

Neolithic Childhood Art in a False Present, c.1930

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- Wolfgang Paalen
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A

The Impossible
Expansion of History

B

The S/O Function

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Lines of Flight

APPENDIX

**CONTENTS/
FLOOR PLAN**

Neolithic Childhood
Art in a False Present,
c. 1930

This is an exhibition about revolutions, divisions, openings, and contradictions—many of which seem uncannily topical. By “c. 1930,” Western modernism was already being pushed up against the limits of its own project. The crass asymmetries of imperialist, racist rule and the structural crises of capitalism were becoming ever more glaringly apparent.

In this situation, which spelled hopelessness for many of those who lived through it and which millions of others would not survive at all, escape routes of all kinds were important, even those that proved fantastical or fallacious. With its implication of a return to first origins, to beginnings, to the freedom of mimetic experimentation, Carl Einstein’s “Neolithic Childhood” captures very well this notion of flight into the realm of the imagination and alternative temporality.

It was not by chance that we turned to the art historian, cultural critic, poet, and anti-fascist Carl Einstein (1885–1940) for both guidance and critical interjections. For, until his suicide while fleeing the Germans, this Jewish intellectual, who was based first in Berlin and then in Paris, developed a productive radicalism that remains troubling to this day. The unease conveyed by his texts is symptomatic of the multiple crises gripping the world in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s.

The exhibition’s geographical parameters may be (Western) European, but they also show how colonial centers such as Paris became genuinely global cities in the interwar years. The visual art produced within the surrealist ambit played a central

role here. The works of art thus form an exhibition within an exhibition.

Similarly present and engaged in dialogue with the artistic avant-garde are works from other areas of knowledge production and discourse, such as ethnological books and magazines, art historical publications, political pamphlets, cultural critique, sociological literature, and texts about biology and psychology.

(001) Slideshow: Carl Einstein, Manuscripts · Courtesy
Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv,
no. 245.

Key terms handwritten by Einstein in red crayon on front sides of
folded sheets of paper, in which he collected his notes:

Tautology
Primitive
Totality
Proportion
Language
Projection
Irony
Tecton [-ics, -ic]
Space
Immanence
Forgetting Form
Metamo [-rphosis, -rphotic]
Analogy
Stylization
Seeing
An Organ
Repetition Rite Language
Image
Conscious
Discrepancy
SC [subconscious, subconsciousness]
Imaginative
Person I
God
Hallu [-cination, -cinative]
Causality
Turmoil
Poetry
Reality
Crisis
Abstract
Gestalt
Thing
Split
Metaphor

(001)

A

The Impossible Expansion of History

The year is 1930—a present wracked by profound crises worldwide. The social order is coming unstuck, but so are traditional categories of knowledge. Europe’s imperialist expansion is at its zenith even as its very legitimacy is being radically called into question. Political and social conflicts quickly assume global dimensions. The First World War, revolutions, the industrialization of production, the scientization of everyday life, and new images and encounters with alterity distributed by mass culture have shaken the Eurocentric worldview to its core—and all the old certainties that came with it. Both economic and social crises corresponded with an epistemological nervousness that has reached fever pitch. The individual’s place in time and even the concept of history itself have become problematic. In search of new beginnings, a new critical awareness manifests itself in a recourse to all things archaic, to “deep time,” and to notions of humanity’s “childhood.” Ethnologists and prehistorians play a crucial role in the anthropological speculation sparked by origins of all kinds. Disseminated by the media and by the increasingly important field of art journalism, “world art” and the spectacle of cave painting become cultural formulae for a revised view of history and modernism.

Taking Carl Einstein’s “Handbuch der Kunst” as its operative center, Section A sheds light on pictorial and textual articulations of the “archaic illusion” of the period from the 1920s to the 1940s.

A01

The Crisis (of Everything)

The interwar years were regarded as a period of never-ending crises by those who were living through it. The political world order established in the aftermath of the First World War had certainly supplied grounds enough for concern about what André Breton in 1926 called the “special unrest of this period.” From the perpetuation of the victorious powers’ colonialist projects and the first signs that a block of Western countries was forming in opposition to the Soviet Union, to the radicalization of politics at the national level, the situation was as highly charged as it was irremediably complex. The global crises of capitalism around 1930 further fueled the anxiety. In a letter of 1931, Carl Einstein decried the way “crisis” had turned into a “permanent state of affairs.” Indeed, not only had “crisis” become *the* central category for political propagandists and all those attempting to diagnose the cultural malaise, but it was also dominating academic discourse, notwithstanding the difficulty of distinguishing between accurate assessments of the situation and rhetorical escalation.

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- A01 (002) Gerhard Meyer, “Krisenpolitik und Planwirtschaft,” *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, vol. 4 (1935). Paris: Félix Alcan: pp. 398–436 [reprint Munich: Kösel/dtv, 1970/80].
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- A01 (003) Erich Fromm, “Zum Gefühl der Ohnmacht,” *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, vol. 6 (1937). Paris: Félix Alcan: pp. 95–118 [reprint Munich: Kösel/dtv, 1970/80].
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- A01 (004) Max Horkheimer, “Bemerkungen über Wissenschaft und Krise,” *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, vol. 1 (1932). Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld: pp. 1–7 [reprint Munich: Kösel/dtv, 1970/80].
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- A01 (005) Zell Ingram, “The Flight into Egypt,” Cover illustration for *The Crisis. A Record of the Darker Races* 3 (1933), ed. W.E.B. Du Bois. Baltimore: The Crisis Publishing Company (reproduction) · Courtesy The Crisis Publishing Co.
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- A01 (006) Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Die Krisis der Kultur, die Werke ausgewählt von Paul Sakmann*. Leipzig: Alfred Kröner, 1931.

(002–006)

A01 (007) Emil Lederer, *Wege aus der Krise. Ein Vortrag*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1931.

A01 (008) Arthur Mendt, *Die Technik in der Krise unserer Zeit*. Berlin: Volksverband der Bücherfreunde/Wegweiser-Verlag, 1933.

A01 (009) Karl Mannheim, *Mensch und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter des Umbaus*. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1935.

The first work that Karl Mannheim (1893–1947), the Austrian-Hungarian sociologist with German and British passports, published in exile after the Nazi seizure of power was the express attempt at “eliminating the scholarly substance from contemporary events.” *Mensch und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter des Umbaus* came out while Mannheim was already teaching at the London School of Economics. Sustained by liberal convictions, the sociologist of knowledge sought to “look directly at the social impacts.” He was interested in how the “reconstruction of people” and the “reconstruction of society” related to one another. He saw the success of fascism in Europe as caused by a discrepancy between the “social process” and the development of human abilities: A disparity between a technological-economic “rationalization” and the individual and collective ability and willingness to think. Theodor W. Adorno’s extensive analysis of *Mensch und Gesellschaft*, penned around 1937 but published only post-humously, ends with the—inappropriately—withering conclusion that the “loss of quality” in Mannheim’s supposedly abstract-capricious sociology at least made clear the “need for intervening criticism.” TH

A01 (010) Sri Aurobindo, *War and Self-Determination*. Pondicherry: Author’s edition, 1957.

Sri Aurobindo was an Indian Hindu nationalist, academic, spiritual teacher, and co-founder of the Indian independence movement. Among other critics of the West, he found much favor with his assertion that the collapse of Western culture, apparent to the entire world, was rooted in its rejection of spiritual ways of life and values. In its various forms and consequences, this theory proved to be culturally and politically influential for it formed a conceptual framework for many extremes in a large part of the criticism of Western modernism. In his book *War and Self Determination* of 1924, Aurobindo mocked Woodrow Wilson’s version of a New World Order because the American president had promised the colonized peoples political self-determination during the war, but had later broken that promise. Aurobindo was convinced that India, with its rich and ancient spiritual heritage, would play a vital role in creating a new world culture. AF

A01 (011) Henry Mandel, *La crise. Ses causes, ses remèdes*. Strasbourg: Édition de dernières nouvelles, 1932.

A01 (012) Edmund Husserl, “Die Krisis der europäischen Wissenschaften und die transzendente Phänomenologie: Eine Einleitung in die phänomenologische Philosophie,” *Philosophia* 1 (1936). Belgrade: Gesellschaft Philosophia: pp. 77–176 (reproduction).

A01 (013) Ernst Fischer, *Krise der Jugend*. Leipzig/Vienna: Hess, 1931.

A01 (014) Albert Lauterbach, *Der Kampf gegen die Krise. Wirtschaftsexperimente der Staaten*. Vienna: Rudolf Harand, 1936.

A01 (015) Léon Blum, *Le socialisme devant la crise*. Paris: Librairie populaire du Parti socialiste, 1935.

A01 (016) René Guénon, *La crise du monde moderne* [1927]. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1956.

René Guénon (1886–1951) was an esoteric and the founder of what later became known as the “Traditionalist School.” He was also known to surrealists such as André Breton, but his radical anti-modernism influenced, above all (even today), ultra-right political ideologies. His dissertation *L’introduction générale à l’étude des doctrines hindoues* was rejected because of Guénon’s idiosyncratic and reductionist view of Hinduism and his avowal of a traditional, original, and manifest truth that all world religions share. Guénon developed a radically anti-modern worldview in *La crise du monde moderne* and numerous other books. According to Guénon, the emergence of a new spiritual elite, trained in the wisdom preserved in the “Orient,” was needed to avoid the imminent fall of the “Occident.” Guénon worked closely with art historian Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy, a curator for Indian art in Boston, who provided scientific material for his theories. Guénon was initiated into a traditional Sufi order and lived in Cairo from 1930. AF

A01 (017) Pierre Viénot, *Ungewisses Deutschland. Zur Krise seiner bürgerlichen Kultur*. Frankfurt am Main: Societäts-Verlag, 1931.

A01 (018) Hugo Jordi, *Die Krise der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung*. Zurich: Verlag proletarische Einheit, 1932.

A01 (019) Karl Jaspers, *Die geistige Situation der Zeit* (= *Sammlung Göschen*, vol. 1,000). Berlin/Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1932.

In *Die geistige Situation der Zeit*—translated into English as *Man in the Modern Age*—the philosopher and psychiatrist Karl Jaspers (1883–1969) offers a critical diagnosis of a culture in crisis that quickly catches on with broad audiences. The book is published in 1931 as volume number 1,000 in the series *Sammlung Göschen*. Jaspers’s critique of the modern world digs beneath the concrete political and economic crises of the late Weimar Republic to take aim at the whole. The French Revolution and the progressive

achievements of rationalism and technology, he writes, have precipitated humanity's fall from a stable world organized by the transcendental expectation of a future kingdom of God and into the historicity of an "epochal consciousness." The flipside of man's growing technological control of nature and the "mass existence" it gives rise to is a sense of impuissance and existential hollowness. Jaspers draws on the full repertoire of contemporary tropes of cultural critique: The hegemony of the masses and the primacy of technical rationality lead to alienation, an erosion of individuality, the disintegration of the family, a lack of leadership, a fear of life, and a general destruction of the spiritual. Yet this "order of existence" is starting to crack. To overcome it, man needs to recollect his "selfhood": The heroic retreat into the self, he argues, promises the possibility of an authentic life. PA

A01 (020) Pierre Lucius, *Faillite du capitalisme? Une explication de la crise mondiale*. Paris: Payot, 1932.

A01 (021) Ernst Bloch, *Erbschaft dieser Zeit*. Zurich: Oprecht & Helbling, 1935.

"The times are in decay and in labor at the same time." In his analysis of the current juncture, published in 1935 when he was living in exile in Switzerland, the Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch (1885–1977) sought to gain a dialectical understanding of the crisis of modernism and the rise of National Socialism. "Non-contemporaneity" is a key concept in Bloch's attempt to counter linear notions of progress without surrendering the anticipation of a better future. His gaze focuses on extant vestiges of obsolete modes of thought and "irrationalisms." The Nazis, he writes, have succeeded in harnessing the unrealized hopes and dreams of the white-collar petite bourgeoisie, the young, and the peasantry. Yet these non-contemporaneous "impulses and reserves from precapitalist times" are not simply reactionary atavisms; the crucial question is what in them might constitute a serviceable "heritage" for a post-bourgeois society. Bloch lays out a wide-ranging kaleidoscopic panorama of the late Weimar Republic, writing about dance marathons and Karl May, about occultism and architecture, about racialist theories and surrealism. In light of the consolidation of Nazi rule, however, his analyses read as oddly outdated even by the time they came out in 1935. PA

A01 (022) Karl Bühler, *Die Krise der Psychologie* [1927]. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1929.

"This book is roundly critical in an effort to overcome the crisis of psychology," Karl Bühler (1879–1963) writes in the preface to *Die Krise der Psychologie*. His main objective is a probing study of the various schools of psychoanalysis and gestalt theory. The former, he writes, needs to be gradually "stripped of its esoteric character," while the latter must be warned not to "overextend" the concept of gestalt. The book responds to the confusion in current psychology, which reminds Bühler of the Tower of Babel. "For that is the contemporary situation: a rapidly acquired and as yet unprocessed abundance of new ideas, new approaches, and research opportunities" has plunged the growing field into a "structural crisis." Bühler identifies four axioms of psychology that by the same token determine its fundamental problems, its current "decisive juncture": subjectivism, atomism, sensualism, and mechanism. Offering a sweeping survey of the history of

psychology that still makes for impressive reading, he recommends his own "doctrine of aspects" of psychological life, which dovetails physical-biological, physiological, linguistic perspectives, and ideas from the humanities, as a model for a reform of the discipline. TH

A01 (023) Sigmund Freud, *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur* [1930]. Vienna: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1931.

Das Unbehagen in der Kultur (Civilization and its Discontents) is one of Sigmund Freud's most influential social-critical speculations. It was published at a time when the question of the potential for changing culture, i.e. civilization, its past, and its future, dominated contemporary debates—not least as a consequence of the world economic crisis and world revolution. The text found a broad echo among the surrealists as it questioned the narrative of civilizational progress and depicted culture as being shaped by conflicts which originated from the renunciation of drives. The text's cultural critical tone and the pessimistic assumptions about "human nature" fueled the primitivist imagination: in particular, the possible superiority of "pre-civilized," so-called primitive peoples. AF

Picture Atlas Projects
of the 1920s
(*Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*,
Orbis Pictus,
Kulturen der Erde,
Das Bild, and *Handbuch
der Kunstwissenschaft*)

The modernization of printing processes and thirst for learning on the part of the Weimar Republic's old and new bourgeoisie together conspired to make art books a lucrative line of business after the First World War. Private image libraries, many of them based on encyclopedic series, became a popular way of acquiring an autodidactic education in aesthetics that promised to make visits to museums and art exhibitions a more enriching experience. Besides furnishing the public at large with reproductions of the great masterpieces of European art, the publishers and editors of these series (among them Ernst Fuhrmann, Wilhelm Hausenstein, and Paul Westheim) became increasingly bold in their attempts to force their readers to engage with non-European and prehistoric art as well. In Germany alone, the early 1920s saw the publication of several handy histories of (world) art, whose mission was to broaden the established canon. These virtual (or "imaginary") museums of world art often rested on an ambitious theoretical underpinning. Changes in both the mass media and the geopolitical situation thus brought about a recalibration of the gaze.

A02 (024) Slideshow: *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*. Berlin: Propyläen, 1923–40.

A02 (025) *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*. Berlin: Propyläen, 1923–40.

With its altogether twenty-eight volumes, most of which went through at least three editions, the *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* stands out as an extraordinarily successful venture of the art publishing industry of the 1920s and 1930s. Propyläen, an imprint of the Ullstein publishing house, got in early on the booming business in premium art books. The first volumes in the series,

which came out in 1923, left no doubt that the publisher intended to set new standards. Meant to serve as both a reference work and a visual thesaurus of world art history and individual creative genius, each volume boasted an author recruited from the top echelon of German academic art scholarship. Max J. Friedländer, Gustav Pauli, Wilhelm von Bode, and others wrote about the epochs of European art history; Eckart von Sydow, Ernst Diez, Herbert Kühn, were among the authors who contributed volumes on prehistoric and extra-European art. Perhaps more surprisingly, the editors also brought in institutionally unaffiliated experts such as Max Osborn and Carl Einstein. After the seizure of Ullstein, the Nazis allowed the *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* to continue until 1940. Supplement volumes now covered the applied arts and, as one would expect, "German popular material culture" and the "prehistoric art of Germany." TH

Vol. 1 Eckart von Sydow, *Die Kunst der Naturvölker und der Vorzeit*, 1923.

Die Kunst der Naturvölker und der Vorzeit appeared as part of the *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*. Written by art historian and scholar of expressionism Eckart von Sydow (1885–1942), it integrates the art of non-European cultures into European art history. But from an evolutionistic perspective, Europe is represented as culturally superior. Von Sydow covers prehistoric as well as European, Australian, Indonesian, and Latin American art objects, which are subdivided into various genres and compared. The author obtained most of the illustrative material from the ethnological collection in Berlin. The book's focus is on African art—and in this it follows the example of Carl Einstein and Leo Frobenius. Von Sydow himself prefers Oceanic art and emphasizes its decorative quality. He sees contemporary "primitive" art as the result of a historical decline from the aesthetic "dawn" to the "evening clouds" of the present day. Only in Europe has art arrived at the "goal of existence." Von Sydow's approach to the "primitive" is shaped by European assessment criteria, remains very general, and stylizes non-European art first and foremost as the antipode of European culture. RE

Vol. 2 Heinrich Schäfer and Walter Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 1925.

Vol. 3 Gerhart Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike: Hellas und Rom*, 1927.

Vol. 4 Otto Fischer, *Die Kunst Indiens, Chinas und Japans*, 1928.

Vol. 5 Heinrich Glück and Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, 1925.

Vol. 6 Max Hauttmann, *Die Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, 1929.

Vol. 7 Hans Karlinger, *Die Kunst der Gotik*, 1927.

Vol. 8 Wilhelm von Bode, *Die Kunst der Frührenaissance in Italien*, 1923.

Vol. 9 Paul Schubring, *Die Kunst der Hochrenaissance in Italien*, 1926.

Vol. 10 Gustav Glück, *Die Kunst der Renaissance in Deutschland, den Niederlanden, Frankreich etc.* 1928.

Vol. 11 Werner Weisbach, *Die Kunst des Barock in Italien, Frankreich, Deutschland und Spanien*, 1924.

Vol. 12 Max J. Friedländer, *Die niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 1923.

Vol. 13 Max Osborn, *Die Kunst des Rokoko*, 1929.

Vol. 14 Gustav Pauli, *Die Kunst des Klassizismus und der Romantik*, 1925.

Vol. 15 Emil Waldmann, *Die Kunst des Realismus und des Impressionismus im 19. Jahrhundert*, 1927.

Vol. 16 Carl Einstein, *Die Kunst des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, 1926.

Supplementary volumes:

Elfried Bock, *Geschichte der graphischen Kunst von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 1930.

Walter Dexel, *Deutsches Handwerksgut: Eine Kultur- und Formgeschichte des Hausgeräts*, 1939.

Adolf Feulner, *Kunstgeschichte des Möbels: seit dem Altertum*, 1927.

Friedrich H. Hofmann, *Das Porzellan der europäischen Manufakturen im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: eine Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte*, 1932.

Carl Horst, *Die Architektur der deutschen Renaissance*, 1928.

Hans Karlinger, *Deutsche Volkskunst*, 1938.

Herbert Kühn, *Die vorgeschichtliche Kunst Deutschlands*, 1935.

Gustav Adolf Platz, *Die Baukunst der neuesten Zeit*, 1927.

Max Schmidt, *Kunst und Kultur von Peru*, 1929.

A02 (026) Slideshow: Paul Westheim (ed.), *Orbis Pictus/Weltkunst-Bücherei*. Berlin: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1920–25.

A02 (027) Paul Westheim (ed.), *Orbis Pictus/Weltkunst-Bücherei*. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1920–25.

In the early 1920s, all of history and the whole globe were, in the eyes of German publishers, one enormous excavation site. “Diggers avidly burrow through the soils from which the art and cultures of all times and peoples sprang, looking for hidden treasures waiting to be unearthed,” an observer remarks in the art magazine *Der Ararat* in 1922. The article singles out one series as

(025–027)

exemplary of the popular art-publishing industry’s transcultural aspirations: *Orbis Pictus*, the brainchild of Paul Westheim (1886–1963), a feisty critic, writer, and journalist, a line of twenty slim volumes published by Ernst Wasmuth in Berlin between 1920 and 1925. Westheim sought to elevate his project’s profile by dedicating considerable attention to non-European art, with subjects ranging from Chinese landscape painting to indigenous art from North America. Brief essays that often focused on fundamental questions introduced sets of forty-eight black-and-white plates that over the years grew into a kind of visual encyclopedia of “world art” for lay readers. Westheim’s friend Carl Einstein used this platform to sharpen his position as an ethnologist of art in the field of African sculpture. TH

Vol. 1 Paul Westheim, *Indische Baukunst*, n.d. [1920].

Vol. 2 Fannina W. Halle, *Altrussische Kunst*, n.d. [1920].

Vol. 3 Woldemar Graf Uxkull-Gyllenband, *Archaische Plastik der Griechen*, n.d. [1920].

Vol. 4 Alfred Salmony, *Die chinesische Landschaftsmalerei*, n.d.

Vol. 5 Karl With, *Asiatische Monumental-Plastik*, n.d. [1921].

Vol. 6 Sattar Kheiri, *Indische Miniaturen der islamischen Zeit*, n.d. [1921].

Vol. 7 Carl Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik*, n.d. [1921].

Vol. 8 Walter Lehmann, *Altmexikanische Kunstgeschichte, Ein Entwurf in Umrissen* [differing from cover: *Mexikanische Kunst*], n.d. [1921].

Vol. 9 Otto Weber, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* [differing from cover: *Hethitische Kunst*], n.d. [1922].

Vol. 10 Heinrich Ehl, *Älteste deutsche Malerei*, n.d. [1922].

Vol. 11 W. F. [Wolfgang Fritz] Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Elfenbeinarbeiten*, n.d. [1922].

Vol. 12 Otto Burchard, *Chinesische Kleinplastik*, n.d. [1922].

Vol. 13 Rudolf Utzinger, *Masken*, n.d. [1922].

Vol. 14 Sattar Kheiri, *Islamische Architektur* [differing from cover: *Islamische Baukunst*], n.d. [1922].

Vol. 15 Paul Westheim, *Klassizismus in Frankreich*, n.d. [1922].

Vol. 16 Carl Einstein, *Der frühere japanische Holzschnitt* [differing from cover: *Der primitive japanische Holzschnitt*], n.d. [1922].

Vol. 17 Leonhard Adam, *Nordwest-amerikanische Indianerkunst*, n.d. [1923].

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Vol. 18 Florent Fels, *Die altfranzösischen Bildteppiche* [differing from cover: *Altfranzösische Bildteppiche*], n.d. [1923].

Vol. 19 Otto Weber, *Assyrische Kunst* [differing from cover: *Assyrische Plastik*], n.d. [1924].

Vol. 20 Heinrich Ehl, *Deutsche Steinbildwerke der Frühzeit*, n.d. [1924].

A02 (028) Slideshow: Ernst Fuhrmann (ed.), *Schriften-Reihe Kulturen der Erde. Material zur Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte aller Völker*. Darmstadt/Hagen i. W.: Folkwang, 1922 ff. and further publications by Auriga and Müller.

A02 (029) Ernst Fuhrmann (ed.), *Schriften-Reihe Kulturen der Erde. Material zur Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte aller Völker*. Darmstadt/Hagen i. W.: Folkwang, 1922 ff. and further publications by Auriga and Müller.

The series *Kulturen der Erde* was the centerpiece of a remarkable publishing venture from 1919 until bankruptcy in 1923. Initiated by Karl Ernst Osthaus (1874–1921), the founder of a museum in his native Hagen, and edited and directed by Ernst Fuhrmann (1886–1956), a polymath and advocate of revolutionary social change, the publications of the Folkwang-Verlag built on the holdings of the Folkwang-Archiv in Hagen, which, around 1922, was probably the single largest collection of images documenting the “art and culture of all peoples” (Fuhrmann). Richly illustrated with photographs, the volumes of the *Kulturen der Erde* series opposed the “European hubris” and read as an extension of and challenge to the institution of the museum. Their content shows an ideological commitment to a questionable notion of “Nordic” culture. Fuhrmann also edited volumes on the art and literature of Central America, India, Indonesia, and China. A prolific independent scholar, he wrote numerous books in the series, charting a mode of thinking between academic discipline and speculation. Committed to radical independence, associative and nonlinear, it frequently rubbed believers in academic convention the wrong way. In the artistic milieu of the 1920s, by contrast, Fuhrmann’s idiosyncratic discourse and compelling visual arguments were widely popular. TH

Vol. 1 Ernst Fuhrmann, *Reich der Inka*, 1922.

Vol. 4 Ernst Fuhrmann, *China. Das Land der Mitte*, 1921.

Vol. 6 Ernst Fuhrmann, *Afrika: Sakralkulte, Vorgeschichte der Hieroglyphen*, 1922.

Vol. 10 Arthur Nordén, *Felsbilder der Provinz Ostgotland* (= *Werke der Urgermanen. Schriftenreihe zum Wiederaufbau der alten nordischen Kulturen*, vol. 2), 1923.

Vol. 11 Theodor Wilhelm Danzel, *Mexiko I. Bilderhandschriften*, 1922.

Vol. 12 Theodor Wilhelm Danzel, *Mexiko II*, 1922.

Vol. 13 Ernst Fuhrmann, *Mexiko III*, 1922.

Vol. 14 Ernst Fuhrmann, *Neu-Guinea*, 1922.

Vol. 15 P. De Kat Angelino, *Mudras auf Bali. Handhaltungen der Priester*, 1923.

Vol. 19 Günther Tessmann, *Die Bubi auf Fernando Poo*, 1923.

Vol. 20 Ernst Diez, *Persien. Islamische Baukunst in Churasan*, 1923.

Hedwig u. Th.-W. Danzel, *Sagen und Legenden der Südsee-Insulaner (Polynesen)*, 1923.

Berthold Laufer, *Milaraspa. Tibetische Texte*, 1922.

J. O. Plassmann, *Die Werke der Hadewych*, 1923.

A. C. Ray, *Bengalisches Leben: Aufzeichnungen eines jungen Bengalen*, 1923.

Ernst Schwentner, *Lieder des Rigveda*, 1923.

L. Baltzer, *Schwedische Felsbilder von Göteborg bis Strömstad* (= *Werke der Urgermanen. Schriftenreihe zum Wiederaufbau der alten nordischen Kulturen*, vol. 1). Darmstadt/Hagen i. W.: Folkwang, 1919.

Ernst Fuhrmann, *Das Tier in der Religion*. Munich: Müller, 1922.

Ernst Fuhrmann, *Der Grabbau*. Munich: Müller, 1923.

Ernst Fuhrmann, *Das alte Europa* (= *Versuch einer Geschichte der Germanen*, vol. 1). Gotha: Auriga, 1923.

Ernst Fuhrmann, *Der Sinn im Gegenstand*. Munich: Müller, 1923.

Ernst Fuhrmann, *Reiche des Ostens* (= *Versuch einer Geschichte der Germanen*, vol. 2). Gotha: Auriga, 1924.

Karl With, *Java. Brahmanische, buddhistische und eigenlebige Architektur und Plastik auf Java*. Darmstadt/Hagen i. W.: Folkwang, 1920.

A02 (030) Wilhelm Hausenstein (ed.), *Das Bild. Atlanten zur Kunst*. Munich: Piper, 1922–23.

Vol. 1 Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Tafelmalerei der deutschen Gotik*, 1922.

Vol. 2 Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Die Bildnerei der Etrusker*, 1922.

Vols 3–4 Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Die Malerei der frühen Italiener*, 1922.

Vols 5–6 Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Romanische Bildnerei*, 1922.

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Vol. 7 Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Tafelmalerei der alten Franzosen*, 1923.

Vols 8–11 Hermann Esswein and Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Das deutsche Bild des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 1923.

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- A02 (031) Fritz Burger and E. A. Brinckmann (eds), *Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*. Potsdam: Athenaion, 1913–c. 1939.
- Fritz Burger, *Einführung in die moderne Kunst*, 1917.
- Otto Kümmel, *Die Kunst Chinas, Japans und Koreas*, 1929.
- Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst Indiens*, 1925.
- Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, 1917.

A03

Art Historical Images of History and World Art Stories

How the history of art should be written depends on how we conceptualize history. Does art develop forwards in stages, driven by the logic of perfection and innovation? Or, can other narratives and models be hypothesized, delaying factors taken into account, and the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous included within the purview of our debate? As doubts concerning the model presented by capitalist-colonialist modernity grew, from 1900 the influence of cultural relativism, aimed at the intrinsic logic of traditions and ways of life, gained ground. This same cultural relativism supported, and was supported by, the globalization of art's horizons. Thanks mainly to the latest printing techniques, world art arrived in Europe physically in the form of photographic images, complete with all the theoretical baggage with which such visual events are framed. The art of certain parts of Africa, most of them under colonial rule, as well as Asia, the Americas, and Australia, was held up as a mirror and a foil. With its help, Western culture assured itself either of its own superiority or of the dire necessity of self-alienation.

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- A03 (032) Karl Woermann, *Die Kunst der Urzeit. Die alte Kunst Ägyptens, Westasiens und der Mittelmeerländer* (= *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 1). Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1925.

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- A03 (033) William Cohn, *Asiatische Plastik (China, Japan, Vorder-Hinterindien, Java)*. Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1932.

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- A03 (034) Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy, *Geschichte der indischen und indonesischen Kunst*, trans. from the English by Hermann Götz. Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1927.

Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy (1877–1947) was born in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and grew up in England. He initially studied geology and botany and became an anti-colonial nationalist who founded the Ceylon Social Reform Society in 1906, which advocated for the revival of the native arts and sciences. Later he was involved in the founding of the Royal India Society in England, before taking on a post as curator of Indian art at the Boston Fine Arts Museum, which had acquired his substantial collection. Influenced by William Morris's Arts and Crafts movement and his

readings of William Blake, Coomaraswamy came into contact with the perennial tradition—the belief that a common essence and truth bind together the world’s religions. After engaging with the occultism of Aleister Crowley, he turned to René Guénon’s evolving anti-modernist traditionalism. Coomaraswamy is recognized for his scholarly contributions, especially for his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927). He entertained relations not only with metaphysicians and scholars, but also with many modernist artists such as Eric Gill, whose works bear traces of his influence. He was also recognized in Germany: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* was published immediately in German translation. AF

A03 (035) André Leroi-Gourhan, *Bestiaire du bronze chinois de style Tchouou*. Paris: Les Éditions d’Art et d’Histoire, 1936.

A03 (036) Paul Germann, Curt Glaser, Augustin Krämer et al. (eds), *Die außereuropäische Kunst* (= *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 6). Leipzig: Alfred Kröner, 1929.

A03 (037) Karl Woermann, *Die Kunst der Naturvölker und der übrigen nichtchristlichen Kulturvölker, einschließlich der Kunst des Islams* (= *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 2). Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1925.

A03 (038) Helmuth Theodor Bossert (ed.), *Afrikanisches Kunstgewerbe, Kunstgewerbe der Eskimo und Nord-amerikanischen Indianer usw* (= *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 2). Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1928.

The first two volumes of this “History of the applied arts of all times and peoples,” which was published by Ernst Wasmuth in Berlin between 1928 and 1935, are dedicated to prehistory, protohistory, and areas outside Europe. Running to around four hundred pages each, with hundreds of black-and-white illustrations plus intaglio plates, some in color, they contain discussions of the “craftsmanship of the prehistoric and primitive peoples” by authors including Herbert Kühn (“Ice-Age applied arts”), Elise Baumgärtel (“Prehistoric applied arts in North Africa”), and Walter Krickeberg (“Applied arts of the Eskimos and North American Indians”). While the contributors mostly focus on reconstructing techniques and describing selected objects, some share more fundamental considerations on the state of anthropological research and art scholarship. Suggesting the influence of miscellaneous (and highly contestable) cultural-historical and ethnological hypotheses, from the theory of “cultural belts” to speculations on the “cultural image” of individual ethnic groups, Bossert’s six-volume *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes* is one of the various attempts in the 1920s and 1930s to enlarge the geographical and cultural frame of reference of both art publishing and art scholarship. TH

A03 (039) Stella Kramrisch, *Grundzüge der indischen Kunst*. Hellerau near Dresden: Avalun, 1924.

A03 (040) Adolphe Basler, *L’art chez les peuples primitifs*. Paris: Librairie de France, 1929.

A03 (041) Georges Bataille et al. (eds), *L’art précolombien*. Paris: Cahiers de la République des Lettres, 1928.

“Les Arts anciens de l’Amérique,” an exhibition of no fewer than 1,200 objects, opened in the Pavillon Marsan of the Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris, on May 12, 1928. The co-curators of the show were Georges Henri Rivière and the ethnologist Alfred Métraux. The companion anthology released by Cahiers de la République des lettres, des sciences et des arts anticipates *Documents*, and not just in mixing scholarly and literary writings. Georges Bataille’s essay on the cruelty of the Aztecs reads as a kind of preface to the project he is about to undertake. Rejecting both the aesthetic and purely formalist enthusiasm for the “primitive” and the yearning for “participation” in the sense developed by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, he outlines the vision of a sadistic primitivism—a culture ruled by violence, human sacrifices meant to propitiate malign deities, and “black humor.” The exhibition of ancient American art established the alliance between scholarship, museum, and avant-gardes: Paul Rivet hired Rivière to co-direct the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro, and together they remodeled it into the Musée de l’Homme. IA

A03 (042) Lu Märten, *Wesen und Veränderung der Formen/Künste. Resultate historisch-materialistischer Untersuchungen*. Frankfurt am Main: Taifun, 1924.

To apply historical materialism to “the arts” and “transform the critique of art [...] into the critique of labor”: these are the objectives of Lu Märten’s 1924 art-theoretical magnum opus. A journalist, writer, and women’s rights activist, Märten (1879–1970) was an autodidact from a humble background who read widely in history and theory. Besides feminist politics and her affiliation with the labor movement, the focus of her interests from 1910 was the development of a materialist aesthetics to counteract the predominance of the history of ideas in art scholarship: Her goal was to write not the history of one art form but a universal, “natural history” of the arts. What is called art, she argues, is at root a “capacity for form” whose origins lay in labor. This anthropological capacity serves an existential purpose, such as the construction of a barge. Labor is man’s engagement with a specific material, and so art is merely a particular case of general production, because, “like all activities of man,” it “originated in labor.” CR

A03 (043) Contemporary promotional material from the publisher for Lu Märten’s *Wesen und Veränderung der Formen/Künste* and Karl August Wittfogel’s “Antwort an die Genossin Lu Märten,” *Linkskurve*, no. 6 (1931), ed. Johannes R. Becher, Kurt Kläber, Andor Gábor et al. Berlin: Internationaler Arbeiterverlag.

Wittfogel accuses Märten’s literary theory of “formalistic barbarity,” among other things.

A03 (044) Oskar Beyer, *Welt-Kunst. Von der Umwertung der Kunstgeschichte*. Dresden: Sibyllen, 1923.

In the early 1920s, the debate over a global form of art scholarship entered a new phase. Responding to the evolutionary models of a world art history that had dominated the scene before the First World War, writers in postwar Europe articulated increasingly diverse and nuanced positions concerning such a project. Authors to be mentioned in Germany include Carl Einstein and Wilhelm Hausenstein as well as the historian of ecclesiastical art, educator, and publisher Oskar Beyer (1890–1964). His programmatic book *Welt-Kunst*, published in 1923, outlined the framework of a new study of “world art.” Establishing contact with a trans-historical and transcultural “community,” Beyer believed, required universal access to the works of “world art.” He appealed to an inversion of the rising nationalist ideology of his time, arguing that a genuinely popular art would need to strike roots in a “world community”: only by envisioning the latter, by rejecting the idea of the *völkisch* national community, would scholarship also overcome the intellectual limitations of the present and accomplish the overdue “self-sublation” of the historicist, systematizing, and classifying art history of yesteryear. TH

A03 (045) Josef Strzygowski, *Forschung und Erziehung. Der Neuaufbau der Universität als Grundlage aller Schulverbesserung. An den Verfahren der Forschung über bildende Kunst erörtert*. Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder, 1928.

A03 (046) Josef Strzygowski, *Die Krisis der Geisteswissenschaften, vorgeführt am Beispiele der Forschung über bildende Kunst. Ein grundsätzlicher Rahmenversuch* [“Rabindranath Tagore, dem indischen Seher, und den fachmännischen Beobachtern in Harvard und Princeton dankbar zugeeignet” (Dedicated to Indian seer Rabindranath Tagore, and to the professional observers in Harvard and Princeton)]. Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1923.

These two books by the Viennese art historian Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941) are collections of methodological essays that proposed to remold art history into a study of “heritage,” “essences,” and “development.” They intervened in a debate that raged in the 1920s over the genesis of historiographical models and aesthetic value judgments. Since the early years of the century, Strzygowski had advocated a shift toward a theoretical preference for the art of the “North” and Asia. Only by expanding its geographical and geocultural radius, he argued, would scholarship break free of the historical and aesthetic normative dominance of Southern European art. His pursuit of this goal made Strzygowski both a transgressive globalist who cultivated prominent contacts in the international academic world and an ethno-nationalist theorist of race. In 1929, he was briefly listed as a member of the editorial board of *Documents*. Given his frank endorsement of National Socialism in the 1930s, it is now hard to imagine even a passing affinity between his work and an experiment as radical as *Documents* or Carl Einstein’s anti-fascist thinking. Then again, the two men agreed in their rigorous anti-naturalism. TH

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A03 (047) Paul Ligeti, *Der Weg aus dem Chaos. Eine Deutung des Weltgeschehens aus dem Rhythmus der Kunstentwicklung*. Munich: Georg Callwey, 1931.

How world history can be used for an optimistic reading of the present is what the architect Paul (Pál) Ligeti (1885–1941) set out to show in his wave theory of history, a German version of which, illustrated with over 300 photographs and diagrams, was published by Georg D. W. Callwey of Munich in 1931. Ligeti argued that universal history should profit from the insights into period-specific styles and morphologies made possible by the Vienna School of art history. In a departure from Oswald Spengler’s pessimistic cyclical theory, Ligeti does not associate the end of a cycle with inexorable decline, but rather with an impending upswing. Although humanity was currently languishing in an “intellectual hole,” there was reason to hope for a stable, community-forging “mechanized Egypt,” he argued, signs of which could be seen in the modern architecture of a Le Corbusier or Hannes Meyer. The twenty-six “Grafikons” in *Der Weg aus dem Chaos* thus serve as “operating instructions” for the recurrent scenario of an admittedly ineluctable—because historically determined—escape from a crisis-ridden present. TH

A03 (048) Ludwig Goldscheider, *Zeitlose Kunst. Gegenwartsnahe Werke aus fernen Epochen*. Vienna: Phaidon, 1937.

A03 (049) Alexander Dorner, *The Way Beyond “Art”* [1947]. New York: New York University Press, 1958.

The Way Beyond “Art” is the synthesis of the cultural, exhibition, and image theories of Alexander Dorner (1893–1957), who had gained international recognition in the 1920s and 1930s as a curator in Hanover. The first edition of *The Way Beyond “Art”* was published in 1947 for an exhibition by the designer and artist Herbert Bayer. Impressed by the phenomenological advances of abstract art of the interwar years, Dorner had gained insights into the energetic multiperspectivity of reality. After emigrating to the United States in 1937 (in response to the “Entartete Kunst” exhibition), he expanded this with theorems from John Dewey’s pragmatic philosophy. His interest in physics and molecular biology, was, however, decisive. They provided criteria for Dorner’s central critique: Under conditions of permanent “self-change,” the rigid category of “art,” based on idealistic and anthropological concepts of eternity, should not continue to be pursued. Here, he reveals fundamental doubts about the function of art as formulated by Carl Einstein in the 1930s. TH

A03 (050) Aby Warburg, “Bilderatlas MNEMOSYNE [1927–29],” Panel 3 “Orientalisierung der antiken Bilder. Gott als Monstrum. Anreicherung der Sphära. (Tierkreis + Dekane). Übertragung des Globus auf die Fläche. Kosmologisches Würfelbrett. Perseus-Sage,” in Aby Warburg, *Der Bilderatlas MNEMOSYNE*, ed. Martin Warnke. Berlin: Akademie, 2008.

The *MNEMOSYNE* “Picture Atlas”—begun in 1927 and still unfinished on Aby Warburg’s death in 1929—represents the culmination of Warburg’s art- and cultural-historical research and speculations on the “pathways” of cultural forms and images. Warburg’s central theme is the “after-life of antiquity” and the

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pagan cults within European culture. In a unique, nonlinear, and non-positivist archival procedure, he pursues the traces of the “pathos formula” in cultural memory—the transhistorical space of the psyche. Warburg’s special interest is the manner in which mimetic processes and media architectures display traces of “pre-civilizational” border experiences: limit-experiences, which, as the “expressive mint” of the human psyche, leave traces of extreme and collectively experienced emotions in pictorial traditions and forms of expression. AF

A04

From Ethnological Art History to the New Ethnographic Museums

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, the study of non-European and indigenous art took place, if at all, outside the precincts of art history. Archaeology was more likely to feel responsible for it, and even more so those new disciplines which, depending on the country and the scientific context, called themselves ethnography, ethnology, or anthropology. The links to European imperialism and colonialism in this particular field of knowledge production are undeniable. Initially, Europe’s major museums categorized their objects—whether looted or purchased—according to anthropological and scientific ordering systems. As objects were they deemed worthy of aesthetic appreciation only outside the museum. Feeling the heat from the change in perceptions brought about by practicing artists, art critics, and the art market, and responding to the latest ethnological findings concerning the religious and social functions of the objects, even the museums in the end saw fit to revise their museological concepts. One high-water mark of this development was Georges Henri Rivière’s and Paul Rivet’s reorganization of the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro in Paris between 1929 and 1935, and its reopening as the Musée de l’Homme in 1937.

A04 (051) “Das Berliner Völkerkundemuseum: Masken der ozeanischen Abteilung und Der alte Lichthof,” Illustrations to Carl Einstein, “Das Berliner Völkerkundemuseum. Anlässlich der Neuordnung,” *Der Querschnitt*, vol. 6, no. 8 (1926), ed. Hermann von Wedderkop. Berlin: Propyläen, pp. 588–92.

A04 (052) (Unknown photographer) Carl Einstein with August Eichhorn in the Flechtheim collection, Photograph and Photomontage, in *Omnibus. Almanach auf das Jahr 1932*, compiled by Martel Schwichtenberg and Curt Valentin. Berlin/Düsseldorf: Verlag der Galerie Flechtheim, 1932, pp. 104–05.

The double-page spread from the *Omnibus* almanac is from the reprint (in English translation) of a catalogue text that Carl Einstein had written in 1926 for the exhibition “Südseeplastiken” in the gallery of Alfred Flechtheim in Berlin. The exhibition was devoted primarily to objects carved of wood from the so-called Bismarck Archipelago in Papua New Guinea. On the right-hand

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side the editors of the 1932 *Omnibus* present a photomontage. At the upper left-hand side, Carl Einstein, in profile, is shown in conversation with August Eichhorn, the director of the Berlin Völkerkunde Museum, in 1926 at the exhibition at Flechtheim's gallery. Images of two "totemistic" carvings are inserted on the right-hand side while a South Seas Islander, lying stretched out on the beach, half in the water, serves as the basis of the image. The montage, published roughly six years after the "Südseeplastiken" exhibition, attempts in its own way to exemplify Einstein's demands that ethnographic collections amplify the discursive and connect with the "entirety of the ethnic"—but in its voyeuristic exoticism manifestly takes the wrong tone. TH

A04 (053) Ernst Gosebruch, "Zur Neuordnung des Museums Folkwang in Essen," *Das Kunstblatt*, vol. 13 (1929), ed. Paul Westheim. Potsdam: Gustav Kiepenheuer, pp. 46–52.

A04 (054) Ethnologist Denise Paulme volunteering at the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, holding a mask used in religious dances in the Mekong Valley (province Yunnan), 1933, Photograph (reproduction) · Courtesy Musée du Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.

A04 (055) Asian Hall, Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, after the first renovation of the museum, January 1934, Photograph (reproduction) · Courtesy Musée du Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.

A04 (056) *Races et Racisme. Bulletin du Groupement d'étude et d'information*, vol. 3 (1939), Paris.

In July 1937, on the occasion of the "Exposition internationale" in Paris, French scientists—under the vice-chairmanship of the ethnologist Paul Rivet, the founding director of the new Musée de l'Homme—met to discuss the "qualitative" problems of demographics: biological typologies, heredity, races, racial mixing (*métissage*). Although one would not assume so from today's perspective, these terms were actually deployed in opposition to the National Socialist ideology of race. *Races et Racisme*, the journal of the *Groupement d'étude et d'information*, co-founded by Rivet in January 1937 and published up to the end of 1939, was also committed to the problematic goal of developing a non-racist theory of race. The explicitly anti-fascist project, with ties to the Popular Front government, broke with positivism and an anthropometric anthropology, turning instead to ethnology and linguistics to answer demographic questions. Thus *Races et Racisme* can also be seen as a platform for an exchange of ideas on the conceptual and methodological foundations of the Musée de l'Homme. TH

A04 (057) Charles H. Read, R. L. Hobson, and T. A. Joyce (British Museum), *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections. With 20 plates, 293 illustrations and 3 maps*. London: British Museum, 1925.

A04 (058) *Laboratoire d'ethnologie des hommes actuels et des hommes fossiles. Musée de l'Homme en relief par les anaglyphes*. Paris: Kauffman 1939 [Guide to the Musée de l'Homme, with 3D photographs and 3D viewing glasses].

A04 (059) Frederic H. Douglas and René d'Harnoncourt (eds), *Indian Art of the United States*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1941.

In the foreword to this 1941 exhibition catalogue, first lady Eleanor Roosevelt wrote that America was presently reviewing its "cultural resources." In this sense, the exhibition "Indian Art of the United States" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York and the accompanying book would re-evaluate "the Indian's past and present achievements" by pursuing the goal of helping the contemporary "Indian artist" to contribute to America's future. The museum thus saw itself as a means of commercially marketing indigenous decorative arts. But the majority of objects exhibited came from natural scientific, state, or private collections; far fewer came from the studios or galleries of autonomously working contemporary Native American artists. Despite the criticism of genocidal colonialization and the reservation policy of the United States expressed in the catalogue, the prevailing perception of the art and culture of the Native Americans reduced them to questions of anthropology and developmental policy. TH

(052–057)

(058–059)

Models of Temporality

The concepts and figures of speech with which temporality and history were discussed around 1930 were as numerous as they were controversial. From linearly conceived evolutionism to cyclical phases, from rhythmic, wave-like sequences of styles and epochs to a revolutionary understanding of history as a succession of turning points—there was a whole panoply of philosophical, historiographical, cosmological, and ideological models to choose from. All that was certain was that temporality by any definition was effective, not just at the existential, but also at the political level. The future of modernism might actually hinge on the nature of the relationship developed to the Ice Age or to childhood. That the beginning was to be deduced from the end, that prehistory interlocked with the present, was only to be expected in the “vacation from causality”—to use Carl Einstein’s phrase. Pitched against what was in fact a dialectic concept of history were the many reactionary appeals to “tradition” and the “nation.” Theories of history and the philosophy of time thus became weapons in the ideological debate and in the dispute over the legitimation of power.

A05 (060) Earl of Birkenhead, *The World in 2030 A.D.*, Illustrations by Edward McKnight Kauffer. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930.

A book brimming with “speculative predictions” about what the world will look like a century into the future: that is what the British barrister and politician Frederick Edward Smith, Earl of Birkenhead (1872–1930), promises in the preface to his collection of essays *The World in 2030 A.D.* His portrait of that world is divided into chapters devoted to various domains of life. Smith’s futurist visions primarily reveal a great deal about how the author sees the present: the sketch of a Chinese global empire goes hand in hand with his critique of the nineteenth-century idea of the nation-state; the idea of in vitro fertilization lets him envision the emancipation of women while also delegitimizing the feminism of c. 1930. The nine illustrations and cover design by the American graphic artist Edward McKnight Kauffer (1890–1954) are inspired by the art of the European avant-gardes, which Kauffer first encountered at the Armory Show in 1913. After studying in Paris, Kauffer lived in London, where he worked as a book illustrator and commercial artist, designing covers, for example, for titles by Ralph Ellison and Langston Hughes. CR

A05 (061) Gerhard Lehmann, “Ontologie der Gegenwart I,” in Gerhard Lüdtko and Lutz Mackensen (eds), *Aufbau der Gegenwart* (= *Deutscher Kulturatlas*, vol. 5). Berlin/Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1928.

A05 (062) Hans Mühlestein, *Die Geburt des Abendlandes. Ein Beitrag zum Sinnwandel der Geschichte*. Potsdam/Zurich: Müller & Kiepenheuer/Orell Füssli, 1928.

In *Die Geburt des Abendlandes*, his history of the Etruscans, the Swiss cultural historian and writer Hans Mühlestein (1887–1969) proposes a kind of historiography that aims “to conjure up not the dead matter of history but the elemental life that forever courses behind its rigid mask.” Sharply dissociating himself from a rationalist scholarly study of antiquity based on the detailed examination of material objects, Mühlestein outlines an “inner, spiritual history” driven by cultural struggles, which highlights the key role the Etruscans as “originators of culture” played in the titular birth of the Occident. Influenced by Johann Jakob Bachofen and Oswald Spengler, he regards the Etruscans as a people that preserved the archaic “matriarchal” tradition of the Mediterranean world, which was obliterated by the victorious Romans. Both classicist historiography and one guided by National Socialist ideals, he writes, ignore or repudiate the “non-Indo-Germanic” and “Oriental” roots of the Occident and so are effectively at war with its “subconscious,” the “depths of its own nature and its history.” CR

A05 (063) “Tafeln zur vergleichenden Morphologie der Geschichte: I. ‘Gleichzeitige’ Geistesepochen,” in Oswald Spengler, *Gestalt und Wirklichkeit* (= *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, vol. 1). Munich: C.H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1920.

A05 (064) Oswald Spengler, *Welthistorische Perspektiven* (= *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, vol. 2). Munich: C.H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922.

Oswald Spengler’s (1880–1936) magnum opus was “the dominant intellectual mass phenomenon of the Weimar years” (Wolfgang Hardtwig). His model conceives of cultures as self-contained organisms that pass through an unchanging developmental cycle of growth and decay. This theory of world-historical cycles rejects the prevailing optimistic belief in progress and the associated linear understanding of history. Meanwhile, Spengler’s comparative approach to cultural morphology goes against the Eurocentrism implicit in the conventional schema of antiquity, Middle Ages, and the modern era. In his view, all high cultures are of equal rank. The first volume contains three foldout plates, representing the diachronic progression of the various cultures in synoptic compression while also revealing parallels between them: Kant’s position in Western culture is equivalent to Aristotle’s in antiquity. The diachronic and synchronic readings are tied together by Spengler’s characterizations of the different developmental phases. The resulting matrix offers a schematic overview of the system in its entirety, lending it an immediately compelling quality that the text alone could not achieve. PA

A05 (065) Paul Ligeti, *Der Weg aus dem Chaos. Eine Deutung des Weltgeschehens aus dem Rhythmus der Kunstentwicklung*. Munich: Georg Callwey, 1931.

A05 (066) “Absolute Vergangenheit – absolute Zukunft,” Diagram in A. S. Eddington, *Das Weltbild der Physik* [1928], trans. from the English by Marie Freifrau Rausch von Traubenberg and H. Diesselhorst. Brunswick: F. Vieweg & Sohn, 1931.

Arthur Stanley Eddington (1882–1944) was an astronomer, physicist, and mathematician who became famous for his work in astrophysics. He played an important role in the acceptance, mediation, and popularization of Albert Einstein’s theory of relativity in the English-speaking world. Within the scientific community, Eddington’s own measurements during a solar eclipse in 1919 were long considered the first confirmation of Einstein’s theorem. He also played a role in the development of relativistic cosmological models and was of the opinion that physical objects manifested an ontologically undetermined component; accordingly, the uncertainty principle of quantum mechanics was a characteristic of nature itself, and was not to be attributed to the limitations of physicists. *The Nature of the Physical World* from 1928 was an enormous success, not least because Eddington discussed the implications of a reality shaken to its foundations by the new findings of physics in a manner accessible to the general public. AF

A05 (067) Giambattista Vico, *Die neue Wissenschaft über die gemeinschaftliche Natur der Völker*, trans. and introduced by Erich Auerbach. Munich: Allgemeine Verlagsanstalt, 1924.

Giambattista Vico’s *New Science (Scienza Nuova)*, which appeared originally in three versions between 1725 and 1744, came to new prominence after being republished in Italy between 1911 and 1916. Vico is best known for his dictum that humans can only understand things of their own making, which is why he assigned a privileged place to the study of history. The philologist Erich Auerbach was responsible for the second translation into the German, published in 1924. According to Auerbach, Vico “anticipated almost all the basic principles of modern ethnology, and his work contains the germs of almost all modern ideas about the origin and early development of religion, language, poetry, law, and society.” Vico developed a conception of history based on cyclical return—a *ricorso*—between three ages: The people of the first two ages, whom Vico terms “aborigines” and “first nations” are “poets,” whereby poetry is understood as a direct mythopoetic ability. AF

A05 (068) Georg Lukács, *Geschichte und Klassenbewußtsein. Studien über marxistische Dialektik*. Berlin: Malik, 1923 (reproduction).

“To assess the impact of the book at that time, and also its relevance today, we must consider one problem that surpasses in its importance all questions of detail. This is the question of alienation, which, for the first time since Marx, is treated as central to the revolutionary critique of capitalism and which has its theoretical and methodological roots in the Hegelian dialectic. Of course the problem was in the air at the time. Some years later, following the publication of Heidegger’s *Being and Time* (1927), it moved into the centre of philosophical debate. Even today it has not lost this position, largely because of the influence of Sartre, his followers and his opponents. [...] The statement that the problem was in the air is perfectly adequate [...] What is important

is that the alienation of man is a crucial problem of the age in which we live and is recognised as such by both bourgeois and proletarian thinkers, by commentators on both right and left.”

GEORG LUKÁCS, PREFACE TO THE NEW EDITION OF *HISTORY AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS: STUDIES IN MARXIST DIALECTICS* (1967)

(066–068)

(068)

Functions of the “Primitive”

The figure of the “primitive” incorporates both material exploitation and symbolic appropriation. For modernity it fulfilled the function of a self-constitutive, negative mirror, an arena for the relocation and projection of unsolved ontological riddles concerning the origin and “magical” powers of sign systems and collective symbolizations. The “primitive” was to make it possible to address a state existing *before* the divisions that are fundamental to the rationality of modernity: An imagined “childhood,” which as an “archaic illusion” established an identity between mimetic-sensuous, infantile, pathological, and “primitive” thinking. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the idea of evolutionism as a series of diachronic stages was being increasingly replaced by the synchronic approaches that can also be found in the work of Carl Einstein. References to the primitive and the archaic could then also fulfill critical, opening, and inversive functions. They mediated modernity’s break with tradition and the process of breaking down ontological boundaries, hastening the demise of a metaphysics of substance and stable oppositions already shaken by science and colonialism.

A06 (069) James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* [1890]. London: Macmillan, 1925.

The comparative study *The Golden Bough* from the Scottish anthropologist James George Frazer (1854–1941) was first published in 1890 in two volumes, followed by supplementary volumes and summaries through to the 1920s. In his work, Frazer drew on numerous missionary and ethnological reports as well as folklore, in particular Wilhelm Mannhardt’s *Wald- und Feldkulte* (Forest and field cults). These sources were used to substantiate his thesis that the legend of cyclical reincarnation is a central component of mythologies worldwide and that all “early” religions were fertility cults which developed around a sacred kingdom and its sacrificial rites. According to Frazer, all civilizations are subject to evolutionary development, from a superstitious stage of magical belief (for the purpose of dominating nature), through religion, to rational science. With the increasing discrediting of such evolutionary assumptions—not least as a result of ethnological field research—Frazer’s monumental work quickly lost its academic importance, while nevertheless exercising an enormous cultural influence. AF

A06 (070) Sigmund Freud, *Totem und Taboo. Einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker* [1913]. Vienna: Internationaler psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1925.

(069–070)

In his text *Totem und Taboo. Einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker* (*Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement Between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics*), Freud applies psychoanalysis to the fields of archaeology, ethnology, and religious studies, while himself relying on the evolutionary approaches of ethnologists such as James George Frazer and Edward Burnett Tyler, which were widely discussed at the time. Along with their work, Freud’s speculations are now considered largely outdated, as well as constituting a classic example of the tendency of primitivism to blur the distinction between the pathological, the primitive, and the childlike until they are indistinguishable, placing them all on the same level. In “Animismus, Magie und die Allmacht der Gedanken” (“Animism, Magic, and the Omnipotence of Thought”), Chapter 3 of the four that make up *Totem und Taboo*, Freud claims that the supposed wild thinking views signs as the carriers of forces, thus systematically confusing psychological projections with reality. Animism he looks upon as a symptom of the belief in the “omnipotence of thought” and an exaggerated “esteem for psychological actions.” For this reason, the absolutization of the psychological “among the primitives and neurotics” must be retranslated into psychology. AF

A06 (071) Émile Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse. Le système totémique en Australie* [1912]. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1925.

Émile Durkheim’s (1858–1917) major work *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*) was published in 1912. Durkheim attempted to reveal the “elementary forms” of religious life by researching the “most primitive and simplest” religions among the Australian aborigines, as well as developing categories of European philosophy from a worldwide comparison with other classification systems and logical hierarchies. Religion must be functional: In other words, it must serve to generate social cohesion. The original, totemic religion he postulates follows directly upon a “state of a lack of differentiation, from which the human spirit emerges.” Thus the beginning is marked by a division of the world into profane and sacred. Against the background of a broad notion of kinship relationships in totemic systems, Durkheim speculates on the original categories, outlining a sociogenesis of thought with the aim of subordinating epistemology to sociology and history, as well as deriving the category of “totality” from society with the aid of Australian ethnography. AF

A06 (072) J. [Josef] Winthuis, *Einführung in die Vorstellungswelt primitiver Völker. Neue Wege der Ethnologie*. Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, 1931.

A06 (073) Unfolded world map: “Abb. 4 Die Quellbecken der Kultur der Umbildung auf dem O-W-Pendel: I das der hochmythologischen, II das der hochreligiösen, III das der hochphilosophischen, IV das der materialistischen Kultur,” in Leo Frobenius, *Vom Völkerstudium zur Philosophie. Der neue Blick. Das Paideuma (= Erlebte Erdteile*, vol. 4). Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Societäts-Druckerei, 1925.

(070–073)

A06 (074) Fritz Graebner, *Das Weltbild der Primitiven. Eine Untersuchung der Urformen weltanschaulichen Denkens bei Naturvölkern*. Munich: Reinhardt, 1924.

A06 (075) Konrad Theodor Preuß, *Die geistige Kultur der Naturvölker*. Berlin/Leipzig: Teuber, 1913.

A06 (076) Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Morceaux choisis*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1936.

A06 (077) Charles Blondel, *La mentalité primitive*, preface by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl. Paris: Stock, 1926.

A06 (078) Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Die geistige Welt der Primitiven*, trans. from the French by Margarethe Hamburger. Munich: Bruckmann, 1927.

A06 (079) Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Die Seele der Primitiven*, trans. from the French by Else Baronin Werkmann. Leipzig/Vienna: Braumüller, 1930.

A06 (080) Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Le surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1931.

A06 (081) Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *L'expérience mystique et les symboles chez les primitifs*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1938.

A06 (082) Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Les carnets de Lucien Lévy-Bruhl*, preface by Maurice Leenhardt. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1949.

A06 (083) Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *La mythologie primitive. Le monde mythique des Australiens et des Papous*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1936.

A06 (084) Georges Friedmann, "L'œuvre de Lucien Lévy-Bruhl," *Commune* 51, vol. 5 (1937). Paris: pp. 300 ff.

In 1910, the philosopher Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939) published the first of numerous books on the way of thinking of the "primitives." Lévy-Bruhl's "primitive mentality" does not divide: Things and beings are themselves effects of the primal flows of communication in a world of "mystical participations." The categories of "primitive" thought are "collective ideas," socially generated reality: The concept was intended to encompass forms of thought that circumvent the logical "law of the excluded middle," providing the resulting individual, now highly divisible, with a plethora of identifications. His theses made the unthinkable in dualistic categories thinkable for a whole generation of European intellectuals: A reality beyond ideational thought, beyond the grammar of subject and object, and beyond substances and things. Later, in a copious self-critique, Lévy-Bruhl attempted to rescind the dichotomy between modern and pre-modern thought that was inscribed in the categories of the pre-logical. The concept of participation served as the starting point for numerous artists and theorists—particularly within surrealist circles, as well as for Carl Einstein—in developing a new understanding of the art experience beyond representation. AF

(074–084)

A06 (085) Olivier Leroy, *La raison primitive. Essai de réfutation de la théorie du prélogisme*. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1927.

A06 (086) Paul Radin, *Primitive Man as Philosopher*. London/New York: Appleton, 1927 (reproduction).

The figure of the "primitive philosopher" is notorious within the discourse of modernity. Such figures are ascribed a form of thought which is inaccessible to occidental philosophers or has been lost: In particular, the belief in the "magical" power of words and signs. However, this figure is employed in *Primitive Man as Philosopher*. Paul Radin (1883–1959) sets out to foreground the philosophical reflections of nonwritten cultures, employing an ethnologically based line of argument. Radin was an American ethnologist who studied under Franz Boas and is primarily known for his later book *The Trickster* (1956). *Primitive Man as Philosopher* is also a classic work of ethnographic literature. Based on ethnographic reports from North America and Oceania, the book is directed against Lévy-Bruhl's epistemological philosophy of the primitives; a rejection of his use of the Durkheimian category of collective ideas—to which, in primitive societies, the individual is completely subordinated. According to Radin, there are necessarily individuals who also have the power to shape the social. AF

A06 (087) Eckart von Sydow, *Primitive Kunst und Psychoanalyse. Eine Studie über die sexuelle Grundlage der bildenden Künste der Naturvölker (= Imago-Bücher, vol. X)*. Leipzig/Vienna/Zurich: Internationaler psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1927.

A06 (088) Max Verworn, *Zur Psychologie der primitiven Kunst. Ein Vortrag*. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1917.

(085–088)

The Art of the “Primitives”

Interest in the art of non-European peoples reached its zenith in the late nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. The previously unknown inclusion of non-European art, in particular the “primitive” art of “indigenous peoples,” served the legitimation and enormous geographical and temporal expansion of the anthropological foundations of a number of theories and histories of art beyond the classical canon. However, this inclusion came at the cost of marginalization. As “applied,” ritual, magical, or practical objects, “primitive” artifacts were assigned to the *prehistory* of both art and enlightened scientific thought; non-European art was generally denied individual authorship or any participation in modernity. The assumed collective, magic power of the images proved fascinating. Anti-bourgeois art discourses seized on their status as reality beyond representation, together with their mythopoetic, socially constitutive capabilities. Thus the art of the “primitives” became a resource for modernity in a range of different ways: Not only as a legitimation for anthropological and functionalistic theories of art and myth, but also—and increasingly—as a weapon and resource in the avant-gardist struggle against academic tradition and a bourgeois understanding of art. However, without the colonial encounter, such a breaking down of boundaries would have remained unthinkable.

A07 (089) Ernst Vatter, *Religiöse Plastik der Naturvölker*. Frankfurt: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1926.

A07 (090) Theodor Wilhelm Danzel, *Der magische Mensch. Vom Wesen der primitiven Kultur*. Potsdam/Zurich: Müller & Kiepenheuer/Orell Füssli, 1928.

Theodor Wilhelm Danzel (1886–1954) was an ethnologist and *Völkerpsychologe* (cultural psychologist) as well as head of department at the Museum für Völkerkunde and professor at the University of Hamburg. Danzel spent many years in China where he organized an ethnological museum in Nanjing, as well as traveling to Japan, the Philippines, and Mexico. Due to his Jewish ancestry he was removed as professor in 1933 and from his post at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, in 1934. Franz Boas subsequently assisted him in obtaining a teaching position at Columbia University in New York; however, he failed to regain his enormous productivity of the 1920s. Danzel dedicated himself to “ethnological-cultural studies,” a large-scale transhistorical and transcultural systematization project. He speculated on different

types of apperception, and in *Der magische Mensch* (Magical man) contrasted the technically active *homo faber* with *homo divinus*, the “divinatory” and “magic performing” man, who “with the subjectification of the objective [...] bridged the gulf between the objective and the subjective, between the substantial and the conditional, between the material and the spiritual, which *homo faber* had opened up.” AF

A07 (091) Paul Radin, *La religion primitive. Sa nature et son origine*, trans. from the English by Alfred Métraux. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1941.

A07 (092) “Der Wagen des Prinzen Karneval in Nizza,” and three photographs of masks of the Chilkat and Kwakiutl people, *Der Erdball*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1932), ed. Leo Frobenius. Berlin: Universitas Verlag.

A07 (093) Herbert Kühn, *Die Kunst der Primitiven*. Munich: Delphin, 1923.

A07 (094) Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Barbaren und Klassiker*. Munich: Piper, 1923.

In his culture-critical essay, Wilhelm Hausenstein (1882–1958) posits a dichotomy between “barbarians” and “classicists” that can be detected throughout the history of art: The opposition between the “clear” and “simple” forms of the “classical” and the “barbaric,” which is described as “authentic,” “immediate,” and “close to nature.” Hausenstein’s actual interest lies in the creative powers of the “barbaric,” which are meant to be immediately evident in the “primitive” masks assembled in the first part of his book. The “barbaric” still lives on in the contemporary “exotic” art of Africa and Oceania, whereas in Europe, in contrast, it already belongs to a long-lost past. Hausenstein criticizes Europe’s present artistic moment, which he describes as “exhausted,” not only for its loss of the “exotic”—that is, the originality and “immediate contact with the essence of things”—but also for the loss of nature itself induced by civilization. In his culturally pessimistic primitivism, influenced by Oswald Spengler, the art of “exotic peoples” takes on the function of a critical mirror of the “modern” and the history of its decline. RE

A07 (095) “Sandbilder der Navaho-Indianer,” in Eckart von Sydow, *Kunst und Religion der Naturvölker*. Oldenburg: Stalling, 1926.

A07 (096) Juxtaposition: “Makart in voller Kriegsbemalung” – “Amerika, du machst [!] es besser als unser Kontinent, der [!] alte!” *Das Kunstblatt*, vol. 13 (1929), ed. Paul Westheim. Potsdam: Gustav Kiepenheuer.

A07 (097) Franz Boas, *Primitive Art*. Oslo et al.: H. Aschehoug & Co. [Institutet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning], 1927.

Illustrated with over three hundred images, the study examines the artistic productions of indigenous cultures with a view to their formal qualities, symbolic meanings, and stylistic features. Franz Boas (1858–1942), the German-American founder of cultural anthropology, believes that art is not primarily an intellectual or emotional expression, instead identifying the aesthetic by means of a conception of form that emphasizes technical skills and craftsmanship. The properties of materials and tools and the proficiency of masters of their craft play a considerable part in shaping designs, ensuring regularity and rhythm. Moreover, the union of form and (symbolic) meaning engenders its own artistic effects. The synthesis of decades of research, the book is part and parcel of Boas's program of cultural relativism: He had argued against the evolutionary models of cultural stages and the racist paradigms of physical anthropology since the 1880s. He also opposed Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's concept of a "pre-logical" mode of thinking on the part of the "primitives," insisting that all cultures must be regarded as equipollent and understood by analyzing their autochthonous historical development. PA

A07 (098) "Fig 1. Negro Artist at work (Cameroons)," in Julius E. Lips, *The Savage Hits Back*, trans. from the German and introduced by Bronislaw Malinowski. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1937.

This 1937 study by German ethnologist Julius Lips (1895–1950), published during his exile in America, investigates the images that African, American, and Oceanic cultures created of European colonialists. *The Savage Hits Back* thus prepared the way for an inversion of the ethnographic-colonial gaze and took non-European art seriously for the first time as contemporary art. On the basis of carved figures, bronze statues, drawings, masks, and sculptures, Lips shows the richly detailed realism and the keenly caricaturized exaggeration of representations of the "white man" and his instruments and weapons. The book follows a typology of colonial figures: from ships, through soldiers, missionaries, traders, and colonial officials, and to the "white woman" and the "white chiefs." With an intent that is anti-colonial and critical of exoticism, Lips emphasizes the works' artistic quality and the keen powers of observation of those who produced them, but in doing so he is not free of ethnocentrism. His intuitive interpretations largely ignore the specific cultural contexts of the objects and restrict themselves to Europeans as the only "others" relevant to indigenous cultures. PA

(097–098)

A08

The Precise Conditionality of Art

One of the more unusual portfolios in the "Handbuch der Kunst" lot in the Carl-Einstein-Archive at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, contains long manuscript proofs that Einstein himself assembled out of strips and scraps of his typescripts. Here he was apparently experimenting with the heuristic possibilities of decomposition and recombination of the already-written. The liberty that he thus takes with his own text is laid out in a manner of writing and thinking in which trains of thought are developed in repetitions and variations and in which the argument's conclusion is repeatedly deferred. Thematically the text montage revolves around concepts such as "style" ("function of a social order"), "images" (that live "in a milieu of becoming latent"), and the "real" ("as struggle and object of revolution"); they speak as much of "forgetting the precise conditionality of an art" in modernity as of the circumstance "that gestalt and psyche are ONE fact." The work on this text was clearly epically fragmentary, not designed for swift completion.

A08 (099) Carl Einstein, "Handbuch der Kunst," 1930s, Proofs with pasted fragments · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 244.

(099)

Carl Einstein, “Handbuch der Kunst”

Notwithstanding its *vade mecum*-like title, “Handbuch der Kunst” (Handbook of Art) is actually one of the boldest conceptual approaches to art history of the twentieth century. Its protagonists are not individual geniuses, but rather social structures and temporal layers; and while its cultural and geographical focus is on Europe, as a work combining social history, archaeology, anthropology, and aesthetic theory, it is global in scope and extends as far back as pre-history. Around the year 1935 Einstein stepped up his work on the handbook. In the years 1936 to 1938 he was obliged to set this work aside so that he could fight on the side of the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War. Yet not even on his return was he able to see his project through to completion, and after he committed suicide in 1940, his estate was found to contain only a large body of notes written in preparation for it. Of the handbook’s planned five volumes, three were to have been filled with illustrations, maps, and diagrams only. The prospectus for the text volume is surely programmatic in that it alone runs to forty-seven pages of typescript, to which must be added further drafts of the table of contents composed in both English and French.

A09 (100) Carl Einstein, “Handbuch der Kunst,” 1930s, Typescripts, Manuscripts (reproductions) · Courtesy Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 219.

Excerpt from typescript (Beginning of explanations to “Bd. V Die gesamte Kunstgeschichte in einem Band von 300 Seiten Text” [vol. V The entire history of art in one volume of 300 pages of text])

1 The history of art, insofar as it is known to us, offers only a narrow extract of historical events compared with the past of humanity and its habitat.

2 There exists neither a unified art-historical continuity nor a clear development of art forms. The apparent unity of art historical development is an effect of temporal distance, which veils the immense temporal and geographical gaps of art history. We simplify out of the desire to understand more easily, and the achievement of unity facilitates our construction of so-called historical connections.

3 As a consequence of the decay of intellectual culture and the over-refinement of knowledge art history became all too violently severed from a more complex cultural history, into which it should now be re-integrated. This

isolation of the history of art produced an historically inadequate, merely aesthetic point of view, with the result that history was reduced to a kind of mechanics of forms and styles.

A09 (101) Carl Einstein, *Projet d'une histoire de l'art*, Typescripts (reproductions) · Courtesy Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 249.

A09 (102) (Unknown photographer), Carl Einstein, Fernand Léger, and Gottlieb Friedrich Reber in Park de Château de Béthusy, Lausanne, May 1930, Photograph (reproduction) · Courtesy Archiv Christoph Pudelko.

A09 (103) Untitled (Portrait Carl Einstein), 1930, Lithography, Illustration in Carl Einstein, *Entwurf einer Landschaft*. Illustré de lithographie par C.-L. Roux [Gaston-Louis Roux]. Paris: Éditions de la Galerie Simon, 1930 (reproduction).

A09 (104) “Ein Offizier der Milizen teilt seine Erinnerungen auf der Terrasse eines Cafés in Perpignan. Es ist K[!]arl Einstein, Neffe des Gelehrten [!], der sich für die Verteidigung der republikanischen Freiheiten engagiert hat” (An officer of the militia shares his memories on the terrace of a cafe in Perpignan. It’s Karl [sic] Einstein, nephew of the scholar [sic], who committed himself to the defense of Republican freedoms), Photograph of Carl Einstein, end of 1938/beginning of 1939, in the French border town Perpignan (the reference to a family relationship with Albert Einstein is misleading), in the context of a photo-reportage about the exile of Spanish and foreign Republicans in the French Pyrenees, in *Match. L’hebdomadaire de l’actualité mondiale*, February 16, 1939.

Nearly a decade lies between the photos of the years 1930 and 1938/1939—and the passage of time is obvious in Carl Einstein. In May 1930, forty-five-year-old Einstein stands in the castle garden of the collector Gottlieb Friedrich Reber next to the powerful figure of the painter Fernand Léger. At this time, Einstein had lived in Paris for two years and was a member of the editorial board of the journal *Documents*. His visit with Reber in Lausanne was related to long-standing consultancy. The photo in the illustrated magazine *Match* of February 1939 shows Einstein significantly aged after more than two years fighting on the Loyalist side in the Spanish Civil War. In the months following his stay in Perpignan, where many Republicans had fled at the end of 1938, Einstein would face difficult times. Discharged from an army camp near Bordeaux in June 1940 as a result of the German invasion of France, he committed suicide near Pau, close to the Spanish border, on July 5. Gaston-Louis Roux’s lithograph, an illustration for Einstein’s poem *Entwurf einer Landschaft* (Draft of a landscape) of 1930, is perhaps the most apt in its automatic pace, because it is Einstein’s most “hallucinatory” surviving portrait. TH

“The Ethnological Study of Art”: African Sculpture

Perceptions of art from Africa in the first half of the twentieth century were dominated by the colonialist perspective. The artists in Paris, Berlin, and London who from 1905 began “discovering” the sculpted works of the Fang and Dogon peoples, or from the Kingdom of Benin, were able to do so only because of what Tony Bennett has called the “exhibitionary complex,” which since the nineteenth century had forged a direct link between the exploitation of the colonies and the collections of European cities’ ethnographic museums. Soon the art trade, art critics, and publishing houses were onto it as well. They were the ones who ensured that, as the 1920s progressed, the ethnographic objects and colonial trophies arriving in Europe became *objets d’art*. Begun in 1915, Carl Einstein’s publications on African sculpture played an important part in this development. The changed status of African art once it was being traded on the European and American art markets gave rise to *connoisseurship*, from whose speculative formalism both ethnography itself, and the art-historical lines of inquiry it had spawned, at times felt it necessary to distance themselves. Not until the emergence of artists and art theorists among the African diaspora in the 1920s and 1930s was the colonial perspective of African art refuted once and for all.

A10 (105) Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik* [1915]. Munich: Kurt Wolff, 1920.

The first edition of Einstein’s book *Negerplastik* (Negro sculpture) from 1915—whose title employs a contemporary use of language, unacceptable both then and now—is a founding document as well as an early critique of artistic primitivism. It consists of a theoretical text section as well as 118 pictures of sculptures from, among others, the Senufo, Baule, Bakor, Yoruba, Bamileke, Kundu, Bafaw-Balong, Fang (Ngumba), Yohura, and Holo. Einstein polemicized against the “erroneous term primitivism” and “false phrases” such as “people of the eternal primeval,” as well as the “interpolation of convenient evolutions,” which was common not only in the writing of (art) history. However, the African sculpture presented here is valued as art only by “eliminating [all] associations with its surroundings.” The uncommented pictures and the speculative text section substantiate a purely “sculptural seeing” as a response to the “space problem” in contemporary European art. However Einstein’s formalism points beyond art. Thus, the masks illustrated here constitute “fixed ecstasy”:

Through the worship of energetically charged objects, the temporary “annihilation” of the individual is transfigured into the ecstatic experience of a “grasping of the objective.” AF

A10 (106) Carl Einstein, *Afrikanische Plastik* (= *Orbis Pictus*, vol. 7, ed. Paul Westheim). Berlin: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1922.

A10 (107) Carl Einstein, *La sculpture africaine*. Paris: Les Editions G. Crès, 1922.

A10 (108) Georges Hardy, *L’art nègre. L’art animiste des noirs d’Afrique*. Paris: Henri Laurens, 1927.

A10 (109) Leo Bittremieux, *Symbolisme in de Negerkunst*, Nouvelle Série no. 1. Brussels: Vromant, 1937.

A10 (110) Josef Čapek, “Na Obvode Umění Prirodních Narodů” [In the realm of the art of indigenous peoples], *Život* (1937–38). Prague: Umelecká Beseda, pp. 41 ff. · Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

A10 (111) *Cahiers d’art* [L’Afrique par Leo Frobenius et Henri Breuil], vol. 5, nos 8–9 (1930), ed. Christian Zervos. Paris: Éditions Cahiers d’art.

A10 (112) Joseph Maes, *Aniota-Kifwebe. Les masques des populations du Congo Belge et le matériel des rites de circoncision*. Antwerp: Éditions de Sikkell, 1924.

A10 (113) Paul Guillaume and Thomas Munro, *Primitive Negro Sculpture*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1926.

Archaeology as a Media Event

Just as paleontology occupies itself with the past life-forms of the planet, archaeology occupies itself with past human cultures; it reconstructs these from their material artifacts, thus constructing cultural genealogies. Archaeology was therefore another resource for the hypotheses and debates of modern anthropology. This was also true for art theorists and artists, especially those who speculated about the (pre)historical functions of art. With the world-wide, often spectacularly staged, excavations beginning in the nineteenth century, the spectrum of what contemporary modernity was able to consider “ancient” cultural history broadened. The project of a universal comprehension of human cultural heritage engaged in and reflected a process that irrecoverably linked the histories of cultures with one another. In this, the practice of excavation existed in a close relationship with colonial and imperial schemes that were inseparably connected with discovery, appropriation, instrumentalization, and the destruction of local knowledge.

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- A11 (114) C. Leonard Woolley, *Ur und die Sintflut. Sieben Jahre Ausgrabungen in Chaldäa, der Heimat Abrahams*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1931.
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- A11 (115) C. Leonard Woolley, *Mit Hacke und Spaten. Die Erschließung versunkener Kulturen*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1932.
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- A11 (116) Valentin Müller, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien. Ihre Typenbildung von der neolithischen bis in die griechisch-archaische Zeit (rund 3000 bis 600 v. Chr.)*. Augsburg: Benno Filser, 1929.
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- A11 (117) Konrad Theodor Preuß, *Monumentale vorgeschichtliche Kunst. Ausgrabungen im Quellgebiet des Magdalena in Kolumbien und ihre Ausstrahlungen in Amerika*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1929.
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- A11 (118) B. Graf Khun de Prorok, *Göttersuche in Afrikas Erde. Fünf Jahre Ausgrabung in Karthago, Utica und der Sahara*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1928.

- A11 (119) Theodor Feigel, *Ägypten und der moderne Mensch. Ein Beitrag zum Erleben der Seele in Landschaft und Kunst*. Berlin: Karl Curtius, 1926.

- A11 (120) Hedwig Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter*. Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1923.

Die Plastik der Ägypter, a survey of ancient Egyptian sculpture by the art historian and Egyptologist Hedwig Fechheimer (1871–1942), was published by Bruno Cassirer in 1914. The sixty-page essay, which is followed by 158 plates, opens with a radical critique of classicism, whose art-theoretical program had “disparaged” Egyptian art as an “archaic precursor” to its Greek counterpart. Against this evolutionist “notion of development,” Fechheimer proposes the ideas of the “elementary” and “aboriginal” and an emphasis on formal “affinities.” Of particular interest to her is the affinity between cubism and the “fundamental artistic intuitions of the Egyptians.” The similarities between *Plastik der Ägypter* and Carl Einstein’s *Negerplastik*, published a year later, are in no small part due to the close friendship and collaboration between the two, which began around 1905 and continued at least through 1929, when Einstein ran an exhibition review by Fechheimer in the inaugural issue of *Documents*. CR

- A11 (121) Hans Mühlestein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker. Die Ursprünge*. Berlin: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1929.

- A11 (122) Gerhard Lüdtkke and Lutz Mackensen (eds), *Vorzeit und Frühzeit (= Deutscher Kulturatlas, vol. 1)*. Berlin/Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1928.

- A11 (123) André Vigneau, *Le musée du Louvre – Mesopotamie (suite), Canaan, Chypre, Grèce (= Encyclopédie photographique de l’art / The Photographic Encyclopedia of Art, vol. 1)*. Paris: Éditions Tel, 1935–36.

The *Encyclopédie photographique de l’art*, published between 1935 and 1949, was a notable enterprise of 1930s art publishing. The five portrait-format books consisted of single issues that could also be purchased separately in bookshops. The editor and sole photographer was André Vigneau (1892–1968), a now largely forgotten “media nomad” (Walter Grasskamp). His collection of lavishly printed photographs of the Louvre’s antique sculptures (the first volume of which documents the Egyptian and Mesopotamian collections) was one of the models for André Malraux’s far better known *Musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale* (1952–54). The modular structure of the *Encyclopédie* showed a way to respond to the new mobility and mobilization of artworks associated with photography. The pictures and writings invite one to combine them freely: The availability of the history and geography of art in this “complete home museum” is also signaled by possibilities for access and intervention through reproduction. TH

Prehistory in the Abyss of Time

Every question about origins serves the justification of social orders, identities, and their narratives. But the question of origins can also be deployed critically against the desire for stability that motivates it, namely when it emphasizes the paradoxes and impossibilities of ultimate justifications, and thus makes clear the ontological groundlessness of any claim to identity. Carl Einstein, too, stressed the modernity of all constructions of history and emphasized the “fatality” of ultimate justifications. The field of speculations about primal history and scenes relaxed under the influence of the loss of biblical chronology in the nineteenth century through the opening abyss of geological time: The critique of, and the racist radicalization of, the modern-colonial narrative of civilization would first become possible in the radically unbounded field of genealogies—of genealogical relationships and histories of disunion—which fed, as it were, from the prehistoric darkness.

A12 (124) Heinrich Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*. Leipzig/Vienna: Bibliographisches Institut, 1912.

A12 (125) Otto Hauser, *Ins Paradies des Urmenschen. Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Vorweltforschung*. Berlin/Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1922.

A12 (126) Otto Hauser, *Urmensch und Wilder. Eine Parallele aus Urwelttagen und Gegenwart*, with numerous illustrations and drawings by C. (Carl) Arriens. Berlin: Ullstein, 1921.

“Out of the misery of daily life there arose in us the awareness that since the days of early man we have been subjected to a permanent process of evolution, which gives us confidence in ourselves and our future.” With these words the Swiss archaeologist, science popularizer, and dealer in prehistoric artifacts Otto Hauser (1874–1932) concluded his book charting “Twenty-five years of prehistoric research,” which he conducted between 1898 and 1914 in the legendary Vézère Valley of the Dordogne as a freelance prehistorian. The First World War saw Hauser, who sold his excavation finds—from hand axes to complete Neanderthal skeletons—primarily to German museums and institutes, declared a *persona non grata* in France. In the ensuing years he devoted himself to authoring popularizing works. However, Hauser’s prehistoric accounts abound in racist prejudice (although he should not be confused with the Viennese racial scientist of the same name). He drew a distinction between “prehistoric man” and

“the savage,” only in order to distinguish the “stages of intellectual development,” the “‘hominization’ of the diluvial populations,” from the supposed regression of Europeanized “savages.” TH

A12 (127) Eberhard Dennert, *Das geistige Erwachen des Urmenschen. Eine vergleichend-experimentelle Untersuchung über die Entstehung von Technik und Kunst*. Weimar: Verlag für Urgeschichte und Menschforschung, 1929.

A12 (128) Hugo Rachel, *Kulturen, Völker und Staaten von Urbeginn bis heute*. Berlin: Sieben-Stäbe-Verlag, 1931.

A12 (129) Joseph Bernhart and Hugo Obermaier, *Sinn der Geschichte/Urgeschichte der Menschheit* (= *Geschichte der führenden Völker*, vol. 1, ed. Heinrich Finke, Hermann Junker, and Gustav Schnürer). Freiburg: Herder, 1931.

The first volume in the large-scale project *Geschichte der führenden Völker* (History of the leading peoples), published by Herder in Freiburg (and continued through to the postwar period), contained two books: a historical hermeneutic from the theologian Joseph Bernhart (1881–1969) and a monograph on prehistory from the Paleolithic researcher Hugo Obermaier (1847–1946). According to Bernhart “typology and morphology” are no longer of use to people in expunging “the horror at a nameless, homeless and goalless current” from the “ahistorical face of the present.” However, salvation is to be found neither in a “supra-history” nor in the latest universal historical approaches. Bernhart considered them scientifically untenable and recommended that the “eternally creative sphere” be accessed through biblical revelation. Obermaier, the internationally renowned prehistorian, who worked with Henri Breuil and Leo Frobenius, followed this with a concise history from the Ice Age to the Iron Age, informed by the theory of the *Kulturkreis* (cultural circle). He repeatedly asked how the “leading” cultures distinguished themselves from the “primitive” cultures, looking for answers in the Ice-Age rock paintings from Europe and South Africa. TH

A12 (130) Emanuel Löwy, “Ursprünge bildender Kunst,” *Forschungen und Fortschritte. Nachrichtenblatt der Deutschen Wissenschaft und Technik*, vol. 7, no. 16 (1931). Leipzig: Barth.

A12 (131) René Verneau, *Les Origines de l’humanité*. Paris: Rieder, 1925.

A12 (132) Moritz Hoernes and Oswald Menghin, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa von den Anfängen bis um 500 vor Christi*. Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1925.

Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst was first published in 1898. It was written by the Austrian archaeologist Moritz Hoernes (1852–1917), who occupied the first German-language chair in prehistory at the University of Vienna from 1899. The book collects material studies on prehistoric ethnological objects, and the first edition advances the thesis that art developed in stages in human

history. In the second edition of 1915, the material is rearranged. Hoernes modifies his evolutionistic perspective and now refers to various *Kulturkreisen* (cultural areas), which developed “independently into the individual stages of prehistorical cultural life.” The third edition appeared after Hoernes’s death in 1925 and was edited, “revised, and expanded” by his student Oswald Menghin, who added his own essay on prehistoric art. Menghin, who saw “racial history” as part of the field of prehistory, sought to definitively replace Hoernes’s “antiquated” anthropological views with a subdivision into *Kulturkreise* that exhibited differing degrees of advancement in terms of their evolutionary development. RE

A12 (133) G. Elliot Smith, “The Origin of Art,” in F. S. Marvin and A. F. Clutton-Brock (eds), *Art and Civilization*. London: Oxford University Press, 1928.

A12 (134) Max Verworn, *Die Anfänge der Kunst, ein Vortrag* [1909]. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1920.

At the beginning of the last century, the physiologist Max Verworn (1863–1921), who also worked as an archaeologist and childhood researcher, sought to establish a new form of comparative anthropology. Rather than predicate his ideas on the so-called recapitulation theory, like his teacher Ernst Haeckel, which posited that the entire history of humankind was played out in time-lapse during childhood, Verworn advocated adopting a structural perspective of the relationship between phylogenesis and ontogenesis. In his lecture from 1909, he explored the criterion for the “origin” of a feeling for art and forms among prehistoric peoples and in a modern child. Here he was able to draw on both his own excavations and subsequent form analysis of Paleolithic flints, and on his experimental studies of drawings by schoolchildren. Verworn deemed it a mistake to believe that the “grotesque representations by primitive people and children” were inferior to the astonishingly naturalistic cave paintings of the Ice Age. “Speculation,” he concluded, began with the emergence of the Neolithic era, whereas the “Paleolithic mammoth hunter” enjoyed a far more immediate relationship with his environment. A thesis which corresponds conspicuously with Carl Einstein’s theories on the “Neolithic Childhood.” TH

A12 (135) Julius E. Lips, *Vom Ursprung der Dinge. Eine Kulturgeschichte des Menschen*, trans. from the English and illustrated by Eva Lips. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1953.

A13

The Prehistory of Art: Rock Drawings and Cave Painting

In 1879 the Cave of Altamira was discovered in Spain, and at the beginning of the twentieth century the ethnologist Leo Frobenius came across rock and cave paintings in Africa. The “frisson of prehistory” now also embraced an art before all “art,” leading to numerous speculations about the functions of image-magic and fiction creation. The rock and cave paintings presented modernity—characterized by radical technological and media upheavals—with a new “antiquity,” in which its own (in)ability to re-found itself was reflected. Among the primordial differences invoked was that between a dynamic-naturalistic art of the hunter-gatherer of the Paleolithic, as discovered exemplarily in Altamira, and the geometricizing art of settled Neolithic peoples. Carl Einstein derives from this the central distinction between “tectonic” stylistic elements and the metamorphic functions of a “hallucinatory” nomadic art.

A13 (136) “36. Felszeichnung vom Zenaga-Zeichenberg. Carl Arriens pinx,” in Leo Frobenius and Hugo Obermaier, *Hádschra Máktuba. Urzeitliche Felsbilder Kleinafrikas*. Munich: Kurt Wolff, 1925 (Veröffentlichungen des Forschungsinstituts für Kulturmorphologie).

The volume presents the findings of a research expedition in the Maghreb and the northern Sahara led by Leo Frobenius in 1914. The exhibition represents the beginning of Frobenius’s comprehensive documentation of prehistoric cave paintings: He was able to assemble a team of painters and draftsmen tasked with copying or reproducing the rock paintings. But the illustrations in the work are recreations more than they are copies of the originals; in color and line, they were extensively corrected or “recopied” (in a smaller format) for the publication. Between 1912 and 1937, the rock paintings were shown publicly in over thirty exhibitions across Europe and could even be seen in 1937 at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, together with works by Paul Klee, Joan Miró, Hans Arp, and other contemporary artists. With these exhibitions, Frobenius made “primitive” art familiar to a wide public—and at the same time he promoted the mythologizing of Africa as a pristine world untouched by civilization. RE

A13 (137) W. (Wilhelm) Paulcke, *Steinzeitkunst und moderne Kunst. Ein Vergleich*. Stuttgart: E. Schweizerbart’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1923.

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As the origins of art, Ice-Age cave painting fascinated not only art historians and anthropologists in the 1920s. Wilhelm Paulcke (1873–1949) was a geology professor, avalanche researcher, and ski pioneer. In his study he juxtaposes Stone-Age cave painting with examples of contemporary art. Remarkable similarities in structure and design thus become apparent between Franz Marc's *Bull* and a bison from the Cave of Altamira, or between the woodcut *Woman in the Water* by Maria Uden and the "Venus of Willendorf." Paulcke suggests the visual evidence for these types of analogies by juxtaposing illustrations in which the cave paintings are reduced to their contours. He also applies contemporary stylistic concepts to the prehistoric artworks: Even Stone-Age art passed through the quasi-naturally given stylistic sequence of naturalism–expressionism–symbolism. The similarity of Stone-Age art to the rock paintings of the Bushmen is explained by Paulcke biologically-racialistically. The primitivism of European modern art, on the other hand, he condemns as "intentional" and "dependent." At the end, the German nationalist-minded Paulcke warns against a bastardization of German art, thus promoting, according to Susanne Leeb, a "Germanization of expressionism."

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A13 (138) Herbert Kühn, *Die Malerei der Eiszeit*. Munich: Delphin, 1923.

A13 (139) Hans-Georg Bandi and Johannes Maringer (in continuation of a project by Hugo Obermaier), *Kunst der Eiszeit. Levantekunst – Arktische Kunst*. Berlin/Darmstadt: Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft, 1952.

A13 (140) Georges Bataille, *La peinture préhistorique. Lascaux, ou la naissance de l'art*. Geneva: Skira, 1955 (Les grands siècles de la peinture).

This book about "the birth of art" is astonishing in more than one respect. The notorious Georges Bataille was certainly an unusual choice for a publishing house in the 1950s looking to hire someone to write a popular introduction to prehistoric art. And in Bataille's hands, the book about the Lascaux rock paintings turned into an explosive treatise on the universality of prehistory. He draws a direct line from the present back to the epoch of the transition from animal to human. Although the publication of Bataille's *Lascaux* book falls outside the timeframe we chose for this exhibition project, we had to include it as a late document of a preoccupation with prehistory that went back to his time at *Documents*. Around 1930, he read the human figures in prehistoric rock paintings as images of a "flagrant heterogeneity" in which man defines himself by his violence against animals. Compared to this negative anthropology, the Bataille who embarks on a study of the paintings of Lascaux twenty years later may seem to be a kind-hearted humanist. TH

A13 (141) Max Raphael, *Prehistoric Cave Paintings* (= *The Bollingen Series*, vol. IV). Washington, DC: Pantheon, 1945.

Prehistoric Cave Paintings was the first of two books which the German-Jewish art historian and philosopher Max Raphael (1889–1952) had been able to publish in exile in America, before he took his own life in 1952 in New York, in unexplained circumstances. Loyal adhering to Marx's conviction that we "still find ourselves in the prehistory of mankind," the Marxist Max Raphael adopted the same argument across large sections of his book, whose origins probably trace back to the early 1930s. Drawing on relevant publications about the Stone-Age cave of Altamira in the region of Cantabria, *Prehistoric Cave Paintings* emphasizes the "timeless qualities" of Paleolithic art. The prehistory is not yet over, but in a sense it is about to reach its "last stage"; this is why cave paintings are "again so tremendously effective today." Contemporary reviews criticized the speculative nature of such actualizations. Raphael's astonishingly detailed description of the lines and spatiality enabled him to read art from a sociological and ideological—and often consciously anachronistic—perspective, to which hitherto it had never been subjected. TH

A13 (142) R. R. Schmidt, *Die Kunst der Eiszeit*. Augsburg/Stuttgart: Filser, 1922 (publication by the Prehistoric Research Institute Tübingen).

The Paleolithic/ Neolithic Age: Mankind's Childhood?

The Paleolithic Age comprises the majority of prehistory, from the end of the Pleistocene around 10,000 years ago going back to the earliest use of stone tools more than 2.5 million years ago. The Neolithic Age begins at the end of the Pleistocene and marks the transition from hunter-gatherer cultures to settled farmers. The conditions of the emergence of technology, religion, and art in the Paleolithic Age, and the process of becoming settled, also called the Neolithic Revolution, have been the subject of uninterrupted debate about the origins of culture, civilization, and the institutionalization of social hierarchies. For Carl Einstein, the “tectonic” forms of settlement, directed towards a restraining control of chaotic reality, characterize a conservative conception of ontology and society, which he saw returning in the modern age. Contemporary art should oppose this with a return to the nomadic-hallucinogenic relationship to the world and its ontological openness.

A14 (143) Oswald Menghin, *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*. Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1931.

Among the “most burning questions of the present,” the author of *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* also and especially includes “prehistoric research.” There truly is a great deal on the agenda here: “Beginning, nature, justification of family, state, property, art, religion—origin, value, mutual relationship of race, language, and culture—legitimacy, meaning, purpose of events in general.” Oswald Menghin (1888–1973) was professor of prehistory at the University of Vienna. After the *Anschluss*, Menghin’s *völkisch*, anti-Semitic commitment was recommendation for the new National Socialist regime for which he became Minister of Education. The “purge” of the University of Vienna, with restrictions to Jewish students and the dismissal of about 40 percent of the faculty because of “Jewish descent” or for “political reasons,” occurred during his brief term. Given this résumé, it is difficult to discuss the merits and disadvantages of a work influenced as it is by *Kulturkreis* teachings and *Wesensforschung* (Josef Stryzowski). Through his ideological and political actions, Menghin was discredited, whereas he might deserve credit, for example, in his reconstruction of Paleolithic epistemology. TH

A14 (144) Herbert Kühn, *Die Vorgeschichtliche Kunst Deutschlands* (= Supplementary volume *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*). Berlin: Propyläen, 1935.

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A14 (145) Herbert Kühn, *Kunst und Kultur der Vorzeit Europas. Das Paläolithikum*. Berlin/Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1929.

In this volume, German prehistorian and Ice-Age specialist Herbert Kühn (1895–1980) presented the first large-scale survey of art in human history that also included early cave painting. According to Kühn, all art production arises from instinctual and emotional forces; abstraction, in contrast, is secondary. He also differentiated three “style groups”: the Franco-Cantabrian art of Eastern, Central, and Western Europe; the Eastern Spanish style; and North African art. This classification system implies potential relationships between the various geographical regions (*Kulturkreisen*), for Kühn diagnosed a historical development from linear to painterly forms that related to *all* styles. The art of the “late period” was the result of a synthesis of the preceding styles into the “simple, clear, and linear.” But Kühn archaized the African “style”; in Africa, in contrast to the other regions, the mentality of art never achieved its full potential, and the forms remained “simpler, more archaic, uncomplicated, probably also more unthought.” Kühn’s appraisal of African art—whose very diverse manifestations he subsumed into one single style—remains schematic and undifferentiated. RE

A14 (146) Salomon Reinach, “La station néolithique de Jablanica (Serbie)” [1901], in Salomon Reinach, *Amalthée. Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire*, vol. 3. Paris: Ernest Leroux 1931.

A14 (147) *Das Erwachen der Menschheit. Die Kulturen der Urzeit, Ostasiens und des vorderen Orients* (= *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte*, vol. 1, ed. Hans Freyer and Friedrich Hertz et al.). Berlin: Propyläen, 1931.

A14 (148) Vere Gordon Childe, *Man Makes Himself* [1936]. London: Moonraker Press, 1981.

Vere Gordon Childe (1892–1957) was an archaeologist with Marxist convictions, who arguably became one of the twentieth century’s most influential scholars in his field—the Neolithic and Bronze-Age cultures of Europe and the Near East. *Man Makes Himself* is a popular book from 1936 in which Childe coined the term Neolithic Revolution (in reference to the Industrial Revolution), indicating the irreversible transition to sedentary life and to urbanization since the end of the last Ice Age, which Childe attributed mainly to climatic changes. For him, this transition was not primarily technological (as it had been for John Lubbock), but economic: The Neolithic Revolution marks the origin of a new system of the division of labor. Childe emphasizes that the ensuing institutions of oppression, as much as the tools of production and of knowledge, are of human making and part of the larger self-actualizing unfolding of history. AF

A14 (149) Frederik Adama van Scheltema, *Die altnordische Kunst. Grundprobleme vorhistorischer Kunstentwicklung* [1923]. Berlin: Mauritius, 1924.

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A14 (150) Frederik Adama van Scheltema, *Die Kunst unserer Vorzeit*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1936.

There is a direct path running from prehistoric to contemporary art, diverted only by “peasant art”: The art of modernity, together with peasants’ wooden implements, votive animals, wall hangings, carved tree trunks, and children’s toys reveals this “reversal of the historical development, the return of the present into the pre-historical stages of development.” This bold thesis was presented by Frederik Adama van Scheltema (1884–1968) in the concluding chapter of his 1936 book *Kunst unserer Vorzeit* (The art of our prehistory). As in many other works by this freelance art historian and prehistorian, the text often bears a strong conceptual affinity to the racial ethnology of the National Socialists. Shaped by the various cultural, morphological, and organological trends of the interwar years, van Scheltema immersed himself in problematic historical parallels and biologizations. On the other hand, his productivity and originality also attracted the attention of Carl Einstein. In the penultimate edition of *Documents* from 1930, Einstein published an article by van Scheltema on Stonehenge and the “holy feminine center.” TH

A14 (151) Robert Rudolf Schmidt, *Der Geist der Vorzeit*. Berlin: Keil, 1934.

A14 (152) Robert Rudolf Schmidt, *L'aurore de l'esprit humain*. Paris: Payot, 1936.

When *Der Geist der Vorzeit* (*Dawn of the Human Mind: A Study of Paleolithic Man*) was published in 1934 (it appeared in French translation in 1936), the career of Robert Rudolf (R. R.) Schmidt (1882–1950) had already passed its zenith. As a young paleogeologist he had achieved remarkable success with the published accounts of his excavations in the Ice-Age caves of the Swabian Alps. After the First World War, Schmidt caused a furor by founding the Prehistoric Research Institute at the University of Tübingen. The new institute was to be transformed into a center for research into the prehistory of Central Europe. However, due to the ensuing economic crisis, the necessary funding never materialized. Eventually, Schmidt was removed from his post amidst accusations of embezzlement, fraud, and scientific forgery in 1930, accompanied by inflammatory press articles from his fascist colleagues. *Der Geist der Vorzeit*, his book on cognitive anthropology, proved to be a disappointment. For, with his analogizations of human history and childhood development, Schmidt still subscribed to the biogenetic recapitulation theory of the late nineteenth century. And, as one critical reviewer stated, with the assertion “that primordial logic is pre-logic,” one can no longer gain an “understanding of the primitive mind.” TH

A14 (153) Hans Reck, *Oldowan, die Schlucht des Urmenschen. Die Entdeckung des altsteinzeitlichen Menschen in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Leipzig: F.U. Brockhaus, 1933.

A14 (154) André de Paniagua, *La Civilisation néolithique*. Paris: Paul Catin, 1925.

André de Paniagua (1848–?) was one of the many archaeologists of pre- and ancient history who had worked independently as entrepreneurs in France since the nineteenth century—as

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antiquarian booksellers, dealers, and publicists. The independent researcher published a number of knowledgeable and meticulously illustrated books. In them, he indulged his inclinations, quite typical of that era, in speculations over humanity’s history of global migration, mobile cultures, “mythical geography,” and an Eastern European Atlantis, which was said to have sunk in the Sea of Azov. One focus of Paniagua’s activity was on European megalithic cultures. In *La civilisation néolithique*, he presents his theory of a great migration of “hindoustaniques” or Dravidians. In the early Neolithic, they were said to have migrated from India to the Black Sea region, exporting their superior culture with its comparatively well-developed religion, trading activities, and production. Paniagua attempted to provide evidence of this theory using mostly drawn views of dolmens and megaliths from the Indian subcontinent to Portugal. TH

A14 (155) M. C. Burkitt, *The Transition between Palaeolithic and Neolithic Times i.e. The Mesolithic Period* (= Special edition *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia*, vol. 1, no. 1 [1925]). London: Prehistoric Society of East Anglia.

A14 (156) M. C. Burkitt, *Our Early Ancestors. An Introductory Study of Mesolithic, Neolithic and Copper Age Cultures in Europe and Adjacent Regions*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1926.

A14 (157) “Plate XXII A. Incised Animal Figures, B. Animals in the Round; Plate XXIII Animal Figures in the Round,” in Frederica de Laguna, “A Comparison of Eskimo and Palaeolithic Art [I],” *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 36, no. 4 (1932). Boston, MA: Archaeological Institute of America: pp. 477–511.

The two plates primarily show drawings of round-figured animal sculptures made of wood or ivory, some of which also function as tools. Incised drawings of birds and reindeer are also reproduced. Often, as in motion photography, the stages of a pattern of movement can be recognized. According to the captions, these are archaeological finds from the European Upper Paleolithic as well as prehistoric and contemporary indigenous images and objects from Alaska and Siberia. The plates accompany a two-part essay, “Eskimo and Paleolithic Art,” dated 1932–33. The author, Frederica de Laguna (1906–2004), received her doctorate from Columbia University in New York on the basis of this dissertation and studied under Franz Boas. Her research culminated in the three-volume study *Under Mount St. Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit*, published in 1972, but still relevant today. De Laguna’s work can serve as a model for noncolonial correlations between ethnological and indigenous knowledge, and she also played a part as a role model and promoter of younger female anthropologists. TH

A14 (158) Max Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte. Unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter*, vol. 14 (Uckermark-zyprische Schleifennadel), ed. Max Ebert. Berlin/Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1929.

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A14 (159) Georges-Henri Luquet, *L'art et la religion des hommes fossiles*. Paris: Masson, 1926.

A14 (160) Herbert Kühn (ed.), *Prähistorische Kunst* (= IPEK. *Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst*, semi-vols 1 and 2, ed. Herbert Kühn). Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1926.

A14 (161) Figures 25–27: Neolithic rock drawings in among others Tiout, Col de Zenaga, Drawings by Herbert Kühn, in Herbert Kühn (ed.), *Alter und Bedeutung der Nordafrikanischen Felszeichnungen* (= *Special edition IPEK. Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst*, ed. Herbert Kühn). Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1928.

A14 (162) André Leroi-Gourhan, *La civilisation du renne*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1936.

A14 (163) André Leroi-Gourhan, *L'homme et la matière* (Évolution et techniques). Paris: Albin Michel, 1943.

A14 (164) André Leroi-Gourhan, *Milieus et techniques* (Évolution et techniques). Paris: Albin Michel, 1945.

André Leroi-Gourhan (1911–86) was a paleoanthropologist and archaeologist, most widely known for his works on the role of technology in human evolution and for his groundbreaking (re-)interpretations of Paleolithic art. Based on the theory of technics initiated by Marcel Mauss, Leroi-Gourhan developed the idea of the operational chain, according to which every technical or social operation can be described as a chain of actions bound to certain procedures, of which both artifacts and humans are but *effects*. Also, according to Leroi-Gourhan, human groups are determined by an exterior and interior milieu—that is, its specific (human) culture and its (nonhuman) environment, with technology acting as an “interposed membrane.” He is also known for the importance he accorded to the transition to bipedality in human evolution, which opened up the world to hands and speech, and to forms of memory encoded in tools, from which point the development of humanity was inseparable from technogenesis. AF

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A15

Fundamental Crisis: Ontological Revolution and Formalization

The beginning of the twentieth century ushered in a sustained, widespread crisis of ideas concerning representation, identity, and perception which were founded on a dualistic conception of subject and object. Time and space became dynamized and fragmented, reality was increasingly experienced as relational, processual, and unrepresentable. The triggers for this transformation included the theory of relativity, quantum physics, the mathematical formalizations of logic, and the development of an electromagnetic transmission culture. Presaged by the “impossible” mathematical operations with imaginary numbers, a new understanding of radically autonomous signs and symbolic functions—beyond meaning, interpretability, and perception—emerged. This led to a crisis of the bourgeois concept of the subject, which an influential monist thinker of the early twentieth century, Ernst Mach, summarized as follows: “The I is unsaveable.” Mach’s popularization of the mathematical term “function,” which Carl Einstein also adopted, became the pivotal point for the inversion of prevailing dualistic ideas. The elements were no longer antecedent to relations; instead they were now understood as their effects. What was previously believed to be stable became a mere “provisional fiction.”

A15 (165) Ian Hogbin, “Mana,” *Oceania: A Journal Devoted to the Study of the Native Peoples of Australia, New Guinea and the Islands of the Pacific Ocean*, vol. 6, no. 3 (1936). University of Sydney, pp. 241–74.

A15 (166) Friedrich Rudolf Lehmann, *Mana. Der Begriff des “außerordentlich Wirkungsvollen” bei Südseevölkern*. Leipzig: Institut für Völkerkunde, 1922.

A15 (167) R. R. Marett, “Mana,” in *Life and Death* (= *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 8, ed. James Hastings). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915, pp. 375–80.

In times of demythologization—not least in the shadow of the increasingly mediatized masses—primary symbolizations and communication processes are invoked. They are manifestations of an archaic phantasm and an original unity, which are reflected in concepts of transmission and immanence, such as the ethnological idea of an impersonal power of communication, “mana” or “hau,” and further closely related categories associated with the theories of animism and totemism. The concept of “mana,”

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imported from the South Seas, still played the central role in Marcel Mauss's theory of magic, constituting the precondition for the effectivity of magical-sign operations. In his now famous introduction to the work of Marcel Mauss from the 1970s, Claude Lévi-Strauss postulated that "mana" and "hau" actually had no meaning at all. Instead, as "symbolic zero values," they had the status of a purely algebraic sign and floating signifier, a "signe zéro" required for the closure of the symbolic function. AF

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- A15 (168) Solomon Nikritin, *Oval composition*, 1920–29
Indian ink on paper (reproduction), 45 x 35 cm ·
Courtesy the State Museum of Contemporary Art,
Thessaloniki

Solomon Nikritin (1898–1965) was a Ukrainian avant-garde artist, part of the Proletkult movement, and co-founder of the Projectionist Theater in Moscow. This drawing from Nikritin is both the portrait of a head and a symbolic representation of nihilistic emptiness and the ontological abyss. The drawing bears the inscription "Introduction," as well as "Chapter 1,2,3." A new start at the zero point, and perhaps a cross-fade of a portrait and the cosmogonical egg, whose center is both marked and crossed out by an X: The annihilation of the "I," the zero point of meaning, a purely mathematical and linguistic function. AF

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- A15 (169) Adolf Hurwitz-Courant, *Vorlesungen über allgemeine Funktionentheorie und elliptische Funktionen. Herausgegeben und ergänzt durch einen Abschnitt über Geometrische Funktionentheorie von R. Courant*. Berlin: Julius Springer, 1925.

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- A15 (170) Robert Musil, *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*, vol. 1. Berlin/Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1930.

"Just as there are no explanations, so, above all, there are none of a causal type. [...] Moreover, this notion performs an invaluable service by rendering the desperate problem of the relationship between the psychological and the physical meaningless." Robert Musil was a trained engineer who was awarded a doctorate in 1908 for his thesis "Beitrag zur Beurteilung der Lehren Machs" (Contribution to an assessment of Mach's teachings). In his opus magnum *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (*The Man Without Qualities*) he explored the question of the narratability of the now substanceless "unsaveable I"—and thus the medial-proces-
sual constitution of a subject which can no longer be identified through its "qualities." The meaning of qualitylessness is derived, on the one side, from Ernst Mach's mathematical "functionalism," and, on the other, from the tradition of mystical experience. Musil references the latter with his concept of the "other state," a "feeling of delimitation and the absence of boundaries, both external and internal, which is common to both love and mysticism." To this he counterpoises the ineffable logic of mathematical operations beyond intuition. With his notion of the "man without qualities," Musil encapsulates the two limit-functions and zero-points of subjectivity in the interwar period. AF

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- A15 (171) Alfred North Whitehead and Bertrand Russell, *Principia Mathematica*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927 (reproduction).

Bertrand Russell (1872–1970) was a philosopher, logician, mathematician, historian, and writer; Alfred N. Whitehead (1861–1947) was a mathematician and philosopher known for his process ontologies. *Principia Mathematica* set out to answer whether mathematics could be conceived within a logical framework, and formed Whitehead and Russell's attempt at proving that mathematics could be derived solely from logical concepts. Not least because of their advanced symbolic notations, it had a profound impact beyond that which their authors were able to imagine, boosting the belief in modern formal logic, setting the stage for subsequent work in mathematical logic, set theory, linguistic analysis, and analytical philosophy. It introduced important notions such as propositional function, logical construction, and type theory, and prepared the grounds for the work of Kurt Gödel and Alan Turing, among others. AF

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- A15 (172) David Hilbert, *Grundzüge der theoretischen Logik*. Berlin: Julius Springer, 1928.

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- A15 (173) Kurt Gödel, "Die Vollständigkeit der Axiome des logischen Funktionenkalküls," *Monatshefte für Mathematik und Physik*, vol. 37, no. 2 (1930). Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft: pp. 349–60.

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- A15 (174) Ernst Cassirer, *Substanzbegriff und Funktionsbegriff. Untersuchungen über die Grundfragen der Erkenntnis-kritik*. Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1910.

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- A15 (175) Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen, Teil 1: Die Sprache*. Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1923.

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- A15 (176) Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen, Teil 2: Das mythische Denken*. Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1925.

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- A15 (177) Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen, Teil 3: Phänomenologie der Erkenntnis*. Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1929.

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- A15 (178) Jan Mukařovský, *Estetická funkce, norma a hodnota jako sociální fakty* [Aesthetic function, norm and value as social facts]. Prague: Fr. Borový, 1936.

During the years between the two world wars, Prague developed into a vital center of intellectual and artistic avant-gardes, such as the Devětsil Group and the Prague surrealists. The Prague Linguistic Circle (1926–48), which continued the work of Russian formalism and established structuralism, had far-reaching effects. The Russian linguist Roman Jakobson and the Czech literary scholar Jan Mukařovský (1891–1975) were leading figures of the circle. Mukařovský's seminal work *Estetická funkce, norma a hodnota jako sociální fakty* expands Karl Bühler's concept of

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representational, expressive, and appellative language functions to include a fourth: The aesthetic function. It is omnipresent, but dominant in art, organizing it as a complex “artistic sign” and directing one’s gaze to its inner constitution. With his strictly functional approach and his focus on the sign character of art, Mukařovský purifies the aesthetics of psychologisms, the primacy of expression, and speculative genre systems. At the same time, he overcomes formalistic limitations by taking the functional social contexts of works of art into account. PA

A15 (179) Vítězslav Nezval, *Zpáteční lístek* [Return ticket].
Prague: Fr. Borovy, 1933.

Vítězslav Nezval (1900–58), the founder of Poetism, was a member of the avant-garde group Devětsil, which also included later surrealists Jindřich Štyrský, Jaroslav Seifert, Karel Teige, and Toyen (Marie Čermínová), and was associated with Jan Mukařovský and the founder of the Prague Linguistic School, Roman Jakobson. Beyond his pioneering structural analysis of language, Jakobson also developed a set of theorems around the contested notion of the “*signe zero*” (zero sign), which he derived from Ferdinand de Saussure. At stake in the zero sign is the closure of semiotic systems and their ability to create whatever meaning from “nothing”: that is, it occupies a point *beyond* or *before* the oppositions that make up meaning. Nezval’s poem “A Letter to Roman Jakobson” is found in the book *Zpáteční lístek* (Return ticket) (1933), in which Nezval unfolds the vision of a new type of poetic creation:

you have turned the world
into rhyme as a rich man
turns it into interest
[...]
I want to create poems out of documents
as many as you see in this shop
[...]
To fully submit to chance
[...]
The story should look for itself
[...]
Today, the poet assembles his book
Can he really have become a child?
Roman, thanks for everything!

AF

Where might a place and state of being untrammelled by the impositions and responsibilities of the present and its institutions be found? Many artists, but also many scientists and philosophers of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, embraced just such a quest. One direction that many of them took was a critique of the prevailing epistemological dualisms. Stimulated by psychoanalysis and ethnology, they produced texts and images that poked holes in what had hitherto been considered the limits of the self and personhood. Art and theory challenged not only orders of knowledge but also orders of being, whether in the pornographic utopia of interpenetration or in the interrogation of “primitive” forms of communication and nonhuman life. Carl Einstein’s cryptic formula “S/O Function” encapsulates nothing less than the ecstatic collapse of Western-style subjectivity. That this collapse might be experienced as rather less liberating than the avant-garde celebration of irrationalism would have us believe, is demonstrated by the political descent into fascism and the ongoing pursuit of overtly imperialist policies by the supposedly “enlightened” nations of Europe.

Section B examines the collapse of the dualisms of subject and object, nature and culture, female and male.

B16

The Present and the Art of the Present

“History is the projection of the living present,” wrote Carl Einstein in the mid-1930s. Yet the vitality of the present was no more a matter of course for him than it was for anyone else. Those who lived through the interwar years became increasingly pessimistic. What had started out—with futurism and dadaism, among other things—as an avant-garde celebration of the here and now, later became a *Room of the Present* (*Raum der Gegenwart*), to borrow the title of an environment by László Moholy-Nagy of 1930, and soon began to sour, eventually degenerating into nihilistic despair with ever greater frequency. What “downtime” there was between economic crises and political radicalization tended to be fraught with irreconcilables. Maintaining an affirmative relationship to the present—and with it to the art of the present—thus became more difficult. Einstein argued that in the worst case, art might at least “neutralize” the “topical.” But, as Walter Benjamin wrote in 1930, as “paltry” as it might be, “today” remained the only resource for any analysis of the present.

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- B16 (180) Max Deri, Max Dessoir, Alwin Kronacher et al., *Einführung in die Kunst der Gegenwart*. Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1922.
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- B16 (181) Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart. Malerei – Plastik – Zeichnung*. Berlin/Stuttgart: DVA, 1920.
- B16 (182) Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Die Kunst in diesem Augenblick*. Munich: Hyperion, 1920.

In these two art-philosophical writings, art historian and critic Wilhelm Hausenstein (1882–1957) adopts a relationship to the contemporary art of his age that is more than critical, or indeed polemical: phylogenetically, he locates Europe as being at the stage of senility, while non-European “primitives” are, in contrast, at the stage of childhood. Against the posited civilizational exhaustion of modernity and the capitalist alienation of humanity from nature, Hausenstein opposes a fantasy of a primeval social collective. Hausenstein’s benchmark for evaluating artistic formal languages is also their connection to the collective. On this basis, contemporary art movements necessarily perform poorly, since, for Hausenstein, art is always the expression of the social conditions of its age; and, like that age, it, too, is shaped by the loss of religious meaning and communality: “The bridge between the arts and the social has broken.” Hausenstein diagnoses a fundamental crisis of art, which can be remedied only by a return

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to the immediacy of the primordial and collective religiosity of “exotic peoples.” But for the culture pessimist, it is more than doubtful that this return can succeed. RE

- B16 (183) Franz Roh, *Nach-Expressionismus. Magischer Realismus. Probleme der neuesten europäischen Malerei*. Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1925.

“All historical approaches to problems of the present are afflicted by special difficulties,” wrote art critic Franz Roh (1890–1965), staking out his own position as a “historian of the ‘present’” on the initial pages of his 1925 book, *Nach-Expressionismus* (post-expressionism). To lend plausibility to the historical and intellectual shift brought about by what he calls the “decisive transformation” of European painting of 1920 or thereabouts, Roh rejects the suspicion of subjectivism hanging over all forms of engagement with contemporary phenomena. On the contrary, he makes the rather bald assertion that only a close-up view of historical time can give us the “whole picture.” Instead of “contempt for our time,” the author recommends engaging with the shift in the relationship between how reality is perceived and the aesthetic action that grows out of it, citing both the Italians’ *pittura metafisica* and the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) as paradigmatic of this. In *Nach-Expressionismus*, Roh tackles not just contemporary art, but also the challenge of taking a historical approach to the present. TH

- B16 (184) Amédée Ozenfant, *Art. I Bilan des Arts Modernes en France. II Structure d’un Nouvel Esprit*. Paris: Jean Budry, 1928.

- B16 (185) Amédée Ozenfant, *Leben und Gestaltung. I Bilanz des 20. Jahrhunderts. II Aufbau eines neuen Geistes*, trans. from the French by Gertrud Grohmann. Potsdam: Müller & Kiepenheuer, 1931.

- B16 (186) Amédée Ozenfant, *Foundations of Modern Art*. Part. I: *The Balance Sheet*; Part II: *Structures for a New Spirit*, trans. from the French by John Rodker. New York: Brewer Warren & Putnam, 1931.

The painter, writer, and art educator Amédée Ozenfant (1886–1966) described this book as “a fugue on [a] theme whose profound elements irresistibly took possession of me [...] underground.” The French original came out in 1928 under the title *Art*; German and English translations titled *Leben und Gestaltung* and *Foundations of Modern Art* respectively, were published three years later. Largely forgotten today, *Art* may be regarded as a turning point in the theory of art and culture of the late 1920s and 1930s. Its author embellished it with a legend, claiming that it grew out of an encounter between modern technology and prehistoric symbolism. When his motorcar broke down in southwestern France, he writes, he drifted to the local caves with their famous rock paintings from the Upper Paleolithic. What he came upon “underground” was an affirmation of the “wondrous perseverance of man” and his “primal rhythm.” The anthropological constant manifest in communication through images and other “tropisms,” Ozenfant argues, is proof that functions of art which have been lost in the modern consumerist society might in fact be brought back to life. TH

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- B16 (187) Carola Giedion-Welcker, *Moderne Plastik*. Zurich: Verlag Dr. Hans Girsberger, 1937.

“The aim here is not to draw close parallels, but rather solely to point out the shared impact of these large, serenely proportioned monoliths in nature,” wrote Carola Giedion-Welcker (1893–1979) of a photograph of the Table des Marchands, a megalithic dolmen in Locmariaquer in Brittany. The author, an art historian, curator, and James Joyce scholar, considered this caveat necessary to preclude any overly hasty analogies that might otherwise have arisen from her juxtaposition of a Neolithic cultic site and a photograph from the studio of Constantin Brâncuși. Her study of *Moderne Plastik* (Modern sculpture) of 1937, lavishly (and suggestively) illustrated—and with a typographic design by Herbert Bayer, makes the case for transhistorical contacts or transfers between the prehistoric “sculpted symbols” that had been “incorporated into the whole life process of us all,” and the avant-garde sculpture of the 1920s and 1930s. There was “no world of religious discipline or social permanence” behind the latter, she wrote, which in the absence of such a grounding in real life sought rather “to derive a new artistic form from the elemental.” TH

- B16 (188) Waldemar George, *Profits et pertes de l’art contemporain. Vers un nouvel humanisme*. Paris: Éditions des chroniques du jour, 1931.

For Waldemar George (1893–1970) the twentieth century was characterized by a “crisis of confidence,” or, more precisely, a crisis in the self-confidence of the white European. In his manifesto on the “profits and losses of contemporary art,” published in 1931, the art critic and exhibition organizer registered vehement doubts about the state of Europe and the European art of his time. An avowed supporter of Mussolini despite his Jewish heritage, George devoted himself to the fight against modern society and its art. In his eyes, cubism and especially Picasso, abstract art, but also surrealism, all reflected the symptomatic aberrations of a society in which mechanization and quantification were revered at the same time as irrationality and “primitiveness.” He thus propagated a strangely colonialism-critical “neo-humanism” in “resistance” to the “anti-humanism” of the modern world. Rather than, like the Roman Empire, being a tolerant example for the subjected people, the Europeans of the twentieth century were merely exporting their questionable lifestyle. At the same time, they entered into a “Faustian affair” at home with African art. TH

- B16 (189) René Huyghe, Germain Bazin, Henri Focillon et al., *Histoire de l’art contemporain. La peinture*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1935.

- B16 (190) Christian Zervos, *Histoire de l’art contemporain*. Paris: Éditions Cahiers d’art, 1938.

The notion that contemporary art held illuminating clues for an understanding of the present seemed more and more plausible in the early decades of the twentieth century, in no small part because it allowed everyone to feel like a protagonist of history-in-the-making. When René Huyghe, a young curator at the Louvre projected his ambitious “history of contemporary art,” which came out in 1935, Henri Focillon, a doyen of art history, generously agreed to write a preface. He emphasizes that the historian of contemporary art must always seek to grasp its “character of

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historical urgency.” Only then can he truly become “his own contemporary”—and at a “critical juncture,” no less, “in the history of European consciousness.” In his 1938 “history of contemporary art,” Christian Zervos, the editor of the *Cahiers d'art*, acknowledges the “anxiety” felt by artists before proposing to “take stock” of an epoch that, he writes, is one of “art’s richest and most feverish.” Rather unexpectedly, the book’s opulent plate section includes surveys of “the influence of *art nègre*” and the “magic art” of the Pacific and the Polar Regions, suggesting the outlines of a reinterpretation of aesthetic contemporariness. TH

- B16 (191) Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, Draft for a “Musée des artistes vivants,” *Cahiers d'art*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1931), ed. Christian Zervos. Paris: Éditions Cahiers d'art.

In 1931, the first issue of volume six of the Paris art magazine *Cahiers d'art* opens with a bombshell intervention into the politics of art. The architects Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret present their brand-new design for a museum of contemporary art for the French capital. It is their response to a 1930 call for proposals in which Christian Zervos, the founding editor of *Cahiers*, initiated a competition to create a “museum of living artists.” Five floor plans and three drawings of interior views accompany Le Corbusier’s letter to Zervos, printed in full in the magazine. The architect proposes a low-budget architecture which spurns all desire for representation—made of reinforced concrete, without a façade or brick-built walls, accessible via an underground passageway, and featuring movable “membranes” between interior and exterior spaces. Yet this museum in progress—a “temple of modern art, but [...] poor like a manger”—was never built. Instead, much to Zervos’s displeasure, the pompous so-called Palais des Musées d’art moderne went up on the occasion of the 1937 Paris “Exposition internationale.” TH

- B16 (192) Carl Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (= *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 16). Berlin: Propyläen, 1931.

- B16 (193) Advertisement by the publisher for *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, *Der Querschnitt*, no. 6 (1928), ed. Hermann von Wedderkop. Berlin: Propyläen, pp. 450–51.

Reissued three times between 1926 and 1931 with great success, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* secured its author Carl Einstein, whose work as an art critic had appeared in rather brief essays until then, a reputation as an internationally sought-after authority. Volume 16 of Propyläen’s magnificent *Kunstgeschichte*, with its lavishly printed section of illustrations, provided Einstein’s contemporaries with a visual compendium of recent European art history and modernism. At the same time, the book documented a critical and not always successful effort to integrate supposedly authoritative artists (exclusively male, except for Paula Modersohn-Becker) and artistic movements into a coherent overview. Einstein claimed that cubism was *the* superior art historical and aesthetic phenomenon of the century, rather than expressionism, constructivism, or futurism. However, in the third edition of 1931, the emphasis shifted. Now, Paul Klee or surrealist painters such as André Masson were those reacting to the “essential feature of modern existence, of primitivization, that is,

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[the] tedium with our far too differentiated civilization [...] in favor [of] new and possible formations.” TH

- B16 (194) Jean Lurçat, Marcel Gromaire, Édouard Goerg, Aragon, Küss, Fernand Léger, Le Corbusier, André Lhote, Jean Labasque, and Jean Cassou, *La querelle du réalisme*. Paris: Éditions sociales internationales, 1936.

In the early summer of 1936, two conferences on the question of realism in art were held at the Maison de la culture in Paris. Prominent critics and artists were among the speakers. Fernand Léger took a stand against Louis Aragon’s advocacy of socialist realism by offering an eloquent defense of vernacular culture and *argot*, “the most beautiful and liveliest poetry that exists.” Walter Benjamin mentions the proceedings, published under the title *La querelle du réalisme*, in an omnibus review, but his criticism focuses on the formulaic quality of the contributors’ arguments. He failed to notice the survey on the future of painting in the appendix, where Valentine Hugo, for one, offers a forthright statement that points a new direction for the realism debate: “I want to advance the destruction of an intolerable order of things and the triumph of its opposite.” She recommends harnessing the dream not merely for “evasions,” but as the proper “basis of a new reality that is forever yet becoming.” TH

- B16 (195) Herbert Read, *Art Now: An Introduction to the Theory of Modern Painting and Sculpture* [1933]. London: Faber and Faber, 1948.

First published in 1933, for the fourth edition Herbert Read (1893–1968) did not want to revise *Art Now*, his introduction to modern art, the title calling on the immediate present. For, in 1948, Read discovered more or less the same art as he had at the beginning of the previous decade; for him, there had been no decisive, impressive development or caesura. Read used the dedication and foreword to discuss the devastating art policies of the National Socialists, but warned against abandoning the distanced attitude of art towards politics although the literary critic, art historian, and educator was also a staunch anarchist. In *Art Now* he still tried to hedge the surrealist project by referring to “an endless charm in the colour and texture” of painting. But by 1936 he was already involved in organizing the major surrealism exhibition in London. Partly under the impression of the Spanish Civil War, in 1938 Read wrote that it was now important to “balance anarchism with surrealism, reason with romanticism, the understanding with the imagination, function with freedom.” TH

- B16 (196) Museum of Modern Art (ed.), *Art in our Time: An Exhibition to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Museum of Modern Art and the opening of its New Building*. New York, MoMA, 1939.

- B16 (197) André Lhote, “Les arts contemporains et la réalité,” *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, no. 252 (1934). Paris: NRF, pp. 431 ff.

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B16 (198) Slideshow: *Cahiers d'art* (1929–36), ed. Christian Zervos. Paris: Editions Cahiers d'art.

B16 (199) Slideshow: Carl Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (= *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 16). Berlin: Propyläen, 1931.

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B17

Neolithic Childhood

Carl Einstein's essay "L'enfance néolithique" of 1930/31 is a quest for the kind of art that might once again teach us the meaning of fear. Published in the last issue of *Documents* that he was to edit, he dedicated it to the wood and cord reliefs recently produced by Jean (Hans) Arp. For Einstein, art had long since become a risk-free technique; but the quality that continued to make it dangerous to people—and hence desirable in Einstein's eyes—was rooted in the destructive acts of children and in the ritualized customs of the Neolithic, which he saw as having resurfaced in Arp's "fixating" forms. Comparisons between infantile and prehistoric creativity had been commonplace since the early days of the twentieth century, even if the evolutionist presuppositions on which they were premised were later shown to be erroneous. Yet it is still worth calling to mind that, for Einstein, Georges Bataille, Michel Leiris, and others, rebellious energy was the momentum behind what Bataille called the "heterological" force of an art practice dominated by demons.

B17 (200) Carl Einstein, "L'enfance néolithique," *Documents*, vol. 2, no. 8 (1930), Paris (published in 1931) (reproductions) · Courtesy Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.
Trans. Kevin Kennedy

"Reality becomes more and more decomposed, which makes it less and less obligatory; the dialectic of our existence is reinforced, whereas, in earlier times, it was denied with the help of religious dogmas.

What is the value of Arp's childlike neolithism, or of Masson's anguished world of animals with their totemic meaning, or of the world of 'X,' which, luckily, we cannot yet define and which, thanks to science, is becoming more distant and esoteric. [...]

Arp isolates facts so as not to drown in the mud. For a thing not to remain anonymous it has to be extracted from the altogether and given more value; logical continuity is thereby dispossessed. [...] This is an ecstatic isolation. Through decapitation and dismemberment, the decisive element is isolated: concentrated possession and sadism. [...] hypnotized and terrified, overcome by the demons [...] of the age in childhood that is usually forgotten, prisoner of a limited formal automatism, Arp, in his work, repeats the rites of a prehistoric childhood."

B17 (201) Franz Wilhelm Seiwert, "verselbständigung des Zeichens" [on Jean (Hans) Arp], *a bis z*, no. 19 (1931) (reproduction), in Uli Bohnen, Dirk Backes, *Franz W. Seiwert, Schriften*. Berlin: Karin Kramer Verlag, 1978, p. 73.

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Children's Drawings and the Questions of Origins

Children's drawings have been a subject of interest since the High Middle Ages. But only beginning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did this interest take the form of a comprehensive, cross-disciplinary debate about the constructions of the origins of human history and universal laws of cultural development. Psychology, anthropology, history, race ideology, and art were now competing over the interpretation of these drawings. Was it possible and justified to parallel them with the representational systems of "primitive" cultures? Did they yield inferences about the prehistory of mankind? Was the allure of their presumed innocence and immediacy a legitimate source of artistic production? With their "childlike" images, Jean (Hans) Arp, Paul Klee, and Joan Miró contributed to problematizing and giving a utopian charge to the separation between childhood and adult life. Looking at children's drawings promised to fence in the increasing contradictions between abstract scientific time and historically experienced time.

B18 (203) Georges-Henri Luquet, *L'art primitif*. Paris: Gaston Doin, 1930 [Bibliothèque d'Anthropologie, ed. Paul Rivet, in *Encyclopédie scientifique*] · Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum.

B18 (204) Georges Bataille, "L'art primitif," *Documents*, vol. 2, no. 7 (1930), Paris (reproduction) · Courtesy Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

Georges-Henri Luquet's comparative study of children's drawings and "primitive" art, which had just been published in 1930 titled *L'art primitif*, is the subject of a detailed review by Georges Bataille in the penultimate issue of *Documents*. Luquet (1876–1965) was a student of Marcel Mauss and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, and an important scholar of childhood and prehistory. But rather than speaking of "primitive" art like Luquet, Bataille prefers the notion of "altération volontaire" (voluntary alteration). This alteration is a violent intervention in a given representation or image surface. In the Upper Paleolithic, it could be observed that such "deformations" involved less animal representations than human figures. In children, on the other hand, the deforming activity is first directed at objects, the wall, or the paper, often until a figure emerges from these acts of destruction. Bataille illustrated his article with paintings by nine-year-old Lily Masson—the daughter of Odette Cabalé and André Masson—and graffiti from Ethiopian churches that had been published by Marcel Griaule in 1930. TH

B18 (205) Helga Eng, *Kinderzeichnen. Vom ersten Strich bis zu den Farbenzeichnungen des Achtjährigen* (= Supplement to *Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie*, no. 39 [1927], ed. William Stern and Otto Lipmann). Leipzig: Johannes Ambrosius Barth.

“Kröttsch grasped the importance of doodling as a fundamental process and a symptom of decay; I find that it plays a major role in the drawing development of the healthy and normal child continuously into the eighth year.” For the Norwegian child psychologist Helga Kristine Eng (1875–1966), children’s doodling provided evidence of mental development—in contrast to the view of her colleague Wilhelm Kröttsch. The “healthy and normal child” is Eng’s niece Margrethe, whose production of drawings she promoted and observed during her first eight years of life. Ever since, Margrethe has been one of the small group of children whose drawings have become the basis of often far-reaching hypotheses for child psychology. At the end of her 1927 study, Eng reiterates the parallels between children’s drawings, Paleolithic art, and “primitive” art of the past decades. She shares the growing skepticism about overly generalized conclusions, but also sees “indisputable” similarities: “[S]chematism, transparency, folding, non-space, lack of synthesis.” She sees the reasons for this in “common features in children and primitive peoples.” ТН

B18 (206) *Ausstellung Kinderzeichnungen, Wegleitungen des Kunstgewerbemuseums der Stadt Zürich*. Zurich: Kunstgewerbemuseum, 1930.

B18 (207) Paul Germann, “Zeichnungen von Kindern und Jugendlichen aus dem Waldlande von Nord-Liberia,” *Ethnologische Studien* (1929). Leipzig: Verlag der Asia-Major, pp. 75–89, Panel VII.

B18 (208) *Porza*, vol. 1, nos 4–5 (1929) (Kinderheft). ed. Werner Alvo von Alvensleben. Berlin: J. J. Ottens, pp. 38–39.

B18 (209) W. [Werner] Plarre, *Die Darstellung der Bewegung in der Kinderzeichnung. Eine entwicklungspsychologische Studie*. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1939.

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B19

The S/O Function

Carl Einstein developed the “S/O Function” (subject/object function, also “subobjective” function) against the background of the collapse of the “substance economy” as well as the “static perspective of the psychological.” Subject and object do not exist as fixed entities, but instead are functionally related, mutually determining one another, and are mediated in a dynamic process of the negotiation of reality. Works of art are both triggers for this new conception as well as temporary fixations of reality. With the formula of the “S/O Function,” Einstein produced an art-philosophical counterpart to Paul Klee’s “*Medialgebiet*” (medial zone) which the artist located in the intermediary space between active and passive formal elements (lines and surfaces). What is a formal question for Klee, is interpreted ontologically by Einstein: Mediality is the basis of those functional relations whose temporary effects, “subject” and “object,” first manifest themselves in the nexus of the active and passive—shaped by power relations—where *poesis* and *pathos* are indistinguishable. The “S/O Function” is Einstein’s instrument for liberating art from its isolation in the autonomy of purely aesthetic contemplation in order to “(re)integrate it into the totality of history.”

B19 (210) Carl Einstein, “Handbuch der Kunst,” 1930s, Sheet 39, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 234.

the basic types of SO function
 [Graphics] } Coupure } Coupure
 the SObject } Coupure } Coupure
 object as beginning or periphery of an
 experience - i.e. - sensory or
 imaginative -
 classical S O equilibrium
 Cézanne sensory begins with 0 figure -
 dominant -
 classical S conceptual complete in 0 figure
 completed by culture

B19 (211) Carl Einstein, “Gestalt und Begriff,” 1930s, Sheets 44 and 40, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 213.

B19 (212) Carl Einstein, “Bebuquin II,” 1930s, Sheet 28, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 36.

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scientific positivism and romanticism -
contrasting with
univocal cultures and total style
hence, historical change of [art's] function -

seeing and its milieu -

taking the maximum of function/energy into account = realism

B19 (220) Carl Einstein, "Handbuch der Kunst," 1930s,
Sheet 2, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin,
Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 235.

flight into heterogeneity - into non-representation -
control for the determination of gods and forces - the
fear of identification - the latter takes place in the
mystics by dint of the metaphor ([illegible]) the emanatiothe
metaphor, the heterogeneous
as instrument of identification - S and O
are subject to metamorphosis -
the O's emanation into other things -
metaphor as maximum expression of the real at the moment
of strongest excitation (see Shakespeare Dante),
i.e., a self-protection against overpowering reality -
metaphor } and totemism
symbol
the union of the serial different functions - beyond
perception - totemism as a trans-visual system -
i.e., not unity of gestalt - but participation in the same
mana { -

B19 (221) Carl Einstein, "Handbuch der Kunst," 1930s,
Sheet 5, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin,
Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 235.

the dream series - visionary fixation - to achieve the
perfection of dream - the dream -
segment, viz., representation of the most vigorous shock -
after processing of the dream series
waking state - tendency toward object realism -
in order to fill le vide [the void] - hygiene of antithesis
hence pluralism -
the strain of avoiding a definite complex formation - here
contrast with the pathological maniac.
i.e., processing and abreaction of the shock -
significant dream technique - i.e., faculty of
dream variants and mutations -
struggle against dream fixation - the futile
struggle of the religious mystics, who employ the
shift of metaphor for this purpose - in vain - the
object: God - shock remains the same -
so fixation of the metaphor ensues - immobilization

a mobile metam mutating vision - S centered and
b fixed, God-centric constant [vision]
O=God, fixed
a O is assimilated to S and strengthened
b S [is assimilated to] O and dissolved

dream and represented dream - the stability

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of the psychographic complexes and technology -
technological consciousness remains alert - despite
manic graphic -

B19 (222) Diagram in Karl Bühler, *Die Krise der Psychologie*
[1927]. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1929, p. 93
(reproduction).

B19 (223) Carl Einstein, "Handbuch der Kunst," 1930s,
Sheet 5, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin,
Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 242.

inversion
Suppose one's reactions to)(lead one -
to the [subconsciousness] of the ego - i.e., the de novo
construction of the person on the basis
of the collective and with destruction of the I and its
attainments and
history begins afresh with the primitive collective
with the façade of accidental attainments -

velocity of the regrouping of the person -
(the collective, too, is co-constitutive of our person -
is more significant) - since we act and, with the person,
switch between contexts - than our relatively
unchanging perceptions - which constitute part of the
relatively passive zones of the personality -
whereas the trans-visual zone is relatively active.
separation of seeing and representing = structuring
and fixation of the material according to society person
and intention [?] -
but the distance (corresponding to reaction) of seeing and
representing are different - we transcend our
perceptions in structuring, we select
and so outside world and perception becomes problematic to
us.
S/O passive zones - perception obj world of objects
active [zones] - structuring

B19 (224) Carl Einstein, "Handbuch der Kunst," 1930s,
Sheet 24, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin,
Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 248.

metaphysical substance = functional center - wherein
subobjective tendencies are integrated - i.e., a
dominant mediation and balancing. i.e., a
unity in which the polar antinomies are overcome dialecti-
cally
or through the transcendental paradox.
in the transcendental paradoxes of God
∞ finite) the antitheses of sub and object
of number and quality, of intension and extension, etc. are
resolved.

B19 (225) Carl Einstein, "Bebquin II," 1930s, Sheet 38,
Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-
Einstein-Archiv, no. 36.

(221–225)

metaphysical brothel / in the convent of the whores /
department store for soul and cock
uncensored brothel
relative

- after uprising
effect of yoga training actually sudden shift into maniacal
sexual urge as phase of destruction, of execution
fucking as self-sacrifice -
 with lovemaking he stops abstraction - but lovemaking,
 too, empties and erodes him. forgotten in
 frequent lovemaking -
 in this instance, the unmetamorphic one.

B19 (226) **Carl Einstein, *Exhibition of Bronze Statuettes*,
Sheets 1, 12, 16, Typescript · Akademie der Künste,
Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 110.**

Written on the typewriter and with corrections and additions
in Einstein's hand, the three sheets are part of a manuscript of a
foreword that was published in English translation in 1933 in
the catalogue of a New York exhibition of early antique bronze
figurines. The text is recognizably connected to Einstein's work
on the *Handbuch der Kunst*. The surviving typescript begins with
the sentence "History is a projection of the present" and then
transitions into reflections on the anthropological function of the
past. Against the claim that history is a series of advances hap-
pening in a linear manner, Einstein posits the concept of "periodic
regression." Thus, the "primitivizing of present-day art" is the
direct consequence of the uprooting and mobilization of people in
the modern industrial world. The remarks on the relationship be-
tween an "animistic hunter's art" and the "conservative art" of the
settler can also be seen in this sense. In early antique art Einstein
seeks the symbolistic, "metamorphic style" and the "ecstatic
leap from sign to heterogeneous symbol." ТН

B19 (227) **Carl Einstein, *Die Fabrikation der Fiktionen*, c. 1930–
37, Sheet 6, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin,
Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 178.**

The fact that the products of dissociated thinking or po-
etry retained primary meaning.
I regard this as an infantilism. Primitive man, the child
augments his rudimentary, underdeveloped reality with fic-
tions. They [...] supplement the early want of reality.
But every [work of art] is a detail. For it to be valid and
attain the impression of a complete organism so that it
can compete with the real at all, it must be enhanced and
complemented by fiction.
Fiction, moreover, affords man the illusion of being master
of reality. Like children, the elderly want to keep play-
ing. /Escape from determinacy/. So they sacrifice the real
to the wish for superiority and attempt, now conservative-
ly, to preserve themselves in childlike play.
All "poetry," then, is infantilism and deeply "reaction-
ary," even though poets often [...] rebel against the given
reality and seem to harbor revolutionary sentiments.

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B19 (228) **Carl Einstein, *Die Fabrikation der Fiktionen*, c. 1930–
37, Sheet 32, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste,
Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 178.**

They had fabricated "objective" and logical pure truths in
social isolation.
which is to say (individually, abused)

abstract Man can no longer bear his reflection in the
mirror and himself

doppelganger [art?] - extending his shadow

B19 (229) **Carl Einstein, "Handbuch der Kunst," 1930s,
Sheet 31, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin,
Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 228.**

handwriting gesture and innervation -
contemplation and repetition of innervation? }

B19 (230) **Carl Einstein, "Handbuch der Kunst," 1930s,
Sheet 23, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin,
Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 252.**

Prehistory I A

- 1 Man closes himself off. /In conjunction with/ devel-
opment of the family and person. Hatred, competition,
the narrow clan, the emergence of the sedentary phi-
listine, property and order; humans settle on a fixed
milieu and ideas
- 2 Very early on: formation of widespread canons that
transcend the tribe. /International prehistoric styles
- / [Art] like something anti-national or international
- probably already exportation of art - in the Paleo-
lithic, the conception of mass, then, later, indepen-
dence of the line, a characteristic part is isolated
in abstraction from the optical whole.
- 3 Purpose of perspective /an optical unit repeatable/:
to integrate a complicated volume process into to a
view - presenting, instead of the process, an illusion
that prompts reminiscences of depth. In other words,
the convenient solution /economy [illegible] is offered/
with the effort of moving/ that can unify the differ-
entiated experiences of visual perception and imagi-
nation -

Ornament -
the traumatic symbolic part - repetition -
graphic automatism and idée fixe of mechanical repetition
- escaping the likeness - the graphic disintegration /or
development/ /the decomposition of content into sets
of signs/ of the objective symbol in manic somnambulistic
hallucination - dream=mechanism - repetition see Pure and
somnambulistic possession

B19 (231) **Carl Einstein, "Handbuch der Kunst," 1930s,
Sheet 9, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin,
Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 253.**

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All these are the history of things made by man. Of man, of ourselves, we know virtually nothing - we draw inferences from the sequence of his productions, which now bear witness to him. In other words, we manufacture history the passage of time out of ossified things - arranging them, with more or less certainty, in chronological order. Writing the history of the earth, we simply take it for granted that humanity's influence on the planet it inhabits is so slight that we do not even take it into consideration. Similarly, when we speak of physics, we disregard the experimenter's influence, assuming that processes occur necessarily and with a fatal determinacy that precludes human intervention. So to arrive at what we call an objective fact, we neutralize the experimenter even though, without him, there would be no physics at all; there would be physical processes. When we consider genetic developments, we likewise simply take it for granted that human evolution is thoroughly determined. we do not [introduce] the psychological factors into these macrocosmic processes

B19 (232) Carl Einstein, "Handbuch der Kunst," 1930s, Sheet 20, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 253.

we note an unquestionable uniformity within circumscribed artistic groups, or in other words, we observe the presence of certain constants within particular historical conditions and contexts. Now we observe that all history of ideas is the history either of gods or of man, which is to say, for certain reasons, we have framed a separate history for these two categories and isolated gods and men from the processes of nature more generally. Such anthropomorphism is evidently a kind of self-preservation; we isolate ourselves so as not to be absorbed by the world of objects, to maintain our position as agent subjects, to become conscious of the world at all. For all consciousness of a thing, all seeing is requires distancing. Now we observe that all history [made] by man appears to be extraordinarily inexact and vague. The supply of facts seems scant compared to the mass of interpretations. Perhaps the study of man—because man taking a distance from himself is the—immensely difficult if not impossible, has gotten stuck in a relatively archaic or mythical stage; we hardly dare experiment with ourselves, as though analysis of ourselves posed a danger to our vitality. man remains to exact

B19 (233) Carl Einstein, "Handbuch der Kunst," 1930s, Sheet 23, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 259.

Levy Bruhl.

Question - how much degeneration is contained within this primitive - the valuation of reason as a defense against the superior gods and crushing fate - hence the rise of the overestimation of will to the point of excessive technical organization.

B19 (234) Carl Einstein, *Die Fabrikation der Fiktionen*, c. 1930, Sheets 17 and 18, Typescript (reproductions) · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 142.

Einstein's concept of the real does not refer to an objectively given or even static being, but to the irreducible complexity of life, which, formed and generated by both active intervention and medial actions, can never be fixed. In his "monograph" on Georges Braque (1934), art was already assigned this task of rescuing the real through "morphogenesis." The polemical work *Die Fabrikation der Fiktionen*, written at the same time, argued that modernity's mythopoetic project had failed because the intellectuals had succeeded only in generating idiosyncratic, private myths. Art had attempted to rescue the "dreaming remains of the individual from its socialization," but proved incapable of producing a "binding style." As the "revolt of the fairy-tales," it had lost any connection to the economically determined reality of the masses. That the parameters of this gulf would increasingly shift within technological society and that the politics of an ontological opening would maintain its relevance could not be predicted within the historical intensification of the conflicts in the 1930s. AF

B20

Pornophilia

Bohuslav Brouk, a Czech poet and sexologist active in the 1930s, coined the term “pornophilia” to describe the kind of desire that runs counter to the bourgeois, hetero-normative concept of sexuality. Together with Toyen (Marie Čermínová), Jindřich Štyrský, and other Prague-based surrealists, Brouk compiled provocative images and a vocabulary of non-reproductive, physically animalistic sexuality. Distancing himself from André Breton, who continued to propagate an essentially heterosexual form of eroticism, Prague “pornophilia” was aimed at the metamorphic dissolution of the sexual. The aim was also to offer an escape route from the twin paradigms of marriage and family and unambiguous gender identity. Sex on the part of “hallucinatory monsters,” as Štyrský called it, multiplied both the excitement and its subjects, and enriched what, around 1930, was an already flourishing form of social interaction. The advances in sexology being made by Magnus Hirschfeld, Max Marcuse, Iwan Bloch, Gregorio Marañón, and others, were part of this endeavor.

B20 (235) Jindřich Štyrský, 4 Photo-collages, in *Štyrský a Toyen. Premluvu napsal V.[ítězslav] Nezval/Doslov K.[arel] Teige*. Prague: Fr. Borový v Praze, Panels 70–73.

B20 (236) Toyen, Illustration, in Joseph Delteil, *Don Juan, Symposion Praha*. Prague, 1931.

B20 (237) Toyen, Illustration in the novel *Heptameron*. Prague: Družstevní práce, 1932.

B20 (238) Toyen, Illustration in *Erotická Revue I*, 1930 [reprint Prague: Torst, 2011].

B20 (239) Bohuslav Brouk, *Autosexualismus a psychoerotismus*. Prague: Edice Surrealismu, 1935.

B20 (240) Bohuslav Brouk, *O funkcích práce a osobitosti*. Prague: Edice Surrealismu, 1939.

B20 (241) Oscar Domínguez, Etching in Robert Ganzo, *Domaine*. Paris: L.F.P., 1942 · Archiv Marzona, Berlin.

B20 (242) André Masson, Untitled, Drawing, [1930], *Cahiers G.L.M.*, no. 2 (1936). Paris: GLM.

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B21

Occultism

Around 1900 the term “occultism” could already mean many things. It addressed an entire field of alternative knowledge practices outside the established academic disciplines. This other research aimed at that which had been stripped from the empiricism of sense-perception; at the supernatural, transhistorical, no longer completely human; at mediumistic communication with spirits, the ecstasy of trance, hypnotic sleep, automatic writing, “primitive” magic—occultism was *the* collecting vessel of esoteric and parascientific activity and experienced a special flourishing in the interwar years. Especially for surrealism, occultisms—historical sources, and current forms—were an implicit basis. Through it, the study of the unconscious according to psychological–psychoanalytical patterns could be crucially expanded to include the dangerous-creative “alchemy” of mythopoesis. In the *Second Surrealist Manifesto* of December 1929 André Breton called in capital letters for the “OCCULTATION, PROFONDE ET VÉRITABLE” of surrealism.

B21 (243) Special issue “Okkultismus,” *Der Querschnitt*, vol. 12, no. 12 (1932), ed. Hermann v. Wedderkop. Berlin: Propyläen.

B21 (244) Jean Cocteau, “Opium,” *Der Querschnitt*, vol. 10, no. 9 (1930), ed. Hermann v. Wedderkop. Berlin: Propyläen.

B21 (245) Johannes M. Verweyen, *Die Probleme des Mediumismus*. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1928.

B21 (246) T. K. Oesterreich, *Der Okkultismus im modernen Weltbild*. Dresden: Sibyllen, 1921.

B21 (247) Theodor Wilhelm Danzel, *Magie und Geheimwissenschaften*. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1924.

B21 (248) Émile-Jules Grillot de Givry, *Le musée des sorcières, mages & alchimistes*. Paris: Librairie de France, 1929.

With his translations (e.g. of Paracelsus) and anthologies, Grillot de Givry (1874–1929) makes a major contribution to the renaissance of occultism, also in the milieu of the avant-garde. In his *Witchcraft, Magic and Alchemy*, he annotates nearly 400 pictorial documents compiled from remote sources on black

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magic (witchcraft, demonic possession), white magic and the *Kabbalah*, astrology, divination, hermetic philosophy, and alchemy. As in his *Anthologie de l'occultisme* (1922), which included not only India and China, but also the Americas and Oceania, he posits an analogy between "European (Christian) occultism" and non-European beliefs and practices. While occultism in the milieu of the Warburg Library provides material for an anthropology of the (trans-)visual, as it also had for Carl Einstein perhaps, for Michel Leiris discussing the volume in 1929 in *Documents*, it represents a science of humankind in its mental and physical totality conceived from the ostracized "base" parts. This makes it possible to relativize the dualisms of modernity and to locate Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's "primitive mentality" in European cosmology. ^{IA}

B21 (249) Kurt Seligmann, *The Mirror of Magic*.
New York: Pantheon Books, 1948 ·
Bibliothek Dr. Stephan E. Hauser.

One former owner of the *Musée des sorciers*, the extensive collection of occult images by Émile-Jules Grillo de Givry, was Kurt Seligmann. The surrealist painter and illustrator bought the book in Paris in 1930. Some eighteen years later his own book on the history of occultism, *The Mirror of Magic*, was published in New York. Over the years Seligmann amassed a prodigious expertise of this often recondite, hermetic literature, whose origins trace back to the sixteenth century. Yet his passionate interest in collecting and researching this subject was in no way divorced from his artistic practice: Rather than using this traditional occultist imagery merely as a ready trove of motifs, Seligmann drew on the history of magic to revive an almost forgotten social function of art, such as its quasi-alchemical autonomy. By underscoring the cultural historical significance of magic as a form of knowledge and empowerment, he forged a rationale for his own practice in the present. TH

B21 (250) Top right on double page: Michel Til, automatic drawing (in Theodore Flournoy, *Esprits et Médiums*), and Marthe Norgeu, childish chalk-drawing of a labyrinth on a pavement; both illustrated in Nicole Vedres and Jean Selz, "Labyrinthes et méandres," *Arts et Métiers Graphiques*, no. 66 (1939). Paris: AMG.

B21 (251) Carl G. Jung, *Das Rote Buch*, ed. Sonu Shamdasani.
Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2016.

Das Rote Buch (*The Red Book*) by Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) is a personal document and a symptom of the European crisis at the beginning of the twentieth century, containing mystical, psychotic, as well as numerous mythological, religious echoes. Created between 1914 and 1930, it is a visually opulent self-exploration of the "myth-creating function of the mind." Given the experience of disorientation and self-dissolution, the psychologist felt it was necessary to explore mythology as the "substrate of the collective unconscious." Jung, who had studied both Lucien Lévy-Bruhl and the Victorian ethnologists, attempted to capture the "inner processes" of his dreams, fantasies, and visions in pictures and sketches, using what he later called the "technique [of] active imagination." At the same time, he opened up a new generation to the phantasmagoric areas of ethnographic knowledge. Under the influence of the subject's crisis, this

mediumistic, delirious experiment exemplifies a tendency in modernity to assign mediumistic, collective phenomena to conservative, reactionary policies. In accordance with Jung's will, *The Red Book* remained under lock and key for nearly eighty years. ^{AF}

Automatism, Dream, Hallucination, Hypnosis

Although the surrealists invoked Sigmund Freud and especially his interpretation of dreams, their discussions activated a series of conceptions of media that hark back to the *prehistory* of psychoanalysis and hint at the more collective or social dimensions. The technique of “automatic writing,” for instance, derives from Pierre Janet’s notion of “psychological automatism,” which, like “mediumism” or “hallucination,” had circulated widely and productively only a quarter of a century earlier. Yet where hypnosis, dream, and automatism foreground the subject’s passivity and loss of rational control, hallucination is a process of the distinction between active and passive, which leaves the subject profoundly perturbed. Carl Einstein does not hew to the strict clinical sense of hallucinations as endogenous images that have no somatic basis and are unprompted by any outside stimulus to the optic nerves. Rather, the term describes an instance of externalized imagination: “[The] hallucinatory act transcends the conventional fixed reality.”

B22 (252) Hans Prinzhorn, *Bildneri der Geisteskranken. Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie und Psychopathologie der Gestaltung*. Berlin: Juncker, 1922.

B22 (253) André Breton and Philippe Soupault, *Les Champs Magnétiques*. Paris: Au Sans Pareil, 1920, Frontispiece (reproduction) · Courtesy Association Atelier André Breton.

In *Bildneri der Geisteskranken (Artistry of the Mentally Ill)* the psychiatrist and art historian Hans Prinzhorn (1886–1933) compared the hallucinatory visions of schizophrenics with the new suppositions of the mathematicians, which, although “completely ineffable, are nevertheless correct according to logical principles.” They both followed the same principle and were valid in their own fashion. Max Ernst, who was decisively influenced by the book, made it popular among the surrealists in Paris, who were especially inspired by Prinzhorn’s observations on “object-less pictures” and hallucinations. Within surrealism the concept of hallucination was a variation of the motif of mediumistic states beyond rational control, as manifested in the concept of “automatic writing,” and which drew on a long tradition of mediumistic association experiments for exploring the structure of consciousness. Hallucination as a poetic technique can be traced back to its roots in *Les Champs Magnétiques (The Magnetic Fields)* (1919) from André Breton and Philippe Soupault, whose title also

establishes a connection to earlier mediumistic techniques, for example, to the “animal magnetism” of the physician Franz Mesmer (1734–1815). AF

B22 (254) Hans Winterstein, *Schlaf und Traum*. Berlin: Julius Springer, 1932.

B22 (255) Le Docteur JAF, *L'hypnotisme*. Paris: Librairie des connaissances médicales, n.d.

B22 (256) Fritz Grunewald, *Mediumismus. Die physikalischen Erscheinungen des Okkultismus*. Berlin: Ullstein, 1925.

B22 (257) *Visages du monde, revue mensuelle*, no. 63 (1939). Paris: Visages du Monde [Le rêve dans l’art et la littérature].

B22 (258) Dr. Schatzmann, *Rêves et hallucinations*. Paris: Vigot frères, 1925.

B22 (259) Ferdinand Morel, “Les hallucinations monoculaires du delirium tremens,” *L'Encéphale. Journal de neurologie et de psychiatrie*, vol. 27, no. 5 (1932). Paris: G. Doin.

B22 (260) Pierre Quercy, *L'hallucination. Tome 2. Etudes cliniques*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1930.

B22 (261) Pierre Quercy, *Les hallucinations. Nouvelle Encyclopédie Française*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1936.

Although “hallucination” is a “mediocre word, without history,” the psychologist and neurologist Pierre Quercy (1886–1949) begins his concise volume *Les hallucinations* by sharing the “perfect, scholastic definition” that had been valid since the early nineteenth century. In contrast to “perception” (the object exists, and you see it) and the “idea” (the object is absent, and you think it), “hallucination” is the paradoxical vision of an absent being. For Max Ernst and other surrealists, it was part of the heuristic repertoire of “experimental dreaming” (Tristan Tzara). But probably no other theorist relied so strongly on the critical reflection of the “hallucinatory interval” as Carl Einstein. He strove above all to distinguish between an individualizing and a collectivizing “hallucination”: That is, between “autistic” and “primitive” forms of object virtualization. But unlike a clinician such as Quercy, Einstein does not focus on providing an overview or classifying the phenomenon in his hallucination discourse, but on an unsettling “gestalt formation” that destabilizes any “organization.” TH

B22 (262) Yves Tanguy, *Mère des rêves* [1930], *Cahiers G.L.M.*, no. 7 (1938). Paris: GLM.

The special “Dream” edition, which André Breton published in March 1938 as the seventh notebook in the publishing house of the typographer and poet Guy Lévis Mano, brought together classic and recent dream narratives ranging from Georg

Christoph Lichtenberg to Michel Leiris. Between the writings in the anthology, were scattered illustrations by Albrecht Dürer, but also by younger and older surrealist artists such as Jacqueline Breton, Remedios Varo, Max Ernst, André Masson, Wolfgang Paalen, and Kurt Seligmann. Breton's most important collaborator in this endeavor was the Swiss essayist and literary scholar Albert Béguin, who had just completed a dissertation on the dream in German Romanticism and in modern French poetry. In his introduction, Béguin, recalling Paracelsus, conjures up the dream as a medium through which "modern man" frees himself from his isolation and self-centeredness. In the state of misalignment, caused by a new perception of the "world of things," according to Béguin, the distinction between inner and outer becomes obsolete. TH

- B22 (263) Salvador Dalí, "Visage paranoïaque," *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution*, no. 3 (1931), p. 39 [reprint Paris: Éditions Jean Michel Place, collection complete, 2010].

Salvador Dalí and the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan—whom he influenced—describe paranoia as a delirium of interpretive association with a systematic structure. The surrealist painter employed this to develop a "critical-paranoid" method. Double images—picture puzzles—generate a "délire de l'interprétation"; oscillating between projection and introjection, interpretation and hallucination, these are designed to trigger a productive crisis of consciousness. The starting point for Dalí's "method" was an "ambiguous" depiction of African figures in front of a hut within which he believed he saw a portrait painted in the style of Picasso. As Dalí explained: "During the course of a study in which I was obsessed by Picasso's faces, in particular those of the black period, I was searching for an address in a pile of papers when I suddenly came across the reproduction of a face, a completely unknown face, which appeared to me like one of Picasso's. All of a sudden the face grew pale, and I was conscious of the delusion. Thanks to the analysis of this paranoid picture I recognize, by means of symbolic interpretation, all the ideas which preceded the sight of this face." AF

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B23

Image Space of Biology

Ideas concerning laws of development and inheritance played a particularly notorious role in the ideological formulation of the quasi-scientific foundation models for modern societies. In addition, the study of animal societies raised the question of biological determinism and the "organic unity" of human collectives. Biology was expected to compensate for the generally lamented loss of social cohesive forces. However, the ideological result tended to serve as an apologetic for capitalism and colonialism or was conservative and romantically anti-capitalist. Biology also stood for the promise of a brand of monism and an anti-dogmatic, anti-reductionist materialism. Since the late nineteenth century, the social-Darwinist application of biological categories (the basis of the fantasies of eugenics and racial hygiene) was increasingly accompanied by morphological, vitalist, and organicistic concepts. Around 1930, an ideological-political fissure opened up within the constellation of the life sciences and *Lebensphilosophie*: Do concepts of "holism" contribute to the biologicistic standardization of imagined collective bodies? Or does holism facilitate the breaking down of anthropomorphism's boundaries and its corporeal standards?

- B23 (264) Jean Rostand, *L'évolution des espèces. Histoire des idées transformistes*. Paris: Hachette Livre, 1932.
- B23 (265) Étienne Rabaud, *Le Transformisme*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1931.
- B23 (266) Édouard Monod-Herzen, *Formes définies. Forme et Fonctionnement. Des Cristaux à la matière vivante (= Principes de Morphologie générale, vol. 1)*. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1927.
- B23 (267) Jean Rostand, *La nouvelle biologie*. Paris: Éditions Fasquelle, 1937.
- B23 (268) Jean Rostand, *Les Chromosomes. Artisans de l'hérédité et du sexe*. Paris: Hachette Livre, 1928.
- B23 (269) Jean Rostand, *Du germe au nouveau-né*. Paris: Éditions Fasquelle, 1933.
- B23 (270) Jean Rostand, *La vie et ses problèmes*. Paris: Éditions Flammarion, 1939.

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B23 (271) Émile Guyénot, *La variation & l'évolution. Tome I La variation*. Paris: Gaston Doin, 1930 (*Encyclopédie scientifique*, ed. Édouard Toulouse).

B23 (272) Émile Guyénot, *La variation & l'évolution. Tome II L'évolution*. Paris: Gaston Doin, 1930 (*Encyclopédie scientifique*, ed. Édouard Toulouse).

B23 (273) Étienne Rabaud, *La Matière vivante et l'Hérédité*. Paris: Les Éditions Rationalistes Ch. Rieder, 1937.

The foundations for many of Carl Einstein's theories on the non-linear evolution of artistic styles, leaps and mutations in artistic and general cultural development, lay beyond the scope of the prevailing standard academic literature on art and art history. Einstein's notes contain trace elements of the biological and zoological discourse of the time, concerning theories on morphogenesis and embryogenesis, on the role of "milieu" and "chance," and on molecular structures, functions, and dynamics. He was not alone in nurturing an interest in the discussion on the constitution and genetics of life. For the extent to which the life sciences had impinged upon the public consciousness in the interwar years, in France, for example, can be gauged by the frequency with which such luminaries as the biologist Jean Rostand or the zoologist Étienne Rabaud published their books. (Bio-)aesthetic aspects, such as that of the "creative life of forms," prompted debates on the future of neo-Lamarckism and Vitalism, which were of fundamental relevance to art. And this was despite the fact that the ideologies of Imperialism and Fascism had additionally incorporated biologicistic theories and imagery with seeming doctrinaire neutrality. TH

B23 (274) Aldous Huxley, *After Many a Summer Dies the Swan*. New York / London: Harper & Brothers, 1939.

In this novel, the author of the epochal *Brave New World*, Aldous Huxley (1894–1963), describes how a doctor and a millionaire seeking immortality break into the estate of a man who has managed to prolong his life to 200 years. To their horror and amusement, they find he has grown into an ape. Huxley based his story on the theory of "neoteny"—the adult retention of juvenile-like morphology or behavior—which has been the subject of scientific discussion since it was put forward by Émile Devaux and Lodewijk (Louis) Bolk in the 1920s. What characterizes humans biologically is not that they have "advanced" evolutionarily from an alleged earlier state to adulthood, but rather that they possess a hormonal evolutionary brake that keeps them in a close-to-embryonic state. The theory of neoteny had become the foundation of manifold anthropological speculations, particularly in the German-speaking realm, of which conservative critic Arnold Gehlen's definition of man as *Mängelwesen* (a deficient being)—is but the best known. AF

B23 (275) Albert Brachet, *La vie créatrice des formes*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1927.

B23 (276) Henri Focillon, *Vie des formes*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1934.

The art historian Henri Focillon (1881–1943) was of the firm conviction that his field was the opposite of a linear evolution of

styles and works. The acclaimed scholar was fascinated by the anachronisms, sudden developmental leaps, and latent phases. Alone the title of probably his best-known book, *Vie des formes* indicates that Focillon did not consider "forms" as immutable, as in an art object for example, but fluid and active—and indeed ecstatically alive. This self-agency of forms ultimately gave rise to a morphology, which was independent of man and discharged of all mimetic tasks. To counter the standard image of the human body, which still dominated the visual arts, he engaged in a filmic exploration of "plants, animals, and mussels." However, by linking the concepts of form and life, Focillon still adhered to his belief in the theory of race. Although he uses this, among other things, in order to furnish evidence of the barbaric national character of the Germans, he also evinces great enthusiasm for the incalculable interactions of "milieu" and "race" and their formal outcome. TH

B23 (277) Karl Blossfeldt, *Urformen der Kunst. Photographische Pflanzenbilder* [1928]. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1936.

Karl Blossfeldt's *Urformen der Kunst* (*Art Forms in Nature*), a book featuring magnified close-ups of plant details, was published in 1928 on the initiative of the gallery owner Karl Nierendorf. Immediately after its publication Walter Benjamin reviewed it. In the "macro views of the Strauss feather and the horsetails" Benjamin encountered the "oldest form of columns" and "totem poles." "Leaping towards us from every calyx and every leaf are inner 'image-imperatives,' which have the last word in all phases and stages of things conceived as metamorphoses." The methodology underlying the plant photos was developed by the art lecturer Karl Blossfeldt (1865–1932) in around 1900 as an aid for teaching arts and crafts. The critic Franz Roh had compared Blossfeldt's photographs with Max Ernst's *Histoire naturelle*; both appeared like "a mythical tale of nature and creation." Just how strong a resonance *Art Forms in Nature* exercised among his contemporaries, is illustrated not only by the hastily commissioned sequel and reprints, but also by the various visual-argumentative applications of the book. For example, photos from *Art Forms* illustrated Georges Bataille's essay on the "obscure intelligence" and obscene sexuality of the "language of flowers," published in 1929 in *Documents*. TH

B23 (278) Alfred Espinas, *Des sociétés animales*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1924.

B23 (279) Julius Schaxel, *Vergesellschaftung in der Natur*. Jena: Urania, 1931.

B23 (280) Jakob von Uexküll, *Staatsbiologie: Anatomie-Physiologie-Pathologie des Staates*. Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1933.

B23 (281) Jakob von Uexküll and Georg Kirszat, *Streifzüge durch die Umwelten von Tieren und Menschen: Ein Bilderbuch unsichtbarer Welten (= Verständliche Wissenschaft, vol. 21)*. Berlin: J. Springer, 1934.

Jakob Johann von Uexküll (1864–1944) was a biologist and philosopher who aimed at a wholesale refoundation of modern

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biology in terms of biosemiotics, focused on the relationship between an organism and its environment. Uexküll regarded not only the organism but this relationship itself as a unit, an indivisible whole. He postulated an infinite variety of perceptual worlds, among which no communication was possible, as if between soap bubbles. Beginning with his magnum opus *Theoretical Biology* in 1921, he speculated about the feasibility of using *Umwelt* theory as a basis for analyzing the “state as organism.” In *Staatsbiologie* (1933), he delineates the anti-democratic vision of a “healthy” body politic made from cellular units integrated by a central brain, a role to be played by a monarch. He attacks the biological travesties and pathologies of the capitalist democracy of Weimar Germany, the problem of “parasites,” and the toxic influence of the press. Many, though not all, of Uexküll’s ideas were assimilated in National Socialist ideology. AF

B23 (282) Étienne Rabaud, *Phénomène social et sociétés animales*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1937.

Beginning in the late nineteenth and until the mid-twentieth century, comparisons between insect societies and so-called “primitive” cultures increased. With racist rancor, some authors even made the comparison between the developmental stages to the detriment of indigenous cultures. Using the example of insects, zoologists such as Alfred Espinas and Étienne Rabaud questioned the elemental forms of any social morphology. The “entomological primitivism” (Julien Bondaz) of around 1930 culminated in fantasies of giant prehistoric insects and the insectolatry of prehistoric cultures. Georges Bataille and Roger Caillois were also interested in theories related to animal societies, albeit under different circumstances. Caillois’s monism, in which humans and insects share a world, opposed social utilitarianism. Although Bataille also dreams of self-destruction and morphological regressions, he sharply defines the borderline between humans and animals: Their pathways diverge in humankind’s opening to death and the accompanying affects that are the basis of exertion and luxury. TH

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B24

Artistic Research: Ethnology, Archaeology, Physics

By the 1930s and 1940s, artists’ ethnological interests were no longer confined to formal and aesthetic borrowings and the prospect of generating a “primitivist” experience of foreignness. For Wolfgang Paalen, Kurt Seligmann, Eva Sulzer, Alice Rahon, Miguel Covarrubias, and others, fieldwork was an opportunity to probe deeper, and so to broaden the scope of their art. The group centered on Paalen’s magazine *Dyn* that, coming into being in Mexico between 1942 and 1944, was firmly convinced that meticulous research and aesthetically motivated immersion in indigenous cultures did not have to be a contradiction in terms. What was sought was what Paalen—taking a stance against Breton’s surrealist Marxism—called “a truly revolutionary fusion with modern science, art and philosophy.” This built on the ethnologization of art theory first developed in the magazines *Documents*, *Minotaure*, *Cahiers d’art*, and *Mexican Folkways*.

B24 (283) Miguel Covarrubias, *Mexico South. The Isthmus of Tehuantepec* [1945]. London et al.: Cassell and Co., n.d.

B24 (284) Miguel Covarrubias, *Island of Bali*, with an album of photographs by Rose Covarrubias. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937.

Miguel Covarrubias (1904–57) embodied an astonishing and forward-looking concept of what an artist in the twentieth century could be without denying or losing sight of himself as an artist. The scion of a wealthy Mexican family, he was a commercial illustrator, mural painter, museologist, anthropologist, archaeologist, collector of pre-Columbian art, writer, sociologist, and anti-colonialist. The virtuosic lightness and subliminal humor of Covarrubias’s illustrations led to his great success in 1920s New York, and these aesthetic qualities were not lost when the artist began to use them more and more explicitly in the service of anthropological enterprises, beginning in the 1930s. The books on Bali and the isthmus of Tehuantepec are examples of this unique practice in their mixture of critical reflection, literary narrative, ethnological ambition, and visual originality. Both were produced during his extensive travels with Rose Covarrubias, a former Broadway dancer and photographer. In Bali and in southern Mexico, Covarrubias’s interest in the local art traditions was inseparable from his interest in their respective political and economic present. TH

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B24 (285) Arlette Seligmann and Kurt Seligmann in front of a Gitksan Totem Pole, British Columbia, 1938, Photograph (reproduction) · Courtesy The Seligmann Center at the Orange County Citizens Foundation.

B24 (286) Kurt Seligmann, “Le MÂT-Totem de Gédem Skanish (Gyadem Skanees),” *Journal de la Société des américanistes*, new series, vol. 31, no. 1 (1939). Paris: Société des américanistes, pp. 121–28 (reproduction).

B24 (287) Man Ray, Photograph of a mask, found by Denise Paulme and Déborah Lifchitz in Mopti, Sudan, in: Michel Leiris, “Bois rituels des Falaises,” *Cahiers d’art*, vol. 11, nos 6–7 (1936), ed. Christian Zervos. Paris: Éditions Cahiers d’art: pp. 192–96.

The article on the ritual wood carvings of the people of Dogon inhabiting the Bandiagara Cliffs in what is today Mali (formerly French Sudan) furnishes a good example of a successful collaboration between ethnologists, linguists, and visual artists in the 1930s. Indeed, so close was their cooperation that the boundaries between the various disciplines became increasingly blurred; for who was chiefly responsible for the knowledge production? Was it Michel Leiris, who as author of the article switched back and forth between ethnology, literature, and criticism? Was it the photographer, author, and painter Man Ray, who contributed the elegantly illuminated images of the Dogon sculptures and masks? Or was it the linguist and ethnologist, Déborah Lifchitz and Denise Paulme, respectively, who during their research in the field collected all the objects for the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro—sometimes, as Leiris writes, even using their bare hands to excavate the wooden carvings buried deep below the ground. They would all have been unanimous in their astonishment that an allegedly “materially chaotic world,” such as that of the Dogon, could have been the “theater of a highly distinguished culture.” TH

B24 (288) Alice Paalen [Rahon], *Brush-Drawing*; and Wolfgang Paalen, *Polarités chromatiques*, 1942, *Dyn*, no. 2 (1942), pp. 40–41, ed. Wolfgang Paalen. Mexico City · Courtesy Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

B24 (289) Wolfgang Paalen, “Totem Art,” *Dyn*, no. 3 (1942), pp. 7 ff., ed. Wolfgang Paalen. Mexico City · Courtesy Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

Dyn was one of the programmatically and aesthetically impressive “little magazines” of the avant-garde of the early 1940s. The painter and theorist Wolfgang Paalen sent the six published issues from Mexico City out into the world, and, with *Dyn*, he revoked his loyalty to André Breton and surrealism. Paalen dissolved his ties to this movement, firstly by attacking Breton’s Marxism, and secondly by emphatically pursuing the convergence of art, the natural sciences, and anthropology. Together with his wife (the artist Alice Rahon) and the photographer and patron Eva Sulzer—who, for a while, were connected in a *ménage à trois*—and in collaboration with the poet César Moro and the editorial

assistant Edward Renouf, among others, a fascinating amalgam of poetry, painting, photography, archaeology, ethnography, and natural scientific approaches originated in their Mexican exile. The main impetus was Paalen’s expectation “that art can reunite us with our prehistoric past” and at the same time “prefigure what might be.” TH

B25

Gesture—“a flash in slow motion through centuries of evolution”: Sergei Eisenstein’s *Method*

In his 1923 manifesto *Montage of Attractions*, director and film theorist Eisenstein announced the dismantling of “illusionistic representation” through a chain of “real productions”: The viewer was to be subjected to a direct “sensuous” impact in a “visual laboratory.” For Eisenstein, montage was not a mere aesthetic process, but an ecstatic “method” of linking *psychological equivalents*. But it was also a “method” of theoretical writing that Eisenstein critically juxtaposed as “poly-stylistic” with an authorship style and system. The unfinished 2,500-page bundle of papers entitled *Metod (Method, 1932–48)*, therefore, does not write a history of art, but rather one of “sensuous thinking”: A history of gestures in which “the function of touching, of grasping with the hand transitions into the same function by the eye.” At the end of a sequence of four drawings, Eisenstein breaks art history down into a meandering cartography whose constellations follow a “concave” and a “convex” line. Acts of shaping and being shaped, of grasping and being grasped, of understanding and being understood, characterize this *évolution regressive* of art in different historical epochs.

B25 (290) Sergei Eisenstein, *On the History of Art*, Sheet 1, Manuscripts from the inventory of Muzej Kino (reproduction) · Courtesy Eisenstein Collection, Moscow.

B25 (291) Sergei Eisenstein, *On the History of Art*, Sheet 2, Manuscripts from the inventory of Muzej Kino (reproduction) · Courtesy Eisenstein Collection, Moscow.

Volume - Space

Volume and space have a common origin - counter-volume [*kontrob'em*]

[Drawing 1]

like this with the hand

<even more with plasma [drawing] >

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B25 (292) Sergei Eisenstein, *On the History of Art*, Sheet 3, Manuscripts from the inventory of Muzej Kino (reproduction) · Courtesy Eisenstein Collection, Moscow.

Seen ‘gesturally’

[Drawing 2]

(Don’t forget Piranesi
that illusionary Archipenko)

In the 1st drawing, the hand doesn’t know that it is feeling a volume or clasping a space. We know that the function of touching, of grasping with the hand, transitions into the same function by the eye

Here, it is younger and should therefore

1. have preserved a phase of it somewhere
2. demonstrate this phase

B25 (293) Sergei Eisenstein, *On the History of Art*, Sheet 4, Manuscripts from the inventory of Muzej Kino (reproduction) · Courtesy Eisenstein Collection, Moscow.
[Quote from Pushkin’s *The Bronze Horseman: A St. Petersburg Story*, trans. by John Dewey]

“Assault! Alarm! Fierce waves are breaking
Like thieves into the houses. Snaking
Adrift, boats buffet, smashing panes.
Tin pedlars’ trays, debris of huts,
Wrecked bridges, beams, roofs, rafters, struts [...]”

[Wavy lines] Barks
 Waves
 Panes

NB: Compare the movement
with the book
“Segel und
Wellen”

[Wavy lines]

B25 (294) Sergei Eisenstein, “Abstraction montage,” *LEF – Levyy Front Iskusstv* (Journal of the Left Front of the Arts) (1923), ed. Vladimir Majakovskij and Ossip Brik. Moscow, pp. 70–75 (reproduction).

For Eisenstein, “attractions” were elemental stimuli provoking immediate and archaic reactions: “primitive movements.” His famous theater manifesto “Montage of Attractions” presents—on a typographical level as well—an eccentric traversing of the classical theater space. In *Method*, the circus returns in the form of the “reminiscence” of a past evolutionary stage: Floating, walking upright, the attraction of the original elements of fire, water, earth, and air. EV

B25 (295) Jean d’Udine, *L’art et le geste*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1910 · Elena Vogman.

Art is a gesture: The synesthetic “transference” from the sphere of the invisible and unknown to that of an immediate sensation. Jean d’Udine’s theory of art links the macro-level of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze’s “eurhythmics” and the microbiological level of the scientific philosophy of Félix Le Dantec, who spoke of rhythmic “resonances of the colloids” within a cell. Eisenstein was

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interested in the threshold experience of *L'art et le geste* between “subtle aesthetic sensibility” and “materialism almost frightening in its sincerity.” EV

B25 (296) Raoul Francé, *Die technischen Leistungen der Pflanzen*. Leipzig: Veit & Comp., 1919 · Elena Vogman.

The plant is a producer: it has “tools that create value” and it combines the principle of the economy of means with aesthetic processes of formation. The microbiologist and natural and cultural theorist Raoul Francé employs a vitalist approach to vegetation for a “comparative method of objective philosophy” in a way that also reveals the “unconscious imitation” of plant forms in industrial production, ranging from architecture to weapons of war. EV

B25 (297) Karl von Frisch, *Über die “Sprache” der Bienen. Eine tierpsychologische Untersuchung*. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1923.

Bees have a complex choreography that is not merely a “concomitant feature” but a vital means of communication. Karl von Frisch describes how bees use the “round dance” and the “waggle dance” to inform each other about feeding grounds. In this topological *mise-en-scène*, as Eisenstein later called it in reference to the movements of actors in front of a camera, it is not only the instincts of the bees that play a role but also a “desire to dance,” which von Frisch observed in a series of experiments using markers of bee movements. EV

B25 (298) Sergei Eisenstein, Pages from the folder “The Three Wales. Ornament,” *Method* (1932–48) (reproductions) · Courtesy RGALI, Moscow.

Eisenstein saw the parallels between poetry and cinema in their synesthetic potential: By moving semantic and rhythmic qualities, they can separate the levels of the visual and the acoustic or achieve an “immediate simultaneity between representation and sound.” In a sequence of eleven pages, which he included in *Method* almost without comment, he transfers this “ecstatic” shift (*sdvig*) from one level to another: it is a phonetic wave landscape searching between word and line, semantics and shape, movement and sound for sensory relationships beyond the arbitrary symbol. EV

B25 (299) Sergei Eisenstein, “The vertical montage graphic for Aleksandr Nevskij’s film with the levels ‘frame’, ‘music’, ‘composition’ and ‘gesture,’” 1940, in Sergej Eisenstein, *Neravnodušnaja priroda*, vol. 2. Moscow: Muzej Kino, 2004.

Eisenstein describes montage in sound and, later, in color film as “vertical montage”: A moving simultaneity of images, sounds, and graphic elements that together create a synesthetic “gesture.” In this “gesture,” the work takes a position in relation to reality. While Eisenstein’s “montage thinking” cannot “be separated from the generally ideal foundations of thought,” the vertical montage of sensory forms is a “way of thinking political reality.” Eisenstein contrasts the ecstatic ability of individual elements of form to

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move into another dimension—to emerge from themselves—with the “parallel montage” of Griffith, which reproduces the dualisms of reality on a formal level. The “division of society into rich and poor” remains an intrinsic play of contrasts, without *ecstatically* leading from the cinema into reality. EV

B25 (300) Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Pervobytnoe myslenie* (Mentalité primitive), ed. Nikolaj Marr. Moscow: Ateist, 1930 · Elena Vogman.

Lucien Lévy-Bruhl’s philosophical ethnology was published in Moscow in 1930 by the publishing house Ateist; it was edited by Nikolai Marr, a Georgian-Russian linguist, archaeologist, and paleontologist. In his “New Doctrine of Language,” Japhetology, Marr based the origin of language on gestures. He studied the “survival” (*pereživanie*) of this originally “linear language” in the living languages of the Caucasus. Marr’s paleontological approach pervades Eisenstein’s theory. In *Montage*, he associates Marr’s lectures with reading James Joyce’s *Ulysses*: with its multilingualism, the polyphony of a thought, the peripeteia of a word, and ultimately a vertically mounted series of “contradictory and opposing manifestations.” EV

B25 (301) Franz Doflein, *Lehrbuch der Protozoenkunde. Eine Darstellung der Naturgeschichte der Protozoen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der parasitischen und pathogenen Formen*. Jena: G. Fischer, 1916.

The “milieu” is a “medium” in which life’s most complex processes take place. Movement, memory, and metamorphosis occur in even the smallest organisms: the protozoa. As part of his “Natural History of Protozoa,” Doflein analyzes the “protoplasm”—“the basic substance of all animal and plant cells”—as a medium in which all “manifestations of life” take place and where the threshold between animal, human, and plant appears as unstable as that “translucent viscous substance” itself. EV

B25 (302) Kurt Lewin, *Die Entwicklung der experimentellen Willenspsychologie und die Psychotherapie*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1929 · Elena Vogman.

In their experimental approach, the gestalt psychologists Kurt Lewin, Wolfgang Köhler, Kurt Koffka, and Max Wertheimer used film to visualize those forces that structure and modulate movements in the field. In 1929, Eisenstein was invited to a lecture on “expressive movement” at the Berlin Institute of Gestalt Psychology, where he saw the filmed recordings of the gestalt psychologists. They show children’s expressions in the conflict between “positive” and “negative valence,” which leads to oscillating actions, a deformation of action through coexisting motives, which Eisenstein himself understood as an “expressive movement.” Lewin uses the term “*Gestaltzerfall*” or “breakdown of form” to describe the dissolution of a holistic perception—which, for Eisenstein, marked “sensuous” or “concrete thinking” in art. “A meaningful word,” writes Lewin, breaks down “into a heap of meaningless letters if you look at it for several minutes,” just as a “whole action” leads to “forgetting, misspeaking or stuttering” due to psychological saturation. EV

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B25 (303) Herbert Green Spearing, *The Childhood of Art, or, The Ascent of Man: A Sketch of the Vicissitudes of His Upward Struggle, Based Chiefly on the Relics of His Artistic Work in Prehistoric times*. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1912.

B25 (304) Sergei Eisenstein, Diary pages, 1932 (reproduction) · Courtesy RGALI, Moscow.

“Diaries, Notebooks” is perhaps one of the largest files in the vast corpus of Eisenstein’s papers at the Russian State Archive for Literature and Art (RGALI). It is certainly the most extensive and challenging part of Eisenstein’s unpublished writings: challenging because of its highly fragmentary, yet epistemically adventurous character. Mexico stimulated the pace of his writing, which sometimes reached up to thirty pages per day, including large excerpts from Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Henry Lanz, H. G. Spearing, Ignatius of Loyola, and Charles Baudelaire, together with clippings from *Pravda*, *The Times*, scientific articles, publicity material, etc. Eisenstein was interested in the introduction of a new temporality on antique vases, as described in Spearing’s monumental work. The faces of people depicted on the vases were shifted from a frontal, fixed view to a profile, thus giving their surroundings a new narrative dimension. EV

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B26

The Expedition as a Medium of the Avant-Garde (Dakar–Djibouti and Subsequent Missions)

The trans-African research expedition Dakar–Djibouti headed by Marcel Griaule was mounted under the auspices of the Ministry of the Colonies, the Institut d’Ethnologie, founded in 1925, and other institutions. The mission was a national showcase project and, at the same time, a project of the artistic avant-garde: A law was passed to provide the interdisciplinary research team (Michel Leiris, André Schaeffner, Déborah Lifchitz, Gaston-Louis Roux, et al.) with an official mandate and considerable funds. Griaule took care to entrench the enterprise in the colonial, museum-political, and avant-garde discourses as well as popular culture. The culmination of his fundraising activities was a boxing gala starring Panama Al Brown, with Pablo Picasso, Carl Einstein, and Marcel Mauss in attendance. Having promised considerable “material results” for the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro from the earliest planning stages, Griaule would eventually return to Paris with a “haul” of 3,500 objects, wall paintings totaling 650 square feet, 300 manuscripts, and 6,000 photographs. The expedition was also intended as a model for future ethnographic undertakings. In this respect, its key accomplishment was the “discovery” of the Dogon, who would become a sort of totemic ethnic group for French ethnology. Leiris’s diary *L’Afrique fantôme*, published in 1934, demystified the mission by revealing its collecting practices and other aspects.

B26 (305) (Michel Leiris), *Instructions sommaires pour les Collecteurs d’objets ethnographiques*. Paris: Musée d’Ethnographie (Museum national d’Histoire naturelle) et Mission scientifique Dakar–Djibouti, Palais du Trocadéro, 1931 · Qumran-Archiv am Haus der Kulturen der Welt.

Compiled by Michel Leiris, these “Summary instructions for collectors of ethnographic objects” were printed using the proceeds from a gala held in Paris in 1931 starring the boxer Panama Al Brown, and distributed to colonial officers along the route of the Dakar–Djibouti mission. Drawing on notes from Marcel Mauss’s

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lectures, Marcel Griaule's writings, and other sources, the text illustrates how French anthropology, a discipline closely affiliated with the institution of the museum, turned its attention to material culture. Emulating the model of archaeology, it aimed to turn artifacts conceived as "witnesses" into objects of research. To this end, their local contexts, uses, and functions must be documented in photographs and on index cards. Mauss inspired the observation that a tin can says more about our culture than the most valuable jewelry; hence the directive to collect also "the humblest and most contemptible things." To the extent that this new focus includes irritating and hybrid objects, the text suggests the influence of the anti-aesthetic of *Documents* (1929–30/31). ^{IA}

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- B26 (306) (Unknown photographer), Members of the Dakar–Djibouti mission before departure, from left to right: Georges Henri Rivière, Michel Leiris, Ovmtousky [?], Marcel Griaule, Éric Lutten, Jean Moufle, Gaston-Louis Roux, and Marcel Larget, May 1931, Photograph (reproduction) · Courtesy Musée du Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.
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- B26 (307) (Unknown photographer), Members of the Mission Dakar–Djibouti gather around the Boxer Panama Al Brown, from right to left: Georges Henri Rivière, [?], Panama Al Brown, Marcel Griaule, and David Lumienski (seated), Marcel Griaule holds up a Bambara mask, April 1931, Photograph (reproduction) · Courtesy Musée du Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.
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- B26 (308) Marcel Griaule, "Calebasses," *Arts et Métiers Graphiques*, no. 45 (1935). Paris: AMG.
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- B26 (309) Marcel Griaule, "Mission Dakar–Djibouti. Rapport Général (Mai 1931–Mai 1932)," *Journal des Africanistes*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1932). Paris: Société des africanistes: pp. 113–22 · Qumran-Archiv am Haus der Kulturen der Welt.
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- B26 (310) Gaston-Louis Roux, cover of *Minotaure*, no. 2 (1933), ed. Albert Skira/Tériade. Paris: Albert Skira (Special issue on the Dakar–Djibouti mission) · Courtesy Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.
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- B26 (311) Michel Leiris, *L'Afrique fantôme*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1934 (Les documents bleus).

Michel Leiris's readings in ethnology prompted him to go beyond the confines of theory and leave literature behind. When Marcel Griaule invited him in 1929 to join the Mission scientifique Dakar–Djibouti as its "secretary and archivist," he did not hesitate. In Africa, Leiris found the themes that would preoccupy him for the rest of his life. His diary refuses to reduce reality to the "other." His notes make for unsettling reading also because, while articulating a critique of ethnography, he does not censor his own exoticist, colonialist, and primitivist ideas. Griaule was displeased with the book and especially with its portrait of the

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mission's often questionable collecting practices. In late 1941, the Vichy government banned *L'Afrique fantôme*. It was first republished in a human sciences series in 1981, when it was newly relevant given the debates in ethnology over the crisis of representation in the context of "writing culture." In Germany, *Phantom Afrika*, published in two volumes edited by Hans-Jürgen Heinrichs in 1980 and 1984, became a cult book of the "ethnoboomb" generation. ^{IA}

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- B26 (312) Germaine Dieterlen, *Les âmes des Dogons*. Paris: L'Institut d'ethnologie, 1941 · Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Signatur: 4" Pn 145/345-40.
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- B26 (313) Déborah Lifchitz, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*. Paris: L'Institut d'ethnologie, 1940 · Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Signatur: 4" Pn 145/345-38.
- "In the struggle for life, men resort to these spiritual weapons at least as much as to material weapons." This sentence is part of the introduction to a thesis on phylacteries, amulet containers worn on the body for magical protection in the multi-religious Abyssinian society. Born in Ukraine, the Jewish linguist Déborah Lifchitz (1907–42) published the paper in 1940, the year of the occupation of France by the Germans. Lifchitz would lose her struggle for survival under the changed power relations. She died in Auschwitz shortly after being deported to the extermination camp. In 1932, on the recommendation of Georges Henri Rivière, she had joined the team of the Mission scientifique Dakar–Djibouti, where she collected manuscripts on magical and religious practices. She also participated in Marcel Griaule's ensuing Sahara–Sudan expedition in 1935. Soon, though, together with the ethnologist Denise Paulme, Lifchitz embarked on her own, self-organized, nine-month field research trip in 1935—an indication of how ethnology became an attractive and comparatively liberal field of work in particular for young female scientists in the 1930s. TH
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- B26 (314) Germaine Dieterlen and Solange de Ganay, *Le génie des eaux chez les Dogons*. Paris: Geuthner, 1942 · Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Signatur: 4" Uq 239/910-5.
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- B26 (315) Marcel Griaule taking a photograph while standing on a cliff, Photograph (reproduction) · Courtesy Fonds Marcel-Griaule, Bibliothèque Éric-de-Dampierre, LESC/CNRS, Université Paris Nanterre.
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- B26 (316) Déborah Lifchitz in Ethiopia, 1932, Photograph (reproduction) · Courtesy Fonds Déborah-Lifchitz – Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, mémorial de la Shoah, Paris.

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B26 (317) Circumcision masks by the Fula people from Garoua, 1932, Photograph (reproduction) · Courtesy Fonds Marcel-Griaule, Bibliothèque Éric-de-Dampierre, LESC/CNRS, Université Paris Nanterre.

B26 (318) Slideshow: *Minotaure*, no. 2 (1933), ed. Albert Skira/Tériade. Paris: Albert Skira (Special issue on the Dakar–Djibouti mission) · Courtesy Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

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B27

Ethnology of the White Man?

What could Carl Einstein have been referring to when, around 1930, he repeatedly mentioned the project of an “Ethnology of the white man”? In a brief inventory of his theoretical works in an American journal of 1931, one learns that Einstein intended to occupy himself with “the creation of myths, superstitions, and erotic customs” of the Europeans, “treating them almost as though they were already an extinct race.” The cultural sociologist Georg Simmel may have been the inspiration for Einstein here, but the actual motive must have been his interest in ethnology. But, especially in France, the new discipline of the science of ethnology developed from the similarly young field of sociology. The sociological turn in ethnology is a central maneuver of the school of Émile Durkheim. Marcel Mauss in particular had always alluded to the inherent potential of using principals of ethnological analysis on Western societies. But there would be a long path to be traveled from the self-“primitivizing” of European intellectuals to Pascal Bruckner’s *Le sanglot de l’homme blanc* or to critical whiteness studies.

B27 (319) Slideshow: *Documents* (1929–30) · Courtesy Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

Documents – Doctrines, Archéologie, Beaux-Arts, Ethnographie (from no. 4: *Archéologie, Beaux-Arts, Ethnographie, Variétés*), magazine illustré paraissant dix fois par an, 15 issues 1929–30/31.

Carl Einstein played a key role in the conception of the periodical bankrolled by Georges Wildenstein, but it was Georges Bataille, then a little-known figure, who officiated as “secretary general” of the illustrious editorial committee and increasingly took command of the venture. Michel Leiris served as senior editor. Contributions were recruited from the milieu of the dissident surrealists, the orbit of the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro, and among archaeologists and art historians. Einstein also solicited essays from numerous German scholars. More than virtually any other publication of the interwar years, *Documents* illustrates the singular constellation of “ethnographic surrealism.” Its central operating principle is montage: Contemporary art and surrealist photographs appear next to Sumerian statuettes, African rock paintings, covers of *Fantômas* paperbacks, and skull trophies. The magazine is intended as a “war machine” (Leiris), assailing the ethnocentrism implicit in the idea of “fine arts” as well as the hegemony of Western values. The rediscovery of *Documents*, made possible by the reprint that came out in

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1991, helped usher in a radical revision of the history of the avant-garde. 1A

B27 (320) Christian Zervos, "Œuvres d'art océaniennes et inquiétudes d'aujourd'hui," *Cahiers d'art*, nos 2–3 (1929), ed. Christian Zervos. Paris: Éditions Cahiers d'art: pp. 57–58.

Opposite an advertisement by Galerie Flechtheim for an exhibition including sculptures by Edgar Degas and Auguste Renoir, other contemporary sculptors, and Polynesian sculptures.

B27 (321) "Langschädel und Kurzschädel der weißen Rasse" ["Dolichocephaly and Brachycephaly of the White Race"], in Jean Brunhes, *Races*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1930 (= Images du monde).

The volume gathers together ninety-six full-page photographs from various sources into an "iconography" of human diversity. Despite what the title would suggest, Jean Brunhes (1869–1930), human geographer at the Collège de France, articulates a critique of the concept of "race" by foregrounding the social and cultural factors of difference. In addition, like the ethnologist Paul Rivet, Brunhes introduces "races" as "heterogeneous conglomerates" and "mixtures" that did not necessarily have any connection to nation, state, or language, but instead were "fabricated" by national collectives. Even if the captions repeatedly point out physical features, the people are shown in relation to objects and a culturally created environment. But the layout of the volume is nonetheless still based on an evolutionistic schema, beginning with the Aborigines and ending with politicians at the Locarno Conference (1925) as "representatives of the white race in Europe." Michel Leiris reviewed the volume in 1930 in *Documents*. 1A

B27 (322) Carl Einstein, "Ethnologie de l'Homme Blanc," 1930s, Sheet 10, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 222.

Ethnologie de l'homme blanc

{ Ce que nous croyons est la vue } 25
 Vue et vision
II l'autre Tradition 15
III le langage visé et dessiné sprechen u zeichnen
4 l'enfant les primitifs les fous 10
5 liberté et fatalité - abstraire et psychogramme 10
6 la joie de la surface russe sans objet 10
7 l'utopie des mathématiques et le vide (le blanc) 10
8 les energetiques. precurseurs du fascisme } 10
 art dirigé

Cubistes

9 Picass[o] Br[aque] Gris 50
 Rupture

10 Pic[asso] Miro 25
Hiéroglyphes et Metames clé des Songes

11 Chirico
 Dali } 25
 Klee
 [illegible] Blaue Reiter

12 volume formé dans l'espace
 Brancussi [!] 15

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B27 (323) Carl Einstein, "Handbuch der Kunst," 1930s, Sheet 9, Manuscript · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 239.

Seeing today

Seeing and looking

ethnology
child and primitives and lunatics
the other tradition
speaking and drawing - the languages
freedom and history - arbitrariness and dream
 la joie de la surface
the utopia of mathematics and le vide =
the white stat [illegible]
energetics and forerunners of fascism
totalitarian art, directed art children lunatics
Cubists Pic[asso] Gris primitives 12
aum [?] sea-change Pic[asso] 12
vision Pic[asso] Miro Braque 6
 Gris 8
 Miro 5
Klee hieroglyphs Klee 4
Dali Chirico 2
 Dali 3
Brancussi [!] Brancussi [!] 6

plates 56
300 text

an aphoristic book

crisis de la vision et des choses

The two undated notebooks sketch the outlines of an "aphoristic" book of contemporary art. The drafts of a table of contents—one predominantly in French (and not translated here) and the other predominantly in German—are located between an auto-ethnology of the white European ("ethnologie de l'homme blanc") and an empirical treatise on perception ("Traité de la vision"). These strands of projects documented in the estate of Carl Einstein range from the collaboration with Georges Bataille and Michel Leiris in *Documents* (1929–31) up to remarks by Einstein about an "Esthétique expérimentale" in one of his last surviving letters of 1939–40. The thematic range of the text, conceived as being between 200 to 300 pages (to which between fifty-six and 102 illustrations would be added), is extensive. Sections on the "primitive," on the relationship of dream to history, on the utopia of "emptiness" in mathematics, and on the genealogy of fascism were planned, as was a representation of the "transformation" from cubism to surrealism in chapters on Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, Joan Miró, Paul Klee, Constantin Brâncuși, and others.

TH

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(322–323)

B27 (324) Carl Einstein, "André Masson, étude ethnologique," *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1929) (reproduction) · Courtesy Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

Why the title "étude ethnologique" when the subject of discussion is a Parisian contemporary painter and draftsman from the late 1920s? Yet Carl Einstein regarded this label, conferred upon his first major article in *Documents* as appropriate due to one parallel, namely that obtaining between a "psychological archaism" and the automatistic—or in Einstein's own words: "hallucinatory"—practice of André Masson. Einstein perceived something contagious in Masson's images, of which fourteen—from the years 1922 to 1929—were used to illustrate the article, which were capable of inducing a "mythical reaction." What is meant is a reordering of the relationship between subject and object, tracing back to "primitive" magical religions. The "totemic" extension of the personality during hallucination produces hybrids: chimeras, centaurs, leopard people, but also effects a transition into the anorganic. To a certain degree, Einstein believed, that these metamorphoses could also be practiced, claiming that Masson had perfected the relevant "ecstatic training." Consequently, his art should no longer be critiqued by virtue of its form, but be judged by the extent to which it raises and compromises psychic energy. TH

B27 (325) Jacques-André Boiffard, "Masque de carnaval," Photograph (reproduction), in Georges Limbour, "Eschyle, le carnaval et les civilisées," *Documents*, vol. 2, no. 5 (1930) · Courtesy Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

B28

Theories of Fascism in France

The fascist movements in Italy and France were linked more closely to the avant-garde than they were in Germany. They saw artists as popularizers of fascism's new myths of identification with creativity and violence, through which the phantasm of "national regeneration" was first able to take on form. A common point of reference was the concept of the revolutionary myth, which the philosopher Georges Sorel developed with respect to the general strike and proletarian violence. Sorel's influential book, *Réflexions sur la violence* (*Reflections on Violence*) (1908), which he wrote before rejecting Socialism, dominated the discussion of myth. It was understood as a functional instrument of agitation, which through visionary images and aesthetic violence called for immediate action, transforming both individuals and societies in the process. This model of myth and its transgressive as well as socially cohesive functions, was explored in Roger Caillois and Georges Bataille's analyses of fascism in the 1930s, whose disconcerting ambivalence was criticized by Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and others.

B28 (326) Roger Caillois, "Mimétisme et psychasthénie légendaire," *Minotaure*, no. 7 (1935), ed. Albert Skira/Tériade. Paris: Albert Skira, pp. 4–10 [Photographs by Le Charles] (reproduction) · Courtesy Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

For the surrealist sociologist and co-founder of the Collège de Sociologie, Roger Caillois, mythology, along with psychology, should have its theoretical foundation in biology. His lifelong obsession with mimetic processes as well as with the motif of the loss of self and regression found expression in his articles on insects, for example in his idiosyncratic interpretation of mimesis in "Mimétisme et psychasthénie légendaire" ("Mimicry and Legendary Psychasthenia"). The motif of the disintegration of self through a pathological adaptation to the environment, here attributed to the camouflaged butterfly, was godfather (in an inverse sense) to Jacques Lacan's theory of the mirror stage. According to Lacan, the unity of the ego, and thus the constitutive difference between the inner and outer world, is essentially a result of a misrecognition, which is retroactively evoked by the trauma of the fragmented body (so frequently thematized in surrealism). This theory of the loss of self, narcissism, and imaginary misrecognition as a border defense, was also referred to as a theory of the fascist subject. AF

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B28 (327) Georges Sorel, *Réflexions sur la violence [avec plaidoyer pour Lénine]* [c. 1920]. Paris: Marcel Rivière, n.d.

B28 (328) [Collective of authors], *Crise économique et fascisme. Faits et documents* [1934]. Paris: Syndicat national des instituteurs et institutrices, n.d.

B28 (329) Louis Marlio, *Dictature et liberté*. Paris: Éditions Flammarion [Bibliothèque de philosophie scientifique], 1940.

B28 (330) W. [Wladimir] Drabovitch, *Fragilité de la liberté et Séduction des dictatures. Essai de psychologie sociale*, preface by Pierre Janet. Paris: Mercure de France, 1934.

In his preface to the book by his younger colleague Wladimir Drabovitch (1885–1943) on the fragility of freedom, the acclaimed psychologist and therapist, Pierre Janet (1859–1947) writes that the susceptibility of people to strong leaders and dictators can be attributed to the widespread fatigue and the high incidence of depression. Modern living, he posited, was making people vulnerable to “psychological contagion” by dictators. Drabovitch, a Pavlov student, published his book just a few months after the National Socialists seized power in Germany. He also alludes to the violent Paris street clashes of February 6, 1934, instigated by the far-right leagues. Drabovitch diagnoses “a state of intermittent fever,” which was enfeebling French society to such an extent that an already militarized autocracy would soon be able to impose its will upon the people without any problem. Here motifs can easily be identified, which also played a role in the political theory-building of orthodox and heterodox surrealism. The manipulable, affect-driven masses became the target not only of a fascistic methodology, but also of aesthetic speculation. TH

B28 (331) Georges Bataille et al., “‘Contre-Attaque’. Union des intellectuels révolutionnaires,” Leaflet from October 7, 1936 (reproduction) from Georges Bataille, *Œuvres complètes I. Premiers écrits: 1922–40*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1973 · Courtesy Editions Gallimard.

In October 1935, Georges Bataille and André Breton launched the short-lived anti-fascist “combat league,” Contre-Attaque. Its founding manifesto demanded that capitalism be overcome, industry be collectivized, and that colonialism be abolished. The group originated against the simmering background of the political situation in 1930s France. In this context, Contre-Attaque considered itself a revolutionary movement—beyond communism and fascism. However, Breton and Bataille pursued different goals: Breton wanted to launch a unique, genuinely surrealist activist movement, while Bataille envisioned a far-reaching departure from classical political forms, which he described as “utilitarian” and “homogeneously bourgeois.” In fact, Bataille was clearly fascinated by the populist elements of the European fascists, relying entirely on the “organic energy” of the masses. Even after the early end of Contre-Attaque a year after its founding, he continued to search for forms of “anti-political”

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politics. This led him to the “activist research collective” of the Collège de Sociologie and the Acéphale secret society. RE

B28 (332) *Acéphale. Religion, Sociologie, Philosophie*, no. 2 (*Nietzsche et les Fascistes. Une Réparation*) (1937). Paris: Éditions GLM (reproduction) [reprint: Paris: Jean Michel Place, 1980].

The drawing by André Masson originated from an idea he developed jointly with Georges Bataille: The headless and sexless Acéphale figured as the political utopia of a leaderless community. Here, he adorns the cover of the second issue of the eponymous journal *Acéphale* from 1937, which was dedicated to the “salvation” of Friedrich Nietzsche from the fascists. In Bataille’s reading of Nietzsche, the figure of Acéphale becomes an anti-fascist “anti-monster”; as a “primitive” revenant of Nietzsche’s superman (or anti-deity Dionysus), he turns both on the “rule of heaven” and on the fascist leader principle. With Acéphale, his colleague Pierre Klossowski later reported, Bataille wanted to infiltrate a subversive image or a counter-discourse to the fascist perception of Nietzsche, which was also gaining ground in France. The figure of Acéphale was to confront what Bataille considered the most politically dangerous moments of fascism: Racism and anti-Semitism and the escalation of “sacral” collective forces on a monocephalic political leader figure. RE

B28 (333) Georges Bataille, Michel Leiris, and Roger Caillois, “Pour un Collège de sociologie,” *Nouvelle Revue Française*, vol. 26, no. 298 (1938). Paris: NRF.

The Collège de Sociologie was founded in July 1937 by Georges Bataille, Roger Caillois, and others. The contemporary crisis of European democracies, as the non-academic research collective diagnosed (referring to the theories of Émile Durkheim), was caused by the decline of cohesive social forces. The self-proclaimed “sacral sociologists” wanted to reactivate remnants of, according to Durkheim’s definitions, society-shaping “sacral” phenomena or to initiate new forms of the “sacred” in order to beat fascism “with its own weapons.” In its less than two years in existence, the Collège de Sociologie was not only concerned with the problematic attempt to fight fascism by imitation, but also with the social repositioning of art and literature. The research collective additionally experimented with overcoming the positivistic subject–object dichotomy and the epistemological restriction of anthropology to the analysis of the so-called “primitives.” Bataille and Caillois understood “sacral sociology” as an anti-anthropocentric, ontological foundation of the social sciences whose subject area now included “animal societies.” RE

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Fascist Anti-Primitivism: “Degenerate Art,” 1937

The National Socialist art policy manifested itself in racist, anti-Semitic, and anti-communist prohibitions, persecutions, and confiscations. In addition, with the traveling exhibition “Degenerate Art,” it sponsored the public ostracization of modern art. The 650 works confiscated from German museums (from a total of over 20,000) were shown in the summer of 1937 in the Munich Hofgarten-Arkaden concurrently with the “Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung”—and the “Exposition internationale” in Paris. The garish propaganda of the wall texts and the accompanying publication seemed to abandon themselves to the purported distortions in modern art. Fascistic fervor was staged with works of art that negated the Nazi ideal of art and race. The exhibition, which could also be considered a psychogram, traveled through numerous cities in the territory of the Reich until 1941. There it was seen by over 2 million visitors, while the Nazis also traded in the confiscated art at the same time. Scattered protests on foreign soil responded to the unparalleled Vehmic campaign.

B29 (334) *Entartete Kunst, Ausstellungsführer*. Berlin: Verlag für Kultur und Wirtschaftswerbung, 1937.

B29 (335) Exhibition “Entartete Kunst” in the gallery building of Hofgarten, Munich, Exhibition opening on July 19, 1937, Photograph of installation (reproduction) · bpk-Zentralarchiv, SMB.

B29 (336) Leaflet referring to the exhibition “Entartete Kunst” in the exhibition catalogue, *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung*. Munich: Haus der Deutschen Kunst, 1937.

B29 (337) Franz Roh, *Entartete Kunst*. Hannover: Fackelträger-Verlag, 1962.

B29 (338) Wolfgang Willrich, *Säuberung des Kunsttempels. Eine kunstpolitische Kampfschrift zur Gesundung deutscher Kunst im Geiste nordischer Art*. Berlin/Munich: J.F. Lehmanns, 1937.

- B29 (339) Christian Zervos, “Réflexions sur la tentative d’Esthétique dirigée du IIIe Reich,” *Cahiers d’art*, vol. 11, nos 8–10 (1936), ed. Christian Zervos. Paris: Éditions Cahiers d’art: pp. 209–12 (reproduction).
- B29 (340) Soviet pavilion, “Exposition internationale des ‘Arts et des Techniques appliqués à la vie modern,’” Paris, Postcard, 1937.
- B29 (341) German pavilion, “Exposition internationale des ‘Arts et des Techniques appliqués à la vie modern,’” Paris, Postcard, 1937.
- B29 (342) Dora Maar, “Picasso, André Bréton et Jacqueline Lamba devant *Guernica* en cours d’exécution,” 1937, Photograph (reproduction) · bpk / CNAC_MNAM / Dora Maar, VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2018. Pablo Picasso © Succession Picasso / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2018.
- B29 (343) “An Exhibition in Defense of World Democracy,” organized by the American Artists’ Congress, New York, December 1937, Leaflet (reproduction) · Courtesy Miscellaneous art exhibition catalogue collection, 1813–1953, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

With a geopolitical stage dominated by military aggression (Italy in Ethiopia, Japan in China, the Nationalists and their German supporters in Spain), the 1937 “Exposition internationale des ‘Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne’” was held in Paris when the left anti-fascist Popular Front government saw to a politicization of culture as state propaganda on a hitherto unknown scale. The exhibition was dominated by three pavilions: The monumental Soviet and German pavilions designed by Boris Iofan and Albert Speer respectively, where Vera Mukhina’s sculpture *Rabochiy i Kolkhoznitsa* (Worker and Kolkhoz Woman) found itself facing the Nazi eagle and swastika; and the pavilion set up by the Republican government of Spain. The latter had been designed by Josep Lluís Sert, who also brought in Joan Miró, Alexander Calder, and Pablo Picasso among others. Picasso’s *Guernica* was one of two pieces referencing the bombing of civilians by the fascist forces; he also presented the poem and print series *Dream and Lie of Franco*. This work was shown the same year in an exhibition in New York, “An Exhibition in Defense of World Democracy: To the people of Spain and China,” organized by the American Artists’ Congress (AAC), a Communist Party initiative at the time of the Popular Front policy which sought to unite all forces of the left in order to oppose fascism. The exhibition also featured children’s drawings from Madrid. The congress was interrupted by former communists that had turned against Stalinism, specifically around the formerly communist magazine *Partisan Review*. AF

Braque/Einstein: World Condensation

Georges Braque and Carl Einstein form an exciting pair. Einstein had long been a champion both of cubism and of the special “perfection” of the works by his friend Braque. In the early 1930s he began writing a book about the painter, which would not be published until 1934, and then only in a French translation—possibly procured by the author himself. Einstein had organized a major Braque retrospective in Basel just a few months earlier, in 1933. The image-text dramaturgy of *Georges Braque* confounds all the usual expectations that readers might have of an artist’s monograph. For, while in the plates section the works of Braque are at least arranged chronologically, Einstein’s text is broadly theoretical and only occasionally touches on the artist ostensibly under discussion. Yet to Einstein’s mind, Braque, through his “reshaping of vision,” had the power to pull off no less a feat than arresting the “rational unraveling of the world.” Braque’s contribution to the book consisted of several etchings from his vast cycle based on Hesiod’s *Theogony*, that is to say, of the convoluted lineaments of a visionary prehistory of humanity.

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- B30 (344) *Georges Braque par Carl Einstein, XXe siècle*. Paris: Éditions des Chroniques du Jour, 1934.
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- B30 (345) Carl Einstein, *Georges Braque*, exh. cat. Basel: Kunsthalle Basel, 1933 · Kunsthalle Basel.
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- B30 (346) Carl Einstein, “Braque der Dichter,” in *Georges Braque*. Paris: Éditions Cahiers d’art, 1933, pp. 80–83.
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- B30 (347) Carl Einstein, “Georges Braque,” Sheets 1–6, 20–21, 26–27, Typescripts · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 204.
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- B30 (348) Carl Einstein, “Georges Braque,” Sheets 56–60, Typescripts (partly reproductions) · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 205.
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- B30 (349) Carl Einstein, “Georges Braque,” Sheets 81, 87, 103a, 106, Typescripts (partly reproductions) · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 206.

- B30 (350) Carl Einstein, “Georges Braque,” Sheets 126, 139–43, 146, Typescripts (partly reproductions) · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 207.

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- B30 (351) Carl Einstein, “Georges Braque,” Sheets 181–84, 187, 187a, 188, 194, Typescripts (partly reproductions) · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 208.

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- B30 (352) Carl Einstein, “Georges Braque,” Sheets 207–08, 212–13, 220–21, 232–34, Typescripts (partly reproductions) · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 209.

Carl Einstein begins abruptly: “The demise of education and understandings achieved.” The text of his book *Georges Braque* begins in the middle of a circular argument, which spans 234 typescript pages in the German original. At the end of the first sentence it is already somewhat clearer what could be up for negotiation here: The autonomy of art, the secularization of the aesthetic, the scientification of the world. “We will not attempt to describe the exceptional work of Braque,” explains Einstein. A “monograph” prides the “man and his work” out of their “important contexts.” For him, these contexts also include what was repressed by the rupture of modernity—prehistoric myths, animistic religions, the polymorphic universe before the occurrence of any dualism of subject and object. Georges Braque once again draws closer to this world, which was believed lost. Einstein recognizes a profound “reshaping of vision,” not least in the *Theogonie* cycle: “The myth has been reintegrated into reality.” TH

The Two Lives of Myth

Mythology and regression were motifs that played a determining role in the art of the 1930s. Among the surrealists the search for a “new myth,” along with ideas of universal, primordial conflicts and visions of biological and psychological-medial structures, beneath social and political orders, dominated. Through this recourse to myth the relationship between self and world, subject to an enormous pressure to conform, was dialectically processed and (de)politicized along with the political events of the time: For example, in the animalistic depiction of violence, the identification of rationality and bestial instinct in the figure of the Minotaur, or revolution as the Dionysian liberation of destructive and creative forces suppressed by instrumental rationalism. However, the allegiance sworn to the collective in the context of the proletarian masses and intensifying conflicts of the 1930s was increasingly at odds with the dialectic of the surrealist critique of civilization and its programmatic regression to a (new) “barbarism”—which in a further dialectical transformation following the Second World War was even deployed for the symbolic salvation of Western civilization.

B31 (353) Henri Matisse, *Die Blendung des Polyphem* [technical specifications], in James Joyce, *Ulysses*, with an introduction by Stuart Gilbert and illustrations by Henri Matisse. New York: The Limited Editions Club, 1935 · Archiv Marzona, Berlin.

B31 (354) James Joyce, “Opening Pages of a Work in Progress,” *transition*, no. 1 (1927), ed. Eugene Jolas. Paris.

James Joyce spent seventeen years writing his last book, *Finnegans Wake*, which was first published in excerpts beginning in 1927, among other places in Eugene Jolas’s magazine *transition*. Through irony the work withdrew from the conflict between collective standardization and escapist “private myth” and the pressure of rising totalitarianism. Within this constellation, modernism’s reflexive research into the metamorphic potential of the sign—closely linked to primitivism—also collapsed. In 1929 Samuel Beckett had already pointed out that Giambattista Vico’s cyclical model of history provided the structure for *Finnegans Wake*. Thus Joyce drew on the first theory of a mythopoetic age, which here, as a founding document, established the framework for modernity’s indissoluble dialectical relationship to myth. AF

B31 (355) André Masson, *Mélancolie du Minotaure*, 1938, Illustration to Nicolas Calas, “L’amour et la révolution à nos jours,” *Minotaure*, no. 11 (1938), ed. Albert Skira/Tériade. Paris: Albert Skira (reproduction).

B31 (356) Walter Benjamin, “L’œuvre d’art à l’époque de sa reproduction mécanisée,” *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, vol. 5 (1936). Paris: Félix Alcan, pp. 40–68 · Archiv Marzona, Berlin.

B31 (357) Carl Einstein, *Die Fabrikation der Fiktionen*, c. 1930–37, Sheets 17, Manuscripts (reproductions) · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 132.

B31 (358) Carl Einstein, *Die Fabrikation der Fiktionen*, c. 1930–37, Sheets 15, 16, Manuscripts (reproductions) · Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 135.

“The myth has taken up residence in reality once again, and poetry will become the original element of the real.” Carl Einstein anticipated a “self-dissolution of the myth” in social reality, which also resulted in the necessary disenchantment of art, its de-autonomization, and a return to a mythopoetic functionalism and use value. Walter Benjamin simultaneously developed an idea that was similar in his essay, *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner Reproduzierbarkeit* (*The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*), in 1935, using other means, and as part of an explicit engagement with Fordist production methods. On the other hand, in his posthumously published *Die Fabrikation der Fiktionen*, Einstein lamented the inability of the liberal avant-garde to commit itself to reality—taking flight in private myth instead. The fascist and National Socialist investment in the myth of the people is countered by Paul Klee’s reflexive statement: “the people are not with us.” AF

Ur-Communism, Expenditure, Proletarianization

When in the 1930s Carl Einstein spoke of an “astounding primitivization,” he was no longer referring merely to the artistic form, but to the proletarianization of the masses and to precapitalist forms of economy and society, as a means of escaping from the dominance of exchange value and the commodity form. During this period, Einstein criticized art for blithely allowing the transformation of the “mana of man into things, and of that of animals into stones,” which, he posited, equated to the “disfiguration” of concrete objects or people by the capitalist—“through the agency of abstract money which is his mana.” Einstein’s equating of “mana” with capital, here, holds the clue: For in c. 1930, descriptions of noncapitalist economies shifted more sharply into focus in the discourse over the economic determinacy of the cultural superstructure, and also in the quest for alternatives to capitalism. Radical counter-proposals to capitalist desolidarization found articulation in attempts such as “inverted Taylorism,” in the critique of the commodity form and in the emphasis on use value, as well as in concepts of primitive communism and the gift economy.

B32 (359) Heinrich Eildermann, *Urkommunismus und Urreligion. Geschichtsmaterialistisch beleuchtet*. Berlin: A. Seehof & Co., 1921.

B32 (360) August Seiden, *Vom Urkommunismus zum Weltkonzern*. Görlitz: Bezirkssekretariat der V.S.P.D, 1923.

B32 (361) Karl August Wittfogel, *Urkommunismus und Feudalismus (= Vom Urkommunismus bis zur proletarischen Revolution, Eine Skizze der Entwicklung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, vol. 1). Berlin: Verlag Junge Garde, 1922.

Karl August Wittfogel (1896–1988) was a sociologist and sinologist and a member of the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt. In 1922 he wrote a series of articles on the origin of human society for *Die Junge Garde*, which he published in an expanded edition as the brochure *Vom Urkommunismus bis zur proletarischen Revolution* (From primitive communism to the proletarian revolution). For Wittfogel, the idea of an egalitarian, precapitalist past—which also proved inspirational for the French Revolution—was an anticipation of the postcapitalist

future. Ideologically contested, the concept of primitive communism describes economies and societal forms prior to the institutionalization of inequality and private property. Around the turn of the century, socialist scientists and authors (such as Rosa Luxemburg and Vere Childe) in particular, attempted to prove the existence of a primitive agrarian communism—parallel to research into egalitarian social forms in the Paleolithic. AF

B32 (362) Fritz Kahn, “Der Weg der Entwicklung,” in Fritz Kahn, *Das Leben des Menschen: Eine volkstümliche Anatomie, Biologie, Physiologie und Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen*, vol. 4. Stuttgart: Franck’sche Verlagshandlung, 1929, p. 205.

B32 (363) Georges Bataille, “La notion de dépense,” *La Critique sociale* (1933). Paris: Rivière [reprint Paris: Éditions de la Différence, 1983] (reproduction).

B32 (364) Marcel Mauss, “Essai sur le don: Forme et raison de l’échange dans les sociétés archaïques” [1924], in Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et Anthropologie*. Paris: PUF, Collection Quadrige, 1950.

The works of Marcel Mauss and Georges Bataille on gift economies and expenditure, developed from their (mis-)interpretations of various indigenous sources, particularly the potlatch festival of the Kwakwaka’wakw peoples of North America (as initially described by Franz Boas), are “an exemplary case of colonial violence as a moral restriction to general circulation,” as Etienne Turpin has pointed out. The seminal book *Essai sur le don (The Gift)* by sociologist and anthropologist Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) investigates the social bonds created in noncapitalist economies. Mauss posits that the gift is a medium that upholds society by creating the obligation of reciprocal exchange: in Polynesia, failure to reciprocate results in the loss of “mana,” and thus of authority and wealth. George Bataille (1897–1962) drew on Mauss’s work in his critique of utility in industrial capitalism; his attack on the ubiquitous presumptions of traditional economic logic and the ideological use of scarcity and restriction is based on the potlatch. AF

B32 (365) Otto Neurath, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft. Bildstatistisches Elementarwerk*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1930 · Archiv Marzona, Berlin.

Otto Neurath was a political economist and philosopher of science who developed the *Wiener Methode der Bildstatistik*, which, since 1932, was called ISOTYPE (International System of Typographic Picture Education). Neurath was a positivist and believed that techno-scientific modernization would result in socialism, and that “magical” and “religious” thinking would be surmounted by scientific modes of thought. He had observed barter economies in and after the war, and deduced that it is feasible to realize a planned economy without money. The ensuing reduction in productivity could be mitigated by means of scientific techniques based on analysis of work-flows, and so on, as advocated by Frederick Winslow Taylor. Neurath suggested that in a socialist economy, the application of Taylorism to the organization of entire societies would have to be “inverted”: Rather than subjecting

people to the requirements of optimized industrial work, the Taylorist system of tests would have to be used to experimentally define and invent occupations. AF

B32 (366) Simone Weil, *Journal d'usine*, 1931, Manuscript (reproduction) · Courtesy Fonds Simone Weil, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

The factory diaries are the documentation of an attempt at crossing class borders and the limits such borders impose on representation. To experience what proletarian life meant in the aftermath of the Great Depression, philosopher Simone Weil (1909–43) got herself hired at a plant of the electric company Alstom as a drill-press operator, in Boulogne-Billancourt as a packer, and as a machinist at a Renault plant. After a year and severe health problems, Weil abandoned factory work. At the time, she was making important public contributions, peircing through the smokescreen of fantasy and outright lies surrounding French colonialism. In her writings on the factory experience, Weil focused on the psychologically numbing effects of factory work. AF

AW (ARTWORKS)

The 1920s and 1930s saw the question of art's social function and "use value" become inseparably tied up with the question of its contact to the "masses." The problem of the autonomy of art's methods and interpretations in engaging with reality thus became all the more acute. The "Neolithic Childhood" turned out to be a potential generative matrix for relating differently to the world. Between self-assertion as aesthetic practice and anti-modernist self-transgression a new room-for-play emerges. Venturing beyond the categories of abstraction and figuration, as well as the (anti-)category of formlessness, the works of this period reflect the quest for a productively delimited mimesis. "Totemic" landscapes symbolize unearthly affiliations and cosmological visions. Forces of destruction contrast with the potential, the scope, and the maladjustment of childhood. Images experiment in the interstitial spaces of body forms and drawn figures. They touch on points of indifference, where "primordial" symbols and hallucinatory inventions are available equally as both subject and object.

Sections A and B are conceived as an excavation site, as the scene of a critical, archaeological engagement with deep time. The central wall of the exhibition, where most of the AWs (Carl Einstein's shorthand for "Artworks") are assembled and displayed, functions differently—like a screen onto which the "prehistories" of subjectivity "c. 1930" are projected.

JAMES L. ALLEN

(1907–77)

ALLEN (367)

Portrait of James Lesesne Wells, c. 1930

Photograph (reproduction), 22.23 × 15.2 cm ·
Courtesy Alain Locke Papers/Moorland–
Spingarn Research Center, Howard University

The New York-based photographer James Latimer Allen was one of the most sought-after portraitists of the new black American intelligentsia of the 1920s and 1930s. His pictures of Alain Locke, Langston Hughes, Paul Robeson, Aaron Douglas, and others put the notables of the Harlem Renaissance and "New Negro" movement in a distinguished light. The graphic designer and illustrator James Lesesne Wells (1902–93), shown here, published his linocuts inspired by African art in many of the same magazines that published Allen's photographs. The carved vessel that he is viewing in Allen's portrait came from Alain Locke's collection. It was made by an artist from the Kuba kingdom of Central Africa; its aristocratic status could be assumed familiar to those involved within that society. In the photographic pose showing the two figures gazing at one another—the wooden face and the profile of the artist—this would also symbolize the transference of a specific, transhistorical nobility. TH

JEAN (HANS) ARP

(1886–1966)

ARP (368)

Untitled (Neues Handbuch der Malerei)

[New handbook of painting], late 1940s
Collage on paper, 35 × 25 cm ·
Archiv Marzona, Berlin

Carl Einstein devoted only a few lines to Hans Arp in the third, 1931 edition of his *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, which must have been written at around the same time as Einstein's article on the artist and poet, "L'enfance néolithique," was published in *Documents*. This, too, raises the issue of how Arp's art correlates with the history of mankind, and, beyond that, to the history of nature. For his "fixation" is also a "regression to the primitive," just as "the individual element is intended to symbolize the entire entity." Arp's solo show in the Kunsthalle Basel prompted art historian and literary scholar Carola Giedion-Welcker in 1932 to talk of "*Sehzeichen*" or visual signs, which direct or even replace seeing. Rather than representing or imitating the primitive, according to Giedion-Welcker, Arp "textualizes" the world, rendering every "sentimental self-articulation" redundant. Similarly, the collage featuring the torn-out fragment of a black-and-white print from the late 1940s also participates in the textualization of subjectless seeing. The glued-on strip of Gothic script bearing the (fictitious?) book title "Neues Handbuch der Malerei" (New handbook of painting) calls to mind Arp's short book *Neue Französische Malerei* (New French painting), which he published in 1931. TH

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WILLI BAUMEISTER

(1889–1955)

BAUMEISTER (369) *Aufgelöste Figuren* [Disbanded figures], 1946

Lithograph, 33 × 44 cm · Private collection, Berlin

BAUMEISTER (370) *Figur* [Figure], 1931

Pencil and charcoal on cardboard, 45 × 32.8 cm · Private collection

BAUMEISTER (371) *Fußballspieler* [Football player], 1935

Pencil and charcoal on cardboard, 44.7 × 34.8 cm · Private collection

BAUMEISTER (372) *Lichte Figuren* [Light figures], 1944–47

Lithograph, 47.5 × 60.5 cm · Private collection, Berlin

BAUMEISTER (373) Untitled (*Urzeitgestalten*) [Primordial figures], 1944–47

Lithograph, c. 37 × 43 cm · Private collection, Berlin

BAUMEISTER (374) *Schemen* [Schemes], 1936

Pencil and charcoal on cardboard, 45 × 34.7 cm · Private collection

Willi Baumeister's early work underwent a pivotal development during the 1930s. His general theme could be read as exploring the relationship between figures and the surrounding constitutive pictorial space. Starting from the constructivist concept of the human figure characterizing his early works, which is incorporated into a structure of lines of relation and projection, his style shifted toward more biomorphic figures, which were sustained merely by elegant, rhythmic lines within a clear, ambient space. The resulting effect was as if the constructivist world of forms had spawned a counter-image from archaic sources, which demonstrably fascinated Baumeister in and around the 1930s. In conscious contradistinction to painterly naturalism, this trend towards biomorphization inspired Baumeister to draw on pre-historic motifs and forms, which continued to remain a feature of his late works. Liberating himself from the anthropomorphs, he directly linked the modern nuclear age with the Paleolithic to forge a transhistorical visual language. ^{CK}

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JACQUES-ANDRÉ BOIFFARD

(1902–61)

BOIFFARD (375) Untitled, c. 1930

Gelatin silver print, 16.1 × 20 cm · Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée national d'art moderne/ Centre de création industrielle

His early interest in literature and painting brought the medical student Jacques-André Boiffard into contact with the surrealist movement in the mid-1920s. From 1926 onward, he worked for Man Ray as the successor to Berenice Abbott. In addition to his activities as an artist and graphic designer (in which capacity he, besides others, was responsible for designing the posters for ethnological exhibitions), Boiffard garnered high acclaim for his exceptional skills in the production of photographic prints. Around 1930 he then began creating primarily images of masks. The deconstruction of the portrait genre in Boiffard's series *Masque de carnaval*, which was published in *Documents* in 1930, reorients the concept of individuality by means of grotesque, painted masks, fashioned from plaster or papier-mâché. Similarly, the tenebrous photo of a face, obscured beyond recognition by a curtain of hair, and from behind which only the eyes shine forth, is a further variation on the theme of masking and defiguration. So uncompromising is the decoupling of physiognomy and affect that there is no place left for the "self." ^{CK/TH}

GEORGES BRAQUE

(1882–1963)

BRAQUE (376) From *Theogony* (by Hesiod), 1–20/20, 1932/55

Etchings, c. 43.5 × 33 cm · Galerie Boissérée

The *Theogony* by the Greek poet Hesiod of around 700 BC describes the complex origins of the world and the genealogy of the gods, from their beginnings with the primal deities Chaos, Gaia, Tartarus, Eros, Erebus, and Nyx, to the various marriages and liaisons of Zeus. In 1931, when the gallery owner and publisher Ambroise Vollard invited him to illustrate a book of his choice, Georges Braque chose this text. The series of etchings was created between 1932 and 1935, but was not published until 1955. For a brief period in the early 1930s, Braque gave precedence to a visual language in which the figure was rediscovered as a "metamorphic function" between man and the environment, as Carl Einstein reasoned. Braque's gossamer lines balance on the border of figuration and defiguration. Thus, in Einstein's view, they condense those fundamental hallucinatory processes in which human freedom can only be found beyond standard humanity. In the detour via magical transformism, Braque regained the sense of the ontological openness of subjectivity. TH

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BRASSAÏ

(Gyula Halász, 1899–1984)

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- BRASSAÏ (377) *“Du mur des cavernes au mur d’usine”*
From *Minotaure*, 3–4 (1933), Skira, Paris
(reproduction)
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- BRASSAÏ (378) From *Graffiti Series III: “The Birth of the Face,”*
1933–56
Gelatin silver print, 28.8×22.7 cm · Victoria and
Albert Museum, London. Bequest of Gilberte
Boyer Brassai
-
- BRASSAÏ (379) From *Graffiti Series IV: “Masks and Faces,”*
1933–56
Gelatin silver print, 29.4×23 cm · Victoria and
Albert Museum, London. Bequest of Gilberte
Boyer Brassai
-
- BRASSAÏ (380) From *Graffiti Series VII: “Death,”* 1933–56
Gelatin silver print, 38×29.2 cm · Victoria and
Albert Museum, London. Bequest of Gilberte
Boyer Brassai
-
- BRASSAÏ (381) From *Graffiti Series VII: “Death,”* 1933–56
Gelatin silver print, 29.7×23.5 cm · Victoria and
Albert Museum, London. Bequest of Gilberte
Boyer Brassai
-
- BRASSAÏ (382) From *Graffiti Series VII: “Death,”* 1933–56
Gelatin silver print, 30.5×24 cm · Victoria and
Albert Museum, London. Bequest of Gilberte
Boyer Brassai
-
- BRASSAÏ (383) From *Graffiti Series VIII: “Magic,”* 1933–56
Gelatin silver print, 30.3×23.6 cm · Victoria and
Albert Museum, London. Bequest of Gilberte
Boyer Brassai
-
- BRASSAÏ (384) From *Graffiti Series VIII: “Magic,”* 1933–56
Gelatin silver print, 24.2×18 cm · Victoria and
Albert Museum, London. Bequest of Gilberte
Boyer Brassai
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- BRASSAÏ (385) From *Graffiti Series VIII: “Magic,”* 1933–56
Gelatin silver print, 29.8×23.5 cm · Victoria and
Albert Museum, London. Bequest of Gilberte
Boyer Brassai

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- BRASSAÏ (386) From *Graffiti Series VIII: “Magic,”* 1933–56
Gelatin silver print, 29.2×22.8 cm · Victoria and
Albert Museum, London. Bequest of Gilberte
Boyer Brassai

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- BRASSAÏ (387) From *Graffiti Series IX: “Primitive Images,”*
1933–56
Gelatin silver print, 28×20.8 cm · Victoria and
Albert Museum, London. Bequest of Gilberte
Boyer Brassai

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- BRASSAÏ (388) *Tériade, Le point de vue de la nature*
[The point of view of nature]
With photos by Brassai, *Arts et Métiers*
Graphiques, no. 54 (1936) . Paris: AMG, 1936

In 1932 the photographer and sculptor Brassai was introduced to a broader public through the publication of his photobook *Paris de Nuit* in which he painted a mysterious and richly-contrasted image of the nocturnal metropolis by lamplight, replete with its underworld and inhabitants. In the following year he began work on the cycle *Graffiti*, which would occupy him for the ensuing two decades. This cycle represents the endeavor to take account of a special urban phenomenon, generally dismissed as “graffiti,” but which, for Brassai, promised to afford a valuable insight into the subconscious realm of a city. What he sought to show eluded our quotidian gaze, and only revealed itself, if at all, to the nightly wanderers who encountered these drawings on the walls, in alleyways, and in the hidden corners of the city. The charm of a popular and yet enigmatic sign language must have intrigued the photographer—and these images also wielded a similar impact on the surrealist movement, which, among other things, led to their publication in 1933 in the magazine *Minotaure*. ck

VICTOR BRAUNER

(1903–66)

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- BRAUNER (389) *Cette guerre morphologique de l’homme*
[This morphological war of man], 1938
Ink on paper, 46×58.5 cm · Centre Pompidou,
Paris, Musée national d’art moderne/Centre de
création industrielle

Victor Brauner was a major figure in the Romanian avant-garde, and after relocating to Paris in 1930, he came to prominence in André Breton’s surrealist circle. In 1936 he joined the Romanian Communist Party, started to publish in journals of the radical left, and dropped painting temporarily in favor of drawing and caricatures defined by an aggressively erotic form. *Cette guerre morphologique de l’homme* dates from this period. It is part of Brauner’s attempt to develop a more complex topology of a polymorphous self in the face of the fascist biologization of boundaries. Presenting a morphological war on the biologically defined surface of the body, the drawing is dedicated to the Romanian poet-theorist Ghérasim Luca and his partner Annie Rasicovici. Luca developed a social epistemology of love’s

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non-Oedipal, destructive power as the premise for any revolution. A few decades later, Luca's admirer Gilles Deleuze noted how "non-Oedipal love is pretty hard work." For Brauner, in the 1930s, it was a *war*. JN

CLAUDE CAHUN

(Lucy Schwob, 1894–1954)

CAHUN (390) *Entre Nous* [Between us], 1926
Gelatin silver print (reproduction), 10.2 × 7.8 cm ·
Courtesy Jersey Heritage Collections

CAHUN (391) *Têtes de Cristal* [Crystal heads], 1936
Gelatin silver print (reproduction), 10.8 × 8.8 cm ·
Courtesy Jersey Heritage Collections

CAHUN (392) *Self-Portrait*, 1928
Gelatin silver print (reproduction), 11.8 × 8.8 cm ·
Courtesy Jersey Heritage Collections

CAHUN (393) *Self-Portrait*, 1932
Gelatin silver print (reproduction), 10 × 8 cm ·
Courtesy Jersey Heritage Collections

CLAUDE CAHUN

(Lucy Schwob, 1894–1954)

& MARCEL MOORE

(Suzanne Malherbe, 1892–1972)

CAHUN/MOORE (394) *Aveux non Avenus*
[Disavowed confessions], 1930
Photomontage (reproduction)

Claude Cahun, born Lucy Schwob, was known in Paris in the 1920s and 1930s for writings and performances. They were produced in collaboration with her lifelong partner Suzanne Malherbe (Marcel Moore). Their anti-autobiography *Aveux non Avenus* (1930) also thwarts the idea of singular authorship. The book contains ten black-and-white heliogravures of Moore's photomontages, which, like Cahun's writings, suggest a noncausal form of experience. On the frontispiece shown here, Cahun's eye is focused on the observer from the center of the picture, held by her hands, mounted on her mouth. The collage material blends to form a spiritualistic picture: The eye is part of a trinity, which also includes a convex breastplate in which multiple reflections of Cahun can be seen, and a world map carefully enclosed by two hands. Additional worlds hover in the longitudinal axis: A pomegranate-like sphere, a drawn bosom, a glass ball, a sea of

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stars. An artistic ego, at the center of which Cahun ensues to "divide myself, to overcome, to multiply myself, to assert myself." KS

JOSEPH CORNELL

(1903–72)

CORNELL (395) *By Night with Torch and Spear*, 1942
Silent film, 16 mm (original), color, 9 min ·
Anthology Film Archives, New York

A key figure of American surrealism, Joseph Cornell is widely known for his box assemblages, but he also pioneered the genre of found-footage film. By undermining stable meaning and linear narrative, Cornell stages an explicitly formal exploration of the cinematic medium and its experience, focusing on the manipulation of time, light, gaze, and gesture. *By Night With Torch and Spear* was recovered from Cornell's archives after his death, but was presumably completed by Cornell in the early 1940s, at the height of the Second World War. The film shows industrial processes as if in reverse—upside down and run backwards. Cornell juxtaposes these shots with intertitles and sequences showing rituals, as well as close-up depictions and negative images of insect worlds. The journey from industrial plant to the spheres of the unseen and otherness is also a journey from measured and rationalized time to a nonlinear "now time" that is not subordinated to economic rationale but instead works through repetition and excess. AF

GERMAINE DULAC

(1882–1942)

DULAC (396) *La Coquille et le Clergyman*
[The seashell and the clergyman], 1927
Silent film, 35 mm (original), b/w, 38 min

Germaine Dulac was a filmmaker, critic, and theorist, who aspired to create "musically constructed," "pure" films. Her pioneering cinema, which was both popular and experimental, developed in a quest for a new "art of vision," influenced by symbolism in explicitly feminist terms. *La Coquille et le Clergyman*—sometimes credited as the first surrealist film—was the result of a contested collaboration between Dulac and Antonin Artaud, who had written a script about a young cleric troubled by his desires for a beautiful woman, the wife of a dominant male character, a general. As the cleric struggles with his fears, desires, and violent impulses, he experiences visions of death and lust. Dulac translates the story into a series of transgressive visual metaphors, deliberately confusing the masculine and feminine. The common ground between Dulac and Artaud was the belief that cinema was able to challenge the given hierarchies and value-systems, and that its visual language could directly engage the unconscious. AF

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SERGEI EISENSTEIN

(1898–1948)

EISENSTEIN (397)

From *Die Heirat des Chamäleons*
[The chameleon's wedding], 1931

Colored pencil on paper (reproduction) ·
Courtesy RGALI, Moscow

Director and film theorist Sergei Eisenstein analyzed “expressive movements” as traces of a body in a conflict situation. Expressivity is a visible deformation resulting from this conflict. The expressions of a crying child or a snarling tiger, for example, both graphically reveal a particular zigzag pattern emerging from facial wrinkles and the predator’s canine teeth. For Eisenstein, drawing was a palpable experimental arrangement of such expressive movements, a concrete restaging of their traces. In 1929, Eisenstein wrote in his *Notebook on Ecstasy* about a film project on “The Expressive Movement of Plants,” which aimed to demonstrate the rhythm of plant movement as an abstract zigzag curve in three tempos. What can a line do that becomes a plant, as in Eisenstein’s drawings from the series “The chameleon’s wedding”? This line seems to dismiss the force of gravity as easily as perspective: in an ecstatic and rhizomatic threshold experience between animal, plant, and human. EV

EISENSTEIN (398)

Film material for *¡Que viva Mexico!*
[Long live Mexico!], 1931–32

6–8 min · Gosfilmofond, Moscow,
research and assembly Elena Vogman
and Marie Rebecchi

Eisenstein worked for fourteen months in 1930–32 on his Mexican film—a project that Eisenstein’s local assistant called “a poem of a sociological character.” It was funded by the American socialist and writer Upton Sinclair. Due to budget problems and political difficulties (on November 21, 1931, Sinclair received a telegram from Stalin in which Eisenstein was accused of being a deserter), the Mexican material was left unfinished and unedited by Eisenstein, who had to go back to the Soviet Union in May 1932, after filming over 200,000 feet of film rushes with a running time of nearly forty hours. Over the years, the Mexican film became the object of repeated alterations: In 1933 and 1934, Sol Lesser edited the two short films *Thunder over Mexico* (1933) and *Death Day* (1934). In 1939, Marie Seton, Eisenstein’s biographer, bought part of the footage from Sinclair and edited her own version entitled *Time in the Sun*. After Eisenstein’s death in 1948, Sinclair donated the footage to the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1954, and, in 1955, Jay Leyda—Eisenstein’s former student—edited the 225-minute version of *Eisenstein’s Mexican Film: Episodes for Study*. In 1979, on the occasion of the Sixth Moscow International Film Festival, Grigori Aleksandrov used the Mexican footage for his own version of *¡Que viva México!* The unseen footage from Eisenstein’s Mexican film, recently discovered at the Gosfilmofond archive in Moscow, shows parades in Mexico City, while two further scenes are taken from Leyda’s version of the film. EV

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MAX ERNST

(1891–1976)

ERNST (399)

Barbares marchant vers l’ouest

[Barbarians marching to the West], 1935

Oil on canvas, 24 × 32 cm · Private collection,
Stuttgart.

ERNST (400)

From *Histoire Naturelle*, Nr. 3:

“Trois petites tables autour de la terre” [Natural
history, no. 3: Little tables around the earth], 1926

Collotype on vellum after frottage,
49.8 × 32.3 cm · Kunstmuseum Bonn

ERNST (401)

From *Histoire Naturelle*, Nr. 6: “Las Pampas”

[Natural history, no. 6: The pampas], 1926

Collotype on vellum after frottage,
32.3 × 49.8 cm · Kunstmuseum Bonn

ERNST (402)

From *Histoire Naturelle*, Nr. 10:

“Elle garde son secret” [Natural history, no. 10:
She guards her secret], 1926

Collotype on vellum after frottage,
49.8 × 32.3 cm · Kunstmuseum Bonn

ERNST (403)

From *Histoire Naturelle*, Nr. 14:

“Le start du chataignier” [Natural history, no. 14:
The chestnut trees take-off], 1926

Collotype on vellum after frottage,
32.3 × 49.8 cm · Kunstmuseum Bonn

ERNST (404)

From *Histoire Naturelle*, Nr. 26:

“L’Origine de la pendule” [Natural history, no. 26:
The origin of the clock], 1926

Collotype on vellum after frottage,
49.8 × 32.3 cm · Kunstmuseum Bonn

ERNST (405)

From *Histoire Naturelle*, Nr. 28:

“Le repas du mort” [Natural history, no. 28:
The repast of death], 1926

Collotype on vellum after frottage,
32.3 × 49.8 cm · Kunstmuseum Bonn

In the mid-1920s, Max Ernst discovered frottage, a technique in which an object’s texture is transferred by rubbing with pastel or pencil. It allowed him to meld the surrealist interest in the “automatist” production of the unconscious to the intrinsic logic of the material itself. The most important work among his early frottages is *Histoire naturelle* (1926), a cycle of thirty-four plates prefaced by a “pseudo-introduction” by Hans Arp. French readers could not have missed the reference to the Comte de Buffon’s

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monumental *Histoire naturelle*. Yet Ernst narrates his “natural history” not in the language of science, but rather in the idiom of a surrealist visual investigation that defies conventional classificatory systems, mixing fanciful inventions such as zoomorphic leaf-like creatures with the mineral numbness of rock and lacing the barrenness of prehistory with intimations of delectable regression. In 1927, René Crevel wrote that Ernst painted the marvels of a universe “whose minor mysteries will one day be greater than we ourselves.” TH

ERNST (406) *Untitled*, 1935
Oil on paper on cardboard, 23.7×34.8 cm · Private collection, Stuttgart

ERNST (407) *Oiseau ovoïde* [Ovoid bird], 1934
Granite, 19.7×14×7.8 cm · Private collection, Stuttgart

ERNST (408) *Roter Grätenwald* [Red bone forest], 1927
Oil on canvas, 26.7×35 cm · Private collection, Stuttgart

Over long periods, Max Ernst propelled his subjects in constant metamorphoses and technical variations. His pictures offered themselves to a deep time of the present, an eerie milieu of ontogenesis. Natural history and urbanity, forest and primal horde are as unfathomable as bird people and fish bones. In a short circuit of modernity and prehistoric times, a hallucinatory vision emerges in which the bourgeois equivalents of visibility and knowledge are suspended and natural and cultural history destructively permeate one another. Like the dead forest of fish bones, the city appears as a primordial landscape. No subject of surrealism is as similarly charged and paradoxical as that of the “barbarian” who had become an identifying programmatic figure of the group since the *Third Surrealist Manifesto*. For Max Ernst, who had painted his pictures of barbarians and hordes since 1926, these figures are both utopian and dystopian: Anti-civilizing saviors who destroy and redeem the adulterating rationality of Europe; at the same time, they rage like amorphous creatures of the masses. Then they represent the morbid fascist threat, but they also universalize it mythically as a force of nature. ^{AF}

T. LUX FEININGER

(1910–2011)

FEININGER (409) *Kai von New Orleans* [Quay of New Orleans], 1931
Oil on canvas, 25×50 cm · Private collection

Theodore Lux (Lukas) Feininger was a German-American photographer and painter. In 1926, he began studying art at the Bauhaus in Dessau, where his father, Lyonel Feininger, taught. Feininger was initially interested in photography, but in 1929 he began to paint, with the world of seafaring and the sea the theme of his pictures. When he wrote of his “preference” for “combin-

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ing a fantastic reality with a realistic fantasy,” however, he distanced himself from maritime subject painting and explicitly set his work in the context of a post-expressionist style of painting for which the art critic Franz Roh had coined the term “magic realism” in 1923. *Kai von New Orleans* of 1931 shows two groups of figures, in each of which one figure is dark-skinned, near a rigged sailing ship. People of color are often featured in Feininger’s pictures, in which the way they are portrayed, together with the confidence and elegance of their poses and movements, can be interpreted as a utopian yearning for overcoming racist demarcations. ^{CR}

JULIO GONZÁLEZ

(1876–1942)

GONZÁLEZ (410) *Masque Humour no 1*
[Humour Masque No. 1], 1940

Indian ink, pen drawing, and wash on paper,
31.5×24.2 cm · Museo Nacional Centro de Arte
Reina Sofia, Madrid

GONZÁLEZ (411) *Personnage science fiction*
[Science Fiction Character], 1934

Indian ink, pen drawing, colored pencil, and pencil
on Canson paper, 15.5×12.5 cm · Museo Nacional
Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid

In his youth, the Barcelona-born sculptor Julio González underwent training in his father’s blacksmith shop during the day and attended classes at the Escuela de Bellas Artes in the evenings. After moving to Paris, he quickly became a regular participant in the major group exhibitions. Alongside his intermittent collaborations with Picasso and his membership of the groups Cercle et Carré and Abstraction-Création, he also forged contact with the surrealist movement. Together with other surrealists, he exhibited in the Salon des Surindépendants in 1931. By virtue of their multicolored features, the drawings produced from around 1930, which focused on the motif of a “Science fiction character,” prefigure the diversity of material to which González aspired in his late works. Despite retaining a fundamental constructivity, the artist succeeds in evoking a playful weightlessness. With the title *Personnage science-fiction*, which defies categorical confirmation by the motifs themselves, González has shifted the figure in closer proximity to other highly diverse figurative conceptualizations of modernity. ^{CK}

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JOHN HEARTFIELD

(Helmut Herzfeld, 1891–1968)

HEARTFIELD (412) *Deutsche Naturgeschichte*
[German natural history], 1934

Photomontage in copperplate etching, Illustration for *AIZ* magazine, vol. 13, no. 33 (August 16, 1934), p. 536 (reproduction) · Courtesy Kunstsammlung Akademie der Künste, Berlin

In this poster, published on the back cover of *AIZ*, allegory and the critical use of myth serve to open up the gap between sign and referent, while pointing to its closure in the ideological fusion of nature and history and the biologization of politics. *Deutsche Naturgeschichte* mocks the obsession with metamorphosis that pervades German thought, and equally questions evolutionary schemes of progress, particularly addressing the Social Democrats' belief in Weimar parliamentarianism. Surrounded by decomposing oak leaves, a dying branch of a tree bears the succession of Weimar Republic chancellor Friedrich Ebert as a caterpillar, president Paul von Hindenburg as a chrysalis, who acts as stepping stone for Adolf Hitler as the fully developed "Death's Head Moth." The caption provides three meanings of metamorphosis. First, "In mythology: The metamorphosis of human beings into trees, animals, stones." The belief in evolutionary progress is debunked as mere myth. "Second, metamorphosis in nature as in the case of the moth," and "third, in history: The linear development EBERT–HINDENBURG–HITLER. AF

FLORENCE HENRI

(1893–1982)

HENRI (413) Untitled (*Kakteen*) [Cacti], 1935
Gelatin silver print, 37.2 × 27.6 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

HENRI (414) Untitled (*Komposition mit Spiegel und Tellern*)
[Composition with mirror and plates], 1931
Gelatin silver print, 27.2 × 22.7 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

HENRI (415) Untitled (*Pariser Fenster*) [Paris window], 1930
Gelatin silver print, 34 × 26.7 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

HENRI (416) Untitled (*Stilleben, Komposition mit Kugel, Sieb und Spiegel*) [Still life, composition with ball, sieve, and mirror], 1930
Gelatin silver print, 22.5 × 27.4 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

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HENRI (417) *Stilleben mit Tulpe* [Still life with tulip], 1931

Gelatin silver print, 22.3 × 28.6 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

After training as a painter, Florence Henri recognized that photography had become a significant artistic medium due to its rapid advances in public impact and the technical improvements in industrial image production. Her decision to work as a photographer solidified in 1927 when she went to Dessau for further training at the Bauhaus, where she encountered artists such as László Moholy-Nagy. After returning to Paris, she experimented with photography to achieve a unique visual language through innovative use of geometric elements, above all, mirrors. With her experiments in the late 1920s, Florence Henri copied the "reflexes" of the camera through arrangements of mirrors. In these viewing cabinets, inanimate and animated objects interacted in a completely new way. This transformed photography into a field of experimentation that had the advantage over many methods of abstract painting for its actual contact with real objects. It was also suited to negotiating the psychological aspects of the self on one level with technical aesthetics. CK

BARBARA HEPWORTH

(1903–75)

PAUL LAIB

(1869–1958)

HEPWORTH / LAIB (418) Paul Laib, *Reclining Figure, 1933*,
by Barbara Hepworth, 1933

Photograph (reproduction), 22 × 32 cm ·
Courtesy The de Laszlo Collection of Paul
Laib Negatives, The Courtauld Institute of
Art, London

HEPWORTH / LAIB (419) Paul Laib, *Sculpture with Profiles, 1932*,
by Barbara Hepworth, 1932

Photograph (reproduction), 30 × 22 cm ·
Courtesy The de Laszlo Collection of Paul
Laib Negatives, The Courtauld Institute of
Art, London

Around 1930 it could not be taken for granted that artists had at their disposal good photographic reproductions of their current works. On the other hand, the perceptibility of a work was crucially dependent on the existence and circulation of such photographs, especially when an artist lived and worked outside the centers of artistic production. This was one of the reasons that, in the early 1930s, the English sculptor Barbara Hepworth joined up with professional photographers, including E. J. Mason and especially Paul Laib, before taking the photographic documentation into her own hands around 1934. The two photographs by Laib must have been taken around 1933 and show two small, biomorphic alabaster sculptures. Their volumes are represented to great effect through the choice of camera position, fall of light, and the optical lenses. Carola Giedion-Welcker wrote of Hepworth in

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1937, in *Moderne Plastik*, that the artist “cut through to increasingly simplified forms through more complicated structuring of the figural.” Precisely this “more complicated structuring” was an important sculptural contribution to the questioning of the subject–object dichotomy. TH

HANNAH HÖCH

(1889–1978)

HÖCH (420) *Aus einem ethnographischen Museum*, ohne Titel, Original von 1929 [From an ethnographic museum, Untitled, original from 1929]
Photomontage (reproduction), 49 × 32.5 cm ·
Courtesy Sammlung zeitgenössischer Kunst der
Bundesrepublik Deutschland

The series “From an Ethnographic Museum” (1924–30) originates from the estate of Hannah Höch and was dedicated to Johannes Baader. Höch herself referred to it as “The Collection.” Among the small-format sheets are, as the title implies, ethnographic images culled from illustrated magazines, together with other photos, self-portraits, advertising images, all pieced together to form predominantly organic, figure-like entities. Her compositional technique of matching both familiar and “other” pictorial elements in the photomontage generated an array of ambivalent, and, at the time, unknown receptual possibilities. Despite their witty and sinister humor, these ornamentally and formally equalized images, “borrowed” from colonial news coverage, were, however, politically charged. With assured compositional artistry, allied to the wit and irony with which she treated the prevailing categorization models, she succeeded in combining a modern concept of femininity, forged from self portraits (also of herself), with images of the “other” in a reflective and allegorical manner. Despite using ethnographically-inflected images, Höch’s primary concern was not the “ethnic” residing within them, but rather their provenance from nineteenth-century museums and the ideology prevailing there. CK

HÖCH (421) *Aus einem ethnographischen Museum*, Nr. VIII, „Denkmal I“, Original von 1924 [From an ethnographic museum, no. VIII, “Monument 1,” original from 1924]
Photomontage (facsimile), 20.1 × 8.8 cm ·
Berlinische Galerie – Landesmuseum für
moderne Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur

HÖCH (422) *Aus einem ethnographischen Museum*, Nr. X, ohne Titel, Original von 1924 [From an ethnographic museum, no. X, Untitled, original from 1924]
Photomontage (facsimile), 25.9 × 18.1 cm ·
Berlinische Galerie – Landesmuseum für
moderne Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur

(419–422)

HÖCH (423) *Aus einem ethnographischen Museum*, Nr. XI, „Mit Mütze“, Original von 1924 [From an ethnographic museum, no. XI, “With cap,” original from 1924]
Photomontage (facsimile), 13.5 × 8.5 cm ·
Berlinische Galerie – Landesmuseum für
moderne Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur

HÖCH (424) *Aus einem ethnographischen Museum*, Nr. XII, „Der heilige Berg“, Original von 1927 [From an ethnographic museum, no. XII, “The holy mountain,” original from 1927]
Photomontage (facsimile), 33.5 × 22.5 cm ·
Berlinische Galerie – Landesmuseum für
moderne Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur

HÖCH (425) *J. B. und sein Engel*, Original von 1925 [J. B. and his angel, original from 1925]
Photomontage (facsimile), 24.3 × 20 cm ·
Berlinische Galerie – Landesmuseum für
moderne Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur

In the late 1920s, when colonial revisionism was rampant and a rhetoric of crisis surged within different fields across Weimar culture, Hannah Höch started to work on *Aus einem ethnographischen Museum* (1924–30). “Der heilige Berg” belongs to this larger series of collages in which Höch combined magazine cut-outs of non-Western cultures with formal elements germane to a specifically European aesthetic: e.g. pedestals, monochrome backgrounds, and frames. While Carl Einstein’s *Negerplastik* (1915) had spelled out the challenges that African sculpture posed to the exoticism and universalism of this aesthetic, Höch highlighted the consequences of its *medialization*, i.e. the violence inscribed into Western representations of non-European cultures. The title “Der heilige Berg” refers to an eponymous film from 1926, starring Leni Riefenstahl in a romantic drama set in the Alps. In the 1930s Riefenstahl would go on to make her own films, in which the racialized grammar of visual form that Höch sought to denaturalize forged a National Socialist body politic. JN

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HEINRICH HOERLE

(1896–1936)

HOERLE (426) from *Pornomappe*, c. 1930/80
Linocuts on paper, 42.5 × 30 cm
Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Library

Heinrich Hoerle was one of the founding figures of the Cologne Progressive—a group of politically engaged artists, who in the 1920s and early 1930s exhibited internationally, and published their own journal, *a bis z*. Following his credo to “depersonalize everything, use templates, to be a constructor,” Hoerle, together with Wilhelm Seiwert, developed a specific painterly language of resolute verticality and generic forms. Although *Pornomappe* appears at odds with this method, it, too, is defined by formalization. The series shows a sequence of graphic images that close with an illustration of what, in 1930s art and mass culture, was a pervasive phenomenon called “*Lustmord*”: Images of extreme gendered violence. These images functioned as templates, whose continuous repetition across different media indexed a crisis of *narrative*, including that of bourgeois, heteronormative sexuality. *Pornomappe* thus not only speaks to the brutality of economically mediated sex, but to the “pornofication” of sexual relations as a crisis of (human) form and its mediations. JN

HARRY O. HOYT

(1892–1940)

HOYT (427) *The Lost World*, 1925/1998
Silent film, 35 mm (original), b/w, original version
106 min, exhibition version c. 100 min

VALENTINE HUGO

(1887–1968)

HUGO (428) Illustration, in Achim D’Armin, *Contes Bizarres*.
Paris: Cahiers libres, 1933
Private Collection, Berlin

HUGO (429) Illustration (single sheets, printed in color), in
André de Badet, *Contes au clair de lune*. Paris:
René Kieffer, 1948
Private Collection, Berlin

HUGO (430) Illustration, in Paul Eluard, *Les Animaux et Leurs
Hommes, les Hommes et Leur Animaux*. Paris:
Éditions Gallimard, n.d.
Private Collection, Berlin

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HUGO (431) Illustration, in *Médiéuses. Poèmes par Paul
Eluard*, illustrated by Valentine Hugo. Paris:
Éditions Gallimard, 1944
Private Collection, Berlin

HUGO (432) Illustration, in F. H. C. de la Motte-Fouqué,
Ondine. Paris: José Corti, 1943
Private Collection, Berlin

HUGO (433) Illustration, in Louis Parrot, *Paille noire des
étables*. Paris: Robert Laffont, n.d.
Private Collection, Berlin

In the mid-1920s, through a salon she held, the painter, illustrator, and costume designer Valentine Hugo had close relationships with the Paris art world, in particular the surrealist group of André Breton. Adopted into the circle, she created surrealist object arrangements, but also pursued her own unique paths in paintings and illustrations. She illustrated works by poets such as Char, Crevel, and Éluard. One of her most extensive works illustrated a 1933 edition of stories by Achim von Arnim. Hugo, by no means adapted only to the formats of unconscious production created by the surrealists, succeeded, especially with her book illustrations, in developing a new graphic idiom in which realistic representations of humans and animals half dissolved, half solidified in a kind of dark, wavy, relief-like aura. According to a pictorial logic of the liquefaction of forms, she conceived whole pictures with the finest white highlights and hatchings as an aesthetic system that integrates a wide variety of objects, spaces, and written elements. CK

PAUL KLEE

(1879–1940)

KLEE (434) *Barbaren–Söldner* [Barbarian mercenary], 1933
Chalk on paper on cardboard, 20.9 × 32.9 cm ·
Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

KLEE (435) *es wird dünner* [getting thinner], 1933
Brush on paper on cardboard, 46.4 × 59.8 cm ·
Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

KLEE (436) *Flucht vor sich (erstes Stadium)*
[Flight from oneself (first state)], 1931
Pen on paper on cardboard,
41.8/42.2 × 58/58.2 cm ·
Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

KLEE (437) *Gestirn über Felsen* [Stars above rocks], 1929
Pencil on paper on cardboard, 20.5 × 22.7 cm ·
Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

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KLEE (438) *l'homme approximatif* [the approximate man], 1931
Etching and dry point, 17.9×14 cm ·
Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

KLEE (439) *(Metamorphosen:) der Zusammenbruch der biblischen Schlange* [(Metamorphoses:) The collapse of the biblical serpent], 1940
Colored paste on paper on cardboard, 34.2×49.3 cm · Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

KLEE (440) *Pfeile der avant-garde* [Arrows of the avant-garde], 1933
Brush on paper on cardboard, 48.2×63.5 cm ·
Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

KLEE (441) *sich verwandelnd* [to change oneself], 1932
Pen on paper on cardboard, 31.7×24.1 cm ·
Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

KLEE (442) *Starres und Bewegtes geistert* [The rigid and the moving haunt], 1929
Pen on paper on cardboard, 45×30.2 cm ·
Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

KLEE (443) *venus matrona*, 1932
Pen on paper on cardboard, 16.2×48.7 cm ·
Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

KLEE (444) *Vermittlung* [Mediation], 1930
Charcoal-rubbing on paper on cardboard
46.5×60.5 cm · Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

KLEE (445) *Zeichnung zur Barbaren-Venus (21/132)* [Study for barbarian venus (21/132)], 1920
Pencil on paper on cardboard, 27.7×21.7 cm ·
Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern

In his work, Paul Klee not only explored opposites such as those between the “rigid” and the “moved” and their mediation and transformation. His positioning of oppositions must always be considered against the background of another layer, which we can imagine as a bottomless depth of time and a milieu of cosmic emergence: As an inarticulate foundation before all distinctions. At the edge or above this abyss, Klee’s creations first develop their specific cosmogenetic drama. In this way, Klee’s drawings are lent their unmistakable hallucinatory presence and their seemingly innocuous or fairy-tale-like ability to traverse and shake the ontological hierarchies of the natural kingdoms and the world of anthropomorphism. For Klee, the question of mediation (the title of one of the drawings shown here) is a constant starting point. In it, everything fairy-tale-like is lost, for nothing less is subject

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to negotiation than the “conversion of the psychic structure” (as the precursor to a “conversion” of the human), as Carl Einstein described the true objective of Klee’s “metamorphic process.” Einstein, who dedicated a central chapter in the third edition of his *Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* to Klee in 1931, and long announced his desire to write a book about the artist, seems to have discovered, not only the reawakening of the mythical in the artist, but also a practice that could be characterized as queer: “One of the important functions of the images seems to be to detach ourselves from the imposed body standard.” AF

GERMAINE KRULL

(1897–1985)

KRULL (446) *André Malraux*, 1930/99
Gelatin silver print, 23.8×18 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

Germaine Krull photographed the thirty-year-old André Malraux in a contemplative setting, amidst various figures: One he is holding in his hands, the others lie strewn around his feet on the floor. The portrait of the proto-existentialist author—then editor and artistic director of the Paris-based publishers Éditions Gallimard and director of the publishing house’s recently opened gallery—shows Malraux rapt in thought, his gaze trained on the object (replete, of course with the obligatory cigarette hanging from his lips). Although neither the context of the shot, nor the provenance of the objects are known today, both play but a subordinate role in reading this type of image, which Malraux nurtured assiduously: The photographic portraits of non-European, predominantly Buddhist, artworks. These *mise-en-scènes* give expression to Malraux’s specific and longstanding connection to Buddhist art, which was by no means unproblematic (recall his legendary theft of the bas-reliefs from the Cambodian temple complex Banteay Srei in 1923). Until well into the 1960s Krull was involved in many of Malraux’s projects—initially as a photographer, and post-Second World War and beyond, as a consultant and dealer specializing in artworks in and from Southeast Asia. KM

KRULL (447) *Certificat d’Identité*, 28.9.1943
[Identity certificate, 28.9.1943], 1943
Paper, passport photo, 29.9×19.6 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

KRULL (448) *Le port, Douala, Cameroun*
[The port, Douala, Cameroon], 1943
Gelatin silver print, 12.2×18.7 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

KRULL (449) *Le port, Douala, Cameroun*
[The port, Douala, Cameroon], 1943
Gelatin silver print, 12.2×18.7 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

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KRULL (450) *Le port. Les quais de déchargement des marchandises, Douala, Cameroun* [The port: The wharves for unloading goods, Douala, Cameroon], 1943

Gelatin silver print, 12.2 × 18.7 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

Germaine Krull left Vichy France in 1941 to join the Résistance operating in exile under Charles de Gaulle. In Brazzaville, the capital of Free France or *France libre*, she took over the newly established photography service. These photographs take “*propagande par l’image*” into account to depict everything that was potentially militarily relevant. In the territories of the present-day states of Gabon, Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Chad, and Cameroon, which had joined *France libre*, by the end of 1943 Germaine Krull had documented agricultural production processes, the extraction of valuable raw materials and of mineral resources, but also pointed her camera at landscapes, people, folklore, and everyday culture. Within this spectrum, the harbor views from Douala are unique. The compositions of cranes and ship masts, which divide the sky into geometric forms and fields, or the ornamental structures of countless barrels standing on the ground, lead our eyes back to Europe. Here, Krull had once photographed the harbors with their gigantic ship-loading edifices and iron bridges, in Rotterdam and in Marseilles in southern France. ^{KM}

KRULL (451) *Costumes de danse Bamiliké, des danseurs de la cheferie la plus importante du pays Bamiliké, Bandjoun, Cameroun* [Bamileke dance costumes belonging to the dancers from the country’s most important tribe Bamileke-Bandjoun, Cameroon], 1943

Gelatin silver print, 18 × 12.6 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

KRULL (452) *Kamerun* [Cameroon], 1943

Gelatin silver print, 22.9 × 19 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

KRULL (453) *Lewis Cole*, c. 1930

Gelatin silver print, 23.7 × 17.4 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

KRULL (454) *Lewis Cole*, c. 1930/55

Gelatin silver print, 23.4 × 17.4 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

KRULL (455) Untitled (*Blackbirds, Lewis Cole*), c. 1930/95

Gelatin silver print, 23.8 × 17.2 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

The arrival of the African-American ensemble caused quite a stir in Paris in the summer of 1929. Surrealist magazines like *Variétés* and *Documents* were very interested in these ambassadors of

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the Harlem Renaissance, but this interest was pervaded by misunderstandings, misjudgments, and narcissism. Michel Leiris spoke of a “*crise nègre*,” but while the identity crisis of “*negrophile*” Europeans was primarily about self-discovery in the sense of primitivist fascination, the crisis of the African diaspora was marked foremost by dislocation and communication barriers. Germaine Krull apparently moved quite naturally in the Blackbirds’ dressing rooms. She depicts Lewis Cole, one of the dancers, in a black stage-tuxedo, seated in profile with his hands confidently in his pockets, but also holding a hat and doing a side-step in front of a shiny curtain. These photos seem not as if Krull was looking for a fashionable subject, but as if Cole were looking for headshots for his portfolio. TH

KRULL (456) Untitled (*Homme avec enfant*) [Man with child], c. 1943

Gelatin silver print, 13 × 16.9 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

KRULL (457) *Pièges à poissons sur la Kotto, Kembé, Oubangu-Chari* [Fish traps on the Kotto (Koto) River, Kembe, Ubangi-Shari], 1943

Gelatin silver print, 12.9 × 18.5 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

KRULL (458) *Plantation de caoutchouc “Sanaga.” La bande de latex déjà coagulée est sortie des grandes cuves, Dizangué, Cameroun* [“Sanaga” rubber plantation: The coagulated latex is removed from large tanks, Dizangué, Cameroon], 1943

Gelatin silver print, 12.8 × 18.4 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

KRULL (459) *Plantation de caoutchouc “Sanaga.” L’hévea est saigné, Dizangué, Cameroun* [“Sanaga” rubber plantation: Tapping the hevea rubber tree, Dizangué, Cameroon], 1943

Gelatin silver print, 11.6 × 17.6 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

KRULL (460) *Plantation de fadoma. Des cordes fabriquées en sisal, Bakouma, Oubangu-Chari* [Fadoma plantation: Ropes made out of sisal, Bakouma, Ubangi-Shari], 1943

Gelatin silver print, 17 × 11.3 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

KRULL (461) *Plantation de fadoma. La confection d’un gros cable, Bakouma, Oubangu-Chari* [Fadoma plantation: The making of a thick cable, Bakouma, Ubangi-Shari], 1943

Gelatin silver print, 17.5 × 11.4 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

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KRULL (462) *Village Banda, dessins indigènes sur les cases, Oubangu-Chari* [Banda village, indigenous drawings on mud huts, Ubangi-Shari], 1943

Gelatin silver print, 11.4×16.7 cm ·
Museum Folkwang, Essen

FERNAND LÉGER

(1881–1955)

LÉGER (463) *Composition*, 1931

White chalk and graphite on gray-green paper, 63.2×49.5 cm · Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle

LÉGER (464) *Planète* [Planet], 1931

Graphite on paper, 43.5×30.2 cm · Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle

LÉGER (465) *Troncs d'arbres* [Tree trunks], 1931

Pencil on paper, 28.5×22 cm · Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Sammlung Scharf-Gerstenberg

Fernand Léger's constructive aesthetic was based on highly contrasting colors and forms and, in the course of "plastic realism," revealed human figures that were simplified and freed from psychological interpretation, at the same level as inanimate objects, in a scaffold-like picture structure. In the late 1920s, Léger had assimilated the still life to make it the experimental field of an object theory in that it would fundamentally enhance the plastic meaning of the object in the picture. He recognized this in contrast to the *sujet*, which he considered a backward category of abstract painting. Especially in the years 1930 and 1931, Léger's work reveals a new conception of the "contrasting" of natural and technical forms. While it was previously dominated by constructively interwoven tubular forms, now we observe an approximation of the biomorphic to technically constructive forms. With subjects such as holly leaves, thorns, the shells of mussels and nuts, angular stones or tree trunks, existing constructive elements come into focus in natural forms. ck

HELEN LEVITT

(1913–2009)

LEVITT (466) *N.Y. (5 Cent Soda)*, c. 1939/2000
Gelatin silver print, 110×72.5 cm ·
Galerie Thomas Zander

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LEVITT (467) *N.Y. (Angel on Door)*, c. 1939/2000

Gelatin silver print, 75.7×113 cm ·
Galerie Thomas Zander

LEVITT (468) *N.Y. (Button to Secret Passage)*, c. 1939/2000

Gelatin silver print, 77×87 cm ·
Galerie Thomas Zander

Helen Levitt began to photograph street life in New York City around 1936, wandering through working-class neighborhoods such as Brooklyn, the Lower East Side, Harlem, and the Bronx. Inspired by Henri Cartier-Bresson and trained by Walker Evans, her photographs reveal a city not usually seen, a city of autonomous worlds enacted by children; a phenomenology of children's games as they use and mark their environment with graffiti, doodles, inscriptions, and temporary chalk drawings. Refusing many of the genre conventions and emotive triggers of social documentary photography of the time, Levitt was portraying children at play in its fleeting intensity and complexity as a transitional zone, dynamically redrafting the distinction between the inner and the outer. Her work subverts the ideological use of images of children with regard to gender roles, domestic norms, and racial homogeneity. She instead makes us ask: What is a little subject (person) before being recognized as such? AF

ELI LOTAR

(1905–69)

LOTAR (469) *From Aux abattoirs de La Villette*
[At the abattoirs of La Villette], 1929

Gelatin silver print, 52×30 cm · Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle

LOTAR (470) *From Aux abattoirs de La Villette*
[At the abattoirs of La Villette], 1929

Gelatin silver print, 32.2×41.4 cm · Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle

LOTAR (471) *Black Birds dans leur loge*
[Blackbirds in their dressing-room], 1929

Gelatin silver print, 28×40 cm · Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle

LOTAR (472) *Portrait de Feral Benga* [Portrait of Feral Benga], c. 1929

Gelatin silver print, 30×40 cm · Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle

(467–472)

LOTAR (473) *Portrait de Feral Benga* [Portrait of Feral Benga], c. 1930

Gelatin silver print, 40 × 30 cm · Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée national d'art moderne/ Centre de création industrielle

The work of the photographer and film artist Eli Lotar fluctuates between an abstract sense of form and socio-critical impulses. He was a successful portrait photographer and published his work in popular magazines early on, and later in *Documents* and *Minotaure*. On his wanderings through Paris, he was interested in representations of what was visible in a metropolis and what was condemned to invisibility and untouchability under the dictates of bourgeois conventions. He pursued this strategy of approaching the discarded in his portraits, for example in a 1930–31 rehearsal scenario in which he photographed the Senegalese dancer Feral Benga. This strategy also applies to his much more famous, reportage-like series of images, in particular the 1929 photographs of Parisian slaughterhouses in La Villette. In this series, the world of the meat industry, stigmatized as “filthy,” is shown openly, yet not as a sensationalist conquest or as an isolated object of study. The disturbing thing about his depictions is their cruel exposure in secluded places. This series of images of abattoirs found their ideal publication setting in *Documents*. CK

LEN LYE

(1901–80)

LYE (474) *Tusalava*, 1929

Silent film, 16 mm (original), b/w, 10 min

The artist Len Lye, known for his kinetic sculptures and experimental films, grew up in New Zealand and lived for short periods, among other places, in Australia and Samoa, before settling in London in 1926. Len Lye was one of the few people within European avant-garde circles who knew the indigenous culture and art of New Zealand, Australia, and the islands of the South Pacific, integrating it into a modernist artistic language. The film *Tusalava*, made between 1927 and 1929—and considered a milestone in the history of animation film—stages a creation story with both mythical-hallucinatory and a coupling of biological-morphological elements. Employing over 4,000 drawings, the film depicts the development of abstract forms resembling cell-like organisms to more complex shapes and even a human figure—described by Lye as a “totem of individuality”—and a “cross between an octopus and a spider” emerging from microbes, worms, or snakes. AF

ANDRÉ MASSON

(1896–1987)

MASSON (475) *Construction d'un homme* [Building a man], 1939

Ink on paper, 55.5 × 65.5 cm · Private collection, Paris

(473–475)

MASSON (476) *Dessin automatique* [Automatic drawing], 1924

Indian ink on paper, 27 × 21 cm · Private collection

MASSON (477) *La beauté géométrique (IV de 3 Anatomie de mon univers)* [Geometric beauty (IV of 3 anatomy of my universe)], 1939

Indian ink on paper, 47.9 × 63 cm · Private collection

MASSON (478) *La ville cranienne* [The cranial city], 1939

Indian ink and watercolor on paper, 35 × 44 cm · Galerie Natalie Seroussi, Paris

MASSON (479) *Le génie de l'Espèce* [The genius of the species], 1940

Ink on paper, 41.6 × 31.5 cm · Private collection, Paris

MASSON (480) *Le Massacre* [The massacre], 1931

Indian ink on paper, 35 × 32 cm · Galerie Natalie Seroussi, Paris

MASSON (481) *Le thé chez Franco* [Tea at Franco's], 1938

Ink on paper, 45.5 × 58 cm · Galerie de la Béraudière

MASSON (482)[^] Illustration, 1939, in Guy Lévis-Mano, *Crâne sans lois* [Lawless skull], illustrations by André Masson. Paris: GLM, 1939 · Private collection, Berlin

MASSON (483) *Massacre. L'enlèvement des Sabines* [Massacre: Rape of the Sabines], 1933

Quill drawing and Indian ink on paper, 40.5 × 55 cm · Galerie Natalie Seroussi, Paris

MASSON (484) *Mélancolie du Minotaure* [Minotaur's melancholy], 1938

Quill drawing and Indian ink on paper, 50.5 × 65.8 cm · Galerie Natalie Seroussi, Paris

MASSON (485) Cover illustration, *Minotaure*, nos 12–13 (1938) Paris: Skira · Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

(476–485)

MASSON (486) *Portrait de Benjamin Péret – dessin automatique*
[Portrait of Benjamin Perret – automatic drawing],
c. 1924–25

Indian ink on paper, 31.7×23.2 cm ·
Galerie de la Béraudière

MASSON (487) *Révolte dans la cuisine* [Rebellion in the kitchen],
1940

Indian ink on paper, 48×63 cm ·
Galerie Natalie Seroussi, Paris

MASSON (488) Illustration, 1946

In Tristan Tzara, *Terre sur Terre*, drawings by
André Masson. Geneva: Trois Collines, 1946 ·
Private collection, Berlin

After his early flirtation with cubism, the interest of André Masson soon turned to exploring the inner-psychic dynamics of artistic production, and he drew great motivation from Breton's experiments with the techniques of *écriture automatique*. Even more influential for his subsequent development was his productive friendship with Georges Bataille, with whom, among other things, he founded the public review *Acéphale*. In the late 1920s, Carl Einstein hailed Masson as the pioneering figure in what he described as the transformation of the observed object into a symptom of a subject invested with power. Einstein read Masson's hybrid beings, not as pantheistic projections onto a mythical natural world, but as totemic identifications; not only do man and beast merge, but so do living creatures and inanimate objects. Force and metamorphosis do not exclude each other in these pictorial worlds either. Masson saw himself as a "medium" surrounded by the "irrational." From Nietzsche he adopted the theory of frustrated instincts being compensated in dreams. Any "hierarchy in the cycle of natural forms" and thereby any primacy of the human anatomy is being negated. Initially in his work, which fluctuated between the alternating influences of Breton and Bataille, his political stance against the rise of fascism remained clothed in mythology. In the wake of his radicalization during the Spanish Civil War, however, it came to lose its ambivalence. CK

JOAN MIRÓ

(1893–1983)

MIRÓ (489) Cover illustration, in *Minotaure*, no. 7 (1936)

Paris: Skira · Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung
Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden

(486–489)

MAX VON MOOS

(1903–79)

MOOS (490) *Bote aus dem Jenseits*
[Messenger from the hereafter], 1940

Oil on cardboard, 21.5×15 cm ·
Erica Ebinger-Leutwyler Stiftung, Lucerne

This small-format painting by the Lucerne-based painter and graphic artist Max von Moos introduces a monumental figure comprised of disparate elements: The beaked head could have belonged to some prehistoric flying dinosaur, the upper-torso of the figure is covered by shell-like wings, the arms hang down like loose cudgels, and the floor-length garment has the appearance of a megalith cleaved in two. Von Moos, who throughout his life hardly ever left his native city of Lucerne, was an avowed surrealist, without ever having actually forged contact with the surrealists. In addition to *Bote aus dem Jenseits* (Messenger from the hereafter), he also painted a similar, small-format picture in 1940 titled *Am Tag des Einmarsches der Deutschen in Paris* (The day the Germans marched into Paris). "Mythical transposition of modern history through the petrified image" is how Otto Karl Werckmeister critically characterized von Moos's mode of representation and concept of realism. *Bote aus dem Jenseits* is also possessed of a quasi-geologic gravity, a certain stone-like, statuesque quality, in which symbolic significance meets archaeological depth. TH

ROLF NESCH

(1893–1975)

NESCH (491) *Landungsbrücken* [Jetties], 1932

Metal print on vellum, 59.7×45 cm ·
Private collection

On October 30, 1933, the painter, printmaker, and object artist Rolf Nesch disembarked in the port of Oslo, where he sought refuge from persecution by the National Socialists as a "degenerate artist." He was to spend the rest of his life in Norway, where he was held in high esteem. In 1929, the Swabian Nesch moved to Hamburg where he was affiliated with the Hamburg Secession and expanded his graphic vocabulary. During this time he created expressive and experimental series such as the *Hamburger Brücken* cycle. The metal prints transported the motif of the water-side and harbor architecture beyond a purely expressionistic idiom to highlight textures and the fantastical, dreamlike aspects of the bridges' construction. The sheet *Landungsbrücken* depicts the quay as a stage. Three slender figures seen from behind, dressed in long robes, are holding their arms aloft, as if they are dancing and waving to the windjammer in the background. The harbor is staged as a space of ecstatic movement. Here, sea-faring romanticism and exotic figures, defying Western bourgeois norms, are juxtaposed with a finely woven web of vertical and horizontal elements. TH

(490–491)

SOLOMON NIKRITIN

(1889–1965)

NIKRITIN (492) *Spiral*, 1920–39
Watercolor and charcoal on paper (reproduction),
29.5 × 20.3 · Courtesy the State Museum of
Contemporary Art, Thessaloniki

NIKRITIN (493) *Spiral*, 1920–39
Watercolor and charcoal on paper (reproduction),
29.5 × 20.3 · Courtesy the State Museum of
Contemporary Art, Thessaloniki

NIKRITIN (494) *Spiral*, 1920–39
Watercolor and charcoal on paper (reproduction),
29.5 × 20.3 · Courtesy the State Museum of
Contemporary Art, Thessaloniki

In *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* Carl Einstein asserted that (post-)revolutionary Soviet painting—which had started out by undoing bourgeois reifications—had slipped into dogmatic idealism and “tectonic” classicism rather than engaging with the dynamics of the “wider” psychic terrain where art is connected to the task of the revolution. While Solomon Nikritin had used the term “tectonic” in reference to his own work (to describe his early writing and designs), in the meantime he had opened-up painting decisively toward the non-tectonic dynamism of the event. For Nikritin, painting had become a means of “artistic research,” interrogating the relationship between motion, organizational planning, and intellectual process. The drawings on display are part of a “cinematic scenario,” a formal inquiry into the laws of non-syntactical narrative, on which Nikritin worked from 1925 to 1929. The upward movement of the spiral corresponds to the interplay of place, time, and action: The encounter of time (vertical) and place (horizontal) “unwinds” as an event. AF

RICHARD OELZE

(1900–80)

OELZE (495) *Baumlandschaft* [Tree landscape], c. 1935
Pencil on cardboard, 42.3 × 56 cm · Galerie
Brockstedt/Berlin

Crystalline excrescences rise up in a landscape whose horizon is obscured by cloudy swirls of foggy haze. Dating from 1935, this grisaille drawing explores the possibility of representing an imaginary geomorphology and pseudo-vegetation which appears to seek the dissolution rather than the invention of a form, despite the meticulous, photographic execution of the pen strokes. The events appear petrified, primordial, inhuman. Horror in gray. When he fashioned this work, Richard Oelze had been living in Paris for two years, following the seizure of power by the National Socialists. Executed in a style reminiscent of the Old Masters,

(492–495)

the disturbing non-motifs of his paintings and drawings quickly found a strong resonance within surrealist circles. Probably the most fascinating source of information on his years in Paris, from which only a few works and practically no texts by the artist have survived, is the novel *Insel* (Island) by the modernist poet and artist Mina Loy. The chief protagonist, recognizable as the barely disguised figure of Richard Oelze, refers to the objects of his paintings as “millenary monsters of a disreputable metaphysics.”

TH

OELZE (496) *Frieda II*, 1935
Colored chalks on black cardboard, 38.3 × 31 cm ·
Galerie Brockstedt/Berlin

OELZE (497) *Landschaft* [Landscape], 1934
Pencil on paper, 10.5 × 15 cm ·
Galerie Brockstedt/Berlin

WOLFGANG PAALLEN

(1905–59)

PAALLEN (498) *Fumage* [Smoked], 1937
Candle smoke on paper, mounted on cardboard,
22.6 × 31 cm · Private collection, Berlin

PAALLEN (499) *Lutin cedré* [Cedar goblin], 1938
Oil and smoke on wooden board on wooden
panel, 27.5 × 35.5 cm · Private collection, Berlin

The two fumages (smoke pictures) by Wolfgang Paalen offer an insight into the methods of the German-Austrian-Mexican artist and theorist. For the fumages, freshly prepared canvases, papers, or wooden boards were moved over a candle flame. The heat and soot produced a largely autonomous morphology of finely differentiated hues. While the spots that collected on *Fumage*, created on paper in 1937, seem to fly from right to left like a comet, the movement of the smoke-traces on the grained wood of *Lutin cedré* is more vertical. At the time he created the fumages—which he later often developed further for paintings—Paalen made his breakthrough as a surrealist artist. In 1936, he showed his first fumage in London and debuted at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. In 1938, with Marcel Duchamp, he designed the legendary main hall of the “Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme” in Paris. After the German invasion of France, Paalen decided not to return from a trip to America. In 1942, while living in Mexico, he finally bade surrealism farewell—by founding his own group with an affiliated periodical (*Dyn*). TH

(495–499)

PAALLEN (500) *Reise durch British Columbia* [Journey across British Columbia], 1939

Film, 2 min · Paalen Archiv Berlin, Paalen–Nachlass

Collage of 10 super-8 film reels, documenting Paalen, Rahon, and Sulzer's journey across British Columbia in 1939 (edited and digitalized by Andreas Neufert)

JEAN PAINLEVÉ

(1902–89)

PAINLEVÉ (501) *Hyas et stenorinques* [*Hyas and Stenorhynchus*, marine crustaceans], 1928

Film, 35 mm (original), b/w, 9 min, sound, music: Frédéric Chopin

Jean Painlevé was a filmmaker and photographer, but had studied medicine and biology. He produced a comprehensive body of work together with his life partner Geneviève Hamon. Painlevé became known in particular for his pioneering achievements in the portrayal of underwater life forms. His films highlight the creative, mimetic relationship of the creatures he studies to their environment, which is reflected in the relationship of the filmmaker to both his subject matter and his medium. Painlevé pushes the boundaries of anthropomorphism, not by means of seemingly objective distance, but by turning the human perspective toward a more-than-human morphology. His work enjoyed great respect among surrealist circles, and he published articles in journals such as *Surréalisme* and *Documents*. *Hyas and Stenorhynchus* is a film about spider crabs, ghost crabs, and bristle worms. Their shells are home to other life forms such as algae, sponges, and polyps, which become the clothing of the animals until they leave their shells to seek a new environment. AF

ALEXANDRA POVÒRINA

(1885–1963)

POVÒRINA (502) *Eigensinn* [Obstinacy], 1929

Oil on canvas, 71.5 × 61.5 cm · Permanent loan of Haspa at Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg

POVÒRINA (503) *Ying & Yang*, 1933

Oil on canvas, 124.5 × 105 cm · Permanent loan of Haspa at Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg

After starting as a figurative painter, from the end of the 1920s—after stays in Paris, Kharkov, Berlin, Munich, and Hamburg—the Russian-born German artist Alexandra Povòrina focused more on universal, organic objects as subjects for pictures. With her form of painterly abstraction, however, and although she

(500–503)

was temporarily a member of the Paris artist group Abstraction-Création beginning in 1931, she skeptically distanced herself from her contemporaries. Povòrina's abstractions at this time are often centrifugally arranged balancing acts of biomorphic forms. They overlap and embrace one another as if weightless, but form stratifications more than they penetrate or compete with each other. A picture like *Ying & Yang* (1931) shows how much she aimed to harmonize reluctant figures. Despite her efforts at balance, her entangled forms remain nonetheless asymmetrical. The artist made the spiritual dimension of her picture clear in the title using the terms *yin* and *yang*. Povòrina self-confidently juxtaposes “simple” dualism with a far more dynamic, more irregular form, visibly fueled by individual experience. CK

JEAN RENOIR

(1894–1979)

RENOIR (504) *Sur un air de Charleston* [Charleston parade], 1926

Silent film, 35 mm (original), b/w, c. 20 min

One hundred years into the future, Paris is no longer the center of Western civilization. Rather, the city has fallen. Into this post-apocalyptic landscape, just “a year after the last war,” we see a globular spacecraft descending from the skies. Its pilot (played by the dancer Johnny Huggins) arrives from central Africa, a “technologically advanced society.” The explorer encounters a savage girl (Catherine Hessling) and her playmate, a gorilla. She quickly begins to lust after him, then she begins to dance the Charleston. Is this a native dance, wonders the visitor? She is being invited to join him on his flight back to civilization, where she might be an attraction, and will teach the “original dance of the white people” to civilized black people. Renoir's satire, inverting common stereotypes of the European and African, civilization, and the “other,” also comments on what might have been the most significant cultural process of the 1920s: The worldwide spread of Jazz and Afro-American culture. AF

GASTON LOUIS ROUX

(1904–88)

ROUX (505) *Composition*, 1928

Crayon with gouache on paper, 31.4 × 42.4 cm · Hermann und Margrit Rupf–Stiftung, Kunstmuseum Bern

ROUX (506) *Composition*, 1930

Gouache on paper, 27 × 43.9 cm · Hermann und Margrit Rupf–Stiftung, Kunstmuseum Bern

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ROUX (507)

Illustration, 1930

In Carl Einstein, *Entwurf einer Landschaft*.
Paris: Éditions de la Galerie Simon, 1930 ·
Private collection, Berlin.

The French illustrator and painter studied in Paris and worked in the studio of Raoul Dufy. He then first undertook larger illustration assignments, but as early as 1927 he met the influential writer, collector, and gallery owner Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, who organized his first solo exhibition. Beginning in 1928, Roux joined those involved in the journal *Documents*. Roux was among the artists most esteemed by Carl Einstein, who entrusted him with illustrating his collection of poems *Entwurf einer Landschaft* (1930). When Kahnweiler's gallery was forced to suspend payments in 1929, Roux, at the invitation of the ethnologist Michel Leiris, took part as an artist in the Mission Dakar–Djibouti, a state expedition overseen by Marcel Griaule, which traversed the African continent from west to east—from Senegal to Ethiopia—in Paris. Following his break with Kahnweiler, from whom he isolated himself as an artist, Roux returned to often humorous, figurative painting, which he continued to pursue until his death in 1988. CK

FRANZ WILHELM SEIWERT

(1894–1933)

SEIWERT (508)

Entwurf für einen Grabstein [Design for a gravestone], 1929

Bronze with golden brown patina,
23.9 × 12.4 × 6.1 cm · Private collection

Disillusioned by the societal irrelevance of the dadaists, Franz Wilhelm Seiwert, co-founding member of the artists' group the "Cologne Progressive," in 1921 began to preoccupy himself with the Marxist critique of society and political economy. In his art he now sought new pristine forms of abstraction, in which the achievements of constructivism could be reconciled with those of critical realism. While not contradicting such an aesthetic program, it is surprising to note the degree to which he modeled this relief—originally intended for his parents' grave in Cologne's Nordfriedhof cemetery—on the well-known sculpture *Le baiser* by the sculptor Constantin Brâncuși, also alluding to the latter's reception of the "primitive" language of form. However, Seiwert did not simply seize upon the avant-gardist idea of incorporating the "other." He modified this concept to accommodate his own painterly imagery, which combined rectangular and rounded elements to form a cellular structure. Placing a strong emphasis on verticality, he fashioned his own sculpture from bronze, an ideal metal for casting. CK

(507–508)

KURT SELIGMANN

(1900–62)

SELIGMANN (509) Illustration, 1935

In Pierre Courthion, *Bal*, with an image by Kurt Séligmann, Book 2 of 12. Paris: Éditions GLM, 1935 · Private collection, Berlin

SELIGMANN (510) From *Les vagabondages héraldiques*, Nr. 4 "L'homme du gaz" [Heraldic meanderings, no. 4: The gas man], 1933–34

Etching and aquatint, 34 × 24.6 cm · Private collection, Berlin

SELIGMANN (511) From *Les vagabondages héraldiques*, Nr. 14 "Le roi du charbon" [Heraldic wanderings, no. 14: The king of coal], 1933–34

Etching, 24.7 × 19.7 cm · Private collection, Berlin

The two etchings are inspired by the tradition of metaphorical representations of (in-)human physiognomies and forms of behavior that goes back to Giuseppe Arcimboldo's Mannerist composite images. In 1933/34, the painter Kurt Seligmann was operating in surrealist territory when he supplanted inanimate objects for living figures. Satirical prose pieces by Seligmann's friend the critic and poet Pierre Courthion give imaginative sketches rather than realistic portraits of "the gas man" and "the king of coal" as characteristic social types. A trained printmaker, Seligmann used the illustrations, part of a series of fifteen "heraldic" meta-portraits, to choreograph a parade of eroticized chimerical beings. In graphic creations that emulate the ambiguity and frivolity of Courthion's texts, he constructed strangely dysfunctional and machine-like hybrid creatures. His "heraldic" visual operations suggest the impossibility of any naturalism in the engagement with the human figure. Seligmann's interest in the imagery of the fantastic and its new mythologies predestined him for the ethnological as well as occult studies to which he would devote himself in the following years. TH

SELIGMANN (512) Kurt Seligmann and Pierre Courthion, *Métiers des Hommes*. Paris: GLM, 1936

Private collection, Berlin

SELIGMANN (513) *Noctambulation*, 1941–42

Etching, 25 × 18.7 cm · Private collection, Berlin

SELIGMANN (514) Untitled, 1937

Drawing In *Cahiers G.L.M.*, no. 5 (1937). Paris: GLM · Private collection, Berlin

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SELIGMANN (515) Untitled, 1941

Silkscreen, 16.5×23.5 cm, Front cover, exh. cat.
Kurt Seligmann, Exhibition, April 21–May 12, 1941,
Nierendorf Gallery, NY. New York: Nierendorf
Gallery 1941 · Private collection, Berlin

KALIFALA SIDIBÉ

(c. 1900–30)

SIDIBÉ (516) *Malian Women*, 1929
Oil on canvas, 69.5×66 cm · Michael
Graham-Stewart

SIDIBÉ (517) Untitled, n.d.
Oil on (unknown), 71×128 cm ·
Fondation Le Corbusier

JINDŘICH ŠTYRSKÝ

(1899–1942)

ŠTYRSKÝ (518) *L'Homme seiche* [Human cuttlefish], 1934
Oil on canvas, 110×59 cm · Géraldine Galateau

ŠTYRSKÝ (519) *Tekutá panenka* [Liquid doll], 1934
Oil on canvas, 100×73 cm · Géraldine Galateau

During a lengthy stay in Paris between 1924 and 1928, the painter and illustrator Jindřich Štyrský and his colleague Toyen developed their own art movement: *artificialism*. They premised its first public presentation in 1926 with the words: “Axiom: artificialism is the identification of the painter with the poet.” They aimed to fundamentally expand the imagination beyond reality as painterly alienation. In both of the works exhibited here, as in earlier artificialist works, the titles are quite concrete. However, the painted bodies that emerge from them are produced in a process that Štyrský describes as working on the memory of a memory; as overcoming recognition. The life-forms encountered by the viewer are as much forms of suffering as of desire. They are open, lanced, bleeding, floating; they have lost their grip. At the same time, however, their corporeality is intrinsic, solitary, and, in contrast to earlier artificialism, detached from the background. In this way, artificialism was continually being updated; it was not a method, but a state of consciousness. ks

(515–519)

TOYEN

(Marie Čermínová, 1902–80)

TOYEN (520) Illustration, 1932
In Markéty d'Angoulême, královny Navarské
[Margaret of Navarre], *Heptaméron novel*
[Héptameron]. Prague: Družstevní práce, 1932.

In her book illustrations dating from the early 1930s, the Prague-based painter Toyen formulated her own distinct visual language, unlike anything else seen before in this medium. In it, Toyen fused the nonfigurative corporeality of the painterly artificialism she had developed with Jindřich Štyrský in the second half of the 1920s, with pornophile figures whose lineatures embraced the figurative world in a genuinely erotic context. The seventy-six drawings with which Toyen illustrated the Czech translation of the seventy-two short stories of Margaret of Navarre's *Heptaméron*, constitute the visually richest manifestation of this. The collection of stories in *Heptaméron* are humorous, erotic, cryptic, and macabre, and relate to illicit affairs, murders, and accords. Toyen's protagonists are figures of a “girlish beauty.” The elegantly rendered, usually naked bodies are interspersed with all manner of accoutrements: Cushions, cupboards, curtains, sheets run through the human forms and nullify their gravity. What remains is a corporeality without gravity. In their derealizations of real forms, the illustrations resemble the visual language of artificialism, and, just as its painting were dubbed a “mirror without an image,” so here a drawing becomes “erotica without nature.” ks

TOYEN (521) Frontispiece, 1937
In Georges Bernanos, *Zločin* [The crime]. Prague:
Symposion, 1937.

TOYEN (522) Frontispiece, 1931
In Konstantin Biebl, *Plancius*. Prague: Sfinx B.
Janda, 1931.

TOYEN (523) *Formes marines* [Marine forms], 1933
Indian ink and watercolor on paper, 21.3×13.5 cm
and 13.5×12.5 cm · LEVY Galerie

TOYEN (524) Cover illustration, 1935
In Hermann Hesse, *Siddhárthah. Indická báseň*
[Siddhartha: An Indian poem]. Prague: Družstevní
práce, 1935.

TOYEN (525) Frontispiece, 1933
In Claude Houghton, *Helenina Záhada* [Helena's
mystery]. Prague: Symposion, 1933.

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TOYEN (526) *Magnetová žena* [Magnetic woman], 1934
Oil on canvas, 100×73 cm · Géraldine Galateau

TOYEN (527) *Untitled (Blatt und Augen)* [Leaf and eyes], 1932
Brush and pen in black on vellum, 19.3×16.3 cm · Florian Sundheimer

TOYEN (528) *Untitled*, 1933
Colored ink and watercolor on paper, 27×22 cm · Florian Sundheimer

TOYEN (529) *Frontispiece*, 1933
In Jakob Wassermann, *Stanleyovo Africké dobrodružství (Bula Matari)* [Bula Matari: Stanley's life]. Prague: Symposion, 1933.

RAOUL UBAC

(Rolf Ubach, 1910–85)

UBAC (530) *Agui au miroir au tain endommagé* [Agui in a mirror with a damaged surface], 1932–33/2008
Gelatin silver print, 25.5×19 cm · Private collection, Berlin

UBAC (531) *La Nébuleuse* [The nebulous], 1939
Gelatin silver print, 40×28.3 cm · Centre Pompidou, Paris Musée national d'art moderne/ Centre de création industrielle

UBAC (532) *Le Combat de Penthésilée* [The battle of Penthesilea], 1937
Photomontage, solarization, gelatin silver print, 18.3×24.1 cm · Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle

UBAC (533) *Untitled*, 1938
Photomontage, solarization, gelatin silver print, 26.5×39.6 cm · Centre Pompidou, Paris, Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle

Not until his second visit to Paris in 1928 did Raoul Ubac have a pivotal encounter both with the surrealists and also with Otto Freundlich, who, in turn, introduced him to the “Cologne Progressive.” His relationship with the Parisian surrealists was to become so well established that, in 1938, Ubac took part in the “Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme,” in the Galerie Beaux-Arts, Paris, as a photo-artist. In the photographic works featured in

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this present series, created between 1937 and 1939, the synthetic arrangement of figures is redolent of current image-processing practice; here Ubac applies a montage technique, which not only drew on existing photographic portrayals of nudes, but also on earlier complex photomontages. Named after Heinrich von Kleist's tragedy, the images of the *Penthésilée* series comprise various single shots, which render the extreme concentration of the figurative composition all the more plausible. The tragically fragmented Amazonian queen Penthesilea was here consciously subject to an anti-realistic and supra-individualistic reduction to her naked corporeality, and reinterpreted as a sexually barely defined figure, seen only from the rear. The sense of alienation informing Ubac's pictures is achieved by a process of solarization, which entails exposing the undeveloped negative to light. ck

FRITS VAN DEN BERGHE

(1883–1939)

VAN DEN BERGHE (534) *Engel boven brandende Stad* [Angel above burning city], 1929
Oil on canvas, 87×72 cm · Private collection, Düsseldorf

The depiction of a striding, statuesque angel before a fiery-red conflagration is the image of the apocalypse. The Flemish painter and illustrator Frits Van den Berghe created this biblical vision of Armageddon in 1928. The motif of the burning city is traditionally associated with the iconography of the destruction of Babylon and Rome. No later than the First World War, it had also become firmly etched into the collective European memory. Van den Berghe's apocalyptic angel depicts the view of a blazing city—a catastrophe to which he himself is also witness. This archaic figure with the classical head-form and outstretched wings dominates the pictorial space, which, by virtue of the wall of fire in the background, appears almost two-dimensionally monochrome. Following Van den Berghe's premature death in 1939, the critic Paul-Gustave van Hecke wrote of his friend, who in the 1930s was among the pioneers of the Belgian comic scene, that he had embraced the grotesque in a tragicomic, restless, and unsettling fashion—almost to the point of horror—but resolutely devoid of lyricism. TH

VAN DEN BERGHE (535) *Fetisjen* [Fetishes], 1928
Oil on canvas on wood, 49.5×38 cm · Galerie Oscar de Vos

VAN DEN BERGHE (536) *Paniek onder de Dieren* [Panic among the animals], 1936
Oil on canvas on wood, 49.5×52 cm · Galerie Oscar de Vos

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PAULE VÉZELAY

(1892–1984)

VÉZELAY (537) *Drapeaux d'hiver* [Winter flags], 1930

Oil on canvas, 96.5×146 cm · England & Co Gallery

Working in the orbit of the Paris surrealists, the British artist Paule Vézelay devised a distinctive visual vocabulary around 1930 that soon earned her plaudits. In what was probably his only published comment on a female artist, Carl Einstein, in 1930, praised her as “the best of the women painters, whose heart stirs with a novelty and freshness superior to most of the half-men.” The large-format painting *Drapeaux d'hiver* conveys an atmosphere of blustery energy. The scene is comfortless—a thunderstorm has moved in—and literally unmoored the flags billowing in a fierce wind from the left to the right edge of the picture, which project from a kind of cloud bank. The poles to which the cloths are affixed in various manners are anchored in the invisible, if at all. The physics and climate of this pictorial space appear to be subject to an alternative law of nature, as though Vézelay were experimenting with the properties of the fabrics in a virtual wind tunnel of her own construction. The diversity of colors and distinctive ways the folds fall, moreover, make it seem that each flag embodies an individual feral personality. TH

VÉZELAY (538) *Walking in the Wind*, 1930

Oil on canvas, 73×92 cm · England & Co Gallery

WOLS

(Alfred Otto Wolfgang Schulze, 1913–51)

WOLS (539) Untitled, c. 1940

Watercolor and ink on paper, 21.5×23.7 cm · Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Sammlung Scharf–Gerstenberg

WOLS (540) Untitled, c. 1941

Indian ink, watercolor, and opaque white on paper, 38×31.8 cm · Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Sammlung Scharf–Gerstenberg

Here, the balcony scene, a popular motif among the impressionists, mutates into a balancing act, performed by artists of a species from beyond the realm of humanity. The artist Wols was the son of a high-ranking government official, although, when he created this present work, he was a stateless, nomadic outsider. In 1933, he moved to Paris, after having completed brief training as a photographer and was planning to study at the Bauhaus and under the tutelage of the ethnologist Leo Frobenius. In the late 1930s, he began working on his multimedia project “Circus Wols,” a radically democratic and informal interplay of art, science, philosophy, and popular entertainment. It was probably

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within this setting that he created this watercolor, either before, during, or after his internment in the Camp des Milles; during this time Wols carried with him his entire visual and written output, distributed across countless scraps of paper, and dreamed—in precisely detailed deliria—of a posthuman world, populated only by insects. TH

CATHERINE YARROW

(1904–90)

YARROW (541) *Amorphic Figure*, c. 1935

Etching and aquatint, 17×17 cm · Austin Desmond Fine Art

YARROW (542) *Black and Green Faced Figures*, 1935

Gouache and watercolor, 46.5×33.8 cm · Austin Desmond Fine Art

Two masklike visages—depicted *en face*, they are utterly without depth—regard the viewer from the picture. Without necks, though apparently quite agile, they stick up above torsos represented in featureless outline. Nestled tightly against each other, the two figures of markedly different size appear before a liquid yellowish-brown backdrop. Their pictographic facial expressions reveal the tenderly erotic bond between them. Catherine Yarrow created the ensemble encompassing this and at least two other similarly minimalistic double portraits in 1935. The date lets us relate the work to a period in the artist's life during which she sought treatment with C. G. Jung, or perhaps his daughter Gret Baumann-Jung, in Zurich. It is unclear whether the pictures should be seen as directly connected to Yarrow's psychotherapy. But we may allow ourselves to discern in the silhouetted faces not just an allusion to ritual masks but also an engagement with C. G. Jung's psychological theory of the *persona*. Yarrow's pairs of masks with their rigorously simplified—which is to say, deindividuated—features might be enactments of the fundamental drama of the individual's relation to the collective. TH

YARROW (543) *Crouching Female*, 1935

Watercolor, 35.2×32.5 cm · Austin Desmond Fine Art

YARROW (544) *Kneeling Purple Figure (Morges)*, 1935

Watercolor, 43.8×28.9 cm · Austin Desmond Fine Art

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C

Resistance and Lines of Flight

The promise of a way out of the false present of the interwar years and the Second World War sustained not only the resistance movements stirring in the colonies, but also the various manifestations of an alternative modernism. The fault lines of the West—in both the colonies and in the colonial centers of power—were fast becoming apparent in the political organization of a global proletariat and in the art produced by the African and Asian diaspora. “Black Paris” and the “Harlem Renaissance” were more than just counterweights to the spectacle of colonialism; they were also cultural equivalents of the anti-colonial industrial action undertaken by non-white activists in port cities such as Hamburg and Marseilles. These ports became contact zones and places of radicalization, and it was here that many European artists boarded ships bound for Mexico, Haiti, or the Pacific Northwest with the aim of immersing themselves in indigenous communities and epistemologies. Modernity had once and for all proved itself to be a divided project. And it was to remain unfinished.

Section C presents some examples of these fault lines and contact zones.

C33

The “Exposition coloniale internationale” and the Anti-Colonialist Impulse

The spring of 1931 saw the opening of the “Exposition coloniale,” a gargantuan demonstration of France’s colonialist prowess held in Vincennes on the western outskirts of Paris. Essentially an attempt to fire the “colonial imagination” by harking back to the ethnographic shows of the nineteenth century, the exhibition drew fierce criticism from the anti-imperialist camp, and spawned its own counter-exhibition. The latter was by and large master-minded and financed by the Third Communist International. That the counter-exhibition, “La vérité sur les colonies” in the Palace of the Soviets, was hosted jointly by the French section of the Anti-Imperialist League and the French Communist Party is thus not surprising. Members of the African diaspora and Vietnamese activists were among those to take part, as was a group of surrealists centered on Louis Aragon. While this little documented counter-exhibition eschewed all primitivist stereotypes, it had no qualms about taking indigenous objects out of context and in the interests of stimulating the surrealist “revolution,” instrumentalizing them for purely aesthetic ends.

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- C33 (545) *Le domaine coloniale français. Suivi d'un aperçu général sur les colonies étrangères. Histoire – industrie – agriculture – mœurs – vie – coutumes – beaux-arts*, vol. 4. Paris: Les éditions du cygne, 1930.
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- C33 (546) Émile Bayard, *L'art de reconnaître les styles coloniaux de la France*. Paris: Garnier, 1931 · Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Signatur: no. 4097/212/2.
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- C33 (547) *Vu. Journal de la semaine* (Le 14 juillet au bord du Niger), no. 70. Paris: Sfosses, 1929.
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- C33 (548) *Vu. Journal de la semaine* (Special issue “Pourquoi l'Allemagne n'a pas besoin de colonies”). Paris: Sfosses, 1936.
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- C33 (549) *Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris en 1931. Colonies et pays d'outre-mer*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1931.

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C33 (550) *L'illustration* ["L'exposition coloniale," Album hors série]. Paris 1931.

C33 (551) A. Demaison, *Exposition coloniale internationale. Guide officiel*. Paris: Éditions Mayeux, 1931 · Irene Albers.

C33 (552) "La vérité sur les colonies," 1931, 4 Photographs of the installation (reproductions) · Courtesy Association Atelier André Breton, Paris.

When, in May 1931, the masses flocked to the "Exposition coloniale internationale" in eastern Paris, the surrealists distributed their pamphlet "Don't Visit the Colonial Exhibition!" In a continuation of their critique of colonialism—developed in 1925 during the French–Spanish colonial war—in the fall of 1931, they took part in the exhibition "La vérité sur les colonies" at the Palais des Soviets in Paris. This rival exhibition, organized predominantly by the Communist League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression, was intended to show the unconcealed truth: "The outrageous crimes committed by the colonial sharks, the regime of slavery imposed upon the workers in the colonies." On the second floor, Aragon, Éluard, and Tanguy set up a "Hall of Fetishes." One vitrine, imitating the museological representation of other cultures, presented "European fetishes" and Catholic propaganda, deconstructing the "belief in fetishes" as a feature of difference and superiority. Two photographs of this installation—which in some ways perpetuated the colonial representational forms of the exhibition it criticized—could be seen in the magazine *Le surréalisme au service de la révolution*. 1A

C33 (553) [Miscellaneous authors], *Ne visitez pas l'exposition coloniale*, May 1931, Leaflet (reproduction) · Courtesy Association Atelier André Breton, Paris.

C34

Afromodernism and "Self-Defense"

The anti-racist and anti-colonial critique of Western civilization uttered in surrealist circles presented a potential platform for encounters and collaborations. Perhaps it was only the misrecognitions brought about by the "primitivism" of the European intellectuals that prevented any closer contact with the non-European voices of resistance, who felt that they were not outside and beyond Western civilized rationality, rather only conscribed on the wrong side of it. The presence and success of artists of color in Paris in the 1920s, however, fostered an intense transatlantic exchange between members of the Harlem Renaissance and artists, writers, and intellectuals from the French colonies who gathered in Paris. It was in this context and period that significant publications appeared, which brought together writers and thinkers that would come to form the "L'internationale noir." The period from the early 1920s to the rise of the Négritude movement in the late 1930s saw a decisive shift away from assimilationist agendas toward concepts of self-assertion and identity, which is reflected in the materials that have been selected.

C34 (554) Alain Locke (ed.), *The New Negro: An Interpretation*. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925.

C34 (555) Langston Hughes, *Shakespeare in Harlem. With drawings by E. McKnight Kauffer*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942.

C34 (556) Langston Hughes, "Cubes," *New Masses*. New York 1934 (reproduction).

The Missouri-born writer Langston Hughes (1902–67) is regarded as a prominent exponent of the Harlem Renaissance and African-American modernism. Starting in 1926, he contributed to the American communist magazine *New Masses*. With reference to Picasso's cubism, his poem "Cubes" adapts modernist aesthetic strategies to paint a grim portrait of modernism's complicity with the mechanisms of colonial and capitalist exploitation by the European powers. The diasporic encounter with an "African from Senegal" on the boulevards of Paris prompts a reflection on the hypocritical ideals of the French Revolution and the progressive spread of the "disease" of modernity. Hughes himself lived in Paris for several months in 1924, working at the nightclub Le Grand Duc, the epicenter of the Montmartre jazz scene. Musicians and dancers, the majority of them African-Americans, mingled with socialites and artists including Picasso and Leiris. "Cubes" takes a critical view of these (non-)encounters and their economic, colonial, and libidinal implications. PA

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C34 (557) Anna Nussbaum (ed.), *Afrika singt. Eine Auslese neuer afro-amerikanischer Lyrik*. Leipzig/Vienna: F.G. Speidel'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1929.

Gathering a hundred translations of poems by the writers of the so-called "New Negro Movement," the anthology is the first survey introducing German-speaking readers to the poetry of the Harlem Renaissance. It presents the movement's most prominent exponents: Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Georgia Douglas Johnson, Jean Toomer, and W. E. B. Du Bois. The poems are grouped in eleven programmatic chapters, with themes ranging from the black quest for self-understanding and black perspectives on religion, America, work, and whites, to Harlem, love, and emancipation. The final chapter is dedicated to the blues. In her introduction, the Austrian editor and translator Anna Nussbaum (1887–1931) defines African-American lyric poetry as "the songs of negroes living in America that are rooted primarily in racial feeling, in the writers' attachment to Africa." But rather than parrot racist stereotypes, she endorses the search for a culturally autonomous black self-expression of the sort that Alain Locke had called for in *The New Negro* (1925). PA

C34 (558) Georges Henri Rivière, "Chronique du Jazz," *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 4 (1929): pp. 225–26 (with photographs "La garnison du pénitencier de Kanala, Nouvelle-Calédonie" [Album E. Robin], "Les Lew Leslie's Black Birds à leur arrivée en France, à bord du paquebot 'France,'" and an advertisement for Al Jolson's film *Why Can't You*) · Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

C34 (559) Palmer Hayden, *Moderne*, c. 1928, Drawing (reproduction) · Courtesy Palmer Hayden Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

C34 (560) *Légitime Défense*, no. 1 (1932), Martinique [reprint Paris: Éditions Jean-Michel Place, 1997].

C34 (561) Simone Yoyotte, "Ligne bleu clair dans un épisode de commande, j'ai troué le drapeau de la République", *Légitime Défense*, no. 1 (1932), Martinique [reprint Paris: Éditions Jean-Michel Place, 1997] (reproduction).

In 1932, a group of Martinican students living in Paris signed the opening declaration of a new journal, *Légitime Défense*. It would remain the only issue, but its reverberations were considerable. Several of the contributors, such as Simone Yoyotte, had already published texts and poetry in surrealist magazines and would continue to do so. They also participated in activities at André Breton's studio. The group, identifying as French-Caribbean, was led by Étienne Léro and included Thélus Léro, René Ménéil, Jules-Marcel Monnerot, Michel Pilotin, Maurice-Sabas Quitman, Auguste Thésée, and Pierre Yoyotte. *Légitime Défense* followed *La Revue du Monde Noir*, a literary journal that lasted six issues. With this journal, the group explicitly placed themselves within the context of both communism and surrealism, in a manner that has since been compared to using these platforms as a "Trojan

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horse," that is, deploying a textual tradition and authority in order to shift its own agenda and framework. Their condemnation of Western civilization can be read as "surrealist": an "abominable system of constraints and restrictions, the extermination of love and the confinement of the dream." AF

C34 (562) J. E. Dodd, *The Black Miner*, Cover illustration for *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races*, no. 11 (1933). Baltimore, MD: The Crisis Publishing Company (reproduction) · Courtesy The Crisis Publishing Co.

C34 (563) *Opportunity. A Journal of Negro Life* (1933). New York: National Urban League.

C34 (564) *L'étudiant noir. Journal mensuel de l'association des étudiants martiniquais en France*, no. 1 (1935), Paris [inter alia Aimé Césaire, "Jeunesse noire et Assimilation"] (reproductions) · Courtesy Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer, Aix-en-Provence, France.

C34 (565) Léon Gontran Damas, *Pigments*. Paris: Guy Lévis Mano, 1937 (reproduction) · Copyright Association GLM

C34 (566) *Tropiques. Revue culturelle*, no. 5 (1942), Martinique/Port-de-France [reprint Paris: Éditions Jean-Michel Place, 1978].

The Crisis (1910–present) is the official magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and was founded in 1910 by pan-Africanist W. E. B. Du Bois. A cosmopolitan anti-racist, political publication, *The Crisis* also had a considerable impact on literature and the arts, especially in the time of the Harlem Renaissance. The sociological *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life* (1923–49) was more directly linked to the Harlem Renaissance, where its founder Alain Locke and others would promote the careers of Claude McKay, Zora Neale Hurston, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Sterling Brown, and Franklin Frazier, among others. *L'étudiant noir* was published between 1935–36 in six issues aiming at fostering interaction between Francophone Africans and Caribbeans in Paris. It was founded by Aimé Césaire from Martinique, together with French-Senegalese Léopold Sédar Senghor and Guyanese poet Léon-Gontran Damas, who were influenced by the Harlem Renaissance and anthropologists Leo Frobenius and Maurice Delafosse. In an article entitled "Conscience raciale et révolution sociale" (Racial consciousness and social revolution) Césaire coined the term "Négritude," thus instigating a movement that rejected bourgeois assimilation practices, and which was organized around the celebration of common African ancestry. Léon Damas set the frame for Négritude poetry in his "pigmentary poems." In 1941, Aimé Césaire and Suzanne Roussi founded the literary review *Tropiques* with the help of other Martinican intellectuals, such as René Ménéil and Aristide Maugée, with a surrealist program and the group *Légitime Défense*'s René Ménéil serving as an editor. AF

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C35

Kalifala Sidibé: Colonial or Global Artist?

The first and only article about a contemporary visual artist from Africa to be published in *Documents* appeared in late 1929. It was a review by Michel Leiris of an exhibition of paintings by Kalifala Sidibé (1900?–30) from Mali, at the Galerie Georges Bernheim in Paris. Along with Paul Mampinda, Albert Lubaki, and Tshyela Ntendu (Djilatendo) from the Congo, Sidibé was among the few living artists in the French and Belgian colonies to have been “discovered” in the West. The European art market of the 1920s and 1930s speculated on the exotic allure, the naïvely expressive style, and the sheer decorativeness of their art, but did not credit them with the modernist concept of authorship, which apparently was not expected of these artists. Objecting to this viewpoint, also espoused by the architect Le Corbusier (in an article published in the Berlin-based magazine *Querschnitt* in 1929), Leiris argued that Sidibé’s genre scenes, and even more so his fantastical-looking animals, alluded to what, for Europeans in particular, was an exemplary form of “totemism” utterly untrammled by “human hubris.”

C35 (567) *Die Bunte Welt*. Dresden: Jasmatzi Zigarettensammelbilderalbum, 1935.

C35 (568) Michel Leiris, “Exposition Kalifala Sidibé (Galerie Georges Bernheim),” *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 6 (1929) · Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

C35 (569) Le Corbusier, “Der Negermaler Kalifala Sidibé,” *Der Querschnitt*, vol. 9, no. 12 (1929): p. 888.

C35 (570) Kalifala Sidibé [Illustrator], Erna Pinner, Le Corbusier and Galerie Flechtheim, “Kalifala Sidibé: Erna Pinner’s Afrikareise,” in *Galerie Alfred Flechtheim*, Berlin, January–February 1930 · Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf.

C35 (571) Marius Gravot, Untitled (Painting by Kalifala Sidibé), n.d., Photographs (reproductions), 17 × 23 cm · Courtesy Fondation Le Corbusier

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C36

The Port: Contact Zone and Space of Mobilizations

The mythologies and realities of port cities were exceptionally important during Europe’s interwar period. This was where people and goods from the overseas colonies first went on land, and it was from here that others would flee from fascism and war. The port as a contact zone and place of transition is at the same time a realm infused with collective hopes and anxieties, which is what the writer Pierre Mac Orlan sought to express in just a single word: “Disquiet.” Ports could be romantically swathed in mist, as in Marcel Carné’s film *Le Quai des brumes* (*Port of Shadows*) of 1938, or they could be the scene of radical gatherings, as happened in Hamburg when the World Conference of Negro Workers was held there in June 1930. The southern French port of Marseilles was one giant waiting room for people wishing to emigrate in the early 1940s. Anna Seghers portrayed it very vividly as such in her novel *Transit* of 1944. Violence and death were never far away, and the Vichy regime temporarily detained artists and intellectuals, such as Walter Benjamin, Wols, and Max Ernst, at the nearby Camp des Milles internment camp.

C35 (572) Claude McKay, *Banjo: A Story without a Plot*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929.

“*Banjo* is subtitled with a striking phrase: ‘A story without a Plot.’ The book immediately raises a question of literary form, in other words—a question of the relation between its apparent ‘plotlessness’ and its portrait of a transnational community of black drifters and dockers in Marseilles. [...] While the encounters and episodes are freely stitched together around the seam of *Banjo*, Ray, and their ‘black gang’ of friends and hangers-on, the novel presents a broader swathe of modern existence, even a global community of dispossessed: ‘white men, brown men, black men. Finns, Poles, Italians, Slavs, Maltese, Indians, Negroids, African Negroes, West Indian Negroes—deportees from America for violation of the United States immigration laws—afraid and ashamed to go back to their own lands, all dumped down in the great Provencal port, bumming a day’s work, a meal, a drink, existing from hand to mouth, anyhow any way, between box car, tramp ship, bistro and bordel.’” BRENT HAYES EDWARDS, *THE PRACTICE OF DIASPORA* (2003)

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C35 (573) "The World Conference of Negro Workers," 1930, title page, *The Negro Worker 3* (1930), ed. George Padmore. International Trade Union Committee for Black Workers, Hamburg (reproduction).

The Negro Worker was the official organ of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers (ITUCNW), a radical trade union of black dockworkers and seafarers. From July 6 to 9, 1930, the ITUCNW gathered under difficult circumstances for its First International Conference in Hamburg. The seventeen attendees in Hamburg represented, among others, 20,000 workers, seven countries, and eleven different trade unions, including large delegations from Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and the United States. "Hamburg marked the beginning of the radical African Atlantic Network" (Holger Weiss), but the project to merge political pan-Africanism with revolutionary socialist and communist objectives suffered from the fact that it frequently had to be revised to accommodate Moscow's anti-colonialist agenda and the Communist International. The first volumes of *The Negro Worker*, which folded in 1937, remain a significant source for reconstructing the anti-colonial and anti-capitalist struggle of the interwar years. TH

C35 (574) Pierre Mac Orlan, *Filles d'Amour et Ports d'Europe*, 1932.

C35 (575) Pierre Mac Orlan, *Quai des Brumes*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1927.

C35 (576) Pierre Mac Orlan, *Hambourg*. Paris, 1933.

In the novel *Filles d'Amour et Ports d'Europe* by the French writer and journalist Pierre Mac Orlan (1882–1970), a character called Captain Hartmann shares recollections of his life with the narrator: of his days in the ports of Europe, his work as a spy, and his dalliance with the double agent Signorina Bambù. Mac Orlan's fascination for waterfront neighborhoods is a central element in many of his novels and essays, but his renditions of the theme contrast with the widespread romanticizing and exoticist depictions of ports and the dreams they inspire. As so-called "quartiers réservés," they are forbidden cities within the city, self-contained universes, as alluring as they are violent, menacing, and dangerous, populated by society's marginalized and outcasts, underworld figures and prostitutes, barkeepers, sailors, and soldiers. Mac Orlan employs a poetic principle he labels "*fantastique social*": In contradistinction to fantastic literature, in which the supernatural erupts into everyday reality, he locates it within human beings themselves and their unsettling environments. CR

C35 (577) *Variétés, Revue Mensuelle illustrée de l'Esprit contemporain*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1929), with cover illustration by Pierre de Vaucleroy. Brussels: Éditions Variétés · Archiv der Avantgarden, Sammlung Egidio Marzona, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

The cover illustration of the Brussels monthly journal *Variétés* from May 1929 gives a clear foretaste of what is to come: The drawing *Le Paquebot* (The passenger liner) by Pierre de Vaucleroy, framed within an art-deco styled graphic, redolent of a woodcut, shows

in the foreground two black sailors on the foredeck of a steamship, observed by a white ship's officer standing aloft on the bridge above them. The maritime-themed image indicates the nature of the edition's content: essays by Georgette Camille and Pierre Mac Orlan on seaports, and, above all, a wealth of photographs (by Eli Lotar, Germaine Krull, et al.) and illustrations (by Frans Masereel, Jean Timmermans, André Lhote, et al.), which portrayed harbor life, replete with modern shipbuilding and prostitution. Vaucleroy's depiction of black people in the context of seafaring is that of a white Belgian book illustrator and painter, who was fascinated by (sexualized) black bodies and African landscapes. Vaucleroy belonged to a group of so-called Africanists, who furnished the salons of the metropolis with idyllic, romanticized images from the colony, all couched in the idiom of the exotic. TH

C35 (578) Anna Seghers, *Transit*, trans. James A. Galston. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1944

In Anna Seghers' novel, the harbor city of Marseilles is a place where biographies are lost in seemingly endless holding patterns. Fleeing from the approaching German troops and in constant fear of denunciation, the refugees circulate between consulates, hotel rooms, and cafés in ever new, mostly failing attempts to obtain passage overseas. The "transit" of the title can refer both to the transit documents and to the existential experience of transition and passage. Written in exile in Mexico in 1941–42 and published in 1944 in Spanish and English translation (the first German edition followed in 1948), *Transit* is also a depiction of the circumstances of the many artists and intellectuals who fled to Marseilles, and who, like Max Ernst and Walter Benjamin, saw no future in Europe. Under the occupation, the harbor's "restlessness," as described by Pierre Mac Orlan, acquires its own character as a shady, subversive space. TH

C35 (579) *Der Querschnitt*, vol. 9, no. 7 (1929), ed. Hermann v. Wedderkop. Berlin: Propyläen, 1929.

C35 (580) *Der Querschnitt*, vol. 12, no. 2 (1932), ed. Hermann v. Wedderkop. Berlin: Propyläen [Photo: "Wilhelm II during the daily testing of the team mela on the ship *Hohenzollern* (1913)"].

Conversion into the Fight: The Spanish Civil War

Coming in the wake of the Nazis' seizure of power in 1933, the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) was yet another political call to arms for Europe's avant-garde artists of the 1930s. The military confrontation with fascism on their own doorstep forced many who had hitherto been active only in the safety of their studios to take a stand. Spain thus became a kind of litmus test for two competing ideologies of art. The choice in France was between a reactionary, fascist understanding of art on the one hand and Stalinist realism on the other. Many intellectuals, among them Carl Einstein and Simone Weil, went to Spain to fight, most of them on the side of the Republic, in one of the many anarchist units or in the Comintern-controlled International Brigade. In Paris, the surrealists organized solidarity campaigns and engaged with the war through their art. Their critique often took the form of ambivalent images that mythologized war as a battle of the sexes and as barbarism. On the other hand, works like Pablo Picasso's *Guernica*, which was exhibited in the Republic of Spain's pavilion at the Paris World Expo of 1937, probably owe their impact especially to their universalist pathos.

C37 (581) Georges Duthuit, "Où allez-vous Miro?," *Cahiers d'art*, vol. 8, no. 10 (1936) (published in May 1937): pp. 260–66.

The first longer text that the Catalan painter Joan Miró published in French was an interview with the art historian Georges Duthuit. It appeared in May 1937 in the magazine *Cahiers d'art*. The same issue presented not only its publisher Christian Zervos's "reflections" on the "aesthetics" of the Third Reich, but also a sumptuous account of an exhibition of medieval art from Catalonia at the Musée du Jeu de Paume in Paris—a clear statement of solidarity with the Spanish Republic. The interview had to be read in this context. But Miró refuses to take a position on the events in Spain, and makes clear that he explicitly disapproves of political art. Instead, he takes a stand for the "religious and magical sense of things" as possessed by the "primitive peoples." Miró evades the political imperative of the era, presenting himself as the advocate of an original, pre-political—indeed prehistorical—collectivism. TH

C37 (582) Marcel Sauvage, *La Corrida. Notes sur la guerre d'Espagne*. Paris: Éditions Denoel, 1938.

C37 (583) Simone Weil wearing overalls during the Spanish Civil War as a member of the Columna Durruti, Barcelona, 1936, Photograph (reproduction) · Photo by Apic/Getty Images.

The philosopher Simone Weil (1909–43) is one of the intellectual figures who is indispensable for any understanding of the political and social upheavals in Europe in the 1930s. The themes of her extensive writings, which were produced in circumstances of self-imposed austerity and asceticism, and always remained related to the situation of union, industrial, educational, and anti-colonial work, read like an alternative table of contents for this exhibition project. Like Carl Einstein, in July 1936 Weil goes to Spain, where she too joins the Durruti Column. Attired in worker's overalls in place of a uniform, the philosopher—who is severely nearsighted and lacks all military experience—demands to take part in a reconnaissance troop. An accident in the kitchen with burning oil leaves her with severe burns on her leg. Back in Paris she continues her written work on the Spanish Civil War, with strong criticism of France's foreign policy and increasing disappointment at the development of the anarcho-sindicalist CNT. TH

C37 (584) Carl Einstein, "Gefahren ...," 1939–40, Sheet 1, Manuscript (reproduction) · Courtesy Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Carl-Einstein-Archiv, no. 201.

Dangers.

A [France] South and Central America
B Tunis Morocco Tangiers Balearic Islands
Canary)(
C Pyrenees -

1. [France] does nothing to support repatriation
2. Working productively - instead of being a burden

III. a. German Italian Japanese Spanish cooperation
in Africa
relieving the Senegalese for Afrique centrale
Mediterranean North Africa future war theater -
neutralizing Spain
and Italian colonial troops /and competition/
question combating Spanish-German propaganda in
South and Central America -
[Bolivia]

Spain will be Germany's 2nd allied protectorate -
the Atlantic road

C37 (585) André Malraux, *L'espoir*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1937.

C37 (586) Carl Einstein, "Die Kolonne Durruti," in *Buenaventura Durruti*. Barcelona: Deutscher Informationsdienst der CNT-FAI, 1936 · Sammlung Spanischer Bürgerkrieg, Christof Kugler, Frankfurt am Main.

Carl Einstein, "The Durruti Column," in *Buenaventura Durruti*, ed. Services Officiels de Propagande de la CNT-FAI, Barcelona, 1936 · Sammlung Spanischer Bürgerkrieg, Christof Kugler, Frankfurt am Main.

Shortly after the death of the Spanish Anarchist leader Buenaventura Durruti on November 20, 1936, on a radio station of the anarcho-syndicalist CNT-FAI in Barcelona, Carl Einstein read his obituary for the leader of the international combat group of the same name. He made Durruti's acquaintance shortly after his arrival in Spain in the summer of 1936. At the Aragon Front Einstein assumed the responsible position of a *técnico de guerra*. His obituary sketched out the outlines of an anthropology of war and revolution: "In the Durruti Column only the collective syntax was known." With this, Einstein seems also to have found the answer to his critique of individualism in *Die Fabrikation der Fiktionen*. "War and revolution are for us a single, inseparable act." In the further course of the Spanish Civil War, despite the increasing Stalinization of the Left, Einstein would not abandon his anarchist position. But his euphoria for the banishment of the "prehistoric word 'I'" had already reached its climax with the radio address of November 1936. TH

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Art in a False Present, c. 1930

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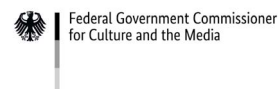
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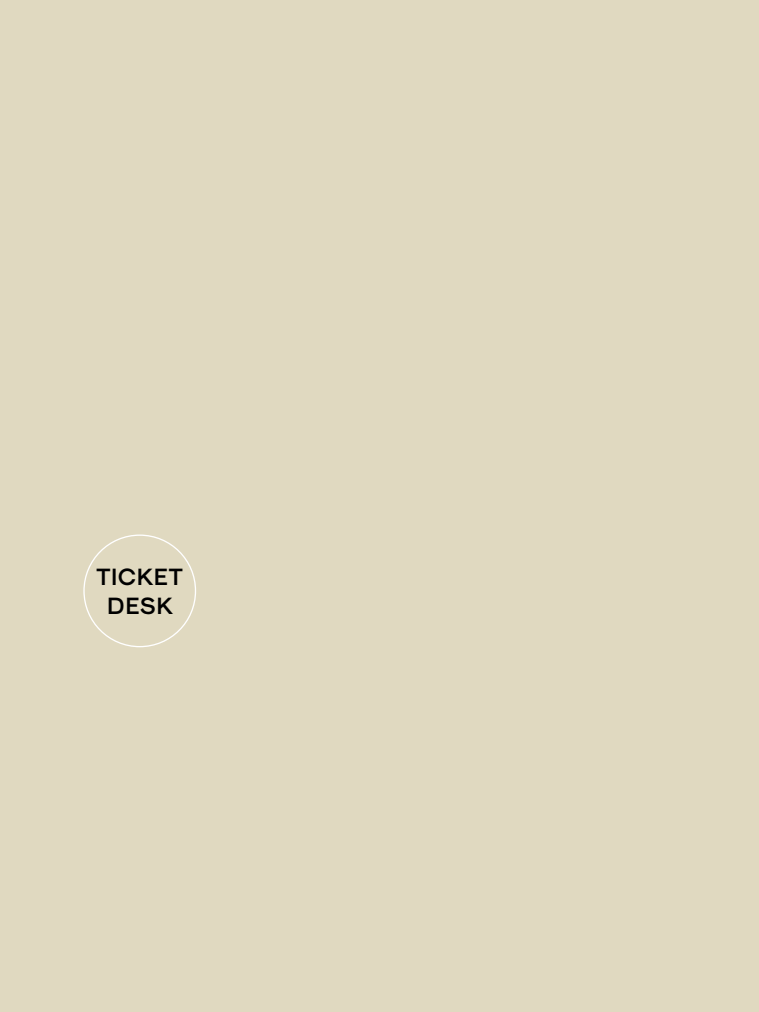
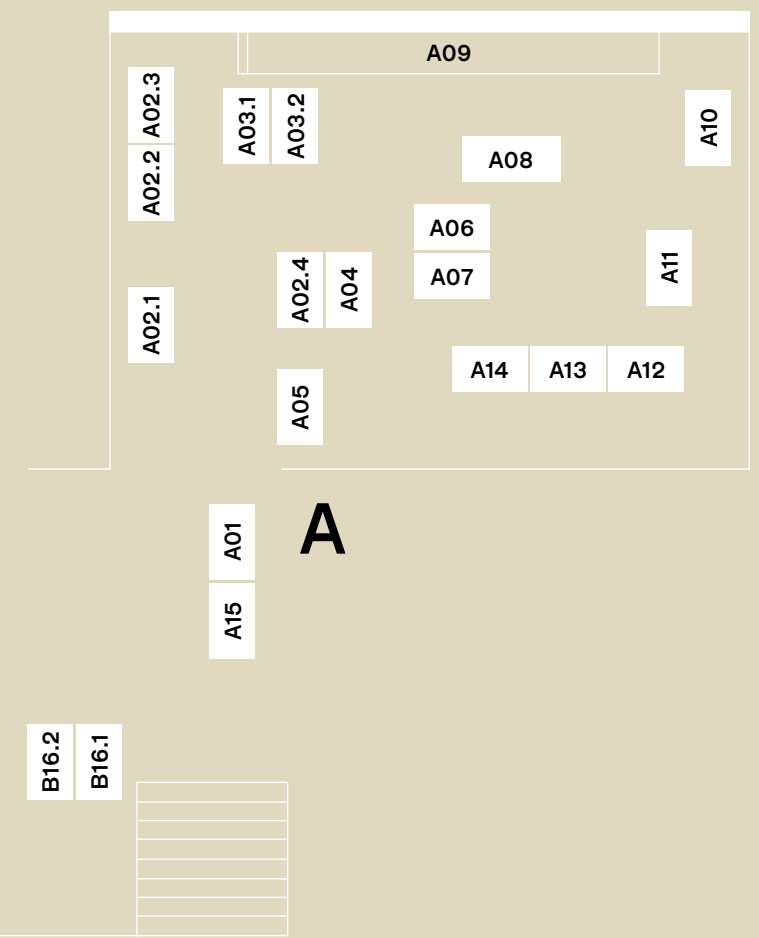
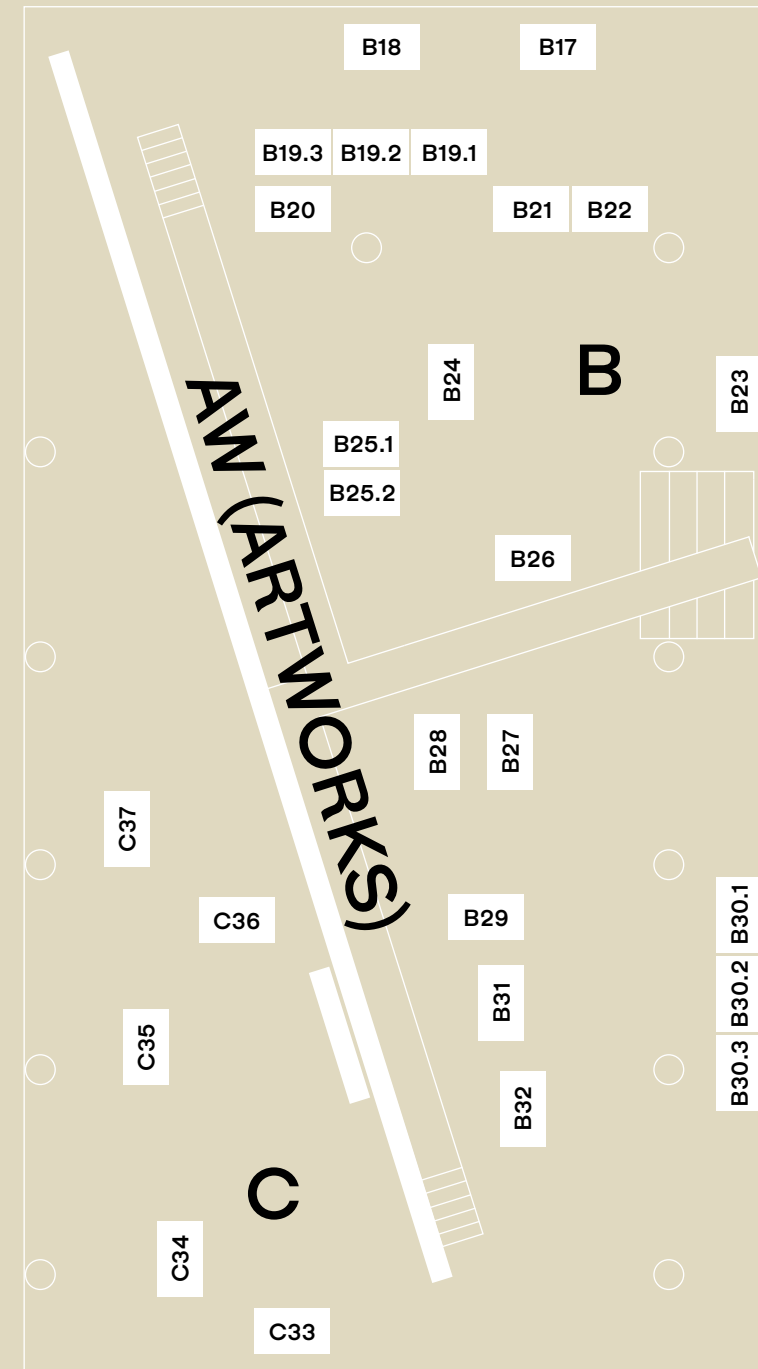
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