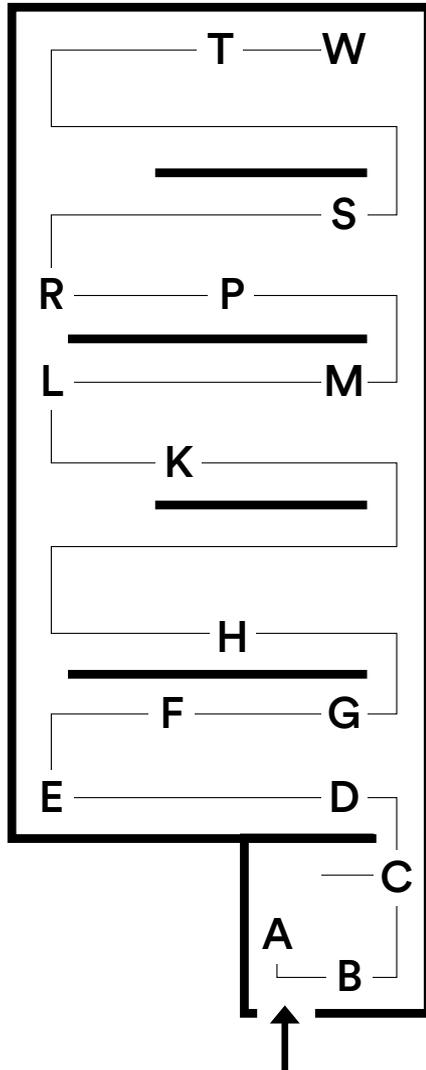


***Art  
and  
Life  
1918 to  
1955***

***A to Z:  
A Glossary***

***Artists in  
the Exhibition***



- A** **Abbo, Jussuf**  
end of 19<sup>th</sup> c. Safed – 1953 London
- B** **Belling, Rudolf**  
1886 Berlin – 1972 Krailling near Munich
- C** **Caspar, Karl**  
1879 Friedrichshafen – 1956 Brannenburg
- Caspar-Filser, Maria**  
1878 Riedlingen – 1968 Brannenburg
- D** **Dethleffs-Edelmann, Fridel**  
1899 Hagsfeld/Karlsruhe – 1982 Isny
- Dinklage, Erna**  
1895 Munich – 1991 Dietramszell-Ried
- E** **Ehmsen, Heinrich**  
1886 Kiel – 1964 East Berlin
- Ende, Edgar**  
1901 Altona – 1965 Netterndorf
- Epstein, Elisabeth**  
1879 Zhytomyr – 1956 Geneva
- F** **Franck-Marc, Maria**  
1876 Berlin – 1955 Ried near Kochel am See
- Freundlich, Otto**  
1878 Stolp – 1943 on the way to the concentration camp Sobibor
- G** **Geiger, Willi**  
1878 Landshut – 1971 Munich
- Grosz, George**  
1893 Berlin – 1959 Berlin

**H** **Hallavanya, Emilie von**

1874 Pula – 1960 Munich

**Heilbronner, Marie**

1871 Nuremberg – 1943 Theresienstadt concentration camp

**Heise, Wilhelm**

1892 Wiesbaden – 1965 Munich

**Hoch, Käte**

1873 Zwiesel – 1933 Munich

**Hofer, Karl**

1878 Karlsruhe – 1955 Berlin

**Hubbuch, Karl**

1891 Karlsruhe – 1979 Karlsruhe

**Hüther, Julius**

1881 Cannstatt – 1954 Munich

**K** **Kálmán, Peter**

1877 Zsablya – 1948 Nußdorf/Inn

**Klee, Paul**

1879 Münchenbuchsee – 1940 Muralto

**L** **Lasker-Schüler, Else**

1869 Elberfeld – 1945 Jerusalem

**Levy, Rudolf**

1875 Stettin – 1944 in transit from Milan to the concentration camp Auschwitz

**Luiko, Maria**

1904 Munich – 1941 murdered in Kaunas

**M** **Münter, Gabriele**

1877 Berlin – 1962 Murnau

**Mussayassul, Halil Beg**

1896 Gunib – 1966 New York

**P** **Ploberger, Herbert**

1902 Wels – 1977 Munich

**Protzen, Carl Theodor**

1887 Stargard – 1956 Munich

**R** **Radziwill, Franz**

1895 Strohausen – 1983 Wilhelmshaven

**Rée, Anita**

1885 Hamburg – 1933 Kampen/Sylt

**S** **Sandmann, Gertrude**

1893 Berlin – 1981 Berlin-Schöneberg

**Schad, Christian**

1894 Miesbach – 1982 Stuttgart

**Scharl, Josef**

1896 Munich – 1954 New York

**Schlichter, Rudolf**

1890 Calw – 1955 Munich

**Schrimpf, Georg**

1889 Munich – 1938 Munich

**Steiner, Erwin**

1893 Munich – 1953 Munich

**T** **Tiebert, Hermann**

1895 Koblenz – 1978 Ravensburg-Weissenau

**W** **Winter, Fritz**

1905 Altenböggel/Westphalia – 1976 Herrsching/Ammersee

***A to Z:  
A Glossary***



*Unknown photographer, The class of Karl Caspar, ca. 1930, Academy of Fine Arts Munich, Archive, Estate of Karl Heil*

*Photo: Archive AdBK*

### Academy of Fine Arts Munich

Founded in 1808, the Academy of Fine Arts Munich got off to a flying start in the modern era. Until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it attracted students from all over the world, but their numbers declined after World War I. From the 1920s to the 1950s, teaching, personnel policy and everyday student life bore the stamp of conservatism.

By the time the Bauhaus opened in 1919, art academies in many German cities had merged or were merging with schools of arts and crafts. In Munich, the prevailing view was that liberal and applied arts were incompatible. It was not until 1946 that the Academy of Fine Arts was united with the Academy of Applied Arts.

After the → NSDAP came to power in 1933, the Academy supported the National Socialist view of art. So-called “jüdisch-versippte” (with family ties to Jews) employees were forced to leave the academy. After the appointment of Adolf Ziegler, Josef Thorak and Hermann Kaspar, the academy became a central institution for the implementation of Nazi art policy. Jewish students were initially allowed to continue their studies, but many of them were deported and murdered in the course of the increasingly systematic persecution. With the beginning of the war, male students dropped out due to conscription for military service.

After 1945, artists at the academy who had been incriminated by National Socialism were dismissed in the course of denazification, but the majority of the teaching staff continued to work after the reopening in 1946. Requests for the appointment of innovative and critical artists came from outside the academy (Xaver Fuhr, Ernst Geitlinger).

### Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers Council for Art) → Leftist Artists’ Groups

The Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers Council for Art) was an association of progressive artists founded in the wake of the → November Revolution of 1918. It worked closely with the → Novembergruppe and the Deutscher Werkbund. In 1921, within the space of just three years, the Workers’ Council dissolved itself again. Many of its architects and artists became involved in successor organizations and provided important impetus for the founding of the Bauhaus.

### Art Advisory Council

With the founding of the Städtische Galerie München in 1924, the city council set up the Kunstbeirat (Art Advisory Council) that was to decide on all art and cultural policy issues in the public sphere, in addition to the

acquisition policy of Munich’s municipal museums. After the National Socialist takeover, Nazi mayor Karl Tempel founded a cultural office in 1934; the Art Advisory Council with its parliamentary organization did not fit into the new structure. It was therefore shut down in 1936 and a consultant “Advisory Council for Fine Arts Affairs” was established in March 1937. This was staffed with representatives approved by Adolf Hitler. The panel, which was initially intended to be independent, was thus increasingly undermined and infiltrated by Nazi ideology. In 1937, the Advisory Council was responsible for removing more than 255 works of art from the municipal collections that were not compatible with National Socialist art policy. Sixty-three works of art were removed from the Städtische Galerie’s holdings (→ Karl Caspar, → Maria Caspar-Filser, → Erna Dinklage, → Edgar Ende, → Josef Scharl, → Julius Hüther, → Heinrich Ehmsen).

### Art after 1945

After the National Socialists’ seizure of power, the persecution of modern art and the hostile observation of its protagonists were at the center of cultural policy; the → Degenerate Art exhibition in 1937 represented a sad climax in Nazi propaganda aimed

at defaming modern art. National Socialist cultural policy is still present in German art history today: the exhibition policies of the two German states in the postwar period were a response to the persecution of modern art. Under the polarizing auspices of the Cold War, reference was made to modernism: In the GDR, realistic varieties dominated, for a short time also with recourse to leftist tendencies of modernism; in the West, abstractions associated with freedom crowded out alternative visual languages. The project of “reparation” became a central element of cultural and museum policy in the FRG. This justified mission was thus unfortunately affiliated with the exclusionary and deadly policies of the Nazis, and paradoxically was often implemented with the same personnel.

Art that had been defamed as “degenerate” during the Nazi era, as well as its creators, were made serviceable for the general relief of the collective conscience and subsequently experienced an exaggerated veneration and uncritical reception. The first → documenta in Kassel in 1955 is considered the first comprehensive exhibition of modern art in West Germany after 1945, and it established the notion that “modernism” was the epitome of freedom, progress, and enlightenment, a notion that is still prevalent today.

**Blue Rider—  
Reception 1918 to 1955**

In 1911, Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc, and → Gabriele Münter organized the First Blue Rider Exhibition with fellow artists at the Thannhauser Gallery in Munich. The title referred to a year-book published in 1912, the Almanac. The Blue Rider was one of the first transnational circles of artists, with participants from the German Empire, the Russian Empire, Austria, France, Switzerland and the USA. With the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, many artists were forced to leave the country within forty-eight hours as “enemy aliens,” while others were drafted for military service. After 1918, the visual experiments and utopian ideas of various avant-garde movements could no longer be viewed in isolation from the experience of the horrors of war, and many artists turned to a soberly realistic rendering of reality → New Objectivity. The → Degenerate Art exhibition in 1937 marked a high point in Nazi propaganda aimed at defaming modern art. Most of the artists of the Blue Rider were damaged by the exhibition and the “Degenerate Art” confiscation campaign. In 1949, the → Haus der Kunst hosted the exhibition The Blue Rider: Munich and the Art of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century 1908–1914 (→ Art after 1945). Ludwig Grote had

been endeavoring to organize such a presentation since 1946; Arthur Rümann, director of the Lenbachhaus, was a member of the working committee. This elaborate exhibition gave the Blue Rider the weight that determines its place in art history to this day. The Haus der Kunst, a fascist propaganda building, allowed the exhibition to be seen as a gesture of denazification. The press review contains laudatory reviews by Johannes Eichner, Will Grohmann, and Werner Haftmann; the exhibition also received positive reviews in France, Italy, Great Britain, the United States, and Switzerland. → Rudolf Schlichter, on the other hand, missed a historical assessment recognizing what is claimed to be the revolutionary potential of Blue Rider art. With the first → documenta in Kassel in 1955, the Blue Rider was finally canonized. The documenta is considered the first comprehensive exhibition of modern art in West Germany after 1945, and many of the artworks that had been exhibited at the Haus der Kunst in 1949 were also shown in Kassel.

**Bolshevism**

*Bolshevism was initially the name of a revolutionary-minded group within the Russian Social Democratic*

*Workers’ Party (SDAPR) around 1903, but was increasingly used as a battle cry aimed at all European communist parties. The National Socialist rulers deliberately gave the term an anti-Semitic meaning. They equated “Bolshevik” with “Jewish” and used the term “Jewish-Bolshevik” as a synonym for “degenerate” (→ “Degenerate Art”). Between 1935 and 1938, Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels identified his anti-Jewish campaign more and more with his attack against Bolshevism; the two enemy images merged almost completely. At the 1936 → NSDAP party congress, the decisive “world struggle” against Bolshevism was proclaimed and supported by a propaganda campaign in the form of a traveling exhibition “World Enemy No. 1—Bolshevism,” which was opened in this context.*



Unknown photographer, View of the propaganda exhibition Kulturbolschewistische Bilder  
(Cultural Bolshevik Images) 1933, Kunsthalle Mannheim

Photo: Kunsthalle Mannheim



Unknown photographer, View of the propaganda exhibition Kulturbolschewistische Bilder  
(Cultural Bolshevik Images) 1933, Kunsthalle Mannheim

Photo: Kunsthalle Mannheim

Cultural Bolshevism

→ Bolshevism, → “Degenerate Art” /  
“Jewish-Bolshevik” Art

documenta

*In July 1955, the first documenta opened in Kassel under the direction of Arnold Bode and supported by the art historical expertise of Werner Haftmann. The exhibition was a political undertaking. As a showcase of avant-garde art, documenta invoked the tradition of modernism in Europe and especially in Germany before the Nazi era. It was intended to contribute to the cultural education of the population and help them to become democratic and responsible citizens. In addition, the exhibition opened up economic prospects for Arnold Bode’s hometown, which had been heavily bombed during World War II. In recent years, scholars and institutions have increasingly sought to critically reappraise the history of the documenta. It has become apparent that often many of the first-person accounts are incomplete and that myths about the origins of the event reveal a strategy of self-glorification. The attempt to tie in with pre-war modernism was guided by the desire to draw a cultural-political line to the deeds of the National Socialist extermination machinery. Artists persecuted as Jews, such as → Rudolf Levy, were not shown, however. As was the case with other institutions of the young Federal Republic of Germany, the biographies of important docu-*

*menta staff members—including Werner Haftmann, who was a member of the SA from 1933 and the → NSDAP from 1937—proved to be extremely problematic.*

“Degenerate Art” / “Jewish-Bolshevik” Art—Terms

*Parallel to the development of modern art, anti-modernist movements had been developing since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, interspersed with nationalist and “völkisch” ideology. The term “degeneration” had been transferred from medicine and psychiatry to art discourse by the Jewish physician and writer Max Nordau in 1892/1893. The two-volume book “Entartung,” (“Degeneration”) published several times and translated worldwide, was of enormous influence on the cultural-critical discourses of the turn of the century. Nordau branded as “degenerate” almost all the work of modern art. It was not until National Socialism that the “Jewish” allusion became central to its linguistic usage: the pair of terms “Jewish-Bolshevik” combined the two enemy images constructed by Nazi propaganda (→ Bolshevism) and was used synonymously with “degenerate.”*



*Erich Müller, Painting Room in the Museum Fridericianum. First documenta (1955), documenta archiv, Kassel*

*Photo: documenta archiv, Kassel, 116975 10001854*

Degenerate Art Exhibition Munich  
1937

The first exhibitions deriding modern art were held in various German cities as early as 1933. They were described in the contemporary press as “chambers of horror,” “exhibitions of shame,” and “cabinets of horror.” They presented the art of the Weimar Republic as “degenerate” and celebrated the victory of National Socialism as a “revolutionary new beginning.”

This defamation of modern art was continued by the large traveling exhibition “Degenerate Art” (1937–1941). It started in July 1937 in Munich at the Hofgarten Arkaden, where it was staged as a contrast to the → Great German Art Exhibition in the “Haus der Deutschen Kunst” (House of German Art). The exhibits had previously been confiscated from German museums. The exhibition defamed Jewish and left-wing artists in particular, some of whom had already emigrated.

When work was branded “degenerate,” it did not lead to exclusion from the art world for every artist. Otto Dix lost his teaching position at the Dresden Academy, but was admitted to the → Reich Chamber of Fine Arts and was able to continue practicing his profession as an artist, in public, too. After 1945, the narrative in art historiography changed fundamentally:

the reference to the ostracism during the Nazi era generally served to rehabilitate artists, and a ban on a painting sometimes even served to ennoble the work.



Unknown photographer, Opening of the propaganda exhibition Degenerate Art by Adolf Ziegler, July 19, 1937, Munich City Archive

Photo: Munich City Archive, DE-1992-FS-NS-00172



Unknown photographer, View of the propaganda exhibition Degenerate Art, Munich 1937, Süddeutscher Verlag

Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag, München, © Scherl / Süddeutsche Zeitung Photo

Emigration / Exile

*A large part of the artistic-literary elite and a notable part of the scientific world turned their backs on Germany after 1933. Among the most important host countries were the United States, France, and Great Britain. The efforts of those willing to emigrate were accompanied by grueling bureaucratic harassment. The emigrants were by no means welcomed with open arms by potential host countries. The Évian Conference in July 1938 marked the sad low point of a consistent refusal on the part of the world community to deal with the life-threatening plight of the people persecuted in Nazi Germany.*

*The consequence of emigration and exile is the loss of home and familiar culture, of language and social networks, of professional opportunities and economic security. Emigration and exile are complementary state descriptions of the situation that occurs when people are threatened, displaced, or made to leave for ethnic, religious, economic, or political reasons. Emigration, in this context, describes a state in motion, the fleeing but unwanted abandonment of the actual center of life and its spatial displacement. By exile we mean the rather static dimension of existence, everyday life and the*

*reality of life in a foreign country. The everyday reality of emigration and exile is subject to the dictates of foreign determination, toleration, insecurity and poverty. After the end of World War II, remigration to the old homeland, which had also become the “land of murderers,” was unimaginable for most emigrants. Moreover, there was no welcoming culture in Germany in the late 1940s and 1950s. West German society struggled to accept the emigrants.*

Female Artists' Training

*At the → Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, founded in 1808, women were initially able to enroll for studies before being completely excluded between 1852 and 1920. The arguments against women studying art were the same everywhere: moral concerns about nude instruction, extra expense, space problems, lack of separate toilets, and women's alleged lack of aptitude for the liberal arts. Alternatives were private schools, training in applied arts, and ladies' academies: In Munich, the Künstlerinnen-Verein e. V. (Association of Women Artists), founded in 1882, opened a non-commercial Ladies' Academy in 1884 that received government subsidies. At its peak, the Ladies' Academy had more than 400 female students a year.*

*The → Weimar Republic placed women and men on an equal footing under the law. However, women in Munich had to fight for admission to the Academy until 1920. It was one of the last art academies in Germany to admit women.*

*The male-dominated operation of the Academy was not changed, female students had to adapt, and their work was readily relegated to less important areas in terms of genre, such as still life, handicrafts, and small formats. There was no promotion of*

*young talent. During the Nazi era, the reactionary treatment of female students and “women's” art was seamlessly transferred into the propagated traditional image of women (→ Images of Masculinity and Femininity in Nazi art).*



*Unknown photographer, Moritz Heymann's private school, 1919, in the center, smoking: Daisy Campi, Private Collection*

*Reproduction: Wolfgang Pulfer*

**GEDOK**

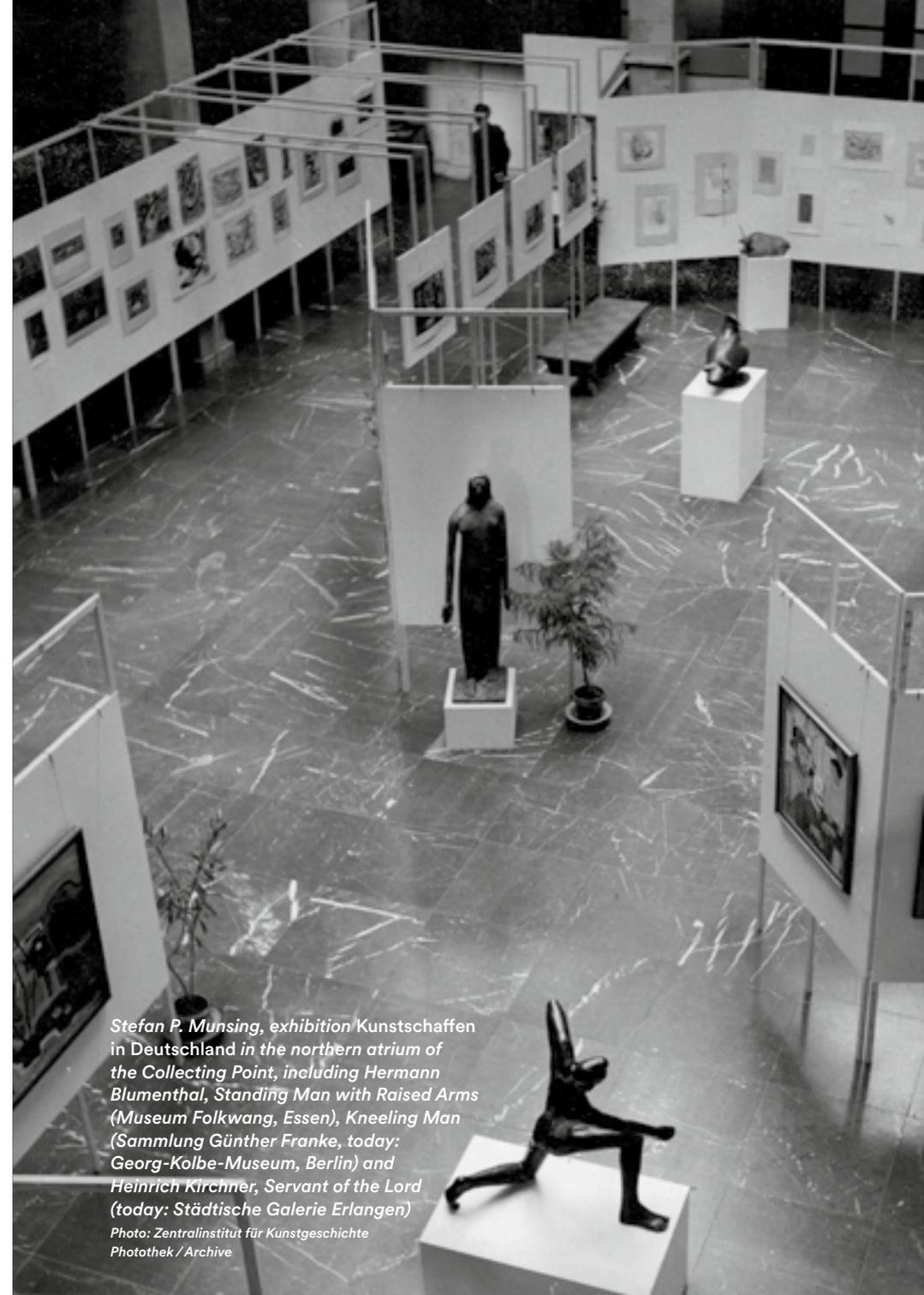
Before women were given equal status to men by law in 1918 and obtained access to art academies, → Female Artists' Training was organized privately. Women artists' associations offered training and exhibition opportunities, networks, and help with financial constraints. But even in the Weimar Republic, women's self-organization remained central to increasing their chances of success in a male-dominated art world. The interdisciplinary GEDOK women artists' association (Gemeinschaft Deutscher und Oesterreichischer Künstlerinnenvereine aller Kunstgattungen) was founded in 1926 by the Hamburg patron and women's rights activist Ida Dehmel. Its purpose was to improve the exchange and economic situation of women artists in local groups throughout the country. In 1933, Dehmel was forced to resign as a Jew, and the Reichs-GEDOK was affiliated with the → Reich Chamber of Fine Arts in 1934. After 1948, the federal association was reorganized under the name Gemeinschaft der Künstlerinnen und Kunstförderer e. V. (Association of Women Artists and Art Supporters).

**"Gottbegnadeten" List**  
**(Divinely Gifted List)**

Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels had a list compiled of 378 protagonists of the Nazi cultural establishment in September 1944. The artists were exempted from military service and work in the armaments industry because of their great importance for the regime in a phase of "total war effort." Among the exclusively male painters and sculptors are, for example, Hermann Kaspar, Arno Breker or Paul Mathias Padua. Many of them were able to continue their careers in the post-war period despite their loyalty to Nazi ideology.

**"Great German Art Exhibitions"**

The "Great German Art Exhibitions" were held annually from 1937 to 1944 at the → "Haus der Deutschen Kunst" (House of German Art) in Munich. They were to become "the authoritative and landmark event for the position of contemporary German art". They continued the tradition of the Munich Glaspalast, which had been an economically important venue for the art trade until its destruction by fire in June 1931. The prerequisite for participation was membership in the → Reich Chamber of Fine Arts. For the artists, the exhibi-



Stefan P. Musing, exhibition Kunstschaffen in Deutschland in the northern atrium of the Collecting Point, including Hermann Blumenthal, Standing Man with Raised Arms (Museum Folkwang, Essen), Kneeling Man (Sammlung Günther Franke, today: Georg-Kolbe-Museum, Berlin) and Heinrich Kirchner, Servant of the Lord (today: Städtische Galerie Erlangen)

Photo: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte Photothek / Archive

tions offered sales opportunities. More than 9,000 artists submitted works to the eight shows, some of them more than once.

Initially, a jury of artists decided on the works. Adolf Hitler, dissatisfied with the planned exhibits, appointed his personal photographer Heinrich Hoffmann as well as Karl Kolb, the director of the “Haus der Deutschen Kunst,” and the architect’s widow Gerdy Troost to select the submitted works in June 1937. Hitler’s voice remained decisive. As a buyer, he spent large sums of money, which affected the purchasing behavior of the party elite. The buyers also ranged from institutions and companies to private individuals. The Lenbachhaus acquired ca. 80 works for the museum’s gallery collection.

The exhibitions attracted more than half a million visitors annually. Printed matter and newsreels ensured a constant popularization of the exhibits. A large part were landscapes, rural idylls, female nudes, mythological scenes, depictions of animals, as well as still lifes and portraits. After the outbreak of World War II, soldier and war scenes gained a special importance.

Haus der (Deutschen) Kunst  
München (House of [German]  
Art Munich)

The neoclassical “Haus der Deutschen Kunst” (House of German Art) was opened in 1937 and served as an authoritative institution for National Socialist art policy (→ “Great German Art Exhibitions”). After World War II, the building was initially used by the American Army as an officers’ mess. Art exhibitions were held there again from 1946. Modern art, which had been defamed under National Socialism, was part of the program from the outset (→ Blue Rider reception with an exhibition in 1949). Picasso’s Guernica was presented in 1955. Since then, the Haus der Kunst has become an international center for modern and contemporary art exhibitions.



*Wilhelm Nortz, Day of German Art, July 1937; Great German Art Exhibition 1937, visitors in the exhibition in the "Haus der Deutschen Kunst" (House of German Art), Painters' Hall (Room 15) in the west wing of the building, Munich City Archive*

*Photo: Munich City Archive, DE-1992-FS-NS-00458*

### Images of Masculinity and Femininity in Nazi Art

National Socialist ideology used gender images to convey concepts of moral values and to structure and stabilize the social system it was striving for.

Masculinity and femininity were defined as natural characteristics with fundamentally different roles: Accordingly, the natural social order could be maintained only if women fulfilled their destiny as housewives and mothers. National Socialist ideology combined conservative with progressive tendencies. It clearly refrained from open misogyny and in part celebrated the “new woman” as an expression of a new progressive age. Art served as a means to disseminate and institutionalize these images of masculinity and femininity. Representations of men were supposed to exude strength, representations of women beauty and naturalness.

### “Inner Emigration”

The term “inner emigration” was used after 1945 for those artists who had remained in National Socialist Germany but were increasingly pushed out of the public eye by totalitarian art policies. Contemporary letters and diary entries often include the image

of “inner exile,” which was used to describe a sense of isolation and being on the outside. After 1945, the term “inner emigration” became morally charged and was linked with perseverance and an attitude of resistance in the broadest sense. In retrospect, however, it is difficult to determine who counted themselves among the circle of “inner emigrants,” since only very few artists clearly positioned themselves under the National Socialist regime. It is also problematic that the term generalized the reality of life for a wide variety of artists in National Socialist Germany and declared them to be ideologically unchallenged. Especially in the still young Federal Republic of Germany, the “inner emigration” was hardly questioned, as it provided a strong, identity-forming narrative for the politics of remembrance.

### Jüdischer Kulturbund (Jewish Cultural Association)

In 1933, the “Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service” led to the first systematic dismissal of Jews from state and municipal institutions, including cultural institutions. On the initiative of Kurt Baumann and Kurt Singer, the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden (Cultural Association of German Jews) was founded in Berlin in July 1933 to give Jews access to cultural life and to provide Jewish artists who had become unemployed with a livelihood.

The Nazi authorities approved the foundation in order to avoid having to pay for state welfare and to be able to monitor Jewish cultural life more easily. Within a year, the Kulturbund had 18,700 members. Cultural associations followed in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Hanover, and Bavaria (→ *Maria Luiko*). All events were censored and had to be approved by the authorities. In August 1935, the Reichsverband jüdischer Kulturbünde in Deutschland (National Union of Jewish Cultural Associations in Germany) was founded as an umbrella organization under the supervision of Hans Hinkel, the “special commissioner for the monitoring and supervision of all non-Aryan nationals living in the German territory of the Reich in the artistic and intellectual fields.”

From then on, only its members were allowed to engage in artistic activities outside the → Reich Chamber of Culture. In 1937, a total of 112 institutions belonged to the association. A sharp loss of members due to emigration and increasing restrictions and control by the authorities made the cultural work of the association more difficult; time and again, events were temporarily banned. In January 1939, a new overall organization, the Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland e. V. (Jewish Cultural Association in Germany), was approved and became active first in Berlin, shortly thereafter in Breslau and Hamburg, and later in other places as well. After the Berlin State Police ordered the immediate dissolution of the Jewish Cultural Association in September 1941, all artistic events for Jews were banned and could only take place in secret.

### die juryfreien

The association die juryfreien was founded in Munich in 1909 and initially bore the name Deutscher-Künstler-Verband. “Juryfreie” meant an art exhibition without selection by a committee. The concept followed the Paris Salon des Indépendants. Thus, members of the association could regularly exhibit works publicly. This was intended to open up paths

for new artistic tendencies that had a hard time in the established exhibition formats in Munich. The association organized large exhibitions, which were well attended by the Munich public, from 1915 in its own premises in Prinzregentenstrasse. From 1928 on, the juryfreien concentrated on promoting contemporary art and young artists and became a forum for the European avant-garde. Members during this period included → Erna Dinklage, → Maria Luiko, and → Josef Scharl. From 1931 onward, the juryfreie were subjected to hostility from the right-wing conservative camp and were forced to join the → Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Militant League for German Culture) in May 1933. In 1934, the association was dissolved. In April 1946, the Neue Gruppe was founded under the chairmanship of → Rudolf Schlichter and Adolf Hartmann as the first artists' association of the postwar period; its members included many former artists of the juryfreie and the New Secession. The first exhibition of the Neue Gruppe was shown in 1947 in the Lenbachhaus.

Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Militant League for German Culture)

The → NSDAP party leadership had already decided to create a cultural organization in 1927. The party's chief ideologist was Alfred Rosenberg. The disputes over cultural modernism and the alleged "Judaization" of cultural life in the Weimar Republic provided propaganda material.

In 1928, the National Socialist Society for German Culture was founded, which was renamed Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Militant League for German Culture) in the same year. Its objective was to educate people about the "connections between race, art and science, moral and volitional values." The Militant League contributed to the intensified debates on cultural policy. Its propaganda was directed in particular against all Jews and everything "un-German". It culminated in the illustrated lecture The Struggle for Art by the architect and radical anti-Semite Paul Schultze-Naumburg in the Audimax of the Technical University in Munich in 1931.

After Adolf Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor on January 30, 1933, the membership of the Militant League increased, and its functionaries took over important state offices. Cultural institutions were often subjected to personnel "cleansing measures,"

often initiated by the Militant League and directed in particular against Jews, Social Democrats and Communists. Starting in April 1933, a series of exhibitions defamed numerous artists and their works. The Städtische Kunsthalle in Mannheim held the exhibition Kulturbolschewistische Bilder (Cultural Bolshevik Images), which was subsequently shown at the → Kunstverein München and in Erlangen. The organizers of the exhibitions were either members of the Militant League or had contact with it.

However, cultural policy in the Nazi state was determined primarily by the Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda, established in March 1933, and the → Reich Chamber of Culture, opened on November 15, 1933. In 1934, the Militant League was renamed NS-Kulturgemeinde and incorporated into the NS leisure organization "Kraft durch Freude" (Strength through Joy) of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front).

KPD

The Communist Party of Germany (KPD) was formed at the end of 1918 (→ November Revolution). The National Socialist dictatorship pushed the KPD underground, and the party

leadership went abroad. After World War II, members began to rebuild the party. In the later GDR, it was absorbed into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the KPD was banned in 1956.

### Kunstbeirat → Art Advisory Council

### Kunstverein München

Founded in 1823, the Kunstverein München offered many especially local artists regular opportunities to exhibit and sell their work. As one of the oldest and largest German art associations, the building at the Hofgarten was an important part of Munich's cultural life. In addition to artists, its members included the so-called "Kunstfreunde" (art lovers), often influential individuals from the wealthy bourgeoisie, court and city society. In the artistic sphere, the institution tended to take a conservative stance from 1918 to 1955.

In Munich, the Nazi capital of art, the association was "gleichgeschaltet" (brought into line) and used to represent "German art." As early as 1933, the traveling exhibition Kulturbolschewistische Bilder (Cultural Bolshevik Images) was shown here under the title Mannheimer

Galerieankäufe (Mannheim Gallery Purchases) and juxtaposed with paintings by Edmund Steppes, whose art was considered exemplary from the point of view of Nazi cultural policy.

This form of juxtaposition anticipated the principle of the propaganda show → Degenerate Art, which was staged in nearby rooms in the Hofgarten in 1937. While it showed defamed Modernism, the → Great German Art Exhibition, which took place at the same time, was devoted to art that was desirable under National Socialism.



Cover of the magazine *stoß von links*, Organ des Bundes Revolutionärer Bildender Künstler Deutschlands, 1, 1, February 1931, SLUB Dresden

Photo: SLUB Dresden

### Leftist Artists' Groups

Between the → November Revolution in 1918 and the National Socialists' seizure of power in 1933, numerous artists' groups were founded, each with a different degree of politicization. The → Novembergruppe, which emerged from the → Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers Council for Art), initially combined a lively program of exhibitions with political demands in the area of artist's training and art academies. Its founding members included → Rudolf Schlichter and → George Grosz. It wanted to break through "the old forms in art" and initially met with incomprehension with its radical artistic designs. In the years that followed, their group exhibitions became established. A group of artists calling themselves the Rote Gruppe (the Red Group) split off after accusing the Novembergruppe of depoliticization. The Rote Gruppe, in turn, was the forerunner of the Association of Revolutionary Visual Artists of Germany (ARBKD, also ASSO). The latter was characterized by a decidedly communist program. Even more than the Novembergruppe, it attempted to build up a comprehensive infrastructure. There were local groups in most large cities, agitprop studios, workers' radio clubs, cinemas, workers' clubs, publishing houses and an active magazine landscape.

A basic idea was the detachment of art from its role as a supporter of bourgeois rule. This often resulted in realistic artworks, but also posters, collages, simultaneous images, press graphics, caricatures and banners, which were often produced directly for political actions. In 1933, the ARBKD was banned and ruthlessly persecuted.

### Lenbach Prize

The Städtische Galerie awarded the Lenbach Prize from 1936 to 1942. Munich's Nazi mayor Karl Fiehler had established this prize on the occasion of Franz von Lenbach's 100<sup>th</sup> birthday. All Munich artists who were members of the → Reich Chamber of Fine Arts could submit two framed portraits. The jury consisted of the → Art Advisory Council, the first and second mayors, and the director of the Städtische Galerie. The paintings were presented in a competitive exhibition. The winner received 2000 Reichsmarks and a silver medal with the title "Lenbach Prize of the Capital of the Movement." The winners were Conrad Hommel in 1936, Carl Blossfeld in 1937, Sepp Hilz in 1938, Paul Mathias Padua in 1939, Hans Best in 1940, and Wolf Thaler in 1942—all artists loyal to the regime who enjoyed great success during National Socialism. All of

them regularly participated in the → "Great German Art Exhibitions" in the → "Haus der Deutschen Kunst" (House of German Art). Among the four prize winners still alive in 1944, three—Hilz, Hommel, and Padua—were also listed on the so-called → "Gottbegnadeten" List (Divinely Gifted List).



*Unknown photographer, The Lenbachhaus around 1930, Collection Archive  
Lenbachhaus Munich  
Photo: Lenbachhaus*

### “Munich Art Exhibition in the Maximilianeum” 1938 to 1943

The *Münchner Künstlerhausverein* was founded in June 1900 as the sponsor of the Munich *Künstlerhaus* on Lenbachplatz. With the National Socialist seizure of power in 1933, the association had to lease the house to the → Reich Chamber of Fine Arts in 1934. In 1938, under the leadership of Gauleiter Adolf Wagner, the *Kameradschaft der Künstler e. V.* (*Fellowship of Artists*) was founded. In 1938, artists from more than 30 art associations from Munich and its districts joined this organization as individual members after their associations had been forcibly dissolved and their assets confiscated by the *Kameradschaft*. The *Kameradschaft der Künstler e. V.* organized annual sales exhibitions in the rooms of the Maximilianeum from 1938 to 1943. Although the Fellowship largely waived propaganda motifs, the program was loyal to the party line. The focus was on regional art from Munich and Upper Bavaria. The Lenbachhaus acquired more than 75 works of art at these exhibitions.

### Munich Soviet Republic

Since the beginning of the → November Revolution in 1918, Kurt Eisner of the Independent Social Democratic

Party of Germany (USPD) had been Minister-President of the Free State of Bavaria. He suffered a devastating defeat in the state elections in January 1919. Shortly before announcing his resignation, he was shot by a right-wing radical on February 21. The new state government was led by the SPD. Spurred on by the example of the Soviet Republic established in Hungary, however, USPD members of the Central Council set up by the Munich Council of the Workers and Soldiers proclaimed the establishment of a Soviet Republic on April 7, 1919. To protect the republic, the Central Council put together a Red Army. The government under Minister President Johannes Hoffmann moved to Bamberg. On May 1, 1919, “Freikorps” (volunteer military corps) descended on Munich. The fighting up to the suppression of the Soviet Republic on May 3, 1919, claimed over 600 lives. Important protagonists such as Kurt Eisner, Ernst Toller, and Erich Mühsam, were of Jewish origin; after the suppression of the Soviet Republic, this led to a wave of anti-Semitism in Munich much more pronounced than in other major German cities, which painted the horror picture of “Jewish → Bolshevism”.

### National Socialist Art

The aesthetic ideology of the “Führer,” Adolf Hitler, outlined in his book *Mein Kampf* in the mid-1920s provided the fundamental premise for all art in the “Third Reich”. In it, he mixed aesthetic ideas with ideological fixations such as anti-Semitism and racial warfare and based them on rather vague concepts of beauty and sublimity. His taste was based on 19<sup>th</sup>-century art and antiquity.

Contradictions in art policy arose because of the polycratic structure of the Nazi system of rule, since Joseph Goebbels, Hermann Göring, Heinrich Himmler, and Alfred Rosenberg of the → Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Militant League for German Culture), for example, held quite different aesthetic convictions and tried to implement them.

By 1937 at the latest, the art policy of the „Third Reich” had made a radical cut with modern art (→ “Degenerate Art”), which was defamed, suppressed, and at most tolerated in very moderate forms. Art criticism was banned in 1936 and replaced by the so-called *Kunstbericht* (art report) to avoid continued carping at the weak level of Nazi art. Art paid homage to the racist and militaristic zeitgeist or remained aesthetically backward-looking.

### Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity)

The experience of World War I radically changed the view of the world and mankind. Deeply shaken, many artists distanced themselves from the formal experiments of the avant-garde, such as Cubism, Expressionism and Abstraction, and concentrated on a sober, realistic rendering of reality. What they have in common is figurative painting. Critical representations meet works that affirmatively follow the spirit of the times and, from 1933, conformed to National Socialist art policy.

The confrontation with the new realist tendencies took place simultaneously in art criticism and in the exhibition business. For the German-speaking world, Gustav F. Hartlaub summarized various realist positions such as Verism and Classicism in the term „*Neue Sachlichkeit*” (New Objectivity) and organized the exhibition of the same name in 1925 at the *Kunsthalle Mannheim*. At the same time, in a groundbreaking study, Franz Roh distinguished between Post-Expressionism and Magic Realism.

What characterizes the discussion about New Objectivity from these early attempts at definition to the present day is the attribution of styles and artists to a right wing or a left wing. This is certainly meant politically: a distinction is made bet-

ween socially critical and enlightened tendencies, which are set against conservative, restorative or even reactionary positions. However, if one looks at the individual development of individual artists, it becomes clear that the chosen visual language seldom gives answers about political stance or classification by the National Socialists.

### Notstandsaktionen

This was the name given to an aid program run by the Munich city administration from the second half of the 1920s to support artists in need by purchasing their work. The “emergency campaign” was established at the suggestion of individual city councilors who were members of the → Art Advisory Council, the purchasing commission for the newly founded Städtische Galerie München. With these acquisitions, the Lenbachhaus expanded its collection, although the focus was on the charitable aspect. In total, over 960 male and around 110 female artists were supported between 1927 and 1933.

### Novembergruppe

The Novembergruppe was founded in Berlin in December 1918 in the wake

of the → November Revolution. It counted between 120 and 170 members, organized regular exhibitions, and established contacts abroad. The group did not represent a definite artistic style; it was generally concerned with the search for new artistic forms; especially just after it was set up, political demands and the idea of social revolution in Germany also played a major role. In this respect, the Novembergruppe had much in common with the → Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers Council for Art), with which it merged in 1919, as well as other → Leftist Artists' Groups of the Weimar Republic. After the National Socialist takeover in 1933, the group had to cease its work.

### November Revolution

The November Revolution in 1918 ended the era of the German Empire. Starting with the Kiel mutiny, there were demonstrations, strikes and fighting in numerous cities in protest against the continuation of World War I. Revolution was the result. Emperor Wilhelm II was forced to abdicate. Democratic parties took over the political leadership (→ Weimar Republic). Many other revolutionary uprisings and unrest accompanied the early years of the young democracy.

### NSDAP

In 1920, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) presented its program at the Hofbräuhaus in Munich. Its party chairman from 1921 was Adolf Hitler. The party initially gained members mainly in Bavaria. The economically desolate situation in the → Weimar Republic was the cause of the Hitler putsch in 1923, which failed. The party was banned until 1925. After increasing electoral successes after 1930, the National Socialists seized power on January 30, 1933, Hitler became Reich Chancellor, and the NSDAP was the only party permitted in Germany from 1933 to 1945. With sub-organizations and affiliated associations, the NSDAP permeated society in both professional and private life. The denazification questionnaire of the military government in 1946 asked about membership in 95 organizations associated with the NSDAP (→ Spruchkammer Proceedings).

### Provenance Research

*In the last 20 years, the question of the origin and history of works of art has increasingly become the focus of museum work. So-called provenance research (derived from the Latin provenire—to come forth, to arise) examines the biographies of art and cultural objects. It examines both the cultural and historical contexts of origin, discovery and acquisition as well as possible changes of ownership or possession, especially during critical historical periods: In addition to sustained research into the provenances of cultural and collection items from colonial contexts as well as organized cultural property seizures in the territory of the Soviet Occupation Zone and the German Democratic Republic, the focus is on identifying cultural property seized as a result of persecution under National Socialism. With the signing of the Washington Principles in 1998, 44 states worldwide committed themselves to examining their holdings and finding amicable solutions for looted property with the heirs of the former owners. Furthermore, provenance research serves to gain knowledge about the history of collections and institutions. It enables new knowledge to be gathered about the historical art market as well as the lives and fates of collectors, dealers and*

*auctioneers. Provenance research is one of the core tasks of every institution that preserves cultural property.*

*In the context of the exhibition Art and Life 1918 to 1955, we have chosen to present → Paul Klee's painting Sumpfliegende (Swamp Legend). We discuss here a prominent case from our collection that illustrates our longstanding preoccupation with provenance and restitution. The artwork, created in 1919, was transferred directly after its completion from Paul Klee's studio to the collection of Dr. Paul Erich Küppers, director of the Kestner-Gesellschaft Hannover. After his death in 1922, his wife Sophie Küppers inherited the painting. She married the artist El Lissitzky in 1927 and moved to Moscow. At that time the Provinzial-Museum in Hanover had been given the painting as a loan. In July 1937, it was confiscated as part of the → "Degenerate Art" campaign and displayed in the propaganda exhibition of the same name in Munich on the so-called „Dada Wall". In 1941, the German Reich sold the painting to the Hildebrand Gurlitt Art Cabinet. Gurlitt sold the artwork to the art historian Dr. Hans Peters from Bad Honnef, whose family put it up for auction at the Kunsthaus Lempertz in Cologne after Peters' death in December 1962. It was sold at the auction by the*

*Galerie Ernst Beyeler, Basel, who resold it just a few months later to the Cologne lawyer and collector Dr. Josef Steegmann. Steegmann eventually sold Swamp Legend to Galerie Rosengart in Lucerne. The Lenbachhaus and the Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung acquired equal shares of the work when Rosengart put it up for sale in 1982. Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers had been exiled to Novosibirsk in 1944 as an "enemy alien" after the death of her husband, who died in 1941. She died there in 1978. After World War II, she had tried without success to obtain information about the whereabouts of her collection in Germany. Her son Jen Lissitzky applied for the restitution of the Swamp Legend in 1993. After many years of negotiations between the City of Munich and the heirs of the former owner Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers, it was possible to reach an amicable settlement of the dispute over the artwork in 2017. This settlement was made possible by the generous support of the Ernst von Siemens Kunststiftung, the Kulturstiftung der Länder, and the Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung.*

Queer Lives

Parallel events in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century initially favored a diversity of queer life in Germany, which was again banished from the public sphere and destroyed after 1933.

Since 1900, LGBTIQ\* has become more and more visible in public fields such as art, culture, politics, and science, despite the existence of §175 of the German Penal Code from 1871 to 1994, which officially criminalized sexual acts between men. Artists experimented with diverse forms of representation of corporeality, which moved outside the then prevailing evaluation grids and opened up a wide spectrum of possible identities and sexualities. Actors such as Claude Cahun, who described herself as a „neuter,“ the bisexual artist Hannah Höch, and the homosexual artists Germaine Krull, Heinz Loew, Alexander Sacharoff, and → Gertrude Sandmann played a role in this development, although such contributions still remain almost unrecorded to this day. They established what we perceive today as queer aesthetics.

Current artistic positions as well as historical testimonies, artistic networks, visibilities, and persecution will be presented in the exhibition TO BE SEEN. queer lives 1900–1950 at the Munich Documentation Center

for the History of National Socialism from October 7, 2022 to May 21, 2023.

Reich Chamber of Culture (RKK)

The Reichskulturkammer (Reich Chamber of Culture) was part of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda under the direction of Joseph Goebbels. All creative fields and professions were to be covered by it and “gleichgeschaltet” (brought into line). It was divided into seven individual chambers: Reichsschrifttumskammer, Reichsfilmkammer, Reichsmusikkammer, Reichstheaterkammer, Reichspressekammer, Reichsrundfunkkammer, and → Reich Chamber of Fine Arts.

Reich Chamber of Fine Arts (RdbK)

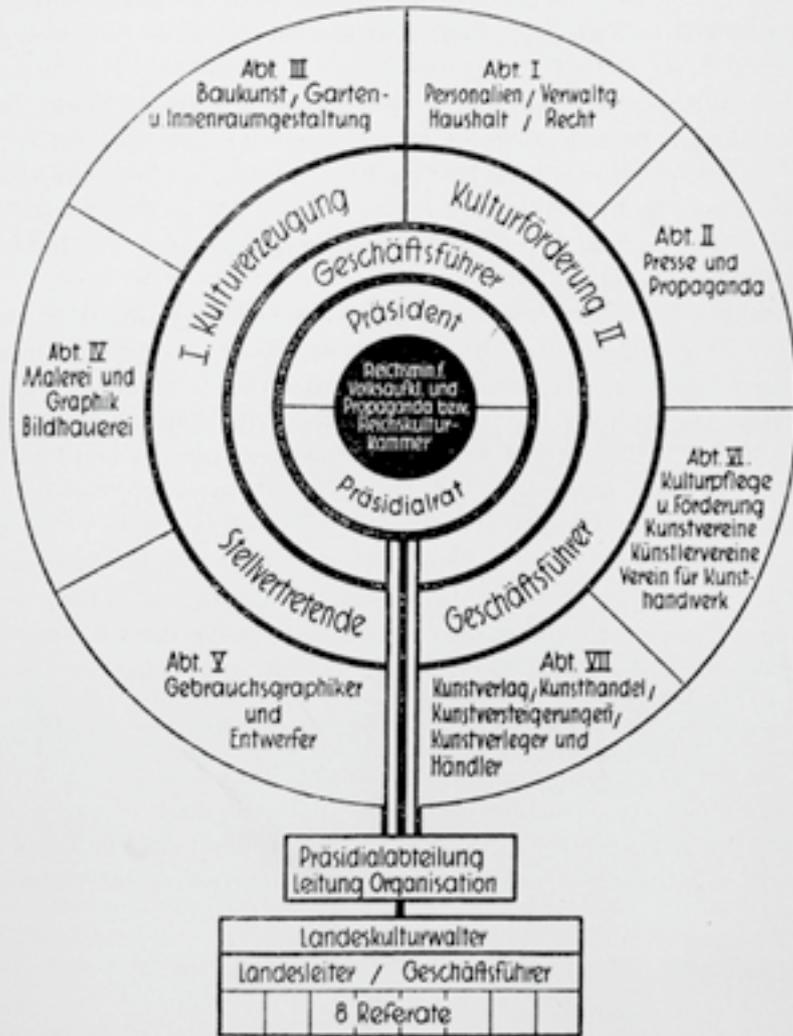
The Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich Chamber of Fine Arts) was one of seven individual chambers for the registration of all creative professions by the → Reich Chamber of Culture (RKK). In addition to the central office in Berlin, there were up to 43 state directorates, which were responsible for all art-related professional groups. Membership was decided on the basis of personal data as well as a professional or ideological assessment. The possibility of obtaining, exhibiting and selling work materials depended to a large extent on whether this membership was granted.

In this sense, the Reichskammer could, in effect, impose a professional ban. It could exclude members and reject applicants for political, “racial,” or artistic reasons. Public practice of the profession was practically excluded. However, there were no “painting bans” in the Nazi state; artistic work in the private sphere remained possible (→ “Inner Emigration”).

Reichsautobahn

The expansion of a dense network of autobahns in Germany, begun in the → Weimar Republic, was used as a propaganda tool during the Nazi era by Adolf Hitler, who was enthusiastic about cars and technology. By the fall of 1934, some 1,500 kilometers of autobahns were under construction. Financed by the Reichsanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung (the government employment department) and under the responsibility of Fritz Todt, the General Inspector for German Roadways, the construction of the autobahn was propagated as a contribution to reducing unemployment. In illustrated books, films and exhibitions, the “roads of the Führer” were celebrated as a symbol of the rising National Socialist Germany. Not only artists who were close to the Nazis were fascinated by the large-scale project.

## Die Reichskammer der bildenden Künste



## R

Alongside aestheticization and monumentalization in commissioned works such as those by → Carl Theodor Protzen and → Wilhelm Heise, there were also less conventional glimpses of the construction work, for example by → Gabriele Münter.

### Reserved Films

Since 1934, the German film industry had been under state control. All films, even supposedly apolitical feature films, showed a tendency to spread National Socialist ideologies. In 1945, the Allies classified propaganda films and films with anti-Semitic, racist, inciting and war-glorifying messages as “Verbotsfilme”. These have been in the holdings of the Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau Foundation since 1966.

The films that are now known as “Vorbehaltsfilme” (Reserved Films) can only be shown with the consent and following the conditions of the Foundation. This requires a historical introduction and a discussion with an expert person. The films can be viewed for research purposes, at the Foundation’s premises in Wiesbaden.

Organigramm of the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts (RdbK)

Fig. from Hans Hinkel (ed.), *Handbuch der Reichskulturkammer*, Deutscher Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, Berlin 1937, p. 75



Villa Romana Florence

In 1905, Max Klinger, with the support of friends and art lovers in Florence, purchased the Villa Romana to give artists a place to work. The Deutscher Künstlerbund (Association of German Artists) initiated the Villa Romana Prize, which was judged by an independent jury. After World War I, this prize could not be awarded again until 1929.

In the German circles of Florence, nationalist and “völkisch” ideas were already being voiced by certain individual at the time. In November 1933, Florence became the site of the first exhibition of National Socialist art abroad.

After 1933, the private sponsorship and the Deutscher Künstlerbund prevented the National Socialist cultural functionaries from gaining direct access to the Villa Romana Association. In 1935, Hans Purrmann was appointed as director. The Deutscher Künstlerbund was banned in 1936 on the occasion of its exhibition in Hamburg. At this exhibition, the sculptor Emy Roeder was still able to be chosen as the prize-winner. Purrmann allowed her to remain in the Villa Romana as a tenant from 1937 onward—the same year they were both defamed at the Munich → Degenerate Art exhibition.

During this time, Florence became a place of refuge for many people from

the German cultural scene and for people with a Jewish background. A group of painters joined up in the legendary Pensione Bandini, where the spiritus rector was → Rudolf Levy. After the occupation of Florence by the German Wehrmacht on September 12, 1943, the situation for persecuted persons became more threatening. Rudolf Levy did not take the risk seriously enough, which was to be his undoing. He was arrested by the Gestapo in December 1943 and died a few weeks later on the train from Milan to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

In 1954, Purrmann’s efforts to have the sequestered Villa Romana returned paid off; it was officially reopened in 1959.

Weimar Republic

Germany’s first parliamentary democracy; it began with the proclamation of the → Räterepublik (Soviet Republic) on November 9, 1918, and ended with the transfer of power and the appointment of Adolf Hitler as Reich Chancellor by Paul von Hindenburg on January 30, 1933.

*The biographies in the exhibition and the texts in this booklet are based on the publication Kunst und Leben 1918 bis 1955, edited by Karin Althaus, Sarah Bock, Lisa Kern, Matthias Mühlhng, and Melanie Wittchow, Lenbachhaus Munich, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2022.*

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*The names of places are given in historical spelling and context. We have deliberately omitted an additional contemporary designation.*

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