

Carl Einstein's *Negerplastik*

Early twentieth-century avant-garde
encounters between art and ethnography

HEIKE M. NEUMEISTER

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ABSTRACT

The thesis focuses on the work of the author and critic Carl Einstein (1885-1940), a key figure in the history of early twentieth-century art and literature. Introducing new archival material from the Berlin Ethnological Museum, the British Museum and a number of other sources, it offers a thorough re-examination of the circumstances and cultural practices that shaped Einstein's antagonism towards the itinerant 'primitivism hubbub' and contemporary prejudice, and retrieves what is his most incisive intervention into the discourse on art and primitivism: his book *Negerplastik* (1915).

Reconnecting *Negerplastik* to Einstein's early art-criticism in the context of pre-1914 German *Kulturpolitik* and in the often highly competitive circles of the intellectual avant-garde, the thesis investigates his hitherto neglected role in staging the first two exhibitions in Germany which, during 1913, presented African sculpture alongside avant-garde painting – and Picasso's Cubist work – at the *Neue Galerie* in Berlin. In what is described as a 'visual turn', it analyzes *Negerplastik* and its audaciously modernist visualization of non-western sculpture, and argues that by making the ethnographic 'curio' an object of theory Einstein, as it were, 'invented' the aesthetic category of African art.

The thesis brings together material that, although embedded in the period's documents and chronicles, has largely gone unnoticed. Yet evidence, such as the critical reaction to Einstein's 1913 African exhibitions, his letters to his friends Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler and Ewald Wasmuth, or the material gathered between 1925 and 1930 for a joint project with the British Museum's keeper Thomas A. Joyce is central to understanding the historical significance of *Negerplastik* and Einstein's ethnographic encounter. Ethnography provided the basis for some of his most compelling art-critical texts in the journal *Documents*. It informed the development of his concept of an *Ethnologie du blanc* which transgressed academic disciplines and epistemic tradition, and engendered a 'visual turn' that, by leaving the images to do the work of language, operated as Einstein's 'silent' critique of modernist sculpture. The thesis concludes by contending that, between 1916 and 1918, *Negerplastik* served as catalyst, and matrix, for a number of avant-garde reconfigurations of African sculpture in which the objects' photographic framing re-confirmed this sculpture as art. It addresses aspects of Einstein's role within the discourse on art and cultural difference, which – despite the now sizeable secondary literature devoted to him – have not been sufficiently examined.

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The idea for this thesis goes back some twenty-five years when during my research for a different project I first came across Einstein's *Negerplastik* and I was as struck by its modernist visualization as by its anti-colonialist audacity that precluded all primitivist categorization.

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INTRODUCTION

For much of the twentieth century, notions of primitivism and cultural difference have been central to the making of art and the assessment of artistic practice. The role of the ethnographic object within this discourse has contributed to issues concerning art history's methodological foundations and its relevance to the study of non-western cultural tradition. The point of departure for this thesis is the encounter between art and ethnography that informed the debates coalescing around the artistic status of the ethnographic object after its so-called 'discovery' by artists in the early twentieth century. The thesis explores the work of the German author and critic Carl Einstein (1885-1940) by focusing on his book *Negerplastik* (1915) and the implications his ethnographic enquiries had for his theory of art, and the way in which this encounter affected certain avant-garde formations involved in this discourse.

During the last forty years considerable progress has been made in the recovery of material regarding Einstein's corpus, evident in a now sizable Einstein literature. Studies tend to be as equally concerned with Einstein's literary work as with his writing on the visual arts, although the majority are by *Germanistik*-scholars rather than art historians, which might explain why those relating to *Negerplastik* have generally concentrated on textual analyses.¹ Einstein-research has recently benefited from a number of Anglo-American studies; two translations of *Negerplastik* appeared within a year together with a number of key texts.² Yet, the lack of documentary information has remained problematic. To some degree this concerns the tasks set out here, in that certain aspects regarding the historical reconstruction of circumstances leading to the publication of *Negerplastik* have only become practicable by assembling evidence from primary material in conjunction with coeval and secondary sources so as to construct a plausible scenario rather than a certain sequence of events. The thesis offers a range of new evidence, including documentation on a collaborative project involving Einstein and the British Museum which, it is argued, was central to a synthesis of art and ethnography and the material he authored for the journal *Documents*.

The art historical aspects of the early twentieth-century convergence of art and ethnography as two distinct fields of enquiry joined under the term of 'primitivism' was sanctioned in 1938 by Robert Goldwater's *Primitivism in Modern Art*.³ The primitive, whether in ancient Greece, Trecento Italian painting, the period of the Enlightenment, the German Romantic tradition of Wilhelm Wackenroder and Friedrich Schlegel or African and Polynesian artifacts arriving in Europe, has continued to preoccupy western thinking and the imagination of artists, authors, and historians.⁴ Goldwater's achievement is that his study considered the primitivist manifestations of western art's response to the increasing ease of access to objects of African and other colonized cultures within the historical trajectory of ethnological museums, colonial expositions, and the printed media before and after the turn of the twentieth century. But the term's ambiguities, and the artistic practices to which it alludes, came into focus only with two exhibitions and the responses these provoked: "*Primitivism*" in *Twentieth-Century Art* at the Museum of Modern Art (1984) and *Magiciens de la terre* at the Centre Pompidou (1989).⁵

By reassessing some of the early twentieth-century interactions between ethnography, art and the diverse, even contradictory, connotations of primitivism, the thesis proposes that Einstein and *Negerplastik* played a significant, if not pivotal role within this discourse. Arguing for an aesthetic approach to the African sculptural object by challenging the authority of western artistic tradition and ethnography's social evolutionist assumptions, *Negerplastik* was Einstein's first and most provocative study to engage with the non-western sculptural object as an object of 'art'. That its publication coincided with the dissolution of the German empire during 1914-18 and its *Kulturpolitik* might in part account for the amnesia that has surrounded the book. But perhaps it is the cultural and political reverberations of colonialism that have continued to cast their long shadows of obfuscation over *Negerplastik*. One could argue that both Goldwater's 1938 'Primitivism' and that of the Museum of Modern Art's 1984 celebration of 'primitivist' avant-garde innovation colluded in demoting Einstein's audacious book to little more than the footnotes of art history, so that even close to a hundred years after its publication it remains relatively little known.⁶

The thesis owes some of its impetus to the cultural analyses of authors like George E. Marcus, Fred R. Myers and James Clifford, who examined the relationship between the history of ethnography and art, culture and representation.⁷ It examines the dynamics of the contemporaneous ethnographic project and art critical practice that negotiated certain forms of representation of non-western culture as typified by *Negerplastik* and the publications that followed.⁸ In the sense that these changes and negotiations were nowhere more clearly defined than in Einstein's art-critical and ethnographic practice, the importance of this

encounter represents the sum of its historical moment. It was shaped by the social and cultural forces set into motion by the efficacy of the entrepreneurial imperatives driving the market in non-western objects, the potential of photo-reproductive processes, and the values these created.

The trope of the 'primitive' as a temporal concept or category of western thought⁹ is examined in the chapters that follow, since Einstein's understanding of it set his art-critical writing apart from his contemporaries. To the extent that both ethnology and art are disciplinary fields concerned with cultural theory, their language and rhetorical tools are rooted in a common tradition, which this thesis explores in relation to the function of the photographic media in the representation and dissemination of non-western objects. Since discussions will centre on German, French and British sources at a time when the European terms 'ethnography' and 'ethnology' were applied to the discipline, these will be retained. Claude Lévi-Strauss describes ethnography as comprising 'the observations and analysis of human groups considered as individual entities' and the collecting of objects and recording 'as accurately as possible the respective modes of life of various groups', while ethnology is concerned with utilizing 'for comparative purposes [...] the data provided by the ethnographer'. That both terms and its root *ethnoi* (as the description of peoples) have long lost their neutrality and taken on evaluative notions is argued by Johannes Fabian.¹⁰

It is proposed that the separate parts of this thesis be regarded as tracking some of the background to different aspects of Einstein's writing on art and ethnography rather than a chronological account. The research for this project has benefited from the wealth of material that has been brought to light over the last four decades through the research by scholars such as Jean Laude, Sybille Penkert, Heidemarie Oehm, Liliane Meffre and Klaus H. Kiefer. Though too many to name here, the debt to others will become clear in the references at the appropriate place.

The material below consists of a brief review of some of the more relevant aspects of the secondary literature that in various ways engaged with Einstein's writings on non-western art. Because of the focus of this thesis, the choice has been limited to four studies. The first two by Robert Goldwater and Jean-Louis Paudrat, are representative of the primitivist and ethnographic context regarding Einstein's work. Those by Klaus H. Kiefer and Uwe Fleckner are representative of the range of Germanistik and art historical studies of Einstein scholarship.

Close to seventy years after his death, the literary and art critical corpus of Carl Einstein remains relatively unknown outside Germany and France, despite the notoriety of his publications during his lifetime. Whereas his idiosyncratic, often hermetic, prose transgressed discursive specialization, it also generated the novella

Bebuquin (1912), which secured his place among the progenitors of literary Expressionism.¹¹ A complete departure from his literary work was the publication of *Negerplastik* (1915), the first book on African sculpture. *Negerplastik* has repeatedly claimed a presence in the accounts of German Expressionism, Dadaism and Surrealism, or the debates concerned with primitivism and the impact of African sculpture on Cubist concepts in the work of Picasso and Braque. Remarks on Einstein and several of the reproduced objects have surfaced in publications on African art or exhibition catalogues of public and private collections.¹² While this may indicate significance, Einstein scholars have tended to focus on the text of *Negerplastik*, yet the images that dominate the volume have received relatively little attention.¹³ Neither have the reasons been analyzed that might go some way to explain its persistent yet somewhat secret life in the wings of the history of art. The thesis proposes to fill this gap.

The two studies, regarded as key works of the encounter of art, ethnology and primitivism, are Robert Goldwater's *Primitivism in Modern Art* and William Rubin's "*Primitivism*" in *20th Century Art*, who both acknowledged the relevance of Einstein's monograph within the historical context of their respective agendas. Yet while Goldwater confirmed *Negerplastik* as being the 'first and most influential of its kind', his discussion remained somewhat dismissive of the book as a whole. The reason for this may be that the one aspect Einstein did explicitly not engage with was the kind of protean primitivism that was central to Goldwater, an 'artistic attitude' in which 'primitive art' functioned as a 'catalytic which [...] helped the artists to formulate their own aims because they would attribute to it the qualities they themselves sought to attain'.¹⁴ Another reason may be that more than two decades separated the two studies during which not only cultural and political goals had drastically changed due to the First World War, but a host of publications on the subject of primitivism and the arts of non-western culture had clamoured to satisfy the new taste for *art nègre*.¹⁵

This profusion of material might raise questions concerning the parallels Goldwater chose for the discussion of *Negerplastik*, because some was not only closer in date, but also certainly more appropriate for a judicious assessment. Instead, *Negerplastik* was equated with publications as diverse as those of Franz Boas and Roger Fry,¹⁶ analogies that seem tenuous, if only because both appeared within the post-war climate that increasingly accommodated a ubiquitous '*vogue nègre*'. *Negerplastik* might be perceived as initiating this aestheticization of African objects, but the acme of this acculturation came in 1935 with *African Negro Art*, one of the largest exhibitions of its kind held at the Museum of Modern Art. It is conceivable that as a young scholar of African culture, Goldwater, who assisted the museum's director, Alfred H. Barr Jr. and the curator James Johnson

Sweeney, in organizing this show, had a stake in downplaying the significance of Einstein's project.¹⁷ In addition, Einstein had radically changed his aesthetic focus after the war by accommodating emergent ethnographic methodologies that in Clifford's estimation marked the beginnings of a twentieth-century 'ethnographic authority', and evident in Einstein's second book on African sculpture.¹⁸ By 1929 this had led to cultural analyses of integrating ethnographic discourse with modern artistic production in his contributions to the journal *Documents* and what he termed an '*Ethnologie du blanc*'. But more important here is that Einstein sustained his critique of primitivist avant-garde appropriation so fundamental to Goldwater's project, which in 1957 gained the latter the post of founding director of the Museum of Primitive Art.

It is not surprising then, that from the distance of nineteen-thirties America and a burgeoning market for avant-garde and non-western art, Goldwater finds reason to relegate Einstein to just one of the many championing the 'exotic primitive', who were 'content to isolate the individual work', and, 'often, not keeping within these limits, they gave it romantic, undocumented interpretations'. These remarks do not characterize *Negerplastik*, yet even direct citations remain misleading, so that flawed deductions declaring that for Einstein 'even the beginnings of European sculpture in Greece are ruled out', lead to flawed conclusions: 'For Boas, primitive art is comparable to other arts, for Einstein, it is better'. Inconsistent argument leads to comparison with those Goldwater sees to be 'influenced by the same rising artistic tradition', passing over the significance of Einstein's polemics for an African art.¹⁹

This attitude is evident also in a conclusion that again draws upon parallels between Einstein, Boas and Fry; their views are 'formed in the atmosphere of the cubist tradition' and the sculptural efficacy of African works, 'which extracts each object from its context and views it as an aesthetically isolated absolute'.²⁰ Even if this indicates an awareness of the inherent ambivalence of Einstein's first African project, to identify difference is as vital to art historical analyses as poignant analogy. Considering that the most prominent feature of *Negerplastik* is arguably its modernist visualization of African sculpture, it is mystifying that this finds no mention at all in Goldwater's study. It seems particularly at odds considering that this same model of visual representation was so masterfully developed by Walker Evans, the photographer commissioned by the Museum of Modern Art to produce a catalogue of the works shown during the exhibition *African Negro Art*, and that Goldwater was part of the organizing team.²¹ Nonetheless, Goldwater's survey remains one of the standard works on the subject of primitivism, but in the light of new research, it may be time to reconsider Einstein's work and position within this discourse.

Responding to the mounting interest in primitivism and non-western artifacts, Rubin's *'Primitivism' in Twentieth-Century Art* assembled more tangible proof of Einstein's role within this discourse. Here references and reproductions from *Negerplastik* were manifold, although they functioned in the manner of documentary evidence, intended to endorse the legacy of a modern primitivism by the presence of their African and Oceanic 'ancestors'.²² The exhibition was, for one reviewer, 'a mirror of Western colonial history' in which African and Oceanic works were 'presented as a set of powerful divining rods for proto-Cubists, Expressionists, and Surrealists'.²³

Yet some of the issues addressed by Paudrat's contribution to this catalogue, consisting of a survey of the arrival of Africa objects in Europe, are of relevance to this thesis. Focusing on the history of acquisitions in France, he outlines developments of nineteenth-century European ethnology, noting that there were 'no equivalents' to the wealth of African studies by German authors such as Friedrich Ratzel or Leo Frobenius. Georg Schweinfurth's lavishly illustrated *Im Herzen von Afrika* (1874) had revealed that 'there existed societies of a high level of culture' which possessed 'sophisticated [...] arts of decoration and architecture' with which the European taste for 'exoticism was steadily whetted'.²⁴ It implies that the discursive potential of images and the efficacy of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century developments in photography and reproductive technologies was central to the western encounter with the ethnographic object, an implication this thesis will address with particular view to Einstein's *Negerplastik* and some of those publications that pursued similar goals at much the same time.

Paudrat draws attention to the crucial role of the early dealers in African and Oceanic artifacts whose close ties to the intellectual and artistic avant-garde fostered the objects' acculturation in Europe and the USA, especially Joseph Brummer, an early associate of Einstein. Paudrat points out Brummer's importance in relation to *Negerplastik*,²⁵ but what will be argued here is that their acquaintance was imperative to Einstein's ethnographic enquiries even before Brummer's involvement with the preparations of *Negerplastik*. The indications are that the beginnings of Einstein's interest in African objects originated in Paris some time before the outbreak of the First World War. These were bound up with Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler and his associate artists, and the central European contingent frequenting the *Café du Dôme*, which included Brummer, so that Paudrat's 'From Africa' touches upon much that is fertile ground for this investigation. The essay includes a brief review of Vladimir Markov's *Iskusstvo Negrov* (Negro Art, 1919), which like *Negerplastik* was conceived and written during 1913 and 1914.²⁶ Because of a striking number of additional similarities, Markov's study is one of

four publications that appeared between 1916 and 1919, which this thesis will examine.

Paudrat's appraisal of *Negerplastik* demonstrates a more balanced reading that views Einstein's polemics as aiming at the 'evolutionist conceptions' of museographers and the 'exacerbated primitivism of the Expressionists'.²⁷ This, he argues, is based on Einstein's 'extensive knowledge of Kunstwissenschaft' and familiarity with the Cubism of Picasso, Braque and Gris, which had caused prejudices of a 'formalist' approach, a bias he firmly rejects. Instead, he contends, *Negerplastik* is a book 'of prime importance, not only for its precedence within the history of ideas about the arts of Africa but also for the relevance of its analysis' and, he adds, 'the breadth of the illustrations it contains'. Beyond this and noting that 'more than half of the sculptures presented in Einstein's book had been, at one time or another, in Brummer's hands',²⁸ Paudrat turns his attention to the next generation of dealers, Paul Guillaume and Charles Ratton. Since his contribution to the Rubin catalogue, Paudrat has collaborated with the African art history scholar, Ezio Bassani, in cataloguing the identity, provenances and current whereabouts of the majority of the works reproduced in *Negerplastik*. It forms part of a recent French edition of the book by Liliane Meffre, one of the leading Einstein experts, making it an important additional tool for Einstein research and those engaged with the history and reception of African sculpture.²⁹

One of the most comprehensive Einstein studies is Klaus H. Kiefer's *Diskurswandel im Werk Carl Einsteins* (Changes of Discourse in the Work of Carl Einstein). Its merits lie in the fact that it dealt with Einstein's life and work as a whole. Taking an interdisciplinary approach that claims to respond to Einstein's discursive transformations, changes within and across the boundaries of various disciplines are seen to impinge on his literary work, art criticism, philosophy and life: from trendsetter of literary Expressionism to theoretician of Cubist art, from aesthetic paradigms of African sculpture to Spartacist radicalism, from ethnographic readings of Surrealist painting to anarcho-syndicalist radio broadcaster. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to give a full appraisal of Kiefer's monograph, it remains a valuable contribution to Einstein scholarship containing a wealth of conscientiously researched material. Only some of those aspects concerned with Einstein's ethnographic texts will be outlined here.

Negerplastik, Kiefer states, was 'a pinnacle in modern aesthetics per se', an act of 'unparalleled trans-cultural communication'.³⁰ Einstein had made African sculpture 'the theme of an aesthetic discourse', in which the aesthetic becomes the medium of 'a radical epistemological process, of apprehending otherness'. It was Kiefer argues, a process of 'primitivized blurring' and a 'transformation of

discourse' that 'however problematic, gains emancipation by rupturing the crystallized power structures within the discourse'.³¹ This he identifies as a 'productive misreading of primitive art', and by referring to Einstein's post-war stance that had defined primitive art as 'the rejection of the capitalized artistic tradition' in need of dismantling, Kiefer concludes that the modernism/primitivism critique had yet to be resolved.³² While there is little doubt that the social and political turmoil of the early Weimar Republic led to the ideological radicalization of an intellectual avant-garde far less critical in outlook than Einstein's, it suggests that the cultural and political dimension of *Negerplastik*'s historical moment needs to be re-examined. Kiefer views *Negerplastik* as an 'unexpected' and 'immature' work that was based on Einstein's as yet 'undefined concepts of primitivism' and 'as good as no' evidence of an interest in African sculpture in his writing prior to 1915.³³ Having assembled circumstantial evidence that however insignificant its component parts may appear in isolation, this thesis will suggest that *Negerplastik* evolved out of Einstein's critical response to specific conditions occurring in Berlin and Paris during the period of its conceptualization. It responded to the central issue of the boundaries between 'art' and 'non-art', which since Kant's philosophical system of separating an autonomous aesthetic realm of human judgment from moral and utilitarian imperatives and reasoning had remained central to the debates of artistic and cultural production. For the Einstein of 1912 to 1915 this involved a cumulative understanding of the Cubist project (of Picasso in particular) and the aesthetic dimension of the ethnographic object, which as Kiefer put it, made him 'the Winckelmann of the avant-garde'.

Kiefer further suggests that the book's aesthetic postulate had contradicted Wilhelm Worringer's dismissal of the aesthetic in *Formprobleme der Gotik* (1911); and that an evaluation of African objects as art contested scientific criteria then and now, although Einstein had actually not set out any scientific intentions.³⁴ As to the flaws and lack of provenance or ethnographical data regarding the objects reproduced, he maintains that *Negerplastik* had not delivered an 'adequate theory' of African art but its text referred more to the 'Cubist objects of its time' rather than the 'seemingly archaic sculptures' of the image section. Yet *Negerplastik* was not only a 'cubist manifesto', rather by entering uncharted territory, Einstein had 'hypostatized' the 'extraordinary subject that is "Negro art"', which made an assessment of his theses by the era's 'available prevailing scientific methods impossible'. It marked 'the moment of a paradigm-shift, when all [...] categories of self and other, beauty and deformation, the progressive and regressive, the modern and the primitive collaborate in a historical crisis' that might be compared to that of the 'Rinascimento overcoming the medieval conception of the world'.³⁵

Tracking Einstein's discursive transformation opens onto a discussion of the terms 'exoticism' and 'primitivism' which, as Kiefer states, 'occupy a different history, convergent as in the case of Gauguin, or coexistent as in primitivist art such as "Negroid" Cubism and the colonial novel. While exoticism has a tradition reaching back to antiquity, primitivism is an entirely twentieth-century phenomenon centered on 'third-world' primitivism.³⁶ While the exotic is defined by specific referents inherent to the work's aesthetic and structure in which the 'foreign' (for example, of motives, persons, or space/time) is associated with secondary experiences (as in Flaubert's *Salammbô* and Karl May), it tended towards the 'pittoresque', even trivial, and thus was essentially ethnocentric.³⁷ Kiefer identifies the great period of exoticism as part of the restorative nineteenth century, while twentieth-century primitivism as the term is understood today generated categorical distance, allowing the foreign to penetrate and transform cultural substance in which 'dissociated sub-systems' might assume avant-garde functions.³⁸

Having earlier described the concept of form as 'central' to an understanding of *Negerplastik*, Kiefer's attempt to trace the book's context of structure and subject emphasizes that Einstein's 'ecstasy' regarding non-western objects had structure even before he engaged with ethnography proper, since 'not all that functions as "aesthetic" is of no consequence to science'.³⁹ He recognizes Einstein's 'predicate of art' for African sculpture as a serious and considered achievement, arguing that Einstein regarded the 'formalist' aesthetic method as relative and more effective than any objective approach to the socially and culturally situated object such as the cult object. Only this 'non-sociological' definition of religion allowed Einstein to make the cult function of African sculpture the central argument for its aesthetic qualities, moreover: 'Einstein admits only as much "religion" as is suitable for the aesthetic autonomy of these sculptures'.⁴⁰

It is somewhat puzzling that Kiefer acknowledges the significance of myth and religion to what Einstein was to call African sculpture's 'formal realism', yet he did not engage more specifically with the image plates, even though *Negerplastik* is described as 'the most decisive moment' in Einstein's biography and in 'the theory of modernism'. The proposal presented here argues that what constituted this decisive moment was in fact bound up with Einstein's unique deployment of photo-reproductive media that 'framed' the African object by setting up a dialectic between a theoretical text and a modernist rhetoric of the image. For Kiefer the book marks a 'twofold transformation', which on the one hand was an 'undoing of the scientific' that led to a 'unique primitivization', whose rhetorical element lay in the 'uncommented illustrative part' of the study, and on the other an

‘aestheticization’ that he claims made ‘image and text isotopic’.⁴¹ It implies two of a kind, occupying an equal place, yet different; it posits the question why this is left unexplored. Yet, throughout his extensive study Kiefer refrains from a discussion of the reproductions or the works themselves.⁴² However, of more interest for the context here is Kiefer’s reference to Einstein’s links with the British Museum, albeit he was unable to verify this beyond the information gleaned from Einstein’s correspondence with his publisher and friend, Ewald Wasmuth. It talked about a collaboration with the museum’s curator of the ethnographical collections, Thomas A. Joyce, and plans for a comprehensive survey on the arts and history of Africa.⁴³ Although the project was never finalized, it has finally become possible to locate evidence that confirms such collaboration, filling what might be conceived as an important gap in Einstein-studies. It further corroborates the significance of ethnography to Einstein’s cultural analyses and – as will be proposed here – that the work at the British Museum was central to his tasks as founder (as Kiefer was the first to verify) and editorial member of *Documents* but more so to his heterodox ethnographic reading and analysis of modern artistic practice.⁴⁴

Kiefer considers *Negerplastik* in relation to other publications that addressed the subject of African sculpture and its relevance to avant-garde art by arguing that these best demonstrate the emancipatory content of Einstein’s volume. Markov’s *Iskusstvo Negrov* is regarded of interest only in so far as it too attempted a ‘revision of the aesthetic qualities’ of African art, but because it advocates the ‘dubious’ theories of Frobenius, it is prone to the transience of scientific statements and so not comparable to Einstein’s tightly closed model.⁴⁵ The second choice is *African Negro Art. Its Influence on Modern Art* (1916) by the Mexican caricaturist, Marius de Zayas, gallery owner and associate of the photographer, Alfred Stieglitz. Kiefer regrets that in spite of its great rarity and de Zayas’ disconcerting ability to locate all manner of different sources in support of racial prejudices that appear throughout the book, it is frequently used for the wrong reasons. With good reason, Kiefer points to the outstanding and lasting achievement of Einstein’s study.⁴⁶ In the course of this thesis, both these and other publications will be considered with particular view to the representation of ethnographic objects in relation to *Negerplastik*.

The remainder of this part of Kiefer’s study concerns the development of concepts of non-western culture and the primitive in the Einstein oeuvre following *Negerplastik*. It includes valuable information on his period when stationed in Brussels during the First World War, which gave rise to his second volume on the subject of African sculpture, *Afrikanische Plastik* (1921), and his work on African myths, *Afrikanische Legenden* (1925).⁴⁷ This and Kiefer’s significant contribution

to Einstein's association with *Documents* and the development of the concept of an *Ethnologie du blanc* will be considered at the appropriate stage of this thesis.⁴⁷

The last publication to be considered here is Uwe Fleckner's *Carl Einstein und sein Jahrhundert*. Subtitled *Fragmente einer intellektuellen Biographie*, Fleckner's study is divided into a number of independent essays that examine certain aspects of Einstein's work as a 'sequence of fragments' which, he argues, acknowledges along with Einstein the epistemic limitations of idealist 'biographical and monographic' art-historical narrative tradition.⁴⁸ Fleckner's book marks a revival of art-historical interest in Einstein's corpus and his relevance to the historiography of early twentieth-century modernist art. Einstein's pioneering literature on, for example, the Cubism of Picasso and Braque, or the work of André Masson and Jean Arp forms a crucial aspect of his entire oeuvre that equals that of his contemporaries Guillaume Apollinaire, Maurice Raynal, or Einstein's friend, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler. While other scholars, among them, Kiefer, Liliane Meffre or Yve-Alain Bois, have begun to recover Einstein's contributions to this discourse, Fleckner succeeds in offering some different perspectives on his art-critical and theoretical approach.⁴⁹ Based on earlier research of these and other Einstein scholars, Fleckner re-examines the importance of Einstein's role as adviser to the collector Dr Gottfried Reber in assembling one of the most remarkable collections of early twentieth century art. He investigates some of the issues of Einstein's critical stance regarding the Expressionists, including Wassily Kandinsky, his opposition to, and rivalry with the critic and art historian Julius Meier-Gräfe, and his friendship with Moise Kisling and Max Beckmann.⁵⁰

In contrast to the majority of Einstein studies, one of the benefits is that the author has gone to some length to furnish his book with a wealth of nearly three hundred reproductions of works and other documentary material. In spite of Einstein's own skeptical position toward the 'word decorators' who were unaware of the 'hopeless chasm between language and image', Fleckner maintains that the actual works which formed the basis of Einstein's theories and art-critical texts must be regarded as pre-requisite to any analysis of the author's work.⁵¹ While this approach is in broad agreement with the thesis presented here, it forms a welcome antidote to previous studies and fills a much felt gap by repositioning Einstein's corpus of texts in their appropriate visual context, making material available that was easily accessible to his contemporary readers such as the works by Moise Kisling, Aristide Maillol and Wilhelm Lehmbruck.

However, it might be argued that the image/text relationship so central to Einstein's art-critical corpus, which Fleckner addresses several times and especially in his treatment of Einstein's photo-essay in *Documents* – which this thesis will revisit in due course – remains somewhat unresolved.⁵² This, along with the

promise of an 'intellectual biography' that provides little or no room for a discussion on the significance of Einstein's literary oeuvre, was also noted in the reviews of Einstein-scholars.⁵³ One of the arguments put forward here is that the strategies adopted in *Negerplastik* were imperative to the development of Einstein's critique of the contemporary language of art (history and criticism). What constituted his challenge to western artistic tradition is unthinkable without his ethnographic encounter, which provided the intellectual tools for his most profound writing on art and what he conceived to be the conceptual gulf between language and the work itself. It is manifest in his work for *Documents*, his concept of an *Ethnologie du blanc*, the Braque essay of 1934, and possibly contributed to the decision to abandon writing on art (for publication) and to join the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists in the fight against fascism. Fleckner may not have given the 'ethnographic' Einstein the attention this thesis will argue is necessary to fully grasp Einstein's discursive transformations (to use Kiefer's words), but his biographical 'fragments' are doubtlessly a valuable contribution to contemporary Einstein studies.

While the proposals advanced here might differ from the views of the above authors, their work nonetheless has been beneficial to clarifying ideas and concepts regarding Einstein's work. My initial reflections on *Negerplastik* were first presented at the Annual Conference of the Association of Art Historians in Leeds (2006). A similar approach that related *Negerplastik* to some of Einstein's work for the journal *Documents* was presented at the *Colloque International*, Université de Bourgogne, Dijon (June 2007). A comparison between *Negerplastik* and Vladimir Markov's *Iskusstvo Negrov* (1919) was outlined at the CIHA conference 'How to write Art History – National, Regional or Global?' organized by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest (November 2007).⁵⁴

The main body of the thesis is divided into four parts, each of which is briefly outlined below.

Part I examines Einstein's move from his literary beginnings as the author of *Bebuquin* and literature reviews for journals such as *Die Opale* and *Hyperion* to his first art critical contributions and encounter with *Der Blaue Reiter*. It places his art-critical genesis within the debates and controversies of Germany's pre-First World War *Kulturpolitik* and the thriving international market for avant-garde art, arguing that this development was informed by his unorthodox, literary orientation. Opposing the ocular-centrism of the Impressionist heritage, Einstein challenged psycho-physiological object dissolution and primitivist tendencies in preference to the constructive principles of the Cubist formation he encountered during frequent

visits to Paris in the avant-garde circles associated with Kahnweiler and the *Café du Dôme*, which included Joseph Brummer.

Part II traces Einstein's engagement with non-western culture and his role in staging two of what must be the first exhibitions in the German history of early twentieth-century art in which ethnographic objects were displayed alongside avant-garde works and Picasso's Cubist work. It argues that the Picasso show was part of a larger collaborative project involving a number of German galleries, which was initiated and conceived by Kahnweiler as a 'lesson' in the making of Cubism. It proposes Einstein (and Brummer) as responsible for the African exhibits in a 'lesson' that functioned as an audacious response to the increasingly competitive market for modern art and escalating exhibition strategies (especially the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*) devised by rival avant-garde factions promoting the kind of work Einstein had dismissed as the itinerant 'primitivism hubbub' and 'lacklustre ideologies'. These exhibitions sought to foreground the African sculptural object as a conceptual catalyst of modernist art (Picasso in particular) and anticipated the aesthetic paradigm of African sculpture as art, which Einstein was to propose in *Negerplastik*.

Part III considers the convergence of artistic and ethnographic practices within the context of pre-war cultural and colonial attitudes and suggests that certain facets of Einstein's research into non-western culture during and after the war might suggest a better knowledge of the ethnological discourse at the time of *Negerplastik* than previously assumed. It argues for a deliberate dialectical opposition between the text and images of *Negerplastik* that contested the sculptural paradigms exemplified by Adolf Hildebrand and Rodin so as to hypothesize an aesthetic of African sculpture as art. What is here described as Einstein's 'visual turn' operated as an image strategy in which photography reframed the theorized non-western object within the coordinates of a modernist aesthetic that sought to validate its artistic autonomy. *Negerplastik* served as a paragon for a nexus of avant-garde enquiries and 'aesthetic' reconfigurations of so-called primitive sculpture in which the concurrent impact of photo-reproductive media boosted the market in non-western artifacts, and which Paul Guillaume's *Sculptures nègres* (1917) was one of the first to exploit. Einstein's intensified research led to his second book, *Afrikanische Plastik* (1921), which shifted emphasis from the aesthetic to an ethnographic debate. This, it is argued, and his research and collaboration with the British Museum, documented here for the first time, formed the keystone of the concept development of Einstein's *Ethnologie du blanc* that transgressed discipline-immanent systems of western epistemic tradition and characterized his contributions to *Documents*. A reading of the aforementioned Einstein photo-essay (different to Fleckner's) suggests a 'visual turn' in which the

language of art (criticism and history) is 'silenced' by the juxtaposition of seemingly incongruous images that function as a critique of modernist sculpture. The thesis views Einstein's theoretical position as part of a legacy of the academic iconoclasm that had pervaded German academia since the latter part of the nineteenth century which, in opposition to a dominant bureaucratic Philhellenism and philology-based study of ancient or distant cultures, developed a predilection for object-based research of ancient cultures and the so-called cultures with 'no history'.⁵⁵

Part IV forms an epilogue, arguing that an assessment of Einstein's ethnographic encounter is incomplete without considering what Kiefer described as *Negerplastik*'s 'iconic signification' that coincided with the growing public attraction to non-western artistic production. Besides Guillaume's album, this can be traced to at least two additional publications, Markov's *Iskusstvo Negrov* (1919, but assembled earlier) and Marius de Zayas' and Charles Sheeler's *African Negro Wood Sculpture* (1918). The parallels in the genesis, structure and visualization make Markov's an obvious candidate for a comparison with *Negerplastik*. In both, the image/text strategies orchestrated a poetics of alterity that is as symptomatic of their respective philosophical and artistic affiliations as it is of the conflicting preoccupations of the pre-war European avant-garde. The reception of African sculpture in the United States is assessed via the photographic album *African Negro Wood Sculpture* (1918), initiated by de Zayas in collaboration with the artist/photographer Charles Sheeler. It contends that due to de Zayas' association with Paul Guillaume and Guillaume Apollinaire the visual correspondences to *Negerplastik* and thus the 'aestheticizing' acculturation of non-western sculptural objects may not be coincidental. Yet the theoretical rigour that underpinned the image strategies of Einstein's volume as much as his continued ethnographic encounter in questioning the role and language of art set his enquiries apart from others.

PART I – Views from the edge

Chapter 1 Einstein in 1910: 'surrender to the shackles of the work of art'

Within the cultural and political transformations that characterized intellectual and artistic life in Germany and France during the early twentieth century, the beginnings of Carl Einstein's development and career are not unusual. In common with the other propagandists of modern art, such as Guillaume Apollinaire or Herwarth Walden, he was part of a generation of intellectuals who grabbed the opportunities provided by a time of rapid economic growth, improving means of communication and expanding markets for art and literature catering to the demands of a new and growing professional class. Despite a lack of tangible evidence relating to Einstein's early years, the material that has become available, in addition to his own writings, helps to provide insight into his literary beginnings and shift to art criticism that was to lead to the conceptualization of his book *Negerplastik*.

In an autobiographical essay, Einstein remembered the small town of Neuwied on the Rhine, where he was born as the second child of Daniel and Sophie Einstein as a 'dull and shabby' place, memorable only for the good wine of the Herrenhuter brotherhood, whose 'daughters used to be married off to missionaries by drawing lots'.¹ Because of his father's appointment as principal of a Jewish seminary for the training of religious teaching, the family moved to Karlsruhe in 1888, where they lived in relatively prosperous circumstances. Some ten years later, the family was torn apart by Daniel Einstein's death, which is believed to have been suicide during his confinement in a psychiatric clinic.

Einstein recalled the stifling atmosphere of provincial town life and the boredom of his schooldays, only alleviated by the adventure novels of Karl May, where 'the death of Winnetou [sic] seemed to me far more significant than that of Achilles, and which has remained so ever since'.² Juvenile rebelliousness led to his premature dismissal from the Gymnasium (grammar school) and an apprenticeship with the respectable Karlsruhe banking firm of Veit L. Homberger during 1903. Within a year he had departed for Berlin, where from 1904 he was enrolled at the Friedrich-Wilhelm University studying philosophy, history and the history of art. Here he attended lectures by the sociologist Georg Simmel (1859-1918), the Neo-Kantian philosopher Alois Riehl (1844-1924) and the art historian Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945), but he broke off his studies without graduation after the summer semester of 1908.³

We know that aged twenty-one, he had begun his novella *Bebuquin*, an early shorter version of which was published in the literary journal *Die Opale*, which was edited by his mentor Franz Blei (an author and translator of the work of Oscar Wilde, André Gide and Paul Claudel).⁴ Around 1906 Einstein visited Paris, where he got acquainted with the collector and future gallery owner Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, who – having started as an apprentice at Homberger in Karlsruhe a year after Einstein – was to become a long-time friend and correspondent.⁵ It is conceivable that the mutual respect of this relationship played a part in Einstein's shift of interest from literature to the visual arts. In addition, the lively encounters with artists and intellectuals frequenting the *Café du Dôme*, among them the sculpture-student and soon-to-be dealer in non-western sculpture Joseph Brummer, contributed to this transition that led to the publication of *Negerplastik*.

By 1909, Einstein had joined Franz Blei and the author and dramatist, Carl Sternheim, on the bibliophile journal *Hyperion*, where a number of his early literary pieces were published.⁶ In September of that year he reviewed the illustrated novel *Die andere Seite* (*The other Side*) by the artist and writer Alfred Kubin, which Einstein compared to a dream, yet criticized for being 'not formed' and 'too passive'. He praised the sincerity of its matter-of-fact illustrations which, lacking 'tasteless' surrounds, integrated well with the text and enhanced the book's 'suggestive power', making this his first, if fleeting, journalistic engagement with the visual arts.⁷

The exotic and the 'lawfulness of art'

It is in the review of Franz Blei's translation of the novella *Vathek - An Arabian Tale* (1786) by the author and eccentric William Beckford (1760-1844)

that we find indications of concepts that were to mark Einstein's early art critical texts. Identifying Beckford as a predecessor of the same tradition as the works of Charles Baudelaire, Stephane Mallarmé and Aubrey Beardsley, Einstein saw *Vathek* as a book of 'inexhaustible appetite for an exorbitant desire for originality, ending in infernal ennui, [and] desperate banality'.⁸ The review allows a first glimpse into Einstein's notions of alterity and the genre of the exotic novel, which Kiefer describes as tending towards the trivial and ethnocentric.⁹ According to Einstein, Beckford succeeded in devising literary strategy by turning artistic imagination and 'obsessive whim' into 'technique',¹⁰ which replaced narrative conventions with constructive methods and in which technique and form become subservient to the aesthetic. This he found in Beckford's 'stylized rationalism that is alienated from the organic. His waterfalls [...], mountains and forests are powerfully modeled objets d'art full of mathematical function'.¹¹ For Beckford the fantastic was not a 'pretense of sentiment, of romantic irony', but a 'parable of the unobtainable mystery' pointing to 'the power of the imaginary, this true essence'.¹² Noting the 'demise of myth' and the waning possibility of the fairy tale, Einstein declared *Vathek* an 'art tale' that signified an 'archaism' in which 'cherished impulses that had lost their sense of reality' were rekindled and that - like myth - avoided psychology.¹³

These ideas might indicate typological turn-of-the-century romanticized predilections for the exotic, and utopian ideals of the renewal of art, yet they nonetheless link Einstein's insistence on the constructive principles of a work of art with notions of difference and myth that were to resurface in his theoretical approaches to non-western sculpture and modern art.¹⁴ Einstein's interest in *Vathek* was founded on its author's ability to harness the power of the imaginary with the aid of methods of precision. Like Baudelaire, Mallarmé and Beardsley, Beckford belonged to those who reminded us of the 'rhythmic power of the imagination', of the work of art, because they 'effectively posit the lawfulness of art, technique and form against dissolving individualism (un-artistic analytical psychology) and art as expression'.¹⁵ His empathy with Beckford's formal logic of construction was based on a conviction that rejected turn-of-the-century tendencies of narrative prose, prose that indulged in substituting psychological analysis and interpretation for the kind of artistic expression Einstein charged with dissolving form.¹⁶ His reading of *Vathek* focused on the novel's capacity to overturn stylizations, and mimetic concepts of narrative more widely associated with aspects of literary exoticism or the Gothic novel. Although aware of the novella's shortfalls, what Einstein recognized in the work, was the artist's total submission to the task, which in his notes he had described thus: 'Art is nothing but the challenge of the work itself and

the annihilation of man. To attain esteem he must surrender to the shackles of the work'.¹⁷

Considerations of form and constructive method, myth and otherness, were central to the development of concepts in Einstein's *Negerplastik*, where his preoccupation with devising a methodology of form and aesthetic function was as important as his reflections on cultural difference and the mythic context of African sculpture. Similar considerations occupied some of his early art-criticism, where the work of such lesser-known artists as Arnold Waldschmidt and Ludwig Schmid-Reutte is reviewed in terms of method and constructive (or 'tectonic') form, while proto-Cubist principles in the work of Pablo Picasso and the expressive tendencies of Henri Matisse raise notions of the 'primitive' and the 'decorative'. To the extent that Einstein considered *Vathek* in terms of the essence of the work of art, it might be argued that what constituted concepts of 'exoticism' and 'primitivism' in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century literary and artistic production may not be easily apportioned to the kind of polarized view suggested by Kiefer. Regarding Einstein's 'Vathek' essay as a product of 'exoticism', which for Kiefer consists of the 'summation of exotic forms into mere mannerism', 'primitivism' is seen as an 'integrative principle of a higher order'.¹⁸ Yet, one might view Einstein's 'Vathek' as the search for such an integrative principle – a tentative act of countering established assumptions of the exotic other, which sought to theorize a new order of thinking about art and the role of the artist. Rather than a polarization, we may wish to consider the shifting boundaries and inherent complexities of this discourse, and so gain a better understanding of Einstein's concepts of art and cultural difference. For this however, we shall have to seek for further and more compelling evidence in Einstein's early development and activities.

Chapter 2 *Views from the edge (1911)*

Through his friendship with the writer Ludwig Rubiner, Einstein became acquainted with Franz Pfemfert in 1910, then still editor of the review of liberal politics and the arts, *Der Demokrat* (and brother-in-law of Einstein's future wife, Maria Ramm). The journal published his reviews of novels by Gide and Claudel, but also his first art critical essay. The opportunity to review the work of the artist Arnold Waldschmidt may have been the result of mutual acquaintances during Einstein's years in Karlsruhe.¹⁹ After a career-change, the artist had studied there under Ludwig Schmid-Reutte in 1903; appointed director of the Stuttgart Academy of Arts in 1927 he was to become an early supporter of the national socialist party (NSDAP).²⁰

Seeking the tools of art-criticism

What becomes apparent in the Waldschmidt review is Einstein's awareness of current issues concerning the visual arts, which, in a few concise sentences, outlined the 'analytical' character of Impressionism, whose 'cleansed palette' and 'temporal differentiation of a nuanced representation of light' required the beholder's participation to complete the painting.²¹ Its logical continuation was the effective combination of complex colour values and the 'primitive' of Post-Impressionism. Yet, Post-Impressionism tended towards the decorative and subjective means. In contrast to the claims of critics, who had dismissed the 'tectonic element' and declared the demise of 'monumental art', Einstein argued that the search for the 'rhythmic form of all art' was signaled by the return of a 'great synthetic art'.²² Its heritage was seen to lie in the fact that:

A complete change of taste and as such a transformation and new order of the history of art may now be observed. Babylonians, Egyptians, the early Greeks, Giotto, the Primitives have become the decisive artists for us. It is necessary to demolish concepts of a unified view of history; according to perceptions of its time, each era creates its own history.²³

It seems likely that the reference to the 'Primitives' alluded to the artists of the Italian Trecento, yet the multifaceted connotations of the term as an art historical construct of distance in time or place leaves open to conjecture what precisely Einstein had in mind. No doubt, he was aware of developments in Paris and the role of the primitive in the 'great synthetic art' by artists such as Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque or Henri Matisse. In his 1907 review of Matisse's paintings, Guillaume Apollinaire had conjured associations with ancient Egyptian and Greek art in conjunction with African sculpture.²⁴ Whereas the meaning of the primitive and its significance to modern art were transformed by Einstein's later engagement with non-western culture, his view of the role of history in that process would remain essentially the same.²⁵

However, here the attention of the novice art-critic turned to those artists of the 'great form' closer to Waldschmidt, Hans von Marées, Ludwig Schmid-Reutte and Ferdinand Hodler, who even though they had been 'discovered' by the hugely popular Julius Meier-Gräfe, had either been 'casually by-passed' or forgotten by the German viewer.²⁶ To the extent that the remaining text was a somewhat naïvely emphatic appraisal of Waldschmidt, this and other early reviews contrast sharply with Einstein's later writings on art. Yet, compared to reviews that pandered to the artist's solitary struggle not tempted by the sensationalist antics of the latest 'anti-artists', or who – citing Goethe – spoke of his 'Promethean fate', Einstein's assessment kept its focus firmly on the work.²⁷ His increasingly sceptical views on the adequacy of (art-critical) language made lyrical interpretations of works of art rare, except as a means of ridicule. It is best exemplified by his Braque essay, where critics or 'evocative coiffeurs' were seen to be 'lovingly crimping metaphors of a Cézannian blue or rephrasing the green of an Ingres, incapable of comprehending that no words could ever adequately and truthfully translate optical experience'.²⁸ It is this awareness that underpinned Einstein's critical strategies, which – as this thesis will argue – marked his 'visual turn' and was one of the reasons for the efficacy and 'afterlife' of *Negerplastik*.

Yet, eager to make his mark in the competitive climate of imperial Germany's burgeoning publishing world, Einstein praised Waldschmidt's reworking of the 'relief en creux' (hollowed relief) sculpture of the 'ancient Egyptians made modern'; its control and reduction of form were 'transforming and summing up appearances according the laws of uniform arrested vision and the manipulation of planes'.²⁹ The work marking the artist's new ways of 'expression and the problem of form' was Waldschmidt's *Stierpflüger* (Plowman; 1905), a canvas that gave Impressionist plein air painting a new interpretation towards 'the constructive' (Fig. 1). This, he claimed, was the 'monumental solution' to

Impressionism, which for the Seurat-school had only yielded the ornamental and decorative, while brushwork and complementary colour had contravened 'all plastic form'. Unlike Hodler, Waldschmidt was giving 'values of light' to each line that heightened every part of the composition creating volume simultaneously, a method, which in Einstein's words achieved 'totality through the complete forming of all aspects of the work'.³⁰

In spite of its somewhat naïve praise for an artist long since forgotten, certain aspects of his argument would remain central to Einstein's analyses of art: an antagonism towards subjective, decorative tendencies of artistic practice and a proclivity for form, spatial value and method. It suggests a debt to aesthetic theories concerned with problems and processes of apprehending the object world such as those of Konrad Fiedler, Adolf Hildebrand, and the comparative methodologies of Heinrich Wölfflin. Fiedler's notion of artistic form as an autonomous language formed the epistemological basis that was brought into the context of artistic practice by his friend, Hildebrand, and his treatise on *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* (1893), a book that dominated the German aesthetic discourse well into the second decade of the twentieth century. Hildebrand's concept of the 'Formvorstellung' (form idea), its relationship to appearance and its consequences for artistic 'Darstellung' (representation) characterized his entire theoretical oeuvre.³¹ As a former student of Wölfflin, whose formalistic system of art historical principles built upon Hildebrand's and Fiedler's concepts, it is not surprising that at this stage Einstein's reflections on Waldschmidt's 'relief en creux' sculpture, as a 'summing up appearances according the laws of uniform arrested vision', did chime with Hildebrand's statement:

For the idea of form is a sum total that we have extracted by comparing appearances: a comparison that has already separated the necessary from the accidental [...] the assimilation of many perceptions, [...] not [...] a subjective viewpoint [...] but [...] one of [general] spatial orientation.³²

Even though Einstein was to challenge Hildebrand's theories in later years, he nonetheless retained some of the terminology Fiedler, Hildebrand and Wölfflin had applied to the discourse on art. Yet, for the purpose of his aesthetic paradigm of African sculpture, terms like the 'tectonic', 'form idea' or 'cubic space' would take on a new meaning.

What seems somewhat ironic, looking back on this review is that Einstein's first opportunity as a critic of the visual arts was to end in the kind of ill-

fated twist that epitomized the failure of the Weimar Republic and much of the subsequent history of twentieth-century Germany. At precisely the point when Waldschmidt reached the peak of his career by executing his monumental stone-relief (*Fahnenkompanie*, 1936/1937) for the Nazis' Ministry of Aviation headquarters in Berlin, Einstein's fortunes were curtailed by events beyond his control. Having joined the anarcho-syndicalist CNT-FAI (Conferderación Nacional del Trabajo; Federación Anarquista Ibérica) in the fight against fascism in 1936, he became 'técnico de guerra' for the Durruti convoy and broadcaster for the CNT-FAI radio station in Barcelona. After catastrophic defeat (aided by the bombers of the German air force) and several failed attempts to escape from Nazi-persecution, he took his own life near the village of Boeil-Pézing in the French Pyrenees on 5 July 1940.³³

Writing on art and 'Kultur Politik'

Other journals to which Einstein submitted articles during 1910 and 1911 included *Die Gegenwart*, *März*, and Paul Cassirer's *Pan*, and although some of this material may be of only marginal interest within our context, it is possible to detect a growing awareness of contemporary cultural issues that was accompanied by his heterodox approach to language and unique style of prose. What characterized Einstein's early art journalism was a certain pragmatism that aimed to frame his subject by way of an assessment of contemporary artistic tendencies, a way of setting the ambience for more specific analysis of the work under review. It confirmed an awareness of convictions perceived elsewhere in terms of a burgeoning 'new movement' that came to a head in 1911 with the Vinnen-affair and to which we will return in more detail. Einstein's introductory remarks to the review of Ludwig Schmid-Reutte, under whom Arnold Waldschmidt had studied, is indicative of this strategy:

In all spheres, there rose a purpose of form for works of art that give voice to the lawful and necessary. Subjective whim [and] the effort for originality are replaced by the volition for style. This reveals itself in the creation and changing application of objective elements of a universally valid theory, and this quality necessitates and creates tradition, but according to its nature style becomes manifest as historically evolved power.³⁴

This approach provided an opportunity to engage with the current discourse by setting the context for a discussion and possible critique of the artist's

work. What in Einstein's view typified Schmid-Reutte's figure drawings was their 'great energy' he found 'striving towards monumentality' that consistently avoided all 'decorative and ornamental' elements. The 'stylizing moment' of the artist's figure conception was neither subservient to spatial concepts as in the work of von Marées, nor to the 'ornamental sentiments' of Hodler, but rather stylization according to 'the principle of the static distribution of power'.³⁵

Even so, Einstein did take issue with the artist. He regretted that Schmid-Reutte's talent for composition had never found the appropriate medium for representation, which he suggested might have been architectural sculpture. Even in the 'pure tectonics' of his *Kreuzigung* (1907) there was a lack of differentiation between a commitment to 'organic form' and the coordinates of the surrounding frame, which by-passed the contrast between 'movement and repose' (Fig. 2). In agreement with Hildebrand's theories of ideal form, Einstein recommended the bas-relief as the ideal means for the artist's search for sculptural form.³⁶ But he went further by noting that the 'colossal strength' of Schmid-Reutte never found its true expression, a tragic contradiction that was added to by a tendency to work with inadequate materials. It resulted in a 'linear tectonics seeking expression in the painterly' that became 'particularly conspicuous' in the search for purity.³⁷ Nonetheless, Einstein reconciled his assessment with the closing remarks that Schmid-Reutte's significance was perhaps less due to the work itself than to its underlying ethos founded on his innate artistic principles, which might be understood as an art of 'platonic visualization'.³⁸

It is not known how, or to what extent, Einstein kept himself informed about emergent avant-garde strategies during the period between 1908 and 1911, nor do we possess firm evidence of his visits to Paris before 1912. In addition to his early acquaintance with Kahnweiler and quite possibly others, it is likely that he kept himself informed about the visual arts through numerous Paris journals. Since Kahnweiler's promotion of Cubism through German exhibition venues began in earnest around 1910,³⁹ it seems somewhat strange that Einstein's reviews showed no sign of an engagement with artists like Picasso until 1912. Even so, the events that simultaneously unfolded closer to home in Berlin, Dresden, or Munich are unlikely to have passed unnoticed by a young author like Einstein. By 1902, both Wassily Kandinsky and the American-born artist Lyonel Feininger exhibited at the *Berliner Sezession*, founded in 1898 by the celebrated representative of German Impressionism, Max Liebermann. By the following year it was managed by Paul Cassirer and his cousin Bruno, who at the same time were building their reputation with a publishing house and gallery that introduced the German public to French Impressionism and modern masters such as van Gogh, whose letters Einstein would

translate for Cassirer in 1914.⁴⁰ In spite of the Sezession's efforts to include the younger generation of artists, the decisive break that defined the battlefield between what were seen as the 'progressives' of the art establishment and the 'new movement' occurred in 1910, when the works of nearly thirty members of the avant-garde were refused entry to its annual exhibition. Among them were Max Pechstein, Emil Nolde and the members of the Dresden group *Die Brücke*, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Erich Heckel and Karl Schmidt-Rotluff. It resulted in the formation of the *Neue Sezession*, which in the course of the following couple of years celebrated the artists' rise to fame and notoriety with six exhibitions that were to have a lasting effect on the German art of the twentieth century.⁴¹

The international aspects of the 'new movement' were more prominently set out by the exhibitions of the artists' association of the *Sonderbund* in Düsseldorf in 1910 and 1911, and Cologne in 1912. These had emerged from similar controversies between the art establishment and the avant-garde as the *Berliner Sezession* and its fledgling opponent, the *Neue Sezession*. Fostered by rapid industrialization and economic growth after the formation of the German empire in 1871 and originating from the same social milieu as the upwardly mobile *Mittelstand* and the *Bildungsbürgertum* (intellectual bourgeoisie), the demand for art that reflected the experience of modernity was - away from metropolitan Berlin - driven by a jostling for cultural status between regional centres such as Munich, Dresden or Düsseldorf. Besides German artists, the 1910 *Sonderbund* included works by Braque, Derain, Signac, van Dongen, and Vlaminck, while in 1911 works by Bonnard, Cézanne, Gauguin, van Gogh, Seurat, and Picasso were displayed.⁴² Supported by an increasingly confident social class, young collectors such as Alfred Flechtheim and gallery owners like Paul Cassirer, or the *Moderne Galerie (Thannhauser)* in Munich, these new tendencies appeared to favour the kind of modern art seen to originate in Paris. Judged by some of the more conservative elements to be undermining German values and a *Kulturpolitik*, in which the emperor himself took a lively interest, the controversies eventually culminated in the famous Vinnen-affair that caused a storm of public debate and counter publications by the more forward looking members of the artistic and intellectual community.⁴³

Indeed it may strike us as surprising that the events surrounding the emergence of an international artistic avant-garde in Germany during the years prior to World War I appear to have found relatively little direct resonance in Einstein's own writings until about 1912. Until then, his pre-occupations remained largely rooted in his literary interests, as evidenced by his journal contributions covering the period between 1907 and 1912, during which art-critical reviews

remained the exception rather than the rule. The ultimate reward of this commitment came with the publication of his novella *Bebuquin* by his collaborator and friend, Franz Pfemfert, editor of the left-wing review *Die Aktion*.⁴⁴ Indeed this link may be one cause of the somewhat subdued progress of Einstein's art-critical career. *Die Aktion* became the leading avant-garde journal alongside its competitor *Der Sturm*, published by the Berlin entrepreneur and gallery owner, Herwarth Walden. As we will learn, their enmity may have been the reason why any hope Einstein may have harboured of contributing an essay to the almanac of the *Blaue Reiter* failed to materialize.⁴⁵

Chapter 3 *Questions of form and the new art*

It is uncertain to what extent Einstein was involved with the emergent new artistic movement that became manifest in exhibitions like the *Sonderbund* or the *Neue Sezession* in Berlin. Nor do we know whether he visited the second exhibition of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* held at the *Moderne Galerie (Thannhauser)* during the latter part of 1910, which may have coincided with his preparations for a review that appeared under the title 'Süddeutsche Ausstellungen'. Typically of Einstein's reviewing tactics the essay did not specify the actual exhibition events, but it did mark a new and more assured direction in his writing on the visual arts. However, before discussing this review, a glance at the *Thannhauser*-exhibition may help us to get some idea of the volatile atmosphere of German cultural politics.

Examples of work by both Braque and Picasso, by then represented by Kahnweiler's rue Vignon gallery, could be seen alongside members of the German and international avant-garde.⁴⁶ The exhibition was initiated by Kandinsky, who less than two years later would stage the first exhibition of *Der Blaue Reiter* at the Thannhauser gallery. The catalogue featured essays by Dimitri and Wladimir Burliuk, Kandinsky and Odilon Redon. The introduction was by Henri Le Fauconnier, one of a number of experimental artists, who with Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger had followed the lead of Picasso and Braque. Drawing on their interpretations of Cézanne, they took every opportunity to exhibit at the annual avant-garde salons, the *Salon des Indépendants* and the *Salon d'Automne*, which soon gained them the name of the 'Salon Cubists'.⁴⁷

Entitled 'Das Kunstwerk', Le Fauconnier's introduction to the exhibition announced: 'The work of art is the law the human spirit imposes upon the elements of nature', while aesthetic value was considered quantifiable: 'Beauty is the sensation of this relationship and quantum value its most universal expression'.⁴⁸ The 'numerical value' of a work of art was constituted of what he named its constructive and qualitative aspects, which were represented by 'signs' that made up its order and 'most universal expression'. Its realization required the 'utmost concision' the artist could achieve by means of 'abstraction'.⁴⁹ It recalls Hildebrand's 'form idea' extracted from appearances and the assimilation of many

perceptions, as already noted in Einstein's assessment of Waldschmidt's work as a 'summing up' according to the laws of a unified vision. Hildebrand had suggested the algebraic concept of 'numerical values' to understand the 'values of inherent form' that attain validity.⁵⁰ Moreover, the introduction evoked Hildebrand's famous example of the bas-relief, illustrated by imagining a figure placed between two parallel panes of glass. Le Fauconnier's short text noted that as far as numerical principles were concerned with 'values of universal expression', the number represented 'the fictitious distances of the different points of the relief towards an ideal surface that runs parallel to that of the picture plane, dividing cubic space so as to suggest the other invisible spatial volumes'.⁵¹ For Hildebrand the idea of the relief defined 'the relation between surface movement and movement into depth, or of the two dimensions to the third', because only through its mediation 'will the general laws governing our relation to visible space be artistically expressed'.⁵² Like variations on the theme of artistic visualization, we will also find these kinds of adaptations of Hildebrand's terminology in Einstein's theoretical reflections on African sculpture.

The introduction might be understood as Le Fauconnier's attempt to theorize on Cubist principles, notions to which Picasso would not have subscribed. Whatever way these were received, the semblance to the perspectives Einstein had adopted in his earlier art criticism is evident, whether these concerned concepts of narrative form and true essence in his essay on Beckford's *Vathek*, or the laws of unified vision and tectonic form in the artistic practice of Waldschmidt and Schmid-Reutte. What may not be coincidental is that both demonstrated a pre-occupation with aspects of method and form that - however different in their respective outlook - regarded the problem of artistic conceptualization in terms of Hildebrand's theoretical paradigms. It is on these grounds that Le Fauconnier's introduction to the exhibition of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* may be relevant to Einstein's next review.

Entering avant-garde discourse

It is conceivable that this second assignment for *Die Gegenwart*, Einstein's 'Süddeutsche Ausstellungen',⁵³ did entail knowledge of events like the *Neue Künstlervereinigung*, where after all the artists associated with Kahnweiler's gallery were on show who Einstein was soon to declare the only worthwhile representatives of a new aesthetic. His Schmid-Reutte essay had noted the turn of an era of new values and the 'awakening purpose of form' and, similar to Le Fauconnier, it had referred to art giving voice to the lawful and necessary. In contrast to the South German exhibitions critiqued by Einstein, the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* may have fuelled awareness of the fault lines developing

between the moderately progressive factions siding with sentiments of German identity (such as Waldschmidt), and the subversive strategies of an avant-garde that defied national boundaries as much as it provoked debate concerning a revaluation of the role of art. Maybe in order to raise the stakes within the entrenched wrangling for status that characterized German cultural politics, Einstein's review took up the gauntlet by firmly siding with those of the new movement associated with French modern art. He charged the contributors to the exhibitions with not advancing the 'dissolution of painting' as far as 'us up in Berlin and the Parisian artists'. Moreover, while 'they' were dismissed as being 'not keen on the analytical',

We conceived the picture to be an evolutionary process, dissecting its various functions in order to usher in the dawn of a new age. They remained in a cosy state of mediocrity from where, in one way or other, and without much effort, a not too grating Impressionism or too fanciful synthesis could be achieved.⁵⁴

Having expected as much, yet admitting 'mild horror' at how much of the work remained under the spell of the German Jugendstil movement and its popular journal *Jugend*, Einstein charged South German art with 'opportunism'.⁵⁵ His proclivity for an aesthetic concerned with spatial concepts of structure and form held nothing but contempt for the decorative vestiges of Jugendstil. Works by what he called 'the more-or-less synthesists' were declared a 'coloured bankruptcy' and 'sun-dribbles' in which there was 'no sign of structure or precision' but rather 'suspended mass lacking in tectonic tension'; in total an art that had no awareness of means.⁵⁶ What was demonstrated by these exhibitions was the danger of what Einstein called a cheap common style, that 'if not anchored in tradition' and buttressed by experience was stereotyped routine from the outset.⁵⁷

After his first ventures into art-journalism with assignments like those on Waldschmidt and Schmid-Reutte, which probably were more founded on fortuitous circumstance than an affinity with the work, Einstein may have felt inclined to distance himself from homespun Jugendstil and the xenophobic conservatism of those who rallied behind the Worpswede artist and member of the Berlin *Sezession*, Carl Vinnen. Not only had Vinnen's *Protest deutscher Künstler* attacked the *Sonderbund* exhibition and accused the Bremen and Posen museums of neglecting German in favour of French art in their acquisition policies, but he had also singled out galleries such as Paul Cassirer's because of their preference for 'foreign' works of art.⁵⁸ It may be for these reasons and the reverberations over formations such as the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* in Munich that this review seemed to mark a departure in tone and polemical stance from Einstein's earlier essays. Even so, he

praised a number of the artists, among them the sculptor, Bernhard Hoetger, who provided an opportunity to comment on the ancient 'primitives':⁵⁸

Hoetger takes from many; every contemporary sculptor has to come to terms with Rodin; Egyptians and Assyrians have to become his most indispensable reality. Above all else Hoetger seeks to obscure structure, to bind together parts; he presents a wholly modulated surface that gathers dominant mass into exposed plastic points, elevating and concentrated.

He praised Hoetger's ability to transform Cézanne's '*points centrales*' into sculptural form which demonstrated a serious approach to the 'inventing of a formal motif'.⁵⁹ Yet this was qualified by reservations concerned with 'spatially problematic' aspects that tended towards the sentimental and complicated. This 'paradox', he noted, was nowhere present in Egyptian art, a contradiction that was particularly apparent since the 'non-logical' was achieved by way of 'elementary means'.⁶⁰ Einstein stated that the South German stylists might have taken the examples provided by Hodler, Schmid-Reutte and Thoma, but 'their painting is poor, immaterial and hardly knows the excitation of complex influences or entanglements'. However since Frankfurt 'now has its own Hodler exhibition', there was opportunity to experience more of his development, commending his landscape works for their 'rhythmical vision'. Yet here too, he took issue because 'Hodler's method forbids and excludes too much. It is present and remorselessly ordered prior to each creation; a Protestant style that demands too much sacrifice and privation.'⁶¹

What emerges from this review is Einstein's empathy for what could be described as the cerebral aspects of artistic production, those concerned with spatial structure and resultant form, built in part upon the premises derived from Cézanne's methods but also from Hildebrand's philosophy of art that had sculpture at its centre. On the other hand his estimation of the emotive qualities of colour and line in, for example, Hodler's, and even Matisse's, work were perceived to be bound up with expressive, psychological qualities that tended towards the decorative and thus lacked the kind of totality he had insisted on in Schmid-Reutte's work, and which he regarded as a necessary requirement for the making of art. But compared to earlier pieces, now there was a polemical stance that was consolidated by finding more compatible outlets, a situation more congenial for the young critic, who may have felt torn between his commitment to literature and to the visual arts, and would remain so throughout his career.

Paul Cassirer and Secession politics

The above essay was followed by a piece on an exhibition of the *Berliner Sezession*, published in *Die Gegenwart*, a text that also formed the introduction to the *Sezession's* exhibition catalogue and so marked the start of Einstein's collaboration with the publishing ventures of Paul and Bruno Cassirer.⁶² The same characteristics ranging from critical to benevolent analyses pervaded the essay. Considering the *Sezession's* history and exhibition strategies, Einstein observed that in the past the annual events had invited younger artists without too severe a selection procedure, when 'the new was quality per se', whereas 'today one knows what to expect'. This he predicted would develop into 'middling Impressionists' becoming academicians, who, 'armed with any old recipe for the effects of light', hang on to anything nearing composition, warning that 'only quality protects from the academy'.⁶³ Noting too much technique but no style, Einstein insisted that style was 'not the maltreatment of drawing the (academy) model' but 'preconceived vision', which, as in the work of Cézanne and Marées, contained 'moments of stability' that existed prior to the individual work.⁶⁴ This concern with concepts of premeditated stable form again indicates Einstein's debt to Hildebrand's theories, which was to be the only source referred to in *Negerplastik*.

The review went on to note a proliferation of 'technique' rather than 'style'. While the first had the hallmarks of 'second-hand' relativity which, rather than seeking value only promoted 'optical surrogates fit for the rabble', the latter was seen as 'a matter common to all', free from concerns of either simulation or dependence: 'Technique is individualistic, style is democratic and traditional. We on the other hand have individualists and hangers-on'. And this, Einstein emphasized, was what made the commotion of recent years comprehensible, when such individualists might have easily equated anything so close to home, [or] young and new, as a 'rebellion'.⁶⁵ This was a diplomatic reminder of recent controversy after the *Berliner Sezession* had refused the avant-garde entry to its annual salon, which had culminated in the founding of the *Neue Sezession*. Probably meant to soften the frankness of his critical blows intended for the members of the old *Sezession*, Einstein's remarks did not spare the young artists either. Rather than showing serious 'concern with artistic matters', they were reproached for having staged 'something more akin to a club-putsch'.⁶⁶

Before engaging with the exhibited works however, Einstein turned to a surprisingly frank evaluation of what he regarded as the purpose of the *Berliner Sezession* and its past and future role within Berlin's *Kulturpolitik*. He praised the institution for 'revolutionizing without a programme, since we have no artistic tradition to speak of'. It was a reminder that little more than a generation before, a diverse and disparate range of principalities and regions united into the German

Empire whose cultural and political animosities were still much in evidence. The *Sezession*, Einstein informed his readers, was now faced with 'two alternatives: to sift out or to become obsolete'. Noting the 'qualitative' rather than 'programmatic' difference between the *Sezession* and its older more conservative rival, the *Große Berliner Kunstausstellung*, he hoped that the *Sezession*, 'this old rebel', would remain 'the productive ruffian that sifts out' but also would resist 'cutting itself off from the somewhat doctrinaire youngsters'.⁶⁷

After these deliberations, Einstein turned to some of the works exhibited. The work of the *Sezession* founder-member and president, Max Liebermann, was noted as 'a cleverly ordered' interpretation of van Gogh's painting. The Neo-Impressionist, Paul Signac (president and founder of the Paris Société des Indépendants), was praised for his 'comprehension of form and inventive hand' the critic saw expanding in every one of his paintings showing a 'wonderful sense of order' and 'surprising effects of depth', but there was little praise for the majority of the works. Among those mentioned were the exhibits of the designer Josef Hofmann, which were found to result in a precise definition of the term 'Kitsch' leading Einstein to exclaim: 'Poor Gauguin, poor Marées'. His antipathy to the decorative as a valid concept of style, or standard for art, caused him to express his deep regret that the *Sezession* had been invaded by such 'wallpaper improvers, the damned Biedermeier of the arts and crafts workshops and furniture factories'. While he charged Max Beckmann's etchings with lacking in definition of form, he found Cézanne to have reached the 'effortless heights' of a painterly style.⁶⁸

Of equal, if not more interest are Einstein's comments on Auguste Rodin's work, which he insisted was what distinguished the *Sezession's* sculpture section from the lowly standards of the *Große Berliner Kunstausstellung*. It marked a qualitative contrast to the 'anaesthetized gallery work' of a Hildebrand and the 'psychological' mask-fragments of Max Klinger, but even the renowned French master was not entirely spared. Rodin's bust of Gustav Mahler, created in 1909 before the composer's death in 1911, was nothing less than 'compelling', obliging the viewer to grasp the work and to witness with each turn a 'new creation' emerging, 'more powerful in its unity than anything by Hildebrand' (Fig. 3). Yet the piece *Francesca and Paolo*, was dismissed as no more than 'romantic Kitsch per se' (Fig. 4). However, Einstein suggested Rodin as the artist who had delivered sculpture from its architectural constraints.⁶⁹ What we will find in due course, is that the only reference in *Negerplastik* – besides that to Hildebrand's *Das Problem der Form* – was to Rodin. However, here, the lack of quality of the work represented provided a fitting prompt for Einstein to dare voicing a judgement on Hildebrand that might have left his readers somewhat aghast:

In order to fix Hildebrand, one has to either agree or disagree with his method. I do the latter; for much of the old especially good sculpture it is utterly irrelevant; often the leading notion seems to be "how to avoid the essentially sculptural".⁷⁰

Whether in fact this statement constituted a serious challenge to Hildebrand's theories, or referred to the sculptor's work, will require some unpacking of Einstein's often hermetic and complex approach to devising a philosophy of contemporary art, which in his estimation dictated a meditation on artistic practice outside the western canonical tradition. At this stage in his art-critical career, the *Sezession* exhibition provided Einstein with his first opportunity to focus on topics that were central to modern art and cultural politics, no longer at the edge but moving beyond the parochial boundaries of earlier assignments. But all sought a synthesis of structure and spatial concepts of form in the practice of art. And what better place to be seen to be part of than at the centre of heated *Sezession* debates that were reverberating from the capital to Munich, Düsseldorf and elsewhere! It was an opportunity to be seen to provide a considered analysis regarding the state of this hallowed institution, but also to take part in debates that showed him to be well informed and backed by reputable sources in his mode of delivery.

There is little doubt that the events during 1911 somewhat undermined the *Sezession*'s status, while recalcitrant avant-garde strategies showed signs of strengthening goals that looked beyond an innately German *Kulturpolitik*. Einstein may have felt the need to voice some kind of allegiance, even if this entailed careful manoeuvring to maintain his newly gained position as critic for a number of competing journals. Vinnen's *Protest* had mustered the support of some *Sezession* members; they provided the necessary credibility for public approval of this self-appointed defender of German art who felt threatened by the Francophile acquisition policies of museum directors such as Hugo von Tschudi and dealers like Cassirer, and their support for the avant-garde.⁷¹ The rift was further amplified by the reaction of those in Vinnen's firing line. The swift response published by the Munich publisher Reinhart Piper under the title *Im Kampf um die Kunst* included, among seventy-five signatories, Cassirer, Kandinsky, Harry Count Kessler, Gustav Klimt, Alfred Lichtwark, Franz Marc, Max Pechstein, Henry van de Velde, and Wilhelm Worringer.⁷²

To a certain extent the support by public dignitaries such as the highly regarded director of the Hamburg *Kunsthalle*, Alfred Lichtwark, or Cassirer, was remarkable. Besides owning a successful gallery, the *Pan*-publishing house and the respected journal *Pan*, concerned with literature and the arts, Cassirer also functioned as the *Berliner Sezession's* secretary. Less surprising was the support

from members of the avant-garde since Kandinsky and Franz Marc had organized the response to Vinnen's pamphlet, but neither was that of the art historian Wilhelm Worringer. His *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (1908) had made him a seemingly natural ally of the new movement and in due course, he became much courted by the artistic avant-garde.⁷³

While Cassirer's position at the *Berliner Sezession* did not deter him from underwriting the response and accusing Vinnen of 'double standards' in his own journal *Pan*,⁷⁴ it was on his initiative that Einstein's *Sezession*-review was included in the exhibition catalogue. Einstein's essay 'Brief über den Roman' (Letter on the Novel) was published soon after in *Pan*, and probably through Cassirer's connections it also appeared in the French journal *La Phalange* in June of the following year. By 1913 the novice critic had written the introduction to a catalogue on the graphic work of the sculptor Wilhelm Lehmbruck, which was produced by Cassirer's *Pan* publishing house. Bruno Cassirer, the founding editor of by far the most influential of German art journals, *Kunst und Künstler*, published the first of Einstein's essays to appear in the review in 1913.⁷⁵ It leaves little doubt that through Cassirer's initiative the intrepid, convincingly argued *Sezession*-critique marked a much-needed breakthrough for Einstein. It opened doors to assignments previously inaccessible and, more importantly, to those of the artistic avant-garde whom he may have regarded as more receptive to his understanding of aesthetic concepts and the role of art.

Chapter 4 *From the edge to the centre and back (1912): Bebuquin and the Blaue Reiter*

Einstein's literary breakthrough came in 1912 with his novel *Bebuquin oder die Dilettanten des Wunders*. First serialized in *Die Aktion*, it was published in bookform with an introduction by Franz Blei in Pfemfert's newly established Aktion-publishing house in December that year. It was dedicated to André Gide and a portrait drawing of the author by *Die Aktion's* in-house artist Max Oppenheimer adorned the frontispiece (Fig. 5).⁷⁶

A 'philosophical experiment'

More of a novella than a novel, *Bebuquin* has been described as 'a philosophical experiment in the form of a tale that is essentially its dissolution into fragments of utterances by irrelevant personages'.⁷⁷ It has been suggested that the 'irrelevant personages' that cross the path of the protagonist throughout the narrative, from the deceased Nebukadnezar Böhm to Fräulein Euphemia, Heinrich Lippenknabe, and others, signify attitudes and variations of *Bebuquin's* alter egos, or 'the dilettantes of wonder' of the book's title.⁷⁸ Maybe these are the reasons why Franz Blei predicted that Einstein would be confronted with 'a frightful rejection' by all competent critics. He believed that in the current state of literature 'books that are feats' could gain no importance whatever. He hoped *Bebuquin* would remain unsold so that in thirty years those readers more ready to care about the 'few volumes that constitute the literature of our times' would be able to find some 'wonderfully pristine copies'.⁷⁹ Blei's predictions seem to have come true; while Einstein had to face contemporary critique, *Bebuquin* has since come to occupy a significant role in Expressionist literature.

Einstein's remarks on the novel in his essay 'Über den Roman', published shortly before *Bebuquin's* last instalment in *Die Aktion*, reveal his intentions for the function of art and literature, aspects he had delineated in his reviews of Beckford's *Vathek* and the work of Waldschmidt and Schmid-Reutte. The psychological novel was rejected because of its dependence on causal conclusions that did not create

form, making it impossible to anticipate closure – while descriptive chronological prose presumed the reader's total ignorance of 'tables, chamber-pots, young girls, stairs, night-shirts, bosoms, bells etc.'. Instead the author's task was to make 'the absurd' the object of action because 'art is a technique for creating actual permanence and change'.⁸⁰

One of the critiques of *Bebuquin* came from the writer and political activist Kurt Hiller. In 1909 Hiller had initiated the formation of the *Neue Klub*, which soon developed into a cradle for the 'new poetry' of the literary avant-garde celebrating poets and writers like Ernst Blass, Jakob von Hoddis and Georg Heym. Through Hiller's collaboration with Walden's journal *Der Sturm*, founded during 1910, the members the *Neue Klub* benefited from the public exposure that extended their influence beyond the readings held at the club. Hiller's role in the rivalries that developed between *Der Sturm* and Pfemfert's *Die Aktion* during 1911/12 is a crucial one, because his simultaneous collaboration with Pfemfert, for whom he had worked since Pfemfert's editorship of *Der Demokrat*, intensified as soon *Die Aktion* had been founded in March 1911.⁸¹ Hiller was also the main instigator of the *Neue Klub*'s extension, the *Neopathetisches Cabaret*, the 'cabaret for the adventurers of the mind' as he called it. Referring to Nietzschean notions, he demanded that its programme be one of 'pathos', 'universal glee' and 'panicky laughter'; one born out of the complexities of modern life, which sought new experiences and new values, notions not too far removed from those of Einstein's call for renewal.⁸² An event staged by the *Neopathetisches Cabaret* during December 1911 in the *Café des Westens* – better known as *Café Größenwahn*, (Café Megalomania) – presented readings by Georg Heym, Jakob von Hoddis and Einstein, who read from his *Bebuquin*, while the *Sturm*-editor, Herwarth Walden, played the piano.⁸³

Casting a distant, necessarily speculative, glance at the complexities of pre-war avant-garde circles one may detect common ground in their goals for renewal, but that common ground was clearly of little importance to the lives of the individuals concerned. What united as well as divided Einstein and Hiller, or Walden and Pfemfert, was often the very real need to make their mark within a buoyant and increasingly competitive market for cultural journalism. Whether driven by desire for economic security, or motivated by aspirations of professional prowess, personal aims and animosities undoubtedly played their part. All the same, Hiller's critique of *Bebuquin* showed signs of a writer quite able to counter the opalescent nihilism of Einstein's transformation of the literary hero into a splintered narrative of the dislocated experience of an alienated self with a similarly

scintillating candor, that is as tricky to relate in translation as some of Einstein's writings.⁸⁴

Hiller declared *Bebuquin* to be 'basically not a novel but rather a sequence of fantastical aperçus, an epic disguised as a lark' and those 'envying Mr Einstein' might regard him as 'an assistant professor turned savage'.⁸⁵ Wondering whether *Bebuquin* could be a 'Semitic Faust', he described him as one of those 'illustrious pitiful types for whom experience and intellect are nothing contradictory, but rather coincidental', someone, whose 'heart is situated in the intellect' while 'the brain is a function of the heart'. His objections were much qualified towards the end of his review, when he declared this 'unpopular' book of 'concentrated intellect' to be one, whose 'abstract music' could not be demolished by the 'jargonized critical gibberish of primitive journalists'. *Bebuquin* was 'nothing but thought', a book so rare it deserved 'unconditional applause', because it revealed for how long and to which 'ridiculous degree' one had 'overrated sentimental soapbox trash'.⁸⁶

The second review that is worth considering here is by the art historian and student of Heinrich Wölfflin, Ernst Stadler, since it brings to mind Einstein's ideas on *Vathek*. Although not entirely approving, Stadler noted a 'radicalism of the consequences of thought' that juggled with ideas 'like coloured balls', while maintaining a 'logical continuity' that made the book a 'mathematical fantasy full of unrestraint and extravagant rigour', which he compared to Jules Laforgue's 'Moralités Légendaires' (1887).⁸⁷ Stadler found Einstein's project to be a 'longing to conquer synthesis' that, as the protagonist Böhm maintained, entailed 'visualization so precise as to encapsulate all knowledge'. For the individual, renunciation remained the paramount experience of 'the result of the inexorable consequences of the intellect'. Yet, because 'perhaps things never quite match' negation might grant 'creative potential not to falter'. This, he maintained, was the reason for *Bebuquin*'s relentless 'pursuit of wonder', whose closure in the 'extraordinarily beautiful apotheosis of death' - he concluded by quoting Einstein - was the 'master of form'.⁸⁸

Stadler's remarks reveal an understanding of Einstein's thinking that aimed to expose the inadequacies of literary convention, to find technique in artifice and structure and form in the mastery of narrative dissolution. They emphasized a number of idiosyncrasies typical of *Bebuquin*, but they also appear to support the earlier proposition of a link between the concept of the function of art that Einstein recognized in Beckford's *Vathek* and his early notes on the challenge of art that required man's 'surrender to the shackles of the work'.⁸⁹ As such they are part of the development of Einstein's epistemic considerations that were to mark his theoretical thinking on African sculpture and ethnography, that of the

Cubism of Picasso, Braque and Gris, and the ethnographic reading of artists like Masson and Arp. In a letter to Kahnweiler of June 1923 Einstein reflected on this development:

I have long since known that the matter known as “Cubism” goes far beyond painting. [...] The literati with their lyrics and little cinema suggestions hobble pitifully behind painting and science. I have long since known that not only a transformation of vision, but also a transformation of language equivalents and feeling is possible. [...] Somehow unsure and hesitatingly I tried to address such matters in *Bebuquin* in 1906. The works of the “Cubists” were a confirmation that a suggested transition of feeling is possible: in spite of all that talk, it is probably the only really interesting thing.⁹⁰

After his first encounter with Einstein in Paris during their collaboration on the journal *Documents*, the young Michel Leiris acknowledged in his diary of May 1929: ‘One may talk about a “poetic technique” – technique not in the classical sense of the word canon or the way of construction, but comparable to the kind of mystic techniques (that which Carl Einstein calls the “training” of ecstasy)’.⁹¹ Similar concepts were to form some of the key points of Einstein’s major study, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*,⁹² and are aspects to which we shall return in our discussion of *Negerplastik*.

The diversity of opinion manifest in the reviews of *Bebuquin* appearing between 1912 and 1917 recognized Einstein’s contribution to literature. What he had set out to do was to eliminate narrative forms of causality by proposing instead the subjective transformation of apperceptions of the ‘real’ into a totality of form that required the principle of arbitrariness, since ‘any [narrative] action may also imply another conclusion’. And even if one is ‘not orthodox catholic’, there is the ‘unfathomable possibility of God’s benevolence, the wonder etc.’.⁹³ Describing Einstein as the ‘German [Alfred] Jarry’, first extracts from *Bebuquin* appeared in translation in 1918 in the journal *Résurrection* edited by the Belgian author and Dadaist, Clément Pansaers, with whom Einstein had struck up a friendship during his war years in Brussels.⁹⁴

Einstein and the Blaue Reiter

But to return to Einstein’s interest in the visual arts: there is evidence that in early 1912 he had made contact with the editors of the *Blaue Reiter*. From the correspondence between Kandinsky and Marc, and Marc and Macke, it emerges that he was in touch with, or may even have visited, the artists, after which he became regarded as Paul Cassirer’s ‘emissary’. Cassirer had been seeking to establish a relationship with the group since early 1911, though then he reneged on his commitments.⁹⁵ By February 1912 Einstein had offered an essay for publication

in the forthcoming *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, a 'manuscript' that Marc praised as 'very interesting, really full of resonance and ability. I would like to let him know in writing'. Yet he also had reservations: 'For the first issue though it is not really possible; we will have to get to know him in person and read more by him. We could just say that the first book is already completed'. Although it would seem to have been agreed that a contribution was to be included in the second almanac, this was never published due to the outbreak of the First World War.⁹⁶ The fact that the *Blaue Reiter* did not appear until May 1912, allows the suggestion that the reasons for Einstein's text remaining unpublished was because of the events about to unfold. Even so, by April, Marc had sent two drawings to Einstein and promised essay contributions for publication in the *Neue Blätter*, of which Einstein had just become the editor, while Kandinsky forwarded a brand new copy of the *Blaue Reiter*.⁹⁷

Since Einstein's interest in the new art had been voiced in his review on the *Berliner Sezession* and the South German exhibitions of 1911, he probably was only too keen to exploit his association with Cassirer so as to learn more about the *Blaue Reiter* group. For Cassirer this may have promised easier negotiation with the artists, while staying aloof from these renegades, who might tarnish his reputation as a dealer and prominent *Sezession*-member, - especially since his relations with the artists were somewhat reserved from the outset.⁹⁸ However, important for Einstein's encounter with non-western culture, is that by the end of 1911 Kandinsky and Marc had broken their links with the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* and formed the *Blaue Reiter* by preparing for its first exhibition and the publication of the almanac.⁹⁹ In the foreword to its subscription prospectus, Marc announced their aims in words that seem to echo Einstein's in his 1910 Waldschmidt review, where a change and new order of the history of art looked towards the Babylonians, Egyptians and the 'Primitives'. For the *Blaue Reiter* it was a 'call to gather those artists, who belong to the new times and to awaken the ears of the layperson', a book that:

embraces the newest of the artistic movements [...] and displays its subtle links with the Gothic and the primitives, with Africa and the great Orient, with the forcefully expressive originality of folk and child art, [...] and the new theatre concepts of our time.¹⁰⁰

The formation of the *Blaue Reiter* might be regarded as part of the cultural climate that had come to a head with the Vinnen affair and the counter initiative orchestrated by Kandinsky and Marc, and others. While allegiances with an eclectic mix of art and artifacts beyond the western canon were bound up with Worringer's

theories and an awareness of artistic developments in Paris, Dresden and Russia, they were also affected by an expanding colonial economy of international expositions, itinerant Völkerschauen, ethnographic museums and an expanding publishing media that opened to new perspectives and challenges. The *Blaue Reiter* not only promoted children's art and folk art as equal and autonomous creative expression, but also objects of non-European and medieval cultural traditions. August Macke's essay 'Die Masken' makes this evident, when we are reminded that the 'bronze casts of the Negroes of Benin [...], and the wooden mask from New Caledonia speak with the same powerful voice as the chimera of Notre-Dame and the gravestone in Frankfurt cathedral'.¹⁰¹

These convictions were corroborated by the visual juxtaposition in which Picasso's *La femme à la mandoline au piano* (1911, Prague: National Gallery) is contrasted with children's drawings (not attributed), a lithograph by Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Vier Tänzerinnen* (1910, Bremen: Collection Wolfgang Budzgies), is set against a wooden statue from Southern Borneo (n.d., Bernisches Historisches Museum), while one of the two versions of Vincent van Gogh's *Portrait of Dr Gachet* (1890, Paris: Louvre) is facing the detail of a Japanese woodcut by Utagawa Kuniyoshi (*Two Han-Warriors*, 19th c., Kochel: Franz Marc Museum). A wooden carving from the Marquesas Islands (n. d., Munich: Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde) accompanies a Bavarian folk art Hinterglas-painting (*Mary with Christ Child*, n.d., whereabouts unknown), a technique that had become central to Kandinsky's abstract experimentations of the spiritual aspects of pure colour.¹⁰²

Even though the founding of the *Blaue Reiter* occurred more than a year before we have evidence of Einstein's active interest in ethnographic objects, it does not seem surprising that his interest in the new art led him to offer a contribution for publication. What is unfortunate is that the text has not been identified, although several suggestions have been made.¹⁰³ There is no further acknowledgement of Einstein's text in the correspondence between Kandinsky, Marc and Macke and, as the events unfolding in rapid succession after the formation of the *Blaue Reiter* make clear, their high regard for Einstein soon evaporated.

At the time of the first *Blaue Reiter* exhibition at the *Moderne Galerie (Thannhauser)*, preparations for the almanac were already well under way, as were Marc's and Kandinsky's plans to promote the group's public exposure as widely as possible. To ensure success, the artists took matters of strategy into their own hands rather than relying on gallery owners such as Cassirer, Thannhauser or Goltz, who tended to have their own commercial interests at heart and so were reluctant to provide any firm commitment. The correspondence between Kandinsky, Marc and

Macke, provides vivid reminders of this,¹⁰⁴ as do the debates that could be found in journals like *Pan*, *Der Sturm*, or *Die Aktion*. As a result the *Blaue Reiter* exhibition traveled to the *Gereonsklub* in Cologne immediately after its inaugural showing in Munich. Although the gallery of Hans Goltz was able to arrange for the famous second exhibition, *Der Blaue Reiter, Schwarz-Weiss*, opening on 12 February 1912, it was restricted to graphic works alone.¹⁰⁵ By March 1912 however, the artists had achieved their paramount goal, which was to secure the showing of the group's works in metropolitan Berlin, and other venues thereafter.¹⁰⁶ Much to the chagrin of Cassirer the event did not take place at his gallery, instead it opened at the brand-new gallery *Der Sturm*. Its inaugural exhibition, *Der Blaue Reiter, Franz Flaum, Oskar Kokoschka, Expressionisten*, was organized by Walden and marked the beginning of a series of historic events that cemented the reputation of the impresario as a staunch defender of the international avant-garde in pre-war Germany.¹⁰⁷

What is clear is that these developments were a surprise to everyone, except those in close touch with the artists themselves. After repeated endeavours to build up a relationship and to secure the *Blaue Reiter* exhibition for his gallery, this chain of events must have been particularly disappointing for Cassirer, while Einstein's efforts to collaborate with the *Blaue Reiter* appear to have been thwarted as a direct result of this.¹⁰⁸ It seems that within the short time between Einstein contacting Marc and Kandinsky and the opening of the *Sturm* gallery, he had become identified as belonging to the 'wrong camp'. Not only was he associated with Cassirer's enterprise but during Kandinsky's and Marc's negotiations with Walden over their forthcoming exhibition at *Der Sturm* it must have transpired that Einstein was a close ally of Franz Pfemfert and *Die Aktion*, a fact that may well have made him persona non grata. Not only had Einstein been one of the founder members of *Die Aktion* and a regular contributor to the journal and to *Der Demokrat*, but because of his liaison with Pfemfert's sister-in-law, Maria Ramm, who he would marry in 1913, he was seen to be part of the inner circle.¹⁰⁹

The main reason however must be the fact that shortly after its inception *Die Aktion* emerged as the most serious threat to Walden's strategy for dominance in the proliferating market of avant-garde journals. Not only was Walden to engage in verbal combat with the editor of *Die Aktion*, but before Pfemfert it had been Cassirer's *Pan* that had been in the firing line of his subversive strategies to gain the lead within this volatile market. In Walden's opinion, it was Pfemfert and his allies who became the obnoxious party for rather blatantly plagiarizing the visual style Walden had been so successful in creating as his promotional ploy for *Der Sturm*. This was founded on the *Sturm*'s commissioning of the young Oskar

Kokoschka to produce a series of portraits of members of the intellectual avant-garde. These *Menschenköpfe* (Human countenances) featured regularly in the pages of *Der Sturm*, providing the kind of visual sophistication and modernity that became the hallmark of the journal from 1910 onwards. Pfemfert initiated his rather tongue-in-cheek counter tactics, unmistakably directed against *Der Sturm*, within months of *Die Aktion*'s inception, when title design and typeface changed from its original heavy-handed Gothic to the more stylish serif typeface that marked both Walden's *Der Sturm* and Cassirer's *Pan*. But the main offensive came when Pfemfert employed the artist known as Mopp (Max Oppenheimer), Kokoschka's rival from their student days in Vienna, to produce a series of portrait drawings depicting the contributors to *Die Aktion*. Regularly adorning its pages, these showed unmistakable similarities in conceptualization to Kokoschka's *Sturm* drawings. This led to increasingly hostile comments, amounting to a public display of slander, by both Walden and Pfemfert, which could be followed week by week in the pages of both journals.¹¹⁰

However, since some of these controversies were only beginning to unfold, it may be worthwhile recalling Hiller's position as contributor to both *Die Aktion* and *Der Sturm*, because it indicates that the real differences between the two were based on more profound arguments than bickering over visual prerogatives. Pfemfert's commitment to a trenchantly left-wing view of German social and cultural politics made him an editor, who doubtlessly attracted many of the younger literary talents like Heym, von Hoddiss, Mynona (Salomo Friedleander), Hiller, Einstein and others. Even though some of them may have lacked a realistic grasp of their own social and historical position within pre-war Germany, all subscribed in one way or another to Pfemfert's 'Note', which left little doubt as to the journal's intentions:

Without alignment to any particular political party, *Die Aktion* stands for the Great German Left. *Die Aktion* aims to promote the imposing idea of the "Organization of Intelligence" and reinstate the long detested term of "culture combat" to its old glory. [...] In matters of art and literature *Die Aktion* seeks to counter the sad habits of the pseudo-liberal press of silencing the newest movements by simply judging them from a business standards point of view [...] The ambition of *Die Aktion* is to be an organ of honest radicalism.¹¹¹

Walden's engagement on the other hand appeared to be withdrawing from concerns with social or political issues to pursue a strategy that - however provocative - increasingly focused on aspects of art and literature. Even though this may have appealed to Einstein's art-critical ambitions, perhaps more so than his

seemingly circumstantial allegiances to Pfemfert and Cassirer, his and Walden's conception of art were fundamentally irreconcilable, a fact which would become more apparent over time. Unlike Hiller, Rubiner and others of his generation, who would write for both Walden and Pfemfert, Einstein never submitted a contribution to *Der Sturm*. Nonetheless, at this point in his career he was intent on maintaining an independent position in spite of the fact that the mounting animosity between these two major players in the market for cultural journals must have affected his own career options, if only by curtailing attempts to collaborate with the *Blaue Reiter*. It suggests that to an extent such seemingly minor quibbles were accountable for the fringe position Einstein appeared to occupy within the German avant-garde; attitudes, which in one way or other affected his journalistic choices as much as the events that followed.

Chapter 5 *Cubism and the 'primitivism hubbub'*

With his hopes for cooperation with Marc and Kandinsky thwarted, Einstein was drawn into another venture. In March 1912 he became chief editor of the fortnightly journal *Neue Blätter*, published by Erich Baron, a position he held for the journal's first six issues, after which he was to remain a contributor. It was during this period that the development of his future aesthetic theories began to take shape. Since his first contribution to the journal (and its cover drawing) was devoted to the subject of modern French art, it will be helpful to consider some of his likely links to avant-garde circles in Paris before assessing this essay (Fig.7).

Paris encounters and Joseph Brummer

Although knowledge of French literature and art can be identified within Einstein's earlier writings, it must have been during his visits to Paris between 1910 and 1913 that acquaintances with artists, collectors, and writers interested in contemporary art and ethnographic objects were more firmly established. He appears to have frequented the *Café du Dôme* along with a number of German and other Central-European intellectuals in search of debate and inspiration. Among these were Paul Cassirer and the collectors Wilhelm Uhde and Alfred Flechtheim, who would collaborate with Einstein in later years. According to the memoirs of the artist Hans Purrmann, this was where 'the friends Adolphe Basler and Carl Einstein saw to it that one knew who they were' and where they frequently appeared together with 'Brummer, Hain and Ascher, [...] sculptors who had come to Paris'.¹¹² It was Joseph Brummer, who was to be of particular importance to Einstein's encounter with non-western objects. He, as Purrmann recalled, had arrived in the city 'on foot from Munich' and who, 'in exchange for being allowed to work in the Matisse-school, offered to do the tidying-up'. He started taking 'Japanese woodcuts from one studio to another, soon after it was Negro sculptures, making him the first to begin trading [these objects] with artists' and circulating good pieces of this, at the time, 'wholly unknown art'.¹¹³

Born in Hungary, Joseph Brummer (1883-1947) probably arrived in Paris with his brother Ernest some time in 1906. He was a student of sculpture in the

studio of Auguste Rodin, but soon he became a discerning collector and dealer in antiquities, Japanese prints and other non-European art and artifacts. Apparently he sold a number of the Greek sculptures to Rodin (now part of the collection housed at the Musée Rodin).¹¹⁴ While his friend, the artist Rudolph Levy, often took on the role of pretending to be an expert and buyer, Brummer gained his knowledge of art by frequent visits to the Bibliothèque Nationale.¹¹⁵ His passion led to his opening a shop in the Boulevard Raspail, which displayed African and other art objects, and a gallery, where in 1909 he organized an exhibition of Henri Rousseau's work, which had reached something approaching cult status among the artistic avant-garde. The American artist, Max Weber, an early acquaintance of Purrmann, had been introduced to Rousseau in 1905 at the Salon of Robert Delaunay's mother. Since then Weber had supported the artist and taken on the task of trying to extend his reputation by introducing him to Picasso, whom he had met at the house of American collectors Leo and Gertrude Stein in 1908. Only a few days earlier, Picasso had bought Rousseau's *Portrait of Mlle. M* (1895, Paris: Musée Picasso) for five Francs in a second-hand shop, after which he became a great admirer, subsequently buying three more works. The painting was one of seven works by Rousseau reproduced in the *Blaue Reiter* almanac. Weber introduced Brummer to the artist in March 1908 and, arranging for the exhibition at his gallery, the dealer remained a supporter of Rousseau until his death in 1910.¹¹⁶

Rousseau's *Portrait of Joseph Brummer*, completed in 1909, shows the dealer sporting a cigarette, dressed in a dark suit, and seated in a cane chair among the kind of exotic vegetation so characteristic of Rousseau's work, gazing at the viewer with an air of self-assurance that speaks of a modern man and success (Fig. 6). Concurrent with this work, the artist was completing the second of two large canvasses commissioned by, and depicting, the poet Apollinaire with his lover and muse, the artist Marie Laurencin, (*La muse inspirant le poète*, 1909, [2nd version], Basel: Kunstmuseum), which has been described as a free adaptation of Nicolas Poussin's painting of the same allegorical subject.¹¹⁷ Like Weber, Apollinaire had become an early and ardent devotee of Rousseau's art and probably the first critic to take a great interest in, to collect and to comment on African and other non-western sculpture. The ensemble of Rousseau's portraits may in fact be seen as signifying the conjunction of poetry, primitivism and modern art.¹¹⁸

By 1914, Brummer had opened his gallery in New York, where he became acquainted with the circle around the photographer Alfred Stieglitz's 291 Gallery, the collector Marius de Zayas, and patrons such as Walter and Louise Arensberg and John Quinn. In the years following World War I, he organized exhibitions of works by artists such as Matisse, André Derain, Amedeo Modigliani, and Jules

Pascin. His connection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York dates back to 1921, which over the following two decades acquired about 400 objects of antiquity and medieval origin from both Brummer and his brother Ernest. It was the German author and connoisseur of French art, Wilhem Uhde (1874-1947) who, as one of the earliest supporters of Rousseau, organized the first exhibition of his work and wrote the first monograph on the artist. He was later to acquire the Brummer portrait, because the 'model' – apparently for economic reasons – was obliged to sell the work.¹¹⁹ It points to a situation in which the taste for the 'primitive' – despite being cultivated by the avant-garde and decried as 'primitivism-hubbub' by Einstein – whether this implied the Douanier's paintings or 'art nègre' (the term used then for African and Oceanic artifacts) was still some way from transforming these works into the highly profitable commodities they were to become in later years.

Even so, Purrmann remembered Brummer as the first, who ensured that 'Negro sculptures were circulated' as objects of value and he, who 'prompted' Einstein to write 'the first comprehensive publication on the subject'.¹²⁰ To what extent Brummer was involved in Einstein's study has so far not been fully resolved. There are indications that he may have supplied some of the photographs for reproduction and perhaps some of the finance for the realization of the project.¹²¹ What has been established however is that at least a dozen or so of the objects reproduced in the 1915 edition of *Negerplastik* were at some point part of the Brummer collection.¹²² What is argued in the following chapters is that Einstein's and Brummer's collaboration pre-dated *Negerplastik*; it involved bringing African sculpture to Berlin in 1913 to be exhibited first alongside a collection of avant-garde works, and then Picasso's Cubist work.

In order to establish the when and how of Einstein's engagement with African culture, we have to turn to other sources since, at this point of his career there is no evidence from his own pen, other than the scarce and somewhat open-ended remarks in his art-journalism. The recollections of the author Fritz Cahen talk of an encounter with Einstein at the *Café du Dôme* in November 1912. His first impressions of 'a small burly man with large horn-rimmed glasses' seem to describe Einstein's appearance fittingly. According to Cahen, he 'declared in a soft, yet penetrating voice that could hardly be ignored: "I prefer the company of murderers. They are such pleasant people!" a statement befitting his wry humour and somewhat brusque demeanor, also remarked upon in other accounts of Einstein.¹²³

Cahen recalled *Negerplastik* as a project in preparation at the time, a 'sensational and pioneering work in the study of primitive art and its aesthetics,

which until then had been regarded to be of little concern'. Based on the simple confusion that arose because Cahen referred to the Kurt Wolff publication of the second edition of *Negerplastik*, rather than the Leipzig *Verlag der Weissen Bücher* of the first edition in 1915, others have considered these remarks as somewhat unreliable.¹²⁴ Yet there is no doubt that a period of little more than two years for the preparation of such a project appears more than feasible, taking into account not only the arduous task involved with locating and selecting material for reproduction, but also the disruption caused by the onset of the First World War. Considering Einstein's accompanying text as being a rather dense and audacious theoretical proposal, it appears plausible that, by the end of 1912, he may have held more than just fleeting plans for what, at the time, must have been an extraordinary project, in content as much as its visual presentation. It seems likely that the intellectual and artistic circles in Paris – rather than in Berlin or Munich – provided the perfect environment for debate concerning ethnographic objects and contemporary artistic practice, and thus may have confirmed, if not initiated, his ideas for a publication of this kind.

There is little doubt that Einstein met Brummer and Basler at the *Café du Dôme*, which he frequented as much as his German compatriots Flechtheim and Uhde along with other favorite avant-garde watering holes around Montmartre and Montparnasse. But it must have been through Kahnweiler, who after Einstein's death recalled they had been friends for thirty-five years, that he met Picasso, Braque and Juan Gris.¹²⁵ Their work became central to Einstein's aesthetic and philosophical reflections on art, evident in his 'Notes sur le cubisme' in *Documents* and his Cubism-chapter, which formed the focus of his magnum opus *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1926). For Einstein, in Cubism 'the unity between painting and conventional reality was ruptured'; painting was no longer metaphor or fiction dictated by reality, rather the 'symptom of direct human reality', which by consciously integrating memory flux and emphasizing hallucinatory invention had created a concrete conception of the order of its time. It had resurrected 'autonomous vision and secured the beginning of a significant mythic art'.¹²⁶ His insistence on the importance of Cubism was stated in a letter to Kahnweiler in 1923:

I know that Cubism is not just a matter of painting, for that it is too profound a matter [...] I do not believe that Cubism is only an optical speciality; if that were the case it would be false, not sound. As a valid experience, it embraces far more and I believe it is only a question of our energy to grasp it.¹²⁷

Picasso's works featured as an important point of reference in many of Einstein's meditations on the role and function of modern art.¹²⁸ Georges Braque became a close friend and witness to his marriage with his second wife, Lyda Guevrekian in December 1932. His book on Braque was the last and perhaps most important published during his lifetime.¹²⁹ His project on Juan Gris remained, like other writings, unfinished – due to the fact that by 1933 his name had been entered on the list of fugitives wanted by the Gestapo, which led to his increasingly desperate situation in exile and fruitless attempts to emigrate to Britain or the United States.

Einstein's writing on art around 1912 suggests that he may have witnessed Cubism at relatively close quarters in the Kahnweiler gallery or even at the artists' studios, where debates concerning art and non-western objects were a regular occurrence. Even a fleeting visit to Paris, such as Franz Marc's to the 'depressingly disappointing' *Salon d'Automne* in early October 1912, recalled a meeting, where, accompanied by the 'painfully embarrassing' gallery owner, Hans Goltz, the artist could report back to Kandinsky that he met with 'Kahnweiler, Brummer (Negro sculptures, Picassos etc.)'. His bracketed remarks indicate the topics of conversation during this encounter, which had been of interest to Marc for some time.¹³⁰ Apart from gaining first-hand knowledge of Cubist works and non-western artifacts, Einstein probably kept informed via the cultural press, so that familiarity with authors such as Apollinaire, André Salmon or Maurice Raynal is likely, whether he was in Paris or Berlin. A letter Einstein wrote in 1919, when as editor of the Dada-journal *Der Blutige Ernst* he sought cooperation with Pierre Albert-Birot of the French avant-garde review *Sic*, claimed that before the war he had introduced the German public to authors like '[Alfred] Jarry, Claudel, Gide and Apollinaire'.¹³¹ Another example may suggest his awareness of French art-journalism. In 1907, Apollinaire spoke of the modern artist's interest in the 'hieratic Egyptians, the refined Greeks and [...] the African statuettes proportioned in accord with the passions that inspired them'. Louis Vauxcelles' well-known review of Braque's 1908 exhibition at the Kahnweiler gallery noted the 'static art of the Egyptians' as having influenced Braque's reductive methods towards 'geometrical schemas'.¹³² The similarity to the 'Babylonians, the Egyptians, the early Greeks', and 'the Primitives' in Einstein's Waldschmidt review of 1910 might well be coincidental, indicating that the author of *Bebuquin* was finding his voice within pre-war international art-journalism; but by 1913, Apollinaire would acknowledge – that he had become 'one of the most perceptive minds in Germany'.¹³³

In Berlin, the *Sturm*-gallery was mounting one sensationalist avant-garde show after another in an attempt to outbid competitors, the political culture discrepancies between Walden's approach and that of *Die Aktion* became more pronounced. What a reading of Einstein's earlier, somewhat conventional, assignments suggests was a growing identification with the 'new art'. For him, like Hiller and other young intellectuals seeking recognition, it was a matter of keeping options open by moving between often opposing factions such as those of Pfemfert's radical socially conscious politics or Cassirer, the dignified exponent of the progressive cultural establishment. Between 1908 and 1912, Einstein had found nearly a dozen outlets in different periodicals, a fact that perfectly illustrates the fluctuating state of affairs within the arena of German cultural politics and the rapid growth of journal publishing.¹³⁴ His penchant for French art and literature chimed with the impact Julius Meier-Gräfe's study of French nineteenth-century painting had on his generation and the reverberations following the Vinnen-affair.¹³⁵ A similar proliferation of new journals and exhibition venues occurred in France at much the same time as in Germany, making it easy for the novice art critic to pursue his interest in the Parisian art scene. However idiosyncratic, his command of the language is exemplified by his translation of van Gogh's letters for Cassirer and his contributions to *Documents*.¹³⁶ Because of his collaboration with Cassirer, Einstein's first publication in a French review was soon followed by a second piece, 'Nuronihar', named after the female character in Beckford's *Vathek*, and dedicated as an open letter to the famous Russian dancer Napierkowska after her performance at the Berlin *Wintergarten* in 1912.¹³⁷

Closer to home – even if associated with the 'rival' *Der Sturm* – there was plenty of material of which Einstein must have taken note.¹³⁸ One such piece was an essay by the poet and critic Roger Allard, entitled 'Die Kennzeichen der Erneuerung in der Malerei' (The Signs of renewal in Painting), which appeared in the *Blaue Reiter*, for which Einstein had been keen to supply some of his material.¹³⁹ Allard was an early supporter of Cubism and an associate of the writer and Cubist sympathizer Alexandre Mercereau and the painter Albert Gleizes. Allard's text showed contiguities with Einstein's critique of Impressionist concepts in favour of emergent formations that acknowledged the significance of Cézanne to the modernist project. The reason Allard felt justified in denying Impressionism's accomplishments was its analogy to Naturalism that, rather than provoking renewal, had fostered few great artistic talents, while the great legacy of Cézanne had not been recognized:

Cézanne's art is the arsenal that provides the weapons for modern painting to engage in the primary battle to defeat Naturalism, false literature and pseudo-classicism; today the battle is concerned with different things.¹⁴⁰

In contrast to Einstein's references to the Impressionist legacy and to Cézanne in his earlier essays, Allard's preamble functioned to announce Cubism as the primary attempt to reinstate in painting the 'knowledge of mass, volume and weight'. Its postulate was 'the order of things, not of naturalistic things, but of abstract forms' that 'feels space as a convergence of lines, spatial units, of squared and cubic equations, and ratios of weight'. Here Cubism was celebrated as a 'new constructive movement of art', not a 'phantasmagoria of "savages"' but the 'honest call for a new discipline'.¹⁴¹ Despite similarities in terminology and concepts detectable in, say the Waldschmidt or the *Vathek* essays, Einstein's assessments of artistic practice stayed aloof from the proclamatory style of Allard's contribution. Although *Negerplastik* has been called a 'Cubist manifesto',¹⁴² what will become clear is that even as a committed analyst of Cubism, Einstein maintained an individual, rigorous critical focus.

However, the congruities raise the question of what may have constituted the text Einstein proposed for publication in the *Blaue Reiter*. One suggestion that has been made is that it consisted of the philosophical reflections on art mentioned above in connection with the un-named Picasso, published in 1914 under the title 'Totalität'.¹⁴³ Perhaps more plausible is the manuscript, 'Antike und Moderne', since it rearticulated Einstein's theory of history touched upon in his 1910 Beckford and Waldschmidt essays, but here it engaged with the philosophies of Kant, Nietzsche and Henri Bergson, and advanced a conception in which history and antiquity converge in the creative act of the modern artist:

Each event that accumulates in our consciousness, be it retrospective or conjecture of the future, influences and transforms our view of the course of history. It is not history ossified by ideology that dominates our present but the present that creates and forms the view of the historical. For each man moves on history as a productive being and the condition of this creative act is the present.¹⁴⁴

Overcoming the colour fragmentation of Impressionist vision, Cézanne's reduction of form to sphere, cylinder and cube had initiated new ways of visual representation, a lesson unerringly continued by Picasso, so that the elementary beauty of Egyptian sculpture was finally recognized. More importantly, emphasizing the significance of art, myth and the religion of ancient cultures to contemporary artistic practice, the context of Einstein's encounter with ethnography was brought into focus:

Hence, we confront the spiritual of ancient times less burdened, [...] are free to approach the religions of archaic peoples because our thinking has become elementary, even primitive. Contemporary man seeks synthesis, that is, he no longer believes that either knowledge, or his fundamental being gains from the analysis of all things. [...] So we finally grasp, why for archaic peoples art and religion was a unity; we no longer regard this to be a lack of differentiation but a sign of its unbroken entirety.¹⁴⁵

Whether this text was intended as Einstein's contribution remains unclear, but the concept of the oneness of art and religion became central to his discussion of African sculpture.

Theorizing the primitive: Matisse and Picasso

Following the foiled attempts of collaborating with Marc and Kandinsky, Einstein's next assignment, 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', (Notes on recent French Painting) provides the clearest indication of the extent of his knowledge of topical issues concerning avant-garde art. Dealing exclusively with developments in France led him by way of Georges Seurat and Cézanne to a discussion of the underlying principles in the work of Matisse and Picasso. His introductory remarks expressed astonishment at the French pre-occupation with theory, but noted that 'intellectual utterances' had never been used sparingly.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps this was a wry comment on the proliferating proclamations of the 'new vision' by journals like *Der Sturm* in the wake of the Vinnen affair, but probably also a reference to controversies concerning anti-naturalist tendencies and the renewal of classical order, exemplified by Cézanne and Braque and advocated by Maurice Denis' widely read *Théories*.¹⁴⁷ However, development of a 'dominance of theory' that was taking place in Paris, now took centre-stage in Einstein's assessment by his outlining some of the consequences:

It would be wrong to envisage a theory of painting as a scientific abstract; on the contrary, it is expression of an optical feeling. Seurat's principal lesson was a technical one; at the same time the search for objective painting began in opposition to the individual gesture of Impressionism. Yet the lesson of Picasso or Matisse is marked by a complete lack of technical determination. They imagine a different moment; one of inner feeling in as far as it may be expressed as optical representation.¹⁴⁸

Describing Cézanne's demand for logic and laws of vision as having provided the technical conditions for both Matisse and Picasso, the artist's striving for a binding, objective painting was based on two premises: the work itself and inner feeling. The world and its objects were seen as symptoms of an inner process that contained its absolute legitimacy, while the totality of the work is achieved by the equilibrium of colour transpositions.¹⁴⁹ With this Einstein's attention turned to

the work of Matisse in which this totality and equilibrium were spiritual moments he likened to carriers of the classical tradition, that in the ‘seemingly radical Matisse’ were close to Ingres, Poussin and the Greeks. Matisse’s lesson of ‘valeurs’ was enhanced by his use of drawing that - following Cézanne’s dictum of ‘as painting, so drawing’ – becomes a process of divination in which the representation of movement of each figure corresponds with colour, and the rhythm and flow of colour creates the composition’s equilibrium. But acknowledging the significance of the artist’s achievements did not prevent Einstein from voicing reservations. While directional light had once played such an important role in creating movement, in Matisse’s work it was merely the consequence of the modification of the entire picture plane.¹⁵⁰ For Einstein:

This conscious predominance of inner conditions doubtless has its dangers. The inner world of feeling is surely not without rules or boundaries, but [...] if one seeks to realize theory by way of optics in a single object, boundlessness results. Increasingly impoverished theory [...] becomes the object of representation. Yet the result of such an ever so subtle theory is the poster and a purist style. The efficacy of Matisse is as much founded on the seductions of theory as on the undeniable quality of his painting, all the more so since the former entices the German, who wants to save himself from the exasperating mindlessness with which Impressionism has been worn thin.¹⁵¹

This reluctance to compromise his polemics typifies Einstein’s art-critical practice, but also highlights the irrefutable status of the ‘fauve’ Matisse, whose actual work, as much as his ‘Notizen eines Malers’, had a decisive influence on the German avant-garde. It is apparent in the *Der Blaue Reiter* contributions of Franz Marc’s ‘Die “Wilden” Deutschlands’ and David Burliuk’s ‘Die “Wilden” Russlands’, which identified with the artist’s theories and a medley of primitivist notions. While Einstein’s antipathy to the ‘decorative’ had served to stress ‘constructive’ notions of form in the Waldschmidt and Schmid-Reutte reviews, it later also determined his critique of Expressionism.¹⁵² Even so, here he concluded on a positive note that honored the artist’s ‘modification of colour appearance according to the value of inner sentiment’,¹⁵³ before the review turned to Picasso:

Picasso. Matisse stressed the decorative and sensual properties of Cézanne; here we observe that the consequences of the primitive lead to an even greater primitivism. [...] From the lessons of Cézanne, Picasso chose the lesson of the *modélé* to which he added something profoundly new. Each object is viewed by its value of plastic [three-dimensional] stimulation. Cézanne called the level plane the pre-requisite for plastic structuring. Picasso sought a formula that allowed the plastic and tectonic formation for each part of the work. Cézanne recognized that certain stereometric forms are inherent in all solids as elements of all plasticity [...] cone, cylinder and cube. This [...] is the point at which a reaction

against all surface painting and the decorative could commence. The beginning of a thoroughly modeled vision is given. The complexity of plastic form is juxtaposed with tremendously reduced basic forms; a sensitive nuancing of tonal values is set against the unity of colour. Picasso paints his works in brown, dusky yellow and grey, the whole is held by a tectonic design.

We are accustomed to viewing objects as plastic form reduced, as if to create a photograph from memory. Picasso seeks out decisive plastic points, not as coloured moments, but rather as stereometric spatial constructs. All these are subordinated and brought within a system that reveals how much plastic expression is inherent in appearance. Individual constructs are separated by simple contours. These paintings are somehow evocative of Spanish architecture, a complicated Gothic. Painting conceived as architecture. Picasso increasingly adds to the plastic wealth of his paintings; so perhaps one might say that the logic of Matisse steadily purifies painting by subtracting from the wealth of bodily form, while Picasso continuously adds more and more plastic points. Picasso has already passed through more than one period; it seems to me that he is once again approaching the end of another. There is no doubt that he has the strength to venture into the new, most of all, he definitely stays aloof from the decorative, which rages like an epidemic now.¹⁵⁴

Einstein's notion of the 'tectonic', which previously implied the artist's composition seeking out the motif's (architectonic) principles, has here mutated into a system of imposed 'stereometric spatial constructs'. By 1926, this notion would become the precondition of the picture plane and a force that guaranteed the 'formal' and 'dynamic' autonomy of the work of art.¹⁵⁵ The review's argument of a 'complicated Gothic' might be understood as acknowledging Worringer's *Formprobleme der Gotik* (1911), celebrated by many of the German avant-garde, and which became a contributory factor in stimulating notions of the revival of a German spiritual heritage especially during and after the First World War. Worringer associated his analyses with the cultural and historical transmigration of 'Kunstwollen', first theorized by Alois Riegl's *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (1901), also evident in his essay on current artistic tendencies.¹⁵⁶

Yet more important here is that for the first time Einstein attempted an analysis of Picasso's Cubist work. Without mention of the term, it articulated in a few succinct lines the main tenets of analytical Cubism that grasped its significance for the modernist project. More than any of his preceding texts, it indicates that by 1912 Einstein was developing theoretical notions of plastic form that were to govern his understanding of art and non-western sculpture throughout his career. Not only did he appear to have a firm idea of the issues at stake concerning the painter's task and what he called the elements of plasticity, but he seemed aware also of a transitional stage toward Picasso's synthetic Cubism. Whether or not one agrees with his assessment of Matisse's methods, the juxtaposition of both artists is remarkable for its precise observations and the emphasis placed on the different 'primitivisms'. Yet while this seems to indicate knowledge of the artists' encounter

with non-western objects and the consequences that caused Picasso's move towards an 'even greater primitivism', we are left with no further explication.¹⁵⁷ For this we have to look at Einstein's *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, where Matisse's primitivism was again addressed in critical terms, leading to a verdict that – in accord with Wilhelm Uhde – posited the artist as the last of the Post-Impressionists, a tradition already overturned by Cézanne's impact on contemporary problems of artistic practice. For Einstein Matisse was a technician of elegant, comfortable solutions, for whom the primitive was 'a deviation into cutting clever arabesques' and a charming play of colour tastefully arranged, a virtuoso of the 'decorative primitive' turned bourgeois and a reaction against one's own cultured intellect.¹⁵⁸

Here, however, it may be worth continuing with Einstein's review and his evaluation of the subject by others of the avant-garde, which first focused on Henri Rousseau, seen as one of the foremost representatives of the primitive. The artist had exhibited at the *Salon des Indépendants* since 1886 and the *Salon d'Automne* since 1905 where, as Uhde recalls, his work was more often ridiculed than appreciated. Through his support and that of others, like Apollinaire, Weber, Picasso, Robert Delaunay and Ambroise Vollard (who had been the first to collect and promote the works of Picasso), this situation was slowly reversed by Uhde, who – after the Douanier's death – organized a retrospective at the *Salon des Indépendants* in 1911 and an exhibition at Bernheim Jeune in 1912.

The 'primitivism' of Rousseau appealed to those artists concerned with problems of the representation of form and the structuring of spatial depth posed by objects from colonial Africa. It chimed with others who drew on the anti-naturalism of Egyptian and European medieval sculpture, or the visual language of folk-art and the art of the insane that became central to the studies of Hans Prinzhorn and Wilhelm Fraenger.¹⁵⁹ A few examples of the significance of Rousseau to this discourse may suffice: Kandinsky's essay 'Über die Formfrage' celebrated Rousseau as 'the father of realism', who 'with an uncomplicated convincing gesture had pointed the way', while the numerous reproductions of his works in the *Blaue Reiter* were credited as originating from Uhde's 'sympathetic' monograph. Rousseau's work featured in the inaugural exhibition of Walden's *Sturm* gallery and together with the work of Sonia and Robert Delaunay he took centre-stage in the famous *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*.¹⁶⁰

Delaunay's remark that the Douanier's sensibility had provided the 'greatest contrast to the period in which inert scientific analysis had turned its back on intuition and naivety' as the sources of creativity is symptomatic of the Rousseau reception at this time.¹⁶¹ It highlights the iconoclasm of certain sections of the early twentieth-century avant-garde who were as much characterized by the Rousseau 'cult' as by the primitivist orientation associated with archaic and non-

western cultures. It resonates with the assault on the autonomy of classical humanist and philological traditions by members of the nineteenth-century German academic community. Their enthusiasm for the study of archaeological, ethnographic and folkloristic material, which had arrived in vast quantities in European museums and collections, was fuelled by the availability of illustrated books, photographic albums and journals. For the artists this antagonism was on the one hand founded on Romanticism's rejection of Enlightenment ideals and the institutionalization of art, while on the other it was driven by the conviction that contemporary artistic production required the synthesis of new possibilities. It resulted from the perceived failure of existing artistic means and the potential for alternative practices discovered at the margins of the world outside the confines of the western artistic canon.¹⁶²

This iconoclasm underlying the avant-garde project was commented on by the American writer Gelett Burgess in an essay on early Cubism, based on interviews he had conducted in Paris studios during 1908. He spoke of 'a rationale of ugliness as there was a rationale of beauty' and speculated whether this 'revival' (of the primitive) was 'a sign of some second childhood of the race, or a true rebirth of art'.¹⁶³ While there is no doubt that Einstein subscribed to such oppositional practices in principle, it seems he felt a need to clarify his position with regards to Rousseau and what he termed the 'Primitivenrummel' (primitivism hubbub):

The Douanier Rousseau's success is symptomatic. There is no doubt that his painting harbours certain qualities that are as fatally reminiscent of Böcklin as compassionately evocative of early Dutch art. He is indicative of the French primitivism hubbub. Let us imagine a simple man with a certain degree of innocence and the urge for remarkable, even cunning, colour sensations [...]. There is a touching primitivism of petit-bourgeois luxury, but only rarely does one come across such a forceful and trusting temperament. Rousseau's primitivism is as suggestive of monumental oleographs as it is of his being a poetic naturalist. One suspects he is wrestling with his pure feelings for Bouguereau. If we did not have Giotto or the early Dutch artists, all of whom he did not know, he doubtlessly would be of considerable importance. A trusting wholly unconscious mind with a will for the cunning; in any case with him we are saved from anything theoretical.¹⁶⁴

Contrasting Picasso's 'greater primitivism' with Rousseau's 'petit-bourgeois primitivism' was as symptomatic of Einstein's critical appreciation as was his contempt for those who sought to gain import by cloaking their artistic goals in theory. His taking up the issue of theory may have been fuelled by Maurice Denis, who, after observing the 'excess of theory' in a review written during 1905, had advised Matisse not to base artistic practice on reason alone.¹⁶⁵ Einstein felt justified in voicing relief at finding Rousseau free from such pretensions and in

launching an all out challenge to the hullabaloo surrounding notions of the primitive that appeared to have befallen a great deal of avant-garde production since; a stance that would accompany his art-criticism throughout his career. What set this review apart was the distinction made between the conceptual primitive informing Picasso's work and the 'unconscious' primitive of Rousseau. It questioned the 'decorative' primitive of Matisse and detested the primitivized appropriations that seemed all the rage with certain members of the avant-garde. Amongst them Kees van Dongen, who was accused of 'feigning the primitive' and likened to the *Scholle*-associate Fritz Erler (1868-1940). Following the lead of the 'Hellenist' Matisse and his lesson of the equilibrium, this had resulted in a somewhat nihilistic and increasingly ideological painting in which the primitive was forced into poster art.¹⁶⁶

Excepting Gino Severini, the 'only one who can paint', the Italian Futurists were equally rebuffed. Their idealist painting lacked traditional technique, a preponderance of the literal and a dynamic of the 'États d'âmes' whose 'lines of force' were integral to the work itself:

Man, who is seated on the sofa, enters into the sofa, the sofa takes possession of man, because all things take on equal value. One simply has to provide the spiritual sensation, the dynamic relation, not the "passéist" object. The prerequisite of this kind of painting is the native Divisionism.¹⁶⁷

Again, it may be relevant here to take note of Einstein's assessment of Futurist art in his 1926 survey of twentieth-century art, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*. The group's vitalism was seen as a forerunner of the fascistic tendencies with which it aimed to overcome the burden of Italy's cultural heritage by way of an outdated and narrow aestheticism. Though praised for its anti-classical and anti-platonic approach, its primitivist associations were judged 'entirely cerebral', a 'primitivity' not derived from painterly conceptions, rather from 'popularized philosophical theses', which had gained entry to artists' studios via 'vulgarized literature' that led to Futurists' goals being absorbed into the all-embracing national ideology of fascism.¹⁶⁸

While this animosity towards ubiquitous primitivist tendencies will be reconsidered in the light of a discussion of *Negerplastik*, the review makes clear that by 1912 Einstein was conversant with avant-garde events in Paris, Berlin and elsewhere.¹⁶⁹ What the essay demonstrates above all however, is that Picasso's work had become central to his reflection on the discourse of primitivism, in which the encounter of, and eventual engagement with the discipline of ethnography was to form the crucial aspect of much of his theoretical writing on art.

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PART II – Raising Africa in Berlin

Chapter 6: Conception, vision and seeking Africa (1913)

When Walter Mehring, writer, Dadaist and member of the Spartacist movement, planned a visit to Paris shortly after the First World War, he set out to gather information from acquaintances within Berlin's intellectual circles. These included *Der Sturm*, *Die Aktion*, and such 'Montparnasse veterans as Theodor Däubler [and] Carl Einstein'. It was the 'Bebuquin-Einstein', who recommended looking up two artists, who 'I adored because they were Cubists and arch-enemies'; one was Fernand Léger 'this humane Norman giant', the other Robert Delaunay.¹ Like the chronicles of Purrmann or those of the *Café du Dôme* by the Einstein associate Rudolf Grossmann, they confirm that the author was well known and familiar with the city's artistic and intellectual avant-garde before 1914. Grossmann, who produced a series of portrait sketches of him, remembered the café as a place where artists were 'preparing the future of German painting', while Einstein maintained that Paris was bearable if one's future was read by the gipsy Finella, Rodin's favourite model:

Then Wätjen (Monsieur Otto) and Einstein (le gros Charles) went off in their cars to the fortifs, where they did acrobatics [...] under the expert advice of their girlfriends. [...] At sunset, one was uplifted by the motifs of the Douanier Rousseau, who brought honour to the art of retired civil servants, porters and officers.²

The artists Einstein advised Mehring to contact represent the opposite ends of the trajectory of his conception of artistic practice. Léger, who became a friend, had 'verified' Cubism and his work marked a positivist optimism in which vision and consciousness functioned as precise instruments of perception. His artistic precepts were founded on notions of a collective consciousness that rendered individualist expression and psychology obsolete.³ Delaunay in contrast was described as possessing a 'more or less painterly talent', and a journalist of 'lacklustre ideologies', while Léger had avoided literature, which Delaunay and the Futurists had failed to circumvent and whose forms demanded 'literary interpretation'.⁴

The Paris visit of 1912/13

It may be useful to consider some of the artistic events in Paris that coincided with a visit made by Einstein. Accompanied by his friend, the author Ludwig Rubiner, this lasted from November 1912 through to February or March 1913, during which both stayed in 'a small hotel not far from St Sulpice', calling themselves the 'Klub der Neophytakoräer'.⁵ While this is probably a witty take on Hiller's *Neopathetisches Cabaret* and perhaps on Cubist preoccupations with geometry, reminiscences such as Cahen's, Mehring's, or Purrmann's tend to be coloured by personal perspectives; despite this, they provide biographical details that seem to have a ring of truth about them. The Paris visit overlapped with the *Salon d'Automne*, the publication of André Salmon's *La Jeune Peinture française* (containing a chapter entirely devoted to Cubism), and Albert Gleizes' and Jean Metzinger's *du "Cubisme"*, while the exhibition of the *Section d'Or* had just ended.⁶

These events, as much as the reviews that appeared, must have engaged Einstein's art-criticism, if only to confirm convictions already voiced. In particular, it was Maurice Raynal's essay 'Conception et vision' that appeared to be in accordance with Einstein's view of a cumulative human consciousness as a principal force of historical and artistic experience. Maybe because Raynal was close to Picasso and his associates, his analyses established what could be called a paradigm of modern art that insisted on the importance of artistic conception he found present in the (Italian) Primitives by following Kantian principles of the purpose of art and abstract notions of the mathematical sciences.⁷ As with Einstein's appraisal of Picasso's work, the essay did not mention Cubism. For Raynal, Giotto epitomized the painter's 'quest for truth' because it was not based on observation or any attempt to replicate nature, but rather 'of what we conceive'. Since the mathematical sciences dealt with abstract ideas they possessed 'absolute

certainties', for the 'conceptualist method' of painting it meant: 'to approach truth, one must concentrate only on the conceptions of the objects'.⁸

In contrast to the Puteaux-circle of Metzinger, Gleizes and others who sought philosophical precedents in Henri Poincaré's notions on space and psycho-physical geometries, or Henri Bergson's reflections on time and duration, Raynal referred to Kant's notion that beauty in art required, as he put it, 'an inner harmony with no purpose outside it'.⁹ Even if Einstein's aesthetic theories ought not to be viewed within strictly Kantian terms, his university-studies and his friendship with Kahnweiler make sharing concepts with Raynal – who like Apollinaire moved freely in the artists' studios including Picasso's and Kahnweiler's gallery – perfectly possible.¹⁰ To a certain extent both Kahnweiler's and Einstein's aesthetic concepts may be linked with philosophical doctrines concerned with the enquiries into art and form of Fiedler and Hildebrandt, or those of Worringer, Wölfflin and Alois Riegl, but also with representatives of the sociological relativist school like Georg Simmel with whom Einstein had also studied. However diverse in their individual analyses, they shared certain aspects with Kant's critical methods and the German Neo-Kantian tradition that exerted its influence well into the nineteen-twenties.¹¹

There is no confirmation of Einstein's familiarity with Raynal's *Gil Blas* article. Yet, as the letters by his companion Ludwig Rubiner make apparent, tracking exhibitions, galleries and cultural journals was a priority. Even against the background of mounting tensions between opposing fronts, Rubiner was keen to maintain connections with both *Die Aktion* and *Der Sturm*.¹² A letter to Walden, written a few months after his and Einstein's Paris visit, and only weeks before the opening of the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*, makes this clear. Trying to convince Walden to consider a winter showing of the *Herbstsalon* and a Paris-edition of *Der Sturm*, he reported on his findings:

[T]wo matters play an incredibly important role in Paris: art salons and journals. [...] In Berlin one is expected to show one has plenty of money and imitates English manners. In Paris there is lots of money, everybody is somehow committed, that is why courage and independence are valued above all. Here "Der Sturm" is unintelligible to most, but everyone is nonetheless interested. An editor who refuses to produce convenient issues or poetry anthologies is unheard of in Paris. [...] "Der Sturm" would be a huge success in Paris, [...], because journals are indeed selling here [...]. The editor of a journal occupies an important social role in Paris, or any role he likes. All theatres are open to him and he is in demand for the strangest of events. People run down his office doors. This is not as superficial as it sounds, because in Paris people are still much more open to any activity or idea [...]. In Paris (this is not just a fancy idea), you would have a whole party behind you.¹³

Beyond highlighting what would have been foremost on both Einstein's and Rubiner's mind, the letter also outlines the cultural differences between the two cities which, with regards to the art market, Rubiner described as:

Further, it is like this: either an art salon in Paris takes on an already established artist, or the exhibitor pays! The big ones, like Bernheim, Druet etc. get between 1200 and 3000 Fr[ancs] from lesser-known artists. Thus an art exhibition in Paris is in principle like a rent-a-crowd business [...] In spite of it, it plays a very big role since it is always discussed. Only now [imagine] an independent art exhibition!! [...] So, first, what do you think if you brought the whole of the Herbstsalon to Paris this winter? Only you would have to call it "Exposition Herwarth Walden". If an exhibition in Paris would open in a location never before used for an exhibition, it would be seen as odd. [...] The people you would probably deal with first have no money to speak of, or very little. But the moment it becomes known, you are planning to exhibit, [...], they would find the resources (and of course here I am speaking of real artists, those you know already anyway). That is how it is done in Paris. (Appendix I/1)

The letter leaves little doubt over the interests that guided both Rubiner's and Einstein's agenda. It is worth recalling an earlier letter that coincided with their joint stay at St Sulpice. It indicates Rubiner's efforts to remain on good terms with the *Sturm*-editor by trying to convince him of the 'discoveries' made but it also provides a glimpse into the idiosyncrasies of the art market:

I have discovered two painters here that might interest you. One [...] a Futurist [...], the other has never exhibited before. He is my discovery and perfect [...]. Fabulous, he will make a stir: Alfred Reth [...] I met him at Le Fauconnier's. [...] I met a dealer in the flea market selling altogether twenty fake van Goghs and Henri Rousseaus. The painters are taking over Paris; to me they seem proof of the total redundancy of "good painting". (Appendix I/2)

Whether Walden heeded the advice, remains open, but while Rubiner never published in the journal after 1910, Reth's breakthrough arrived with his exhibition at the *Sturm* gallery in February 1913.¹⁴

What Einstein and Rubiner encountered during their stay was the 'maison cubiste' at the *Salon d'Automne* and the *Salon de 'La Section d'Or'*, which opened at the *Galerie de la Boétie* on 10 October 1912, closing around the time of Einstein's and Rubiner's arrival in the city. The first and only number of the review, *La Section d'Or*, listed most of Apollinaire's collaborators, among them Allard, Salmon, and Raynal, whose contribution again insisted on the importance of conception for painting that was 'neither descriptive, psychological, nor decorative' but 'derived from the disinterested study of forms'.¹⁵ Also included were an associate of Brummer, the critic André Warnod, who had written on the significance of *art nègre* to modern art in 1911, and Einstein's 'friend' (as

Purmann called him), the sculptor, critic and later collector of non-western art objects, Adolphe Basler.¹⁶

Expanding the portfolio

During 1912 and 1913, Einstein's activities were not restricted to his journalistic output. It appears that due to his association with Cassirer, he took the role as the dealer's envoy a little further than the brief encounter with the *Blaue Reiter* might suggest. Because of the artists' intensifying collaboration with *Der Sturm*, relations with Cassirer were taking a turn for the worse by March 1913, putting Einstein on the receiving end of the firing line. Unaware of their already advancing preparations for the show for which the *Sturm*-editor would usurp Cassirer's idea of a German *Salon d'Automne*, Einstein called on Marc and Kandinsky to invite them to take part in Cassirer's forthcoming exhibition, the result of which was reported back to Macke by Marc:

[A]t least all my concerted efforts have succeeded in my not receiving an invitation to the "summer exhibition". That Mr Carl Einstein has just been here in Munich as Cassirer's "emissary" in order to promote this exhibition, but due to the frostiness of our reception, he might have caught a cold.¹⁷

For Einstein relations had worsened due to *Die Aktion's* provocative strategy of appropriating *Der Sturm's* 'Menschenköpfe'-series by Kokoschka and the malicious exchanges that had followed in both journals. It was further exacerbated by Cassirer's old friend and associate Julius Meier-Gräfe, who presented his lecture 'Wohin treiben wir?' at the Viktoria-Straße gallery, which launched the most severe critique of the new movement. Having attended the lecture in Munich, Marc not only took exception to Meier-Gräfe calling the artists 'profiteers', but by default Cassirer - and Einstein - were regarded as essentially 'the same', a 'circle I want nothing to do with', all of which was added reason to collaborate only with *Der Sturm*.¹⁸

Such problems did not seem to have troubled Oskar Kokoschka. Having worked with both Walden and Cassirer since 1910 and never having associated with any of the avant-garde groups, he seemed free from such bias, even though Einstein was allied with Pfemfert and his 'in-house' portraitist, Kokoschka's old rival, 'Mopp' Oppenheimer. A letter to his lover Alma Mahler that reported that he was about to 'take Einstein to the art collectors, making sure that the situation will be [...] profitable [...]', and adding, 'if I had a single drop of business sense in me I would be a rich man', makes clear that here too Einstein acted as an intermediary for Cassirer.¹⁹ In the next letter she was informed that 'Einstein was here making

some very nice offers', which consisted of a 'large folder', for which an offer of 500 Marks for each of the works was made. Einstein further offered to take on what 'I [Kokoschka] want to write', the entire graphic works, an exhibition at the Berliner Sezession and travel paid for by Cassirer. A contract was promised which would pay the artist 'at least 1500 Kr[onen] per month', an essay on his work in *Kunst und Künstler*, and a 'special section in a book', that would also feature Munch, Maillol, Picasso and Lehmbruck, because 'Einstein, as Cassirer's agent, wants to promote me in particular'.²⁰ What this implied is that, at this point, Einstein's and Cassirer's association went beyond the journalistic engagements already established.

During early 1913 then, there seemed to be the promise of Einstein gaining a role of substance within the market for modern art and beyond. While this ambition would only become reality in the late nineteen-twenties – when he became a respected advisor and friend of the businessman, Dr Gottlieb Reber, by assembling one of the foremost collections of 'modern art in either hemisphere'²¹ – it is possible that Einstein's acquaintance with Reber goes back to this earlier time, which may have triggered his aspirations beyond art-criticism. In January that year and coinciding with the Meier-Gräfe lecture that so much upset Marc, Reber's private collection was on show at the Cassirer gallery, then consisting of works by Manet, Courbet, Degas, Renoir and van Gogh. It is not known when exactly Einstein and Rubiner returned from Paris, or indeed whether Einstein met Reber on this occasion, but what is certain is that the critic must have taken note, because what dominated the exhibition above all was the large number of works by Cézanne, among them *Le garçon au gilet rouge* (1888-90, Zurich: Collection E. G. Bührle), *Jeune homme à la tête de mort* (1896-98, Merion: Barnes Foundation), and a drawing *Baigneuses* (1874-78) now lost.²² A passionate and discerning collector, Reber appears to have begun collecting as a young man, amassing over time at least twenty-seven works by Cézanne alone. According to Flechtheim's recollections, Reber began buying art during their joint visit to Paris in 1911.²³ To the extent that the meeting of like-minded intellectuals at the *Café du Dôme*, Kahnweiler's, or Cassirer's gallery ought to be seen as integral to the cultural exchanges of the pre-war years in which both Einstein and Flechtheim developed their predilection for Cubist art, it is imaginable that the later collaboration between Einstein and Reber may have its tentative beginnings during this exhibition.

Attempts to broaden his engagement with the visual arts are also evident in Einstein's essay 'Die Sammlung Henri Rouart'. This was his first review of an art collection rather than an exhibition, the first to appear in Bruno Cassirer's journal *Kunst und Künstler*, and a sign that his connections to the Paris art world might be rewarding. The essay focused on the collection of the artist, Henri Rouart

(1833-1912), a student of François Millet and a friend of Edgar Degas, which had been put up for auction in December 1912 by the gallery Manzi-Joyant.²⁴ For Einstein the essay was an opportunity to voice his convictions regarding French and German attitudes towards art. Rouart was described as a typical French collector, who had taken up painting so as 'to gain knowledge of colour, brushwork, patina and valeurs'. Rouart's passion resembled a creative act, not blinkered by 'ideological views of art', which had made him an outsider independent of the art market's "dernier cri".²⁵ In his plaudit for the fanatical collector, Einstein argued that the collection should have been shown in every German city as an antidote to leanings that understood French art by 'epochs' rather than in its entirety, and to put an end to the lack of vision that was inclined to divide art by epoch. Impressionism, he maintained, had been used as a 'means of combat' in the same way as nowadays Poussin was 'mistreated' as a way of countering Impressionism, but dazzled by the 'fame of the Impressionists', Poussin, Chardin and Fragonard had in fact been forgotten.²⁶ Einstein's preference for eclectic choices might be gleaned from his own collection of ethnographic objects acquired in the years preceding the publication of his second book on African art in 1921.²⁷

It is not known why his role as acting agent for the Cassirer gallery came to an end soon after it began. One reason may be his somewhat provocative style of writing in which, for example, his venom was directed against those he judged to indulge in the heedless 'primitivism hubbub' of the day, while he increasingly favoured just a handful of artists, in particular those of the Kahnweiler gallery. A fixation with Picasso's Cubism and non-western culture would have meant an irreconcilable clash between his and Cassirer's interests. While Einstein would continue to publish with the Cassirers, by October 1913 he had become the editor for the arts of the Berlin branch of the Vienna fortnightly journal *Der Merker*.

Tracing Negro sculpture in Berlin

The first tangible proof of an engagement with a project concerning African sculpture is a letter to the eminent archaeologist and ethnographer, Felix von Luschan. Born in 1854, von Luschan was appointed assistant to Adolf Bastian, the first director of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (now the Ethnological Museum), in 1885, gaining the post of director of the African and Oceanic department in 1904. The recently acquired German colonies in Africa and the Pacific made this a particularly important position. Following Bastian's recommendations, von Luschan worked tirelessly to encourage regional colonial administrators to collect ethnographic material systematically for study at the museum.²⁸ During a visit to England in 1897, he learned about the sale of a large

cache of African ethnographic objects at the auction house of Hale & Son in London. The collection consisted of the spoils of the recent British incursion into the ancient city of Benin (Nigeria), which had resulted in the destruction of the ruler's palace and the plundering of countless artifacts, many of them bronze casts and ivory carvings, several dating back to the fifteenth century. Luschan succeeded in securing a large part of this collection for the Berlin Museum, and over the next decade or so he established himself as the 'founding father of Benin research' by meticulously recording these objects in a vast indexing system that formed the basis for his monumental work, *Die Altertümer von Benin*.²⁹ He declared the Benin bronzes as being wholly indigenous to the culture, representing a body of work of 'great and monumental native African art', which he regarded as equal to European art. He maintained that his research proved that Benin art was the result of a school of artist-makers that had lasted over several generations from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, with some probably older. He claimed that 'Benvenuto Cellini could not have cast them any better and neither anybody before, nor after or today', because 'just technically, these bronzes are of the highest achievable order. The nature of the almost unpredictable difficulties of this [lost wax] technique have been known since Cellini's conversations with the Duke [Cosimo de Medici]'.³⁰

We do not know the specific course of events that led to Einstein's 'conversion' in recognizing the significance of African sculpture, but there can be little doubt that it occurred between 1912 and August 1913, and that it involved his knowledge of Picasso's works and his acquaintance with Joseph Brummer. Whereas some of Luschan's theories of Benin art have since been disputed (by Eckart von Sydow and William Fagg) it is not surprising that in 1913 Einstein sought his advice, since Luschan had been publishing and lecturing on the subject of sub-Saharan African culture for some years.³¹ Einstein's letter, post-marked 18 August 1913, urged:

You may be aware that some of our leading artists have drawn attention to the great achievements of "primitive" peoples, and without doubt, this has profoundly influenced current [artistic] production. In order to raise and promote interest in the great artistic value of Negro sculpture [and] Mexican works I would like particularly to engage with the plastic arts and publish some of the wondrous things in the possession of the Völkerkundemuseum in *Der Merker*, which now will also appear here in Berlin [...]. One could prompt the modern collector to include primitive art in his collection just as nearly any Parisian amateur is already doing. My plan is an issue of *Der Merker* on primitive art and I would be grateful for your kind and invaluable assistance. Doubtlessly there are existing clichés [electrotypes] etc., which perhaps could be used.³²

Despite his eccentric diction and orthography Einstein was clearly intent on convincing von Luschan of the worth of his plans, not by attempting to claim

ethnographic expertise, but rather by relating his intimate knowledge of current tendencies in the visual arts to his correspondent, who – although he had shown an interest in contemporary art in the past³³ – was probably not aware of the latest developments. By 1912, if not before, Einstein must have witnessed the artists' enthusiasm for non-western sculpture at close-hand in Kahnweiler's gallery and aware of the 'strange wooden grimaces' of a 'superb selection of African and Polynesian sculptures' that had been reported by André Salmon as inhabiting Picasso's studio back in 1911.³⁴

Two essays that explicitly engaged with the subject of modernist art and African sculpture had appeared in Paris during late 1911 and early 1912, which might have prompted Einstein's comments to von Luschan in the following summer. Written by André Warnod (1885-1960), an associate of Brummer and Apollinaire, the article announced that 'art nègre' was on the verge of being discovered, 'maybe even before the end of the year' and that 'perhaps future generations will consider a work of art from the Sudan an indisputable masterpiece, somewhat as the *Venus of Milo*, the *Victory of Samothrace* or the *Mona Lisa* are for us'.³⁵ Urging his readers to acknowledge the exceptional character and the refined aesthetic sensibility of African sculpture, Warnod gave a detailed description of one such piece, a Fang reliquary head from Gabon that (though not reproduced) corresponded with one of the Fang sculptures that were to appear in *Negerplastik*.³⁶ He pointed out the relevance of 'archaic Negro art' to those of the 'new Cubist and other movements' for whom this or similar works might constitute the 'classics of the future'. Exasperated by the conventionality of western art, Warnod welcomed the works' different artistic conception because their 'reality, originality, and power' provided relief from the 'usual vulgarity'. The essay closed with observations on those 'passionately fond of this art', who were by and large either collectors also fond of avant-garde art, or artists themselves with an 'advanced sense of design', who had by now made it 'next to impossible' to find genuine examples of this art.³⁷

Besides the rising taste for *art nègre* in Paris, Einstein's contacts with the editors of the *Blaue Reiter*, who subscribed to a more inclusive primitivism, might have convinced Luschan of his authority on current artistic trends. It is unlikely that the letter's irreverent remark on Parisian 'amateur' collectors would have referred to Joseph Brummer. By 1913 he had distinguished himself as a dealer in 'objets d'art antique et de haute curiosité', as a letter makes clear that offered a Sassanid solid silver bowl for sale to the British Museum (Fig. 8).³⁸ Together with further evidence relating to the Berlin Ethnological Museum that is outlined below, this implies that at this point Einstein's connection to the dealer was more than just a fleeting acquaintance. For Einstein to seek an ally for his African project in von

Luschan, the German authority on the subject (who in spite of widely held beliefs in the inferiority of all '*Naturvölker*'³⁹ defended the autonomy of Benin art) may have been a somewhat daring but also a logical step, even though the plans laid out would turn out rather differently.

There is no evidence of a reply to the Luschan-letter, or of Einstein's essay for *Der Merker*, but the very first of the ethnographic objects illustrated in *Negerplastik*, as well as a further six, have since been identified as belonging to the African collection in the Berlin Ethnological Museum (Fig. 9).⁴⁰ It confirms that von Luschan was supportive of Einstein's enterprise, either by supplying already existing photographs of the works (or even electrotypes, as Einstein's letter had suggested), or by facilitating access to the collection in order to arrange for a photographic record. In fact it is conceivable that such prestigious support led to a change of plan (from an essay for *Der Merker* to *Negerplastik*), since it might have facilitated access to material held by collectors/dealers who may not otherwise have been easily persuaded to offer assistance. So, it could be significant that the illustrated section of *Negerplastik* opens with a monolithic carving of a human figure from the Berlin Africa-collection whose archaic primitivism was intended to set the tone for the book's image section. However, before considering these aspects, it will be worthwhile to look at the specific cultural environment and events that contributed to the genesis of *Negerplastik*.

Chapter 7: *The contest of the salons and the persistence of vision*

During the latter part of 1913, Einstein was preparing the introduction to a sales catalogue for an exhibition at the newly installed *Neue Galerie* in Berlin.⁴¹ What this and the following two chapters outline is that during 1913, within weeks of his appeal for von Luschan's collaboration, Einstein was involved in organizing the first of two exhibitions, which displayed African sculpture alongside avant-garde painting. The exhibitions form an important contribution to the German history of early twentieth-century art and a crucial aspect of the genesis of Einstein's *Negerplastik*. In order to understand his role and the reasons why art historians have so far largely overlooked this momentous event, it is necessary to take into account the precise circumstances of the highly competitive environment of the Berlin market for contemporary art and the events that coincided with these two African exhibitions.

The galleries of Otto Feldmann

The proprietor of the *Neue Galerie*, Otto Feldmann, also owned the *Rheinischer Kunstsalon* in Cologne, an exhibition venue that started trading in 1912. So far, little evidence on the galleries and Feldmann has come to light, but some of his activities can be traced back to 1908, when he contributed watercolours and etchings to the eighth annual exhibition of the *Vereinigung Kölner Künstler*. During 1910 he appears to have been living in Paris and in November 1911 he exhibited at the same exhibition of the *Berliner Sezession* for which Einstein had written the catalogue introduction discussed above.⁴² Whether they met is uncertain, but during that year, Feldmann published an informed essay on nineteenth-century art.⁴³ In 1911, he produced a portrait sketch of Alfred Flechtheim, *Herr am Telefon (Flechtheim)* (1911, Cologne: Museum Ludwig), (Fig. 10). This loosely executed drawing of Flechtheim, son of a prosperous merchant family, betrays the kind of observant intimacy with the subject also detectable in the words of another of Flechtheim's associates:

Flechtheim was as much an original as were his looks. His provocative appearance fitted his aggravating leanings [...] impulsive and explosive,

snobbish and ambitious, quick-witted and humorous, always dependable and helpful, a true "frère et copain".⁴⁴

It is conceivable that Feldmann's acquaintance with Flechtheim, as well as with Einstein, may reach back to contacts that – as in the case of Flechtheim and Einstein – were made during time spent with the artists' colony congregating at the *Café du Dôme* in the first decade of the twentieth century. This is where Flechtheim also met Uhde and through him Kahnweiler, who were the main reason why French art, and especially Cubism, became his overriding passion. While evidence of Flechtheim's and Kahnweiler's pre-war relations remains as obscure as that of Einstein and Kahnweiler, the fact that Cubism became regarded by French critics as an entirely German affair must to a considerable degree be due to the relationships between the two dealers and others, like Heinrich Thannhauser, the critic Einstein – and for a brief interval even Feldmann.⁴⁵ Flechtheim's activities as a collector of modern art can be traced back to 1906, while in 1909, over fifty graphic works from his private collection were shown at the *Sonderbund* in Düsseldorf, fifteen of which were by French artists.⁴⁶ At this time he became secretary and treasurer of the *Sonderbund's* organizing committee, a role he occupied until its relocation to Cologne in 1912, when he was dismissed from his post.⁴⁷ A renewal of their acquaintance in Brussels in the last years of the First World War, when Flechtheim and Einstein met again at the home of the playwright Carl Sternheim and his wife Thea, led to a working relationship during the nineteen-twenties.⁴⁸

It was the dynamic atmosphere of the Rhineland art scene that fostered the formation of the *Sonderbund* and the exhibitions organized at the Cologne *Gereonsklub* by the artist Olga Oppenheimer and Wilhelm Worringer's sister, Emmy, which provided the incentive for Feldmann to embark on his own venture. In early 1912 he opened his gallery, the *Rheinischer Kunstsalon*, on Cologne's prestigious Hansaring. At the same time as contributing work to the *Cölner Sezession*, for which Alfred Hagelstange, director of the Cologne Wallraf-Richartz Museum and supporter of contemporary art, had offered rooms, Feldmann was preparing an audacious exhibition programme of avant-garde art for the first year of his new gallery.⁴⁹

From the records of the Kahnweiler archive, we know that for its first show in January 1912 the *Rheinischer Kunstsalon* received works by Braque, Derain, and Vlaminck for what was probably a display of German and French contemporary art. In February, Kahnweiler supplied the gallery with works by Braque, Derain, van Dongen, Picasso, Vlaminck, 'four etchings' by Picasso and one by Vlaminck. Coinciding with the *Sonderbund* exhibition in Cologne (May to September 1912), this steady supply was continued. In July Feldmann held a solo-

exhibition of August Macke's work, while in September more dispatches from Paris arrived. In October, the *Rheinischer Kunstsalon* held a group show of the Italian Futurists and in November, an exhibition of drawings and watercolours by Jules Pascin was on show.⁵⁰ What emerges from this leaves little doubt that whatever else Feldmann accumulated in terms of works for sale during this period, he clearly had the promotion of an international avant-garde in mind, with a particular focus on the Parisian artists of the Kahnweiler stable.

Apart from this regular supply of works during 1912, which continued into 1913, there appears to be no other evidence of an association between Otto Feldmann and Kahnweiler. But the Feldmann portrait-sketch suggests collaboration with Flechtheim, who in return for a commission provided business contacts with Kahnweiler, Uhde, and others in Paris (like Vollard, Père Sagot and Félix Fénéon), since similar arrangements existed with Cassirer. According to George Grosz, during his honeymoon in Paris in 1910 Flechtheim had spent 'the entire dowry' of his wife Betti on paintings: 'To the consternation of his in-laws he arrived back penniless', returning instead with 'a pile of incomprehensible Cubist paintings that were supposed to be not only beautiful but valuable'.⁵¹ In 1911 Flechtheim's contribution to the publication *Im Kampf um die Kunst*, in response to the Vinnen-affair, confirmed that he had acquired paintings from dealers in Paris 'for less than 400 Fr.'. And in an interview with Christian Zervos in 1927 he recalled how a visit to Wilhelm Uhde's 'sumptuous apartment', housing works by Braque, Picasso and Rousseau, and a visit to Kahnweiler's gallery in the rue Vignon that was 'full of masterpieces', had triggered his 'conversion to painting'.⁵²

With the support of Uhde, who saw him as a 'youthful defender of the new movement', and the Kahnweiler-gallery, Flechtheim organized the strong contingent of French artists represented at the 1911 Düsseldorf *Sonderbund*. Around the same time he was also involved with Cassirer in arranging the supply of French artists for the Spring-exhibition of the *Berliner Sezession* – as a friend and ally, Cassirer also provided financial backing for the gallery Flechtheim was hoping to set up.⁵³ It is conceivable that Flechtheim and Einstein met at the Cassirer-gallery, where after their initial acquaintance during earlier visits to Paris relations were re-fuelled by their mutual passion for the Cubism of Picasso and Braque. After the war Einstein would advise Flechtheim on his collection of Oceanic art, while collaborating with Flechtheim's gallery journal *Der Querschnitt* which, it might be argued, spear-headed some of the image-strategies that Einstein would introduce to *Documents* after he and Georges Bataille became the journal's editors in 1929. Due to Flechtheim's Paris connections and his leading position in the *Sonderbund*, he arranged for a delivery of sculptures by Manolo and works by Vlaminck, Derain, Braque and Picasso for its final and most celebrated showing in

Cologne in 1912. Of the sixteen Picassos shown, four belonged to Flechtheim's private collection. The *Sonderbund* ended in what has been described as the 'Picasso battle', with Flechtheim's break with the organization, and his friend Cassirer being elected to join the advisory board of the association's working committee.⁵⁴

It is likely that a reciprocal agreement existed between Feldmann and Flechtheim in which his links with Kahnweiler acted as an opportunity for the launch of the *Rheinischer Kunstsalon*, and a welcome chance for Flechtheim to test market conditions before launching his own gallery in December 1913. The Flechtheim gallery opened with a substantial exhibition of nineteenth- and twentieth-century art, including Matisse, and Picasso.⁵⁵ The opening coincided not only with the closing of Walden's *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*, and with Cassirer's *Herbstausstellung*, which the *Blaue Reiter* artists had been so keen to avoid in favour of *Der Sturm*, but also with the *Neue Galerie's* exhibition of Picasso's Cubist works shown alongside a collection of African sculpture. But before considering this event, the circumstances leading up to it deserve scrutiny.

The early success of the *Rheinischer Kunstsalon* probably convinced Feldmann to risk a swift business expansion and where better to do it than in the German capital itself, a city mushrooming with economic growth, an expanding culture, and an entertainment industry that simmered with scandal and avant-garde frisson! To those from afar, Berlin appeared to be:

Everything really. Berlin was infamous, corrupt, cosmopolitan, anonymous, gigantic, the place of the future, literary, political, artistic, (as the city for painters); in short - a bottomless pit and paradise all in one.⁵⁶

Similar expectations may have tempted Feldmann to locate his appropriately named *Neue Galerie* in Berlin. Situated in the Lennéstrasse in the smart Tiergarten district, the gallery opened in November 1913 with what appears to have been a substantial exhibition of avant-garde works, accompanied by a catalogue with the introduction by Carl Einstein. The show, however well planned it may have been, was eclipsed by a number of exhibitions that occurred at much the same time. Undoubtedly the most memorable was the sensational *Erster Deutsche Herbstsalon* which, named after the Paris *Salon d'Automne*, the forum for avant-garde art since 1903, diverted attention from all others with the result that the *Neue Galerie's* exhibitions have been largely ignored by art historical research.⁵⁷ But Feldmann's gallery was not the only venue that suffered from lack of journalistic coverage after the impact of *Der Sturm's* assaults on the press, clamouring for public attention. Judging by the small number of cursory responses, Feldmann's first tentative entry into Berlin's buoyant art market might easily be recognized as a venture that lacked

the necessary expertise to compete effectively. The reverberations of the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* were even more pronounced in the case of the *Herbstausstellung 1913* organized by Cassirer in the reputable quarters of the *Berliner Sezession*. Although unfortunate timing might have played a part, it was doubtlessly an opportunist and deliberate act instigated by the infamous *Sturm*-gallery and its collaborators.⁵⁷

Two autumn salons, the *Neue Galerie* and the *friends of Picasso* organized by Walden. Opening to the public hardly a month before the *Neue Galerie* and organized by Walden, the ambition and importance of the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* has since been equated to the *Armory Show* in New York (early 1913), and to the *Cologne Sonderbund* of the previous year. While the *Sonderbund* had ended in soured relations between the exhibition's working committee and the jury, which resulted in Flechtheim's dismissal and August Macke's resignation from the working committee, Walden swiftly staged a show of those artists' works that had been refused by the *Sonderbund*.⁵⁸ He and his new artist collaborators intended the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* to be a comprehensive survey of the new movement. Not only was it designed to give voice to its internationalist tendencies, while emphasizing the significant contribution of the German avant-garde, but it also subverted expected exhibition standards by subscribing to those of the *Blaue Reiter*.

Unlike the *Sonderbund* paying homage to the acknowledged predecessors of the current movement (Cézanne, Munch and Van Gogh), Walden's *Herbstsalon* celebrated the work of Henri Rousseau, the 'father of realism'. It was Kandinsky, who had used these words to describe Rousseau while reflecting on the expressive qualities of art as the duality between 'the great realism and the great abstraction', notions that because of Walden's deep respect for Kandinsky influenced his exhibition strategies.⁵⁹ Whereas Picasso had been given pride of place among the contemporary artists at the *Cologne Sonderbund*, the work of Robert and Sonia Delaunay formed the focal point of the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*. As Walden's closest collaborators in the event, the concepts of the *Blaue Reiter* dominated the show's overall aspirations in which the homage to Rousseau formed the 'realist' counterpoint to the 'abstract' experimentations of Kandinsky and the Orphism of Robert and Sonia Delaunay.⁶⁰ The show caused a huge storm in the regional and national press, prompting the critic, Fritz Stahl, to exclaim: 'Here all that is monstrous and grotesque that usually raises its ugly head only in isolation has been lumped together into an abominable and preposterous pile'.⁶¹ It was shrewdly amplified by Walden's sense of publicity. While the artists and their supporters (including Apollinaire) proclaimed the dawning of a 'new art' in *Der Sturm*,⁶² its

editor mounted a skillfully staged attack that ridiculed the 'philistine' critics of the establishment press by publishing their most irate comments on the exhibition.⁶²

While the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* has come to be viewed as one of the pivotal avant-garde events of the early twentieth century, it also marked the divisions that had been building up between artists, dealers and critics since the Vinnen affair. Now there were the 'renegade' artists, whose cause had found unwavering support in Walden's provocative *Sturm*-tactics, and there were those of the progressive art establishment like Cassirer, who, in spite of an equal commitment to the new art, were nonetheless reluctant to abandon professional codes of conduct. The animosities came to the fore with Meier-Gräfe's 1913 lecture 'Wohin treiben wir?' Regarded as a staunch defender of modern artistic tendencies until then, he now bewailed the decline of German cultural values and the motivations of those of the new movement who, despite acknowledging their talent, he called 'savages, at bottom more thoroughly academic than all the Anton von Werners put together'.⁶³

Relevant to our context is that the impact of Walden's publicity tactics left its mark not only on Einstein's and Feldmann's exhibitions at the *Neue Galerie*, but also on Cassirer's. The divisive fronts between Cassirer and Walden's alliance with the *Blaue Reiter* came more into focus during the months of hasty, clandestine preparations for the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*. The reason is that it was Cassirer who – before his resignation from the board of the *Berliner Sezession* and the split that led to the formation of the *Neue Sezession* in 1910 – had first conceived the plan to stage a Berlin exhibition along the lines of the Paris *Salon d'Automne*. The idea had been to 'create a gathering of all current artistic endeavours in order to provide a public venue for even the most recent and struggling talents'.⁶⁴ His long-standing association with galleries in Paris, the *Berliner Sezession*, and involvement with the *Sonderbund*, resulted in a renewal of such plans and Einstein's subsequent role as 'emissary' to win over the *Blaue Reiter* artists. However, there were two things that neither Cassirer nor Einstein seems to have been aware of; one was the seismic shift that had occurred as a consequence of the *Sonderbund's* refusal to admit a number of artists and the subsequent negotiations between Walden and the *Blaue Reiter* resulting in *Der Sturm's* string of exhibitions. The other was the fact that Cassirer's idea of a Berlin autumn salon had in the meantime been surreptitiously snatched by Walden. Plans to take over the idea were corroborated in a letter, written by Marc's wife, Maria:

Cassirer also appeared on the scene making all possible efforts to win over the *Blaue Reiter* for his *Herbstsalon*. Franz remained utterly cool; [...] there will be much more to correspond about between you and Franz. Did Cassirer contact you again in any way?⁶⁵

While the clandestine manoeuvre may explain the speed with which the artists and Walden organized the event, the suspicion had become an open secret by the time the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* opened to the public. One of the first to raise the issue was the editor of the prestigious *Kunst und Künstler* Karl Scheffler, who - as one of the more outspoken critics of the new art - made his opinion quite clear:

[I]ncidentally the plan for this *Herbstsalon* stems from the [Berliner] *Sezession*, it is the idea of the art-Napoleon from the Viktoriastraße. The collapse of the *Sezession* has given the nimble-footed Herwarth Walden the opportunity to step with his baby-feet into the big footprints of P.[aul] C.[assirer]. But he has shown himself incapable of the task. The best of the young are missing. It is no more than an enlarged "Sturm"- exhibition, uncritical, and with a clear preference for the abstruse and ridiculous.⁶⁶

The build-up of acrimony did indeed involve the question why Walden's otherwise so comprehensive *Herbstsalon* did not include 'the best', presumably, Picasso and Braque. At least since early 1913 plans and efforts had been made, as a letter by Macke to Walden, reiterating the antagonism between the two camps, noted with ironic glee:

In "Kunst und Künstler", director [Gustav] Pauli wrote so pityingly about Kandinsky and Picasso. So, this is how it stands. Here the hope of the century, Beckmann, Rösler, Brockhusen, Cassirer, Lehmbruck, Meier-Gräfe, Corinth, Pauli etc. - There the idiots, Kandinsky, Picasso, Marc, Kokoschka, Nolde, Delaunay, Heckel, Rousseau, Matisse, Walden, Däubler. Hurrah, I am going nuts!⁶⁷

Negotiations with the Kahnweiler gallery were conducted via Flechtheim, who Macke knew at least since their meeting at the Cologne *Gereonsklub* in 1911. Although at first evidently prepared to oblige, Flechtheim withdrew at the last minute. On 18 August, less than four weeks before the opening of the *Sturm*-show, when preparations must have been reaching their most critical stage, a letter from Macke to the *Sturm*-editor confirmed that:

Flechtheim just informed me that he is withdrawing from the agreement to supply the Picassos etc. [...]. But Cassirer must be behind all this. Maybe you could find a way to get the Picassos via Apollinaire. It is not necessary, but it would be good.⁶⁸

Flechtheim's decision was obviously an act of loyalty as much to his friend Kahnweiler, as to Cassirer. That Walden acted on Macke's advice is clear from his last-minute appeal that urged Apollinaire: 'Please let me know

immediately whether you can find me a number of new Picassos for the Herbstsalon. [...] Will you definitely come to Berlin?'⁶⁹ That he was not successful must have been a relief to Cassirer, who must have been more than put out by having once again been undermined by the upstart *Sturm*-editor, who had previously frustrated his efforts to win over the *Blaue Reiter*. Not only did the rapid sequence of events over the previous months preparations force Cassirer to rename his *Herbstsalon* much less appealingly as *Herbstausstellung 1913*, but opening within weeks after the headline-grabbing show of *Der Sturm*, the entire event appears to have suffered as much from underexposure as from a lack of true avant-garde contributors. Though impressive in the number of participants, the exhibition as a whole could hardly compete with Walden's international range. Reiterating the reasons behind Cassirer's unfortunate *Herbstausstellung 1913*, the critic, Curt Glaser, argued:

Since the split of the Sezession the younger artist community in Berlin is in a state of anarchy. Its king [Liebermann] grumbles and his great vizier [Cassirer] complains of stress from official duties. [...] Those 'protesters' have been busy and carried out the plan of the autumn salon. [...] The plan itself was excellent [...]. Had the programme been kept, the Sezession's split could have been avoided [...]. And the result is that [...] now there are compromises [...]. So, not much remains of "the latest young ones" the [Cassirer] programme promises.⁷⁰

Yet while the importance of Cassirer's trump cards, which were Edvard Munch's *Aula*-designs and the substantial survey of Picasso's work were recognized, critics nonetheless took issue. Recognized as the first serious attempt to show Picasso in Berlin after the 'disquiet' had subsided:

Now one considers the experiment of Cubism more calmly. Those who sensed a secret abyss now realize the harmlessness of this whole movement that now seems to have run its course. It is characteristic of the friends of Picasso, who organized this exhibition to try to justify the abstruse works of his later period with his earlier work, which dominates here. But the opposite is the case. [...] Essentially, there is no difference. Picasso is always the same tired eclectic [...]. These uniform sentimental early works are no closer to nature and experience than those large heads inspired by Negro sculpture or those Cubist works made after a theoretical formula. [...] Munch's wall paintings and Picasso's tired works are opposites like day and night.⁷¹

What in Glaser's estimation afforded the *Herbstausstellung* and young German artists like Max Beckmann and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, the 'right to exist' were Munch's designs for his *Aula* decorations.⁷² However, while this artist became regarded as the 'father figure' of the young generation's new, essentially Germanic artistic expression, the 'Spaniard Picasso' remained an issue:

It is interesting to take in this collection that spans from his very bourgeois beginnings to the latest Cubist epoch, and to see how one after the other, he progressed through phases of Cézanne, van Gogh and Toulouse-Lautrec, and how from a realistic, at times even forceful, experience of the real this has led to an art, which ultimately served expression alone. [...] Most importantly, what the exhibition demonstrates is that even with the last expression seeking paintings there is no link that leads to his Cubism, and that here is an inherently not very strong, let alone independent, talent that threatens to succumb to the weight of theory.⁷³

Yet, judged by the views of the opposing camp, Walden's wife Nell, the exhibition left an impression of mismanagement and, more importantly, she identified one of the 'friends of Picasso' Glaser's review had mentioned:

[T]omorrow Cassirer's Herbstausstellung will open. As usual, it all seems in a muddle, Beckmann, Baluschek, Oppenheimer, [...]. Now also instated here [in Berlin] is Feldmann. That he is Cassirer's straw man we already know. [T]he [...] exhibition is truly dire. Only Munch and Picasso, nothing else that is clever.⁷⁴

What this means is that beyond the known collaboration of Cassirer and Flechtheim in organizing the Picasso display at the *Herbstausstellung 1913*, now Feldmann was also seen as part of the 'plot' to thwart *Der Sturm's* attempts to include the artist in the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*. Herwarth and Nell Walden as much as Kandinsky and Münter, must have been aware of Feldmann's *Rheinischer Kunstsalon* since the *Blaue Reiter's* exhibition at the *Gereonsklub* in Cologne. Feldmann gave Macke an exhibition at the *Rheinischer Kunstsalon* in July 1912. During July 1913, both he and Feldmann showed work at the exhibition *Rheinische Expressionisten*, which Macke organized at the *Kunstsalon Cohen* in Bonn.⁷⁵

Though perceived by Nell Walden as 'clever', the Picasso showing at Cassirer's did not diminish the exhibition's overall lacklustre impression. But before attempting to reconstruct the circumstances of Einstein's and Feldmann's *Neue Galerie* exhibitions, it is worth taking note of how Cassirer's *Herbstausstellung* was received by Einstein. Even he, who out of loyalty to his mentor (and to Kahnweiler) appears to have boycotted the events at *Der Sturm*, had little positive to report. His tone was one of exasperation over the mediocrity of the works on display:

The new art; I understood this to mean the young artist's inner struggle, a persistent striving for human essentials. As the *Herbstausstellung* has taught me this is an error; inner turmoil is nowhere to be felt; the inner struggle has been projected outwards in a cowardly-comfy kind of way; instead of rewarding introspective discontent one battered those – in fact –

innocent bystanders and kicked down the doors of a picture-hanging club.⁷⁶

Einstein's critique indicates Cassirer's ability to admit to a degree of defeat, if only on behalf of the *Sezession's* jury committee, and a detachment willing to encourage debate over the tumultuous state of Berlin's *Kulturpolitik*. The new art had been persistently promoted by *Der Sturm* since 1912. Its representatives at this *Herbstausstellung* were mocked as 'precocious little professors', who received complacent critics 'from anno-donknow-when' smirking at every new 'minor struggle'. Noting the 'luke-warm fallen flat' works of nothing but 'circumscriptions of the will of others', Einstein ridiculed Karl Hofer, the 'impostor of the archaic', and the 'oily compositional schemata' of Adolf Erbslöh consisting of 'a relentless fanaticism, coarse and leftish, but brimming with daredevilishness. [...] One more of these exhibitions and it will rain professorships'.⁷⁷

One might suspect ulterior motives behind such contempt, taking into account Einstein's concurrent involvement with Feldmann's *Neue Galerie*, but his measured approach to Munch's designs for the Oslo University tells us differently. Here derision gave way to a factual consideration of the work that deliberated over the pros and cons of judging a body of work still in its preliminary stages. Because obstacles, like the difference in size between design and final work, were impossible to anticipate such studies might be 'purer and more complete' than the eventual outcome so that a final judgment seemed 'premature'. However, there were other qualms. The paintings were found to be 'almost reminiscent of Marées', though Einstein feared that the themes such as 'bathers, love and such like' representing the 'schematic poles of man's destiny' might ring rather hollow. However, one work, known as *The Sun* (1910-16, University of Oslo), was found to have 'a rare force'. Summing up, Einstein considered the focus on Munch's work to be 'too late for Berlin' doubting whether it could still be seen as setting a precedent for others.⁷⁸

A similar lack of decisiveness in the *Herbstausstellung's* strategies was also noted when it came to Einstein's favourite subject: 'Hesitantly searching for the past, the exhibitors risked the Pikasso room [sic]'. Yet his reaction to the work itself was categorically different from his journalistic colleagues:

What a contrast to the other youngsters; an endeavour prepared for all consequences and sacrifice. Show me the one young Berlin artist, who, at the height of his fame, and after achieving admirable, beautiful things, dares to engage with the largely un-comprehended Cubism, who would have sacrificed so much for something better, but far more difficult and almost unobtainable. Our wall-paper-synthethists and little group-tamers stand shaking their heads in disbelief.⁷⁹

For Einstein, this artist possessed all the criteria necessary for ushering in a truly 'new art', who fulfilled all requirements for setting out the goals of a formative vision relevant to the age. Aware of his own single-mindedness, but unwavering, he continued with his praise, but also his fierce critique of the young German exhibitors that had their indiscriminate use of colour complementaries as much as their penchant for the 'primitive' and 'archaic' in the firing line. In contrast, Picasso was 'the only one who dared to cling to the essentials of empowering our vision'. Moreover the critic concluded:

I do not wish to analyze yet again the formal qualities of this artist, but just look at the path he has left behind [...]. This apparently unwavering, consistent will is never seduced by "beauty", never tempted by his genius for great composition. Neither do I wish to enter into hollow debates, whether Pikasso [sic] is great or not [...]. Rather one may first wish to clarify the ethical value of Pikasso's [sic] endeavours, the great discipline. It is embarrassing to have to note such matters; but confrontation with the frivolity of our new German stylists provokes such foregone conclusions. The puerile immaturity of most jumps out at the laughing viewer, a sad spectacle for those ready for defence. The new art does not consist of complementary colour-decorations [...] or the shored-up archaisms of a clique [...]. We were hoping for something other, a more forceful, more convincing stance, the organization of a compulsory complete vision.⁸⁰

With this insistence on Picasso as the authoritative model of a veritable 'new art', Einstein stands out as almost a lone voice among German art criticism regarding the reception of the Cubist Picasso circa 1912 or 1913.⁸¹ In the contest between the two most prominent of the 1913 Berlin salons, Einstein's forceful declaration of the significance of Picasso's 'new art', in contrast to that promoted by *Der Sturm*, must have subverted Walden's confident claims to the *Erster Deutsche Herbstsalon's* fully comprehensive survey that had to make do without the movement's most prominent representative; a move doubtlessly appreciated by Cassirer. However, what will become evident is that the stakes in Einstein's association with the German promoters of Picasso were further raised by the machinations of the contest of the salons in which for a brief moment, African sculpture would take centre-stage and so transform his career.

Chapter 8: The arrival of the 'patron saints' of art: exhibiting African and avant-garde art

The evidence assembled for this thesis suggests that the conceptualization of *Negerplastik* evolved out of Einstein's critical response to specific debates occurring in Berlin and Paris around 1913. Since Kant's philosophical system separated an autonomous aesthetic realm of human judgment from moral and utilitarian imperatives, a fundamental aspect of the discourse on artistic production involved the issue of the boundary of 'art'. For Alois Riegl around 1900 this involved tracking the transformation of artistic practice from Greco-Roman forms of naturalism to those of late Roman 'abstraction', which previously had been regarded as a period of deterioration.⁸² For Einstein between 1912 and 1914 this involved a cumulative understanding of the Cubist project (Picasso's in particular) and of the ethnographic object, which in *Negerplastik* would be the theoretical object in so far as it became the means to question the way in which western culture constructed meaning by drawing boundaries that impose and maintain difference. All this came more sharply into focus during Einstein's brief association with Feldmann and the first two exhibitions held at the *Neue Galerie*. Einstein's involvement in the inaugural exhibition and especially the second show marks the beginning of an increasingly systematic engagement with ethnography. But it also indicates a method first tested in his earliest Picasso discussion and used in his later writing on art, which as it were attempts to trace the essence of art in the absence of the object of art. Its purpose was to extract intrinsic structural and aesthetic parameters without engaging with any individual work so as to contemplate the nature of the work as a whole.⁸³

The first African exhibition at the Neue Galerie

The first show at Feldmann's Berlin gallery, running from October to November 1913, and the second throughout December were concurrent with both the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* and Cassirer's *Herbstausstellung*. In contrast to Walden's publicity-instinct, neither Cassirer, who had the authority to effect press

coverage, nor Feldmann, seem to have sponsored their exhibitions beyond the usual catalogue.⁸⁴ While this proved to be no problem for the high profile of the 'art Napoleon' of the *Herbstausstellung*, it was less fortunate for the *Neue Galerie*, a newcomer in the thriving Berlin art market, and just one more among the many up-and-coming 'salons'. While there is proof of Einstein's introductory texts for two of the *Neue Galerie's* exhibitions, it appears that only three of the catalogues of the seven exhibitions held between 1913 and 1914 have survived.⁸⁵

The first exhibition subscribed to the format of showing contemporary artists together with their 'masters', who here included Gustave Courbet, James Ensor, Vincent van Gogh, Auguste Renoir and Henri Toulouse-Lautrec. The avant-garde was represented by among others: Arp, Braque, Derain, Gris, Laurencin, Matisse, Picasso, and Rousseau. With an eye to Einstein's introduction, it is worth noting who of twenty-five or so participants was represented by the largest number of works: Pascin, Picasso, Matisse and Purrmann.⁸⁶ The Picasso works shown were identified as belonging to his pre-Cubist period, which the critic Karl Scheffler described as 'beautiful, somewhat academically restrained, early drawings'.⁸⁷

After the obligatory comments on Impressionism having outlived its relevance, Einstein took the opportunity to voice what he deemed to be the new art:

A committed art is obliged to transgress individual visual experiences and to penetrate the essential, forceful enough to transform and organize humans and things according to the countenance of truth; for the work is the painter's means of recreating man according to the veracity of his vision. Our art was met with objections; how artificial and construed it was, as we endeavoured to advance the work of art consistent with certain laws. The aesthetician does bestow the laws of art, whose posthumous realizations will never isolate the creative process; rather he draws up retrospective laws that are highly circuitous and mechanically deduced.⁸⁸

In contrast to his previous essays, here Einstein identifies with the artists, as if to stage a reproach to the widespread proffering of theories. Journals such as *Der Sturm* had, since its alliance with the *Blaue Reiter*, and particularly Walden's unreserved embrace of Kandinsky's theoretical writings, done much to contribute to speculations on the new art, advocating individual experience and the kind of primitivized appropriation for which Einstein found nothing but contempt.⁸⁹ In his view, such concepts did little to instigate a truly rigorous break with the past but were decorative and stylistic aberrations cloaked in dubious theory. In 1912, the art historian Hans Tietze acknowledged such tendencies, noting that 'the imitation of nature, the representation of reality is not the task of art [... and] that this kind of direction is blossoming at a moment in time in which also the aesthetic is more than ever before considering expression as a fundamental element of art'.⁹⁰ What

distinguished Einstein's understanding of art from that of the *Blaue Reiter* was what Kandinsky called 'inner necessity'. This was identified by a 'formal harmony based on the principle of expedient tangency of the human soul alone',⁹¹ while for Einstein a 'committed art' required the artist to conquer individual experience so as to attain the 'veracity of vision' and permanence of form necessary for art. As if to make a clear distinction between other claims for a new art Einstein stated:

This new art is more than just a modish reaction as some worried about the market might like to reason; it saves us from the confusion that equated art with technique. [...] These new painters, who are decried as unconscientious revolutionaries, are concerned with the elementary in their art, with the permanence of form whereby art only becomes possible.⁹²

Therefore, it is no surprise that one of the 'revolutionaries', having left behind superficial mechanisms of visualizing and the comforts of the *métier*, was Picasso, who had 'found the solution in Cubism'.⁹³ Furthermore:

One broke the habit of overly quick reprimands, when realizing how the eye gains clarity and consolidation in Cubism, and more so when the Cubist wanted to summon its ancestor, the Gothic. And even the slightest merit of the Cubist is good enough, for he preserved us from the tedium of bogus ornamental styles. Picasso's immutable achievement is: he revived the law that returned the objects to their most powerful plasticity, to permeate them with an irreducible spatial presence.

This then was the 'new art', and here, for the first time in Einstein's art critical writing African sculpture was introduced, presented as if it formed the apex within artistic tradition that Cubism had brought to light:

From here those of a historically inclined nature will gain an animated view of the highest of arts: the inexorable African sculpture, Egyptian statuary, the Gothic, the Baroque, formulas that, untouched by Renaissance platitudes, possess true spatial veracity.⁹⁴

It remained the only comment on African sculpture in what was probably was the first exhibition in Germany in which such objects were shown in conjunction with avant-garde works. Beyond this, the only artists Einstein referred to in fleeting, if complimentary, remarks were those he considered within the orbit of Picasso: Derain, 'the strong initiator, whose plastic clarity knew how to heighten the means of colour', and Matisse, whose 'colour and drawing coalesce in harmonic form'. The exhibition's German contingent was given no more than a sentence that cautiously acknowledged their art to be 'of a different kind; their eyes have become more resilient, they organize more strongly and give us hope for a new history of our art'.⁹⁵ No other artists were mentioned, not Arp, nor Braque,

Gris, or Kisling, all of whom Einstein was to celebrate after the war when some became close friends.⁹⁶

What must have been baffling to anyone visiting the *Neue Galerie* was that, despite Einstein's linking of the new art above all with Picasso and Cubism, it appears that no Cubist works were shown. Proof of this comes from the aforementioned Karl Scheffler. His wry but sympathetic account is worth quoting because, in contrast to Einstein's essay, it informs about some of the works shown and the *Neue Galerie's* position in the cultural milieu of Berlin's 1913 autumn season dominated by the 'salon' rivalries between Walden and Cassirer:

A "New Gallery" has opened in the Lennéstrasse. As far as it is possible to tell, it is different from Berlin's other exhibition venues in as much as it does not have the ambition to be a "salon". With this kind of enterprise, [...] attempts are being made to create centres of attention for certain groups of young artists and their latest works, efforts that have already proved successful in Paris and Munich. Bearing in mind the incessant monopolizing tendencies of the Berlin art market, ventures such as the *Neue Galerie* or *Das Graphische Kabinet* [I.B. Neumann] are indeed to be welcomed. The new venue opened with an interesting exhibition of works by younger German and French painters. Some talented, quickly executed paintings, water colours, drawings and etchings by [Rudolf] Grossmann were shown; a similarly diverse collection of tender and gracefully grotesque temerities by Jul.[es] Pascin, four robustly decorative still-lives by Pechstein, beautiful, somewhat academically restrained, early drawings by Picasso, an interesting, colourful still-life and some ingenious nude lithographs by Matisse, effective landscape compositions by Braque, and some paintings by Vlaminck that were full of a strongly alluring and painterly courageous art of transposition. Besides other works, the stimulating problematic of some paintings by Derain and Kisling attracted attention. Walter Bondys' cultivated French painting also held its ground. In a separate room examples of primitive Negro sculpture and fine East-Asian sculpture were shown to make one believe oneself to be in the presence of the patron saints of the newest in art.⁹⁷

Before continuing to examine further evidence regarding the *Neue Galerie's* first exhibition, it is worth taking note of a couple of the works that were reproduced to accompany Scheffler's review. The first is a painting by Max Pechstein, one of those acknowledged as 'robustly decorative' still-lives' (Fig. 11). The work shows no direct Cubist references, but its compositional devices of interlinking perspectives, as much as the passage-like brushwork, do bring Cézanne's work to mind.

The second work is the Picasso drawing Scheffler described as 'academically restrained' (Fig. 12). The image shows the front view of a nude, arms folded behind her back, her face turned toward, and a distant gaze fixed beyond, the viewer. The reductive handling of the body's outline accentuates the tonal harmonies of her facial features and torso. The classical conventions

governing the proportions of head, torso and limbs have been subtly compressed. The body form is denoted by an inflection of line, which, to speak in Einstein's words, 'begins, rises and ends, each point of which is significant to the entire composition [...] creating light and volume at the same time as providing meaning to all parts of the whole'. As stated in 1911, the 'complete formation of all aspects of the picture plane' was in his terms the most 'important means of all monumental art'.⁹⁸ That Picasso consciously transgressed the classical ideal as a way to assert individual artistic practice is clear from his remark: 'Academic training is a sham. [...] Art is not the application of a canon of beauty but what the instinct and the brain can conceive beyond any canon'.⁹⁹ No doubt, this departure from (western) ideal form was – together with notions of the symbolic power of form – one of the attractions that African sculpture held for Picasso – notions that Einstein would contemplate in *Negerplastik*.

Similar reflections may have triggered Scheffler's closing remark on the 'patron saints'. It is unlikely he would have refrained from commenting on any Cubist work had it been on display. As Glaser's review of Cassirer's *Herbstausstellung* had made obvious, the influence of 'Negro sculpture' on Picasso's Cubism was widely accepted by 1913. In his report on the other new 'salons' Cubism was not mentioned once; the *Neue Galerie* was seen as a cut above other venues, though Glaser regretted that the display of Dômier-artists seemed not in keeping with the gallery's stylish interior. An entire wall dedicated to Picasso gave the impression he was the elected 'house-idol', which as he hoped was a little late, since the fracas surrounding this 'fine, though weak, artist' would soon abate. Even among the display of 'master names' meant to provide the credentials, the critic found little of interest besides the names. However, in summing up, he noted that the attempt to show antique and exotic sculpture was 'extraordinary'.¹⁰⁰

The impact of 'Negro sculpture' on the avant-garde is further corroborated in a review by the critic Hans Friedeberger, who (without naming Einstein) pointed out that according to the catalogue preface to what he called 'another salon', the *Neue Galerie* intended exclusively to serve the latest art. Yet upon viewing the exhibition, which honoured Courbet and the 'great' Impressionists, he found it to be more conciliatory and eclectic than expected. Even so, he observed that the greater part of the show belonged to the most recent artists, whose works were sited next to what had inspired them, which here was noted as: 'Hellenistic, East Asian, [and] Negro sculptures'.¹⁰¹ Like Scheffler, by far the best piece among the Picasso works was seen to be the 'extraordinary' life drawing (Fig. 12). Even though the artist's 'talent for simplification' was noted, Friedeberger maintained his position when reviewing the Picasso collection shown at the *Herbstausstellung* by arguing

that here too the work proved there was ‘no conduit that leads from his earlier work to his Cubism’.¹⁰²

This, as much as Scheffler’s review, raises two aspects to be considered. The first relates to Einstein’s introductory text that, as Friedeberger noted, was at odds with the actual exhibits. One explanation would be that circumstances may have led Einstein to write the piece before final decisions over the line up of works were firmly settled. Even so, what marked the text was that it did away with conventions of discussing individual works, normally regarded as the staple of art criticism. Instead it extolled Picasso’s Cubist practice in spite of the fact that not a single Cubist work seems to have been on show. As such it is symptomatic of what has been called Einstein’s pursuit of the essence of art in the absence of the object of art. Besides being a means of setting out paradigms fundamental to the nature of the work of art, this approach was informed by his contempt for the idealistic literary style, which had bogged down art journalism since the late nineteenth century. It is best illustrated by the assault on such prominent critics as Fritz Stahl, or on Julius Meier-Gräfe’s essay, ‘Unsere Kunst nach dem Kriege’ which, for Einstein, epitomized this style and the profession’s shortfalls:

Mr Meier-Gräfe will always remain the undisciplined journalist, even if he wrote on Giotto or all of Byzantine art; in his old bombastic, nattering voluminousness, he remains caught up in peripheral sensation [...]. Meier-Gräfe’s vision runs as quickly as ink, is short of breath, even if with a succinct phrase such as “when art ought to be mankind’s pictorial edifice (your wailing wall)” he, in a head-masterly somersault, rolls out a shoddy commonplace that is fit for the finishing-school daughters of a tamed West[ern world]. And what, Mr Meier-Gräfe, does your “pictorial” consist of? Precision, please, confess. It is a long [and] distant way from [Rudolf] Grossmann to Greco.¹⁰³

However bewildering the stance of Einstein’s introduction appeared to critics reviewing the *Neue Galerie’s* exhibition, it might have been prompted by a resolve to highlight the limitations of current views on the new artistic tendencies such as those promoted by *Der Sturm*, but especially those concerned with the reception of Cubism in Germany which seemed mired in indignant miscomprehension, as the above critiques have made clear. It issued a challenge to those of his German contemporaries, who may have been able to comprehend the merits of the ‘early’ Picasso shown at Cassirer’s *Herbstausstellung*, but were loathe to accept change.

The second aspect concerns the collection of sculptural works displayed at the *Neue Galerie’s* first exhibition, which in keeping with Friedeberger’s review appears to have included ancient Greek sculpture besides that from Africa and East Asia. At the present, no precise documentation of this material has come to light,

but there are indications that Einstein's old associate during his days at the *Café du Dôme*, Joseph Brummer, was responsible for the supply of these 'patron saints' of art. In November 1913, at the same time as the first exhibition at the *Neue Galerie*, the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde received a letter that called attention to 'the collections of the Parisian antiquary Brummer', who was 'at this point in time here [in Berlin]'. Moreover, some months before, the Museum's East Asia department received a letter containing 'three photographs' of objects offered for sale by a Mr 'Otto Feldmann, Cologne', an offer that was refused.¹⁰⁴ With Einstein's letter to von Luschan, this appears to confirm that the initiative for juxtaposing avant-garde works with African sculpture and other non-western and archaic objects at the *Neue Galerie* was orchestrated by Einstein, Brummer and Feldmann. In this context Einstein's catalogue preface, as much as the gallery's first and second exhibition, all functioned as part of a strategy that might be described as a 'lesson', which was initiated by Kahnweiler, who in alliance with Einstein, Cassirer and others devised a series of events outlined below that aimed to raise the real issues of Cubist practice.

Chapter 9: A 'lesson' in Cubism – Picasso and the convergence of art and ethnography

It is somewhat puzzling that in his catalogue text Einstein did not take an opportunity to make more of the extraordinary events that he, Brummer and Feldmann were engaged in at the *Neue Galerie* during the closing months of 1913. One likely explanation is that decisions concerning the artists' works and exhibits of non-western sculpture were made at the last moment, after the catalogue actually had gone to print. It is conceivable that the inclusion of ethnographic objects was a result of the positive reaction from von Luschan, on the strength of which Einstein had been able to secure Kahnweiler's consent and the cooperation of Brummer. He might already have begun to acquire works for his own collection. At the time of the publication of his second book *Afrikanische Plastik* (1921), which Einstein described as his 'second volume', he owned a small collection of African sculpture, seven pieces of which were reproduced in this volume.¹⁰⁵ The decision to include ancient Greek and East Asian sculpture in the first exhibition was probably Brummer's and involved his brother Ernest. It was he who took over the Paris gallery in 1917 after Joseph Brummer opened for business in New York, and he who became the specialist in purchasing art objects during travels throughout Europe and Asia, and on whom Joseph relied to supply the rarities desired by his American clients.¹⁰⁶ There is good reason to believe that such collaborative exchanges were in place even before the First World War, thereby influencing the displays at the *Neue Galerie*. Furthermore, the archaic qualities of the African 'fetishes' would have more easily stood the test of a scrutinizing public in the company of pre-Hellenist and ancient Asian art.

Preparing the 'lesson'

In the interlude between his first and last introductory text to the gallery's exhibition catalogues, Einstein's collaboration with Otto Feldmann took another intriguing turn. As had been the case for Feldmann's Cologne gallery throughout 1912, the supply of works from Kahnweiler also extended to the *Neue Galerie*. In time for its first exhibition in October 1913, works by Braque, Derain, van Dongen, Gris, Manolo, Vlaminck, and Picasso were received to supplement the show discussed above. In December, fifty works by André Derain arrived destined for a solo-exhibition in January 1914.¹⁰⁷ These arrangements were also honoured for the

most significant show of Feldmann's short-lived, though impressive exhibition portfolio. This was the survey of Picasso's Cubist work in December 1913, which was shown alongside a collection of African sculpture. Here the question is how much Kahnweiler was involved in the plans for such a juxtaposition. However before trying to answer this, or discussing the exhibition and what may have been on show, it will be necessary to explore the circumstances that led up to this, for Einstein, so decisive event in his career.

Part of the answer lies as much in the nature of Kahnweiler's inimitable promotion of his artists as in the efficacy of the network of dealers, who in the years before the First World War were eager to take advantage of rising economic prosperity and international exchanges that fostered market opportunities for contemporary art. While many went to considerable lengths to stay in the running for the latest artistic tendencies, Kahnweiler, who from the very beginning of his career eschewed any kind of publicity, kept to his conviction that quality work will eventually sell itself – in his words, 'success that comes too quickly is a bad sign'.¹⁰⁸ Yet such restraint, which seemed to contradict the standard tasks of a dealer, succeeded in augmenting the aura of exclusivity around Picasso and his role as the harbinger of the 'secrets' of Cubism, initiated by the poetic adulations of Apollinaire in his early reviews of the artist.¹⁰⁹

Rather than holding exhibitions at his rue Vignon gallery, Kahnweiler kept to a strategy of informal access for those interested enough to seek out the gallery to inspect the latest works of those he represented. Instead of Paris, the work tended to be shown in exhibitions throughout Europe. These gained momentum during 1912 and 1913 with events such as the *Sonderbund*, the *Armory Show* and less internationally prominent venues such as the twenty-fourth *Berliner Sezession*, the second Post-Impressionist exhibition at the *Grafton Gallery* in London, and Feldmann's *Rheinischer Kunstsalon*. The result was a steady exposure of Picasso's work in Germany and elsewhere without compromising Kahnweiler's aversion to overt publicity.

In April 1912 however, he did consent to a rare interview during which he denied that any of his artists were Cubists. The conversation between the 'initiated' dealer and the 'uninitiated' interviewer functioned as a guide to the 'reading' of Cubist works, a term Kahnweiler repeatedly used in his writings on the subject. While he admits to the difficulties of deciphering the kind of 'painting of the day after tomorrow', unless like him one had the opportunity to witness its genesis, the critic (and the reader) is introduced to the principles of Cubist art. By way of what Kahnweiler called the 'necessary documentation', which consisted of the photographic albums he prepared for each one of his artists in which all work was meticulously recorded in chronological order, he was able to elucidate the

processes of what he saw as a new visual language.¹¹⁰ A similar approach characterized his book *Der Weg zum Kubismus*, conceived and written in its earlier version during his war-exile in Switzerland, in which he analyzed the artistic innovation and significance of this new visual language.¹¹¹

Kahnweiler was probably the first art dealer to establish a systematic photographic record of all of his artists' work. This provided him with the data needed to negotiate with galleries and prospective buyers. The contract with, for example, Picasso actually stipulated copyright over all his works, which gave Kahnweiler complete control of where, when and in which context the works were published. For Picasso, Braque and others of his stable the records were an invaluable tool to their respective artistic practices, while Einstein benefited from photographic material obtained from his dealer-friend on many occasions such as in the illustrative part of *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* or in his contributions to *Documents*.¹¹²

Coupled with Einstein's rather opportune commitment to Picasso's work beginning in 1912, the artist's exposure during 1913 might be construed as a well orchestrated manoeuvre brokered by Kahnweiler and a number of committed players including Einstein, Feldmann, Cassirer and Flechtheim convinced that it might be time to test the reception of Picasso's recent work. It may have been prompted by the growing debate on Cubism that reached its apogee with the appearance of Gleizes' and Metzinger's *Du 'Cubisme'* in October 1912 and Apollinaire's *Les peintres cubistes* in March 1913.¹¹³ Yet more likely is that Kahnweiler's resolution to step up activity was driven as much by his and his artists' relationship of mutual trust and support as by the conviction of Cubism's inevitable success, precisely timed when artistic experimentation had entered a new stage, as Einstein's first analysis of Picasso's work had implied.¹¹⁴

Picasso at the Moderne Galerie (Thannhauser)

In February 1913 the *Moderne Galerie Thannhauser* became the first gallery to stage a large retrospective of Picasso's work, showing well over a hundred paintings, drawings and graphic works from the period 1901 to 1912, many of which were for sale, while others came from private collections. It was organized by the gallery's proprietor, Heinrich Thannhauser in collaboration with Kahnweiler, who had arranged for a last-minute dispatch of twenty-nine paintings and a number of etchings.¹¹⁵ Also involved was Thannhauser's son Justin, who after studying art history in Berlin and Florence had become an apprentice art dealer in Paris in 1911, where he got acquainted with the Dôme-circle, Uhde, Kahnweiler, Picasso, Braque and Matisse.¹¹⁶ The introduction to the catalogue, which apparently showed reproductions of twelve of the works, is the best indicator

that the exhibition was intended as a major assault on preconceived opinion as were the events that followed:

It is widely believed that Picasso's work stands at the origin of the whole Expressionist, Cubist and Futurist movements. In fact, Picasso has nothing to do with any of these, except that he did provide the initial artistic impulse; nor does he want anything more to do with them [...]. So this is the first time that there has been an opportunity [...] to see works from every stage of his development thus far; and if any spectator who generally gives more than a superficial view leaves the gallery with the conviction that he has before him the work of a serious artistic will, a consistent artistic character and a whole man – then this exhibition will not have failed in its purpose.¹¹⁷

Regarded as a considerable organizational achievement by one of the reviews, the exhibition was acknowledged as comprising the first retrospective of the 'controversial Spaniard Pablo Picasso' but here too the antagonism against the artist's break with his past, his 'cultivated hypersensitive talent' and his 'sometimes masterly and beautiful intellectualism', categorically refused to accept the 'genius twaddle' of some of 'his fans'. The show was faulted for breaking into two parts, one showing 'the normal' Picasso, while 'the Cubist' other was little more than a 'crack-pot idea' shrouded in some 'mystical fog' that might appeal to some but not approved by this critic.¹¹⁸

Rather than reviewing the show as a whole, the prestigious *Kunst und Künstler* engaged with Picasso's early work, leaving aside any of the 'half-baked theories' of Cubism that had made the artist famous almost over night, which the essay argued demonstrated with 'alarming' clarity that nowadays it was not quality that decided fame but rather the degree of conspicuousness speculative minds knew how to exploit.¹¹⁹ What probably provoked these adverse reactions was that, while the exhibition was equally weighted between the favoured pre-1907 paintings and the later phases of work, the combination of proto-Cubist, or 'African', works together with the analytical and early synthetic Cubist pieces manifestly dominated the entire display.¹²⁰ Yet the scope of the exhibition appears to have been inspired by what could be seen as a 'lesson' in the making of Cubism, similar to the didactic method Kahnweiler had applied in his 1912 interview, when using the photographic examples to elucidate the process from earlier forms of representation towards Cubism.¹²¹

Having won the support of his German colleagues, Kahnweiler's championing of his avant-garde protégé suggests that the retrospective was part of a larger promotional strategy. The *Moderne Galerie Thannhauser* tends to be chiefly associated with the 'birth' of the *Blaue Reiter* and the sponsorship of the German early twentieth-century avant-garde, but its business philosophy was in

fact founded on a more reliable exhibition portfolio large enough to include artistic directions ranging from French Impressionism, Hans von Marées, and Max Liebermann to Max Oppenheimer, Paul Klee and the Italian Futurists. In this Thannhauser's association with Cassirer played a central role that went back to 1908, when he and his then business partner, Franz Josef Brakl, took on the first German retrospective of close to a hundred works by van Gogh (from the collection of Theo van Gogh), which Cassirer had organized with the Bernheim-Jeune gallery in Paris. The partnership was further strengthened when, as part of French-German collaboration between Bernheim-Jeune, Durand-Ruel and Cassirer, the *Moderne Galerie* also presented the renowned Auguste Pellerin collection of French masterpieces in 1910.¹²² A similar arrangement between Kahnweiler, Thannhauser and Cassirer, appears to have been agreed for 1913 in order to promote Picasso's work across Germany, and as the correspondence between Macke and Walden made clear, Flechtheim, Feldmann, and Einstein were part of the 'plot'. This is confirmed by Kahnweiler, who would later recall:

The first Picasso exhibition in Germany was my work, actually, at the Thannhauser gallery [...]. I had already organized dozens of exhibitions before World War I; in addition, I had correspondents to whom I would give a certain number of paintings on consignment [...] For many years [...] I was in touch with Alfred Flechtheim. [...] He was an excessively active man, and I used to provide him with paintings'.¹²³

Picasso at Cassirer's Herbstausstellung

What operated as the second stage of Kahnweiler's 'lesson', then, was the collection shown at Cassirer's *Herbstausstellung*, which appears to have centred on Picasso's early work – probably to accommodate Cassirer's more conservative clientele and so to soften the impact of Cubism. This was noted by Karl Scheffler, who, while criticizing the state of the new art for being an essentially anonymous movement that was adverse and confusing to individual artistic talent, found the display of Picasso's early paintings of such refined quality that it was declared much the best of the entire *Herbstausstellung*.¹²⁴ Yet, praising the artist as 'a melancholy talent, a [Henri] Fantin-Latour of the Post-Impressionist movement', here too the problem of Cubism appeared to hold sway:

What then has this stylistic aberration made of this noble epigone! The puppet of a tendency that has nothing at all to do with art [...], but in this case, one is left with the impression that this kind of exhibition fury and premiere fever is a symptom of our time that whips up the talented to ever-new conceits of originality.¹²⁵

To the extent that the debate surrounding the reception of Cubism and its association with theory, geometry and scientific ideas had spread like a slow burning fuse among artists, dealers and friends,¹²⁶ the indignation of Scheffler and other critics was as symptomatic as the 'salon' fever that gripped the international art market before the First World War. In Kahnweiler's view, this enmity had reached its peak with Gleizes' and Metzinger's *Du "Cubisme"*, with adversaries 'tilting against the windmills being the minor cubists', while the 'great ones' (Picasso and Braque) had remained 'invisible' (in Paris).¹²⁷ Having signed exclusive contracts with Picasso, Braque and Gris in 1912 and 1913, Kahnweiler continued to favour international exhibition venues and contacts with collectors like Flechtheim in Germany, Sergei I. Shchukin in Moscow and Vincenz Kramar in Prague.¹²⁸ What the swift succession of Picasso-exhibitions, from the Thannhauser-retrospective to the *Herbstausstellung's* collection, and the display of at the *Neue Galerie* does suggest, was a strategy that sought to substantiate, as Kahnweiler said later, that 'there was no theory', but rather:

[P]ainting was in continual transformation. Real painting expresses something essential about the time, but times change, and consequently painting changes too [...], what I shall always maintain is that after Cubism, painting will never be the same.¹²⁹

Along with a deep respect for the work of Picasso, Braque and Gris, this conviction was shared by both Kahnweiler and Einstein. Little wonder then, that Einstein was the one to take on the task of confronting the onslaught of critical opposition at exactly this point in time.

Picasso, Cubism and African art at the Neue Galerie

Not much is known about the *Neue Galerie's* second exhibition, except that it opened in early December 1913 and consisted of some sixty-six Picasso works from between 1907 to 1912, shown alongside a collection of some twenty African sculptures. As noted in the article that first drew attention to Einstein's two introductory texts, the exhibition marked a 'highly important and so far unexplored' event that in its 'effects may have implications beyond Einstein scholarship'.¹³⁰ Art historians have identified Picasso's African proto-Cubist work with the conceptual break between European mimetic tradition and the foundation of early twentieth-century modernism in which the artist's encounter with non-western sculpture occupies a pivotal role.¹³¹ The significance of the exhibition for Einstein scholarship and the primitivism discourse might justify enquiry beyond the evidence presented here and any supposition of what precisely may have constituted the 'lesson' in Cubism. But Kahnweiler's friendship with Einstein, the

concurrence of the critic's first discussions of Picasso and Cubism, the evidence of his letter to Felix von Luschan (coupled with Brummer's and Feldmann's contacts with the Berlin Ethnological Museum), point to Einstein's involvement with the *Neue Galerie's* 'African' exhibitions in 1913. The most convincing aspect of these circumstances must be that within little more than a year from the opening of the exhibitions *Negerplastik* was concluded and published.¹³² However brief or disapproving, some reviews allow speculation on what was on show at Feldmann's gallery. Others appear to support certain aspects of Kahnweiler's strategy and cooperation with his German colleagues that could be close to the sequence of events outlined here. One such review acknowledged that the Picasso exhibits at the *Neue Galerie* 'in conjunction with those shown at the *Herbstausstellung* provide a complete survey of Picasso's production'.¹³³ It implies that what had been on show in Munich was now divided between Cassirer and 'his straw man', as Nell Walden had described Feldmann. But unconvinced by the intrinsic merits of the work, the review noted a lack of strength, autonomy and a 'Cubist interpretation of reality' that did little towards a consolidation and invigoration of perception. However, reminding readers of earlier observations on the 'inner resemblance' between this new art and that of the Nazarenes, the author concluded with a condemnation of the juxtaposition of Picasso works with examples of African sculpture:

The entire theoretical and literary origin of this artistic exercise becomes even more pronounced by the show's combination with a "select collection of antique Negro sculpture" [...]. And with regard to Negro sculpture, one should not forget that, beyond all the well-founded interest, it is a fallacy to proclaim something as a great work of art simply because it happens to possess some of the qualities one also expects to find in any great art'.¹³⁴

Whether the "antique Negro sculpture" is a sarcastic citation originating from the exhibition catalogue remains unclear, but what is clear is that this and other reviews of African displays bring into focus some of the complexities that marked the avant-garde's discourse on primitivism, and on German colonialism. The era of the Wilhelmine empire, ending with its defeat and dissolution in 1918, was as dependent on expanding international exchange in all spheres whether political, cultural or economical as it was on competitive scholarly, scientific and technological advancement. To a significant degree, this was driven by the opportunities and prestige offered by colonial strategies, which in turn legitimised the ideology of colonial expansion.¹³⁵ But as Suzanne Marchand has pointed out in her analysis of the shifts marking German nineteenth- and early twentieth-century academic study, it would be a misrepresentation of German *Kulturpolitik* simply to

regard it as a structure imposed by elite imperialist manipulators, rather its multifaceted manifestations remained as unpredictable in intention as in practice.¹³⁶ The new prestige the social sciences acquired, along with various specialist branches of physical and cultural anthropology, was largely founded on the evolutionist theories of the natural sciences subscribing to notions of the colonizer's 'duty' to bring progress and the civilizing 'Kulturmission' to the 'backward' peoples of Africa and the Pacific. Within this context, a hierarchical taxonomy of humankind was reinforced by 'live' anthropological exhibits at events such as the Paris *Exposition Universelle* of 1900 or the popular *Völkerschauen* of Carl Hagenbeck, and widely publicized by the ever-increasing technology of press media.¹³⁷ This established the aesthetic frame imposed upon the so-called primitive that highlights the dichotomy between notions of the 'noble savage' and the 'childhood of man' on the one hand, and chauvinistic fears of the 'degenerate' on the other, so that descriptors of things African like 'grotesque' and 'barbaric'; 'grimacing idols' and 'fetishes' reverberated as much in articles in the conservative press as in the reviews of the avant-garde's sympathizers.¹³⁸

The adverse reaction to the *Neue Galerie*'s juxtaposition of African sculpture with Picasso's recent work, which for Kahnweiler heralded a new visual language, is just one of the symptoms of the ideological inconsistencies of German pre-war cultural politics. The exhibition prompted the prolific Scheffler once again to voice his views on the programmatic aspects of the new art and its 'patron saints'. This time however he launched a critique wittily cloaked in scholarly eloquence. Reminding his reader of the traditional role of art, he referred to Lessing's *Laokoon* (1766) and his advocacy of preserving the boundaries between painting and poetry:

At this moment, one may attend Lessing's 'Emilia Garlotti' at the *Deutsches Theater*. Indeed the artists of the latest observance ought to gather for the performance and loudly applaud at the point when [the actor playing] Conti exclaims, "art must paint as the plastic life of nature conceives the work" [...], because with regard to their latest endeavours these words have programmatic value.¹³⁹

On the one hand, this provided an opportunity to mock what he regarded as the aberrations of modern artistic endeavour:

When formulating this doctrine however, Lessing had quite different works in mind compared to our youngsters. Maybe it was the Laocoon [...], while nowadays artists think of Negro sculpture and Cubism. But that does not upset the doctrine. Only Lessing was adroit enough to gracefully mingle his apodictic words with subtle doubt: "Art must paint as the plastic life of nature – if there is such a thing – conceives the work."

On the other, it allowed Scheffler to single out Picasso's work, while at the same time pouring scorn on the 'patron saints' of art, an assault made more poignant by his conjuring the legendary antics of the figure of literary ridicule, Baron von Münchhausen:

Picasso does not speak in such fine ways [...]. He doubts just as little as the Negroes do when carving their old fetishes. In recent weeks, both Negro sculpture and Picasso's latest paintings were shown alongside each other at the *Neue Galerie*. With both there is little to start with, since there are only a few among the Negro sculptures [...] in which a truly formal instinct finds expression, while in Picasso's works formal vision is lacking altogether. In three or four [...] Negro sculptures, one may at least recognize some vision among these primitive carvers [...]. Sensing the concave to be concave and the convex to be convex, [...] and [...] [g]uided by strict convention towards a certain goal they created their vision of the plastic life of nature without the presence of a model. Picasso now wants to do the same, but between him and the Negroes there lies the whole of art history, where, locked into the studio with his models, he has to invent his own conventions, and where, like Münchhausen, he will have to pull himself out of the quagmire by his own pigtail. The effect being that by-and-by nothing is to be seen of the artist except for his pigtail and a pair of hands sticking out of this quagmire desperately straining to pull.¹⁴⁰

This was where the critique of the *Neue Galerie* concluded, yet if one followed Scheffler's review of Berlin galleries to the next paragraph in which he commented on the works shown at the gallery *Fritz Gurlitt* his mockery of Picasso took on a rather more ominous tone. Here among the 'examples of the mysterious fetish-like art of the modern drastic [artists]', he found the work of Henri Matisse, equally intent on fathoming the mysteries of Lessing's 'plastic life of nature'. However, unlike the escapologist contortions summoned to ridicule Picasso and 'primitive' African carvers, Matisse was attributed the kind of doubt Lessing had advocated since, 'after all he is not a rigid Spaniard but a lithe Frenchman'. This stance is perhaps attributable to mounting chauvinistic tendencies on the eve of the First World War that favoured 'scientific' taxonomies of national typologies popular since the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁴¹

What perturbed reviewers of the *Neue Galerie's* exhibition even more than Picasso's precocious talent eliciting a theory-laden incomprehensible Cubism was the presence of the African objects. No doubt the display coerced the viewer to consider as 'art' what until then were, at best, understood to be curious objects associated with the customs of people in need of 'Bildung', the kind of knowledge and culture a civilized person should possess, the kind of 'Kulturmission' which had instilled the zest for colonial expansion.¹⁴² Compared to other avant-garde events, Einstein's and Feldmann's display amounted to a complete departure from other strategies of presenting the new art. The *Blaue Reiter* had proclaimed its

spiritual allegiance to an eclectic mix of cultural artifacts that ranged from Bavarian and Russian folk art to Buddhist healing masks, German medieval sculpture and Benin bronze plaques. Herwarth Walden's *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* had adhered to similar manifestations of heterogeneous artistic practice by including the 'primitive' Rousseau, crafted objects by Sonia Delaunay and non-western works from the collections of Kandinsky and Marc.¹⁴³

In contrast, at the *Neue Galerie*, Picasso's new plastic vision was sanctioned by the tangible presence of the 'inexorable' African sculpture that had generated the conceptualization of artistic processes, from proto-Cubist beginnings to its hermetic and early synthetic phases, a 'lesson' that Einstein would describe in *Negerplastik*:

Several problems in more recent art have provoked a less superficial engagement with the art of African peoples; [...] one discovered that scarcely anywhere had certain spatial problems been addressed and a particular mode of artistic production been formed with such purity, as had the Negroes.¹⁴⁴

If the suppositions outlined above come close to the actual alliances formed by Kahnweiler in promoting Picasso's new work, it is likely that the idea for the *Neue Galerie's* showing of African works was hatched by Einstein and Brummer in conjunction with Feldmann. It must have been sanctioned by Kahnweiler, who after all had amassed a small but significant collection of African art by 1912.¹⁴⁵ As such, the exhibition functioned as the most audacious part of what has been suggested here, as a 'lesson' which set out to counter the misconceptions about Cubism and African art that Kahnweiler continued to challenge by insisting that it was not about the 'influence' of African art on Cubist painting but a 'convergence', which he explained:

European tradition and in particular the Cubists' discovery of Cézanne's fundamental intent lead us to grasp the artistic tendencies manifest in Picasso's "Demoiselles d'Avignon" (1907) and Braque's *Estaches* landscapes (1908). [...] It has not to do with the influence of Negro art on Cubism but as so often happens at the beginning of a rupture with extant tradition, confirmation of new tendencies one has committed to is found again elsewhere in time and space. The "Renaissance" rediscovery of Greco-Roman art and the Impressionists enthusiasm for Japanese art are other examples of this [...]. Such an art is in its essence a conceptual art.¹⁴⁶

To the extent that Scheffler's antagonism towards the *Neue Galerie's* second show was representative of the majority of opinions, it is surprising to find one lone voice that appeared to grasp what had led Einstein and his collaborators to embark on this venture. Acknowledging the organizers' plans to take on 'the task

of supporting the latest artistic tendencies', the review engaged in an insightful and detailed discussion of its first exhibition, before briefly commenting on the second:

The second exhibition of the only recently opened *Neue Galerie* presents a comprehensive survey of the art of Pablo Picasso, which for the first time in Berlin invites discussion on the problem of Cubism. Incorporated is a series of superb Negro sculptures. Since such primitive works have inspired Picasso in many ways, this interesting collection is perfectly suited.¹⁴⁷

Recognizing the difficulties concerning the wider reception of Cubist practice, as manifest in the reviews discussed above as it is in similar reactions that occurred in Paris at much the same time,¹⁴⁸ this was a rare appreciation of the conceptualization Einstein and his dealer-friends must have hoped would capture the gallery's prospective clientele.

Even so, some important questions remain, one being of what actually this comprehensive survey of the *Neue Galerie's* second exhibition comprised. It appears that it was made up of fifty-three paintings and thirteen drawings. On 14 November 1913, Kahnweiler's notebooks recorded a shipment of thirty-nine or forty pre-Cubist and Cubist Picasso works to the *Neue Galerie*, and its return on 23 June 1914.¹⁴⁹ The remainder consisted of unsold works dispatched from Munich to Berlin, some of which were shown at Cassirer's *Herbstausstellung* and others at Feldmann's gallery. In January 1914, the exhibition traveled to the *Galerie Emil Richter* in Dresden (the former gallery of the *Brücke*) and in February to the Vienna *Galerie Miethke*, after which it went to the *Moderne Galerie Zürich* and finally to the *Kunsthalle* in Basle. Within little more than twelve months Kahnweiler succeeded in instigating seven Picasso exhibitions in six of the major art centres in Western Europe. But it seems that only the *Neue Galerie* and the *Galerie Emil Richter* showed African sculpture.¹⁵⁰

As one of the most important dealers acting for Kahnweiler before World War I, Flechtheim was the pivotal figure here. If the assumption made earlier of a business cooperation between Feldmann and Flechtheim regarding the supply of works for the *Rheinischer Kunstsalon* is correct, some, if not all, of Flechtheim's collection listed for the Munich show would also account for part of the body of work shown at either Cassirer's *Herbstausstellung* or the *Neue Galerie*. What the listings of the Munich show make clear is the extent to which the artist was finding a market among German collectors, most of whom were associates of Wilhelm Uhde. They include Edwin Suermondt (1883-1923), Franz Kluxen (1888-1968), and Hugo Perls (1886-1977), a civil servant, art dealer, and cousin of the critic Curt Glaser, and the Princess Mechthilde Lichnowsky (1879-1958), a playwright and wife of the German ambassador in London – and although most of the acquisitions

made belonged to Picasso's early period, a shift toward his Cubist painting was noticeably gaining ground.¹⁵¹ But for Uhde, who had played a key role in Kahnweiler's acquaintance with Picasso by alerting him to the artist's 'strange' 'Assyrian'-looking picture (*Les Femmes d'Alger*, 1907), this was not his only involvement with the events explored here.¹⁵²

By examining acquisition and provenance data it has become possible to deduce the identities of some of the works shown at this exhibition, but many questions regarding the extent and precise selection of the *Neue Galerie's* 'comprehensive survey' remain. Even so, some suggestions are presented here, which with the interpretation of additional documentary material infer that Picasso's renowned canvas *Three Women* (1907-1908, The Hermitage Museum) may have been part of the *Neue Galerie* exhibition (Fig. 13 and Appendix II).¹⁵³ Whatever the actual works that were transferred from the Munich retrospective, and from Paris to Berlin – or the precise reasons why the exhibition has been largely overlooked – there can be little doubt that it was a momentous event that would impact as much on Einstein's career as on his thinking on art. For him, as he later wrote:

The meaning of Cubism: deformation of the experience of three-dimensional movement into two-dimensional form without an illusionistic mimicking of modulation or depth, while concepts of movement and the sum of mnemonic functions are present throughout. Instead of a conception of depth-movement as compressed time, there is now a side-by-side of two-dimensional forms that are ordered in such a way as to maintain the ground plane so that the different views of a body are recreated as a mnemonic dimension of the volumetric idea without an illusionistic piercing of the picture plane. [...]. What we emphasize is that the Cubist works' amplification of the optical function, this making conscious of the process of seeing, signifies an historical epoch that will transform vision.¹⁵⁴

But let us turn to another pertinent question: what may have made up the *Neue Galerie's* 'series of superb Negro sculptures' (as one reviewer had called them) that accompanied the Picasso works?

A 'series of superb Negro Sculptures'

While the deductions relating to Picasso's work are probably close to the exhibits shown, attempts to determine the precise range of the African display are more difficult. One reason is that even though a catalogue did exist – with an introduction by Wilhelm Uhde – no copy seems to have survived.¹⁵⁵ But the circumstances of the likely scenario surrounding the exhibition, make it conceivable that Brummer's collection of African works, many of which made up the image-section of *Negerplastik*, was also the main source here. With the aid of

recent scholarship that determined provenances for the works reproduced in Einstein's book, suggestions as to the material shown at the *Neue Galerie* are therefore worth considering here.¹⁵⁶

The same air of urgency that accompanied André Warnod's essays on *art nègre* also marked Einstein's letter to von Luschan, a rare piece of evidence that vouches for his fascination with African sculpture before *Negerplastik*. Warnod's *Comoedia* essays were illustrated with several images; one depicted Matisse's small bronze, *Reclining Nude I* (1907; The Museum of Modern Art), the second was a mortuary post figure by a Sakalava artist from Madagascar, then a French colony (Fig. 14). Warnod noted that one might discover certain common characteristics between the modern statuette and the antique primitive carving which was executed with an equal sense of line and observation that indicated the maker to be a true artist.¹⁵⁷ The third object was an anthropomorphic Baule helmet mask from the Ivory Coast (Fig. 15). The same reproductions of both the Baule mask and the Sakalava statue (though more closely cropped in Warnod's text) were to reappear in Einstein's *Negerplastik*, where the latter was given pride of place with four additional close-ups. Also included was a Fang reliquary head, which, Warnod had described (though not illustrated) in glowing terms (Fig. 16).¹⁵⁸ This suggests that as the owner of these, his most prized, objects, Brummer supplied the photographic material for both Warnod's essay and Einstein's *Negerplastik*, which makes probable the objects' display in Berlin. There is little doubt that the elemental form of the Sakalava figures, pitted by age, would have perfectly complemented Picasso's *Three Women* as a different kind of atavistic beauty (Fig. 13, Fig. 14, and Appendix II).

An article that must have caught Einstein's attention was a polemical piece by Apollinaire. Published a year before the exhibition at the *Neue Galerie* it charged the French Ministry of the Arts with neglecting the masterpieces by African and Oceanic artists, which it held at the Musée du Trocadéro in Paris.¹⁵⁹ This, he argued, stood in marked contrast to the few art lovers like Paul Guillaume who had begun to collect sculptures made by people still labeled 'savages'. While the French state considered such works as no more than 'crude fetishes, grotesque manifestations of ridiculous superstition', their worth had been recognized by other European nations. The *Trocadéro* on the other hand was forced to keep them behind closed doors 'except on Sundays', when 'only soldiers on leave and nursemaids' might stroll by, ignorant of the fact that some, like the 'the gem' of the Dahomé collection, were among the most graceful works of art to be found in Paris.¹⁶⁰ Noting that curators of German or English museums had 'generous budgets' at their disposal, Apollinaire accused the government of neglecting its

duty. Arguing that the Trocadéro did not even have a collection of such 'distinctive native art' as that of Madagascar, he warned:

Make no mistake [...]: African art is arousing more [...] interest with each passing day. Many a fetish from central Africa evidences an aesthetic not very different from that of the ancient Egyptians [...]. Fetishes that five or six years ago [...] could be had for a louis are today considered [worth] thousands of francs [...].¹⁶¹

An awareness of the rising aesthetic appeal of African sculpture to modern artists is evident in Apollinaire's writings long before this assault on those he saw responsible for ignoring opportunities to enrich French public collections. In 1908 he had been the first to suggest the Louvre ought to incorporate in its collection the exotic masterpieces he considered equal to western statuary, a proposal that with Felix Fénéon's notorious questionnaire, 'Enquête sur les arts lointains (Seront-ils admis au Louvre?)', gained momentum after the First World War, but did not become a reality until 2000.¹⁶² It might seem less surprising then that the air of urgency and passion – as evident in the Warnod-article as in the Luschan-letter – was acted upon by Einstein and the exhibitions he and his collaborator-friends mounted at the *Neue Galerie*.

When, during May of 1913, a collection of African sculpture was shown at the *Galleries Levesque* in Paris it did not go unnoticed in Berlin. In September 1913, an essay by Adolphe Basler, the Polish artist turned critic and soon-to-be author and dealer, was published in Pfempfert's (by then Einstein's brother-in-law) journal *Die Aktion*.¹⁶³ As early as 1906 Apollinaire had considered Basler to partake in a multi-volume publishing project he described as an 'Encyclopedia of Art', which was to contain monographs on artists of 'all periods and all countries'. Basler was invited to contribute to a volume on 'New Trends in Art', while Apollinaire planned to write on *L'art chez les sauvages*, the only part of the project that seems to have been realized – though not by Apollinaire but Basler.¹⁶⁴

Basler's essay, 'Aus dem Ideenreich der modernen Kunst' (From the empire of ideas on modern art), described Paris as the 'hallowed city' that like no other kept the love of art alive. There one could attend an auction of old master works, only to hurry on to a show of modern art, to make a pilgrimage to view Matisse before wandering to a gallery or collection to marvel at either Greco or Cézanne, or to enthuse about 'some primitive or Picasso'.¹⁶⁵ He assessed contemporary art by focusing on the 'primitive' Douanier Rousseau and discussing the latest tendencies in modern art, from the different manifestations of Cubism to Orphism and the Italian Futurists, before turning his attention to an exhibition of the collection of the Symbolist poet Charles Vignier held at the *Galleries Levesque*:

And again this was a year fertile in the revelations of art [...] in which the collection of Vignier beyond the best in Chinese sculpture also brought us Negro sculpture, for whose beauty until today only artists like Picasso, Derain, Vlaminck have revealed an understanding, and not least, the antique dealer Brummer who was the first to awaken this art. And there appear new artistic manifestations on the market that characterize this thirst for a vestal, for the modern man, so mysterious art that would hardly satisfy the parched enthusiasm of the school of a David, or their disciples in the academy and all other official decadents.¹⁶⁶

Purmann's memoirs tell us that Basler had been friendly with Einstein and Brummer since at least 1911, so that the essay's timely appearance just before the *Neue Galerie's* inaugural shows may have been a opportune attempt to alert the Berlin art world not to fall behind the latest craze taking shape in Paris. That the essay should coincide with Einstein's and Feldmann's last-minute preparations for the opening of the very first display of the avant-garde's African 'patron saints' seems more than a just a coincidence, only to be followed by the exhibition of Picasso, the 'apprentice-sorcerer', who had been 'seeking answers to his questions among the enchantments of Oceania and Africa'.¹⁶⁷ That Basler's remarks on the aesthetic value of non-western artifacts were voiced in *Die Aktion*, rather than any other of the avant-garde journals, poses the question of Einstein's involvement. The likelihood of collaboration becomes more compelling taking into account Brummer's presence in Berlin (corroborated by the evidence held at the Ethnological Museum) and Basler's joint publication with Ernest Brummer in 1928.¹⁶⁸ If as Paudrat suggested, Brummer was responsible for the supply of most of the photographic plates of the objects reproduced in *Negerplastik*, it is conceivable that some, if not all of the thirteen works so far identified and attributed to his collection, made up part of the African exhibits shown in Berlin in 1913, including all those Warnod had discussed in 1911 and 1912 (Fig. 14, 15 and 16).¹⁶⁹

Like Einstein, Basler's contacts with members of the Parisian avant-garde went back to the early years of the twentieth century. At some point, both befriended the artist Moise Kisling who, like Basler, was from Cracow. In 1912 Basler, who André Salmon remembered as a friend of (Picasso's friend) the sculptor Manolo (Manuel Hugué, 1872-1945), became the first dealer to offer Kisling a contract, paying him a monthly sum of three hundred francs. Einstein's close relationship with the artist is documented in their correspondence, his monograph on Kisling, and the fact that his second book on African sculpture was dedicated to his 'long friendship' with the artist.¹⁷⁰ Basler's links with the art world are clear from his association with among others, Derain, Fénéon, Salmon and Vlaminck. Letters received testify to his willingness to acquire African sculptural

objects before the First World War. A short note by Vlaminck from June 1914, offered two Dahomey objects, 'a king Behanzin in copper, one meter in height', the other 'a lion in silver [...] [which] is admirable'.¹⁷¹ What this confirms is that around the time of the African exhibitions at the *Neue Galerie* and Einstein's preparations for *Negerplastik*, Basler's interests went beyond reporting on such objects and their significance for modern art.

Finally, it appears that in October 1913 – coinciding with the *Neue Galerie's* opening – Basler acted as Apollinaire's envoy in a deal initiated by Otto Feldmann. The poet sold a number of works in his possession to the German dealer, among them 'twenty-two drawings, gouaches and watercolours by Picasso [...] and [...] a framed watercolour (or gouache) signed Rousseau'. In February 1914, Feldmann claimed that Uhde had considered the Rousseau to be a fake. Apollinaire's reply suggested cancelling the deal upon the return of the works.¹⁷² By the late nineteen-twenties, Basler was in charge of the *Galerie de Sèvres* in Montparnasse, having published his book about the art of 'primitive peoples'. Eight of the sixty African objects shown in this publication, as well as the photographic reproductions (one cropped differently), were identical to those shown in *Negerplastik* in 1915 – including four which showed the same object from two different viewpoints, one of the hallmarks of Einstein's monograph.¹⁷³ Apart from the objects belonging to Brummer (Fig. 14 and 16), and the royal Kuba statue belonging to the British Museum, they all were part of the collection assembled by the American artist, Frank Burty Haviland, who during his time spent in Paris became an admirer of the Cubism of Picasso and Braque, and a friend. He was associated with the New York circle around Marius de Zayas and Alfred Stieglitz's Photo-Secession Gallery (which held an exhibition of African sculpture in November 1914).¹⁷⁴ As an acquaintance of Brummer, and an enthusiastic collector of African sculpture, it is conceivable that upon hearing about plans for the Picasso exhibition, Burty Haviland might have agreed to loan the works to arrive in the city with Brummer (Fig. 17 and Fig. 18). This would bring the works likely to have been on show at the *Neue Galerie* to eighteen.¹⁷⁵

One last observation that may be pertinent in this context relates to the collection of Charles Vignier, who like his friend, the poet and writer turned art dealer, Felix Fénéon, had become interested in ethnographic artifacts. While Vignier was to make his reputation as an expert in ancient Chinese bronzes and ceramics, he was also engaged in dealing in African and Oceanic sculpture through an outlet in the Rue Lamennais. The catalogue that accompanied the display of his collection at the *Galerie Levesque* (which Basler discussed in his review above) listed works that identified ancient bronzes from Asia, and a 'few pieces of Egyptian, Negro and Aztec art', twenty-two of which originated from the French

and Belgian Congo, the Sudan and Ivory Coast. A copy of the catalogue of this exhibition formed part of Apollinaire's private library.¹⁷⁶ Seven of the African objects from the Vignier collection listed were reproduced in *Negerplastik*, and although their somewhat obscure provenances do not mention names easily connected to Einstein's known associates of the period, it poses the question whether some of these works formed part of the display at the *Neue Galerie*, including those shown here (Fig. 19, Fig. 20 and Fig. 21). This idea is further supported by Paudrat's supposition that some of the Vignier works were acquired by Brummer.¹⁷⁷ If this was the case, the conjecture of an overall number of twenty-five works put forward here must indeed have made for a truly striking display when shown alongside the works by Picasso.

The whereabouts of a number of the pieces remain unknown, but the majority of those recently identified form part of the holdings of renowned museums and private collections in Europe and the United States. They include the Fang head, (Fig. 16) described by Warnod and the small kneeling caryatid figure from the Congo region (Fig. 18) both of which reappeared in Basler's 1929 publication and are now part of the collection of the Musée Dapper.¹⁷⁸ The Museum Rietberg now owns the former collection of the German patron of the arts, Eduard von der Heydt, including the Bena Kanioka figure, also known as 'The Prisoner' (Fig. 19), while the large Ijo sculpture from the ancient kingdom of Brass in the Niger delta is now part of the Africa collection of the University Museum of Philadelphia (Fig. 20). Both had been part of Vignier's collection, as was the Baule mask from the Ivory Coast, now lost, a photographic vignette of which adorned the Levesque sales catalogue (Fig. 21). A strikingly similar mask was used by Man Ray in a series of portrait studies of his then lover, Kiki of Montmartre, entitled *Noire et blanche* (1926, New York: Museum of Modern Art), which was reproduced in the *Vogue* issue of May 1926, and has been much discussed since.¹⁷⁹

The remarkable Sakalava mortuary post figure is now part of the celebrated Carlo Monzino collection (Fig. 14). Along with the Fang head (Fig. 16), it was part of the magnificent collection assembled by the sculptor Jacob Epstein, which was dispersed after his death in 1959. The only other example known of this kind of Madagascan work is housed at the Louvre.¹⁸⁰ The head of a monkey, of unknown origin, forms part of the collection J. Reff (Fig. 17); besides Einstein's and Basler's publications it was also reproduced in Marius de Zayas' volume on African art published a year after *Negerplastik*. The example of this sculpture acquired by Sergei Shchukin between 1908 and 1912 is apparently a bronze copy commissioned by Ambroise Vollard and now held at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow.¹⁸¹ The consignment dispatched to the Russian collector's residence after the *Neue Galerie* (or the Dresden) exhibition containing Picasso's *Three Women*

may also have included the African objects Shchukin had bought in the summer of 1912, which after being photographed probably during the exhibition in Berlin were reproduced in Einstein's *Negerplastik*. (see Appendix II and VI) A letter by the Latvian artist and author of a book on African sculpture, Vladimir Markov, which was formulated at the same time as Einstein's monograph, testifies that Shchukin acquired a number of African objects in Paris during 1912.¹⁸² These and other objects reproduced in *Negerplastik* will be discussed in due course; but if the reconstruction offered here approximates to what was on show, this body of work together with Picasso's paintings must have revealed something of what Kahnweiler meant by the 'convergence' of African sculpture and the Cubist project.

Chapter 10: *The 'lesson' and its aftermath*

It may come as no surprise that the negative response to Kahnweiler's 'lesson' in Cubism and its African 'intercessors' by critics like Scheffler and others in Berlin met with an equally vociferous reaction when the exhibition traveled to the *Kunstsalon Emil Richter* in Dresden in January 1914.¹⁸³

'Negro sculpture', Picasso and Michelangelo

In the opinion of the critic and art historian Emil Waldmann – who was to become director of the Bremer Kunsthalle and was, like Einstein, an acquaintance of Paul Cassirer – the show left the 'feeling of a catastrophe'. Waldmann argued that since the artist was hardly known in a city like Dresden, a display of his early major works would have made more sense rather than an 'endless series of Cubist works', which only proved that for Picasso Cubism was the 'wrong track'. But as with Scheffler, the presence of the African objects caused the most serious contempt:

When Picasso became overwhelmed by Negro sculpture, that generally quite sinister product of some Egyptian provincial art that got stuck somewhere in the jungle, it caused his concept to topple, and his predominant goal was to use in his paintings those primitive artistic principles derived from inferior sculpture. To be forcing a primitive plastic style together with painterly elements was bound to fail.¹⁸⁴

However derogatory in its overall tenor, the review ended with a lengthy quote from the introduction of the exhibition catalogue, which explains the author to be none other than Kahnweiler's and Picasso's friend Wilhelm Uhde – according to Waldmann 'a somewhat objectionable addition'. What compelled the critic to voice contempt was that Uhde compared the artist's working processes with those of Michelangelo's sculptural work – an irreverence too far – as he made only too plain: 'If one is permitted to cite Michelangelo in such a way, the consequences are inconceivable'. Uhde's text is noteworthy because it is a reading of Picasso's work that brings to mind Einstein's approach to Picasso, of scrutinizing the artist's processes without doubting his strength of vision. More importantly, it confirms the machinations of what has here been called Kahnweiler's 'lesson', which in less than a year had brought together this handful of German dealers, collectors and

critics who, united by the conviction of the significance of this art, were intent on putting notions of a 'convergence' to the test. Uhde's introduction for what were probably the only two exhibitions (out of a total of seven) that actually combined Picasso's work with African sculpture described the artist's process thus:

He (in his tragic conflicts) finds solutions, either in the dissection of objects or through deformations, and so falls prey to the danger of losing sight of his goal, reality. Hence, paintings emerge that, like some of Michelangelo's sculptures, do not reach the longingly anticipated goal, and yet they are witness to the grandeur of a sublime strength of mind whose painterly qualities are of sheer beauty and whose clarity of structure evokes the style of Gothic cathedrals.¹⁸⁵

While, for Uhde, the Gothic became a metaphor for modern art's roots in the fabric of French tradition, in which Picasso personified 'the totality of the Gothic and Germanic spirit', nothing would be more fitting for comparison than the towering crystalline figures of the artist's *Three Women* that seem carved from the bedrock of humanity's memory (Fig. 13). Their threefold poses of arms raised, folded behind the back, and eyes shut recall Michelangelo's androgynous *Dying Slave* (after 1513, Paris: Musée du Louvre), which inspired the work of Picasso, Cézanne and others.¹⁸⁶

Sadly, no more than this brief quote appears to have survived of Uhde's text, leaving open the vexing question of whether and how he may have commented on the African exhibits. Like Kahnweiler, Uhde had abandoned his bourgeois career for his love of art, but unlike Kahnweiler, he never owned a gallery. Instead, he held regular informal gatherings in his elegant apartment on the Ile Saint-Louis and in May 1910, he organized a Picasso exhibition at the gallery *Notre-Dame des champs*. To some extent dependant on the sale of the stock of paintings that made up his private collection, he supplemented his income by his writing.¹⁸⁷ However, on the occasion of the Picasso touring exhibition his participation exceeded the loan of works and even his introduction to the *Neue Galerie's* exhibition catalogue. In February 1914, he presented a talk on the new art at the Cassirer gallery in Berlin. As noted in the *Berliner Zeitung* the event was different to the previous Meier-Gräfe presentation preaching 'his gospel against modern art'; this time the lecture defended the recent paintings by Braque, Picasso and Rousseau.¹⁸⁸ Uhde's reminiscences of the occasion are worth recalling as they give a flavour of the kind of spontaneous and cordial collaboration that, far from any meticulously worked out strategy, are likely to have prompted the sequence of exhibitions outlined above:

Meeting Cassirer [...] one day, I told him I hoped to give a lecture on the new art in Berlin. He offered his gallery and we fixed a date. When I arrived in Berlin two days before the date, I noticed the talk was nowhere [...] advertised, and when asking Cassirer, he admitted to having had last-minute qualms. Having spent all his life campaigning for Impressionism, he thought it might appear rather odd, if he now allowed his premises to be used to promote an art diametrically opposed to the one he had defended for so long. I said he ought to have considered this a bit earlier, but it did not matter to me, I would give the talk in another gallery. But he did not like this either, and within a few hours, the press had been informed and posters ordered. The hall was full of people and during my talk Cassirer sat nervously close behind me. However, I did not say anything against Impressionism, introducing my talk instead with the compliment that both Cassirer and his enterprise were resilient enough to invite the enemy into his own house. Afterwards he told me: "You have ruined my business for the next two years." This was a joke of course because the survival of this intelligent and generous dealer, who had successfully introduced Impressionist art into Germany, did not depend on a few uttered words. Besides, my glorification of Picasso, Braque and Rousseau found little resonance. Some people ostentatiously left during the lecture and the most benevolent of the next day's reviews made no comment at all except on the well-cut jacket I wore.¹⁸⁹

Noting the persistently negative responses toward the new art as no more than a matter of fact, Uhde's contribution was nonetheless one of the signs that the commitment of those intent on changing the reception of modernist art was gaining ground.

The artist and the market in Paris and Berlin (1914)

The outcome of initiatives such as Kahnweiler and his friends presenting Picasso's Cubist work in a brisk sequence of exhibitions (and to some extent even the display of African sculpture) are nowhere better exemplified than by the auction of the collection of *La Peau de l'Ours*, which took place a couple of months after the *Neue Galerie* and Dresden exhibitions.

The sale, held at the *Hôtel Drouot* in early March 1914, was the conclusion of the association *La Peau de l'Ours*, whose members had agreed on a monthly fixed sum in order to purchase contemporary art-works, to sell the collection after ten years and to divide the proceeds. After hearing about a similar plan discussed by Matisse, the scheme was set up and managed by André Level, an associate of the Bernheim brothers. He either bought directly from less established artists such as Matisse and Picasso, or from dealers like Vollard, Sagot and Berthe Weill, from whom he bought the syndicate's first Picasso painting in 1904. The culmination was the famous *The Family of Saltimbanques* (1905, Washington DC: National Gallery of Art), which Level succeeded in purchasing from the artist in 1908 after long drawn out negotiations that at some point also involved Shchukin as a potential buyer.¹⁹⁰

What made the *Peau de l'Ours* sale so commendable in the eyes of the artists and the supporters of the avant-garde was that the syndicate decided to reimburse the artists for the resale of the works with a twenty percent share of the profits, a law instituted in France (the 'droit de suite') only in 1920. *The Family of Saltimbanques* caused a sensation when it was sold at the auction to the *Moderne Galerie Thannhauser* for a twelve-fold increase of the sum Picasso had agreed with Level some six years earlier.¹⁹¹ André Warnod lauded the auction as a first acknowledgment of modernist art that had been ridiculed for too long in venues such as the *Salon des Indépendants*. Nonetheless, the hostility was as unequivocal in Paris as it was in Berlin (or Munich or Dresden), though now it was further amplified and tainted by the imminence of the war. Some critics saw the entire event as proof of a German conspiracy to artificially inflate prices and anticipated that 'guileless' artists would imitate the 'Cubist bluff' of the 'epigone Picasso'. Furthermore, Thannhauser and his fellow citizens would clear out the Louvre 'free of charge', which their involuntary accomplices did not know how to defend, and with it the 'measure and order' of national art would cease to exist.¹⁹²

Nonetheless, what the auction demonstrated beyond all doubt was that on the eve of the First World War an alternative market for the modern art that existed outside the established channels of academic culture and state patronage had begun to take shape. Like the strategy initiated by Kahnweiler to promote Picasso across several European cities at much the same time, this system functioned on an increasingly international level, the full benefits of which would only become manifest during the nineteen-twenties. This development of a steadily expanding... demand for art is as manifest in the collaboration, for example, between the art dealer Joseph Duveen and Bernard Berenson, as it in the reminiscences of Vollard and Kahnweiler, or the activities of Paul Rosenberg that followed the French government's sequestration of Kahnweiler's entire gallery stock after the outbreak of war.¹⁹³

The importance of an infrastructure for the artists themselves is exemplified by the fact that at the time Matisse secured his first contract with Bernheim-Jeune in 1909, Picasso begun to step up his efforts to find a more secure outlet for his work. But it was not until December 1912 that he signed a contract with Kahnweiler. During this period, he produced portraits of those of his dealers he perhaps hoped might offer a more secure economic bond.¹⁹⁴ In Kahnweiler's case this infrastructure to promote the new art may have relied too much on trusted connections in Germany and central Europe, which – even though it enlarged the artists' reputations within the more enlightened circles of private collectors, dealers and critics – seemed to do little to shift the public resistance to Cubism (and even more to African sculpture) as the reactions to the German Picasso-exhibitions

discussed here make clear. This somewhat one-sided predisposition to influence market trends was only ameliorated in February 1914 when Kahnweiler, on Gertrude Stein's advice, set up his first official trans-Atlantic link by contracting Michael Brenner and his associate, Robert J. Coady of the *Washington Square Gallery* to manage exhibitions and sales of works in the United States. Turning down Brenner's advice at the outbreak of war to move his gallery stock to New York, was a decision Kahnweiler came to regret when all of his assets were confiscated by the French state. After the war this led to protracted battles to re-establish a gallery in Paris and to persuade his artists to return to his stable.¹⁹⁵

A somewhat different aspect of the escalating pressures of the pre-war art market affecting the avant-garde concerns Einstein's collaborator Otto Feldmann. It is documented in the correspondence between August Macke and Herwarth Walden, written during the first half of 1914 after Feldmann and Einstein had staged their African and modern art exhibitions. As was the case for Picasso, there was a growing demand for Macke's work, but unlike Picasso, he had no dealer, nor the possibility of a contract to look forward to, leaving him in the unenviable position of having to negotiate each potential exhibition opportunity, whether it concerned Walden's, Feldmann's or other venues.¹⁹⁶ Like Picasso, Macke was keen to secure his position, which as head of a young family took on additional urgency. His letters to Walden reveal him to be caught up in the delicate situation of having to juggle his future prospects between his commitments to the *Sturm* gallery and the competitive Walden on the one hand, and Feldmann's venues in Cologne and Berlin on the other, in which some transport of paintings involving Flechtheim and Feldmann seemed to demand clarification:

I am of the opinion that every so often I need money, which is why – as a family man – I fall prey to the oddest of things. [...]. And why should I not exhibit pictures here, there and everywhere as long as I have some; indeed now, I have none. Campendonck's letter told me about this Flechtheim-Feldmann picture transport, it is all I know about it. Feldmann wrote today, asking for some things for a summer exhibition, but apart from a few little watercolours, I have nothing. But I can reassure you despite my philandering in the art trade [...] [y]ou would not believe how vehemently I defend you.¹⁹⁷

It is likely that the consignment in question involved the transport of Picasso works from the *Moderne Galerie* to the Berlin exhibitions at Cassirer's *Herbstausstellung* and the *Neue Galerie*, or may be even the transfer from Paris, including Brummer's African collection and the delivery of the Picasso works Apollinaire may have sold to Feldmann. Even if the lack of evidence leaves it open to conjecture, what this does make clear is that Flechtheim was in close cooperation with Feldmann's and Einstein's ventures, especially since the opening of his new

gallery in Düsseldorf coincided with the timing of these events, which would have further secured shipping arrangements from Paris to central Europe. Also, the letters bear witness to Walden's unrelenting quest to tempt artists away from his competitors, even if they had already established promising links. As with Kandinsky, who succumbed to the *Sturm*-editor's pressure by abandoning arrangements with the Hans Goltz gallery for his retrospective show back in 1912, it was now Macke's turn to be put under pressure, except that he defended himself with some zest:

Dear Mr Walden!

The reasons you outlined on your behalf and against Feldmann are very convincing. As I could not anticipate your prompt reply, I agreed with Feldmann before the receipt of your letter [...] to let him have a few watercolours. If you really insist, I could revoke this (with some sort of lame excuse).

But I want to explain to you that from where I stand, the matter with Feldmann looks different to me than to you. First, I have been exhibiting with Feldmann long before I did with you. Second, Feldmann invited me to exhibit in Berlin before his other exhibition [Picasso?] there and before I came to finalize arrangements with you. I told him then I had already agreed matters with you but would exhibit with him later. Third, for three years now my name is on Feldmann's business cards together with Braque, Picasso etc., even though he has had hardly any of my paintings. Fourth, since the Herbstsalon he has repeatedly invited me to show (even with the Neue Secession, although I did not reply). Fifth, his business manager is an intimate friend of Campendonck, and a man who is enthusiastic enough about my work as to write long letters about it to others. I find my situation really quite difficult. You may understand that in order to please you I have been rather impolite towards Feldmann. I do not want to sour relations with him altogether, and for that I find a virtually trifling exhibition more suitable than a major show in the winter. [...] By the way, what I mentioned in my last letter (that I defended you against others) relates in no way to [Bernhard] Köhler, but to others, who visit your exhibitions and Feldmann's and get worked up about exhibitors being as sharp as you are at the "Sturm", which I applaud! (In you).

I hope you follow all this with Feldmann and send me some comforting reply, with kind greetings to you and your wife, who will understand.¹⁹⁸

In spite of protracted explanations, and the remark on Feldmann's 'other exhibition' which may refer to the Picasso-show, Walden's persuasive powers appear to have worked since two days later Macke announced he had cancelled arrangements with Feldmann. Confessing to having spent rather too much recently while on a family holiday, Macke thanked the *Sturm*-editor warmly for arranging the successful sale of some of his works, a sale so opportune one might suspect ulterior motives on Walden's part. Macke apologized for his earlier letter, and after assuring Walden that his mention of Feldmann's business cards was only meant to explain his situation, it was business as usual.¹⁹⁹ What had been at stake for Walden, considering the recent Flechtheim 'snub', was losing a gifted and

promising young artist to one of his more serious competitors. Equally important must have been the threat of losing the support of the Berlin industrialist, collector, and beloved uncle of Macke's wife, Bernhard Köhler, who in the previous year had sponsored *Der Sturm* by underwriting the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* with the sum of four thousand Marks.²⁰⁰

To Walden's consternation, Macke's liaison with Feldmann gave further cause for concern. The reason was that in June 1914 the *Neue Galerie* staged a show of the *Rheinische Expressionisten*, the last of Feldmann's ventures for which there is evidence. Its first showing at the Cohen gallery in Bonn in July 1913 was conceived and organized by Macke in collaboration with the gallery's owner Heinrich Cohen.²⁰¹ Macke, who throughout the spring and summer had been busy assisting with the planning, publicity, and hanging of the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*, regarded the *Rheinische Expressionisten* show as no more than an attempt 'to pre-empt Cassirer', and as a 'trial run for the Herbstsalon'.²⁰² In spite of this and of constant reassurances aiming to convince the *Sturm*-editor of his full commitment, Macke found himself having to fend off Walden's accusations of double-dealing.²⁰³

Beyond highlighting the complexities of Macke's position, precariously caught between two camps holding potential future prospects, these letters show his situation was symptomatic of the German art market. An analysis by the art historian and student of Heinrich Wölfflin, Grete Ring (1887-1952), who after working for the Berlin Nationalgalerie took over Cassirer's gallery business following the dealer's death in 1926, pointed to some of the crucial differences for up and coming artists between market conditions in Paris and Berlin. While Paris had the advantage of an established and finely tuned market system for the visual arts that had evolved over generations, she described circumstances for German art as leaving the artist with little else than to acquiesce.²⁰⁴ What was lacking in Berlin, as elsewhere in Germany, was a hierarchical support system. In Paris this involved the small dealer, usually established in the same (cheaper) quarters as the artists, being prepared to take risks by providing the newcomer with the basic means of subsistence, slowly building reputation through impromptu shows and group exhibitions, while moderate prices attracted those willing to speculate. Once noticed, the artist might then move on to the larger dealer with an established clientele, and eventually on to the most renowned, who specialized in the most prosperous collectors, a system in which prices are automatically regulated from above through the precise grading of the art trade.²⁰⁵

Even though the Paris system described related to the inter-war period, its structures were to some extent in place before 1914, even if these were not so clearly delineated for the market of avant-garde art. Since there was no similar

tradition in Germany, the lack of a core of smaller dealers was noted as the weakest link of the market. As German clients were unaccustomed to searching out good art in far-flung locations, the dealer's relatively small capital base tended to be swallowed up by the costs of a reputable location, making the risk of speculating on an unknown artist problematic. This meant that the artist could perhaps count on a commission contract, at best a small monthly advance that would be offset against sold works; however, in most cases, money would only change hands once a sale had been secured and the dealer's cut taken. Consequently, prices were unduly high at the most crucial stage in the process, leaving no choice for the artist and little enticement for prospective collectors; as Ring stated, a system that was in need of change.²⁰⁶ The failures of the system perfectly described Macke's dilemma. Walden's *Sturm*-gallery was one of those to introduce artists' contracts, but only after the war, while Kahnweiler set the example and others like Basler, Guillaume or Rosenberg followed suite.

But to return to Einstein's involvement with the 1913 exhibitions examined here. What is remarkable is that Feldmann's gallery business appeared to be gaining some standing in the market for the international artistic avant-garde, yet his (and Einstein's) inspired coup of combining Picasso works with African sculpture at the *Neue Galerie* has remained relatively little known. Equally remarkable is that none of it found any mention in either Marc's or Kandinsky's correspondence, despite Einstein's acquaintance with the *Blaue Reiter*, however fleeting. More confounding still is that even Macke, who had prolonged and, it appears, only agreeable dealings with Feldmann, remained silent on the subject in his letters. After acquiring some 'Negro sculptures' in 1911, it was Macke's essay 'Die Masken' that among the *Blaue Reiter* contributions was the one most 'inspired' by non-western objects, and it was he who researched and chose the ethnographic objects reproduced in the almanac. Furthermore, during a visit to Paris with Franz and Maria Marc in October 1912, he reported how deeply impressed he had been by the Picasso works he had been able to see.²⁰⁷ Is it possible that, in the aftermath of Flechtheim's (and Kahnweiler's) withdrawal from the arrangement to supply some of Picasso's works to the *Sturm's Herbstsalon*, the added discovery of a collaboration between Flechtheim, Cassirer and Feldmann triggered not only Walden's obvious consternation but a total boycott of all related events? It would explain Macke's remark to Walden on the 'other exhibition' at the *Neue Galerie* in his protracted letter from 11 June 1914, because to discover (after Picasso's work at Cassirer's *Herbstausstellung*) Picasso's Cubist work at the *Neue Galerie* would have been indeed a bitter reminder of that withdrawal.

The outbreak of war that so drastically curtailed the international aspects of artistic co-operation certainly played its part in the silence surrounding the

events at the *Neue Galerie*, but the evidence and the suggestions presented above are the more likely cause. That the after-effects of the 1913 Picasso-campaign – and especially the display of African sculpture which was so unequivocally met with animosity – prompted Kahnweiler to withdraw into silence on the subject of a ‘convergence’ of African and Cubist art to which he would only return many years later, is clear from his published work. That it occupied his private deliberations during his years in exile is known,²⁰⁸ but it would be up to Einstein’s initiative to raise publicly these issues before long.

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ORIGINAL

PART III *Negerplastik* and the function of art

Chapter 11 *Ethnographic encounters*

The term 'African art' is generally associated with the arts of the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa and especially of western and central Africa. Even nowadays, the term tends to be identified with sculpture rather than the artistic production of the entire continent. 'Negro art', 'art nègre', 'Negerplastik' as terms are part of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European history of cultural hegemony, and of value systems that were shaped by political and economic pressures, scientific and professional specialization, and the growth of communications technology and the accessibility of education. In an era that witnessed protracted colonial expansion and conflict, the political implications of ethnographic acquisitions for scientific and national prestige affected the collecting policies devised by museum officials and ethnographers working in the field - as the infamous Olokun affair of 1911 involving the German explorer and ethnographer Leo Frobenius made patently clear.¹

Lacking in attributes associated with the canon of western aesthetic tradition, the ethnographic objects arriving en masse in the museums of Europe typified the dichotomous views between either scientific or artistic appreciation and outdated evolutionist attitudes that extended to the indigenous communities who had produced them, attitudes that remained widespread throughout Europe long after the First World War. After the wider acceptance of African sculpture in the wake of the avant-garde's appreciation, even those who recognized the need to

reconsider western artistic conventions often struggled to accommodate the far-reaching implications of this shift.

'Trifling curios' and the dread of 'blank darkness'

Reviewing an exhibition of West African sculptural objects belonging to the dealer of ethnographica Paul Guillaume, held in London at the *Chelsea Book Club* in 1920, the critic Roger Fry wrote: 'We have the habit of thinking that the power to create expressive plastic form is one of the greatest of human achievements'. As a representative of European canonical tradition, Fry was only too aware of the turning tide:

What a right little, tight little, [...] world it was when [...] Greek art, [...] was the only indisputable art, except for some Renaissance repetitions! [...]. And now, [...] knowledge and perception have poured upon us so fast that the whole well-ordered system has been blown away, and we stand bare to the blast, scarcely able to snatch a hasty generalization or two to cover our nakedness for a moment.²

For the visitors to the *Chelsea Book Club* this was the first exposure to such objects as 'art'. Unlike their counterparts in the British Museum, where such 'trifling curios'³ had been open to public scrutiny more than ten years earlier, here African carvings compelled the critic to acknowledge their 'power to create plastic form'. Fry's pan-historical and trans-cultural evaluations of artistic practice were rooted in the kind of nineteenth-century pragmatism based on the natural sciences which had impinged on the methodologies of academic disciplines, including art history and ethnography. His explorations of 'significant form' prompted him to state that it seemed 'unfair to be forced to admit that certain nameless savages have possessed this power not only to a high degree, [...] but higher than we as a nation have ever possessed it', and extending this logic he noted: 'some of these things are great sculpture – greater [...] than anything produced even in the Middle Ages'.⁴ It resonated with the notions of invention and 'purposeful strangeness' of design that Fry had celebrated in Byzantine cloisonné enamels, or in Cézanne's work, where he had found a 'new conception of art in which the decorative elements preponderate at the expense of the representative'.⁵ Yet he, like others of his generation, was unable to conceive of African cultural difference without western orthodox concepts. In spite of his acceptance of diverse 'primitive' forms, including Chinese and Persian art, the Gothic, the Italian primitives, the paintings of the Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert⁶ or Gauguin and Matisse, the criteria that

ultimately defined his concept of culture did not permit an unreserved appreciation of African culture:

[T]wo factors are necessary to produce the cultures that distinguish civilized peoples. There must be [...] the creative artist, but [...] also the power of conscious critical appreciation [...]. It is for want of a conscious critical sense and the intellectual powers of comparison and classification that the Negro has failed to create one of the great cultures of the world, and not from any lack of the creative aesthetic impulse, nor from lack of the most exquisite sensibility and the finest taste.⁷

Written some years after Einstein's exhibiting African sculpture as 'art' in Berlin and the first edition of *Negerplastik*, Fry's essay epitomizes the inherent contradictions between western perceptions of art and that of non-western cultures. As such, it highlights Einstein's unique position within the primitivism discourse that, in its core argument, was fundamentally opposed to the English critic.

In Einstein's writing on art, notions of theory tend to be bound up with artistic practice, as when he notes in his discussion of Picasso's work: 'Paintings are not bibelots but rather cerebral tools, practical forces that are ruthlessly employed and absorbed'.⁸ The word bibelot (curio, trinket) takes on a twist, in terms of Einstein's escalating fascination with the arts of non-western cultures between 1912 and 1914 on the one hand, and the public bias against cultural difference on the other which remained ubiquitous despite avant-garde appreciation. Even at the time of Fry's essay, when exhibitions of ethnographica at, for example, the *Devambez* gallery were promoted by Paul Guillaume who, following Brummer in propagating art nègre, also staged the famous *Fêtes nègre*, the dread of the 'blank darkness' of otherness never abated.⁹

This became poignantly visible in a caricature by the artist Louis Marcoussis (1883-1941) who, after arriving in France from Poland became part of the inner circle of Apollinaire, contributing to the exhibition of *La Section d'Or* during October 1912, and an accomplished illustrator and collector of non-western art objects (Fig. 22).¹⁰ With an ironical swipe at the taste for art objects exerted by the collector, and at the prominence of the *Hôtel Drouot*, the caricature mocks the latest itinerant craze for the collecting of 'bibelots':

Nowadays the passion for bibelots has become a cult: the Hôtel Drouot is its cathedral, the special galleries its little chapels. And its collector has become the priest of conscience for the Parisian lady. He confesses between 5 and 7 and generally officiates in pyjamas.¹¹

The narrative constructed in these four illustrations corroborates endemic stereotypical attitudes by satirizing the lascivious intention of the 'collector of engravings', cleverly offset by the recoiling body language of a smartly dressed young woman: 'Here is the collector of engravings where sketches harbour all the horrors of hell and all the visions of paradise'. In the second illustration the collector is cast in a paternal role, while his female opposite is at his feet engrossed in dressing and undressing some dolls. With her coat and hat abandoned she reveals more of her legs than may be appropriate for her station: 'Here is the collector of dolls, where one may find the mischievous ingenuity of times past when one was a little girl'. Little wonder that in the 'collector of Negro idols', the viewer is told that 'one forgets the vain prejudices of a too complicated civilization', and that a startled collector, returning with a steaming beverage for his visitor, finds her dancing naked except for an African helmet mask amidst the carved 'fetishes' of what might be Fang or Baule statues.¹²

The images plot the female protagonists' inevitable downward path from social respectability to inebriated states of moral abandon. The subversive role of the 'collector' is epitomized by the progressively seductive threat his cultural proclivities pose for his unsuspecting visitor, leaving the viewer to witness her gradual entanglement like a beautiful butterfly in a net. The cult of collecting acts as a tongue-in-cheek foil for stereotypes of gender and cultural difference that ranges from the private indulgences of the lowly arts of engraving to childhood memorabilia¹³ and the 'savage fetishes' of cultural manifestations outside the traditional canon.

The concluding image depicts the 'collector of *Japonaiseries*', where one is 'initiated into the languorous ecstasies of the Orient'. The scene shows the couple recumbent in an interior complete with accoutrements of Japanese ceramic vessels, a bonsai tree and folding screen. The woman's pose echoes Velazquez's *The Toilet of Venus* (c. 1649-51), or Ingres' *La Grande Odalisque* (1814); her foot caresses the folds of the collector's gown as he reclines close to her puffing on an opium pipe. The image evokes the erotic subjects of the Japanese woodblock print tradition of the *ukiyo-e* (Floating World) so revered by turn-of-the-century artists for its (to the western viewer) innovative formal and spatial handling of composition, here however it is reduced to the trite lure of the 'exotic'. But the caption reminds us of the realities of the Parisian world, where cultural tradition could be lambasted in the media, while at the same time maintaining the status quo: 'What is surprising is how, with so many subtle masters, the Parisian woman has, in art, such a refined taste and such confused ideas'.¹⁴ The images are a witty take

on the double bind of turn-of-the-century debate on the divide between 'art' and 'artifact' on the one hand, and on psychology and the formation of gender, sexuality and cultural identity on the other. The first is perhaps best represented by Alois Riegl's studies on Late Roman art industry and questions of style, the other by Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical studies.¹⁵ More notorious and widely read however were the misogynistic pseudo-psychological theories of Otto Weininger, which re-enforced endemic fears of population growth and venereal disease by identifying female sexuality and racial difference with the seditious degeneration of moral standards and social order.¹⁶

A similar kind of double bind may have accounted for Einstein's rigorous opposition to the supremacy of western art that marked his concern with the artistic autonomy of African sculpture, which was motivated by the implications this posited not only for a western understanding of African sculpture but – as he saw it – for the function of art *per se*. His was an epistemological project that required a contemplation of types of knowledge other than those traditionally associated with the *Kunstwissenschaften* (science of art), knowledge that might be found in the field of ethnography, if only as a means of penetrating the subject's specific conditions. And – in the same way that the early twentieth-century avant-garde considered change necessary for the methodologies of the making and reception of art – so ethnography, as an integral and progressively crucial aspect of colonialism, was facing new opportunities and tasks that demanded a transvaluation and new paradigms for the discipline.¹⁷

Einstein's first step towards an enduring commitment to the subject of African art was his letter to von Luschan in August 1913, the first culmination of which was the Picasso exhibition at the *Neue Galerie* in December that year. Even though we lack documentary evidence, this rapid development might suggest that, like the extent of his knowledge of Picasso's work which became manifest rather suddenly, Einstein's awareness of ethnography was probably more substantial than it may appear. The source material evident in his later writings on non-western art might suffice at this stage to outline some of the issues of ethnographic debate and the representation of African culture.

Before the nineteenth century, African artifacts were regarded as obscure, even grotesque curiosities, which had no relevance to European art. Exceptions were carved ivory objects, such as spoons or saltcellars, imported by Portuguese traders from West Africa since the fifteenth century. By the eighteenth century, the demand for objects made by Africans to accommodate European tastes resulted in a network of trade routes from the Guinea coast to the lower Congo and an economic exchange that gave rise to the production of goods possessing exchange value

(known since as 'tourist art').¹⁸ It was only in the nineteenth century that a positivist view of science as the only source of genuine knowledge applied evolutionist systems of the natural sciences to cultural and ethnological theory. With it, Caucasian Europe was at the apex of a hierarchical order that regarded the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa as inferior remnants of the 'barbaric' beginnings of human civilization, a 'scientific' conceptualization that was the perfect foil to colonial subjugation.¹⁹

From diamond mines and 'native-questions' to Kuba kings

The literature of this period provides intriguing evidence of the implications and contradictions arising from methodologies that subscribed to such paradigms. Joseph de Gobineau's *The Inequality of Human Races* (1853-55) is known for its notorious racial classifications and theory of Aryan supremacy, though more pertinent here are others that from its early beginnings made use of photography's assumed evidential properties. This is apparent in the contrived use of the medium in Charles Darwin's *The Expressions of the Emotions in Man and Animal* (1873), a collaborative project with the photographer Oscar Rejlander, who was renowned for his albumen prints produced by multiple exposures of different negative plates.²⁰ One of the most ambitious was Carl Dammann's large reference album of ethnographic 'types' which, commissioned by the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, became available in English as *The Ethnographic Gallery of the Races of Man* (1875). Made up largely of tipped-in existing carte-de-visite portraits, the album's comparative physiognomic agenda of ethnic categories was underwritten by the supposed authenticity of the mechanical processes of photography that 'tended at best to parade other races as curiosities and at worst to feed the prejudices of those who wanted their Caucasian superiority confirmed'.²¹ A pertinent example of the inherent contradictions of scientific disciplines rooted in nineteenth-century evolutionist paradigms is the case of Felix von Luschan, who was as renowned for his Benin studies and his defence of the excellence of African bronze casting techniques as for his achievements in phrenology. During the 1914-1918 war the Berlin ethnological museum was commissioned under von Luschan's direction to conduct anthropometric studies at a German prisoner of war camp in Hungary, which included internees from Russia, Africa, New-Caledonia and Ghurkhas from Nepal.²²

Contradiction also pervaded the seemingly impartial reports that emerged in periodicals catering for the community of German administrators, commercial entrepreneurs and mineral prospecting engineers living in the African and Pacific

colonies of the empire. The *Koloniale Rundschau*, a journal 'for the interests of our protectorates and their inhabitants', may serve as an example. While one of its leading articles proudly reported on the profits made in the diamond mines of Deutsch Süd-West Afrika (Namibia) that had multiplied more than twenty-fold between 1908 and 1911, another recounted the tasks concerned with the 'increasingly burning issues' for an 'advantageous solution' to the 'native-question' (Eingeborenenfrage) in the Belgian Congo. Since 'natives' were much like wilful 'children of the moment' (Kinder des Augenblicks), the article stated that guidelines for the 'eradication of customary polygamy' had been drawn up by colonial administrators, which 'in spite of all other efforts' continued to make any 'culture-enhancing work (Kulturarbeit) on the natives as good as illusory'.²³

However, the journal also carried a report by the ethnographer Günter Tessmann on his recently conducted studies on the 'Pangwe', a brief summary of the customs and belief systems of those groups now known under the collective term of the Fang, whose settlements stretched from southern Cameroon to northern Gabon. The Fang were makers of reliquary objects and masks, whose bold formalism was much admired by the Paris avant-garde, including Brummer and Guillaume. One such object, a large Fang mask, was first acquired by de Vlaminck in 1906, who sold it to Derain, who showed it to Matisse and Picasso and which subsequently became so revered that an edition of bronze casts was initiated by Vollard. In Rubin's estimation, this made it the 'principal tribal icon of twentieth-century primitivism' and to this day Fang objects rank among the most sought-after of African sculpture.²⁴

Commissioned by the Lübeck Museum für Völkerkunde, Tessmann had conducted his research during 1904 and 1907, assembling an impressive collection of artifacts. He published his findings in a study, which was described as 'a monograph, by a man who made himself a master of the language and won the confidence of the people'; it has remained the standard work on the subject.²⁵ Yet, in his report for the *Koloniale Rundschau* there are traces of what nowadays would be classified as ethnocentric jargon using physiognomic generalizations such as 'the coarse negro type' that were as customary for the journal's target audience as it was in varying degrees for most of the period's literature concerned with non-western subject matter.²⁶ It differs from the position Einstein was to occupy in *Negerplastik* where his polemics turned the tables so to speak, in which discriminatory attitudes became part of his indictment of western cultural tradition.

Because we may presume that Einstein was familiar with the mounting interest in Fang works by the artists, but also by Warnod and Brummer, it is possible that – perhaps through his contacts to the Berlin ethnological department –

he knew about Tessmann's research by the time of his preparations for *Negerplastik*. Be that as it may, Fang sculpture featured in an impressive display of eight works reproduced in thirteen image plates, making it the principal culture represented in Einstein's monograph. Tessmann's *Die Pangwe*, which contains detailed descriptions of the Fang language and a wealth of information on mythic-religious cults and customs, was included in the bibliography of Einstein's *Afrikanische Legenden*. Among other legends, it recalled several Fang myths, while poetic reinterpretations – two of which were Fang songs – were published as 'Negerlieder' in *Die Aktion* in 1917.²⁷

Whereas Tessmann's report engaged only marginally with the sculptural objects in terms of their artistic principles but more fully with the social role of cultic ceremonies, there is evidence of a shift in focus on the artistic in the coeval ethnological discourse. The meaning and status of non-western artifacts derive in the first instance from their unique cultural and social environment. Once removed from it they acquire different connotations that are entirely dependant upon their place within the western inventories of material culture. Before the late nineteenth century, the exploration of inner Africa and the collecting of artifacts was largely a haphazard affair, reflected by the quantities of weapons and game hunting trophies found in the numerous collections of ethnographic and natural history museums in Europe and North America. It pandered to public perceptions of the perilous hazards associated with the 'dark continent', in which all other spoils were regarded, at best, as worthwhile archival evidence of no aesthetic value, and at worst, as theories of 'inferior' races and fantasies of bizarre 'barbaric' customs and superstitions.²⁸ While the Berlin Colonial Conference of 1884/85 formalized the distribution of power between the major European nations, the scramble for dominance continued unabated until 1914, as a cover illustration of *Je sais tout* makes clear (Fig. 23). What changed were the acquisition policies for museological collecting by German ethnological museums, manifest in the measures introduced by the Berlin museum. In 1889 Adolf Bastian, the museum's founding director, obtained by imperial decree the option to purchase all ethnographic material collected with the aid of national funds. Continued by his successor, von Luschan, this required ethnographers, explorers and colonial administrators to hand over all collected material, with the result that the Berlin museum's Africa-collection grew from 7,000 objects in 1884 to about 55,000 by 1914.²⁹

At the same time, the social Darwinism espoused by ethnology saw African objects as part of a stagnant 'primordial' culture, which is apparent in the *Anleitung für ethnographische Sammlungen* (Guidelines for Ethnographic Collections). These statutory questionnaires, issued by the museum to colonial

administrators and explorers between 1899 and 1914,³⁰ suited the political and economical goals of colonial rule that were oblivious to the historical complexities of African cultural formations. Research tended to focus on remote so-called 'tribal' groups, which often resulted in a frenzy to acquire 'scientific' evidence by way of objects, best exemplified by the Olukun-affair. In line with evolutionist preconceptions, individual field observations largely functioned to theorize on little understood cultural customs and rituals that subscribed to European concepts of 'fetish' practices and 'idol worship' of 'backward' societies who were in need of the 'civilizing' endeavours of imperial policies. Yet, the notion of art had already informed Edward B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871) and *Evolution in Art* (1895) by the founder of the Cambridge School of Anthropology Alfred C. Haddon. Henry Balfour, who Einstein would meet in 1925, had raised the issue of chance as a crucial element in the emergence of representational sculptural form in his study *Evolution of Decorative Art* (1893),³¹ while Georg Schweinfurth's illustrations of his African travels and his encounter with the Mangbetu in northeastern Congo greatly appealed to the European imagination.³² The Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde was the first to organize a special African exhibition in 1892 and Congo culture was for the first time represented in the *Exposition Universelle de Bruxelles* at Tervuren in 1897. Although conceived to promote Belgian commercial colonial interests, the exhibition marked the growing attraction the region held for ethnographers, whose findings would lead to the emergence of a twentieth-century ethnographic discourse that arguably informed the theoretical proposals put forward in *Negerplastik*.³³

Among those to recognize artistic qualities in objects, especially those of the Kuba peoples in the Congo Kasai-region, was the African-American missionary explorer, William H. Sheppard (1865-1927), an author and campaigner for African rights. His appreciation of the social organization of a people, whose royal lineage dates back to the seventeenth century, is reflected in the quality of the collection he assembled. The skilfully patterned woodcarvings, raffia cut-pile textiles and inlaid metal work have been ranked amongst the highest in central Africa.³⁴ What captivated Sheppard as much as Emile Torday (1875-1931), who followed him in studying the Kuba, was finding in the Congo a highly organized royal culture with an accomplished artistic tradition comparable, as intimated half a century later, to that of the 'Medici and the Dukes of Burgundy'.³⁵ Those – like Torday – unconvinced by von Luschan's insistence on the inherently African technological achievements found in the cache of Benin-artifacts acquired by European museums after the British 1897 punitive expedition, could no longer maintain their position on European influences. Here was a culture that appeared to be truly 'untouched'

by any non-African contact.³⁶ Torday's ethnographic studies in the Congo during the first decade of the twentieth century not only further substantiated the artistic and ancient traditions of cultures like the Kuba but also helped to define new parameters for an ethnology beginning to look beyond its nineteenth-century heritage.

Educated in Hungary and, like Einstein, with incomplete studies at a German university, Torday developed an interest in African culture while working for the Belgian colonial administration; a position that allowed him to become acquainted with indigenous customs and languages. In 1907, the British Museum commissioned him to undertake field studies, which were to establish his reputation in the ethnography of central African cultures that made his work 'a model of research practically and theoretically' which, as Bronislaw Malinowski noted, contributed to the 'new type of anthropology known as the Functional School'.³⁷ The 'trifling curios' Torday had offered to the British Museum back in 1904 consisted of a number of artifacts collected during travels among the Luba, situated between the Congo tributary, the Lualaba, and the western shores of Lake Tanganyika. Like the Kuba, their social structure and royal ancestry was eventually found to be similarly developed and relevant to what has since become a burgeoning African art history.³⁸

While Torday confirmed Sheppard's conviction as to the superior artistic qualities of African culture, his methodologies, as Malinowski pointed out, contributed to what became required practice for ethnographic fieldwork in Britain and elsewhere. It is evident in his writings and especially those done in collaboration with the British Museum's assistant curator, Thomas A. Joyce (1878-1942), contributions that reinvigorated British ethnography with a modern outlook. Among the collection assembled during Torday's expedition to the Kuba Bushong and related groups (such as the Kete and Showa) presented to the museum upon his return were four carved commemorative king figures he had acquired at the royal Kuba capital, which he (and Joyce) believed to be actual portraits of past dynastic rulers. While this assumption has since been proved mistaken, the excitement the objects caused is evident in an article by Joyce, after a fifth figure was purchased by the Musée du Congo Belge (now the Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren). In this, he relates Torday's findings as well as his personal evaluation of these figures, one of which was to feature in Einstein's *Negerplastik* in 1915 (Fig. 24). What has so far been largely overlooked in Einstein scholarship is that between 1926 and 1930 Joyce and Einstein collaborated on plans for a project on African cultural history.³⁹

Convinced as they were by the collection's quality the British Museum arranged for a special exhibition, on which *The Times* reported that here was evidence of 'one of the most remarkable tribes of Africa'. The superiority of the Congo collection at the British Museum also reached Picasso. A postcard from Max Weber written in late 1908 on his return to the United States apologized for not having visited before his departure, but adds: 'The Congo things at the British Museum are numerous and superb. I hope you will see them soon'.⁴⁰ In line with the growth of ethnographic collections and avant-garde developments the impact of extant ancient African civilizations is reflected in the literature on the subject by Torday and Joyce as it is in Tessmann's research and a sign that ideas of an African artistic tradition were gaining acceptance.⁴¹

That this shift of emphasis was also to inform Einstein's theoretical apologia for the aesthetic autonomy of African art is perhaps not surprising, nor that works of the Kuba and Luba kingdoms and neighbouring cultures like the Pende or Chokwe were to feature prominently in *Negerplastik*.⁴² Whether Einstein intended to omit all reference to the provenance of the works and to the literature he consulted, or whether it was unfortunate circumstance (as he later claimed), remains open to conjecture. But what becomes evident from the references for his second book, *Afrikanische Plastik*, is that of the twenty-one sources cited no fewer than ten are ethnographic studies of British or American origin, including two by Torday and Joyce and Joyce and Dalton's 1910 *Handbook* to the British Museum's ethnographical collections. Two of the objects reproduced in the latter, one of the four Kuba king figures Torday had acquired (Fig. 24) and a Benin bronze head, would reappear in Einstein's *Negerplastik*.⁴³ Even though in 1915 these images were the only direct proof of Einstein's interest in British ethnography, what we do know is that his ethnographic research continued unabated as soon as he was released from active war service in 1916 until 1930.⁴⁴

The metaphysics of Wilhelm Hausenstein

Coinciding with Einstein's Picasso and African sculpture venture at the *Neue Galerie*, the art historian and critic Wilhelm Hausenstein (1882-1957) raised issues regarding the display and reception of German ethnographic collections, not unlike Apollinaire's report on the Trocadéro back in 1912. Like Einstein, Hausenstein was in touch with dealers, including Flechtheim and Cassirer, and the patrons of the new art, men like Karl Ernst Osthaus (1874-1921) and Eduard von der Heydt (1882-1964). Both were to acquire some of the African sculptural works that featured in *Negerplastik*, some of which might have been part of the African

displays at the *Neue Galerie*.⁴⁵ Like Einstein, Hausenstein's contacts to the artistic avant-garde had made him aware of the need for a change of perception, which is evident in his 'Von ethnographischen Sammlungen' that appeared in *Die Weissen Blätter* (published by the same Leipzig publishing firm that was to bring out the first edition of *Negerplastik* a little more than a year later).⁴⁶

While the essay appeared to be a timely reminder of the more general mood for cultural change, Hausenstein may have had Einstein's and Feldmann's African exhibition projects in mind when he noted that 'a minority' had begun to 'celebrate these [non-western] arts from a purely artistic point of view.'⁴⁷ Not only did both authors share an interest in contemporary art, whether this concerned Cubism, or members of the *Neue Sezession*, *Der Blaue Reiter* and the arts of non-western cultures, but it is conceivable that they first met at the *Café du Dôme*. Like Flechtheim, both were to spend time in Brussels during the war. In 1928, they each contributed dedications to a portfolio of greetings and photographs to celebrate Flechtheim's fiftieth birthday, along with among others Osthaus, von der Heydt and Einstein's friend Dr Gottlieb F. Reber. Hausenstein's and Einstein's dedications are characteristic of their respective style of writing as much as their personal stance. While Hausenstein went into lengthy reminiscences on the days spent in the Brussels war-colony by recounting some of Flechtheim's habitual corny puns and regretting their estrangement over differences of opinion on art, Einstein's comments were close to the point of brusqueness, were it not for a small, typically sardonic, twist, which no doubt Flechtheim's sense of humour would have appreciated.⁴⁸

In its stance, redolent of Apollinaire's 'Exotisme et ethnographie', Hausenstein's essay provides a context for Einstein's involvement with the *Neue Galerie* and for the conceptualization of *Negerplastik* that must have been in progress by then. The indictment of the displays of German ethnological museums was developed by arguing that there might come a time in the not too distant future, when condescension for the work of the 'South-seas islanders' - now regarded as 'bizarre achievements of an oddly mythical soul' - would be judged to be as inadequate as when Japanese art was 'banished into the chamber of curiosity'. And when it came to the representation of non-European cultures by ethnographic museums, 'we tend to accept any kind of make-over'. While Germany possessed ethnographic collections of exceptional scientific value, it was no longer sufficient simply to organize these objects as 'scientific cultural documents' into the customary decorative arrangements, rather it was necessary to realize that it was 'time to hand over' such material to a more 'artistic treatment'.⁴⁹

The essay cited the example of the Munich ethnological museum, which possessed such ‘astounding objects’ that there were artists who preferred its collections to those of the *Alte Pinakothek*.⁵⁰ Yet, while the museum had accomplished an important organizational task it nonetheless made available little more than a pitiful amount of space for the display of its ‘exotic treasures’, an aspect Hausenstein regarded as symptomatic of the broad spectrum of German ethnographic collections. Public bodies tended to provide the ‘most opulent and costly monumental buildings’ for the display of comparatively irrelevant subjects such as the history of military dress and weaponry, yet the ‘splendours’ of ethnographical collections currently received with the utmost delight by the artists had to make do with a rather poor state of affairs.⁵¹ While museums were organized according to ‘geo-anthropological’ and evolutionist principles of race, Hausenstein pointed out that among the wealth of literature on the subject there was not a single book paying due tribute to the exotic world of forms from an artistic point of view. He concluded that ‘these insights do not emphasize what for us today is becoming more and more the decisive aspect of exotic cultures – the immense perfection of artistic expression’.⁵² Some of these remarks might suggest that Hausenstein was aware of the *Neue Galerie*’s exhibitions and indeed even of Einstein’s plans for a book. We know of Brummer’s presence in Berlin at the time of exhibitions, so that it becomes conceivable that during the mounting of the exhibitions in the *Neue Galerie*’s stylish interior he and Einstein took the opportunity to arrange for photographic records of the African works in preparation for his *Negerplastik* project.⁵³

Hausenstein’s interest in non-western culture became manifest again in his lavishly illustrated *Der Nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*, (The nude Figure in the Art of all Periods and Peoples, 1913) published by Reinhart Piper, who had also promoted Meier-Gräfe’s writings, Worringer’s and, of course, the almanac of *Der Blaue Reiter*. This ambitious survey examined representations of the nude figure across all cultures and ages in what was declared to be a history of art from the vantage point of historical materialism, which he introduced by quoting from Marx’s *Grundrisse der politischen Ökonomie* (1857-8).⁵⁴ Following Saint-Simon he divided all cultures into two categories; one in which ‘positive social organization’ dominates, and the other ‘disintegrating’ cultures, characterized by decaying political and economic systems, both forms alternated in a dialectical historical progression.⁵⁵ A chapter on what he called the *Urkunst* (primal arts) put forward a ‘social aesthetic’ approach informed by Ernst Grosse’s *Die Anfänge der Kunst* (1894) and Max Verworn’s *Zur Psychologie der primitiven Kunst* (1907). It differentiated between artistic tendencies of naturalism and

abstraction, between what Verworn called 'physioplasic' art occurring in all hunter-gatherer cultures, and more advanced 'ideoplasic' tendencies occurring in agrarian societies, whether these were pre-historic or contemporaneous non-western cultures.⁵⁶

Apart from its reformist outlook, Hausenstein's book epitomized coeval concerns with the new sciences of sociology, psychology and anthropology and their effect on debate on the origins and meaning of artistic practice. In over six hundred pages and more than seven hundred high quality images made up of colour plates and half-tone reproductions, idealistic notions of the 'origins' of art and the 'primitive' found in African, Oceanic and Meso-American cultures operated as an epigrammatic antidote to discussions of the symbolism of the nude in depictions from the ancient Orient, India and the Far East. All of this was somewhat eclipsed by the attention lavished on Greek and other western stylistic tradition of rendering the human form, above all Michelangelo and Rembrandt. Luxuriously bound in red, a gold embossed cover showed a graceful female figure from the frescoes of the Ajanta cave temple. The image juxtapositions within have been likened to those of the *Blaue Reiter*. More than any likeness, what set both apart was Hausenstein's ability to reaffirm and thus appeal to a more traditionalist viewpoint that aimed to bring art to the people.⁵⁷ We shall return to one of his interpretations of an African sculpture, when discussing the reproductions in *Negerplastik*.

While Hausenstein's essay on ethnographic collections suggests a proclivity for the new art and the 'primitive', only little regarding the aesthetic relevance of the non-western 'Formenwelt' to modern artistic practice found its way into his second major project, *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart* (The plastic Arts of the Present). Comparable in its ambition to Einstein's *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, its aim was a survey of modern European art that here consisted of German Naturalism and Realism, French Impressionism and Neo-Impressionism, and the impact of the Secessionist movement. His focus was on recognized German artists, among them Arnold Böcklin, Wilhelm Leibl, Max Liebermann and Wilhelm Trübner. A chapter was dedicated to Hans von Marées and Adolf Hildebrand in which Hausenstein voiced reservation on Hildebrand's ability as a sculptor, but he agreed with the theoretical deliberations in *Das Problem der Form*.⁵⁸

Separate chapters reflected on the work of Cézanne, on van Gogh and Gauguin, while Cubism and Futurism were jointly considered. Hausenstein's preface to the book confessed that the 'encyclopaedic ambitions and duties' of his task may have been somewhat overwhelming.⁵⁹ This might account for a lack of a clear stance concerning the new art. Instead, the survey clung to a view of developments in contemporary art that combined empathy for the lay reader with

psycho-sociological interpretations that evaded conflicting avant-garde positions. Consequently, the subject of non-western sculpture in the context of Cubism was reduced to anecdotal accounts of Picasso's 'overwhelming' encounter with the 'triangular pyramid form' representing the 'nose of an exotic sculpture'.⁶⁰ His analyses continued as a mix of insight along with a desire to ward off anything too radical.⁶¹ One of his cautious deliberations was that Cubism was the last stage in the history of the deformation and destruction of the object. It no longer sought optical impression, but the total essence of the object, an extension of traditional processes of vision he regarded as possessing a certain 'epic' character. This, Hausenstein likened to the 'manifold narrative' painting of the Primitives and their simultaneous representations of the birth, adoration and crucifixion of Christ. The Cubist work was its modern analogue, an inner vision pouring out into visual equivalents.⁶² While this might point to ideas relating to what William Rubin has since described as Cubism's shift from the narrative to the iconic, it is an aspect Hausenstein did not explore further.⁶³

Remarks on the impact or meaning of the 'exotic' cultures of Africa or Oceania were scarce, amounting to a range of typically broad analogies and sensitive evaluation that lacked the theoretical rigour of Einstein's *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*. The gulf between the two becomes evident in a discussion of the art of Emil Nolde. This subscribed to the romanticized 'exotic' that typified much of German Expressionism and the emotive hyperbolic treatment of non-western art in the studies Hausenstein published during the nineteen-twenties:

It is not in its achievement but rather in the sense of meaning that the art of Nolde [...] marks a renewal of the artistic spirit of the savages [...]. We could do no better than to engage fanatically with the art of the exotic primitives; not to create some primitivist trend, but rather [...] to experience what primeval artistic instincts really might be, what may spring forth from this uninterrupted power and [...] its naïve abundance. Our age experiences the Gothic, the archaic Greek, Egyptian, [and] Indian art with renewed passion. If we continue along this path – and there is hope that we must [...] – then one day we may grasp the beauty of the art of savage peoples, [...]. We shall experience, and even bring forth, an art whose reason lies in the mysticism of a religiously possessed soul imbued with a metaphysical spirit.⁶⁴

While Hausenstein's eager identification with the 'primeval instincts' of Nolde seemed bound up also with 'völkische' notions he saw as present in the 'metaphysics of the savages' as in the 'metaphysics of Jutland farmers' who took in Nolde's paintings and painted wooden beams with the same joyful composure,⁶⁵

his language seemed intent on emulating the artist's visual expressivity. It contrasts sharply with how Einstein summed up the artist's work:

I openly confess I cannot join the trail of admiring beholders who fall into a shoddy mystical prattle [...]. Doubtlessly, these paintings are wrought from an immense tension, yet formally this is hardly resolved; all too easily such a gap is utilized by half-hearted poets, and optical deficiencies are paid off with resounding pathos and vulgar metaphysics. [...] The primitive attitude seeks the geographically exotic as if one could rejuvenate the European mentality from out there.⁶⁶

The cultural climate of the years preceding the First World War was one of the most fertile periods in German artistic production, in which international artistic and intellectual exchanges flourished. Yet at the same time, a gradual tightening of ranks became manifest in the rekindling of nationalist sentiments and, in 1914, it culminated in the chauvinistic international war hysteria in which many of the intellectual avant-garde actively participated. As a pioneer of a pre-war Expressionism heralding a new age, it seems Hausenstein's socialist materialist ideologies never quite prevented him from escaping into the 'spiritual' realm, either pre- or post-war, when he renounced Expressionism in preference of a secure traditionalist position.⁶⁷ As such, the success of Hausenstein's survey was as much a product of its time as it was due to a narrative style that tended towards what Einstein regarded as 'exceedingly spirit-laden combinations', tendencies that remained entirely absent in his own writings.⁶⁸

Chapter 12 *Negerplastik and the Function of Art*

Einstein's breakthrough as a cultural critic came in 1915 with the publication of *Negerplastik* (Fig. 25). Arguing for an aesthetic approach to the African sculptural object as art, it was the first and most controversial of his texts on the arts of non-western cultures.⁶⁹ It was the first book that moved the discourse on the reception of ethnographic objects from the inner circles of the French and German avant-garde to the forefront of artistic and intellectual debate. This and the following chapter examines the text of *Negerplastik* and the images that form what might be described as Einstein's 'visual turn', identified by Rainer Rumold as: 'a turn to a visual language against the culture of literary writing'.⁷⁰ In contrast to Rumold, here the focus will be on Einstein's use of images as a significant and largely overlooked aspect of his art-critical practice. The 'visual turn' of *Negerplastik* served to theorize non-western sculpture as modern art's (especially Cubism's) aesthetic other. The book is indicative of an approach to theory, which Michel Foucault describes as a 'toolkit', not as 'a system but an instrument, a *logic* of the specificity of power relations and the struggles around them'. This logic, he argues, must be founded on the 'reflection [...] on given situations', which here will involve the cultural, historical and ethnographic, and in which photography, in Roland Barthes' words, functioned as a 'certain but fugitive testimony to history'.⁷¹

Notes on method

Negerplastik opens with the text consisting of five chapters. Setting a provocative agenda, the introduction, 'Anmerkungen zur Methode' (Notes on method) argues that European contempt for African culture was based on 'vague evolutionary hypotheses' and 'misguided concepts of the primitive' that defined its products as 'a priori deficient' and hence impeded 'any aesthetic assessment'. Cognisant of the systemic paucity of research, beyond a few examples from Benin, this lack of knowledge on Africa's cultural history and migrations made futile any efforts to determine phenomena such as the proximity of divergent artistic styles.⁷² Rejecting as fallacious methodologies that advanced 'from the simple to the

complex' and regarded 'the simple and the originaive' as identical, Einstein argued:

To view art as a means to anthropological and ethnographic insights seems to me dubious, since artistic representation reveals hardly anything about the fact on which such scholarly knowledge is based.⁷³

The alternative, he advocated, was to proceed from fact because 'more reliable than all possible ethnographic or other knowledge is this: the African sculptures themselves!' The problems of modern artists had led to less superficial negotiations of African sculpture, and the recognition that 'hardly anywhere had certain spatial problems and a particular mode of artistic practice been resolved in such purity as with the Negroes'. What became clear was that previous verdicts had applied 'more to the judge than the judged'.⁷⁴ Instead, Einstein proposed to exclude all subject matter and associated contextual associations in order to establish:

If a formal analysis becomes possible that relates to certain unifying characteristics of spatial creation and vision, then it has been implicitly ascertained that the configurations in question are art.⁷⁵

It is not easy to gauge Einstein's ethnographic knowledge at the time of *Negerplastik*. However dismissive of contemporary ethnographic research the introduction appears, it nonetheless suggests awareness of then current debates such as diffusionism, which almost certainly included Leo Frobenius whose publications and notoriety climaxed in the years before the war.⁷⁶ While there is no documentary evidence of Einstein's ethnographic knowledge, we do know how much ancient and non-western cultures occupied Kahnweiler who, unlike Einstein, never published anything on the subject except in the context of Cubism. During his exile in Berne in 1916, Kahnweiler not only studied and wrote on Kant's philosophy but also ethnology. In terms of the significance he assigned to African and Polynesian art his convictions recall those of *Negerplastik*:

To have discovered this art and to have assigned to it its appropriate place in humanity's artistic production, I consider as the cultural feat of our time. [...] It should [...] not be denied here that I consider some of these styles – for example those of the Ivory Coast, New Caledonia – to be the most sublime artistic expression of humanity.⁷⁷

We also know that since before 1912 Kahnweiler collected African artifacts and, if as he claimed, his and Einstein's friendship went back to 1905, we

may assume that shared interests meant a close study of objects and identification of abstract, normative principles that rule the objects' formal and aesthetic principles, as is evident in *Negerplastik* and Kahnweiler's 1916 text.⁷⁸ It also implies that Einstein's Africa-research commenced, at the latest, around the time he established contact with the Berlin Ethnological Museum in 1913, which may have led him to the work Bernhard Ankermann (1859-1943) and Fritz Graebner (1877-1934). Specializing in African and Oceanic studies respectively, both worked at the Berlin Museum, where Ankermann became the director of the Africa department in 1911. Redefining Frobenius' ideas on 'Kulturkreise' and following Friedrich Ratzel's opposition to such taxonomies as '*Naturvölker*' and '*Kulturvölker*' which he judged as biased conjecture,⁷⁹ both Ankermann and Graebner contributed to the modernization of German ethnography by challenging ahistorical empiricism and advocating a historicized, or '*kulturgeschichtliche*' (cultural and historical), method. This raised issues of whether '*Naturvölker*', or as Graebner put it, 'the so-called peoples without history' should not be also subject to historical interpretation.⁸⁰

What informed Einstein's introduction then, was that it rejected the bias of social-evolutionist ethnology by siding as much with the ethical as with the cultural and historical relativism of the discipline's new *kulturgeschichtliche* method.⁸¹ Contesting ethnology's entitlement to determine the status of the non-western object opened up to the idea of testing its artistic potential against the criteria of the (equally new) formalistic methodologies of *Kunstwissenschaft* as represented by Wölfflin, Hildebrand and others. In preference to a Vasarian art history, Wölfflin advocated the rigorous comparative study of art objects by systematically applying aesthetic concepts and normative categories (such as 'the painterly' and 'the linear').⁸² That Einstein's proposal could not be achieved without questioning art historical principles becomes apparent in the following section of *Negerplastik*.

The 'painterly'

The chapter, 'Das Malerische' (The painterly) charged western sculptural tradition, since the Renaissance, with the dissolution of the 'boundaries between freestanding sculpture and relief' in which 'painterly excitation stifled any three-dimensional form'.⁸³ The term 'the painterly' (as the correlate of 'the linear') has tended to be associated with Wölfflin's art historical schema of stylistic analysis since his *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915) of which Einstein must have been aware, since during 1906 to 1907, Wölfflin had lectured on the subject at the Berlin University.⁸⁴ In 1913, he published an article on the concept of the

'painterly', in which his method of applying normative principles to visual perception advocated the act of experiencing the constant flux of appearances (the painterly Baroque) above that of seeking delimitations of form and proportion (the linear Renaissance) by conveying a metaphysical dimension that identified with contemporaneous experience.⁸⁵ It aligned his concept with a 'painterly' aesthetic that had gained appeal during the eighteen-nineties by identifying 'das Malerische' (of Rembrandt's chiaroscuro in particular) with what came to be regarded as the essence of the 'deutsche Geist' (German spirit). Although most notoriously epitomized by Julius Langbehn's *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (1890), the notion of 'das Malerische' captivated the imagination of many, from the staunch nationalist to the liberal-minded citizen.⁸⁶ It is in this sense that the 'painterly' pervaded a broad spectrum of the contemporary discourse on the visual arts in which Wölfflin's principles affirmed formalist methodologies with little immediate concern for the avant-garde debates on art.⁸⁷ And it is in this sense that Einstein's 'Das Malerische' set out a critique of western concepts of visuality that pitted itself against virtually all of the early twentieth-century discourse on sculpture, the opposite ends of which were represented by Wölfflin's friend Hildebrand, and Rodin.

Sculpture had occupied Einstein at the beginning of his art-journalism when he eulogized the work of Waldschmidt. At the time of Wölfflin's essay on 'the painterly', the African exhibitions at the *Neue Galerie* and preparations for *Negerplastik*, two of Einstein's articles appeared in the weekly *Zeit im Bild*, illustrated with superb photographic reproductions. One was dedicated to the graphic work of Wilhelm Lehmbruck, the other to the sculpture of Aristide Maillol. In the latter, which reveals a clear debt to Maurice Denis's essay on Maillol,⁸⁸ Einstein's assessment of Rodin's process of dramatic modeling was seen to 'drive the beholder to a superlative of excitation' exemplifying the contrast to Maillol's work in which 'notorious slogans like measure, equivalence, [and] harmony gain definite meaning'.⁸⁹

In 'Das Malerische', Einstein's polemic turned to Hildebrand at once; in his "Problem der Form", he argued, 'we possess the ideal equalization of the painterly and the sculptural'. Rodin was seen as symptomatic of the 'conspicuous' French sculptural tradition, which 'up to Rodin seems concerned with nothing less than the dissolution of the sculptural [per se]'. Consequently, and here Hildebrand was clearly the focus:

Even frontality, considered a strictly 'primitive' exposition of form, must be described as an essentially painterly treatment of the cubic, because here the three-dimensional is summed up in a few planes that suppress the cubic. One emphasizes the parts closest to the beholder and orders them

into planes, while the distant parts are seen as incidental modulations of the frontal plane, which hence is dynamically weakened.⁹⁰

Hildebrand's eminence within the German sculptural discourse is obvious in much of the coeval literature; Hausenstein extolled the sculptor's theories and acknowledged what he called the 'problem' of Rodin with view to Hildebrand's theories, though his conclusions were unconvincing.⁹¹ Einstein's objections focused on Hildebrand's classicising paradigm that sought to establish a 'painterly' model of coherent plasticity:

[It] is not the task of sculpture to leave the viewer in an unfinished and uncomfortable frame of mind with regard to the three dimensional or cubic nature of the impression – striving to form a clear visual image. Its task, rather, is to provide that visual image and thus to remove what is disturbing from the cubic form.

For Hildebrand, the solution was to be found in the bas-relief (three-dimensionality as painting), a doctrine that in 1911 prompted Einstein's remark of 'how to avoid the essentially sculptural'.⁹² Rodin, by contrast, epitomized an aspect of French tradition in which, as Einstein put it, 'three-dimensionality was eroded by optical sensation; personal handwriting dominated'. Since such conflation of the sculptural with the painterly could only end in the total defeat of sculpture, it had caused 'painters and not sculptors' to raise the decisive issues concerning three-dimensional representation.⁹³

The other participants in this discourse, though not named in *Negerplastik*, were the poet Rainer Maria Rilke and the sociologist Georg Simmel, whose lectures Einstein had attended during his student years. Both exulted in Rodin's ability to evoke a sculptural sensibility of becoming and presence that gave symbolic and palpable form to the psycho-physiological experiences of modernity, absolving sculpture from its architectural constraints.⁹⁴ Both had publicly lectured on the artist, as can be found in, for example, the correspondence of Herwarth Walden when his *Verein für Kunst* promoted modern literature and music before he launched his journal and gallery *Der Sturm*.⁹⁵ Even if Einstein did not attend these events, there is little doubt that he was as aware of Rilke's and Simmel's writings as of Rodin's immense stature in Germany. Museums like Dresden and the Hamburger Kunsthalle had acquired his work as early as the eighteen-nineties, followed by collectors including Karl Ernst Osthaus in Hagen, while monographic studies by Georg Treu (1903), Otto Grautoff (1908) and Rilke (1913) appeared in due course.⁹⁶

For Simmel, Rodin had built on Greek and Renaissance sculptural tradition to create the ideal manifestation of the multi-faceted experience of modern life. His understanding of the creative process was a somewhat idealized view of the artist manifesting experiences and the quantified time-space intervals of Henri Bergson's philosophy of becoming:

Antique sculpture [...] sought the logic of the body, Rodin sought psychology; for the essence of modernity as such is psychologism, the experience and making sense of the world according to our inner response [...], the dissolution of concrete contents into the fluid element of the soul, purified of all substance, and whose forms are forms of movement. [...] This tendency to movement is really the more meaningful concern of art with realism: the increasingly psychic movement of actual life is not just revealed in a parallel art, rather the style of life and art well up from the same deep root. Art does not just mirror a world ever more in motion but the mirror itself has turned out to be moving.⁹⁷

For Einstein, whose interest in Bergson's concepts of temporality and space went back to the time of *Bebuquin*, opposition was possibly fuelled as much by a disdain for the Bergsonist craze that gripped Europe and the USA as by what the artist Jacques Emile Blanche had called the 'theoretical painters of the fourth dimension', namely the Cubists of the Puteaux group, who had trusted that the 'philosopher of intuition would provide the exegesis for their plastic ideas'.⁹⁸ In what is known as the 'Kahnweiler-letter', Einstein referred to Bergson's temporal notions. Considering whether '[poetic] language, in order to be art at all', had to be 'subordinated to an immediate "reality"', he preferred to contemplate 'sensations and cerebral activities, which are always qualitative', not in the Bergsonian 'metaphysical time (a non-time)', but rather 'sensed as time in that they are felt simultaneously in different dimensions', having far 'richer properties than considered so far'.⁹⁹ In the same letter he confessed to 'being theoretically perhaps closer to [Ernst] Mach', even if – because of his focus on language – he distanced himself from all that went 'beyond the physiological' in Mach's epistemology.¹⁰⁰

For the Einstein of *Negerplastik*, western sculpture had yielded to spatial and temporal interpretations, functioning as 'a conduit for psychological excitation', – 'professions of genetics rather than of objectified forms', so that 'any meaningful canon of form and vision had to be dissolved', resulting in an increasingly 'fissured proliferation of technical means'. Moreover,

Such an attitude destroys our distance from things and valorizes only their functional meaning for the individual [...]. The temporal-psychological factor completely outweighed spatial definition. [...] The sculptor subjected himself to the majority of psychological processes and transformed himself into the beholder. [...] The construction of space was

sacrificed to a secondary, indeed to an alien means, namely that of material movement; the precondition of all sculpture, cubic space, was forgotten.¹⁰¹

Simmel's Rodin encapsulated all that was antithesis to Einstein, a manifestation of what he called 'optical naturalism' that had fused sculptural form with psycho-physiological states, temporality and movement, eliminating the critical distance between beholder, maker and the work itself. Only through the effort and strength of a few French painters to abandon routine artisanship had the dubiety of such a procedure become apparent; on discovering 'Negro sculpture' they recognized that it had cultivated pure plastic forms.¹⁰² With this singular exception, what becomes clear from this chapter is that only this deliberate indictment of western tradition – and the contemporary (Hildebrandian) canon in particular – allowed Einstein to posit the aesthetic autonomy of African sculpture, an assertion which would be further reified by the evidence of *Negerplastik's* image plates.

Religion and African art

The third section, entitled 'Religion und Afrikanische Kunst', (Religion and African art) insisted on African artistic practice being 'above all determined by religion'. In contrast to the European artwork that summoned the optical participation of the beholder, the African work maintained distance, since it 'either is or contains the god' and so is 'self-sufficient and transcendent'. Furthermore,

To this transcendence corresponds a spatial vision that precludes every function of the beholder. [...] Here the isolation of the space does not mean abstraction but it is unmediated sensation. [...] With this determination of vision a style is achieved that is not subject to individual whim, but is canonically determined [...]. Often the beholder worships the images in darkness, [...] so that he will scarcely affect or even take notice of the work's character. [...] In such an art the individual artist's model and the portrait have no place [...]. The work is raised as a typological example of the venerated power.¹⁰³

In emphasizing sacred function, the African art object was in Einstein's words outside any contextual considerations, constituting a 'formal realism' that was not 'a mimetic naturalism' but a 'mythic reality, whose power surpasses that of nature'. This kind of art offers a total spatial 'equation', because it is 'timeless only, if it excludes any temporal interpretation' and 'absorbs time by integrating into its form what we experience as movement'.¹⁰⁴

Here, Einstein's attempt to identify African sculpture as embedded in religious tradition might betray notions of early twentieth-century German ethnology's emancipation from the authority of the natural sciences in order to establish itself as an autonomous discipline. By 1915 ethnographers like Tessmann, Graebner and Ankermann had engaged in methodologies in which fieldwork functioned as the toolkit for the analysis of ritual, language and social structures of non-western cultures, and which re-examined religious customs, including totemic cults and concepts of the 'soul'. Aware of the complexities such subject research might present to the ethnographer, Ankermann questioned some of Edward B. Tylor's earlier animistic theories and conceded the ambivalence of modes of representation of cultural difference, which might result as much from language barriers as discriminatory fixities, and so lead to deductions that – to reiterate Einstein's pragmatic stance - applied 'more to the judge than the judged'.¹⁰⁵

Cubic notions of space

The focal point of the book however was the section, 'Kubische Raumanschauung' (Cubic notions of space). Here one might be tempted to interpret *Negerplastik* as Einstein's response to Wölfflin and Simmel in whose teachings Hildebrand and Rodin must have featured prominently. Debates concerning theories of spatial representation had dominated the German philosophical and scientific discourse for at least half a century. Einstein's contribution marks something of a generational leap in the theories developed by Johann F. Herbart's work on Kant, and the physiological optics of Helmholtz's epistemology of science, which in turn informed the Historical Realism of Adolph von Menzel, and the new German Idealism of artists like Anselm Feuerbach, von Marées and Hildebrand.¹⁰⁶ Aware of this discourse and of the complexity of the subject he was about to address, Einstein reminded the reader:

Typical of any conceptual analysis – however much it is bound by visual experience – is that it becomes self-sufficient and for the sake of its own specific structure, it does not convey all the diversity of the artistic situation.

Dismissing erroneous assumptions of African art as merely a 'subconscious memory of some European form of art', the task was to examine 'the specific formal nature of the visual conceptualization that is the foundation of African sculpture'.¹⁰⁷ Einstein insisted that sculpture's task, to render three-

dimensionality, was not simply a matter of working with ‘some vague optical suggestion’ of an already three-dimensional mass, as manifest in western sculpture, but rather a matter of *form*. Judged against African sculpture, European solutions tended to avoid problems of the three-dimensional, so that frontality, multiple viewpoints, transitional modeling, and sculptural silhouette were the most common devices used to deceive the viewer of the cubic experience. All were either painterly or graphic procedures that suggested spatial depth rather than form, yet he insisted, mass was not identical with form. The ‘Negro’, in contrast, seemed to have ‘found a pure and valid solution to this problem. He discovered what to us must be a paradox: a formal dimension’.¹⁰⁸

It is here that Einstein defines what he termed the ‘optical naturalism’¹⁰⁹ which lay at the heart of his challenge to ‘Occidental art’, prompting him to ask: ‘But what in cubic terms is form?’ The answer was that ‘Form is an equation’, which – along with a number of terms and concepts he adopted in *Negerplastik* – confirms Einstein’s intimate knowledge of Hildebrand’s ‘Problem der Form’. For Hildebrand the equation operated as part of elaborate theoretical instructions to the artist in how to provide the beholder with the ideal impression of the ‘idea of form’,¹¹⁰ which in Einstein’s opinion avoided the ‘essentially sculptural’. It could be argued that for Einstein, Hildebrand’s concepts functioned, so to speak, as a means to tackle what he saw as the problem with ‘The Problem of Form’. Even though for Einstein the equation was only valid ‘when it is grasped unconditionally and with no extraneous referents’, it did foreground what he conceived as sculpture’s essential function:

For form means that complete identity of vision and individual realization, which are congruent in structure and do not operate like concept and individual case [...]. So, it follows that art represents a particular instance of unconditional intensity and this quality must be engendered undiminished within it. The task of sculpture is to form an equation in which naturalistic sensations of movement, and hence of mass, are completely absorbed and their successive differentiation is converted into a formal order. This equivalent must be total so that the work of art will no longer be felt as an equation of differently oriented tendencies, but rather as something unconditional, enclosed [and] self-sufficient.¹¹¹

Having charged western art with being imbricated with social, psychological and scientific paradigms (advanced by Herbart, Helmholtz, Bergson, Simmel and others) and the dissolution of the boundaries between painting and sculpture, it was African sculpture that, as Einstein proposed, had shown the potential to restore the formal order necessary for art. While the solution to the

problem of (three-dimensional) form was for Hildebrand the bas-relief, 'based on the impression of a distant image' (Fernbild), Einstein set out to analyze what he called the depth quotient (Tiefenquotient) of sculpture's cubic form:

The dimensions of ordinary space are threefold, but the third, a dimension of movement is merely quantified [...]. Movement tends to be understood as a continuum delimiting space by roaming through it. Yet because visual art fixes [its form], this unity is split, that is, it is conceived as opposing directions and so contains two entirely divergent orientations, which in the infinite space of [...] the mathematician remain quite meaningless. In sculpture, tendencies toward depth and foreground are entirely distinct means of generating space; they are not a linear differentiation, but rather paramount differences of form, provided they are not merged impressionistically, again, under the influence of naturalistic ideas of movement. From this one may realize that sculpture is in a certain sense discontinuous, since it cannot dispense with contrasts as an elementary means to creating an integral space.¹¹²

Given his stated interest in Mach's theories, there is no doubt that Einstein had followed some of the debate relating to non-Euclidian geometry, advanced by Bernhard Riemann and Nikolai I. Lobachevsky. Along with the fourth dimension, these ideas had gained popularity with a number of the Cubist artists through the amateur-mathematician Maurice Princet, who was acquainted with Picasso, Apollinaire, Weber and the circle around Gleizes and Metzinger. The critic Louis Vauxcelles described Cubism as 'the child of M. Princet'.¹¹³ Yet, Einstein along with Picasso and Apollinaire chose to remain aloof; though he did voice his contempt during the nineteen-twenties in a perhaps overly harsh critique of Russian post-revolutionary art:

The constructive; for the most part this is a faint derivation of a tardily reinterpreted Cubism. These painters are revolutionaries considerably delayed [...]; that is, one fights against individualism, which is not new, but with statistical means – the numerical value [...]. One consciously wants to create new objects, a new space, but falters between a misinterpreted Riemann and a not understood Lobatschewsky [sic] and believes in uniting art and science [...].¹¹⁴

In *Negerplastik* Einstein continued with his analysis, emphasizing that in sculpture, the cubic should not be obscured as either secondary suggestive modeling or simply naturalistic mass, but the non-visible parts should function as form (the depth quotient) in the visible parts. And, as if to reiterate his (sculptural) theoretical stance in opposition to Hildebrand's, he argued:

Therefore, the parts must not be represented materially and painterly, but in such a way that the form through which they become sculptural and which is present naturalistically in the act of movement, is fixed and made simultaneously visible. [...] [E]ach part must become sculpturally independent and be deformed in such a way that it absorbs depth, so that the visual idea of how it appears from the opposite side is built into the frontal, nonetheless three-dimensionally functional, side. [...] [T]hat is, every part is a consequence of the formal idea that creates space as a totality and as a complete identity between the individual optic and the general visual idea, which discards the surrogate compromise that weakens space to mere mass. Such sculpture is strongly oriented toward one side since this now offers the cubic as an unadulterated total, as a resultant, whereas frontality merely summarizes the foremost plane.¹¹⁵

At this point one might empathize with Kahnweiler's judgment, who on the occasion of Einstein's second publication on African sculpture in 1921, wrote that even though he highly valued the first 'Negro book', he suggested a different title might have been better, since it was 'a wonderful analysis of sculpture as such'.¹¹⁶ One might feel inclined to agree with Kahnweiler, if one considers Einstein's text as a consideration of sculpture as epistemological model, but that Einstein only had African sculpture in mind becomes clear at precisely this point. It is qualified by contending that sculpture must generate what he called its cubic '*points centrales*', that is, their functional centres, which produce a 'powerful individuation of parts' according to which the work is organized, 'precisely because naturalistic mass is irrelevant'.¹¹⁷ Einstein had long regarded these functional centres as a crucial tenet of Cézanne's legacy and particularly praised Maillol's work for applying this to sculpture.¹¹⁸ But here, he argued that the reason why in African sculpture the figure is treated not as an effect but rather in its immediate spatiality was conditioned by religion, because:

The body of the god as dominant power withdraws from the synthesizing hands of the maker; the body is apprehended functionally from within itself. Negro sculpture is frequently rebuked for its so-called errors in proportion.

However, Einstein continued:

[O]ne ought to understand that the optical discontinuity of space is translated into a clarification of form, into an order of parts that, since sculpturality is the issue, are differently valorized according to their plastic expression [...]; for art as a qualitative [force] is a question of intensity; the cubic, in the subordination of viewpoints, must represent itself as tectonicized intensity.¹¹⁹

Here the tectonic becomes the means that amplifies the African work's dynamic concentration and hence its artistic autonomy. While we will return to Einstein's comments on proportion, along with those on monumentality, and the pedestal when examining the book's image plates, this chapter concludes with his remark:

Negro sculptures [...] represent in a visible and concentrated way what exactly constitutes the cubic nature of two otherwise abruptly contrasting directional movements; recessed parts that could otherwise merely be suggested become active and functional in a unified resolute expression, and as such, they become form and absolutely necessary for an unmediated representation of the cubic. The remaining sides must become subordinated to these integrated forms in a rarely achieved unification, but they do not remain unworked, merely suggestive material, they [too] become formally active [...]; depth becomes visible as totality.¹²⁰

Masks and related matters

The final section, 'Maske und Verwandtes' (Masks and related matters), speculates on the function of ritual, tattooing, scarification and their role within socio-cultural contexts. Apart from scarce ethnographic research such as Tessmann's study on the Fang, this subject area remained largely unexplored until the latter part of the twentieth century.¹²¹ Einstein's reflections are even more surprising since both tattooing and scarification are viewed as a 'medium of sacrifice and an intensified objectification of the body'. This transformation was part of 'a despotic, unconditionally dominant religion and humanity' in which one's own body is conceived as 'an unfinished work'. Through the tattooist, the body's form is reinforced but only attains its peak, when 'the natural form is negated and an imagined one surpasses it'. Here too, Einstein pointed out, 'we find what I have called the sense of distance, a tremendous gift for objective form'.¹²²

Einstein then turned his attention to the diversity of African masks and dance. Leo Frobenius had addressed the subject in 1899 in a lengthy, richly illustrated book on African secret societies, and a narrative that was largely culled from material assembled by a number of explorers and from missionary reports.¹²³ Einstein's brief summary analyzed the role of masks and dance, which again drew on western and African disparities. In spite of theatrical and psychological tendencies, the European sought to preserve his identity with an attitude that came close to what he called a 'hypertrophic cult', whereas the less ego-conscious African was aware of the objective powers ruling existence. As a means of balancing out the destructive act of adoration and to maintain his hold among them,

the African honoured them by way of metamorphosis, transforming himself through the mask and ecstatic dance into these powers, the tribe and the deity.¹²⁴ Consequently:

[T]his metamorphosis presents him with the most powerful comprehension of objectivity; he incarnates it within himself, and he himself is this objectivity in which all individuality is annihilated. Therefore, the mask has meaning only when it is inhuman, impersonal, that is, constructive, free from the experience of the individual [...] I would like to call the mask a fixed ecstasy, [...].¹²⁵

But here the book's limitations and Einstein's later regret that the project remained a 'torso' seem particularly apparent. The reason was that *Negerplastik* was published while he was confined to a field hospital after being wounded in the war.¹²⁶ Rather than a conclusion as such, this section is arguably an extension of African sculpture situated in cultural contexts that might have been included in the chapter on religion and African art. The explanation must lie in the structuring of the book's reproductions, since the last twenty-four (excepting four) of the image plates show a sequence of African masks, which in Einstein's words: 'descend from the tectonic to the extremely human so as to illuminate the diverse range of the psychological capacity of these people.'¹²⁷

So, after a reading of the text, what then are we to make of the image section of *Negerplastik* and how might the notion of Einstein's 'visual turn' be sustainable?

Chapter 13 *Negerplastik and Einstein's 'Visual Turn'*

Scholarly research has tended to focus on the text of *Negerplastik*, whereas the images that make up the more substantial part of the monograph have received far less attention.¹²⁸ This thesis redresses the balance by focusing on the notion of the 'visual turn' in *Negerplastik* and by arguing that a more appropriate reading of Einstein's aesthetic proposals lies in the dialectical opposition between the book's text and images. This derives from Einstein's confidence in the 'surrender-effect' of the non-western object and the potential of the photographic medium, which since the late nineteenth century had provided the methodologies of art history (and ethnography) with the 'accuracy of the physical sciences'.¹²⁹

What strikes the reader before anything else is that by far the greater part of *Negerplastik* comprises an extensive photographic display of non-western objects. The brief text is juxtaposed with well over a hundred reproductions of ancestral statues, masks and other cult and utilitarian objects from sub-Saharan Africa, with the addition of a number of works from Oceania and some so far unidentified cultures.¹³⁰ The sheer number and high quality of the images foreground what the introductory chapter, alerting the reader to the '*illustrations*', already makes clear. An advertisement announcing the first edition declared that 'here and for the first time' the reader would be introduced to 'Negro sculpture' by way of '119 large and exceptional reproductions'. Through the 'instructive order' and 'mere viewing' of the images, it claimed that clarity would be gained about the 'style, meaning and uniqueness of Negro art', while the text was described as an 'introduction by Carl Einstein', which 'on the basis of a principally Cubist point of view analyzes the perfection of this art'.¹³¹

Yet, not one of the book's images was referred to in the actual analyses of African sculpture, neither was any particular work mentioned – or reproduced – that referred to western artistic production past or present. Moreover, the body of works reproduced showed only non-western sculptural objects, but there was no information regarding their ethnographic origin, provenance, size or materials used. Reviewers, including the philosopher Ernst Bloch, commented on this, as did the

critics Curt Glaser and Wilhelm Hausenstein.¹³² What this suggests is that Einstein instigated a deliberate – if not entirely successful – strategy comprising a dialectics of text and image that through interaction and contradiction constructed meaning for the project as a whole. By positing a polemic of western artistic tradition against a hypothesis of sculpture (as such), the text validated the aesthetic autonomy of African sculpture as a paragon that could only be fully comprehended by the (photographic) presence of the objects. As Einstein argued, the ‘fact’ that ‘more reliable than all possible ethnographic or other knowledge is this: the African sculptures themselves!’¹³³ That his approach was appreciated by at least some of his contemporaries comes from a review by Hermann Hesse:

In this book, whether one accepts Einstein’s interpretation or not, one can now get to know a great number of characteristic Negro sculptures, [...]. Einstein’s text does not engage with a discussion of individual works and refrains from any pretext of a history. He remains entirely philosophical. [...] We have a right to reject this art, to find it strange and disturbing; but we have no right not to recognize it as art, not as necessary, and within itself deeply justified and valuable. Another hole in the classicist canon of beauty.¹³⁴

One of the reasons why discussions of the images in *Negerplastik* have been somewhat neglected in Einstein scholarship may be that ethnographic and provenance data has only been provided relatively recently.¹³⁵ Yet while this may have deterred art historians or ethnologists from a critical evaluation of the objects, or what the reproductions reveal about the project as a whole, Einstein himself was only too aware of the limitations of extant ethnographic research and ‘the distance that separates these objects from the European attitude with a contempt that generated a veritable terminology of negation’.¹³⁶

A ‘picture-atlas’ and a ‘strange weave’ of space, time and distance

The assumption of photography’s function as an objective tool has persisted throughout most of its history. It was based on the resolute belief in the medium’s authenticity as empirical document, its versatility and egalitarian capabilities of reproduction, or what Roland Barthes has described as the special status of the photographic image that makes it a ‘message without a code’.¹³⁷ The photographic reproduction of sculpture, paintings and artifacts, whether in the form of lanternslide projection or the photographic print for research, debate and delectation, occupied a seminal role in the late nineteenth-century formation of the academic disciplines of art history and ethnology. Its potential for the comparative

methodologies of art-historical analysis was widely acknowledged and formed an essential part of the teaching apparatus of art historians such as Berenson or Wölfflin. For ethnology, the medium became a vital means for the scientific observation and classification of material culture and colonized peoples, while collectors and dealers made use of its promotional possibilities.¹³⁸

Einstein's use of photography in *Negerplastik* may be regarded as an extension of such practices in which the exposition of cultural difference aimed to aestheticize a category of object which had until then largely been seen as little more than an ethnographic curiosity. The ambiguities of his critique of western artistic tradition, coupled with his opposition to certain forms of primitivist appropriation and the seemingly deliberate omission of conventional methods of attribution, might account for the monograph's relative neglect by historians. However, the influence of *Negerplastik* is borne out by the host of publications that followed in its wake, which marked a turning point in art history and African cultural history. Some of those, which made use of the very same ethnographic objects, are discussed in due course.

While the implications of photographic practice in the field of sculpture have only been addressed relatively recently, some of its inherent problems prompted Heinrich Wölfflin to publish three essays on the subject between 1895 and 1915.¹³⁹ Drawing on examples of classical and Renaissance sculpture, the essays elaborated on the medium's perceived inadequacy to record three-dimensional objects. He argued the beholder was subjected to the photographer's 'punishable carelessness' in choosing arbitrary vantage points, such as a too high or too low camera angle, or a side view instead of the 'normal front view'. All too often contemporary tastes abided by what was deemed a 'painterly appeal', overlooking the fact that the artistic intent of 'great sculpture' was to gather the work's 'entire sculptural contents in one plane', so that 'what in nature must be grasped through separate successive perceptions is at once easily and effortlessly presented to the eye'.¹⁴⁰ While this is just one example of the essay's objectives, it reveals that Wölfflin's exacting expectations of photographic practice complied with Hildebrand's epistemological model of sculpture as relief, in fact he referred his reader to *Das Problem der Form*.¹⁴¹

What had prompted Wölfflin's concerns were precisely those properties that are intrinsic to every photograph, that is, it is indexical *and* iconic. Indexical in the sense that it is a physical imprint of light reflecting the object onto a sensitized surface, no matter how prone to partial information or lacking in documentary, or aesthetic value the resulting image may be. In contrast to the true icon (such as a painting or sculpture), the photograph is only iconic in so far as it is a type of visual

likeness. By virtue of its indexical (or denotative) relationship to the object that has been freed from its spatial and temporal conditions, the photograph's iconic (or connotative) meaning resides in our need to substitute for it something more than a mere approximation.¹⁴² Einstein's studies under Wölfflin might have made him aware of photography as a tool for comparative visual analyses, but despite his unmistakably discerning eye for the medium's properties, he shared none of his teacher's concerns for its shortcomings, or as Barthes says, its 'analogon' as 'denoted message'. For *Negerplastik*, it was photography's iconic potential as 'connoted message' that formed the decisive aspect, something Einstein would explore in different ways in his contributions to *Documents* and his survey of modern art, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*. In fact, it may be that his growing awareness of the significance of the image for his art-critical writing led him to locate a publishing house for the Maillol and Lehmbruck essays in *Die Zeit im Bild*, one of the rare exceptions in the pre-war journals market that stood out by its wealth of large, high quality reproductions.¹⁴³

The visual strategy of *Negerplastik* forms the essential core of a project in which the aesthetic hypothesis of African sculpture is reified by the rhetorical potential of the photographic image. At one level this generates a neutrality devoid of all cultural fixity and at the other it invests meaning that is culturally determined.¹⁴⁴ Looking at *Negerplastik*, this becomes evident in the didactic sequencing of high quality half-tone reproductions of African objects set out as full-plate images within a generous page margin, like the anthropomorphic statue that opens the book's image section. (Fig. 9) The frank sexual display of this archaic stone carving invites comparison with some early Romanesque Northern European sculpture, which might suggest a trans-cultural point of access for those unaccustomed to the material that was to follow.¹⁴⁵

Other images are paired on a single page displaying front and profile view as in the Chokwe statue that was part of the collection of Sergej Shchukin (Fig. 26). In some a front, three-quarter and back view of the same object, here a Fang statue, is spread across several pages (Fig. 27, 28 and 29). At once suggestive of viewing sculpture 'in the round' and the quasi-scientific anthropological gaze of nineteenth-century anthropometric photography, this sequencing seems to surrender to notions of primitivism.¹⁴⁶ Yet from within the specific image/text nexus of *Negerplastik*, postulating African sculpture as art, this visualization intimates a modernist dictum that pitted itself against museological conventions still widely in use during the early twentieth century, whereby ethnographic collections tended to be arranged into trophy-like displays either by kind or by region. Similar taxonomies remained

in use even in the displays and dioramas of the Berlin Ethnological Museum after its modernization in 1926 (Fig. 30).¹⁴⁷

To some extent, the visualization of *Negerplastik* brings to mind a format associated with what was known in Germany as an 'atlas', a tabulated display in the form of an illustrated book that aimed to impart systematized knowledge relating to all of the different spheres of the empirical sciences (such as archaeology, astronomy, geography, the natural sciences and ethnography). With the nineteenth century's confidence in empiricism and the new possibilities offered by photography, this became a popular method of organizing and imparting knowledge. That *Negerplastik* was seen in this light is evident in at least one review, where it is described as a 'Bilderatlas'.¹⁴⁸ That he should adopt this format for a project that sought to subvert western aspirations of positivist knowledge systems is perhaps just one of the ironies of his enterprise. That it became, and has remained, the preferred format for photographing non-western sculpture is as evident in the publications that followed *Negerplastik* as in Rubin's "Primitivism" catalogue.¹⁴⁹

However, in *Negerplastik* each object is isolated from its surroundings (Fig. 31). Placed against a neutral background, discreetly lit, and often closely framed, the works are conspicuous by their seemingly matter-of-fact impartiality, a visualization more associated with works of art than with objects of curiosity. On the one hand, this serves to guide the viewer through a body of work Einstein sought to recover from the marginalization imposed by western attitudes that 'hoped to capture in the Negro a kind of origin, a condition that never evolves beyond its initial state'. On the other, (what Barthes calls) photography's connotative agency generates a visuality that transcends habitual perceptions of the 'primitive', for, as Einstein argued, 'describing' African sculpture 'as formal constructs accomplishes a great deal more than describing the subject represented'.¹⁵⁰

It may be worthwhile to recall Einstein's observations on sculpture's functional centres – or cubic '*points centrales*' – and the perceived problem of proportion in African sculpture. In the same way that other objects in *Negerplastik* are presented, we can explore the nineteenth-century mother-and-child figure by looking at its different aspects with the help of some contemporary photographs (Fig. 31). Because this sculpture combines what Einstein meant by the functional centres, issues of proportion and scarification, it might help to explain what has been proposed as Einstein's 'visual turn' and the dialectical opposition between the study's image and text. The front and profile view authenticate the figure's hermetic form, all parts of which are contained within the boundaries delineated by the sculpture's base (Fig. 32 & Fig. 33). It is marked out by the front of the

mother's left foot and moves to the infant's body resting on her left hand and knee. It continues to the forward jut of the figure's mouth and jaw, then sweeps in an upward and backward movement along her profile, culminating in her mitre-shaped hairstyle, from where it sharply declines back to the base past her right foot supporting her buttocks. Both views recall Einstein's 'depth quotient' in which the parts must be represented 'in such a way that the form through which they become sculptural and which is present naturalistically in the act of movement, is fixed and made simultaneously visible'.¹⁵¹

The profile view (Fig. 33) might clarify what Einstein understood by 'functional centers', around which the work is organized and in which 'a powerful individuation of parts' and the twofold 'thrust into depth and into foreground' generates contrasts as 'entirely distinct ways of producing space' and thus movement. Similarly, the front view (Fig. 32) might reveal the reason for his insistence that in contrast to western conventions of frontality, African sculpture's strong orientation toward one side is a necessary 'resultant' that 'offers the cubic as an undistorted totality'. Here too, the focus on issues of proportion – so visible in the figure's compact body form and prominent head whose ecstatic stance and filed teeth speak of ritual observance – make palpable that:

[E]ach part [...] must become sculpturally independent and must be deformed in such a way that it absorbs depth [...]; for art [...] is a question of intensity; the cubic, in the subordination of viewpoints, must represent itself as tectonicized intensity.¹⁵²

It brings to mind Einstein's comments on the mythological dimension of African sculpture as a manifestation of power that signifies or symbolizes nothing, but is the divinity that preserves its 'hermetic mythic reality'. Further, the figure's stance and transfixed gaze, as well as its elaborate scarifications, remind one of what Einstein calls the 'intensified objectification of the body' that epitomizes the 'sense of distance' of African sculpture and its 'tremendous gift for objective form' (Fig. 32 and Fig. 34).¹⁵³

The same work also featured in Hausenstein's *Der Nackte Mensch*; nowhere is this 'sense of distance' more lacking than in his description of this sculpture. Showing quarter-page size reproductions of its front- and back view, the images were accompanied by a diligent text in which the figure's scarifications and 'disproportionate' emphasis on the head were suggested to signify the seat of the intellect and soul. Stating source references (Adolf Bastian and Leo Frobenius) and the need for more precise ethnographic information, his enthusiasm marvelled at

the work's 'spiritualized form' and how 'the Congo-Negro simultaneously embraces with his art the inner life and the sublime of humanity'.¹⁵⁴

The sense of distance Einstein identified in the African works is precisely what he found lacking in western artistic tradition, whose 'optical naturalism' had obliterated the boundaries between sculpture and painting, maker, beholder and object. Yet this sense of distance is nowhere more present than in *Negerplastik*, where it functions as a critical tool, hence the deliberate separation of image and text, and the mute presence of the images that deny access by attribution in order to expound African sculpture as 'objective form' alone. It is conceivable that this thinking also informed the 1913 African exhibitions, in which the visitor to the *Neue Galerie* was more or less compelled to view as art both Cubist painting and African sculpture.

Returning to the deployment of photography in *Negerplastik*, we find the same tabular display in its close-up details. It is manifest in the reproductions accompanying the Sakalava mortuary statue (Fig. 14), where a sequence of front and profile views detail the facial features of the two figures (Fig. 35 to 38), while in other instances only a close-up aspect of the object is shown (Fig. 39).¹⁵⁵ Even if, as Paudrat suggested, Einstein did not initiate any of the photographs, his awareness of the sculptures' photographic potential is obvious.¹⁵⁶ Close-up detail scrutinizes the object's materiality, whether roughly hewn, scarred by age and climatic decay or intricately carved and oiled to a soft sheen. These are rhetorical devices that permeate the objective viewing process with emotive elements, while connoting cultural difference. It generates what Walter Benjamin was to describe in 1931 as the work's 'aura', a 'strange weave of space and time; the unique semblance or appearance of distance, no matter how close the object may be'.¹⁵⁷ This formalized structuring was cognate with a theoretical paradigm that aimed to reveal a 'cubic vision' intrinsic to African sculpture which Einstein conceived to be the pre-requisite of the function of all art.¹⁵⁸

The success and ironies of Einstein's 'visual turn'

The critical success of *Negerplastik* is manifest in the reviews it received, which, despite the lack of provenance data, tended to be appreciative about the illustrations.¹⁵⁹ The most complimentary came from Einstein's – as Kiefer suggests – possibly close associate, the Egyptologist Hedwig Fechheimer:

The characteristics emphasized by the text, closed cubic form, strong division and self-sufficiency of parts, bold treatment of movement, are

constantly realized in new ways and forms. The viewer being totally unaccustomed to this world of forms [...], feels tempted to conquer for himself each one of these works, which – alienated from all other contexts – can for the European only mean phenomena of art or curiosity. He is enticed to find commonalities between the plates, to isolate the unfamiliar, to seek out stylistic types [...]. The author deserves the credit for being the first to have instituted African sculpture as a distinct form of art. The numerous reproductions, which must have been difficult to obtain, and the thorough and appealing presentation enhance the value of this book.¹⁶⁰

That Fechheimer entertained good relations with von Luschan and his wife becomes clear from a letter in which she thanks him for support and especially his wife for some photographic prints. It is conceivable that this benefited Einstein in gaining access to the Berlin museum's photographic records and facilities.¹⁶¹

However, the success of *Negerplastik* also afforded an ironic twist to one aspect of Einstein's cultural analysis. His persistent critique of those tendencies he had derided since 1912 as 'primitivism hubbub' was undermined by the same visual strategy devised to substantiate his pro-African, anti-primitivist hypotheses. The appropriation of stylistic elements of non-western material culture by a number of the German Expressionists before, during and after the First World War has been well documented. In the artistic project of early twentieth-century primitivism, Einstein's study was assimilated into the very discourse he so detested.¹⁶² In the wake of Worringer's 'oriental man', the 'art into life' primitivism of the *Brücke*-artists and the Bavarian folk art and Easter Island sculpture of the *Blaue Reiter*, certain aspects of *Negerplastik* seem to invite a reading of the images as icons of universal human expression and cultural regeneration.¹⁶³

A selection of small single-figure sculptures of indeterminate cultural identity might have been conducive to this type of primitivism. This work ranged from the reductive means of rendering a man to the tender erotic form of a girl (Fig. 40 and 41). This 'naïve' seemingly effortless treatment is also detectable in what might be a devout figure, or the asceticism of another (Fig. 42 and Fig. 19).¹⁶⁴ Such qualities may have chimed with the rising preference in Germany for Gothic, even 'primitive', notions of style, first widely acclaimed in Worringer's *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* and *Formprobleme der Gotik*. As part of the hardening of nationalist tendencies during 1914, such sentiments became something of a cultural fixation, particularly following the experience of isolation after the outbreak of the war.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, some of the sculptural heads may have struck a chord with the viewer (Fig. 43 and 44). Finely worked or sanitized by the removal of nails, blades and other paraphernalia so characteristic of certain so-called 'fetish' objects, these sculptures might have been perceived as belonging to the portrait genre of the

western artistic canon, their three-dimensional form leveled by the camera's two-dimensional analogue mapping that disavows cultural difference. These images bring to mind the reductive primitivizing methods celebrated in the work of Emil Nolde, Max Pechstein, or Karl Schmidt-Rottluff's *Apostle*, where the woodcut medium retains some of the formal rigour of its African original (Fig. 45 and 46).¹⁶⁶ The denotation of mass into cubic form of these objects renders suspended animation and psychological depth with an economy of means that recalls Einstein's notions of 'totality' and 'cubic vision', in which 'Negro sculpture represents a cogent fixed state of untainted sculptural vision.'¹⁶⁷

The historical role of *Negerplastik*, then, was that by juxtaposing a critique of the western artistic canon with a formal analysis of African sculpture, it established a format for the consideration of the non-western object outside its ethnographic context. The image-text dialectic functioned to generate *distance* from the object so as to propose an aesthetic paradigm of African sculpture as art. The rhetorical potential of photography amplified this distance by reframing the object in what might be conceived as an 'atlas' and the modernist coordinates that reaffirmed its autonomous status. The ethnographic object, presented here within a seemingly remote theoretical rather than a discipline-specific context impelled the viewer to link the object's making, function and meaning to its 'past' (as culturally different) *and* the 'present' (as essentially modern). Here the logic of the 'visual turn' operated as part of theory as a 'toolkit' that – like the mute ethnographic object lacking attribution and history – silently engaged with the specificity of power relations and the struggles this entailed.¹⁶⁸ Whatever its success or shortcomings, *Negerplastik* was a timely and daringly polemical project motivated by the need for renewal that in Einstein's view was paramount to the function of art. Part of its paradigm may have been overtaken by the expanding discourse on African cultural history and post-colonial studies, but a great number of the works reproduced have since entered the collections of renowned museums and private collectors, and some have become icons of African art per se.

It is perhaps just another of those ironies that within months of the publication of *Negerplastik* celebrating the African 'fetishes', Berlin's most important war sculpture was unveiled, marking the first anniversary of the German victory of the battle of Tannenberg (Fig. 47). Standing between the Victory Column (Siegessäule) and the Reichstag, the over twelve metre statue represented field marshal Hindenburg in regal pose, a reminder of the 'Iron Chancellor's' (Bismarck) 1871 victory and the birth of the nation. In support of the war effort, citizens were invited to drive nails, (iron one, silver five, or gold a hundred Marks) into the wooden statue. Though thousands flocked to contribute, the press reaction

to the 'Iron Hindenburg' alternated between consternation that considered the nailing of the statue of a living person repugnant, and ridicule that described it as a 'fetish service' and the 'iron Kitschener'.¹⁶⁹ This played into the hands of the international press and other authors of allied propaganda for whom it provided an opportunity to draw parallels between the racial characteristics of the enemy and those 'no longer' encountered 'among the half-savage tribes' of central Africa and the Congo.¹⁷⁰

After his return from the front during the political radicalization that led to the left-wing insurrections in Berlin, Munich and elsewhere Einstein penned his diatribe against the vagaries and powers he saw as responsible for the war, which was published in the short-lived Dada journal *Der blutige Ernst*:

Faith in the state of Germany is above all a military affair. [...] Spiritual leaders called upon you for a crusade but kept shtum about you being nailed to the cross. You were blessed in the name of Hindenburg as you used to be preached to in the name of God.¹⁷¹

Chapter 14 *Myth, ethnography and the invention of 'vogue nègre'*

The role of photographic reproduction in the valorisation of the non-western object during the early twentieth century has gone relatively unremarked in spite of the impact this 'ethnographic turn' had on subsequent formations.

African sculpture and the 'currency' of the photograph

While Einstein and *Negerplastik* were called the first of the 'champions of primitive art', one of the best-known publications remains Paul Guillaume's *Sculptures Nègres*, the catalogue to an exhibition of African and Oceanic sculpture held in conjunction with paintings by Picasso, Modigliani, Kisling and Manuel Ortiz de Zarate in November 1916. It heralded Guillaume as the major player in the public acculturation of the African sculptural object and what he would call 'a new aesthetic'.¹⁷²

The album – in contrast to *Negerplastik* – singled out certain African groups Guillaume judged as the most significant in terms of artistic appeal: the Fang (Gabon/Cameroon), the Baule (Ivory Coast) and the Kota (Gabon/Congo Republic). The introduction by Guillaume's mentor and friend Apollinaire reiterated issues addressed in *Negerplastik*, such as the role of non-western sculpture in avant-garde practices, and the lack of information as to classification or historical attribution that might permit critics to 'speak with certainty about these Negro idols from [...] an aesthetic perspective'.¹⁷³ Unlike Einstein, Apollinaire commented on the inventiveness of African ritual customs that made use of additional material such as 'loin cloths [...], necklaces [...], twigs, handfuls of herbs, shells, boar's teeth, mirrors, nails', yet little of this was apparent in the actual objects illustrated, where a similarly sanitized scheme of visual exposition to that adopted by Einstein is evident.¹⁷⁴

As in *Negerplastik*, the sculptures are closely framed and carefully lit against a plain backdrop. Only three are shown from more than one aspect, the majority are displayed from either a front or a three-quarter view. In spite of the album's generous size and margins, its overall scheme was less ambitious than Einstein's survey. Here each reproduction was provided with ethnographic attribution, and in some instances with the object's cultural or ritual function. Four

of the twenty-four works reproduced are identical with those shown in Einstein's monograph, although three originate from different photographic plates. While the Fang head in Plate I of the Guillaume album is less closely cropped (displaying more of the sculpture's pedestal, a later addition that complied with European conventions), the anthropomorphic Baule mask in Plate III is lit more sharply from the above right rather than below left (Fig. 48 to Fig. 51). The Tiki figures (Marquesas Islands) in Plate VIII, (which reveals the skirting boards of the room that acted as photographic studio) are here shown as a pair rather than as separate plates. It appears that for *Negerplastik* the same negative (or print) was actually cut into two, switched over, and retouched to disguise the background (Fig. 52 and Fig. 53). The complex Senufo mask (Mali/Ivory Coast) in Guillaume's Plate XIX is set within what appears to be a box structure with stronger lighting from above and a slight downward tilt, while in *Negerplastik* the object is parallel to the camera lens, set in muted light against a backdrop covered in Hessian (Fig. 54 and 55).¹⁷⁵

There is no evidence that Apollinaire owned a copy of *Negerplastik* but bearing in mind his transactions with Feldmann in 1913, it is difficult to imagine he was not aware of its existence. His introduction to *Sculptures Nègres* raised the issue of 'aesthetic research' whereby critics may 'someday be able to add a methodological analysis of style' to ethnology's classifications and deductions. He endorsed the Renaissance tradition of the master artist by empathizing with the loss of 'certainty to specific masters of schools' which would have been anathema to Einstein's critical practice.¹⁷⁶ Despite clear differences in approach, the visual correspondence between *Negerplastik* and *Sculptures Nègres* might indicate a deliberate equivocation, possibly motivated by Einstein's more provocative stance, or by Apollinaire's situation as a wartime subject with 'enemy' connections. Paul Guillaume provides the more intriguing link between both projects. His career had taken a turn when he met Joseph Brummer in 1911. Equipped with 'a sensitive intelligence and a taste that developed rapidly' and with the encouragement of Apollinaire, he soon became a collector and dealer in African sculpture and avant-garde art, opening his first gallery in 1914 where, amongst others, he sold work by de Chirico and Picabia.¹⁷⁷ So given both Guillaume's and Apollinaire's sustained interest in African sculpture, it is unlikely they were unaware of Brummer's collaboration with Einstein in the 1913 *Neue Galerie* exhibitions in Berlin or of the publication of *Negerplastik* some two years later (which Guillaume would acknowledge in 1919). The provenances established for the objects reproduced in both publications identify three connected with Guillaume's and two with Brummer's collection. In addition, the links between *Negerplastik* objects, and collectors and dealers like Vollard, Fénéon, Jos Hessel, and the American John Quinn make it clear that the promotion of African sculpture as 'objets d'art' was

part of the same network of connoisseurship associated with the promotion and economic fortunes of the artistic avant-garde.¹⁷⁸

The literature on photography's role within the history of ethnography has continued to expand; but comparatively little attention has been given to that of early twentieth-century dealers and critics in elevating the status of ethnographic objects through, what John Tagg has called, the 'currency' of the photograph.¹⁷⁹ As curios from flea markets, these objects were first scrutinized in the privacy of artists' studios and by the camera's lens in parlours cum gallery-spaces, in accordance with aesthetic concepts of the 'primitive'. While their mute existence in under-funded museums and studios was brought to light by photography's 'certain but fugitive testimony', they were soon assimilated by a process of acculturation and commoditization towards what, by the 1920s, became part of 'La décoration primitive' and other aspects of 'negrophilia' as it has been aptly called.¹⁸⁰ It was in this context that Brummer, Einstein and Guillaume colluded in a cultural process, whose consequences they might not have anticipated.

Einstein and *Negerplastik* were implicated in this process, whether knowingly or not. Kahnweiler, who rated Einstein as one of the best critics and who shared his interest in African objects, was clearly aware of photography's potential, realizing its promotional merits by having all of his gallery stock photographed, material which he made accessible to his artists, Einstein and others.¹⁸¹ Halftone printing techniques led to a rapidly expanding market for illustrated journals before and after the war, but an awareness of the medium's potential for transmitting knowledge while instilling other associations, now regarded as commonplace, was still unusual at the time. The visual strategies of the pre-war German avant-garde may have been antecedents of Einstein's African project. Their attempts to imbue the mechanically reproduced image with an aura of artistic originality is evident in the reproductions of prints by *Die Brücke* artists promoted as 'original' woodcuts by *Der Sturm*. These, and the linking of avant-garde works with those of distant or ancient cultures in the *Blaue Reiter* almanac, may be direct precursors of Einstein's turn to the visual.¹⁸²

As Rainer Rumold and Charles Haxthausen noted, there is little evidence in Einstein's oeuvre that would indicate his interest in the medium of photography (or film) and its function in what Walter Benjamin conceived in 1936 as a pivotal extension to the discourse of visual culture.¹⁸³ Yet, Einstein's insistence on the significance of the images in *Negerplastik* seems to contradict this. It is borne out by his participation in the transfer of photographic prints that constituted the volume's illustrative material. This was comprised of an assemblage of photographic reproductions originally destined for the purpose of recording the

holdings of museum collections, or as illustrations of potential merchandise made available by those interested for reasons somewhat different from Einstein's. Some proved willing to collaborate, among them the Berlin Ethnological Museum, and of course Brummer who at some point after their arrival from Africa probably owned the majority of the objects reproduced in *Negerplastik*. It is unclear how objects, like the Kuba statue and a Benin head, which are part of the British Museum's collection, or the Chokwe statue and three additional sculptures belonging to Sergei Shchukin, came to be reproduced in *Negerplastik*, though in the latter case, the 1913 exhibitions at the *Neue Galerie* might be the missing link (Fig. 24 and Fig. 26).¹⁸⁴

While the perceptions by the artists and dealers – such as Brummer, Basler, Picasso or de Vlaminck, and critics like Apollinaire, Warnod and Einstein – generated the ethnographic objects' artistic and broader cultural appreciation, the currency of the photograph in effect reconfirmed what Benjamin called the 'aura' of the work of art, which he saw as that 'which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction'. By detaching the object from the 'domain of tradition', he regarded reproductive processes as substituting the 'plurality of copies for a unique existence' and by allowing the reproduction to 'meet the beholder [...] in his own particular situation, it reactivates the object reproduced'.¹⁸⁵ This oscillation between erasing and enacting contiguity produces, as Denis Hollier argues with regard to Benjamin's text, an 'aura' that is 'linked less to the original object as such than to its cultic articulation at a given place and time'.¹⁸⁶

A scholarly approach to African art

While the importance of *Negerplastik* lies in the fact that it was the first study to foreground African sculpture as 'theoretical object', Einstein's second book, *Afrikanische Plastik*, endorsed his expertise by a scholarly approach to what is no longer termed 'Negro sculpture' but 'African sculpture'. The book was published within a year of the second edition of *Negerplastik*, a fact that, regardless of its inherent ambiguities, testified to its continuing appeal (Fig. 56).¹⁸⁷ Each of the forty-eight objects presented here are of African origin, numbered and provided with ethnographic origin, material data and attribution of ownership. The largest number of works came from the collection of the Berlin Ethnological Museum, others from the Folkwang Museum in Hagen and the Congo-Museum in Brussels. Collectors included Guillaume, Herbert von Garvens, Dr Justus Brinkmann, and Einstein himself, who owned seven of the works reproduced. Suffering for much of his career from a chronic shortage of funds, his collecting activities appear to have

ceased not long after this (Fig. 57). The acquisitions records for ethnological objects from Africa of the Berlin Ethnological Museum confirm that in 1926 Einstein had offered 'a double-sided ancestral figure of the Bakuba (Ogouwa) [Kota] for sale' at a price of 'six hundred Reichsmark'; the museum's expert commission agreed the purchase. This rare double-sided example of Kota sculpture is now one of the prize objects of the museum's Africa collection.¹⁸⁸

The majority of objects were accompanied by a text that contextualized the work by providing detailed ethnographic information on ethnic migrations, ritual customs and myths. The comprehensive bibliography vouched for Einstein's extensive preliminary research.¹⁸⁹ He retained his position regarding the objects' artistic autonomy, but this was now qualified by discipline-specific sources that precluded *Negerplastik's* image/text dialectic by a shift of emphasis to the ethnographic. Lamenting the contamination and decline of African traditions under colonial rule, he retained his opposition to notions of the 'primitive' and a, by then, omnipresent *vogue nègre*:

Africa's might of cultural production is considerably exhausted. Old traditions crumbled under colonization, the wealth of indigenous imagination merged with imported beliefs. [...] The extent of African artistic skill cannot be conjured by hackneyed, tedious expressionisms; little is achieved by a few trendy tricks [...]. Fortunately, African art has more authority than African fashions. Nothing is gained from fraudulent sentiments and newly stenciled ideologies that have a frantic similarity to conceit. [...] A considerable number of African sculptures are anything but primitive.¹⁹⁰

Yet neither were the ambiguities of his own pre-war position denied, indicating a departure from the formalist aesthetics of *Negerplastik*:

With the so-called spiritual concepts of today [...] what does all that which we call spirit, form and so forth, mean to us. The philosopher defines his concept of form, but hardly the entire unevenly weighted complex of meaning to which it is connected by time. [...] These animate things remain theoretically incomprehensible for they are experienced and felt in countless variations. Abstraction remains remote from the object [...]. Psychological empathy as much as merely formal contemplation is of limited epistemological merit, resulting in one-sided mystification.¹⁹¹

Under order of the civil administration, it appears that Einstein was stationed as a clerk and translator at the Brussels Congo Museum, where his African studies moved closer to scholarly ethnology. This and his political

engagement with the radical left during the 1918 November revolution, and later with the Dada circle around the Malik-Verlag, opened onto alternative, at first extremist perspectives, that declared 'Primitive art' as 'rejecting capitalistic art tradition' and 'the masses, today still trapped in suffering' as the artists of the future.¹⁹² Now, expectations were more sober, as in: 'African art has to be equally detached from its romantic as well as its purely ethnological standpoint. For this the cooperation of both ethnologists and art historians is required',¹⁹³ and in the unobtrusive appearance of the book, its layout, and the selection of objects (Fig. 56). Reproductions included a Fang head belonging to Guillaume and the Kuba king figure already mentioned from the collection of the Congo Museum (Fig. 58), which Thomas A. Joyce from the British Museum discussed in 1925, the same year that he and Einstein would meet. Also included were masks, anthropomorphic drums, architectural fragments and various other cult or utilitarian objects. Here only five of the objects reveal a front and back or profile view, as with the Yoruba equestrian statue, which Einstein likened to a fourteenth-century Romanesque chess figure from southern Germany held at the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (now the Bode-Museum) in Berlin (Fig. 59). All others are shown in either a frontal or three quarter aspect.¹⁹⁴

In contrast to *Negerplastik*, the integration of image and text in *Afrikanische Plastik* provided a different emphasis. Yet rather than being a purely formal analysis, this apparently ethnographic study reveals ambiguities not encountered before. It runs counter to the proposal made earlier that in Einstein's art criticism the underlying principles of an artist's oeuvre are extricated without attending to any individual work so as to locate the essence of art in the absence of the art object.¹⁹⁵ Here, for example, in a Bangwa mask (belonging to his private collection), a detailed description of the objects's modalities is conducive to it being 'one of the ancestral figures of Cubism' (Fig. 60). The change is epitomized by Einstein accommodating the stance of the beholder, whereby the piece is contrasted with an Ekoi mask from the preceding plate: 'There psychology and avoidance of sculptural means; here a riotous play of volumes that succeeds in reducing each part to its cubic elements'. This then is followed by an interpretation of the mask's totemic symbolism (the 'spider' on its head) that stresses the significance of ancestor and kinship customs.¹⁹⁶

In addition, formal descriptions of individual objects were valorized by citations from African folklore and detailed ethnographic accounts commensurate with the new German *kulturgeschichtliche* method and Anglo-American ethnography. Nearly half of the bibliographic references are to English language publications Einstein probably first encountered at the Brussels Congo Museum.

The emphasis placed on discussions of the meaning of 'Bakuba fetish' objects and the myths associated with this and neighboring cultures accord with those of Torday's and Joyce's *Notes ethnographiques*.¹⁹⁷ This new approach also corresponds with the work of Ankermann, whether this concerns observations on social organization, ancestor cults, or kinship practices found in the artisanal technologies of the Yoruba (whose culture might predate the ancient kingdom of Benin), or conjecture on their links to pre-dynastic Egypt. Others refer to migratory shifts that might explain the formation of parallel stylistic traits that occur in the 'peasant' cultures of the Cameroon Grassland and in those of the Kuba and Luba in the Kasai region of the Congo. Similarly, Einstein persistently stressed the uncertainties that pervaded European knowledge of African culture and history. The publications by Ankermann cited in the bibliography, which built and expanded on James G. Frazer's study *Totemism* (1887), demonstrated Einstein's growing interest in the subject of totemism.¹⁹⁸

Afrikanische Plastik complied with the expected standards of the rising curiosity in non-western cultures, satisfying those who had criticized *Negerplastik* for its lack of ethnographic grounding. It coincided with a host of new publications on the subject, among them Hausenstein and Eckart von Sydow, who acknowledged Einstein's pioneering role in establishing the significance of African culture.¹⁹⁹ While *Afrikanische Plastik* established Einstein's ethnographic credentials, with French and Italian translations appearing within a year, the issues it addressed continued to occupy his art-critical and ethnographic texts throughout the nineteen-twenties and early thirties.²⁰⁰ In a letter to Kahnweiler, Einstein described the book as the 'second volume' of *Negerplastik* whilst announcing the imminent publication of his 'African mythology', although in the event *Afrikanische Legenden* was not published until 1925. However, sixteen Bakuba myths (in parts gleaned from Torday's and Joyce's publication), 'Negro songs' and 'prayers' were published between 1916 and 1917.²⁰¹

The German interest in African legends goes back to Frobenius' *Das schwarze Dekameron* (1910), a book that was praised for its translations but criticized for its attempts to root the material within the European literary tradition.²⁰² Charged with 'subconscious prejudices of an occidental ego-rationality' that transposed African legends into 'the alien optic of a Maupassant novella or Grimm's fairytale', Frobenius' work was symptomatic of the flipside of a German iconoclastic proclivity for ancient and non-western cultures, allowing his Kulturmorphologie (informed by Spengler) to fuse African oral narratives with ultimately racist assumptions.²⁰³ By the nineteen-twenties, his works were published in France, with essays in *Cahiers d'art* and in *Documents*.²⁰⁴ Like other

compilations such as Hausenstein's *Exoten, Skulpturen und Märchen* and Blaise Cendrars' *Anthologie nègre*, Einstein's book was reliant on translated sources and so prone to Europeanized renderings.²⁰⁵ Yet, maintaining his earlier anti-racist stance, his interpretations of African cosmologies acknowledged the trans-cultural significance of myths and the co-existence of what the anthropologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, had described as the 'antinomies' between a 'pre-logical mentality' and the 'struggle of reason' in human thought processes. It is likely that Einstein encountered Lévy-Bruhl's work on the psychology of the 'primitive mind' and that of Marcel Mauss on magic during his time at the Congo museum. Regarded as advancing on the ethnology of Tylor and Frazer, Lévy-Bruhl's and Mauss' work was known to the Surrealist circle of Breton, as it was to those associated with *Documents*.²⁰⁶ But before exploring Einstein's interest in myth, totemism and ancestral customs that was to inform much of his art criticism at the time of *Documents*, it will be necessary to examine some of the evidence of his activities during the year of the publication of *Afrikanische Legenden*.

Chapter 15 *Toward an Ethnologie du blanc – Einstein, the British Museum and Documents*

In the spring of 1925, having delivered his final draft for *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Einstein spent several weeks in London, accompanied by his partner, the countess Aga von Hagen. Like Einstein, she was a friend of the Sternheims, the author Gottfried Benn, and Einstein's publisher and good friends Ewald Wasmuth, his partner Sophia Kindsthaler, and his brother Günter. She and Einstein had embarked on their liaison after meeting in Brussels during 1916, a year after his daughter Nina was born. Thirteen years his senior, tall, aristocratic, and known as the 'red countess' for her political views, von Hagen was painted by Max Beckmann in 1908 (Fig. 61).²⁰⁷

A book with a 'certain exhaustiveness'

Einstein's London-letters to the Wasmuths provide a vivid picture of the couple's encounters in the city, his meeting with Torday's associate at the British Museum, Thomas A. Joyce, and the joint project they embarked upon. That plans for a publication on the history and art of Africa probably existed before the visit becomes clear from the first letter:

At last, we write to you, but first, one darts through this wonderful city – rescuing Aga from omnibus and motorcar [...], and visits the museums. So, I got together with Joyce, with whom it is good to work. We are utterly delighted by the kindness of these people. [...] I believe it will be a beautiful book. Joyce will do the ethnographic historical – we think – the Congo and Nigeria, I probably Cross-River, Ogowe Pangwe, Cameroon. Together we will do the south (Bushmen, Zimbabwe) [...]. Then there will be a chapter on African painting, architecture and artisanship. Then I shall write about the style affinities with the Mediterranean, Byzantine influences from Abyssinia, the influence of Arabic ornament. Then must come the history of style- and tribal migrations [...]. Then the cultural history of Africa etc. [...] I also associate with [Arthur D.] Waley, the sinologist of the British Museum.²⁰⁸ You have to meet him he really is a special person. [...] But back to Africa. Today Joyce and I will do the

disposition of the book. I really enjoy doing something good with him, and good to see how much the African is valued now. I have carefully read again all of Joyce's works, they really are thorough and profound. Then I went on my own to find the old Mrs Webster, from whom came all the Berlin and London Benin things [...] and she told me of a large Africa collection in Salisbury, where I shall go at the end of the week. Then it will be Paris, Tervuren, Vignier, [...] because this time so much material will have to be worked through that for the next twenty years the book will guarantee certain exhaustiveness. (Appendix III/1)

Meanwhile, Aga von Hagen was researching for a book she planned on dog breeding which, with Einstein's assistance, also made good progress.²⁰⁹ They found London awash with 'gaudy knick-knacks, except for a few pipes, hats, suitcases and cloth, left over from the war', and the food abysmal: 'real butter, it seems, is only available in the department of antiquities'. In Kensington, they marveled at the Raphael cartoons:

'[T]his alone is worth the journey. Hardly ever has a work of art made such an impression on me, the beauty of painting is unimaginable, [...] most others possessed a mere fraction of this unbelievable artist and made a living from it'. (Appendix III/2)

Together they bought Cruickshank and Rowlandson prints for their friends back home and had dinner at Waley's home, where they enjoyed listening to Japanese Noh plays on the gramophone. Einstein met Roger Fry, 'the critical prima donna of England', who took him to a few artists' studios and asked for 'some of my work' for the *Burlington Magazine*, while Einstein was promoting the Wasmuth publishers which, so he promised his friends, 'may be useful'. He also promised to get to work on the introduction to a book on Maurice Utrillo, which Wasmuth was planning to publish.²¹⁰ (Appendix III/2 and 3)

The major part of this correspondence was pre-occupied with Einstein's reporting on his and Joyce's project, fired by the mutual respect each had for the other's previous work. Einstein raised questions relating to the 'excellent' printer Wasmuth had located, and whether they should acquire some good quality letterpress-type whilst in London. This and other remarks suggest that the plan had been jointly hatched before Einstein's departure. In a letter to Kahnweiler from the previous year, he referred to plans to 'spend the summer with my friend, Aga Hagen, in Holland and England' but this had to be abandoned because 'the dear is too ill so that I have to take her to a sanatorium'.²¹¹ Now, with both in London, he wrote:

It would really be good, if the business with the printer turns into something. [...]. *Joyce asks you to inform him about the conditions you will grant for his work.* Please write to him soon – and tell him – that you will come to London in May to discuss details. [...] Also write to me, what happens with the printer; indeed the matter is of tremendous importance for you. (Einstein's emphasis; Appendix III/2)

Also, as before, Einstein's research appeared to be consistent with the *kunstgeschichtliche* methods advanced by Fritz Graebner and his refutation of the *Kulturkreis* theories of Frobenius's transculturalism:

Today the work with Joyce starts again, that is why I am a little rushed. I have identified a lot of things – discovered an older Nigeria style, as I believe, more elementary than Yoruba – and I believe – this time the good Frobenius will get it bad: his parallel between Sardinia and Yoruba (Olokun head), oh dear. (Appendix III/2)

Here Einstein questions the lack of precise evidence in the over-extended system of Frobenius that, as Graebner argued, tended to draw together culturally heterogeneous material without consideration for specific principles (such as construction methods), which, because of seemingly insignificant minor differences, caused crucial commonalities to be ignored.²¹² Graebner further argued that Frobenius believed he had found a method with which 'to solve ethnology's problems' and to determine cultural contexts 'beyond any doubt'. Graebner on the other hand, was 'searching tentatively for traces' of such contexts, which could only become 'scientific fact', if it became possible to represent each specific manifestation as a constituent part of a live entity and its interactions with others.²¹³ Hence, following his remarks on Frobenius, Einstein felt justified in mentioning the response to his own ideas and announcing the scope of the project underway:

I can say that people here totally corroborate and accept my assumptions and theories. The Lehmann gossip was definitely an envious swindle – perhaps because his assertions are not accepted.²¹⁴ We succeeded in augmenting the orbit of African art – our book will contain much that is new – [...] Negroid Abyssinian sculpture – new finds, Sierra Leone – new finds, elementary Nigeria style – new finds, Cross-River: new, Mangbetu: new, Mozambique – new finds [...], so that the book becomes a new thing yet again. The mask chapter will be very rich. Gradually I see the African contexts of style and variations more clearly. [...] We have little concern for priorities, but rather prefer to work collaboratively [...], a little bit un-German, un-professorial [...]. For a critique, each one will mail to the other chapters and images. No one will sign their chapters, since these will be mutually discussed until they really become a collective work. [...] In the next few days we will go to Cambridge – Joyce and I – in order to

choose and photograph. Then I will go to see Prof. Balfour, the Oxford ethnologist – in order to work with him through the collection, then to Salisbury for the Negroes – where apparently there is a great part of the Pitt Rivers collection, then Paris - Trocadéro, [...], then I probably meet Joyce in Tervuren. [...] If only we can get the Parisians finally to bring their African pieces out of the vaults. Joyce too has never been able to see them. But there is always Vignier and the collectors. (Appendix III/2 and 3)

At this point, it seemed that the project was assuming almost encyclopedic proportions, and that like *Negerplastik* it was to contain a wealth of reproductions. Moreover, methods of identifying the formal and stylistic properties of individual objects in relation to their specific as well as their intercultural contexts, that Einstein had first applied in *Afrikanische Plastik*, were evidently supported by Joyce and his colleagues in Cambridge (Clarke) and Oxford (Balfour).²¹⁵ Seeking convergences of visual design, style and techniques between geographically or historically diverse cultural formations by identifying such properties suggests knowledge of Riegl's notions of artistic variation and interconnectedness. That Einstein's method was equally informed by the new cultural and historical paradigm of ethnography is implicit in the new perspective he outlined as:

It is wonderful to stand in front of an Africa full of riddles [...]. My room is covered in African maps, in front of which [...] I stand astonished [...], but what I can say is - that I have found a for me new, perhaps lasting and useful point of view for these things, which might be interesting from a common historical perspective, namely that of a reverse depositing [*Rücklagerung*] – as I like to call it. (Appendix III/3)

The concept of *Rücklagerung* calls to mind the programme Graebner suggested for a future ethnography whereby scientific work should be founded on locating traces of what he called 'index-fossils' suitable for the orientation within the succession of ethnographic layers.²¹⁶ However fleeting Einstein's outline of ideas in his letters, they nonetheless are indicative of an underlying consensus with the new historical methods of ethnography. Perhaps it is not surprising then that in a paper defending the practice of historicizing non-western culture which Graebner and others were pursuing against the proponents of the older school (von Luschan and Karl Weule), Ankermann addressed the concept of 'convergence' and its function in ethnographic research.²¹⁷

Weule's definition of the concept had been that the same, or similar, life conditions generate the same or similar manifestations of form; hence, its use was

inappropriate for the discipline. Ankermann insisted on a more complex definition, since it was insufficient to emphasize the same life conditions, rather what was essential was that the impact life conditions exerted on manifestations of form varied from one situation to another, if they were the same, there would be no convergence. Using a number of examples, he proposed that a change of life conditions did not directly affect the change of the object's form but rather a 'convergence of thought' occurred that resulted in the convergence of the form of utensils and other cultural manifestations. It was in the sense of this differentiated meaning of convergence that, he argued, asserted its importance to a comparative ethnology.²¹⁸

Though removed from the scientific discourse sketched out here, it brings to mind the significance Kahnweiler assigned to the 'convergence' of African sculpture and the Cubist project, which he – and Einstein – understood precisely as an intellectual act (rather than appropriation). Like Ankermann, both responded to the changing perception of non-western culture. While one fundamentally altered concepts of early twentieth-century artistic practice, the other transformed ethnological thinking. That this involved a protracted process for both is as evident in, for example, the museological policies the Berlin Ethnological Museum introduced in 1926 and the surrounding public debates, as it is in the contributions and the context of *Documents* that, subtitled *Doctrines Archéologie Beaux-Arts Ethnologie*, stated its interdisciplinary agenda.²¹⁹ Einstein actively participated in both, while the 'convergence' of art historian and ethnographer in the London-project of 1925 seemed to promise success. Einstein's last remarks to Wasmuth shed light on his total commitment: 'For the final chapter I am writing on the degeneration into the primitive; for all its factualness it will be a tragic book as a whole'. (Appendix III/3) The exchange of some fifteen letters between Einstein and Joyce, held at the British Museum, verifies that between Einstein's departure and 1930 both intended to continue with, and conclude the project.

In April 1926, the first edition of *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* was published; it comprised a survey of modern art since Impressionism that centred on Einstein's emphatic appraisal of Cubism, which won him acclaim as 'one of the foremost exponents of the new philosophy of art'.²²⁰ This was not the reason for the delay of the London-project, but rather that Joyce left for an archaeological expedition to Central America, which was approved in January 1926 by the British Museum authorities, the same month that Einstein gave a lecture at the Sorbonne.²²¹

Two of Einstein's letters written during April make clear he was aware of Joyce's leave, but assumed that he had returned. He mentions a visit by one of his

friends, Hermann von Wedderkopp, whom Einstein had met during the war in Brussels. Wedderkopp became chief editor of *Der Querschnitt*, the periodical originally conceived as a gallery journal by Flechtheim and with both of whom Einstein had been collaborating since at least 1922.²²² Einstein's contributions included 'Negerlieder' – accompanied by Bushmen drawings from his own collection – his essay on Juan Gris and an introduction to the exhibition of George Grosz at Flechtheim's gallery, which was shown with African sculpture from the collection von der Heydt. It is likely that he also arranged for the publication of von Sydow's article on Ashante gold weights and, probably through Guillaume, an essay by Alfred C. Barnes's on 'Negro art' in America, which was published with reproductions of works from Guillaume's own collection.²²³ Einstein hoped Joyce would welcome Wedderkopp, who wanted to acquire reproductions of ethnographic material for publication, though Einstein added: 'it would be useful if you reserved your museum's exotic pieces for our own work'. (Appendix IV/1) The second letter was accompanied by a copy of Einstein's brand new *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*:

Now you can see that I have been working hard and I did not act on a whim when I left aside the African volume. I am also sending you about twenty unpublished photos for our book. [...] I would be so happy if we could now continue with the Negroes. Have the British Museum photos been done? [...] I would like to begin if you do not mind. But to do so, I need the photos from your museum, from Cambridge and from Oxford. [...] Trust me, the days spent with you and Mr Clarke are one of my best memories. (Appendix IV/2)

Joyce did not return until July; he appeared equally keen to continue with the project, but first had to prepare a report of his trip, promising that he would return to the 'African book' toward the autumn. (Appendix IV/3). In the meantime, Einstein had organized and written the introduction to the catalogue of a traveling exhibition of Flechtheim's collection of Oceanic sculpture consisting of close to two hundred objects, mainly originating from the German Pacific protectorates.²²⁴ The collector Eduard von der Heydt bought at least two of the objects, a helmet mask and a carved and painted figure frieze from the Bismarck Archipelago, now in the Rietberg Museum in Zurich.²²⁵ There is little doubt that – alongside the growing taste for so-called *art nègre* (which included the art of Pacific cultures) in Paris, Berlin and elsewhere – Einstein was at least in part responsible for Flechtheim's 'ethnographic turn'. Similarly, the evident shift in the image strategies adopted by *Der Querschnitt* during the mid-to-late twenties hint at his involvement. While the earlier photographic assemblages demonstrate the kind of

affable mockery typical of Flechtheim and detested by Einstein,²²⁶ a few of the later somewhat more culture-critical juxtapositions recall the highly politicized work of Einstein's Dada combatants at the Malik-Verlag (Fig. 62 and Fig. 63). During his collaboration with Georges Bataille as editor of *Documents* and its heterodox mix of contributors such image strategies would take a new turn.

It was not until November 1926 that Einstein's thoughts returned to Joyce stating his delight that the photographs they had jointly organized during his London stay might finally be on their way, and that he was about to forward 'a new package of Negro photos' to Joyce. (Appendix IV/4) In a letter, apparently written shortly after, he enclosed a copy of Flechtheim's *Südseeplastiken* catalogue. The reason was: 'My friends would like to sell this collection as a whole to a museum to preserve this valuable suite.' Enquiring whether Joyce knew of a museum that might be interested, he continued:

There is no need for me to add that I have nothing to do with this transaction from a commercial point of view. It is only that I would not like to see this beautiful collection scattered, which I put together - a wish you will easily understand. (Appendix IV/5)

That these 'friends' were causing Einstein grief at much the same time becomes apparent from a letter in which he describes *Die Kunst des 20 Jahrhunderts* as a preamble to plans for a book on Cubism, based on the collection he had been instrumental in assembling for his friend, Dr Gottlieb Reber. What Einstein had come to realize was that 'my most enraged opponents are those in the Flechtheim camp, watching furiously as I am trying to gain acceptance for the Cubists here at home, which these people assume to be at their expense'.²²⁷

There is no evidence of Joyce's replying to the offer of the Flechtheim collection but the subsequent long silence between the correspondents was explained in a note written in English by Aga von Hagen in 1927, which related that Einstein had been ill. (Appendix IV/6) It would be over a year, before the London connection was revived, during which time Einstein and von Hagen had ended their relationship.²²⁸ He began revisions for the second edition of *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, and Kahnweiler, who had praised the book for saying something 'absolute and final about the art of our time', was sent a draft of the much expanded and modified Picasso chapter. Asking Kahnweiler for an appraisal, Einstein wondered whether a French publisher could be found for the piece, and hoped that he might be able to spend the winter in Paris.²²⁹ The economic and political uncertainties of Weimar Germany, as much as those of his private life, led to the decision to emigrate, because - as he told Kahnweiler: 'this is no longer a

country in which to work with concentration. One's nerves are ruined here'.²³⁰ The correspondence with Joyce was not resumed until January 1929.

The 'German poet' Einstein and Documents

Einstein's reputation, as an author with a heterodox approach to cultural theory, avant-garde art and ethnography, convinced Georges Wildenstein, the director of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, to appoint him to the editorial board of *Documents*, a journal that was intended as an avant-garde alternative to the *Gazette* and competitor to the *Cahiers d'art* of Christian Zervos. Einstein's authority is as evident in his contributions to *Documents*, as it is in those of the experts in ethnology, archaeology and the visual arts whom he succeeded in recruiting. Alongside the advertisements promoting German galleries and publishers, these (mainly German) contributors have been interpreted as giving *Documents* the appearance of a 'German journal published in French'.²³¹ This and Bataille's remark that described the 'German poet' Einstein as 'nominal director', revolve around issues regarding the journal's genesis, which remain unresolved even after the recent London exhibition that focused on *Documents*.²³² However, Einstein's conceptualization of the journal (more evident in the research by German and French scholars) ought to dispel doubts over the significance of his role.²³³ His 1928 outline proposal for the first ten issues, which was accepted by Wildenstein 'without reservation', is the earliest indication of the iconoclasm that characterized what Bataille called the 'incongruous productions' of *Documents*.²³⁴ Among the range of topics Einstein suggested are several that closely relate to those that were eventually published as contributions in the journal. Moreover, two features outlined by Einstein, one called '*Chroniques*', the other a '*Dictionnaire des idéologies*', which were originally conceived by Einstein, Carl Sternheim and Gottfried Benn as part of a project they named the 'Encyclopedia for the demolition of bourgeois ideology', would reappear in *Documents* as the regular '*Chroniques*', and the (renamed) '*Dictionnaire critique*'.²³⁵

It was precisely at the point at which preparations for the first edition of *Documents* were at their height that Einstein resumed his correspondence with the British Museum, announcing his newest venture:

We have the honor of informing you about the forthcoming publication of a new journal entitled DOCUMENTS. This journal will be concerned with fine arts, archaeology and ethnography. Luxuriously presented in quarto format, it will include thirty-two pages of text and twenty-four pages of excellent reproductions, sixteen of which will be in heliogravure and eight in half-tone print. We think that your contribution, if you consented, would be particularly interesting, and we will be glad to publish articles on

any subject you might be willing to propose to us. Studies about the British Museum's brilliant collection, illustrated by reproductions would be particularly welcome. DOCUMENTS will remunerate its contributors in a satisfactory manner. (Appendix IV/7)

At the same time, in a letter that implies pride and ownership, Einstein informed Wasmuth of the latest developments in Paris:

Dear Ewald [...] *Just between us*: on 15 [April] my journal will appear in Paris: Documents. Finance is secured for 3 years (printing, office, royalties). Rather nice, isn't it? (App. III/4, Einstein's emphasis)

With the responsibility of his editorial role came the task of recruiting contributions from experts such as his English acquaintances. Joyce's reply some weeks later, noted the formality of Einstein's invitation:

Forgive me if I address you thus "tous court". According to our English custom (un peu brutale, peutetre [sic]), when we write to a friend, we omit all titles. Also, I write in English, because you understand English much better than I write French.

Once again, Joyce had only just returned from an expedition and so declined, though 'perhaps later' he might be able to accept the 'very flattering invitation'; but he asked:

What about the book on African art that we were going to bring out together? I have a large collection of photographs. And when are you coming to London again to talk things over and renew an acquaintance, which, to me, was extremely pleasant. (Appendix IV/8)

Einstein did not reply until August, when he assured his friend that he would be delighted to count him among the contributors to *Document*, adding:

[W]e would be grateful if you wrote an article of 2 or 3 printed pages for "Documents" on the Torres-Strait masks from the British Museum, and forward eight photographs of these masks (format 18 x 24, if possible). It would be useful for us to receive this article and the documents for 1 October. (Appendix IV/9)

Again, this was declined. In another letter Einstein suggested that instead Joyce might like to submit 'an illustrated account' of his expedition in British Honduras.²³⁶ Clearly under deadline pressure, he indicated that the Torres-Strait article could wait until '15 November', and if this did not suit to forward 'the most characteristic and most grotesque photographs of the Torres Strait masks [...] as

soon as possible, [...] with information by you'. Einstein promised to be in London in early October and looked forward to meeting Joyce. (Appendix IV/10) The urgency was further amplified by a note from the *Documents* offices, stating Einstein had omitted 'to indicate the dimensions for the photographs of the Torres-Strait masks', which was signed on 'behalf of Carl Einstein' by 'the secretary', Marcel Griaule. (Appendix IV/11)

Following his expedition to Abyssinia, Griaule along with the dissident Surrealist Michel Leiris, the museologist Georges-Henri Rivière, and André Schaeffner, a musicologist, became part of the younger generation to join *Documents*, all of whom would later pursue careers in ethnography. Griaule was one of the first students of the Paris Institut d'ethnologie studying under Mauss and Paul Rivet, who as director of the Trocadéro museum from 1927 (with Rivière as co-director from 1928) initiated the museum's modernisation that Apollinaire had called for in 1912.²³⁷ In 1931, only weeks after the last issue of *Documents* appeared, Griaule and his team (including Leiris and Schaeffner) set off on the Dakar-Djibouti mission that would link his name with the Dogon (or Habbés) peoples of Mali and the history of modern French ethnography.²³⁸ Little is known of Einstein's relationship with Griaule, but it is likely that he had a similar respect for the German Africa specialist to that recorded by Leiris in his 1929 diary. Introduced to Joyce as 'our friend', Griaule must have been part of the circle Einstein mentioned in a letter to Reber, no doubt hoping to relieve his anger about the hostile German reaction to his continuing defense of Picasso:

Here I see a circle of young talented people [...] who come to me. What unsettles and occupies them, those [other] gentlemen do not even know the language of these [young] people, just as they do not *know* the language of Picasso; I do not speak of understanding [here].²³⁹

The issue of the Torres-Strait masks was raised again by Einstein's letter of October 1929 addressed to the curator Hermann J. Braunholtz, who Joyce had recommended to take on the job, and who Einstein asked for '2-3 pages' and '5 photographs', which he hoped to receive 'before 25 November'.²⁴⁰ (Appendix IV/12) In early November, a further request was sent to Joyce, in which Einstein – apologizing for the letter being signed by 'our friend and secretary' Griaule – again asked for photographic material. This time he hoped to publish 'an animal head in precious stone with incrustated opal eyes' which he had seen in Joyce's office in London, adding, that he would be interested 'even more if it was taken by a good photographer'. (Appendix IV/13) Even though some letters seem to have been lost, as has any evidence of most of the photographs that did change hands, what

increasingly dominated the Einstein-Joyce correspondence was eliciting essays and photographs for *Documents*.

The joint African project was not mentioned throughout these varied exchanges. Neither an article by Joyce nor Braunholtz on the Torres-Strait masks or any other subject appeared in *Documents*. A typical example of an overmodeled skull from the Torres-Strait islands was eventually reproduced, informing the reader that such objects were 'used for divination by passing their oracle through the sound of their chattering teeth'. Originating from a photograph by Haddon in *Customs of the World* (1913), it was part of an assemblage comprising images of the Hallstatt ossuary, Dayak trophy heads and a reliquary skull from Papua New Guinea, which accompanied an essay on ritual practices by the paleontologist Ralf von Königswald, entitled '*Têtes et crânes*'. The photographs so eagerly anticipated were intended to be assimilated within *Documents*' larger epistemic agenda that probed scientific and artistic classification by exposing the hypocrisy of western aesthetic attitudes, or as here, disrupting concepts of the head as the locus of reason and individuality.²⁴¹ Einstein did however succeed in procuring an article from one of his London collaborators, Louis Clarke, who noted the 'great interest' by critics and collectors in the indigenous arts of Africa, America and 'even Polynesia'.²⁴² The shift in the focus on *art nègre* (from African to Pacific cultures) is illustrated by the *Cahiers d'art*, which in 1929 devoted an entire issue to the arts of Oceania.²⁴³ Discussing the Cambridge museum's collection of what he called the 'neglected' art of the Solomon Islands, a 'stone age' culture that 'still practised cannibalism' and until recently 'did not know metal', Clarke drew attention to the ritual significance of certain motifs such as the sacred frigate bird represented in the elaborately inlaid form of a bowl.²⁴⁴

Masks, myths and contradictions

The predilection for myths that first became manifest soon after the publication of *Negerplastik* was as central to Einstein's ethnographic contributions to *Documents* as it was to his analyses of avant-garde art. It informed the texts accompanying two reproductions, one of a Bapindi (Pende) mask collected by Emile Torday in the Kasai territory (which calls the cover of *Negerplastik* to mind), and an animal-hide covered Janus mask of the Cross-River Ekoi peoples (Fig. 64, 65 and Fig. 66).²⁴⁵ Both objects form part of the British Museum collections and so are the only visual evidence of Einstein's collaboration with Joyce. (Appendix IV/14 and 15) Like myths, masks deny as much as they confirm. They are principally not what they represent but what they conceal and transform.²⁴⁶ In Einstein's text the Janus mask is described as the 'Sky Father' (Fig. 65), its other the 'head of a young man' (though an 'earth goddess' is also suggested), an image

of opposites conveying an ‘almost horrifying naturalism’ that was reminiscent of bygone practices of covering such objects with ‘the skin of a sacrificed human’ (Fig. 66).²⁴⁷ As avatars of existential dualities (life-death, male-female, tragic-comic), the significance of the two-faced aspect of Janus (guardian of doorways, beginnings, and endings in Roman mythology) is evident beyond this text by Einstein. Eckart von Sydow devoted a lengthy essay on the recurrence of such masks throughout western Africa, describing their dichotomy as the ‘sublime’ and ‘demonic’. For Leiris, (like Einstein a key figure in promoting the work of Picasso and Miró in *Documents* and familiar with the work of Lévy-Bruhl and Mauss) the journal was a ‘Janus publication’ turning one face towards ‘the higher spheres of culture’ and the other ‘toward a wild place’, marking its ‘diversity of disciplines – and lack of disciplines’.²⁴⁸ For the Einstein of the *Documents* era and his analyses of the ‘Surrealist’ Picasso and the ‘Romantic generation’ of Masson and Miró, Picasso’s art was conditioned by the ‘dialectical destruction of reality’. The artist was the antagonist who, like ‘Janus, is no longer the mirror image of the self but a sign of contradiction and metamorphosis’.²⁴⁹

To the extent that ‘black humour’ was as intrinsic to the purposely incongruous tactics of *Documents* as it was to Einstein’s authorial practice, the positioning of the Ekoi mask following his review ‘*Exposition de sculpture moderne*’ might be signifying ‘contradiction’ as an oblique coda to what is suggested below was Einstein’s most subversive ‘visual turn’. The Janus head might be understood in more than one way, taking into account the fault-line that developed within the journal and between Einstein and Bataille.²⁵⁰ The last letters exchanged between Joyce and Einstein explain the appearance of the Ekoi and Bapindi masks in *Documents* at this time, confirming that there was more material that changed hands than the material documented here and the dispatch of the consignment of photographs from the British Museum. Once again, Joyce was anxious about the African project:

It was a real pleasure to receive a letter from your hand after such a long silence. [...] The photographs will be sent as soon as possible [...]. Two or three years ago, we talked about collaborating on a book on African art. I have plenty of photographs [...] chosen from our collection, from Cambridge etc. and I would like to know if the project is still possible. (Appendix IV/14)

Einstein, no longer writing on the headed paper of *Documents*, reassured his friend:

Thank you so much [...] for the photos you sent me. [...] I do not think it would be difficult to put this work into shape and I am convinced that we can carry out this project. [...] Let me know, whether you are in London at the end of May [...]. (Appendix IV/15)

With this, the collaboration and the correspondence of some four years terminate; perhaps the Janus aspect of the Ekoi mask epitomizes Einstein's loyalties, torn as he was between the Africanist and European modernist discourse.²⁵¹

African and Oceanic art at the Galerie Pigalle

Contradiction and metamorphosis also informed Einstein's review of an exhibition of African and Oceanic art held in 1930 at the *Galérie du théâtre Pigalle*, organized by Tristan Tzara, Pierre Loeb and Charles Ratton.²⁵² The show raised issues about the reception of ethnographic objects since Guillaume's promotion of a 'new aesthetic' and the Devambez-exhibition at the Musée Galliéra which he assisted in organizing with the curator Henri Clouzot and André Level, (organizer of the *Peau de l'Ours* and dealer and collector of African and Oceanic art). The catalogue had considered artistic practices and ethnographic principles within wider cultural contexts, describing *Negerplastik* – without naming it – as a book of 'German transcendental metaphysics', which by 1920 was followed by Fénéon's survey of whether ethnographica should be admitted to the Louvre, and the French publication of parts of Einstein's African oeuvre.²⁵³ By the late twenties, the aesthetic appeal of non-western objects was cultivated in stylish displays by Zervos' *Cahiers d'art* and Guillaume's *Les Arts à Paris*, shored up by a well-oiled network of dealers and collectors.²⁵⁴ Guillaume's book for the Alfred C. Barnes Foundation typifies the kind of 'connoisseurship' Einstein deplored. Building on Barnes' philanthropic goals, the dealer had helped to assemble one of the period's largest private collections of African objects (by selling some of his most prized pieces to Barnes), while efforts to increase their value introduced spurious ethnographic data in the book, published by Barnes with the intention to educate the American public on African culture.²⁵⁵ At much the same time Frobenius' work gained recognition outside Germany – English translations tending to focus on his ethnographic accounts and comparative ethnology, French translations showing more of a preference for his philosophical texts.²⁵⁶

By the time of the *Pigalle* exhibition the *Documents* collaborator, Georges-Henri Rivière, reasserted his views that such developments had transformed the reception of ethnographic objects to the detriment of their original function, making the endeavours of ethnologists to reinvigorate the discipline more difficult.²⁵⁷ An open letter to Guillaume by the critic Waldemar George, acknowledged some of the complexities, stating that the 'second wave of Negro art' had become no more than a diversion from Taylorized social constraints and 'the prey of "avant-garde" poets, [...] converted into collector specialists'.²⁵⁸ He

implicated 'certain periodicals' in the 'premeditated juxtaposition of "phenomena", "freaks of nature", classical [...], and contemporary works' in which 'Freudian complexes translated into verbal and pictorial language' so that '[p]athology and archaeology become allies' in the recent discoveries of 'so many unknown idols'. Now 'the diggers themselves are the idolaters' and the 'cult of barbarity [...] has become a pedagogical exercise'. However, the review failed to recognize the exhibition's relevance to current debate on art and cultural difference, judging its influence as little more than the retrospective of 'French porcelain at the Marsan Pavilion'.²⁵⁹

Einstein took an entirely different stance to the majority of reviews, which either incited fierce reaction and incomprehension as above, or regarded the exhibition as merely 'concerned with aesthetics'. Critics weighed up the 'strict [sculptural] laws of the African Negro' which had not the relief-like 'quality of Greek archaic sculpture', against the 'frankly decorative' Oceanic works resembling 'a tangle of tropical creepers'; nevertheless it was a show after which 'nobody dare place' these arts 'among mere ethnographic curiosities'. Others acknowledged the Surrealists, who – believing themselves rid of all 'eventualities of earthly logic' – chose to be inspired by the Pacific islands arts that haunted the imagination and where 'the fear of the unknown' developed into 'a kind of madness'. The *Cahiers d'art* preferred to focus on the lavish display of the exhibition's gold, ivory and bronze objects that would appeal to the connoisseurs of non-western antiquities.²⁶⁰ Perhaps because of the delayed impact of *Negerplastik* in France, and to clarify his stance vis-à-vis current tastes, Einstein restated his position which, since 1921, had argued for a historico-cultural consideration of the non-western object rather than one of aesthetics.²⁶¹ The essay reiterated the disintegration of African cultures, and the need to collate myths, painting and architectural works for comparative study, and urged the beginning of an African archaeology.²⁶² *Kulturkreis* theories were dismissed as too schematic, as were over-zealous attempts to date African sculpture by its primitiveness.²⁶³ The essay's true focus was on the difficulties of identifying the meaning of mythico-religious, ritual and magic practices, which corresponded with extant ethnographic studies of Torday and Joyce, Mauss (who contributed to a special issue of *Documents* in honour of Picasso) and the new *kulturgeschichtliche* method of ethnography advanced by Ankermann and Graebner.²⁶⁴

Outlined as 'basic motifs', Einstein argued that 'the sexual realm of exotic man locked within magic' governed the iconography of his art; it was evident in the diversity of ancestor statuary and gendered utilitarian objects used in the rituals of gender-divided secret societies. Symbol of the male principle (sun, sky, procreation) was the 'phallus post', while the 'skull' of the deceased signified the

'maternal belly' and 'dwelling of the spirit', manifest in the ritual vessels of the Fang, who placed between such skulls 'propitious medicines and *negula* (pounded red-wood [*baphia nitida*]) [...]. Sometimes food is placed inside the vessels; one paints the skulls with *negula* and gives them food.²⁶⁵ The bisexual aspect of phallus post and skull was, in 'primitive times', the 'basic theme' of all sculptural art, illustrated in *Documents* by a Radja (*corvar*) sculpture from Papua New Guinea in the triadic configuration of two decorated skulls and a central (phallus-shaped) figure.²⁶⁶ Yet, while separate body parts might symbolize the entire person, fragments ('phallus, skull etc.') were seen to correspond with the 'archaism in modern painting', correlations Einstein noted in his essay on Arp's work as forms of 'ecstatic isolation' without which 'the magic forces would be dispersed'.²⁶⁷ Whereas Einstein's analogies to Greco-Roman mythology underlined transcultural aspects of myth, African customs like the filing of teeth (signifying the 'rays of the sun' and the 'actus generationis') and the symbolism of the gendered 'mouth (the vulva)' appeared to relate ethnographic evidence to the iconography of the infamous constructions of Picasso's monstrous females, discussed by Leiris in the same issue of *Documents* (Fig. 67).²⁶⁸ Picasso's work, Einstein said later, 'situated at the centre of a violent conflict between direct human structure [...] and already-dead external appearances', signalled 'everything that in our times possesses freedom'. For Picasso:

[T]he fanatical surrender to visions – [...] his passivity in the face of obsession – is compensated for by the construction of forms. Against the fatality of the unconscious, he posits a prodigious, clearly intelligible will of creative form.²⁶⁹

The Pigalle review centred on non-western sculpture as a 'representation of magical and collective signs', on statuary as 'doppelganger' or 'astral body' characterized by ancestor cults and an obsession with death and magic. In this context Einstein explicitly referred to the separation of body, spirit and 'shadow soul' in Ankermann's study on African belief systems, described here as a 'magical pluralism' that only proved the pointlessness of the term 'primitive'.²⁷⁰ In an art obsessed with magic and death, reincarnation is a recurring theme and the unity of the world is realized in 'the drama of metamorphosis'. This, Einstein argued, was the reason why:

The canon of this art cannot be naturalistic because its task is to make the invisible visible; hence, imagination is governed by religious conception. Through acts like circumcision [...], exotic man seeks to reinstate the divine bisexuality. It seems that Freud was wrong, when he explained these rites to be rites of castration. On the contrary, man sought to regain the primal bisexuality'.²⁷¹

Like the orthodox Surrealists and those within the orbit of *Documents*, Einstein was familiar with psychoanalytic theory. *Totem and Taboo* first appeared in *Imago* during 1912, when Einstein's long-time collaborator, Paul Cassirer, also published excerpts in *Pan*.²⁷² Drawing on Frazer, Freud set up parallels between the 'essentially infantile' dynamics inherent in the totemic systems of non-western societies and what he saw as 'striking agreement with the mental life of neurotic patients' so central to his studies.²⁷³ There is no evidence of when exactly Einstein engaged with Surrealist and psychoanalytical theory but in 1923 he voiced reservations in a letter to Wasmuth; at the time of *Documents*, psychoanalytical thought pervades his art-critical language, albeit the Freudian unconscious is criticized:

Picasso does not accept the given, which the feeble adore as a transcendental substance. With him, one departs from Freud's fatalistic and stable hallucination, a limited formula in which the unconscious is represented in a metaphysical manner as a constant substance.²⁷⁴

Einstein in contrast stressed the transformative aspect of the unconscious, which he saw activated in artistic practice. Whether manifest in the 'telepathic manner' of Picasso's work or in the ancestral 'doppelganger' and 'shadow soul' of non-western sculpture, his understanding of the unconscious was perhaps best outlined in his study on Braque:

Let us briefly point out that in Freud's definition of the unconscious the mass of repressions is defined as a constant, hence more negative. We however believe that it is precisely in the unconscious that the chance of the new resides, that it perpetually reconstructs itself and therefore is potentially progressive. It is the powerful activation of the unconscious within the seeing and the creating of forms, which seems to us to result precisely in that inexplicability of works of art, for in the last instance vision itself remains essentially mysterious.²⁷⁵

The transformative aspects of African and Oceanic sculpture were represented by the exhibition's two hermaphrodite statues, one, a Habbès (Dogon) figure from Mali belonging to the collection of Georges de Miré, the other an Uli figure from Papua New Guinea, part of the Pierre Loeb collection. Both were in Einstein's view indicative of the proto-typical motif ('the actus generationis') recurrent in the double-faced 'Juju-masks' of Cameroon and throughout sub-Saharan Africa (Fig. 68).²⁷⁶ This typology, he argued, was consistent with the 'bisexuality of the *pneuma*' in Gnostic traditions and Jewish teachings of the Zohar.

There the presence of 'male and female' elements were prerequisite for the true representation of the god, a mythological motif of androgyny, which was also drawn on by Freud in his theorizing of Leonardo's vulture phantasy and his reading of *The Virgin and Child with St Anne* (c. 1510, Musée du Louvre).²⁷⁷ For Einstein, the parallels with African myths and customs were proof that aesthetic explanations such as those of the 'decorative necessity' of African forms were wholly inadequate. Furthermore, since Africans, like other peoples, had exploited foreign influences throughout their history, theories of Africa's isolation had to be abandoned. Instead the task was to establish an 'African archaeology', while the answers to the 'problem' of an 'African chronology' would be solved through extant remnants of the 'traditions of the great [African] empires'.²⁷⁸

What becomes apparent is that several aspects of Einstein's article correspond with what was outlined to Wasmuth in the reports on the research undertaken with Joyce at the British Museum. Here as there, discussion centered on empirical analyses of objects in which specific attribution or interpretations remained subordinate to larger problems grounded in, and directed by, historical contexts and a philosophy of cultural formation that perhaps, through the process of what Einstein had called 'reverse depositing' (Rücklagerung), aimed to establish a chronology beyond extant western historiographies of sub-Saharan Africa. It leaves the intriguing question of whether the essay's classifications (dating of artifacts, basic motifs, culture areas, naturalism, etc.), were indicative of the project's structure in its entirety, had it been completed.

'Ecstatic training', modern sculpture and the other 'visual turn'

It is perhaps not surprising then that Einstein's art-critical contributions to *Documents* were informed by an approach that assimilated ethnographic methodologies within a reading of modernist artistic practice. This marked his programmatic '*Aphorismes méthodiques*' intended to set the agenda for the journal, while his concept of an *Ethnologie du blanc* has been seen as turning 'ethnography against western civilization itself'.²⁷⁹ The autonomy of the image that had characterized the dialectical rhetoric of *Negerplastik* is manifest in a different way in '*André Masson, étude ethnologique*'.²⁸⁰ Again, none of the works reproduced is discussed, but here Einstein relegated contemporary literature to 'hobble pitifully behind the painters', who had challenged 'the hierarchies of the values of the real'.²⁸¹ Based on his research into African myth and ritual, the logic of ethnography now functioned to theorize Masson's automatic painting. Not unlike Lévy-Bruhl's notions of 'collective representations' and the 'pre-logical', Einstein regarded the 'hallucinatory' powers in archaic and non-western cultures as an expression of a 'collective dogmatism', though in modernity they were subjective.

It was, he argued, precisely in 'the incongruity between the hallucinatory and the structure of objects' that all 'egocentric reactions' ceased, so that for the modern artist 'obsession represents one tiny chance of freedom'.²⁸² Reminiscent of the 'importance of transmutations in primitive times' such processes granted protection against modernity's isolation, allowing the artist to assume the role of the shaman, who through the practice of 'ecstatic training' performs the projection of self-sacrifice so that he may enter the form of 'an animal', a 'plant' or 'a stone'.²⁸³ Such metamorphoses projecting the experience of death 'as a way of avoiding being killed oneself', Einstein claimed, were synonymous with the ancient motifs of 'totemism's classic drama'.

Though accompanied by more than a dozen reproductions, the essay engaged with neither a formal analysis nor the meaning of the works, but rather the ethnographic method functioned here to epitomize their tasks. As such it marked Einstein's departure from the inherent ambiguities of *Negerplastik's* aestheticism, participating instead in his anti-idealist project of an *Ethnologie du blanc* that intended to expose 'bourgeois' literary conventions (of art criticism) and the subliminal forces at work in the western aesthetic canon.

Different to *Negerplastik* and the ethnological study of Masson was Einstein's critique of an exhibition of modern sculpture held at the *Galerie Georges Bernheim*. This review and the accompanying photo-essay might be regarded as a 'visual turn' that, as an experiment in an *Ethnologie du blanc*, investigated 'very seriously, although perhaps a trifle sarcastically, the [...] myths and [...] customs among the Europeans [...] as though they were already an extinct race'.²⁸⁴ Einstein ruthlessly mocked the exhibition as a 'pseudo-antique gym-palace', a compilation of 'retarded dreams', of 'ceremonial and vulgar ideals'. Regretting that Arp, 'this poet of gutter melodies' was missing, Einstein engaged with neither a theoretical explication, nor the work of those mentioned 'with sympathy' – the sculptors Lipchitz, Laurens and Brancusi.²⁸⁵ However, beyond Einstein's laconic text, the juxtaposition of photographs accompanying the review make for an intriguing addition that provide a reading with a twist.

The first spread (Fig. 69) shows a sculpture by Laurens, known as *Bottle and Journal* (1919), a construction of folded interlocking planes in different painted materials. It is precisely the 'somewhat sweetly sculpto-painting' Einstein described elsewhere as inconceivable without the Cubist painters:

One becomes academic in order to be modern; through the medium of Picasso one turns into a classicist. We name here especially Laurens and Lipschitz [sic]. With Laurens, approximately a Maillol of Cubism, blocks and relief are enveloped in an exacting grace [...], now and then one

senses a quiet touch of archaism, adhering to the classical, but cubistically reinterpreted.²⁸⁶

Opposite this is a photograph of the sculptural decorations adorning the Neo-Baroque façade of the Grand Palais²⁸⁷ whose complex medley of forms seem to echo the Laurens construction. The close-up shows the whiplash form of a lion's tail merging with a bacchanalian cornucopia, whose abundant fruit touch the buttocks of a winged putto. Might this pairing be a tongue in cheek play of transpositions between the 'exacting grace' of an avant-garde caught up in 'archaisms' and 'Cubist reinterpretations' bowing to the canon of classical tradition and the pomp of a '[Neo]-Baroque gone astray in the constricting labyrinth'²⁸⁸ of the spectacles of state authority?

In this incongruous coupling photography's indexical function destabilizes the kind of contemplation regarded mandatory for the viewing of works of art, triggering instead a process of subliminal correspondences that might call to mind Bataille's *Documents* essay on 'The Modern Spirit and the Play of Transpositions':

It may be thought that the works of the greatest painters belong [...] to the most brilliant period of this history, but it is [...] necessary to pity anyone disinclined to bring infinitely more haunting images to life [...]. Somewhat independently of the will of theoreticians [...], symbolic transpositions have been brought to the surface in every field with the most infantile persistence.²⁸⁹

A second pair of images shows a Lipchitz sculpture from 1924-25 juxtaposed with a pre-Han Chinese bronze plaque (Fig. 70).²⁹⁰ The collocation of heterogeneous objects provokes parallels between the cowering form of a lizard-like creature reminiscent of Meso-American Toltec sculpture, and the ancient Chinese object that echoes its frozen poise in rhythmic trajectories of what might be the feline head of a mythical beast devouring an amorphous amphibian. The 'abandonment to the possibility of misrecognition'²⁹¹ that marks the subversive image-text strategies of *Documents*, may also be played out here. In Einstein's estimation, this and other works by Lipchitz were 'lured by grand monumental themes, which every now and then are enunciated with too much pathos'.²⁹² Our gaze is invited to engage in a double take between the 'lure' of a primitivizing modernism and the sophistication of archaic nomadic cultures, between 'monumental themes' of 'too much pathos' and the refined subtlety of utilitarian ornament subverting traditional distinctions of value in art historical classification.²⁹³

The third juxtaposition consists of a photograph that shows an object, which the caption claims belongs to the 'Collection Carl Einstein'. Its opposite is

Brancusi's sculptural composition, entitled 'Le premier homme' (Fig. 71). While the previous avant-garde works were juxtaposed with material classified as belonging to the decorative arts, this pairing is different. Here the artist's work is met with no more than a stone, washed up on a beach, somewhere, some time. Brancusi's work shows a rough-hewn granite-block surmounted by a squared form carved from oak, its four sides pierced by ovoid openings, known separately as *Tabouret* (1930). In its topmost centre rests the essentialist form of the white marble head, known as *Prometheus* (1911). The photographic setting in the artist's studio indicates that Brancusi was responsible for this assemblage of 'the first man'.²⁹⁴ It suggests a manifestation of modernism's classical heritage: a triadic constellation of becoming, from the formlessness of igneous rock to 'primordial (spatial) form', crowned by the purified head of Promethean man, an hieratic allegory of nature into art. Here is what Einstein wrote:

We already mentioned [...] Brancusi, who appears to be in search of something akin to primordial forms; the monumental is to be achieved by way of ultimate simplification and unification. The result: a bluff or a chimera of a private Egypt. One polishes metals and blocks, repeats a few motifs and dreams of giants amongst the decorative arts.²⁹⁵

But what of the 'found object' designated to the 'Collection Carl Einstein' with an uncanny resemblance to a head? Displaying an eccentric (Egyptian?) profile, the configuration of marks dispersed over the pale surface evokes a countenance immersed in dreamlike contemplation, maybe of 'the vision of truth in the depth of the mind when the eyes are closed'.²⁹⁶ The pursed 'smile' and 'neckline'-curve emerging from the ripples of some 'drapery' suggest a fragment of an archaic vision: a mythical Eve, or Niobe who, released from her worldly turmoil, may enter (like the shaman/artist Masson) the form of 'an animal', 'a plant', or 'a stone'.²⁹⁷ Occupying the entire frame, the 'little stone' assumes a presence that, juxtaposed with 'The first man', oscillates between incidental and essential, or formlessness and form. Here, formless nature as ecstatic woman is - 'perhaps a trifle sarcastically' - framing the (male) preserves of form and cultural hierarchies, a seditious play of transpositions that, to speak with Bataille, with a 'most infantile persistence' might bring 'infinitely more haunting images to life'.²⁹⁸ It may be no coincidence that the same issue of *Documents' Dictionnaire critique* contained the entry on Bataille's 'formless': 'that which it designates, has no claim in any sense', is 'always trampled upon like a spider' (or a stone).²⁹⁹

To a greater degree than the dialectics of *Negerplastik*, or the psycho-ethnological study of Masson's work, the juxtaposition of this 'visual turn'

transgresses established orders of viewing. And, while mocking the terse text-allegories of his own review, Einstein magnifies his notions of the arbitrariness of discursive language by leaving the images to do the job of words. The 'eidetic meaning' assigned to words as lexical units might, removed from their 'symbolic code', shatter representation and thus open up language³⁰⁰ to what - for Einstein - might be described as a poetics of infinite incompleteness, a process brilliantly exemplified in his Dictionary entry 'Nightingale':

The nightingale is almost always a cliché, [...] what we designate with the help of words is less an object than a vague opinion; one uses words as though they were ornaments [...] instruments of power suggested by cunning or by drunks [...] Imprecision is the façade of the soul [...] for the most part a museum of signs stripped of meaning.³⁰¹

In the same way, the *eidōs* (form, idea) assigned to pictures might, outside their established iconographic constraints, lead to a hiatus of the gaze that - on the threshold between conflicting possibilities of 'looking' and 'losing' - triggers '(mis)recognition'. In this assemblage of images accompanying Einstein's critique of modern sculpture this process has become a 'visual turn' where it is not the word but the image that functions as the axis of energy in what may be a critique of an avant-garde 'du blanc' (masked in the guise of an 'homage'). Here the images are no longer defined by what they *mean* but by what they *do*, a (visual) poetics of incompleteness that - watched over by the double-faced avatar from a 'wild place' (the Ekoi Janus mask) - questions the constraints of causality by unlocking the mutable web of signification, an *Ethnologie du blanc* Einstein may have continued to explore, though sadly he never completed. It may be a symptom of Einstein's later position in another project that remained unfinished business, which saw modern art 'perish in autistic hyperbole and fanciful isolation' adopting a 'metaphorical stance while reality and its meaning crumbles'.³⁰²

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away 'the dams of memory', and eradicating mnemonic and cognitive processes, Benjamin focused on the reception of art works and the effects of multiplication and diminution:

[E]very one will have noticed how much easier it is to get hold of a picture, [...] sculpture, [...] architecture, in a photograph than in reality. It is all too easy to blame this squarely on the decline of artistic appreciation [...]. But one is brought up short by the way the understanding of great works was transformed at about the same time as the techniques of reproduction were being developed. They can no longer be regarded as the work of individuals; they have become a collective creation, a corpus so vast it can be assimilated only through miniaturization. In the final analysis, mechanical reproduction is a technique of diminution that helps men to achieve a control over works of art without whose aid they could no longer be used.⁴

That the polysemy relating to the medium's documentary faculties were recognized during the nineteenth century is clear not only from Wölfflin's essays on the photography of sculpture but from numerous earlier sources.⁵ Yet the trust in the veracity and versatility of photography prevailed throughout the late nineteenth and most of the twentieth century. It shaped publications that centred on the dissemination of visual evidence of (among a wide range of topics) non-western material culture – as in André Malraux's *Museum without Walls* with its famous remark that art history had become 'the history of that which can be photographed'.⁶ The discussion of the photographic images in *Negerplastik* has shown that the power deriving from this process of 'packaging' visual knowledge generates a somewhat different aura, which is no longer that of the original work of art but one of cultic articulation that 'reactivates the object reproduced'.⁷ Yet our historical understanding of the significance of *Negerplastik*, and Einstein's role in theorizing the artistic autonomy of the African sculptural object, will remain lacking as long as the acculturation that occurred between the ethnographic object's 'discovery' by the artists and its commodification during the nineteen-twenties is not sufficiently considered. For this it is necessary to examine the context that, beyond Einstein's assessment of the non-western object, led to this process of aesthetic elevation from 'bibelot' to commodified art object.⁸ This process of transformation cannot be fully grasped before taking into consideration the photographic exposure of African ethnographic objects, and the narratives constructed around them before and during the First World War.

Vladimir Markov's experiment in African sculpture

Whereas *Negerplastik* has gained some recognition over the years, the theoretical work of Vladimir Markov remains relatively little known – particularly in western art historical discourse. Apart from those dedicated to the history of the central European avant-garde, and occasional acknowledgments in publications concerning the reception of non-western sculpture, Markov remains a somewhat enigmatic figure.⁹ However, since the fall of the Iron Curtain, a wealth of documentary evidence in the archives and galleries of new eastern partner-nations of the European Union offers overdue opportunities for the reassessment of internationalist aspects of the historical avant-garde.

Markov belongs to those whose collaborative activities before the First World War subscribed to extra-European cultural diversity as an intrinsic element in the rethinking of artistic practice. Within the specific context of Einstein and the early twentieth-century primitivist discourse, his contribution is significant because of a number of similarities in the genesis and the resulting projects. Both *Negerplastik* and *Iskusstvo Negrov* (The Art of the Negroes) were researched, assembled, and written between 1912 and 1914. The focus of both authors – however different in their approach – centred on the artistic autonomy of African sculptural objects and their relevance to the modernist discourse. Like *Negerplastik*, *Iskusstvo Negrov* remained an incomplete ‘torso’ (as Einstein called his in 1920); Markov died unexpectedly after a short illness in May 1914, aged thirty-seven.¹⁰

Before embarking on his African project, Markov had established himself as one of the principal members of the artists’ group *Soyus molodezhi* (Union of Youth), which staged its first exhibitions in 1910 and forged links with the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* and the *Blaue Reiter* (Appendix VI). He became a theoretician of the anti-Naturalist tendencies of the new Russian art, writing manifestos that celebrated the works of the Italian Primitives and the arts of Asia, Assyria and Byzantium. Russian academic artistic training was rejected and the French modern works in the galleries of the collectors Shchukin and Morozov incentivized the search for new artistic direction.¹¹ What united Markov and the *Union of Youth* with the German avant-garde and the *Blaue Reiter* in particular was a mutual consensus that advocated pan-European strategies of artistic intervention, the art of past and distant cultures, and that of the untutored. Repudiating academic discrimination between art and artifacts, they shared views close to those of Worringer who (following Riegl) had advocated notions of *Kunstwollen* and empathy, ideas that became manifest in the *Union of Youth*’s publications and plans to translate his *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (1908).¹²

Like Einstein, Markov's introduction to non-western cultural objects coincided with extended visits to Paris and his shift from late-Symbolist artist to theoretician and photographer. It is evident in his correspondence with the sponsor and president of the *Union of Youth*, Levkii I. Zheverzheev and Kandinsky, written during the summer of 1912 (Appendix V/1-6). Based in Paris, he visited Germany where, as agent for the *Union of Youth*, he met with Walden at *Der Sturm* to arrange an exchange of exhibitions and journals. He also visited the Folkwang Museum in Hagen, meeting Osthaus, then travelled to Cologne where he saw the *Sonderbund* exhibition and probably met with August Macke, who may have introduced him to Otto Feldmann's *Rheinischer Kunstsalon* and the *Gereonsklub* (Appendix VI). Macke's 'inspiration' for the choice of non-western material, which was to appear in the *Blaue Reiter* almanac and for his essay 'Die Masken', originated at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne, the only one of its kind in the west of Germany. It is likely that it was he, who introduced Markov to its Africa-collection, as four Mende sculptures (Sierra Leone) that the museum had acquired in 1906 were to appear in *Iskusstvo Negrov*.¹³ Among them was a finely worked pair of female figures whose elongated, pared down form and graceful poise radiate a serenity akin to the stylish women populating verdant urban parks in the paintings of Macke (Fig. 72).¹⁴

Evidence of Markov's emerging African project can be found in his Paris correspondence with the *Union of Youth* president, Levkii I. Zheverzheev, and the letters he received from Wassily Kandinsky, whom he hoped to meet in Germany. The letters indicate that he was informed about the locations and sources required to pursue his goals, and that he was further aided by the presence of some of his Russian associates:

[We] visited one dealer [Kahnweiler], who deals exclusively in Picasso's work and who has photographs of all of Picasso's work, of all periods [...]. I bought 5 or 6 anyway. Shchukin arrived, [and] we [...] bragged to him about discovering one dealer's extraordinary collection of Polynesian and African sculptures. They are wonderful things and they are cheap, 50, 100, 300 francs. We went there with Shchukin. He [...] bought 600 francs worth of sculptures and one Picasso [...]. What can I do with these 120 rubles? If at least I had a camera, I would have taken photos of these wonders! (Appendix V/4)

His lament over the lack of photographic equipment and fascination with non-western objects became more urgent:

I am desperate for a photo camera. I am urging you to send me 200 rubles [...]. I need to write about the principles of the new art – and the material

is all here – [...] What wonderful African and Polynesian sculpture it is possible to buy here for 50-100 francs – but it is just as well you gave me so little money as I would not have been able to stop myself from buying some. And yet my soul yearns for it still. I can only buy utter rubbish – the Futurists, Picasso – it is all rubbish compared to these things. I cannot buy Picasso's work – they will kill me in St Petersburg – where is the new art, they will ask. Therefore, I have ordered eight Picassos and they cost four francs apiece. [...] It is a shame that Gaush is not here, I would have got him moving, just as I got Shchukin involved.¹⁵ (Appendix V/5)

Unlike Einstein's, Markov's encounter with Kahnweiler was no more than fleeting and clearly due to Shchukin, who had bought his first two Picasso paintings on meeting the artist in 1908, after which he became one of the dealer's most valued customers. What the remarks do indicate however is that Markov was responsible for some (if not all) of the African objects that entered the Shchukin collection, described elsewhere as 'a small but extremely interesting collection'.¹⁶ Since Tugendhold's essay on the Shchukin collection it is known that the Russian collector chose to display his African objects in the same room as his Picasso paintings, intending, as the critic implied, to make visible the links that propelled the creative processes of the artist:

With a first glance [...] one may find much in common between the schematic expression of Picasso and a Venus or other from prehistoric times, or the marvellous wooden sculptures from the Congo and Madagascar so dear to Picasso.

When Tugendhold enquired whether it was the mythical or religious aspect of these sculptures that interested him so much, Picasso replied that on the contrary it was simply their 'geometric simplicity'.¹⁷ It is uncertain whether the second dealer mentioned by Markov was Josef Brummer, but as the only work reproduced in *Iskusstvo Negrov* that did not originate from the ethnographic museums Markov visited during 1913 was from Brummer's, it suggests that it was indeed his collection that Markov and Shchukin visited.¹⁸

None of the African objects from the Shchukin collection was reproduced in Markov's book, but since five of these appeared in *Negerplastik* in 1915 it is possible that they were also part of the Picasso exhibition Einstein and Feldmann organized at the *Neue Galerie* in 1913. Together with *Three Women* (Fig. 13), these objects may have been part of the consignment to Shchukin's Moscow residence after the European tour of the Picasso retrospective Kahnweiler had initiated.¹⁹ In the same year that saw *Neue Galerie's* African exhibitions Markov, having acquired a camera, returned to Paris, Berlin, Cologne and other cities with ethnographic collections to gather the image material and information in

preparation of his project.²⁰ At the time of his death in May 1914, this task and the text for the publication had been completed, but they were only published in 1919.

Like *Negerplastik, Iskustvo Negrov* begins with a brief text divided into five chapters. With an approach similar to Einstein, Markov argued against western prejudices that imagined Africa to be devoid of aesthetic judgment and history. He insisted that in spite of a lack of historical evidence, legends and antiquities guarded by the 'secretive Negro', had been discovered that confirmed Africa's 'place of honour in the creation of the world's aesthetic pantheon'.²¹ Unlike Einstein however, Markov constructed a narrative that blended insightful observations on the sculptural work, and ethnological speculations of a global cultural history that linked West African coastal and Congo regions to the legendary 'Atlantis', notions based on the diffusionist theories of Leo Frobenius. Accordingly, African archaeological sightings were associated with migrations from the Mediterranean and shamanist practices of Northern Asia, conjectures expressly dismissed by Einstein's more rigorous focus on sculptural form.²²

Yet, like Einstein, Markov was convinced of the visual power of the photographic images in which the 'idols [...] chosen' were 'endlessly rich in ideas'. African art had augmented the avant-garde, he argued, naming Matisse and Picasso who had 'drawn on the lessons of such sculpture', and reiterating Tugenhold's remark on Picasso's emphasis on its 'geometric simplicity'. Not dependent on subject matter, African sculpture was not a realist art, rather it was signified by a play of imposing volumes, rhythms and lines in which 'each mass retains its autonomy'. He likened the work to 'architectural constructions' in which body parts are linked arbitrarily with no organic bond between them; for example, a head and neck has a 'mechanical rapport', since 'all parts of the body are conveyed symbolically'.²³

The most important departure from Einstein's conceptualization however was Markov's attention to the notion of *faktura*, that is, the integration of seemingly arbitrary materials extraneous to the sculptural process whereby 'a shell or nail [...] conveys the form' or the 'gleam [...] of an eye', concepts he identified as 'plastic symbols'. For Markov *faktura* constituted the inherent resonance of the materiality of the object, which conditioned the essential properties of the making of art, whether evident in the formal elements characteristic of African material culture, Russian icons or the constructions and collages of Picasso from 1912 onwards. Of primary importance to Markov's theoretical meditations on artistic practice, and to much of the Russian avant-garde, the concept of *faktura* as an integral part of African and other non-western ritual sculpture became a vital aspect of Surrealist practice during the nineteen-twenties and has since engaged the discourse on art and African art history.²⁴

The image material of *Iskusstvo Negrov* was collated from photographs Markov produced during his visits to ethnographic collections across western Europe in 1913 (Fig. 73).²⁵ The book's reproductions are structured according to museum locations, providing only minimal information on the objects' origin or history. There are no indications of provenance, size or materials used – decisions that may not have been Markov's but possibly resulting from his untimely death, which left final editorial decisions to those who oversaw its publication after the war.²⁶ This means that any evaluation of Markov's visualization of *Iskusstvo Negrov* is hampered by the question of how closely the posthumous publication followed his original conceptualization of the book as a whole. Einstein had to rely on ready-made visual material so that beyond a choice of individual photographs he may have had no influence on the photographic process relating to the final image plates. But we may presume that some discussions concerning the layout and appearance of *Negerplastik* took place with the publishers before he left for the front in 1914. As both photographer and author, Markov presents problems regarding a visual assessment of *Iskusstvo Negrov*, which might remain unresolved.²⁷

As in *Negerplastik*, the image material is laid out in a tabular display within wide margins, but here the plates are grouped in either pairs or threes on a landscape - rather than portrait - format, which reduces the size of the individual images by about half, compared to those in Einstein's book. Occasionally, two or three figures are shown on the same plate, which diminish the visual impact of individual works. Some of the works validated Markov's notion of universal principles of art by assimilating the diffusionist theories of Frobenius. Specific object-analysis tended to look beyond inherently African characteristics toward cross-cultural links that remained anecdotal in character, compared to Einstein's more exacting approach. Some images are conspicuous by what might be described as a format of cinematic sequencing that simulates moving around the object, interspersed with close-up views revealing *faktura* causing that 'gleam of the eye', or contrasts between carved form and shells or beads, which – as Markov argues – convey the works' 'symbolism of the real' (Fig. 74 to Fig. 77).

A symptomatic example of adopting Frobenius' morphological approach concerns the reproduction of a Kuba king figure, described by Markov as rather 'foreign' (Fig. 78). Likening its poise and formal characteristics to a 'Buddha', he refrained from inferring direct Buddhist influences but nonetheless suggested extant contacts that 'in times past [...] may have led to mimicking the art of others'.²⁸ This sculpture was first reproduced in the British Museum's *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections* (1910) and is the same that features in *Negerplastik* (Fig. 79 and 24). The similarity of aspect framing and lighting of all three

reproductions strongly suggests that despite his capabilities as a photographer, Markov also made use of a print drawn from the British Museum's original photographic plate.²⁹ However, positing elements of chance and *faktura* within lucid observations on sculptural form, Markov confirmed the artistic autonomy and tradition of African sculpture by challenging the hypocrisy of lofty Western hierarchies and accepted notions of Egyptian influences. His was an aesthetic position that, akin to that of the *Blaue Reiter*, subscribed to a paradigm of universal artistic volition and the need to acknowledge unique socio-cultural conditions necessary for the production of art.³⁰

African sculpture and the New York avant-garde

Unlike Einstein, Markov did not have another chance to expand his knowledge of African culture and, unlike Sheeler, neither was he able to build on his photographic experiences. Like Markov, Sheeler trained as an artist; he had his first solo exhibition in Philadelphia in 1908 and at around the same time he showed work at the *William Macbeth Gallery* in New York. The following year the gallery refused paintings he had completed after his return from travels in Europe. Discovering early Renaissance art in Italy and enjoying an extended stay in Paris, Sheeler had encountered works by Picasso, Braque and Matisse, which caused a radical change in his artistic outlook: 'An indelible line had been drawn between the past and [...] I was pointed in a new direction with an entirely new concept of a picture'. Invited by Arthur B. Davies, one of the principal organizers of the 1913 *Armory Show*, Sheeler exhibited six of his new works there. The show offered a broad spectrum of modern European painting, among them the most recent of Braque's and Picasso's Cubist work, and Marcel Duchamp's notorious *Nude descending Staircase No.2* (1912, Philadelphia Museum of Art). For Sheeler, Duchamp's use of (Etienne J. Marey's chronometric) photography affirmed that what was imperative for art was the 'statement', rather than the means by which this is achieved.³¹

Sheeler took up photography around 1911, primarily to augment his income and because it was 'work not in conflict with or otherwise detrimental to a continuation of painting'. He specialized in architecture, which by 1914-15 led to interiors, works of art, and the subsequent acquaintance with the patrons of modern and non-western art, Walter and Louise Arensberg, John Quinn and Joseph Brummer. Sheeler's association and collaboration with the Mexican émigré caricaturist Marius de Zayas probably came through Alfred Stieglitz, the photographer and painter Edward Steichen, and the circle congregating at the Photo-secession gallery 291 on New York's Fifth Avenue.³² The gallery had emerged as a centre for the incipient American modernist movement which, after

emancipating from late nineteenth-century photographic Pictorialism, cultivated the notion of 'straight photography' and French avant-garde art by exhibiting, among others, the works of Rodin, Cézanne, Matisse and Picasso.³² De Zayas first showed his work at the gallery in 1909. During extended periods spent in Paris, he encountered a number of the avant-garde artists, meeting Picasso through Paul Burty Haviland, which led to the first exhibition of the artist at the Stieglitz gallery in April 1911 and an article by de Zayas, published in the *Photo-Secession's* journal *Camera Work*. He was soon acting as Stieglitz's Paris-agent and successfully negotiated a number of important exhibitions shown at 291. He opened *The Modern Gallery* in 1915, which was conceived as the 'commercial' branch of 291 and between then and 1918 he showed works by, among others, Braque, Derain, Picabia, Picasso, van Gogh and Diego Rivera. He also exhibited African sculpture (1916), Mexican pre-conquest art and photography by Sheeler and Paul Strand. Through his friendship with Picabia and Apollinaire, established in 1914, he became a central player in the New York Dada movement.³³ Along with the receptivity to Picasso, de Zayas' interest in African statuary soon developed and, as he urged Stieglitz (who had been introduced to it by Max Weber in 1909), the 'necessity' to show such work in New York.³⁴ Through Apollinaire and Max Jacob, an affiliation was secured with Paul Guillaume who had just opened his own gallery and, with the onset of war, was eager to expand his business overseas. In November 1914, a year after the African displays instigated by Einstein and Feldmann, and against prior exhibition schedules, New Yorkers could see an exhibition at 291 called 'Statuary in Wood by African Savages – The Root of Modern Art' which Stieglitz described as 'the first time in the history of exhibitions that Negro statuary will be shown from the point of view of art'.³⁵ What is surprising is that in contrast to the exhibitions at the *Neue Galerie* in Berlin, the show was widely reviewed in the New York press with hardly any negative criticism. One reason may be that the show did not actually combine modern and African art – despite the claim of the exhibits being the 'root' of contemporary art; the second is that, in stark contrast to Einstein's stance, de Zayas left no doubt over maintaining the status quo on issues of race and American segregation.³⁶

What is noticeable from Stieglitz's photographs is that each of the eighteen works shown is isolated by a perceptive positioning of differently sized coloured sheets of card that, as it were, 'frame' each object (Fig. 80).³⁷ The visual play of layered rectangular forms is repeated in the pedestals and the contrasts underneath the bowl of vegetation, creating illusory variations of the actual gallery space. For example, the large Ivory Coast We (or Bete) mask on the right of the gallery's recessed back wall appears to be almost parallel with the Fang statue on

the plinth, even though there must be close to two feet in depth between both. The idea of using coloured card 'to brighten up that fine exhibition' was Steichen's. His and Stieglitz's photographic eye was as attuned to the manifold grey tonalities the camera image would yield as to a sensibility which sought to convey something akin to Cubist painting and papier collé in the formal relationship between the 'geometric simplicity' of the African works' (as Picasso had described them) and the faceting of the space around them.³⁸ The photograph is symptomatic of an American modernist vocabulary in which photographic and fine art practice assimilated the influx of European avant-gardism, arriving at alternative artistic conceptions.

Not committed to photography to the same extent as Stieglitz, Steichen or Sheeler, de Zayas did believe the medium would supersede traditional arts like painting, because it was a 'powerful element of orientation for the realization of that perfect consciousness, for which science has done [...] so much, to enable man to understand reason, the cause of facts – Truth'. Photography as an instrument of precision seemed to promise the 'pure objectivity' his idealistic pragmatism saw fit for a modern world governed by advances in science and technology.³⁹ This and his enthusiasm for African sculpture and a belief in the benefits of a modern consumer society, led to an exhibition of African sculpture at the *Modern Gallery* and his first book on the subject, which was published in 1916 a year after the first edition of *Negerplastik*. Like Einstein's study, it consisted of a brief text and thirty-eight photographic reproductions of undetermined origin (at least two of which showed the same objects as *Negerplastik*), and similar to Einstein's association with Brummer, here the material was supplied by Guillaume (and possibly by Brummer). There was little in terms of ethnographic information or other attributes accompanying the image plates. Its underlying racial attitudes have been the subject of a number of scholarly contributions, so need not be discussed here, except that despite the superficial similarities, the book points to a veritable chasm that separated de Zayas and most of his contemporaries from Einstein's unconditional and outspoken respect for African culture and people.⁴⁰

African art and the modernist photography of Charles Sheeler

The second African publication de Zayas initiated during the war was the collaborative project with Sheeler, *African Negro Wood Sculpture*, which again can be linked to an exhibition held at the *Modern Gallery*. De Zayas had presented Sheeler's photography, together with work by Morton Schamberg and Paul Strand, in the spring of 1917, followed by a solo show in December. According to de Zayas, it was Sheeler's photographic work that 'proved that cubism exists in nature', a notion that relates to Sheeler's admiration for Cézanne and Picasso,

which has persisted throughout the literature on his photography and painting.⁴¹ Rendering the vernacular interiors in his audacious and scrupulously lit compositions of his *Doylestown House* (1917) series of photographs, a reviewer observed:

Negro art has exerted considerable influence on the artist who has sought to prove by photography the reality of modern forms and values. The examples shown represented the [...] realities of stone, wood or iron so graphically that the “sensorial significance” of matter was vividly conveyed [...] demonstrating [that] a certain fundamental truth underlying the “modernist” theories is undoubted.⁴²

Sheeler’s stance as a painter was entirely in keeping with his photographic practice. What his African album shared with Einstein’s, Guillaume’s and Markov’s publications was that it sought to present African sculpture as art; what marked a difference was that Sheeler’s approach sought to exemplify photography itself as ‘modernist’ art. The idea for the album came from de Zayas who, before commissioning Sheeler, had collaborated with Apollinaire on a pantomime in 1914 and remained a friend. In the meantime Paul Guillaume had sent works for the African exhibition at 291, the *Modern Gallery*, and maintained contact. There is no doubt that the project was inspired by Guillaume’s *Sculptures Nègres* (1917) and the exhibition at the *Lyre et Palette* to which he had contributed some twenty-five African works. There is also no doubt that *Sculptures Nègres* and both de Zayas’ *African Negro Art* and *African Negro Wood Sculpture* share certain characteristics with *Negerplastik*, so that through his relationship with Apollinaire and Guillaume, de Zayas was aware of Einstein’s book.⁴³

The plan was to produce twenty-two copies of *African Negro Wood Sculpture* but it appears that only eight were actually assembled, one of which went to Stieglitz, and another to the lawyer and collector John Quinn.⁴⁴ The volumes are hardbound with a paper label on the cover bearing the title and the names of the author and the photographer, though it is possible that across the edition the bindings might differ from one another.⁴⁵ Apart from a title-leaf with the edition statement on the verso (numbered and signed by Sheeler) and a leaf carrying the introduction by de Zayas,⁴⁶ the volume consists of twenty margin-less tipped-in gelatin silver prints, showing eighteen mostly west African objects, ranging from statuary to masks, instruments and other ritual and utilitarian objects.⁴⁷ As in *Negerplastik*, no provenances or other attributions as to the objects’ identity are included. What these facts indicate is that despite its restrained appearance and lack of luxury adornment, the album sought to appeal to the connoisseur of modern art. This is borne out by the way in which the African objects are represented in the image plates. Each piece is strategically placed against a light coloured background

either closely cropped or centred with ample space around the object (Fig. 81). Here this space is intersected with dark coloured rectangular bands deployed to root the sculpture to the surface on which it stands, and to frame it within an abstract pattern of the picture plane coordinates. The tonal variations of the verticals and horizontals echo shadows and highlights created by the lighting of the work's sculptural form as in this image of an Ivory Coast Baule statue.⁴⁸ The faint pattern of lines and dots that can be made out in the vertical band to the left (perhaps an African textile) repeat the scarification of the figure and its angular and curved sculptural forms.

In the image plate showing an unidentified stringed musical instrument, the object is 'staged' with the sound box facing us, its lower opening covered with stitched animal hide and its pedestal (an addition of the kind Guillaume and Brummer seem to have favoured) in full view (Fig. 82). It is one of six photographs in which strong shadows cast by the African objects are dominant; In two of these, the shadows form a crucial aspect of the overall composition. Here the framing of dark bands of differing width contrast with the object's eccentric form which is amplified by the shadow play that outlines on the wall what might be a three-quarter or profile view of the instrument's neck, terminating in a carved head and elaborate headdress; whereas on the instrument itself only the back of this configuration is visible to us. Instead of focusing on intrinsic qualities of form, material or *faktura*, the musical instrument – primarily a functional object – is here deployed as a work of modern sculpture. Alternatively, the African object has, as it were, become a player within the co-ordinates of the picture plane in which a monochromatic variation on the modernist fascination with the erosion of the distinction between figure and ground (so vital for Dada and Surrealist art) is rehearsed.⁴⁹ For Sheeler the photographic plate has become the canvas, or as de Zayas asserted in the introduction to the album, 'Negro sculpture has been the stepping stone for a fecund evolution in our art'.⁵⁰

Another object might make clear the contrast between Sheeler's and Einstein's visualization of African sculpture. It is one of only three objects Sheeler represented by two image plates, a full view and a close-up (Fig. 83 and Fig. 84).⁵¹ The object here is a small twin-headed fan handle (or staff finial) from an unidentified Congo people, representing a pair of figures with their arms wrapped around each other's waist, below which their bodies unite in a decorative tie symbolizing their bond. The same object featured in *Negerplastik* (Fig. 85). An almost identical sculpture forms part of the Africa collection of the Barnes Foundation, which was purchased from Paul Guillaume in 1922, and reproduced in *Primitive Negro Sculpture* (1926).⁵² In accordance with the principal structure of images in Einstein's *Negerplastik*, the twinned figure is displayed in a front and

back view; it is softly lit against a plain background with the pedestal showing. The couple's boldly carved head and body features are almost identical, with only subtle differences that perhaps suggest gender, while the back view shows the elaborate identical hair ornamentation. Sheeler's photograph reveals a profile view of the entire sculpture, while the close-up shows a frontal aspect of the couple's upper bodies (Fig. 83 and Fig. 84). There is no play with background shadows here, instead undisturbed, carefully calculated space gives way to the alert countenances outlined with flawless lighting for our gaze to take in every detail – from the curvature of brow to chin, or grazes from material wear and the tacks with which what appear to be iron collars around the couple's neck and abdomen are held in place. The wide-eyed expression of the figures, rising from the ornamental loop at the base, enhances the dynamic of the wedge-shaped configuration, and, as in *Negerplastik*, the close-up functions to augment material and emotive qualities associated with works of antiquity.

Close scrutiny of Sheeler's and Einstein's image plates reveal that half-tone printing processes (circa 1915), even if of the relatively high standard of *Negerplastik*, compare unfavourably with the superior quality of original photographic prints, as Sheeler's album demonstrates. Flaws and inconsistencies in the technical quality of some of the material in the Einstein volume are the consequence of the range of different photographic sources used for reproduction, reminding us of his remarks that *Negerplastik* had remained a 'torso' due to ill-timed circumstance.⁵³

Yet, while the technical quality of the image plates in Sheeler's album is close to faultless, it too contains inconsistencies. A number of the photographic plates betray the kind of 'documentary' approach that, not unlike Einstein's, was motivated by a conviction of the African work's innate visual impact, rendering any technical manipulation subservient to the sculpture itself. In others however, the object has become a means for the 'artist' behind the camera to construct an ensemble of formal and compositional devices, which, however minimal or sensitive, inculcate qualities that tend to denote not the African object itself but the photograph as the 'work of art' (Fig. 82). Sheeler abandoned this strategy by the time of his second African project (for John Quinn apparently), opting instead for a purely 'documentary' presentation that compares favourably with some of the masks in *Negerplastik* (Fig. 86 and Fig. 87). Closely framed against a dark backdrop and skilfully lit, he excelled in rendering the evocative presence of a series of Ivory Coast Dan masks,⁵⁴ images that were perhaps only surpassed by Walker Evans' album for the Museum of Modern Art's 1935 exhibition *African Negro Sculpture*. The way in which Evans succeeded in refining this documentary style to bring to light the intrinsic qualities of African sculpture becomes perfectly

apparent in a set of his images of an object that also appears in *Negerplastik* (Fig. 88 and 89, and Fig. 90 and 91). While Evans' image structuring, his precision in lighting, attention to detail and tonal balancing are impeccable, the obvious similarities to *Negerplastik* perhaps explain why Goldwater preferred to remain silent on the subject of the images when evaluating Einstein's monograph, a way of deflecting comparison between these 'perfect documents' and those of a publication more than twenty years old.⁵⁵

While Einstein hypothesized an aesthetic of African sculpture in a dialectics between the text and images of *Negerplastik*, the process of the ethnographic object as 'art' came of age in the African albums of Sheeler and Evans. That the resemblances between Einstein's volume and those surveyed here might be more than coincidental vouches as much for its international impact as its modernity. That *Negerplastik* operated as a prompt for these projects and was subject to subsequent appropriation, commoditization and re-contextualization after the war might be one reason why Einstein later chose to renounce the focus on the aesthetic in favour of an ethnographic consideration of non-western objects.

There is little doubt that, like Einstein, Markov, de Zayas and Sheeler were motivated by the recognition that renewal was paramount to the future of artistic practice. In their respective states of incompleteness, Einstein's and Markov's projects sought to affirm the artistic autonomy of African sculpture by postulating the limits of the western canon and by orchestrating a visual poetics of alterity with the 'certain but fugitive testimony' of photography. Yet all of these volumes were an integral part of the multivocal exchanges occurring in the charged cultural and political setting of the early-twentieth-century avant-garde. Their different paradigms of African art may have been surpassed by the expanding discourse on African cultural history and post-colonial studies, but their respective interventions were symptomatic of the great shift from an entrenched turn-of-the-century colonialism to the rise of *vogue nègre* after the First World War. There is little doubt also that this shift was as much boosted by Guillaume's avid and perceptive promotion of the 'antique' and 'aesthetic' principles of African sculpture in Paris, during and after the war, as by his profitable interventions into the New York avant-garde circuits which were supported by de Zayas' and Sheeler's eagerness for creative experimentation.

What set Einstein's ethnographic encounters apart from most of his contemporaries, was that his opposition to cultural inequity was as essential to his thinking about non-western art as was his awareness that historical knowledge required not only the investigation of objects from past or distant cultures, but alertness to one's distance from the object, its meaning within the stages of a continual process, and to the time, place, and eventualities of the present. His

strategies may be seen as arising in part out of nineteenth-century German cultural and philosophical analyses that strove to counter the classifying impulse of post-Renaissance epistemology with Nietzsche's Dionysian notions and Robert Vischer's principle of *Einfühlung*, aspects somewhat differently resonant also in the theoretical writings of Hildebrand, Wölfflin, Worringer and Aby Warburg. It is conceivable that what has been traced here as Einstein's 'visual turn' was in its final turn an exercise founded on a certain strategy of research. Not unlike Warburg's methodologies this approach reached beyond objective and empirical explorations of art and artifacts that aimed to uncover and legitimize the subliminal forces at work in the superstitious, religious, social and political formations of visual culture.⁵⁶ It may raise further questions regarding, for example, Einstein's project of an 'Ethnologie du blanc', or his and Bataille's respective roles within the context of *Documents*. The concept of an interdisciplinary art history – so evident in Einstein's oeuvre – that renounced teleological perspectives in place since Vasari but sought to open the interstices of cultural discourse, by pitting itself against preconceived systems of cultural analysis, was shared as much by the *Documents* editors as it was part of the methodology of Warburg's never completed *Mnemosyne Atlas*.⁵⁷ Not unlike Einstein's images in the photo-essay accompanying his critique of modernist sculpture in *Documents*, the *Atlas* was a project intent on unlocking the images' liminal spaces that construct meaning across heterogeneous formations of social expression and so preserve cultural memory, or what Warburg called the 'iconology of the interval' and an 'art history without a text'.⁵⁸ While such interconnections might justify further exploration, the strategies of Einstein's work mapped out here are but a small contribution to charting his ethnographic encounters and his responses to, and engagement with, the representation of cultural difference.

NOTES: INTRODUCTION

¹ Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik*, Leipzig: Verlag der Weißen Bücher, 1915. Those that have been helpful to this thesis include: Jean Laude, *La Peinture française (1907-1914) et l'Art negre*. Paris: Klienksieck, (I- Texte, II Documents), 1968; Sibylle Penkert, *Carl Einstein. Beiträge zu einer Monographie*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, (Palaestra 225) 1969; Heidemarie Oehm, *Die Kunsttheorie Carl Einsteins*, Munich: Fink, 1976; Liliane Meffre, *Carl Einstein et la problématique des avant-gardes dans les arts plastiques*, Berne, 1989; *Carl Einstein 1885-1940. Itinéraires d'une pensée moderne*, Paris: Presses de l'université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002; Klaus H. Kiefer, *Diskurswandel im Werk Carl Einsteins. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Geschichte der europäischen Avantgarde*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag 1994; those concerned with *Negerplastik* include: Kiefer, 'Carl Einsteins 'Negerplastik'. Kubismus und Kolonialismuskritik', in Wolfgang Bader & Janos Riesz (eds.), *Literatur und Kolonialismus I. Die Verarbeitung der kolonialen Expansion in der europäischen Literatur*, Frankfurt/M. & Berne, 1983, pp. 233-250; and 'Fonctions de l'art africain dans l'oeuvre de Carl Einstein', in: Janos Riesz & Daniel Droixhe, *Images de l'Africain de l'Antiquité au XXe siècle*, Frankfurt/M., 1987, pp. 149-176. Also Dirk Heisserer, 'Das "Problem der Form", der "Blaue Reiter" und die "Negerplastik" – Zu den Voraussetzungen der Kunstkritik Carl Einsteins' in Klaus H. Kiefer (ed.), *Die Visuelle Wende der Moderne: Carl Einsteins "Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts"*, Munich: Fink 2003, pp. 21-38; David Pan, 'Carl Einstein und die Idee des Primitiven in der Moderne, in *Carl Einstein Kolloquium* (1998), pp. 33-49, from hereon abbrev. as CEKo 3; German Neundorfer, 'Ekphrasis in Carl Einsteins 'Negerplastik'', in CEKo 3, pp. 49-64; German Neundorfer, 'Kritik der Anschauung' *Bildbeschreibung im kunstkritischen Werk Carl Einsteins*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2003; Sebastian Zeidler, 'Totality against a Subject: Carl Einstein's *Negerplastik*' in *October*, 107, *Carl Einstein. A Special Issue* (ed. Sebastian Zeidler), 2004, pp. 14-46.

² Cf. 'African sculpture', (trans. Joachim Neugroschel) in Flam & Deutch, *Primitivism*, pp.77-91; Charles W. Haxthausen & Sebastian Zeidler (trans. & intro.), 'Negro Sculpture', and a number of additional texts were published in *October*, 107, *Carl Einstein. A special Issue*, Sebastian Zeidler (ed.), MIT Press 2004; Charles W. Haxthausen, 'Bloody Serious: Two Texts by Carl Einstein', *October* 105, Summer 2003, pp. 105-118; an early exception was Rhys W. Williams, 'Primitivism in the work of Carl Einstein, Carl Sternheim and Gottfried Benn', in *Journal of European Studies*, vol. 13, 1983, pp. 247-267; others include: Andreas Michel, *Europe and the Problem of the Other: The Critique of Modernity in the writings of Carl Einstein and Victor Segalen*, University of Minnesota (unpubl. PhD thesis) 1991; Conor Joyce, *Carl Einstein in 'Documents' and his Collaboration with Georges Bataille*, Xlibris Corporation 2003; Sebastian Zeidler, *Defense of the real: Carl Einstein's history and theory of art*, Columbia University (unpubl. PhD thesis) 2005; unfortunately a copy of this arrived at a rather late stage of the thesis here, so that the appraisal it might deserve has not been possible; however, the little I have been able to learn, is acknowledged at the appropriate point.

³ Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art* (1938), Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press, 1986.

⁴ Cf. Ernst H. Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive. Episodes in the History of Western Taste and Art*, London: Phaidon Press, 2002; and 'The Debate on Primitivism in Ancient Rhetoric', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld*

Institute, vol. 29, pp. 24-29; also Frances S. Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason. Primitivism in modern European Art and Aesthetics (1725-1907)*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.

⁵ William Rubin (ed.), *"Primitivism" in Twentieth-Century Art*, 2 vols, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1984; for responses, see the selection of reviews by James Clifford, Hal Foster, and Thomas McEvilley reprinted in: Jack Flam (ed.) with Miriam Deutch, *Primitivism and Twentieth Century Art. A Documentary History*, University of California Press, 2003, pp. 311-414; also Yve-Alain Bois, 'La Pensée Sauvage', in *Art in America*, April 1985, pp.178-188; André Magnin, Aline Luque and Mark Francis (eds), (cat.) *Magiciens de la Terre*, Editions du Centre Pompidou, Paris, 1989; Rasheed Araeen, 'Our Bauhaus, others' mudhouse,' *Third text*, 6 (Spring) 1989, pp. 3-14; Benjamin H. D. Buchloh and Jean-Hubert Martin, 'The whole earth show', *Art in America*, 77, no. 5, 1989, pp.150-159, 211-213.

⁶ For fleeting references to Einstein, see the following contributions: William Rubin, 'Introduction', and his 'Picasso', Donald E. Gordon, 'German Expressionism', Alan G. Wilkinson, 'Paris and London: Modigliani, Lipchitz, Epstein, and Gaudier-Brzeska', Laura Rosenstock, 'Leger "The Creation of the World"', and Alan G. Wilkinson, 'Henry Moore', all in Rubin (ed.), *"Primitivism"*; for Goldwater's discussion of Einstein's *Negerplastik*, see below. Among those who have discussed *Negerplastik*, the one person to take note of Einstein's anti-primitivist stance, the political implications of which might account for the book's prolonged and continuing obscurity, is the artist Everlyn Nicodemus; see her 'Meeting Carl Einstein', *Third Text* 23, (Summer 1993), pp. 31-38.

⁷ George E. Marcus & Fred R. Myers (eds), *The Traffic in Culture. Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, University of California Press, 1995; James Clifford & George E. Myers (eds), *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, University of California Press, 1986; James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.

⁸ These included: Marius de Zayas, *African Negro art. Its Influence on Modern Art*, New York: Modern Gallery, 1916; Paul Guillaume, *Sculptures nègres*, Paris, 1917 (Reprint New York: Hacker Art Books, 1972; *African Negro Wood Sculpture – Photographed by Charles Sheeler with a Preface by Marius de Zayas*, privately published New York 1918; Vladimir Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, St Petersburg, 1919; Eckart von Sydow, *Die Kunst der Naturvölker und der Vorzeit*, Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1923; Paul Guillaume & Thomas Munro, *Primitive Negro Sculpture*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1926; Adolphe Basler, *L'Art chez les peuples primitifs*, Paris: Librairie de France 1929.

⁹ Cf. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other. How Anthropology makes its Object*, New York: Columbia University Press 1983. p. 18.

¹⁰ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, (1963, trans. Claire Jacobson & Brooke Grundfest Schoepf), Penguin Books, 1993, vol. 1, p. 2; and Fabian, 'Presence and Representation: The Other and Anthropological Writing', in *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 16, no. 4 (summer 1990), pp. 753- 772, here p. 758f. and note 9.

¹¹ Einstein, *Bebuquin oder die Dilettanten des Wunders*, Berlin: Verlag Die Aktion, 1912. Unless otherwise stated all references to Einstein's oeuvre are from the following edition: Hermann Haarmann & Klaus Siebenhaar (eds.), *Carl Einstein. Werke. Berliner Ausgabe*, vols 1-4, Berlin: Fannei & Walz. 1992-1996, and will be

abbr. as CEW 1-4, here CEW 1, 15-23; also Uwe Fleckner & Thomas W. Gachtgens (eds.) (1996), *Carl Einstein, Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1931) Fannei & Walz, Berlin, abbr. as CEW 5.

¹² Besides the Einstein scholars and the contributions to William Rubin's "Primitivism" catalogue mentioned above, publications which mention Einstein or which show some of the *Negerplastik* objects include: Paul Guillaume, *Sculpture nègres, 24 photographies précédées d'un avertissement de Guillaume Apollinaire et d'un exposé de Paul Guillaume*, 1917, Reprint New York: Hacker Art Books 1972.; 'Une esthétique nouvelle' in *Les Arts à Paris*, 15 May, 1919, pp. 1-4; Henri Clouzot and André Level, *L'art nègre et l'art océanien*, Paris, Devambez, 1919; Eckart von Sydow, *Die Kunst der Naturvölker und der Vorzeit*, Propyläen-Verlag, Berlin, 1923 (2nd edition); Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, 'Negerkunst und Kubismus' in *Merkur*, Stuttgart 1959 vol. 13, no. 8, pp. 722-730; Adolphe Basler, *L'Art chez les peuples primitifs*, Paris: Librairie de France 1929 ;(cat.) *Paris-Moscow, 1900-1933, Rapports et Contrastes France-Allemagne*, Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 12 July – 6 November 1979; Hans Bollinger (ed.), *Dada in Zürich*, Zürich: Kunsthaus Zürich and Arche Verlag AG 1985; Donald E. Gordon, *Expressionism, Art and Idea*, Yale University Press 1987; Stephanie Barron (ed.), (cat.) *German Expressionism 1915-1925 – The Second Generation*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art 1988; *Alfred Flechtheim. Sammler Kunsthändler Verleger* (cat.), Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, 20 September – 1 November 1988; William Rubin, *Picasso and Braque. Pioneering Cubism*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art 1989; Yve-Alain Bois, 'Kahnweiler's Lesson', in *Painting as Model*, Cambridge, Mass. & London: MIT Press, 1990, pp. 65-97; Jill Lloyd, *German Expressionism. Primitivism and Modernity*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press 1991; Tom Phillips (ed.), (cat.), *Africa, the Art of a Continent*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, and Munich & New York: Prestel 1996; Jacques Kerchache (ed.) & Vincent Boloré, (cat.) *Sculptures. Africa, Asia, Oceania, Americas*, Musée du Louvre, pavillon des Sessions, Paris 2001; Dawn Ades & Baker, Simon (eds), (cat.) *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and 'Documents'*, London: Hayward Gallery & Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 2006.

¹³ Exceptions include: Sebastian Zeidler, *Defense of the real*; German Neundorfer, "Kritik der Anschauung" *Bildbeschreibung im kunstkritischen Werk Carl Einsteins*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 2003; Wendy Grossman, 'Photography at the Crossroads: African Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in Cordula Grewe (2006), *Die Schau des Fremden, Ausstellungskonzepte zwischen Kunst, Kommerz und Wissenschaft*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2006, pp. 317-340. In its focus on the dissemination of non-western objects by way of photographic reproduction, Grossman's approach is similar to that taken here, but emphases and conclusions differ; I am grateful to her for forwarding her manuscript before publication.

¹⁴ Goldwater, *Primitivism*, p. 252f.

¹⁵ Among them were: Marius de Zayas, *African Negro art. Its Influence on Modern Art*, New York: Modern Gallery, 1916; Guillaume, *Sculptures nègres*; Clouzot & Level, *L'art nègre et l'art océanien*; Vladimir Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, St Petersburg, 1919; Roger Fry, "Negro Sculpture" in *Vision and Design*, London 1920; Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Exoten. Skulpturen und Märchen*, Erlenbach-Zurich, Munich 1920; and *Barbaren und Klassiker*, Munich 1922; Eckart von Sydow, *Die Kunst der Naturvölker und der Vorzeit*; Herbert Kuehn, *Die Kunst der Primitiven*, Munich: Delphin Verlag, 1923; Paul Guillaume & T. Munro, *Primitive Negro Sculpture*, Harcourt, Brace, New York 1926; Ernst Vatter, *Religöse Plastik der Naturvölker*, Frankfurt am Main 1926; Franz Boas, *Primitive Art*, Oslo:

Aschehoug, 1927; Eckhart von Sydow, *Primitive Kunst und Psychoanalyse: eine Studie über die sexuelle Grundlage der bildenden Künste der Naturvölker*, Leipzig: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1927.

¹⁶ Goldwater, *Primitivism*, p. 36.

¹⁷ On the New York- and travelling exhibitions, and Walker Evans' photographic documentation of the objects, see Virginia-Lee Webb, *Perfect Documents. Walker Evans and African Art, 1935*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.

¹⁸ Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, p. 24f.; Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, Berlin: Wasmuth-Verlag (Orbis Pictus Bd. 7), 1921.

¹⁹ Goldwater, *Primitivism*, p. 35f.

²⁰ p.163f, cf. Roger Fry, 'Negro Sculpture', in *Vision and Design*, (1920), Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1937, pp. 87-91; Franz Boas, *Primitive Art*, Oslo: Aschehoug 1927, (reprint) New York: Dover Publications 1955; R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, London: George Routledge 1925.

²¹ Webb, *Perfect Documents*, pp. 27-42; and 'Art as Information: The African Portfolios of Charles Sheeler and Walker Evans', in *African Arts*, vol. 42 no. 1 (1991), pp. 56-63. For further details see also the conclusion of this thesis.

²² For a list of the contributions that refer to Einstein, see above.

²³ Sidney Littlefield Kasfir, 'African Art and Authenticity: a Text with a Shadow', *African Arts*, XXV/2, 1992, p.42. See also the critiques by Yves-Alain Bois, 'La Pensée Sauvage', *Art in America*, April 1985, pp. 178-188; Hal Foster, 'The "Primitive" Unconscious of Modern Art', *October* 34 (Fall 1985), pp.45-70; James Clifford, 'Histories of the Tribal and the Modern', in *Art in America*, April 1985, pp. 164-177 & 215.

²⁴ Jean-Louis Paudrat, 'From Africa' in Rubin "*Primitivism*", pp. 125-175, here 126.

²⁵ p. 147-149.

²⁶ p. 149-50; Vladimir I. Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, St Petersburg 1919; for a discussion of this and the American publications initiated by Marius de Zayas, see the concluding Part IV and App. V of this thesis; also Neumeister, 'Notes on the 'ethnographic turn' of the European avant-garde: Reading Carl Einstein's *Negerplastik* (1915) and Vladimir Markov's *Iskusstvo Negrov* (1919)' in *Acta Historiae Artium, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. XLIX, 2008, pp. 172-185.

²⁷ Paudrat, 'From Africa', p. 151.

²⁸ p. 151.

²⁹ Liliane Meffre, with Ezio Bassani, Jean-Louis Paudrat, *Carl Einstein: La sculpture negre*, L'Harmattan, Paris & Montreal 1998; also Ezio Bassani, 'le opere illustrate in "*Negerplastik*"', in *Critica d'arte africana*, vol. 2, 1985, Ser. 2, no. 2, pp. 33-43.

³⁰ Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, p. 134: "*Negerplastik*" [...] stellt nicht nur einen Höhepunkt in Carl Einsteins theoretischem Werk dar, sondern ebenso einen

Höhepunkt in der modernen Ästhetik überhaupt [...] Einstein hat in einem Akt interkultureller Kommunikation bis dato ohnegleichen der Beschäftigung mit primitiver Kunst zur Positivität verholten.

³¹ p. 136-7: *Er macht die Negerplastik zum Thema eines ästhetischen Diskurses, und dieser innovative Wissensrahmen stilisiert auch seinen Gegenstand, prägt ihn um. Das Ästhetische wird dabei zum Medium eines radikalen Erkenntnisprozesses, von Fremderkenntnis, zu der die rationalen Wissenschaften nicht mehr imstande waren [...] Die "Unschärfe"- sprich Primitivisierung -, die beim Diskurswandel zunächst entsteht, erweist sich bei aller Problematik als emanzipatorische Errungenschaft, als Zerbrechen von im Diskurs kristallisierten Machtstrukturen.*

³² p. 137: *Damit bringen wir auf den Begriff, was Einstein 1919 zumindest postulierte: "Primitive Kunst: Ablehnen der kapitalisierten Kunstüberlieferung, [...], das Ende der formalen Fiktionen muß festgestellt werden." [...] Einsteins misreading, d.h., sein produktives Mißverständnis primitiver Kunst ist daher nicht zu falzifizieren. [...] Der archimedische Ort einer totalen Modernismus/Primitivismus-Kritik ist [...] noch nicht gefunden.*

³³ p. 138: *"Negerplastik" erscheint auch [...] relativ unvermittelt (es war also keine "reifes" Werk) [...]. In Einsteins vor 1915 publizierten [...] Texten deutet so gut wie nichts darauf hin, daß er seinen Begriff von Primitivismus gerade auf schwarzafrikanische Plastik anzuwenden gedenkt. [...] Seine Vorstellung von Primitivität ist zumindest noch völlig unspezifiziert; [...].*

³⁴ p. 135f.: *Von historischer Relevanz erscheint zunächst nur Einsteins Ästhetizitätspostulat selber, hatte doch Wilhelm Worringer [...] den Gebrauch des Terminus [...] verworfen [...]. Nicht nur widersprach – und widerspricht – die Wertung afrikanischer Objekte als Kunst wissenschaftlichen Kriterien, sondern Einstein setzt auch gar nicht wissenschaftlich-intentional an; On Worringer see also pp. 137-139.*

³⁵ p.134f.: *Niemand wird heute bestreiten, daß Einstein in der Tat keine zureichende Theorie der afrikanischen Kunst liefert. Sein Text verweist mehr auf kubistische Objekte seiner Gegenwart, denn auf die im Abbildungsteil vorgeführten und scheinbar so archaischen Skulpturen. Einsteins "Negerplastik" ist jedoch nicht nur kubistisches Manifest [...]; Einstein [stieß] soweit in unbekanntes Terrain vor, hypostasierte einen so außergewöhnlichen [...] Gegenstand, nämlich "Neger-Kunst", daß seine Thesen wissenschaftlich [...] mit den Mitteln der vorfindlichen, vorherrschenden Wissenschaft, kaum zu bewerten waren. Es ist allerdings normal, daß im Augenblick des Paradigmawechsels alle [...] Kategorien des Eigenen und des Fremden, des Schönen und des Difformen, des Progressiven und des Regressiven, des Modernen und des Primitiven kollabieren in einer historischen Krise, der allenfalls noch das Rinascimento als Überwindung des mittelalterlichen Weltbildes zu vergleichen ist,*

³⁶ p. 146f: *Was ist nun der Unterschied zwischen Exotismus [...] und Primitivismus? Beide Termini beschreiben sicherlich [...] eine andere "Geschichte" [...] Es gibt einerseits Überschneidungen, bzw. Übergänge (z.B. Gauguin), andererseits können primitivistische Kunst (z.B. der "negroide" Kubismus) und Exotismus koexistieren; bei letzterem wäre an den Kolonialroman zu denken. [...] Während "Exotismus" eine [...] bis in Altertum reichende Tradition besitzt, gehört die Definition eines Drittwelt-zentrierten "Primitivismus" ganz dem 20. Jahrhundert zu.*

³⁷ p. 147f.: *[Das] Exotische [weist] sich [...] durch eine spezifische Referentialität im Rahmen einer Bildästhetik aus. Man besetzt Werkstrukturen [...] (Motive, Personal, Raum/Zeit) mit fremdländischem Material [...] meist aus zweiter [...] Hand; das gilt für Flaubert ("Salamambo") ebenso wie für Karl May. [...] Exotismus ist [...] ethnozentrisch [...] daher die [...] Tendenz exotischer Kunst zum Pittoresk-Trivialen.*

³⁸ p. 147: *Primitivismus dagegen (so wie der Begriff heute verstanden wird) nimmt von vornherein vom Eigenen Abstand, so daß das Fremde tiefer in die in die kulturelle Substanz eindringt [...] Die große Zeit des Exotismus war [...] das restaurative 19. Jahrhundert, die des Primitivismus dagegen das frühe 20, in dem dissoziierte Subsysteme Avantgarde-Funktionen übernehmen konnten.*

³⁹ p. 169 and 171: *Daß der Formbegriff in der "Negerplastik" zentral ist, braucht nicht eigens betont werden; schon 1915 besaß seine "Ekstase" Struktur. Denn nicht alles was "ästhetisch" wirkt, ist wissenschaftlich belanglos.*

⁴⁰ p. 171: *Einstein setzt indessen das Kunstprädikat – bezüglich der afrikanischen Skulptur – nicht schlechthin [...] voraus, [...] er relativiert auch seinen "formalistischen" Zugang [...] als lediglich leistungsstärker gegenüber einem "gegenständlichen". Damit [...] bezeichnet er [...] den soziokulturell bestimmten Gegenstand [...] den [...] Kultgegenstand [...]. Freilich ermöglicht nur seine "unsoziologische" Definition der Religion, die kultische Funktion der Negerplastik zum zentralen Argument für deren Ästhetizität zu machen; anders gesagt: Einstein läßt nur soviel "Religion" zu, wie es der ästhetischen Autonomie der Skulpturen kommod ist.*

⁴¹ p. 175: *Zweifellos bedeutet aber die "Negerplastik" den entscheidenden Schritt – was Einsteins Biographie und was die Theorie der Moderne betrifft. [...] Einstein hatte 1915 eine zweifache Transformation vollzogen: eine Entwissenschaftlichung, eine eigentümliche Primitivierung, deren rhetorisches Element u.a. die unkommentierten Bildbeigaben waren, einerseits, eine Ästhetisierung andererseits. In dieser Hinsicht sind Bild und Text isotopisch.*

⁴² For Kiefer's discussion of Einstein's letters to Wasmuth, see pp. 194-96.

⁴³ pp. 386-389; see also Kiefer, 'Die Ethnologisierung des kunstkritischen Diskurses – Carl Einsteins Beitrag zu 'Documents'', in (cat.) Hubertus Gassner (ed.), *Elan Vital oder das Auge Eros*, Haus der Kunst, Munich 1994, pp. 90-102; and Conor Joyce, as above.

⁴⁴ Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, p. 182: *Der emanzipatorische Gehalt von Einsteins "Negerplastik" kommt am besten zum Vorschein im Vergleich mit [...] gleichartigen Publikationen, von denen [...] Markovs "Iskusstvo Negrov" wohl etwas früher als Einsteins schrift abgeschlossen war, [die] bereits [...] im großen und ganzen jene Revision, was die Ästhetizität der afrikaischen Kunst betrifft, [leistet], die wir zunächst in Einsteins Werk festhielten. Schon er erhebt die Negerplastik ins "panthéon esthétique universel" und verweist auf ihre Wirkung: "Picasso a tiré des leçons de ces sculptures, Matisse également". [...] Einstein entwickelt [...] ein weitaus geschlosseneres Modell [...] als [...] Marlov, der vor allem die schon zeitgenössisch höchst dubiosen Theorien von Frobenius vertritt. [...] Markovs Text ist gerade aufgrund geringerer ästhetischer Integration [...] viel anfälliger gegenüber der Vergänglichkeit wissenschaftlicher Aussagen, Einsteins Modell dagegen erscheint infolge seiner Anschließbarkeit ans kubistische Paradigma [...] historisch überzeugender.*

⁴⁵ p. 183f: *die Studie de Zayas [...] von 1916 [wurde bislang] ihres vielversprechenden Titels wegen – meist – falsch eingeordnet. [...] [Er] stellt ein beachtliches Gespür unter Beweis, aus verschiedensten Quellen Vorurteile über klimatische Benachteiligung [...] negroide Unvernunft und heidnische “atmosphere of terror” usw. zusammenzustellen [...], verräterisch [ist] ein Zitat [...]: “Whatever he may do, man is first of all an example of his race”. Gegenüber de Zayas [...] hebt sich die Einsteinsche “Negerplastik” einzigartig ab!*

⁴⁶ pp. 184-234.

⁴⁷ pp. 366-520.

⁴⁸ *Die vorgelegte intellektuelle Biographie wird als Folge von Fragmenten bezeichnet [...] [eine] Einschränkung [die] der methodischen Einsicht in die Grenzen biographisch-monographischer Kunstgeschichtsschreibung geschuldet ist; eine Einsicht, die nicht zuletzt Carl Einstein den wichtigsten seiner Schriften zugrunde gelegt hat; Uwe Fleckner, Carl Einstein und sein Jahrhundert. Fragmente einer intellektuellen Biographie, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2006, p.6f.*

⁴⁹ pp. 257-289; cf. Liliane Meffre, ‘Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler und Carl Einstein: Die Wahlverwandschaft’, in (cat.) Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Kunsthändler, Verleger, Schriftsteller, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 85-90; and (ed. & trans.), Carl Einstein – Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler Correspondance 1921-1939, Marseille: André Dimanche Editeur 1993; also Yve-Alain Bois, ‘Kahnweiler’s Lesson’, in Idem, *Painting as Model*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. & London 1990, pp. 65-97.

⁵⁰ Fleckner, *Carl Einstein* pp. 87-98, 167-188; 204-214, and 309-330; cf. Dorothy Kosinski, ‘G. F. Reber: Collector of Cubism’, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. XXXIII, 1991, pp. 519-531.

⁵¹ Fleckner, *Carl Einstein* p. 286: *Einstein selbst wollte eben keiner jener [...] “Wortdekorateure” sein, die [...] die “hoffnungslose Kluft zwischen Rede und Bild” [...] nicht überbrückt [haben];* (cf. Carl Einstein, *Georges Braque*, here CEW 3, p. 253).

⁵² pp. 131-156; 257-289 and 331-356.

⁵³ Cf. Andreas Strobl, ‘Mensch und Welt verändern. Die Biographie des Kunsthistorikers und Literaten Carl Einstein’, in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3 April 2004; and Charles W. Haxthausen: ‘Rezension von: Uwe Fleckner: Carl Einstein und sein Jahrhundert. Fragmente einer intellektuellen Biographie, Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2006’, in: *sehepunkte* 7 (2007), no. 9 (15-09-2007), here <http://www.sehepunkte.de/2007/09/12215.html> (acc. on 22-11-2007).

⁵⁴ ⁵⁴ Heike Neumeister, ‘Von der Negerplastik zur “Ethnologie du Blanc” – Notizen zu Carl Einsteins Bildstrategien’, in Liliane Meffre & Olivier Salazar-Ferrer (eds), *Carl Einstein et Benjamin Fondane – Avant-garde et émigration dans le Paris des années 1920-1930*, Brussels, Frankfurt am Main & New York: P.I.E. Peter Lang 2008, pp. 61-83; also ‘Notes on the “ethnographic turn” of the European avant-garde: Reading Carl Einstein’s *Negerplastik* (1915) and Vladimir Markov’s *Iskusstvo Negrov* (1919)’ in *Acta Historiae Artium, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. XLIX, 2008, pp. 172-185. This material draws on parts of chapters 5, 7-9, chapters 12-15, and Part IV.

⁵⁵ For details see Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus – Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press

1996, here esp. p. 189-192; also 'German Orientalism and the Decline of the West', in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 145, no. 4 (December 2001), pp. 465-473.

NOTES: PART I

¹ *Diese [...] Stadt, worin ich geboren wurde, versandet noch heute den Rhein, reizlos und ärmlich. [...] [der] Portwein der Herrenhuter, die ihre Töchter damals nach dem Los an Missionare verheirateten, war eine gute Sache;* cited from Einstein, 'Kleine Autobiographie', in *Gustav Kiepenheuer zum 50. Geburtstag*, 10 June, Leipzig 1930, here CEW 3, 154. For biographical information, see also, Sibylle Penkert, *Carl Einstein. Beiträge zu einer Monographie*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, (Palaestra 225) 1969, pp. 41ff., Wilfried Ihrig, 'Bibliographie zu Carl Einstein', in *text & kritik*, Carl Einstein, Heft 95, July 1987, pp. 80-89; Liliane Meffre, *Carl Einstein 1885-1940. Itinéraires d'une pensée moderne*, Paris: Presses de l'université de Paris-Sorbonne 2002.

² p. 155 and note 15, p. 157: *Das entscheidende Erlebnis war natürlich Karl May, und der Tod Winnetous war mir erheblich wichtiger als der des Achill, und es ist mir geblieben.*

³ Penkert, *Carl Einstein. Beiträge*, pp. 41ff. and Ihrig, p.81.

⁴ Einstein 'Herr Giorgio Bebuquin', *Die Opale*, 1Jg., vol. 2, pp. 169-175, reprinted in CEW 1, pp. 15-23.

⁵ Meffre, 'Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler und Carl Einstein: Die Wahlverwandschaft', pp. 85-90, and *Carl Einstein 1885-1940*.

⁶ Cf. Einstein, 'Verwandlungen', *Hyperion*, no. 5 (1908), pp.11-18, and 'Der Snobb', *Hyperion*, no. 8 (1909), pp. 173-176, reprinted in CEW 1, pp. 23-32, and 33-37.

⁷ *Das Buch ist geträumt, doch nicht geformt. [...] wohl allzu passiv [...] Der Künstler versah sein Buch mit [...] Zeichnungen, die mir wertvoller erscheinen [...] aufrichtige Illustrationen ohne die Geschmacklosigkeit einer Umrahmung, welche sich darum dem Text bequem einordnen. Sie geben das Sachliche wohl im Vertrauen auf eine suggestive Kraft des Buches;* Carl Einstein 'Kubin der Zeichner', in *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, 42 Jg., Nr. 429, 14.9.1909, p. 4; here CEW 1, p. 40.

⁸ *Vathek ist das Buch der unerschöpflichen Gier, des überspreizten Willens zur Originalität; endend in höllischer Langeweile, vezweifelter Banalität, [...]. Als wertvollste neuere Oeuvres dieser Klasse bezeichne ich: Mallarmé, Herodiade; Beardsley, Under the Hill; Baudelaire, z. B. Harmonies;* Einstein, 'Vathek', *Hyperion*, no. 11/12 (1910), pp. 125-128; reprinted in CEW 1, pp. 41-45, here p. 41 and 43.

⁹ Cf. Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 146-149, and the introduction above.

¹⁰ Einstein, 'Vathek', p. 41: *Ein Buch der artistischen Imagination, der Willkür; die Laune des Spleens wird von Beckford zur Technik gerundet.*

¹¹ p. 42: *Vathek [...] weist [...] auf die Kraft des Imaginären, dieser wahrhaften Essenz hin;* and p. 43f.: *Wir finden im Vathek einen stilisierenden Rationalismus, dem das Organische fremd ist. Seine Wasserfälle [...] Berge und Wälder sind streng modellierte Objets d'art voll mathematischer Funktion.*

¹² p. 43: *Das Fantastische war für Beckford kein Vorwand für ein Sentiment, romantischer Ironie [...]* p. 42: *Vathek ist ein Gleichnis des unerreichlichen Mysteriums, das [...] auf die Kraft des Imaginären, dieser wahrhaften Essenz [hin]weist.*

¹³ p. 41f.: *Vathek ist ein Kunstmärchen. Der Glaube an die Realität, die Möglichkeit des Märchens schwand; da der Mythos ausstarb, ging dem Märchen der gläubige Gehalt verloren, [...] Das Kunstmärchen sei als Archaismus gezeichnet, worin kostbare Triebe, die ihre Wirklichkeit verloren, lebendig werden [...] Das Kunstmärchen meidet wie der Mythos die Psychologie.*

¹⁴ For a different view, see Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, p. 148.

¹⁵ Einstein, 'Vathek', p.43: *Mallarmé [...] Beardsley [...] Baudelaire [...] erinnerten uns seit langer Zeit wieder der rhythmischen Anschauungskraft [...] der Bildhaftigkeit des Kunstwerks und seiner konstruktiven Art. [...] Diese Künstler stellen das Gesetzmäßige der Kunst, Technik und Form wirksam dem zerfließenden Individualismus (unkünstlerischer analytischer Psychologie) und der Kunst als Ausdruck entgegen.* It may be worth noting that Einstein's obituary (not published until 1927) on the designer of the *Ballet russe*, Leon Bakst (1866-1924) evokes the exotism of Mallarmé and Beardsley, see *Leon Bakst*, (intro. Carl Einstein), Berlin: Wasmuth Verlag 1927, p. 490 and 493.

¹⁶ For Einstein's most outspoken critique of the narrative conventions of the novel, see his 'Über den Roman. Anmerkungen' in *Die Aktion*, vol. 2 (1912), no. 40, col. 1264-1269, here CEW 1, p.146-149; for a discussion of *Vathek* with regards to Einstein's *Bebuquin* and the break with literary conventions of narrative, see the postscript by Erich Kleinschmidt, (ed.), 'Nachwort' in Carl Einstein, *Bebuquin*, Stuttgart: Philip Reclam, Jun. 1985, pp.69-71.

¹⁷ *Kunst ist nichts anderes als die Forderung des werks und die Vernichtung des menschen. Damit er einen wert erlange – muß er sich in die Knechtschaft des Werks begeben;* Einstein, note n. d. (c. 1905/06), Sign. 128, Carl-Einstein Archiv; also CEW 4, p. 59: (Einstein's idiosyncratic orthography and punctuation has been preserved in this and all other original source material).

¹⁸ Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, p. 147f.: *Während sich die Aufsummierung exotischer Formen als bloßer Manierismus fassen läßt, scheint im Falle des Primitivismus ein integratieves Prinzip zu greifen, ein Prinzip höherer Ordnung. [...] [Einsteins] Parteinahme für William Beckfords "Vathek" [...] stand völlig unter dem Zeichen des Exotismus.*

¹⁹ Einstein, 'Arnold Waldschmidt', *Der Demokrat. Wochenschrift für freiheitliche Politik, Kunst und Wissenschaft*, vol. 2, no. 22, (25.5. 1910), here CEW 1, pp. 45-51. Although it may be true that Einstein knew Schmid-Reutte from his Karlsruhe years, the connection to Waldschmidt remains obscure, cf. Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, p. 488.

²⁰ On Waldschmidt, see Felix Lorenz, 'Arnold Waldschmidt', in *Die Kunstwelt. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, II/1913-1914, pp. 390-400; Hans Vollmer, (ed.) *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künste von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Leipzig: Verlag E. A. Seemann, 1942, p. 80; Reinhart Müller-Mehlis, *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich*, Munich: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1976, pp. 109, 113, 118 and 122-123; Joseph Wulf, *Die Bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt/Main 1983, p. 128; also Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp.124, 128-9.

²¹ Einstein, 'Arnold Waldschmidt', p. 45f.: *Man kann die Technik des Impressionismus als analytische bezeichnen. Das Gemälde vollendet sich im Auge des Beschauers. [...] Das wesentliche stilisierende Moment bewirken [...] die gereinigte Palette und die durch die Differenzierung des Zeitlichen nuancierte Lichtdarstellung.*

²² p. 45f.: *Die richtige Folgerung des Impressionismus war der Neoimpressionismus, in dem ein Komplizieren der Farbentöne und Primitives sich wirkungsvoll vereinen. Er ist vor allem dekorativ und stilistisch leicht der dekorativen Kunst [...] [und dem] immer wachsenden Einfluß des Ornamentalen [einzuordnen]. Jedenfalls, das tektonische Element, das man [...] mit anorganischer Form verwechselte, verlor sich, und einige Kunstkritiker verstiegen sich zur Behauptung, die monumentale Kunst sei ausgestorben [...] Wir kehren jetzt um und suchen in allen Künsten die große rhythmische Form. Der Neoimpressionismus [...] aber suchte die Regeln [...] in den subjektiven Mitteln [...] und verwechselte physiologische mit ästhetischen Gesetzen. [...] Die Zeit der großen synthetischen Kunst ist wiedergekommen.*

²³ p. 46: *Bereits ist eine vollkommene Umwandlung des Geschmacks und somit eine Umbildung und neue Rangordnung der Kunstgeschichte zu beobachten. Die Babylonier, Ägypter, die frühen Griechen, Giotto, die Primitiven sind uns die entscheidenden Künstler geworden. Es ist notwendig, das Gedankenwerk einer einheitlichen Historie zu zerstören, jede Zeit schafft sich ihre Geschichte, durch die ihr gemäße Auswahl.*

²⁴ Guillaume Apollinaire, 'Matisse' in *La Phalange*, 2, no. 18 (15 December), pp. 481-85; in Leroy C. Breunig (ed.) (trans. Susan Suleiman), *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews, 1902-1918*, London: Thames & Hudson, pp. 36-40.

²⁵ On the importance of Einstein's concepts of history in relation to his aesthetic theory, see David Pan, *Primitive Renaissance. Rethinking German Expressionism*, University of Nebraska, Lincoln and London 2001, in particular pp. 121-148.

²⁶ Einstein, 'Arnold Waldschmidt', p. 46: *Solche Künstler hatten die Deutschen und gingen achtlos an ihnen vorüber. [...] die meisten entdeckte Meier-Gräfe, Hans v. Marées, Schmitt-Reute [sic], [...] Hodler erfährt die nötige Achtung; cf. Julius Meier-Gräfe, Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst (1904), 4th ed., 3 vols, Munich 1927; and his Hans von Marées, 2 vols, Munich 1909 (vol. 2) and 1910 (vol. 1).*

²⁷ Cf. Lorenz, 'Arnold Waldschmidt', p. 390.

²⁸ *Diese beschreibenden Coiffeure, die so gern ein Cézanne'sches Blau zu Metaphern ondulieren, oder ein Grün des Ingres umphrasen, mißkannten, daß ein Wort niemals ein optisches Erlebnis hinreichend und wahrhaft zu übersetzen vermögen; Einstein, Georges Braque, published (with an unauthorized trans. by M. E. Zirputh), Paris (Editions des Chroniques du Jour) 1934, cited from the original German 1931-1932 manuscript, reprinted in CEW 3, p. 253.*

²⁹ Einstein, 'Arnold Waldschmidt', p. 46-47: *[Mir wurde] offenbar, einem einzig gearteten Künstler gegenüber zu stehen, einer unerhört[en] Begabung [...]. Das Relief ist allein schon eine Erfindung, das Relief en creux der Ägypter modern verarbeitet, zu einem neuen Stil umgeformt [...] indem er die Erscheinung umformt und vereinfacht, ganz nach den Gesetzen des einheitlichen ruhenden Sehens und der Fläche, die er bearbeitet [...] Ökonomie und die vollendete Berechnung*

zeichnen ihn aus [...] er erreicht die Reduktion, Vereinfachung der Formen, die er bearbeitet.

³⁰ p. 48f.: *Im Pflüger mit dem Stier erwachten ihm neue Formprobleme, neue Ausdrucksmittel. Hier gab er dem Impressionismus, dem plein air eine Umdeutung ins Konstruktive. [...] dies Werk [ist] vollendeter Totalorganismus [...]. Hier ist ein Bild gelungen, das die monumentale Lösung des Impressionismus gibt, welche die Schule Seurats mit Mitteln anstrebte, welche nur Ornament und Dekoratives hergeben [...] [und] wegen der Weise des Pinselstrichs und den reinen Komplementärfarben, jeder Plastizität zuwider sind. [...] Er hat die einseitige Schwäche des Ornamentalen [...], vor der sich Hodler leider allzu wenig hütet, genau und mit Weisheit erkannt. Jede Linie hat Lichtwert [...], ist aber zugleich kompositionell für jeden Punkt der Fläche wichtig und wirkt über das ganze Bild nach jeder Seite [...]; er gibt Licht über eine Fläche und zugleich Volumen [...] eines der bedeutendsten Mittel [...] [um] [...] die Totalität [...] durch vollkommene Formung nach allen Seiten [des] Kunstwerk[s] zu bilden.*

³¹ Cf. Adolf Hildebrand, 'Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst' (1903), in Henning Bock (ed.), *Adolf Hildebrand Gesammelte Schriften zur Kunst*, Cologne & Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1969, p. 211, here, 'The Problem of Form in the Fine Arts' in F. Malgrave & E. Ikinomou (intro. & trans.), *Empathy, Form and Space. Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893*, Santa Monica, CA: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities 1994, pp. 227-279.

³² Hildebrand, 'The Problem of Form' p. 227f. For the Einstein quote, see note 29 above; also Kiefer's discussion of Einstein and Hildebrandt in *Diskurswandel*, p. 128-29, 146, 174, and 306.

³³ Cf. Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp.520-535; Meffre, *Carl Einstein 1885-1940*, pp. 290-304.

³⁴ Einstein, 'Ludwig Schmitt-Reute' (sic), *Die Gegenwart*, vol. 39, no. 34 (1910), pp. 663-665, CEW 1, pp. 57-62, here p. 57: *In allen Gebieten erwachte ein Wille zur Form, zu Kunstwerken, die sich gesetzmäßig und notwendig äußern. Die Laune, die Mühe um die Originalität werden vom Willen zum Stil abgelöst. Dieser zeigt sich in der Schöpfung und wandelnden Anwendung objektiver Elemente einer allgemein gültigen Lehre, und diese Eigenschaft erzwingt und schafft sich eine Überlieferung; denn Stil spricht sich seinem Wesen gemäß als historisch entwickelte Macht aus.* Schmid-Reute (1863-1909) was a student of Löffitz, who studied with Lovis Corinth at the Munich Academy of Arts. Until 1899, he held a teaching post at the Karlsruhe Academy of Arts. He died at the Illenau sanatorium near Karlsruhe, where Einstein's father had also died in 1899. The review may have been written in response to the artist's retrospective exhibition held in Berlin after his death in 1909; cf. Lovis Corinth, 'Schmidt-Reute', in *Kunst und Künstler. Illustrierte Monatsschrift für Bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, XIII, 1910, p. 222f; also Penkert, *Carl Einstein. Beiträge*, p. 33.

³⁵ Einstein, 'Ludwig Schmitt-Reute', p. 60: *Was aber seinen Werken etwas wie Unvergänglichkeit gibt, ist seine mit großer Energie angestrebte Monumentalität. [Er] umgeht folgerichtig alles Dekorative und Ornamentale [...] Die stilisierenden Momente [...] ergeben sich nicht aus einem der Figur übergeordneten Moment, wie dem Raum bei Marées, und einem ornamentalen Empfinden, wie bei Hodler, sondern er stilisiert seine Akte nach dem Prinzip statischer Kräfteverteilung.*

³⁶ p. 59 and p. 61: *Es ist schmerzlich [...], daß er wohl nie ein ihm gemäßes Darstellungsmittel fand, das für sein Kompositionsempfinden die [...]*

architektonische Plastik war. [...] [In] der reinen Tektonik [...] der "Kreuzigung" [...] umging [er] den nötigen Gegensatz von organischer, in sich verpflichteter Form und geometrischem Bildrahmen, dem der Gegensatz von Bewegung und Ruhe entspricht [...] Nur in eine Form hätte er seine Kartons umwerten können: in das Relief en creux, wo sein plastisches Streben [...] den gemäßen Ausdruck gefunden hätte. Cf. Hildebrand 'The Problem of Form', p. 252.

³⁷ Einstein, 'Ludwig Schmitt-Reute', p. 60f: [...] seine Kunst ist tragisch [...] arbeitete [...] in irrigem Material, ein Moment, das gerade bei der Reinheit seiner Werke besonders auffällt. Die Riesenkraft fand ihren wahren Ausdruck wohl nie und zerplitterte in der Malerei, [...] Welch furchtbarer Widerspruch [...] ein linearer Tektoniker, der sich malerisch aussprechen will.

³⁸ p. 61: Was die Größe Schmid-Reutes ausmacht, ist vielleicht weniger sein Werk, als die aus ihm sprechende Lehre, ihr Ethos. [...] [E]r [...] ging [...] von dem eigenen künstlerischen Gesetz [aus, das] vielleicht [...] als anschaulicher Platonismus begriffen werden [...] kann.

³⁹ Cf. Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, 'Chronologie und Dokumente', in Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler. *Kunsthändler Verleger Schriftsteller*, Stuttgart: Hatje 1986, pp. 93-167.

⁴⁰ J. van Gogh-Bonger (ed.), *Vincent van Gogh, Briefe an seinen Bruder*, (trans.) Leo Klein-Diebold and (letters trans.) Carl Einstein, Berlin: Cassirer, 2 vols, 1914. For details on the Cassirers and their business separation that led to the Bruno Cassirer publishing house, and the Pan publishing house and gallery of Paul Cassirer respectively, see Lutz S. Malke (ed.), (cat.) *Europäische Moderne. Buch und Graphik aus Berliner Kunstverlagen 1890-1933*, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin 1989, p.262-263.

⁴¹ On the turbulent history of the arts in turn-of-the-century Berlin and the hanging policies of the Berlin Secession's annual exhibitions, see, for example, Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession, Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany*, Cambridge, Mass.1980; Donald E. Gordon, *Expressionism, Art and Idea*, Yale University Press 1987, pp. 91-101.

⁴² Günter Aust, 'Die Ausstellungen des Sonderbundes 1912 in Köln', in (cat.) *Europäische Kunst 1912*, Cologne, 1962, pp. 21-34; Magdalena Moeller, *Der Sonderbund. Seine Voraussetzungen und Anfänge in Düsseldorf*, Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1984.

⁴³ For a discussion of the art market and the Vinnen affair from a coeval point of view, see Paul Cassirer, 'Kunst und Kunsthandel' in *Pan*, 16 Mai 1911, pp. 457-469; Paret, *The Berlin Secession*, pp. 59-92; Gordon, *Expressionism*, pp.127-129; also (cat.) *Paris-Berlin 1900-1933, Rapports et Contrastes France-Allemagne*, Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou & Munich 1979.

⁴⁴ Einstein, *Bebuquin oder die Dilettanten des Wunders*, Berlin: Verlag Die Aktion 1912; here CEW 1, pp. 92-133; the book was dedicated to André Gide; for details on the serialization in *Die Aktion*, see, p. 130.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of the rivalry between Pfemfert's *Die Aktion* and Walden's *Der Sturm*, see Heike Neumeister, 'Der Sturm' 1910-1920: the Making of Expressionism or Modernist Art as Commodity and the Production of Belief (unpubl. diss. UCE, Birmingham) 1994.

⁴⁶ Other artists included: David and Wladimir Burljuk, André Derain, Kees van Dongen, Wassily Kandinsky, Alfred Kubin, Henri Le Fauconnier, Bernhard Hoetger, Alexej von Jawlensky, Gabriele Münter, Georges Rouault, Maurice de Vlaminck, and Marianna von Werefskin, cf. Donald E. Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions 1900-1916*, Munich, vol. II, 1974, p. 354f.

⁴⁷ Henri Le Fauconnier, 'Das Kunstwerk', reprinted in Rosel Gollek (cat.), *Der Blaue Reiter im Lenbachhaus München*, Munich: Prestel, 1988 p. 393f, and for a list of the exhibitors pp. 396ff; on the so-called 'Salon Cubists', see John Golding, *Cubism. A History and an Analysis 1907-1914*, London & Boston: Faber and Faber (1959) 1988, esp. pp. 145-193; and Mark Antliff & Patricia Leighton, *Cubism and Culture*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2001.

⁴⁸ Le Fauconnier, 'Das Kunstwerk', p. 393 (author's emphases): *Das Kunstwerk ist das Gesetz, das der menschliche Geist den Elementen der Natur aufzwingt, es ist ein Verhältnis zu ihnen nach einem bestimmten Willen. Das Schöne ist das Gefühl dieses Verhältnisses und der Zahlenwert sein allgemeinsten Ausdruck.*

⁴⁹ p. 393: *Ein "numerisches Kunstwerk" muß im konstruktiven Sinne Zeichen darstellen, und diese Zeichen sind die Anordnung und der Ausdruck im Allgemeinen [...] Das numerisch aufgefaßte Kunstwerk besitzt [...] qualitative Zeichen: die höchste Knappheit, die Verwirklichung... um der höchsten Ziele willen. (Der Künstler schafft durch Abstraktion).*

⁵⁰ Hildebrand, 'The Problem of Form', p. 234, and 'Das Problem der Form', p. 213: *Wir können die Werte der Daseinsform als Zahlenwerte auffassen, und wie man in der Algebra von dem Zahlenwert abstrahiert [...], so erhebt der bildliche Eindruck alle wirklichen Raumgrößen zu Verhältniswerten, die [...] Gültigkeit haben.*

⁵¹ Le Fauconnier, 'Das Kunstwerk', p. 393: *Was die Werte des allgemeinen Ausdrucks anbelangt, so repräsentiert die Zahl fiktiv die Entfernungen der verschiedenen Punkte des Reliefs bis zu einer idealen Ebene, die derjenigen des Bildes parallel läuft und den Raum in zwei Hälften teilt, indem sie durch ihre Eigenschaft die anderen Raumvolumina als unsichtbar suggeriert.*

⁵² Hildebrand, 'The Problem of Form', p. 251f., and Idem, 'Das Problem der Form', p. 236: *Diese Reliefvorstellung markiert das Verhältnis der Flächenbewegung zur Tiefenbewegung oder das der zwei Dimensionen zur dritten. [...] Die allgemeinen Gesetze unseres Verhältnisses zum sichtbaren Raum werden durch sie erst in der Kunst festgehalten.* On his example using glass panes, see also p. 234.

⁵³ Einstein, 'Süddeutsche Ausstellungen', *Die Gegenwart*, vol. 40 (1911) no. 47, p. 791f, and CEW 1, pp. 62-66.

⁵⁴ p. 62: *Die Süddeutschen haben die Bildauflösung nicht so weit getrieben, wie wir oben in Berlin und die Pariser Maler. Das Analytische liegt ihnen nicht, und während wir das Bild als Entstehungsprozess auffaßten, und es in seine Funktionen zerlegten, um gleichsam das Aufdämmern einer neuen Zeit zu beschleunigen, verblieben sie in einem bequemen Mittelzustand, von wo das eine oder andere, ein nicht zu aufreibender Impressionismus oder eine phantasievolle Synthese, ohne große Anstrengung zu erreichen war.*

⁵⁵ p. 62: *Süddeutsche Malerei ist Opportunismus [...] Wir gestehen unser Erstaunen, wiewohl wir ähnliches fast erwarteten, als wir mit gelindem Schreck wahrnahmen, wieviel noch auf der "Jugend" balanciert wird.*

⁵⁶ p. 62-63: *Jetzt zu den mehr oder minder Synthetischen [...] ganz abgesehen von einem farbigen Bankrott, eine Sonnenklexerei, von Aufbau und präzisen Teilen ist keine Rede... ruhende Massen [...], die jedoch tektonische Straffheit ermangeln [...] Im ganzen eine Kunst der unverstandenden Mittel.* Some of the artists discussed were either students of Schmid-Reutte or Wilhelm Trübner (1871-1917), member of the Munich Secession and allied to the circle of Wilhelm Leibl (1844-1900). While Trübner's work is discussed more favourably, his venom was reserved for his followers. They included Arthur Grimm (1883-1948), painter and etcher, Carl Bantzer (1857-1941), painter and graphic artist, member of the Berlin as well as the Munich Secession, and from 1897 Professor at the Dresden Academy of Arts, who worked in an emotional-naturalist style, Hans Adolf Bühler (1877-1951), painter and etcher, student of Hans Thoma (1839-1924), whose work was influenced by Hodler, van Gogh and Schmid-Reutte, becoming director of the Badischen Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe in 1932, Albert Hauelsen (1872-1954), painter and graphic artist, also a student of Hans Thoma, who held a teaching post at the Karlsruhe Academy of Arts from 1887, and later became its director, and Otilie Wilhelmine Röderstein (1859-1938), a Swiss portrait, still-life and landscape painter, who according to Einstein 'translated the weaknesses of Thoma demonstratively into the grand and boring'.

⁵⁷ p. 63: *Das Instruktive dieser Ausstellung scheint mir darin zu bestehen, daß sie die Gefahren eines etwas billigeren Stils deutlich aufweist. Gründet er sich nicht auf einer Tradition, eine überlieferte, mählich angewachsener Erfahrung, so wirkt er von Beginn an schablonenhaft.*

⁵⁸ Carl Vinnen, *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler*, Jena 1911; Paret, *The Berlin Secession*, p. 168ff and 186f; Cassirer, 'Kunst und Kunsthandel'.

⁵⁹ Einstein, 'Süddeutsche Ausstellungen', p. 63-64: *Hoetger nimmt von vielen; mit Rhodin [sic] muß sich jeder heutige Bildhauer auseinandersetzen; Ägypter und Assyrier sind ihm unumgängliche Wirklichkeit. Hoetger sucht vor allen Dingen den Aufbau zu verdecken, die Teile zu verbinden; er gibt eine ganze modulierende Oberfläche, die sich zu Hauptmassen plastisch exponierten Punkten sammelt, erhebt und konzentriert. Großen Wert legt er auf die Blickrichtung; er setzt den point centrale Cézannes ins Plastische um [...] [er] versucht sich ernsthaft in der Erfindung eines formalen Motivs.* Bernhard Hoetger (1874-1949) was a painter, graphic artist, sculptor and architect. During his early career he was influenced by Rodin but later adopted a more tectonic approach to his work. After the 1914-18 war he built and lived in his own house at the artists' colony Worpswede, where he also designed a memorial for Paula Modersohn-Becker, which was followed by a number of architectural commissions mainly in Bremen. In 1933 he emigrated to Switzerland.

⁶⁰ p. 64: *Doch ein Unbehagen kann ich bei diesem Motiv nicht verbergen; [...] eine räumlich problematische und darum leicht sentimentale Sache. Solch Paradox, solch Komplizieren wäre keinem Ägypter beigegeben, denn dieser Widerspruch wirkt besonders, zumal das Unlogische mit elementaren Mitteln erreicht wird.*

⁶¹ p. 64-65: *Für die Süddeutschen mögen Hodler, Schmitt-Reute und Thoma die nächsten Vorbilder gewesen sein. Ihre Malerei ist dürftig, immateriell und kannte kaum die Erregungen komplizierter Einflüsse oder Verwirrungen [...] Die Frankfurter haben jetzt ihre Hodler-Ausstellung [...] Wertvolles geben seine Landschaften in ihrer Rhythmisierung des Gesehenen; [...] Hodlers Methode verbietet zuviel und schließt zu Vieles aus. Sie ist vor der einzelnen Schöpfung da,*

welche ihr erbarmungslos eingeordnet wird. Es ist ein Protestantenstil, der zu viel Einbuße und Armut verlangt.

⁶² Einstein, 'Sezession', *Die Gegenwart*, vol. 40 (1911), no. 48, pp. 807-809, and part of the *Katalog der 23. Ausstellung der Berliner Sezession. Zeichnende Künste*, Berlin: Verlag des Ausstellungshauses am Kurfürstendamm, (November-December) 1911, here CEW 1, pp. 66-70.

⁶³ p. 66: *Die Sezession [...] Ausstellungen verbanden sich bisher mit dem Gedanken, etwas Neues muß los sein [...] das Neue war eine Qualität an sich. Heute weiß man, was zu erwarten ist [...] etwas später noch wird man [...] mittelmäßige Impressionisten als Akademiker ansehen, die, bewaffnet mit irgendeinem Rezept für Lichteffekte, etwas wie Komposition zusammenhalten. Nur Qualität schützt vor der Akademie.*

⁶⁴ p. 66: *Maler stabilisieren [...] Technik, jedoch nicht Stil. Unter Stil verstehe ich nicht eine zeichnerische Mißhandlung des [...] Modells (Akademie), sondern eine vorgefaßte Art des Sehens, die [...] stabile Momente enthält, die bereits schon vor dem einzelnen Oeuvre bestehen (Cézanne und Marées).*

⁶⁵ p. 66f.: *Techniken werden hier allgemein, deren Eigenschaft Relativität ist; jene werden von Leuten zweiter Hand verbreitet, verbilligt, [...] die ein gutes Vorbild nicht in seinen Werten, sondern nur Surrogaten für optischen Pöbel zu geben versteht. Stil ist jedoch eine Sache, die Vielen gemein sein kann, ohne daß von Nachahmung oder Abhängigkeit zu reden ist. [...] Technik ist individualistisch, Stil demokratisch und überlieferbar. Wir hingegen, besitzen Individuen und Nachtreter. So werden auch die Reibereien der letzten Jahre verständlich, wo Individualitäten jedes Junge und Neue in der nächsten Nähe leicht als Auflehnung empfinden konnten.*

⁶⁶ p. 67: *Allerdings kann man den Jungen nicht den Vorwurf ersparen, daß sie eher einen Vereinsputsch, als eine künstlerische Angelegenheit inszenierten.*

⁶⁷ p. 67: *Die Sezession revolutionierte ohne Programm, da wir keine Kunstüberlieferung haben [...] zwei Wege sind gegeben: aussieben oder veralten. [...]. Denn der Unterschied von Großer [Berliner Kunstaussstellung] und Sezession war ein qualitativer, kein programmatischer. Es ist jedoch wünschenswert, daß die Sezession der alte Revolutionär, das produktive Raubein bleibt, aussiebt, und sich nicht gegen die doktrinären Jungen verschließt.*

⁶⁸ p. 67f: *Liebermann ist vielleicht unter den Gründern der Einzige, [...] jung bleibt. [...] eine kluge geordnete Ausdeutung von Goghs. [...] Signac, der das neoimpressionistische Rezept mit seiner formkundigen, erfinderischen Hand in jedem Bild erweitert [...]. Eine Analyse von Hoffmann [...] ergibt wohl die präzise Definition des Wortes "Kitsch". Armer Gauguin, armer Marées. [...] Ich bedaure aufrichtig, daß mit diesen Tapetenverbesserern das verfluchte Biedermeier der Werstätten und Möbelfabriken in die Sezession eingezogen ist. [...]. Beckmann [...] verwirrt ohne eine bestimmte Form zu gewinnen. [...] Über all diesem leuchten [...] die Arbeiten Cézannes, wo ohne Zwang das Höchste eines malerischen Stils erreicht ist.*

⁶⁹ p. 69: *Nur Qualität schützt vor der Großen [Berliner Kunstaussstellung]. Rodin – sein Mahler, zwingend, keine koulante Galeriearbeit wie Hildebrand, kein psychologisches Fragment wie die Klingermasken. [...] Jedoch Rodin: das eine wunderbar, das andere schlechthin romantischer Kitsch. So Francesca und Paola. Aber der Mahler, man muß ihn immer wieder umgehen, mit den Augen*

umklammern, immer entsteht ein neues Gebilde, in stärkerer Einheit gefaßt als je ein Hildebrand. [...] Rodin ist vielleicht der Einzige, welcher die Loslösung der Plastik von der Architektur durchführte. Einstein's reference to Rodin's *Francesca and Paolo* may have been either to the work from c. 1887 of an embracing couple known under the same title, or to the earlier work, better known as *The Kiss* (1884) that was reduced in size and reproduced many times over by the Paris casting firm of Barbedienne between 1898 and 1918; see also Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, pp. 507-510.

⁷⁰ p. 69: *Um Hildebrand zu fixieren, muß man seine Methode bejahen oder verneinen. Ich tue das letztere; auf vieles und gerade Gutes der alten Plastik stimmt sie durchaus nicht; oft scheint ihr leitender Gedanke zu sein "Wie verkneife ich mir das eigentlich Plastische".* The listings by Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions 1900-1916*, pp. 507-510, does not include sculpture exhibits.

⁷¹ After Hugo von Tschudi's modernization of the Berlin *Nationalgalerie* had cost him his job, he became director of the Munich *Pinakothek* and a supporter of the artists of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* for whom he negotiated the exhibitions at the *Moderne Galerie (Thannhauser)*; cf. Andreas Meier, 'Das Umfeld des Verlegers. Reinhart Piper und "Der Blaue Reiter"', in Hans-Christoph von Tavel (ed.), (cat.) *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kunstmuseum Bern, 21 November 1986 – 15 February 1987, p. 233.

⁷² Heymel, A. W. (ed.), *Im Kampf um die Kunst. Die Antwort auf den "Protest deutscher Künstler"*, Munich: R. Piper 1911.

⁷³ Meier, 'Das Umfeld', p. 230; Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung*, Munich: Reinhart Piper 1908; his reply to the Vinnen protest was reprinted in *Der Sturm* 1911, II, no. 75, p. 597; see also Magdalena Bushart, *Der Geist der Gotik und die expressionistische Kunst*, Munich 1990.

⁷⁴ Cf. Paul Cassirer, 'Kunst und Kunsthandel' op. cit.; also Paret, *The Berlin Secession*.

⁷⁵ Einstein, 'Brief über den Roman' first published in *Pan*, 2, no. 16 (1911/12), pp. 477-482, and as 'Lettre sur le roman allemand' (trans. Adolphe Malye), *La Phalange*, June 1912, here CEW 1, pp. 86-91; Einstein, *Wilhelm Lehmbrucks graphisches Werk*, Berlin: Verlag Paul Cassirer 1913, here CEW 1, pp. 194-197, unacknowledged by the editors of CEW is that a slightly different version was also published as 'Die Radierungen Wilhelm Lehmbrucks', in: *Zeit im Bild, Moderne Illustrierte Wochenschrift*, 11/1913, pp. 1957-1962; Einstein, 'Die Sammlung Henri Rouart', *Kunst und Künstler*, vol. 11, no. 4, 1913, pp. 224-226, here CEW 1 pp. 149-156.

⁷⁶ Einstein, *Bebuquin*, CEW 1, pp. 92-132.

⁷⁷ "Bebuquin" ist ein philosophischer Versuch in der Form einer Erzählung, das heißt eigentlich die Auflösung eines solchen in Meinungsfragmente an sich belangloser Personen; Oswald Wiener, 'Beim Wiederlesen von Carl Einstein', in Rolf-Peter Baacke, (ed.), *Carl Einstein, Materialien*, Band I, Silver & Goldstein, Berlin 1990 p. 30-31.

⁷⁸ Es gibt kluge Überlegungen, daß alle diese bestimmten Attitüden und Anschauungen plakativ markierende Figuren der Titelfiguren, Variationen eines Ichs sind; Helmut Mörchen, 'Anmerkungen zur Lektüre des "Bebuquin" anlässlich Carl Einstein's 100. Geburtstags', in CEKo 1, p. 145.

⁷⁹ *Ihr Buch wird eine fürchterliche Ablehnung durch alle kompetenten Kreise und Kritiker erfahren [...] bei der heutigen Beschaffenheit der Literatur [können] Bücher, die Taten sind, keinerlei Geltung gewinnen. [...] Ich kann dem Buche, Ihrem Buche also nur wünschen, daß es möglichst lange beim Verlage bleibe, damit die erhofften Leser in dreißig Jahren dort die schönen sauberen Exemplare finden.* Franz Blei (1912), 'Carl Einstein', in *Die Aktion* 6 November, 2. Jg., Nr. 45, Sp. 1424-1425, this also formed the 'Geleitwort' addressed to Einstein that accompanied the book, here Baacke, *Carl Einstein Materialien*, p. 51.

⁸⁰ *Der psychologische Roman beruht auf causaler Schlußweise und gibt keine Form, da nicht abzusehen ist, wo das Schließen zurückführt und wo es endigt. [...] Der deskriptive schildernde Roman setzt vollständige Unkenntnis des Lesers von Tischen, Nachttöpfen, jungen Mädchen, Treppentritten, [...] Busen, Hausklingeln usw. voraus. [...] Wertvoll im Roman ist – was Bewegung hervorbringt [...] Das Absurde zur Tatsache zu machen! Kunst ist eine Technik, tatsächliche Bestände und Affekte zu erzeugen;* Einstein, 'Über den Roman. Anmerkungen', here CEW 1, p. 146 and 148.

⁸¹ Both Einstein and Hiller, Salomo Friedlander [Mynona], Georg Heym, Jakob von Hoddis, and Einstein's friend Ludwig Rubiner, had been working for Pfemfert on *Der Demokrat*. It was due to a rejected article by Hiller that Pfemfert broke his appointment with the journal, which resulted in the founding of *Die Aktion*, see Alexandra Pfemfert, 'The Birth of Die Aktion', in Paul Raabe, *The Era of German Expressionism*, London 1974, p. 35-36; for details on Hiller's increasingly tense relationship with Herwarth Walden caused by his growing allegiance to the more politically focused strategies of Pfemfert's *Die Aktion*, see his letters to Herwarth Walden, dated between 26.IV.1911 and 1.X.1912, held at the Sturm-Archiv, Handschriftenabteilung der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin; for details on the publishing strategies of both *Der Sturm* and *Die Aktion*, see Neumeister, *Der Sturm 1910-1920*.

⁸² Kurt Hiller, 'Das Cabarett/Der Gehirne Salut', in *Der Sturm*, I, 44, 1910, p. 351.

⁸³ See the announcement of 'Der Neue Club - Neopathetisches Cabaret', 16 December 1911, here Baacke, p. 39.

⁸⁴ For an attempt at an English translation of *Bebuquin*, see Patrick Healey, *The Wake and the Modern*, Lilliput Press, Dublin 1992.

⁸⁵ *Carl Einsteins "Bebuquin" [...] [ist] eigentlich gar kein Roman, sondern eine (aus Ulk episch verkleidete) Folge phantastischer Aperçus. Mißgünstige könnten Herrn Einstein als wildgewordenen Privatdozenten diagnostizieren.* Kurt Hiller, 'Bemerkungen zu Bebuquin', *Pan*, vol 2 (11 April 1913), pp. 650-654; reprinted in Baacke, p. 52-55.

⁸⁶ p. 53-55: *Bebuquin gehört jenem erlauchtesten und bemitleidenswertesten Typ an, dem Erleben und Denken nichts Konträres sind, vielmehr koinzidieren [...] Menschen solcher Art sitzt das Herz im Hirn, und das Hirn ist ihm Funktion des Herzens[...] Ein semitischer Faust? [...] Meine Einwände gegen dieses unpopuläre Buch, dessen abstrakte Musik durch kritikaterndes Kauderwelsch primitiver Journalisten nicht zerstört werden kann, betreffen drei Punkte. [...] Aber Einwände hin, Einwände her [...] es ist so etwas Rares, daß wir es, wo wir einmal ansichtig werden, bedingungslos beklatschen müssen. Vor diesem Buch, das nichts als Gedanke ist, merkt man, in wie lächerlichem Grade man Gemütskisten lange überschätzt hat.*

⁸⁷ Hier ist [...] ein Radikalismus des Zuendedenkens [erreicht], der mit Begriffen, wie mit bunten Bällen, aber in logischer Regelmässigkeit jongliert, eine mathematische Phantastik voll von unbeherrschter Ungezügeltheit und ausschweifender Strenge [...] wie sie etwa in den 'Moralités Légendaires' Laforgues aufblitzen; in Ernst Stadler, 'Ein Urteil über Bebuquin', *Cahiers Alsaciens, Elsässer Hefte*, vol. 2, no. 8 (March 1913), pp. 100-102, repr. in Baacke, p. 57-58. On *Vathek*, see above chapter 1, and Kleinschmidt pp.69-71.

⁸⁸ Stadler, 'Ein Urteil über Bebuquin', p. 57f.: [...] ein Verlangen nach synthetischer Bezwungung [...] "Wir müssen so genau sehen, dass darin alles Wissen steckt", sagt auch Böhm [...]. So bleibt für den Einzelnen nur die Entsagung als Resultat eines unerbittlichen Zuendedenkens. Aber aus der Negation wächst zugleich die Gewähr: "Vielleicht decken sich die Dinge niemals, damit das Schöpferische nicht erschlafe". [...] Darum das Suchen nach dem Wunder, darum am Schluss die ausserordentlich schöne Apotheose des Todes, [...] Herrn der Form.

⁸⁹ See above chapter 1, and CEW 4, p. 59.

⁹⁰ Ich weiß schon sehr lange, daß die Sache, die man "Kubismus" nennt, weit über das Malen hinausgeht. [...] Die Literaten hinken ja so jammerhaft mit ihrer Lyrik und den kleinen Kinosuggestionen hinter Malerei und Wissenschaft her. Ich weiß schon sehr lange, daß nicht nur eine Umbildung des Sehens [...] möglich ist, sondern auch eine Umbildung des sprachlichen Äquivalents und der Empfindungen [...] Solche Dinge hatte ich im Bebuquin 1906 unsicher und zaghaft begonnen. Die Arbeiten der "Kubisten" waren mir eine Bestätigung, daß eine Umnüancierung der Empfindung möglich ist: wahrscheinlich trotz allen Geredes, das einzig interessante. Letter Einstein to Kahnweiler, n.d. June 1923, cited from Klaus H. Kiefer (ed.), *Avantgarde – Weltkrieg – Exil. Materialien zu Carl Einstein und Salomo Friedlander/Myona*, Frankfurt/M. – Bern – New York: Peter Lang 1986, hereafter abbr. as AWE, p. 50f.

⁹¹ Man kann von einer "poetischen Technik" sprechen, - Technik nicht im klassischen Wortsinn von Kanon oder Konstruktionsweise, sondern vergleichbar den mystischen Techniken (das was Carl Einstein das "Training" der Ekstase nennt); Michel Leiris, *Journal 1922-1989*, Paris 1992, here quoted from Kiefer, 'Die Ethnologisierung', p. 91.

⁹² This appeared in three editions, cf. Carl Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, vol. XVI, (1st ed.) 1926, (2nd ed.) 1928 and revised (3rd ed.) 1931, here Uwe Fleckner & Thomas W. Gaehtgens (eds.), *Carl Einstein, Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, (repr. of 3rd ed., 1931) Fannei & Walz, Berlin 1996, and abbr. as CEW 5.

⁹³ Jede Handlung kann auch anders endigen – wenn man nicht orthodox katholisch ist, und selbst hier gibt es die unerforschliche Güte Gottes, das Wunder usw.; Einstein, 'Über den Roman', *Die Aktion*, 2. Jg. No. 40, col. 1264-1269, here CEW 1, p. 147.

⁹⁴ Cf. Baacke, *Carl Einstein Materialien*, p. 15-17 and note 22; extracts from *Bebuquin* appeared in *Résurrection*, vol. 2, March 1918, no. 4, pp. 132-136, 156-158, and April 1918, no. 5, p. 176-177. On Einstein and Pansaers, see Benjamin Hennot, 'Le primitivisme de Clément Pansaers: de l'Allemagne et bien au-delà', in CEKo 3, pp. 95-103.

⁹⁵ Letter Marc to Macke, dated 14.1.1911, in which the sudden change of Cassirer's commitment regarding an apparently planned exhibition is discussed, cf. Wolfgang Macke (ed.), *August Macke – Franz Marc Briefwechsel*, Cologne: DuMont 1964, p. 41f; also letter Marc to Kandinsky, dated 23.1.1912 where Cassirer's 'business manager' seemed to have been in touch with Kandinsky, see Lankheit, *Kandinsky – Marc*, p. 122.

⁹⁶ *Das Manuskript von Einstein scheint mir sehr interessant, wirklich voll Reichtum und Können. Ich möchte ihm schreiben. Für's 1. Heft ist es doch nicht möglich; wir müssen ihn persönlich kennenlernen und mehr von ihm lesen. Wir können ja ruhig sagen, das 1. Buch sei schon abgeschlossen;* (Marc's emphasis) letter Marc to Kandinsky, n.d. (early February 1912), in Lankheit, *Kandinsky – Marc*, p. 133. On plans and preparation for a second book by the *Blaue Reiter* team, see Andreas Hüneke, 'Hinter einem Vorhang tanzende Gedanken. Pläne des "Blauen Reiters"', in Christine Hopfengart (ed.), (cat.) *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kunsthalle Bremen, 25 March – 12 June, Cologne: DuMont 2000 pp. 27-33; also Lankheit, 'Die Geschichte des Almanachs' in Idem, *Der Blaue Reiter*, p. 276ff.

⁹⁷ Letter Marc to Kandinsky, dated 23.IV.1912, and Kandinsky to Marc, dated 14.V. 12, in Lankheit, *Kandinsky – Marc*, p. 162 and 172.

⁹⁸ See postcard Marc to Macke, (postmarked) 25.1.1912, and letter n.d. (after 5.2.1912) in Wolfgang Macke (ed.), p. 99f., and 103-105, which contains a lengthy 'confidential' characterization of Cassirer, his definite promise to arrange for a show of the *Blaue Reiter* in the following year, and Marc's feelings towards the dealer after having spent over a week in his company.

⁹⁹ Letter Marc to Macke, dated 8.IX. 1911, in Wolfgang Macke, p. 72.

¹⁰⁰ *[Der Blaue Reiter] soll der Ruf werden, der die Künstler sammelt, die zur neuen Zeit gehören, und der die Ohren der Laien weckt [...] Das [...] erste Buch, [...] umfaßt die neueste malerische Bewegung in Frankreich, Deutschland und Rußland und zeigt ihre feinen Verbindungsfäden mit der Gotik und den Primitiven, mit Afrika und dem großen Orient, mit der so ausdrucksstarken ursprünglichen Volkskunst und Kinderkunst, besonders mit der modernsten musikalischen Bewegung in Europa und den neuen Bühnenideen unserer Zeit.* The text by Franz Marc was written around the middle of January 1912, cf. Klaus Lankheit (ed.), *Der Blaue Reiter. Herausgegeben von Wassily Kandinsky und Franz Marc*, Munich & Zurich: R. Piper & Co., 1965/1990, p. 318; for Einstein's quote, see above section 1.2, n. 23.

¹⁰¹ *Die Bronzegüsse der Neger von Benin [...], die Idole von den Osterinseln [...] und die Holzmaske aus Neukaledonien reden dieselbe starke Sprache wie die Schimären von Notre-Dame und der Grabstein im Frankfurter Dom;* August Macke, 'Die Masken', here Lankheit, *Der Blaue Reiter*, p. 59.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 26-7, p. 30-31, p. 204-205, p. 66-67; for Kandinsky's work, see for example his behind-glass painting *Allerheiligen I* (1911) and *Allerheiligen II* (1911), reproduced in Gollek, *Der Blaue Reiter*, p. 137.

¹⁰³ Cf. Dirk Heisserer, 'Das "Problem der Form", der "Blaue Reiter" und die "Negerplastik" – Zu den Voraussetzungen der Kunstkritik Carl Einsteins', in Klaus H. Kiefer (e.), (ed.), *Die Visuelle Wende der Moderne: Carl Einsteins "Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts"*, Munich: Fink 2003, pp.21-38; also Zeidler, *Defense of the real*; and Fleckner, *Carl Einstein*.

¹⁰⁴ Their plans for negotiations to show in galleries across Germany were already in train in 1911, see, for example letter Macke to Marc, n.d. (end of December) 1911, in Wolfgang Macke, p. 92.

¹⁰⁵ The show included artists like Braque and Picasso and others, some of whom had taken part in the second exhibition of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* during September 1910, but newcomers like Paul Klee, Hans Arp, Kasimir Malevitch, and members of the *Brücke* and were also represented, see, for example, Gollek, *Der Blaue Reiter*, p. 11 and pp. 407-411.

¹⁰⁶ For the different venues, see Hopfengart (ed.), *Der Blaue Reiter*, here pp. 49-83.

¹⁰⁷ See Freya Mühlpaupt (ed.) (cat.), *Herwarth Walden 1878-1941. Wegbereiter der Moderne*, Berlin: Berlinische Galerie 1991; Volker Pirsich, *Der Sturm, Eine Monographie*, Herzberg 1985; Neumeister, *Der Sturm 1910-1920*.

¹⁰⁸ For Cassirer's efforts to secure the *Blaue Reiter* exhibition, see letter Marc to Macke n.d. (after 5.2.1912), in Wolfgang Macke, p. 103f.

¹⁰⁹ Meffre, *Carl Einstein 1885-1940*, op. cit., p. 196, 199, 226; also Paul Raabe, *German Expressionism*, p. 35-36; and Lothar Peter, *Literarische Intelligenz und Klassenkampf. Die Aktion 1911-1932*, Cologne 1972

¹¹⁰ For details, see Neumeister, *Der Sturm 1910-1920*, esp. pp. 62-78.

¹¹¹ "Die Aktion" tritt, ohne sich auf den Boden einer bestimmten politischen Partei zu stellen, für die Idee der Großen Deutschen Linken ein. "Die Aktion" will den imposanten Gedanken einer "Organisation der Intelligenz" fördern und dem lange verpönten Wort "Kulturkampf" [...] wieder zu seinem alten Glanze verhelfen. In den Dingen der Kunst und der Literatur sucht "Die Aktion" ein Gegengewicht zu bilden zu der traurigen Gewohnheit der pseudoliberalen Presse, neueren Regungen lediglich vom Geschäftsstandpunkt aus zu bewerten, also sie totzuschweigen [...] "Die Aktion" hat den Ehrgeiz, ein Organ des ehrlichen Radikalismus zu sein. Cited from *Die Aktion*, vol. 1 (1911), no 8 col. 237; for a more detailed analysis of *Die Aktion*, see the introduction by Thomas Rietzschel, 'Dem Bürger fliegt vom spitzen Kopf der Hut', in his (ed.), *Die Aktion 1911-1918. Wochenschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst. Herausgegeben von Franz Pfemfert*, Cologne 1987, pp. 1-38; also Lothar Peter, *Literarische Intelligenz und Klassenkampf. Die Aktion 1911-1932*, Cologne 1972.

¹¹² Selbst schreibend, sorgten Adolph Basler und Carl Einstein dafür, daß sie bekannt wurden, und man weiß, wer sie sind. [...] Basler und Einstein waren befreundet und kamen oft mit Brummer, Hain und Ascher ins Café. Die letzteren drei kamen als Bildhauer nach Paris, Barbara & Erhard Göpel, (eds.), *Leben und Meinungen des Malers Hans Purrmann*, Wiesbaden 1961, p. 70f.

¹¹³ p. 71 and p. 133f.: Brummer [kam] sogar aus München zu Fuß. [...] Um im Matisse-Schul-Atelier frei arbeiten zu können, fragte er mich, ob er als Gegenleistung das Atelier aufräumen dürfe. [...] dann fing er an Japan-Holzschnitte von Atelier zu Atelier zu tragen, bald darauf Negerplastiken, mit denen er als erster Handel unter den Künstlern trieb. [...] gute Stücke dieser damals völlig unbekannten Kunst. Purrmann himself started collecting African and non-European artifacts some time around 1910, see, for example, the reproductions in *Ibid.*, plates 50 and 51.

¹¹⁴ W. H. Forsyth, 'The Brummer Brothers: an instinct for the beautiful', *Art News*, October 1974, p. 106-107.

¹¹⁵ Göpel, *Leben und Meinungen*, p. 71.

¹¹⁶ Krisztina Passuth, 'A Festő és Modellje. Henri Rousseau: Joseph Brummer Portréja (1909)', in *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, LI (2002) 3-4. számából, Akadémiai Kiadó Budapest, pp. 225-249; Sandra E. Leonard, *Henri Rousseau and Max Weber*, New York: Richard L. Feigen 1970, p. 32; Lankheit, *Der Blaue Reiter*, pp. 335-350. On Picasso's deep fascination for Rousseau, see John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso, vol. II: 1907-1917*, London: Jonathan Cape 1996, pp. 110-113.

¹¹⁷ The painting is Nicolas Poussin, *L'inspiration du Poète* (1628, Louvre), the suggestion is George T. Noszlopy's in his, 'Apollinaire, Allegorical Imagery and the Visual Arts', in *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, vol. XI, no. 1 (1973), pp. 49-74, here p. 53; cf. Adrian Hicken, *Apollinaire, Cubism and Orphism*, Aldersot: Ashgate Publishing 2002, p. 49.

¹¹⁸ A similar suggestion was made by Passuth, 'A Festő és Modellje', p. 248f. On Rousseau, see for example, Apollinaire, 'The Salon d'Automne', *Je dis tout*, 12 October 1907, in Leroy C. Breunig (ed.) (trans. Susan Suleiman), *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews, 1902-1918*, New York: Viking Press 1972, pp. 18-36, here 30-33; see also his poem on the artist, 'Le los du Douanier', in *Der Sturm* vol. V, no. 7 (1914), p. 53. On Apollinaire's interest in and collection of, non-western sculpture, see Katia Samaltanos, *Apollinaire, Catalyst for Primitivism, Duchamp and Picabia*, University of Michigan Research Press, Studies in the fine Arts, Michigan 1984. On his collaboration with Paul Guillaume's album *Sculptures nègres*, see below, Part III, chapter 14.

¹¹⁹ *Plus tard c'est lui [Uhde] qui acheta le portrait de Brummer lorsque le modèle se vit obligé – pour des raisons matérielles – de le vendre*; Passuth, 'A Festő és Modellje', p. 248; Forsyth, 'The Brummer Brothers', p. 106; also Wilhelm Uhde, *Henri Rousseau*, Paris: Figuière, 1911, and Idem, *Henri Rousseau*, Düsseldorf: Ohle und Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, 1914.

¹²⁰ *Er ist damit zweifellos der Anreger der ersten eingehenden Publikation darüber, des Buches von Carl Eistein, geworden*; Göpel, *Leben und Meinungen*, p. 134.

¹²¹ Iván Dévényi, 'Brummer, József' in *Művészet*, January 1968, p. 16; also Paudrat, 'From Africa', op. cit., p. 151.

¹²² Meffre (with Ezio Bassani & Jean-Louis Paudrat), *Carl Einstein: La sculpture nègre*, Paris & Montreal: L'Harmattan 1998, pp. 109-118.

¹²³ Als ich [...] im November 1912 zum ersten Mal dort saß, stand plötzlich ein kleiner rundlicher Mann mit großer Hornbrille unter der Tür und sagte mit einer Stimme, die leise und penetrant war und jeden zum Zuhören zwang: "Ich verkehre so gerne mit Mördern. Das sind so angenehme Menschen!" Dann kam er an unseren Tisch; Fritz Cahen, *Der Weg nach Versailles. Erinnerungen 1912-1919. Schicksalsepoche einer Generation*, Boppard/Rhein 1963, pp. 14-15, reprinted in Baacke, p. 10. On the importance of the Café du Dôme to the avant-garde, see Guillaume Apollinaire, 'The "Dôme" and the "Dômiers"', *Les Soirées de Paris*, 2 July 1914, in Breunig, *Apollinaire on Art*, pp. 414-416; Rudolf Grossmann, 'Dômechronik', in *Kunst und Künstler*, XX 1922, pp. 29-32, and Annette Gautherie-Kampka, *Les cercles des artistes du Café du Dôme 1903-1914*, Université Lumière Lyon 2, Institut d'Histoire de l'Art (unp. PhD thesis) 1993.

¹²⁴ p. 10: *Er hieß Karl Einstein und bereitete gerade für Kurt Wolff, Leipzig, ein aufsehenerregendes Werk vor, das Epoche machen sollte. Titel schlicht und einfach "Negerplastik" Für das Studium primitiver Kunst, um die man sich bislang nicht recht gekümmert hatte – wenigstens was die Ästhetik anging – war es bahnbrechend.* For Baacke's doubts regarding this statement, see, p. 25, n. 6.

¹²⁵ Cf. Juan Gris: his Life and Work (trans. Douglas Cooper, 1946), London: Thames & Hudson 1968, p. 185 and p. 218, n. 237; Penkert suggests that Einstein's acquaintance with Picasso and Braque dates back to 1907, see Penkert, *Carl Einstein*, p. 54; Meffre suggests that Einstein visited Paris during 1907, see Meffre, *Carl Einstein et la problématique des avant-gardes dans les arts plastique*, Bern 1989; however there is no confirmation for these dates, see for example German Neundorfer, *"Kritik der Anschauung" Bildbeschreibung im kunstkritischen Werk Carl Einsteins*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2003. On the avant-garde's café-life in Montmartre and Montparnasse during the pre-war period, see, for example, Dan Franck (trans. C. Hope Liebow), *The Bohemians. The Birth of Modern Art: Paris 1900-1930*, Phoenix 1999.

¹²⁶ *Die Einheit zwischen Bild und konventioneller Wirklichkeit wurde gesprengt. Die Bilder waren nicht mehr Metaphern einer diktierenden Wirklichkeit und somit keine Fiktion mehr, sondern selber Zeichen unmittelbarer menschlicher Wirklichkeit [...] dank der bewußten Einbeziehung der Bewegungserinnerungen und gleichzeitig dank dem Betonen der halluzinativen Erfindung. [...] Eine konkrete Anschauung war erschaffen, die der wenn auch kaum gekannten geistigen Ordnung dieser Zeit gemäß ist. Die autonome Vision war wieder gerettet und somit der Beginn einer bedeutenden mythischen Kunst gesichert;* Einstein, 'Der Kubismus', in *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (3rd ed., 1931), here CEW 5, p. 109; see also 'Notes sur le cubisme', in *Documents*, no. 3 (1929), pp. 146-155, CEW 3, pp. 34-44; and 'Notes on Cubism' (trans. & intro. Charles W. Haxthausen) in (Sebastian Zeidler ed.), *Carl Einstein. A Special Issue*, in *October* 107, MIT Press (winter 2004), pp. 159-168.

¹²⁷ *Ich weiss der Kubismus ist keine Sache nur der Malerei; dazu ist die Sache zu elementar. [...] Ich glaube nicht, dass der Kubismus eine nur optische Specialität ist; wenn dies, dann wäre er falsch, da nicht fundiert. Er umfasst als gültige Erfahrung sehr viel mehr und ich glaube, es ist nur eine Frage unserer Energie, ihn zu fassen;* letter Einstein to Kahnweiler, n. d. (June 1923) in Meffre, *Correspondance*, Marseille, p. 144 & 147, also AWE, pp. 49-59, p. 50f.

¹²⁸ Einstein's short two-part essay, entitled 'Anmerkungen', published in *Die Aktion*, 4, no. 13, 1914, col. 277-279, was reprinted under the title 'Totalität I-II' as part of a selection of essays in Carl Einstein, *Anmerkungen*, Berlin: Verlag Die Aktion 1916, pp. 32-40. In the Carl-Einstein-Archiv, Berlin, these manuscripts, n. d., are filed under the title of 'Picasso', while the remaining fifteen sheets are in a folder entitled 'Totalität', together with a title page containing the note 'P.= Totalität 1. Teil (pp. 1-10), possibly indicating that these philosophical reflections on art and aesthetics were written with the artist in mind, see CEW 1, pp. 214-217, and 217-221; also Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, p. 115f. For an analysis of these texts and Einstein's philosophy of art, see Zeidler, *Defense of the real*, esp. chapter 1 and 2.

¹²⁹ Einstein, *George Braque* (trans. M. E. Zipruth) Paris: Editions des Chroniques du Jour, London: A. Zwemmer, New York: E. Weyer 1934; the book was written during 1930/32, the French translation was not authorized by Einstein, citations here will be from the original manuscript, reprinted in CEW 3, pp. 252-516; see also Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 520-535.

¹³⁰ *Eine geradezu deprimierende Enttäuschung ist der Herbstsalon. [...] Goltz [...] Wenn man mit ihm bei Kahnweiler, Brummer (Negerplastiken, Picasso's etc.) [...] ist genirt [sic] man sich auf die peinlichste Art;* letter Marc to Kandinsky, dated 1 Okt. 1912, in Lankheit, *Wassily Kandinsky – Franz Marc*, p. 191; Marc's interests in non-western artifacts is also corroborated in a letter to Macke, dated 14.1. 1911, in which he enthusiastically reported on his visit to the Berlin Völkerkunde Museum, see Wolfgang Macke, op. cit., p. 39.

¹³¹ *Früher habe ich in Deutschland Jarry, Claudel, Gide und Apollinaire bekannt gemacht;* in André Blavier (ed.), *Temps Mêlés*, Verviers, May 1966, Nr. 81/82, p. 1, reprinted in Baacke, p. 16.

¹³² Guillaume Apollinaire, 'Henri Matisse' in *La Phalange*, Paris, 15 December 1907, here cited from Breunig, *Apollinaire on Art*, p. 38; and Louis Vauxcelles, 'Braque at the Gallery Kahnweiler', *Gil Blas*, 14 November 1908, here Edward Fry *Cubism*, London: Thames & Hudson 1966, p. 50.

¹³³ *Un des esprits les plus clairvoyants en Allemagne;* this was noted by Apollinaire in black pencil in the margins of a copy of the journal *Zeit im Bild - Moderne illustrierte Wochenschrift*, 1913/11, p. 2926 f., which carried an essay by a 'Curt' Einstein, entitled 'Die Verkündigung von Paul Claudel'. The first name was crossed out and replaced with 'Karl'; cf. Boudar, G. & P. Caizergues, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Guillaume Apollinaire*, 2 vols, 1987 Paris: Editions du CNRS, here vol. II, p. 155. The Einstein's essay was first discussed by Andreas Kramer, 'Erzwungene Monumentalität. Eine unbekannte Rezension Carl Einsteins aus dem Jahr 1913', in CEKo 3, pp. 105-113.

¹³⁴ Cf. Paul Raabe, *Die Zeitschriften und Sammlungen des literarischen Expressionismus 1910-1921*, Olten & Freiburg 1965; Malke, *Europäische Moderne*, op. cit. On the 'new movement' as a much discussed topic by the German avant-garde, see for example, letter Marc to Macke, dated 7.12.1911, in Wolfgang Macke, p. 87; also Elizabeth Erdmann-Macke, *Erinnerung an August Macke*, Frankfurt 1989.

¹³⁵ Meier-Gräfe, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst*, which by 1927 was into its fourth printing. Probably the most informative study on the critic remains Kenworth Moffett, *Meier-Gräfe as Art Critic*, Munich: Prestel-Verlag 1973; see also Fleckner, 'Der impressionistische Schreiber. Carl Einstein und Julius Meier-Gräfe: Ein Paragone kunsthistorischer Modelle', in *Carl Einstein*, pp. 167-188, who sees a rivalry between the two authors. On the critic's influence on the avant-garde, see for example, Erdmann-Macke, p. 101 and 109.

¹³⁶ Carl Einstein (letters trans.), J. van Gogh-Bonger (ed.), (trans.) Leo Klein-Diebold, *Vincent van Gogh, Briefe an seinen Bruder*, Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 2 vols, 1914. On the proliferation of exhibition venues and culture-oriented journals in Paris, see Malcolm Gee, *Dealers, Critics, and Collectors of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market 1910-1930*, New York & London: Garland Publishing 1981; also David Cottington, 'Cubism, Aestheticism, Modernism' in William Rubin & Lynn Zelevansky (eds) *Picasso and Braque. A Symposium*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York: Harry N. Abrams 1992, pp. 58-72.

¹³⁷ Einstein, *Nuronihar - Eine Pantomime für Frau Napierkowska*, first published in *Die Aktion*, 3. Jg. 1913, Nr. 43, col. 1006-1017, here CEW 1, pp. 159-170; it was published in *La Phalange*, (trans. Marcel Ray) during September 1913. On

Napierkowska and the craze for 'exotic' dance and cabaret in Germany, cf. Lloyd, *German Expressionism*, p. 96.

¹³⁸ Just a few examples may suffice: Apollinaire's 'Réalité, peinture' appeared in *Der Sturm* vol. II, no. 138/9 (1912), p.224-225, 'Die moderne Malerei' was published in vol. III, no. 148/9, 1913, p. 272, and his 'Pariser Brief Februar 1913 (Zum Dramatismus)' in vol III, no. 150/1, 1913, p. 283. The poet and writer Blaise Cendrars contributed an essay on 'Le douanier Henri Rousseau' and other writings to *Der Sturm* during 1913, for further details see Georg Brühl, *Herwarth Walden und Der Sturm*, DuMont, Cologne 1983.

¹³⁹ Roger Allard, 'Die Kennzeichen der Erneuerung in der Malerei' (1912), here Lankheit, *Der Blaue Reiter*, pp. 77-86; the text was translated by Franz Marc; an English version is published in Fry, *Cubism*, pp. 70-73; for reasons of certain emphases, the translation here is mine.

¹⁴⁰ *Die unleugbaren Analogien des Impressionismus mit dem Naturalismus, [...] sind wohl der tiefere Grund, warum der Impressionismus zu keiner großen Stilbildung zu führen vermochte. [...] die engen Grenzen des impressionistischen Prinzips [gönnten] nur drei bis vier Künstlern die volle Entfaltung ihrer Persönlichkeit. [...] Das große Erbe Cézannes wurde zerpfückt und [...] zur leichten Ware gemacht, während Cézannes Kunst das Arsenal ist, aus dem heute die moderne Malerei sich die Schwerter zum ersten Waffengang holt, um Naturalismus, falsche Literatur und Pseudoklassizismus aus dem Feld zu schlagen; der Kampf geht heute um andere Dinge; Allard, 'Die Kennzeichen', p. 78.*

¹⁴¹ p. 79, 82 and 83: *Kubismus [ist] in erster Linie der bewußte Wille, in der Malerei die Kenntnis von Maß, Volumen und Gewicht wieder herzustellen. [...] Das Postulat [...] ist also die Ordnung der Dinge, [...] nicht naturalistischer Dinge, sondern abstrakter Formen. Er fühlt den Raum als ein Zusammengesetztes von Linien, Raumeinheiten, quadratischen und kubischen Gleichungen und Wagverhältnissen [...] wir [proklamieren] das Recht der neuen, konstruktiven Bewegung in der Kunst. [...] Der Kubismus ist keine neue Phantasmagorie der "Wilden", [...], sondern der ehrliche Schrei nach einer neuen Disziplin.*

¹⁴² Kiefer, *Diskurwandel*, p. 134f.; see also the Introduction above.

¹⁴³ Cf. Christoph Braun, *Carl Einstein: zwischen Ästhetik und Anarchismus: Zu Leben und Werk eines expressionistischen Schriftstellers*, Munich 1987, and repeated by Fleckner, 'Anmerkungen zum Kapitel "Der Blaue Reiter"', in CEW 5, p. 314. Cf. Einstein, 'Totalität I-II', here CEW 1, p. 217-219, and n. 129 above; also Kiefer, *Diskurwandel*, p. 116.

¹⁴⁴ *Jedes Ereignis, das unserem Bewußtsein hinzuwächst, sei es ein rückwärtiges oder ein Vermuten des Zukünftigen, beeinflusst und verändert unsere Ansicht des geschichtlichen Verlaufs. Nicht eine zur Ideologie erstarrte Geschichte beherrscht unsere Gegenwart, sondern diese selbst bildet und formt die Anschauung des Historischen. Denn jeder Mensch treibt Geschichte als produktives Wesen, und Voraussetzung dieser schöpferischen Leistung ist die Gegenwart; Einstein, 'Antike und Moderne', type-script, 7 sheets, n. d. (probably 1912-1914), Carl-Einstein Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Sig. 94, and CWE 4, pp. 140f. The text is proposed as Einstein's *Blaue Reiter* contribution by Fleckner, *Carl Einstein*, pp. 89-91, and discussed by Zeidler, *Return of the real*.*

¹⁴⁵ *Cézanne ging über die farbigen Teile des impressionistischen Sehens hinaus und ergriff [...] das gründliche Moment der optischen Darstellung [...] Er bezeichnete*

jede Form als abgeleitet von [...] der Kugel, dem Zylinder, dem Kubus; eine Lehre, die Picasso unbeirrbar weitertrieb. Somit waren wir gezwungen, endlich ägyptische Skulptur um ihrer selbst willen zu begreifen. [...] So stehen wir dem Geistigen alter Zeiten lastloser [...] gegenüber. [...] erlaub[en uns], dem Religiösen alter Völker [...] zu nähern, da unser Denken elementar, ja primitiv wurde. Der heutige Mensch ist synthetisch gestimmt, d. h. er glaubt nicht aus dem Zerlegen aller Erkenntnis oder eine Grundlage seines Seins zu erfahren. [...] So erfassen wir endlich, warum dem antiken Menschen Kunst und Religion eine Einheit waren; wir sehen hier nicht mehr einen Mangel an Differenzierung, sondern ein Zeichen seiner ungebrochenen vollkommenen Ganzheit; Einstein, 'Antike und Moderne', p. 142-144.

¹⁴⁶ Es erstaunt mich wie im heutigen Frankreich das Theoretische des Sehens überwiegt; nicht als ob man je mit diesen intellektuellen Äußerungen des Temperaments geklagt hätte; Einstein, 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', *Neue Blätter*, vol. 1 (1912), no. 3, p. 19-22, and CEW 1, p.134-139, here p. 134.

¹⁴⁷ Denis' theoretical texts were collected in Maurice Denis, *Théories 1890-1910: du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers une nouvelle ordre classique*, Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Occident 1912, already in it 3rd edition in 1913. See also 'De Gauguin et de van Gogh au classicisme', in *L'Occident*, May 1909, reprinted as 'From Gauguin and van Gogh to Neo-Classicism', in Charles Harrison & Paul Wood (eds), *Art in Theory 1900-1990. An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 47-53; see also Theodore Reff, 'The Reaction against Fauvism: The Case of Braque', in Rubin & Zelevansky, *Picasso and Braque*, pp. 17-43.

¹⁴⁸ Dies Übergewicht der Theorie setzt mit dem großen Seurat ein. Falsch wäre es, eine Theorie der Malerei als wissenschaftliches Abstrakt sich vorzustellen, im Gegenteil, sie ist Ausdruck einer optischen Empfindung. Seurats Lehre war in der Hauptsache eine technische; zugleich begann hier das Suchen nach einer objektiven Malerei, gegenüber der individuellen Handschrift der Impressionisten. Jedoch die Lehre Picassos oder Matisses bezeichnen ein vollständiges fehlen der technischen Bestimmungen. Diese sehen von einem anderen Moment aus, der inneren Empfindung, soweit sie als optische Darstellung sich äußern kann; Einstein, 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', p. 134.

¹⁴⁹ p. 134: Die technischen Vorraussetzungen sind für sie im Oeuvre Cézannes geleistet, [...]. Zugleich forderte er eine Logik und Gesetze des Sehens. Man erstrebt etwas wie eine objektive, durchaus verbindliche Malerei und geht hierbei im großen Ganzen von zwei Grundbegriffen aus: dem Bildnis und der inneren Empfindung. Die Welt und ihre Dinge faßt man als Symptome eines innderen Vorgangs, der seine Berechtigung vollkommen in sich trägt. Das Bildnis wird als ein Ganzes bezeichnet, dessen Totalität durch das Equilibre der farbigen Übersetzung erreicht wird.

¹⁵⁰ p. 135: So wohl Matisse. Diese Totalität und das Equilibre sind seelische Momente. [...] Träger einer klassischen und akademischen Tradition, [...] [mit der] der späte, anscheinend radikale Matisse Ingres, Poussin und den Griechen nahesteht. [...] Matisse hat die Lehre vom valeur bereichert [...] Die Sätze von Cézanne: "wie weit man malt, zeichnet man", [...] werden ganz zum divinatorischen Empfindungsvorgang. Jedem Bewegungsrhythmus einer Figur entspricht eine einfache Farbe, und die Gesamtheit des rhythmischen und farbigen Duktus ergibt das Gleichgewicht der Komposition [...] Das Licht, welches früher eine so große Rolle spielte, das [...] soviel Bewegung hervorbrachte, ist nur eine Folge der Modifikation der ganzen Malfläche.

¹⁵¹ p. 135: Dieses bewußte Überwiegen der inneren Bedingungen schließt zweifellos eine Gefahr ein. Die innere Empfindungswelt ist gewiß nicht regel- oder grenzenlos, aber es [...] ergibt [sich] eine Grenzenlosigkeit [...], wenn man Theorien optisch und somit im einzelnen Gegenstand zu verwirklichen sucht. Die Theorie verarmt, [...], und sie wird immer mehr zum Gegenstand der Darstellung. Jedoch die Folge einer noch so subtilen Theorie ist das Plakat oder ein Puristenstil. Die Wirkung des Matisse beruht ebenso stark in den Verführungen des Theoretischen als in der zweifellosen Qualität seiner Malerei, zumal lockt jene den Deutschen, der sich aus der langweiligen Gedankenlosigkeit retten will, mit der der Impressionismus bei uns abgenutzt wird.

¹⁵² See above chapter 1. Matisse's 'Notes d'un peintre', *La Grande Revue*, 25.12.1908, pp. 731-45, was published as 'Notizen eines Malers' in *Kunst und Künstler* VII/8 (1909), pp. 335-347; for Marc's and Burliuk's essays and mention of Matisse in the *Blaue Reiter*, see Lankheit, *Der Blaue Reiter*, pp. 28-32, 41-50, 48, 80, 149, 178. A somewhat different appraisal to Einstein's is that of Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart* (1914), Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt (3rd ed.) 1923, pp. 317, and 319ff.

¹⁵³ Matisse modifiziert die Farben nach dem inneren Empfindungswert der Erscheinung [...]; Einstein, 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', p. 135.

¹⁵⁴ p. 135f.: Picasso. Matisse betonte die dekorativen und sensuellen Eigenschaften des Cézanne; wir beobachten hier, daß die Folgen des Primitiven eine noch größere Primitivität war. [...]. Picasso wählte aus den Lehren von Cézanne die vom Modelé, der er wesentlich Neues hinzufügte. Er betrachtet jedes Ding auf seinen plastischen Anregungswert. Cézanne nannte die Plane als Voraussetzung der plastischen Gliederung. Picasso suchte eine Formel, die jeden Teil des Bildes plastisch und tektonisch zu gestalten erlaubt. Cézanne erkannte bereits, daß allen Körpern gewisse stereometrische Grundformen innewohnen, gleichsam als Elemente alles Plastischen [...] Kegel, Zylinder und Würfel. Damit ist zweifellos ein Punkt gegeben, von wo aus eine Reaktion gegen jede Flächenmalerei und Dekoratives einsetzen konnte. Der Beginn eines durchaus modellierenden Sehens ist gegeben. Der Komplizierung des Plastischen steht die ungeheure Vereinfachung der Grundformen gegenüber, einer feinfühligsten Nüanzierung der Valeurs setzt man die Einheit der Farbe entgegen. Picasso malt seine Bilder in Braun, Dunkelgelb und Grau, das Ganze wird von einem tektonischen Umrißgehalten. Wir sind gewöhnt, Dinge plastisch vereinfacht zu sehen, gewissermaßen in der Erinnerung eine platte Photographie herzustellen. Picasso sucht die plastisch entscheidenden Punkte auf, die er nicht als farbige Momente interpretiert, vielmehr als stereometrische räumliche Gebilde. All diese ordnet er gegenseitig unter und bringt sie in ein System, das uns zeigt, wieviel plastischer Ausdruck in einer Erscheinung liegt. Die einzelnen Gebilde trennt er durch einfache Linien. Etwas von spanischer Architektur fühlt man vor diesen Bildern, eine komplizierte Gotik. Das Bild ist als Architektur erfaßt. Picasso addiert zunehmend den plastischen Reichtum seiner Bilder; und man mag vielleicht sagen, daß die Logik des Matisse seine Bilder immer mehr purifiziere, und am Reichtum des Körperlichen abziehe, so ist es vielleicht kein Scherz, zu meinen, Picasso addiere jetzt immer mehr plastische Points. Picasso hat schon manche Periode durchgemacht; es scheint mir, daß er dem Ende einer solchen sich nähert. Zweifellos besitzt er die Kraft, Neues zu unternehmen, vor allem, er hält sich durchaus vom Dekorativen entfernt, das jetzt epidemisch wütet.

¹⁵⁵ [E]r [today's artist] bleibt im Konstruktiven und erarbeitet selber die tektonische Vorraussetzung: die Bildfläche. Der Renaissancekünstler ergänzt gebaute Tektonik durch ein reich individualisierendes Bild, durch immer bewegtere Modellierung. Der Kubist schafft die konstruktiven Vorraussetzungen selbst im Bilde, [...], er nimmt die Bewegung, in der man Architektur genießt, in das Bild hinein, und statt der Illusion, der Erschaffung nachgeahmter, mit der Natur rivalisierender Dinge, tritt eine Kraft auf, geeignet, Völligkeit des Formalen zu verbürgen, indem anstelle beschreibender Fülle konstruktiver und dynamischer Reichtum tritt; [H]e [today's artist] remains within the constructive and it is he who imposes the tectonic precondition: the picture plane. The Renaissance artist supplants a built tectonic with a richly individualized picture through an increasingly emotive modelling. The Cubist imposes the constructive preconditions on the picture, [...], he takes the movement with which one savours architecture into the picture, and instead of the illusion of creating mimetic things that rival nature, a force occurs, able to guarantee the completeness of the formal, whereby descriptive ampleness is replaced by constructive and dynamic wealth; Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1926), p. 65f. The concept of the tectonic would undergo further mutations in *Negerplastik* and Einstein's contributions to *Documents*, see Part III chapter 13 and 15.

¹⁵⁶ Worringer, *Formprobleme der Gotik*, Munich 1911, and Alois Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, (Vienna 1927), trans. Rolf Winkes, under the title of *Late Roman Art Industry*, Rome 1985. Worringer's *Formprobleme* took an anti-classical stance by countering art-historical conventions that relied on the 'mere erudition and fixation of historical facts' in the orbit of Gothic art instead of fathoming its 'essence'. This essence he saw present in the 'mighty cathedrals' and the 'tiniest tassel of a Gothic gown', pp. 2-5. On the German reception of the Gothic see also Magdalena Bushart, *Der Geist der Gotik und die expressionistische Kunst*, Munich 1990. Worringer's essay in which he talks of the French artists as the 'Expressionists' was published in *Die Antwort auf den Protest deutscher Künstler*, Munich: Piper 1911, and reprinted as 'Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Malerei', in *Der Sturm*, 2Jg. (August 1911), p. 597-598. For the *Blaue Reiter*'s admiration of the author, see for example Marc's letter to Kandinsky in Lankheit, *Kandinsky – Marc*, p. 136; On Riegl's *Kunstwollen*, see Jas Elsner, 'From Empirical Evidence to the Big Picture: Some Reflections on Riegl's Concept of *Kunstwollen*', *Critical Inquiry* 32 (Summer 2006), pp. 741-766.

¹⁵⁷ A different reading of this passage of Einstein's text can be found in Kiefer, who regards this as a description of Matisse rather than Picasso, while my argument is based on the fact that the new paragraph introduces Picasso's 'primitivism' in opposition to that of Matisse, see Kiefer, *Diskurswandel* p. 150-151.

¹⁵⁸ So steht Matisse in der Reihe der Postimpressionisten; der Gesinnung nach ist er wohl vor Cézanne zu setzen, der Probleme, die die Jüngeren beeinflussten, bereits befragte. [...] Matisse ist der charmante Techniker der eleganten bequemen Lösung; [...] Seine Primitive war ein Ausweichen, eine Ausrede; [...] geistvoll schneidet Matisse Arabesken; ein reizvolles Spiel von Farbe und banalen Kurven, das geschmackvoll arrangiert ist. [...] Der Virtuose der dekorativen Primitive ist bürgerlich und elegant geworden; [...] ein Reagieren gegen eigenen Gebildetheit; Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, here CEW 5, p. 66, 67 and 69; for Uhde's evaluation, see his, *Von Bismarck bis Picasso: Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse*, Zurich: Verlag Oprecht, 1938, p. 144.

¹⁵⁹ Hans Prinzhorn, *Bildnerei der Geisteskranken: Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie und Psychopathologie der Gestaltung*, Berlin 1923; also John M. McGregor, *The Discovery of the Art of the Insane*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University

Press, pp. 185-205; Wilhelm Fraenger, 'Vom Wesen der Volkskunst' in (ed.), *Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde*, vol. 2, Berlin 1926; Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive*, pp. 281-288.

¹⁶⁰ *Henri Rousseau, der als Vater dieser Realistik zu bezeichnen ist, hat mit einer einfachen und überzeugenden Geste den Weg gezeigt. [...] Die Mehrzahl der hier reproduzierten Bilder Rousseaus sind aus dem sympathischen, warmen Buchs Uhdes (...) entnommen; Kandinsky, 'Über die Formfrage', in Lankheit, Der Blaue Reiter, p. 172. The first exhibition of Der Sturm, entitled: Der Blaue Reiter/Franz Flaum/Oskar Kokoschka/Expressionisten, was held in March 1912; however the largest collection of Rousseau's works (22 in all) to be seen in Germany at this time, and that of the Delaunays, was the Sturm gallery's Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon during September/October 1913; cf. Mario-Andreas Lüttichau, 'Erster Deutsche Herbstsalon, Berlin 1913', in (cat.) Stationen der Moderne. Die bedeutenden Kunstaustellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland, Berlinische Galerie 1989, pp. 130-155; also Neumeister, Der Sturm 1910-1920, pp. 88-104.*

¹⁶¹ Leonard, p. 17, and n. 18.

¹⁶² On this tradition inherent to certain sections of late nineteenth-century German scholarship - among them the Austrian art historian Josef Strzygowski, who would contribute a programmatic essay to *Documents* in 1929 that would characterize the journal's antagonistic stance - see Marchand, 'The rhetoric of artifacts and the decline of Classical Humanism: The case of Josef Strzygowski', in *History and Theory*, 33/4 1994, pp. 106-130; and her 'German Orientalism and the Decline of the West'; also Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason*.

¹⁶³ Gelett Burgess, 'The Wild Men of Paris', *The Architectural Record*, 27, no. 5 (May 1910) pp. 401-414.

¹⁶⁴ *Douanier Rousseaus Erfolg ist symptomatisch. Zweifellos besitzt seine Malerei gewisse Qualitäten, die ebenso fatal an Böcklin, wie nicht unsympathisch an frühe Niederländer erinnern. Er kennzeichnet den französischen Primitivenrummel. Denken wir uns einen ganz simplen Mann mit einer gewissen Einfalt und dem Trieb zu eindrucksvollen, ja raffinierten farbigen Sensationen. [...] Es gibt eine rührende Primitivität vom Kleinleuteluxus, nur trifft man selten das Wunder eines kräftigen und vertrauenden Gemüts. Rousseaus Primitivität mahnt an monumentalen Öldruck und einen poetischen Naturalisten. Man meint, er kämpft gegen sein reines Herz zu Bouguereu. Zweifellos, hätten wir Giotto und die frühen Niederländer, die er alle nicht kannte, nicht, er wäre von gewisser Bedeutung. Ein gläubiges, ganz unbewußtes Gemüt mit dem Willen zum Raffinement. Jedenfalls ist man bei ihm vor dem Theoretischen gerettet; Einstein, 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', p. 136f.*

¹⁶⁵ Maurice Denis, 'De Gauguin, de Whistler et de l'excès des théories', in *L'Ermitage*, November 15, 1905, p.208f., here Reff, 'The Reaction against Fauvism: The Case of Braque', p. 32 and 42.

¹⁶⁶ *Van Dongen, z. B. entpuppt sich immer mehr als begabter Erlerschüler. [...] Vor allen Dingen gibt man sich primitiv. Mitunter will man glauben, daß der Hellene Matisse und seine so ruhige Lehre vom Equilibre nihilistisch und auflösend sind, zum wenigsten ihre Folgen. Die Malerei wird zunehmend ideologischer und das Primitive erzwang sich das Plakat; Einstein, 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', p. 137.*

¹⁶⁷ Nicht weit entfernt von dieser [...] idealischen Malerei, sind die italienischen Futuristen. Eines trennt sie von den Franzosen, ein Mangel an überlieferter Technik. Auch hier überwiegt das Vorstellungsmäßige, allerdings viel literarischer geartet. Man gibt die Dynamik der *États d'âmes* [...] [die] mit Kraftlinien in das Bild hineingezogen wird. Der Mensch, der auf dem Kanapee sitzt, tritt in das Kanapee ein, das Kanapee nimmt von ihm Besitz; denn alle Dinge sind gleichwertig. Man hat nur die seelische Sensation zu geben, die dynamische Beziehung, nicht das "passeistisch" Objekt. Die Voraussetzung der Malerei ist der eingeborenen Divisionismus. Der Einzige der etwas malen kann, heißt Severini; Ibid., p. 137.

¹⁶⁸ Die futuristische Vitesse ist Vorläufer der faschistischen Energie. Endlich versuchte man die tödliche Last der Historie abzuwälzen und aus einem verschlafenen, beschränkten Ästheizismus sich zu lösen. Bedeutsam war die anticlassische und antiplatonische Einstellung der Futuristen. Diese Bewegung von Künstlern wurde von einer umfassenderen nationalen Ideologie, dem Faschismus absorbiert. [...] Die Futuristen nannten sich Primitive; eine Primitivität jedoch, die durchaus cerebral war. Man kam nicht von einer malerischen Konzeption her, sondern vor allem von populär-philosophischen Sätzen und stieg ins Atelier über die Treppe vulgarisierter Literatur. Diese Primitivität schließt kritisch ablehnendes Weglassen ein; man vereinfachte verstandesgemäß; Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, here CEW 5, p. 177.

¹⁶⁹ Suggestions as to where Einstein may have seen works of the artists discussed include: the Italian Futurists were shown at Bernheim-Jeune during February of 1912, and *Sturm*-gallery in April/May 1912, see Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, p. 553 and 574-576; van Dongen was shown at Bernheim-Jeune in December 1911, Gordon, p. 524; Matisse exhibited at the Folkwang Museum in July 1912, see Gordon, pp. 599-606; besides the Rousseau exhibitions already discussed above, both he and Picasso were shown at the *Berliner Secession* during the Spring of 1912, Gordon, pp. 566-568; we may also assume that Einstein attended the 1912 *Sonderbund* in Cologne, where Matisse was represented by five works and Picasso by eleven, see Gordon, pp. 587-596; also Aust, pp. 21-34, and Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, 'Chronologie und Dokumente', in *Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler. Kunsthändler Verleger Schriftsteller*, Stuttgart: Hatje 1986, p. 113.

NOTES: PART II

¹ *Ich hatte mich über das Klima und die künstlerische Formation aus den mir zugänglichen Quellen informiert: aus einschlägigen Zeitschriften wie Herwarth Waldens "Sturm" und Franz Pfemferts "Aktion" und [...] aus mündlichen Berichten solcher Montparnasseveteranen wie Theodor Däubler [und] Carl Einstein [...]. Von Carl Einstein (dem "Bebuquin"-Einstein) hatte ich zwei weitere Empfehlungen an zwei Maler, die ich schon deshalb verehrt hatte, weil sie Kubisten und Erbfeinde waren: eine an Fernand Léger [...] dieser humane Normannenhüne, [und] Robert Delaunay; Walter Mehring, Verrufene Malerei. Berlin Dada. Erinnerungen eines Zeitgenossen und 14 Essais zur Kunst, Düsseldorf: Claassen (1959) 1983, p. 28-29; Mehring's memoirs contain a chapter consisting of his recollections of the Berlin Dada movement. It begins with a day-dream during which he imagines catching the smell of Einstein's pipe tobacco, see 'Berlin Dada oder die Drei Tabakspfeifen Carl Einsteins', pp. 141-151.*

² *Da wurden die Skizzenbücher gezückt und die Zukunft der deutschen Malerei vorbereitet. [...] Einstein behauptet, daß selbst Paris erträglich wurde, wenn man sich von Finella, einer [...] Zigeunerin, dem Lieblingsmodell Rodins, Karten legen ließ. Dann fahren Wätjen (Monsieur Otto) und Einstein (le gros Charles) mit ihren Pistons und Freundinnen auf die fortifs, wo sie in der Sonne Klimmzüge machten, die von den Freundinnen begutachtet wurden. [...] Auf den fortifs erbaute man sich an den Motiven des Douaniers Rousseau, der die Malerei der pensionierten Beamten, Portiers und Offiziere zu Ehren brachte; Rudolf Grossmann, 'Dômechronik', in *Kunst und Künstler*, XX 1922, pp. 29-32; on Grossmann's portraits, see Dirk Heisserer, 'Komet über Bürgerköpfen. Anmerkungen zu den Einstein-Porträts von Rudolf Grossmann', in *CEKo*, pp. 81-87.*

³ *Léger hat den Kubismus bestätigt [...] Diese Malerei steht im Zeichen eines positivistischen Optimismus [...] Sehen und Bewußtsein gelten als präzise Instrumente des Wahrnehmens; Einstein, 'Picasso, Braque, Léger. Ausstellung Galerie Paul Rosenberg, Paris', *Die Kunstauktion*, vol. IV, no. 22, 1 June 1930, pp. 3-6, *CEW* 3, pp. 145-149, here p. 148. See also Einstein, 'Skating Rink', *Der Querschnitt*, vol. 2, 1922, no. 1, p. 57f. *CEW* 2, p. 206f; *Skating Rink* (1922) was the first of Léger's two commissions to design sets and costumes for the *Ballets Suédois*, the company founded by Swedish art collector Rolf de Maré, which was modelled on Serge Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes*. His costume designs for *La Création du monde* (1923) were inspired by the African sculptures reproduced in *Negerplastik*; see also Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, 'Von der Geometrie des Lebens zur Kultur der Massen. Carl Einstein und Fernand Léger', *Études Germaniques*, vol. 53 1998, pp. 159-170.*

⁴ *Delaunay [...] besitzt mehr oder weniger die Malerbegabung, worüber jeder wohl verfügt [...] so mißriet er zum Journalisten der platteren Ideologien [...]; Einstein, 'Brief an Ludwig Rubiner', *Die Aktion*, vol. 4 1914, no. 18, col. 381-383, *CEW* 1, p. 225; Léger hat die Literatur vermieden, die den Delaunay, Chagall und Futuristen zu umgehen mißlang, deren Formen literarischer Deutung bedürfen; cf. Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, vol. XVI, (2nd ed.) 1928, p. 96.*

⁵ *Sie wohnten beide in einem kleinen Hotel unweit von St. Sulpice und bezeichneten sich als "Klub der Neophytogoräer; Cahen, p. 17; also Baacke, p. 10.*

⁶ *André Salmon's, La Jeune Peinture française (Paris: Société des Trente, 1912), was announced in Gil Blas on 14 October 1912; cf. Edward Fry, Cubism, London:*

Thames & Hudson, p. 195, text 18, n. 1, with extracts from the book, pp. 97-101; Albert Gleizes & Jean Metzinger, *du "Cubisme"*, Paris: Eugène Figuière 1912.; cf. Judith Cousins (with Pierre Daix), 'Documentary Chronology' in Rubin, (cat.) *Picasso and Braque. Pioneering Cubism*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art 1989, p. 408 and 410. The exhibition of the 'Section d'Or' at the *Galerie La Boétie* ran from 10 to 30 October 1912, the *Salon d'Automne*, from 1 October to 8 November 1912, listed in Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II pp. 630f. and 619-624.

⁷ Maurice Raynal, 'Conception et vision', *Gil Blas*, Paris 29 August 1912, cited from Fry, *Cubism*, p. 95.

⁸ p. 96.

⁹ p. 96. The importance of Bergson's and Poincaré's concepts for Cubist artists and their promoters, is reflected in a number of essays published at the time - some of which Einstein must have been aware of - including: Jean Metzinger, 'Notes sur la peinture' in *Pan*, (October-November 1910), pp. 649-52; André Salmon, 'Courriers des ateliers' in *Paris-Journal* (10 May 1910); Idem, 'Bergson et les cubistes' in *Paris-Journal* (29 November 1911), Paris; Idem, 'La Section d'Or', *Gil Blas* (22 June 1912), Paris; and Alexandre Mercereau, 'Pour Bergson' in *Paris-Journal* (3 September 1912), Paris; see also Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: cultural politics and the Parisian avant-garde*, New Jersey: Princeton, 1993, especially chapter 2. A brief but useful account of philosophical concepts, Bergson, Poincaré, Princet and William James and their influence on the Cubist artists and writers, can be found in Mark Antliff & Patricia Leighton, *Cubism and Culture*, Thames & Hudson, London 2001, pp. 64-110.

¹⁰ Golding, p.11.

¹¹ On Einstein and Kant, see Heidemarie Oehm, *Die Kunsttheorie Carl Einsteins*, Munich: Fink 1976; also Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 107-109; on Kant, Picasso and Cubism, see Edward F. Fry, 'Picasso, Cubism and Reflexivity', in *Art Journal*, 47:4 (1988 Winter), pp. 296-310; for an authoritative discussion of Kahnweiler (and by extension Einstein) and the German Neo-Kantian school, see Yve-Alain Bois, 'Kahnweiler's Lesson', *Representation* 18 (Spring 1987), pp. 33-68, reprinted in his, *Painting as Model*, Cambridge, Mass. & London: MIT Press, 1990, pp. 65-97. Probably the most thorough analysis of Einstein's philosophy of art is the recent study by Zeidler, *Defense of the real*.

¹² See, for example, Ludwig Rubiner, 'Crommelynck', *Der Sturm* I/1910, no. 2, p. 11; Idem, 'Sollogub (Zu Fjodor S./Der kleine Dämon/Deutsch von Reinholt Walther) Dichter der Unwirklichkeit/Anmerkungen zu Büchern von Max Brod', *Der Sturm* I/1910, no. 14, p. 107; 'Der Dichter greift in die Politik', *Die Aktion*, II/1912, no. 21, col. 1645-1652, and no. 23, col. 709-715; 'Mein Haus', *Die Aktion*, III/1913, no. 12, col. 350f.; 'Aufruf an Literaten', *Die Aktion*, III/1913, no. 51, col. 1175-1180; 'Maler bauen Barrikaden', *Die Aktion*, VI/1914, no. 17, col. 353-365.

¹³ Letter from Rubiner to Walden, dated 9 August 1913, "Sturm"-Archiv, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Handschriftenabteilung); for a transcript of the German original, see Appendix I/1.

¹⁴ Alfred Reth (1884-1966) moved to Paris in 1905. Influenced by Cubism, his work at the 1913 *Sturm*-exhibition was shown in conjunction with Paul Klee and Julie Baum. In the same year he exhibited with Metzinger at the gallery Berthe Weill, and published 'Meine Ausstellung im "Sturm"', *Der Sturm*, III/1913, no.

152/153, p. 290; cf. Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 676f.; also Brühl, p. 266.

¹⁵ Maurice Raynal, 'L'Exposition de *La Section d'Or*', first published in *La Section d'Or*, Paris, October 1912, pp. 2-5, cited from Fry, *Cubism* pp. 97-100; also Apollinaire, 'Les Commencements du cubisme', *Le Temps*, Paris, 14 October 1912, trans. in Fry, *Cubism*, pp. 102-104; also pp. 114-119; Golding, *Cubism*, pp. 12-16; and Antliff & Leighton, p. 83, 114 & 126.

¹⁶ Both Warnod and Basler will be discussed below.

¹⁷ *Lieber August, mit meinen rührigen Bemühungen habe ich es wenigstens erreicht, dass ich überhaupt gar keine Einladung zur "Sommerausstellung" bekam. Es war letzthin allerdings hier in München, um für die Ausstellung zu werben, hat sich aber in der Kühle unseres Empfangs etwas erkältet*; letter Marc to Macke, dated 12.III.1913 in Wolfgang Macke, op. cit., p.152f.

¹⁸ *Meier-Gräfe hielt letzthin in München einen Vortrag, in dem er uns alle als Geschäftemacher bezeichnete [...] Und Cassirer denkt im Grunde genauso. Mit diesem Kreis will ich nichts zu tun haben [...] Wer sich für [...] uns alle interessiert, geht sehr wol in den "Sturm" und kauft auch dort*; in Ibid. Cf. Julius Meier-Gräfe, 'Wohin treiben wir? Eine Rede über die Kunst der Gegenwart', *Die neue Rundschau*, XXV/1913, pp. 479-501; and, *Wohin treiben wir? Zwei Reden über Kunst und Kultur*, Berlin: S. Fischer 1913.

¹⁹ *Ich führe heute den Einstein zu den Bilderbesitzern und schaue drauf, daß ich die Situation, die wieder einmal so günstig wie vor drei Jahren, für mich rette. Ich müßte einen Tropfen Geschäftssinn haben, dann könnte ich ein reicher Mann sein*; letter Oskar Kokoschka to Alma Mahler, n.d. (second half of February 1913, I Oskar Kokoschka, *Briefe I, 1905-1919*, 2 vols, Düsseldorf: Claasen Verlag 1984, p. 81; also Baacke, *Carl Einstein Materialien*, p. 11.

²⁰ *Heute war der Einstein bei mir und hat mir sehr schöne Anträge gemacht: 1. Mappe groß, farbig, 15 Blätter à 500 Mark. Cassirer. 2. Wenn ich schreiben will, übernimmt es auch er, überhaupt meine ganze Graphik. 3. Ausstellung [...] in der Secession, April, [...] Reise bezahlt von Cassirer, um zu hängen. 5. Aufsatz über mich, in "Kunst und Künstler" und Behandlung in besonderem Abschnitt in einem Buch, wo außerdem Munch, Maillol, Picasso, Lehmbruck noch vorkommen sollen. Alle diese Leute sollen jetzt von ihm allein in die Hand genommen werden, und der Einstein, der die Sache macht als Bevollmächtigter C.[assirer] (Kontrakt gesehen), will hauptsächlich mich durchdrücken*; p. 86f. At around the same time, Einstein published essays on both Lehmbruck and Maillol, both of which do not feature in his collected works, see Einstein, 'Die Radierungen Wilhelm Lehmbrucks', *Zeit im Bild, Moderne Illustrierte Wochenschrift*, 11/1913, S. 1957-1962; a somewhat changed version of this essay appeared as *Wilhelm Lehmbrucks graphisches Werk*, Berlin: Verlag Paul Cassirer 1913, here CEW 1, pp. 194-197; Einstein, 'Maillol', *Zeit im Bild, Moderne Illustrierte Wochenschrift* 11/1913, S. 2489-2497.

²¹ 'Dr Reber sees America', *Parnasus*, 2 November 1930, p. 23, here cited from Dorothy Kosinski, 'G. F. Reber: collector of Cubism', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol XXXIII, 1991, pp. 519-531.

²² The latter two of these works were reproduced in Emil Waldmann, 'Die Sammlung Reber', *Kunst und Künstler*, XI, 1913, pp. 441-451, here p. 445 and 446; for a fuller listing of works shown, see Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 649f.

²³ Kosinski, p. 521; and Monika Flacke-Knoch & Stephan von Wiese, 'Der Lebensfilm von Alfred Flechtheim', in (cat.) *Alfred Flechtheim. Sammler Kunsthändler Verleger*, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, 20 September – 1 November 1987, pp. 153-213, here 157; cf. Peter Kropmann & Uwe Fleckner, 'Von kontinentaler Bedeutung. Gottlieb Reber und seine Sammlungen', in Andrea Pophanken & Felix Billeter (eds), *Die Moderne und ihre Sammler. Französische Kunst in deutschem Privatbesitz vom Kaiserreich zur Weimarer Republik*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2001, pp. 347-391, here 350f. A different version of the essay also appears in Fleckner, *Carl Einstein*, pp. 309-330.

²⁴ Einstein, 'Die Sammlung Henri Rouart', *Kunst und Künstler*, 11.Jg., H. 4, 1913, pp. 224-226, here CEW 1 pp. 149-156.

²⁵ p. 149f: *Rouart war, wie fast jeder bessere französische Sammler, ein guter Kamerad der Maler [...] seine Passion der Bilderforschung trieb ihn sogar, Maler zu werden [...] um [...] jede Kenntnis von Farbe, Pinselstrich, Patina und Valeur zu erlangen [...] eine Sammelpassion [...] [die er] zur schöpferischen Tätigkeit steigerte [...] nicht von den Hemmnissen einer ideologischen Kunstanschauung beengt [...]; er war ein Outsider und unabhängig vom dernier cri des Kunstmarktes.*

²⁶ p. 150f: *Diese Sammlung hätte in Deutschland in jeder Stadt ausgestellt werden müssen als intensiver Protest gegen Moden, als Mittel die französische Kunst als Einheit aufzufassen, damit man aufhöre, sie jener beliebten Entwicklung gemäß zu verzeichnen oder in merkwürdige Epochen zu zerschneiden.[...] Der Impressionismus wurde als Kampfmittel gebraucht, genau wie man heute Poussin und seine Kompositionen als Einwand gegen den Impressionismus mißbraucht. Unter dem Ruhm der Impressionisten vergaß man die Künstler der dreißiger Jahre, versäumte man Poussin, Chardin und Fragonard.*

²⁷ Cf. Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, Wasmuth-Verlag, Berlin 1921, where seven of the objects reproduced belonged to Einstein's personal collection.

²⁸ Cf. von Luschan (introd.) *Anleitung für ethnographische Beobachtungen und Sammlungen in Afrika und Oceanien*, Berlin 1904; also Walter Rusch, 'Der Beitrag Felix von Luschans für die Ethnographie', *Ethnologische-Archeologische Zeitschrift*, vol. 27, 1986, pp. 439-453, here p. 442; also Hans Grimm, 'Felix von Luschan als Anthropologe. Von der Kraniologie zur Humanbiologie', *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift*, vol. 27, 1986, pp. 415-425.

²⁹ Stefan Eisenhofer, 'Felix von Luschan and early German-Language Benin Studies', *African Arts*, vol 30, part 3, 1997, pp. 62-67, here p. 63. For details on the British incursion into the Royal City of Benin, see Anie Coombes, *Reinventing Africa. Museums, material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press 1994, chapter 1.

³⁰ *Jedenfalls [...] viel wichtiger scheint mir die Erkenntnis, daß wir überhaupt in Benin für das 16. und 17. Jahrhundert eine einheimische große und monumentale Kunst kennengelernt haben, welche wenigstens in einzelnen Stücken an die zeitgenössische europäische Kunst ebenbürtig heranreicht. [...] Unsere Benin-Bronzen stehen nämlich auf der höchsten Höhe der europäischen Guß-Technik. Benvenuto Cellini hätte sie nicht besser gießen können und niemand, weder vor ihm noch nach ihm, bis auf den heutigen Tag. Diese Bronzen stehen technisch einfach auf der höchsten Höhe des überhaupt Erreichbaren [...] Es liegt in der*

Natur der Sache, daß die Praxis dieses Verfahrens nicht so einfach ist, als die Theorie [...] Wie groß und fast unberechenbar die Schwierigkeiten dieser Technik sind, ist [...] durch Cellinis Gespräche mit dem Herzog bekannt geworden; Felix von Luschan, 'Altertümer von Benin', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 30, 1898, pp. 146-155, reprinted in Margrit Prussat & Wolfgang Till (eds.), *"Neger im Louvre". Texte zu Kunstethnologie und moderner Kunst*, Amsterdam, Dresden: Verlag der Kunst 2001, pp. 15-37, here p. 24, 26 and 31. Also Fritz Kiffner, 'Felix von Luschan. Eine biographische Skizze aus persönlichen Erinnerungen und Äußerungen seiner Zeit', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldtuniversität zu Berlin*, vol. X, pt. 2, 1961, pp. 231-239, here 232 and 234.

³¹ See for example, von Luschan, 'Ziele und Wege der Völkerkunde in den deutschen Schutzgebieten', *Verhandlungen des deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902 zu Berlin*, 10 – 11 October, Berlin 1903; 'Bericht über eine Reise in Südafrika', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 38, 1906, pp. 863-895; 'Zur Frage der Eisentechnik in Afrika', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 39, pp. 379-381; cf. Rusch, as above. Also Eckart von Sydow, 'Die Westafrikanische Plastik', in *Handbuch der Afrikanischen Plastik*, vol. 1. Berlin, 1930, p. 178; William Fagg, *The Sculpture of Africa*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1958, p.57.

³² *Es wird Ihnen bekannt sein, dass einige unserer führenden künstler die aufmerksamkeit auf die grossartigen leistungen der "primitiven völker richteten, und diese zweifellos die heutige produktion stark beeinflussen. ich möchte im Merker, der nun auch in Berlin erscheint und sich eingehend mit der bildenden kunst beschäftigt, einige der wundervollen dinge aus dem besitz des Völkerkundemuseums bringen, um das interesse weiterer kreise für den grossen kunstwert der negerplastiken, mexikanischer arbeiten zu erwecken. [...] man kann die modernen sammler anregen in ihre sammlungen auch primitive kunst aufzunehmen wie dies fast jeder pariser amateur tut. ich plane im Merker ein heft primitive kunst und ich wäre glücklich, wenn Sie mir hierzu Ihre gütige und unschätzbare hülfe angedeihen liessen. zweifellos existieren klichés, die man vielleicht benutzen darf usf. eine gütige und baldige antwort verpflichtet mich ungemein. in ausgezeichnete Hochachtung ergebenster Carl Einstein;* (Einstein's idiosyncratic spelling has been kept here, the letter also contains a number of orthographic lapses that have been corrected, e. g. his quotation marks appear only at the beginning of "primitiven"); see letter Einstein to Felix von Luschan, (post-marked) 18.8.1913, in Nachlaß von Luschan, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. It was first discussed by Christoph Braun, 'Afrika und Ägypten bei Carl Einstein' *kritische berichte*, vol. 13, no. 4 (1985), pp. 37-44; it is reprinted in Baacke, *Carl Einstein Materialien*, p. 136-137.

³³ Cf. Kiffner, p. 237, where his interest in artists like Hans Markart (1840-1884), Gabriel Max (1840-1915) and Franz von Lenbach (1836-1904) is mentioned.

³⁴ André Salmon, 'Picasso', first published in *Paris-Journal*, 21 September 1911, trans. in Fry, *Cubism*, p. 68.

³⁵ André Warnod, 'Arts décoratifs et Curiosités artistiques', *Comoedia*, 1911 (27 June), and, 'Arts décoratifs et Curiosités artistiques. L'art nègre', in *Comoedia* 1912 (2 January), Paris, n. p.; the translation of the first essay is mine, the second is Flam, *Primitivism*, p. 59-60, here p. 59.

³⁶ p. 59, and Einstein, *Negerplastik*, pl. no. 16 and 17.

³⁷ Warnod, p. 60.

³⁸ Letter Joseph Brummer to 'Monsieur le Directeur', dated 1 September 1913, and the carbon copy of a reply by Charles H. Read (then Keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography) dated 3 September 1913, declining the offer; Department of Prehistory and Europe, The British Museum.

³⁹ The term was widely used by ethnologists as much as by the wider public, cf. Ernst Grosse, *Die Anfänge der Kunst*, Freiburg 1894; also Karl Woermann, *Die Kunst der vor- und außergeschichtlichen Völker*, vol. 1 of *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker* Leipzig 1900.

⁴⁰ Cf. Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, p. 109.

⁴¹ It is in fact the first of two essays Einstein wrote for the gallery, it was entitled *Erste Ausstellung. Neue Galerie*, Berlin 1913, and reprinted as 'Es ergab sich deutlich' in CEW 1., p. 174-175; the second was the introduction to the 'Sechste Ausstellung 'Neue Sezession' in der Neuen Galerie', Berlin, 12 April – 12 Mai 1914, here CEW 1, pp. 232-234. Both were first published by Ron Manheim, 'Carl Einstein zwischen Berliner-Sezession und Sturm Galerie. Zu den beiden unpublizierten Texten von Einstein', *kritische berichte*, Heft 4, 1985, p.10-19.

⁴² Einstein's 'Sezession' review (see above Part I, Chapter 3) does not mention Feldmann nor does Gordon *Modern Art Exhibitions*, pp. 507-510; for further information on Feldmann, see Dieter Stemmler & Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg (eds), (cat.) *Die Rheinischen Expressionisten. August Macke und seine Malerfreunde*, Städtisches Kunstmuseum Bonn, 30. Mai – 29. Juli 1979, Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers pp.168-172.

⁴³ Cf. Otto Feldmann, 'Ausstellung von Kunstwerken des 19. Jahrhunderts aus Bonner Privatbesitz', *Kunstchronik, Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, vol. XXII, no. 15, 3 February 1911, col. 225 ff., reprinted in Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 171-172.

⁴⁴ *Alfred Flechtheim war genauso originell, wie er aussah. Seine herausfordernde Erscheinung deckte sich mit seinem zu Aggressivität neigenden Wesen. Er war impulsiv und explosiv, frech und ehrgeizig, schlagfertig und witzig, immer zuverlässig und hilfsbereit, ein wahrer "frère et copain"*; cited from Ottomar Starke, *Was meine Leben anlangt*, Berlin 1956, here Wilmont Haacke, 'Alfred Flechtheim und "Der Querschnitt"', in (cat.) *Alfred Flechtheim*, pp. 13-19, p. 15. Starke (b. 1886), a graphic artist, was instrumental in conceiving the name for the journal *Der Querschnitt*, published by Flechtheim and run by his editor-in-chief, Hermann von Wedderkop, for which Einstein was a collaborator during the 1920s.

⁴⁵ Cf. Christian Derouet, 'Quand le cubisme était un "bien allemand"...', in (cat.) *Paris-Berlin 1900-1933, Rapports et Contrastes France-Allemagne*, Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou & Munich 1979, pp. 42-49; Monika Flacke-Knoch, 'Carl Einstein und Alfred Flechtheim. Vermutungen zu einer Wirkungsgeschichte', *Jahrbuch des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums*, 48, 1989, pp. 473-84; Peter Springer, 'Alfred Flechtheim: Ein Kunsthändler neuen Typs', in Henrike Junge, (ed.), *Avantgarde und Publikum. Zur Rezeption avant-gardistischer Kunst in Deutschland 1905-1933*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 1992, pp. 79-91; Magdalena Meoller, 'Alfred Flechtheim und die Vermittlung französischer Kunst', in (cat.) *Alfred Flechtheim*, pp. 37-42.

⁴⁶ See Monika Flacke-Knoch & Stephan von Wiese, 'Der Lebensfilm von Alfred Flechtheim', in (cat.) *Alfred Flechtheim*, pp. 153-213; here p. 154.

⁴⁷ Magdalena Moeller, *Der Sonderbund. Seine Voraussetzungen und Anfänge in Düsseldorf*, Cologne 1984, p. 61, 126 and 146-147; also Günter Aust, 'Die Ausstellungen des Sonderbundes 1912 in Köln', in (cat.) *Europäische Kunst 1912*, 9 September – 12 December, Cologne 1962, pp. 21-34. The documentation prepared from the archives of the galleries Kahnweiler, Simon, and Louise Leiris indicate that works were dispatched to, for example, the *Berliner Secession* and the *Sonderbund*, which indicates the collaboration between Kahnweiler, Cassirer and Flechtheim and others such as the Thannhauser gallery in Munich, see Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, 'Chronologie und Dokumente', in *Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler. Kunsthändler Verleger Schriftsteller*, Stuttgart: Hatje, 1986, pp. 93-167, here p. 106.

⁴⁸ See below Part III, chapter 15; also Flacke-Knoch & von Wiese, p. 161; also Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 223-228.

⁴⁹ Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 171. On the *Gereonsklub*, which between 23 and 31 January showed the exhibition of the *Blaue Reiter*, see for example Erdmann-Macke, *Erinnerungen an August Macke*; Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 547f.; also Appendix V of this thesis.

⁵⁰ Cf. Monod-Fontaine, p. 113; Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 170. For the Macke exhibition, see also Erdmann-Macke, p. 245. None of these exhibitions are mentioned in Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, so an account as of the titles or a fuller record of participants remains incomplete.

⁵¹ [*Flechtheim hat*] *die gesamte Mitgift seiner Frau auf seiner Hochzeitsreise nach Paris in moderne französische Kunst angelegt. Zum Schrecken seiner Schwiegereltern kam er ohne Pfennig heim. Dafür brachte er einen Haufen unverständlicher kubistischer Bilder mit, die außerdem noch schön und sogar wertvoll sein sollten*; George Grosz, *Ein großes Ja und ein kleines Nein*, Hamburg 1955, p. 189, cited in Flacke-Knoch & von Wiese, p. 154.

⁵² *Ich habe im letzten Jahr in Paris bei Kunsthändlern Bilder junger Franzosen erworben, Werke von Braque, Derain, Girieud, Frisz, Picasso und anderen. Keines dieser Bilder kostete 400 Franken.* Flechtheim in Heymel, *Im Kampf um die Kunst. Die Antwort auf den Portest deutscher Künstler*, Munich: Piper 1911, cited in Flacke-Knoch & von Wiese, p. 154. *Ma conversion à la peinture fut opérée lors de mes voyages à Paris. À ce moment Wilhelm Uhde était installé à Paris dans un somptueux appartement, [...] de toiles de Picasso, de Braque et surtout d'Henri Rousseau. En ce temps-là, Kahnweiler était installé rue Vignon, dans une toute boutique pleine de chefs-d'oeuvre de la jeune génération*; Christian Zervos, 'Entretien avec Alfred Flechtheim', *feuilles volantes* (supplement of *Cahiers d'Art*), no. 10, 1927, reproduced in (cat.) *Alfred Flechtheim*, p. 47f. It has been suggested that Flechtheim's contacts with Uhde were responsible for developing links with dealers and collectors such as Kahnweiler, Paul Guillaume, Durand-Ruel, Pellerin and others, see Moeller 'Alfred Flechtheim', in (cat.) *Alfred Flechtheim*, pp. 37-42, here p. 37.

⁵³ *Alfred Flechtheim [...] vertrat mit jugendlicher Begeisterung die neue Sache*; cf. Uhde, *Von Bismarck bis Picasso*, p. 159; also Moeller, 'Alfred Flechtheim', p. 41; Monod-Fontaine, p. 106; Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, pp. 465-467 and 507-510.

⁵⁴ Monod-Fontaine, p. 113; Flacke-Knoch & von Wiese, p. 157. The reason for the 'Picasso-battle' that led to the break with the *Sonderbund* was Flechtheim's total commitment to Picasso's work and a lack of appreciation for the Rhenish artists.

⁵⁵ Cf. Alfred Flechtheim, 'Tagebuchblätter 1913', in *Neue deutsche Hefte*, vol 19 (1972), no. 3, pp. 44-60; also Flechtheim, 'Zehn Jahre Kunsthändler', in Flacke-Knoch & von Wiese, p. 157. Shortly before the outbreak of war, in June and July 1914, Flechtheim celebrated the artists associated with the *Café du Dôme* with an exhibition, entitled 'Der Dôme', featuring Rudolf Levy, Jules Pascin, Hermann Waller, Otto von Waetjen (who had been a member of the 1912 Sonderbund advisory committee) and others; it was discussed by Apollinaire, 'The "Dôme" and the "Dômiers"', *Les Soirées de Paris*, 2 July 1914, in Breunig, *Apollinaire on Art*, pp. 414-416.

⁵⁶ The description is that of one of the contributors to *Die Aktion*, the Austrian writer and later broadcaster Hans Flesch von Brunningen, here cited from Paul Raabe, *The Era of German Expressionism*, London: Calder & Boyars 1974. p. 129.

⁵⁷ The *Erster Deutsche Herbstsalon* ran from 20 September to 1 December, while the first exhibition at the *Neue Galerie* took place from October to November, see Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, pp. 738-742, and 745-747; not listed is the *Herbstausstellung 1913*, organized by Paul Cassirer in association with the *Berliner Secession* opening on 1 November, or the Flechtheim gallery's inaugural show opening at Christmas 1913.

⁵⁸ This was the *Sturm* gallery's fourth exhibition entitled 'Deutsche Expressionisten (Zurückgestellte Bilder des Sonderbundes Köln)' in June/July 1912, which included works by A. Bloch, H. Campendonk, A. von Jawlensky, F. Marc and G. Münter; Marc's essay 'Über die Idee des Ausstellungswesens' (On the Concept of Exhibition Practices) was published in *Der Sturm*, III/1912, no. 113/114, p. 66 and has been regarded as initiating the event of the *Erster Deutsche Herbstsalon*; for a more detailed account of Walden's *Herbstsalon*, see von Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, 'Erster Deutsche Herbstsalon, Berlin 1913', in (cat.) *Stationen der Moderne. Die bedeutenden Kunstaustellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, Berlinische Galerie 1989, pp. 130-155; also Neumeister, 'Der Sturm' 1910-1925, pp. 98-110.

⁵⁹ Interestingly, a year earlier Kandinsky had provided Walden with the opportunity for a clandestine last-minute manoeuvre that reneged on arrangements with the Munich art dealer Hans Goltz and resulted in the staging of Kandinsky's first major retrospective at *Der Sturm* in October 1912 instead of at the Goltz gallery. The 'Kandinsky Kollektiv-Ausstellung 1902-1912' was *Der Sturm's* seventh exhibition; for details, see Marc letter to Kandinsky, dated 1 October 1912, in Lankheit, *Kandinsky – Marc*, p. 189f., and letter Walden to Kandinsky, dated 2.19.1912, Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner Stiftung, Städtische Galerie am Lenbachhaus, Munich; Neumeister, 'Der Sturm' 1910-192, pp. 80-97; on the *Blaue Reiter* and Rousseau, see also Part I, chapter 4 and 5 above.

⁶⁰ Cf. Wassily Kandinsky, 'Malerei als reine Kunst – Inhalt und Form', *Der Sturm* IV/1913, no. 178/179, p. 98f.; Robert Delaunay, 'Über das Licht' (trans. Paul Klee), *Der Sturm* III/1913 no. 144/145, p. 255f; and Thomas W. Gaehtgens, 'Delaunay in Berlin', in Peter-Klaus Schuster (ed.), (cat.) *Delaunay und Deutschland*, 4 October 1985 – 6 January 1986, Munich & Cologne: DuMont 1985, pp. 264-291.

⁶¹ *Es ist hier all das Monströse und Groteske was sonst vereinzelt auftritt, zu einem scheusslichen und lächerlichen Klumpen zusammengeballt worden*; Fritz Stahl, 'Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon', *Berliner Tageblatt*, Berlin, 20. September 1913.

⁶² Besides those already mentioned above, contributions included Apollinaire, 'Die moderne Malerei', *Der Sturm* III/1913 no. 148/9, p. 272; Marc, 'Notiz (Gegen Cassirer und die Aktionen widerrechtlicher Reproduktion)', *Der Sturm* IV/1913 no. 166/67, p. 55; Marc, 'Kandinsky', *Der Sturm* IV/1913 no. 186/87, p. 130; Walden, 'Erster Deutsche Herbstsalon/Vorrede/Vorwort der Aussteller', *Der Sturm* III/1913 No. 180/1, p. 106; and, 'Nachrichtung (Zum Herbstsalon)/Das Wissen um die Kunst/Kenner/Der Herr Direktor (W. Bode)', *Der Sturm* IV/1913, no. 182/3, p. 114f. Fritz Stahl's comments were included in Walden's counter attack on the press and appeared as 'Die Presse und der Herbstsalon. Eine Gegenüberstellung', *Der Sturm* IV/1913, no. 182/183, p. 115.

⁶³ *Gar manche dieser Wilden sind im Grunde schlimmere Akademiker als all Anton von Werners zusammen*; Meier-Gräfe, 'Über Kunst', in *Wohin treiben wir?*, p. 108. As Director of the Berlin Academy of Arts since 1875 until his death in 1915, and a personal friend of the Emperor, the work Anton von Werner (1843-1915) was representative of the kind of art favoured by the imperial Kulturpolitik. Due to his insistence on including works that glorified German military victories of the 1870/71 war, plans to celebrate his seventieth birthday in 1913 with a retrospective of his work were eventually abandoned for reasons of foreign policy prior to the First World War.

⁶⁴ *[Der] Plan der Herbstausstellung [war] von der Secession noch unter Cassirers Präsidentschaft verkündet worden [...]: "Die Idee war, einen Sammelplatz für alle augenblicklichen künstlerischen Bestrebungen bis zu den allerjüngsten zu schaffen und ringenden Talenten Gelegenheit zur Oeffentlichkeit [sic] in weit gehendem Maße zu geben"*; Curt Glaser, 'Die Berliner Herbstausstellung', *Die Kunst für Alle*, XXIX/1914, no. 8 (15 January), pp. 179-189, here 179. On the formation and Einstein's art-critical assessment of the Neue Sezession, see above chapter 2.

⁶⁵ *Cassirer ist ebenfalls auf der Bildfläche erschienen und macht alle denkbaren Anstrengungen den Blauen Reiter für seinen Herbstsalon zu gewinnen. Franz blieb kühl bis in's Herz hinein, darüber wird's wohl noch manches zwischen Franz und Dir zu korrespondieren geben. Hat sich Cassirer nochmals irgendwie an Dich gewandt?*; letter Maria Marc to Elisabeth and August Macke, dated 21.I.1913, in Wolfgang Macke, p.148.

⁶⁶ *[...], übrigens stammt auch der Plan dieses Herbstsalons aus der Sezession, es ist eine Idee des Kunstnapoleons aus der Viktoriastrasse. Der Zusammenbruch der Sezession hat dem flinken Herwarth Walden die Möglichkeit gegeben, mit seinen Kinderfüßen in die breiten Fusstapfen P. C.s zu treten. Aber er hat sich der Aufgabe nicht gewachsen gezeigt. Die besten Leute der Jungen fehlen. Es ist nur eine gergrösserte "Sturm" Ausstellung geworden, unkritisch, mit einer deutlichen Vorliebe für das Absonderliche und Alberne*; K.[arl] S.[cheffler], 'Der Erste Deutsche Herbstsalon', in *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin, 19 September 1913; it was also discussed at length by Curt Glaser, 'Der Erste Deutsche Herbstsalon', *Die Kunst für Alle*, XXIX/1913-1914, no. 5, pp. 64-130; and again his 'Die Berliner Herbstausstellung', as above. See also Hans Friedeberger, 'Die Berliner Herbstausstellung', *Der Cicerone*, V/22 (19.11.1913), p. 799f; and, 'Ausstellungen. Berlin, Der Erste Deutsche Herbstsalon', *Der Cicerone*, V/16 (1913), p. 688f.

⁶⁷ *In "Kunst und Künstler, schrieb neulich Direktor Pauli so mitleidig über Kandinsky und Picasso. Also so stehen wir. Hier die Hoffnung des Jahrhunderts Beckmann, Rösler, Brockhusen, Cassirer, Lehmbruck, Meier-Graefe, Corinth, Pauli etcr. [sic] – Dort die Idioten Kandinsky, Picasso, Marc, Kokoschka, Nolde, Delaunay, Heckel, Rousseau, Matisse, Walden, Däubler. Hurra, ich werde*

blödsinnig!; letter Macke to Walden, dated 19 February 1913, here Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 67.

⁶⁸ *Eben schreibt mir Flechtheim, daß er seine Zusage der Picassos etc. zurücknahme, [...]. Aber hinter dem Ganzen steckt Cassirer. Können Sie auf keine Weise durch Apollinaire Picassos haben. Es ist ja nicht absolut nötig, aber es wäre gut;* letter by Macke to Herwarth Walden, dated 18. August 1913, here Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 70. On Macke's encounter with Flechtheim, who attended the artist's lecture 'Worte, Töne, Farben' (Words, Sounds, Colours) at the Gereonsklub in Cologne during an exhibition of the Neue Künstlervereinigung, see Erdmann-Macke, op. cit., p. 223f.

⁶⁹ *Lieber Herr Apollinaire. Bitte teilen Sie mir doch umgehend mit, ob Sie mir für den Herbstsalon einige neue Picassos verschaffen können. [...] Kommen Sie bestimmt nach Berlin?;* postcard Walden to Apollinaire, dated Berlin 22 August 1913, here from Philipp Rehage, *Correspondance APOLLINAIRE/WALDEN (Der Sturm) 1913-1914*, Caen: lettres modernes minard, 2007, p. 69. That the antagonism between Walden and Kahnweiler (and obviously his 'friends' like Cassirer and Feldmann) was already manifest before the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* becomes clear from a card written some months earlier, which confirms Kahnweiler's refusal to provide the *Sturm*-editor with works by Picasso and Braque, and Walden's attempts to exploit Apollinaire's friendship with the artists: *Lieber Herr Apollinaire. Delaunay hat Ihnen bereits gesagt, dass mir Kahnweiler plötzlich die Bilder verweigert. Bitte schicken Sie mir also für Budapest vielleicht 2 Bilder von Picasso und was Sie etwa von Braque haben. Am 2. April vormittags wird sich mein Spediteur bei Ihnen melden. Bitte geben Sie mir direkt die Titel der Bilder an und die Nettopreise, falls Sie verkaufen wollen [...];* postcard Walden to Apollinaire, dated 30 March 1913 in Rehage, p. 48; the message relates to the Postimpressionist exhibition in Budapest: Nemzetközi Postimpresszionista Kiállítás, April-May 1913. Kahnweiler, in later years, described Walden's 'complete lack of aesthetic sensibility [that] caused him to make the most extraordinary blunders', and – like Flechtheim and Einstein – he had a low opinion of most of the German Expressionists; cf. Kahnweiler, *Juan Gris*, p. 205, note 22.

⁷⁰ *Die jüngere Künstlerschaft Berlins befindet sich seit der Spaltung der Sezession in einem Zustand der Anarchie. Ihr König grollt, und auch sein Großvezier schützt Amtsmüdigkeit vor. [...] Die "Ausgetretenen" sind rühriger gewesen. Sie haben den Plan der Herbstausstellung, [...] nun verwirklicht. [...] Der Plan der Herbstausstellung als solcher war ausgezeichnet [...] im Frühjahr [...] die alte Sezession mit ihrem Nachwuchs. Jetzt die neuen Gruppen mit ihren Führern und ihrem Anhang. Hätte man dieses Programm eingehalten, so wäre die Spaltung der Sezession vermieden worden. [...] Und das Resultat war, daß statt zwei deutlich unterschiedener nun zwei Kompromiß-Ausstellungen entstanden. [...]. So bleibt nicht viel von den "Allerjüngsten", die das [Cassirer] Programm verheißt;* Glaser, 'Die Berliner Herbstausstellung', here p. 179f.

⁷¹ *Pablo Picasso wird zum ersten Male in Berlin ernsthaft gezeigt. Es ist vielleicht gut, daß es nicht früher geschah, als die Unruhe, die sein Auftreten hervorrief, sich noch nicht gelegt hatte. Heute denkt man ruhiger über das Experiment des Kubismus. Mancher, der zuerst ein abgrundtiefes Geheimnis ahnte, sieht jetzt die Harmlosigkeit dieser Bewegung, die nun langsam auch ihr Ende erreichen dürfte. Es ist charakteristisch, daß die Freunde Picasso, die diese Ausstellung veranstalteten, die abstrusen Bilder seiner späteren Zeit durch die Frühwerke zu rechtfertigen suchen, auf die nun wieder das Schwergewicht gelegt ist. Aber das Gegenteil wird hier erreicht. Es ergibt sich, [...] daß zwischen den früheren und*

späteren Arbeiten ein prinzipieller Unterschied eigentlich nicht besteht. Picasso ist immer derselbe müde Eklektizist [...] Diese einförmig sentimental Bilder der Frühzeit Picassos sind der Natur und dem Erlebnis um nichts näher als die durch Negerplastiken angeregten großen Köpfe oder die nach einem theoretischen Rezept gefertigten kubistischen Bilder [...] Wie Tag und Nacht, so stehen sich Munchs Wandgemälde [...] und Picassos müde Arbeiten gegenüber; Glaser, 'Die Berliner Herbstausstellung', p. 184-186.

⁷² p. 188: *Der Berliner Herbstausstellung geben diese Gemälde Munchs das Daseinsrecht.*

⁷³ *Neben Munch [...], dem Stammvater dieser wesentlich germanischen neuen Ausdruckskraft, [...] hat man noch einem Maler die Ehre einer Kollektivvertretung erwiesen, dem Spanier Pablo Picasso. Es ist sehr interessant, diese Gemäldereihe abzuschreiten, die von seinen sehr bürgerlichen Anfängen bis zu der jüngsten, der kubistischen Epoche reicht, und dabei festzustellen, wie er, nacheinander durch die Sphären Cézannes, van Goghs und Toulouse-Lautrecs gehend, von einem sachlichen und manchmal sogar kräftigen Erlebnis der Wirklichkeit zu einer Kunst geführt wurde, die endlich immer ausschließlicher dem Ausdruck diene. [...]. Das wichtigste, was die Ausstellung lehrt, ist dies, daß auch von den letzten ausdrucksuchenden Bildern keine Verbindung zu seinem Kubismus führt und daß hier ein von Hause aus nicht sehr starkes und noch weniger selbständiges Talent unter der Last einer Theorie zu erliegen droht; see Friedeberger, 'Die Berliner Herbstausstellung', p. 799 and 800.*

⁷⁴ *Jetzt übermorgen wird Cassirers Herbstausstellung eröffnet. Das scheint, wie immer, alles durcheinander zu kommen, Beckmann, Baluschek, Oppenheimer, Neue Sezession und Impressionismus. Feldmann ist jetzt hier installiert. Daß er Cassirers Strohmann ist, wissen wir ja. [...] die Cassirer Ausstellung ist sehr schlecht. Nur Munch und Picasso, sonst nix[sic] Gescheites [...] eine Sezessionsausstellung wie früher [...]; from letters Nell Walden to Gabriele Münter, dated 30.10.1913 and 1.11.1913, Gabriele Münter – Johannes Eichner Stiftung, Munich.*

⁷⁵ Cf. Erdmann-Macke, p. 227, 254 and 266f; also Ruth Diehl, & Peter Dering, (eds), *Die Rheinischen Expressionisten 1913. Der Schock der Moderne in Bonn*, Bonn: Verein August Macke Haus e. V. 1993, p. 68f and 107.

⁷⁶ *Die neue Kunst; ich verstand darunter eher einen Kampf eines jungen Künstlers, innerlich durchgeführt; eine langdauernde zähe Bemühung um menschlich Wichtiges. Dies ist ein Irrtum; wie mich die Herbstausstellung lehrt. Die Unruhe innerlicher Vorgänge ist nicht zu verspüren; der Kampf wurde bequemseigerweise nach außen projiziert; statt in fruchtbarer Unzufriedenheit mit sich selbst zu rechten, schlug man auf die – sachlichh genommen – Unbeteiligten los und stürmte die Tür eines Blderhängevereins; Einstein, 'Herbstausstellung am Kurfürstendamm', *Die Aktion*, vol. 3 (1913). no.51, col.1186-1189, CEW 1, pp. 170-173, here p. 170. The essay was part of the *Katalog der Herbstausstellung*, Berlin: Verlag des Ausstellungshauses am Kurfürstendamm 1913, the same venue as previous exhibitions of the *Berliner Sezession*, indicating that the essay was more than likely commissioned by Cassirer.*

⁷⁷ p. 170f.: *Nun sitzen die frühreifen Professorchen in der Glorie [...]; und sie kommen; der wohlwollende Kritiker von annodunnemals die Gelegenheit eines neuen Kämpfchens beschmunzelnd; [...] Im großen Ganzen, [...] nur flau Danebengegangenes. Umschreibungen des Willens anderer. Nicht die Historienanthologie Hofers meinten wir; keine archaische Hochstapeleien, nicht*

die ölige Kompositionsschema Erbslöhs [...], ein unerbittlich Fanatisches, grob und linkisch, aber glühend von Wagnis. [...] Noch eine solche Ausstellung und es regnet Professuren.

⁷⁸ p. 172: Munch zeigt Entwürfe für Wandgemälde [...]. Es ist nicht leicht über Vorläufiges zu urteilen [...], [da] der künstlerische Vorsatz sich im Entwurf mitunter reiner, ja fertiger äußere als im fertig Beschlossenen [...] allein der Größenunterschied von Entwurf und Endgültigem wird einen solche Artunterschied ergeben, daß ein verbindliches Urteil uns verfrüht und unstatthaft dünkt. Die Anlage der Bilder [...] erinnerten [...] uns fast an Marées. Mitunter befürchten wir, daß [...] [sie] etwas leer dastehen [...] die üblichen [...] Themen [...]: badende Menschen, die Liebe und Ähnliches versuchen die schematischen Pole menschlichen Geschickes festzustellen. Ein Entwurf überschreitet die etwas populär-philosophische Haltung: "Der Sonnenaufgang", worin Farben und Linien mit seltener Gewalt verbunden sind. Munch wird etwas spät in Berlin hervorgehoben; ich bezweifle, daß er jetzt noch als Parole ausgegeben werden kann.

⁷⁹ p. 172: Zaghaft, nach dem Vergangenen schauend, wagten sich die Aussteller an einen Pikasso-Saal [sic]. Welch ein Gegensatz zu den anderen Jungen; ein Bemühen, bereit zu allen Folgerungen und zu allen Opfern. Den Berliner Jungen, der, mitten im Ruhm, nach bewunderswerten, schönen Dingen, sich in den zumeist unbegriffenen Kubismus gewagt hätte, soll man mir zeigen. Der soviel gute Dinge einem Besseren, aber weit Schwierigeren, fast Unerreichbaren, geopfert hätte. Köpfeschüttelnd stehen unsere Tapetensynthetiker und Grüppchenbändiger davor.

⁸⁰ p. 172f.: Pikasso [sic], der einzige, der es wagte, in wichtigen Dingen auf einer Kräftigung unseres Sehens zu verharren. Ich möchte nicht immer wieder das Formale dieses Künstlers zerlegen; nur seht den Weg endlich, den er hinter sich schaffte. Dieser auf anscheinend irreführenden Umwegen beständige Willen; niemals läßt er sich vom "Schönen" verführen, niemals von seiner Begabung zur großen Komposition verlocken. Ich möchte nicht in den leeren Streit geraten, ob Pikasso [sic] groß ist oder nicht; [...] Man möge zunächst sich über den ethischen Wert Pikassoscher [sic] Anstrengung ins klare kommen, über die große Disziplin. Es ist beschämend, von solchen Dingen schreiben zu müssen; aber vor der Leichtfertigkeit unserer deutschen Stilisten muß man solch Selbstverständliches bereden. Das unreife Kindertum der meisten springt vor den lachenden Augen auf; ein bitteres Spektakel dem, der sie verteidigen möchte. Die neue Kunst besteht nicht in Komplementäranstreichen, nicht im Negativen, daß man durch Weglassen oder gar mit stapelndem Archaisieren eine Gruppe auf die Beine streiche. Wir erhofften uns anderes, Strengeres, überzeugendere Haltung, ein Organisieren eines verbindlichen, umfassenden Sehens.

⁸¹ The only other defender of Picasso's art in Germany was the art historian and philosopher Max Raphael (1889-1952), a student of Simmel and Wölfflin, who published a volume on the aesthetics of modern painting in 1913, see Max Raphael, *Von Monet zu Picasso – Grundzüge einer Ästhetik und Entwicklung der modernen Malerei* (1913), Munich: Delphin-Verlag 1919; for his analysis of Picasso see pp. 110-117; see also his reminiscence of meeting Picasso in 1911, recounted in Max Raphael, *Aufbruch in die Gegenwart: Begegnungen mit der Kunst und den Künstlern des 20. Jahrhunderts* (ed. Hans-Jürgen Heinrichs), Frankfurt am Main & New York: Edition Qumran im Campus Verlag 1985, pp. 14-20.

⁸² Alois Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (Vienna 1901), here *Late Roman Art Industry* (trans. Rolf Winkes), Rome 1985; for an analysis of this and other writings by Riegl, see Jas Elsner, 'The birth of Late Antiquity: Riegl and Strzygowski in

1901', *Art History*, vol. 25, no. 3 (June 2002), pp. 358-379; 'From Empirical Evidence to the Big Picture: Some Reflections on Riegl's Concept of *Kunstwollen*', *Critical Inquiry* 32 (Summer 2006), pp. 741-766.

⁸³ For Einstein's 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', see Part I, chapter 5 above.

⁸⁴ However there was an announcement stating that the 'Rheinischer Kunstsalon is pleased to announce to its friends that it plans to open a new art salon in Berlin in the autumn'. It gave the names of some of the artists to be exhibited and the gallery's address and tel. no.; cf. the advertisement page in (cat.) *Katalog der 26. Ausstellung der Berliner Sezession 1913*, Verlag des Ausstellungshauses am Kurfürstendamm GmbH, Berlin W. 1913, n. p.

⁸⁵ It includes the following: (cat.) *Erste Ausstellung, Neue Galerie*, October – November 1913 (with Einstein's introduction 'Es ergab sich deutlich', discussed below), cf. Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, pp. 745-747; (cat.) *Neue Sezession, Neue Galerie*, (?) December 1913 in Gordon p. 769f. (which in fact did not take place until April - May 1914 and for which we have the preface by Einstein, 'Ich schätze es, daß diese Ausstellung von jeder Kunstpolitik frei bleibt', in CEW 1, pp. 232-234), and (cat.) *Rheinische Expressionisten, Neue Galerie*, June 1914, in Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 847; and Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 170.

⁸⁶ The following artists (and number of works) cited are: Arp 3, Braque 4, Bruce 4, Courbet 1, Derain 3, de Vlaminck 4, Ensor 4, Gris 1, Huber 2, Kisling 3, Laurençin 4, Levy 2, Matisse 6, Pascin 14, Pechstein 4, Picasso 8, Purrmann 6, Redon 3, Renoir 1, Rousseau 1, Toulouse-Lautrec 1, van Dongen 3, and Van Gogh 2, see Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, pp. 745-747. For the documentation on the Kahnweiler dispatches to the *Neue Galerie* cf. Monod-Fontaine, 'Chronologie und Dokumente', p. 119. In addition the names of Pissarro, Walter Bondys, and Rudolf Grossmann have also been mentioned in Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 170.

⁸⁷ Karl Scheffler, 'Kunstaussstellungen. Berlin', in *Kunst und Künstler. Illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, XII, (1.12.1913), p. 176, and discussed below. The Picasso works were listed in Gordon without dates as nos:

- | | |
|----|----------------------------|
| 81 | Bildnis |
| 82 | Pyrenäendorf |
| 83 | Mädchenkopf |
| 84 | Akt. Zeichnung |
| 85 | Alte Frau. Zeichnung |
| 86 | Harem. Zeichnung |
| 87 | Mann und Frau. Radierung |
| 88 | Mann mit Pfeife. Radierung |

No reproductions were shown; cf. Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, pp. 746.

⁸⁸ Einstein, 'Es ergab sich deutlich', as above, p. 174: *Eine verpflichtene Kunst ist angehalten, die persönlichen Augenerlebnisse zu überschreiten und auf ein verbindlich Elementares zu dringen, stark genug, Menschen und Dinge gemäß dem Gesicht seiner Wahrheit zu verwandeln, zu organisieren; denn das Bild ist das Mittel des Malers, Menschen nach der Wahrheit seiner Anschauung umzubilden. Man entgegnete unserer Kunst mit Einwürfen; wie sie künstlich und konstruiert sei, da wir trachteten, das Kunstwerk gemäß bestimmten Gesetzen zu entwickeln. Kunstwerke gibt nicht der Ästhetiker, dessen posthume Erkenntnis das*

Kunstschaffen nie einkreisen werden; eher zieht er aus dem Gesehenen rückschauende Regeln, die höchst mittelbar und mechanisch entartet sind.

⁸⁹ Walden's position is probably best exemplified in his 1917 essay, significantly called 'Das Verstehen der Kunst': *Wir empfinden Musik, [...] aber können sie nicht verstehen. Sie bewegt uns, [...] aber sie erzählt uns nichts. Nur so ist die Malerei zu verstehen. [...] Kunst ist nicht Aufnahme des Gegebenen [...] Kunst ist Gabe und nicht Wiedergabe*; Herwarth Walden, in *Einblick in Kunst – Expressionismus – Futurismus – Kubismus*, Berlin: Verlag Der Sturm, 1917, p. 18; this echoes Apollinaire's phrase, 'Malen ist keine nachbildende Kunst sondern eine schaffende', in his, 'Die moderne Malerei', *Der Sturm* III/1913 no. 148/9, p. 272.

⁹⁰ [...], [daß] *die Nachahmung der Natur, das Abbilden der Wirklichkeit nicht die Aufgabe der Kunst ist [... und] daß diese Richtung gerade in einer Zeit aufblüht, in der auch in der Ästhetik der Ausdruck als Grundelement der Kunst stärker berücksichtigt wird als je zuvor*; Hans Tietze, 'Der Blaue Reiter' *Kunst für Alle*, XXVII/1911-12, p. 543ff.

⁹¹ *So ist es klar, dass die Formenharmonie nur auf dem Prinzip der zweckmässigen Berührung der menschlichen Seele ruhen muss*; Kandinsky, 'Formen – und Farbensprache (Aus dem Buch Über das Geistige in der Kunst)', in *Der Sturm* III/1912, no.106, p. 11; on the origins of the principle of 'inner necessity' and its centrality to the work and writings of Kandinsky see, for example, the commentary by Lankheit, *Der Blaue Reiter*, p. 305.

⁹² Einstein, 'Es ergab sich deutlich', p. 174: *Diese neue Kunst ist mehr als eine nur modische Reaktion, wofür mancher um den Markt besorgte sie ausgeben möchte; sie errettet uns aus der Verwirrung, indem man Kunst der Technik gleichsetzte. [...] Diese neuen Maler, die man gewissenlose Umstürzler schilt, kümmern sich um die Elemente ihrer Kunst, die beständigen Formen, wodurch die Kunst erst möglich wird.*

⁹³ p. 174: *Picasso frug sich: [...] Wie entziehe ich mich der mechanischen Gewöhnung eines verflachenden Sehens, das in der Bequemlichkeit des Metirers unfruchtbar verdarb? Er fand die Lösung im Kubismus.*

⁹⁴ p. 174: *Man entwöhnte sich des zu raschen Scheltens, wenn man schaute, welche Deutlichkeit und Festigung das Auge im Kubismus gewinnt, und noch mehr, wenn [...] [der Kubist] sich auf [die] Vorfahren, die Gotiker berufen [wollte]. Und das geringste Verdienst des Kubisten ist groß genug, daß man ihn schätze; er bewahrt uns vor der Anödung durch ornamentale Falschstile. Picassos unveränderliches Verdienst ist: er belebte das Gesetz, die Dinge zur stärksten Plastizität zu bringen, sie von einem durch nichts verflachten Raumbewußtsein zu durchdringen. Von hier aus werden geschichtlich gerichtete Naturen eine lebendige Anschauung der höchsten Künste gewinnen: der unerbittlichen Negerplastik, der Ägypterskulptur, der Gotik, des Barocks: der Formeln, die, unberührt von Renaissanceplattitüden, räumliche Aufrichtigkeit besaßen; p. 174f.*

⁹⁵ *Welche Kraft steigt von Picasso über Derain zu Matisse. Derain, der ernste Anreger, der es verstand, bei seiner plastischen Deutlichkeit die farbigen Mittel zu steigern; Matisse, dem Kolorit und Zeichnung in harmonischer Gestalt sich halten und binden. Von anderer Art sind die Deutschen; ihre Augen wurden widerstandsfähiger, sie organisieren kräftiger und geben uns Hoffnung auf eine neue geschichte unserer Kunst; p. 175.*

⁹⁶ On Arp, see Einstein, 'L'enfance néolithique', *Documents*, no. 8, 1930, pp. 35-

43; CEW 3, pp. 170-174. Braque became a friend during the twenties and witness to Einstein's second marriage to Lyda Guévriékian in December 1932; Einstein's last book to be published during his lifetime was *Georges Braque* (with an unauthorized trans. by M. E. Zirputh), Paris (Editions des Chroniques du Jour) 1934, CEW 3, pp. 251-516 (where the original German 1931-1932 manuscript has been reprinted). On Gris, see Einstein, 'Exposition Juan Gris (Berlin, Galerie Flechtheim)', *Documents*, no. 4, 1930, p. 244 (author's name omitted), and 'Juan Gris: Texte inédit', *Documents*, no. 5, 1930, p. 267f.; Einstein's plans for a book on the artist after his death in 1927 remained unfinished business. Einstein's close friendship with Moïse Kisling (1891-1953) - a Polish artist, who had moved to Paris in about 1905 and probably met Einstein first in the Café du Dôme - is evident in his letters, cf. Liliane Meffre (ed.), 'Lettres de Carl Einstein à Moïse Kisling (1920-1924)', *Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne*, Paris, n. 62, Winter 1997, pp. 74-123; see also the monograph, Einstein, *M. Kisling*, Leipzig: Verlag Klinkhardt & Biermann (Junge Kunst, vol. 31) 1922; CEW 3, pp. 228-256; Einstein's second Africa-book *Afrikanische Plastik* (1921) was dedicated to Kisling; see also Meffre, *Carl Einstein 1885-1940*, op. cit. pp. 221-225.

⁹⁷ *Eine "Neue Galerie" hat sich in der Lennéstrasse aufgethan [sic]. Sie unterscheidet sich, soweit man bis jetzt sehen kann, insofern grundsätzlich von den anderen Ausstellungshäusern, als sie nicht den Ehrgeiz hat ein "Salon" zu sein. Mit diesem Unternehmen wird [...] ein Versuch gemacht, der in Paris und auch schon in München längst geglückt ist; es wird versucht, Interessenmittelpunkte für bestimmte Gruppen von jüngeren Künstlern und für die neuesten Kunstwerke zu schaffen. Bei der Neigung zu Monopolisierungen, die im Berliner Kunsthandel von je bestand, sind Gründungen wie diese Neue Galerie oder wie das Graphische Kabinet durchaus zu begrüßen. Eröffnet wurden die neuen Ausstellungsräume mit einer interessanten Ausstellung von Bildern jüngerer deutscher und französischer Maler. Von Grossmann wurden einige seiner im Vorübergehen gemachten talentvollen Bilder, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen und Radierungen gezeigt, von Jul. [sic] Pascin eine ähnlich vielfältige Kollektion seiner zarten und graziös grotesken Verwegenheiten, von Pechstein vier dekorativ robuste Stilleben, von Picasso schöne, etwas akademisch zurückhaltende frühe Zeichnungen, von Matisse ein farbig interessantes Stilleben und einige geistreiche Aktlithographien, von Braque wirkungsvolle Landschaftskompositionen und von Vlaminck einige Bilder voll starker Reize einer malerisch beherzten Transpositionskunst. Neben anderen Arbeiten fielen in ihrer anregenden Problematik einige Bilder von Derain und Kisling auf. Auch wusste Walter Bondys französisch kultivierte Malerei sich zu behaupten. In einem besonderen Zimmer wurden Beispiele primitiver Negerplastik und entwickelter ostasiatischer Skulptur so gezeigt, dass man in einem Raum von Schutzheiligen der neuesten Malerei zu sein glaubte; Karl Scheffler, 'Kunstaussstellungen', op. cit. p. 176.*

⁹⁸ *Jede Linie hat Lichtwert, beginnt, steigert und endet; ist aber zugleich kompositionell für jeden Punkt der Fläche wichtig und wirkt über das ganze Bild nach jeder Seite [...] gibt Licht und Fläche und zugleich Volumen. Dies ist eines der bedeutendsten Mittel der Waldschmidt'schen und jeder [...] Kunst, [...] die vollkommene Formung nach allen Seiten zum Kunstwerk zu bilden [...] [und] macht große und monumental Kunst aus; Einstein, 'Arnold Waldschmidt', op. cit., p. 49, see also Part I, Chapter 2.*

⁹⁹ Cited from: 'Statement by Picasso' (1935), in Alfred H. Barr, *Picasso Fifty Years of His Art*, New York: Museum of Modern Art 1966, p. 273. There is a conté crayon sketch dating from 1905 that clearly relates to this drawing, which is not listed in the the Zervos catalogue raisonnée, cf. *Pablo Picasso*, vol. 6, *Supplément aux volumes IA5*, Paris: Editions Cahiers d'Art 1954, Z*638.

¹⁰⁰ *Anspruchsvoller als diese Kunstläden tritt [...] Feldmann auf, der [...] die "Neue Galerie" eröffnete. Der Inhalt ist noch nicht ganz kongruent der Aufmachung. Auch für die Bilder der Deutsch-Pariser, die [...] sich die Leute vom Dôme nannten, hätte ein einfacherer Laden genügt. [...] Picasso gehört eine ganze Wand, und man hat den Eindruck, daß er hier zum Hausgötzen ernannt wurde. Vielleicht ist das ein wenig verspätet, denn man sollte hoffen, daß der Lärm, der um diesen feinen, aber doch schwächlichen Künstler erhoben wurde, sich nun bald wieder legen wird. [...] Endlich soll eine Wand mit Meisternamen dem ganzen Haltung geben. Aber außer einem wunderschönen Porträt von Toulouse-Lautrec findet man kaum etwas, das abgesehen von den Namen besonders Interesse verdiente. Dagegen ist der Versuch, antike und exotische Plastik zu zeigen, bemerkenswert; Curt Glaser, 'Neue Kunstsalons in Berlin' (Neue Galerie), *Die Kunst für Alle*, XXIX/1913, no. 6 (15 December), pp. 128-130, here 129.*

¹⁰¹ *Der andere neue Kunstsalon, [...], führt den Titel einer "Neuen Galerie" und scheint, nach dem Vorwort des Kataloges, ausschließlich der neuen Kunst dienen zu wollen. Die Ausstellung selbst gibt sich versöhnlicher und eklektischer als das Proömion, und erweist [...] Courbet und den "großen" Impressionisten wie Renoir, Pissaro und Toulouse-Lautrec eine Reverenz [...]. Das weiteste Feld gehört indessen freilich den Neuesten, und neben den Resultaten stehen auch die Anregungen: Hellenistische Plastik, ostasiatisches, Negerskulpturen; H.(ans) Fr.(iedeberger), 'Ausstellungen. Berlin', *Der Cicerone*, V/22 (19.11.1913), p. 805.*

¹⁰² *In der Picassokollektion ist ein hervorragender gezeichneter Akt das beste Stück. Eine von den [...] Landschaften zeigt sein Talent zur Vereinfachung, alle aber beweisen, daß von seiner früheren Betätigung keine Brücke zu seinem Kubismus führt; p. 805.; see also his, 'Die Berliner Herbstausstellung'.*

¹⁰³ *Herr Meier-Graefe wird immer der undisziplinierte Journalist bleiben, selbst wenn er über Giotto und alle Byzantiner schriebe; bei alter plauschend-geschwellter Dickbändigkeit bleibt er in der peripherischen Sensation stecken. [...]. Meier-Graefe's Sehen rennt zu rasch in die Tinte; ist kurzatmig, auch wenn er mit dem lapidaren Satz "wenn Kunst bildhaftes Gebäude der Menschheit (Ihre Rabitzwand) sein soll" auf billigem Gemeinplatz der Töchter-Schule des gezähmten Westen einen oberlehrerhaften Salto kugelt. Und worin, Herr Meier-Graefe besteht Ihr Bildhaftes? Präzision, bitte; bekennen. Von Großmann bis Greco ist ein langer weiter Weg zu gehen; Einstein, 'Meier-Graefe und die Kunst nach dem Kriege', *Das Kunstblatt*, vol. 7, 1923, pp. 185-187, CEW 2, p. 345-349, here 345f. On Fritz Stahl, see Einstein, 'Augenleidende Kritiker' (The Eye-afflictions of Critics), *Die Aktion*, vol. 4 1914, no. 17, col. 364-368, CEW 1, pp. 221-224. On this subjects cf. Andreas Strobel, 'Die "Ringende Empfindung des Augenblicks" – Carl Einstein und die Kunstkritik seiner Zeit', in Kaus H. Kiefer (ed.), *Die Visuelle Wende der Moderne: Carl Einsteins "Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts"*, Munich: Fink 2003, pp. 99-109.*

¹⁰⁴ *The first entry records a letter by a 'Herr Rode' or 'Bode' (not legible), which under the rubric entitled 'short contents' states: kurzer Inhalt: macht auf die Sammlungen des Pariser Antiquars Brummer, z. Zt. hier in Berlin, aufmerksam; the second addressed to the East Asia department of art recorded a letter from: Otto Feldmann, Cöln [...] bietet Objekte zum Kauf an, 3 Photos [...] abgelehnt; in. Office Journal entry no. 1868, dated 18 November 1913, and entry no. 17, dated 6 June 1913, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin.*

¹⁰⁵ *Cf. Letter Einstein to Kahnweiler, n.d., c. 1921, in Meffre, Correspondance, p. 123 and Einstein, Afrikanische Plastik, Berlin: Wasmuth-Verlag 1921.*

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Forsyth, 'The Brummer Brothers', p. 106; also Paudrat, 'From Africa', op. cit. p. 148f.

¹⁰⁷ Monod-Fontaine, p. 119.

¹⁰⁸ Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *Meine Maler – meine Galerien. Gespräche mit Francis Cremieux*, Cologne: DuMont Schauberg 1961, p. 144.

¹⁰⁹ Guillaume Apollinaire, 'The Salon d'Automne', *Poésie*, autumn 1910, and 'Young Artists: Pablo Picasso', *La Plume*, May 1906, both in Leroy C. Breunig (ed.) (trans. Susan Suleiman), *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews, 1902-1918*, London: Thames & Hudson 1972, pp. 14-16, and 113f.

¹¹⁰ Jacques de Gachons, 'La peinture d'après-demain', *Je sais tout*, 15 April 1912, pp. 349- 351. A German translation is reprinted in Werner Spies, 'Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler – Leben und Werk', in (cat.) *Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Kunsthändler, Verleger, Schriftsteller*, Stuttgart: Hatje 1986, pp. 24-26.

¹¹¹ Daniel-Henry [Kahnweiler], *Der Weg zum Kubismus*, Munich: Delphin-Verlag, c. 1920. An earlier version appeared in the journal *Die Weissen Blätter* in 1916. The original manuscript, whose first three chapters formed the basis for this essay and the book, was written during 1914-15 but not published until much later, cf. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler (intro. Wilhelm Weber), *Der Gegenstand der Ästhetik*, Munich: Heinz Moos Verlag 1971.

¹¹² See for example, letter Kahnweiler to Einstein, dated 21 July 1924, letter dated 20 April 1926, and letter dated 1 December 1926, in Liliane Meffre, (ed. & trans.), *Carl Einstein – Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler Correspondance 1921-1939*, Marseille: André Dimanche Editeur 1993, p. 153, 155f. and 159f.; also Pierre Assouline, (trans. C. Ruas), *An Artful Life. A Biography of D. H. Kahnweiler, 1884-1979*, New York: Fromm International Publishing Corporation 1991, pp. 47, 59, and 97.

¹¹³ Guillaume Apollinaire, *Les peintres cubistes: Méditations esthétiques*, Paris: Eugène Figuière 1913; on Kahnweiler's and Picasso's reaction to the volume and Apollinaire's response, see Cousins 'Documentary Chronology', pp. 415 417.

¹¹⁴ Einstein, 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', and above Part I, chapter 5.

¹¹⁵ According to Kahnweiler's notebook (no. 2: 'tableaux & envoyés au dehors', archive of Galerie Louise Leiris, Paris) the works were dispatched to Munich on 11 January 1913, after which they went to Feldmann's *Rheinischer Kunstsalon* for an exhibition that run from 15 March to 15 April 1913, see Christain Geelhaar, *Picasso: Wegbereiter und Förderer seines Aufstiegs 1899-1939*, Zurich: Palladion/ABC Verlag 1993, p. 55 and 275, n. 166; also Monod-Fontaine, p. 113; Gordon lists 114 works (76 paintings and 38 works on paper) of which 34 were assigned to private collectors; the remaining works for sale probably also originated from the Kahnweiler holdings, who by this time was Picasso's official agent, see Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 663f.; the exhibition is also discussed in John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. II: 1907-1917, New York: New York 1996, p. 317-19.

¹¹⁶ On Thannhauser, see Mario-Andreas Lüttichau, 'Die Moderne Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser vor dem ersten Weltkrieg und der Blaue Reiter', in Robert Walser & Bernhard Wittenbrink (eds), *"Ohne Auftrag": Zur Geschichte des Kunsthandels*, vol.

I Munich 1989, pp. 116-128, and his 'Die Moderne Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser in München', in Henrike Junge (ed.) *Avantgarde und Publikum. Zur Rezeption avantgardistischer Kunst in Deutschland 1905-1933*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag 1992, p. 304; Emily D. Bilski (ed.), (cat.) 'Die "Moderne Galerie" Thannhauser', Jüdisches Museum (30 January – 25 May), Munich: Edition Minerva 2008, pp. 12- 39.

¹¹⁷ Heinrich (?) Thannhauser, 1913, cited from Marilyn McCully (ed.), *A Picasso Anthology: Documents, Criticism, Reminiscences*, The Arts Council of Great Britain in assoc. with Thames & Hudson 1981, p. 98; other authors have suggested the text was written by Justin Thannhauser, see Geelhaar, p.55-6; Bilski, p.28f.; see also Cousins, 'Documentary Chronology', p. 414.

¹¹⁸ In "H. Thannhausers Moderner Galerie" interessiert gegenwärtig eine umfangreiche Ausstellung des viel umstrittenen Spaniers Pablo Picasso [...], ein nicht geringes Verdienst [...] und es liegt hier in der Tat die erste Gesamtdarbietung seiner Leistung vor. Sie bestätigt nur [...], daß in dem Künstler wohl eine [...] überempfindsame Begabung zu sehen sei, die von kultiviertem Geschmack und schöner Intellektualität sich leiten läßt und auch [...] Meisterhaftes erreicht hat, daß von wahrer Genialität aber, wovon seine Anhänger faseln, bei ihm mit nichten gesprochen werden kann. [...] Die Ausstellung zerfällt sozusagen in zwei Teile, deren einer den normalen Picasso, der andere den „Cubisten“ zur Anschauung bringt [...], [die] nichts weiter, als bestenfalls eine Schrulle ist [...] und der mystische Nebel, den man darum gemacht hat, mag andere reizen, für mich ist er nicht goutierbar; M.K.R. (M. K. Rohe), 'Ausstellungen: München' (Moderne Galerie Thannhauser), *Der Cicerone* V (1913), no. 5, p. 181f.; also, 'Münchener und Wiener Ausstellungen', *Die Kunst für Alle – Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, XXVIII, vol. 12, (15 March 1913), p. 287.

¹¹⁹ Als er [Picasso] dann, durch halbverstandene Theorien geleitet, [...] "Kubist" wurde [...] ward er mit einem Schlag ein berühmter Mann. [...] Der Fall ist typisch. Er zeigt mit erschreckender Deutlichkeit, dass es heute nicht die Qualität [...] eines Werkes über seinen Ruhm entscheidet, sondern der Grad seiner Auffälligkeit. Spekulative Köpfe ziehen ihren Nutzen aus dieser Tatsache[sic]; Hans Hildebrandt, 'Die Frühbilder Picassos', *Kunst und Künstler* XI/1913, no. 7 (1 April), pp. 379-380, with further illustrations p. 379 and 380.

¹²⁰ The catalogue listed 29 paintings from 1901 to 1906 and 48 from 1907 to 1912, see Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, p. 663f.; see also Rubin's comments, who credits the 'Marxist' Einstein with possibly having identified Cubism before and after *papier collé* as 'analytic' and 'synthetic', cf. Rubin, 'Picasso and Braque: An Introduction', in Rubin, (cat.) *Picasso and Braque*, p. 20 and n. 23.

¹²¹ See Kahnweiler's interview with Gachons, 'La peinture d'après-demain', as above. Because of certain similarities between the critical and philosophical stance of Einstein and Kahnweiler, I have borrowed the notion of a 'lesson' as an extension of Yve-Alain Bois, 'Kahnweiler's Lesson', *Representation* 18 (Spring 1987), pp. 33-68, here *Painting as Model*, Cambridge, Mass. & London: MIT Press, 1990, pp. 65-97.

¹²² Karl Heinz Meissner, 'Die "Moderne Galerie – Heinrich Thannhauser"', in Robert Walser & Bernhard Wittenbrink (eds), *"Ohne Auftrag": Zur Geschichte des Kunsthandels*, vol. I Munich 1989, pp. 44-57; also von Lüttichau, 'Die Moderne Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser in München', p. 299 and 301; Gee, p. 171, n. 2; see also Chapter 7 above.

¹²³ Cf. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler (with Francis Crémieux), *My Galleries and Painters*, Boston, Mass.: MFA Publications 1961/2003, p. 75.

¹²⁴ *Es zeigt sich immer deutlicher, dass die neue Tendenz [...] eine im wesentlichen anonyme Kunstbewegung [ist] [...] dass die augenblicklich herrschende Geistesrichtung den persönlichen Talenten ungünstig und gefährlich ist, dass sie Individuelle einerseits nur schwer aufkommen lässt und dass sie es andererseits verwirrt. [...] Da ist, zum Beispiel, Picasso, mit einer Reihe von Frühbildern, worin so feine Qualitäten sind, dass sie als die besten der ganzen Ausstellung bezeichnet werden müssen [...];* Karl Scheffler, 'Die letzte Ausstellung der Berliner Sezession', *Kunst und Künstler. Illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, XII (1.1.1914), pp. 199-207, here p. 199f.

¹²⁵ p. 199f: *ein melancholischer Geschmackskünstler, der die Originalität [...] als eine Art Fantin-Latour der nachimpressionistischen Bewegung [hat]. [...] Und was hat ein sich verrennender Stilbegriff dann aus diesem vornehmen Epigonen gemacht! Die Marionette einer Tendenz, die mit Kunst nicht entfernt mehr zu tun hat [...]. Aber man wird in diesem Fall den Eindruck nicht los, dass es die Ausstellungswut, das Premierenfieber unserer Zeit ist, was die Talente zu immer neuen Gewaltsamkeiten und Originalitäten aufreizt.*

¹²⁶ Cf. Hicken, pp. 8-12, and 187f.

¹²⁷ Kahnweiler, *My Galleries and Painters*, p.43.

¹²⁸ For the contracts, the art market and Kahnweiler's role in providing 'commercial expression' to the period's cultural internationalism see, Malcolm Gee, p. 216f. For the Thannhauser exhibition, Gordon lists 13 works as belonging to Flechtheim's private collection, see Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 663f.; also Springer, pp. 79-85; on Shchukin and Kramar, see also Part IV of this thesis.

¹²⁹ *My Galleries and Painters*, p. 42 and 43.

¹³⁰ Manheim, p. 11; the exhibition is listed in Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 170; it is not listed in Gordon, nor is its second showing at the gallery Emil Richter in Dresden in January 1914, cf. Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 769. It is discussed in Geelhaar, p. 57; Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. II, p. 317; and his 'Picasso und Deutschland vor 1914', in Heiko Andreas & Wolfgang Wittrock (eds.), *Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts 20 Jahre Wittrock Kunsthandel 20 Werke*, Düsseldorf n.d. (c. 1994), pp. 10-31, here p. 18f. There are also some entries for the gallery under 'Neue Galerie, Berlin' in *Kunsthandel der Moderne im Deutschsprachigen Raum 1905-1937*; Kunstarchiv Werner J. Schweiger, Vienna: Mustereintrag March 2009 (to be published in 2010), <http://www.kunsthandel-der-moderne.eu/content/view/21/36/>; (accessed 02/04/2009).

¹³¹ The literature on the subject is vast, examples are: André Salmon, *La Jeune Peinture française*, Paris: Société des Trente, Albert Messein, 1912, here Fry, *Cubism*, pp. 81-90; Goldwater, *Primitivism*; also William Rubin, 'Picasso', in his "Primitivism", pp. 241-343; Bois, 'Kahnweiler's Lesson'; Leo Steinberg, 'Resisting Cézanne: Picasso's "Three Women"', *Art in America*, (November/December) 1978, 114-133; Christopher Green, "'Naked Problems'?", "Sub-African Caricatures"? *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, Africa, and Cubism' in (ed.), *Picasso's "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon"*, Cambridge University Press 2001, pp. 128-149.

¹³² Like many of the avant-garde, Einstein volunteered for duty soon after the outbreak of war, meaning that decisions relating to the manuscript and illustrations must have been in the final stage by, say October 1914, although the publication date occurred some time in the spring of 1915.

¹³³ *Die Neue Galerie veranstaltete [...] eine Ausstellung von Werken von Pablo Picasso, die zusammen mit der der Herbstausstellung angegliederten einen vollständigen Überblick über Picassos Schaffen gibt*; Anon., 'Ausstellungen: Berlin. Die "Neue Galerie"', *Der Cicerone* VI/1 (January 1914), p. 23.

¹³⁴ p. 23: *Auch [hier] liegt kein Anlaß vor, [...] was über diesen Maler an dieser Stelle [schon] gesagt wurde. Er erscheint noch immer nicht sehr stark und nicht sehr selbständig, und ich kann nicht einmal finden, daß die kubistische Ausdeutung der Wirklichkeit irgendwie zur Festigung und Stärkung der Anschauung beitrüge. Der ganze theoretische und literarische Ursprung dieser Kunstübung wird noch deutlicher durch die Vereinigung dieser Ausstellung mit der einer „erlesenen Sammlung alter Negerplastik“. Ich habe schon so oft auf die innere Ähnlichkeit dieser neuen Kunst mit der der Nazarener hingewiesen [...]. Und was die Negerplastik selbst angeht, so soll man doch über allem berechtigten Interesse nicht vergessen, daß es ein Trugschluß ist, etwas für ein Kunstwerk zu erklären, was nebenbei einige Eigenschaften hat, die man auch bei jeder großen Kunst zu finden verlangen muß.*

¹³⁵ On German colonial politics and wars such as the genocidal Herero war in German Southwest Africa (1904-1907) and the suppression of the Maji-Maji uprising in German East Africa (1905-1907), see Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa*, London: Little, Brown and Company 1992, esp. pp. 602-6115 and 616-28.

¹³⁶ Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, p.228f; and her 'The rhetoric of artifacts' pp. 106-130.

¹³⁷ On world fairs and ethnographic shows, see Raymond Corbey, 'Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930', *Cultural Anthropology: Journal of the Society for Cultural Anthropology*, 8, 1993, pp. 338-369; also Hilke Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig um die Welt. Die Hagenbeckschen Völkerschauen*, Frankfurt/M. & New York: Campus-Verlag 1989. On the history of the notion of primitivism, see Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason*, p. 113, 164 and 237; also Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive*, pp. 202-268. On empire and colonial politics, see for example, Erich Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*, New York 1987; also Pakenham, as above; on anti-colonial strategies by the avant-garde, see Patricia Leighton, 'The White Peril and L'art nègre. Picasso, Primitivism and Anticolonialism', *The Art Bulletin*, 72, 4 (1990), pp. 609-630; also Jodi Blake, 'The Truth about the Colonies, 1931: Art indigene in the Service of the Revolution', *Oxford Art Journal*, 25.1 2002, pp. 35-58.

¹³⁸ Cf. André Salmon, *La Jeune Peinture française*, Paris: Société des Trente, Albert Messein, 1912; and his, 'Pablo Picasso', *Paris-Journal*, 21 September 1911, in Fry, *Cubism*, p. 89 and 68; also Apollinaire, 'The Beginnings of Cubism', *Le Temps*, 14 October 1912, in Breunig (ed.), *Apollinaire on Art*, p. 259-261. See also David Lomas, 'In Another Frame: *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* and Physical Anthropology' in Green (ed.), *Picasso's Les Demoiselles*, pp. 104-127.

¹³⁹ *Im Deutschen Theater kann man zurzeit Lessings "Emilia Garlotti" sehen, Eigentlich müssten sich bei jeder Aufführung die Künstler neuester Observanz im Theater versammeln, um demonstrativ bei der Stelle zu applaudieren, wo Conti*

sagt: „die Kunst muss malen, wie die plastische Natur das Bild dachte“ [...] denn diese Worte haben mit Bezug auf die neuern Bestrebungen einen programmatischen Wert; Scheffler, 'Kunstaussstellungen – Berlin: Im Deutschen Theater', *Kunst und Künstler* XII (1.1.1914), p.229. For reasons of certain emphases, the translation is mine; cf. Flam (ed.), *Primitivism*, p. 67f. Lessing's (1729-1781) reference to 'the plastic life of nature' indicates his interest in the doctrine of "Plastic Nature" of the philosopher and member of the Cambridge Platonists, Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688), outlined in his 'A Digression Concerning the Plastick Life of Nature'. His work was published in Latin translation in Germany in 1733; cf. the introduction by Sarah Hutton (ed.), *Ralph Cudworth – A Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality – with a Treatise of Free Will*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. ix - xxx.

¹⁴⁰ p.229: Lessing schwebten allerdings, als er diesen Lehrsatz formulierte, ganz andere Kunstwerke vor als unseren Jüngsten. Er dachte an den Laokoon und vielleicht an Raffael Mengs, während die Maler heute an Negerplastiken und Kubismus denken. Aber das macht dem Lehrsatz nichts aus. Nur war Lessing so köstlich klug in das Apodiktische seines Ausspruchs nebenbei noch schnell einen Zweifel einzuflechten: "Die Kunst muss malen, wie sie die plastische Natur - wenn es eine gibt – das Bild dachte ..." Picasso spricht nicht in dieser feinen Weise beiseite: "wenn es eine gibt." Er zweifelt so wenig daran wie die Neger es thaten [sic], als sie ihre alten Fetische schnitzten. Beides, Negerplastiken und Picassos Malereien der späteren Zeit waren in der Neuen Galerie [...] nebeneinander ausgestellt. Mit beiden ist wenig zu beginnen. Denn unter den Negerplastiken sind es nur wenige Stücke, und in ihnen nur wenige Punkte, wo wirklich ein gestaltender Formeninstinkt zum Ausdruck kommt; und in den Arbeiten Picassos fehlt die Gestaltung überhaupt. An den drei oder vier wertvolleren Plastiken erkennt man wenigstens, dass diese primitiven Schnitzer ein Bild der plastischen Natur in sich trugen. Sie empfanden das Konkave konkav und das Konvexe konvex, sie empfanden alles eindeutig und drastisch, Sie bildeten, ohne unmittelbar ein Modell vor Augen zu haben, von einer starren Konvention zu bestimmten Zielen hingelenkt, wie sie sich die plastische Natur dachten. Picasso möchte es nun als Maler ebenso machen, wo doch zwischen ihm und den Negern die ganze Kunstgeschichte liegt, wo er mit Modellen im Atelier eingesperrt ist und sich Konventionen selbst ersinnen soll das heisst, wo er sich wie Münchhausen selbst am Zopf aus dem Sumpf ziehen muss. Der Effekt ist, dass man allgemach von dem ganzen Künstler nichts mehr sieht wie ein über den Sumpf hervorragenden Zopf und ein paar Hände, die krampfhaft daran zerren.

¹⁴¹ p.229f.: Bei Fritz Gurlitt gibt es andere Proben der fetischhaft geheimnisvollen Kunst moderner Drastiker. Henri Matisse versucht mit den [...] geistreichen Vereinfachungen seiner Aktzeichnungen ebenfalls der "plastischen Natur" auf die Schliche zu kommen. Aber man hört ihn doch schon [...] leise und zweifelnd vor sich hin murmeln (er ist eben kein starrer Spanier, sondern ein geschmeidiger Franzose) "wenn es eine gibt". On 19th century attempts to forge a 'comparative physiognomy' and 'character traits' of national/regional identity, see Roslyn Poignat, 'Surveying the Field of View: The Making of the RAI Photographic Collection', in Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography 1860 – 1920*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press and The Royal Anthropological Institute 1992, pp. 42-73, esp. pp. 56-61

¹⁴² Cf. Corbey, 'Ethnographic Showcases', p. 339ff.

¹⁴³ On the exhibitions of *Der Blaue Reiter* and the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*, see (cat.) Eberhard Roters & Bernhard Schultz, *Stationen der Moderne. Die*

bedeutenden Kunstaussstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland, Berlinische Galerie, Nicolai, Berlin 1989, pp. 108-129 and 130-153.

¹⁴⁴ *Einige Probleme der neueren Kunst veranlaßten ein weniger leichtfertiges Eindringen in die Kunst afrikanischer Völker; [...] man erriet, daß kaum irgendwo bestimmte Raumprobleme und eine besondere Weise des Kunstschaffens in dieser Reinheit gebildet waren, wie bei den Negeren*; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, in CEW 1, pp. 234-252, here p. 235; for reasons of certain emphases within the context of this thesis, translations are mine, but references to the translation by Charles Haxthausen & Sebastian Zeidler (trans. & intro.), 'Carl Einstein. Negro Sculpture', *October* 107, *Carl Einstein. A Special Issue*, (ed. Sebastian Zeidler) 107, MIT Press, 2004, pp. 124-138, will be provided and abbreviated as NS, here p. 124.

¹⁴⁵ A photograph of Kahnweiler and his wife in their home in the Rue George Sand, taken in 1912/13, shows among works by his artists and, besides a large Grebo mask on the wall, a couple of small African (Baule? Fang?) sculptures; cf. Rubin, *"Primitivism"*, p. 301.

¹⁴⁶ *Auch an dieser Stelle muß ich wieder die Behauptung eines unmittelbaren Einflusses der afrikanischen Kunst auf die [...] kubistischen Maler [...] entgegentreten. Es handelt sich nicht um Einfluß, sondern um Konvergenz. Die europäische Tradition, und insbesondere die Entdeckung der eigentlichen Absichten Cézannes durch die Kubisten, läßt die künstlerischen Tendenzen verstehen wie sie in den „Damoiselles d'Avignon“ (1907) und in den Etsaque Landschaften Braques (1908) zutage treten. [...] Es handelt sich nicht um einen Einfluß der Negerkunst auf die Kubisten, sondern um eine bei Beginn eines Bruches mit der bestehenden Tradition häufig zu beobachtenden Erscheinung: man sucht Bestätigung, indem man anderswo in Zeit und Raum jene neuen Tendenzen wiederfindet, zu denen man sich bekannt hat. Die „Renaissance“, die die griechisch-römische Kunst wiederentdeckte, die Impressionisten, die sich für die japanische Kunst begeisterten, sind andere Beispiele dafür. [...] Eine solche Kunst ist ihrem Wesen nach eine begriffliche Kunst*; Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, 'Negerkunst und Kubismus', *Merkur* Stuttgart 1959 vol. 13, no. 8, pp. 722-730, here 723.

¹⁴⁷ *Unter dem Namen "Neue Galerie" ist in Berlin ein Kunstsalon entstanden [...], der sich die Pflege der jüngsten Strömungen ausdrücklich zur Aufgabe macht. [...] Die zweite, soeben eröffnete Ausstellung der "Neuen Galerie" bringt eine umfassende Übersicht über die Kunst Pablo Picassos, die zum ersten Mal in Berlin das Problem des Kubismus zur Diskussion stellt. Damit verbunden ist eine Serie erlesener Negerplastiken. Da Picasso sich vielfach von diesen primitiven Skulpturen anregen ließ, fügt sich die interessante Kollektion gut ein*; Anon., 'Ausstellungen: Berlin' (Unter dem Namen "Neue Galerie"), *Kunstchronik, Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, XXV, no. 12 (12 December 1913), col. 184f.

¹⁴⁸ See for example, the critique of Salmon's *La Jeune Peinture française* (1912) by Louis Vauxcelles, in *Gil Blas* 1912 (21 October), which stated: 'The question is not to know which language the Cubists speak, but whether they struck a reef. Alas, I fear it'. Another is that in November 1914, after reproductions of Picasso's Cubist constructions appeared in the first issue (no. 18) of the new series of *Les Soirées de Paris* (edited by Apollinaire, and others) most of the subscriptions were cancelled; cf. Judith Cousins, 'Documentary Chronology', p. 409, 424 and 444.

¹⁴⁹ The consignment of works to the *Neue Galerie* was logged in Kahnweiler's notebook 2 'Tableaux &c envoyés au dehors', p. 75-77, here Geelhaar, p. 57 and

276, note 184; cf. Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. II, p. 317 and note 61; and 'Picasso und Deutschland', p. 18f. In both accounts, Richardson's information on the works shown is based on John Field's research, a relative of Hamilton Easter Field. Until this research becomes available, suggestions presented here, as to what was included at the *Neue Galerie* are based on the provenances of listings in Daix & Rosselet, pp. 202-284. Through Frank Burty Haviland, Hamilton Easter Field had commissioned Picasso in 1910 to produce eleven large decorative panels for his Brooklyn library, a project the artist abandoned; see Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. II, p. 164f. The commission is also discussed in 'Appendix: The Library of Hamilton Easter Field', in Rubin, *Picasso and Braque*, pp. 63-69.

¹⁵⁰ This is based on the reviews so far accessed, see also below. That there was a core of works that remained the same throughout the different venues is confirmed by the listings of the 57 works shown at the *Galerie Miethke*, in which titles are either identical or similar to those of the Tahnhauser gallery; cf. Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 663f. and p. 794.

¹⁵¹ For listings of works in private collections, see Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 663f.; on collectors cf. Geelhaar, p. 38, 43, 47, 55f.; and Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. II, p. 316, 322f., and 469, note 73.

¹⁵² Kahnweiler, *My Galleries and Painters*, p. 37f.; on Uhde's involvement with the *Neue Galerie*, see chapter 10 below.

¹⁵³ For a discussion of the provenances and circumstances of some of the Picasso works that provide information and reason to believe they were part of the show at the *Neue Galerie*, see Appendix II. This material is based on information collated from Pierre Daix & Joan Rosselet, (cat. rais.) *Picasso. Cubist Paintings, 1907-1916*, Alan Wofsy Fine Arts 1979; Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, and other sources (indicated at the appropriate place), which with one or two exceptions agrees with Richardson, who identified the following works in the Zervos catalogue raisonnée: Z.II*. 12, 11, 22 (?), 40, 41, 42, 103, 57, 78, 77, 148, 141, 147, 104, 211, 247, 291, 249, 271, 276, 251, 245, 292, 250, 255, 309, 310, 282, 275, 295, 303, 320, 286, 244, 254, 314, 359, 357; Z.II**. 426, 384; cf. Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. II, p. 468, n. 61.

¹⁵⁴ *Der Sinn des Kubismus: Verformung des dreidimensionalen Bewegungserlebnisses in zweidimensionale Gestalt, ohne daß Tiefe oder Modellierung illusionistisch nachgebildet werden, während die Bewegungsvorstellungen und das Gesamt des Erinnerungsfunktionalen durchaus dargestellt werden; an die Stelle der bewegten Tiefenansicht, einer zeitgedrängten Bewegungsvorstellung, tritt nun das Nebeneinander zweidimensionaler Formen, die dermaßen geordnet sind, daß unter Beibehaltung der Grundfläche das Volumen, die verschiedenen Ansichten eines Körpers, gestaltet und somit die Erinnerungsdimension, also die Vorstellung des Volumens, verformt ist, ohne daß die Bildfläche illusionistisch durchbrochen wird. [...] Wir betonen diese optische Funktionsverstärkung in den kubistischen Bildern, dies Bewußtmachen des Sehens, das geschichtlich Epoche bedeutet und das Schauen abändern wird; Einstein, Die Kunst des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts, 2nd ed. 1928, p. 61 and 81.*

¹⁵⁵ For details, see below, chapter 10.

¹⁵⁶ The two publications that have been the most helpful are, Ezio Bassani, 'le opere illustrate in "Negerplastik"', *Critica d'arte africana*, Vol. 2, 1985, Ser. 2, no. 2, pp. 33-43; and Meffre (et al), *La sculpture nègre*.

¹⁵⁷ Dans cette petite statuette de l'artiste moderne ne retrouve-t-on pas certains caractères de l'antique et primitive statue de bois, exécutée, pourtant avec un grand sens de la ligne et beaucoup d'observation. Tout le semble indiquer que l'auteur était un véritable artiste; Warnod, 'Arts décoratifs et Curiosités artistiques', *Comoedia* (27 June), Paris 1911, n. p.; see also chapter 6 of this thesis. For a discussion of Matisse and the significance of African sculpture to his oeuvre, see Jack Flam, 'Matisse and the Fauves', in Rubin, "Primitivism", pp. 211-239.

¹⁵⁸ Pourtant il faut bien reconnaître que ces statues nègres ont un grand caractère et dénotent même un sens artistique très développé et surtout très sincère. Voyez par exemple cette tête aux longs cheveux, avec quelle simplicité elle est exécutée; quelques plan, des lignes très franches et cela suffit pour donner à l'œuvre quelque chose de définitif qui impressionne. Les yeux sont rapprochés, la mâchoire vient en avant et devient presque pointue, l'angle facial est très aigu et tout concourt à donner un aspect étrange à cette tête. Les cheveux sont stylisés avec la même autorité, quelques mèches tombent à droite, d'un seul jet. Cette tête sans doute a été travaillée avec un amour, une foi absolue, mais une foi très sauvage, très brutale, très violente et c'est peut-être ce qui donne le caractère et l'expression de cette figure; cf. Warnod, *Comoedia* (2 January) 1912; for the objects, see also Einstein, *Negerplastik*, pl. 7 (and 8-11), and 89; the Fang head, also known as the 'Brummer Head' is reproduced in pl. 16 and 17; for the objects' respective legends, see Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, p. 109 & 116.

¹⁵⁹ Apollinaire, 'Exotisme et ethnographie', *Paris-Journal*, 10 September 1912, in Breunig (ed.), *Apollinaire on Art*, pp. 243-246.

¹⁶⁰ p. 244; this famous sculpture dedicated to Gu, the god of wrought iron and war was illustrated in Felix von Luschan, *Die Altertümer von Benin*, Berlin & Leipzig 1919, vol. I, fig. 347; it is now one of most prized works housed at the Musée du Louvre; for details, see Jacques Kerchache, (ed.) & Vincent Boloré, (cat.) *Sculptures. Africa, Asia, Oceania, Americas*, Paris: Musée du Louvre 2001, pp. 110-113. On Paul Guillaume, who became one of the most renowned African art collectors and dealers after the first World War, see Paudrat 'Africa', pp. 152-162; and Part III, chapter 14 below.

¹⁶¹ Apollinaire, 'Exotisme et ethnographie', p. 245f.

¹⁶² Apollinaire, 'Sur les musées', *Le journal d soir*, 3 October 1909; also Felix Fénéon, 'Enquête sur les arts lointains (Seront-ils admis au Louvre?)', *Bulletin de la vie artistique*, vol. I no. 24, (15 November), 1920, pp. 662-669, and no. 25 (1 December), pp. 693-703; on the Louvre opening its doors to non-western art, see, for example, Corbey, 'Arts premiers in the Louvre', *Anthropology Today*, vol. 16, no. 4, August (2000), p. 3-6. On Apollinaire's interest in African and Oceanic art and his private collection, see Katia Samaltanos, *Apollinaire, Catalyst for Primitivism, Duchamp and Picabia*, University of Michigan Research Press, Studies in the fine Arts, 1984, especially chapter 1.

¹⁶³ Einstein got married during 1913 to Maria Ramm, the sister of Pfemfert's wife Alexandra Ramm; their daughter Nina was born in 1915, cf. Meffre, *Carl Einstein 1885-1940*, p. 49, 54f., 84, 196, 199, and 205; Ihrig, p. 82.

¹⁶⁴ Guillaume Apollinaire, *The Cubist Painters* (trans. Peter Read), University of California Press, 2004, p. 100f. here cited from Peter Read, *Picasso and Apollinaire: the persistence of memory*, Berkeley Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, p. 50 and 263f., n. 16; see also Adolphe Basler, *L'Art chez les peuples primitifs*, Paris: Librairie de France 1929.

¹⁶⁵ [Es] gibt keine Stadt der Welt, in der heutzutage die Pflege der Kunst so lebendig wäre wie in Paris. Paris ist die geheiligste Stadt, in der [...] [man von] einer Verteigerung alter Meisterwerke [zu] [...] eine[r] moderne[n] Kunstschau eil[en kann], aus einer Ausstellung von Bonnard und Matisse pilgert [...] zu einer Galerie oder Sammlung, um sich dort, sei es für Greco oder Cézanne, sei es für einen Primitiven oder Picasso zu begeistern; Adolphe Basler, 'Aus dem Ideenreich der modernen Kunst', *Die Aktion*, 3 Jg., September 1913, col. 893-899, here 893.

¹⁶⁶ Und wieder war dies ein Jahr, fruchtbar an Offenbarungen der Kunst [...] und der Sammlung von Vignier, die uns außer dem Besten an chinesischer Bildhauerkunst auch Negerplastik brachte, für deren Schönheit bis heute nur Künstler wie Picasso, Derain, Vlaminck und nicht zuletzt der Antiquitätenhändler Brummer, der als erster diese Kunst zum Erwachen brachte, Verständnis zeigten. Und da erscheinen neue Kunstformen auf dem Markte, die diesen Durst einer jungfräulichen, für den modernen Menschen so sonderbaren Kunst charakterisieren und die schwerlich die trockene Begeisterung eines David und seiner Schüler oder ihrer Nachfolger aus der Akademie und aller offiziellen Dekadenten befriedigen würden; col. 893.

¹⁶⁷ Salmon, *La Jeune Peinture française*, 1912, trans. in Fry, p. 82; his book is noted for the chapter on Picasso and the conception of *Les Femmes d'Alger*, in which he emphasizes the role played by African and Oceanic sculpture and mentions the painting being spontaneously christened 'the philosophical brothel'; in 1926, when considering Picasso and the foundations of Cubism, Basler also spoke of the 'philosophical brothel' in a book that discussed painting as the new religion, see Basler, *La peinture, religion nouvelle*, Paris: Librairie de France 1926, p.47; also Leo Steinberg, 'The Philosophical Brothel', *Art News* 71, nos. 5 and 6, New York, September and October 1972, pp. 22-29 and 38-47.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Chapter 8 above; and Basler & Ernest Brummer, *L'Art précolombien*, Paris: Librairie de France 1928.

¹⁶⁹ Paudrat, 'From Africa', p. 151; for the provenances of the objects from Brummer's collection so far identified, see Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, pp. 109-118.

¹⁷⁰ Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, Berlin: Wasmuth-Verlag (Orbis Pictus vol. 7) 1921, CEW 2, p. 61; Einstein, *M. Kisling*, Leipzig: Verlag Klinkhardt & Biermann (Junge Kunst, vol. 31) 1922, CEW 2, pp. 228-236; Meffre (ed.), 'Lettres de Carl Einstein à Moïse Kisling (1920-1924)', *Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne*, Paris, n. 62, (winter) 1997, pp. 74-123; on Basler's career as a dealer cf. Gee, p. 79f.

¹⁷¹ *Mon cher Basler. J'ai une collection de nègres du Dahomey à vendre. Il y a un roi Behanzin en cuivre de 1m de haut et un lion en argent [...] le lion est admirable*; letter from Vlaminck to Basler, dated 14 June, 1914, Adolphe Basler archive (acc. 920031), the Research Library of the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and Humanities.

¹⁷² Letter Feldmann to Apollinaire, dated 27 February 1914, and draft letter Apollinaire to Feldmann, dated 3 March 1914, Apollinaire Papers, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, here cited from Read, *Picasso and Apollinaire*, p. 29 and 259, n. 9.

¹⁷³ Cf. Basler, *L'Art chez les peuples primitifs*, pl. 46b, 4, 39, 41a, 16, 34, 47, 52; and Einstein, *Negerplastik*, pl. 5, 7-11 (here Fig. 22), 14-15, 16-17 (here Fig. 24), 22-23, 24, 28-9, 65; and provenances in Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, pp. 109-118; and Gee, p. 38.

¹⁷⁴ For the royal Kuba statue belonging to the British Museum, see also Part III, chapter 13 below; on Burty Haviland and de Zayas, cf. *Alfred Stieglitz et son cercle (1905-1930) – New York et l'art moderne*, (cat.) Paris: Musée d'Orsay 18 October 2004 – 16 January 2005; and Francis M. Naumann (ed.), *How, when, and why Modern Art came to New York. Marius de Zayas*, Cambridge, Mass. & London: MIT Press 1996; also Part IV of this thesis.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Einstein, *Negerplastik*, pl. 5, 14 (here Fig. 25), 22-23, 24, and 28-29 (here Fig. 26); provenances in Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, pp. 109-118.

¹⁷⁶ *Exposition des collections de M. Charles Vignier* (cat.), Paris: Galeries Levesque, May – June 1913, pp. 36-38; G. Boudar & P. Caizergues, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Guillaume Apollinaire*, 2 vols, Paris: Editions du CNRS 1987, also Paudrat, 'From Africa', p. 152.

¹⁷⁷ These include: Einstein, *Negerplastik*, pl. 31, 48-9 (here Fig. 27), 51 (here Fig. 28), 52, 94 (here Fig. 29), 108, and 109; also Paudrat 'From Africa', p. 152, and Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, pp. 109-118.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Christiane Falgayrettes-Leveau, (cat.) *Arts d'Afrique*, Paris: Musée Dapper & Gallimard 2000, p. 244f.

¹⁷⁹ On the Man Ray photographs, cf. Jane Livingstone, 'Man Ray and Surrealist Photography', in Rosalind E. Krauss, *L'Amour fou – photography and surrealism*, New York: Abbeville Press 1985, pp. 112-152; David Bate, *Photography and Surrealism. Sexuality, Colonialism and Social Dissent*, London & New York: I. B. Tauris 2004, pp. 172-202; Petrine Archer-Straw, *Negrophilia. Avant-Garde Paris and Black Culture in the 1920s*, London: Thames & Hudson 2000, pp. 97-101: on the Ijo sculpture see Henry Usher Hall, 'Examples of African Art', *The Museum Journal*, (The University Museum), vol. 10, no. 3 (September 1919), where it was reproduced as fig. 26, p. 81; also A. Wardwell, *African Sculpture from the University Museum*, Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art 1986, p. 76f, pl. 26; and Frank Willett, *African Art*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1971/1991. On Eduard von der Heydt, cf. Sabine Fehlemann (ed.), (cat.) *Asien, Afrika, Amerika und Ozeanien: Eduard von der Heydt als Sammler aussereuropäischer Kunst*, 14 April – 30 June, Wuppertal"; Von der Heydt Museum and Museumsverein Wuppertal 2002.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. *The Jacob Epstein Collection* (cat.), The Arts Council of Great Britain 1960, pl. II and III; also Ezio Bassani & Malcolm McLeod, *Jacob Epstein Collector*, Turin: Stamperia Artistica nazionale 1987; and 'The Passionate Collector', in Evelyn Silber, Terry Friedmann et al., (cat.) *Jacob Epstein, Sculpture and Drawings*, W. S. Maney & Son in assoc. with: The Henry Moore Centre for the Study of Sculpture, 1989, pp. 12-19, Fig. 4 and pl. IV; Alan G. Wilkinson, 'Paris and London – Modigliani, Lipchitz, Epstein and Gaudier-Brzeska' in Rubin 'Primitivism', pp. 416-451; also Susan Mullin Vogel, *Aesthetics of African Art: The Carlo Monzino Collection*, New York: The Center for African Art 1986; Jacques Kerchache (ed.) & Vincent Bouloré, (cat.) *Sculptures. Africa, Asia, Oceania, Americas*, Musée du Louvre, pavillon des Sessions, Paris 2001, pp. 210-213, Phillips, p. 150. See also below, Part III, chapter 13.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Marius de Zayas, *African Negro art. Its Influence on Modern Art*, New York: Modern Gallery 1916; Mirimanov, pp. 59-73; also Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, p. 110; and Irena Buzinska (ed.), (cat.) *Voldemars Matvejs. Raksti Darbu catalogs Sarakste*, Riga: Neputns 2002, p. 136. Henry Moore sketched this object in 1922-1924, cf. Alan G. Wilkinson, Idem, 'Henry Moore', in Rubin "Primitivism", pp. 594-613.

¹⁸² Cf. Einstein, *Negerplastik*, pl. 25, 26-27, 66 and 67; for provenances see Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, pp. 109-114. For details on Markov's (pseud. for Voldemars Matvejs) book, see Buzinska, *Voldemars Matvejs*, p. 136; Mirimanov, p. 71; and Part IV, Appendix V and VI below.

¹⁸³ The gallery had presented *Die Brücke* in 1907, 1908 and again in 1909. In 1908 it staged a large van Gogh exhibition, cf. Heinz Spielmann (ed.), (cat.) *Die Maler der Brücke: Die Sammlung Hermann Gerlinger*, Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum & Stuttgart: DACO-Verlag Günter Bläse 1995.

¹⁸⁴ *Die Ausstellung von Pablo Picasso, zusammen mit einer Ausstellung von Negerplastik, macht den Eindruck einer Katastrophe. Wenn man in einer Stadt wie Dresden, die Picasso kaum kennt, eine Ausstellung von ihm macht, so müsste man meines Erachtens den frühen Picasso in seinen Hauptwerken zeigen. [...] Daran hätte man ein paar Proben seines Kubismus anschleissen können. Aber nicht umgekehrt, [...], dass nun das Publikum [...] eine endlose Reihe kubistischer Arbeiten in sich aufnehmen muss. Dass der Kubismus bei Picasso ein Irrweg ist, wird lebhaft bestritten. Ich glaube bestimmt [...]. Als die Negerplastik, dieses im grossen ganzen sehr üble Produkt einer irgendwo im Urwald steckengebliebenen ägyptischen Provinzialkunst, über Picasso hereinbrach, warf es ihm sein Konzept um, und jene primitiven von schlechter Plastik hergenommenen Kunstprinzipien in Bildern anzuwenden wurde sein dominierendes Streben. Primitiven plastischen Stil mit malerischen Elementen zusammenzuzwingen – daran muss man ja scheitern;* Emil Waldmann, 'Kunstaussstellungen. Dresden', *Kunst und Künstler*, 12/1914 (March), p. 344f. A translation of the first part of the review can be found in Flam, *Primitivism*, p. 69. On Waldmann, see C. Kennert, *Paul Cassirer und sein Kreis: ein Berliner Wegbereiter der Moderne*, Frankfurt/Main, New York: P. Lang, 1996, p. 138 and 212, note 14, and Tilla Durieux, *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre. Erinnerungen. Die Jahre 1952 – 1971; nacherzählt von Joachim Werner Preuss*, Munich & Vienna: Herbig 1971, p. 203.

¹⁸⁵ *Eine etwas unangenehme Zugabe [...] [ist das] Katalog [...] Vorwort[...]. Über [...] Picasso [schreibt] Dr. Uhde-Paris [...]: "Er hilft sich (in seinen tragischen Konflikten) bald durch Deformationen, bald durch Zerlegung der Gegenstände und gerät dabei in Gefahr, von seinem Ziele, der Realität, weit abgetrieben zu werden. So entstehen Bilder, die, wie manche Skulpturen Michelangelos, das ersehnte Ziel nicht erreichen, die aber von der Grossartigkeit eines erhabenen Willens Zeugnis ablegen, als malerische Qualität von grösster Schönheit sind und deren Reinheit ihres Aufbaus an den Stil gotischer Kathedralen erinnert." [...] Wenn man Michelangelo so zitieren darf – die Konsequenzen sind nicht abzusehen;* Emil Waldmann, 'Kunstaussstellungen. Dresden', p. 345. For Einstein's Picasso critique and appreciation see Einstein, 'Bemerkungen zum heutigen Kunstbetrieb', *Neue Blätter* 2/1912, no. 6, p. 46f., here CEW 1, pp. 139-141; and Einstein 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', discussed above, Part I, chapter 5.

¹⁸⁶ Uhde, *Picasso et la tradition française: Notes sur la peinture actuelle*, Paris: Éditions des Quatre-Chemins 1928, p. 30; also Leo Steinberg, 'Resisting

Cézanne', *Art in America*, 66, no. 6 (November/December) 1978, p. 120f, and here Appendix II.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Uhde, *Henri Rousseau*, Düsseldorf: Ohle und Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, 1914; *Picasso et la tradition française*; on his life and work see *Von Bismarck bis Picasso*; also Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. II, p. 33f., 172 and 320f.

¹⁸⁸ *Berliner Zeitung*, 12 February 1914, here Cousins, 'Documentary Chronology', p. 425.

¹⁸⁹ *Ich hatte eines Tages Paul Cassirer [...] getroffen und ihm erzählt daß ich in Berlin einen Vortrag über die neue Malerei halten wollte. Er äußerte den Wunsch, daß dieses in seiner Galerie geschehen möge, und wir verabredeten das Datum. Als ich zwei Tage vor dem Termin in Berlin eintraff, stellte ich fest, daß der Vortrag nirgends angezeigt [...] war. Auf meine entsprechenden Vorstellungen gestand mir Cassirer daß er im letzten Augenblick Bedenken bekommen habe. Er habe sein Leben lang den Impressionismus vertreten und es könne seltsam erscheinen, wenn er jetzt in seinen Räumen für eine Kunst Propaganda machen ließe, die der von ihm vertretenen diametral entgegengesetzt wäre. Ich sagte ihm, das hätte er sich doch etwas früher überlegen müssen, aber es wäre mir schließlich egal und ich würde den Vortrag in einer anderen Galerie halten. Das aber war Cassirer auch nicht recht, er wollte ihn nun doch bei sich haben, und in einigen Stunden war die Presse verständigt und die Plakate bestellt. Der Saal war gefüllt und während des Vortrags saß Cassirer, der nervös war, dicht hinter mir. Ich sagte aber nichts Böses gegen den Impressionismus und leitete meinen Vortrag mit dem Kompliment für Cassirer ein, der und dessen Sache stark genug seien, sich den Gegner ins Haus zu laden. Cassirer sagte mir, als ich meinen Vortrag beendet hatte: "Sie haben mir mein Geschäft für zwei Jahre ruiniert." Dieses war natürlich ein Scherz, denn das Bestehen dieses klugen und großzügigen Händlers, der dem Impressionismus in Deutschland zum Siege verholfen hatte, hing nicht von ein paar gesprochenen Worten ab. Zudem fand ich mit meiner Verherrlichung von Picasso, Braque und Rousseau wenig Anklang. Einige Herren verließen während des Vortrags ostentativ den Saal, und von den Zeitungsbesprechungen des nächsten Tages stellte die freundlichste nichts weiter fest, als daß ich einen besonders gut geschnittenen Rock angehabt hätte; Uhde, *Von Bismarck bis Picasso*, p. 167f.*

¹⁹⁰ On 20 February 1914, shortly before the auction, Kahnweiler sent personal messages to Shchukin (and Moroseov) to alert them to the painting's sale; Shchukin did acquire the related gouache and charcoal study in 1909 (*The Family of Saltimbanques*, 1905, Moscow: Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts); Werner Spies, 'Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler – Leben und Werk', p. 29. see also Georg-W. Költzsch, (ed.), (cat.) *Morosow und Schtschukin – Die Russischen Sammler. Monet bis Picasso*, Museum Folkwang Essen, Pushkin Museum Moscow, The Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag 1993, p. 425. On the auction, see Michael C. Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism. Picasso and the Craetion of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press 1996, chapter 1; also Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. II, pp. 294, 297-99, 302 and 305; also Cousins, 'Documentary Chronology', p. 445, n. 222; Gee, p. 95f.

¹⁹¹ Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism*, p. 40 and 42.

¹⁹² Maurice Delcourt, 'Avant l'invasion', *Paris-Midi*, 3 March 1914, p. 2, here Spies, 'Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler', p. 29; also Warnod, 'La vente de la "Peau de l'Ours"', *Comoedia*, 3 March 1914, n.p.

¹⁹³ Ambroise Vollard, *Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux*, Paris: 1948, here, *Erinnerungen eines Kunsthändlers* (trans. M. von Reischach-Scheffel), Frankfurt/M: Ullstein Verlag 1957, p. 101; Kahnweiler, *My Galleries and Painters*; also Samuel N. Behrman (trans. Stefanie Neumann), *Duveen und die Millionäre: Zur Soziologie des Kunsthandels in Amerika*, Rowohlt (Kunstgeschichte) 1960. On Rosenberg, see Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism*.

¹⁹⁴ The portraits were: Clovis Sagot (1909, Hamburg: Kunsthalle), Ambroise Vollard (spring-autumn 1910, Moscow: Pushkin State Museum of the Fine Arts) Wilhelm Uhde (spring-autumn 1910, Private Collection) and finally, Kahnweiler (autumn-winter 1910, The Art Institute of Chicago); cf. Assouline, *An Artful Life*, p. 97; Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism*, p. 32-37.

¹⁹⁵ Kahnweiler, *My Galleries and Painters*, p. 50; Assouline, *An Artful Life*, pp. 109f. and 152f.; Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. II, p. 295f.; Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism*, p. 43. On the *Washington Square Gallery*, Brenner and Robert J. Coady, see also Judith Zilczer, 'Robert J. Coady, Man of the Soil', in Rudolf E. Kuenzli (ed.), *New York Dada*, New York: Willis Locker & Owens, pp. 31-43; on Alfred Stieglitz's reaction to this arrangement and his opinion of Brenner, see letter Stieglitz to Marius de Zayas, dated 9 June 1914, reprinted in Naumann, *How, when, and why*, p. 62 and 174, see also Part IV below.

¹⁹⁶ In January 1914, Macke had a solo-exhibition at *Der Sturm* and also contributed to the exhibition at the *Galerie Ernst Arnold*, 'Die neue Malerei ("Expressionistische Ausstellung")'. From April to September he took part in the *Freie Secession* in Berlin; in May he was part of the exhibition "Rheinische Expressionisten" at the Flechtheim gallery in Düsseldorf, which then travelled to the *Neue Galerie* in Berlin (for details see below); cf. Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, pp. 780-82, 817-20, 833f. and 843; also Diehl & Dering (eds), p. 68, 78 and 108; Erdmann-Macke, p. 291; Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 170.

¹⁹⁷ *Lieber Herr Walden! Nach wie vor bin ich der Ansicht, daß ich immer wieder mal Geld brauche und deshalb falle ich als Familienvater auf die tollsten Sachen herein. [...] Und warum soll ich nicht hinten und vorn ausstellen, soviel Bilder ich habe. Ich habe tatsächlich jetzt nichts mehr. Dieser Bildertransport Flechtheim-Feldmann wurde mir brieflich durch Campendonck erzählt. Das ist alles, was ich davon weiß. Feldmann schrieb mir heute, er wolle von mir für eine Sommerausstellung einige Sachen haben und ich habe außer Aquarellen nichts. Ich kann Sie aber beruhigen. Trotz der Vielweiberei im Kunsthandel [...] Sie glauben gar nicht, wie heftig ich Sie oft verteidige. [...] Ihr August Macke; Letter Macke to Walden, dated 6 June 1914, here cited from Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 70f.*

¹⁹⁸ *Lieber Herr Walden!*
Ihre Gründe, die Sie gegen Feldmann und für sich anführen, leuchten mir sehr ein. Da ich nun nicht so schnell auf eine Antwort von Ihnen hoffte, habe ich mit Feldmann kurz vor Empfang Ihres Briefes in Ermangelung von Besserem einige Aquarelle zugesagt. Auf Ihren ausdrücklichen Wunsch könnte ich das ja widerrufen (mit irgendeiner faulen Ausrede).
Aber ich will Ihnen erklären, daß das mit Feldmann doch eine andere Sache ist und sich mir von einer anderen Seite darstellt als Ihnen. Erstens habe ich bei Feldmann in Köln schon lange ausgestellt, bevor ich bei Ihnen ausstellte. Zweitens hat Feldmann mich zu einer Ausstellung in Berlin eingeladen, zuvor er seine dortige Ausstellung hatte und bevor ich mit Ihnen abgemacht hatte. Ich sagte ihm damals, ich hätte mit Ihnen schon abgemacht, würde später aber bei ihm ausstellen. Drittens führt mich Feldmann schon seit 3 Jahren auf seinen Geschäftskarten

neben Braque, Picasso etc. und hat dabei kaum Bilder von mir in Händen. Viertens hat er mich wiederholt seit dem Herbstsalon eingeladen (auch zu der neuen Sezession und ich habe ihm gar nicht geantwortet). Fünftens ist sein Geschäftsführer ein intimer Freund von Campendonck und ist ein Mensch, der begeistert ist von meinen Bildern und der darüber dicke Briefe an Dritte zu schreiben für nötig hält. Ich halte mein Verhalten für sehr schwierig. Ich habe mich Ihnen zu Gefallen gegen Feldmann direkt unhöflich benommen, und das werden Sie auch einsehen. Ich habe den Wunsch, es mit ihm nicht zu verderben, und finde dazu gerade eine nebensächliche Ausstellung geeigneter wie eine Bombenausstellung im Winter.[...]

Was ich übrigens im letzten Brief erwähnte (ich hätte Sie verteidigt gegen andere) bezieht sich in keiner Weise auf Köhler, sondern auf andere, die Ihre Ausstellungen besuchen und Feldmanns und darüber schimpfen, daß ein Aussteller so scharf ist wie Sie im „Sturm“. Was ich sehr richtig finde! (von Ihnen).

Hoffentlich sehen Sie das mit Feldmann ein und schreiben mir was Tröstliches, mit herzlichem Gruß auch an Ihre Frau, die es einsehen wird.

Ihr Aug.[ust] Macke; letter Macke to Walden, dated 11 June 1914, here Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 71. For the Kandinsky retrospective, originally planned for the Goltz gallery, see above Chapter 7. Heinrich Campendonck (1889-1957) took part in the 1911-1912 exhibitions of *Der Blaue Reiter* and contributed to the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* and the *Rheinische Expressionisten* in Bonn during 1913. He exhibited at *Der Sturm* with Franz Marc and Jacoba van Heemskerck in November 1914, in June 1915 with Marc, Conrad Felixmüller and Oswald Herzog, and in August 1916 he was part of a group show at the gallery including, Chagall, Klee, Marc and Picabia; cf. Georg Brühl, *Herwarth Walden und Der Sturm*, Cologne: DuMont 1983, p. 224f. An uncle of Macke's wife Elisabeth, Bernhard Koehler (1849-1927) was an enthusiastic collector and patron of the new art and especially the *Blaue Reiter*. He provided the financial backing for the group's exhibitions as well as indemnifying the costs of the almanac of the *Blaue Reiter*, see Klaus Lankheit (ed.), *Der Blaue Reiter. Herausgegeben von Wassily Kandinsky und Franz Marc*, Munich & Zurich: R. Piper & Co. (1965) 1990, pp. 253-306; also Erdmann-Macke; Neumeister 'Der Sturm' 1910-1920, p. 100f.; see also below.

¹⁹⁹ *Lieber Herr Walden!*

Ich habe also Feldmann abgeschrieben, da Sie Recht haben. Die Verkäufe freuen mich sehr, da ich mich in Hilterfingen ziemlich ausgegeben habe. Ich danke Ihnen herzlich für die Vermittlung. [...] Es klingt aus Ihrem Brief so etwas wie Vorwurf, als wenn ich überhaupt beleidigt wäre, vom „Sturm“ nicht genügend beachtet zu werden. So habe ich das nicht gemeint. Ich schrieb das von Feldmanns Geschäftskarten nur, weil ich Ihnen mein Verhältnis zu Feldmann nur erklären wollte. [...]; letter Macke to Walden, dated 13 June 1914, here Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 71.

²⁰⁰ Letter Macke to Walden, dated 21 March 1913, in Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 67f.

²⁰¹ Ruth Diehl, 'Die Ausstellung der Rheinischen Expressionisten', in Diehl & Dering (eds), pp. 109-117 and 68; and Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 51.

²⁰² *Die rheinische Expressionistenausstellung habe ich gemacht in Bonn, so nebenbei, erstens um Cassirer zuvorkommen, und die Leute hier zusammenzubringen, zweitens als eine Probe für den Herbstsalon;* letter Macke to Walden, dated 9 July 1913, Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p. 69.

²⁰³ *Lieber Herr Walden!*

Ich erfahre, daß in der neuen Galerie Bilder der rhein.[ischen] Expressionisten ausgestellt sind. Die Leitung über diese Ausstellung in Düsseldorf hatte ich Mense überlassen, der mir auf einer Karte von der Eventualität einer solchen Ausstellung sprach. Weder Mense, noch Flechtheim, noch Feldmann, haben meine Erlaubnis zum Ausstellen meiner Bilder in Berlin. Andererseits hatte ich seinerzeit Mense alle Verantwortung für diese Veranstaltung bei Flechtheim übertragen. Ich teile Ihnen das mit, damit Sie meine völlige Unschuld daran begreifen. Ich glaube, es hat auch keinen Zweck, Mense deshalb Krach zu machen; der ist irgendwo in Italien. Da ich die Anfrage Feldmanns als identisch mit der Ausstellung der Expressionisten ansah, glaubte ich die Sache damit erledigt, daß ich ihm schrieb. Daß er zwei Ausstellungen machte, konnte ich nicht ahnen. Vielmehr bat ich Feldmann vor langem schon um Zusendung der Bilder aus der Expressionisten-Ausstellung, worauf er mir nicht antwortete. Wie ich von der Expressionisten-Ausstellung in Berlin erfuhr, das sehen Sie aus dem Beiliegenden [...]; letter Macke to Walden, n. d. [1914], Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg, p.71f. Dear Mr Walden! I understand that the Neue Galerie is showing the works of the Rhein.[ische] Expressionisten. I did entrust [Carlo] Mense with the organization of this exhibition in Düsseldorf, who informed me of such an eventuality on a postcard. Neither Mense, nor Flechtheim, or Feldmann have my permission to exhibit my pictures in Berlin. At the time, I passed all responsibility for such an event at Flechtheim's to Mense. I inform you about this so you might understand my total innocence in all of this. I believe it is pointless to make a scene with Mense, anyway, he is somewhere in Italy. Since I regarded Feldmann's enquiry as having to do with the Expressionism exhibition, I thought the whole matter was closed after my reply. It never dawned on me that he would hold two exhibitions. What is more, I asked Feldmann some time ago to return all the works to which he never replied. The enclosed will tell you how I learned about the Expressionism exhibition in Berlin.

²⁰⁴ *Paris [...] ist seit dem achtzehnten Jahrhundert internationale Zentrale bildender Kunst, der Humus, in dem [...] die Tradition von Generationen vorbereitet [wurde] [...]. Wenn wir diesen [...] Gedankengängen folgen, in der Anwendung auf Deutschland, bleibt für die deutsche Kunst am Ende nur eines: [...] Resignation; Grete Ring, 'Der junge Künstler und sein Händler – in Paris und Berlin, Kunst und Künstler XXIX, February 1931, pp. 179-189, here 179f.*

²⁰⁵ *Der junge unbekannte Künstler in Paris sucht zunächst einen [...] Vertreter [...] meist [durch] ein[nen] Kollege[n], der selbst schon von dem gleichen Händler vertreten [wird], [...] der dem Künstler seine gesamte Produktion abkauft; der Preis de[r] Bilde[r], [ist] nach Größenmaßen berechnet [...] so daß dem Maler [...] nach [...] Farben und Leinwand eben das Existenzminimum bleibt. [...] Da der Händler [...] kauft, trägt er [...] das volle Risiko. [...] Die Kunden werden auf die neue Erscheinung hingewiesen, teils in Einzelhandlung, teils in kleinen Ausstellungen, [...] die Fragpreise sind zunächst ganz bescheiden [...], um den ersten Käufern [...] die volle Chance eigener Spekulation zu lassen. [...] Wenn der Künstler einschlägt [...] können die Preise vorsichtig gesteigert werden. Die größeren Händler der Rive gauche werden auf den neuen Mann aufmerksam, sie erwerben Lots seiner Werke, bemühen sich ihrerseits, ihre [Käufer] für ihn zu gewinnen. Der Künstler wird jetzt suchen einen günstigeren Vertrag zu erbeuten [...], im Quartier der Rue la Boétie. [...] Darin liegt [...] [die] Disziplin des Pariser Handels [...] die Preise regeln sich automatisch durch alle Quartiers, sobald sie von obenher, beziehungsweise durch die öffentliche Versteigerung, festgesetzt sind. [...], weil der große Pariser Händler von heute nicht seine Aufgabe in dieser vorbereitenden Arbeit sieht. Er bezahlt bewußt das kleinere Risiko, die Geduldsarbeit der Einführung des Künstlers, und übernimmt ihn fertig hergerichtet zur endgültigen Weitergabe an den großen Sammler, in dessen*

Gewinnung [...] seine Sonderleistung besteht. Voraussetzung dieser Arbeitsteilung ist die genaue Staffelung des Pariser Handels, die von allen Beteiligten anerkannt wird [...]; p. 180-82.

²⁰⁶ In Deutschland beginnt der junge [...] Künstler gleichfalls damit, sich einen Vertreter zu suchen, und zwar tunlichst [...] an hervortretenster Stelle [...] nicht etwa aus Hybris, vielmehr weil keine gesunde Tradition ihn [...] leitet., [...] er kann sie in Berlin beim großen Händler ebensowenig finden, wie er dies in Paris kann. Gleich [...] zeigt sich das erste schwache Glied in der Kette: der kleine [...] Händler neuerer Kunst ist in zu wenigen Exemplaren vertreten.. [...] Vom festen Kauf kann keine Rede sein, Der Händler hat sein kleines Kapital nicht bereit, er hat für Miete in bester Gegend [...] verausgaben müssen [...]; der deutsche Kunde, weniger gewöhnt, an verborgener Stell gute Kunst zu finden, [...] mißt der Aufmachung leicht maßgebende Beutung bei. Der geldknappe – [...] ungern riskierende Händler schlägt also dem Künstler einen Kommissionsvertrag vor. Im seltenen [...] Fall wird der Händler dem Künstler ein monatliches Fixum [...] geben, [...] das später auf verkaufte Bilder verrechnet wird; in der Mehrzahl [...] behält er einfach die Bilder zum Verkauf und gibt dem Künstler erst Geld, wenn er selbst ein Bild verkauft und [...] bezahlt bekommen hat [...], und seine Provision [abgezogen hat]. [...] Es ist danach ungerecht, immer nur die deutschen Künstler für die hohen Anfangspreise ihrer Werke verantwortlich zu machen. Fehlerquelle und Abhilfemöglichkeit liegen einzig im System.; p. 184 and 186.

²⁰⁷ Letter Macke to Bernhard Köhler, dated 21 October 1912, here Ursula Heiderich, *August Macke – Die Skizzenbücher*, vol. 1, Stuttgart: Hatje 1987, p. 111 and vol. 2, sketchbook 55c, p. 42; see also Heiderich, “Der Leib ist die Seele”. August Mackes Beitrag zum Almanach *Der Blaue Reiter*, in Christine Hopfengart (ed.), (cat.) *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kunsthalle Bremen, 25 March – 12 June, Cologne: DuMont 2000, pp. 248-254; and Macke, Wolfgang (ed.), *August Macke – Franz Marc Briefwechsel*, Cologne: DuMont 1964, p. 161. See also my discussions in Part I, chapter 4, and Part IV of this thesis.

²⁰⁸ Kahnweiler, *Der Gegenstand der Ästhetik*.

NOTES: PART III

¹ During one of his expeditions Frobenius acquired a collection of artefacts, among them a bronze head of the Yoruba god Olokun that brought him into conflict with the local inhabitants. This sparked a fracas between German and British museum officials and the British colonial authorities in southern Nigeria; for details, see for example H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*, University of North Carolina Press, 2002, pp. 115-123. For his own version of events, cf. Leo Frobenius, *Auf den Trümmern des klassischen Atlantis*, vol. 1 of *Und Afrika sprach*, Berlin 1912, pp. 66-126.

² Roger Fry, 'Negro Sculpture at the Chelsea Book Club', *The Athenaeum*, 16 April 1920, here from the reprinted version 'Negro Sculpture', in *Vision and Design*, (1920), Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1937, pp. 87-91, here 87f.

³ This is how, in 1904, the explorer and ethnographer Emil Torday described the ethnographic objects in a letter to the Keeper of the British Museum's ethnographic department in which he sought advice on the collection he had brought back from the Kasai/Sankuru region, then part of the Belgian Congo. Torday subsequently presented the collection to the Museum; cf. John Mack, *Emil Torday and the Art of the Congo, 1900-1909*, London: The British Museum 1990, p. 20f; also Mack, 'Images of Africa – John Mack on Emile Torday and the art of the Congo 1900-1909, as revealed in a stunning exhibition just opened at the Museum of Mankind', *British Museum Magazine* 1990, pp. 5-9.

⁴ Fry, 'Negro Sculpture', p. 88.

⁵ Fry, 'An Appreciation of the Swenigorodskoi Enamels', *The Burlington Magazine*, August 1912, pp. 290-94, and his, 'Cézanne', *The Burlington Magazine*, January 1910, here Christopher Green (ed.), *Art Made Modern: Roger Fry's Vision of Art*, London: The Courtauld Institute of Art 1999, pp. 125-132.

⁶ Fry, 'Bushmen Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, March 1910, pp. 334-38, reprinted as 'The art of the Bushmen' in *Vision and Design*, pp. 74-87.

⁷ Fry, 'Negro Sculpture', p. 90f.

⁸ *Bilder sind keine Bibelots, sondern geistige Werkzeuge, praktische Kräfte, die rücksichtslos benutzt und absorbiert werden*; Einstein *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1931), here CEW 5, p. 112.

⁹ For the above mentioned events organized by Guillaume and the exhibition in November/December 1916 at the *Lyre et Palette*, or Fénéon's survey 'Iront-ils au Louvre? Enquête sur des arts lointains' (1920), which demonstrated the entire gamut of reactions to the issues involved, see, for example, Paudrat, 'From Africa', pp. 154-159. For a captivating historical analysis of western literature imposing its language of desire on Africa in a 'genealogy of the negative' that argues that the very idea of cultural/racial difference is a function of language itself, see Christopher L. Miller, *Blank Darkness – Africanist Discourse in French*, The University of Chicago Press 1985.

¹⁰ On Marcoussis and his connections to the circle of Apollinaire, see Hicken, esp. pp. xxi-xxii, 87-90, and 174-75; on his interest in non-western objects, see Peltier 'From Oceania', in Rubin, "Primitivism", pp. 99-123.

¹¹ *La passion du bibelot est, aujourd'hui, un culte: l' Hôtel Drouot en est la cathédrale; les galeries particulières en sont les petites chapelles. Et son collectionneur est devenu pour les Parisiennes un directeur de conscience. Il confesse de 5 à 7, et officie généralement en pyjama; Louis Marcous[is], 'Bibeloteuses', La Vie Parisienne, 31 May 1913, p.391.*

¹² p.391: *Il y a le collectionneur d'estampes dont les cartons recèlent toutes les horreurs de l'Enfer et toutes les visions du Paradis. Il y a le collectionneur de poupées chez qui on retrouve l'ingénuité du temps où l'on était petite fille.*

*Il y a le collectionneur d'idoles nègres chez qui l'on oublie tous les vains préjugés d'une civilisation trop compliqué ; on Fang and Baule sculpture, which because of their formalized abstract qualities continued to be the most desirable of African sculptural objects, see Suzanne M. Vogel (ed.), *Idol becomes art! With Notes and a Roundtable Discussion*, to the film, *Fang: an Epic Journey*, Prince Street Pictures Inc., 2001; and *Baule: African Art/Western Eyes*, New Haven: Yale University Press 1997; on the wider more recent issues relating to an aesthetics of African art, see her 'Whither African Art? Emerging Scholarship at the End of an Age', *African Arts*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 4, Winter 2005, pp.12-17.*

¹³ The craze of collecting 'poupées' in period costume is obvious in the advertising pages of any of the period's French (and German) periodicals, see for example, *Je sais tout*, vol. 7, no. 83 (15 December 1911).

¹⁴ Marcous[is], *Bibeloteuses*, p. 391: *Il y a le collectionneur de Japonaiseries chez qui l'on s'initie aux langoureuses extases de l'Orient. Comment s'étonner qu'avec tant de maîtres subtils, la Parisienne ait, en art, un goût si raffiné et des idées si confuses.*

¹⁵ Alois Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn* (Vienna 1901), here *Late Roman Art Industry* (trans. Rolf Winkes), Rome 1985, and *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (Berlin: 1893); cf. also Jas Elsner, 'The birth of Late Antiquity: Riegl and Strzygowski in 1901', *Art History*, vol. 25, no. 3 (June 2002), pp. 358-379; Ernst Gombrich, *The sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Arts* (1979), Phaidon Press 1984, pp. 180-196; and Margaret Olin, 'Self-Representation: Resemblance and Convention in Two Nineteenth-Century Theories of Architecture and the Decorative Arts', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 49, no. 3 (1986), pp. 376-397, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1482362>, accessed: 19/03/2009 06:05.

The full impact of Freudian psychoanalytical concepts did not manifest itself until the nineteen-twenties when translations of his oeuvre became more widely available and the Surrealist circle around André Breton took an exceptional interest in his analyses of dreams, the unconscious, and his and Jean-Martin Charcot's work on aspects of hysteria. During 1885/86 Freud had worked under Charcot at Salpêtrière, which resulted in his first paper published in France, 'L'Hérédité et l'étiologie des neuroses' (1896); on theories of racial difference see Freud, *Totem und Tabu: Einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker* (1913), Frankfurt/Main, Fischer Verlag, 1971; cf. for example Mary Ann Doane, 'Dark Continents: Epistemologies of Racial Difference in Psychoanalysis and the Cinema', in *Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film, Theory, Psychoanalysis*, New York: Routledge 1991; David Lomas, 'Surrealism, Psychoanalysis and Hysteria', in (cat.), Jennifer Mundy (ed.), *Surrealism, desire unbound*, London: Tate Publishing 2001, pp. 55-77.

¹⁶ Otto Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter. Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung*, Vienna & Leipzig: Braumüller 1903; and (eng. trans.) *Sex and Character*, London 1906, see here, for example, p. 205 and 310; by the mid-twenties, the book was in its 8th German edition; an Italian translation appeared as *Sesso e carattere*, (trans. Dott. G. Fenoglio), Milan: Bocca 1912, and was invoked by Giorgio de Chirico in his essay 'Sull'arte metafisica', *Valore Plastici*, vol. I, no. 4-5 (April-May 1919), pp.15-18.

¹⁷ For a history of German ethnology prior to the First World War, see Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, University of Chicago Press 2001, also Penny, *Objects of Culture*. With a particular view to the collecting policies of German museums, see Felicitas Bergner, 'Ethnographisches Sammeln in Afrika während der deutschen Kolonialzeit. Ein Beitrag zur Sammlungsgeschichte deutscher Völkerkundemuseen', *Paideuma* 42 (1996), pp. 225-235.; with view to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (now the Ethnological Museum) see Ivanov, 'Afrika-Europa in den [Kunst-] Objekten', in Peter Junge & Paola Ivanov (eds), (cat.), *Kunst aus Afrika, Plastik, Performance, Design*, Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin & Cologne: SMB-DuMont 2005, pp. 34-47.

¹⁸ Ezio Bassani, 'Afro-Portugiesische Elfenbeinarbeiten', in Hans-Joachim Koloss (ed.), (cat.) *Afrika Kunst und Kultur*, Munich: Prestel 1999, pp. 66-72; Junge & Ivanov, pp. 56-63; also Enid Schildkrout & Curtis Keim (eds) (1998), *The Scramble for Art in Central Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁹ On nineteenth-century attitudes towards Africa, see Patrick Brantlinger, 'Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 12, no. 1 (autumn 1985), pp. 166-203; also Miller, *Blank Darkness*, esp. pp. 3-65.

²⁰ For a detailed discussion of this project and the relevance and significance of photography in the history and theories of anthropology, see Roslyn Poignat (1992), 'Surveying the Field of View: The Making of the RAI Photographic Collection', in Elizabeth Edwards (1992) (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography 1860 – 1920*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press and The Royal Anthropological Institute, pp. 42-73, here pp. 54-61. Also Joseph de Gobineau (1816-1882), *Essai sur inégalité des races humaines* (1853-55), and (trans. A. Collins), *The Inequality of Human Races*, G.P. Putnam's Sons 1915.

²¹ Martin Kemp and Marina Wallace, (cat.) *Spectacular Bodies. The Art and Science of the Human Body from Leonardo to Now*, London & Los Angeles: Hayward Gallery and University of California Press 2000, here, p. 122f. Dammann's album is discussed at length in Elizabeth Edwards, 'Photographic Types: The Pursuit of Method', *Visual Anthropology*, vol. 3, no. 2-3 1990, pp. 239-258.

²² Andrew D. Evans, 'Capturing Race' in Eleanor M. Hight & Gary D. Sampson, *Colonialist Photography. Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, London & New York: Routledge 2002, pp. 226-256; also Grimm, 'Felix von Luschan als Anthropologe', pp. 415-425.

²³ Dr. v. Wrochem - Hamburg, 'Richtlinien der Eingeborenenbehandlung im belgischen Kongogebiet' (Guidelines for the Treatment of Natives in the Belgian Congo Region), *Koloniale Rundschau, Monatsschrift für die Interessen unserer Schutzgebiete und ihrer Bewohner*, vol. 1912, no. 4, here p. 172 and 174.

²⁴ Cf. Rubin, 'Modernist Primitivism: An Introduction', in Rubin, "Primitivism", pp. 1-81, here p. 13. The mask is also discussed by Ezio Bassani, 'Italian Painting', p. 406; Jack Flam, 'Matisse and the fauves', p. 214; and Paudrat 'From Africa', p. 139. See also Goldwater, pp. 86f and Jean Laude, *La Peinture française (1907-1914) et l'Art nègre*, Paris: Klincksieck 1968, p. 104-05. For further details on the importance of Fang sculpture and its reception by the avant-garde, especially Picasso, see, for example, Rubin, 'Picasso', in Rubin "Primitivism", pp. 240-343, where nine different Fang objects are featured, one of which (p. 292 bottom right) was also reproduced in *Negerplastik* (pl. 32-34). Further proof of the iconic status of Fang works may be the report on a CT scan study of a Fang head belonging to the Musée d'ethnographie Neuchâtel that confirmed the sculpture's early eighteenth-century origin, cf. Roland Kaehr and Louis Perrois with Marc Ghysels (trans. R. Pearlman), 'A Masterwork that sheds Tears ... and Light: A Complementary Study of a Fang Ancestral head', *African Arts*, winter 2007, pp. 44-57; see also the film made by the expert on African aesthetics, Susan M. Vogel, *Fang: an Epic Journey*, and her accompanying notes, in Vogel (ed.), *Idol becomes art! With Notes and a Roundtable Discussion*, Prince Street Pictures Inc. 2001.

²⁵ Cited from P. Amaury Talbot, 'Reviews: Africa, West, Tessmann', *Man* (Royal Anthropological Institute), no. 98-99 (1914), p. 203f. Also Günter Tessmann, *Die Pangwe: Völkerkundliche Monographie eines Westafrikanischen Negerstammes*, 2 vols, Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth 1913; on Tessmann's Fang collection, cf. Brigitte Templin, 'Geschenkte Welten – Schätze aus der Ferne an der Trave', *Lübeckische Blätter, Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung gemeinnütziger Tätigkeit*, vol. 173, no. 1, 2008, pp. 8f.

²⁶ [...] indessen überwiegt doch der grobe negerhafte Typus mit breiten wulstigen Lippen, breiter Nase und hervortretendem Kinn, in Günter Tessmann, 'Die Pangwe', *Koloniale Rundschau*, vol. 1912, issue 4, pp. 225-237, here p. 230; similar pseudo-scientific language can also be found in his monograph. According to Vogel, *Fang: an Epic Journey*, Tessmann's work was marginalized in Germany because of his homosexual proclivities that led him to favour life in Africa away from his German compatriots.

²⁷ Carl Einstein 'Drei Negerlieder. Nachdichtungen von Carl Einstein', *Die Aktion*, vol. 6, 1916, No. 47/48, col. 651, CEW 1, p. 256f. and Einstein (ed.), *Afrikanische Legenden*, Berlin: Rowohlt 1925. For the Fang works reproduced see *Negerplastik*, pl. nos 16-17, 18, 32-34, 36-38, 39, 40, 41, and 62. For attribution details, indicating two as having belonged to Brummer and/or Guillaume, three to Frank Burty Haviland and/or the Arensbergs, one to the collector U. Horstmann, Berlin, and two for which no provenances are known, see Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, pp. 109-118.

²⁸ Brantlinger, 'Victorians and Africans', as above.

²⁹ Ivanov, pp. 38-43.

³⁰ See, for example, Felix von Luschan, (intr.) *Anleitung für ethnographische Beobachtungen und Sammlungen in Afrika und Ozeanien*, Berlin 1904.

³¹ Henry Balfour, *Evolution of Decorative Art*, London: Percival 1893, pp. 77-96.

³² Publications appeared simultaneously in three languages: Georg A. Schweinfurth, *Im Herzen von Afrika. Reisen und Entdeckungen im centralen Aequatorial-Afrika während der Jahre 1868 bis 1871*, 2 vols (Leipzig 1874); *The Heart of Africa. Three Years' Travels and Adventures in the unexplored Regions of*

Central Africa from 1868 to 1871, 2 vols, London: Sampson Low 1878; 'Au coeur de l'Afrique. Trois ans de voyage et d'aventures dans les regions de l'Afrique centrale', *Le Tour du Monde*, vol 2, 1874, pp. 193-273. See also Curtis A. Keim, 'Artes Africane: The Western discovery of "Art" in northeastern Congo', in Schildkrout & Keim (eds), pp. 109-132.

³³ For details on the *Exposition Universelle*, see Bärbel Küster, 'Zwischen Ästhetik, Politik und Ethnographie: die Präsentation des Belgischen Kongos auf der Weltausstellung Brüssel-Tervuren 1897', in Grewe, *Die Schau des Fremden*, pp. 95-118. On the shifts in the ethnographic discourse see, for example, Schildkrout & Keim; and Clifford, 'On Ethnographic Authority', in his *The Predicament of Culture*, pp. 21-54.

³⁴ For details see Jeanne Zeidler and Mary Lou Hultgren, "'Things African Prove to be a Favorite Theme". The African Collection at Hampton University', in Vogel, (ed.), *ART/artifact. African Art in Anthropology Collections*, New York: The Centre for African Art & Prestel Verlag, 1989., pp. 97-111. Also David A. Binkley and Patricia J. Darish "'Enlightened but in Darkness". Interpretations of Kuba art and culture at the turn of the twentieth century', in Schildkrout & Keim (eds), pp. 37-62, and Jan Vansina, *The Children of Woot: A History of the Kuba Peoples*, Madison, Wis., The University of Wisconsin Press 1978. On Sheppard's critique of colonial policies and subsequent trial, see Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost. A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, Pan Books 1998/2006, pp. 260-265.

³⁵ The quote is Frans M. Olbrechts' (1946, French trans. 1959), *Les arts plastiques du Congo belge*, Brussels: Grasmé, here Binkley & Darish, as above, p. 56.

³⁶ Torday was amongst those, who doubted Luschan's evaluations of Benin culture, for details see Emile Torday, *On the Trail of the Bushongo, an account of a remarkable and hitherto unknown African people, their origin, art, high social organization and culture, derived from the author's personal experience amongst them*, London: Seeley, Service and Co. 1925, and Mack, *Emile Torday*, p. 17f. Torday's account below is largely informed by Mack's research.

³⁷ Cf. the obituary on Torday's death, Bronislaw Malinowski, 'Mr. Emil Torday' *The Times*, 14 May 1931.

³⁸ Mack, *Emile Torday*, pp. 11-12, p. 20f. and 33; ; also Mack, 'Kuba art and the birth of ethnography', in Schildkrout & Keim (eds), pp. 63-78. See also the comprehensive study by Jan Vansina, Jan, *The Children of Woot: A History of the Kuba Peoples*, Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978; Mary Nooter Roberts & Allen F. Roberts (eds), *Memory: Luba Art and the Making of History*, New York: Prestel and The Museum for African Art 1996; and Mary Nooter Roberts, 'Die Königskunst der Luba', in Hans-Joachim Koloss (ed.), (cat.) *Afrika Kunst und Kultur*, Munich: Prestel 1999, pp. 164-180; on the Luba and their neighbours, the Pende and Chokwe cultures, see Werner Gillon, *A short History of African Art*, Harmondsworth: Pelican Books 1986, pp.290-310.

³⁹ Thomas A. Joyce, 'The Portrait Statue of Mikopembula, 110th Paramount Chief of the Bushongo', *Man*, No. 115 (December 1925), p. 185-86. For a more detailed account of Torday's Kuba ethnography, see Torday & Joyce, 'Notes ethnographiques sur les peuples communément appelés Bakuba ainsi que sur les peuplades apparentées: Les Bushongo', *Annales. Ethnographie. Anthropologie*, ser. 3. tom. 2. fasc. 1, 1910, Brussels, Musée Royale de l'Afrique Centrale. du Congo Belge; and 'Notes ethnographiques sur des populations habitant les basins du Kasai

et du Kwang oriental', *Annales du Musée du Congo Belge*, tom. II. fasc. 2, 1922; on the history of the Tervuren museum and its collection, see Boris Wastiau, *EXitCONGOmuseum. An essay on the 'social life' of the masterpieces of the Tervuren museum*, Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa 2000. For details of Einstein's collaboration with Joyce, see chapter 14 below.

⁴⁰ Postcard Max Weber to Picasso, dated 28 December 1908, here cited from Judith Cousins & Hélène Seckel, 'Chronology of "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon", 1907-1939', in William Rubin, Hélène Seckel, Judith Cousins, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, issue 3 of Studies in Modern Art, New York: The Museum of Modern Art & Harry N. Abrams Inc. 1994, p. 157; see also 'A Scientific Expedition on the Upper Congo', *The Times*, 16 August 1909, here Mack, *Emile Torday*, pp. 14-17.

⁴¹ For a bibliography of publications by Torday and Joyce, see Mack, *Emile Torday*, pp. 93-95. On museums and their cultural function, see Goldwater, *Primitivism*, pp. 3-50; also Penny, *Objects of Culture*, especially pp. 197-214.

⁴² Of the twenty identified objects from cultures within the Congo region reproduced in *Negerplastik*, five were Kuba objects, see pl. nos 5, 65, 74, 75, 90, and five Luba, pl. nos 76-80. Chokwe objects were reproduced in pl. nos 42, 67, 68, and Pende by pl. nos 92 and 104. Additional Congo cultures included the Yombe, pl. nos 63 and 64, Vili, pl. nos. 12 and 13, and lastly one identified as Kongo, pl. no. 19; provenances in Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, pp. 109-118.

⁴³ Cf. Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, Berlin: Wasmuth-Verlag (Orbis Pictus, vol. 7) 1921, here CEW 2, p. 93. The studies by Torday & Joyce were: 'Notes on the ethnography of the Ba-Huana', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 36, July-December 1906, pp. 272-300, and *Notes ethnographiques*, as above. For the Kuba statue and the Benin head, see Thomas A. Joyce & O. M. Dalton, *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, London: The British Museum (1910) 1925, facing p. 134 and facing p. 252, reproduced in *Negerplastik* (1915) as pl. 61 and 65. Coinciding with the Grafton Galleries' Post-Impressionism exhibition, the book became according to J. B. Bullen 'the international bible for the emergent interest in primitive art and culture', cf. J. B. Bullen, 'Great British Gauguin: His reception in London in 1910-11', *Apollo*, (October 2003), pp. 3-12, here p. 5.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of *Afrikanische Plastik* and other ethnographic publications by Einstein, see below chapters 14 and 15.

⁴⁵ The objects belonging to Osthaus are reproduced in *Negerplastik* as pl. no. 57 and 101, those of the von der Heydt collection (now Museum Rietberg) are pl. no. 14-19, 98, 106 and 110, see Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, pp. 109-118. On the Osthaus collection see Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, (et al, eds), *Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk*, Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers 1971; Felix Denek (ed.), (cat.), *Der westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1914: Kunst und Umweltgestaltung im Industriegebiet – Die Margarethenhöhe Das Schöne und die Ware*, Essen: Museum Folkwang, 25 March – 20 May 1984; on von der Heydt, see Sabine Fehlemann (ed.), (cat.) *Asien, Afrika, Amerika und Ozeanien: Eduard von der Heydt als Sammler aussereuropäischer Kunst*, 14 April – 30 June, Wuppertal" Von der Heydt Museum and Museumsverein Wuppertal 2002; and P. Meyer, 'African Art at the Museum Rietberg, Zurich', *African Arts*, vol. 14, no. 4 (1981), pp. 52-67.

⁴⁶ Wilhelm Hausenstein, 'Von Ethnographischen Sammlungen', *Die Weissen Blätter*, 1 (1913/14), pp. 252-255. During 1913 Hausenstein also published a

couple of essays on the new artistic tendencies, see Hausenstein, 'Literatur zu den neuen Kunstbewegungen', *Der Sturm* IV, 156/7, 1913, p. 10; and 'Vom Kubismus' *Der Sturm* IV, 170/1, 1913, pp. 67-70; in the following year he authored a competent survey on contemporary art that in its success has been compared to Einstein's post-war *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, see Hausenstein, *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart* (1914) Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt 1923. On Hausenstein's connection to modern art collectors such as Eduard von der Heydt, see, for example, Henrike Junge (ed.), *Avantgarde und Publikum*, p. 161.

⁴⁷ *Aber eine Minderheit hat angefangen, diese Künste von einem absoluten künstlerischen Standpunkt aus zu würdigen*; Hausenstein, 'Von Ethnographischen Sammlungen', p. 252.

⁴⁸ Dedication Einstein: *Lieber Flechteim – dieser erste April. Welche Vourraussicht Ihrer Eltern und welch sinnvoll bedeutender Tag. Gute Wünsche*; dedication Hausenstein: [...] *Sie lehrten die äußersten Kalauer (Tilla Durieux-eleison) und waren nach etlichen Burgundern nicht ohne Ton und Geste [...] Dann kam die Zeit wo ich den Expressionismus greulich fand und an der Kunst „dieser Epoche“ verzweifelte (...). Da sagten Sie, ich verdürbe Ihnen das Geschäft und den Animismus [?], und seitdem sind unsere Beziehungen etwas farblos. Das tut mir leid*; see the portfolio Alfred Flechtheim, dated 1 April 1928, held at the *Handschriftenabteilung, Staatsbibliothek Preußische Kulturbesitz*, Berlin, (sig. Alb. amic. 212). Along with those already mentioned the dedications included the authors Max Friedländer, Walter Mehring, Ernst Toller and Kurt Pinthus. Others came from the conservator of the *Barmer Kunstverein* and one of the influential organizers of the Düsseldorf and Cologne *Sonderbund* exhibitions, Dr Richard Reiche, who was the first to acquire a Picasso work for a German museum; also included were the critic and art historian Emil Waldmann and the dealer and collector of African art, Paul Guillaume. On Einstein's initiative Reber became a member of the editorial board of the journal *Documents* in 1929, see also Part chapter 15.

⁴⁹ *Es wird in einer nicht fernen Zeit dahin kommen, daß wir alle eine Anmaßung, die etwa das Werk eines Südseeinsulaners herablassend als wunderliche Leistung einer wunderlichen Seele betrachtet, ebenso unleidlich fänden wie wir heute einen Hochmut unleidlich fänden, [...] die japanische Kunst in die Kammer der Kuriositäten zu verweisen. [...] Beim ethnographischen Museum, das [die] [...] außer-europäischen Kulturkreise darstellen will, lassen wir uns noch immer jede Aufmachung gefallen [...]. Aber es handelt sich darum, zu begreifen, daß eine lediglich wissenschaftliche Organisation der Kulturdokumente – [...] - heute kein zureichender Grundsatz mehr ist [...]. Es ist Zeit, daß sie einer künstlerischen Pflege überantwortet werden*; Hausenstein, 'Von Ethnographischen Sammlungen', p. 252-3.

⁵⁰ This museum had supplied some of the photographs of the ethnographic material that Macke, after his initial research at the Cologne Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, and other members of the *Blaue Reiter* chose for the *Blaue Reiter* almanac in 1912; other material came from the Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne; for listings, see Lankheit, *Der Blaue Reiter*, pp. 335-351; also von Tavel (ed.), (cat.) *Der Blaue Reiter*.

⁵¹ p. 255: *Das Münchener Museum gibt ein bezeichnendes Beispiel. Es besitzt die wundervollsten Dinge, es gibt Künstler, die lieber dorthin laufen als in die alte Pinakothek. [...] Dabei hat die Verwaltung eine bedeutende ethnographische Organisationsarbeit geleistet [...] Der Fall ist einigermaßen typisch. Die öffentlichen Körperschaften pflegen für verhältnismäßig belanglosen Dinge wie*

Uniformgeschichte und Waffengeschichte der Neuzeit ganze Säle in den kostspieligsten Monumentalbauten bereit zu halten. Die Herrlichkeiten der ethnographischen Sammlungen müssen sich behelfen. Dinge, von denen die Künstler der Gegenwart die höchste Beglückung empfangen.

⁵² p. 254: *In der Menge der Literatur zur exotischen Kunst gibt es nicht ein einziges Buch, das vom Standpunkt der künstlerischen Würdigung der exotischen Formenwelt zureicht. Die Museen sind fast ganz nach antropogeographischen, [...] [und] rassengeschichtlichen Gesichtspunkten eingeordnet. [...] Aber diese Einsichten betonen nicht das, was uns heute mehr und mehr das Entscheidende an exotischen Kulturen wird – die unerhörte Vollkommenheit ihres künstlerischen Ausdrucks.*

⁵³ As Glaser remarked on the gallery's interior in his 'Neue Kunstsalons in Berlin (Neue Galerie)' p. 128.

⁵⁴ Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Der Nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*, Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag 1913, here p. VII. Kenneth Clark would later call the book a 'Marxist stew', see Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Art*, Harmondsworth 1970, p. xxi. On Reinhart Piper and Hausenstein's project, see Andreas Meier, 'Das Umfeld des Verlegers Reinhart Piper und der "Blaue Reiter"', in Hans-Christoph von Tavel (ed.), (cat.) *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kunstmuseum Bern, 21 November 1986 – 15 February 1987, pp. 227-239; also Joachim Schultz, 'Carl Einstein, Blaise Cendrars und Andere. Zum Primitivismus in der Europäischen Literatur der Avant-Garde zwischen 1900-1940', in CEKo 1, 1986, pp. 49-65.

⁵⁵ Hausenstein, *Der Nackte Mensch*, p. 24.

⁵⁶ Hausenstein, *Der Nackte Mensch*, pp. 34-44.

⁵⁷ Andreas Meier suggests that Piper made available to Hausenstein some of the photographic material used by the *Blaue Reiter*, cf. Meier, 'Das Umfeld des Verlegers', p. 235. On Hausenstein's reformist attempts to creating a world-historical sociology of art that linked style to social formation, see Joan Weinstein, 'Wilhelm Hausenstein, the leftist Promotion of Expressionism, and the First World War', in Rainer Rumold & O. K. Werkmeister (eds), *The Ideological Crisis of Expressionism: The Literary and Artistic German War Colony in Belgium 1914-1918*, Columbia: Camden House 1990, pp. 193-218, here 193-199.

⁵⁸ Hausenstein, *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart*, p. 250: *Das Gesetz der Kunst ist für Hildebrand – und wahrlich mit Recht – ein ganz abstraktes Gesetz: die Kunst hat ihre Logik nicht in der natürlichen Erscheinung der Dinge, sondern im abstrakten Organisationstrieb des künstlerisch Anschauenden, das heißt des ästhetisch definierenden Geistes. Die Natur ist für Hildebrand nichts, die abstrahierende Gestaltung alles* (For Hildebrand the law of art is an entirely abstract law – and rightly so: the logic of art does not reside in the appearance of things, but rather in the abstract drive to organize the artistic vision, that is, the aesthetically defining mind. Nature is nothing to Hildebrand, abstract formation is all).

⁵⁹ Hausenstein, *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart*, pp. IX – XII

⁶⁰ p. 348: *Der Kubismus hat heute bereits seine Anekdoten. Es wird erzählt, Picasso sei [...] von dem Eindruck überwältigt gewesen, den die in der Form einer ungleichmäßigen dreiseitigen Pyramide geschnitzte Nase an einer exotischen Plastik auf ihn gemacht habe [...].*

⁶¹ p. 348f.: *Aber es wäre blödsinnig, den Kubismus daher abzuleiten. [...] Der Kubismus ist eine Angelegenheit des Zeitalters. Seine Entwicklung aus der Logik der Zeit ist so klar, daß es der Anekdote wahrlich nicht bedarf [...] Aber freilich soll nicht bestritten werden, daß diese Logik ihre Enge hat. [...] Die französische Kunst hat [...] seit Monet einen zunehmenden Hang zum Methodischen gezeigt. [...] Maurice Denis, der neue Klassizismus, die neue Gotik ist methodisch. [...] Aber jedenfalls wollen wir dem einen nicht verwehren, was dem anderen billig ist, und nicht gerade nur dem Kubismus den Hang zur Methode vorwerfen, den wir ungefähr überall finden können (to deduct from this the origin of Cubism would be foolish. [...] Cubism is a matter of its historical moment. The logic of its timely emergence surely does not require such anecdotes'. [...] Of course, it cannot be denied that this logic has its downside. [...] Since [...] Monet, French art has increasingly tended towards method. [...] Maurice Denis, the new Classicism, the new Gothic, all is methodical. [...] However, one should not deny one while condoning the other, nor accuse Cubism of a tendency to the methodical when it is found everywhere else).*

⁶² p. 344 and 345: *Es ist [...] oft von Deformation des Gegenstandes und von Vernichtung des Gegenständlichen die Rede gewesen und ganz besonders in den Analysen der jüngsten Kunst. Der Kubismus [...] erscheint als die letzte zeitgeschichtliche Etappe in diesem Prozess [...] Der Kubismus will nicht eine optische Impression [...]. Er will die gesamte Wesenheit des Objekts. [...] Es leuchtet ein, daß damit eine Erweiterung des überlieferten Sehwillens gegeben ist: [...] im Sinne einer gewissen Epik. Wenn man will, kann man hier prinzipiell dasselbe sehen wie in den vielerzählenden Bildern der Primitiven, auf denen zugleich Geburt Anbetung und Kreuzigung Christi zu sehen ist: das kubistische [...] Bild will etwas analoges, doch [...] moderne[s] [...], eine lediglich innere Anschauung, die sich in sichtbaren Äquivalenten ergießen soll.*

⁶³ Cf. Rubin, 'From Narrative to "Iconic" in Picasso: The Buried Allegory of *Bread and Fruitdish on a Table* and the Role of *Demoiselles d'Avignon*', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 65, no. 4 (December 1983), pp. 615-49.

⁶⁴ *Nicht der Leistung, wohl aber dem Sinne nach bedeutet die Kunst Noldes ebenso wie die Gauguins eine Ereuerung des Kunstgeistes der Wilden [...]. Wir könnten gar nichts Besseres tun als uns fanatisch mit der Kunst der primitiven Exoten zu beschäftigen; nicht um eine primitivistische Mode zu schaffen, sondern so weit der literarisch korrumpierte Europäer es überhaupt vermag, einmal zu erleben, was ganz ursprüngliche Kunstinstinkte eigentlich sind und was aus ihrer ungebrochenen Kraft, aus ihrer naiven Fülle an ganz unzweideutigen Gestaltungen hervorzubringen vermögen. Wir erleben in unserer Zeit das Gotische, das Archaisch-Griechische, das Ägyptische, die indische Kunst mit ganz neuer Inbrunst. Wenn wir diese Linie zu Ende leben – und es besteht der Trost, daß wir es müssen, weil die Logik der objektiven Notwendigkeiten immer stärker ist als unsere kümmerlichen individuellen Widerstände –, so werden wir eines Tages von selbst zu der Schönheit der Kunst wilder Völker gelangen und eine Kunst begreifen lernen, die den höchsten Sinn alles Künstlerischen enthält. Wir werden eine Kunst erleben und sie auch selbst hervorbringen, deren Argument in der Mystik einer religiös ergriffenen Seele eines metaphysisch durchschauerten Geistes liegt;* Hausenstein, *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart*, p. 326. Post-war publications by the author included: Hausenstein, *Exoten, Skulpturen und Märchen*, Eugen Rentsch, Erlenbach-Zurich & Munich 1920, and *Barbaren und Klassiker*, Munich: R. Piper & Co. 1922.

⁶⁵ *Das was man die Metaphysik der Wilden nennen könnte, ist gleich der Metaphysik der jütischen Bauern, die an Nolde's Bildern wie an bemalten Holzbalken eine gelassene Freude haben, etwas ganz Anspruchloses; p. 326.*

⁶⁶ *Ich gestehe offen, nicht dem Zuge bewundernder Betrachter mich anschließen zu können, deren Mund ein billiges Gerede von Metaphysik entfällt. [...] Zweifellos, diese Bilder sind aus ungemeiner Spannung gewonnen, doch wurde sie formal kaum ausgewertet; allzu gern wird solche Lücke von Halbdichtern genutzt, und optischer Mangel soll durch dröhnendes Pathos und verpöbelte Metaphysik beglichen werden. [...] Die primitive Einstellung treibt geographische Exotik, als könne man von draußen her die europäische Mentalität verjüngen; Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1927), p. 127 and 129.*

⁶⁷ On Hausenstein's ideological turn, see Weinstein, 'Wilhelm Hausenstein', pp. 199-218.

⁶⁸ *Hausenstein gibt uns schöne Beispiele exotischer Kunst, wobei die geographische Fatalität ihn zwingt, Chinesisches neben Ozeanisches zu setzen und auf Mexikanisches persische Miniaturen folgen zu lassen. Ich bezweifle, ob selbst die äußerst geistvollen Kombinationen des Verfassers solche Zusammenstellung rechtfertigen; see Einstein, 'Die Antipoden', in *Das Kunstblatt*, vol. 6 1922, pp. 86-89, here CEW 2, p. 214. The citation refers to Hausenstein, *Barbaren und Klassiker* (1922).*

⁶⁹ Einstein, *Negerplastik*, Leipzig: Verlag der Weißen Bücher 1915; unless otherwise stated all references to *Negerplastik*, will be to CEW 1, pp. 234-52.

⁷⁰ Rainer Rumold, "'Painting as a Language. Why Not?'" Carl Einstein in *Documents*, October 107, *Carl Einstein. A Special Issue* (ed. Sebastian Zeidler), MIT Press 2004, p. 77.

⁷¹ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, New York: Pantheon 1980, p. 145; and Roland Barthes (trans. R Howard), *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, New York: Hill & Wang 1981, p. 15.

⁷² *Kaum einer Kunst nähert sich der Europäer dermaßen mißtrauisch wie der afrikanischen. [...] Dieser Abstand und die Vorurteile [...], erschweren jegliche ästhetische Einschätzung [...]. Der Neger gilt von Beginn an als der inferiore Teil [...], und das von ihm Gebotene wird a priori als ein Manko verurteilt. Leichtfertig deutet man recht vage Evolutionshypothesen auf ihn zurecht [...], um einen Fehlbegriff von Primitivität abzugeben [...]. Die Kenntnisse von afrikanischer Kunst sind im ganzen gering und unbestimmt; außer einigen Beninarbeiten ist nichts datiert [...] Die Völkerschaften wanderten und schoben sich in Afrika; [...]. Gänzlich verschiedene Stile rühren oft aus einer Gegend her [...], weder die geschichtlichen noch geographischen Kenntnisse erlauben vorläufig [...] nicht die bescheidenste Kunstbestimmung [...]; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, here CEW 1, p. 234 and 235; while the translation is mine, I refer to Charles W. Haxthausen & Sebastian Zeidler (intro. & trans.), 'Carl Einstein. Negro Sculpture', in *October*, 107, *Carl Einstein. A Special Issue*, (ed. Sebastian Zeidler), MIT Press, 2004, hereafter abbr. as NS, here p. 124 and 125.*

⁷³ p. 236: *[Um] vom Einfachen zum Zusammengesetzten vor[zu]dringen [...], beuge [man] sich der Einbildung, Einfaches und Erstes seien möglich identisch [...]. Kunst als Mittel zu anthropologischen oder ethnographischen Einsichten anzusehen, erscheint mir dubios, da die künstlerische Darstellung kaum etwas über die Tatsache aussagt, woran eine solche wissenschaftliche Kenntnis gebunden ist.*

⁷⁴ p. 236 and 235; NS p. 124 and 125: *Trotzdem, man wird von der Tatsache und nicht einem untergeschobenen Surrogat ausgehen. Ich glaube sicherer als alle mögliche Kenntnis ethnographischer usw. Art gilt die Tatsache: die afrikanischen Skulpturen! [...] Einige Probleme der neueren Kunst veranlaßten ein weniger leichtfertiges Eindringen in die Kunst afrikanischer Völker [...]; man erriet, daß kaum irgendwo bestimmte Raumprobleme und eine besondere Weise des Kunstschaffens in dieser Reinheit gebildet waren, wie bei den Negern, Es ergab sich: das bisher gefällte Urteil über den Neger und seine Kunst bezeichnete eher den Richtenden als das Objekt.*

⁷⁵ p. 236 and 237; NS p. 125: *Man wird das Gegenständliche, respektive die Gegenstände der Umgebungsassoziationen ausschalten und diese Bildungen als Gebilde analysieren. [...] Wird eine formale Analyse möglich, die sich auf bestimmte eigentümliche Einheiten des Raumschaffens und Schauens bezieht, so ist implizite erwiesen, daß die gegebenen Gebilde Kunst sind.*

⁷⁶ See, for example Leo Frobenius, *Im Schatten des Kongostaates: Bericht der ersten Reisen der D. I. A. F. E. von 1904-1906, über deren Forschungen und Beobachtungen auf geographischem und kolonialwirtschaftlichem Gebiet*, Berlin: Georg Reimer 1907; *Das schwarze Dekameron. Belege und Aktenstücke über Liebe, Witz und Heldentum in Innerafrika*, gesammelt von Leo Frobenius, Berlin 1910; *Und Afrika sprach*, vol. 1 (Auf den Trümmern des klassischen Atlantis), Berlin 1912, (trans.) *The Voice of Africa: Being an Account of the Travels of the German Inner Africa Expedition in the Years 1910-1912*, (2vols) London: Hutchinson 1913. On Frobenius' controversial role in German ethnography and Kulturkreis-theories, see Marchand, 'Leo Frobenius and the Revolt against the West', in *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 31, no. 2 (1997), pp. 153-170; also Zimmermann, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, pp. 203-213; for a somewhat different analysis see, Jürgen Christoph Winter, 'Leo Frobenius' Image of Africa: An ethnologist's work and ethnology's view of it', in *Komparatistische Hefte*, vol. 2, no. 72 (1980), pp. 72-91.

⁷⁷ *Diese Kunst [Afrikas und Polynesiens] entdeckt zu haben, ihr den ihr gebührenden Platz zugewiesen zu haben in der Kunsttätigkeit der Menschheit, halte ich für die kulturelle Großtat unserer Zeit. [...] Es soll [...] hier nicht [...] verhehlt werden, daß ich einige dieser Stile – so zum Beispiel die der Elfenbeinküste in Afrika, Neu-Kaledonien – zu den erhabensten Kunstäußerungen der Menschheit rechne*; Kahnweiler, *Der Gegenstand der Ästhetik*, p. 40. Beyond Kant, Kahnweiler's studies included: Johann Friedrich Herbart, the Neo-Kantian Wilhelm Wundt, Georg Simmel, Alois Riegl, Theodor Lipps, Wilhelm Worringer, Henri Bergson, and ethnological studies by Ernst Grosse, Franz Boas and others. The text of *Der Gegenstand der Ästhetik* consists of 18 chapters, three of which were reflections on ancient and non-western cultures that bring to mind some of Einstein's ideas. Chapters 16-18 were published under the pseudonym of Daniel-Henry by the same publishing house that published *Negerplastik* the year before, so it is possible that Kahnweiler owned a copy at the time, cf. Daniel-Henry, 'Der Kubismus', *Die Weißen Blätter*, vol. 3, no. 9 (September 1916), pp. 209-222 (which is a shorter version of *Der Weg zum Kubismus* 1920). For a full bibliography of Kahnweiler's writings, see Spies, *Pour Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler (ouvrage établie sous la direction de Werner Spies)*, Verlag Gerd Hatje 1965 & London: Thames & Hudson 1966.

⁷⁷ Cf. Kahnweiler, *Der Gegenstand*, pp. 27f. and 34-39, and the photograph of Kahnweiler's home showing African objects in Rubin, "Primitivism", p. 301.

⁷⁹ Cf. Friedrich Ratzel, 'Geschichte, Völkercunde und historische Perspektive', *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 93 (1904), pp. 1-46. Trained as a zoologist and geographer, Ratzel (1844-1904) is known as the founder of anthropo-geography; he undertook a series of ethnographic travels and published extensively on the subject. His *Völkercunde*, 3 vols, Leipzig 1885-1888, illustrated with his own exquisitely detailed colour engravings (probably the first to depict a Kota reliquary statue, which became widely popular, evident in, for example, Picasso's *The Dryad* (1908; Hermitage Museum; Daix 133) and others of Picasso's works. Kota sculpture was admired by Einstein, who owned an example (now in the Berlin Ethnological Museum); see also Paudrat, 'From Africa', p. 132; and Rubin, 'Picasso', pp. 266-271.

⁸⁰ Fritz Graebner, 'Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Ozeanien', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 37 (1905), pp. 28-53, here p. 29; Bernhard Ankermann, 'Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Afrika', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 37 (1905), pp. 54-84; both texts were based on lectures given in 1904 at the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*. Graebner's, *Methode der Ethnologie*, Heidelberg: C. Winter 1911, became the standard work for the following two decades; see also Andrew Zimmermann, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, University of Chicago Press 2001 pp. 207-213

⁸¹ Ankermann, 'Die Lehre von Konvergenzen und die kulturgeschichtliche Methode in der Ethnologie', *Petermanns' Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt*, vol. 66 (1920), pp. 187-190.

⁸² On the history of the Neo-Kantian school of German art history, see Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press 1982, and the introduction by Harry F. Malgrave & Eleftherios Ikinomou, in their, *Empathy, Form and Space. Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893*, Santa Monica, CA: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities 1994, pp. 1-85.

⁸³ *Man darf behaupten, daß die Plastik des Kontinentalen von malerischen Surrogaten durchkreuzt ist [...], daß seit der Renaissance die nötigen, [...] Grenzen zwischen Freiplastik und Relief immer tiefer versanken, und die malerische Erregung, [...] jeglichen dreidimensionalen Formbau überwuchs*; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW p. 237, NS 126.

⁸⁴ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst*, Munich: Bruckmann 1915; also Martin Warnke, 'On Heinrich Wölfflin', *Representations*, vol. 21 (Summer 1989), pp. 172-187; on Einstein's university studies see Penkert, *Carl Einstein. Beiträge*, pp. 44-46.

⁸⁵ *Die Kunst der Proportionen, wie [...] die italienische Renaissance [...] war auf einen Stil der Linie angewiesen [...] klare Formgrenzen [...], ob der menschliche Körper in Frage steht oder ein Gebilde der Architektur. Für den Geschmack einer malerisch gestimmten Zeit tritt das Interesse für den Bau der Gestalt zurück hinter dem Interesse für eine Erscheinung. Es handelt sich jetzt nicht mehr um klare Linien und Flächen, um plastische Einzelwerte, in denen die Schönheit sich verkörpert, sondern um ein Bewegtes, Werdendes, Sich-Wandelndes. Es gibt jetzt auch eine Schönheit des Unkörperlichen. [...] Nicht alles ist zu allen Zeiten möglich in den Künsten der Anschauung. Nicht alle Gedanken können zu allen Zeiten gedacht werden*; (trans.) The art of proportions [...] like that of the Renaissance [...] was reliant on a linear style [...] clear delimitations of form [...], whether it is a question of the human body or an architectural configuration. For the

mood of a painterly time the interest in the construction of form gives priority to the interest in appearance. It is no longer a matter of clear lines and planes, or plastic values in which beauty is embodied, but rather a state of continual motion, becoming, [and] transformation; there is now also a beauty of the incorporeal. [...] Not all is possible at all times in the arts of visualization. Not all thoughts can be thought at all times; Wölfflin, 'Über den Begriff des Malerischen', *Logos, Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Kultur*, vol. IV (1913), pp. 1-7, here p. 7.

⁸⁶ Artists included: Lovis Corinth, Hans von Marées, Anselm Feuerbach, Franz von Stuck and Wilhelm Leibl, who assisted with organizing a large Rembrandt exhibition in Munich in 1898. Wilhelm Bode, director of the Berliner Gemäldegalerie (1890-1929) amassed one of the largest collections of Rembrandt's work and wrote extensively on the artist, cf. *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann 1907). On Julius Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher, von einem Deutschen* (1890), see Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1974, p. 142f. For an analysis of the 'painterly' in Neo-Kantian academic education and German cultural politics, and of Wölfflin's role in particular, see Daniel Adler, 'Painterly Politics: Wölfflin, Formalism and German Academic Culture 1885-1915', *Art History*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp 431-456; on Wölfflin's life and career in German Kulturpolitik, see Warnke, 'On Heinrich Wölfflin'; on his *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, and others writings, see Podro, pp. 98-151; also Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History*, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press 1984, pp. 46-68

⁸⁷ On Wölfflin's theories and his position vis-à-vis contemporary artistic practices see Michael Podro, pp. 68-70. While I agree with Zeidler's argument that views *Negerplastik* within the context of Hildebrand's, Wölfflin's and Simmel's writings, it is from the above position that I prefer the direct translation of the original title of Einstein's chapter rather than Haxthausen's and Zeidler's translation, 'The Pictorial', see NS, p. 126 and n.1.

⁸⁸ Maurice Denis, 'Aristide Maillol', reprinted in the *Kunst und Künstler Almanach*, Berlin: Bruno Cassirer 1909, pp. 81-113.

⁸⁹ *Rodins Verfahren der Modellierung [...], und das Bildwerk gibt sich nicht aus einer simultan vorgestellten Gesamtform, sondern einem dramatisch geführten Erregungsvorgang, [...], [Er] sucht den Beschauer eher zu einem Superlativ der Erregung zu treiben, als daß er ihn wohlgeordnet entließe. [...] In den Bildwerken Maillols gewinnen verrufene Schlagworte, wie Maß, Ausgleich, Harmonie eine unbedingt bestimmte Bedeutung*; Einstein, 'Maillol', *Zeit im Bild, Moderne Illustrierte Wochenschrift* 11/1913, pp. 2489-2497, here p. 2489 and 2493. Also Einstein, 'Die Radierungen Wilhelm Lehmbrucks', *Zeit im Bild*, 11/1913, pp. 1957-1962; a third essay appeared in the journal in 1914, 'Ausklänge der Hypermoderne auf dem Pariser Salon der Unabhängigen', *Zeit im Bild*, 12/1914, pp. 711-713. The Lehmbruck-essay coincided with an extended version of the text appearing as the introduction to the catalogue *Wilhelm Lehmbrucks Graphisches Werk*, Berlin: Verlag Paul Cassirer 1913, here CEW pp. 194-197. A fourth essay, appearing under the name of Curt Einstein, 'Die Verkündigung von Paul Claudel', *Zeit im Bild* 1913/11, p. 2926 f., is the same that attracted Apollinaire's attention, see also Part I, chapter 5. The Maillol and Lehmbruck essays were first reprinted in Andreas Kramer, 'Zwischen Klassik und Avantgarde: Zwei unbekannte Texte Carl Einsteins aus den Jahren 1913 und 1914', *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft*, 43 (1999), pp. 33-48; The Claudel essay was first reprinted in Kramer, 'Erzwungene Monumentalität. Eine unbekannte Rezension Carl Einsteins aus dem Jahr 1913', in CEKo 3, pp. 105-113.

⁹⁰ Im Hildebrandschen „Problem der Form“ besitzen wir den idealen Ausgleich des Malerischen und Plastischen; eine so auffallende Kunst wie die französische Plastik scheint bis Rodin gerade um die Auflösung des Plastischen sich zu bemühen. Selbst die Frontalität, worin man eine strenge „primitive“ Formerklärung zu sehen pflegt, muß als malerisches Erfassen des Kubischen bezeichnet werden; denn hier wird das Dreidimensionale in einige Ebenen aufsummiert, die das Kubische unterdrücken; betont man doch die dem Beschauer nächsten Teile und ordnet man sie zu Flächen, während man die zurückliegenden Teile als beiläufige Modulationen der Vorderfläche ansieht, die dynamisch geschwächt wird; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 237f. and NS p. 126f.

⁹¹ Hausenstein's remark that 'hardly anyone (except Hildebrand) has practically and theoretically made so clear that art is the problem of formal effect and that of satisfying formal requirements', and more is voiced in his *Die Bildende Kunst*, p. 250; for his juxtaposition of the 'problem' of Rodin vis-à-vis Hildebrandian theory, cf. *Der Nackte Mensch*, pp. 598-605 and 612-615.

⁹² [D]enn die Plastik hat nicht die Aufgabe, den Beschauer in dem unfertigen und unbehaglichen Zustande gegenüber dem Dreidimensionalen oder Kubischen des Natureindrucks zu lassen, indem er sich abmüht, eine klare Gesichtsvorstellung zu bilden, sondern sie besteht darin, ihm diese Gesichtsvorstellung zu geben und dadurch dem Kubischen das Quälende zu nehmen; Adolf Hildebrand *Das Problem der Form*, p. 242, and 'The Problem of Form', p. 258; see also Einstein, 'Sezession', CEW 1, p. 66f., discussed above in Part I, chapter 3. For a more detailed analysis of Einstein and Hildebrand's theories and sculpture, see Sebastian Zeidler, *Defense of the real: Carl Einstein's history and theory of art*, Columbia University (PhD thesis) 2006, esp. 36-42.

⁹³ Es erhellt [...], daß unsere Kunst bei solchen formalen Tendenzen eine gänzliche Vermischung des Malerischen und Plastischen passieren mußte [...], [die] nur mit einer völligen Niederlage der Plastik enden konnte [...]. Das Dreidimensionale war wegeempfunden; die persönliche Handschrift überwog [...]. Unschwer ergab sich hieraus, daß Maler und nicht Plastiker entscheidende Fragen über das Dreidimensionale anhoben; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 237 and 238, NS p. 126 and 127.

⁹⁴ It is worth remembering that very same article of 1911 that carried Einstein's critique of Hildebrand also provided a brief review of Rodin's work; some described as 'romantic kitsch', some praised for its 'details that merge into large sweeping movement [...] perhaps the only one, who succeeded in sculpture's release from architecture'; cf. Einstein, 'Sezession', CEW 1, pp. 66-7, and Part I, chapter 3 above. For a discussion of Rodin within the context of the German early 20th century theoretical discourse on sculpture, including Simmel and Rilke, see Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination. Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press 2000.

⁹⁵ Rilke hielt einen Vortrag über Rodin und Lesung aus eigenen Werken am 15.11.1906. [...] Georg Simmel hält einen Vortrag über Rodin am 9.X.1908; letter Friedrich Oppeln-Bronikowski to Herwarth Walden n.d. (before 9 October) 1908; Sturm-Archiv, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Handschriftenabteilung). Simmel's lecture "Über die Kunst Rodins" was presented at Walden's *Verein für Kunst* on 27 November 1908; cf. 'Nachwort' in Piet Meyer (ed.), *Georg Simmel. Bei Auguste Rodin in Paris – 1905*, Basel: Piet Meyer Verlag 2007, p. 36.

⁹⁶ Georg Simmel, 'Die Kunst Rodins und das Bewegungsmotiv in der Plastik', *Nord-Süd* (1909), and 'Rodin (mit einer Vorbemerkung über Meunier)', first published in *Simmel, Philosophische Kultur. Gesammelte Essays*, Leipzig 1911, here *Georg Simmel: Jenseits der Schönheit, Schriften zur Ästhetik und Kunstphilosophie und mit einem Nachwort von Ingo Meyer*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008, pp. 221-236; and Rainer Maria Rilke (who was the artist's secretary for a brief period), *Auguste Rodin*, Leipzig: Insel Verlag 1913. On Rodin in the Osthaus collection, see for example, Emil Waldmann, 'Das Folkwangmuseum', in *Kunst und Künstler. Illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, XII, 1914, p. 247-262. Hausenstein's discussion of Rodin's work used a profusion of quotes from Rilke's texts on the artist, cf. *Der nackte Mensch*, pp. 598-605.

⁹⁷ *Die antike Plastik suchte sozusagen die Logik des Körpers, Rodin suchte die Psychologie. Denn das Wesen der Moderne überhaupt ist Psychologismus, das Erleben und Deuten der Welt gemäß den Reaktionen unseres Inneren [...], die Auflösung der festen Inhalte in das flüssige Element der Seele, aus der alle Substanz herausgeläutert ist, und deren Formen nur Formen von Bewegung sind. [...] Diese Bewegtheitstendenz ist die tiefgründigere Beziehung der Kunst überhaupt zum Realismus: die gestiegene Bewegtheit des wirklichen Lebens offenbart sich nicht nur in der gleichen Kunst, sondern beides: Der Stil des Lebens und der seiner Kunst quellen aus der gleichen tiefen Wurzel. Die Kunst spiegelt nicht nur eine bewegtere Welt, sondern ihr Spiegel selbst ist beweglicher geworden;* Simmel, 'Rodin (mit einer Vorbemerkung über Meunier)', p. 235; see also his, 'Die Kunst Rodins und das Bewegungsmotiv in der Plastik', *Nord-Süd – Eine deutsche Monatschrift*, vol. 33, no. 386 (May 1909), pp. 189-196, here Soziologisches Institut der Universität Zürich: 'Georg Simmel Online', <http://socio.ch/sim/verschiedenes/1909/rodin.htm>, and Simmel, 'Henri Bergson', in *Die Güldekammer*, vol. 4. no. 9 (June 1914), pp. 511-525, here <http://socio.ch/sim/verschiedenes/1914/bergson.htm>, accessed on 20/12/08. For an analysis of Simmel's Rodin, and Bergson in the context of Einstein's philosophy with particular view to *Negerplastik* and Einstein's 'Totality'-essay, published during 1914 in *Die Aktion*, see Zeidler, *Defense of the real*, esp. pp. 42-57, and pp. 62-67.

⁹⁸ Here cited from Antliff, *Inventing Bergson*, p. 39; for the international popularity of Bergson's philosophy, see for example the works published and reviews cited in John Dewey (intr.), *A Contribution to a Bibliography of Henri Bergson*, New York: Columbia University Press 1913; here Canadian Libraries <http://www.archive.org/details/contributiontobi00coluuoft>, accessed 08/12/08.

⁹⁹ *Man hat die Wahl, ob Dichtung Ausdruck der Sprache ist oder Ausdruck einer „Wirklichkeit“ [...]. Oder ob diese Sprache, um überhaupt Kunst zu sein, einem unmittelbaren Geschehen unterzuordnen ist. Wobei dies Geschehen durchaus nicht im Sinne der Bergsonschen Zeit verläuft [...]. Von Zeit rede ich überhaupt nicht, sondern von Empfindungen und geistigen Vorgängen, die immer qualitativ sind, d.[as] h.[eißt] keine metaphysische Zeit (eine Unzeit) wie bei Bergson ist, sondern dadurch als Zeit empfunden wird, daß sie in verschiedenen Dimensionen gleichzeitig gefühlt wird, d. h. [...] mit reicheren Eigenschaften empfunden werden, als man es bisher darstellt;* cf. Einstein letter to Kahnweiler n.d. (April 1923), CEW 4, pp. 153-161, here p. 157; Meffre, *Correspondance*, p. 144; and AWE, p. 54. Nonetheless, as Zeidler has demonstrated, this resistance did not prevent Einstein from critically engaging with Bergsonian philosophy, cf. Zeidler, 'Life and Death from Babylon to Picasso: Carl Einstein's Ontology of Art at the Time of Documents', *Papers of Surrealism*, issue 7 (2007), The AHRC Research

Centre for Studies of Surrealism and its Legacies, University of Essex, University of Manchester, <http://www.surrealismcentre.ac.uk/papersofsurrealism/journal7>; similar to Einstein's Bergson antagonism was that to the Freudian concept of the unconscious, see below chapter 15.

¹⁰⁰ *Theoretisch am nächsten steht mir vielleicht Mach, der aber wo es über das physiologische hinausgeht leider versagt und garnicht die Sprache in Betracht zieht*; Einstein letter to Kahnweiler as above. His reservations may have been to Mach's 'Antimetaphysische Vorbemerkungen' in his *Analyse der Empfindungen*, (5th ed.) Jena: Gustav Fischer 1906, here (trans. C. M. Williams & S. Waterlow), *The Analysis of Sensations and the Relation of the Physical to the Psychical*, New York: Dover Publications, 1959. A convincing discussion of Bergson, Mach, Einstein and his position vis-a-vis current scientific debates remains Kiefer, 'Einstein & Einstein: Wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste und Wissenschaften um 1915', *Komparatistische Hefte*, 1982, no. 5/6 (Literatur und die anderen Künste), pp. 181-194; and Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 287-298; see also Georges Didi-Hubermann's brief analysis in his, *Was wir sehen, blickt uns an: Zur Metapsychologie des Bildes* (*Ce que nous voyons, ce qui nous regarde*, 1992; trans. Markus Sedlaczek), Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag 1999, pp. 211-217; and Zeidler, as above. On Einstein's interest in Mach and his causality critique, see Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 97-99, 102, 108, 288-298; Meffre, *Carl Einstein et la problématique*, p. 19ff; Heidemarie Oehm, *Die Kunsttheorie Carl Einsteins*, p. 11ff. On Einstein and Bergson at the time of *Bebuquin*, see Sybille Penkert, *Carl Einstein. Beiträge zu einer Monographie*, pp.139ff. By 1914, most of Bergson's major works had been translated into German; on his role in French avant-garde developments, see also Antliff, *Inventing Bergson*, esp. chapters 2 and 4.

¹⁰¹ [D]as Werk zerrennt immer mehr zu einem Leiter psychologischer Erregung; [...] eher Bekenntnisse einer Genetik als objektivierte Formen [...] [so daß] jeder prägnante Kanon der Form und des Schauens gelöst werden [mußte]. [...], und ein spältigeres Vervielfältigen der Mittel [wurde erstrebt]. [...] Ein solches Verhalten zerstört die Distanz zu den Dingen und wertet nur den funktionellen Sinn, der in ihnen dem Individuum aufbewahrt ist. [...] Das seelisch-zeitliche Moment überwog vollständig die räumliche Bestimmtheit. [...] Der Plastiker unterwarf sich der Majorität der seelischen Vorgänge und verwandelte sich selbst zum Beschauer. [...] Die Raumkonstruktion wurde einem sekundären, ja fremden Mittel, nämlich der materiellen Bewegung geopfert; die Vorraussetzung aller Plastik, der kubische Raum, war gergessen; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 238 and 239, NS p. 127 and 128.

¹⁰² Vor wenigen Jahren erlebten wir in Frankreich die Neubestimmende Krisis. Durch eine ungeheure Anstrengung [...] erkannte man die unsachliche Fraglichkeit des Verfahrens. Einige Maler verfügten über genügende Kraft vom mechanisch weiterrutschenden Handwerk abzusehen; [...] Zugleich entdeckte man notwendig die Negerplastik und erkannte, daß sie isoliert die reinen plastischen Formen gezüchtet hatte; CEW 1, p. 239 and 240, NS p. 128.

¹⁰³ Die Kunst des Negers ist vor allem religiös bestimmt. [...] Der Verfertiger arbeitet sein Werk [...], er besitzt von Beginn an Distanz zum Werk, das der Gott ist oder ihn festhält [...], ein Werk, das selbständig, transzendent, und unverwoben bleibt. [...] Dieser Transzendenz entspricht eine räumliche Anschauung, die jede Funktion des Beschauers ausschließt; [...] Abgeschlossenheit des Raumes bedeutet hier nicht Abstraktion, sondern ist unmittelbare Empfindung. [...] Mit dieser Bestimmung des Schauens ist ein Stil geleistet, der keiner Willkür des einzelnen unterliegt, sondern kanonisch bestimmt ist [...] Der Beschauer adoriert die Bilder oft im Dunkeln, [...] so daß er kaum auf die Art des Kunswerks einwirken, ja achten

wird. [...] In einer solchen Kunst finden individuelles Modell und Porträt keinen Platz [...]. Das Werk wird als Typus der adorierten Gewalt aufgerichtet; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 240f.; NS, pp. 129f.

¹⁰⁴ [Ein] formaler Realismus, worunter nicht ein nachahmender Naturalismus verstanden wird [...] ergibt sich [...] vielmehr als mythische Realität, die an Kraft die natürliche übertrifft. [...] Das Kunstwerk muß die gesamte Raumgleichung geben; denn nur, wenn es jede zeitliche Interpretation [...] ausschließt, ist es zeitlos. Es absorbiert die Zeit, indem es, was wir als Bewegung erleben, in seiner Form integriert; CEW 1, p. 242f. and NS p. 130

¹⁰⁵ Ankermann insisted on dual concepts of the 'soul' that were no more than an extension of social customs and the duties of honouring the deceased: Ankermann [...] [war] in der Lage [...] nachzuweisen, daß ein doppelter Seelenbegriff (Lebens- oder Hauchseele und Bild- oder Schattenseele) besteht, und daß der primär vorhandenen Totenkult nicht anderes als eine bloße Fortsetzung sozialer Pflichten und Gewohnheiten über das Grab hinaus darstellt; Alfred Schachtzabel, 'Prof. Dr. Bernhard Ankermann zum 80. Geburtstag', *Sonderbeilage zum Baessler-Archiv*, vol. XXI, 1938, n.p.; cf. also Bernhard Ankermann, 'Totenkult und Seelenglaube bei afrikanischen Völkern', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, no. 2-3, 1918, pp. 89-92, 102-118, and 146; 'Verbreitung und Formen des Totemismus in Afrika', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1915; also Graebner, *Das Weltbild der Primitiven*, : Eine Untersuchung der Urformen weltanschaulichen Denkens bei Naturvölkern, Munich: Ernst Reinhardt 1924; Günter Tessmann, *Die Pangwe*, vol. II, pp. 35-126. On the discipline's history and methodologies, see Zimmerman, pp. 1-2, 19-20, 126-129; also Clifford, pp. 21-54.

¹⁰⁶ For an excellent analysis of the inter-connectivity between German art, science, industry and ideology, see Timothy Lenoir, 'The Politics of Vision: Optics painting and Ideology in Germany, 1845-95', in *Instituting Science. The Cultural Production of Scientific Disciplines*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press 1997, pp.131-178, esp. 142-151 and 165-175.

¹⁰⁷ Es bezeichnet jedes begriffliche Auseinandersetzen, und sei es noch so sehr der Anschauung verhaftet, daß es sich verselbständigt und um seiner spezifischen Struktur willen nicht alle Divergenzen des Kunstgeschehens ausdrückt. Zunächst ist die formale Beschaffenheit der Anschauung, die afrikanischer Plastik zugrunde liegt, zu untersuchen [...] Den Fehler, die Kunst der Neger an einem unbewußten Erinnern irgendwelcher europäischer Kunstform zu schänden zu machen, werden wir vermeiden, da die afrikanische Kunst aus formalen Gründen als umrissener Bezirk vor uns steht; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, here CEW 1, p. 243; NS 131.

¹⁰⁸ [D]ie Bildhauerei, deren Aufgabe es ist, das Dreidimensionale zu geben, [erscheint] als das schlechthin Selbstverständliche, da sie mit einer Masse arbeitet, die als solche nach drei Dimensionen bestimmt ist. [...] [V]ielmehr das Dreidimensionale als Form [...], das nicht in einem Blick gefaßt wird, soll ja nicht als vage optische Suggestion, vielmehr als geschlossener, tatsächlicher Ausdruck gebildet werden. Europäische Lösungen, die, geprüft an afrikanischer Plastik, eher zu Auswegen sich verzeichnen, sind den Augen geläufig, überzeugen mechanisch und durch Gewohnheit. Frontalität, vielfältige Ansicht, übergehendes Modélé und plastische Silhouette heißen vor allem die üblichen Mittel. [...] In all diesen Fällen findet man ein malerisches oder zeichnerisches Verfahren; die Tiefe wird suggeriert, jedoch selten unmittelbar als Form gebildet. [...] Masse jedoch ist der Form nicht identisch [...]. Der Neger scheint diesem Problem eine reine und gültige Lösung verliehen zu haben. Er fand, uns zunächst ein Paradox, eine formale Dimension; (Einstein's emphasis) CEW 1, p. 243f, and NS 131f.

¹⁰⁹ *Der optische Naturalismus abendländischer Kunst ist nicht Nachahmen der Außennatur: die Natur, die hier passiv nachgeahmt wird, ist der Standpunkt des Beschauers. So versteht man das Genetische, ungemein Relative, das unserer meisten Kunst anhaftet. Diese paßt sich dem Beschauer an (Frontalität, Fernbild) und immer mehr wurde das Erzeugen der optischen Endform einem aktiven beteiligten Beschauer anvertraut; Einstein, CEW 1, p. 245; (trans.): The optical naturalism of Occidental art is not the imitation of external nature, rather, the nature that is passively imitated here is merely the vantage point of the viewer. Whence the geneticism, the excessive relativism that characterizes most of our art. This art adapted itself to the beholder (frontality, distant image); and increasingly the production of the final optical form was entrusted to an actively participating beholder; here NS p. 133.*

¹¹⁰ *[A]ber, [...] wenn wir bei der bildlichen Darstellung von der Formvorstellung ausgehend, zu einer ihr entsprechenden Gesamterscheinung gelangen, sozusagen eine Gleichung zwischen der Daseinsform und der Erscheinung ziehen wollen, [wird] dies nicht erreicht, wenn wir die einzelnen Bewegungs- und Formvorstellungen Stück für Stück direkt als Gesichtseindruck fassen und auf diese Weise addierend eine Gesamterscheinung zusammensetzen. [...] Wir sind also gezwungen, unsere Formvorstellung in solche Erscheinungsfaktoren umzusetzen, welche erst innerhalb der gemeinschaftlichen Wirkung durch ihr Zusammenwirken zu einer Gleichung der Form werden. Denn es handelt sich ja nicht darum, daß Tiefenvorstellungen in Flächeneindrücke umgewandelt werden und als ein Nebeneinander im einheitlichen Sehakt aufgefaßt werden können, sondern darum, daß der gesamte Flächeneindruck einen richtigen Gesamteindruck für die Formvorstellung abgibt; Hildebrand, 'Das Problem der Form', p. 212f.; (trans.): [I]f, in starting out from the idea of form, we seek to achieve an adequate overall impression of the image – an equation, so to speak, between the inherent form and appearance – we will not succeed if we try to grasp the kinaesthetic or formal ideas individually and directly and then assemble them into an overall impression. [...] We are therefore forced to translate our idea of form into such factors of appearance that they might equate with the form in their overall effect through their collective effort. For what matters is not only that the ideas of depth are transformed into surface impressions and can be apprehended all together in a coherent visual act but also that the overall surface impression provides a correct expression of the idea of form; Hildebrand, 'The Problem of Form', p. 233. For Einstein's quote see above, Part 1, chapter 3.*

¹¹¹ *Was aber am Kubischen ist Form? [...] Form ist eine Gleichung, [...]; [sie] gilt [...], wenn sie ohne Beziehung auf Fremdes und unbedingt aufgefaßt wird. Denn Form heißt jene vollkommene Identität von Anschauung und einzelner Verwirklichung, die ihrer Struktur nach sich decken und sich nicht verhalten wie Begriff und Einzelfall [...] So erhellt sich, daß Kunst einen besonderen Fall bedingungsloser Intensität darstellt und in ihr die Qualität unvermindert erzeugt werden muß. Aufgabe der Plastik ist es, eine Gleichung zu bilden, worin die naturalistischen Bewegungsempfindungen und somit die Masse gänzlich absorbiert sind, und ihre sukzessive Verschiedenheit in eine formal Ordnung umgesetzt ist. Dies Äquivalent muß total sein, damit das Kunstwerk nicht mehr als Gleichung anders gerichteter Tendenzen empfunden wird, vielmehr als ein bedingungsloses, geschlossenes Selbständiges; Einstein, Negerplastik, CEW 1, p. 245f., and NS 133.*

¹¹² *Die Dimensionen des üblichen Raums sind dreifach gezählt, wobei die dritte, eine Dimension der Bewegung, nur gezählt [...] wurde. [...] Unter Bewegung stellt man ein Kontinuum vor, das den Raum wandelnd umschließt. Da bildende Kunst fixiert, wird dies Einheitliche geteilt, nämlich nach entgegengesetzten Richtungen*

aufgefaßt und enthält so zwei gänzlich verschiedene Richtungen, die in dem unendlichen Raum des Mathematikers z. B. ziemlich belanglos bleiben. Tiefenrichtung und Tendenz nach Vorne sind in der Plastik gänzlich gesonderte Arten der Raumerzeugung; sie sind nicht linear unterschieden, vielmehr erstklassige Formunterschiede, wenn sie nicht impressionistisch, das ist unter dem Einfluß wiederum naturalistischer Bewegungsvorstellungen, verschmolzen werden. Aus dieser Erkenntnis geht hervor, daß Plastik im gewissen Sinn diskontinuierlich ist, zumal die Kontraste als gründliches Mittel nicht entbehrt werden können, um den Raum gänzlich zu schaffen; CEW 1, p. 246, and NS p. 133f.

¹¹³ Louis Vauxcelles, 'Le carnet des ateliers: Le père du cubisme', *Le carnet de la semaine*, 29 December 1918, here from Linda Darymple Henderson, *The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1983, p. 72, see also 74ff, and 31ff.

¹¹⁴ [D]as Konstruktive; das sind zumeist dünne Ableitungen eines spät umgedeuteten Kubismus. Diese Maler sind Revolutionäre mit erheblicher Verspätung. [...]; also man bekämpft den Individualismus, was nicht neu ist, doch mit einem statistischen Mittel – der Zahl [...]. Bewußt will man neue Gegenstände, einen neuen Raum schaffen, tappt zwischen unbegriffenem Riemann und nicht verstandenem Lobatschewsky und glaubt Kunst und Wissenschaft zu einen [...]; Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, (2nd ed.) 1928, here p. 173; also Apollinaire, *Les peintres cubistes: Méditations esthétiques*, (1913), here (intro. & ed. Leroy Breunig & J. C. Chevalier), Paris 1980, p. 61 and 62; see also Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 284-300.

¹¹⁵ Das Kubische soll nicht als sekundäres suggerierendes Modélé verschleiert [...] werden, vielmehr als das Eigentliche hervorgerückt sein. [...] Plastik ist keine Angelegenheit der naturalistischen Masse [...]. Es geht also darum, die nicht sichtbaren Teile in ihrer formalen Funktion, als Form [...] den Tiefenquotienten [...] an den sichtbaren als Form darzustellen; [...]. Die Teile dürfen also nicht materiell und malerisch dargestellt werden, vielmehr so, daß die Form, wodurch sie plastisch werden und die naturalistisch in dem Bewegungsakt gegeben ist, in eines fixiert und simultan sichtbar werde. [...] [J]eder Teil muß plastisch verselbständigt und so deformiert sein, daß er die Tiefe absorbiert, indem die Vorstellung, wie er von der entgegengesetzten Seite erscheine, in die frontale, jedoch dreidimensional funktionelle, hereingearbeitet ist. Also jeder Teil ist ein Ergebnis der formalen Vorstellung, die den Raum als Totalität und vollständige Identität des Einzeloptischen und der Anschauung schafft, und den surrogierenden Ausweg verwirft, der den Raum zur Masse schwächt. Eine solche Plastik wird stark nach einer Seite zentriert, da diese das Kubische als Totale, als Resultante nun unverstellt gibt, während die Frontalität nur die Vorderfläche summiert.; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 246f., and NS p. 134.

¹¹⁶ Ich schätzte Ihr erstes Negerbuch sehr hoch; aber ich fand, daß es sich besser anders genannt hätte, denn es war eine wunderbare Abhandlung über Skulptur überhaupt; cf. letter Kahnweiler to Einstein, dated 10 December 1921, in Meffre, *Correspondance*, p. 126.

¹¹⁷ Diese Integration des Plastischen muß Funktionszentren erzeugen, wonach sie geordnet ist; aus diesen kubischen „points centrales“ ergibt sich [...] eine nötige [...] Aufteilung, die man als kräftige Verselbständigung der Teile bezeichnen darf [...], denn gerade die naturalistische Masse spielt keine Rolle [...]; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 247 and NS p. 134.

¹¹⁸ Maillol wand die Lehre Cézannes von Point Central plastisch an, das heißt jede Ansicht besitzt einen plastischen Höhepunkt, dem die anderen Formen untergeordnet sind, so daß der Blick niemals führerlos [...] umherirrt, vielmehr sich seiner gegebenen Ordnung fügt [...] doch niemals wird er zu einer unplastischen Flächenbetrachtung verleitet [...] nirgends überschreitet irgendein Teil die Kraft des Ganzen; Einstein, 'Maillol' (1913) p. 2493; see also for example his review, 'Süddeutsche Ausstellungen' (1911), CEW 1, pp. 62-66, discussed here in Part 1, chapter 3.

¹¹⁹ [A]ußerdem wird hier die Gestalt nicht als Effekt, sondern in ihrem unmittelbaren Raumsein gefaßt. Der Körper des Gottes entzieht sich als Dominierendes den verbindenden Händen des Arbeiters; der Körper ist funktionell von sich aus erfaßt. Häufig tadelt man an den Negerplastiken die sogenannten Proportionsfehler; man begreife, die optische Diskontinuität des Raumes wird in Formklärung übersetzt, in eine Ordnung der, da es um Plastizität geht, nach ihrem plastischen Ausdruck verschieden gewerteten Teile [...]; denn Kunst als ein Qualitatives ist eine Frage der Intensität; das Kubische muß in der Unterordnung der Ansichten als tektonisierte Intensität sich darstellen; Einstein, Negerplastik, CEW 1, p. 247; NS p. 134f.

¹²⁰ [...] Negerplastiken [...] stell[en] sichtbar und konzentriert [dar], was eben das Kubische zweier sonst abrupten Richtungskontraste ausmacht; sonst nur geahnte zurückgelegene Partien werden aktiv und in einem gesammelten einheitlichen Ausdruck funktionell, somit Form und unbedingt notwendig zur Darstellung des unmittelbar Kubischen. Diesen integrierenden Formen müssen die anderen Seiten in seltener Vereintlichung untergeordnet werden, jedoch bleiben sie nicht unverarbeitetes, suggestives Material; sie werden formal aktiv. [...] die Tiefe [wird] als Totalität sichtbar; p. 248f. and NS, p. 136.

¹²¹ Cf. Vansina, *Art History in Africa. An Introduction to Method*, London & New York: Longman, 1984, p. 73; also Tessmann, *Die Pangwe*, pp. 197-20.

¹²² Tätowierung heißt seinen Körper zum Mittel [...] einer Anschauung zu machen.. Der Neger opfert seinen Körper und steigert ihn; [...]. Es bezeichnet eine despotische, bedingungslos herrschende Religion und Menschlichkeit, [...]. Welch Bewußtsein heißt es, den eigenen Körper als unvollendetes Werk zu begreifen, den unmittelbar man verändert. [...] [D]er Tätoweur [verstärkt] die von der Natur skizzierte Form und die Körperzeichnung erreicht ihre Höhe, wenn die Naturform negiert wird und eine imaginierte sie übertrifft. [...] Auch hier finden wir, was ich als Distanzgefühl, eine ungeheure Begabung objektiv zu schaffen, bezeichnet habe; Einstein, Negerplastik, CEW 1, p. 250 and NS, p. 137.

¹²³ Leo Frobenius, 'Die Masken und Geheimbünde Afrikas', *Abhandlungen der Kaiserlich-Leopoldinisch-Carolinischen Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher*, vol. 74, Halle: Ehrhardt Karras 1899.

¹²⁴ [D]er psychologisierende und zugleich theatralische Europäer [...] verwandelt sich [...], doch bleibt er bemüht, [...] die Identität zu wahren [...] [und] bildete dies [...] zu einem fast hypertrophen Kult; der Neger, der weniger vom subjektiven Ich befangen ist und die objektive Gewalt ehrt, muß, soll er sich neben ihnen behaupten, sich in sie verwandeln [...]. Mit der Verwandlung stellt er das Gleichgewicht zur vernichtenden Adoration auf; er betet den Gott an, er tanzt dem Stamm ekstatisch und er selbst verwandelt sich durch die Maske in den Stamm und den Gott; Einstein, Negerplastik, CEW 1, p. 250f., and NS p. 137.

¹²⁵ [D]iese Verwandlung gibt ihm das mächtigste Begreifen des Objektiven; er inkarniert dies in sich und er selbst ist diese Objektive, worin alles einzelne zernichtet. Darum: die Maske hat nur Sinn, wenn sie unmenschlich, unpersönlich ist; das heißt konstruktiv, frei von der Erfahrung des Individuums; [...] Die Maske möchte ich eine fixierte Ekstase nennen [...]; p. 250f., and NS p. 137.

¹²⁶ Mein erstes Bändchen [Negerplastik] ist nur ein Torso, weil es vom Verleger herausgegeben wurde, während ich im Lazarett lag; cf. letter Einstein to unknown, (orig. French; trans. Klaus H. Kiefer) n.d. (1921), reproduced in Baacke, *Carl Einstein Materialien*, p. 142f. and p. 144f. for a commentary by Kiefer. Although Einstein's brief remark remains open to interpretation, it does suggest that both the manuscript and layout of *Negerplastik* remained unfinished at the time he was drafted into the German army, leaving final decisions to the publishers.

¹²⁷ Ich gab eine Folge von Masken, die vom Tektonischen zu einem ungemein Menschlichen niedersteigen, damit die verschiedenartige Reihe der seelischen Fähigkeiten dieses Volkes belichtet werden; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 251, NS 138, for the masks see pl. 88-111; the exceptions are pl. 106, 107, 109 and 111.

¹²⁸ Authors, who in one way or other discussed the images include: Braun, 'Afrika und Ägypten bei Carl Einstein'; Wendy Grossman, 'Photography at the Crossroads'; Neundorfer, "Kritik der Anschauung"; Paudrat, 'From Africa'; and Zeidler, 'Totality against a Subject', and *Defense of the real*.

¹²⁹ Cited from Yve-Alain Bois, 'La Pensée Sauvage', *Art in America*, April, 1985, pp. 178-188, and Bernard Berenson, 'Isochromatic Photography and Venetian Pictures' (1893), in Helene E. Roberts (ed.), *Art History through the Camera's Lens*, Gordon and Breach Science Publishers SA., 1995, pp. 127-131, here p. 129.

¹³⁰ The first edition contained 111 plates, four of which were removed from the second edition, cf. Einstein, *Negerplastik*, Kurt Wolff-Verlag, Munich 1920.; also Meffre, *La Sculpture nègre*, pp. 109-118.

¹³¹ Hier wird zum ersten Mal [...] an der Hand von 119 [sic] ausgezeichneten großen Abbildungen die Negerplastik in instruktiver Anordnung vorgeführt, so daß durch bloßes Betrachten dieser Reproduktionen jeder Kunstfreund sich über Stil, Bedeutung und Eigenart der Negerkunst klar werden kann. In einer knappen Einleitung analysiert Carl Einstein auf der Basis prinzipieller kubistischer Anschauung die Vollkommenheit dieser Kunst; advertisement *Die Aktion*, no. 20/21, (1915), n.p.; it is likely that, following publishers' conventions, Einstein was the author of this announcement. The advert is reproduced in Baacke, p. 112.

¹³² Cf. Ernst Bloch, 'Negerplastik', *Die Argonauten*, 1915, no. 7, pp. 10-20; Wilhelm Hausenstein, 'Negerplastik', *März*, vol. 9, no. 31 (7 August 1915), pp. 102-104; Kurt Glaser, 'Carl Einstein: Negerplastik', *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vol. 4, no. 1/2, April/September 1915, pp. 141f.; Victor Wallerstein, 'Literatur', *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, vol. 2, no. 13, pp. 672f. (8 July 1915); Hans Tietze, 'Carl Einstein: Negerplastik', *Kunstchronik (Beiblatt der Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst)* N.F., vol. 28, No. 37 (15 June 1915), col. 415-16; all are reproduced in Baacke, pp. 88-94; 99-101, 105f., 107f., and 124f.

¹³³ Ich glaube sicherer als alle mögliche Kenntnis ethnographischer usw. Art gilt die Tatsache: die afrikanischen Skulpturen!; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, here CEW 1, p. 236 and NS p. 125.

¹³⁴ In diesem Buch kann man nun, einerlei, ob man den deutenden Text Einsteins akzeptiert oder nicht, eine große Zahl charakteristischer Negerplastiken, darunter viele Masken, kennen lernen. [...] Einsteins Text geht nicht auf eine Besprechung der einzelnen Werke ein und verzichtet auf jeden Vorversuch einer Historie. Er bleibt ganz philosophisch. [...] Wir haben das Recht, diese Kunst abzulehnen, sie als fremd und störend zu empfinden; aber wir haben nicht das Recht, sie nicht als Kunst, nicht als notwendig und in sich tief begründet und wertvoll anzuerkennen. Wieder ein Loch im klassizistischen Schönheitskanon; Hermann Hesse, 'Die Plastik der Neger', in supplement to the *Vossische Zeitung*, 30 July 1915, here cited from Baacke, *Carl Einstein Materialien*, p. 95.

¹³⁵ Ezio Bassani, 'Le opere illustrate in "Negerplastik"', *Critica d'arte africana*, Vol. 2, 1985, Ser. 2, no. 2, pp. 33-43; Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*.

¹³⁶ [Der Europäer] drückt den Abstand, der zwischen diesen Gebilden und der kontinentalen Einstellung sich auftut, durch eine Verachtung aus, die sich geradezu eine verneinende Terminologie schuf; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 234, and NS p. 124.

¹³⁷ Roland Barthes, 'The Photographic Message' in *Image Music Text*, London: Fontana Press 1977, pp. 15-31, here p.17.

¹³⁸ On the impact of photography on the discipline of art history, see for example, Mary Bergstein, 'Lonely Aphrodites: On the Documentary Photography of Sculpture', *The Art Bulletin*, 74:3 (Sept.) 1992, p. 475-498; Frederic N. Bohrer, 'Photographic Perspectives', in Elizabeth Mansfield (ed.), *Art History and its Institutions*, London 2002, pp. 246-259; Anthony Hamber, 'The Use of Photography by Nineteenth Century Art Historians', *Visual Resources*, vol. VII, pp. 135-161; Geraldine A. Johnson, (ed.), *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension*, Cambridge University Press 1998; Helene E. Roberts (ed.), *Art History through the Camera's Lens*, London: Routledge 1995. On its role in relation to anthropology, see Chrissie Iles (ed.) & Russell D. Roberts (curator), *In Visible Light. Photography and Classification in Art, Science and The Everyday*, Oxford: Museum of Modern Art 2002; Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography 1860 – 1920*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press and the Royal Anthropological Institute 1992; and esp. her 'Notes from the Archive', in *Raw Histories. Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford & New York: Berg 2001.

¹³⁹ Heinrich Wölfflin, 'Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll', *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, N. F., vol. VII (1896) pp. 224-228, and vol. VIII (1897) pp. 294-297; also 'Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll (Problem der italienischen Renaissance)', *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, N.F. XXXVI, 1915, pp. 237-294. Of the recent publications and probably one of the earliest to include a discussion of Wölfflin's essays, see Mary Bergstein, 'Lonely Aphrodites; also Geraldine A. Johnson (ed.), *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension*, Cambridge University Press 1998.

¹⁴⁰ Ich habe [...] Stücke [...] besprochen, mit der Absicht, das Bewusstsein [...] zu schärfen, dass eine alte Figur nicht von jeder beliebigen Seite her angesehen werden darf, [...] und dass nur eine sträfliche Sorglosigkeit ihr die [...] künstlerisch gewollte Ansicht vorenthalten wird, sobald es gilt, eine Aufnahme herzustellen [...]; fast immer weicht man der normalen Frontansicht aus und glaubt der Figur den größten Gefallen zu thun, wenn man ihr einen „malerischen Reiz“ gibt d.h. den Standpunkt seitlich nimmt. Wenige wissen, dass [...] die große künstlerische Arbeit [...] gerade darin [bestand], in einer Fläche den ganzen plastischen Inhalt

auszubreiten und das, was in der Natur durch einzelne sukzessive Wahrnehmungen aufgefasst werden muss, dem Auge auf einmal, zu leichter müheloser Perception gesammelt vorzustellen; Wölfflin, 'Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll' (1897) p. 294.

¹⁴¹ p. 296: [A]llein eine erschöpfende Hauptansicht muss immer vorhanden sein, wenn man nicht endlos unruhig um die Figure herumgetrieben werden soll. V[er]gl[eiche] Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form*, Kap[itel] 5; (my emphasis).

¹⁴² Cf. Rosalind Krauss, 'Notes on the Index: Part I' in *The Originality of the Avant-garde and other Modernist Myths*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 1986, pp. 196-209, esp. 203. On photography's indexical and iconic properties and questions of authenticity, see also Barthes, 'The Photographic Message', and his 'Rhetoric of the Image', in *Image Music Text*, London: Fontana Press 1977, pp. 32-51; Max Kozloff, *The Privileged Eye*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1987.

¹⁴³ The citation is from Barthes, 'The Photographic Message', p. 17. In contrast to the cultural journals to which Einstein tended to contribute, the weekly *Zeit im Bild - Moderne Illustrierte Wochenschrift* was marked by its larger format and excellent print quality. It cultivated an outlook that covered literature, politics and the arts, as well as popular culture and mass events. Contributors were from a wide range of ideological backgrounds and included Hugo Ball, Albert Ehrenstein, Hausenstein, Heinrich Mann, Ernst Mühsam, and Kurt Tucholsky; cf. also Andreas Kramer, 'Erzwungene Monumentalität. Eine unbekannte Rezension Carl Einsteins aus dem Jahr 1913', in CEKo 3, pp. 105-113; also Einstein, 'Maillol', and 'Die Radierungen Wilhelm Lehmbrucks', *Zeit im Bild* (1913), as chapter 11; see also the discussion of *Documents* below, chapter 14 and 15.

¹⁴⁴ Allan Sekula, 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning', *Artforum*, Vol. XIII, no. 5, 1975, here from Victor Burgin (ed.) *Thinking Photography*, London: Macmillan Press 1982, pp. 84-109; also Barthes, 'Rhetoric of the Image', pp. 32-51, and 'The Photographic Message', as above.

¹⁴⁵ A similar link was made in Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, Berlin: Wasmuth-Verlag (Orbis Pictus Bd. 7), 1921, CEW 1, p. 69.

¹⁴⁶ Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology*, pp. 99-107. For a full-page colour reproduction of the above Ngumba statue, Fig. 35, see Rubin, "Primitivism", p. 39.

¹⁴⁷ The event was widely discussed, including Karl Scheffler's, 'Das umgebaute Museum für Völkerkunde', *Kunst und Künstler* XXIV, 1926, pp. 384-389, and a critic by Einstein, 'Das Berliner Völkermuseum. Anlässlich der Neuordnung', *Der Querschnitt*, vol. 6, no. 8 (1926), pp. 588-592, and his 'Schausammlung und Forschungsinstitut (Noch ein Wort zum neuen Völkermuseum)', vol. 6, no. 10 (1926), pp. 779-781, 1926, CEW 2, pp. 446-450 and 451-453. For a survey of the history and practices of the Berlin Museum, see Ivanov, 'Afrika-Europa in den [Kunst-] Objekten', in Junge & Ivanov, *Kunst aus Afrika*, pp. 34-47; Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa. Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press 1994.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Friedrich Markus Huebner, 'Und Afrika sprach', in *Die Schaubühne*, vol. 11, no. 46 (18 November 1915), pp. 458-459. The origin of the term 'atlas' goes back to the famous Atlas by the sixteenth-century cartographer Gerardus Mercator, whose frontispiece showed an image of the Greek Titan Atlas who, according to myth, held up the pillars of the universe.

¹⁴⁹ For those volumes that followed *Negerplastik*, see Part III chapter 14 and Part IV – Epilogue below. See also, for example the threefold colour reproduction of a small Baule sculpture, showing front, three-quarter and profile view reproduced in Flam, 'Matisse and the Fauves', in Rubin "*Primitivism*", p. 223, which does not mention Einstein's *Negerplastik*, where the same object is reproduced, showing exactly the same front and profile view with the addition of a detail of the statues head in profile, cf. Einstein, *Negerplastik*, pl. 54-56.

¹⁵⁰ *Man hoffte im Neger so etwas von Beginn zu fassen, einen Zustand, der aus dem Anfangen nie herausgelangt. [...] Das Beschreiben der Skulpturen als formale Gebilde leistet jedoch unerheblich mehr als ein Gegenständliches*; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 237 and 234, NS p. 126 and 124. The notion of visuality, or 'Anschaulichkeit', refers here to that of Adorno: 'By denying the implicitly conceptual nature of art, the norm of visuality reifies [...] into an opaque, impenetrable quality – a replica of the world outside, wary of everything that might interfere with the pretence of the harmony the work of art puts forth'; Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory* (eds Gretel Adorno & Rolf Tiedemann; trans. C. Lenhardt), London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p. 139f.

¹⁵¹ For the translation, see Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 246f., as above, chapter 12.

¹⁵² As above, chapter 12.

¹⁵³ *Das Werk wird als Typus der adorierten Gewalt aufgerichtet. [...] Es bedeutet nichts, es symbolisiert nichts; es ist der Gott, der seine abgeschlossenen mythische Realität bewahrt*; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 241 and 242; NS, p. 129 and 130. Examples of body scarification and tattooing are represented in pl. 35, 54-57, 63, 64, and 76-79.

¹⁵⁴ *So umfaßt der Kongoneger mit seiner Kunst sogleich das Innige und das Erhabende der Menschlichkeit*; Hausenstein, *Der Nackte Mensch*, pp. 296-98, here 269; the object is included in part III of the book, which deals with 'The Beauty of the human Figure', and the chapter 'Anfänge (Beginnings)', incorporating Neolithic, north-American Indian and "Eskimo" art, Bushman drawing and African and Oceanic objects. For ethnographic interpretations of the statue's iconography, see Kurt Krieger, *Westafrikanische Plastik*, 3 vols, Berlin: Museum für Völkerkunde 1965-69, here vol. I, no. 209; Hans-Joachim Koloss (ed.), *Art of Central Africa: masterpieces from the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde*, no. 6, p.34; and Koloss (ed.) *Afrika – Kunst und Kultur: Meisterwerke afrikanischer Kunst aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin*, Munich, London, New York: Prestel 1999, no. 115, p. 217; also Junge & Ivanov, *Kunst aus Afrika*, p. 125.

¹⁵⁵ For contemporary discussions of the Sakalava figure as part of the Jacob Epstein collection of non-western sculpture, see Ezio Bassani & Malcolm McLeod, *Jacob Epstein Collector*, Turin: Stamperia Artistica nazionale 1987, p. 66f.; also McLeod, 'The Passionate Collector', in Evelyn Silber, Terry Friedmann et al, (cat.) *Jacob Epstein, Sculpture and Drawings*, W. S. Maney & Son in assoc. with: The Henry Moore Centre for the Study of Sculpture, 1989, pp. 12-19; Alan G. Wilkinson, 'Lipchitz, Epstein, and Gaudier-Breska', in Rubin, "*Primitivism*", pp. 417-451. For a discussion of the work, see also Susan M. Vogel (ed.), *African Aesthetics: The Carlo Monzino Collection*, New York: The Center for African Art, 1986, pp. 190-92; also Tom Phillips, (ed.), (cat.), *Africa – The Art of a Continent*, p.150; and Kerchache, pp. 210-213.

¹⁵⁶ Paudrat, 'From Africa', p. 151.

¹⁵⁷ Walter Benjamin, 'A Small History of Photography' (1931), in (trans. E. Jephcott & K. Shorter), *Walter Benjamin – One-Way Street and Other Writings*, London: Verso 1992, p. 250

¹⁵⁸ *Man wird das Gegenständliche respektive [...] der Umgebungsassoziationen ausschalten und diese Bildungen als Gebilde analysieren. Man wird versuchen, ob sich aus dem Formalen der Skulpturen die Gesamtvorstellung einer Form ergibt, die denen über Kunstformen homogen ist;* (trans.) We shall exclude subject matter and related contextual associations and instead analyze these configurations as formal constructs. We shall try to determine, whether from the sculptures' formal properties a total concept can be deduced that is homologous with that of artistic form; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 236, NS p. 125.

¹⁵⁹ Aside from those already mentioned, reviewers included the playwright and later Nazi poet laureate Hanns Johst, the art historian and collector Rosa Schapire, and the art historian and editor of *Die Neue Rundschau* Oskar Bie; the most negative was that of the Vienna historian and anthropologist Viktor Christian; the articles are reproduced in Baacke, pp. 102f, 104, 109, and 128f.

¹⁶⁰ *Die im Text betonten Züge: kubische Geschlossenheit, starke Aufteilung und Verselbständigung der Teile, kühne Verarbeitung der Bewegungsmotive verwirklichen sich in immer neuen Weisen und Formen. Der Betrachter in seiner völligen Unbekanntschaft mit dieser Formenwelt [...], fühlt sich versucht, jedes einzelne dieser Werke, das – allen sonstigen Beziehungen entfremdet – dem Europäer nur Kunstphänomen oder Kuriosität bedeuten kann, sich zu erobern. Es reizt ihn nach diesen Tafeln Verwandtes zu vereinen, Fremdes abzusondern, stilistische Typen auszusichten, [...]. Dem Verfasser bleibt der Verdienst, als erster den gesonderten Kunsttypus der afrikanischen Plastik festgestellt zu haben. Die zahlreichen Abbildungen, die sicher schwierig zu beschaffen waren, und die sorgfältige geschmackvolle Ausstattung erhöhen den Wert des Buches;* Hedwig Fechheimer, 'Carl Einstein: Negerplastik', *Kunst und Künstler*, vol. 13. no. 12 (September 1915), pp. 576-578; it is reprinted in Baacke, pp. 112-15. Kiefer suggests Fechheimer may have been more than an acquaintance, arguing that certain parallels exist between *Negerplastik* and her book on Egyptian sculpture, both referred in their analysis to contemporary artistic production, and both wrote complimentary reviews about each other's publications, though Einstein's text remained a hand written six page fragment (cf. Carl Einstein Archiv, Sign. 266); cf. Hedwig Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter*, Berlin 1914; also her 'Über einige Motive ägyptischer Rundplastik', *Kunst und Künstler* XII, 1914, pp. 62-70; 'Carl Einstein: Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts', *Kunst und Künstler*, XXIV, 1926, p. 497; cf. Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 163-165, 167-170.

¹⁶¹ Letter Hedwig Fechheimer to Felix von Luschan, dated 21 June 1916 (Nachlaß von Luschan), Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. For his second book on African sculpture in 1921 Einstein succeeded in arranging for the majority of his illustrations to be supplied by the Berlin Museum; cf. Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, Berlin: Wasmuth-Verlag (Orbis Pictus, vol. 7) 1921. Luschan's wife, Emma von Hofstetter, was an accomplished photographer, who took responsibility for the women of her husbands anthropometric studies during his many expeditions. But she also ensured photographic records were kept, which also involved her with work at the museum; cf. Kiffner, 'Felix von Luschan', p. 235; Smith, 'W.E.B. Du Bois, 'Felix von Luschan, and Racial Reform at the "Fin de Siècle"', *Amerikastudien*, vol. 47, pt. 1, 2002, p. 31.

¹⁶² See, for example, Donald E. Gordon, 'German Expressionism' in Rubin (ed.), "Primitivism", pp. 369-403; Jill Lloyd (1991), *German Expressionism. Primitivism and Modernity*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press; also L. D. Ettlinger, 'German Expressionism and Primitive Art', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 110, no. 781 (1968), pp. 191-201; and Reinhard Wegner, *Der Exotismus-Streit in Deutschland: Zur Auseinandersetzung mit primitiven Formen in der Bildenden Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, (European University Studies) Frankfurt am Main, Berne, New York: Peter Lang 1983, esp. pp. 33-73. On the 'primitivism hubbub' see above Part I, chapter 5.

¹⁶³ Cf. Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung*, Munich 1908; also Lloyd, pp. 67-76, and Gordon as above. For Einstein's critique of Expressionist artists, cf. his *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, CEW 5, esp. pp. 184-212 and 241-258.

¹⁶⁴ The sculpture described as the 'Prisoner', was acquired by the German collector Eduard von der Heydt some time after 1912; it is now at the Rietberg Museum, Zurich, and an example of the art of the Bena Kanioka people (DRC), five of whose myths were retold as part of Einstein (ed.), *Afrikanische Legenden*, Berlin: Rowohlt 1925; see also below, chapter 14.

¹⁶⁵ Wilhelm Worringer (1908), *Abstraktion und Einfühlung*, Munich; and (1912) *Formprobleme der Gotik*, Munich; also Hermann Bahr, *Expressionismus*, Munich: Delphin-Verlag 1916/1920. An example of invigorating German nationalist sentiments is Paul Fechter (1914), *Der Expressionismus*, Munich.

¹⁶⁶ Lloyd, *German Expressionism*, and Gordon, 'German Expressionism' describes the artists' primitivizing appropriations in more detail.

¹⁶⁷ *Die Negerplastik stellt eine klare Fixierung des unvermischten plastischen Sehens dar*; Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 243; NS, p. 131.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, p. 145 as above.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Hans Sachs, 'Vom Hurrakitsch, von Nagelungsstandbildern, Nagelungsplakaten und anderen Schönheiten', *Das Plakat*, vol. 8, no. 1, (1917), pp. 9-11; and 'Fetischdienst', *Kladderadatsch*, no. 37, 12 September 1915; also 'Der Eiserne Hindenburg', *Kunst und Künstler*, 17 (1918-19), pp. 464-6; 'Hurakitsch-Hochflut', *Der Kunstwart*, 29, (1915-1916), p. 31-2; cited here from Jay Winter & Jean-Louis Robert (eds), *Capital Cities at War – Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1918*, Cambridge University Press 2007, pp. 154-156.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Edgar Bérillon, 'La psychology de la race allemande d'après ses caractères objectifs et spécifiques', in *Conférences faites en 1916-1917* (Paris 1917), pp. 139-40, and 'The German military idol', in *The Times Newspaper*, August 1915, p. 6, cited from Winter & Robert, as above p. 155 and 156. See also, 'Iron Hindenburg unveiled in Berlin – Thousands struggle to drive Nails into the Effigy of the National Hero', *New York Times*, 5 September 1915.

¹⁷¹ *Glaube ist in Deutschlands Staat vor allem Militärangelegenheit. [...] Geistliche riefen euch zum Kreuzzug auf, aber sie verschwiegen, daß ihr an das Kreuz genagelt wurdet. Man segnete euch ein im Namen Hindenburgs, wie man euch früher gepredigt hatte im Namen Gottes.*; Anon. (Einstein), 'Capelle und Genossen', *Der blutige Ernst*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1919), p. 3, here CEW 2, pp. 28-30. For a discussion of Einstein's role in, and contributions to, the Dada journals *Die Pleite* and *Der blutige Ernst* and his alliance with the Malik-Verlag and George Grosz, see Haxthausen, "Bloody Serious": Two Texts by Carl Einstein' *October* 105,

Summer 2003, pp. 105-118; Kiefer *Diskurswandel*, pp. 255-271; Meffre, *Carl Einstein 1885-1940*, pp. 187-192; Fleckner, *Carl Einstein*, pp. 123-156; the most detailed account is Kramer, "'Versuch der Freiheit?' Carl Einsteins Verhältnis zu Dada', in Kiefer (ed.) *Die visuelle Wende der Moderne*, pp. 163-178.

¹⁷² The first citation is from Goldwater, *Primitivism*, p. 35; cf. the catalogue by Paul Guillaume *Sculpture Nègres, 24 photographies précédées d'un avertissement de Guillaume Apollinaire et d'un exposé de Paul Guillaume*, 1917, Reprint New York: Hacker Art Books 1972; the second citation is from Guillaume, 'Une esthétique nouvelle, l'art nègre' *Les Arts à Paris*, 15 May, 1919, pp. 1-4. The 1916 exhibition held under the sign of the *Lyre et palette* was not the first for which Guillaume supplied non-western statuary; in the winter of 1914 he had also shipped objects from Gabon and the Ivory Coast to the New York 291 gallery for a show organized by Stieglitz' associate Marius de Zayas, called 'Statuary in Wood by African savages: The Roots of Modern Art'; for further details, see below Part IV; also Paudrat, 'From Africa', pp. 154-156.

¹⁷³ Guillaume Apollinaire 'A propos de l'art des noirs' 1917, cited here from Apollinaire, 'Concerning the Art of the Blacks' in Flam & Deutch (eds), *Primitivism*, pp. 107-110; also Guillaume, 'Exposé', in *Sculptures Nègres* (as above), n.p.

¹⁷⁴ Apollinaire, 'A propos', p. 109, the only exceptions is a Baga shoulder mask (Guinea/Guinea-Bissau) with a grass skirt, see pl. IX. Julia Kelly has pointed out that Apollinaire's description drew heavily on an essay by the Musée du Trocadéro's director René Verneau that appeared in *La Nature* in 1916, cf. Kelly, *Art, Ethnography*, p. 20f. and n. 44 and 45.

¹⁷⁵ The plate numbers referred to above are those in Guillaume's album, which relate to the following plates in Einstein's *Negerplastik*: 18, 97, 85, and 99; Picasso owned a Tiki figure that appears in a well known photograph of Apollinaire in his studio in Boulevard de Clichy, taken between 1910-12; cf. for example, Rubin "Primitivism", p. 282; cf. also Philippe Peltier, 'From Oceania', in Rubin, 'Primitivism' pp. 99-123, here 107, where the Tikis are described (in the words of Henri Clouzot and André Level) as a 'monster from the realm of the geometric', see Henri Clouzot & André Level, *L'art nègre et l'art océanien*, Paris, Devambez, 1919, pp. 20-22.

¹⁷⁶ Apollinaire, 'A propos', p. 107 and 109. In *Negerplastik*, Einstein prioritizes aspects of the work's religious and transcendental qualities that categorically deny the notion of the artist as 'master', because: *er [the maker] besitzt von Beginn an Distanz zum Werk, das der Gott ist oder ihn festhält. Seine ist entfernte Adoration und somit das Werk a priori etwas Selbständiges, mächtiger als der Verfertiger [...] Das Kunstwerk als Mühe um einen Effekt ist hier sinnlos [...]*; (trans.): from the beginning he maintains distance from the work, which either is or contains the god. His labour is a form of remote adoration and the work is therefore a priori autonomous, more powerful than its maker [...]. Any attempt to make the work of art for the sake of effect is pointless; see Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 240-41; NS, p. 129.

¹⁷⁷ The quote is from Laurie Eglington, 'Untimely Passing of Paul Guillaume evokes Memories', *The Art News*, vol. 33, no. 4 (27 October 1934), pp. 3-4; also Paudrat, 'From Africa', p. 152f; and Gee, pp. 60-65.

¹⁷⁸ See the provenances in Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, pp. 109-118. For Guillaume's acknowledgment of *Negerplastik*, see his, 'Une esthétique nouvelle',

Les Arts à Paris, 15 May 1919, pp. 1-4; and again in 'The Triumph of Ancient Negro Art', in *Opportunity – A Journal of Negro Life*, 4, no. 41 (May 1926), p. 146-7.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. John Tagg, 'The Currency of the Photograph; New Deal Reformism and Documentary Rhetoric', in *The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories*, Basingstoke & London: Macmillan Press 1988, pp. 153-183. On photography and ethnography, see Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography*, 'Photographic Types' and 'Notes from the Archive'; also Grossman; and Iles & Russell. On dealers, see John B. Donne, 'African Art and Paris Studios 1905-1920', in Michael Greenhalgh, *Art in Society*, London, 1978, pp. 105-120; John Elsner & Roger Cardinal (eds), *The Cultures of Collecting*, Reaktion Books, London 1994; George E. Marcus & Fred R. Myers, *The Traffic in Culture. Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press 1995; Raymond Corbey, *Tribal Art Traffic. A Chronicle of Taste: Trade and Desire in Colonial and Post-Colonial Times*, Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam, 2000.

¹⁸⁰ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, p. 15. *La décoration primitive* was the title of a four-volume publication consisting of photographic reproductions of non-western sculptural objects, textiles and other material for the instruction of art and design students; cf. Rosalind Krauss *The Originality of the Avant-garde*, p. 64; also Archer-Straw, *Negrophilia*.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Monod-Fontaine, 'Chronologie und Dokumente', p. 121; Assouline p. 43; and above, Part II, chapter 9.

¹⁸² On the use of reproductive technologies by the *Brücke* artists, see Neumeister, 'Der Sturm' 1910-1920, pp. 65-69; on the *Blaue Reiter*, see Felix Thürlemann, '"Famose Gegenklänge". Der Diskurs der Abbildungen im Almanach "Der Blaue Reiter"', in Christoph von Tavel (ed.), (cat.) *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kunstmuseum Bern, 21 November 1986 – 15 February 1987, pp. 210-222.

¹⁸³ Walter Benjamin, 'The work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, vol. I, no. 1 (1936), here Hannah Arendt (ed.) (trans. Harry Zohn), *Illuminations. Walter Benjamin*, Fontana/Collins 1977, pp. 219-253; Rumold views Einstein's position as ultimately conservative, see Rumold '"Painting as a Language. Why Not?"', p. 77ff.; it is evident in, for example, Einstein, 'Die Pleite des deutschen Films', first published in *Der Querschnitt*, vol. 2. no. 3, 1922, p. 191f., here CEW 2, pp. 210-13; for a more detailed discussion of Einstein's position with regards to photography see Charles Haxthausen, 'Reproduction/Repetition: Walter Benjamin/Carl Einstein', in (ed. Sebastian Zeidler) *Carl Einstein. A Special Issue*, in *October* 107, MIT Press, 2004, pp. 47-74.

¹⁸⁴ Although it is clear that the two objects from the British Museum which appeared in *Negerplastik* were printed from photographs belonging to the museum, the museum authorities did issue guidelines for those, who wished to produce their own photographs from the objects in its collections; see *Regulations for Photography in the British Museum*, London: The British Museum 1927, which give precise advice as to procedures and costs charged; see also Joyce & Dalton, *Handbook*; for provenances, see Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, pp. 109-118; on Shchukin see also Part II, chapter 9 above and Part IV below.

¹⁸⁵ Benjamin, 'The work of Art', p. 223.

¹⁸⁶ Denis Hollier, 'La valeur d'usage de l'impossible', *Documents (1929-1930)*, Paris: Jean-Michel Place 1991, pp. vii – xxxiv; here 'The Use-Value of the Impossible' (trans. Liesl Ollman), in *October* 60, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 1992, p. 12.

¹⁸⁷ Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, Berlin: Wasmuth-Verlag (Orbis Pictus, Vol. 7) 1921, here CEW 2, pp. 61-145; and Einstein, *Negerplastik*, Kurt Wolff, Leipzig, 1920.

¹⁸⁸ *Herr Karl Einstein [...] Gartenstadt Frohnau, Berlin [...] bietet doppelseitige Ahnenfigur von den Bakuba (Ogouwa) für 600 Rm zum Verkauf an. [...] Bestätigung: Die Sachverständigen-Kommission bewilligt den Ankauf zum Preise von 600 Rm. [...] gez.: von Boddinhaus*; the entries are dated 4 August 1926 and 9 September 1926 in *Akten betreffend Erwerbungen ethnologischer Gegenstände aus Afrika* vol. 57 (1. January – 31 December 1926), Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin. The object is discussed in Junge & Ivanov, (cat.), *Kunst aus Afrika*, p. 106f. On Herbert von Garvens, see Katrin Vester, 'Herbert von Garvens-Garvensburg: Sammler Galerist und Förderer der Modernen Kunst in Hannover', and on Justus Brinkmann, see Andreas Hünecke, 'Von der Verantwortung des Museumsdirektors – Max Sauerlandt', both in Junge (ed.), *Avantgarde und Publikum*, pp. 93-102 and 262-265.

¹⁸⁹ Bibliographic references included: Bernhard Ankermann, 'Bericht über eine ethnographische Forschungsreise ins Grasland von Kamerun', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 24 (1910), pp. 288-310; 'Totenkult und Seelenglaube bei afrikanischen Völkern', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, no. 2-3, (1918), pp. 7-146. Also the yet unpublished discoveries 'related personally' to Einstein by Alfred Schachtzabel, *Im Hochland von Angola – Studienreise durch den Süden Portugiesisch-West-Afrikas*, Dresden: Deutsche Buchwerkstätten 1923; Felix von Luschan, *Die Altertümer von Benin*, 1919, Joyce & Dalton, (eds), *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, 1910, Torday & Joyce, 'Notes on the ethnography of the Ba-Huana'; *Notes ethnographiques*; see Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, CEW 2, p. 93.

¹⁹⁰ *Afrikas kulturschaffende Kräfte sind beträchtlich erschöpft. Die alte Überlieferung zerbröckelte unter der Kolonisierung, angestammtes Vorstellungsgut mischte sich importierter Anschauung. [...] Von abgestandenen, langweiligen Expressionismen aus läßt sich der Umfang afrikanischer Kunstfertigkeit nicht bezirken; mit einigen modischen [...] Truks ist wenig getan. Glücklicherweise ist afrikanische Kunst stärker als afrikanische Mode. Mit hochstapelndem Gefühl und neu schablonierten Idiologien, die eine verzweifelte Ähnlichkeit mit Einbildungen besitzen, ist nichts gewonnen. [...]. Eine beträchtliche Anzahl afrikanischer Plastiken ist alles andere, nur nicht primitiv [...]*; Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, CEW 2, p. 61 and 62. Again, the issue of African cultural contamination and colonization was also addressed by Fritz Graebner, cf. his 'Der Neubau des Berliner Museums für Völkerkunde und andere praktische Zeitfragen der Ethnologie', *Globus* 94/14 (1908), pp. 213-216.

¹⁹¹ p. 64: *[M]it den sog.[enannten] geistigen Begriffen von heute [...] [w]as heißt uns nicht alles Geist, Form u[nd]s[o]f[ort]. Der Philosoph definiert seinen Begriff von Form, jedoch kaum den Gesamtinhalt des Begriffs, den labil wiegenden Bedeutungskomplex, den eine Zeit damit verbindet. [...] Diese gelebten Dinge bleiben theoretisch unfaßbar, da sie in zahllosen Varianten erlebt und empfunden werden. Die Abstraktion verharret distanziert vom Gegenstand [...]. Die psychologische Einfühlung wie die nur formale Betrachtung sind von begrenztem Erkenntniswert, und erzeugen einseitig durchgeführt Verwirrung.*

¹⁹² *Primitive Kunst: Ablehnen der kapitalisierten Kunstüberlieferung. [...] das Ende der formalen Fiktionen [muß] festgestellt werden [...], die einfache Masse, die heute noch im Leiden befangen ist. Sie ist der Künstler;* Einstein, 'Zur primitiven Kunst', in Ludwig Rubiner (ed.), *Die Gemeinschaft, Dokumente der geistigen Weltwende*, Jahrbuch des Verlages Kiepenheuer, Potsdam 1919, p. 175f., here CEW 2, p. 27; cf. Haxthausen (trans.), 'Carl Einstein. On Primitive Art', *October* 105 (summer 2003), p. 124. Einstein's research activities at the Congo Museum are related to his friend and mentor of his early literary career, Franz Blei, in a letter bearing the official logo of the Brussels *Conseil Colonial*; see letter Einstein (1917) n.d., (Nachlaß Franz Blei), Handschriftenabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. On Einstein in Brussels, see Kiefer, 'Carl Einstein and the Revolutionary Soldiers' Council in Brussels', in Rumold & Werkmeister (eds), *The Ideological*, pp. 97-113; also Hubert Roland, 'Materialien zu Carl Einsteins Aufenthalt in Belgien', on Einstein and the German insurrection, see Christoph Braun, 'Carl Einstein und die Novemberrevolution', both in CEKo 2, pp. 41-53, and 55-62; on his Dada activities cf. Kramer, "'Versuch der Freiheit?"; and Haxthausen "Bloody Serious": Two Texts by Carl Einstein', as above.

¹⁹³ *Das Betrachten der afrikanischen Kunst ist im gleichen Maße aus dem romantischen wie dem nur ethnologischen Stadium zu lösen. Hierzu bedarf es der Zusammenarbeit der Ethnologen und Kunsthistoriker;* Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, CEW 2, p. 62.

¹⁹⁴ For Fig. 59 see my remarks on Fig. 9, chapter 13. For Fig. 58, see Joyce, 'The Portrait Statue of Mikopembula', chapter 11 above and the discussion below.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. above Part II, chapter 8.

¹⁹⁶ *Dies Stück ist eines der Ahnenbilder des Kubismus; die Augenbrauen zacken sich spitzbogig. [...] die Backen platzen als Kugeln heraus, die das aufgerissene Mundloch verbindet, wodurch der Tänzer atmete; [...]. Auf dem Kopf sitzt das Totemtier, die Spinne. [...] Die Maske zeigt kompositionell die enge Verbindung zwischen dem Ahnen und dem Sippentier. Ein weiterer Abstand liegt zwischen [...] der Ekoimaske und diesem Stück. Dort Psychologie und Umgehung der plastische Mittel; hier tobt man sich in Volumen aus und es gelingt, jedes Teil auf sein kubisches Element zurückzuführen.;* Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, CEW 2, p. 76. The mask is also reproduced in Rubin, "Primitivism", p. 228, though neither Einstein's book or ownership is acknowledged.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. pp. 80, 82, and 88-90, as compared to Torday & Joyce, 'Notes ethnographiques' 1910, pp. 237-38 and 292; see also 'Notes on the ethnography of the Ba-Huana', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 36, July-December 1906, pp. 272-300.

¹⁹⁸ The study Einstein refers to is probably: Ankermann, *Verbreitung und Formen des Totemismus*, Berlin 1915, or the essay 'Verbreitung und Formen des Totemismus in Afrika', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 47 (1915), pp. 114-180, cf. esp. pp. 167-180; the other is Ankermann, 'Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Ethnographie der Südhälfte Afrikas', *Archiv für Anthropologie*, N.F., vol. IV, no. 4 (1906), pp. 241-286. For references relating, either by name or contents to Ankermann's work see *Afrikanische Plastik*, pp. 63, 66-69, 71, 75, 83, and 86-89. For somewhat different assessments of the book, see Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 184-218; and 'Fonctions de l'art africain dans l'oeuvre de Carl Einstein', in: Janos Riesz & Daniel Droixhe, *Images de l'Africain de l'Antiquité au XXe siècle*, Frankfurt/M., 1987, pp. 149-176; Denis Hollier, 'The Question of Lay Ethnography

[The Entropological Wild Card]', in Dawn Ades & Simon Baker (eds), (cat.) *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and 'Documents'*, London: Hayward Gallery & Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 2006, pp. 58-64; Julia Kelly, *Art, Ethnography and the Life of Objects, Paris c. 1925-1935*, Manchester University Press 2007, here pp. 22-24.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. the introduction to Eckart von Sydow, *Die Kunst der Naturvölker und der Vorzeit* Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1923 (2nd edition); also *Exotische Kunst – Afrika und Ozeanien*, Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1921; *Ahnenkult und Ahnenbild der Naturvölker*, Berlin: Furche Kunstverlag 1924; *Kunst und Religion der Naturvölker*, Oldenburg I. O.: Gerhard Stalling Verlag 1926; Hausenstein, *Exoten, Skulpturen und Märchen*, Erlenbach-Zurich & Munich: Eugen Rentsch 1920, and *Barbaren und Klassiker*, Munich 1922; Herbert Kühn, *Die Kunst der Primitiven*, München: Delphin-Verlag 1923; and Ernst Vatter, *Religiöse Plastik der Naturvölker*, Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt 1926.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Einstein, *La sculpture africaine*, (trad. T. & R. Burgard), Paris 1922; in Italy: Einstein, *Scultura africana*, Editioni di Valori plastico, (La civiltà artistica, 1, vol. 8 (n.d., c.1922)). The introduction to *Negerplastik* was also published: Einstein, 'De l'art nègre', *Action*, March/April 1922, p. 47f. Other texts on non-western culture included: Einstein, 'Peruanische Bildgewebe der Sammlung Gans', *Das Kunstblatt*, vol. 6 1922, pp.172-75, CEW 2, p. 216f; Einstein, 'Südseeplastiken', in (cat.) Galerie Flechteim 1926, p. 3f., CEW 2, pp. 401-413; see Einstein, 'Das Berliner Völkerkundemuseum', CEW 2, pp. 446-450 and its sequel, 'Schausammlung und Forschungsinstitut (Noch ein Wort zum neuen Völkerkundemuseum'.

²⁰¹ The citation is from letter Einstein to Kahnweiler, n.d., (c. 1921), in Meffre, *Correspondance*, p. 123; see also Einstein (ed.), *Afrikanische Legenden*, Berlin: Rowohlt 1925; the book's bibliography cited one hundred and thirty-eight sources. Earlier renditions were: 'Negermythen. Bakubalegenden', *Marsyas*, vol. 1, 1917, No. 1, pp. 45-60, CEW 1, pp. 275-291; 'Drei Negerlieder. Nachdichtungen von Carl Einstein', *Die Aktion*, vol. 6, 1916, No. 47/48, col. 651, CEW 1, p. 256f. 'Negergebet', *Die Aktion*, vol. 6, 1916, No. 51/52, col. 708f., reprinted in *Zenit*, vol. 1, 1921, no. 8., p. 8, CEW 1, p. 257f.; 'Negerlieder. Nachdichtungen von Carl Einstein', *Die Aktion*, vol. 7, No. 24/25 1917, col. 324, CEW 1, p. 270f.

²⁰² Cf. Frobenius, *Das schwarze Dekameron. Belege und Aktenstücke über Liebe, Witz und Heldentum in Innerafrika, gesammelt von Leo Frobenius*, Berlin 1910; and Jakob Schaffner, 'Der schwarze Dekameron (Rez. zu Leo Frobenius)', *Die neue Rundschau*, (1911) no. 1, pp. 119-123.

²⁰³ *Die Forscher [...] haben [...] aber [...] [die] spezifisch afrikanische Stilformung unterschlagen, dank den tausenderlei unbewußten Voreingenommenheiten ihres eigenen abenländischen Verunfts-Ichs. [...] [Das] überschrieb man in die fremde Optik einer Maupassantschen Novelle, einer Grimmschen Märchenlegende*; cited from Huebner, 'Und Afrika sprach', *Die Schaubühne*, (18 November 1915) pp. 458-459. On Frobenius and German academic iconoclasm, see Marchand, 'German Orientalism and the Decline of the West', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 145, no. 4 (December 2001), pp. 465-473; and 'Leo Frobenius and the Revolt against the West', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 31, no. 2 (1997), pp. 153-170.

²⁰⁴ Leo Frobenius, 'L'art de la silhouette', *Cahiers d'art*, vol. 4, no. 8/9 (1929), p. 397; 'Bêtes, hommes ou dieux?', *Cahiers d'art*, 4, no. 10 (1929), p. 443f; 'L'art

africain, *Cahiers d'art*, 4, 5, No. 8 (1930), p. 495ff; also, 'Dessins rupustres du sud de la Rhodésie', *Documents*, No. 4, 1930, pp. 185-188.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Blaise Cendrars, *Anthologie nègre*, Paris, Éditions de la Sirène 1921; and Wilhelm Hausenstein (ed.), *Exoten, Skulpturen und Märchen*, Erlenbach-Zurich & Munich: Eugen Rentsch 1920; cf. Kiefer, 'Fonctions de l'art africain', esp. pp. 156-159; and Joachim Schultz, 'Carl Einstein, Blaise Cendrars und Andere. Zum Primitivismus in der Europäischen Literatur der Avant-Garde zwischen 1900-1940', in CEKo 1, 1986, pp. 49-65.

²⁰⁶ Together with Paul Rivet, Mauss and Lévy-Bruhl were responsible for the foundation the Institut d'ethnologie in 1926, the first such institution in France, which a number of the *Documents* editorial staff attended for lectures and study; also Marcel Mauss & Henri Hubert, 'Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magique', *Année sociologique*, 1902, (transl. Robert Brain), *A general Theory of Magic*, London: Routledge 1972; Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, Paris, Félix Alcan 1910; the above citation is from *How Natives Think* (transl. by Lilian A. Clare 1926), Princeton University Press, 1985, p. 386; see also the review, anon. (E. J.), 'How Natives Think: By Professor Lucien Lévy-Bruhl. Authorized Translation by Lilian A. Clare. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London)', *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, vol. 8, no. 112 (1926), p. 392. For the German interest in Lévy-Bruhl's work, see the discussion by von Sydow, *Die Kunst der Naturvölker*, p. 12; also Lévy-Bruhl, *Das Denken der Naturvölker*, Vienna & Leipzig 1921; and *La mentalité primitive*, Paris, Félix Alcan 1922.

²⁰⁷ For an outline of the women in Einstein's life, see Meffre, *Carl Einstein 1885-1940*, pp. 195-228; on von Hagen pp. 197-203; also Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, p. 219f., 228, and for an entertaining quote from Carl Sternheim's satirical prose piece 'Ulrike' (read: Aga von Hagen) in which the 'negro mania' of their home setting in the leafy Berlin suburb of Frohnau is given a grotesque tongue-in-cheek description, see p. 231f. Einstein divorced Maria Ramm in 1923; plans to marry von Hagen in 1925 came to nothing, neither did his plans to get Hagen to come and live Paris in 1928. He married Lyda Guévrékian, sister of the architect Gabriel Guévrékian in 1932; Georges Braque acted as their witnesses.

²⁰⁸ Arthur D. Waley (1889-1966), Assistant Keeper of Oriental Prints and Manuscripts at the British Museum, and translator of Chinese and Japanese poetry, including a book on No Plays (1921).

²⁰⁹ Cf. Aga Gräfin von Hagen, *Die Hunderassen, Ein Handbuch für Hundeliebhaber und Züchter*, Potsdam: 1935 (2nd ed.). The letters were also discussed in Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 194-197.

²¹⁰ Cf. Einstein, (intr. & trans.) for Gustave Coquiot, *Maurice Utrillo*, Berlin: Wasmuth-Verlag 1925, pp. 7-19. The text is in parts identical with Einstein, 'Utrillo', in *Das Kunstblatt*, vol 6 1922, pp. 323-325; cf. CEW 2, pp. 221-224 and 373-378. In 1923, the Wasmuth-Verlag published Coquiot's *Henri Toulouse-Lautrec* translated by Einstein. Besides his second African volume, Einstein had also published a book on the early Japanese woodcut with Wasmuth, cf. Einstein, *Der frühere japanische Holzschnitt*, Berlin: Wasmuth-Verlag (Orbis Pictus, vol. 16) 1923.

²¹¹ *Ursprünglich wollte ich mit meiner Freundin, der Aga Hagen, den Sommer in Holland u[nd] England verbringen, aber die gute ist zu krank und so muss ich sie leider in ein Sanatorium bringen*; letter Einstein to Kahnweiler, n. d. (spring 1924),

in Meffre, *Correspondance*, 148 –149; on Hagen's frailty see Meffre, Carl Einstein 1885-1949, p. 200.

²¹² [Frobenius] *Arbeit leidet an dem fast völligen Fehlen der Belege und an übergroßem Schematismus, wie er besonders in der Berücksichtigung des Konstruktionsprinzips dazu führt, kulturell heterogenes zusammenzuwerfen, Zusammengehöriges wegen geringfügiger Unterschiede auseinanderzureissen*; Graebner, 'Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Ozeanien', p. 29 and n. 1; the work he specifically criticizes here, is Frobenius, 'Die Kulturformen Ozeaniens', *Petermanns' Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt*, vol. 46 (1900).

²¹³ *Er suchte und glaubte eine Methode gefunden zu haben, durch die sich die Probleme der Völkerkunde exakt zu lösen, die Kulturzusammenhänge klar und zweifellos erfassen liessen; ich suche tastend nach Spuren von Kulturzusammenhängen. Eine wissenschaftliche Tatsache werden diese natürlich erst dann sein, wenn es gelingt, jede einzelne der hier geahnten Kulturen in all ihren Äußerungen als lebendiges Ganzes zu erfassen und in ihren Wechselwirkungen mit den übrigen darzustellen*; Graebner, 'Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Ozeanien', p. 29.

²¹⁴ Friedrich R. Lehmann (1887-1969), German theologian and ethnologist; the work in question is probably his study on the interpretation of the term 'mana', which caused a stir in German ethnological circles because it countered other contemporary studies by referring back to the theories of Robert H. Codrington's *The Melanesians* (1891), cf. Lehmann, *Mana. Der Begriff des "außerordentlich Wirkungsvollen" bei Südseevölkern*, Leipzig 1922; and Enrico Ille, 'Die Deutung des mana-Begriffs bei Friedrich Rudolf Lehmann und seine Einbettung in zeitgenössische Konzepte', paper presented at the Universität Leipzig (Ethnologie/Musikwissenschaft), Leipzig 2 June 2004, here <http://www.hausarbeiten.de/faecher/vorschau/111508.html>, accessed 10/02/2009. It indicates Einstein's familiarity with studies on myth and magic, which probably also included the work of Mauss some years before he joined *Documents*.

²¹⁵ Louis C. G. Clarke (1881-1960) was curator of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology from 1922-37, and director of the Fitzwilliam Museum from 1937-46; Henry Balfour (1863-1939) took over the Pitt Rivers collection at Oxford University in 1885 and later became the director of the Pitt Rivers Museum.

²¹⁶ *Was ich geben will, ist kaum mehr als ein Programm, ein Suchen von Spuren, denen künftige Arbeit nachgehen könnte, ein Forschen gewissermassen nach Leitfossilien, die geeignet sind, in der Folge ethnographischer Schichten zu orientieren*; (trans.): What I would like to present is little more than a programme, a seeking for traces that could be followed by future work, so to speak, a research into index-fossils, which are suitable for orientation in the succession of ethnographical layers; Graebner, 'Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten', p. 28f; also Alois Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie* (Vienna 1901), here *Late Roman Art Industry* (trans. Rolf Winkes), Rome 1985; and Podro, pp. 71-97.

²¹⁷ Ankermann, 'Die Lehre von Konvergenzen und die kulturgeschichtliche Methode in der Ethnologie', *Petermanns' Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt*, vol. 66 (1920), pp. 187-190. Karl Weule (1864-1926) was a former curator of the Berlin museum, who after his 1906/07 expedition to Deutsch-Ost-Afrika (Tanzania) was appointed director of the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde.

²¹⁸ Weule definiert folgendermaßen: „Der Begriff der Konvergenz will besagen, daß gleiche oder ähnliche Lebensumstände auch gleiche oder ähnliche Lebensformen hervorbringen müssen“. [...] Weule hält nun die Anwendung für unangebracht. [...] Ich glaube nicht, daß diese Definition dem Konvergenzbegriff ganz gerecht wird. Denn es genügt nicht die Betonung der gleichen Lebensbedingungen, sondern es ist wesentlich, daß die Lebensformen, auf die sie wirken, hier und dort verschieden sind. Sind sie gleich, so erhalten wir keine Konvergenz. [...]. Nehmen wir ein Beispiel. [...] Die veränderten Lebensbedingungen wirken nicht unmittelbar auf den Gegenstand, sondern auf den Geist des Menschen; es ist eine Konvergenz der Gedanken, die eine Konvergenz der Gebrauchsgegenstände und Institutionen zur Folge hat. [...] Die Frage der [...] Konvergenzen ist von großer Bedeutung für die vergleichende Ethnologie; (author's emphasis), see Ankermann, 'Die Lehre von Konvergenzen', p.187.

²¹⁹ This was the subtitle of the first three issues of the journal, after which it became: *Archéologie Beaux-Arts Ethnologie Variétés*; cf. Dawn Ades (cat.) *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, Arts Council of Great Britain, Hayward Gallery, London, 11 January to 27 March 1978, pp. 228-249; Ades & Baker, *Undercover Surrealism*; Hollier, 'The Use-Value of the Impossible'; see also below. Also Einstein, 'Das Berliner Völkermuseum', CEW 2, pp. 446-450 and 451-453; Karl Scheffler, *Berliner Museumskrieg*, Berlin: Bruno Cassirer 1921; and his 'Das umgebaute Museum für Völkerkunde' *Kunst und Künstler* XXIV, 1926, pp. 384-389. On ethnological museum strategies, see Zimmermann, pp. 201-238; on Kahnweiler's notion of convergence, see above Part II, chapter 9.

²²⁰ Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, vol. XVI, (1st ed.) 1926, a second and revised third edition appeared in 1928 and 1931 respectively. The quote is from a brief profile of the author by B. J. Kospoth (1931), 'A New Philosophy of Art', *Chicago Sunday Tribune* (European Edition), 18 January, p. 5.

²²¹ Cf. *Index to Minutes* (January 1921 to December 1929), (AOA), the British Museum. The lecture was entitled 'L'art comme moyen de transformation de l'espace', cf. Neundorfer, 'Carl Einstein Biographie: Von Dada zur Kunstgeschichte, 1920 – 1928', Carl Einstein Gesellschaft – Société Carl Einstein, Munich e.V., www.carleinstein.uni-muenchen.de, accessed 25-03-08.

²²² Cf. 'Längsschnitt des Querschnitt von Wilmont Haacke' in Haacke, Wilmont & Beyer, Alexander von (eds), *Der Querschnitt: Facsimile Querschnitt durch den Querschnitt 1921-1936*, Frankfurt/M – Berlin – Vienna: Ullstein 1977, pp. v-xc; also Jill Lloyd, 'Alfred Flechtheim, ein Sammler aussereuropäischer Kunst', in (cat.) *Alfred Flechtheim. Sammler Kunsthändler Verleger*, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, 20 Sept. - 1 Nov. 1987, pp. 32-35.

²²³ Cf. Einstein, 'Negerlieder', in *Das Querschnittbuch*, Frankfurt a. M.: Querschnittverlag A.G. 1923, p. 62f.; 'Juan Gris', *Der Querschnitt*, vol. VI, 1926, pp. 273-275, CEW 2, pp. 443-445 (which is nearly identical with his chapter on the artist in *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*); von Sydow, 'Goldgewichte der Aschanti', *Der Querschnitt*, vol. 5, no. 8 1925, pp. 695-97, which included a wood cut illustration by André Lhote; Alfred C. Barnes, 'Die Negerkunst und Amerika', *Der Querschnitt*, vol.5, no. 1, 1925, pp. 1-8. See also 'George Grosz', in (cat.) *Galerie Flechtheim*, Berlin 1926 (Veröffentlichungen des Kunstarchivs, vol 1), pp. 3-7, here cited from Lloyd as above, p. 33.

²²⁴ Einstein (intr.), in (cat.) *Südseeplastiken*, Galerie Flechtheim, Berlin & Düsseldorf, Kunsthaus Zurich, Berlin 1926 (Veröffentlichungen des Kunstarchivs, vol. 5), CEW 2, pp. 401-442; translations appeared as: 'Sculptures mélanésiennes', *L'amour de l'art* 8/1926, pp. 253-258; 'A Collection of South Sea Art', *The Arts* XI/1927, pp. 23-28; cf. Peltier, 'From Oceania', p. 110; Lloyd, 'Alfred Flechtheim', p. 34.

²²⁵ For the objects von der Heydt acquired, see *Südseeplastiken*, here CEW, p. 431 (cat. no. 136) and p. 439 (cat. no. 175, incorrectly numbered as 165). The objects are reproduced as cat. no. 67 and 69, in Fehlemann, (ed.), (cat.) *Asien, Afrika, Amerika und Ozeanien*, p. 161f and 164f.

²²⁶ The strategies of *Der Querschnitt* were first critized by Einstein in the following remarks: *Zwischen Humor und Komik liegt viel dazwischen; das alles mag lustig sein, auch ein Geschäft – nur weiss ich gar nicht, was diese Charmanten eigentlich wollen. Wenn man etwas für komisch nehmen will, so muss man herzhast bei sich beginnen und nicht hinter dem Buckel des Nachbarn sich vergessen. Und dies dauernde Lachen bleibt leicht in der Witzblattgrimasse stecken [...]*; (trans.): Between humour and the comic lies a lot; all that might be funny and quite profitable, - only I do not really know what these charmers are after. If one wants to make something humorous, one should be brave and start at home and not behind one's neighbour's back; and this constant laughter gets easily stuck as joke book grimace; letter Einstein to Kahnweiler, n.d. (June-July) 1924, in Meffre, *Correspondance*, p. 151f.

²²⁷ *Ich betrachte diese Arbeit nur als Vorspiel eines Buches – Kubismus, das ich bei Publikation der Reberschen Sammlung oder für sich arbeiten will. [...] Es ist klar – man sieht rasch an seinem fertigen Buch Fehler; [...]. Ebenso klar – dass meine erbittertesten Gegner im Flechtheimschen Lager sitzen, da sie wütend ansehen, dass ich die Kubisten bei uns durchzusetzen versuche, was dann wie diese Leute annehmen auf ihre Kosten geschieht*; letter Einstein to Kahnweiler, dated 26 April 1926, in Meffre, *Correspondance*, p. 156f.

²²⁸ The relationship was marred by several separations and Einstein's involvement with the young Tony Simon-Wolfskehl, Elsa Triolet, and the photographer Florence Henri; he nonetheless had hopes to marry von Hagen in 1925 and even in 1928, he wanted her to move to Paris, cf. Meffre, *Carl Einstein 1885-1940*, pp. 201 and 203-218.

²²⁹ *Ich erhielt Samstag Ihre Kunstgeschichte, [...] Sie haben damit absolut Endgültiges über die Kunst unserer Zeit geschrieben*; letter from Kahnweiler to Einstein, dated 20 April, and: *[Ich] schicke Ihnen die Umarbeitung des Picasso-Kapitels für die neue Auflage [...], dann will ich Ihr Urteil haben. Ich glaube, man müsste das Stück ins Französische übersetzen [...] In acht bis zehn Tagen komme ich nach Paris, wo ich den grössten Teil des Winters verbringen will. Ich freue mich [...]*; letter Einstein to Kahnweiler, dated 9 November 1927, both in Meffre, *Correspondance*, p. 155f. and 163f.

²³⁰ *[A]us Deutschland will ich heraus[,] man macht uns hier die Nerven allzu kaputt. Das ist kein Land mehr um konzentriert zu arbeiten*; letter Einstein to Kahnweiler, n.d. (June-July) 1924, in Meffre, *Correspondance*, p. 151f. The second edition of *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* was published in 1928.

²³¹ The citation is from: Hollier, 'The Question of Lay Ethnography [The Entropological Wild Card]', in Ades & Baker *Undercover Surrealism*, p. 59. Some of the *Documents* contributors Einstein recruited included: Bernhard Ankermann,

whose research had informed *Afrikanische Plastik*, Dr A. Eichhorn, director of the Oceanic Department at the Berlin Ethnological Museum, Hedwig Fechheimer, whose 1914 study *Die Plastik der Aegypter* may have influenced *Negerplastik*, Leo Frobenius, Felix von Luschan, Emil Waldmann, Eckart von Sydow, his acquaintance from his time at the British Museum, Louis C. G. Clarke and probably also Dr Hans Reichenbach. His friend, the collector Dr Gottlieb Reber, became a member of the editorial team of *Documents*; cf. Kiefer, 'Die Ethnologisierung', p. 97.

²³² This was the 2006 Hayward Gallery's exhibition *Undercover Surrealism: George Bataille and 'Documents'*, where Einstein's role seemed little more than a footnote. The Bataille-citation is from: Didi-Hubermann, "'Picture-Rupture': Visual Experience, Form and Symptom according to Carl Einstein", *Papers of Surrealism*, issue 7 (2007), The AHRC Research Centre for Studies of Surrealism and its Legacies, University of Essex, University of Manchester and Tate, <http://www.surrealismcentre.ac.uk/papersofsurrealism/journal7>. On the 'unresolved' issue of Einstein and *Documents* genesis, see also Ades & Fiona Bradley, 'Introduction' in *Undercover Surrealism*, pp. 10-16; for those who have insisted on Einstein's significance, see particularly Kiefer, 'Die Ethnologisierung', as above; also Conor Joyce, *Carl Einstein in 'Documents' and his Collaboration with Georges Bataille*, Xlibris Corporation 2003; and Zeidler, 'Life and Death from Babylon to Picasso: Carl Einstein's Ontology of Art at the Time of *Documents*', *Papers of Surrealism*, issue 7 (2007), as above.

²³³ Having located substantial evidence of Einstein's involvement with the journal, both Kiefer and Joyce argue that the importance of his position may have been obscured for too long. Kiefer argues this point by drawing on Einstein's correspondence, his outline of topics for the first ten issues of the journal, and his ability to recruit a range of important collaborators. Conor Joyce uncovered correspondences with amongst others, Fritz Saxl, Aby Warburg's successor as director of the Warburg Institute in Hamburg, Friedrich Sarre, director of the Islamic Department of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, the art historian Richard Hamann, director of the Research Institute, University of Marburg, and Gertrude Stein. With this and other evidence both authors maintain that the premise of a non-canonical approach to cultural discourse evident in *Documents* was based on Einstein's initiative, which may place the focus on Bataille by other researchers into a clearer context; cf. Kiefer 'Ethnologisierung', and Joyce as above, especially pp. 32-43 and pp. 221-248; also Didi-Hubermann, "'Picture-Rupture'". That the respective roles of Einstein and Bataille vis-à-vis *Documents* remain unresolved has also been pointed out by cf. Ades, 'Beaux-Arts' in (cat.) *Undercover Surrealism*, pp. 51-57, and 'Form', pp. 152-173.

²³⁴ Cf. Kiefer, 'Die Ethnologisierung', pp. 93-95; and Michel Leiris, 'De Bataille l'impossible à l'impossible *Documents*', 1963, here from (trans. Lydia Davis), *Brisées: Broken Branches*, San Francisco, North Point Press, 1989, p. 242.

²³⁵ Kiefer, 'Die Ethnologisierung', p. 98. Only a fragment of the original project survived and appeared in *Der blutige Ernst*, where a note at the end of the article mentions the authors Einstein and Sternheim; cf. Einstein, 'Abhängigkeit' *Der blutige Ernst*, vol. 1, 1919, No. 6, p. 7, here CEW 2 pp. 54-56.

²³⁶ Joyce wrote the guide and organized the 1923 exhibition of the Maya collections assembled by A.P. Maudslay in Guatemala and Mexico during the 1880s. Following his interest in Maya culture, he undertook a series of British Museum expeditions to British Honduras (now Belize) between 1926 and 1931.

²³⁷ On the modernization of the Trocadéro, see Georges Henri Rivière, 'Le Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro', *Documents*, no. 1 (1929), pp. 54-58; and Paul Rivet, 'L'étude des civilisations matérielles; ethnographie, archéologie, préhistoire', *Documents*, no. 3 (1929), pp. 130-134; also Nina Gorgus, 'Georges Henri Rivière: "Lehrjahre" am Pariser Musée d'Ethnographie, 1928-1937', in Grewe, *Die Schau des Fremden*, pp. 183-206.

²³⁸ On Griaule's role, see Clifford, 'Power and Dialogue in Ethnography: Marcel Griaule's Initiation', in *The Predicament of Culture*, pp. 55-91; for Leiris' ambivalent anticipation of his contribution to the expedition, see Leiris, 'L'oeil de l'ethnologue', *Documents* no. 7 (1930), pp. 405-414; also Hollier, 'the Use-Value of the Impossible'; and Kelly, *Art, Ethnography and the Life of Objects*, esp. pp. 59-84. Griaule's contributions to *Documents* included, 'Totémisme abyssin', *Documents* (1929), p. 316; and 'Crachat', *Documents*, no. 7 (1929), p. 381; 'Un coup de fusil', *Documents*, no. 1 (1930), pp. 46; 'Poterie', *Documents*, no. 4 (1930), p. 236.

²³⁹ *Ich sehe hier einen Kreis junger begabter Menschen [...], die zu mir kommen. Was diese Menschen beunruhigt und beschäftigt, ja diese [anderen] Herren kennen ja noch nicht einmal die Sprache dieser Leute, sowenig sie die Sprache Picassos kennen; ich rede nicht von verstehen;* (Einstein's emphasis) letter Einstein to Gottlieb F. Reber, n. d. 1929, reprinted in AWE, p. 62; for Leiris' diary comments on Einstein, see Kiefer, 'Die Ethnologisierung', p. 91 and 99, and n. 20 and 96.

²⁴⁰ Hermann J. Braunholtz (1888-1963) became keeper of the ethnographic collections at the museum after Joyce retired from the post in 1938.

²⁴¹ Cf. Dr Ralf von Königswald, 'Têtes et crânes', *Documents*, no. 6 (1930), pp. 353-358; Like the Iatmul and Sawos peoples of the Middle Sepik, Torres Strait islanders overmodeled and decorated their ancestor's skulls; the image was from Walter Hutchinson (ed.) (with an introduction and contribution by A. C. Haddon), *Customs of the World, a popular Account of Manners, Rites and Ceremonies of Men and Women in all Countries*, London: Hutchinson 1913; on the significance of Haddon's Torres Strait research that introduced modern fieldwork methodologies, preceding the Functionalist school of anthropology (Malinowski), see Henrika Kuklick, *The Savage within: the social History of British Anthropology 1885-1945*, Cambridge University Press 1992, pp. 132-171. For a discussion of 'heads' as a recurring theme in *Documents* see Michel Richardson, 'Heads', in *Undercover Surrealism*, pp. 196-203; also Joyce, 'Interpretationsschlüssel zur Pariser Zeitschrift "Documents" Carl Einstein's "Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts"', in Kiefer (ed.), *Die Visuelle Wende der Moderne*, pp. 147-161 and his *Carl Einstein in 'Documents'*. On interdisciplinarity as a visual and textual strategy in *Documents*, see the contributions by Simon Baker, 'Doctrines (The appearance of Things)', pp. 34-41, and his 'Variety (Civilizing "Race")', pp. 65-71; Charles F. B. Miller, 'Archaeology', pp. 42-50; Ades, 'Beaux-arts', pp. 51-57; and Hollier, 'The Question of Lay Ethnography [The Entropological Wild Card]', pp. 58-64, all in (cat.) *Undercover Surrealism*.

²⁴² Cf. Louis Clarke, 'L'art des îles Salomon', *Documents*, no. 5 (1930), pp. 277-281, here 277.

²⁴³ Cf. contributions, among others were by Zervos, Tzara, Fénéon, von Sydow (who wrote on psychoanalytical aspects of these cultures), Clouzot, Level, Stéphan Chauvet, a physician and collector of non-western art, who wrote a book on Easter Island art and New Guinea art, and Dr Eichhorn, all in 'Océanie', *Cahiers d'art*, vol. 4, no 2/3 (1929), pp. 57-121. Einstein had met Dr Eichhorn of the Berlin

Ethnological Museum through organizing the exhibition of Flechtheim's *Südseeplastiken* in 1926, both are pictured in a photograph of the exhibition, reproduced in *Omnibus* (1932), cf. (cat.) *Alfred Flechtheim. Sammler Kunsthändler Verleger*, p. 26. On the aesthetic acculturations and shifts in interest in non-western artifacts, and the almost exclusive identification of the surrealists with Oceanic art, see Rosalind Krauss, 'No More Play', in her *The Originality of the Avant-garde*, pp. 41-85.

²⁴⁴ Clarke as above, here p. 277 and 279.

²⁴⁵ Einstein, 'Masque Bapindi', *Documents*, no. 1 (1930), p. 48, CEW 3, p. 90f.; 'Masque de danse rituelle Ekoi', *Documents*, no. 7, (1929), p. 396, CEW 3, p. 70-72; the Bapindi (Pende) mask is similar to that on the cover of *Negerplastik*, and reproduced in pl. 104; the *Documents* mask is reproduced in Mack, *Emile Torday*, fig. 5.

²⁴⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Way of Masks* (trans. Sylvia Modelski), Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982, p. 144.

²⁴⁷ *Nous reproduisons ici un masque [...], tribu Ekoi, [...] une sorte de tête de Janus représentant un homme, le Ciel Père. L'autre moitié représente la tête d'un jeune homme. Ces têtes de Ju-Ju sont très souvent recouvertes de peau de singe ou d'antilope; autrefois on employait le peau d'un homme sacrifié. [...] [C]e motif de double têtes [...] correspondent au dieux des Yorouba, Obatalla, dieux du Ciel représenté généralement en cavalier et Odoudoua, déesse de la Terre [...] Ces masques Ekoi se signalent par un naturalisme presque effrayant*; Einstein, 'Masque de danse rituelle Ekoi', p. 369, CEW 3 p. 70.

²⁴⁸ Leiris, 'De Bataille l'impossible', p. 241; and Eckart von Sydow, 'Masques-Janus du Cross-River (Cameroun)' *Documents* no. 5 (1930), pp. 277-281.

²⁴⁹ *On pourrait dire que la condition fondamentale de ses [Picasso's] recherches et de ses trouvailles est la destruction dialectique de la réalité. L'ombre elle-même n'est pas un double, mais un des nombreuses émanations de l'homme qui lui sont dialectiquement contraires. C'est un antagoniste, et Janus n'est plus le reflet du Moi mais un signe de contradiction et de métamorphose*; Einstein, 'Picasso', *Documents* no. 3 (1930), pp. 155-157, here CEW 3, p. 118f. The incisive break of Einstein's analyses is most evident in the transformations of the Cubism chapter of the three editions of *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, which changed in 1928 and again in 1931, when the chapter 'Die romantische Generation (André Masson – Joan Miró – Gaston-Louis Roux)' was added, see 1st ed. pp. 56-114; 2nd ed. pp. 55-113; 3rd ed. pp. 91-155; and the new 'Surrealism' chapter in 3rd ed., pp. 156-169. The most convincing analysis of the 'Surrealist' Einstein remains Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, esp. pp. 366-421.

²⁵⁰ On the journal's 'black humour' see Leiris, 'De Bataille l'impossible', p. 237, on the tensions within *Documents*, see p. 241; Kiefer, 'Ethnologisierung', p. 92f. and 96-100; for Hollier this revolved around the concept of 'use' and 'use-value', see his 'The Use-Value of the Impossible'; also Joyce, *Carl Einstein in 'Documents'*, and his 'Interpretationsschlüssel'. For Einstein's, 'Exposition de sculpture moderne', *Documents*, No. 7, 1929, pp. 390-95, here CEW 3, p. 68, see below.

²⁵¹ I am using the term Africanism here in the way it was introduced by Christopher Miller, that is, on loan from the French term 'Africanisme', where it signifies 'the group of human sciences applied to the study of Africa (*Trésor de la langue*

française)', because I think it best describes Einstein's various African 'explorations', cf. Miller, *Blank Darkness*, p. 14.

²⁵² Einstein, 'A propos de l'Exposition de la Galerie Pigalle', *Documents*, no. 2 (1930), pp. 104-110, CEW 3, pp. 95-103; cf. a shorter version of this review, 'Exotische Kunst. Ausstellung in der Galerie Pigalle in Paris', *Die Kunstauktion*, vol. IV, no. 9 (1930) pp. 6-9, CEW 3, pp. 110-113.

²⁵³ Guillaume, 'Une esthétique nouvelle, l'art nègre', *Les Arts à Paris*, 15 May, 1919, pp. 1-4; Henri Clouzot and André Level, *L'art nègre et l'art océanien*, Paris, Devambez, 1919. See also Felix Fénéon (ed.), 'Enquête sur les arts lointains (Seront-ils admis au Louvre?)' *Bulletin de la vie artistique*, vol. I, no. 24, (15 November), pp. 662-669, and vol. I, no. 25 (1 December) 1920, pp. 693-703; and Einstein, 'L'art nègre', *Action*, no. 9, 1921, pp. 12-16, and 'De l'art nègre', *Action*, no. 12, 1922, pp. 47-56.

²⁵⁴ Christian Zervos, 'L'art nègre', *Cahiers d'art*, vol. 2, no. 7/8 (1927), pp. 229-246; also Georges Salles, 'Réflexions sur l'art nègre' *Cahiers d'art* as above. pp. 247-258; on this discussion and the interaction between contributors like Rivière and collectors like David-Weill, see Kelly, 'Discipline and Indiscipline', and her *Ethnography and the Life of Objects*, esp. pp. 49-53.

²⁵⁵ See, for example, the centre piece in pl. 4, described as 'Fetish (Upper Ivory Coast, XIIth century) [...]', in Paul Guillaume & Thomas Munro, *Primitive Negro Sculpture*, New York: Harcourt Brace 1926; the object is a Shogo fan handle (or staff finial), late 19th or early 20th century. A nearly identical piece is reproduced in Einstein's *Negerplastik*, pl. 72 and in pl. 15 and 16 of *African Negro Wood Sculpture – Photographed by Charles Sheeler with a Preface by Marius de Zayas*, (privately published) New York 1918 (it is unidentified in Meffre, *La Sculpture nègre*); see also my discussion in Part IV below.

²⁵⁶ This is argued by Winter, 'Leo Frobenius' Image of Africa', p. 74; and perhaps exemplified by, 'Leo Frobenius – par le Prof. Otto', *Cahiers d'art*, vol. 5, no. 8/9, (1930) p. 393f.; also Frobenius, 'Bêtes, hommes ou dieux?', in *Cahiers d'art*, vol. 4, no. 10, 1929, p. 443f.; 'L'art de la silhouette', *Cahiers d'art*, vol. 4, no. 8/9 (1929), p. 397; L'art africain, *Cahiers d'art*, vol. 5, no. 8/9 (1930), p. 395; also 'Dessins rupustres du sud de la Rhodésie', *Documents*, no. 4, 1930, pp. 185-188; and Frobenius, *Das unbekannte Afrika*, Munich: Beckscher Verlag 1923.

²⁵⁷ Georges-Henri Rivière, 'Le Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro', *Documents*, no. 1 (1929), pp. 54-58; and 'De l'objet d'un musée d'ethnographique comparé à celui d'un musée de beaux-arts', *Cahiers de Belgique*, no. 9 (1930), p. 210; cf. Hollier, 'The Use-Value of the Impossible'.

²⁵⁸ Waldemar George, 'Le crépuscule des idoles', *Les Art à Paris*, No. 17, May 1930, pp. 7-13, here from the translation in Flam & Deutch, pp. 212-218.

²⁵⁹ p. 213f.

²⁶⁰ The first citation is from Albert Sautier, 'Exhibition of African and Oceanic Art at the Pigalle Gallery', *Formes*, no. 3 (March 1930), p. 12-13; the second is: [*L*]es oeuvres des îles du Pacifique [...] hantent un domaine de l'imagination où la peur de l'inconnue développé une sorte de folie et l'on comprend que les surréalistes, qui croient délivrés de tant de contingences de la logique terrestre, aient choisi cet art pour inspirateur et pour ami in Henry-A. Lavachery, 'L'exposition d'art africain et d'art océanien du Théâtre Pigalle, à Paris', *Cahiers de Belgique*, vol. 3,

no. 4 (1930), pp. 111-114; Lavachery was director of the Brussels Musée du Cinquantenaire and an avid collector. The third refers to the reproductions accompanying an article by Stéphan Chauvet, in which Figs 1-15 displayed lost wax and filigree open-work gold weights and objects made by the Ashanti, Lobi and Baule, belonging to the collections of André Derain, Paul Guillaume, Tristan Tzara and Chauvet himself; others, like Fig. 47 showed an ivory carved 17th century Benin sceptre representing a warrior (coll. C. Ratton), Fig. 48, an ivory figurine 'patinated with N'goula' [*negula*] (coll. T. Tzara) and Fig. 51, showing the detail of a Benin bronze necklace of 'a bird devouring a prisoner' (coll. Georges de Miré), cf. Stéphan Chauvet, 'Objets d'or, de bronze, et d'ivoire dans l'art nègre', *Cahiers d'art*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1930), pp. 33ff. Einstein had shown a very similar display arrangement of a collection of six small [*negula*] patinated ivory figures belonging to the Berlin Ethnological Museum in his *Afrikanische Plastik* (1921), cf. pl. 47. See also Peltier 'From Oceania', p. 112; and Paudrat, 'From Africa', p. 162.

²⁶¹ *On traite encore aujourd'hui l'immense sujet de l'art africain plus sommairement que l'histoire d'art de n'importe quelle ville européenne. Pourtant, il faut traiter cet art historiquement, et non plus considérer sous le seul point de vue du goût et de l'esthétique; Einstein, 'A propos de l'Exposition', here p. 104; CEW 3, p. 95.*

²⁶² *Que l'on rassemble les traditions variées des tribus et les différents mythes, pour former une mythologie comparée de l'Afrique. On y reconnaît une concordance approximative des traditions. [...] Que l'on commence enfin à collectionner la peinture architecturale africaine et à traiter ces art figuratifs en liaison avec l'architecture. [...] C'est dans la forêt que le dernier drame de l'art africain se joue [...] les religions se décomposent et les dieux centraux se perdent dans les rites de sorcellerie; p. 104 and 110; CEW 3, p. 95 and 103. At much the same time, the Société des Africanistes was founded in Paris (1st July 1930) of which Einstein became a titular member and remained so until its last session in November 1939; Marcel Griaule and Paul Rivet were founder members, Georges Henri Rivière and Michel Leiris joined later that year); see the announcements that also remarked on the forth-coming Dakar-Djibouti expedition: Anon. 'Mission ethnographique et linguistique Dakar-Djibouti', and 'Fondation d'une Société des Africanistes', *Cahiers d'art*, vol. 5, no. 8/9 (1930), p. 392; also Meffre, *Carl Einstein 1885-1940*, p. 242 and n. 34.*

²⁶³ *Il nous semble que la classification en zones de culture est insuffisante, étant donné que les différents couches culturelles et ethniques de l'Afrique se superposent et se croisent. La culture africaine n'est pas assez simple pour que ce schéma puisse lui suffire [...] Pour préciser l'âge d'une œuvre d'art, il ne suffit pas de dire qu'elle est primitive ou non. Les contrées moins troublées par les migrations gardaient plus longtemps leur thèmes et se maintenant dans une mentalité [...] Des tribus qui n'étaient pas englobées dans les grands empires ou étaient situées à la périphérie étaient moins touchées par les évolutions plus rapides des centres; Einstein, 'A propos de l'Exposition', p. 104; CEW 3, p. 95f.*

²⁶⁴ p. 104; CEW 3, p. 95f.: *Difficulté de reconnaître la signification religieuse. - La signification précise des sculptures est difficile à déterminer, en raison de la différenciation des religions africaines. Les dieux centraux des religions hiératiques sont devenues latents [...] et c'est ainsi que les cultes se sont effrités pour prendre la forme de multiples rites magiques. De cet effritement naquirent un grand nombre de sociétés secrètes. La situation est encore compliquée de ce fait que des sociétés d'hommes et de femmes sont souvent ennemies; cf. Ankermann, 'Totenkult und Seelenglaube,' pp. 90-106; Fritz Graebner, *Das Weltbild der Primitiven: Eine Untersuchung der Urformen weltanschaulichen Denkens bei Naturvölkern*,*

Munich: Verlag Ernst Reinhardt 1924; Torday & Joyce, 'Les Bushongo'; Lévy-Bruhl, *Les fonctions mentales*, esp. pp. 27-32; also Mauss & Hubert, *A general Theory of Magic* (1902). For Mauss' Picasso homage, see 'M. Marcel Mauss...' *Documents*, no. 3 (1930), p. 177.

²⁶⁵ *Motifs Fondamentaux.* – D'abord, le poteau phallique signe de la génération perpétuelle (symbole du soleil). [...] On verra en étudiant les art industriels que les Africains attribuent un sexe aux objets et les classent selon ce sexe. Un autre motif décisif est la crâne (symbole du ventre maternel. On connaît les différents cultes de crânes, les têtes Juju et les tonneaux à crânes des Pahouins [...]. On met entre ces crânes une médecine qui porte bonheur et du n'goula (bois rouge pulvérisée) [...] On met parfois dans les tonneaux de la nourriture, on peint les crânes avec du n'goula et on leur donne à manger. [...] L'exotique, en art, est resté toujours enfermé dans la zone sexuelle dominée par la magie; Einstein, 'A propos de l'Exposition', p. 104 and 106; CEW 3, p. 96f. On the pigment *negula* or *n'goula* see the discussion by Joyce on its use and significance in Kuba-Bushong society, cf. Joyce, 'Note on the Pigment-Blocks of the Bushongo, Kasai District, Belgian Congo', *Man*, no. 46 (1910), p. 81f. See also the discussion of Picasso's *Three Women* in Part II, chapter 9 and Appendix II.

²⁶⁶ *C'est déjà à une époque très primitive que s'est réalisé le motif bisexuel du poteau combiné avec la crâne (cabane, ventre), thème fondamental de la sculpture;* Einstein, 'A propos de l'Exposition', p. 106; CEW 3, p. 96f. The object is reproduced in *Documents*, p. 112.

²⁶⁷ p. 106; p. 98: *D'autre part, une partie du corps peut exprimer l'ensemble du personnage (voir phallus, crâne, etc., voir l'archaïsme correspondant dans la peinture moderne).* In his article on Arp, Einstein says: *Arp cuit, scie, découpe [...]. Selon les croyances nègres, une partie signifie autant sinon plus que l'ensemble; car un état plus vaste est concentré dans le fragment, sans que les forces magiques soient dispersées dans les accessoires. Ceci est un isolement extatique. Par la décapitation et le démembrement, on isole ce qui est décisif [...];* cf. Einstein, 'L'enfance néolithique', *Documents*, No. 8, 1930, pp. 35-43, here CEW 3, p. 173.

²⁶⁸ *On discerne sur un corps des formes masculines et féminines (l'oreille [...] est féminine : Libanza, d'après les mythes [africains], est né par l'oreille, Minerve sort la tête de Jupiter. La bouche est féminin c'est ainsi que l'Africain appointe ses dents pour se différencier des animaux lunaires [...]. Les dents pointues représente la vulva. Le soleil représente le principe masculin, et ainsi l'actus generationis);* Einstein, 'A propos de l'Exposition', p. 106; CEW 3, p. 97; and Michel Leiris, 'Toiles récente de Picasso', *Documents*, no. 2 (1930), pp. 57-71.

²⁶⁹ *Picasso est le signal de toute ce que notre temps possède de liberté. [...] C'est au cœur d'un conflit violent entre la structure humaine directe [...] et l'apparence externe déjà morte que Picasso se trouve situé. [...] Son abandon fanatique aux vision qui s'imposent à lui – c'est-à-dire sa passivité devant l'obsession – il le compense par la construction des formes. À la fatalité de l'inconscient, il oppose une volonté prodigieuse de figuration nettement intelligible;* Einstein, 'Picasso', *Documents*, no. 3 (1930), pp. 115-157, CEW 3, p. 118f.

²⁷⁰ *L'Africain croit que l'homme est formé des plusieurs substances : le corps, l'esprit, l'ombre ou l'âme-image (voir Ankermann) (ce pluralisme magique prouve le non-sens qu'est l'usage du mot « primitif »). [...] Les statue sont donc les doubles [...] est un corps astral. [...] La chose décisive est moins la statue que le fait quelle soit habitée par un esprit, [...] mais dans la représentation des marques*

magique et collectives ; Einstein, 'A propos de l'Exposition', p. 107 and 108; CEW 3, p. 98f.; cf. Ankermann, 'Totenkult und Seelenglaube', pp. 90f., and 102-106; also Torday & Joyce, 'Les Bushogo', p. 124f. and 237.

²⁷¹ *Un art tellement enfermé dans la magie et dans la notion de la mort traiter le motif plutôt d'une manière non-naturaliste. Le canon de cet art ne peut être naturaliste puisque sa tâche est de rendre visible le invisible. La conception est ainsi influencé par les notions religieuses. Par les actes de circoncision, la subincision, etc.. l'exotique cherche à rétablir la bissexualité divine. Il semble que Freud se soit trompé en expliquant ces rites par des rites de castration. Au contraire on veut acquérir la bissexualité originelle. (Voir Withuis) [...] Un dogme fondamentale est que tout esprit peut habiter dans tout objects. Ensuite, apparaît le thème de la réincarnation. L'unité du monde est réalisé par le drame de la méthamorphose;* Einstein, 'A propos de l'Exposition', p. 108; CEW 3 p. 99 and 100. Einstein's source was probably the missionary and Oceania ethnographer Josef Winthuis, who published *Einführung in die Vorstellungswelt primitiver Völker*, (Neue Wege der Ethnologie) Leipzig: Hirschfeld 1931.

²⁷² Sigmund Freud, 'Die Inzestscheu der Wilden', *Pan*, vol. II, No. 21, 1912, p. 624f.; *Totem und Tabu: Einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker* (1st ed. 1913), Frankfurt/Main, Fischer Verlag, 1971; the book was published in France in 1923. On Freud's founding, and the history of *Imago*, *Zeitschrift für Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf die Geisteswissenschaften*, see Hélène Bellour, 'Imago' in Liliane Brion-Guerry, *L'année 1913: Les formes esthétiques de l'oeuvre d'art à la veille de la première guerre mondiale*, vol. II, Paris: Klincksieck 1971, pp. 967-974; 'Totem und Tabu' appeared in *Imago*, nos 1, 3, and 4 in 1912, and no. 4 in 1913.

²⁷³ Freud, 'Die Inzestscheu', p. 624f.; also *Totem und Tabu: Einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker* (1913), *Totem And Taboo – Resemblances between the Psychic Lives of Savages and Neurotics* (1918; trans. A.A. Brill) Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books 2000, pp. 1-30.

²⁷⁴ *Picasso n'accepte pas les choses donnée, ce que les faibles adorent encore comme une substance transcendente. On sort avec lui de l'hallucination fataliste et stable de Freud, formule limitée dans laquelle l'inconscient est représenté, d'une manière métaphysique, comme une substance constante;* Einstein, 'Pablo Picasso. Quelques tableaux de 1928', *Documents*, no. 1, 1929, p. 35-38, CEW 3, p. 18; In his letter to Ewald Wasmuth, Einstein's reservation seems more uncertain, advising his friend: *Bekämpfen Sie z. B. die Metaphysik in der Psychologie, die vor allem von Pragmatisten [Freud?] und Bergson betrieben wird. Dann Übertreiben des posthumen Ich-Erlebens. Das Ich taucht als Reaktion gegen das Objekt oder den objektivierten Akt auf. Es ist ein Unsinn eine fixe seelische Einheit anzunehmen. Ich ist eine an Intensität ab- und zunehmende Funktion etc.*; letter Einstein to Ewald Wasmuth, dated 10 November 1923, Deutsches Literatur Archiv, Marbach/Neckar, and reprinted in AWE p. 60f. Einstein's 'psychoanalytic turn' is especially transparent in his newly conceived and much extended Picasso-chapter in the 2nd edition of *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1928), in which he speaks of Picasso's 'forms' as 'masks of the soul', of his 'rapidly created psychograms' that are 'premonitions of dreams', where 'form is the narrow precise apex of hallucination', and in which the 'part-forms' of Cubist paintings are 'not abstract' in character, but 'hallucinative-tectonic'; finally, the artist's latest works 'speak of a cyclopean archaism', cf. *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1928), pp. 68-87, here 68, 81 and 86.

²⁷⁵ *Wir weisen kurz darauf hin, daß Freud in seiner Formulierung des Unbewußten dieses allzusehr als Mass der Verdrängungen und als Konstante, also eher negativ, definiert hat. Wir hingegen glauben, daß gerade in diesem Unbewußten die Chance des Neuen ruht, dieses dauernd sich umbildet und somit progressiv gestellt sein kann. Diese starke Aktivierung des Unbewußten im Schauen und Erschaffen der Gestalten scheint uns gerade die Unerklärlichkeit der Kunstwerke zu bewirken, denn letzten Endes bleibt die Vision eben rätselhaft; Einstein, Georges Braque, (cited from the German manuscript from 1931/32) in CEW 3, pp. 251-516, here 382; cf. Einstein, Georges Braque (with an unauthorised trans. M. E. Zirputh), Paris (Editions des Chroniques du Jour), London (A. Zwemmer), New York (E. Weyhe) 1934; it was the last of his oeuvre published during his lifetime.*

²⁷⁶ The reproductions are part of Einstein, 'A propos de l'Exposition', p. 105 and 112. The New Guinea figure also features among a number of African and Oceanic objects in a photograph of Mme Pierre Loeb in her apartment in Paris in 1929, cf. Rubin, "Primitivism", p. 111. It is likely that Einstein's use of the term Juju masks goes back to the study of Alfred Mansfeld, who between 1904-07 spent time with the Ekoi and other groups of the Cross River region of Cameroon. The book is richly illustrated with these types of masks; a wooden photographic plate camera was purposely manufactured to withstand the tropical climate. Mansfeld wrote at length about totemism (a 'dualism' as he describes it), the 'shadow-soul', and eye witness accounts of rituals involving these masks, making the link between the Ekoi 'spirit places' and ancient Shinto-temples as well as ancient Germanic rites; cf. Dr Alfred Mansfeld, *Urwalddokumente – Vier Jahre unter den Crossflussnegern Kameruns*, Jena: Dietrich Reimer 1908, here esp. pl 1 and pp. 149-155, 210, 212-215, 220-223.

²⁷⁷ *Statues hermaphrodites qui représentent l'actus generationis. – Nous trouvons ces représentations par exemple parmi les statues du Soudan, les masques Juju à deux figures du Cameroun, les Ouli de la Nouvelle Guinée, les statuettes en stéatite de Zimbabwe qui rappellent les figurines phéniciennes en ivoire. [...] Le type primitif de ces statues hermaphrodite démontre entre autre choses que le matriarcat n'était pas la plus ancienne forme sociale régnant seule. [...] Rabbi Siméon disait que chaque figure qui n'est pas en même temps mâle et femelle ne ressemble pas à la figure divine. L'Adam hermaphrodite joue aussi un rôle dans la tradition gnostique (bisexualité du Pneuma). Nous trouvons dans le Zohar ces divisions [...] du corps humain en parties mâles et femelles [...] les Ashanti croient à une bisexualité spirituelle [...]. Les enfants reçoivent [...] un principe masculin, appelé n'otoro, et [...] un principe féminin du sang, m'gia. Il faut en finir avec ce besoin d'expliquer les formes par la nécessité de la décoration [...] les objets ont un sexe : des pots, des objets ménagers [...]. Dans les île Bisago, les utensiles féminins sont munis de seins et de mon veneris. D'autre pots son masculin, etc.; (Einstein's emphasis), 'A propos de l'Exposition', p. 108 and 110; CEW 3, p. 100f. Freud links Leonardo's vulture phantasy to hermaphrodite figures of Egyptian and Greek myths, cf. Sigmund Freud, 'Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci' (1910), in Alexander Mitscherlich, Angela Richards, James Strachey (eds), *Sigmund Freud*, vol. X (Bildende Kunst und Literatur), Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1969, pp. 88-159, here 119-121.*

²⁷⁸ *Tous ces exemples prouvent qu'une explication esthétique de l'art africain est insuffisante. Il faut donc en finir avec la thèse de l'isolement de l'Afrique. Les Africains ont exploité, de même que l'autres peuples, de nombreuses influences étrangères. [...] Il faut enfin commencer à construire à travers la terrible décadence de l'Afrique une archéologie africaine. [...] Le problème d'une chronology africaine est posé et des éléments en sont donnés dans les traditions des*

grands empires; (Einstein's emphases), 'A propos de l'Exposition', p. 110; CEW 3p. 101f.

²⁷⁹ The citation is from Rumold, 'Archaeo-logics of Modernity in *transition* and *Documents* 1929/30', in *Comparative Literature Studies*, vol. 37, No. 1, 2000, pp. 45-67, here p. 50; see also Einstein, 'Aphorismes méthodiques', *Documents*, no. 1, (1929), p. 32f., CEW 2, pp. 13-17; and 'Methodological Aphorisms' (trans. & intr. Charles W. Haxthausen) in (ed. Sebastian Zeidler) *Carl Einstein. A Special Issue*, in *October* 107, MIT Press, 2004, pp. 146-150.

²⁸⁰ Einstein, 'André Masson, étude ethnologique', *Documents*, No. 2 (1929), pp. 93-102, CEW 3, pp. 25-29; citations will be from 'André Masson, an Ethnological Study' (trans. Krzysztof Fijalkowski & Michael Richardson), in Ades, *Undercover Surrealism*, pp. 244-247. Einstein's interest in Masson's work can be traced to letters to Kahnweiler that announced plans to write a 'larger piece' on the artist and to organize an exhibition in Germany, cf. letter Einstein to Kahnweiler, dated 26 April 1926, and letter n.d. (end of May – beginning of June 1927), both in Meffre, *Correspondance*, p.156f. and 161f.

²⁸¹ 'André Masson, an Ethnological Study', (translation modified), p.245.

²⁸² p. 246; It may be worth noting that Einstein's epistemological enquiry into subject-object relations that also precipitated his deep scepticism concerning the function of language in terms of original experience, recurs throughout his corpus of work; it is resonant in his novella *Bebuquin*, in which the protagonist, Nebukadnezar-Böhm, ponders: 'His [Kant's] seductive significance is based on his achieving the equilibrium between subject and object. But he forgot one principal query: that of the epistemologically driven subject that seeks to ascertain object and subject', see Einstein, *Bebuquin oder die Dilettanten des Wunders*, CEW 1, p. 97. This may help to explain his privileging of artistic practices such as Masson's automatism that engaged with pre-logical experience, although it ultimately did not stop him denouncing all avant-garde practices and to him joining the anarchist collective of Buenaventura Durruti during the Spanish Civil War; see also Rumold, 'Painting as a Language', p. 78; also Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 525-534; and Lévy-Bruhl, *Les fonctions mentales*, chapter II, especially p. 78, also chapter III; see also Jean Cazeneuve, (trans. P. Rivière), *Lucien Lévy-Bruhl*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1972.

²⁸³ p.247 (my emphasis, see also below).

²⁸⁴ Besides several laconic notes by Einstein, this text by the American journalist B.J. Kospoth remains the only clear reference to the project of an 'Ethnologie du blanc', which reads: *While making his ethnological study of the African negro, Dr Einstein conceived the idea of applying the same scientific methods to the European white man, and among several books he is at present engaged in writing an 'Ethnologie du Blanc', in which he investigates very seriously, although perhaps a trifle sarcastically, the creation of myths, superstitions and erotic customs among the Europeans, treating them almost as though they were already an extinct race. This book will shortly be published in Paris by the Nouvelle Revue Française; cf. Kospoth, 'A New Philosophy of Art'. Kiefer suggests that the project may have consisted of more than has so far been traced; cf. Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 476-489.*

²⁸⁵ *Expositions de sculpture: le plus souvent une vision [...] d'une salle gymnastique pseudo-antique, compilation d'idéals solennels et vulgaires et de rêves retardataires. [...] Arp nous manque, ce poète de chanson populaires. [...]*

Nous citons avec sympathie Lipschitz, Laurens, Brancousi {...}; Einstein, 'Exposition de sculpture moderne', CEW 3, p. 68; the essay is also discussed by Ades, 'Form', in (cat.) Undercover Surrealism, pp. 152-173; and Fleckner Carl Einstein, pp. 342-351.

²⁸⁶ *Die Entwicklung der Malerei des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts und der Skulptur verlaufen in enger Verbundenteit. [...] In diesem Jahrhundert des Malerischen bleibt der Bildhauer [...] dauernd dem Maler verpflichtet [...]. Von der Malerei geleitet will man mit plastischen Mitteln die subjektiven Bewegungsvorstellungen [...] fixieren. Auf diesem Wege und wiederum von der Malerei beeinflusst, [...] [gelangt man] zu [einer] etwas süßlichen Skulptomalerei. Diese Entwicklungsphase der Bildhauer entspricht durchaus dem analytischen Kubismus und ist von diesem bestimmt [und] ohne die kubistischen Maler undenkbar. [...] Man wird akademisch, um modern zu sein; durch das Medium Picasso wird man Klassizist. Wir nennen hier besonders nachdrücklich Laurens und Lipschitz. Laurens, ungefähr ein Maillol des Kubismus, schließt seine Blöcke und Reliefs in strenger Grazie zusammen. Bei Laurens verspürt man mitunter leisen Anklang von Archaismus, da der klassische Gestaltbau beibehalten, doch kubistisch umgedeutet wird; Einstein, Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts, here CEW 5, p. 270 and p. 278.*

²⁸⁷ The Grand Palais was built in 1900 to house the painting and sculpture shown at the Universal Exposition, which celebrated the new century in a monumental display of French industrial, cultural, and colonial superiority that might be described as a modern cornucopia of French civilization and culture. It coincided among other events with the opening of the city's first Metro line, of the Gare d'Orsay, built to accommodate trains powered by electric engines, and the spectacular displays at the Chateau d'Eau. Exhibitions celebrated French art and design, dioramas, the first motion pictures, and a live display of a 'negro' village, a feature of social Darwinism that had been part of the colonial strategies of display since the nineteenth century.

²⁸⁸ *Le baroque en arrive à égarer dans un labyrinthe étroit; cited from Einstein's discussion of the entropic landscapes of the 17th century artist Hercules Seghers: in Einstein, 'Gravures d'Hercules Seghers', Documents, no. 4 (1929), pp. 202-208, in CEW 3, p. 48; also 'The Etchings of Hercules Seghers' (trans. & intr. Charles W. Haxthausen) in (ed. Zeidler) Carl Einstein. A Special Issue, October 107, MIT Press, 2004, pp. 151-157.*

²⁸⁹ Georges Bataille, 'L'esprit moderne et le jeu de transpositions', Documents, no. 8 (1930), pp. 489f., here 'The Modern Spirit and the Play of Transpositions' (trans. K. Fijalkowski & M. Richardson), in (cat.) Undercover Surrealism, pp. 241-43.

²⁹⁰ Einstein, 'Exposition de sculpture moderne', p. 394f. The page reference indicates the object belonging to a note on the latest acquisitions by the collector David-Weill, see 'Nouveautés de la Collection David-Weil', Documents, no. 7 (1929) p. 396. His collection of early nomadic bronzes was discussed by Paul Pelliot, 'Quelques réflexions sur l'art Sibérien et Chinois, à propos de bronzes de la collection de David-Weill', Documents, No. 1 (1929), pp. 9-21. The essay's focus on nomadic horse-riding cultures may be viewed as countering Bataille's 'Le cheval académique', in the same issue, pp. 27-31.

²⁹¹ Cited from Simon Baker, 'Doctrines (The appearance of Things)', in (cat.) Undercover Surrealism, p. 36

²⁹² *Lipschitz arbeitete zunächst streng kubistisch [...]. Seit der großen Skulptur von 1924/25 [...] locken ihn große, denkmalhafte Themen, die mitunter allzu pathetisch verkündet werden; Einstein, Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts, CEW 5, p. 281.*

²⁹³ Einstein's interest in heterogeneous cultural formations outside the canon of art history, including the arts of nomadic peoples, developed in tandem with his research on African and Oceanic cultures. His review of an exhibition held at the *Galerie de la Nouvelle Revue Française* in 1931 emphasized the problems of extant research: 'Folk art, all too often ignored by scholars, is treated with contempt because it lies outside the boundaries of classic traditions of knowledge', in Einstein, 'Zentralasiatische Nomadenkunst. Zur Ausstellung in der Galerie de la Nouvelle Revue Française', *Die Weltkunst*, vol. IV, no. 15 (March 1931), CEW 3, pp. 191-94, here p. 191.

²⁹⁴ Brancusi's use of photography was a means of exploring the configuration and material treatment of the sculptures' supports, cf. Rosalind Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1996, pp. 84-103; on the artist's photographic practice, see Paul Paret, 'Sculpture and its Negative: The Photographs of Constantin Brancusi', in G. Jonson (ed.), *Sculpture and Photography*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 101-115.

²⁹⁵ *Wir nannten schon [...] Brancusi, der etwas wie Urformen zu suchen scheint; das monumentale soll durch letzte Vereinfachung und Vereinheitlichung erreicht werden. Wirkung: ein Bluff oder Chimäre privaten Ägyptens. Man poliert seine Metalle und Blöcke, wiederholt einige Motive und träumt von vergrößerten Kunstgewerbedingen von Riesen; Einstein, Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts, CEW 5, p. 275. That Brancusi's insistence on manipulating pedestals as part of his sculptural work was anathema to Einstein's concept becomes clear in *Negerplastik*, when he states: 'most of these works dispense with a base and other features related to display, which one might find surprising, since by our standards they are extremely decorative. But the god is never presented except as self-sufficient being, un-needful of any aid', in CEW 1, p. 241-42, and NS, p. 130.*

²⁹⁶ Cited from Steinberg's interpretation of Picasso's *Three Women* (with eyes shut), in Steinberg, 'Resisting Cézanne', p. 121; see also above Part II, chapter 9 and Appendix II.

²⁹⁷ Cf. above and Einstein, 'André Masson étude ethnologique', p. 28.

²⁹⁸ Kospoth as above, and Bataille, 'L'esprit moderne' as above.

²⁹⁹ Georges Bataille, 'Informe', *Documents*, no. 7 (1929), p. 382, here cited from, 'Formless' (trans. D. Faccini), in Ades (ed.), (cat.) *Undercover Surrealism*, p. 92.

³⁰⁰ While my focus is on the use-value of images in Einstein's (rather than Bataille's) oeuvre, this part of my argument follows Denis Hollier, *Against Architecture: The Writings of Georges Bataille*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1989, p. 28f.

³⁰¹ Einstein, 'Dictionnaire critique: Rossignol', *Documents*, no. 2 (1929) pp. 117-18, CEW 2, pp. 30-32, here Haxthausen (trans.), 'Critical Dictionary: "Nightingale"', in *October* 107, pp. 152-154.

³⁰² *Die Moderne von heute wird vergehen [...]. Diese Kunst wird an autistischer Überzüchtung und spielerischer Abgespaltenheit zugrunde gehen. [...] Man nimmt eine metaforische [sic] Haltung ein, (wenn die Realität und ihr Sinn abbröckeln);*

cf. (Sybille Penkert, ed.), *Carl Einstein, Die Fabrikation der Fiktionen*, Reinbeck/Hamburg 1973, p.14 and 279.

NOTES: PART IV – Epilogue

¹ These were: Guillaume, *Sculptures nègres* (1917), see above Part III chapter 14; Marius de Zayas, *African Negro Art – Its Influence on Modern Art*, New York 1916; *African Negro Wood Sculpture – Photographed by Charles Sheeler with a Preface by Marius de Zayas*, privately published New York 1918; and Vladimir I. Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, Petersburg 1919; the latter three are discussed below.

² Rubin, 'Picasso and Braque: An Introduction', in Rubin, (cat.) *Picasso and Braque*, p. 20 and 55, n. 23.

³ Cf. Benjamin, 'A Small History', and 'The work of Art'; Siegfried Kracauer, 'Photography' (1927) and 'The Mass Ornament' (1927), in Thomas Y. Levin (trans., ed. & intro.) *Siegfried Kracauer: The Mass Ornament – Weimar Essays*, Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press 1995, pp. 47-63, and 75-86; also Christopher Phillips (ed. & intro.), *Photography in the Modern Era*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art/Aperture 1989.

⁴ Benjamin, 'A Small History', p. 253, and Kracauer, 'Photography', p. 58.

⁵ Cf. the discussion of Wölfflin's essays above, Part III, chapter 13; for examples of 19th century comments on photography's documentary value in relation to sculpture, see the contributions in Geraldine A. Johnson (ed.), *Sculpture and Photography*, esp. pp. 21-34.

⁶ André Malraux, *The Psychology of Art: The Museum without Walls*, (*La Psychologie de l'art: Le musée imaginaire*, vol. I, Geneva 1947; trans. S. Gilbert), London: A. Zwemmer 1949 p. 32.

⁷ Benjamin. 'The Work of Art', p. 223; see also Part III, chapter 14 above.

⁸ For a cultural critique of the role and symbolic value of the object as commodity and 'virtue' in western society cf. Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* (*Le système des objets*, 1968; trans. James Benedict), London & New York: Verso 2005, esp. pp. 78-88. On the ethnographic object's currency prior to its arrival in the West, see Schildkrout & Keim, 'Objects and agendas: re-collecting the Congo', and Johannes Fabian, 'Curios and curiosity: Notes on reading Torday and Frobenius', both in Schildkrout & Keim, pp. 1-36 and 79-108; on the object's status during the 1920s, see Archer-Straw, *Negrophilia*.

⁹ For a brief review of Markov's role in Russian avant-garde art and his theoretical text 'The Principles of the New Art, see John E. Bowlit (ed. & trans.), *Russian Art of the Avant-garde. Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, New York: The Viking Press 1976; Susan Compton, *The World Backwards – Russian Futurist Books*, The British Library 1978. His artistic and theoretical work is discussed as part of Jeremy Howard, *The Union of Youth. An artist's society of the Russian avant-garde*, Manchester University Press 1992. His African study is mentioned by Michel Leiris and Jean Delange, *Afrique Noire – La création plastique*, Paris: Gallimard 1992; and Jean Laude, *La peinture française (1905-1914) et l'Art Nègre*, Paris: Klincksieck 1968. Probably the most detailed discussion of Markov's role within the primitivist discourse is the introduction by Paudrat & Jacqueline Paudrat, 'Vladimir Markov, L'art des nègres', *Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne*, Paris 1979, pp. 316-327, and Paudrat, 'From Africa', pp. 149-151. But it is mainly due to the curator at the Riga Latvian National Museum of Art, Irena Buzinska, that the memory of Markov has been retrieved in recent years. She has written and published extensively on his artistic and theoretical oeuvre, see, for

example, Irena Buzinska (ed.), *Voldemars Matvejs. Raksti Darbu catalogs Sarakste*, Riga: Neputns 2002; Buzinska et al, *Latviesu Makslinieku Teoretiskie Teksti un Manifesti* (Theoretical Writings and Manifestos by Latvian Artists), Riga: Neputns 2002; and 'Some Words About Voldemars Matvejs [Vladimir Markov] and His Book *The Art of Easter Island*', *Rapa Nui Journal*, Vol. 14, no. 3 (September 1990), pp. 89 – 93.

¹⁰ Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*; for a French translation (except for part III for which a résumé has been provided), see Paudrat & Paudrat, 'Vladimir Markov, L'art des nègres'; for excerpts in English see Flam & Deutch, pp. 61-66. On Einstein's remark on a 'torso', see also the discussion of *Negerplastik* above, Part III chapter 12.

¹¹ Cf. Voldemars Matvejs (who took the pseudonym of Vladimir Markov in 1912), 'The Russian Secession' (1910), here quoted from the translation by Howard in Buzinska, *Latviesu Makslinieku*, pp. 3-9; see also his 'The Principles of the New Art', in John E. Bowlt (ed. & trans.), *Russian Art of the Avant-garde. Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, New York: The Viking Press 1976, pp. 23-37; also Howard, chapter 2 & 4. The essay 'Das Kunstwerk' by Le Fauconnier (who had exhibited in Russia since 1908) was first published in the catalogue of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung's* second exhibition in September 1910 and is discussed above (Part I, chapter 2) in connection with Einstein's early art critical writings; it was published by the *Union of Youth* in 1912; cf. Howard, p. 89.

¹² The first issue of the *Union of Youth* anthology consisted of a number of articles by its members in which Markov's introduction to 'The Principles of the New Art' took centre-stage. The accompanying images included reproductions of Persian and Indian miniatures and a cover image by the seventeenth-century Persian artist Riza Abassi. Apart from the sequel to Markov's 'Principles', the second issue included translations of artists' declarations and manifestos, among them - and most crucial for the development of the Russian avant-garde - those of the Italian Futurists. Also included were the artist's statements accompanying the exhibition of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* at the *Moderne Galerie Thannhauser*, (September 1910). In order to instruct readers in the variety of Russian avant-garde tendencies the texts were accompanied by reproductions of works by members of the *Union of Youth*, while the cover showed again a Persian miniature, see Fig. 13 in Howard, p. 135, and Bowlt, *Russian Art*. For further details, especially, Markov's interest in Eastern art, see Markov, *Svirel' kitaya* (The Chinese Flute) 1914, and Howard, pp. 118-129. On Worringer, see Howard, p. 120f.; the Russian translation of the book was never published: on Worringer and the *Blaue Reiter* see also Part I, chapter 4 above, on Markov's encounter with the German group see Appendix VI/1 below.

¹³ August Macke, 'Die Masken', in *Der Blaue Reiter. Herausgegeben von Wassily Kandinsky und Franz Marc* (1912), Klaus Lankheit (ed.), Munich & Zurich: R. Piper & Co. (1965) 1990, pp. 53-60; see also Ursula Heiderich, "'Der Leib ist die Seele". August Mackes Beitrag zum Almanach Der Blaue Reiter', in Christine Hopfengart, (ed.), (cat.) *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kunsthalle Bremen, 25 March – 12 June, Cologne: DuMont 2000, pp. 248-254. The Cologne museum as the site of Macke's 'inspiration' was first voiced by Volprecht, 'Folkwang 2. Teil – Die Sammlung außereuropäischer Kunst', pp. 245-255; also Völger (ed.), 'Vorwort', in Andrea Reikat, (cat.) *Bergräbnisritual in Zentralafrika*, in *Ethnologica*, Neue Folge, vol. 16, Cologne: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum 1990, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴ The objects Markov photographed at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum a year later are reproduced as plate no. 70-86, in Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, pp. 115-119.

For a colour reproduction and ethnographic details of the figures, see plate no. I in Völger, *Kunst der Welt*, p. 12 and 13.

¹⁵ The prices for the Picasso works refer to photo reproductions sold by the Kahnweiler gallery; see also Appendix V/5, note 12.

¹⁶ Cited from Mirimanov, p. 62.

¹⁷ *A première vue, [...], on peut trouver beaucoup en commun entre l'expression schématique de Picasso et une Vénus quelconque de l'époque pré-historique ou de merveilleuses sculptures en bois du Congo et du Madagascar, tellement chères à Picasso. [...] j'ai demandé alors au peintre si le côté mystique de ces sculptures l'intéressait beaucoup, « pas du tout, - répondit-il – ce qui me intéresse c'est leur simplicité géométrique »*; Tugendhold cited here from Mirimanov, p. 72f.; see also Frantsuskoe sobranie S. I. Shchukina' ['The French Collection of S. I. Shchukin'], in McCully, *A Picasso Anthology*, pp. 107-110; Kostenewitsch, p. 72;

¹⁸ This is a Bamana statue (Mali, now lost), cf. pl. 72 and 73, reproduced in Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, p. 109; it also appeared in *Negerplastik*, pl. no. 6; and in *Umelecky Mesicnik* (June 1913), p. 223 - according to Bassani, 'Les Oeuvres illustrées', p. 114; also Meffre, *Les sculptures nègres*, p. 109. On Shchukin meeting Picasso and buying his first paintings (Daix 168 & 169), see Cousins, 'Documentary Chronology', p. 354.

¹⁹ See above Part II, chapter 9 and Appendix II.

²⁰ Photographs came from the museum collections in Berlin, Cologne, Copenhagen, Leiden, Leipzig, London, Paris and Oslo; also included were a number of reproductions from the *Annales du Musée du Congo*, Bruxelles, see Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, pl. no. 87-92, pp. 121-125. See also Paudrat, 'Vladimir Matwvei-Markov: *Iskusstvo negrov*', in Jean Laude (ed.), *Fascicule I, Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches historiques sur les relations artistiques entre les cultures, UER 04, Paris: Université de Paris I – Panthéon 1976*, pp. 25-27; and Neumeister, 'Notes on the 'ethnographic turn' of the European avant-garde: Reading Carl Einstein's *Negerplastik* (1915) and Vladimir Markov's *Iskusstvo Negrov* (1919)' in *Acta Historiae Artium, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. XLIX, 2008, pp. 172-185.

²¹ Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, in Paudrat, 'Vladimir Markov, L'art des nègres', p. 319. For an English translation of parts, see Flam & Deutch, 'Negro Art 1913', pp. 61- 66; also Dieudonné Gnamankou (preface) & Nathalie Saint-Jean Lecompte (trans.), *Vladimir Markov. L'art nègre*, Achères: Éditions Monde Global 2006; regrettably the text is accompanied by a digitally manipulated image section that has totally compromised the character of the original.

²² Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, in Paudrat, 'Vladimir Markov', pp. 320ff. Also Gnamankou, pp. 35-59. While Markov resorted to using the explorer's illustrations in his text, reliance on Frobenius' theories is especially prominent in chapters 2 and 3 (of which Paudrat only gives a résumé). Much of the information derived from Frobenius, *Und Afrika sprach* (1912) and *Auf dem Wege nach Atlantis* (1911). However, the influence of other sources cited in Markov's bibliography, which names four titles by Frobenius out of twelve, including Joyce & Dalton and a guide to the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum by Willy Foy, has yet to be analysed, the bibliography is reproduced Gnamankou, p. 27. On Frobenius in relation to turn-

of-the-century German ethnology and related fields of study, see Marchand, 'Leo Frobenius'; and Winter, 'Leo Frobenius' Image of Africa'.

²³ Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov* in Paudrat, 'Vladimir Markov', pp. 323-326; Flam & Deutch, pp. 62f. In earlier reviews of Picasso's work, Einstein discusses similar notions, see, for example his 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', discussed in Part I, chapter 5. In *Negerplastik* it is inherent in theoretical discussions of the 'cubic' and sculpture's 'formal dimension', cf. Part III, chapter 12 above.

²⁴ Cited from Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov* in Paudrat, 'Vladimir Markov', p. 324, see also Paudrat's introduction, p. 318; and Flam & Deutch, p. 65f. Markov subsequently published *Printsipy tvorchestva v plasticheskikh: Faktura* (*Creative Principles in the Plastic Arts: Faktura*) 1914; see Howard, pp. 122, 182, 200, 210ff; also Buzinska, *Voldemars Matvejs*. In agreement with Howard that no equivalent English term for the Russian *faktura* exists, the term has been kept here, see Howard, p. 222 note 95. For a discussion of *faktura* in the context of the Russian avant-garde, see Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, 'From Faktura to Factography', *October* 30 (Fall 1984), pp. 82-119, and Margit Rowell, 'Vladimir Tatlin: Form/Faktura', *October* 7 (Winter 1978), pp. 83-108.

²⁵ The book consists of 82 objects reproduced in 123 reproductions. Markov photographed objects at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, the British Museum in London, the Copenhagen Ethnographic Museum, the Tocaéro and the Brummer collection in Paris, the Christiania Museum of Ethnography in Oslo, the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne, the Ethnographic Museum in Leiden, and the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig. In addition he published a number of images from the *Annales du Musée de Congo* (1906), Brussels. See Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, pp. 45-153, also Buzinska (ed.), *Voldemars Matvejs*, pp. 95-108, where some of his own line illustrations and schematic drawings from Frobenius are included as well as some of the original plates before they were retouched for publication.

²⁶ On the initiative of Zheverzheev, Vladimir Mayakovsky and Markov's close friend, the artist Varvara Bubovna (1886-1983), *Iskusstvo Negrov* was published in 1919; cf. Buzinska, *Voldemars Matvejs*, p. 92 and Howard, p. 222.

²⁷ For reproductions of some of the original (unretouched) photographs see Buzinska, *Voldemars Matvejs. Raksti Darbu catalogs*, p. 95-97 and 139.

²⁸ Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov* in Paudrat, 'Vladimir Markov', p. 326. While Markov was sceptical of some of Frobenius' theories, he nonetheless elaborated on 'foreign influences' indicative of 'Atlantis' and the 'shamanist practices' of Northern Asia that had introduced 'masks' and other 'particularly plastic characteristics' to Africa.

²⁹ Cf. Joyce & Dalton, *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, plate facing p. 234.

³⁰ Discussing Egyptian influences Markov referred to a seated figure described as 'Djoloff, Western Sudan' identified since as a Mende figure from Sierra Leone from the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, see Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, p. 133, plate no. 100-102, and Paudrat, 'Vladimir Markov', p. 327. Similar issues regarding the conditions of artistic production were raised also in Markov, 'The Principles of the New Art' (1912), and his, *Printsipy tvorchestva v plasticheskikh: Faktura* (1914), cf. Howard, pp. 210ff.

³¹ Cited from 'Excerpts from Charles Sheeler's 1937 Unpublished "Autobiography"'; also Theodore E. Stebbins Jr, 'Sheeler on Photography', both in *The Photography of Charles Sheeler* (cat.), curated by Gilles Mora & Theodore Stebbins Jr., Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 23 October 2002 – 2 February 2003, pp. 186-191 (here p. 187) and pp. 9-25, here 9 and 10; see also Stebbins Jr. & Norman Keyes Jr., *Charles Sheeler: The Photographs*, Boston: Museum of Fine Arts 1987; Judith Zilczer, 'Alfred Stieglitz and John Quinn: Allies in the American Avant-Garde', *American Art Journal*, vol. 17, no. 3 (summer 1985), pp. 18-33; and Virginia-Lee Webb, 'Art as Information: The African Portfolios of Charles Sheeler and Walker Evans', *African Arts*, vol. 42 no. 1 (1991), pp. 56-63.

³² Cited from Sheeler, 'Excerpts', p. 187; see also Francis M. Naumann, 'Walter Conrad Arensberg: Poet, Patron, and Participant in the New York Avant-Garde, 1915-1920', *Bulletin, Philadelphia Museum of Art*, vol. 76, no. 328 (spring 1980), pp. 3-17, here p. 3; and de Zayas, *How, when, and why*, pp. vii-xiv, and 236. In 1913, de Zayas and Burty Haviland published *A Modern Evolution of Plastic Form*, probably among the earliest American publications that engaged with modern art. On Stieglitz's contribution to modern art, see for example, *Alfred Stieglitz et son cercle (1905-1930) – New York et l'art moderne*, (cat.) Paris: Musée d'Orsay 18 October 2004 – 16 January 2005; also *Modern Art and America – Alfred Stieglitz and his New York Galleries* (cat.), National Gallery of Art Washington, 28 January – 22 April 2001, Boston, New York & London: Bullfinch Press, Littlebrown & Co.

³³ Cf. Marius de Zayas, 'Pablo Picasso', in *Camera Work*, no. 34-35 (April-July 1911), pp. 65-67; also de Zayas, *How, when, and why*, pp. vii-xiv and 213-221. On de Zayas' caricature work and his collaboration with Picabia, see Willard Bohn, 'The Abstract Vision of Marius de Zayas', in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 62, no. 3 (September 1980), pp. 434-452; also Francis Naumann & Beth Venn (eds), (cat.) *Making Mischief: Dada invades New York*, Whitney Museum of American Art, 21 November 1996 – 23 February 1997, New York: Whitney Museum of American Art 1996.

³⁴ Letter de Zayas to Stieglitz, dated 21 April 1911, in de Zayas, *How, when, and why*, p. 160f.; also Sarah Greenough, 'Alfred Stieglitz, Rebellious Midwife to a Thousand Ideas', in *Modern Art and America*, pp. 23-53, here 48.

³⁵ Exhibition announcement, here cited from Helen M. Shannon, 'African Art, 1914 – The Root of Modern Art', in (cat.) *Modern Art and America*, p. 169.

³⁶ The chasm between Einstein and de Zayas in their attitudes toward, and understanding of, the subject of non-western sculpture becomes manifest in a brief quote from de Zayas' introduction to the exhibition catalogue: *Negro art, [...] created by a mentality [...] completely devoid of the faculties of observation and analysis, is the pure expression of the emotion of the savage race – victims of nature*; here cited from Naumann, *How, when and why*, p. 59; and the following reviews from the New York press, pp. 59-62; also Paudrat, 'From Africa', p. 153f.

³⁷ This photograph was one of six that appeared in *Camera Work*, entitled 'Exhibition "Arrangements" at "291"'; the more famous image of these is 'IV, Detail: Picasso – Braque Exhibition January, 1915', which shows Picasso's *Bottle and Glass on a Table* (1912) next to a Kota reliquary figure; it is discussed and reproduced in Shannon, 'African Art, 1914 – The Root of Modern Art', in (cat.) *Modern Art in America*, pp. 169-183; and Paudrat, 'From Africa', p. 152.

³⁸ For the Steichen-citation and a different interpretation of the photograph, see Shannon, p. 174f; for the Picasso-quote, see Tugendhold cited from Mirimanov, p. 72f.

³⁹ Cf. de Zayas, 'Photography', *Camera Work*, vol. 41 (January 1913), p. 20, here *Modern Art and America*, p. 147.

⁴⁰ Cf. de Zayas, *African Negro Art: Its Influence on Modern Art*, New York: The Modern Gallery 1916. The exhibition was shown from 26 November to 31 December; for a discussion of the book, see Wendy Grossman, 'Photography at the Crossroads', pp. 317-340; also Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 157, 164 and 183; and Paudrat, 'From Africa', p. 153.

⁴¹ Cf. de Zayas, *How, when, and why*, p. 34. Borrowing Cézanne's *Bouquet des fleurs* (1900-1903) from Arensberg, Sheeler's painting *Bouquet des fleurs* was shown at the Modern Gallery in 1916; the comparison with Cubism is found in Webb, 'Art as Information', p. 57, Mora p. 84, Stebbins, *Charles Sheeler*, p. 7 and Stebbins, 'Sheeler and Photography', p. 12.

⁴² Cited from *American Art News*, 15 December 1917, here de Zayas, *How, when, and why*, p. 35. The exhibition was shown from 21 January to 9 February 1918 and one of the last before the gallery closed in April that year; a new venue, the *De Zayas Gallery*, opened in October 1919 and closed in April 1921; cf. *How, when, and why*, pp. 152-155, the opening date given there (29 January) is incorrect, see Webb, 'Art as Information', p. 56.

⁴³ The *Lyre et palette* exhibition in November 1916 included besides non-western sculpture, works by Kisling, Matisse, Modigliani, and Picasso. For the relationship and collaborations between Apollinaire, Guillaume and de Zayas, see the Stieglitz – de Zayas correspondence reproduced in de Zayas, *How, when, and why*, esp. pp. 172-185; Apollinaire's admiration for de Zayas is evident in Apollinaire, 'Marius de Zayas', *Paris-Journal* (8 July 1914), where four of his caricatures were reproduced; for further information on the de Zayas and Apollinaire pantomime, their correspondence, and de Zayas' essay 'Simultanism' in the first issue of the journal *291* (March 1915) in which he appropriated almost verbatim some of Apollinaire's text from the article 'Simultanisme-Librettisme' (*Les Soirées de Paris*, 25 (June 1914), pp. 323-25), see Bohn, 'The Abstract Vision of Marius de Zayas' (as above), and his *Apollinaire and the International Avant-garde*, SUNY Press 1997, esp. pp. 48-56; and Hicken, p. 144f.

⁴⁴ Stebbins, *Charles Sheeler*, p. 5.

⁴⁵ My thanks for relaying this information go to Ross Day, head librarian at the Goldwater Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁴⁶ *The communion of the Negro with the fantastic beings of the supernatural was the religious origin of Negro art. Without history, without tradition and without precedent this art represents a natural state of mind, a strata of man's intellect. The Negro artist has been to us a revelator and an innovator. Negro sculpture has been the stepping stone for a fecund evolution in our art. It brought to us a new form of expression and a new expression to our form, finding a point of support in our sensibility. The principal utterance of Negro art is sensorial. The Negro artist found the formula for the plasticity of wood. Supersensitive to the realities of the imagination, his vision reveals itself in the structure of his sculpture-fetish. Sheeler has used the light to project the Negro vision. He photographs Negro sculpture in*

its plurality of form and effect. Marius de Zayas, introduction to *African Negro Wood Sculpture*.

⁴⁷ As far as I am aware, the provenances for the objects illustrated have not been identified with certainty.

⁴⁸ A similar Baule figure juxtaposed with an Art Nouveau statuette depicting a European woman featured in a photograph by Man Ray (part of his 'Noire et Blanche' series, c. 1921) on the cover of Picabia's Dada-journal 391 (1924), cf. Maureen Murphy, 'Entre oeuvres d'art et documents: les objets d'Afrique à Paris et à New York dans les années 1930', in *Art et Societies, Séminaire du 23 novembre 2006*, <http://www.artsetsocietes.org/f/f-murphy.html>, accessed 02/07/2008; also Ades, *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, pp. 136-159.

⁴⁹ Cf. Krauss, 'In the Master's Bedroom', in Stephen Melville & Bill Readings (eds), *Vision and Textuality*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press 1995, pp. 326-343, esp. 327-330.

⁵⁰ Cf. the introduction to *African Negro Wood Sculpture*, n. p.

⁵¹ The other two are both Fang sculptures, see *African Negro Wood Sculpture*, plate 2 and 3, 5 and 6.

⁵² The object in the Sheeler images has been described as 'Shogo [Tsogo] fan handle' (information supplied by Ross Day, The Robert Goldwater Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art on 21 April 2009), the description by Bassani & Paudrat for the same object reproduced in *Negerplastik* (pl. no. 72) is " 'Couple (poignée d'éventail?), artiste Kongo? Rép. du Congo? RDC, ex-Zaire?'"; cf. Meffre, *La sculpture nègre*, p. 114. After detailed study of reproductions of all three publications and additional image material kindly supplied by the Barnes Foundation, it is clear that the *Negerplastik* and Sheeler image plates show the same object, whereas the object in the Barnes collection is similar but not the same as specified in the provenance details of the object report no. A179 (AR.ABC.1922.70), from which I have taken the dimensions; cf. my correspondence with Ted Walbye, Senior Special Collections Assistant, Research Library, The Barnes Foundation, dated 6 February 2006; also Paul Guillaume and Thomas Munro, *Primitive Negro Sculpture*, New York: Harcourt Brace 1926, plate 4: 'Fetish (Upper Ivory Coast) and utensils'.

⁵³ See also the discussion of *Negerplastik*, Part III chapter 12 above. Since the majority of reproductions are of a high standard it could be argued that for reasons of consistency, some 10 or so image plates could have been excluded.

⁵⁴ For further examples of this project, cf. Stebbins, *Charles Sheeler*, p. 6 and plate no. 3, 4 and 5.

⁵⁵ See also the discussion of Goldwater's *Primitivism*-study in the Introduction above. Unsurprisingly, the provenance for the object provided in Webb (taken from the original MOMA-catalogue) does not mention *Negerplastik*, cf. Webb, *Perfect Documents*, pl. no. 36 and 37, p. 80. Two further objects in the album show a close resemblance to reproductions of the same pieces in Einstein's *Afrikanische Plastik*, while the image structuring of front and profile view is a characteristic feature of both Einstein's volumes, cf. pl. no. 30 and 31 p. 76f. (Cameroon mask, ex-collection E. von der Heydt, now Rietberg Museum), and pl. no. 33, p. 78, which represents the Bangwa mask (see here Fig. 61, discussed above in Part III chapter 14), cf. Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik* (1921) pl. 12 and pl. 13 and 14. However

Goldwater did acknowledge Einstein, if only briefly, in an article published at the time of the 1935 MOMA exhibition, in which he reiterated (without referring to him by name) many of the points Einstein had addressed before, such as that African sculpture be treated 'as we would the art of any other time and continent'; cf. Goldwater, 'An Approach to African Sculpture', *Parnassus*, vol. 7, no. 4 (May 1935), p. 57.

⁵⁶ Although Matthew Rampley does not mention Einstein in his analysis of Warburg's theory of art, I would like to suggest that he too was part of this mainly German tradition, see Matthew Rampley, 'From Symbol to Allegory: Aby Warburg's Theory of Art', *The Art Bulletin*, (March) 1997, pp. 41-55. See also Kurt W. Forster, 'Aby Warburg's History of Art: Collective memory and the Social Mediation of Images', *Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Art and Sciences*, vol. 105 (winter 1976), pp. 168-176. On Einstein and Nietzsche, see, for example, Kiefer, *Diskurswandel*, pp. 35-47, 81-85, 207-209, and 429-432; on Worringer, see pp. 126-131, and 138-140. In the context here it is Einstein's letters to Friedrich Saxl at Warburg's Kunstwissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Hamburg that are pertinent, because they show his endeavours to secure a collaboration with the Institute that might indicate more than a passing interest in Warburg's (and Saxl's) work and methodologies. His letter, dated 2 February 1929, stated that 'some years ago' he gave a paper on the notion of 'microcosm' presented to the 'Berlin Association for Religious Studies', see Joyce, *Carl Einstein in 'Documents'*, p. 231f.

⁵⁷ Cf. Warburg's introduction to the project: 'Einleitung. Bilderatlas Mnemosyne', in Horst Bredekamp, Michael Diers, et al (eds), *Aby Warburg, Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne / Studienausgabe. Gesammelte Schriften*, part 2, vol. 2, Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2000, pp. 3-6; also Charlotte Schoell-Glass, 'Aby Warburg's Late Comments on Symbol and Ritual', *Science in Context*, vol. 12, no. 4 (1999), pp. 621-642; and the foreword, by Didi-Hubermann, 'Knowledge: Movement (the Man Who Spoke to Butterflies)', and Philippe-Alain Michaud, 'Appendix One: Zwischenreich, Mnemosyne, or Expressivity Without a Subject' in Michaud's, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*, (trans. Sophie Hawkes) New York: Zone Books 2004, pp. 7-19, and 251-275.

⁵⁸ Michaud, pp. 251-271. A link between Einstein and Warburg's methodologies is also mentioned in Sebastian Zeidler's 'Introduction' to his (ed.), *Carl Einstein. A special Issue*, in *October*, 107, p. 4 and note 4.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Letters Ludwig Rubiner to Herwarth Walden

(“Sturm”-Archiv, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz)

1. Ludwig Rubiner to Herwarth Walden, dated 9 August 1913

Lieber Herr Walden!

[...] Die Sache ist so, dass genau zwei Dinge in Paris eine ungeheure Rolle spielen: ein Kunstsalon und eine Kunstzeitschrift. Die Situation ist unendlich viel anders als in Berlin. In Berlin verlangt man von allen Leuten sehr viel Geld zu sehen und englisch imitiertes Autreten. In Paris gibt es sehr viel Geld, alle Menschen sind irgendwie verpflichtet, darum wird Mut und Unabhängigkeit über alles geschätzt. Der “Sturm” [...] ist hier den meisten unverständlich, dennoch kümmern sich alle Leute um ihn. Ein Herausgeber, der nicht Freundlichkeits-Nummern oder Dichter-Collectionen macht ist in Paris etwas Unerhörtes. Weiter ist es so: Ein Kunstsalon in Paris hat entweder seinen schon gutgehenden Maler, oder er bekommt von den Ausstellenden bezahlt! Die grossen Leute, Bernheim, Druet u.s.w. lassen sich für Ausstellungen noch nicht durchgedrückter Künstler zwischen 1200 u. 3000 Fr[ancs] bezahlen. Eine Kunstaussstellung in Paris hat also principiell denselben Wert wie eines von den 900 Saisonkonzerten [...]. Dennoch spielt schon das eine *sehr* grosse Rolle und wird immer diskutiert. Nun erst ein unabhängiger Kunstsalon!!

Die Maler und Bildhauer fragen mich immer nach Ihnen, einiges Sachliche zum Herbstsalon nachher. – In Paris gibt es zwei jämmerliche [...] deutsche Journale, [...] die “Pariser Zeitung” und die “Pariser Presse” [...] “Der Sturm” würde einen sehr grossen Erfolg in Paris haben, vor allem wenn er hier in den Kiosken hinge. Man kauft ja in Paris Zeitschriften, denn in den Cafés gibt es nur [...] Monde illustré, [und] Witzblätter. [...] Der Herausgeber einer Zeitschrift [...] spielt in Paris eine sehr grosse gesellschaftliche Rolle, das heisst jede Rolle, die er will. Alle Theater stehen ihm offen, jede merkwürdige Veranstaltung reisst sich um ihn, Die Leute rennen ihm das Haus ein. Das ist garnicht so äusserlich wie es erscheint. Denn in Paris ist man für jede Aktivität und für jede Idee noch viel empfänglicher [...]. Sie werden (das ist keine Utopie) in Paris eine Partei hinter sich haben. [...]

Aber, zunächst einmal, wie wäre es, wenn Sie mit dem ganzen Herbstsalon im Winter auf einen Monat nach Paris kämen? Sie müssten es hier nur “Exposition Herwarth Walden” nennen. Es wäre schon ungeheuer merkwürdig in Paris, dass eine Ausstellung in einem Raum eröffnet würde, in dem bis dahin noch niemand ausgestellt hat. [...]

Die Leute in Paris, mit denen Sie vorraussichtlich in der allerersten Zeit zu tun hätten, haben an sich kein Geld oder nicht viel. Sie würden aber, in dem Moment, wo es absehbar ist, dass Sie ausstellen, auftreten, spielen, schreiben, sofort welches aufreiben. (Und ich rede hier selbstverständlich von wirklichen Künstlern, solchen mit denen Sie ohnehin verkehren). Das tut man so in Paris. [...]

Seien Sie einstweilen herzlichst begrüsst von Ihrem

Ludwig Rubiner.

2. Ludwig Rubiner to Herwarth Walden, dated 17.1.1913.

Lieber Herr Walden!

[...] Hier habe ich zwei Maler entdeckt, die Sie vielleicht interessieren. Der eine [...] ist Futurist [...]. Der andere hat noch nie ausgestellt. Er ist meine Entdeckung, und für Sie wie geschaffen. Kein Futurist, sondern absolut neu. Fabelhaft, er wird direkt Lärm machen:

Afred Reth, Boulevard Montparnasse 146. Paris VI.

Wollen Sie ihm vielleicht direkt schreiben? [...] Übrigens Reth macht auch feine Zeichnungen. Ich habe ihn bei Le Fauconnier kennen gelernt. Und solche guten Dessins habe ich in Paris noch nicht gesehen.

Übrigens traf ich auf dem Trödel einen Händler [sic] mit zusammen etwa 20 falschen van Goghs und Henri Rousseaus. Die Maler machen sich in Paris sehr breit. Sie beweisen mir überall die völlige Überflüssigkeit der "guten Malerei".

Herzlichste Grüße von

Ihrem

Ludwig Rubiner.

APPENDIX II

Notes on the Picasso works at the *Neue Galerie*, Berlin 1913

The Thannhauser exhibition – and probably the *Neue Galerie* – included some (if not all) of the Picasso paintings belonging to the Flechtheim collection shown at the 1912 Cologne *Sonderbund*, including *Head of a Woman* from 1907-08.¹ At Thannhauser's it was one of a series of heads aiming to show the transition, leading from the artist's painterly exploration of spatial form found in the reductive carving methods of African sculpture to the Cubist idiom. Of the eleven paintings on this subject shown in Munich, those at the Feldmann gallery included: *Head of a Woman* from early 1908 belonging to Wilhelm Uhde, and *Head of a Woman* from 1909 (also featured in the second exhibition of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* at the *Moderne Galerie Thannhauser* in 1910). Also included were: *Head of a Woman* from the spring of 1909, and *Woman with Pears (Fernande)* painted in Horta de Ebro in the summer of 1909, the latter two of which were part of the Flechtheim collection.² Uhde's involvement with the Picasso exhibitions in Munich, Berlin and Dresden is further confirmed by the fact that three works exhibited at the Thannhauser gallery came via his close friend Edwin Suermondt who, after being introduced by Uhde to the new art, had become an 'intelligent and passionate collector'. It appears that one of the paintings Uhde had owned since 1911, *The Pont-Neuf* (spring 1911), was acquired by Suermondt just prior to, or at the

¹ See Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 593 cat. entry Cologne 217 and p. 664, cat. entry Munich 31 or 33; also Pierre Daix & Jean Rosselet, (cat. rais.) *Picasso. Cubist Paintings, 1907-1916*, Alan Wofsy Fine Arts 1979, no. 105. Other works belonging to Flechtheim and shown at the *Sonderbund* and the Munich show were *Fan (Table with Apple and Fan)* (autumn 1909), cat. entry 55 (Daix & Rosselet 315); *Woman Playing the Violin* (spring 1911), cat. entry Cologne 221 (?) and Munich 56 (?) (Daix & Rosselet 393); *Mandoline Player* (autumn 1911), cat. entry Cologne 222 (?) and Munich 64(?), (Daix & Rosselet 425); and *Avenue Frochot from the Studio* (autumn 1911), cat. entry Cologne 224 and Munich 63 (Daix & Rosselet 443).

² See Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II p. 664, cat. entry 36, reproduced in *Ibid.* vol I, no. 1208 (Daix & Rosselet 139); also cat. entry 46, and vol. I, no 1209 (Daix & Rosselet 264); and cat. entry 52, and vol. I, no. 1210 (Daix & Rosselet 290); see also Gollek, *Der Blaue Reiter*, p. 399.

opening of the Thannhauser show.³ Another, *Vase of Flowers* (summer 1907), originally belonging to Uhde's collection, was bought by Franz Kluxen, one of a small number of young German private collectors who amassed a considerable number of avant-garde works before the First World War, four of which were included in the exhibition at the *Moderne Galerie Thannhauser*.⁴

Even though it has been possible by means of acquisition and provenance data to deduce the likely identities of some of the works shown at the 1913 exhibition, many crucial questions regarding the extent and precise selection of the *Neue Galerie's* 'comprehensive survey' remain. One relates to a painting listed under the same title in Munich and Vienna, which may have been Picasso's large and much celebrated canvas *Three Women* (autumn 1907 – late 1908) (Fig. 13),⁵ or perhaps the smaller version known as *Three Women (version rythmée)* (Hanover: Kunstmuseum, collection Sprengel; Daix & Rosselet 123), executed during the spring and summer of 1908. Both belong to the period of the artist's systematic exploration of African sculpture and Cézannean principles during and after completing *Les Femmes d'Alger*. If the primitivism of the figures' Africanized formal properties in the *Femmes d'Alger* unhinges the traditional canon of beauty by implicating the (male) viewer in a decadent 'orgiastic immersion' of 'Dionysian release', the primitivism of the final version of *Three Women* is its

³ Uhde, *Von Bismarck bis Picasso*, p. 145; on the painting, *The Pont-Neuf* (spring 1911, Geneva: private collection) cf. Daix & Rosselet, no. 401, and Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 664, cat. entry 65.

⁴ On Kluxen and the painting *Vase of Flowers* (summer 1907, New- York: Museum of Modern Art), see. Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, cat. entry 30 and Daix no. 70; a colour reproduction can be found in William Rubin (ed.), (cat.) *Picasso – A Retrospective*, New York: Museum of Modern Art 1980, p. 105. Kluxen's collection was shown at the *Sturm*-gallery in August 1917, see Neumeister, *Der Sturm 1910-1920*, appendix IV; also Erdmann-Macke, p. 254; Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, p. 468.

⁵ Although the Thannhauser catalogue dated the larger work (Daix & Rosselet 131) to 1909 in accordance with the Kahnweiler photographic records of winter 1908-09, Rubin dates the painting to 1907-08, cf. Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. II, p. 664, no. 49; and William Rubin (ed.), *Picasso and Braque. Pioneering Cubism*, New York: Museum of Modern Art 1989, p. 357. Publications discussing this work, its meaning, reworkings and contexts within the artist's Cubist oeuvre include: William Rubin, 'Cézannisme and the Beginnings of Cubism', in his (ed.), *Cézanne: The Late Work*, New York: Museum of Modern Art 1977, especially p. 186f.; Leo Steinberg, 'Resisting Cézanne: Picasso's "Three Women"', in *Art in America*, 66, no. 6 (November/December) 1978, 114-133; Steinberg, 'The Polemical Part', in *Art in America*, 67, no. 2 (March/April) 1979, pp. 114-127; William Rubin, 'Pablo, Georges and Leo and Bill', in *Ibid.* pp. 128-147; see also some of the essays by Edward Fry and Pierre Daix, and ensuing discussions in William Rubin (with Kirk Varnedoe & Lynn Zelevansky), *Picasso and Braque – A Symposium*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art 1992, especially p. 53, 56, 94 & passim, 180 & passim, and 308-317.

counter piece, reinstating a different atavistic beauty by invoking 'a kind of creation myth' that is 'overtly female but with male interference' – a 'dual departure [...] from a common background and precondition'⁶

The painting was described by Gertrude Stein as a group of women, 'square and posturing' in which 'there was something painful and beautiful [...], oppressive but imprisoned'. It was bought by her at the beginning of 1909. Because of temporary disagreements between her and her brother Leo, Kahnweiler forwarded a pricing of the works she owned in May 1913 including *Three Women*, then estimated at 20,000 francs.⁷ The exact date at which the painting was sold to the Moscow collector Sergei I. Shchukin (1854-1936), heir to the fortune of the Shchukin textile merchant dynasty, is uncertain. Between 1908, when Matisse took him to Picasso's Bateau-Lavoir studio, and 1913 Shchukin had acquired over fifty Picasso works, the largest collection of proto-Cubist work anywhere, which at the same time was supplemented by a number of African sculptures. What is certain is that by the end of 1913 *Three Women* had been entered as one of well over two hundred works listed in the *Catalogue des tableaux de la collection de M. Serge Stchoukine*, published in French and Russian.⁸ This implies that the sale of *Three Women* was probably only finalized in the months between Kahnweiler's appraisal of Gertrude Stein's collection and the entry of the work into Shchukin's catalogue. It further implies that the sale coincided with Kahnweiler's protracted preparations

⁶ Citations are from Leo Steinberg, 'The Philosophical Brothel', in *Art News* 71, no. 5 and 6 (September & October 1972), pp. 22-29 and 38-47; and his, 'Resisting Cézanne', pp. 114-133. On the protracted history of Picasso's work, see Pierre Daix, 'The Chronology of Proto-Cubism: New Data on the Opening of the Picasso/Braque Dialogue', Appendix 1 in Rubin (et al), *Picasso and Braque*, pp. 306-321; also Cousins, pp. 347-357.

⁷ Cf. Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, (1933, New York: Vintage Books) Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books 1966, p. 27; also Cousins, p. 359 and entry dated 29 May 1913, p. 418.

⁸ On this, and the history of Shchukin's family and collection, see Albert Kostenewitsch, 'Russische Sammler französischer Kunst', in Georg-W. Költzsch, (ed.), (cat.) *Morosow und Schtschukin – Die Russischen Sammler. Monet bis Picasso*, Museum Folkwang Essen, Pushkin Museum Moscow, The Hermitage Museum St Petersburg, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag 1993, pp. 35-137, here 77 and note 65 (where the copy belonging to Shchukin, held at the archives of the Pushkin Museum, is mentioned as consisting of 225 works listed, plus some added by hand). On Shchukin's visit to Picasso's studio, see Cousins, p. 354; on his collection of African sculptures, see also V. B. Mirimanov, 'L'époque de la découverte de l'art nègre en Russie. Les premières collections à Moscou', in *Quaderni Poro*, no. 3, Milan: Poron 1982, pp. 59-73; and Part IV of this thesis. For a more general history of private Russian collections of French and Russian art, see (cat.) *From Russia – French and Russian Master Paintings 1870-1925 from Moscow to St Petersburg*, Düsseldorf: museum kunst palast, 15 September 2007 – 6 January 2008, and London: Royal Academy of Arts 26 January – 18 April 2008.

for the Picasso retrospective in Munich and the subsequent venues in Berlin, Dresden, Vienna and Switzerland. If – as suggested here – the final version of *Three Women* was displayed at the *Moderne Galerie Thannhauser*, this might explain why the painting was listed in the exhibition catalogue as for sale. Once the sale to Shchukin was finalized, it would have allowed the work's secure (if perhaps convoluted) transport to its final destination at the collector's Moscow residence, gaining fame and notoriety on its way. There is no doubt that together with the African objects, *Three Women* must have formed the most striking focus of the exhibition staged at the *Neue Galerie*.

The Africanized qualities of Picasso's figure work, including that carried out during the drawn-out stages of completing *Three Women*, were as much noted by the artist's friends and associates like Uhde, Apollinaire and Salmon as by recent scholars of Cubism.⁹ According to André Malraux, Picasso claimed to have had his first encounter with the African 'intercessors' in June 1907 at the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. It is known that by April 1908, while working on *Three Women*, he was in the possession of ethnographic objects he was to collect for the rest of his life, evidenced by the famous photograph of the artist and a pair of New-Caledonian sculptures that accompanied the article 'The Wild men of Paris' by Gelett Burgess. Around the same time, he carved some of the wooden statues a visitor to his studio described as 'totem-pole-like hideosities'.¹⁰ One of the rare contemporary comments on *Three Women* appeared in Jakov Tugendhold's review of the Shchukin collection, which sought to encapsulate the essence of the work's Africanized forms:

When painting the nude, Picasso gives full rein to his love for earthy ochre, to the condensation of the world, to powerful weight; his nude women seem built of stone, united by the dark cement of the contour. Such are the "Three Women" of brick red color in whom is the heaviness

⁹ See, for example, Apollinaire, 'Les Commencements du cubisme', in *Le Temps*, Paris 14 October 1912; Salmon, *La Jeune Peinture française*, Paris: Société des Trente, Albert Messein 1912, transl. in Fry, *Cubism*, pp. 81-90; for an authoritative account of Picasso's work in relation to African art, see Rubin, 'Picasso' in (cat.) 'Primitivism', pp. 241-343.

¹⁰ Cousins, 'Documentary Chronology' p. 352; Gelett Burgess, 'The Wild Men of Paris', *The Architectural Record*, 27, no. 5 (May 1910) pp. 401-414; André Malraux, *Picasso's Mask (La tête d'obsidienne)*, Paris: Gallimard, 1974; trans. by J. Guicharnaud with J. Guicharnaud), London: Macdonald and Jane's 1976, p. 11. On Picasso's collection of non-western artefacts, see his letter to Kahnweiler, dated 11 August 1912, in which he reports on the 'very beautiful' African objects he and Braque had found in Marseille, in Monod-Fontaine, 'Chronologie', p. 112. For a discussion of Picasso's collection, cf. Rubin, 'Picasso', in "Primitivism"; also Peter Stepan, *Picasso's Collection of African & Oceanic Art: Master of Metamorphosis* New York: Prestel 2006.

and relief quality of a monument [...] one can go no further in reaction [...] against the painterly sensuality of the Impressionists; here is the confident triumph of the chisel over the brush, of touch over the eyes! One may disparage these brick graces – but one cannot fail to recognize in them a memorial of our time, which seeks the “organic” and the “statuesque” – at a time of faltering intellectuals, [...] but alas, powerless.¹¹

What is striking besides the attention to the figure composition's sculptural qualities is the emphasis on color. Like the morphologies of the painting's mask-like heads and interlocking chiseled body forms, its chromatic values belong – as Rubin in his discussion of Picasso's changed palette has convincingly argued – to the artist's new ‘*brut* coloring’ begun during 1907. Here it is reminiscent of the red plant pigment (*negula*) used as body adornment and the coloring of ritual objects by, among others, the Fang of Gabon/Cameroon, which Einstein was to discuss in one of his contributions to *Documents* in 1930.¹²

The *Neue Galerie* exhibition almost certainly included *Landscape* (spring-summer 1907), a work that is associated with a series of the artist's abstract experimentations during 1907 and known to have been displayed in Munich and Dresden.¹³ Probably also exhibited was *Standing Nude* (early 1908), a large canvas and an early study for the central figure of *Three Women*. This was sent by Kahnweiler to the Emil Richter gallery, perhaps to augment the Shchukin painting and to inform on the artist's new bold use of color and the transition towards the more muted chromatic intervals of analytical Cubism.¹⁴ We know that some of

¹¹ Jakov Tugendhold, ‘Frantsuskoe sobranie S. I. Shchukina’ [‘The French Collection of S. I. Shchukin’], in *Apollon*, 1914, nos. 1-3, p. 33, as cited in Steinberg, ‘Resisting Cézanne: Picasso's “Three Women”’, p. 131, note 4; for a fuller version of this text, see also McCully, pp. 107-110.

¹² Rubin, ‘Picasso’, p. 256f.; also Einstein, ‘A propos de l'Exposition de la Galerie Pigalle’, in *Documents*, no. 2, 1930, pp. 104-110; and Part III chapter 15 of this thesis. For the ethnographic interest in the use of the pigment, written by Thomas A. Joyce, with whom Einstein would collaborate in the 1920s, see Thomas A. Joyce, ‘Note on the Pigment-Blocks of the Bushongo, Kasai District, Belgian Congo’, in *Man*, no. 46 (1910), p. 81f. For examples of the use of the pigment, see the Gabon Aduma mask from the Musée d' Ethnographie du Trocadéro (acquired c. 1883), and the Tsogo reliquary figure (ex-collection Jacob Epstein) in Tom Phillips, (ed.), (cat.), *Africa – The Art of a Continent*, Royal Academy of Arts, London & Munich & New York: Prestel 1996, p. 314f., no. 4.86b and no. 4.87.

¹³ Pablo Picasso, *Landscape*, spring-summer 1907, gouache on paper mounted on cardboard, 64.7 x 49.8cm, Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, The T. Catesby Jones Collection); see the comments in Daix & Rosselet 59; also nos. 60-63.

¹⁴ This is probably identical with the Miethke exhibition cat. entry 15, cf. Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, p. 794; also Daix & Rosselet 116, where only the Dresden exhibition is listed.

Picasso's later works from 1910 to 1912 were represented in Berlin and Dresden. These probably included the almost monochrome *Woman Playing the Violin* (spring 1911), which belonged to Flechtheim and would feature in *Einstein's Die Kunst de zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*. The still life *Violin, Wineglasses, Pipe and Anchor* from May 1912, which re-introduced vibrant color into the earlier muted schemes adopted by Picasso and Braque was bought by Kahnweiler's friend, the art historian and collector Vincenc Kramár (1877-1960) in late June 1912. Last was *The Poet* (summer-autumn 1912) in which the subject's hair and moustache is rendered with the metal comb used in the decorators trade for faux wood-graining (Fig. 21).¹⁵ In early 1913 the Kramár acquisition was listed as 'for sale' in the Thannhauser catalogue making more likely the proposal put forward here that the catalogue entry for *Three Women* may have referred to Shchukin's version.¹⁶

¹⁵ Daix & Rosselet 393, 457 and 499; also Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, p. 664, cat. entry 56(?), 72 and 76; the still-life was shown in May/June 1913 in Prague, see Gordon, p. 717, cat. entry 19. It was mentioned in Apollinaire, 'Pablo Picasso', *Montjoie! 1913* (14 March), in Breunig (ed.), *Apollinaire on Art*, p. 280f. Kramár started to buy from Kahnweiler in October 1910 and by the end of June 1912 he had acquired four of the most recent works by Picasso, including *Violin, Wineglasses, Pipe and Anchor*, cf. Monod-Fontaine, 'Chronologie', p. 110, and letters Picasso to Kahnweiler, dated 29 June and 3 July 1912, here Cousins, p. 397f; also Kahnweiler, *My Galleries – my Painters*, p. 136.

¹⁶ Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, p. 664, cat. entry 49 and 72. Although the work is listed in Gordon under the rubric of 'paintings', Richardson – following John Field's research – suggests that the version shown at the *Neue Galerie* was the gouache study for the final version of *Three Women* (spring 1908, Paris: Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre George Pompidou); cf. Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. II, p. 318.

APPENDIX III:

Letters Carl Einstein to Ewald and Günter Wasmuth

(Deutsches Literatur Archiv, Marbach/Neckar)

Einstein's at times idiosyncratic spelling and vocabulary as well as changes/lapses in orthography and punctuation have been kept as they appear in the original; minor additions have been inserted for clarity.

1 Letter Einstein to Ewald and Günther Wasmuth and Sophia Kindsthaler, n. d. (before 26 April 1925)

Montag

Liebe Wasmuths und gute Soki [Sophia Kindsthaler]

Endlich schreiben wir Euch, aber die erste Zeit rennt man in der wundervollen Stadt herum, rettet Aga zwischen Omnibus und Auto, beschaut die Auslagen, und guckt sich Museen an. Also ich war mit Joyce zusammen, mit dem sich gut arbeiten läßt. Wir sind von der Liebenswürdigkeit dieser Leute ungemein entzückt. Morgen beginnen wir kontinuierlich zu arbeiten. Joyce war krank, inzwischen arbeitete ich mit dem Fotografen. Ich glaube, es wird ein schönes Buch. J.[oyce] macht das ethnographisch historische denken wir vom Kongo und Nigeria, ich wahrscheinlich von Cross River, Ogowe, Pangwe, Camerun. Zusammen machen wir Süden (Buschmann, Shimbabwe) und einen kurzen Excurs über die Nördlicheren. Ich schreibe dann wieder über Stilverwandschaft mit Mittelmeer, byzantinische Einflüsse von Abessinien, Einfluß arabischer Ornamentik.

Dann kommt ein Kapitel afrikanische Malerei[,] Architektur u[nd] Kunstgewerbe.

Dann muß kommen, Geschichte der Stil[-] und Stammwanderung in Afrika mit Karten. Dann die Kulturschichten in Afrika, usw.

Dienstag

denn da holte mich gerade Roger Frye [sic] vom Burligton Magazine ab und schleppte mich durch [ein] paar englische Ateliers. Es ist unglaublich wie liebenswürdig die Leute hier sind. Die Intellektuellen hier sind wie bei uns recht

eingeschränkte Menschen, einfach und sehr liebenswürdig. Ich verkehre noch mit Weley[sic],¹⁷ dem Sinologen des British Museum. Den müssen Sie kennenlernen; er ist wirklich ein besonderer Mensch. Wir waren bei Griffith, der ein nettes Häuschen hat; er scheint mit seiner netten Frau ungemein glücklich zu leben. Aber wenn man bei diesem blendend erzogenen Volk lebt, lernt man doch Deutschland mit all seinen Ecken und Verrücktheiten besonders lieben. Es ist wirklich erfreulich, wie unser Ländchen wieder geschätzt und sehr ernst genommen wird, [wie] man die Karft des Deutschen Schweres zu ertragen achtet; und es ist gut heraus zu kommen, man sieht dann wie die Leute bei uns tüchtig sind. London selbst ist ein Meer von Tinnef abgesehen von [ein] paar Pfeifen[,] Hüten[,] Koffern und [ein] paar Stoffen, die im Krieg übergeblieben sind. Das verstehen sie auch glänzend zu zeigen. Aaaber das Essen; det is doch noch nich mal en Fraass. [...] Gestern abend bekam Aga einen richtig gehenden Lachkrampf über das Din[n]er. Zuerst ein[e] Suppe, heiss wie der Satan und gepfeffert wie ein linearer Jungfernpfurz[?]; damit soll erreicht werden, daß der Gaumen gänzlich neutralisiert wird. Aufrichtige Butter gibt es wohl nur in der Antikenabteilung. [...]

Aber zurück nach Afrika. Heute machen ich und Joyce die Buchdisposition. Ich freue mich wirklich etwas Gutes zu machen mit ihm[,] und es ist erfreulich, wie sehr man nun die Afrikaner schätzt. Ich habe wieder die Joyceschen Arbeiten genau gelesen, sie sind tatsächlich gründlich und erheblich. Dann machte ich allein die alte Missis Webster ausfindig, von deren Mann die ganzen Berliner und Lodoner Beninsachen kamen (auch Stuttgart [usw.]) und diese sagte mir, eine große Afrikasammlung [sei] bei Salesbury [sic] – wo ich Ende dieser Woche hinfahren werde. Dann kommt Paris Tervueren[,] Vignier[,] Amerika hinzu; denn diesmal muß dermaßen viel Material verarbeitet werden, daß das Buch für zwanzig Jahre eine gewisse Vollständigkeit gewährt. Ich fand für Soki eine größere Elfenbeinmaske (Warega)[,] kostet 65 M[,], aber ich will sehen [um] noch besseres zu finden und in einigen Tagen bringt man mir wieder Stücke; sie sind schwer zu finden.

Aga ist für die Hunde unterwegs. Wir sahen schon viele Champions und ich kaufte für Aga sehr viel Fachliteratur, die ich auch las und lese, sodaß wir wohl recht gut orientiert sind. Ich werde Aga den Text präparieren, die Einleitung des Stoffes ist gemacht. Jetzt die Bilder, dann schreiben wir den Text. Vor allem sammeln wir auch die Preisrichterrmerkmale und ich studiere eifrig [die] Punktberechnung der Qualitäten. In solchem Buch gilt es nich geistreich zu sein,

¹⁷ Arthur D. Waley (1889-1966), Assistant Keeper of Oriental Prints and Manuscripts at the Museum, and translator of Chinese and Japanese poetry, including a book on No Plays (1921).

sondern man gibt Geschichte der Hunderassen, ihre spezifische Eignung, Zuchtichtung und Herausbilden des Typus.¹⁸

Heute abend beginne ich den Utrillo,¹⁹ den Sie bald haben werden. Für Corot sammle ich schon hier und vertiefe mich in die englischen Landschaften, Claude Lorrain [etc.]. So hat jeder zu tun und das ist gut. Seien Sie [...] überzeugt, daß wir die Zeit nutzen. Allerdings zuerst muß man sich die Stadt ansehen – Aga ist unterwegs zu Hunden, ich gehe jetzt zu Joyce. Aga wird Ihnen abends schreiben. Schicken Sie uns die 500 [M?] doch gleich nach[:] Withe [sic] Hall, Montague St. 2.3.4.5.

Grüßen Sie die gute Soki von Herzen und für Euch auch alles Liebe. Wie geht das Geschäft? Bossert soll mir gleich detailliert schreiben welche cyprischen Aufnahmen er braucht. Für London schreibe ich Ihnen nächstens [ein] paar interessante Adressen. Grüßen Sie [die] Heins.

Alles Liebe von uns und wie schön wird es in Paris sein. Wann gehen Sie resp.[ektive] Soki hin[?]

Stets Ihr Carl Einstein.

Dienstag

Ich habe den Tag über mit Joyce gearbeitet[,] es ist wundervoll. Sie können nicht glauben, wie die Leute einen aufnehmen, alles zur Verfügung stellen und wie sie voller Haltung enthusiamsmiert[sic] sind. Man ist wirklich gerührt wie sie meine dünnen Bücher kennen und lieben[,] und die Stücke meiner früheren Sammlung. Man hat Joyce für das Museum Stücke angeboten und verlangte für ein Stück – märchenhafte Frechheit – 2000[,] zweitausend Pfund. Von den Stücken unserer Sammlung sagen sie merveilleux unique, und so. Wirklich ich bin so glücklich; denn ich sehe, daß wir Ihnen ein gutes Buch machen können und endlich kann ich Ihnen ein klein wenig für alle Freundschaft danken. So spät und so wenig. Sie glauben nicht wie man wundervoll von Ihrem Verlag spricht. Dann trafen wir uns mit dem Professor von Oxford. Mit Joyce will ich auch nach Tervueren gehen. Waley sagte mir wieder, wie sie die afrikanischen Stücke unserer Bücher lieben; mehr als die chinesischen meint er. Ich schreibe Ihnen das nur, damit Sie hoffen

¹⁸ Aga Gräfin von Hagen, *Die Hunderassen, Ein Handbuch für Hundeliebhaber und Züchter*, Potsdam: 1935 (2nd ed.).

¹⁹ Einstein wrote the introduction to Maurice Coquiot (ed.), *Maurice Utrillo*, Berlin: Wasmuth-Verlag 1925, pp. 7-19 The text is in parts identical with Einstein, 'Utrillo', in *Das Kunstblatt*, vol 6 1922, pp. 323-325; cf. CEW 2, pp. 221-224 and 373-378.

können, einen schönen großen Erfolg mit dem zu haben, den Sie mehr als verdient haben; denn er gehört ja vor allem Ihnen, die Sie mir durch alle Dummheit so opferwillig durchgeholfen haben.

Burlington Magazine will Arbeiten von mir und da muss ich dann Ihre Publikationen publizieren. Die Afrikaarbeit macht mich ganz betrunken vor Glück. Vielleicht sehen wir uns noch in London, dann kann ich Ihnen die Stücke in die Hände geben; Soki muß mitkommen und sie wird sich an den Webereien in den Kellern freuen. Joyce und Clarke (Cambridge)²⁰ wussten noch garnicht – trotz Lehmann,²¹ daß [Dr?] Grünberg tot war. Es hätte Ihnen so wohl getan, mit welcher Verehrung sie von dem Manne sprachen. Schicken Sie mir das Material über Leben und Tod, das man in England publizieren muß und schicken Sie die Adresse Ihrer Schwester gleich, der jeder der Herren schreiben wird.

Heute bin ich bei Waley zum Kaffee und jetzt jeden Tag mit Joyce im Museum. Aga ist von 50 Pekinesen zurückgekehrt und ihre Arbeit schreitet gut voran.

Ich schreibe Ihnen nur, damit Sie sehen, wie die Bücher konkret werden. Es ist schön, etwas zu realisieren. Und Ihnen allen von Herzen Dank, daß Sie es ermöglicht haben.

Nur liebes für Sie alle von Aga und mir,
stets Ihr C[arl] E[instein].

2 Letter Einstein to Ewald and Günther Wasmuth, n. d. (London, after 26 April 1925)

Monday

Lieber Günther, lieber Ewald

vielen Dank für Eure guten Briefe mit dem die Nachricht von Hindenburgs Wahl kam. Hier gibt es wenig neues, man arbeitet. Gestern waren wir in Kensington, die Kartons von Rafael – die müssen Sie unbedingt sehen – Günther – sie allein lohnen eine Reise. Kaum hat mir je ein Kunstwerk solchen Eindruck

²⁰ Louis Clarke, (1881-1960), curator of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 1922-37; director of the Fitzwilliam Museum 1937-46.

²¹ Friedrich R. Lehmann (1887-1969), German theologian and ethnologist.

gemacht, von der Schönheit der Malerei kann man sich keinen Begriff machen. Man denkt, daß die meisten ein Bruchteil dieses unglaublichen Künstlers besaßen und davon lebten.

Wenn nur die Sache mit der Druckerei etwas wird, tatsächlich das wäre schön. Wenn die Dresdener Bank statt zu fördern die Entwicklung Ihres Geschäfts zu Gunsten des Kunden Ullstein aufhält, ist es an sich besser zu wechseln. Joyce bittet Sie ihm doch mitzuteilen, welche Bedingungen Sie ihm für die Arbeit gewähren. Schreiben Sie ihm bitte doch gleich – und sagen Sie ihm – daß Sie [im] Mai nach London kommen und dort dann die Einzelheiten besprechen. Sonst ist es ganz angenehm. Abends kommt irgendein Bekannter zu uns; tagsüber ist man beschäftigt. Das Hotel ist ganz angenehm, vor allem sehr sauber. Was in der Arbeit recht stört, [sind] diese ausgiebigen Weekends, da verschwindet alles. So sitze ich heute am Utrillo statt mit Joyce zu arbeiten, denn dieser ruht irgendwo aus.

Vielen Dank für Ihre guten Wünsche. Aga schenkte mir verschiedene Rauchutensilien, usw.²² Wirklich aber Ihr sollt mir bitte nichts schenken, das wird zuviel.

Dienstag

Hingegen wollen wir Euch mit den Bildern einen Gruß schicken. London im Nebel ist Cruikshank – dem Dickensillustrator – für Ewald – Demokrat u[nd] Aristokrat für Günther – die beiden dicken Bilder[,] Rowlandson für Soki. Dann kommt noch ein Stück Utrilloübertragung mit; sie wird ordentlich, das Buch möglich. In Paris suche ich die Fotos aus und bringe [ein] paar Zeichnungen oder eine Litho auf. Gestern war ich mit Waley, dem Sinologen. Tatsächlich, das ist ein Mensch, von dem Sie mal einen Bustaben haben müßten, ungemein kultiviert.

Schreiben Sie doch, was aus der Druckerei wird; die Sache ist tatsächlich von ungemeiner Wichtigkeit für Sie. Man könnte dann wirklich auch anständige Bücher drucken – ich lese gerade einen wundervollen Band [von] Plutarch „Isis und Osiris“ und dann gab man mir einen der schönsten Briefbände, die der Witwe Carlyles. Die Idee in England Typen zu kaufen – ist ausgezeichnet. Mit der Druckerei könnte man was Anständiges machen und fast risikolos alte gute Bücher drucken – Neuausgabe [usw.], z.B. die Johnsons Comödien – die neben Molière das beste an Lustspiel sind.

Heute beginnt wieder die Arbeit mit Joyce, darum bin ich etwas eilig. Ich habe eine Menge Sachen bestimmt – einen wie ich glaube älteren Nigeriastil festgestellt – weit elementarer als Joruba – und ich glaube – der gute Frobenius

²² Einstein's 40th birthday was on 26 April 1925.

bekommt diesmal etwas böses weg; seine Parallele zwischen Sardinien und Joruba (Olokunkopf), o Backe. Hingegen kann ich nochmal sagen, daß die Leute hier restlos meine Annahmen und Theorien bestätigen resp. akzeptiert haben. Das Lehmannsche Gerede war durchaus missgünstiger Schwindel – vielleicht weil weil man die Lehmannschen Behauptungen²³ nicht anerkennt. Es ist gelungen den Umkreis afrikanischer Kunst erheblich zu bereichern – unser Buch wird viel Neues enthalten – nach Norden: Schilluk – neue Funde – obere Nilkunst

- Abessinisch negroide Plastik : neue Funde
- Sierra Leone: neue Funde
- elementarer Nigeriastil (Nord): neu
- Cross River: neu
- Mangbettu [sic]: neu
- Mozambique: neue Funde

Ich nehme die afrikanische Malerei sowie Architektur und Kunstgewerbe mit herein – so daß das Buch wieder eine neue Sache wird. Das Maskenkapitel wird sehr reich werden. Allmählich [sic] sehe ich deutlicher die afrikanischen Stilzusammenhänge und Varianten. Sympatisch an Joyce ist – daß er gerade so wenig böse ist wie ich, wenn ich resp[.] er etwas findet oder gefunden hat. Wir beide kümmern uns herzlich wenig um Priorität, sondern halten erheblich mehr von gemeinsamer Arbeit. Also etwas undeutsch, unprofessorenhaft. Was einem so wohl tut, daß man hier weder nach Amt noch Geheimrätlichkeit fragt; wenn einer eben sich redlich Mühe gibt, anerkennt man das.

Nach dem Museum: Ich habe mit Joyce gearbeitet und wir haben die Arbeitsteilung festgesetzt. Joyce arbeitet Kongo u[nd] Sierra Leone (die Steinskulpturen). Gemeinsam machen wir nordafrikanische Felsbilder, Schilluk, Mangbettu, Abessinien[,] Sudan, Shimbabwe, Buschmann. Ich[:] Mozambique, Majombe, Angola, Pangwe, Ogowe, Gabon, Benue[?], Cross River, Kamerun, Benin, Ashante, Nordnigeria, Joruba, Dahomé, Gold[-] und Elfenbeinküste.

Jeder schickt dem anderen Kapitel und Abbildungen zur Kritik. Keiner signiert seine Kapitel, da diese solange gemeinsam beraten werden, bis sie doch gemeinsame Arbeiten sind.

Erfreulich, Joyce und Clarke glauben tatsächlich an meine Annahmen. Es scheint – daß ich den Frühstil vor Benin und Joruba festgestellt habe – der dann nur im Inneren weiterbestand. Meine Stilkarte, die ich in London gezeichnet habe wird anerkannt. Wirklich, ich glaube diesmal bekommen Sie von uns etwas ordentliches.

²³ The book was probably, Friedrich Rudolf Lehmann, *Mana. Der Begriff des "außerordentlich Wirkungsvollen" bei Südseevölkern*, Leipzig 1922.

Schreiben Sie mir bitte wegen der Druckerei. Übermorgen beginnt das photographieren.

Tatsächlich ist die Form des Zusammenarbeitens so gut eingestellt, daß es durchaus gleichgültig ist – wer etwas feststellt. Wenn ich allzuviel von mir schrieb, so tat ich das nur, um zu zeigen, daß die Engländer ja auch nicht ganz dumm sind, [daß sie] anderer Ansicht sind als diese ehrgeizigen Beamten im Vaterland.

In den nächsten Tagen fahren wir wieder nach Cambridge – Joyce und ich – zum Bestimmen und Photographieren. Dann gehe ich zu Prof. Balfour, dem Oxforder Ethnologen²⁴ – um dort die Sammlung mit diesem durchzuarbeitenn, dann geht es nach Salisbury [sic] für die Neger – wo noch ein großes Teilchen Pitt Riverssammlung sein soll.

Dann Paris – Trocadéro, Corot[,] Utrillo, dann treffe ich Joyce wahrscheinlich in Tervueren. Aga arbeitet fleißig und kommt auch vorwärts.

Alles Gute und Freundschaftliches für Sokilein und Sie beide von Aga und mir.

Wie immer Euer Carl Einstein.

Und bitte hat Grabar[?] den Text geschickt – damit ich ihn durchsehe res[.] übersetzte. Was ist mit Ägypten? Und schreibt wegen der Druckerei.

3 Letter Einstein to Ewald and Günther Wasmuth and Sophia Kindsthaler, n.d.
(London, after 26 April, perhaps early May 1925)

Mittwoch

Ihr guten lieben Drei –

Vielen, vielen Dank für alle Eure Briefe; es ist so gut etwas von zuhause zu hören. Hier geht es gut, vielen Dank für die Gelder.

Gestern abend waren wir bei Waleys – es wurde auf dem Clavicord musiziert, dann hörten wir Nospiele auf dem Grammophon. Das war ziemlich schön. Aber bei all dem habe ich das peinliche Gefühl, daß Ihr nicht dabei seid, vor allem unsere Soki, und dann freut man sich nur halb. Aber wirklich, ich muß mal mit Euch durch London ziehen; so recht die Elfenbeine im Kensington [Museum] betrachten, die

²⁴ Henry Balfour (1863-1939), curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford.

späten Donatellos und die frühgriechischen Sachen. Aber das schönste bleiben die Rafaels und die Blicke durch die engen Gassen der City auf die Themse [sic].

Aga arbeitet fleißig. Joyce und ich sitzen viel zusammen, besprechen jedes Stück und es ist so schön wie wir uns ergänzen. Wir haben wohl noch manches neue gefunden; wenn ich nach Hause komme, wird fleißig Karthago[?] usw. verarbeitet. Es ist so wundervoll in Afrika vor lauter Rätseln zu stehen; einfach faszinierend. Mein Zimmer ist mit afrikanischen Karten bepflastert, vor denen ich beim Aufstehen, eigentlich immer, wenn ich zu Hause bin, erstaunt stehe und aber [sic] eines kann ich sagen – daß ich für diese Dinge einen mir neuen, vielleicht für einige Zeit mir brauchbaren Standpunkt gefunden habe - der allgemeineschichtlich interessant sein wird, der der Rücklagerung wie ich es nenne. Als Schlußkapitel des Buches schreibe ich – Degeneration in die Primitive; das ganze wird bei aller nüchternen Tatsächlichkeit ein tragisches Buch.

Morgen fahren wir – Joyce und ich – wieder nach Cambridge, verbringen den ganzen Tag in der Sammlung und im Kollege [sic], Samstag geht es zu Balfour nach Cambridge.

Bei Dunhill fand ich in seinem Museum acht erstklassige afrikanische Pfeifen – eine kleine Abbildung lege ich bei. Wir bekommen die Fotos.

Dann was gut werden kann für den Verlag. Ich habe mich sehr mit Vogue, Vanity Fair und Burlington angefreundet. Dort werde ich nun Ihre Bücher propagieren können. Wir werden das besprechen und dann die Angelegenheit konsequent durchführen. Die Vogueleute gaben mir ein ausgezeichnetes Dinner. Außerdem habe ich Roger Frye [sic] – die kritische Primadonna von England sehr verpflichtet. Das kann nützen.

Wegen Paris[:] gute Soki – Du weißt wie ich glücklich bin, Dir Paris zu zeigen. Am 13ten [Mai?] werde ich dort sein und je eher Du kommst – um so schöner. Ich telegraphiere sofort meine Pariser Adresse und dann kommst Du. Habe nur keine Angst. Morgens gehen wir in die Museen und wir vertreiben uns die Zeit – bis der große Kongress stattfindet. Kisling und Cendras sprechen deutsch. Dann am Nachmittag gehen wir durch die Stadt, besuchen Ateliers von Freunden und Xenia zeigt Dir die Modeateliers. Wie schade, daß Du nicht in London bist. Ich werde etwas wehmütig – daß man all das schöne ohne Euch erlebt.

Sonst gibt es nichts. Wenn wir nur die Pariser dazu bekommen, ihre Afrikastücke endlich aus den Kellern zu holen. Joyce hat sie auch noch nie zu sehen bekommen. Dafür gibt es aber Vignier und die Sammler.

Jetzt weiß ich nichts mehr zu schreiben. Wie gut wird es sein – lieber Ewald, wenn wir wieder in Ihrem ruhigen Zimmer sitzen, und Sie lesen die Arbeiten vor. Denn schließlich ist unser kleines Leben, das wir dort führen, doch

das richtige für uns. Für das Afrikabuch habe ich schon ziemlich viel geschrieben – jetzt sitze ich am Maskenkapitel.

Aga schläft und stärkt sich für zwei Tage Hundeaussstellungen. Wirklich[,] die Gute zeigt viel Energie. Wenn ich auch nur skizzenhaft schreibe – glaubt mir – wir sprechen immer wieder von Euch allen – und jeder von uns freut sich – daß man bald zusammensein wird.

Aber Ihr guten lebt wohl. Donnerstag telegraphiere ich aus Paris. Dann soll Soki echt bald kommen. Soll ich sie [irgend]wo abholen – an der Grenze? Aber da sind ja keine Schwierigkeiten; selbstverständlich tue ich das mit Vergnügen. Wenn nicht, so bin ich am Zug und gutes Sokilein – sei sicher – Du wirst keinen Augenblick Dich fremd oder verlassen fühlen.

Aber bald soll man sich sehen, die schlafende Aga grüßt – und liebes für Euch all.

Immer Euer dankbar treuer
Carl Einstein.

4 Letter Einstein to Ewald Wasmuth, n. d. (end of March early April? 1929)

3 avenue Champaubert
Paris XV

Lieber Ewald

[...] Sehr unter uns,²⁵ am 15 [April] erscheint in Paris meine Zeitschrift: Documents. Das Kapital ist für 3 Jahre (Druck, Büro, Honorare etc.) vorhanden. Ganz nett. Wie? [...]

Alles liebe Euer Einstein.

²⁵ Einstein's emphasis

APPENDIX IV

Correspondence Carl Einstein and Thomas A. Joyce – including Marcel Griaule and Aga von Hagen 1926-1930

(AOA, The British Museum)

Einstein's at times idiosyncratic spelling and vocabulary as well as other correspondents' changes or lapses in orthography and punctuation have been kept as they appear in the original.

1 Letter Einstein to Joyce n. d. (before 26 April 1926)

Frohnau-Berlin

Cher monsieur Joyce,

j'espère que ma lettre vous trouvera. était-il bien en Amérique ? pendant que vous étiez en voyage j'ai fait photographier beaucoup des objets africains; des très belles choses. aussitôt que j'aurai un mot de vous, je vous enverrai les photos. je crois que c'est nécessaire que nous nous voyions en quelque temps pour préciser la construction de notre livre, pour continuer avec les photos etc.

un de mes amis M. de Wedderkop viendra vous voir de ma part. M. de Wedderkop est l'éditeur d'une revue excellente "Querschnitt". vous me faites un grand plaisir de recevoir mon ami. je crois qu'il vous parlera des reproductions etc. vous m'obliger infiniment si vous l'aidez de trouver ce qu'il lui faut. mais je pense que c'est utile si vous nous réservez les exotiques de votre musée pour notre ouvrage.

vous êtes très aimable de m'écrire bientôt et croyez-moi que j'y tiens beaucoup d'entendre bientôt de vous.

mes meilleurs sentiments pour vous, cher monsieur Joyce,
votre Carl Einstein

Frohnau-Berlin 26.IV.26

Cher monsieur Joyce,

avec cette lettre part mon volume, l'histoire de l'art du XXème siècle - pour vous saluer après un long interval. vous voyez alors que j'ai dû bien travailler et que ce n'était pas un caprice que j'ai laissé le volume africain. en même temps je vous enverrai une centaine [?] de photos inédites pour notre livre. je vous aurais écrit d'avance, mais je savais que vous étiez en Amérique. je serais si heureux si on pouvait maintenant commencer avec les nègres. Est-ce que les photos du British Museum sont faites ? je pense qu'on partage le travail et alors je voudrais commencer, si ça va. mais il me faut pour ça les photos de votre musée, de Cambridge et de Oxford.

vous avez peu entendu de moi, parce que l'année derrière, le travail marchait dur, en hiver des conférences à la Sorbonne de Paris (esthétique) et après des mois de maladie.

permettez-moi que je pense espérer I. si vous n'êtes pas fâché de moi II. qu'on commencera le livre - en automne j'irai vous voir. on m'a parlé d'un congrès à Londres pour initier un institut africain. qu'est ce que c'est ? alors, vous recevrez le volume et les photos et alors j'attends une lettre de vous qui me fera un plaisir énorme. croyez-moi que c'est un grand honneur de collaborer avec vous. Si vous voyez les Mrs Balfour et Clarke, dites à eux s.v.p. mes salutations bien cordiales et dites à M. Clarke qu'on m'a montré la photo de la maison où il habite. croyez-moi les jours avec vous et M. Clarke sont un de mes meilleurs souvenir. comment va votre santé ?

Mes salutations bien cordiales pour vous
votre Carl Einstein

3 Letter (carbon copy) Joyce to Einstein, dated 6 July 1926

6th July 1926

M. Carl Einstein,
Frohnau-Berlin.

My dear Einstein,

I have just returned from the expedition to Central America which has been extraordinarily interesting, and I am greeted by your two letters which I am very glad to receive. Most of the photographs of the African objects in the British Museum which were selected have been taken, and I shall be sending you a set of prints very shortly. Matters have been rather hindered owing to the fact that the light has been very bad all this winter, and that I only have the services of the photographer one day a week.

In your letter you say that you have very kindly sent me your volume on "The History of the Art of the Twentieth Century". I have not been able to [get?] it yet, and I do not think it has arrived but my clerk is away and I cannot be quite certain until he returns. I shall be very pleased to see your friend when he calls and will do what I can for him.

I hope you have been keeping well in health since we last met, and that we may soon be able to meet again. I shall be very busy for the next month or six weeks preparing the report of my journey, but I hope to be able to settle down to the African book in the course of the autumn.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
[Thomas A. Joyce]

4 Letter (type script) Einstein to Joyce, dated 16 November 1926

Berlin –Frohnau, den 16 November 26
Veltheim-Promenade 17

Cher Monsieur et ami,

Excusez bien que je vous répond si tard. Mais j'étais tout le temps malade et c'est à cause de ça que vous recevez si tard ma lettre. Je vous remercie beaucoup de votre lettre. Je suis bien content qu'on ait fait les photos des sculptures nègres du British Museum. Je vous enverrai dans ces jours un nouveau paquet des photos nègres parmi lesquelles il y a des pièces intéressantes. Malheureusement que ce sont les objets les plus intéressants dont je ne possède pas des duplicats. Est-ce que vous venez au continent au commencement de l'année prochaine ? Si non, j'entrerais à Londres après les conférences à la Sorbonne. Ce serait très bien de fixer alors définitivement la disposition de notre travail. J'espère que vous vous portez bien. Croyez-moi que je serai tout à fait votre ami de collaborer avec vous. Je suis curieux de voir bientôt les reproductions de vos sculptures nègres. Ce serait charmant que vous me les prêtiez un petit temps. Je serais très heureux de recevoir bientôt vos nouvelles.

Agreez cher monsieur et ami l'expression de mes meilleurs sentiments.

Votre Carl Einstein

5 Letter (type script) Einstein to Joyce, n.d. (between 16 November 1926 and 16 February 1927)

Cher ami et monsieur,

J'ai tout à fait oublié que je voulais encore vous écrire d'une collection bien intéressante qui appartient à des amis à moi. C'est une collection tout à fait importante de deux cents sculptures de la Nouvelle Guinée, la Nouvelle Irlande et la Nouvelle Mecklenbourg. Mes amis voulaient vendre ces collections en bloc à un musée pour conserver cet ensemble précieux. Est-ce que vous connaissez un musée qui s'intéresserait pour cet objet ? Je vous ai envoyé il y a des mois le catalogue de cette collection. Peut-être que vous ne l'avez trouvé parce que vous étiez en voyage. C'est pour ça que je vous envoie encore une fois un exemplaire du catalogue. Vous êtes très aimable si vous m'indiquez l'adresse du directeur de ce musée ethnographique, je crois à Boston, qui a arrangé cette exposition de sculptures nègres dont vous m'avez montré le catalogue. Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que je n'ai rien à voir dans cette affaire point de vue commerciale. Je

voudrais seulement que cette belle collection que j'ai réunie ne soit pas dispersee,
un desir que vous comprendrez facilement. Vous êtes tres tres aimable que vous me
repondez vite. Tout à vous,

votre Carl Einstein

6 Letter Aga von Hagen to Joyce, dated 16 February 1927

Charlottenburg – Berlin
Königsweg 25

February 16th 1927

Dear Sir.

Carl Einstein begs to be excused that he does not write to you himself; he
has been ill lately and still is terribly fatigued.

Mr Einstein should be very much obliged to you if you would kindly send
him back the fotos and would like to know whether you have the other fotos taken
in the British Museum, since he is taking up the book seriously now and, if possible
should very much like to have copies.

I hope you got his copy on modern painting (art history). So many things
get lost lately, which is most annoying. He just now prepares the second edition
since the first is "épuisé". Einstein regretted very much that you too have been
suffering – we hope you [are] quite well again, Einstein should be so pleased to
hear from you if your time allows it. He sends you his kindest regards.

Yours faithfully

Aga Gräfin Hagen.

7 Letter (type script) Einstein to Joyce, dated 8 January 1929

DOCUMENTS

PARIS

39 Rue de la Boetie, VIII

le 8 janvier 1929

Sir Thomas Athol Joyce
British Museum
Londres

Monsieur,

Nous avons l'honneur de vous informer de la parution prochaine d'une nouvelle revue intitulée DOCUMENTS. Cette revue s'occupera de beaux arts, d'archéologie et d'ethnographie. Présentée luxueusement, sur format in-quarto coquille elle comprendra trente-deux pages de texte et vingt-quatre pages d'excellentes reproductions dont seize en héliogravure et huit simili-gravure.

Nous pensons que votre collaboration, si vous vouliez nous l'apporter, serait particulièrement intéressante, et nous serons heureux de publier les articles que vous voudrez bien nous proposer sur des sujets inédits dont vous vous occupez. Des études sur la brillante collection du British Museum accompagnées de reproductions seraient particulièrement bien accueillies.

La revue DOCUMENTS rétribuera ses collaborateurs d'une façon satisfaisante.

Nous espérons recevoir bientôt une réponse favorable et nous vous prions d'agréer, Monsieur, nos respectueuses salutations,

Carl Einstein.

8 Letter (carbon copy) Joyce to Einstein, dated 29 [Feb/March?] 1929

M: Carl Einstein,
39 Rue de la Boétie, VIII
Paris,
Dear Einstein,

Forgive me if I address you thus "tous court". According to our English custom (un peu brutale, peutetre), when we write to a friend, we omit all titles.

Also[,] I write in English, because you understand English much better than I write French.

I have just come back from an expedition to British Honduras and have so much to do in the way of writing up reports that I simply cannot give you the article for which you ask me. I have not the time. Perhaps later in the year I may be able to accept your kind, & very flattering invitation.

What about the book on African Art that we were going to bring out together? I have a large collection of photographs.

And when are you coming to London again, to talk things over and renew an acquaintance, which, to me, was extremely pleasant.

Yours truly,
[T. A. Joyce]

9 Letter (type script) Einstein to Joyce, dated 24 August 1929

DOCUMENTS

PARIS

39, Rue La Boétie, VIII

Téléphone : Élysée 30-11

Chèques Postaux : 1334-55

Monsieur Joyce,
British Museum,
Londres

Cher Monsieur,

Je me souviens avec le plus grand plaisir de mon séjour à Londres pendant lequel j'ai pu travailler près de vous.

Nous serions très heureux de vous compter parmi nos collaborateurs, ainsi que nous vous l'avions dit déjà lors de la parution de « Documents ». Pour donner une forme plus précise à ce souhait, nous vous serions reconnaissants de bien vouloir nous écrire un article de 2 à 3 pages imprimées de « Documents » sur Les Masques de Torres street du British Museum et de nous communiquer huit photographies de ces masques (de format 18 + 24 si possible).

Ils nous serait commode d'avoir en mains cet article et ces documents pour le 1er Octobre.

Souhaitant une réponse favorable, je vous prie d'agréer, cher Monsieur,
l'expression de mes meilleurs amitiés,

Carl Einstein.

10 Letter (type script) Einstein to Thomas A. Joyce, n.d. (5 September) 1929

DOCUMENTS

PARIS

39, Rue La Boétie, VIII

Téléphone : Élysée 30-11

Chèques Postaux : 1334-55

Monsieur T. A. Joyce

Mon cher ami,

Je vous remercie beaucoup de votre aimable lettre. Je regrette infiniment que vous n'ayez pas le temps de faire l'article que nous vous demandions sur les masques de Torres Street.

Nous serions très heureux si vous pouviez nous donner un rapport illustré de votre expédition dans le Honduras. Et nous sommes disposés à attendre un article de vous sur les Masques de Torres Street jusqu'au 15 Novembre.

Si cette dernière solution ne vous est pas possible, vous seriez très aimable de bien vouloir nous faire photographier le plus tôt qu'il vous sera possible les masques les plus caractéristiques et les plus grotesques de Torres Street (huit par exemple, que nous publierions avec les indications donnés par vous.

Je serai à Londres au début d'octobre, et je serai très heureux de vous rencontrer.

Recevez je vous prie, mon cher ami, l'expression de mes meilleurs sentiments,
Carl Einstein.

11 Letter (type script) Marcel Griaule to Joyce, dated 16 September 1929

DOCUMENTS

PARIS

39, Rue La Boétie, VIII

Téléphone : Élysée 30-11
Chèques Postaux : 1334-55

Sir Thomas Atholl Joyce
British Museum
Londres

Monsieur,

dans sa lettre du 5 Septembre M: Carl Einstein avait omis de vous indiquer les dimensions des photographies des masques de Torrès-Street qu'il vous demandait. Nous vous serions très reconnaissants de bien vouloir les commander de dimensions 18 x 24.

Avec nos remerciements anticipés veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de nos sentiments très distingués.

Le Secrétaire,
M. Griaule.

12 Letter (type script) Einstein to H. J. Brauholtz, dated 28 October 1929

DOCUMENTS

PARIS

39, Rue La Boétie, VIII
Téléphone : Élysée 30-11
Chèques Postaux : 1334-55

Monsieur Brauholtz
British Museum
London

Monsieur,

Mon ami Joyce m'a assuré que vous aurez l'amabilité de nous faire un article sur les masques de Torres Street. Cet article devrait comporter 2-3 pages de "DOCUMENTS" et 8 photographies des grands masques en écaille. Dimensions des photos – 18 x 24.

Nous vous serions très reconnaissants de bien vouloir nous faire parvenir cet article avant le 25 Novembre.

Croyez, Monsieur, que nous serons très heureux de vous collaborer à notre revue.

Dans l'espoir d'une prochaine réponse, nous vous prions d'agréer, Monsieur, avec nos remerciements anticipés, l'expression de nos sentiments très distingués.

Carl Einstein.

13 Letter (type script) Marcel Griaule to Joyce, dated 4 November 1929

DOCUMENTS

PARIS

39, Rue La Boétie, VIII

Téléphone : Élysée 30-11

Chèques Postaux : 1334-55

Sir Thomans Athol Joyce

British Museum

Londres

Cher Monsieur et ami,

Vous aviez montré un jour, dans votre bureau du British une tête d'animal dans une pierre précieuse avec des yeux incrustés en opale. Nous serions heureux de posséder une photo de cet objet, surtout si elle est exécutée par un bon photographe.

Je m'excuse de vous occasionner un tel travail, mais nous vous serions très reconnaissants de nous permettre de publier cet objet. Notre ami et secrétaire Marcel Griaule signera cette lettre, car je pars en voyage incessamment.

Très cordialement votre,

Pour Carl Einstein,

M. Griaule

14 Letter (carbon copy) Thomas A. Joyce to Carl Einstein, dated 20 March (?) 1930

M. Einstein
3 Av. de Champaubert,
Paris XVe.
France

Cher ami,

Je vous fais mes excuses parce que j'écris le français d'une façon pitoyable. C'était un vrai plaisir de recevoir une lettre par votre main après un si long silence.

Les photographies seront expédiées aussitôt que possible, mais j'ai grande envie de vous revoir, et j'espère que vous aurez l'occasion de revisiter Londres cette année.

Nous avons, il y a deux ou trois ans, parlé d'un album d'art africain en collaboration. J'ai un tas de photographies de sculptures en bois choisies parmi notre collection, les collections de Cambridge, etc... Et je veux bien savoir si le projet est encore possible.

Pardonnez-moi de la brièveté de cette lettre, mais depuis une quinzaine je suis malade de la bronchite et je suis inondé de « correspondance ».

En l'espérance de vous revoir bientôt, et avec l'expression de mes sentiments les plus cordiaux,

[T. A. Joyce]

15 Letter (type script) Einstein to Joyce, dated 14 April 1930

3 Ave. de Champaubert,
Paris XVe.
Tél: Ségur 63-41

Monsieur Thomas Athol Joyce,
British Museum
London W. C. 1.

Cher ami,

Bien merci de votre aimable lettre. Je vous remercie pareillement pour les photos que vous m'avez envoyées. Je pourrais aller vous voir à Londres pour la fin du mois de mai. Je ne crois pas que ce serait difficile de mettre cet ouvrage au point et je suis persuadé qu'on peut bien réaliser ce projet. J'espère que ma lettre vous trouve complètement guéri. Ecrivez-moi si vous êtes à la fin du mois de mai à Londres et recevez de ma part l'expression de mes sentiments les plus cordiaux.

Carl Einstein

APPENDIX V:

Letters Wassily Kandinsky to Vladimir I. Markov (W. Matvejs), and
letters Markov to Levkii I. Zheverzheev

(Buzinka (ed.), (cat.) Voldemars Matvejs. *Raksti Darbu catalogs*, Riga 2002)²⁶

1 Letter Kandinsky to Markov, dated 12 July 1912

Munich, 12 July 1912

Dear Mr Matvejs

This summer I am mostly in the country. It is likely that I will be away in September. I have lots of things to do in Munich, so I am going to be there for a few days. This is why I would like to ask you, if you could, to tell me when you are going to be in Munich. Thank you very much for sending me your magazine, which was very interesting. I am so happy that your society pursues such wonderful ideas.

With all my best wishes,

Always yours

Kandinsky

2 Letter Kandinsky to Markov, dated 29 July 1912

Munich, 29 July 1912

Dear Mr Matvejs

It is possible that the book about Cubism is going to come out in Paris.²⁷ There is definitely going to be some talk about Picasso. Apart from this, I know that there is another article with lots of illustrations in one of the Bohemian magazines, which my publisher sent to me, because there was a discussion about my books.²⁸ However, you probably do not know the Bohemian [Czech] language,

²⁶ The footnotes in this Appendix are those of Buzinska's publication.

²⁷ Gleizes & Metzinger, *Du "Cubisme"*, Paris: Eugène Figuière 1912.

which is why this article most likely would not help you. Other than this, there is nothing there apart from the *Blaue Reiter*. I suppose, you do know about this. About Africa etc., you might find a lot of material in Parisian libraries. I am sending you two of our catalogues. David Burliuk was already here about two months ago.²⁹ We will come across each other soon but Konchalovsky is definitely going to be here.³⁰

With regards,
Kandinsky.

3 Postcard Kandinsky to Markov, dated 29 July 1912

Munich, 31 July 1912

M.W. Matvejs
Hotel 'Rocher Suisse'
Paris Montmartre
16, rue Lamark

Dear Mr Matvejs

[...] the magazine called " [...] monthly"³¹ is published in Prague 1, Embankment Frantishka 20, with reproductions of Picasso has just come out in July. Besides, I heard today that another magazine in Berlin "Kunst und Künstler"³² published some of his works as well. Apart from this, it looks like nothing special has happened, and my publisher is of the same opinion.

With best wishes,
Yours Kandinsky.

²⁸ Kandinsky's publisher was Reinhart Piper (1879-1953), who opened his publishing house in May 1904. The almanac of the *Blaue Reiter* was published in the spring of 1912; in November Piper published Kandinsky's album *Klänge*.

²⁹ In 1929 D. Burliuk wrote: "[...] 1912". In May and June I was abroad (Germany, Switzerland, Italy)". In 1910-1915 I was closely cooperating with Kandinsky. (Fragments from *Memoirs of a Futurist*, published by N.A. Zubkova in 1994.

³⁰ Pyotr Knochlovskyi (1876-1956) painter and founder member of the *Bubnovyi valet*, he was also associated with the *Union of Youth*.

³¹ the corner of the postcard with the post stamp has been cut out, so that the text is partly lost, but the journal meant was probably *Umelecky mesicnik*; cf. Zdenka Volavkova, "'La Revue mensuelle des Art' de Prague", in Brion-Guerry, *L'année 1913*, pp. 989-1001.

³² *Kunst und Künstler, Illustrierte Monatsschrift für Bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, Emil Heilblut & Karl Scheffler (eds), Berlin: Verlag Bruno Cassirer, 1903-1933.

Paris, July 1912

Dear Levkii Ivanovich,

[Page 1]

In order to fully understand the German decadent movement, I had to stay longer in Berlin, travel to Hamburg, Hagen/Westfalen and visit Cologne. There is a society in Germany called 'Gesellschaft zur Förderung Moderner Kunst'.³³ It is headed by Borgmann, Friedländer and Herwarth Walden.³⁴ Herwarth Walden is their leader; he is also the editor of the weekly art journal "Der Sturm". The circle has a permanent location (3 studios linked together as one space) in a quiet, but aristocratic part of the town, Königin-Augusta-Strasse.³⁵ The circle organizes regular exhibitions for the Futurists, Cubists, Blaue Reiter, Moderne Graphik, and is continuing to exhibit the work of young Belgians. The German society that for about 2 years organized exhibitions³⁶ which toured across various towns in Germany, has fallen apart, and part of the original circle has now started a new society, which is led by Kandinsky and Franz Marc.³⁷

³³ "Society for the Support of Modern Art".

³⁴ Herwarth Walden (Georg Lewin) (1878-1941) – Sponsor, promoter of Avant-Garde art, editor of the 'Der Sturm' journal from 1910-1932. In the first issue of the journal, which came out in March 1910, he published pieces by K. Kraus, A. Loos, S. Frindlnder, R. Schikele, E. Lasker-Schuler. In 1912 Walden founded 'Der Sturm', an art gallery dedicated to maintaining close contact with the international art movements of Futurism and Expressionism. It opened with an exhibition by the 'Blue Rider' group, O. Kokoschka, and the Expressionists. Until 1923, the gallery exhibited the work of artists who had emigrated from Russia: A. Archipenko, K. Boguslavsky, M. Chagall, S. Sharshuna, W. Kandinsky, I. Puni. In June 1932 Walden moved from Berlin to Moscow. He was arrested in March 1941 as a German spy and died in a camp hospital in Saratov on October 31st of the same year.

³⁵ Now called 'Reichpietschufer', it goes along the Landwehrkanal in Berlin.

³⁶ "Neue Künstlervereinigung – München" (1909-1912). Founding members: M. Werefkin, W. Kandinsky, A. Javlensky, G. Münter, A. Erbslöh, A. Kanoldt, A. Kubin, J. Schnabel, O. Wittgenstein, chairman – W. Kandinsky. The society organised three exhibitions in the Tannhauser gallery (in 1909, 1910 and 1911) showing French, Austrian, Czech and Russian artists. In 1911 W. Kandinsky, F. Marc, G. Münter, A. Kubin, F. Gartman left the society.

³⁷ "Der Blaue Reiter" (1911-1914), founded by W. Kandinsky and F. Marc, after they had left "Neue Künstlervereinigung – München". The association's

[Page 1 – reverse side]

Walden has the complete support of the Futurists,³⁸ and he is now rushing that collection from one town to another. When I asked him whether it would be possible for him to give us this collection of Futurist paintings for St Petersburg, Walden answered yes, but that it would be expensive – “Geschäft”, for each exhibition the Futurists would have to be paid 5000 Marks. I answered that for St Petersburg that kind of fee would be unthinkable. He smiled and said that the arrangement would be a sure bet, the public would attend in droves: ‘even in Hamburg, which is a small town by comparison, each day around 400-500 people come, it is very easy, I just print off half a million copies of Marinetti’s manifesto and instruct them to be handed out in the streets. If in St Petersburg they do not want to risk all of the 5000 marks, I can always guarantee half of that, indeed even the whole sum – but then, of course, the only thing left for me would be to come to St Petersburg and organize all myself.’ But the Futurists are already busy with other contracts for the rest of the year; they will only be available in August 1913, which means they cannot come to Russia earlier than that. The Futurists are currently exhibiting in Hamburg, from there they are going to Copenhagen – Scheveningen – Cologne – Germany – Spain.

[Page 2]

As for the ‘Blaue Reiter’ and the other circles, it is an easy matter; he will send them to St Petersburg whenever we like, free of charge. If we take the canvases off the frames, and pack them up into one box, we can sort the whole thing out, except we need to talk to the artists, as some of the works may have been painted in such a way that it would be impossible to carry out this procedure. It is also possible, indeed very desirable, for Walden to have a few leftists from St Petersburg with him in Berlin. He will take on all of the transport costs, which is the only expenditure in this case. Walden gave me a whole list of names, which he can send to us in St Petersburg, one Kokoschka, Marc etc. As for the artists of the

participants in exhibitions included: A. Macke, G. Münter, L. Feininger (Germany), A. Jawlensky, M. Wereskin, D. and V. Burluki (Russia), P. Klee (Switzerland), R. Delaunay (France), A. Kubin (Austria), and the German composer A. Shoenberg.

³⁸ From 1912, the Futurists started exhibiting actively outside Italy. The exhibitions were accompanied by conferences and the publication of manifestos. A large display of Futurist art opened in Paris in February 1912, in March of the same year the exhibition moved to London, in April-May it was situated in Berlin, and afterwards – in Brussels, Hague, Amsterdam, Monaco. (See – E. Bobrinskaya ‘Futurism and Cubo-Futurism’ – Moscow., 2000). Starting from the exhibition in Paris, it is possible to talk about the Futurists’ influence not only on French art, but also on art in Germany, in particular on H. Walden - who was already promoting Futurism in 1911 in the journal “Der Sturm” - and also on F. Marc. (see “Der Blaue Reiter” / Translation, commentary and articles by Z. S. Pishnovskaya’).

“Sturm” journal, he is happy to agree to an exchange. Walden would really like us to translate a few things from his journal – he will translate from ours. Moreover, he is very keen to have an exhibition of icons, Russian folk art (Lubok) and similar in Berlin.

As for the Futurists’ paintings, there are only 24 of them. They fit into one room in Hamburg. 3 of the paintings are 3x4 arshin (1 arshin is 28 English inches), 3 – 3x2, 4 – 1x1. The others – 1/2x1 – are on the second floor, in the trading area. All of the paintings are already sold.

[Page 2 – reverse side]

There is currently an exhibition of “Der Blaue Reiter” in Hagen, it was organized by Walden, Kandinsky and Franz Marc. The “Blaue Reiter” artists I have got acquainted with are prepared to lend us paintings for our museum, or to just donate them. But I did not really want to get involved with various minor artists, I think it is better if they just send their things to St Petersburg – it will be easier for us to choose when we are all together. At the moment, I am collecting their addresses and I am going to start corresponding with them. In Hagen there is the Museum Folkwang – it has many Gauguins, Cézannes etc., it is pretty much the only museum of modern art. Its owner C. [Karl Ernst] Osthaus is very happy to provide a space for our people to exhibit, just as he did for Kandinsky. He asked me to order some journals for him. In Cologne there is an enormous exhibition of modern art [Sonderbund], a miscellany of various nations, Picasso, France, Germany, Hungary, Russia, represented by Kandinsky, his wife, Werefkin, Jawlensky, Belgium etc.

The organizer of the exhibition said that of course, he would like to set up the show in St Petersburg, [and] Moscow, but he does not know, whether an exhibition will be put together next year – maybe in two years. It looks like they are changing the show’s direction, one year exhibiting traditional art, the next modern art. It is a huge undertaking. But whatever happens, he is always ready to provide

[Page 3]

a space for us to exhibit our paintings at his [Rheinischer?] Kunstsalon in the centre of the city. I have bought 1) a year’s of “Der Sturm” [issues], 2) I have ordered all of the photographs of the Futurists in Berlin in a Mrk das Stk [one Mark per piece].

Please write to me and tell me if the museum is going ahead – if we have a location and what to do with regards to Walden. At the moment, I do not have any news from Kandinsky. As for Leipzig, the papers of Chinese verse, I am going to

send all to you from Paris very soon.³⁹ As for purchases, there are a great many interesting things here, but what can you buy for 120 roubles? I get overwhelmed by despair and just want to drop the whole thing. I cannot order anything through Volf. He would not order any journals on credit, and I cannot order books as they are either 'vergriffen' [sold out] or they are only printed in limited quantities and not available for purchase. I give you one example to illustrate what I am saying: we visited one dealer, who deals exclusively in Picasso's work [Kahnweiler] and who has photographs of all of Picasso's work, of all periods, [illegible]. There are some very amusing ones. I bought 5 or 6 anyway. Shchukin arrived, [and] we (Nikolai Vasilievich and I) bragged to him about discovering one dealer's [Brummer?] extraordinary collection of Polynesian and African sculptures.

[Page 3 – reverse side]

They are wonderful things and they are cheap, 50, 100, 300 francs. We went there with Shchukin. He [illegible] bought 600 francs worth of sculptures and one Picasso. It was late in the evening and he promised to come back to have another look. What can I do with these 120 roubles? If at least I had a camera, I would have taken photos of these wonders! Really, it is just dreadful I don't have a camera.

My address:

Montmartre

16, rue Lamark

Hotel Rocher Suisse

Monsieur Woldemar Matvejs

NB: Nikolai Vasilievich⁴⁰ would like his etchings back before 1 August.

5 Letter Markov to Zheverzheev dated 26 July 1912

26th July 1912

Paris, Montmatre

16 rue Lamark

Hotel Rocher Suisse

Dear Levkii Ivanovich,

Today I received a package from you for Nikolai Vasilievich⁴¹ and two copies of the 'Union of Youth'⁴² magazine. I have given my copy to Kandinsky. I

³⁹ [This relates to Markov's book, the] "Flutes of China", on the back cover of is the following: "this edition was printed in January 1914 in 25 numbered (No. 1-25) copies on parchment paper and 575 on standard paper". The book catalogue for 1914, No. 4 (from 14th April) states that "Flutes of China" was published from 27th March-3rd April 1914.

⁴⁰ Nikolai Vasilievich Zaretsky.

received two letters from Kandinsky. He is ill, bedridden and unable to receive me. He is determined to come to Russia in the autumn.⁴³ Kandinsky's letters are very polite and he responds eagerly to everything.

Can you please inform me if we have a location for our museum?⁴⁴ I may have to return home earlier – I might travel back through Munich, Leipzig, Berlin, and then I can pick up and accomplish a few more things. I feel very uncomfortable with misleading people like Walden and Kandinsky by taking their paintings when there is still no museum, and even more so with the fact that these people might arrive at any time. Kandinsky is prepared to hold an exhibition with us, likewise Walden who is ready to send his “protégés” and others. Therefore, notify me of how things stand. Reply immediately, as I am only staying here for two more weeks, three at most.

I am making a few purchases for the museum, but more and more of the kind that could also be used for the magazine.⁴⁵ I am wandering around a variety of bookstores. And now I have another important question for you. I am desperate for a photo camera. I am urging you to send me 200 roubles by telegraph for the camera – I will buy it as equipment for our society, or I can take responsibility for it, I am prepared to pay you back for it by whatever means possible. I need to write about the principles of the new Art – and the material is all here – the camera is essential to me. If you do not send me the money for this by telegraph, you will be making a big mistake. I feel obliged to write about this.

What wonderful African and Polynesian sculpture it is possible to buy here for 50-100 francs – but it is just as well you gave me so little money as I would not have been able to stop myself from buying some. And yet, my soul yearns for it still. I can only buy utter rubbish – the Futurists, Picasso – it is all

⁴¹ Nikolai Vasilievich Zaretsky (1876-1959) – graphic artist, painter and collector. (See: Lekind O.L., Mahrov K.B., Severuhin D.Y. – ‘Russian Artists Living Abroad’ – St Petersburg. 1999). He participated in a “Union of Youth” exhibition in Riga in 1910.

⁴² Second edition, published in June 1912 in St Petersburg.

⁴³ In October 1912, W. Kandinsky arrived in Odessa, he then lived in Moscow from 27th October to 13th December. (See: Sarabyanov D.V., Avtonomova N.B. – ‘Wassily Kandinsky’ – Moscow., 1984)

⁴⁴ Cf. Protocol for the general meeting of the “Union of Youth” from 5th November 1910 (Chairman – Verhovsky, Secretary – I. Shkolnik) discussed the following: ‘the development [...] of aesthetic tastes by the establishment of a Museum of Art and a library dedicated to the issues of modern art, the exchange of opinions about the questions arising in art and [...] the bringing together of people interested in art’ [the museum was never realized].

⁴⁵ “Union of Youth” magazine.

rubbish when compared to these things. I cannot buy Picasso's work – they will kill me in St Petersburg – where is the new art, they will ask. Therefore, I have ordered eight Picassos and they cost four francs apiece.⁴⁶ It is a shame that Gaush⁴⁷ is not here, I would have got him moving, just as I got Shchukin involved. Do not think badly of me and excuse my bluntness – I am angry – I have very little money. Write back, write back for God's sake – if there is a space for the museum I will pull all the strings.

I am waiting for money for the camera. Can you please increase Volf's⁴⁸ credit by 100 roubles,⁴⁹ I am thinking of ordering books through him. But this Volf is a bastard: for instance, I took a book of aesthetics from Bubnova and gave it to Spandikov and asked Volf to order the book and send it to Bubnova. Volf did not even think about ordering the book, but wrote to Bubnova, telling her that they did not have that book in stock! How lovely!

Yours V. Matvejs.

Have you received: Der Blaue Reiter?⁵⁰ It has been lying around here for ages. And the number of times I have asked Volf to order it for you as well.

6 Letter Markov to Zheverzheev, dated 18 August 1912

Paris, 18 August 1912

Dear Levkii Ivanovich,

⁴⁶ V. Matvejs is writing about photographic reproductions of Picasso's work, which were in great demand among modern artists in Russia.

⁴⁷ Alexander Fedorovich Gaush (1873-1943), fine artist, from 1912 he was the curator of the Museum of the Old St Petersburg. He took part in two exhibitions of the "Union of Youth". In 1911, he was the artist of "Haromnich Deystv", organized by the "Union of Youth" ("Champagnia"). His wife Lubov Nikolaevna Gaush (1877-1943) contributed to the exhibition of the "Union of Youth" in Riga in 1910.

⁴⁸ Ludwig Mavrikiyavich Volf (1865-?), publisher, editor of "News of the Bookshops of the M.O. Volf Company". Mavriki Osipovich Volf (Polish name Mauritsi Voleslav) (1825-1883) – a Russian-Polish publisher, bookseller, and typographer. In 1882 he founded a publishing house, which remained open until 1918 under the name "The M.O. Volf Company". Apart from Volf himself, his wife, son and son-in-law had shares in the company.

⁴⁹ Matvejs later tells us that he has got news from Volf: L. Zheverzheev has increased the society's credit by another 100 roubles.

⁵⁰ In the middle of May 1912, the Munich publisher R. Piper released the almanac "Der Blaue Reiter", edited by W. Kandinsky and F. Marc.

I haven't received any news from you yet – it is making my position and my relationship with the German artists terribly difficult. Write to me about: 1.) Do we have a location for the museum?⁵¹ And 2.) What about the photo camera? I asked for 200 roubles for the camera, even 100 roubles for a 9 x 6, or just send me some sort of camera. I am spending all of my time working in the library, digging through manuscripts⁵² – it would be a shame to leave all of this behind unused. A 5 x 6 or a 6 x 9 camera would be very good, but it has got to be a good camera in order to take photographs of the miniatures in the codices. I received a letter from Franz Marc, from Munich, saying that he would gladly exhibit in St Petersburg and donate two works for the museum. It is very likely that I will see all of these people on my way back – all things considered, I would like to know how to proceed. If I do not return to Russia in a month, I will forward a few of my purchases for the museum.

A book about the Cubists⁵³ has been released somewhere here – but it is so hard to find all of this here – no one knows anything.

As of today, I am still staying in Paris for a whole month and so please write to the following address: Paris, Montmatre, 16, rue Lamark. Hotel Rocher Suisse, Monsieur Woldemar Matvejs

Until next time we meet,

Yours truly,

V. Matvejs

18th August 1912

[Page 2]

I have not yet ordered any books through Volf, I have just been looking around or buying them. As for the Chinese verse, you will probably have to wait until my return - I will bring some important and interesting material. Concerning the paper, I will have to travel to Leipzig myself, as the correspondences are leading nowhere. But I will try to find out a few things about the paper here. My regards to Eduard Karlovich.⁵⁴

Awaiting your reply

Respectfully yours,
V. Matvejs

⁵¹ The plans for founding a museum of the 'Union of Youth' never came to fruition.

⁵² In 1912 in Paris "he was working without rest in the National Library, and in Dusse's private library".

⁵³ See W. Kandinsky's letter to V. Matvejs dated 29 July 1912.

⁵⁴ E. K. Spandikov

APPENDIX VI

Some notes on Vladimir Markov's ethnographic encounter

Markov left a body of work that - as John Bowlt noted – betrayed a 'highly individualistic and apocalyptic vision' rooted in the kind of 'German and Nordic expressionism' that showed affinities with the work of Munch and Kulbin, advocating 'an art of chance', and 'a world of unfathomed mystery'.⁵⁵ But it was his theoretical enquiries, like 'The Principles of the New Art' (1912) and his book, *The Creative Principles of the Plastic Arts: Faktura* (1914), which made him one of the principal forces in the formation in 1909 of the artists' society *Soyus molodezhi* (Union of Youth). Together with Mikhail Larionov he took a crucial role in organizing the group's first exhibition in St Petersburg in 1910, while a second in Riga brought together a number of the emergent Russian and Baltic avant-garde. Their work was complemented by photographic reproductions of paintings by Van Gogh, Gauguin, Cézanne and thirteenth-century Italian Primitives. Even though this and the *Oslinyi khvost* (Donkey's Tail) exhibition in 1912 was the only time Markov exhibited with the group, he was seen as the 'inspiration' behind the *Union of Youth's* activities.⁵⁶

Markov's first theoretical text, 'Russkii Setsession' ('The Russian Secession'), was one of the earliest manifestos of the Russian modern movement.⁵⁷ It identified with the spirit of the western European secessionist movements and particularly the links he and others of the *Union of Youth* saw with the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* that had formed in Munich in 1909.⁵⁸ Its overall

⁵⁵ Bowlt, *Russian Art*, p. 25.

⁵⁶ Howard, pp. 46-68, here p. 58

⁵⁷ According to Howard and Buzinska, Markov's (Voldemars Matvejs), 'Russkii Setsession (po povodu vystavki 'Soyuza molodezhi' v Rige' ('The Russian Secession: Concerning the 'Union of Youth' Exhibition in Riga'), first appeared in the German *Rigasche Neueste Nachrichten* on 10 July 1910, see Howard, p. 70, n. 43. It also appeared in the Latvian *Dzimtenes Vestnesis*, on 16 July, no. 160, 1910, see Buzinska, *Latviesu Makslinieku*, p. 8.

⁵⁸ Voldemars Matvejs, 'The Russian Secession' (1910), here quoted from the translation by Howard in Buzinska, *Latviesu Makslinieku*, pp. 3-9. The brief introduction to the catalogue of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* in which Kandinsky speaks of the artists' role that seeks a formal synthesis of his/her impressions of the natural world and those of inner spiritual experiences was published in the journal

tenor demonstrated a clear ambition to disseminate the anti-Naturalist tendencies of the new Russian art that saw itself as part of a pan-European development. It found beauty in the 'passionate and infinite variations' of the arts of 'India, China, Assyria, Byzantium', or in the works of 'Lorenzetti, Botticelli, [and] Beardsley'. That such notions were close to those of the *Blaue Reiter* did not go unnoticed, causing some of the members to leave the *Union of Youth*, because at its core they were no more than 'imitators of Munich modernism'.⁵⁹ The manifesto also mounted a fierce critique of academic teaching methods. Authoritarian measures had led to students being expelled from art academies in Moscow and St Petersburg after ignoring their tutors' boycott on visiting 'the galleries of Shchukin and Morozov' and because they were 'working in the spirit of the *Zolotoe runo* (The Golden Fleece) exhibitions'.⁶⁰ It explains why Markov (a student himself) refrained from signing the article, but it also suggests that his interest in non-western art may have been triggered by the Shchukin collection, which between 1908 and 1912 was augmented by the acquisition of several African sculptures (four of which were later reproduced in *Negerplastik*).⁶¹ As with Einstein's 'conversion' to the cause of African culture, Markov's shift from late-Symbolist artist to theoretician, photographer and author on non-western art coincided with extended summer breaks that between 1910 and 1913 took him to Paris and other western European cities in his role of emissary of the *Union of Youth*. It appears that it was during

Apollon in January 1910, see Gollek *Der Blaue Reiter*, p. 388; also Howard, p. 36, note 24. Kandinsky, the Munich correspondent for *Apollon* between 1909-10, regularly exhibited and published in Russia, while the Munich circle of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* and later *Der Blaue Reiter* included a number of Russian artists, amongst them Wladimir von Bechtejeff, the brothers David and Wladimir Burljuk, Alexej von Jawlensky, and Alexander Mogilewski. Since the late nineteenth century, it had not been uncommon for young Russian artists to study in Germany – preferably Munich and Dresden – or Paris.

⁵⁹ Cf. Matvejs, 'The Russian Secession', p. 7; also Howard, p. 88. The essay 'Das Kunstwerk' by Le Fauconnier (who had exhibited in Russia since 1908), first published in the catalogue of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung's* second exhibition in September 1910, – and discussed above in connection with Einstein's early art critical writings (see chapter 2) – was published by the *Union of Youth*, see Howard (1992), p. 89.

⁶⁰ Matvejs, 'The Russian Secession', p. 4. For details of the respective roles of *Zolotoe runo* (The Golden Fleece), the *Bubnovyi valet* (Knave of Diamonds) and *Oslinyi khvost* (Donkey's Tail) in relation to the *Soyuz molodezhi* (Union of Youth) see Howard and Bowlt, *Russian Art*.

⁶¹ On details of the history and extent of French avant-garde works in the collections of Shchukin and Morozov, see Georg-W. Költzsch (ed.) (cat.) *Morosow und Schtschukin*, esp. Kostenewitsch, 'Russische Sammler', pp. 72-77. See also Charlotte M. Humphreys, *Cubo-Futurism in Russia 1912-1922: The Transformation of a painterly Style*, The University of St Andrews 1989, here pp. 24-27, and Part II, chapter 9 above.

these travels that the allure of African and Oceanic cultures turned his appreciation to something approaching infatuation.

Markov's 'Printsipy novogo iskusstva' (The Principles of the New Art) further elaborated on the relevance of beauty in non-Western material culture: 'The more deeply [...] mankind penetrates the divine principle of beauty, [...] the more heterogeneous their principles and canons'. It was published in the first two issues of the *Union of Youth's* anthologies in 1912, which were strongly influenced by Markov's editorial role.⁶² Its programmatic approach defined artistic practice for a new age that was indebted to Kulbin's ideas, but especially to Kandinsky's notion of 'inner necessity'. As Howard notes, the interconnections between the Russian and German avant-garde were manifold and – it could be argued – not entirely one-sided. In 1909, as correspondent for the journal *Apollon*, Kandinsky's 'Letters from Munich' were published. At the turn of 1910/11 his essay 'Soderzhanie i Forma' ('Content and Form') appeared in the catalogue of Vladimir Izdebskii's second Salon in Odessa, a publication that in its overall approach has been considered as a 'prototype for *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac itself'.⁶³ While Kulbin addressed the audience of the second *Congress of Russian Artists* in December of 1911 by reading from Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, he also contributed the essay 'Die freie Musik' to the almanac of *Der Blaue Reiter*.⁶⁴ In the 'Letters from Munich' and 'Content and Form' Kandinsky advocated the modern artist's preference for 'inner experience' who, rather than subscribing to academic conventions of the study of the visible world, celebrated the arts of the East – especially Persian miniatures – and other manifestations beyond the established canon of art.⁶⁵ Markov's already manifest engagement with Eastern art forms that

⁶² Cited from Markov, 'Printsipy novogo iskusstva' (The Principles of the New Art), in *Soyuz molodezhi*, no. 1 (April 1912), pp. 5-14, and its sequel 'Printsipy novogo iskusstva (prod.)', in no. 2 (June 1912), pp. 5-18, here 'The Principles of the New Art' in Bowlt, *Russian Art*, pp. 23-37, esp., p. 25; and Howard, p. 119.

⁶³ Bowlt, *Russian Art*, p. 18. While the Izdebskii's Salon showed works by contemporary Russian artists, amongst them the Burliuk brothers, Kul'bin, Larionov and Tatlin, it also represented a Munich delegation that consisted of Jawlensky, Kandinsky, Münter and von Werefskin.

⁶⁴ Lankheit (ed.), *Der Blaue Reiter*, pp. 125-131. Out of the fifteen contributors to the almanac, seven were of Russian origin; besides Kandinsky, Kulbin and David Burljuk, they included the composer Thomas von Hartmann (1885-1956), the poet and composer Michail Kusmin (1875-1936), the composer and author Leonid Sabanejew (1881-1968) and the author Wassily Rosanow; also Howard, p. 123.

⁶⁵ Kandinsky, 'Soderzhanie i Forma', here from the translation 'Content and Form' (early 1911), in Bowlt, *Russian Art*, pp. 17-23; and Howard p. 128f. On Kandinsky in Russia, see also Bowlt, 'Wassily Kandinsky: Verbindungen zu Russland', in S.

were not disturbed by the 'dirt of realism' was as much epitomized by the contents of his 'Principles', as by the *Union of Youth* anthologies' inventive combination of audacious texts with sepia printed imagery of mostly Eastern art displayed on colored papers.⁶⁶

What united Markov and the *Union of Youth* with parts of the German avant-garde was a mutual consensus that advocated pan-European strategies of artistic intervention. In much the same way as *Der Sturm* had established a gallery, a publishing house and literary evenings, the *Union of Youth* expanded its activities from exhibitions to publishing, lectures and theatre performances. Besides the already functioning exhibition and lecture program, the anthology announced plans to launch a permanent museum of modern art, a library consisting of European, Chinese and Japanese texts, and a 'special museum of photographs' showing past and present works from different parts of the world.⁶⁷ Additional shared interests became evident in the *Union of Youth's* announcement that a translation of Worringer's *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* was forthcoming. So it may come as no surprise that as a fluent German speaker Markov's writings, just as those of the *Blaue Reiter* members, show certain commonalities with Worringer's theories but, as Howard points out, unlike Worringer Markov sought to synthesize representation and abstraction by recognizing empathy as inherent in abstraction.⁶⁸

Ebert-Schifferer (ed.), (cat.) *Wassily Kandinsky. Die Erste Sowjetische Retrospektive*, Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle, and Moscow: Tret'jakov-Galerie 1989, pp. 59-78.

⁶⁶ Markov's 1910 essay had reflected at some length on Buddhist art and the excavations of the Tibetan town of Hara-Hoto on show in St Petersburg in the spring of that year, see Markov (1910), p. 7-8. The first issue of the *Union of Youth* anthology consisted of a number of articles by its members in which Markov's introduction to 'The Principles of the New Art' took centre-stage. The accompanying images were largely reproductions of Persian and Indian miniatures and a cover image by the seventeenth-century Persian artist Riza Abassi. Apart from the sequel of Markov's text, the second issue included translations of artists' declarations and manifestos, among them - and most crucial for the development of the Russian avant-garde - those of the Italian Futurists, who had shown at the *Galerie Bernheim-Jeune* (Paris, February 1912). Also included were the artist's statements of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung's* second exhibition at the *Moderne Galerie Thannhauser*, (September 1910). In order to instruct its readers in the variety of Russian avant-garde tendencies the texts were accompanied by reproductions of works by members of the *Union of Youth*, while the cover showed again a Persian miniature, see fig. 13 in Howard, p. 135, and Bowl, *Russian Art*. For further details, especially, Markov's interest in Eastern art, see Markov, *Svirel' kitaya (The Chinese Flute)* 1914, and Howard, pp. 118-129.

⁶⁷ Howard, p. 120.

⁶⁸ Howard, pp. 120-121, see also Part I, chapter 4 above.

Further aspects of Markov's 'Principles' that warrant a mention here are those that formed the basic tenets of his theoretical engagement with non-western culture. One concerns his remarks on the effects that advances in technology were having on the 'means of communication, the press, excavations' through which the 'range of our observations expanded [...] extraordinarily and ceased to be confined to the art of our next-door neighbours'.⁶⁹ It recognized opportunities to study cultural diversity on a scale never before imagined. It contrasts with traditionalist views such as Adolphe Basler's essay 'From the Empire of Ideas of Modern Art' already discussed in connection with Einstein's African exhibitions at the *Neue Galerie* in 1913. For Basler the 'alarming medley of styles' in contemporary art was a consequence of the 'popularization of archaeology and the ease of access to monuments of art from all over the world' through the agency of photo-reproductive media. Nothing was more ominous than the 'mechanical appropriation' of a great artistic culture whose spirit was either 'already dead' or 'foreign', causing unnecessary intellectual dissipation. Markov conversely maintained that this precisely allowed artists for the first time 'to make comparisons, to contrast religions of beauty' and to seek out 'the advantages of these over those'.⁷⁰ While it anticipates Markov's shift from artist to photographer of ethnographic objects, it also points to the importance both he and Einstein were to place on the visualization of African sculpture.

Markov partitioned world cultures into two opposing principles, named after those Kandinsky had outlined in 'Content and Form': 'constructiveness' and 'non-constructiveness'. The first he saw 'most vividly expressed in Greece' where as in subsequent European art 'everything is logical, rational and has a scientific basis' that 'penetrates its orthodox realism' with rigid doctrines, and thus 'corrodes national art, evens it out [and] paralyzes its development'. As in his first manifesto, this amounted to an outright refutation of post-Renaissance tradition, though here it was more qualified. The focus here was the principle of 'non-constructiveness' found in Eastern and ancient cultures that 'did not know our scientific rationality',

⁶⁹ Markov, 'Printsipy' in Bowl, *Russian Art*, p. 26.

⁷⁰ *Das hervorragende Merkmal der zeitgenössischen Kunst ist ein übermäßiger Intellektualismus. Daher eine beängstigende Vermischung der Arten. Die durch die Archäologie ermöglichte Popularisierung und Zugänglichkeit von Kunstdenkmälern aller Welt [...] zeitigten eine Leichtigkeit im Aneignen größter Formen ohne daß hierzu eine Notwendigkeit bestände. [...] [E]s gibt nichts Bedrohlicheres für die Kunst, als die mechanische Aneignung einer großen künstlerischen Kultur, deren Geist entweder schon erstorben oder fremd ist;* (author's emphases) Basler, 'Aus dem Ideenreich der modernen Kunst', here col. 893 and 894, and Markov, 'Printsipy' in Bowl, *Russian Art*, p. 26. On Basler see also Part II, chapter 9 above.

but as 'uncorrupted children' they 'intuitively penetrated the world of beauty' that could not be 'bribed by realism or scientific investigations into nature'. A Europe, incapable of comprehending the 'beauty of the naïve and the illogical', only demonstrated a 'prim nonchalance toward the "babble" of the East' that was 'deeply offensive'. A similar classification and empathy for cultural alterity was to be matched by Einstein's *Negerplastik*: 'the Negro is [...] the object of ruthless investigations, and his works are condemned a priori as deficient'.⁷¹

The final aspect concerns Markov's 'principle of chance' described as the kind of beauty that will never be revealed or grasped by 'constructive thought'. The notion of chance – and the associated concept of *faktura* – was to be of some significance for Markov's theoretical discussion of African culture and took a different position to Einstein's. Considering Chinese artistic practice in which the concept of chance is much esteemed, Markov recounted the case of the potter, who in order to achieve ultimate beauty for his vessel had to surrender his creative labour to the unpredictability of oxidization in the final firing process. 'Chance', he argued possessed 'qualities that do not permit it to be ignored and repressed', since it 'opens up whole worlds and begets wonders'. The concept was part of Markov's 'principle of creativity' that, like Kandinsky's 'inner necessity', required a synthesis of creative intuition' with sensory perception. It celebrated the art of children, folk traditions and non-western cultures, making the 'Principles' one of the first theoretical texts of Russian Neo-Primitivism that gave meaning to the move towards abstraction then taking place.⁷²

However, in contrast to Einstein's case where proof of his first encounters with non-western objects is lacking, there is some evidence of Markov's, which can be gleaned from correspondence written during the 1912 summer break he spent in Paris. (Appendix V/1-6) Although their paths appear not to have crossed, it is likely that Markov – like Einstein who would arrive in the city within weeks of the other's departure – met Kahnweiler, made the acquaintance of Joseph Brummer and witnessed avant-garde events such as the exhibition of the *Salon de 'La Section d'Or'*. In his official role as representative for the *Union of Youth*, he spent some of his time in Germany where he met Herwarth Walden in Berlin and probably Marc but not Kandinsky, although they exchanged some

⁷¹ Markov, 'Printsipy' in Bowlt, *Russian Art*, p. 27, and Einstein *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, p. 234: 'Der Neger gilt von Beginn an als der inferiore Teil, der rücksichtslos zu bearbeiten ist, und das von ihm Gebotene wird a priori als ein Manko verurteilt'.

⁷² Markov, 'Printsipy', p. 28-29; also Howard, pp. 122-129.

letters.⁷³ (Appendix V/1-3) Matters discussed between Markov and Walden, disclosed in letters to the sponsor and president of the *Union of Youth*, Levkii I. Zheverzheev (Appendix V/4-6), involved future plans for an exhibition at the *Sturm*-gallery, an exchange of their respective journals and arrangements to take the Futurists' show to St Petersburg. Noting that 'in order to fully understand the German decadent movement' Markov felt he had to prolong his stay in Berlin and travel to Hamburg, Hagen and Cologne, where he negotiated over exhibitions on behalf of the Russian avant-garde artists. (Appendix V/4)

While it is certain that his visit to Hagen was to see the Folkwang Museum, he may have been able to view the *Blaue Reiter* exhibition which was on show there during June and July 1912. Its cross-cultural ambitions were much in accord with the Folkwang philosophy, which since its inauguration in 1902 had disregarded traditional boundaries between fine art and artifact in favor of a global purview: 'We stepped beyond city, country, or European culture, what is coming will be a global culture'.⁷⁴ Markov, who was to meet with Shchukin in Paris during July, also may have met Osthaus in person. By this time, the German patron was already acquainted with Shchukin and his collection, although it was not until September 1913 that he finally visited the Russian's villa in Moscow. Since about 1906 and 1908 respectively both collectors had maintained a consuming passion for Matisse's work that had developed into something of a friendly rivalry resulting in commissions and, in some instances, attempts to acquire the artist's work before it had left the easel. Hans Purrmann, who deeply admired the artist and by 1908 was in charge of the newly established Matisse school of painting, probably initiated Osthaus' relationship with the artist. While enthusiastically supporting the German collector's plan to commission Matisse to create a large ceramic triptych, *Nymph and Satyr* (1907, Karl-Ernst Osthaus Museum, Hagen) for his new villa, the Haus Hohenhof in Hagen, he also urged Osthaus to purchase the artist's latest canvas, the *Baigneuses à la tortue* (1908, City Art Museum St Louis). The deal was secured during the collector's visit to Matisse's studio in April that year.⁷⁵ In early May

⁷³ Part of Markov's journey was funded by the *Union of Youth*; a letter from Franz Marc to Markov dated 3 August 1912 arranged for a meeting between the two artists, see Howard, p. 122f. and p. 132, note 79.

⁷⁴ *Wir sind hinausgeschritten über Stadt -, Land – und europäische Kultur, die kommende wird eine Weltkultur sein*, in K. E. Osthaus, *Grundzüge der Stilentwicklung*, (1918), cited here from Klaus Volprecht, 'Folkwang 2. Teil – Die Sammlung außereuropäischer Kunst' in Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus (et al, eds), *Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk*, Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers 1971, pp.245-255, here p. 245.

1908, one of Purrmann's letters to Osthaus reported that a 'gentleman from Moscow, who is supposed to own a large Cézanne collection' was buying everything that was 'for sale in Paris by Matisse'. Some of the rivalry and jostling between Osthaus and Shchukin over acquisition of the artist's canvasses became clear further on in this letter:

He also placed some large orders with Matisse; [...] an extremely large still life Matisse is still working on that will be marvelous. Your painting drove the Russian nearly insane; he spoke of the color all the time and asked for a repetition, but Matisse refused to give in.⁷⁶

Along with their growing preference for avant-garde works, both collectors also acquired a taste for African material culture that was reflected in their respective collections. Shchukin's proclivity for non-western objects may have been inspired by either Matisse or Picasso, since both had collected and displayed such objects in their studio. Osthaus' interests in non-western material culture go back to the eighteen-nineties and were first exhibited in 1904, when the Museum Folkwang showed Javanese, Japanese, and Indian textiles together with cottons manufactured by the Hagen textile industry after designs by Peter Behrens.⁷⁷ While Shchukin assembled some seven African sculptures to

⁷⁵ Emil Waldmann, 'Das Museum Folkwang', in *Kunst und Künstler*, Jg. XII, 1914, p. 260. Also Jack Flam, *Matisse, The Man and his Art 1869-1918*, London: Thames & Hudson 1986, pp. 200f. and 224-227.

⁷⁶ *Ein Herr aus Moskau, der eine große Cézanne-Sammlung haben soll, kaufte alles was es an Matisse in Paris zu kaufen gab [...]. Er machte auch bei Matisse große Bestellungen, [...] ein ungeheuer großes Stilleben, das Matisse schon fest in Arbeit hat und wunderbar wird. Ihr Bild machte den Russen bald verrückt, er sprach immerzu von der Farbe und wollte eine Wiederholung haben, die aber Matisse zu machen ablehnte*; cited from Purrmann's letters to Osthaus (Museum Folkwang: Nachlaß Adalbert Colsman), here from Georg-W. Költzsch, 'Schtschukin und Morosow – Was man in Deutschland wußte 1906-1926', in (cat.) Költzsch (ed.), p. 139; on the Osthaus collection of modern masters and his relationship with Matisse, see also Herta Hesse-Freilinghaus, 'Folkwang: Erster Teil', in Hesse-Freilinghaus (et al, eds), *Karl Ernst Osthaus*, pp. 119-241, here p. 149f.

⁷⁷ See the listings in 'Ausstellungen des Folkwang-Museums und des deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe in Hagen, 1902-1922' in Hesse-Freilinghaus (et al, eds), *Karl Ernst Osthaus*, p. 511. On Matisse's collection of ethnographic objects, see, for example, Jack Flam, 'Matisse and the Fauves', in Rubin, *"Primitivism"*, pp. 211-239, on Picasso's, see Rubin, 'Picasso', in *Ibid.*, pp. 241-341; also Peter Stepan, *Picasso's Collection of African & Oceanic Art: Master of Metamorphosis*, New York: Prestel 2006. On Shchukin's collection of African art, see V. B. Mirimanov, 'L'époque de la découverte de l'art nègre en Russie. Les premières collections à Moscou', in *Quaderni Poro*, no. 3, Milan: Poron 1982, pp. 59-73.

complement his collection of Picasso's proto-Cubist works, the Folkwang collection comprised a number of African objects that, excepting a few – like the two reproduced in Einstein's *Negerplastik* – were mainly utilitarian. In the Osthaus collection, which included magnificent pieces of Japanese and other Asian art and decorative objects, the emphasis was on the Folkwang project's didactic ambitions that had emerged from the late nineteenth-century reform movement in the decorative arts, its association with the *Werkbund*, and in particular the interests of its patron's friend and mentor, Henry van de Velde.⁷⁸

That Markov met the collector in person is clear from his letter to Zheverzheev:

In Hagen there is the Museum Folkwang – it has many Gauguins, Cézannes etc., it is pretty much the only museum of modern art. Its owner C. [Karl Ernst] Osthaus is very happy to provide a space for our people to exhibit, just as he did for Kandinsky. He asked me to order some journals for him. (Appendix V/4)

He must have marveled as much at the collection itself as at van de Velde's unique design and decorative schemes for the Folkwang exhibition spaces, which subscribed to the notion that all art and artifacts, all natural and man-made objects could speak with one voice. Osthaus' motto, 'From fragments that magically release the soul, encounters with the great masters who talk with us like their equals, we summon knowledge', must have resonated with Markov's own principles and the ideas of his friends in the *Union of Youth*. But Osthaus, who had been chairman of the Düsseldorf *Sonderbund* since 1910 (where Matisse's *Baigneuses à la tortue* was exhibited) also developed a penchant for the German avant-garde, acquiring in 1912 his first works by the *Blaue Reiter* artists August Macke and Paul Klee. He played an influential role in the preparations for the exhibition of the Cologne *Sonderbund*, which, running from May to September, must have provided Markov with additional reasons to ensure he visited the city.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Volprecht, p. 251-255. On Osthaus' collection and his relationship with van de Velde, see also Hesse-Freilinghaus (*et al*, eds) as above; Paul Vogt, *Das Museum Folkwang Essen. Die Geschichte einer Sammlung im Ruhrgebiet*, Cologne: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg 1965, p. 23; Erich Franz, 'Die Tätigkeit des Auges', in (cat.), *Die Ordnung der Farbe: Paul Klee, August Macke und ihre Malerfreunde* (Volker Adolphs & Josef Helfenstein (eds), 13 July – 1 October 2000, Kunstmuseum Bonn, Cologne: DuMont, pp. 30-60, here p. 52f.; and Lloyd, *German Expressionism*, pp. 8-12.

⁷⁹ *Aus Fragmenten entzaubert sich die Seele, große Meister reden mit uns wie ihresgleichen und aus Begegnungen schöpfen wir Erkenntnis*, quoted from Osthaus, 'Das Folkwanggebäude und sein Schöpfer', in *Die Rheinlande*, vol. V 1905, p.85; on Osthaus' role and activities concerning the *Sonderbund*, see Hesse-Freilinghaus

Although it remains unclear who precisely Markov met in Cologne, it is conceivable that the Cologne gallery he mentioned in his letter to Zheverzheev was Otto Feldmann's *Rheinischer Kunstsalon*. Opening in early 1912 with an impressive selection of French and German avant-garde works, the gallery continued with a similarly modernist program throughout the year. Having visited the *Sonderbund*, Markov met with one of the organizers:

The organizer of the exhibition said that [...], he would like to set up the show in St Petersburg, [...] but he does not know, whether an exhibition will be put together next year [...]. It is a huge undertaking. But whatever happens, he is always ready to provide a space for us to exhibit our paintings in his *Kunstsalon* in the centre of the city. (Appendix V/4)

There are several reasons that suggest that the 'organizer' Markov mentions was August Macke. At the time of Markov's Cologne visit in July 1912, Macke's second solo exhibition (the first was at the Thannauser gallery in April) was on show at the Feldmann *Kunstsalon* in the center of the city. Macke was not only one of the organizers for the hanging committee of the *Sonderbund* (until he resigned) but he occupied a similar managerial role at the *Gereonsklub* (also situated in the city center). We know from his letters to Walden that he was close enough to Feldmann to disclose his commitments and negotiations to the *Sturm*-editor. After organizing the *Rheinische Expressionisten* exhibition in Bonn in 1913, where both he and Feldmann showed work, it was Macke who was responsible for bringing the exhibition to the *Neue Galerie* in Berlin in 1914, although this was vehemently denied. During May 1912, Macke was in Berlin in order to discuss arrangements for the *Blaue Reiter* after the hanging committee of the *Sonderbund* had refused their submissions for the Cologne exhibition. Markov probably met Macke at the *Sturm*-gallery at the time he and Walden negotiated plans for an exhibition of the Futurists in St Petersburg and one of the Russian avant-garde in Berlin.⁸⁰ (Appendix V/4) On Walden's initiative, the *Blaue Reiter* featured not at the *Sonderbund* but at the *Sturm* gallery's *Deutsche Expressionisten*

(et al, eds), p. 220f. Also Magdalena Moeller, *Der Sonderbund. Seine Voraussetzungen und Anfänge in Düsseldorf*, Cologne 1984, p. 150f.

⁸⁰ For Macke's organizing activities, see Part II above, chapter 7 and 10. On Feldmann's Futurism show and its hanging, see Ruth Diehl & Peter Dering (eds), (cat.) *Die Rheinischen Expressionisten 1913. Der Schock der Moderne in Bonn*, Bonn: Verein August Macke Haus e. V. 1993, p. 107. In 1913 both Macke and Marc were to return to Berlin to assist with the hanging of Walden's *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*. For a portrait sketch of Walden by Macke drawn during this period, see Ursula Heiderich, *August Macke. Zeichnungen aus den Skizzenbüchern*, Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe, Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster, Stuttgart: Hatje Verlag 1986, p.115.

(*Zurückgestellte Bilder des Sonderbunds Köln*) during June/July 1912. This atmosphere of active intervention by the German avant-garde before the First World War created a favourable position for Markov from which to negotiate on behalf of the *Union of Youth*.⁸¹ It is evident in Kandinsky's response, after Markov's appeal for a meeting with the artist during his visit to Germany:

Dear Mr Matvejs [Markov]. This summer I am mostly in the country. [...] This is why I would like to ask you, if you could, to tell me when you are going to be in Munich. Thank you very much for sending me your magazine, which was very interesting. I am so happy that your society pursues such wonderful ideas. With all my best wishes, always yours, Kandinsky. (Appendix V/1)⁸²

That Markov was pursuing his own interests at the same time is clear from Kandinsky's replies, which responded to what must have been questions by Markov about Gleizes' and Metzinger's *Du "Cubisme*, and where to locate information on Picasso's work.⁸³ (Appendix V/2 and 3)

Umelecky Mesicnik (Monthly Art Review) appeared between 1911 and 1913; it was edited by the artist Josef Capek who, with his brother the author Karel Capek, and the sculptor Otto Gutfreund, was the driving force behind the *Skupyna Vytvarny Umelcu* (The Plastic Artists Group). The art historian and collector, Vicenc Kramár, was a close associate and one of the first to buy works by Picasso.⁸⁴ Both groups had maintained links with the Parisian avant-garde since

⁸¹ Macke's involvement in managing exhibitions goes back to September 1910, when he took part in the hanging of the second annual show of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* at the *Modern Galerie Thannhauser*. In October 1911 he was responsible for negotiating an exhibition of works by Franz Marc, shown at the *Gereonsklub*, while in December he organized the hanging of the club's exhibition of works by himself, Kandinsky, Münter, Campendonk, and Schmidt-Rottluff, during which he also gave a lecture, entitled 'Worte, Töne, Farbe' (Words, Sounds, Colour). For further details, including his involvement with the *Obernier-Museum*, Bonn (1911), the *Gereonsklub*'s exhibition of *Die Brücke* (1911), his engagement with the planning committee of the Cologne *Sonderbund* (1912) and withdrawal, see Diehl & Dering (eds), pp. 104-108. Also Moeller, *Der Sonderbund*, p. 150f., and Lüttichau, 'Der Blaue Reiter, München 1911', in (cat.) *Stationen der Moderne*, pp. 108-129.

⁸² The 'magazine' referred to was probably the *Union of Youth* anthology.

⁸³ For details on Gleizes and Metzinger's links with the Russian avant-garde see Howard (1992), pp. 37, 57, 140, 152-56, 167, 177, 182-84, 189, 219.

⁸⁴ Kramár's lasting friendship with Kahnweiler goes back to 1910, when he bought his first works by Picasso, cf. Kahnweiler, *My Galleries and Painters*, p.136; letter

about 1910 and were aware of Picasso's engagement with non-western artifacts. After his friend and mentor Apollinaire had alerted him to such objects Josef Capek visited the Trocadéro during 1910 or 1911, where he photographed some of the exhibits.⁸⁵ In the spring of 1913 *Umelecky Mesicnik* reported on an exhibition, which included works by Picasso, Braque and Derain that was shown together with African and Oceanic sculpture.⁸⁶ Equally important were the Czech group's contacts with members of the German avant-garde such as the *Brücke* and authors like Albert Ehrenstein and Franz Werfel. Ideas centring on the new art and 'primitive' forms of expression from folk art to non-western culture embraced the methodologies of the Vienna School of art history and particularly by Riegl's notion of *Kunstwollen* (artistic intent) he saw present in all artistic production. The relativist perception of art's dependence on its reception in different periods and cultures appealed as much to the internationalist outlook of Markov and his compatriots as it did to the German and Czech avant-garde.⁸⁷

While a copy of *Du 'Cubisme'* was part of Markov's mission for the *Union of Youth's* planned library, his more personal queries regarding information on Africa sculpture and Kandinsky's laconic response: 'About Africa etc., you

Picasso to Kahnweiler, dated 29 June 1912 in Cousins, 'Documentary Chronology', p. 397f., Monod-Fontaine, 'Chronologie und Dokumente', p. 110.

⁸⁵ Paudrat, 'From Africa', p. 147f. On the history of *Umelecky mesicnik*; cf. Zdenka Volavkova, '"La Revue mensuelle des Art" de Prague', in Liliane Brion-Guerry, *L'année 1913: Les formes esthétiques de l'oeuvre d'art à la veille de la première guerre mondiale*, vol. II, Paris: Klincksieck 1971, pp. 989-1001.

⁸⁶ Cf. Vincenc Benes, 'Nove Umeni (l'art nouveau)', *Umelecky Mesicnik* vol. II (1912-13), p. 180, here from Volavkova, in Brion-Guerry, *L'année 1913*, p. 996. Capek published an essay on African sculpture in 1918 and a book on primitive art in 1938, cf. Josef Capek, 'Socharstvi Cernochu', *Cerven Rok* 1. Cislo 19, pp. 251-253, reprinted in Flam & Deutch, 'Negro Sculpture', pp. 113-116. Examples of Capek's work were reproduced in *Der Sturm*, V, no. 1/2 (1915), p. 5, and *Die Aktion*, no. 18/19 (1916), col. 247. For listings of the exhibition, see Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions*, vol. 2, p. 716f.

⁸⁷ That the Vienna School of art history and Riegl's work influenced Kramár as well as the theoretical texts on Cubist architecture of Pavel Janák (see for example, 'Obnova prucei' in *Umelecky Mesicnik* 2, 1912) has been noted by Thomas Vlcek, 'Art between Social Crisis and Utopia: The Czech Contribution to the Development of the Avant-Garde Movement in East-Central Europe. 1910-1930', *Art Journal*, vol. 49, no. 1 (Spring 1990), pp. 28-35. On Riegl, see Jas Elsner, 'The birth of Late Antiquity: Riegl and Strzygowski in 1901', *Art History*, vol. 25, no. 3 (June 2002), pp. 358-379; Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History*, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press 1985, pp. 69-96; also Margaret Olin, 'Self-Representation: Resemblance and Convention in Two Nineteenth-Century Theories of Architecture and the Decorative Arts', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 49, no. 3 (1986), pp. 376-397, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1482362>, accessed: 19/03/2009 06:05; and 'Forms of Respect: Alois Riegl's Concept of Attentiveness', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 71, no. 2 (June 1989), pp. 285-299.

might find a lot of material in Parisian libraries' (Appendix V/2) was probably not what he had hoped for. Kandinsky's statement suggests some reluctance at having abandoned his ethnographic studies in preference to an artistic vocation.⁸⁸ In spite of Kandinsky's notes and the detailed letters to Zheverzheev, it remains difficult to trace Markov's exact movements during the summer of 1912. However, let us return to conjecture about Markov's encounter with Macke. Macke was in Moscow during the spring of 1912, when on Kandinsky's advice he contributed works to the *Bubnovyi Valet* (Knave of Diamonds). A letter from Marc to Markov recalled Macke's visit and his meeting with Burliuk, Larionov and Mashkov, who had established links with the *Union of Youth*. It is likely then that Macke would have welcomed to Cologne the German-speaking visitor from St Petersburg, whose mutual interests in painting, Worringer, and non-western objects would have made for lively conversation.⁸⁹

It is difficult to establish when exactly Markov became familiar with the works and the almanac of the *Blaue Reiter*, but since he sent a copy to Zheverzheev before 26 July, *Der Sturm*, the Folkwang Museum or even Cologne are all likely sources. (Appendix V/5) Even though unforeseen circumstances led to a last minute change, the almanac's goals were outlined by Macke in October 1911 in a draft introduction, which announced that traditional stylistic comparisons were to be shunned in favor of different criteria:

The reader will find works in our publications, which [...] stand in an *inner* relationship with each other, even if superficially these works appear to be unrelated. We do not regard or note the work, which may possess a certain recognized, orthodox outer form (...) except for the work, which has an *inner* life in coherence with the Great Transformation.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Carol Mc Kay, 'Fearful Dunderheads': Kandinsky and the Cultural Referents of Criminal Anthropology', *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 19, no. 1 (1996), pp. 29-41; also Peg Weiss, *Kandinsky and Old Russia: The Artist as Ethnographer and Shaman*, Yale University Press 1995.

⁸⁹ Macke's Russian visit is related in a letter Marc to Markov, dated 3 August 1912, for details see Howard, p. 123 and note 79, p. 132; on Macke's contribution to the *Bubnovyi Valet* exhibition, see also Erdmann-Macke, p. 249.

⁹⁰ *So findet der Leser in unseren Heften Werke, die durch den erwähnten Zusammenhang in einer inneren Verwandschaft miteinander stehen, wenn auch diese Werke äusserlich fremd zu einander erscheinen. Nicht das Werk wird von uns beachtet und notiert, welches eine gewisse anerkannte, orthodoxe äußere Form besitzt [...] sondern das Werk, welches ein inneres Leben hat im Zusammenhang mit der Grossen Wendung;* (Macke's emphasis) cited from a typed manuscript of October 1911 by the 'Editors', estate of August Macke, here Lankheit, *Der Blaue Reiter*, p. 315. In memory of Hugo von Tschudi, who because of his forward looking exhibition policies had lost his post in Berlin and become the director of

The juxtaposition of texts, the visual arts, music or poetry with works from diverse historical periods and cultures that formed the *Blaue Reiter's* strategy can be traced in the correspondence between Kandinsky, Marc and Macke.⁹¹ What must have intrigued Markov's above all was Macke's interest in non-western objects, manifest in his contribution 'Die Masken', so that meeting Macke (whether in Cologne or elsewhere) must have been on his mind. Having taken on the task of locating and organizing the almanac's ethnographic material, Macke's essay exemplified the intrinsic link between the new art and culturally heterogeneous works more emphatically than any of his collaborators.⁹² Whereas the notion of form was secondary in Kandinsky's theoretical concepts that prioritized content in the work of art, Macke insisted on the importance of a congruence of content and form. This is evident in a text that saw form as a pervasive 'expression of mysterious forces', because, he argued:

In our complicated and confusing time, we have forms that take hold of us just as the fire dance takes hold of the Negro [...]. The butterfly-colored dancer in the variety show bewitches the amorous couples just as the ceremonial sounds of the organ in the Gothic cathedral move the believer and the non-believer [...]. What we hang as a picture on the wall is in principle similar to the carved [...] posts in a Negro hut. For the Negro the idol is the comprehensible form of an incomprehensible idea, the personification of an abstract concept. For us the picture is the comprehensible form of a vague, incomprehensible illusion of the deceased, of an animal, a plant, of the entire magic of nature, of the rhythmical.⁹³

the Bayrischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen, and who, after steadfastly supporting the *Neue Künstlervereinigung*, had died rather suddenly, the introduction was replaced by Franz Marc's essay, 'Geistige Güter', Lankheit, *Der Blaue Reiter*, pp. 21-24.

⁹¹ See, for example, Lankheit, *Wassily Kandinsky – Franz Marc*, p. 40, 75f., and Macke, p. 72f. and 77.

⁹² Macke's role regarding the almanac's ethnographic material was described by Kandinsky in his reminiscences on the history of *Der Blaue Reiter*, published in *Das Kunstblatt* during 1930, for details see Ursula Heiderich, "'Der Leib ist die Seele". August Mackes Beitrag zum Almanach Der Blaue Reiter', in Christine Hopfengart (ed.), (cat.) *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kunsthalle Bremen, 25 March – 12 June, Cologne: DuMont 2000, pp. 248-254, here p. 249f.

⁹³ *Wir haben in unser komplizierten und verworrenen Zeit Formen, die jeden unbedingt so erfassen wie der Feuertanz den Neger [...]. Im Varieté bezaubert die schmetterlingsfarbene Tänzerin die verliebtesten Paare ebenso stark, wie im gotischen Dom der Feierton der Orgel den Gläubigen und Ungläubigen ergreift. Was wir als Bild and die Wand hängen, ist etwas im Prinzip Ähnliches wie die geschnitzten [...] Pfeiler in einer Negerhütte. Für den Neger ist sein Idol die*

In its anti-evolutionist stance, the essay brings to mind Einstein's challenge of western prejudice against Africa particularly when Macke argues:

The contemptuous gesture with which until now [...] all art forms of primitive peoples have been relegated to the realms of ethnology, or the arts and crafts is at the very least astonishing [...] As if to heap scorn on European aesthetic, everywhere forms speak with a sublime voice.⁹⁴

For Markov the almanac's content and visualization not only echoed his understanding of art's function but also the notion of the 'primitive' with which Worringer had challenged Carl Vinnen's *Protest* in 1911:

How self-evident it seems to us today that the stylistic character of this primitive art is not conditioned by undeveloped abilities but rather by a differently oriented will, by a will that rests upon great elementary prerequisites [...], stronger than the higher more cultivated illusionism, which since the Renaissance has been the destiny of our art.⁹⁵

Albeit a similar argument formed the point of departure for *Negerplastik*, Einstein was bound to dismiss Worringer's evolutionist classifications as much as Macke's universalizing concept of form. But still, it must have strengthened Markov's agreement with the *Blaue Reiter*'s goals and with Macke in particular. The

faßbare Form für eine unfaßbare Idee, die Personifikation eines abstrakten Begriffs. Für uns ist das Bild faßbare Form für eine unklare, unfaßbare Vorstellung von einem Verstorbenen, von einem Tier, einer Pflanze, von dem ganzen Zauber der Natur, vom Rhythmischen; Macke, 'Die Masken' in Lankheit, Der Blaue Reiter, p. 57f.

⁹⁴ *Die geringschätzige Handbewegung, mit der bis dato [...] alle Kunstformen primitiver Völker ins Gebiet des Ethnologischen oder Kunstgewerblichen verweisen, ist zum mindesten erstaunlich... Wie zum Hohn europäischer Ästhetik reden überall Formen erhabene Sprache; p. 57 and 59.*

⁹⁵ *Wie selbstverständlich erscheint es uns heute, dass der Stilcharakter dieser primitiven Kunst nicht durch ein unentwickeltes Können, sondern durch ein andersgerichtetes Wollen bedingt ist, durch ein Wollen, das auf grossen elementaren Voraussetzungen beruht, [...]. [das] stärker ist als die Suggestionskraft jenes höheren und kultivierten Illusionismus, der seit der Renaissance das Schicksal unserer Kunst ist; Wilhelm Worringer in Alfred Walther Heymel, A. W. (ed.), *Im Kampf um die Kunst. Die Antwort auf den "Protest deutscher Künstler"*, Munich: R. Piper 1911, p. 95f. On a different perspective vis-à-vis Einstein and Worringer, see Andreas Michel, 'Our European Arrogance': Wilhelm Worringer and Carl Einstein on Non-European Art', in Birgit Tautz (ed.), *Colors 1800/1900/2000: Signs of Ethnic Difference*, Amsterdam – New York: Editions Rodopi B. V. 2004, pp. 143-162, and Michel, *Europe and the Problem of the Other: The Critique of Modernity in the writings of Carl Einstein and Victor Segalen*, University of Minnesota (unpubl. PhD thesis) 1991.*

Worringer family had maintained affectionate relations with the artist's family since about 1911, and no doubt Macke's fascination with non-western culture was, if not initiated, then at least reinforced by this relationship.⁹⁶

If the above suggestion is correct, it was Macke who advised Markov to inspect the ethnographic collections held at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, the same that had inspired his essay, 'Die Masken'. The museum had opened in 1906 to honor the achievements and collection of the natural scientist and ethnologist, Wilhelm Joest (1852-1897). It was run by Willy Foy, an associate of Ankermann and Graebner and defender of the new *kultur-historische* approach to ethnology. Situated on the Rhine between Macke's home in Bonn and the *Gereonsklub* in Cologne, the artist's first experience of the 'ethnographic wonders' he was to assemble for the *Blaue Reiter* was gained by visits to the museum, the only one of its kind in west Germany.⁹⁷ His interest in non-European objects (especially masks) goes back to his student days when he worked as a stage designer for the *Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus* and his friend, Wilhelm Schmidt-Bonn, was the editor for the theatre's journal *Die Masken*.⁹⁸ In 1910, he visited the large exhibition of Muslim art in Munich (the that same Matisse saw) and the Fauvist exhibition at the *Moderne Galerie Thannhauser*; both had a lasting effect on his artistic work. Also during 1910, after a visit to the *Museum Folkwang* to view the second exhibition of the *Neue Künstlervereinigung*, Macke voiced his fascination with cultures other than those of Europe: 'I was in Hagen, saw two Matisse which

⁹⁶ Macke's interest in Worringer's oeuvre is expressed in a letter to Marc, dated 19 July 1911, in Macke (ed.), p. 60. Worringer's sister Emmy was one of the founder members of the *Gereonsklub*; her ability to attract 'a lively circle of like-minded people' appears to be the reason why during 1913 the Mackes were offered the art historian's house in Bern for their summer holidays, where he held a post at the city's university. Their mother, 'a temperamental and energetic old lady interested in everything', ran the restaurant at Cologne's Zoological Gardens, where Macke spent much time sketching; for further details see Erdmann-Macke pp. 220f., 265-268; see also the introduction and the sketchbooks in Heiderich, *August Macke – Die Skizzenbücher*, 2 vols, Stuttgart: Hatje 1987.

⁹⁷ On Macke's 'inspiration' for his essay and the *Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum*, see Volprecht, p.251, and Gisela Völger, 'Vorwort', in Andrea Reikat, (cat.) *Bergräbnisritual in Zentralafrika*, in *Ethnologica*, Neue Folge, vol. 16, Cologne: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum 1990, p. 7. On the history of the museum see Völger (ed.), in (cat.) *Kunst der Welt im Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum für Völkerkunde*, Munich, London, New York: Prestel Verlag 1999, pp. 6-9 and pp. 222-228. The citation is from a letter which reported on a provisional sample copy of the *Blaue Reiter* almanac that contained Macke's essay and the *ethnographischen Wunder*, see letter Marc to Macke, dated 9 November 1911, in Macke (ed.), p. 77.

⁹⁸ Erdmann-Macke, p. 68, 78f. and p. 86-97; on Macke's early interests in non-Western artefacts, see Heiderich, "Der Leib ist die Seele", p. 253.

enchanted me. A large collection of Japanese masks, divine!’⁹⁹ Islamic, Japanese and African stylistic elements are evident in his designs for a poster competition in 1911 and an orientalized colored linocut he produced for the 1913 *Rheinische Expressionisten* at the *Kunstsalon Friedrich Cohen*.¹⁰⁰

It was on his initiative that Osthaus approached the Hamburg firm of J. F. G. Umlauff, one of the most important traders in ethnographica. The collector acquired Tibetan artifacts and eleven of the vast collection of objects Frobenius brought back from his 1910 expedition to the Yoruba, all of which are still part of the Folkwang collection. At the time of Einstein’s association with Thomas A. Joyce, the company offered the British Museum non-western art objects as well as ‘ethnological model-figures’ in ‘papier-mâché, light, durable’.¹⁰¹ The firm was run by Christine K. Umlauff, sister of the organizer of the popular Völkerschauen, Carl Hagenbeck, who also supplied the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum with most of its collection of well over two hundred ceremonial masks from Sri Lanka.¹⁰²

One of these - a gift from the Rautenstrauch family for the museum’s opening in 1906 - may have been the ‘inspiration’ for Macke’s essay ‘Die Masken’; its iconography became the pivot of his meditations on the role of art. There are no records of his visiting the museum, but his sketchbooks vouch for studies at the Basle Völkerkunde Museum and an interest in Frobenius, something he would have shared with Markov. His letters speak of his involvement with ‘charitable things at the Cologne ‘colonial club’, which in the winter of 1911 resulted in his designing a number of large posters for the club’s party which depicted exotic motifs such as an elephant, belly dancers and Africans. The party was held at the function rooms of the Cologne Zoological Gardens run by Worringer’s mother.¹⁰³ The importance of

⁹⁹ Ich war in Hagen, sah zwei Matisse, die mich entzückten. Eine große Sammlung japanischer Masken, göttlich; Erdmann-Macke, p. 216, also p. 204f.; also Hesse-Frielinghaus, p.513; Macke made several drawings of Matisse’s Baigneuses à la tortue (1908), cf. Heiderich, August Macke. Zeichnungen, p. 74 and 76.

¹⁰⁰ On Macke’s designs and for reproductions, see Diehl & Dering, pp. 31-38 and pp. 59-72.

¹⁰¹ Cf. letter J.F.G. Umlauff to the British Museum (Ethnography), dated 15 November 1929, and letter, dated 1 September 1930 addressed to H. J. Braunholtz, held at the Department of Prehistory and Europe, The British Museum.

¹⁰² Cf. Volprecht, p. 251; and Völger, *Kunst der Welt*, p. 222f. On the Völkerschauen displaying live exhibits of people from sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the German colonies, see Hilke Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig um die Welt. Die Hagenbeckschen Völkerschauen*, Frankfurt/M. & New York: Campus-Verlag 1989.

¹⁰³ *Ich mache in Köln an Wohltätigkeitsgeschichten des Kolonialvereins mit*; see letter Macke to Marc, dated 9 November 1911, in Macke, p. 78f.; on the posters,

the Rautenstrauch-Joest collection in motivating Macke's essay and choice of ethnographic objects for the almanac ought not to be ignored. Its holdings allowed easy access to research strikingly similar non-western objects to those that featured in the *Blaue Reiter*, even though the actual objects reproduced came in the end from the Munich and the Berne ethnographic collections.¹⁰⁴

It is likely that Macke was captivated by the Sri Lankan Buddhist mask for similar reasons that marked his admiration for Matisse. One was the expressive potential of color, an interest he shared in lengthy theoretical deliberations with his friend Marc, and bold essential form.¹⁰⁵ Yet – as in Einstein's proclivity for such objects – of equal importance was their intrinsic quality of concealment and transformation. For Macke, the iconography of this mask functioned as a parable of the curative role of art. The mask represents the mythical figure of the prince Maha Kola, who avenged his mother's murder by turning into the sickness demon whose poisoned breath spread devastation across the land. Flanked by his eighteen demon attendants, and crowned by cobras symbolizing different ills brought on by his lethal fury, he is seen devouring the corpses affected by his vengeful action. The mythical origins of such masks go back to pre-Christian times and remained part of Buddhist ceremonies until the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁶

In an early draft of the essay, Macke considered masks as signifiers of the role of the work of art: 'a work of art must be like a well-rendered lie of nature,

see Erdmann-Macke, p. 248; on Frobenius, see Macke sketchbook no. 53, p. 38 v. Im; on his Basle visit, see sketchbook no. 67, both in Heiderich, *August Macke – Die Skizzenbücher*. The 'deutscher Kolonialverein' was founded in 1882. Its aim was to expand on Bismarck's initial concept of the German colonies functioning to secure its trading posts and to promote Germany's imperial power abroad (with its slogan of the nation's rightful 'place in the sun'). Local branches were set up across Germany including Bonn and Cologne, attracting thousands of citizens to seek their fortunes abroad and promoted in journals like the *Koloniale Rundschau*. On Markov and Frobenius see Part IV below.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, the Cologne Easter Island figure (*moia kavakava*), object no. 104, p. 72 and colour plate no. VIII; for the Marquesas carving (*tapuvae took/mio*), see object no. 225, p. 120 and colour plate no. XIII, both in *Tapa und Tiki – Die Polynesien Sammlung des Rautenstrauch-Joest Museums*, (cat. Hilke Thode-Arora), in Klaus Schneider (ed.) *Ethnologica*, Neue Folge, vol. 23, Cologne: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum 2001. For the illustrations of the corresponding objects in the *Blaue Reiter* (1912), see *Plastik von den Osterinseln* p. 22, and *Holzplastik*, p. 32; ethnographic details and their museum locations are given in Lankheit, *Der Blaue Reiter*, pp. 335-350, esp. p. 339, no. 31 Easter Island, and p. 340, no. 42 Marquesas Islands

¹⁰⁵ On Macke's interest in colour theory, see esp. letter Macke to Marc, n. d. (after 9 December 1910, in Macke, pp. 25-27; also Heiderich, *August Macke*, p. 73; and Erdmann-Macke, p. 215f.

¹⁰⁶ Völger, *Kunst der Welt*, p. 78f.

[...] a mirror of feelings [...] But perhaps we get closer to the truth through the lie, the so-called mask, the sign, closer to our entire subjective feeling'.¹⁰⁷ The concrete form of the work of art is seen as a manifestation of interior truths, in the same way as the mask makes truth palpable. It is perhaps worth quoting his reflections on the Sri Lanka mask since its polysemic character acts as a metaphor for the universal language of art in what probably constitutes the most lyrical argument for the image juxtapositions of *Der Blaue Reiter*:

Does not the portrait of Dr Gachet by van Gogh originate from a similar spiritual life as the woodcut form of the astonished grimace of the Japanese charlatan? The mask of the sickness demon from Ceylon is the gesture of terror of an indigenous people with which its priests conjure up ills. For the grotesque embellishments of the mask, we find analogies in the monuments of the Gothic, the hardly known edifices and [Maya] glyphs in the primeval forests of Mexico. What the wilted flowers are for the European doctor, the wilted corpses are for the mask of the conjurer of sickness. The bronze casts of the Negroes from Benin in West Africa [...] [and] the idols from the Easter Islands in the most distant Pacific Ocean [...] speak the same language as the chimeras of Notre-Dame and the tombstone in the Frankfurt cathedral. As if to heap scorn on European aesthetic, everywhere forms speak with a sublime voice.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ [E]in Kunstwerk muss gut gelogene Natur sein, [...] ein Spiegel der Empfindungen [...]. Aber vielleicht kommen wir der Wahrheit durch die Lüge, durch die sogenannte Maske, durch das Zeichen, durch unser ganz subjektives Empfinden näher; excerpt from an unpublished manuscript by Macke, Macke-Archiv, Münster, here Heiderich, "Der Leib ist die Seele", p. 253. Heiderich convincingly argues that Macke's essay shows clear signs of his close reading of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855), Grashalme (trans. Johannes Schlaf, 1907) and especially, with regard to synaesthetic notions of form in all artistic production, the translation of essays by Oscar Wilde, *Intentionen*, (intr. & trans. Ida & Arthur Roessler), Leipzig: Friedrich Rothbarth 1905.

¹⁰⁸ *Stammt das Porträt des Dr. Gachet von van Gogh nicht aus einem ähnlichen geistigen Leben wie die im Holzdruck geformte, erstaunte Fratze des japanischen Gauklers. Die Maske des Krankheitsdämons aus Ceylon ist die Schreckensgeste eines Naturvolkes, mit der seine Priester Krankes beschwören. Für die grotesken Zierate der Maske finden wir Analogien in den Baudenkmälern der Gotik, in den fast unbekannten Bauten und Inschriften im Urwalde von Mexiko. Was für das Porträt eines europäischen Arztes die welken Blumen sind, das sind für die Maske des Krankheitsbeschwörers die welken Leichen. Die Bronzegüsse der Neger von Benin in Westafrika (im Jahre 1889 entdeckt), die Idole von den Osterinseln aus dem äußersten Stillen Ozean, der Häuptlingskragen aus Alaska und die Holzmaske aus Neukaledonien reden dieselbe Sprache wie die Schimären von Notre-Dame und der Grabstein im Frankfurter Dom. Wie zum Hohn europäischer Ästhetik reden überall Formen erhabene Sprache.* Macke (1912), 'Die Masken', here quoted from Lankheit (1965/1990), p. 58f.

The affinities between Macke's text and Markov's 'Principles' are obvious. Along with shared interests in Frobenius, African, East Asian and Easter Island art, it is feasible that Macke introduced Markov to the ethnographic collections at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum. Four Mende sculptures – acquired by the museum in 1906 from the London dealer, William O. Oldmann – featured in *Iskusstvo negrov*. Yet in spite of visual affinities and historical parallels between Markov and Einstein, they each occupied very different positions. Motivated by inquiries into Cubist practice Einstein pioneered an analysis of the formal properties of African sculpture that emphasized its mythic-religious foundation and ruled out all ethnological or iconographic conclusions, while Markov's project was informed by an understanding of art as a universal principle and the theories of Leo Frobenius.

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FIGURES

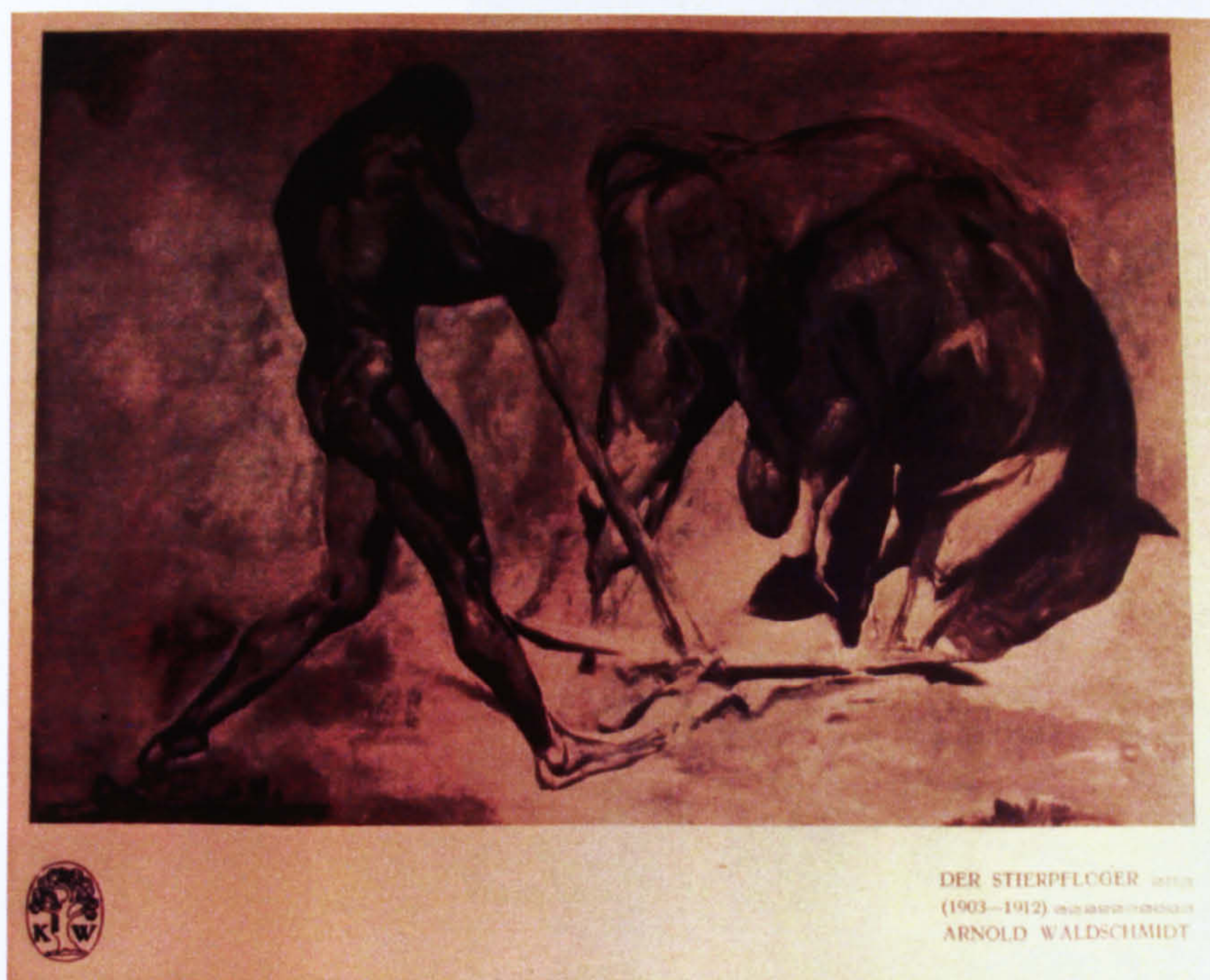


Fig. 1 Arnold Waldschmidt, *Stierpflüger* (Bull plowman, 1905).

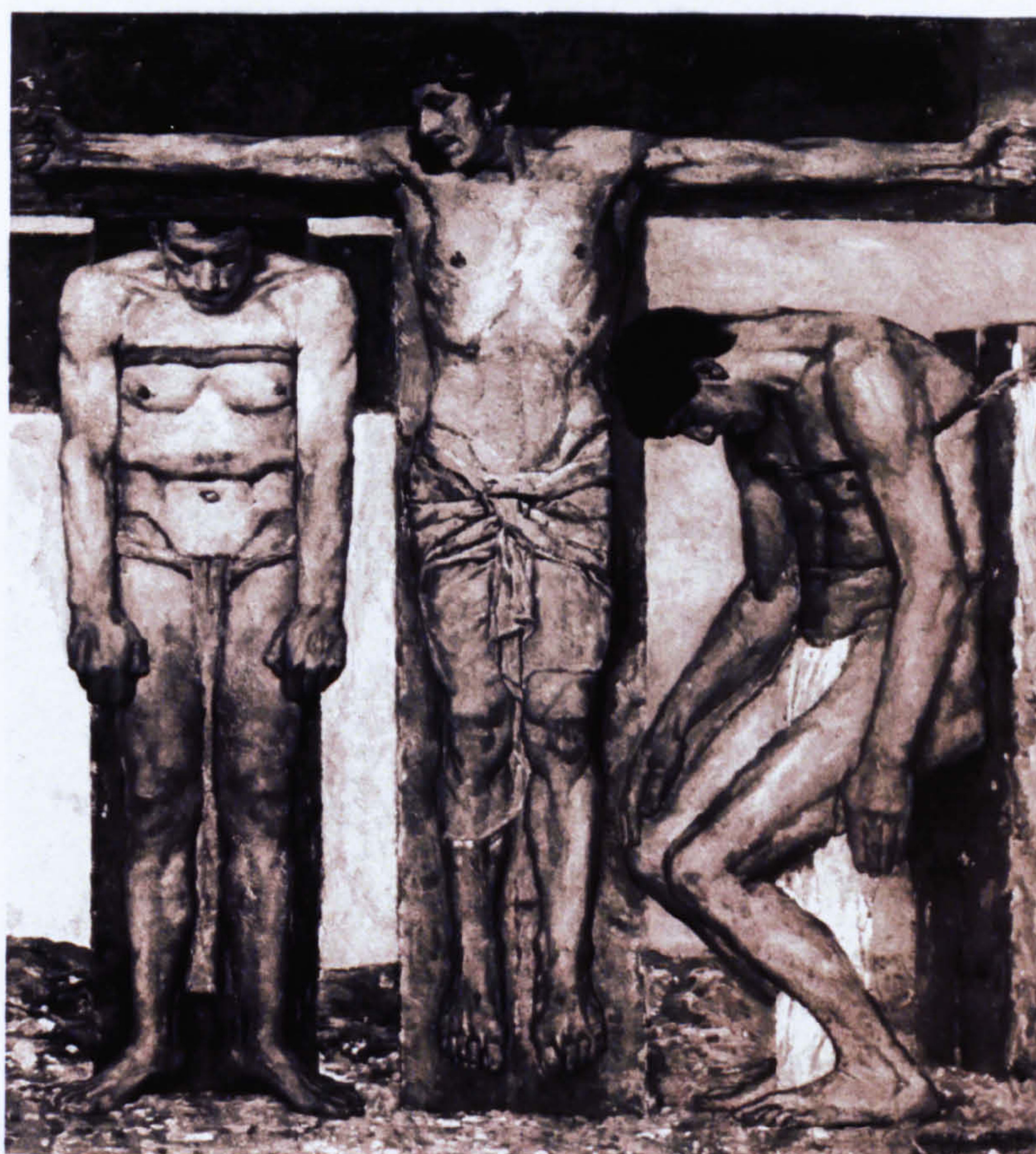


Fig. 2 Ludwig Schmid-Reutte, *Kreuzigung* (1907).



Fig. 3 Auguste Rodin, *Gustav Mahler* (1909).



Fig. 4 Auguste Rodin, *Francesca und Paolo* (c. 1887).



Max Oppenheimer, *Carl Einstein* (1912).



Fig. 6 Henri Rousseau, *Portrait of Joseph Brummer* (1909).

NEUE BLÄTTER

ERSTES HEFT / MATISSE: Akt. / CLAUDEL: Resitation aus der „Einsetzung des Ruhetages“ / DÄUBLER: Der
Nachtwandler. / PASCOLI: Der Taumel / PHILIPPE: Zwei Briefe / Heimliches Theater. / JOURDAIN: Holz-
schnitt / LEHMBRUCK: Akt /



Henri Matisse

Fig. 7 Cover of *Neue Blätter* with a drawing by Henri Matisse (1912).

Brummer
dist. Karl T. Hagen

BRUMMER
OBJETS D'ART ANTIQUE
ET DE HAUTE CURIOSITÉ

Paris. le 1^{er} septembre 1913.

3, BOULEVARD RASPAIL (VIII^e)

de cl
3.15.13



Monsieur le Directeur,

Je possède depuis peu de temps une coupe en argent massif de l'époque Sasanide, avec une bordure ciselée de poissons, travail très précieux.

Pendant que cette pièce, qui est d'une beauté remarquable et rare pourra vous intéresser, j'ai l'honneur de vous soumettre sa photographie ci-jointe. Le prix est de frs 14,000.-.

Dans l'attente de votre honnête réponse, veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Directeur, l'assurance de ma parfaite considération.

J. Brummer

Dimensions:

Gr. Diamètre 13.5 cm

Hauteur 4.5 cm

Fig. 8 Letter Joseph Brummer to the Director to the British Museum (1913).



Fig. 9 Anthropomorphic statue, Ekoi, Cross-River, Nigeria;
plate 1 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 10 Otto Feldmann, *Herr am Telefon (Flechtheim)*, 1911.



Fig. 11 Max Pechstein, *Still-life with small sculpture* (1913).

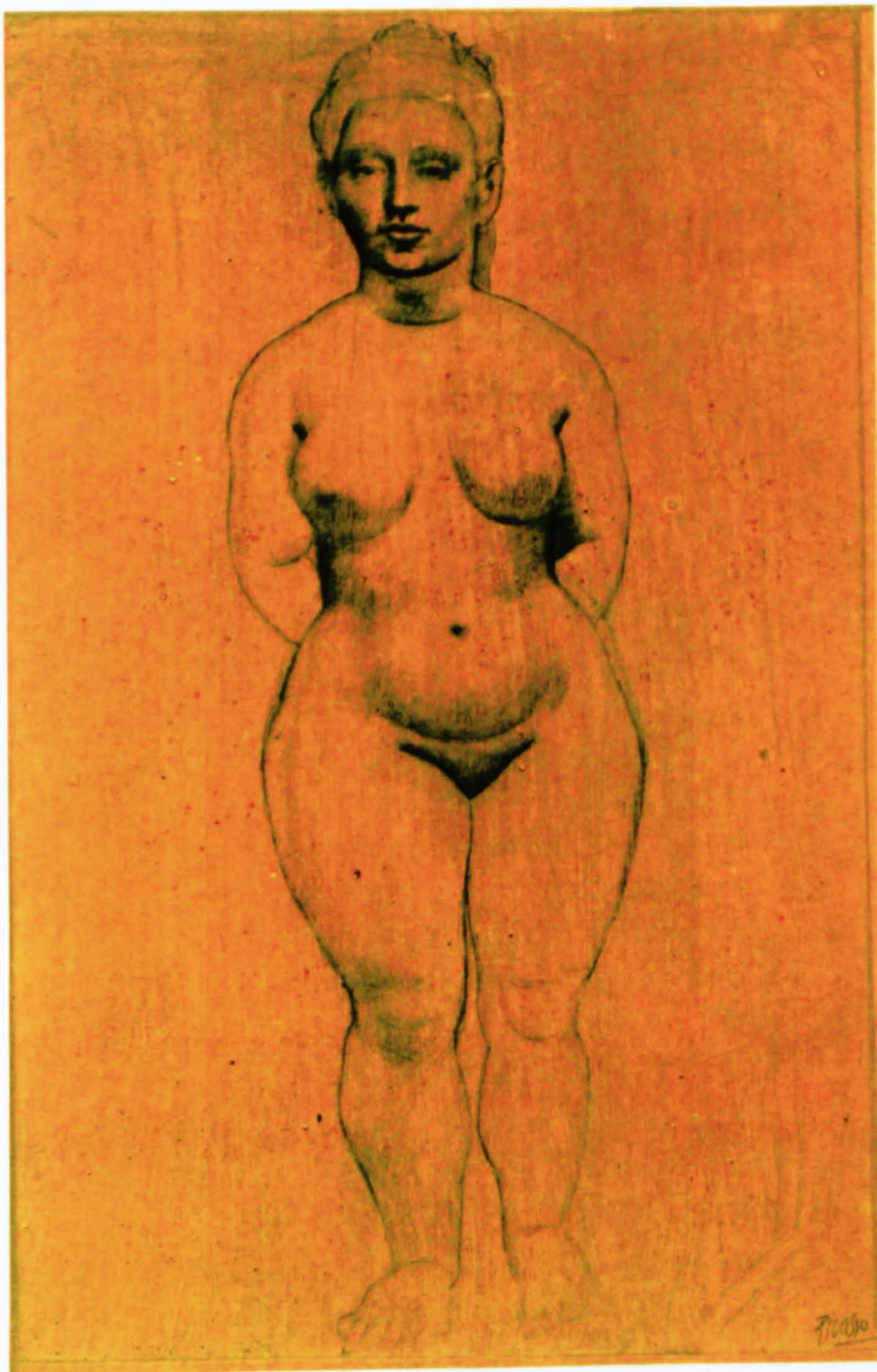


Fig. 12 Pablo Picasso, *Standing Female Nude* (1905-06).



Fig. 13 Pablo Picasso, *Three Women*, (1907-1908).

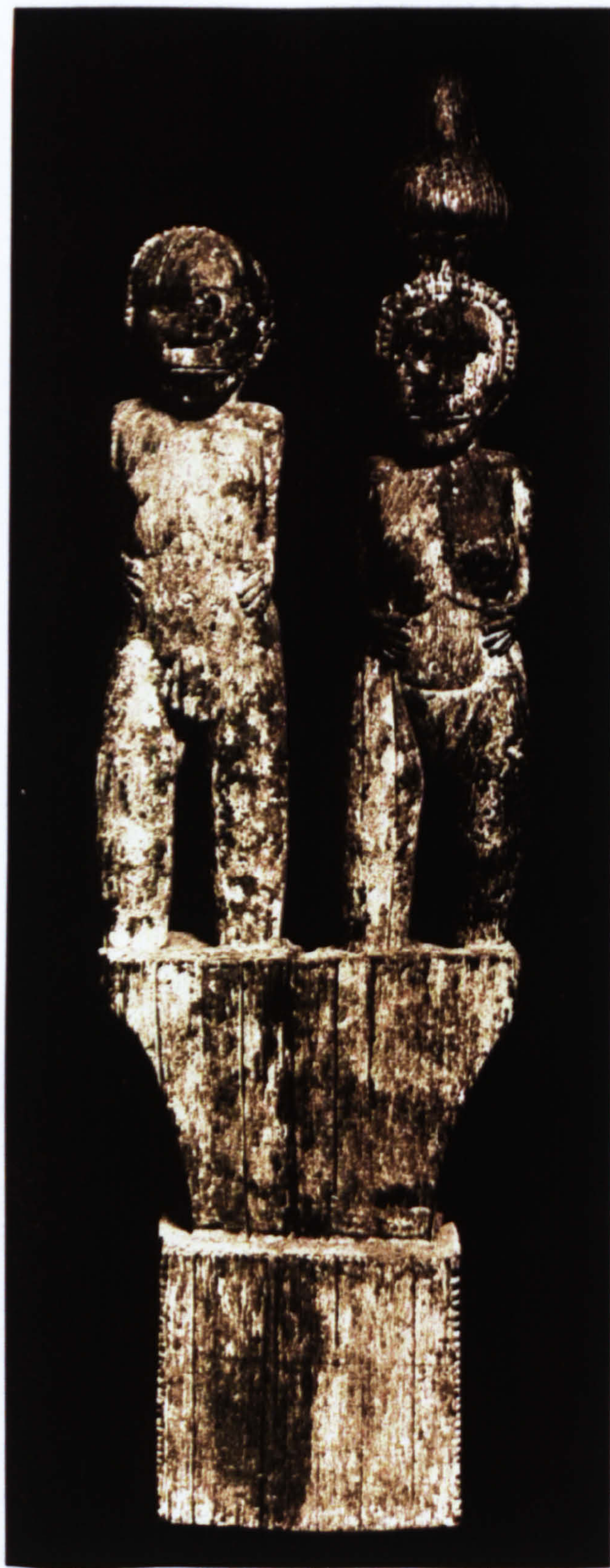


Fig. 14 Mortuary post figure, Sakalava, Madagascar;
plate 7 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 15 Helmet mask, Baule, Ivory Coast; plate 89 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 16 Reliquary head, (*nlo byeri*), Fang, Gabon; plate 17 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 17 Head of a monkey (?), Africa (?); plate 29 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 18 Caryatid figure, Kougni, Rep. of Congo; plate 29 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 19 Seated figure, 'The Prisoner', Bena Kanioka, DRC; plate 48 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 20 Seated figure, Ijo (ancient kingdom of Brass), Nigeria; plate 51 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



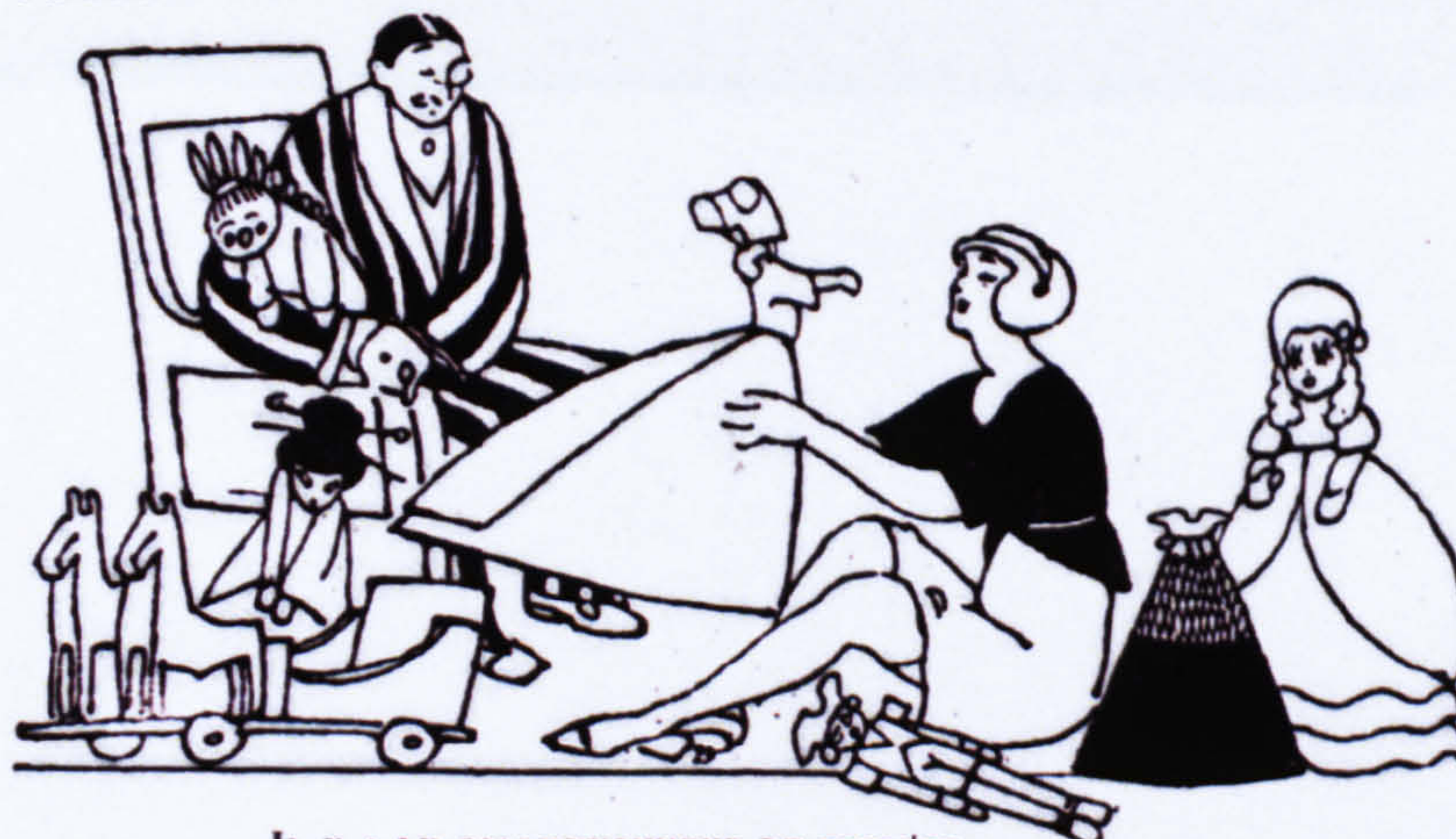
Fig. 21 Anthropomorphic mask, Baule, Ivory Coast; plate 94 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



La passion du bibelot est, aujourd'hui, un culte: l'Hôtel Drouot en est la cathédrale; les galeries particulières en sont les petites chapelles. Et le collectionneur est devenu pour les Parisiennes un directeur de conscience. Il confesse de 5 à 7, et officie généralement en pyjama.

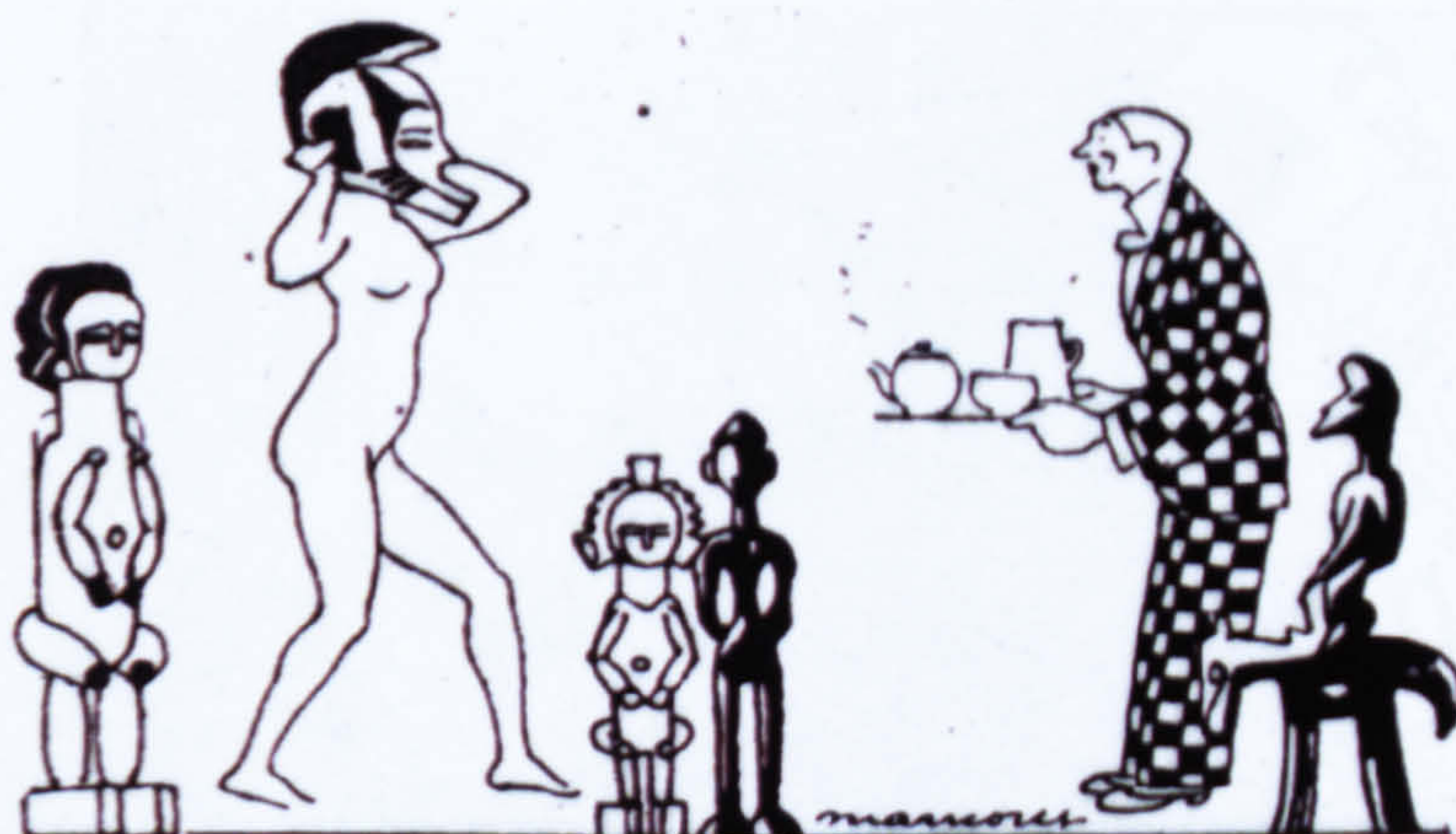


IL Y A LE COLLECTIONNEUR D'ESTAMPES
dont les cartons recèlent toutes les horreurs de l'Enfer et toutes les visions du Paradis.

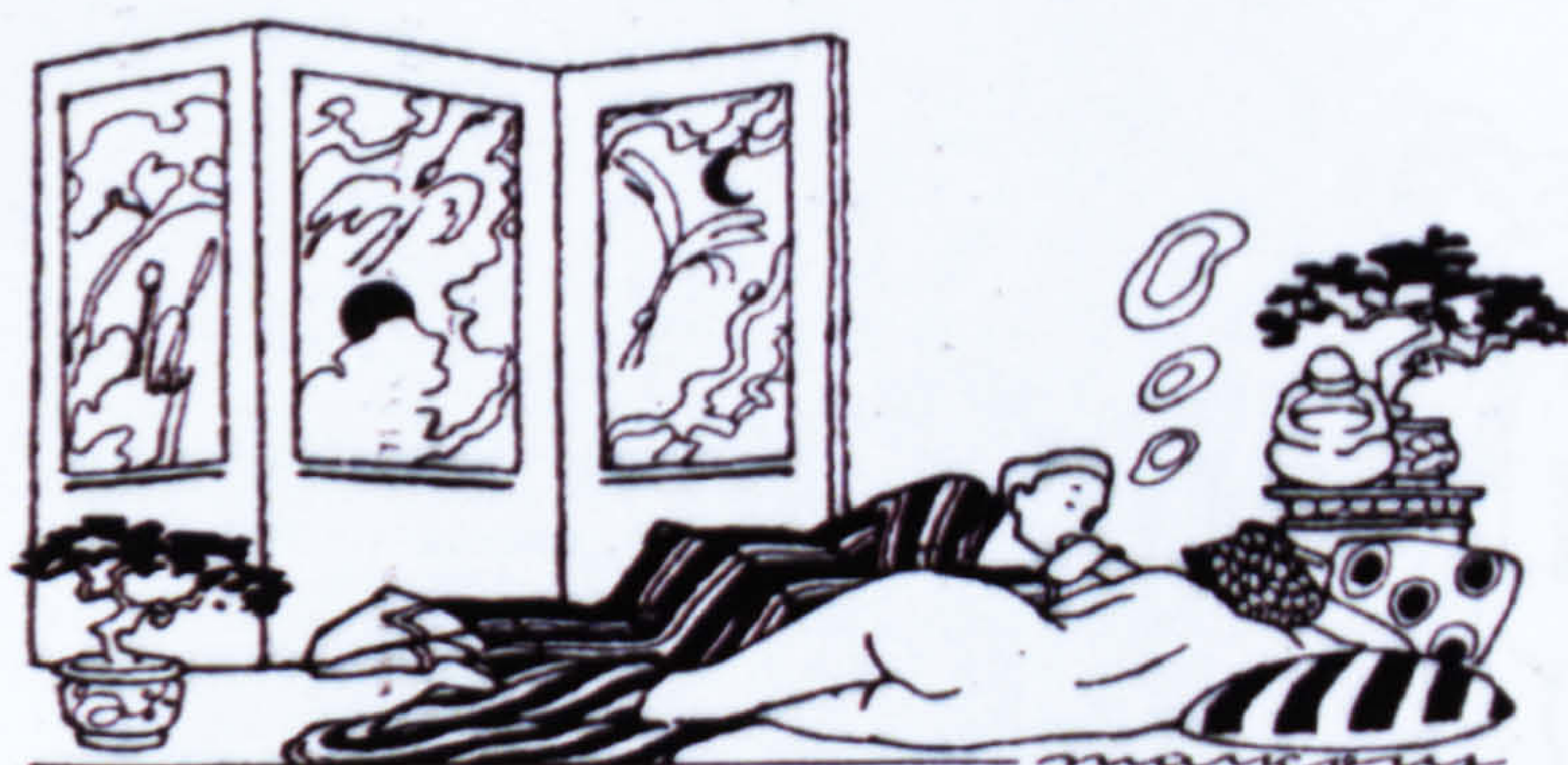


IL Y A LE COLLECTIONNEUR DE POUPÉES
chez qui on retrouve l'ingénuité gamine du temps où l'on était petite fille.

Fig. 22 Louis Marcoussis, *Bibeloteuses*, in *La Vie Parisienne* (1912).



IL Y A LE COLLECTIONNEUR D'IDOLLES NÈGRES
chez qui l'on oublie tous les vains préjugés d'une civilisation trop compliquée.



IL Y A LE COLLECTIONNEUR DE JAPONAISERIES
chez qui l'on s'initie aux langoureuses extases de l'Orient.
Comment s'étonner qu'avec tant de maîtres subtils, la Parisienne ait, en art, un goût si raffiné et des idées si confuses?

Fig. 22 (ctd.) Louis Marcous[is], *Bibeloteuses*, in *La Vie Parisienne* (1912).



Fig. 23 Cover of *Je sais tout*, vol. 7, no. 83 (December 1911).



Fig. 24 Royal statue (*Mbob Pelyeeng aNce*), Kuba-Bushong, DRC; plate 65 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.

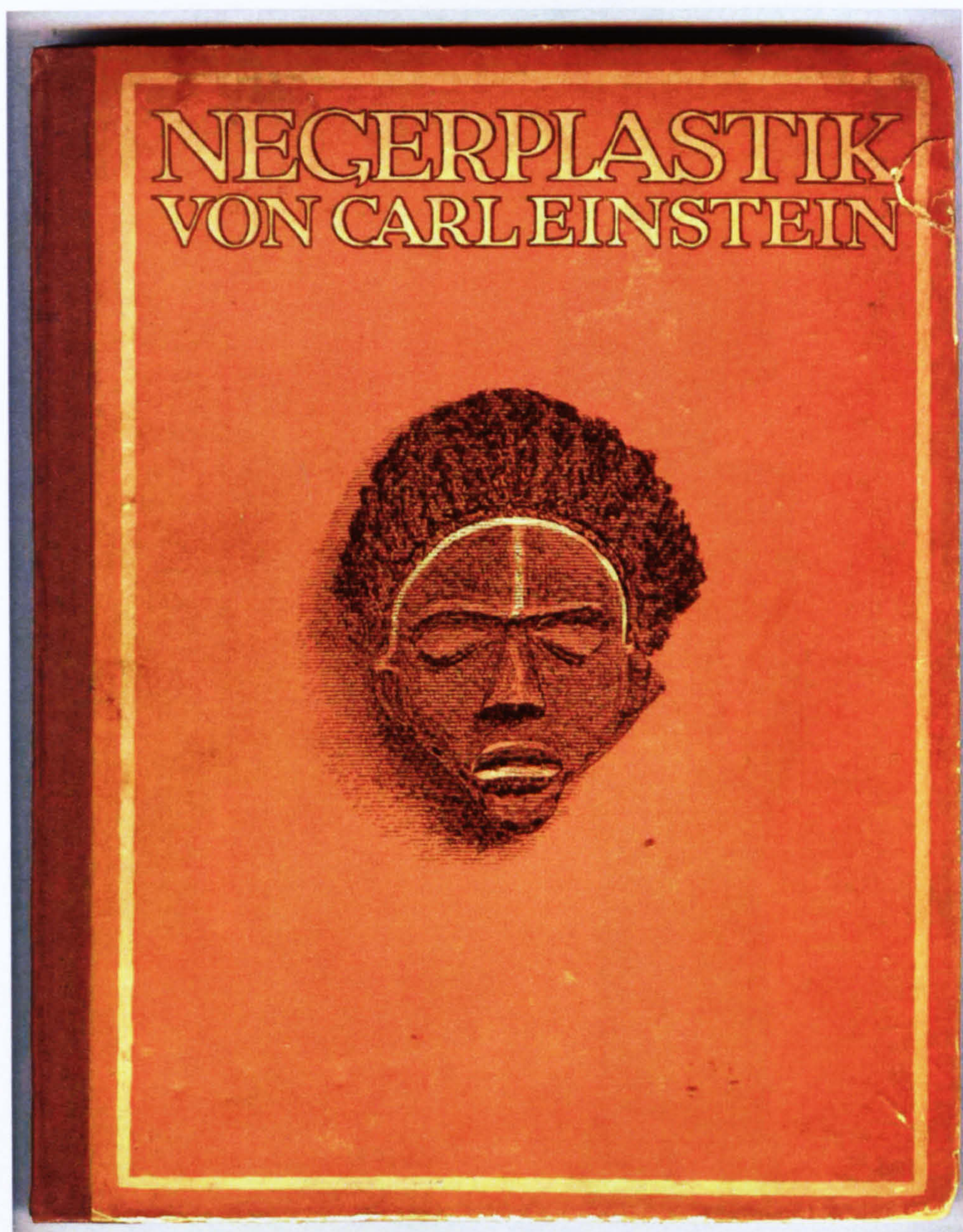


Fig. 25 Cover of Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.

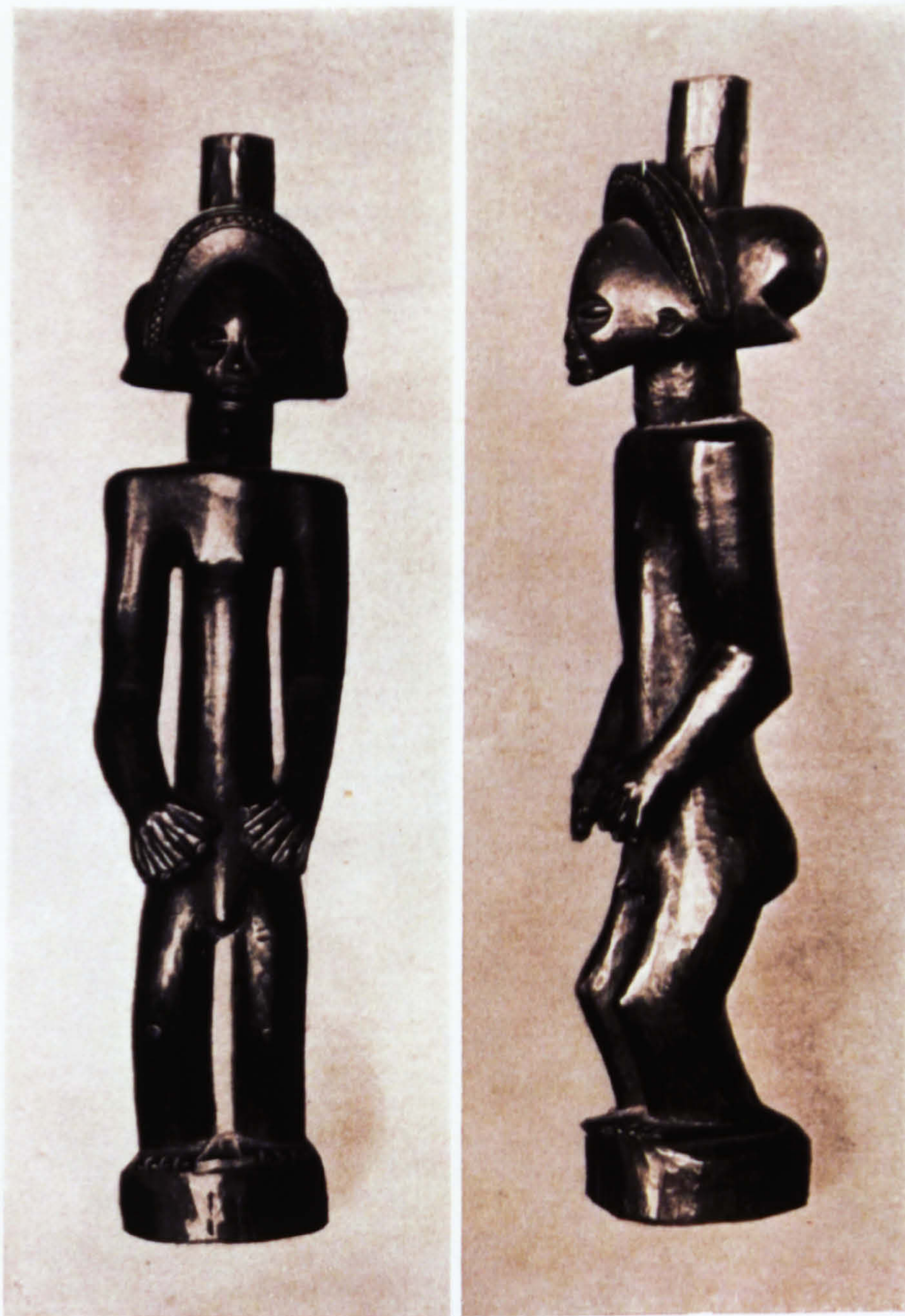


Fig. 26 Statue of a chief, Chokwe, Angola; plate 67 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 27 Reliquary statue, Fang (Ngumba), Cameroon;
plate 36 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 28 & Fig. 29 Side view and back view of Fig. 27; plate 37 and 38 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.

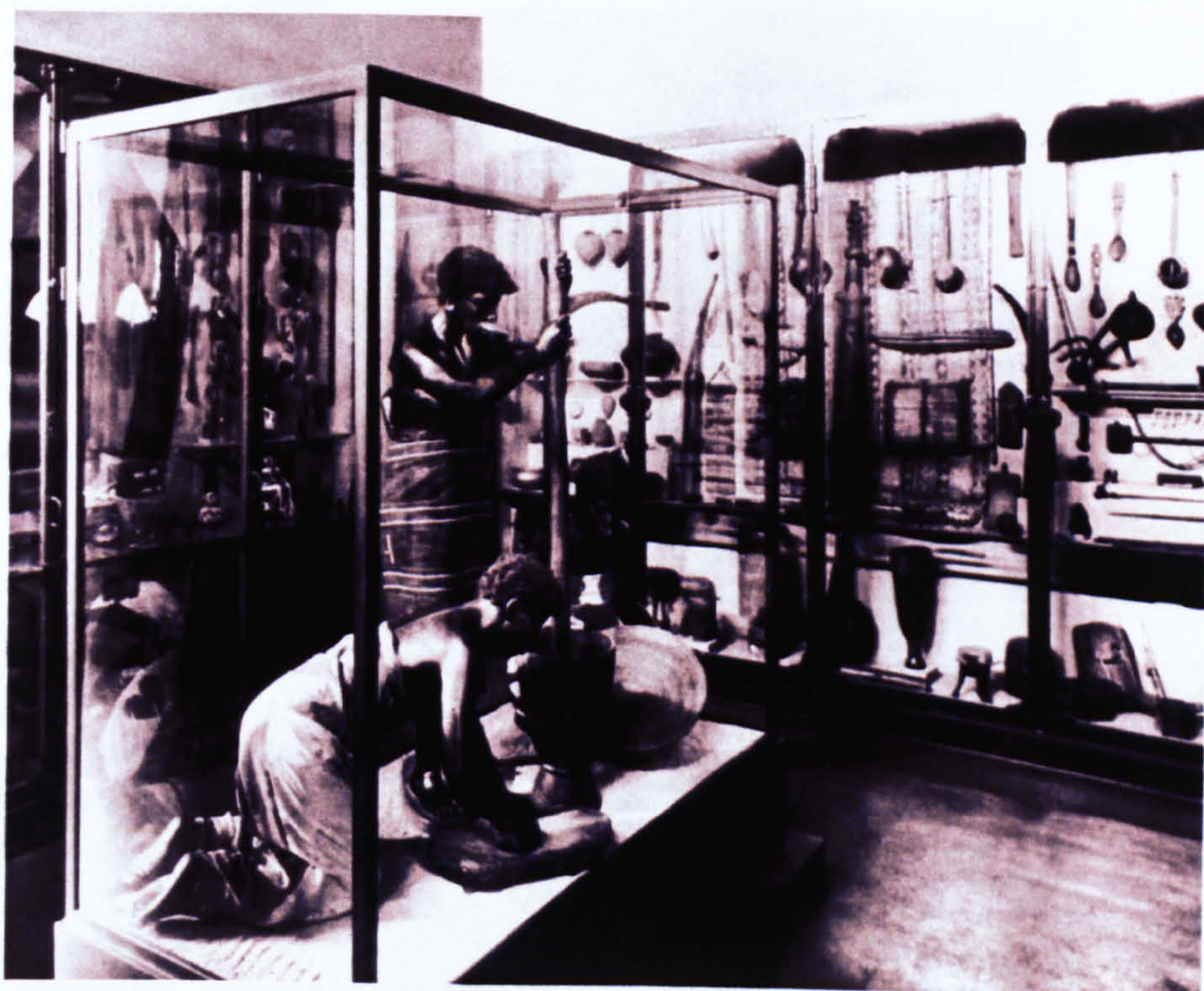


Fig. 30 View of the newly designed East-Africa display, Ethnological Museum, Berlin, 1926.



Fig. 31 Mother-child figure (*pfemba*), DRC, Rep. of Congo, (Cabinda), Congo or Angola; plate 64 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.

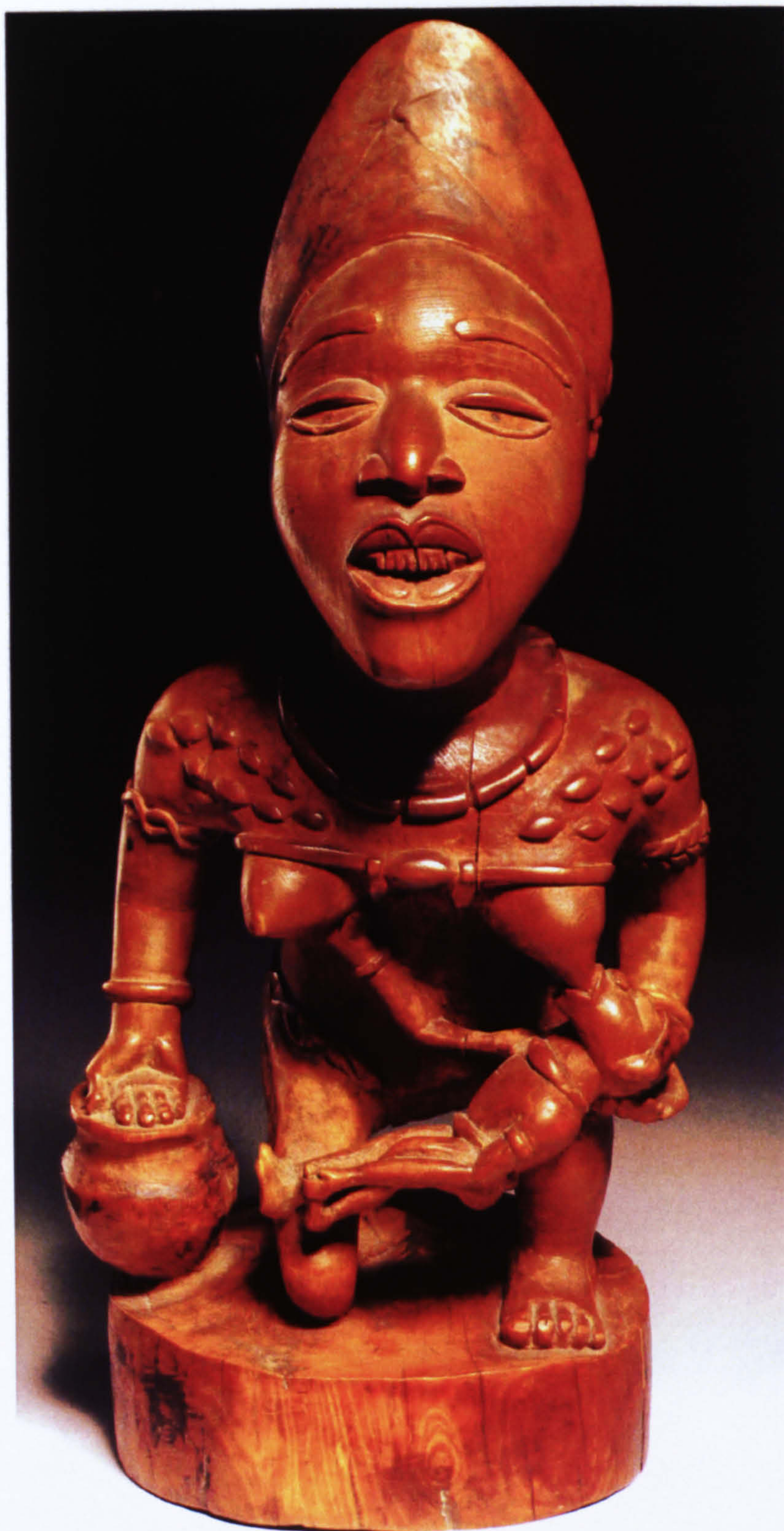


Fig. 32 As Fig. 31, front view.



Fig. 33 As Fig. 31, profile view.



Fig. 34 As Fig. 31, back view.



Fig. 35 Mortuary post figure, Sakalava; detail of Fig. 14; plate 8 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 36 Mortuary post figure, detail of Fig. 14; plate 9 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 37 Detail of Fig. 14, Mortuary post figure; plate 10 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 38 Detail of Fig. 14, Mortuary post figure; plate 11 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 39 Detail of a ritual object? Melanesia? plate 4 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 40 Statue of a man, Senufo?, Mali?; plate 2 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 41 Female statue, Mende, Sierra Leone; plate 58 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 42 Statue, Teke?, Rep. of Congo or DRC; plate 46 of Einstein, *Negerplastik* 1915.



Fig. 43 Reliquary head, Fang Betsi, Gabon;
plate 62 of Einstein, *Negerplastik* 1915.



Fig. 44 Fragment of a power figure(?) Vili, DRC; plate 13
of Einstein, *Negerplastik* 1915.



Fig. 45 Head (detail of a statue), Teke, Rep. of Congo; plate 70 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 46 Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, *Apostle* (1918).



Fig. 47 The 'Iron Hindenburg', Berlin (4 September 1915).



Fig. 48 Reliquary head, Fang, Gabon; plate I of Guillaume, *Sculptures nègres*, 1917.



Fig. 49 as Fig. 48; plate 18 of Einstein *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 50 Anthropomorphic mask, Baule, Ivory Coast;
plate III of Guillaume *Sculptures nègres*, 1917.



Fig. 51 plate 97 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 52 Two Tikis, Marquesas Islands; plate VIII of Guillaume *Sculptures nègres*, 1917.



Fig. 53 plate 85 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 54 Anthropomorphic mask, Senufo, Ivory Coast;
plate XIX of Guillaume *Sculptures nègres*, 1917.



Fig. 55 plate 99 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.

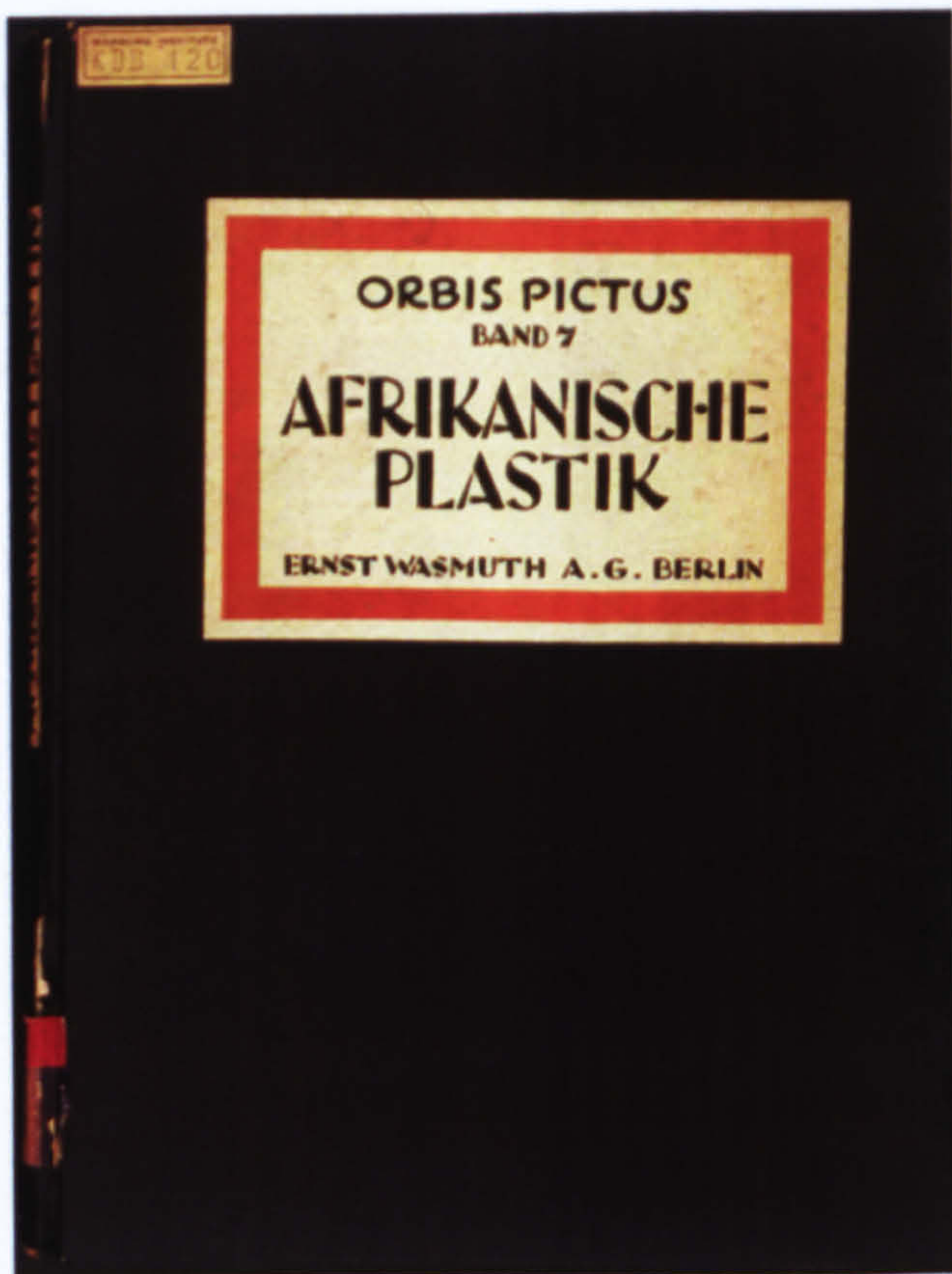


Fig. 56 Cover of Carl Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, 1921.



Fig. 57 Double-sided Reliquary figure Mindassa or Bawumbu, Gabon.



Fig. 58 Royal statue (*ndop*), Kuba-Bushong, DRC;
plate 38 of Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, 1921.

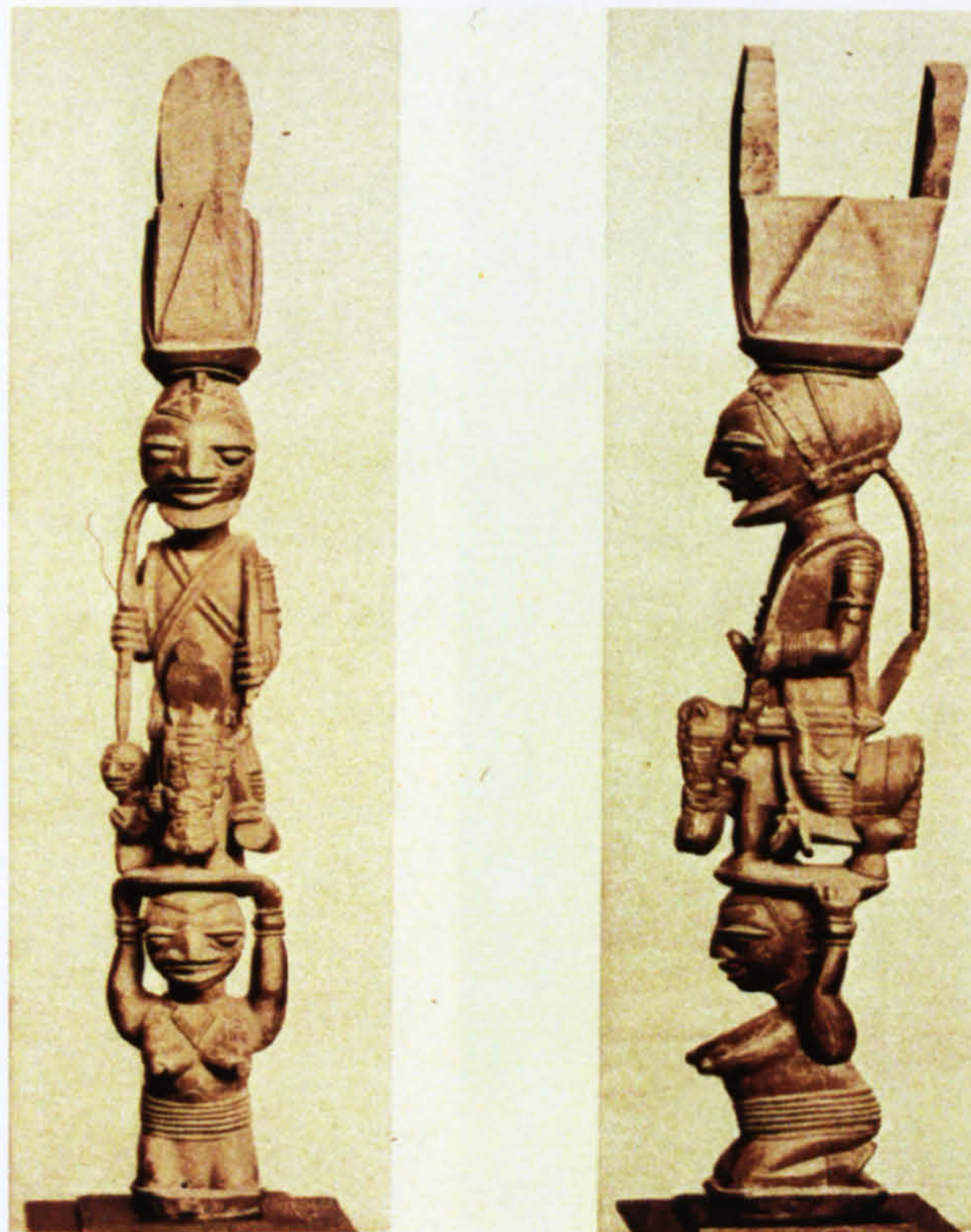


Fig. 59 Equestrian statue, Yoruba, Nigeria; plate 4
of Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, 1921.



Fig. 60 Mask, Bangwa, Cameroon; plate 12 of Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, 1921.



Fig. 61 Max Beckmann, *Portrait Aga Countess vom Hagen* (1908).



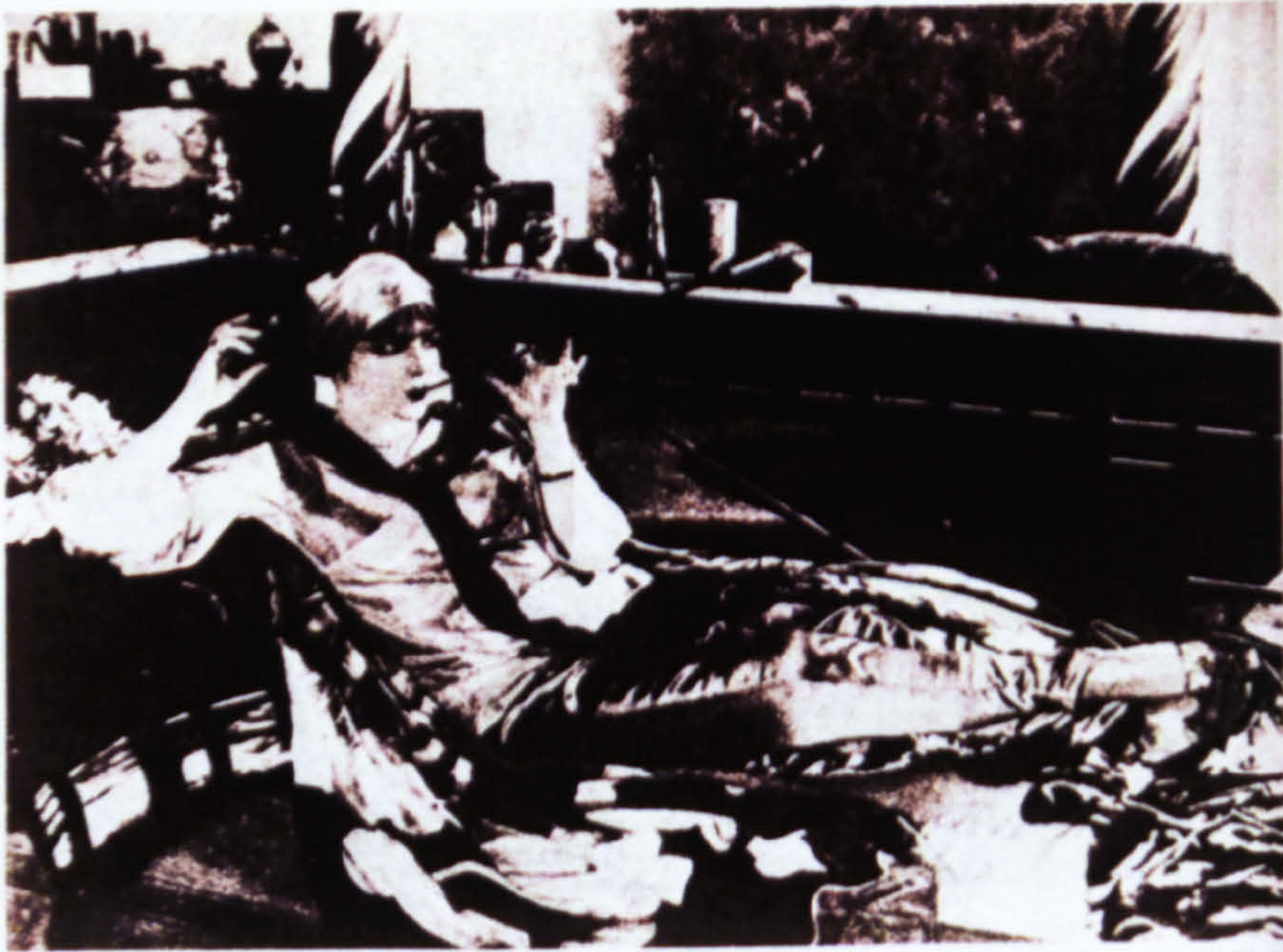
Wie ein in der Etappe gestorbener General begraben wurde



Wie die an der Front abgeschlachteten Proletarier verladen wurden

41

Fig. 62 John Heartfield, spread from *Platz! dem Arbeiter* (1923-24).



Wide World Photo

1926



1880

Fig. 63 Top: '1926', below: '1880'; spread from *Der Querschnitt*, no.2 (1926).



Fig. 64 *Masque Bapindi* – British Museum; in *Documents*, no. 1, 1930.



Fig. 65 *Masque Ekoi* – *British Museum*; in *Documents*, no. 7, 1929.



Fig. 66 Janus Mask, Ekoi, Cross River, Nigeria (as Fig. 65), the British Museum.



Fig. 67 *Picasso, 1^{er} janvier 1930, 64 x 47 cm, in Documents, no. 2, 1930.*



Fig. 68 Left: *Hermaphrodite. Statue Habbés. Coll. de Miré*; right: *Hermaphrodite Uli (Nouvelle-Guinée). A. M. Pierre Loeb; in Documents, no. 2. 1930.*



Fig. 69 Left: Henri Laurens, *Construction* (sculpture composée de différents matériaux); Right: *Détail de sculpture au Grand Palais: Queue de Lion*; spread from *Documents*, no. 7, 1929.



Lipchitz, Sculpture (1929)

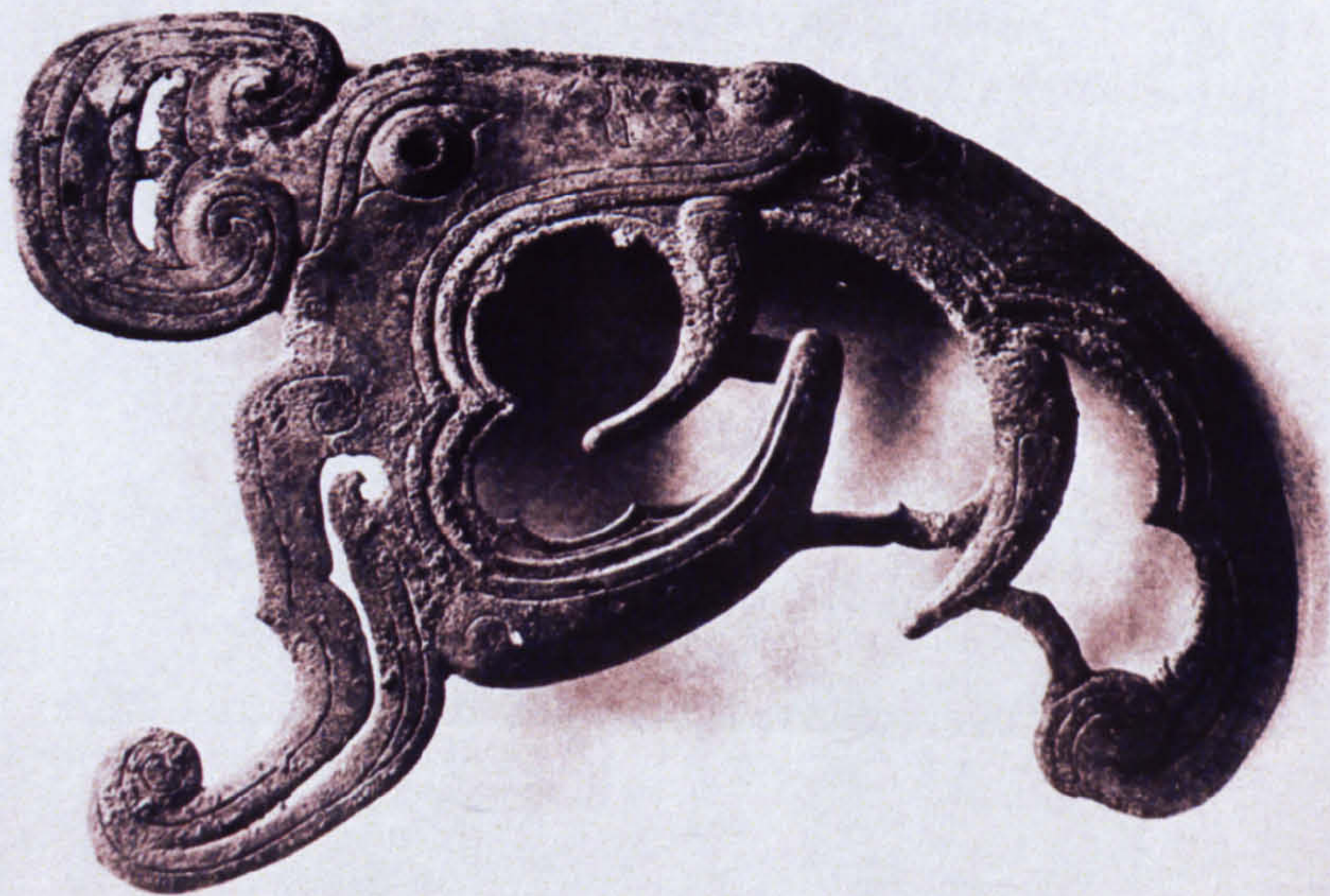


Fig. 70 Left: *Lipchitz: Sculpture 1929*; Right: *Applique de bronze Chinoise, époque Pré-Han (cf. p. 396), Coll. David-Weill; spread from Documents, no. 7. 1929.*

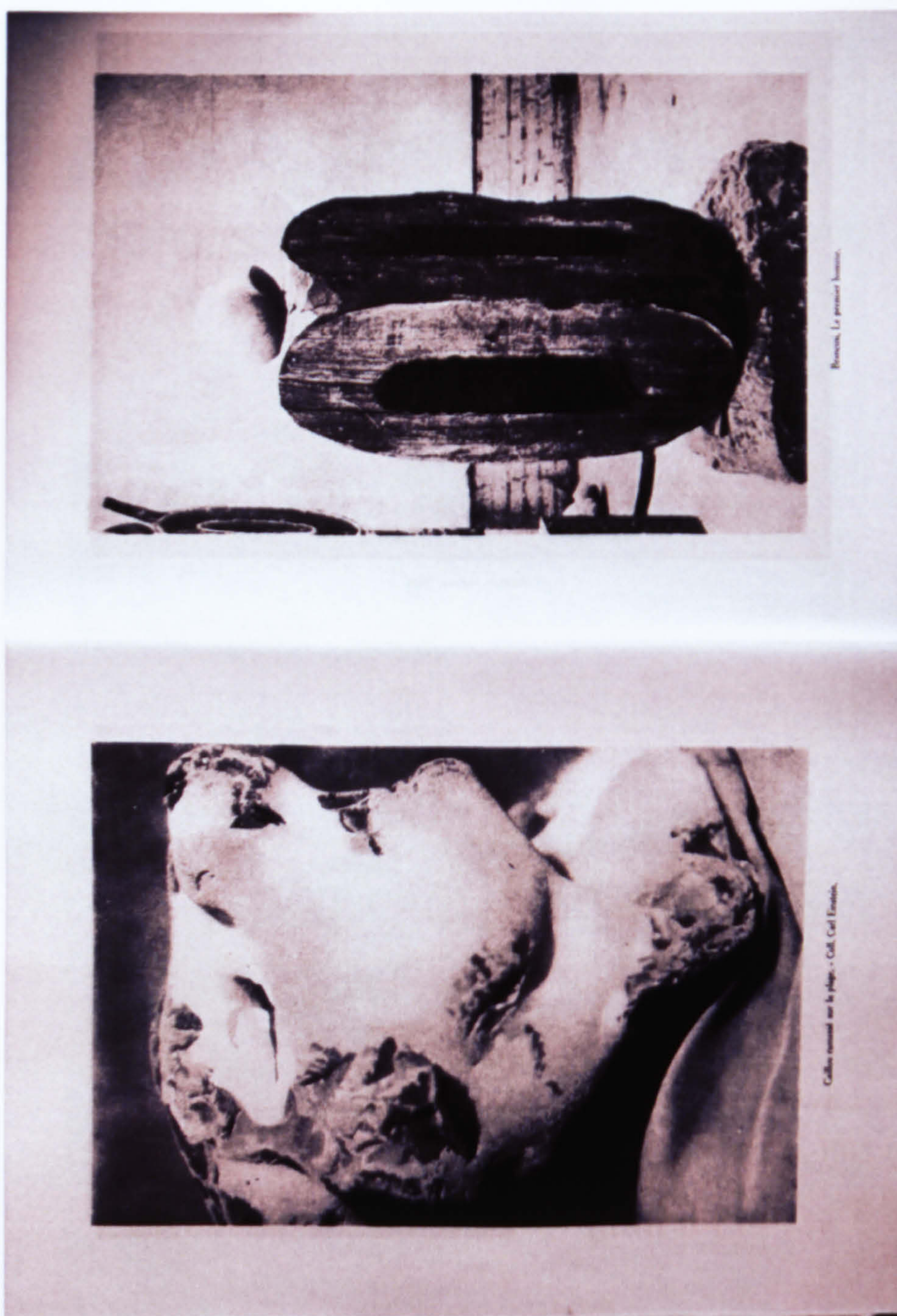


Fig. 71 Left: *Caillou remonté sur la plage*; Collection Carl Einstein; Right: Brancousi [sic], *Le premier homme*; spread from *Documents*, no. 7, 1929.



Fig. 72 Modern photograph of two sculptures (*minsereh*), Mende, Sierra Leone; reproduced as plates 82-85 in Vladimir I. Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, 1919.



Fig. 73 Cover of Vladimir I. Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, 1919.



Fig. 74 Reliquary figure (*eyiama bieri*), Gabon;
plate 62 of Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, 1919.



Fig. 75 Detail of Fig. 74; plate 64 of Markov,
Iskusstvo negrov, 1919.



Fig. 76 Profile view of Fig. 74; plate 65 of Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, 1919.



Fig. 77 Detail of Fig. 74; plate 67 of Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, 1919.



Fig. 78 Royal statue (*Mbob Pelyeeng aNce*), Kuba-Bushong, DRC; plate 21 of Markov, *Iskusstvo negrov*, 1919.



Fig. 79 Royal statue; in T. A. Joyce & O.M. Dalton, *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, The British Museum, 1910.



Fig. 80 Alfred Stieglitz, installation view of 'Statuary in Wood by African Savages', in *Camera Work* (October 1916).



Fig. 81 Charles Sheeler, Female figure, Baule? Ivory Coast?; plate 4 of *African Negro Wood Sculpture*, 1918.

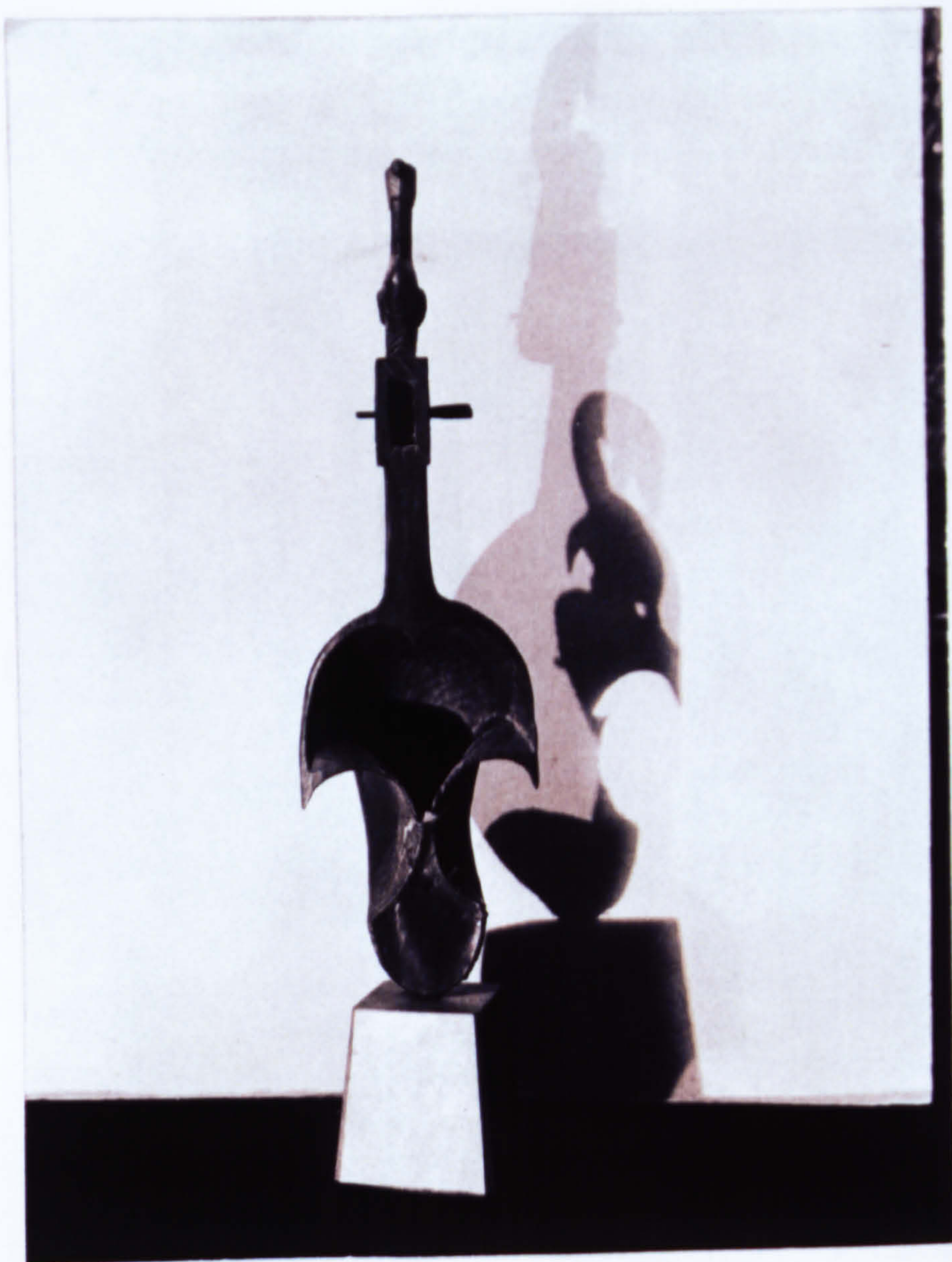


Fig. 82 Charles Sheeler, Harp (provenance unknown); plate 9 of *African Negro Wood Sculpture*, 1918.



Fig. 83 Charles Sheeler, Fan handle or staff finial Congo peoples? Tsogo? Rep. of Congo? DRC?; plate 15 of *African Negro Wood Sculpture*, 1918.



Fig. 84 Charles Sheeler, detail of Fig. 83; plate 16 of *African Negro Wood Sculpture*, 1918.



Fig. 85 Fan handle or staff finial as Fig. 83; plate 72 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 86 Charles Sheeler, Dan Mask, Ivory Coast or Liberia, 1918.



Fig. 87 Mask, Pende, Rep. of Congo or DRC, plate 92 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 88 Walker Evans, Reliquary sculpture (*nlo byeri*), Fang, Gabon, plate 317 of *African Negro Art*, 1935.



Fig. 89 Walker Evans, profile view of Fig. 88; plate 318 of *African Negro Art*, 1935.



Fig. 90 Reliquary sculpture (*nlo byeri*), as Fig. 88, plate 32 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



Fig. 91 Reliquary sculpture, (*nlo byeri*), as Fig. 88, plate 33 of Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915.



LILIANE MEFFRE ET
OLIVIER SALAZAR-FERRER (DIR.)

CARL EINSTEIN ET BENJAMIN FONDANE

AVANT-GARDES ET ÉMIGRATION
DANS LE PARIS DES ANNÉES 1920-1930



P.I.E. Peter Lang

Nos remerciements s'adressent à l'EA3556 Paris IV-Sorbonne/ CNRS et à son directeur le Professeur Rémy Colombat, au Consulat général d'Allemagne à Lyon, à l'Université de Bourgogne, à l'Université de Glasgow, à la ville de Dijon et au Professeur Michel Reffet.

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Introduction

Le colloque international sur Carl Einstein et Benjamin Fondane dans le contexte des avant-gardes du Paris des années 1920-1930, qui s'est tenu à Dijon les 20-21 juin 2007 et dont nous publions ici les actes, est né d'une rencontre de personnes. Une discussion fortuite, un jour d'été en Avignon, entre Liliane Meffre et Olivier Salazar-Ferrer, avait révélé les nombreuses affinités et les croisements d'intérêts existant entre ces deux spécialistes d'esthétique, situés aux frontières de la philosophie, de la poésie, du théâtre, de la critique d'art et du cinéma. Si Carl Einstein est originaire d'Allemagne et Benjamin Fondane de Roumanie, tous deux choisirent de rejoindre les milieux intellectuels et artistiques parisiens du début du XX^e siècle qui nous étonnent encore par leur cosmopolitisme et leur créativité. Carl Einstein (1885-1940), qui avait fait ses premiers séjours à Paris en 1905-1906, y était revenu fréquemment avant de s'y fixer en 1928, y bénéficiant d'un large cercle d'amis et de relations. Fasciné par les arts primitifs, mais aussi par la peinture cubiste, il est un des premiers à réfléchir sur leurs implications esthétiques et philosophiques. Fundoianu (1898-1944), lui aussi d'origine juive (de son véritable nom Benjamin Wechsler), n'arrive dans la capitale française que fin 1923. Le poète francise son pseudonyme roumain en « Fondane » et rejoint ainsi la série d'artistes, de poètes et d'écrivains roumains qui s'expatrièrent à Paris avant-guerre : Ilarie Voronca, Tristan Tzara, Stéphane Lupasco, Brancusi, Claude Sernet et, plus tard, Ionesco et Cioran. Comme eux, Carl Einstein et Fondane devinrent rapidement francophones et assimilèrent la culture française qu'ils contribuèrent à faire évoluer et à enrichir, avec toute l'énergie et la liberté que possède un regard venu de l'extérieur. Il nous est donc apparu particulièrement fécond pour la recherche de multiplier les points de vue et les croisements sur les œuvres de ces deux acteurs de l'avant-garde européenne.

Le caractère interdisciplinaire de leurs œuvres invitait à d'amples discussions capables d'effectuer des rapprochements nouveaux entre Carl Einstein et Fondane, mais aussi avec d'autres figures clefs de la modernité : Tristan Tzara, Walter Benjamin, Brancusi, Levinas, Eugène Jolas, le Dr Allendy, Franz Werfel, aptes à élargir les perspectives théoriques, concernant notamment les arts visuels et plastiques, le rôle des arts primitifs, dans le contexte historique et politique de l'émigration ou de l'exil.

Von der Negerplastik zur „Ethnologie du Blanc“ – Notizen zu Carl Einsteins Bildstrategien

Heike H. NEUMEISTER

Birmingham City University

I

Die Rolle des ethnographischen Objekts innerhalb der Geschichte der frühen modernistischen Avantgarde wurde während der Ausstellung, „Primitivismus“ in der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts (New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1984), zum erneuten Blickpunkt von Debatten und Kontroversen¹. Trotzdem hat Carl Einsteins bahnbrechendes Buch *Negerplastik* (1915) oft nur als Fußnote zu künstlerisch-primitivistischen Aneignungen Erwähnung gefunden. Dies mag ein Indiz dafür sein, daß das außereuropäische Objekt seit seiner sogenannten „Entdeckung“ durch die Künstler des Westens wie ein „Text ohne Schatten“ fungierte, obwohl es innerhalb der kulturpolitischen Verschanzungen dieser Epoche zum Fokus verschiedener Avantgardegruppen wurde mit dem versucht wurde Konzepte und Probleme kultureller Differenz zu artikulieren².

¹ William S. Rubin (Hrsg.), (Katalog), „Primitivism“ in 20th Century Art. *Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1984, 2 Bde.; Jack Flam (Hrsg.) mit Miriam Deutsch, *Primitivism and Twentieth Century Art. A Documentary History*, University of California Press, 2003, hier S. 311-409.

² Zitiert nach Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text* (Übers. v. Richard Miller), New York, Hill and Wang, 1975, S. 32. Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik*, Leipzig, Verlag der Weissen Bücher, 1915, hier, wie andere Einsteins Schriften, zit. nach: Hermann Haarmann & Klaus Siebenhaar (Hrsg.), *Carl Einstein, Werke, Berliner Ausgabe*, Bd. 1-5, Berlin, Fannei & Walz, 1992-1996, abgekürzt als CEW 1-5, hier CEW 1, S. 234-252.

TEXT BOUND INTO THE SPINE

Dieser Beitrag³ untersucht einen bisher weniger diskutierten Aspekt in Einsteins Kunstphilosophie, der Rainer Rumold folgend als „visuelle Wende“ zu bezeichnen ist, aber hier den Blick nicht auf die Sprache, sondern auf die Funktion visueller Repräsentation wendet⁴. Während die Bild-Text-Strategien der *Negerplastik* als ein Versuch zu verstehen ist afrikanische Skulptur als das „Anderere“ des Modernismus zu theoretisieren, wurde diese „visuelle Wende“ ein Ansatz mit dem Einsteins methodische Infragestellung aller disziplin-immanenten Systeme der Kulturanalyse das Konzept einer „Ethnologie du Blanc“ entwickelte, das zwischen 1929 und 1930 seine tragende Rolle innerhalb der Zeitschrift *Documents* sowie eine Reihe seiner Beiträge markierte⁵. Durch die Integration von Kunstbetrachtung und ethnologischen Prämissen wurden die Grenzfunktionen zwischen Bild und Text, und Kunst und Literatur zu einem Entfaltungsprozess der Analyse künstlerischer Praxis, der als eine Poetik der unendlichen Unvollkommenheit beschreibbar ist.

Kunsthistorische Untersuchungen über Einsteins *Negerplastik*, dem ersten „Verfechter der primitiven Kunst“, haben sich hauptsächlich mit dem Text des Buches beschäftigt, wobei dem weitaus größeren Bildanteil bisher relativ wenig Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet worden ist⁶. Dieser

³ Dieser Beitrag bildet Teil meines Projekts über Carl Einsteins *Negerplastik* (PhD, Birmingham City University, UK), das im Lauf dieses Jahres seinen Abschluß nehmen wird. Ich möchte hier Prof. G. T. Noszlopy und Dr. Adrian Hickey für Ermunterung und Kritik danken. Mein besonderer Dank geht auch an Dr. Peter Junge (Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), Dr. Maren Horn (Akademie der Künste, Berlin), Iris Lorenz (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung), sowie Prof. Klaus H. Kiefer und Prof. Liliane Meffre, deren Hilfe und Anregungen während meiner Material-Suche und danach dieses Projekt überhaupt erst möglich gemacht haben.

⁴ Rumold, Rainer, „Painting as Language. Why not?“ in: Sebastian Zeidler (Hrsg.), *Carl Einstein. A Special Issue, in October*, 107, Winter, Mass. und London, MIT Press Cambridge, 2004, S. 75-94.

⁵ Cf. Kiefer, Klaus H., „Die Ethnologisierung des kunstkritischen Diskurses – Carl Einsteins Beitrag zu 'Documents'“, in: Gassner, Hubertus (Hrsg.) (Katalog), *Elan Vital oder das Auge Eros*, München, Haus der Kunst, 1994, S. 90-102; Kiefer, *Diskurswandel im Werk Carl Einsteins. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Geschichte der europäischen Avantgarde*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1994; Meffre, Liliane (dir.), *Carl Einstein Ethnologie de l'art moderne*, Marseille, A. Dimanche, 1993, p. 7-12; Conot, Joyce, *Carl Einstein in 'Documents' and his Collaboration with Georges Bataille*, Xlibris Corporation, 2003.

⁶ Zitiert nach Goldwater, Robert, *Primitivism in Modern Art*, Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press, 1938/1986; zu denen, die sich zuletzt mit den Bildstrategien beschäftigt haben, gehören: Neundorfer, German, „Kritik der Anschauung“ – *Bildbeschreibung im kunstschriftlichen Werk Carl Einsteins*, Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann, 2003; Zeidler, Sebastian, „Totality against a Subject: Carl Einstein's *Negerplastik*“, in *October*, 107, op. cit., S. 14-46; Grossman, Wendy, „Photography at the Crossroads: African Art in the Age of Mechanical Re-

beitrag versucht dies auszugleichen, indem seine theoretischen Versuche als Teil einer Text-Bild-Dialektik untersucht werden, die als eine bewusste – wenn auch vielleicht nicht völlig erfolgreiche – Strategie verstehbar ist, mit der ästhetische Hypothesen durch die Funktion photographischer Rhetorik reifiziert wurden.

Die vermeintliche Objektivität photographischer Reproduktionsprozesse wurde während des späten 19. Jahrhunderts als vergleichbar mit der Präzision der physischen Wissenschaften angesehen, eine Annahme, die Teil der Voraussetzungen für die akademische Etablierung und methodologische Basis der Kunstwissenschaft und Ethnologie erfüllte⁷. Die Indexikalität des Mediums bildete damit einen wesentlichen Anteil des komparatistischen Lehrapparates von Kunstwissenschaftlern wie Bernard Berenson, oder Heinrich Wölfflin, von dessen Methodik der junge Einstein als Student an der Berliner Friedrich-Wilhelm Universität zweifelsohne Kenntnis nahm. Spätestens zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts waren es dann auch Sammler und Kunsthändler wie Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, die das Potenzial photographischer Dokumentation zu nutzen verstanden um das kulturelle und ökonomische Prestige von Kunstobjekten zu festigen⁸. Einsteins kalkulierte Visualisierung der *Negerplastik* kann als eine Erweiterung solcher Praxisen betrachtet werden, in der die Gegenüberstellung theoretischer Auslegungen mit einer modernistischen Exposition kultureller Differenz darauf zielte einen Korpus von Werken vorzustellen, der bis dahin hauptsächlich als ein ethnographisches Kuriosum verstanden wurde. Andererseits kann Einsteins interdisziplinäre Methodik, die eine Kritik westlicher Kunsttraditionen mit dem anscheinend bewussten Auslassen konventioneller Attributionsformeln integrierte und seine Opposition zu dem 'Primitivenrummel' bestimmter Avantgardenkünstler einschloss⁹, auch

production“, in Grewe, Cordula, *Die Schau des Fremden, Ausstellungskonzepte zwischen Kunst, Kommerz und Wissenschaft*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, S. 317-340.

⁷ Cf. Anthony Hamber, „The Use of Photography by Nineteenth-Century Art Historians“, in: *Visual Resources*, Bd. VII, 1990, S. 135-160; Edwards, Elisabeth, *Raw Histories. Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford & New York, Berg, 2001.

⁸ Berenson, Bernard, „Isochromatic Photography and Venetian Pictures“, 1893, in: Helene E. Roberts (Hrsg.), *Art History through the Camera's Lens*, Gordon and Breach Science Publishers SA, 1995, S. 127-131; Wölfflin, Heinrich, „Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll“, 1896-97, in: *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, hier Bergstein, Mary, „Lonely Aphrodites: On the Documentary Photography of Sculpture“, in: *Art Bulletin*, 74 :3 (Sept.), 1992, S. 475-498; Assouline, Pierre, (Übers. v. C. Ruas), *An Artful Life. A Biography of D. H. Kahnweiler, 1884-1979*, New York, Fromm International Publishing Corporation, 1991.

⁹ Cf. C. Einstein, „Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei“ in *Neue Blätter*, 1. Jg., Nr. 3, 1912, S. 19-21, CEW 1, S. 134-139, hier S. 136; für Details zu seiner

der Anlass für die relative Vernachlässigung der Objektabbildungen innerhalb der Kunstgeschichtsschreibung sein.

II

Um einer Lösung dieser Fragen etwas näher zu kommen, gilt es hier die Anfänge der *Negerplastik* kurz zu untersuchen. (Abb. 6) Vor 1915 gibt es in Einsteins Kunstkritik kaum einen Hinweis, der ein Interesse an afrikanischer Kultur andeutet, obwohl sich ein Teil seiner Rezensionen mit dem Kubismus engagierten. Dort wurden Begriffe wie „kubisches Sehen“ und „tektonische Form“ angewandt, um Picasso als den zu deklarieren, für den „die Folgen des Primitiven eine noch größere Primitivität war“¹⁰. Während regelmäßiger Aufenthalte in Paris entwickelte sich Einsteins Verständnis für die moderne Kunst und den Kubismus weiter im Austausch mit Avantgardedekünstlern, sowie eine Kenntnis afrikanischer Skulpturen durch die Bekanntheit mit dem ersten Händler in solchen Objekten, Joseph Brummer, der später an der Finanzierung der *Negerplastik* beteiligt war¹¹. Zur gleichen Zeit vertiefte sich auch seine zunehmend enge Freundschaft mit Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, in dessen Galerie – wie Franz Marc bestätigt hat – Debatten über „Negerplastiken“ und Picasso an der Tagesordnung waren¹².

Die Tatsache, daß Einstein schon während 1913 Ideen für eine Publikation über afrikanische Kunst hegte, wurde in einem Brief an den Benin-Experten und damaligen Direktor der ethnographischen Sammlungen des Berliner Völkerkundemuseums, Felix von Luschan, deutlich¹³. Daß seine Bitte um Unterstützung für ein solches Projekt erfolgreich war, ist an der ersten Abbildung und sechs weiteren Objekten die in der *Negerplastik* reproduziert wurden erkennbar, die (mit einer Ausnahme) noch heute Teil der Berliner Afrika-Sammlung bilden. Die

Opposition, vgl. Neumeister, Heike, „Carl Einstein's 'visual turn': from *Negerplastik* to an 'Ethnologie du Blanc'“, in: *The Use-Value of Documents*, Special Issue 7 of *Papers of Surrealism*, (erscheint) 2008 (AHRB Research Centre for Studies of Surrealism and its Legacies, London, University of Essex, University of Manchester and Tate).

¹⁰ Einstein, C., „Anmerkungen“, *op. cit.*, S. 137.

¹¹ Cf. Jean-Louis Paudrat, „From Africa“ in Rubin, *op. cit.*, S. 125-175; Göpel, Barbara und Erhard (Hrsg.), *Leben und Meinungen des Malers Hans Purrmann*, Wiesbaden, 1961.

¹² Brief vom 1. Oktober 1912, in Lankheit, Klaus (Hrsg.), *Wassily Kandinsky – Franz Marc Briefwechsel*, München & Zürich, R. Piper & Co., 1983, S. 191; Cf. Méffre, Liliane (Hrsg. & Übers.), *Carl Einstein – Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler Correspondance 1921-1939*, Marseille, André Dimanche, 1993.

¹³ Brief vom 18. August 1913, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachl. Felix v. Luschan.

offene Sexualität dieser archaischen Basaltsteinfigur der nigerischen Ekoi-Gruppe, die an frühromanische Skulpturen aus Nord-Europa zu erinnern scheint, ist als Zeichen transkultureller Menschheitsverbindungen und Aufforderung zu offener Debatte deutbar, die für die mit afrikanischer Kunst nicht Vertrauten Erstaunen erregt haben muß¹⁴.

Doch zunächst gilt es Einsteins Verständnis afrikanischer Skulptur und deren Affinität mit bestimmten Avantgardewerken etwas genauer zu untersuchen. Dies wurde im Rahmen zweier Ausstellungen erkennbar, die während seiner kurzlebigen Assoziation mit dem Kunsthändler und Besitzer des Kölner *Rheinischen Kunstsalons*, Otto Feldmann, in dessen neu-etablierten Berliner *Neuen Galerie* stattfanden. Im Oktober 1913 wurde dort von Einstein eine der ersten Ausstellungen in der Geschichte der Europäischen Moderne organisiert in der Avantgardewerke zusammen mit afrikanischer Skulptur präsentiert wurden. In seinem Vorwort zu dem Ausstellungskatalog war es Picasso, der als derjenige bezeichnet wurde, der „das Gesetz, die Dinge zur stärksten Plastizität zu bringen [...] belebt hatte“ und in dem die „höchsten Künste“ als die „der unbittlichen Negerplastik, der Ägypterskulptur, der Gotik, des Barock“ erklärt wurden¹⁵. Dies war der einzige Hinweis auf die ausgestellten ethnographischen Objekte, die von dem Kritiker, Karl Scheffler, als die „Schutzheiligen der neuesten Malerei“ ironisiert wurden¹⁶.

Jedoch bedeutsamer war die zweite Ausstellung im Dezember, eine Picasso-Retrospektive von Werken zwischen 1902 und 1912, die von dem einzig wohlwollenden Kritiker als eine Präsentation bezeichnet wurde, die, „verbunden mit einer Serie erlesener Negerplastiken, [...] zum ersten Mal [...] das Problem des Kubismus zur Diskussion stellt“¹⁷. Die Tatsache, daß sich der Pariser Kunsthändler, Joseph Brummer zum gleichen Zeitpunkt in Berlin aufhielt, läßt eine Kollaboration zwischen Einstein und Feldmann vermuten, in der Brummer für die Bestellung der afrikanischen Objekte in dieser wie auch der ersten Ausstellung verant-

¹⁴ Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915, Abb. 1, in CEW 1, o. S.; für einen ähnlichen Vergleich, s. auch Einstein, Carl, *Afrikanische Plastik*, Berlin, Wasmuth-Verlag (Orbis Pictus Bd. 7), 1921, hier CEW 2, S. 69, Abb. 4; Cf. Phillips, Tom (Hrsg.), (Katalog), *Africa, the Art of a Continent*, Royal Academy of Arts, London & Munich & New York, Prestel, 1996, S. 374f.

¹⁵ Einstein, C., „Erste Ausstellung Neue Galerie“, Berlin, Oktober-November, 1913, hier CEW 1, S. 174f; zuerst besprochen in Manheim, Ron, „Carl Einstein zwischen Berliner-Sezession und Sturm-Galerie. Zu Einsteins Texten für zwei Ausstellungskataloge der Berliner Neuen Galerie aus den Jahren 1913 und 1914“, in *kritische be-richte*, 1985, Heft 4, S. 10-19.

¹⁶ Scheffler, Karl, „Kunstausstellungen, Berlin“, in *Kunst und Künstler*, XII, 3, 1913, S. 176.

¹⁷ Anonym, in: *Kunstchronik*, Jg. 25, Nr. 12, 12. Dezember, 1913/1914, S. 184f.

wortlich war¹⁸. Nach den Provenanzen einiger Werke – wie Picassos *Trois femmes* (1908, und den Objekten die später in der *Negerplastik*

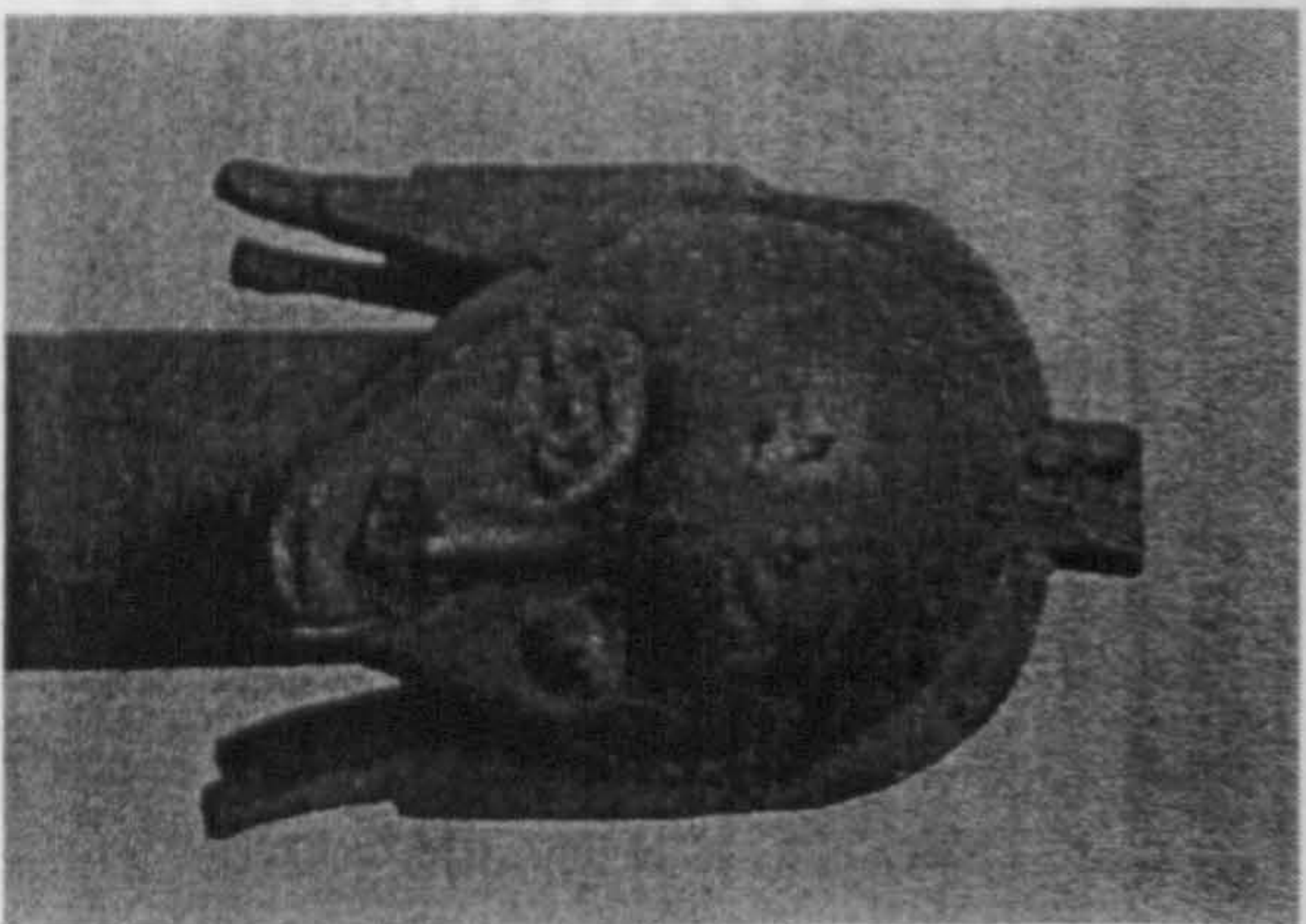


Abb. 1: Reliquiarfigur, *nlo byeri*, Fang, Gabun, Holz, 63 cm, Musée Dapper, Paris (ehem. Kollektion J. Brummer, Paris); Abb. 17 in Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915

reproduziert wurden, wie die Fang Skulptur die inzwischen als der „Brummer-Kopf“ bekannt ist – sind Vermutungen über was in dieser Ausstellung zu sehen war möglich geworden (Abb. 1). Von allen anderen Kritikern verrissen und von den Chroniken der historischen Avantgarde bis heute so gut wie ignoriert, ging die Ausstellung Anfang 1914 zum Kunstsalon E. Richter in Dresden¹⁹.

Die Signifikanz dieser Ereignisse liegt darin, daß Picassos proto-kubistisches Werk inzwischen mit dem Bruch europäisch-mimetischer Traditionen und der Gründung des Modernismus identifiziert worden ist, in der die seitdem reichhaltig dokumentierte Begegnung des Künstlers mit ethnographischen Objekten eine zentrale Rolle eingenommen hat. Einsteins gezielte Initiative, mit der diese Zusammenhänge zum ersten Mal zum Fokus einer Ausstellung gemacht wurden, ist außerdem bemerkenswert im Hinblick auf andere Avantgarde-Ereignisse, die mehr oder weniger zur gleichen Zeit stattfanden. Der *Blau Reiter Almanach* hatte 1912 seine Allianz mit sogenannten „primitiven“ Kulturformen deklariert in dem, unter andern, eine Reproduktion von Picassos *La femme à la mandoline au piano* (1911, Nationalgalerie, Prag) mit zwei Kinderzeichnungen ge-

paart wurden, wo die Grabplatte des Ritters Rudolf von Sachsenhausen aus dem Frankfurter Dom (um 1370, Historisches Museum, Frankfurt am Main) einem Bronzerelief aus Benin in Nigeria (16.-17. Jahrhundert, ehemals Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München) gegenübergestellt war, und in dem beinahe auch ein Beitrag von Einstein erschienen war²⁰. Mit einer ähnlich eklektischen Sammlung hatte auch Herwarth Waldens *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* – der im September 1913, nur wenige Wochen bevor den Ausstellungen der *Neuen Galerie* eröffnet wurde – auf die Aussagekraft verschiedenartiger kreativer Sensibilität hingewiesen²¹.

Anders geartet dagegen war Einsteins Gegenüberstellung von kultureller Heterogenität, die als „Lehre“ im Werdegang des Modernismus zu verstehen ist, da, wie er später feststellte, „kaum irgendwo bestimmte Raumprobleme [...] in dieser Reinheit gebildet waren, wie bei den Negern“²². Indem Picassos Werke – von seiner symbolistischen zu der afrikanisch proto-kubistischen Phase und deren analytische und synthetischen Folgen – den Besucher der *Neuen Galerie* über die Logik eines neuen plastischen Sehens unterrichteten, bildete die „unerbittliche Negerplastik“ das axiomatische Zentrum dieser „Lehre“, eine Strategie des Sichtbarmachens, die Einsteins Hypothesen in der *Negerplastik* antizipierte.

III

Negerplastik kann als das erste Buch verstanden werden, das die „Entdeckung“ des ethnographischen Objekts aus den hermetischen Zirkeln der künstlerischen Avantgarde katapultierte und mit dem Einstein versuchte die Relevanz außer-europäischer Kulturen für den zeitgenössischen Kunstdiskurs sowie die damit verbundenen Implikationen öffentlich zur Diskussion zu stellen. Der kurze Text besteht aus fünf Kapiteln; das erste, „Anmerkungen zur Methode“, basierte europäi-

¹⁸ Notiz vom 18. November 1913, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, wo „auf die Sammlung des Pariser Antiquars Brummer, z. Zt hier [in Berlin]“ aufmerksam gemacht wurde. Cf. Neumeister, Heike, „Notes on the 'ethnographic turn' of the European avant-garde: Reading Carl Einstein's *Negerplastik* (1915) and Vladimir Markov's *Iskusstvo Negrov* (1913/1919)“, in *Acta Historiae Artium, The Art-historical Journal of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, Budapest, 2008.

¹⁹ Waldmann, Emil, „Kunstausstellungen. Dresden“, in *Kunst und Künstler*, XII, (März), 1914, S. 344f.

²⁰ Cf. Lankheit, Klaus, *Der Blaue Reiter. Herausgegeben von Wassily Kandinsky und Franz Marc*, München & Zürich, R. Piper & Co., 1965/1990, S. 26f und S. 108f. sowie S. 336 und S. 343; zu Einsteins Beitrag vgl. Manheim, op. cit.; Braun, Christoph, *Carl Einstein: zwischen Ästhetik und Anarchismus: Zu Leben und Werk eines expressionistischen Schriftstellers*, München, 1987; zuletzt Fleckner, Uwe, *Carl Einstein und sein Jahrhundert. Fragmente einer intellektuellen Biographie*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2006.

²¹ Cf. Roters, Eberhard & Schultz, Bernhard (Hrsg.) (Katalog), *Stationen der Moderne. Die bedeutenden Kunstausstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, Berlin, Berlinische Galerie, Nicolai, 1989; Neumeister, H., „Der Sturm“ 1910-1920: the Making of Expressionism, or Modernist Art as Commodity and the Production of Belief (Diss.), UCE, Birmingham, 1994.

²² Einstein, C., *Negerplastik*, CEW I, S. 234-252, hier S. 235.

sche Vorurteile über Afrika auf „leichtfertigen Evolutionstheorien“ und „einer geradezu phantastischen Überlegenheit“. Bewußt über die Probleme der neueren Kunst und den Stand zeitgenössischer Ethnographie, schlug der Autor eine formale Analyse afrikanischer Skulptur vor²³. Das zweite Kapitel, „Das Malerische“, sah Kunstraditionen von der Renaissance bis zu Rodin als verantwortlich für die Auflösung der Grenzen zwischen Malerei und Skulptur, nach Einstein, die „Voraussetzung aller Plastik, der kubische Raum, war vergessen“. Mit Hilfe einer Terminologie, die Adolf Hildebrands einflussreiche Thesen über *Das Problem der Form* sozusagen auf den Kopf stellte, wurde die afrikanische Plastik als „formal stärkster Realismus“ erklärt²⁴. Das Kapitel, „Religion und Afrikanische Kunst“, beharrte darauf, daß diese Kunst „vor allem religiös“ und damit „kanonisch bestimmt“ ist. Während Einsteins Bestehen auf den mythisch-sakralen Kontext dieser Werke ein Vertrautsein mit zeitgenössischer Ethnologie verrät, wurde das Postulat der „Aura“ in der Form selbst situiert und deren Präsenz als autonome Kunst etabliert²⁵.

Das Hauptkapitel, „Kubische Raumanschauung“ untersuchte das „Paradox der formalen Dimension“, das alle psycho-physiologischen Einflüsse von seitens des Künstlers oder Beschauers ausschloß, mit dem der Formcharakter dieser Werke durch eine Integration des verstreuten Raumvolumens innerhalb eines simultanen Sichtfeldes erklärt wurde. Nach Einstein war das afrikanische Skulpturobjekt nicht auf die Wirkungskraft der Masse angewiesen um Raumbewegung zu simulieren, sondern eine unmittelbare Gleichung in der „Richtungsergebnisse“ und „Raumkontraste“ in einer „bedingungslosen formalen Ordnung“ absorbiert sind²⁶.

Während das letzte Kapitel, „Maske und Verwandtes“, über die sozialkulturell bedingte Ritualfunktion von Tätowierung, Tanz und Masken spekulierte, wird hier vielleicht Einsteins späteres Eingeständnis, daß dieses Projekt ein „Torso“ geblieben sei besonders deutlich²⁷, denn

²³ Ebd., S. 234-235 und S. 237.

²⁴ Ebd., S. 237 und S. 240; Hildebrand, Adolf, *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst*, Strasbourg, Heitz & Mündel, 1893, und sein Werk wurde bereits 1911 von Einstein kritisiert, cf. Einstein, „Sezession“, hier CEW 1, S. 66-70, insbes. S. 69.

²⁵ Einstein, C., *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, S. 240-242.

²⁶ Ebd., S. 243-249.

²⁷ Cf. Baacke, Rolf-Peter, „Brief an Unbekannt“, in: Baacke (Hrsg.), *Carl Einstein, Materialien*, Band I, Silver & Goldstein, Berlin, 1990, S. 142f.; Bassani, Ezio & Paudrat, Jean-Louis, „Note sur 'un torse'“, in: Meffre, Liliane, *Carl Einstein. La Sculpture nègre*, traduction et introduction de L. Meffre avec le texte allemand et la reproduction des œuvres d'art africain et océanien présentées dans l'édition originale

dieser Teil kann weniger als Abschluss, sondern eher als eine Erweiterung des Kapitels über „Religion und Afrikanische Kunst“ betrachtet werden. Die offensichtlichste Erklärung dafür scheint in der Strukturierung der Bildtafeln zu liegen, da der letzte Teil der Monographie von einer eindrucksvollen Serie von Masken dominiert ist²⁸.

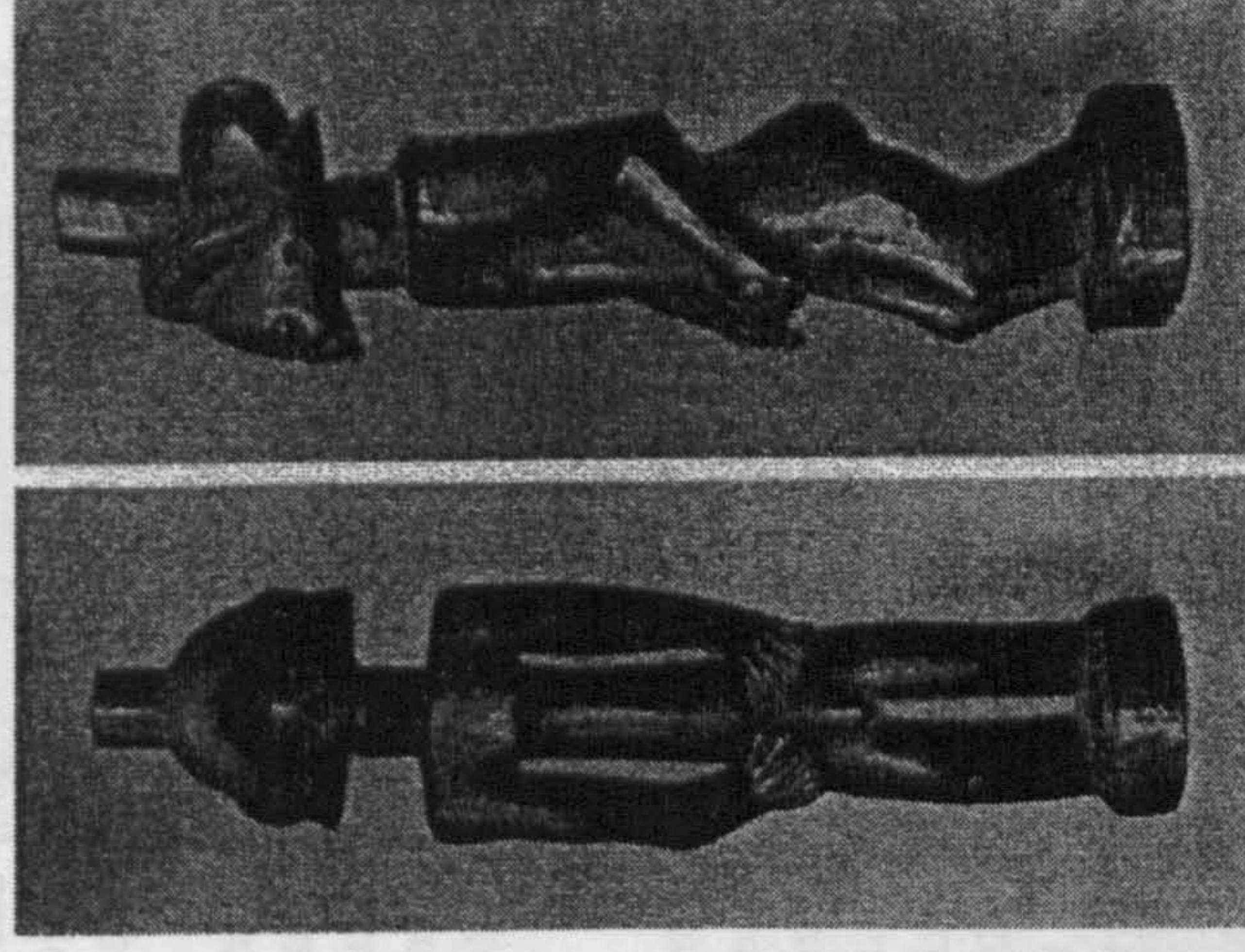


Abb. 2: Figur, Chokwe, Angola, Holz, 42 cm, Puschkin Museum, Moscow (ehem. Kollektion S. I. Schtschukin);
Abb. 67 in Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915

Einsteins „Torso“-Hinweis ist meist als seine Rechtfertigung gegenüber der kontinuierlichen Kritik an dem Mangel aller Provenanzinformation über die in der *Negerplastik* abgebildeten Objekte interpretiert worden. Dahingegen kann die Tatsache, daß – bis auf das Auslassen einiger nicht-afrikanischer Objekte – genau die gleiche kommentarlose Objekt-Repräsentation auch in der zweiten Auflage der Studie eingehalten wurde, nicht nur als Beweis des Erfolgs des Buches, sondern auch für die hier vorgeschlagene Argumentation einer gezielten Bild-Text-

selon l'inventaire établi par Ezio Bassani et Jean-Louis Paudrat, Paris & Montreal, L'Harmattan, 1998, S. 103-107.

²⁸ Einstein, *Negerplastik*, CEW 1, S. 250-252, sowie Abb. in CEW 1 (o. S.).

Dialektik verstanden werden. Abgesehen von dem spezifischen Briefzusammenhang dieser Bemerkung, und mit Hinblick auf den hier folgenden Versuch die Möglichkeiten des Nichterkennens in Einsteins „visueller Wende“ zu analysieren, kann diese Notiz als ein typisch Einsteinsches „side-stepping“ betrachtet werden, das für die von ihrer „phantastischen Überlegenheit“ seines nächsten Projekts, Afrikanische Plastik, in dem es dann nicht mehr an präziser Objekt-Dokumentation fehle. Trotz mancher Konzession (wie etwa sein Versuch zu einer ästhetischen Theorie afrikanischer Skulptur) war Einstein nach seinen intensiven Afrika-geblendeten Betrachter des „formal stärksten Realismus“ gemeint war (s.o.). Die Neuauflage der *Negerplastik* erschien nur wenige Monate bevor der Veröffentlichung Studien am Congo Museum in Brüssel nun in der Lage, seine bereits konstatierten Bedenken über mangelnde historische und ethnologische Evidenz überzeugender zu formulieren²⁹.

Wie dem auch sei, der weitaus größte Anteil der *Negerplastik* war den photographischen Reproduktionen gewidmet, die durch die Anzahl der Objekte sowie die Qualität der Bildtafeln zu beeindrucken suchten. Bereits in einer Voranzeige für das Projekt wurde darauf hingewiesen, daß „hier zum erstenmal [...] in ausgezeichneten und großen Abbildungen die Negerplastik in instruktiver Anordnung“ präsentiert war³⁰. Dies läßt darauf schließen, daß Einsteins Text – der eine theoretische Auslegung der ästhetischen Autonomie afrikanischer Skulptur auf einer Kritik europäischer Kunsttraditionen basierte – nur durch die gezielte Bildstrategie zu verstehen ist, auf die nochmals in der Monographie selbst hingewiesen wurde. Das Potenzial photographischer Reproduktionsmethoden als Mittel der Analyse von Kunst und Artefakten kann damit als Voraussetzung für Einsteins kunstwissenschaftliche Praxis betrachtet werden.

Die Bildtafeln der *Negerplastik* bildeten das entscheidende Kriterium eines Projekts mit dem Einsteins ästhetische Hypothesen durch die visuelle Authentifizierung des photographischen Mediums verdinglicht wurden. Dies wird in den didaktischen Sequenzen qualitativ hochgradiger Halbtonwiedergaben sichtbar, die entweder als ganzseitige Tafeln, oder in Frontal- und Profilsicht gepaart sind (Abb. 1 & 2). Anders als im Almanach des *Blauen Reiters* sind diese Paarungen nicht von dem Prinzip des Kulturkontrasts, sondern einer kultur-immanenten Homogenität bestimmt, die durch das Ausmaß stilistischer Variationen und die

formale Wirkungskraft afrikanischer Skulptur zu beeindrucken sucht. Das Neuartige dieser Visualisierung wird vor allem durch den Bruch mit museologischen Konventionen deutlich, mit denen Ethnographica entweder als dekorative Tableaux oder simulierte 'live settings' ausgestellt wurden und die bis in die zwanziger Jahre noch üblich waren, aber hier völlig ignoriert sind (Abb. 3)³¹.

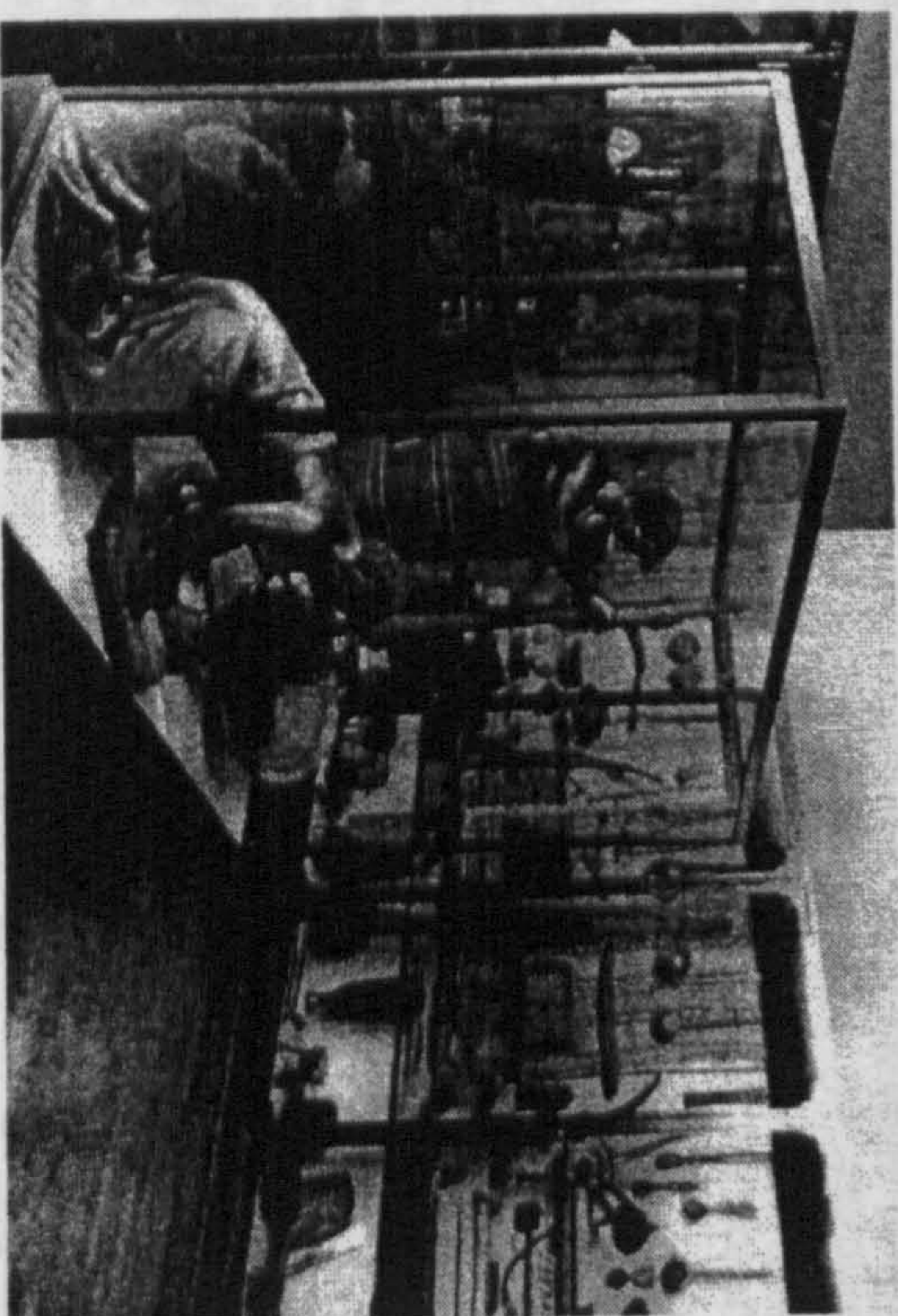


Abb. 3: Blick in den neugestalteten Ost-Afrika-Raum, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, 1926

Anstelle dessen ist hier jedes Werk von seiner Umgebung isoliert und in einem quasi-wissenschaftlichen Format präsentiert. Diskret beleuchtet vor einem neutralen Hintergrund, und oft eng gerahmt, überraschen diese Tafeln durch ihre nüchterne Sachlichkeit, ein akut modernistisches Idiom, das eher mit Werken der Kunst als ethnographischen Objekten assozierbar ist. Ein ähnlich gezieltes Manöver wurde auch in den Detailaufnahmen verfolgt (Abb. 4 & 5). Selbst wenn, wie Jean-Louis Paudrat vermutet hat, diese photographische Dokumentation nicht von Einstein initiiert wurde, ist es undenkbar ihm eine klare Vorstellung des visuellen Potenzials dieser Objekte abzuleugnen³². Closely zielen darauf hin, die Textur- und Materialqualitäten der Objekte

²⁹ Cf. Einstein, C., *Negerplastik*, Leipzig, Kurt Wolff, 1920; Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, Berlin, Wasmuth-Verlag (Orbis Pictus Bd. 7), 1921; auch z. B., Einstein, „Negermythen. Bakuba-Legenden“, in *Marsyas* I/1, 1917, S. 45-60.

³⁰ *Die Aktion*, Nr. 20/21, 1915; auch Baacke, *op. cit.*, S. 112.

³¹ Cf. Einstein, C., „Das Berliner Völkerkundemuseum anläßlich der Neuordnung“, und Einstein, „Schausammlung und Forschungsinstitut (Noch ein Wort zum neuen Völkerkundemuseum)“, in *Der Querschnitt*, VI, 1926, hier CEW 2, S. 446-450 und S. 451-453.

³² Paudrat, in Rubin, *op. cit.* S. 151.

hervorzuheben, ob sie aus grob geschlagenem von Klima und Alter verwittertem Holz gemacht oder fein geschnitzt und zu sanftem Glanz geölt sind. Zum einen erlaubt dies, die Werke im Rahmen der „prinzipiell kubistischen Konzepte“ vorzustellen³³.

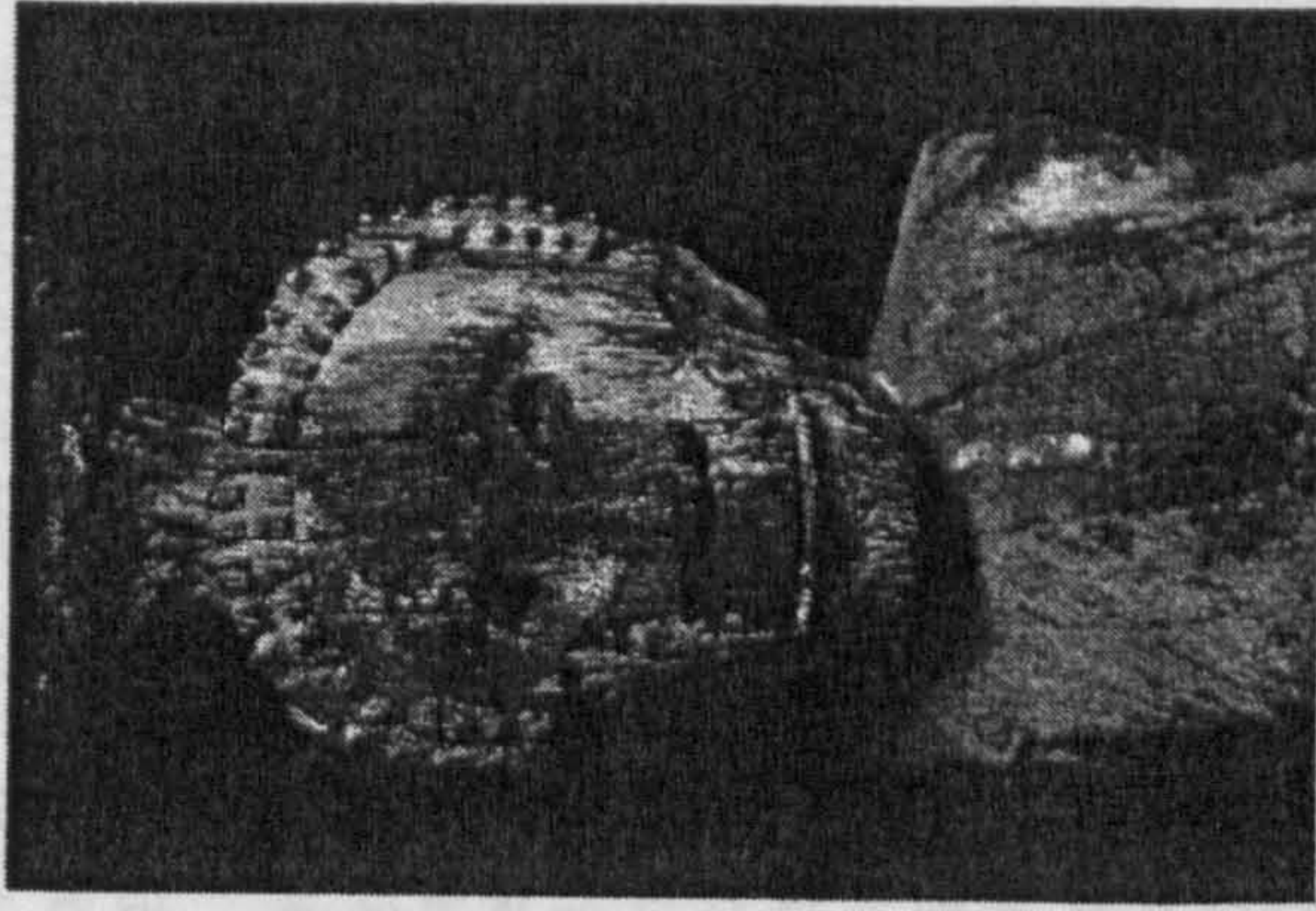


Abb. 4: Detail eines Bestattungspostens, Sakalava, Madagaskar, Holz, 99 cm, Kollektion C. Monzino (ehem. Kollektion J. Brummer, Paris; dann J. Epstein, London);
Abb. 8 in Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915

Zum anderen sind dies rhetorische Mittel, die den angeblich objektiven Sehensprozess mit sinnlich-lyrischen Elementen durchdringen und gleichzeitig das „Andere“ kultureller Differenz sichtbar machen. Dieses Strukturieren der *Negerplastik* war synchronisch mit einem Paradigma, das daraufhin zielte, eine den Werken innewohnende Ästhetik der Plastizität aufzudecken, die für Einstein eine Vorbedingung der Kunst schlechthin war. Der formale Modus von ästhetischer Theorie und photographischer Rhetorik kann als ein Prozess verstanden werden, in dem das bewußte Auslassen ethnographischer und kunsthistorischer Festlegung die Wirkungsmächtigkeit dieser Objekte sozusagen ans Licht brachte, ein Distanzieren von den Möglichkeiten der Sprache, mit der das Erkennen kultureller Differenz – als schweigende Zeugen eines

³³ Die Aktion (1915), op. cit.

„dunklen“ Afrikas ohne Geschichte – sichtbar gemacht wurde um die „Aura“ dieser Objekte als autonome Kunst weiter zu verankern.

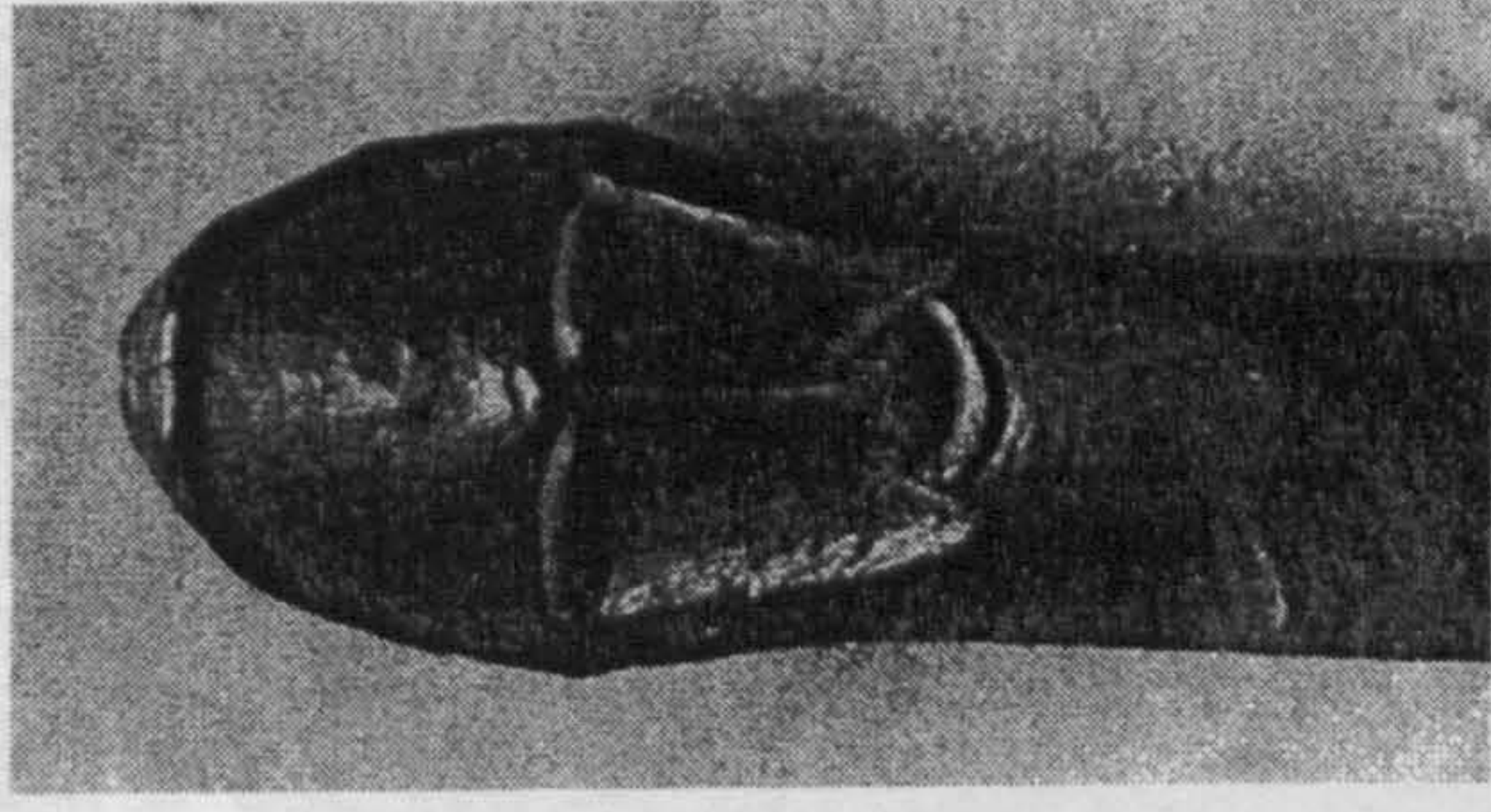


Abb. 5: Menschlicher Kopf, Detail eines Ritualobjekts (?), Melanesien (?), Holz, 90 cm, Verbleib unbekannt (ehem. Kollektion F. Burty Haviland, Paris);
Abb. 4 in Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915

Einsteins theoretische Versuche mögen heute vielleicht als zum Teil vom Diskurs afrikanischer Kunstgeschichte und der Anthropologie der Kunst überholt betrachtet werden. Trotzdem muß der beeindruckende Anteil der abgebildeten Objekte, die seitdem im Besitz renommierter Museen und Privatsammlungen sind, als Beweis dafür gelten, daß sie inzwischen zu den Ikonen der afrikanischen Kunst gehören, deren Bedeutung innerhalb der Geschichte der historischen Avantgarde und darüber hinaus außer Zweifel steht.

IV

Die Bildstrategien der *Negerplastik* lassen Einsteins Kenntnis kunstwissenschaftlicher Methodik erkennen mit der die für die Analyse der Kunst üblichen Dokumentarkonventionen ausgenutzt wurden, um die Wirkungskraft ethnographischer Objekte in das Blickfeld europäischer Kunstvorstellungen zu rücken. Allem Anschein nach wurde diese Aufgabe realisiert, indem der Autor bereits existierendes Bildmaterial

aus dem Besitz von Sammlern (wie S. I. Schtschukin und F. Burty Haviland), Händlern (wie J. Brummer), oder Museen in Berlin und London effektiv zu nutzen verstand³⁴. Der Charakter photographischer Reproduktionprozesse, der nach Meinung Walter Benjamins die „Aura“ des Kunstwerks gefährdet, wurde hier zu einem entscheidenden Element mit dem die Autonomie dieser Objekte als Kunst autorisiert wurde³⁵. Durch die Bild-und-Text Dialektik der *Negerplastik* und Einsteins formale Strategie modernistischer Sichtbarmachung wurden die Ethnographica von ihren disziplin-spezifischen Assoziationen distanziert und innerhalb einer neuen, sozusagen kultischen Artikulation gerahmt, ein Prozess, in dem sowohl Ort wie auch Zeit entscheidend waren³⁶.

Während der Text den Beweis für Einsteins Überlegungen zu dem Verlust der „Totalität“ der europäischen Kunst darstellte, wurde die Visualisierung afrikanischer Skulptur – wie ihr mythisch-sakraler Kulturzusammenhang – zum Zeugnis einer solchen „Totalität“. So wie die Geschichte der bildenden Kunst innerhalb der Kulturtraditionen des Westens untrennbar ist von der Rhetorik der Sprache, kann Einsteins Text als ein Durchbrechen solcher Traditionen und als symbolischer Bruch mit rationalen Deduktionsprozessen verstanden werden. Dazu stelle der Bildteil sozusagen das „stumme Andere“ dar, das ethnographische Objekt, das Kunst ist, das ohne Geschichte und ohne Sprache dem beschauenden Blick gegenüber immun ist, gefangen von dem „objektiven“ Blick des photographischen Mediums und den Koordinaten der Modernität, und mit dem die Autonomie und Artikulation der Sprache dem Zeichen des Bildes überlassen ist.

Die interdisziplinäre Strategie der „visuellen Wende“ kann während Einsteins Rolle innerhalb der Zeitschrift *Documents* zwischen 1929 und 1930 in verschiedenen Formen weiter verfolgt werden³⁷. In Beiträgen, wie seine Reflektionen über die Landschafts-Radierungen von Hercules Seghers, wurde eine Poetik der Bildanalyse entwickelt in der künstlerische Praxis und kulturphilosophische Betrachtungen zu einer tragischen Inkarnation eines „labyrinthisch irreführenden Barocks“ (s.u.)

³⁴ Ebd.; für Provenanzdetails s. Bassani und Paudrat in Meffre, 1998, *op. cit.*, S. 109-118.

³⁵ Benjamin, Walter, „The work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction“, in Arendt, Hannah (Hrsg.), (Übers. v. Harry Zohn), *Illuminations*. Walter Benjamin, Fontana/Collins, 1936/1977, S. 219-253.

³⁶ Teil meines Arguments in dem was folgt, ist dem Werk von Hollier verpflichtet, cf. Hollier, Denis, „The Use-Value of the Impossible“, in: *October*, 60, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1992, S. 3-24; s. auch Hollier, *Against Architecture: The Writings of Georges Bataille*, Cambridge, Mass. & London, MIT Press, 1989.

³⁷ Zu Einsteins tragender Rolle innerhalb *Documents*, s. Meffre, *op. cit.*; Kiefer, „Die Ethnologisierung“, *op. cit.*, S. 90-102, und Joyce, *op. cit.*

assimiliert wurden³⁸. In seinen „Aphorismes méthodiques“ wurde die Kunst der Avantgarde innerhalb einer Methodik der Ethnographie situiert, in der das Metaphysische außer-europäischer Kulturproduktion mit dem Erbe der „optimistischen Teleologie“ der Renaissance kontrastiert wurde, die nach Einstein zu Konstruktionen wissenschaftlicher Spezialisierung geführt hatte und nichts mehr war als „eine Welt rationaler und nahezu beliebiger Zeichen“³⁹.

Der Vorrang der Autonomie des Bildes über dem der Sprache wurde auch in Einsteins „André Masson, étude ethnologique“ deutlich: „In dieser Generation hinken die Literaten den Malern mühsam hinterher“. Hier wurde die Ethnographie für das Theoretisieren zeitgenössischer Kunst angewandt mit der die Diskrepanz zwischen dem prälogisch „Halluzinatorischen“ und dinglicher Objektstruktur als „die einzige Chance der Freiheit“ erklärt wurde, um „die Ordnung der Dinge zu ändern“. In dem „ekstatischen Training“ des Künstlers (Masson) wurde die Wiederkehr einer „psychologischen Archaische“ erkennbar, die „das klassische Drama des Totemismus“ neu inszenierte, und damit – wie der Schamane – seine Identifikation mit „einem Tier, einem Stein (s.u.), oder einer Pflanze“ ermöglichte⁴¹. Damit war das Konzept einer „Ethnologie du Blanc“ angedeutet, das 1931 in einer kurzen Beschreibung von Carl Einsteins Werk folgend notiert wurde:

Während seiner Studie über den afrikanischen Neger, hatte Dr Einstein die Idee die gleichen wissenschaftlichen Methoden für den europäischen Weissen anzuwenden, [...] eine 'Ethnologie du Blanc' [...], in der er ernsthaft – wenn vielleicht auch ein wenig sarkastisch – die Entstehung der Mythen, des Aberglaubens und der erotischen Bräuche der Europäer untersucht, fast so, als seien sie eine schon ausgestorbene Rasse⁴².

Mit dem Konzept der „Ethnologie du Blanc“ wurde eine Kontemplation von Experimenten wie Massons Automatismus ermöglicht, die eine Deutung der Werke verweigerte um deren Aufgabe zu untersuchen. Wie in Batailles Eintagung des „informe“ zum *Dictionnaire critique* der *Documents* – ein Wort, das sich jeglicher Klassifikation entzieht – wurde dieser Prozess Teil eines akuten Bewusstseins der Grenzen der

³⁸ Einstein, „Gravures d'Hercules Seghers“, in: *Documents*, Nr. 4, 1929, S. 202-208, CEW 3, S. 47-52.

³⁹ Einstein, „Aphorismes méthodiques“, in: *Documents*, Nr. 1, 1929, S. 32-34, CEW 3, S. 13-17.

⁴⁰ Einstein, „André Masson, étude ethnologique“, in *Documents*, Nr. 2, 1929, S. 93-102, CEW 3, S. 25-30 (meine Hervorhebung).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, S. 28 (meine Hervorhebung).

⁴² B. J. Kospoth, „A New Philosophy of Art“, in *Chicago Sunday Tribune* (European Edition), 18. Januar, 1931, S. 5.

Sprache (der Kunstkritik), nach Einstein, „eine Welt rationaler und nahezu beliebiger Zeichen“, der sein Projekt einer anti-idealistischen Kritik untermauerte und damit die unterschwellige Hegemonie des Westlichen Kunstkanons und die Konventionen der Sprache zu entlarven suchte.⁴³

Eine neu geartete Strategie wurde in Einsteins Kritik einer Ausstellung moderner Skulptur in der *Galerie Georges Bernheim* verwirklicht. Anders als die Bild-Text Realisierung der *Negerplastik*, kann diese Rezension als seine vielleicht radikalste „visuelle Wende“ verstanden werden. Indem dieser Beitrag und die begleitenden Bildtafeln sich jeglicher Klassifikation zu entziehen scheint, wurde die Aufgabe der Sprache hier der Autonomie des Bildes überlassen und Einsteins Projekt der „Ethnologie du Blanc“ neu manifestiert. Der Großteil der Ausstellung wurde als Vision „verspäteter Träume“ und die Skulpturen als „Unfall zwischen Bibelots, Totendenkmälern“, und „Pseudo-Kubismus“ verurteilt. Der Autor bedauerte, daß Arp, „dieser Poet der Gassenhauer“ in dieser Ausstellung fehlte, wohingegen die Bildhauer Lipschitz, Laurens, Brancusi und Giacometti, „mit Sympathie“ erwähnt wurden, Künstler, die „einflussreiche Sammler brauchen“.⁴⁴ Während das Masson-Essay einen Korpus von Gemälden theoretisiert hatte in dem eine ethnographische Rhetorik mit der Sublimierung halluzinatorischer Aufzeichnungen assimiliert wurde, engagierte sich diese Rezension weder mit, für Einstein sonst typischen, erkenntnistheoretischen Erläuterungen, noch mit den Künstlern der Avantgarde, deren Namen scheinbar nur ganz beiläufig erwähnt wurden.

Der Text war von einer Serie von sechs Bildtafeln begleitet, die in ihren Paarungen ein frappierendes Lesen visueller Synekdochen erlaubt und die es hier zu untersuchen gilt (Abb. 6). Die erste Doppelseite zeigt ein Werk von Henri Laurens mit dem Titel: „Konstruktion (Skulptur aus verschiedenen Materialien komponiert)“. Dem ist ein Photo gegenübergestellt, das mit „Skulpturdetail des Grand Palais: Schweif eines Löwen“ betitelt ist. Laurens Werk, als *Bouteille et journal* (1919) bekannt, ist eine Konstruktion aus verschiedenen Materialien von ineinander greifenden Formen, die Art von „süßlicher Skulptomalerei“, die Einstein

⁴³ Bataille, Georges, „Informe“, in: *Documents*, Nr. 7, 1929, S. 382; cf. Hollier, 1989, *op. cit.* S. 28f.

⁴⁴ Einstein, „Exposition de sculpture moderne“, in *Documents*, Nr. 7, 1929, S. 390-395, CEW 3, S. 68f; für andere Besprechungen dieser Einstein-Kritik, vgl. Dawn Ades, „Form“, in: Ades, Dawn & Baker, Simon (Hrsg.), (Katalog) *Undercover Surrealism: George Bataille and „Documents“*, Hayward Gallery, London & Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 2006, S. 152-173; Fleckner, *op. cit.* S. 324-351; zu Arp Cf. Einstein, „L'enfance néolithique“, in *Documents*, Nr. 8, 1930, S. 35-43, CEW 3, S. 170-174.

in der *Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* als eine Kunst bezeichnet, die „von Picasso vorbereitet“ und „ohne die kubistischen Maler undenkbar ist“, und wo Laurens als „ein Maillol des Kubismus“ beschrieben wird, dessen Werke „in strenger Grazie“ den „klassischen Gestaltbau beibehalten, doch kubistisch umgedeutet“ sind.⁴⁵

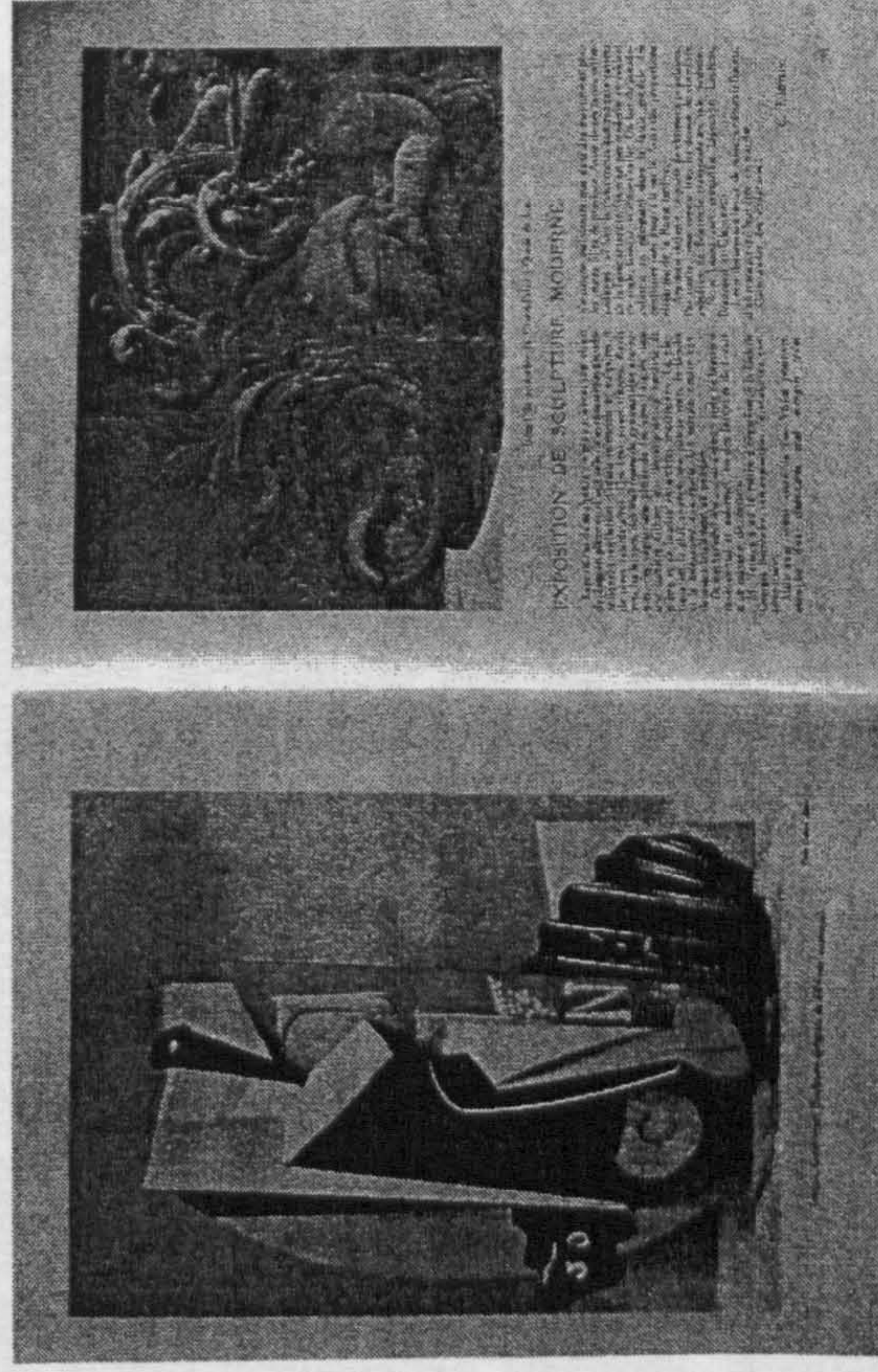


Abb. 6: Henri Laurens, „Construction (sculpture composée de différents matériaux)“; Rechts: „Détail de sculpture au Grand Palais: Queue de Lion“. Abb. S. 390-391 in *Documents*, Nr. 7, 1929

Das Pendant zeigt ein Skulpturdetail der üppigen Dekorationen, die die Neu-Barocke Fassade des Pariser *Grand Palais* schmücken und dessen rhythmische Formverschachtelungen dem Avantgarde-Werk durchaus verwandt sind. Das Detail stellt den kurvigen Schweif eines Löwen dar, der in einer bacchanalischen Pracht aus Pflanzen und Früchten mit einem Füllhorn verschmilzt und auf den Pobacken eines beflügten Puttos endet.⁴⁶ Wird unser Blick hier zu einem respektlosen Spiel

⁴⁵ Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin (Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte, Bd. XVI), (1. Aufl.: 1926; 2: 1928; hier nach der 3. in 1931), in CEW 5, S. 279 und 280f.

⁴⁶ Das Grand Palais wurde 1900 eröffnet, um im Rahmen der staatlich subventionierten monumentalen *Exposition universelle* den Beginn des neuen 20. Jahrhunderts zu feiern und die kulturelle, industrielle, und koloniale Superiorität Frankreichs zu demonstrieren. Zur gleichen Zeit fand auch die Eröffnung des Gare d'Orsay statt, die der ersten Pariser Metro, der ersten Rolltreppen-Installation und der spektakulären

der Vertauschung eingeladen, in dem wir zu einer Umdeutung zwischen der „strengen Grazie“ der Moderne und dem eines „labyrinthisch irgeleiteten (Neu)-Barocks“ herausgefordert werden? Sind die verführerischen Verstrickungen kultivierten Geschmacks hier mit der Aufrechterhaltung von Traditionen innerhalb der modernistischen Avantgarde angedeutet, die eine verborgene Parallele mit dem Pomp spektakulärer Inszenierungen staatlicher Autorität herstellen? Der Index photographischer Reproduktion erlaubt hier eine „Hingabe zu den Möglichkeiten des Nichterkennens“⁴⁷, und wird damit zum Mittel alle Verpflichtungen der Sprache (der Kunstkritik) gegenüber dem Werk zu widerrufen, um an deren Stelle den Akt ästhetischer Transformation zu untersuchen. Diese Übung ist mit Batailles philosophischen Reflektionen über den „Geist der Moderne“ vergleichbar, wo ein Bedauern über deren Unfähigkeit „unendlich nagenden Visionen ins Leben zu rufen“ geäußert wird, um darauf hinzuweisen, daß „irgendwie unabhängig von dem Willen der Theoretiker, [...] symbolische Transponierungen aller Art mit infantilster Beharrlichkeit zur Oberfläche gebracht worden“ sind⁴⁸.

Eine zweite Paarung besteht aus einer Reproduktion, die als „Lipschitz: Skulptur 1929“ bezeichnet ist, die einer mit dem Titel, „Chinesischer Bronzeaufschlag, Prae-Han Periode (s. S. 396), Kollektion David-Weill“ gegenübergestellt ist (Abb. 7)⁴⁹. Die Verschiebung von kulturell unterschiedlichen Objekten inszeniert hier eine Korrespondenz zwischen der reduzierten archaischen Form einer kauernenden Amphibie und den rhythmischen Wurflinien des Bronzeaufschlags, der den Kopf eines mythischen katzenartigen Biests umschreibt, daß eine amorphe Eidechsen-Form zu verschlingen scheint. Einsteins Kritik modernistischer Skulptur in der *Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* schloss auch Lipschitz

Wasserkaskaden des Château d'Eau: ein „Füllhorn“ zeitgenössischer französischer Technologie, Zivilization und Kultur. Ausstellungen schlossen Kunst und Handwerk ein, die erste Filmvorführung, sowie die „live“ Ausstellung eines „Negerdorfs“, ein Merkmal des Sozial-Darwinismus, das seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert ein weit verbreitetes Kennzeichen europäischer Kolonialpolitik war.

⁴⁷ Zitiert nach Baker, Simon, „Doctrines (The Appearance of Things)“, in (Katalog) Ades & Baker, *op. cit.*, S. 34-41, hier S. 36.

⁴⁸ Bataille, Georges, „L'esprit moderne et le jeu de transpositions“, in: *Documents*, Nr. 8, 1930, S. 241-243.

⁴⁹ Die Titel-Referenz verweist auf eine Notiz, in der dieses Objekt als die neueste Erwerbung des Sammlers identifiziert, vgl. „Nouveautés de la Collection David-Weill“, in *Documents*, Nr. 7, 1929, S. 396; Cf. Paul Pelliot, „Quelques réflexions sur l'art Sibirien et Chinois, à propos de bronzes de la collection de David-Weill“, in *Documents*, Nr. 1, 1929, S. 9-21; da sich der Fokus auf die Kunst nomadischer (Pferdehaltender) Kulturen richtet, kann dieses Essay als ein Gegenstück zu Batailles kontroversen Essay, „Le cheval académique“, betrachtet werden, in: Ebd., S. 27-31.

ein: „Ihn locken große, denkmalhafte Themen, die mitunter allzu pathetisch verkündet werden“⁵⁰. Hier fordert das Hingeben zu den Möglichkeiten des Nichterkennens, das die subversiven Bild-Strategien der Zeitschrift markierte, den Beschauer heraus ein double-take zu unternehmen zwischen dem „Primitivenrummel“ (s.o.) des Westens und der Zivilität archaischer Nomadenkulturen des Ostens.

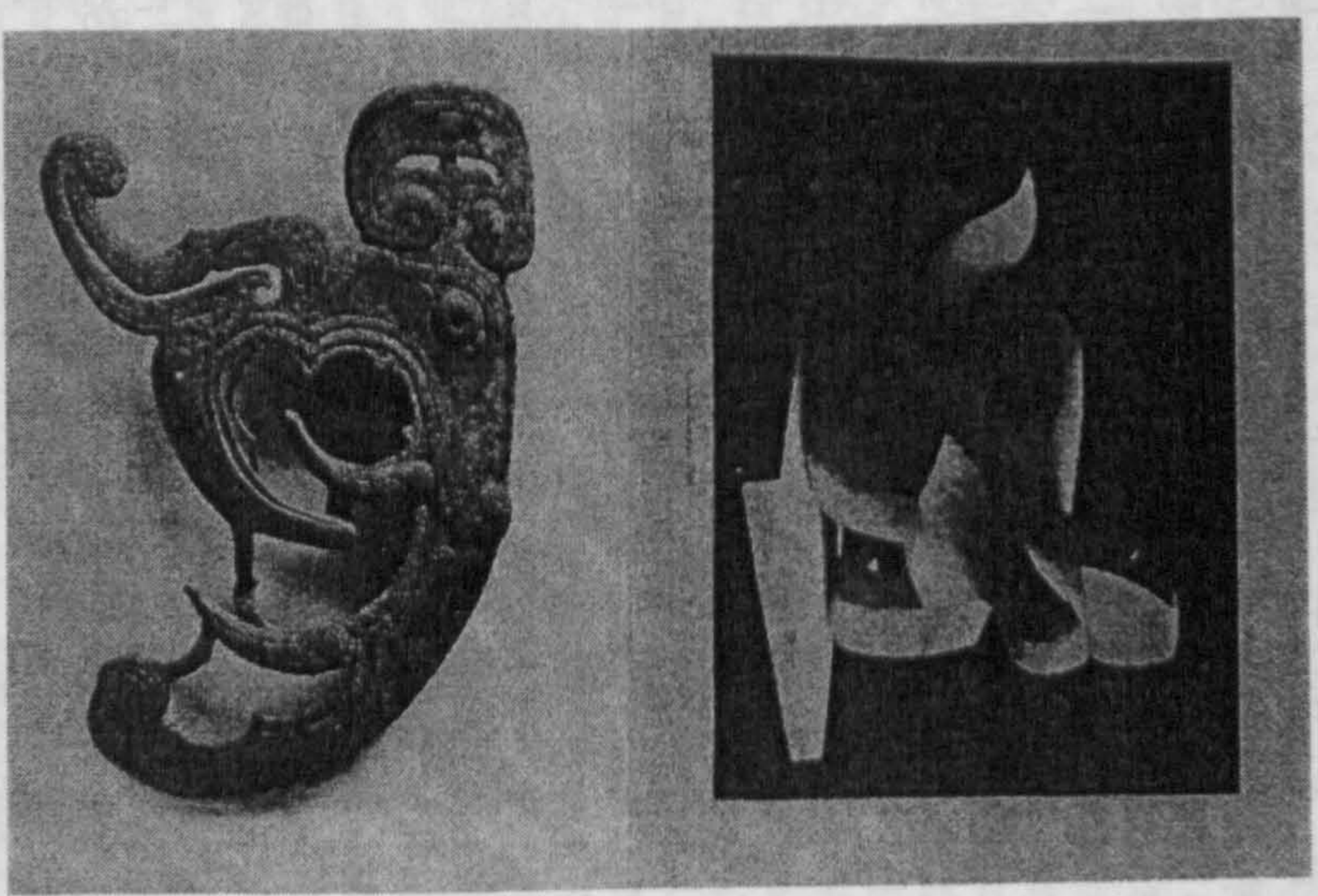


Abb. 7: „Lipschitz: Sculpture 1929“. „Applique de bronze chinoise, époque pré-Han“. Coll. David-Weill; Abb. S. 394-395 in *Documents*, Nr. 7, 1929

In der Konfrontation zwischen einem „allzu pathetischen“ Ringen um das „große denkmalhafte“ der modernen Kunst und der subtilen Ornamentierung von Alltagsobjekten wird der Sinn kultureller Klassifi-

⁵⁰ Einstein, C., *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, hier CEW 5, S. 278-281.

kationen korrumpiert mit dem Fragen über den „Geist der Moderne“ und die Aufgabe der Kunst mit der „infantilsten Beharrlichkeit zur Oberfläche gebracht“ werden⁵¹.

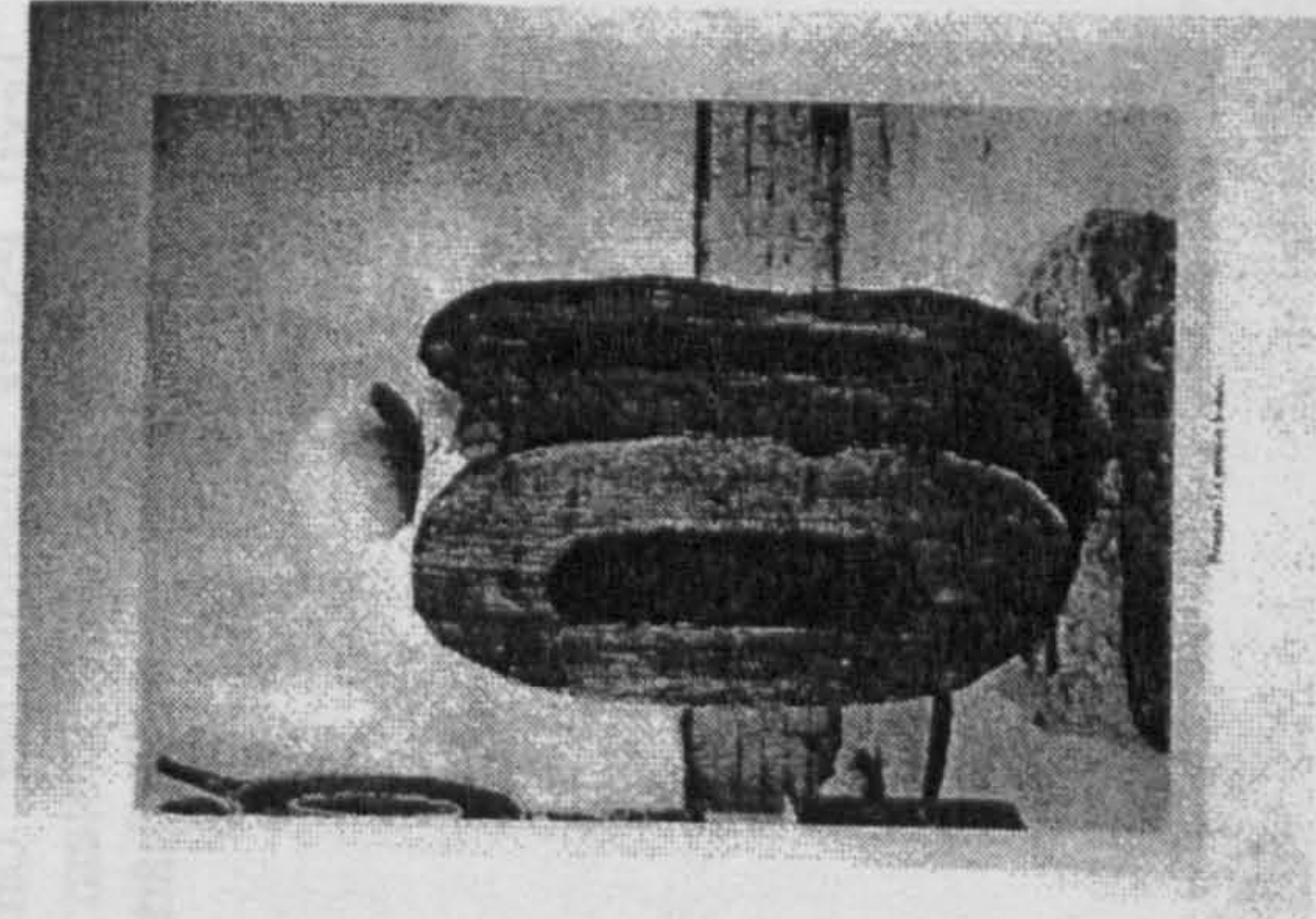
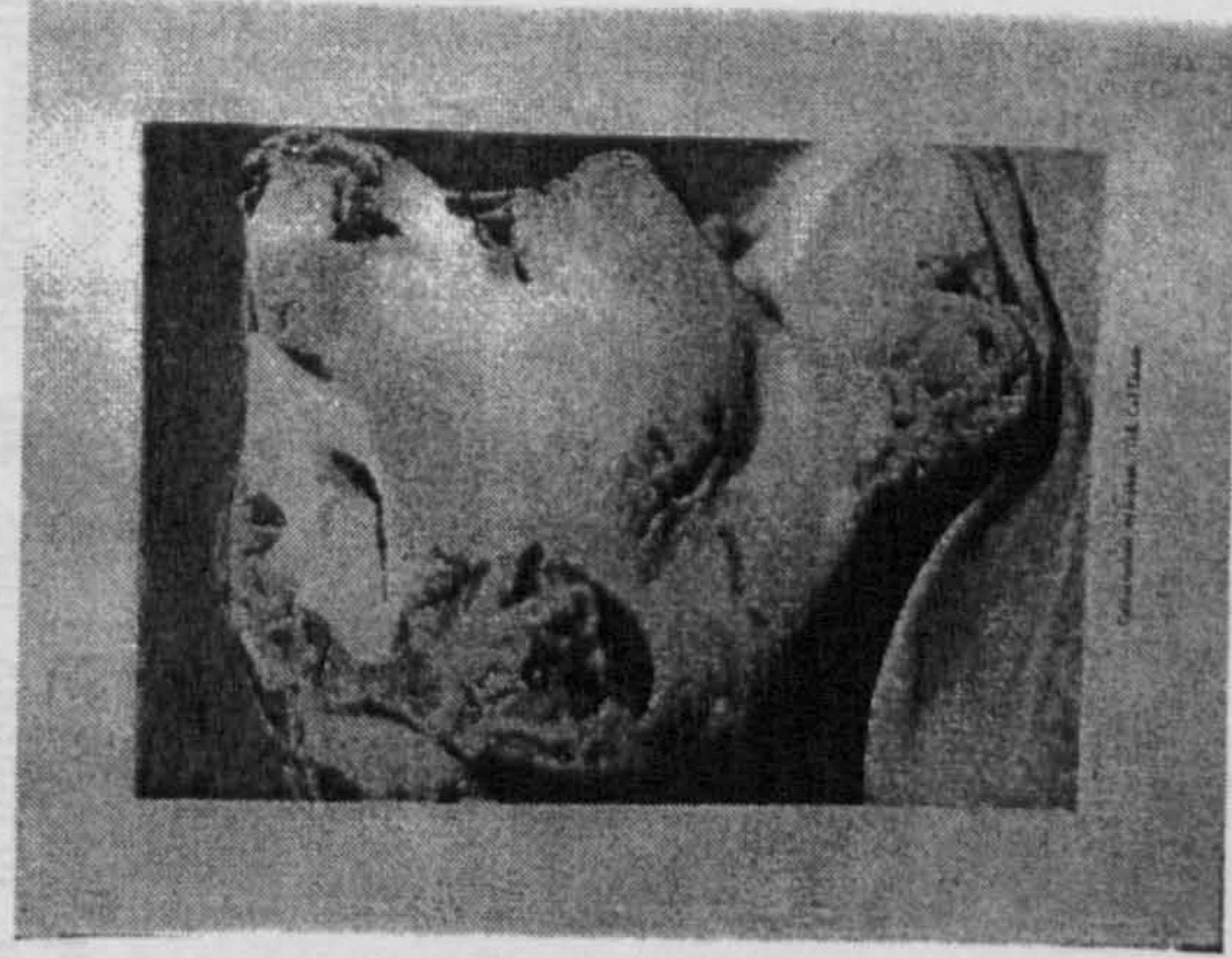


Abb. 8: „Caillou ramassé sur la plage; Collection Carl Einstein“;
Rechts: „Brancusi (sic), Le premier homme“;
Abb. S. 392-393 in *Documents*, Nr. 7, 1929

Die Illustrationen, die hier als letztes Pendant untersucht werden, bestehen aus einem Photo mit dem Titel, „Am Strand gefundener Stein; Kollektion Carl Einstein“, das mit einem als „Brancusi (sic), Der erste Mann/Mensch“ bezeichnet, gepaart ist (Abb. 8). Diese Gegenüberstellung ist von anderer Art, da hier ein kunstloses Objekt mit dem Kunstwerk konfrontiert ist. Während die Pendants zu den vorigen Avantgardewerken als Objekte der dekorativen Kunst und des Kunsthandwerks klassifizierbar sind, trifft uns hier eine andere Ordnung, nicht Artefakt kultureller Distanz oder historischer Differenz, sondern ein simpler

⁵¹ Bataille, G., „L'esprit moderne et le jeu de transpositions“, *op. cit.*; in Verbindung mit Einsteins afrikanischen/ozeanischen Interessen beschäftigte er sich auch mit anderen Kunstformen und den damit verbundenen Forschungsproblemen: „Volkskunst, [die] allzu wenig von Gelehrten beachtet [...] da sie außerhalb der gebildeten, klassischen Zone liegt [...] ist voll vergessener Symbolik“, Cf. Einstein, „Zentralasiatische Nomadenkunst“, in *Die Weltkunst*, IV, Nr. 11, 15 März, 1931, S. 2 f., hier CEW 3, S. 191-94.

Stein unberührt vom Willen zur Form, von irgendwann, irgendwo. Die Brancusi-Assemblage (von dem Künstler arrangiert und photographiert) besteht aus einem grob gemeißelten Steinblock auf dem eine vierseitige rauhgeschnittene, von ovalen Öffnungen durchbrochene Holzform sitzt, die als *Tabouret* (1930, Centre Pompidou) bekannt ist, und in deren oberer Mulde die marmorweiße Form eines Kopfes ruht, die als *Prometheus* (1911, Philadelphia Museum of Art) berühmt ist. „Der erste Mann“ erlaubt die Vermutung, daß hier das klassische Erbe des Modernismus mit einer Manifestation des mythologischen Urprungs vom Werden der Kunst und Kultur angestrebt ist. Eine triadische Konstellation kultureller Evolutionsprozesse, vom formlosen Naturstein zu primitiver Raumformverwendung, die in der existenziell-reduzierten Form des Promethischen Mannes kulminiert, eine hierarchische Allegorie menschlichen Erringens und der Transponierung von Natur zu Kunst. In der *Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* wurde der Künstler folgendermaßen beschrieben: „Brancusi, der [...] Urformen zu suchen scheint; das Monumentale soll durch letzte Vereinfachung [...] erreicht werden. Wirkung: ein Bluff [...] Man poliert [...], wiederholt wenige Motive und träumt zwischen vergrößerten Kunstgewerbedingen von Riesen“⁵².

Doch wie steht es mit dem Objekt der „Kollektion Carl Einstein“, ein *objet trouvé*, zuerst erkennbar als ein seltsam exzentrisch-ägyptisches Profil? Die über die helle Oberfläche verstreuten dunklen Markierungen erinnern an ein träumendes Antlitz, dessen vielleicht „amüsiert lächelnde“ Lippen und fast „elegante“ Nackenlinie wie aus den „sanften Wellen“ einer Drapierung zu kommen scheint. Vielleicht das Fragment verlorener Visionen einer mythischen Muse, oder Niobe, die sich, befreit von weltlichem Aufruhr und wie der Künstler/Schamane in dem Masson-Essay in die Form von „einem Tier, einem Stein oder einer Planze“ verwandelt⁵³. Den ganzen Bildrahmen einnehmend – und im Gegenüber mit dem „ersten Mann“ – inszeniert dieses gefundene Objekt eine Infragestellung dessen was zufällig oder wesentlich ist, formlos oder geformt. Formlose Natur als weiblich-ekstatische Muse wird hier zum subversiven Gegenpol des männlichen Schöpfungsakts, der Formwillung mit kulturellen Hierarchien identifiziert, ein aufwiegenderes Spiel der Transponierung, dass nach Bataille mit „infantilster Beharrlichkeit“ – und vielleicht ein wenig sarkastisch – „unendlich nagende Visionen ins Leben zu rufen“ vernag⁵⁴.

⁵² Einstein, C., *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, CEW 5, S. 278-281.

⁵³ Cf. Einstein, C., „André Masson, étude ethnologique“, *op. cit.* (meine Hervorhebung).

⁵⁴ Cf. Bataille, G., „L'esprit moderne et le jeu de transpositions“, *op. cit.*

Mehr als die Bild-Text Dialektik der *Negerplastik* oder die psycho-ethnographische Masson-Studie, kann die „visuelle Wende“ in diesem Photoessay als ein Übersreiten der etablierten Ordnung und Willkür diskursiver Sprache verstanden werden. Einsteins Bewusstsein der semantischen Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Sprache (der Kunstkritik), mußte – allein mit Bezug auf die Experimente und kulturanalytischen Strategien der *Documents*-Mitarbeiter – den Versuch die semiotischen Möglichkeiten des Bildes zu untersuchen eine Notwendigkeit machen. So wie die Eidetik, die Wörtern als lexikale Einheiten eigen ist, außerhalb ihrer etablierten symbolischen Verschlüsselungen zum Bruch mit Repräsentation führt, und damit ein Öffnen der Sprache ermöglicht⁵⁵, so kann die Form (*eidōs*), die Bildern außerhalb ihrer traditionsbedingten ikonographischen Festlegungen eigen ist, zum Bruch der Vorstellung des beschauenden Blicks führen, mit dem ein Verharren auf der Schwelle zwischen den sich widersprechenden Möglichkeiten von *Sehen* und *Verlieren* inszeniert wird, das ein *Neu-Erkennen* der Bilder hervorzuführen vermag.

Der abrupte Bruch zwischen dem wortreichen Spott sarkastischer Metaphern in Einsteins Text über diese Ausstellung moderner Skulptur und der – fast wortlosen – Kurzbündigkeit zu Laurens, Lipschitz und Brancusi, ist innerhalb des gesamten Text-und-Bildkontexts weniger als eine Hommage der bildnerischen Kraft dieser Avantgardekünstlern zu „lesen“, sondern eher als Indiz einer neuen „visuellen Wende“, in der Einstein nicht mehr den „Sinne der Wörter [der Kritik] sondern deren Job“ der Logik der Bilder überlassen hat⁵⁶. So ist es wohl kein Zufall, daß dieselbe *Documents*-Ausgabe Batailles Eintragung zum „informe“ enthielt, ein Wort auf das „getrampelt wird wie eine Spinne oder ein Wurm“⁵⁷. Damit wurde ein dialektischer Prozess sichtbar gemacht, der vielleicht als Einsteins Poetik einer unendlichen Unvollkommenheit beschreibbar ist, ein Prozess, der auch in seiner Eintragung „Nachtigall“ zum *Dictionnaire critique* veranschaulicht ist: „Die Nachtigall ist normalerweise ein Gemeinplatz [...], tatsächlich bezeichnet man mit Wörtern weniger einen Gegenstand als eine vage Meinung [...] Versteinerungen [...] Das Ungenau ist die Fassade der Seele [...] für die meisten ein Museum sinnloser Zeichen“⁵⁸.

In den Bildtafeln, die Einsteins Kritik moderner Skulptur begleiteten kam der Prozess einer „visuellen Wende“ zu einer neuen Vervollendung in

⁵⁵ Cf. Hollier, 1989, *op. cit.*

⁵⁶ Cf. Bataille, „informe“, *op. cit.*

⁵⁷ Ebd.

⁵⁸ Einstein, C., „Dictionnaire critique : Rossignol“, in *Documents*, Nr. 2, 1929, S. 117-18, hier CEW 2, S. 30-32.

dem nicht das Wort, sondern das Bild die Arbeit einer Kritik der avantgardistischen Moderne vollzog, wo das Visuelle nicht mehr von dem was es bedeutet bestimmt ist, sondern von dem was es *tut*, eine (Bild-Text) Poetik unendlicher Unvollkommenheit, die sich vielleicht in seinem leider nie vollendetem Projekt einer „Ethnologie du Blanc“ in noch anderer Form enthüllt hätte.

ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIUM

ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE

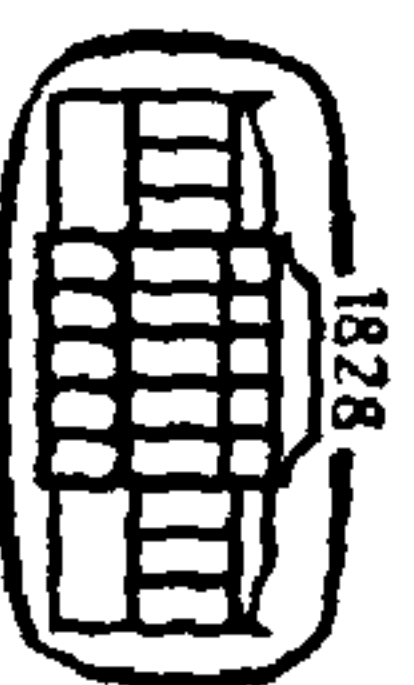
ADIVANTIBUS

G. GALAVICS, M. KOVALOVSKY, P. LÓVEI, GY. RÓZSA, J. SISA,
ZS. URBACH, J. VÉGH

REDIGIT

E. MAROSI

TOMUS XLIX



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HEIKE M. NEUMEISTER

NOTES ON THE 'ETHNOGRAPHIC TURN'
OF THE EUROPEAN AVANT-GARDE:
READING CARL EINSTEIN'S *NEGERPLASTIK* (1915)
AND VLADIMIR MARKOV'S *ISKUSSTVO NEGROV* (1919)

Abstract: In the accounts of early twentieth-century modernism the ethnographic object and its 'discovery' by avant-garde artists has come to occupy a central role. But the African studies by the German author and critic Carl Einstein (1885-1940) and the Latvian artist Vladimir Markov (1877-1914) have regularly been demoted to the footnotes of primitivist appropriations. In the histories of non-Western cultures and the anthropology of art both have endured a place in obscurity. Described as 'the first and most influential' of the 'champions of primitive art', Einstein's *Negerplastik* has regained some recognition, whereas Markov's *Iskusstvo Negrov* remains the lesser known of the two books. Emerging at the same historical juncture both authors postulated the limits of Western artistic traditions by advocating the aesthetic autonomy of non-Western sculpture. By introducing a comparative reading, this paper argues that the image/text strategies of both studies orchestrated a poetics of alterity that was central to their respective theoretical agendas and indicative of the politically charged cultural exchanges within the early-twentieth-century avant-garde. In addition to their seemingly analogous motivations it is proposed that their 'ethnographic turn' was based, nevertheless, upon conflicting approaches that betray their individual philosophical and artistic affiliations.

Keywords: aesthetic theory, African sculpture, artistic autonomy, avant-garde, ethnography, photography, primitivism

Many accounts of early twentieth-century modernism have tended to focus on the 'discovery' of non-Western artefacts and the debates surrounding their primitivist contextualisation by the avant-garde. Yet the role of the photographic media in the articulation and effective circulation of the ethnographic object that validated its artistic autonomy appears to have been overlooked in this discourse, in spite of the impact this 'ethnographic turn' had on subsequent formations. This may explain why the African studies by the German author and art historian Carl Einstein (1885-1940) and the Latvian artist Vladimir Markov (1877-1914) have regularly been demoted to the footnotes of primitivist appropriations. In the histories of non-Western cultures and the anthropology of art both have en-

dured a place in obscurity. Described as the 'first and most influential' of the 'champions of primitive art', Einstein's *Negerplastik* (1915) has regained some recognition,¹ whereas Markov's study *Iskusstvo Negrov* (1919) remains the lesser known of the two books (*Figs 1a* and *1b*).²

Emerging at the same historical juncture, both studies were researched and written between 1912-14 with little or no prior knowledge of ethnography. Both authors had established links with avant-garde groups (such as the *Blaue Reiter* in Munich) already engaged with notions of the so-called primitive. The encounter of art and ethnography prompted both to challenge European prejudices of Africa having no art or tradition and to argue for the artistic autonomy of African sculpture and its relevance to current artistic practices. Their respective ethnographic turn is indicative of notions of theory, not as a method of analysis but a 'toolkit', a logic that engaged with the 'speci-

* Heike M. Neumeister, Birmingham City University, Birmingham, UK The Long House, Stapleton, Presteigne, Powys LD8 2LS, UK; Phone: 0044 1544260218
E-mail: heike.neumeister@virgin.net



Fig. 1a) Cover of Carl Einstein (1915), *Negerplastik*, Verlag der Weissen Bücher, Leipzig;
 Fig. 1b) Cover of Vladimir Markov (1919), *Iskusstvo negrov*, St Petersburg

ficity of power relations and the struggles around them' founded upon the 'reflection on given situations' (whether cultural, historical or ethnographic) in which the photographic image functioned as a 'certain but fugitive testimony'.³ A reading of both studies presented here proposes that (i) Einstein's and Markov's image strategies formed a central aspect of their respective theoretical agendas, and (ii) that their seemingly analogous motivations were based upon conflicting approaches that betray individual philosophical and artistic affiliations.

Prior to 1915 there is little evidence in Einstein's art critical writing of a preference for African culture, but by 1912 he clearly had engaged with Cubist – especially Picasso's – painting stating that 'the consequences of the primitive led to an even greater primitivism'.⁴ His views on the relevance of ethnographic objects to Cubism and the function of art developed as part of frequent visits to Paris and exchanges with members of the avant-garde, where debates

tended to involve aspects of art nègre and objects collected by artists and others since about 1906. His lasting friendship with Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler and the acquaintance with the first dealer in non-Western artefacts, Joseph Brummer further confirmed his growing fascination with the subject, whose true connoisseurs – as Picasso's friend Guillaume Apollinaire noted – were the collectors of antiques and friends of art.⁵

Einstein's plans for a publication on African sculpture in the journal, *Der Merker*, he edited were first outlined in 1913 in a letter to the Benin scholar and director of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, Felix von Luschan, which asked for assistance with his project.⁶ But his concepts concerning ethnographic objects and affinities he recognised with coeval artistic tendencies became manifest later that year during his brief association with the *Neue Galerie* in Berlin. In what must have been one of the first exhibitions of its kind in the history of European modernism, Einstein organised a display of works by the avant-garde

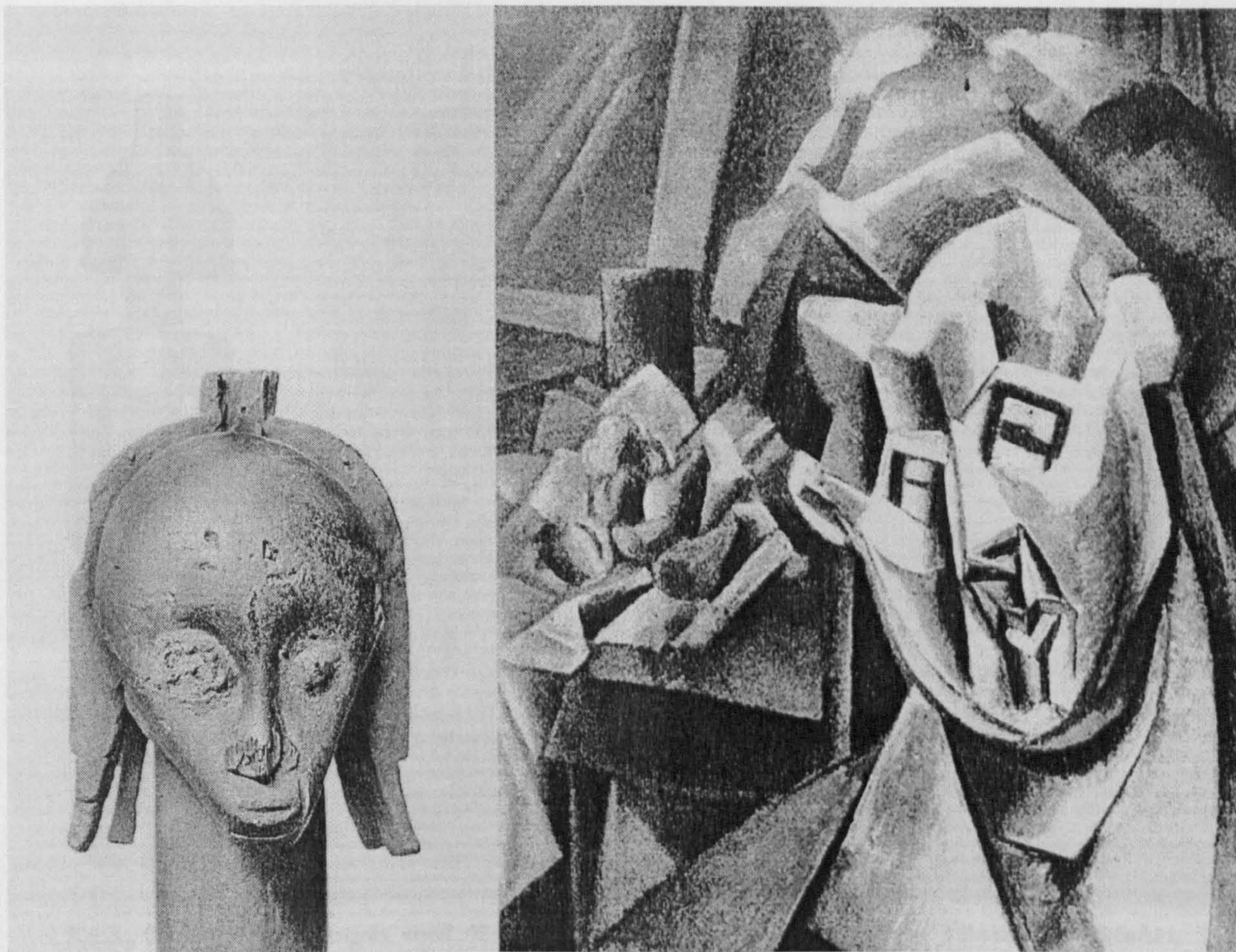


Fig. 2 a) Detail of Fang reliquary head (*nlo byeri*), Gabon, wood, pigments, 63 cm, Musée Dapper, Paris, formerly collection J. Brummer, also known as the 'Brummer Head' (plate 17 of Carl Einstein (1915), *Negerplastik*); Fig. 2b) Pablo Picasso, *La femme aux poires (Fernande)*, 1909, Oil on canvas, 92.1 × 70.8 cm, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, formerly Collection Alfred Flechtheim (plate 439 of Carl Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, vol. XVI, 1931)

combined with African sculpture.⁷ There is evidence that Einstein's acquaintance from his days at the Café du Dôme, Joseph Brummer, was in Berlin at this time. This strongly suggests that Brummer, who had since distinguished himself as a specialist in 'objets d'art antique et de haute curiosité', collaborated with Einstein and the *Neue Galerie's* owner Otto Feldmann in this and the following exhibition by providing the African artefacts and, on this occasion, some East Asian and Hellenistic sculptures.⁸ While Einstein's preface to the catalogue of the first exhibition celebrated Picasso as 'reviving the laws of plasticity', visible only in 'the highest of the arts: the inexorable African sculpture, Egyptian statuary, the Gothic, [and] the Baroque', none of the other contributors – except for Derain and Matisse – were men-

tioned.⁹ This was the only reference by Einstein to the African exhibits, which located in a separate room prompted the critic Karl Scheffler to declare them as the 'patron saints of the newest in art'.¹⁰

More significant however was the second exhibition in December 1913, which consisted of a retrospective of Picasso's work from 1901–1912 that was displayed alongside a collection of African sculpture. Based on evidence of provenances of Picasso's work and the objects that were to feature in *Negerplastik*, some assumptions of what was on show have been made, among them the works illustrated here (Figs 2a and 2b). Others may have included Picasso's *Trois femmes* (1907–1908, St. Petersburg: The Hermitage Museum) and African sculptures belonging to the Moscow collector Sergej I. Shchukin.¹¹ From one of the few, by and

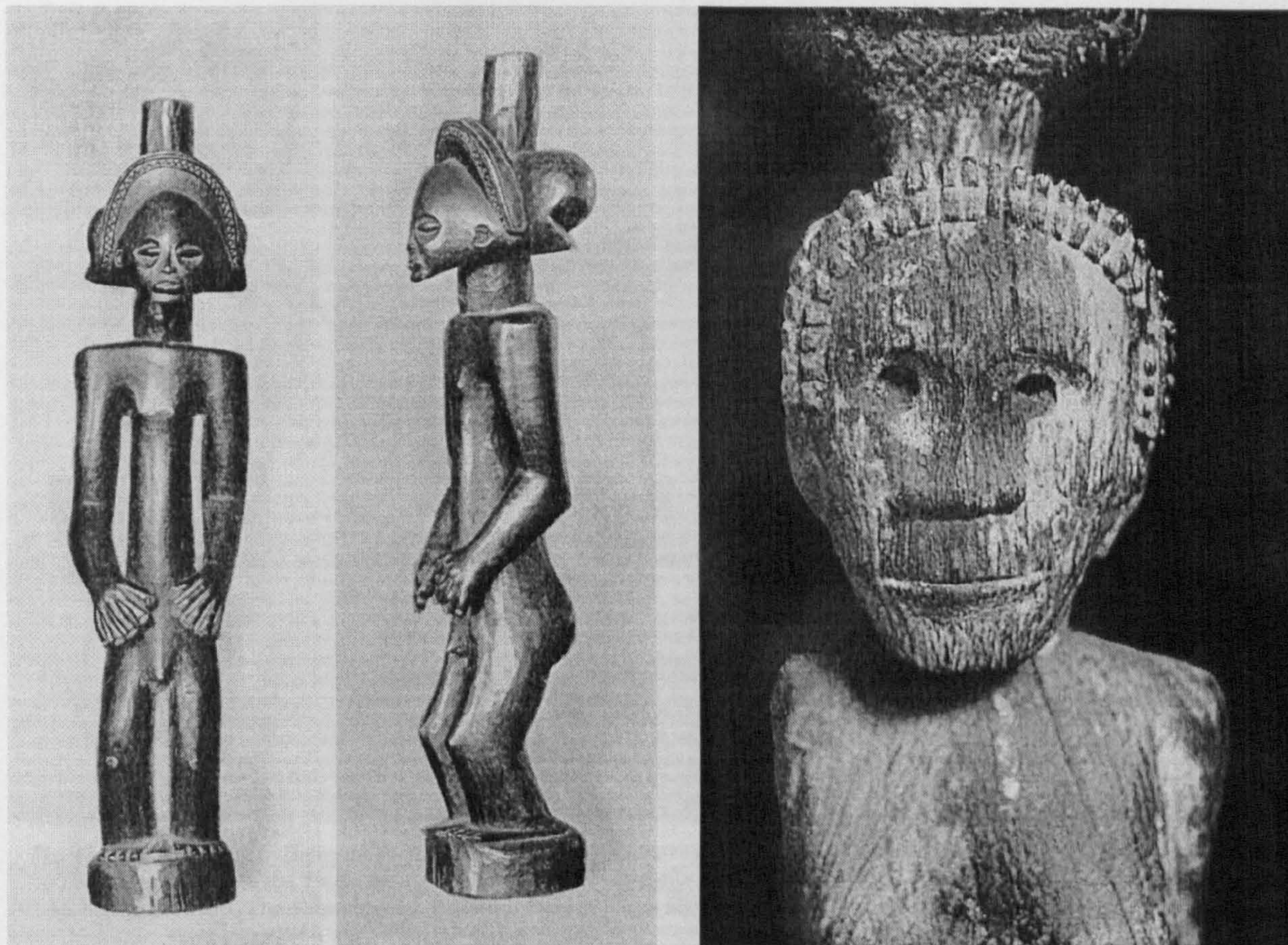


Fig. 3a) Chokwe statuette, Angola, wood, 42 cm, The Pushkin Museum, Moscow, formerly collection S. I. Shchukin;
 Fig. 3b) Detail of male head, funerary post, Sakalave, Madagascar, wood 99 cm, collection C. Monzino
 (plate 67 and 9 of Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik*, 1915)

large censorious, reviews, we know that the exhibition's emphasis was placed on the artist's Cubist works. The German collector and friend of Kohnweiler, Wilhelm Uhde, wrote the catalogue introduction, which celebrated the exhibition by comparing Picasso's working processes with the sculptural work by Michelangelo, a comparison the critic Emil Waldmann rejected as vehemently as the entire show.¹² In spite of this an appreciative, though unidentified reviewer reported:

The second exhibition of the only recently opened *Neue Galerie* presents a comprehensive survey of the art of Pablo Picasso, which for the first time in Berlin invites discussion on the problem of Cubism. Incorporated is a series of superb Negro sculptures. Since such primitive works have inspired Picasso in many ways, this interesting collection is perfectly suited.¹³

Maligned by all other critics – and until now ignored in most accounts of the historical avant-

garde – the exhibition travelled to the *Kunstsalon E. Richter* in Dresden in January 1914.¹⁴ Picasso's proto-Cubist work has since been identified with the conceptual break between European mimetic traditions and the foundations of early twentieth-century modernism with the result that his encounter with African artefacts has come to occupy a pivotal role in the history of modern art. It is in this as much as coeval context that Einstein's initiative may be of particular significance. While the relative obscurity surrounding the exhibitions at the *Neue Galerie* to this day may be one of the symptoms of the ramifications of turn-of-the-century culture politics, they were crucial to Einstein's aesthetic principles by anticipating his hypotheses set out in *Negerplastik*.

Before 1913, when he embarked on his African project, Markov was one of the principal forces behind the artists' society *Soyuz molodezhi* (Union of Youth) which led to his



Fig. 4a) Detail of Fig. 4b) Reliquary figure (*eyiama bieri*), mid-19th century, Gabon or Equatorial Guinea, wood, pearls, seeds, 60 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, formerly Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro; Fig. 4c) Mask, Ijo-Kalabari, Nigeria, wood, 45 × 22,5 × 12 cm, The Ethnological Museum, Leiden (plate 63, 62 and 94 of Vladimir Markov (1919), *Iskusstvo negrov*)

manifestoes 'Russkii Setsession' (The Russian Secession)¹⁵ and 'Printsipy novogo iskusstva' (The Principles of the New Art). Both promoted the anti-naturalist tendencies of the new Russian art as part of a pan-European movement that sought beauty beyond Western tradition, in Markov's words: 'The more deeply [...] mankind penetrates the divine principle of beauty, [...] the more heterogeneous their principles and canons'.¹⁶ Embracing concepts akin to Kandinsky, *Der Blaue Reiter*, and Wilhelm Worringer's *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (1908), confirmed Markov as a theoretician of the emerging Russian avant-garde.¹⁷ But like Einstein's 'conversion' to African art, Markov's shift from late Symbolist painter to author and photographer of non-Western artefacts coincided with his visits to Paris in his role as envoy of the *Union of Youth*. His growing engagement is evident in the correspondence written during his travels in 1912. Although it seems their paths did not cross, Markov – like Einstein, who would arrive in Paris within weeks of the other's departure – visited the same galleries, where it appears that he too met with

Kahnweiler and Brummer. He also visited the collection of Karl-Ernst Osthaus in Hagen and reported on his meetings in Berlin with Herwarth Walden at *Der Sturm*, Kandinsky and others of the *Blaue Reiter*.¹⁸

Markov's letters indicate that – like Einstein – he was well informed about the location of material and contacts to further his interests.¹⁹ Aware of his own future goals as a photographer and recalling the business acumen of a dealer visited (almost certainly Kahnweiler), who 'sells only Picassos and has photos of all of Picasso's works, all periods', Markov bought some of them for the *Union of Youth*.²⁰ While his encounter with Kahnweiler was – unlike Einstein's – no more than fleeting, more significant was his disclosure regarding the Moscow collector of avant-garde art, Sergei I. Shchukin: 'Then along came Shchukin and we [...] bragged to him about discovering one dealer's extraordinary collection of Polynesian and African sculptures [...] We went there with Shchukin. He [...] bought [...] sculptures and a Picasso [...]. If only I had a camera, I would take some photos of these wonders'.²¹



Fig. 5a) Royal statue (*Mbob Pelyeeng aNce*), Kuba-Bushoong, DRC, wood, 55 cm,
(plate 65 of Carl Einstein (1915), *Negerplastik*);

Fig. 5 b) Royal statue (as fig. 5a) (plate facing p. 234 in T. A. Joyce & O. M. Dalton (eds) (1910/1925),
Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections, London: The British Museum (with kind permission of the Department
of Africa, Oceania and the Americas (AOA))

By 1913 Markov had acquired a camera to record such 'wonders' in the ethnographic collections he visited across Western Europe. But his letter further suggests that he was involved in the

choice of objects that entered Shchukin's collection of African sculpture, described elsewhere as 'a small but extremely interesting collection'.²² Since 1914, when the critic J. Tugendhold noted

that 'one may find much in common between the schematic expression of Picasso and a Venus or other from prehistoric times, or the marvelous wooden sculptures from the Congo and Madagascar so dear to Picasso', it has become known that the African objects acquired by Shchukin may have been intended to indicate their links to the artist's creative processes. Because, as the critic noted, they were 'exhibited in the same room as the paintings by Picasso', the intentions seemed not unlike those that had impelled Einstein's juxtapositions at the *Neue Galerie* in Berlin.²³ Markov did not mention the names of dealers visited and the actual works involved, but five of Shchukin's African objects were to feature in Einstein's 1915 *Negerplastik* (Fig. 3a). It is conceivable that – together with Picasso's works, which may included his *Trois femmes* (1907–1908) – they also were part of Feldman's and Einstein's exhibitions at the *Neue Galerie* in November and December 1913. On route to their final destination at the collector's Moscow residence, the ethnographic objects may have arrived with Brummer's collection on his visit to the gallery in Berlin.²⁴

Both Einstein's *Negerplastik* and Markov's *Iskusstvo Negrov* begin with a brief text. Divided into five chapters each attempted an analysis of African sculpture. *Negerplastik* argued that European contempt of African culture was based upon 'vague evolutionary principles' that relegated its products as 'a priori deficient'. Although none of the avant-garde artists were named, Einstein stated that African objects had proved crucial to 'problems in recent art', because 'scarcely anyone had addressed certain spatial problems with such purity as the Negroes'. Emphasising the image plates of the book and rejecting 'all [...] ethnographic or other knowledge', he proposed an analysis that excluded 'subject matter and contextual associations' in order to determine whether 'a total concept [...] consistent with that of artistic form' may dispel the 'misnomer of the primitive'.²⁵ Einstein charged Western traditions from the Renaissance to Rodin with the steady erasure of the boundaries between sculpture and painting, and in view of the recent 'immense efforts' by a few painters in France, he advocated a reconsideration of the function of art by proposing the artistic autonomy of African sculpture.²⁶ In contrast

to Western art that was subjected to emotional interpretation, he insisted that African sculpture was 'above all determined by religion' and a 'consistent realism of transcendent form'.²⁷ The central chapter examined the 'formal organisation that is the foundation of African sculpture', a 'totality' that as in 'so-called primitive art' was marked by a 'paradoxical dimension' that integrated mass and form with spatial equivalents of movement.²⁸ Here, as throughout the text and much of his oeuvre, Einstein insisted on clear distinctions of the notion of the 'primitive', an approach that set him apart from Markov's and other coeval authors. The last section speculated on the function of ritual such as tattooing, scarification, dance, and the sculptural diversity of masks that signified 'a fixed ecstasy' within culture-specific contexts. There was no conclusion as such and – in contrast to Markov – there was no reference to ethnographic or other sources consulted with the exception of the sculptor, Adolf Hildebrand, whose theoretical terminology was in parts re-appropriated by Einstein in order to posit a paradigm of African sculpture as art.²⁹

Like Einstein, Markov's text argued against a Western bias that saw Africa devoid of aesthetic judgement and history. He insisted that in spite of the lack of historical evidence legends and antiquities, guarded by the 'secretive Negro', had been discovered that confirmed Africa's 'place of honour in the creation of the world's aesthetic pantheon'.³⁰ In contrast to Einstein's refutation of such a global purview, Markov assembled a narrative of African cultural history that in line with the German explorer and ethnographer, Leo Frobenius, identified the West African coastal and Congo regions with the legendary 'Atlantis'. Convinced by his theories, African archaeological sightings were associated with ethnic migrations from the Mediterranean and the shamanist practices of Northern Asia, conjectures expressly dismissed by Einstein's rigorous focus on sculptural form.³¹ Yet like Einstein, Markov was convinced of the visual power of the photographic images of African sculpture, in his words 'idols [...] chosen' that were 'endlessly rich in ideas' signifying a play of plastic values 'in which each mass retains its autonomy', qualities he too noted had enriched the avant-garde, here named as Matisse and especially Picasso whose interest in the objects' 'geometric simplicity' was emphasised.³²

What marked a departure from Einstein's conceptualisation of this art was Markov's attention to the evidence of *faktura*, that is, the integration of seemingly arbitrary materials extraneous to the sculptural process whereby 'a shell or nail [...] conveys the form' or the 'gleam [...] of an eye', concepts he identified as 'symbolic means' (Figs 4a and 4b). For Markov *faktura* constituted the inherent resonance of the materiality of the object that conditioned the essential properties of the making of art, whether evident in the formal elements characteristic of much of African material culture, Russian icons or the playful constructions and collages of Picasso from 1912 onwards. Of primary importance to Markov's theoretical meditations on artistic practice and much of the Russian avant-garde the notion of *faktura* as an integral part of African and other non-Western ritual sculpture became a vital aspect of Surrealist practices and has since engaged the discourse of African art and cultural studies.³³

The assumption of photography's function as an objective tool has persisted throughout most of its history. The photographic reproduction of art or artefacts, whether as lanternslide for projection, or the photographic print for research or delectation, has played a crucial role in the late nineteenth-century formation of academic disciplines such as art history and ethnology. According to the art historian Bernard Berenson, photography's capacity for the recording and analysis of artworks had elevated the methodologies of art history towards the 'accuracy of the physical science[s]'. Heinrich Wölfflin – whose lectures Einstein had attended as a student – deliberated in a series of articles on the medium's advantages and shortfalls for comparative art historical enquiry.³⁴ While the increasing use of halftone reproductive processes led to an expanding market for illustrated journals before but especially after the First World War, an awareness of photography's potential to transmit knowledge while instilling other associative processes – now widely accepted – was still unusual at the time. The visual strategies of the pre-war German avant-garde, especially the evocative juxtapositions of the *Blaue Reiter*, may be viewed as precursors to both Einstein's and Markov's project.³⁵ But beyond their insistence on the significance of the image plates, there is little evidence of Einstein's or Markov's interest in the role of the photographic media,

which, Walter Benjamin conceived as a pivotal extension of the modernist discourse.³⁶ What seems to contradict this however is that the visualization of the ethnographic objects in both publications instils and 'aura' of artistic originality to the mechanically reproduced image. By far the largest portion of both books consisted up of an extensive display of imagery intended to impress, as much by the scope of works as by the quality of photographic reproductions. *Negerplastik* displayed 111 plates of 95 works that emphasised the diverse formal vocabulary of African cultural production, while *Iskusstvo negrov* featured 123 plates of 72 works that called attention to the effects of *faktura* by scrutinising the ethnographic object's chance elements in a series of photographic montages.³⁷

Markov's material was collated from photographs produced during his visits to ethnographic collections in Western Europe in 1913.³⁸ It was structured according to museum locations providing minimal (at times incorrect) information on the objects' ethnic origins, decisions that may not have been his but were caused by his sudden death in 1914, which left his project a 'torso' until its posthumous publication after the war.³⁹ Some of the works operated to validate Markov's ethnographic turn by reiterating diffusionist notions close to Frobenius in which specific object analysis tended to look beyond inherently African characteristics towards cross-cultural associations that remained anecdotal in character compared to Einstein's more exacting approach. Others considered aspects of *faktura* that were reinforced by the remarkably modernist format of image sequencing, which conveyed the works' incisive power and – as he notes – 'the symbolism of the real'. A pertinent example is the Royal Kuba king figure (*Mbob Pelyeeng aNce*) that is part of the British Museum's Africa collection, described by Markov as 'quite foreign'. Likening its poise and formal characteristics to a 'Buddha' he refrained from inferring Buddhist influences but nonetheless suggested extant contacts that 'in times past [...] may have led to mimicking the art of others'. While this sculpture was first reproduced by the British Museum's *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections* (1910) it also featured in *Negerplastik* in 1915 (Figs 5a and 5b). The similarity of aspect, framing and lighting of these reproductions suggests that Markov and

Einstein used prints drawn from the British Museum's original photographic plate.⁴⁰ However positing elements of chance and *faktura* within lucid observations on sculptural form that confirmed African traditions and artistic autonomy by challenging accepted notions such as Egyptian influences and the hypocrisy of lofty Western traditions and hierarchies, Markov betrayed an aesthetic position that, akin to that of the *Blaue Reiter*, subscribed to a paradigm of universal creative volition and the need to acknowledge unique socio-cultural conditions necessary for the production of art.⁴¹

The body of work reproduced in *Negerplastik* was assembled from negatives or prints originating from museums, dealers and collectors with whom Einstein had established contacts in his role as author and critic. But here not one of the individual works was discussed, no ethnographic information regarding provenance, size or materials was provided. The majority of objects reproduced were of African origin but some were of Oceanic, or yet to be identified, provenance.⁴² The circumstances of how objects, like the British Museum's Kuba king figure, or the Chokwe statue from Angola belonging to Shchukin, came to be reproduced remain unresolved, although in the latter's case, the circumstances involving the 1913 exhibitions at the *Neue Galerie* might be the missing link.⁴³ Although some structuring by ethnic origin and grouping of figures, heads and masks is discernable, *Negerplastik* – like Markov's book – remained without final revisions, in Einstein's words it was published as 'a torso', after he was injured in battle during the early part of the First World War.⁴⁴ While critically aware of cultural and ethnographic issues of reception, the visual strategies of *Negerplastik* functioned as the pivotal focus of a project, which countered prevailing artistic paradigms by promoting an African aesthetic reified by photography's assumed objectivity.⁴⁵

This approach is evident in both Einstein's and Markov's study by the didactic sequencing of half-tone reproductions set out either as full-plate images (Figs 3a, 4b, and 5), or paired displaying front and profile view. Others are spread across several pages showing front, three-quarter, profile and back view of the same object. For Einstein this seemingly documentary format subscribed to modernist notions of viewing that may be aligned

with the 'principally Cubist concepts' he claimed to deliver.⁴⁶ Both studies ignored museological taxonomies of ethnographic display still widely in use at the time. Instead each image is framed in what could be described as a modernist idiom of display in which the object is set against a neutral, discreetly lit, background that is conspicuous by its matter-of-fact assertion of photography's assumed impartiality, an idiom more often associated with works of art rather than objects of 'curiosity' as these sculptures tended to be classified at the time.⁴⁷

This kind of a visualisation aimed to transcend what customarily were perceived as grotesque and incompetent works that – in Einstein's and Markov's terms – constituted an aesthetic revelation in need of recovery from the cultural marginalization imposed by Western academic disciplines. This deliberate manoeuvre is also evident in the close-up details that aimed to inform of material, textural qualities of individual works. Whether of roughly hewn timber, scarred by age and climatic decay (Figs 3b and 4c), or intricately carved and oiled to a soft sheen (Figs 2a and 4a), these are rhetorical devices that penetrate the allegedly objective process of viewing with emotive and lyrical elements of cultural difference.

Einstein's grasp of the rhetorical function of photographic representation was part of the same approach that had informed his and Feldmann's Picasso exhibition back in 1913, in which the visual juxtaposition aligned theoretical concepts of Cubist painting and African sculpture with an apperception that was to compel the viewer to read *both* as autonomous works of art. Even, if all of the photographic reproductions were not initiated by Einstein himself – as suggested elsewhere⁴⁸ – it would be inconceivable to deny his awareness of the African objects' visual potential in a project that was driven by convictions of the need to reassess the function of art.

Markov's approach betrayed a similar grasp of the medium's potential but the ethnographic turn that marked his photographic endeavour was doubtlessly informed by artistic concerns that sought principles of assimilation and regeneration governing the making of art, whether manifest in the evocation of chance elements by ancient Chinese poetry, or in the *faktura* of found objects that 'delighted the eye of primitive

man'.⁴⁹ While the text of *Iskusstvo Negrov* contested the assumed prerogatives of Western academic traditions, it operated via a narrative based upon a culture-historical paradigm of ethnic diffusion that confirmed Markov's metaphysical concepts of material function and formal properties as essential to artistic production. In what appeared close to a visualisation of cinematic sequencing, the image montages served to *integrate* the narrative with a visual exposition in which the 'certain but fugitive testimony' of the photographic medium endorsed the artistic autonomy of the ethnographic object.⁵⁰

Einstein's *Negerplastik* operated via a premise that juxtaposed a challenge to dominant Western artistic traditions with a formal analysis of the ethnographic object positing a rationale for an alternative hypothesis of the role of art. Here the images functioned to foreground the ethnographic object's mute presence – associated by Western eyes – with the 'dark' continent without history or language. The book's image-text nexus thus amplified *distance* by reframing the object of aesthetic theory in the formal rhetoric of the photographic medium that endorsed its artistic status in terms of both visual and textual signification. This exposure of African material culture presented in a seemingly remote art-theoretical rather than a specifically ethnographic

fram of reference, coerced the viewer/reader to link the object's presence to its 'past' (as cultural difference) *and* the 'present' (as essentially modern) of its making, functioning and meaning. Here as with Markov, the logic of the visual operated as part of theory as a 'toolkit', a logic that – like the mute ethnographic object – silently engaged with the 'specificity of power relations and the struggles around them'.⁵¹

Both *Negerplastik* and *Iskusstvo Negrov* were polemical projects motivated by notions of a need for renewal regarded as paramount to the function of art. Both provoked issues that postulated the limits of Western aesthetic tradition, which sought to substantiate the artistic autonomy of African sculpture by orchestrating theoretical texts and a visual poetics of alterity. Both were integral aspects of the multivocal exchanges occurring in the culture political setting of the early-twentieth-century avant-garde. While their different paradigms of African sculpture may have been overtaken by the expanding discourse on African cultural history and post-colonial studies, their respective interventions were symptomatic of the general shift from an entrenched turn-of-the-century colonialism to the rise of 'vogue nègre' after the First World War. But the relevance of Einstein's and Markov's contributions to this discourse may warrant exploration beyond the brief outline here.

NOTES

¹ Cited from Robert Goldwater (1938/1986), *Primitivism in Modern Art*, Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press p. 35; Carl Einstein, (1915): *Negerplastik*, Leipzig: Verlag der Weissen Bücher. All translations from Einstein (1915) and (1992–1996) (see sources), including other German or French texts, are mine unless stated otherwise. Studies on Einstein include: Sibylle Penkert (1969), *Carl Einstein. Beiträge zu einer Monographie*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Palaestra 225); Jean Laude (1961), 'L'Esthétique de Carl Einstein', in *Méditations*, automne, pp. 83–91; Heidemarie Oehm (1976), *Die Kunsttheorie Carl Einsteins*, Munich: Fink; Liliane Meffre, (1989), *Carl Einstein et la problématique des avant-gardes dans les arts plastiques*, Berne; Klaus H. Kiefer (1983), 'Carl Einsteins 'Negerplastik'. Kubismus und Kolonialismuskritik', in Wolfgang Bader & Janos Riesz (eds.) *Literatur und Kolonialismus I. Die Verarbeitung der kolonialen Expansion in der europäischen Literatur*, Frankfurt/M. & Bern, pp. 233–250; also Meffre (2002), *Carl Einstein 1885–1940. Itinéraires d'une pensée moderne*, Paris: Presses de l'université de Paris-Sorbonne; and Kiefer (1994), *Diskurswandel im Werk Carl Einsteins. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Geschichte der europäischen Avantgarde*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. I am grateful to the last two authors for their advice on source material regarding my Einstein project. More recent publication are: Sebastian Zeidler (2006), *Defense of*

the real: Carl Einstein's history and theory of art, Columbia University (PhD thesis); also Uwe Fleckner (2006), *Carl Einstein und sein Jahrhundert. Fragmente einer intellektuellen Biographie*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

² Markov (1919) *Iskusstvo negrov*, St Petersburg: see the part translation by Jean-Louis & Jacqueline Paudrat (1979), 'Vladimir Markov, L'art des nègres', in *Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne*, Paris, pp. 316–327; also Irena Buzinska (ed.) (2002), (cat.) *Voldemars Matvejs. Raksti Darbu catalogs Sarakste*, Riga: Neptuns, pp. 98–108. A recent translation is Dieudonné Gnamankou (preface) & Nathalie Saint-Jean Leconte (trans. 2006), *Vladimir Markov. L'art nègre*, Achières: Éditions Monde Global. For a part English translation, see Jack Flam & Miriam Deutsch (eds) (2003), *Primitivism and Twentieth Century Art. A Documentary History*, (The Documents of Twentieth Century Art), University of California Press, p. 61ff.

³ Cited from Michel Foucault (1980), *Power/Knowledge*, New York: Pantheon, p. 145, in James Clifford (1988) *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, p. 23, and Roland Barthes (1981) (trans. R Howard), *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, New York, p. 15.

⁴ Einstein (1912), 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', in Einstein (1992–1996) vol. 1, (see sources), p. 134–139.

⁵ Guillaume Apollinaire (1912) 'Exotisme et ethnographie', in *Paris-Journal*, 10 September; cf. Liliane Meffre (1986), 'Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler und Carl Einstein: Die Wahlverwandschaft', in (cat.) *Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Kunsthändler, Verleger, Schriftsteller*, Stuttgart, pp. 85-90; *Idem* (1983) (ed. & trans.) *Carl Einstein - Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler Correspondance, 1921-1939*, Marseille: André Dimanche; and *Idem* (2002), and Kiefer (1994) in sources. Also Jean-Louis Paudrat (1984), 'From Africa' in William Rubin (ed.) (1984), 'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art, vols. I & II, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, pp. 125-175, and I. Devenyi (1968), 'Brummer, József' in *Művészet*, January, p. 16.

⁶ Letter Einstein to Felix von Luschan, postmarked 18 August 1913, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Handschriftenabteilung) Nachlaß Felix von Luschan. The request must have been granted since a number of the objects reproduced in *Negerplastik* belong to the museum to this day.

⁷ This and the second exhibition (see below) were first discussed by Ron Manheim (1985), 'Carl Einstein zwischen Berliner-Sezession und Sturm-Galerie. Zu Einsteins Texten für zwei Ausstellungskataloge der Berliner Neuen Galerie aus den Jahren 1913 und 1914', in *kritische berichte*, no. 4, p. 10-19.

⁸ The citation is from a letter by Joseph Brummer to Charles H. Read (then Keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography) at the British Museum, dated 1 September 1913, Department of Prehistory and Europe, The British Museum. That Brummer was in Berlin at the time of the exhibitions at the *Neue Galerie* is confirmed by an entry in the Office Journal, entry no. 1868, dated 18 November 1913, held at the *Ethnologisches Museum*, Berlin, where attention was drawn to 'the collections of the Parisian antiquary Brummer, at the time here [in Berlin]'. A second letter from 'Otto Feldmann, Cologne' to the East Asian Department of Art was also logged, offering three objects for sale, see Office Journal entry no. 17, dated 6 June 1913, *Ibid.* Besides the *Neue Galerie* Feldmann also owned the *Reinischer Kunstsalon* in Cologne, which since 1912 had exhibited artists including Braque, Derain, Picasso, Van Dongen, Vlaminck, the Italian Futurists and August Macke. For details see Dieter Stemmler & Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg (eds) (1979), (cat.) *Die Rheinischen Expressionisten. August Macke und seine Malerfreunde*, Städtisches Kunstmuseum Bonn, 30. Mai - 29. Juli 1979, Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers. On Einstein's early acquaintance with Brummer, see Barbara & Erhard Göpel, (eds.), *Leben und Meinungen des Malers Hans Purmann*, Wiesbaden 1961.

⁹ Einstein (1913), 'Es ergab sich deutlich', in Einstein (1992-1996), vol. 1, p. 174. Contributors included Arp, Courbet, Derain, Ensor, Gris, Laurencin Matisse, Pascia, Pechstein, Purmann, Picasso, Renoir, Rousseau, and van Gogh, see Donald E. Gordon (1972), *Modern Art Exhibitions 1900-1916*, Munich pp. 745-747, also Stemmler & Heusinger von Waldegg (1979), as above, p. 170.

¹⁰ Karl Scheffler (1913), 'Kunstausstellungen. Berlin' in *Kunst und Künstler, Illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* XII (1.12.1913), p. 176.

¹¹ On Shchukin's collection of Picasso's work and African sculpture, see below. For further details on the exhibitions, see Heike M. Neumeister (forthcoming 2009), *Carl Einstein's "Negerplastik". Encounters of Art and Ethnography and the early twentieth-century Avant-garde* (unpubl. PhD thesis, Birmingham City University), and *Idem* (2008), 'Carl Einstein's "visual turn": From *Negerplastik* to an "Ethnologie du Blanc"', *Papers of Surrealism: Use-Value of Documents*, no. 7 (AHRB Research Centre for Studies of Surrealism and its Legacies, University of Essex, University of Manchester and Tate, London) and *eadem*, 'Von der Negerplastik zur "Ethnologie du Blanc" - Notizen zu Carl Einsteins Bildstrategien', in Liliane Meffre & Olivier Salazar-Ferrer (Dir.), *Carl Einstein et Benjamin Fondane - Avant-gardes et émigration dans le Paris des années 1920-1930*, Brussels & New York 2008, pp. 61-83.

¹² Emil Waldmann (1914), 'Kunstausstellungen. Dresden' in *Kunst und Künstler, Illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, XII, (März), p. 344f. also Anon.,

'Ausstellungen: Berlin', in *Kunstchronik, Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, XXV, no. 12 (12 December 1913), vol. 184f. It was Uhde, who had introduced Kahnweiler to Picasso. Like Brummer and Picasso, Uhde was an early admirer and promoter of the work of Henri Rousseau; cf. *Idem*, *Henri Rousseau*, Paris: Figuière, 1911; *Idem*, *Von Bismarck bis Picasso: Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse*, Zurich: Verlag Oprecht, 1938; also; Krisztina Passuth, 'A festő és modellje. Henri Rousseau: Joseph Brummer Portréja (1909)', in *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, LI (2002), pp. 225-249; Forsyth, W. H. (1974), 'The Brummer Brothers: an instinct for the beautiful', *Art News*, October, pp. 106-107; Sandra E. Leonard, *Henri Rousseau and Max Weber*, New York: Richard L. Feigen 1970.

¹³ Cf. Anon. (1913/14), as note 12.

¹⁴ Waldmann, op. cit. The show was mentioned by Christian Geelhaar, *Picasso: Wegbereiter und Förderer seines Aufstiegs 1899-1939*, Zurich 1993.

¹⁵ Voldemars Matvejs (1910) 'Russkii Setsession (po povodu vystavki "Soyuz molodezhi" v Rige)' ('The Russian Secession: Concerning the "Union of Youth" Exhibition in Riga') - the artist changed his Latvian name to Vladimir I. Markov in 1912 - first appeared in the *Rigasche Neueste Nachrichten*, 10 July 1910, see Howard (1992) p. 70 note 43, and Buzinska (2002a) *Latviesu Maksimieku Teoretiskie Tetsti un Manifesti*, Riga, pp. 3-9, which includes an English translation by Jeremy Howard.

¹⁶ Vladimir Markov (1912), 'Printsipy novogo iskusstva' (The Principles of the New Art), in *Soyuz molodezhi*, No. 1 (April), pp. 5-14, and No. 2 (June), pp. 5-18, cited from Bowlt (ed. & trans.) (1976) (in sources), pp. 23-37, here p. 25.

¹⁷ Wilhelm Worringer (1908), *Abstraktion und Einfühlung*, Munich. In 1912 the *Union of Youth* announced plans to publish a translation of this book, see Howard (1992), p. 120f. Also Magdalena Bushart (1990), *Der Geist der Gotik und die expressionistische Kunst*, Munich: Verlag Silke Schreiber. During 1909-10 Kandinsky regularly exhibited and published in Russia. Besides Kandinsky, the *Neue Künstlervereinigung* and later the *Blaue Reiter* included a number of Russian artists, among them von Bechtejeff, the brothers David and Wladimir Burljuk, von Jawlensky, and Mogilewski, see Rosel Gollek (1988), (cat.) *Der Blaue Reiter im Lenbachhaus München*, Munich: Prestel; also Howard (1992), p. 36 note 24. In December 1911 Nikolai Kulbin read from a translation of Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, published by Reinhold Piper in Munich in 1912. He contributed his essay, 'Die freie Musik' to the almanac of *Der Blaue Reiter*; out of the fifteen contributors, seven were of Russian origin; see Klaus Lankheit (ed.) (1965/1990) *Der Blaue Reiter. Herausgegeben von Wassily Kandinsky und Franz Marc*, pp. 125-131.

¹⁸ For Markov's letters to Levkii I. Zheverzhev, president of the *Union of Youth*, and his activities to promote the group's links with the German avant-garde, see Buzinska (2002), pp. 136-140; also *Idem* (2000), and Howard (1992), p. 134, 152, and 210. Markov's brief was to buy Western artists' works for the *Union of Youth's* planned museum of contemporary art and to make contacts for an exchange of future exhibitions. On Osthaus, collector of avant-garde and non-Western art, see Herta Hesse-Freilinghaus (et al., eds), (1971), *Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk*, Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers. On Herwarth Walden, see Heike Neumeister (1994), *'Der Sturm' 1910-1920: the Making of Expressionism or Modernist Art as Commodity and the Production of Belief* (unpubl. Diss. UCE, Birmingham).

¹⁹ For Kandinsky's letters that responded to Markov's quest for information on current events and ethnographic material, see Buzinska (2002), p. 136f.

²⁰ Letter Markov to L. I. Zheverzhev, n. d., in Buzinska (2002), p. 138f.; my thanks go to Anton Yavorsky for translations from the Russian. Kahnweiler was one of the first dealers to systematically photograph all of his artists' works, cf. Pierre Assouline (1991), *An Artful Life. A Biography of D. H. Kahnweiler, 1884-1979*, New York: Fromm International Publishing Corporation.

²¹ Letter Markov to Zheverzheev, 1912 n. d. in Buzinska (2002), p. 138f. Whether the dealers visited included Brummer remains unclear, but one of the photographs in Markov's study included a Bamana statuette from Mali, which was part of Brummer's collection, see Markov (1919), p. 109, plates 72 & 73. This object – along with thirteen others so far identified as part of Brummer's collection – was also reproduced in Einstein (1915), plate no. 6. On the importance of Shchukin's collection to the Russian avant-garde, see Markov's remarks in Matvejs (1910), in Buzinska (2002a), pp. 3–9. In 1914 Shchukin owned over fifty works by Picasso alone, cf. Georg-W. Koltzsch (ed.) (1993), in (cat.) *Morosow und Schschukin – Die Russischen Sammler. Monet bis Picasso*, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag.

²² V. B. Mirimanov (1982), 'L'époque de la découverte de l'art nègre en Russie. Les premières collections à Moscou', in *Quaderni Poro*, no. 3, Milan: Poro, pp. 59–73, here p. 62.

²³ J. Tugendhold (1914) in *Apollon* in 1914, no. 1–2, p. 33, and Mirimanov (1982) p. 72f.

²⁴ The five African works belonging to the Shchukin collection were reproduced in Einstein (1915) plate no. 14–15, 25, 26–27, 66, and 67; for provenances, see Liliane Meffre (1998) (with Bassani, Ezio & Jean-Louis Paudrat): *Carl Einstein: La sculpture nègre*, Paris & Montreal: L'Harmattan, pp. 109–118.

²⁵ Einstein (1915), *Negerplastik*, 'Anmerkungen zur Methode', pp. V – VIII. That Einstein's critique of Western mimetic traditions and his proposal of an African aesthetic were only to be comprehended via the study's images-text nexus was also reiterated by an advert, which noted that the book's intention was to introduce 'Negro sculpture [...] in large first-class images' so that 'clarity about the style, meaning and uniqueness of Negro art' may be gained. While the text's 'principally cubist concepts' were to analyse the 'perfection of this sculptural art', it advocated its use for 'academics [...] lovers of art, ethnologists, folklorists, and the friends of our colonies'; see *Die Aktion*, (1915), Nr. 20/21, n. p. Einstein's critique of prejudices was more qualified yet no less scathing in his second book on African art; see Einstein (1921), *Afrikanische Plastik*, Berlin: Wasmuth-Verlag (Orbis Pictus Bd. 7), and Einstein (1992–1996), pp. 61–145.

²⁶ Einstein (1915), 'Das Malerische', vol. 2, pp. IX – XII.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 'Religion und afrikanische Kunst', pp. XIII – XVI.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 'Kubische Raumanschauung', pp. XVII – XXIV. This distinction of the 'primitive' is evident in his persistent critique of some of the German Expressionists and the 'primitivism hubbub' he detected within parts of the French avant-garde, see for example, Einstein (1912), 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', here Einstein (1992–1996), vol. 1, pp. 134–139.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 'Maske und Verwandtes', pp. XXV – XXVII. In an earlier review by Einstein Hildebrand's *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* (first published in 1893 and reprinted in 1913) and his works were dismissed as avoiding 'the essentially sculptural', see Einstein (1911), 'Sezession', here Einstein (1992–1996), vol. 1, pp. 66–70. The reference to Hildebrand's theories in *Negerplastik* may be regarded as an acknowledgment of their continued pre-eminence within early twentieth-century German sculptural traditions, while at the same time it functioned as a process that by appropriating some of Hildebrand's terminology set up the theoretical framework for the analysis of African sculpture; cf. Neumeister (2008) as note 11; for a different approach see Sebastian Zeidler (2004), 'Totality against a Subject: Carl Einstein's *Negerplastik*', in Idem (ed.) (2004), *Carl Einstein. A special Issue*, in *October*, 107, MIT Press; also Idem (2006), as note 1.

³⁰ Markov (1919) *Iskusstvo negrov*, in Paudrat (1979), p. 319.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 320ff. Also Gnamankou & Saint-Jean Lecompte (2006), as note 2, pp. 35–59. Markov's reliance on Frobenius included illustrations from his books. During the early 20th century Frobenius' work gained as much influence as it caused controversy in Germany and elsewhere. In spite of his important archaeological discoveries, a number of his theories have since been dismissed, while the vast collection of objects

amassed during his expeditions still forms part of some of the most important ethnographic collections. His notion of 'Kulturkreislehre' that viewed cultures as holistic organisms, whose characteristics spread by diffusion and invasion, pervades Markov's text throughout, especially chapters 2 and 3. However the influence of other sources cited in Markov's bibliography, which names four titles by Frobenius out of twelve has yet to be analysed, see *Ibid.*, p. 27. Also Frobenius, (1913), *The Voice of Africa: Being an Account of the Travels of the German Inner Africa Expedition in the Years 1910–1912* (2 vols.) London: Hutchinson; Idem, (1933), *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas*, Zurich: Phaidon-Verlag.

³² Markov (1919), in Paudrat (1979) pp. 323–326, also Flam & Deutch (2003), pp. 62f. Markov quotes Tugendhold by relating the critic's meeting with Picasso and his question whether it was the mythical aspect of these sculptures that interested him so much, to which Picasso replied that on the contrary it was only their 'geometric simplicity', see Paudrat (1979), p. 324, Flam & Deutch (2003), p. 64, Tugendhold (1914) as above, and a notion that is also evident in Einstein's *Negerplastik* as well as in some of his earlier reviews of Picasso's work, see for example Einstein (1912) 'Anmerkungen zur neueren französischen Malerei', op. cit.

³³ Cited from Markov (1919), in Paudrat (1979), p. 324, see also the introduction to the text, p. 318; also Flam & Deutch (2003), p. 65f. For his early engagement with notions of *faktura*, see Markov (1912), as above note 15. He subsequently published Markov (1914), *Printsipy tvorchestva v plasticheskikh: Faktura* (*Creative Principles in the Plastic Arts: Faktura*), and Markov (1914), *Iskusstvo ostrova Paskhi* (*The Art of Easter Island*), in *Soyuz Molodezhi*, St Petersburg, and Markov (1914), *Svirel' kitaya* (*The Chinese Flute*). All are discussed in Howard (1992), pp. 122, 182, 200, 210ff, 222; also Buzinska (2000) and (2002). In agreement with Howard that there is no equivalent English term for the Russian *faktura*, the term has been used here; see Howard (1992) p. 222 note 95. Einstein's *Negerplastik* does not engage with such a concept. The integration of found materials in African sculptural objects was briefly commented upon by Guillaume Apollinaire in his introduction to Paul Guillaume, (1917), *Sculpture Nègres, 24 photographies précédées d'un avertissement de Guillaume Apollinaire et d'un exposé de Paul Guillaume*. Reprint New York: Hacker Art Books 1972. For a more detailed discussion especially with view to Picasso, African art, the arbitrariness of the sign in linguistic studies and its influences on the Russian avant-garde, see Yve-Alain Bois (1990) 'Kahnweiler's Lesson' in Idem, *Painting as Model*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, pp. 65–97 here pp. 82–94.

³⁴ Heinrich Wölfflin (1896–97), 'Wie Man Skulpturen Aufnehmen Soll', in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F. VIII, pp. 294–297; and N.F. VII, pp. 224–228; Bernard Berenson, 'Isochromatic Photography and Venetian Pictures' (1893), in Helene E. Roberts, *Art History through the Camera's Lens*, London 1995, pp. 127–131; Elizabeth Edwards (2001), 'Notes from the Archive', in *Raw Histories. Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Oxford & New York: Berg, pp. 27–79; and Wendy Grossman (2006), 'Photography at the Crossroads: African Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in Cordula Grewe (2006), *Die Schau des Fremden, Ausstellungskonzepte zwischen Kunst, Kommerz und Wissenschaft*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, p. 317–340, whom I thank for forwarding her manuscript before publication. On the tenuous link between Einstein and Wölfflin see for example, Meffre (2002) and Kiefer (1994).

³⁵ On the *Blaue Reiter*'s use of reproductive media see Felix Thürlemann (1987), 'Famose Gegenklänge. Der Diskurs der Abbildungen im Almanach "Der Blaue Reiter"', in Hans-Christoph von Tavel (ed.) (1987), (cat.) *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kunstmuseum Bern, 21 November 1986–15 February 1987, pp. 210–222. On Markov's links with *Der Blaue Reiter*, see Bowlt (1976). On Einstein's attempts to collaborate with the artists of *Der Blaue Reiter*, see Mannheim (1985) as note 10; also Kiefer (1994), and Fleckner (2006), as note 1, here pp. 87–91.

³⁶ Walter Benjamin (1977), 'The work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in Hannah Arendt (ed.) (trans. Harry Zohn), *Illuminations. Walter Benjamin*, Fontana/Collins, pp. 219-253; Charles W. Haxthausen, 'Reproduction/Repetition: Walter Benjamin/Carl Einstein', in *October, Carl Einstein. A special Issue* (ed. Sebastian Zeidler) 107, MIT Press, 2004, pp. 47-74.

³⁷ See Einstein (1915), plates 1-111 and Markov (1919), pp. 45-153, also above and note 21. That Einstein's awareness of the potential of visual material was an integral part of his professional practice is evident in the strategies adopted in Einstein (1926) *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Bd XVI. It is especially pertinent in his contributions as founder member and editor for the journal *Documents*, for details see Neumeister (2008), as note 11; Connor Joyce (2003), *Carl Einstein in 'Documents' and his Collaboration with Georges Bataille*, Xlibris Corporation. As an artist turned photographer, Markov's awareness of the potential of visual media is confirmed by his comments on the advances of how 'means of communication, the press' and the 'range of our observations [have] expanded [...] extraordinarily and ceased to be confined to the art of our next-door neighbours', see Markov (1912) in Bowlt (1976) op. cit., here p. 26.

³⁸ Markov photographed objects at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, the British Museum in London, the Copenhagen Ethnographic Museum, the Tocadéro and the Brummer collection in Paris, the Christiania Museum of Ethnography in Oslo, the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne, the Ethnographic Museum in Leiden, and the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig. In addition he published a number of images from the *Annales du Musée de Congo* (1906), Bruxelles. See Markov (1919), pp. 45-153, also Buzinska (ed.) (2002), pp. 95-108, where some of his own line illustrations and schematic drawings from Frobenius are included as well as some of the original plates before they were retouched for publication.

³⁹ On the initiative of Zheverzheev, Mayakowsky and Markov's friend, the artist Varvara Bubovna (1886-1983), *Iskusstvo Negrov* was published in 1919. See Buzinska (2000), p. 92 and Howard (1992), p. 222.

⁴⁰ While Markov was sceptical of some of Frobenius' theories, he nonetheless elaborated on 'foreign influences' indicative of 'Atlantis' and the 'shamanist practices' of Northern Asia that had introduced 'masks' and other 'particularly plastic characteristics' to Africa. Here and above cited from Markov (1919) in Paudrat (1979), p. 324 and 326. For the British Museum's Royal Kuba king figure (*Mbob Pelyeeng aNce*), see Markov (1919), p. 63, plate 21, and Einstein (1915), plate 65. Also Joyce & Dalton, (1910/1925), *Hand-*

book to the Ethnographical Collections, London: The British Museum, plate facing p. 234.

⁴¹ Discussing the question of Egyptian influences Markov referred to a seated figure described as 'Djoloff, Western Sudan' identified since as a Mende sculpture from Sierra Leone (Leiden: Dutch National Museum of Ethnography), see (Markov (1919), p. 133, plate no. 100-102, and Paudrat (1979), p. 327. Similar issues regarding the conditions of artistic production were raised also in Markov (1912), here Bowlt (1976), and Markov (1914), *Printsipy tvorchestva v plasticheskikh: Faktura*, as note 33; also Howard (1992), pp. 210ff.

⁴² To some extent this was rectified in the book's second edition, see Einstein (1920), *Negerplastik*, Leipzig: Kurt Wolff.

⁴³ See above and Neumeister (2009) as note 11; for provenances linking the works reproduced in *Negerplastik* to Brummer, Shchukin and other collectors, see Meffre (1998), as note 24, pp. 109-118.

⁴⁴ The loose structuring of the material and Einstein's overall stance suggests some of the ethnographic literature he may have consulted, such as Bernhard Ankermann, 'Kulturkreise und Kulturgeschichten in Afrika', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 37 (1905), pp. 54-84. Einstein was drafted into the war in 1914 and wounded shortly after, causing *Negerplastik* to be published before final amendments could be carried out. In a letter written during 1921, he regretted that his book had remained 'a torso, published while I was confined to a field hospital', see letter Einstein to unknown, n. d. (1921), here Rolf-Peter Baacke (ed.) (1990), *Carl Einstein, Materialien*, Band I, Berlin: Silver & Goldstein, p. 142f.

⁴⁵ To quote Einstein: 'In all of his judgments the European proceeds from one assumption, [...] his own absolute [...] superiority [...]. Our knowledge of African art is on the whole slight and imprecise [...]. To view art as a means to anthropological and ethnographic insights seems [...] dubious, since artistic representations reveal hardly anything about the facts upon which this kind of scholarly knowledge is based'. See Einstein (1915), pp. V-VIII.

⁴⁶ See above note 25.

⁴⁷ On methods and histories of ethnographic display see Edwards (2001), as note 34; also Peter Junge & Paola Ivanov (eds) (2005), in (cat.), *Kunst aus Afrika, Plastik, Performance, Design*, Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin & Cologne: SMB-DuMont, pp. 34-47.

⁴⁸ Paudrat (1984), as note 5, p. 151.

⁴⁹ Markov (1919) in Paudrat (1979) p. 325. See also Markov (1914), *Svirel' kitaya (The Chinese Flute)* as note 33, and Howard (1992), pp. 210ff.

⁵⁰ Barthes (1981), as note 3.

⁵¹ Foucault in Clifford (1988), as note 3.

Acknowledgments

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