under the title *Kinderbild I*
 or *Kinderbild II* [*Children's Picture I* or
Children's Picture II]; illustrated in the
 catalogue



Natalia Gontscharowa
Grape Harvest, ca. 1910
 Pencil, 28.5 × 37 cm
 AM 81-65-855, Centre Pompidou, Paris,
 Musée National d'Art Moderne, Fonds Kandinsky,
 Legs de Nina Kandinsky 1981
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
 almanac 1912, p. 107



Wassily Kandinsky
*Study for "All Saints II" (Composition
 with Saints)*, 1911
 Watercolor, India ink over pencil, 31.5 × 48 cm
 GMS 616, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by
 Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Study for Composition II, ca. 1910
Watercolor, pencil on cardboard, 32.9 × 32.9 cm
GMS 353, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



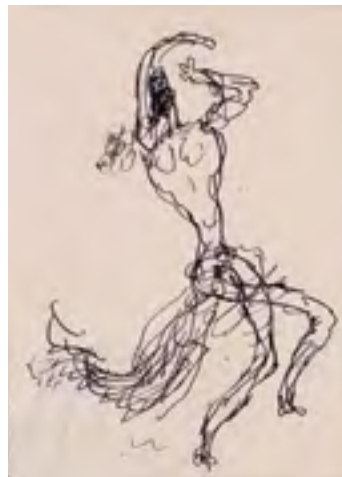
Wassily Kandinsky
Sketch for "Improvisation 24 (Troika II)"
1911/12
Watercolor, opaque white paint, India ink,
pencil on parchment paper, mounted on cardboard
26.4 × 37.3 cm
GMS 152, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Watercolor No. 3 (Garden of Love), 1911/12
 Watercolor and India ink over pencil,
 in painted original frame
 40.2 × 45.3 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 148, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
 Shown under the titles *Aquarell I–XII*
 [*Watercolor I–XII*] in the second *Blue Rider*
 exhibition, 1912, No. 61 to No. 72



Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Four Dancers, 1911
Lithograph, 31.5 × 42 cm
Private collection Southern Germany
Illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac, 1912, p. 6



Paul Klee
Miraculous Catch of Fish, 1913/126 (A)
 Ink on laid paper, mounted on cardboard,
 17.2 × 7.5 cm (image size)
 GMS 689, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Paul Klee
Four Figures at Two Tables, 1912, 28
 Ink on laid paper, mounted on cardboard,
 6.7 × 10.6 cm (image size)
 G 13117, acquired from the estate
 of Gabriele Münter 1963

Paul Klee
Dancer, 1912, 29 (A)
 Ink on laid paper, mounted on cardboard,
 8.7 × 6.2 cm (image size)
 G 13118, acquired from the estate
 of Gabriele Münter 1963



Paul Klee
The Battlefield, 1913/2 (A)
Gouache, mounted on gray laid paper on
cardboard, 11.7 × 21 cm (image size)
AK 6, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, acquired 1966



Paul Klee
Street Junction, 1913, 27 (B)
Watercolor, charcoal, ink on laid paper,
mounted on cardboard, 13.4 × 26 cm
G 13119, acquired from the estate
of Gabriele Münter 1963



Alfred Kubin
The Airy Spirit, 1912
 Ink, gouache, watercolor, and colored chalk
 on land register paper, 13.8 × 21.6 cm
 GMS 701, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Alfred Kubin
Encounter, ca. 1911
 Ink on land register paper, 19.4 × 13.8 cm
 GMS 700, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Alfred Kubin
Noah's Arc: The Disembarkation, 1911
Pen and India ink on land register paper,
26.7 cm × 38.2 cm
G 19048, acquired 2017



Alfred Kubin
Serpents in Town, 1911
Pen and India ink on land register paper,
27.4 × 34.6 cm
G 19049, acquired 2017
Shown in the second *Blue Rider* exhibition
1912, No. 285



August Macke
Men on a Bank, 1912
 Pencil on paper, mounted on cardboard,
 8 × 11 cm (image size)
 G 13410, acquired 1965
 Shown under the titles *Zeichnungen I–XII*
 [Drawings I–XII] in the second *Blue Rider*
 exhibition 1912, No. 131 to No. 142

August Macke
Unloading of a Barge, 1912
 Pencil on paper, mounted on cardboard,
 8 × 11 cm (image size)
 G 13409, acquired 1965
 Shown under the titles *Zeichnungen I–XII*
 [Drawings I–XII] in the second *Blue Rider*
 exhibition 1912, No. 131 to No. 142



Franz Marc
Red and Blue Horse, 1912
Tempera, watercolor over pencil on paper,
mounted on cardboard, 26.3 × 34.3 cm
GMS 706, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wilhelm Morgner
Brickyard, 1911
Charcoal on paper, 48 × 62 cm
Museum Wilhelm Morgner, Soest,
acquired by the City of Soest from the
artist's mother, 1931
Illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac 1912, p. 72



Gabriele Münter
*Study for "Kandinsky and Erma Bossi
 at the Table,"* 1910
 Pencil on paper, 16 × 21.1 cm
 GMS 1067, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of the artist, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
*Mountain Landscape (Village at the Foot
 of Mountains),* 1911
 Watercolor on paper, mounted on gray paper,
 glued to black cardboard, 18.6 × 27.3 cm
 GMS 1075, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of the artist, formerly owned by Gabriele
 Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
 Shown under the title *Berglandschaft (Aquarell)*
 [*Mountain Landscape (Watercolor)*] in the
 second *Blue Rider* exhibition 1912, No. 186



Gabriele Münter
Landscape with Rainbow, 1911
 Watercolor, ink on gray paper, mounted
 on black cardboard, 28.7 × 37.9 cm
 GMS 996, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of the artist, formerly owned by
 Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
 Shown under the title *Zeichnung* [Drawing]
 in the second *Blue Rider* exhibition 1912,
 No. 185



Robert Delaunay
Eiffel Tower, 1911
Pencil, 25 × 16.3 cm
GMS 675, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
Shown under the title *Zeichnung (Privatbesitz)*
[Drawing (Private collection)] in the
first Blue Rider exhibition in 1911; given
to Kandinsky by Delaunay, for his mediation
in the sale of two paintings by Rousseau
to Bernhard Koehler

DER BLAUE REITER ALMANAC

Almanac—The Book

The *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac edited by Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc was published by Piper publishers in Munich in May 1912 following several months of preparation. It was less a work with a consistent artistic program than a message of a fundamental renewal of spiritual culture and life as a whole.¹

On January 1, 1911, at a reception given by Marianne von Werefkin and Alexej von Jawlensky, Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky met for the first time. From this encounter blossomed one of the most significant artists' friendships of the twentieth century. As early as February of that year, Marc was taken on by the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* (NKVM, New Artists' Association Munich) as a member and "third chairman." On June 19, 1911, Kandinsky wrote Marc a letter that has since become famous: "Well, I have a new idea. Piper must be the publisher and the two of us editors. A kind of almanac (yearbook), with reproductions and articles ** only by artists. [...] In the book the entire year must be reflected, and a link to the past and a ray to the future must give this mirror its full life. [...] We will put an Egyptian work beside a small Zeh [the last name of two talented children], a Chinese work beside a Rousseau, a folk print beside a Picasso, and the like! Eventually we will attract poets and musicians. The book could be called 'The Chain,' or some other title."² Already in this initial outline of ideas Kandinsky designs a regular publication in the form of an almanac, which would be authored exclusively by artists, and designates the comparative juxtaposition of works of art from different peoples and periods, as well as of "high" and so-called "primitive" art, as a guiding principle for the planned book. After the summer, with its visits to Sindelsdorf and Murnau, work on the project moved into a more concrete phase. On September 8, Kandinsky let Marc know that he would be visiting Sindelsdorf again, with a view to "discussing the details of the work on the almanac."³ That very evening, Marc wrote to his friend August Macke in Bonn about the project: "We want to establish an 'almanac' that will be the journal for all new, authentic ideas of our times: painting, music, the stage, etc. The intention is that it be published simultaneously in Paris, Munich, and Moscow, with many illustrations. We're intending our first collaborators in Paris to be Le Fauconnier and Girieud, and for musicians we have Schönberg and some contributors from Moscow, in addition to the Burliuks there.—Our principal aim is that much should be explained by means of comparative material.—Your earlier plans

to deal with art history comparatively will fit in here. We will compare old stained glass and French and Russian folk prints with non-Western material and some new things, with ‘modern Munich painting’ in there on occasion. Our hopes are so high for the healing and stimulation to be derived from it—including the direct impact on our own work, for the clarification of concepts—that this almanac has become our one and only dream.”⁴ Two days later, Marc wrote to the publisher Reinhard Piper, enclosing a provisional table of contents,⁵ from which we can deduce the concept for the almanac as then planned. Two forewords were to be followed by contributions under the headings “Painting,” “Music,” “Stage,” and “Chronicle;” at the end examples of works to be reproduced are given. Of the six articles planned on painting, only three came to fruition: Kandinsky’s essay “On the Question of Form” (still called “Construction” at this stage), Marc’s “Germany’s ‘Primitives,’” and David Burliuk’s “Russia’s ‘Primitives.’”⁶ Henri Le Fauconnier’s much-anticipated companion to these, France’s “Primitives,” failed to materialize, as did Pierre Girieud’s article “Siena” and Max Pechstein’s “New Secession.”⁷ In addition to those by Kandinsky, a total of six contributions on music and the stage were planned, all by Russian musicians and composers; this evidently prompted Piper to suggest to Marc that he consider bringing in a few more German authors.⁸ At the top of the provisional table of contents in Marc’s letter is written “The Blue Rider, Number I” —proof that the title *Der Blaue Reiter* had been found by the first week of September at the latest.⁹ Around this time, Kandinsky created eleven designs, in pen (India ink) and watercolor for the cover image.¹⁰ Almost all of them show a triumphant horseman on a leaping steed, holding up a fluttering cloth that is probably intended to be a symbol for the conquering power of the spirit. Many of the designs already bear the title *Der Blaue Reiter*. For the final cover image however, Kandinsky decided on another motif, which, with its symbolic narrative, visually expresses the almanac’s intentions. It is the figure of a horseman, in the guise of St. George, the Christian dragon slayer. The armed knight sits on a rearing white horse, while the conquered dragon writhes beneath him. In the foreground on the right, the princess from the *Acts of the Saints* turns towards her liberator. In formal terms, the representation clearly betrays the influence of popular religious reverse glass painting, which Kandinsky and his companions had discovered for themselves during their times in Murnau, and whose naïve, anti-naturalistic way of conceiving figures had provided important stimuli for their work. Reverse glass painting is represented in the published version of the almanac with quite a number of illustrations.¹¹ Yet with its idiosyncratic stylization and blue coloring, Kandinsky’s St. George stakes a claim to being the messenger of a universal meaning far greater than (for example) the figure of the saint found in the popular reverse glass paintings. Horses and riders play an important role in Kandinsky’s pictures, and like Marc’s *Blue Horses* they stand for a yearning for and emergence into a new age of the spiritual, thereby enabling the “Blue Rider” to become a symbol for this transition in art.¹² The *Blaue Reiter* label, which soon became a collective name for the movement, should also be understood in this sense.¹³ Kandinsky created a color woodcut from his watercolor for the almanac’s jacket. An important decision was made on September 21, 1911, at a meeting between Kandinsky, Piper, and his manufacturer, Adolf Hammelmann: the latter two

were against the use of the word “almanac,”¹⁴ and indeed, the word does not feature on the later cover. This decision came to be corroborated, retrospectively, for although there were plans until as late as 1914 to publish a second volume, there was only ever one *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, which was finally published in May 1912.¹⁵ An advertising card drafted by Kandinsky in the autumn of 1911 made the title *Der Blaue Reiter* official.¹⁶ Compared with the version drawn up by Marc the previous month, the table of contents had been consolidated; the names of two new collaborators also appeared: Roger Allard, who was going to write about French painting, and August Macke, with his essay “Masks.”¹⁷ The headings had disappeared, and the genre distinctions between the arts in the table of contents been largely eliminated. Among the “100 or so reproductions,” Kandinsky now mentions, in addition to Bavarian, French, and Russian folk art, “primitive, Roman, and Gothic art, Egyptian shadow puppets, art by children, etc.”¹⁸ For twentieth-century art, Jawlensky and Werefkin had been dropped, while others, such as Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, Vincent Van Gogh, and Arnold Schoenberg, have been added. The last element in the book was also new: “Sheet-music inserts: songs by Alban Berg and Anton von Webern.”¹⁹ Kandinsky, Marc, and Münter worked intensively on the almanac in the months that followed, writing to artist colleagues in Russia, France, Germany, and Austria about contributions (text and images), and corresponding with gallery owners and ethnographic museums about images they wished to reproduce. On the one hand, their letters reflect a brimming enthusiasm, for example, when Kandinsky writes, about illustrations of works by Henri Matisse, Robert Delaunay, Paul Klee, and Eugen von Kahler: “It is so felicitously fine that there are now such different sounds. Together they are the symphony of the twentieth century.”²⁰ On the other hand, they had to put up with considerable setbacks to their high-flown plans, especially with regard to the textual contributions. Most notably, Le Fauconnier and Girieud proved to be unreliable. Le Fauconnier, who had been a member of the NKVM since 1910 and acted as its contact with French Cubism, soon reneged on his essay, but is nevertheless represented in the almanac with two reproductions of his works. Again, with Girieud, the efforts made to obtain photographs or originals from his collection of popular French pictorial broadsheets (the so-called *Images d’Epinal*) proved in vain; these were to have been reproduced as foils to the Russian *lubki* (popular prints).²¹ The high esteem that Girieud enjoyed in Munich artists’ circles is also apparent in the fact that Kandinsky and Marc asked him for a written contribution to the almanac, which, however, also came to nothing. Other authors too were dilatory with their textual contributions and had to be written to time and again. Münter’s pressing request made in September 1911—“We’re waiting urgently for articles and illustrative material”—was repeated by Kandinsky with increasing intensity.²²

In the finished publication, the texts by the almanac’s editors Kandinsky and Marc form a kind of programmatic frame for the other contributions. The book starts with three short essays by Marc: “Spiritual Treasures,” “The ‘Savages’ of Germany,” and “Two Pictures.”²³ These are followed by textual contributions by Burliuk, Macke, Schoenberg, Roger Allard, Thomas von Hartmann, Erwin von Busse, Leonid Sabaneyev, and Nikolai Kulbin. At the end there is by far the longest text, Kandinsky’s essay “On the Question of Form,” followed



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Figs. 1–3
Large-format subscription prospectus for the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, 1912, four pages with six illustrations, text by Franz Marc.
Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau, Munich

Fig. 4
Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky on the balcony at Ainmillerstraße 36, Munich, with the woodcut for the cover of the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, 1911/12.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

by his discourse “On Stage Composition,” and his stage play *The Yellow Sound*.²⁴ Scores of songs by Schoenberg, Webern, and Berg are bound in at the end.

By the time production of the book was nearing completion, in the spring of 1912, the two *Blue Rider* exhibitions had already taken place at the Thannhauser and Goltz galleries in Munich. On April 6, Kandinsky was able to write to Marc from the publishing house: “The sheets that have already been printed look splendid. Overall, there are 131 pages and 141 reproductions.”²⁵ On May 11, 1912, the eagerly awaited complimentary copies arrived. Apart from some small corrections that had not been made, Marc in particular appeared delighted with the result: “But the impression of the book is after all fabulous. I was so happy to see it before me finally finished. I am sure of one thing: many silent admirers in the land and many young forces will thank us secretly, they will be enchanted with the book, and will judge the world by it. If only this book and the volumes could become a *Sachsenspiegel* for our disrupted times.”²⁶

The particular character of the Blue Rider circle of artists finds expression in nearly all the texts, as does its specific spiritual approach that came to distinguish them from other groups of artists at the beginning of the twentieth century. In their preface, which was not published in the final version of the book, for reasons unknown, the editors declared their conviction that they were “standing at the threshold of [...] the epoch of great spirituality.”²⁷ At the end, the editors reiterated their point: “It should be almost superfluous to emphasize specifically that in our case the principle of internationalism is the only one possible. However, in these times we must say that an individual nation is only one of the creators of art; one alone can never be a whole. As with a personality, the national element is automatically reflected in each great work. But in the last resort this national coloration is merely incidental. The whole work, called art, knows no borders or nations, only humanity.”²⁸

The unifying aspect that permeates the almanac, with its web of texts and images, is said to be not a shared formal canon, but the “mystical inner construction” of the artwork itself. By means of this open conception of style—which, also by invoking “primitive” art, claims to allow only the “authentic” and genuine whatever its form—traditional laws of form were to be negated in a manner even more radical and fundamental than that of contemporary avant-garde movements.

Caught up as they were in the colonial world order that preceded the First World War, the Blue Rider group did not succeed, however, in implementing an emancipatory praxis in art beyond national affiliations and traditional hierarchies and genres. The almanac’s sequence of images speaks (on behalf of the editors) of the utopia of a global, equitable understanding of art—a utopia that can only be partly understood as grounded in a reality of the editors’ own thoughts and actions. Yet the fact that many of these anonymous objects of folk art, of “primitive, Roman, and Gothic art, and Egyptian shadow puppets” found their way to Europe via the infrastructures of colonial power relationships was in no sense seen as an issue worthy of articulation. The fact that these objects should not simply be understood as representative examples of an admired aesthetic or as pure form—since their presence in European public collections and reproduction in publications constitutes an appropriation, dubious at the very least, of material and spiritual property—has, however,

long and for good reason been a permanent feature of research and public debate.

The spiritual exaltation of the creative process found in both the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac and the aesthetic writings of protagonists such as Wassily Kandinsky or Franz Marc became an object of critical analysis immediately after the First World War; a discourse that has lasted to this day. This comprises a distancing from irrational and esoteric thought, but is itself also partly shaped by an essentially anti-modern antipathy.

AH, MM

Wassily Kandinsky, text in an advertisement for the almanac at the end of his book *On the Spiritual in Art*, Munich 1912 (appeared Dec. 1911), in Annegret Hoberg, "Die Blaue Reiterei stürmt voran ... Entstehung, Inhalt und Form eines Jahrhundertwerks", in *Der Almanach Der Blaue Reiter*, Reprint (Munich, 2008), companion volume, 15, fig. 6.

Wassily Kandinsky und Franz Marc, Briefwechsel, mit Briefen von und an Gabriele Münter und Maria Marc, ed. Klaus Lankheit (Munich, Zurich, 1983), 40f.

The Blaue Reiter Almanac, eds. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc (London, 2006), 15–16.

August Macke–Franz Marc, Briefwechsel, ed. Wolfgang Macke (Cologne, 1964), 72. Many of these ideas did not come to fruition subsequently, including the comparison between supposedly "modern Munich painting" and the "true" avant garde, a comparison intended to debunk the former.

The letter is reproduced in facsimile in Klaus Lankheit, *Der Blaue Reiter. Dokumentarische Neuausgabe* (Munich, 1965) 305–308. Cited in Reinhard Piper, *Briefwechsel mit Autoren und Künstlern* (Munich, Zurich, 1979), 123–125.

"On the Question of Form," (Construction) "The 'Savages' of Germany," "Russia's 'Primitives.'" "

"Die 'Wilden' Frankreichs," "Sienna," "Neue Secession."

In Piper's basically very accommodating letter of September 12, 1911 to Marc regarding the calculation of costs for the almanac we find: "If I may be permitted to voice a personal view on the editorial approach to the almanac's composition, then I would advise you to bring in a few more German authors and artists. There is a substantial preponderance of material from outside Germany, especially Slavic lands. But because this publication is attempting to make an impact in Germany, it would better, at least from a practical point of view (though you may find this a trite thing to say), if Germans were better represented. You might think about approaching Woringer, Niermeyer, and others. My best wishes also to Mr Kandinsky." Piper, 1979 (see note 5), 126.

"*Der Blaue Reiter. Heft I.*"

Ten of these designs are in the Lenbachhaus in Munich, and the eleventh is in the Centre Pompidou, Paris.

Another work very similar to the final cover image for the almanac—Kandinsky's reverse glass-painting *St. George II*—makes the connection plain. On the numerous figures of St. George in the work of Kandinsky as well as Münter, see the plates in the catalogue.

Cf. Armin Zweite, "Zur Geschichte des 'Blauen Reiters'", in *Der Blaue Reiter im Lenbachhaus München*, ed. and introduced by Armin Zweite, with work annotations by Annegret Hoberg (Munich, 1991), 11–58, esp. 39.

This spiritual claim went far beyond the oft-cited, prosaic observation that Kandinsky recorded, with almost ironic understatement, for *Das Kunstblatt* in 1930: "We thought of the title *Der Blaue Reiter* while drinking coffee in the summer house at Sindelsdorf. We both liked blue, Marc liked horses and I liked horsemen. So the name came of its own accord." Wassily Kandinsky, *Essays über Kunst und Künstler*, (Bern, 1963), 137, note 1.

Lankheit, 1983 (see note 2), 60.

On the various ways in which the almanac was produced—the general, luxury, and museum editions—see Hoberg, 2008 (see note 1), 38–44.

The hand-written design is reproduced in facsimile in Lankheit, 1965 (see note 5), 309.

"*Die Masken.*"

"*primitive, römische, gotische Kunst, ägyptische Schattenfiguren, Kinderkunst usw.*"

A similar table of contents is found in the advertisement addendum to Kandinsky's book *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (On the Spiritual in Art), which was published in December, 1911. At the end here Kandinsky writes: "It is already clear from this table of contents that this publication will be a gathering point for those endeavors now making themselves visible in such a powerful way in all fields of art, which at a fundamental level are tending towards expanding art's expressive capability."

Letter of October 9, 1911 to Franz Marc, cited in Lankheit, 1983 (see note 2), 64.

Girieu, an artist for the most part forgotten today, moved back to his home city of Marseille after the First World War. In the years after 1900, he had numbered among the small avant-garde circle around Picasso in Paris and had

been dedicated a series of exhibitions, as for example in 1907 together with the Spanish ceramicist Francisco (Paco) Durrio at Galerie Kahnweiler. In May 1911, an exhibition dedicated jointly to Girieu and Franz Marc was held at Galerie Thannhauser, and Girieu traveled to Munich for it, staying there with Jawlensky and von Werefkin.

Cited in Jelena Hahl-Koch and Hartmut Zelinsky eds., *Schoenberg–Kandinsky: Briefe, Bilder und Dokumente einer außergewöhnlichen Begegnung* (Salzburg, 1980), 30.

"*Geistige Güter,*" "*Die 'Neuen Wilden' Deutschlands,*" "*Zwei Bilder.*"

"*Über die Formfrage,*" "*Über Bühnenkomposition,*" "*Der Gelbe Klang.*"

Lankheit, 1983 (see note 2), 160.

Ibid., 169. "Sachsenspiegel": a codex on rights from the 13th century, one of the first books in early German language.

The Blaue Reiter Almanac, 2006 (see note 3), 250. The preface was published for the first time in 1965, after a typescript from the estate of August Macke. It was only possible to publish the original manuscript—which was written in Gabriele Münter's hand and undersigned by Kandinsky and Marc, and which had remained unknown up until that point—for the first time in Hoberg, 2008 (see note 15), 52–53. See also the complete reproduction in facsimile in *Der Blaue Reiter 1912. Herausgeber: Kandinsky, Franz Marc. Reprint der Originalausgabe für das Lenbachhaus anlässlich des Programms Museum Global der Kulturstiftung des Bundes* (Munich, 2019), XI–XIV.

The Blaue Reiter Almanac, 2006 (see note 3), 251. The preface was probably written in October, 1911 at the latest. Also housed in the Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation in Munich is a contemporary typescript translation of the text into French with the title "*Le Chevalier Bleu: Organe d'un art naissant*" (The Blue Rider: The Organ of a Nascent Art); this was probably prepared by Franz Marc and shows how seriously the editors were taking internationalism, and initially also the publication of the preface, which nevertheless soon disappeared from the table of contents in advertisements for the almanac.

East Asian Woodblock Prints and Drawings

The *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac edited by Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc and published in May 1912 brought together pictorial material from different sources. Among the 141 illustrations in the book there are eight telling examples of East Asian drawings and woodcuts: the Japanese India ink drawing of a lion-dog, five subjects from Japanese books, reproduced from India ink drawings, a detail from a Japanese color woodblock print and what is probably a Chinese painting, showing two fabulous animals (fig. 1).¹ Even though the number of East Asian illustrations is relatively small in comparison with Bavarian, Russian and other international examples, they do indicate the high esteem in which the artists within the circle of the Blue Rider held Japanese art, particularly at the beginning of their artistic development: all of the illustrations reproduced in the almanac come from Marc's personal collection of Japanese woodblock prints, drawings, and artworks.²

Very much in line with the spirit of the age, many artists began to collect color woodblock prints and *objets d'art*. The imperialistically motivated, forced opening of Japan to Western powers in 1853, meant that the country's 250-year-long policy of isolation, designed to protect it against external influences, came to an abrupt end. In the subsequent Meiji period, Japan took a great interest in establishing connections with the West.³ The resulting brisk trade relationships, and a presence (forcefully promoted by Japanese authorities from 1867 onwards) at major international exhibitions, led in the 1880s in Europe and the USA to a fashion for all things Japanese and a constantly growing passion for collecting, which reached its peak around the turn of the century. As part of this trend some Japanese companies developed special products for export. The mass export of cultural treasures and artworks also received state finance and sponsorship.⁴ Apart from the major exhibitions, newly established shops that had special trading relationships with Japan supplied Western collectors with the popular and sought-after products.⁵

As popular prints that easily crossed geographical borders, the Japanese color woodblock prints (*ukiyo-e*, "pictures of the floating world"), with their subjects drawn directly from the everyday life and history of Japan, allowed Western countries glimpses of a "foreign" world that had until then been closed to them. These popular pictures showed life and pleasure in the metropolitan centers of the Edo period (1603–1868): theaters, their star actors, wrestling

matches, parties, prostitution, everyday life, and landscapes. Thanks to their large print runs they enjoyed great distribution, could be bought relatively cheaply, and quickly developed into the country's best-known and most widely circulated artistic product.⁶ If these woodblock prints exerted a strong attraction on the general art public, their appeal to artists was even more intense. Everything about these prints seemed to contradict the traditional European way of seeing: the themes, subjects, compositional principles, and color combinations. In search of new expressive means and in an attempt to overcome the prevalent naturalism of academic history painting, which was considered rigid, the Japanese pictorial aesthetic gave wings to Western art at that moment. The classic Japanese woodblock print is characterized by a lack of effects of light and shade, an ambiguous perspective, areas filled with color or left white, and shapes drawn with clear, fluid lines, merely suggesting forms, which try to reproduce the idea or the essence of the thing, represented in a way that is at once refined and elaborate.

In comparison with the big collections aiming for completeness, which today form the foundation of important museum collections such as that of the British Museum in London, the collections of Japanese woodblock prints and *objets d'art* put together by artists were generally much more modest, more intuitively assembled, and reflect the motivation of the individual collectors. Artists usually considered Japanese works of art from their own respective visual understanding and without any profound knowledge of their cultural background. In some cases, the passion for Japanese art also extended beyond the artistic framework, and they had business ambitions that included the purchase and onward sale of the popular collectable items.⁷

The artists and their allies of the extended circle of the Blue Rider were excited and inspired by the Japanese woodblock prints. Some owned large portfolios of objects they had collected themselves.⁸ Franz Marc had taken a keen interest in Japanese woodblock prints since 1901/02, and from 1905 he shared that passion with his future wife Maria Franck-Marc. Many written testimonies reveal the depth of his interest in Japanese art over years, and the inspiration he drew from it. The friendship between August Macke and Franz Marc, who first met early in 1910, developed through their shared passion for Japanese art. Macke, like Marc, had an extensive collection of Japanese *objets d'art*, *ukiyo-e*, and explicitly erotic *shunga* prints (spring pictures). The close contact between the two artists not only intensified their exploration and appreciation of Japanese art, but also included the purchase of and trade in woodblock prints. In Munich this was conducted chiefly through the dealership of E. Kratzer, who also published an advertisement in the appendix of the almanac. Elisabeth Macke recalled: "Marc led August to the Russian, Ritter von Pohoretzki, a former baron who, under the name of Heinrich Kratzer, ran a tobacconist's shop at No. 69 Türkenstrasse, where he sold cheap cigarettes to workmen. Behind the curtain of the shop, he went into a small side-room in which he kept Japanese miniatures, bronzes, *netsuke* and soapstone figures, valuable *cloisonné* vases and bowls, fine porcelain, and *kakemonos* (scroll paintings) and woodblock prints by the most famous Japanese artists. With a shrewd smile he led selected visitors and connoisseurs into that little realm, with charm and hospitality he poured *sake* (rice wine) from delicate bowls and finally brought out his special

delicacies, actually intended only for male eyes, the finest erotic prints. Marc had brought him a number of customers and always made a little money on it.”⁹

Alexej von Jawlensky also had an extensive collection of woodblock prints, consisting especially of *yakusha-e* (portraits of kabuki theater actors) and *bijin-ga* (“portraits of a beautiful person,” usually a courtesan or geisha and thus the most popular themes of *ukiyo-e*.) He also owned various *shunga* pictures. However, in the collections of the Blue Rider there are none of the more problematic pictures of women such as those popular among contemporary French collectors.¹⁰

There is no clear evidence for the exact point at which Jawlensky began collecting the woodblock prints that had such a powerful impact on the further development of his own artistic work. While French influences on his oeuvre have been relatively well researched, his passion for Japanese art remained unknown for a long time. There are also no precise records of corresponding works in his possession, although there are references in Marianne von Werefkin’s diaries. The first Japanese woodblock print appears around 1913 in a photograph showing Jawlensky in his Munich studio, but as early as 1907 there are hints of Japanese influence in Werefkin’s work. It is possible that the major exhibition of East Asian art held in Munich in 1909, *Japan and East Asia in Art* was a crucial if comparatively late inspiration for him to build up a collection of his own (fig. 2).¹¹ Reinhard Piper, the publisher of the almanac, with whom Marc and Kandinsky were in close contact, shared their passion for the arts of Japan. Since his visit to Paris in 1902, he was not only an enthusiastic collector of Japanese color woodblock prints, but also brought out several works on Japanese art, including the book *Der Japanische Holzschnitt* (The Japanese Woodblock Print) by Julius Kurth, which was published in 1911 and promoted with a full-page advertisement in the appendix to the almanac (fig. 3).

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Fig. 1
Double page from the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac, 1912

Fig. 2
Poster for the exhibition *Japan und*
Ostasien in der Kunst, Munich, 1909,
by Oskar Graf.
Münchner Stadtmuseum

Fig. 3
Advertisement in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac, 1912 for the publishing
program of R. Piper on East Asian art

1

The apparent visual similarities and an ignorance or amateur knowledge of cultural differences often meant that distinctions were not made in the West between Japanese and Chinese art.

2

The selection of pictures for the almanac was probably made to a large extent at a joint editorial meeting in Murnau in late September/early October 1911. Cf. *Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc. Briefwechsel. Mit Briefen von und an Gabriele Münter und Maria Marc*, ed., with an introduction and commentary, by Klaus Lankheit (Munich/ Zürich, 1983), 67 and Wolfgang Macke ed., *August Macke, Franz Marc. Briefwechsel* (Cologne, 1964), 77.

3

The Meiji government recognized the international significance of the World's Fair and used this as a stage in order to position its own culture. Its self-representation as a country with a highly developed art and culture was aimed at positioning itself as being on a par with the Western industrial giants and distinguishing itself from its colonized neighbors. On the one hand this meant that Japan presented its long tradition at the World's Fairs, on the other it took every imaginable measure to connect with the global market, which was seen as the only way to avoid being monopolized by the colonial powers. Cf. Claudia Delank, *Das imaginäre Japan in der Kunst "Japanbilder" vom Jugendstil bis zum Bauhaus* (Munich, 1996), 30.

4

Japan exported artifacts from old Japan to the West, and thus financed its own modernization, amongst other things. Cf. Mariko Takagi, *Formen der visuellen Begegnung zwischen Japan und dem Westen. Vom klassischen Japonismus zur zeitgenössischen Typographie*, (Diss., Brunswick, 2012), 121.

5

In this respect France was a pioneer. With the World's Fairs of 1867, 1889, and 1900 in Paris, and thanks to art dealers and importers like Hayashi Tadamasa and Siegfried Bing, who also published the monthly magazine *Le Japon Artistique*, the city offered multiple opportunities to find out about and buy Japanese art. Artists with their own collections of woodblock prints included Claude Monet, Vincent Van Gogh, and Edgar Degas, to name only a few.

6

The prints that were so much in demand in nineteenth-century Europe had been a widely distributed mass-produced article. The Japanese of the time held *ukiyo-e* in rather low esteem, seeing them as folk art and prints without any particular value, which had only been granted their new status by rising demand from abroad and were now also being redis-

covered at home. Takagi, *Formen der visuellen Begegnung* (see note 4), 97 and 103f.

7

Around eighty Japanese prints have been preserved from Werefkin and Jawlensky's collection. They resold pieces particularly early on. Marc's collection is not complete today either, since until 1915 the artist at times traded in Japanese art, particularly in *shunga* (whose location is unknown today). In his estate there were at least eighty works on paper, of which twenty-one are India ink drawings and woodblock prints as well as seventeen illustrated books went to Murnau Castle Museum.

8

In 1992, the Japanese color-woodblock prints from Jawlensky's estate were shown for the first time in an exhibition in Bad Homburg. In the 2011 exhibition *The Painters of the Blauer Reiter and Japan* the Murnau Castle Museum explored for the first time the influence of Japanese art on the artists of the Blauer Reiter. The 2013 exhibition *From Japonisme to Zen: Paul Klee and the Far East* in the Paul Klee Center in Bern was the first to refer to Klee's interest in East Asian art.

9

Elisabeth Erdmann-Macke, *Erinnerungen an August Macke* (Stuttgart, 1962), 146.

10

This is partly down to the fact that the Blue Rider was one of the few movements that had many active women artists, who can be considered more or less emancipated by the standards of the day. There was also at least one member, in the form of Alexander Sakharoff, who from the contemporary point of view could be considered as gender non-binary. What is now openly discussed as abusive gender hierarchies within the The Bridge (Die Brücke) group was already recognized and articulated by Kandinsky at the time. In a letter to Franz Marc dated January 14, 1912, he asked about the selection of prints, etchings, drawings and watercolors by The Bridge artists that Marc sent him to preview for the second exhibition of the Blue Rider from Berlin: "Of the 24 photos, 9 + 1/2 are nudes with or without pubic hair, 5 are bathers and 2 Circus pictures [...] I don't want to discard any artist, because he takes just that and not something else as the starting point for his pictures. But I couldn't quite ignore the statistics here: they came by themselves." Kandinsky/ Marc 1983 (as note 2), 113.

11

"Particularly in Munich there had been keen interest in that artistic culture for a long time, as well as a great understanding of it, particularly in artistic circles," the organizers of the exhibition, Cécilie and Otto Graf wrote in the catalogue. Cf. "Japan und Ostasien in der Kunst," in *Die Maler des "Blauen Reiter" und Japan*, exh. cat. (Munich, 2011), 8.

Exoticism

The View of Japan

Ukiyo-e played a primary role in the West's experience of Japanese art from the middle of the nineteenth century.¹ In the history of art and culture, the adoption of Japanese motifs—a process that unfolded in tandem with the engagement with Japanese woodcuts—is considered the classic form of “Japonisme,” a phenomenon originating principally in France. The term tries to describe the momentous developments in European and American art that had its roots in the engagement with Japanese art at the end of the nineteenth century. It was at this time that the Western image of Japan, including its stereotypes and clichés, some of which exist to this day, was formed;² the Japanese government took an active role in this, exerting its influence in a targeted manner, including through universal exhibitions. The encounter with Japanese works of art, which the West found fascinating and enriching, had very little to do with Japanese culture of the day. After Japan had been forcibly opened to international commerce by the USA in 1853, cultural artifacts were imported whose reception in Western artistic circles was informed by an image of Japan rooted less in reality than in idealization and fantasies.³ It was not uncommon for this to manifest itself as a yearning for the supposedly “innocent” and “pure” culture of a distant land barely known from personal experience, a yearning which arose in Europe and the USA as a result of aggressive industrialization. In this respect, Japonisme proves to be a specific, selective study of a culture perceived as “foreign,” pursued in order to enhance productively one's “own” representational practices, which were felt to be restrictive.⁴ In their engagement with Japanese models, which was mostly limited to purely aesthetic considerations, Western artists focused on their personal interests in the “other”; they occupied themselves with the elements that inspired them, interpreted them in accordance with their own needs, and integrated them into their own work. As a consequence, there is no single form of Japonisme, but a dynamic variety of forms as multi-faceted as the artists themselves. In particular, Western artists identified in Japanese art that “modernity,” characterized by purity and reduction, for which they strove. They considered necessary a departure from the pre-dominant academic naturalism, and saw in it a defining model for a radically new visual language. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Viennese art

historian Franz Wickhoff noted: “The artists in London and Paris who were at the forefront of the modern movement in the second half of our century saw with amazement that much of what they strove for had already been achieved by the Japanese, and that the Japanese—a people of refined artistic sensibilities such as only the ancient Greeks had ever had—had rushed ahead of the artistic trend in Europe.”⁵ The Blue Rider artists also found an expression of their own endeavors in the Japanese aesthetic—the representation of the “essence” of things and the feelings they evoke, rather than the “realistic” image of nature as perceived by the senses. Their concern was not to copy Japanese art, but to translate the insights gained from it into their own formal language and a new painterly expression. The examples of other European artists enabled their first indirect access: Vincent Van Gogh in particular played a significant pioneering role. He had been an early collector of *ukiyo-e* and incorporated ideas from Japanese woodblock prints into his painting.⁶ Alexej von Jawlensky’s interest in Japanese art began most probably in 1903, when, during a trip to France, he discovered role models for himself and his art such as Van Gogh and Paul Gauguin. Franz Marc, too, recognized in Van Gogh’s works the inner expressiveness achieved through reduction for which he himself strove. In 1907, he wrote to Maria Franck-Marc: “For me, Van Gogh is the most valuable, the greatest, and most affecting figure in painting I know. Being able to paint something of the simplest nature and to paint all one’s belief and longing into it—that is surely the most worthwhile thing.”⁷ (See Franz Marc’s *Little Oak Tree*, cat. p. 302). In emulation of Van Gogh, Marc let himself be inspired in his own art, which was devoted to the natural world, by Japanese woodcuts and instruction manuals for painting animals and plants, as well as by everyday objects. Most notably, he took as exemplars in his own pictures certain elements of design applied in representations of animals—the eschewal of an exact rendition of nature in favor of the sovereignty of line, flat, planar areas of color, and reduction of form. In 1905, after a visit to France during which he became acquainted with Japanese art in the original, he wrote: “Now I’m already painting absolutely only the simplest of things; [...] A voice has now come to live in me that says, continually, back to nature, to the very simplest things; for only in this do we find symbolism, pathos, and what is secret in nature.”⁸ Beyond the stylistic interest, above all, however, Marc recognized in Japanese art a fundamental congruence with his own, a related attitude of mind, similar to that expressed by Reinhard Piper in his book *Das Tier in der Kunst* (The Animal in Art) (published in 1910), when he emphasizes the “feeling for nature” and “impression of nature” in Japanese art (fig. 1).⁹ In the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, Marc juxtaposed the detail of a woodblock print by Utagawa Kuniyoshi with Van Gogh’s portrait of *Doctor Paul Gachet*, (cat. p. 226, fig. 1) and August Macke claimed, in his contribution “*Die Masken*” (Masks), that the two likenesses were comparable: “Does Van Gogh’s portrait of Dr. Gachet not originate from a spiritual life similar to the amazed grimace of a Japanese juggler cut in a woodblock?”¹⁰ Wassily Kandinsky, too, found in Japanese art not merely superficial inspiration but a superior attitude of mind. Following his visit to the large exhibition *Japan und Ostasien in der Kunst* (Japan and East Asia in Art) in Munich in 1909 (fig. 2), he reported: “A whole room was filled with graphic works on the subject of landscape. Here, in addition to woodcuts that demonstrated that truly



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Fig. 1
Advertisement in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac, 1912, for Reinhard Piper's *Das
Tier in der Kunst*, R. Piper & Co. Verlag,
Munich, 1910

Fig. 2
Postcard for the exhibition *Japan und
Ostasien in der Kunst*, Munich, 1909.
Münchener Stadtmuseum

Eastern genius for unifying tiny details in a uniform sound, there were also works of uncommon spaciousness and abstraction in their handling of form and color, which conformed completely and utterly to a rhythm both distinctive and replete with purely artistic spirit. How much comes into focus in Western art, over and over again, when one looks at these infinitely diverse works from the East, which are nevertheless essentially subordinate to a fundamental 'sound' and determined by it!"¹¹

The fact that works of art from East Asia—despite the significance afforded them by the Blue Rider artists in their own art—did not take a central role in the almanac probably stems mainly from the fact that at the point at which the almanac was published, enthusiasm in Western art for all things Japanese was nothing new. In particular, French artists had been integrating stimuli from Japan into their own works for a long time and were turning to other sources of inspiration. The initial curiosity about a land that had been isolated for centuries, and its art and culture, had dwindled noticeably over the course of time. The over-saturation of the market with Japanese goods may have played an important role in this, as did Japan's commercial expansion during the Meiji restoration, which by the start of the twentieth century had led to considerable and rapid industrialization and modernization. No longer "pristine," Japan lost some of its appeal as the romanticized focus for the West's own yearning for the "original" and the "naïve," and enthusiasm for Japan moved on seamlessly to other cultures. Like many of their European contemporaries, members of the Blue Rider group were getting enthusiastic about objects from Oceania and Africa, believing that they recognized in them a desirable "primitivism" of form. In his correspondence with Macke, Franz Marc observed on January 14, 1911: "I was very thorough in the Völkerkundemuseum [ethnological museum], so I could study the methods employed in the art of "primitive peoples" (as they are called by [Bernhard] Koehler and most of today's critics when they are wanting to characterize our efforts). Finally, deeply moved and amazed, I latched onto the Cameroonian carvings, which are perhaps only surpassed by the sublime works of the Incas. I find it so self-evident that we should seek the rebirth of our artistic sensitivity at the cold dawn of artistic intelligence, and not among those cultures whose trajectories have already run for a thousand years, like those of Japan or the Italian Renaissance. [...] we must become ascetics."¹²

The View of Other Countries

The lively interest displayed by many artists of the period in the art produced by previously unknown cultures would be inconceivable without directly correlating two factors with each other: the West's yearning for the "authentic" and the "natural" (as already mentioned), combined with the ramifications of industrialization, but mainly with the colonial powers' urge for expansion, both geopolitical and commercial. There is consequently a direct connection between the general trend towards the "exotic"¹³ in the Western world (of which Japonisme¹⁴ should also be seen as a part) and the colonial period,

or, in the case of Japan, between this trend and the aggressive opening up of previously untapped markets. In this context, the question arises as to what the Blue Rider artists “wanted to see and could see”¹⁵ in “other” art forms and cultures, and how they responded to these cultures. For numerous pictures by Blue Rider artists say significantly more about their own longings, imaginings, and the ways in which they understood themselves, than about the art with which they genuinely thought they were engaging.

Generally speaking, exoticism denotes a phase of yearning and escapism that goes hand in hand with the construction of ideals of the “other” based on personal fantasies. This form of escapism was fed principally by second-hand experiences derived from novels, films, guidebooks, and exhibitions. A distinction can be made between geographical exoticism, which relates to more or less distant places, and chronological exoticism, which concerns other times (for example, bygone, seemingly more ideal eras).¹⁶

In the industrialized modern period, there arose a desire to consume and to be entertained that was satisfied by new media such as photography, film, and advertising. These captured and emphasized the essence of the then search for a supposedly more innocent life. Commercial spectacles, including the numerous “ethnological exhibitions,” displayed people from other cultures before the public in a demeaning manner, reduced to easily consumable stereotypes and generalizations (fig. 3). These stagings explicitly reflected the world view of the colonial period, which was based on “European fantasies of superiority,”¹⁷ and reinforced the structural inequalities between colonizer and colonized.¹⁸

At this time, the Blue Rider artists also engaged intensively with “new” sources of inspiration, in which they saw realized, in line with their own preconceptions, an unadulterated, expressively strong visual language. Wassily Kandinsky took inspiration mainly from Russian and Bavarian folk art; at the same time, resonances of the trip he undertook to Tunisia with Gabriele Münter in 1904 are noticable. Running alongside August Macke’s interest in imaginary, orientalist image worlds was his interest in “Indians.”¹⁹ In 1909, he began to paint pictures that offered a romantically transfigured view of Native Americans, which was promoted by authors such as Karl May and the adventure stories of the Wild West as romanticized in Germany. Macke’s depictions drew not only on these prevailing tropes, but also on commercial spectacles such as Wild West shows, circuses, and “ethnological exhibitions,” numerous examples of which were mounted before the First World War. The prime example of which was “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West,” featuring William F. Cody as Buffalo Bill and more than two hundred cowboys and Native Americans. The spectacle followed a fixed scenario and comprised “reenactments” of historical events, military and athletic performances, as well as dramatic interludes that purported to represent life in the Wild West. The three-hour-long show followed this basic pattern across the whole of Europe.²⁰

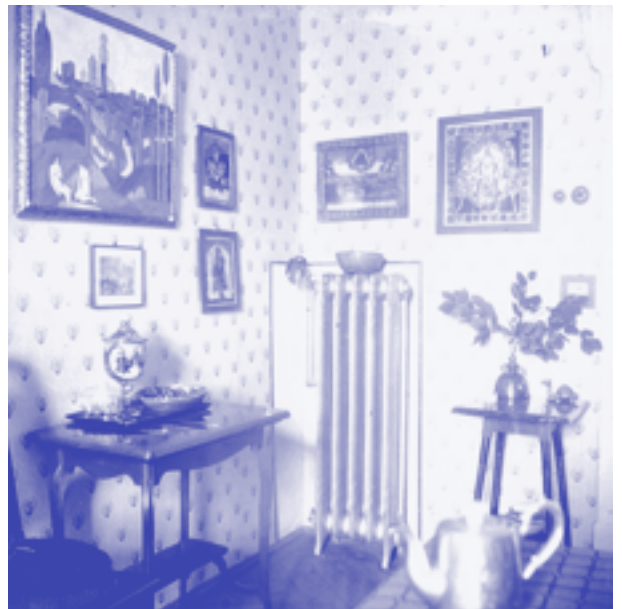
Buffalo Bill embodied the imaginary cowboy known to visitors from Karl May’s books and James Fenimore Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales*. The more than 350 motion pictures exported from the USA between 1907 and 1914 projected the stereotypical image of “good cowboys” and “bad Indians,” in order to provide, seemingly, justification for the subjugation of the Native American peoples of



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Fig. 3
Ethnological exhibition, Munich, 1901,
photograph taken by Gabriele Münter.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Fig. 4
"Sioux Indians," poster, Adolph
Friedländer printworks, no. 6290.
Carl Hagenbeck Archive, Hamburg

Fig. 5
Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele
Münter's apartment at Ainmillerstrasse
36, Munich, with reverse glass paintings
from India on the wall.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

North America, and to represent this as a heroic act. At the same time, Carl Hagenbeck was presenting Native Americans as living exhibits in his zoo in Hamburg-Stellingen (fig. 4). In this “human zoo,” there were contrived buildings supposedly in the style of the Native Americans’ homeland, in front of which the people on display demonstrated “their” handicrafts and performed “their” songs and dances. Considering that such spectacles were staged solely to be viewed voyeuristically by Europeans, the term “Indian” frequently perceived as “innocent,” can no longer be considered innocent in any context.²¹ European reception of the “Wild West” was thus based primarily on the adoption of ready-made images and the ideologies associated with them.

In 1911, in his essay “Masks” for the almanac, August Macke compared military parades, visiting the cinema, and variety theater to tribal rituals and religious experiences, thereby equating these forms of the modern Western entertainment industry with his reception of “foreign cultures.”²² Franz Marc, too, wrote retrospectively in the foreword to the second edition of the almanac in 1914: “With a divining rod we searched through the art of the past and the present. We showed only what was alive, what was not touched by the dictates of convention. We gave our ardent devotion to everything in art that was born out of itself, lived in itself, did not walk on crutches of habit.”²³ The fact that Macke, as well as Marc, considered certain sources and models as “untouched” and “authentic” forms of expression reflects the Blue Rider artists’ selective perception when it came to the art and customs of other cultures (fig. 5). Their respective notions of the Wild West, Japan, and the “exotic foreigner” shaped their engagement with new visual impulses from beyond the European canon.

AS

1

On this, see the section in this volume on East Asian Woodblock Prints and Drawings, pp. 223–227, 287–301.

2

In his autobiographical novel of 1887, *Madame Chrysanthème*, the French marine officer Pierre Loti (1850–1923) seeks out a woman whom he wishes to be as “Japanese” as he had always imagined, inspired by the figures found on vases and scroll paintings that were in circulation in Paris at the time. The image of this woman created by Loti in his novel subsequently progressed to becoming a symbol of all Japanese women, and in the course of the twentieth century the image became, via the figure of Madame Butterfly which it inspired, a collective symbol, a clichéd view of Japanese womankind, based completely on the Western, masculine gaze. The image furnished thereafter material for numerous operas and plays, still in the repertory, that center on the Butterfly narrative.

3

In *The Decay of Lying* of 1889, Oscar Wilde wrote of a futile attempt to seek out the geographical location of the yearning known as Japan: “In fact the whole of Japan is a pure invention. There is no such country, there are no such people. One of our most charming painters went recently to the Land of the Chrysanthemum in the foolish hope of seeing the Japanese. All he saw, all he had the chance of painting, were a few lanterns and some fans. He was quite unable to discover the inhabitants, as his delightful exhibition at Messrs. Dowdeswell’s Gallery showed only too well. He did not know that the Japanese people are, as I have said, simply a mode of style, an exquisite fancy of art. And so, if you desire to see a Japanese effect, you will not behave like a tourist and go to Tokio [sic]. On the contrary, you will stay at home, and steep yourself in the work of certain Japanese artists, and then, when you have absorbed the spirit of their style, and caught their imaginative manner of vision, you will go some afternoon and sit in the Park or stroll down Piccadilly, and if you cannot see an absolutely Japanese effect there, you will not see it anywhere.” (Oscar Wilde, “The Decay of Lying,” in *The Critical Tradition: Classic Texts and Contemporary Trends*, ed. David Richter (Boston, 2007), 478–496. On this, see also Claudia Delank, *Das imaginäre Japan in der Kunst: “Japanbilder” vom Jugendstil bis zum Bauhaus* (Munich, 1996); Elisabeth Scherer and Michiko Mae eds., *Nipponspiration: Japonismus und japanische Populärkultur im deutschsprachigen Raum* (Berlin, 2013).

4

In 1884, Edmond de Goncourt wrote: “Japonisme is nothing more and nothing less than a revolution in the way in which European peoples look at things; I would like to claim that it brings to the artwork a new sense of color, a new decorative design and even a poetical fantasy that is has never had before, even in the most perfect creations of the Middle Ages or the Renaissance.” Cited in Klaus Berger, *Japonismus in der westlichen Malerei 1860–1920* (Munich, 1980), 7.

5

Franz Wickhoff, *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk: Die Jugend*, 1898. Cited in Berger 1980 (see note 4), 8.

6

See Monet, Gauguin, Van Gogh ... *Inspiration Japan*, exh. cat. Museum Folkwang Essen (Göttingen, 2014).

7

Gustav Kiepenheuer, *Franz Marc: Briefe, Schriften, Aufzeichnungen* (Leipzig and Weimar, 1989), 26.

8

In 1905, Marc got to know the painter Jean Bloé Niestlé in Munich; Niestlé would later become a member of the Blue Rider group. Marc admired his work and in a letter to Marie Schür of October 20, 1905 compared it to Japanese art: “We then visited a young colleague, Monsieur Niestlé; he is a French animal painter—very retiring and very young—of such genially melancholic nature as to make one ill. Technically, his work is reminiscent of Japanese artists, except that it is even more moving, even more inward, and what is wonderful, even more precise!” Cited in Kiepenheuer 1989 (see note 7), 20–21.

9

Marc and Piper got to know each other at one of Marc’s exhibitions, at the Brakl’s Moderne Kunsthandlung (Brakl’s Modern Art Gallery); as a result, Piper asked Marc to write a short contribution on art theory, which was illustrated at the end of the book with his sculpture *Zwei Pferde* (Two Horses). A Japanese ink drawing entitled *Vogel auf einem Zweig* (Bird on a Twig) was employed as the closing vignette.

10

August Macke, “Die Masken,” in *Der Blaue Reiter. Herausgeber: Kandinsky, Franz Marc. Reprint der Originalausgabe für das Lenbachhaus anlässlich des Programms Museum Global der Kulturstiftung des Bundes / Lenbachhaus, Kulturstiftung des Bundes* (Munich, 2019), 24.

11

Wassily Kandinsky, *Gesammelte Schriften 1889–1916: Farbensprache, Kompositionslehre und andere unveröffentlichte Texte*, ed. Helmut Friedel (Munich, 2007), 330.

12

August Macke, *Franz Marc. Briefwechsel*, ed. Wolfgang Macke (Cologne, 1964), 39–40.

13

Mariko Takagi, *Formen der visuellen Begegnung zwischen Japan und dem Westen: Vom klassischen Japonismus zur zeitgenössischen Typographie* (Brunswick, 2012), 101.

14

Michael Siemer understands Japonisme, alongside Chinoiserie and Orientalism, as facets of the exoticism movement; see Michael Siemer et al., *Japonistisches Denken bei Lafcadio Hearn und Okakura Tenshin* (Hamburg, 1999), 292–293.

15

Mae Michiko, “Japonismus als transkultureller Prozess—Odano Naotake, Katsushika Hokusai und Vincent Van Gogh,” in Essen 2014 (see note 6), 27.

16

See Takagi, *Formen der visuellen Begegnung* 2012 (see note 13), 101 and Stefanie Wolter, *Die Vermarktung des Fremden* (Erlangen/ Nuremberg 2005), 33.

17

Edward W. Said, *Orientalismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 2010) 17.

18

This Eurocentric view of the world constitutes a specific form of ethnocentrism that takes Europe as the focus and epicentre in the evaluation of “other” cultures; during such a process, one’s “own” culture is taken as the benchmark and the only “proper” culture. On a collective level, ethnocentrism and Eurocentrism can be described as forms of delimiting “one’s own” from what is “foreign.” One finds particularly marked forms of ethnocentrism in societies that consider themselves closed and culturally homogenous. Tied in with this is the act of interpreting the “foreign” on the basis of one’s own systems of values and norms, which consequently become a sort of filter for the focus, frame of reference, and benchmark by which other cultures are measured. See Takagi 2012 (see note 13), 27–28. and 45, and Uta Schaffers, *Konstruktionen der Fremde—Erfahren, verschriftlicht und erlesen am Beispiel Japan* (Berlin, 2006), 25. With ethnocentrism we are therefore dealing with a one-sided representation of the “other,” in which peoples and cultures are reduced to objects and their perspectives ignored. Those cultures considered “other” and “exotic peoples” are not involved in this narrative, nor asked whether they agree with a particular description of their societal and cultural norms. See Gerhard Baer, “Aspekte japanischer Wirklichkeit” in *Japan: Selbstbild Fremdbild*, Peter Ackermann ed. (Zürich, 1993), 9–18.

Even as early as 1910 in the brochure *Sioux-Indianer: Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark* reference is made to this concept, erroneously used to this day, and the stereotype of the single "Indian," and the associated lack of engagement with the differences between the various Indigenous First Nations and Native American peoples: "When people talk of Indians, no one thinks of the numerous tribes of Brazil and the rest of South America, nor of those of Central America or Mexico. People always mean the 'prairie Indians,' celebrated through myth and history—Native Americans, who are usually of the Sioux tribe—glamorized in numerous novels, who have elicited a literature as extensive as that of the knights of old. Tales of knights and Indians will be a source of delight for our young people for a long time! This year's ethnological exposition brings before our eyes in tangible form these figures with their leather trousers, pathfinders, Tecumseh, etc., with their striking, sharply defined faces, their great aquiline noses, and their typical feather war headdresses." Eric Ames, "Cooper-Welten. Zur Rezeption der Indianer-Truppen in Deutschland 1885–1910," in *Fiktionen des Wilden Westens*, eds. Pamela Kort and Max Hollein, exh. cat. Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt am Main (Munich, 2006), 227.

20

Ibid., 217.

21

The former animal dealer Carl Hagenbeck coined the word *Völkerschau* (literally, "peoples show") for the "ethnographic" exhibitions that he made popular in Germany from the mid-1870s until 1910. Among the first Native Americans from North America to be presented in Germany was a group of nine Iroquois and one Comanche. They were put on display in the Zoological Garden in Dresden, and later in Frankfurt am Main, Düsseldorf, Kassel, and Hannover. In 1885, Hagenbeck brought nine members of the Nuxalk tribe to Germany, who appeared in twenty-two German cities within two years, eliciting only a moderate response. In the summer of 1910 on the other hand, 1,100,000 people visited the "performances" of forty-two native Americans of the Oglala Sioux tribe and ten cowboys at Hagenbeck's zoo in Stellingen. See Frankfurt am Main 2006 (see note 19), 54–55.

22

See August Macke, "Die Masken," in *Der Blaue Reiter 1912/2019* (see note 10), 21–26.

23

Franz Marc, "Vorwort," in *ibid.*, pp. XV–XVI.

Reverse glass paintings

At the same time as Alexej von Jawlensky was presumably assembling his collection of East Asian woodblock prints,¹ he drew Gabriele Münter's and Wassily Kandinsky's attention to the traditional technique of reverse glass painting during their joint stay in Murnau: "K. and I had already—I think it was the spring of 07 [1908] in the Tirol—seen beautifully painted *Martel* [niches with painted saints or crucifixes] and the like. Old folk art. But I think that we first encountered glass paintings here. It must have been Jawlensky who first introduced us to Rambold and the Krötz collection. We were all excited about those things."² The artists of the Blue Rider who lived in Murnau, and their occasional visitors, paid regular visits to the local reverse glass painter Heinrich Rambold,³ and the extensive private collection of traditional Bavarian reverse glass paintings of the brewer Johann Krötz in Murnau. In a letter to Münter in the summer of 1911, Kandinsky reports on such a visit with Franz Marc, Maria Franck-Marc and Bernhard Koehler Jr., Elisabeth Macke's cousin: "At Rambold's again in the morning and looked around the village."⁴ Elsewhere he writes: "Yesterday went to see the brewer with Marc and K. and today I understood something about my picture again. Ah! He still has some wonderful things."⁵ Shortly after this Kandinsky, Münter and Jawlensky began to assemble their own collections of reverse glass paintings. The works from Münter and Kandinsky's collection, which in the end comprised at least 130 items, probably came mostly from the fairs held several times a year in Munich, the so-called "*Dulten*," which then offered a wide range of cheap reverse glass paintings. Within a short time—from their first encounter with the exemplary Krötz collection in Murnau in 1908 to the first photographs from their apartment on Ainmillerstrasse in Munich in 1913, in which part of the collection is visibly displayed on the walls (figs. 1, 2)—they had assembled an extensive and valuable collection of local but also of Asian reverse glass paintings.⁶

The importance that the artists of the Blue Rider placed on the creative tradition and technique of reverse glass painting is apparent in the twelve reverse glass paintings illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac of 1912. A representation of St. Martin is even the first illustration in the book. All of these pictures came from the collection of the brewer Krötz from Murnau.⁷ Several reverse glass paintings had already been included in the first *Blue Rider* exhibition in 1911 at the Thannhauser Gallery in Munich.

The very elaborate painting technique that had been practiced in Germany since the fourteenth century, and of which only a tiny number of objects have survived, developed over three centuries, particularly in Southern Germany and Austria, into a much more pared-back version. In order to simplify the procedure, the originally sumptuous paintings were turned into simple line drawings, in which shading and details were lost, forms became flatter, and outlines gained in importance.⁸ In contrast to a painting on canvas, in reverse glass painting the paint is applied to the back of the picture support. All subjects and text are laterally inverted, and the sequence of working steps is also reversed: outlines are painted first, followed by cross-hatching, shadows, inscriptions and details, and only then the subjects are painted in. Finally, in the last step, the background of the picture is applied, covering the remaining picture surface.⁹ Many traditional reverse glass paintings, particularly from Oberammergau, also have a painted frame.¹⁰ The broad abstraction of the representation was chiefly a consequence of the division of labor involved in the domestic production process, in which the glass paintings were made from models.¹¹ Serial manufacture and distribution often carried out by door-to-door salesmen determined the production process of this popular and cheaply made “bulk good.”¹² The paintings were distributed particularly in the form of the popular pictures of saints and pilgrimages made in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, and became a well-liked wall decoration, replacing the woodblock print that had predominated until then. About half of the popular reverse glass paintings illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac were the result of this commercial production process.¹³

Heinrich Rambold was one of the last artists in the Murnau region to make traditional reverse glass paintings as souvenirs for tourists (fig. 3). His chief influences were nineteenth-century votive images and depictions of saints, but he also made sketches of his own in an expressive and colorful style.¹⁴ Gabriele Münter was the first of the Blue Rider circle to take an interest in reverse glass painting. She learned the technique in Rambold’s workshop and passed it on to artists among her friends and acquaintances.¹⁵ The technique of working on the back of a glass pane became significant to the members of the Blue Rider especially as an experiment in painting, which did not follow academic rules.¹⁶ In order to master the technique, Münter first copied both historical models and Heinrich Rambold’s own reverse glass paintings. It was only later that she introduced the typical stylized elements into her own compositions, which in the end also went beyond the traditional sacred subjects. An intense engagement with the themes or the significance of the historical paintings was irrelevant to her. Kandinsky, on the other hand, probably because of his knowledge of similar images from his Russian homeland, was also interested, to a certain degree, in the contents of the traditional representations and took them up. Between 1909 and 1918, he made about fifty works on glass in Murnau and later in Moscow, and in 1911–12 showed three of them at the first Blue Rider exhibition at the Galerie Thannhauser in Munich.¹⁷ Unlike Münter he did not copy from models, but from the outset translated themes and motifs from his own work into glass painting, particularly motifs such as saints and apocalyptic scenes.¹⁸ He made wooden frames for himself and Münter, and painted them with colors.



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Fig. 1
The dining room in the Münter House
in Murnau, wall of reverse glass
paintings by Wassily Kandinsky and
Gabriele Münter, 1913.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Fig. 2
Sofa corner in the apartment of Wassily
Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter at
Ainmillerstrasse 36, Munich; on the wall
folk art and reverse glass paintings, 1913.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich,
no. 2193

Fig. 3
Heinrich Rambold in his studio,
shouldering his sales pannier, 1949.
Photograph: Haus der Bayerischen
Geschichte

For Heinrich Campendonk, too, reverse glass paintings were an essential component of his artistic oeuvre, while for Franz Marc and August and Elisabeth Macke they played a much less significant part.¹⁹ However Elisabeth Macke recalled: "When we were visiting the Marcs in Sindelsdorf (I think it was in the autumn of 1911), we sat around the round table in the evening and painted glass paintings, Franz and Maria, August and I, and sometimes Helmuth Macke and Campendonk were there."²⁰ Gabriele Münter confirms this when she writes: "In Sindelsdorf, Campendonk painted elegant glass paintings with tin foil, gold, silver paper etc. Marc made so many, I only know a few of them. A head of Henri Rousseau after his self-portrait, which he gave to K. I think."²¹ And letters written during the work on the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac also contained references or greetings relating to the communal painting of reverse glass paintings: "No news here. Great general glass-painting-manufacture,"²² Marc wrote to Kandinsky on October 28, 1911. "Write and tell me what you think, how you felt about it, and the whole glass painting Co. (I'd very much like to see the paintings),"²³ Kandinsky replied the next day, closing his letter: "So it's glass-painting time! You lucky things!"²⁴

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See text “East Asian Woodblock Prints”, 223–227 in this catalogue.

2
Gabriele Münter: note for Johannes Eichner, 10.2.1933, quoted in Annegret Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter in Murnau und Kochel 1902–1914. Briefe und Erinnerungen* (Munich, 2005), 51.

3
Heinrich Rambold (1872–1953) first came into contact with the brewer Krötz mentioned in Münter’s diary entry and his collection of reverse glass paintings as a child. Johann Krötz had collected reverse glass paintings since 1889/90; it may be that he established contacts between Rambold, who had shown an interest in the paintings, with the reverse glass painting Gege family in Seehausen, Bavaria, who still painted after traditional models. In 1906, Rambold first registered a business for the “sale of self-made glass wall paintings.” In 1910, he put an advertisement in a guidebook to the market town of Murnau stating that he “paint[ed] glass paintings after old drawings.” Cf. Helmut Friedel ed., *Das Münter-Haus: Hinterglasbilder, Schnitzereien und Holzspielzeug*, (Munich, 2000), 7–9.

4
Letter from Wassily Kandinsky to Gabriele Münter, 28.7.1911, quoted in Hoberg *Kandinsky und Münter* (see note 2), 118f.

5
Letter from Wassily Kandinsky to Gabriele Münter dated September 19, 1911, *ibid.*, 127.

6
Cf. Friedel *Das Münter-Haus* (see note 3), 19.

7
Ibid., 21.

8
In the late eighteenth century, production centers for reverse glass paintings were established particularly in Raimundsreut and neighboring villages in the Bavarian Forest, where the work was done serially by people who had not been specifically trained for the task. At the beginning of the nineteenth century between 30,000 and 40,000 reverse glass paintings were produced in only five domestic workshops. The artists of the Blue Rider favored these paintings with their reduced representational style. Cf. Friedel 2002 *Das Münter-Haus* (see note 3), 14.

9
See Simon Steger, Diana Oesterle, et al., *Kandinsky’s fragile art: a multidisciplinary investigation of four early reverse glass paintings (1911–1914) by Wassily Kandinsky*, Heritage Science, 27, 7, 2019. In the technique of reverse glass painting the pane of glass is both picture support and protective layer, so that the painting has to

be built up in the reverse order. Corrective retouching, as in painting on panels or canvas, is impossible.

10
Cf. Steger *Kandinsky’s Fragile Art* (see note 9).

11
ibid., 17.

12
Klaus Lankheit, *Hinterglasmalerei im XX. Jahrhundert*, exh. cat. Gutenberg-Museum Mainz (Mainz, 1962), 2 (foreword).

13
Cf. Friedel, *Das Münter-Haus* (see note 3), 11 and 20f. Münter and Kandinsky’s collection also includes some Asian reverse glass paintings. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the technique was also very well-known and widespread there. In comparison with European works, these paintings from the nineteenth century were serially produced, most of them depicted deities in different incarnations.

14
Cf. Irene Dütsch, “‘...daß die Glasbilder nicht aussterben...’ Neue Erkenntnisse zur Geschichte der Murnauer Hinterglasmalerei,” in *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, [Bavarian Folklore Annual] (Munich, 2002), 81–102.

15
Münter herself writes: “Visiting Rambold I saw that it can be done and how—and I was in Murnau—and as far as I know in the circle the first to take glass panes and do something as well. First copies—then various paintings of my own. [...] I was delighted about the technique and how beautifully it went and kept telling K. about it—until he too began and then made many glass paintings.” Gabriele Münter: note for Johannes Eichner dated February 10, 1933, quoted in Hoberg, *Kandinsky und Münter* (see note 2), 51f.

16
The technique has not been the subject of much art-historical research. The reverse glass paintings of the Blue Rider, while found to be charming, have hitherto been considered curious side-products, and because of their closeness to folk art and craft were less valued than works on canvas or paper. Currently an extensive research project, *Hinterglasmalerei als Technik der Klassischen Moderne 1905–1955*, is under way at the Penzberg Museum–Campendonk Collection, Penzberg.

17
In his career Kandinsky made altogether over seventy reverse glass paintings. He also took an interest in mirror paintings, a traditional variant of reverse glass painting, practiced above all in Raimundsreut in Bavaria, and in which parts of the glass surface were backed with metal foil. See Hans Konrad Roethel ed., *Gabriele Münter: 1877–1962*, exh. cat. Lenbachhaus Munich (Munich, 1962).

18
Religious themes and subjects have a particularly significant presence in Kandinsky’s works from 1911 until 1914. Some themes and subjects were first painted on glass and later on canvas or paper, or executed as a woodcut. Kandinsky, for instance, executed versions of the reverse glass painting *All Saints I* (1911) as a color woodcut and as oil paintings on cardboard. Cf. Annegret Hoberg, “Wassily Kandinsky – Absolut. Abstrakt. Konkret” in Helmut Friedel ed., *Kandinsky—Absolut. Abstrakt*, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau (Munich, 2008), 190–225.

19
In fact, eight reverse glass paintings by Franz Marc are known, and ten by Macke. Several dozen reverse glass paintings by Gabriele Münter have survived. No reverse glass painting by Alexej van Jawlensky is known. Elisabeth Erdmann Macke, however, reported on an extensive collection of Bavarian reverse glass paintings that covered a wall in Jawlensky’s studio in Munich. That collection was probably lost during the war, except for three paintings that survive. Cf. Jutta Hülsewig-Johnen, “Der Blaue Reiter. Avantgarde und Volkskunst,” in Jutta Hülsewig-Johnen ed., *Der Blaue Reiter. Avantgarde und Volkskunst*, exh. cat. Kunsthalle Bielefeld (Bielefeld, 2003), 21.

20
Ibid.

21
Gabriele Münter: note for Johannes Eichner from February 10, 1933, quoted in Hoberg *Kandinsky und Münter* (see note 2), 52.

22
Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc. Briefwechsel. Mit Briefen von und an Gabriele Münter und Maria Marc, ed., with an introduction and commentary, by Klaus Lankheit (Munich/ Zürich, 1983), 67.

23
Ibid., 68f.

24
Ibid., 69.

Folk Art

“There’s so much to see at our house—(your paintings—mine—the things on the walls) to think—to do—to read. I have set aside my studies so as not to be distracted by them—for now I want to rework a few notes (paint pencil notes) and then still lifes are beckoning in every corner.—It’s so lovely here with the flowers! And the table with the 17 Madonnas!”¹ Thus Gabriele Münter, in a letter of October 1910 to Wassily Kandinsky, described the domestic situation in their apartment on Giselastrasse in Munich. Like Münter, who collected Madonna figures, many European artists around the turn of the century were interested in folkloric objects and regional folk art, which often productively influenced their own artistic work.² This collecting activity has a great deal to do with the search for supposedly authentic life forms. Similarly to objects from other regions of the world, regional folk art was stylized and mystified as authentic and close to nature, particularly in the Blue Rider circle.

In temporarily shifting the center of their lives to rural Upper Bavaria, the protagonists of the Blue Rider turned to South German folk art, and some also to the Russian folk art of their former homeland. In Murnau, Sindelsdorf, and Tegernsee they pursued a simple, rural way of life without electricity or running water, but a direct rail link meant that they never had to abandon their connection with the city of Munich. In their engagement with folk art, their own four walls played a crucial part as a projection space for their own ideas. As constantly visible companions in their day-to-day life, folk objects were omnipresent both in their own spaces in the countryside and in the city, and stimulated a continuous interaction with them. Wassily Kandinsky, for example, had brought his collection of Russian folk art to Munich with him in 1897, including icons and carved wooden figures, *lubki* (popular pictorial broadsheets), textiles, and everyday objects.³ This collection also included Bavarian votive panels, wooden sculptures and religious objects (figs. 1, 2). Gabriele Münter, moreover, collected children’s toys, children’s drawings, and ceramics. Both learned techniques of Bavarian folk art and expanded their collections with reverse glass paintings, both local pieces and self-made, and also decorated their wooden furniture, built by cabinet-makers for the house in Murnau, with paintings (figs. 3, 4). In her pictures painted between 1908 and 1914, and again in the works from the 1930s, objects from her own folk art collection are a frequently occurring subject, particularly in Münter’s still

lives and interiors. If it was primarily the stylistics of the folk-art reverse glass painting that provided crucial stimuli for Münter's own work, for Kandinsky the religious, mystical and spiritual aspects of the subjects were central. Franz Marc and Maria Franck-Marc, as well as Helmuth Macke and Adda and Heinrich Campendonk, who lived in Sindelsdorf, reworked ideas suggested by folk art and engaged with its subjects and techniques.

This interest in folk culture, artistic in origin but also leading to a scientific interest in a search for local identity, was closely connected with the political and socio-economic upheavals of the modern era. Because of rapidly spreading industrialization, transformations in the nation state and developments in nineteenth-century Europe, but also because of increased literacy among the people, a strong interest developed in narratives of identity formation and folk culture.⁴ The idea of a supposedly "genetically rooted" culture and creativity expressing the collective "spirit of the people" was an essential ideology in this regard.⁵ Local influence, regional culture and the material and immaterial representation of the people of a nation formed the fundamental categories that future generations, researchers and the general population would preserve and document.⁶ The collection, classification, and presentation of folk art in the newly established museums and popular education institutions was positively aestheticized and accompanied as "identity work" by a systematic process of staging and emotionalization through festivals and parades, musical and historical associations, as well as local theaters. They all produced pictures and voices which, although they were often not nationalistic in intent, have found their way into a national culture that still exists today, and which is held to be collective.⁷ The associated underlying nationalist trends that formed in parallel with capitalist industrialization and the formation of a new mass culture also led to an even clearer formation of hierarchies between the different (world) cultures, which was reinforced, on the basis of Western colonial claims to domination, by the establishment of separate ethnological museums from the end of the nineteenth century.⁸

The scientific interest in the collection and exploration of folklore and traditional craft techniques developed particularly in rural areas. In Bavaria, as early as the mid-nineteenth century, countless associations dedicated themselves to local and regional history, customs carnival even hiking, and thus nurtured these traditions. Their interest extended from decorative painting, wooden furniture, fabrics, porcelain painting, reverse glass painting, costumes, pottery and jewelry to architecture, folk songs and folk dance and included all disciplines and media. This enthusiasm for folklore, peasant culture and all things rural intensified during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The transition into the new century was fluid, however, and the new generation of artists also engaged actively with folk art in the broadest sense.

In striving for renewal in and through art, by the late nineteenth century many artists of the Jugendstil and reform movements were already drawing on impulses from local folk traditions. This led to the establishment of large numbers of artists' colonies in rural areas, whose inhabitants sought to distance themselves from the industrial age and its living circumstances. It was the time of a first folklorism, albeit one that was restricted to elite social strata. The artists' colonies often connected going back to one's "own" roots, particularly to



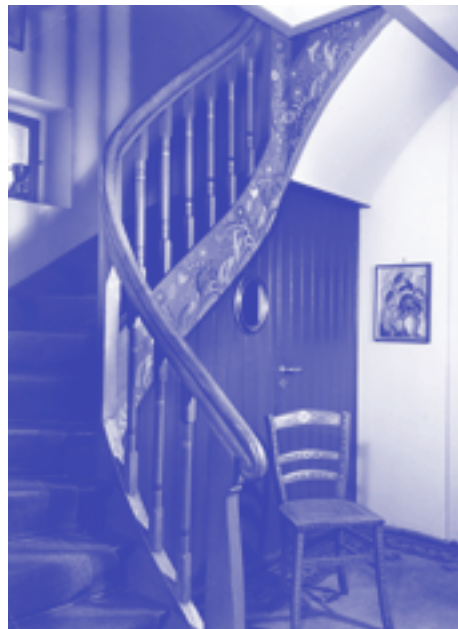
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Fig. 1
Wall of reverse glass paintings, figures of the Madonna and shepherds in the apartment of Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter at 36 Ainmillerstrasse, Munich.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Fig. 2
Picture wall in the apartment of Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter at 36 Ainmillerstrasse, Munich. Among other things, with two paintings by Jawlensky, reverse glass paintings, *lubki* and folk-art religious sculptures.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Fig. 3
Room in the Münter House in Murnau, with reverse-glass paintings on the wall and a self painted divan.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Fig. 4
Banister and chair painted by Wassily Kandinsky in the Münter House in Murnau, undated.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

the peasantry and a stylized rural simplicity, with their early experiences of summers in the countryside.⁹ Associated with this was the idea that this way of life could liberate people from the pressures of the city and society. Inspired by the British Arts and Crafts movement, the synthesis of art and life in the sense of a holistic approach played an important part. Artists from different disciplines called into question prevalent hierarchies between applied and visual arts, without abandoning their own authorship—a principle that was also implemented in the Blue Rider circle.

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Annegret Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter in Murnau und Kochel 1902–1914. Briefe und Erinnerungen* (Munich, 2005), 76–77.

2

The art historian Alois Riegl first explained the term “*Volkskunst*” (folk art) in his 1894 publication *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie*. Alois Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie* (Mittenwald, 1978).

3

In his 1913 *Rückblicke* (Reminiscences) about the previous decade and a half or so of his life and work, Kandinsky established a connection between his first profound impression of folkloric work in Russia and his encounter with Bavarian religious folk art. In 1889 he had been sent as student of the law by the Royal Society of Science, Anthropology and Ethnography into the Russian administrative region of Vologda. He later gave an account of the peasants’ houses, in which the walls were covered with painted decorations, and the sitting room “covered densely and entirely with painted and printed pictures of saints.” A summer stay in Kallmünz near Regensburg (1903) also had a major influence on Kandinsky, and he was seized by “an increasing enthusiasm for pottery, embroidery and applied art.” Quoted in Helmut Friedel, *Das bunte Leben. Wassily Kandinsky im Lenbachhaus*, exh. cat., Lenbachhaus (Munich, 1995), 96. Cf. also Elina Knorpp, “Wassily Kandinsky. Ethnografie, Volkskunst und der Blaue Reiter,” in *Folklore & Avantgarde: Rezeption volkstümlicher Traditionen im Zeitalter der Moderne*, ed. Katia Baudin and Elina Knorpp, exh. cat., Kunstmuseum Krefeld (Krefeld, 2020), 104–110. Natalia Goncharova, whose works were included in both the almanac and the second *Blue Rider* exhibition, also took an intense interest in Russian folk culture. She collected *lubki*, studied icons, and made neo-primitivist paintings under their influence. In 1913 she concluded: “I have learned everything that the West could give me [...] now I am shaking the dust from my feet and leaving the West, [...] my path runs to the source of all art, the East.” Quoted in Isabel Wünsche, “Natalja Gontscharowa. Orangenverkäuferin. 1916,” in *Der Kubofuturismus und der Aufbruch der Moderne in Russland. Russische Avantgarde im Museum Ludwig*, ed. Katja Baudin and Elina Knorpp (Cologne, 2010), 70.

4

Krefeld 2020 (see note 3), 12–30; In 1812 the Brothers Grimm began to systematically transcribe and publish German folk tales. Locally and nationally rooted art tales such as those of Hans Christian Andersen and Alexander Pushkin not only enjoyed a new heyday in the mid-nineteenth century but made a crucial

contribution to the development of an autonomous national consciousness. Richard Wagner’s “*Gesamtkunstwerk*,” based on Germanic sagas and tales, dates from the same time. Works such as *Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg*, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* and *Der Ring des Nibelungen* also played a major role for Wassily Kandinsky. Cf. *ibid.*

5

Cf. Susanne Leeb, *Die Kunst der Anderen: “Weltkunst” und die anthropologische Konfiguration der Moderne* (Berlin, 2016), and Wolfgang Kaschuba, *Avantgarde und Volk. Das “wilde” Eigene?*, in Krefeld 2020 (see note 3), 37–42, here 38.

6

Kaschuba 2020 (see note 5), 41.

7

Ibid.

8

Ibid.

9

Helmut Friedel, *Das Münter-Haus. Hinterglasbilder, Schnitzereien und Holzspielzeug* (Munich, 2000), 57. Folklorism is a concept that was discussed in the 1960s in ethnology, and gradually made its way into everyday language. The fundamental understanding of folklorism is the playful continuation and imitation of a folk culture, which is considered local, by a different social class; it is based on a commercialized understanding, conveyed through advertising and tourism, of the culture in question.

Escapism

The lives and works of the Blue Rider artists reveal numerous instances of bourgeois flight, such as their temporary move to rural Murnau and Sindelsdorf. The desire for inspiration through simplicity went hand in hand with a rejection—which might almost be called escapist and thus typical of the time—of the industrialized present and the rapid changes it entailed. Especially for Franz Marc and August Macke this yearning for nature also led to a marked interest in the animal world, which they in turn stylized to represent a counter model to civilization, and something inherently innocent.

The phenomenon of escapism in art and intellectual history falls within the broad field of *fin-de-siècle* cultural criticism. In Vienna, during “the flight out of time” (Hugo Ball), fifty years of the last Habsburg monarch’s rule and its ossification into neo-absolutist forms of government and bureaucracy, produced alternative images of dream, drive, decline, and the enhanced significance of the modern soul; in Dresden and Berlin, on the other hand, it led to the pronounced revolt of the younger generation against the older, as reflected in the visual art and literature of Expressionism. But we cannot address that movement’s appropriation of “primitivism” in this context any more than we can consider the efforts made to practice back-to-nature *Lebensreform* in artists’ colonies such as Ascona in Switzerland, or the anthroposophists around Rudolf Steiner in Munich and Dornach. Here we wish only to focus on some escapist tendencies in the work and theory of Franz Marc and August Macke. Most people immediately associate the notion of an animal painter with the name “Marc,” and in fact animal painting assumed central importance for him in his search for the “pure” and the “authentic,” which he projected on to depictions of innocent creatures living in harmony with the cosmos. With this form of escapism, Marc rejected modern civilization in a particularly striking way that remains effective even today. He himself retrospectively sketched out this development in an often-quoted letter that he wrote from the front to his wife Maria Franck-Marc: “I found human beings ‘ugly’ very early on; animals seemed to me ‘more beautiful, more pure’; but even in them I discovered so much that was repellent and ugly that my representations instinctively (out of an inner compulsion) became increasingly schematic and abstract.”¹

Following his engagement with animal painting during his stays on the Staffelalm near Kochel in Southern Bavaria in 1907, Marc intensified his

animal studies in the zoological gardens in Berlin, founded in 1841 as the first zoo in Germany.² It seems certain, from the artist's later paintings, that he only saw exotic animals such as tigers and monkeys in the flesh in zoos—in Berlin, and, a few years earlier in the Jardin des Plantes in Paris in 1903—the same place, supplemented with volumes of photographs, that had famously inspired the “naïve” painter Henri Rousseau to the fantasies of his jungle paintings.³ Neither artist made any distinction between free and captive animals, an issue that Marc clearly considered secondary in terms of his interpretation of primordial animality.

To earn some money in the year after his stay in Berlin, Marc designed a coloring book for children that is almost entirely forgotten today: *Zoologischer Garten. Mal & Bilderbuch. Erster Teil: Wilde Tiere* (Zoological Garden Coloring & Picture Book, Part One: Wild Animals) (fig. 1).⁴ The ten lithographs that it contains, such as *The Leopard*, *the African Elephant*, *the Zebra*, *the Macaque* are each printed in a dual format, in color and as a black-and-white version for coloring in (fig. 2). The style of the animal depictions is strongly reminiscent of popular transfer of the colonial gaze, as found for example in the picture book series *Eine Reise durch die Deutschen Kolonien* (A Journey through the German Colonies) (fig. 3), published by the *Verlag Kolonialpolitischer Zeitschriften*. These advertised themselves with cover illustrations suggesting children's books, while inside they contained only photographs with explanatory texts. The cover of the first volume, *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (German East Africa), shows great similarities with Marc's coloring book which, presumably for commercial reasons, used these modes of representation to accommodate current patterns of perception. With the image of the monkey in his *Coloring & Picture Book*, Marc established a fixed formula using the species of the macaque that he went on to use in later paintings such as *Affenfries* (Monkey Frieze) (1911) and *Das Äffchen* (The Little Monkey) (cat. p. 346) without major variations.

When we assess Marc's work it is often forgotten that animal painting was a highly regarded genre in the age of imperialism, particularly in Germany, and was promoted almost as a “court art” of the German Empire.⁵ One way in which these works differ from Marc's animal paintings, however, is in the extreme naturalism of the fighting and hunting scenes preferred by the Wilhelmine court. Nevertheless, we should not regard Marc's move towards animal paintings either as being inspired solely the Munich genre painting of artists such as Heinrich von Zügel, nor as an independent invention of the artist. What remains undisputed is that from 1911, with an extremely reflective approach, Marc not only managed to pare his animal paintings down to stylized basic forms, heighten the color into an unnatural and symbolic expressiveness, and unify the formal relationships between animal and environment, but with his much-quoted concept of “animalization” he also sought to revitalize and transcend “dead” material with a living subject. With the introduction into his painting of what he termed the “predicate” he wanted, according to his theory, to depict not only “nature” but the predicate of the living.⁶ This extraordinary artistic objective, with which he sought to penetrate what we might call the “principles of being” in phenomena, and which reinforced his interest in the abstract forces of nature, may explain the qualities of empathy and emotional appeal so often stressed in his paintings.⁷ This also included the postulation



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Fig. 1
Cover by Franz Marc for the album
Zoologischer Garten, Mal- & Bilderbuch.
Erster Teil: Wilde Tiere, 1908.
11 Lithographs, 10 pages and cover

Fig. 2
Franz Marc, *Makakk* (Macaque), from
album *Zoologischer Garten*, 1908.
Lithograph, page 9

Fig. 3
Eine Reise durch die Deutschen Kolonien.
I. Band, *Deutsch-Ostafrika*, Verlag Kolo-
nialpolitischer Zeitschriften G.m.b.H.,
Berlin 1909, Cover



4



5

Fig. 4
August Macke and Franz Marc,
Fresco Paradise, 1912.
Oil on plaster
LWL-Museum für Kunst und Kultur,
Münster

Fig. 5
August Macke, "Die Masken" printed
in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, 1912.

of an—illusory—switch of perspective through total empathy, summed up in Marc's often-quoted remark that he needed to "penetrate the soul of the animal in order to divine its world of images."⁸

Macke too was interested in the depiction of animals, although almost exclusively in the domesticated surroundings of zoos. Their function in his work as "bourgeois paradises" has been frequently analyzed.⁹ But of course this is not a vision of paradise in the sense of an all-encompassing prehistoric harmony between human and animal. Macke made most of the studies for his paintings, such as the 1912 *Zoologischer Garten* (Zoological Garden) (cat. p. 347) in the Cologne zoo, and stored his painting equipment in the zoo restaurant run by his friends the Worringer family.¹⁰ In many of his zoo paintings, the urban setting glows in the background, while visitors in contemporary dress linger in this zone of bourgeois leisure, which at best provides the illusion of a temporary escape into exotic worlds. Taking a closer look at Macke's paintings, with their viewers absorbed in the act of looking, the gaze itself becomes the central theme; they are depictions of seeing, their interest lying in the unequally distributed power relations between the viewers and the animals on display as the basic principle of the zoo.¹¹ A silent immersion in the visible also dominates many of his paintings of the quiet world of people strolling and standing outside fashion boutiques, paintings brought to life by the vibrant luminescence of their radiant colors.

Much less well known in Macke's oeuvre, on the other hand, are his representations of rococo scenes and particularly of "oriental" figures, through which he imagined fairytale or erotic scenes in paintings, works on paper, and craft designs. In 1912, Macke and Marc worked together on the painting of a mural in Macke's Bonn studio, and chose a prototypical idea of escapism in the theme of *Paradise*.¹² (fig. 4) Here we find subjects such as Marc's macaque monkeys and an orientalist pair of lovers by Macke—that is, their paradise is effectively composed of colonial stereotypes transposed into a timeless setting.

In scenes such as these in Macke's work, elements relating to escapism and the critique of civilization may be more evident than in his paintings of contemporary amusements and entertainments, such as circus scenes or girls playing in the park. But the sense of recognition that the viewer often draws from these paintings, so harmoniously composed, is also due to an underlying traditionalism based on the basic models of a classical canon, such as the harmonic proportions of Renaissance painting in the groups of seated girls, or the rooted figures, often shown in profile.¹³ Something similar might be said about the works of Franz Marc: from 1911 onwards, the anthropomorphic effect of many of his large, symbolically intended animals, in which the creatures, often with their heads lowered meditatively like thinking human beings, is once again explained by the models of traditional figurative painting, and creates hitherto unprecedented possibilities of identification for the viewer.¹⁴ The sacred aura of his animal paintings is further intensified by borrowings from the art of eastern cultures, such as Indian or Assyrian models.

While for Marc the models of non-European high cultures faded into the background with the discovery of so-called “primitive art,” for Macke the different sources of inspiration remained all on a par, a vitalistic storehouse from which he could draw at will, as he himself put it in his essay “*Die Masken*” (Masks) in the almanac (fig. 5). The art historian Gregor Wedekind confirms: “Unlike Marc, for example, Macke [...] does not want to assume the perspective of a wild animal himself; he is concerned with analogies and a juxtaposition that is in the end stripped of hierarchies. Just as the traditional concept of art is expanded to tribal art, it is at the same time expanded to the most diverse artistic expressive forms: ‘The joys, the suffering of people and peoples lie behind the inscriptions, the paintings, the temples, the cathedrals and masks, behind the musical works, the plays and dances.’”¹⁵

In a letter of January 14, 1911 to Macke, Marc writes of his fascination with “the carvings of the Cameroonians” and that “cold, red dawn of artistic intelligence” in the Berlin Museum of Ethnology,¹⁶ before immediately continuing: “In this short winter I have become a quite different person. I believe I’m gradually coming to really understand what we have to do if we want to call ourselves artists at all; we must become ascetics—don’t be startled; I only mean in intellectual terms. We must courageously forswear almost everything that has been dear and indispensable to us as good Central Europeans; our ideas and ideals must don a hair shirt, we must feed them with locusts and wild honey and not with history, in order to escape the weariness of our European lack of taste.”¹⁷

But this movement “back to the roots” also meant hostility to progress, and it is delivered here with an almost pretentious diction that recalls the cultural criticism of Friedrich Nietzsche. In this respect, the discovery of the global art of “primitive” peoples was ultimately only a vehicle for escaping one’s own civilization, while on the other hand it represented an almost fundamental prototype of escapism, an image of flight beyond which there was no further retreat except into Paradise. Or one might choose the ultimate variant of escapism that existed in the early years of the twentieth century—war fever—which before the outbreak of the First World War Marc also shared with many of his generation as an expectation of “cleansing” and catharsis, at least until he spent his first weeks at the front, and until Macke’s death in battle, of which he learned conclusively in October 1914.¹⁸

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Marc, April 12, 1915, in Franz Marc, *Briefe aus dem Feld*, eds. Klaus Lankheit and Uwe Steffen (Munich, 1982), 65.

2

For more extensive discussion see among others Klaus Lankheit, *Franz Marc: Sein Leben und seine Kunst* (Cologne, 1976), 40–43.

3

Kai Artinger, *Von der Tierbude zum Turm der Blauen Pferde. Die künstlerische Wahrnehmung der wilden Tiere im Zeitalter der zoologischen Gärten* (Berlin, 1995), 232.

4

Hoberg/Jansen, *Franz Marc, Werkverzeichnis Marc*, Vol. III, 2011, Prints No. 53, 391–394. The coloring book was published in 1908 by the small H. Eigen printing company on Schellingstrasse in Munich.

5

Artinger 1995 (see note 3), 167–203. Here, however, in the foreground was the subject of animal struggle, in which Social Darwinian ideas and political conflicts were treated metaphorically. One important figure was the animal painter Richard Friese, who came to fame with the 1885 lion painting *Räuber in der Wüste* (Robber in the Desert), which fell completely within the contemporary trend of exoticism. Ibid, 173.

6

Franz Marc, *Schriften*, ed. Klaus Lankheit (Cologne, 1978), 100.

7

See Annegret Hoberg, “Psyche und Physik: Das Bild der Natur im Spätwerk von Franz Marc” in *Franz Marc, Kräfte der Natur, Werke 1912–1915* ed. Erich Franz, exh. cat. Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, München/ Westfälisches Landesmuseum Münster (Ostfildern, 1993/94), 198.

8

“Is there a more mysterious idea for the artist than the idea of how nature might be reflected in the eye of an animal? How does a horse see the world, or an eagle, a deer or a dog?” Quoted in Franz Marc, *Schriften* (see note 6), 99.

9

See among others Janice McCullagh, “Mackes Paradiesvisionen,” in *August Macke. Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen*, ed. Ernst-Gerhard Güse, exh. cat. Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster/ Städtisches Kunstmuseum Bonn/ Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, (Munich, 1987), 89–102.

10

This family also included the art historian Wilhelm Worringer and his sister Emmy Worringer, who ran the progressive Cologne artists’ association *Gereonsclub* with Olga Oppenheimer. The club offered the tour of the first Blue Rider exhibition its first forum in the Rhineland, and also showed the second *Blue Rider* exhibition *Black and White* as its only further venue.

11

On the subject of seeing in Macke’s works see Annegret Hoberg, “Spiegelungen und Selbstbehauptung—Mackes ‘Großes helles Schaufenster’” in *Der Blaue Reiter: Kandinsky, Marc und ihre Freunde*, exh. cat. Sprengel Museum Hannover, (Hannover, 1989/90), 11–18.

12

Tanja Pirsig-Marshall, “Die Sehnsucht nach dem verlorenen Paradies. Das Wandbild von Franz Marc und August Macke,” in *August Macke und Franz Marc: Eine Künstlerfreundschaft*, eds. Volker Adolphs and Annegret Hoberg, exh. cat. Kunstmuseum Bonn/ Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, (Bonn/ Munich, 2014/15), 58–67, and 220–221.

13

Ursula Heiderich, “August Macke, Franz Marc und die kunsthistorische Tradition,” in *ibid.*, 38–57. See also Macke’s numerous sketches based on historical sculptures in Ursula Heiderich, *August Macke. Die Skizzenbücher*, Vols. I and II (Stuttgart, 1987).

14

The models were the figurative painters of German idealism such as Anselm Feuerbach. See Johannes Langner, “Iphigenie als Hund,” in *Franz Marc*, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (Munich, 1980) 50–73. On their immediate predecessors and the trend in animal painting since the early nineteenth century see also Artinger 1995, “Anthropomorphismus und anthropomorphistisches Tiergenre” (see note 3), 35–47.

15

Gregor Wedekind, “Die Masken der Wilden. Primitivismus und Kulturkritik,” (Bonn/ Munich, 2014/15) (see note 12), 76–87, here 80.

16

See also p. 50, 231.

17

August Macke, Franz Marc: Briefwechsel, ed. Wolfgang Macke (Cologne, 1964), 40.

18

Peter-Klaus Schuster, “Vom Tier zum Tod. Zur Ideologie des Geistigen bei Franz Marc,” (Munich, 1993/94) (see note 7), 168–189. Annegret Hoberg, *August Macke, Franz Marc. Der Krieg, Ihre Schicksale, Ihre Frauen* (Cologne, 2015), 84–90, with further literature.

Children's Worlds

Wassily Kandinsky's essay "On the Question of Form" in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac is, in its methodical language and complexity, nothing less than a compressed statement of his aesthetic. The text and the accompanying spread of images set out their program in the style of a manifesto: "If we draw the conclusion we need here from the autonomous effect of the inner sound, we will see that this inner sound grows more intense once the external, practical meaning has been removed. This explains the pronounced effect of a child's drawing on the unprejudiced, untraditional viewer. The child is a stranger to practical purposes, as it looks at everything with unfamiliar eyes and still has the undimmed ability to perceive the thing as such. It will only slowly become acquainted with the practical purpose later on, after many, often unhappy experiences. Thus, in every child's drawing without exception the inner sound of the object reveals itself. Adults, teachers in particular, attempt to impose a practical purpose on the child and criticize the child for its drawing from precisely that very shallow perspective: 'Your man can't walk, because he only has one leg,' 'a person couldn't sit on your chair because it's crooked,' etc."¹

Of the selected images that accompany Kandinsky's essay, all nine are made by children and adolescents. Four of these works are presented in isolation on an otherwise empty double page. These are watercolors by Lydia Wieber, which she made in an exercise book at the age of thirteen, and which were long thought to have been lost (fig. 1 and cat. p. 382, 383). The landscape-format child's drawing on page 77 is by Oskar and Nikolaus Zeh, the sons of Munich architect August Zeh, who used their works to illustrate publications of sayings for children. These had both been brought out by Piper, the publisher of the almanac.² Of the four portraits by children on pages 92 and 93, two are by Elfriede (Friedel) Schroeter, Gabriele Münter's niece, while the others are thought to have been made by children from the circle of friends and acquaintances of the editorial board. Even though all of the pictures were done by identifiable children, their names are not mentioned in the picture captions of the almanac. The four paintings by Lydia Wieber are identified only as *Das Sitzen* (Sitting). The picture by the young Zehs is entitled *Kinderzeichnungen* (Children's Drawings [in the plural]), and the origin and authorship of the other works is not credited at all. Only the list of reproductions in the appendix gives the vague indication that they are works by "dilettantes." It was also important

to the editorial board to note in the list of reproductions that the drawings of the Zehs had been “assembled by adults for a frieze”³—as if the assemblage by “adults” who were not members of the editorial board were an unwarranted interference in their selection criteria. Clearly the publisher Reinhard Piper had insisted on the reproduction of the drawing as a cross-reference to another publication from his list, and the indication by the editorial board may be seen as their way of distancing themselves from the drawing, which is strikingly successful in an “adult” sense.

The anonymity imposed on the works in the almanac should, however, as in the examples of folk art and non-European art, be seen as a stylization in line with a paradigmatic principle: “the child,” aesthetically neutral, represents everything that is unspoiled, naïve, and anti-academic, and becomes an ideal. Consequently, children’s drawings are an important precept within that complex program that we are used to seeing, in all its contradictory and problematic aspects, as “primitivism.”⁴ In primitivism what counts are not individuals, but rather remote subjects acting as screens on to which may be projected the aesthetic assertions of whichever authority is defining the primitivism. The supposedly unadulterated authenticity of these aesthetic products is admired, they are stylized into absolute and universally valid models while their real creators remain anonymous. This deindividualization elevates them to the status of a paradigm which retains its validity outside of space and time, but condemns the creative individual to oblivion. “The Child,” “the Dilettante,” “the Wild Man” or “the Mental Patient” become hypothetical figures in the construction kit of a modern aesthetic reflected in its self-selected counterpart.⁵

In the case of the Blue Rider and its almanac, children’s art can be understood as a variety of primitivism in the sense that it is a rejection of bourgeois values. It is valued as the antithesis of academicism, but also recognized as an opposition to the guiding principle of industrial capitalist societies, according to which children must be disciplined to become functioning and value-adding adults. Thus, the preoccupation with children’s art or “primitive” objects and the techniques borrowed from them, such as reverse glass painting, not only serves aesthetic education, but is part of a critical and emancipatory way of thinking. In accordance with the spirit of the age, this is nothing less than a deviation from the linear timeline of the Enlightenment: reason, having been seen as the only category of aesthetic and social progress for centuries, had served its purpose. The reversal of perspectives promised healing. So, the artists looked backwards, into childhood, into “primitive times,” in order to feel in a childlike way, to unlearn, to become “savage.” For this reason, the almanac does not only include works that are “different” and produced in “other” parts of the world, but chiefly works made by people who are “unspoiled”: the “*douanier*” Rousseau, “the child,” the “peasant” Heinrich Rambold, as well as anonymous subjects from remote times and life stages supposedly equipped with a primal creative urge.

Between 1908 and around 1914, Münter and Kandinsky assembled an extensive collection of children’s drawings and paintings, of which just over 250 works are still preserved in the Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation. The significance of this collection is apparent not only in the illustration of some of the pictures in the almanac, but in the use of many such



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Fig. 1
Double page spread from the
Der Blaue Reiter almanac, 1912

Fig. 2
Gabriele Münter, *Zuhören (Bildnis
Jawlensky)*, 1909.
GMS 657, Gabriele Münter Foundation
1957, gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly
owned by Gabriele Münter and
Wassily Kandinsky

Fig. 3
Gabriele Münter, *Im Zimmer*, 1913.
G 18729, Städtische Galerie im
Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau Munich,
purchased in 2012 with support from
the Ernst von Siemens Kunststiftung



4



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6



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Fig. 4
Gabriele Münter's sister Emmy with
her husband Georg Schroeter and
daughter Friedel in Murnau, 1909.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

Figs. 5, 6
Georg Kerschensteiner, "The Develop-
ment of Drawing Skill: Newest Results
on the Basis of New Investigations,"
Munich 1905

Fig. 7
*Kind und Kunst. Illustrierte Monatsschrift
für die Pflege der Kunst im Leben des
Kindes*, ed. by Alexander Koch,
Darmstadt. Various editions published
1904 and 1905

motifs in the artists' own works: elephants, cows, horses, cars, buildings, railways, or figures appear that are close to the childlike sources of inspiration, as well as direct borrowings or copies. In one of her programmatic works, *Im Zimmer* (In the Room) (1913), Münter directly quotes works by her niece Friedel Schroeter as a picture within the picture (fig. 3 and cat. p. 352, 353). This work also vividly illustrates the theory that Münter and Alexej von Jawlensky's formal principle—compositions consisting of black lines whose defined planes are filled in with color—is taken from a child's coloring book. Paintings by Münter such as *Zuhören* (Listening) of 1909 (fig. 2) or Jawlensky's *Murnauer Landschaft* (Landscape near Murnau) (cat. p. 96) from the same year support this thesis. However, the technical interest of "adults" in "children's art" should not be ignored either. In the case of Münter, Jawlensky, and Paul Klee the collecting, viewing, and use of children's pictures cannot be understood without reference to their collaborative work with children. Münter had demonstrably mentored her nieces, as Jawlensky and Klee had mentored their sons Andreas Jawlensky and Felix Klee in their creative work; the latter two would in due course become artists themselves. The children's training followed the principle of mutual projection, until it became impossible to tell who was in the end trying to fulfil whose imaginative world, which meant that the issue of originals and models became a matter of indifference, and not only where children's art was concerned.⁶ What is in any case surprising is the extent to which the works of Friedel Schroeter or Andreas Jawlensky correspond to the prototypical idea of an Expressionist painting (fig. 4 and cat. p. 352, 353).

Other artists from the circle of the Blue Rider were also interested in children's art: Lyonel Feininger, Maria Franck-Marc, and August Macke, for example. The latter was responsible for the oft-quoted sentence from his essay in the almanac: "Are not children creators who draw directly on the mystery of their emotion, more than those who imitate Greek form?"⁷ This interest in a "childlike" aesthetic extending far beyond the period of the Blue Rider to 1914, was entirely typical of the age, and connected with trends then current in progressive education. In 1905, the progressive educationalist Georg Kerschensteiner published *Die Entwicklung der zeichnerischen Begabung* (The Development of Drawing Skill), a broad study based on the analysis of some 300,000 drawings by 58,000 students from Munich primary schools (figs. 5, 6).⁸ Kerschensteiner's systematic and typological study was, we may assume, a model for Münter and Kandinsky's collection, given that individual motifs in Kerchensteiner's book, such as plants, trees or horse riders, are strikingly similar to those collected by the two artists. Certain individual drawings resemble works by Münter herself. In turn, horse-drawn carriages, figures on horseback, trees, and other plants reappear either in variations or as direct copies in the paintings of Münter and Kandinsky. Even more striking is the similarity with the works of Klee, who probably also used Kerschensteiner's book.⁹ But the authors saw the study itself in a different light from that intended by the author. Kerschensteiner impressively describes different stages of the development of drawing. From "pure schema" to "no schema" and the "attempt at a form-appropriate representation," the book identifies drawing skill as a series of hierarchically tiered relations of resemblance with the real world.¹⁰ In this way the study follows a line of development that effectively

runs parallel to that of contemporary art history: from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. The universal evolution of the image peaks in the credible expression of the represented object in a naturalistic way. With brilliant technique, the creating subject can deceive the eye. For this reason, Kerscheneister programmatically chose as his first illustration Albrecht Dürer's *Selbstbildnis als 13-Jähriger* (Self-Portrait as a Thirteen Year Old) of 1484 (fig. 5). Dürer's "masterpiece" and not, for example, a drawing by an anonymous child, illustrates what the author had in mind: the recognition and subsequent encouragement of talent. In this way, at the conclusion of a basically teleological development, "genius" could triumph once again. For Kerscheneister "form-appropriateness" and "spatial depiction" are the result of a central perspective applied in children's drawings, an essential technique in the composition of the Renaissance, which only recently had been introduced as an epoch into art history. For the Blue Rider, however, Kerscheneister's aim—school instruction with "child-oriented" promotion of skill leading to systematically academic composition, correct in terms of central perspective and corresponding to the "nature" of things—was the ideological antithesis of their own position. It is in these terms that we should understand Macke's dismissal of the "imitators of Greek form."¹¹ For the Blue Rider artists the arrow of progress pointed in the opposite direction, since they saw education as a form of distortion leading to alienation. "Actual" skill, on the other hand, lay in the unspoiled and uninhibited ability to be a child. The Blue Rider was thus—to remain with Kerscheneister's vocabulary—embarking on the path to "pure schema," to naïve and hence authentic expression. This clearly demonstrated the features of "Expressionist" paintings: abstraction, reduction to a filled-in outline, a decomposed, asymmetrical pictorial construction, or a strong coloration which contradicts the realism of the color of the subject. From now on those adjectives which describe the principle of childhood would also accompany the paintings of the Blue Rider: bright, naïve, wild, unconventional, and utopian. Childhood was seen as a state that had been lost, suppressed or not fully lived—and was painfully missed.

Münter herself was seen by her fellow artists, and Kandinsky in particular, as a childlike natural talent, and in later years she cultivated that reading of her creative personality.¹² Classical art history has appropriated this reading, and repeatedly quotes Kandinsky by way of proof: "You are a hopeless student—you can't be taught anything. You can only do what's grown inside you. Everything you have is natural. All I can do for you is to protect and nurture your talent, so that nothing false is added to it."¹³ As a "childlike primitive," Münter had been able to give perfect form in her works to the intellectual aims of the Blue Rider. Her position acquired historical credibility by virtue of the fact that she accepted the description of her artistic personality as having characteristic childlike features ("like a bird singing a song") and allowed herself to be described accordingly. Today the complexity with which she engaged with "childhood worlds" in every phase of her work remains undisputed. But we can also see in this assessment, which was only established in retrospect, that the women artists of the Blue Rider were subjected to multiple discrimination. As women, they were forbidden access to academies in most European countries, and their legal parity with men remained a utopian idea. The perspective of male colleagues, who admired women artists as "naturally

gifted,” is already dubious in view of the fact as this status is not academically honored, regardless of whether this was something the women in question wished to strive for or not. Women artists were seen as a caprice of nature, and the only career option open to them was an expensive private training from male colleagues. Added to this were the tight constraints of an art history which, throughout the twentieth century and, indeed, right up to the present day, at best approximates their achievements to those of their male counterparts. Münter’s participation in the Blue Rider editorial board is often ignored, and her “quality” work temporally narrowed to the few years she spent with Kandinsky. In the case of Maria Franck-Marc, her relationship with Franz Marc casts an even greater shadow over the reception of her own activities.¹⁴

These reasons may help to explain why there have been few programmatic readings of Münter and Franck-Marc’s preoccupation with the theme of childhood and their representations of children. Both artists repeatedly made work for children and had a deep pedagogical engagement with toys. They were not interested only in childlike aesthetic, but also in children and their view of the world as subjects for their pictures.¹⁵ The child, self-contained or absorbed in its own activities, taking no notice of the adult world around it, is a recurring motif in the photographs and paintings of Münter and Franck-Marc (cat. p. 358). A parallel may be found in the texts and pictures of the monthly journal *Kind und Kunst* (Child and Art), which often included pictures of children whose oblivious absorption in play was seen as the antithesis of the unfocused nervousness of the modern adult (fig. 7).¹⁶ With their works that arose out of an extensive preoccupation with the world of children, Münter and Franck-Marc defined a different category of “modern” primitivism, which was closer to their own experiential world and less of a notional projection, and was aimed, especially through the works they made “for” children, as the object of their interest, as a subject that deserved to be taken seriously. Both artists countered the dependence of Western modern art on its “other” by credibly devoting attention to the children themselves. However, in the case of Maria Franck-Marc this achievement is yet to be acknowledged.

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1
Der Blaue Reiter 1912. Herausgeber: Kandinsky, Franz Marc. Reprint der Originalausgabe für das Lenbachhaus anlässlich des Programms Museum Global der Kulturstiftung des Bundes (Munich, 2019), 92.

2
Helmut Friedel and Isabelle Jansen eds., *“Die Blauer Reiterei stürmt voran ...” Bildquellen für den Almanach Der Blaue Reiter. Die Sammlung von Wassily Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter*, Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner Stiftung (Munich, 2012), 16.

3
Der Blaue Reiter 1912/2019 (see note 1), 138.

4
See for example Eberhard Schüttpelz, “Bumerangeffekt,” in *Neolithische Kindheit. Kunst in einer falschen Gegenwart, ca. 1930*, Anselm Franke and Tom Holert eds., (Zurich, 2018), 240–243. “Another time” is ascribed to “primitivism” (1860–1960): a historic moment that preceded the present; more prehistoric, raw, backward and in its expression more honest and closer to something that must be regained and relearned.

5
Joyce S. Cheng, “Primitivism,” in Franke and Holert, *Neolithische Kindheit* 2018, 185–187.

6
Great value was placed on the promotion of creativity among children by most contemporary pedagogical ideas. One regularly published and popular journal devoted itself at length to the theme of the understanding, guidance and care of children undertaking creative activities. See for example the issues of the periodical Alexander Koch ed, *Kind und Kunst: Illustrierte Monatsschrift für die Pflege der Kunst im Leben des Kindes*, Oct. 1904–Sept. 1905.

7
Der Blaue Reiter 1912/2019 (see note 1), 22.

8
Georg Kerschensteiner, *Die Entwicklung der zeichnerischen Begabung. Neue Ergebnisse auf Grund neuer Untersuchungen* (Munich, 1905).

9
Jonathan Fineberg, “Paul Klee und die Rückkehr zu den ‘Uranfängen,’” in *mit dem auge des Kindes—Kinderzeichnung und moderne Kunst*, Helmut Friedel and Joseph Helfenstein eds., exh. cat., Lenbachhaus München, Kunstmuseum Bern (Munich and Bern, 1995), 92ff. Elaborated by Otto Karl Werkmeister, *Versuche über Paul Klee* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), 124ff.

10
In Kerschensteiner, *Die Entwicklung der zeichnerischen Begabung*, Kerschensteiner typologizes all the drawings examined into the same developmental stages: “A. Pure schema, B. schema mixed with representation according to appearance

or according to form, C. no schema—attempts at an appearance-appropriate representation.” He also developed numerous subcategories and compared them with other data such as age and sex of the child, school attended, father’s profession, domestic pre-school training etc.

11
Der Blaue Reiter 1912/2019 (see note 1), 22.

12
Isabel Jansen ed., *Gabriele Münter: Malen ohne Umschweife*, exh. cat., Lenbachhaus München (Munich, 2017), 12f; Gisela Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und die Kinderwelt*, (Frankfurt/ Leipzig, 1997), 114 and 119ff.

13
Quoted in Johannes Eichner, *Wassily Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter. Von den Ursprüngen der modernen Kunst* (Munich, 1957), 38. Eichner writes: “(His) art-educational skills did not find a moldable pupil in Gabriele Münter. He soon gave up trying to teach her.”

14
Already by the time of the first important exhibition of the Blue Rider at Haus der Kunst in 1949, the curator Ludwig Grote accepted Maria Franck-Marc only as lender of works by Franz Marc rather than as an artist in her own right. Her works were dismissed time and again with the empty word “quality.” Cf. the foreword by Helmut Friedel and Annegret Hoberg in Annegret Hoberg ed., *Maria Marc. Leben und Werk 1876–1955*, exh. cat., Lenbachhaus München (Munich, 1995), 7ff. Cf. also the reviews of the exhibition *Maria Marc. Leben und Werk 1876–1955* on display at the Lenbachhaus from December 6, 1995 to January 21, 1996. The exhibition curated by Annegret Hoberg and the accompanying publication edited by her are the only instances of an extensive recognition of her complete oeuvre. To some extent the paintings of Gabriele Münter and Maria Franck-Marc and the photographs of Gabriele Münter showing children in this “absorbed world” were attributed, for simply sexist reasons, to an unfulfilled desire for children.

15
See Kleine 1995 (see note 12), esp., 31.

16
Kind und Kunst 1904/05 (see note 6), 67.

Music

The musical interests of those associated with the Blue Rider—bolstered by Paul Klee, himself a practicing musician—went far beyond the dissonance new to contemporary music and painting. The new music was regarded as a paradigm for the creation of “absolute” works of art in accordance with compositional rules proper to the medium; efforts were also being made to realize such rules in the visual arts. In particular, the concept of art as the expression of the immaterial, coined by the Blue Rider for the twentieth century, and the shift from representationalism to abstraction were closely related to music. Beyond this, a synthesis of the arts was envisioned in which the boundaries between art forms—painting, music, dance, architecture, and later also photography and industrial design—would be eliminated; Kandinsky continued to pursue this vision as a people’s commissar for art in the Soviet Union and later as a teacher at the Bauhaus during the Weimar Republic.

The not inconsiderable number of eight articles on contemporary music (at one stage even nine) was planned for the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac. Here, too, the editors hoped to collaborate internationally, and they intended to include texts not just from Russia, but also from Italy and France. On September 1, 1911, Kandinsky wrote to Marc that he had commissioned an article on Armenian music and correspondence from Russia on musical matters from his friend, the Russian composer Thomas von Hartmann: “We have some material on the movement in Italian music in the Futurists’ manifesto, a copy of which has been sent to me. Schönberg *must* write about German music. Le Fauconnier *must* find us a Frenchman. Music and painting should be examined in a thoroughly orderly way. There should also be some sheet music in it. Schönberg certainly has songs, for example.”¹

Shortly after this, Marc sent to the publisher Reinhard Piper a provisional table of contents for the almanac that listed four contributions under the heading “music”: an introduction by Kandinsky, as well as pieces by Arnold Schoenberg, Thomas von Hartmann, and Nikolai Kulbin. Four further contributions on “Color—Sound—Number” (A. Unkowski), “French Music: the New Russian Harmonies,” and “The Yavorsky-Hartmann System” (Hartmann) suggested in the same place were not realized.² Under a further heading indicating musical works for the stage, three essays were listed: “On Composing



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Fig. 1
Thomas von Hartmann, "On Anarchy in Music," published in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, 1912

Fig. 2
Program of the first Arnold Schoenberg concert in Munich, January 2, 1911.
Arnold Schoenberg Centre, Vienna

Fig. 3
Arnold Schönberg, with contributions by Alban Berg, Paris von Gütersloh, K. Horwitz, Heinrich Jalowetz, W. Kandinsky, Paul Königer, Karl Linke, Robert Neumann, Erwin Stein, Anton von Webern, Egon Wellesz, R. Piper & Co. Verlag, Munich 1912, including Wassily Kandinsky's essay "Die Bilder"

Fig. 4
Gabriele Münter, and Olga and Thomas von Hartmann in Kochel, 1909.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

for the Stage” by Kandinsky, “Monodrama” by Nikolai Evreinov, and “On *The Hand of Fate*” by Schoenberg.³

In the published volume there were in the end four essays on music written by external contributors: Schoenberg’s “The Relationship with Text,” Hartmann’s “On Anarchy in Music,” Kulbin’s “Free Music,” and new arrival Leonid Sabaneyev’s “Scriabin’s *Prometheus*,” the symphonic poem that had premiered in May 1911 (fig. 1).⁴ On the subject of the stage, the only text to be published was Kandinsky’s “On Composing for the Stage,” a discerning discussion of Richard Wagner’s innovations, which for Kandinsky however did not go far enough in realizing the idea of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

At the end of the almanac, before the table of contents, three inserts of sheet music were bound in: the song *Foliage of the Heart* by Arnold Schoenberg,⁵ to a text by Maurice Maeterlinck, was printed on two fold-out double pages; also reproduced were songs from cycles by two of Schoenberg’s pupils—Alban Berg’s setting of words by Alfred Mombert from his collection *Aglow*,⁶ and Anton von Webern’s *You Came to the Hearth*, with words by Stefan George from his cycle of poems *Seasons of the Soul*.⁷ The final textual piece in the almanac was the first publication of Kandinsky’s *The Yellow Sound*,⁸ stage instructions outlining a *Gesamtkunstwerk* featuring music, color, dance, sound and light.

On January 2, 1911, Franz Marc, Kandinsky, Münter and other colleagues from the NKVM had attended a concert of music by Arnold Schoenberg in Munich—among the works performed were the *String Quartet no. 2 in F# minor* (op. 10), which includes settings of poems by Stefan George, and the *Three piano pieces* (op. 11)—and they were immediately struck by the innovative nature of Schoenberg’s music (fig. 2). Marc wrote to August Macke in Bonn: “Can you conceive of a music in which tonality—that is adherence to a particular key—has been done away with completely? I was compelled the whole time to think of Kandinsky’s great *Composition*, which permits no trace of tonality, of Kandinsky’s ‘jumping spots,’ and a sort of white canvas between the patches of color.”⁹ Only a day later, under the impact made by the concert, Kandinsky himself created his painting *Impression III (Concert)*, which counts as an outstanding instance of synesthesia, of the combination of painting and music, sounds and colors. He subsequently struck up an intensive correspondence with the composer, whom he had not known until that point, in which the two exchanged views, among other things, on the principle of dissonance in new music and painting.¹⁰

Schoenberg furthermore confided in Kandinsky that he himself painted and sent him photographs of his pictures. Kandinsky took up two of these in the almanac and included several of the paintings in the first *Blue Rider* exhibition, in 1911–12. With his piece on “The Pictures”¹¹ in the soon-to-be-published *Hommage à Schoenberg* of 1912, Kandinsky delivered the earliest assessment of Schoenberg as a painter (fig. 3).

In his contribution to the almanac “The Relationship with Text,” Schoenberg remarked on the relationship of his music to the texts of songs and operas, and declared “literary-illustrative” or program music dead—as Kandinsky had declared dead representational painting. He wrote that he often composed songs to poems taking only the opening sound of the first words as his starting point, and yet still musically captured their sense.

He continued that if for example Kandinsky or Oskar Kokoschka “paint pictures in which the outward material artifact is barely more than an opportunity to fantasize with color and form, and thereby express themselves in a way in which until then only musicians have expressed themselves, then these are symptoms of a gradually spreading recognition of the true nature of art. And it is with great pleasure that I read Kandinsky’s book *On the Spiritual in Art*, in which the path for painting is revealed, and the hope awoken that those who ask after the text and after the material will soon have no further questions.”¹²

Kandinsky translated into Russian a chapter from Schoenberg’s *Theory of Harmony*,¹³ and by publishing this in the exhibition catalogue for the *Salon Isdebsky* in Odessa in 1911 made the composer famous at a very early stage in Russia—even before the complete German edition of the *Theory of Harmony*, which became Schoenberg’s principal theoretical work, had been published by Universal Edition in Vienna.¹⁴ He also engaged closely with the other three contributions to the almanac about music, all of them sent from Russia, and translated them into German, partly with Hartmann’s help.

Hartmann studied in Munich from 1908 with Felix Mottl, a pupil of Wagner’s, before returning to Moscow in 1910 with his wife Olga, and the interchange between him, as a musician, and Kandinsky was a close one (fig. 4). After their first encounter in the Werefkin and Jawlensky salon, they met by chance on the street; Kandinsky “leapt off his bicycle, and straightaway we started talking about the issues that interested us both. Since it immediately became clear that we understood each other very well, although he was a painter and I am a composer, we decided to meet later that evening. It turned out that Kandinsky’s apartment was also on peaceful Ainmillerstrasse, and from that point on we saw each other almost every evening.”¹⁵ During his time in Munich, Hartmann wrote passages of the scores for the stage works being planned by Kandinsky, *Violet* and *The Giants*,¹⁶ from which *The Yellow Sound* was later derived. In his contribution to the almanac entitled “On Anarchy in Music,” Hartmann also concurred with his painter friend’s theories, denoting “any means that spring from inner necessity,” even in music, as “true.”¹⁷

Finally, Sabaneyev’s contribution, “Scriabin’s *Prometheus*,” describes the composer’s endeavor to involve all “means of arousal”—music, dance, colors, light and even fragrances. This involved a treatment of the *clavier à lumières* (light keyboard) developed by Scriabin, which was intended to express pitch in terms of color, but which was hardly ever employed in a performance, on account of the technical difficulties involved.¹⁸

The first printed promotional cards for the almanac, probably prepared by Kandinsky in October 1911, names a further author, “N. Brüssow” with an article entitled “On Musicology.”¹⁹ Kandinsky strongly advocated the inclusion of this text by the Russian musicologist Nadezhda Yakovlevna Bryusova (sister of the writer Valery Bryusov), of which a seventeen-page [German] galley proof entitled “Recent Music Theory”²⁰ survives in the writer’s papers. It was only in April 1912, shortly before the publication of the almanac, that Kandinsky allowed himself to be dissuaded by Piper the publisher from including this extensive text in the book.²¹

1
 “Über die italienische musikalische Bewegung haben wir etwas Material in dem Manifest der ‘Futuristi,’ welches mir zugeschickt wurde. Schönberg muß über die deutsche Musik schreiben. Le Fauconnier muß einen Franzosen besorgen. Musik und Malerei werden schon ordentlich beleuchtet. Etwas Noten sollen auch drin sein. Schönberg hat ja z.B. Lieder.” *Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc. Briefwechsel. Mit Briefen von und an Gabriele Münter und Maria Marc*, ed., with an introduction and commentary, by Klaus Lankheit, (Munich/ Zürich, 1983), 54f.

2
 “Farbe–Ton–Zahl,” “Französische Musik. Die neuen russischen Harmonien,” and “System Jaworsky–Gartmann [Hartmann].”

3
 “Über Bühnenkomposition,” “Monodram,” and “Über ‘Die Glückliche Hand.’”

4
 “Das Verhältnis zum Text,” “Über die Anarchie in der Musik,” “Die Freie Musik,” “‘Prometheus’ von Skrjabin.”

5
 “Herzgewächse.”

6
 Aus ‘Der Glühende.’ The poem is *Warm die Lüfte* [Warm is the air].

7
 “Thy tratet zu dem Herde” from *Das Jahr der Seele*.

8
Der gelbe Klang.

9
 Letter from Franz Marc to August Macke, January 14, 1911, *August Macke–Franz Marc. Briefwechsel*, ed. Wolfgang Macke (Cologne, 1964), 40. In the same letter he writes: “Like the rest of our association, Schönberg seems convinced of the unstoppable dissolution of the laws of European art and harmony and is reaching for musical means of artistic expression from the Orient, which has (to this day) remained primitive. [...] After the concert, we drank a few bottles (small ones) with Kandinsky, Jawlensky, Münter, and Werefkin in the Ratskeller. Werefkin ordered an artichoke. Helmuth, who was not familiar with the vegetable, asked in all innocence whether it was a lotus. What a scene!!!” (ibid., 41).

10
 Jelena Hahl-Koch and Hertmut Zelinsky eds., *Schönberg–Kandinsky: Briefe, Bilder und Dokumente einer außergewöhnlichen Begegnung* (Salzburg, 1980).

11
 “Die Bilder.”

12
 “Bilder malen, denen der stoffliche äußere Gegenstand kaum mehr ist, als ein Anlass, in Farben und Formen zu fantasieren und sich so auszudrücken, wie sich bisher nur der Musiker ausdrückte, so sind das Symptome für eine

allmählich sich ausbreitende Erkenntnis von dem wahren Wesen der Kunst. Und mit großer Freude lese ich Kandinskys Buch ‘Ueber das Geistige in der Kunst,’ in welchem der Weg für die Malerei gezeigt wird und die Hoffnung erwacht, dass jene, die nach dem Text, nach dem Stofflichen fragen, bald ausgefragt haben werden.”

13
Harmonielehre.

14
 See also Annegret Hoberg, “Ich sah alle meine Farben im Geiste. Kandinsky und seine Beziehungen zur zeitgenössischen Musik”, in *Wassily Kandinsky*, eds. Helmut Friedel and Annegret Hoberg (Munich, 2008), 148–149.

15
 “[...] sprang von seinem Rade herab, wir fingen gleich über Fragen, die uns beide interessierten zu sprechen an. Da es gleich klar wurde, daß wir einander sehr gut verstanden, obwohl er ein Maler und ich ein Componist war, beschlossen wir uns am selben Abende noch zu treffen. Es stellte sich heraus, daß Kandinsky auch seine Wohnung in der ruhigen Ainmillerstraße hatte. Und von der Zeit an sahen wir uns beinahe jeden Abend.” Cited after Jessica Horsley, *Almanach Der Blaue Reiter als Gesamtkunstwerk* (Vienna, 2006), 66f and note 198.

15
Violett, Die Riesen.

16
 “jedes Mittel, welches aus der inneren Notwendigkeit entsprungen ist,” “richtig.”

17
 On this, see Horsley 2006 (see note 14), 179–207. Later, in 1927, Kandinsky wrote: “The first attempt to unify two arts *organically* as *one* work is Scriabin’s *Prometheus*, with the musical and painterly elements running in parallel.” Wassily Kandinsky, *Essays über Kunst und Künstler*, ed. and with commentary by Max Bill, (Bern, 1963), 102.

18
 “Über Musikwissenschaft.”

19
 “Neuere Musiktheorie.”

20
Kandinsky/Marc 1983 (see note 1), April 6, 1912: “After a long period of misgivings and consultations with Piper, I decided however not to include the Bryusova this time round. We can make up for this in the second volume. It’s certainly a terrible shame, but there was no other way.”

Almanac—The Images

The most striking feature of the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac is the unusual confrontation of images from different fields and epochs of art, of which moreover only a small number have a direct relation to the texts they accompany. Their selection followed the guiding principle that questions of form were the external to the genuinely artistic, the “authentic” and “unadulterated” quality of a work: “There is no question of form in principle.”¹ The pluralistic diversity, the broadening of boundaries, and the interaction of the arts were evident especially in the comparative and associative juxtaposition of the illustrations: antique reliefs stand alongside children’s drawings, East Asian art faces the “naive” painting of Henri Rousseau, popular prints are next to Pablo Picasso, non-European art opposite medieval woodcuts. In a commemorative text to Franz Marc from 1936, Wassily Kandinsky tried to describe this unusual and, at the time, novel appearance without formulating the far-reaching ambition that was connected to it in its day:

“It was a wonderful work, and within a few months *Der Blaue Reiter* had found its publisher. [...] We had shown the art of the ‘Primitives’ for the first time in an art book published in Germany, Bavarian and Russian ‘folk art’ (reverse glass painting, the ex-votos, the ‘lubki’), ‘children’s art,’ and ‘amateur art’. We had published a facsimile edition of *Herzgewächse* [Foilage of the Heart] by Arnold Schönberg, the music of his students Alban Berg and Anton von Webern, and we showed old painting side by side with the modern (fig. 1).”² In the first table of contents from September 1910, only a few sources are identified under “Reproductions”: “1. Bavarian glass paintings. 2. Images d’Épinal (French folk prints). 3. Russian folk prints. 4. LeFauconnier, Picasso, Marc, Kandinsky, Epstein, the Burliuks, Münter, Dilonné [Delaunay], Girieud, Kokoschka, Oppenheimer, Kubin, Jawlensky, Werefkin. 5. German illustrations from 1830.”³ The editors chose remarkably few paintings of contemporary art, even from their own avant-garde. Jawlensky, Werefkin, and Max Oppenheimer soon were eliminated from the circle of the chosen ones, and even with respect to their own art, the editors were highly selective, reproducing just one painting by Marc, two by Kandinsky, two by Gabriele Münter, two works by August Macke, one work each by Heinrich Campendonk and Albert Bloch, and drawings by Alfred Kubin, Paul Klee, and Eugen von Kahler. The entire “avant-garde,” including their Russian fellow artists, ultimately accounted

for less than a third of the reproductions, and was confronted by an abundance of works from other genres, eras, and regions.⁴

Even the French avant-garde was subjected to stringent selection; Kandinsky and Marc received photographs for reproduction from, among others, the publisher, who also made proposals: “Piper advised also including the following reproductions: Matisse (I agree), Van Gogh, Gauguin, Toulouse Lautrec, and ... Edward Munch (him I firmly rejected).”⁵ Significantly, the explicit “soul art” of Munch was just as undesirable as too much Cubism, whose dissection of form seemed too “superficial” to both Kandinsky and Marc. The Parisian gallerist Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler and the Drouot auction house also sent photographs of paintings by Picasso, Henri Matisse, and Paul Cézanne, and Matisse himself corresponded with Kandinsky and gave him unrestricted permission to reproduce his works.⁶ In the finished book, Robert Delaunay was represented with particular emphasis, with reproductions of three larger works: his *Tour Eiffel* made for a spectacular spread with El Greco’s *Saint John the Baptist* from the collection of Bernhard Koehler. The formal analogy of the two tall, upright figures has a sensational effect. El Greco, who had just been discovered by the Munich avant-garde, seems to cast his aura of “mystic, introspective construction” onto the Cubistically splintering Parisian tower by Delaunay.⁷ Of the older modernists, two Cézannes were selected, and one work each by Paul Gauguin—a wooden relief in the art styles of the South Seas—and Vincent Van Gogh. In a famous spread, the latter’s *Portrait de Docteur Gachet* faces a detail from a Japanese color woodblock.

The naïve painting of Henri Rousseau represents a special case; the Blue Rider circle discovered it immediately after the joint meeting of the editorial staff in Murnau (fig. 2). Reinhard Piper sent Kandinsky a book on Rousseau with illustrations,⁸ which he passed on to Marc: “What a wonderful human being this Rousseau was! And was of course in contact with the ‘beyond.’ And what a profundity lies in his paintings! Just a few days ago, I was thinking: ‘No. 1 of the ‘B.R.’ and no Rousseau! [...]’ Yesterday, I immediately wrote to Delonay [Delaunay] and asked whether he thought Uhde would send us photographs.”⁹ Marc responded just as enthusiastically, and even made a reverse glass painting with a portrait of Rousseau based on the reproduction of the latter’s *Portrait de l’artiste à la lampe* in the Uhde volume (cat. p. 170).¹⁰ This self-portrait was one of seven works by the artist with which the editors prominently presented the “father of the naïves” in the almanac.¹¹ By all appearances, Rousseau’s painting—like the folk reverse glass painting and the crude “Nurmalerei” (“only-painting”) of the likes of Arnold Schoenberg—represented in the eyes of the editors the pole of “great realism,” which alongside that of “great abstraction,” could exist as equal in a new era of art.¹² A unique feature among the European avant-garde movements was the reception of Bavarian popular reverse glass painting and other folk art. The Blue Rider circle ardently collected reverse glass paintings and appropriated its stylistic features, as a kind of counterpart to the appropriation of the forms of African sculpture by the French Cubists or South Pacific art by the Expressionist group The Bridge (Die Brücke). Accordingly, they were given great weight in the almanac, which illustrated eleven reverse glass paintings and five votive paintings from the church in Murnau.¹³ This area of “folk art” was supplemented by children’s art, Russian *lubki*, and ancient Egyptian shadow puppets.¹⁴ The latter had been brought

to Kandinsky's attention in the spring of 1911 by the publications of the Orientalist Paul Kahle in the journal *Islam*, which had been sent to him by Marc's brother, the Byzantinist Paul Marc. Kandinsky was fascinated by these relatively large-format works of art of black camel leather mounted on movable rods whose perforations allowed light to pass through, either directly or through colored membranes.¹⁵ The editors chose the figure *Pferd mit Pferdeführer* (Horse with Guide) as one of only four color illustrations in the almanac.¹⁶ They had nine Egyptian shadow puppets reproduced in all, some as smaller vignettes, and all scattered through Kandinsky's three texts at the end of the book.

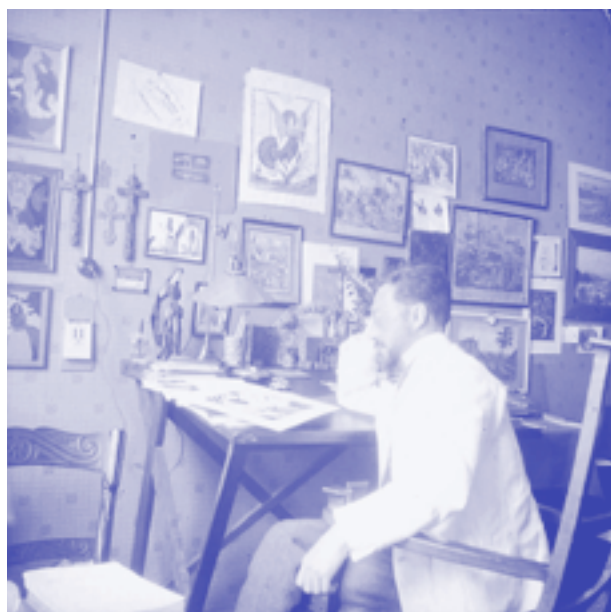
Nor were medieval woodcuts lacking, which at the time, along with Gothic art, were appreciated by the German Expressionists as a reference model for the Nordic art of expression and interiority. For example, the book's first illustration of a text, flanking Marc's "Geistige Güter" (Spiritual Goods), was a medieval woodcut, followed by a Chinese painting from his collection and a final vignette by his own hand. The woodcut is one of seven images that Kandinsky and Marc had taken at Piper's suggestion from a publication the house was producing parallel to the almanac: Wilhelm Worringer's *Die alt-deutsche Buchillustration*.¹⁷ Worringer's book, too, "contributed in its special way to justifying Expressionist art, because it tried to increase awareness of the woodcuts from books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the epitome of 'expressive art.'" ¹⁸ In November 1911, the publisher produced a four-page subscription prospectus with several reproductions, about whose selection Kandinsky informed Marc: "*Deutscher Ritter*, [German Knight], *Sitzende* [Seated Woman] by [Lydia] Wieber, *Danse* by Matisse, *Mask* (with long nose), a Russian print, and, at the insistence of Piper and [Adolf] Hammelmann, I decided to include a small woodcut of mine, so that there is something ultra-modern. I was not very comfortable with the idea, but they could be right."¹⁹ Kandinsky's slender woodcut with two riders galloping up a hill stands next to *La Danse* by Matisse, *Mask (with Long Nose)* from New Caledonia, and a "German knight," which was taken for a medieval image, but in fact dates from the nineteenth century. *Sitzende*, a drawing by Lydia Wieber, who was about eleven, was discarded, and a Russian folk print with an armed horseman and a votive painting from Murnau were added instead.²⁰

In the prospectus's text, Franz Marc struck a tone at least as prophetic as Wassily Kandinsky in his writings: "Art today takes paths that our fathers could not have dreamed of; one stands before the new works as if in a dream and hears the apocalyptic horsemen in the winds; one feels an artistic tension across all of Europe—everywhere new artists are waving to each other; a look, a handshake suffices to understand one another. [...] The first book announced here, which will be followed by a series in no particular order, includes the latest movements in painting in France, Germany, and Russia and reveals the fine threads connecting them to the Gothic and the primitives, to Africa and the great Orient, to highly expressive and authentic folk art and children's art, and especially to the most modern musical movement in Europe and the new ideas for the stage of our time."²¹

The concepts of "threads connecting" them to "the primitives," "to Africa and the great Orient," which were typical of the time but also inappropriately

generalizing, lead to the final large complex of pictures in the almanac. For the first time, works from cultures in different parts of the world were shown in an art book, as Kandinsky had formulated in his reminiscence cited at the beginning of this essay. Moreover, they were presented in combination with works of European origin of various genres and epochs seemingly on an equal footing. Here, too, the editors requested numerous photographs: from the Museum für Völkerkunde (Museum of Ethnology) in Berlin, the Ethnographische Sammlung (Ethnological Collection) in Munich, and the Bernisches Historisches Museum in Bern (fig. 3). While they had seen the collections in Berlin and Munich with their own eyes, one can only speculate about their connections to Bern. It is certain that they knew many objects, as was often the case in the era of imperialism, only from photographic reproductions in journals and scholarly treatises.²² Of the many photos sent to them, some have been preserved among Kandinsky's and Münter's papers; others were returned after use. Macke was also involved in obtaining them.²³ It is notable that the almanac has a list of illustrations at the end of the book. On the one hand, the editors were thus demonstrating care with regard to reproductions as well as the producers and origins of the works and objects, whose identification is very minimal in the front section. On the other hand, this approach also reveals the inadequacy of their perspective. For example, the designations of origins are completely unreliable: a breechcloth made of cedar bast, elk leather, and other materials is reduced to its pictorial impression; the object's function is not specified. The caption is limited to the laconic reference "Alaska." This territorial designation is itself colonial, although it derives from the Aleut name *Alaḡsxaḡ*. It evokes not the origin of the object (it is from the northwest coast of North America, from southern Alaska, from the Tlingit tribe) but rather the history of multiple colonizations. The designation of the objects in particular reveals obvious contradictions in the concept of the almanac, whose dream of a cultural production and aesthetic that spans the globe on an equal footing fails because of its own hierarchization of the illustrations.

As reproductions can be found in the almanac: an ancestral figure (male) from Borneo, a Bapunu mask from Gabon, and three painted wooden figures from Bali—all exhibits from the museum in Bern. From the Ethnographische Sammlung in Munich came a Maha-Kola mask from Sri Lanka, a figure of the Mexican god Xipe Totec; a stilt step (*tapuvae toko*) from the Marquesas Islands, Polynesia; a mask from New Caledonia; in addition, there were an ancestral figure from Easter Island and a carved wooden post from Cameroon, the breechcloth from Western North America, as well as a Brazilian mask of bast and canework from northwestern Amazonia, and a relief panel from the former Kingdom of Benin.²⁴ These completely different works are scattered throughout the almanac; only Macke's essay "Die Masken" (The Masks) has reproductions exclusively of non-European objects as illustrations, including a full-page reproduction of the wooden mask from New Caledonia. It is striking that relatively few objects from Africa were included and not a single one from the Berlin Museum, whose African collection had been such a source of fascination for Kandinsky and Marc in their writings.²⁵ By contrast, two figures from Bali were reproduced.



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Fig. 1
Wassily Kandinsky at his desk
at Ainmillerstrasse 36, Munich, 1911.
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and
Johannes Eichner Foundation,
Munich

Fig. 2
Original photograph Henri Rousseau
for the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac.
Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich

Fig. 3
Envelope used to send a photograph
from the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin.
Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich

Fig. 4
Original photograph, of the pair of fig-
ures from Borneo, used for the *Der Blaue
Reiter* almanac, 1912.
Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich

Among the pieces from Oceania and the transatlantic region were important museum objects such as the large tapir-head mask from Brazil or the wooden ancestor figure from Easter Island, which are some of the oldest surviving pieces of their kind. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that the editors had very little knowledge about the works they selected and that they naively and nonchalantly ignored their origin, history, and functions in order to sketch a vision of new connections of the “authentic” that can certainly be called Eurocentric. The fact that they named none of the artists of the works is, admittedly, due to the general state of knowledge of colonial collections in their today (and to some degree even today) as well as to due to a different conception of creation and production in the original countries. Nevertheless, there is no mention at all of what sort of objects they are. Nothing was supposed to provide any context that would distract from the pure effect of the work. It is about “empathy” rather than engagement, and in that sense perhaps even existing knowledge was to be left out. That is especially striking in the case of the objects from ethnological museums, about which the Blue Rider circle in fact knew nothing. For that reason, the captions have only sweeping indications of the countries of origin, such as “Brazil” or “Mexico”—an ignorance that the director of the ethnological museum in Munich, Lucian Scherman, criticized after receiving the almanac in 1912.²⁶

The editors were indeed interested in the objects more as the results of unnamed or unidentified and therefore mystically elevated creative authorities. This at once appreciates and depreciates the people behind these objects. In a way typical of the time and still seen today, they were elevated by an anonymization of the “other” in the spirit of a protomodern, universally human creative spirit. They were diminished by the fundamental disinterest in the individuals who created these objects and now disappear amid the hodgepodge of the “foreign.” There have been various attempts to lend a typological order to the reproductions in the almanac.²⁷ However one sorts the groups, there is a clear hierarchy that unfolds along a cultural history of contact: the less contact there is to the producers, the less knowledge of and connection to their cultures, the more the objects become a plaything of ideological interests—and the more palpable the aesthetic exploitation as well.

The almanac contributes to the latter above all with its method of isolating figures from their backgrounds and cropping the illustrations, which especially affected the sculptural objects. Companion figures that could be seen in the photographs used for the reproductions were simply left out. (fig. 4) This kind of manipulation of the images also concerned all of the folk reverse glass paintings and votive images, as well as the Russian *lubki*, where the original, often hand-painted captions were cut away. The works of the ancient and modern European masters, by contrast, were left untouched.²⁸ The different formats of the reproductions are also striking: they do not correspond to the actual proportions of objects. Smaller illustrations often look like book ornaments in comparison to the images next to them or to the text. Presumably, the editors were not aware of the far-reaching consequences that this treatment of the illustrations in the almanac and its principle of the comparability of the art of different identities and times would have for the modern concept of art. “It is necessary to consider what the preponderance of ‘comparative’ material

was intended to explain in this context, what picture of modern art was the non-modern art supposed to sketch?”²⁹ The exclusive focus on artistic content and form by means of variable employment of images, and even their manipulation, the complete decontextualization of the works and objects in the service of a comparative vision of the previously incomparable, and the conscious decision to reproduce them in black and white resulted in a leveling of all art illustrated that was not by identified European artists. The large number of these “unmodern” comparative illustrations was intended to provide the frame that “made an overview of Modernism as a ‘movement’ possible in the first place without pinning it down to specific stylistic phenomena.”³⁰

With their juxtapositions, Kandinsky and Marc, in fact, not only intended to create a new variability of pictures but also relied on a fading out of contexts in order to focus on “inner sound” as the quality of a work of art. In the foreword to the second edition of the almanac in 1914, Marc wrote: “We went through the art of the past and the present with a divining rod. We showed only the living, that which was untouched by the compulsion of convention.”³¹ With this dictate of the “genuine” and “authentic,” they were following a European tradition of the concept of art that since the Enlightenment had demanded of the work of art an unconditional idealism; this ultimately lent their selection an almost moral category. With their pictorial program of a formal comparability of global art production, however, they also paved the way to the pluralism of modern art for which a “spiritual” mission would be of only secondary relevance—and which also reveals the immanent contradictions within the Blue Rider project.

AH, MM

- 1
Wassily Kandinsky, "On the Question of Form," in *The Blaue Reiter Almanac*, eds. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, (London, 2006), 168.
- 2
Wassily Kandinsky, "Franz Marc" (1936), in idem, *Essays über Kunst und Künstler* (Bern, 1963), 200.
- 3
Franz Marc to Reinhard Piper, September 10, 1911, illustrated in full in *Der Blaue Reiter*, eds. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, ed. Klaus Lankheit (Munich, 1965), "Anhang," 305–09, esp. 309.
- 4
Of the numerous photographs of works, from Mikhail Larionov to Malevich, that Kandinsky was sent by fellow artists in Russia, just three works by the brothers David and Vladimir Burliuk and one drawing by Natalia Goncharova were selected.
- 5
Wassily Kandinsky to Franz Marc, September 21, 1911, in *Wassily Kandinsky und Franz Marc, Briefwechsel, mit Briefen von und an Gabriele Münter und Maria Marc*, ed. Klaus Lankheit (Munich, Zurich, 1983), 60. The collector Koehler provided them with photographs of works by old masters and other works in his collection.
- 6
Ibid., 64.
- 7
Franz Marc, "Spiritual Treasures," in *The Blaue Reiter Almanac*, 2006 (see note 1), 59: "mystisch-innerlichen Konstruktion"; see *ibid.* on the rediscovery of El Greco, also owing to the exhibition of the Marczell Nemes collection curated by Hugo von Tschudi at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich in 1911.
- 8
The reference is to a publication in French by Wilhelm Uhde, a German writer on art and collector living in Paris, who had discovered Rousseau as well as Picasso, and was in close contact with his ex-wife Sonia Delaunay-Terk.
- 9
Kandinsky/Marc, 1983 (see note 5), 68.
- 10
"Dear K., thank you very much for you nicely detailed letter and above all for the wonderful Henri Rousseau, who struck Sindelsdorf like a bolt of lightning. After all the to and fro of ideas and speeches, now suddenly this divine human being." Ibid., 71–72.
- 11
The photographs had been provided by Uhde to Robert Delaunay, who acted as a kind of administrator of the estate of Rousseau, who had died in 1910.
- 12
"And these two boundaries standing at great, great distance from each other (two poles) are: complete abstraction and purest realism. For myself, I incline increasingly to the former. The second, however, is also welcome to me." Letter of February 2, 1911, to Arnold Schoenberg, in *Wassily Kandinsky und Arnold Schönberg. Der Briefwechsel*, ed. Jelena Hahl-Koch (Stuttgart, 1993), 21.
- 13
Nine of the reverse glass paintings were from the collection of the Murnau brewer Johann Kroetz, who was an acquaintance of Kandinsky and Münter; his extensive collection is now in the Heimatmuseum Oberammergau. From his letters to Marc, it appears Kandinsky himself photographed the votive paintings in the church in Murnau.
- 14
See also the essay by Annegret Hoberg in this volume, 77, note 178.
- 15
On the shadow puppets, see the summary by Katharina Erling in *Der Blaue Reiter*, ed. Christine Hopfengart, exh. cat. Kunsthalle Bremen (Cologne, 2000), 209, and, in more detail, including Paul Kahle's scholarly publications, Jessica Horsley, *Almanach Der Blaue Reiter als Gesamtkunstwerk* (Vienna, 2006), 161–76.
- 16
The general edition of the almanac of 1912 features just four (full-page) color illustrations. The first one is the frontispiece that opens the book, showing a colored copy drawing, probably by Münter, of a reverse glass painting of Saint Martin. In the text section follows a print of Marc's *Zwei Pferde* (Two Horses), Kandinsky's colored line etching *Komposition IV*, and the colored reproduction of the "Egyptian shadow puppet" of the horse led by a servant. The deluxe and museum editions also have two color woodcuts: *Bogenschütze* (Archer) by Kandinsky and *Fabeltier* (Mythical Beast) by Marc.
- 17
The editors noted this correctly in their list of reproductions; there is also a reference to Worringer's book in the advertising section of the almanac. The selected medieval illustrations are analyzed in detail in Horsley, 2006 (see note 15), 127–61.
- 18
Gisbert Schüssler in *Der Almanach "Der Blaue Reiter": Bilder und Bildwerke in Originalen*, ed. Brigitte Salmen, exh. cat. Schlossmuseum Murnau (Murnau, 1998), 169.
- 19
Kandinsky/Marc, 1983 (see note 5), 78
- 20
For a reproduction of a copy of the prospectus in the Lenbachhaus archives, see also Annegret Hoberg, "Die Malerei allein genügte uns nicht: Wassily Kandinsky und Franz Marc; Neues zum Almanach 'Der Blaue Reiter,'" in *Wassily Kandinsky*, eds. Helmut Friedel and Annegret Hoberg, exh. cat. Lenbachhaus (Munich, 2008), fig. 52, 21.
- 21
Ibid.
- 22
See also Hoberg's essay in this volume, 63–64.
- 23
Kandinsky, 1963 (see note 2), 136. Marc was able to report to him on October 30, 1911: "Today, photos from the Ethnographic went back to Bruckmann." In Kandinsky/Marc, 1983 (see note 5), 70.
- 24
The final vignette above the list of reproductions in the almanac is a small illustration of a painted calabash from Guatemala of unknown origin. For a review of the works in the almanac from the Munich collection, see *Der Blaue Reiter und das Münchner Völkerkundemuseum*, ed. Elke Bujok, exh. cat. Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich (Munich, 2009), esp. Idem, "Zwei Kalebassen, Guatemala," 40.
- 25
According to Franz Marc's letter to August Macke, January 14, 1911: "I remain absolutely astonished and shocked by the carvings of the Cameroonians, which are perhaps outdone only by the sublime works of the Incas." See also Hoberg's essay in this volume, 5, 231.
- 26
See also Hoberg's essay in this volume, 63.
- 27
In addition to the exhibition catalogue *Der Blaue Reiter*, 1998 (see note 18), which combined the illustrations in groups (for example, "Parisian Avant-garde," "Berlin Contacts," "Reverse Glass Paintings") and studied them in isolation, the thorough and enlightening account by Katharina Erling in *Der Blaue Reiter*, 2000 (see note 15), 188–239, deserves special mention; she analyzes all of the spreads of the historical edition and summarizes the current state of research on the non-European illustrations; see also Magdalena Bushart, "'Echtes bleibt neben Echtem bestehen ...': Zum Bildkonzept des Blauen Reiters," in *ibid.*, 240–47.
- 28
See also Hoberg's essay in this volume, 62–63.

Bushart, 2008 (see note 27), 246:
 “The comparison of illustrations
 thus has two sides: On the one hand,
 as a self-imposed tradition, it pro-
 vides cover for the formal experi-
 ments of Modernism. On the other
 hand, it has a normative effect—
 however paradoxical that might
 seem in light of the rejection of a
 consistent concept of style.”

Ibid.

Franz Marc, “Preface to the Second
 Edition,” in *The Blaue Reiter Alma-*
nac, 2006 (see note 1), 258.

ALMANAC THE WORKS



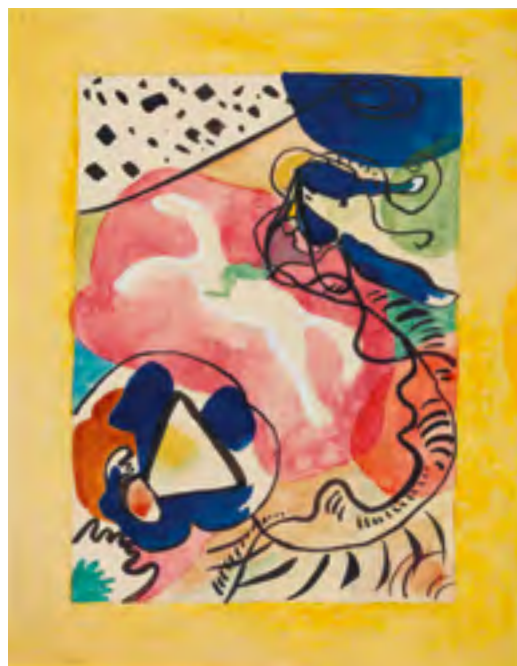
Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc
Publisher: R. Piper & Co. Verlag
Der Blaue Reiter almanac, 1912
29.5 × 22.5 cm, 131 pp.
AK 105, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, probably from the estate
of Gabriele Münter



Wassily Kandinsky
*Woodcut for the cover of the Der Blaue
Reiter almanac, 1911*
Color woodcut, two blocks, print in the
sequence blue, black, 27.9 × 21.1 cm
GMS 320, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



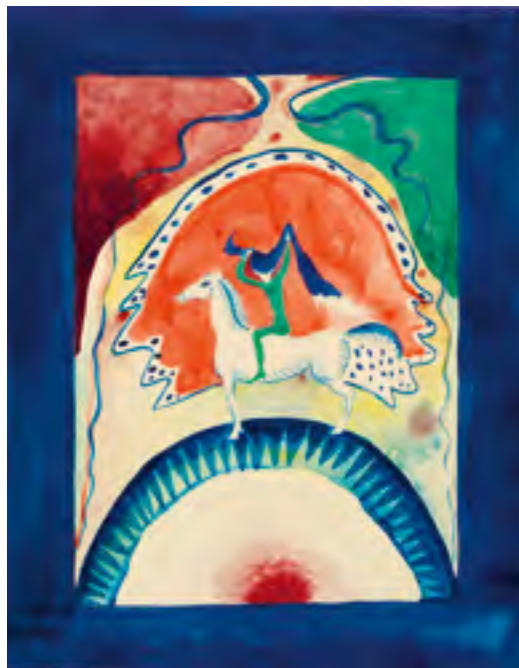
Wassily Kandinsky
Study for the cover of the Der Blaue Reiter almanac, 1911
 Watercolor, India ink over pencil,
 27.7 × 21.9 cm
 GMS 602, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Study for the cover of the Der Blaue Reiter almanac, 1911
 Watercolor, India ink, opaque white paint
 over pencil, 27.7 × 21.9 cm
 GMS 604, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Study for the cover of the Der Blaue Reiter almanac, 1911
 Watercolor, India ink over pencil
 27.7 × 21.9 cm
 GMS 605, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Study for the cover of the Der Blaue Reiter almanac, 1911
 Watercolor over pencil, 27.5 × 21.8 cm
 GMS 601, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Study for the cover of the Der Blaue Reiter almanac, 1911
 Watercolor, India ink over pencil,
 27.7 × 21.8 cm
 GMS 610, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Study for the cover of the Der Blaue Reiter almanac, 1911
 Watercolor over pencil, 27.7 × 21.8 cm
 GMS 603, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Study for the cover of the Der Blaue Reiter almanac, 1911
 Watercolor over pencil, 28 × 21.7 cm
 GMS 609, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Study for the cover of the Der Blaue Reiter almanac, 1911
 Watercolor, India ink over pencil, 27.8 × 21.8 cm
 GMS 606, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
*Study for the cover of the Der Blaue Reiter
almanac*, 1911
Watercolor, India ink, blue colored pencil
over pencil, 27.7 × 22.1 cm
GMS 607, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
*Final study for the cover of the Der Blaue
 Reiter almanac, 1911*
 Watercolor, India ink, blue colored pencil
 over pencil, 27.9 × 2.9 cm
 GMS 608, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, Hokusai School
Goat, 2nd half 19th century
Ink on thin Japan paper, 15,4 × 27,6 cm
FM 113, Franz Marc Museum, Kochel a. See,
Franz Marc Foundation, on permanent loan
from the co-heirs of Maria Marc,
estate of Franz Marc



Utagawa Kuniyoshi
Two Fisherman, detail of a tryptich
The Humiliation of Kanshin, ca. 1835
 Color woodblock print (*nishiki-e*),
 36.1 × 24.5 cm
 FM 107, Franz Marc Museum, Kochel a. See,
 Franz Marc Foundation, on permanent
 loan from the co-heirs of Maria Marc,
 estate of Franz Marc
 Illustrated as a detail in the *Der Blaue
 Reiter* almanac, 1912, before p. 113



Katsushika Hokusai
*Fireworks at Ryōgoku Bridge (Ryōgokubashi
 yūsuzumi hanabi kenbutsu no zu)*, ca. 1786–87
 Print in the series *Newly Published Perspective
 Pictures (Shinpan uki-e)*
 Color woodblock print (*nishiki-e*),
 22.6 × 34.7 cm, large sheet, landscape format
 (*ōban, yoko-e*)
 AK 94/1, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired 2009, formerly
 owned by Alexej von Jawlensky



Toyohara Kunichika
Picture of an Actor, 1869
 Color woodblock print (*nishiki-e*),
 37 × 24.2 cm, large sheet, portrait format
 (*ōban, tate-e*)
 AK 94/71, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired 2009, formerly
 owned by Alexej von Jawlensky



Utagawa Hiroshige II
Rocks in Futami Bay (Ise Futami gawa no ura)
 Print in the series *One Hundred Views in the Various Provinces (Shokoku meisho hyakkei)*
 Color woodblock print (*nishiki-e*), shading (*bokashi*), 33.4 × 21.9 cm, large sheet, portrait format (*ōban, tate-e*)
 AK 94/76, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich, acquired 2009, formerly owned by Alexej von Jawlensky



Utagawa Kunisada
Three Women at New Year Preparations, 1830s
 Print from the series *Eight Views of Tatsumi*
 (*Tatsumi Hakkei no uchi*)
 Color woodblock print (*nishiki-e*), triptych
 left and middle: black lustre printing
 (*tsuya-zuri*), left and middle: glimmer printing
 (*kirazuri*), right: shading (*bokashi*), each
 sheet 37 × 24 cm, large sheet, portrait format
 (*ōban, tate-e*)
 AK 94/48 (right), AK 94/47 (middle), AK 94/46
 (left), Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired 2009, formerly
 owned by Alexej von Jawlensky



Katsushika Hokusai
 Publishing house: Nishimuraya Yohachi
Morning after a Snowfall at Koishikawa
 (Koishikawa yuki no ashita), ca. 1829–33
 Print in the series *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* (Fugaku sanjūrokkei)
 Color woodblock print (nishiki-e),
 25.5 × 37.5 cm, large sheet, landscape format
 (ōban, yoko-e)
 AK 94/3, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired 2009, formerly
 owned by Alexej von Jawlensky



Utagawa Hiroshige,
 Utagawa Hiroshige II
 Publishing House: Tsutaya
Two Horses by Mount Fuji, 1858
 Print in the series *36 Views of Mount Fuji*
 (Fuji sanjūrokkei)
 Color woodblock print (nishiki-e),
 33.8 × 22.2 cm, 34.8 × 23.5 cm (sheet size),
 large sheet, portrait format (ōban, tate-e)
 FM 106, Franz Marc Museum, Kochel a. See,
 Franz Marc Foundation, on permanent loan
 from the co-heirs of Maria Marc,
 estate of Franz Marc



Utagawa Kunisada
Iwai Hanshirō V. as Courtesan, ca. 1828–30
 Print in the series *Popular Actors as the 108 Heroes of the Suikoden* (*Haiyū Suikoden gōketsu hyakūhachi nin (ikko)*)
 Color woodblock print (*nishiki-e*), black luster printing (*tsuya-zuri*), blind embossing (*karazuri*), 37 × 24 cm, large sheet, portrait format (*ōban, tate-e*)
 AK 94/16, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich, acquired 2009, formerly owned by Alexej von Jawlensky

Utagawa Kunisada
Onoe Eisaburō as a Distressed Young Woman, 1830s
 Color woodblock print (*nishiki-e*), shading (*bokashi*), 35.5 × 25.2 cm, large sheet, portrait format (*ōban, tate-e*), probably central image from a triptych
 AK 94/33, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich, acquired 2009, formerly owned by Alexej von Jawlensky



Utagawa Kunisada
 Nakamura Shikan II. as a Warrior, ca. 1828–30
 Print in the series *Popular Actors as the 108
 Heroes of the Suikoden* (*Haiyū Suikoden gōketsu
 hyakūhachi nin (ikko)*)
 Color woodblock print (nishiki-e), black luster
 printing (*tsuya-zuri*), 37 × 24 cm, large sheet,
 portrait format (*ōban*, *tate-e*)
 AK 94/15, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired 2009, formerly
 owned by Alexej von Jawlensky



Utagawa Kunisada and Utagawa Hiroshige
Seki Station
 Print from the series *The 53 Stations*
(of the Tōkaidō Way) by Two Brushes
(Sō-hitsu gojūsan tsugi)
 Color woodblock print (*nishiki-e*),
 36.8 × 25.4 cm, large sheet, portrait format
(ōban, tate-e)
 11648, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired 2009
 from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc

Utagawa Hiroshige
Shirazuka Station, first edition, ca. 1840
 Print from the series *53 Stations of*
the Tōkaidō Way (Tōkaido gojusan tsugi),
Kyōoka Tōkaido series
 16.3 × 21.5 cm, middle sheet, landscape format
(chūban, yoko-e)
 11641, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired 2009
 from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc

Utagawa Kunisada
 Publishing house: Yamazakiya Seichichi
Actor in the Role of a Fox under Cherry
Blossoms, 1856
 Color woodblock print, 49.7 × 38.2 cm
 11644, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired 2009
 from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc



Utagawa Kuniyasu
Foaming Snow from a Dream of Dawn Crows
 (Akegarasu yume no awayuki), 1811–15
 (Kiwame seal)
 The Actor Segawa Kikunojō (IV or V) in the role
 of the Courtesan Urazato Sitting in the Snow
 Color woodblock print (*nishiki-e*),
 35.5 × 24.5 cm, large sheet, portrait format
 (*ōban, tate-e*)
 11649, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired 2009
 from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc

Anonymous, China
 Two hand-colored prints with characters from
 popular Chinese theater, late 19th century
 Black print with colors on paper,
 each approx. 36.5 × 30.5 cm
 11637–11638, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired
 2009 from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc



Utagawa Yoshitsuya
 Publishing house: Azumaya Daisuke
The Demon-Queller Shōki, Hashika yakubyō yoke
 (Protection against Measles Epidemic), 1862
 (aratame seal)
 Color woodblock print (*nishiki-e*), 37 × 25 cm,
 large sheet, portrait format (*ōban, tate-e*)
 11646, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired 2009
 from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc



Utagawa Kunichika
Japanese in Police Uniform (Yokohama-e)
 Color woodblock print (*nishiki-e*), 37 × 25 cm,
 large sheet, portrait format (*ōban, tate-e*)
 11651, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired 2009
 from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc



Views of the Eastern Capital and Heroic Tales
 (Edo Meisho), published posthumously, ca. 1890
 Publishing house: Yamadaya Shojiro
 With color woodblock illustrations by
 Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) and Utagawa
 Kunisada (1786–1865)
 Book, leporello, 24.1 × 18 cm
 11471, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired 2009
 from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc



Joyful Gathering (Omedeta zukushi), 1879
 (Meiji 12 stamp)
 Author: Shokusanjin (Ôta Nanpo)
 Publishing house: Daikokuya; Matsuki Heikichi
 IV (known as "Daihei")
 Book, thread stitching, 17.9 × 12 cm
 Inscription: "ex libris Marie Franck dedic.
 Frz. M. Juli 1907"
 11463, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired 2009
 from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc



A Hundred Sketches by Kōrin (Korin Hyaku zu),
1815 (Bunka 12 stamp)
Illustrations by Ogata Kōrin (1685–1716)
copied by Aikawa Minwa (?–1821)
Author of the foreword: Bosai Kameda Ko
Book, thread stitching, 45 pages with
black-and-white decorations, two volumes,
each 25.1 × 18.1 cm
11459, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired 2009
from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc
Illustrated with a drawing in the *Der Blaue
Reiter* almanac 1912, before p. 14



*The Forms of Painting Flowers, Birds,
and Landscapes (Kacho Sansui Zushiki)*
Hokusai School and Katsushika Isai (1821–80)
Volume 4 of 5, blue binding
Book, thread stitching, 12.2 × 17.7 cm,
2 pages preface, 39 pages with b/w
illustrations
114, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired 2009
from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc



Franz Marc
Little Oak Tree, 1909
Oil on canvas, 84.3 × 104.5 cm
G 12765, acquired with funds from the legacy
of Gabriele Münter 1961



Alexej von Jawlensky
Portrait of the Dancer Alexander Sakharoff,
1909
Largely oil on cardboard (Costume:
water-soluble binding agent), 69.5 × 66.5 cm
G 13388, acquired 1965 from the collection
of Clotilde von Derp-Sakharoff



August Macke
Our Street in Gray, 1911
Oil on canvas, 80 × 57.5 cm
G 13333, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
acquired from August Macke



Franz Marc
Deer in the Snow II, 1911
Oil on canvas, 84.7 × 84.5 cm
G 14641, donated by Elly Koehler
as a thank you to Hans Konrad Roethel
1971



Anonymous, South East Asia / Indonesia / Bali, probably Gianyar
Painted wood sculpture (Mother and Child),
ca. 1900
Color, wood, height 56 cm
E/ 1905.257.0002/2, Bernisches Historisches
Museum, Bern, acquired ca. 1904 by
Ernst Müller in Indonesia, gifted 1912
Illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac 1912, after p. 42



Anonymous, South East Asia / Indonesia / Bali, probably Gianyar
Wooden Figure (Female), ca. 1900
Color, wood, 31.5 × 9 × 9 cm
E/1905.257.0001/2, Bernisches Historisches
Museum, Bern, acquired ca. 1904 by
Ernst Müller in Indonesia, gifted 1912
Illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac 1912, p. 34

Anonymous, South East Asia / Indonesia / Bali, probably Gianyar
Wooden Figure (Male), ca. 1900
Color, wood, 33 × 8.5 × 8.5 cm
E/1905.257.0001/1, Bernisches Historisches
Museum, Bern, acquired ca. 1904 by
Ernst Müller in Indonesia, gifted 1912
Illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac 1912, p. 34



Anonymous
Emanicated Wolf, Netsuke, 19th century
 Boxwood, ivory inlays, height 5.2 cm
 Private collection, estate of Franz Marc

Tanaka Minko
Goat (hitsuji), Netsuke, ca. 1812
 Boxwood, height 3.8 cm
 Private collection, estate of Franz Marc

Anonymous
 ca. 40 Chinese figurines, early 20th century
 Porcelain, glazed, mounted individually
 or in groups on small plinths of kaolin clay.
 Private collection, estate of Franz Marc

Anonymous, Japan
Daikoku, one of the seven Japanese gods of good
 fortune (*shichifukujin*), early 20th century
 Hinoki wood, height 9.2 cm
 Private collection, estate of Franz Marc



Anonymous
Man standing, early 20th century
 Stoneware, glazed, height 6.5 cm
 Private collection, estate of Franz Marc

Anonymous, China
 Stamp, ca. 1908
 Soapstone, height 2 cm
 Private collection, estate of Franz Marc

Anonymous
 Chinese snuff bottle, late 19th century
 Frosted glass, amber-colored in places,
 with black glass overlay, height 6 cm
 Private collection, estate of Franz Marc

Anonymous
Fukurokuju, one of the seven Japanese gods of
 good fortune (*shichifukujin*), late 19th century
 Black soapstone, 22.4 x 6.2 x 5.8 cm
 Private collection, estate of Franz Marc



Franz Marc
Keyhole fitting (Panther attacking a horse),
 1910
 Etched bronze, 11.6 × 3.5 cm
 G 15919, acquired 1979

Franz Marc
Cup, 1910/11
 Alabaster plaster, height 6.5 cm,
 max. diameter 9 cm
 AK 22, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired from
 Franz Resch Gauting 1975

Franz Marc
Keyhole fitting in the shape of a Tsuba
(Adam and Eve), 1910
 Bronze, 7 × 6.8 cm
 G 19252, gift of Dorothee and Axel Scheuren
 2020, estate of August Macke

Franz Marc
Belt buckle (Lioness struck by an arrow),
 1909/1910
 Etched bronze, 6.1 × 7.1 cm
 G 15920, acquired 1979

Franz Marc
Mortar and Pestle, 1910
 Engraved and chased brass,
 22.5 × 20.5 × 15.2 cm
 G 15918, acquired 1979



Wassily Kandinsky
Oriental, 1909
Oil on cardboard, 69.5 × 96.5 cm
GMS 55, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Alfred Kubin
Buddhist in the Forest, ca. 1907
Gouache on land register paper,
39.7 × 37.5 cm
G 19050, acquired 2017



August Macke
Indians on Horseback near a Tent, 1911
 Oil on wood, 26.5 × 35.5 cm
 G 13261, acquired 1964

August Macke
Three Girls in a Skiff, 1912
 Gouache, oil behind glass, 34.5 × 53.5 cm
 G 12983, acquired 1962



August Macke
Turkish Café, 1914
Oil on wood, 60 × 35 cm
G 13325, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
acquired from August Macke



Wassily Kandinsky
Improvisation 6 (African), 1909
Oil on canvas, 107 × 95.5 cm
GMS 56, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous
St. Martin, undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 32.9 × 25.5 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 29, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous, Central India
Goddess (Shakti, a Consort of Shiva), ca. 1900
 Gouache, oil, metal leaf, behind glass,
 in original frame, 29.7 × 25.1 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 H 128, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous
St. Anne, undated
 India ink, oil, silver paint behind glass,
 in original frame, 27.1 × 21 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 H 98, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous, Bavaria
St. Magdalene (with skull, in medallion),
 undated
 Gouache, oil, gilt bronze behind glass,
 in original frame, 29.5 × 23.7 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 H 38, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, Southern India
War God (A Son of Shiva), ca. 1900
 Gouache, oil, metal leaf, behind glass,
 in original frame, 46.4 × 41.5 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 H 125, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

probably Gabriele Münter
*St. John of Nepomuk Hearing the Confession
 of the Queen of Bohemia*, undated
 India ink, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 32.7 × 23 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 115, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter

probably Heinrich Rambold
Madonna and Child of Loreto, undated
 India ink, oil, gilt bronze behind glass,
 in painted original frame, 23.6 × 20.7 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 H 105, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

probably Heinrich Rambold
*St. John of Nepomuk Hearing the Confession
 of the Queen of Bohemia*, undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 31.7 × 21.3 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 114, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



probably Heinrich Rambold
Annunciation, undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 35.6 × 24.7 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 92, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous
Holy Trinity, undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 22.8 × 17.1 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 50, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous
Christ Crucified (against black background),
 undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 33.5 × 24.8 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 53, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous
St. Florian and St. Sebastian, undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 25.2 × 18.9 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 43, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, Werdenfelser Land
Holy Trinity (with Mercy Seat), mid 19th century
 Gouache, oil, metal leaf, behind glass in original frame, 37 × 26.6 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 46, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous
Holy Family (Infant Jesus standing between Mary and Joseph), undated
 India ink, oil, silver paint behind glass, in original frame, 33.2 × 23.4 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 86, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

probably Heinrich Rambold
St. Walburga, undated
 India ink, oil, gilt bronze behind glass, in painted original frame, 17.9 × 16.1 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 67, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous
Sacred Heart of Mary, undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 29.8 × 21.2 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 83, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
Votive picture, ca. 1908/09
 India ink, oil behind glass in painted original
 frame, 23.2 × 16.9 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 731, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous
Coronation of Mary (with Christ and
 God the Father), undated
 Gouache, oil, silver paint behind glass,
 in original frame, 24.9 × 17.3 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 H 85, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Heinrich Rambold
Ex Voto for Bedridden Farmer, undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 24.3 × 16.3 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 74, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, Central India
Hanuman, or general of the monkey army,
 ca. 1900
 Gouache, oil, metal leaf, behind glass,
 in original frame, 29.4 × 24.5 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 H 130, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous
St. Elizabeth, undated
 Gouache, oil, gilt bronze behind glass, in
 original frame, 22.8 × 16 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 62, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Heinrich Rambold
Baby Jesus Lying, undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in painted original
 frame, 23.6 × 28.9 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 63, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous
St. Joseph in a Tondo, undated
 Gouache, oil, gilt bronze behind glass, in
 original frame, 22.1 × 16 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 61, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
The Horsemen of the Apocalypse II, 1914
 India ink, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 32.5 × 23.5 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 106, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Lady in Moscow, 1912
 India ink, oil behind cathedral glass,
 in painted original frame, 35.7 × 33.2 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 124, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Cavalier with Trumpet, ca. 1912
 India ink, oil, metal foil application behind
 cathedral glass, in painted original frame,
 33.2 × 22.4 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 128, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Imaginary Bird and Black Panther
 (also *Hellhound and Imaginary Bird*), 1911
 India ink, oil, silver bronze behind glass,
 in original frame, 13.7 × 12.3 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 116, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
St. George III, 1911
 Oil behind scored mirror, in original frame,
 25.9 × 26 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 119, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Glass Painting with Swan, ca. 1912
 Oil behind cathedral glass, in painted original
 frame, 34.7 × 30 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 118, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
Still Life (against red-white background),
 ca. 1908/09
 Oil, beige and gray paper, behind glass, in
 original frame, 11 × 14.4 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 18, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter

Wassily Kandinsky
All Saints II (also Composition with Saints),
 1911
 India ink, oil behind cathedral glass,
 in painted original frame, 33.7 × 51.1 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 122, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Glass Painting with Red Spot (also Glass Painting with Red Spot and Black Lines),
 ca. 1913
 India ink, oil behind glass, in original frame,
 30 × 27 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 126, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Resurrection (Large Version), 1911
 Oil, silver bronze behind glass, in painted
 original frame, 26.9 × 26 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 125, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Cow in Moscow, 1912
 India ink, oil, metal foil application behind
 cathedral glass, in painted original frame,
 30.6 × 35 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 109, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

August Macke
At the Circus, 1911
 India ink, oil behind glass, in painted
 original frame, 16.2 × 13.2 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 721, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



probably Heinrich Rambold
St. George, undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in painted original frame, 36.8 × 38 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 35, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

August Macke
Riverscape and Angler, 1911
 India ink, oil behind glass, in original frame, 17.4 × 23.8 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 719, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Rowing, ca. 1912
 India ink, resin and oil paint, applications of tin and aluminum foils behind ornamental glass, in painted original frame, 24.5 × 28.4 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 108, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
The Cow, 1910
Oil on canvas, 95.5 × 105 cm
GMS 58, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Encounter, ca. 1909
 Painted wood relief, 36.5 × 42.5 cm
 HP 1, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter

Wassily Kandinsky
Rider, ca. 1909
 Painted wood relief, 29 × 25 cm
 HP 2, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter

Wassily Kandinsky
Woman Leaning Forward, ca. 1909
 Painted wood sculpture, 12 × 6 × 4 cm
 HP 4, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter



Gabriele Münter
Still Life with Figure II, 1910
Oil on cardboard, 75.8 × 79 cm
S 105, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter



Gabriele Münter
Madonna with Poinsettia, ca. 1911
 Oil on canvas, 92.5 × 70.5 cm
 G 12206, gift of the artist 1957



Anonymous, Southern Germany
Devotional copy of the miraculous image of Our Lady of Ettal, early 19th century
 Wood, carved, several overpaintings, height 44 cm
 HP 5, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Gabriele Münter
Still Life with Russian Blanket, 1910
 Oil on cardboard, 68.5 × 50.1 cm
 S 96, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter



Adda Campendonk (b. Deichmann)
Rooster, Goat, and Boar, after a design
 by Franz Marc, ca. 1912
 Wool embroidery, diameter 22 cm
 G 13102, acquired with funds from the legacy
 of Gabriele Münter 1962



Gabriele Münter
Kandinsky and Erma Bossi at the Table,
1912
Oil on canvas, 95.5 × 125.5 cm
GMS 780, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of the artist, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Maria Franck-Marc
Three Wise Men, ca. 1911/12
Oil on canvas, 78.4 × 88.2 cm
G 19051, acquired from private collection 2017,
estate of Maria Marc



Anonymous, Sergiyev Posad, Russia
Carved figurine (man walking), ca. 1900
Wood, 16 cm
HP 26, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous, Sergiyev Posad, Russia
Carved figurine (man standing), ca. 1900
Wood 16 cm
HP 27, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous
St. Anna, ca. 1800
Painted wood sculpture, 31.8 × 11.4 × 7 cm
HP 8, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, Lower Bavaria
Curing of Toothache, 1841
 Votive panel, tempera on wood,
 24.8 × 19.3 cm
 I 2, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous, Southern Germany
Accident with a Wagon, 1842
 Votive panel, oil and/or tempera on wood,
 30 × 15.2 cm
 I 4, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Watercolor No. 8, Last Judgment, 1911/12
 Watercolor, India ink, pencil on paper,
 in painted original frame, 31 × 45 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 147, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
All Saints I, 1911
Oil, gouache on cardboard, 50 × 64.8 cm
GMS 71, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Last Supper, 1909/10
 Oil, India ink behind glass, in painted
 original frame, 27.3 × 38.2 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 111, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
Two Figures, ca. 1908/09
 Painted wood relief, 17.5 × 13 × 3.5 cm
 HP 3, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter

Anonymous, Val Gardena
 Pocket watch stand, ca. 1800
 Wood, carved, painted, 31.5 × 18 cm
 HP 9, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
All Saints I, 1911
 India ink, oil, silver and gold bronze behind glass, in painted original frame, 38 × 44 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 107, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Wassily Kandinsky
St. Vladimir, 1911
 India ink, oil behind glass, in painted original frame, 32.8 × 29.5 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 127, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
St. Gabriel, 1911
 Oil, silver and gold bronze behind glass,
 in original frame, 42.2 × 27.7 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 123, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Angel of the Last Judgment (Fragment Last Judgment), 1911
 Oil, tempera behind glass, in painted original
 frame, 29.8 × 21.3 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 113, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Resurrection (Last Judgment), 1911
 Oil behind cathedral glass, in painted original
 frame, 25.4 × 15.3 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 112, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Riders of the Apocalypse I, 1911
 India ink, oil, metal leaf, behind glass,
 in painted original frame, 33.2 × 24.1 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 121, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Elisabeth Macke
Madonna and Child, ca. 1911
 India ink, gouache, oil behind glass,
 in painted original frame, 15.7 × 12.8 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 H 118, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
Holy Mary, ca. 1908/09
 India ink, oil, gold bronze behind glass
 in painted original frame, 23.7 × 18.5 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 732, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of the artist, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
St. Theresa, ca. 1908/09
 India ink, oil behind glass, in painted
 original frame, 22.9 × 20 cm (frame dimensions)
 GMS 730, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of the artist, formerly owned by
 Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
The Saints Francis Seraph and Julie, ca. 1910
 India ink, oil, gilt bronze behind glass,
 in painted original frame, 26.7 × 21.3 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 G 12191, acquired 1957



Gabriele Münter
Madonna and Child, ca. 1909/10
 India ink, oil behind glass, in painted
 original frame, 25.1 × 18.2 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 GMS 734, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of the artist, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
Wayside Cross in Landscape, ca. 1910
 India ink, oil behind glass, in painted
 original frame, 17.9 × 24.1 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 G 12190, acquired 1957

Gabriele Münter
St. Joseph with Baby Jesus, ca. 1908/09
 India ink, oil behind and on glass,
 in painted original frame, 25.5 × 19.9 cm
 (frame dimensions)
 H 116, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter



Franz Marc
Altar Sheep from Lana, postcard to
 Gabriele Münter, April 11, 1913
 Watercolor, gouache, India ink, 9 × 14 cm
 GMS 741, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Franz Marc
Red and Blue Horse, postcard to
 Wassily Kandinsky, April 5, 1913
 Watercolor over pencil, 9 × 14 cm
 GMS 743, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Gabriele Münter
Glass goblet, ca. 1910
Oil behind glass, 29 × 13.6 cm
D 2, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter



Marianne von Werefkin
Two Easter eggs, with depictions of Christ
Resurrected and Christ Enthroned, ca. 1909
Painted goose eggs with colorfully printed
ribbons, each 17 × 10 × 10 cm
D 25, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, estate of Gabriele Münter, formerly
owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Franz Marc
The Little Monkey, 1912
Oil on canvas, 70.4 × 100 cm
G 14664, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
acquired from Franz Marc



Franz Marc
The Panther, 1908
 Bronze, height 9.8 cm
 AK 3, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, acquired 1965

August Macke
Zoological Garden I, 1912
 Oil on canvas, 58.5 × 98 cm
 G 13329, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
 Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
 of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
 acquired from August Macke



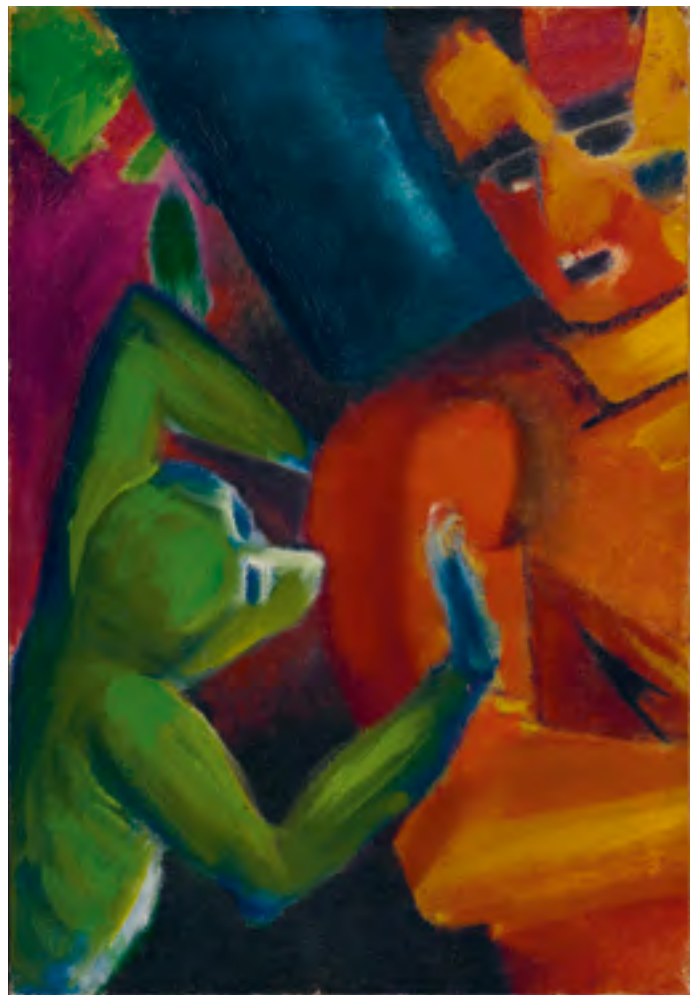
August Macke
Walk on the Bridge, 1913
 Oil on cardboard, 24.7 × 30.2 cm
 G 13332, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
 Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
 of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
 acquired from August Macke



August Macke
Promenade, 1913
 Oil on cardboard, 51 × 57 cm
 G 13328, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
 Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
 of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
 acquired from August Macke



August Macke
Seated Female Nude, ca. 1912
 Bronze, height 23 cm
 G 15030, acquired 1974



Franz Marc
Little Monkey and Man, ca. 1912
 Oil on canvas, 51.5 × 35.5 cm
 G 13139, gift of Gabriele Münter 1962



August Macke
Children with Goat, 1913
 Oil on cardboard, 24 cm × 34 cm
 G 13331, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
 Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
 of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
 acquired from August Macke



Anonymous, Nuku Hiva, Marquesa Islands,
 Polynesia
Stilt (tapuvae toko), before 1804
 Wood, 32.5 × 6.5 × 9 cm
 MFK 188, Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich,
 collected 1804 by Heinrich Langsdorff
 in Nuku Hiva, acquired 1821 for the
 Royal Ethnographic Collection
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
 almanac 1912, p. 32



August Macke
Milliner's Shop, 1913
 Oil on canvas, 54.5 × 44 cm
 G 13334, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
 Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
 of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
 acquired from August Macke



Anonymous, Africa/Gabon
Bapunu Mask, before 1889
 Color, wood, 34 × 21 × 16 cm
 E/1889.332.0002, Bernisches Historisches
 Museum, Bern, Swiss General Commission for
 the 1889 International Exhibition in Paris
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
 almanac 1912, after p. 102



Andreas Jawlensky
Red Flowers on a Pink Table, 1910
 Oil on cardboard, 49.7 × 53.7 cm
 GMS 682, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Elfriede Schröter
Aunt Grete (Maggie), October 1913
 Oil on cardboard, 33.5 × 36 cm
 KIZ 186, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Elfriede Schröter
Friedel no. 1, Rudi, July 1913
 Oil on cardboard, 35.8 × 33 cm
 KIZ 184, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Elfriede Schröter
Friedel no. 4, November 19, 1913
 Oil on cardboard, 25 × 30 cm
 KIZ 181, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Elfriede Schröter
Friedel no. 5, Little Bear, July 31, 1913
 Oil on cardboard, 36 × 33.5 cm
 KIZ 179, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Impression VI (Sunday), 1911
Oil on canvas, 107.5 × 95 cm
GMS 57, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Gabriele Münter
Tünnies and Companions (toy no. 2), 1908
 Lino cut in several colors on Japan paper,
 17.5 × 26.1 cm
 GMS 875, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of the artist, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
Uncle Sam and Companions (toy no. 3), 1908
 Lino cut in several colors on Japan paper,
 15.5 × 24 cm
 GMS 878, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of the artist, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
In Conversation (toy no. 4), 1908
 Lino cut in several colors on Japan paper,
 glued to gray drawing paper, 18 × 19.6 cm
 GMS 881, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of the artist, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky

Gabriele Münter
Good Night (toy no. 5), 1908
 Lino cut in several colors on Japan paper,
 glued to gray drawing paper, 16.8 × 20.6 cm
 GMS 884, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of the artist, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous
 Untitled, undated
 Black colored pencil, pastel, 23.9 × 20 cm
 KIZ 126, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous
 Untitled, undated
 Watercolor, colored pencil over pencil,
 17.3 × 10.4 cm
 KIZ 203, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous
 Untitled, undated
 Watercolor, colored pencil over pencil,
 17.2 × 11.4 cm
 KIZ 191, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous
 Untitled, undated
 Watercolor, colored pencil, on lined paper,
 21 × 22.1 cm
 KIZ 46, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous
 Untitled, undated
 Pencil, colored pencil, 18.5 × 22.9 cm
 KIZ 85, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



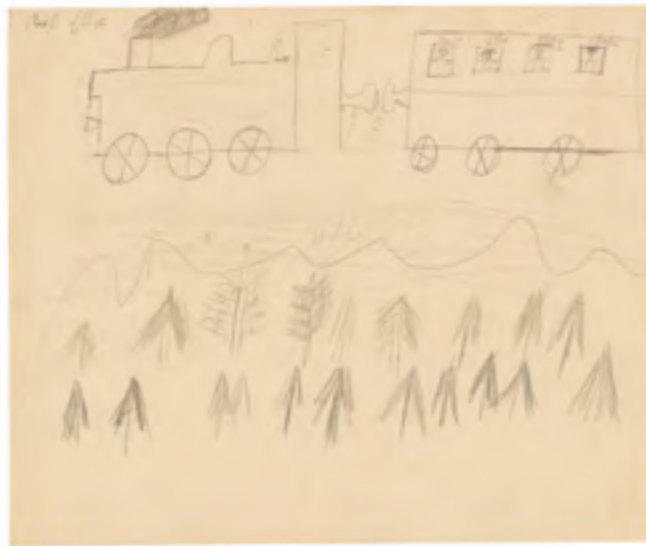
Maria Franck-Marc
Girl with Toddler, ca. 1913
Oil on canvas, 78 × 88 cm
G 19199, acquired from private collection 2019,
estate of Maria Marc



August Macke
Children at the Well II, 1910
Oil on canvas, 80.5 × 56.5 cm
FVL 43, acquired by the *Förderverein*
Lenbachhaus e.V. 2019, estate of August Macke
until ca. 1961



Wassily Kandinsky
Railroad at Murnau, 1909
Oil on cardboard, 36 × 49 cm
GMS 49, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Ella Reiss
Untitled, undated
Pencil, 20 × 24 cm
KIZ 138, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
Wassily Kandinsky



Rudi Schindler
 Untitled, undated
 Pencil, pastel, 23.9 × 19.9 cm
 KIZ 121, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Martin Mosner
 Untitled, undated
 Pencil, pastel, 23.9 × 20 cm
 KIZ 117, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Gabriele Münter
House, 1914
 Oil on cardboard, 40.5 × 32.8 cm
 Mü 2a, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter



Gabriele Münter
Mill, 1914
 Oil on cardboard, 37.1 × 32.8 cm
 Mü 3, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter



Paul Klee
Figures, postcard to Alfred Kubin, June 19, 1913
 India ink on paper, glued to the address side of the postcard, 4 × 4.5 cm (image size)
 AK 34, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich, acquired 1983

Paul Klee
Grotesque Female Figure, postcard to Gabriele Münter, June 26, 1913
 India ink on paper, glued on to the address side of the postcard, 6.6 × 5.1 cm
 GMS 725, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Horses, 1909
Oil on canvas, 97 × 107.3 cm
GMS 53, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Maria Franck-Marc
Toys with Birdcage, ca. 1911
Oil on canvas, 60.2 × 88.5 cm
G 19053, acquired from private collection 2017,
estate of Maria Marc



Anonymous, Poland or Ukraine
Two Water Bird Whistles, late 19th century
Clay, painted cold, height 10 cm and 9 cm
D 15, D 16, Gabriele Münter and Johannes
Eichner Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele
Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter
and Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous, Berchtesgaden
Horse Whistle, late 19th century
Wood, sawn, turned, painted, height 11 cm
HP 42, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, Erzgebirge
Rattling Doll, ca. 1900
Wood, turned, painted, height 20.1 cm
HP 19, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
Wassily Kandinsky



Lilja Kenda
 Untitled, undated
 Pencil, colored pencil on lined paper,
 18 × 22.4 cm
 KIZ 226, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Annemarie Münter
 Untitled, August 28, 1913
 Watercolor, pencil, 21.2 × 16.7 cm
 KIZ 113, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous
 Untitled, undated
 Pencil on lined paper, 21 × 16.4 cm
 KIZ 149, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous
 Untitled, undated
 Pastel on gray paper, 26.2 × 29.7 cm
 KIZ 175, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Impression III (Concert), 1911
Oil on canvas, 77.5 × 100 cm
GMS 78, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Arnold Schoenberg
The Lucky Hand (1st picture), 1910
 Oil on cardboard, 21.8 × 30.2 cm
 Belmont Music Publishers, Pacific Palisades/CA,
 courtesy Arnold Schoenberg Center, Vienna,
 estate of Arnold Schoenberg, Belmont Music
 Publishers, Pacific Palisades/CA



Arnold Schoenberg
The Lucky Hand (2nd picture), 1910
 Oil on cardboard, 22 × 30 cm
 Belmont Music Publishers, Pacific Palisades/CA,
 courtesy Arnold Schoenberg Center, Vienna,
 estate of Arnold Schoenberg, Belmont Music
 Publishers, Pacific Palisades/CA



Arnold Schoenberg
The Red Gaze, 1910
 Oil on cardboard, 32 × 25 cm
 Belmont Music Publishers, Pacific Palisades/CA,
 courtesy Arnold Schoenberg Center, Vienna,
 estate of Arnold Schoenberg, Belmont Music
 Publishers, Pacific Palisades/CA



Arnold Schoenberg
Expectation, ca. 1911
 Watercolor, pastel, ink on paper, 45 × 31.4 cm
 Belmont Music Publishers, Pacific Palisades/CA,
 courtesy Arnold Schoenberg Center, Vienna,
 estate of Arnold Schoenberg, Belmont Music
 Publishers, Pacific Palisades/CA



Wassily Kandinsky
Study for the color woodcut "Archer," 1908/09
 Watercolor, India ink over pencil on thin
 cardboard
 16.6 × 15.3 cm (image size)
 GMS 459, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Wassily Kandinsky
Archer, 1908/09
 Color woodcut, four blocks, printed in the
 sequence black, red, blue, yellow,
 16.5 × 15.4 cm
 GMS 623/2, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
 Supplementary picture in the *Der Blaue
 Reiter* almanac 1912, after p. 64



Wassily Kandinsky
St. George III, 1911
Tempera on canvas, 97.5 × 107.5 cm
GMS 81, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, Russia
The Strong Brave Knight Ilya Muromets, Moscow, Lubok, pl. *Lubki*, second half of 19th century
 Lithograph, colored with brush, 35.5 × 44.2 cm
 I 18, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, presumably China
Two Fabulous Beasts with Tree and Rosebush, 18th–19th century
 Gouache on Japan paper, 20.5 × 33 cm
 FM 104, Franz Marc Museum, Kochel a. See, Franz Marc Foundation, on permanent loan from the co-heirs of Maria Marc, estate of Franz Marc
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac 1912, p. 2



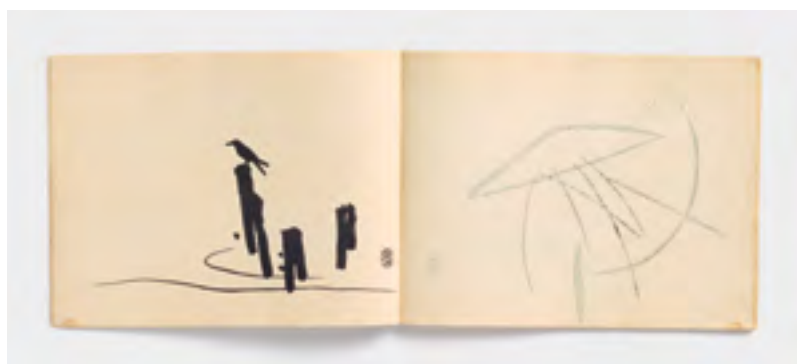
Franz Marc
Vermilion Greeting, postcard
 to Wassily Kandinsky, April 19, 1913
 Watercolor, gouache over pencil, 14 × 9 cm
 GMS 726, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Franz Marc
Four Foxes, postcard to Wassily Kandinsky,
 February 4, 1913
 Watercolor, gouache, India ink, 14 × 9 cm
 GMS 746, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, Russia
Yeruslan Lazarevich Kills a Sea Monster,
 Russia, first half of the 19th century
 Copper engraving, colored with brush,
 30.4 × 39 cm
 I 17, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Takeuchi Seihō's Manual of Painting
(*Seiho shuga cho*)

Book, thread stitching, two vols.,
each 18.2 × 25 cm

Vol. 1, 12 b/w illustrations

Vol. 2, 12 b/w illustrations

11470a and 11470b, Schloßmuseum Murnau,

acquired 2009 from the estate of

Franz and Maria Marc

illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac

1912, with individual illustrations



Wassily Kandinsky

Lyrical, 1911

Color woodcut, four blocks, printed
in the sequence red, blue, yellow, black
on Japan paper, 19.2 × 31.5 cm

GMS 303, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957

Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Katsushika Hokusai (attr.)
Shishi Lion, 19th century
India ink on paper, 21.5 × 27.5 cm
11198, Schloßmuseum Murnau, acquired 2009
from the estate of Franz and Maria Marc
illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac
1912, p. 91



Franz Marc
Tiger, 1912
Oil on canvas, 111.7 × 101.8 cm
G 13320, Bernhard and Elly Koehler
Foundation 1965, gift from the estate
of Bernhard Koehler Sen., Berlin,
acquired from Franz Marc



Lydia Wieber
 Untitled (Woman seated with green dress),
 1908
 Pencil, watercolor, 20.9 × 16.2 cm
 KIZ 254-14, Gabriele Münter and
 Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich,
 estate of Gabriele Münter
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac
 1912, after p. 74

Lydia Wieber
 Untitled (Woman seated, with red dress),
 1908
 Pencil, watercolor, 20.9 × 16.2 cm
 KIZ 254-8, Gabriele Münter and
 Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich,
 estate of Gabriele Münter
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac
 1912, after p. 74

Lydia Wieber
 Untitled (Woman seated, with yellow dress),
 1908
 Pencil, watercolor, 20.9 × 16.3 cm
 KIZ 254-12, Gabriele Münter and
 Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich,
 estate of Gabriele Münter
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac
 1912, after p. 74



Lydia Wieber
In the Orient, 1908
 Pencil, watercolor, 15.7 × 21 cm
 KIZ 254-6, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac
 1912, after p. 26



Wassily Kandinsky
Study for "Composition IV," 1911
 Watercolor, India ink, over line etching,
 19 × 26.3 cm
 GMS 460, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
 by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Gabriele Münter
Man at Table (Kandinsky), 1911
Oil on cardboard, 50.8 × 68.5 cm
GMS 665, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of the artist, formerly owned by
Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac
1912, p. 108



Anonymous, Ceylon (Sri Lanka)
Maha-Kola Mask, before 1890
 Wood, aniline paints, metal, hair,
 117 × 80 × 31 cm
 MFK B-3454, Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich,
 acquired by Dr. Max Buchner 1890 in Ceylon
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac
 1912, after p. 122



Anonymous, Easter Islands, Rapa Nui, Polynesia
Figure of a male spirit / Moai Kavakava,
before 1825
Wood, 45.8 × 10 × 11.7 cm
MFK 193, Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich,
acquired 1825 in London by
Georg Heinrich Wagler for the Königlich
Ethnographische Sammlung
illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac
1912, p. 22



Henri Rousseau
The Wedding (La Noce), ca. 1905
 Oil on canvas, 163 × 114 cm
 RF 1960-25, Musées d'Orsay
 et de l'Orangerie, Paris, Jean Walter
 and Paul Guillaume Collection
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
 almanac 1912, p. 95



Anonymous, Upper Bavaria
Peasant Couple with Herd of Cattle, 1853
 Votive panel, oil and/or tempera painting
 on wood, 42.1 × 34.5 cm
 I 1, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky

Anonymous, Southern Germany
Votive Offerer with St. Sebastian, 1784
 Votive panel, oil and/or tempera painting,
 21.2 × 18.3 cm
 I 3, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Arnold Schoenberg
Nocturnal Landscape, 1911
Oil on canvas, 58 × 73 cm
Arnold Schoenberg Center, Vienna,
estate of Arnold Schoenberg



Wassily Kandinsky
Improvisation 18 (with Tomb Stone), 1911
Oil on canvas, 141 × 120 cm
GMS 77, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, South East Asia, Borneo, Kalimantan,
Kahayan, Ethnicity: Dayak
Ancestor figure (man)
Wood, azobé (ironwood), 190 × 40 × 35 cm
E/1906/.253.0032/1, Bernisches Historisches
Museum, Bern, acquired by Ernst Müller
in Borneo, gifted 1906
illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac
1912, p. 7

Anonymous, South East Asia, Borneo, Kalimantan,
Kahayan, Ethnicity: Dayak
Ancestor figure (woman)
Wood, azobé (ironwood), 168 × 35 × 35 cm
E/1906/.253.0032/2, Bernisches Historisches
Museum, Bern, acquired by Ernst Müller
in Borneo, gifted 1906



Gabriele Münter
The Death of a Saint, undated
 India ink, oil behind glass, in original frame
 29.8 × 21.1 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 120, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter



Gabriele Münter
Holy Family, undated
 India ink, oil, metal leaf, behind glass
 in original frame
 30.3 × 21.3 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 121, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous
Sleeping Baby Jesus, undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in painted
 original frame
 21.9 × 27.9 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 64, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, Egypt
Horse Led by a Servant, Shadow Figure,
 14th–18th century
 Black parchment, cut, perforation technique,
 63 × 69.5 cm
 PS-82/1, Münchner Stadtmuseum
 Illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac
 1912, after p. 97



Wilhelm Morgner
The Woodworkers, 1911
Tempera on cardboard, 56.4 × 60.2 cm
G 19239, acquired 2019



Alfred Kubin
The Fisherman, 1911/12
 Pencil, ink on land register paper,
 31.3 × 18.5 cm
 Private collection
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
 almanac 1912, after p. 96



Anonymous, Mexico, Huexotla, Aztec
Xipe Totec, before 1519
 Ceramic, height 16.2 cm
 MFK 10.1713, Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich,
 acquired by Walter Lehmann 1909 in Mexico
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac
 1912, p. 24



Anonymous, New Caledonia, Melanesia
Mask of an ancestor spirit, before 1902
Wood, 62.5 × 17 × 18.3 cm
MFK 02-230, Museum Fünf Kontinente,
Munich, acquired 1902 from the art dealer
Florine Langweil in Paris
illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac 1912, p. 25



Gabriele Münter
The Dragon Fight, 1913
Oil on cardboard, 35.8 × 43.5 cm
V 117, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter



Gabriele Münter
Still Life with St. George, 1911
 Oil on cardboard, 51.1 × 68 cm
 GMS 666, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
 Gift of the artist, formerly owned by
 Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky
 illustrated in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
 almanac 1912, p. 99



Heinrich Rambold
St. George, undated
 Gouache, oil behind glass, in original frame
 30.3 × 23.4 cm (frame dimensions)
 H 34, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, probably Southern Europe
St. George, 19th century
 Oil on canvas, 77.5 × 60 cm
 I 42, Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner
 Foundation, Munich, estate of Gabriele Münter,
 formerly owned by Gabriele Münter and
 Wassily Kandinsky



Anonymous, Southern Germany or Austria
St. Martin, early 19th century
 Folk sculpture, 75 × 55 cm
 AM 81-65-1029, Centre Pompidou, Paris,
 Musée National d'Art Moderne, Fonds Kandinsky,
 Legs de Nina Kandinsky 1981



Alfred Kubin
Girls and Animals in the Forest, 1912
Ink on land register paper, 28 × 25.8 cm
GMS 722, Gabriele Münter Foundation 1957
Gift of Gabriele Münter, formerly owned
by Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky



Franz Marc
Fabulous Beast, 1912
Color woodblock print in seven colors,
partially colored with stencil
18.5 × 25.1 cm
G 13141, gift of Gabriele Münter 1961
Supplementary picture in the *Der Blaue Reiter*
almanac 1912, before p. 1

MATERIALS

Editorial note

The information about the materials and techniques of the illustrated works by Blue Rider artists follow art-historical conventions. The classic terms “Oil on canvas” or “Oil on cardboard” appear frequently. Art technological research, however, has shown that the systems of binding agents—those substances such as oil, resin, gums, or acrylic which turn pigment into paint—are extremely complex within the circle of the Blue Rider. There is evidence for both home-made and industrially produced tempera and oil-tube paints in the extensive correspondence between the artists and also in the results of scientific analysis of binding agents and pigment samples. Even varnishes that were thought not to have been used in modern art are detectable.

The Blue Rider artists’ quest for a new pictorial language is also apparent in their search for the material appropriate to it: both the selection of “pure” pigments—those most similar to the colors of the spectrum—and also the gloss level, texture, and ageing resistance of the paints played a part in this. The reading of color-theoretical theory was considered a prerequisite for the choice of the concrete color media in particular for Franz Marc, who ventured far into the field of optics, and for Wassily Kandinsky. So, while the painting techniques of the artists of the editorial board of the Blue Rider can hardly be reduced to standard terms such as those noted above, they themselves often used the description “Oil on canvas,” even though it was clear that the work had not been made solely with oil paints. This was presumably also done to maintain the idea of status associated with the term “oil.” In this catalogue we therefore largely follow the information from the catalogues raisonnés. Where detailed research results are available we provide a brief summary. The details for loaned works are those provided by the lenders.

Iris Winkelmeyer

List of the Artists in the Exhibition

Additional artists and producers who have
remained anonymous for want of information are
not listed here.

- Vladimir Bekhteev
Владимир Георгиевич Бехтеев
1878 Moscow, Russian Empire (now Russian Federation) – 1971 Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (now Russian Federation)
active in Moscow, Munich, Paris, Moscow
- Albert Bloch
1882 St. Louis – 1961 Lawrence, Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika
United States of America
active in St. Louis, Munich, Ascona, New York, Lawrence
- Erma Bossi
1875 Pula, Austro-Hungarian Empire (now Republic of Croatia) – 1952 Milan, Republic of Italy
active in Trieste, Munich, Paris, Milan
- David Burliuk
Давид Давидович Бурлюк
1882 Kharkov, Russian Empire (now Ukraine) – 1967 Southampton, United States of America
active in Odessa, Kasan, Munich, Paris, Moscow, Tokyo, Long Island
- Vladimir Burliuk
Владимир Давидович Бурлюк
1886 Kharkov, Russian Empire (now Ukraine) – 1917 Thessaloniki, Kingdom of Greece (now Hellenic Republic)
active in Odessa, Munich, Paris, Kiev
- Adelheid (Adda) Campendonk
1887
active in Sindelsdorf, Seeshaupt, Krefeld
- Heinrich Campendonk
1889 Krefeld, German Reich (now Federal Republic of Germany) – 1957 Amsterdam, Kingdom of the Netherlands
active in Krefeld, Sindelsdorf, Seeshaupt, Krefeld, Amsterdam
- Robert Delaunay
1885 Paris – 1941 Montpellier, French Republic
active in Paris, Madrid, Vila do Conde, Paris, Mougins
- Adolf Erbslöh
1881 New York, United States of America – 1947 Irschenhausen, Federal Republic of Germany
active in Karlsruhe, Munich, Brannenburg, Wuppertal, Irschenhausen
- Elisabeth Epstein
1879 Zhytomir, Russian Empire (now Ukraine) – 1956 Geneva, Swiss Federation
active in Moscow, Munich, Paris, Geneva
- Maria Franck-Marc
1876 Berlin, German Reich (today Federal Republic of Germany) – 1955 Ried, Federal Republic of Germany
active in Berlin, Worpswede, Munich, Sindelsdorf, Ried, Ascona, Ried
- Pierre Girieud
1875 Paris – 1940 Paris, French Republic
active in Marseille, Paris, Siena, Paris, Marseille
- Natalia Goncharova
Наталья Сергеевна Гончарова
1881 Ladyshino near Tula, Russian Empire (now Russian Federation) – 1962 Paris, French Republic
active in Moscow, Paris
- Alexej von Jawlensky
Алексей Георгиевич Явленский
1864 Torzhok, Russian Empire (now Russian Federation) – 1941 Wiesbaden, German Reich (now Federal Republic of Germany)
active in St. Petersburg, Munich, Murnau, St. Prex, Ascona, Wiesbaden
- Eugen von Kahler
1882 Prague – 1911 Prague, Austro-Hungarian Empire (now Czech Republic)
active in Prague, Munich, Paris, Berlin, Egypt, Tunesia, Algeria, Munich, Prague
- Wassily Kandinsky
Василий Васильевич Кандинский
1866 Moscow, Russian Empire (now Russian Federation) – 1944 Paris, French Republic
active in Moscow, Munich, Murnau, Moscow, Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Paris
- Alexander Kanoldt
1881 Karlsruhe – 1939 Berlin, German Reich (now Federal Republic of Germany)
active in Karlsruhe, Munich, Breslau

Katsushika Hokusai

葛飾 北斎

1760 Edo (now Tokyo) – 1849 Henjōin, Shōten-chō, Asakusa, Japan
Throughout his life, as was customary in Japanese artistic circles at the time, he used over thirty different names and lived in around a hundred different places.

Ernst Ludwig Kirchner

1880 Aschaffenburg, German Reich (now Federal Republic of Germany) – 1938 Davos, Swiss Federation
active in Dresden, Moritzburg, Berlin, Fehmarn, Königstein, Davos

Paul Klee

1879 Munichbuchsee near Bern – 1940 Muralto-Locarno, Swiss Federation
active in Bern, Munich, Weimar, Dessau, Düsseldorf, Bern

Moissey Kogan

1879 Orhei, Russian Empire (now Republic of Moldova) – 1943 Auschwitz, German Empire (now Republic of Poland)
active in Munich, Hagen, Paris, Weimar, Berlin, Amsterdam, Paris

Saigō Koetsu

西郷 孤月

1873 Fukashi, Chikuma (now Matsumoto, Nagano) – 1912 Fujimae-cho, Hongo-Komagome, Japan
active in Betsuwa (Koishikawa, Tokyo), Kobe, Taiwan

Alfred Kubin

1877 Leitmeritz, Austro-Hungarian Empire (now Czech Republic) – 1959 Zwickledt, Republic of Austria
active in Munich, Zwickledt

August Macke

1887 Meschede, German Reich (now Federal Republic of Germany) – 1914 Souain-Perthes-lès-Hurlus, French Republic
active in Düsseldorf, Berlin, Tegernsee, Bonn, Hilfterfingen, Bonn

Elisabeth Macke

1880 Bonn, German Reich (now Federal Republic of Germany) – 1978 Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany
active in Bonn, Tegernsee, Sindelsdorf, Bonn, Berlin, Bonn

Franz Marc

1880 Munich, German Reich (now Federal Republic of Germany) – 1916 Verdun, French Republic
active in Munich, Kochel, Sindelsdorf, Ried, Hagéville

Wilhelm Morgner

1891 Soest, German Reich (now Federal Republic of Germany) – 1917 Langemark, Kingdom of Belgium
active in Worpswede, Soest, Berlin, Soest, Bulgaria, Serbia

Gabriele Münter

1877 Berlin, German Reich (now Federal Republic of Germany) – 1962 Murnau, Federal Republic of Germany
active in Düsseldorf, Munich, Murnau, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berlin, Paris, Murnau

Jean Bloé Niestlé

1884 Neuchâtel, Swiss Federation – 1942 Antony-sur-Seine, French Republic
active in Neuchâtel, Munich, Sindelsdorf, Seeshaupt, Paris, Antony-sur-Seine

Ogata Gekkō

尾形 月耕

1859 Edo (now Tokyo) – 1920 Tokyo, Japan

Heinrich Rambold

1872 Murnau, German Reich (now Federal Republic of Germany) – 1953 Murnau, Federal Republic of Germany
active in Seehausen, Murnau

Henri Rousseau

1844 Laval – 1910 Paris, French Republic
active in Paris

Alexander Sakharoff

Александр Сахаров

1886 Mariupol, Russian Empire (now Ukraine) – 1963 Siena, Italian Republic
active in Paris, Munich, Lausanne, New York, Paris, China, Japan, South America, Paris, Rome

Alexander von Salzmann

1874 Tiflis, Russian Empire (now Georgia)– 1934 Leysin, Swiss Federation
active in Tiflis, Munich, Hellerau near Dresden, Tiflis, Paris

Arnold Schoenberg
1874 Vienna, Austro-Hungarian Empire
(now Republic of Austria) – 1951 Los Angeles,
United States of America
active in Vienna, Berlin, Vienna,
Amsterdam, Berlin, Paris, Boston,
New York, Los Angeles

Tanaka Minko
田中 岷江
1735 – 1816
active in Tsu, Japan

Toyohara Kunichika
豊原 国周
1835 Edo (now Tokyo) – 1900 Edo
(now Tokyo), Japan

Utagawa Hiroshige
歌川 広重
1797 Edo (now Tokyo) – 1858 Edo
(now Tokyo), Japan

Utagawa Hiroshige II
二代 歌川 広重
1826 Edo (now Tokyo) – 1869 Yokohama,
Japan

Utagawa Kunisada
歌川 国貞
1786 Edo (now Tokyo) – 1865 Edo
(now Tokyo), Japan

Utagawa Kuniyasu
歌川 国安
1794 Edo (now Tokyo), Japan – 1832

Utagawa Kuniyoshi
歌川 国芳
1798 Edo (now Tokyo) – 1861 Edo
(now Tokyo), Japan
Active in Edo (now Tokyo) throughout
his life, as was customary in Japanese
artistic circles at the time, and used
about ten different names.

Utagawa Yoshitsuya
歌川 芳艶
1822 Edo (now Tokyo), Japan – 1866

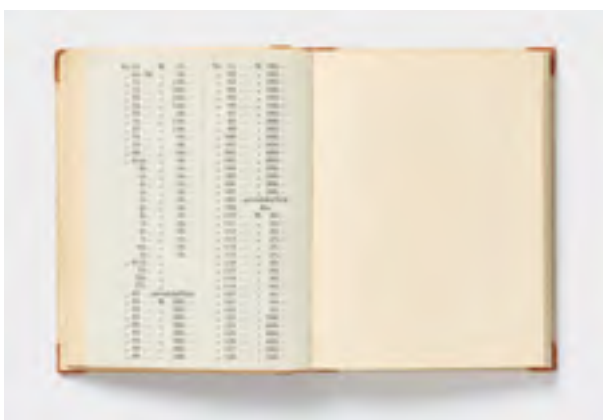
Marianne von Werefkin
Марианна Владимировна Верёвкина
1860 Tula, Russian Empire (now Russian
Federation) – 1938 Ascona, Swiss Federation
active in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Munich,
Murnau, St. Prex, Ascona

Reprints of the Catalogues
The first, second, and third
NKVM exhibitions
1909–12

Neue Künstlervereinigung München e.V.
First exhibition

Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser, Munich
December 1–15, 1909. Catalogue: 8 p. and 14 pls.,
8°, tour of 1909–10, with a preface (excerpt
from the NKVM's founding circular by Wassily
Kandinsky), a list of the 128 exhibited works
and the price list. Second edition (for the
touring exhibition through Germany), tour
of 1910

Copy: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus
und Kunstbau, Munich

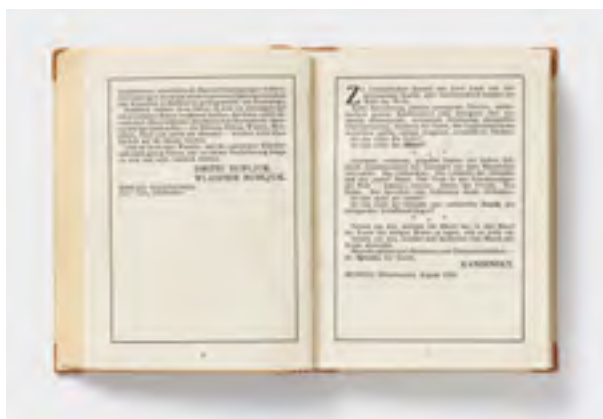


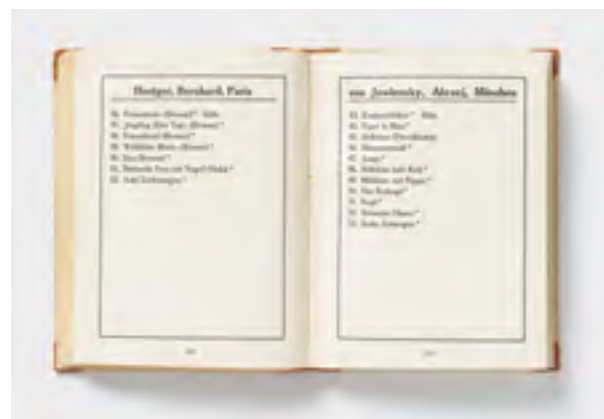
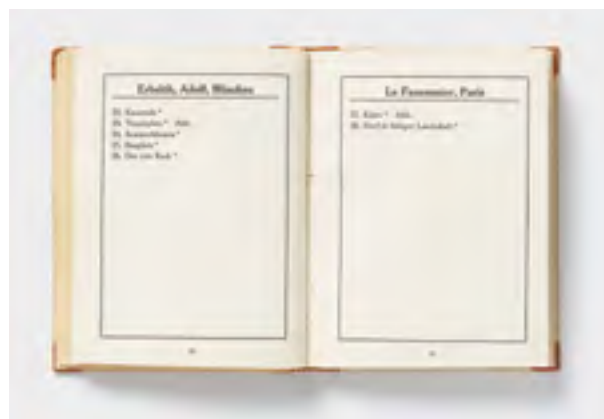


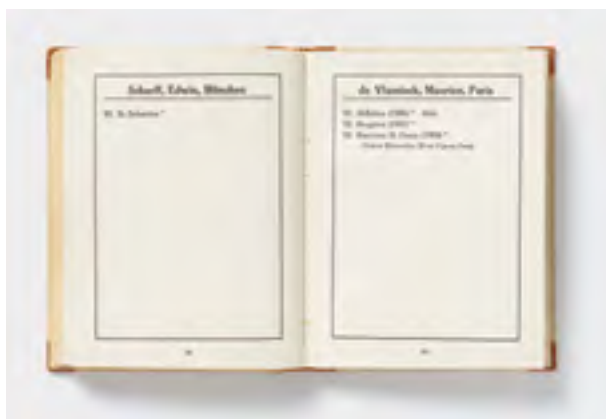
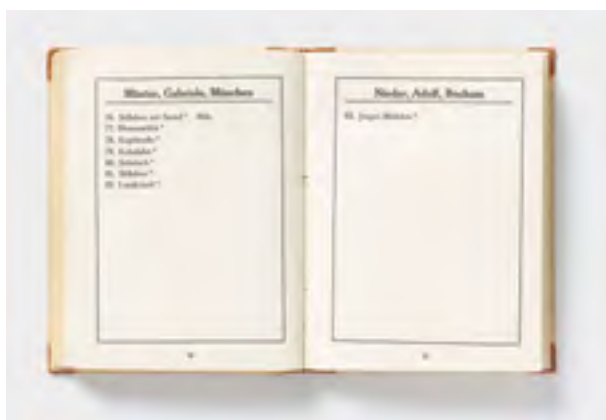
Neue Künstlervereinigung München e.V.
Second exhibition

Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser, Munich
September 1–14, 1910. Catalogue: 42 p. and
20 pls., (and advertisements), 8°, tour of
1910–11, with texts by Henri Le Fauconnier,
Dimitri and Vladimir Burliuk, Wassily Kandinsky,
Odilon Redon, and a list of the 115 works
exhibited.

Copy: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus
und Kunstbau, Munich













Neue Künstlervereinigung München e.V.
Third exhibition
Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser, Munich
December 18, 1911–January 1912. Catalogue:
13 p. and 8 pls., 8°, tour of 1911–12, with
a list of the 58 works exhibited.

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und Kunstbau, Munich



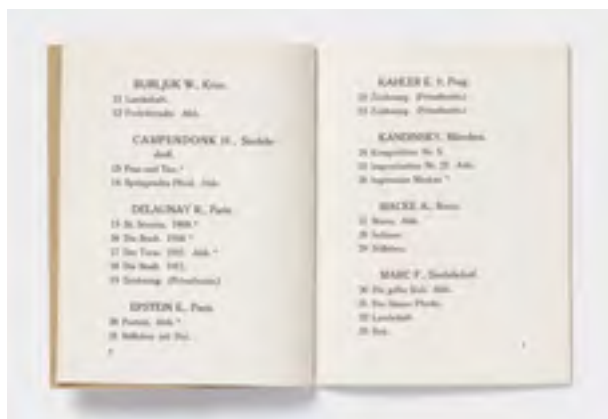
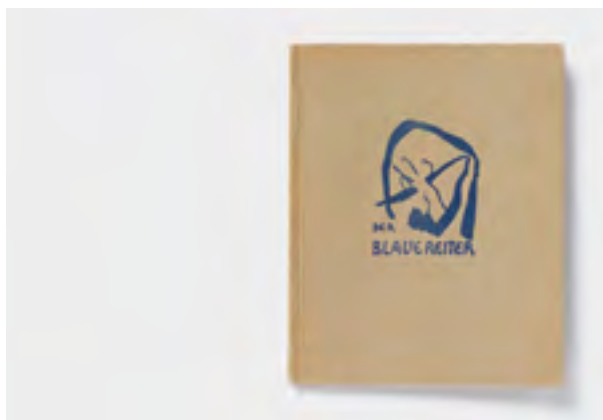


Reprints of the Catalogues
The First and the Second Exhibitions
of the Editorial Board of
The Blue Rider
1911/12

The First Exhibition of the Editorial Board of The Blue Rider

Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser, Munich
December 18, 1911–January 1 [extended to January 3], 1912. Catalogue: 6 p. and 13 pls., 8°, with an index of the 43 works exhibited. On the inside: excerpt by Wassily Kandinsky from the 3-page advertising prospectus for the announcement “I. Exhibition of the Editorial Board of The Blue Rider”, further pages include his text “The Great Upheaval” as well as an advertising for the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac.

Copy: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau, Munich







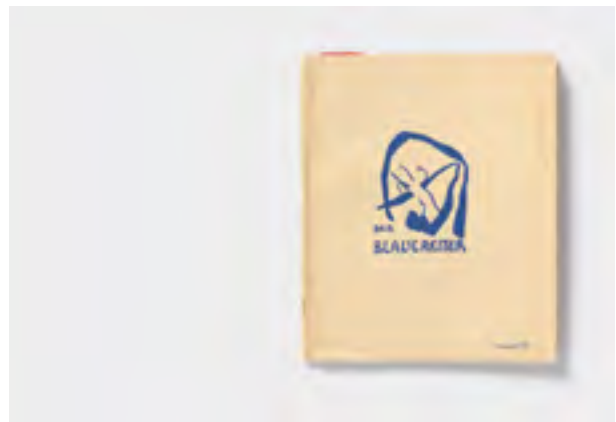
The works marked with an * were sold
at the exhibition

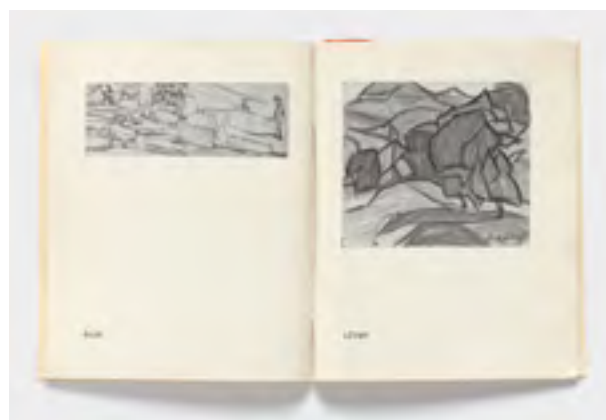
The Second Exhibition of the Editorial Board
of The Blue Rider. Black and White

Galerie Hans Goltz Munich

February 12–April 1912. Catalogue: 16 p. and
20 ill., 8°, with an introduction by Wassily
Kandinsky and a list of the 315 exhibited
works. On the back-cover an advertisement
by Hans Goltz

Copy: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte,
Munich







The First Exhibition of the
Editorial Board of the Blue Rider,
1911/12
Six Photographs by
Gabriele Münter



First Blue Rider exhibition, 1911–12, Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser, Munich, Room 1 (from left to right): (cut off) Gabriele Münter, *Dunkles Stilleben* (Geheimnis) (Dark Still Life [Secret]); (in the adjacent room) Wassily Kandinsky, *Komposition V*; Albert Bloch, *Drei Pierrots* (Three Pierrots); Heinrich Campendonk, *Springendes Pferd* (Leaping Horse); Henri Rousseau, *La Basse-Cour* (The Farmyard); Franz Marc, *Portrait of Henri Rousseau*; (cut off) Robert Delaunay, *La Ville No.2*.

Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich



First Blue Rider exhibition, 1911–12, Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser, Munich, Room 1 (from left to right): Robert Delaunay, *La Ville No.2*; (above) Arnold Schoenberg, *Nächtliche Landschaft* (Nocturnal Landscape); (below) Gabriele Münter, *Reiflandschaft* (Frosty Landscape); August Macke, *Stilleben–Blumenstrauß mit Agave* (Still Life–Bunch of Flowers with Agave); (above) Gabriele Münter, *Abend* (Evening); Albert Bloch, *Häuser und Schornsteine* (Houses and Chimneys). Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich



First Blue Rider exhibition, 1911–12, Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser, Munich, Room 1 (from left to right): Jean Bloé Niestlé, *Fittislaubvögel* (Willow Warblers); Albert Bloch, *Kopf* (Head); Wassily Kandinsky, *Impression Moskau* (Impression Moscow).
Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich



First Blue Rider exhibition, 1911–12, Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser, Munich, Room 2 (from left to right): (cut off) Franz Marc, *Die gelbe Kuh* (The Yellow Cow); Arnold Schoenberg, *Gehendes Selbstporträt* (von hinten) (Self-portrait, Walking [from behind]); Wassily Kandinsky, *Der Heilige Georg II* (St. George II); (above) Vladimir Burliuk, *Porträtstudie* (Portrait Study); (below) Gabriele Münter, *Landstraße im Winter* (Country Road in Winter); Franz Marc, *Reh im Walde I* (Deer in the Forest I); (cut off) Wassily Kandinsky, *Komposition V* (Composition V). Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich



First Blue Rider exhibition, 1911–12, Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser, Munich, Room 2 (from left to right): (cut off) Gabriele Münter, *Stilleben (rosa)* (Still Life [Pink]); (above) August Macke, *Indianer auf Pferden* (Indians on Horseback); (below) Robert Delaunay, *St. Séverin No. 1*; (above the door) David Burliuk, *Pferde* (Horses); (above) Franz Marc, *Landschaft mit Pferden und Regenbogen* (Landscape with Horses and Rainbow); Wassily Kandinsky, *Mit Sonne* (With Sun); Wassily Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*. Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich



First Blue Rider exhibition, 1911–12, Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser, Munich, Room 3 (from left to right): (cut off) Franz Marc, *Steiniger Weg* (Stony Path); Robert Delaunay, *Tour Eiffel*; (above) Elisabeth Epstein, *Porträt* (Portrait); (below) Heinrich Campendonk, *Frau und Tier* (Woman and Animal).
 Photograph: Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner Foundation, Munich

APPENDIX

We would like to thank the following lenders
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Group Dynamics—The Blue Rider and
Collectives of the Modernist Period

The project is part of the initiative “Global
Museum. Collections of the 20th century from
a global perspective” by the Kulturstiftung
des Bundes.



It consists of two exhibitions:

Group Dynamics—The Blue Rider,
from March 23, 2021

Group Dynamics—Collectives
of the Modernist Period,
October 19, 2021–April 24, 2022

Lenbachhaus Munich
Luisenstraße 33
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lenbachhaus.de

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